

THE AIA SOPHIA. Consecrated fourteen centuries ago.

by Prof. Dr. F. J. DE WAELE.

"Church of fourteen centuries" I wrote as a variation on Schaepman's song, in my diary a few years ago, when I was sitting all alone on the long Turkish mats under the dome of Justinian's masterpiece in Constantinople, officially: in Stamboul. There happened to be no tourists, no guards, no praying Turks, no scaffolding. What a stroke of luck, to be allowed to walk around all alone, without shoes on, out of respect for the place, as well as out of aversion to the ship's keels of Turkish slippers, which were prescribed when entering the church. What a heart-warming feast of memories and examination of history, to be alone for a few moments with the shadows of the old masters, with the pages of history and the poets' praises of this wonder of the world, which was a church, became a mosque and is now a museum. On December 27 of this year it will be exactly fourteen centuries since it was consecrated, and although we know that there is human megalomania in celebrating such anniversaries, we still believe that we should think less of human ability now than of the psalm's word, which in this case would be, that fourteen centuries for the Most High are but as many as fourteen days or fourteen minutes. We have reason to rejoice in the church of holy Wisdom, even though it is in foreign hands and condemned to rigidity, even though we are now further than ever from the prophecy of consolation in the famous lamentation on the fall of city and church: "Comfort yourself, Mother, comfort yourself, one day this church will be yours again; the Aia Sophia has now become a museum and the "Allahoe Akbar", the Mohammedan owl screeching has now come to an end, while the nightingale song of Christian symbols still resounds. New nightingales have come to light: the plastered faces of the Cherubs are indeed still hidden behind their Islamic mask, but in the last years from 1931 to 1934, the English Byzantinist Th. Whittemore, in the long inner hall (esonarthex) exposed musical visions of piety and beauty and once again the intimacy of the Byzantine churches begins to live, although is the melancholic smile of the Mother of God still very modest with the ostentatious curls of the beautifully calligraphed letter shields of the caliphs under the Cherubs of the pendentives. The Holy Wisdom. In the eyes of Constantine it was not yet the Godhead in her all-wise governance of all humanity, but, when he built the first Aia Sophia in 325, it seemed as if the "Holy Wisdom" was a compromise deity, to which the pagan symbolism could not take offense and in which the Christians found a spiritual core for lofty contemplations and Byzantine hair-splitting. Constantine's son, Constantius I, expanded the basilica, which after an existence of three-quarters of a century was completely destroyed in a fire with the senate building; that fire was not only a material disaster, but also a flaming symbol of the popular anger at the banishment of the great Chrystomos. Once again the torch was thrown into the "new" Wisdom Church, which Theodosius had built in place of the Constantine and which had become 117 years old: this fire, during the bloody unrest of the city revolution in 532, destroyed many quarters, — such a mass destruction also happened in the wooden Stamboul of 1911 and 1917 — also a part of the imperial palaces and the baths of Zeuxippes. A few days later the emperor conceived the plan to build a church, "such as never had been a cult building since Adam's time and never will be", but the site of the old basilica was much too small. How the one and a half hectares, which were needed for the building itself, and the surrounding square, were obtained by force, or cunning, or otherwise, from the many owners in this densely populated quarter, are told by many edifying legends, which perhaps conceal a violent expropriation plan. But not only Constantinople, but also the entire empire would contribute to the gigantic construction costs, although the riches and ancient art treasures of this Empire were still largely pagan. In Asia Minor and in the East, as in Greece, the mighty temples were still standing, although the statues of the gods had been abducted and the pious no longer brought an increase to the temple treasure. But then they would give pieces from their own bodies, and so the four green columns that separate the main space from the side aisles are violent borrowings from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, while the red porphyry columns in the side aisles were stolen from the sun temple of Aurelian at Heliopolis. Just as the Venetian sailors on the Levant supplemented their shipload with antique sculptures and a travel gift each time brought with you for the building of San Marco, ships and fleets now travelled to Constantinople with stolen temple pieces, with white marble from the Prokonnesos, green marble from Carystos on Eubea, red marble from Iasos in Caria, verde antico from Numidia, not to mention the other cargoes of gold and precious metals with this gigantic St. Peter's or rather Holy Wisdom Medal from the "oikoumene".

A whole lustrum passed before the two Asiatic master builders, Anthemios of Tralleis and Isidoros of Miletus, made Justinian's dream come true. In the meantime, the emperor himself had encouraged the progress of the building work with word and deed: every day he was in simple clothing among the 16,000 workers who worked "for God and prince".

One of the main concerns had been "the piling" for the new church. Several times a century the city and the area around the Bosporus are ravaged by disasters: for example, 80 years before the construction of the Justinian church, an earthquake had razed the walls and 57 towers of the city and buried the patriarch Euphrasius under the ruins of his palace in 527. It could have been foreseen that the largest church in Christendom would also suffer damage from the many seismic vibrations and tremors, although no one would have dared to foresee that the dome would collapse in such an earthquake only 20 years after its completion. The underground work of the church was gigantic: an extensive system of deep wells and colossal pillars was constructed on the rocky ground with the intention of increasing the elasticity of the entire building, which formed a rectangle of 75 by 65 m. To which were added the annexes: the large western forecourt, the two vestibules, the outer and inner narthex, the baptistery and the "skevophylakion" or sacristy. We must imagine ourselves without the later Turkish buttresses and the many tombs, the four minarets, the school building, etc.

On the third day of Christmas 537 it was the great day of the dedication. On a triumphal chariot and with his entire court retinue Justinian rode to the new church, the "megali Ekklesia", as it was stamped in the bricks; at the entrance of the building the patriarch Menas received him and the emperor himself hurried inside, where, before the iconostasis, in ecstasy and with raised hands, he exclaimed: "Glory to God, who has deemed one worthy to complete such a work. Solomon, I have surpassed you!" However much has disappeared, the idea of church lives on here, yes, even more than, for example, in Rome in St. Peter's Church. What has disappeared? The living blood of this work of art is gone, while the beautiful mask has remained. No more altar, no iconostasis, no amboon, no singers' tribune, and moreover that miserable Turkish plastering over of so much beauty!

But just as in the Asian Minor churches, which I found after the disaster of 1922 as Christian churches even though they had been converted into mosques, here the prayer niche carved out towards Mecca can make the eye turn away from the apse built towards Jerusalem, that is, in a south-eastern direction. Although we want to leave out much pathos and rhetoric from the 900 hexameters that the imperial secretary Paulus Silentiarius dedicated to the great church as a poem of praise, as an "ekphrasis" (the poem was however only recited in 563 on the feast of the blessing of the water, our Epiphany), yet in reading his work the fairy tale of splendor and wealth comes to life again before our eyes: precious stones and pearls were fused together for the altar, the recess on the altar was decorated with cameos, gems and enamels. Columns of the purest gold and adorned with pearls and diamonds supported the golden roof of the ciborium or tower-like tabernacle, of solid gold was the globe with the cross above it. Of solid gold was also the dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, in which the "immaculate Mysteries" were preserved. Around the altar, — which in itself was a wonder of the world — lay the choir stalls with seven steps, — all gilded silver, — for the patriarch and higher clergy, and twelve golden columns divided the iconostasis, the end of the choir, into smaller parts. Under the dome sat the numerous lower clergy and the amboon, the tribune of honour for the emperor was in the middle of the church, where the presbytery ended. When we speak of a "sea of light" that put the church in full splendor, we use the poet's image: "Like a fleet of barges you see there in the heights the silver lampwork, it is a sea of light in which one could swim, it is a fleet of light, that is not richly laden with goods and possessions, but with shining rays. Like a man who adorns his royal bride with love and veneration and chooses a necklace from the most precious stones, so that it may shine in competition with the flaming glow of the sun's lamp: so has my emperor on all vaults a fleet of lamps hang"...

That's how it was once, and today this memory may be recalled again, although the Christendom so impoverished in Stamboul feels deep pain for the disfigured Aia Sophia. I have walked around there for hours, and repeatedly, laid my hands on the old marble, caressed the stone lacework with my eyes, because one could not touch it with the hands, even put my finger in the hollow of the "sweating column", of course not to bring the moisture to our eyes, as the thousands of superstitious Turks did, supposedly to obtain the cure for their eye complaints, while in reality it usually meant a worsening, but to live through the symbol of the greatest wound of Eastern Christendom.

Finally, one wanders back to the statues in the narthex, to Christ and the dear Lady, who in this petrified museum now have a great jubilee Christmas. There in the narthex we find another pure piece of Byzantium, there the crosses and flower stars shine on the vaults and lunettes and speak to us in the same symbolic language as that cryptographic confession of faith in mosaic and in astronomical allusions, which glorified the Logos (Father), Christ, the Son, and Sophia, the Wisdom of the Holy Spirit (see Christmas number 1935). The abstract symbolic part of the narthex decoration certainly dates back to the time of Justinian and is related to the emperor's policy to win over the Monophysites (the followers of Eutyches who claimed that in Christ only one nature, the divine, existed, and were therefore averse to the originally Syrian cross representation with the bloody body of Christ) for the official church: in the mosaics only the cross trees are depicted. But, although we gladly admire the image of the enthroned Christ, before which Emperor Leo VI (886-912) kneels (two medallions of the Mother of God and of the Archangel Gabriel flank it) and which is already known through the discovery and restoration work of Fossati in 1847, we are particularly attracted by the "imperial Christmas" in the narthex: a variant of the Magi is the representation of the seated Mother with the Child on her lap, while the two fathers of Byzantium, Constantine with the model of the city in his hand and Justinian, who carries the church, stand next to it. It was not until the end of the 10th century, according to Whittemore, when the church was solemnly put into use again after a long period of abandonment, that this mosaic of the two great Magi was installed. It does not seem to me a daring hypothesis to think that the musivist wanted to glorify the glorious Christmas Day of half a millennium ago (for the artist of that time) in such a traditional artistic scheme, and it can hardly be otherwise than that on this centenary we turn again to this "Christmas mosaic" with the greeting of the Bethlehem angels, which Justinian repeated on 27 December 537: Glory to God, who has given and preserved for us this masterpiece of high art.

The Serpent Column of Delphi in Constantinople

There is no record of the Serpent Column's removal from Delphi in the early fourth century, but there are numerous references among Roman sources to its arrival on the Bosphorus. Constantine I's importation into the capital of a great many divine and profane statues was an embarrassment to his Christian friends. Eusebius claimed that the emperor collected and displayed the artworks only to demonstrate that the idols of the past were now decoration to be laughed at or scorned. Sozomenus and Socrates echoed this in their continuations of Eusebius' Church History. Eusebius did not mention the Serpent Column directly, but rather that 'the Delphic tripods were deposited in the Hippodrome'. Sozomenus, however, explicitly recorded that among them was the famous tripod which Pausanias and the Greek cities dedicated after their victory over the Persians.

See https://www.academia.edu/3334914/The_Serpent_Column_of_Delphi_in_Constantinople_Place_ment_Purposes_and_Mutilations

The Column of Constantine (Turkish: Çemberlitaş Sütunu, from çemberli 'hooped' and taş 'stone'), also known as the Burnt Stone or the Burnt Pillar, is a Roman monumental column constructed on the orders of the Roman emperor Constantine the Great in 330. It commemorates the declaration of Byzantium (renamed by Constantine as Nova Roma) as the new capital city of the Roman Empire. The column is located on Yenîçeriler Caddesi in the eponymous neighborhood of Çemberlitaş, Fatih, central Istanbul, along the old Divan Yolu (the 'Road to the Imperial Council') between the Hippodrome of Constantinople (now Sultanahmet Square) and the Forum of Theodosius (now Beyazıt Square).

The Column of Constantine is one of the most important examples of Roman art in Istanbul. The column is 35 m tall today. Restoration work has been under way since 1955. Cracks in the porphyry were filled and metal brackets renewed in 1972. Since 1985, the monuments of the historic peninsula of Istanbul, including the column, have been listed as a World Heritage Site.

The column was dedicated on May 11, 330 AD, with a mix of Christian and pagan ceremonies. In Constantine's day the column was at the center of the Forum of Constantine (today known as Çemberlitaş Square), an oval forum situated outside the city walls in the vicinity of what may have been the west gate of Antoniniana. On its erection, the column was 50 m tall, constructed of several cylindrical porphyry blocks. The exact

number of porphyry blocks is disputed, but common figures range from seven, up to as
 200 many as eleven. These blocks were surmounted by a statue of Constantine in the figure
 of Apollo. The orb he carried was said to contain a fragment of the True Cross. At
 the foot of the column was a sanctuary which contained relics allegedly from the
 crosses of the two thieves who were crucified with Jesus Christ at Calvary, the
 baskets from the loaves and fishes miracle, an alabaster ointment jar belonging to
 205 Mary Magdalene and used by her for anointing the head and feet of Jesus, and the
 palladium of ancient Rome (a wooden statue of Pallas Athena from Troy).
 A strong gale in 1106 felled the statue and three of the upper cylinders of the
 column. Some years later, Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (reigned 1143-1180)
 placed a cross on top in place of the original statue and added a commemorative
 210 inscription that read "Faithful Manuel invigorated this holy work of art, which has
 been damaged by time". Bronze wreaths once covered the joints between the drums, but
 these were taken by the Latin Crusaders who plundered the city during the Fourth
 Crusade in 1204. The cross was removed by the Ottoman Turks after the fall of
 Constantinople in 1453.
 215 Earthquakes and a fire in 1779 destroyed the neighborhood surrounding the column,
 leaving it with black scorch marks and earning it the name 'Burnt Column' (or, as
 referred to by Gibbon, the "burned pillar"). The column was restored by Abdülhamid I,
 who had the present masonry base added. The base was strengthened in 1779. The
 original platform of the column is 2.5 meters below ground.

Reconstruction of Constantinople, Byzantium 1200

Website <https://twitter.com/Byzantium1200>

Attendees of the Council of Nicaea

Academius/Acatemius of Papha/Papae/Pampa
 Acedius
 Achilleus of Larissa (Athanasius of Thessaly)
 Acogiua of Tripolis
 230 Acrites of Diospontum
 Actius/Aetius/Aëtius of Lydda
 Acylas, Chorepiscopus
 Adamantius, Zeno
 Adamantius/Adamantus of Canon/Coeis
 235 Admus of Bosphorus
 Adon of Lycia
 Aeneas of Accho
 Aeneas of Ptolomais
 Aëtius of Dintia
 240 Agapius of Seleucia
 Agathumius of Amordiané
 Agogius of Tripolis
 Aithalas of Edessa
 Alexander of Alexandria
 245 Alexander of Constantinopel
 Alexander of Thessalonica
 Alitodorus of Corcyra/Cercyra
 Alphius of Apamea/Apamia
 Alphocranon Harpocraton/Alpocraton of Alphocranon/Arpocrator of Alphocranon
 250 Ammonius of Aphrodisias
 Amphion of Epiphanea/Epiphania
 Ananias of Ptolmais
 Anatolius of Emesa/Emetsa
 Anatolius, Chorepiscopus
 255 Antiochus of Hierocaesarea/Hidron-Caesarea
 Antiochus of Resaina/Resiina/Risiané
 Antiochus/Antilogus of Memphis
 Antiochus/Antochus of Aurelianopolis/Aulilianopolis
 Antiochus/Antochus of Capitoliass/Gapetulinus
 260 Antipatros of Capitoliass
 Antoninus/Antonius of Antioch
 Aphrodisias of Magidon/Magyda
 Apoc... prao...
 Aquila, Chorepiscopus

- 265 Araunius of Limena
Arbetion of Barathu/Pharbaethus/Pharboethus
Arccathius of Gadmeausa
Archelaus of Doliche/Perioche
Arices of Armenia
- 270 Arirteus of Armenia=Aristaces/Aristacius of Armenia=Arices of Armenia?
Arnus of Thadmor
Artemidorus of Sardes/Sardis
Arustaces
Asclepias/Asclepius /Asclepas of Gaza
- 275 Athanasius of Alexandria
Athenaeus of Coracesium/Gorpissus
Athenodorus of Dorylaeum/Dorylleum
Atthas/Athas of Ascedia/Scethia
Attheas of Scete
- 280 Autychius of Smyrna
Badonius of Alaso
Balanus of Carboula
Ballaus of Thersea
Bassianus of Raphanea
- 285 Bassones of Tabulé
Bassonius of Gabala
Bassus of Zeugma/Zeuuma/Seucmatés
Becon, presbyters
Brontius of Ancyra
- 290 Budiaeus of Trobon
Budius of Stobi/Stobae
Cadmus of Bosphorus
Caius of Thmuis
Callicles of Perga
- 295 Cecilian of Carthage
Cerontius of Larissa
Claudianus of Thessaly/Larissa
Conatus, Chorepiscopus
Contianus/Cyntianus of Seleucia
- 300 Corconius of Cinae
Cyntus, Chorepiscopus
Cyrillus of Cium/Cyum
Cyrillus of Paphos/Paphus
Cyrillus of Thaumanada/Oumandra
- 305 Cyrnon/Cyrion of Philadelphia
Daces of Berenice
Dacus
Dacus of Macedonia
Dathes
- 310 Diciasius of Tyana/Tarbia/Tauias
Dion ...
Dionysius of Mesopotamia
Dios of Paratonion
Dios of Tkou
- 315 Domnus of Aspendum
Domnus of Pannonia
Domnus of Sirmium
Domnus of Trapezus/Trapezunta
Doron, Chorepiscopus
- 320 Dorotheus of Pelusium
Ebdomasius of Philadelphia
Edesius of Claudiopolis
Eliconos of Abalas
Ellaticus of Tripolis
- 325 Elpidius of Comana
Erechtius of Tmausont
Erichtius of Damaba
Erothrius/Erithrius of Colonia/Collania
Ethilhas/Ethalias of Edessa
- 330 Etoemasius of Philadelphia

- Eucromius, Chorepiscopus
 Eudemus of Patara
 Eudion of Ilium
 Eudrames/Eudaimon/Eudromius/Eudumon, Chorepiscopus
 335 Euetheius of Sadola
 Euethius of Adriana
 Eugenius/Eugenius of Apollonias
 Eugenius of Eucarpa/Eucarpia
 Euhethius of Adrianopolis
 340 Euhethius/Euethius of Satala
 Eulalius of Iconium
 Eulalius, Chorepiscopus
 Eulalius/Eularius of Sebaste/Sebastia
 Euphrantion/Euphration of Balanea/Daneon
 345 Euphrosynus of Rhodes/Rhodus
 Eupsychius of Amastris
 Eupsychius of Tyana
 Eurasius/Euresius of Termessus
 Eurerius of Comana
 350 Eusebius of Antiochia
 Eusebius of Caesarea
 Eusebius of Miletus
 Eusebius of Nicomedia
 Eusebius of the Parochia of Isauropolis
 355 Eustathius of Antioch/Antiochia
 Eustathius of Arestan/Arethusa?
 Eustathius/Eutychijs of Seleucia
 Eutropius of Andrinopel
 Eutychianus of Amasea/Eutychijs of Amastris/Amastris/Amasia
 360 Eutychijs of Sicion
 Eutychijs of Smyrna
 Eutychijs/Eutychianus of Tyana/Teana
 Faustus of Panemitichus
 Festus of Marcianopolis
 365 Flaccus of Sanis/Sanada/Synanta
 Flaccus/Flacus of Hierapolis
 Florentius of Ancyra Ferrea
 Gainus of Sebaste=Galanus of Sebaste
 Gaius of Panyos
 370 Gaius of Thmuis
 Gegasius of Harba-Kedem
 Gelasius of Salamis/Samaminé
 Gennadius of Esbonta/Jebunda
 Georgius of Aprusas/Prusias
 375 Germanus of Neapolis
 Germanus of Samaria
 Gerontius of Larissa
 Gorgonius of Apollonias
 Gorgonius of Ciaena/Cinae
 380 Gorgonius, Chorepiscopus
 Gregorius of Berytus/Betus
 Hedesius of Claudiopolis
 Helidius of Comana
 Heliodorus of Zabulon/Zabula
 385 Hellanicus of Tripolis
 Helpidius of Comana
 Heraclius of Zela/Zola/Sela
 Heraclius/Heraclius of Baris/Beresia
 Hesychius of Alexandria Minor
 390 Hesychius of Neapolis
 Hesychius of Prusa
 Hesychius, Chorepiscopus
 Hosius of Córdoba/Corduba
 Hypatius of Gangra
 395 Ionocentus, presbyter
 Jacob of Nisibus/Nisibis

Jacobus of Sirinus
 Januarius of Jericho/Hiericho
 Joannes of Persia/Persinus
 400 Lelitius of Sebastopolis
 Leontius of Caesarea
 Letodorus of Cibyra
 Lisianus of Lycae
 Longinus of Ascalon
 405 Longinus/Longianus of Neocaesarea
 Macarius of Jerusalem/Elion
 Macedonius of Mopsuestia
 Macrinus of Jamnia
 Macrinus of Julium
 410 Magnus of Damascus
 Manicius of Epiphania/Manicus of Epimia
 Manicius of Hamath
 Maraias of Macedonopolis
 Marcellus of Ancyra
 415 Marcus of Calabria
 Marcus of Standum/Standon/Tanton
 Mareas of Birtha
 Marianus of Jamnia
 Marianus of Troas
 420 Marinus of Palmyron
 Marinus/Marianus of Sebastena/Sebastenus
 Maris of Chalcedon
 Marsyas of Euboea
 Mathras of Hypaepa
 425 Maximus of Eleutheropolis
 Meliphron of Coos/Cous
 Melitius of Lycopolis (?)
 Menophantes of Ephesus
 Mereas of Macedonopolis
 430 Mithres/Methres of Hypyrpa/Iemptsa
 Moses of Castabala/Mouses of Cataballa
 Narcissus of Irenopolis
 Narcissus of Neronias/Erotanus
 Nestor of Syedra
 435 Nicasius of Die=Nicasius of Divio?/Duia
 Nicetas of Phleias/Nicetes of Flavianus
 Nicetas the Goth {?}
 Nicholas of Myra/Nicolaus
 Nicomachus/Nicomacus of Bostra
 440 Nunechius of Laodicea
 Orion of Ilium/Eli...
 Ouranius of Limena
 Palladius, Chorepiscopus
 Pancharius of Ancyra
 445 Paphnutius of Thebes
 Papirius of Samoata
 Patricius of Alateus
 Patricius of Ampelada/Amblada
 Patricius of Maximianopolis/Mazimianopolis
 450 Patrophilus of Beishan
 Patrophilus of Scythopolis
 Paulinus of Adana
 Paulinus of Tyrus
 Paulus of Anaea/Anora
 455 Paulus of Apamea/Apamia
 Paulus of Laranda
 Paulus of Maximianopolis
 Paulus of Neocaesarea
 Paulus of Spania
 460 Pederos of Heraclia
 Pegasius of Armocadama
 Perperius of Samusata

Petronius of Junopolis
 Petrus of Aila/Aila/Ialon
 465 Petrus of Cytalu
 Petrus of Gindara
 Petrus of Hnes
 Petrus of Nicopolis
 Phaedrus of Herclea
 470 Phaladus/Phalatus, Chorepiscopus
 Philadelphus of Juliopolis/Julipolis/Heliopolis?
 Philadelphus/Philadelphius of Pompeiopolis
 Philip of Panephytus=Philippus of Panyphis/Panephyson
 Philocles/Philocalus of Paneas/Panias
 475 Philoxenus of Hierapolis
 Philoxenus of Mabug
 Pierius of Samosata
 Pigasius of Abogatana
 Pisticius/Pistus of Azani/Azana/Ozana
 480 Pistus of Athenae
 Pistus of Marcianopolis
 Plusianus of Siout
 Pollio of Baris
 Polycarpus of Metropolis
 485 Postus of Panaemon
 Potamon of Heraclea/Heracleos (Throis)
 Procopius of Synnada/Sanata
 Protogenes of Sardica
 Rodon, Chorepiscopus
 490 Rufus of Caesarea
 Sabianus of Heraphantes
 Sabinus of Azotus
 Sabinus of Gadara/Cadara
 Salamanes/Salamias of Germanicia/Cermanicus
 495 Sarapion/Sarapion of Antipurgos
 Sares/Seras/Sarapas of Thyatira/Thyadira
 Secundus of Ptolemais=Secountus of Ptolmais
 Secundus of Tauché/Teuchilibya
 Segentus of Teuchira
 500 Seleucus/Seleucius, Chorepiscopus
 Serapion of Antipurgos
 Severus of Dionysias
 Severus of Sodoma
 Silvanus of Azotus
 505 Silvanus of Isauropolis/Metropolis
 Siricius of Cyrrhus
 Soilus of Gabalon
 Solomon of Germanicia
 Sopater of Barathena/Beritaneus
 510 Spyridion of Trimythous
 Stephen of Barata/Stephanus of Carata
 Stephin/Stephanus, Chorepiscopus
 Strateges of Ephestia/Strategius of Hyphestia
 Stratophilus/Stratolius of Pitiunt/Pityunta/Pityus/Piteous
 515 Stretegius/Strategius of Lemnos/Lemnus
 Synodorus of Antaratos
 Syricus/Siricus of Cyprus
 Takés of Berenicé
 Tarcodemantus of Aegea
 520 Tarsicius/Taracius of Apamea/Apamia
 Telemachus of Adrianopolis
 Thadoneus of Lazos
 Theodorus of Caesarea
 Theodorus of Ou-Andala/Ousin
 525 Theodorus of Sidon
 Theodorus of Tarsus
 Theodorus of Vasada
 Theodotus of Laodicea/Laodicia

530 Theodulus of Trajanopolis
Theogenus/Theognus/Theognis of Nicaea
Theonas of Corycus/Cyzicum
Theonas of Cysicus
Theonus/Theonas of Marmarica
Theophanes, Chorepiscopus
535 Theophilus (Gothic)
Tiberius of Lystra/Alistra
Tiberius of Tauthasis/Tauthité/Thmuis
Timotheus of Comana
Timotheus of Cybistra
540 Titus of Paraetonium/Patronium
Tyrannus of Antinoë/Antinous/Antinou
Ulpius of Apamea
Uranicus of Limen
Victor/Vito, pope's legate
545 Vincentius/Vicentius, pope's legate
Volusianus of Lycon
Zeno of Tyre
Zenobius of Seleucia
Zephyrus (Zopyrus) of Barca
550 Zeuxes of Verabon
Zeuxius of Syarma
Zoilus of Gabala
Zopirus/Zopirus of Barcé/Bac

555

SEXTI AVRELII VICTORIS

LIBER DE CAESARIBVS AVRELII VICTORIS
HISTORIAE ABBREVIATAE

560 ab Augusto Octaviano,
id est a fine Titi Livii, usque ad consulatum decimum
Constantii Augusti et Iuliani Caesaris tertium.

565 34 1 Sed Claudii imperium milites, quos fere contra ingenium perditae res subigunt
recta consulere, ubi afflicta omnia perspexere, avide approbant extolluntque, viri
laborum patientis aequique ac prorsus dediti reipublicae, 2 quippe ut longo
intervallo Deciorum morem renovaverit. 3 Nam cum pellere Gothos cuperet, quos
diuturnitas nimis validos ac prope incolas effecerat, proditum ex libris Sibyllinis
est primum ordinis amplissimi victoriae vovendum. 4 Cumque is, qui esse videbatur,
570 semet obtulisset, sibi potius id muneris competere ostendit, qui revera senatus atque
omnium princeps erat. 5 Ita nullo exercitus detrimento fusi barbari summotique,
postquam imperator vita reipublicae dono dedit. 6 Adeo bonis salus civium ac longa
sui memoria cariora sunt; quae non gloriae modo, verum etiam ratione quadam
posterorum felicitati proficiunt. 7 Hoc siquidem Constantius et Constantinus atque
575 imperatores nostri (?) orisque acceptior militibus praemiorum spe seu lasciviae. 8
Quo aegra asperiorque victoria fuit, dum, uti mos subditis est, studio impune
peccandi remissa imperia promptius quam utilia defendant.

580 40 1 Igitur Constantio atque Armentario his succedentibus Severus Maximinusque
Illyricorum indigenae Caesares, prior Italiam posteriorque, in quae Iovius
obtinuerat, destinantur. 2 Quod tolerare nequiens Constantinus, cuius iam tum a puero
ingens potensque animus ardore imperitandi agitabatur, fugae commento, cum ad
frustrandos insequentibus publica iumenta, quaqua iter egerat, interficeret, in
Britanniam pervenit; nam is a Galerio religionis specie ad vicem obsidis tenebatur. 3
585 Et forte iisdem diebus ibidem Constantium patrem vel parentem vitae ultima urgebant.
4 Quo mortuo cunctis qui aderant, annitentibus imperium capit. 5 Interim Romae vulgus
turmaeque praetoriae Maxentium retractante diu patre Herculio imperatorem confirmant.
6 Quod ubi Armentarius accepit, Severum Caesarem, qui casu ad urbem erat, arma in
hostem ferre propere iubet. 7 Is circum muros cum ageret, desertus a suis, quos
590 praemiorum illecebris Maxentius traduxerat, fugiens obsessusque Ravennae obiit. 8 Hoc
acrior Galerius ascito in consilium Iovio Licinium vetere cognitum amicitia Augustum
creat; eoque ad munimentum Illyrici ac Thraciae relicto Romam contendit. 9 Ibi cum
obsidione distineretur, militibus eadem, qua superiores, via attentatis, metu ne
desereretur, Italia decessit; pauloque post vulnere pestilenti consumptus est, cum

595 agrum satis reipublicae commodantem caesis immanibus silvis atque emissio in Danubium
lacu Pelsone apud Pannonios fecisset. 10 Cuius gratia provinciam uxoris nomine
Valeriam appellavit. 11 Huic quinquennii imperium, Constantio annuum fuit, cum sane
uterque potentiam Caesarum annos tredecim gessissent. 12 Adeo miri naturae
600 beneficia, ut ea si a doctis pectoribus proficiscerentur neque insulsi-
tate offenderent, haud dubie praecipua haberentur. 13 Quare compertum est eruditionem
elegantiam comitatem praesertim principibus necessarias esse, cum sine his naturae
bona quasi incompta aut etiam horrida despectui sint, contraque ea Persarum regi Cyro
aeternam gloriam paraverint. 14 At memoria mea Constantinum, quamquam ceteris
promptum virtutibus, adusque astra votis omnium subvexere. 15 Qui profecto si
605 munificentiae atque ambitioni modum hisque artibus statuisset, quis praecipue adulta
ingenia gloriae studio progressa longius in contrarium labuntur, haud multum abesset
deo. 16 Is ubi vastari urbem atque Italiam comperit pulsosque seu redemptos exercitus
et imperatores duos, composita pace per Gallias Maxentium petit. 17 Ea tempestate
apud Poenos Alexander pro praefecto gerens dominatui stolidi incubuerat, cum ipse
610 debili aetate, agrestibus ac Pannonicis parentibus vecordior, milites tumultuarie
quaesiti, armorum vix medium haberetur. 18 Denique eum a tyranno missi paucissimis
cohortibus Rufius Volusianus praefectus praetorio ac militares duces levi certamine
confecere. 19 Quo victo Maxentius Carthaginem, terrarum decus, simul Africae
pulchriora vastari diripi incendique iusserat, ferus inhumanusque ac libidine multa
615 tetrior. 20 Adhuc pavidus et imbellis atque in desidia foede pronus, usque eo, ut
flagrante per Italiam belle fuisque apud Veronam suis nihilo segnius solita curaret
neque patris exitio moveretur. 21 Namque Herculus natura impotentior, simul filii
segnitiem metuens inconsulte imperium repetiverat. 22 Cumque specie officii dolis
compositis Constantinum generum tentaret acerbis, iure tandem interierat. 23 Sed
620 Maxentius atrocior in dies tandem urbe in Saxa rubra milia ferme novem aegerrime
progressus, cum caesa acie fugiens semet Romam reciperet, insidiis, quas hosti apud
pontem Milvium locaverat, in transgressu Tiberis interceptus est tyrannidis anno
sexto. 24 Huius nece incredibile quantum laetitia gaudioque senatus ac plebes
exultaverint; quos in tantum afflicta verat, uti praetorianis caedem vulgi quondam
625 annuerit primusque instituto pessimo munerum specie patres aratoresque pecuniam
conferre prodigenti sibi cogeret. 25 Quorum odio praetoriae legiones ac subsidia
factionibus aptiora quam urbi Romae sublata penitus, simul arma atque usus indumenti
militaris. 26 Adhuc cuncta opera, quae magnifice construxerat, urbis fanum atque
basilicam Flavii meritis patres sacrare. 27 A quo etiam post Circus maximus
630 excultus mirifice atque ad lavandum institutum opus ceteris haud multo dispar. 28
Statuae locis quam celeberrimis, quarum plures ex auro aut argenteae sunt; tum per
Africanum sacerdotum decretum Flaviae genti, Circaeque oppido, quod obsidione
Alexandri conderat, reposito exornatoque nomen Constantina inditum. 29 Adeo
acceptius praestantiusque tyrannorum depulsoribus nihil est, quorum gratia eo demum
635 auctior erit, si modesti atque abstinentes sint. 30 Quippe humanae mentes frustratae
boni spe asperius offenduntur, cum mutato rectore flagitioso aerumnarum vis manet.

41 1 Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Maximinus ad Orientem post biennii augustum
imperium fusus fugatusque a Licinio apud Tarsum perit. 2 Ita potestas orbis Romani
640 duobus quaesita, qui quamvis per Flavii sororem nuptam Licinio conexi inter se erant,
ob diverses mores tamen anxie triennium congruere quivere. 3 Namque illi praeter
tadmodum magna cetera, huic parsimonia et ea quidem agrestis tantummodo inerat. 4
Denique Constantinus cunctos hostes honore ac fortunis manentibus texit recepitque,
eo pius, ut etiam vetus teterrimumque supplicium patibulorum et cruribus
645 suffringendis primus removerit. 5 Hinc pro conditore seu deo habitus. Licinio ne
insontium quidem ac nobilium philosophorum servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum
fecere. 6 Quo sane variis proeliis pulso, cum eum prorsus opprimere arduum videretur,
simul affinitatis gratia refectum consortium ascitique imperio Caesarum communes
liberi Crispus Constantinusque Flavio geniti, Licinianus Licinio. 7 Quod equidem vix
650 diuturnum neque his, qui assumebantur, felix fore defectu solis foedato iisdem
mensibus die patefactum. 8 Itaque sexennio post rupta pace apud Thracas Licinius
pulsus Chalcedona concessit. 9 Ibi ad auxilium sui Martiniano in imperium cooptato
una oppressus est. 10 Eo modo respublica unius arbitrio geri coepit, liberis Caesarum
nomina diversa retentantibus: namque ea tempestate imperatori nostro Constantio
655 insigne Caesaris datum. 11 Quorum cum natu grandior, incertum qua causa, patris
iudicio occidisset, repente Caloceris magister pecoris camelorum Cyprum insulam
specie regni demens capessiverat. 12 Quo excruciato, ut fas erat, servili aut
latronum more, condenda urbe formandisque religionibus ingentem animum avocavit,
simul novando militiae ordine. 13 Et interea Gothorum Sarmatarumque stratae gentes,
660 filiusque cunctorum minor, Constans nomine, Caesar fit. 14 Cuius gratia reipublicae

permixtionem fore ostentorum mira prodidere; quippe ea nocte, quae commissi imperii diem sequebatur, igni continuo caeli facies coliflagravit. 15 Abhinc consumpto fere bieimio fratris filium, cui ex patre Dalmatio nomen fuit, Caesarem iussit obsistentibus valide militaribus. 16 Ita anno imperii tricesimo secundoque, cum totum orbem tredecim tenuisset, sexaginta natus atque amplius duo, in Persas tendens, a quis bellum erumpere occeperat, rure proximo Nicomediae – Achyronam vocant – excessit, cum id tetrum sidus regnis, quod crinitum vocant, portendisset. 17 Funus relatum in urbem sui nominis. Quod sane populus Romanus aegerrime tulit, quippe cuius armis legibus clementi imperio quasi novatam urbem Romam arbitraretur. 18 Pons per Danubium ductus; castra castellaque pluribus locis commode posita. 19 Remotae olei frumentique adventiciae praebitiones, quibus Tripolis ac Nicaea acerbiusangebantur. 20 Quorum superiores Severi imperio gratantes civi obtulerant, verteratque gratiam muneribus in perniciem posterorum dissimulatio. Alteros Marcus Boionius afflixerat multa, quod Hipparchum praestanti ingenio indigenam fuisse ignoravissent. Fiscales molestiae severius pressae, cunctaque divino ritui paria viderentur, ni parum dignis ad publica aditum concessisset. 21 Quae quamquam saepius accidere, tamen in summo ingenio atque optimis reipublicae moribus, quamvis parva vitia, elucent magis eoque notantur facile; quin etiam acrius saepe officiunt, cum ob auctoris decus in virtutes potissimum accipiuntur atque ad imitandum invitamento sunt. 22 Igitur confestim Dalmatius, incertum quo suasore, interficitur; statimque triennium post minimum maximumque fatali bello Constantinus cadit. 23 Qua Constans victoria tumidior, simul per aetatem cautus parum atque animi vehemens, adhuc ministrorum pravitate execrabilis atque praeceps in avaritiam despectumque militarium anno post triumphum decimo Magnentii scelere circumventus est externarum sane gentium compressis motibus. 24 Quarum obsides pretio quaesitos pueros venustiores quod cultius habuerat, libidine huiusmodi arsisse pro certo habetur. 25 Quae tamen vitia utinam mansissent! Namque Magnentii, utpote gentis barbarae, diro atrocique ingenio, simul his, quae post accidere, adeo extincta omnia sunt, ut illud imperium haud iniuria desideraretur; 26 tum quia Vetrano litterarum prorsus expertus et ingenio stolidior idcircoque agresti vecordia pessimus, cum per Illyrios peditum magisterio milites curaret, dominationem ortus Moesiae superioris locis squalidioribus improbe occupaverat.

42 1 Eum Constantius cis mensem decimum facundiae vi deiecit imperio in privatum otium removit. 2 Quae gloria post natum imperium soli processit eloquio clementiaque. 3 Nam cum magna parte utrimque exercitus convenissent, habita ad speciem iudicii contione, quod fere vix aut multo sanguine obtinendum erat, eloquentia patravit. 4 Quae res satis edocuit non modo domi, verum militiae quoque dicendi copiam praestare; qua demum vel ardua proclivius eo conficiuntur, si modestia atque integritate superet. 5 Quod maxime cognitum e nostro principe; quem tamen, quo minus statim in hostes alios ad Italiam contenderet, hiems aspera clausaeque Alpes tardavere. 6 Interim Romae corrupto vulgo, simul Magnentii odio Nepotianus, materna stirpe Flavio propinquus, caeso urbi praefecto armataque gladiatorum manu imperator fit. 7 Cuius stolidum ingenium adeo plebi Romanae patribusque exitio fuit, uti passim domus fora viae templaque cruore atque cadaveribus opplerentur bustorum modo. 8 Neque per eum tantum, verum etiam advolantibus Magnentianis, qui tricesimo die triduo minus hostem perculerant. 9 Sed iam antea cum externi motus suspectarentur, Magnentius fratri Decentio Gallias, Constantius Gallo, cuius nomen suo mutaverat, Orientem Caesaribus commiserant. 10 Ipsi inter se acrioribus proeliis per triennium congressi; ad extremum Constantius fugientem in Galliam persecutus vario ambos supplicio semet adegit interficere. 11 Et interea Iudaeorum seditio, qui Patricium nefarie in regni speciem sustulerant, oppressa. 12 Neque multo post ob saevitiam atque animum trucem Gallus Augusti iussu interiit. 13 Ita longo intervallo annum fere post septuagesimum relata ad unum cura reipublicae. 14 Quae recens quieta a civili trepidatione Silvano in imperium coacto tentari rursus occeperat. 15 Is namque Silvanus in Gallia ortus barbaris parentibus ordine militiae, simul a Magnentio ad Constantium transgressu pedestre ad magisterium adolescentior meruerat. 16 E quo cum altius per metum seu dementiam conscendisset, legionum, a quis praesidium speraverat, tumuitu octavum circa ac vicesimum diem trucidatus est. 17 Qua causa ne quid apud Gallos natura praecipites novaretur, praesertim Germanis pleraque earum partium populantibus Iulianum Caesarem cognatione acceptum sibi Transalpinis praefecit, isque nationes feras brevi subegit captis famosis regibus. 18 Quae quamquam vi eius, fortuna principis tamen et consilio accidere. 19 Quod adeo praestat, ut Tiberius Galeriusque subiecti aliis egregia pleraque, suo autem ductu atque auspicio minus paria experti sint. 20 At Iulius Constantius, annos tres atque viginti augustum imperium regens, cum externis motibus, modo civilibus exercetur, aegre ab armis abest. 21 Quis tyrannide tantorum depulsa sustentatoque interim Persarum impetu genti Sarmatarum

730 magno decore considens apud eos regem dedit. 22 Quod Gnaeum Pompeium in Tigrane
restituendo vixque paucos maiorum fecisse comperimus. 23 Placidus clemensque pro
negotio, litterarum ad elegantiam prudens atque orandi genere leni iocundoque;
laboris patiens ac destinandi sagittas mire promptus; cibi omnis libidinis atque
omnium cupidinum victor; cultu genitoris satis pius suique nimis custos; gnarus vita
bonorum principum reipublicae quietem regi. 24 Haec tanta tamque inclita tenue
studium probandis provinciarum ac militiae rectoribus, simul ministrorum parte maxima
absurdi mores, adhuc neglectus boni cuiusque foedavere. 25 Atque uti verum absolvam
735 brevi: ut imperatore ipso praeclarius, ita apparitorum plerisque magis atrox nihil.

SIXTH AURELII VICTORIS

BOOK OF THE CAESARIUS AURELII VICTORIS

740 ABBREVIATED HISTORY
from Augustus Octavianus, that is, from the end of Titus Livius, to the tenth
consulship of Constantius Augustus and the third of Julian Caesar.

745 34 1 But the soldiers of Claudius, whom the ruinous affairs almost against their
nature subject to right counsel, when they have seen all the afflictions, eagerly
approve and extol, men of patient labors and just and entirely devoted to the
republic,
2 since he renewed after a long interval the custom of the Decii.
3 For when he desired to drive out the Goths, whom long life had made exceedingly
750 strong and almost inhabited, it is revealed from the Sibylline books that the first
of the most extensive orders of victory was to be vowed.
4 And when he who seemed to be had offered himself, he showed that the office was
rather suited to himself, who was in reality the leader of the senate and of all.
5 Thus the barbarians were routed and driven out without any loss to the army, after
755 the emperor had given his life as a gift to the republic.
6 So much the safety of the citizens and a long memory of himself are dearer to the
good; which not only contribute to glory, but also to the happiness of posterity in a
certain way.
7 This indeed is why Constantius and Constantine and our emperors are more acceptable
760 to the soldiers than to their lust or to their hope of rewards.
8 Which made the victory more painful and harsh, since, as is the custom of subjects,
they are more eager to sin with impunity and defend their abandoned empires than to
defend their useful ones.

765 40 1 Therefore, when Constantius and Armentarius succeeded them, Severus and
Maximinus, the native Caesars of Illyricum, the former to Italy and the latter to the
lands which Jove had conquered.
2 Unable to tolerate this, Constantine, whose great and powerful mind had already
been stirred up by the ardor of command from his boyhood, devised a plan of flight,
770 and, in order to frustrate the pursuers, killed the public cattle wherever they had
gone, and reached Britain; For he was held by Galerius as a hostage under the pretext
of religion.
3 And it so happened that in the same days they were pressing Constantius' father or
relative to the last days of his life.
775 4 When he died, he seized power with the approval of all who were present.
5 Meanwhile, the populace and the praetorian troops in Rome confirmed Maxentius as
emperor, after his father Herculus had long since retracted.
6 When Armentarius heard this, he promptly ordered Severus Caesar, who happened to be
near the city, to take up arms against the enemy.
780 7 While he was marching around the walls, he was deserted by his men, whom Maxentius
had lured away with the lure of rewards, and, fleeing, he was besieged and died at
Ravenna.
8 Galerius, more furious at this, took counsel with Jovian, and created Licinius, an
old friend of his, Augustus; and leaving behind him the fortifications of Illyricum
785 and Thrace, he hastened to Rome.
9 There, while he was being separated from the siege, he departed for Italy, fearing
that he might be deserted by his soldiers, who had attacked the same road as his
superiors; and a little later he was consumed by a pestilential wound, when he had
made a land sufficiently suitable for the republic by cutting down immense forests
790 and by draining the lake Pelso into the Danube among the Pannonians.
10 In gratitude for which he called the province Valeria after his wife.
11 This man had a five-year reign, while Constantius had an annual one, although both

had indeed held the power of the Caesars for thirteen years.

795 12 Such were the benefits of a wonderful nature that if they proceeded from learned hearts and did not offend with insipidity, they would undoubtedly be considered the most important.

800 13 Wherefore it has been found that learning, elegance, and courtesy are especially necessary for princes, since without these the goods of nature are looked down upon as if they were unfit or even horrid, and in contrast to them they prepared eternal glory for Cyrus, king of the Persians.

14 But my memory has carried Constantine, although ready for other virtues, even to the stars, by the wishes of all.

805 15 And if he had set a limit to his generosity and ambition by these arts, especially since adult minds, having advanced in the pursuit of glory, would have fallen further into the opposite, he would not have been far from God.

16 When he found the city and Italy devastated, and the armies and two generals driven out or ransomed, he sought peace through Gaul for Maxentius.

810 17 At that time, Alexander, acting as prefect among the Carthaginians, had foolishly set his sights on domination, while he himself, being weak in age, more unkind than his rustic and Pannonian parents, had soldiers hastily recruited, and was scarcely able to hold a standard of arms.

18 Finally, Rufius Volusianus, the praetorian prefect sent by the tyrant with a very small number of cohorts, finished him off in a light fight with the military leaders.

815 19 After Maxentius had defeated him, he had ordered Carthage, the glory of the world, and at the same time the most beautiful city in Africa, to be laid waste and burned, a savage and inhuman man, and much more wicked in his lust.

820 20 Still fearful and weak-willed and foully inclined to idleness, he was so much the worse for weariness, that while his army was burning through Italy and scattered at Verona, he was no less careless in his usual pursuits, nor was he moved by the death of his father.

21 For Herculus, who was naturally more impotent, and at the same time feared the indolence of his son, had unwisely resumed the empire.

22 And when, under the guise of office, he bitterly tempted his son-in-law Constantine with cunning devices, he finally died justly.

825 23 But Maxentius, more cruel in nature, having advanced with great difficulty from the city to the red rock about nine thousand days, when, having been defeated in battle, he was fleeing and returning to Rome, he was intercepted by the ambushes which he had laid for the enemy at the Milvian Bridge, while crossing the Tiber in the sixth year of his tyranny.

830 24 At his death he was filled with incredible joy and gladness.

[?] born and the plebs rejoiced; whom he had so afflicted that he once agreed to the massacre of the common people by the praetorians, and was the first to force the fathers and the ploughmen to contribute money to the prodigal by the most wicked design of gifts.

835 25 In their hatred the praetorian legions and the aids more suitable to the factions than to the city of Rome were completely taken away, together with the arms and the use of military clothing.

26 Furthermore, all the works which he had magnificently constructed, the temple and basilica of the city, the fathers dedicated to the merits of Flavius.

840 27 By whom also afterwards the Circus Maximus was wonderfully decorated and the work established for washing was not much different from the others.

28 Statues in the most famous places, many of which are of gold or silver; then the priesthood was decreed throughout Africa to the Flavian race, and the town of Cirta, which had fallen during the siege of Alexander, was restored and adorned and given the name of Constantine.

845 29 Nothing is more acceptable to the expellers of tyrants, whose favor will ultimately be all the greater if they are modest and abstinent.

30 For human minds, frustrated by the hope of good, are more bitterly offended, when, after a change of the wicked ruler, the force of misfortunes remains.

850 41 1 While these things were taking place in Italy, Maximinus, after a two-year reign as Augustus, was driven to the East and perished at Tarsus by Licinius.

855 2 Thus the power of the Roman world was sought by two men, who, although they were connected to each other through Flavius' sister, who was married to Licinius, nevertheless, due to their different manners, were anxiously unable to agree for three years.

3 For in addition to his other great qualities, he possessed the thriftiness and that of a peasant only.

4 Finally, Constantine sheltered and received all his enemies while their honor and
860 fortunes remained, so pious that he was the first to abolish even the ancient and
most terrible punishment of the gallows and the breaking of the legs.
5 Hence he was regarded as a founder or a god. They did not even torture innocent and
noble philosophers in the servile manner.
6 Whom, indeed, having been driven out in various battles, since it seemed difficult
865 to completely overwhelm him, at the same time, out of kinship, a partnership was
renewed and the common empire of the Caesars was taken by the sons of Crispus and
Constantine, born to Flavius, and Licinianus to Licinius.
7 Which, indeed, would hardly last long, nor was it revealed to those who assumed it,
that it would be happy, by the failure of the sun, which was fouled in the same
870 months.
8 Therefore, six years later, when peace was broken with the Thracians, Licinius,
driven out, made way for Chalcedon.
9 There, having co-opted Martinianus into the empire to his aid, he was oppressed
together.
875 10 In this way the republic began to be governed by one will, the sons of the Caesars
retaining different names: for at that time our emperor Constantius was given the
insignia of Caesar.
11 When the eldest son, for some unknown reason, had killed them by his father's
judgment, Calocerus, the master of the camel herd, had suddenly seized the island of
880 Cyprus, mad with the appearance of a kingdom.
12 Having tortured him, as was fitting, in the manner of a servile or a robber, he
devoted his great spirit to the founding of a city and the formation of religions, at
the same time renewing the order of the army.
13 And in the meantime the nations of the Goths and Sarmatians were destroyed, and
885 the youngest son of all, named Constans, became Caesar.
14 By whose grace the republic was to be united in a strange way; for on the night
which followed the day of his assumption of power, the face of the sky was
immediately blazing with fire.
15 After this, having almost two-thirds of his brother's son, whom he named Dalmatia
890 after his father, was killed, he ordered Caesar, with the soldiers standing firm.
16 Thus in the thirty-second year of his reign, when he had held the whole world for
thirteen years, and was sixty-two years old, heading for the Persians, from whom he
had begun to break out into war, he departed for the country near Nicomedia (they
call it Achyrona), when that dreadful star which they call the Hairy Star had
895 foretold the kingdoms.
17 The funeral was carried to the city of his own name. Which indeed the Roman people
bore most painfully, since by whose arms and laws the city of Rome was thought to
have been renewed by the clement government.
18 A bridge across the Danube; camps and castles conveniently placed in several
900 places.
19 The extra supplies of oil and wheat, by which Tripoli and Nicaea were more
bitterly afflicted, were removed.
20 The citizens who had been grateful to the government of Severus had offered them,
and the dissimulation of their posterity had turned the gratitude with gifts into the
905 ruin of their posterity. Others Marcus Boionius had afflicted with fines, because
they had not known that Hipparchus was a native of the city, with his excellent
genius. Fiscal annoyances were more severely pressed, and all would have seemed equal
to the divine rite, had he not granted access to the public to those who were not
worthy.
910 21 Which, although they occur more frequently, nevertheless in the highest genius and
best morals of the republic, even though they are small faults, shine more brightly
and are therefore easily noted; nay, they often even more sharply offend, since, due
to the glory of the author, they are especially accepted as virtues and are an
invitation to be imitated.
915 22 Therefore Dalmatius was immediately killed, at whose instigation it is uncertain;
and immediately three years later Constantine fell in a fatal war, at least at the
greatest.
23 Constans, more proud of this victory, at the same time a little cautious in his
age and vehement in his spirit, still execrable by the wickedness of his ministers
920 and prone to avarice and contempt for the military, was surrounded by the crime of
Magnentius, in the tenth year after his triumph, and the movements of foreign nations
were suppressed.
24 Of these hostages, having been bought for a price, the more handsome boys than the
??

- 925 25 But if only these vices had remained! For Magnentius, as a barbarian nation, was
so completely destroyed by his terrible and cruel nature, and by what happened
afterwards, that that empire was not unjustly desired;
- 26 and because he was completely unlettered and more foolish than Vetranus, and
therefore the worst of the rustic follies, while he was leading soldiers as a foot
930 soldier through the Illyrians, he had wickedly seized the dominion of the upper
Moesia, which was born of the Illyrians.
- 42 1 Constantius, having thrown him out of power in the tenth month, removed him from
power into private leisure.
- 935 2 Which glory, after the birth of the empire, came only from his eloquence and
clemency.
- 3 For when a large part of the armies on both sides had assembled, he held a
semblance of a trial, which was to be obtained with almost no difficulty or much
blood, and he performed his eloquence.
- 940 4 Which event sufficiently taught him that he should not only at home but also in the
army be able to speak; which at last even steep slopes are made more difficult, if he
prevails with modesty and integrity.
- 5 This was most well known from our prince; whom, however, the harsh winter and the
closed Alps delayed, lest he should immediately rush to Italy against other enemies.
- 945 6 Meanwhile, in Rome, the common people being corrupted, and at the same time the
hatred of Magnentius, Nepotianus, a relative of Flavius on his mother's side, having
slain the prefect of the city and armed with the hand of gladiators, became emperor.
- 7 His foolish wit was such a ruin to the Roman people and patricians, that everywhere
houses, fora, streets and temples were filled with blood and corpses, in the manner
950 of busts.
- 8 And not only by him, but also by the arrival of the Magnentians, who on the
thirtieth day had beaten the enemy in less than three days.
- 9 But already before, when external movements were suspected, Magnentius had
entrusted Gaul to his brother Decentius, and Constantius to Gallus, whose name he had
955 changed to his own, had entrusted the East to the Caesars.
- 10 They fought each other in fierce battles for three years; At length Constantius,
pursuing the fugitive into Gaul, forced both men to put him to death by various
tortures.
- 11 And in the meantime the Jewish rebellion, which had wickedly raised Patricius to
the semblance of kingship, was suppressed.
- 960 12 Not long afterwards, the Gaul died by order of Augustus, for his cruelty and cruel
spirit.
- 13 Thus, after a long interval of about a year, after his seventieth year, the care
of the republic was brought back to one man.
- 965 14 Which, having recently calmed down from civil unrest, had begun to be tested again
by the imposition of Silvanus on the throne.
- 15 For Silvanus, born in Gaul of barbarian parents, had at the same time earned the
rank of general by passing from Magnentius to Constantius on foot as a youth.
- 16 From which, when he had ascended higher through fear or madness, he was massacred
970 about the twentieth day by a tumult of the legions from whom he had hoped for
protection.
- 17 For this reason, lest anything should be changed among the Gauls by nature,
especially the Germans, who were ravaging most of their parts, he appointed Julian
Caesar, whom he had adopted as his relative, as governor of Transalpine, and he
975 quickly subdued the savage nations, capturing famous kings.
- 18 Which, although it was due to his strength, nevertheless happened by the prince's
fortune and counsel.
- 19 Which is so remarkable that Tiberius and Galerius, his subjects, experienced many
excellent things in others, but less so under his own leadership and auspices.
- 980 20 But Julius Constantius, who had ruled the august empire for twenty-three years,
was exercised only by civil affairs, despite external disturbances, and was reluctant
to be absent from arms.
- 21 Who, having driven out the tyranny of so many and meanwhile sustained the
onslaught of the Persians, gave the nation of the Sarmatians a king with great
985 dignity, sitting among them.
- 22 Which we find that Gnaeus Pompey, in restoring Tigranes, did scarcely a few of his
predecessors do.
- 23 Placid and merciful in business, prudent in elegance of letters, and gentle and
pleasant in manner of oratory; patient in labor and wonderfully quick in aiming
990 arrows; conqueror of all lusts and desires; sufficiently pious in the worship of his

father and exceedingly devout in his own; knowing the life of good princes to rule the peace of the republic.

24 These great and illustrious efforts to prove the governors of the provinces and the army, together with the absurd manners of the majority of the ministers, have so far disgraced the good of each, neglected.

25 And as is true, I will briefly conclude: as for the emperor himself, nothing is more illustrious, so for most of his attendants nothing is more atrocious.

Biography of Johannes Apollonius Ort.

"Look, there you have a piece of Roman road".

"How do you see that"?

Explanation followed. About 25 years ago I got to know an archaeologist in the cavalry captain Ort during a horseback riding tour that we made in the vicinity of Breda, where we both worked as teachers - he also as head of education for the cavalry weapon - at the Royal Military Academy.

Some time later he gave me the opportunity to view his treasures - his urns, his crockery, his coins - in his house.

When I now venture, as a result of that closer acquaintance at that time, which continued in later years, and mainly also in response to the urging in this matter of his widow, to comply with the honourable request of the board of our Society, to write an obituary of the deceased Colonel Ort, then I must first confess that it is not possible for me, as a non-expert, to place his merits as an archaeological researcher in the true light. I will therefore limit myself to the statements and information, mainly provided to me by his widow and to a few notes concerning the writings published by him.

Johannes Apollonius Ort was born in Woudrichem on 2 May 1842 as the eldest son of the fairly large family of doctor W.F. Ort and Miss S.G. Hanegraaff. He received his first education there at the regular primary school until he was 12, enjoyed his further education at the then so favourably known boarding school of Mr. Kattenbusch in Gorinchem and then at the Royal Military Academy in Breda. On 22 June 1861, at the age of 19, he was appointed 2nd lieutenant in the 5th dragoon regiment. His clear intellect, his gift of communication, his more than usual cheerfulness, his independent, yet compliant character, his good military qualities - although at the time he could express his disapproval of existing conditions or measures taken in a rather noisy manner - soon made him stand out to his superiors as an officer who could and should be considered for special services. Thus, in 1870-1872 he was a teacher of military subjects at the main course of the cavalry in Haarlem; from 1874 to 1877, in which last year he was appointed captain, he held the position of 1st lieutenant-adjutant with the 2nd hussar regiment; in 1879 he was charged as captain-instructor with the training of horses and the education of recruits with his regiment; from 1880 to 1887 he was head of education in cavalry subjects and in horse riding at the Royal Military Academy.

As a senior officer he was later regularly appointed to take a seat on the committee for the officer examination of cadets; and when his turn came for a regimental command, and they wanted to retain the then instructor at the riding school, as particularly suitable for that, as a colonel in that position, the main board showed him the appreciation of his merits in his appointment as colonel, above the formation (on a lieutenant-colonel salary), a distinction that has not been granted to anyone since. After four years in command of the 1st Hussar Regiment in Deventer, he was retired in April 1899.

Already in his childhood he had shown his spirit of inquiry in diligent reading and collecting old objects. The course of study at the Academy at that time was not very suitable to keep that spirit alive; and the young, cheerful cavalry officer, who had broken free with so many others from the oppressive bonds with which the outdated educational system in Breda kept the cadets in line, initially found too much taste in the free social life, among jolly comrades, for him to have thought of devoting himself to study right away. In all respects to be the carefree - if necessary daring - cavalryman - his illusions did not go any further in those years. In 1870, when he became a teacher at the course in Haarlem, the books had to be brought out, and in 1874, again in garrison in Venlo, a military assignment, as it were, automatically indicated to him the direction in which he would further develop himself in the scientific field. In all garrisons, the officers had to make maps of the garrison town and its surroundings on a scale of 1/8000. Ort was to do this in Venlo. In

completing this task, his dormant spirit of inquiry revived. The terrain, which was already so familiar to him from his horseback rides, now had to be examined even more accurately. Inquiries had to be made with the inhabitants of the country and
1060 heathland; information was given to him about hills and old ramparts, which, by their regular construction, were already
had attracted his attention; finds were shown to him of old bronze objects, of old vessels or fragments thereof, of urns, of coins; old burial places were pointed out to him... His mind had found what - besides his military duties - would occupy and
1065 fascinate him for the rest of his life. The map was drawn, but the terrain remained his field of research. Wherever he went later - and cavalry officers often change garrisons - the perimeter was traversed, recorded with a searching eye, excavations were made there and everything he found and learned in the field of archaeology was finally carefully recorded.

At the beginning of his research in Venlo he met a foreman of the Venlo-Boxteler railway Frans Deserière, who seemed to know him so well that he suggested that they do research together from now on 1. The amount of help he must have had from this simple workman is best shown by the statement in one of his writings that Dr. W. Pleyte, the well-known curator (later director) of the National Museum of Antiquities
1075 in Leiden, testified in a report to his director about Deserière: "One of the subordinate persons, a foreman on the Venlo-Boxteler railway, is one of the most developed persons in the field of archaeological research in this region. He uses all his spare time for the investigation of the various antiquities and is very skilled and careful in excavating urns and other objects. It would be desirable if this
1080 person F.D. could be retained for such matters for the benefit of the ancient history of Limburg". With this "expert" Ort successively investigated the villages of Blerick, Grubbenvorst, Lottum, Tienraay, Meerloo, Baerlo, Kessel and many others, as well as the Jammerdaalsche heath near Venlo, where they were able to enjoy good results.

After his marriage in October 1876 to Helena Catharina Grobbee, she was often his faithful companion in his investigations. Completely sympathetic to her husband's amateur studies, she accompanied him on his walks and excursions, she was present at his excavations; while afterwards she followed his combinations or conclusions with regard to the information obtained and the discoveries made with participating
1090 attention, and co-considered them. When Ort was transferred to Deventer as a captain in 1877, he had already amassed a considerable collection of urns, jugs, coins, etc. in Limburg, in addition to the many with which he had enriched the museum in Leiden. In 1879 he came to Leiden in garrison. "There I was soon able to enjoy the friendship of Messrs. Dr. C. Leemans, director of and Dr. W. Pleyte, curator of the National
1095 Museum of Antiquities. They gave me the requested information with the most courtesy and also showed me the way to give a more scientific direction to the research that we continued. A large number of writings, including the Bonner Jahrbücher and the Publications du Limbourg, which I received for reading, explained to me many things that I had noticed but not thoroughly understood. I made notes during this study, as soon as it concerned locations in Limburg or near the Dutch borders and drew a map at
1100 1/50,000 of the region between Nijmegen, Birten, Aachen and Tongres, on which I placed the Roman roads and a coloured sign at each find location, to indicate to which period the found objects belonged, all this however only for my own use... it made me decide to prepare the notes and the map for the press. Dr. Leemans and Dr. Pleyte have considerably lightened my work through their help and I hereby openly
1105 express my sincere thanks to both gentlemen for this". He had opened up a new field of work. The investigations along fields and roads would be processed in the quiet study or in the living room. While Ort was working on this, his main work, his first little book saw the light of day in 1882: "Places in the municipality of Blerick (Limburg), where prehistoric, Germanic and Roman objects have
1110 been found 1". In the Publications de la Société d'archéologie dans le duché de Limbourg, Tome XVIII, the learned national archivist of Limburg Jos. Habets had described the Roman road from Tongeren to Nijmegen along the left bank of the Maas and the sites of
1115 Roman, Germanic and Frankish antiquities in the vicinity of that road. Among other things, it was mentioned that excavations had taken place at the Römerheide in Blerick at the time with the aim of searching for hidden treasures in that municipality, and that even officers from Venlo had participated in them. He had hardly read this when Ort took up his pen: "I consider myself called, but also
1120 qualified, to bring some more precise information about one thing and another, but mainly about that fact". And between the statements of the various finds and locations, he tells how in 1874 he found several people digging in different places

on the heath, who told him that they were looking for a treasure that was supposedly hidden in a beautiful, red, earthen pot with a lid; they knew this from a pastor.
1125 "There went on for me" (in connection with other circumstances) - he writes - "a light went on; the pastor of Ittervoort, who had searched in vain for the Roman settlement at Blerick, now hoped, without cost and effort, to find that settlement by having the farmers search for him; he had therefore given them the description of a Roman pot of terra sigillata. I brought this to the attention of those people, who
1130 immediately stopped searching". He concludes the booklet with the words: "I have hereby given the further information that I promised, and have cleared the Venlo garrison, as well as that good team leader Frans Deserière, of the blame cast upon them".

Two years later, in 1884, his above-mentioned work appeared: "Oude wegen en
1135 landwehren in Limburg en bureen gewesten", which can be regarded as a supplement to Pleyte's "Nederlandsche Oudheden van de Vroegste tijden tot op Karel den Groote", in which Limburg and Brabant are not discussed. In this work, the Roman and other old roads are described that are located north of the Rhine, between the Lippe and the Dutch borders, between the Rhine and the Maas and on the left bank of the Maas, as
1140 well as the landwehrs in those regions. The scientific manner of treatment is particularly evident from the preceding thirty pages of notes concerning: the Roman roads in general; distribution of roads to their destination; road construction; direction of roads; tracing of roads; road measurements in the Roman Empire; about the map of Peutinger and the travel book of Antoninus; course of the lower Rhine and the Waal in Roman times; canals and dikes. And it certainly benefits the work that a
1145 skilled military man chose this subject for treatment. Even more than the great highways, also built in our country on Napoleon's orders, the Roman roads are mainly military roads; and so the details, for example of direction and construction, will probably have been more accurately appreciated by an eye trained in military terms
1150 than those would have been noticed by a less expert.

Be that as it may, the work went out into the world with the following highly favourable preface by Leemans and Pleyte: 'A book like this needs no recommendation. Compiled diligently and with judgment from widely scattered data, supplemented by own
1155 research, the work is a first source for anyone who wants to continue this research and is interested in the history of his country. It is an introduction to the study of antiquity for the whole of the Netherlands, not yet treated from this point of view.

"May it receive the interest it deserves and which will make it possible for the second part with the designed archaeological map to appear".
1160 How many are there in the Netherlands who buy a work on Roman roads in Limburg? The answer to that question will also explain why the wish expressed in the last part of this preface could not be fulfilled. Ort had imagined that this first work would be followed by a second work, "consisting of an alphabetical glossary of the locations with a more or less accurate description of what was found and of the location
1165 itself" and later by an archaeological map, made at 1/50000, which has already been mentioned above. They have not appeared. This must have disappointed him, the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde offered him its membership shortly afterwards (1886), which must have been proof to him that his work had attracted more attention than the publisher thought he could establish.

1170 The previous year he had submitted a piece entitled: "Der Römerort Sablones" as a contribution to the work that Dr. Leemans, as an archaeologist, was offered on his 50th anniversary, which place according to him had to be sought on the Jammerdaalsche heath.

At the beginning of the nineties we find Major Ort in 's-Hertogenbosch. There too he
1175 would leave the traces of his tireless activity, of his ever more extensive research into everything that relates to the history of the Old Netherlands. In the winter of 1891/92 he arranged and catalogued the collection of antiquities in the museum of the Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences, for which the board of this society presented him with a certificate with a silver medal in recognition of services a
1180 coin minted in the name of the person offered as a gift.

The printed "Proceedings" of this society for the years 1891-93 still preserve a lecture by Ort, given at the general meeting of 10 November 1892 (or 1891?). He would have liked to have provided a critical review of the region we inhabit, with regard
1185 to the various peoples who were housed here in ancient times, in connection with the objects found from those times, the land defences that separated the tribes and their traffic routes.

"However, it has not been possible for me, as I was only in garrison here for a short time and the hours that my professional activities left me free to devote to

1190 antiquities were too few, to achieve such a result; but what is not yet the case, I hope will one day be the case". These last words are characteristic of the persistent amateur worker: what we cannot do today, we will do tomorrow. That evening he limited himself to showing the members of the society some antiquities from the museum, to describe them in all their details, and to investigate in connection with the finds and local conditions what conclusions could be drawn from them with regard to times
1195 long past.

Wherever he went to garrison, he continued his research, and in this way he gradually collected a wealth of data. One thing had to lead to another. "It is an introduction to the study of antiquity for the whole of the Netherlands", Leemans and Pleyte had said of his "Old roads and land defences in Limburg". In this way he had to come to
1200 that study of antiquity by himself; and so after his retirement in 1899 his "Architectural notes, mostly relating to the Netherlands and its inhabitants" were successively printed. In five larger and smaller episodes 1 were discussed in 340 pages:

I. a. The confluence of the Maas and Waal during Julius Caesar.

1205 b. Caesar's campaign against the Usipetes and Tencteri.

II. c. The Marsi and their land.

III. d. Oldenzaal during the Salian Franks.

e. Crhepstini 2.

IV. f. The Germanic God Mars.

1210 V. g. The Roman left-bank roads in the Batavian country.

Anyone who works through these studies will understand how much work and thought underlie them. For what is offered to us here is not copying. Far from it; the oldest sources are climbed. First the Greek and Roman writers are consulted, then it is
1215 investigated what well-known historians have thought they read from those stories, which leave so much to be desired in terms of clarity; and in the chaotic confusion, which will then have occurred to his mind more than once, light first comes to him in his walks, his astute observations in the terrain, to which the described actions or situations relate. There he lets the roads, the woods, the houses, the cemeteries,
1220 the old monuments, the stones speak to him, and he understands their language; there he listens with tense attention to the stories of the still undeveloped, superstitious country dwellers, preferably of the oldest among them, who tell him of the white women, of the cabauters, of the werewolves, of the gray foal, of 'the Gluininge' from whose eyes, nose and mouth fire spouts, and which they themselves
1225 have seen. All this is accurately recorded, carefully considered, linked together, checked on the oldest maps and only then is an own opinion developed, often deviating from what experts had hitherto accepted as the truth, or had copied from others.

Whoever works in this way has earned the right to be called an antiquarian.

A single example. In order to determine the place of residence of the Marsi, we begin
1230 with the communication of what Strabo and Tacitus have handed down to us about that people, "whom we know, under that name, only through the description of the campaigns of Germanicus, in the years 14, 15 and 16 AD". Then the opinion of some thirty German and Dutch historians is mentioned, whose statements about that place of residence vary between Texel and Holstein, between Friesland and the Lahn.

1235 Since "the attack of Germanicus in the autumn of 14 AD. teaches us that the Marsi must have lived in such a region that the Bructeri, Tubantes and Usipetes had the opportunity to gather in a short time between the Rhine and the Roman army that retreated from the Marsi country to that river", it is then considered necessary to first set up an investigation into the places of residence of these three tribes,
1240 'whereby the years in which this history took place should not be lost sight of'. And when the conclusion is then drawn: 'the only region where - according to my view - the Marsi could have lived and which meets all the requirements that the historical story of Tacitus can be stated, is the province of Overijssel' - then it is still 'to make this as clear as possible, necessary to examine not only this country itself,
1245 but also that between its southern borders and the Rhine, from an archaeological point of view'. In this way, the landwehrs and the old roads in those regions are examined on the map and on the terrain, after which the journey of Germanicus in the year 14 can be followed without any difficulty. As a further indication, it is then given: 'From all that has been stated above, it appears that the area of the Marsen

1250 must have been located north of the Hallerlandweer (municipality of Zelhem) and at about one day's march distance from it'. However, our researcher is not yet satisfied with this. At the beginning of his study, the assumption is made that the name Marsen could have been derived from the land they inhabited, from the marsen, low-lying places or hollows on the heath, which are filled with water and around which a narrow

1255 strip of grass grows, or from marschgrond, low-lying marshy and rich land, which in the Middle Ages was often called mersch; while in the story of Tacitus it appears that the highly venerated sanctuary (of) Tanfanae (in the Marsenland) was razed to the ground. He therefore believes that the soil name "Mars" and an old tradition about the place where the temple (of) Tanfanae stood, can provide further indications

1260 about the borders of the then Marsenland, and therefore mentions all the places in Overijssel and Drente in or where the word mars occurs, which is frequently the case there, in order to determine approximately the extent of the old Marsenland. He is not yet able to say with certainty where the temple (of) Tanfanae once stood. A legend places it on Tankenberg near Oldenzaal, certainly the oldest city in the

1265 Marsen and Tubantenland. He will discuss this in a subsequent note. The following note: "Oldenzaal during the Salian Franks and the old court places, names of farms and traditions in the Marken Berghuisen and de Lutte" (published in 1901), is the most extensive (200 pages) and gives, in the various walks along roads and neighbourhoods outside Oldenzaal, especially to a layman, a correct idea of the way

1270 in which an antiquarian is able to draw his conclusions from everything he encounters on his way, from the simple names of farms. Here too, a few selections. "Three kilometres south of Oldenzaal" - as we read on p. 153 - "the arterial road to Enschede is intersected by a stream, which rises approximately at the farm Ulenkotte, located to the east of that road, in the elfter lescap of the marke der Lutte".

1275 (p. 156) "The Ulenkotte is associated with the night owl. That bird has a predictive power; through its plaintive sound it indicates the approach of death, it is a bird of misfortune and in the wild hunt, which is led by Wodan or Holda, two owls sometimes fly in front". (p. 157) "From this circumstance I deduced that there had to be a burial ground at the Ulenkotte. I actually found burial mounds, a few

1280 hundred meters behind the Kotte, behind the nearby Christmas House...." As promised, the author returns in this note to the expression used by Tacitus: "templum quod Tanfanae vocabant", and gives an extensive explanation of why he does not, like Van der Aa and Weeling, Grimm and Van den Bergh, believe in a goddess Tanfanae, but is of the opinion that Tacitus should have written "Tancfanae", which would have the

1285 meaning of "sacred place of justice"; that furthermore the dolmens on Tancenberg (near Oldenzaal) together formed the templum Tancfanae, and that these dolmens were razed to the ground by the Romans in the year 14. In the following study "The Germanic God Mars" he is designated as the deity who represented the Right in the templum Tancfanae and also as the ancestor and legislator of the Marses, which means

1290 that a derivation of that popular name from marsch- or marsland must be dropped. In the fifth or last part of the notes (published in 1904), pending the necessary steps being taken by private individuals or the government, a preliminary investigation is conducted into the Roman left-bank roads in the Batavian country, about which we read the complaint at the beginning: "There has never been a regular investigation into

1295 the Roman roads in the Netherlands; I even doubt whether an attempt has been made to follow the trail that was found of them at Kesteren. - In Germany, both the public and the government are more interested in such matters, as has often been apparent to me personally". Ort has done his part to fill that gap. Before the appearance of this last part he had thought he could say a few words on an old controversial issue.

1300 must also speak. My learned friend Prof. Blok had given a lecture on the ancient history of the Academy City on 22 January 1903 at the first meeting of the Association "Oud-Leiden", and as a result of his research, he had stated, among other things, that the city had no right to call itself Lugdunum.

Ort had also been in garrison in Leiden, and of course - one might say - he had

1305 included this point of contention in the circle of his research. Already in March of that year his "Lugdunum" appeared in print, in which he, after an argument of 20 pages, concluded:

1. According to the road measurements given by the Roman geographers, there used to be a place called Lugdunum within the present city of Leiden.

1310 2. This place name means court place on a dune. 3. This courthouse, located on and near the Pieterskerkhof, was still in use in the Middle Ages for the count's court. The local organization of it and the place names there and there undoubtedly point back to the old Germanic situation.

Oud-Leiden can therefore be quiet, It was and remains Lugduno-heim'.

1315 An interesting battle between the professional historian and the amateur archaeologist!

In the first yearbook of Oud-Leiden (1904) Prof. Blok gave, as promised, the elaboration of his notes in a piece, with the heading 'Lugdunum Batavorum', in which he maintained his opinion, expressed in the lecture held earlier, against Ort's view,

1320 while an extract from Ort's brochure 'Lugdunum' followed as a second piece. The

grounds, put forward by the latter - mainly derived from the local location according to the Peutinger table and the travel book of Antoninus, as well as from the meaning of the word Lugdunum - were weighed in the first part and found wanting; attention was drawn to (alleged) errors; and finally - with somewhat too great certainty of being right - 'after this digression on the assertions and assumptions in the brochure of Mr. Ort, with gratitude for the good intention thereof, farewell'. But Ort was not the man to let himself or his brochure be farewelled in this way. If he had dared to enter the arena against a professor of history, it was because he had the firm conviction that his opinion was the correct one, and after he had previously examined the matter from all sides. In den Nederlandsche Spectator 1904 Nos. 10 and 16 he also provided the proof that his armour was more solid than his opponent had thought, and that it was not so easy to find its weak points. In that refutation especially Ort's solid knowledge, his originality, and even his personality come to the fore. Those who knew him hear him with the somewhat screeching voice that was sometimes characteristic of him, and putting the emphasis on every word, utter the sentence before he wrote it down: 'Do you understand now, Professor, why I want nothing to do with that god Lug 1 in my determination of Lugdunum?' He concluded his reply with the communication of a letter he had received from Mr. Espérandieu in Paris, dd. 15 August 1903, in which, among other things, 'Dans le prochain numéro de la Revue que je dirige 2, vous trouverez un petit compte rendu de la brochure Lugdunum. By the way, the conclusions are not sufficiently accepted by all the world: the language of the language is obscure, the opinions are based on the legal basis and the legal requirements, and the permissions are accepted. The new ideas are to express certain aspects of the beauty of the environment and to inform the reader.

Prof. Blok has left Ort the last word. I will wait to make a decision to whom the palm of victory should be awarded in this matter; but I believe that Ort's activity in the field of antiquity has been communicated in the above, insofar as he has given it expression to the outside world. His writings show evidence of sound study, a sharp ability to combine and above all of fresh originality. The writer follows his own path. He does take note of what others before him have said about the subject to be treated, but he does not let himself be led by any of them, and does not shy away from drawing conclusions that conflict with what renowned antiquities had proclaimed as established. It is therefore understandable that his insights will not be accepted by everyone as 'the truth', especially where it concerns actions and situations that have to be exposed from obscure stories from twenty centuries ago. However, he never lacks grounds for what he asserts; sometimes he is even overwhelming with them, which makes reading his writings somewhat tiresome, which certainly cannot be classified as light reading. But he did not intend to provide them either. And it was no light task for him to make that to collect. He had to first study Latin, Greek, yes even Celtic and old Germanic; he had to acquire knowledge of Roman, Greek and Norse theology and mythology; he appears to be familiar with old Germanic and old Dutch legends and traditions, with folklore. Only his sharp eye for the terrain is connected with his military, especially cavalry work, for which he was trained from an early age. He had to learn the rest himself, helped along by a few good friends, among whom especially Dr. M.E. Houck in Deventer; while he corresponded several times about Celtic expressions or obscurities with Messrs. Espérandieu in Paris and Mr. C.A. Serrure in Brussels, the latter (since deceased) came to visit him several times. Only friends and acquaintances know about his work in the field of numismatics. Both through his researches in the vicinity of his various garrison towns, and through his foreign journeys to Trier, Constantz, Badenweiler, etc., during which he naturally did not neglect to become acquainted with everything that was worth seeing in the field of antiquity, he gradually acquired an extensive collection not only of Roman and Germanic weapons, tools, urns, jars, jugs, etc., but also (both through finds and purchases) of mainly Roman consular and imperial coins to a number of ± 2000 varieties. He judiciously compiled a catalogue of these, following the classification of the well-known works of Cohen: "Description générale des monnaies de la république romaine, communément appelées médailles consulaires. Paris chez M. Rollin 1857", and "Historical description of coins struck under the Roman Empire, together with appeals for imperial medals. Paris chez M. Rollin 1859". The oldest of the collection are 3 coins from Campania (minted 268 BC); one of the most important is a denarius of P. Lucinius Stolo, minted 17 BC and originating from the collection of Dr. Phil. Paul Becker, Director of the Lyceum Richelieu in Odessa; of Vitellius there are 3 denarius and 2 medium bronze, one of the first found in Tiel - coins that are relatively rare, because that emperor reigned for less than eight months. There are several coins among them that have been found in our country, such as in Nijmegen, in the vicinity

- of Gorinchem, between Woudrichem and Almkerk, in Lusseike outside Venlo, in the Maas in Andel, etc. Three are listed in the catalogue, as found in Leiden: a medium bronze of Nero, a medium bronze of Trajan, and a large bronze of Marcus Aurelius. The entire collection - so an expert assured me - appears to have been put together with great knowledge and care. It will be sold in Amsterdam by Mr. Schulman. The collection of Germanic and Roman antiquities will remain together and will find its place in the antiquity room in Oldenzaal, founded by Mr. P.J. Gelderman, to whose establishment Ort largely gave the impetus, and whose expansion was always followed by him with interest. Until his death he continued to devote himself to his hobby studies. After his retirement, having settled in The Hague, he could not help but feel attracted to the association "die Haghe", of which he became a member and board member. He had intended to give a lecture at one of the meetings of that association, in order to prepare the excavations at Arendsburg under Voorburg (the old Forum Hadriani), and they would probably have started under his leadership in the spring; but a short illness suddenly ended his working life on 8 February 1908. Through his colleagues in the field of archaeology, but no less through his many friends and acquaintances, also from non-military circles, the warm-hearted, always cheerful former colonel will not soon be forgotten. What he was to his dearly loving wife, only she knows, and it will be her greatest comfort to continue to think back on that. His merits were recognized by the Government in his appointment as an officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau; while he was, besides our Society, also a member of the Frisian Society of History, Antiquity and Linguistics, of "Gelre", Association for the practice of Gelderland history, antiquity and law, of the Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences in North Brabant, of the Bonner Verein, as well as associate foreigner of the Société numismatique de la Belgique. G.J.W. Koolemans Beijnen. 1 The former foreman still lives in Blerick near Venlo. 1 From his introduction: Old roads and landwehrs in Limburg and adjacent regions. Leiden, E.J. Brill. 1884. 1 Roermond, J.J. Romen and Sons. 1882. 1 Published separately as an offprint in 1894 at 's-Hertogenbosch at the Gebroeders Muller.
- 1 The first appeared at Deventer at the Deventer book and lithography office, the others in The Hague at the Gebroeders van Cleef.
- 2 A word, occurring on the Dutch part of the Peutinger table or world map of Castorius, which is explained by Ort with 'tombstones'.
- 1 Prof. Blok thought he had to explain the word Lugdunum from Celtic, in which language according to some the word Lug would indicate a well-known deity. Ort explained the word from Germanic.
- 2 Revue épigraphique du midi de la France.
- ??? to be allowed to say, that it is a privilege for those who are interested in the dispute, that they were able to witness the battle between two such powerful champions.
- April 11, 1884 [...] TOOK OVER: From the captain of the cavalry J. A. ORT:
- Baked earth. Large urn, with wide belly, small bottom, wide opening; with burnt human bones and a piece of bronze wire. Height 33, medium 25 cm. Found between Rooth and Dubbroek, near Maasbree (Limburg).
- Small pot with flat bottom and wide opening, decorated with notches on the edge. Height 3.2, medium 6 cm.
- Urn, with upright wall and, slightly curved inwards, edge decorated with impressions. Height 18, medium 15.5 cm. From the heath of the Jammerdal near Venlo.
- Urn, with wide belly and opening. Height 21.5, medium 19 cm. Found as furrows. - Part of an urn, like the previous one, decorated with impressed circles. Found as furrows.
- Dish, smooth, shiny with flat bottom, having served as a lid for the previous pot. Height 7, medium 22 cm. Found as furrows.
- Urn, rough work, with flat bottom, very wide belly and narrow opening. Height 20.5, medium 16 cm. Found at Schandeloo on the Ossenbergh.
- Urn, rough work, with wide belly and upright edge. Partly filled with bones. Height 23, medium 18.5 cm. Found at the Reumer near St. Jan, under Blerick (Limburg).
- Very large urn with flat bottom, spherical belly, small, upright, edge decorated with nail impressions. Height 30, medium, 22 cm. Found on the Reumer near Blerick.
- Bowl of glossy black, with flat bottom and standing edge, having served as a lid for the urn. Height 9, medium 20 cm.
- Urn, with flat bottom and wide opening, two protrusions on the belly. Height 20, medium 18.5 cm. Found on the Reumer, near Blerick.
- Large urn glossy black, with small bottom, wide belly, wide opening and standing edge. Height 24, medium 20 cm. Found on the Heldensche heath (Limburg).

- Part of the edge and belly of a small jar with one ear, found in the previous urn.
- Two tapering jars, with narrow belly and wide opening, the edge decorated with nail impressions. Height 26 and 26, medium 22 and 21 cm. Found in Swolgen (Limburg).
- Urn, roughly worked, the hand-forming visible on the outside, the edge with nail impressions. Height 24, medium 20.5 cm. Found as furrows.
- Roughly worked and poorly baked urn, with burnt bones. Height 24, medium 22.5 cm. Found at the Wienkelder in Grubbenvorst (Limburg).
- Urn of finer earth and harder baking with small flat bolem, wide belly, wide opening and standing edge. Height 17, medium 20 cm. Found in Grubbenvorst (Limburg).
- Small compressed pot, with wide belly and wide opening. Height 6, medium 7 cm. Found in the previous urn. - Parts of the belly and edge of a very rough urn, the edge had notches. Medium 16 cm. Found south of Middelraai under Grubbenvorst.
- Pot, red. Height 8, medium 8 cm. Found in the Kaldenbroek in Grubbenvorst.
- Urn, shiny on the outside, with small flat bottom, wide opening and standing edge, with burnt bones. Height 18, medium 19 cm. Found on the old castle Rinkesfort under Baerlo (Limburg).
- Dish provided with a projection on the side; lid of the previous urn. Medium 22 cm.
- Pot with convex bottom and narrow opening. Height 3.5, medium 3 cm. Found in the previous urn
- Bronze - Part of a decoration with a needle (possibly a dress pin?) Width 2.8 cm. Found as furrows.
- Baked earth. Urn of rough baking. red-brown, the edge decorated with finger impressions, wide opening, flat bottom. Height 23, medium 22 cm. Found in Montfort near Genouwe (Limburg).
- Dish brown-black, with standing edge and flat bottom, as lid of previous urn. Height 9, medium 23 cm.
- Bowl, smooth brown, with standing edge, small flat bottom. Height 10, medium 21 cm. Found in Tienraai (Limburg).
- Urn, brown, with wide standing edge and small flat bottom, edge and belly decorated with impressed lines. Height 22, medium 17 cm. Found between Wanssum and Mierloo (Limburg).
- Urn, light red exterior smooth with spherical belly. Height 20, medium 19 cm. Found as furrows.
- Bronze. - Three burnt pieces of an ornament, found in previous urn.

[from: Year book of the Society of Dutch Literature, 1908]

Bishops and Saints at the time of Constantine

- 11. Bishop Šeri'a of Arbela (291-316)
- And following Aha d-Abuhi in the leadership of the people of the Lord was the diligent worker and true priest Šeri'a. This man was from Arbela, son of Christian parents, who loved Christ. And since his youth, he relied on the church and lived off holy service. Also in his time the church had a great victory, the church of God, o pious Pinhes. And after 300 years more or less that it was persecuted and weak and its fundamentals were shaken. They had quiet and victory over all of its enemies through Constantine
- 172. the victorious basileus
- 173. But before his time, around a few, Diocletian, the sacreligious Caesar, had tried to exterminate the name of Christendom
- 174. from the Earth, and for this he fervently strove night and day. And he gave an order, that the churches be destroyed and all Christians slain without mercy. Which fear and which panic won power over the entire world, as this order went out without mercy. And the weren't content with this, that they kill the Christians alone, but rather they killed them in droves or burned them, whereby they also did not have leadership prepared by a judge. And because of it, it was seen that the father was the butcher of his son, and the brother of his brother, and the enclosure of the natural love was ripped out of the midpoint. And as those roman Caesars were stricken with such sin, and as this lust to kill was enflamed in them, they were not once capable of governing the people, as they should rule. And as this was noticed by the grand king of the Persians, Hormizd
- 175. he took a large army and plundered many Roman cities
- 176. And as God saw all of this turpitude, "he rose up, and all of his enemies were dispersed, and his haters fled before him. The were dispersed like smoke and melted

away like wax".

1520 177. And he gave over to them torture without mercy. But He gave power over his
servants to Constantine. And He showed him the sign of the cross over the clouds of
lights, on which was written: "In this sign
178. you will be victorious". And he took this sign and gave it to all of his troops.
And with it they beat them, the soldiers of the gruesome demons, into scattering like
1525 flies. And the cross, which was formerly the sign of shame, became the sign of
victory for everyone, for the rich and for the poor, for the nobles and the
condemned, the learned and the simple people. In the East, Papa, the bishop of
Medinata, which we had mentioned, because he lived in the grand king's city
179. and other bishops required this due to his external business, had the desire,
1530 that he obtain the authority over all bishops, as if one bishop-general was needed,
which they had to have. And the priests of Medinata along with the people resisted
him. And they desired, that they clarify his deposition
180. And also Šem'on, his archdeacon
181, was enraged over these notions and gave notice to Miles of Šašan and to 'Aqeb
1535 Allaha of Karka de-Bet Selok. And Mar Papa became very afraid, because Šem'on's
parents were very close to the grand king and respected by all people. And he wrote
to the bishops of the West and especially to the bishop of Edessa, which had the name
Sa'da. And all the bishops answered him, and they promised him, that they would help
him through Basileus Constantine. Because they recognized, that case would be
1540 measured, if now the bishop of Medinata would become the patriarch
182. of all bishops in the East. And they wrote him a letter about this in their
name and the name of the basileus and the patriarchs of the West. And they wrote him,
that as in the West, which was under the rule of the Romans, there were many
patriarchs, the one from Antioch and from Rome and Alexandria and Constantinople, in
1545 the East, which stands under the rule of the Persians, it is necessary, that present
there should be nevertheless at least one patriarch. Now God, which ordered due to the
sins of Adam, that a savior should come into the world, which is his own son, he,
which through plagues of Egypt it was brought about, that there would be freedom for
the Benai Israel, he, which from thorns brought fruit and from the thorn bush let
1550 roses spring forth, he, which at all times is capable of evoking goodness from the
evil, allowed through his godly order and through his venerable providence, that the
notions of Papa achieve success. And he became adamant in this matter without his
knowledge as universal head of all bishops and all Christians in the land of the East
183. All bishops now consented to that which was ordered from the West, and they
1555 feared the bishops, which were there, that they not cause it, that they wedge
themselves between two powerful enemies, from the West the Christian Basileus of the
Romans, and from the East the grand king of the Persians. Šem'on, the archdeacon of
Papa, however, did not want at all to accept this new government, but rather wanted,
that through his parents they would be removed in the name of the grand king. Papa
1560 managed to reconcile with Šem'on's father, and promised him, that upon his death, he
will appoint him to be Patriarch after him.
At this time, in the border city
184. a god-fearing man, Jacob
185. became known for the miracles he worked like the apostles and powerful deeds of
1565 the prophets. This man spent often the entire night in prayer like his Lord, and his
vigils and fasting were known everywhere. And because truly he was a godly man, we
will especially handle the news about him later
186. And also our Šeri'a, because he glowed in zeal in the love of God, he went often
to him, that with it he visit him and became blessed through him. And both spoke to
1570 one another. And after great ado and countless adversities he died on a Friday in the
summer of the year 627 of Jaunaj 187. And he was buried in the church with great
celebration.

12. Bishop Johannan (Daniel Bar Marjam) of Arbela (316-345)
1575 And following him, Seri'a, was the vigilant and careful Johannan. This man, because
he so much loved Mariam
188. the bearer of the invigorator or the world and our rejuvenator, was named Bar
Mariam. He also taught many heathen people and the Ihudaj. And therefore they hated
him with deadly hate. And upon their prosecution they forced him from Arbela. And
1580 they sent foot-soldiers after him, which should kill him. But he hid himself and
saved himself from their snares and wandered a long time around in the hamlets and
mountains. But his love for God was enflamed more and more. And he strengthened it by
staying busy with work. And he succeeded in brining many lambs into the sheep pen of
Christ. In this time, as a Christian basileus ruled the world, and the matters of the

1585 church were eminent, Hades furthered its honor and let loose its stinking mouth and put out words, which stood in contradiction to the orthodox faith. And it found an unfaithful worker, which spread their teaching; the keen and astute Arius

189. the Wicked. He, who already did not recognize His grandeur and counted on the superfluoussness, that was happening, that if even the son of God the creator,

1590 returned for our salvation, he would deny the godliness of Christ and proclaim falsely, that Christ is not the savior, but a creation, and that his nature was not the son of God, but rather just pretend. And there was great uproar because of him in the entire known world. And the bishops gathered in order to impeach his lies in the city of Nicea.

1595 190. in all 318, and through the willingness of Basileus Constantine, whose memory is blessed. And these fathers execrated Arius and everyone who accepted his opinion. And they affirmed that the son, Christ, was of one nature with the father, and equal with him in being 191.

And at this time Šapur II, the grand king of the Persians, moved into the mountains, in order to annihilate the enemies, which were from the mountains near the sea, erupted, and decimated many hamlets. And his plan was, that he lay waste to many Roman cities. That, what also happened, we will see afterwards.

1600 And everyone could reckon that namely the time was near, that the church would be destroyed and the sanctuaries desecrated. But God, before whom everything arises, knows well, saw and silenced and delivered to us the scorching heat of his scorn. As

1605 namely it was seen by Šapur the second king, who ruled seventy years, more or less, from the year 620 of Jaunaj to the year 690 192, after the death of Constantine, the victorious basileus, who filled the world with fear of him, and after him the Roman Constantius

1610 193. his son, was made basileus of the lands of the East, who thought, that the time came for him, in which he can dare to take the leadership of the lands of the Christians without hindrance.

And he moved out and laid siege to Nisibis, the border city. He did not namely know, that it, the city, was not destroyed and stood "like a rose out of the thorns"

1615 194. only through the strong arm of the Lord, the King of Kings. Meanwhile God, which through Judith, a weak woman, threw down and destroyed the pride and the legions of Elparna

195. and through the prayers of Esther, a humble woman, and hung Haman, the evildoer, up on the gallows

1620 196. He, who through Šem'on slew thousands of Philistines, he distanced Šapur, the grand king, from the city through the prayers of the bishop, the pious and called Jacob

197. the famous. And as he, the people's father, saw it, that the children now became distraught after every page a laughter became for the impure demons "like Moses, the

1625 Lord's chosen one, he stood in the breach"

198. before them, he stepped up to the city wall and begun to bid the Lord, that either he kill him or save his people from the hand of the heathens and from death. And the Lord heard this. And see, an army of yellow insects

199. appeared from heaven. And it came and descended upon Šapur's army. And one of the swarms pushed into the nostrils of the horses and made them wild and robbed the men of visibility. And there was no time to do anything except to flee. They feared

1630 namely this unnatural blindness, and that the Roman army would suddenly fall on them and would annihilate them, while they were in this illness. And a few of them went and let Constantius know about that, which was. And they said praise and believed in God because of his grace, which he had poured over his servant Jacob. And he turned back to the grand king, in that he threatened him and he decided that the religion of the Romans would be weeded out of his lands. But Johannan, the bishop of our land, was then not among his sheep, but rather since the year 640 of Jaunaj

1635 200. he had moved to Medinata, he with other bishops, that with it they elect a man, a Christian and a sage, for the office of patriarch

1640 201. Empty was namely the seat of Seleucia's patriarch by the lamentable death of Mar Papa, which was taken too soon before. They say that he spent two years there in Medinata. And then he went to Bet Huzaje because of the affairs of the church. And he was there, as the merciless orders went out to the Mahupats of the land, in which it

1645 was ordered, that all Christians should be killed without sympathy and that their churches should be destroyed, and on the sixth of the month of Nisan, as the grand king was in Bet Huzaje, and in the thirtyfirst year

202. of this evil, which never had known in his life, what mercifulness is, the sword began to rule without sympathy. And everyone, who dared to say, that he was

1650 Christian, was slain. But Johannan, the bishop of Arbela, left thereupon Bet Huzaje

and came to his herd, that he pastured the lambs and the cattle, which were given into his hands, and that he watch them. But his heart was filled with joy, as he saw, that the sword, which was ready, that it should slay the Christians of the land, was still hidden in its sheath. Pagrasp

- 1655 203. namely, the Mauhapta of the land, was in agreement with the city elite, that he not kill the Christians outside of the month of Ilul {July?}
204. at the time of the vintage and the harvest. And it is said, that the grand king felt remorse over the fact that he gave this hard order of persecution and planned to lift it then.
- 1660 But the Ihudaj and the Manicheans, which are enemies of the name of Christ, pressed the Megušes and brought them in, that they not allow the king of kings to do it. And they explained to him, that all the Christians were spies of the Romans. And nothing happens in the kingdom, that they do not write to their brothers who are there. And they all were rich and found themselves in a comfortable life, while the king of
- 1665 kings is entwined in an excruciating life of war and battle. They, however, lead no war, and always live in peace. So the Megušes changed the mind of the grand king through their lying. And the king gave an order, that the head tax be doubled for all the Christians and strengthened his order that they be again killed without mercy.
205. We became thereupon the laughter of the heathens and the faithless. The Ihudaj
- 1670 mocked us and said: "Where is your god? Rising now should be your Christ, he, who was crucified in shame on Galgatha, and should destroy your persecutors. Has he not said to you: "See, I am with you until the end of the world?" But the Manicheans curse us more than the Ihudaj and they regard us as the scum of the people. "And the shepherd was slain and the herd was scattered".
- 1675 206. It was namely the time of darkness, and the light was hunted. It was the time, when the meek and perishable creatures were forced, that they are prayed for with violence instead of the creator. So the sun, which was made as a servant for the god of the people, sacrifices and gifts were brought to it. And the fire, which was made for the need of the children of Adam: one temple
- 1680 207. was made for the children of light, which they built. One fire-temple, namely they built for the demons, that with it, they bring the churches of the heavenly father into the land of the forgotten. Oh the godlessness! O the disobedience and the insurgency of the people! And as when a man, who wants to destroy a tree, to ruin his seeds and throw them away, and then rip out its roots and throw them away, so the
- 1685 Megušes and the heathens wanted to make and end of the bishops
208. and the metropolitans
209. And immediately Mar Šem'on Bar Sabba'e, who sat in the seat of the East, together with a large number of priests
210. and deacons
- 1690 211. were seized and brought to the grand king in Karka de-Ledan
212. And after much torture, as the powerful man of the Lord and his great patriarch were not sheltered from his menace for not being willing to pray to the sun, a creature, Šapur turned over the torture to his associates, who were in a number of
- 1695 102. However, they cut his head off, all those athletes of Christ. He strengthened them, all of them, and stood by them with courage in this battle for a short time. This happened on a high Good Friday. And from then until the Sunday of the White Garments
213. the sword did not stop throughout the East. And to the ends of heaven groups of Christians were tied up like a group of sheep being led to slaughter, with exception
- 1700 of them, who were killed right there in their homes. But in our land of Hedejjab, through the thoughtfulness of the mauhapta, the sympathetic Pagrasp, only a few, it was said, were killed, those whose names are unknown. But in the following year, as Pargasp
214. the mauhapta, died, after him they made Peroz Tamšabor his successor, the blood of the Christians began to flow in our land and flood the Earth, which was filled with injustice and evil due to the evil students of Satan, the cursed, who live off
- 1705 it.
- There he cleansed them through a flood of pure and innocent blood of all dross and of all vice, that with it they would be the bride in truth, which adorns and beautifies
- 1710 herself for the heavenly bridegroom
215. who through his cross and his dishonor wed them on the hilltop of Galgatha through torture and through agony, which is unspeakable, whereby it is said to all of his students and their successors after them and to all members of his church:
- "Blessed are you, when they taunt you and they persecute you and say against you
- 1715 every evil word against me in lies. Then be happy and rejoice, because your wage is great in heaven. Even so have they persecuted the prophets who were before you."

216. It is hence difficult for me, oh my beloved Pinhes, that I enumerate for you one after the other all of those, the names of the Christians, which were killed in the entire land of the East. Uncountable and even incalculable are the simple sheep, which through the butcher's knife were brought as living sacrifices for God and became worthy for the kingdom of heaven. If I only now count those, who saturated the dirt of our city and our country -because it is your request-, so that through this you know, which godly men truly have gone before you, and that you are able to follow their footsteps without difficulty. They truly were lieutenants for us and the leaders on the way to perfection, on which all of them are followed with joy. In the 35th year of Šapur
217. the grand king, Johannan, the bishop
218. with Jacob, his priest
219. were seized by order of Piroz Tamšabor. And the mauhaptas imprisoned them, without sympathy, first in Hesna da-Bedigar
220. And they remained in Hesna one year. And the heathens let loose many tortures which are not to be counted. And they suffered it, these brave warriors of Christ with patience, which cannot be described, whereby they were cheerful and overjoyed, that they were held as worthy, to suffer such for the sake of the love of Christ. And on this day
221. men and women and daughters of the alliance
222. of all classes were killed, flock among flock. And among them Narsai, the priest
223. and Hananja and Rehima, deacons of the church. And after all interrogations and adulatory convincing attempts, as Satan could not diminish their steadfastness, thereupon they were brought out of the house out of the city were crucified as the life-giver, their Lord. Their corpses, however, were taken away during the night by the Christians. And see, their bones are a fountain, which lets the godly grace flow for all, which took asylum in those of the errant children of Adam
224. And from that day until the end of the year the sword was drunk with blood without satiation. And the collected Megušes
225. were like butchers for our land, although they did not become fat. And like wild dogs they daily licked the coagulum of our blood, which like a bog colored red the markets and alleys of our city. And they rampaged out more and more and became rabid.
- 166 Line 15 has Radgan, and line 18 has 𐭪𐭣𐭥 𐭪 Dargan. They are undoubtedly the same person, yet it is unknown which is correct.
- 167 Is this some colloquial idiom?
- 168 Psalm 51:17;
- 170 Susa, the winter residence of the Persian king.
- 171 The first bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was ordained in 291
- 172 Constantine I, the Great
- 175 Hormizd II (302-309)
- 176 A war between Hormizd II and Rome does not appear in any other source, including the Cambridge History of Iran.
- 177 Psalm 68:1 178 The Christian monogram Chi-Ro.
- 180 removal from office
- 182 this text implies he would be in addition to the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and New Rome (Constantinople).
- 183 His patriarchate included not only the Persian Empire, but also the Christians in southern India, the Christianized Turks of central Asia, and the emerging Christian populations in Mongolian China.
- 184 Nisibis
- 185 Jacob Episcopus, bishop of Nisibis (308-338)
- 186 If this was truly handled later, it might signify a missing part of the Chronicle, as it does not appear here.
- 187 Meant here is the Seleucidan era. 627 S.E.=316
- 188 Mary, the mother of Jesus.
- 189 Arius (260-336) was a priest in Alexandria, who taught that Jesus was not of the same body with God, but only his elegant creation, as he was begat by God and had therefore a beginning. His faith, Arianism, was so wide-spread that it reached from southern Ethiopia to the north with the Goths and Vandals.
- 190 The First Council of Nicea (19 June-25 August 325) was the first imperial synod. It was concerned with the Arian heresy, and actually only about 250 bishops took part.
- 191 οὐοῖα
- 192 620-690 S.E.=309-379
- 193 Basileus Constantius (337-361)
- 194 Song of Solomon 2:2
- 195 Judith 13-16
- 196 Esther 7
- 197 Jacob of Nisibis
- 198 Psalm 106:23

200 640 S.E.=329

202 309+30=339

204 September/October (340)

1790 205 Cambridge History of Iran: Shapur II needed money for his army to attack the Romans, so the taxes on Christians were doubled to provide extra revenues. The Christians naturally objected and the persecutions resumed.

206 Matthew 26:31

209 president, prefect, princeps

1795 212 =Susa

213 =White Sunday (Easter Sunday), when the baptized wore white to show their purity.

214 possible misspelling

215 Ref. Ephesians 5:25-27

216 Matthew 5:11-12.

1800 <https://www.sasanika.org/wp-content/uploads/ChronicleofArbela.pdf>

Saint Alexandra of Rome (Ἀλεξάνδρα)

1805 – Christian martyr and saint, known from "Martyrdom of Saint George" as either Emperor Diocletian's wife or the wife of Dacian, a Roman Prefect. She is also sometimes mistaken with Priscilla or Prisca.
According to Frederick George Holweck Saint Alexandra was the reputed wife of the Emperor Diocletian and was secretly converted to Christianity. Jacobus de Voragine listing her name as "Alexandria" describes her as the wife of Dacian the Roman
1810 Prefect who persecuted Saint Caprasius of Agen and Saint Maginus. While Saint George was being tortured, Alexandra went to the arena, bowed before him and professed her faith openly. When she questioned whether she was worthy of paradise and of martyrdom without being baptized, Saint George told her "Do not fear, for your blood will baptize you". She was denounced a Christian and imprisoned on her husband's orders in
1815 Nicomedia, then sentenced to death.

Her husband was so outraged by her conversion that he is said to have uttered "What! Even thou hast fallen under their spell!". Alexandra quietly accepted her sentence and prayed as the guards walked her to the place of execution. She asked if she could rest for a moment. The guards allowed this. She rested by the place of Saint George's
1820 execution at Nicomedia's City Wall.

Her three servants Apollo, Isaac and Codratus went to prison with her, the first two died of hunger while the last was beheaded with her on April 21, 303. Her feast day is usually celebrated on April 23, when she is commemorated at the same time along
1825 for professing faith while witnessing George's martyrdom. The Coptic Church venerates her on April 8.

She is sometimes confused with Saint Prisca. Holweck believes that her story was fabricated, de Voragine presents it as legendary but not outright fiction. Prisca was either a Christian or lenient towards Christianity, but never rebelled towards her
1830 husband. When Diocletian retired to Spalatum in 305, Prisca stayed with her daughter, Galeria Valeria and son-in-law, Galerius in Thessalonica. When Galerius died in 311, Licinius was entrusted with the care of Prisca and her daughter Valeria. The two women, however, fled from Licinius to Maximinus Daia. After a short time, Valeria refused the marriage proposal of Maximinus, who arrested and confined her in Syria
1835 and confiscated her properties. At the death of Maximinus, Licinius had Prisca and her daughter killed in 315.

THE OLDEST BISHOPS OF TONGEREN-MAASTRICHT.

1840 1 januari 1934 The 7th volume of the Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, commencé sous la direction de Mgr. A. Baudillart, recently appeared, in which E. de Moreau 1) extensively discusses Belgium. This precious Dictionnaire, a
1845 work of the highest order, is beyond the reach of most people, and therefore I would like to provide some excerpts from Moreau's account of the Christianization of Belgium, specifically of the region under Diocletian, Germania Inferior, later also called Civitas Tungrorum—because the oldest bishops of Tongeren-Maastricht are mentioned in it—and thus provide some information about it from this recent work by a highly competent author. Those interested can find the sources and literature
1850 consulted by Moreau in the Dictionnaire itself.

[original in French]

When did the new religion appear in the Maas Valley? A famous text by Saint Irenaeus speaks of Christian communities founded in Germany. The Bishop of Lyon is certainly,

- 1855 in this case, a primary witness. But even if we can deduce from this text, with Harnack, that organized churches, that is to say, churches with a bishop, must have existed at the time this Church Father was writing, around 185, in Cologne, Mainz, Strasbourg (and a fortiori, in Trier, Belgium [Germany!]), nothing similar can be said for Tongeren.
- 1860 Harnack, however, considers this city to have had a bishopric before Constantine. "In any case," he writes, "it has a bishop, shortly after Constantine, in the person of Servatius... and the fact that the Bishop of Cologne, Maternus, also appears as the first Bishop of Tongeren, can certainly be interpreted as meaning that the bishopric was founded under Maternus."
- 1865 The question of the origin of the Bishopric of Tongeren will have to be addressed specifically in connection with this entry. A legend, which appears to have been formed in a biography dating back probably to the first half of the 10th century, portrays Maternus as a subdeacon contemporary with Eucherius, Bishop, and Valerius, Deacon, who were supposedly sent by Saint Peter to Gaul and Germania. Maternus is said to have succeeded these figures in the episcopal see of Trier, which he is said to have occupied for forty years. From the second half of the 10th century onward, the episcopal list of Tongeren mentions Maternus as the first bishop of that city.
- 1870
- 1875 Saint Maternus, whom legend has made a contemporary of Saint Peter, actually lived much later. Historical documents mention him in 313 and 314 as Bishop of Cologne. It seems impossible, given the current state of research, to determine whether the Diocese of Tongeren was created before Saint Servatius.
- 1880 Saint Servatius certainly ruled the vast diocese corresponding to the Civitas Tungrorum, which initially comprised eastern Belgium, except for the tip of Luxembourg, and perhaps Toxandria, then parts of northern Brabant, Dutch Limburg, the Rhineland, and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Little reliable historical information has been preserved concerning this first, and certainly authentic, bishop of ancient Belgium. Let us simply recall what little we have here. Saint Athanasius mentions, no later than 346, Servatius, undoubtedly Servatius of Tongeren, among the bishops who supported his cause at the Council of Sardica. The authenticity of the list on which Servatius appears can be accepted even if the Council of Cologne of 346 must be rejected. We also know from Athanasius, the great Bishop of Alexandria, that Servatius, along with another bishop, was sent as an ambassador by the usurper Magnentius to Emperor Constantius (350 or 351). Eight or nine years later, at the Council of Rimini (359), Servatius of Tongeren, along with Phebadius of Agen, was one of the most staunch defenders of Nicene orthodoxy, as represented by Saint Athanasius. Sulpicius Severus tells us the circumstances and extent to which they yielded to the threats of Prefect Taurus. Gregory of Tours, however, mentions Servatius twice. In his **Historia Francorum**, he recounts, based on oral tradition, that a bishop of Tongeren, Aravatus, to be identified with Servatius, foresaw the future invasion of the Huns, but failed to obtain from Saint Peter, during a pilgrimage to Rome, a promise that this calamity would be averted for his people. Finally, abandoning his episcopal city, he went to die in Maastricht. It is certain that he was buried there, as Gregory of Tours informs us in **Gloria confessorum**.
- 1895
- 1900 With the end of the 4th century, or the beginning of the 5th, a very dark period began for Belgium, lasting more than a century. It ended after the conquest of Gaul by Clovis. The evangelization of Belgium then had to be resumed, and, according to the common view among historians, as if nothing had been done in the 3rd and 4th centuries.
- 1905
- 1910 What was the size of the Christian population in the eastern part of Belgium in the early years of the 5th century? No literary text allows us to answer this question. Furthermore, archaeological discoveries have yielded very little information for the period in question.
- 1915 We are completely lacking in information about the religious history of Belgium in the 5th century. Only the episcopal list of Tongeren mentions seven names between Saint Servatius and Falco (before 533). But Hériger, who is the first to provide them, has no further details to add about them. One might even wonder if they are all the names of bishops of Tongeren.
- 1920 For the diocese of Tongeren, we begin again (after the invasions) to have reliable information about it, starting with Bishop Falco, to whom Saint Remigius addressed a letter. This document predates 533, the year of Saint Remigius's death. Falco's

successor, Domitian, is mentioned in connection with the councils of Clermont (535) and Orléans (549). The transfer of the residence from Tongeren to Maastricht is attributed to Monulf, who ascended the episcopal see after Domitian. However, this assertion rests on a misinterpreted text by Gregory of Tours. 2) There is every reason to believe that, Tongeren having been destroyed by the Vandal invasion of 406, the successors of Saint Servatius no longer resided there.

(Paganism persisted for a long time.) The literary sources, which delay the complete conversion of Belgium until around the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, are in agreement with the archaeological discoveries. It was only at the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century that cross pattée, chains ending in small crosses, rings with Christian monograms, and belt buckles depicting, in a very crude manner, Daniel in the lions' den, began to appear, rather timidly, in funerary objects. But it must be added that in the majority of the oldest Merovingian necropolises, one finds no more pagan than Christian symbols.

In the 3rd and 4th centuries, the Roman gods, particularly Mercury, Mars, Apollo, Jupiter, and Hercules, had absorbed the ancient Gallic gods: Teutates, Esus, Belenus, Taran, and Ogmios. Some male deities of the Belgae resisted better, for example, Entarabus (Treveri). It was primarily the Celtic female deities whose names were preserved in the Roman period. It is undeniable that Venus, Diana, Minerva, Juno, and others were still highly venerated. However, alongside them, one often encounters in inscriptions and figurative monuments Sirona, companion of Belenus; Epona, goddess of horses; Rosmerta, associated with Mercury; and local goddesses such as Arduina, Vihansa (Tongres), and others. The Belgians showed a special devotion to the Matres, groups of goddesses of varying numbers who were believed to follow and protect their followers everywhere.

Among the imported Eastern cults, the most attested in ancient Belgium is that of the Phrygian gods, Cybele and Attis.

It seems that the paganism of the 6th and 7th centuries was an amalgamation of Germanic and Gallo-Roman idolatry. Roman gods and goddesses such as Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Juno, Diana, and Venus appear to have remained more popular than Germanic gods.

The complete eradication of paganism in Belgium was partly the work of St. Amand, St. Lambert, and St. Hubertus, bishops of Maastricht; St. Amand for only three years, from 646 to 649.

J. BLONDEN.

1) E. de Moreau S.J., professor at the S.I. theological college in Louvain.

2) The complete texts are included in "De straatnamen van Maastricht" (The Street Names of Maastricht), by J. L. Blonden (Maastricht 1933), no. 208.

3) The seven names between Servatius and Falco are: Agricolaus, Ursicinus, Designatus, Renatus, Supplicius, Quirillus, and Eucharis.

4) Heringer, the most ancient historiographer of Belgium, died at the monastery of Lobbes, but he had been a monk in 990.

5) Eucharis is usually mentioned as Falco's immediate successor, before Domitian.

See also <http://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/view?identificatie=3A2435002%3Ampg21%3A0006&query=oudste+bisschoppen+tongeren+maastricht&coll=dts&page=2&maxperpage=50&sortfield=date>

Maternus (c. 285–September 14, 315 AD), also known as Maternus II

was the first known bishop of Cologne, reportedly also the third bishop of Trier, and founder of the diocese of Tongeren. He is venerated as a saint in the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. The Basilica of Saint Maternus in Walcourt, Belgium was allegedly founded by him.

Life

The Basilica of Saint Maternus in Walcourt, Belgium was founded by Maternus, according to legend.

According to Eusebius, Bishop Maternus was active during the period of the Donatist controversy. In May 313, Maternus and other bishops were summoned to Rome by Emperor Constantine to consult regarding the status of Bishop Caecilianus of Carthage. He also took part in the Synod of Arles in 314. While a legend grew in Trier concerning Maternus, a popular cult developed in Cologne.

The Bollandists and others date his Episcopate to the fourth century. He was the first Apostle of Alsace, and successfully promoted the spread of Christianity in that Province and in Western Germany.

1990 Until the discovery of the Frankfurt silver inscription, dated to between 230 and 270, Maternus' participation in the Synod of Rome in 313 was the earliest reliable evidence for Christianity north of the Alps.

Legend

1995 According to legend, he was a follower of Saint Eucharius, the first bishop of Trier. Eucharius was sent to Gaul by Saint Peter as bishop, together with the deacon Valerius and the subdeacon Maternus, to preach the Gospel. They came to the Rhine and to Ellelsum in Alsace, where Maternus died. His two companions hastened back to St. Peter and begged him to restore the dead man to life. St. Peter gave his pastoral staff to Eucharius, and, upon being touched with it, Maternus, who had been in his grave for forty days, returned to life. The Gentiles were then converted in large numbers. After founding many churches the three companions went to Trier where the work of evangelization progressed so rapidly that Eucharius chose that city for his episcopal residence.

2000 Maternus assisted Valerius for fifteen years and then succeeded him as bishop of Trier for the next forty years. While assisting Valerius, he had already founded the dioceses of Cologne and Tongeren. He also founded a church on the site of a Roman temple which later became Cologne Cathedral. The staff of Saint Peter, with which he had been raised to life, was preserved in Cologne till the end of the tenth century when the upper half was presented to Trier, and was afterwards taken to Prague by Emperor Charles IV.

2010 The legend is from the ninth century and appears to have been intended to attest to the ancient establishment of the see of Trier, and therefore seniority over other dioceses in Germany.

Frankfurt silver inscription

2015 The Frankfurt silver inscription is an early Christian silver amulet from the third century, originating from the Roman settlement of Nida. The amulet was discovered in 2018 during excavations at a Roman-period burial ground in Frankfurt-Praunheim and is now part of the collections of the Archaeological Museum Frankfurt am Main. In 2024, the rolled-up silver foil was digitally "unrolled" and deciphered with the help of

2020 computed tomography. The inscription is considered one of the earliest material testimonies of Christianity north of the Alps and provides valuable insights into early Christian devotional practices in the border regions of the Latin West. [...] Transcription and translation are difficult because the inscription is only accessible digitally via CT. This makes it difficult to identify the type and

2025 direction of the incisions, which are important for deciphering individual letters. In addition, the text has large gaps, especially at the beginning of lines, which are further complicated by the uneven size of the letters in Latin cursive.<[4]:29 Santiago Guijarro suggests the following reading of the text:[4]:38[4]:29-37[5][b]

Transcript Translation

1	In nomine sancti Tit̄i.	In the name of Saint Titus
2	Agios, agios, agios.	Saint, Saint, Saint
3	In nomine ĪH X̄P Dei f(ilii),	In the name of Jesus Christ Son of God.
4	mundi dominus,	The Lord of the world
5	viribus omnibus	with all his might
6	incurs ionibus oponit.	faces attacks.
7	Deus valetudinibus	God, to the diseases
8	salvis accessum	healed grants access
9	praestat. Haec salus tueat	This salvation (this amulet?) may protect
10	hominem, qui se	the man who himself
11	dedit voluntati	surrendered to the will
12	Domini ĪH X̄P ti Dei f(ilii).	of the Lord Jesus Christ Son of God.
13	Quoniam ĪH X̄Po	For before Jesus Christ
14	omnes genua flec-	everyone knees shall
15	tent, caelestes,	bend, those of heavens,
16	terrestres et	those of the earth and
17	inferi, et omnis lin-	those underneath and all tongue
18	gua confiteatur.	confess.

2050 See [Frankfurt silver inscription - Wikipedia](#)

The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine

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BOOK I.

CHAPTER I: Preface. - Of the Death of Constantine.

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ALREADY have all mankind united in celebrating with joyous festivities the completion of the second and third decennial period of this great emperor's reign; already have we ourselves received him as a triumphant conqueror in the assembly of God's ministers, and greeted him with the due mead of praise on the twentieth anniversary of his reign: and still more recently we have woven, as it were, garlands of words, wherewith we encircled his sacred head in his own palace on his thirtieth anniversary.

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But now, while I desire to give utterance to some of the customary sentiments, I stand perplexed and doubtful which way to turn, being wholly lost in wonder at the extraordinary spectacle before me. For to whatever quarter I direct my view, whether to the east, or to the west, or over the whole world, or toward heaven itself, everywhere and always I see the blessed one yet administering the self-same empire.

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On earth I behold his sons, like some new reflectors of his brightness, diffusing everywhere the luster of their father's character, and himself still living and powerful, and governing all the affairs of men more completely than ever before, being multiplied in the succession of his children. They had indeed previously the

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dignity of Caesars; but now, being invested with his very self, and graced by his accomplishments, for the excellence of their piety they are proclaimed by the titles of Sovereign, Augustus, Worshipful, and Emperor.

CHAPTER II: The Preface continued.

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AND I am indeed amazed, when I consider that he who was but lately visible and present with us in his mortal body, is still, even after death, when the natural thought disclaims everything superfluous as unsuitable, most marvelously endowed with the same imperial dwellings, and honors, and praises as heretofore. But farther, when I raise my thoughts even to the arch of heaven, and there contemplate his thrice-blessed soul in communion with God himself, freed from every mortal and earthly

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vesture, and shining in a refulgent robe of light, and when I perceive that it is no more connected with the fleeting periods and occupations of mortal life, but honored with an ever-blooming crown, and an immortality of endless and blessed existence, I stand as it were without power of speech or thought and unable to utter a single

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phrase, but condemning my own weakness, and imposing silence on myself, I resign the task of speaking his praises worthily to one who is better able, even to him who, being the immortal God and veritable Word, alone has power to confirm his own saying.

CHAPTER III: How God honors Pious Princes, but destroys Tyrants.

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HAVING given assurance that those who glorify and honor him will meet with an abundant recompense at his hands, while those who set themselves against him as enemies and adversaries will compass the ruin of their own souls, he has already established the truth of these his own declarations, having shown on the one hand the fearful end of those tyrants who denied and opposed him, and at the same time having made it manifest that even the death of his servant, as well as his life, is worthy of admiration and praise, and justly claims the memorial, not merely of perishable,

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but of immortal monuments.

Mankind, devising some consolation for the frail and precarious duration of human life, have thought by the erection of monuments to glorify the memories of their ancestors with immortal honors. Some have employed the vivid delineations and colors

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of painting; some have carved statues from lifeless blocks of wood; while others, by engraving their inscriptions deep on tablets and monuments, have thought to transmit the virtues of those whom they honored to perpetual remembrance. All these indeed are perishable, and consumed by the lapse of time, being representations of the corruptible body, and not expressing the image of the immortal soul. And yet these

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seemed sufficient to those who had no well-grounded hope of happiness after the termination of this mortal life. But God, that God, I say, who is the common Saviour of all, having treasured up with himself, for those who love godliness, greater blessings than human thought has conceived, gives the earnest and first-fruits of future rewards even here, assuring in some sort immortal hopes to mortal eyes. The

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ancient oracles of the prophets, delivered to us in the Scripture, declare this; the lives of pious men, who shone in old time with every virtue, bear witness to posterity of the same; and our own days prove it to be true, wherein Constantine, who alone of all that ever wielded the Roman power was the friend of God the Sovereign of all, has appeared to all mankind so clear an example of a godly life.

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CHAPTER IV: That God honored Constantine.

AND God himself, whom Constantine worshiped, has confirmed this truth by the clearest manifestations of his will, being present to aid him at the commencement, during the course, and at the end of his reign, and holding him up to the human race as an instructive example of godliness. Accordingly, by the manifold blessings he has conferred on him, he has distinguished him alone of all the sovereigns of whom we have ever heard as at once a mighty luminary and most clear-voiced herald of genuine piety.

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CHAPTER V: That he reigned above Thirty Years, and lived above Sixty.

WITH respect to the duration of his reign, God honored him with three complete periods of ten years, and something more, extending the whole term of his mortal life to twice this number of years. And being pleased to make him a representative of his own sovereign power, he displayed him as the conqueror of the whole race of tyrants, and the destroyer of those God-defying giants of the earth who madly raised their impious arms against him, the supreme King of all. They appeared, so to speak, for an instant, and then disappeared: while the one and only true God, when he had enabled his servant, clad in heavenly panoply, to stand singly against many foes, and by his means had relieved mankind from the multitude of the ungodly, constituted him a teacher of his worship to all nations, to testify with a loud voice in the hearing of all that he acknowledged the true God, and turned with abhorrence from the error of them that are no gods.

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CHAPTER VI: That he was the Servant of God, and the Conqueror of Nations.

THUS, like a faithful and good servant, did he act and testify, openly declaring and confessing himself the obedient minister of the supreme King. And God forthwith rewarded him, by making him ruler and sovereign, and victorious to such a degree that he alone of all rulers pursued a continual course of conquest, unsubdued and invincible, and through his trophies a greater ruler than tradition records ever to have been before. So dear was he to God, and so blessed; so pious and so fortunate in all that he undertook, that with the greatest facility he obtained the authority over more nations than any who had preceded him, and yet retained his power, undisturbed, to the very close of his life.

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CHAPTER VII: Comparison with Cyrus, King of the Persians and with Alexander of Macedon.

ANCIENT history describes Cyrus, king of the Persians, as by far the most illustrious of all kings up to his time. And yet if we regard the end of his days, we find it but little corresponded with his past prosperity, since he met with an inglorious and dishonorable death at the hands of a woman.

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Again, the sons of Greece celebrate Alexander the Macedonian as the conqueror of many and diverse nations; yet we find that he was removed by an early death, before he had reached maturity, being carried off by the effects of revelry and drunkenness. His whole life embraced but the space of thirty-two years, and his reign extended to no more than a third part of that period. Unsparing as the thunderbolt, he advanced through streams of blood and reduced entire nations and cities, young and old, to utter slavery. But when he had scarcely arrived at the maturity of life, and was lamenting the loss of youthful pleasures, death fell upon him with terrible stroke, and, that he might not longer outrage the human race, cut him off in a foreign and hostile land, childless, without successor, and homeless. His kingdom too was instantly dismembered, each of his officers taking away and appropriating a portion for himself. And yet this man is extolled for such deeds as these.

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CHAPTER VIII: That he conquered nearly the Whole World.

BUT our emperor began his reign at the time of life at which the Macedonian died, yet doubled the length of his life, and trebled the length of his reign. And instructing his army in the mild and sober precepts of godliness, he carried his arms as far as the Britons, and the nations that dwell in the very bosom of the Western ocean. He subdued likewise all Scythia, though situated in the remotest North, and divided into numberless diverse and barbarous tribes. He even pushed his conquests to the Blemmyans and Ethiopians, on the very confines of the South nor did he think the acquisition of the Eastern nations unworthy his care. In short, diffusing the effulgence of his holy light to the ends of the whole world, even to the most distant Indians, the nations dwelling on the extreme circumference of the inhabited earth, he received the submission of all the rulers, governors, and satraps of barbarous

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nations, who cheerfully welcomed and saluted him, sending embassies and presents, and setting the highest value on his acquaintance and friendship; insomuch that they honored him with pictures and statues in their respective countries, and Constantine alone of all emperors was acknowledged and celebrated by all. Notwithstanding, even
 2190 among these distant nations, he proclaimed the name of his God in his royal edicts with all boldness.

CHAPTER IX: That he was the Son of a Pious Emperor, and bequeathed the Power to Royal Sons.

2195 NOR did he give this testimony in words merely, while exhibiting failure in his own practice, but pursued every path of virtue, and was rich in the varied fruits of godliness. He ensured the affection of his friends by magnificent proofs of liberality; and inasmuch as he governed on principles of humanity, he caused his rule to be but lightly felt and acceptable to all classes of his subjects; until at last,
 2200 after a long course of years, and when he was wearied by his divine labors, the God whom he honored crowned him with an immortal reward, and translated him from a transitory kingdom to that endless life which he has laid up in store for the souls of his saints, after he had raised him up three sons to succeed him in his power. As then the imperial throne had descended to him from his father, so, by the law of
 2205 nature, was it reserved for his children and their descendants, and perpetuated, like some paternal inheritance, to endless generations. And indeed God himself, who distinguished this blessed prince with divine honors while yet present with us, and who has adorned his death with choice blessings from his own hand, should be the writer of his actions; since he has recorded his labors and successes on heavenly
 2210 monuments.

CHAPTER X: Of the Need for this History, and its Value for Edification.

HOWEVER, hard as it is to speak worthily of this blessed character, and though silence were the safer and less perilous course, nevertheless it is incumbent on me,
 2215 if I would escape the charge of negligence and sloth, to trace as it were a verbal portraiture, by way of memorial of the pious prince, in imitation of the delineations of human art. For I should be ashamed of myself were I not to employ my best efforts, feeble though they be and of little value, in praise of one who honored God with such surpassing devotion. I think too that my work will be on other grounds both
 2220 instructive and necessary, since it will contain a description of those royal and noble actions which are pleasing to God, the Sovereign of all. For would it not be disgraceful that the memory of Nero, and other impious and godless tyrants far worse than he, should meet with diligent writers to embellish the relation of their
 2225 worthless deeds with elegant language, and record them in voluminous histories, and that I should be silent, to whom God himself has vouchsafed such an emperor as all history records not, and has permitted me to come into his presence, and enjoy his acquaintance and society?

Wherefore, if it is the duty of any one, it certainly is mine, to make an ample
 2230 proclamation of his virtues to all in whom the example of noble actions is capable of inspiring the love of God. For some who have written the lives of worthless characters, and the history of actions but little tending to the improvement of morals, from private motives, either love or enmity, and possibly in some cases with no better object than the display of their own learning, have exaggerated unduly their description of actions intrinsically base, by a refinement and elegance of
 2235 diction. And thus they have become to those who by the Divine favor had been kept apart from evil, teachers not of good, but of what should be silenced in oblivion and darkness. But my narrative, however unequal to the greatness of the deeds it has to describe, will yet derive luster even from the bare relation of noble actions. And surely the record of conduct that has been pleasing to God will afford a far from
 2240 unprofitable, indeed a most instructive study, to persons of well-disposed minds.

CHAPTER XI: That his Present Object is to record only the Pious Actions of Constantine.

IT is my intention, therefore, to pass over the greater part of the royal deeds of
 2245 this thrice-blessed prince; as, for example, his conflicts and engagements in the field, his personal valor, his victories and successes against the enemy, and the many triumphs he obtained: likewise his provisions for the interests of individuals, his legislative enactments for the social advantage of his subjects, and a multitude of other imperial labors which are fresh in the memory of all; the design of my
 2250 present undertaking being to speak and write of those circumstances only which have reference to his religious character.

And since these are themselves of almost infinite variety, I shall select from the facts which have come to my knowledge such as are most suitable, and worthy of lasting record, and endeavor to narrate them as briefly as possible. Henceforward, indeed, there is a full and opportunity for celebrating in every way the praises of this truly blessed prince, which hitherto we have been unable to do, on the ground that we are forbidden to judge any one blessed before his death, because of the uncertain vicissitudes of life. Let me implore then the help of God, and may the inspiring aid of the heavenly Word be with me, while I commence my history from the very earliest period of his life.

CHAPTER XII: That like Moses, he was reared in the Palaces of Kings. ANCIENT history relates that a cruel race of tyrants oppressed the Hebrew nation; and that God, who graciously regarded them in their affliction, provided that the prophet Moses, who was then an infant, should be brought up in the very palaces and bosoms of the oppressors, and instructed in all the wisdom they possessed. And when in the course of time he had arrived at manhood, and the time was come for Divine justice to avenge the wrongs of the afflicted people, then the prophet of God, in obedience to the will of a more powerful Lord, forsook the royal household, and, estranging himself in word and deed from the tyrants by whom he had been brought up, openly acknowledging his true brethren and kinsfolk. Then God, exalting him to be the leader of the whole nation, delivered the Hebrews from the bondage of their enemies, and inflicted Divine vengeance through his means on the tyrant race. This ancient story, though rejected by most as fabulous, has reached the ears of all. But now the same God has given to us to be eye-witnesses of miracles more wonderful than fables, and, from their recent appearance, more authentic than any report. For the tyrants of our day have ventured to war against the Supreme God, and have sorely afflicted His Church. And in the midst of these, Constantine, who was shortly to become their destroyer, but at that time of tender age, and blooming with the dawn of early youth, dwelt, as that other servant of God had done, in the very home of the tyrants, but young as he was did not share the manner of life of the ungodly: for from that early period his noble nature, under the leading of the Divine Spirit, inclined him to piety and a life acceptable to God. A desire, moreover, to emulate the example of his father had its influence in stimulating the son to a virtuous course of conduct. His father was Constantius (and we ought to revive his memory at this time), the most illustrious emperor of our age; of whose life it is necessary briefly to relate a few particulars, which tell to the honor of his son.

CHAPTER XIII: Of Constantius his Father, who refused to imitate Diocletian, Maximian, and Maxentius, in their Persecution of the Christians. AT a time when four emperors shared the administration of the Roman empire, Constantius alone, following a course of conduct different from that pursued by his colleagues, entered into the friendship of the Supreme God. For while they besieged and wasted the churches of God, leveling them to the ground, and obliterating the very foundations of the houses of prayer, he kept his hands pure from their abominable impiety, and never in any respect resembled them. They polluted their provinces by the indiscriminate slaughter of godly men and women; but he kept his soul free from the stain of this crime. The involved in the mazes of impious idolatry, enthralled first themselves, and then all under their authority, in bondage to the errors of evil demons, while he at the same time originated the profoundest peace throughout his dominions, and secured to his subjects the privilege of celebrating without hindrance the worship of God. In short, while his colleagues oppressed all men by the most grievous exactions, and rendered their lives intolerable, and even worse than death, Constantius alone governed his people with a mild and tranquil sway, and exhibited towards them a truly parental and fostering care. Numberless, indeed, are the other virtues of this man, which are the theme of praise to all; of these I will record one or two instances, as specimens of the quality of those which I must pass by in silence, and then I will proceed to the appointed order of my narrative.

CHAPTER XIV: How Constantius his Father, being reproached with Poverty by Diocletian, filled his Treasury, and afterwards restored the Money to those by whom it had been contributed. IN consequence of the many reports in circulation respecting this prince, describing his kindness and gentleness of character, and the extraordinary elevation of his piety, alleging too, that by reason of his extreme indulgence to his subjects, he had not even a supply of money laid up in his treasury; the emperor who at that time

occupied the place of supreme power sent to reprehend his neglect of the public weal, at the same time reproaching him with poverty, and alleging in proof of the charge the empty state of his treasury. On this he desired the messengers of the emperor to remain with him awhile, and, calling together the wealthiest of his subjects of all nations under his dominion, he informed them that he was in want of money, and that this was the time for them all to give a voluntary proof of their affection for their prince.

As soon as they heard this (as though they had long been desirous of an opportunity for showing the sincerity of their good will), with zealous alacrity they filled the treasury with gold and silver and other wealth; each eager to surpass the rest in the amount of his contribution: and this they did with cheerful and joyous countenances. And now Constantius desired the messengers of the great emperor personally to inspect his treasures, and directed them to give a faithful report of what they had seen; adding, that on the present occasion he had taken this money into his own hands, but that it had long been kept for his use in the custody of the owners, as securely as if under the charge of faithful treasurers. The ambassadors were overwhelmed with astonishment at what they had witnessed: and on their departure it is said that the truly generous prince sent for the owners of the property, and, after commending them severally for their obedience and true loyalty, restored it all, and bade them return to their homes.

This one circumstance, then, conveys a proof of the generosity of him whose character we are attempting to illustrate: another will contain the clearest testimony to his piety.

CHAPTER XV: Of the Persecution raised by his Colleagues.

BY command of the supreme authorities of the empire, the governors of the several provinces had set on foot a general persecution of the godly. Indeed, it was from the imperial courts themselves that the very first of the pious martyrs proceeded, who passed through those conflicts for the faith, and most readily endured both fire and sword, and the depths of the sea; every form of death, in short, so that in a brief time all the royal palaces were bereft of pious men. The result was, that the authors of this wickedness were entirely deprived of the protecting care of God, since by their persecution of his worshipers they at the same time silenced the prayers that were wont to be made on their own behalf.

CHAPTER XVI: How Constantius, feigning Idolatry, expelled those who consented to offer Sacrifice, but retained in his Palace all who were willing to confess Christ. ON the other hand, Constantius conceived an expedient full of sagacity, and did a thing which sounds paradoxical, but in fact was most admirable.

He made a proposal to all the officers of his court, including even those in the highest stations of authority, offering them the following alternative: either that they should offer sacrifice to demons, and thus be permitted to remain with him, and enjoy their usual honors; or, in case of refusal, that they should be shut out from all access to his person, and entirely disqualified from acquaintance and association with him. Accordingly, when they had individually made their choice, some one way and some the other; and the choice of each had been ascertained, then this admirable prince disclosed the secret meaning of his expedient, and condemned the cowardice and selfishness of the one party, while he highly commended the other for their conscientious devotion to God. He declared, too, that those who had been false to their God must be unworthy of the confidence of their prince; for how was it possible that they should preserve their fidelity to him, who had proved themselves faithless to a higher power? He determined, therefore, that such persons should be removed altogether from the imperial court, while, on the other hand, declaring that those men who, in bearing witness for the truth, had proved themselves to be worthy servants of God, would manifest the same fidelity to their king, he entrusted them with the guardianship of his person and empire, saying that he was bound to treat such persons with special regard as his nearest and most valued friends, and to esteem them far more highly than the richest treasures.

CHAPTER XVII: Of his Christian Manner of Life.

THE father of Constantine, then, is said to have possessed such a character as we have briefly described. And what kind of death was vouchsafed to him in consequence of such devotion to God, and how far he whom he honored made his lot to differ from that of his colleagues in the empire, may be known to any one who will give his attention to the circumstances of the case. For after he had for a long time given many proofs of royal virtue, in acknowledging the Supreme God alone, and condemning

- the polytheism of the ungodly, and had fortified his household by the prayers of holy men, he passed the remainder of his life in remarkable repose and tranquility, in the enjoyment of what is counted blessedness, - neither molesting others nor being molested ourselves.
- Accordingly, during the whole course of his quiet and peaceful reign, he dedicated his entire household, his children, his wife, and domestic attendants, to the One Supreme God: so that the company assembled within the walls of his palace differed in no respect from a church of God; wherein were also to be found his ministers, who offered continual supplications on behalf of their prince, and this at a time when, with most, it was not allowable to have any dealings with the worshipers of God, even so far as to exchange a word with them.
- CHAPTER XVIII: That after the Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius became Chief Augustus, and was blessed with a Numerous Offspring. THE immediate consequence of this conduct was a recompense from the hand of God, insomuch that he came into the supreme authority of the empire. For the older emperors, for some unknown reason, resigned their power; and this sudden change took place in the first year after their persecution of the churches. From that time Constantius alone received the honors of chief Augustus, having been previously, indeed, distinguished by the diadem of the imperial Caesars, among whom he held the first rank; but after his worth had been proved in this capacity, he was invested with the highest dignity of the Roman empire, being named chief Augustus of the four who were afterwards elected to that honor. Moreover, he surpassed most of the emperors in regard to the number of his family, having gathered around him a very large circle of children both male and female. And, lastly, when he had attained to a happy old age, and was about to pay the common debt of nature, and exchange this life for another, God once more manifested His power in a special manner on his behalf, by providing that his eldest son Constantine should be present during his last moments, and ready to receive the imperial power from his hands.
- CHAPTER XIX: Of his Son Constantine, who in his Youth accompanied Diocletian into Palestine. THE latter had been with his father's imperial colleagues, and had passed his life among them, as we have said, like God's ancient prophet. And even in the very earliest period of his youth he was judged by them to be worthy of the highest honor. An instance of this we have ourselves seen, when he passed through Palestine with the senior emperor, at whose right hand he stood, and commanded the admiration of all who beheld him by the indications he gave even then of royal greatness. For no one was comparable to him for grace and beauty of person, or height of stature; and he so far surpassed his compeers in personal strength as to be a terror to them. He was, however, even more conspicuous for the excellence of his mental qualities than for his superior physical endowments; being gifted in the first place with a sound judgment, and having also reaped the advantages of a liberal education. He was also distinguished in no ordinary degree both by natural intelligence and divinely imparted wisdom.
- CHAPTER XX: Flight of Constantine to his Father because of the Plots of Diocletian. THE emperors then in power, observing his manly and vigorous figure and superior mind, were moved with feelings of jealousy and fear, and thenceforward carefully watched for an opportunity of inflicting some brand of disgrace on his character. But the young man, being aware of their designs, the details of which, through the providence of God, more than once came to him, sought safety in flight; in this respect again keeping up his resemblance to the great prophet Moses. Indeed, in every sense God was his helper; and he had before ordained that he should be present in readiness to succeed his father.
- CHAPTER XXI: Death of Constantius, who leaves his Son Constantine Emperor. IMMEDIATELY, therefore, on his escape from the plots which had been thus insidiously laid for him, he made his way with all haste to his father, and arrived at length at the very time that he was lying at the point of death. As soon as Constantius saw his son thus unexpectedly in his presence, he leaped from his couch, embraced him tenderly, and, declaring that the only anxiety which had troubled him in the prospect of death, namely, that caused by the absence of his son, was now removed, he rendered thanks to God, saying that he now thought death better than the longest life, and at once completed the arrangement of his private affairs. Then, taking a final leave of the circle of sons and daughters by whom he was surrounded, in his own palace, and on

- 2450 the imperial couch, he bequeathed the empire, according to the law of nature, to his eldest son, and breathed his last.
- CHAPTER XXII: How, after the Burial of Constantius, Constantine was proclaimed Augustus by the Army.
- 2455 NOR did the imperial throne remain long unoccupied: for Constantine invested himself with his father's purple, and proceeded from his father's palace, presenting to all a renewal, as it were, in his own person, of his father's life and reign. He then conducted the funeral procession in company with his father's friends, some preceding, others following the train, and performed the last offices for the pious
- 2460 deceased with an extraordinary degree of magnificence, and all united in honoring this thrice blessed prince with acclamations and praises, and while with one mind and voice, they glorified the rule of the son as a living again of him who was dead, they hastened at once to hail their new sovereign by the titles of Imperial and Worshipful Augustus, with joyful shouts. Thus the memory of the deceased emperor received honor
- 2465 from the praises bestowed upon his son, while the latter was pronounced blessed in being the successor of such a father. All the nations also under his dominion were filled with joy and inexpressible gladness at not being even for a moment deprived of the benefits of a well ordered government.
- 2470 In the instance of the Emperor Constantius, God has made manifest to our generation what the end of those is who in their lives have honored and loved him.
- CHAPTER XXIII: A Brief Notice of the Destruction of the Tyrants.
- 2475 WITH respect to the other princes, who made war against the churches of God, I have not thought it fit in the present work to give any account of their downfall, nor to stain the memory of the good by mentioning them in connection with those of an opposite character. The knowledge of the facts themselves will of itself suffice for the wholesome admonition of those who have witnessed or heard of the evils which severally befell them.
- 2480 CHAPTER XXIV: It was by the Will of God that Constantine became possessed of the Empire.
- THUS then the God of all, the Supreme Governor of the whole universe, by his own will appointed Constantine, the descendant of so renowned a parent, to be prince and sovereign: so that, while others have been raised to this distinction by the election
- 2485 of their fellow-men, he is the only one to whose elevation no mortal may boast of having contributed.
- CHAPTER XXV: Victories of Constantine over the and the Britons.
- 2490 AS soon then as he was established on the throne, he began to care for the interests of his paternal inheritance, and visited with much considerate kindness all those provinces which had previously been under his father's government. Some tribes of the barbarians who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, and the shores of the Western ocean, having ventured to revolt, he reduced them all to obedience, and brought them from their savage state to one of gentleness. He contented himself with checking the
- 2495 inroads of others, and drove from his dominions, like untamed and savage beasts, those whom he perceived to be altogether incapable of the settled order of civilized life. Having disposed of these affairs to his satisfaction, he directed his attention to other quarters of the world, and first passed over to the British nations, which lie in the very bosom of the ocean. These he reduced to submission, and then
- 2500 proceeded to consider the state of the remaining portions of the empire, that he might be ready to tender his aid wherever circumstances might require it.
- CHAPTER XXVI: How he resolved to deliver Rome from Maxentius.
- 2505 WHILE, therefore, he regarded the entire world as one immense body, and perceived that the head of it all, the royal city of the Roman empire, was bowed down by the weight of a tyrannous oppression; at first he had left the task of liberation to those who governed the other divisions of the empire, as being his superiors in point of age. But when none of these proved able to afford relief, and those who had attempted it had experienced a disastrous termination of their enterprise, he said
- 2510 that life was without enjoyment to him as long as he saw the imperial city thus afflicted, and prepared himself for the overthrow of the tyranny.
- [Book I, 26-31]
- 2515 Εἶθ' ὥσπερ μέγα σῶμα, τὸ πᾶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐννοήσας στοιχεῖον, κάπειτα τὴν τοῦ παντὸς κεφαλὴν, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν, τυραννικῇ δουλείᾳ συνιδὼν

- καθυπηγμένην, παρεχώρει μὲν ταπρῶτα τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἄμυναν τοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν κρατοῦσι μερῶν, ἅτε δὴ χρόνῳ προάγουσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδεὶς οἶός τ' ἦν ἐπικουρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πεῖραν λαβεῖν ἐθέλησαντες αἰσχροὺς ὑπέμειναν τέλος, οὐδὲ βιωτὸν αὐτῷ τὴν ζωὴν εἶναι εἰπὼν, εἰ τὴν βασιλίδαν πόλιν οὕτω κάμνουσαν παρίδοι, παρεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν
- 2520 καθαίρεσιν τῆς τυραννίδος.
- Εὗ δ' ἐννοήσας ὡς κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ στρατιωτικὴν δέοι αὐτῷ βοηθείας, διὰ τὰς κακοτέχνους καὶ γοητικὰς μαγανείας τὰς παρὰ τῷ τυράννῳ σπουδαζομένας, θεὸν ἀνεζήτην βοηθόν, τὰ μὲν ἐξ ὀπλίσεων καὶ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους δεύτερα τιθέμενος, τὴν δ' ἐκ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἁμαχὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαράθραυστον. Ἐννοεῖ δὴτα ὁποῖον δέοι θεὸν ἐπιγράψασθαι βοηθόν· ζητοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐννοιά τις ὑπεισηλθεν· ὡς πλειόνων πρότερον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφαψαμένων, οἱ μὲν πλείοσι θεοῖς τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀναρτήσαντες ἐλπίδας, θυσίαις τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι τούτους θεραπεύσαντες, ἀπατηθέντες ταπρῶτα διὰ μαντιῶν κεχαρισμένων, χρησμῶν τε τὰ αἴσια ἀπαγγελλομένων αὐτοῖς, τέλος οὐκ αἴσιον εὗραντο, οὐδέ τις θεῶν
- 2525 πρὸς τὸ μὴ θεηλάτοις ὑποβληθῆναι καταστροφαῖς, δεξιὸς αὐτοῖς παρέστη· μόνον δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκείνοις τραπέντα, τῶν μὲν πλάνην καταγνῶναι, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὅλων θεὸν διὰ πάσης τιμῆσαντα ζωῆς, σωτήρα καὶ φύλακα τῆς βασιλείας, ἀγαθοῦ τε παντὸς χορηγὸν εὐρέσθαι. Ταῦτα παρ' ἑαυτῷ διακρίνας, εὗ τε λογισάμενος, ὡς οἱ μὲν πλήθει θεῶν ἐπιθαρρήσαντες, καὶ πλείοσιν ἐπιπεπτώκασιν ὀλέθροις, ὡς μὴδὲ
- 2535 γένος, μὴδὲ φυτὴν, μὴ ῥίζαν αὐτοῖς, μὴδ' ὄνομα, μὴδὲ μνήμην ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπολειφθῆναι, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτῷ θεὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἐναργῆ καὶ ἀμύπολλα δείγματα εἰλη δεδωκώς τῷ αὐτοῦ πατρί· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἤδη καταστρατεύσαντας πρότερον τοῦ τυράννου διασκεψάμενος, σὺν πλήθει μὲν θεῶν τὴν παράταξιν πεποιημένους, αἰσχροὺς δὲ τέλος ὑπομείναντας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν σὺν αἰσχύνη τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπρακτοὺς ἀνεχώρει, ὁ δὲ καὶ μέσοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς
- 2540 στρατεύμασι κατασφαγεῖς, πάρεργον ἐγένετο θανάτου· ταῦτα οὖν πάντα συναγαγὼν τῇ διανοίᾳ, τὸ μὲν περὶ τοὺς μὴδὲν ὄντας θεοὺς ματαιάζειν, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον ἔλεγχον ἀποπλανᾶσθαι, μωρίας ἔργον ὑπελάμβανε, τὸν δὲ πατῶν τιμῶν μόνον ᾤετο δεῖν θεόν.
- Ἀνεκαλεῖτο δὴτα ἐν εὐχαῖς τοῦτον ἀντιβολῶν καὶ ποτνιῶμενος, φῆναι αὐτῷ ἑαυτὸν ὅστις εἶη, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεξιὰν τοῖς προκειμένοις ἐπορέξει. Εὐχομένῳ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λιπαρῶς ἱκετεύοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, θεοσημεῖα τις ἐπιφαίνεται παραδοξοτάτη· ἦν τάχα μὲν ἄλλου λέγοντος, οὐ ῥᾶδιον ἦν ἀποδέξασθαι, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ νικητοῦ βασιλέως, τοῖς τὴν γραφὴν διηγούμενοις ἡμῖν μακροῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις, ὅτε ἡξιώθημεν τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώσεώς τε καὶ ὁμιλίας, ἐξαγγείλαντος ὄρκους, τε πιστωσαμένου τὸν λόγον, τίς ἂν ἀμφιβάλῃ μὴ οὐχὶ
- 2550 πιστεῦσαι τῷ διηγήματι; μάλισθ' ὅτε καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνος ἀληθῆς τῷ λόγῳ παρέσχε τὴν μαρτυρίαν. Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας, ἡδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον, ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφὴν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι λέγουσαν· τούτῳ νίκα. Θάμβος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ θεάματι κρατῆσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἅπαν, ὃ δὴ στελλομένῳ ποι πορείαν συνείπετό τε
- 2555 καὶ θεωρὸν ἐγίνετο τοῦ θαύματος.
- Καὶ δὴ διαπορεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, τί ποτε εἶη τὸ φάσμα. Ἐνθυμουμένῳ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ λογιζομένῳ νῦξ ἐπῆει καταλαβοῦσα· ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὑπνοῦντι αὐτῷ, τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ σὺν τῷ φανέντι κατ' οὐρανὸν σημείῳ ὀφθῆναι τε καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι, μίμημα ποιησάμενον τοῦ κατ' οὐρανὸν ὀφθέντος σημείου, τούτῳ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων συμβολὰς ἀλεξήματι χρῆσθαι.
- Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ διαναστὰς, τοῖς φίλοις ἐξηγόρευε τὸ ἀπόρρητον. Κάπειτα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν δημιουργοὺς συγκαλέσας, μέσος αὐτοὺς καθίζανει, καὶ τοῦ σημείου τὴν εἰκόνα φράζει, ἀπομιμεῖσθαι τε αὐτὴν χρυσῷ καὶ πολυτελέσι λίθοις διεκελεύετο· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτε συνέβη παραλαβεῖν.
- Ἦν δὲ τοιῷδε σχήματι κατεσκευασμένον· ὑψηλὸν δόρυ χρυσῷ κατημφιεσμένον, κέρας εἶχεν ἐγκάρσιον, σταυροῦ σχήματι πεποιημένον· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς ἄκρῳ τοῦ παντὸς, στέφανος ἐκ λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ χρυσοῦ συμπεπλεγμένους κατεστήρικτο, καθ' οὗ τῆς σωτηρίου ἐπηγορίας τὸ σύμβολον, δύο στοιχεῖα τὸ Χριστοῦ παραδηλοῦντα ὄνομα, διὰ τῶν πρώτων ὑπεσήμεαινον χαρακτῆρων, χιαζομένου τοῦ ρ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον· ἃ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους φέρειν εἶωθε κὰν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις ὁ βασιλεὺς. Τοῦ δὲ πλαγίου κέρως, τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δόρυ πεπαρμένου, ὀθόνη τις ἐκκρεμῆς ἀπηώρητο, βασιλικὸν ὕφασμα ποικιλίᾳ
- 2570 συνημμένων πολυτελῶν λίθων, φωτὸς αὐγαῖς ἐξαστραπτόντων, καλυπτόμενον· σὺν πολλῷ τε καθυφασμένον χρυσῷ, ἀδιήγητόν τι χρῆμα τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρεῖχε τοῦ κάλλους. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ φᾶρος τοῦ κέρως ἐξημμένον, σύμμετρον μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους περιγραφὴν ἀπελάμβανε, τὸ δ' ὀρθιον δόρυ, τῆς κάτω ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ μηκυνόμενον, ἄνω μετέωρον ὑπὸ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ τροπαίῳ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἄκροις τοῦ διαγραφέντος ὑφάσματος, τὴν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς
- 2580 βασιλέως εἰκόνα χρυσῇν μέχρι στέρνων, τῶν τ' αὐτοῦ παίδων ὁμοίως ἔφερε. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ σωτηρίῳ σημείῳ, πάσης ἀντικειμένης καὶ πολεμίας δυνάμεως ἀμυντηρίῳ διαπαντὸς

ἐχρήτο βασιλεύς, τῶν τε στρατοπέδων ἀπάντων ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦτου ὁμοιώματα, προσέτατεν.

2585 CHAPTER XXVII: That after reflecting on the Dawn fall of those who had worshiped Idols, he made Choice of Christianity.
BEING convinced, however, that he needed some more powerful aid than his military forces could afford him, on account of the wicked and magical enchantments which were so diligently practiced by the tyrant, he sought Divine assistance, deeming the possession of arms and a numerous soldiery of secondary importance, but believing the
2590 co-operating power of Deity invincible and not to be shaken. He considered, therefore, on what God he might rely for protection and assistance. While engaged in this inquiry, the thought occurred to him, that, of the many emperors who had preceded him, those who had rested their hopes in a multitude of gods, and served them with sacrifices and offerings, had in the first place been deceived by
2595 flattering predictions, and oracles which promised them all prosperity, and at last had met with an unhappy end, while not one of their gods had stood by to warn them of the impending wrath of heaven; while one alone who had pursued an entirely opposite course, who had condemned their error, and honored the one Supreme God during his whole life, had formal I him to be the Saviour and Protector of his empire, and the Giver of every good thing. Reflecting on this, and well weighing the fact that they
2600 who had trusted in many gods had also fallen by manifold forms of death, without leaving behind them either family or offspring, stock, name, or memorial among men: while the God of his father had given to him, on the other hand, manifestations of his power and very many tokens: and considering farther that those who had already
2605 taken arms against the tyrant, and had marched to the battle-field under the protection of a multitude of gods, had met with a dishonorable end (for one of them had shamefully retreated from the contest without ablow, and the other, being slain in the midst of his own troops, became, as it were, the mere sport of death); reviewing, I say, all these considerations, he judged it to be folly indeed to join
2610 in the idle worship of those who were no gods, and, after such convincing evidence, to err from the truth; and therefore felt it incumbent on him to honor his father's God alone.

CHAPTER XXVIII: How, while he was praying, God sent him a Vision of a Cross of Light
2615 in the Heavens at Mid-day, with an Inscription admonishing him to conquer by that. ACCORDINGLY he called on him with earnest prayer and supplications that he would reveal to him who he was, and stretch forth his right hand to help him in his present difficulties. And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvelous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to
2620 believe had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honored with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-
2625 time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, CONQUER BY THIS. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle.

2630 CHAPTER XXIX: How the Christ of God appeared to him in his Sleep, and commanded him to use in his Wars a Standard made in the Form of the Cross.
HE said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which
2635 he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.

CHAPTER XXX: The Making of the Standard of the Cross.
2640 AT dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing.

2645 CHAPTER XXXI: A Description of the Standard of the Cross, which the Romans now call the Labarum.

NOW it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter P being intersected by X in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner. The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies.

CHAPTER XXXII: How Constantine received Instruction, and read the Sacred Scriptures. THESE things were done shortly afterwards. But at the time above specified, being struck with amazement at the extraordinary vision, and resolving to worship no other God save Him who had appeared to him, he sent for those who were acquainted with the mysteries of His doctrines, and inquired who that God was, and what was intended by the sign of the vision he had seen. They affirmed that He was God, the only begotten Son of the one and only God: that the sign which had appeared was the symbol of immortality, and the trophy of that victory over death which He had gained in time past when sojourning on earth. They taught him also the causes of His advent, and explained to him the true account of His incarnation. Thus he was instructed in these matters, and was impressed with wonder at the divine manifestation which had been presented to his sight. Comparing, therefore, the heavenly vision with the interpretation given, he found his judgment confirmed; and, in the persuasion that the knowledge of these things had been imparted to him by Divine teaching, he determined thenceforth to devote himself to the reading of the Inspired writings. Moreover, he made the priests of God his counselors, and deemed it incumbent on him to honor the God who had appeared to him with all devotion. And after this, being fortified by well-grounded hopes in Him, he hastened to quench the threatening fire of tyranny.

CHAPTER XXXIII: Of the Adulterous Conduct of Maxentius at Rome. FOR the who had tyrannically possessed himself of the imperial city, had proceeded to great lengths in impiety and wickedness, so as to venture without hesitation on every vile and impure action. For example: he would separate women from their husbands, and after a time send them back to them again, and these insults he offered not to men of mean or obscure condition, but to those who held the first places in the Roman senate. Moreover, though he shamefully dishonored almost numberless free women, he was unable to satisfy his ungoverned and intemperate desires. But when he assayed to corrupt Christian women also, he could no longer secure success to his designs, since they chose rather to submit their lives to death than yield their persons to be defiled by him.

CHAPTER XXXIV: How the Wife of a Prefect slew herself for Chastity's Sake. NOW a certain woman, wife of one of the senators who held the authority of prefect, when she understood that those who ministered to the tyrant in such matters were standing before her house (she was a Christian), and knew that her husband through fear had bidden them take her and lead her away, begged a short space of time for arraying herself in her usual dress, and entered her chamber. There, being left alone, she sheathed a sword in her own breast, and immediately expired, leaving indeed her dead body to the procurers, but declaring to all mankind, both to present and future generations, by an act which spoke louder than any words, that the chastity for which Christians are famed is the only thing which is invincible and indestructible. Such was the conduct displayed by this woman.

CHAPTER XXXV: Massacre of the Roman People by Maxentius. ALL men, therefore, both people and magistrates, whether of high or low degree, trembled through fear of him whose daring wickedness was such as I have described, and were oppressed by his grievous tyranny. Nay, though they submitted quietly, and endured this bitter servitude, still there was no escape from the tyrant's sanguinary

cruelty. For at one time, on some trifling pretense, he exposed the populace to be
 2715 slaughtered by his own body-guard; and countless multitudes of the Roman people were
 slain in the very midst of the city by the lances and weapons, not of Scythians or
 barbarians, but of their own fellow-citizens. And besides this, it is impossible to
 calculate the number of senators whose blood was shed with a view to the seizure of
 their respective estates, for at different times and on various fictitious charges,
 2720 multitudes of them suffered death.

CHAPTER XXXVI: Magic Arts of Maxentius against Constantine; and Famine at Rome.
 BUT the crowning point of the tyrant's wickedness was his having recourse to sorcery:
 sometimes for magic purposes ripping up women with child, at other times searching
 2725 into the bowels of new-born infants. He slew lions also, and practiced certain horrid
 arts for evoking demons, and averting the approaching war, hoping by these means to
 get the victory. In short, it is impossible to describe the manifold acts of
 oppression by which this tyrant of Rome enslaved his subjects: so that by this time
 they were reduced to the most extreme penury and want of necessary food, a scarcity
 2730 such as our contemporaries do not remember ever before to have existed at Rome.

CHAPTER XXXVII: Defeat of Maxentius's Armies in Italy.
 CONSTANTINE, however, filled with compassion on account of all these miseries, began
 to arm himself with all warlike preparation against the tyranny. Assuming therefore
 2735 the Supreme God as his patron, and invoking His Christ to be his preserver and aid,
 and setting the victorious trophy, the salutary symbol, in front of his soldiers and
 body-guard, he marched with his whole forces, trying to obtain again for the Romans
 the freedom they had inherited from their ancestors.
 And whereas, Maxentius, trusting more in his magic arts than in the affection of his
 2740 subjects, dared not even advance outside the city gates, but had guarded every place
 and district and city subject to his tyranny, with large bodies of soldiers, the
 emperor, confiding in the help of God, advanced against the first and second and
 third divisions of the tyrant's forces, defeated them all with ease at the first
 assault, and made his way into the very interior of Italy.

CHAPTER XXXVIII: Death of Maxentius on the Bridge of the Tiber.
 AND already he was approaching very near Rome itself, when, to save him from the
 necessity of fighting with all the Romans for the tyrant's sake, God himself drew the
 tyrant, as it were by secret cords, a long way outside the gates. And now those
 2750 miracles recorded in Holy Writ, which God of old wrought against the ungodly
 (discredited by most as fables, yet believed by the faithful), did he in every deed
 confirm to all alike, believers and unbelievers, who were eye-witnesses of the
 wonders. For as once in the days of Moses and the Hebrew nation, who were worshipers
 of God, "Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea and his chosen
 2755 chariot-captains are drowned in the Red Sea," - so at this time Maxentius, and the
 soldiers and guards with him, "went down into the depths like stone," when, in his
 flight before the divinely-aided forces of Constantine, he essayed to cross the river
 which lay in his way, over which, making a strong bridge of boats, he had framed an
 engine of destruction, really against himself, but in the hope of ca-snaring thereby
 2760 him who was beloved by God. For his God stood by the one to protect him, while the
 other, godless, proved to be the miserable contriver of these secret devices to his
 own ruin. So that one might well say, "He hath made a pit, and digged it, and is
 fallen into the ditch which he made. His mischief shall return upon his own head, and
 his violence shall come down upon his own pate." Thus, in the present instance, under
 2765 divine direction, the machine erected on the bridge, with the ambuscade concealed
 therein, giving way unexpectedly before the appointed time, the bridge began to sink,
 and the boats with the men in them went bodily to the bottom. And first the wretch
 himself, then his armed attendants and guards, even as the sacred oracles had before
 described, "sank as lead in the mighty waters." So that they who thus obtained
 2770 victory from God might well, if not in the same words, yet in fact in the same spirit
 as the people of his great servant Moses, sing and speak as they did concerning the
 impious tyrant of old: "Let us sing unto the Lord, for he hath been glorified
 exceedingly: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. He is become my
 helper and my shield unto salvation." And again, "Who is like unto thee, O Lord,
 2775 among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, marvelous in praises, doing
 wonders?"

CHAPTER XXXIX: Constantine's Entry into Rome.
 HAVING then at this time sung these and suchlike praises to God, the Ruler of all and

- 2780 the Author of victory, after the example of his great servant Moses, Constantine entered the imperial city in triumph. And here the whole body of the senate, and others of rank and distinction in the city, freed as it were from the restraint of a prison, along with the whole Roman populace, their countenances expressive of the gladness of their hearts, received him with acclamations and abounding joy; men, 2785 women, and children, with countless multitudes of servants, greeting him as deliverer, preserver, and benefactor, with incessant shouts. But he, being possessed of inward piety toward God, was neither rendered arrogant by these plaudits, nor uplifted by the praises he heard: but, being sensible that he had received help from God, he immediately rendered a thanksgiving to him as the Author of his victory.
- 2790 CHAPTER XL: Of the Statue of Constantine holding a Cross, and its Inscription. MOREOVER, by loud proclamation and monumental inscriptions he made known to all men the salutary symbol, setting up this great trophy of victory over his enemies in the midst of the imperial city, and expressly causing it to be engraved in indelible 2795 characters, that the salutary symbol was the safeguard of the Roman government and of the entire empire. Accordingly, he immediately ordered a lofty spear in the figure of a cross to be placed beneath the hand of a statue representing himself, in the most frequented part of Rome, and the following inscription to be engraved on it in the Latin language: BY VIRTUE OF THIS SALUTARY SIGN, WHICH IS THE TRUE TEST OF VALOR, I 2800 HAVE PRESERVED AND LIBERATED YOUR CITY FROM THE YOKE OF TYRANNY. I HAVE ALSO SET AT LIBERTY THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE, AND RESTORED THEM TO THEIR ANCIENT DISTINCTION AND SPLENDOR.
- CHAPTER XLI: Rejoicings throughout the Provinces; and Constantine's Acts of Grace. 2805 THUS the pious emperor, glorying in the confession of the victorious cross, proclaimed the Son of God to the Romans with great boldness of testimony. And the inhabitants of the city, one and all, senate and people, reviving, as it were, from the pressure of a bitter and tyrannical domination, seemed to enjoy purer rays of light, and to be born again into a fresh and new life. All the nations, too, as far 2810 as the limit of the western ocean, being set free from the calamities which had heretofore beset them, and gladdened by joyous festivals, ceased not to praise him as the victorious, the pious, the common benefactor: all, indeed, with one voice and one mouth, declared that Constantine had appeared by the grace of God as a general blessing to mankind. The imperial edict also was everywhere published, whereby those 2815 who had been wrongfully deprived of their estates were permitted again to enjoy their own, while those who had unjustly suffered exile were recalled to their homes. Moreover, he freed from imprisonment, and from every kind of danger and fear, those who, by reason of the tyrant's cruelty, had been subject to these sufferings.
- 2820 CHAPTER XLII: The Honors conferred upon Bishops, and the Building of Churches. THE emperor also personally inviting the society of God's ministers, distinguished them with the highest possible respect and honor, showing them favor in deed and word as persons consecrated to the service of his God. Accordingly, they were admitted to his table, though mean in their attire and outward appearance; yet not so in his 2825 estimation, since he thought he saw not the man as seen by the vulgar eye, but the God in him. He made them also his companions in travel, believing that He whose servants they were would thus help him. Besides this, he gave from his own private resources costly benefactions to the churches of God, both enlarging and heightening the sacred edifices, and embellishing the august sanctuaries of the church with 2830 abundant offerings.
- CHAPTER XLIII: Constantine's Liberality to the Poor. HE likewise distributed money largely to those who were in need, and besides these showing himself philanthropist and benefactor even to the heathen, who had no claim 2835 on him; and even for the beggars in the forum, miserable and shiftless, he provided, not with money only, or necessary food, but also decent clothing. But in the case of those who had once been prosperous, and had experienced a reverse of circumstances, his aid was still more lavishly bestowed. On such persons, in a truly royal spirit, he conferred magnificent benefactions; giving grants of land to some, and honoring 2840 others with various dignities. Orphans of the unfortunate he cared for as a father, while he relieved the destitution of widows, and cared for them with special solicitude. Nay, he even gave virgins, left unprotected by their parents' death, in marriage to wealthy men with whom he was personally acquainted. But this he did after first bestowing on the brides such portions as it was fitting they should bring to 2845 the communion of marriage. In short, as the sun, when he rises upon the earth,

liberally imparts his rays of light to all, so did Constantine, proceeding at early dawn from the imperial palace, and rising as it were with the heavenly luminary, impart the rays of his own beneficence to all who came into his presence. It was scarcely possible to be near him without receiving some benefit, nor did it ever happen that any who had expected to obtain his assistance were disappointed in their hope.

CHAPTER XLIV: How he was present at the Synods of Bishops.

SUCH, then, was his general character towards all. But he exercised a peculiar care over the church of God: and whereas, in the several provinces there were some who differed from each other in judgment, he, like some general bishop constituted by God, convened synods of his ministers. Nor did he disdain to be present and sit with them in their assembly, but bore a share in their deliberations, ministering to all that pertained to the peace of God. He took his seat, too, in the midst of them, as an individual amongst many, dismissing his guards and soldiers, and all whose duty it was to defend his person; but protected by the fear of God, and surrounded by the guardianship of his faithful friends. Those whom he saw inclined to a sound judgment, and exhibiting a calm and conciliatory temper, received his high approbation, for he evidently delighted in a general harmony of sentiment; while he regarded the unyielding wills aversion.

CHAPTER XLV: His Forbearance with Unreasonable Men.

MOREOVER he endured with patience some who were exasperated against himself, directing them in mild and gentle terms to control themselves, and not be turbulent. And some of these respected his admonitions, and desisted; but as to those who proved incapable of sound judgment, he left them entirely at the disposal of God, and never himself desired harsh measures against any one. Hence it naturally happened that the disaffected in Africa reached such a pitch of violence as even to venture on overt acts of audacity; some evil spirit, as it seems probable, being jealous of the present great prosperity, and impelling these men to atrocious deeds, that he might excite the emperor's anger against them. He gained nothing, however, by this malicious conduct; for the emperor laughed at these proceedings, and declared their origin to be from the evil one; inasmuch as these were not the actions of sober persons, but of lunatics or demoniacs; who should be pitied rather than punished; since to punish madmen is as great folly as to sympathize with their condition is supreme philanthropy.

CHAPTER XLVI: Victories over the Barbarians.

THUS the emperor in all his actions honored God, the Controller of all things, and exercised an unwearied oversight over His churches. And God requited him, by subduing all barbarous nations under his feet, so that he was able everywhere to raise trophies over his enemies: and He proclaimed him as conqueror to all mankind, and made him a terror to his adversaries: not indeed that this was his natural character, since he was rather the meekest, and gentlest, and most benevolent of men.

CHAPTER XLVII: Death of Maximin, who had attempted a Conspiracy, and of Others whom Constantine detected by Divine Revelation.

WHILE he was thus engaged, the second of those who had resigned the throne, being detected in a treasonable conspiracy, suffered a most ignominious death. He was the first whose pictures, statues, and all similar marks of honor and distinction were everywhere destroyed, on the ground of his crimes and impiety. After him others also of the same family were discovered in the act of forming secret plots against the emperor; all their intentions being miraculously revealed by God through visions to His servant.

For he frequently vouchsafed to him manifestations of himself, the Divine presence appearing to him in a most marvelous manner, and according to him manifold intimations of future events. Indeed, it is impossible to express in words the indescribable wonders of Divine grace which God was pleased to vouchsafe to His servant. Surrounded by these, he passed the rest of his life in security, rejoicing in the affection of his subjects, rejoicing too because he saw all beneath his government leading contented lives; but above all delighted at the flourishing condition of the churches of God.

CHAPTER XLVIII: Celebration of Constantine's Decennalia.

WHILE he was thus circumstanced, he completed the tenth year of his reign. On this occasion he ordered the celebration of general festivals, and offered prayers of

thanksgiving to God, the King of all, as sacrifices without flame or smoke. And from this employment he derived much pleasure: not so from the tidings he received of the ravages committed in the Eastern provinces.

CHAPTER XLIX: How Licinius oppressed the East.

FOR he was informed that in that quarter a certain savage beast was besetting both the church of God and the other inhabitants of the provinces, owing, as it were, to the efforts of the evil spirit to produce effects quite contrary to the deeds of the pious emperor: so that the Roman empire, divided into two parts, seemed to all men to resemble night and day; since darkness overspread the provinces of the East, while the brightest day illumined the inhabitants of the other portion. And whereas the latter were receiving manifold blessings at the hand of God, the sight of these blessings proved intolerable to that envy which hates all good, as well as to the tyrant who afflicted the other division of the empire; and who, notwithstanding that his government was prospering, and he had been honored by a marriage connection with so great an emperor as Constantine, yet cared not to follow the steps of that pious prince, but strove rather to imitate the evil purposes and practice of the impious; and chose to adopt the course of those whose ignominious end he had seen with his own eyes, rather than to maintain amicable relations with him who was his superior.

CHAPTER L: How Licinius attempted a Conspiracy against Constantine.

ACCORDINGLY he engaged in an implacable war against his benefactor, altogether regardless of the laws of friendship, the obligation of oaths, the ties of kindred, and already existing treaties. For the most benignant emperor had given him a proof of sincere affection in bestowing on him the hand of his sister, thus granting him the privilege of a place in family relationship and his own ancient imperial descent, and investing him also with the rank and dignity of his colleague in the empire. But the other took the very opposite course, employing himself in machinations against his superior, and devising various means to repay his benefactor with injuries. At first, pretending friendship, he did all things by guile and treachery, expecting thus to succeed in concealing his designs; but God enabled his servant to detect the schemes thus devised in darkness. Being discovered, however, in his first attempts, he had recourse to fresh frauds; at one time pretending friendship, at another claiming the protection of solemn treaties. Then suddenly violating every engagement, and again beseeching pardon by embassies, yet after all shamefully violating his word, he at last declared open war, and with desperate infatuation resolved thenceforward to carry arms against God himself, whose worshiper he knew the emperor to be.

CHAPTER LI: Intrigues of Licinius against the Bishops, and his Prohibition of Synods.

AND at first he made secret inquiry respecting the ministers of God subject to his dominion, who had never, indeed, in any respect offended against his government, in order to bring false accusations against them. And when he found no ground of accusation, and had no real ground of objection against them, he next enacted a law, to the effect that the bishops should never on any account hold communication with each other, nor should any one of them absent himself on a visit to a neighboring church; nor, lastly, should the holding of synods, or councils for the consideration of affairs of common interest, be permitted. Now this was clearly a pretext for displaying his malice against us. For we were compelled either to violate the law, and thus be amenable to punishment, or else, by compliance with its injunctions, to nullify the statutes of the Church; inasmuch as it is impossible to bring important questions to a satisfactory adjustment, except by means of synods. In other cases also this God-hater, being determined to act contrary to the God-loving prince, enacted such things. For whereas the one assembled the priests of God in order to honor them, and to promote peace and unity of judgment; the other, whose object it was to destroy everything that was good, used all his endeavors to destroy the general harmony.

CHAPTER LII: Banishment of the Christians, and Confiscation of their Property.

AND whereas Constantine, the friend of God, had granted to His worshipers freedom of access to the imperial palaces; this enemy of God, in a spirit the very reverse of this, expelled thence all Christians subject to his authority. He banished those who had proved themselves his most faithful and devoted servants, and compelled others, on whom he had himself conferred honor and distinction as a reward for their former eminent services, to the performance of menial offices as slaves to others; and at length, being bent on seizing the property of all as a windfall for himself, he even

threatened with death those who professed the Saviour's name. Moreover being himself of a nature hopelessly debased by sensuality, and degraded by the continual practice of adultery and other shameless vices, he assumed his own worthless character as a specimen of human nature generally, and denied that the virtue of chastity and continence existed among men.

CHAPTER LIII: Edict that Women should not meet with the Men in the Churches. ACCORDINGLY he passed a second law, which enjoined that men should not appear in company with women in the houses of prayer, and forbade women to attend the sacred schools of virtue, or to receive instruction from the bishops, directing the appointment of women to be teachers of their own sex. These regulations being received with general ridicule, he devised other means for effecting the ruin of the churches. He ordered that the usual congregations of the people should be held in the open country outside the gates, alleging that the open air without the city was far more suitable for a multitude than the houses of prayer within the walls.

CHAPTER LIV: That those who refuse to sacrifice are to be dismissed from Military Service, and those in Prison not to be fed. FAILING, however, to obtain obedience in this respect also, at length he threw off the mask, and gave orders that those who held military commissions in the several cities of the empire should be deprived of their respective commands, in case of their refusal to offer sacrifices to the demons. Accordingly the forces of the authorities in every province suffered the loss of those who worshiped God; and he too who had decreed this order suffered loss, in that he thus deprived himself of the prayers of pious men. And why should I still further mention how he directed that no one should obey the dictates of common humanity by distributing food to those who were pining in prisons, or should even pity the captives who perished with hunger; in short, that no one should perform a virtuous action, and that those whose natural feelings impelled them to sympathize with their fellow-creatures should be prohibited from doing them a single kindness? Truly this was the most utterly shameless and scandalous of all laws, and one which surpassed the worst depravity of human nature: a law which inflicted on those who showed mercy the same penalties as on those who were the objects of their compassion, and visited the exercise of mere humanity with the severest punishments.

CHAPTER LV: The Lawless Conduct and Covetousness of Licinius. SUCH were the ordinances of Licinius. But why should I enumerate his innovations respecting marriage, or those concerning the dying, whereby he presumed to abrogate the ancient and wisely established laws of the Romans, and to introduce certain barbarous and cruel institutions in their stead, inventing a thousand pretenses for oppressing his subjects? Hence it was that he devised a new method of measuring land, by which he reckoned the smallest portion at more than its actual dimensions, from an insatiable desire of acquisition. Hence too he registered the names of country residents who were now no more, and had long been numbered with the dead, procuring to himself by this expedient a shameful gain. His meanness was unlimited and his rapacity insatiable. So that when he had filled all his treasuries with gold, and silver, and boundless wealth, he bitterly bewailed his poverty, and suffered as it were the torments of Tantalus. But why should I mention how many innocent persons he punished with exile; how much property he confiscated; how many men of noble birth and estimable character he imprisoned, whose wives he handed over to be basely insulted by his profligate slaves, and to how many married women and virgins he himself offered violence, though already feeling the infirmities of age? I need not enlarge on these subjects, since the enormity of his last actions causes the former to appear trifling and of little moment.

CHAPTER LVI: At length he undertakes to raise a Persecution. FOR the final efforts of his fury appeared in his open hostility to the churches, and he directed his attacks against the bishops themselves, whom he regarded as his worst adversaries, bearing special enmity to those men whom the great and pious emperor treated as his friends. Accordingly he spent on us the utmost of his fury, and, being transported beyond the bounds of reason, he paused not to reflect on the example of those who had persecuted the Christians before him, nor of those whom he himself had been raised up to punish and destroy for their impious deeds: nor did he heed the facts of which he had been himself a witness, though he had seen with his own eyes the chief originator of these our calamities (whoever he was), smitten by the stroke of the Divine scourge.

3045 CHAPTER LVII: That Maximian, brought Low by a Fistulous Ulcer with Worms, issued an
Edict in Favor of the Christians.
FOR whereas this man had commenced the attack on the churches, and had been the first
to pollute his soul with the blood of just and godly men, a judgment from God
3050 overtook him, which at first affected his body, but eventually extended itself to his
soul. For suddenly an abscess appeared in the secret parts of his person, followed by
a deeply seated fistulous ulcer; and these diseases fastened with incurable virulence
on the intestines, which swarmed with a vast multitude of worms, and emitted a
3055 pestilential odor. Besides, his entire person had become loaded, through gluttonous
excess, with an enormous quantity of fat, and this, being now in a putrescent state,
is said to have presented to all who approached him an intolerable and dreadful
spectacle. Having, therefore, to struggle against such sufferings, at length, though
late, he came to a realization of his past crimes against the Church; and, confessing
his sins before God, he put a stop to the persecution of the Christians, and hastened
to issue imperial edicts and rescripts for the rebuilding of their churches, at the
3060 same time enjoining them to perform their customary worship, and to offer up prayers
on his behalf.

CHAPTER LVIII: That Maximian, who had persecuted the Christians, was compelled to
fly, and conceal himself in the Disguise of a Slave.
3065 SUCH was the punishment which he underwent who had commenced the persecution. He,
however, of whom we are now speaking, who had been a witness of these things, and
known them by his own actual experience, all at once banished the remembrance of them
from his mind, and reflected neither on the punishment of the first, nor the divine
judgment which had been executed on the second persecutor. The latter had indeed
3070 endeavored to outstrip his predecessor in the career of crime, and prided himself on
the invention of new tortures for us. Fire nor sword, nor piercing with nails, nor
yet wild beasts or the depths of the sea sufficed him. In addition to all these, he
discovered a new mode of punishment, and issued an edict directing that their
eyesight should be destroyed. So that numbers, not of men only, but of women and
3075 children, after being deprived of the sight of their eyes, and the use of the joints
of their feet, by mutilation or cauterization, were consigned in this condition to
the painful labor of the mines. Hence it was that this tyrant also was overtaken not
long after by the righteous judgment of God, at a time when, confiding in the aid of
the demons whom he worshiped as gods, and relying on the countless multitudes of his
3080 troops, he had ventured to engage in battle. For, feeling himself on that occasion
destitute of all hope in God, he threw from him the imperial dress which so ill
became him, hid himself with unmanly timidity in the crowd around him, and sought
safety in flight.
He afterwards lurked about the fields and villages in the habit of a slave, hoping he
3085 should thus be effectually concealed. He had not, however, eluded the mighty and all-
searching eye of God: for even while he was expecting to pass the residue of his days
in security, he fell prostrate, smitten by God's fiery dart, and his whole body
consumed by the stroke of Divine vengeance; so that all trace of the original
lineaments of his person was lost, and nothing remained to him but dry bones and a
3090 skeleton-like appearance.

CHAPTER LIX: That Maximian, blinded by Disease, issued an Edict in Favor of the
Christians.
AND still the stroke of God continued heavy upon him, so that his eyes protruded and
3095 fell from their sockets, leaving him quite blind: and thus he suffered, by a most
righteous retribution, the very same punishment which he had been the first to devise
for the martyrs of God. At length, however, surviving even these sufferings, he too
implored pardon of the God of the Christians, and confessed his impious fighting
against God: he too recanted, as the former persecutor had done; and by laws and
3100 ordinances explicitly acknowledged his error in worshiping those whom he had
accounted gods, declaring that he now knew, by positive experience, that the God of
the Christians was the only true God. These were facts which Licinius had not merely
received on the testimony of others, but of which he had himself had personal
knowledge: and yet, as though his understanding had been obscured by some dark cloud
3105 of error, persisted in the same evil course.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I: Secret Persecution by Licinius, who causes Same Bishops to be put to Death
at Amasia of Pontus.

3110 IN this manner, he of whom we have spoken continued to rush headlong towards that
destruction which awaits the enemies of God; and once more, with a fatal emulation of
their example whose ruin he had himself witnessed as the consequence of their impious
conduct, he re-kindled the persecution of the Christians, like a long-extinguished
3115 fire, and fanned the unhallowed flame to a fiercer height than any who had gone
before him.

At first, indeed, though breathing fury and threatenings against God, like some
savage beast of prey, or some crooked and wriggling serpent, he dared not, from fear
of Constantine, openly level his attacks against the churches of God subject to his
dominion; but dissembled the virulence of his malice, and endeavored by secret and
3120 limited measures to compass the death of the bishops, the most eminent of whom he
found means to remove, through charges laid against them by the governors of the
several provinces. And the manner in which they suffered had in it something strange,
and hitherto unheard of. At all events, the barbarities perpetrated at Amasia of
Pontus surpassed every known excess of cruelty.

3125 CHAPTER II: Demolition of Churches, and Butchery of the Bishops.
FOR in that city some of the churches, for the second time since the commencement of
the persecutions, were leveled with the ground, and others were closed by the
governors of the several districts, in order to prevent any who frequented them from
3130 assembling together, or rendering due worship to God. For he by whose orders these
outrages were committed was too conscious of his own crimes to expect that these
services were performed with any view to his benefit, and was convinced that all we
did, and all our endeavors to obtain the favor of God, were on Constantine's behalf.
These servile governors then, feeling assured that such a course would be pleasing to
3135 the impious tyrant, subjected the most distinguished prelates of the churches to
capital punishment. Accordingly, men who had been guilty of no crime were led away,
without cause punished like murderers: and some suffered a new kind of death, having
their bodies cut piecemeal; and, after this cruel punishment, more horrible than any
named in tragedy, being cast, as a food to fishes, into the depths of the sea. The
3140 result of these horrors was again, as before, the flight of pious men, and once more
the fields and deserts received the worshipers of God. The tyrant, having thus far
succeeded in his object, he farther determined to raise a general persecution of the
Christians: and he would have accomplished his purpose, nor could anything have
hindered him from carrying his resolution into effect, had not he who defends his own
3145 anticipated the coming evil, and by his special guidance conducted his servant
Constantine to this part of the empire, causing him to shine forth as a brilliant
light in the midst of the darkness and gloomy night.

3150 CHAPTER III: How Constantine was stirred in Behalf of the Christians thus in Danger
of Persecution.
HE perceiving the evils of which he had heard to be no longer tolerable, took wise
counsel, and tempering the natural clemency of his character with a certain measure
of severity, hastened to succor those who were thus grievously oppressed. For he
judged that it would rightly be deemed a pious and holy task to secure, by the
3155 removal of an individual, the safety of the greater part of the human race. He judged
too, that if he listened to the dictates of clemency only, and bestowed his pity on
one utterly unworthy of it, this would, on the one hand, confer no real benefit on a
man whom nothing would induce to abandon his evil practices, and whose fury against
his subjects would only be likely to increase; while, on the other hand, those who
3160 suffered from his oppression would thus be forever deprived of all hope of
deliverance.

Influenced by these reflections, the emperor resolved without farther delay to extend
a protecting hand to those who had fallen into such an extremity of distress. He
accordingly made the usual warlike preparations, and assembled his whole forces, both
3165 of horse and foot. But before them all was carried the standard which I have before
described, as the symbol of his full confidence in God.

CHAPTER IV: That Constantine prepared himself for the War by Prayer: Licinius by the
Practice of Divination.
3170 HE took with him also the priests of God, feeling well assured that now, if ever, he
stood in need of the efficacy of prayer, and thinking it right that they should
constantly be near and about his person, as most trusty guardians of the soul.
Now, as soon as the tyrant understood that Constantine's victories over his enemies
were secured to him by no other means than the co-operation of God, and that the
3175 persons above alluded to were continually with him and about his person; and besides

this, that the symbol of the salutary passion preceded both the emperor himself and his whole army; he regarded these precautions with ridicule (as might be expected), at the same time mocking and reviling the emperor with blasphemous words.

On the other hand, he gathered round himself Egyptian diviners and soothsayers, with sorcerers and enchanters, and the priests and prophets of those whom he imagined to be gods. He then, after offering the sacrifices which he thought the occasion demanded, inquired how far he might reckon on a successful termination of the war. They replied with one voice, that he would unquestionably be victorious over his enemies, and triumphant in the war: and the oracles everywhere held out to him the same prospect in copious and elegant verses. The soothsayers certified him of favorable omens from the flight of birds; the priests declared the same to be indicated by the motion of the entrails of their victims. Elevated, therefore, by these fallacious assurances, he boldly advanced at the head of his army, and prepared for battle.

CHAPTER V: What Licinius, while sacrificing in a Grove, said concerning Idols, and concerning Christ.

AND when he was now ready to engage, he desired the most approved of his body-guard and his most valued friends to meet him in one of the places which they consider sacred. It was a well-watered and shady grove, and in it were several marble statues of those whom he accounted to be gods. After lighting tapers and performing the usual sacrifices in honor of these, he is said to have delivered the following speech:

"Friends and fellow-soldiers! These are our country's gods, and these we honor with a worship derived from our remotest ancestors. But he who leads the army now opposed to us has proved false to the religion of his forefathers, and adopted atheistic sentiments, honoring in his infatuation some strange and unheard-of Deity, with whose despicable standard he now disgraces his army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms, and is now advancing, not so much against us as against those very gods whom he has forsaken. However, the present occasion shall prove which of us is mistaken in his judgment, and shall decide between our gods and those whom our adversaries profess to honor. For either it will declare the victory to be ours, and so most justly evince that our gods are the true saviours and helpers; or else, if this God of Constantine's, who comes we know not whence, shall prove superior to our deities (who are many, and in point of numbers, at least, have the advantage), let no one henceforth doubt which god he ought to worship, but attach himself at once to the superior power, and ascribe to him the honors of the victory. Suppose, then, this strange God, whom we now regard with ridicule, should really prove victorious; then indeed we must acknowledge and give him honor, and so bid a long farewell to those for whom we light our tapers in vain. But if our own gods triumph (as they undoubtedly will), then, as soon as we have secured the present victory, let us prosecute the war without delay against these despisers of the gods."

Such were the words he addressed to those then present, as reported not long after to the writer of this history by some who heard them spoken. And as soon as he had concluded his speech, he gave orders to his forces to commence the attack.

CHAPTER VI: An Apparition seen in the Cities subject to Licinius, as of Constantine's Troops passing through them.

WHILE these things were taking place a supernatural appearance is said to have been observed in the cities subject to the tyrant's rule. Different detachments of Constantine's army seemed to present themselves to the view, marching at noonday through these cities, as though they had obtained the victory. In reality, not a single soldier was anywhere present at the time, and yet this appearance was seen through the agency of a divine and superior power, and foreshadowed what was shortly coming to pass. For as soon as the armies were ready to engage, he who had broken through the ties of friendly alliance was the first to commence the battle; on which Constantine, calling on the name of "God the Supreme Saviour," and giving this as the watchword to his soldiers, overcame him in this first conflict: and not long after in a second battle he gained a still more important and decisive victory, the salutary trophy preceding the ranks of his army.

CHAPTER VII: That Victory everywhere followed the Presence of the Standard of the Cross in Battle.

INDEED, wherever this appeared, the enemy soon fled before his victorious troops. And the emperor perceiving this, whenever he saw any part of his forces hard pressed, gave orders that the salutary trophy should be moved in that direction, like some triumphant charm against disasters: at which the combatants were divinely inspired,

as it were, with fresh strength and courage, and immediate victory was the result.

CHAPTER VIII: That Fifty Men were selected to carry the Cross.

3245 ACCORDINGLY, he selected those of his bodyguard who were most distinguished for
personal strength, valor, and piety, and intrusted them with the sole care and
defense of the standard. There were thus no less than fifty men whose only duty was
3250 to surround and vigilantly defend the standard, which they carried each in turn on
their shoulders. These circumstances were related to the writer of this narrative by
the emperor himself in his leisure moments, long after the occurrence of the events:
and he added another incident well worthy of being recorded.

CHAPTER IX: That One of the Cross-bearers, who fled from his Post, was slain: while
Another, who faithfully stood his Ground, was preserved.

3255 FOR he said that once, during the very heat of an engagement, a sudden tumult and
panic attacked his army, which threw the soldier who then bore the standard into an
agony of fear, so that he handed it over to another, in order to secure his own
escape from the battle. As soon, however, as his comrade had received it, and he had
withdrawn, and resigned all charge of the standard, he was struck in the belly by a
3260 dart, which took his life. Thus he paid the penalty of his cowardice and
unfaithfulness, and lay dead on the spot: but the other, who had taken his place as
the bearer of the salutary standard, found it to be the safeguard of his life. For
though he was assailed by a continual shower of darts, the bearer remained unhurt,
the staff of the standard receiving every weapon. It was indeed a truly marvelous
3265 circumstance, that the enemies' darts all fell within and remained in the slender
circumference of this spear, and thus saved the standard-bearer from death; so that
none of those engaged in this service ever received a wound.
This story is none of mine, but for this, too, I am indebted to the emperor's own
authority, who related it in my hearing along with other matters. And now, having
3270 thus through the power of God secured these first victories, he put his forces in
motion and continued his onward march.

CHAPTER X: Furious Battles, and Constantine's Victories.

3275 THE van, however, of the enemy, unable to resist the emperor's first assault, threw
down their arms, and prostrated themselves at his feet. All these he spared,
rejoicing to save human life. But there were others who still continued in arms, and
engaged in battle. These the emperor endeavored to conciliate by friendly overtures,
but when these were not accepted he ordered his army to commence the attack. On this
3280 they immediately turned and betook themselves to flight; and some were overtaken and
slain according to the laws of war, while others fell on each other in the confusion
of their flight, and perished by the swords of their comrades.

CHAPTER XI: Flight, and Magic Arts of Licinius.

3285 IN these circumstances their commander, finding himself bereft of the aid of his
followers, having lost his lately numerous array, both of regular and allied forces,
having proved, too, by experience, how vain his confidence had been in those whom he
thought to be gods, ignominiously took to flight, by which indeed he effected his
escape, and secured his personal safety, for the pious emperor had forbidden his
3290 soldiers to follow him too closely, and thus allowed him an opportunity for escape.
And this he did in the hope that he might hereafter, on conviction of the desperate
state of his affairs, be induced to abandon his insane and presumptuous ambition, and
return to sounder reason. So Constantine, in his excessive humanity, thought and was
willing patiently to bear past injuries, and extend his forgiveness to one who so ill
deserved it; but Licinius, far from renouncing his evil practices, still added crime
3295 to crime, and ventured on more daring atrocities than ever. Nay, once more tampering
with the detestable arts of magic, he again was presumptuous: so that it might well
be said of him, as it was of the Egyptian tyrant of old, that God had hardened his
heart.

3300 CHAPTER XII: How Constantine, after praying in his Tabernacle, obtained the Victory.
BUT while Licinius, giving himself up to these impieties, rushed blindly towards the
gulf of destruction, the emperor on the other hand, when he saw that he must meet his
enemies in a second battle, devoted the intervening time to his Saviour. He pitched
the tabernacle of the cross outside and at a distance from his camp, and there passed
3305 his time in a pure and holy manner, offering up prayers to God; following thus the
example of his ancient prophet, of whom the sacred oracles testify, that he pitched
the tabernacle without the camp. He was attended only by a few, whose faith and pious

devotion he highly esteemed. And this custom he continued to observe whenever he meditated an engagement with the enemy. For he was deliberate in his measures, the better to insure safety, and desired in everything to be directed by divine counsel. And making earnest supplications to God, he was always honored after a little with a manifestation of his presence. And then, as if moved by a divine impulse, he would rush from the tabernacle, and suddenly give orders to his army to move at once without delay, and on the instant to draw their swords. On this they would immediately commence the attack, fight vigorously, so as with incredible celerity to secure the victory, and raise trophies of victory over their enemies.

CHAPTER XIII: His Humane Treatment of Prisoners.

THUS the emperor and his army had long been accustomed to act, whenever there was a prospect of an engagement; for his God was ever present to his thoughts, and he desired to do everything according to his will, and conscientiously to avoid any wanton sacrifice of human life. He was anxious thus for the preservation not only of his own subjects, but even of his enemies. Accordingly he directed his victorious troops to spare the lives of their prisoners, admonishing them, as human beings, not to forget the claims of their common nature. And whenever he saw the passions of his soldiery excited beyond control, he repressed their fury by a largess of money, rewarding every man who saved the life of an enemy with a certain weight of gold. And the emperor's own sagacity led him to discover this inducement to spare human life, so that great numbers even of the barbarians were thus saved, and owed their lives to the emperor's gold.

CHAPTER XIV: A Farther Mention of his Prayers in the Tabernacle.

NOW these, and a thousand such acts as these, were familiarly and habitually done by the emperor. And on the present occasion he retired, as his custom was before battle, to the privacy of his tabernacle, and there employed his time in prayer to God. Meanwhile he strictly abstained from anything like ease, or luxurious living, and disciplined himself by fasting and bodily mortification, imploring the favor of God by supplication and prayer, that he might obtain his concurrence and aid, and be ready to execute whatever he might be pleased to suggest to his thoughts. In short, he exercised a vigilant care over all alike, and interceded with God as much for the safety of his enemies as for that of his own subjects.

CHAPTER XV: Treacherous Friendship, and Idolatrous Practices of Licinius.

AND inasmuch as he who had lately fled before him now dissembled his real sentiments, and again petitioned for a renewal of friendship and alliance, the emperor thought fit, on certain conditions, to grant his request, in the hope that such a measure might be expedient, and generally advantageous to the community. Licinius, however, while he pretended a ready submission to the terms prescribed, and attested his sincerity by oaths, at this very time was secretly engaged in collecting a military force, and again meditated war and strife, inviting even the barbarians to join his standard, and he began also to look about him for other gods, having been deceived by those in whom he had hitherto trusted. And, without bestowing a thought on what he had himself publicly spoken on the subject of false deities, or choosing to acknowledge that God who had fought on the side of Constantine, he made himself ridiculous by seeking for a multitude of new gods.

CHAPTER XVI: How Licinius counseled his Soldiers not to attack the Standard of the Cross.

HAVING now learned by experience the Divine and mysterious power which resided in the salutary trophy, by means of which Constantine's army had become habituated to victory, he admonished his soldiers never to direct their attack against this standard, nor even incautiously to allow their eyes to rest upon it; assuring them that it possessed a terrible power, and was especially hostile to him; so that they would do well carefully to avoid any collision with it. And now, having given these directions, he prepared for a decisive conflict with him whose humanity prompted him still to hesitate, and to postpone the fate which he foresaw awaited his adversary. The enemy, however, confident in the aid of a multitude of gods, advanced to the attack with a powerful array of military force, preceded by certain images of the dead, and lifeless statues, as their defense. On the other side, the emperor, secure in the armor of godliness, opposed to the numbers of the enemy the salutary and life-giving sign, as at once a terror to the foe, and a protection from every harm. And for a while he paused, and preserved at first the attitude of forbearance, from respect to the treaty of peace to which he had given his sanction, that he might not

be the first to commence the contest.

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CHAPTER XVII: Constantine's Victory.

BUT as soon as he perceived that his adversaries persisted in their resolution, and were already drawing their swords, he gave free scope to his indignation, and by a single charge overthrew in a moment the entire body of the enemy, thus triumphing at once over them and their gods.

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CHAPTER XVIII: Death of Licinius, and Celebration of the Event.

HE then proceeded to deal with this adversary of God and his followers according to the laws of war, and consign them to fitting punishment. Accordingly the tyrant himself, and they whose counsels had supported him in his impiety, were together subjected to the just punishment of death. After this, those who had so lately been deceived by their vain confidence in false deities, acknowledged with unfeigned sincerity the God of Constantine, and openly professed their belief in him as the true and only God.

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CHAPTER XIX: Rejoicings and Festivities.

AND now, the impious being thus removed, the sun once more shone brightly after the gloomy cloud of tyrannic power. Each separate portion of the Roman dominion became blended with the rest; the Eastern nations united with those of the West, and the whole body of the Roman empire was graced as it were by its head in the person of a single and supreme ruler, whose sole authority pervaded the whole. Now too the bright rays of the light of godliness gladdened the days of those who had heretofore been sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. Past sorrows were no more remembered, for all united in celebrating the praises of the victorious prince, and avowed their recognition of his preserver as the only true God. Thus he whose character shone with all the virtues of piety, the emperor Victor, for he had himself adopted this name as a most fitting appellation to express the victory which God had granted him over all who hated or opposed him, assumed the dominion of the East, and thus singly governed the Roman empire, re-united, as in former times, under one head. Thus, as he was the first to proclaim to all the sole sovereignty of God, so he himself, as sole sovereign of the Roman world, extended his authority over the whole human race. Every apprehension of those evils under the pressure of which all had suffered was now removed; men whose heads had drooped in sorrow now regarded each other with smiling countenances, and looks expressive of their inward joy. With processions and hymns of praise they first of all, as they were told, ascribed the supreme sovereignty to God, as in truth the King of kings; and then with continued acclamations rendered honor to the victorious emperor, and the Caesars, his most discreet and pious sons. The former afflictions were forgotten, and all past impieties forgiven: while with the enjoyment of present happiness was mingled the expectation of continued blessings in the future.

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CHAPTER XX: Constantine's Enactments in Favor of the Confessors.

MOREOVER, the emperor's edicts, permeated with his humane spirit, were published among us also, as they had been among the inhabitants of the other division of the empire; and his laws, which breathed a spirit of piety toward God, gave promise of manifold blessings, since they secured many advantages to his provincial subjects in every nation, and at the same time prescribed measures suited to the exigencies of the churches of God. For first of all they recalled those who, in consequence of their refusal to join in idol worship, had been driven to exile, or ejected from their homes by the governors of their respective provinces. In the next place, they relieved from their burdens those who for the same reason had been adjudged to serve in the civil courts, and ordained restitution to be made to any who had been deprived of property. They too, who in the time of trial had signalized themselves by fortitude of soul in the cause of God, and had therefore been condemned to the painful labor of the mines, or consigned to the solitude of islands, or compelled to toil in the public works, all received an immediate release from these burdens; while others, whose religious constancy had cost them the forfeiture of their military rank, were vindicated by the emperor's generosity from this dishonor: for he granted them the alternative either of resuming their rank, and enjoying their former privileges, or, in the event of their preferring a more settled life, of perpetual exemption from all service. Lastly, all who had been compelled by way of disgrace and insult to serve in the employments of women, he likewise freed with the rest.

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CHAPTER XXI: His Laws concerning Martyrs, and concerning Ecclesiastical Property.

3440 SUCH were the benefits secured by the emperor's written mandates to the persons of those who had thus suffered for the faith, and his laws made ample provision for their property also.

3445 With regard to those holy martyrs of God who had laid down their lives in the confession of His name, he directed that their estates should be enjoyed by their nearest kindred; and, in default of any of these, that the right of inheritance should be vested in the churches. Farther, whatever property had been consigned to other parties from the treasury, whether in the way of sale or gift, together with that retained in the treasury itself, the generous mandate of the emperor directed should be restored to the original owners. Such benefits did his bounty, thus widely
3450 diffused, confer on the Church of God.

CHAPTER XXII: How he won the Favor of the People.

BUT his munificence bestowed still further and more numerous favors on the heathen peoples and the other nations of his empire. So that the inhabitants of our [Eastern]
3455 regions, who had heard of the privileges experienced in the opposite portion of the empire, and had blessed the fortunate recipients of them, and longed for the enjoyment of a similar lot for themselves, now with one consent proclaimed their own happiness, when they saw themselves in possession of all these blessings; and confessed that the appearance of such a monarch to the human race was indeed a
3460 marvelous event, and such as the world's history had never yet recorded. Such were their sentiments.

CHAPTER XXIII: That he declared God to be the Author of his Prosperity: and concerning his Rescripts.

3465 AND now that, through the powerful aid of God his Saviour, all nations owned their subjection to the emperor's authority, he openly proclaimed to all the name of Him to whose bounty he owed all his blessings, and declared that He, and not himself, was the author of his past victories. This declaration, written both in the Latin and Greek languages, he caused to be transmitted through every province of the empire.
3470 Now the excellence of his style of expression may be known from a perusal of his letters themselves which were two in number; one addressed to the churches of God; the other to the heathen population in the several cities of the empire. The latter of these I think it well to insert here as connected with my present subject, in order on the one hand that a copy of this document may be recorded as matter of
3475 history, and thus preserved to posterity, and on the other that it may serve to confirm the truth of my present narrative. It is taken from an authentic copy of the imperial statute in my own possession and the signature in the emperor's own handwriting attaches as it were the impress of truth to the statement I have made.

3480 CHAPTER XXIV: Law of Constantine respecting Piety towards God, and the Christian Religion.

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS to the inhabitants of the province of Palestine.

3485 "To all who entertain just and sound sentiments respecting the character of the Supreme Being, it has long been most clearly evident, and beyond the possibility of doubt, how vast a difference there has ever been between those who maintain a careful observance of the hallowed duties of the Christian religion, and those who treat this religion with hostility or contempt. But at this present time, we may see by still more manifest proofs, and still more decisive instances, both how unreasonable it
3490 were to question this truth, and how mighty is the power of the Supreme God: since it appears that they who faithfully observe His holy laws, and shrink from the transgression of His commandments, are rewarded with abundant blessings, and are endued with well-grounded hope as well as ample power for the accomplishment of their undertakings. On the other hand, they who have cherished impious sentiments have
3495 experienced results corresponding to their evil choice. For how is it to be expected that any blessing would be obtained by one who neither desired to acknowledge nor duly to worship that God who is the source of all blessing? Indeed, facts themselves are a confirmation of what I say.

3500 CHAPTER XXV: An Illustration from Ancient Times.

"FOR certainly any one who will mentally retrace the course of events from the earliest period down to the present time, and will reflect on what has occurred in past ages, will find that all who have made justice and probity the basis of their conduct, have not only carried their undertakings to a successful issue, but have
3505 gathered, as it were, a store of sweet fruit as the produce of this pleasant root.

Again, whoever observes the career of those who have been bold in the practice of oppression or injustice; who have either directed their senseless fury against God himself, or have conceived no kindly feelings towards their fellow-men, but have dared to afflict them with exile, disgrace, confiscation, massacre, or other miseries of the like kind, and all this without any sense of compunction, or wish to direct thoughts to a better course, will find that such men have received a recompense proportioned to their crimes. And these are results which might naturally and reasonably be expected to ensue?

CHAPTER XXVI: Of Persecuted and Persecutors.

"FOR whoever have addressed themselves with integrity of purpose to any course of action, keeping the fear of God continually before their thoughts, and preserving an unwavering faith in him, without allowing present fears or dangers to outweigh their hope of future blessings - such persons, though for a season they may have experienced painful trials, have borne their afflictions lightly, being supported by the belief of greater rewards in store for them; and their character has acquired a brighter luster in proportion to the severity of their past suffer-rags. With regard, on the other hand, to those who have either dishonorably slighted the principles of justice, or refused to acknowledge the Supreme God themselves, and yet have dared to subject others who have faithfully maintained his worship to the most cruel insults and punishments; who have failed equally to recognize their own wretchedness in oppressing others on such grounds, and the happiness and blessing of those who preserved their devotion to God even in the midst of such sufferings: with regard, I say, to such men, many a time have their armies been slaughtered, many a time have they been put to flight; and their warlike preparations have ended in total ruin and defeat.

CHAPTER XXVII: How the Persecution became the Occasion of Calamities to the Aggressors.

"FROM the causes I have described, grievous wars arose, and destructive devastations. Hence followed a scarcity of the common necessities of life, and a crowd of consequent miseries: hence, too, the authors of these impieties have either met a disastrous death of extreme suffering, or have dragged out an ignominious existence, and confessed it to be worse than death itself, thus receiving as it were a measure of punishment proportioned to the heinousness of their crimes. For each experienced a degree of calamity according to the blind fury with which he had been led to combat, and as he thought, defeat the Divine will: so that they not only felt the pressure of the ills of this present life, but were tormented also by a most lively apprehension of punishment in the future world.

CHAPTER XXVIII: That God chose Constantine to be the Minister of Blessing.

"AND now, with such a mass of impiety oppressing the human race, and the commonwealth in danger of being utterly destroyed, as if by the agency of some pestilential disease, and therefore needing powerful and effectual aid; what was the relief, and what the remedy which the Divinity devised for these evils? (And by Divinity is meant the one who is alone and truly God, the possessor of almighty and eternal power: and surely it cannot be deemed arrogance in one who has received benefits from God, to acknowledge them in the loftiest terms of praise.) I myself, then, was the instrument whose services He chose, and esteemed suited for the accomplishment of his will. Accordingly, beginning at the remote Britannic ocean, and the regions where, according to the law of nature, the sun sinks beneath the horizon, through the aid of divine power I banished and utterly removed every form of evil which prevailed, in the hope that the human race, enlightened through my instrumentality, might be recalled to a due observance of the holy laws of God, and at the same time our most blessed faith might prosper under the guidance of his almighty hand.

CHAPTER XXIX: Constantine's Expressions of Piety towards God; and Praise of the Confessors.

"I said, under the guidance of his hand; for I would desire never to be forgetful of the gratitude due to his grace. Believing, therefore, that this most excellent service had been confided to me as a special gift, I proceeded as far as the regions of the East, which, being under the pressure of severer calamities, seemed to demand still more effectual remedies at my hands. At the same time I am most certainly persuaded that I myself owe my life, my every breath, in short, my very inmost and secret thoughts, entirely to the favor of the Supreme God. Now I am well aware that they who are sincere in the pursuit of the heavenly hope, and have fixed this hope in

heaven itself as the peculiar and predominant principle of their lives, have no need to depend on human favor, but rather have enjoyed higher honors in proportion as they have separated themselves from the inferior and evil things of this earthly
 3575 existence. Nevertheless I deem it incumbent on me to remove at once and most completely from all such persons the hard necessities laid upon them for a season, and the unjust inflictions under which they have suffered, though free from any guilt or just liability. For it would be strange indeed, that the fortitude and constancy of soul displayed by such men should be fully apparent during the reign of those
 3580 whose first object it was to persecute them on account of their devotion to God, and yet that the glory of their character should not be more bright and blessed, under the administration of a prince who is His servant.

CHAPTER XXX: A Law granting Release from Exile, from Service in the Courts, and from the Confiscation of Property.

"LET all therefore who have exchanged their country for a foreign land, because they would not abandon that reverence and faith toward God to which they had devoted themselves with their whole hearts, and have in consequence at different times been subject to the cruel sentence of the courts; together with any who have been enrolled
 3590 in the registers of the public courts though in time past exempt from such office let these, I say, now render thanks to God the Liberator of all, in that they are restored to their hereditary property, and their wonted tranquility. Let those also who have been despoiled of their goods, and have hitherto passed a wretched
 3595 existence, mourning under the loss of all that they possessed, once more be restored to their former homes, their families, and estates, and receive with joy the bountiful kindness of God.

CHAPTER XXXI: Release likewise granted to Exiles in the Islands.

"FURTHERMORE, it is our command that all those who have been detained in the islands against their will should receive the benefit of this present provision; in order that they who rill now have been surrounded by rugged mountains and the encircling barrier of the ocean, being now set free from that gloomy and desolate solitude, may fulfill their fondest wish by revisiting their dearest friends. Those, too, who have prolonged a miserable life in the midst of abject and wretched squalor, welcoming
 3605 their restoration as an unlooked-for gain, and discarding henceforth all anxious thoughts, may pass their lives with us in freedom from all fear. For that any one could live in a state of fear under our government, when we boast and believe ourselves to be the servants of God, would surely be a thing most extraordinary even to hear of, and quite incredible; and our mission is to rectify the errors of the
 3610 others.

CHAPTER XXXII: And to those ignominiously employed in the Mines and Public Works.

"AGAIN, with regard to those who have been condemned either to the grievous labor of the mines, or to service in the public works, let them enjoy the sweets of leisure in place of these long-continued toils, and henceforth lead a far easier life, and more accordant with the wishes of their hearts, exchanging the incessant hardships of their tasks for quiet relaxation. And if any have forfeited the common privilege of liberty, or have unhappily suffered dishonor, let them hasten back every one to the country of his nativity, and resume with becoming joy their former positions in
 3620 society, from which they have been as it were separated by long residence abroad.

CHAPTER XXXIII: Concerning those Confessors engaged in Military Service.

"ONCE more, with respect to those who had previously been preferred to any military distinction, of which they were afterwards deprived, for the cruel and unjust reason that they chose rather to acknowledge their allegiance to God than to retain the rank they held; we leave them perfect liberty of choice, either to occupy their former stations, should they be content again to engage in military service, or after an honorable discharge, to live in undisturbed tranquility. For it is fair and
 3630 consistent that men who have displayed such magnanimity and fortitude in meeting the perils to which they have been exposed, should be allowed the choice either of enjoying peaceful leisure, or resuming their former rank.

CHAPTER XXXIV: The Liberation of Free Persons condemned to labor in the Women's Apartments, or to Servitude.

"LASTLY, if any have wrongfully been deprived of the privileges of noble lineage, and subjected to a judicial sentence which has consigned them to the women's apartments and to the linen making, there to undergo a cruel and miserable labor, or reduced

them to servitude for the benefit of the public treasury, without any exemption on the ground of superior birth; let such persons, resuming the honors they had previously enjoyed, and their proper dignities, henceforward exult in the blessings of liberty, and lead a glad life. Let the free man, too, by some injustice and inhumanity, or even madness, made a slave, who has felt the sudden transition from liberty to bondage, and oftentimes bewailed his unwonted labors, return to his family once more a free man in virtue of this our ordinance, and seek those employments which befit a state of freedom; and let him dismiss from his remembrance those services which he found so oppressive, and which so ill became his condition.

CHAPTER XXXV: Of the Inheritance of the Property of Martyrs and Confessors, also of those who had suffered Banishment or Confiscation of Property.

"NOR must we omit to notice those estates of which individuals have been deprived on various pretenses. For if any of those who have engaged with dauntless and resolute determination in the noble and divine conflict of martyrdom have also been stripped of their fortunes; or if the same has been the lot of the confessors, who have won for themselves the hope of eternal treasures; or if the loss of property has befallen those who were driven from their native land because they would not yield to the persecutors, and betray their faith; lastly, if any who have escaped the sentence of death have yet been despoiled of their worldly goods; we ordain that the inheritances of all such persons be transferred to their nearest kindred. And whereas the laws expressly assign this right to those most nearly related, it will be easy to ascertain to whom these inheritances severally belong. And it is evidently reasonable that the succession in these cases should belong to those who would have stood in the place of nearest affinity, had the deceased experienced a natural death.

CHAPTER XXXVI: The Church is declared Heir of those who leave no Kindred; and the Free Gifts of such Persons Confirmed.

"BUT should there be no surviving relation to succeed in due course to the property of those above-mentioned, I mean the martyrs, or confessors, or those who for some such cause have been banished from their native land; in such cases we ordain that the church locally nearest in each instance shall succeed to the inheritance. And surely it will be no wrong to the departed that that church should be their heir, for whose sake they have endured every extremity of suffering. We think it necessary to add this also, that in case any of the above-mentioned persons have donated any part of their property in the way of free gift, possession of such property shall be assured, as is reasonable, to those who have thus received it.

CHAPTER XXXVII: Lands, Gardens, or Houses, but not Actual Produce from them, are to be given back.

"AND that there may be no obscurity in this our ordinance, but every one may readily apprehend its requirements, let all men hereby know that if they are now maintaining themselves in possession of a piece of land, or a house, or garden, or anything else which had appertained to the before-mentioned persons, it will be good and advantageous for them to acknowledge the fact, and make restitution with the least possible delay. On the other hand, although it should appear that some individuals have reaped abundant profits from this unjust possession, we do not consider that justice demands the restitution of such profits. They must, however, declare explicitly what amount of benefit they have thus derived, and from what sources, and entreat our pardon for this offense; in order that their past covetousness may in some measure be atoned for, and that the Supreme God may accept this compensation as a token of contrition, and be pleased graciously to pardon the sin.

CHAPTER XXXVIII: In what Manner Requests should be made for these.

"BUT it is possible that those who have become masters of such property (if it be right or possible to allow them such a title) will assure us by way of apology for their conduct, that it was not in their power to abstain from this appropriation at a time when a spectacle of misery in all its forms everywhere met the view; when men were cruelly driven from their homes, slaughtered without mercy, thrust forth without remorse: when the confiscation of the property of innocent persons was a common thing, and when persecutions and property seizures were unceasing. If any defend their conduct by such reasons as these, and still persist in their avaricious temper, they shall be made sensible that such a course will bring punishment on themselves, and all the more because this correction of evil is the very characteristic of our service to the Supreme God. So that it will henceforth be dangerous to retain what dire necessity may in time past have compelled men to take; especially because it is

3705 in any case incumbent on us to discourage covetous desires, both by persuasion, and by warning examples.

CHAPTER XXXIX: The Treasury must restore Lands, Gardens, and Houses to the Churches. "NOR shall the treasury itself, should it have any of the things we have spoken of, be permitted to keep them; but, without venturing as it were to raise its voice
3710 against the holy churches, it shall justly relinquish in their favor what it has for a time unjustly retained. We ordain, therefore, that all things whatsoever which shall appear righteously to belong to the churches, whether the property consist of houses or fields and gardens, or whatever the nature of it may be, shall be restored in their full value and integrity, and with undiminished right of possession.

3715 CHAPTER XL: The Tombs of Martyrs and the Cemeteries to be transferred to the Possession of the Churches. "AGAIN, with respect to those places which are honored in being the depositories of the remains of martyrs, and continue to be memorials of their glorious departure; how
3720 can we doubt that they rightly belong to the churches, or refrain from issuing our injunction to that effect? For surely there can be no better liberality, no labor more pleasing or profitable, than to be thus employed under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, in order that those things which have been appropriated on false pretenses by unjust and wicked men, may be restored, as justice demands, and once
3725 more secured to the holy churches.

CHAPTER XLI: Those who have purchased Property belonging to the Church, or received it as a Gift, are to restore it. "AND since it would be wrong in a provision intended to include all cases, to pass
3730 over those who have either procured any such property by right of purchase from the treasury, or have retained it when conveyed to them in the form of a gift; let all who have thus rashly indulged their insatiable thirst of gain be assured that, although by daring to make such purchases they have done all in their power to alienate our clemency from themselves, they shall nevertheless not fail of obtaining
3735 it, so far as is possible and consistent with propriety in each case. So much then is determined.

CHAPTER XLII: An Earnest Exhortation to worship God. "AND now, since it appears by the clearest and most convincing evidence, that the
3740 miseries which ere while oppressed the entire human race are now banished from every part of the world, through the power of Almighty God, and at the same time the counsel and aid which he is pleased on many occasions to administer through our agency; it remains for all, both individually and unitedly, to observe and seriously consider how great this power and how efficacious this grace are, which have
3745 annihilated and utterly destroyed this generation, as I may call them, of most wicked and evil men; have restored joy to the good, and diffused it over all countries; and now guarantee the fullest authority both to honor the Divine law as it should be honored, with all reverence, and pay due observance to those who have dedicated themselves to the service of that law. These rising as from some dark abyss and, with
3750 an enlightened knowledge of the present course of events, will henceforward render to its precepts that becoming reverence and honor which are consistent with their pious character.
Let this ordinance be published in our Eastern provinces."

3755 CHAPTER XLIII: How the Enactments of Constantine were carried into Effect. SUCH were the injunctions contained in the first letter which the emperor addressed to us. And the provisions of this enactment were speedily carried into effect, everything being conducted in a manner quite different from the atrocities which had but lately been daringly perpetrated during the cruel ascendancy of the tyrants.
3760 Those persons also who were legally entitled to it, received the benefit of the emperor's liberality.

CHAPTER XLIV: That he promoted Christians to Offices of Government, and forbade Gentiles in Such Stations to offer Sacrifice.
3765 AFTER this the emperor continued to address himself to matters of high importance, and first he sent governors to the several provinces, mostly such as were devoted to the saving faith; and if any appeared inclined to adhere to Gentile worship, he forbade them to offer sacrifice. This law applied also to those who surpassed the provincial governors in rank and dignity, and even to those who occupied the highest

- 3770 station, and held the authority of the Praetorian Praefecture. If they were Christians, they were free to act consistently with their profession; if otherwise, the law required them to abstain from idolatrous sacrifices.
- 3775 CHAPTER XLV: Statutes which forbade Sacrifice, and enjoined the Building of Churches. SOON after this, two laws were promulgated about the same time; one of which was intended to restrain the idolatrous abominations which in time past had been practiced in every city and country; and it provided that no one should erect images, or practice divination and other false and foolish arts, or offer sacrifice in any way. The other statute commanded the heightening of the oratories, and the
- 3780 enlargement in length and breadth of the churches of God; as though it were expected that, now the madness of polytheism was wholly removed, pretty nearly all mankind would henceforth attach themselves to the service of God. His own personal piety induced the emperor to devise and write these instructions to the governors of the several provinces: and the law farther admonished them not to spare the expenditure
- 3785 of money, but to draw supplies from the imperial treasury itself. Similar instructions were written also to the bishops of the several churches; and the emperor was pleased to transmit the same to myself, being the first letter which he personally addressed to me.
- 3790 CHAPTER XLVI: Constantine's Letter to Eusebius and Other Bishops, respecting the Building of Churches, with Instructions to repair the Old, and erect New Ones on a Larger Scale, with the Aid of the Provincial Governors.
- "VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Eusebius.
- 3795 "Forasmuch as the unholy and willful rule of tyranny has persecuted the servants of our Saviour until this present time, I believe and have fully satisfied myself, best beloved brother, that the buildings belonging to all the churches have either become ruinous through actual neglect, or have received inadequate attention from the dread of the violent spirit of the times.
- "But now, that liberty is restored, and that serpent driven from the administration
- 3800 of public affairs by the providence of the Supreme God, and our instrumentality, we trust that all can see the efficacy of the Divine power, and that they who through fear of persecution or through unbelief have fallen into any errors, will now acknowledge the true God, and adopt in future that course of life which is according to truth and rectitude. With respect, therefore, to the churches over which you
- 3805 yourself preside, as well as the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of other churches with whom you are acquainted, do you admonish all to be zealous in their attention to the buildings of the churches, and either to repair or enlarge those which at present exist, or, in cases of necessity, to erect new ones.
- "We also empower you, and the others through you, to demand what is needful for the
- 3810 work, both from the provincial governors and from the Praetorian Praefect. For they have received instructions to be most diligent in obedience to your Holiness's orders. God preserve you, beloved brother." A copy of this charge was transmitted throughout all the provinces to the bishops of the several churches: the provincial governors received directions accordingly, and the imperial statute was speedily
- 3815 carried into effect.
- CHAPTER XLVII: That he wrote a Letter in Condemnation of Idolatry.
- MOREOVER, the emperor, who continually made progress in piety towards God, dispatched an admonitory letter to the inhabitants of every province, respecting the error of
- 3820 idolatry into which his predecessors in power had fallen, in which he eloquently exhorts his subjects to acknowledge the Supreme God, and openly to profess their allegiance to his Christ as their Saviour. This letter also, which is in his own handwriting, I have judged it necessary to translate from the Latin for the present work, in order that we may hear, as it were, the voice the emperor himself uttering
- 3825 these sentiments in the audience of all mankind.
- CHAPTER XLVIII: Constantine's Edict to the People of the Provinces concerning the Error of Polytheism, commencing with Some General Remarks on Virtue and Vice.
- "VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the people of the Eastern provinces.
- 3830 "Whatever is comprehended under the sovereign laws of nature, seems to convey to all men an adequate idea of the forethought and intelligence of the divine order. Nor can any, whose minds are directed in the true path of knowledge to the attainment of that end, entertain a doubt that the just perceptions of sound reason, as well as those of the natural vision itself, through the sole influence of genuine virtue, lead to the
- 3835 knowledge of God. Accordingly no wise man will ever be surprised when he sees the

mass of mankind influenced by opposite sentiments. For the beauty of virtue would be useless and unperceived, did not vice display in contrast with it the course of perversity and folly. Hence it is that the one is crowned with reward, while the most high God is himself the administrator of judgment to the other.

3840 "And now I will endeavor to lay before you all as explicitly as possible, the nature of my own hopes of future happiness.

CHAPTER XLIX: Concerning Constantine's Pious Father, and the Persecutors Diocletian and Maximian.

3845 "THE former emperors I have been accustomed to regard as those with whom I could have no sympathy, on account of the savage cruelty of their character. Indeed, my father was the only one who uniformly practiced the duties of humanity, and with admirable piety called for the blessing of God the Father on all his actions, but the rest, unsound in mind, were more zealous of cruel than gentle measures; and this
3850 disposition they indulged without restraint, and thus persecuted the true doctrine during the whole period of their reign. Nay, so violent did their malicious fury become, that in the midst of a profound peace, as regards both the religious and ordinary interests of men, they kindled, as it were, the flames of a civil war.

3855 CHAPTER L: That the Persecution originated an Account of the Oracle of Apollo, who, it was said, could not give Oracles because of "the Righteous Men."

"ABOUT that time it is said that Apollo spoke from a deep and gloomy cavern, and through the medium of no human voice, and declared that the righteous men on earth were a bar to his speaking the truth, and accordingly that the oracles from the
3860 tripod were fallacious. Hence it was that he suffered his tresses to droop in token of grief, and mourned the evils which the loss of the oracular spirit would entail on mankind. But let us mark the consequences of this.

3865 CHAPTER LI: That Constantine, when a Youth, heard from him who wrote the Persecution Edict that "the Righteous Men" were the Christians.

"I call now on thee, most high God, to witness that, when young, I heard him who at that time was chief among the Roman emperors, unhappy, truly unhappy as he was, and laboring under mental delusion, make earnest inquiry of his attendants as to who these righteous ones on earth were, and that one of the Pagan priests then present
3870 replied that they were doubtless the Christians. This answer he eagerly received, like some honeyed draught, and unsheathed the sword which was ordained for the punishment of crime, against those whose holiness was beyond reproach. Immediately, therefore, he issued those sanguinary edicts, traced, if I may so express myself, with a sword's point dipped in blood; at the same time commanding his judges to tax
3875 their ingenuity for the invention of new and more terrible punishments.

CHAPTER LII: The Manifold Forms of Torture and Punishment practiced against the Christians.

3880 "THEN, indeed, one might see with what arrogance those venerable worshipers of God were daily exposed, with continued and relentless cruelty, to outrages of the most grievous kind, and how that modesty of character which no enemy had ever treated with disrespect, became the mere sport of their infuriated fellow-citizens. Is there any punishment by fire, are there any tortures or forms of torment, which were not applied to all, without distinction of age or sex? Then, it may be truly said, the
3885 earth shed tears, the all-encircling compass of heaven mourned because of the pollution of blood; and the very light of day itself was darkened in grief at the spectacle.

CHAPTER LIII: That the Barbarians kindly received the Christians.

3890 "BUT what is the consequence of this? Why, the barbarians themselves may boast now of the contrast their conduct presents to these creel deeds; for they received and kept in gentlest captivity those who then fled from amongst us, and secured to them not merely safety from danger, but also the free exercise of their holy religion. And now
3895 the Roman people bear that lasting stain which the Christians, at that time driven from the Roman world, and taking refuge with the barbarians, have branded on them.

CHAPTER LIV: What Vengeance overtook those who on Account of the Oracle raised the Persecution.

3900 "BUT why need I longer dwell on these lamentable events, and the general sorrow which in consequence pervaded the world? The perpetrators of this dreadful guilt are now no more: they have experienced a miserable end, and are consigned to unceasing

punishment in the depths of the lower world. They encountered each other in civil strife, and have left neither name nor race behind. And surely this calamity would never have befallen them, had not that impious deliverance of the Pythian oracle exercised a delusive power over them.

CHAPTER LV: Constantine gives Glory to God, makes Grateful Acknowledgment of the Sign of the Cross, and prays for the Churches and People.

"AND now I beseech thee, most mighty God, to be merciful and gracious to thine Eastern nations, to thy people in these provinces, worn as they are by protracted miseries; and grant them healing through thy servant. Not without cause, O holy God, do I prefer this prayer to thee, the Lord of all. Under thy guidance have I devised and accomplished measures fraught with blessings: preceded by thy sacred sign I have led thy armies to victory: and still, on each occasion of public danger, I follow the same symbol of thy perfections while advancing to meet the foe. Therefore have I dedicated to thy service a soul duly attuned by love and fear. For thy name I truly love, while I regard with reverence that power of which thou hast given abundant proofs, to the confirmation and increase of my faith. I hasten, then, to devote all my powers to the restoration of thy most holy dwelling-place, which those profane and impious men have defiled by the contamination of violence.

CHAPTER LVI: He prays that All may be Christians, but compels None.

"MY own desire is, for the common good of the world and the advantage of all mankind, that thy people should enjoy a life of peace and undisturbed concord. Let those, therefore, who still delight in error, be made welcome to the same degree of peace and tranquility which they have who believe. For it may be that this restoration of equal privileges to all will prevail to lead them into the straight path. Let no one molest another, but let every one do as his soul desires. Only let men of sound judgment be assured of this, that those only can live a life of holiness and purity, whom thou callest to a reliance on thy holy laws. With regard to those who will hold themselves aloof from us, let them have, if they please, their temples of lies: we have the glorious edifice of thy truth, which thou hast given us as our native home. We pray, however, that they too may receive the same blessing, and thus experience that heartfelt joy which unity of sentiment inspires.

CHAPTER LVII: He gives Glory to God, who has given Light by his Son to those who were in Error.

"And truly our worship is no new or recent thing, but one which thou hast ordained for thine own due honor, from the time when, as we believe, this system of the universe was first established. And, although mankind have deeply fallen, and have been seduced by manifold errors, yet hast thou revealed a pure light in the person of thy Son, that the power of evil should not utterly prevail, and hast thus given testimony to all men concerning thyself.

CHAPTER LVIII: He glorifies him again for his Government of the Universe.

"THE truth of this is assured to us by thy works. It is thy power which removes our guilt, and makes us faithful. The sun and the moon have their settled course. The stars move in no uncertain orbits round this terrestrial globe. The revolution of the seasons recurs according to unerring laws. The solid fabric of the earth was established by thy word: the winds receive their impulse at appointed times; and the course of the waters continues with ceaseless flow, the ocean is circumscribed by an immovable barrier, and whatever is comprehended within the compass of earth and sea, is all contrived for wondrous and important ends.

"Were it not so, were not all regulated by the determination of thy will, so great a diversity, so manifold a division of power, would unquestionably have brought ruin on the whole race and its affairs. For those agencies which have maintained a mutual strife would thus have carried to a more deadly length that hostility against the human race which they even now exercise, though unseen by mortal eyes.

CHAPTER LIX: He gives Glory to God, as the Constant Teacher of Good.

"ABUNDANT thanks, most mighty God, and Lord of all, be rendered to thee, that, by so much as our nature becomes known from the diversified pursuits of man, by so much the more are the precepts of thy divine doctrine confirmed to those whose thoughts are directed aright, and who are sincerely devoted to true virtue. As for those who will not allow themselves to be cured of their error, let them not attribute this to any but themselves. For that remedy which is of sovereign and healing virtue is openly placed within the reach of all. Only let not any one inflict an injury on that

religion which experience itself testifies to be pure and undefiled. Henceforward, therefore, let us all enjoy in common the privilege placed within our reach, I mean the blessing of peace, endeavoring to keep our conscience pure from all that is contrary.

CHAPTER LX: An Admonition at the Close of the Edict, that No One should trouble his Neighbor.

"ONCE more, let none use that to the detriment of another which he may himself have received on conviction of its truth; but let every, one, if it be possible, apply what he has understood and known to the benefit of his neighbor; if otherwise, let him relinquish the attempt. For it is one thing voluntarily to undertake the conflict for immortality, another to compel others to do so from the fear of punishment.

"These are our words; and we have enlarged on these topics more than our ordinary clemency would have dictated, because we were unwilling to dissemble or be false to the true faith; and the more so, since we understand there are some who say that the rites of the heathen temples, and the power of darkness, have been entirely removed. We should indeed have earnestly recommended such removal to all men, were it not that the rebellious spirit of those wicked errors still continues obstinately fixed in the minds of some, so as to discourage the hope of any general restoration of mankind to the ways of truth."

CHAPTER LXI: How Controversies originated at Alexandria through Matters relating to Arius.

IN this manner the emperor, like a powerful herald of God, addressed himself by his own letter to all the provinces, at the same time warning his subjects against superstitious error, and encouraging them in the pursuit of true godliness. But in the midst of his joyful anticipations of the success of this measure, he received tidings of a most serious disturbance which had invaded the peace of the Church. This intelligence he heard with deep concern, and at once endeavored to devise a remedy for the evil. The origin of this disturbance may be thus described. The people of God were in a truly flourishing state, and abounding in the practice of good works. No terror from without assailed them, but a bright and most profound peace, through the favor of God, encompassed his Church on every side. Meantime, however, the spirit of envy was watching to destroy our blessings, which at first crept in unperceived, but soon revelled in the midst of the assemblies of the saints. At length it reached the bishops themselves, and arrayed them in angry hostility against each other, on pretense of a jealous regard for the doctrines of Divine truth. Hence it was that a mighty fire was kindled as it were from a little spark, and which, originating in the first instance in the Alexandrian church, overspread the whole of Egypt and Libya, and the further Thebaid. Eventually it extended its ravages to the other provinces and cities of the empire; so that not only the prelates of the churches might be seen encountering each other in the strife of words, but the people themselves were completely divided, some adhering to one faction and others to another. Nay, so notorious did the scandal of these proceedings become, that the sacred matters of inspired teaching were exposed to the most shameful ridicule in the very theaters of the unbelievers.

CHAPTER LXII: Concerning the Same Arius, and the Melitians.

SOME thus at Alexandria maintained an obstinate conflict on the highest questions. Others throughout Egypt and the Upper Thebaid, were at variance on account of an earlier controversy: so that the churches were everywhere distracted by divisions. The body therefore being thus diseased, the whole of Libya caught the contagion; and the rest of the remoter provinces became affected with the same disorder. For the disputants at Alexandria sent emissaries to the bishops of the several provinces, who accordingly ranged themselves as partisans on either side, and shared in the same spirit of discord.

CHAPTER LXIII: How Constantine sent a Messenger and a Letter concerning Peace.

AS soon as the emperor was informed of these facts, which he heard with much sorrow of heart, considering them in the light of a calamity personally affecting himself, he forthwith selected from the Christians in his train one whom he well knew to be approved for the sobriety and genuineness of his faith, and who had before this time distinguished himself by the boldness of his religious profession, and sent him to negotiate peace between the dissentient parties at Alexandria. He also made him the bearer of a most needful and appropriate letter to the original movers of the strife: and this letter, as exhibiting a specimen of his watchful care over God's people, it

may be well to introduce into this our narrative of his life. Its purport was as follows.

CHAPTER LXIV: Constantine's Letter to Alexander the Bishop, and Arius the Presbyter.
"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Alexander and Arius.
"I call that God to witness, as well I may, who is the helper of my endeavors, and the Preserver of all men, that I had a twofold reason for undertaking that duty which I have now performed.

CHAPTER LXV: His Continual Anxiety for Peace.
"MY design then was, first, to bring the diverse judgments formed by all nations respecting the Deity to a condition, as it were, of settled uniformity; and, secondly, to restore to health the system of the world, then suffering under the malignant power of a grievous distemper. Keeping these objects in view, I sought to accomplish the one by the secret eye of thought, while the other I tried to rectify by the power of military authority. For I was aware that, if I should succeed in establishing, according to my hopes, a common harmony of sentiment among all the servants of God, the general course of affairs would also experience a change correspondent to the pious desires of them all.

CHAPTER LXVI: That he also adjusted the Controversies which had arisen in Africa.
"FINDING, then, that the whole of Africa was pervaded by an intolerable spirit of mad folly, through the influence of those who with heedless frivolity had presumed to rend the religion of the people into diverse sects; I was anxious to check this disorder, and could discover no other remedy equal to the occasion, except in sending some of yourselves to aid in restoring mutual harmony among the disputants, after I had removed that common enemy of mankind who had interposed his lawless sentence for the prohibition of your holy synods.

CHAPTER LXVII: That Religion began in the East.
"FOR since the power of Divine light, and the law of sacred worship, which, proceeding in the first instance, through the favor of God, from the bosom, as it were, of the East, have illumined the world, by their sacred radiance, I naturally believed that you would be the first to promote the salvation of other nations, and resolved with all energy of thought and diligence of inquiry to seek your aid. As soon, therefore, as I had secured my decisive victory and unquestionable triumph over my enemies, my first inquiry was concerning that object which I felt to be of paramount interest and importance.

CHAPTER LXVIII: Being grieved by the Dissension, he counsels Peace.
"BUT, O glorious Providence of God! how deep a wound did not my ears only, but my very heart receive in the report that divisions existed among yourselves more grievous still than those which continued in that country so that you, through whose aid I had hoped to procure a remedy for the errors of others, are in a state which needs healing even more than theirs. And yet, having made a careful inquiry into the origin and foundation of these differences, I find the cause to be of a truly insignificant character, and quite unworthy of such fierce contention. Feeling myself, therefore, compelled to address you in this letter, and to appeal at the same time to your unanimity and sagacity, I call on Divine Providence to assist me in the task, while I interrupt your dissension in the character of a minister of peace. And with reason: for if I might expect, with the help of a higher Power, to be able without difficulty, by a judicious appeal to the pious feelings of those who heard me, to recall them to a better spirit, even though the occasion of the disagreement were a greater one, how can I refrain from promising myself a far easier and more speedy adjustment of this difference, when the cause which hinders general harmony of sentiment is intrinsically trifling and of little moment?

CHAPTER LXIX: Origin of the Controversy between Alexander and Arius, and that these Questions ought not to have been discussed.

"I UNDERSTAND, then, that the origin of the present controversy is this. When you, Alexander, demanded of the presbyters what opinion they severally maintained respecting a certain passage in the Divine law, or rather, I should say, that you asked them something connected with an unprofitable question, then you, Arius, inconsiderately insisted on what ought never to have been conceived at all, or if conceived, should have been buried in profound silence. Hence it was that a dissension arose between you, fellowship was withdrawn, and the holy people, rent

4100 into diverse parties, no longer preserved the unity of the one body. Now, therefore,
do ye both exhibit an equal degree of forbearance, and receive the advice which your
fellow-servant righteously gives. What then is this advice? It was wrong in the first
instance to propose such questions as these, or to reply to them when propounded. For
4105 those points of discussion which are enjoined by the authority of no law, but rather
suggested by the contentious spirit which is fostered by misused leisure, even though
they may be intended merely as an intellectual exercise, ought certainly to be
confined to the region of our own thoughts, and not hastily produced in the popular
assemblies, nor unadvisedly intrusted to the general ear. For how very few are there
4110 able either accurately to comprehend, or adequately to explain subjects so sublime
and abstruse in their nature? Or, granting that one were fully competent for this,
how many people will he convince? Or, who, again, in dealing with questions of such
subtle nicety as these, can secure himself against a dangerous declension from the
truth? It is incumbent therefore on us in these cases to be sparing of our words,
lest, in case we ourselves are unable, through the feebleness of our natural
4115 faculties, to give a clear explanation of the subject before us, or, on the other
hand, in case the slowness of our hearers' understandings disables them from arriving
at an accurate apprehension of what we say, from one or other of these causes the
people be reduced to the alternative either of blasphemy or schism.

4120 CHAPTER LXX: An Exhortation to Unanimity.

"LET therefore both the unguarded question and the inconsiderate answer receive your
mutual forgiveness. For the cause of your difference has not been any of the leading
doctrines or precepts of the Divine law, nor has any new heresy respecting the
worship of God arisen among you. You are in truth of one and the same judgment: you
4125 may therefore well join in communion and fellowship.

CHAPTER LXXI: There should be no Contention in Matters which are in themselves of
Little Moment.

"FOR as long as you continue to contend about these small and very insignificant
4130 questions, it is not fitting that so large a portion of God's people should be under
the direction of your judgment, since you are thus divided between yourselves. I
believe it indeed to be not merely unbecoming, but positively evil, that such should
be the case. But I will refresh your minds by a little illustration, as follows. You
know that philosophers, though they all adhere to one system, are yet frequently at
4135 issue on certain points, and differ, perhaps, in their degree of knowledge: yet they
are recalled to harmony of sentiment by the uniting power of their common doctrines.
If this be true, is it not far more reasonable that you, who are the ministers of the
Supreme God, should be of one mind respecting the profession of the same religion?
But let us still more thoughtfully and with closer attention examine what I have
4140 said, and see whether it be right that, on the ground of some trifling and foolish
verbal difference between ourselves, brethren should assume towards each other the
attitude of enemies, and the august meeting of the Synod be rent by profane disunion,
because of you who wrangle together on points so trivial and altogether unessential?
This is vulgar, and rather characteristic of childish ignorance, than consistent I
4145 with the wisdom of priests and men of sense. Let us withdraw ourselves with a good
will from these temptations of the devil. Our great God and common Saviour of all has
granted the same light to us all. Permit me, who am his servant, to bring my task to
a successful issue, under the direction of his Providence, that I may be enabled,
through my exhortations, and diligence, and earnest admonition, to recall his people
4150 to communion and fellowship. For since you have, as I said, but one faith, and one
sentiment respecting our religion, and since the Divine commandment in all its parts
enjoins on us all the duty of maintaining a spirit of concord, let not the
circumstance which has led to a slight difference between you, since it does not
affect the validity of the whole, cause any division or schism among you. And this I
4155 say without in any way desiring to force you to entire unity of judgment in regard to
this truly idle question, whatever its real nature may be. For the dignity of your
synod may be preserved, and the communion of your whole body maintained unbroken,
however wide a difference may exist among you as to unimportant matters. For we are
not all of us like-minded on every subject, nor is there such a thing as one
4160 disposition and judgment common to all alike. As far, then, as regards the Divine
Providence, let there be one faith, and one understanding among you, one united
judgment in reference to God. But as to your subtle disputations on questions of
little or no significance, though you may be unable to harmonize in sentiment, such
differences should be consigned to the secret custody of your own minds and thoughts.
4165 And now, let the preciousness of common affection, let faith in the truth, let the

honor due to God and to the observance of his law continue immovably among you. Resume, then, your mutual feelings of friendship, love, and regard: restore to the people their wonted embracings; and do ye yourselves, having purified your souls, as it were, once more acknowledge one another. For it often happens that when a
 4170 reconciliation is effected by the removal of the causes of enmity, friendship becomes even sweeter than it was before.

CHAPTER LXXII: The Excess of his Pious Concern caused him to shed Tears; and his Intended Journey to the East was postponed because of These Things.
 4175 "RESTORE me then my quiet days, and untroubled nights, that the joy of undimmed light, the delight of a tranquil life, may henceforth be my portion. Else must I needs mourn, with constant tears, nor shall I be able to pass the residue of my days in peace. For while the people of God, whose fellow-servant I am, are thus divided amongst themselves by an unreasonable and pernicious spirit of contention, how is it
 4180 possible that I shall be able to maintain tranquility of mind? And I will give you a proof how great my sorrow has been on this behalf. Not long since I had visited Nicomedia, and intended forthwith to proceed from that city to the East. It was while I was hastening towards you, and had already accomplished the greater part of the distance, that the news of this matter reversed my plan, that I might not be
 4185 compelled to see with my own eyes that which I felt myself scarcely able even to hear. Open then for me henceforward by your unity of judgment that road to the regions of the East which your dissensions have closed against me, and permit me speedily to see yourselves and all other peoples rejoicing together, and render due acknowledgment to God in the language of praise and thanksgiving for the restoration
 4190 of general concord and liberty to all."

CHAPTER LXXIII: The Controversy continues without Abatement, even after the Receipt of This Letter.
 4195 IN this manner the pious emperor endeavored by means of the foregoing letter to promote the peace of the Church of God. And the excellent man to whom it was intrusted performed his part not merely by communicating the letter itself, but also by seconding the views of him who sent it; for he was, as I have said, in all respects a person of pious character. The evil, however, was greater than could be remedied by a single letter, insomuch that the acrimony of the contending parties
 4200 continually increased, and the effects of the mischief extended to all the Eastern provinces. These things jealousy and some evil spirit who looked with an envious eye on the prosperity of the Church, wrought.

BOOK III.

4205 CHAPTER I: A Comparison of Constantine's Piety with the Wickedness of the Persecutors.
 IN this manner that spirit who is the hater of good, actuated by envy at the blessing enjoyed by the Church, continued to raise against her the stormy troubles of intestine discord, in the midst of a period of peace and joy. Meanwhile, however, the
 4210 divinely-favored emperor did not slight the duties befitting him, but exhibited in his whole conduct a direct contrast to those atrocities of which the cruel tyrants had been lately guilty, and thus triumphed over every enemy that opposed him. For in the first place, the tyrants, being themselves alienated from the true God, had enforced by every compulsion the worship of false deities: Constantine convinced
 4215 mankind by actions as well as words, that these bad but an imaginary existence, and exhorted them to acknowledge the only true God. They had derided his Christ with words of blasphemy: he assumed that as his safeguard against which they directed their blasphemies, and gloried in the symbol of the Saviour's passion. They had persecuted and driven from house and home the servants of Christ: he recalled them
 4220 every one, and restored them to their native homes. They had covered them with dishonor: he made their condition honorable and enviable in the eyes of all. They had shamefully plundered and sold the goods of godly men: Constantine not only replaced this loss, but still further enriched them with abundant presents. They had circulated injurious calumnies, through their written ordinances, against the
 4225 prelates of the Church: he on the contrary, conferred dignity on these individuals by personal marks of honor, and by his edicts and statutes raised them to higher distinction than before. They had utterly demolished and razed to the ground the houses of prayer: he commanded that those which still existed should be enlarged, and that new ones should be raised on a magnificent scale at the expense of the imperial
 4230 treasury. They had ordered the inspired records to be burnt and utterly destroyed: he decreed that copies of them should be multiplied, and magnificently adorned at the

charge of the imperial treasury. They had strictly forbidden the prelates, anywhere or on any occasion, to convene synods; whereas he gathered them to his court from every province, received them into his palace, and even to his own private apartments and thought them worthy to share his home and table. They had honored the demons with offerings: Constantine exposed their error, and continually distributed the now useless materials for sacrifice, to those who would apply them to a better use. They had ordered the pagan temples to be sumptuously adorned: he razed to their foundations those of them which had been the chief objects of superstitious reverence. They had subjected God's servants to the most ignominious punishments: he took vengeance on the persecutors, and inflicted on them just chastisement in the name of God, while he held the memory of his holy martyrs in constant veneration. They had driven God's Worshipers from the imperial palaces: he placed full confidence in them at all times, and knowing them to be the better disposed and more faithful than any beside. They, the victims of avarice, voluntarily subjected themselves as it were to the pangs of Tantalus: he with royal magnificence unlocked all his treasures, and distributed his gifts with rich and high-souled liberality. They committed countless murders, that they might plunder or confiscate the wealth of their victims; while throughout the reign of Constantine the sword of justice hung idle everywhere, and both people and municipal magistrates in every province were governed rather by paternal authority than by any constraining. Surely it must seem to all who duly regard these facts, that a new and fresh era of existence had begun to appear, and a light heretofore unknown suddenly to dawn from the midst of darkness on the human race: and all must confess that these things were entirely the work of God, who raised up this pious emperor to withstand the multitude of the ungodly.

CHAPTER II: Father Remarks on Constantine's Piety, and his Open Testimony to the Sign of the Cross.

AND when we consider that their iniquities were without example, and the atrocities which they dared to perpetrate against the Church such as had never been heard of in any age of the world, well might God himself bring before us something entirely new, and work thereby effects such as had hitherto been never either recorded or observed. And what miracle was ever more marvelous than the virtues of this our emperor, whom the wisdom of God has vouchsafed as a gift to the human race? For truly he maintained a continual testimony to the Christ of God with all boldness, and before all men; and so far was he from shrinking from an open profession of the Christian name, that he rather desired to make it manifest to all that he regarded this as his highest honor, now impressing on his face the salutary sign, and now glorying in it as the trophy which led him on to victory.

CHAPTER III: Of his Picture surmounted by a Cross and having beneath it a Dragon. AND besides this, he caused to be painted on a lofty tablet, and set up in the front of the portico of his palace, so as to be visible to all, a representation of the salutary sign placed above his head, and below it that hateful and savage adversary of mankind, who by means of the tyranny of the ungodly had wasted the Church of God, falling headlong, under the form of a dragon, to the abyss of destruction. For the sacred oracles in the books of God's prophets have described him as a dragon and a crooked serpent; and for this reason the emperor thus publicly displayed a painted resemblance of the dragon beneath his own and his children's feet, stricken through with a dart, and cast headlong into the depths of the sea. In this manner he intended to represent the secret adversary of the human race, and to indicate that he was consigned to the gulf of perdition by virtue of the salutary trophy placed above his head. This allegory, then, was thus conveyed by means of the colors of a picture: and I am filled with wonder at the intellectual greatness of the emperor, who as if by divine inspiration thus expressed what the prophets had foretold concerning this monster, saying that "God would bring his great and strong and terrible sword against the dragon, the flying serpent; and would destroy the dragon that was in the sea." This it was of which the emperor gave a true and faithful representation in the picture above described.

CHAPTER IV: A Farther Notice of the Controversies raised in Egypt by Arius. IN such occupations as these he employed himself with pleasure: but the effects of that envious spirit which so troubled the peace of the churches of God in Alexandria, together with the Theban and Egyptian schism, continued to cause him no little disturbance of mind. For in fact, in every city bishops were engaged in obstinate conflict with bishops, and people rising against people; and almost like the fabled

Symplegades, coming into violent collision with each other. Nay, some were so far transported beyond the bounds of reason as to be guilty of reckless and outrageous conduct, and even to insult the statues of the emperor. This state of things had little power to excite his anger, but rather caused in him sorrow of spirit; for he deeply deplored the folly thus exhibited by deranged men.

CHAPTER V: Of the Disagreement respecting the Celebration of Easter.

BUT before this time another most virulent disorder had existed, and long afflicted the Church; I mean the difference respecting the salutary feast of Easter. For while one party asserted that the Jewish custom should be adhered to, the other affirmed that the exact recurrence of the period should be observed without following the authority of those who were in error, and strangers to gospel grace.

Accordingly, the people being thus in every place divided in respect of this, and the sacred observances of religion confounded for a long period (insomuch that the diversity of judgment in regard to the time for celebrating one and the same feast caused the greatest disagreement between those who kept it, some afflicting themselves with fastings and austerities, while others devoted their time to festive relaxation), no one appeared who was capable of devising a remedy for the evil, because the controversy continued equally balanced between both parties. To God alone, the Almighty, was the healing of these differences an easy task; and Constantine appeared to be the only one on earth capable of being his minister for this good end. For as soon as he was made acquainted with the facts which I have described, and perceived that his letter to the Alexandrian Christians had failed to produce its due effect, he at once aroused the energies of his mind, and declared that he must prosecute to the utmost this war also against the secret adversary who was disturbing the peace of the Church.

Zie voor de Griekse en Latijnse teksten van de 20 canons van Nicaea

https://www.earlychurchtexts.com/main/nicaea/canons_of_nicaea_01.shtml

CHAPTER VI: How he ordered a Council to be held at Nicaea.

THEN as if to bring a divine array against this enemy, he convoked a general council, and invited the speedy attendance of bishops from all quarters, in letters expressive of the honorable estimation in which he held them. Nor was this merely the issuing of a bare command but the emperor's good will contributed much to its being carried into effect: for he allowed some the use of the public means of conveyance, while he afforded to others an ample supply of horses for their transport. The place, too, selected for the synod, the city Nicaea in Bithynia (named from "Victory"), was appropriate to the occasion. As soon then as the imperial injunction was generally made known, all with the utmost willingness hastened thither, as though they would outstrip one another in a race; for they were impelled by the anticipation of a happy result to the conference, by the hope of enjoying present peace, and the desire of beholding something new and strange in the person of so admirable an emperor. Now when they were all assembled, it appeared evident that the proceeding was the work of God, inasmuch as men who had been most widely separated, not merely in sentiment but also personally, and by difference of country, place, and nation, were here brought together, and comprised within the walls of a single city, forming as it were a vast garland of priests, composed of a variety of the choicest flowers.

CHAPTER VII: Of the General Council, at which Bishops from all Nations were Present.

IN effect, the most distinguished of God's ministers from all the churches which abounded in Europe, Lybia, and Asia were here assembled. And a single house of prayer, as though divinely enlarged, sufficed to contain at once Syrians and Cilicians, Phoenicians and Arabians, delegates from Palestine, and others from Egypt; Thebans and Libyans, with those who came from the region of Mesopotamia. A Persian bishop too was present at this conference, nor was even a Scythian found wanting to the number. Pontus, Galatia, and Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Phrygia, furnished their most distinguished prelates; while those who dwelt in the remotest districts of Thrace and Macedonia, of Achaia and Epirus, were notwithstanding in attendance. Even from Spain itself, one whose fame was widely spread took his seat as an individual in the great assembly. The prelate of the imperial city was prevented from attending by extreme old age; but his presbyters were present, and supplied his place. Constantine is the first prince of any age who bound together such a garland as this with the bond of peace, and presented it to his Saviour as a thank-offering for the victories he had obtained over every foe, thus exhibiting in our own times a similitude of the apostolic company.

- 4365 CHAPTER VIII: That the Assembly was composed, as in the days of the Apostles, of
Individuals from Various Nations.
FOR it is said that in the Apostles' age, there were gathered "devout men from every
nation under heaven"; among whom were Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the
4370 dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and
Pamphylia, in Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene; and sojourners from Rome,
both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians. But that assembly was less, in that
not all who composed it were ministers of God; but in the present company, the number
of bishops exceeded two hundred and fifty, while that of the presbyters and deacons
4375 in their train, and the crowd of acolytes and other attendants was altogether beyond
computation.
- CHAPTER IX: Of the Virtue and Age of the Two Hundred and Fifty Bishops.
OF these ministers of God, some were distinguished by wisdom and eloquence, others by
the gravity of their lives, and by patient fortitude of character, while others again
4380 united in themselves all these graces. There were among them men whose years demanded
veneration: others were younger, and in the prime of mental vigor; and some had but
recently entered on the course of their ministry. For the maintenance of all ample
provision was daily furnished by the emperor's command.
- 4385 CHAPTER X: Council in the Palace. Constantine, entering, took his Seat in the
Assembly.
NOW when the appointed day arrived on which the council met for the final solution of
the questions in dispute, each member was present for this in the central building of
the palace, which appeared to exceed the rest in magnitude. On each side of the
4390 interior of this were many seats disposed in order, which were occupied by those who
had been invited to attend, according to their rank. As soon, then, as the whole
assembly had seated themselves with becoming orderliness, a general silence
prevailed, in expectation of the emperor's arrival. And first of all, three of his
immediate family entered in succession, then others also preceded his approach, not
4395 of the soldiers or guards who usually accompanied him, but only friends in the faith.
And now, all rising at the signal which indicated the emperor's entrance, at last he
himself proceeded through the midst of the assembly, like some heavenly messenger of
God, clothed in raiment which glittered as it were with rays of light, reflecting the
glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendor of gold
4400 and precious stones. Such was the external appearance of his person; and with regard
to his mind, it was evident that he was distinguished by piety and godly fear. This
was indicated by his downcast eyes, the blush on his countenance, and his gait. For
the rest of his personal excellencies, he surpassed all present in height of stature
and beauty of form, as well as in majestic dignity of mien, and invincible strength
4405 and vigor. All these graces, united to a suavity of manner, and a serenity becoming
his imperial station, declared the excellence of his mental qualities to be above all
praise. As soon as he had advanced to the upper end of the seats, at first he
remained standing, and when a low chair of wrought gold had been set for him, he
waited until the bishops had beckoned to him, and then sat down, and after him the
4410 whole assembly did the same.
- CHAPTER XI: Silence of the Council, after Some Words by the Bishop Eusebius.
THE bishop who occupied the chief place in the right division of the assembly then
rose, and, addressing the emperor, delivered a concise speech, in a strain of
4415 thanksgiving to Almighty God on his behalf. When he had resumed his seat, silence
ensued, and all regarded the emperor with fixed attention; on which he looked
serenely round on the assembly with a cheerful aspect, and, having collected his
thoughts, in a calm and gentle tone gave utterance to the following words.
- 4420 CHAPTER XII: Constantine's Address to the Council concerning Peace.
"IT was once my chief desire, dearest friends, to enjoy the spectacle of your united
presence; and now that this desire is fulfilled, I feel myself bound to render thanks
to God the universal King, because, in addition to all his other benefits, he has
granted me a blessing higher than all the rest, in permitting me to see you not only
4425 all assembled together, but all united in a common harmony of sentiment. I pray
therefore that no malignant adversary may henceforth interfere to mar our happy
state; I pray that, now the impious hostility of the tyrants has been forever removed
by the power of God our Saviour, that spirit who delights in evil may devise no other
means for exposing the divine law to blasphemous calumny; for, in my judgment,

4430 intestine strife within the Church of God, is far more evil and dangerous than any
kind of war or conflict; and these our differences appear to me more grievous than
any outward trouble. Accordingly, when, by the will and with the co-operation of God,
I had been victorious over my enemies, I thought that nothing more remained but to
4435 render thanks to him, and sympathize in the joy of those whom he had restored to
freedom through my instrumentality; as soon as I heard that intelligence which I had
least expected to receive, I mean the news of your dissension, I judged it to be of
no secondary importance, but with the earnest desire that a remedy for this evil also
might be found through my means, I immediately sent to require your presence. And now
4440 I rejoice in beholding your assembly; but I feel that my desires will be most
completely fulfilled when I can see you all united in one judgment, and that common
spirit of peace and concord prevailing amongst you all, which it becomes you, as
consecrated to the service of God, to commend to others. Delay not, then, dear
4445 friends: delay not, ye ministers of God, and faithful servants of him who is our
common Lord and Saviour: begin from this moment to discard the causes of that
disunion which has existed among you, and remove the perplexities of controversy by
embracing the principles of peace. For by such conduct you will at the same time be
acting in a manner most pleasing to the supreme God, and you will confer an exceeding
favor on me who am your fellow-servant."

4450 CHAPTER XIII: How he led the Dissentient Bishops to Harmony of Sentiment.
AS soon as the emperor had spoken these words in the Latin tongue, which another
interpreted, he gave permission to those who presided in the council to deliver their
opinions. On this some began to accuse their neighbors, who defended themselves, and
recriminated in their turn. In this manner numberless assertions were put forth by
4455 each party, and a violent controversy arose at the very commencement. Notwithstanding
this, the emperor gave patient audience to all alike, and received every proposition
with steadfast attention, and by occasionally assisting the argument of each party in
turn, he gradually disposed even the most vehement disputants to a reconciliation. At
the same time, by the affability of his address to all, and his use of the Greek
4460 language, with which he was not altogether unacquainted, he appeared in a truly
attractive and amiable light, persuading some, convincing others by his reasonings,
praising those who spoke well, and urging all to unity of sentiment, until at last he
succeeded in bringing them to one mind and judgment respecting every disputed
question.

4465 CHAPTER XIV: Unanimous Declaration of the Council concerning Faith, and the
Celebration of Easter.
THE result was that they were not only united as concerning the faith, but that the
time for the celebration of the salutary feast of Easter was agreed on by all. Those
4470 points also which were sanctioned by the resolution of the whole body were committed
to writing, and received the signature of each several member. Then the emperor,
believing that he had thus obtained a second victory over the adversary of the
Church, proceeded to solemnize a triumphal festival in honor of God.

4475 CHAPTER XV: How Constantine entertained the Bishops on the Occasion of his
Vicennalia.
ABOUT this time he completed the twentieth year of his reign. On this occasion public
festivals were celebrated by the people of the provinces generally, but the emperor
himself invited and feasted with those ministers of God whom he had reconciled, and
4480 thus offered as it were through them a suitable sacrifice to God. Not one of the
bishops was wanting at the imperial banquet, the circumstances of which were splendid
beyond description. Detachments of the body-guard and other troops surrounded the
entrance of the palace with drawn swords, and through the midst of these the men of
God proceeded without fear into the innermost of the imperial apartments, in which
4485 some were the emperor's own companions at table, while others reclined on couches
arranged on either side. One might have thought that a picture of Christ's kingdom
was thus shadowed forth, and a dream rather than reality.

CHAPTER XVI: Presents to the Bishops, and Letters to the People generally.
4490 AFTER the celebration of this brilliant festival, the emperor courteously received
all his guests, and generously added to the favors he had already bestowed by
personally presenting gifts to each individual according to his rank. He also gave
information of the proceedings of the synod to those who had not been present, by a
letter in his own hand-writing. And this letter also I will inscribe as it were on
4495 some monument by inserting it in this my narrative of his life. It was as follows:

CHAPTER XVII: Constantine's Letter to the Churches respecting the Council at Nicaea.
 "CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS, to the Churches. "Having had full proof, in the general
 prosperity of the empire, how great the favor of God has been towards us, I have
 4500 judged that it ought to be the first object of my endeavors, that unity of faith,
 sincerity of love, and community of feeling in regard to the worship of Almighty God,
 might be preserved among the highly favored multitude who compose the Catholic
 Church. And, inasmuch as this object could not be effectually and certainly secured,
 4505 unless all, or at least the greater number of the bishops were to meet together, and
 a discussion of all particulars relating to our most holy religion to take place; for
 this reason as numerous an assembly as possible has been convened, at which I myself
 was present, as one among yourselves (and far be it from me to deny that which is my
 greatest joy, that I am your fellow-servant), and every question received due and
 full examination, until that judgment which God, who sees all things, could approve,
 4510 and which tended to unity and concord, was brought to light, so that no room was left
 for further discussion or controversy in relation to the faith.

CHAPTER XVIII: He speaks of their Unanimity respecting the Feast of Easter, and
 against the Practice of the Jews.
 4515 "AT this meeting the question concerning the most holy day of Easter was discussed,
 and it was resolved by the united judgment of all present, that this feast ought to
 be kept by all and in every place on one and the same day. For what can be more
 becoming or honorable to us than that this feast from which we date our hopes of
 immortality, should be observed unfailingly by all alike, according to one
 4520 ascertained order and arrangement? And first of all, it appeared an unworthy thing
 that in the celebration of this most holy feast we should follow the practice of the
 Jews, who have impiously defiled their hands with enormous sin, and are, therefore,
 deservedly afflicted with blindness of soul. For we have it in our power, if we
 abandon their custom, to prolong the due observance of this ordinance to future ages,
 4525 by a truer order, which we have preserved from the very day of the passion until the
 present time. Let us then have nothing in common with the detestable Jewish crowd;
 for we have received from our Saviour a different way. A course at once legitimate
 and honorable lies open to our most holy religion. Beloved brethren, let us with one
 consent adopt this course, and withdraw ourselves from all participation in their
 4530 baseness. For their boast is absurd indeed, that it is not in our power without
 instruction from them to observe these things. For how should they be capable of
 forming a sound judgment, who, since their parricidal guilt in slaying their Lord,
 have been subject to the direction, not of reason, but of ungoverned passion, and are
 swayed by every impulse of the mad spirit that is in them? Hence it is that on this
 4535 point as well as others they have no perception of the truth, so that, being
 altogether ignorant of the true adjustment of this question, they sometimes celebrate
 Easter twice in the same year. Why then should we follow those who are confessedly in
 grievous error? Surely we shall never consent to keep this feast a second time in the
 same year. But supposing these reasons were not of sufficient weight, still it would
 4540 be incumbent on your Sagacities to strive and pray continually that the purity of
 your souls may not seem in anything to be sullied by fellowship with the customs of
 these most wicked men. We must consider, too, that a discordant judgment in a case of
 such importance, and respecting such religious festival, is wrong. For our Saviour
 has left us one feast in commemoration of the day of our deliverance, I mean the day
 4545 of his most holy passion; and he has willed that his Catholic Church should be one,
 the members of which, however scattered in many and diverse places, are yet cherished
 by one pervading spirit, that is, by the will of God. And let your Holinesses'
 sagacity reflect how grievous and scandalous it is that on the self-same days some
 should be engaged in fasting, others in festive enjoyment; and again, that after the
 4550 days of Easter some should be present at banquets and amusements, while others are
 fulfilling the appointed fasts. It is, then, plainly the will of Divine Providence
 (as I suppose you all clearly see), that this usage should receive fitting
 correction, and be reduced to one uniform rule.

CHAPTER XIX: Exhortation to follow the Example of the Greater Part of the World.
 "SINCE, therefore, it was needful that this matter should be rectified, so that we
 might have nothing in common with that nation of parricides who slew their Lord: and
 since that arrangement is consistent with propriety which is observed by all the
 churches of the western, southern, and northern parts of the world, and by some of
 4560 the eastern also: for these reasons all are unanimous on this present occasion in
 thinking it worthy of adoption. And I myself have undertaken that this decision

should meet with the approval of your Sagacities, in the hope that your Wisdoms will gladly admit that practice which is observed at once in the city of Rome, and in Africa; throughout Italy, and in Egypt, in Spain, the Gauls, Britain, Libya, and the whole of Greece; in the dioceses of Asia and Pontus, and in Cilicia, with entire unity of judgment. And you will consider not only that the number of churches is far greater in the regions I have enumerated than in any other, but also that it is most fitting that all should unite in desiring that which sound reason appears to demand, and in avoiding all participation in the perjured conduct of the Jews. In fine, that I may express my meaning in as few words as possible, it has been determined by the common judgment of all, that the most holy feast of Easter should be kept on one and the same day. For on the one hand a discrepancy of opinion on so sacred a question is unbecoming, and on the other it is surely best to act on a decision which is free from strange folly and error.

CHAPTER XX: Exhortation to obey the Decrees of the Council.

"RECEIVE, then, with all willingness this truly Divine injunction, and regard it as in truth the gift of God. For whatever is determined in the holy assemblies of the bishops is to be regarded as indicative of the Divine will. As soon, therefore, as you have communicated these proceedings to all our beloved brethren, you are bound from that time forward to adopt for yourselves, and to enjoin on others the arrangement above mentioned, and the due observance of this most sacred day; that whenever I come into the presence of your love, which I have long desired, I may have it in my power to celebrate the holy feast with you on the same day, and may rejoice with you on all accounts, when I behold the cruel power of Satan removed by Divine aid through the agency of our endeavors, while your faith, and peace, and concord ever? where flourish. God preserve you, beloved brethren"

The emperor transmitted a faithful copy of this letter to every province, wherein they who read it might discern as in a mirror the pure sincerity of his thoughts, and of his piety toward God.

CHAPTER XXI: Recommendation to the Bishops, on their Departure, to Preserve Harmony. AND now, when the council was on the point of being finally dissolved, he summoned all the bishops to meet him on an appointed day, and on their arrival addressed them in a farewell speech, in which he recommended them to be diligent in the maintenance of peace, to avoid contentious disputations, amongst themselves and not to be jealous, if any one of their number should appear pre-eminent for wisdom and eloquence, but to esteem the excellence of one a blessing common to all. On the other hand he reminded them that the more gifted should forbear to exalt themselves to the prejudice of their humbler brethren, since it is God's prerogative to judge of real superiority. Rather should they considerately condescend to the weaker, remembering that absolute perfection in any case is a rare quality indeed. Each then, should be willing to accord indulgence to the other for slight offenses, to regard charitably and pass over mere human weaknesses; holding mutual harmony in the highest honor, that no occasion of mockery might be given by their dissensions to those who are ever ready to blaspheme the word of God: whom indeed we should do all in our power to save, and this cannot be unless our conduct seems to them attractive. But you are well aware of the fact that testimony is by no means productive of blessing to all, since some who hear are glad to secure the supply of their mere bodily necessities, while others court the patronage of their superiors; some fix their affection on those who treat them with hospitable kindness, others again, being honored with presents, love their benefactors in return; but few are they who really desire the word of testimony, and rare indeed is it to find a friend of truth. Hence the necessity of endeavoring to meet the case of all, and, physician-like, to administer to each that which may tend to the health of the soul, to the end that the saving doctrine may be fully honored by all. Of this kind was the former part of his exhortation; and in conclusion he enjoined them to offer diligent supplications to God on his behalf. Having thus taken leave of them, he gave them all permission to return to their respective countries; and this they did with joy, and thenceforward that unity of judgment at which they had arrived in the emperor's presence continued to prevail, and those who had long been divided were bound together as members of the same body.

CHAPTER XXII: How he dismissed Some, and wrote Letters to Others; also his Presents. FULL of joy therefore at this success, the emperor presented as it were pleasant fruits in the way of letters to those who had not been present at the council. He commanded also that ample gifts of money should be bestowed on all the people, both

in the country and the cities, being pleased thus to honor the festive occasion of the twentieth anniversary of his reign.

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CHAPTER XXIII: How he wrote to the Egyptians, exhorting them to Peace. AND now, when all else were at peace, among the Egyptians alone an implacable contention still raged, so as once more to disturb the emperor's tranquility, though not to excite his anger. For indeed he treated the contending parties with all respect, as fathers, nay rather, as prophets of God; and again he summoned them to his presence, and again patiently acted as mediator between them, and honored them with gifts, and communicated also the result of his arbitration by letter. He confirmed and sanctioned the decrees of the council, and called on them to strive earnestly for concord, and not to distract and rend the Church, but to keep before them the thought of God's judgment. And these injunctions the emperor sent by a letter written with his own hand.

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CHAPTER XXIV: How he wrote Frequent Letters of a Religious Character to the Bishops and People.

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BUT besides these, his writings are very numerous on kindred subjects, and he was the author of a multitude of letters, some to the bishops, in which he laid injunctions on them tending to the advantage of the churches of God; and sometimes the thrice blessed one addressed the people of the churches generally, calling them his own brethren and fellow-servants. But perhaps we may hereafter find leisure to collect these dispatches in a separate form, in order that the integrity of our present history may not be impaired by their insertion.

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CHAPTER XXV: How he ordered the Erection of a Church at Jerusalem, in the Holy Place of our Saviour's Resurrection.

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AFTER these things, the pious emperor addressed himself to another work truly worthy of record, in the province of Palestine. What then was this work? He judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, for the erection in that spot of a house of prayer: and this he did, not on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Saviour himself.

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CHAPTER XXVI: That the Holy Sepulchre had been covered with Rubbish and with Idols by the Ungodly.

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FOR it had been in time past the endeavor of impious men (or rather let me say of the whole race of evil spirits through their means), to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality to which the radiant angel had descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone for those who still had stony hearts, and who supposed that the living One still lay among the dead; and had declared glad tidings to the women also, and removed their stony-hearted unbelief by the conviction that he whom they sought was alive. This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that thus they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars. For they supposed that their object could not otherwise be fully attained, than by thus burying the sacred cave beneath these foul pollutions. Unhappy men! they were unable to comprehend how impossible it was that their attempt should remain unknown to him who had been crowned with victory over death, any more than the blazing sun, when he rises above the earth, and holds his wonted course through the midst of heaven, is unseen by the whole race of mankind. Indeed, his saving power, shining with still greater brightness, and illumining, not the bodies, but the souls of men, was already filling the world with the effulgence of its own light.

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Nevertheless, these devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of the emperors themselves ever yet appeared, with ability to abolish these daring impieties, save only that one who enjoyed the favor of the King of kings. And now, acting as he did under the guidance of the divine Spirit, he could not consent to see the sacred spot of which we have spoken, thus buried, through the devices of the

adversaries, under every kind of impurity, and abandoned to forgetfulness and neglect; nor would he yield to the malice of those who had contracted this guilt, but calling on the divine aid, gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified, thinking that the parts which had been most polluted by the enemy ought to receive special tokens, through his means, of the greatness of the divine favor. As soon, then, as his commands were issued, these engines of deceit were cast down from their proud eminence to the very ground, and the dwelling-places of error, with the statues and the evil spirits which they represented, were overthrown and utterly destroyed.

CHAPTER XXVII: How Constantine commanded the Materials of the Idol Temple, and the Soil itself, to be removed at a Distance.

NOR did the emperor's zeal stop here; but he gave further orders that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command also was speedily executed. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with having proceeded thus far: once more, fired with holy ardor, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon worship transported to a far distant place.

CHAPTER XXVIII: Discovery of the Most Holy Sepulchre.

THIS also was accomplished without delay. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hollowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. Then indeed did this most holy cave present a faithful similitude of his return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded to all who came to witness the sight, a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been the scene, a testimony to the resurrection of the Saviour clearer than any voice could give.

CHAPTER XXIX: How he wrote concerning the Erection of a Church, both to the Governors of the Provinces, and to the Bishop Macarius.

IMMEDIATELY after the transactions I have recorded, the emperor sent forth injunctions which breathed a truly pious spirit, at the same time granting ample supplies of money, and commanding that a house of prayer worthy of the worship of God should be erected near the Saviour's tomb on a scale of rich and royal greatness. This object he had indeed for some time kept in view, and had foreseen, as if by the aid of a superior intelligence, that which should afterwards come to pass. He laid his commands, therefore, on the governors of the Eastern provinces, that by an abundant and unsparing expenditure they should secure the completion of the work on a scale of noble and ample magnificence. He also dispatched the following letter to the bishop who at that time presided over the church at Jerusalem, in which he clearly asserted the saving doctrine of the faith, writing in these terms.

CHAPTER XXX: Constantine's Letter to Macarius respecting the Building of the Church of our Saviour.

"VICTOR CONSTANTIUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Macarius.

"Such is our Saviour's grace, that no power of language seems adequate to describe the wondrous circumstance to which I am about to refer. For, that the monument of his most holy Passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to his servants now set free through the removal of him who was the common enemy of all, is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration. For if all who are accounted wise throughout the world were to unite in their endeavors to say somewhat worthy of this event, they would be unable to attain their object in the smallest degree. Indeed, the nature of this miracle as far transcends the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to human affairs. For this cause it is ever my first, and indeed my only object, that, as the authority of the truth is evincing itself daily by fresh wonders, so our souls may all become more zealous, with all sobriety and earnest unanimity, for the honor of the Divine law. I desire, therefore, especially, that you should be persuaded of that which I suppose is evident to all beside, namely, that I have no greater care than how I may best adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were of the heavy weight of foul idol worship; a spot which has been accounted holy from the beginning in God's judgment, but which now appears holier still, since it has brought to light a clear assurance of our Saviour's passion.

- 4760 CHAPTER XXXI: That the Building should surpass all the Churches in the World in the Beauty of its Walls, its Columns, and Marbles.
 "IT will be well, therefore, for your sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the church itself as a whole may surpass all others whatsoever in beauty, but that the details of the
- 4765 building may be of such a kind that the fairest structures in any city of the empire may be excelled by this. And with respect to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you that our friend Dracilianus, the deputy of the Praetorian Praefects, and the governor of the province, have received a charge from us. For our pious directions to them are to the effect that artificers and laborers, and whatever they shall understand from your sagacity to be needful for the
- 4770 advancement of the work, shall forthwith be furnished by their care. And as to the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge, after actual inspection of the plan, to be especially precious and serviceable, be diligent to send information to us in writing, in order that whatever quantity or sort of materials we shall esteem from your letter to be needful, may be procured from every quarter, as required, for it is fitting that the most marvelous place in the world should be worthily decorated.
- CHAPTER XXXII: That he instructed the Governors concerning the Beautifying of the Roof; also concerning Workmen, and Materials.
- 4780 "WITH respect to the ceiling of the church, I wish to know from you whether in your judgment it should be panel-ceiled, or finished with any other kind of workmanship. If the panel ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold. For the rest, your Holiness will give information as early as possible to the before-mentioned magistrates how many laborers and artificers, and what expenditure of money is
- 4785 required. You will also be careful to send us a report without delay, not only respecting the marbles and columns, but the paneled ceiling also, should this appear to you to be the most beautiful form. God preserve you, beloved brother!"
- CHAPTER XXXIII: How the Church of our Saviour, the New Jerusalem prophesied of in Scripture, was built.
- 4790 THIS was the emperor's letter; and his directions were at once carried into effect. Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of Divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Saviour's
- 4795 victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence. And it may be that this was that second and new Jerusalem spoken of in the predictions of the prophets, concerning which such abundant testimony is given in the divinely inspired records.
- 4800 First of all, then, he adorned the sacred cave itself, as the chief part of the whole work, and the hallowed monument at which the angel radiant with light had once declared to all that regeneration which was first manifested in the Saviour's person.
- CHAPTER XXXIV: Description of the Structure of the Holy Sepulchre.
- 4805 THIS monument, therefore, first of all, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, anti profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind.
- CHAPTER XXXV: Description of the Atrium and Porticos.
- 4810 THE next object of his attention was a space of ground of great extent, and open to the pure air of heaven. This he adorned with a pavement of finely polished stone, and enclosed it on three sides with porticos of great length.
- CHAPTER XXXVI: Description of the Walls, Roof, Decoration, and Gilding of the Body of the Church.
- 4815 FOR at the side opposite to the cave, which was the eastern side, the church itself was erected; a noble work rising to a vast height, and of great extent both in length and breadth. The interior of this structure was floored with marble slabs of various colors; while the external surface of the walls, which shone with polished stones
- 4820 exactly fitted together, exhibited a degree of splendor in no respect inferior to that of marble. With regard to the roof, it was covered on the outside with lead, as a protection against the rains of winter. But the inner part of the roof, which was finished with sculptured panel work, extended in a series of connected compartments, like a vast sea, over the whole church; and, being overlaid throughout with the
- 4825 purest gold, caused the entire building to glitter as it were with rays of light.

CHAPTER XXXVII: Description of the Double Porticos on Either Side, and of the Three Eastern Gates.

BESIDES this were two porticos on each side, with upper and lower ranges of pillars, corresponding in length with the church itself; and these also had their roofs ornamented with gold. Of these porticos, those which were exterior to the church were supported by columns of great size, while those within these rested on piles of stone beautifully adorned on the surface. Three gates, placed exactly east, were intended to receive the multitudes who entered the church.

CHAPTER XXXVIII: Description of the Hemisphere, the Twelve Columns, and their Bowls. OPPOSITE these gates the crowning part of the whole was the hemisphere, which rose to the very summit of the church. This was encircled by twelve columns (according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour), having their capitals embellished with silver bowls of great size, which the emperor himself presented as a splendid offering to his God.

CHAPTER XXXIX: Description of the Inner Court, the Arcades and Porches. IN the next place he enclosed the atrium which occupied the space leading to the entrances in front of the church. This comprehended, first the court, then the porticos on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. After these, in the midst of the open market-place, the general entrance-gates, which were of exquisite workmanship, afforded to passers-by on the outside a view of the interior which could not fail to inspire astonishment.

CHAPTER XL: Of the Number of his Offerings. THIS temple, then, the emperor erected as a conspicuous monument of the Saviour's resurrection, and embellished it throughout on an imperial scale of magnificence. He further enriched it with numberless offerings of inexpressible beauty and various materials, - gold, silver, and precious stones, the skillful and elaborate arrangement of which, in regard to their magnitude, number, and variety, we have not leisure at present to describe particularly.

CHAPTER XLI: Of the Erection of Churches in Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives. IN the same country he discovered other places, venerable as being the localities of two sacred caves: and these also he adorned with lavish magnificence. In the one case, he rendered due honor to that which had been the scene of the first manifestation of our Saviour's divine presence, when he submitted to be born in mortal flesh; while in the case of the second cavern he hallowed the remembrance of his ascension to heaven from the mountain top. And while he thus nobly testified his reverence for these places, he at the same time eternized the memory of his mother, who had been the instrument of conferring so valuable a benefit on mankind.

CHAPTER XLII: That the Empress Helena, Constantine's Mother, having visited this Locality for Devotional Purposes, built these Churches. FOR she, having resolved to discharge the duties of pious devotion to the God, the King of kings, and feeling it incumbent on her to render thanksgivings with prayers on behalf both of her own son, now so mighty an emperor, and of his sons, her own grandchildren, the divinely favored Caesars, though now advanced in years, yet gifted with no common degree of wisdom, had hastened with youthful alacrity to survey this venerable land; and at the same time to visit the eastern provinces, cities, and people, with a truly imperial solicitude. As soon, then, as she had rendered due reverence to the ground which the Saviour's feet had trodden, according to the prophetic word which says "Let us worship at the place whereon his feet have stood," she immediately bequeathed the fruit of her piety to future generations.

CHAPTER XLIII: A Farther Notice of the Churches at Bethlehem. FOR without delay she dedicated two churches to the God whom she adored, one at the grotto which had been the scene of the Saviour's birth; the other on the mount of his ascension. For he who was "God with us" had submitted to be born even in a cave of the earth, and the place of his nativity was called Bethlehem by the Hebrews. Accordingly the pious empress honored with rare memorials the scene of her travail who bore this heavenly child, and beautified the sacred cave with all possible splendor. The emperor himself soon after testified his reverence for the spot by princely offerings, and added to his mother's magnificence by costly presents of silver and gold, and embroidered hangings. And farther, the mother of the emperor

raised a stately structure on the Mount of Olives also, in memory of his ascent to heaven who is the Saviour of mankind, erecting a sacred church and temple on the very summit of the mount. And indeed authentic history informs us that in this very cave the Saviour imparted his secret revelations to his disciples. And here also the emperor testified his reverence for the King of kings, by diverse and costly offerings. Thus did Helena Augusta, the pious mother of a pious emperor, erect over the two mystic caverns these two noble and beautiful monuments of devotion, worthy of everlasting remembrance, to the honor of God her Saviour, and as proofs of her holy zeal, receiving from her son the aid of his imperial power. Nor was it long ere this aged woman reaped the due reward of her labors. After passing the whole period of her life, even to declining age, in the greatest prosperity, and exhibiting both in word and deed abundant fruits of obedience to the divine precepts, and having enjoyed in consequence an easy and tranquil existence, with unimpaired powers of body and mind, at length she obtained from God an end befitting her pious course, and a recompense of her good deeds even in this present life.

CHAPTER XLIV: Of Helena's Generosity and Beneficent Acts.

FOR on the occasion of a circuit which she made of the eastern provinces, in the splendor of imperial authority, she bestowed abundant proofs of her liberality as well on the inhabitants of the several cities collectively, as on individuals who approached her, at the same time that she scattered largesses among the soldiery with a liberal hand. But especially abundant were the gifts she bestowed on the naked and unprotected poor. To some she gave money, to others an ample supply of clothing: she liberated some from imprisonment, or from the bitter servitude of the mines; others she delivered from unjust oppression, and others again, she restored from exile.

CHAPTER XLV: Helena's Pious Conduct in the Churches.

WHILE, however, her character derived luster from such deeds as I have described, she was far from neglecting personal piety toward God. She might be seen continually frequenting his Church, while at the same time she adorned the houses of prayer with splendid offerings, not overlooking the churches of the smallest cities. In short, this admirable woman was to be seen, in simple and modest attire, mingling with the crowd of worshipers, and testifying her devotion to God by a uniform course of pious conduct.

CHAPTER XLVI: How she made her Will, and died at the Age of Eighty Years.

AND when at length at the close of a long life, she was called to inherit a happier lot, having arrived at the eightieth year of her age, and being very near the time of her departure, she prepared and executed her last will in favor of her only son, the emperor and sole monarch of the world, and her grandchildren, the Caesars his sons, to whom severally she bequeathed whatever property she possessed in any part of the world. Having thus made her will, this thrice blessed woman died in the presence of her illustrious son, who was in attendance at her side, caring for her and held her hands: so that, to those who rightly discerned the truth, the thrice blessed one seemed not to die, but to experience a real change and transition from an earthly to a heavenly existence, since her soul, remoulded as it were into an incorruptible and angelic essence, was received up into her Saviour's presence.

CHAPTER XLVII: How Constantine buried his Mother, and how he honored her during her Life.

HER body, too, was honored with special tokens of respect, being escorted on its way to the imperial city by a vast train of guards, and there deposited in a royal tomb. Such were the last days of our emperor's mother, a person worthy of being had in perpetual remembrance, both for her own practical piety, and because she had given birth to so extraordinary and admirable an offspring. And well may his character be styled blessed, for his filial piety as well as on other grounds. He rendered her through his influence so devout a worshiper of God, (though she had not previously been such,) that she seemed to have been instructed from the first by the Saviour of mankind: and besides this, he had honored her so fully with imperial dignities, that in every province, and in the very ranks of the soldiery, she was spoken of under the titles of Augusta and empress, and her likeness was impressed on golden coins. He had even granted her authority over the imperial treasures, to use and dispense them according to her own will and discretion in every case for this enviable distinction also she received at the hands of her son. Hence it is that among the qualities which shed a luster on his memory, we may rightly include that surpassing degree of filial affection whereby he rendered full obedience to the Divine precepts which enjoin due

honor from children to their parents. In this manner, then, the emperor executed in Palestine the noble works I have above described: and indeed in every province he raised new churches on a far more imposing scale than those which had existed before his time.

CHAPTER XLVIII: How he built Churches in Honor of Martyrs, and abolished Idolatry at Constantinople.

AND being fully resolved to distinguish the city which bore his name with especial honor, he embellished it with numerous sacred edifices, both memorials of martyrs on the largest scale, and other buildings of the most splendid kind, not only within the city itself, but in its vicinity: and thus at the same time he rendered honor to the memory of the martyrs, and consecrated his city to the martyrs' God. Being filled, too, with Divine wisdom, he determined to purge the city which was to be distinguished by his own name from idolatry of every kind, that henceforth no statues might be worshiped there in the temples of those falsely reputed to be gods, nor any altars defiled by the pollution of blood: that there might be no sacrifices consumed by fire, no demon festivals, nor any of the other ceremonies usually observed by the superstitious.

CHAPTER XLIX: Representation of the Cross in the Palace, and of Daniel at the Public Fountains.

ON the other hand one might see the fountains in the midst of the market place graced with figures representing the good Shepherd, well known to those who study the sacred oracles, and that of Daniel also with the lions, forged in brass, and resplendent with plates of gold. Indeed, so large a measure of Divine love possessed the emperor's soul, that in the principal apartment of the imperial palace itself, on a vast tablet displayed in the center of its gold-covered paneled ceiling, he caused the symbol of our Saviour's Passion to be fixed, composed of a variety of precious stones richly inwrought with gold. This symbol he seemed to have intended to be as it were the safeguard of the empire itself.

CHAPTER L: That he erected Churches in Nicomedia, and in Other Cities.

HAVING thus embellished the city which bore his name, he next distinguished the capital of Bithynia by the erection of a stately and magnificent church, being desirous of raising in this city also, in honor of his Saviour and at his own charges, a memorial of his victory over his own enemies and the adversaries of God. He also decorated the principal cities of the other provinces with sacred edifices of great beauty; as, for example, in the case of that metropolis of the East which derived its name from Antiochus, in which, as the head of that portion of the empire, he consecrated to the service of God a church of unparalleled size and beauty. The entire building was encompassed by an enclosure of great extent, within which the church itself rose to a vast elevation, being of an octagonal form, and surrounded on all sides by many chambers, courts, and upper and lower apartments; the whole richly adorned with a profusion of gold, brass, and other materials of the most costly kind.

CHAPTER LI: That he ordered a Church to be built at Mambre.

SUCH was the principal sacred edifices erected by the emperor's command. But having heard that the self-same Saviour who ere while had appeared on earth had in ages long since past afforded a manifestation of his Divine presence to holy men of Palestine near the oak of Mambre, he ordered that a house of prayer should be built there also in honor of the God who had thus appeared. Accordingly the imperial commission was transmitted to the provincial governors by letters addressed to them individually, enjoining a speedy completion of the appointed work. He sent moreover to the writer of this history an eloquent admonition, a copy of which I think it well to insert in the present work, in order to convey a just idea of his pious diligence and zeal. To express, then, his displeasure at the evil practices which he had heard were usual in the place just referred to, he addressed me in the following terms.

CHAPTER LII: Constantine's Letter to Eusebius concerning Mambre.

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Macarius, and the rest of the bishops in Palestine.

"One benefit, and that of no ordinary importance, has been conferred on us by my truly pious mother-in-law, in that she has made known to us by letter that abandoned folly of impious men which has hitherto escaped detection by you: so that the criminal conduct thus overlooked may now through our means obtain fitting correction and remedy, necessary though tardy. For surely it is a grave impiety indeed, that

5025 holy places should be defiled by the stain of unhallowed impurities. What then is this, dearest brethren, which, though it has eluded your sagacity, she of whom I speak was impelled by a pious sense of duty to disclose?

CHAPTER LIIII: That the Saviour appeared in this Place to Abraham.

5030 "SHE assures me, then, that the place which takes its name from the oak of Mambre, where we find that Abraham dwelt, is defiled by certain of the slaves of superstition in every possible way. She declares that idols which should be utterly destroyed have been erected on the site of that tree; that an altar is near the spot; and that impure sacrifices are continually performed. Now since it is evident that these practices are equally inconsistent with the character of our times, and unworthy the sanctity of the place itself, I wish your Gravities to be informed that the illustrious Count Acacius, our friend, has received instructions by letter from me, to the effect that every idol which shall be found in the place above-mentioned shall immediately be consigned to the flames; that the altar be utterly demolished; and that if any one, after this our mandate, shall be guilty of impiety of any kind in this place, he shall be visited with condign punishment. The place itself we have directed to be adorned with an unpolluted structure, I mean a church; in order that it may become a fitting place of assembly for holy men. Meantime, should any breach of these our commands occur, it should be made known to our clemency without the least delay by letters from you, that we may direct the person detected to be dealt with, as a transgressor of the law, in the severest manner. For you are not ignorant that the Supreme God first appeared to Abraham, and conversed with him, in that place. There it was that the observance of the Divine law first began; there first the Saviour himself, with the two angels, vouchsafed to Abraham a manifestation of his presence; there God first appeared to men; there he gave promise to Abraham concerning his future seed, and straightway fulfilled that promise; there he foretold that he should be the father of a multitude of nations. For these reasons, it seems to me right that this place should not only be kept pure through your diligence from all defilement, but restored also to its pristine sanctity; that nothing hereafter may be done there except the performance of fitting service to him who is the Almighty God, and our Saviour, and Lord of all. And this service it is incumbent on you to care for with due attention, if your Gravities be willing (and of this I feel confident) to gratify my wishes, which are especially interested in the worship of God. May he preserve you, beloved brethren!"

5060 CHAPTER LIV: Destruction of Idol Temples and Images everywhere.

ALL these things the emperor diligently performed to the praise of the saving power of Christ, and thus made it his constant aim to glorify his Saviour God. On the other hand he used every means to rebuke the superstitious errors of the heathen. Hence the entrances of their temples in the several cities were left exposed to the weather, being stripped of their doors at his command; the tiling of others was removed, and their roofs destroyed. From others again the venerable statues of brass, of which the superstition of antiquity had boasted for a long series of years, were exposed to view in all the public places of the imperial city: so that here a Pythian, there a Sminthian Apollo, excited the contempt of the beholder: while the Delphic tripods were deposited in the hippodrome and the Muses of Helicon in the palace itself. In short, the city which bore his name was everywhere filled with brazen statues of the most exquisite workmanship, which had been dedicated in every province, and which the deluded victims of superstition had long vainly honored as gods with numberless victims and burnt sacrifices, though now at length they learned to renounce their error, when the emperor held up the very objects of their worship to be the ridicule and sport of all beholders. With regard to those images which were of gold, he dealt with them in a different manner. For as soon as he understood that the ignorant multitudes were inspired with a vain and childish dread of these bugbears of error, wrought in gold and silver, he judged it right to remove these also, like stumbling-stones thrown in the way of men walking in the dark, and henceforward to open a royal road, plain and unobstructed to all. Having formed this resolution, he considered no soldiers or military force of any sort needful for the suppression of the evil: a few of his own friends sufficed for this service, and these he sent by a simple expression of his will to visit each several province. Accordingly, sustained by confidence in the emperor's pious intentions and their own personal devotion to God, they passed through the midst of numberless tribes and nations, abolishing this ancient error in every city and country. They ordered the priests themselves, amidst general laughter and scorn, to bring their gods from their dark recesses to the light of day: they then stripped them of their ornaments, and exhibited to the gaze of all

- 5090 the unsightly reality which had been hidden beneath a painted exterior. Lastly, whatever part of the material appeared valuable they scraped off and melted in the fire to prove its worth, after which they secured and set apart whatever they judged needful for their purpose, leaving to the superstitious worshipers that which was altogether useless, as a memorial of their shame. Meanwhile our admirable prince was
- 5095 himself engaged in a work similar to what we have described. For at the same time that these costly images of the dead were stripped, as we have said, of their precious materials, he also attacked those composed of brass; causing those to be dragged from their places with ropes and as it were carried away captive, whom the dotage of mythology had esteemed as gods.
- 5100 CHAPTER LV: Overthrow of an Idol Temple, and Abolition of Licentious Practices, at Aphaca in Phoenicia.
- THE emperor's next care was to kindle, as it were, a brilliant torch, by the light of which he directed his imperial gaze around, to see if any hidden vestiges of error might still exist. And as the keen-sighted eagle in its heavenward flight is able to descry from its lofty height the most distant objects on the earth, so did he, while
- 5105 residing in the imperial palace of his own fair city, discover as from a watch-tower a hidden and fatal snare of souls in the province of Phoenicia. This was a grove and temple, not situated in the midst of any city, nor in any public place, as for splendor of effect is generally the case, but apart from the beaten and frequented road, at Aphaca, on part of the summit of Mount Lebanon, and dedicated to the foul demon known by the name of Venus. It was a school of wickedness for all the votaries of impurity, and such as destroyed their bodies with effeminacy. Here men undeserving of the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the demon by their
- 5115 effeminate conduct; here too unlawful commerce of women and adulterous intercourse, with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple as in a place beyond the scope and restraint of law. Meantime these evils remained unchecked by the presence of any observer, since no one of fair character ventured to visit such scenes. These proceedings, however, could not escape the vigilance of our august
- 5120 emperor, who, having himself inspected them with characteristic forethought, and judging that such a temple was unfit for the light of heaven, gave orders that the building with its offerings should be utterly destroyed. Accordingly, in obedience to the imperial command, these engines of an impure superstition were immediately abolished, and the hand of military force was made instrumental in purging the place.
- 5125 And now those who had heretofore lived without restraint learned self-control through the emperor's threat of punishment, as likewise those superstitious Gentiles wise in their own conceit, who now obtained experimental proof of their own folly.
- CHAPTER LVI: Destruction of the Temple of Aesculapius at Aegae.
- 5130 FOR since a wide-spread error of these pretenders to wisdom concerned the demon worshiped in Cilicia, whom thousands regarded with reverence as the possessor of saving and healing power, who sometimes appeared to those who passed the night in his temple, sometimes restored the diseased to health, though on the contrary he was a
- 5135 destroyer of souls, who drew his easily deluded worshipers from the true Saviour to involve them in impious error, the emperor, consistently with his practice, and desire to advance the worship of him who is at once a jealous God and the true Saviour, gave directions that this temple also should be razed to the ground. In prompt obedience to this command, a band of soldiers laid this building, the admiration of noble philosophers, prostrate in the dust, together with its unseen
- 5140 inmate, neither demon nor god, but rather a deceiver of souls, who had seduced mankind for so long a time through various ages. And thus he who had promised to others deliverance from misfortune and distress, could find no means for his own security, any more than when, as is told in myth, he was scorched by the lightning's stroke. Our emperor's pious deeds, however, had in them nothing fabulous or feigned; but by virtue of the manifested power of his Saviour, this temple as well as others
- 5145 was so utterly overthrown, that not a vestige of the former follies was left behind.
- CHAPTER LVII: How the Gentiles abandoned Idol Worship, and turned to the Knowledge of God.
- 5150 HENCE it was that, of those who had been the slaves of superstition, when they saw with their own eyes the exposure of their delusion, and beheld the actual ruin of the temples and images in every place, some applied themselves to the saving doctrine of Christ; while others, though they declined to take this step, yet reprobated the
- 5155 folly which they had received from their fathers, and laughed to scorn what they had so long been accustomed to regard as gods. Indeed, what other feelings could possess

their minds, when they witnessed the thorough uncleanness concealed beneath the fair exterior of the objects of their worship? Beneath this were found either the bones of dead men or dry skulls, fraudulently adorned by the arts of magicians, or filthy rags full of abominable impurity, or a bundle of hay or stubble. On seeing all these things heaped together within their lifeless images, they denounced their fathers' extreme folly and their own, especially when neither in the secret recesses of the temples nor in the statues themselves could any inmate be found; neither demon, nor utterer of oracles, neither god nor prophet, as they had heretofore supposed: nay, not even a dim and shadowy phantom could be seen. Accordingly, every gloomy cavern, every hidden recess, afforded easy access to the emperor's emissaries: the inaccessible and secret chambers, the innermost shrines of the temples, were trampled by the soldiers' feet; and thus the mental blindness which had prevailed for so many ages over the gentile world became clearly apparent to the eyes of all.

CHAPTER LVIII: How he destroyed the Temple of Venus at Heliopolis, and built the First Church in that City.

SUCH actions as I have described may well be reckoned among the emperor's noblest achievements, as also the wise arrangements which he made respecting each particular province. We may instance the Phoenician city Heliopolis, in which those who dignify licentious pleasure with a distinguishing title of honor, had permitted their wives and daughters to commit shameless fornication. But now a new statute, breathing the very spirit of modesty, proceeded from the emperor, which peremptorily forbade the continuance of former practices. And besides this he sent them also written exhortations, as though he had been especially ordained by God for this end, that he might instruct all men in the principles of chastity. Hence, he disdained not to communicate by letter even with these persons, urging them to seek diligently the knowledge of God. At the same time he followed up his words by corresponding deeds, and erected even in this city a church of great size and magnificence: so that an event unheard of before in any age, now for the first time came to pass, namely, that a city which had hitherto been wholly given up to superstition now obtained the privilege of a church of God, with presbyters and deacons, and its people were placed under the presiding care of a bishop consecrated to the service of the supreme God. And further, the emperor, being anxious that here also as many as possible might be won to the truth, bestowed abundant provision for the necessities of the poor, desiring even thus to invite them to seek the doctrines of salvation, as though he were almost adopting the words of him who said, "Whether in pretense, or in truth, let Christ be preached."

CHAPTER LIX: Of the Disturbance at Antioch by Eustathius.

IN the midst, however, of the general happiness occasioned by these events, and while the Church of God was every where and every way flourishing throughout the empire, once more that spirit of envy, who ever watches for the ruin of the good, prepared himself to combat the greatness of our prosperity, in the expectation, perhaps, that the emperor himself, provoked by our tumults and disorders, might eventually become estranged from us. Accordingly, he kindled a furious controversy at Antioch, and thereby involved the church in that place in a series of tragic calamities, which had well-nigh occasioned the total overthrow of the city. The members of the Church were divided into two opposite parties; while the people, including even the magistrates and soldiery, were roused to such a pitch, that the contest would have been decided by the sword, had not the watchful providence of God, as well as dread of the emperor's displeasure, controlled the fury of the multitude. On this occasion, too, the emperor, acting the part of a preserver and physician of souls, applied with much forbearance the remedy of persuasion to those who needed it. He gently pleaded, as it were by an embassy, with his people, sending among them one of the best approved and most faithful of those who were honored with the dignity of Count; at the same time that he exhorted them to a peaceable spirit by repeated letters, and instructed them in the practice of true godliness, Having prevailed by these remonstrances, he excused their conduct in his subsequent letters, alleging that he had himself heard the merits of the case from him on whose account the disturbance had arisen. And these letters of his, which are replete with learning and instruction of no ordinary kind, I should have inserted in this present work, were it not that they might affix a mark of dishonor to the character of the persons accused. I will therefore omit these, being unwilling to revive the memory of past grievances, and will only annex those to my present narrative which he wrote to testify his satisfaction at the re-establishment of peace and concord among the rest. In these letters, he cautioned them against any desire to claim the ruler of another district, through whose

intervention peace had been restored, as their own, and exhorted them, consistently with the usage of the Church, to choose him as their bishop, whom the common Saviour of all should point out as suited for the office. His letter, then, is addressed to the people and to the bishops, severally, in the following terms.

CHAPTER LX: Constantine's Letter to the Antiochians, directing them not to withdraw Eusebius from Caesarea, but to seek some one else.

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the people of Antioch.

"How pleasing to the wise and intelligent portion of mankind is the concord which exists among you! And I myself, brethren, am disposed to love you with an enduring affection, inspired both by religion, and by your own manner of life and zeal on my behalf. It is by the exercise of right understanding and sound discretion, that we are enabled really to enjoy our blessings. And what can become you so well as this discretion? No wonder, then, if I affirm that your maintenance of the truth has tended rather to promote your security than to draw on you the hatred of others. Indeed, amongst brethren, whom the selfsame disposition to walk in the ways of truth and righteousness promises, through the favor of God, to register among his pure and holy family, what can be more honorable than gladly to acquiesce in the prosperity of all men? Especially since the precepts of the divine law prescribe a better direction to your proposed intention, and we ourselves desire that your judgment should be confirmed by proper sanction. It may be that you are surprised, and at a loss to understand the meaning of this introduction to my present address. The cause of it I will not hesitate to explain without reserve. I confess, then, that on reading your records I perceived, by the highly eulogistic testimony which they bear to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, whom I have myself long well known and esteemed for his learning and moderation, that you are strongly attached to him, and desire to appropriate him as your own. What thoughts, then, do you suppose that I entertain on this subject, desirous as I am to seek for and act on the strict principles of right? What anxiety do you imagine this desire of yours has caused me? O holy faith, who givest us in our Saviour's words and precepts a model, as it were, of what our life should be, how hardly wouldst thou thyself resist the sins of men, were it not that thou refusest to subserve the purposes of gain! In my own judgment, he whose first object is the maintenance of peace, seems to be superior to Victory herself; and where a right and honorable course lies open to one's choice, surely no one would hesitate to adopt it. I ask then, brethren, why do we so decide as to inflict an injury on others by our choice? Why do we covet those objects which will destroy the credit of our own reputation? I myself highly esteem the individual whom ye judge worthy of your respect and affection: notwithstanding, it cannot be right that those principles should be entirely disregarded which should be authoritative and binding on all alike, so that each should not be content with his own circumstances, and all enjoy their proper privileges: nor can it be right, in considering the claims of rival candidates, to suppose but that not one only, but many, may appear worthy of comparison with this person. For as long as no violence or harshness are suffered to disturb the dignities of the church, they continue to be on an equal footing, and worthy of the same consideration everywhere. Nor is it reasonable that an inquiry into the qualifications of this one should be made to the detriment of others; since the judgment of all churches, whether reckoned of greater or less importance in themselves, is equally capable of receiving and maintaining the divine ordinances, so that one is in no way inferior to another, if we will but boldly declare the truth, in regard to that standard of practice which is common to all. If this be so, we must say that you will be chargeable, not with retaining this prelate, but with wrongfully removing him; your conduct will be characterized rather by violence than justice; and whatever may be generally thought by others, I dare clearly and boldly affirm that this measure will furnish ground of accusation against you, and will provoke factious disturbances of the most mischievous kind: for even timid flocks can show the use and power of their teeth, when the watchful care of their shepherd declines, and they find themselves bereft of his accustomed guidance. If this then be really so, if I am not deceived in my judgment, let this, brethren, be your first consideration, for many and important considerations will immediately present themselves, whether, should you persist in your intention, that mutual kindly feeling and affection which should subsist among you will suffer no diminution? In the next place, remember that he, who came among you for the purpose of offering disinterested counsel, now enjoys the reward which is due to him in the judgment of heaven; for he has received no ordinary recompense in the high testimony you have borne to his equitable conduct. Lastly, in accordance with your usual sound judgment, do ye exhibit a becoming diligence in selecting the person of whom you stand in need, carefully avoiding all

factionous and tumultuous clamor; for such clamor is always wrong, and from the collision of discordant elements both sparks and flame will arise. I protest, as I
 5290 desire to please God and you, and to enjoy a happiness commensurate with your kind wishes, that I love you, and the quiet haven of your gentleness, now that you have cast from you that which defiled, and received in its place at once sound morality and concord, firmly planting in the vessel the sacred standard, and guided, as one
 5295 on board that merchandise which is incorruptible, since, as it were, all bilge water has been drained from the vessel; and be careful henceforth so to secure the enjoyment of all your present blessing, that you may not seem at any future time either to have determined any measure on the impulse of inconsiderate or ill-directed zeal, or in the first instance rashly to have entered on an inexpedient course. May
 5300 God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

CHAPTER LXI: The Emperor's Letter to Eusebius praising him for refusing the Bishopric of Antioch.

THE Emperor's Letter to me on my refusing the Bishopric of Antioch.
 5305 "VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Eusebius.
 "I have most carefully perused your letter, and perceive that you have strictly conformed to the rule enjoined by the discipline of the Church. Now to abide by that which appears at the same time pleasing to God, and accordant with apostolical tradition, is a proof of true piety. You have reason to deem yourself happy on this
 5310 behalf, that you are counted worthy, in the judgment, I may say, of all the world, to have the oversight of any church. For the desire which all feel to claim you for their own, undoubtedly enhances your enviable fortune in this respect. Notwithstanding, your Prudence whose resolve it is to observe the ordinances of God and the apostolic canon of the Church, has done excellently well in declining the
 5315 bishopric of the church at Antioch, and desiring to continue in that church of which you first received the oversight by the will of God. I have written on this subject to the people of Antioch, and also to your colleagues in the ministry who had themselves consulted me in regard to this question; on reading which letters, your Holiness will easily discern, that, inasmuch as justice itself opposed their claims,
 5320 I have written to them under divine direction. It will be necessary that your Prudence should be present at their conference, in order that this decision may be ratified in the church at Antioch. God preserve you, beloved brother!"

CHAPTER LXII: Constantine's Letter to the Council, depreciating the Removal of Eusebius from Caesarea.

5325 "VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, Aetius, Alpheus, and the rest of the bishops who are at Antioch.
 "I have perused the letters written by your Prudences, and highly approve of the wise resolution of your colleague in the ministry, Eusebius. Having, moreover, been
 5330 informed of the circumstances of the case, partly by your letters, partly by those of our illustrious counts, Acacius and Strategius, after sufficient investigation I have written to the people of Antioch, suggesting the course which will be at once pleasing to God and advantageous for the Church. A copy of this I have ordered to be subjoined to this present letter, in order that ye yourselves may know what I thought
 5335 fit, as an advocate of the cause of justice, to write to that people: since I find in your letter this proposal, that, in consonance with the choice of the people, sanctioned by your own desire, Eusebius the holy bishop of Caesarea should preside over and take the charge of the church at Antioch. Now the letters of Eusebius himself on this subject appeared to be strictly accordant with the order prescribed
 5340 by the Church. Nevertheless it is expedient that your Prudences should be made acquainted with my opinion also. For I am informed that Euphronius the presbyter, who is a citizen of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and George of Arethusa, likewise a presbyter, and appointed to that office by Alexander at Alexandria, are men of tried faith. It was right, therefore, to intimate to your Prudences, that in proposing these men and
 5345 any others whom you may deem worthy the episcopal dignity, you should decide this question in a manner conformable to the tradition of the apostles. For in that case, your Prudences will be able, according to the rule of the Church and apostolic tradition, to direct this election in the manner which true ecclesiastical discipline shall prescribe. God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

5350 CHAPTER LXIII: How he displayed his Zeal for the Extirpation of Heresies.
 SUCH were the exhortations to do all things to the honor of the divine religion which the emperor addressed to the rulers of the churches. Having by these means banished

dissension, and reduced the Church of God to a state of uniform harmony, he next
 5355 proceeded to a different duty, feeling it incumbent on him to extirpate another sort
 of impious persons, as pernicious enemies of the human race. These were pests of
 society, who ruined whole cities under the specious garb of religious decorum; men
 whom our Saviour's warning voice somewhere terms false prophets and ravenous wolves:
 5360 "Beware of false prophets, which will come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly
 are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them." Accordingly, by an order
 transmitted to the governors of the several provinces, he effectually banished all
 such offenders. In addition to this ordinance he addressed to them personally a
 severely awakening admonition, exhorting them to an earnest repentance, that they
 might still find a haven of safety in the true Church of God. Hear, then, in what
 5365 manner he addressed them in this letter.

CHAPTER LXIV: Constantine's Edict against the Heretics.

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the heretics.

"Understand now, by this present statute, ye Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites,
 5370 Paulians, ye who are called Cataphrygians, and all ye who devise and support heresies
 by means of your private assemblies, with what a tissue of falsehood and vanity, with
 what destructive and venomous errors, your doctrines are inseparably interwoven; so
 that through you the healthy soul is stricken with disease, and the living becomes
 the prey of everlasting death. Ye haters and enemies of truth and life, in league
 5375 with destruction! All your counsels are opposed to the truth, but familiar with deeds
 of baseness; full of absurdities and fictions: and by these ye frame falsehoods,
 oppress the innocent, and withhold the light from them that believe. Ever trespassing
 under the mask of godliness, ye fill all things with defilement: ye pierce the pure
 and guileless conscience with deadly wounds, while ye withdraw, one may almost say,
 5380 the very light of day from the eyes of men. But why should I particularize, when to
 speak of your criminality as it deserves demands more time and leisure than I can
 give? For so long and unmeasured is the catalogue of your offenses, so hateful and
 altogether atrocious are they, that a single day would not suffice to recount them
 all. And, indeed, it is well to turn one's ears and eyes from such a subject, lest by
 5385 a description of each particular evil, the pure sincerity and freshness of one's own
 faith be impaired. Why then do I still bear with such abounding evil; especially
 since this protracted clemency is the cause that some who were sound are become
 tainted with this pestilent disease? Why not at once strike, as it were, at the root
 of so great a mischief by a public manifestation of displeasure?

CHAPTER LXV: The Heretics are deprived of their Meeting Places.

"FORASMUCH, then, as it is no longer possible to bear with your pernicious errors, we
 give warning by this present statute that none of you henceforth presume to assemble
 yourselves together. We have directed, accordingly, that you be deprived of all the
 5395 houses in which you are accustomed to hold your assemblies: and our care in this
 respect extends so far as to forbid the holding of your superstitious and senseless
 meetings, not in public merely, but in any private house or place whatsoever. Let
 those of you, therefore, who are desirous of embracing the true and pure religion,
 take the far better course of entering the catholic Church, and uniting with it in
 5400 holy fellowship, whereby you will be enabled to arrive at the knowledge of the truth.
 In any case, the delusions of your perverted understandings must entirely cease to
 mingle with and mar the felicity of our present times: I mean the impious and
 wretched double-mindedness of heretics and schismatics. For it is an object worthy of
 that prosperity which we enjoy through the favor of God, to endeavor to bring back
 5405 those who in time past were living in the hope of future blessing, from all
 irregularity and error to the right path, from darkness to light, from vanity to
 truth, from death to salvation. And in order that this remedy may be applied with
 effectual power, we have commanded, as before said, that you be positively deprived
 of every gathering point for your superstitious meetings, I mean all the houses of
 5410 prayer, if such be worthy of the name, which belong to heretics, and that these be
 made over without delay to the catholic Church; that any other places be confiscated
 to the public service, and no facility whatever be left for any future gathering; in
 order that from this day forward none of your unlawful assemblies may presume to
 appear in any public or private place. Let this edict be made public."

CHAPTER LXVI: How on the Discovery of Prohibited Books among the Heretics, Many of
 them return to the Catholic Church.

THUS were the lurking-places of the heretics broken up by the emperor's command, and
 the savage beasts they harbored (I mean the chief authors of their impious doctrines)

5420 driven to flight. Of those whom they had deceived, some, intimidated by the emperor's threats, disguising their real sentiments, crept secretly into the Church. For since the law directed that search should be made for their books, those of them who practiced evil and forbidden arts were detected, and, these were ready to secure their own safety by dissimulation of every kind. Others, however, there were, who 5425 voluntarily and with real sincerity embraced a better hope. Meantime the prelates of the several churches continued to make strict inquiry, utterly rejecting those who attempted an entrance under the specious disguise of false pretenses, while those who came with sincerity of purpose were proved for a time, and after sufficient trial numbered with the congregation. Such was the treatment of those who stood charged 5430 with rank heresy: those, however, who maintained no impious doctrine, but had been separated from the one body through the influence of schismatic advisers, were received without difficulty or delay. Accordingly, numbers thus revisited, as it were, their own country after an absence in a foreign land, and acknowledged the Church as a mother from whom they had wandered long, and to whom they now returned 5435 with joy and gladness. Thus the members of the entire body became united, and compacted in one harmonious whole; and the one catholic Church, at unity with itself, shone with full luster, while no heretical or schismatic body anywhere continued to exist. And the credit of having achieved this mighty work our Heaven-protected emperor alone, of all who had gone before him, was able to attribute to himself.

5440

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I: How he honored Many by Presents and Promotions.
WHILE thus variously engaged in promoting Saviour's doctrine, the emperor was far from neglecting secular affairs; but in this respect also he was unwearied in 5445 bestowing benefits of every kind and in quick succession on the people of every province. On the one hand he manifested a paternal anxiety for the general welfare of his subjects; on the other he would distinguish individuals of his own acquaintance with various marks of honor; conferring his benefits in every instance in a truly noble spirit. No one could request a favor from the emperor, and fail of obtaining 5450 what he sought: no one expected a boon from him, and found that expectation vain. Some received presents in money, others in land; some obtained the Praetorian praefecture, others senatorial, others again consular rank: many were appointed provincial governors: others were made counts of the first, second, or third order: in numberless instances the title of Most Illustrious and many other distinctions 5455 were conferred; for the emperor devised new dignities, that he might invest a larger number with the tokens of his favor.

CHAPTER II: Remission of a Fourth Part of the Taxes.
THE extent to which he studied the general happiness and prosperity may be understood 5460 from a single instance most beneficial and universal in its application, and still gratefully remembered. He remitted a fourth part of the yearly tribute paid for land, and bestowed it on the owners of the soil; so that if we compute this yearly reduction, we shall find that the cultivators enjoyed their produce free of tribute every fourth year. This privilege being established by law, and secured for the time 5465 to come, has given occasion for the emperor's beneficence to be held, not merely by the then present generation, but by their children and descendants, in perpetual remembrance.

CHAPTER III: Equalization of the More Oppressive Taxes.
AND whereas some persons found fault with the surveys of land which had been made 5470 under former emperors, and complained that their property was unduly burdened; acting in this case also on the principles of justice, he sent commissioners to equalize the tribute, and to secure immunity to those who had made this appeal.

5475 CHAPTER IV: His Liberality, from his private Resources, to the Losers in Suits of a Pecuniary Nature.

IN cases of judicial arbitration, in order that the loser by his decision might not quit his presence less contented than the victorious litigant, he himself bestowed, and from his own private means in some cases lands, in other money, on the defeated 5480 party. In this manner he took care that the loser, as having appeared in his in his presence, should be as well satisfied as the gainer of the cause; for he considered that non one ought in any case to retire dejected and sorrowful from an interview with such a price. Thus it happened that both parties returned from the scene of trial with glad and cheerful countenances, while the emperor's noble-minded 5485 liberality excited universal admiration.

CHAPTER V: Conquest of the Scythians defeated through the Sign of Our Saviour. AND why should I relate even briefly and incidentally, how he subjected barbarous nations to the Roman power; how he was the first who subjugated the Scythian and Sarmatian tribes, which had never learned submission, and compelled them, how unwilling soever, to own the sovereignty of Rome? For the emperors who preceded him had actually rendered tribute to the Scythians: and Romans, by an annual payment, had confessed themselves servants to barbarians; an indignity which our emperor could no longer bear, nor think it consistent with his victorious career to continue the payment his predecessors had made. Accordingly, with full confidence in his Saviour's aid he raised his conquering standard against these enemies also, and soon reduced them all to obedience; coercing by military force those who fiercely resisted his authority, while, on the other hand, he conciliated the rest by wisely conducted embassies, and reclaimed them to a state of order and civilization from their lawless and savage life. Thus the Scythians at length learned to acknowledge subjection to the power of Rome.

CHAPTER VI: Conquest of the Sarmatians, consequent on the Rebellion of their Slaves. WITH respect to the Sarmatians, God himself brought them beneath the rule of Constantine, and subdued a nation swelling with barbaric pride in the following manner. Being attacked by the Scythians, they had entrusted their slaves with arms, in order to repel the enemy. These slaves first overcame the invaders and then, turning their weapons against their masters, drove them all from their native land. The expelled Sarmatians found that their only hope of safety was in Constantine's protection: and he, whose familiar habit it was to save men's lives, received them all within the confines of the Roman empire. Those who were capable of serving he incorporated with his own troops: to the rest he allotted lands to cultivate for their own support so that they themselves acknowledged that their past misfortune had produced a happy result in that they now enjoyed Roman liberty in place of savage barbarism. In this manner God added to his dominions many and various barbaric tribes.

CHAPTER VII: Ambassadors from Different Barbarous Nations receive Presents from the Emperor. INDEED, ambassadors were continually arriving from all nations, bringing for his acceptance their most precious gifts. So that I myself have sometimes stood near the entrance of the imperial palace, and observed a noticeable array of barbarians in attendance, differing from each other in costume and decorations, and equally unlike in the fashion of their hair and beard. Their aspect truculent and terrible, their bodily stature prodigious: some of a red complexion, others white as snow, others again of an intermediate color. For in the number of those I have referred to might be seen specimens of the Blemmyan tribes, of the Indians, and the Ethiopians, that widely-divided race, remotest of mankind. All these in due succession, like some painted pageant, presented to the emperor those gifts which their own nation held in most esteem; some offering crowns of goldments embroidered with gold and flowers: some appeared with horses, others with shields and long spears, with arrows and bows thereby offering their services and alliance for the emperors acceptance. These presents he separately received and carefully laid aside, acknowledging them in so munificent a manner as at once to enrich those who bore them. He also honored the noblest among them with Roman offices of dignity; so that many of them thenceforward preferred to continue their residence among us, and felt no desire to revisit their native land.

CHAPTER VIII: That he wrote also to the King of Persia who had sent him an Embassy, on Behalf of the Christians in his Realm. THE king of the Persians also having testified a desire to form an alliance with Constantine, by sending an embassy and presents as assurances of peace and friendship, the emperor, in negotiating this treaty, far surpassed the monarch who had first done him honor, in the magnificence with which he acknowledged his gifts. Having heard, too, that there were many churches of God in Persia, and that large numbers there were gathered into the fold of Christ, full of joy at this intelligence, he resolved to extend his anxiety for the general welfare to that country also, as one whose aim it was to care for all alike in every nation.

CHAPTER IX: Letter of Constantine Augustus to Sapor, King of the Persians, containing a truly Pious Confession of God and Christ.

COPY of his Letter to the King of Persia.

"By keeping the Divine faith, I am made a partaker of the light of truth: guided by the light of truth, I advance in the knowledge of the Divine faith. Hence it is that, as my actions themselves evince, I profess the most holy religion; and this worship I declare to be that which teaches me deeper acquaintance with the most holy God; aided by whose Divine power, beginning from the very borders of the ocean, I have aroused each nation of the world in succession to a well-grounded hope of security; so that those which, groaning in servitude to the most cruel tyrants and yielding to the pressure of their daily sufferings, had well nigh been utterly destroyed, have been restored through my agency to a far happier state. This God I confess that I hold in unceasing honor and remembrance; this God I delight to contemplate with pure and guileless thoughts in the height of his glory.

CHAPTER X: The Writer denounces Idols, and glorifies God.

"THIS God I invoke with bended knees, and recoil with horror from the blood of sacrifices from their foul and detestable odors, and from every earth-born magic fire: for the profane and impious superstitions which are defiled by these rites have cast down and consigned to perdition many, nay, whole nations of the Gentile world. For he who is Lord of all cannot endure that those blessings which, in his own loving-kindness and consideration of the wants of men he has revealed for the rise of all, should be perverted to serve the lusts of any. His only demand from man is purity of mind and an undefiled spirit; and by this standard he weighs the actions of virtue and godliness. For his pleasure is in works of moderation and gentleness: he loves the meek, and hates the turbulent spirit: delighting in faith, he chastises unbelief: by him all presumptuous power is broken down, and he avenges the insolence of the proud. While the arrogant and haughty are utterly overthrown, he requires the humble and forgiving with deserved rewards: even so does he highly honor and strengthen with his special help a kingdom justly governed, and maintains a prudent king in the tranquility of peace.

CHAPTER XI: Against the Tyrants and Persecutors; and on the Captivity of Valerian.

"I CANNOT, then, my brother believe that I err in acknowledging this one God, the author and parent of all things: whom many of my predecessors in power, led astray by the madness of error, have ventured to deny, but who were all visited with a retribution so terrible and so destructive, that all succeeding generations have held up their calamities as the most effectual warning to any who desire to follow in their steps. Of the number of these I believe him to have been, whom the lightning-stroke of Divine vengeance drove forth from hence, and banished to your dominions and whose disgrace contributed to the fame of your celebrated triumph.

CHAPTER XII: He declares that, having witnessed the Fall of the Persecutors, he now rejoices at the Peace enjoyed by the Christians.

"AND it is surely a happy circumstance that the punishment of such persons as I have described should have been publicly manifested in our own times. For I myself have witnessed the end of those who lately harassed the worshipers of God by their impious edict. And for this abundant thanksgivings are due to God that through his excellent Providence all men who observe his holy laws are gladdened by the renewed enjoyment of peace. Hence I am fully persuaded that everything is in the best and safest posture, since God is vouchsafing, through the influence of their pure and faithful religious service, and their unity of judgment respecting his Divine character, to gather all men to himself.

CHAPTER XIII: He bespeaks his Affectionate Interest for the Christians in his Country.

"IMAGINE, then, with what joy I heard tidings so accordant with my desire, that the fairest districts of Persia are filled with those men on whose behalf alone I am at present speaking, I mean the Christians. I pray, therefore, that both you and they may enjoy abundant prosperity, and that your blessings and theirs may be in equal measure; for thus you will experience the mercy and favor of that God who is the Lord and Father of all. And now, because your power is great, I commend these persons to your protection; because your piety is eminent, I commit them to your care. Cherish them with your wonted humanity and kindness; for by this proof of faith you will secure an immeasurable benefit both to yourself and us."

CHAPTER XIV: How the Zealous Prayers of Constantine procured Peace to the Christians. THUS, the nations of the world being everywhere guided in their course as it were by the skill of a single pilot, and acquiescing in the administration of him who

governed as the servant of God, the peace of the Roman empire continued undisturbed, and all classes of his subjects enjoyed a life of tranquility and repose. At the same time the emperor, who was convinced that the prayers of godly men contributed powerfully to the maintenance of the public welfare, felt himself constrained zealously to seek such prayers and not only himself implored the help and favor of God, but charged the prelates of the churches to offer supplications on his behalf.

CHAPTER XV: He causes himself to be represented on his Coins, and in his Portraits, in the Attitude of Prayer.
HOW deeply his soul was impressed by the power of divine faith may be understood from the circumstance that he directed his likeness to be stamped on the golden coin of the empire with the eyes uplifted as in the posture of prayer to God: and this money became current throughout the Roman world. His portrait also at full length was placed over the entrance gates of the palaces in some cities, the eyes upraised to heaven, and the hands outspread as if in prayer.

CHAPTER XVI: He forbids by Law the Plating his Likeness in Idol Temples.
IN this manner he represented himself, even through the medium of painting, as habitually engaged in prayer to God. At the same time he forbade, by an express enactment, the setting up of any resemblance of himself in any idol temple, that not even the mere lineaments of his person might receive contamination from the error of forbidden superstition.

CHAPTER XVII: Of his Prayers in the Palace, and his Reading the Holy Scriptures.
STILL nobler proofs of his piety might be discerned by those who marked how he modeled as it were his very palace into a church of God, and himself afforded a pattern of zeal to those assembled therein: how he took the sacred scriptures into his hands, and devoted himself to the study of those divinely inspired oracles; after which he would offer up regular prayers with all the members of his imperial court.

CHAPTER XVIII: He enjoins the General Observance of the Lord's Day, and the Day of Preparation.
HE ordained, too, that one day should be regarded as a special occasion for prayer: I mean that which is truly the first and chief of all, the day of our Lord and Saviour. The entire care of his household was entrusted to deacons and other ministers consecrated to the service of God, and distinguished by gravity of life and every other virtue: while his trusty body guard, strong in affection and fidelity to his person, found in their emperor an instructor in the practice of piety, and like him held the Lord's salutary day in honor and performed on that day the devotions which he loved. The same observance was recommended by this blessed prince to all classes of his subjects: his earnest desire being gradually to lead all mankind to the worship of God. Accordingly he enjoined on all the subjects of the Roman empire to observe the Lord's day, as a day of rest, and also to honor the day which precedes the Sabbath; in memory, I suppose, of what the Saviour of mankind is recorded to have achieved on that day. And since his desire was to teach his whole army zealously to honor the Saviour's day (which derives its name from light, and from the sun), he freely granted to those among them who were partakers of the divine faith, leisure for attendance on the services of the Church of God, in order that they might be able, without impediment, to perform their religious worship.

CHAPTER XIX: That he directed even his Pagan Soldiers to pray on the Lord's Day.
WITH regard to those who were as yet ignorant of divine truth, he provided by a second statute that they should appear on each Lord's day on an open plain near the city, and there, at a given signal, offer to God with one accord a prayer which they had previously learned. He admonished them that their confidence should not rest in their spears, or armor, or bodily strength, but that they should acknowledge the supreme God as the giver of every good, and of victory itself; to whom they were bound to offer their prayers with due regularity, uplifting on whom they should call as the Author of victory, their Preserver, Guardian, and Helper. The emperor himself prescribed the prayer to be used by all his troops, commanding them, to pronounce the following words in the Latin tongue:

CHAPTER XX: The Form of Prayer given by Constantine to his Soldiers.
"WE acknowledge thee the only God: we own thee, as our King and implore thy succor. By thy favor have we gotten the victory through thee are we mightier than our enemies. We render thanks for thy past benefits, and trust thee for future blessings.

- 5685 Together we pray to thee, and beseech thee long to preserve to us, safe and triumphant, our emperor Constantine and his pious sons." by his troops, and such the prayer they were instructed to offer up to God.
- CHAPTER XXI: He orders the Sign of the Saviour's Cross to be engraven on his Soldiers' Shields.
- 5690 AND not only so, but he also caused the sign of the salutary trophy to be impressed on the very shields of his soldiers; and commanded that his embattled forces should be preceded in their march, not by golden images, as heretofore, but only by the standard of the cross.
- 5695 CHAPTER XXII: Of his Zeal in Prayer, and the Honor he paid to the Feast of Easter. THE emperor himself, as a sharer in the holy mysteries of our religion, would seclude himself daily at a stated hour in the innermost chambers of his palace; and there in solitary converse with his God, would kneel in humble supplication, and entreat the blessings of which he stood in need. But especially at the salutary feast of Easter,
- 5700 his religious diligence was redoubled; he fulfilled as it were the duties of a hierophant with every energy of his mind and body, and outvied all others in the zealous celebration of this feast. He changed, too, the holy night vigil into a brightness like that of day, by causing waxen tapers of great length to be lighted throughout the city: besides which, torches everywhere diffused their light, so as to
- 5705 impart to this mystic vigil a brilliant splendor beyond that of day. As soon as day itself returned, in imitation of our Saviour's gracious acts, he opened a liberal hand to his subjects of every nation, province, and people, and lavished abundant bounties on all.
- 5710 CHAPTER XXIII: How he forbade Idolatrous Worship, but honored Martyrs and the Church Festivals. SUCH were his sacred ministrations in the service of his God. At the same time, his subjects, both civil and military, throughout the empire, found a barrier everywhere opposed against idol worship, and every kind of sacrifice forbidden. A statute was
- 5715 also passed, enjoining the due observance of the Lord's day, and transmitted to the governors of every province, who undertook, at the emperors command, to respect the days commemorative of martyrs, and duly to emperors entire satisfaction.
- CHAPTER XXIV: That he described himself to be a Bishop, in Charge of Affairs External to the Church.
- 5720 HENCE it was not without reason that once, on the occasion of his entertaining a company of bishops, he let fall the expression, "that he himself too was a bishop," addressing them in my heating in the following words: "You are bishops whose jurisdiction is within the Church: I also am a bishop, ordained by God to overlook
- 5725 whatever is external to the Church." And copal[?] care, and exhorted them as far as in him lay to follow a godly life.
- CHAPTER XXV: Prohibition of Sacrifices, of Mystic Rites, Combats of Gladiators, also the Licentious Worship of the Nile.
- 5730 CONSISTENTLY with this zeal he issued successive laws and ordinances, forbidding any to offer sacrifice to idols, to consult diviners, to erect images, or to pollute the cities with the sanguinary combats of gladiators. And inasmuch as the Egyptians, especially those of Alexandria, had been accustomed to honor their river through a priesthood composed of effeminate men, a further law was passed commanding the
- 5735 extermination of the whole class as vicious, that no one might thenceforward be found tainted with the like impurity. And whereas the superstitious inhabitants apprehended that the river would in consequence withhold its customary flood, God himself showed his approval of the emperor's law by ordering all things in a manner quite contrary to their expectation. For those who had defiled the cities by their vicious conduct
- 5740 were indeed seen no more; but the river, as if the country through rose higher than ever before, overflowed the country with its fertilizing streams: thus effectually admonishing the deluded people to turn from impure men, and ascribe their prosperity to him alone who is the Giver of all good.
- 5745 CHAPTER XXVI: Amendment of the Law in Force respecting Childless Persons, and of the Law of Wills. SO numerous, indeed, were the benefits of this kind conferred by the emperor on every province, as to afford ample materials to any who might desire to record them. Among these may be instanced those laws which he entirely remodelled, and established on a

5750 more equitable basis: the nature of which reform may be briefly and easily explained. The childless were punished under the old law with the forfeiture of their hereditary property a merciless stature, which dealt with them as positive criminals. The emperor annulled this, and decreed that those so circumstanced should inherit. He regulated the question on the principles of equity and justice, arguing willful transgressors should be chastised with the penalties their crimes deserve. But nature herself denies children to many, who long, perhaps, for a numerous offspring, but are disappointed of their hope by bodily infirmity. Others continue childless, not from any dislike of posterity, but because their ardent love of philosophy renders them averse to the conjugal union. Women, too, consecrated to the service of God, have maintained a pure and spotless virginity, and have devoted themselves, soul and body to a life of entire chastity and holiness. What then? Should this conduct be deemed worthy of punishment, or rather of admiration and praise; since to desire this state is in itself honorable, and to maintain it surpasses the power of unassisted nature? Surely those whose bodily infirmity destroys their hope of offspring are worthy of pity, not of punishment: and he who devotes himself to a higher object calls not for chastisement, but especial admiration. On such regard to the wills of dying persons, the old laws had ordained that they should be expressed, even at the latest breath, as it were, in certain definite words, and had prescribed the exact form and terms to be employed. This practice had occasioned many fraudulent attempts to hinder the intentions of the deceased from being carried into full effect. As soon as our emperor was aware of these abuses, he reformed this law likewise, declaring that a dying man ought to be permitted to indicate his last wishes in as few words as possible, and in whatever terms he pleased; and to set forth his will in any written form; or even by word of mouth, provided it were done in the presence of proper witnesses, who might be competent faithfully to discharge their trust.

CHAPTER XXVII: Among Other Enactments, he decrees that no Christian shall slave to a Jew, and affirms the Validity of the Decisions of Councils. HE also passed a law to the effect that no Christian should remain in servitude to a Jewish master, on the ground that it could not be right that those whom the Saviour had ransomed should be subjected to the yoke of slavery by a people who had slain the prophets and the Lord himself. If any were found hereafter in these circumstances, the slave was to be set at liberty, and the master punished by a fine. He likewise added the sanction of his authority to the decisions of bishops passed at their synods, and forbade the provincial governors to annul any of their decrees: for he rated the priests of God at a higher value than any judge whatever. These and a thousand similar provisions did he enact for the benefit of his subjects; but there is not time now to give a special description of them, such as might convey an accurate idea of his imperial wisdom in these respects: nor need I now relate at length, how, as a devoted servant of the Supreme God, he employed himself from morning until night in seeking objects for his beneficence, and how equally and universally kind he was to all.

CHAPTER XXVIII: His Gifts to the Churches, and Bounties to Virgins and to the Poor. His liberality, however, was most especially exercised on behalf of the churches of God. In some cases he granted lands, in others he issued supplies of food for the support of the poor, of orphan children, and widows; besides which, he evinced much care and forethought in fully providing the naked and destitute with clothing. He distinguished, however, with most special honor those who had devoted their lives to the practice of Divine philosophy. Hence his respect, little short of veneration, for God's most holy and ever virgin choir: for he felt assured that the God to whom such persons devoted themselves was himself an inmate of their souls.

CHAPTER XXIX: Of Constantine's Discourses and Declamations. FOR himself, he sometimes passed sleepless nights in furnishing his mind with Divine knowledge: and much of his time was spent in composing discourses, many of which he delivered in public; for he conceived it to be incumbent on him to govern his subjects by appealing to their reason, and to secure in all respects a rational obedience to his authority. Hence he would sometimes himself evoke an assembly, on which occasions vast multitudes attended, in the hope of hearing an emperor sustain the part of a philosopher. And if in the course of his speech any occasion offered of touching on sacred topics, he immediately stood erect, and with a grave aspect and subdued tone of voice seemed reverently to be initiating his auditors in the mysteries of the Divine doctrine: and when they greeted him with shouts of acclamation, he would direct them by his gestures to raise their eyes to heaven, and

reserve their admiration for the Supreme King alone, and honor him with adoration and praise. He usually divided the subjects of his address, first thoroughly exposing the error of polytheism, and proving the superstition of the Gentiles to be mere fraud, and a cloak for impiety. He then would assert the sole sovereignty of God: passing
 5820 thence to his Providence, both general and particular. Proceeding next to the dispensation of salvation, he would demonstrate its necessity, and adaptation to the nature of the case; entering next in order on the doctrine of the Divine judgment. And here especially he appealed most powerfully to the consciences of his hearers, while he denounced the rapacious and violent, and those who were slaves to an
 5825 inordinate thirst of gain. Nay, he caused some of his own acquaintance who were present to feel the severe lash of his words, and to stand with downcast eyes in the consciousness of guilt, while he testified against them in the clearest and most impressive terms that they would have an account to render of their deeds to God. He reminded them that God himself had given him the empire of the world, portions of
 5830 which he himself, acting on the same Divine principle, had intrusted to their government; but that all would in due time be alike summoned to give account of their actions to the Supreme Sovereign of all. Such was his constant testimony; such his admonition and instruction. And he himself both felt and uttered these sentiments in the genuine confidence of faith: but his hearers were little disposed to learn, and
 5835 deaf to sound advice; receiving his words indeed with loud applause, but induced by insatiable cupidity practically to disregard them.

CHAPTER XXX: That he marked out before a Covetous Man the Measure of a Grave, and so put him to Shame.

5840 ON one occasion he thus personally addressed one of his courtiers: "How far, my friend, are we to carry our inordinate desires?" Then drawing the dimensions of a human figure with a lance which he happened to have in his hand, he continued: "Though thou couldst obtain the whole wealth of this world, yea, the whole world
 5845 itself, thou wilt carry with thee at last no more than this little spot which I have marked out, if indeed even that be thine." Such were the words and actions of this blessed prince; and though at the time he failed to reclaim any from their evil ways, yet notwithstanding the course of events afforded evident proof that his admonitions were more like Divine prophecies than mere words.

5850 CHAPTER XXXI: That he was derided because of his Excessive Clemency.

MEANTIME, since there was no fear of capital punishment to deter from the commission of crime, for the emperor himself was uniformly inclined to clemency, and none of the provincial governors visited offenses with their proper penalties, this state of things drew with it no small degree of blame on the general administration of the
 5855 empire; whether justly or not, let every one form his own judgment: for myself, I only ask permission to record the fact.

CHAPTER XXXII: Of Constantine's Oration which he wrote to the Assembly of the Saints. THE emperor was in the habit of composing his orations in the Latin tongue, from
 5860 which they were translated into Greek by interpreters appointed for this special service. One of the discourses thus translated I intend to annex, by way of specimen, to this present work, that one, I mean, which he inscribed "To the assembly of the saints," and dedicated to the Church of God, that no one may have ground for deeming my testimony on this head mere empty praise.

5865 CHAPTER XXXIII: How he listened standing to Eusebius' Declamation in Honor of our Saviour's Sepulchre.

ONE act, however, I must by no means omit to record, which this admirable prince performed in my own presence. On one occasion, emboldened by the confident assurance
 5870 I entertained of his piety, I had begged permission to pronounce a discourse on the subject of our Saviour's sepulchre in his hearing. With this request he most readily complied, and in the midst of a large number of auditors, in the interior of the palace itself, he stood and listened with the rest. I entreated him, but in vain, to seat himself on the imperial throne which stood near: he continued with fixed
 5875 attention to weigh the topics of my discourse, and gave his own testimony to the truth of the theological doctrines it contained. After some time had passed, the oration being of considerable length, I was myself desirous of concluding; but this he would not permit, and exhorted me to proceed to the very end. On my again entreating him to sit, he in his turn was displeased and said that it was not right
 5880 to listen in a careless manner to the discussion of doctrines relating to God; and again, that this posture was good and profitable to himself, since it was reverent to

stand while listening to sacred truths. Having, therefore, concluded my discourse, I returned home, and resumed my usual occupations.

5885 CHAPTER XXXIV: That he wrote to Eusebius respecting Easter, and respecting Copies of the Holy Scriptures.

EVER careful for the welfare of the churches of God, the emperor addressed me personally in a letter on the means of providing copies of the inspired oracles, and also on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter. For I had myself dedicated to 5890 him an exposition of the mystical import of that feast; and the manner in which he honored me with a reply may be understood by any one who reads the following letter.

CHAPTER XXXV: Constantine's Letter to Eusebius, in praise of his Discourse concerning Easter.

5895 "VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Eusebius.

"It is indeed an arduous task, and beyond the power of language itself, worthily to treat of the mysteries of Christ, and to explain in a fitting manner the controversy respecting the feast of Easter, its origin as well as its precious and toilsome accomplishment. For it is not in the power even of those who are able to apprehend 5900 them, adequately to describe the things of God. I am, notwithstanding, filled with admiration of your learning and zeal, and have not only myself read your work with pleasure, but have given directions, according to your own desire, that it be communicated to many sincere followers of our holy religion. Seeing, then, with what pleasure we receive favors of this kind from your Sagacity, be pleased to gladden us 5905 more frequently with those compositions, to the practice of which, indeed, you confess yourself to have been trained from an early period, so that I am urging a willing man, as they say, in exhorting you to your customary pursuits. And certainly the high and confident judgment we entertain is a proof that the person who has translated your writings into the Latin tongue is in no respect incompetent to the 5910 task, impossible though it be that such version should fully equal the excellence of the works themselves. God preserve you, beloved brother." Such was his letter on this subject: and that which related to the providing of copies of the Scriptures for reading in the churches was to the following purport.

5915 CHAPTER XXXVI: Constantine' s Letter to Eusebius on the Preparation of Copies of the Holy Scriptures.

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Eusebius.

"It happens, through the favoring providence of God our Saviour, that great numbers have united themselves to the most holy church in the city which is called by my 5920 name. It seems, therefore, highly requisite, since that city is rapidly advancing in prosperity in all other respects, that the number of churches should also be increased. Do you, therefore, receive with all readiness my determination on this behalf. I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful 5925 for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art. The catholicus of the diocese has also received instructions by letter from our Clemency to be careful to furnish all things necessary for the preparation of such copies; and it will be for you to take special care that they be 5930 completed with as little delay as possible. You have authority also, in virtue of this letter, to use two of the public carriages for their conveyance, by which arrangement the copies when fairly written will most easily be forwarded for my personal inspection; and one of the deacons of your church may be intrusted with this service, who, on his arrival here, shall experience my liberality. God preserve you, 5935 beloved brother!"

CHAPTER XXXVII: How the Copies were provided.

SUCH were the emperor's commands, which were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a 5940 threefold and fourfold form. This fact is attested by another letter, which the emperor wrote in acknowledgment, in which, having heard that the city Constantia in our country, the inhabitants of which had been more than commonly devoted to superstition, had been impelled by a sense of religion to abandon their past idolatry, he testified his joy, and approval of their conduct.

5945 CHAPTER XXXVIII: How the Market-town of Gaza was made a City far its Profession of Christianity, and received the Name of Constantia.

FOR in fact the place now called Constantia, in the province of Palestine, having embraced the saving religion, was distinguished both by the favor of God, and by special honor from the emperor, being now for the first time raised to the rank of a city, and receiving the more honored name of his pious sister in exchange for its former appellation.

CHAPTER XXXIX: That a Place in Phoenicia also was made a City, and in Other Cities Idolatry was abolished, and Churches built.

A SIMILAR change was effected in several other cities; for instance, in that town of Phoenicia which received its name from that of the emperor, and the inhabitants of which committed their innumerable idols to the flames, and adopted in their stead the principles of the saving faith. Numbers, too, in the other provinces, both in the cities and the country, became willing inquirers after the saving knowledge of God; destroyed as worthless things the images of every kind which they had heretofore held most sacred; voluntarily demolished the lofty temples and shrines which contained them; and, renouncing their former sentiments, or rather errors, commenced and completed entirely new churches. But since it is not so much my province to give a circumstantial detail of the actions of this pious prince, as it is theirs who have been privileged to enjoy his society at all times, I shall content myself with briefly recording such facts as have come to my own personal knowledge, before I proceed to notice the last days of his life.

CHAPTER XL: That having conferred the Dignity of Caesars on his Three Sons at the Three Decennial Periods of his Reign, he dedicated the Church at Jerusalem.

BY this time the thirtieth year of his reign was completed. In the course of this period, his three sons had been admitted at different times as his colleagues in the empire. The first, Constantinus, who bore his father's name, obtained this distinction about the tenth year of his reign. Constantius, the second son, so called from his grandfather, was proclaimed Caesar about the twentieth, while Constans, the third, whose name expresses the firmness and stability of his character, was advanced to the same dignity at the thirtieth anniversary of his father's reign. Having thus reared a threefold offspring, a Trinity, as it were, of pious sons, and having received them severally at each decennial period to a participation in his imperial authority, he judged the festival of his Tricennalia to be a fit occasion for thanksgiving to the Sovereign Lord of all, at the same time believing that the dedication of the church which his zealous magnificence had erected at Jerusalem might advantageously be performed.

CHAPTER XLI: That in the meantime he ordered a Council to be convened at Tyre, because of Controversies raised in Egypt.

MEANWHILE that spirit of envy which is the enemy of all good, like a dark cloud intercepting the sun's brightest rays, endeavored to mar the joy of this festivity, by again raising contentions to disturb the tranquility of the Egyptian churches. Our divinely favored emperor, however, once more convened a synod composed of many bishops, and set them as it were in armed array, like the host of God, against this malignant spirit, having commanded their presence from the whole of Egypt and Libya, from Asia, and from Europe, in order, first, to decide the questions in dispute, and afterwards to perform the dedication of the sacred edifice above mentioned. He enjoined them, by the way, to adjust their differences at the capital city of Phoenicia, reminding them that they had no right, while harboring feelings of mutual animosity, to engage in the service of God, since his law expressly forbids those who are at variance to offer their gift until they have first become reconciled and mutually disposed to peace. Such were the salutary precepts which the emperor continually kept vividly before his own mind, and in accordance with which he admonished them to undertake their present duties in a spirit of perfect unanimity and concord, in a letter to the following purport.

CHAPTER XLII: Constantine's Letter to the Council at Tyre.

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the holy Council at Tyre.

"Surely it would best consist with and best become the prosperity of these our times, that the Catholic Church should be undivided, and the servants of Christ be at this present moment clear from all reproach. Since, however, there are those who, carried away by a baleful and furious spirit of contention (for I will not charge them with intentionally leading a life unworthy of their profession), are endeavoring to create that general confusion which, in my judgment, is the most pernicious of all evils; I exhort you, forward as you already are, to meet together and form a synod without

6015 delay: to defend those who need protection; to administer remedies to your brethren
 who are in peril; to recall the divided members to unity of judgment; to rectify
 errors while opportunity is yet allowed: that thus you may restore to so many
 provinces that due measure of concord which, strange and sad anomaly! the arrogance
 of a few individuals has destroyed. And I believed that all are alike persuaded that
 6020 this course is at the same time pleasing to Almighty God (as well as the highest
 object of my own desires), and will bring no small honor to yourselves, should you be
 successful in restoring peace. Delay not, then, but hasten with redoubled zeal to
 terminate the present dissensions in a manner becoming the occasion, by assembling
 together in that spirit of true sincerity and faith which the Saviour whom we serve
 especially demands from us, I may almost say with an audible voice, on all occasions.
 6025 No proof of pious zeal on my part shall be wanting. Already have I done all to which
 my attention was directed by your letters. I have sent to those bishops whose
 presence you desired, that they may share your counsels. I have dispatched Dionysius,
 a man of consular rank, who will both remind those prelates of their duty who are
 bound to attend the Council with you, and will himself be there to superintend the
 6030 proceedings, but especially to maintain good order. Meantime should any one, though I
 deem it most improbable, venture on this occasion to violate my command, and refuse
 his attendance, a messenger shall be dispatched forthwith to banish that person in
 virtue of an imperial edict, and to teach him that it does not become him to resist
 an emperor's decrees when issued in defense of truth. For the rest, it will be for
 6035 your Holinesses, unbiased either by enmity or favor, but consistently with
 ecclesiastical and apostolic order, to devise a fitting remedy whether it be for
 positive offenses or for unpremeditated errors; in order that you may at once free
 the Church from all reproach, relieve my anxiety, and, by restoring the blessings of
 peace to those who are now divided, procure the highest honor for yourselves. God
 6040 preserve you, beloved brethren!"

CHAPTER XLIII: Bishops from all the Provinces attended the Dedication of the Church
 at Jerusalem.

6045 NO sooner had these injunctions been carded into effect, than another emissary
 arrived with dispatches from the emperor, and an urgent admonition to the Council to
 hasten their journey to Jerusalem without delay. Accordingly they all took their
 departure from the province of Phoenicia, and proceeded to their destination,
 availing themselves of the public means of transport. Thus Jerusalem became the
 6050 gathering point for distinguished prelates from every province, and the whole city
 was thronged by a vast assemblage of the servants of God. The Macedonians had sent
 the bishop of their metropolis; the Pannonians and Moesians the fairest of God's
 youthful flock among them. A holy prelate from Persia too was there, deeply versed in
 the sacred oracles; while Bithynian and Thracian bishops graced the Council with
 their presence; nor were the most illustrious from Cilicia wanting, nor the chief of
 6055 the Cappadocians, distinguished above all for learning and eloquence. In short, the
 whole of Syria and Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Libya,
 with the dwellers in the Thebaid, all contributed to swell the mighty concourse of
 God's ministers, followed as they were by vast numbers from every province. They were
 attended by an imperial escort, and officers of trust had also been sent from the
 6060 palace itself, with instructions to heighten the splendor of the festival at the
 emperor's expense.

CHAPTER XLIV: Of their Reception by the Notary Marianus; the Distribution of Money to
 the Poor; and Offerings to the Church.

6065 THE director and chief of these officers was a most useful servant of the emperor, a
 man eminent for faith and piety, and thoroughly acquainted with the Divine word, who
 had been honorably conspicuous by his profession of godliness during the time of the
 tyrants' power, and therefore was deservedly entrusted with the arrangement of the
 present proceedings. Accordingly, in faithful obedience to the emperor's commands, he
 6070 received the assembly with courteous hospitality, and entertained them with feasts
 and banquets on a scale of great splendor. He also distributed lavish supplies of
 money and clothing among the naked and destitute, and the multitudes of both sexes
 who suffered from want of food and the common necessities of life. Finally, he
 enriched and beautified the church itself throughout with offerings of imperial
 6075 magnificence, and thus fully accomplished the service he had been commissioned to
 perform.

CHAPTER XLV: Various Discourses by the Assembled Bishops; also by Eusebius, the
 Writer of this History.

6080 MEANTIME the festival derived additional luster both from the prayers and discourses
of the ministers of God, some of whom extolled the pious emperor's willing devotion
to the Saviour of mankind, and dilated on the magnificence of the edifice which he
had raised to his memory. Others afforded, as it were, an intellectual feast to the
6085 ears of all present, by public disquisitions on the sacred doctrines of our religion.
Others interpreted passages of holy Scripture, and unfolded their hidden meaning;
while such as were unequal to these efforts presented a bloodless sacrifice and
mystical service to God in the prayers which they offered for general peace, for the
Church of God, for the emperor himself as the instrumental cause of so many
6090 blessings, and for his pious sons. I myself too, unworthy as I was of such a
privilege, pronounced various public orations in honor of this solemnity, wherein I
partly explained by a written description the details of the imperial edifice, and
partly endeavored to gather from the prophetic visions apt illustrations of the
symbols it displayed. Thus joyfully was the festival of dedication celebrated in the
thirtieth year of our emperor's reign.

6095 CHAPTER XLVI: That Eusebius afterwards delivered his Description of the Church of the
Saviour, and a Tricennial Oration before Constantine himself.
THE structure of the church of our Saviour, the form of his sacred cave, the splendor
of the work itself, and the numberless offerings in gold, and silver, and precious
6100 stones, I have described to the best of my ability, and dedicated to the emperor in a
separate treatise, which on a fitting opportunity I shall append to this present
work. I shall add to it also that oration on his Tricennalia which shortly
afterwards, having traveled to the city which bears his name, I delivered in the
emperor's own presence. This was the second opportunity afforded me of glorifying the
6105 Supreme God in the imperial palace itself: and on this occasion my pious hearer
evinced the greatest joy, as he afterwards testified, when he entertained the bishops
then present, and loaded them with distinctions of every kind.

CHAPTER XLVII: That the Council at Nicaea was held in the Twentieth, the Dedication
6110 of the Church at Jerusalem in the Thirtieth, Year of Constantine's Reign.
THIS second synod the emperor convened at Jerusalem, being the greatest of which we
have any knowledge, next to the first which he had summoned at the famous Bithynian
city. That indeed was a triumphal assembly, held in the twentieth year of his reign,
an occasion of thanksgiving for victory over his enemies in the very city which bears
6115 the name of victory. The present meeting added luster to the thirtieth anniversary,
during which the emperor dedicated the church at the sepulchre of our Saviour, as a
peace-offering to God, the giver of all good.

CHAPTER XLVIII: That Constantine was displeased with one who praised him excessively.
6120 AND now that all these ceremonies were completed, and the divine qualities of the
emperor's character continued to be the theme of universal praise, one of God's
ministers presumed so far as in his own presence to pronounce him blessed, as having
been counted worthy to hold absolute and universal empire in this life, and as being
destined to share the empire of the Son of God in the world to come. These words,
6125 however, Constantine heard with indignation, and forbade the speaker to hold such
language, exhorting him rather to pray earnestly on his behalf, that whether in this
life or in that which is to come, he might be found worthy to be a servant of God.

CHAPTER XLIX: Marriage of his Son Constantius Caesar.
6130 ON the completion of the thirtieth year of his reign he solemnized the marriage of
his second son, having concluded that of his first-born long before. This was an
occasion of great joy and festivity, the emperor himself attending on his son at the
ceremony, and entertaining the guests of both sexes, the men and women in distinct
and separate companies, with sumptuous hospitality. Rich presents likewise were
6135 liberally distributed among the cities and people.

CHAPTER L: Embassy and Presents from the Indians.
ABOUT this time ambassadors from the Indians, who inhabit the distant regions of the
East, arrived with presents consisting of many varieties of brilliant precious
6140 stones, and animals differing in species from those known to us. These offerings they
presented to the emperor, thus allowing that his sovereignty extended even to the
Indian Ocean, and that the princes of their country, who rendered homage to him both
by paintings and statues, acknowledged his imperial and paramount authority. Thus the
Eastern Indians now submitted to his sway, as the Britons of the Western Ocean had
6145 done at the commencement of his reign.

CHAPTER LI: That Constantine divided the Empire between his Three Sons, whom he had instructed in Politics and Religion.

HAVING thus established his power in the opposite extremities of the world, he divided the whole extent of his dominions, as though he were allotting a patrimonial inheritance to the dearest objects of his regard, among his three sons. To the eldest he assigned his grandfather's portion; to the second, the empire of the East; to the third, the countries which lie between these two divisions. And being desirous of furnishing his children with an inheritance truly valuable and salutary to their souls, he had been careful to imbue them with true religious principles, being himself their guide to the knowledge of sacred things, and also appointing men of approved piety to be their instructors. At the same time he assigned them the most accomplished teachers of secular learning, by some of whom they were taught the arts of war, while they were trained by others in political, and by others again in legal science. To each moreover was granted a truly royal retinue, consisting of infantry, spearmen, and body guards, with every other kind of military force; commanded respectively by captains, tribunes, and generals of whose warlike skill and devotion to his sons the emperor had had previous experience.

CHAPTER LII: That after they had reached Man's Estate he was their Guide in Piety. AS long as the Caesars were of tender years, they were aided by suitable advisers in the management of public affairs; but on their arrival at the age of manhood their father's instructions alone sufficed. When present he proposed to them his own example, and admonished them to follow his pious course: in their absence he furnished them by letter with rules of conduct suited to their imperial station, the first and greatest of which was an exhortation to value the knowledge and worship of the Sovereign Lord of all more than wealth, nay, more than empire itself. At length he permitted them to direct the public administration of the empire without control, making it his first request that they would care for the interests of the Church of God, and boldly profess themselves disciples of Christ. Thus trained, and excited to obedience not so much by precept as by their own voluntary desire for virtue, his sons more than fulfilled the admonitions of their father, devoting their earnest attention to the service of God, and observing the ordinances of the Church even in the palace itself, with all the members of their households. For their father's forethought had provided that all the attendants of his son's should be Christians. And not only so, but the military officers of highest rank, and those who had the control of public business, were professors of the same faith: for the emperor placed confidence in the fidelity of men devoted to the service of God, as in a strong and sure defense. When our thrice blessed prince had completed these arrangements, and thus secured order and tranquility throughout the empire, God, the dispenser of all blessings, judged it to be the fitting time to translate him to a better inheritance, and summoned him to pay the debt of nature.

CHAPTER LIII: Having reigned about Thirty-two Years, and lived above Sixty, he still had a Sound Body.

HE completed the time of his reign in two and thirty years, wanting a few months and days, and his whole life extended to about twice that period. At this age he still possessed a sound and vigorous body, free from all blemish, and of more than youthful vivacity; a noble mien, and strength equal to any exertion; so that he was able to join in martial exercises, to fide, endure the fatigues of travel, engage in battle, and erect trophies over his conquered enemies, besides gaining those bloodless victories by which he was wont to triumph over those who opposed him.

CHAPTER LIV: Of those who abused his Extreme Benevolence for Avarice and Hypocrisy. IN like manner his mental qualities reached the highest point of human perfection. Indeed he was distinguished by every excellence of character, but especially by benevolence; a virtue, however, which subjected him to censure from many, in consequence of the baseness of wicked men, who ascribed their own crimes to the emperor's forbearance. In truth I can myself bear testimony to the grievous evils which prevailed during these times; I mean the violence of rapacious and unprincipled men, who preyed on all classes of society alike, and the scandalous hypocrisy of those who crept into the Church, and assumed the name and character of Christians. His own benevolence and goodness of heart, the genuineness of his own faith, and his truthfulness of character, induced the emperor to credit the profession of these reputed Christians, who craftily preserved the semblance of sincere affection for his person. The confidence he reposed in such men sometimes forced him into conduct

unworthy of himself, of which envy took advantage to cloud in this respect the luster of his character.

6215 CHAPTER LV: Constantine employed himself in Composition of Various Kinds to the Close of his Life.

THESE offenders, however, were soon overtaken by divine chastisement. To return to our emperor. He had so thoroughly trained his mind in the art of reasoning that he continued to the last to compose discourses on various subjects, to deliver frequent orations in public, and to instruct his hearers in the sacred doctrines of religion. He was also habitually engaged in legislating both on political and military questions; in short, in devising whatever might be conducive to the general welfare of the human race. It is well worthy of remark, that, very shortly before his departure, he pronounced a funeral oration before his usual auditory, in which he spoke at length on the immortality of the soul, the state of those who had persevered in a life of godliness, and the blessings which God has laid up in store for them that love him. On the other hand he made it appear by copious and conclusive arguments what the end of those will be who have pursued a contrary career, describing in vivid language the final ruin of the ungodly. His powerful testimony on these subjects seemed so far to touch the consciences of those around him, that one of the self-imagined philosophers, of whom he asked his opinion of what he had heard, bore testimony to the truth of his words, and accorded a real, though reluctant, tribute of praise to the arguments by which he had exposed the worship of a plurality of gods. By converse such as this with his friends before his death, the emperor seemed as it were to smooth and prepare the way for his transition to a happier life.

CHAPTER LVI: How he took Bishops with him on an Expedition against the Persians, and look with him a Tent in the Form of a Church.

6240 IT is also worthy of record that about the time of which I am at present writing, the emperor, having heard of an insurrection of some barbarians in the East, observed that the conquest of this enemy was still in store for him, and resolved on an expedition against the Persians. Accordingly he proceeded at once to put his forces in motion, at the same time communicating his intended march to the bishops who happened to be at his court, some of whom he judged it right to take with him as companions, and as needful coadjutors in the service of God. They, on the other hand, cheerfully declared their willingness to follow in his train, disclaiming any desire to leave him, and engaging to battle with and for him by supplication to God on his behalf. Full of joy at this answer to his request, he unfolded to them his projected line of march; after which he caused a tent of great splendor, representing in shape the figure of a church, to be prepared for his own use in the approaching war. In this he intended to unite with the bishops in offering prayers to the God from whom all victory proceeds.

6255 CHAPTER LVII: How he received an Embassy from the Persians and kept the Night Vigil with others at the Feast of Easter.

IN the meanwhile the Persians, hearing of the emperor's warlike preparations, and not a little terrified at the prospect of an engagement with his forces, dispatched an embassy to pray for conditions of peace. These overtures the emperor, himself a sincere lover of peace, at once accepted, and readily entered on friendly relations with that people. At this time, the great festival of Easter was at hand; on which occasion he rendered the tribute of his prayers to God, and passed the night in watching with the rest.

6265 CHAPTER LVIII: Concerning the Building of a Church in Honor of the Apostles at Constantinople.

AFTER this he proceeded to erect a church in memory of the apostles, in the city which bears his name. This building he carried to a vast height, and brilliantly decorated by encasing it from the foundation to the roof with marble slabs of various colors. He also formed the inner roof of finely fretted work, and overlaid it throughout with gold. The external covering, which protected the building from the rain, was of brass instead of tiles; and this too was splendidly and profusely adorned with gold, and reflected the sun's rays with a brilliancy which dazzled the distant beholder. The dome was entirely encompassed by a finely carved tracery, wrought in brass and gold.

6275 CHAPTER LIX: Farther Description of the same Church.

SUCH was the magnificence with which the emperor was pleased to beautify this church.

The building was surrounded by an open area of great extent, the four sides of which were terminated by porticos which enclosed the area and the church itself. Adjoining these porticos were ranges of stately chambers, with baths and promenades, and besides many apartments adapted to the use of those who had charge of the place.

CHAPTER LX: He also erected his own Sepulchral Monument in this Church.

ALL these edifices the emperor consecrated with the desire of perpetuating the memory of the apostles of our Saviour. He had, however, another object in erecting this building: an object at first unknown, but which afterwards became evident to all. He had in fact made choice of this spot in the prospect of his own death, anticipating with extraordinary fervor of faith that his body would share their title with the apostles themselves, and that he should thus even after death become the subject, with them, of the devotions which should be performed to their honor in this place. He accordingly caused twelve coffins to be set up in this church, like sacred pillars in honor and memory of the apostolic number, in the center of which his own was placed, having six of theirs on either side of it. Thus, as I said, he had provided with prudent foresight an honorable resting-place for his body after death, and, having long before secretly formed this resolution, he now consecrated this church to the apostles, believing that this tribute to their memory would be of no small advantage to his own soul. Nor did God disappoint him of that which he so ardently expected and desired. For after he had completed the first services of the feast of Easter, and had passed this sacred day of our Lord in a manner which made it an occasion of joy and gladness to himself and to all; the God through whose aid he performed all these acts, and whose zealous servant he continued to be even to the end of life, was pleased at a happy time to translate him to a better life.

CHAPTER LXI: His Sickness at Helenopolis, and Prayers respecting his Baptism.

AT first he experienced some slight bodily indisposition, which was soon followed by positive disease. In consequence of this he visited the hot baths of his own city; and thence proceeded to that which bore the name of his mother. Here he passed some time in the church of the martyrs, and offered up supplications and prayers to God. Being at length convinced that his life was drawing to a close, he felt the time was come at which he should seek purification from sins of his past career, firmly believing that whatever errors he had committed as a mortal man, his soul would be purified from them through the efficacy of the mystical words and the salutary waters of baptism. Impressed with these thoughts, he poured forth his supplications and confessions to God, kneeling on the pavement in the church itself, in which he also now for the first time received the imposition of hands with prayer. After this he proceeded as far as the suburbs of Nicomedia, and there, having summoned the bishops to meet him, addressed them in the following words.

CHAPTER LXII: Constantine's Appeal to the Bishops, requesting them to confer upon him the Rite of Baptism.

"THE time is arrived which I have long hoped for, with an earnest desire and prayer that I might obtain the salvation of God. The hour is come in which I too may have the blessing of that seal which confers immortality; the hour in which I may receive the seal of salvation. I had thought to do this in the waters of the river Jordan, wherein our Saviour, for our example, is recorded to have been baptized: but God, who knows what is expedient for us, is pleased that I should receive this blessing here. Be it so, then, without delay: for should it be his will who is Lord of life and death, that my existence here should be prolonged, and should I be destined henceforth to associate with the people of God, and unite with them in prayer as a member of his Church, I will prescribe to myself from this time such a course of life as befits his service." After he had thus spoken, the prelates performed the sacred ceremonies in the usual manner, and, having given him the necessary instructions, made him a partaker of the mystic ordinance. Thus was Constantine the first of all sovereigns who was regenerated and perfected in a church dedicated to the martyrs of Christ; thus gifted with the Divine seal of baptism, he rejoiced in spirit, was renewed, and filled with heavenly light: his soul was gladdened by reason of the fervency of his faith, and astonished at the manifestation of the power of God. At the conclusion of the ceremony he arrayed himself in shining imperial vestments, brilliant as the light, and reclined on a couch of the purest white, refusing to clothe himself with the purple any more.

CHAPTER LXIII: How after his Baptism he rendered Thanks God.

HE then lifted his voice and poured forth a strain of thanksgiving to God; after

which he added these words. "Now I know that I am truly blessed: now I feel assured that I am accounted worthy of immortality, and am made a partaker of Divine light." He further expressed his compassion for the unhappy condition of those who were strangers to such blessings as he enjoyed: and when the tribunes and generals of his army appeared in his presence with lamentations and tears at the prospect of their bereavement, and with prayers that his days might yet be prolonged, he assured them in reply that he was now in possession of true life; that none but himself could know the value of the blessings he had received; so that he was anxious rather to hasten than to defer his departure to God. He then proceeded to complete the needful arrangement of his affairs, bequeathing an annual donation to the Roman inhabitants of his imperial city; apportioning the inheritance of the empire, like a patrimonial estate, among his own children; in short, making every disposition according to his own pleasure.

CHAPTER LXIV: Constantinople's Death at Noon on the Feast of Pentecost.

ALL these events occurred during a most important festival, I mean the august and holy solemnity of Pentecost, which is distinguished by a period of seven weeks, and sealed with that one day on which the holy Scriptures attest, the ascension of our common Saviour into heaven, and the descent of the Holy Spirit among men. In the course of this feast the emperor received the privileges I have described; and on the last day of all, which one might justly call the feast of feasts, he was removed about mid-day to the presence of his God, leaving his mortal remains to his fellow mortals, and carrying into fellowship with God that part of his being which was capable of understanding and loving him. Such was the close of Constantine's mortal life. Let us now attend to the circumstances which followed this event.

CHAPTER LXV: Lamentations of the Soldiery and their Officers.

IMMEDIATELY the assembled spearmen and body-guard rent their garments, and prostrated themselves on the ground, striking their heads, and uttering lamentations and cries of sorrow, calling on their imperial lord and master, or rather, like true children, on their father, while their tribunes and centurions addressed him as their preserver, protector, and benefactor. The rest of the soldiery also came in respectful order to mourn as a flock the removal of their good shepherd. The people meanwhile ran wildly throughout the city, some expressing the inward sorrow of their hearts by loud cries, others appearing confounded with grief: each mourning the event as a calamity which had befallen himself, and bewailing his death as though they felt themselves bereft of a blessing common alike to all.

CHAPTER LXVI: Removal of the Body from Nicomedia to the Palace at Constantinople.

AFTER this the soldiers lifted the body from its couch, and laid it in a golden coffin, which they enveloped in a covering of purple, and removed to the city which was called by his own name. Here it was placed in an elevated position in the principal chamber of the imperial palace, and surrounded by candles burning in candlesticks of gold, presenting a marvelous spectacle, and such as no one under the light of the sun had ever seen on earth since the world itself began. For in the central apartment of the imperial palace, the body of the emperor lay in its elevated resting-place, arrayed in the symbols of sovereignty, the diadem and purple robe, and encircled by a numerous retinue of attendants, who watched around it incessantly night and day.

CHAPTER LXVII: He received the same Honors from the Counts and other Officers as before his Death.

THE military officers, too, of the highest rank, the counts, and the whole order of magistrates, who had been accustomed to do obeisance to their emperor before, continued to fulfill this duty without any change, even after his death entering the chamber at the appointed times, and saluting their coffined sovereign with bended knee, as though he were still alive. After them the senators appeared, and all who had been distinguished by any honorable office, and rendered the same homage. These were followed by multitudes of every rank, who came with their wives and children to witness the spectacle. These honors continued to be rendered for a considerable time, the soldiers having resolved thus to guard the body until his sons should arrive, and take on themselves the conduct of their father's funeral. No mortal had ever, like this blessed prince, continued to reign even after death, and to receive the same homage as during his life: he only, of all who have ever lived, obtained this reward from God: a suitable reward, since he alone of all sovereigns had in all his actions honored the Supreme God and his Christ, and God himself accordingly was pleased that

- 6410 even his mortal remains should still retain imperial authority among men; thus indicating to all who were not utterly devoid of understanding the immortal and endless empire which his soul was destined to enjoy. This was the course of events here.
- 6415 CHAPTER LXVIII: Resolution of the Army to confer thence-forward the Title of Augustus on his Sons.
MEANWHILE the tribunes selected from the troops under their command those officers whose fidelity and zeal had long been known to the emperor, and dispatched them to the Caesars with intelligence of the late event. This service they accordingly
- 6420 performed. As soon, however, as the soldiery throughout the provinces received the tidings of the emperor's decease, they all, as if by a supernatural impulse, resolved with one consent, as though their great emperor had been yet alive, to acknowledge none other than his sons as sovereigns of the Roman world: and these they soon after determined should no longer retain the name of Caesar, but should each be honored
- 6425 with the title of Augustus, a name which indicates the highest supremacy of imperial power. Such were the measures adopted by the army; and these resolutions they communicated to each other by letter, so that the unanimous desire of the legions became known at the same point of time throughout the whole extent of the empire.
- 6430 CHAPTER LXIX: Mourning for Constantine at Rome; and the Honor paid him there through Paintings after his Death.
ON the arrival of the news of the emperor's death in the imperial city, the Roman senate and people felt the announcement as the heaviest and most afflictive of all
- 6435 calamities, and gave themselves up to an excess of grief. The baths and markets were closed, the public spectacles, and all other recreations in which men of leisure are accustomed to indulge, were interrupted. Those who had ere while lived in luxurious ease, now walked the streets in gloomy sadness, while all united in blessing the name of the deceased, as the one who was dear to God, and truly worthy of the imperial dignity. Nor was their sorrow expressed only in words: they proceeded also to honor
- 6440 him, by the dedication of paintings to his memory, with the same respect as before his death. The design of these pictures embodied a representation of heaven itself, and depicted the emperor reposing in an ethereal mansion above the celestial vault. They too declared his sons alone to be emperors and Augusti, and begged with earnest entreaty that they might be permitted to receive the body of their emperor, and
- 6445 perform his obsequies in the imperial city.
- CHAPTER LXX: His Burial by his Son Constantius at Constantinople.
THUS did they there testify their respect for the memory of him who had been honored by God. The second of his sons, however, who had by this time arrived, proceeded to
- 6450 celebrate his father's funeral in the city which bears his name, himself heading the procession, which was preceded by detachments of soldiers in military array, and followed by vast multitudes, the body itself being surrounded by companies of spearmen and heavy armed infantry. On the arrival of the procession at the church dedicated to the apostles of our Saviour, the coffin was there entombed. Such honor
- 6455 did the youthful emperor Constantius render to his deceased parent, both by his presence, and by the due performance of this sacred ceremony.
- CHAPTER LXXI: Sacred Service in the Church of the Apostles on the Occasion of Constantine's Funeral.
AS soon as [Constantius] had withdrawn himself with the military train, the ministers of God came forward, with the multitude and the whole congregation of the faithful, and performed the rites of Divine worship with prayer. At the same time the tribute of their praises was given to the character of this blessed prince, whose body rested on a lofty and conspicuous monument, and the whole multitude united with the priests
- 6465 of God in offering prayers for his soul, not without tears, - nay, rather with much weeping; thus performing an office consonant with the desires of the pious deceased. In this respect also the favor of God was manifested to his servant, in that he not only bequeathed the succession of the empire to his own beloved sons, but that the earthly tabernacle of his thrice blessed soul, according to his own earnest wish, was
- 6470 permitted to share the monument of the apostles; was associated with the honor of their name, and with that of the people of God; was honored by the performance of the sacred ordinances and mystic service; and enjoyed a participation in the prayers of the saints. Thus, too, he continued to possess imperial power even after death, controlling, as though with renovated life, a universal dominion, and retaining in
- 6475 his own name, as Victor, Maximus, Augustus, the sovereignty of the Roman world.

CHAPTER LXXII: Of the Phoenix.

6480 WE cannot compare him with that bird of Egypt, the only one, as they say, of its
kind, which dies, self-sacrificed, in the midst of aromatic perfumes, and, rising
from its own ashes with new life, soars aloft in the same form which it had before.
Rather did he resemble his Saviour, who, as the sown corn which is multiplied from a
single grain, had yielded abundant increase through the blessing of God, and had
overspread the whole world with his fruit. Even so did our thrice blessed prince
become multiplied, as it were, through the succession of his sons. His statue was
6485 erected along with theirs in every province; and the name of Constantine was owned
and honored even after the close of his mortal life.

CHAPTER LXXIII: How Constantine is represented on Coins in the Act of ascending to
Heaven.

6490 A COINAGE was also struck which bore the following device. On one side appeared the
figure of our blessed prince, with the head closely veiled: the reverse exhibited him
sitting as a charioteer, drawn by four horses, with a hand stretched downward from
above to receive him up to heaven.

6495 CHAPTER LXXIV: The God whom he had honored deservedly honored him in Return.
SUCH are the proofs by which the Supreme God has made it manifest to us, in the
person of Constantine, who alone of all sovereigns had openly professed the Christian
faith, how great a difference he perceives between those whose privilege it is to
worship him and his Christ, and those who have chosen the contrary part, who provoked
6500 his enmity by daring to assail his Church, and whose calamitous end, in every
instance, afforded tokens of his displeasure, as manifestly as the death of
Constantine conveyed to all men an evident assurance of his Divine love.

CHAPTER LXXV: He surpassed all Preceding Emperors in Devotion to God.

6505 STANDING, as he did, alone and pre-eminent among the Roman emperors as a worshiper of
God; alone as the bold proclaimer to all men of the doctrine of Christ; having alone
rendered honor, as none before him had ever done, to his Church; having alone
abolished utterly the error of polytheism, and discountenanced idolatry in every
form: so, alone among them both during life and after death, was he accounted worthy
6510 of such honors as none can say have been attained to by any other; so that no one,
whether Greek or Barbarian, nay, of the ancient Romans themselves, has ever been
presented to us as worthy of comparison with him.

6515 See also https://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_%5BSchaff%5D,_EN.pdf
[Greek text I, 26-31
https://www.earlychurchtexts.com/main/eusebiusofcaes/constantine_and_the_sign_of_the_cross.shtml]
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/vita-constantine.asp>

6520

BÜYÜK CONSTANTINUS

OĞUZ TEKİN

- 6525 Tarihçiler tarafından Antikçağ'dan Ortaçağ'a geçi dönemini ifade etmek için kullanılan "Geç Antikçağ" belki en fazla Büyük Constantinus'un adıyla birlikte anılmaktadır. Onun döneminde Avrupa tarihini deşitiren iki büyük olay meydana geldi. Biri, Hristiyanlara gösterilen hogörü ve hatta imparatorun Hristiyan olması, diğeri de imparatorluğun geleneksel bakentinin Roma'dan Byzantion'a tainmasıydı.
- 6530 [...]
- Res. 1: Büyük Constantinus'un babası I. Constantius Chlorus'un (MS [293-]305-306) gümü sikke portresi. Foto: Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 62, 2086.
- Res. 2: Büyük Constantinus'un annesi Helena'nın altın sikke portresi. Foto: Gemini LLC, Auction VIII, 552.
- 6535 Res. 3: Büyük Constantinus'un ei Fausta'nın bronz sikke portresi. Foto: Gorny und Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 191, 242.
- Res. 4: Büyük Constantinus'un (MS 307-337) caesar unvanıyla Treveri'de basımlı gümü sikkesi, 3,61 g. Ön yüzde Constantinus'un bai, arka yüzde ordugâh kapısı betimlenmitir. Foto: Nomos AG, Auction 3, 245.
- 6540 Res. 5: Büyük Constantinus'un (MS 307-337) filius augustorum unvanıyla Thessalonika'da basımlı altın sikkesi. Ön yüzde imparatorun bai, arka yüzde konsül elbiseli Constantinus ayakta betimlenmitir, asa ve küre tutmaktadır. Foto: Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 67, 3295.
- Res. 6: Büyük Constantinus'un (MS 307-337) Londinium'da basımlı bronz sikkesi. Ön
- 6545 yüzde, Constantinus'un bai, arka yüzde Concordia personifikasyonu ayakta ve her bir elinde birer sancak tutarken betimlenmitir. Foto: Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 87, 1157.
- Res. 7: Büyük Constantinus'un (MS 307-337) Treveri'de basımlı altın sikkesi solidus, 4,29 g. Ön yüzde imparatorun bai, arka yüzde zaferi simgeleyen Victoria figürü,
- 6550 ayakta, çelenk ve palmiye dalı tutarken betimlenmitir. Foto: Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 67, 3296.
- Res. 8: Büyük Constantinus (MS 307-337), Constantinopolis'te basımlı altın sikke (solidus), 4,38 g. Ön yüzde imparatorun bai, arka yüzde dizlerinin üzerindeki kalkana yazı yazan Victoria betimlenmitir. Foto: Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles,
- 6555 Auction 62, 3212.
- Res. 9: Büyük Constantinus (MS 307-337), Siscia (Sisak) darbı altın madalyon, 6,84 g. Ön yüzde imparatorun sağa dönük bai, arka yüzde omzunda trophe (zafer ganimeti) tayan imparator sağa doğru ilerlemekte, sağ eliyle arkasındaki esiri sürüklerken sol ayağıyla önde yerde oturan bir diğeri esirin üzerine basmaktadır. Foto: Classical
- 6560 Numismatic Group, Auction 85, 1211.
- Res. 10: Constantinopolis'in açılış anısına Constantinopolis'te basımlı gümü madalyon, 19,08 g. Ön yüzde imparatorun bai, arka yüzde Constantinopolis Tykhesi elinde bereket boynuzu ile tahtında oturmaktadır. Foto: Nomos AG, Auction 2, 219.
- 6565 See [\(60\) "Geç Antikçağ'ın En Büyük İmparatoru: Büyük Constantinus"](#)

CONSTANTINUS THE GREAT

OĞUZ TEKİN

- 6570 The term "Late Antiquity," used by historians to refer to the transition period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, is perhaps most commonly associated with the name of Constantine the Great. Two major events that changed European history occurred during his reign. One was the tolerance shown to Christians and even the emperor's conversion to Christianity, and the other was the transfer of the empire's
- 6575 traditional capital from Rome to Byzantium.

- Flavius Valerius Constantinus, known in history as "Magnus the Great," was born in Naissus (modern-day Nicaea) in Upper Moesia on February 27, 273 CE, the son of Constantius I Chlorus (Fig. 1) and Helena (Fig. 2). When Emperor Diocletian
- 6580 established the tetrarchy system of government in 293 AD, Constantius sent his son Constantine to Diocletian's eastern palace, where he was raised. When Diocletian and Maximian abdicated in 305 AD, their Caesars, Galerius and Constantius I, took their places. Thus, Constantine, the subject of this article, took his place in history as the son of an emperor. When Constantius the Elder died on July 25, 306, at Eburacum
- 6585 in Britannia (present-day York), the soldiers proclaimed his son Constantine as Augustus. However, Galerius, Augustus of the East, rejected this title and instead granted him the title of Caesar; He also appointed Severus as Augustus of the West.

However, when Constantine later married Fausta, the daughter of ex-Augustus Maximianus (Fig. 3), Maximian accepted her title.

6590 The granting of the title (rank) of Caesar to Constantine was also announced through coins. The rank of Caesar was also noted on coins minted in Constantine's name between 306 and 309 AD. The obverse of a silver coin (argenteus) minted in Treveri (present-day Trier) bears the inscription CONSTANTINVS NOB C, with Constantine's head facing right and wearing a laurel wreath (Fig. 4). NOB C is an abbreviation for 6595 Nobilissimus Caesar (= noblest Caesar). The reverse of the coin depicts the four-battleship gate (porta praetoria). The inscription VIRTVS MILITVM around the perimeter means "virtue of the army." PTR, located at the bottom of the reverse, is the abbreviation of the mint where the coin was minted. The first letter, P, is the abbreviation of the Latin pecunia, meaning money, and TR is the abbreviation of 6600 Treveri (today Trier) (Fig. 1). Including mint names on Roman coins was a practice that began in the mid-3rd century AD.

In 309 AD, Constantine, along with Maximinus Daia, Caesar of the East, was granted the title Filius Augustorum (son of emperors).

6605 It was emphasized that Constantine was the son of Constantius Chlorus, Augustus of the West, and Maximinus Daia was the son of Galerius, Augustus of the East. In reality, Galerius was not Maximinus' father but adopted him in 305 AD. The fact that Constantine and Maximinus, while still holding the rank of Caesar, were children of Augusti, through coins, in a sense both preserved their existing status and declared them legitimate heirs to the Roman throne. The obverse of a gold coin (aureus) minted 6610 in Thessalonica (Thessaloniki) features Constantine's head facing right, wearing a laurel wreath, accompanied by the inscription CONSTANTINVS FIL AVGG (Fig. 5). FIL AVGG is the abbreviation of Filius Augustorum, and the two Gs at the end of the abbreviation refer to the two Augusti: Constantius Chlorus and Galerius. The reverse of the coin depicts Constantine standing to the left in consular garb, holding a 6615 scepter and a globe symbolizing power. The surrounding inscription reads CONSVL DD NN, where DD NN is the plural form of Dominus Noster (our lords). However, neither Constantinus nor Maximinus Daia wanted to remain simply Filius Augustorum any longer. About a year later, both declared themselves augustus. The obverse of a bronze coin minted in Londinium (now London) features the emperor's laurel-wreathed bust facing 6620 left, holding a scepter with an eagle's head (Fig. 6). The surrounding inscription reads CONSTANTINVS P F AVG, the emperor's name and titles. PF stands for Pius Felix, meaning "pious, successful, happy." AVG indicates that he now holds the title of augustus. Indeed, from 310 AD onward, Constantine's coins bear the abbreviation AVG (ustus) after the emperor's name. The standing female figure on the reverse of the 6625 coin is the personification of Concordia, the goddess of harmony. She holds a standard (signum) in each hand. This depiction was included to emphasize the absence of any conflict between the Roman armies and the harmony between the soldiers. At the time, Constantine was at war with other Roman claimants to the Roman throne, and peace between the Roman armies was of the utmost importance. We understand that the 6630 coin was minted in Londinium from the abbreviation PLN (= Pecunia Londinium) at the bottom.

After the death of Galerius, Augustus of the East, in 311 AD, Constantineegan 6635 fighting against Maxentius, Maximian's son. In 312 AD, Constantine crossed the Alps and marched against Maxentius in Rome. Maxentius left Rome and met Constantine's army outside the city. In the battle near the Milvian Bridge, Constantine defeated Maxentius' army (October 28, 312 AD); Maxentius died, and his memory was cursed. Before the battle, Constantine had dreamed that if his soldiers painted the monogram of Christ (khi and rho) on their shields, they would win the war. Therefore, he 6640 ordered his soldiers to paint this monogram on their shields. He believed this dream had played a role in his victory. After this victory, the Roman Senate confirmed Constantine's title as Augustus, granting him all imperial authority and power. A gold coin minted in Trier commemorates Constantine's victory over Maxentius (Fig. 7). The obverse features the emperor's head, name, and titles, while the reverse features 6645 the figure of Victoria, symbolizing victory, advancing to the left, holding a palm branch in one hand and a wreath in the other.

The surrounding inscription "VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG" alludes to the emperor's victory over Maxentius.

This gold coin is in the solidus denomination, which replaced the previous aureus. 6650 After the Milvian War, the Romans introduced a new gold coin. The aureus, worth 1/60th of a libra, was eventually withdrawn from circulation and replaced by the solidus, worth 1/72nd of a libra (Fig. 8). Thus, the gold coinage was lightened by 12%. Nevertheless, the aureus continued to be minted for over 50 years. Constantine

- also introduced a smaller coin worth 1.5 scripulum, the semissis, which was half the value of the solidus. Constantine also made some adjustments to the silver coinage. Silver coins called siliqua and miliarense were minted. The ratio of siliqua to gold was 1/24, and the ratio of miliaranse to gold was 1/18.
- 1 gold solidus = 2 gold semissis = 18 silver milliaranse = 24 silver siliqua
- While still holding the title of Caesar, Constantine reduced the weight of the bronze coin, the follis, minted at the mints of Londinum (London), Lugdunum (modern-day Lyon), and Treveri (modern-day Trier); When he assumed the title of augustus, he further reduced the weight of the follis. In 313 AD, Licinius married Constantine's half-sister, Constantia, in Milan, cementing the closeness between Constantine and Licinius. The two augusts, Constantine and Licinius, issued a decree of complete toleration for Christians (the Edict of Milan) in Milan (early 313 AD). Although the publication of the decree is a fact, the exact location of its publication in Milan is debatable due to the lack of conclusive evidence. However, relations between Constantine and Licinius soon soured, and war broke out between them. In the battles at Hadrianopolis (July 3, 324 AD) and Chrysopolis (September 18, 324 AD), Constantine triumphed over Licinius and became the sole ruler of the empire. We see that Constantine led successful campaigns against the Goths, Alamannians, and Sarmatians, and these victories were reflected on his coins (Fig. 9). The most significant event following Licinius's removal was undoubtedly the transfer of the empire's capital from Rome to Byzantium. The new capital was renamed Constantinople after the emperor. Many new structures were built in the city, and monuments were erected. The emperor's crowned statue was brought from Rome to Constantinople and placed atop the monumental column in the Forum of Constantine (today's Çemberlitaş). Constantine also established a mint in the new capital city to mint Roman coins. Therefore, by the time of Constantine the Great (326 AD), the name Constantinople had already begun to be used in its abbreviated form (CON) on coins to indicate the place of minting. With the official opening of the capital on May 11, 330 AD, coins minted in Constantinople now bore the inscription CONSTANTINOPOLIS on the obverse, in addition to the abbreviation CON. This inscription appeared not only on coins minted in Constantinople but also on coins minted at other mints throughout the empire. Therefore, it is clear that the name Constantinople was used while Emperor Constantine was still alive.
- The obverse of a silver coin minted in Constantinople to commemorate the opening of the new capital (330 AD) depicts the emperor with a jeweled diadem on his head (Fig. 10). The reverse of the coin depicts the Tyche of Constantinople seated on her throne, crowned with a fortification and holding a cornucopia. A ship's prow rests at her feet. The vertical inscription on either side of the Tyche reads D N CONSTANTINVS MAX TRIVMP AVG. The inscription can be translated into Turkish as "Our Lord Constantine, Most Victorious Augustus." Constantine the Great died in Nicomedia (Izmit) on May 22, 337, before he could carry out his planned campaign against the Sassanids; his body was brought to Constantinople and buried in the place where the Church of the Holy Apostles is located (Fatih Mosque); he left behind three sons (Constantinos II, II. Co. Constantius and Constans) remained.
- Fig. 1: Silver coin portrait of Constantius I Chlorus (AD [293-]305-306), father of Constantine the Great. Photo: Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 62, 2086.
Fig. 2: Gold coin portrait of Helena, mother of Constantine the Great. Photo: Gemini LLC, Auction VIII, 552.
- Fig. 3: Bronze coin portrait of Fausta, wife of Constantine the Great. Photo: Gorny und Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 191, 242.
Fig. 4: Silver coin of Constantine the Great (AD 307-337) with the title of Caesar, minted in Treveri, 3.61 g. The obverse depicts the head of Constantine, and the reverse depicts the camp gate. Photo: Nomos AG, Auction 3, 245.
- Fig. 5: A gold coin of Constantine the Great (307-337 AD) minted in Thessalonica with the title filius augustorum. The obverse depicts the head of the emperor, and the reverse depicts Constantine standing in consular attire, holding a scepter and orb. Photo: Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 67, 3295.
- Fig. 6: A bronze coin of Constantine the Great (307-337 AD) minted in Londinium. The obverse depicts the head of Constantine, and the reverse depicts the personification of Concordia standing, holding a banner in each hand. Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 87, 1157.
- Fig. 7: Gold coin of Constantine the Great (307-337 AD), minted in Treveri, solidus, 4.29 g. The obverse depicts the emperor's head, and the reverse depicts Victoria, a figure symbolizing victory, standing and holding a wreath and a palm branch. Photo: Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 67, 3296.
- Fig. 8: Gold coin of Constantine the Great (307-337 AD), minted in Constantinople (solidus), 4.38 g. The obverse depicts the emperor's head, and the reverse depicts Victoria, kneeling and

6725 writing on a shield. Photo: Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 62, 3212.
Fig. 9: Constantine the Great (307-337 AD), Siscia (Sisak) minted gold medal, 6.84 g. On the
obverse, the emperor's head faces right. On the reverse, the emperor, carrying a trophy
(victory spoils) on his shoulder, advances to the right, dragging a captive behind him with
his right hand while stepping on another captive seated on the ground in front with his left
foot. Photo: Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 85, 1211.
6730 Fig. 10: Silver medal minted in Constantinople to commemorate the opening of Constantinople,
19.08 g. On the obverse, the emperor's head; on the reverse, the Tyche of Constantinople,
seated on her throne, holding a horn of plenty. Photo: Nomos AG, Auction 2, 219.

The Carausian Revolt

6735 Marcus Aurelius Mausaeus Valerius Carausius (died 293) was a military commander of
the Roman Empire in the 3rd century. He was a Menapian from Belgic Gaul, who usurped
power in 286, during the Carausian Revolt, declaring himself emperor in Britain and
northern Gaul (Imperium Britanniarum). He did this only 13 years after the Gallic
6740 Empire of the Batavian Postumus was ended in 273. He held power for seven years,
fashioning the name "Emperor of the North" for himself, before being assassinated by
his finance minister Allectus.
Carausius was of humble origin, a Menapian who distinguished himself during
Maximian's campaign against the Bagaudae rebels in northern Gaul in 286. This
6745 success, and his former occupation as a pilot, led to his appointment to command the
Classis Britannica, a fleet based in the English Channel, with the responsibility of
eliminating Frankish and Saxon pirates who had been raiding the coasts of Armorica
and Belgica. He was suspected of keeping captured treasure for himself, and of
allowing pirates to carry out raids and enrich themselves before taking action
6750 against them, and Maximian ordered his execution. In late 286 or early 287 Carausius
learned of this sentence and responded by declaring himself Emperor in Britain and
northern Gaul. His forces comprised not only his fleet, augmented by new ships he had
built and the three legions stationed in Britain, but also a legion he had seized in
Gaul, a number of foreign auxiliary units, a levy of Gaulish merchant ships, and
6755 barbarian mercenaries attracted by the prospect of booty.
British historian and archaeologist Sheppard Frere wonders how Carausius was able to
win support from the army when his command had been sea-based, and speculates that he
had perhaps been involved in an unrecorded victory in Britain, connected with
Diocletian's assumption of the title Britannicus Maximus in 285, and signs of
6760 destruction in Romano-British towns at this time. The campaign against the Bagaudae,
however, was evidently land-based and may have been responsible for Carausius's
popularity with the army. Equally, if the accusations of larceny are true, he could
perhaps have afforded to buy their loyalty.
Maximian prepared an invasion of Britain in 288 or 289 to oust him, but it failed. A
6765 panegyric delivered to Constantius Chlorus attributes this failure to bad weather,
but notes that Carausius claimed a military victory. Eutropius says that hostilities
were in vain thanks to Carausius's military skill, and peace was agreed. Carausius
began to entertain visions of legitimacy and official recognition.
This situation continued until 293, when Constantius Chlorus (Constantius I), now the
6770 western Caesar, marched into Gaul and reclaimed it for the empire. He isolated
Carausius by besieging the port of Gesoriacum (Boulogne-sur-Mer) and invading Batavia
in the Rhine delta, securing his rear against Carausius's Frankish allies. He could
not yet mount an invasion of Britain until a suitable fleet could be built.
Nevertheless, Carausius's grip on power was fatally undermined. Allectus, whom he had
6775 put in charge of his treasury, assassinated him and assumed power himself. His reign
would last only three years, after which he was defeated and killed by Constantius'
subordinate Julius Asclepiodotus.
In April 2010 a large hoard containing over 52,500 Roman coins was unearthed in a
6780 field near Frome, Somerset. 766 coins were determined to have been produced during
Carausius' reign, of which only 5 were silver denarii. This find roughly equates to
four years' pay for a Roman legionary, but the presence of later coin issues suggests
that the group was not deposited until after Carausius' death.

6785 Allectus was treasurer to Carausius, a Menapian officer in the Roman navy who had
seized power in Britain and northern Gaul in 286. In 293 Carausius was isolated when
the western Caesar, Constantius Chlorus, retook some of his Gallic territories,
particularly the crucial port of Bononia (modern Boulogne), and defeated his Frankish
allies in Batavia. Allectus assassinated Carausius and assumed command himself.
His reign has left little record, although his coin issues display a similar
6790 distribution to those of Carausius. They are found in north western Gaul, indicating

that the recapture of Bononia did not spell the end of the rebel empire on that side of the English Channel.

6795 Constantius launched an invasion to depose him in September 296. His forces sailed in several divisions. Constantius led one division from Bononia, but seems to have been delayed by bad weather. Another division, under the praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus, took advantage of fog to avoid Allectus's ships stationed at the Isle of Wight, and landed near Southampton Water, where they burnt their ships. Allectus's forces were forced to retreat from the coast, but were cut off by another of Constantius's divisions and defeated. Allectus himself was killed in the battle, having removed all
6800 insignia in the hope that his body would not be identified. Archaeology suggests that Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester) was the site of his defeat or the area surrounding the town. A group of Roman troops, who had been separated from the main body by the fog during the channel crossing, caught up with the remnants of Allectus's men, mostly Franks, at Londinium (London), and massacred them. Constantius himself, it seems, did
6805 not reach Britain until it was all over, and his panegyrist claims he was welcomed by the Britons as a liberator.

Carausius had deliberately used his coinage for propaganda purposes, and some of his slogans, such as a claim to have restored 'liberty', were designed to appeal to British sentiment. Constantius answered such claims in a famous medal struck on the
6810 morrow of his victory, in which he described himself as redditor lucis aeternae, 'restorer of the eternal light (viz. of Rome).'

An antique Brexit?

6815 There is some controversy as to why Roman rule ended in Britain. The view first advocated by Wolfgang Mommsen was that Rome left Britain. This argument was substantiated over time, most recently by A.S. Esmonde-Cleary. According to this argument, internal turmoil in the Roman Empire and the need to withdraw troops to fight off barbarian armies led Rome to abandon Britain. It was the collapse of the imperial system that led to the end of imperial rule in Britain. However, Michael
6820 Jones has advanced an alternative thesis that argues that Rome did not leave Britain, but that Britain left Rome. He highlights the numerous usurpers who came from Britain in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, and points out that the supply of coinage to Britain had dried up by the early 5th century, so that administrators and troops were not getting paid. All of this, he argues, led the British people to rebel against
6825 Rome.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sub-Roman_Britain

ROMAN AND SARMATIAN CAMPAIGNS

6830 of Constantine were fought by the Roman Emperor Constantine I against the neighbouring Germanic peoples, including the Franks, Alemanni and Goths, as well as the Sarmatian Iazyges, along the whole Roman northern defensive system to protect the empire's borders, between 306 and 336.

After becoming controller of the western provinces along the Rhine limes (in 306) following the death of his father Constantius Chlorus (Augustus of the west) in 306,
6835 Constantine initially concentrated his forces on defending this area of the frontier against the Franks and Alemanni, making Augusta Treverorum his first capital for this purpose. Having defeated the usurper Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, all Italia passed under Constantine's control and he thus became the sole Augustus of the West.

6840 In February 313, Constantine (who had spent the winter in Rome) formed an alliance with the Emperor of the East, Licinius, reinforced by Licinius' marriage to Constantine's sister, Flavia Julia Constantia. However, this alliance survived for only a few years, before the two Augusti came into conflict in 316. Constantine defeated Licinius, who was forced to cede Illyricum to Constantine, but not Thrace.
6845 Constantine advanced ever further east with his territorial acquisitions, now having to defend the important strategic region of the limes sarmaticus (from 317).

In the following years, Constantine mostly occupied himself in the central section of the Danubian Limes, mostly fighting against the Sarmatians in Pannonia, residing at Sirmium almost continuously until 324 (when he moved against Licinius once more),
6850 making it his capital along with Serdica. At this time Constantine also demonstrated a very active military bent, travelling along the whole of the limites of his newly acquired territory. From 320 he appointed his eldest son, Crispus, Praetorian prefect, with military command of Gaul.

When he learnt that an army of Goths had crossed the Danube to raid Roman territory
6855 in Moesia Inferior and Thrace, which belonged to Emperor Licinius, he left his general headquarters in Thessalonica and marched against them (323). The fact that he

had trespassed into a part of the empire which was not under his control unleashed the final phase of the Civil wars of the Tetrarchy, which ended with the complete defeat of Licinius and the consecration of Constantine as the sole Roman Emperor. The final period of Constantine's reign, until his death (337), saw the Christian Emperor consolidate the entire defensive system on the Rhine and Danube, obtaining important military successes and reasserting control over a large part of the territory that the Romans had abandoned under Gallienus and Aurelian: the Agri Decumates from the Alemanni, the area south of the Tisza from the Sarmatians, as well as Oltenia and Wallachia from the Goths.

Historical context

With the death of Emperor Numerian in November 284 (who had been entrusted with Eastern Roman empire by his father Carus) and the refusal of the eastern troops to recognise Carus' eldest son Carinus as his successor, a proven general of Illyrian origins, Diocletian, was raised to the purple. At the end of the civil war which followed, Diocletian was victorious and in 285 he named Maximian as his deputy (or Caesar) and then a few months later elevated him to the rank of Augustus (1 April 286), thereby forming a diarchy, in which two emperors divided the government of the empire on geographic lines. This also entailed the division of responsibility for the defence of the northern frontier from Germanic and Sarmatian incursions. Given the increasing difficulty of containing the internal revolts and those along the borders, a further territorial division was executed in 293 to facilitate military operations: Diocletian named Galerius as his Caesar in the east, while Maximian chose Constantius Chlorus in the west. However, this tetrarchy fell into crisis only a year after the abdication of the two Augusti in 305, beginning a new Civil War (306-324), permitting new breaches along the Roman external border, with populations attempting to settle within Roman territory. It was only with Constantine's accession to the throne, becoming sole Augustus of the West after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 and later still defeating Licinius and reuniting the Empire under a single emperor (324) that the northern frontiers were adequately defended once more. It is no coincidence that Constantine is attributed the responsibility for perfecting the military reforms of Diocletian and also for the reconquest or vassalisation of all the territory which Trajan had controlled.

Background: the death of Constantius Chlorus

With the death of Constantius Chlorus at Eboracum (York) on 25 July 306, the Tetrarchy entered a crisis: the eldest son of the dead emperor, Constantine was proclaimed Augustus by the Alemanni general Chrocus and the army of Britannia. His election was in accordance with a dynastic principle rather than the meritocratic system of the Tetrarchy created by Diocletian. Only Lactantius maintains that Constantine was named Augustus by his father on his deathbed. Galerius was displeased by this act and offered the son of his deceased colleague the title of Caesar, which Constantine accepted, allowing Flavius Severus to succeed his father Constantius instead. A few months later, Maxentius son of the old Augustus Maximian was acclaimed Emperor by the Praetorian guard with the support of officials like Marcellianus, Marcellus and Lucianus (but not Abellius, vicar of the Praefectus urbi, who was killed), reaffirming the dynastic principle. It was in this period that Constantine began to achieve important military successes against the Alemanni and the Franks, along the stretch of the frontier attributed to him, as is recounted by Eutropius.

Forces in the field

Regarding the Roman forces garrisoned along the whole stretch of the northern limites from Britannia to Moesia, it is important to note that at this time there was a very important reform of the Roman army, a new Deployment of the Roman legions along the borders and an increase in the size of the Roman army. In fact, we know that, with Diocletian's Tetrarchy reforms, the total number of legions was brought to 55 or 56 in the year 300. Constantine's accession to the throne and the return of a dynastic monarchy brought about the final increase of the number of Roman legions to 62 or 64 around the year 330.

Barbarians

Along the Rhine limes the Franks and Saxons in particular pressed on Gaul and Britannia. The Alemanni also made some incursions in these regions, but the main goal of their attacks at this time was Northern Italy via Pannonia (the western part of

the Danubian Limes). The major clashes occurred along the Lower Danube in the Roman provinces of the Balkan region, where the Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians and especially the Goths (divided into the Tervingi and the Greutungi) concentrated their attacks.

Phases of the conflict

First phase (306-316): defence of the Rhine limes

306

The twenty-one-year-old Constantine, unable to get permission to visit his ailing father Constantius Chlorus (Augustus of the west) from the Augustus of the East, Galerius, in whose court he had lived since the time of Diocletian, decided to escape in the spring of this year. He found his father at Gesoriacum (Boulogne-sur-Mer) about to cross the English Channel to Britannia and joined him in a successful military campaign against the Picts and Scotti to the north of Hadrian's wall. When his father died during the summer, Constantine was proclaimed Augustus of the West by his father's loyal troops at Eboracum on 25 July.

The young tetrarch however needed his election to the Imperial office to be recognised, particularly by Galerius, the most senior of the Augusti. Galerius preferred his friend and comrade in arms, Licinius, to Constantine. Confronted with a fait accompli and in the face of the "secession" of Gaul and Britannia, Galerius appealed to precedent and named the former Caesar, Flavius Severus as the new Augustus with control over Italy, Africa, and Spain and recognised Constantine only as a Caesar. Constantine voluntarily accepted this and in Autumn of the same year he returned to Augusta Treverorum (Trier) whence he could more easily monitor the Gallic frontier, which was being menaced by the Franks. He continued to defend this important stretch of the limes for the next six years, transferring his whole imperial court to Trier and transforming it into his capital (with circa 80000 inhabitants), constructing the imposing Aula Palatina in 310. During these years, not only did he reinforce the defences of this region against the continued incursions of the barbarians, but he also strengthened the forces under his control, augmenting his forces through the creation of new legions.

307

At the beginning of spring, Constantine planned a new campaign in German territory. He found it necessary to confront the Franks, Chamavi, Bructeri, Cherusci and Alemanni. The young emperor had been educated in the military training ground of the east by Diocletian and Galerius and, despite his youth, conducted the war with the sort of determination and energy which his father had not been able to muster in the preceding years. In the course of the military operations, he achieved important successes, managing to heavily wallop the Franks who had invaded the Roman territory east of the Rhine the previous year. It is reported that, while the Franks were planning to cross the Lower Rhine, Constantine quickly crossed the river in another location and surprised the enemy with an unexpected attack, which prevented a new invasion. Many of the Franks were killed, captured or enslaved - some of these were employed as gladiators. All their livestock was seized and their villages were burnt to the ground. As a result of these successes, Constantine was awarded the cognomen Germanicus Maximus at the end of the year. In the course of this campaign and those following it, Constantine may have used the legionary fortress of Castra Vetera as a base and the valley of the Lippe (as had been done in the time of Augustus and again fifty years later under Julian) as an invasion route by which to outflank the enemy, who were found to the north of this major river, and catch them from behind after devastating their territory.

308

Further successes were achieved by Constantine against the Bructeri over the whole year, for which he received the title of GERMANICUS MAXIMUS once again.

At the end of this new military campaign against the Franks, Constantine built the important "bridgehead" of Divitia (modern Deutz) in German territory opposite Colonia Agrippina (Cologne).

310

Once more Constantine achieved important military successes over the Alemanni and the Franks, whose king he is said to have captured and fed to the beasts in the amphitheatre. In the course of this campaign against the Franks, Constantine added a majestic bridge at Divitia, 420 metres long and 10 metres wide.

Meanwhile, however, Maximian had rebelled and Constantine had to cut his campaign

6990 against the Franks short, marching rapidly to southern Gaul where he captured Maximian and forced him to commit suicide.

311

6995 With the death of Galerius, the Tetrarchy became ever more unstable. Probably as a result of this, no campaigns against the Germans beyond the Rhine seem to have been undertaken this year. On the contrary, Constantine fortified the Rhine limes ever further with new construction (as at Haus Bürgel on the right bank of the river, 30 km north of Divitia, or along the roads leading from Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) to Augusta Treverorum (Trier) and with the strengthening of preexisting fortifications. Since the auxiliary fortress of Noviomagus Batavorum (Nijmegen) had, apparently, been 7000 abandoned at the end of the third century, Constantine constructed two new forts in the area: at Valkhof (on the banks of the river Waal) and another along the coast at Valkenburg (near Hook).

312

7005 Constantine gathered a massive army, including barbarians from the recent wars (Germanic peoples and Celts brought over from Britannia), and led it into Italy, defeating his rival Maxentius at Turin, Verona, and finally at the Milvian Bridge. Constantine thus became sole ruler of the West. The eastern half fell under the control of Licinius the following year, with whom Constantine entered into a marriage 7010 alliance.

313

7015 At this time Constantine conducted another military campaign against the Franks and the Alemanni in Gaul, which lasted until the end of summer. Pretending to cross the river, he followed his earlier course, marching against the Alemanni, but then turned back and attacked the Franks with a rapid fleet. He devastated their territories and captured one of their kings. Immediately afterwards he retraced his steps and devastated the territories of the Alemanni as well, a campaign commemorated on the coins of the year, which celebrate the GAVDIVM ROMANORVM ALAMANNIA. 7020

314-315

7025 Once again, Constantine made Augusta Treverorum (Trier) his general quarters for these two years, in order to stay more in control of the Rhine frontier, once again putting things in order against possible incursions of Franks and Alemanni and continuing his fortification works. In July of 315 he left the frontier in order to travel to Rome and celebrate his triumph for the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.

316-317

7030 Conflict arose between Licinius and Constantine, who defeated the former at Cibalae and Mardia. In the following peace agreement, Licinius was forced to cede Illyricum to Constantine. Constantine thereby extended his territory to the east and now had another important strategic sector to defend: the limes sarmaticus (or pannonicus), also called the Pannonian Limes, where he had earlier fought in 305, as an official of Galerius, managing to defeat a barbarian general in single combat. 7035

Second phase

317-319

7040 Following the events described above, Constantine fought against the Sarmatians on the Pannonian stretch of the limes, earning the victory title of SARMATICUS MAXIMUS for the first time, as seems to be demonstrated by an inscription found in Mauretania, indicating to Mócsy that he remained as Sirmium almost continuously until 324 (when his armies moved against Licinius), employing it as his capital. Horst too maintains that his preferred imperial residences in the period between 317 and 323 were Serdica and Sirmium.

7045 During this year, Constantine again showed an active interest in military activities, since he often travelled along the whole limes of the territories he had acquired with the peace of Serdica (March 317). He inspected the garrisons of Pannonia Inferior, overseeing their repair and the construction of new bridgeheads towards the plain of the Tisza River, to face the peril of the barbarians beyond Rome's borders 7050 (Iazygi and Goths). He strengthened the river fleets of the Danube, Sava, Drina, and Morava, as well as the maritime fleets of the Adriatic and Aegean Seas, reinforcing the ports of Aquileia, Pireus, and Thessalonica (formerly Galerius' capital) through the construction of arsenals, shipyards, and the construction of further naval squads. Clearly these reconstruction and strengthening works could be employed not

7055 only against the barbarians, but also, one day, against Licinius.

320

Constantine's eldest son, Crispus (now fifteen, and therefore aided by a Prefect), received the military command of Gaul and conducted military campaigns along the Rhine, achieving victories over the Franks and Alemanni within the year.

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322

Constantine managed to repulse a new invasion of Pannonia by the Sarmatians and the Iazygi. After this, Constantine may have begun the construction of a new stretch of border fortifications, the so-called Devil's Dykes, which consisted of a series of north-facing embankments starting by the Danube at Aquincum, heading to the Tisza, then turning south towards the river Mureş, crossing the Banat and reaching the Danube at Viminacium (it is possible that this construction resumed earlier work under Diocletian). Accordingly, the coinage of this year and the next declared SARMATIA DEVICTA ("Sarmatia vanquished") and name Constantine as "Sarmaticus Maximus" for the second time.

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323

Yet again Constantine was able to repel an invasion of Sarmatian Iazyges, as Zosimus seems to support, though he might have combined or confused the Sarmatian invasions of two separate years, which had unsuccessfully besieged a city of Pannonia Inferior, identifiable with Campona, a little south of the legionary fortress of Aquincum. The Sarmatians first attacked a city which had a constant garrison, where the part of the wall near the ground was built of stone and the upper parts in wood (which could be Campona). The Sarmatians thought they could easily conquer the city, if they could set the wooden part of the wall on fire, so they lit a fire and shot the people on the walls. But while these people returned fire with darts and arrows, Constantine attacked them from behind, taking them by surprise, killing many and taking numerous prisoners, while the survivors fled. – Zosimus, New History, 2.21.1–2. At the same time, the Goths of Rausimodus decided to cross the Danube (further downstream) too and tried to raid the Roman territory of Moesia Inferior and Thrace. Informed of this, Constantine left his general quarters in Thessalonica and marched against them. Hearing of the arrival of the Emperor, the Goths decided to retreat to Wallachia, but Constantine crossed the Ister, reached the Gothic invaders and massacred them in the battle which followed, managing to kill Rausimodus. Constantine crossed over the Ister and attacked him [i.e. Rausimodus] as he fled towards a thickly wooded hill. He killed many barbarians, including Rausimodus himself, and afterwards he captured many more. Taking this multitude, which instantly raised its hands in surrender, he returned with them to his general quarters. After posting them in the cities [especially at Bononia] he returned to Thessalonica. – Zosimus, New History, 2.21.3 & 22.1. The barbarians had requested peace and Constantine had nevertheless led an army into parts of the Empire which were not under his competency (i.e. Moesia), but that of the other Augustus, Licinius – thereby initiating a new civil war between Constantine and Licinius. Coinage continued to celebrate the Sarmatia devicta.

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324

The civil war which followed saw the complete defeat of Licinius and Constantine's consecration as sole Augustus. Remembering the recent war with the Goths, Constantine decided to construct some stone bridges in order to frighten the Barbarians north of the Danube: One connecting Oescus to the new fort of Sucidava on the north bank of the Danube, another linking Transmarisca and the fort of Daphne which was also on the north bank of the Danube. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the construction of these new fortifications dates to the later Gothic campaigns of 326–329.

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Third phase (324–337): the defence of the limes gothicus and the "reconquest" of Dacia

In this new phase, Constantine, now sole monarch of the Roman empire, not only managed to consolidate the entire defensive system along the Rhine and Danube, but also obtained important military successes and regained "control" over a good part of the territories which had been abandoned by Gallienus and Aurelian. This included the Agri decumates from the Alemanni, the plain south of the Tisza (Banat) from the Sarmatians and Oltenia & Wallachia from the Goths. These gains seem to be demonstrated by the coinage of the period and by new defensive constructions (Devil's

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Dykes and Brazda lui Novac). Additionally, in this period, Constantine brought about a new series of reforms, completing those began some forty years earlier by Diocletian. This process was accomplished gradually over the last thirteen years of his reign (324-337, the year of his death).

324/325

In the course of these two years, new military campaigns were conducted against the federation of the Alemanni by Constantine's son Crispus, which were celebrated coinage inscribed "ALEMANNIA DEVICTA (Alemannia conquered)". From this time, Constantine began to use Nicomedia as well as Serdica and Sirmium as his preferred Imperial residences.

328-331/332

Once again, Constantine, along with his son Constantine II was forced to intervene on the Upper Rhine, to defeat the Alemanni who had attempted to invade Gallic territory. This war seems to have lasted many years, since the Emperor's sons were granted the title of ALAMANNICUS MAXIMUS only in 331/2.

328

In this year it seems that there were new clashes with Germans, Sarmatians and Goths on the central and lower Danube and that Constantine was forced to cross the Ister once more, constructed a fortified bridge (between Oescus and Sucidava) to take the war to Barbarian territory, such that the road leading to Romula was paved. He devastated the local territory and reduced them to slavery, according to the account of Theophanes the Confessor.

329

The next year, all along the Lower Danube, the Goths went on the offensive, managing to penetrate to Moesia Inferior and Thrace, where they wrecked devastation, but Constantine managed to repel the barbarian hordes, construct a new bridge in Scythia Minor and attack their territory, as is recorded in his titulature for these years and in Anonymus Valesianus. At the end of this campaign or that of the previous year, he seems to have received the title of GERMANICUS MAXIMUS for the fourth time and the title of GOTHICUS MAXIMUS for the first time.

331/332

The Visigoths, who had molested the allied Sarmatians, invading their territory and then the Balkan provinces of the Romans, were defeated near the modern city of Varna (Bulgaria), by Constantine and his sixteen-year-old Caesar, Constantine II.

Reportedly, cold, hunger, and battle took the lives of 100000 Goths. The survivors were forced to sue for peace with the Emperor, handing over hostages including the King's son Ariaric as a guarantee, as well as a contingent of auxiliaries, in exchange for seed and grain. Most importantly, a treaty was concluded with these people (foedus), under which the Goths (presumably the Visigoths) were employed to defend the Imperial border and provide 40000 soldiers. This peace endured until the time of Julian or even to 375/376. For these successes, he received the victory title of GOTHICUS MAXIMUS for the second time, as well as "DEBELLATOR GENTIUM BARBARARUM" ("Conqueror of barbarian peoples") and the coins of 332 and 333 named GOTHIA and SARMATIA as if they had become new Roman provinces. Immediately following these events, Emperor Constantine may have begun construction of a new stretch of border defences, the so-called Brazda lui Novac, which runs parallel to the north bank of the Danube from Drobeta, across the plain of eastern Wallachia to the Siret River, surrounding the newly "reconquered" territories. Not coincidentally, Aurelius Victor recounts that a bridge was built on the Danube (referring to the bridge built in 328) as well as numerous forts and bastions in diverse locations for protection of the borders.

334

Two years later, the same Sarmatians who had requested the "friendly" intervention of the Romans, created new problems for the Emperor, when they were riven by internal conflict between the Limigantes and the Argaragantes. It is said that the slaves (Limigantes) drove their masters (Argaragantes) from Banat, forcing Constantine to intervene militarily in order to settle an enormous mass of "refugees" (allegedly 300000 people) in Scythia Minor, Italia, Macedonia, Thrace, Moesia Superior and Pannonia Secunda. Some maintain instead that Constantine launched a new military campaign into the plain south of the Tisza to restore order among the warring

factions, at the end of which Constantine received the victory title of SARMATICUS MAXIMUS for the third time. There are, after all, archaeological hints that Constantine had occupied part of the Banat mountains, along the "old" Roman roads which led from Dierna and Lederata to Tibiscum seventeen years earlier.

circa 335

Jordanes recounts an episode datable to this period, in which the Vandals of Visimar, who inhabited the region between the Marisus and Danube rivers (perhaps a little northwest of Banat), clashed with the Goths of Geberic and were defeated. The survivors asked Constantine to be allowed into Roman territory, got permission and settled in Pannonia Inferior, where they remained in peace for around forty years, "obeying the laws of the Empire like the other inhabitants of the region".

336

Emperor Constantine achieved new successes beyond the Danube in the territories which had once been the Roman province of Dacia (abandoned by Aurelian), receiving the honorific title "DACICUS MAXIMUS". It cannot be coincidental that an inscription found near the former legionary fortress of Apulum (modern Alba Iulia) mentions a woman named Ulpia Constantia (reflecting connections to Trajan and Constantine). This could give serious support to Emperor Julian's claim that Constantine reconquered all the territories controlled by Trajan – which included Dacia.

The equilibrium along the lower course of the Danube, after all the campaigns of Constantine and his sons, remained almost unchanged until around 375. The focus of the Emperor turned to the east, where a series of preparations were made for an imminent military campaign against the Sassanids, which was never carried out by Constantine on account of his death in May 337. For twenty five years, the Roman armies of Constantius II and then Julian, fought against the Sassanid armies with varying success (337–363). However the Lower Danube and Eastern borders remained, for almost thirty years, practically unchanged.

XXI After these events, the Goths had already returned home when they were summoned at the request of the Emperor Maximian to aid the Romans against the Parthians. They fought for him faithfully, serving as auxiliaries. But after Caesar Maximian by their aid had routed Narseus, king of the Persians, the grandson of Sapor the Great, taking as spoil all his possessions, together with his wives and his sons, and when Diocletian had conquered Achilles in Alexandria and Maximianus Herculeus had broken the Quinquegentiani in Africa, thus winning peace for the empire, they began rather to neglect the Goths.

Now it had long been a hard matter for the Roman army to fight against any nations whatsoever without them. This is evident from the way in which the Goths were so frequently called upon. Thus they were summoned by Constantine to bear arms against his kinsman Licinius. Later, when he was vanquished and shut up Thessalonica and deprived of his power, they slew him with the sword of Constantine the victor. In like manner it was the aid of the Goths that enabled him to build the famous city that is named after him, the rival of Rome, inasmuch as they entered into a truce with the Emperor and furnished him forty thousand men to aid him against various peoples. This body of men, namely, the Allies, and the service they rendered in war are still spoken of in the land to this day. Now at that time they prospered under the rule of their kings Ariaric and Aoric. Upon their death Geberich appeared as successor to the throne, a man renowned for his valor and noble birth.

East Roman management of barbarians tribes in the Lower-Middle Danube frontier

zones, A.D. 332–610
by Alexander Sarantis

[...] Eastern Roman strategic aims

Eastern Roman emperors and their governments wanted to encourage and maintain the security of the Danube frontier and peaceful relations with barbarian groups beyond it. A politically divided barbarian world was preferable, consisting of numerous political groups, not powerful enough to seriously threaten the empire, and which could be played off against one another.

When these conditions prevailed, the Eastern Roman government found it easier to exploit barbarian tribes for their manpower resources; recruiting soldiers for its armies and farmers to settle in the Balkan provinces.

The Eastern Roman emperors achieved this balance of power along the Lower Danube

frontier for the major part of Late Antiquity. Between AD 284 and 332, the Tetrarchs' and Constantine's energetic management of the Lower and Middle Danube frontiers ensured that no major threats emerged.

The peace of AD 332 with the Tervingi provided the foundation for over three decades of peace along the Lower Danube before Valens' campaigns against this group in the 360s. Aggressive military campaigns against Sarmatian and Quadi tribes across the Middle Danube in the 350s and 370s kept this section of the frontier largely passive until the late fourth century. [...]

Eastern Roman 'barbarian management strategies'

To prevent the two crisis situations just discussed from occurring, the Eastern Roman governments needed to adopt a variety of time-honored diplomatic and military policies. These ensured that barbarian groups remained divided but stable and involved a balancing act between giving them what they wanted and concurrently intimidating them and limiting their power. Concessions included manpower in the form of returned prisoners or refugees, trading privileges, annual subsidies and military support against rival groups. In addition, Roman emperors could confirm Barbarians in their occupation of specific territories, even if these were outside the empire. These benefits were enjoyed by the Tervingi Goths in Wallachia following their treaty with the emperor Constantine I in AD 332. This seems to have included trading rights along the Lower Danube and some sort of regular payment. In return, these Goths served periodically in Roman armies and defended the Lower Danube against barbarian groups from further afield. [...] There is less that can be said about the fourth century because the empire enjoyed peace in the East from AD 298 to 332, and along the Lower Danube from AD 332 to 367, during which wars were fought against the Sassanian empire of Shapur II (especially in AD 337-351 and 359-363). Constantius II's Middle Danube campaign of AD 358 later coincided with peace on the eastern frontier. [...]

https://www.academia.edu/33845028/East_Roman_management_of_barbarians_tribes_in_the_Lower-Middle_Danube_frontier_zones_A.D._332-610?swp=rr-rw-wc-32358309

[Wikipedia] According to Jordanes, who does not mention the Tervingi, the Gothic ruler Ariaric was forced to sign a treaty with Constantine the Great in 332 after his son Constantine II decisively defeated the Goths. After that time, substantial numbers of valuable Roman gold medallions was distributed in Gothic territories from Netherlands to Ukraine, and have been discovered by archaeologists. They demonstrate the Roman influence among the Goths.

Roman coins discovered in East Java, Indonesia.

Studying extra regional trade networks in Antiquity can be considered a relatively popular field of research, but the intensity and patterns of such complex system still leave lot of questions, particularly in case of Rome's Far Eastern trade. There is still a trend to visualize a kind of globalized commercial activity between the Imperium and communities on the eastern edge of the Silk Road(s). However the facts provide us a more comprehensive picture. Due to the meticulous work of international joint research projects working in East and Southeast Asia followed by a raised interest in collecting ancient objects among local people, increasing number of Roman objects have been discovered in the region. These finds prove the significance of mediator cultures in transferring Roman artifacts beyond India - with their own imprints on forming evaluation/acceptance of these non-local goods by the receiving culture.

At the same time, one must keep in mind that Roman objects discovered in East and Southeast Asia have different backgrounds, and most cases - due to extensive looting - are lacking archaeologically secure context. Therefore, a careful approach towards these finds is essential along with re-evaluation of earlier discoveries. Detailed and objective report of Roman artifacts newly discovered in East and Southeast Asia - whatever their background may be - is a first step towards a more elaborative study. In the following pages, fourteen Roman and Byzantine coins along with eleven Chinese coins found in different locations in East Java will be studied.

<https://www.academia.edu/38753453/>

Ariaric also known as Ariacus

was a 4th-century Thervingian Gothic pagan ruler (reiks, kindins).] He was succeeded by Geberic. In 328, Constantine the Great constructed a bridge across the Danube and built fortifications in the territory of Oltenia and Wallachia. This caused a migration of the Thervingi and Taifali to the west into Tisza Sarmatian controlled

7320 areas. The Sarmatians joined forces with Constantine, who appointed his son Constantine II to campaign against the Goths in late winter 332, reportedly resulting in the deaths of approximately one hundred thousand people due to the weather and lack of food. Ariaric was forced to sign a treaty or foedus with Constantine in 332. Yet some scholars dispute that this treaty was a foedus, but more like an act of submission.

7325 Ariaric's son Aoric was raised in Constantinople, where a statue was erected in his memory. Patrick J. Geary suggested that under Ariaric branches of the western Goths became increasingly integrated into the Roman empire and systems, providing troops for military campaigns against the Sassanid Empire. [from Wikipedia]

7330 **The Taifals or Tayfals (Latin: Taifali, Taifalae or Theifali)**

were a people group of Germanic or Sarmatian origin, first documented north of the lower Danube in the mid third century AD. They experienced an unsettled and fragmented history, for the most part in association with various Gothic peoples, and alternately fighting against or for the Romans. In the late fourth century some Taifali were settled within the Roman Empire, notably in western Gaul in the modern province of Poitou. They subsequently supplied mounted units to the Roman army and continued to be a significant source of cavalry for early Merovingian armies. By the sixth century their region of western Gaul had acquired a distinct identity as Thifalia.

7340 One of the earliest mentions of the Taifals puts them in the following of the Gothic king Cniva when he campaigned in Dacia and Moesia in 250 and the years following. They are sometimes classified as a Germanic tribe closely related to the Goths, although some believe they were related to the (non-Germanic) Sarmatians with whom they might have emigrated from the Pontic-Caspian steppe.

7345 In the late third century they settled on the Danube on both sides of the Carpathians, dividing the territory with the Goths, who maintained political authority over all of it. In Spring 291 they formed a special alliance with the Gothic Thervingi, forming a tribal confederation from this date until 376, and fought the Vandals and Gepids: Tervingi, pars alia Gothorum, adiuncta manu Taifalorum, adversum Vandalos Gipedesque concurrunt. Along with the Victufali, the Taifals and Thervingi were the tribes mentioned as having possessed the former Roman province of Dacia by 350 "at the very latest".

7355 Archaeological evidence suggests that the Gepids were contesting Transylvania, the region around the Someş River, with the Thervingi and Taifals. The Taifals were subsequently made foederati of the Romans, from whom they obtained the right to settle in Oltenia. They were at that time independent of the Goths.

In 328 Constantine the Great conquered Oltenia and the Taifals, probably taking this opportunity to resettle a large number in Phrygia, in the diocese of Nicholas of Myra. In 332 he sent his son Constantine II to attack the Thervingi, who were routed. According to Zosimus (ii.31.3), a 500-man Taifal cavalry regiment engaged the Romans in a "running fight", and there is no evidence that this campaign was a failure. Nonetheless, the Taifals largely fell into the hands of the Romans at this time. Around 336 they revolted against Constantine and were put down by the generals Herpyllion, Virius Nepotianus, and Ursus. By 358 the Taifals were independent foederati of Rome and Oltenia lay outside Roman control. They launched campaigns as allies of the Romans from their own Oltenic bases, against the Limigantes (358 and 359) and the Sarmatians (358). However, campaigns against the Thervingi by the emperor Valens in 367 and 368 were inhibited by the independence of Oltenia. It is possible, however, that the Taifals at this time were still fighting alongside the Goths. In 365 the emperor ordered the construction of defensive towers in Dacia Ripensis, but whether this was Oltenia is unclear. Archaeological evidence evidences no sedes Taifalorum (Taifal settlements) east of the Olt River.

7375 https://archive.org/stream/letresordeclairv00lalo/letresordeclairv00lalo_djvu.txt
http://www.persee.fr/doc/bec_0373-6237_1902_num_63_1_448120#
http://www.persee.fr/doc/ccmed_0007-9731_2003_num_46_184_2865
http://www.persee.fr/doc/bulmo_0007-473x_1973_num_131_2_5229

7380 TABLE CHRONOLOGIQUE DES TEXTES ET DOCUMENTS ÉDITÉS DANS LES TOMES 123 Á 147 DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE DE L'ÉCOLE DES CHARTES

- 7385 305 Imperatores Constantius, Maximianus. Quoniam consulis, an similis observantia a nobis adiciendarum feriarum, quae rebus feliciter gestis proveniunt, ad appellationum quoque tempora porrigenda sit, verine carissime, rescribi placuit experientiae tuae, ut in causis provocationum iugiter et sine additamento eiusmodi dierum tempora
- 7390 adiectionem. CONSTANTIUS ET MAXIM. AA. ET SEV. ET MAXIMIN. NOBB. CC. VERINO. D. NON. ... APOLLONIO SUPERIORIS CONSTANTIO V ET MAXIMIANO V CC. CONSS.
305 Emperors Constantius, Maximianus. Since you are asking whether a similar observance of holidays added by us, which result from successful events, should also be extended to the times of appeals, most truly, I have been pleased to write to you
- 7395 in response to your experience, so that you may know that in cases of provocations the times of such days should be observed continuously and without addition, and that in cases of appeals the addition of the said days should never be made. CONSTANTIUS AND MAXIM. AA. AND SEV. AND MAXIMIN. NOBB. CC. VERINO. D. NON. ... APOLLONIO SUPERIORIS CONSTANTIUS V AND MAXIMIANUS V CC. CONSS.
- 7400 7 januari 306 Imp(eratores) Caes(ares) Fl(avius) Val(erius) Constantius, G(alerius) Val(erius) Maximian(us), p(ii) f(elices) in(victi) Aug(usti), p(ontifices) m(aximi), Ger(manici) m(aximi) V, Sar(matici) m(aximi) III, Per(sici) m(aximi) II, Br(ittannici) m(aximi) II, Car(pici) m(aximi) V, Ar(menici) m(aximi), Med(ici) m(aximi), Ad(iabenici) m(aximi), tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) XIV, co(n)s(ules) VI, p(atres) p(atriciae), p(roconsules) d(omini) n(ostri) Diocletian(us) et Maximian(us), patr(es) Aug(ustorum) et Caes(arum) d(omini) n(ostri) Sever(us) et Maximin(us), nob(ilissimi) Caes(ares) nomina mili|tum, qui militaver(unt) in coh(ortibus) pr(aetoris) Aug(ustorum) et Caes(arum) dec(em) I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, piis vindicib(us), ui pie et fortiter militia|functi sunt, ius tribvimus conubii dumtaxat cum singulis et primis uxoribus, ut, etia(m) si pe(re)grini iuris feminas in matrimonio suo iunxerint, proinde liberos tollant acxi (sic) ex duobus civibus Romanis natos.
- 7405 a(nte) d(iem) VII id(us) Ian(uarias) d(ominis) n(ostris) Constantio Aug(usto) VI et Maximian(o) Aug(usto) VI co(n)s(ulibus) coh(ors) IX pr(aetoria) August(orum) et Caesar(um) |Valerius Clemens|natione Italus. Descript(um) et reco(g)n(i)t(um) ex tabula aenea qu(a)e fixa est Rom(a)e in muro pos(t) templu(m) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.
Valeri Caiani; Valeri Albin; Valeri Vitalis; Valeri Valentini; Valeri Victor(is);
- 7415 31 mei 311 Edict of Toleration (Galerius)
34 "Inter cetera quae pro rei publicae semper commodis atque utilitate disponimus, nos quidem volueramus antehac iuxta leges veteres et publicam disciplinam Romanorum cuncta corrigere atque id providere, ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum suorum
- 7425 reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent, 2 siquidem quadam ratione tanta eosdem Christianos voluntas invasisset et tanta stulti tia occupasset, ut non illa veterum instituta sequerentur, quae forsitan primum parentas eorundem constituerant, sed pro arbitrio suo atque ut isdem erat libitum, ita sibimet leges facerent quas observarent, et per diversa varios populos congregarent. 3 Denique cum eiusmodi nostra iussio extitisset, ut ad veterum se instituta conferrent, multi periculo subiugati, multi etiam deturbati sunt. 4 Atque cum plurimi in proposito perseverarent ac videremus nec diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere nec Christianorum deum observare, contemplatione mitissimae nostrae clementiae intuentes et consuetudinem sempiternam, qua solemus cunctis hominibus veniam indulgere, promptissimam in his quoque indulgentiam nostram credidimus porrigendam. Ut denuo sint Chrsitiani et conventicula sua componant, ita ut ne quid contra disciplinam agent. 5 <Per> aliam autem epistolam iudicibus significaturi sumus quid debeant observare. Unde iuxta hanc indulgentiam nostram debebunt deum suum orare pro salute nostra et rei publicae ac sua, ut undique verum res publica praestetur incolumis et
- 7430 securi vivere in sedibus suis possint." 35 Hoc edictum proponitur NICOMEDIAE PRIDIE KALENDAS MAIAS IPSO OCTIES ET MAXIMINO ITERUM CONSULIBUS.
34 "Among other things that we always arrange for the public good and benefit, we indeed wished to correct everything according to the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans and to provide for this, so that even Christians who had abandoned the sect of their parents might return to good minds, 2 since for some reason such a will had invaded the same Christians and such foolishness had taken possession of them that they did not follow those institutions of the ancients, which perhaps their parents had first established, but at their own discretion and as they pleased, they made laws for themselves to observe, and gathered various peoples
- 7445 together through various places. 3 Finally, when our command of this kind had been
- 7450

- issued, that they should conform to the institutions of the ancients, many were subjected to danger, many were also disturbed. 4 And since many persisted in their purpose and we saw that they neither paid due worship and religion to the gods nor observed the Christian gods, contemplating with contemplation our most gentle
- 7455 clemency and the everlasting custom by which we are accustomed to pardon all men to indulge, we believed that our most prompt indulgence should be extended to these also. That they may once again be Christians and arrange their assemblies, so that they do not do anything contrary to discipline. 5 <By> another letter we have indicated to the judges what they should observe. Wherefore, according to this
- 7460 indulgence of ours, they should pray to their god for our safety and that of the republic and their own, so that the republic may be preserved on all sides and they may live in safety and security in their seats." 35 This edict was proposed at NICOMEDIA on the third day of the Kalends of May to the Octius and Maximinus Consuls.
- 7465 312 CONSTANTINO A. II ET LICINIO II CONSS.
28 september 312 Aditus competens iudex considerato tutelae iudicio eam curabit ferre sententiam, quam agnitam legibus esse providerit. PP. IV KAL. SEPT. CONSTANTINO ET LICINIO AUGG. II CONSS.
- 7470 28 oktober 312 Constantine was directed in a dream to cause the heavenly sign to be delineated on the shields of his soldiers, and so to proceed to battle. He did as he had been commanded, and he marked on their shields the letter X, with a perpendicular line drawn through it and turned round thus at the top, being the cipher of Christ. Having this sign (XP), his troops stood to arms. The enemies advanced, but without
- 7475 their emperor, and they crossed the bridge. The armies met, and fought with the utmost exertions of valor, and firmly maintained their ground. In the meantime a sedition arose at Rome, and Maxentius was reviled as one who had abandoned all concern for the safety of the commonweal; and suddenly, while he exhibited the Circensian games on the anniversary of his reign, the people cried with one voice, Constantine cannot be overcome! Dismayed at this, Maxentius burst from the assembly, and having called some senators together, ordered the Sibylline books to be searched. In them it was found that: "On the same day the enemy of the Romans shall perish." Led by this response to the hopes of victory, he went to the field. The bridge in his
- 7480 rear was broken down. At sight of that the battle grew hotter. The hand of the Lord prevailed, and the forces of Maxentius were routed. He fled towards the broken bridge; but the multitude pressing on him, he was driven headlong into the Tiber.
- 7485 30 december 312 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Claudium Plotianum correctorem Lucaniae et Brittiorum. Si in negotio civili cognitis utrisque actionibus pronuntiaveris te ad nostram scientiam relaturum, consultationis exemplum litigatoribus intra decem dies edi aput acta iubeas, ut, si cui forte relatio tua minus plena vel contraria videatur, is refutatorias preces similiter tibi aput acta offerat intra dies quinque, quam illi exemplum consultationis tuae obtuleris. Iam dicationis tuae est omnia, quae aput te vel aput alios gesta fuerint in eo negotio, consultationi tuae cum
- 7490 refutatoriis litigantis adnectere, ita ut scias et decem dies, intra quos edi consultationem oportet, et quinque, intra quos preces refutatoriae offerendae sunt, continuos debere servari. Nam quinque diebus transactis nec offerentem preces refutatorias litigatorem debebis audire, sed sine his, quoniam intra statutum tempus oblatae non sunt, gesta omnia ad nostram referre scientiam. Et cetera. DAT. III KAL.
- 7495 IAN. TREVIRIS CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III CONSS.
Erravi p. CL V consularem harum legum trabens ad acceptionem: nam a. 312 m. Decembri Constantinus non fuit Treveris.
TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI p. 491
- 7500 313 CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III CONSS.
A. 312 devicto Maxentio Constantinus Roma perrexit Mediolamum ibique nuptias sororia Constantinae cum Licinio celebravit. Ibidem convenerunt de Christianorum cultu libere admittendo, qua de re deinde edictum propositum est a Licinio Nicomediae de id. Iun. Inde Galliam Constantinus repetivit. Quaedam subscriptiones temporibus et locis eo
- 7510 ducunt, ut Constantinus Mediolani fuerit d. VI id. Mart, deine hienem a. 313/4 exegerit Treveris.
- 7515 18 januari 313 Imp. Constantinus a. ad populum. Post alia: de delatoribus iam certa statuimus; quibus si quis contra fecerit, poenam capitalem excipiet. PROPOSITA XV KAL. FEB. CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III CONSS.

- 15 februari 313 Imp. Constantinus a. ad populum. Quoniam tabularii civitatum per collusionem potentiorum sarcinam ad inferiores transferunt, iubemus, ut, quisquis se gravatum probaverit, suam tantum pristinam professionem agnoscat etc. PP. XV KAL. FEBR. ROMAE. CONSTANTINO A. III. ET LICINIO III. CONSS.
- 7520 Interpretatio. Si tabularii aut hi, quibus exactionis libri traduntur, potentiores voluerint relevare et, quod relevaverint, inferioribus addiderint, is, qui gravatum se probaverit, non amplius dissolvat, quam secundum censum se ostenderit suscepisse.
- 5 maart 313 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Philippum vicarium urbis. Si quis ab actore rerum privatarum nostrarum sive a procuratore fuerit vexatus, super eius calumniis vel depraedationibus deferre querimoniam non dubitet. Quae res quum fuerit comprobata, sancimus, ut idem, qui contra provincialem quicquam moliri fuerit ausus, publice concremetur, quoniam gravior poena constituenda est in hos, qui nostri iuris sunt et nostra debent custodire mandata. DAT. III. NON. MART. HERACLEAE, CONSTANTINO A. III. ET LICINIO III. CONSS.
- 7525 Interpretatio. Quicumque ab actore dominico vel procuratore fuerit alicuius iniuriae improbitate vexatus, de eorum calumniis vel depraedationibus ad principem convolare debeat. Quae res si potuerit approbari, eos, qui circa provinciales talia facere ausi sunt, placuit incendio concremari, quia graviorem poenam principes constitui voluerunt in eos, qui sui iuris sunt et sua debent custodire mandata.
- 7530
- 10 maart 313 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Aemilium virum perfectissimum rationalem. Si quando adnotationes nostrae contineant possessionem sive domum quam donaverimus integro statu donatam, hoc verbo ea vis continebitur, quam antea scribebamus, cum adiacentibus et mancipiis et pecoribus et fructibus et omni iure suo, ut ea, quae ad instructum possessionis vel domus pertinent, tradenda sint. DAT. VI ID. MAR. MEDIOLANO CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III CONSS.
- 7540
- 15 maart 313 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Evagrium Pf. P. Nemo iudex civilium munerum vacationem cuiquam praestare curiali conetur, vel aliquem suo arbitrio de curia liberet. Nam si quis fuerit eius modi infortunio depravatus, ut debeat sublevari, de eius nomine ad nostram scientiam referri oportet, ut certo temporis spatio civilium munerum ei vacatio porrigatur. PP. ID. MART. CONSTANTINO A. III. ET LICINIO III. CONSS.
- 7545 Interpretatio. Nullus iudex vacationem indebitam tribuat curiali, nec eum de suo officio studeat liberare. nam si ita tenuis cuiuscumque curialis et exhausta facultas est, ut ei publici oneris necessitas non credatur, ad principis iussit referri notitiam.
- 7550
- 1 juni 313 Idem a. ad Eusebium virum perfectissimum praesidem Lyciae et Pamfyliae. Plebs urbana, sicut in Orientalibus quoque provinciis observatur, minime in censibus pro capitatione sua conveniatur, sed iuxta hanc iussionem nostram immunis habeatur, sicuti etiam sub domino et parente nostro Diocletiano seniore Augusto eadem plebs urbana immunis fuerat. DAT. KAL. IUN. CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III CONSS.
- 7555
- juli 313 When I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came under favorable auspices to Milan and took under consideration everything which pertained to the common weal and prosperity, we resolved among other things, or rather first of all, to make such decrees as seemed in many respects for the benefit of every one; namely, such as should preserve reverence and piety toward the deity. We resolved, that is, to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they choose, that whatever heavenly divinity exists may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government.
- 7560
- juli 313 When we, Constantine and Licinius, emperors, had an interview at Milan, and conferred together with respect to the good and security of the commonwealth, it seemed to us that, amongst those things that are profitable to mankind in general, the reverence paid to the Divinity merited our first and chief attention, and that it was proper that the Christians and ll others should have liberty to follow that mode of religion which to each of them appeared best; so that that God, who is seated in heaven, might be benign and propitious to us, and to every one under our government.
- 7565
- 21 juli 313 Augg. et caess. Flaviae Aprillae. Cum profitearis te certa quantitate mancipium ex sanguine comparasse, cuius pretium te exsolvisse dicis et instrumentis esse firmatum, hoc a nobis iam olim praescriptum est, quod, si voluerit liberum suum recipere, tunc in eius locum mancipium domino dare aut pretium quo valuisset numeraret. Etiamnunc, si a suis parentibus certo pretio comparasti, ius dominii possidere te existimamus. Nullum autem ex gentilibus liberum adprobari licet. SUBSCR.
- 7570
- 7575
- 7580

XII KAL. AUG. CONSTANTINO AUG. III CONSS.

7585 10 augustus 313 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD RUFINUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O.
 Ferri non potest in titulos militaris laudis inrepere eos, qui nec aciem viderint nec
 signa perspexerint nec arma tractaverint. Ideoque si qui ex protectoribus vel ex
 praepositis vel ex tribunis epistulas reportaverint, non habeant privilegium, quod
 merentur qui ordine militiae sub armorum labore decurso ad hunc honorem pervenerint.
 7590 P(RO)P(OSITA) IV ID. AUG. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III CONSS.

28 september 313 [...] Ita ergo venditionum omnium est tractanda sollemnitas, ut
 fallax illa et fraudulenta venditio penitus sepulta depereat. Cui legi deinceps
 cuncti parere debebunt, ut omnia diligenti circumspectione quaesita per universas
 7595 successiones tuto decurrant neque aliquem ex improvidentia casum malignae captionis
 horrescant. D. IV KAL. SEPT. A PRAEFECTO PRAETORIO AD CORRECTOREM PICENI AQUILEIA.
 ACC. XIV KAL. OCT. ALBAE CONSTANTINO AUG. III. CONSS.

21 oktober 313? CT 16.2.2 Constantine
 7600 Christian clergy shall be exempted from compulsory public service as not to interfere
 with their divine services.
 [The Codex gives the date as 319, but Seeck, Elliot, and Pharr suggest that it should
 be dated to 313, and that the following law is a clarification of this one. This law
 has many parallels to the letter of Constantine to Anullinus, proconsul of Africa,
 7605 listed immediately above, dating to Spring of 313. Coleman-Norton leaves the 319
 date.]

31 oktober 313 Imp. Constantinus a. Haereticorum factione comperimus ecclesiae
 tholicae clericos ita vexari, ut nominationibus seu susceptionibus aliquibus, quas
 7610 publicus mos exposcit, contra indulta sibi privilegia praegraventur. Ideoque placet,
 si quem tua gravitas invenerit ita vexatum, eidem alium subrogari et deinceps a supra
 dictae religionis hominibus huiusmodi iniurias prohiberi. DAT. PRID. KAL. NOV.
 CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III C. CONSS.

31 oktober 313? CT 16.2.1 Constantine
 7615 Certain catholic clerics are being harassed by heretics so that compulsory public
 services are too much for them to bear. They should be relieved of their civic
 duties, and replacements found, and in the future, clerics should not be forced to
 fulfill compulsory public services. [The addressee is unspecified, and Pharr and
 7620 Coleman-Norton emend the year to 319. This law may go with the immediately preceding
 law for North Africa, or it may be a later, more general law. Elliot and Seeck leave
 the date without emendation.]

5 maart 313 Law 3: To Philip, vicar of the city
 7625 CTh 10.4.1 Dorries p. 163-164
 Threatening treasury officials who harass subjects with public burning.

Apr 30, 313-Oct 8, 316 Inscription at Lavinium
 AE 1984,151 Gruenewald 270
 7630 Restoring the bath.

Apr 30, 313-Oct 8, 316 Inscription at Thessalonica
 AE 1933,251 Gruenewald 398

7635 Apr 30, 313-Oct 8, 316 Inscription at Golmarmara
 TAM V 645 Gruenewald 462

Apr 30, 313-Oct 8, 316 Inscription at Tunlu-Bunar
 CIL III 7170; EE V 177, 1399 Gruenewald 467
 7640

Apr 30, 313-c. 321 Inscription at Migennes
 AE 1983,701 Gruenewald 17

Apr 30, 313-c. 321 Second inscription at Mascula
 7645 CIL VIII 17681; EE VII 330, 737 Gruenewald 112

313 Letter to Caecilian, bishop of Carthage
 HE 10.6; EH 7.42 Silli 2; Dorries p. 17-18

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 7650 Giving money to be distributed to the ministers and permission to request more for them if necessary.
- c. May 313 Letter to Miltiades, bishop of Rome, and Marcus
HE 10.5.18-20; EH 7.43; HD App 13 Silli 3; Dorries p. 20-21
7655 Asking them to preside in Rome over the case of Caecilian.
- June 1, 313 Law 4: To Eusebius, governor of Lycia and Pamphylia
CTh 13.10.2 Dorries p. 164
The tax privilege of Diocletian is renewed.
- 7660 June 13, 313 Edict of Constantine and Licinius about the freedom of the Christian religion
HE 10.5.2-3; EH 7.41; LAC 48.2-12 Silli 4; Dorries p. 228-232
Enumeration of religious freedoms.
- 7665 July 21, 313 Law 5
Frag Vat 34 Dorries p. 164
Ordering a right of redemption for boys sold as babies.
- Aug 10, 313 Law 6
7670 CTh 7.21.1 Dorries p. 164
Declaring it intolerable that people claim military status who never "saw battle, watched the standard, or bore arms".
- 29 augustus 313 and 4 februari 337
7675 Law 7: To Rufinus, the praetorian prefect
Frag Vat 35 Dorries p. 164
Against deceptive selling practices—Constantine affirms that being himself innocent he is unable to suspect deceit in others.
- 7680 31 oktober 313 Second letter to Anulinus
HE 10.7; EH 7.42; HD App 16 Silli 5; Dorries p. 18-19
Clergy are exempt from all political duties.
- Oct 31, 313? Law 8
7685 CTh 16.2.1 Dorries p. 165
Instruction to replace a particular official vexed by heretics and prevent this kind of thing from happening in the future.
- 27 december 313 Law 9: To Claudius Plotianus, commissioner of Lucania and Bruttium
7690 CTh 11.29.1 Dorries p. 165
The emperor is only to be consulted in difficult cases.
- 313 Law 10
Frag Vat 33 Dorries p. 165
7695 Freeborn children may not become slaves.
- 313-315 Law 11
CTh 6.1.1 Dorries p. 165
The "gates of dignity" should not stand open to those who are excluded "from the association of the honest" through any kind of stigma.
- 7700 314 VOLVSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.
Pace inter duos imperatores rupta 'bellum Cibalense fuit a. d. VIII id. Oct.', quo finito eodem anno vel certe proximo incipiente pacem restitutam esse iude confirmatur, quod a. 315 ambo imperatores simul consules processerunt. Deinde, ut ait auctor originis Constantianae 19, Constantinus reversus est Serdicam. Quae refragantur constitutiones infra relatae, secundum quae Constantinus a. 314 ab Octobri ad Decembrem Treviris fuit, videntur mendose traditiae.
- 7710 1 januari 314 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum praefectum Urbi. pr. Si quis alicui maiestatis crimen intenderit, cum in huiusmodi re convictus minime quisquam privilegio dignitatis alicuius a strictiore inquisitione defendatur, sciat se quoque tormentis esse subdendum, si aliis manifestis indiciis accusationem suam non potuerit comprobare. Cum eo, qui huius esse temeritatis deprehenditur, illum quoque tormentis

- 7715 subdi oportet, cuius consilio atque instinctu ad accusationem accessisse videbitur, ut ab omnibus commissi consciis statuta vindicta possit reportari. In servis quoque vel libertis, qui dominos aut patronos accusare aut deferre temptaverint, professio tam atrocis audaciae statim in admissi ipsius exordio per sententiam iudicis comprimatur ac denegata audientia patibulo adfigatur. PROPOSITA KAL. IANUAR.
- 7720 VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.
- 30 januari 314 Imp. Constantinus a. Locrio Verino suo salutem. pr. Aput eos, quos superstites integris facultatibus esse pervideris vel quorum heredes incolumbia retinent patrimonia, sortes kalendarii perseverare debebunt, ita tamen, ut annuas usuras suis quibusque temporibus exolvant, cum simul et rei publicae utile sit retinere idoneos debitores et ipsis commodum cumulum debiti minime nutriri.
- 7725 1. Et quia nefas est obnoxiiis corporibus alienatis circumscribi civitates, placuit, si qui debitor rei publicae civitatis quippiam ex eo patrimonio, quod habuit, cum pecuniam rei publicae sumeret, donaverit vel distraxerit vel qualibet in alium ratione contulerit, qualitate rei alienatae perspecta atque omnibus debitoris facultatibus consideratis, quas habuit, cum ei pecunia crederetur, pro rata ab eo, qui ex debitoris facultatibus aliquid detinet, ex sorte atque usuris postulari. Itaque quotiens minus idoneum deprehenditur eius patrimonium, cuius nomen kalendario civitatis alicuius invenitur obnoxium, iudex omni quibus, e diligentiae sollicitudine
- 7735 debeat inquirere, ad quos ex qualibet condicione transierint debitoris facultates, ut singuli aequa aestimatione habita pro rata rerum quas possident conveniantur, personalem actionem contra eum habituri debitorem, qui ipsis solventibus liberatur. Ab eo autem, a quo constat fortunarum suarum partem maximam recessisse, etiam reliquam portionem quae aput eum resederit transferri ad idoneum oportebit.
- 7740 2. Quod si quispiam debitor rei publicae civitatis fisco nostro locum fecerit, emptores quidem, qui ex fisco nostro comparaverint, manifestum est secundum ius vetus et rescripta divorum constitutionesque nostras nullam debere molestiam sustinere, cum huiusmodi casibus rem publicam placuerit fortuita dispendia sustinere; qui vero aliquid ex eiusdem bonis principali liberalitate fuerint consecuti, iuxta legem latam
- 7745 obnoxii erunt rei publicae habita solidarum facultatum consideratione, quae fuerant debitoris, cum pecuniam rei publicae sumeret, ut pro rata corporis, quod ex largitate nostra retinent, competentem sortis atque usurarum partem exigantur.
3. Quod si quis debitor non comparuerit vel certe ita omnia sua consumpserit, ut nemo aliquam rem ex eius bonis possideat, id quoque debitum convenit ad dispendium rei
- 7750 publicae pertinere. Ideoque periculo curatoris kalendarii et magistratuum et creatorum aput idoneos vel dominos rusticorum praediorum pecunia collocanda est. PROPOSITA III KAL. FEB. VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.
- 30 January 314 Imp. Constantine a. Locrius Verinus his greetings. pr. Aput those, whom you foresee to be survivors with intact faculties or whose heirs retain their
- 7755 patrimony intact, the calendar lots should continue, so however, that they pay their annual interest at any time, since at the same time it is useful for the state to retain suitable debtors and for them the advantage of not having an accumulation of debt to be nurtured.
1. And because it is wrong to limit cities to liable alienated bodies, it was decided
- 7760 that if any debtor to the state of the city has donated or alienated anything from the patrimony that he had, when he took money from the state, or has transferred it to another in any way, the quality of the alienated thing is examined and all the faculties of the debtor, which he had, when the money was entrusted to him, should be demanded pro rata from the one who withholds something from the faculties of the
- 7765 debtor, according to the lot and interest. Therefore, whenever the patrimony of a person whose name is found to be subject to the calendar of some city is found to be less suitable, the judge, with due diligence, must inquire into all those to whom the debtor's assets have passed from whatever condition, so that each may be agreed upon, having taken a fair assessment in proportion to the things they possess, and that the
- 7770 debtor will have a personal action against him, who is released by the payers themselves. However, from the person from whom it is established that the greatest part of his fortunes have departed, the remaining portion which has remained with him must also be transferred to a suitable person.
2. But if any debtor of the public realm of the city makes room for our treasury, the
- 7775 buyers who have purchased from our treasury, it is clear that according to ancient law and the rewritten laws of the gods and our constitutions, they should not suffer any inconvenience, since in such cases it is the public interest to bear the incidental expenses; But those who have obtained something from the same property by the principal generosity, according to the law passed, will be liable to the state,
- 7780 having taken into account the solid resources that would have been the debtor's, when

he took the money of the state, so that they may be exacted a proper share of the lot and interest in proportion to the body that they retain from our generosity.

7785 3. But if any debtor does not appear or certainly has consumed all his property in such a way that no one possesses anything from his property, that debt also falls to the expense of the state. Therefore, at the risk of the curator calendar and the magistrates and the creators, the money is to be invested with suitable persons or owners of rural estates. PROPOSITS 3 KAL. FEB. VOLUSIANUS AND ANNIANUS CONSS.

7790 6 maart 314 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD URSUM VICARIUM. Si quando quis rescriptum ad extraordinarium iudicem reportaverit, dilatio ei penitus neganda est. Illi autem, qui in iudicium vocatur, danda est ad probanda precum mendacia vel proferenda aliqua instrumenta vel testes, quoniam instructus esse non potuit, qui praeter spem ad alienum iudicem tradebatur. DAT. PRID. NON. MART. VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.

7795 Interpretatio. Quando ab aliquo principe praeceptio fuerit surrepta, ut ad alium iudicem quam cui commissus est, adversarium suum pertrahat audiendum, sicut ille, qui petitor est, indutias si petierit, accipere non debuit, ita illi, qui ad iudicium adducitur, dilatio debita non negetur, ut facilius aut per scripturam aut per testes probare valeat illum a quo pulsatus est falsa supplicatione meruisse, quod petiit.

7800 19 maart 314 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Volusianum. Si navicularius originalis levamentarius fuerit, nihilo minus apud eosdem, apud quos et parentes eius fuisse videntur, firmiter permanebit. DAT. XIV KAL. APRIL. VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.

7805 25 maart 314 MP. CONSTANTINUS A. ET C. Pro officio administrationis tutoris vel curatoris bona, si debitores existant, tamquam pignoris titulo obligata minores sibimet vindicare minime prohibentur. DAT. VII KAL. APRIL. TREVIRIS VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.

7810 Interpretatio. Quicumque tutor sive curator negligentia administrationis suae debitor minoribus comprobatur, noverit facultates suas ita obligatas, ut, si non satisfecerit, ratione deducta, bona sua a minoribus loco pignoris teneantur.

7815 1 april 314 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Probum. pr. Si quae mulieres liberae vel a servis vel a quolibet alio vim perpressae contra voluntatem suam servilis condicionis hominibus iunctae sint, competenti legum severitate vindictam consequantur.

1. Si qua autem mulier suae sit immemor honestatis, libertatem amittat atque eius filii servi sint domini, cuius se contubernio coniunxit. Quam legem et de praeterito custodiri oportet. PROPOSITA KAL. APRIL. VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.

7820 Interpretatio. Per vim contra voluntatem servo iuncta alieno et vindictam consequitur. Si vero sponte fit ancilla, et eius filii servi sunt.

7825 25 april 314 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Volusianum. Universi devotionis studio contendant, si quos ingenuis natalibus procreatos sub tyranno ingenuitatem amisisse aut propria contenti conscientia aut aliorum indiciis recognoscunt, natalibus suis restituere, nec exspectata iudicis interpellatione. Nam si quis contra conscientiam suam vel certissima testimonia plurimorum in eadem avaritiae tenacitate permanserit, severissima poena mulctabitur. Placet autem, etiam eos periculo subiugari, qui scientes ingenuos servitutis necessitatem per iniuriam sustinere dissimulant. PROP. VIII. KAL. MAI. ROMAE, VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.

7830 Interpretatio. Ingenui, qui tyranni temporibus addicti sunt servituti, ingenuitati reddantur. Quod si quis sciens hoc ordine addictum ingenuum in servitute tenuerit, noverit in se legibus vindicandum.

7835 28 oktober 314 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. PALATINIS BENE MERITIS SUIS SALUTEM. A palatinis tam his, qui obsequiis nostris inculcata officia praebuerunt, quam illis, qui in scriniis nostris, id est memoriae epistularum libellorumque, versati sunt, procul universas cal(um)nias sive nominationes iubemus esse summotas, idque beneficium ad filios eorum atque nepotes ipso ordine sanguinis pervenire atque immunes eos a cunctis muneribus sordidis et personalibus permanere cum universis mobilibus et mancipiis urbanis, neque iniurias eis ab aliquibus inferri, ita ut, qui haec contempserit, indiscreta dignitate poenas debitas exigatur. DAT. IV KAL. NOV. TREVIRIS VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.

7845 3 november 314 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Catulinum. Post alia: minime fas est, ut in civili negotio libellis appellatoriis oblati aut carceris cruciatus aut cuiuslibet iniuriae genus seu tormenta vel etiam contumelias perferat appellator; absque his criminalibus causis, in tiamsi possunt provocare, eum tamen statum debent obtinere,

ut post provocationem in custodia perseverent. Ea custodita moderatione, ut eorum
provocationes recipiantur, qui easdem non a praeiudicio interposuisse noscuntur aut
etiam ante causam examinatum et determinatam, sed universo negotio peremptoria
7850 praescriptione finito vel per cuncta membra decurso, contra iudicem interpositae esse
noscantur etc. DAT. III. NON. NOV. TREVIRIS. ACC. XV KAL. MAI. HADRUMETO [Sousse],
VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Ista lex hoc praecipit, non debere appellentem aut carceris custodia
aut cuiuslibet iniuriae afflictione constringi, exceptis tamen criminalibus causis,
7855 in quibus similis accusantem et accusatum condicio poenae custodiaeque constringit:
et eorum appellationes dicit debere recipi, sed ita, ut qui appellaverit, in custodia
teneatur, quo usque ad alium iudicem crimina obiecta perveniant, ut discussis ad
integrum omnibus, aut de absolutione aut de damnatione accipiat sententiam finitivam.

3 november 314 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Catulinum. Qui sententiam laturus est,
temperamentum hoc teneat, ut non prius capitalem in quempiam promat severamque
sententiam, quam in adulterii vel homicidii vel maleficii crimine aut sua confessione
aut certe omnium, qui tormentis vel interrogationibus fuerint dediti, in unum
conspirantem concordantemque rei finem convictus sit et sic in obiecto flagitio
7865 deprehensus, ut vix etiam ipse ea, quae commiserit, negare sufficiat. DAT. III. NON.
NOV. TREVIRIS. ACC. XV KAL. MAI. HADRUMETI [Sousse], VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Iudex criminosum discutiens non ante sententiam proferat capitalem,
quam aut reus ipse fateatur, aut convictus aut per innocentem testes vel per consocios
criminis sui aut homicidium aut adulterium aut maleficium commisisse manifestius
7870 vincatur.

30 december 314 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. IULIO ANTIOCHO PRAEFECTO VIGILUM.
Annotationes nostras sine rescriptione admitti non placet, id[eo]que officium
gravitatis tuae observet, sicut semper est custoditum, ut rescripta vel epistulas
7875 potius nostras quam adnotationes solas existimes audiendas. DAT. III K. IAN.
TREV(IRIS) VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.

EDICT OF CONSTANTINE I CONCERNING THE ACCUSATIONS (314-323)

Two chapters of this edict are preserved in CTh. 9, 5 and in CJ 9, 8, 3. Three copies
7880 of the edict on stone have been discovered: one somewhere in Asia Minor, before 1600,
but now lost; one in Lycia, also in Asia Minor, before 1902; one in Crete, reported
in 1889, which exhibits all of the surviving part of the edict. The date is doubtful,
for the superscription and the subscription preserved in the codes do not agree by an
interval of about a decade, but the codes and the stones all agree in the
7885 subscription, which is dated 314 A.D.

1) Copy of the sacred edict.

2) ... it has been proved that very many persons not only in respect to their
fortunes ... accusations ... sometimes ... by cases of this kind those who are
accused as well as those who are summoned for evidence are afflicted with very
7890 serious annoyances. Wherefore, taking counsel for the security of our provinces, we
provide remedies of this character, that an accuser indeed may not entirely be
repulsed from court, but whoever believes that he can add proofs to his charges may
have the free opportunity to approach a judge and may reveal the defendant by clear
evidence of the offenses, so that according to the nature of the deeds suitable
7895 punishment may be inflicted on the person who is convicted. But if he is not at all
able to establish those charges which he makes he shall know that he must be
subjected to a very severe sentence.

3) To be sure, if anyone charges someone with the crime of treason, since the
accusation of such a kind not at all protects anyone by the privilege of any high
rank from a very strict inquisition, he shall know that he also must be subject to
torture if he is not able to establish his accusation by other clear evidences and
proofs, since in the case of the person who is detected in this temerity this fact
properly shall be elicited also by torture, namely, by whose advice and instigation
it appears that he entered upon the accusation, so that punishment from all persons
7905 who are accessory to so great a deed can be exacted.

4) Moreover, it is known to all how often an opportunity also to approach a judge has
been denied to informers not only by the statutes of our parents, but also by our
ordinances, since a hearing must not be granted to persons of this kind, because
indeed they must be subjected to punishment in accordance with the daring of such
7910 great wickedness.

5) Also in the case of slaves or of freedmen who attempt to accuse or to report their
masters or their patrons we decree that the law according to the statute of the

- ancient law also must be observed, namely, that, to be sure, the declaration of such atrocious audacity shall be repressed immediately in the inception of its commission itself by the judge's decision, and, after a hearing has been denied, whoever
7915 proceeds to the desperate boldness of this kind shall offer, affixed to a gibbet, an example to all others, lest anyone of like audacity should appear in the future.
- 6) To be sure, that everywhere counsel may be taken for the security of innocent
7920 persons, it is our pleasure that defamatory informations shall not be accepted. And if anyone discovers these displayed anonymously, he shall be bound to remove them immediately and to tear them in pieces or to consume them by fire. And in these cases it shall be proper for the judges to take note of such a kind that, if perchance such information is brought to them, they shall direct it to be burned by fire, since a writing of such kind properly shall be removed completely from a judge's hearing, but
7925 an investigation shall remain against those persons who dare to display information of such a sort, that, when discovered, they shall be subjected to the due punishments of their temerity.
- 7) Accordingly, we have written about all these matters not only to our prefects but also to the governors and the treasurer and the master of our private estate, by
7930 whose other copy, when our edict has been published, it is declared most fully what kind of law and statute it contains.
- 8) Publicly posted January I in the consulship of Volusianus and Annianus.
- 314 Optatus, De sch. Don., Appendix 5 Constantine
7935 Constantine, frustrated, orders the dissatisfied Donatists, who will not yield to the rulings of Arles, to be brought to his court for the hearing for which they have appealed.
- 1 januari 314 Law 12: To Maximus, prefect of the city
7940 CTh 9.5.1 Dorries p. 165-167
1. Accusers who do not provide sufficient proof are subject to more server penalties.
2. The men behind the accusers who do not prove their case should be found so that his co-conspirators also are punished.
3. Certain categories of men must not be allowed as accusers and if they seek to
7945 accuse they should be punished instead of heard.
4. If a slave or freedman tries to accuse their master, they should be bound in the stocks and not heard.
5. No anonymous accusations can be entertained.
- Early 314 Letter to Aelafius, vicar of Africa
7950 HD App 3 Silli 6; Dorries p. 21-24
Caecilian and others are directed to attend the council of Arles.
- Early 314 Letter to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse
7955 HE 10.5.21-24; EH 7.43 Silli 7; Dorries 24-28
Commanding another synod to be held to resolve dissensions among the bishops.
- 19 maart 314 and 1 juni 315 Law 13: To Volusianus and to Amabilianus, prefect of the provisions
7960 CTh 13.5.1-2 Dorries p. 167
Ship captains are bound to their profession.
- 1 april 314 Law 14: To the consular Junias Rufus Aemilius
7965 CTh 4.13.1 Dorries p. 167
A woman who of her free will marries a slave forfeits her own and her children's freedom, but if it happens against her will she will be vindicated by the appropriate severity of the laws.
- 1 april 314 Law 16: To Probus
7970 CJ 6.1.3 Dorries p. 168
Apprehended slaves trying to run back to barbarian lands should either have their feet cut off or be sent into the mine.
- Apr 24, 314 Law 15: To Volusianus
7975 CTh 5.8.1 Dorries p. 167-168
Whoever loses his freedom will receive it back without a lawsuit. Severest punishments threaten those who try to hold in bondage someone wrongfully enslaved.

- May 15, 314 Law 17: To Dionysius
 7980 CJ 3.1.8 Dorries p. 168
 In all things justice and fairness take priority to the letter of the law.
- Aug 314 Letter to the bishops after the Council of Arles
 HD App 5 Silli 8; Dorries p. 28-33
 7985 Commending their faith and lamenting that those condemned in ecclesiastical courts are appealing to civil courts.
- Oct 29, 314 Law 18: To the well-deserving Palatines
 CTh 6.35.1 Dorries p. 168
 7990 Not only clergymen but also palace officials receive immunity "from all vulgar and personal duties."
- Nov 3, 314? Law 19: To Catalinus
 CTh 9.40.1 Dorries p. 168
 7995 The death penalty should only be used for adultery, murder, and sorcery in cases of confession or certain evidence.
- 315 CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
 22 januari 315 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD CONSTANTIUM. Si quis iter faciens bovem
 8000 non cursui destinatum, sed aratris deditum duxerit abstrahendum, per stationarios et
 eos, qui cursui publico praesunt, debito vigore correptus aut iudici, si praesto
 fuerit, offeratur aut magistratibus municipalibus competenti censura tradatur
 eorumque obsequio transmittatur, aut si eius fuerit dignitatis, ut nequaquam in eum
 8005 deceat tali vigore consurgere, super eius nomine adnostram clementiam referatur. Qui
 enim explicaverit mansionem, si forte boves non habuerit, immorari debet, donec
 fuerint exhibiti ab his, qui cursus publici curam gerunt, nec culturae terrae
 inservientes abstrahere. ACC. XI KAL. FEB. CARALIS CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV
 CONSS.
- 22 January 315 EMP. CONSTANTINE A. TO CONSTANTIUM. If anyone, while traveling, takes
 8010 an ox not intended for the course, but used for the plow, to be taken away, he shall
 be reprimanded with due force by the stationers and those who are in charge of the
 public course, or he shall be presented to the judge, if he is available, or he shall
 be handed over to the competent municipal magistrates for censure and sent to their
 8015 attention, or if he is of such dignity that it is not fitting to rise up against him
 with such force, he shall be referred to our clemency on his behalf. For whoever has
 opened a mansion, if he does not have oxen, must delay until they have been presented
 by those who are in charge of the public course, nor shall he take away those who are
 in service to the cultivation of the land. ACC. XI KAL. FEB. CARALIS CONSTANTINUS A.
 IV AND LICINIUS IV CONSS.
- 8020 februari 315 Imperator Constantinus. Ad fiscum pertinentes causas rationalis
 decadat, omnibus concussionibus prohibendis. CONST. A. AD URSUM. D. NON. FEBR.
 CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- February 315 Emperor Constantine. Let the rational causes pertaining to the treasury
 8025 decide, prohibiting all confiscations. CONST. A. TO URSUM. D. NON. FEBR. CONSTANTINUS
 A. IV AND LICINIUS IV CONSS.
- 25 februari 315 Idem a. ad Volusianum praefectum Urbi. Qui a praeiudicio
 appellaverit vel ab executoribus rerum antea statutarum atque alterius auditorii
 8030 praepropere iudicia poposcerit, XXX follium poena multetur, ita ut omnem causam ipse
 sine dilatione discingas, quippe cum et causam tuam videaris esse factururus, si per
 coniventiam huiusmodi appellationem admiseris. Si quas sane de omni causa
 interpositas esse provocaciones perspexeris, in earum disceptatione observare
 8035 debebis, quod iam pridem a nobis est evidentissime constitutum. PROPOSITA V KAL.
 MART. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- February 25, 315 The same letter to Volusianus, prefect of the city. Whoever appeals
 from a prejudice or demands premature judgments from the executors of previously
 established matters and from another audience, shall be fined 30 folli, so that you
 8040 yourself may dismiss every case without delay, since you will also seem to be about
 to make your case if you admit such an appeal by agreement. If you see that any
 challenges have been filed about any case, you must observe in their discussion,
 which has long been clearly established by us. PROPOSED 5 KAL. MART. ROME CONSTANTINU
 A. IV AND LICINIUS IV CONSS.

- 8045 8 maart 315 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD VERSENNIUM FORTUNATUM CONSULAREM AQUARUM. Promotionis ordo custodiendus est, ut primus in officio sit, qui prior fuerit in consequendo beneficio principali. DAT. VIII ID. MART. THESSAL(ONICA) CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
8 March 315 EMP. CONSTANTINE A. TO THE FORTUNATE CONSULAR OF AQUARUM.
- 8050 The order of promotion must be observed, so that the first in office is the one who has been the first to obtain the principal benefit. DATE. 8th March. THESSALONICA CONSTANTINUS A. IV AND LICINIUS IV CONSS.
- 8055 20 maart 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Mygdonium castrensem s. palatii. Si quis forte decesserit eorum, qui communi nomine donatum aliquid a nostra impetraverunt clementia, nec superstites dereliquerit successores, placet, non ad extraneam quamcumque personam, sed ad socium vel consortem pervenire portionem illius, qui intestatus aut sine liberis defunctus est. DAT. XII KAL. APRIL. ANTIOCHIA, CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8060 Interpretatio. Si aliquis ex iis mortuus fuerit, ad quos nominatim munificentia nostra processit, et nec testamentum fecisse, nec filios reliquisse cognoscitur, placet, ut portionem eius is, cum quo pariter defunctus accepit, id est socius eius acquirat: merito enim socius praefertur, ubi filii nulla persona intervenisse cognoscitur.
- 8065 20 March 315 Imp. Constantine a. to Mygdonium castrensem s. palace. If anyone of those who have obtained something donated in common name from our clemency has died, and has not left any surviving successors, it is agreed that the portion of that person who has died intestate or without children should go not to any other person, but to the partner or consort. DAT. XII KAL. APRIL. ANTIOCH, CONSTANTINUS A. IV AND LICINIUS IV CONSS.
- 8070 Interpretation. If anyone of those who have died, to whom our munificence has proceeded by name, and it is not known that he has made a will, nor left children, it is agreed that the one with whom he received it when he died, that is, his partner, should acquire his portion: for the partner is rightly preferred, where it is known that no person intervened as a son.
- 8075 20 maart 315 Idem a. Eumelio. Si quis in ludum fuerit vel in metallum pro criminum deprehensorum qualitate damnatus, minime in eius facie scribatur, dum et in manibus et in suris possit poena damnationis una scriptione comprehendere, quo facies, quae ad similitudinem pulchritudinis caelestis est figurata, minime maculetur. DAT. XII KAL. APRIL. CAVILLUNO CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8080 20 March 315 Ibid. by Eumelio. If anyone has been condemned to gambling or to metal for the quality of the crimes he has committed, let it not be written on his face, since the punishment of condemnation can be comprehended in one writing on both his hands and his shoulders, so that the face, which is shaped in the likeness of heavenly beauty, is not at all stained. DAT. XII KAL. APRIL. CAVILLUNO CONSTANTINUS A. IV ET LICINIUS IV CONSS.
- 8085 29 maart 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad rationales. Quicumque thesaurum invenerit et ad fiscum sponte detulerit, medietatem consequatur inventi, alterum tantum fisci rationibus tradat, ita tamen, ut citra inquietudinem quaestionis omnis fiscalis calumnia conquiescat. Haberi enim fidem fas est his, qui sponte obtulerint quod invenerint. Si quis autem inventas opes offerre noluerit et aliqua ratione proditus fuerit, a supra dicta venia debet excludi. DAT. III KAL. APRIL. CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8090 29 Maart 315 Imp. Constantine a. to rationals. Whoever finds treasure and voluntarily brings it to the treasury, let him receive half of what he finds, and only hand over the other half to the treasury for its accounts, so that, without disturbing the question, all fiscal calumny may be at rest. For it is right to have faith in those who voluntarily offer what they find. But if anyone refuses to offer the wealth he has found and is betrayed for some reason, he must be excluded from the above-mentioned pardon. DAT. III KAL. APRIL. CONSTANTINUS A. IV ET LICINIUS IV CONSS.
- 8100 28 april 315 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD CONSTANTIIUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Quoniam iniquissime tyrannus constituit, ut, qui ex cohortali militia honestam missionem et vacationem rerum suarum meruerint, civilibus officiis et curiae necessitatibus inserviant, placet hac lege cessante eos, qui cohortali militia completis XX stipendiis discesserint, ad nulla deinceps civilia munera vel curiae devocari. Quam rem et circa officiales praesidium observari conveniet. DAT. IV KAL.
- 8110

MAI. CONSTANTINO AUG. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.

28 April 315 IMP. CONSTANTINE A. TO CONSTANTIUM PPAEFFECTUM PRAETORIO.

Since the tyrant most unjustly decreed that those who had earned an honorable mission and the release of their property from the cohortal militia should serve in civil offices and the needs of the curia, it is agreed that, with the lapse of this law, those who had left the cohortal militia after completing 20 stipends should no longer be called to any civil or curia duties. Which thing should also be observed regarding the officials of the praesidium DAT. IV KAL. MAI. CONSTANTINO AUG. IV AND LICINIO IV CONSS.

10 mei 315 IDEM A. EDICTO SUO AD AFROS. Stationariis primipilarum, quorum manifesta sunt loca, coram mandatum est, ut, si extra modum aliquid extorserint, sciant se capite puniendos: praeterea ne carcerem habeant neve quis personam pro manifesto crimine apud se habeat in custodia neve quis amplius quam duos agasones ex provincia secum habeat vel de Numidia sibi adiungat neve ex aliis provinciis agasonem habeat vel qui alicuius iam stationarii minister fuit. P(RO)P(OSITA) VI ID. MAI. KARTHAG(INE) CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.

10 May 315 Idem A. BY HIS Edict TO AFROS. The stationers of the first-pillars, whose places are manifest, were commanded before, that, if they extort anything beyond the limit, they should know that they would be punished by the head: moreover, they should not have a prison, nor should anyone have a person with them in custody for a manifest crime, nor should anyone have more than two servants from the province with them or from Numidia attached to them, nor should anyone have a servant from other provinces, or who was already the minister of some stationer. P(RO)P(OSITA) 6 ID. MAY. CARTHAGE TO CONSTANTINE A. IV AND LICINIO IV CONSS.

13 mei 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Ablavium. Aereis tabulis vel cerussatis aut linteis mappis scripta per omnes civitates Italiae proponatur lex, quae parentum manus a parricidio arceat votumque vertat in melius. Officiumque tuum haec cura perstringat, ut, si quis parens adferat subolem, quam pro paupertate educare non possit, nec in alimentis nec in veste impertienda tardetur, cum educatio nascentis infantiae moras ferre non possit. Ad quam rem et fiscum nostrum et rem privatam indiscreta iussimas praebere obsequia. DAT. III ID. MAI. NAISSO CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV AA. CONSS.

1 juni 315 Idem a. Amabiliano praefecto annonae. Navicularios ad consortium pistorum urbicorum nominatos neque ulla hereditatis successione pistoribus obnoxios absolvi ab hoc munere oportebit. Quod si hereditario iure forsitan pistoribus teneantur, facultatem habeant, si forte maluerint, obventicias pistorum hereditates eidem corpori reddere aut quibuscumque proximis defuncti cedere, ut ipsi a pistorum consortio liberentur. Quod si hereditatem amplectantur, necesse est successionis ratione pistorii muneris societatem eos suscipere et ex propriis facultatibus onera navicularia sustinere, viro clarissimo praefecto urbi super hac re videlicet disceptante. DAT. KAL. IUN. TREVIRIS CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.

Interpretatio. Quaecumque contra leges a principibus fuerint obtenta, non valeant. 1 June 315 The same to Amabilianus, the prefect of the food supply. The navigators appointed to the consortium of the city bakers and not liable to the bakers by any inheritance succession should be released from this duty. But if they are perhaps bound to the bakers by hereditary right, they have the right, if they perhaps prefer, to return the inheritances of the bakers to the same body or to cede them to any of their relatives upon their death, so that they themselves may be freed from the consortium of the bakers. But if they embrace the inheritance, it is necessary that they assume the partnership of the baker's office by reason of succession and bear the shipping burdens from their own resources, with the most illustrious man prefect of the city deliberating on this matter. DAT. KAL. IUN. TREVIRIS CONSTANTINO A. IV AND LICINIO IV CONSS.

Interpretation. Whatever has been obtained from the princes against the laws, shall be of no effect.

2 juni 315 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD UNIVERSOS PROVINCIALES. Intercessores a rectoribus provinciarum dati ad exigenda debita ea, quae civiliter poscuntur, servos aratores aut boves aratorios pignoris causa de possessionibus abstrahunt, ex quo tributorum inlatio retardatur. Si quis igitur intercessor aut creditor vel praefectus pacis vel decurio in hac re fuerit detectus, a rectoribus provinciarum capitali sententia subiugetur. DAT. IV NON. IUN. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO CONSS. Interpretatio. Multi pro fiscali debito servos cultores aut boves aratorios de

possessionibus causa pignoris auferre praesumunt, de quorum laboribus tributa redduntur, et ideo si quis creditor vel curator pacis vel curialis aut quicumque exactor hoc facere praesumpserit, a provinciae iudice puniatur.

8180 2 June 315 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. TO ALL PROVINCIALS. Intercessors assigned by the
rectors of the provinces to collect debts that are civilly demanded, remove slave
farmers or oxen from their possessions as a pledge, from which the payment of taxes
is delayed. If therefore any intercessor or creditor or prefect of the peace or
8185 decurion is discovered in this matter, he shall be subjected to capital punishment by
the rectors of the provinces. DAT. IV NON. IUN. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. IV AND LICINIO
CONSS.

8190 Interpretation. Many presume to remove slave farmers or oxen from their possessions
as a pledge for a fiscal debt, from whose labors taxes are paid, and therefore if any
creditor or curator of the peace or curial or any exactor presumes to do this, let
him be punished by the provincial judge.

18 juni 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Proclianum. Praeter privatas res nostras et
ecclesias catholicas et domum clarissimae memoriae Eusebii exconsule et exmagistro
8195 equitum et peditum et Arsacis regis Armeniorum nemo ex nostra iussione praecipuis
emolumentis familiaris iuvetur substantiae. Datianus enim vir clarissimus patricius,
qui hanc olim gratiam fuerat consecutus, auferri sibi id cum tanta instantia
depoposcit, cum quanta alii poscere consuerunt. Ideoque omnes pensitare debebunt quae
manu nostra delegationibus adscribuntur, nihil amplius exigendi. Nam si qui vicarius
aut rector provinciae aliquid iam cuiquam crediderit remittendum, quod aliis
8200 remiserit de propriis dare facultatibus compelletur. DAT. XV KAL. IUL.
CONSTANTINOPOLI {?} CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.

18 June 315 Imp. Constantine a. to Proclianum. Apart from our private properties and
Catholic churches and the house of the most illustrious memory Eusebius, ex-consul
and ex-master of horse and foot, and Arsaces, king of the Armenians, no one shall be
8205 granted special benefits of substance by our order. For Datianus, a most illustrious
patrician, who had once obtained this favor, demands that it be taken away from him
with as much insistence as others are accustomed to demand. Therefore, all shall
consider what is assigned to delegations by our hand, requiring nothing more. For if
any vicar or rector of a province has already entrusted anything to anyone to be
8210 remitted, what he has remitted to others shall be compelled to give from his own
means. DAT. 15 KAL. IUL. CONSTANTINOPLE {?} CONSTANTINE A. IV AND LICINIO IV CONSS.

25 juli 315 IDEM A. AD BASSUM. Placuit post completum vicesimum et quintum annum ex
eo, quo vicesimi et sexti anni dies inluserit, ad interponendum contestationem in
8215 urbe Roma usque ad anni tricesimi extremum diem spatia prorogari, et intra centesimum
urbis Romae militarium, si tamen ab his iudicibus, qui Romae sunt, fuerit iudicandum:
per omnem vero Italiam usque ad finem anni vicesimi et noni: in ceteris omnibus
provinciis usque ad completum annum vicesimum et octavum. Quo transacto tempore
manifesto omnes sciant legum sibi deinceps praesidia denegari quandoquidem
8220 contestationis necessitate. depulsa finiendas integri restitutionum decidendasque
causas certo genere clausurimus. Eandem autem custodiri temporum convenit rationem,
si forte quis beneficio nostro aetatis veniam fuerit consecutus, ex eo die, quo
indulgentia nostra in iudicio competenti fuerit intimata eique administratio rei
propriae reserata, ut ad persequendas in integrum restitutiones finiendasque causas
8225 iuge tempus habeat praestitutum. Si quando sane in minoris iura successerit minor,
minime prohibetur, cum quintum et vicesimum aetatis suae annum transierit, integri
restitutionis beneficio uti tempore inlibato. Quod si maioris fuerit minor iura
nactus, quantum ad eas pertinet actiones, quas ex persona maioris fuerit consecutus,
tantum temporis ad exponendas integri restitutiones decidendasque causas accipere
8230 debebit, quantum defuncto, cuius heres aut bonorum possessor docebitur extitisse,
relicum fuerat. Cum vero maior successionem fuerit adeptus minoris, siquidem civili
iure ab intestato vel ex testamento successerit, mox cum creta fuerit vel adita
hereditas, si vero honorario iure, ex quo bonorum possessio fuerit accepta,
examinando integri restitutionis negotio solida sine ulla deminutione tempora
8235 subputentur, quae non pro locis, regionibus atque provinciis, in quibus morantur qui
heredes aut bonorum possessores sunt, observari iubemus, sed in quibus defuncti
domicilia conlocaverant [collocaverant]. DAT. VIII KAL. AUG. NAISSE. PROP(OSITA)
ROM(AE) NON. OCTOB. CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO CONSS.

8240 Interpretatio. Iustum videtur, ut post xxv. annum, ubi xxvi. annus fuerit ingressus,
deposita apud iudicem contestatione petat, qui sibi voluerit ea, quae in annis
minoribus aut per se aut per tutores vel curatores vitio male acta sunt, salva et
integra pro aetatis infirmitate restitui. In his dumtaxat provinciis, usque ad

xxviii. annum, si contestatus fuerit, integra ei, salvo principali negotio, quae male amiserat, reformationem. Nam et qui serenitati nostrae pro venia aetatis crediderit supplicandum, hoc sibi noverit esse concessum, ut sine praeiudicio indulgentiae nostrae, quod in sequenti lege comprehensum est, usque ad constitutum superius tempus liberum habeat in rerum, quas male gesserat, proprietatem restitui. Quod si forsitan minor annis in illius hereditate successerit, qui et ipse in annis minoribus ab hac luce discessit, non prohibendus est, quum ad xxvi. annum pervenerit, ut sibi, unde illi competeat, reparationem agendarum rerum interposita contestatione requirat. Sin vero minor hereditatem illius, qui plena et integra aetate defecit, acceperit, mox in integrum fuerit restitutus, ea tempora in negotiis prosequatur, quae defuncto maiori legibus competeant. Quum autem maior minori seu ex testamento seu ex quocumque iure successerit, quum primum ad eum hereditas defuncti pervenerit, quicquid pupillo potuit pro integri restitutione competere, in illius transeat actionem: ita ut illius provinciae forum sequatur, in qua defunctus minor habitasse dignoscitur.

July 25, 315 Idem A. AD BASSUM. It was decided that after the twenty-fifth year has passed, from the day on which the twenty-sixth year dawned, the time for filing a complaint in the city of Rome should be extended until the last day of the thirtieth year, and within the hundredth year of the military year of the city of Rome, if it were to be judged by those judges who are in Rome: throughout all Italy until the end of the twenty-ninth year: in all the other provinces until the full twenty-eighth year. After which time has passed, let everyone know that the protection of the laws is denied to them henceforth, since the necessity of a complaint has been met. We have closed the cases of complete restitutions and the cases of deciding in a certain way. However, it is appropriate to observe the same time limit, if perhaps someone has obtained a pardon by virtue of our age, from the day on which our indulgence was communicated to him in a competent court and the administration of his own property was opened to him, so that he may have a constant time set aside for pursuing complete restitutions and concluding cases. If at any time a minor succeeds to the rights of a minor, it is not forbidden, when he has passed the twenty-fifth year of his age, to use the benefit of full restitution in the time allotted. But if an adult has acquired the rights of a minor, as far as those actions which he has obtained in the person of the adult concern, he must take as much time for explaining full restitutions and deciding the cases as was left to the deceased, whose heir or possessor of the goods is shown to have existed. But when an adult has acquired the succession of a minor, if he has succeeded by civil law from an intestate or by will, as soon as the inheritance has been created or accessed, but if by honorary law, from which possession of the goods was accepted, by examining the business of full restitution solid times are to be calculated without any diminution, which we order to be observed not for the places, regions and provinces in which those who are heirs or possessors of the goods reside, but in which the deceased had placed their domiciles. DAT. 8 KAL. AUG. NAISSO. PROP(OSITA) ROM(AE) NON. OCTOB. CONSTANTINE A. IV AND LICINIO CONSS.

Interpretation. It seems just that after the 25th year, when the 26th year has entered, a petition should be filed with a judge to request that those things which were wrongly done in younger years, either by themselves or by their guardians or curators, be restored to them, safe and sound, due to the infirmity of age. In these provinces only, up to the 28th year, if a petition has been filed, the things which they had wrongly lost should be restored to them, intact, with the main business preserved. For whoever believes that he should supplicate to our serenity for the pardon of his age, should know that this is granted to him, that without prejudice to our indulgence, which is included in the following law, he should have free rein until the time established above to have the property of the things which he had wrongly done restored. But if perhaps a younger person succeeds in the inheritance of one who also departed this world in younger years, he should not be prevented, since he has reached the 26th year. has reached the age of one year, so that he may, from which he was entitled, demand the restitution of the affairs of the estate by filing a contestation. But if the minor has received the inheritance of one who has failed at full and complete age, and has been restored to full age, he shall immediately proceed with the business for the periods which were applicable to the deceased major under the laws. But when the major succeeds the minor, whether by will or by any other right, when the deceased's inheritance first comes to him, whatever could have been applicable to the orphan for the restitution of full age, shall pass to his action: so that the court of that province in which the deceased minor is known to have resided shall follow.

- 8310 palatinis nostris aliquis ad agendas curas re[i] publicae vel alterius officii fuerit destinatus, m[i]nime ab eo repraesentatio postuletur equoru[m]. Qui autem in palatio obsequia non praebuerun[t], sed ex alio hominum genere sunt, equos sollemnes pro huiusmodi acta repraesentent. DAT. VI KAL. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO CONSS.
- 8315 1 augustus 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Domitium Celsum vicarium Africae. Plagiarii, qui viventium filiorum miserandas infligunt parentibus orbitates, metalli poena cum ceteris ante cognitis suppliciis tenebantur. Si quis tamen eiusmodi reus fuerit oblatu[m], posteaquam super crimine patuerit, servus quidem vel libertate donatus bestiis primo quoque munere obiiciatur, liber autem sub hac forma in ludum detur gladiatorium, ut, antequam aliquid faciat, quo se defendere possit, gladio consumatur. Eos autem, qui pro hoc crimine iam in metallum dati sunt, numquam revocari praecipimus. DAT. KAL. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS. Interpretatio. Hi, qui filios alienos furto abstulerint et ubicumque transduxerint, sive ingenui sive servi sint, morte puniantur.
- 8325 3 augustus 315 Imp. Constantinus a. Rufino Octaviano correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum. Quicumque extraordinarium iudicium praefectorum vel vicariorum elicuerit vel qui iam consecutus est, eius adversarios et personas causae necessarias minime ad officium praefectorum vel vicarii pergere aut transire patiaris, sed de omni causa in tuo iudicio praesentibus partibus atque personis ita his temporibus ipse cognosce, 8330 quae ex eo die computabis, ex quo causa in tuo iudicio coeperit inchoari, ut tunc demum, si ei, qui extraordinarium iudicium postulaverit, tua sententia displicebit, iuxta ordinem legum interposita eam provocatio suspendat atque ad suum iudicem transitum faciat. DAT. III NON. AUG. TREV(IRIS) CONSTANTINO IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8335 augustus 315 Augg. et caess. Rutiliae Primae. Ingenuos progenitos servitutis adfligi dispendiis minime oportere etiam nostri temporis tranquillitate sancitur, nec sub obtentu initae venditionis inlicite decet ingenuitatem infringi. Quare iudicem competentem adire par est, qui in liberali causa ea faciet compleri, quae in huiusmodi contentionibus ordinari consuerunt, secundum iudiciariam disciplinam 8340 partibus audientiam praebiturus. PP. IBID. AUG. ROMAE CONSTANTINO ET LICINIO AUGG. IV CONSS.
- 8345 28 augustus 315 IDEM A. AD POPULUM. Contra ius rescripta non valeant, quocumque modo fuerint inpetrata. Quod enim publica iura perscribunt, magis sequi iudices debent. P(RO)P(OSITA) IV KAL. SEPTEMB. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8350 13 september 315 Imp. Constantinus a. et caes. ad populum. Si quid a fisco rit occupandum vel a nobis de cetero pro unius cuiusque meritis obsequiisque donandum vel ab eodem distraendum, intra annum, omnibus vel a petitione vel a comparatione se abstantibus ii, qui putant iniuste res proprias a fisco esse comparatas, contra eundem agere contendant scientes gratulantesque, quod annua spatia, intra quae suum repetant, sint indulta, ac si probaverint iustitiam petitioni suae adesse, recipiant et nostro beneficio habeant restituta. DAT. ID. SEPT. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8355 18 september 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Evagrium praefectum praetorio. Ad omnes iudices litteras dare tuam convenit gravitatem, ut, in quibuscumque oppidis dendrofori fuerint, centonariorum adque fabrorum collegiis adnectantur, quoniam haec corpora frequentia hominum multiplicari expediet. DAT. XIV KAL. OCTOB. NAISSO, 8360 ACCEPTA VIII ID. NOVEMB. CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8365 1 oktober 315 Idem a. ad Crispinum. Quoniam dubitasti, utrum ex numero dierum an ex nominatione kalendarum computari duum mensum spatia debeant, forma publici iuris observanda est, quae manifeste declarat, quid pro dierum diversitate praeceperit comprehendendi. DAT. KAL. OCTOB. CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8370 15 oktober 315 CT 16.8.1 Constantine
The Jewish community may not stone a Jewish convert to Christianity. Anyone who participates in such an act shall be burned. If anyone from the people joins the Jewish sect, he shall receive the deserved punishments with them.
- 17 oktober 315 Dominus Constantinus et caesares. Prisca legum aequitate praeclusa variis ambagum versutiis exquisita donatio, licet titulum emptionis vel debiti tenorem comprehendere videatur, tamen claris testationibus probata debet in

- 8375 irritum devocari, si quidem consultissima ratione videatur esse provisum matrimonio
constante donationes inter virum et uxorem altrinsecus agitatae nullam firmitatem
habere. Nec sibi debent mulieres blandiri, si tamquam venditores vel debitores ad
eludendas legum sanctiones mariti earum se falso videantur esse professi. Quare
Vettium Rufinum clarissimum virum praefectum urbi amicum nostrum, cuius notio est,
8380 adire non prohiberis, qui partium allegationibus examinatis petitioni tuae secundum
iuris providebit iustitiam. D. XIV KAL. NOV. MEDIOLANO CONSTANTINO ET LICINIO CONSS.
- 18 oktober 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Evagrium. pr. Iudaeis et maioribus eorum et
patriarchis volumus intimari, quod, si quis post hanc legem aliquem, qui eorum
8385 feralem fugerit sectam et ad dei cultum respexerit, saxis aut alio furoris genere,
quod nunc fieri cognovimus, ausus fuerit adtemptare, mox flammis dedendus est et cum
omnibus suis participibus concremandus. Si quis vero ex populo ad eorum nefariam
sectam accesserit et conciliabulis eorum se adplicaverit, cum ipsis poenas meritas
sustinebit. DAT. XV KAL. NOV. MURGILLO CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 8390 29 oktober 315 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AELIANO PROCONSULI AFRICAE. Omnes civiles causas
et praecipue eas, quae fama celebriores sunt, negotia etiam criminalia publice audire
debebis tertia, vel ut tardissime quarta vel certe quinta die acta conficienda
iussurus. Quae omnia legati quoque coercionem commoniti observabunt. DAT. III K.
8395 NOV. TREV(IRIS), CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 1 november 315 Idem a. ad Aelianum proconsulem Africae. Possessores cum
satisfecerint publicae collationi, cautiones suas ad tabularios publicos deferant, ut
eas tabularii sive sexagenarii periculi sui memores suscipiant a collatoribus, ipsas
8400 species quae debentur ex horreis suis ad civitates singulas per menses singulos
perlaturis, ne illatio tributorum ex solis apochis falsis vel imaginariis
cognoscatur. Et cetera. DAT. KAL. NOV. TREVIRIS CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV
CONSS.
- 8405 1 november 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Aelianum proconsulem Africae.
Post alia: ducenarii et centenarii sive sexagenarii non prius debent aliquem ex
debitoribus convenire, quam a tabulario civitatis nominatim breves accipiant
debitorum. Quam quidem exactionem sine omni fieri concussione oportet ita ut, si quis
in iudicio questus, quod indebite exactus est vel aliquam inquietudinem sustinuit,
8410 hoc ipsum probare potuerit, severa in exactores sententia proferatur. DAT. KAL. NOV.
TREVIRIS CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.
- 3 november 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Catulinum. Moratorias dilationes
frustratoriasque non tam appellationes quam ludificationes admitti non convenit. Nam
8415 sicut bene appellantibus negari auxilium non oportet, ita his, contra quos merito
iudicatum est, inaniter provocantibus differri bene gesta non decet. Unde quum
homicidam vel adulterum vel maleficum vel veneficum, quae atrocissima crimina sunt,
confessio propria vel dilucida et probatissima veritatis quaestio probationibus atque
argumentis detexerit, provocaciones suscipi non oportet, quas constat non refutandi
8420 spem habere, quae gesta sunt, sed ea potius differre tentare. Qui de variis litibus
causisque dissentiant, nec temere, nec ab articulis praeiudiciisque, nec ab his, quae
iuste iudicata sunt, provocare debent. Quod si reus in homicidii vel maleficii vel
adulterii vel veneficii crimine partem pro defensione sui ex testibus quaestioneque
proposita possit arripere, parte vero obrui accusarique videatur, tunc super
8425 interposita appellatione ab eodem, qui sibi magis, quae pro se faciant, testimonia
prodesse debere affirmat, quam ea, quae adversus ipsum egerint, nocere, deliberationi
nostrae plenum arbitrium relinquatur. DAT. III. NON. NOV. TREVIRIS. ACC. XV KAL. MAI.
HADRUMETI, VOLUSIANO ET ANNIANO CONSS.
- Interpretatio. In civilibus causis vel levioribus criminibus, quae legibus non
8430 tenentur inserta, appellationi constituta legibus dilatio praestanda est, et
suspendenda est per appellationem sententia iudicantis. At vero homicidis, adulteris
et reliquis, quos lex ista comprehendit, si convicti confessique fuerint et appellare
voluerint, dilatio denegetur, sed statim in manifestis criminibus convicti iudicis
est sententia proferenda, aut certe de magnis criminibus et maioribus personis ad
8435 principis est notitiam deferendum.
- 8 november 315 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. PROC(ONSULI) AFRIC(AE). Si quis se a ducenariis
vel centenariis ac praecipue fisci advocatis laesum esse cognoscit, adire iudicia ac
probare iniuriam non moretur, ut in eum qui convictus fuerit competenti severitate
8440 vindicetur. DAT VI ID. NOV. TREVIRIS, ACC. XV KAL. MART. CARTHAGINE CONSTANTINO A. IV

ET LICINIO IV CONSULIBUS.

12 december 315 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Catullinum proconsulem Africae.
Si quis corpora aeneo frumento obnoxia distraxerit, ab omni interpellatione liber
8445 sit, quamvis alia corpora possederit sive coemerit libera ab aenei frumenti
inquietudine. Comparatores enim rerum obnoxiarum teneri oportet pro modo eius rei,
quam adepti sunt, etiamsi extra liberalitatem rem fuerint consecuti. Sed quia
plerique ex magistratibus aenei frumenti pensitationi obnoxii vel ipsi sibi, dum
administrant, alios subrogarunt vel redempti pro aliis alios creaverunt, rescissis
8450 subrogationibus ad eiusdem aenei frumenti pensitationem teneantur. Illos enim solos
ex subrogatis perseverare oportet, quos constiterit idoneos esse facultatibus et
minus idoneorum loco non a redemptis magistratibus subrogatos. DAT. PRID. ID. DECEMB.
SIRMI CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.

8455 30 december 315 Idem a. Amabiliano praefecto annonae Africae. Officii cura est, ut
omnes omnino appellationes, quaecumque fuerint interpositae, sollemniter curet
accipere nec in recipiendis libellis aliquod genus iniuriae inferendum cuiquam
existimet. PROPOSITA III KAL. IAN. CONSTANTINO A. IV ET LICINIO IV CONSS.

8460 315 Augustine, C. Cres., 3.70.81 and Letter 88.4 Constantine
It had been discovered that the evidence used against Caecilian was based on a
forgery, and so Constantine summons the forger to appear before him and the Donatists
in Rome, so that once the evidence is presented, the schism can be healed.

8465 315 Optatus, De sch. Don., Appendix 6 Constantine
Constantine summons the catholic and Donatist representatives from North Africa to a
third hearing at Milan, where the new evidence can be examined before them all,
including Caecilian, whom he has summoned from North Africa.

8470 315 Optatus, De sch. Don., Appendix 8 Constantine
Constantine tells the prefect of Africa to have the churches prepare for his visit
(which never actually took place), when he would come deliver a verdict on the schism
and rule what type of worship is acceptable and bring uniformity back to the church.

8475 Jan 22, 315 Law 21: To Constantius
CTh 8.5.1 Dorries p. 168
Forbidding bringing plough-oxen though an imperial post.

8480 March 21, 315 Law 22: To Eumelius
CTh 9.40.2 Dorries p. 168-169
People condemned to the games or the mines should be branded in the hands or calves,
not the face, which is formed in the image of the heavenly Son.

8485 Apr 28, 315 Law 82: To Constantius, the praetorian prefect
CTh 8.4.1 Dorries p. 187
Repealing previous anti-military legislation and releasing soldiers from service
after 20 years.

8490 May 10, 315 Law 23: Edict to the Africans
CTh 8.4.2 Dorries p. 169
Military riots are punished by death.

8495 May 13, 315 Law 24: To Ablavius
CTh 11.27.1 Dorries p. 169
Outlawing parents from killing their children and appointing funds to care for
children.

8500 June 17, 315 Law 20: To Proclianus
CTh 11.1.1 Dorries p. 168
Delineating privileges for catholic churches and his sons' father-in-law, the King of
Armenia.

8505 Aug 1, 315 Law 25: To Domitius Celsus, vicar of Africa
CTh 9.18.1 Dorries p. 169-170
Slaves and freedmen guilty of kidnapping are thrown to the animals and freeborn
guilty of kidnapping are condemned to the gladiatorial games with no possibility for

resistance.

- Aug-Sept, 315 Letter to the Donatist bishops
8510 HD App 6 Silli 9; Dorries p. 33-34
Reaffirming that Caecilian is to be tried before him in Rome and not in Africa.
- Oct 1, 315 Law 26: To Crispinus
CTh 12.1.2 Dorries p. 170
8515 "The form of public law must be observed".
- Oct 18, 315 Law 27: To Evagrius
CTh 16.8.1 Dorries p. 170
8520 Sets burning as the penalty for Jews who stone a Jewish convert to Christianity as well as for those who convert to a corrupt sect..
- Oct 27-Nov 19, 315 Letter to Probianus, proconsul of Africa
AUG 88.5; CC 3.70.81; CPD 32.55; HD App 14 Silli 11; Dorries p. 33, 37
8525 Requesting Ingentius to come to Rome and put to an end the attacks against Caecilian.
- Nov 8, 315 Law 28: To the proconsul of Africa
CTh 8.10.1 Dorries p. 170
8530 People who feel themselves discriminated against by tax authorities or lower judges should prove it in court.
- Late 315 Letter to Celsus, vicar of Africa
HD App 8 Silli 10; Dorries p. 34
8535 Instructing him to hold off in dealing with Caecilian until the emperor himself come to Africa to judge him.
- 316 SABINO ET RVFINO CONSS.
11 januari 316 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD DOMITIUM CELSUM VICARIUM.
8540 Nemo iudex officialem ad eam domum, in qua materfamilias agit, cum aliquo praecepto aestimet esse mittendum, ut eandem in publicum protrahat, cum certum sit debita eius, quae intra domum considerato sexu semet contineat, domus eius vel cuiuscumque rei habita distractione publicis necessitatibus posse servari. Quod si quis in publicum matremfamilias posthac crediderit protrahendam, inter maximos reos citra ullam indulgentiam capitali poena vel exquisitis potius exitii suppliciis plectetur. DAT. III ID. IANUAR. TREV(IRIS) SABINO ET RVFINO CONSS.
- 8545 Interpretatio. Nullus iudicum matronam in domo sua residentem per quemcumque apparitorem ad publicum existimet protrahendam, sed circa eam, pro sexus reverentia, conventio honesta servetur: quum, si quid eam debere constiterit, constrictis eius auctoribus possit exsolvi. Nam si quis contra fecerit, summo supplicio se afficiendum esse cognoscat.
- 8550 30 januari 316 Idem a. Mecilio Hilariano correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum. Universos decuriones volumus a tabellionum officiis temperare. Nemo autem ad decurionatum vocatus excusare se poterit eo, quod fuerit tabellio, cum et huiusmodi homines, si sint idonei, vocari ad decurionatum oporteat. Lex enim, quae decuriones a tabellionum officiis voluit submovere, ad decurionatum tabelliones vocari non prohibet. DAT. III KAL. FEB. SABINO ET RVFINO CONSS.
- 8560 2 februari 316? Item eodem corpore [Theodosiani]: imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum praefect. Urb. (inter cetera et ad locum:) pactiones eas valere volumus, si cum legibus consentiant et reliqua. DAT. VI [?] NON. FEBR. ROMAE SABINO ET RVFINO CONSS.
- 8565 3 februari 316 IDEM A. AD MAXIMUM P(RAE)F(ECTUM) U(RBI). Posta alia: Minorum defensores, si per eos donationum condicio neglecta est, rei amissae periculum praestent. ET CETERA. DAT. III NON. FEB. ROM(AE) SABINO ET RVFINO CONSS. Interpretatio. Si in his, quae minoribus donari possunt, per tutoris negligentiam sive colludium donationis solennitas vel condicio impleta non fuerit, id, quod minori deperierit, de proprio cogitur exsolvere.
- 8570 3 februari 316 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD MAXIMUM P(RAE)F(ECTUM) U(RBI). Donatio, sive directa sit sive mortis causa instituta, sive condicionibus faciendi ac non faciendi suspensa, sive ex aliquo notato tempore promissa, sive animo dantium accipientiumve sententiis, quantum ius sinit, cognominata, sub hac fieri debet

- observatione, ut quas leges indulgent actiones condiciones pactionesque contineat, hisque penitus cognitis vel recipiantur, si complacitae sunt, vel reiciantur, si sunt molestae; ita ut minorum defensores, si per eos donationum condicio neglecta est, rei amissae periculum praestent. In conscribendis autem donationibus nomen donatoris, ius ac rem notari oportet, neque id occulte aut per inperitos aut privatim, sed ut tabulae aut quodcumque aliud materiae tempus dabit vel ab ipso vel ab eo, quem sors ministraverit, scientibus plurimis perscribatur et corporalis traditio subsequatur ad excludendam vim adque inruptionem advocata vicinitate omnibusque arbitris adhibitis, quorum postea fide probabitur donatam rem, si est mobilis, ex voluntate traditam donatoris vel, si immobilis, abscessu donantis novo domino patefactam, actis etiam adnectendis, quae aput iudicem vel magistratus conficienda sunt. DAT. III NON. FEB. ROM(A) SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- Interpretatio. Donatio aut directa est aut mortis causa conscribitur. Directa donatio est, ubi in praesenti res donata traditur. Mortis causa donatio est, ubi donator, dum advivit, rem, quam donat, sibi reservat, scribens: si prius mortuus fuero quam tu, res mea ad te perveniat, ut postea ad illum, cui donat, non ad heredes donatoris res donata perveniat. Quod si prius moriatur, cui res mortis causa donata est, res in iure permaneat donatoris. Est et alia donatio, ubi donator obligat illum, cui donat, ut aliquid faciat aut non faciat, id est, si aliquid iubeat fieri, quod impossibile iudicetur, aut quod honestati contrarium videatur; aut si id ordinet fieri, quod honestum est et possit impleri: quia tunc infirmatur donatio, quando condiciones honestatis possibilis impletae non fuerint. Nam si inhonestae et impossibiles condiciones ponantur, remotis condicionibus firma donatio est. Est item et alia, in qua sibi donator certum tempus possessionis reservat. Quae tamen omnes donationes superius comprehensae si modum excesserint lege conscriptum, unde possint certae personae de immodica donatione proponere, hoc est si quartam sibi facultatis suae donator non reservaverit, non valebunt. Sed praeterea illa donatio contra legem est, si quis rem in lite positam, quae repetitur, aut recto ordine donet aut condicionem contra bonos mores, hoc est causam cuiuslibet criminis, donator in donatione conscribat. Minoribus vero si quid fuerit per donationem a quocumque oblatum sive collatum, tutores vel curatores eorum debent studere, ne quid firmitati donationis desit. Quod si eorum negligentia donatio ad effectum perducta non fuerit, ad eorum dispendium pertinebit, ita ut quicquid minores de donatione perdiderint, curatores vel tutores illis de propria facultate restituant. In conscribendis autem donationibus hic ordo servandus est, ut donatio nomen prius contineat donatoris vel illius, cui donatur deinde res, quae donantur, sive in agris sive in mancipiis sive in quibuslibet rebus atque corporibus, nominatim in donatione conscribendae sunt, non occulte, sed publice, non privatim vel secrete, sed aut in tabulis aut in chartis aut ubicumque legatur facta donatio. Quam tamen donationem, si literas novit, donator ipse subscribat: si vero ignorat, praesentibus plurimis eligat, qui pro ipso subscribat: et hanc ipsam donationem gestorum solennitas et corporalis traditio subsequatur, ita ut, si mobilia donantur, praesentibus plurimis tradantur: si vero ager vel domus donatur, quod moveri non potest, ut inde donator abscedat et novo domino pateat res donata, si tamen sibi de his rebus usumfructum donator non reservaverit. Gesta vero donationum aut apud iudicem aut apud curiam alleganda sunt.
- 20 april 316 IDEM A. ACONIO CATULLINO PROCONS(ULI) AFRIC(AE). Si quis in emancipatum minorem, priusquam fari possit aut habere rei quae sibi donatur affectum Italicum sive stipendiarium fundum crediderit conferendum, omne ius compleat instrumentis ante praemissis et inductione corporaliter impleta. Quod propter adtestationem fidei per eum servum, quem idoneum esse constiterit, transigi placuit, qui eo usque in statu suo permanebit, donec is, cuius facultatibus cesserit, annos Laetoriae legis egressus legitimam compleverit aetatem, quo tunc demum, si eius integritas ac fides fuerit comprobata, si ita sederit possidentibus, libertatis praemium consequatur. DAT. XII KAL. MAI. SERDICA SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 1 mei 316 IDEM A. AD CASSIUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Promulgatum dudum est donationes nullo alio modo firmas posse detineri, nisi apud actorum contestationem confectae fuerint. Sed quia multi aliena vel non pleno iure ad se pertinentia donantes extra patriam et provinciam, in qua possident, acta conficiunt, placet, ut nulli liceat extra provinciam laremque suum donationum instrumenta apud acta allegare, sed in quo domicilium habuerit adque possessiones constitutae sunt, aput suum ordinarium iudicem vel, si eum abesse contigerit, aput curatorem municipalesve eiusdem civitatis. Nam si hoc praetermissum fuerit, nullam firmitatem habere donationes sancimus. DAT. KAL. MAI. ROM(A) SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.

- 6 mei 316 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. IULIO VERO PRAESIDI TARRACONENSIS.
 8640 Cum semel negotium necessitate vel casu temporibus fuerit exemptum ac postea per indulgentiam clementiae nostrae redintegratio praestetur, intra quattuor menses iudicantis arbitrium, non ulterius, litigatoribus praeberi oportet, etiamsi per obreptionem aliquid a nobis iterata supplicatione meruerint. DAT. PRID. NON. MAI. VIENNAE SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 8645 Interpretatio. Quando aliqua causa, necessitate intercedente vel casu, promissum tempus excesserit, et principali beneficio eam litigator meruerit reparare, non amplius ad definiendum negotium iudices quam quattuor menses litigatoribus praestent. Quibus exactis, etiamsi aliud dominorum beneficio obtinuerint, nullatenus audiantur.
- 8650 14 mei 316 IDEM A. AD TITIANUM. Quoniam plerique nodosis et validissimis fustibus inter ipsa currendi primordia animalia publica cogunt quidquid virium habent absumere, placet, ut omnino nullus in agitando fuste utatur, sed aut virga aut certe flagro, cuius in cuspide infixus brevis aculeus pigrescentes artus innocuo titillo poterit admonere, non ut exigat tantum, quantum vires valere non possunt. Qui contra
 8655 hanc fecerit sanctionem promotus, regradationis humilitate plectetur: munifex poenam deportationis excipiat. DAT. PRID. ID. MAI. SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 6 juni 316 CI 1.13.1 Constantine
 8660 Constantine adds a fourth legal method for freeing slaves - one may now publicly free his slave in a church before the bishop.
- 28 juli 316 Imp. Constantinus a. Mechilio Hilariano correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum. pr. Si quis decurio testamentum vel codicillos aut aliquam deficientis scripserit voluntatem, vel conscribendis publicis privatisque instrumentis praeberit officium, si falsi quaestio moveatur, decurionatus honore seposito, quaestioni, si ita poposcerit causa, subdatur. Sed non statim desinit esse decurio, qui in huius modi facto fuerit deprehensus. Quantum enim ad municipales pertinet necessitates, decurio permanet; quantum ad rem gestam et veritatem reserandam, uti decurionatus honore non poterit. Nec vero is, qui ante fuerit tabellio, ad eludendam quaestionem
 8670 super his, quae ante conscripsit, factus decurio defendi hac poterit dignitate, quoniam scripturae veritas, si res poposcerit, per ipsum debet probari auctorem. DAT. III. KAL. FEBR. ACC. KAL. AUG. SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 8675 Interpretatio. Si quis curialis voluntatem morientis aut quodlibet publicum documentum scripserit, et de falsitate accusatur, seposita primitus dignitate, si necesse fuerit, subdatur examini: qui si convincitur, a curia non expelletur, sed curiae dignitate privabitur, id est ut honoratus esse non possit. tabellio vero, qui amanuensis nunc vel cancellarius dicitur, etiamsi ad curiae pervenerit dignitatem, si de falsitate accusatus fuerit aut convictus, subdatur examini, ut per ipsum, per quem confecta est, scripturae veritas approbetur.
- 8680 13 augustus 316 Idem a. Petronio Probiano suo salutem. Ex illo tempore, quo in civilibus causis, quae inter privatos moventur, consulturum vel relaturum te esse promiseris vel appellationis a te interpositae sollemnia completa fuerint, nihil posthac tibi quodlibet speciale ac requisitum vel quibuscumque modis favoris gratiam praeferens audiendum est, sed observandum, ut iuxta priora statuta sollemnitatis more
 8685 expleto gesta ad comitatum omnia dirigantur. Et cetera. DAT. ID. AUG. ARELATO; PROPOSITA ID. OCTOB. THEVESTE SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 13 augustus 316 Idem a. Petronio Probiano suo salutem. Supplicare causa pendente non licet nisi forte ei, cui opinionis exemplum negatum est vel instructionis universae subpressa transmissio. Quo facto crimen iudici sacrilegii imminet, qui hoc commisso litigatori supplicandi necessitatem imponit: cui aliter supplicanti dimidia partis rei de qua agitur imponenda est multa, ut pro iudicis aestimatione fisco pretium inferat. Eo etiam, qui terminatam rescripto vel consultatione quaestionem exquisito
 8695 suffragio refricare conabitur, quoniam maius crimen admittit, in omnem litis aestimationem protinus condemnando et sub sacramenti observatione omni venia deneganda, si quis contra haec supplicare temptaverit. DAT. ID. AUG. ARELATO; PROPOSITA ID. OCTOB. THEVESTE SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 8700 3 december 316 IDEM A. SEPTIMIO BASSO P(RAEFECTO) U(RBI). Ubi rigorem iuris placare aut lenire specialiter exoramus, id observetur, ut rescripta ante edi[c]tum propositum impetrata suam habeant firmitatem, nec rescripto posteriore derogetur priori. Quae vero postea sunt elicita, nullum robur habeant, nisi consentanea sint legibus publicis; maxime cum inter aequitatem iusque interpositam interpretationem,

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 8705 nobis solis et oporteat et liceat inspicere. DAT. III NON. DECEMB. SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 23 december 316 Idem a. ad Vettium Rufinum praefectum Urbi. Ex donatione principum aut quocumque modo rem ad fiscum pertinentem usque ad nostra decennalia sine aliqua interpellatione possidentes, secundum ius enim haec intelligitur esse possessio, securi possideant. PROPOSITA X K. IAN. ROMAE SABINO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 8710
- 316 Augustine, C. Cres., 7.71.82 Constantine
Constantine, after hearing the charges brought against Caecilian, declares him innocent.
- 8715
- 316 Constantine
[Constantine passes a law against the Donatists, now lost, but mentioned in CT 16.6.2 (on Oct 17, 377). This law seems to be repealed in 321 or 322 by a law recorded by Optatus, C. Don. Date uncertain.]
- 8720
- Feb 3, 316 Law 29
Frag Vat 249 Dorries p. 171
Gifts made for religious reasons are exempt from the recording of donations.
- 8725
- May 14, 316 Law 30: To Titianus
CTh 8.5.2 Dorries p. 171
Animal abuse is threatened with demotion or deportation.
- 8730
- June 8, 316 Law 31: To Maximus, prefect of the city
CTh 4.8.1a Dorries p. 171
Approving the freeing of slaves in the catholic church.
- 8735
- Nov 10, 316 Fragments of a letter to Eumlius, vicar of Africa
CC 3.71.82; CPD 33.56 Silli 12;
Dorries p. 37, 37-38
Reporting the controversy concerning Caecilian.
- 8740
- 317 GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.
19 januari 317 Idem a. ad Octavianum comitem Hispaniarum. Hi, qui honoris indebiti arripere insignia voluerunt, cum in consilium primates municipalesque coguntur, adsistunt sedentibus his, quibus emeritis omnis honor iure meritoque debetur. Ideoque sublimitas tua nullum omnino faciet praesidatus praerogativa laetari, nisi qui cunctos in patria gradus egressus per ordinem venerit, ita ut illi etiam, qui praesidatum ante tempus reportarunt, post expletos honores civicos honestamentis praestitis potiantur. PROPOSITA XIV KAL. FEB. GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.
- 8745
- 28 januari 317 .. DAT. V KAL. FEBR. GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Septem testibus civibus Romanis praesentibus tertio ex senatus consulto Claudiano denuntiandum.
- 8750
- 10 maart 317 Idem a. ad Bassum praefectum Urbi. Si quis per violentiam alienum fundum invaserit, capite puniatur. Et sive quis ex eius parte, qui violentiam inferre temptaverit, sive ex eius, qui iniuriam repulsaverit, fuerit occisus, eum poena adstringat, qui vi deicere possidentem voluerit. DAT. VI ID. MART. ROMAE GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.
- 8755
- 15 maart 317 Imp. Constantinus a. rationalibus Hispaniarum. Is, cuius tacitae fidei commissa fuerit hereditas, statim officio gravitatis tuae nuntiet et gesta prodat et continuo quod actum fuerit renuntiet, et post hanc fidem tertiam ab omnibus defuncti bonis percipiat portionem. Quod si ab uxore defuncti istud officio devotionis tuae fuerit revelatum, ipsa etiam, quam defunctus esse voluit heredem, si gesta aperuerit, tali praemio mancipetur, ut ex omni patrimonio medium consequatur et cum fisco nostro celebret divisionem, id etiam habitura privilegium, ut prior eligat portionem; et tunc occultator ille gestorum, fisci et mulieris pariter inimicus, exutus omni patrimonio suo ac fisco vindicato in insulam deportetur. DAT. ID. MAR. GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.
- 8760
- 8765
- 18 mei 317 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Catulinum proconsulem Africae.
Qui in iudicio manifestam detegitur commisisse violentiam, non iam relegatione aut
- 8770

deportatione insulae plectatur, sed supplicium capitale excipiat, nec interposita provocatione sententiam, quae in eum fuerit dicta, suspendat, quoniam multa facinora sub uno violentiae nomine continentur, quum aliis vim inferre tentantibus, aliis cum indignatione repugnantibus verbera caedesque crebro deteguntur admissae. Unde placuit, si forte quis vel ex possidentis parte vel ex eius, qui possessionem temerare tentaverit, interemptus sit, in eum supplicium exseri, qui vim facere tentavit et alterutri parti causam malorum praebuilt. DAT. XV KAL. MAI. SERDICAЕ, GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Convictus in iudicio de evidenti violentiae crimine capite puniatur, nec sententiam iudicis qui damnatus est qualibet appellatione suspendat: et si fortasse homicidia ab utraque parte commissa fuerint, in illum vindicetur, qui ut alium per caedem expelleret, violenter ingressus est.

23 mei 317-319 CT 9.16.3 Constantine

Magicians and such who use their art against the minds of men are guilty and shall be punished; however, to use this art for good, to seek favorable weather during harvest for example, is allowable under the law. [The date listed is 321-324; however, Bassus, the prefect to whom the law was issued, held office from 317-319.]

6 juni 317 Idem a. ad Bassum praefectum Urbi. Litigatoribus copia est etiam non conscriptis libellis ilico appellare voce, cum res poposcerit iudicata. DAT. VIII ID. IUN. SIRMIO GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.

21 juli 317 IDEM A. AD BITHYNOS. Primpilaribus post emeritam militiam perfectissimatus vel ducenae vel centenae vel egregiatus dari dignitas potest. DAT. XII KAL. AUG. GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.

21 juli 317 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Bithynos. Caesarianos in actu dumtaxat constitutos ad perfectissimatus vel ducenae vel centenae vel egregiatus dignitates non oportet admitti. Sed si inculpate compleverint suum officium et ab omni vacent ratione fiscali iudicio, datam huiusmodi dignitatem prodesse eis oportet. DAT. XII KAL. AUG. GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.

21 juli 317 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Bithynos. Monetarios in sua semper durare condicione oportet nec dignitates eis perfectissimatus tribui vel ducenae vel centenae vel egregiatus. DAT. XII KAL. AUG. GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.

21 juli 317 Idem a. ad Bithynos. Eos qui in palatio militarunt et eos quibus provinciae commissae sunt quique merito amplissimarum administrationum honorem perfectissimatus vel egregiatus adepti sunt, nec non et illos, qui decuriones vel principales constituti cuncta suae patriae munera impleverunt, frui oportet dignitate indulta. Si vero decurio suffragio comparato perfectissimatus vel ducenae vel centenae vel egregiatus meruerit dignitatem declinare suam curiam cupiens, codicillis amissis suae condiconi reddatur, ut omnium honorum et munerum civilium discussione perfunctus iuxta legem municipalem aliquam praerogativam obtineat. Eum quoque, qui originis gratia vel incolatus vel ex possidendi condicione vocatur ad curiam, perfectissimatus suffragio impetrati dignitas non defendit, qua remota tradi eum curiae oportebit. DAT. XII KAL. AUG. GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.

25 september 317 IDEM A. AD BASSUM. Decreta provincialium non prius ad comitatum perferri oportet, quam singuli quique iudicantes ea inspexerint atque probaverint suaeque adscriptione signaverint. Si quid fiat contrarium, competens ultio exerceatur. P(RO)P(OSITA) VIII K. OCT. CARALI GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSUL.

12 december 317 Imperator Constantinus. Quicumque non illustris, sed tantum clarissima dignitate praeditus virginem rapuerit vel fines aliquos invaserit vel in aliqua culpa seu crimine fuerit deprehensus, statim intra provinciam in qua facinus perpetravit publicis legibus subiugetur nec fori praescriptione utatur. Omnem enim huiusmodi honorem reatus excludit. CONST. A. AD OCTAVIANUM COM. HISPANIARUM. D. PRID. NON. DEC. SERDICAЕ. ACC. V NON. MART. CORDUBAE GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Quicumque damnable vel puniendum legibus crimen admiserit, non se dicat in foro suo, id est in loco, ubi habitat, debere pulsari: sed ubi crimen admissum est, ab eius loci iudicibus vindicetur, nec de eius persona ad principem referatur.

Jan 19, 317 Law 32: To Octavian, count of Spain

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CTh 12.1.4 Dorries p. 171
Career offices should only be paused.

8840 March 1, 317-c. 321 Inscription at Florence
CIL XI 6671a Gruenewald 333
Restoring the path.

8845 March 1, 317-321 Inscription at Cherson
GAH 57 Gruenewald 404

March 1, 317-326 Inscription at Algeria
CIL VIII 8370, 20211 Gruenewald 86
Restoring and dedicating bridges.
8850 After March 1, 317 Second inscription at Rome
CIL VI 1148-1149, 31247
Gruenewald 250

8855 May 23, 317-319 Law 33: To Bassus, the praetorian prefect
CTh 9.16.3 Dorries p. 171-172
Magic done to harm is punished but magic done to help is not.

8860 July 21, 317 Law 34: To the People
CJ 4.21.15 Dorries p. 172
Documentary evidence has as much value in litigation as witness testimony.

8865 July 21, 317 Law 35: To the Bithynians
CTh 10.20.1 Dorries p. 172
A minter must remain as such.

c. 317-Sept 18, 324 Inscription at Aquae Iasae
CIL III 4121, p.2328/114; ILS 704; AIJug 469 Dorries p. 226; Gruenewald 379
Restoring from fire damage.

8870 318 LICINIO V ET CRISPO C. CONSS.
7 februari 318 Imperator Constantinus Sive pars sive integra dilatio fuerit data,
eo usque iudicis officium conquiescat, donec petiti temporis defluerint curricula.
Feriae autem, sive repentinae sive sollemnes sint, dilationum temporibus non
excipiantur, sed his connumerentur CONST. A. PROFUTURO PRAEF. ANNONAE. D. VII ID.
8875 FEBR. SIRMI LICINIO V ET CRISPO CONSS.

9 februari 318 Imperator Constantinus. A precedente iudice dilationem non convenit
postulari, etiamsi utraque parte praesente tribuatur, cum non alias nisi causa
cognita indulgeri queat et cognitio causae non interpellatione planaria, sed
8880 considente magis iudice legitime colligatur, et, si forte dilationis petitio fuerit
improbata, suscepta quaestio per sententiam iudicis dirimatur. CONST. A. AD
CATULLINUM PROCONS. AFRICAE. D. V ID. FEBR. SIRMI LICINIO V ET CRISPO CONSS.

8885 318 Constantinus et caess... Donatione secundum iuris normam perfecta nec ea quae
matres in filios contulerunt revocari iura permittunt. Sane si generaliter tantummodo
vel stipulatione interposita vel mancipatione totius patrimonii donatio celebrata
est, id quod donatum est stare non potest, cum haec donatio ad id ut proprietas
possit transferri non valeat. Quare num hoc modo tibi consuli possit, rectorem
provinciae interpellare poteris... LICINIO V ET CRISPO CONSS...

8890 10 april 318 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. FLORIANO PRAES(IDI). Veteranis, qui ex die V
nonarum Iuliarum, cum prima per Thraciam victoria universo orbi inluxit, et qui
postea apud Nicomediam nostram missionem meruerunt, certa per edictum indulsimus,
quae scribendi tabulis vel encauto et cerussa conscribere detur eis licentia. Edictum
8895 autem continens indulgentiam nostram ad devotionem tuam misimus, ut et tua dicatio et
cuncti alii recognoscant, quid praestitimus memoratis. P(RO)P(OSITA) IV ID. APRIL.
LICINIO V ET CRISPO CAESARE CONSS.

8900 23 juni 318 CT 1.27.1 Constantine
Constantine gives Christians the right to take their cases before an ecclesiastical
court rather than a secular court. The ruling of those bishops will carry the same
authority as a secular court.

- June 23, 318 Law 36
 8905 CTh 1.27.1 Dorries p. 172-173
 Judges should let matters be settled by Christian law where possible and consider those decisions inviolable.
- Nov 16, 318 Law 37: To Verinus, vicar of Africa
 8910 CTh 9.15.1 Dorries p. 173
 Anyone who murders parent, sibling, or child will be executed by being sewn up alive in a sack with snakes and thrown into the sea or a pit.
- 319 CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
 8915 13 januari 319 IDEM A. AD IANUARINUM. Quicumque ex eo die, quo reus fuerit in iudicio petitus, intra anni spatium noluerit adesse iudicio, res eius fisco vindicentur et si postea repertus nocens fuerit, deprehensus saeviori sententiae subiugetur. Sed et si argumentis evidentibus et probatione dilucida innocentiam suam purgare suffecerit, nihilo minus facultates eius penes fiscum remaneant. DAT. ID. IANUAR., ACC. V KAL.
 8920 AUG. CORINTHO CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.
- 1 februari 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum. Nullus haruspex limen alterius accedat nec ob alteram causam, sed huiusmodi hominum quamvis vetus amicitia repellatur, concremando illo haruspice, qui ad domum alienam accesserit et illo, qui eum suasionibus vel praemiis evocaverit, post ademptionem bonorum in insulam detrudendo: superstitioni enim suae servire cupientes poterunt publice ritum proprium exercere. Accusatorem autem huius criminis non delatorem esse, sed dignum magis praemio arbitramur. PROPOSITA KAL. FEB. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.
 8925
 8930
- 4 februari 319 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD SYMMACHUM. Si quando minoribus vel adultis inferenda lis erit vel ab ipsis minoribus vel adultis cuidam quaestio movenda sit, non alias cursus temporis incoetur, nisi ab universis, quos officii sollicitudo constringit, hoc est tutoribus, sive testamento sive decreto dati sunt, vel
 8935 curatoribus, per quos minores defenduntur, vel iisdem omnibus sollemni more lis fuerit intimata. Quod si divisum administrationis periculum per provincias sit, his tantum omnibus insinuari convenit et ab ipsis inferri litem, qui in ea provincia tutelae vel curae officium sustinent, ne de aliis provinciis defensores minorum ad iudicia perducantur. DAT. PRID. NON. FEBR. SIRMIO, ACCEPTA VIII ID. MART. CORINTHO
 8940 CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
 Interpretatio. Si quis contra eos, qui in annis minoribus constituti sunt, litem forte commoverit, aut si a parte ipsorum reus aliquis arguatur, ex eo tempora computanda sunt, ex quo tutor sive curator minoris aut per iudicem aut per curiam intulerit seu exceperit actionem: ita tamen, ut si in diversis provinciis istius officii homines sunt, id est, curatores vel tutores, qui minorum causas tueantur, qui
 8945 in eadem provincia fuerint, ubi intentio nata probatur, ipsi aut ingerant aut excipiant actiones: quia nolumus, ut ad aliam provinciam defensores minorum pro audientiae necessitate ducantur. Hic de iure adiectum est.
- 10 februari 319 Idem a. profuturo praefecto annonae. Si quis iudicium duxerit esse referendum, nihil pronuntiet, sed magis super quo haesitandum putaverit, nostram consulat scientiam aut, si tulerit sententiam, minime postea, ne a se provocetur, relatione promissa terreat litigantes. DAT. IV ID. FEB. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. V ET
 8950 LICINIO C. CONSS.
 8955
- 16 februari 319 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD OCTAVIANUM. Veteranorum liberos aptos militiae, quorum quidam ut desides recusant militarium munerum functionem, quidam adeo ignavi sunt, ut cum dispendio corporis militiae velint necessitatem evadere, iubemus, si ad militiam inutiles resectis digitis iudicentur, curialibus sine aliqua
 8960 ambiguitate muneribus atque obsequiis adgregari. DAT. XIV KAL. MART. SIRMIO, ACC(EPTA) VII ID. APRIL. REGIO CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 11 maart 319 Idem a. ad Priscum rationalem. Ne principali liberalitate praeventa dominium quis rei alienae affectet, iubemus, quotiens iure suadente aliquorum bona ex
 8965 officio tuo fuerint occupata, breves eorum plenissimos ad virum perfectissimum comitem et amicum nostrum mitti, ne fraudibus caesarianorum inminuantur vel petentibus aliquid abiuretur; poena contra rationalem et officium eius proposita, si petitorem ante possidere permiserint id quod ei donatum est priusquam praedicti

- 8970 breves commeaverint. DAT. V ID. MAR. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.
18 maart 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Verinum. Quicumque adulterina fecerit numismata, poenam pro discretionem sexus et condicionis suae diversitate sustineat, hoc est ut, si decurio vel decurionis sit filius, exterminatus genitali solo ad quamcumque in longinquo positam civitatem sub perpetui exilii condicione mittatur ac super facultatibus eius ad nostram scientiam referatur; si plebeius, ut rebus amissis perpetuae damnationi dedatur; si servilis condicionis, ultimo supplicio subiugetur. DAT. ET PP. XV KAL. APRIL. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.
- 8975 26 maart 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Verinum vicarium Africae. Si quando famosi libelli reperiantur, nullas exinde calumnias patiantur hi, quorum de factis vel nominibus aliquid continebunt, sed scriptionis auctor potius requiratur et repertus cum omni vigore cogatur his de rebus, quas proponendas credidit, comprobare; nec tamen supplicio, etiamsi aliquid ostenderit, subtrahatur. PP. IV KAL. APRIL. KARTHAGINE, CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 8980 Interpretatio. Qui famosam chartam ad cuiuscumque iniuriam et maculam conscripserit, in secreto aut in publico affixerit inveniendamque proiecerit, illi, contra quem proposita est chartula, non nocebit, nec famae eius aliquid derogabit. Sed si inveniri potuerit, qui huius modi chartulam fecit, constringatur, ut probet, quae conscripsit: qui si etiam, quae scripsit, probare potuerit, fustigetur, qui infamare maluit quam accusare.
- 8990 29 maart 319 Idem a. ad Bassum praefectum Urbi. Manente lege, qua praescriptum est, intra quot dies opinionis sive relationis exemplum privatis iudex debeat exhibere et refutatorii libelli intra quot dies rursum iudicibus offerendi sint, tam in privatis quam etiam in fiscalibus causis ex eo die, quo fuerit quaestio terminata vel ex quo relationem iudex per sententiam promiserit, intra vicensimum diem quaecumque ad instructionem pertinent causae, ad comitatum nostrum properantissime volumus adferri. Quod nisi factum fuerit, ab universo officio viginti transactis diebus, quos post latam sententiam placuit supputari, intra viginti alios dies qui sequuntur tantum fisco nostro praecipimus inferri, quanti per aestimationem rationalis emolumentum litis, cuius suppressa fuerat instructio, fidelissime potuerit aestimari. Cui capitale supplicium imminet, si rigorem legis quocumque modo mollire temptaverit. Eadem poena officio imminente, si quando appellatione vel consultatione pendente vel post decisas nostris responsionibus causas ei, quod ullo modo fuerit impetratum, damnabilem voluerit coniventiam commodare. Nam decreta nostra debet ingerere
- 8995 iudicanti ut ipso etiam dissimulante iudice reluctari et tamquam manibus iniectis eos de iudicio producere ac rationum officio traditos statuti prioris nexibus obligare, quorum desideriis violari nostras prospexerit sanctiones. PROPOSITA IV KAL. APRIL. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 9000 13 april 319 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD LUCRIUM VERINUM. Fratres uterini ab inofficiosis actionibus arceantur et germanis tantummodo fratribus adversus eos dumtaxat institutos heredes, quibus inustas constiterit esse notas detestabilis turpitudinis, agnatione durante sine auxilio praetoris petitionis aditus reseretur. DAT. ID. APRIL. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 9005 Interpretatio. Fratribus uterinis, id est diversis patribus et una matre natis, non liceat de inofficioso contra testamentum fratris agere. Sed germanis fratribus praetermissis, id est uno patre natis, si turpibus personis, id est infamibus fuerit hereditas derelicta, hoc est aut pro libidine meretricibus, aut pro inhonesto affectu naturalibus aut certe thymelicis, vel de libertis suis, agendi contra testamentum licentia reservatur: si tamen is ipse germanus non pro crimine suo exilio fuerit deputatus, aut per captivitatem fuerit servus effectus, aut per emancipationem successionis vel actionis iura perdidit.
- 9010 13 april 319 Imperator Constantinus. Fratres vel sorores uterini ab inofficiosi actione contra testamentum fratris vel sororis penitus arceantur: consanguinei autem durante vel non agnatione contra testamentum fratris sui vel sororis de inofficioso quaestionem movere possunt, si scripti heredes infamiae vel turpitudinis vel levis notae macula adsparguntur vel liberti, qui perperam et non bene merentes maximisque beneficiis suum patronum adsecuti instituti sunt, excepto servo necessario herede
- 9015 instituto. CONST. A. AD LUCRIUM VERINUM. D. ID. APRIL. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 9020 28 april 319 IDEM A. AD RUFINUM P(RAE)FECTUM P(RAE)TORIO. De cubiculis nostris vacatione donatos vel diversis obsequiis palatinis aut scriniis memoriae epistularum

- 9035 libellorumque vel officio largitionum comitatensium singularumve urbium, sed et officio admissionum ad legum nostrarum privilegia volumus pertinere, ut nec ipsi nec filii nec nepotes eorum ad curiam vel honores vel munera municipalia devocentur. Meritoque his iungimus largitionales urbium singularum, ne privilegio separentur quos dignitas propemodum similis copulavit, memorati namque palatinorum matriculis
- 9040 adtinentur, quique sub castrensi militant. Quibus omnibus condonamus, ne exactorum vel turmariorum, quos capitularios vocant, curam subeant vel obsequium temonariorum vel prototypiae. Nam beneficiis nostris ita digni sunt, ut etiamsi quis ad diversas administrationes post obsequia palatina pervenerit, isdem debeat uti privilegiis, quoniam maior dignitas nulli debet praeiudicium facere. Nemo igitur ex filiis
- 9045 praedictorum vel servis castrensi peculio conquisitis professionibus censualibus inseratur vel numero ad crescentium locove deficientium subrogetur, si non fuerit innexus voluminibus censualibus. Personalibus etiam et corporalibus muneribus liberentur, sive adhuc in palatio observant, sive optata quiete donati sunt. Quibus omnibus privilegiis coniungimus agentes in rebus, licet meritis militaribus videantur esse subnixi. DAT. V KAL. MAI. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 7 mei 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Proculum proconsulem Africae. Emphyteuticarii possessores, qui mansuetudinis nostrae beneficio ad extraordinaria minime devocentur, sicut ceteri provinciales obsequium suum muniendis itineribus impendant. Nulla enim
- 9055 ratione debent ab hoc, quod in commune omnibus profuturum est, esse seiuncti. PROPOSITA NON. MAI. KARTHAGINE CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.
- 11 mei 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Bassum. Si virgis aut loris servum dominus adflixerit aut custodiae causa in vincla coniecerit, dierum distinctione sive interpretatione depulsa nullum criminis metum mortuo servo sustineat. Nec vero
- 9060 inmoderate suo iure utatur, sed tunc reus homicidii sit, si voluntate eum vel ictu fustis aut lapidis occiderit vel certe telo usus letale vulnus inflixerit aut suspendi laqueo praeceperit vel iussione taetra praecipitandum esse mandaverit aut veneni virus infuderit vel dilaniaverit poenis publicis corpus, ferarum vestigiis
- 9065 latera persecando vel exurendo admotis ignibus membra aut tabescentes artus atro sanguine permixta sanie defluentes prope in ipsis adegerit cruciatibus vitam linquere saevitia immanium barbarorum. DAT. V ID. MAI. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 9070 12 mei 319 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD RUFINUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Posta alia: Litigia sententiis vel tra[ns]actionibus terminata non sinimus restaurari. DAT. IV ID. MAI. IPSO A. V ET L[IC(INIO) C. CONSS.]
- 12 mei 319 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD RUFINUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Pater noster nullam voluit liberalitatem valere, si actis inserta non esset. Nos etiam inter sponsos quoque ac sponsas omnesque personas eam solam donationem ex promulgatae legis tempore valere sancimus, quam testificatio actorum secuta est. DAT. IV ID. MAI. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 9075 Interpretatio. Ante tempus legis istius donationes etiam sine gestorum testificatione valebant. Nunc vero post hanc legem nec nuptialis nec quaelibet alia inter quascumque personas donatio, de quibuscumque rebus, valere potest, si gestis non fuerit allegata.
- 9080 15 mei 319 Idem a. ad populum. Haruspices et sacerdotes et eos, qui huic ritui adsolent ministrare, ad privatam domum prohibemus accedere vel sub praetextu amicitiae limen alterius ingredi, poena contra eos proposita, si contempserint legem. Qui vero id vobis existimatis conducere, adite aras publicas adque delubra et consuetudinis vestrae celebrate sollemnia: nec enim prohibemus praeteritae usurpationis officia libera luce tractari. DAT. ID. MAI. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO
- 9090 CONSS.
- 15 mei 319 CT 9.16.2 Constantine
Even friendship with the owner of the house is no excuse for a soothsayer to enter a residence.
- 9095 16 mei 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Severum rationalem Africae. Posta alia: possessiones atque mancipia exempta fisci patrimonio quibusdam donavimus. Haec directo iure atque perpetuo absque omni quaestione volumus obtineri poena contra rationales et magistros privatae rei atque officiales proposita, si quid contra
- 9100 tentaverint etc. PP. XVI KAL. IUN. ROMAE IN FORO TRAIANI, CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO

C. CONSS.

Interpretatio. Quicumque agri atque mancipia quibuscumque personis de fisci nostri iure donantur, apud eos, quibus donata sunt, sine suspicione aliqua volumus permanere: contra ordinatores domorum dominicarum poena proposita, si contra praeceptionem facere cognoscuntur.

28 mei 319 Idem a. Amabiliano praefecto annonae. pr. Si quis navicularius per obreptionem vel quacumque ratione immunitatem impetraverit, ad excusationem eum admitti nullo modo volumus. 1. Sed et si quis patrimonium naviculario muneri obnoxium possidet, licet altioris sit dignitatis, nihil ei honoris privilegia, in hac parte dumtaxat, opitulentur, sed sive pro solido sive pro portione huic muneri teneatur. Nec enim aequum est, ut patrimonio huic functioni obnoxio excusato commune onus non omnes pro virili sustineant portione. PROPOSITA V KAL. IUN. CONSTANTINOPOLI CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.

30 mei 319 Idem a. ad provinciales. Iustas etiam et quae locum habent fisci actiones praecipimus concremari ob hoc solum, quod suis temporibus prolatae non sunt. Iam calumniae privatorum eo saltem arceantur exemplo, quo iustas fisci lites silere praecipimus. DAT. III KAL. IUN. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

9 juni 319 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD LEONTIUM. Dudum sanximus, ut nullus ad singula officia administranda ambitione perveniat, vel maxime ad tabularios, nisi qui ex ordine vel corpore officii uniuscuiusque est. Hos enim officia sibi iniuncta tamdiu agere iubemus, quoad idoneos esse manifestum est aut aetate non impediende complere id posse monstrantur, ut administratione aput unum iugiter permanente fides quoque eius appareat. Si quis ergo ex suffragio ambitionis ad officia fisco obnoxia accesserit, multae nomine denas lib(ras) auri exigatur. P(RO)P(OSITA) V ID. IUN. HIERAPOL(I) CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.

22 juni 319 Idem a. ad Severum vicarium. Ne causas, quae in nostram venerint scientiam, rursus transferri ad iudicia necesse sit, instructiones necessarias plene actis inseri praecipimus. Nam cogimur a proferenda sententia temperare, qui sanximus retractari rescripta nostra ad opiniones vel etiam relationes iudicum data non oportere, quoniam verendum est, ne lis incognito negotio dirimatur adempta copia conquerendi. Quare perennibus inuretur iudex notis, si cuncta, quae litigatores instructionis probationisque causa recitaverint, indita actis vel subiecta non potuerint inveniri. DAT. X KAL. IUL. AQUILEIAE CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

1 juli 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Antonium Marcellinum praesidem provinciae Lugdunensis primae. Rei annonariae emolumenta tractantes, ut cognosceremus, quanta reliqua per singulas quasque provincias et per quae nomina ex huiusmodi pensitationibus resedissent, cognovimus hanc esse causam maxime reliquorum, quod nonnulli captantes aliquorum momentarias necessitates sub hac condicione fundos opimos comparent et electos, ut nec reliqua eorum fisco inferant et immunes eos possideant. Ideoque placuit, ut, si quem constiterit huiusmodi habuisse contractum atque hoc genere possessionem esse mercatum, tam pro solidis censibus fundi comparati quam pro reliquis universis eiusdem possessionis obnoxius teneatur. DAT. KAL. IUL. AGRIPPINAE CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

1 juli 319 Idem a. Patroclo. Nulla praeditos dignitate ad sordida descendere conubia servularum etsi videtur indignum, minime tamen legibus prohibetur; sed neque conubium cum personis potest esse servilibus et ex huiusmodi contubernio servi nascuntur. Praecipimus itaque, ne decuriones in gremia potentissimarum domorum libidine ducente confugiant. Si enim decurio clam actoribus atque procuratoribus nescientibus alienae fuerit servae coniunctus, et mulierem in metallum trudi per sententiam iudicis iubemus et ipsum decurionem in insulam deportari, bonis eius mobilibus et urbanis mancipiis confiscandis, praediis vero et rusticis mancipiis civitati, cuius curialis fuerat, mancipandis, si patria potestate fuerit liberatus nullosque habeat liberos vel parentes vel etiam propinquos, qui secundum legum ordinem ad eius successionem vocantur. Quod si actores vel procuratores loci, in quo flagitium admissum est, fuerunt conscii vel compertum facinus prodere noluerunt, metallo eos convenit implicari. Si vero dominus hoc fieri permisit vel postea cognitum celavit, si quidem in agro id factum est, fundus cum mancipiis et pecoribus ceterisque rebus, quae cultui rustico sustinentur, fisci viribus vindicetur; si vero in civitate id factum est, dimidiam bonorum omnium partem praecipimus confiscari, poenam augentes, quoniam intra domesticos parietes scelus admissum est, quod noluit mox cognitum publicare.

Igitur si legis latae die repperietur quisquam patrimonium suum alienasse atque in dominum servulae contulisse, ordini liceat diligenter inquirere, ut ita rei publicae civitatis quod de facultatibus supra dicti fuerit deminutum, in pecunia sarciatur.

9170 DAT. KAL. IUL. AQUILEIAE CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

15 juli 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Bassum. Si non a dominis libertas detur mancipio alieno, si quidem ab his iudicibus impetrabitur, quibus dandi ius est, sine ulla trepidatione poenae facilis dissolutio est. Si vero iubentibus nobis quicquam lege actum esse doceatur, et non dominus, ut alienum mancipium manumitteretur, petiisse, tunc eodem, qui in conspectu nostro libertatem monstrabitur consecutus, ei protinus, ad cuius proprietatem pertinet, restituto, is, qui mancipium alienum fallendo principis conscientiam manumisit, mancipia duo cogatur domino eius dare, cuiusmodi sexus, aetatis atque artis constiterit esse manumissum, et alia tria fisco eademque ratione similia. quae mulcta non semper imponitur, sed potius conquiescit, si forte manumissus inferentem sibi quaestionem status obiecta legitima praescriptione potuerit excludere; quum sibi amissi mancipii damna debeat imputare, qui in perniciem suam gesta taciturnitate firmaverit. PROP. ID. IUL. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.

9185 Interpretatio. Si aliquis mancipium manumittere praesumpserit alienum et id sub praesentia principis vel in ecclesia fecerit, hac poena tenebitur, ut et manumissus a domino revocetur, et alia duo mancipia eiusdem aetatis aut sexus aut certe artificii, quod ille, qui est manumissus, scierit, dare cogatur. Si vero ille, qui manumissus dicitur, repetentem dominum sub hac praescriptione superaverit, ut iam firmitatem status sui temporibus tueatur, tunc ille, qui manumisit, non est constringendus ad poenam, dum ille, qui repetit, praeiudicium domini sui incurrerit aut taciturnitate nutrierit.

9195 18 juli 319 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. CONSULIBUS, PRAETORIBUS, TRIBUNIS PLEBIS, SENATUI SALUTEM DICIT. Placuit salva reverentia et pietate sacris nominibus debita, ut potestas quidem et ius fruendi res liberorum suorum in sacris constitutorum in maternis dumtaxat facultatibus penes patres maneat, destituendorum autem liberorum eis licentia derogetur. Casset itaque in maternis dumtaxat successionibus commentum cretionis et res, quae ex matris successione fuerint ad filios devolutae, ita sint in parentum potestate adque dominio, ut fruendi pontificium habeant, alienandi eis licentia derogetur. Nam maternum patrimonium, quod filiis in potestate constitutis obvenit, cum patre mortuo sui iuris fuerint, praecipuum habere eos et sine cuiusquam consortio placuit. Quod si pater suum filium patremfamilias videre desiderans eum emancipaverit, repraesentare ei maternam debet substantiam, ita ut filius accepto munere libertatis reique suae dominus effectus, ne videatur ingratus, tertiam partem custoditae sibi rei muneris causa parenti offerat, aestimatione, si res dividi coeperint, bonorum virorum arbitrio permittenda, quam tertiam alienare quoque pater, si hoc maluerit, habebit liberam potestatem. Ante emancipationem autem parentes, penes quos maternarum rerum utendi fruendique potestas est, omnem debent tuendae rei diligentiam adhibere et quod iure filiis debetur in examine poscere et sumptus ex fructibus impigre facere et litem inferentibus resistere adque ita omnia agere, tamquam solidum perfectumque dominium et personam gerant legitimam, ita ut, si quando rem alienare voluerint, emptor vel is cui res donatur observet, ne quam partem earum rerum, quas alienari prohibitum est, sciens accipiat vel ignorans. Docere enim

9205 pater debet proprii iuris eam rem esse quam donat aut distrahit; et emptori, si velit, sponsorem aut fideiussorem licebit accipere, quia nullam poterit praescriptionem opponere filiis quandoque rem suam vindicantibus. DAT. XV KAL. AUG. AQUIL(EIAE), RECITATA APUT VETTIUM RUFINUM P(RAE)FECTUM) U(RBI) IN SENATU NON. SEPT. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

9220 Interpretatio. Legis istius reliqua pars in aliis legibus continetur: hoc tantum de reliquis legibus plus habet, ut patres, qui filiorum res gubernare iussi sunt, negotia eorum summo studio et integritate agere procurent, ut nihil per negligentiam eorum filiis pereat, sed fructus rerum maternarum sine aliqua negligentia redigi vel vendi faciant, ut ex tempore competenti, sicut lex novella dicit, portiones suas filii sine aliqua imminutione percipiant. Res filiorum patribus alienare non liceat, hoc est nec vendere nec donare. Quod si fortasse praesumpserint, emptor, vel qui donator accesserit, grandi se sollicitudine et cura custodiant, ne filiorum res a patre venditas aut donatas accipiant, aut scientes aut etiam nescientes: sed compellant patrem, qui venditor vel donator fuerit, et filiorum res in sua retinet potestate, ut probet suum esse, quod tradidit. Etiam ut suspicionem suam possit abstergere, fideiussorem a patre venditore percipiat, qui obligatione rerum suarum damnum emptori non faciat: quia defuncto patre licet filiis res suas a quibuscumque

9230

personis, sive venditae sive donatae a patre fuerint, in suum dominium revocare.

- 9235 July 18, 319 EMP. CONSTANTINE A. SAYS HOLINESS TO THE CONSULS, PRAETORS, TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE, THE SENATE.
It was decided, with due respect and piety to sacred names, that the power and right to enjoy the property of their children who have been ordained in the sacraments should remain with the fathers, solely in the maternal faculties, but that the
- 9240 permission to disinherit their children should be denied to them. Therefore, in maternal successions, solely in maternal successions, the concept of creatio is abolished, and the property that has been devolved to the sons from the mother's succession should be in the power and dominion of the parents, so that they have the pontifical right to enjoy it, and the permission to alienate it should be denied to
- 9245 them. For it was decided that the maternal patrimony, which has come to the sons who have been ordained in power, should be their own property when the father is dead, and they should be the first to have it, without any participation. But if a father, desiring to see his son as the head of the household, emancipates him, he must represent to him the maternal substance, so that the son, having accepted the gift of
- 9250 freedom and made the master of his property, may not seem ungrateful, offer the father a third part of the property entrusted to him for the sake of the gift, with an assessment to be allowed, if the property begins to be divided, at the discretion of good men, which the father will also have free power to alienate, if he so
- 9255 enjoys the maternal property, must exercise all diligence in protecting the property and demand what is rightfully due to their children in the examination and vigorously enforce the costs of the fruits and resist those who bring suit, and act in all matters as if they were solid and perfect ownership and legitimate person, so that, if they ever wish to alienate the property, the buyer or the person to whom the
- 9260 property is gifted must be careful not to knowingly or unknowingly take any part of those things that are forbidden to be alienated. For the father must teach that the property he gives or alienates is his own property; and the buyer, if he wishes, will be permitted to accept a sponsor or guarantor, because he will not be able to oppose any prescription to the children sometimes claiming their property. DAT. 15 KAL. AUG.
- 9265 AQUIL(EIAE), RECITATED APUT VETTIUM RUFINUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI) IN THE SENATE NON. SEPT. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
Interpretation. The rest of this law is contained in other laws: this alone has more than the rest of the laws, that fathers, who are ordered to govern the property of their children, should ensure that they conduct their affairs with the utmost
- 9270 diligence and integrity, so that nothing is lost to their children through their negligence, but that they should cause the fruits of their maternal property to be reduced or sold without any negligence, so that from the appropriate time, as the new law says, the children may receive their portions without any diminution. It is not permitted for fathers to alienate the property of their children, that is, neither to
- 9275 sell nor to give it away. But if perhaps they presume to do so, the buyer or any donor who approaches should guard themselves with great solicitude and care, lest they accept the children's property sold or given by the father, either knowingly or even unknowingly: but they should compel the father, who was the seller or donor, and who retains the children's property in his power, to prove that what he has delivered is his. Also, in order to be able to remove his suspicion, he should obtain a
- 9280 guarantor from the father-seller, who will not cause the buyer any harm by the obligation of his property: because after the death of the father it is permissible for the children to recall their property from any persons whatsoever, whether it was sold or given by the father.
- 9285
- 25 juli 319 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD SYMMACHUM VIC(ARIUM). Optimum duximus non ex eo die, quo se quisque admissum dolum didicisse memoraverit, neque intra anni utilis tempus, sed potius ex eo die, quo adseritur commissus dolum intra continuum tempus anni eis, quibus esse decertandi ius invenitur, eiusmodi actionem causa cognita
- 9290 deferri; ita ut, si forte is, contra quem res agitur, longius ullo genere discesserit, nec denuntiandi necessitate petitor oneretur nec eius qui aberit praesentia postuletur. Nec tamen adsistere, si velit, quisquam prohibeatur examini, contra quem decernenda intentio huiusmodi fuerit expetita: ita ut impetrata doli actione lis ad suum iudicem translata intra biennii spatia decidatur, ratione
- 9295 temporis custodita, cum legitime fuerit apud suum iudicem coepta, exemplo litium ceterarum. Perpetuo vero silentio conquiescat, nisi ex die, quo impetrata fuerit actio, intra continuum biennium quod sequitur, omnis lis fuerit decisa. Omnes igitur sciant neque incipiendae post biennium neque ante completum biennium coeptae, post

- 9300 biennium finiendae doli actionis concessam licentiam. DAT. VIII KAL. AUG. NAISSO
CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Dolus malus est, quoties per aliquam scripturam vel fraudem ea, quae
definita sunt, per scripturae argumenta mutantur. Vel si quis per chartarum
suppositionem aut per surreptionem aliquam id, quod contra se futurum sit, ut
consentire videatur, inducitur, vel quum his similia discutiente iudice probantur
9305 admissa. Et ideo ille, qui queritur, dolo se fuisse gravatum, intra biennium suas et
incipiat et definiat actiones: ultra sibi nec ad inchoandum, nec ad definiendum
tempus noverit esse concessum. Nam si aut illum, qui dolum admisisse dicitur, aut
illum, qui pertulit, absentem esse contigerit, a tempore, quo apud iudicem agere
coeperit, biennium ad definiendam actionem sciatur sibi esse permissum.
- 9310 29 juli 319 Idem a. ad Festum praesidem Sardiniae. Quicumque coercitionem mereri ex
causis non gravibus videbuntur, in urbis Romae pistrina dedantur. Quod ubi tua
sinceritas coeperit observare, omnes sciant eos, qui, sicut dictum est, ex levioribus
causis huiusmodi meruerint subire sententiam, ergastulis vel pistrinis esse dedendos
9315 adque ad urbem Romam, id est ad praefectum annonae, sub idonea prosecutione
mittendos. DAT. IV KAL. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CONSS.
- 9320 13 augustus 319 Idem Aureliae Sabinae sive Gaudiosae. Licet in potestate filii
degentes donationum effectum a patre sibi conlatarum mox consequi minime posse
videantur, tamen perseverantia voluntatis ad instar mortis causa donationis
huiusmodi liberalitatem redigi oportere retro principum rescriptis cognoscitur esse
concessum. Unde virum clarissimum praefectum urbi amicum nostrum, cuius notio est,
adire non prohiberis, qui omnibus rite consideratis, quae in precem tuam conferenda
tu duxisti, pro experientia sua recte iudicari curabit. D. IDIBUS AUGUSTIS ROMAE
9325 CONSTANTINO ET LICINIO AUGG. CONSS.
- 9330 13 augustus 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad profuturum praefectum annonae.
Cunctis pistoribus intimari oportet, quod, si quis forte possessiones suas ideo
putaverit in alios transferendas, ut postea se, rebus in abdito collocatis, minus
idoneum adseveret, tamquam in locum eius alio subrogando, nihil ei haec astutia nec
detestabilia commenta profutura sunt, sed in obsequio pistrini sine ulla excusatione
durabit nec ad eius iura revocabuntur, si quas emptiones transcripserit. PROPOSITA
ID. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.
- 9335 13 augustus 319 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD PROFUTURUM P(RAE)F(ECTUM) ANNONAE.
Venditionis atque emptionis fidem nulla circumscriptionis violentia facta rumpi
minime decet. Nec enim sola pretii vilioris querella contractus sine ulla culpa
celebratus litigioso strepitu turbandus est. P(RO)P(OSITA) ID. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. V
ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 9340 Interpretatio. Quum inter ementem et vendentem res fuerit definito pretio comparata,
quamvis plus valeat, quam ad praesens venditur, hoc tantummodo requirendum est, si
nihil fraudis vel violentiae egit ille, qui comparasse probatur. Et si voluerit
revocare, qui vendidit, nullatenus permittatur.
- 9345 27 augustus 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Catullinum proconsulem Africae.
Patrimoniales fundos extraordinariis oneribus vel mediae aut tertiae portionis
obsequiis fatigari non convenit, cum eosdem et auri speciem et frumenti plurimum
modum constet persolvere, ita ut qui violare statuta temptaverit puniatur. PROPOSITA
VI KAL. SEP. KARTHAGINE CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CONSS.
- 9350 1 september 319 CT 9.16.1 Constantine
A soothsayer who approaches another's private residence for any reason is in
violation of the law. The "superstitions" of soothsayers are limited to public
ceremonies. [The date listed is February 1, but Pharr notes that Maximus, the prefect
9355 to whom the law was issued, assumed this office on September 1; thus, either
September 1 is accurate, or the date actually was February 1 of the year 320.
- 9360 7 september 319 IDEM A. IULIO SEVERO. Cum [Quum] ad patrem aliquid ex materna
successione interposita cretione pervenerit et ad liberos maternas rerum
successiones defluerint, ita eas haberi placet in parentum potestate, ut dominium
tantum possessionis usurpent, alienandi vero licentiam facultatemque non habeant, ut,
cum aetates legitima liberorum ad emancipationem parentes invitaverint et
patresfamilias videre liberos suos voluerint, tertiam partem maternarum bonorum eis
filii tamquam muneris causa offerant; quam suscipiendam patres putaverint, faciendae

- 9365 divisionis arbitrium permitti oportebit iustitiae bonorum virorum, per quos facta
divisione tertiam partem oblatam parentes ita accipien(t, ut alienandae quoque eius
par)tis habeant facultatem, s(i modo ullus potuerit inve)niri, cui placeat hanc
am(plecti licentiam, cum omni) modo filios conducat ad(niti, ut pio sedulitatis
affec)tu mereantur accipere eam, quam (atribus dederint), portionem. DAT. VII ID.
9370 SEPT. MED(IOLANO), ACC. NON. OCT. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Materna bona filiorum defuncta uxore pater ita possideat, ut
usumfructum de his habeat: sed quantum aut quam diu habeat, lex novella constituit:
distrahendi tamen aut donandi ex his nullam pater habeat potestatem. Sane si filium
9375 mortua matre emancipaverit, de bonis maternis, id est de emancipati filii portione
ipse filius muneris causa de maternis bonis tertiam offerat portionem: quae tamen in
ipsius proprietate mansura est ita, ut eam pater bonis viris dividendis
consequatur. Si tamen tantum patris nomen ad hoc adduci potuerit, ut rem filiorum
impia cupiditate suscipiat, aut aliis derelinquat: studere tamen filios decet, ut id,
quod parentibus causa emancipationis obtulerint, servitio et pietate recipiant.
- 9380 6 oktober 319 Idem a. ad Bassum Pf. U. Si quis ad se fundum vel quodcumque aliud
asserit pertinere, ac restitutionem sibi competere possessionis putat, civiliter
super possidendo agat, aut impleta solennitate iuris crimen violentiae opponat, non
ignarus, eam se sententiam subiturum, si crimen obiectum non potuerit comprobare,
9385 quam reus debet excipere. Quod si omnia interpellatione vim possidenti intulerit,
ante omnia violentiae causam examinari praecipimus, et in ea requiri, quis ad quem
venerit possidentem, ut ei, quem constiterit expulsum, amissae possessionis iura
reparentur, eademque protinus restituta violentus, poenae non immerito destinatus, in
totius litis terminum differatur, ut, agitato negotio principali, si contra eum
9390 fuerit iudicatum, in insulam deportetur, bonis omnibus abrogatis. Quod si pro eo,
quem claruerit esse violentum, sententia proferetur, omnium rerum, de quibus
litigatum est, media pars penes eum resideat, cetera fisci viribus vindicentur. PP.
PRID. NON. OCT. ROMAE, CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Si quis adversarium suum ita apud iudicem crediderit accusandum, ut se
9395 asserat violentiam pertulisse, ad probationem rei eum convenit attineri: quod si
probare non potuerit, quem dixerat violentum, eandem poenam suscipiat, quam ille,
quem impetit, convictus potuisset excipere. De reliquo haec lex praetermittenda est,
quia in quarto libro sub titulo unde vi, quae tamen temporibus posterior inventa est,
habetur exposita.
- 9400 7 oktober 319 IDEM A. AD BASSUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Iuxta divi Pii consultissimi
principis instituta valere donationes placet inter liberos et parentes in quocumque
solo et cuiuslibet rei liberalitas probabitur extitisse, licet neque mancipatio
dicatur neque traditio subsecuta, sed nuda tantum voluntas claruerit, quae non dubium
9405 consilium teneat nec incertum, sed iudicium animi tale proferat, ut nulla quaestio
voluntatis possit inrepere et conlata inter ceteras exceptas Cinciae legi personas
obtinere propriam firmitatem, sive mancipationis decursa fuerit sollemnitas vel certe
res tradita doceatur. Quam legem ad lites volumus pertinere, quaecumque tempore
iussionis nostrae inveniuntur esse suspensae et quae post futurae sunt, ne transacta
9410 negotia refricentur. DAT. NON. OCT. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.
- 12 oktober 319 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. ET C. AD BASSUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). In
universis litibus placet non prius puberem iustam habere personam, nisi interposito
decreto aut administrandi patrimonii gratia aut ad litem fuerit curator datus, ut
9415 iuxta praecedentia nostrae provisionis statuta legitime initiatae litis agitata in
iudiciis controversia finiatur. DAT. IV ID. OCTOB. AQUIL(EIAE) CONSTANT(INO) A. V ET
LICINIO C. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Si pupillis actio inferatur, quamvis adulti videantur, ad litem venire
non possunt, nisi forte aetas eorum curiae testificatione firmetur, aut certe
9420 provisos curator patrimonium pupilli vel negotium tueatur.
- 15 oktober 319 IDEM A. AD MAXIMUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Cum veterum sententia
displiceat, quae donationes in sponsam nubtiis quoque non secutis decrevit valere,
ea, quae largiendi animo inter sponsores et sponsas celebrantur, redigi ad huiusmodi
9425 condiciones iubemus, ut, sive in potestate patris degere sive ullo modo proprii
videantur esse iuris et tamquam futuri causa matrimonii aliquid sibi ipsi vel
consensu parentum mutuo largiantur, si quidem sponte vir sortiri noluerit uxorem, id
quod ab eo donatum fuerit nec repetatur traditum et, si quid apud donatorem resedit,
ad sponsam submotis ambagibus transferatur. Quod si matrimonii non contrahendi causa
9430 ab sponsa, vel in cuius agit potestate, detegatur extitisse, tunc sponso eiusque

heredibus sine aliqua deminutione redhibeantur. Quae similiter observari oportet et si ex parte sponsae in sponsum donatio facta sit; nullis causis ulterius requirendis, ne forte mores aut origo dicatur, vel quidquam aliud opponatur, quod sibi quisquam non convenire existimat, cum longe ante, quam sponsalia contrahantur, haec cuncta
 9435 prospici debuerint. Sola igitur indagetur voluntas et mutata animi sententia ad restitutionem seu repetitionem rerum donatarum sufficiat, cum universis causationibus pulsus nihil amplius constare debeat, nisi ut appareat, qui sibi contrahendum matrimonium dixerit displicere. Et quoniam fieri potest, ut moriatur alter adhuc incolumi voluntate, priusquam nubtiae contrahantur, congruum duximus, eo, in quem
 9440 fuerat facta donatio, ante matrimonium diem functo, quae sponsaliorum titulo vel data vel ullo genere donata sunt, ad eum qui donaverat revocari: eo etiam qui donaverat ante nubtias mortuo mox infirmari donationem et ad eius heredes sine aliqua difficultate retrahi res donatas. Quod beneficium usque ad personam patris ac matris, filiorum etiam, si qui de priore matrimonio fuerint, stare decernimus, si quocumque
 9445 modo ex his persona aliqua defuncto successerit. Quod si ex his nulla persona defuncti heres erit, sed ex reliquis gradibus quisquam succedat, donationes convenit etiam non insecutis ex causa mortis nubtiis convalescere, quoniam illis tantum personis credimus consulendum. DAT. XVII KAL. NOVEMB. P(RO)P(OSITA) VI KAL. S(UPRA)S(CRIP)TAS ROM. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.

9450 Interpretatio. Quoties inter sponsores et sponsas de futuris nuptiis specialiter fuerit definitum, et donationem sponsaliciae largitatis vir in sponsam suam aut ex consensu parentum aut ipse, si sui iuris est, propria voluntate conscripserit et omni eam scripturarum solennitate firmaverit, ita ut et gesta legitime facta doceantur, et introductio locorum vel rerum traditio subsequatur: quicquid tali et tam solenni
 9455 donatione ad ius dominiumque sponsae transierit, si vir sponte eam, quam depectus est factis supra scriptis solennibus chartis, accipere noluerit uxorem, omnia, quae sunt tradita, non reposcat. Et si quid de nominatis tam solenniter rebus et traditis apud se habere dignoscitur, ad sponsae dominium, quam accipere noluit, sine dilatione aliqua transferatur. Reliquum legis istius opus non fuit explanare, quia sequentibus
 9460 legibus vacuatur.

15 October 319 Idem A. TO THE MAXIMUM PREFECTUM URBI. Since the opinion of the ancients is displeasing, which decreed that gifts to a bride are valid even after marriages have not taken place, we order that those which are celebrated between
 9465 bridegrooms and brides with the intention of giving gifts be reduced to such conditions, that, whether they live in the power of their father or in any way seem to be their own right and as a future cause of marriage they give something to themselves or with the mutual consent of their parents, if indeed the husband does not voluntarily wish to part with his wife, that which was given by him is not
 9470 returned and is not handed over and, if anything remains with the donor, is transferred to the bride, with the removal of any ambiguities. But if it is discovered that the cause of not contracting the marriage was from the bride, or in whose power she acts, then it is returned to the bride and her heirs without any diminution. Which must be similarly observed if a gift has been made on the part of
 9475 the bride to the bride; no further reasons need to be sought, lest perhaps character or origin be mentioned, or anything else be opposed, which someone thinks does not suit him, since all these should have been foreseen long before the betrothal is contracted. Therefore, the will alone is to be sought and a changed mind is sufficient for the restitution or repetition of the things donated, since, after all
 9480 causations have been rejected, nothing more should be established, except that it should appear that the person who said that the marriage was to be contracted did not like it. And since it is possible that the other person dies without his will, before the marriage is contracted, we have deemed it appropriate that the person to whom the donation was made, before the day of the marriage has passed, the things that were
 9485 either given or given in any way under the title of betrothal, should be revoked to the person who had donated them: also, if the person who had donated them died before the marriage, the donation should be immediately invalidated and the things donated should be withdrawn to his heirs without any difficulty. We decree that this benefit should continue to apply to the person of the father and mother, and also to the
 9490 children, if any, from a previous marriage, if in any way any of these persons succeeded the deceased. But if none of these persons will be the heir of the deceased, but someone from the remaining degrees will succeed, it is fitting that donations should be valid even for those who have not followed up on the cause of death, since we believe that only those persons should be consulted. DAT. 17th KAL.
 9495 NOVEMB. PROPOSITA 6 KAL. SUPRA SCRIPTAS ROM. CONSTANTINE A. V AND LICINIO CAES. CONSS.

- Interpretation. Whenever a future marriage has been specifically defined between the bride and groom, and the man has written a gift of a dowry to his bride, either with the consent of his parents or himself, if he is independent, of his own free will, and has confirmed it with all the solemnity of writings, so that both the deeds legally done are taught, and the introduction of places or the delivery of things follows: whatever has passed to the right and ownership of the bride by such and such a solemn gift, if the husband voluntarily refuses to accept her as his wife, whom he has requested by the solemn documents written above, he shall not reclaim all that has been delivered. And if he is found to have any of the things so solemnly named and delivered with him, it shall be transferred to the ownership of the bride, whom she refused to accept, without any delay. The rest of this law was not necessary to explain, because it is voided by the following laws.
- 20 oktober 319 Imp. Constantinus a. Octaviano correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum. Qui divino cultui ministeria religionis impendunt, id est hi, qui clerici appellantur, ab omnibus omnino muneribus excusentur, ne sacrilego livore quorundam a divinis obsequiis avocentur. DAT. XII KAL. NOV. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS. Interpretatio. Lex haec speciali ordinatione praecipit, ut de clericis non exactores, non allectos facere quicumque sacrilega ordinatione praesumat, quos liberos ab omni munere, id est ab omni officio omnique servitio iubet ecclesiae deservire.
- 23 oktober 319 IDEM A. AD FELICEM PRAESIDEM CORSICAE. Posta alia: Si petitores probaverint interpellantes se saepius esse dilatos atque ita labsum temporis incurrisse per negligentiam atque desidiam gravitate tua audientiam differente, indemnitas petitorum pro modo litis, quae in altercationem fuerit adducta, de tuis facultatibus sarcietur. DAT. IX KAL. NOVEMB. SIRM(IO) CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS. Interpretatio. Si repetentem iudex per negligentiam usque eo distulerit, ut causam suam transactis legitimis temporibus perdat, omnia, quaecumque in illius iudicio iuste sibi potuit vindicare, ei de ipsius iudicis facultatibus, habita aestimatione, reddantur.
- 23 oktober 319 IDEM A. AD FELICEM PRAESIDEM CORSICAE. Cum sex menses transcurrerint, breves omnium negotiorum ab officio tuo descripti commeent ad scrinia eminentissimae praefecturae, ut his recensitis et ad scrinia nostra perlatis pandatur, quis iudicum et in quibus discingendis causis fidelem operam praestiterit, quo vel dignus praemium mereatur vel neglegens coercionem incurrat: adeundi tuum iudicium de negligentia vel avaritia tui officii data provincialibus facultate. De eo sane, qui pretio depravatus aut gratia perperam iudicaverit, ei vindicta quem laeserit non solum existimationis dispendiis, sed etiam litis discrimine praebeatur. DAT. IX K. NOV. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSUL.
- 1 november 319 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. ANTIOCHO P(RAE)F(ECTO) VIGILUM. Iussione subversa, qua certu[s] advocatorum numerus singulis tribunalibus praefinitus est, omne[s] licentiam habeant, ut quisque ad huius industriae laudem in quo vol[u]erit auditorio pro ingenii sui virtute nitatur. DAT. K. NOV. SERDICAE CONST(ANTINO) A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 1 november 319 IDEM A. AD ANTIOCHUM P(RAE)F(ECTUM) VIGILUM. Destituuntur negotia et temporibus sui[s] excidunt, dum advocati per multa officia et diversa secretaria rap[i]untur; ideoque censuimus, ne hi, qui semel protestati fuerint, quod ap[ud] te causas acturi sunt, apud alium iudicem agendi habeant potest[a]tem. P(ROPOSITA) K. NOV. SERDICAE CONST(ANTINO) A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- 17 november 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Verinum vicarium Africae. Si quis in parentis aut filii aut omnino affectionis eius, quae nuncupatione parricidii continetur, fata properaverit, sive clam sive palam id fuerit enisus, neque gladio, neque ignibus, neque ulla alia solenni poena subiugetur, sed insutus culeo et inter eius ferales angustias comprehensus serpentum contuberniis misceatur et, ut regionis qualitas tulerit, vel in vicinum mare vel in amnem proiciatur, ut omni elementorum usu vivus carere incipiat, ut ei coelum superstiti, terra mortuo auferatur. DAT. XVI KAL. DEC. LICINIO V ET CRISPO C. CONSS. ACC. PRID. ID. MART. KARTHAGINE, CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.
- Interpretatio. Si quis patrem matrem, fratrem sororem, filium filiam aut alios propinquos occiderit, remoto omnium aliorum genere tormentorum, facto de coriis sacco, qui culeus nominatur, in quo quum missus fuerit, cum ipso etiam serpentes

claudantur: et si mare vicinum non fuerit, in quolibet gurgite proiciatur, ut tali poena damnatus nullo tempore obtineat sepulturam.

9565

20 november 319 Idem a. ad Pacatianum vicarium Brittaniarum. Unusquisque decurio pro ea portione conveniatur, in qua vel ipse vel colonus vel tributarius eius convenitur et colligit; neque omnino pro alio decurione vel territorio conveniatur. Id enim prohibitum esse manifestum est et observandum deinceps, quo iuxta hanc nostram provisionem nullus pro alio patiatur iniuriam. DAT. XII KAL. DECEMB. CONSTANTINO A. ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

9570

27 november 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Ianuarinum Pf. U. Si post strepitum accusationis exortae abolitio postuletur, causa novae miseracionis debet inquiri, ut, si citra depectionem id fiat, postulata humanitas praebeatur; sin aliquid suspicionis exstiterit, quod manifestus reus depectione celebrata legibus subtrahatur, redemptae miseracionis vox minime admittatur, sed adversus nocentem reum, inquisitione facta, poena competens exseratur. DAT. VI KAL. DEC. SERDICA, CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

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Interpretatio. Si quem poenituerit accusare criminaliter et inscriptionem fecisse de eo, quod probare non potuerit, si ei cum accusato innocente convenerit, invicem se absolvant. Si vero iudex eum, qui accusatus est, criminosum esse cognoverit et inter reum et accusatorem per corruptionem de absolutione reatus convenerit, is, qui reus probatur, remoto colludio, poenam excipiat legibus constitutam.

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9585

1 december 319 Imp. Constantinus a. Rufino Pf. P. Si decurio sine liberis intestatus diem vitae solverit, cui neque voluntas postrema legibus fulta, neque alio iure gradu proximo heres exstiterit, bona eius curiae suae commodis cedant, id est ordinis utilitati proficiant, cuius corpori fatali necessitate exemptus est, nulli praebenda licentia postulandi haec bona ut vacantia de nostra clementia, etiamsi revera et testamentum et successor deesse legitimus approbetur; omni etiam beneficio, si quod fuerit impetratum, protinus infirmando. DAT. KAL. DEC. SIRMIO, CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSS.

9590

Interpretatio. Si curialis intestatus moriens neque filios neque proximos derelinquat, curia, cuius ordini subducitur, quicquid reliquerit, vindicabit, ita ut nullus audeat ea quasi bona caduca a principibus postulare. Quod si fecerit, non valebit: nam testamentum faciendi curialibus lex ista tribuit potestatem.

9595

1 december 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad populum. Comprimatur unum maximum humanae vitae malum, delatorum execranda perniciēs, et inter primos conatus in ipsis faucibus stranguletur, et amputata radicibus invidiae lingua vellatur, ita ut iudices nec calumniam nec vocem prorsus deferentis admittant; sed si qui delator exstiterit, capitali sententiae subiugetur. DAT. ET PP. IN FORO TRAIANI KAL. DEC., CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

9600

Interpretatio. Delatores dicuntur, qui aut facultates prodiderint alienas aut caput impetierint alienum. Quicumque delator cuiuslibet rei exstiterit, in ipso prodicionis initio a iudice loci correptus continuo stranguletur, et ei incisa radicibus lingua tollatur, ut si quis proditor futurus est, nec calumnia nec vox illius audiat.

9605

13 december 319 Imp. IDEM A. CREPEREIO DONATIANO. Rescripta, quibus usi non fuerint qui in fata concedunt, heredes possunt allegare, ut congrue impetrata successoribus emolumenta adquirant. P(RO)P(OSITA) ID. DECEMB. CONSTANT(INO) A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

9610

26 december 319 IDEM A. AD PROCULUM. Et publicae disciplinae interest et proconsulari convenit dignitati, ut publicarum exactionum ceterarumque rerum curam et notitiam ad tuam redigas potestatem, ita ut non officialium instructione et voce fraudulenta contentus sis, sed ipsorum iudicum curam responsionemque condiscas praefecti annonae et rationalium, si fidelis est ea instructio. Ita enim provincialibus contra iniquas exactiones poterit subveniri. DAT. VII K. IAN. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO CAES. CONSUL.

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26 december 319 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Proculum. Preces et impetrata rescripta non placet admitti, si decisae semel causae fuerint iudiciali sententia, quam provocatio nulla suspendit, sed eos, qui tale rescriptum meruerint, etiam limine iudiciorum expelli. DAT. VII KAL. IAN. CONSTANTINO A. V ET LICINIO C. CONSS.

9625

- CTh 9.16.1 Dorries p. 173
9630 Condemning soothsayers to be burned and those associating with them to be banished to an island and their things confiscated.
- March 29, 319 Law 39: To Verinus, vicar of Africa
CTh 9.34.1 Dorries p. 173
9635 Anonymous informants should be tracked down, forced to give proof, and then punished.
- Apr 24, 319 Law 43
CTh 5.27.1 Dorries p. 174
9640 Habit and custom have authority but not so much as to overturn reason and law.
- Apr 27, 319 Law 44: To Rufinus, the praetorian prefect
CJ 6.22.5 Dorries p. 174
Eunuchs are allowed to testify in court.
- 9645 May 11, 319 Law 45: To Bassus
CTh 9.12.1 Dorries p. 174
Masters can physically discipline their slaves but may not kill them or treat them barbarically.
- 9650 May 15, 319 Law 47: To the people
CTh 9.16.2 Dorries p. 175-176
Forbidding soothsaying from being practiced in individuals' homes.
- May 30, 319 Law 48: To the provincials
9655 CTh 10.1.3 Dorries p. 176
Even the claims of the tax officials expire after a prescribed period of time, silencing the accusations of private citizens.
- Oct 12, 319 Law 49: To Bassus, the praetorian prefect
9660 CTh 3.17.1 Dorries p. 176
Stressing the earlier provisions made for the benefit of dependents
- Oct 21, 319 Law 50: To Octavian, commissioner of Lucania and Bruttium
CTh 16.2.2 Dorries p. 176-177
9665 Clergymen in Lucania and Bruttium were to have all gifts removed to prevent envy from interfering with their ministry.
- Dec 1, 319? Law 51: To the people
CTh 10.10.2 Dorries p. 177
9670 Threatening to cut out the tongues of accusers and execute them.
- Dec 26, 319 Law 52: To Proculus
CTh 4.17.1 Dorries p. 177
9675 Defining the precise process for new motions.
- 320 CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO C. CONSS.
31 januari 320 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD POPULUM. Qui iure caelibes habebantur, imminentibus legum terroribus liberentur adque ita vivant, ac si numero maritorum matrimonii foedere fulcirentur, sitque omnibus aequa condicio capessendi quod quisque mereatur. Nec vero quisquam orbus habeatur: proposita huic nomini damna non noceant. Quam rem et circa feminas aestimamus earumque cervicibus inposita iuris imperia velut quaedam iuga solvimus promiscue omnibus. Verum huius beneficii maritis et uxoribus inter se usurpatio non patebit, quorum fallaces plerumque blanditiae vix etiam opposito iuris rigore cohibentur, sed maneat inter istas personas legum prisca auctorita[s]. DAT PRID. KAL. FEB. SERDICAЕ, P(RO)P(OSITA) KAL. APRIL. ROM(AE)
9685 CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO. C. CONSS.
- 31 januari 320 CT 8.16.1 Constantine
9690 Laws passed in former times which punished celibacy and childlessness are now repealed. This applies to women as well.
- 1 februari 320 Idem a. ad populum. Nemo carcerem plumbatarumque verbera aut pondera aliaque ab insolentia iudicum repperta supplicia in debitorum solutionibus vel a perversis vel ab iratis iudicibus expavescat. Carcer poenaliū, carcer hominū

- 9695 noxiorum est officialium et cum denotatione eorum iudicum, quorum de officio
cohercitiones esse debebunt, qui contra hanc legem admiserint. Securi iuxta eam
transeant solutores: vel certe, si quis tam alienus ab humano sensu est, ut hac
indulgentia ad contumaciam abutatur, contineatur aperta et libera et in usus hominum
constituta custodia militari. Si in obdurata nequitia permanebit, ad res eius
9700 omnemque substantiam cives eius accedant, solutionis obsequio cum substantiae
proprietate suscepto. Qua facultate praebita omnes fore credimus proniores ad
solvenda ea, quae ad nostri usus exercitus pro communi salute poscuntur. DAT. KAL.
FEB. CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 9705 20 februari 320 Idem a. ad edictum. Filios decurionum, qui decem et octo annorum
aetate vegetantur, per provinciam Karthaginem muneribus civicis adgregari
praecipimus. Neque enim opperendum est, ut solvantur familia et sacris explicentur,
cum voluntates patrum praeiudicare non debeant utilitatibus civitatum. PROPOSITA X
KAL. MART. CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 9710 25 februari 320 Idem a. ad Aelianum proconsulem Africae. Licet servantur in officio
tuo et vicarii exemplaria libellorum, qui in Africa oblatis sunt, tamen eos quorum
nomina continent metu absolutos securitate perfrui sinas solumque moneas, ut ab omni
non solum crimine, sed etiam suspitione verisimili alieni esse festinent. nam qui
9715 accusandi fiduciam gerit, oportet comprobare, nec occultare quae scierit, quoniam
praedicabilis erit ad dicationem publicam merito perventurus. PROPOSITA V KAL. MAR.
CARTHAGINE CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO C. CONSS.
- 9720 1 maart 320 IDEM A. cum introisset principia et salutatus esset a praefectis et
tribunis et viris eminentissimis, adclamatum est: Auguste Constantine, dii te nobis
servent: vestra salus nostra salus: vere dicimus, iurati dicimus. Adunati veterani
exclamaverunt: Constantine Aug, quo nos veteranos factos, si nullam indulgentiam
habemus? Constantinus A. dixit: Magis magisque conveteranis meis beatitudinem augere
debeo quam minuere. Victorinus veteranus dixit: muneribus et oneribus universis locis
9725 conveniri non sinamur. Constantinus A. dixit: Apertius indica; quae sunt maxime
munera, quae vos contumaciter gravant? Universi veterani dixerunt: ipse perspicis
scilicet. Constantinus A. dixit: iam nunc munificentia mea omnibus veteranis id esse
concessum perspicuum sit, ne quis eorum nullo munere civili neque in operibus
publicis conveniatur neque in nulla conlatione neque a magistratibus neque
9730 vectigalibus. In quibuscumque nundinis interfuerint, nulla proponenda dare debebunt.
Publicani quoque, ut solent agentibus super compellere, ab his veteranis amoveantur;
quiete post labores suos perenniter perfruantur. Fisco nostro quoque eadem epistula
interdiximus, ut nullum omnino ex his inquietaret, sed liceat eis emere et vendere,
ut integra beneficia eorum sub saeculi nostri otio et pace perfruantur et eorum
9735 senectus quiete pos[t] labores perfruatur. Filios quoque eorum defendant
decertationes, quae in patris persona fuerunt, quosque optamus florescere
sollicitius, ne si contumaces secundum eosdem veteranos comprobari potuerint,
decimentur his sententiis, cum praesidali officio adiungentur. Probabilius iussionem
meam curabunt ergo stationarii milites cuiusque loci cohortis, et parentes eorum
9740 desperationem, et ad sanctimoniam conspectus mei sine ulla deliberatione remittere,
ut sint salvi, cum senuas consecuntur poenas indulgentiae. DAT. KAL. MART. IN
CIVITATE VELOVOCORUM CONSTANTINO AUG. VI ET CONSTANTINO CAES. CONSS.
- 9745 1 March 320 The same A., when he had entered the palace and had been greeted by the
prefects and tribunes and most eminent men, was called out: Augustus Constantine, may
the gods preserve you to us: your health is our health: we say it truly, we say it as
sworn men. The assembled veterans exclaimed: Constantine Aug, how have we become
veterans, if we have no indulgence? Constantine A. said: I must increase the
happiness of my fellow veterans more and more than diminish it. Victorinus the
9750 veteran said: We are not allowed to be gathered together in all places with duties
and burdens. Constantine A. said: Tell me more clearly; what are the duties that most
stubbornly burden you? All the veterans said: You yourself see for yourself.
Constantine A. said: Now let it be clear that my munificence has been granted to all
veterans, that none of them may be gathered together in any civil duty or in public
9755 works or in any contribution, either by magistrates or taxes. In whatever fairs they
may attend, they must not give any offerings. The publicans, too, as they are wont to
compel those who act on their own, should be removed from these veterans; they should
enjoy their labors in peace forever. We have also forbidden our treasury by the same
letter, so that none of them should be disturbed at all, but that they may be
9760 permitted to buy and sell, so that they may enjoy their entire benefits under the

leisure and peace of our age and that their old age may be able to enjoy their labors in peace. Their sons should also be defended by the contests which were in the person of their father, whom we wish to flourish more anxiously, lest if they could be proved to be rebellious according to the same veterans, they should be decimated by these sentences when they are added to the presidential office. It is more likely that the stationary soldiers of each local cohort will take care of my order, and their parents will despond and send my presence to sanctity without any deliberation, so that they may be safe, since they are suffering the penalties of indulgence in old age. DATED. KAL. MART. IN THE CITY OF VELOVOCORUM CONSTANTINE AUG. VI AND CONSTANTINE CAES. CONSS.

9 maart 320 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AELIANO P(RAEFECTO) U(RBI). Religiosis vocibus [senat]us amplissimi persuasi decernimus, ut quaestor[es] ea praerogativa utantur, qua consules et praetor[es], ita ut, si quis intra annum sextum decimum nomin[at]us fuerit absens, cum editio muneris celebratur, condemnationis frumentariae nexibus minime teneatu[r,] quoniam memoratae aetati placet hoc privilegium suffragari. DAT. VII ID. MART. SIRMI CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.

1 april 320 Imp. Constantinus a. ad populum. pr. Si quis nihil cum parentibus puellae ante depectus invitam eam rapuerit vel volentem abduxerit, patrocinium ex eius responsione sperans, quam propter vitium levitatis et sexus mobilitatem atque consilii a postulationibus et testimoniis omnibusque rebus iudiciariis antiqui penitus arcuerunt, nihil ei secundum ius vetus prosit puellae responsio, sed ipsa puella potius societate criminis obligetur.

1. Et quoniam parentum saepe custodiae nutricum fabulis et pravis suasionibus deluduntur, his primum, quarum detestabile ministerium fuisse arguitur redemptique discursus, poena immineat, ut eis meatus oris et faucium, qui nefaria hortamenta protulerit, liquentis plumbi ingestione claudatur.

2. Et si voluntatis assensio detegitur in virgine, eadem, qua raptor, severitate plectatur, quum neque his impunitas praestanda sit, quae rapiuntur invitae, quum et domi se usque ad coniunctionis diem servare potuerint et, si fores raptoris frangerentur audacia, vicinorum opem clamoribus quaerere seque omnibus tueri conatibus. sed his poenam leviolem imponimus solamque eis parentum negari successionem praecipimus.

3. Raptor autem indubitate convictus si appellare voluerit, minime audiatur.

4. Si quis vero servus raptus facinus dissimulatione praeteritum aut pactione transmissum detulerit in publicum, Latinitate donetur, aut, si Latinus sit, civis fiat Romanus: parentibus, quorum maxime vindicta intererat, si patientiam praebuerint ac dolore compresserint, deportatione plectendis.

5. Participes etiam et ministros raptoris citra discretionem sexus eadem poena praecipimus subiugari, et si quis inter haec ministeria servilis condicionis fuerit deprehensus, citra sexus discretionem eum concremari iubemus. DAT. KAL. APRIL. AQUILEIA, CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO C. CONSS.

Interpretatio. Si cum parentibus puellae nihil quisquam ante definiat, ut eam suo debeat coniugio sociare, et eam vel invitam rapuerit vel volentem, si raptori puella consentiat, pariter puniantur. Si quis vero ex amicis aut familia aut fortasse nutrices puellae consilium raptus dederint aut opportunitatem praebuerint rapiendi, liquefactum plumbum in ore et in faucibus suscipiant, ut merito illa pars corporis concludatur, de qua hortamenta sceleris ministrata noscuntur. Illae vero, quae rapiuntur invitae, quae non vocibus suis de raptore clamaverint, ut vicinorum vel parentum solatio adiutae liberari possent, parentum suorum eis successio denegetur. Raptori convicto appellare non liceat, sed statim inter ipsa discussionis initia a iudice puniatur. Quod si fortasse raptor cum parentibus puellae paciscatur, et raptus ultio parentum silentio fuerit praetermissa, si servus ista detulerit, Latinam percipiat libertatem, si Latinus fuerit, civis fiat Romanus. Parentes vero, qui raptori in ea parte consenserint, exsilio deputentur. Qui vero raptori solatia praebuerint, sive viri sive feminae sint, ignibus concrementur.

1 april 320 Imp. Constantine a. to the people. If anyone, having previously had nothing to do with the parents of a girl, abducts her against her will or takes her away willingly, hoping for protection from her response, which the ancients completely excluded from requests and testimonies and all judicial matters because of the vice of levity and mobility of sex and counsel, according to the ancient law the girl's response will not benefit him, but the girl herself will rather be bound by association with the crime.

1. And since the guardians of parents are often deceived by the fables and perverse persuasions of nurses, let the first of these, whose detestable ministry is argued to

have been and redeemed discourse, be threatened with punishment, so that the passages of the mouth and throat of those who uttered the nefarious exhortations will be closed by the ingestion of molten lead.

9830 2. And if the consent of the will is discovered in the virgin, he shall be punished with the same severity as the abductor, since impunity should not be granted to those who are abducted against their will, since they were able to keep themselves at home until the day of union and, if the doors of the abductor were broken down by the audacity of the abductor, to seek the help of their neighbors by shouting and to
9835 protect themselves by all means. But we impose a lighter punishment on these, and we order that only the succession of their parents be denied to them.

3. But if the abductor, convicted beyond doubt, wishes to appeal, he shall not be heard at all.

4. But if any abducted slave, by dissimulation, brings a crime that has passed or
9840 been passed on by agreement into public view, he shall be granted Latin citizenship, or, if he is a Latin, he shall be made a Roman citizen: the parents, whose revenge was most important, shall be punished with deportation, if they have shown patience and suppressed their pain.

5. We also order the accomplices and servants of the abductor to be subjected to the same punishment, regardless of their sex, and if anyone is caught in the act of servile service, we order him to be burned, regardless of his sex. DAT. KAL. APRIL. AQUILEIA, CONSTANTINO A. VI AND CONSTANTINO C. CONSS.

Interpretation. If anyone does not previously agree with the girl's parents that he should marry her, and he abducts her either against her will or willingly, if the
9850 girl consents to the abductor, they shall be punished in the same way. But if any of the girl's friends or family or perhaps the girl's nurses have advised the abduction or provided the opportunity for the abduction, they shall receive molten lead in their mouths and throats, so that that part of the body from which the exhortations to the crime are known to have been given may be deservedly closed. But those who are
9855 abducted against their will, who do not cry out with their voices about the abductor, so that they may be freed with the help of the consolation of their neighbors or parents, shall be denied the succession of their parents. A rapist convicted of a crime shall not be allowed to appeal, but shall be punished by the judge immediately at the very beginning of the trial. But if perhaps the rapist makes peace with the
9860 girl's parents, and the abductee's parents' revenge is passed over in silence, if the slave has brought these things, he shall receive Latin freedom, if he is a Latin, he shall become a Roman citizen. But the parents who have consented to the rapist in that matter shall be sent into exile. But those who have given the rapist comfort, whether they be men or women, shall be burned at the stake.

9865 4 april 320 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Bassum vicarium Italiae. Posta alia: ubi puellae ad annos adultae aetatis accesserint et adspirare ad nuptias coeperint, tutores necesse habeant comprobare, quod puellae sit intemerata virginitas, cuius coniunctio postulatur. Quod ne latius porrigatur, hic solus debet tutorem nexus adstringere, ut
9870 se ipsum probet ab iniuria laesi pudoris immunem. Quod ubi constiterit, omni metu liber optata coniunctione frui debeat; officio servaturo, ut, si violatae castitatis apud ipsum facinus haereat, deportatione plectatur, atque universae eius facultates fisci viribus vindicentur, quamvis eam poenam debuerit sustinere, quam raptori leges imponunt. DAT. PRID. NON. APRIL. AQUILEIA, CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO C. CONSS.
9875 Interpretatio. Ubi primum puellae sub tutore viventes ad annos pervenerint nuptiales, et quicumque petitor accesserit, non prius puella iungatur, nisi virginitas illius, quod a tutore servata sit, fuerit approbata: nam si ab ipso tutore convincitur eius violata virginitas, statim exsilio deputetur, et res illius omnes fiscus usurpet.

9880 26 april 320 Idem a. ad Aelianum proconsulem Africae. Cum antehac lege de appellationibus data statutum sit, ne quis a praeiudicio vel ab executione interponeret provocationem neve huiusmodi appellatio ab his, qui vice nostra iudicant, admittatur, ne in perniciem plurimorum interpositis a praeiudicio appellationibus vel moratoriis quibusdam frustrationibus interiectis litigia
9885 protrahantur, tamen nunc poenam addi placuit, ut intellegant universi principalis negotii disceptatione causas suas munire debere et non ab ipsis quodammodo primae interlocutionis exordiis vel ab executionibus provocare, cum et illis, qui impatienter ab articulo appellandum putaverint, post cognitionem totius causae liceat appellare et his, qui sero ab executionibus provocant, facultas appellandi minime
9890 fuerit denegata. Si quis igitur tali usus appellatione fuerit in tuo iudicio deprehensus, ipsum quidem XXX follium poena multes, causam autem universam, eius dumtaxat, qui a praeiudicio vel ab executione temere appellaverit, sine ulla

- dilatione discingas, cum in nostro auditorio dari minime dilationem oporteat, interpositae appellationis tempore sufficiente litigatoribus ad perferendam
9895 instructionem plenissimam. PROPOSITA VI KAL. MAI. KARTHAGINE CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 19 mei 320 Idem a. ad Dometium Dracontium magistrum privatae rei Africae. Cum fiscus litem patiaturs aut inferat, anni spatium ad determinandam causam spectari
9900 oportet, quia hoc ad instruendum satis est et diutius non oportet privatorum sive fisci emolumenta fatigari. DAT. XIV KAL. IUN. SERDICAE CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTATE C. CONSS.
- 23 mei 320 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD SEVERUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Omnes pala(t)i nos, quos edicti nostri iam dudum certa privileg(ia) superfundunt, rem, si quam, dum in palatio nost(ro) morantur, vel parsimonia propria quaesiv(e)rint vel donis nostris fuerint consecuti, ut ca(stren)se peculium habere praecipimus. Quid enim tam (ex) castris est, quam quod nobis consciis ac prope (sub) conspectibus nostris acquiritur? Sed nec alieni su(nt) a pulvere et labore castrorum, qui signa nostra comitantur, qui praesto sunt semper actibus, quos intentos eruditis studiis itinerum prolixitas et expeditionum difficultas exercet. Ideoque palatini nostri, qui privilegiis edicti uti potuerint, peculia sua praecipua retineant, quae, dum in palatio constituti sunt, aut abore, ut dictum est, proprio aut dignatione nostra quaesiverint. P(RO)P(OSITA) X KAL. IUN. CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
9915
- 26 mei 320? CT 16.2.10 Constantine
Clerics of the church are exempt from tax payments and menial compulsory public services, as are their wives, children, and servants. This applies even if they made the money by trade. This is an incentive to join the clergy. It is assumed their money will be used to help the poor, which is why it is not taxed. [The date given for this law is 353. But the consuls listed do not match those living in 353, and both Pharr and Coleman-Norton have chosen to put this law in 320.]
9920
- 30 juni 320 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD FLORENTIUM RATIONALEM. In quacumque causa reo exhibito, sive accusator exsistat sive eum publicae sollicitudinis cura perduxerit, statim debet quaestio fieri, ut noxius puniatur, innocens absolvatur. Quod si accusator aberit ad tempus aut sociorum praesentia necessaria videatur, id quidem debet quam celerrime procurari. Interea vero exhibito non ferreas manicas et inhaerentes ossibus mitti oportet, sed prolixiores catenas, ut et cruciatio desit et permaneat fida custodia. Nec vero sedis intimae tenebras pati debet inclusus, sed usurpata luce vegetari et, ubi nox geminaverit custodiam, vestibulis carcerum et salubribus locis recipi ac revertente iterum die ad primum solis ortum ilico ad publicum lumen educi, ne poenis carceris perimatur, quod innocentibus miserum, noxiis non satis severum esse cognoscitur. Illud etiam observabitur, ut neque his qui stratorum funguntur officio neque ministris eorum liceat crudelitatem suam accusatoribus vendere et innocentes intra carcerum saepta leto dare aut subtractos audientiae longa tabe consumere. Non enim existimationis tantum, sed etiam periculi metus iudici imminebit, si aliquem ultra debitum tempus inedia aut quocumque modo aliquis stratorum exhausserit et non statim eum penes quem officium custodiae est adque eius ministros capitali poena subiecerit. DAT. PRID. CAL. IUL. SERDICAE
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9940 CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO CAES. CONSS.
- 8 juli 320 Idem a. ad Crispinum. Si quis per absentiam nominatus ad provocationis auxilium cucurrerit, ex eo die interponendae appellationis duorum mensum tempora ei computanda sunt, ex quo contra se celebratam nominationem didicisse se monstraverit. Nam praesenti, qui factam nominationem cognovit et appellare voluerit, statim debet duorum mensum spatium computari. DAT. VIII ID. IUL. CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO C. CONSS.
9945
- 8 July 320 The same a. to Crispinus. If anyone nominated in absentia runs to the aid of the challenge, the time for filing an appeal of two months is to be calculated for him from the day on which he shows that he learned of the nomination made against him. For a person present, who knows of the nomination made and wishes to appeal, the time for two months must immediately be calculated. DAT. 8 ID. IUL. CONSTANTINE A. VI AND CONSTANTINE C. CONSS.
9950
9955
- 18 juli 320 Idem a. ad Bassum praefectum praetorio. Cum constitutio emissa praecipiat nullum deinceps decurionem vel ex decurione progenitum vel etiam instructum idoneis facultatibus adque obeundis publicis muneribus opportunum ad

clericorum nomen obsequiumque confugere, sed eos de cetero in defunctorum dumtaxat
 9960 clericorum loca subrogari, qui fortuna tenues neque muneribus civilibus teneantur
 obstricti, cognovimus illos etiam inquietari, qui ante legis promulgationem
 clericorum se consortio sociaverint. Ideoque praecipimus his ab omni molestia
 liberatis illos, qui post legem latam obsequia publica declinantes ad clericorum
 9965 numerum confugerunt, procul ab eo corpore segregatos curiae ordinibusque restitui et
 civilibus obsequiis inservire. PROPOSITA XV KAL. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTIO
 CAES. CONSS.

18 juli 320? CT 16.2.3 Constantine

This law references a previous law, stating that no decurion or anyone else capable
 9970 of fulfilling compulsory public service should be admitted to the clergy, but only
 those from the poorer ranks should take ecclesiastical office. The previous law is
 either non extant, or a textual emendation is necessary (see note). This law
 clarifies that the restriction of decurions becoming clergy was not retroactive, and
 9975 so decurions who had joined the clergy before the promulgation of the first law did
 not have to leave their positions in the church. [Seek and Elliott change the year of
 this law and of 16.2.6 (listed on June 1, 320) to 329. According to their emendation,
 the previously mentioned law in 16.2.3 is actually 16.2.6, and the decurions were not
 restricted from the clergy until 329.]

28 juli 320 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. FURIO FELICI. Advocatorum errores in competenti
 iudicio litigatoribus non praeiudicant. DAT. V KAL. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. VI ET
 9980 CONSTANTINO C. CONSS.

Interpretatio. Advocatus, si in suscepti causa aliquid in praeiudicium per errorem
 dixerit, praeiudicare ei, a quo adhibitus est, nullatenus debet: si continuo de ipso
 9985 errore fuerit reclamatum.

26 augustus 320 Idem a. ad populum. Cum ius vetus ingenuas fiscalium servorum
 contubernio coniunctas ad decoctionem natalium cogat nulla vel ignorantiae venia
 tributa vel aetati, placet coniunctionum quidem talium vincula vitari, sin vero
 9990 mulier ingenua vel ignara vel etiam volens cum servo fiscali convenerit, nullum eam
 ingenui status damnum sustinere, subolem vero, quae patre servo fiscali, matre
 nascetur ingenua, mediam tenere fortunam, ut servorum liberi et liberarum spurii
 latini sint, qui, licet servitutis necessitate solvantur, patroni tamen privilegio
 tenebuntur. Quod ius et in fiscalibus servis et in patrimoniorum fundorum originariis
 9995 et ad emphyteuticaria praedia et qui ad privatarum rerum nostrarum corpora pertinent
 servari volumus. Nihil enim rebus publicis ex antiquo iure detrahimus nec ad
 consortium huius legis copulamus urbium quarumcumque servitia; volumus ut civitates
 integram teneant nec [imminutam] interdicti veteris potestatem. Si vel error
 improvidus vel simplex ignorantia vel aetatis infirmiae lapsus in has contubernii
 10000 plagas depulerit, haec nostris sanctionibus sit excepta. DAT. VI KAL. SEPT. SERDICA
 CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Ingenua, quae se fiscali servo iunxerit, sive sciens sive ignara, ipsa
 manebit libera, filii vero eius et Latini et spurii erunt, qui, quamvis liberi sint,
 iuri tamen obtingunt patronorum. Idem est et si servo emphyteuticario se sociarit
 10005 ingenua vel patrimoniali aut ex privata re principum excepto iure rei publicae, quod
 lex praesens voluit conservatum.

30 september 320 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum rationalem Africae. Secandorum
 marmorum ex quibuscumque metallis volentibus tribuimus facultatem, ita ut, qui
 10010 caedere metallum atque ex eo facere quodcumque decreverint, etiam distrahendi habeant
 liberam potestatem. DAT. PRID. KAL. OCTOB. CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO CAES.
 CONSS.

13 oktober 320 IDEM A. AD UNIVERSOS VETERANOS. Veterani iuxta nostrum praeceptum
 10015 vacantes terras accipiant easque perpetuo habeant immunes, et ad emenda ruri
 necessaria pecuniae in nummo viginti quinque milia follium consequantur, boum quoque
 par et frugum promiscuarum modios centum. Qui autem negotii gerendi habuerit
 voluntatem, huic centum follium summam immunem habere permittimus. Praeter hos ergo,
 qui vel domicillis vel negotiis detinentur, omnes, qui vacatis et nullum negotium
 10020 geritis, ne inopia laboretis, ad hoc remedium debetis concurrere. DAT. III ID. OCT.
 CONSTANTINOP(OLI) CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO CAES. CONSS.

4 december 320 Idem a. ad Ianuarinum agentem vicariam praefecturam.

Ut accusatoribus patientia praebenda est, si quem persequi in iudicio volunt, ita

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 10025 famosis libellis fides habenda non est nec super his ad nostram scientiam referendum, cum eosdem libellos flammis protinus conducatur aboleri, quorum auctor nullus existit. PROPOSITA PRID. NON. DEC. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. VI ET CONSTANTINO CAES. CONSS.
- 10030 17 december 320 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum. Si quid de palatio nostro aut ceteris operibus publicis degustatum fulgore esse constiterit, retento more veteris observantiae quid portendat, ab haruspibus requiratur et diligentissime scriptura collecta ad nostram scientiam referatur, ceteris etiam usurpandae huius consuetudinis licentia tribuenda, dummodo sacrificiis domesticis abstineant, quae specialiter prohibita sunt. Eam autem denuntiationem adque interpretationem, quae de tactu amphitheatri scripta est, de qua ad Heraclianum tribunum et magistrum officiorum scripseras, ad nos scias esse perlatam. DAT. XVI KAL. IAN. SERDICA; ACCEPTA VIII ID. MAR. CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.
- 10040 Jan 31, 320 Law 53: To the people
CJ 10.19.2 Dorries p. 177
Supervision for executing sentences.
- 10045 Jan 31, 320 Law 54: To the people
CJ 6.23.15 Dorries p. 177
Wills should not be invalidated because of poor form.
- 10050 Jan 31, 320 Law 55: To the people
CTh 8.16.1 Dorries p. 177
The single and childless are freed from the "imminent terrors of the laws."
Feb 1, 320 Law 56
CTh 4.4.1a Dorries p. 177-178
Proper will form is not necessary as long as its intent is apparent.
- 10055 March 1, 320/326 Law 57: To governor Florianus
CTh 7.20.2 Dorries p. 178
Outlining the way in which the troops are to greet the emperor.
- 10060 Apr 1, 320 Law 58: To the people
CTh 9.24.1 Dorries p. 178-179
Sentencing those who abduct brides to execution, brides willingly abducted to execution as well, and complicit parents to deportation.
- 10065 Jun 30, 320 Law 59: To the accountant Florentius
CTh 9.3.1 Dorries p. 179
Making strict provisions for the ethical treatment of people awaiting trial.
- 10070 July 18, 320 Law 60: To Bassus, the praetorian prefect
CTh 16.2.3 Dorries p. 179-180
Elaborating on a previous edict, now lost, that decurions, their descendants, and people with sufficient wealth for public office should not from that point on enter the clergy.
- 10075 Aug 18, 320 Law 61: To Bassus, prefect of the city
CJ 1.51.2 Dorries p. 180
Farms cannot be bought without an appraisal.
- 10080 Dec 4, 320 Law 41: To Januarinus, the acting prefect
CTh 9.34.3 Dorries p. 174
Libelous reports are to be burned.
- 10085 Dec 17, 320/321 Law 62: To Maximus
CTh 16.10.1 Dorries p. 180-181
Soothsayers are to be sought when lightning strikes the palace or another public building.
- 10090 321 CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.
12 januari 321 Sane etiam ex eo querimoniae litigantium oriuntur, quod a vobis, qui imaginem principalis disceptationis accipitis, appellationum adminicula respuuntur. Quod inhiberi necesse est. Quid enim acerbius indigniusque est, quam

indulta quempiam potestate ita per iactantiam insolescere, ut despiciatur utilitas provocationis, opinionis editio denegatur, refutandi copia respuatur? Quasi vero appellatio ad contumeliam iudicis, non ad privilegium iurgantis inventa sit vel in hoc non aequitas iudicantis, sed litigantis debeat considerari utilitas. DAT. PRID. ID. IAN. SIRMIO CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.

12 januari 321 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD MAXIMUM. Iudicantem oportet cuncta rimari et ordinem rerum plena inquisitione discutere, interrogandi ac proponendi adiciendique patientia praebita ab eo: ut, ubi actio partium limitata sit, contentiones non occursu iudicis, sed satietate altercantium metas compresserint, saepius requiratur et crebra interrogatione iudicis frequentetur, ne quid novi resideat, quod adnecti allegationibus in iudiciaria contentione conveniat, cum ad alterutrum hoc proficiat, sive definienda sit causa per iudicem sive ad nostram scientiam referenda. Nec ad nos mittatur aliquid, quod plena instructione indigeat. DAT. PRID. ID. IANUAR. SIRMIO CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.

Interpretatio. Iudex quum causam audire coeperit, litigatorum assertiones vel responsiones patienter accipiat et omnia plena discussione perquirat. Nec prius litigantibus sua sententia velit obviare, nisi quando ipsi peractis omnibus, iam nihil amplius in contentione habuerint, quod proponant: et tam diu actio ventiletur, quousque rei veritas invenitur. Frequenter interrogari oportet, ne aliquid praetermissum fortasse remaneat: quia si apud ipsum finienda causa est, totum debet agnoscere. Sin vero ita res exigit, ut ad principis notitiam deferatur, plena discussis omnibus data relatione debet esse suggestio etc.

20 januari 321 [IMP. C]ONSTANTINUS A. AD SEVERUM P(RAE)FECTUM U(RBI). Si quis iudicio nos[tr]o se adeptum codicillos adstruxerit et idem vel su[pe]rna codicillorum impressio vel scribura adstipuletur interior, tamen si ad hoc pecuniam constabit speratam, nihilominus reiectus in plebem, quo plus extorquere conatus est, abdicetur. Hos enim solos, qui intra [p]alatium versati sunt vel administrationibus functi, [ad] honores excipi oportebit ceteris cunctis exemptis et [cu]riis restitutis. Si qui tamen bonorum virorum suffra[gi]o nulla data pecunia vel provinciae legatione suscep[ta] nostris sunt obtutibus inlustrati, hi duumviratus, curas, [fla]monium provinciae lucrati cetera munerum publi[c]orum obire non abnuant. Qui vero coemptis procurationum administrationibus post lucra de fisco captata vacationem meruerunt, sive perfectissimi sunt sive inter egregiorum ordinem locumque constiterint, decuriones nominentur. Quibus illi quoque addendi sunt, qui neque ex administrationibus sunt et tamen ut perfectissimi delitescunt. DAT. X KAL. FEB. SIRMIO, ACC. NON. APRIL. CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.

6 februari 321 Imperator Constantinus. Liberi de inofficioso querellam contra testamentum parentum moventes probationes debent praestare, quod obsequium debitum iugiter, prout ipsius naturae religio flagitabat, parentibus adhibuerunt, nisi scripti heredes ostendere maluerint ingratos liberos contra parentes extitisse. 1. Sin autem mater contra filii testamentum inofficiosi actionem instituat, inquire diligenter iubemus, utrum filius nulla ex iusta causa laesus matrem novissima laeserit voluntate nec luctuosam ei et legitimam reliquerit portionem, ut testamento remoto matri successio deferatur. 2. Si tamen mater inhonestis factis atque indecentibus machinationibus filium forte obsedit insidiisque eum vel clandestinis vel manifestis appetiit vel inimicis eius suas amicitias copulavit atque in aliis sic versata est, ut inimica eius potius quam mater crederetur, ut hoc probato invita etiam adquiescat filii voluntati. CONST. A. AD CLAUDIUM PRAES. DACIAE. D. VIII ID. FEBR. SERDICA CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.

6 februari 321 IDEM A. AD CLAUDIUM PRAESIDEM DACIAE. Licet legum auctoritas filiorum potius quam matrum personis voluit laborem incumbere, ut de inofficioso agentes intra praefinita tempora doceant nullo suo vitio factum nec offensionem se parentibus praestitisse, sed iugiter obsecutos, ut naturae ipsius religio flagitabat, disciplinam inlaesam inoffensamque servasse, ut his probatis remove parentum valeant testamenta: tamen si mater contra filii testamentum inofficiosi actionem instituat, inquire diligenter iubemus, utrum filius nulla ex iusta causa laesus matrem novissima laeserit voluntate nec luctuosam ei et legitimam reliquerit portionem, ut testamento remoto matri successio deferatur, si tamen defuncto consanguinei agnati non sint superstites, an mater inhonestis factis atque indecentibus votis filium forte obsedit insidiisque eum vel clandestinis vel manifestis adpetiit vel inimicis eius suas amicitias copulavit atque in aliis sic

versata est, ut inimica eius potius quam mater crederetur, ut hoc probato invita etiam adquiescat filii voluntati. DAT. VIII ID. FEBRUAR. SERDIC(AE) CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.

10160 Interpretatio. Quamvis leges filiis, si praetermissi testamento fuerint, maiorem quam matribus agendi dederint potestatem, ut de inofficioso matris testamento proponant, id est, si quarta debitae portionis suae filio dimissa non fuerit: ita tamen, si probare potuerint, quod matris in nullo laeserint pietatem, sed se obsequium, ut decuit, praestitisse: sic testamentum matris, in quo praetermissi fuerint, non
10165 valebit. Nam si mater contra testamentum filii, quod inofficiosum dixerit, agat, debet diligenter requiri, si contra filium mater nihil egisse probatur, aut si nullis insidiis vel publice vel secrete eum laedere fortasse tentaverit: nec forsitan consilium adversus filium inimicis suis, quod impium est, auxiliumque praestiterit. Quod si factum non fuerit, potest remove praetermissa mater, quia ei quartam de
10170 rebus suis portionem filius non dimisit, quod filius fecerat testamentum: si tamen filio fratres consanguinei agnati, id est uno patre nati, aut eorum filii per virilem sexum non esse probantur. Nam si mater, ut superius dictum est, pro manifestis inimicitiiis suis praetermissa docebitur, invita adquiescat laesi filii voluntati.

10175 27 februari 321 Imp. Constantinus a. Petronio Probiano: pr. Res uxoris, quae vel successione qualibet vel emptione vel etiam largitione viri in eam ante reatum iure pervenerant, damnato marito, illibatas esse praecipio nec alieni criminis infortunio stringi uxorem, cum paternis maternisque ac propriis frui eam integro legum statu religiosum sit. Et donatio maritalis ante tempus criminis ac reatus collata in
10180 uxorem, quia pudicitiae praemio cessit, observanda est, tamquam si maritum eius natura, non poena subduxerit; capacitatis privilegio videlicet et modo inspecto, ut consideretur, quid capere potuit.
1. Si quid etiam in emancipatos liberos ante tempus criminis ac reatus patrem contulisse claruerit, integrum isdem et citra inquietudinem reservetur.
10185 2. Quod vero nec uxor nec emancipati liberi potuerint vindicare, captum et incorporatum ita ad me referri specialiter censeo, ut illud quoque addatur, utrum filios habeat qui damnatus est, simulque adiciatur, utrum iidem apud se ex causa donationis aliquid vindicarint.
3. Sed in his, qui fiscalibus actibus nexi sunt et pro ratiociniis proscribuntur et
10190 condemnantur, placuit, si quid proprium uxor habuit vel a marito datum, in quantum capere potuit, ante initum actum, ex quo origo fraudis ac vitii in iudicium deducta est, si quid deinde in emancipatos filios donatione collatum, antequam orto nexu suffugium potius quam munificentia frausque temptetur intemeratum aput accipientium iura persistere; nec quicquam fisco in qualibet causa teneatur obnoxium, nisi quod in
10195 dominio proprio, cum obligari ortus est, habuit vel quod agens tam suo quam uxoris vel filiorum vel cuiuscumque praeterea nomine comparavit.
4. Exceptis dumtaxat caesarianis, qui ab omni iuris beneficio excluduntur, nisi probata a me purgataque ratiocinia fuerint, ut quod innoxie habuerint transmittendi copiam habeant. DAT. III KAL. MART. SERDICAE CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.

10200 3 maart 321 Imperator Constantinus. Omnes iudices urbanaeque plebes et artium officia cunctarum venerabili die solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturae libere licenterque inserviant, quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non alio aptius die frumenta sulcis aut vineae scrobibus commenduntur, ne occasione momenti pereat
10205 commoditas caelesti provisione concessa CONST. A. HELPIDIO. PP. V NON. MART. CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CONSS.

3 maart 321 CI 3.12.2 Constantine
All judges, inhabitants of cities, and craftsmen should rest on Sunday. But farmers
10210 are free to work on Sunday as necessary.

3 maart 321 CT 16.10.1 Constantine
If a public structure is struck by lightning, according to custom an inquiry will be
10215 made of the soothsayers as to the portent of the lightning.

15 maart 321 IDEM A. AD IULIUM VERUM VIC(AR)UM ITALIAE. Palatinis nostris, qui ob spectatum laborem otio donati sunt, sub obtentu pensitationum, quae repraesentari consueverunt, tolerantia munerum sordidorum atque indigni oneris quorundam temeritate inponitur. Quod facinus licet graviore poena plectendum est, tamen ita volumus
10220 emendari, ut gravitas tua ex officio rationum aeris speciem postulet et in tabulas ei formatae legis huius apices inprimat, ut, si quid tale sustineant, ad eas inlico quasi ad praesentia remedia perfugiant atque ab intentato onere liberentur.

P(RO)P(OSITA) ID. MART. CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.

- 10225 7 april 321 Imp. Constantinus a. ad edictum. Si quem susceptorem evertisse
constiterit rationem et ad solvendum non esse idoneum, creator eius hac necessitate
teneatur, ut, quidquid ille dilapidavit, ipse de propriis rebus instauret
compellaturque damnum omne sarcire, quod non esset illatum, si in idoneis nominandis
competens adhibitum esset examen. DAT. VII ID. APRIL. CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC.
10230 CONSS.
- 10235 9 april 321 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD VERINUM. Omnes adulescentes, qui honestate
morum praediti paternam frugem vel maiorum patrimonia urbana vel rustica
conversatione rectius gubernare cupiunt et imperiali auxilio indigere coeperint, ita
demum aetatis veniam impetrare audeant, cum vicesimi anni clausae aetas adulescentiae
patefacere sibi ianuam coeperit ad firmissimae iuventutis ingressum: ita ut post
impetratam aetatis veniam iidem ipsi principale beneficium allegantes non solum
perscriptorum annorum numerum probent, sed etiam testibus advocatis honesta aut
simili aut potiore dignitate praeditis morum suorum instituta probitatemque animi
10240 testimonio vitae honestioris edoceant. Quod cum ea condicione effecerint, in
alienatione praediorum ius tantum legitimae aetatis optinebunt, quantum per annorum
dimensiones ac temporum leges et natura singulis quibusque deferre consuevit. Feminas
quoque, quarum aetas biennio viros non sera pubertate praecedit, servato etiam in hoc
temporis intervallo decem et octo annos egressas ius aetatis legitimae mereri posse
10245 sanximus: sed eas, quas morum honestas mentisque sollertia, quas certa fama
commendat. Has vero propter pudorem ac verecundiam in coetu publico demonstrari
testibus non cogimus, sed percepta aetatis venia annos tantum probare tabellis vel
testibus misso procuratore concedimus: ut etiam ipsae in omnibus contractibus tale
ius habeant, quale viros habere praescripsimus. Ita ut senatores apud gravitatis tuae
10250 officium de suis moribus et honestate perdoceant, perfectissimi apud vicariam
praefecturam, equites Romani et ceteri apud praefectum vigilum, navicularii apud
praefectum annonae. Cui aetati quoniam inter plenam perfectamque adulescentiam et
robustissimam iuventutem media est, firmatae aetatis appellationem inponimus, ut
prima aetas pueritiae sit, sequens adulescentiae, firmata haec tertia, quarta
10255 legitima, quinta senectus habeatur. In ipsis etiam contractibus hac appellatione
consignanda, ut non nudum nomen venditoris inseratur tabulis emptionum, sed ab illo,
qui firmatae aetatis sit et honestus vir habeatur, emisse illum significetur, et
venditorem esse firmatae aetatis: ita tamen, ut, quia spes adempta perfidiae est, et
in vendendis praediis diligentiores esse persistant qui beneficium meruerunt
10260 principale, nec praedia sine decreto alienent. DAT. V ID. APRIL. THESSAL(ONICA).
P(RO)P(OSITA) III KAL. IUN. ROM(AE) CRISPO II ET CONSTANTIO II CC. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Adolescentes, qui honestis moribus esse probantur et ad gubernandas
facultates suas idoneam cupiunt habere personam, oportet eos primum, antequam ad
legitimam aetatem perveniant, id est, ubi vir viginti annorum esse coeperit, auxilium
10265 principis implorare, et accepto huius rei beneficio, eo ordine apud testificationem
publicam allegare, ut probent, se viginti annorum impleisse curricula et honesta
conversatione transigere, et sic praedia sua in aliena iura cum decreti tamen
interpositione, transferre liberam habeant potestatem. Feminae vero, sicut biennio in
pubertate minores sunt, ita et transacto biennio, ubi ad xviii. annum pervenerint,
10270 eas tamen, quas morum et honestatis commendat opinio, non in publico annos probare
suos cogendae sunt, sed misso procuratore per scripturam annos eos, quos superius
diximus, se habere demonstrent et similem, quam viri in contractibus habeant
facultatem: ita ut qualis vel quam digna persona sit, apud talem iudicem haec, quae
dicta sunt, debeat approbare. Ergo quum fuerint post adulescentiam hac aetate
10275 firmati, in ipsis quoque scripturis vel venditionum instrumentis, honestos se et
firmatos aetate conscribant. Hoc tamen illis liceat, qui beneficium, ut diximus,
principis pro confirmanda aetate meruerint, ne praedia sua sine iussu iudicis vel
decreto, quod ex praecepto iudicum vel consensu curialium datur, alienare praesumant.
- 10280 11 april 321 Idem a. Menandro. Propter neglegentiam iudicum, qui imperialia
praecepta differunt, ad diversas provincias diversos misimus, qui ad scientiam
nostram referant, quae vel diligentia promota viderint vel desidia corrupta
culpaverint. Monendi autem iudices sunt, qui instaurare publica opera debent, ut de
effectis eis potius quam inchoatis ad nostram scientiam referant, nisi forte iusta
10285 ratione petendum sit aliquos, si forte defuerint, impensarum titulos provideri. De
rebus autem praecipuis maximisque, non de quibuscumque vilissimis nostrum debent
interpellare consilium. DAT. III ID. APRIL. SIRMI CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC.
CONSS.

- 10290 18 april 321 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Dometium Dracontium. Quotiens plures fundum patrimonialem possident, pro portionibus fieri a singulis non vetetur illatio. Quorundam enim probata industria ceterorum culpa poterit coherceri. DAT. XV KAL. MAI. SIRMI, ACCEPTA XV KAL. IUN. KARTHAGINE CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CONSS.
- 10295 18 april 321 CT 4.7.1 Constantine
This law augments the law of June 8 316. Any slave freed before a bishop is automatically granted Roman citizenship. Clergy may free their slaves through their wills and it may be immediately enacted by a bishop.
- 10300 19 april 321 Imp. Constantinus a. Osio episcopo [HOSIO EP(ISCOP)O] Qui religiosa mente in ecclesiae gremio servulis suis meritam concesserint libertatem, eandem eodem iure donasse videantur, quo civitas Romana solennibus decursis dari consuevit. Sed hoc dumtaxat iis, qui sub adspectu antistitum dederint, placuit relaxari. Clericis autem amplius concedimus, ut, quum suis famulis tribuunt libertatem, non solum in conspectu ecclesiae ac religiosi populi plenum fructum libertatis concessisse dicantur, verum etiam quum postremo iudicio libertates dederint, seu quibuscumque verbis dari praeceperint ita ut ex die publicatae voluntatis, sine aliquo iuris teste vel interprete, competat directa libertas. DAT. XIV KAL. MAI. CRISPO II. ET CONSTANTINO II. CONSS.
- 10310 Interpretatio. Qui manumittendi in sacrosancta ecclesia habuerint voluntatem, tantum est, ut sub praesentia sacerdotum servos suos velit absolvere, noverit eos, suscepta libertate cives esse Romanos: nam si clerici suis mancipiis dare voluerint libertatem, etiamsi extra conspectum fecerint sacerdotum vel sine scriptura verbis fuerint absoluti, manebit, sicut civibus Romanis, integra et plena libertas.
- 10315 18 mei 321 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Constantino Pf. P. Matri ius liberorum non habenti, interveniente licet patruo ceterisque, inter quos agnationis incorrupta iura per ordinem porriguntur, et quicumque deinceps agnati erunt, a quibus consanguinitatis iure mater poterat excludi, placet omnium filii bonorum, quotiescumque ab intestato venit, deferri tertiam portionem etiam patruo eiusque filio et dumtaxat nepoti, agnatione minime durante (si forte per emancipationem cuiusquam fuerit consanguinitas diminuta), beneficio pari deferri tertiam portionem, licet habeat mater ius liberorum. Nec immerito, si quando supra dicto subnixa mater fuerit privilegio, agnatione dirempta ultra nepotis gradum nostrum beneficium minime placuit extendi, ne, multis personis vocatis, plus ablatum matri, minus additum videretur. Sive igitur unus exstiterit pluresve patru, eorumque filius aut etiam filii et nepotes neptesve, non amplius quam sola tertia universorum bonorum simul omnibus vel singulis pro suis quibusque gradibus deferenda est. Et eodem genere, si plures erunt, a quibus mater possit excludi, non plus quam tertia bonorum matri adversus omnes competere debet. Supra dictae ergo originis existentibus personis agnatis in infinitum, matri adversus omnes censuimus subveniendum, licet non omnibus adversus matrem, sed certis superius comprehensis personis hoc auxilium tribuatur; ita ut, nec petita bonorum possessione (quoniam huius legis, non praetoris est beneficium), illico, ut sibi delatae portionis dies exstiterit, aditione simplici, arrepto rerum quolibet corpore vel animi destinatione patefacta, plenum dominium delatae sibi portionis consequantur, facultate eis perpetua, dum advixerint, tribuenda in adeunda concessa sibi parte successionis. Nec enim ad eos, qui eorundem successores erunt, nisi ipsis prius, quos indulgentiae nostrae ratio complectitur, quaesita fuerit hereditas, transire quicquam iubemus, sed penes eos manere, apud quos ante istam legem residere potuisset. DAT. XIV KAL. IUN. SIRMII, CRISPO II. ET CONSTANTINO II. CAESS. CONSS.
- 10340 Interpretatio. Si mater ius liberorum non habeat, hoc est, si ingenua tres partus vivos et libertina quattuor non ediderit et unicum filium intestatum fortasse perdidit, et filius moriens patruum unum vel plures aut certe patru vel patruorum filios vel nepotes plures cum matre reliquerit, qui tamen emancipati non fuerint, mater in tertia portione in filii intestati hereditate succedat, et duas partes patruus, vel si plures patru fuerint, aut filii vel nepotes sibimet vindicabunt. Quod si mater liberorum ius habeat, et patruus vel patru cum matre superfuerint, etiamsi emancipati sunt, duas partes de bonis filii intestati morientis mater consequatur, quae ius liberorum habet, et tertiam patruus vel patru: qui si defuerint, filii patruorum, quanti fuerint, aequales sibi per capita faciant portiones. Quod si filii patruorum defuerint, simili etiam nepotes patruorum divisione succedant. Sed in hac successione sola constitutio praesens sufficit, ut inter matrem, patruos eorumque filios et nepotes bonorum possessio praesumatur; quae
- 10325 10330 10335 10345 10350

- 10355 si fortasse adita non fuerit hereditas, et hi, qui adire debuerant, moriuntur, heredes eorum a successione non aditae hereditatis excludit: quia evidenter haec lex constituit, ut non adita hereditas non transeat ad heredes. Hic de iure addendum est.
- 10360 19 mei 321 IDEM A. AD BASSUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Altero ex litigatoribus in lite defuncto cursum temporis esse reparandum latis iam dudum legibus continetur. DAT. XIII KAL. IUN. SIRMIO CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Si unus ex litigatoribus, sive pulsatus sive petitor, intra constitutum per scripturam tempus fortasse defecerit, tempora, quae fuerant statuta, successoribus renoventur.
- 10365 22 mei 321 Imp. Constantinus a. et c. ad Bassum Pf. P. Eorum est scientia punienda et severissimis merito legibus vindicanda, qui magicis accincti artibus aut contra hominum moliti salutem aut pudicos ad libidinem deflexisse animos deteguntur. Nullis vero criminationibus implicanda sunt remedia humanis quaesita corporibus aut in agrestibus locis, ne maturis vindemiis metuerebuntur imbres aut ruentis grandinis lapidatione quaterentur, innocenter adhibita suffragia, quibus non cuiusque salus aut existimatio laederetur, sed quorum proficerent actus, ne divina munera et labores hominum sternerentur. DAT. X KAL. IUN. AQUILEIA, CRISPO ET CONSTANTINO CAESS. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Malefici vel incantatores vel immissores tempestatum vel ii, qui per invocationem daemonum mentes hominum turbant, omni poenarum genere puniantur.
- 10370 1 juli 321 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Iunium Rufum consularem Aemiliae.
Penes illum vectigalia manere oportet, qui superior in licitatione exstiterit, ita ut non minus quam triennii fine locatio concludatur, nec ullo modo interrumpatur tempus exigendis vectigalibus praestitutum. Quo peracto tempore, licitationum iura conductionumque recreari oportet, ac simili modo aliis collocari; capitali sententia subiugando, quem plus aliquid, quam statutum est, a provincialibus exegisse constiterit. DAT. KAL. IUL. CRISPO II. ET CONSTANTINO II. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Vectigalia sunt, quae fisco vehiculorum subvectione praestantur, hoc est aut in litoreis locis navibus aut per diversa vehiculis merces deportant, cuius rei conductelam apud strenuas personas triennio esse praecipit, et continuo hanc exactionem aliis iterum permittendam, qui maiorem summam praestationis obtulerint. Ex qua conductione aut exactione, si quis plus, quam praeceptum fuerit, exigere tentaverit, ita ut mercatorem vel provincialem sub hac exactione gravare coeperit, periculo capitis se noverit esse damnandum.
- 10380 3 juli 321 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. HELPIDIO. Sicut indignissimum videbatur diem solis veneratione sui celebrem altercantibus iurgiis et noxiis partium contentionibus occupari, ita gratum ac iucundum est eo die quae sunt maxime votiva compleri. Atque ideo emancipandi et super his rebus acta non prohibeantur. P(RO)P(OSITA) V NON. IUL. CARALIS CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Quamvis sancto die dominico omnes lites ac repetitiones quiescere iusserimus, emancipare tamen ac manumittere minime prohibemus, et de his rebus gesta confici pari ordinatione permittimus.
- 10385 3 juli 321 Idem a. ad populum. Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo catholicae venerabilique concilio decedens honorum quod optavit relinquere. Non sint cassa iudicia. Nihil est, quod magis hominibus debetur, quam ut supremae voluntatis, post quam aliud iam velle non possunt, liber sit stilus et licens, quod iterum non reddit, arbitrium. PROPOSITA V NON. IUL. ROMAE CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CAESS. CONSS.
- 10390 3 juli 321 CT 16.2.4 Constantine
Every person shall have the right to leave property to the catholic Church in his will.
- 10395 3 juli 321 CT 2.8.1 Constantine
This is an exception to the law passed March 3, 321 regarding Sunday. Though most legal work is still forbidden, the legal transactions connected to freeing slaves may be conducted on Sunday.
- 10400 13 juli 321 Idem a. Menandro. Universi provinciales pro his rebus, quas ad usum proprium vel ad fiscum inferunt vel exercendi ruris gratia revehunt, nullum vectigal a stationariis exigantur. Ea vero, quae extra praedictas causas vel negotiationis gratia portantur, solitae praestationi subiugamus. DAT. III ID. IUL. CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO CONSS.
- 10405
- 10410
- 10415
- 10420

1 augustus 321 IMPERIAL EDICTS WITH REGARD TO PROFESSORS, GRAMMARIANS, DOCTORS, AND STUDENTS p. 19

- 10425 1 augustus 321 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Volusianum. pr. Medicos, grammaticos et professores alios litterarum immunes esse cum rebus, quas in civitatibus suis possident, praecipimus et honoribus fungi; in ius etiam vocari eos vel pati iniuriam prohibemus, ita ut, si quis eos vexaverit, centum milia nummorum aerario inferat a magistratibus vel quinquennalibus exactus, ne ipsi hanc poenam sustineant.
- 10430 1. Servus eis si iniuriam fecerit, flagellis debeat a suo domino verberari coram eo, cui fecerit iniuriam, vel, si dominus consensit, viginti milia nummorum fisco inferat, servo pro pignore, donec summa haec exsolvitur, retinendo.
2. Mercedes etiam eorum et salaria reddi praecipimus.
3. Quoniam gravissimis dignitatibus vel parentes vel domini vel tutores esse non debent, fungi eos honoribus volentes permittimus, invitos non cogimus. PROPOSITA KAL. AUG. SIRMIO CRISPO ET CONSTANTINO CC. CONSS.
- 10435 1 augustus 321 Idem a. Menandro. Rusticanos usibus propriis vel culturae ruris necessaria revehentes vectigal exigi non sinimus: capitali poena proposita stationariis et urbanis militibus et tertiis augustanis, quorum avaritia id temptari firmatur. Pro ceteris autem rebus, quas quaestus gratia comparant vendituri, solitum eos oportet vectigal agnoscere. DAT. K. AUG. CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO CONSS.
- 10440 28 augustus 321 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD VERINUM. Cum dividundae res erunt, dubitari non potest ab heredibus suis consensum sine ulla controversia commodandum. Quod vero ad huiusmodi spectat scripturas, in quibustalis defunctorum fuisse mens invenitur, ut de testamento intellegatur tantummodo cogitatum, etsi repugnare ius videatur, huiusmodi quoque conscriptiones inter suos dumtaxat heredes valere oportet, quemadmodum valent scripturae simpliciter incoatae, quas nulla sollemnitis
- 10445 adminicula defendunt, solis nixae radicibus voluntatis. Licet enim sub testamenti vocabulo coeptae, cum perfectae non sint neque appellari aliter ullo modo possint, evanuisse videntur, tamen dispositiones ultimae coloratam iuris imaginem referentes iustius in se legum proclivem favorem debent provocare. Quam ob rem cum filiis ac nepotibus civili iure vel auxilio praetoris ut suis heredibus defuncti successio
- 10450 defertur, etiamsi coeptum neque inpletum testamentum esse memoretur, vel si ab utilitate verborum vel sollemnitate iuris inanis scriptura esse dicatur, considerari specialiter voluntatem placet et obsecundari protinus, cum res dividuntur, nec retineri amplius, quam quod singulorum personis detegetur adscriptum, ut et memoria defuncti non violetur parentis et occasiones litium dirimantur. DAT. IV KAL. SEPTEMB.
- 10455 CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CONSS.
Interpretatio. Quando facultas patris inter filios vel nepotes dividitur, specialiter voluntas patris vel avi paterni debet in omnibus custodiri, cuius testamentum etiamsi non fuerit perfectum, aut si non legitimo numero testium subscribatur, nec gestis allegetur, tamen si agnoscitur defunctus, de quo supra dictum est, de facultate sua
- 10460 aliquid ordinasse, quicquid unumquemque de filiis ac nepotibus cuiuscumque sexus habere voluerit, hoc sibi sine consortis repetitione defendat: nec praesumat aliquis, quod alteri consorti auctor ille dimiserit. Sed hoc inter filios ac nepotes ex filiis masculis observetur, quod voluntate auctoris per quamcumque scripturam probabitur ordinatum.
- 10465 August 28, 321 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. TO VERINUM. When things are to be divided, it cannot be doubted that the consent of their heirs must be given without any controversy. But as regards writings of this kind, in which it is found that the mind of the deceased was such that a will is understood to have been merely thought out, even if the law seems to contradict it, such writings must also be valid only among
- 10470 their heirs, just as writings that are simply begun are valid, which are defended by no support of solemnity, and are based solely on the roots of the will. For although those begun under the name of a will, since they are not perfect and cannot be called otherwise in any way, seem to have disappeared, nevertheless the final dispositions, bearing a colored image of the law, should more justly provoke the favor of the laws
- 10475 inclined towards them. For this reason, with the children and grandchildren, by civil law or by the help of the praetor, the succession of the deceased is transferred to his heirs, even if it is mentioned that the will was not begun and not completed, or if it is said that the writing is void from the utility of the words or the solemnity of the law, it is pleasing that the will be specially considered and obeyed
- 10480 immediately when the property is divided, and that no more is retained than what is disclosed to each person, so that both the memory of the deceased parent is not

violated and the occasions for lawsuits are eliminated. DAT. 4 KAL. SEPTEMB. CRISPUS II AND CONSTANTINE II CONSS.

Interpretation. When the father's property is divided among sons or grandchildren, the will of the father or paternal grandfather must be especially observed in all cases. Even if his will is not perfect, or if it is not signed by the lawful number of witnesses, nor is it alleged in deeds, nevertheless if the deceased, of whom it was said above, is acknowledged to have ordered something about his property, whatever he wished each of his sons and grandchildren of whatever sex to have, he should defend this to himself without repetition by the partner: nor should anyone presume that the author has left it to another partner. But this should be observed among the sons and grandchildren of the male sons, which will be proven to have been ordered by the author's will through some writing.

16 september 321? Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum pf. U. pr. In quaestione testamenti, quod deportati filius remeante patre fecisset, remotis Ulpiani atque pauli notis, Papiniani placet valere sententiam, ut in patris sit filius potestate, cui dignitas ac bona restituta sunt.

1. Ita tamen, ut gesta per filium, cuius consilia legitima aetas firmaverat, rata sint, eodem in potestatem patriam redeunte, ne eorum rescissio efficiat, quod est maxime absurdum, eodem tempore nec in patris nec in sua quemquam fuisse potestate. 2. Minores enim aetate iure quicquam agere prohibentur. Quibus si damnato patre tutor datus est, necesse est, ut ab officio recedat, regresso eo, quem non solum nomine redire, sed etiam officium suum nulla pravitae corruptum liberis praebere oportet, ut eorum bona tueatur et augeat. Nam si patria potestate ad corrumpendi atque effundendi patrimonii licentiam abutetur, ut furioso ac dementi, item prodigo, libidinum omnium vitiorumque servo non est eorum pecunia committenda: ab administratione fugiat: neque tutor esse desinat, omniaque minoris dispendia suis ipse damnis praestet. Sententia vero deportationis nullo patrem praeiudicio deminuat. Quem si comperta integritas ut natura, ita officio liberis restituerit, ei gubernacula rerum tradenda sunt, cuius, ad imitationem publici iuris, provisa custodia est. Quae nisi bonis patribus detur, luctuosior erit reditus quam discessus. 3. Ideoque tantum ad restitutionem indulgentia valeat, quantum ad correctionem sententia valuit. Utque deportationis ipsum per se nomen rerum omnium spoliatio est, ita indulgentia reditus bonorum ac dignitatis uno nomine amissionum omnium sit recuperatio. Et filii emancipationem a patribus officiis petant, ut libertatem non damnationis, sed lenitatis paternae testem habeant. DAT. XVIII. KAL. OCT. SIRMIO, CRISPO II. ET CONSTANTINO II. CAESS. CONSS.

Interpretatio. Si quis pater in exsilium missus filium in maiore aetate reliquerit, quaecumque de bonis propriis gessit filius, iuxta sententiam papiniani rata et firma permaneant, nec contra aut testamentum aut transactionem filii reversus pater venire permittitur. Sane quum redierit pater, si filium vivum invenerit, filium in ius suum paterna potestate recipiet. Ceterum quod de rebus propriis absente patre filius gessit, reversus pater revocare non poterit. Quicquid vero filii in annis minoribus constituti fecerint, penitus non valebit: qui tamen si pro aetate vel absentia patris aut tutores aut curatores acceperint, reversus pater filios, repulsis curatoribus vel tutoribus, cum omni facultate recipiet: ea tamen condicione, ut rem filiorum ita administret ac regat, ut non solum detrimenta non sentiant, sed studio patris res et facultas proficiat filiorum. Quod si pater aut prodigus aut negligens aut evorsor aut libidini deditus esse convincetur, et filiorum res impie ac dementer vastare ac dilapidare cognoscetur, filii talis patris, tanquam eo mortuo, sub tutore aut curatore consistant: quia sicut aequum est, ut bonus et utilis pater rem filiorum regendam administrandamque recipiat, ita iniquum est, ut in damnum filiorum reversus facultates a tutoribus curatoribusve reservatas dementi subversione dilaceret.

28 september 321 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD MAXIMUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Perpetuas prudentium contentiones eruere cupientes Ulpiani ac Pauli in Papinianum notas, qui, dum ingenii laudem sectantur, non tam corrigere eum, quam depravare maluerunt, aboleri praecipimus. DAT. IV K. OCT. CRISPO ET CONSTANTINO CONSS.

28 September 321 IMP. CONSTANTINE A. TO THE MAXIMUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Wishing to extinguish the perpetual contentions of the wise, we order that the notes of Ulpianus and Paulus against Papinianus, who, while pursuing the praise of his genius, preferred not to correct him so much as to corrupt him, be abolished. DAT. IV K. OCT. CRISPUS AND CONSTANTINE CONSS.

20 november 321 Idem a. ad Ianuarinum. pr. Quoniam nonnulli monetarii adulterinam monetam clandestinis sceleribus exercent, cuncti cognoscant necessitatem sibi

- incumbere huiusmodi homines inquirendi, ut investigati tradantur iudiciis, facti conscios per tormenta ilico prodituri ac sic dignis suppliciis addicendi.
- 10555 1. Accusatoribus etiam eorum immunitatem permittimus, cuius modus, quoniam dispar census est, a nobis per singulos statuatur. servos etiam, qui hoc detulerint, civitate Romana donamus, ut eorum domini pretium a fisco percipiant.
2. Si quis autem militum huiusmodi personam susceptam de custodia exire fecerit, capite puniatur.
- 10560 3. Appellandi etiam privato licentia denegetur; si vero miles aut promotus huiusmodi crimen incurrerit, super eius nomine et gradu ad nos referatur.
4. Si dominum fundi vel domus conscium esse probabitur, deportari eum in insulam oportebit, cunctis eius rebus protinus confiscandis; si vero eo ignaro crimen commissum est, possessionem aut domum debet amittere, in qua id scelus admissum est.
- 10565 Actor fundi vel servus vel incola vel colonus, qui hoc ministerium praebuit, cum eo qui fecit supplicio capitali plectetur, nihilo minus fundo vel domo fisci viribus vindicanda.
5. Quod si dominus ante ignorans, ut primum repperit, scelus prodidit perpetratum, minime possessio vel domus ipsius proscriptionis iniuriae subiacebit, sed auctorem ac ministrum poena capitalis excipiet. DAT. XII KAL. DEC. ROMAE CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.
- 10570 11 december 321 Idem a. decurionibus Agrippiniensibus. Cunctis ordinibus generali lege concedimus iudaeos vocari ad curiam. Verum ut aliquid ipsis ad solacium pristinae observationis relinquatur, binos vel ternos privilegio perpeti patimur nullis nominationibus occupari. DAT. III ID. DEC. CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.
- 10580 11 december 321 CT 16.8.3 Constantine
Jews can and should serve on municipal councils; however, two or three Jews may be given permission to be exempt from this compulsory public service.
- 10585 321 Emperor Constantinus. Inter omnes dumtaxat heredes suos, qui ex quolibet venientes gradu tamen pares videantur esse, vel emancipatos, quos praetor ad successionem vocat, sive coeptum neque impletum testamentum vel codicillus seu epistula parentis esse memoratur sive quocumque alio modo scripturae quibuscumque verbis vel iudiciis inveniantur relictas, iudicio familiae erciscundae, licet intestato ad successionem liberi vocentur, servato senatus consulti auxilio defuncti dispositio custodiatur, etsi sollemnitate legum huiusmodi dispositio fuerit destituta. 1. Si vero in huiusmodi voluntate designatis liberis alia sit mixta persona, certum est eam voluntatem quantum ad illam dumtaxat permixtam personam pro nullo haberi. CONST. A. AD BASSUM. D. ROMAE K.... CRISPO II ET CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.
- 10590 321 Emperor Constantine. Among all his heirs, who, coming from any rank, nevertheless appear to be equal, or emancipated, whom the praetor calls to succession, whether a will begun but not fulfilled or a codicil or letter of the parent is mentioned or in any other way writings are found left in whatever words or judgments, by the judgment of the family of the deceased, although children are called to succession intestate, the disposition of the deceased is to be preserved, with the assistance of the senate, even if the solemnity of the laws of this kind of disposition is lacking. But if in such a will there is another mixed person designated among the children, it is certain that that will is to be considered null as far as that mixed person alone is concerned. CONST. A. AD BASSUM. D. ROME K.... CRISPO II AND CONSTANTINO II CC. CONSS.
- 10600 321 Eusebius, VC, 4.20 Constantine
Constantine requires all soldiers to gather on Sundays and recite a prayer he composed to the almighty God. [The date is somewhat speculative. Eusebius only records that this took place shortly after Sunday was declared a day of rest.]
- 10605 321-322 Optatus, De sch. Don., Appendix 9 Constantine
Constantine orders toleration of Donatists in North Africa. No action is to be taken against them. [Based on CT 16.6.2 (on Oct 17, 377, below), it may be surmised that this repeals a law against the Donatists which is no longer extant.]
- 10610 Jan 23, 321 Law 63: To Severus, prefect of the city
CTh 6.22.1 Dorries p. 181
Preventing the purchase of offices freeing one from curial responsibility.
- 10615

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- Feb 6, 321 Law 64: To Claudius, governor of Dacia
10620 CTh 2.19.2 Dorries p. 181
Disinherited sons may contest the will on the condition that they gave no reason for such repercussion.
- March 3, 321 Law 65: To Elpidius
10625 CTh 2.8.1a Dorries p. 181
Courts and business are to take Sunday off, but those who work the land may work on that day.
- July 3, 321 Law 66: To Elpidius
10630 CTh 2.8.1 Dorries p. 181-182
Courts and businesses are closed on Sundays because they lead to disputing, but slaves can still be freed.
- Apr 11, 321 Law 67: To Menander
10635 CTh 15.1.2 Dorries p. 182
Arranging an observation of the structural condition of the public works.
- Apr 18, 321 Law 68: To Maximus, prefect of the city
10640 CTh 4.8.1 Dorries p. 182
Clergy have the ability to grant slaves freedom.
- Apr 18, 321 Law 69: To Maximus, the praetorian prefect
CJ 7.1.4 Dorries p. 183
10645 Naming the regular times of liberation, later added to by the Church.
- May 5, 321? Letter to the bishops of Africa and the people of the catholic church
HD App 9 Silli 13; Dorries p. 38-39
10650 Granting toleration to the Donatists and instructing the people to win them over with patience.
- July 1, July 13, and Aug 1, 321 Law 70
CTh 4.14.1-3 Dorries p. 183
10655 Protecting citizens from tax officials who threaten them with death or perpetual exile.
- July 3, 321 Law 71: To the people
CTh 16.2.4 Dorries p. 183
10660 Anyone can leave anything to the "most holy, catholic, and venerable council" in their will.
- Aug 1, 321/324 Law 72: To Volusianus
CTh 13.3.1 Dorries p. 183-184
10665 Doctors, grammarians, and other teachers or tax-exempt. Slaves who do anything to them must be whipped or required to pay a fine. They are allowed to hold office but cannot be forced to do so.
- Aug 29, 321 Law 73: To Verinus
CTh 2.24.1 Dorries p. 184
10670 Wills not written in entirely proper form are to still be considered in dividing up inheritance.
- Dec 11, 321 Law 74: To the decurions of Cologne
CTh 16.8.3 Dorries p. 184
10675 Jews can be appointed to city councils.
- 322 PROBIANO ET IVLIANO CONSS.
15 januari? 322 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD SEVERUM. Minores, qui intra vig[inti
10680 quin]que annorum aetatem sunt, praedium vel mancipium rusti[cum sine] decreti
interpositione alienatum, etiam non petita in inte[grum res]titutione, poterunt
vindicare; ita ut, si hac lege proposita ta[ntum] ad metas vicesimi et quinti anni
supererit, ut coepta lis [intra] eiusdem anni finem terminari non possit, inchoata
lis pos[sit proten]di. Sed et ii, quos eadem lex exacto vicensimo et quint[o
anno] intra viginti et sex annos deprehenderit, inchoare pe[titiones] suas non
morentur, quoniam usque ad vicensimum et [sextum] annum ita inchoatae litis tempora

- 10685 concluduntur. Qu[i vero] post hoc tempus agere temptaverit, expellatur, ut iam [certus] securusque possessor sit. DAT. XV K. IAN. SERD[ICAE] PROBIANO ET IV[LIANO CONSS.]
- 10690 9 februari 322 IDEM A. AD AGRICOLANUM. Cum ius evidens atque manifestum sit, ut intendendi criminis publici facultatem non nisi ex certis causis mulieres habeant, hoc est, si suam suorumque iniuriam persequantur, observari antiquitus statuta oportet; neque enim fas est, ut passim mulieribus accusandi permissa facultas sit. Alioquin in publicis olim quaestionibus interdum aut admissa probatio est aut accusantis auctoritas. Patroni etiam causarum monendi sunt, ne respectu compendii
- 10695 feminas, securitate forsitan sexus in actionem illicitam proruentes, temere suscipiant. P(RO)P(OSITA) V ID. FEB. PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Feminis nisi in sua suorumque causa quemquam accusare non liceat, quia susceptione alienarum causarum legibus prohibentur. Advocati etiam commonendi sunt, ne contra leges suscipiant in alienis causis feminas litigare cupientes.
- 10700 24 maart 322 Imperator Constantinus. Cum a nobis fuerit ad appellationem consultationemve rescriptum, sive sit primo iudicio petita dilatio sive ea tributa non sit sive nec petita quidem, eam dare cuiquam non licebit eadem ratione, qua nec in iudiciis quidem cognitionum nostrarum dilatio tribui solet. CONST. A. AD MAXIMUM.
- 10705 PP. ROMAE VIII K. APRIL. PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 10710 22 mei 322 IDEM AUG. AD MAXIMUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Denuntiari vel apud provinciarum rectores vel apud eos, quibus actorum conficiendorum ius est, decernimus ne privata testatio mortuorum aut in diversis terris absentium aut eorum, qui nusquam gentium sint, scripta nominibus falsam fidem rebus non gestis adfigat. DAT. X KAL. IUN. SIRMIO PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Contestari apud rectores provinciae vel defensores aut omnes, apud quos gesta conficiuntur, litem iubemus, ne ullus nomen absentis aut mortui vel qui non potuerit inveniri, in litis contestatione recipiat, ne falsitatis inveniatur
- 10715 occasio.
- 10720 22 mei 322 IDEM A. AD MAXIMUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Eum, qui sciens iudicio adesse neglexerit, ut contumacem iudex poena multabit. DAT. X K. IUN. SIRMIO PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 10725 12 juni 322 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum praefectum Urbi. ...uxisset, eorum omnium iudicio fieret copia. Quod quidam ita interpretati sunt, ut contractis in litem omnibus et adsertionibus iam ordinatis et profligatis exactisque paene iudiciis, si cui earum personarum, quae in quaestione sunt, partus accidisset, quasi accessione absentiae necessariae spectataeque personae novari tempora iuris esse adfirment. Sed cum aliud sit abesse, aliud necdum natum esse, placuit eos qui nascuntur matrum condicionibus et iure uti, quarum mox visceribus exponuntur, neque ideo, quod natus quidam est, tempora iudicii renovari. ante litem vero nati suo omnes nomine in quaestionem vocentur, quoniam hos solos, qui in lite nati erunt, omnem
- 10730 fortunam matrum complecti oportet et aut iustis tradi dominis aut libertate frui cum lucis auctoribus, cum eorum nulla propria veriorve possit esse defensio quam matrum. DAT. PRID. ID. IUN. SIRMIO PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 10735 12 June 322 Imp. Constantine a. to the Prefect of the City. ... had lived, their all judgment would be sufficient. Which some have interpreted in such a way that, after all the claims had been brought into litigation and the claims had already been ordered and exhausted and the judgments almost exacted, if any of those persons who are in question had been born, they affirm that the times of the law are renewed as if by the accession of the absence of the necessary and considered person. But since it is one thing to be absent, another to be not yet born, it was decided that those
- 10740 who are born should use the conditions and law of their mothers, whose wombs are soon exposed, and not because someone has been born, the times of the judgment should be renewed. Before the lawsuit, however, all those born in their own name should be called into question, since these alone, who will be born in litigation, must embrace all the fortune of their mothers and either be handed over to just masters or enjoy
- 10745 freedom with the authors of light, since they can have no true or proper defense other than their mothers. DAT. PRID. ID. IUN. SIRMIO PROBIANO ET JULIANO CONSS.
- 10750 6 juli 322 Idem a. Menandro. Provinciales egestate victus atque alimoniae inopia laborantes liberos suos vendere vel obpignorare cognovimus. Quisquis igitur huiusmodi repperietur, qui nulla rei familiaris substantia fultus est quique liberos suos aegre

ac difficile sustentet, per fiscum nostrum, antequam fiat calamitati obnoxius, adiuvetur, ita ut proconsules praesidesque et rationales per universam africanam habeant potestatem et universis, quos adverterint in egestate miserabili constitutos, stipem necessariam largiantur atque ex horreis substantiam protinus tribuant competentem. Abhorret enim nostris moribus, ut quemquam fame confici vel ad indignum facinus prorumpere concedamus. DAT. PRID. NON. IUL. ROMAE PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.

20 juli 322 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum Pf. U. Si quis libertate utentes eiusque compotes inopinatos in discrimen ingenuitatis adducat, si eos forte assertio defecerit, circumductio praebeatur, assertorem quaeri titulo per literas indicante; ne causa per silentium ignoretur vel absurde etiam proclametur: ut, qui comperissent, vellent asserere, vel cunctantes etiam cogerentur; neu, si assertor defuerit, vincti, multis eos scientibus liberos, a dominis ducantur.

1. Ideoque sancimus: si quis assertoris inops atque ignotus, circumlustratis provinciae populis, desertus tradatur ei, qui servum dixerit, non infracta, sed dilata libertate, assertore invento vires recolligat, et suis renovatis defensionibus resistat in iudicio, possessoris iure privilegiisque subnixus, quamquam de domo illius processerit. Neque enim illa possessio est in tempus accepti, sed exspectatio assertoris in tempore non reperti; ita ut, si instaurata lite restitutisque in sua iura partibus, pro libertate fuerit lata sententia, iniuriae impudentiaeque causa adversarius pari numero servorum mulctetur, quotquot erunt, qui in servitutem petiti sunt: iis vero non condemnatur, qui in ipsa fuerint lite progeniti.

2. Quod si quis ante assertorem repertum vel ante sententiam fuerit mortuus, heredibus causam status probantibus mulctatius servus tradetur: et heredes eius, qui libertatem temerabat, si implacabilem animum indicant, eadem maneat Mancipiorum lex atque condicio; si liberos sinent, quos clausos repererint, occidunt cum personis delicta.

3. Minorum defensores eadem manebit Mancipiorum mulcta: ac iudicio his, quos defenderant, reposcentibus, rei male gestae dabitur aestimatio.

4. Quum id proprio periculo fecerit assertor, ut rem salvam fore promittit, ita satis accipiat de mulctae redhibitione.

5. Libertatem victis hostibus victorum dominatio abstulit; leges vero iniuriosos poena afficiunt et fama spoliant, dictumque in iurgio in adversarium immodestius iactatum petulantiusque fuscum poenam subire cogitur: atque non erit impunita labefactatio atque oppugnatio libertatis, quae in convictis quoque punitur. iniustum est autem, alienum ad servum recepisce, et alterius servi abductione condemnatur. DAT. XIII KAL. AUG. SIRMIO, PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Si aliquis in libertate positum ad servitium conetur addicere, iubet pulsatum ex ordinatione iudicis per populos et per publicum duci, ut defensorem sui status inveniatur et inventum assertorem per chartam petat a iudice, ne silentio ingenuitas opprimatur. Quod si aut ipse sibi adesse aut assertorem non potuerit invenire, tradatur domino repetenti ad servitium, non ad poenale supplicium: ita ut non per hanc traditionem ex integro spes libertatis amittat, nisi quum habuerit locum, invento assertore libertatis suae statum asserat legibus audiendus. Quod si tali ordine reparata lite, qui pulsantur, ingenuos se esse docuerint, tunc ille, a quo ingenuitas iniuste fuerat appetita, tot Mancipia his, quos ad servitutem vocabat, eius aetatis et sexus dare cogatur, illis in condemnatione non annumerandis his, qui, dum causa protrahitur, in lite nati esse probantur. Quod si ex his, qui ad servitutem vocantur, dum per assertorem requirendum aut alia occasione causa protrahitur, aliqui moriantur, et heredes eorum statum ingenuitatis obtinuerint, pro illius persona, quae in lite mortua est, heredibus suis eius compensatio, sicut et pro vivis, a pulsante reddenda est. Si vero ille moriatur, qui liberos conabatur addicere, et filios aut heredes dimittat, si persequi voluerint causam, quam pater aut auctor inchoaverat, et victi fuerint, ad supra scriptam satisfactionem tenendi sunt, ut alia tot Mancipia male pulsatis satisfaciant. Si vero agere noluerint, nec persequi eos tentaverint, sed etiam in custodiam ab auctore redactos absolverint, erunt a mulctae condemnatione securi, quia non in auctoris sui vitio perstiterunt. Quod si forte minores sint, et tutor eorum vel curator causas eorum adversus ingenuitatem prosequi velit, et fuerit superatus, ipse de propria facultate ad satisfactionem tenendus est. Si vero post secundam reparationem assertor inventus periculo suo addicti causam crediderit replicandam, ut, si vincatur, peculium aut servitia susceptorum vel ipsos reddere debeat: similiter et ille, qui pulsatur, dato fideiussore promittat se praedictum numerum vel meritum Mancipiorum, vel quod ab his in peculio reposcit, satisfacere, quum fuerit superatus.

26 juli 322 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD LUSITANOS. Si qua posthac edicta sive

constitutiones sine die et consule fuerint deprehensae, auctoritate careant. DAT. VII KAL. AUG. SAVARIAE PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.

- 10820 30 oktober 322 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum praefectum praetorio. Propter crispi atque helenae partum omnibus indulgemus praeter veneficos homicidas adulteros. ACC. III KAL. NOV. ROMAE PROBIANO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 10825 Feb 9, 322 Law 75: To Agricolanus
CTh 9.1.3 Dorries p. 184
Outlining a woman's right to prosecute in court.
- 10830 July 6, 322 Law 76: To Menander
CTh 11.27.2 Dorries p. 184-185
Parents too poor to raise children should not sell them but instead be supported by the state.
- 10835 Oct 30, 322 Law 77: To Maximus, the praetorian prefect
CTh 9.38.1 Dorries p. 185-186
In honor of the birth of his grandson, granting amnesty to sorcerers, murderers, and adulterers.
- 323 SEVERO ET RVFINO CONSS.
- 10840 18 februari 323 Idem a. ad Maximum Pf. U. Libertati a maioribus tantum impensum est, ut patribus, quibus ius vitae in liberos necisque potestas permissa est, eripere libertatem non liceret.
- 10845 1. Si quisquam minor venundatus actum maior administravit, quoniam minoris emptio scientiam non obligat, eum ad libertatem venientem emptionis actusque a maiore administrati praescriptio non tenebit:
- 10850 2. Nec vero ille, qui apud quempiam pro servo educatur, ac maior effectus vendenti veluti domino acquievit actuque administrato iam paene extremam relegit libertatem, (quoniam neque maior effectus originem suam noverat, neque eam, quam ignoraverat, venditionem patiens deseruisse iudicandus est) minori similis, eadem emptionis atque actus administrati praescriptione non alligabitur, sed utrique dabitur assertio.
- 10855 3. Paria etiam in libertinis erunt, qui quaestu quodam in eandem rursus servitutem relabuntur. Sed eorum hac exceptione causa distinguenda est, ut, qui impuberes intra annum quartum decimum manumissi ac deinceps in servitio retenti ignorata libertate non utantur, maioresque venundati actum gerant, ab assertione non arceantur: quum illi aetati tributae libertatis ignoratio aut oblivio concessa est. Qui vero memoria firma venditioni post factae non nescius innectitur, huius legis beneficio carebit.
- 10860 4. Et quoniam vicissim etiam ipsis, qui his rem commiserunt, medendum est, si quisquam omnium, qui supra comprehensi sunt, in libertatem proclamaverit, id, quod apud se esse eius, qui se dominum dicit, profitebitur, quoniam de eo non dubitatur, reddi ac referri iudex protinus pronuntiabit.
- 10865 5. Quod vero petitur, si id fuerit negotiatione controversum, per cautionem assertoris, ut alia lege comprehensum est, conservabitur, ac petitio differetur, ut, si fuerit approbata propria libertas, gestarum rerum ab eodem ratio atque omne, quod debebitur, reposcatur, ut servitute depulsus, qui pro domino quondam fuerat, habeat, quod ut servo domini iure largitus est, et quae ex earum rerum quaestu ac fructibus conciliata sunt, et quae de furtivis compendiis obscure capta ac parta sunt, quum liberum esse non oporteat, quod apud servum dominus peculii nomine collocaverat.
- 10870 6. Ea vero, quae testamento aut donatione quaesita sunt, aut quae ex earum rerum emolumentis empta confectaque sunt, eidem ingenuo deputentur.
- 10875 7. Quae tamen universa exacto libertatis iudicio, quo a supra dictis rebus discernuntur, in sequestri esse oportet, ut, his ab utroque deductis atque in medio iure locatis, ad eorum proprietatem uterque contendat. DAT. XV KAL. MART. THESSALONICA, SEVERO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 10880 Interpretatio. Minor venditus, si post viginti et quinque aetatis suae annos iam maior effectus servierit aut in rebus emptoris actor aut cuiuslibet rei ordinator fuerit constitutus, quum de ingenuitate sua proclamaverit, sine praeiudicio servitii, quod gesserit, audiatur, nec hoc ei praeiudicium generet, quod eius, a quo emptus est, domum aut utilitates in annis maioribus positus visus est ordinasse. Hoc etiam de libertis lex haec praecepit custodiri, ut, qui intra quattuordecim annos fuerint manumissi et actum in maiore aetate positi gesserint patronorum, libertati eorum actus non praeiudicet servitutis, sed quum voluerint, suas aut de ingenuitate aut de libertinitate, intra tempora legibus constituta, proferant actiones. Sic etiam, si quis minor ingenuus a quolibet fuerit educatus et, liberum se esse nesciens, fuerit a

- 10885 nutritore distractus et actum vel utilitatem illius, a quo emptus est, ut servus gesserit, priusquam triginta annorum praeiudicio teneatur, potestatem habeat reclamandi, et quasi minor is, priusquam tempora suppleantur, amissam recipiat libertatem. Quicquid vero eis ille, a quo empti sunt, vel tradidit vel donavit vel quaecumque ex rei suae administratione profecit, totum retinendi ac revocandi habeat potestatem. Si vero huiusmodi personis aliquid a quibuscumque aliis aut testamento aut donatione collatum est, id solum sibi iam liberi vindicent: nam quod de re patroni libertus vel emptoris ingenuus, dum serviret, profecit, libertati redditus libertus patrono, ingenuus emptori restituat. Hi vero, qui in annis maioribus constituti sunt, scientes se esse ingenuos vel libertinos, si vendi acquieverint, in ea, ad quam scientes sua voluntate transeunt, servitute permaneant.
- 10890
- 10895 EPISTULA ABLABI PRAEFECTI PRAETORIO ET CONSTANTINI IMPERATORIS DE IURE CIVITATIS ORCISTANORUM p. 491
Interpretatio. Si quis cum quibuslibet hostibus praedas egerit aut praedam cum praedonibus diviserit, incendio concremetur.
- 10900 13 april 323 Idem a. ad Florentinum. Si nominatus magistratus aliquis refragetur, non appellatio, sed querimonia hoc dicitur, appellationis enim verbum in maioribus rebus dici oportet. Similiter et si ad exactionem annonariam nominatus de iniustitia queratur, non appellatio, sed querella hoc esse videbitur. Ideoque nec tempora appellationum servandasunt, sed mox super huiusmodi querimoniis disceptandum. DAT.
- 10905 ID. APRIL. CONSTANTINOPOLI SEVERO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 10910 13 april 323 Imperator Constantinus. A nullo iudice praesumi decet, ut auctoritate sua ferias aliquas condant. Nec enim imperiales ferias vocari oportet, quas administrator edixerit, ac per hoc, si nomine eximuntur, etiam fructu carebunt
CONSTANT. A. AD SEVERUM. D. ID. APRIL. SIRMI SEVERO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 10915 28 april 323 [IM]P. CONSTANTINUS A. ET C. Ne cui liceat praepositorum vel decurionum vel tribunorum cohortium quocumque genere cuiquam de militibus a castris atque signis vel his etiam locis, quibus praetendant, discedendi commeatum dare. Si quis vero contra legem facere ausus fuerit et militem contra interdictum commeatu dimiserit atque id temporis nulla eruptio erit, tunc deportatione cum amissione bonorum adficiatur; sin vero aliqua barbarorum incursio extiterit et tunc, cum praesentes in castris atque apud signa milites esse debeant, quisquam afuerit, capite vindicetur. DAT. IV KAL. MAI. SEVERO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 10920 29 april 323 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A ET C. Si quis barbaris scelerata fa(c)tione facultatem depredationis in Romano(s) dederit vel si quis alio modo factam diviserit, (vi)vus amburatur [comburatur]. DAT. IV KAL. MAI. SEVERO ET RUFIN(O CONSS).
- 10925 21 mei 323 Idem a. ad Ulpium Flavianum consularem Aemiliae et Liguria. Ab extraordinariis omnibus fundi patrimoniales adque emphyteuticarii per Italiam nostram constituti habeantur immunes, ut canonica tantum et consueta dependant ad similitudinem per Africam possessorum. DAT. XII KAL. IUN., LECTA APUD ACTA SEVERO ET
- 10930 RUFINO CONSS.
- 10935 25 mei 323 Idem a. ad Helpidium. Quoniam comperimus quosdam ecclesiasticos et ceteros catholicae sectae servientes a diversarum religionum hominibus ad lustrorum sacrificia celebranda compelli, hac sanctione sancimus, si quis ad ritum alienae superstitionis cogendos esse crediderit eos, qui sanctissimae legi serviunt, si condicio patiat, publice fustibus verberetur, si vero honoris ratio talem ab eo repellat iniuriam, condemnationem sustineat damni gravissimi, quod rebus publicis vidicabitur. DAT. VIII KAL. IUN. SIRMI SEVERO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 10940 25 december 323 CT 16.2.5 Constantine
Christians shall not be forced into participating in pagan practices; anyone who forces a Christian into such an act shall be publicly beaten, unless he holds an honorable rank, in which case he will be fined and the money given to the state treasury.
- 10945 [The date listed is May 25, but according to Coleman-Norton, Pharr and Elliot, Constantius would not have been in Sirmium (where the law was issued) until December, so the date should be Dec. 25, 323.]

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- 10950 31 december 323 Imp. Constantinus a. Quoniam decessoris tui litterae missae ad Proculeianum tribunum et magistrum officiorum continent quorundam provincialium mancipia abducta pro pignore sub officio retineri, eo quod vestes canonicas vel equos minime intulerunt, atque haec mancipia neque dominos solutis debitum recepisse neque alios comparasse, veritos ne haec rescinderetur distractio: iubemus duorum mensum spatium ad solvenda debita mancipiorum dominis indulgeri, quo transacto nisi debita fuerint persoluta, firmiter mancipia comparabunt quicumque ad emptionem accesserint. PROPOSITA PRID. KAL. IAN. CASTULONE SEVERO ET RUFINO CONSS.
- 10955 323 Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon Licinius
All who will not make a pagan sacrifice were to be burned with fire. [The persecution under Licinius is described in Eusebius, H.e. 10.8.14-19 and VC 1.51-56 and 2.1-2.5. The Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon is a Syriac document from Egypt, now at the British Museum. This persecution only affected the eastern portions of the empire.]
- 10960 Apr 28, 323 Law 78
CTh 7.1.1 Dorries p. 186
The punishment for treachery is being burned alive.
- 10965 Apr 28, 323 Law 79
CTh 7.12.1 Dorries p. 186
Unauthorized leaves of absence are punished with deportation or confiscation of property or, if the absence places the borders in danger, death.
- 10970 May 25, 323 Law 80: To Helpidius
CTh 16.2.5 Dorries p. 186
Clergy and other church servants who give in to force and take part in unchristian sacrifices are to be whipped or fined.
- 10975 323-324 Letter to Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem
CCS Tract 1, Chap 3 Silli 14
Summoning him concerning the question of the two bishops who disturb him daily.
- 10980 324 CRISPO III ET CONSTANTINO III CC. CONSS.
Leges huius anni et a. 321 passim perturbatas esse supra monuimus. - Post victoriam de Licinio Constantinus se contulit Thessalonicam, ubi occidi iussit Licinium legesque emisit diabus Mart. 8 et April 9. Praeterea et rerum emoria ad hunc annum deficit et subscriptiones.
- 10985 8 maart 324 Idem a. Helpidio. Ex quocumque Hispaniae litore portum urbis Romae navicularii navis intraverit, quae onus dumtaxat fiscale subvexerit, eandem sine interpellatione cuiusquam abire praecipimus nec ulli extraordinario oneri deservire, ut facilius iniuncta sibi possit implere obsequia. DAT. VIII ID. MART. THESSALONICAE CRISPO III ET CONSTANTINO III CONSS.
- 10990 24 april 324 Idem a. ad edictum Calchedoniensium et Macedoniensium.
Quotienscumque aliquam adscriptionem fieri necesse est, rectorum consiliis et dispositione uniuscuiusque civitatis fiat adscriptio, ne libidini et commodo potiorum multitudo mediocrium subiecta gravibus et iniquissimis adficiatur iniuriis. ACCEPTA VIII KAL. MAI. CRISPO III ET CONSTANTINO III AA. CONSS.
- 10995 16 mei 324 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Constantium praefectum praetorio. Remotis Licini tyranni constitutionibus et legibus omnes sciant veteris iuris et statutorum nostrorum observari debere sanctionem. PROPOSITA XVII KAL. IUN. CRISPO III ET CONSTANTINO III CAESS. CONSS.
- 11000 Leges huius anni et a. 321 passim perturbatus esse supra monuimus. - Post victoriam de Licinio Constantinus se contulit Thessalonicam, ubi occidi iussit Licinium legesque emisit diabus Mart. 8 et Apr. 9. Praeterea et rerum memoria a hunc annum deficit et subscriptiones.
- 11005 19 juni 324 Imp. Constantinus a. Dalmatio. pr. Quoniam cognovimus nonnullos vacationem a nobis personalium munerum impetrasse, alienos pro suis liberis nostris conspectibus offerentes, iubemus eos, cum hoc probatum sit, indulto beneficio privari, eos autem, qui cuiuscumque sexus liberos quinque habeant, impetrata semel vacatione potiri, ita ut, si in hoc numero filius legitimae aetatis inveniatur, obeundis statim pro suo patre muneribus adplicetur, patribus, qui filios vel filias

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- 11015 quinque habuerint, promissa legibus immunitate servanda. 1. Quod si quis propter censum tenuem vacationem meruerit atque hoc probaverit, beneficio potiatur, si propter rerum angustias ad personalia vocabatur obsequia. DAT. XIV KAL. FEB. SIRMIO CRISPO III ET CONSTANTINO II CONSS.
- 11020 9 juli 324 Idem a. ad Hilarianum proconsulem Africae. Si quis decurio vel propriae rei causa vel rei publicae cogatur nostrum adire comitatum, is non ante discedat quam insinuato iudici desiderio proficiscendi licentiam consequatur. Quod si pro sua audacia parvi aliquis hanc fecerit iussionem, deportationis exitum sortiatur. PROPOSITA VII ID. IUL. KARTHAGINE CRISPO III ET CONSTANTINO III CONSS.
- 11025 324 Eusebius, VC 2.48-60 Constantine
Constantine encourages all citizens of the empire, both pagan and Christian, to live in peace and unanimity without restraining the other group. [See note on the authenticity of anti-pagan legislation in the Life of Constantine.]
- 11030 324 Mss: Paris syr. 62 and Brit. Mus. Add. 14, 526 and 528. Constantine
Constantine directs bishops from all over the east to assemble at Nicaea, redirecting the council which was originally planned to meet in Ancyra.
- 11035 Apr 24, 324 and May 9, 328 Law 81: Chalcedonian and Macedonian edicat and to Aemilianus, the praetorian prefect
CTh 11.16.3-4 Dorries p. 187
Legislation in favor of the socially deprived.
- 11040 May 16, 324 Law 83: To Constantius, the praetorian prefect
CTh 15.14.1 Dorries p. 187
The laws of Licinius are repealed and only ancient laws and those of Constantine are in effect.
- 11045 July 324 Letter about the synod celebrated at Nicaea
BA 1.4; CCS Tract 1, Chap 3 Silli 15
Bidding all bishops come to the upcoming council of Nicaea and that no one prevent any of them from attending.
- 11050 After Sept 18, 324 Third inscription at Rome: The arch of St. Peter's Basilica
CIL VIp.X Nr.6,pXXIX; ICUR N.S. II 1,4092; ILCV 1752 Gruenewald 263
Dedicating the church to the One whose leadership raised the world triumphantly to the stars.
- 11055 Sept 18-Nov 11, 324 Inscription at Serino
AE 1939,151 Gruenewald 277
Refurnishing the aqueduct.
- 11060 After Nov 8, 324 Fourth inscription at Rome: The cross of St. Peter's Basilica
ICUR N.S. II 1,4093 Gruenewald 264
Building a gleaming royal temple.
- 11065 Late 324 Edict to the provincials of Palestine
VC 2.24-42 Silli 16; Dorries p. 43-50
Demonstrating the superiority of Christianity and publishing many various laws.
- 11070 Late 324 First letter to Eusebius
VC 2.46.1-3; SOC 1.9; THE 1.15.1-2; GEL 3.3.1-4; EH 8.27 Silli 17; Dorries p. 55
Instruction to repair damaged churches or erect new ones.
- 11070 Late 324 Edict to the eastern provincials
VC 2.48-60 Silli 18; Dorries p. 51-54
Demonstrating the righteousness of Christianity.
- 11075 Late 324 Letter to Alexander and Arius
VC 2.64-72; SOC 1.7; GEL 2.4.1-13; EH 8.13; CAS 1.19 Silli 19; Dorries p. 55-62; Opitz 17
Promoting peace from doctrinal debate.
- 11080 325 PAVLINO ET IVLIANO CONSS.
Annus est concilii Nicaeni (Mai. 20-Aug. 25), cui interfuit imperator.

- Vicennalia eius celebrata sunt incipiens imperatoris anno vicesimo, id est hoc anno Iul. 25. Ea quod sit Hieronymus vix ipso die Iul. 25 Nicomediae celebrari potuerunt, nisi propter iter quod parabat anticipata sunt. Post actum concilium Constantini in Orientem itineris etiam subscriptiones quaedam memoriam servarunt. - Hiemem a. 325/6
- 11085 Constantinus videtur exegisse in Thracie; nam Aquae videntur intellegi Constantinopolitanae, item Heraclea quae fuit Perinthus.
- 12 februari 325 IDEM A. ad universos provinciales. Tyranni et iudicum eius gestis infirmatis nemo per calumniam velit quod sponte ipse fecit evertere nec quod legitime gestum est. DAT. PRID. ID. FEB. PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 11090
- 25 februari 325 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD SILVIUM PAULUM MAG ITALIAE. Posta alia: Ne tua gravitas occupationibus aliis districta huiusmodi rescriptorum cumulis oneretur, placuit has solas causas gravitati tuae iniungere, in quibus persona potentior inferiorem aut minorem iudicem premere potest aut tale negotium emergit, quod in praesidali iudicio terminari fas non est, vel quod per eosdem praesides diu tractatum apud te debeat terminari. DAT. V K. MART. NICOM(EDIAE) PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSUL.
- 11095
- 6 maart 325 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. Nullus iudicum id, quod a re publica ex collatione susceperit, mutui interventione obposita vel invadat vel conetur invadere. DAT. PRID. NON. MART. TREVIRIS PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 11100
- 30 maart 325 IDEM A. HELLADIO. Saepius claruit quosdam ex advocatis existimationi su[ae] immensa atque inlicita compendia praetulisse nomine honorarior[um].
- 11105
- 18 april 325 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD DRACILIANUM AGENTEM VICES P(RAE)FECTORUM P(RAE)TORIO. Quicumque fruges humidus vel arentes indigentibus mutuas dederint, usurae nomine tertiam partem superfluum consequantur, id est ut, si summa crediti in duobus modis fuerit, tertium modium amplius consequantur. Quod si conventus creditor propter commodum usurarum debitum recuperare noluerit, non solum usuris, sed etiam debiti quantitate privandus est. Quae lex ad solas pertinet fruges: nam pro pecunia ultra singulas centesimas creditor vetatur accipere. P(RO)P(OSITA) CAESAREA XV KAL. MAI. PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 11110
- Interpretatio. Quicumque fruges humidus, id est vinum et oleum, vel quodcumque annonae genus alteri commodaverit, non plus ab eo propter usuram quam tertiam partem accipiat, id est ut supra duos modios, qui accepit, tertium reddat. Quod si conventus fuerit ille, qui commodat, et pro maiore usura noluerit debitum suum, adiuncto tertio modio, a debitore recipere, etiam debitum perdat. Quam rem ad solas fruges praecipimus pertinere. Nam quando pecunia fuerit commodata, nisi unam tantum
- 11115
- 11120 centesimam a creditoribus exigi non iubemus.
- 22 mei 325 IDEM A. SEVERO P(RAE)FECTO U(RBI). Quotiens rescripto nostro praeiudicium vel moratoria praescriptio remittitur, aditus supplicandi pandatur: quod autem totius negotii cognitionem tollit et vires principalis negotii exhaurit, sine gravi partis alterius dispendio convelli non potest. Nec praescriptionis igitur peremptoriae relaxatio petatur, nec contra edictum supplicetur. DAT X KAL. IUN. NICIAE PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 11125
- 17 juni 325 IDEM A. ad Maximum praefectum Urbi. pr. Comitatus et ripenses milites atque protectores suum caput, patris ac matris et uxoris, si tamen eos superstites habeant, omnes excusent, si censibus inditi habeantur. Quod si aliquam ex his personis non habuerint vel nullam habuerint, tantum pro suo debent peculio excusare, quantum pro iisdem, si non deessent, excusare potuissent, ita tamen, ut non pactione cum alteris facta simulato dominio rem alienam excusent, sed vere proprias facultates.
- 11130
1. Veteranos autem post emeritae missionis epistulas tam suum quam uxoris caput excusare sancimus aut, si honestam missionem meruerint, suum caput tantummodo excusare ceteros. Omnes veteranos de quocumque exercitu una cum uxore sua unius capitis frui excusatione praecipimus.
- 11135
2. Ripensis autem veteranus, qui ex priore lege post viginti quattuor stipendia honesta missione impetrata unius excusatione capitis fruebatur, etiam si viginti stipendiis completis honestam missionem meruerit, ad exemplum comitatensium militum unum caput excuset. Intra viginti etiam stipendia dimissus, quoniam inbecilli et debiles censibus non dedicantur, eodem beneficio utatur.
- 11140
3. Alares autem et cohortales dum militant, propria capita excusent, veteranis quoque eadem excusationis solacia habituris. Qui quocumque tempore in quibuscumque partibus
- 11145

- meruerint missionem, si ex comitatensi militia senectutis vel debilitatis causa dimissi fuerint, indiscreto stipendiorum numero duo capita excusaturis, id est suum adque uxoris; et ripensibus indiscrete idem privilegium habituris, si se ob belli vulnera dimissos probaverint: ita ut, si quis eorum post quindecim stipendia intra
- 11150 viginti et quattuor annos ex militia decesserit, sui tantum capitis excusatione fruatur; uxorem enim ripensis, si militia decesserit post viginti et quattuor annos, excusari oportet. PROPOSITA XV KAL. IUL. ANTIOCHIAE PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
17 June 325 Idem A. to the Maximum prefect of the city.
- 11155 The soldiers and protectors of the counties and ripens are to excuse all their heads, of their father and mother and of their wife, if they have them still alive, if they are found to be included in the censuses. But if they do not have any of these persons or have none, they must excuse only for their own savings, as much as they could have excused for the same, if they were not lacking, so that they do not excuse
- 11160 someone else's property by pretending to have dominion by agreement with others, but truly their own faculties.
1. We sanction veterans, however, after letters of merited mission, to excuse both their own heads and those of their wives, or, if they have earned an honorable mission, to excuse only their heads from the rest. We order all veterans from any
- 11165 army to enjoy the excuse of one head together with their wives.
2. A retired veteran, who, according to the previous law, enjoyed the exemption of one head after twenty-four pay periods after obtaining an honorable discharge, even if he has earned an honorable discharge after completing twenty pay periods, shall, following the example of the county soldiers, exempt one head. Even those discharged
- 11170 within twenty pay periods, since the weak and feeble are not dedicated to the census, shall enjoy the same benefit.
3. Winged and cohortal soldiers, while they are serving, shall exempt their own heads, and veterans shall also have the same exemption benefits. Those who have earned a discharge at any time in any part, if they have been discharged from the
- 11175 county service on account of old age or infirmity, shall exempt two heads, that is, their own and their wife's, regardless of the number of pay periods; and retired veterans shall have the same privilege regardless of the number of pay periods, if they have proved that they were discharged due to wounds of war: so that, if any of them dies from the service after fifteen pay periods within twenty-four years, he
- 11180 shall enjoy the exemption of only his own head; for retired veterans, if their wife dies from the service after twenty-four years, must be excused. PROPOSITIONS XV KAL. JULY ANTIOCH CONSULTATION OF PAULIN AND JULIAN.
- 5 juli 325? Unde ex corpore Theodosiani: imp. Constantinus a. et Iulianus caes. ad Taurum pp. (ad locum:) multabuntur iudices, qui rescripta contempserint aut distulerint. DAT. III NON. IUL. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 11185 11 juli 325 IDEM A. ad Maximum. Quoniam diversis praestitimus, ut legionibus vel cohortibus deputentur vel militiae restituantur, quisquis huiusmodi beneficium proferat, requiratur, utrum ex genere decurionum sit vel ante nominatus ad curiam, ut, si quid tale probetur, curiae suae et civitati reddatur. Quam formam circa omnes, qui iam dudum probati in militaribus officiis agunt vel restituti militiae sacramento muniuntur vel postea per suffragia probabuntur, observari conveniet. PROPOSITA V ID IUL. ANTIOCHIAE PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 11190 11 juli 325 IDEM A. ad Eufrasium rationalem trium provinciarum. pr. Post alia: pro multis etiam et in diversis locis constitutis liceat simul auri pondus inferre, ita ut pro omnibus fundis securitas emissis cautionibus detur, ne separatim ab unoquoque auro exacto multis et adsiduis incrementis provincialium utilitas fatigetur. Hoc quoque addimus, ut unusquisque quod debet intra anni metas, quo tempore voluerit, inferat et per tabularium apparitorem illatio cognoscatur absque omni mora auro suscipiendo, ne quis in aliena civitate sumptus faciat vel, quod est gravius, legem commissi frustratus incurrat. Nam si solvere volens a suscipiente fuerit contemptus, testibus adhibitis contestationem debebit proponere, ut hoc probato et ipse
- 11200 securitatem debitam commissi nexu liberatus cum emolumentis accipiat et qui suscipere neglexerit, eius ponderis quod debebatur duplum fisci rationibus per vigorem officii tui inferre cogatur. DAT. XIV KAL. AUG. PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 11205 19 juli 325 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. ad Eufrasium rationalem trium provinciarum. Si qui solidos appendere voluerit, auri cocti septem solidos quaternorum scripulorum nostris vultibus figuratos adpendat pro singulis unciis, XIV vero pro duabus, iuxta hanc formam omnem summam debiti illaturus. Eadem ratione servanda, et si materiam
- 11210

- quis inferat, ut solidos dedisse videatur. Aurum vero quod infertur aequa lance et libramentis paribus suscipiatur, scilicet ut duobus digitis summitas lini retineatur, tres reliqui liberi ad susceptorem emineant nec pondera deprimant nullo examinis libramento servato, nec aequis ac paribus suspenso statere momentis. Et cetera. PROPOSITA XIV KAL. AUG. PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 30 juli 325 IDEM A. AD SEVERUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Nulli prorsus audientia praebeatur, qui causae continentiam dividit et ex beneficii praerogativa id, quod in uno eodemque iudicio poterat terminari, apud diversos iudices voluerit ventilare: poena proposita, si quis contra hanc supplicaverit sanctionem atque alium super possessione alium super principali quaestione iudicem postulaverit, ut, rei quae petebatur integra aestimatione subducta, quintam portionem rei publicae eius civitatis inferat, in cuius finibus res de qua agitur constituta est. P(RO)P(OSITA) III KAL. AUG. PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- Interpretatio. Nullus penitus audiatur, qui unius causae propositionem apud duos iudices partiri voluerit, ut apud unum de negotio principali proponat, et ab alio sibi momenti beneficio rem postulet consignari. Quod si quis hoc facere fortasse praesumpserit, eiusmodi poena se noverit condemnandum, ut nec illud, quod repetit, ulla ratione recipiat, et quintam portionem facultatum suarum, de quantum ibi possederit, reipublicae civitatis illius cedat, in cuius finibus res, de qua agitur, fuerit constituta.
- 29 augustus 325 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD CONSTANTIUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORIO). Edicto omnes provinciales monemus, ut, si interpellantes proprios praesides contempti fuerint, gravitatem tuam interpellent, ut, si id culpa vel neglegentia praesidum admissum esse constiterit, ilico ad scientiam nostram referat gravitas tua, quo possint congrue coerceri. DAT. IV K. SEPT. ANTIOCHIAE PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 17 september 325 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. Aurelio Helladio. IDEM A. AD UNIVERSOS PROVINCIALES. Si quis est cuiuscumque loci ordinis dignitatis, qui se in quemcumque iudicum comitum amicorum vel palatinorum meorum aliquid veraciter et manifeste probare posse confidit, quod non integre adque iuste gessisse videatur, intrepidus et securus accedat, interpellet me: ipse audiam omnia, ipse cognoscam et si fuerit conprobatum, ipse me vindicabo. Dicat, securus et bene sibi conscius dicat: si probaverit, ut dixi, ipse me vindicabo de eo, qui me usque ad hoc tempus simulata integritate deceperit, illum autem, qui hoc prodiderit et comprobaverit, et dignitatibus et rebus augebo. Ita mihi summa divinitas semper propitia sit et me incolumem praestet, ut cupio, felicissima et florente re publica. P(RO)P(OSITA) XV KAL. OCTOB. NICOMED(IAE) PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 17 september 325 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. Aurelio Helladio. Etsi veteris iuris definitio et retro principum rescripta in iudicio petitori eius rei quam petit necessitatem probationis dederunt, tamen nos aequitate et iustitia moti iubemus, ut, si quando talis emergerit causa, in primordio iuxta regulam iuris petitor debeat probare, unde res ad ipsum pertineat; sed si deficiat pars eius in probationibus, tunc demum possessori necessitas imponatur probandi, unde possideat vel quo iure teneat, ut sic veritas examinetur. DAT. NAISSO XV KAL. OCTOB. PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 1 oktober 325 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. Maximo praefecto praetorio. Cruenta spectacula in otio civili et domestica quiete non placent. Quapropter, qui omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus eos, qui forte delictorum causa hanc condicionem adque sententiam mereri consueverant, metallo magis facies inservire, ut sine sanguine suorum scelerum poenas agnoscant. PROPOSITA BERYTO KAL. OCTOB. PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 7 oktober 325 IDEM A. ad Constantium praefectum praetorio. Quoniam relictis curiis nonnulli ad militiae praesidia confugiunt, omnes, qui nondum primipilo inveniuntur obnoxii, solutos militia ad eandem curiam reverti praecipimus: his solis in militia permansuris, qui pro loco atque ordine iam pastui adtinentur. DAT. NON. OCTOB. PAULINO ET IULIANO CONSS.
- 25 december 325 IDEM A. ad Maximum vicarium Orientis. Si qui vel ex maiore vel ex minore civitate originem ducit, si eandem evitare studens ad alienam se civitatem incolatus occasione contulerit, et super hoc vel preces dare tentaverit vel qualibet fraude niti, ut originem propriae civitatis eludat, duarum civitatum decurionatus onera sustineat, in una voluntatis, in una originis gratia. PP. VIII. KAL. IAN. PAULINO ET IULIANO COSS.

- 11280 Interpretatio. Si quicumque curialis de ea, in qua natus est, civitate ad aliam transire voluerit, condicionem curiae debitam nullatenus possit evadere, nec si hoc ipsum mereri interposita supplicatione tentaverit, nec ullo argumento necessitates aut servitia civitatis suae pro eo, quod habitationem mutare voluit, possit evadere. Nam quicumque hoc fecerit et se in aliam civitatem transtulerit, hoc iubet, ut in utraque serviat civitate, id est in una pro condicione nascendi et in alia pro habitandi voluntate deserviat.
- 11285
- 1 oktober 325 CT 15.12.1 Constantine
Since gladiatorial games are eliminated, those criminals who formerly would have been made gladiators as punishment, are now to be sent to the mines.
- 11290
- 325 Constantine
Constantine is on record as having addressed the council at Nicaea three times. The first time he discouraged the bishops from accusing one another, and then burned the accusations. The second, he expressed his desire that the schism caused by the Arians be healed. Third, he dismissed the council and encouraged the use of the Nicene Creed.
- 11295
- 325 Gelasius, H.e. 3, appendix 1 Constantine
Constantine explains to the congregation at Nicomedia why he exiled their bishop Eusebius. Eusebius had been the leading proponent of Arianism, and had encouraged Arians from Egypt even after the Council of Nicaea. He warns them not to defend him, or they too will be punished. [Within a few years, Eusebius of Nicomedia had regained the emperor's favor. He was eventually made bishop of Constantinople and baptized Constantine on his deathbed.]
- 11300
- 11305 325 Gelasius, H.e. 3, appendix 2 Constantine
Constantine warns a certain Theodotus that if he does not support and uphold the ruling of the Council of Nicaea, he will be banished as other bishops already have.
- 11310 325 Eusebius, VC 3.17-20 Constantine
Constantine encourages all churches throughout the empire to celebrate Easter according to the ruling of the Council of Nicaea. There is no penalty for disobedience, however.
- 11315 325 Socrates, H.e. 1.9 Constantine
Constantine exhorts the Alexandrians to follow the Nicene faith, which he praises, and to disavow Arius, whom he condemns. The council is to be regarded as the will of God.
- 11320 [laws] Nicene Creed of 325
Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν·
We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible.
καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς [μονογενῆ, τοὔτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ,] Φῶς ἐκ Φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί,
And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father [the only-begotten; that is, of the essence of the Father, God of God,] Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father;
11325 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, [τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ,]
By whom all things were made [both in heaven and on earth];
τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,
Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate and was made man;
11335 παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
He suffered, and the third day he rose again, ascended into heaven;
ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.
From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.
And in the Holy Ghost.
11340 [Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ Πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ Ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστόν, ἢ τρεπτόν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία].

11345 [But those who say: 'There was a time when he was not;' and 'He was not before he was made;' and 'He was made out of nothing', or 'He is of another substance' or 'essence', or 'The Son of God is created', or 'changeable', or 'alterable'— they are condemned by the holy catholic and apostolic Church.]

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicene_Creed

11350

Canon XII van Nicaea

XII. Quicumque vocati per gratiam, primum quidem ardorem fidemve suam ostenderunt, et cingulum militiae deposuerunt, postea vero ut canes ad suum vomitum reversi sunt, ita ut aliqui et pecuniam darent, et beneficiis militiam repeterent, hi decem annis jaceant, post triennii auditionis tempus. In his autem omnibus observare oportet propositum et modum poenitentiae. Quicumque enim et timore, et lacrymis, et patientia, et bonis operibus conversionem absque simulatione demonstrant, hi definitum tempus auditionis implentes, tum demum orationibus communicabunt, et postea licebit episcopo, de his aliquid humanius cogitare. Quicumque vero indifferenter tulerunt, et habitum Ecclesiam introeundi sibi arbitrati sunt ad conversionem sufficere, hi definitum tempus omnino impleant.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf214.vii.vi.xviii.html>

https://www.earlychurchtexts.com/main/nicaea/canons_of_nicaea_02.shtml

Canon XII.

11365

As many as were called by grace, and displayed the first zeal, having cast aside their military girdles, but afterwards returned, like dogs, to their own vomit, (so that some spent money and by means of gifts regained their military stations); let these, after they have passed the space of three years as hearers, be for ten years prostrators. But in all these cases it is necessary to examine well into their purpose and what their repentance appears to be like. For as many as give evidence of their conversions by deeds, and not pretence, with fear, and tears, and perseverance, and good works, when they have fulfilled their appointed time as hearers, may properly communicate in prayers; and after that the bishop may determine yet more favourably concerning them. But those who take [the matter] with indifference, and who think the form of [not] entering the Church is sufficient for their conversion, must fulfil the whole time.

11375

Notes. ANCIENT EPITOME OF CANON XII.

Those who endured violence and were seen to have resisted, but who afterwards yielded to wickedness, and returned to the army, shall be excommunicated for ten years. But in every case the way in which they do their penance must be scrutinized. And if anyone who is doing penance shews himself zealous in its performance, the bishop shall treat him more leniently than had he been cold and indifferent.

11380

LAMBERT. The abuse of this power, namely, of granting under certain circumstances a relaxation in the penitential exercises enjoined by the canons—led, in later times, to the practice of commuting such exercises for money payments, etc.

11385

HEFELE. In his last contests with Constantine, Licinius had made himself the representative of heathenism; so that the final issue of the war would not be the mere triumph of one of the two competitors, but the triumph or fall of Christianity or heathenism. Accordingly, a Christian who had in this war supported the cause of Licinius and of heathenism might be considered as a lapsus, even if he did not formally fall away. With much more reason might those Christians be treated as lapsi who, having conscientiously given up military service (this is meant by the soldier's belt), afterwards retracted their resolution, and went so far as to give money and presents for the sake of readmission, on account of the numerous advantages which military service then afforded. It must not be forgotten that Licinius, as Zonaras and Eusebius relate, required from his soldiers a formal apostasy; compelled them, for example, to take part in the heathen sacrifices which were held in the camps, and dismissed from his service those who would not apostatize.

11395

BRIGHT. This canon (which in the Prisca and the Isidorian version stands as part of canon 11) deals, like it, with cases which had arisen under the Eastern reign of Licinius, who having resolved to "purge his army of all ardent Christians" (Mason, Persec. of Diocl. p. 308), ordered his Christian officers to sacrifice to the gods on pain of being cashiered (compare Euseb. H. E. x. 8; Vit. Con. i. 54). It is to be observed here that military life as such was not deemed unchristian. The case of Cornelius was borne in mind. "We serve in your armies," says Tertullian, Apol. 42 (although later, as a Montanist, he took a rigorist and fanatical view, De Cor. 11), and compare the fact which underlies the tale of the "Thundering Legion,"—the presence of Christians in the army of Marcus Aurelius. It was the heathenish adjuncts to their calling which often brought Christian soldiers to a stand (see Routh. Scr.

11405

11410

Opusc. i. 410), as when Marinus' succession to a centurionship was challenged on the ground that he could not sacrifice to the gods (Euseb. H. E. vii. 15). Sometimes, indeed, individual Christians thought like Maximilian in the Martyrology, who absolutely refused to enlist, and on being told by the proconsul that there were Christian soldiers in the imperial service, answered, "Ipsi sciunt quod ipsis expediat" (Ruinart, Act. Sanc. p. 341). But, says Bingham (Antiq. xi. 5, 10), "the ancient canons did not condemn the military life as a vocation simply unlawful... I believe there is no instance of any man being refused baptism merely because he was a soldier, unless some unlawful circumstance, such as idolatry, or the like, made the vocation sinful". After the victory of Constantine in the West, the Council of Arles excommunicated those who in time of peace "threw away their arms" (can. 2). In the case before us, some Christian officers had at first stood firm under the trial imposed on them by Licinius. They had been "called by grace" to an act of self-sacrifice (the phrase is one which St. Augustine might have used); and had shown "their eagerness at the outset" ("primum suum ardorem," Dionysius; Philo and Evarestus more laxly, "primordia bona;" compare τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην, Rev. ii. 4). Observe here how beautifully the ideas of grace and free will are harmonized. These men had responded to a Divine impulse: it might seem that they had committed themselves to a noble course: they had cast aside the "belts" which were their badge of office (compare the cases of Valentinian and Valens, Soc. iii. 13, and of Benevolus throwing down his belt at the feet of Justina, Soz. vii. 13). They had done, in fact, just what Auxentius, one of Licinius' notaries, had done when, according to the graphic anecdote of Philostorgius (Fragm. 5), his master bade him place a bunch of grapes before a statue of Bacchus in the palace-court; but their zeal, unlike his, proved to be too impulsive - they reconsidered their position, and illustrated the maxim that in morals second thoughts are not best (Butler, Sermon. 7), by making unworthy attempts - in some cases by bribery - to recover what they had worthily resigned. (Observe the Grecised Latinism βενεφικίους and compare the Latinisms of St. Mark, and others in Euseb. iii. 20, vi. 40, x. 5.) This the Council describes in proverbial language, probably borrowed from 2 Pet. ii. 22, but, it is needless to say, without intending to censure enlistment as such. They now desired to be received to penance: accordingly they were ordered to spend three years as Hearers, during which time "their purpose, and the nature (εἶδος) of their repentance" were to be carefully "examined". Again we see the earnest resolution of the Council to make discipline a moral reality, and to prevent it from being turned into a formal routine; to secure, as Rufinus' abridgment expresses it, a repentance "fructuosam et attentam". If the penitents were found to have "manifested their conversion by deeds, and not in outward show (σχῆματι), by awe, and tears, and patience, and good works" (such, for instance, Zonaras comments, as almsgiving according to ability), "it would be then reasonable to admit them to a participation in the prayers," to the position of Consistentes, "with permission also to the bishop to come to a yet more indulgent resolution concerning them," by admitting them to full communion. This discretionary power of the bishop to dispense with part of a penance-time is recognized in the fifth canon of Ancyra and the sixteenth of Chalcedon, and mentioned by Basil, Epist. 217, c. 74. It was the basis of "indulgences" in their original form (Bingham, xviii. 4, 9). But it was too possible that some at least of these lapsi might take the whole affair lightly, "with indifference" ἄδιαφόρως - not seriously enough, as Hervetas renders - just as if, in common parlance, it did not signify: the fourth Ancyrene canon speaks of lapsi who partook of the idol-feast ἄδιαφόρως as if it involved them in no sin (see below on Eph. 5, Chalc. 4). It was possible that they might "deem" the outward form of "entering the church" to stand in the narthex among the Hearers (here, as in c. 8, 19, σχῆμα denotes an external visible fact) sufficient to entitle them to the character of converted penitents, while their conduct out of church was utterly lacking in seriousness and self-humiliation. In that case there could be no question of shortening their penance time, for they were not in a state to benefit by indulgence: it would be, as the Roman Presbyters wrote to Cyprian, and as he himself wrote to his own church, a "mere covering over of the wound" (Epist. 30, 3), an "injury" rather than "a kindness" (De Lapsis, 16); they must therefore "by all means" go through ten years as Kneelers, before they can become Consistentes. There is great difficulty about the last phrase and Gelasius of Cyzicus, the Prisca, Dionysius Exiguus, the pseudo-Isidore, Zonaras and most others have considered the "not" an interpolation. I do not see how dropping the "not" makes the meaning materially clearer.

11475

Canon 12 Readmission for those who returned to the military

As for those who were called by grace and at first zealously threw away their military uniforms, but then later returned like dogs to their own vomit (so that some regained their military positions through bribes and gifts), let these spend three years as hearers and ten years as prostrators. But in all such cases it is necessary to carefully examine their intentions and their repentance. If they give evidence of their conversions by their actions (and not mere pretence), with fear, tears, perseverance, and good works, then they may properly join the assembly in prayers once they have fulfilled their appointed time as hearers. Beyond that, the bishop may make an even more lenient (philanthropion) decision concerning them. But those who take the matter with indifference, and who think the prescribed form of entering the church is sufficient for their readmission, must fulfill the whole time.

Imperial Decrees of Constantine

from Ecclesiastical History, Book 10, Ch. 5

As we long since perceived that religious liberty should not be denied, but that it should be granted to the opinion and wishes of each one to perform divine duties according to his own determination, we had given orders, that each one, and the Christians among the rest, have the liberty to observe the religion of his choice, and his peculiar mode of worship. And as there plainly appeared to be many and different sects added in that edict, in which this privilege was granted them, some of them perhaps, after a little while, on this account shrunk from this kind of attention and observance. Wherefore as I, Constantine and Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came under favorable auspices to Milan, and took under consideration all affairs that pertained to the public benefit and welfare, these things among the rest appeared to us to be most advantageous and profitable to all. We have resolved among the first thing to ordain those matters by which reverence and worship to the Deity might be exhibited; that is, how we may grant likewise to the Christians, and to all, the free choice to follow that mode of worship which they may wish, that whatsoever divinity and celestial power may exist, may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government. Therefore, we have decreed the following ordinance, as our will, with a salutary and most correct intention, that no freedom at all shall be refused to Christians, to follow or to keep their observances or worship; but that to each one power be granted to devote his mind to that worship which he may think adapted to himself, that the Deity may in all things exhibit to us his accustomed favour and kindness. It was just and consistent that we should write that this was our pleasure, that all exceptions respecting the Christians being completely removed, which were contained in the former epistle, that we sent to your fidelity, and whatever measures were wholly sinister and foreign to our mildness, that these should be altogether annulled; and now that each one of the Christians may freely and without molestation, pursue and follow that course of worship which he has proposed to himself: which, indeed, we have resolved to communicate most fully to your care and diligence, that you may know we have granted liberty and full freedom to the Christians, to observe their own mode of worship; which as your fidelity understands absolutely granted to them by us, the privilege is also granted to others to pursue that worship and religion they wish, which it is obvious is consistent with the peace and tranquility of our times; that each may have the privilege to select and to worship whatsoever divinity he pleases. But this has been done by us, that we might not appear in any manner to detract any thing from any manner of religion, or any mode of worship. And this we further decree, with respect to the Christians, that the places in which they were formerly accustomed to assemble, concerning which we also formerly wrote to your fidelity, in a different form, that if any persons have purchased these, either from our treasury or from any other one, these shall restore them to the Christians, without money and without demanding any price, without any superadded value, or augmentation, without delay, or hesitancy. And if any have happened to receive these places as presents, that they shall restore them as soon as possible to the Christians, so that if either those that purchased or those that received them as presents, have any thing to request of our munificence, they may go to the provincial governor, as the judge, that provision may also be made for them by our clemency; all which, it will be necessary to be delivered up to the body of Christians, by your care, without any delay.

And since the Christians themselves are known to have had not only those places where they were accustomed to meet, but other places also, belonging not to individuals among them, but to the right of the whole body of Christians, you will also command all these, by virtue of the law before mentioned, without any hesitancy, to be restored to these same Christians, that is to their body, and to each conventicle respectively; the aforesaid consideration, to wit, being observed; namely, that they

- who as we have said restore them without valuation and price, may expect their indemnity from our munificence and liberality. In all which it will be incumbent on you, to manifest your exertions as much as possible, to the aforesaid body of Christians, that our orders may be most speedily accomplished, that likewise in this, provision may be made by our clemency, for the preservation of the common and public tranquility. For by these means, as before said, the divine favour with regard to us, which we have already experienced in many affairs, will continue firm and permanent at all times. But that the purpose of this our ordinance and liberality may be extended to the knowledge of all, it is expected that these things written by us, should be proposed and published to the knowledge of all, that this act of our liberality and kindness may remain unknown to none.
- Copy of another Ordinance which was issued by the Emperors, indicating that the benefit was conferred solely on the catholic (universal) church. Hail, our most esteemed Anulinus. This is the course of our benevolence; that we wish those things that belong justly to others, should not only remain unmolested, but should also when necessary be restored, most esteemed Anulinus. Whence it is our will, that when thou shalt receive this epistle, if any of those things belonging to the catholic church of the Christians in the several cities or other places, are now possessed either by the decurions, or any others, these thou shalt cause immediately to be restored to their churches. Since we have previously determined, that whatsoever these same churches before possessed, shall be restored to their right. When, therefore, your fidelity has understood this decree of our orders to be most evident and plain, make all haste to restore, as soon as possible, all that belongs to the churches, whether gardens or houses, or any thing else, that we may learn thou hast attended to, and most carefully observe this our decree. Farewell, most esteemed and beloved Anulinus.
- Copy of the Emperor's Epistle, in which he ordains a council of bishops to be held at Rome, for the unity and peace of the church. Constantine Augustus to Miltiades bishop of Rome, and to Marcus. As many communications of this kind have been sent to me from Anulinus, the most illustrious proconsul of Africa, in which it is contained that Cæcilianus, the bishop of Carthage, was accused, in many respects, by his colleagues in Africa; and as this appears to be grievous, that in those provinces which Divine Providence has freely entrusted to my fidelity, and in which there is a vast population, the multitude are found inclining to deteriorate, and in a manner divided into two parties, and among others, that the bishops were at variance; I have resolved that the same Cæcilianus, together with ten bishops, who appear to accuse him, and ten others, whom he himself may consider necessary for his cause, shall sail to Rome; that you, being present there, as also Reticius, Maternus, and Marinus, your colleagues, whom I have commanded to hasten to Rome for this purpose, may be heard, as you may understand most consistent with the most sacred law. And, that you may have the most perfect knowledge of these matters, I have subjoined to my own epistle copies of the writings sent to me by Anulinus, and sent them to your aforesaid colleagues; in which your gravity will read and consider in what way the aforesaid cause may be most accurately investigated and justly decided; since it neither escapes your diligence, that I show such regard for the holy catholic church, that I wish you, upon the whole, to leave no room for schism or division. May the power of the great God preserve you many years, most esteemed.
- Copy of the Epistle in which the Emperor commanded another council to be held, for the purpose of removing all the dissensions of the bishops. Constantine Augustus to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse. As there were some before who perversely and wickedly began to waver in the holy religion and celestial virtue, and to abandon the doctrine of the catholic (universal) church, desirous, therefore, of preventing such disputes among them, I had thus written, that this subject, which appeared to be agitated among them, might be rectified, by delegating certain bishops from Gaul, and summoning others of the opposite parties from Africa, who are pertinaciously and incessantly contending with one another, that by a careful examination of the matter in their presence, it might thus be decided. But since, as it happens, some, forgetful of their own salvation, and the reverence due to our most holy religion, even now do not cease to protract their own enmity, being unwilling to conform to the decision already promulgated, and asserting that they were very few that advanced their sentiments and opinions, or else that all points which ought to have been first fully discussed not being first examined, they proceeded with too

- much haste and precipitancy to give publicity to the decision. Hence it has happened,
 11610 that those very persons who ought to exhibit a brotherly and peaceful unanimity, are
 disgracefully and detestably at variance with one another, and thus give this
 occasion of derision to those that are without, and whose minds are averse to our
 most holy religion. Hence it has appeared necessary to me to provide that this
 matter, which ought to have ceased after the decision was issued by their own
 11615 voluntary agreement, now, at length, should be fully terminated by the intervention
 of many.
 Since, therefore, we have commanded many bishops to meet together from different and
 remote places, in the city of Arles, towards the calends of August, I have also
 thought proper to write to thee, that taking a public vehicle from the most
 11620 illustrious Latronianus, corrector of Sicily, and taking with thee two others of the
 second rank, which thou mayest select, also three servants to afford you services on
 the way; I would have you meet them within the same day at the aforesaid place. That
 by the weight of your authority, and the prudence and unanimity of the rest that
 assemble, this dispute, which has disgracefully continued until the present time, in
 11625 consequence of certain disgraceful contentions, may be discussed, by hearing all that
 shall be alleged by those who are now at variance, whom we have also commanded to be
 present, and thus the controversy be reduced, though slowly, to that faith, and
 observance of religion, and fraternal concord, which ought to prevail. May Almighty
 God preserve thee in safety many years.
 11630 [https://wadsworth.com/history_d/special_features/ilrn_legacy/wawcl1c01c/content/wciv1/
 readings/eusebius.html](https://wadsworth.com/history_d/special_features/ilrn_legacy/wawcl1c01c/content/wciv1/readings/eusebius.html)
- Jan 16-31, 325 Letter to the synod gathered at Ancyra
 Codex Brit Lib Add 14526 and 14528; Codex Parisinus syriacus 62 Silli 20; Dorries p.
 11635 62; Schwartz p. 289; Schulthess p. 1; Opitz 20
 Urging them to now assemble for the council in Nicaea.
- Jan 16-31, 325 Letter about the synod celebrated at Nicaea
 KAU 2.1 Silli 21
 11640 Explaining why the upcoming council is to be held at Nicaea.
- Feb 12, 325 Law 84: To all the provincials
 CTh 15.14.2 Dorries p. 187
 Legitimate acts of the tyrant and his judges remain in effect.
 11645
- Apr 17, 325 Law 85: To Dracilianus, the acting praetorian prefect
 CTh 2.33.1 Dorries p. 187
 Interest for borrowed crops is set at 50%, but the creditor can forego this.
- 11650 325 Opening address at Nicaea
 VC 3.12; GEL 2.7.1-41 Dorries p. 62-66
 An appeal for peace.
- After June 19, 325 Letter to the catholic church of Alexandria
 11655 ATH 38; SOC 1.9; GEL 2.37.1-9; CJ; TD A.3 Silli 22; Dorries 68-70; Opitz 25
 Happily reporting that the Council of Nicaea had unanimously confessed the truth and
 condemned Arius.
- After June 19, 325 Letter to the churches
 11660 VC 3.17-20.2; SOC 1.9; THE 1.10; GEL 2.37.10-22; EH 8.25 Silli 23; Dorries p. 66-68;
 Opitz 26
 Exhortation to follow the unanimous example of the Council of Nicaea.
- After June 19, 325 Second letter to Eusebius
 11665 VC 4.35 Silli 24
 Praising his discourse about Easter.
 July 11 and Oct 7, 325 Law 86: To Maximus and to Constantius, the praetorian prefect
 CTh 12.1.10-11 Dorries p. 187
 Denying the right to leave the curia for a military career.
- 11670 Sept 17, 325 Law 87: To all the provincials
 CTh 9.1.4 Dorries p. 187-188
 Encouraging people to come forth and make complaints against people of his closest
 circle.

- 11675 Sept 17, 325 Law 88: To Aurelius Helladius
CTh 11.39.1 Dorries p. 188
In cases of uncertain evidence, the person currently in possession must show proof.
- 11680 Oct 1, 325 Law 89: To Maximus, the praetorian prefect
CTh 15.12.1 Dorries p. 188
Gladiatorial games are to be put to an end, with mine work replacing it as a punishment.
- 11685 Nov-Dec, 325 Letter to the catholic church of Nicomedia against Eusebius and Theognis
ATH 41; GEL 1.11.22-31; THE 1.20.1-10; CJ; CAS 2.22.5-16 Silli 25; Dorries p. 70-74; Opitz 27
Setting forth his own belief in Christ's true divinity and blaming Eusebius for the current conflict.
- 11690 Nov-Dec, 325 Letter to Theodotus
ATH 42; GEL 3 App 2 Silli 26; Dorries p. 76-77; Opitz 28
Informing him that Eusebius and Theognis have been condemned and so their advice should be discounted.
- 11695 End of 325-Jan 326 Letter to Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius
PUB Silli 27; Dorries p. 127-128
Thankfully accepting the poems dedicated to him and offering his own opinions on poetry.
- 11700 326 CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
Huius anni annique 320 leges perturbatas tradi supra monimus. - Ex Thracia, ibi fuit mense Februario (nam nae leges utpote in Oriente datae non possunt transferri ad a. 320, ut omnino ad eum annum transferendae sunt Serdicensis et Sirmienses) per Aquileiam et Mediolanum Constantinus venit Romam, ubi eum celebrasse vicennalia die primo anni vicesimi primi scilicet die Iul. 25, multis testibus constat. Etiam adventus adscriptus in fastia Philocalianis editis a. 354 ad diem Iul. 28 vel 21 et profectio divi adnotata. Ibidem ad Sept. 27 non sine probilitate relata sunt ad hanc Constantini in urbe moram. - Hiemem a. 326/7 Constantinus ubi exegerit, parum constat; set videtur ex urbe rediisse Mediolanum (ubi eum collocat subscriptio Oct 23. cum laterculo praefectorum consentiens) et inde in Illyricum se contulisse.
- 11705 27 januari 326 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. ET C. AD MAXIMUM P(RAE)FECTUM U(RBI).
Si is, qui dignitate Romanae civitatis amissa Latinus fuerit effectus, in eodem statu munere lucis excesserit, omne peculium eius a patrono vel a patroni filiis sive nepotibus, qui nequaquam ius agnationis amiserint, vindicetur. Nec ad disceptationem veluti hereditariae controversiae filiis liceat accedere, cum eius potissimum status ratio tractanda sit, non quem beneficio libertatis indultae sortitus acceperit, sed is, in quo munere lucis excesserit. DAT. III KAL. FEB. SERDIC(AE) IPSO A. VII ET C. CONSS.
- 11715 Interpretatio. Si quis civis Romanus libertus, intercedente culpa, Latinus libertus fuerit effectus, si in eadem Latinitate, sine reparatione prioris status, ab hac luce discesserit, facultates illius patronus vel patroni filii vel nepotes, qui tamen per virilem lineam descendunt et emancipati non fuerint, sibimet vindicabunt. Nec si filios, quos civis Romanus generavit, fortasse dimiserit, aliquid de eius hereditate praesumant: quia non quaerendum est, in qua libertate nati fuerint, sed in qua pater eorum positus condicione defecerit.
- 11720 28 januari 326 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD POPULUM. Quoniam inter alias captiones praecipue commissoriae legis crescit asperitas, placet infirmari eam et in posterum omnem eius memoriam aboleri. Si quis igitur tali contractu laborat, hac sanctione respiret, quae cum praeteritis praesentia quoque depellit et futura prohibet. Creditores enim re amissa iubemus recipere quod dederunt. DAT. PRID. KAL. FEBR. SERDIC(AE) CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 11730 Interpretatio. Commissoriae cautiones dicuntur, in quibus debitor creditori suo rem, ipsi oppignoratam ad tempus, vendere per necessitatem conscripta cautione promittit: quod factum lex ista revocat et fieri penitus prohibet: ita ut, si quis creditor rem debitoris sub tali occasione visus fuerit comparare, non sibi de instrumentis blandiatur, sed quum primum voluerit ille, qui oppressus debito vendidit, pecuniam reddat et possessionem suam recipiat.
- 11735 11740

- 3 februari 326 Idem a. ad Evagrium. Si quis in ea culpa vel crimine fuerit deprehensus, quod dignum claustris carceris et custodiae squalore videtur, auditus aput acta, cum de admissio constiterit, poenam carceris sustineat atque ita postmodum
11745 eductus aput acta audiatur. Ita enim quasi sub publico testimonio commemoratio admissi criminis fiet, ut iudicibus inmodice saevientibus freni quidam ac temperies adhibita videatur. DAT. III NON. FEB. HERACLEAE CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 3 februari 326 Imp. Constantinus a. Africano v. c. Quae adulterium commisit, utrum domina cauponae an ministra fuerit, requiri debet, et ita obsequio famulata servili, ut plerumque ipsa intemperantiae vina praebuerit; ut, si domina tabernae fuerit, non sit a vinculis iuris excepta, si vero potantibus ministerium praebuit, pro vilitate eius, quae in reatum deducitur, accusatione exclusa, liberi, qui
11750 accusantur, abscedant, quum ab his feminis pudicitiae ratio requiratur, quae iuris nexibus detinentur, hae autem immunes a iudiciaria severitate praestentur, quas vilitas vitae dignas legum observatione non credidit. DAT. III. NON. FEBR. HERACLEAE, CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- Interpretatio. Tabernae domina, hoc est uxor tabernarii, si inventa fuerit in adulterio, accusari potest: si vero eius ancilla vel quae ministerium tabernae praebuit, in adulterio fuerit deprehensa, pro vilitate dimittetur. Sed et ipsa tabernarii uxor, si tam vilis ministerii officium egerit et in adulterio fuerit deprehensa, accusari non potest a marito.
11760 It should be ascertained whether the woman who committed adultery was the owner of the inn, or only a servant; and if, by employing herself in servile duties (which frequently happens), she gave occasion for intemperance, since if she were the mistress of the inn, she will not be exempt from liability under the law. Where, however, she served liquor to the men who were drinking, she would not be liable to accusation as having committed the offense, on account of her inferior
11765 rank, and any freemen who have been accused shall be discharged, as the same degree of modesty is required of these women as of those who are legally married, and bear the name of mothers of families. Those, also, are not subject to judicial severity who are guilty of fornication or adultery, and the vileness of whose lives does not render them worthy of the
11770 attention of the law.
- 15 februari 326 IDEM A. AD ACINDYNUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Praesidibus et rationalibus ceterisque, quibus propterea res publica et annonas et alimenta pecoribus subministrat, usurpandi agminalis seu paraveredi licentia derogetur. Quibus
11780 illud quoque licere non patimur, ne quid de provincialibus citra ordinem poscant nisi hi tantum, quorum fides cognita est, cum usus necessitatis exegerit. Vestrae vero gravitatis ubi ratio exegerit, cursus publicus praesto est, quibus si a publico itinere aliqua militari via devertendum fuerit, ubi evectio non erit, publicis utemini agminalibus, sed modice et temperate tantum ad usum proprium necessariis.
- Quae res si neglecta fuerit, vobis aestimationis vestrae notam incurrentibus praesides periculum sustinebunt, cum super hac re exploratores iam missi sint. Quae enim mala provincialibus inferantur, conici ex eo etiam potest, quod nostris itineribus, quos publica utilitas movet, magna atque anxia dispositione vix vicenorum agminalium numerus subministrari queat. P(RO)P(OSITA) XV KAL. MART. CONSTANTINO A.
11785 VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 18 februari 326 IDEM A. AD ACINDYNUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Praesidibus et rationalibus ceterisque, quibus propterea res publica et annonas et alimenta pecoribus subministrat, usurpandi agminalis seu paraveredi licentia derogetur. Quibus
11795 illud quoque licere non patimur, ne quid de provincialibus citra ordinem poscant nisi hi tantum, quorum fides cognita est, cum usus necessitatis exegerit. Vestrae vero gravitatis ubi ratio exegerit, cursus publicus praesto est, quibus si a publico itinere aliqua militari via devertendum fuerit, ubi evectio non erit, publicis utemini agminalibus, sed modice et temperate tantum ad usum proprium necessariis.
- Quae res si neglecta fuerit, vobis aestimationis vestrae notam incurrentibus praesides periculum sustinebunt, cum super hac re exploratores iam missi sint. Quae enim mala provincialibus inferantur, conici ex eo etiam potest, quod nostris itineribus, quos publica utilitas movet, magna atque anxia dispositione vix vicenorum agminalium numerus subministrari queat. P(RO)P(OSITA) XV KAL. MART. CONSTANTINO A.
11800 VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.

- 8 maart 326 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD BASSUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Advocatos, qui consceleratis depectionibus suae opis egentes spoliant atque nudant, non iure causae, sed fundorum, pecorum et manicipiorum qualitate rationeque tractata, dum eorum
11810 praecipua poscunt coacta sibi pactione transcribi, ab honestorum coetu iudiciorumque conspectu segregari praecipimus. DATA VIII ID. MART. CONSTANT(INO)P(OLI) CONSTANT(INO) A. VIII ET CONSTANTIO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Advocati, id est causas agentes, qui per iniquam cupiditatem susceptos, quorum causas acturi sunt, prius cogunt de rebus suis taliter scriptura
11815 intercedente pacisci, ut omnia, quae meliora sunt in agris aut in mancipiis aut in pecoribus, ad eos sub promissa defensione perveniant, et ideo qui tam scelerati in eos, quibus patrocinium promittunt, fuerint deprehensi, et a conventu honestorum virorum et iudiciorum communione praecipimus segregari.
- 15 maart 326 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD POPULUM. In integrum restitutione minoribus adversus commenticias venditiones et adversus tutorum insidias sanctionum praesidio cautum esse non dubium est: ac si quid forte iidem de suo in fraudem tutelae alienasse docerentur, fraudatorio interdicto prospectum esse minoribus declaratur.
11820 DAT. ID. MART. SIRMIO. IPSO A. VII ET CAES. CONSS.
11825 Interpretatio. In annis minoribus constitutis multum legibus constat esse prospectum. Et ideo adversus tutorum fraudes vel venditiones, quas minoribus aliquibus commentis extorserint, aut quicquid sub tutelae nomine iniuste egerint, noverint legis beneficio revocandum.
- 15 maart 326 IDEM A. AD POPULUM. Lex, quae tutores curatoresque necessitate adstrinxit, ut aurum argentum gemmas vestes ceteraque mobilia pretiosa, urbana etiam mancipia, domos balnea horrea atque omnia intra civitates venderent omniaque ad nummos redigerent praeter praedia et mancipia rustica, multum minorum utilitati adversa est. Praecipimus itaque, ut haec omnia nulli tutorum curatorumve liceat
11835 vendere, nisi hac forte necessitate et lege, qua rusticum praedium atque mancipium vendere vel pignorare vel in dotem dare in praeteritum licebat, scilicet per inquisitionem iudicis, probationem causae, interpositionem decreti, ut fraudi locus non sit. Ante omnia igitur urbana mancipia, quia totius supellectilis notitiam derunt, semper in hereditate et in domo retineant; nam boni servi fraudem fieri
11840 prohibebunt, mali, si res exegerit, sub quaestione positi poterunt prodere veritatem. Atque ita omnia observabunt, ut nec inventaria minuere nec mutare vel subtrahere aliquid tutor valeat: quod in veste margaritis gemmis et in vasculis ceteraque supellectili necessarium est. Et tolerabilius est, si ita contigerit, servos mori
11845 suis dominis quam servire extraneis: quorum fuga potius tutori adscribitur, sive negligentia dissolutam patiatur esse disciplinam sive duritia vel indeia at verberibus eos adficiat. Nec enim dominos execrantur, sed magis diligunt, ita ut haec lex per hoc quoque melior antiqua sit: tunc enim remota servorum custodia etiam vita minorum saepius prodebatur. Nec vero domum vendere liceat, in qua defecit pater, minor crevit, in qua maiorum imagines aut videre fixas aut revulsas non videre satis
11850 est lugubre. Ergo et domus et cetera omnia immobilia in patrimonio minorum permaneant nullumque aedificii genus, quod integrum hereditas dabit, conlapsum tutoris fraude depereat. Sed et si parens vel cuiuscumque heres est minor reliquerit deformatum aedificium, tutor testificatione operis ipsius et multorum fide id reficere cogetur: ita enim annui redditus plus minoribus conferent quam per fraudes pretia deminuta.
11855 Servi etiam, qui aliqua sunt arte praediti, operas suas commodo minoris inferent, et reliqui, qui in usum minoris domini esse non poterunt quibusque ars nulla est, partim labore suo, partim alimoniarum taxatione pascantur. Lex enim non solum contra tutores, sed etiam contra feminas immoderatas atque intemperantes prospexit minoribus, quae plerumque novis maritis non solum res filiorum, sed etiam vitam
11860 addicunt. Huic accedit, quod ipsius pecuniae, in qua robur omne patrimoniorum veteres posuerunt, fenerandi usus vix diuturnus, vix continuus et stabilis est: quo facto saepe intercedente pecunia ad nihilum minorum patrimonium deducuntur. Iam ergo venditio tutoris nulla sit sine interpositione decreti: exceptis his dumtaxat vestibis, quae detritae usu aut corruptae servando servari non poterint.] vel
11865 curatore sollicito, ut easdem inspiciat frequenti re[cogni]tione incolumes. Animalia quoque supervacua minorum veneant, non vetamus. DAT. ID. MART. SIR(MIO) CONSTANTINO (A. VII E)T CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 25 maart 326 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximum praefectum Urbi. pr. Cum in praeterito is mos in iudiciis servaretur, ut prolatis instrumentis, si ea falsa quis diceret, a sententia iudex civilis controversiae temperaret eoque contingeret, ut imminens accusatio nullis clausa temporibus petito rem possessoremve deluderet, commodum

- duximus, ut, etsi alteruter litigantium falsi strepitum intulisset, petitori tamen
 11875 possessorive momentum prolatorum instrumentorum conferret auctoritas, ut tunc civili
 iurgio terminato secunda falsi actio subderetur.
1. Volumus itaque, ut primum cesset inscriptio. Sed ubi falsi examen inciderit, tunc
 ad morem pristinum quaestione civili per sententiam terminata acerrima fiat indago
 argumentis testibus scripturarum collatione aliisque vestigiis veritatis. Nec
 11880 accusatori tantum quaestio incumbat nec probationis ei tota necessitas indicatur, sed
 inter utramque personam sit iudex medius nec ulla quae sentiat interlocutione
 divulgat, sed tamquam ad imitationem relationis, quae solum audiendi mandat officium,
 praebeat notionem, postrema sententia quid sibi liqueat proditurus.
2. Ultimum autem finem strepitus criminalis, quem litigantem disceptantemque fas non
 sit excedere, anni spatio limitamus, cuius exordium testatae aput iudicem competentem
 11885 actionis nascetur auspiciu: capitali post probationem supplicio, si id exigat
 magnitudo commissi, vel deportatione ei qui falsum commiserit imminente. PROPOSITA
 VIII KAL. APRIL. IN FORO TRAIANI CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 30 maart 326 IDEM A. AD SEVERUM. Veteranorum filios propter privilegia parentibus
 11890 eorum indulta vacare non patimur, sed programme per omnes civitates proposito
 diligenter quaesitos ad alterutrum compelli iubemus, ut aut decurionatus muneribus
 obtemperent aut militent, observaturo devotionis tuae officio, ut qui probantur ab
 annis viginti usque ad viginti et quinque annos aetatem agant. Si autem veteranorum
 filii, qui equestrem militiam toleraverunt, inter equites probari voluerint, habeant
 11895 facultatem, ita ut cum singulis equis idoneis praedicto adgregentur obsequio. Quod si
 quis duos equos habeat vel unum idoneum et servum unum, cum circitoria militet
 dignitate et binas annonas accipiat, qui gradus praebetur aliis post laborem.
 Singularum autem civitatum decurionibus intimetur, ut veteranorum filios, qui
 praedictae aetatis sunt, si militare noluerint vel minus inveniantur idonei, ad
 11900 curialia vocare non morentur obsequia, si tamen patrimoniis idonei esse noscuntur. Ex
 his autem, qui militare voluerint, si qui minus apti sunt equestri militiae id
 efficiente calamitate membrorum et legionariae congrui esse noscuntur, deducendi ad
 nos protectori qui ob hoc missus est consignentur. DAT. III KAL. AUG. AQUILEIA
 11905 CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 11 april 326 Idem a. Lucio Verino. In arbitrio suo possessor habeat, ne suario
 pecuniam solvat, quod ideo permissum est, ne in aestimando porcorum pondere licentia
 suariis praebeatur. Quod si iuste porcos suarius aestimaverit, huic pecuniam
 possessor, cui pensationis utriusque copia est indulta, numerabit. Ne autem suario
 11910 in suscipienda pecunia detrimentis aliquid adferatur, singulis quibusque annis ea
 pretia porcinae possessor adnumeret, quae usus publicae conversationis adtulerit. Et
 quoniam non semper nec in omnibus locis una est forma pretiorum, pro diversitate
 locorum et temporum in specie pretia danda sunt, nisi ipsa porcina praestetur.
 Iudices autem regionum monendi sunt, ut per singulos annos ad scientiam tuam
 11915 referant, quae in quibus locis sunt pretia porcinae, ut instructione hac a tua
 gravitate perpensa tunc demum suarii per diversa proficiscantur et pretia suscipiant,
 quae in his regionibus versari cognoveris. Queri enim suarii non poterunt, quia nihil
 interest, carius an vilius comparent, cum, quantum pretium daturi sunt, a possessore
 accipiant; et possessores erunt moderati in specie distrahenda, cum se sciant, quanto
 11920 maiora pretia pro carne poposcerint, tanto plus suariis soluturos. DAT. III ID.
 APRIL. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 19 april 326 Imp. Constantinus a. Maximiliano Macrobio... Quoties verbera dominorum
 talis casus servorum comitabitur, ut moriantur, culpa nudi sunt, qui, dum pessima
 11925 corrigunt, meliora suis acquirere vernulis voluerunt. Nec requiri in huius modi facto
 volumus, in quo interest domini incolume iuris proprii habere mancipium, utrum
 voluntate occidendi hominis an vero simpliciter facta castigatio videatur. Toties
 etenim dominum non placet morte servi reum homicidii pronuntiari, quoties simplicibus
 quaestionibus domesticam exercent potestatem. Si quando igitur servi plagarum
 11930 correctione, imminente fatali necessitate, rebus humanis excedunt, nullam metuant
 domini quaestionem. DAT. XIV KAL. MAI. SIRMIO, CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C.
 CONSS.
- Interpretatio. Si servus, dum culpam dominus vindicat, mortuus fuerit, dominus culpa
 homicidii non tenetur, quia tunc homicidii reus est, si occidere voluisse
 11935 convincitur. nam emendatio non vocatur ad crimen.
- 26 april 326 Idem a. ad Evagrium Pf. P. Quamvis adulterii crimen inter publica
 referatur, quorum delatio in commune omnibus sine aliqua legis interpretatione

- conceditur, tamen, ne volentibus temere liceat foedare connubia, proximis
 11940 necessariisque personis solummodo placet deferri copiam accusandi, hoc est patri vel consobрино et consanguineo maxime fratri, quos verus dolor ad accusationem impellit. Sed et his personis legem imponimus, ut crimen abolitione compescant. In primis maritum genialis tori vindicem esse oportet, cui quidem ex suspicione etiam ream coniugem facere, nec intra certa tempora inscriptionis vinculo contineri, veteres
 11945 retro principes annuerunt. Extraneos autem procul arceri ab hac accusatione censemus. Nam etsi omne genus accusationis necessitas inscriptionis adstringat, nonnulli tamen proterve id faciunt et falsis contumeliis matrimonia deformant. PP. NICOMEDIAE VII KAL. MAI., CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
 Interpretatio. In adulterio extraneam mulierem nullus accuset, sed propinqui, ad
 11950 quorum notam pertinet, hoc est frater germanus, frater patruelis, patruus et consobrinus, qui tamen ante inscriptionem, si accusata acquieverit, possunt per satisfactionem veniam promereri. Reliqui ab accusatione prohibentur. Maritis sane etiam ex suspicione accusare permissum est.
 Although the crime of adultery is included among public offenses, the accusation of
 11955 which is granted to all persons without distinction, still, in order that those who inconsiderately wish to cause discord in households may not be allowed to do so, it is hereby decreed that only the nearest relatives of the guilty party shall have the power to bring the accusation; that is to say, the father, the brother, and the paternal and maternal uncles, whom genuine grief may impel to prosecute. We, however,
 11960 also give the said persons permission to revoke the accusation, by withdrawing it, if they should so desire.
 The husband, above all others, should be considered the avenger of the marriage bed, for he is permitted to accuse his wife on suspicion, and he is not forbidden to retain her, if he only suspects her; nor will he be liable if he files a written
 11965 accusation when he accuses her as her husband, a privilege which was established by former Emperors.
- 17 mei 326 Idem a. ad Evagrium praefectum praetorio. Quoniam curias desolari cognovimus his, qui per originem obnoxii sunt, militiam sibi per supplicationem
 11970 poscentibus et ad legiones vel diversa officia currentibus, iubemus omnes curias admoneri, ut, quos intra XX stipendia in officiis deprehenderint vel originem defugisse vel sprete nominatione militiae se inseruisse, hos ad curiam retrahant et de cetero sciant esse servandum, ut qui derelicta curia militaverit, revocetur ad curiam, non solum si originalis sit, sed et si substantiam muneribus aptam possidens
 11975 ad militiam confugerit vel beneficio nostro fuerit liberatus. DAT. XVI KAL. IUN. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 20 mei 326 Idem a. ad Rufinum praefectum praetorio. Archiatri omnes et ex archiatri ab universis muneribus curialium, senatorum et comitum perfectissimorumque muneribus
 11980 et obsequiis, quae administratione perfunctis saepe mandantur, a praestationibus quoque publicis liberi immunesque permaneant nec ad ullam auri et argenti et equorum praestationem vocentur, quae forte praedictis ordinibus aut dignitatibus adscribuntur. Huius autem indulgentiam sanctionis ad filios quoque eorum statuimus pervenire. DAT. XII KAL. IUN. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 21 mei 326 IDEM A. AD MAXIMUM P(RAE)FECTUM U(RBI). Quodam tempore admissum est, ut
 non subscriptio, sed professio criminis uno sermone ex ore fugiens tam accusatorem
 quam reum sub experiendi periculo de patria, de liberis, de fortunis, de vita denique
 11990 dimicare cogeret. Ideoque volumus, ut remota professionis licentia ac temeritate ad subscriptionis morem ordinemque criminatio referatur, ut iure veteri in criminibus deferendis omnes utantur, id est ut sopita ira et per haec spatia mentis tranquillitate recepta ad supremam actionem cum ratione veniant atque consilio. DAT. XI KAL. IUN. SIRMIO, ACC. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
 Interpretatio. Si quis iratus crimen aliquod temere cuilibet obiecerit, convicium non
 11995 est pro accusatione habendum, sed permissio tractandi spatio, id quod iratus dixit, per scripturam se probaturum esse fateatur. Quod si fortasse resipiscens post iracundiam, quae dixit, iterare aut scribere fortasse noluerit, non ut reus criminis teneatur.
- 29 mei 326 Imp. Constantinus a. ad populum. pr. Si qua cum servo occulte rem
 12000 habere detegitur, capitali sententiae subiugetur, tradendo ignibus verberone, sitque omnibus facultas crimen publicum arguendi, sit officio copia nuntiandi, sit etiam servo licentia deferendi, cui probato criminelibertas dabitur, quum falsae accusationi poena immineat.

- 12005 1. Ante legem nupta tali consortio segregetur, non solum domo, verum etiam provinciae communione privata, amati abscessum defleat relegati.
2. Filii etiam, quos ex hac coniunctione habuerit, exuti omnibus dignitatis insignibus, in nuda maneant libertate, neque per se neque per interpositam personam quolibet titulo voluntatis accepturi aliquid ex facultatibus mulieris.
- 12010 3. Successio autem mulieris ab intestato vel filiis, si erunt legitimi, vel proximis cognatisque deferatur vel ei, quem ratio iuris admittit, ita ut et quod ille, qui quondam amatus est, et quod ex eo suscepti filii quolibet casu in sua videntur habuisse substantia, dominio mulieris sociatum a memoratis successoribus vindicetur.
4. His ita omnibus observandis, et si ante legem decessit mulier vel amatus, quoniam
- 12015 vel unus auctor vitii censurae occurrit.
5. Sin vero iam uterque decessit, soboli parcimus, ne defunctorum parentum vitiis praegravetur; sint filii, sint potiores fratribus, proximis atque cognatis, sint relictæ successionis heredes.
6. Post legem enim hoc committentes morte punimus. qui vero ex lege disiuncti clam
- 12020 denuo convenerint, congressus vetitos renovantes, hi servorum indicio vel speculantis officii vel etiam proximorum delatione convicti poenam similem sustinebunt.
DAT. IV KAL. IUN. SERDICAЕ, CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Si qua ingenua mulier servo proprio se occulte miscuerit, capitaliter puniatur. Servus etiam, qui in adulterio dominae convictus fuerit, ignibus exuratur.
- 12025 In potestate habeat huius modi crimen quicumque voluerit accusare. Servi etiam aut ancillae, si de hoc crimine accusationem detulerint, audiantur: ea tamen ratione, ut si probaverint, libertatem consequantur, si fefellerint, puniantur. Hereditas mulieris, quae se tali crimine maculaverit, vel filiis, si sunt ex marito suscepti, vel propinquis ex lege venientibus tribuatur.
- 12030 May 29, 326 Imp. Constantine a. to the people. If any one is discovered to have a secret affair with a slave, he shall be subjected to the capital sentence, by being delivered to the stake and beaten, and there shall be the opportunity for all to accuse him of a public crime, there shall be ample opportunity for reporting, and there shall also be permission for the slave to be brought before the court, who, if
- 12035 the crime is proven, shall be given freedom, since the penalty for false accusation is imminent.
1. Before the law, a married woman shall be separated from such a union, not only from her house, but also from the private communion of the province, and shall mourn the departure of her beloved, exiled.
- 12040 2. The children also, whom she has from this union, shall be stripped of all the insignia of dignity, and shall remain in bare liberty, neither by herself nor through an interposed person, by any title of will, to receive anything from the woman's faculties.
3. But the succession of a woman from the intestate or to the children, if they are legitimate, or to the nearest relatives and kinsmen, or to him whom the reason of the law admits, so that both the one who was once loved, and the children born from him, in each case, seem to have had substance in their own right, are claimed by the
- 12045 aforementioned successors in the ownership of the woman.
4. All these things being thus observed, and if the woman or the beloved died before the law, since at least one author of the censure defect occurs.
- 12050 5. But if both have already died, we spare the offspring, lest they be burdened with the defects of the deceased parents; let them be sons, let them be preferred to brothers, nearest and kinsmen, let them be heirs of the inheritance left.
6. For after the law we punish those who commit this with death. But those who, having been separated by law, secretly meet again, renewing forbidden meetings, these, having been convicted by the evidence of slaves or by the office of a spy or even by the denunciation of their neighbors, will suffer a similar punishment.
- 12055 DAT. IV KAL. IUN. SERDICAЕ, CONSTANTINO A. VII AND CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
Interpretation. If any free woman has secretly mixed with her own slave, she shall be punished with capital punishment. A slave who has been convicted of adultery with his mistress shall also be burned at the stake. Whoever wishes to accuse such a crime shall have the power to accuse. Even slaves or maidservants, if they bring an accusation of this crime, shall be heard: however, in such a way that if they prove it, they shall obtain freedom, if they are false, they shall be punished. The
- 12060 inheritance of a woman who has stained herself with such a crime shall be given either to her children, if they are adopted by her husband, or to her relatives who come by law.
- 12065
- 12070 1 juni 326 Idem a. ad Ablavium praefectum praetorio. Neque vulgari consensu neque quibuslibet petentibus sub specie clericorum a muneribus publicis vacatio deferatur,

- nec temere et citra modum populi clericis conectantur, sed cum defunctus fuerit clericus, ad vicem defuncti alius allegetur, cui nulla ex municipibus prosapia fuerit neque ea est opulentia facultatum, quae publicas functiones facillime queat tolerare, ita ut, si inter civitatem et clericos super alicuius nomine dubitetur, si eum
- 12075 aequitas ad publica trahat obsequia et progenie municeps vel patrimonio idoneus dinoscetur, exemptus clericis civitati tradatur. Opulentos enim saeculi subire necessitates oportet, pauperes ecclesiarum divitiis sustentari. PROPOSITA KAL. IUN. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 12080 1 juni 326 CT 16.2.6 Constantine
This is a repetition and qualification of a law from July 18, 320. While the clergy are granted exemption from compulsory public services, exemption cannot be given indiscriminately to everyone who claims to be part of the clergy, because the wealthy are not supposed to be clergy. Also, the roles of the clergy cannot be expanded in
- 12085 order to help exempt more people from public services. When a clergyman dies, his successor should not be chosen from the wealthy, for the wealthy should assume secular obligations. [Seeck and Elliot (listed) emend both this law and the law 16.2.3, listed on July 18th, 320. They move both of these laws to 329, thus reversing their order. In that case, this law would be the original restriction on clergy
- 12090 exemptions, and 16.2.3 would be a qualification released a month later.]
- 23 juni 326 IDEM A. MENANDRO. Certis nuntiis compertum est, quod plures veluti sibi ac necessitatibus propriis petitas angarias taxato pretio distrahunt. Quamvis itaque raro posthac et non nisi merentibus evectiones praebendae sint, omnes tamen, qui
- 12095 ubique sunt cursus publici observatione districti, inquirant, si quis in hoc genere criminis possit intercipi, ut emptor et venditor in insulam relegentur, illis etiam, qui observare iussi sunt, pro dissimulatione vel neglegentia idem supplicium luituris. Non inprobum tamen est, si is, qui angariam habet copiam, ad tutelam vitae vel laborem adeundum itineris pro solacio sibi quendam sociaverit. Namque hoc
- 12100 factum meretur veniam nec latere poterit explorantes; illud poena superius dicta plectendum est. Super qua re proconsules rectores provinciarum praefectos vehiculorum adque omnes, qui cursui publico praesunt, admoneri conveniet. DAT. X KAL. IUL. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAESARE CONSS.
- 12105 29 juni 326 Idem a. Secundo praefecto praetorio. Provinciarum iudices commoneri praecipimus, ut nihil se novi operis ordinare ante debere cognoscant, quam ea compleverint, quae a decessoribus inchoata sunt, exceptis dumtaxat templorum aedificationibus. DAT. III KAL. IUL. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 12110 6 juli 326 Idem a. ad Tertullum proconsulem Africae. Si quis nummum falsa fusione formaverit, universas eius facultates fisco addici praecipimus, atque ipsum severitate legitima coherceri, ut in monetis tantum nostris cudendae pecuniae studium frequentetur. DAT. PRID. NON. IUL. MEDIOLANO CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 12115 8 juli 326 Idem a. Antiocho praefecto vigilum. Quae tyrannus contra ius rescripsit non valere praecipimus, legitimis eius rescriptis minime impugnandis. DAT. VIII ID. IUL. ROMAE CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 12120 15 juli 326 Idem a. ad senatum. Super his, qui ex senatoribus ad navicularium munus a tyranno deiectioni sunt ac restitui suis natalibus deprecantur, placuit vestrae sanctitati iudicium examenque mandare, ut vos eligatis, qui splendori vestro patrimonii viribus et honestate vivendi et natalium dignitate respondent. Incongruum est enim tantae dignitatis arbitrium alteri potius quam vestris suffragiis
- 12125 sententiisque committere. Eorum autem, quos ut dignos elegeritis, nomina praefectus urbis nobis insinuet, ut vestrum iudicium comprobemus. DAT. ID. IUL. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 12130 22 juli 326 Idem a. have, Felix, carissime nobis. Omnis intra centum pedes icinitas, quantum ad horrea pertinet, arceatur ac si quid constructum fuerit, diruatur, quoniam experimentis nuperrimis palam factum est aedificiorum, quae horreis adhaerebant, incendiis fiscales copias laborasse. Quod si quis aedificandi amore publica damna neglexerit, non solum quod construxit, sed omnes res eius et quidquid in suo iure habuit, fisco adiudicari praecipimus. DAT. XI KAL. AUG. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. IV ET
- 12135 CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.

- 25 juli 326 IDEM A. AD MUSONIANUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O.
Iam dudum nostrae clementiae iussa exsistunt, ut rectoribus provinciarum evectionum
12140 faciendarum copia denegetur, quoniam cursui publico magna infertur pernicies, si haec
licentia latius panderetur. Ideoque hoc ipsum repetimus quod ante placuerat ac
iubemus eos auctoritatis tuae litteris commoneri, ut iussis parere festinent. DAT.
VIII KAL. AUG. CONSTANTIO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 29 juli 326 Imp. Constantinus a. Tiberiano comiti per Africam. Ii magistratus, qui
12145 sufficiendis duumviris in futurum anni officium nominationes impertiunt, periculi sui
contemplatione provideant, ut, quamvis populi quoque suffragiis nominatio in Africa
ex consuetudine celebretur, tamen ipsi nitantur pariter ac laborent, quemadmodum
possint ii, qui nominati fuerint, idonei repperiri. Nam aequitatis ratio persuadet,
12150 nisi idonei fuerint nominati, ipsos, quorum est periculum, adtineri. DAT. NICOMEDIAE
III KAL. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 1 augustus 326 IDEM A. MAGNO AGENTI VICARIAM PRAEFECTURAM. Hoc interdicto
prohibemus, ne quis agminales ac paraveredos aestimet postulandos: in eos enim, qui
12155 hoc temere praesumpserint, vindicari acrius oportebit iussione nostra cunctis
provincialibus intimata. DAT. KAL. AUG. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 3 augustus 326 Idem a. ad Iulianum praefectum Urbi. Nonnulli iudicum inferioris
gradus a sententiis suis interponi provocationis auxilium aegre ferentes id
12160 efficiunt, ut nobis eorum relationes non necessariae et insolentes ingerantur. Igitur
volumus, cum ab eorum sententiis fuerit provocatum, super ea quaestione, cuius
appellatione interposita iudices esse desierunt, minime eos ad nostram referre
clementiam, sed gravitatis tuae, cui nostram vicem commisimus, sacrum auditorium
expectari. Dat. III non. aug. Heracleae Constantino a. VII et Constantio c. III
12165 conss.
- 3 augustus 326 IMP. CONSTANTIUS A. OLYBRIUS PROC(ONSULI) AFRICAE. Paraveredorum
exactio patrimonia multorum evertit et pavit avaritiam nonnullorum. Ideoque praelata
iussione nostra provinciarum rectores excellentia tua commoneat, ut, exceptis
12170 agentibus in rebus, qui ad movendum militem mitti consuerunt, quisquis alius
paraveredum exegerit, non ei cedat inpune, sed nec illi qui dederit. DAT. III NON.
AUG. ANTIOCHIAE CONSTANTIO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 11 augustus 326 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Severum pf. U. Nec interpellatis his, ibus
12175 pro laboribus suis ac meritis aliquid donaverimus, sed in iure suo, hoc est sine
molestia litis manentibus, concitatore iudicii, qui inquietudinem inferre
tentaverit, examini tuo praesentari oportet, ut citra molestiam possidentis ius suum
manifestis probationibus doceat: in quo partes reluctantis ipse suscipies, quoniam
12180 fructus liberalitatis nostrae pulsatur. Hac enim lege sancimus, ut, quicumque in
tales venient querelas, secundum praedictam formam ius suum ostendant: his, quae
comperta fuerint, ad nostram scientiam referendis, ut salva possidentium proprietate,
quibus, ut dictum est, in perpetuum quaesita est firmitas possidendi, deliberationis
nostrae sit, qualiter his, qui allegationes suas probaverint, beneficio lenitatis
nostrae extrinsecus debeat subveniri. RECITATA III. NON. AUG. IN PALATIO, CONSTANTINO
12185 A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- Interpretatio. Non inquietentur ii, quibus aliqua pro suo labore donavimus, sed
omnibus, quae a nobis donata sunt, in ipsorum iure positae, is, qui eos inquietare
voluerit, ad iudicii audientiam protrahatur, ut sine aliqua molestia possidentis ius
suum pulsator valeat confirmare: omnibus, quae hac de re inter praefatos acta
12190 fuerint, ad nostram notitiam referendis, ut et nostris inquietatus remediis
adiuvetur.
- 1 september 326 CT 16.5.1 Constantine
Exemption from compulsory public services shall only be granted to clergy of the
12195 catholic church, and not to heretics or schismatics.
- 18 september 326 Idem a. ad Ablavium praefectum praetorio. pr. Navicularios omnes
per orbem terrarum per omne aevum ab omnibus oneribus et muneribus cuiuscumque
fuerint loci vel dignitatis, securos vacuos immunesque esse praecipimus, sive
decuriones sint sive plebei seu potioris alterius dignitatis, ut a collationibus et
12200 omnibus oblationibus liberati integris patrimoniis navicularium munus exercent. 1.
Naves quoque eorum, quantaecumque fuerint, ad aliud munus ipsis invitae teneri non
convenit, ad quodcumque litus accesserint; litorum custodibus et vectigalium

- 12205 praepositis exactoribus decurionibus adque rationalibus et iudicibus scituris, quod qui hanc legem violaverit capite punietur. DAT. XIV KAL. OCTOB. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- 12210 25 september 326 Idem a. ad Bassum. Novatianos non adeo comperimus praedamnatos, ut his quae petiverunt crederemus minime largienda. Itaque ecclesiae suae domos et loca sepulcris apta sine inquietudine eos firmiter possidere praecipimus, ea scilicet, quae ex diuturno tempore vel ex empto habuerunt vel qualibet quaesiverunt ratione. Sane providendum erit, ne quid sibi usurpare conentur ex his, quae ante discidium ad ecclesias perpetuae sanctitatis pertinuisse manifestum est. DAT. VII KAL. OCT. SPOLETI CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 12215 25 september 326 CT 16.5.2 Constantine
Novatians may posses their own church buildings and cemeteries, provided they are rightfully theirs and did not once belong to the catholic Church. [Novatians disagreed with the Church about absolution.]
- 12220 22 oktober 326 Imp. Constantinus a. Severo. Iudices absentium, qui cuiuslibet rei possessione privati sunt, suscipiant in iure personam, et auctoritatis suae formidabile ministerium obiiciant, atque ita tueantur absentes. Hos tamen iudices, quos absentium iussimus subire personam, intra hos terminos ministerii retinemus, ut, illibatis atque omnibus integris causae principalis internis, id solum diligenter inquirant, utrum eius, quolibet pacto, qui peregrinatur, possessio ablata est, quam propinquus vel amicus vel servulus quolibet titulo retinebat. Nec hos, qui deiecti sunt, absentium nomine possidentes, quia minime ipsis dictio causae mandata sit, ab experiunda re secludant, nec si servi sint, eorum reiiciant in iure personas, quia huiusmodi condicionis hominibus causas orare fas non sit; sed post elapsa quoque spatia recuperandae possessionis legibus praestituta litigium eis inferentibus largiri conveniet, ut eos momentariae perinde possessioni restituant, ac si reversus dominus litigasset. Cui tamen, quolibet tempore reverso, actionem recuperandae possessionis indulsimus, quia fieri potest, ut restitutio propter servulos infideles vel negligentes propinquos vel amicos et colonos interea differatur. Absenti enim officere non debet tempus emensum, quod recuperandae possessioni legibus praestitutum est, sed reformato statu, qui per iniuriam sublatus est, omnia, quae supererunt, ad disceptationem litigii immutilata permaneant; iudicio reservato iustis legitimisque personis, quum valde sufficiat, possessionem tenentibus absentium nomine contra praesentium violentiam subveniri. DAT. X KAL. NOV. MEDIOLANO, CONSTANTINO A. VII ET
- 12240 CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
Interpretatio. Omnes iudices specialiter admonemus, ut nullus, absentibus dominis, res eorum praesumat invadere, sed contra improbos homines omnia per personam iudicis vindicentur, salvo principali negotio. Quod si quis se adversus absentem negotium habere causatur, et si, cui illi, qui peregrinantur, rem suam commiserint gubernandam, nec actor nec procurator eorum aut aliquis servorum ad dicendam causam domino aut absente aut non iubente cogatur, sed si quid eis fuerit sublatus, mox his, qui domino absente exclusi sunt, quum interpellaverint, reformetur. Ipse vero dominus, si forte per negligentiam servorum res recepta non fuerit, quum de peregrinis redierit, possessionem suam momenti beneficio, etiamsi annus excesserit, nullatenus recipere prohibetur, sed restitutis in integrum omnibus, quae eo absente sublata sunt, integra causae actio proponatur, inter legitimas dumtaxat et integra aetate personas: quia dignum est, ut contra malitiam eorum, qui praesentes sunt, taliter absentibus iubeamus esse consultum.
- 12255 3 november 326 IDEM A. AD PHILIPPUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Officiales, quos ex diversis officiis ex protectoribus epistulas impetrasse constiterit, pristinae reddi iubemus militiae. DAT. III NON. NOV. ARELATO CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSULIBUS.
- 12260 24 november 326 Idem a. ad praefectos praetorio. Dudum lege promulgata sanxit nostra clementia, ut filii comitum et praesidum et rationalium magistrorumque privatae, qui tamen ex origine curialium descendunt, ordinibus necterentur. Nunc praecipimus, ut, qui perfuncti muneribus idonei reperti sint iudicio clementiae nostrae accedere ad honores praecepti ad honestas promotiones perveniant, eos vero, quos nescit
- 12265 principalis auctoritas, ... iudicio praefecturae commisimus, uti eos, qui ex genere videntur esse curialium et minus apti iudicio principali, ordinibus propriis restituant, illos vero, quos iudicio nostro proveximus, intactos esse perficiant; ita tamen, ut heredes eorum curiis mancipientur. Si quis sane decurio evertens fiscalia

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- 12270 commoda, fugiens curiam ambitu ad senatum urbis inclytum pervenerit, minime admittatur. DAT. VIII KAL. DEC. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO C. CONSS.
- 12275 24 december 326 Imp. Constantinus a. et Constantius caes. Pf. U. In codicillis, quos testamentum non praecedit, sicut in voluntatibus testamenti septem testium vel quinque interventum non deesse oportet: sic enim fiet, ut testantium successiones sine aliqua captione serventur. Si quando igitur testium numerus defecerit, instrumentum codicilli habeatur infirmum. Quod et in ceteris voluntatibus placuit observari. DAT. XI KAL. IAN. CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS. Interpretatio. Si quis non fecerit testamentum, sed vice testamenti fecerit codicillum, in quo codicillo legitima heredis institutio teneatur, et hunc ipsum
- 12280 eodem numero testium, hoc est septem aut quinque subscriptionibus faciat confirmari: si minus quam quinque, valere non poterit, sicuti et ceterae voluntates. nam secundum superiorem legem, si condito testamento postea factus fuerit codicillus, et in eo alium, quam in testamento fecerat, heredem voluerit nominare, in eo codicillo heredis institutio non valebit.
- 12285 31 december 326 IDEM A. ET C. AD POPULUM. In feminis tutelam legitimam consanguineus patruus non recuset. DAT. PRID. KAL. IANUAR. IPSO A. VII ET C. CONSS. Ista lex expositione non indiget.
- 12290 31 december 326 Idem a. Defensionis facultas danda est his, quibus aliquam inquietudinem fiscus infert, cum facultates eorundem athuc controversia pendente inquietari describique fas non sit. Ubi ergo controversia extiterit fisco alicuius patrimonium vindicante, aput eum omnibus facultatibus constitutis cognitio ventiletur, ut, cum rei exitus debere eas vindicari probaverit, tum demum res
- 12295 persequi liceat et super modo facultatum ac rerum interrogationem haberi, quae per condicionales servos investiganda est, ut, si quid subtractum fuerit, exigatur et extrinsecus tantum aliud multae nomine, quantum fuerat per fraudem ablatum. Sane in huiusmodi quaestione si caesariani nomen inciderit, ad usurpationem constitutionis istius non debebit accedere, si quidem consuetudo fraudium, quibus praedicti omnia
- 12300 temerare consuerunt, exceptionem eorundem meruerit. DAT. PRID. KAL. IAN. SIRMIO CONSTANTINO A. VII ET CONSTANTIO CAES. CONSS.
- Jan 31, 326? Law 90: To the people
CTh 3.2.1 Dorries p. 189
- 12305 Those who owe debts to one creditor cannot have their goods confiscated by someone else.
- Feb 3, 326 Law 91: To Africanus
CTh 9.7.1 Dorries p. 189
- 12310 Because of their lowly status, barmaids are outside of adultery laws.
- Feb 3, 326 Law 92: To Evagrius, the praetorian prefect
CJ 9.4.2 Dorries p. 189
Imprisonment can only be sentenced after public testimony.
- 12315 March 15, 326 Law 93
CTh 3.30.3 Dorries p. 189-190
House slaves are not to be sold without compelling reasons.
- 12320 c. first half of 326 Letter to the heretics
VC 3.64-65 Silli 29; Dorries p. 82-84
Removing from heretics the right to assemble.
- 12325 Apr 13, 326 Law 94: To Vettius Rufinus, prefect of the city
CTh 4.11.1a Dorries p. 190
Thankless freedmen who act insolently towards their former master forfeit their freedom, but their children will remain free.
- 12330 Apr 25, 326 Law 95: To Evagrius, the praetorian prefect
CTh 9.7.2 Dorries p. 190
Only a close relative can accuse a woman of adultery.
- May 17, 326 Law 96: To Mecilius Hilarianus, commissioner of Lucania and Bruttium
CTh 12.1.13 Dorries p. 190

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- 12335 Only those who were soldiers over 20 years remain free.
May 22, 326 Law 97: To Maximus, prefect of the city
CTh 9.1.5 Dorries p. 190-191
Accusations must be put down in writing to start the judicial process.
- 12340 May 23, 326 Law 98: To Severus, prefect of the city
CTh 6.36.1 Dorries p. 191
Court officials also have the privilege of the "camp stipend."
- 12345 May 29, 326 Law 99: To the people
CTh 9.9.1 Dorries p. 191
Women who become involved with or marry slaves are to be executed and the slaves burned.
- 12350 June 1, 326 Law 100: To Ablavius, the praetorian prefect
CTh 16.2.6 Dorries p. 191-192
Freedom from public offices cannot come from appointment to the office of the clergy, but instead a poorer person should be appointed to positions in the church.
- 12355 Jun 14, 326 Law 101: To the people
CJ 5.26.1 Dorries p. 192
No one may have a concubine in his home while his marriage still continues.
Jun 17, 326 Law 102: To Mastichianus, prefect of the provisions
CJ 6.62.1 Dorries p. 192
The estate of a ship captain who dies without a will does not go to the treasury but to the corporation of ship captains.
- 12365 July 8, 326 Law 103: To Antochus, prefect of the guards
CTh 15.14.3 Dorries p. 193
Legitimate laws of past tyrants remain in effect, but those which he made contrary to the law are not.
- 12370 326 Letter to Macarius
VC 3.30-32; SOC 1.9; THE 1.17; GEL 3.5; EH 8.28 Silli 30; Dorries p. 84-86
The church in Jerusalem should be the most beautiful in the world.
- 12375 Aug 27, 326 Law 104: To Menander
CTh 4.13.3 Dorries p. 193
Creating a middle state between slave and free for the children of such mixed marriages.
- 12380 Sept 1, 326 Law 105: Edict about the immunity of the catholic clergy to Dracilianus
CTh 16.5.1 Dorries p. 39-40, 193
Religious privileges only apply to observers of catholic law, and heretics and schismatics are subject to various public duties.
- 12385 Sept 18, 326 Law 106: To Ablavius, the praetorian prefect
CTh 13.5.5
Dorries p. 193
Ship captains are freed from all burdens and duties.
- 12390 Sept 25, 326 Law 107: To Bassus
CTh 16.5.2
Dorries p. 193-194
Novatians are not to be precondemned to the point that their requests are not given audience and their houses and cemeteries are to be left undisturbed, but they cannot lay claim to anything which belonged to the church prior to the dispute.
- 12395 Dec 10, 326-Dec 9, 327 Fifth inscription at Rome
CIL VI 3789, 31388 Gruenewald 253
326-Dec 25, 333 Inscription at Ostia
CIL XIV 133 Gruenewald 266
- 12400

c. 326 Letter to Empress Helen
 AS; CF Chap 2 Silli 28
 Urging quietness instead of rashness in the matter of understanding God.

12405 EDICTUM CONSTANTINI AD UMBROS p. 496

Rescript of Constantine I on Hispellum (326-337)
 Although Constantine recognized Christianity as one of the religions of the State in 313 A.D. and perhaps embraced it himself at that time, probably for reasons of policy he continued to serve as pontifex maximus of the old Roman State religion. It is the opinion of Alföldi that he took this course to propitiate the conservative elements in the Empire and particularly the nobility, which was still predominantly pagan. In the inscription translated here the town of Hispellum in Umbria, Italy, where the marble tablet containing the rescript was found in 1733, had requested the right to build a temple to the Gens Flavia, to which Constantine's family belonged, to celebrate games there instead of at Volsinii, as had previously been the custom, and to rename the town in honor of the emperor's family. All there requests were granted with the proviso, however, that the celebrations at Volsinii must also continue to be held.

12420 Copy of the sacred rescript.

Emperor Caesar Flavius Constantine Maximus Germanicus Sarmaticus Maximus Gothicus Victor Triumphator Augustus and Flavius Constantine and Flavius Julius Constantius and Flavius Constans.

We encompass with our untiring attention and care everything, indeed, that benefits human society; but this is the greatest task for our forethought: that all the cities whose splendid appearance and beauty distinguish them in the eyes of all provinces and of all regions not only shall keep their former dignity, but also shall be promoted to a still greater esteem by the grant of our Beneficence.

Since, indeed, you aver that you have been annexed to Tuscia in such a way that by the established practice of ancient custom priests are created every other year in turn by you and by the aforesaid people of Tuscia, who exhibit stage plays and a gladiatorial show at Volsinii, a City of Tuscia; but that, because of the steepness of the mountains and the difficulties of the paths through the forests thither, you most earnestly request that permission shall be granted to your priest to abandon the necessity of going to Volsinii to celebrate the exhibition; and that we shall give a name from our cognomen to the community, which now has the name Hispellum and which you state is contiguous to and lying along the Flaminian Way and in which a temple of the Flavian Family is being built, of truly magnificent workmanship worthy of the greatness of its name; and that there that priest, whom Umbria selects annually, shall exhibit a festival of both stage plays and gladiatorial shows; and that this custom shall remain as regards Tuscia: that the priest created at Volsinii shall celebrate, as has been his wont, the observation of the aforesaid exhibitions at that place: our assent is gladly granted to your prayer and desire.

For from our own name we vouchsafe to the community of Hispellum an eternal designation, an appellation to be venerated, so that hereafter the aforesaid city shall be called Flavia Constans; and in its center we wish, as you desire, the temple of our Flavian Family to be completed of magnificent workmanship, but with this regulation added: that no temple dedicated in our name shall be defiled by the deceptions of any contagious and unreasonable religious belief; and so we also permit you to stage exhibitions in the aforesaid community, although in such manner that, as has been said, the celebration of Volsinii also shall not fall into disuse through the ages, but that there the aforesaid celebration also must be staged by priests chosen from Tuscia.

Thus, indeed, it will not appear that our actions especially derogate anything from old customs; and you, who are suppliants to us for the aforesaid causes, will rejoice that you have gained those things for which you have earnestly asked.

Rescript of Constantine I on Usucapion (326-333)

Acquisition of ownership by usucapion in the provinces was possible after ten years if the possessor lived in the same province as the other claimants, or twenty years if he did not, and if the usucaptor could furnish a legal title, such as gift, informal sale, etc., and had undisturbed possession during the period. Constantine kept the old rule, but did not require proof of title after possession for forty years. The rescript is on a papyrus published in 1937.

Imp. Constantinus Aug. et Constantinus et Constantius Nobb. Caess. Agrippino senatori: Et diutinae possessionis hactenus placuit ut haberetur ratio, ne ab iis si constat (rem) de qua est quaestio quadraginta annos possessam esse, possessionis

- titulus requireretur. Placuit etiam, iusto titulo ad annorum decem uel uiginti praescriptionem pertinente (?), possessorem adiuuari, et cetera.
- Our Lords Constantine Augustus and the most noble Caesars Constantine and Constantius to the Senator Agrippinus. It is our pleasure that the rule of long-time possession shall be observed thus far: that in the case of those persons who can prove possession for forty years, a title to their possession shall not be required. It is also our pleasure that the possessor for ten or twenty years with a legal title of prescription shall be confirmed in his possession, etc.
- 326 Eusebius, VC 3.30-32 Constantine
Constantine orders a church to be built over the holy sepulcher and commands the local government officials to assist.
- 327 CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMO CONSS.
Rerum memoria deficit; subscriptiones nec multae nec firmae ad Illyricum ducunt.
- 21 januari 327 IDEM A. AD MAXIMUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Qui de statutis praesidalibus conqueruntur, cum ea in detrimentum legum prolata arbitrantur, ad tuae auctoritatis iudicium pervenire faciant, ut fractis atque convulsis quae perperam inpressa sunt ne nomen quidem sententiae possint retinere. DAT. XII K. FEB. CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMO CONSS.
- 27 februari 327 Idem a. Acacio comiti Macedoniae. Mancipia adscripta censibus intra provinciae terminos distrahantur et qui emptione dominium nancti fuerint, inspiciendum sibi esse cognoscant. Id quod in possessione quoque servari rationis est: sublatis pactionibus eorundem onera ac pensitationes publicae ad eorum sollicitudinem spectent, ad quorum dominium possessiones eaedem migraverunt. DAT. III KAL. MART. THESSALONICAE CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMO CONSS.
- 21 april 327 Idem a. ad Annium Tiberianum comitem. Universis provinciarum rectoribus intimato nostram clementiam statuuisse veteranorum filios curialibus muniis innectendos; ita ut et ii, qui perfectissimatus sibi honore blandiuntur, trusi in curiam necessariis officiis publicis inserviant. PROPOSITA XI KAL. MAI. KARTHAGINE CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMO CONSS.
- 17 mei 327 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Afros. Quoniam succlamatione vestra merito postulastis, ne qua his, qui praestationes fiscales differunt, reliquorum laxitas proveniret, specialiter praecipimus observari, ut res eorum, qui fiscalibus debitis per contumaciam satisfacere differunt, distrahantur: comparatoribus data firmitate perpetua possidendi etc. DAT. XV KAL. IUN. SERDICAЕ, CONSTANTINO ET MAXIMO CONSS. Interpretatio. Quicumque agrorum suorum tributa implere contemnent, agri eius, qui tributa sua contemnet exsolvere, ab exactore vendantur, et qui comparaverint, firmissimo iure hoc ordine empta possideant.
- 3 juni 327 IDEM A. AD CONSTANTIIUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Nulli quidem de bonis usurpandis vivorum nec dividundis contra bonos mores concessa licentia est: sed si praecipiente matre bona eius inter se liberi diviserunt, placuit omnifariam nobis huiusmodi divisionem durare, si modo usque ad extremum eius vivendi spatium voluntas eadem perseverasse doceatur. DAT. III ID. IUN. CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMO CONSS. Interpretatio. Licet vivorum bona, ut dividantur, iniustum sit, tamen si mater vivens facultates suas filiis praeceperit et permiserit dividendas, et usque ad exitum vitae suae in eadem voluntate perstiterit, divisio inter filios facta perduret.
- 19 juli 327 IDEM A. AD IULIANUM P(RAEFECTUM) U(RBI). Petendae in integrum restitutionis temporibus, ut iam constitutum est, observatis si dilatio ab actore petatur, quae intra metas lege comprehensas valeat artari, eandem quocumque flagitante causis cognitis tribui oportebit: sin vero eiusmodi postulentur curricula, quae intra spatium lege receptum angustari non queunt, quippe si in confinio praedicti temporis petuntur et eius terminos prorogabunt, dilationem petitori denegari conveniet; in eius enim arbitrio fuerat tunc inferre litigium, cum petitaе dilationis mora spatio superstite posset includi. Quod si defensio possidentium dilationis suffragia postulaverit, eandem adserta causa citra obstaculum temporis deferri sancimus, quia nequaquam in ipsius steterat potestate, quando litigio pulseratur. Dari igitur debet, etsi impetrata dimensio sese ultra constitutionis regulam proferat. Qua dilatione, si a possessore impetretur, etiam petitor in requirendis probationibus uti minime prohibetur. DAT. XIV KAL AUG.; P(RO)P(OSITA)

ROMAE CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMO CONSS.

12535 Interpretatio. Liqueat quattuor mensibus constitutum, ut petentibus pro requirenda omni instructione indutiae concedantur. Unde si illud spatium requiratur, quod indultum est, id est, quod quattuor menses non possit excedere, praestari conveniet. Si vero tales petantur indutiae, quae tempus lege constitutum excedant, petitori debet dilatio denegari, qui scire debuit actionem suam constituto tempore finiendam. Quod si ille spatium, qui rem possidet, fortasse petierit, dari sine impedimento

12540 temporis, quod petentibus datum est, omnino debebit: quia scire non potuit, quando ab adversario provocaretur ad causam, et quando possessor spatium, ut respondere possit, acceperit, etiam petitor suis partibus poterit necessaria providere.

12545 31 juli 327 Idem a. Victori rationali urbis Romae. Quoniam nonnulli fisci debitores, cum iussi fuerint debitam summam exsolvere, interposito provocationis auxilio vim executionis eludunt nec iam opinionis exemplum nec refutatorias preces curant petere vel offerre, placuit, ut, si intra dies complendis sollempnitatibus praestitos ad facienda haec appellatoris cura defuerit, deserta ab eo provocatio aestimetur moxque debitum exigatur. DAT. PRID. KAL. AUG. CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMO CONSS.

12550 27 september 327 IDEM A. AD MAXIMUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORIO). Universa, quae scriptura Pauli continentur, recepta auctoritate firmanda sunt et omni veneratione celebranda. Ideoque sententiarum libros plenissima luce et perfectissima elocutione et iustissima iuris ratione succinctos in iudiciis prolatos valere minime dubitatur.

12555 DAT. V K. OCT. TREV(IRIS) CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMO CONSS.

327 Socrates, H.e. 1.25 Constantine
Constantine invites Arius to his court, where he may end his exile by confessing the Nicene faith before Constantine. Arius is allowed to use public transportation. [date uncertain]

12560

March 6, 327 Law 108: To Julianus, prefect of the city
CTh 6.4.2 Dorries p. 194
Adult members of the upper class are required to put on the games, but minors are released of this responsibility.

12565

327-328 Digest of letters to the people of Antioch
VC 3.59 Dorries p. 88-89
Encouraging peace and godliness and pardoning past conduct.

12570

328 IANVARINO ET IVSTO CONSS.
Ad ea, quae de actis Constantini suppeditant subscriptiones, ex historia indicia nulla accedunt. Roma redeuntem Constantinum a. 328 fuisse Nicomediae scribit Chron. pascale.

12575

1 maart 328 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Cerealem praefectum annonae. Mensae oleariae, quae ita caducae fuerint, ut nullus possit adserere dominium, vicenis follibus per officium distrahantur. Sed si quis mensam oleariam praedictis follibus emptam cariore pretio vendiderit, ferreis vinculis constrictus ad Illyricum transmittatur poenam congruam luiturus. Si quis autem mensam oleariam in dominio suo retinens vivendi cursum impleverit, eandem mensam ad successores proprios cum reliquis suis rebus hereditario poterit iure transmittere. DAT. KAL. MAR. NICOMEDIAE, ACCEPTA VIII ID. APRIL. ROMAE IANUARINO ET IUSTO CONSS.

12580

12585 9 mei 328 Idem a. ad Aemilianum praefectum praetorio. Extraordinariorum munerum distributio non est principalibus committenda, ideoque rectores provinciarum monendi sunt, ut eam distributionem ipsi celebrent manuque propria perscribant adque incauto nomina adnectant, ea forma servata, ut primo a potioribus, dein a mediocribus adque infimis quae sunt danda praestentur. Neque umquam sationibus vel colligendis frugibus

12590 insistsens agricola ad extraordinaria onera trahatur, cum providentiae sit opportuno tempore his necessitatibus satisfacere. Quae res neglecta vicariorum tuorum verecundiam tangit, ad rectorum autem officiorum capita venietur. Manu autem sua rectores scribere debebunt, quid opus sit et in qua necessitate per singula capita vel quantae angariae vel quantae operae vel quae aut in quanto modo praebendae sint,

12595 ut recognovisse se scribant, exactionis praedicto ordine inter ditiores mediocres atque infimos observando. LECTA VII ID. MAI. ROMAE IANUARINO ET IUSTO CONSS.

21 oktober 328 Idem a. ad Dionysium. Famosa scriptio libellorum, quae nomine

- 12600 accusatoris caret, minime examinanda est, sed penitus abolenda. Nam qui accusationis promotione confidat, libera potius intentione quam captiosa atque occulta conscriptione alterius debet vitam in iudicium devocare. PROPOSITA TYRO XII KAL. NOV. IANUARINO ET IUSTO CONSS.
- 12605 29 december 328 A. AD MAXIMUM. Praesides provinciarum oportet, si quis potiorum extiterit insolentior et ipsi vindicare non possunt aut examinare aut pronuntiare nequeunt, de eius nomine ad nos aut certe ad gravitatis tuae scientiam referre, quo provideatur, qualiter publicae disciplinae et laesis minoribus consulatur. et cetera. DAT. IV K. IAN. TREV(IRIS) IANUARINO ET IUSTO CONSUL.
- 12610 29 december 328 Idem a. Maximo praefecto praetorio. Providendum est, ne veterani protectoria dignitate cumulati aut qui honores varios pro meritis suis consecuti sunt, incongruis pulsantur iniuriis, cum, si quis in hoc crimine fuerit deprehensus, rectores provinciarum conveniat ad tuum iudicium referre atque ad tuum officium praedictos dirigere, ut factum pro sui qualitate possit facillime coherceri. DAT. IV
- 12615 KAL. IAN. TREVIRIS IANUARINO ET IUSTO CONSS.
- 12620 328 Gelasius H.e. 3.15.1-5 Constantine
Constantine pleads with the bishop Alexander of Alexandria to accept Arius back into communion. [It is possible that this letter was written later to Athanasius.]
- Early 328 Fragments of a letter to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria
GEL 3.15.1-5; Silli 31 Dorries p. 80; Opitz 32
Reporting the repentance of Arius and commanding that former heretics who later confess the truth be forgiven.
- 12625 c. Jun 328 Part of a letter to the people of Alexandria about the election of Athanasius
Codex Angelicus Gr 22.36b Silli 32; Dorries p. 94-95
Approving and ratifying his appointment to the episcopate.
- 12630 Oct 21, 328 Law 42: To Dionysius
CTh 9.34.4 Dorries p. 174
Anonymous accusations endangering people's lives are forbidden.
- 12635 Dec 29, 328 Law 109
CJ 1.40.2 Dorries p. 194
When a powerful person tires the provincial governors with their arrogance, this should be reported so as to be handled with the appropriate discipline.
- 12640 329 CONSTANTINO A. VIII ET CONSTANTIO C. IV CONSS.
Ad annum praecedentem quae diximus, ad hunc quoque pertinent. Serdicae Constantinum fuisse certe parte anni maiori ostendunt subscriptiones tam infra memoratae quam quae diem habet 339 Iun. 19.
- 12645 18 april 329 IDEM A. SECUNDO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORIO) O ORIENTIS. Ordinarii iudicis provinciarum rectoris seu vicaria potestas ut speculatrix debet prave gesta corrigere. Sed officiales vestrae celsitudinis et vicariae potestatis placet ab exactionibus amoveri et per provincialia officia atque rectores cunctos exigi titulos. Nam si exactio minime impleatur, ante tribunal nostrum exhibitus capitis fortunarumque omnium periculum sustinebit. DAT. XIV K. MAI. CONSTANTINOPOLI
- 12650 CONSTANTINO A. VIII ET CONSTANTIO IV CONSS.
- 12655 4 mei 329 Idem a. Helpidio. Pridem statutum fuit, ut, si ignorante quoque domino in fundo eius vel domo figuratus clam nummus cuderetur, sedem flagitii suo fiscus dominio vindicaret. Nunc discretionem fieri placet, ut, si dominus in proximo constitutus sit, cuius incuria vel neglegentia punienda est, praeceptum prius valeat, sin vero longissime ab ea domo vel possessione afuerit, nullum sustineat detrimentum. Viduas autem ac pupillos speciali dignos indulgentia credidimus, ut viduae nec in proximo constitutae domo sua vel possessione careant, si nulla aput ipsas tam gravis conscientiae noxa resideat, pupilli vero etiam si conscii fuerint, nullum sustineant detrimentum, quia aetas eorum, si tamen fuerint impuberes, quid videat ignorat. Tutores tamen eorum si in proximo sint, quoniam ignorare eos, quid in re pupilli geritur, non oportet, haec poena expectabit, ut ex rebus eorum, si idonei fuerint, tantum fisco inferatur, quantum pupillo fuerat auferendum. Quibus ita emendatis in
- 12660

- 12665 omnibus capitulis lex pridem lata servabitur. DAT. IV NON. MAI. CONSTANTINO A. VIII ET CONSTANTIO IV CONSS.
- 12670 28 juli 329 Idem a. ad concilium provinciae Africae. Non recte iudices iniuriam sibi fieri existimant, si litigator, cuius negotium sententia vulneratum est, a principali causa provocaverit, quod neque novum neque alienum a iudiciis est. Ideoque post negotium principale discussum litigatori liceat litem iuris remedio sublevare; et iudices observare debebunt, ne appellatores vel in carcerem redigant, vel a militibus faciant custodiri. PP. IV KAL. AUG. KARTHAGINE, CONSTANTINO A. VIII. ET CONSTANTINO CAES. IV CONSS.
- 12675 Interpretatio. Lex ista hoc iubet, non debere iudices provinciarum assertiones appellantium ad suam iniuriam revocare, quia hoc nec novum nec alienum a iudiciis esse cognoscitur; et ideo hoc iubet, ut liceat litigatori vitiatam causam appellationis remedio sublevare. Hoc etiam specialiter praecepit, ut appellator nec in carcerem nec in quamcumque custodiam redigatur, sed agendum negotium suum liber observet.
- 12680 17 augustus 329 Imp. Constantinus a. Italis suis. Secundum statuta priorum principum, si quis infantem a sanguine quoquo modo legitime comparaverit vel nutriendum putaverit, obtinendi eius servitii habeat potestatem: ita ut, si quis post seriem annorum ad libertatem eum repetat vel servum defendat, eiusdem modi alium praestet aut pretium, quod potest valere, exsolvat. Qui enim pretium competens instrumento confecto dederit, ita debet firmiter possidere, ut et distrahendi pro suo debito causam liberam habeat: poenae subiiciendis iis, qui contra hanc legem venire tentaverint. DAT. XV KAL. SEPT. SERDICA, CONSTANTINO A. VIII. ET CONSTANTINO CAES. IV CONSS.
- 12690 Interpretatio. Si quis infantem a sanguine emerit et nutrierit, habendi eum et possidendi liberam habeat potestatem. sane si nutritum dominus vel pater recipere voluerit, aut eiusdem meriti mancipium nutritori dabit, aut pretium nutritor, quantum valuerit, qui nutritus est, consequatur.
- 12695 29 september 329 Idem a. Si ad magistratum nominati aufugerint, requirantur et, si pertinaci animo latere potuerint, his ipsorum bona permittantur, qui praesenti tempore in locum eorum ad duumviratus munera vocabuntur, ita ut, si postea repperiti fuerint, biennio integro onera duumviratus cogantur agnoscere. Omnes enim, qui obsequia publicorum munerum declinare temptaverint, simili condicione teneri oportet.
- 12700 DAT. III KAL. OCTOB. SERDICA CONSTANTINO A. VIII ET CONSTANTIO IV CONSS.
- 12705 25 oktober 329 Idem a. ad Lucretium Paternum. Vacuatis rescriptis, per quae munerum civilium nonnullis est vacatio praestita, omnes civilibus necessitatibus adgregentur, ita ut nec consensu civium vel curiae praestita cuiquam immunitas valeat, sed omnes ad munerum societatem conveniantur. DAT. VIII KAL. NOV. HERACLEAE CONSTANTINO A. VIII ET CONSTANTIO IV CONSS.
- 12710 25 november 329 Idem a. ad viros clarissimos praefectos praetorio. pr. Post alia: ad senatum decurio non adspiret manentibus athuc his, qui eandem dignitatem consecuti sunt. Filios sane militarium iuxta prius praeceptum aut patris militiam adsequi volumus aut, si detrectaverint militare et XXXV annos impleverint, curiis mancipari. DAT. VII KAL. DEC. CONSTANTINO A. VIII ET CONSTANTIO IV CONSS.
- 12715 329-332 Inscription at Ain Rchine
AE 1981,878 Gruenewald 133
- 12720 Aug 13, 329 Law 110: To the people
CJ 1.19.3 Dorries p. 194
Nothing can be requested which is contrary to the treasury or the law.
- 12725 Aug 18, 329 Law 111
CJ 4.43.2 Dorries p. 194-195
Newborn children can be sold by impoverished parents, but they retain the right to buy the child back for the same price or by substituting a replacement.
- 12730 330 GALLICANO ET SYMMACHO CONSS.
Hoc a. Febr. 22 Constantinus videtur constituisse Bessapaae ex Serdica proficiscens in Thraciam, ubi die Mai. 11 Constantinopolis dedicata est et ab ea inde die (primum 330 Iul. 16) Constantinoplis comparet in subscriptionibus; mendas inesse probabile est etiam ob alias causa in constitutionibus secundu codices anterioribus, in quibus

- Constantinopolis invenitur. Aliquanto ante dedicationem aedificationem coepisse, fortasse devicto Licinio a. 323?, adeoque nomen Cons(tantinopolis) reperiri in nummis Crispi et Faustae interfectorum a. 326 quamquam nuper intellectum est, nihilo minus probabile est sedem eo Constantinum non transtulisse ante dedicationem. Eo anno ibi post eam imperator resedit. Notabile est, cum per annos praecedentes passim leges novas ad praefectos urbis Romae direxerit, inde a dedicata Constantinopli similes non reperiri praefectosque quos enumerat laterculus praefectorum inde a. die 329 Iun. 19 ad mortem usque imperatoris in constitutionibus non nominari.
- 12735 5 februari 330 Idem a. Valentino consulari Numidiae. Lectores divinorum apicum et hypodiaconi ceterique clerici, qui per iniuriam haereticorum ad curiam devocati sunt, absolvantur et de cetero ad similitudinem orientis minime ad curias devocentur, sed immunitate plenissima potiantur. DAT. NON. FEB. SERDICA GALLICANO ET SYMMACHO CONSS.
- 12740 5 februari 330 CT 16.2.7 Constantine
Lectors, subdeacons, and other clergy shall not have to serve as local senators. Given to the consular of Numidia.
- 12750 22 februari 330 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD TERTULLIANUM V(IRUM) P(ERFECTISSIMUM) COMITEM DIOECESIOS ASIANAE. Si quis super invasis sui iuris locis prior detulerit querimoniam, quae finali cohaeret cum proprietate controversiae, prius super possessione quaestio finiatur et tunc agrimensior ire praecipiat ad loca, ut patefacta veritate huiusmodi litigium terminetur. Quod si altera pars locorum adepta dominium subterfugiendo moras attulerit, ne possit controversia definiri locorum ordine, electus agrimensior dirigatur ad loca, ut, si fidelis inspectio tenentis locum esse probaverit, petitor victus abscedat; at si controversia eius claruerit, qui primo iudiciis detulerit causam, ut invasor ille poena teneatur edicti, si tamen vi ea loca eundem invasisse constiterit. Nam si per errorem aut incuriam domini loca ab aliis possessa sunt, ipsis solis cedere debent. DAT. VIII K. MART. BESSI GALLICANO ET SYMMACHO CONSS.
- 12755 30 april 330 IDEM A. VALERIANO AGENTI VICARIAM P(RAE)F(ECTURAM). Quamvis in lucro nec feminis (ius ignora)ntibus subveniri soleat, contra aetatem adhuc imperfectam (locum) hoc non habere retro principum statuta declarant. Ne igi(tur so)luta matrimonii caritate inhumanum aliquid statuatur, (cense)mus, si futuris coniugibus tempore nubtiarum intra aeta(tem c)onstitutis res fuerint donatae et traditae, non ideo eas (posse) revocari, quia actis consignare donationem quondam (marit)us noluit. DAT. III K. MAI. GALLICANO ET SYMMACHO CONSS.
- 12760 Interpretatio. Quamquam et feminis, quae per fragilitatem interdum excusari possunt, in aliquibus causis, si negligentes fuerint, lex subvenire noluerit, hic tamen specialiter voluit esse consultum, ut, si qua in pupillaribus annis marito fuerit copulata, et sponsaliciam largitatem per negligentiam actis non allegaverit, huius legis beneficio, etsi gesta desint, inviolabilem in suo dominio donationem noverit permanere.
- 12775 18 mei 330 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximilianum consularem aquarum. Possessores, per quorum fines formarum meatus transeunt, ab extraordinariis oneribus volumus esse immunes, ut eorum opera aquarum ductus sordibus obpleti mudentur, nec ad aliud superindictae rei onus isdem possessoribus adtinendis, ne circa res alias occupati repurgium formarum facere non occurrant. Quod si neglexerint, amissione possessionum multabuntur: nam fiscus eius praedium obtinebit, cuius negligentia perniciem formae congesserit. Praeterea scire eos oportet, per quorum praedia ductus commeat, ut dextra laevaque de ipsis formis quindecim pedibus intermissis arbores habeant; observante tuo officio, ut, si quo tempore pullulaverint, excidantur, ne earum radices fabricam formae conrumpant. DAT. XV KAL. IUN. GALLICANO ET SYMMACHO CONSS.
- 12780 21 juni 330 IDEM A. AD BASSUM P(RAE)F(ECTUM) U(RBI). Si constiterit eum, qui finalem detulerit quaestionem, priusquam aliquid sententia determinetur, rem sibi alienam usurpare voluisse, non solum id quod male petebat amittat, sed quo magis unusquisque contentus suo rem non expetat iuris alieni, is, qui inreptor agrorum fuerit, in lite superatus tantum agri modum, quantum diripere temptavit, amittat. LECTA APUD ACTA XII KAL. IUL. GALLICANO ET SYMMACHO CONSS.
- 12790 Interpretatio. Si quis pervasor finium fuerit approbatus, eo quod, priusquam aliquid iudicio finiretur, id, quod alter tenuerat, invasisset, non solum illud, quod male praesumpsit, amittat, sed ut non unusquisque rem alienam occupet, quum fuerit in causa devictus pervasor iuris alieni, tantum spatii restituat, quantum praesumpsit
- 12795

invadere.

- 12800 26 juli 330 Imp. Constantinus a. Leontio Pf. P. Omnes solidi, in quibus nostri vultus ac veneratio una est, uno pretio aestimandi sunt atque vendendi, quamquam diversa formae mensura sit. Nec enim qui maiore habitu faciei extenditur, maioris est pretii, aut qui angustiore expressione concluditur, minoris valere credendus est, quum pondus idem exsistat. Quod si quis aliter fecerit, aut capite puniri debet, aut flammis tradi, vel alia poena mortifera. Quod ille etiam patietur, qui mensuram circuli exterioris arroserit, ut ponderis minuat quantitatem, vel figuratum solidum adultera imitatione in vendendo subiecerit. DAT. VII KAL. AUG. GALLICANO ET BASSO CONSS.
- 12805 Interpretatio. Quicumque solidum circumciderit aut adulterum supposuerit aut falsam monetam fecerit, capite puniatur.
- 12810 29 november 330 CT 16.8.2 Constantine
Jewish elders shall be exempt from compulsory public service. If such men are currently decurions, they are exempt from travel.
- 12815 30 november 330 Idem a. ad Ablavium praefectum praetorio. Qui devotione tota synagogis iudaeorum patriarchis vel presbyteris se dederunt et in memorata secta degentes legi ipsi praesident, immunes ab omnibus tam personalibus quam civilibus muneribus perseverent, ita ut illi, qui iam forsitan decuriones sunt, nequaquam ad prosecutiones aliquas destinentur, cum oporteat istiusmodi homines a locis in quibus
- 12820 sunt nulla compelli ratione discedere. Hi autem, qui minime curiales sunt, perpetua decurionatus immunitate potiantur. DAT. III KAL. DECEMB. CONSTANTINOPOLI GALLICANO ET SYMMACHO CONSS.
- 12825 330 Constantine to Athanasius. Having therefore knowledge of my will, grant free admission to all who wish to enter into the Church. For if I learn that you have hindered or excluded any who claim to be admitted into communion with the Church, I will immediately send someone who shall depose you by my command, and shall remove you from your place.
- 12830 330 Optatus, De sch. Don., appendix 10 Constantine
Constantine writes to the Numidian catholic church, granting them exemption from compulsory public service. He orders that a new basilica be built at public expense, to replace a basilica taken by the Donatists.
- 12835 330 Eusebius, H.e. 3.60-62 Constantine
Constantine writes to Antioch, advising them not to elect Eusebius of Caesarea as their bishop, since that would go against canon 15 of the Council of Nicaea. Three letters in this connection survive.
- 12840 330 Eusebius, VC 3.52-53 Constantine
Constantine orders pagan altars and idols to be destroyed at Mambre. Those who used them are to be banished, and once the area has been purged a basilica is to be built. If the local governors ignore this command they will be punished.
- 12845 Feb 5, 330 Law 112: Edict about the expansion of immunity to the consular Valentinus of Numidia
CTh 16.2.7 Dorries p. 40, 195
Granting exemptions for clergy.
- 12850 Feb 5, 330 Letter to the bishops of Numidia
HD App 10 Silli 33; Dorries p. 40-43
Stating that catholic basilicas stolen by the Donatists should not be disturbed and instead new ones constructed.
- 12855 Apr 29, 330 Law 113: To Valerianus, the acting pefect
CTh 3.5.3 Dorries p. 195
Widows inherit their husbands property even if a will does not document this.
- 12860 Jun 20, 330 Law 114: To Bassus, the praetorian prefect
CTh 2.26.2 Dorries p. 195
Whoever takes part of someone else's field must pay back twice as much.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

July 16, 330 Law 115

Frag Vat 248 Dorries p. 195

12865 Children who do not take care of their parents will have what they have received from them taken and returned to the parents.

330 Letter to Shapur, king of Persia

VC 4.9-13; THE 1.25.1-11; GEL 3.11.1-11; EH 8.38 Silli 34; Dorries p. 125-127

12870 Denouncing idolatry and persecution and expressing loving appreciation for the blessings enjoyed by the Christians.

Nov 29, 330 Law 116: To Ablavius, the praetorian prefect

CTh 16.8.2 Dorries p. 195-196

12875 Synagogue leaders are exempt from all personal and civil duties and cannot be forced out of their positions.

330-331 Letter to Macarius and the other bishops of Palestine

VC 3.52-53 Silli 35; Dorries p. 86-88

12880 Instructing them to destroy the idolatrous altars at Mamre.

330-331 Letter to the people of Antioch

VC 3.60 Silli 36; Dorries p. 89-92

12885 Directing them not to take away Eusebius of Caesarea to be their bishop.

330-331 Third letter to Eusebius at the request for the bishopric of Antioch

VC 3.61 Silli 37; Dorries p. 93-94

Praising him for turning down the bishopric of Antioch.

12890 330-331 Letter to Theodotus, Theodore, Narcissus, Aetius, Alpheius, and the other bishops who are in Antioch

VC 3.62 Silli 38; Dorries p. 92-93

Denouncing the attempt to make Eusebius bishop of Antioch.

12895 331 BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.

Constantinum hoc quoque anno apparet mansisse Constantinopoli.

331 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. AD ABLAVIUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Placet mulieri non licere propter suas pravas cupiditates marito repudium mittere exquisita causa, velut ebrioso aut aleatori aut mulierculario, nec vero maritis per quascumque occasiones uxores suas dimittere, sed in repudio mittendo a femina haec sola crimina inquire, si homicidam vel medicamentarium vel sepulchrorum dissolutorem maritum suum esse probaverit, ut ita demum laudata omnem suam dotem recipiat. Nam si praeter haec tria crimina repudium marito miserit, oportet eam usque ad acuculam capitis in domo mariti deponere et pro tam magna sui confidentia in insulam deportari. In masculis etiam, si repudium mittant, haec tria crimina inquire conveniet, si moecham vel medicamentariam vel conciliatricem repudiare voluerint. Nam si ab his criminibus liberam eiecerit, omnem dotem restituere debet et aliam non ducere. Quod si fecerit, priori coniugi facultas dabitur domum eius invadere et omnem dotem posterioris uxoris ad semet ipsam transferre pro iniuria sibi inflata [illata]. DAT ... BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.

12905 Interpretatio. Certis rebus et probatis causis, inter uxorem et maritum repudiandi locus patet; nam levi obiectione matrimonium solvere prohibentur. Quod si forte mulier dicat maritum suum aut ebriosum aut luxuriae deditum, non propterea repudiandus est, nisi forte eum aut homicidam aut maleficum aut sepulcri violatorem esse docuerit, quibus criminibus convictus sine culpa mulieris merito videtur excludi, et mulier recepta dote discedit: nam si haec crimina mulier non potuerit approbare, hac poena mulctatur, ut et dotem, quam dederat vel pro ipsa data fuerat, et donationem, quam percepit, amittat atque etiam exsilii relegatione teneatur. Quod si a viro mulier repellatur, nec ipse, nisi certis criminibus ream docuerit, pro levi, ut assolet, iurgio repudiare non permittitur, nisi fortasse adulteram aut maleficam aut conciliatricem eam probare sufficiat. Quod si docere non potuerit, dotem mulieri restituat et aliam ducere non praesumat uxorem. Quod si forte tentaverit, habebit mulier liberam facultatem, quae innocens eiecta est, domum mariti sui atque omnem eius substantiam sibimet vindicare. Quod dignoscitur ordinatum, ut

12925 etiam secundae uxoris dotem repudiata iniuste mulier iubeatur acquirere.

1 maart 331 Idem a. ad Bassum Pf. P. Legis promulgatio, quae per sedecim annos bona fide in libertate durantes contra eos, qui inquietant, praescriptione defendit, non

- opitulatur his, qui ex ancillis matribus et ingenuis patribus orti per id tempus in libertatis affectu cum parentibus perdurarint, quandoquidem, nullo praecedente iusto legitimae possessionis initio, usurpatio libertatis nuda iactetur, quum neque redemptio a servitute neque vicarii traditio servuli vel peculii assignatio valeat demonstrari; qui tituli possint famulatus nexibus liberare eum, qui convenitur, si quo ex iis genere usus in libertate esset per annos sedecim demoratus. Iure enim
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12935 communi maternam condicionem natum sequi necesse est, ita ut, etsi herilem lectulum ancilla ascenderit, non liberorum domino, sed servorum partum suscipiat. DAT. PRID. KAL. MART. BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Lex aliquando fuerat promulgata, ut, si quis sedecim annos sine ulla molestia, nullo repetente vel pulsante, vixisset, et postea in servitium non veniret.
12940 Sed hoc illis prodesse non poterit, quos de ingenuis patribus et colonis mulieribus vel ancillis constiterit procreatos, nisi forte patres eorum pro filiorum capite dominis, quorum ancillas in consortio habent, aut vicaria mancipia cum peculiiis aut redemptionem status eorum solverint. Si vero patres hoc se persolverisse non doceant, non poterunt matrum condicionem mutare, aut mancipia dominis deperire, etiamsi de propriis dominis nascantur, nisi per manumissionem servuli condicione carere non possunt. Si quis in libertate positus ancillam sibi copulaverit in coniugium, si filii ex ipsis nati fuerint, origo matrem sequatur: simili modo, si liberta servum duxerit maritum, agnatio servum sequatur, quia ad inferiorem personam vadit origo.
12945
12950 18 april 331 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Ablavium Pf. P. Quicumque puerum vel puellam proiectam de domo, patris vel domini voluntate scientiaque, collegerit ac suis alimentis ad robur provexerit, eundem retineat sub eodem statu, quem apud se collectum voluerit agitare, hoc est sive filium sive servum eum esse maluerit: omni repetitionis inquietudine penitus summovenda eorum, qui servos aut liberos scientes
12955 propria voluntate domo recens natos abiecerint. DAT. XV KAL. MAI. CONSTANTINOPOLI, BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Quicumque expositum recenti partu, sciente patre vel matre vel domino, collegerit ac suo labore educaverit, in illius, a quo collectus est, potestate consistat, seu ingenuum seu servum, quem nutrit, esse voluerit, et si adoptare
12960 voluerit in filium vel libertum aut in servitium permanere, propria utatur potestate.
1 juli 331 IDEM A. Ne ii, qui procul ab officio sublimitatis tuae sunt, nullum meritum per sedulitatem vel obsequia praeferentes locum possint laborantibus debitum inrepere, exceptores placet pro loco et ordine suo ad commentarios accedere et eorum
12965 administrationi subrogari ceteris propulsatis, ita ut inter exceptores, prout quisque locum tempore adipisci meruerit, ordine et merito consequatur. DAT. KAL. IUL. TREVIRIS BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
1 augustus 331 Idem a. ad universos provinciales. A proconsulibus et comitibus et his qui vice praefectorum cognoscunt, sive ex appellatione sive ex delegato sive ex ordine iudicaverint, provocari permittimus, ita ut appellanti iudex praebeat
12970 opinionis exemplum et acta cum refutatoriis partium suisque litteris ad nos dirigat. A praefectis autem praetorio, qui soli vice sacra cognoscere vere dicendi sunt, provocari non sinimus, ne iam nostra contingi veneratio videatur. Quod si victus oblatam nec receptam a iudice appellationem adfirmet, praefectos adeat, ut aput eos
12975 de integro litiget tamquam appellatione suscepta. Superatus enim si iniuste appellasse videbitur, lite perdita notatus abscedet, aut, si vicerit, contra eum iudicem, qui appellationem non receperat, ad nos referri necesse est, ut digno supplicio puniatur. DAT. KAL. AUG. PROPOSITA KAL. SEPT. CONSTANTINOPOLI BASSO ET
12980 ABLAVIO CONSS.
1 augustus 331 Idem a. ad universos provinciales. Qui licitam provocationem omiserit, perpetuo silere debet nec a nobis impudens petere per supplicationem auxilium. Quod si fecerit, deportationis poena plectendus est. DAT. KAL. AUG.
12985 PROPOSITA KAL. SEPT. BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
1 augustus 331 IDEM A. AD UNIVERSOS PROVINCIALES. Posta alia: Si finalis controversia fuerit, tum demum arbiter non negetur, cum intra quinque pedes locum, de quo agitur apud praesidem, esse constiterit; cum de maiore spatio causa, quoniam non finalis, sed proprietatis est, apud ipsum praesidem debeat terminari. Et si socius quid petat a socio, ante praeses iudicet, an praestari aliquid oporteat et tunc demum illud per arbitros restituatur, quod constiterit esse solvendum. DAT. K. AUG. BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.

- 12995 1 augustus 331 [IDEM A. AD] UNIVERSOS PROVINCIALES. Posta alia: Minorum defensores, [hoc es]t tutores vel curatores, si participes rei, quae lite posci[tur, it]a, ut iussum est, edere detractaverint eosdemque contra ve[rum] nominaverint, quoniam pupillo nihil vel adulto perire opor[tet, in] quolibet litis eventu tantum de proprio pecuniae fisco infe[rant, q]uantum aestimatione habita ex tertia parte colligitur.
- 13000 Quod[si paul]peres sint, capitis deminutione plectantur et desinant cives [esse R]omani, ita ut ius integrum ipsis minoribus reservetur. ET CE[TERA. D]AT. K. AUG. BASSO ET ABLABIO CONSS.
- 13005 1 augustus 331 Imp. Constantinus a. ad provinciales. Post alia: lite pendente illud, quod in controversiam devocatur, in coniunctam personam vel extraneam donationibus vel emptionibus vel quibuslibet aliis contractibus minime transferri oportet, tanquam nihil factum sit lite nihilominus peragenda. Quod si tutelae causa vertitur, post examen iudicis in supplementum pronuntiationis dentur arbitri, qui non iam arbitri, sed exsecutores putandi sunt etc. DAT. KAL. AUG. BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
- 13010 Interpretatio. Res, quae proposita actione repetitur, transferri a possidente ad alterum nullis contractibus potest; neque inde aliqua fieri scriptura permittitur, nisi prius lis, de qua agitur, fuerit iudicio definita.
- 13015 1 augustus 331 Imp. Constantinus a. ad universos provinciales. In insulam deportandi sunt cum amissione omnium facultatum, quae fisco addicendae sunt, ii, qui provocatione omissa litem reparare temptaverint contra comitum ceterorumque sententias qui vice nostra iudicaverint, firmantes se per metum appellationis omisisse auxilium. In qua re vel nostrum vel praefectorum praetorio ex nostra erit iussione iudicium. DAT. KAL. AUG. PROPOSITA KAL. SEPT. BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
- 13020 4 augustus 331 IDEM A. AD EVAGRIUM. Ii, qui ex officialibus quorumcumque officiorum geniti sunt, sive eorundem parentes adhuc sacramento tenetur sive iam dimissi erunt, in parentum locum procedant. DAT. PRID. NON AUG. BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
- 13025 4 augustus 331 Idem a. ad Evagrium pf. p. Quoniam nonnulli diversarum civitatum curiales intemperanter minores, quibus publica tutela debetur, ad curiae consortium devocarunt, ut septem vel octo annorum constitutos nonnullos nominasse firmentur, decernimus, ut omnino nullus in curiam nominationibus devocetur, nec functionum obsequia subire cogatur, nisi qui decimum et octavum annum aetatis fuerit ingressus.
- 13030 Quod et in futurum arceri volumus, et eos eximi, qui infra eius aetatis terminos constituti iam nominati sunt, curialibus et vinculis absolvantur. Quum enim decimum et octavum annum aetatis intraverint, si militiae nomen inserere iuxta legem datam non potuerint vel supersederint, municipali poterunt dari obsequio. DAT. PRID. NON AUG. BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
- 13035 Interpretatio. Minores decem et octo annorum aetate curiales nec nominari a quibuscumque nec ad servitia applicari debere: quia hoc lex sufficere credit, ut a decem et octo annis necessitati publicae, si necesse fuerit, applicentur, ita ut, si qui infra hanc aetatem ante nominati iam fuerint, absolvantur.
- 13040 12 augustus 331 Idem a. ad Evagrium pf. p. Nullus decurionum ad procuraciones vel curas civitatum accedat, nisi omnibus omnino muneribus satisfecerit patriae vel aetate vel meritis. Qui vero per suffragium ad hoc pervenerit administrare desiderans, non modo ab expetito officio repellatur, sed epistola quoque vel codicilli ab eo protinus auferantur, et ad comitatum destinantur. DAT. PRID. ID. AUG.
- 13045 BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Ista lex hoc praecipit, nullum curialem, nisi omnibus curiae officiis per ordinem actis, aut curatoris aut defensoris officium debere suscipere, nisi omnibus, ut dictum est, ante muneribus satisfecerit, quae patriae ordine debentur. Nam si praefatus contra hanc praeceptionem quolibet suffragio aut sub quocumque obtentu honoris se munire voluerit, et obtentis careat et, ubi rerum domini fuerint, dirigatur.
- 13050 6 oktober 331 Idem a. Quaecumque mulierum post hanc legem servi contubernio se miscuerit, et non conventa per denuntiationes, sicut ius statuebat antiquum, statum libertatis amittat. DAT. PRID. NON. OCT. BASSO ET ABLABIO CONSS.
- 13060 18 oktober 331 IDEM A. AD BASSUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Super his, qui a praeside vel a quolibet alio iudice sententiam dictam infirmari deposcunt, sub eo fine sublimitatis tuae succedat examen, ut, si internis negotii usquequaque decursis ex evidenti claruerit sententiam a iure iustitiaque discedere, ea penitus explosa

controversia de aequitate terminum capiat. Quod si consentanea sit legibus iam prompta sententia, eius pronuntiationis improbus oppugnator, si patrimonio circumfluit, biennio in insulam relegatione plectatur eiusque bonorum media portio fiscalibus compendiis addicta cedat: quod si agrestis vitae sit aut egentis, ad biennii tempus in metallum detrudendus est. Quam legem in annotationibus quoque nostris de iterando post sententiam iudicio custodire debebis. DAT. XIV K. NOVEMB. BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Quicumque causa dicta discussoque negotio a quocumque fuerit superatus et hanc ipsam litem postea reparare tentaverit, si pro ipso, qui antea addictus est, fuerit legibus lata sententia, prius iudicium non valebit. Nam si et apud alium iudicem fuerit superatus, si digna idoneaque persona est, biennio in exsilium deputetur, et medietatem facultatum suarum fiscus acquirat. Si vero indigna et pauperior persona est, in metallum biennio deputetur.

1 november 331 IDEM A. AD PROVINCIALES. Praesides publicas notiones exercent frequentatis per examina tribunalibus, nec civiles controversias audituri secretariis sese abscondant, ut iurgaturus conveniendi eos nisi pretio facultatem impetrare non possit, et cum negotiis omnibus, quae ad se delata fuerint, exhibuerint audientiam et frequens praeconis, ut adsolet fieri, inclamatio nullum, qui postulare voluerit, deprehenderit, expletis omnibus actibus publicis privatisque sese recipiant. Iustissimos autem et vigilantissimos iudices publicis adclamationibus conlaudandi damus omnibus potestatem, ut honoris eis auctiores proferamus processus, e contrario iniustis et maleficis querellarum vocibus accusandis, ut censurae nostrae vigor eos absumat; nam si verae voces sunt nec ad libidinem per clientelas effusae, diligenter investigabimus, praefectis praetorio et comitibus, qui per provincias constituti sunt, provincialium nostrorum voces ad nostrum scientiam referentibus. P(RO)P(OSITIA) K. NOV. CONSTANTINOPOLI BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSUL.

1 november 331 IDEM A. AD PROVINCIALES. Cessent iam nunc rapaces officialium manus, cessent, inquam: nam nisi moniti cessaverint, gladiis praeceduntur. Non sit venale iudicis velum, non ingressus redempti, non infame licitationibus secretarium, non visio ipsa praediis cum pretio. Aequae aures iudicantis pauperrimis ac divitibus reserentur. Absit ab inducendo eius qui officii princeps dicitur depraedatio; nullas litigatoribus adiutores eorundem officii principum concussiones adhibeant; centurionum aliorumque officialium parva magnaue poscentium intolerandi inpetus oblidantur eorumque, qui iurgantibus acta restituunt, inexplata aviditas temperetur. Semper invigilet industria praesidialis, ne quicquam a praedictis generibus hominum de litigatore sumatur. Qui si de civilibus causis quidquam putaverint esse poscendum, aderit armata censura, quae nefariorum capita cervicesque detruncet, data copia universis qui concussi fuerint, ut praesidium instruant notionem. Qui si dissimulaverint, super eodem conquerendi vocem omnibus aperimus apud comites provinciarum, aut apud praefectos praetorio, si magis fuerint in vicino, ut his referentibus edocti super talibus latrociniis supplicia proferamus. DAT. KAL. NOVEMB. CONSTANT(INO)P(OLI) BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Officiales omnium iudicum venales esse non audeant, neque pretium de introitu occurrentium aut litigantium vel egressu requirant. Sed interpellantes tam divites, quam sine ullo praemio pauperes audiantur. Quod si rapaces esse voluerint, gladio puniantur, aut certe de eorum rapacitate dominicis auribus referatur.

1 december 331 Idem a. hiereis et archisynagogis et patribus synagogarum et ceteris, qui in eodem loco deserviunt. Hiereos et archisynagogos et patres synagogarum et ceteros, qui synagogis deserviunt, ab omni corporali munere liberos esse praecipimus. DAT. KAL. DEC. CONSTANTINOPOLI BASSO ET ABLAVIO CONSS.

1 december 331 CT 16.8.4 Constantine

Jewish priests and synagogue leaders are exempt from compulsory public service of a corporeal nature.

Jun 30, 331 Inscription at Orcistus

CIL III 352, 7000; ILS 6091; MAMA VII 305; FIRA 195 Dorries p. 212-214; Gruenewald 446, p. 147-150

A letter to the city granting its request to be restored to its ancient city status, another to Ablabius affirming the same, and a third to the city liberating them from paying tax to Nacolea.

Apr 17, 331 Law 117: To Ablavius, the praetorian prefect
CTh 5.9.1 Dorries p. 196

Whoever takes in and raises a child who has been put out has the rights to him and is not required to return him to his parents or master.

13130 Aug 4, 331 Law 118
CJ 12.47.1 Dorries p. 196
Officials' sons are bound to follow in their father's profession.

Nov 1, 331 Law 119
13135 CJ 1.40.3 Dorries p. 196
Public acclamation is introduced into the court process.

331 Law 120: To Ablavius, the praetorian prefect
CTh 3.16.1 Dorries p. 196-197
13140 Limiting lawful grounds for divorcing a man to murder, witchcraft, and graverobbing and divorcing a woman to adultery, witchcraft, and prostitution.

332 PACATIANO ET HILARIANO CONSS.
11 april 332 IDEM A. AD LEONTIUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Iam dudum sanximus, veteranorum filii, qui post sedecim annos militiae munus subire non possunt vel armis gerendis habiles non extiterint, curiis mancipientur. DAT. III ID. APRIL. PACATIANO ET HILARIANO CONSS.

12 april 332 [IDEM] A. PACATIANO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O Si is, qui puellam suis nubtiis pactus est, (intra) biennium exsequi nubtias supersederit eiusque spatii fine (decur)so in alterius postea coniunctionem puella pervene(rit, ni)hil fraudis ei sit, quae nubtias maturando vota sua diut(ius lu)di non passa est. DAT. PRID. ID. APRIL. MARCIAN(O)P(OLI) PACATI[ANO] ET HILARIANO CONSS.

12 april 332 (IDEM A.) AD PACATIANUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Patri puellae aut tutori aut curatori aut cui(libet) eius adfini non liceat, cum prius militi puellam despon(deri)t, eandem alii in matrimonium tradere. Quod si intra bi(enni)um, ut perfidiae reus in insulam relegetur. Quod si pac(tis n)ubtiis transcurso biennio qui puellam desponderit al(teri) eandem sociaverit, in culpam sponsi potius quam puel(lae r)eferatur, nec quicquam noceat ei, qui post biennium pu(ella)m marito alteri tradidit. DAT. PRID. ID. APRIL. MARCIAN(O)P(OLI) (PACATIANO E)T HILARIANO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Si quis aut privatus aut militans, postquam sponderit, cum patre, tutore vel curatore puellae vel propinquis de puellae coniunctione definierit, debet post definitionem intra biennium nuptias celebrare. Quod si tarditate aut negligentia sponsi biennii tempus excesserit, et alio viro se puella coniunxerit, absoluta erit a calumnia, vel ipsa, vel quicumque suorum eam tradiderit: quia culpa est illius, qui differendo coniunctionem suam alteri nubendi locum patefecit. Nam si intra biennium data fuerit, quid observetur, evidentius sequente lege cognoscetur.

27 juli 332 Imp. Constantinus a. ad concilium Byzacenorum. Libertis ingratis in tantum iura adversa sunt, ut, si quadam iactantia vel contumacia cervices erexerint ut levis offensae contraxerint culpam, a patronis rursus sub imperia dicionemque mittantur. DAT. VI KAL. AUG. COLONIAE AGRIPPINAE, PACATIANO ET HILARIANO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Quaecumque persona servilis a domino suo fuerit consecuta libertatem, si postea superbire coeperit aut patronum, id est manumissorem suum laeserit, amissa libertate, quam meruit, in servitium revocetur.

27 juli 332 IDEM A. AD CONCILIUM BYZACENORUM. Servus necessarius heres instituendus est, quia non magis patrimonium quam infamiam consequi videtur. Unde claret actionem inofficiosi fratribus relaxatam, cum infamiae aspergitur vitiis qui heres extitit, omniaque fratribus tradi, quae per turpitudinem aut aliquam levem notam capere non potest institutus. Ita in hac quoque parte, si quando libertis heredibus institutis fratres fuerint alieni, inofficiosi actione proposita praevaleant in omnibus occupandis facultatibus defuncti, quas ille perperam ad libertos voluerat pertinere.

DAT. VI KAL. AUG. COLONIAE AGRIPPINAE PACATIANO ET HILARIANO CONSS.

Interpretatio. Si servo pro necessitate debiti a domino cum libertate hereditas fuerit dimissa, quia huiusmodi persona videtur infamis, germanis fratribus, qui praetermissi sunt, agendi contra testamentum datur facultas: ut remota infami persona, salva tamen, quam meruit, libertate, hereditatem germani fratres ad se debeant revocare. Nam et si praetermissis fratribus liberti per testamentum heredes fuerint instituti, simili modo germani defuncti eos a bonis fraternae hereditatis excludent, sibi que omnia, quae reliquerit, vindicabunt.

- 13195 26 oktober 332 ...Si post adsertionem defensionemque ordinatam alius in iudicium acciri petiverit, adsertio quidem et defensio inter omnes ordinetur, ipse vero tot mancipia, quot petebat, fisco cogatur inferre. quod si adsertor defecerit, vel praedictam multam agnoscat vel, si per inopiam id implere non possit, in metallum detrudetur: eadem circa minorum defensores, cum liberalis causa agitur, forma servanda. Et cetera. DAT. VII K. NOVEMB. CONSTANTINOPOLI PACATIANO ET HILARIANO CONSS.
- 13200 Interpretatio. Si post adsertionem defensionemque dispositam alius in iudicium qui se dominum dicit petierit exhiberi, inter omnes quidem ordinabitur adsertio, sed ipse ad certam poenam tenebitur. Idem est in adsertore vel defensoribus minorum.
- 13205 29 oktober 332 Imp. Constantinus a. ad provinciales. Apud quemcumque colonus iuris lienii fuerit inventus, is non solum eundem origini suae restituat, verum super eodem capitationem temporis agnoscat. 1. Ipsos etiam colonos, qui fugam meditantur, in servilem condicionem ferro ligari conveniet, ut officia, quae liberis congruunt, merito servilis condemnationis compellantur implere. DAT. III. KAL. NOV. PACATIANO ET
- 13210 HILARIANO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Si quis alienum colonum sciens in domo sua retinuerit, ipsum prius domino restituat et tributa eius, quam diu apud eum fuerit, cogatur exsolvere: ipse vero, qui noluit esse, quod natus est, in servitium redigatur.
- 13215 332 or 322 Eusebius, VC, 3.64-65 Constantine
Constantine forbids heretical groups to assemble. Their buildings must be surrendered to the catholic church. [See note on the authenticity of anti-pagan legislation in the Life of Constantine.]
- 13220 Feb 22-March 6, 332 Letter to the people of the catholic church of Alexandria
ACA 61-62; THE 1.27; GEL 3.16.1-3 Silli 39; Dorries p. 96-99
Encouraging them to show Christian love instead of following the example of wicked men.
- 13225 May 30, 332 Law 121: To Maximus, the praetorian prefect
CJ 6.36.7 Dorries p. 197
Since codicils and testaments are the same thing they are given the same weight.
- 13230 Oct 17, 332 Law 122: To Tiberianus, count of Spain
CJ 6.1.6 Dorries p. 197
Setting torture as the proper way to ascertain truth from slaves.
- 13235 332-333 Digest of a letter to the censor Dalmatius
ACA 65.1 Dorries p. 99
"Requiring him to institute a judicial enquiry" about Athanasius' alleged murder of Arsenius.
- 13240 333 DALMATIO ET ZENOFILO CONSS.
19 april 333 (IDEM A. FELIC)I. Quoniam per neglegentiam seu proditionem tu(torum) et curatorum possessiones iuris enfyteutici vitio in(terce)dente commissi e minorum fortunis avelluntur, pla(cet, ut) tutor curatorve, cuius officio manente possessiones (mino)ris iuris enfyteutici praerogativam commissi offen(sa pe)rdiderint, tantum de facultatibus propriis censura im(mine)nte minoribus restituat, quanto rem valere potuisse (cons)tabit. DAT. XIV K. MAI. CONST(ANTINO)P(OLI) DALMATIO ET ZENOFILO CONSS.
- 13245 Interpretatio. Si forte cesserit, ut minores possessionem iuris emphyteutici, hoc est, quod ex fisci bonis parentes eorum habere meruerant, sub qualibet praestatione tenuerint, et hoc per negligentiam sive proditionem tutoris aut imminutum fuerit aut certe sublatum, quicquid perierit, a tutore vel curatore esse reddendum.
- 13250 4 mei 333 Imp. Constantinus a. et c. ad Severum comitem Hispaniarum. Scripturae diversae et fidem sibi invicem derogantes, ab altera parte prolatae, nihil firmitatis habere potuerunt. DAT. IV NON. MAI. CONSTANTINOPOLI, DALMATIO ET ZENOPHILO CONSS.
Interpretatio. Si quis multiplici scriptura contractum suum munire cupiens de una re venditionem et donationem proferat vel quaecumque alia documenta: omnia rescindantur, quia impugnantes se chartulas lex haec vetat admitti.
- 13255 4 mei 333 IDEM A. AD. SEVERUM COM(ITEM) HISPANIARUM. Data iam pridem lege statuimus,

- 13260 ut donationes interveniente actorum testificatione conficiantur. Quod vel maxime inter necessarias coniunctissimasque personas convenit custodiri, si quidem clandestinis ac domesticis fraudibus facile quidvis pro negotii opportunitate confingi potest vel id quod vere gestum est aboleri. Cum igitur ne liberos quidem ac parentes lex nostra ab actorum confectione secernat, id, quod necessario super donationibus apud acta conficiendis iam pridem statuimus, universos teneat, salvo
- 13265 tamen iuris privilegio, quod liberis et parentibus suffragatur, scilicet ne traditionis vel mancipationis sollemnitas sit necessaria. DAT. IV NON. MAI. CONST(ANTINO)P(OLI), DALMATIO ET ZENOFILO CONSS.
- 13270 5 mei 333 IDEM A. MAXIMUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORI)O. Utilitate suadente annonarios et actuarios condicionales esse praecipimus, annonis etiam adiuvari et capitationem eorum qui censiti sunt haberi immunem. Ideoque tua sollertia competentia monebit officia, ut actuariis binas annonas, annonariis vero singulas protinus subministrent, capitationem quoque ipsorum tantum, qui ex his censiti sunt, faciat haberi immunem, quoad in actu fuerint constituti, nam postea vel laus eos et dignitas honorabit vel,
- 13275 si in culpa fuerint deprehensi, poena comitabitur. EMISSA III
- 333 or 327 Socrates, H.e. 1.9 Constantine
Constantine orders that Arians now be referred to as Porphyrians, that all works of Arius or Arians be burned, and that anyone hiding a work of Arius suffer capital punishment.
- 13280 333 or 327 Gelasius, H.e. 3.19 Constantine
Constantine sends a long, belittling letter to Arius and his followers. At the end, he threatens to heavily fine the Arians and force them to accept compulsory public services unless they immediately return to the catholic faith. If Arius returns, he promises to be lenient.
- 13285 May 5, 333 Law 123
CS 1 Dorries p. 197-199
The judgments of the bishop are final.
- 13290 333 Fourth letter to Eusebius about the restoration of the divine books
VC 4.36; SOC 1.9; THE 1.16.1-4; GEL 3.4.1-5; EH 8.27; CAS 2.16.1-5 Silli 40; Dorries p. 81-82
Instruction to prepare more copies of the Scriptures in Constantinople.
- 13295 333 First letter to Athanasius
ACA 59.6; SOC 1.27; SOZ 2.22.5; GEL 3.14; EH 8.48 Silli 41; Dorries p. 95-96
Threatening to despoise him if he excluded from the church those who wished to enter its communion.
- 13300 333 Edict to the bishops and people against Arius
ATH 39; SOC 1.9; GEL 2.36.1-2; EH 8.25; CAS 2.15; EOMIA 1.2.4a,b; HNI 1.1; KAU 2.1; SM 6-7 Silli 42; Dorries p. 112-113; Opitz 33
The followers of Arius should be called Porphyrians and all their writings burned.
- 13305 333 Letter to Arius and the Arians with him
ATH 40; GEL 3.19; EPI heresy 69.9.4 Silli 43; Dorries p. 103-112; Opitz 34
Pleading with him to end his madness and return to the church.
- 13310 Sept 27, 333 Document Law 124: To the people
CTh 13.3.3 Dorries p. 199-200
Doctors and professors are exempt from all public duties.
- 13315 Nov 27, 333 Letter to Arius
SOC 1.25; EH 8.47 Silli 44; Dorries p. 77-78; Opitz 29
Summoning him to the court.
- 13320 Dec 12, 333-May 22, 337 Inscription at Muzuc
CIL VIII 12064 Gruenewald 143
- Dec 25, 333-Sept 18, 335 Inscription at Spello
CIL XI 5265; AE 1967,112; ILS 705; ILCV 5
Dorries p. 209-211; Gruenewald 236, p. 150-153

- 13325 Granting the city Hispellum the name "Flavia Constans" and the right to build a temple so that their priests would not have to travel to Tuscia.
- Dec 25, 333-May 22, 337 Inscription at Goren Chiflik
SGLIB 150 Gruenewald 411
- 13330 End of 333-334 Second letter to Athanasius
ACA 68 Silli 45; Dorries p. 99-102
Declaring the Melitians' accusations against Athanasius to be false.
- 13335 333-334 Letter to John
ACA 70.2 Silli 46; Dorries p. 102-103
Commending him for his return to the church and granting him use of public conveyance to come to him.
- 13340 334 OPTATO ET PAVLINO CONSS.
8 maart 334 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Pacatianum praefectum praetorio. Quoniam suariorum corpus ad paucos devenit, iubemus eos adstante populo Romano dicere, quibus excusatio sit delata, quibus provenerit onus, ut his in medium publicae rationis eductis exemplum rei naviculariae proponatur. Itaque dinoscant facultates proprias
- 13345 suariorum esse obnoxias muneris ac de duobus alterum eligant; aut retineant bona quae suariae functioni destricta sunt ipsique suario teneantur obsequio aut idoneos quos volunt nominent, qui necessitati idem satisfaciant. Nullum enim vacare ab huius rei munere patimur, sed sive honoribus evecti sive quolibet versutiae genere fugerunt, revocari eos iubemus idque ipsum teste et audiente populo Romano compleri ac nos
- 13350 super his consuli, ut animadvertamus in eos, qui hactertergiversatione usi sint; de reliquo functionis huius vacatione nulli penitus tribuenda, sed eo qui subripere potuerit post beneficium infirmatum, salutis etiam periculum subituro. DAT. VIII ID. MART. ROMAE OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13355 30 maart 334 Idem a. ad Severum comitem Hispaniarum
Insinuaturn est quosdam patres principalis coniugii copulatione destitutos in perniciem filiorum ultra misericordiam sanguinis properare et receptis deinceps aliis matrimoniis maiorem sibi in rebus filiorum vindicare personam: qui quoniam in his usufructuarii remansisse videntur, usurpare ea ac pervertere confidunt, ut per hoc
- 13360 his, qui in orbitate remanserunt, nulla nec possidendi nec litigandi tribuatur occasio. Ideoque placet, ne quis pater receptis deinceps matrimoniis earum rerum, quae prioris coniugis fuerunt, sibi ius defendendum existimet nisi tutelae vice, donec minores probata aetate esse videantur. His autem moderatio nostra cuncta iubet servari adque restitui. PROPOSITA III KAL. APRIL. CONSTANTINOPOLI OPTATO ET PAULINO
- 13365 CONSS.
- 30 april 334 IMP. CONSTANT(INUS) A. GERULO RATIONALI TRIUM PROVINCICIARUM.
In Sardinia fundis patrimonialibus vel enfyteuticariis per diversos nunc dominos distributis oportuit sic possessionum fieri divisiones, ut integra apud possessorem unumquemque servorum agnatio permaneret. Quis enim ferat liberos a parentibus, a fratribus sorores, a viris coniuges segregari? Igitur qui dissociata in ius diversum mancipia traxerunt, in unum redigere eadem cogantur: ac si cui propter redintegrationem necessitudinum servi cesserint, vicaria per eum qui eosdem suscepit mancipia reddantur et invigila, ne per provinciam aliqua posthac querella
- 13375 super divisis mancipiorum affectibus perseveret. DAT. III. KAL. MAI. PROCULO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- Interpretatio. In divisione patrimoniorum seu fiscalium domorum sive privatorum observari specialiter debet, ut, quia iniustum est, filios a parentibus vel uxores a maritis, quum ad quemcumque possessio pervenerit, sequestrari, mancipia, quae permixta fuerint, id est uxor cum filiis et marito suo, datis vicariis, ad unum debeant pertinere, cui necesse fuerit commutare, quod sollicitudo ordinantium debet specialiter custodire, ut separatio fieri omnino non possit.
- 13380 19 mei 334 IDEM A. AD VERONICIANUM VIC(ARI)UM ASIAE. Vorax et fraudulentum numerariorum propositum, qui diversis rectoribus obsequuntur, ita inhibendum est, ut et antea sanximus et nunc itidem sancimus, condicioni eos subdi tormentorum et eculeis adque lacerationibus subiacere nec ultra biennium hoc fungi obsequio. ET CETERA. DAT. XIV KAL. IUN. OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13390 19 mei 334 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Veronicianum vicarium Asiae.

- Post alia: damus provincialibus facultatem, ut, quicumque sibi a numerariis, qui diversis rectoribus obsequuntur, conquesti fuerint aliquas venditiones extortas, irritas inanesque efficiant, et male vendita ad venditoris dominium revertantur, amissione etiam pretii illicitis ac detestandis emptoribus puniendis. DAT. XIV KAL. IUN. OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13395 Haec lex expositione non indiget.
- 18 juni 334 IDEM A. ANDRONICO. Si contra pupillos, viduas vel morbo fatigatos ebiles impetratum fuerit lenitatis nostrae iudicium, memorati a nullo nostrorum iudicum compellantur comitatu nostro sui copiam facere. Quin immo intra provinciam, in qua litigator et testes vel instrumenta sunt, experiantur iurgandi fortunam atque omni cautela servetur, ne terminos provinciarum suarum cogantur excedere. Quod si pupilli vel viduae alique fortunae iniuria miserabiles iudicium nostrae serenitatis oraverint, praesertim cum alicuius potentiam perhorrescunt, cogantur eorum adversarii examini nostro sui copiam facere. DAT. XV KAL. IUL. CONSTANT(INO)P(OLI) OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13400 Interpretatio. Quicumque adversus pupillos, viduas et aegrotos nostra praecepta meruerit, eos de locis suis commovendi vel extra provinciam suam usquam penitus protrahendi licentiam summovemus, ut ibi causam suam dicant, ubi instructiores esse et testimonia possint facilius invenire. Sane si ipsi, quorum fatigationi consulimus, nos crediderint expetendos, huic voluntati eorum veniendi aditum non negamus; ita ut adversarii eorum sub praesentia principis adesse per rectorem provinciae compellantur.
- 13405 5 juli 334 Idem a. ad Pacatianum praefectum praetorio. Etsi potior aput nos privatorum causa est quam fisci tutela, praecipimustamen, si a nobis plures defensacula fisci meruerint, eum praeponi ceteris, qui melior innocentia, potior litteris, pollentior reliquis examinata fide esse noscetur, etiamsi post alios hoc beneficium a nostra clementia reportavit. DAT. III NON. IUL. SINGIDUNO OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13420 24 augustus 334 Idem a. ad Iulianum praesidem. Iurisiurandi religione testes prius, quam perhibeant testimonium, iam dudum arctari praecepimus, et ut honestioribus potius fides testibus habeatur. Simili more sanximus, ut unius testimonium nemo iudicum in quacumque causa facile patiatur admitti. Et nunc manifeste sancimus, ut unius omnino testis responsio non audiatur, etiamsi praeclarae curiae honore praefulgeat. DAT. VIII. KAL. SEPT. NAISSO, OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13425 Interpretatio. Testes priusquam de causa interrogentur, sacramento debere constringi, ut iurent, se nihil falsi esse dicturos. Hoc etiam dicit, ut honestioribus magis quam vilioribus testibus fides potius admittatur. unius autem testimonium, quamlibet splendida et idonea videatur esse persona, nullatenus audiendum.
- 13430 26 augustus 334 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Felicem. Architectis quam plurimis opus est; sed quia non sunt, sublimitas tua in provinciis Africanis ad hoc studium eos impellat, qui ad annos ferme duodeviginti nati liberales litteras degustaverint. Quibus ut hoc gratum sit, tam ipsos quam eorum parentes ab his, quae personis iniungi solent, volumus esse immunes ipsisque qui discent salarium competens statui. PROPOSITA VI KAL. SEPT. KARTHAGINE OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13435 7 september 334 Idem a. ad Felicem. Commoda nobis visa est ea dispositio, quae expresse navicularios in hunc ordinem formavit, ut non promiscue, sed per vicissitudines rite servatas iuges cursus agnoscerent et exiguos implerent, quo ita levamentis alternantis auxilii cunctorum fortunae et tenuiorum potissimum confirmarentur nec necessitas fieret aliquos semper longiora lustrare ac plerisque obnoxios casibus fieri. Quod ne ulterius possit accidere, labor omnibus par et iustus adiunctus sit et subsidia pari ratione deferantur nec tenuiores in querellas infructuosae complorationis incurrant. PROPOSITA VII ID. SEPT. KARTHAGINE OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13445 1 december 334 Idem a. naviculariis Orientis. Pro commoditate urbis, quam aeterno nomine iubente deo donavimus, haec vobis privilegia credidimus deferenda, ut navicularii omnes a civilibus muneribus et oneribus et obsequiis habeantur immunes et ne honores quidem civicos, ex quibus aliquod incommodum sentiant, subire cogantur. Ab administratione etiam tutelae, sive legitimae sive eius, quam magistratus aut provinciae rectores iniungunt, habeantur immunes. Et vacatione legis Iuliae et Papiae potiantur, ut etiam nullis intervenientibus liberis et viri ex testamento uxorum
- 13450
- 13455

- solidum capiant et ad uxores integra voluntas perveniat maritorum. De proprietate etiam vel hereditate vel qualibet alia civili causa pulsati ne ex rescripto quidem nostro ad extraordinarium iudicium evocentur, sed agentibus in suo foro respondeant.
- 13460 Et ad exemplum Alexandrini stoli quaternas in frumento centesimas consequantur ac praeterea per singula milia singulos solidos, ut his omnibus animati et nihil paene de suis facultatibus expendentes cura sua frequentent maritimos commeatus. ACCEPTA KAL. DEC. OPTATO ET PAULINO CONSS.
- 13465 334 Athanasius, Apol. sec. 68 Constantine
Constantine, hearing that Arsenius is alive, has found all the charges against Athanasius to be false, the results of wicked plots against him. He condemns the recent disturbances in the streets of Alexandria. He instructs Athanasius to take this letter with him and read it publicly often. He promises to personally look into
- 13470 any future allegations or disturbances against Athanasius, and punish anyone bringing false accusations or stirring up trouble.
- 334 Athanasius, Apol. sec. 70 Constantine
In a letter, Constantine rebukes the Alexandrians for causing trouble and encourages them all to accept Athanasius, whom he has cleared of all charges against him.
- 13475 334 Athanasius, Apol. sec. 70 Constantine
Constantine praises John Archaph, a former leader of the Meletians, for uniting with Athanasius. He summons him to his court by means of public transportation.
- 13480 Apr 29, 334? Law 125: To Gerulus, accountant of three provinces
CTh 2.25.1 Dorries p. 200
Slaves are not to be separated from their families as masters divide up inheritance.
- 13485 May 19, 334 Law 126: To Veronicianus, vicar of Asia
CTh 8.1.4 Dorries p. 200
Finance officials may only hold this position 20 years and are subject to various tortures if they are greedy or fraudulent.
- 13490 May 19, 334 Law 127: To Veronicianus, vicar of Africa
CTh 8.15.2 Dorries p. 200
Finance officials cannot make purchases, and purchases made through extortion have no validity.
- 13495 July 5, 334 Law 128: To Pacatianus, the praetorian prefect
CTh 10.15.2 Dorries p. 200
Placing the interests of a subject over those of the treasury.
- Aug 25, 334 Law 129: To governor Julianus
13500 CTh 11.39.3 Dorries p. 200-201
Witnesses must confirm their testimony with oaths, and multiple witnesses are required for substantiation.
- Aug? 27?, 334 Law 130: To Felix
13505 CTh 13.4.1 Dorries p. 201
To encourage more people to become architects, 18 year-old who chose that profession receive a suitable salary and they and their parents are exempt of all personal duties.
- 13510 Dec 1, 334 Law 131: To the easter ship owners
CTh 13.5.7 Dorries p. 201
Granting privileges to the ship captains so they more willingly transport supplies for the cities.
- 13515 335 CONSTANTIO ET ALBINO CONSS.
335 Φλάουιος Φιλάργιος στρ. [- ca. ? -] | Ὁξυρυγχ[ε]ίτου χαίρ[ειν.]
| Εὐδαίμων προσελθὼν ἔφησ[εν] | ἔχειν χρεώστας ὁμολογο[υ] - | μένους, ὥς γνώσει ἐκ τοῦ |
ἀντιτύπου τοῦ ἐπιδοθέντο [- ca. ? -] | λιβέλλου. φρόντισον, εἰ ἀληθεύον - | [τ]α. εὐροις, τὸ
ἀζήμιον | [αὐτ]ῷ φυλάξαι. (hand 2) ἔρρωσο. | [(hand 4) Iulio Consta]ntio v(iro)
13520 c(larissimo) pat[r]icio | fratre d(omini) n(ostri) [- ca. ? -] | - ca. ? -
- 21 maart 335 Idem a. ad provinciales. Omnes iudices invigilare praecipimus et

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- 13525 delatores poenis afficere. apertissimi enim iuris est, ut, quod ex cuiuscumque patrimonio ceciderit in casum, et legibus et retro iuris ordine, fisci advocatis agentibus, vindicetur. Sed quia nonnulli praecipites secundum ius possessa patrimonia deferre non cessant, damus omnibus, qui se laesos existimant, contra delatores severitatem iudicum implorare ferro dstrictam. Nemo enim potest delatorem plus agnoscere quam ille, qui iniuriam per eius nequitiam sustinuit. DAT. XI KAL. APRIL. CONSTANTINOPOLI, CONSTANTIO ET ALBINO CONSS.
- 13530 Interpretatio. Custodientes iustitiam nomen persequimur delatorum, ita ut, quum agniti et convicti fuerint delatores, gladio puniantur.
- 13535 17 april 335 IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD PACATIANUM. Ordines decuriarum scribarum librariorum et lictoriae consularis oblati precibus meruerunt, ut in civilibus causis et editionibus libellorum officiorum sollemnitate fungantur, ita ut vetusta aetate servatum est, eo usque praerogativa veniente, ut militares intercessionibus procul usque a liberalibus causis sese contineant. Rectores itaque quae iussimus observabunt. DAT. XV KAL. MAI. CONST(ANTINO)P(OLI) CONSTANTIO ET ALBINO CONSS.
- 13540 4 augustus 335 Idem a. ad Felicem praefectum praetorio. Quoniam afri curiales conquesti sunt quosdam in suo corpore post flamonii honorem et sacerdotii vel magistratus decursa insignia praepositos compelli fieri mansionum, quod in singulis curiis sequentis meriti et gradus homines implere consuerunt, iubemus nullum praedictis honoribus splendorem ad memoratum cogi obsequium, ne nostro fieri iudicio
- 13545 iniuria videatur. DAT. PRID. NON. AUG. VIMINACIO CONSTANTIO ET ALBINO CONSS.
- 335 Athanasius, Apol. sec. 59 Constantine
Constantine orders Athanasius to re-admit Arius or face deposition.
- 13550 335 Eusebius, VC 4.42 Constantine
Constantine writes to the Council of Tyre, instructing them to put an end to all factions in the church.
- 13555 335 Athanasius, Apol. sec. 81 Dionysius Dionysius, the imperial representative at the Council of Tyre, writes to the fact-finding commission sent from Tyre to Alexandria. He warns to be impartial as not to justify criticism about the way the case was handled.
- 13560 335 Athanasius, Apol. sec. 86 Constantine
Constantine relates to the Council of Tyre how Athanasius met him unexpectedly in Constantinople, complaining about ill-treatment at Tyre. According to Athanasius' reasonable request, he now summons the Council of Tyre to relocate in Constantinople where the emperor can hear the charges against Athanasius. [When no one from Tyre appeared, the Emperor sent Athanasius into exile in Trier, either to keep him safe or
- 13565 to get him out of the way (Apol sec. 9). Athanasius was recalled by Constantius early in his reign.]
- 13570 335 Letter to the holy synod of Tyre
VC 4.42; THE 1.29.1-6; GEL 3.17.1-7
Silli 47; Dorries p. 114-117
Encouragement to deal with such accidental errors in a synod before it is too late.
- 13575 Aug 4, 335 Law 132: To Felix, the praetorian prefect
CTh 12.1.21 Dorries p. 201
No one who has obtained the rank of priest or magistrate may be forced to domestic service.
- 13580 Sept 335 Letter to the bishops in Jerusalem
SOZ 2.27.13-14 Dorries p. 117-118
Asking them to examine and evaluate the confession of faith submitted by Arius and Euzoius.
- 13585 Oct 1, 335 Law 133: To Felix, the praetorian prefect
CJ 4.62.4 Dorries p. 202
Greedy taxfarmers are punished with permanent exile.
- Oct 30, 335 Letter to the bishops gathered in Tyre
ACA 86.2-12; SOC 1.34; SOZ 2.28.2-12; GEL 3.18.1-13; EH 8.50; CAS 3.7.2-13 Silli 48;

Dorries p. 119-124

13590 Summoning the bishops to appear before him to answer for the council's contentious behavior towards Athanasius.

336 NEPOTIANO ET FACVNDIO CONSS.

13595 29 april 336 Imp. Constantinus A. ...ri fecit vel si ipsorum nomine comparavit, totum legitima suboles recipiat. Quod si non sint filii legitimi nec frater consanguineus aut soror aut pater, totum fisci viribus vindicetur. itaque liciniani etiam filio, qui per rescriptum sanctissimum dignitatis culmen ascendit, omnis substantia auferatur et secundum hanc legem fisco adiudicetur, ipso verberato compedibus vinciendo, ad suae originis primordia redigendo. LECT. III K. MAI. 13600 CARTHAGINE NEPOTIANO ET FACVNDIO CONSS.

9 mei 336 Idem a. ad Severum. Navicularios Hispaniarum neque ad extraordinaria teneri officia neque alicubi retentos moras sustinere oportet, sed relatorias traditarum specierum intra decem dies a susceptoribus percipere, cumque ad aliquas 13605 insulas portus litora stationes accesserint, ostensis relatoriis nullam prorsus inquietudinem sustinere. DAT. XIV KAL. IUN. NEPOTIANO ET FACVNDIO CONSS.

18 mei 336 CT 16.8.5 CT 16.9.1 CS 4 Constantine 13610 Jews are not allowed to harass Jewish converts to Christianity, and will be punished in accordance with the nature of the act. Also, if a Jew circumcises a non-Jewish slave, the slave is to be taken from the Jew and remain free.

15 juli 336 Imp. Constantinus A. ad Tiberianum Vicarium Hispaniarum AT. ID. JUL. 13615 CONSTANTINO... ACC. XIII KAL. MAII. HISPALI (IDEM A. AD TIBERIANUM VICARIUM HISPANIARUM). Si a(b spons)o rebus sp(on)sae donatis interveniente osculo ante nuptias hunc vel illam mori contigerit, dimidiam partem rerum donatarum ad superstitem pertinere praecipimus, dimidiam ad defuncti vel defunctae heredes, cuiuslibet gradus sint et quocumque iure successerint, ut donatio stare pro parte media et solvi pro parte media videatur: osculo vero non 13620 interveniente, sive sponsus sive sponsa obierit, totam infirmari donationem et donatori sponso sive heredibus eius restitui. Quod si sponsa interveniente vel non interveniente osculo sponsaliorum titulo, quod raro accidit, fuerit aliquid sponso largita et ante nuptias hunc vel illam mori contigerit, omni donatione infirmata ad donatricem sponsam sive eius successores donatarum rerum dominium transferatur. DAT. 13625 ID. IUL. CONSTANT(INO)P(OLI). ACCEPTA XIV K. MAI. HISPALI NEPOTIANO ET FACVNDIO CONSS. Interpretatio. Si quando sponsalibus celebratis, interveniente osculo, sponsus aliquid sponsae donaverit, et ante nuptias sponsus forsitan moriatur, tunc puella, quae superest, mediam donatarum solenniter rerum portionem poterit vindicare, et dimidiam mortui heredes acquirunt, quocumque per gradum successionis ordine 13630 venientes. Si vero osculum non intervenerit, sponso mortuo nihil sibi puella de rebus donatis vel traditis poterit vindicare. Si vero a puella sponso aliquid donatum est, et mortua fuerit, quamvis aut intercesserit aut non intercesserit osculum, totum parentes puellae sive propinqui, quod puella donaverat, revocabunt.

21 juli 336 Idem a. ad Gregorium. Senatores seu perfectissimos, vel quos in 13635 civitatibus duumviralitas vel quinquennialitas vel flamonii vel sacerdotii provinciae ornamenta condecorant, placet maculam subire infamiae et peregrinos a Romanis legibus fieri, si ex ancilla vel ancillae filia vel liberta vel libertae filia, sive Romana facta seu Latina, vel scaenica vel scaenicae filia, vel ex tabernaria vel ex 13640 tabernari filia vel humili vel abiecta vel lenonis vel harenarii filia vel quae mercimoniis publicis praefuit, susceptos filios in numero legitimorum habere voluerint aut proprio iudicio aut nostri praerogativa rescripti, ita ut, quidquid talibus liberis pater donaverit, sive illos legitimos seu naturales dixerit, totum retractum legitimae suboli reddatur aut fratri aut sorori aut patri aut matri. Sed et 13645 uxori tali quodcumque datum quolibet genere fuerit vel emptione collatum, etiam hoc retractum reddi praecipimus: ipsas etiam, quarum venenis inficiuntur animi perditorum, si quid quaeritur vel commendatum dicitur, quod his reddendum est, quibus iussimus, aut fisco nostro, tormentis subici iubemus. Sive itaque per ipsum donatum est qui pater dicitur vel per alium sive per suppositam personam sive ab eo emptum 13650 vel ab alio sive ipsorum nomine comparatum, statim retractum reddatur quibus iussimus, aut, si non existunt, fisci viribus vindicetur. Quod si existentes et in praesentia rerum constituti agere noluerint pacto vel iureiurando exclusi, totum sine mora fiscus invadat. Quibus tacentibus et dissimulantibus a defensione fiscali duum mensuum tempora limitentur, intra quae si non retraxerint vel propter retrahendum

- 13655 rectorem provinciae interpellaverint, quidquid talibus filiis vel uxoribus liberalitas impura contulerit, fiscus noster invadat, donatas vel commendatas res sub poena quadrupli severa quaestione perquirens. Licinniani autem filius, qui fugiens comprehensus est, compedibus vinctus ad gynaecei Carthagini ministerium deputetur. LECTA XII K. AUG. CARTHAGINE NEPOTIANO ET FACUNDO CONSS.
- 13660 22 augustus 336 Idem a. ad Evagrium praefectum praetorio. Cum decuriones decurionumque filii deque his geniti ad diversas militias confugiant, iubemus eos in quibuscumque officiis militantes exemptos militia restitui curiae exceptis his, qui in palatii nostri iam habentur officiis. DAT. XI KAL. SEPT. CONSTANTINOPOLI NEPOTIANO ET FACUNDO CONSS.
- 13665 9 oktober 336 Idem a. Gregorio praefecto praetorio. Manu propria iudices universi periculo suo annonarias species et cetera, quae indictione penduntur, definitis quantitatis et comprehensis modis facta adscriptione designent. Cuius observantiae illa erit commoditas, ut post successionem quoque eorum facile requiratur, an exactores ultra quam oportuit de fortunis provincialium aliquid exculpere voluerunt. DAT. VII ID. OCTOB. NEPOTIANO ET FACUNDO CONSS.
- 13670 20 oktober 336 Imp. Constantinus a. ad Felicem praefecto praetorio Post alia: eum, qui ex iudaeo christianus factus est, inquietare iudaeos non liceat vel aliqua pulsare iniuria: pro qualitate commissi istius modi contumelia punienda etc. DAT. XII KAL. NOV. CONSTANTINOPOLI. PP. VIII. ID. MAI. KARTHAGINE, NEPOTIANO ET FACUNDO COSS. Haec lex interpretatione non eget.
- 13680 20 oktober 336 IMP. CONSTANTINUS AD FELICEM PRAEFECTUM PRAETORII Iam dudum quidem constitutionis nostrae saluberrima sanctio promulgata est, quam nostrae repetitae legis veneratione geminamus, ac volumus, ut, si quispiam iudaeorum christianum mancipium vel cuiuslibet alterius sectae mercatus circumcidere non perhorruerit, circumcisis quidem istius statuti mensura libertatis compos effectus eiusdem privilegiis potiatur: non fas iudaeo sit qui circumciderit mancipium generis memorati in obsequium servitutis retinere. Illud etenim hac eadem sanctione praecipimus, ut, si quispiam Iudaeorum reserans sibi ianuam vitae perpetuae sanctis se cultibus mancipaverit et Christianus esse delegerit, ne quid a Iudaeis inquietudinis vel molestiae patiatur. Quod si ex Iudaeo Christianum factum aliquis Iudaeorum iniuria putaverit esse pulsandum, volumus istiusmodi contumeliae machinatorem pro criminis qualitate commissi poenis ultricibus subiugari, Felix parens carissime. Quare divinitatis affectu confidimus ipsum in omni orbe Romano qui nostri debita veneratione servata: ac volumus, ut excellens sublimitas tua litteris suis per dioecesim sibi creditam commeantibus iudices moneat instantissime huiusmodi debitam reverentiam custodiri. DATA XII KAL. NOVEMB. PROPOSITA VII ID. MART. CARTHAGINE NEPOTIANO ET FACUNDO CONSS.
- 13695 Apr 29, 336 Law 134 CTh 4.6.2 Dorries p. 202 Denying illegitimate sons the right to inherit and removing Licinius from his former exalted status.
- 13705 July 21, 336 Law 135: To Gregorius CTh 4.6.3 Dorries p. 202 It is scandalous and invalid for senators, duumvirates, and priests to include illegitimate sons among their legitimate sons. Licinius' son, who fled and now was caught, is to be brought in chains to a workhouse in Carthage.
- 13710 Aug 22, 336 Law 136: To Evagrius, the praetorian prefect CTh 12.1.22 Dorries p. 202 Palace officials are bound to their status.
- 13715 Oct 9, 336 Law 137: To Gregorius, the praetorian prefect CTh 11.1.3 Dorries p. 202 The judges must personally sign off on customs taxes.
- 13720 Oct 21, 336 Law 138: To Felix, the praetorian prefect CS 4 Dorries p. 203 Non-Jewish slaves who are circumcised by their Jewish masters are freed. Jews who

become Christians are protected from other Jews.

c. 336-337 Law 139: To Felix, the praetorian prefect
CTh 16.9.1, 16.8.5 Dorries p. 203-204

13725 Non-Jewish slaves who are circumcised by their Jewish masters are freed. Jews who become Christians are protected from other Jews.

337 FELICIANO ET TITIANO CONSS.

13730 4 februari 337 IDEM A. AD GREGORIUM. Qui comparat, census rei comparatae cognoscat: neque liceat alicui rem sine censu vel comparare vel vendere. Inspectio autem publica vel fiscalis esse debebit hac lege, ut, si aliquid sine censu venierit et id ab alio deferetur, venditor quidem possessionem, comparator vero id quod dedit pretium fisco vindicante perdat. Id etiam placuit neminem ad venditionem rei cuiuslibet accedere, nisi eo tempore, quo inter venditorem et emptorem contractus sollemniter explicatur, certa et vera proprietas a vicinis demonstretur; usque eo legis istius cautione currente, ut, etiamsi subsellia vel, ut vulgo aiunt, scamna vendantur, ostendendae proprietatis probatio compleatur. Nec inter emptorem et venditorem sollemnia in exquisitis cuniculis celebrentur, sed fraudulenta venditio penitus sepulta depereat. DAT. PRID. NON. FEBRUAR. CONSTANT(INO)P(OLI) FELICIANO ET TITIANO CONSS.

13740 21 mei 337 Idem a. ad concilium provinciae Africae. Sacerdotes et flaminesperpetuos atque etiam duumvirales ab annonarum praepositis inferioribusque muneribus immunes esse praecipimus. Quod ut perpetua observatione firmetur, legem hanc incisam aeneis tabulis iussimus publicari. PROPOSITA XII KAL. IUN. KARTHAGINE
13745 FELICIANO ET TITIANO CONSS.

17 juli 337 Athanasius, Apol. sec. 87 Constantine II
Constantine announces that Athanasius is to be restored as bishop of Alexandria. He claims that the reason Athanasius had been exiled was for his own safety. [Other bishops were also returned at the death of Constantine.]
13750

2 augustus 337 Idem a. ad Maximum praefectum praetorio. Artifices artium brevi subdito comprehensarum per singulas civitates morantes ab universis muneribus vacare praecipimus, si quidem ediscendis artibus otium sit adcommodandum; quo magis cupiant et ipsi peritiores fieri et suos filios erudire. DAT. IV NON. AUG. FELICIANO ET TITIANO CONSS.
13755

337 Athanasius, Apol. sec. 78 Constantius
A church is to be built for the priest Ischyra, an opponent of Athanasius who accused him falsely.
13760

Feb 24, 337 Law 140: To Aurelius, duke of Mesopotamia
CJ 4.42.1 Dorries p. 204
Death is the penalty for all future eunuchizings.
13765

Early 337 Sixth inscription at Rome
AE 1934,158 Gruenwald 260

May 21, 337 Law 141: To the council of the province of Africa
CTh 12.5.2 Dorries p. 204
Those who have been priest and duumvirs are exempt from lower duties.
13770

May 22-Sept 9, 337 Inscription at Cilium-Thelepte
CIL VIII 21934 Gruenewald 224
13775

Aug 2, 337 Law 142 (published posthumously)
CTh 13.4.2 Dorries p. 204-205
Skilled artists are freed from service responsibilities so that they can spend their time furthering their talent and training their sons.
13780

? Law 143

Nov. Theod. 11 Dorries p. 205

Denying the validity of wills made by mothers who neglect their sons.

Good Friday, ? Address to the assemblies of the saints

13785 Appended to VC Dorries p. 129-161

Discussing Christianity and idolatry, especially the person and coming of Christ

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including reference to pagan prophecy.

13790

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

(306-337)

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After the death of Emperor Diocletian, there were as many as six emperors simultaneously over the Roman Empire. In reality, any general commanding an army was a candidate for the imperial throne. One allowed oneself to be proclaimed emperor by one's troops, and if one were lucky enough to maintain one's position, one became emperor for a shorter or longer period. Constantine was the fortunate victor over his rivals and therefore could wield the scepter supremely over the vast Roman Empire. Few rulers have been judged so differently. If we listen to Christian historians, the liberator of the church is attributed all the qualities of a hero, even of a saint. In contrast, others portray him as one of the most hideous tyrants, who, through their softness and vice, dishonored the imperial purple. It seems that nature had endowed him with the most fortunate gifts. In his youth, he managed to preserve his strength by living a moderate and restrained life. Brave in war, he was adored by his soldiers, but his unbridled ambition knew no bounds. Had he fallen prematurely in one of the many battles, he would have been recorded in history as an excellent general who promised much for the future, but he is also one of the many examples that prove how power completely corrupts a person. What a completely different person the Constantine of youth is than that of old age! Cruel, bloodthirsty, and consumed by ambition, no means were low enough, as long as it offered a chance to bring him to his goal. A calm historian like Gibbon says that we "may regard him as a hero, who inspired love in his subjects and terror in his enemies, but who degenerated into a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by fortune or by conquest, driven to dissimulation beyond necessity." To form a faint impression of him, it suffices to cite the following as examples from his life: he had a father-in-law whom he forced to hang himself; he had a brother-in-law whom he strangled; he had a nephew aged 12 or 13 whom he had killed; he had an eldest son whom he beheaded; he had a wife whom he suffocated with hot water in a bath. After such a description of undisputed facts, it is legitimate to weigh whether we have before us a beast or a human being. And such a man, who trampled on all Christian virtues, is exalted to the skies by Christians, simply because he was baptized as a Christian and thus, after many persecutions, brought victory to the Christian church over the pagans. One can commit all kinds of crimes, one can run a household like a beast, one can trample all the laws of morality—no problem, as long as one bestows great boons upon the church, then one is portrayed as a model human being, whose sins, though red as blood, are made as white as wool. "Shining sins" are then called those things that others label as crimes.

Knowing how he hunted a band of Franks living in those regions on the banks of the Rhine, and when he captured their princes, he fed them to the wild beasts for his own amusement—to expect humanity from such a man is more than can reasonably be expected. His father was in England, where he had assumed the title of emperor for a few months. He requested permission from Emperor Galerius, with whom he was then staying in Asia Minor, to visit his sick father, and he made the journey with the imperial posthorses. However, being a posthorse was just as dangerous as being a member of Constantine's family, for he had their kneecaps cut after they had served, fearing he would be recalled. He found his father dying and had himself proclaimed emperor by the Roman troops in England. The Senate in Rome was not satisfied with this but proclaimed Maxentius emperor. Christian historians call him a tyrant and usurper because fortune did not favor him. For had he remained victorious, Constantine would have been known as a tyrant. His policy led him to side with the Christians, and Christian historians recount how he supposedly saw in the sky the great sign of the emperors, called the Labarum, bearing a cross and the words: "By this you shall conquer." 1)

Strange that Eusebius, in his Life of Constantine, recounts that the emperor told him this 55 years later in a confidential conversation and confirmed it under oath! And this while the entire army had seen that sign in the sky just as clearly as he had! Maxentius was drowned.

And so Constantine got rid of this troublesome rival, but when one reads that, despite such a clear sign in the heavens, he supposedly celebrated his victory in Rome with all the usual forms of pagan worship, the whole story becomes questionable. The Senate, which had previously refused him, now paid him every tribute, even going so far as to erect a golden statue for him, something they did only for the gods. He accepted all this, including the title of high priest, which he retained for life, despite the rumored preference for Christianity. He knew how to derive as much benefit from both paganism and Christianity as possible for himself.

He did not seem to see clearly at the time which side would be most advantageous for him, and therefore he wavered between hope and fear, as is evident from two decrees he issued that same year: the first prescribed the solemn observance of Sunday—note that he called the Lord's Day the Day of the Sun, again to please Christians and not offend pagans—and the second to prescribe the regular consultation of the Aurespices (pagan priests). Now he had only one rival left, namely Licinius, but his power was not yet great enough to immediately dismiss him. Therefore, he allied with him, and in the Edict of Milan, these two granted their subjects the freedom to follow the religion they most strongly held. After the defeat of Licinius, whom he had murdered despite his oath to spare him, he exhorted his subjects to follow their emperor's example and "embrace the divine truth of Christianity." One historian recounts that the pagan priests refused to absolve him of guilt after he had murdered his son, nephew, and wife, and that he therefore adopted the more lenient faith of the Christians, for the Christian priests offered him no obstacles. They were thus far inferior to their pagan colleagues. Although this is questioned, we nevertheless believe it quite possible that there is some truth to this story. In any case, it is a fact that the Christians were somewhat pleased that the emperor, a murderer of women and children, opened and attended the famous Council of Nicaea, proof that he was eagerly accepted into the Christian community. It is certain that only political motives moved the base hypocrite to join forces with the Christians, and that no conviction whatsoever was involved.

Moreover, the bloodthirsty beast never knew anything resembling conviction. Mosheim, the historian, quite rightly says: the emperor had enough sense to see that Christianity possessed a great deal of power, and idolatry had no purpose whatsoever in strengthening public authority and binding citizens to "their duty." Gibbon also recognized this when he says: "The emperor's throne would be established on a firm and lasting foundation if all his subjects, by embracing the Christian religion, would learn to suffer and obey." He needed docile and obedient subjects above all, and the religion that could provide them was, in his eyes, the best.

The best part is that, although high priest of the pagans, he presided over a Christian church council, and that the Christians tolerated this proves how much they had deteriorated in character and dignity.

He postponed his baptism until the last moment because he feared he would not be absolved from the sins he would subsequently commit. When the emperor showed such strong inclinations toward Christianity, the courtiers naturally followed suit, but he who used religion as a political instrument of government made of it what he wished, and the priests submitted to his will. His son Constantius is said to have once said: "What I will must be the law of the church." The same was true of Constantine. Therefore, no one had more influence on the formation of the Christian church than this emperor. He was an unmitigated ruler in both political and ecclesiastical matters. The last vestiges of the ancient Roman republican essence disappeared completely under him!

Indeed, by transferring the seat of government to Byzantium, which he renamed Constantinopolis (city of Constantine), he effectively dealt the final blow to the Roman Empire, as everything was now modeled on Persian principles.

In his time, those systematic persecutions for unbelief and heresy began, which are a peculiar characteristic of dogmatic Christianity. It is a sad truth that the Christian displayed far greater cruelty towards each other for disagreeing than the unbelievers ever showed towards them. Constantine incorporated the principle of persecution for the sake of faith into Roman law. Renan rightly says: "We will search in vain through all Roman law before Constantine to find a single provision against freedom of thought, and the history of imperial government provides no evidence of persecution for adhering to an abstract doctrine." Thus, Constantine opened a new era of spiritual slavery, laid the foundation of the Inquisition, which later flourished so much, and favored tyranny.

From that time on, as Draper rightly says, Christianity took a direction that marked its entire future course and became a stumbling block on the path of European spiritual progress for more than 1,000 years. Constantine wanted to be in charge of everything, in both the church and the state. He was seen summoning more than 300 bishops to his palace, and appearing at the meeting wearing his diadem and adorned with precious stones, he decreed that Jesus would be equal to God (homo-oesios), and all who disagreed, the Arians, were cursed and persecuted. And soon, when his interests led him to side with the Arians, Jesus became equal (homoï-oesios), and the persecutions began in reverse.

From oppressed, the Christians became oppressors, who pronounced death sentences on anyone who dared to differ with the dominant faction.

13925 Finally, when the villain felt his end approaching and, burdened by his baseness and crimes, feared death, he was baptized, because the Christian priests had convinced him that he could then lay down his head in peace and free from sin. He toyed with religions, since none of them actually mattered to him. Politics drove him into the arms of the Christian church, and out of politics, he stopped at nothing. Without principles and driven by an insatiable ambition, he subordinated everything to his interests. He committed almost no baseness; he proved capable of no crime. But he had made sure to have the priests on his side, and they stopped at nothing. After all, he was buried in a Christian church, and the faithful paid divine honors to his name and his image, calling him a saint, equal to the apostles. And the clergy, knowing that he had committed the most heinous crimes during his lifetime, went so far as to declare that God, out of special grace, had endowed his tomb and his statue with miraculous power, so that anyone who touched them was healed of all ailments and infirmities. Superstitious and hypocritical, cruel and inhuman, untrustworthy in word and capable of the lowest in deed, this moral monster, because he donned a Christian mantle for self-interest, is praised as a hero, a model prince. And it is such an unprincipled man who can be declared the founder of the Christian church, because he stamped the imprint of his ignorant mind, under the guidance of the priests, on the Nicene Creed, which provides the strongest proof of the perversion of reason and the absurdity of faith. Spiritual slavery alongside social slavery was the condition through which such a character could reign supreme as a tyrant.

13945 1) While Constantine invoked his cross in the air, his colleague Licinius was even more fortunate, for when he once fought against the pagan Emperor Maximian, an angel appeared to him and taught him a whole prayer. Licinius had it written down, recited it three times to his army, and then achieved a complete victory. Had Licinius later defeated Constantine instead of the other way around, the angel's story would have been told.

13950 See [Twee boeken der koningen » Domela Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand \(1846-1919\) » \[1898\] - Pag. 28 | Delpher](#)

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AND THE EDICT OF MILAN

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I.

"To God above all things our thanks, to the All-Governing and All-Director, and abundant thanks also to the Savior and Redeemer of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom we pray at all times to preserve the blessings of peace steadfast and intact in all external dangers and spiritual necessities!"

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Thus, jubilant from an expanded and grateful heart, resounds the joyful song of Eusebius at the beginning of the tenth book of his Church History.

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And he continues: "Henceforth a clear and brilliant day dawned, veiled by no cloud, which let its rays of heavenly light descend upon the entire earth upon the churches of Christ".

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Lactantius also concurs with these tones of joy. "We must give thanks to God's eternal mercy," he exults, "who has finally looked upon the earth, that He has deigned to raise and gather His flock, partly torn by ravenous wolves and partly scattered, and to exterminate the wild beasts that trample the pastures of the divine flock, whom they had driven from their lair... Let us therefore celebrate God's triumph with joy, let us glorify the Lord's victory with praise, praying day and night that He may confirm forever the peace restored to His people after ten years".

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The hour of liberation had struck. The Christians finally breathed a sigh of relief from the long, bloody reign of terror. The day on which Eusebius sinned would not, however, remain unglomy. Black clouds loomed on the horizon, heavy thunderclaps rolled in with a distant dullness, ominous harbingers of approaching storms. Julian's reaction would not only remove the "Galileans" from high office, but also ignite a schoolwar for the first time. The young Church would still be reeling from the blows of the Barbarians, would be internally torn by rampant heresies; perhaps the most disastrous would be the Gnostic attempts to reconcile Christianity and paganism.

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Yes, even more: the edict guaranteeing legal equality, which soon became a privileged state, would cause pagans, especially those closest to the throne, to storm into the Church in droves, tainted only with a veneer of Christianity. Then weeds and thorns flourish among the wheat in the field of Christianity. Conviction remains distant, favoritism and ambition become the driving force. Disbelief, pagan customs, and pagan practices penetrate the Church of God, and morality becomes more skewed among the vast majority who practice or are supposed to practice the moral laws. Christianity on the throne degenerates into Caesaropapism, "in

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reality a humiliation, a lowering of higher principles into the sphere of lower interests". 1) Yet, Eusebius was fully justified in raising a hymn of praise. For herein lay the great significance of the edict that forced paganism to admit its defeat and impotence. Despite all

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persecutions, Christianity had triumphed over the Roman state and Roman paganism. Neither the wild passion of Nero and Domitian, nor the principled persecution of Trajan, nor the systematic actions of Maximinus the Thracian, nor the organized massacres of Decius and Valerian, nor the reign of terror of Diocletian, were able to destroy the Christian community. What gave Christianity this silent strength was a certain analogous spiritual direction, not

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to mention, first and foremost, the grace and omnipotent decree of God, which also granted the blood witnesses and confessors that heroism and contempt for death that mocks any naturalistic explanation. But Christianity, thanks to its exalted character, also stood strong by maintaining its own nature, by recreating and Christianizing the old culture, demonstrating a remarkable adaptability, and by reforming the deeply degraded Roman society. It purified and

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ennobled ancient Hellenistic civilization, infusing it with a new and higher life.

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The Edict of Milan concludes the Early Christian cultural period, which I have elsewhere characterized as the period of ethical revival. It crowns the civilizing work of the young Church, until then confined to a limited circle, now extending across the entire cultural world. It signifies the triumph over the violence of pagan rule. Constantine the Great understood, and this is to his credit, that he could only expect a rebirth for the world from a cultural power like Christianity.

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Roman society as a whole could look forward to it with confidence. The edict bears his name above all; but the indispensable relationships that gave rise to the edict, the foundation on which it rests, are not the work of Constantine, but of Christianity.

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Since then, sixteen centuries have completed its epic journey. Heavy storms have raged over the Church, and it has endured tremendous schisms and turmoil within itself. In keeping with its universalistic character, it has turned to ever new peoples and nations, has extended its activities to new continents, has transferred its cultural work to other domains, and adapted it to new conditions and relationships. But at all turning points in history, it has proven itself to be the cultural power par excellence, strong through its divine origins, radiant in unfading youth, drawing its life force from sources that never dry up. Firmly grounded on earth, she has never lost sight of heavenly ideals. And so she still stands today, on the sixteenth century tide of Church Peace, amidst the rising and disappearing generations and peoples, the Holy Roman, Catholic, Apostolic Church, as the only enduring cultural power amid the changing times, ever victorious under the sign of the Cross.

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II.

The Christian community, freed from eschatological expectations, having outgrown its Primitive Christian enthusiasm, and yet without damage to the inspiration instilled by its divine Founder, we encounter on the threshold of the 21st century, at its entrance into the Greco-Roman cultural world.

There, a grand, comprehensive task awaited Christianity. First, self-defense, a task forced upon Christianity by the hostile attitude of the pagan masses, which attitude was the main factor and driving force behind the first persecutions of Christians. Then, maintenance of one's own independence; rowing against the powerful current of Hellenization, of secularization, which threatened the young Church with certain downfall by attempting to tear it away from its supernatural foundation. Finally, self-development by following the direction of universalist currents, one's own inherent, unquestionably active pursuit, conquering the cultural world, permeating all aspects of civilization with the spirit of one's Founder. It is beyond the scope of this celebratory publication to enumerate what the lauded army of Early Christian Apologists accomplished in this titanic struggle, both when it came to confronting the brutal violence of persecution and in that other phase, when the struggle shifted from politics to the realm of the spiritual.¹⁾ I will point out only a few points. It is well known that during the first period of Christian persecution, popular hatred was the real driving factor. This popular hatred, fueled by the Jews, sometimes flared up to a furious incandescence. The first imperial rebuke, that of Trajan to Pliny the Younger, Governor of Bithynia (112 or 113), bears only the character of a repressive measure regarding Christian trials. The investigation of Christians and the acceptance of anonymous complaints against them were prohibited; On condition of invoking the Roman gods, the past will not be taken into account. Even more favorable were the rescripts of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. But the extent to which popular anger was unleashed in those times can be seen from the martyrdom of the elderly Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna (23 February 155). The events of this torture were brought to the attention of the whole of Christendom by the community of Smyrna, and the freshness and warmth of the account already exclude all suspicion of falsification. This account, the Martyrium 5 of Polycarp, relates that a large crowd of Jews had gathered in the stadium; so tremendous was their shouting and clamoring that they were deafening. When the herald publicly proclaimed that Polycarp had confessed to being a Christian, the entire crowd shouted with undisguised rage: "There is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our gods, who urges many neither to sacrifice nor to worship". They then demanded that the Asiar Philip release a lion against him. When Philip refused, they demanded that Polycarp be burned alive, which was done.

We will remain silent about the reason for this popular anger; it is, in a sense, understandable. Christianity was, and had to be, exclusivist; it opposed all deities and all the ceremonies customary in the Roman Empire; it braced itself against the imperial cult, which had eventually become the true imperial religion. More than that, it was felt that Christianity cut through the roots of so many cultural institutions that were connected with paganism and the pagan.

The spirit of the people had, as it were, coalesced. We wish only to point out the very remarkable phenomenon that during the second period of persecution, which began with the massacres of Decius (249), popular anger increasingly disappeared from the scene of its somber activity. From then on, state power was the sole factor; one no longer needed to suppress popular anger, one had to fan it. Fanatical outbursts of grim hatred were no longer observed; and towards the end of this period, in the last great days of persecution, the constant murder and bloodshed were not only unsympathetic to the people, but the people even loudly expressed their sincere feeling of pity and compassion for so many bloody demonstrations of loyalty to religious conviction. But the strongest evidence is what Eusebius testifies of Maxentius: that he initially showed tolerance, "to please and flatter the Romans" ¹⁾. Why this remarkable change? Franz Görres is certainly right when he locates the main cause in the increasing familiarity with the lofty principles of Christian morality, in the fading of prejudices and accusations circulating against Christians. ³ But even more powerful, as Sdrarek rightly observes, was the force emanating from the heroism of Christian charity. ¹⁾ The Roman Empire was repeatedly ravaged by the plague, most severely from 252 to 254. Social ties dissolved, even blood ties weakened; the stricken, unburied and unmourned, lay uncared for in the streets and squares. Everyone was only concerned with self-preservation, and those who could tried to save their lives by fleeing. But it was precisely in such times that Christian charity unfolded in its most exuberant splendor. Then a certain Cyprian gathered the Christian community and spoke to them about the virtue of mercy: in such times, the Lord only wanted to ascertain "whether the healthy would help the sick, whether members of the same family would show each other loving service, whether masters felt pity for their slaves" ¹⁾. Effective aid was immediately provided according to their position and ability; and those who could not pay due to poverty performed personal services more valuable than gold.

A similar scene was witnessed by the crowds when Alexandria was ravaged by the plague in 259. We read in Eusebius how many who took the bodies of their Christian brothers in their arms or laps, closed their eyes and mouths, and buried them with all due care, soon followed them into death. "The best among the brethren," writes Bishop Dionysius, "priests, deacons, and eminent laymen, ended their lives thus; their death, because of their heroic witness of charity and faith, resembled a martyrdom". ¹⁾ And such a display of love was not reserved for Christians alone: those of other faiths also embraced their compassion and piety. This was the case during a similar popular disaster in the time of Maximinus Daza. "One must surely realize," writes Harnack, "that such a fool, as Eusebius also said, might have a profound impact on the

non-Christians and mightily promoted propaganda". 5)

Their spirit of forgiveness was also heroic. It is an archaeological fact that, during the long period of persecution, Christianity left no trace of mourning, no sign of hurt, no expression of vengefulness. "If I am not entirely mistaken," says Raoul Rochette, "observing this fact casts ancient Christianity in a light that, more than any other feature of its history, than all other monuments of the spirit it breathed, demands our reverence and love". 1)

This heroic practice of charity, however, constitutes only one of the many facets of the glorious jewel in the crown of glory of the early Christians: the harmony that existed between their actions and their teachings. They were not fond of mere rhetoric about love, mortification, and morality; their teaching, "was not merely a language: it was strength and deed". 2) This harmony struck even a mocker like Lucian. Like Tacitus, he had no understanding of the world-shaking significance of Christianity. He considered it one of the many follies of his time. He considered Christians blind and misguided. But what he lacked in the philosophers, he found in the Christians, and he candidly presents the results of his findings. 3) How wonderfully fitting are Justin's words to this testimony: "Those who are not found to live as He taught, prove by this that they are not true Christians, even if they profess the teaching of Christ with their mouths; for not to those who merely profess, but to those who also practice works, has He promised salvation". 1)

Christianity has also managed to maintain its own religious independence. It cannot be denied that with the entry of the Gospel into the orbit of the Hellenistic-Roman cultural world, a psychological process took place, leading to an exchange between ancient worldviews and younger Christian ideas. But this should not be called a Hellenization of Christianity or a secularization of the Gospel. If one wishes to use a powerful word at all costs, it is more accurate to speak of a Christianization of Hellenism. It was agreed that pagan philosophy, besides countless errors, also contained many precious elements of truth. It provided a highly valued form, but never penetrated the essential content of the Christian faith. In other ways as well, mutual influence occurred. With many Christian concepts, the monotheistic current, so remarkable in the syncretism of the third century, penetrated paganism; in any case, such a current was fostered by Christianity. On the other hand, countless pagan institutions were spared; useful pagan customs and concepts were either deliberately purified, Christianized, or adopted by the people, gradually accepted by the Church. And thus one explains the fact that "many ancient elements can be found in its festival circle, which ennobled the popular festival, in its legends, which purified the popular spirit, in its customs and concepts, its mysticism, its liturgy, which lifted the multitude from the cesspool of impurity to the luminous heights of morality and truth". 1) But the treasure of doctrinal truths remained untouched. Christianity, in particular, has managed to maintain its independence against the coaxing and allure of Gnosticism, the Modernism of Antiquity. The Hellenic spirit, taken by storm by the firmness of Christian conviction and the purity of Christian life, sought irresistibly to win over Christian practice to its enchanting theories. But the Christian apologists proved steadfast in the battle against this false doctrine: Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Theophilus, and others. They pointed to the rationality and necessity of faith, to the harmony between faith and intellectual knowledge, to the concrete manifestation of Christianity in the Catholic and Apostolic Church: the Church of the Logos, the form instituted by God himself. And it is precisely this staunch resistance, precisely this decisive rejection of the tempting Gnostic advances, that must be credited to Christianity in this regard.

Hand in hand with this twofold apologetic activity went the conquest of the cultural world, the permeation of all socio-psychological factors with the spirit of Christ. The religious development of the people by no means discarded all ancient forms, but those forms henceforth breathed spirit and truth. On the soil of private life, morality flourished into a supreme morality, the institution of the family, whose distortion and elevation began with the natural-rational component of pagan culture, was completed and ennobled: marital fidelity, parental and filial love, respect for the rights and dignity of women and children, the distortion of the essence of slavery—these are the noble fruits, ripened in the sun's warmth of Christianity. The Early Christian community also demonstrated its high ethical standards in fulfilling the duties and exercising the rights guaranteed by the state; in bridging the gap between social classes through the doctrine of property rights, by valuing labor, and by the virtues of self-denial and selfless charity. Christianity also left its mark on the Veronica canvas of art. It reformed, though not by leaps and bounds, but in alignment with existing practices in time and space. It knew how to create new directions and open new paths, including in the field of literature. But above all, it knew how to elevate literature and art to higher ethical ideals through novelty of subject matter and sublimity of conception. Philosophy has already been discussed. In exchange for the gratefully accepted services offered, particularly by Neoplatonism, Christianity offered the gold coin of its principles. One should think especially of the appreciation of the full concept of duty, which pagan antiquity had never attained. The foundation of a theological science was also laid by the merging of rational and revelatory reasoning, by developing the truths of faith on the solid foundation of Revelation; this occurred in the School of Catechetics, or rather, in the Theological University of Alexandria. Add to this the transformation and suppression of the vernacular, without it losing its distinctive character. Thus, it seems that Christianity, connecting with the national character (folk religion, vernacular, folk art, etc.), as every true high culture must do, fertilized every cultural area with new ideas, indeed imprinted its own distinctive mark on the entire pre-Constantinian period, by endowing it with a decidedly

14175 ethical-religious character. 1 This dominant influence did not suddenly break through: mixed
 feelings, gross dissociations, rigorism, and hyper-ascetic tendencies of all kinds
 characterized the course of the 11th century. With Tertullian and Hippolytus, extreme rigorism
 crossed the threshold of the 11th century. But Pope Callixtus steadfastly maintained the
 milder view, taking into account reality and the fragility of human nature, and also showed
 14180 himself a decided advocate of milder penitential discipline. In the same spirit, Popes Pontian
 and Cornelius, as well as Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, strove, with the result that by the
 end of the eleventh century, "Cathar" Novatianism had only a few adherents. Perhaps the
 reconciliation of Pontian and Hippolytus in Sardinia could be considered the prelude to
 victory, and the resistance of Heraclius under Pope Eusebius²) an echo from the times of
 14185 dissonance. Some dissidents chose monastic life in the desert.
 The barriers have now fallen. The Christian idea can now expand freely and frankly to form a
 new intellectual and emotional life, to implement a higher view of life in all branches of
 civilization.

One can say that the Church at the end of the eleventh century has completed its universalist
 14190 organization, but also that its triumph over the entire breadth of culture is an accomplished
 fact³). She awaits only the grace of the times to share herself with the entirety of Roman
 society, with "the whole world," as the expression of the time 1).

For at the beginning of the 4th century, Christians constituted less than a tenth of the
 population. They formed only a relatively limited, yet enclosed cultural community. The
 14195 sharply contrasting pagan worldviews were bound to lead to a certain isolation. Yet, that
 community maintained sufficient contact with national pagan beliefs and traditions to give
 rise to a powerful interaction between Christian and pagan concepts; yet the Christians were
 sufficiently Roman in their dealings and conduct, yet they maintained sufficient contact with
 their fellow citizens to be able to exert a salutary influence on them and their culture, and
 14200 above all, to be able to prepare for the full, all-encompassing impact of the future. The
 writer of the letter to Diognetus says: "Christians differ from other people neither in place
 of residence, nor in language, nor in customs. For they do not inhabit separate cities, speak
 no unusual language, and lead no distinct way of life". 1) This also shows that one should not
 imagine the Christians of the Roman center of faith and culture during those first centuries
 14205 constantly hiding in the catacombs, as it were living underground in those gloomy tuff
 quarries, to withdraw from the light and life that played and roared in the bustling
 atmosphere above them. The first Christians certainly did not live under, but above ground.
 The catacombs were therefore primarily burial places; and when, towards the end of the second
 century, the Church organized itself as a kind of burial guild, it was even officially
 14210 recognized as its owner and also received the right to perform religious ceremonies there that
 were considered burial ceremonies by the state. Here the Church simply stood on the basis of
 established law. It exercised this right, in or above the catacombs, for burials on the
 anniversaries of the next of kin, especially on the feasts (natalitia) of martyrs; however,
 regular religious services were also celebrated in private homes during the persecution
 14215 periods. From the 3rd century onward, the catacombs also became places of refuge, which had
 previously been the case only exceptionally. In 257, Emperor Valerian banned Christian
 cemeteries, actually more as gathering places; but through a restitution order issued by
 Gallienus (260), the Church was restored to possession of the holy places. Finally, through
 Diocletian's edict of persecution, the catacombs were confiscated.

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III.

What the Christians had already achieved before Constantine, thanks to their activities
 outlined above, is evident from their condition at the beginning of the 3rd century. The four
 edicts of Diocletian from the years 303 and 304 offer a system of persecution so gruesomely
 14225 radical that, humanly speaking, they would certainly have resulted in the destruction of
 Christianity, had it not been too late. But it was too late. The resistance of the Christians
 could no longer be broken. 1). When Diocletian and Maximian resigned their positions on May 1,
 305, the persecution was essentially limited to the East, until in 311, the oldest of the
 reigning principals, Galerius, issued an edict in the face of death that was merely a thinly
 14230 veiled confession of his own inability 1), in which he requested the Christians' prayers for
 his salvation and for the prosperity of the Roman Empire! This edict was co-signed by
 Licinius, a personal friend of Galerius, who had been appointed Augustus by Galerius in 307
 with Diocletian's support, and by Constantinus, who had also held the title of Supreme Emperor
 since the Congress of Carnuntum. Constantine was nineteen years old when his father,
 14235 Constantius Chlorus, was appointed Caesar by Diocletian over Spain and Gaul, and also over
 Britain, if he succeeded in taming the rebellious Britons. This appointment dissolved
 Constantius's family. He broke off marriage with Constantine's mother, Helena, a native of
 Naissus in Serbia, to enter into a political marriage with the stepdaughter of the Supreme
 Emperor Maximian, with whom Diocletian had shared the burdens and pleasures of imperial
 14240 government. As for Constantine, he departed for Nicomedia, to Diocletian's court, ostensibly
 to complete his military career under the watchful eye of Augustus and Caesar, indeed to be
 held as a hostage for his father's loyalty.
 But from those early years, Constantine had brought with him a favorable disposition toward
 Christians. It is true, we can hardly attach any value to the account of Theodoret, that his
 mother Helena gave him the first food of piety. More credible is Eusebius's assertion that
 14245 Constantine so instilled in his mother a fear of God, a fear she had not previously shown,
 that it seemed as if she had become a disciple of Christ from the very beginning. 5) Most
 likely, she did not embrace Christianity before 313. But certainly, the image of his excellent

14250 father, who had never been able to agree with the persecutory policy of his fellow emperors
and protected Christians as much as possible, accompanied him on his life's path. Eusebius
praises him lavishly and expressly testifies that Constantine proved himself a zealous
14255 follower of his father's goodwill toward the Christian religion. 3) In Trier and York, several
of his courtiers were Christians; indeed, it is said that the Holy Mysteries were celebrated
daily in his palace. And this in spite of his fellow emperors? "A man, from whom England was
even liberated "He who had won again," says Zahn, "had kept a close watch on the constantly
14260 driven Rhine border and was rightly honored by his subordinates as a true father of the land,
dared to venture anything". 4) Without a doubt, the Christians hoped that the son of their
sole protector would ascend the imperial throne.
There is something else. Monotheistic movements were not uncommon during the imperial period,
14265 the result of religious syncretism, especially in the 3rd century. Perhaps no pagan religion
has achieved such a relatively high level of monotheism as the worship of Mithras in the form
it took in the Roman Empire. 5) The Sol Invictus, the "Unconquered Sun," was considered by
many to be the highest deity or even the deity. Monotheism, which emerged from the soil of
philosophy, also experienced a certain heyday. entered. Now, as already mentioned, it is a
14270 fact that it was precisely the young Christianity that largely engendered or promoted this
monotheistic trend,² and, on the other hand, that philosophers like Celsus and Lucian were
among the most vehement opponents of the Church; finally, that the cult of Mithras became the
most formidable rival to the Christian religion. But can't this bitter hostility be explained
by the fact that the transition from Mithras to Christ was so relatively easy and gradual?
14275 Grupp rightly calls the Mithraic Sun worship "similarly a means of annihilation,
understanding, and transition for many to Christianity".³ Now, not only Emperor Commodus was a
zealous Mithras worshipper, but also Constantius; and it is not unlikely that the monotheism
of his father, however vague, had a considerable influence on Constantine's conversion was
effective. For he did not suddenly come to Christianity, not struck by a lightning-struck
14280 death blow like Paul on the road to Damascus. Despite their great differences, the conversions
of Constantine and Augustine have this in common: both were led to the truth by divine grace,
carried and lulled by the currents of the times: the latter by Neoplatonic philosophy, which
helped him overcome his worldly-adherence, the latter by the survival of theistic [?]. the
inclinations of the family circle in which he was raised. This also explains the fact that the
14285 Sun God later occupied a place in Constantine's somewhat syncretistic Christianity. While he
had visited the famous sanctuary of Apollo at Augustodunum in 311 and received a rich gift,
coins minted after 313 repeatedly bear the inscription: Soli Invicto Comiti, "To the Sun God,
the Guide". 1).
Finally, and this is, in our opinion, the most important, in Nicomedia, Constantine had
14290 learned to appreciate Christianity in its full strength. When the persecution broke out in
303, he could see "with what fortitude the select group of pious people daily endured the most
exquisite abuses". 2). The pity and good opinion of Christians, which he had inherited from
his father, were here heightened into firm sympathy and admiration; And with this sympathy,
his monotheistic worldview and philosophy of life grew. But not only was he struck by the
14295 invincible energies of Christianity, which proved ineradicable despite all the violence of
persecution, but he also came to know and appreciate the religion as a cultural force that had
already exerted such a beneficial influence on the society of the East at that time. He now
knew where true strength resided, from which elements reformative power could emanate.
These elements were present in large numbers in the army, and it was precisely with the army,
14300 as a social group, as part of the state complex, that this reformation first came into the
light of public view. "The world-historical transformation from heathenism to Christianity
has... been absorbed by the Lord. From here the public recognition of the Christian religion
has taken its beginning". Diocletian had believed he could still avert the danger by launching
his persecution with a so-called purge of the soldiery; "he believed, after he had first
14305 conquered them, that he would then easily be able to overpower the rest" 2). The result was
only that he freed the Church and Christian society from the half-hearted and weak. The
majority remained faithful to the God of Christians; and when, during the campaign against
Maxentius, the monogram of Christ was raised as a military standard and adorned shields, this
was the first act not only of interpretation, but even of privileging the Christian faith and
14310 cultural community. The Church showed itself grateful for this by imposing the penalty of
excommunication, already at the Synod of Arles (314), for the previously so frequent practice
of desertion 3).

IV.

14310 Towards the end of his life, Constantius summoned his son: it was his unquestionable right. On
July 25, 306, he died in Eburacum (York); and now the soldiers proclaimed Constantine
Imperator Augustus. This, of course, was in direct conflict with the Diocletian principle of
imperial succession. But Galerius saw no way to effectively oppose the army's demand and even
sent Constantine a purple robe. He only requested that the youngest member of the ruling
14315 college be content with the title of Caesar, leaving the office of Augustus II to Severus.
But this was not the end of the story. What had happened in the army at Eburacum resonated
with the imperial guard in Rome. What one emperor's son had achieved, it was believed, should
not be unattainable for another either; And so, on October 28 of the same year, a group of
praetorians invested Maxentius, the son of Maximinian, with the purple and proclaimed him
14320 Augustus. Insignificant, indeed repulsive in stature, puffed up with foolish arrogance, cruel,
lustful, and superstitious, incapable of governing, Maxentius had nothing to show for himself
except his high birth, however little that might have been considered within the existing

system. This title, however, seemed sufficient to the dissatisfied faction to elevate him to the throne; but as a title alone, it naturally seemed worthless to Galerius, who therefore immediately ordered Severus to march against Rome to stifle the mutiny in the blood of the troublemakers.

But Maxentius, along with his father Maximian, who resumed the relinquished title of Augustus, succeeded in holding his own against Severus and Galerius, and even in gaining Constantine's recognition. Whether Maximian was qualified to resume power is debatable; but the Senate, whose electoral authority remained legally intact, had offered him the crown again, and it would have been least fitting for Constantine to refuse recognition to the old man who had elevated his father to the throne. In gratitude, Maximian granted him the hand of his daughter Fausta along with the title of Augustus. But a rift with Maxentius developed; and when Constantine's elevation and marriage to Fausta were celebrated in Trier in 307, and the orators refused to even mention the name of Maxentius. In the same year, the congress took place at Carnuntum, attended by the elderly Diocletian, Galerius, and Maximian, who probably also negotiated on behalf of Constantine. Diocletian was to resolve the matter. It was decided that Maximian would withdraw, while, in accordance with the original principle of succession, two Augusti with two Caesars would defend the empire. Galerius and Maximinus Daza would retain their positions as Augustus and Caesar, respectively. In the West, Licinius, an old friend and comrade-in-arms of Galerius, was appointed Augustus in place of the murdered Severus; however, Constantine would have to content himself with the title of Caesar. He could not accept this provision, even if he had wanted to. "If his troops, in their turn to victory, had become notorious for mocking their entire power," says Otto Seeck, "the title of Augustus would fall, which, in his victory saga, had been so heavily scorned that it had twice been given to the side".¹⁾ Maximinus Daza also claimed the title of Augustus, so that in reality the empire was divided into four parts.

But the beginning of the denouement soon followed. After having attacked his son-in-law for the second time, Maximinus was hanged in a palace room shortly after the capture of Marseille, not surprisingly on Constantine's orders (310). A year later, the persecutor of the Church, Galerius, died after a long illness,¹ a victim of the most severe tortures.

Galerius's estate was divided between Licinius and Maximinus Daza. Only Constantine considered no expansion of his territory, but honestly sought to combine the unity of the empire with multi-rule. This was evidenced, among other things, by his successful negotiations with Licinius, who became engaged to Constantia, the sister of the powerful ruler of Gaul. However, the course of events would ultimately force sole power upon him. The greatest difficulty in maintaining or restoring the unity of the empire, besides the fragility of the principle itself, lay with the counter-emperor Maxentius, the usurper of Italy, Spain, and Africa—the fierce champion of languishing paganism, yet challenging it to a decisive struggle. Now, religion was precisely "the pivot around which the governing policies of all successive emperors revolved," says Professor v. Gelder.)• If ever, then here it became clear that religion is the social factor par excellence. After all, the struggle between Constantine and Maxentius would become not only a struggle for power, a struggle for the right to property, but also a war of faith, even more so, a struggle for a new world order.

Constantine had gradually come to this conviction, while meanwhile his belief in one God matured in the sun of grace of Christianity. While his father had already shown himself benevolent toward Christians, he himself favored them even more generously. He had also become accustomed to considering the success of his undertakings as a blessing, as a reward from heaven, and this view was confirmed by the disastrous end of the persecutors of the church, Maximian, Severus, and Galerius, whose efforts, moreover, had proved completely fruitless. Their Persecution had only led to the weakening of the state. These considerations are also expressed repeatedly in his letters. Yet, he could still hesitate. The Christians, as already mentioned, were far outnumbered, and then, paganism had grown so intimately with the state system. But there Maxentius sets himself up as champion of the pagans in the West. x) Now his decision is made. "It is Constantine's merit," says Professor van Gelder again, "to have averted this turn of events, unfavorable for him and for Christianity, through brilliant fortitude". 1)

Relying on the power of the God of the Christians, Constantine invaded Italy from France in the spring of 312. If Maxentius had the pagan gods as allies, well, then he would seek help from the God of the oppressed but never suppressed sect, whose paladin he had become. To that God his thoughts and expectations go. His prayer, a true prayer. For "however much motivated by self-interest and the desire for self-preservation, it contains a humble confession of his misery and weakness; the desire for truth is mixed with selfishness, but it is a true desire" 3).

When the enemy still believed him to be on the Rhine, he was already at the gates of Susa. Soon the fortress was taken, and the army displayed miracles of discipline and self-control. As if in triumph, they now marched through the cities of Upper Italy. Verona was forced to surrender to the impetuous Emperor. Finally, on October 28, the decisive battle was fought just beneath the walls of Rome at the Milvian bridge delivered 1). To bring his large force into contact more quickly with the enemy, who was advancing along the Flaminian road, Maxentius had hastily constructed a pontoon bridge next to the stone bridge. However, a lateral maneuver by his opponent paralyzed the action of a large part of his troops. Nevertheless, the forces not trapped between the mountain and the Tiber still constituted a considerable superiority; but even this left wing would prove his undoing. The last ranks stood close to the Tiber and, with every retreat, no matter how momentarily necessary, had to be forced into the river.

High on horseback and adorned with the insignia of his imperial dignity, Constantine charged into the dense enemy throngs. The very first clash caused terrible confusion among Maxentius' troops. The praetorians fought for their emperor with the courage of desperation, but in vain.

14400 The vast crowd rushed madly toward the bridges; the stones held, but the pontoon bridge buckled under the load. The right wing was now utterly powerless and had only the choice between surrender and utter destruction. Among those struggling with death in the waves of the Tiber was Maxentius. He lost crown and life, and with his champion ended the armed supremacy of paganism. Amid the exuberant cheers of the crowd, Constantine, as Christian Emperor, now

14405 made his triumphant entry into the city. What had happened? How had this victory been achieved? From a purely human perspective, the denouement of the course of events is particularly puzzling. Constantine's campaign against Rome, even after the victories in Northern Italy, seems a hopeless plan. With 10,000 men, under favorable circumstances, and with military genius and discipline compensating for the

14410 lack of strength, one might perhaps defeat 100,000 men in a single battle; but when such a force lies within a fortified city, any attempt at attack is madness. That Maxentius would risk a battle outside the city gates was highly implausible. But suppose he did, and lost half his army on the battlefield; as soon as he could retreat to Rome with the other half, he would still be far superior, and the situation would remain as before. But the expedition against

14415 Rome was also completely unnecessary. For the sea supply of food had been cut off, and one day Rome's granaries would run out anyway; then hunger would force Maxentius to venture far from his base of operations in northern Italy. The only reasonable military plan Constantine could have followed was to wait and remain where he was. If he, the sharp-sighted and calm general, failed to do this, and charged madly toward a goal that was almost unattainable, then this is

14420 proof that he was guided by calculations other than ordinary human calculations. 2) Moreover, the whole world regarded as something superhuman the fact that within two months Rome and all of Italy, the islands, and Africa, lay before the conqueror's feet like a morning gift from heaven. Pagan panegyrists explicitly express their conviction that Maxentius was blinded by the highest deity, who granted its servant Constantine wisdom, courage, and

14425 strength. Christians and non-Christians agreed, and even today one cannot fail to acknowledge that something extraordinary had taken place. That the Christian historians of this period presented the events of the campaign against Rome in the halo of glorification can hardly be denied; Yes, it would be an extraordinary exception if events of such far-reaching significance as the victory at the Milvian Bridge had escaped

14430 the common fate of weighty historical events. Caution is therefore advised. Lactantius 1) recounts a dream vision in which Constantine was admonished to have the "heavenly sign of God" placed on his soldiers' shields and thus to risk battle; which he did. Armed with the sign of the cross, the army went into battle. Now, this account in itself is not entirely reliable, for the same historian recounts that Licinius, during the battle with

14435 Maximinus, also had a dream vision in which an angel taught him a certain prayer, which he had distributed among the soldiers before the battle. But besides this is the report of Eusebius both in his Church History (IX, 9) and in the Life of Constantine (1, 40), according to which the conqueror immediately after his victory gave orders to erect a statue in Rome, which would represent him with the salvific sign of the cross in his hand, and below this the inscription:

14440 "By this salvific sign, the true badge of recognition of bravery, I have delivered the city from the yoke of the tyrant. *1 The report in the Church History is all the more valuable to us now, since the author in this writing knows nothing of the help provided by the sign of the cross; he only mentions a prayer to Jesus Christ. The erection of this statue, as far as I know, is also doubted by anyone. 2)

14445 Divine intervention is further evident from the inscription on the triumphal arch, which the Senate and the Roman people had erected in honor of the victory over Maxentius (312-315). The immediate proximity of the Colosseum with its somber-glorious memories gives this syncretistic memorial a peculiar, higher consecration. The reliefs, mostly from an Arch of Trajan, also give the striking impression of belonging to the spolia gentium, the "spoils taken from the

14450 heathen". The whole, however, testifies more to feverish haste and impetuous thanksgiving than to high-mindedness. art, and this largely excuses the relative crudeness of the sculpture. The most valuable thing for us in this monument, along with its depiction of the popular vote, is the inscription:

14455 "The Emperor and Caesar Flavius Constantinus, the Great, the Fortunate, the Exalted, the Senate and People of Rome, because, at the inspiration of the Deity, through the loftiness of his spirit, he and his army simultaneously avenged the state with just force of arms against both the Tyrant and his partisans, have dedicated this triumphal arch to the Senate and People of Rome".

Instinctu Divinitatis: "on the inspiration, at the instigation of the Deity". It has been

14460 claimed that the original reading Nutu /. O. M. was "at the beckoning of the highest and best Jupiter" 1). This is definitely untrue. The expression is somewhat vague, but the Senate, which at that time still consisted largely of pagans existed. The core meaning, however, escapes no one and is further reinforced by expressions such as that of the pagan rhetorician Eumenius, who, as early as the middle of 313, speaks of a promissi divinitus Victoria, a

14465 "victory promised by the Deity," and of the emperor's immediate intercourse with the Deity. We are therefore faced with this fact: on his campaign against Maxentius, Constantine, under greater pressure, made a pact with Christianity, and the seal on this pact was the cross. This is also the essence of that other story by Eusebius in his Life of Constantine, that the emperor saw a flaming sign of the cross above the sun in the afternoon with the words TOTTXI

14470 NIKΑ, "Conquer with this"; and that the following night Christ appeared to him with this same

sign and also with the instruction to have a standard made according to it. 1) It is certainly surprising that this appearance of the cross, which was nevertheless the "whole army" was considered to be unknown to Lactantius and, what is more, to Eusebius himself at the time he wrote his Church History³). To this must be added the character of the Vita Constantini. "Less easily than church history do the... writings on Kaiser Konstantin take the false position of the Thoseselves in protection against the often-existing accusation. Obviously, Eusebius is not a historical writer here either than a much more beautiful or overly reliant Lobredner 1). But Eusebius relies decisively on Constantine, even on his oath, so I find no reason to consider this story, along with O. Seeck, as "naturally erroneous". 1) While the time interval between events and the story may have somewhat altered the accurate presentation of the facts, the vision with the cross as a sign of salvation remains the historical core of the various accounts, true and in any case.

What Eusebius and others were able to recount regarding this event ultimately goes back in its entirety to the person of Constantine, and reveals to us his convictions, his spiritual life, his state of mind at that important time. And this, as L. von Ranke rightly notes in a remarkable study on this subject, "reputed "...by a longer hand, in the depths of the soul, a quiet religious superstition, which, in the midst of the crisis, held up the upper hand". 3). The complex of facts as it lies before us: the course of events, the monuments, the reports of historians—all of this, taken as a whole, testifies to the fact that Constantine was not only convinced of the truth of his vision, but also that he had complete confidence in the sign of the cross.

That Constantine, and even more so his soldiers, may have used the cross for superstitious purposes, can, in my opinion, be readily accepted. 1). But this does not detract from the purity of his insights regarding the sign of the cross. Incidentally, there is no distinction between the terms "magic" and "defense," "antidote," as a magic wand, but as a symbol of the higher power, whose help he accepted—of the higher, transcendental power.

The emperor considered the sign of the cross in connection with the doctrine to which he leaned and which he would profess. I have shown how Constantine had gradually come closer to Christianity. The cross, too, would not have remained unfamiliar to him. Fully compelled by the events, he had declared himself a defender of the Christians and embarked on his campaign as such. But then the God of the Christians could not refuse him His protection. This conviction grew during the march. He had advanced against the advice of the pagan high priests; he wanted to test whether the pagan gods could also do anything against the God of the Christians. But then this God would also visibly demonstrate his protection and testify to his approval with a sign. Then follows the vision of the sign of the cross. Soon it adorns the emperor's helmet and the soldiers' shields; after all, the victory of Christianity would proceed from the army. Later, it adorned imperial coins. Above all, however, it rested on the crossbar of the imperial war standard: the labarum.

The form displayed by the Constantine Cross is that of the monogram of Christ. This belongs to the group of so-called cruces dissimulatae, i.e., symbolic forms that had some connection with the cross and were therefore used to conceal it; for example, the Buddhist Svas\\tika cross, which can be seen on the tunic of the fossor, the catacomb-digger, Diogenes. The cross did not appear without any covering before the 5th century, which is related to the fact that the first scene of the crucifixion also dates from that century, namely one of the reliefs on the wooden door of St. Sabina. Now, we do find the Christ-monogram repeatedly in inscriptions before Constantine, but almost exclusively not in isolation, but only as an abbreviation of the name of Christ. For example, "Pax Domini et cum Faustino".

The letters I H or I H C were also used to abbreviate the name Jesus. Only towards the end of the 1st century did the monogram begin to be used independently as a sign of Christ. However, a second form is found, namely [namely] ... During the course of the fourth century, the form of the Christogram was repeatedly modified; towards the end of that century, the apocalyptic letters A Cf were often associated with it. Let me add here that after Constantine, the formulas tovtu vhtx; hoe vince, in hoe vinces, in hoe signo vinces, hoe signo victor eris, etc., also appear in Christian epigraphy and coinage, albeit rather late.

Now, it is certainly true that symbols strikingly resembling the Christogram appear on the coins of Asian rulers, specifically as field and victory signs; for example, on the coins of the Syrian king Alexander Bala (146 AD), of the Bactrian dynast Hermaeus (138-120 AD), etc. But how can we explain that Constantine suddenly adopted these Asian symbols and wore them on his helmet? At most, pagan symbolism may have contributed to paving the way for Christian symbolism. "The explanation of the symbols of Attic and Ptolemaic coins can be overridden by the knowledge of the coins," Keim believes, "because the main point is that between your coins and Constantine, there is no such connection".

VI.

With Constantine, religion, which for almost three centuries had been considered incompatible with the well-being of the state and persecuted with fire and sword, had ascended the throne. After all, the emperor had declared himself in favor of Christianity. The immediate consequence of this far-reaching fact had to be: the cessation of persecution, the political interpretation of Christianity. This indeed happened through the Edict of Milan. In early 313, Constantine traveled from Rome to Milan to celebrate the marriage of his sister Constantia to Licinius. The negotiations went smoothly; and the edict was soon issued.

But, says Otto Seeck, the Edict of Milan does not exist. Christians did not obtain religious freedom until 313, but already in 311, specifically through the decree of Galerius. A certain document, communicated to us by Eusebius and Lactantius, does indeed go by the name "Edict of

14545 Milan"; but this is, firstly, not an edict; secondly, not issued in Milan; thirdly, not from Constantine; and fourthly, it does not grant legal tolerance throughout the empire. 1) What can be said of this?

In itself, it is difficult to assume that the historians of antiquity, who were contemporaries or practically contemporaries, would have glorified with the most exuberant praise an edict that never existed. But indeed, if its sole purpose were to abolish the preposterous provisions of Maximinus Daza, then it is nothing more than a local regulation issued by Licinius in Nicomedia, after he, with Constantine's support, had defeated Maximinus' troops, who soon died of overexertion in Tarsus. But this is a mere assumption, based on insignificant details, while some formal deviations can already be explained by the fact that we are dealing here, as Lactantius explicitly states, with a letter-form edict, addressed by Licinius to the magistrates of the East at the beginning of June. It is also not impossible that the readings in Lactantius and Eusebius are based on two varying texts 1). But this does not alter the fact that we readily side with Gaston Boissier, when he says that the Edict of Milan is one of those documents of ancient history whose integrity remains the best preserved. 3).

14550 But above all: this edict of ours cannot in any way be equated with the toleration edict of Galerius, if only because every concession on the part of the victor at the Ponte Molle is cast in a completely different light by the fact of his victory and his openly siding with Christianity. Speaking of this edict, Paul Allard says: "These dispositions were not for a prince who was amouindri like Gallien, who was movable like Galere, or contested like Maxence, but for a sovereign who was a victim whose palates were also recognized as some divine choice to yield to the incontest master of the Occident, and who was then to make a show of wronging the Empire".³

This is how things stood: in the territory of Maxentius, the Christians had initially experienced a certain goodwill 1), but generally speaking, they had never been granted legal tolerance. Furthermore, the onerous conditions on which the Galere edict made tolerance dependent gave rise to great difficulties everywhere; locally, it was even completely ignored. It was therefore essential to provide adequate benefit and assistance and to regulate the situation. To this end, Constantine first proposed the concept of religious freedom, a concept decidedly alien to antiquity. State religion in the modern sense was, of course, out of the question in ancient times. But the imperial cult constituted a personal element in ancient religion, closely linked to the state; sacredness also belonged to the foundations of the state. For full and fair equality, the state had to completely abandon the concept of state religion. And this happened. The passage in question in the edict reads:

"We have decided to grant both Christians and all others the freedom to follow whatever religion they choose, so that the Deity and the Heavenly Being, whatever it may be, may be favorable and gracious to us and all our subjects. It therefore seemed to us a salutary and most prudent policy to determine that absolutely no one should be denied the freedom to choose and follow the worship of Christians, but that everyone should be permitted to adhere to the faith that seems most suitable to them; so that the Deity may continue to grant us its usual favor and goodwill in all circumstances".

14585 As can be seen, we are here at the very foundation, not of Christianity, but of monotheism. However, it should not be forgotten that Licinius helped issue the edict, and that pagans were still by far in the majority. How strange even the concept of equal treatment of religions before the law must have seemed to them is evident from the fact that it is repeated five times, in almost identical terms: "that Christians, like all others, are permitted to practice their religion in complete freedom".

Subsequently, Christianity is no longer considered a tolerated religion, a religio hcita, but rather a form of religion for a legally recognized group of citizens who were granted legal personality as Christians, no longer as constituting a burial guild: the corpus Christianorum (the Christian body), the legal entity of Christians, is repeatedly mentioned.

14595 Another provision, which indeed demonstrates boldness, should not be underestimated: restitution will take place not only of the meeting places, i.e., churches and church grounds—something similar had already happened once before—but also of all church property that had been taken from Christians during the persecution; restitution, not only by the state, but also by or all private individuals endowed with church property; however, the temporary owners were promised compensation from the state.

The edict concludes with the decree to the civil service that it should be stamped everywhere and made known. As mentioned, it was promulgated in the East by Emperor Licinius in June of the same year. Since then, following the death of Maximinus, it applied to the entire Roman Empire, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Euphrates and Tigris.

14605 However, it would not end there. "The Religion of the Cross had to resist tribulation to the equal treatment of the heathen," writes Dr. Faulhaber, "and with its own strength, it consciously strives for truth from equal justice to sole justice" (1). Indeed, privilege grew out of equality. Constantine certainly anticipated, probably desired, and actually prepared and promoted this gradual development. The clergy was exempted from all public service, the Church obtained the right to accept legacies, Sunday became a public day of worship with mandatory Sunday rest, and considerable state funds were allocated to the churches of Africa. Indeed, this privilege kept pace with the development of Constantine's autocracy: more than ever before, politics was now guided by religion. Licinius had already been defeated twice in 314 and forced to relinquish almost all of his European possessions. Under him, the Christians once again suffered hard times for a time: many were deprived of property and freedom, synods were banned, the celebration of the Holy Mysteries was hampered, Christians were expelled from the court and, what's more, even from the army; in some places, blood was even shed. But these

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14620 were the last gasps of paganism. In the battles at Adrianople, Callipolis, and Chrysopolis, Licinius lost his empire and a year later his life: by the end of 324, Constantine was sole ruler.

14625 Gradually, the higher positions in government were filled by Christians; magnificent Christian churches sprang up everywhere; the spread of the true religion was even promoted in imperial manifestos. The Roman Empire increasingly displayed a specifically Christian character. This Christian empire also had to have a Christian center. For this purpose, Rome, which, incidentally, lay too far to the west, with its still distinctly pagan character, seemed unsuitable to the emperor. He founded Constantinople by transforming the old Byzantium into a truly Christian city, and established his imperial residence there (330).

14630 Let us also take a cursory look at the Christian social and economic character of the new legislation. The provisions of the Julia and Papia Poppaea laws, directed against celibacy and childlessness, were repealed, and not only, as Funk rightly observes, for the benefit of the Church, which was particularly affected by these provisions: "The full Church with its 800-year-old legal position finds a satisfactory explanation, but one could write otherwise than one's original Christian thought" 1). Some of his decrees were directed against divorce and cohabitation, or aimed to protect defenseless innocence and threatened infanticide with the most severe penalties. His actions against slavery deserve special mention; Constantine took a decidedly Christian stand on this point. He accepted slavery as a social institution. He did not want a social upheaval, the consequences of which would have been incalculable. Christianity fundamentally reformed the institution of slavery by cutting off its roots, rejecting the inferiority of the slave under natural law, and proclaiming the theory of inner freedom. Now the yoke was bearable, because a different spirit had been instilled in the organism. Within the framework of the old legal system, a new ethical and social formation was created. And that Constantine embraced this spirit is demonstrated by his validating ecclesiastical manumissions and demarcating the boundaries between just punishment and punishable abuse. He declared the deliberate killing of a slave to be murder. Anyone who would accuse Constantine of a certain transaction with slavery demonstrates gross ignorance. In 325, he banned gladiatorial combat in the East. He established various charitable institutions, such as burial funds and grain foundations for the needy. 1)

14645 Constantine's laws form an impressive series that commands respect and gratitude. 1) Elaborating further on the governing actions of the first Christian emperor is beyond the scope of this festival. The above also serves only to better equip us to form a general judgment about Constantine's intentions and disposition in issuing the Edict of Milan. From Gibbon to Burckhardt, this act has been regarded only as a consequence of shrewdly calculated policy. Burckhardt, in particular, dipped his pen in bile and hatred. He found better appreciation in Keim; Otto Seeck initiated a de facto rehabilitation¹⁾. Meanwhile, how should we assess a relatively moderate statement like Brieger's: "It is entirely... undeniably true that Constantine the Great did not, because of Christianity, receive tolerance and state favor, because he inwardly espouses the truth of this religion, because he personally was a Christ"? 1). So, it was not as a Christian that Constantine accomplished what he accomplished; In any case, "he presents himself with his external religious beliefs until the end as a broader, more comprehensive solution and seeks no solution to the confusion". Then, indeed, only one way out remains: "to consider his world-historical truth as an outlet for his policy".³⁾

14665 We strongly protest against this: Thus Constantine's Christianity becomes a lie, thus he himself becomes an actor and a hypocrite, while sincerity and honesty are evident in all his actions and statements. Funk is spot on when he says: "Those things speak for themselves. May a few of them, in themselves, be considered a blushing escape from politics, for the sake of the whole, this interpretation is crucial" 4); and Gaston Boissier expresses his conviction: "Christianity can be both material and substantial, but whatever we say, it has been since" 1). Among the deeds that speak of the emperor's sincerity are the aforementioned imperial decrees, and the declarations made on more than one occasion. When the Donatists appealed to his judgment after the second synod, he responded with this key word: "They demand my judgment, while I await the judgment of Christ". Among these deeds we especially consider the two decrees that Constantine addressed to his new subjects after the victory over Licinius and the establishment of the autocracy,¹ and whose authenticity is beyond doubt: they bear brilliant and irrefutable testimony to the emperor's Christian disposition.

14675 Constantine was no hypocrite! From the moment he took up the fight against Maxentius, he considered himself a divinely called, chosen instrument, and he increasingly embraced that thought, that calling. Choosing his side was not only a matter of the heart; it was also a matter of conviction—indeed, I would say, more of reason than of heart. And thus one of the motives that led the prince to the Edict of Milan is established: the consciousness of fulfilling a mission imposed upon him by the God of the Christians, the satisfaction of a wounded sense of justice, and the reparation of a grievous injustice, endured for so many years. Faith in the truth of Christianity was thus the primary motive for his actions.

14685 A second motive undoubtedly lies in his sincere gratitude for the divine favor he had enjoyed in such momentous circumstances. According to the text of the edict, he also wishes to preserve this favor and grace in the future for the good of the kingdom. This motive also played a significant role in his conversion to Christianity itself, and thus this conversion, as Professor Geurts rightly observes in one of his fine articles, becomes a striking parallel to the conversion of Clovis.

14690 But there is a third motive. If one wishes to call this political, so be it; But then one should also call it a sound policy, not only justified by the circumstances, but entirely

necessary. Constantine was deeply convinced that persecution achieved nothing but a continuous weakening of the state. Christianity proved ineradicable; like the pelican, it continued to nourish its offspring with its blood. Moreover, as mentioned, Constantine had come to recognize Christians as the most excellent elements with whom he could venture to inaugurate a new imperial arena, from whom he could confidently anticipate a rebirth of society. Add to this that circumstances confirmed his ideas and the Christianized army led him to victory: should not the natural consequence then be a public act, which guaranteed the Christians equality, at least for the time being, perhaps giving them decisive dominance in the foreseeable future, and that in relation to the well-understood interests of the empire? In my opinion, one has... The Edict of Milan is often viewed too one-sidedly, as an isolated fact, the fruit of the emperor's personal conversion and the victory over Maxentius. This view doesn't touch the reality of the facts and circumstances. Constantine was no *deus ex machina*, granting unexpected freedom after centuries of fruitless striving. The edict owed much more to the Christians, or rather to Christianity itself, than to the favor of the Christian emperor. It is nothing but the official recognition of an already existing situation. The Christians themselves, thanks to the grace of God and the vital force of their teachings, had slowly, but unconsciously, prepared for this triumph, so that the edict of freedom seemed to them a sudden liberation. In truth, however, only the last barrier had fallen at the Milvian Bridge. That liberation was primarily the fruit of their striving, their blood, their patience, their ethical excellence, their social dominance.

That official privilege could not be obtained all at once; that Christian culture had to have time to expand and conquer at the risk of losing its own purity—Constantine was too great a statesman not to understand this, and I cannot see how it is possible to reproach him for it. Besides, pagan religion was too deeply ingrained, had grown too deeply into the consciousness of ancient humanity through centuries of development, to be eradicated in one go. "Religions die slowly," says Dr. Faulhaber, and he continues: "Kaiser Konstantin sought to suppress pagan cult, without allowing the decree to force religious development out of Eight, which required a massive push forward". 1) And with this agrees Prof. Van Gelder, when he writes: "Knowing what was to come, and probably wishing it too, he nevertheless did not want to rush things, he held back as much as he could, like a wise statesman who feared shocks and sharp shifts". 2) The question is whether Constantine acted well by continuing to support certain pagan institutions or practices more or less firmly. It is certain that he not only demonstrated himself to be entirely Christian in legislation and privileging benevolence, but that he also suppressed more than one pagan institution. Private sacrificial oblations, as well as various sacrificial ceremonies and some immoral religions in Syria and Egypt, were banned, temples closed, and idols torn down. 2) But on the other hand, it is certain that he remained deeply superstitious. Nor did he renounce the title of Supreme Priest; he remained Pontifex Maximus, and had himself depicted as such with a veiled head: "he does not manifest by any public act his intention of renouncing being the supreme head of a religion to which he does not appear more," says Boissier. 2 One can interpret this favorably and argue that he did not want to relinquish supervision of the pagan cult. Subsequent emperors also bore this title until Gratian, who renounced it in 375. Had bearing the title become a mere formality, there would have been no objection; but I somewhat doubt whether this was already the case with Constantine. It seems to me that he continued to fulfill some of the obligations attached to the title, for example, by occasionally practicing divination for state interests. In Codex Theodosianus IX, paragraph 16, and XVI, paragraph 10, we find, moreover, quite a few regulations concerning pagan cult. The pagan historian Zosimus even claims that he offered pagan sacrifices until the year 326; this report is highly improbable, but must contain a grain of truth, since he appears as High Priest on coins and in inscriptions until 328. In the last year of his life, as appears from an authentic inscription, he gave permission to the Italian town of Spello to build a temple for his family, the gens Flavia; however, no sacrifices were allowed to be offered there. Now, with particular reference to the coins: as already mentioned, they continue to show pagan emblems for quite some time. This certainly need not be regarded as proof of a clearly expressed sun worship; Besides the Sun God, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Isis, the Genius (Guardian Spirit) of the Roman people, etc. also appear. a. But "there is no doubt", explains Grisar, "there is a strong, symbolic, undiluted presence here that is based on Helios in the religious Manifestations of the Christian Kaisers, which is the only reason for the reigns of 313 to 324, and is not visible anymore, but perhaps the sun god on the coins symbolized the emperor himself as Roi Soleil. It is certainly unlawful to conclude from this and similar data with Keim that the emperor was also at that time "neither bis auf a Punkt ein Heide"2). But in my opinion a certain religious syncretism is unacceptable. not to be denied, or, if this expression is too strong, his Christianity was somewhat Syncretistic in tone. Such was the situation with several of his contemporaries. Konstantin certainly saw Christianity as the religion God intended, and himself as the perfect instrument for its spread. In this role, as we have already mentioned, he increasingly and seriously immersed himself in his thoughts. Yet, the highest value and significance of Christianity remained hidden from him, and therefore he never dared to fully implement Christian state policy. Nor did he ever adopt full Christian morality: too much blood clings to his memory. Despite the sincerity of his convictions and the purity of his intentions, despite his great service to the Church of God, one must admit with Ehrhard: "He has... not inherited the religious nature of Christianity in its deepest foundations and most sacred souls, and much less taken his physical ideal for the unconditional guidance of his actions. Constantine was no saint!" 1).

Shouldn't one also see confirmation of this in the postponement of his Holy Baptism until his

deathbed? After all, Constantine was not yet a Christian in the ordinary sense of the word. Even if he held Christianity in high esteem and declared himself the God of the Christians, he remained a pagan until the end of his life. We know that the report of his baptism in Rome by Pope Sylvester and of the cleansing from his leprosy is a fable. When he felt his end approaching in 337 at the castle of Achyron near Nicomedia, he was baptized by Eusebius, the bishop of that city. It is certainly true that baptism was often postponed until old age or even until the end of life. The great Cappadocian saints Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as Saint Chrysostom, were not baptized until around the age of thirty. However, this view and practice was most widely held in the time of Tertullian, when he spoke of a pondus baptismi: a "burden of baptism," either out of excessive fear of defiling baptismal grace or because people were repelled by the heavy burden of penance. This changed significantly with the more lenient penitential discipline of the third century. People will also grant me that the main reason can hardly be found in the expectation of one day receiving baptism in the waters of the Jordan. Perhaps Constantine himself offered the explanation on his deathbed. "If the Lord of life and death should wish to grant us a longer life here on earth," he said, "... it is determined once and for all, to give my life such laws as are worthy of God". 1) Constantine is not confessing here to having violated God's law, but to having not yet chosen God's law as the guideline for his life and actions. A dying mouth does not lie. This testimony expresses true respect for Christianity, but also perfect honesty, self-knowledge, and self-esteem. When the emperor had put on the white baptismal robe, he no longer wanted to touch the purple. Did he perhaps, like Tertullian, consider the exercise of the Principate in its full scope incompatible with the dignity of a Christian?

VII.

With the promulgation of the Edict of Milan, the Church casts off its mourning veil and, unhindered by fetters, walks the path of light, leading to the highest, the sovereign cultural goal, which radiates its beams of light across the entire field of human civilization. Suffering and strife are forgotten; jubilant hymns of peace resound through the free lands; indeed, the Christian hosts now feel more closely united with their triumphant brothers in better regions: they are no longer the militant, but the triumphant Church on earth. The worship due to God is rendered freely and unhindered. Churches are rising everywhere, and Christian architecture reveals itself in a wealth of forms and novelty of creations: as a triumph of conquered paganism, basilicas and domed churches arise; and in the new house of God and the new cycle of figures, Christian art bestows aesthetic pleasure with an ethically and religiously purer and more exalted purpose. The historical element breaks through everywhere. The catacombs are abandoned, or rather, change their purpose and henceforth serve almost exclusively as places of pilgrimage for the veneration of the sacred martyrdoms: Pope Damasus will better arrange and adorn them for this purpose with his artistic inscriptions. Henceforth, the Christian family may manifest itself in freedom, for the Princeps is the zealous protector of its sanctity and inviolability; wife and child find their defender on the throne. The slave, too, is confirmed and strengthened in the awakened sense of self-worth and moral responsibility. The barriers to full participation in government fall an ever more complete elimination of religious objections to the exercise of government office. For the Christian economy, a period of theoretical and practical appreciation begins, along with an increased scientific striving to develop sound principles, which led to "the economic ethics of St. Augustine, the most complete publication of the teachings of the Gospel under Father over the right, godly evaluation of Irish goods". 1). With Augustine, the Christian philosophy of antiquity also celebrated its finest triumphs; with the hymn compositions of Ambrose and Prudentius, literature offers the ripest fruit of the assimilation process of ancient formal civilization with the spirit of Christianity. Thus, the ethical revival found its crowning achievement in the Edict of Milan; thus, it could safely develop in the shadow of the throne. Christian art has been able to symbolize this world-famous triumph in a striking way. The Agnus Dei begins with the Peace of the Church, especially in the magnificent mosaics of that period. On a mountain stands Christ as the "Lamb of God" with a halo or cross or the monogram of Christ; and from that mountain flow four rivers of paradise, while Jews and pagans rush to drink from the fresh waters. On either side rise palm trees, the apocopes of paradise. Elsewhere, in fresco paintings, on gold glassware and sarcophagi, the Lamb of God is surrounded by a flock of lambs, the symbol of the faithful. They indeed represent the now triumphant Church. For the lambs carry wreaths or palm branches, while several figures invite them to enter the gates of heavenly Eden. The triumph of the Church is still depicted by the so-called Maiestas. Domini, the image of Christ, enthroned in all his glory and splendor. As King, He holds court among His Apostles. He is also the supreme Lawgiver and Teacher. It is a scene that could only be born in the splendor of the temples; it is no longer adorned by the mysterious light of cemeteries, but richly bathed in the jubilee sunshine of the basilicas.

VIII.

"It is necessary to ask, above the church, whether the victory was to be fought without Constantine," says Harnack. "In the meantime, Constantine must have fought, only if it had become lighter from year to year, than Constantine would have been". 1) Is this a reason to dispute the nickname Constantine, which posterity deemed him worthy of? Not at all! That name remains His inalienable property. He certainly does not belong to those

personalities who fascinate the historian solely for the facts associated with their name, and certainly not for the strength of their intimate conviction. 2) On the contrary. He was a robust, self-confident personality, who had the courage not only to express in words, but to embody in deeds, what he had come to know as truth. And that he dared, by acting in this way, to break with a centuries-old system that seemed intertwined with the essence and well-being of the state, that he dared to inaugurate a new arena and face the far-reaching consequences of his actions, undoubtedly testifies to unusual energy and power of command.

But also to a masterful genius. Constantine was not a caricature, as those who, shutting themselves in the narrow confines of their prejudices, failed to grasp the great struggle of ideas during the Constantine period have tried to reduce him to. He was the first to understand that Christianity belonged to the future and what Christianity meant for the revival of Roman society as a whole. And that he did not proceed with haste in the intended reformation, but gradually, also testifies to a wise moderation, not always the property of those of superior intelligence. Nowhere has any resistance from paganism to this privileging of Christianity been observed. Furthermore, great is his fame as a commander, as a patron of the arts and sciences; and although his theological insight may have been deficient, he cannot be denied the praise for having striven with rare spiritual strength to keep the Church free from error, to eliminate schisms, to maintain and confirm unity. Constantine may therefore rightly receive a name from the hand of history, which it has and will continue to hold for Diocletian.

Nevertheless, the full measure of greatness belongs to Constantine, because His name is forever associated with the liberation, and later with the enthronement, of Christianity. His gigantic figure rises at one of the most important turning points in world and church history: the period when Christianity, after bloody insults, achieved recognition and equality, when Christians, despite their number, The elite minority felt definitively in possession of the majority of their power. The Edict of Milan depicts the triumph of the Cross, not through the favor of a sovereign, not as a result of shrewd calculation or statesmanlike wisdom, but thanks to the transcendent character of religion, whose world-conquering and world-reforming power radiates so gloriously in this letter of freedom from the Church of God.

Christianity had triumphed, then. Why not paganism, with its formidable armed forces and legions of influential patrons? Why not, in particular, the worship of Mithras, which seemingly offered so much more, which so harmonized with the imperial cult, and which, as evidenced by the monuments, could boast such a vast extent? Clönp, Harnack, and Dietrich have listed several causes: the Mithras cult remained too Asiatic, it was too flexible, too transient, it did not accept women for propagation, it was not supported by sacred literature, it could not forge an alliance with Hellenism... Certainly, all of this may offer some explanation. But is this the last word of history? Then the triumph of Christianity breaks the historical law, which demands proportionality between means and ends, which demands that every significant historical phenomenon be the result of various forces proportional to the consequences. And in humble adoration we bow our heads before the higher power that led Christianity to victory. But also with grateful hearts and unwavering trust: for we know that the God who led Constantine to victory and who caused the sun of glory to rise on the day of Milan's liberation still remains with his Church today and will know how to guide his faithful to the lands of light through storm and darkness.

IMPRIMATUR.

Dr. LEO BEKE, O. E. S. Aug.

Libr. Cens.

ULTRAI, die Mensis Aprilis 1913

1) De mortibus persecutorum LII.

1) Prof. Dr. S. D. van Veen, The Christian Church and the Powers of the World (Utrecht 1907), p. 16.

1) Cf. my speech on The Value of the Cultural-Historical Method for the Knowledge of Christian Antiquity (Amsterdam 1910), p. 42.

1) See my essay on the History of Apology in Christian Antiquity in the Annuary of the Apologetic Association Petrus Canisius 1913, pp. 21.

1) C. XII [Funk, Patres Apostolici I, p. 327].

1) Hist. Eccles. VIII, 14: S7r dtpsaxsicf. xx) xoKot.xsicf, rov "hypeou 'Pcoftxiaiv.

2) Real-Encyclopädie der Christlichen Altertümer I, p. 232.

3) Max. Sdralèk, Ueber die Ursachen, welche den Sieg des Christentums im r'ómischen Reiche (Breslau 1907), p. 31.

1) De mortalitate XVI [ed. Hartel I, p. 307].

2) Hist. Eccles. VII, 22, 8, 9.

3) Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums (Leipzig 1906) I, p. 150.

1) Premier Mémoire sur les antiquités chrétiennes, by Kraus, Roma Sotterranea (Freiburg i/B. 1879), p. 296.

2) Harnack, Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums I, p. 128.

3) Karl Meissner, Studien zu Lukian in de Sitzungsbericht der philos.-philol. Class of the K. B. Akad. der Wissenschaften (Munich 1906), p. 320.

1) Apologia I, 16.

1) The Value of Culture historical method, p. 21.

1) Cf. The Value of the cultural-historical method, p. 15.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 14915 2) Best known for the famous epigram of Pope Damasus: "Heraclius vetuit labios peccata dolere" etc. ed. Ihm No. 18.
3) See about this my study *La Couronne nuptiale dans l'antiquité chrétienne* in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publ. par l'école française de Rome* (1912).
- 14920 1) Already the OMOUf/Jvy" of Saint Luke (Ev. II: i, Acts XI, 28) has this meaning.
2) V, 1-3 (Funk, *Patres apostolici* I, bl, 397], cf. Tertullianus, *Apologeticus* XLII.
1) Cf. Dr. Alb. Ehrhard, *Das Christentum in dem Römischen Reiche bis Konstantin* (Strassburg 1911), p. 41.
1) Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VIII, 17: "ivx otuS-;? u<rt %pitrTixvol". So he wanted to make it appear as if the Christians had become unfaithful to their own principles.
- 14925 1) Fog. *Eccles.* 1, 17. On this see Dr. F. M. Flasch, *Constantin der Grosse als erster Christlicher Kaiser* (Würzburg 1891), p. 4.
2) *Vita Const.* III, 47.
3) *Hist. Eccles.* VIII, 12, 13, 14.
4) Theodor Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche* • (Leipzig 1908), p. 212.
- 14930 1) *Chantepie de la Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Freiburg 1889) II, p. 292; F. von Arneth, *Das classische Heidentum und die Christliche Religion*. (Wien 1895) IC bl. 122.
2) See above, pg. 14.
3) Georg Grupp, *Kulturgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich 1904) II, p. 130.
1) See also Franz Cumont, *Les Myst'eres de Mithra* 1 (Bruxelles 1902), page 169.
- 14935 2) *Vita Const.* II, 52.
1) Harnack, *Militia Christi* (Tübingen 1905), p. 86, 87.
2) Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VIII, 4.
3) "De his qui arma proiciunt in pace placuit abstinere eos a communione".
1) Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* (Berlin 1895) I, p. 98
- 14940 1) *General History* (Groningen 1912) III, p. 69; cf. his treatise in the *Report of the Provincial Utrecht Society of Arts and Sciences* 1909, p. 30.
1) This is not inconsistent with the fact that Maxentius initially stopped the persecution in Rome and returned the confiscated property to the churches.
2) *Report of the Utrecht Society*, pp. 29-30.
- 14945 3) Prof. P. Geurts, *A Centenary of the Catholic World in De Tijd*, 21 January 1913, III.
1) Probably not at the Red Rocks (Saxa Rubra), as Aurelius Victor relates and Moltke assumes. They were only the furthest point to which Maxentius's troops extended. See O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* I, pp. 455-1) Maxentius did not originally intend this, but changed his mind after examining the Sibylline books.
- 14950 2) Cf. O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, pp. 120.
1) *De mortibus per sec.* XLIV.
2) *De mortibus per sec.* XLVI. The prayer is given in its entirety.
1) Maxentius is called "the tyrant" also in the inscription on the triumphal arch and in the epigrams of Damasus [ed. Ihm Nos. 48, 48 in the formula *feritate tyranni*].
- 14955 2) One need not take into account some assumptions that Eusebius had seen a cross in a good Roman lance.
1) "Man entdeckte die Correctur, als zur französischen Zeit der Bogen mit Gerüsten umgeben wurde, um die Bildwerke abzuformen": Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantin's des Grossen* 2 (Leipzig 1880), p. 323.
- 14960 2) *Vita Const.* I, 28-31.
3) On this whole question, see F. 1-23; A.B.
1) O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology* 2 (Freiburg i/B. 1901), p. 215, 216; cf. *Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg i/B 1912) III, p. 454.
2) *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* I.
- 14965 3) *Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig 1883) IV, p. 261.
1) Eusebius, *Vita Const.* II, 7-9.
2) See the description in Eusebius, *Vita Const.* I.
The *Labarum* of Constantijn in the *Studiën* LX (1903), pp. 82; P. Albers, *Handbook of General Church History* (Nijmegen 1905) I, p. 50; H. Stevenson in the *Real-Encyclopedie der Christ. Altert. s. v. Labarum*.
- 14970 1) *De mortibus per sec.* XLIV: "Transversa X litera, summo capite circumilexo."
1) Dr. Theod. Keim, *Der Uebertritt Constantins des Grossen zum Christenthum* (Zürich 1862), p. 87.
1) *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* XII (1891), p. 381
- 14975 1) Resp. *De mortibus per sec.* XLVIII, and *Hist. Eccles.* X, 5.
2) *La fin du paganisme* 1 (Paris 1891) I, p. 42.
3) *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain* (Paris 1 p. isi. See also Dr. J. Sassen, *On the sixteenth century of the edict of Milan* in *De Katholiek Dl.* CXLIII, p. 95.
1) Cf. b. 28 and Kraus, *Roma Sotteranea*, p. 163.
- 14980 1) Cf. Franz Görres in the *Real-Encyklopedie der Christ. Altert.* II, p. 898.
1) Dr. M. Faulhaber, *Die griechischen Apoliten der Klassischen ?terzeit* (Würzburg 1896) I, p. 2.
1) *Abhandl. you. Unters.* II, p. 9; Eusebius, *Vita Const.* IV, 26.
1) See Dr. Ign. Seipel, *Die Wirtschaftsethischen Lehren der Kirchenväter* (Wien 1907), p. 30, 31, 74, 235; cf. Zahn, *Skizzen*, p. 222; Grupp, *Kulturgeschichte* II, p. 305; Paul Allard, *Le Christiciisme et l'Empire romain*, p. 159.
- 14985 2) The main source is of course the *Codex Theodosianus*. On the chronological order of the laws, see the excellent study by O. Seeck, *Die Zeitfolge der Gesetze Constantins in the*

- Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte 1, 177.
- 14990 1) Otherwise not an unqualified admirer of Christianity at all! Witness e.g. his *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt III*, 8th chap.: *Das Christentum*, p. 173.
2) Constantin's Religionspolitik in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte IV*, p. 169.
3) *Ib. b.* 171.
4) *Abhandl. you. Unters. II*, p. 21.
- 14995 5) *La fin du paganisme I*, p. 59.
1) Eusebius, *Vita Const. II*, 24-42; 48 60. Burckhardt's objections are narrow-minded; see Funk, *Abhandl. you. Unters. II*, p. 10 and especially O. Seeck, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XVIII*, p. 321.
1) *A Centenary of the Catholic World*, t. a.p. II.
15000 1) *The Greek Apologists*, p. 2, 3.
2) *Report of the Utrechtsch Prov. Gene. 1909*, pg. 36.
1) Eusebius, *Vita Const. II*, 44; *III*, 54; *IV*, 23.
2) *La fin du paganisme I*, p. 56.
3) *Historia nova II*, 29.
- 15005 2) *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie II* (1882), p. 597.
3) *Der Uebertritt Constantins des Grossen*, p. 40.
1) *Das Christentum im römischen Reiche*, p. 45.
2) P.Ch. de Smedt S. J., *Principes de la Critique historique (Liège-Paris 1883)*, p. 137.
1) Eusebius, *Vita Const. IV*, 62.
- 15010 2) *Apollo. XXII "Sed et Caesares credidissent super Christo, si aut Caesares non essent saeculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Caesares"*.
1) Seipel, *Die Wirtschafts-ethischen Lehren der Kirchenväter*, p. 304,
1) *Mission and spread of Christianity II*, bl. 285.
2) As H. BESTMANN, *History of Christian Customs (Nördlingen 1885) II*, bl. 466.
- 15015
- Constantine the Great**
1. Augustine on Constantine
- 15020 In the fourth and fifth books of *De civitate dei*, Augustine deals with the question on what grounds one may call Roman emperors happy, felices. In the penultimate capita of the fifth book, which was published with the fourth at the end of 415, he gives the following extensive argument, which culminates in the image he had formed of Constantine the Great, and which at the same time expresses a profound problem in
- 15025 world history. Augustine writes (*De civitate dei V* 24, 25):
"We do not call certain Christian emperors felices because they reigned long or died quietly, leaving the government to their sons², or subdued the enemies of the commonwealth, or subdued and subdued internal enemies who rose up against them. These and other favors and consolations in this difficult life have also been
- 15030 experienced by some servants of idols, who do not belong to the kingdom of God like the former; and this has happened through the mercy of the same God, to make sure that those who believe in Him would not desire those things from Him as the highest good. But we call them felices if they rule justly.
- 15035 Augustine continues: "if under the words of those who honor them very highly, and the obeisances of those who greet them humbly, they do not exalt themselves (exceedingly), but consider that they are (only) men; if they use their power in the service of the majesty of God to exalt His worship as highly as possible; if they fear, love, and honor God; if they love that kingdom most where they have no rivals
- 15040 to fear; if they are slow to punish, and easy to forgive; if they use their power of punishment (only) where it is necessary for the government and protection of the commonwealth, not to gratify their anger against enemies, and if they use that forgiveness not for impunity for evil, but in the hope of amendment; if they meet the severe decrees, which they are often forced to make, with compassion and charity; if they abstain from luxury as it is more easily attainable to them; if they prefer to subdue (their own) evil desires than other peoples, and if they do all this not from their burning desire for vain glory, but from love of eternal felicitas; if they do not fail to offer to God for their sins the sacrifice of humility, submission, and prayer. Such Christian emperors we call felices, for the time being in hope, later in
- 15050 reality, when what we expect shall have come. (25) "For the good God, in order that men who believe that they must worship Him for eternal life, should not think that no one can obtain these earthly favors and kingdoms except by praying to idols - since these spirits have great power in such things - (the good God) has filled the emperor Constantine, who did not pray to idols but honored Him, the true God, with so many
- 15055 earthly gifts as no one would dare ask. He has allowed him to found a civitas next to the Roman empire as a daughter of Rome, but without any temple or image of the demons. He has reigned for a long time, as the only Augustus he has held and defended

the entire Roman world; in organizing and waging wars he has won the greatest victories, in suppressing tyrants (usurpers) he has been successful in all respects; in old age he died from illness and old age, leaving his sons as emperors. But again, in order that no emperor should be a Christian in order to obtain the felicitas of Constantine, since every one for the sake of eternal life must be a Christian, (God) took away Jovian much more quickly than Julian (Apostata); and suffered Gratian to be killed by the tyrannical sword, though much more gently than the great Pompey, who worshipped the so-called Roman gods. For Pompey could not be avenged by Cato, to whom he had, so to speak, bequeathed the civil war as a legacy. Yet Gratian, although pious souls do not ask for such consolations, was avenged by Theodosius, whom he had taken into his government as a partner, although he had a little brother, because he preferred a faithful ally to too great a (domestic) power".

The last chapter of the fifth book is then devoted to Theodosius as a Christian emperor.

The moral image that Augustine draws of the Felix Imperator here is prepared in the preceding book (IV 23), where he asked the question why the Romans, if Felicitas is a goddess, did not worship her independently, since she was nevertheless able to give everything and to make (man) happy in the shortest way.

"Why did Romulus himself, who wanted a happy state to found, did not erect a temple for her, and, for whatever, did not implore the other gods, since he lacked nothing if she only assisted him?" Powers of other gods were worshipped and when Felicitas finally came along, the republic did not go so well at all, perhaps, Augustine mocks, because Felicitas had come so late (2). Jupiter's kingdom also depends on Felicitas and "potior est felicitas regno", happiness is worth more than kingship. One easily finds a person who dreads becoming king; "nullus autem invenitur qui se nolit esse felicem", but there is no one who does not want to be Felix (3). Besides Felicitas, the other gods are in principle superfluous, from her alone one asks happiness, and no more from the others. What more could one wish for? But - and now the reasoning is reversed - "if Felicitas is not a goddess but - what she really is - is a gift from God, then one must seek that God who can give happiness and let go of the harmful troop of false gods who follow the stupid masses, make the gifts of God into gods for themselves and thereby offend Him Himself, whose gifts they are, through the resistance of their proud self-will. For one cannot escape infelicitas - misfortune - if one worships Felicitas as a goddess and abandons God, who is the giver of felicitas, any more than one can escape hunger if one licks a painted loaf of bread and does not ask it of the one who has one" (4).

Augustine was concerned with making known, in contrast to polytheism, the unknown God from whom felicitas comes, with whom man finds felicitas. He believed he could conclude that the Romans themselves believed that felicitas was given by a god whom they did not know (25).

The distinction is that between material happiness and windfalls on the one hand, entirely within the framework of this visible world, and which Augustine then lets coincide with what the Romans expect from their gods, and moral action on the other hand, through which emperors also show that they participate in the other world, now still in hope, one day in reality. It now lies undisturbed in this world. The difference between the two worlds would can be seen as the quality of existence.

Augustine is meanwhile critical enough not only to acknowledge that one can experience earthly happiness outside the kingdom of God, but also that one should not serve God in order to obtain the incomparable happiness that Constantine had - "as much good as no one would dare ask". It must be for eternal life, i.e. to do the kingdom of God. Earthly gifts are not the yardstick of God's favor. Augustine ends this entire period about the Christian emperors thus: All other honors or riches of this life God gives as He gives the whole world the light, the air, the earth, the water, the fruits, and the soul and body of man himself, his senses, spirit and life, to the good and to the evil; to this also belongs the greatness of the kingdom, which He awards with a view to the government that falls in time (in quibus est etiam

quaelibet imperii magnitudo, quam pro temporum gubernatione dispensat). We think here of Mt. 5:45, where it says that God makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good. This word makes it clear that it is extremely difficult to derive a judgment about someone's true felicitas from visible things. Here, as I referred to at the beginning, an important problem for our judgment about the leadership in world history comes to light. Augustine says that a person's felicitas depends on his participation in the vita aeterna, which is another way of saying the civitas dei. However, he also says that it does not help much to strive for it in a certain way, for example by imitating someone else; that is looking at it too narrowly. "Do from

des" does not apply here. Felicitas is not grasped, it is essentially a gift. God intended it for Constantine.

2. Julianus Apostata on Constantine

Half a century earlier, Julianus Apostata had written the satire *Symposion of Caesares* (361, in Constantinople), in which a number of emperors were allowed to unburden their consciences before the assembled gods to find a patron among them and then to see who of them would receive the prize of honor. Last up is Constantine, who is presented as a good warrior but otherwise as highly addicted to pleasure. While he recounts his heroic deeds to the gods, he keeps his gaze furtively fixed on Tryphe, the demon of luxury. Silenus asks him if he does not have any Adonis flowers with him, which bloom briefly and quickly wither, whereupon Constantine blushes in the realization that this might indeed be the case with his work. He admits that he wanted to raise money to satisfy the desires of himself and his friends. "Then you should have become a banker", Silenus mocked, "but you have lived like a pastry chef and a hairdresser, your hair and your delicious smell prove it". Constantine also no longer wore a beard like his predecessors and Julian, for whom the beard was the symbol of his philosophical pretensions, which makes one think of Horace: "sapientem pascere barbam". Of course, Constantine could not find support from any of the gods and so he sought his solace in Tryphe and Asotia, the debauchery, and there he also found Jesus, who called to him all who were seducers, murderers, sacrileges and rascals, with the promise to wash them clean immediately with this water - the baptismal water. "And if anyone is guilty of the same thing again, I will cleanse him again if he strikes his breast and forehead". Constantine went to him with his sons in good spirits, but the gods nevertheless punished them for their impiety and the bloodshed of their kinsmen, until Zeus granted them mercy for the sake of Claudius Gothicus (268-270) - from whom Constantine derived his descent - and of his father Constantius Chlorus.

The historical authority of Julian is entirely doubtful. To write a satire is everyone's right, but to give in it the representation of Constantine's flight to Christianity in 326 instead of 312 is unforgivable for a member of the dynasty himself, who could have known all about it. Nor is it easy to swallow what Julian wrote in his panegyrics on Constantius in 355 before he left for Gaul, and when he was there. In the extermination of the members of the dynasty - two uncles, seven nephews and some of the highest officials - Constantius, to whom Julian in his letter to the Athenians of 6 years later attributed all this, had spared him and his half-brother Gallus, from whom the title of Caesar was taken away. That Constantius did not trust Julian in the least, however, was evident from the limited military assignment that he was given to Gaul. That Julian was terribly afraid of Emperor Constantius is particularly evident from the same letter. He had always spared the great ruler in every respect and therefore, when he was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers themselves in Paris, he hesitated to accept this election. He asked Zeus for a sign, then modestly agreed: *ὡς ἰσάσιν οἱ θεοί, στένων της καρδίας*, and continued to call himself Caesar in his correspondence. Thus reality developed, but in the oration mentioned of 355, i.e. 18 years after the massacres of 337, he had still exuberantly praised the education of Constantius - although he was Christian - and his character: "it seemed as if Constantine himself was still present, in the government of his son" and of the son himself he said: *ἀρχὼν πρῶτος καὶ φιλανθρώπως* while his *δικαιοσύνης* was praised. Julianus found it praiseworthy that Constantius himself also praised his father. The fact that one is dealing here with only a panegyric cannot take away the fact that Julianus spoke against his conscience, and on top of that said that Constantius tried to imitate the divine nature on earth. He expressly added to this that he would not tell a lie instead of the truth, but the reader wonders how he could have gotten all this out of his pen. Julian then permits himself in another connection to call the church historian Eusebius a worthless author and to disparage Christianity with the worn-out terms *ἄθεότης* and *ἀποστασία*, "a malicious invention of the Galileans", while he himself adheres to the Hellenic tradition, the traditional order. Julian's criticism of Christianity in *Κατὰ Γαλιλαίων* is not impressive; it remains the judgment of an outsider and is partly not original either. The mocking description in *Caesares* of Jesus' constant readiness to forgive sins and cleanse the most impure people is reminiscent of the corresponding mockery in Celsus's *Λόγος ἀληθής*, two centuries earlier. In the sarcastic *Misopogon*, addressed to the Antiochenes, who had little time for him, Julianus proved himself unfit for the emperorship only with his reconstructed Hellenism, although he had managed to bring his own military deeds into the light. He had enough humour to ascribe to himself

- 15190 οὐδέν καλόν θέαμα, not a pretty sight in public (364D). Boissier's verdict on Julianus raisonnements was: subtils, obscurs, dialectiques, enseignement secret pour les privilégiés and on similar grounds Toynbee explains the failure of Julianus' artificial intellectual undertakings. The biographer Julianus is certainly not convincing.
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- 15200 Julian was the first of the pagan historians or cultural critics to express the view that with Constantine's conversion to Christianity the great turning point in the history of the Roman Empire had begun, which was taken over by Ammianus Marcellinus, while the writers who came after them, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, the Anonymus Valesianus and the author of the Epitome, seem to underestimate the Christian conversion as a historical phenomenon. Zosimus called the murders and the subsequent conversion of Constantine the beginning of impiety (ἀρχήν της άσεβείας). He took over this motif for the downfall of the Roman empire, and the image of Constantine as created by Julian, in his Historia nova a century later, called him someone who had surrendered his life to Tryphe, and connected Constantine's conversion with his remorse over the death of Crispus, his eldest son from his first marriage, and of his second wife Fausta; the death of Licinius Jr. is not mentioned. The chronological confusion in the sloppy story, the importance of which F. Paschoud recently attempted to demonstrate, is almost inextricable. It comes down to this: Constantine could find no help for atonement for his crimes from pagan priests, but an Egyptian from Spain, who had managed to get through to the ladies of the court, told him that the doctrine of the Christians could wipe away all crime and that the evildoer who accepted it was immediately freed from all sin (άμαρτία) (II 29, 3-5). Constantine then took the decisive step, took no further part in the sacrifice for Jupiter on the Capitoline, and thereby immediately incurred the hatred of the Senate and the people of Rome. The confusion lies in the fact that Zosimus places Constantine's conversion in 326, while the military ceremony in Rome should be placed in 312, after Constantine's victory over Maxentius. Everyone could have known that Constantine had accepted Christianity long before 326, and also that he had been welcomed with jubilation as a liberator in Rome in 312. Yet this story, as appears from the Church History of Sozomenus, who wrote half a century before Zosimus (439-450), was more or less the usual version of Constantine's conversion in pagan circles. According to Photius, Bibl. cod. 98, Zosimus had read Eunapius of Sardis, who wrote even earlier, around 400, and who may have borrowed Roman data from the Annals of Nicomachus Flavianus. If so, these were bad or he made bad use of them. Sozomenus tells the story differently again. Constantine is said to have heard from the philosopher Sopatros, who was his friend at the time, that there was no reconciliation possible for crimes such as his. A chance meeting with bishops then brought the emperor to Christianity. But Sozomenus himself did not believe this. It seems to me, he says, that this has been invented by those who wish to slander the Christian religion, and he continues: "even if we assume that the emperor spoke to Sopatros or inquired of him by letter about his desire (for reconciliation), it is certainly still very improbable that the philosopher would not have known that Hercules, son of Alcmene, was purified at Athens by the mysteries of Demeter, after the slaughter of his children and after the murder of Iphitos, whom he killed in spite of all justice while he was his host and friend. Since, then, the Greeks had to offer purifications for sins of this kind, this is sufficient to expose the lie of those who have invented that Sopatros would have said the opposite; for I, for my part, would not dare to assert that the man who was then the most famous among the Greeks for his knowledge, did not know these things." To make the confusion even greater, Zosimus also links to his story the statement that Constantine showed his impiety by suspecting and prohibiting the μαντική, the haruspicium, because it could be used in a hostile way against him (II 29, 4). We know, however, that the provisions against the haruspicina date back to 319 and 320. According to Zosimus, Constantine took part in the parade in awe of his soldiers at Rome, but, warned by the "Egyptian" that a φάσμα, an apparition, disapproved of the ascent of the Capitol, he was able to withdraw in time from further participation in the sacrifice. Paschoud calls the whole story "une construction mensongère élaborée avec des renseignements exacts". We can do little with it, but we do learn from it how the pagan world in the fourth centuries later thought of Emperor Constantine: not the "abstentissimus imperator" of the panegyricus Nazarius forty years earlier (Panegy. X (4), XXXIV), but: an unstable and immoral man, a murderer, for whom no reconciliation was conceivable and who therefore converted to Christianity. For the sake of comparison I add the picture that Aurelius Victor gives of Constantine. "From his youth his powerful mind burned with desire to rule" (Caes. 40, 2). He was incredibly fond of praise. He adorned his princely
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garments with precious stones and his head always with the diadem. But in many things he acted excellently: with very strict laws he restrained slander, he promoted the bonae artes, especially the study of letters, he wrote laws himself and thought about them, responded to legations and complaints from the provinces. A mocker rather than a flatterer. The common people called him Trachala (thick-necked): during the first 10 years of his life excellent, the next 12 years a robber (latro = usurper?), the last 10 years childish and so called because of his excessive waste (Epitome 41, 11-16). Aurelius Victor has not a word to say about religion. It is remarkable that so soon after the event, the chronology of Constantine's transition was so little established. Zosimus mentions as an intermediary in the transition an Egyptian (or someone called Aegyptios), from Spain. Cardinal Baronius in his Annales ecclesiastici in the year 324 has assumed for certain that this must have been Ossius or Hosius, bishop of Cordova. The great importance of this adviser of Constantine in ecclesiastical affairs - who has been compared with the "imperial minister in charge of ecclesiastical affairs" and with the cardinal secretary of state - is well known and his American biographer De Clercq also assumes this in the conversion of Constantine, before or in 312, to be precise, but he cannot do anything with the designation. Constantine himself, Eusebius and Lactantius do not mention him in this connection.

3. Constantine's conversion to Christianity

We have essentially the two stories of Constantine's conversion, one as he himself is said to have told it to Eusebius, who included it in his Vita Constantini, I 27-29, the other in Lactantius' De morte persecutorum. Under oath, but long after the fact, Constantine told Eusebius how, before he went to fight Maxentius for Rome, he had deliberated which god he would choose as an ally. His polytheistic predecessors had usually been disappointed, but his father, who had chosen the opposite path, had found a true protector in the one true God. (28) He therefore humbly prayed to this God to reveal to him who He was and to help him, and then, in the afternoon, he saw in the sky a luminous cross (σταυρου τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτός συνιστάμενον above the sun, with the words: τοῦτω νικά. The army with which he was marching also observed the phenomenon. (29) He did not understand it, but the following night Christ, the Son of God, appeared to him in a dream with the same sign that he had seen in the sky, who commanded him to copy it and to use it as ἄλμα, protection, when confronting the enemy. (30) The next morning he orders his goldsmiths and jewelers to prepare this. Eusebius connects this (31) with the description of the λάβαρον which consisted of a cross-shaped lance with the Christ monogram in a wreath at the top, a banner on the crossbar and the images of the emperor and his sons; all made very expensively. Especially from this last we see that Eusebius is also confused with history, because Constantine did not yet have sons in 312; he apparently saw a much later copy of the labarum, after 325. The whole story seems distorted and we do not know from which time it is. In his book De morte persecutorum (On the death of the persecutors), which was certainly written before 321, possibly 318/9, Lactantius describes the event more briefly and without mentioning an informant. His text reads: "The anniversary of Maxentius' reign was at hand, namely October 27 [312], on which the five years were completed. In his sleep Constantine was admonished to apply the heavenly sign of God to the shields and thus to fight. He does as he is commanded and with the letter X, crossed out with [sign] of which the upper end was bent over, he indicates Christ on the shields. Protected by this sign the army takes up arms". Ranke gave a different interpretation, namely that Constantine allowed his soldiers to put the monogram on their shields - if it was the monogram at all. Both stories differ from each other and show similarities. The main thing is that the story in Eusebius begins with the cross and that Constantine did not understand the meaning of this, while Lactantius speaks directly of the monogram of Christ. The main similarity is the dream. In his addition Eusebius also comes to speak about the monogram. We feel that we are on shaky ground here. Especially because Eusebius in his Historia ecclesiastica, which appeared in several editions, the last in 325, does not mention the vision, while there is room for it, and it would even have been necessary, especially where he compares the nature of Constantine's victory over Maxentius with the passage of the people of Israel through the Red Sea with God's help (IX 8, 4-8). The panegyrici of 312 and 321 do not mention it either. The highly critical Belgian Byzantinologist Henri Grégoire - who rejected the entire Vita Constantini as the work of Eusebius - sought the origin of the legend in the VIIe Panegyrie. This was pronounced in Trier in 310 after the downfall of Maximianus, Constantine's father-in-law, who had been guilty of foolish policy and treason. Gibbon could not contradict this last point, but did note that it would have

been more humane of Constantine not to have let it get that far. "But the actions of Constantine were guided by reason and not by resentment". Constantine visited a temple of Apollo at Autun (Autessiodorum) and saw the god himself there, who, accompanied by Victoria, offered him laurel wreaths, each a sign of thirty years, so-called "vota publica", as they appear on coins and medals. Lactantius is said to have given this a Christian meaning and Constantine himself accepted the way in which the X - ten years - was applied to the shields as a symbol that the Christians were welcome without in the least deterring the Pagans. This resembles the interpretation of Ranke mentioned above. Grégoire was very sure of himself; according to him, religion had nothing to do with the struggle between Constantine and Maxentius. "Tout est dit sur la victoire couronnante de Saxa Rubra ou du Pont Milvius. Tout est dit, sauf peut-être la vérité". This "verity" indeed includes the fact that the panegyrics do not mention the vision. The IXth, from 313, after the event, pronounced at Trier, says: "Habes profecto aliquod cum illa mente divina, Constantine, secretum, quae delegata nostri diis minoribus cura uni se tibi dignatur ostendere", you, Constantine, certainly have some secret communication with the divine spirit, who leaves the care of us to the lower deities and deigns to reveal himself to you alone, a statement that from a distance might remind one of Augustine's argument about the felicitas. But there is nothing Christian in this panegyric. That of Nazarius from 321, would lead one to expect something different, because this orator himself came into contact with Christianity. He is at length about the military deeds of Constantine, likes to play with the past, lets the Dioscuri (XV 4), Fortuna (XXVII), Fama and Victoria (XXXII 4) play their part, on the other hand knows a caelestis favor (II 6), a divinitas (XIII 5), caelestis exercitus (XXIX 1 2), who support the emperor as a general, but whom the human eye does not see. The religious value of the following passage VII 3-4 is difficult to determine precisely: "From on high God looks down on us as judge and, although the human mind has its depths in which it hides its thoughts, the divinitas nevertheless penetrates there to search them out completely and it is impossible that the divine power, which gives us the spirit by which we live and so many good gifts with which we nourish ourselves, should withdraw itself from the cares of the world and make no distinction between the behavior of the people whose lives it provides for". And so on. Perhaps there is something Christian in these words: "dubitare quisquam potest te per omnia subnixum deo vadere?" (X 18,4), can anyone doubt that you advance in all circumstances trusting in God? Who that God is, is not specified. When he describes in detail the battle against Maxentius, Nazarius - in 321, that is - appears to know nothing of the vision of Christ; he speaks only of the military skill of Constantine and the fighting power of his army. "Fulget nobilis galea et corusca luce gemmarum divinum verticem monstrat. Auro clipeus, auro arma collucet" (XXIX 5): Your noble helmet shines and with the flickering light of precious stones it adorns your divine head. Your shield gleams with gold, your weapons flash with gold. Not a word about the cross or the monogram of Christ. With the panegyrici we do not get any further than this neutral transitional thought and language. With the Christian authors the vision occurs late or not at all.

That Constantine believed to have won the victory over Maxentius under the protection or through the power of the cross on 27 October 312 and to have brought Rome under his power and liberated it, is confirmed in the meantime by the report of Eusebius about the statue of the emperor, which with "the victory sign of the saving suffering", that is, the cross, in the right hand, was placed on the most crowded place in Rome. Constantine had this inscription put on it: "By this saving sign, the proof of true courage, I have liberated your city, torn from the yoke of the tyrant, and with this freedom I have also restored the Senate and the people of Rome to their old glory and splendor". In the Vita Constantini (I 40) it is worded somewhat differently: In the middle of the imperial city he had this sign of victory (τρόπαιον) over his enemies erected and expressly engraved in it with indelible letters: this salutary sign as protection (φυλακτήριον) of the Roman empire and the entire empire. He immediately had a long lance in the form of a cross (σταυρου σχήματι) placed in the hand of his own statue in the most crowded place in Rome and ordered this inscription to be engraved in it in his own words in Latin: these are literally the same words. Eusebius wanted to tell us that Constantine had the salutary sign of the cross placed in many places, of which the statue in Rome is the most important example. In the Laus Constantini (IX 40) this general frame of thought returns, specified in this later developed sense, that he taught the people with it that not military power but God is the giver of all good and in particular of victory. The inscription is missing here. We find this in the Latin translation of Eusebius' church history by Rufinus as follows: "quia in hoc singulari signo, quod

est verae virtutis insigne (badge), urbem Romam senatumque et populum Romanum iugo tyrannicae dominationis ereptam pristinae libertati nobilitatique restitui". The difference with the Greek text is that Rufinus speaks of the sign of true bravery and Eusebius of the true sign of bravery; Rufinus will probably have the correct text. The statue with the cross as an attribute signified Constantine's recognition of the God who had given him victory, the first statue of an emperor holding a standard himself, according to Alföldi. Eusebius tells us that Constantine, thanks to his innate piety (ἐμπυτος εὐσεβεία) was not at all so keen on the applause of the people and was not at all haughty because of it, but rather was grateful to the giver of the victory (h.e. IX 9, 10; V.C. I 39,3, Heikel I, p. 26, 11-15), hence the statue in this form.

On the occasion of the Decennalia, which Constantine celebrated in Rome in 315, the triumphal arch, still in its original state, was consecrated to him by the Senate, the second important monument. The inscription reads: "IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO P. F. AUGUSTO SPQR QUOD INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS MENTIS MAGNITUDE CUM EXERCITU SUO TAM DE TYRANNO QUAM DE OMNI EIUS FACTIONE UNO TEMPORE JUSTIS REMPUBLICAM ULTUS EST ARMIS ARCUM TRIUMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAUIT" (C.LL. VI, 1139). The tyrant refers to Maxentius, who must have had a significant following (factio). Constantine's arms restored a better legal situation (iustis armis). And that happened "instinctu divinitatis mentis magnitudine", at the inspiration of the deity and thanks to his greatness of mind. We cannot say what influence Constantine himself exercised on the wording of the inscription. The words "instinctu divinitatis" may be his. A. Alföldi compares in the Vita Constantini III 12, 3, the emperor's opening speech to the Synod of Nicaea, 325. In it the emperor recalls his victories over the enemies thanks to the beck (will) and assistance of the Almighty (νευμάτων καὶ συνεργεία του κρείττονος, Heikel, p. 82, 27). This is then, ten years later, still a corresponding, one might almost say lasting terminology, which leaves open the possibility of thinking of divinitas or ὁ κρείττων (or τό θεῖον), although nameless, as the God of the Christians. More specificity cannot be extracted from it. According to L'Orange, the "dei militares", under whose protection Constantine's army had marched against Maxentius, were Sol Invictus and Victoria: this pair of gods is depicted three times on the frieze and pedestal reliefs of the arch. In the eastern passage, the bust of Sol Invictus is located directly opposite Constantine. L'Orange then wants to interpret the abstract "divinitas" of the large inscription on the basis of these concrete representations. The inscription can only mean that divinitas which the reliefs of the arch really present to us. The "Sol Invictus Aeternus Augustus" - as he also appears on coins - reveals himself in the emperor. In the form and with the gesture of the Sun God, the raised right hand, he stands before the viewer. L'Orange believes that these images of the cosmic powers Sol (and Luna) fit "reibunglos" into the new, beginning Christian world of thought, the end of which is the metamorphosis of the entire ancient world, under the rising of a new sun, namely the Sol Iustitiae above the Sol Invictus.

4. The consolidation of Constantine's transition
With all this in mind, we must not imagine that after the conquest of Rome by Constantine under the sign of Christ, cross or monogram, everything in the entire imperial and religious life and thought was immediately set on hairs and strings. There is a single, increasingly firmly working starting point, but otherwise we observe a kind of tolerant or liberal, sometimes almost neutral policy. This fixed starting point is the acceptance by Constantine of Christ as his patron god in the field. We shall have to accept this historical form, even if it costs us some effort. Around that also the whole style of the panegyrici with their big words, their glorying in bloody victories, no more persecutions of Christians, but cruel punishments - the disgusting messing about with the head of Maxentius, which reminds us of the same with the head of Gaspard de Coligny - magnificent animal games and then again clemency towards the vanquished, all that seems as pagan as possible. The statues and the triumphal arch are Roman and not evangelical. The only change is that complete religious tolerance now prevails in the empire. Between the two inscriptions of 312 and 315 falls the decision for tolerance of 313. We know it from two texts, by Eusebius and by Lactantius in the form of executive decrees, which go back to discussions between Constantine and Licinius, Augustus of the East, which were held in Milan in February 313, where Licinius married Constantine's stepsister, Constantia. The starting point is complete freedom of religion for Christians and all others, without any disturbance or molestia, and indeed so that the "summa divinitas, whose religio - veneration - we serve in

spiritual freedom, may grant us her favor and goodwill in everything". This "summa divinitas" had been described as broadly and vaguely as possible a few lines earlier as "quidquid est divinitatis in se de caelesti", whatever divinity is enthroned in heaven. Now in April 311 Galerius, as Augustus of the second tetrarchy, had already issued a toleration edict a few days before his death, also in the name of Constantine, which allowed everyone to be Christians again and to restore the church buildings "provided that they would do nothing against good order". The Christians were ordered "to pray to their God for our salvation and that of the state and of themselves, so that the state may prosper in every respect and they may live safely in their own places". With this palinodia [=withdrawal] an end had already been put to the last great persecutions, which Galerius had instigated Emperor Diocletian, but which had failed in their effect. "Their own God" (τοὺς ἑαυτῶν θεόν) is actually more clearly defined in this text than in that of 313, which speaks of the summa divinitas or whatever lives in heaven. It seems to indicate an attempt to create as gradual a transition as possible from Roman to Christian concepts in the new text of 313. No explicit contrast, where it can still be avoided.

This can also be read from the money that was put into circulation. The small change often reflects the political situation. At the beginning of our period, the coins of Constantius Chlorus and Constantine often show Mars as a Gallic deity and later, apparently as a personal choice of Constantine, Sol Invictus. Around 319, however, the gods slowly begin to disappear from the special productions. Licinius mints a coin for the last time with an emperor making a sacrifice. A cautious line is maintained, only in certain editions do Christian elements penetrate, which only become dominant towards the end of Constantine's life. According to von Schoenebeck, while A. Alföldi already starts the Christian symbolism, in particular the Christ monogram, earlier. He explains the star on the emperor's helmet that appears on a silver coin from Trier, 312/313, as a simplified Christ monogram. From 315 dates a silver penny from Ticinum (Pavia), which clearly shows the monogram XP on the emperor's helmet and above the left shoulder the scepter, i.e. a cross with the globe on it. From 320 onwards the vexillum appears and from 326 dates a special edition that shows the labarum, as Eusebius describes it, with the legend urn: "spes publica". The conclusion is that the money was only gradually Christianized, if one may express it that way. It should not be imagined that the coin dies could be changed from one day to the next. The emperor did, however, concern himself with many large and small coins in various cities; the official images of the "sacra vestis" were very important. Here, a two-sidedness, promoted by the loss of content and meaning of the old religious symbols, can be repeatedly observed; they were, so to speak, harmless. From Sirmium, the capital of Illyricum, a Constantine solidus is known, in which Constantine is depicted with the labarum and protected by the Sun God. Syncretism in Constantine's thinking certainly does not mean this. It is one of those unimportant but understandable phenomena, which did not disturb his cautious policy.

A similar picture is provided by Constantine's legislation. Admiring contemporaries declare that the exceptionally gifted emperor personally collaborated on the formulation. Until the end of his life Constantine did not issue an absolute ban on the adherence to and practice of pagan religions, although Eusebius does speak of the demolition of temples. The first law is from his son Constantius, 341 (Cod. Theod. XVI 10, 2), with the bold words: "cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania". He was convinced that he was acting in accordance with the "lex divi principis parentis nostri". Now we do not know of such a formal law of Constantine himself, so that the words must have been those of the compilers of the Codex Theodosianus. But it may be assumed with certainty that for them and for Constantius this law of 341 was the inevitable realization of Constantine's unspoken wishes. All the more interesting in this later light is the cautious development in the very frequent legislative work of Constantine. A few examples from the larger whole must suffice. In 313 Constantine began to grant privileges, such as exemption from "munera civilia", to clerics of the Catholic Church, who were placed on an equal footing with state priests and officials. He did not grant this freedom to clerics of the Donatist schism, only to "Catholics" and, moreover, in the long run he took measures against the profiting from these commercial, and not for personal advantage, privileges (Cod. Theod. XVI 2, 1, of 313, October 31; cf. Eusebius, h.e. X 7, 1.2; X 6, 1-5; Cod. Theod. XVI 2, 2, of 319, October 21; XVI 2, 3, of 320, July 18; XVI 2, 4, of 321, July 3; XVI 2, 6, of 326, June 1; XVI 2, 7, of 330, February 5 4 • In 315 the sentence to participate in the gladiatorial games was still a punishment (Cod. Theod. IX 18, 1) and games in general continued to exist under certain restrictions (XV 12,1, of 325, October 1), gladiatorial games were later completely forbidden,

15520 although even then without sufficient effect: for Valentinian I and Valens again forbade condemning Christians to the games (IX 40, 8, of 365, January 15). In 316 the first law appeared, which made the manumissio of slaves possible before the clergy and church community, followed by further extension in accordance with the increasing public authority of the clergy (IV 8, 1a, of 316, June 8, cf. 1, of 321, April 18 and

15525 Cod. Just. VII 1, 4). Of even more far-reaching importance is the regulation of the "episcopalis audientia", the decision of which was "pro sanctis habeatur", i.e. episcopal jurisdiction without appeal, to which each party could force the other in civil cases even against their will (Cod. Theod. I 27, of 318, June 23; Const. Sirm. of 333, May 5). This jurisdiction, according to Dörries, paved a way out of the

15530 snares of 1001 legal provisions and promoted the finding of the truth with the authority of religion, the "superna potentia", which the "secreta pectoris" knows how to discover. With this correct point of view, Dörries somewhat weakens his own starting point, that this jurisdiction was not so much intended to combat corruption: it was. The two arguments are difficult to separate. The "episcopalis audientia"

15535 already existed before Constantine. That the constitution in question may be regarded as an important testimony to the personal religious attitude of the emperor, one can agree with Dörries. The first Sunday laws, which prescribed rest at courts, because there was fighting there, and for the craftsmen - because they seemed to make so much noise - are from 321 (Cod. Theod. II 8, 1a and) and speak of the "venerabilis dies solis", the day to which "veneratio" is due, i.e. the Christian Sunday. It is also called the day of salvation, day of light and day of the sun (V.C. IV 18, 3, Heikel p. 124, 19) and as late as 409 it occurs:

15540 Dominica die, quam vulgo solis appellant (Cod. Theod. I 8, 25). Farmers remained free to harvest if necessary, in view of the weather conditions. Conversion from Judaism was welcomed (Cod. Theod. XVI 8, 1, of 315, October 18; Const. Sirm. IV, of 336, October 21); the terminology is that the convert opens himself "ianuam vitae perpetuae". Favourable provisions were made for full-time patriarchae vel presbyteri of synagogues so that they could properly perform their office; the Jewish religion was recognised as a "lex" and permitted, but renegotiation from Christianity to

15550 Judaism was not. The strongest prohibition was the haruspicinia, which was a "praeterita usurpatio" (Cod. Theod. IX 16, 1.2.3. of 321 or 324 and 319; XVI of 10, 1 of 320 or 321, December 17). An exception was only made for the investigation following lightning strikes in the palace or other public buildings; this was considered an old

15555 consuetudo, a "mos veteris observantiae". A good illustration of the paganism that still dominated in the army can be found in the acclamation of "praefecti, tribuni et viri eminentissimi" to the emperor: "Auguste Constantine, dii te nobis servant: vestra salus nostra salus: vere dicimus, iurati dicimus". Unfortunately, this text cannot be dated; the years 326 and 320, but also 316 or earlier are mentioned;

15560 certainly after 312. Constantine will not have made too much objection to this polytheistic acclamation; in the Codex Justinianus it is nevertheless Christianized and reads there: "deus te nobis servet". More important is that the emperor uses these words in a provision with which he facilitates the rapprochement with himself: may the "summa divinitas" always be gracious to me and preserve me unharmed, as I

15565 desire, while the state is in a happy and flourishing condition (Cod. Theod. IX 1, 4, of 325, September 14). This text is from 325, the year of the Council of Nicaea, which dealt with pointed theological questions, in which the emperor himself chose a certain position. The term: "summa divinitas" as a general designation of God with the omission of a name, therefore, as has already been noted, does not occur only in

15570 the earliest or in the pre-Christian period of Constantine. In a constitution already mentioned, which forbade making things difficult for a Jew who converted to Christianity, these words appear: we trust that everyone through love for the deity, "divinitatis affectu", will be safe in the entire Roman empire, while the honour due to us remains assured (Const. Sirm. IV, of 336, October 21). This text, which renews

15575 an older one, is from the last year of Constantine's life. He gave protection to both a free Christian and a pagan slave, without discrimination. Dörries considers it characteristic of Constantine's way of thinking that a prospective Christian thus enjoys God's protection within the framework of the state order, of which the recognition or veneration of the emperor is the main pillar. The remark is important,

15580 but we doubt whether a different way of thinking and practice would have been possible for the Roman statesman who had become or was becoming a Christian. This need not be understood as a personal, excessive desire for power, self-overestimation or ὑβρις. It is rather an expression of Constantine's sense of calling. However conscious he was of this, he at the same time sets limits to imperial absolutism:

15585 decisions once established are not arbitrarily replaced by others (Cod. Theod. IV

(17), 1 Mommsen IV 16, 1, of 319, December 26). Policy, method and a good feeling for living tradition show themselves again and again. "Consuetudo" and "usus longaevus" are attributed "non vilis auctoritas" (Cod. Theod. V 27, 1, of 319, April 24). Again, we cannot say which words here are explicitly Constantine's own. The general train of thought in the legislation remains thoroughly Roman. There is, if we cannot now keep our own standards of feeling out of the judgment, a certain degree of Christian humanization and moralization in the legislation to be recognized, but there are also hard elements in it, as we have already noticed in the panegyrics, and which we should not criticize with modern sentiment. The total picture is that of a profound change of thinking, which, however, does not disturb the forms where preservation is still possible. With this limitation, one can agree with Carl Andresen's judgment that after the victory over Maxentius all political measures were imperatively prescribed by the situation. Because the unity of the empire was the emperor's great aspiration, he also acted accordingly with the new religion. He had gained an understanding of another world.

5. Controlled policy

That is a characteristic of Constantine's government. The great and unassailable place occupied by the church in it is clearly shown by the application of the complete tolerance which had been granted to Christendom - the great theme of Eusebius' jubilation in the tenth book of his Church History -; secondly, by Constantine's attitude towards Donatism in Africa; and thirdly, by his conduct in the Melitian and the strife caused by Arius, both in Egypt. As for complete tolerance, this term seems too weak in the case of an emperor who personally chose for the church. But it is appropriate because he was the Augustus of the pagan Roman empire. Thus he decided that the church should recover all its possessions, and that the servants of the church should have exemption from munera civilia in order to be able to perform their ecclesiastical service without hindrance. Christianity takes its place in the political whole, insofar as worship is public and even promoted, but without the church playing a role as a political instrument; it remains under its own order. Instrument, and indeed in God's hand, Constantine feels himself, between state and church. When Donatism appears in the province of Africa, calls for the emperor's intervention against the Catholic authority in the church and the emperor responds, he regulates, organizes and orders the procedure, but this takes place entirely according to ecclesiastical order. When the Donatists do not like the course of events and they appeal to the emperor himself, the latter answers to the council of Arles (314): "They demand my judgment while I myself await the judgment of Christ", by which Constantine meant the pronouncement of the council. How deep ecclesiastical disputes tend to be, because they simply have religious roots, Constantine has underestimated in the matter of Donatism, but also in the matter of the third point, especially the Arian struggle. In all cases he cared about the unity of those who provided the worship recognized as lawful. Public worship was a central issue in Constantine's Roman Christianity. He did not dominate the church. From the beginning we repeatedly find the term ὁ συνθεράπων ὑμῶν, your fellow servant, as he positions himself next to, not above, the bishops. It sounds modest, and it is, and should in no way give the impression that the emperor, who was still a catechumen and unbaptized, fulfills a function in the church comparable to that of the bishops; fellow servant means less than this. With the words θεράπων γνήσιος one should not think of the church but of God: Your true servant. When one quotes Constantine's famous statement to the bishops: ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν εἰσὼ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἔκτος ὑπο θεοῦ καθεσταμένους ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἶην you are bishop over those within, I am appointed by God as bishop over those outside the Church, then the word "bishop", overseer, is clearly used the second time in a figure of speech, nothing more. In no case is it meant that the real bishops were entitled to the government of the church, and the non-real bishop, the emperor, only to the management of the goods of the church, as was previously thought. A serious underestimation of the theological problems - which can hardly be attributed to Ossius as Constantine's ecclesiastical advisor - is already apparent from the first imperial letter to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria and Arius from words such as: not at all worthy of such great hostility, small and insignificant cause, useless analysis, etc. Constantine found in his annoyance at this that insufficient thought had been given; questions such as those now being raised should have been postponed and not answered, certainly not in public. The council of Nicaea was then convened by the emperor to discuss these controversial issues. It cannot be said that he dominated this, but it can be said that the church listened to him - until he himself later came under the influence of the Arians. His aim was to do εὐταξία, ἔνωσις and ὁμόνεια, πίστις εἰρήνη. If

necessary, the emperor threatened police intervention against ἀταξία. His impulsive character often led him to use harsh insults in his letters, as one encounters everywhere in the polemics of that time. But the demand to obey his ὅροι is then again essentially specified: ἀκολουθῶς τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ καὶ ἀποστολικῷ κἀνόνι, in accordance with the ecclesiastical and apostolic rule. In summary, Seeck has rightly said that Constantine could have seized power over the church, but did not do so and did not want to. In the church he encountered that other world, which no people, not even the emperor, have at their disposal.

6. Attempt at interpretation

So far some generally known facts from many. Now the theory - if it can be found. In his famous commentary on the adage: Dulce bellum inexpertis Erasmus makes the simple and lucid remark: "mundus habebat su as leges antequam exoriretur euangelium", the world had its own laws before the Gospel appeared. Herein were rooted the difficulties of the encounter between world and Gospel, between the Roman Empire and Christianity. With these words it is also explained as simply as clearly how one should weigh the task to which Constantine felt called. One can also extend them to the idea that world and Gospel both have and keep their own laws. In his Apologeticum Tertullian said around 195 that Pontius Pilate was a Christian in his heart and reported everything about Christ to the emperor. To this unhistorical statement, which already occurs in Justin Martyr, he links the remark: even the emperors would have believed in Christ, if they were not necessary to the world or if they could have been emperor and Christian at the same time. This is the main problem that will occupy us now. "Nothing is so foreign to us as politics". With the Christianization of the Roman Empire, begun by Constantine the Great, the validity of this statement of Tertullian seems to end. Unless one argues that Constantine's conversion to Christianity and Christianization also became the downfall of the Roman Empire, as Julian the Apostate and Zosimus taught. Gibbon argued at the end of chapter 14 of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire that the wars, accompanying the autocracy of Constantine, did much to weaken the empire by the great cost in blood and money and the constant increase in military burdens. He spoke of a revolution, of which the foundation of Constantinople and the establishment of the Christian religion were the immediate and memorable consequences, the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire. What really happened and what was going on in Constantine himself? People have often tried to penetrate into the religious life of Constantine and to form a picture of the probable phases in his religious conviction, wrote Jakob Burckhardt at the beginning of the last chapter of Die Zeit Konstantins des Grossen (1852). "This is a completely superfluous Mühe", he continues: "in a man of genius, to whom ambition and lust for power grant not an hour of rest, there can be no question of Christianity or paganism, of conscious religious or irreligious disposition: such a person is essentially completely irreligious, even if he imagines himself to be in the midst of a church community. He knows the sacred only as a vague memory or superstitious temptation". After having once again rejected Eusebius as a reliable source for the knowledge of Constantine, Burckhardt then speaks in a great paradox of: "the moronic egoists, who demand the great merit, understand Christianity as a world power and then treat it as such". Otto Seeck - antipode of Burckhardt, as Stähelin says - (1921) has in his Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt a very critical chapter on Christianity as a doctrine, a particularly bad caricature, but nevertheless draws a highly plausible picture of Constantine as a Christian and explains his historical position with this principle: "Whoever has the sow for the master, is always anxious and must be, because otherwise his profession is to be revealed". H.-I. Marrou recently stated that the historian would like to be able to make clear the connection between Constantine's very important political decisions, his personal convictions and his inner development. Unfortunately, he says, it is easier to formulate hypotheses in this regard than to state precise and established facts. It is from Constantine's sense of calling that one must, I think, start, acknowledge it, let it be in its place and apply it in order to understand him in his career. Whatever forms it took in practice, in any case there lay the gateway of the other world into his life and thought. He himself repeatedly gave expression to it. A letter to Bishop Alexander and Arius begins as follows: In the first place, it was my endeavor to unite the conception of God of all peoples into one form, in the second place to restore and harmonize the entire oikoumene, which lay prostrate as if in a serious illness. These things I endeavored to achieve, one with the inner eye of insight, the other to bring about by the power of the army, in the knowledge that, if I could bring about unanimity for all God's servants according to my wishes (εὐχαίς), the state would also be as the fruit thereof would reap a change in keeping with all

pious insights. He saw himself as an instrument (ἡμετέρα ὑπηρεσία) and regarded this service (δῶρον) as a gift entrusted to him (δωρον). He was not and did not see himself as God on earth, but as his servant. It is perhaps not out of place to think of the lines: "But God shall govern me as a good instrument". Or of the wise saying of Augustine, that the just man who seems to command, in reality serves (De civ. dei XIX 14). This is an evaluation completely contrary to the coarseness of Voltaire: "Si l'on pense, que Constantin fit tout servir à ce qu'il crut son intérêt, on ne se trompera pas". In truth, ecclesiastical politics was an indispensable or separable element in, and inspiration for, his politics, and this complex whole was a divine assignment for him. Among German-writing church historians, this difficult-to-analyze structure has given rise to speak of "reichskatholische Kirche", "reichskatholische Theologie". The objection to this is that these terms can give the impression that the empire or the state constitutes the norm of the church and determines theology. That was precisely not the case under Constantine. A rendering of the German terminology that does not cause misunderstanding in Dutch is not easy to find; one must resort to a description: the church and theology recognized (or accepted) by the emperor and the empire, perhaps one can briefly say: the public or official church and theology, which is not pretty, however, and is too reminiscent of the position of the Reformed Church during the Republic of the United Netherlands. Only Justinian treated the Christian faith as the "empire ideology" more than Constantine and even more than Theodosius, not fundamentally different, but with rare consistency and this must always be clear in the words that we use for the different periods. That consequence certainly changed what Constantine did. In fact, it was not a linear, evolving consequence, but new, uncontrolled elements of power had entered into it. Constantine, who always showed that he wanted to respect tradition and maintain continuity, governed with a controlled policy. But he governed firmly. It has been said that he never lost a battle. What Emperor Valens said to the bishops at the Synod of Milan in 355: ὅπερ ἐγὼ βουλομαι τοῦτο κανὼν, ἔλεγε νομιζεσθῶ, you must regard my will as ecclesiastical law, was never said by Constantine, that was not his theory. As an emperor, however, he was irresistible. To quote Seeck again, whose critical judgment no one will underestimate: autocracy was more forced upon Constantine than he pursued it, "the Sultanism, which the man he accuses has, lays his nature all the way far". Eusebius sketches certain features of Constantine's character in the words: το στερρον του τρόπου τη συμφύτω φιλανθρωπία κερασόμενος "he mixed an inflexible sternness with an innate humanity, and with an understanding of the psychological problem of religious change. Since the κοινωνία was so precious to him, the emperor did not want anyone to make it difficult for his neighbor. "Everyone keeps what his soul desires, and let him live accordingly." But Constantine also prays that these may have the θυμηδίων, the inner joy may be received. And then literally in the long letter to the provinces against polytheism: "No one may harm another by what he has accepted with conviction. What one has learned and understood, he may serve the other if possible; if it is impossible, he shall refrain from it. For it is one thing to fight for immortality voluntarily, another to force it by punishment. That is my opinion, I have explained it more fully than I intended, because I did not want to hide my belief in the truth, especially since some, as I hear, say that the customs of the temples and the power of darkness are now over. I would like to wish that for all people. If only the great resistance of the evil error had not, to the detriment of the common good, become immeasurably fixed in the hearts of some".

All these and many more varied expressions - and actions - of Constantine are only nuances in his policy. This shows no real hesitations, rather a firm conviction, but also the admirable insight into, or at least feeling of Constantine for, what he could do as emperor and where the limits of the possible were set by the hard reality.

We have already heard from Gibbon that Constantine's actions were governed more by reason than by resentment. The serious reproaches that were made to the statesman and the Christian Constantine at all times, concern in the first place his warfare, or, more precisely, the use he made of the cross, of the monogram of Christ, which was shown on the armor and carried as labarum (λάβραρον) by a very distinguished standard guard before the troops. Here lies for many the fall of Christianity, it is the sting of the unnatural combination of Gospel and world in the dominant form of the Roman Empire. Historically it happened that way, the texts do not allow us to argue about it. On the contrary: in the Vita Eusebius describes that the emperor surrounded himself with clerics and that he had a separate tent outside the camp - comparable to the tabernacle of Israel on the desert journey - where he often withdrew to pray and deliberate. There he sometimes had a divine appearance and with this inspiration he

15785 would rush out of the tent and order his soldiers to immediately break camp and draw
 their swords. They attacked immediately and struck the enemy in such a way that the
 victory was soon won and they could erect the trophies - *τρόπαια*. This played a role,
 if we may trust Eusebius, still in 324, during the battle against Licinius, that is,
 12 years after the story of the vision of the cross. We must try all the more to
 understand this as a factor in Constantine's thinking, however much there might be to
 15790 say about the problem of military service in the first centuries of Christianity.
 The data are complicated. Tertullian says that Christians, as loyal citizens of the
 Roman state, not only pray for "fortes exercitus", but even that Christians are to be
 found everywhere in social life: "vobiscum militamus"; on the other hand, however, he
 also declares: "how can anyone serve in war, or even be a soldier in peacetime,
 15795 without a sword, because the Lord has taken it from them? Even if soldiers have come
 to John [the Baptist] and accepted his precepts, even if the centurion has come to
 the faith, every soldier has later ungirded the Lord by disarming Peter". This also
 has to do with idololatry, which was inseparable from the military essence.
 Conversely, canon III of the Council of Arles, convened by Constantine in 314 for
 quite different reasons (namely Donatism), stated that those who threw away their
 weapons in peacetime were excommunicated. At the court of Diocletian there were many
 Christians among the officials and staff - the large church was opposite the palace -
 but there were few soldiers. Lactantius goes particularly far when he declares that
 all deaths - and that was actually the main point - not only in games, but also in
 15805 war and even as a result of a judicial sentence, are forbidden by God: there is no
 exception to this.
 In contrast to this exaggeration there is an important policy provision of Emperor
 Constantine, namely that ex-soldiers who had been wrongfully dismissed because they
 had allowed their Christian confession to prevail over their function, were now free
 15810 either to return to military service and their former rank, or to request an
 honourable discharge. For, it was added, it is fair and fitting that he who has shown
 such great courage and steadfastness in the danger that befell him, may now enjoy
 rest or an honourable position of his own choosing. It is therefore not at all
 questionable whether there were Christian soldiers in service. But it is also certain
 15815 that Constantine did not demand the Christian confession from any of them. Coercion
 did not occur here either. Constantine remained true to the good Roman conviction,
 formulated by Tertullian: *sed nec religionis est cogere religionem*. There is mention
 of soldiers who go to church with the emperor and those who do not go to church; for
 the latter there is a formula prayer that they had to pray on Sunday in the open
 15820 field outside the city, nothing more. H. Grégoire believes that the text of this
 comes from Licinius, and from his struggle with Maximinus, and was attributed to
 Constantine by Eusebius in his *Vita* in another context - one of Grégoire's arguments
 for the unreliability of Eusebius. Although there seems to be much to be said for
 Grégoire's textual criticism, the report about Constantine's tolerant ecclesiastical
 policy towards his soldiers remains unaffected by it. It would go too far to go into
 15825 the historical reliability of the *Vita Constantini* in more detail here. It may be
 recalled that this has been strongly confirmed by the identification of the papyrus
 London 878 by A. H. M. Jones (of the Dept. of Mss., British Museum) in 1954.
 Equally or even more serious reproaches which historians are wont to bring against
 15830 Constantine's government policy concern four executions. The death of Maximian in 310
 at Marseilles, probably suicide, has already been mentioned. The high treason of
 Maximian, who after his abdication continually sought the recapture of the purple, is
 certain. He is called ambitious and untrustworthy (*ἀμίστος*). It is not right to
 approach a political verdict of Constantine at the beginning of the fourth century
 15835 with the standard of modern humanism, as Gibbon did, while one often forgets the
 numerous judicial murders of which Licinius was guilty. The execution of Licinius
 himself must certainly be attributed to his attempts, after being defeated by
 Constantine and after Constantine's promise to his sister, wife of Licinius, to spare
 him, to come into military contact with enemies of the empire again. Zosimus
 15840 considers it a breach of promise by Constantine, according to his custom (*ὅτι γὰρ
 τοῦτο οὕτω σύνηθες*), but this is a meaningless traditional judgment. Much more
 heavily on Constantine's conscience seems to be the death of Crispus and Fausta,
 which Julianus Apostate brings so strongly to the fore. Crispus was the eldest son
 (307) of Constantine and his first - legal or not - wife Minervina, gifted and
 15845 beloved by the army, who became governor of Gaul at the age of 17 and made a rapid,
 brilliant military career. He was then suspected and accused of having taken part in
 a conspiracy. Before or during the vicennalia, which Constantine celebrated in Rome,
 he was unexpectedly brought before a closed court and put to death at Pola in Istria.
 Someone has suggested that during the vicennalia he may have reminded his father in a

15850 very tactless manner of the agreed 20-year period of the first tetrarchy. The fact
that the son of Licinius was also killed at that time may suggest that a political
game was indeed being played, in which Fausta wanted to clear the way to the thrones
for her own sons. In tradition, however, the reason is considered to be that Crispus,
15855 20 years old and already a father himself, had an affair with Fausta, then about 28
years old. Helena, Constantine's mother - who had converted to Christianity with him
- deeply upset about the death of her beloved grandson, is said to have convinced
Constantine that not Crispus, but Fausta was the culprit, like the wife of Potiphar
(Genesis 39, 11-20), whereupon Constantine knew no other solution than to have Fausta
15860 killed in an overheated bath. "Es steht fest, zegt Seeck, dass Untreue der Grund war"
and Helena has retained her reputation as "magna femina", for example in Ambrosius.
Burckhardt's verdict is that anyone who acts in this way is not a Christian: "The
Christian Church has nothing to lose from these fearful, but politically large-scale
people, just as the Paganism has nothing to gain from them". Neither Eusebius nor any
other writer who should have known about it mentions a word about it; the matter was
15865 deliberately concealed and was apparently obscure to the contemporaries themselves.
The damnatio memoriae of Crispus - and of Fausta -, which can be found on various
monuments, was never undone by the father, from which it can be concluded that he was
not able to convince himself of his son's innocence even later. No historian has ever
considered for long what these executions must have cost Constantine personally. In
15870 the absence of historical texts, everyone seems to think that he got away with all
this easily, and then judges accordingly. In the literature on Constantine the Great,
the work of Jakob Burckhardt will never lose its classical place, even though the
historical judgment of both the emperor and his eulogist Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of
Caesarea Palestinae, has now been greatly changed by many, it has a quality that
15875 makes it difficult to dismiss as outdated, even with changed insight and more
knowledge of the subject. Anyone who concerns himself with Constantine will, if
necessary without speaking about it, feel the need to test himself against Burckhardt
and to justify himself to him, certainly on certain points. Also in comparison with
Eusebius' Vita Constantini, rightly characterized as ἐγκωμιαστική τετραβιβλος, eulogy
15880 in four books by Photius, Bibl. cod. 127. Renewed study of the Vita gave me cause to
revise the judgment I pronounced on it during the Academy Days IV in 1951 in
Middelburg (pp. 31-49) and therefore to make a different use of it now for the
history of Constantine than I did at the time. My image of Constantine himself has
hardly changed in the meantime. The Vita is a biography that proclaims the praise of
15885 its hero, but on the basis of facts and with the help of documents, and without
sinking into rhetoric. Eduard Schwartz recalls with good reason that Burckhardt, who
did not understand its language and had no insight into the literary form of the
Vita, passed the harshest judgment on it. "He who, however, is not out to judge but
to understand, will not appreciate the historical value of this period that emerged
15890 from living history," he says. To interpret Constantine's attitude towards
Christianity is more difficult but more useful than to moralize about the "court
bishop". Eusebius believed in the blessing of the union of the emperor and the
church. Even if that were a wicked error, one may not condemn him because he believed
what all his colleagues believed and according to which they also acted". The West
15895 only gave Constantine cause for praise on festive occasions, but the Greek world has
given him a biographer who, despite the praise to which he was forced by the
prescribed style, did not forget that he was a historian, according to Hans
Lietzmann. He continues: this man was Eusebius of Caesarea, who in a certain sense
may be regarded as the spiritual representative of the time of Constantine. In his
15900 life's work - the Church History and the Life of Constantine - the turning point of
the times is faithfully reflected, his words resound with the joy of victory that
people enjoyed and the hope with which they looked to the future. This is the
situation that must be taken as a starting point if one wants to judge Eusebius
correctly. "Then one easily avoids the temptation to follow the example of a
15905 brilliant but not impartial judge "den ersten durch und durch unredlichen
Geschichtschreiber des Altertums". No greater injustice can be done to the honest
man". Felix Stähelin has given us extensive information about the creation and
history of Die Zeit Konstantins des Grossen in the second volume of the Jakob
Burckhardt Gesamtausgabe (Berlin and Leipzig 1929) in the introduction to the reprint
15910 of the second edition. In connection with this, my friend H. Schulte Nordholt once
again pointed out to me the conversation between the Byzantinologist Heinrich Gelzer
and Burckhardt mentioned there. To Friedrich von Preen, who insisted on a reprint of
the book published in 1852, Burckhardt wrote (31 May 1874) that he greatly
appreciated that he still showed so much interest in "meinen alten vergessenen
15915 Constantin". In this connection, Stähelin also quotes Gelzer. His article on

Burckhardt begins with the beautiful words: "Während fünf Semestern I am an experienced student with a clear understanding of the truth, with Jakob Burckhardt being able to listen to the history of the whole body of knowledge and a new version of the originality, and the human beings ranges in my view, who are present in my life schwächlichen Epigonenzeitalter immer seltener zijn". Gelzer and Burckhardt talked a lot about Constantine. The former stated that he had come to serious Byzantine study through Burckhardt's book. Burckhardt laughed and replied: "Mein guter Konstantin! Who was I, yet green, if I was the writer. Was wollen Sie? Das Buch is a long time ago!" Yet Gelzer noticed that Burckhardt still liked to talk about it. It is his only work, of which the great man single-handedly and with great care prepared the second edition (1874). They did not agree on the content, and Geiser saw in it the continuation of Burckhardt's aversion to Christianity; the first two years he had studied theology but then turned to history. Gottfried Kinkel then played a major role in the thinking of the young Burckhardt. In this way he arrived at a, according to Geiser, harsh and unjustified judgment of Eusebius and other churchmen (p. 340), after which Geiser concludes by - more strongly than Stähelin does - recalling the influence of Gibbon, Voltaire and the encyclopedists on Burckhardt. "So konstruierte er einen Konstantin à la Pompadour, Tanucci or Kaunitz, von dem der historische Konstantin natürlich toto coelo versredet ist" (p. 355).

7. The "Constantinian period"

Before coming to a conclusion, a few words about a concept that is not so much used by church historians as by politicizing theologians today. It is said that we are experiencing "the end of the Constantinian era" in our time. A decade ago, W. Kahle (Marburg) criticized this use of words in an article. The criticism begins with the simple observation that, strictly speaking, the Constantinian period lasted from 306 until his death in 337 and that therefore, when it is said that we are now experiencing its end, Constantine is thought of as the one symbolic figure for relations between state and church that lasted more than 16 centuries. The impression is thus created that these relations have remained the same throughout all that time, generally speaking. It is evident that this is not the case. Already from Constantine to Theodosius, and to Justinian, such significant developments occur that even then one can no longer speak of agreement. Throughout the centuries, in the East and in our West, and especially since the national churches came into being through the Reformation, all possible forms in the relations between states and churches, including the state church, have been seen and can still be seen. The separation of church and state in the French Revolution has become a new starting point in this area. Kahle rightly says that the slogan: "das Ende des konstantinischen Zeitalters" is not a church-historical observation, but that there is a program in it. That program amounts to this, that everything must be done to destroy the existing relations between church and state, between church and people, between church and social structure. Only then would a new freedom, a clearer understanding of, and better possibilities for the service of the church to the world arise. In 1974, W. Schneemelcher, church historian in Bonn, was equally critical of the slogan. In our country, too, this theme has been of special interest, and has been since 1946 due to H. Berkhof's book, *The Church and the Emperor*, which has also attracted much attention in a Swiss edition. This historical study, stimulated by the war experiences, devotes its first four chapters to the period before and after Constantine, after which the book crosses this boundary and concerns itself primarily with the difference in the historical position of the church in the East and the West, Byzantinism and theocracy. The reduction of the problem that lies in these terms has rightly aroused criticism from the German church historian K. Aland (Münster). However, the book is separate from the activist modern formulation of the problem and could still have a remedial influence on it now because it is fundamental in a historical sense. The difference between the two methods of approach, the politicized and the historical, is well indicated by a modern writer, who declared that just as "the Constantinian period" did not begin until 313, neither does it end in 1960 (or whenever). But then it would be better not to call it that. Moreover, it remains difficult to understand what convinced Christians see as the importance of a dechristianized public life.

8. Conclusion

After having indicated this confusing phenomenon, it may perhaps be permissible in conclusion to test the general question of the relationship between church and state, between Christianity and the world, to which Constantine gave a first answer for his time, against the judgment of Augustine, born three quarters of a century after him,

a Western theologian, who spoke wisely about it in De civitate dei. His "mirror of princes" was already recalled at the beginning, and the expression "the quality of existence" was used (p. 7). The historical portrait of Constantine has not received much drawing from it, Augustine was apparently not aware of the facts in detail. For him, Constantine and Theodosius were but examples in his grand distinction between civitas dei and civitas terrena. These are two different worlds, each with its own reality, in which man lives, but between which he must choose. Both worlds are mixed: "perplexae sunt istae duae civitates in hoc saeculo invicemque permixtae, donec ultimo iudicio dirimantur", these two states are confused and mixed with each other in this world until they are separated in the last judgment (De civ. dei I 35). This therefore applies for the entire duration of history: "ab initio usque in finem permixtae", and all that time both civitates enjoy the temporal goods equally but "in different faith, different hope and different love" (XVIII 54). Although mixed, they are thus qualitatively clearly distinguished. In the general phenomena of life, meanwhile, hardly anything of this can be observed externally: "temporalia bona et mala utrisque Deus voluit esse communia". He rules over the evil and the good, as we have already heard. "Quamdiu permixtae sunt ambae civitates utimur et nos pace Babylonis" (XIX 26), as long as both states are still mixed, we too enjoy the peace of Babylon. This applies to ordinary believers, but what about the emperor, who is responsible for the world and for that peace of Babylon, for the felicitas terrena? Augustine does not diminish his task and its weight, his responsibility. Is the "Tertullianische Zeitalter" with the experimental doctrine that the Roman emperor could not be a Christian, over for him? History has spoken, and differently than Tertullian could ever have thought. But Augustine does not become the theoretician of the Christian empire. The true God alone gives the power to rule to the pious and the ungodly "as it pleases Him in whom nothing wrongly pleases" (V 21). It matters little to a mortal man under whose empire he lives, as long as those who rule over him do not force him to commit impieties and injustices (V 17). The law of gloria, honor and imperium is virtus, and he therefore applauds the fact that the ancient Romans possessed temples to Virtus and Honor (V 12, 3). Judging and accepting in such relative terms, the civitas dei, who makes a pilgrimage on earth, obeys the laws of the state without hesitation (XIX 17), and, insofar as this is in keeping with pietas and religio, takes up the cause of the state and adapts itself (XIX 18). It can even use the strong arm of the state when the "suadibilis doctrina", the convincing consultation, remains without prospect; then "terribilis disciplina" may be unavoidable (XVIII 57). These and similar points were not foreign to Constantine. We have also heard how Augustine praised Theodosius for his positive, very just and merciful legislation in favour of the toiling church (laboranti ecclesiae, V 26). Augustine's own experiences with the stubborn Donatists had strengthened him in this line of thought.

Nevertheless, Constantine the Great and Augustine are far apart in many respects. The concepts of civitas terrena and civitas dei did not yet exist for Constantine and he also did not possess the view of the duality as expressed by Augustine in these terms. For Eusebius, Constantine had messianic significance and he was chosen by God to realise what was potentially given with the theophany - which in Eusebius takes the place of the incarnation. This does not allow for dualism. For Constantine himself, it was still different. A certain reserve with regard to church and theology was a clear characteristic of his imperial policy, which incidentally makes an absolutist impression. Not everything he wanted, believed and thought he could realize, reality simply did not lend itself to that, and he recognized that. He did say of himself: "I am that man who has dedicated his thinking with pure faith to God, man of God", *ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος* for I am Your man", *ἔγω γὰρ ὁ σοῦ ἄνθρωπος*, Yours in short. As *θεράπευτης τοῦ κρείττονος*, servant of the Highest, his task was to establish peace in the world, there he was alone ruler for a pax comparable to the pax Romana but with a great new element in it. He wanted that in the *οἰκουμένη* that pax would be based partly on the worship of the one true God. He tried to achieve it in ecclesiastical matters, which were hardly ever in the air, by *προσφώνησις* and *νουθεσία*, persuasion, which can be compared with the "suadibilis doctrina" in Augustine. The strong arm was also available if necessary to promote unity in the church within the home as an example and interest of the first order for the world. "One should not abandon erring ones to error". Fear of divine wrath in case of negligence made him intervene. It is simply not possible to always indicate the boundary in a modern way between cool government responsibility and - let us say - missionary consciousness in a great man like Constantine. "All too often that which essentially belongs to the higher level turns out to be a task of the emperor, and then unmistakably in a pre-Christian form", according to Dörries. One can adopt

Seeck's judgment that Constantine did not sin in one way or another more than was inevitable for an emperor. To put it in Augustinian terminology: both civitates are perplexae and permixtae, and that has its consequences, in a personal sense, for those who are called to rule.

Constantine was not the Christian emperor, whose image the early Middle Ages had formed, even before Charlemagne from Augustine's *De civitate dei*, the *rex iustus*, who creates the "aetas aurea", the *imperator felix*, whom we already got to know at the beginning. It is known from the *Vita Caroli Einhard* that Charlemagne liked to have Augustine, and in particular *De civitate dei*, read to him. Ernst Bernheim devoted an important book to the development of the medieval conception of the "imperator felix" in 1918, which was heavily contested, among others by W. Kamlah, who seems to destroy the entire historical theory of Charlemagne's ideology based on Augustine.

Kamlah's work is entitled *Christentum und Geschichtlichkeit* and raises the question of whether and how Christianity, which is a religion, can take on historical form. If we assume that he translates the concept of "civitas dei" not as "Gottesstaat" but as "Bürgerschaft Gottes", it is clear from the outset that we will no longer get out of the dialectical train of thought. And, I believe, unavoidably; but the extensive discussion on the entire subject cannot be discussed here in more detail.

Kamlah also deals with the Constantine period. To begin with, he calls Eusebius the first Byzantine court theologian - which is not correct, one can at most call this ecclesiastical archivist a forerunner of the Byzantine court theologians - and says that Augustine does not follow in his footsteps, insofar as he is reserved about the possibility of identifying *imperium romanum* and church by Constantine and Theodosius. This is, however, too much said, it was not so with Constantine, in distinction from Theodosius. But leaving this aside, Kamlah means by this what has already been noted, namely that it matters less by whom one is governed, provided that no matters are required that conflict with religion. Not only was the church, according to Kamlah, already prepared for Constantine, the Roman state had also already come a long way towards the church. A "profane" state without any political cult was unthinkable in the fourth century. "Roma aeterna" was a confession of faith. The experiment of Heliogabalus with the Syrian Baal and that of Aurelian with the *Deus Sol Invictus* had failed. The Christian experiment of Constantine, however, succeeded in the shortest possible time, in which Christianity was abused as a state religion - says Kamlah - in a role that did not originate from Christian, but from pagan-Roman tradition.

This view, which also occurs in others, is much too general and does not do Constantine justice. Of course Constantine did not stand outside the framework of thought of his time, and the emperor was also strongly framed in his function. But we have repeatedly seen how he spared the church's own authority. He knew in the church, or rather in what the church, which was a new and unheard-of well-organized element in Roman society, advocated, that is, in the Christian religion, that he was dealing with a greatness that went far beyond and above all his own imperial thinking and power. Constantine did not manipulate the church. Kamlah maintains that the court theologian Eusebius, following in the footsteps of Origen, built up a theology of the Christian Roman polis and that he saw the Old Testament promise of peace for all peoples already fulfilled in the *pax romana*, and therefore all the more in the *pax constantiniana*. It is important to note here, what is often overlooked

it is seen that there is a great difference whether one hears Constantine speaking about himself or Eusebius speaking about Constantine. This is actually what Kamlah starts from and he devotes a separate paragraph to it under the title "Augustins Absage an die eusebianische Reichstheologie". He explains that for Augustine, in contrast to Origen and the early apologists, it is unthinkable that the *civitas* of the Romans would transform itself into the *civitas dei*. "But it would be conceivable, if necessary, a polis that abolishes its bond with the gods and replaces it with the bond with Christ. In this spirit, Constantine and his successors have caused the altars of the gods to fall and granted privileges of them to the churches. In this way a Christian empire had come into being insofar as public worship had become the service of Christ. But even a Christian state in this sense is not known or acknowledged by Augustine, at least not in *De civitate dei*". So much for Kamlah.

After the *capita* on the *felices imperatores*, with which I began above, and in which Constantine and Theodosius were the great examples, Augustine does not arrive at a doctrine of Christian emperorship and he only acknowledges the possibility that God's grace from time to time gives the world a Christian emperor. God sometimes entrusts earthly rule to a pious, then again to an unpius prince according to His good pleasure. These were alternately Marius, Caesar, Augustus, also Nero, the *Vespasiani*, *suavissimi imperatores*, the terrible Domitian, the Christian Constantine and the

apostate Julian. From these changes Christians must learn that a Christian government
 16115 belongs to the temporal goods that one can do without if one realizes that one is
 only in a foreign land on earth. Augustine is, however, not always entirely
 consistent in this terminology. Although he does not and cannot acknowledge a
 "Konstantinian Turn" according to the relativizing principles developed here, he
 nevertheless uses, especially in the apologetic chapters of *De civitate dei*, the
 16120 expression "christiana tempora". He makes it clear, for example, that it was thanks
 to christiana tempora, to the Christian character of the times that were then
 experienced, that the destruction of Rome in 410 by Alaric had not gone much further.
 This term also occurs in Ambrose. We now live in Christian times, said the Milanese
 bishop, and therefore the *ara Victoriae* must leave the curia and the Roman cult can
 16125 no longer claim state subsidies. Although there seems to be a strong consolidation in
 this, Ambrose nevertheless, dialectically, also had an eye, thanks to certain
 experiences, for the other side. In his funeral oration *De obitu Valentiniani* he let
 slip: "it is better that emperors persecute bishops than that they love them". It
 remains that paradoxical. Thus Augustine cannot have meant a solid "christianum
 16130 imperium" with "christiana tempora". *Civitas terrena* and *civitas dei* cannot merge or
 merge into each other, the Middle Ages did not interpret Augustine rightly in this
 respect. Augustine did not agree with the *Historia adversus paganos* of his pupil and
 friend Orosius. But that does not yet interpret Constantine the Great. Constantine
 accepted Christianity instead of the *religio romana* and gave it its place. That had
 16135 great consequences. That he saw the perspective of a Christianized Roman empire
 cannot be denied on the basis of his own words, but he did not have a theory about
 it. In vain will one search in his history for a word such as Alcuin addressed to
 Charlemagne in certain circumstances: *ecce in te sola salus ecclesiarum Christi*
recumbit, on you indeed rests the entire welfare of Christ's churches. He was in a
 16140 duality of thought because he was emperor and Christian. The fact of his late
 baptism, namely on his deathbed, proves this. He did not postpone baptism for
 convenience, but precisely because he believed in it and took this sacrament
 completely seriously. He lived in an enormous problematic, and this makes the image
 of the first Christian emperor in his majestic figure and with his incomparable
 16145 powers and merits so approachable.

Two other answers to the great question: what to think of the Christian faith of
 Constantine, what to think of Christianity that obtained its great public place in
 the Roman Empire under his reign, may find a place here.
 16150 It is necessary for the historian to try to adapt his thinking to that of the first
 half of the fourth century. But therein lies the great difficulty, which makes him
 feel constantly uncertain. A good start was made in our time by the American church
 historian K. Scott Latourette in his original *History of the Expansion of*
Christianity. He breaks open the problem by thi
 16155 ch to ask whether Christianity would have achieved victory without Constantine.
 Although no one can give an answer to this, he states that any reasonable ruler would
 have had to see that the persecutions had failed and that whoever had the hope and
 ambition to bring the empire - or a significant part of it - under his authority, had
 in any case to try to come to an agreement with the church, which, despite all
 16160 pressure, had become a new and highly important, clear and strong organization in
 society. It is therefore obvious to assume that, if Constantine had not come to power
 or had acted less positively towards it, another would soon have arisen who would
 have made Christianity the public religion. In response to the further, more specific
 question of how the Christian religion achieved spiritual victory, Latourette
 16165 proposes ten points of view for consideration, which I will briefly summarize here.
 The victory of Christianity came about:
 Thanks to the support of Constantine...
 As a result of the increasing disintegration of society...
 Thanks to the excellently developed organization of the church...
 16170 By the "inclusiveness" of Christianity that embraced all classes and races... Thanks
 to the intransigence as well as the flexibility of Christianity...
 Because Christianity provided what the Greco-Roman world expected and desired from
 religion and philosophy, and did this better than its competitors...
 Thanks to its ancient Jewish origins and its revered Scriptures...
 16175 By the belief in miracles...
 Thanks to its high moral quality.
 And finally, by the creative force behind all this, which brought about a revolution
 in the lives of all who opened themselves to it: Jesus.
 Here Latourette has approached the limit at which the historian is inclined to stop.

16180 Yet "the uniqueness of Jesus", which Latourette thus mentions by name, cannot be
sidelined, if one does not want to remain at a level where only apparently rationally
verifiable motives apply, which have their inspiration from nowhere and therefore
remain essentially unexplained. The historian of religion or church must dare to
cross that boundary here. This becomes apparent if one places, for example, the
16185 argument of Arnold Toynbee next to that of Latourette.
Religiously, philosophically and politically, says Toynbee, the times had changed
since Heliogabalus and Aurelian. The religious vacuum in the hearts of the subjects
had to be filled by a living, not a constructed, religion. This was there, not
imposed from above, but revealed in the social underclass, and Constantine had
16190 understood this: the service of the almighty God was set against the tame and
impotent Sol invictus, who was truly strong and could not be trifled with
(intractable). No God who, although formally the emperor's patron, was in reality
only his puppet, unable to win the hearts of the emperor's subjects. There remained
only one alternative: the imperial authority itself had to place itself under the
16195 aegis of a living religion, which had its own independent existence and was not
critically examined by the subjects because it had been put together by the
authorities for its *raison d'état*. These conditions were fulfilled in the Roman
empire by Christianity, whose spiritual independence from all politics had been
proven by a long history of martyrdom, at the beginning of which stood the cross of
16200 the Founder. The step that Constantine took was revolutionary, especially in this
respect, that he bought the new religious sanction of the empire at the price of his
subjection to the spiritual authority of the church - the form in which Christianity
was visible and tangible - which was not under government supervision, on the
contrary, had hitherto shown itself to be unmanageable. In this way the emperor-
16205 convert made himself dependent on the grace of the church. That became a permanent
decision. The inability of a subsequent emperor to dethrone the thus officially
established higher religion has been demonstrated by the failure of Julian.
Toynbee works with the terms: religions and higher religions, and he contrasts "the
old order and the new gospel", of which he says that in this case new and old are
16210 irreconcilable. He also uses the gospel words: I have not come to bring peace but a
sword (Mt. 10:34) and: woe to you when men speak well of you! For that is what their
fathers did of the false prophets (Luke 6:26). The problem of the relationship of the
higher religions to the old order, he says, is simple, as long as the old order
prohibits and persecutes them; it becomes complicated and difficult when the old
16215 order proves willing to negotiate. Then the dangers of weakening and the consequences
of mass conversions threaten - and that is what happened. All the means to share a
concordat with institutions that embody and maintain something of "the old order" is
as much as to blunt the edge of the sword that the higher religion - the church -
needs precisely to fulfill its own spiritual mission. And so it can be diverted from
16220 its mission, even channeled back into the service of the old establishment.
These observations, the last of which take on a more general character, are
consistent with what church historians have been saying for so long about the history
of the fourth century. If we now compare Toynbee's views with those of Latourette,
they agree above all in that both observe a religious vacuum in which there was room
16225 for, perhaps we may say: that called for fulfillment. The difference is that Toynbee
speaks of a new living religion that had come to light in the social underclass,
without saying from what source or inspiration, while Latourette explicitly names the
"uniqueness of Jesus" as the source, as the actual explanation, behind the many
phenomena that can be observed in the great change. In my opinion, the church
16230 historian may well supplement the cultural historian in this way. Even further, the
Berlin church historian Karl Holl at the time went into the question of why
Christianity had won over the religions in the old world, in which he also in fact
put the actual religious problem more sharply. Unlike Latourette and Toynbee and so
many others, he assumed that the old religions were not at all so empty, meaningless
16235 and dead, but alive and still possessed power, as Joh. Geffcken depicted them. Not
through flexibility, syncretistic adaptation and absorption did Christianity rise
above all others, but through its most essential depth, which Celsus and Julian could
only mock, but which struck those who opened themselves up to it in the heart and
renewed them: the forgiveness of sins. Harnack, who himself, as a historian, had
16240 always followed a somewhat different path to explanation, has called Holl's brilliant
examination of this great religious-historical problem from late antiquity the best
that had been said about it for a long time. Although this was half a century ago, it
is still just as valid.
Let us return to Constantine himself. In the Roman Empire, Christianity acquired the
16245 place of recognized religion under his leadership. This did not happen without the

inner conviction of the emperor himself; and this conviction was not an opinion that he had formed for himself or to which a realistic policy had led him, but an effect that had taken possession of him, to which he first submitted and which he then vigorously advocated in all situations. From the documents in Eusebius one can follow this development. It is more adequately expressed than with the quoted words of Seeck that, once begun, the following phases were prescribed to him in a compelling manner. Although it may have looked rather remarkable in the beginning, and on the many battlefields, according to our strongly evolved feelings and concepts, we must realize that the Christianization of the Roman Empire in the hands of the emperor could hardly have begun otherwise than with cultic and legal forms, and had to work from outside, one might even say, inward. Without institutions, Christianity does not come to fruition either. That was the case in the culture of Roman society in any case. Tolerance on both sides did not guarantee that everything would proceed without shocks, but it did guarantee that the goal would be approached. Of Constantine, the central figure, it can at least be said that he had a sense of the other world - which Augustine would call the *civitas dei* - and, according to a happy saying, from *crédule* to *croyant* appears to have become. Eusebius knew something of the emperor's inner, unspoken feelings.

On the occasion of his emperor's tricennalis, Eusebius delivered the festive speech, the *Triakontaeterikos*, which we quote as *Laus Constantini*. It begins thus: "This is the feast day of the great king... Great I call the truly great king. Him I mean - the emperor present here will not take it amiss but will agree with the (that is: our speaking about God) - who stands above the universe, the highest of all, the most exalted, the most great, whose throne is the vault of heaven and the earth is the footstool of his feet" (Ps. 110, 1). Who does not think here of the first words of the funeral oration of Massillon in the Sainte Chapelle at the bier of Louis XIV in 1715: "God himself is great, my brothers, and in these last moments above all, or presides over the death of the kings of the earth: the more their glory and their power have shone forth and then perish, the more do they pay homage to His greatness. God proves to be all that He is, and man nothing more of all that he is? It meant to be". But this was the beginning of a funeral oration, the words of Eusebius were spoken in the presence of a living jubilant prince, who himself agreed with them. And the orator - wrongly belittled by church historians as a court theologian - said something more. He praised Constantine's personal qualities: elevated above material things, controlling his desires and lusts, not controlled by passion and anger, in every respect a true ???, one who is master of himself. But then it follows that precisely such a person is able to see the brevity of ruling over people in this mortal and temporary life, which is not worth much more than what a goatherd or cowherd has to do. That brings us back to Augustine, who reminds us that man is only called to rule over unreasonable creatures: *non hominem homini sed hominem pecori*, and that therefore there have been just shepherds rather than kings. The acclamations, thus Eusebius, he found the people and the voices of the flatterers rather troublesome than a pleasure, thanks to his strict reasonableness and the true civility of his mind. Constantine was apparently able to judge his own position from a distance and objectively, even at an enormous celebration. On another occasion he himself spoke of a *ἀπλούς βίος*, a life in simplicity and honesty, without a double bottom and which does not hide its anger behind beautiful hypocrisy. It remains undesirable to use the slogan: end of the Constantinian period. It creates the greatest historical confusion. It is better to return to the simple classical formula of Eusebius: "*pax ecclesiae*", because to have achieved this was first and foremost Constantine's revolutionary, creative act in history. And nothing more. Constantine is not the creator of Byzantinism. With the panegyric of Nazarius (321) we therefore say, not in a negative but in an appreciative sense: "*unademum Constantini oblivio est humani generis occasus*", Constantine will not be forgotten until the whole of humanity perishes.

Constantine's Bridge

5 juli 328 **Constantine's Bridge** (Bulgarian: **Константинов мост**, **Konstantinov most**; Romanian: **Podul lui Constantin cel Mare**) was a Roman bridge over the Danube. It was completed or rebuilt in 328 and remained in use for no more than four decades. It was officially opened on 5 July, 328 in the presence of the emperor Constantine the Great. With an overall length of 2437 m, 1137 m of which spanned the Danube's riverbed, Constantine's Bridge is considered the longest ancient river bridge and one

of the longest of all time.

It was a construction with masonry piers and wooden arch bridge and with wooden superstructure. It was constructed between Sucidava (present-day Corabia, Olt County, Romania) and Oescus (modern Gigen, Pleven Province, Bulgaria), by Constantine the Great. The bridge was apparently used until the mid-4th century, the main reason for this assumption being that Valens had to cross the Danube using a bridge of boats at Constantiana Daphne during his campaign against the Goths in 367. The length of the bridge was 2437 m with a wooden deck with a width of 5.70 m at 10 meters above the water. The bridge had two abutment piers at each end, serving as gates for the bridge.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constantine%27s_Bridge_\(Danube\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constantine%27s_Bridge_(Danube))

Константиновият мост е пътен мост над река Дунав, съществувал в Късната античност и свързващ Улпия Ескус (край днешното село Гиген в България) със Сукидава (край днешния град Корабия в Румъния).

Мостът е с дървена връхна конструкция и зидани каменни стълбове. Разкрити са останки от крайните му опори, които са използвани и като порти, и няколко от междинните опори, намиращи се под водите на река Дунав. Общата дължина на моста е 2434 m, предполага се, че ширината му е била 5,70 m при височина над водата около 10 m. Константиновият мост е построен или обновен през 328 г., когато е официално открит от император Константин Велики. Предполага се, че мостът вече не функционира през 367 г., когато император Валент прехвърля войските си през Дунав по понтонен мост по-надолу по течението на реката.

The bridge was constructed between Sucidava (present-day Corabia, Romania) and Oescus (modern Gigen, Bulgaria), during the reign of Constantine the Great, being inaugurated on 5 July 328.

The construction was certainly inspired, in technique and dimensions, by the famous Trajan's bridge, built by Apollodorus of Damascus. It is not at all excluded that the architect of this bridge was also a renowned builder, perhaps the mysterious Theophilus Patricius, proconsul, quaestor and then praefectus Urbi in the new capital of the Empire.

The inauguration of the bridge was commemorated by the minting of a gold medallion in the mint of Rome in 328, with the obvious purpose of immortalizing the great technical achievement. Today only two bronze copies of a lost original are known.

The obverse of the medallion with a diameter of 37.6 mm shows the cuirassed, draped bust of Emperor Constantine to the right; the emperor wears a diadem decorated with rosettes, and around the effigy is the legend CONSTANTI - NVS MAX AVG. On the reverse is a stone bridge with three arches and a watch tower at one end.

The bridge proved to be essential in the transfer of troops, equipment and supplies north of the Danube for the implementation of the imperial strategy north of the river. The resumption of control over the Lower Danube (ripa Gothica), included the raising of the bridge, the strengthening of the Sucidava fortress, the restoration of the strategic road towards Romula and the implantation of a new bridgehead on the left bank of the river, from where it could control the Romanian Plain - Constantiniana Daphne (still unlocated in the field).

The bridge was apparently used until the mid-4th century, the main reason for this assumption being that Valens had to cross the Danube using a bridge of boats at Constantiana Daphne during his campaign against the Goths in 367.

In any case, the decommissioning of the bridge has most likely occurred before the floods of 376, when the Goths crossed the Danube. The dramatic events in which many barbarians drown, swallowed by the waters of the Fuvius, are chronicled by Ammianus Marcellinus, without the bridge being mentioned in any way (XXXI, 4.5).

Ancient and medieval sources

The first mention of the bridge is from the fourth century, in Liber de Caesaribus, by Sextus Aurelius Victor. Later, it was mentioned by chronographers during the 7th - 9th centuries (Chronicon Pascale and Theophanes Confessor in Chronographia) and in the 11th century in the chronicle compiled by the Byzantine monk Georgios Kedrenos, Synopsis historion.

The construction is called "the brass bridge" by the locals on both sides of the river, as the popular belief was that its legs were cast from metal.

According to local legends, the Lord of Dew ("Domnul de Rouă") walked on the bridge during the night, heading to the court of Emperor Ler (Ler Împărat), located in the former Roman castra from Romula.

Research

- 16380 The bridge was subsequently mentioned in the end of the 17th century, in the Index Geographicus Celsissimi Principatus Wallachiae, the map of Wallachia made by Romanian historian Constantin Cantacuzino. Shortly after that, the Italian Anton Maria Del Chiaro, mentions the construction in the Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia (1718, Venice).
- 16385 The construction is mentioned several times in the 18th-19th centuries by various historians or philologists, who overwhelmingly attribute it to emperor Trajan, perpetuating the erroneous information attributed to Anton Maria del Chiaro. While Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli attempted to locate the bridge in the 17th century and Alexandru Popovici and Cezar Bolliac continued this search in the 19th century,
- 16390 the first real scientific discoveries were performed by Grigore Tocilescu and Pamfil Polonic in 1902. In 1934 Dumitru Tudor published the first complete work regarding the bridge, and other systematic work on the north bank of the Danube was performed in 1968 by Octavian Toropu and in 2002 by Lucian Amon and Petre Gherghe. Later, in the area was carried out a bathymetry in 2017 and a magnetometric survey in October
- 16395 2022.

The Memorial of the Apostle and the Constantinian Basilica

by Jose Ruysschaert

- 16400 The history of the tomb of the Apostle Peter at the Vatican has been enriched during the last thirty-five years since Pius XII, who at the very beginning of his pontificate, decided to extend archaeological investigations throughout the entire lower sections of the Vatican crypts and also under the papal altar. These
- 16405 investigations had been begun by chance at the site chosen for the burial of his predecessor, Pius XI. Little by little, as the encrusted legends and learned theories were stripped away, the Memoria of Peter began to reappear in a more exact light, thus making possible a comparison of the monuments with ancient texts. This is the history we would like to relate, starting with the present Basilica and going back through the course of the centuries to the Basilica of Constantine, to the ancient 2nd-century necropolis and the small burial monument marking the site of Peter's tomb, and finally to the archaeological setting of the 1st century which offers a starting point.
- 16410 The paradoxical character of this history stems from the fact that the small burial monument which, since the middle of the 2nd century, has never ceased to be the evidence on which this history is based, has stayed in place, despite successive raisings of the level of the ground, both in the first Basilica, built during the pontificate of Sylvester and the reign of Constantine, probably between 320 and 333, and in the present Basilica as well, built under eighteen popes from Julius II to Paul V, from 1506 to 1615. But, as is often the case, the contradiction is only an apparent one, as we shall see. The presence of the tomb has never ceased throughout the centuries to be the center of this history and its only justification.
- 16415 This presence is that of a small burial monument built in the 2nd-century necropolis. It is made up of two superimposed niches forming part of a wall seven m long. The niches were made in the middle of the wall at the time of its construction, about the year 150. Originally a marble plaque supported by two small columns separated the two niches. In front of this small monument there was an enclosure measuring seven m by four. Some family monuments of the necropolis bordered part of it. That was how Peter's tomb appeared in the middle of the second century. It is easy enough to
- 16430 locate this modest set of constructions in the present Basilica. In fact, at the side of the small chapel called the Niche of the Palliums, under the papal altar, the small monument with niches and small columns has been discovered substantially intact, while some remains of the enclosure were discovered during excavations directly underneath the open area called the Confession which, protected by a
- 16435 balustrade, gives access to the Niche of the Palliums. The tomb's first architectural setting, moreover, is now right before the eyes of visitors who descend from the Basilica into the crypts and pass through the archaeological area below those just mentioned. Thus taken suddenly from the present era into the 2nd century, the visitor walks along narrow paths hemmed in by the high family burial chambers of an ancient Roman necropolis. Having recovered from the surprise, the visitor realizes that he is walking on what was the slope of a hill. After a short climb to the north, he finds himself on the narrow main path which rises gradually towards the west in the direction of the papal altar, following the
- 16440

principal axis of the Basilica. As he moves on, the visitor gradually realizes that
16445 the family monuments he is passing have been demolished, more and more extensively,
so that where the path ends, immediately under the papal altar, the last of the
monuments consists only of a pavement and part of a wall.
Such a visit enables the visitor to form a good idea of the problems facing the
architects of Constantine's time who were given the task of constructing the first
16450 Vatican Basilica. On the side of a hill where an important necropolis was located and
which at that time was still being used, they managed to create an artificial
plateau, by building imposing walls of substructure and by filling in the area with
earth. The plateau was extended considerably beyond the site of the future Basilica.
The level of the plateau was planned in such a way as to keep the small monument with
16455 niches intact and isolated at the focal point of the new structure, located directly
in front of the apse. A simple burial monument in a necropolis, now closed by
imperial authority, thus became the reason for the construction of a Basilica and the
transformation of an entire area of what was then open country. Placed in the
contemporary context of the martyria-basilicas, the way in which the Vatican Basilica
16460 was constructed is explained solely by the fact that the monument with niches was
considered by the Christian community of Rome to be Peter's tomb. And without a doubt
the most important result of the Vatican excavations is that it has been possible to
recognize even in terms of the construction of the first Vatican Basilica the
archaeological and historical proof for a community belief which was beyond dispute:
16465 if it is a palaeo-Christian Basilica built ad corpus, that is, to serve as a martyr's
tomb, then it is clearly the one built at the Vatican according to Constantine's
wishes.
Significant in the construction of the Basilica, the small monument is no less
unusual in the 2nd century necropolis. In the first place, it is an individual
16470 building constructed in the middle of a large number of family monuments.
Furthermore, it also interrupts the straight line which the others follow. In fact,
the closest monuments are built around the enclosure with the small building in the
center, as if it were an obstacle. Moreover, among these buildings two contemporary
staircases were put in to provide access to the revered enclosure. Finally, the soil
16475 of the enclosure seems to be partly a built-up mound resting against the family
monuments. The height of the mound is dictated by the height of the small monument
built at a particularly steep point on the slope.
In the midst of these family monuments, therefore, the enclosure and the small
building seem to answer to the desire that an already existing tomb should be
16480 preserved and integrated within the new necropolis then being developed. During the
second half of the 3rd century, other plans attest to an identical wish. Two marble
decorations and small walls were added to the small building, flanking it on each
side. At the same time, the earth of the enclosure where, in the meantime, numerous
ground burials had taken place, was covered over with a mosaic pavement. In addition,
16485 the paths to the two stairways were closed by gates.
An archaeological continuity is thus attested to, from the middle of the 2nd century
when the small building was constructed up to the beginning of the 4th century which
marks the start of the Basilica's construction: the Petrine identity of the small
building at the beginning of the 4th century can thus be traced back historically to
16490 the middle of the 2nd century. The Vatican excavations have once again placed before
our eyes the tomb as it was marked by the small building with niches before the
construction of the Basilica.
These excavations have also allowed us to have a more precise idea of what visitors
to the first Basilica saw, for they clarify and confirm the descriptions given by
16495 ancient texts and by a reliquary of the 5th century found at Samagher and now
preserved in Venice. Isolated from the razed monuments and walls of the necropolis,
the small Petrine building was located in front of the apse, in the center of the
transept.
After the sides had been altered to correct irregularities in shape inherited from
16500 the 3rd century modifications, it was covered with marble decorations similar to
those covering the apse. Its façade was divided into two parts. A golden cross
bearing the names of Constantine and his mother Helena was placed in the upper part,
and the lower section was closed with a double door. This door opened into a small
area where, at least by the end of the 4th century, an opening in the floor was made,
16505 enabling visitors to lower objects on to the earth inside the small cavity below.
This design, which still exists in the present Niche of the Palliums and is typical
of the veneration practiced at the tombs of martyrs, is an extremely significant
element of the tradition intimately linking the small monument to the site,
immediately below, of Peter's tomb.

- 16510 Gregory of Tours gives us a picture of a pilgrim lowering into the small shaft a cloth which would touch the Apostle's tomb and thus become a relic of it. The mediaeval liturgy placed a censer there for the whole year from 29 June to 29 June. The temporary placing of the Palliums in the niche, a custom still observed, is a further indication of the respect in which this spot was held.
- 16515 Around the monument of Peter, four spiraling columns of sculpted marble connected with the balustrades, likewise of marble, formed the supports for a baldacchino crowned by architraves and arches. Two other spiraling columns at the angle of the apse were connected to the other four by two architraves. But the six columns of the baldacchino were not alone in stressing the importance of the monument of Peter in
- 16520 the Basilica. The plan of the Basilica itself also marks its importance. The architectural works just described are not only in front of the apse but also at the center of the transept.
- This architectural fact is in itself unusual. Churches with transepts "in the form of a cross" may be familiar to us, but the historian notes that, among all the martyria-basilicas of the Near East and of Rome in Constantine's time, the Vatican is the only Basilica which has this design, a design later to be spread by the Carolingian renaissance. In the Vatican Basilica the transept was, in fact, the martyrion, the structure centered above the martyr's tomb and reserved for liturgical functions, as opposed to the five aisles reserved for the assembly of the faithful. The martyrion
- 16530 was a huge rectangle, 87 m by 18, separated from the aisles at the time by a large central triumphal arch decorated with a mosaic showing Constantine offering the building to the Saviour, and by four arch-shaped openings on the sides. Taken together, the naves were 91 m long and 64 m wide. Besides the six columns of the baldacchino, 100 simpler columns taken from a variety of ancient monuments (as was
- 16535 much other material for the Basilica), in groups of 22, separated the aisles, or were placed at the lateral arch-shaped openings to the transept and at both ends of the transept. The entrance of the Basilica, a portico 12 m wide, was preceded by a quadriportico 62 m by 46, reached by 35 steps.
- 16540 We have roughly sketched out what was by the will of Constantine the new architectural setting for the tomb of Peter. The Basilica, demolished by the Renaissance on the pretext that it was in danger of collapse, and precisely on the spot where it rested on the highest substructures, had certainly been damaged, but just as certainly it had been improved. Canons of the Vatican, architects and artists
- 16545 have fortunately left numerous testimonies which opportunely complete the information furnished by the recent excavations. We hesitate to stop here: certain stages of these changes, the first ones and the last, are essential to our subject matter. The solution which Constantine's architects decided upon was the best - if not the simplest - which could have been chosen for a cemetery-basilica ad corpus, which was
- 16550 both a grandiose burial monument built around a tomb and a cemetery set aside to receive the bodies of the dead who wished to be placed near a saint's tomb, as was done in the catacombs. This burial characteristic is certainly a primary one for the Vatican Basilica. The solution of Constantine's architects nevertheless presented a serious inconvenience, since even then the influx of pilgrims made evident the need
- 16555 for regular liturgical functions. The monument and its baldacchino took up too much space in the middle of the transept. To his credit, Gregory the Great solved this problem with an architectural device which respected the monument as ingeniously as had that of Constantine's architects.
- The problem was to establish a permanent altar at the center of the transept, easily accessible and perfectly visible, without touching the monument. The area immediately
- 16560 surrounding the Petrine monument, apse included, was raised about one and a half m, while the top of the monument was transformed into an altar, without doubt the first permanent altar of the Petrine tomb. Four small columns placed on the altar allowed for the construction of a baldacchino. Nevertheless, the monument of Peter remained
- 16565 accessible, as before. Not only was it still completely visible from the central nave, separated from it only by the six columns of the ancient baldacchino now placed in a single row and crowned by an architrave, but also two stairways permitted direct descent from the new presbyterium. In addition, under the presbyterium an original architectural contrivance had been built. Extending along the interior of the apse
- 16570 wall, an almost circular corridor, reached from the transept by two doors, led to a chapel, likewise underground, built directly behind the small monument and for that reason called ad corpus in some mediaeval texts. About two m high (thus it was a little lower than the height of Constantine's construction), the new design, properly called the "Confession", gave a completely new appearance to the Memoria Petri. The
- 16575 ancient Basilica underwent only secondary changes. Under Gregory III, a second row of

six spiraling columns of sculpted marble in the same style as the others was placed parallel to them. Under Calixtus II a new altar was constructed above that of Gregory the Great.

We noted above that the design of the Basilica with transept created at the Vatican by Constantine's architects spread throughout religious architecture from the Carolingian renaissance onwards. The architectural contrivance of Gregory, consisting of an altar-tomb and a presbyterium-crypt, imposed on the Vatican by liturgical needs and the requirements of a burial monument which was not intended to be touched, became almost instantaneously the model for builders of churches where the body of a saint was venerated, even if they did not have the problem of a pre-existing tomb in the edifice under construction. We may add that, from its time of construction onwards, the "uncovered Confession" which was to be built under Clement VIII and Paul V would become a prototype for similar constructions, imposed, and most often wrongly, on some altars in Roman Basilicas, including in the 19th century the altar of the Basilica of St. Paul-Outside-the-Walls. But it seems to be beyond our purpose to stress the different manifestations of the attraction which Peter's place of pilgrimage has had on religious architecture.

What we have hitherto described of the history of Peter's tomb at the Vatican shows that this history was dominated architecturally by a desire to keep the tomb intact. It is very tempting to state that this concern was equally dominant in the most delicate phase of this history - the construction of the present Basilica. The first measure taken at that time was dramatically of a preservative nature. In 1507, temporary walls joined to the apse wall permitted the setting up of a small construction which protected the papal altar until 1592. It was only under the pontificate of Clement VIII that the first part of the present architectural contrivance was constructed. The floor of the new Basilica, raised 3.20 m above the previous floor level, required a corresponding raising of the 13th century papal altar. A new altar, the present one, was superimposed over the altar of Callixtus II. At the same time, the "uncovered Confession" with stairways maintaining direct access to the Niche of the Palliums was also constructed. Paul V added little to its present appearance. But Clement VIII did not limit himself to external modifications of the Petrine Memoria.

Preserving the underground contrivance of Gregory the Great, he adapted it. On the outside of the almost circular corridor of Gregory, parallel to it and bordering the outside of the wall of Constantine's apse, a new circular corridor was built. Access was still assured from the crypts previously added according to the plans of Michelangelo between the floors of the two Basilicas. This new corridor, an essential element of what is called the new crypts, preserved access to the chapel ad corpus of Gregory which, since his time, had been enlarged a little and given the name "Clementine Chapel". It is in this small chapel, at the end of which still stands the small 7th century altar ad caput, as it is called, and in the two adjacent areas that the small burial building of the middle of the 2nd century presents for our reflection and devotion the first architectural testimonies preserved for us by a history which, until the recent excavations, had been concealed, as well as preserved, by the Niche of the Palliums.

Following the changes made by Clement VIII, a final architectural note needs to be made so that we can place in the new and prestigious setting of the present Basilica the ancient Memoria, which is somewhat lost in the immense space of the new edifice even while remaining its center.

Urban VIII's authority and Bernini's art carried out this final stage, through the construction of the bronze baldacchino of the altar which bids the onlooker to unite inseparably in his vision Michelangelo's dome with Peter's tomb. Eight spiraling columns which surrounded that same tomb in the ancient Basilica are included in the four pillars which support the dome and these columns, surrounding the baldacchino of bronze which was inspired by them, remain a witness to the continuity which we are striving to bring out.

It has been described above how the history of the Vatican Memoria of Peter is dominated by the constant desire to keep it intact. No less abiding is the wish to keep it visible and to ensure direct access to it. These aims seemed particularly evident in the Constantinian Basilica, both at the time of construction and during the changes of Gregory, but these desires were already asserted, as we have seen, in the middle of the 2nd century when the small burial monument with niches and columns was built. Let us now add that these same imperatives were, at the price of a whole series of projects and plans, the final determining elements for the construction of the present Basilica.

An architectural tradition thus permits us to go back as far as the middle of the 2nd

century; it is centered on a burial monument considered without interruption to be the one built above Peter's tomb. Yet our aim would remain unachieved if we did not present, in the light of the excavations made under and near the Basilica, the essential points of the record which could be described as the archaeological setting of the site of Peter's tomb in the first two centuries.

To begin with, it should be observed that, in giving a strict explanation, it would be better to talk here about the location of the tomb rather than about the tomb itself. In fact, the excavations did not discover the remains of Peter's body as it was buried after his martyrdom. Moreover, no archaeological element retrieved from the small cavity next to and below the Niche of the Palliums can be considered as belonging to a burial monument, however modest, of the 1st century. Yet it would be wrong to conclude that the recent archaeological investigations have added nothing to the history of the first decades of the tomb.

First of all, the investigations established that the 2nd century necropolis had been built beside a secondary road running directly along the northern border of the Circus of Caligula and Nero. It is equally clear that the family monuments which were part of it were built in an area already in use as a burial place. In the immediate surroundings of the Petrine monument there have been found piles of bones taken from previous tombs. These remains had been gathered together by the 2nd century masons, who did not take great pains to respect the material arrangements of the tombs in question. They seemed to be acting according to the customs prescribed by law. But this fact, hitherto hardly noticed, throws some light on what may have happened to the Petrine tomb at the moment of the construction of the small monument with niches. Under that monument only the remains of the body of the Apostle-martyr would have been collected. Did they remain there until the time of the construction of Constantine's Basilica? Had they already been moved in the middle of the 3rd century, when the monument underwent important changes? Our present purpose does not include answers to these questions.

On the other hand, it is important to stress that although this Vatican area was imperial property in the 1st century, it was then lined with roads beside which other burial grounds have been discovered. In particular, a small part of the most important one was unearthed in Vatican City at the time of the construction of a garage. It remained in use during the first four centuries and was located beside the ancient Triumphal Way. It included, in particular, two tombs which according to their inscriptions date from the reign of Nero. Further excavations have led to the discovery of some burial monuments of the Flavian age on the south side of the Circus.

But in Rome it is without doubt along the Ostian Way that the true archaeological and architectural parallel to the history we have been tracing is found: the tomb of the Apostle Paul and his two Basilicas. Concerning the second Basilica, built at the end of the 4th century and destroyed by fire at the beginning of the 19th, the reconstruction which respected the essence of its design gives us a precise enough picture. Concerning the first, built by Constantine, the excavations carried out at the time of the reconstruction tell us that it was of modest proportions. There, too, Gregory the Great raised the presbyterium and designed a crypt, limited this time to a chapel ad corpus located behind the altar and reached through a door. And, as at the Vatican, the tomb is situated in the middle of a pagan necropolis, but this time it is inside a family monument. We are obliged to end these pages dedicated to Peter's tomb by a visit to Paul's, since the true Roman pilgrimage ad limina has never consisted of anything other than a visit to the two tombs of the Apostles, "at the Vatican" and "along the Ostian Way". This was expressed at the end of the 2nd century by the priest Gaius, and at the beginning of the 5th century by the Spanish poet Prudentius - Gaius to justify a point of Roman ecclesiastical discipline and Prudentius to present the two Apostles as the guarantors of the faith of Rome. Thus the history of the two tombs has been, through nineteen centuries, a matter of parallel faithfulness to those who, by their common presence, their common preaching and their common martyrdom, "laid the foundations" of the Roman Church in the faith of Christ.

On the vault of the Constantinian apse, did not the mosaic erected by Pope Liberius exalt the divinity of Christ, as the bordering inscription indicates, and are not Peter and Paul standing together on either side of Christ in order to be the first ones in Rome to proclaim his divinity?

Now let us go down, step by step, to see what is under the altar. And as we go down, it is easy to see that we are also going back through the centuries. Under the present altar, which belongs to the time of Clement VIII (1592-1605), is the altar of Callistus II (1119-1124); lower still, that of Gregory the Great (590-

604). Next we find the monument built in honor of St. Peter by the Emperor Constantine after his victory near the Milvian Bridge (October 28, 312) and the establishment of peace with the Church by the Edict of Milan (313 AD). The date of this monument cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, but there are good reasons to think that it preceded the construction of the basilica (begun about 322) and perhaps it is no later than 315; that is, the year in which great holiday were held in Rome to exalt Constantine and his victory; the year in which Rome dedicated the famous Arch of Triumph which still rises majestically from its soil. Constantine's monument to Peter contained within its rich marble construction an earlier chapel (or, more literally, shrine) which has been brought to light by excavations. This chapel indicates, evidently, the place sacred to the Apostle, the place that Constantine considered so important and worthy of honor that he did not hesitate to build on it first his precious monument and later - at the cost of incalculable expense and enormous labor - the great basilica. The characteristic chapel rises from the level of the ancient necropolis already described. It stands in a little open area, a sort of small square in the middle of various tombs. (See Plate III.) This little area which, in relation to the modern basilica, is directly under the Confession, was called "Field P" by the excavators. It is rectangular in form (about seven meters from north to south, about four from east to west), and it lies in a place where the terrain rises quite rapidly from the south to the north, i.e. toward the Apostolic Palaces, and more gradually from the east to the west, i.e., toward the Vatican Gardens. Field P is bounded on the west by a wall called "Red" because of the red color of the plaster (now largely fallen off) which was used to cover it; on the south by a tomb which the excavators call S; on the east, but only in the southern half of the east section, by another tomb called O (this tomb was owned by the Matuccii and is sometimes called by their name). The northern boundary of the eastern side and all the northern boundary of the eastern side and all the northern boundary cannot be traced today, but there are good reasons for believing that there were once structures there which have been mostly destroyed. Behind the Red Wall ran a small street (the so-called clivus) which slopes up from the south to north and includes some sets of stairs (Fig. 24). On the other side of this clivus are the remains of two other tombs, called R and R1 by the excavators. The clivus gave access to the Tomb R1 and to a tomb called Q which lies behind the Red Wall with the Red Wall itself used for its eastern wall. Under the clivus runs a little gutter used for drainage and covered with a line of tiles, five of which, fortunately, bear a mark by which they can be dated. The mark mentions Aurelius Caesar (the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius) and his wife Faustina as proprietors of the furnace in which the tiles were made.¹ The tiles can therefore be dated between about 146 and 161 AD. It was about 146 when Faustina, wife of the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius, received the title of Augusta, and in 161 Aurelius Caesar, having succeeded Antonius Pius, abandoned the name of Aurelius Caesar and took that of Marcus Aurelius. The essential purpose of the Red Wall seems to have been to fix the boundaries of the various burial places in the area. From this fact, it can be considered contemporary with the gutter I have mentioned, and therefore it can be dated between about 146 and 161 AD. In round numbers, and wishing to take the latest possible date, we can say that it was built by about 160 AD. The most ancient of the tombs surrounding Field P is certainly Tomb O, which, as can be seen from the marble tablet over the entrance, belonged to the Matuccii family. This tomb, in which the rite of cremation was practiced, can be dated about 130, and is certainly later than 123, since a brick was found in one of its walls with a seal dating from that year. The Tomb S, which bounds all the southern flank of Field P, contains traces of cremation urns and of repositories for inhumation. Later than Tomb O, Tomb S is still earlier than the Red Wall, since the wall leans on it, thus barring access to Field P from the south. Therefore Tomb S can be assigned a date somewhere between 130 and 150.

THE REMAINS OF PETER

One of the surprises of the excavations carried out between 1940 and 1949 under the Confession of the Vatican Basilica was the discovery - beneath the papal altar - of the site of Peter's original tomb empty and in disarray. The Apostle's remains were strangely missing. After his martyrdom in Nero's Circus (autumn of 64), Peter was buried a short distance away, beyond the road (Via Cornelia?) which bordered the Circus, in a place

16775 where tombs already existed. That place corresponds to the area which archaeologists today call Area P. In the course of the centuries, various monuments were placed over the modest grave of the Apostle: the so-called "Trophy of Gaius" (about the middle of the 2nd century), the monument of Constantine (after 313), the altar of Gregory the Great (590-604), the altar of Calixtus II (1119-1124), and the altar of Clement VIII (1592-1605), which is the present altar. All these monuments were built (or so it seemed at first) over an empty tomb.

16780 At the western edge of Area P there were found remains of human bones, remains to which some people attributed a certain importance. It was subsequently shown that in fact these remains had nothing to do with Peter, differing as they did with regard to both age and sex.

16785 But the excavations inside Constantine's monument had also revealed a characteristic loculus which had been deliberately hollowed out of an already existing wall (the wall which archaeologists today call "Wall G"), included within the Constantinian construction. Wall G is built against the back wall of the Trophy of Gaius, that is the wall which - on account of the vivid red colour of its plaster - came to be called the "Red Wall". Wall G, therefore, is later than the Red Wall, but earlier than the monument of Constantine in which it was enclosed. On the whole, Wall G can be dated to about the mid-3rd century. Inside this wall, as I have said, a secret hiding-place (the loculus) was discovered. It measured 0.77 m long by 0.29 m wide and

16790 0.315 m high, and was lined with slabs of Greek marble.

16795 Wall G and its hiding-place are at the center of extraordinary events, due in part to the somewhat abnormal situation in which the 1940-1949 excavations took place. The first opening made in the northern side of the Constantinian monument brought to light the north section of Wall G, covered with Christian graffiti, and, below it, the opening of the famous loculus. No detailed study of these graffiti was made either then or during the entire period of the excavations. They were deciphered and commented upon at a later time by myself, and in fact they proved to be a wonderful page of Christian spirituality in which the names of Christ, Mary and Peter are particularly prominent and their victory is acclaimed. As for the loculus, the excavators had immediately noticed that it was about half filled with plaster rubble which had fallen from above, that is from the inside of Wall G itself, and from the side, that is from a section of the adjacent Red Wall. For various reasons a systematic emptying of the loculus was not carried out immediately. However, it happened that a certain moment someone noticed that there were bone fragments mixed in with the plaster rubble inside the hiding-place, and arranged for these bones to be gathered up, put in a wooden box and placed in a nearby spot in the Vatican Grottoes, where they remained forgotten for a long time.

16800 In the meantime, the scholars working on the excavations returned to the loculus of Wall G and naturally found it empty, except for "some remains of organic material and bone fragments mixed with earth" (these are their own words) which had remained at the bottom. It was easily perceived that the hiding-place had been made during the building of the Constantinian monument, and from this perception there sprang the theory that it had been intended for the bones of Peter. This theory was admitted, in fact, by various scholars: Father Antonio Ferrua (1952), Jerome Carcopino (1953), Father Engelbert Kirschbaum (1957) and Pasquale Testini (1957). But for the moment the theory remained only a theory. The essential element of proof was missing: the box which had been placed in the nearby spot in the Vatican Grottoes and forgotten. Since the excavators were unaware of the existence of the box, and on the other hand wished to give some explanation for the riddle of Wall G, the idea was put forward and gained increasing credence that the hiding-place had been opened during the Middle Ages on the eastern side, and that through this opening the remains of the Apostle had been taken away.

16805 The wooden box containing the material removed from the hiding-place was found by me only in 1953. Besides bones, it also contained earth, flakes of red plaster, small pieces of rich fabric and two marble fragments. A note, written by a Sampietrino who took part in the first excavations and read by me clearly and in its entirety, stated that the material had been taken from the loculus of Wall G. The flakes of red plaster belonged to the adjacent section of the Red Wall (as can be easily understood). The fragments of marble were shown by a chemical analysis to originate from the front slab of the lining of the loculus. Both the plaster and the marble fragments clearly confirmed the statement in the note.

16810 The idea accredited by the excavators and then generally accepted that the loculus had been broken into during the Middle Ages meant that at that time I myself did not attribute to these remains the importance due to them. But the elementary duty of serious scientific inquiry led me to transfer them to a dry place and to the making

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of provisions for their systematic examination by a qualified specialist. The specialist chosen was Prof. Venerando Correnti, who then held the chair of anthropology at the University of Palermo and today holds the same chair at the University of Rome.

Prof. Correnti was therefore asked in 1956 to begin his work. But before anything else he had to make a long and careful study of the skeletal remains, found in the earth on the western edge of Area P, to which (as I have stated above) a certain importance had hitherto been attributed. The anthropological examination showed in fact that the bones belonged to four different individuals, none of whom could be taken into consideration in connection with the problem of Peter's remains. Only in October 1962 was Prof. Correnti able to devote himself to the examination of the bones found in the loculus of Wall G. This work lasted until the end of June 1963. Briefly, the result was the following: bones of a single individual, of male sex, sturdy build and advanced age (between 60 and 70 years old), encrusted with earth.

This result corresponded with the historical and archaeological data. In the only loculus of Peter's monument-tomb there was in fact to be expected the presence of bones with these characteristics. And this precisely is what had happened. Furthermore, it had to be kept in mind that among the remains from the loculus were small fragments of rich fabric. These indicated that these bones really were the mortal remains of Peter.

There remained a single doubt in my mind: that of the alleged opening of the loculus from the east during the Middle Ages. But it quickly vanished when a minute examination of the interior of the loculus, carried out at my request by the best specialists in Roman wall-construction, proved that the loculus had never been broken into from the time of Constantine until the moment when the excavators of the 1940-49 period had made the first breach of the Constantinian wall.

Experimental analyses of the remains of fabric and of earth were also carried out. All of these tests yielded positive results. The gold was genuine; the cloth was dyed with purple made from murex; the earth matched that of the area.

At this point it seemed reasonable to draw the following conclusions: at the time of Constantine, after the peace of the Church (313), when it was decided to arrange definitively the site of Peter's tomb, the bones lying in the earth under the Trophy of Gaius were collected, wrapped in a precious cloth of purple interwoven with gold and placed in a loculus specially made inside a wall (Wall G) already existing beside the Trophy. In front of this wall, enriched by the precious material inserted, another wall was built which was to be partially broken down only by the excavations begun in 1940. It can be added that the reason for the transfer of Peter's relics from the earth tomb to the loculus in Wall G was probably the well-founded fear that the dampness of the earth, which is notoriously very considerable in the Vatican area, would rapidly damage the venerable remains which had once been entrusted to it. At this point, it would seem appropriate to sum up, for the sake of clarity, the chief elements which have permitted the present writer to proceed to the identification of the bones in the loculus of Wall G as those of the Apostle:

1. The Constantinian monument was considered, in Constantine's day, to be the tomb of the martyr.

2. Inside the monument-sepulchre there exists a loculus, and one only: the loculus of Wall G.

3. This loculus was carved out of Wall G and lined with marble at the time of Constantine.

4. The loculus was never broken into from the age of Constantine until the time of the excavations (about 1941).

5. From this loculus come the bones which were removed at the beginning of the excavations, kept without interruption in a nearby spot in the Vatican Grottoes and recovered from this spot in 1953.

6. These bones, therefore, are the ones which were verified at the time of Constantine as the bones of Peter and place in the loculus of Wall G, inside the monument-sepulchre.

7. The cloth of purple interwoven with gold-thread in which the bones were wrapped at that time confirms the highest dignity then attributed to the remains. The royal purple harmonizes perfectly in fact with the royal porphyry which decorates the outside of the monument.

8. The anthropological examination of the bones - belonging to a single individual - showed that they conform perfectly to what, by tradition, we can imagine was Peter's physical appearance at the time of his martyrdom. Apart from the obvious fact that they belong to a male, the bones indicate a sturdy build and an age somewhere between

60 and 70.

9. The earth encrusted on the bones indicates that the bones themselves originally lay in an earth-grave, and we know that Peter's first burial was in the earth.

10. The characteristics of the earth, shown by the scientific examination, match those of the place where the original tomb was dug (marly sand), while in other parts of the Vatican area the earth is different (blue clay or yellow sand).

11. The place of the earth-burial under the Trophy was found empty. This is in harmony with the presence of the bones, transferred about two metres higher up, in the loculus in the monument of Constantine.

From this concise exposition it can be seen that the above elements constitute the links of a chain, joined to one another, and that chain leads to a conclusion: the bones of Peter have been identified.

Constantine's Basilica

Constantine the Great brought about the triumph of Christianity in making it the religion of the State. The subversive, oppressed, underground creed had been raised out of obscurity to a height of authority of which no third-century pope could have dreamed. What the Faith owes to this extraordinary layman cannot be assessed in terms of ordinary human gratitude. Constantine was a soldier and dictator, a ruthless and ambitious ruler, whose worldly interests played a prominent, but not a predominant part in his determination to advance the banner of Jesus Christ. He was helped and exhorted in the role of supreme protagonist of Christianity by Pope Sylvester. The reigns of popes are not usually long. The longest in history has been that of Pius IX, which was thirty-two years. Before his death in 1878, no pope had covered more than twenty-five years, the presumed limit of St Peter's spiritual sovereignty in Rome; and until Pius reached his quarter of a century of tradition always maintained that it would never be exceeded. Pope Sylvester did not reach twenty-five years, yet he reigned twenty-two, which was a record not to be broken before the death in 795 of Adrian I who surpassed it by one year. Very little is known about Sylvester's character or life beyond the legend that he baptized Constantine and cured him of leprosy in the process. He clearly laboured diligently to promote the Faith and encouraged the emperor's pious reinstatement of martyrs' remains and erection of magnificent churches over their tombs. That he was a saintly, disinterested bishop we guess from his achievements. We may surmise that he was also a man of immense tact and diplomacy to have worked in partnership and apparent harmony from 314 until 335 with an autocrat of Constantine's passion, violence and unpredictability.

The munificent emperor founded, in addition to St Peter's and St John Lateran, the original basilicas of S. Croce in Gerusalemme (in which to deposit the sacred relic of the cross brought to Rome by St Helena his mother), S. Agnese, St Paul and S. Lorenzo, (five of them over the remains of the titular saints and only St John's and S. Croce within the city walls,) the churches of the Nativity at Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, besides lesser churches outside Rome and in other parts of the ancient world of which no vestiges now remain. No pagan emperor Constantine had raised so many temples to the old gods within so short a space of years; and it is exceedingly doubtful if before his reign a single Christian assembly room had ever been built specifically for a Christian congregation. That the Church had downed property in the third century we already know from the fact that the Emperor Gallienus, a tolerant predecessor, restored it after the Decian persecutions. And by property land, and not churches, is meant. There was no church architecture before Constantine's day, even if some private houses were used more or less exclusively for worship, and had been given decoration of a religious character. Architecturally, such places would be indistinguishable from dwellings, for which purpose they had been erected. From the earliest times the houses of rich Christians may have contained small oratories set aside for prayer, and nothing else. With Constantine all was changed. There was no longer any need for the worshippers of Christ to assemble behind closed doors. Christianity was adopted as the state religion and came into the open. Artists appeared whose talents were in sudden demand. The emperor's churches glowed with rich decoration and treasure. An appreciative contemporary describes the 'paints of every colour' of church exteriors, 'reflecting their gold, which the water blends with green reflections in the ornamental pools,' made for ablutions in the courtyard. He rhapsodizes over the interiors and their 'ceilings with gilded beams that make the whole chamber seem like a sunrise. And in the windows glowing stained glass, so that they look like fields studded with gorgeous flowers'. We shall only be dealing with one of Constantine's basilicas, and that the greatest in the Christian world. In precisely which year St Peter's was begun is not known. Certainly not at the beginning of the emperor's reign. Whereas the endowments for the

earlier Lateran basilica came from Italian sources, those for St Peter's were financed by the eastern provinces which only fell to the emperor in 324. The year 322 has been suggested for the foundation date by Toynbee and Perkins. They believe that Constantine may have anticipated the colonial riches which were shortly to come to him. By his death in 337 at least the structure of St Peter's was completed.

The Site

The first questions which present themselves to us are these. Why was the particular site on the Vatican Hill chosen by the emperor for his church? And did a previous building associated with St Peter exist upon it? These questions, which have been examined and thrashed out by many eminent past and present-day scholars with the most scrupulous attention, I shall endeavour to summarize. For a start, let us consider the history of the site in ancient times.

The Mons Vaticanus, or Vatican Hill, derives its name from the worship of Cybele, whose fertility rites associated with her youthful lover Attis were performed here, ex vaticinatione archigalli - that is to say in accordance with the prophecies of the goddess' high priest. On this hill of prophecy the annual spring festival was held. A pine tree, the phallic symbol of Attis, was reared outside the temple in preparation for the Day of Blood. The events that took place on this occasion were to commemorate the self-castration of the youth at the instance of Cybele, whose motives were to prevent him marrying another. In Asia Minor, whence the Cybele cult was brought to Rome, Attis was called Papas, or Zeus Papas. By certain ancient writers his myth has been confused with that of Apollo and, like the great god of perennial youth and beauty, he was supposed to have been slaughtered by a wild boar. But Attis was rather a god of vegetation and propagation, and the spring festival coincided with his death and resurrection. The hill to which the worshippers resorted at the festivals being outside the city walls was indeed until medieval times at the mercy of enemy assaults. This was a cogent reason why the earliest popes preferred not to reside in the Vatican but in the comparative safety of the Lateran Palace. The elder Pliny clearly thought the hill a barren and unattractive spot. He referred to it as infamis Vaticanis locis, an area infested with mosquitoes, which in the summer of 69 decimated the troops of Vitellius posted there. Few people lived on it apart from some fabricators of cooking utensils and wine jars. Worse still, the hill produced a horrible wine. 'If you drink Vatican wine', wrote the satirist poet Martial, 'you are drinking poison: if you like vinegar you will like Vatican wine: Vatican wine is perfidious.' From time to time members of the imperial family attempted to improve the soil. Agrippina senior, Nero's grandmother, drained it, digging channels to take the water down the sticky clay slopes, altering the contours and constructing terraced gardens, and even a covered way to the Tiber. When Nero inherited or appropriated the gardens after murdering his mother, Agrippina junior, in AD 59 they were flourishing. He built a bridge over the river near where the Santo Spirito hospital now stands. So whenever he wished to dally in his grandmother's pleasures or to disport himself in the circus which his predecessor Caligula had made on the lower ground, he could go there at a moment's notice.

The whereabouts of Caligula's Circus was until only a few years ago a puzzle. Most historians were of the opinion that the south wall of Constantine's basilica had been built on the foundations of the northern boundary of the circus. The misapprehension was caused by a belief that the famous Egyptian obelisk, which had been brought from Heliopolis by Caligula, was set up on the central point of the low wall, called the spina, dividing lengthwise the new circus around which the emperor raced his chariots; and that, until its re-erection by Pope Sixtus V in the present piazza in 1586 it had never been moved from its original setting. This was on a spot fairly close to the south side of the medieval St Peter's, and midway between the east and west ends. Yet the excavations which Pope Pius XII put in train in 1940 have proved conclusively that Constantine did not build his basilica over the northern boundary of Caligula's Circus.

So contemporary historians now suggest that the great needle must have been shifted after Caligula's and before Sixtus's time. But when, and by whom? Did Constantine in discontinuing the use of the circus need the site for some buildings ancillary to his basilica, and finding the obelisk in his way move it closer to his new south wall? This question will be considered when we come to the story of Pope Sixtus V's removal of the obelisk in a later chapter.

At all events Nero made his predecessor's racecourse his favourite playground. Here on every possible occasion of popular holiday he would take the reins and drive frenziedly round and round, his egregious vanity tickled by the obligatory plaudits

of his embarrassed subjects. Here too after the Fire of Rome, in order to distract the minds of the miserable citizens from their plight and the whispered allegations of his reckless responsibility for the disaster, he organized in AD 67 spectacles of ineffable carnage and brutality at the expense of the Christians. We may therefore assume, until archaeological or literary evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, that St Peter met his death by crucifixion in the field of blood, Caligula's Circus.

Why then did Constantine not select the circus terrain for the foundations of his huge basilica? As the presumed site of the Apostle martyrdom and as a relatively level space at the foot of the Mons Vaticanus, it offered sentimental as well as physical advantages apparent to the least percipient builder.

On the contrary, Constantine did a very extraordinary thing. He chose to erect the great basilica in honor of the Apostle Peter on the steep slope of the Vatican Hill and right on top of an existing cemetery. We shall come to the difficulties he encountered from geographical causes in due course. First of all, there were distinct legal and moral ones involved in the total destruction of a burial ground in full use. The profanation of a Roman cemetery (*violatio sepulchri*) was in Roman law a criminal offence. Not even the highest officials of the land dared do such a thing without risking prosecution and the direst penalties. And here was the emperor himself razing tombs and sepulchers in order to build over the rubble to which they were reduced. That he could flout public opinion and the law in this flagrant manner is an indication of the height of power the emperor had now attained. The Vatican cemetery was not a very old one. It had developed within a comparatively short period. The large majority of its tombs date from AD 125-200. Pope Pius XII's excavators have established that it was not a particularly high-class cemetery. Few persons belonging to the old Roman families were buried in it. Some of the deceased had been freeborn, many not. Most were of Greek-speaking origin. Nearly all came from the lower clerical and administrative grades of the civil service. As the place became a more and more popular burial ground - remember it was outside the city walls - speculators began buying up plots which they resold for the building of family tombs. The process continued on somewhat haphazard lines and showed little advanced planning. Several of the excavated tombs are, in spite of their middle-class ownership, objects of much beauty as well as interest. Those which escaped total pulverization by Constantine lie below the western half of the old basilica where the land slopes steeply away to the south. The emperor left their roofs intact, merely filling the interiors with rubble to make a firm foundation. The rubble has lately been dug away. The tombs below the eastern half of Constantine's church, which unlike the western half was not built over a crypt, were absolutely razed and cannot for reasons of safety to the present fabric be investigated.

The most notable of the surviving tombs are those facing south across a very narrow street. The fronts, which were of course originally above ground, are more finished than the side and back walls, which were thrust into the northern slope. They present a long line of carefully coursed and jointed brick, washed with thin coats of crimson. They have doorways of travertine and windows and relief panels of terra cotta. The surrounds and lintels of the windows are sharply cut. The perspective reliefs of receding arcades and the figures of quails and other birds are delicately moulded. The street façade is as functional and satisfying as that of a late Georgian London street - which it somewhat resembles only in miniature - where exceedingly plain surfaces are broken by an economy of classical detail in door and window features. The interiors on the other hand are exuberant and aglow with colour and decoration. The barrel-vaulted roods are either paneled with stucco squares and hexagons, framing little rosettes, or painted with arabesques and figures. The walls which provided for the urns or sarcophagi are pierced with shell-headed niches stuccoed in allegorical reliefs, with recesses in lunettes and simple pigeon-hole boxes. In between are crude divisions framing birds and animals finely painted in tempera. The marble sarcophagi are sculptured. Some bear scenes in relief; others are strigilated (that is to say channeled in the familiar Roman S scrolls), flanking a single maenad, a naked Dionysus, or perhaps a bust of the deceased in relief. The second century saw a gradual supercession of cremation by burial, since the Christians favoured the latter way of disposal of their dead, regarding the former as essentially pagan. In the third-century tombs of the Vatican cemetery more definite proof of Christian burial is supplied by some of the inscriptions. Familiar phrases like *Dormit in pace* are taking the place of the old pagan ejaculations such as 'I am ash, ash is earth, earth is divine; therefore I am not dead', or that moving epitaph to a dead boy: 'I pray that his ashes may become violets and roses, and that the earth, whose child he now is, rest light upon him, as he in life weighed heavy on no

17105 man.' Paganism was obsessed by speculations on the hereafter.

There are even earlier hints of Christian burial in the mosaic decorations on vault and wall of at least one of the Vatican tombs, namely that of the Julii family. These fragments are the oldest Christian mosaics so far discovered. They date from the late
 17110 second century. On the east wall Jonah is depicted falling feet foremost from board ship into the whale's jaws. A matrix, deprived of the tiny cubes, shows what looks like St Peter casting his net into the sea. On the west wall the Good Shepherd carries a sheep on his shoulders. Again, on the ceiling vault appears the earliest discovered representation of Christ. Surrounded by spreading vines, in three tones of
 17115 vivid green, the beardless figure wearing a tunic, his cloak flying in the wind, stands driving a chariot of which one wheel and two white horses in scarlet harness are intact. From his head nimbus rays shoot upwards and sideways. In his left hand he carries a globe. The mosaic is known as the Christ-Helios and illustrates the syncretism of Christianity with the pagan sun-worship instituted at the winter
 17120 solstice by Emperor Marcus Aurelius at the end of the second century. Lastly, in the tomb of the Valerii the excavators revealed what they believe to be the head of St Peter drawn in faded red lead, with an inscription, 'Peter, pray Christ Jesus for the holy Christian men buried near your body.' Several experts have claimed that the drawing and inscription date from before the basilica was built.
 17125 Toynbee and Perkins on the other hand conclude that they were roughly daubed by one of Constantine's workmen at the start of the emperor's building operations. There is no reason to regret the later date. On the contrary, it affords striking corroboration of the motives which were behind the whole gigantic enterprise. The sketch and inscription are important evidence of the emperor's own belief. They go a
 17130 long way to answer the question raised earlier why Constantine chose the awkward site of an existing cemetery on the slopes of a hill for the foundation of his great basilica. He was convinced that the remains of St Peter lay buried there. And he was determined, no matter what the cost, to raise the most central, sacred part of his basilica right above the Apostle's resting place.
 17135 Clearly then Constantine made a distinction between the site of St Peter's martyrdom and that of his burial. If, as all the records suggest, Peter met his death among hundreds, and perhaps thousands of other victims in the circus, it would have been difficult for his disciples, after the carnage was over, to identify the precise spot. Moreover, did it greatly matter? They will have had a delicate enough task
 17140 secretly gathering together, probably by night, the cherished remains, of which a reverent interment was their chief concern.

Even the manner of the Apostle's death is conjectural.

The first written reference to it comes in the Acts of Peter, supposedly compiled by
 17145 the Gnostic Pseudo-Linus in the second or third century. He stated that the Apostle was crucified 'ad locum qui vocatur Naumachiae iuxta obeliscum Neronis in monten' in the place called Naumachia [i.e. the artificial lake where sea battles amongst other diversions were staged] close to Nero's obelisk and on the hill. The artificial lake could only have been made on level ground, with the rising stone seats of the circus
 17150 acting as a bank to the waters. Eusebius writing a little later than the author of the Acts asserted that the crucifixion took place head downwards, and that the body was buried in the Vatican 'field'. Did he mean by 'field' the pagan cemetery nearby? And was this understood to be the case by all Christians in the centuries intervening between the martyrdom and the building of the first basilica? Eusebius evidently
 17155 thought so, for he went on, '...his memory among the Romans is still alive than the memory of all those who had lived before him'. It is true that men born Greeks and even slaves have their tombs in the Vatican cemetery, but before their death they had presumably become Roman citizens, who observed Roman customs and rites. St Paul, who suffered an ignominious death similar
 17160 to St Peter's, was buried in a pagan cemetery. But unlike Peter he had from birth been a citizen in spite of his Jewish descent. There can be little doubt that during or just after the Neronian pogrom the less attention drawn to Peter's burial the better. The Acts of Peter maintains that the body was placed in the tomb of a senator, named Marcellus, presumably a Christian convert and follower, a kind of
 17165 Joseph of Aramathea. But it does not state where the tomb was. Constantine had absolutely no doubts in his mind where the Apostle lay buried. In order to get the centre of the apse of his basilica over what he believed to be the grave he was obliged to cut deeply into the rock of the Vatican Hill which rose in a northerly direction. To extend the level platform to the south, an equally formidable
 17170 operation had to be undertaken. This was the raising of massive foundations by means

of artificial terraces over the descending hillside to a height of Thirty-five feet above the bottom of the southern slope. Into the space tons of earth and rock scooped from the northern slope and debris from the desecrated cemetery were shoveled, then packed with concrete and faced with brick and tufa stone.

What exactly the emperor found over the Apostle's grave before he began to build will be discussed shortly, and can in the light of the recent excavations be assessed fairly accurately. What, if anything, he found within it is still open to conjecture. Let us deal first with the last query. This involves taking into account the claims of another resting place, or grave of the Apostle Peter. Pope Damasus (366-84) left an inscription in verse (long ago destroyed) to the effect that Peter and Paul 'once dwelt' on the site now covered by the Church of St Sebastian, likewise built by Constantine, three miles outside Rome along the Appian Way. Gregory the Great (590-604) recorded that the two saints' remains were taken there immediately after their deaths and before their final resting places were prepared for them. It is not impossible that during the lull that followed the Neronian persecution Peter's body, after being hidden at St Sebastian's, was transported to the Vatican cemetery, and Paul's to the Ostian Way.

Be this as it may, early documents and a plethora of tradition claim that for a second time the bodies returned to the catacomb of St Sebastian in the year 258 when the persecutions under Valerian were impending, and that they remained there until Constantine's basilicas were ready to receive them. I see no reason to dispute the likelihood of these precautions having been taken. After all, a similar situation arose more than thirteen hundred years later. When Sir Francis Drake threatened to sack the tomb of St James at Santiago de Compostella, the archbishop and three clerics hastily removed the body to a safe place. They died and when the danger lifted no one knew where the body had been hidden. Not until 1879 was it rediscovered. The St Sebastian tradition is given credence by the discovery under the church of over two hundred graffiti scratched on plaster by pious pilgrims invoking the intercession of Peter and Paul. The date of the graffiti is late third century. Why, if the bodies were not in the locality, should these prayers have been addressed to the saints?

The Shrine

Whether the remains of St Peter were in the tomb on the Vatican Hill when Constantine began to build, or whether the emperor brought them back again from St Sebastian's we may never know. We can only be sure that a monument or shrine to Peter of some kind already existed in the Roman cemetery. Apart from the recent archaeological discoveries, there is written evidence. First of all, the Liber Pontificalis tells us that St Anacletus (AD 79-91), the second pope after Peter, who had ordained him, erected a memorial 'in the vicinity of the Neronian Circus beside the Vatican', to mark the spot where the Apostle's remains were buried after his crucifixion; and that Linus, Peter's immediate successor, had been 'buried there beside Peter's body'. Unfortunately, the Liber Pontificalis is not an invariably trustworthy guide and, as we are about to see, the recent excavations throw doubts upon this early claim. A more revealing quotation is the well-known extract from a letter by a certain Roman priest, named Gaius, written some time between the years 199 and 217. This is what he, an eyewitness, tells his correspondent. 'If you go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way [where St Paul's outside the Walls is] there you will find the trophies [tropaea, for he writes in Greek] of those who founded this church.' Now the meaning of the Greek word tropaion is neither place of martyrdom, nor indeed place of burial, but monument, to be exact triumphal monument, in this context signifying the victory of the winged soul over darkness. In early Christian years before the cult of relics and the morbid lamentation over death had become common, the glory rather than the suffering of martyrs was recorded. Shrines were erected over their graves where commemorative celebrations were held from time to time by jubilant - not mourning - friends and admirers. In the same spirit, early Christian art represented Christ by a variety of cheerful symbols, like the fish, loaf of bread and vine, but never depicted him hanging in agony on the cross.

The extract from the letter of the priest Gaius need not be questioned. It affords very important written evidence. The evidence of the Liber Pontificalis compiled several centuries later, although probably taken from earlier testimony, is, as I have suggested, less reliable. It is not, however, necessarily a fabrication. Pius XII's excavators incline, on the archaeological data revealed to them, to believe that the name Anacletus, the second pope after Peter, was a mistake made by the scribe of the Liber Pontificalis for Anicetus, a pope in office from AD 155-66. Tiles discovered by them in a drain close to the site are stamped with the name of the

Emperor Marcus Aurelius whose reign coincided with that of Pope Anicetus. In their view, the remains of the shrine, or tropaion, which Gaius knew and saw are of the same date as the tiles, that is to say about AD 160, only four years after the death of Polycarp, who had been the pupil of St John!

The long and exciting story of the investigations of the Apostle's grave and monument beneath the basilica has been most skillfully and impartially recorded in Professor Jocelyn Toynbee and Mr John Ward Perkins's exciting book, *The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations*, 1956. It would be redundant to go over their ground in detail. I will just summarize very briefly indeed what the excavators' discoveries amounted to. They found immediately below the central chord of the apse of Constantine's basilica sufficient remains of an aedicular shrine for a conjectural sketch to be made of what the structure looked like in A. D. 160. Somewhat similar aedicular shrines to this one have been found intact in other Roman cemeteries in Italy. The St Peter's shrine, a fairly straightforward and simple affair, was built against and into a wall of the same date, called by the excavators the Red Wall because it is lined with a red plaster - which runs from south to north. The so-called Red Wall was built in order to form a division in the cemetery between certain tombs on the west and an uncovered space, or court, on the east. The shrine within the court and facing east consisted of two superimposed niches, originally visible above ground. The upper niche was round headed and was contained within a little tabernacle under a pediment. The little tabernacle rested on a projecting ledge like a table - only slightly higher from the ground than an ordinary table would be - supported in its turn by two advanced columns. Under the ledge and in front of the lower niche were found the remains of a carefully fitted, moveable slab. The odd thing about the slab is that it was not set flush with the shrine and the Red Wall, but asymmetrically at an angle of ten degree to the north. The irregular setting of the slab at first gave rise to much conjecture until it was found that two very deep graves on either side of the shrine were orientated at precisely the same angle. These graves have been dated from the first century, one of them, again owing to a sealed tile, from Vespasian's reign of AD 69-79. The inference to be drawn from the irregularly set slab and the first-century graves parallel to it is that a previous shrine existed on the site of the A. D. 160 one, but flush with the slab. Other graves dating from the next century were found grouped around the foundations of the shrine, not at the same angle but, as it were, radiating from them. A statement in the *Liber Pontificalis* that Linus, the first pope after Peter, who died in 79, and the next eleven popes were buried round the remains of St Peter may then be borne out by these first - and second-century graves. The fact that the graves are inhumation, not cremation, resting places and were all humble ones, compared with the richly decorated tombs in other parts of the cemetery, contributes to the likelihood that Christian bodies reposed in them.

(In 1626 when the deep foundations for Bernini's baldacchino were being dug the workmen came upon a number of Christian corpses clad in linen, their heads turned towards a central point beneath the high altar. There is no means now of telling the date of the burials.)

And what did the excavators find directly beneath the second-century shrine? Below the lower niche, under the floor level, and hacked out of the foundations of the Red Wall, a third niche or arch, the purpose of which can only have been to avoid disturbing a grave below it. On the south side of the lowest niche, and below the foundations of the Red Wall were traces of a short projecting wall parallel with the first-century graves and the moveable slab already referred to. Clearly this deep wall had been built to form on the slope of the hillside a revetment to a grave above it. On examination, the grave proved to be shorter than it originally had been. One third, which lay on the west side of the Red Wall, had at the time of the wall's building been filled in. In the recess which the remainder of the grave formed, on the east side of the wall, was found a pile of human bones without a head. Heaped together the bones were obviously not in the position of their original burial, and the area showed distinct signs of subsequent looting and desecration. Scientific tests have certified that the bones are the remains of a person of the male sex, of advanced age and powerful physique. Tradition has always maintained that Peter's head was removed for safety in 846, when the threat of Saracen invasion reached Rome, to the Lateran church, where it still remains. Of the many sacks of Rome by barbarian tribes and Christian potentates, the only one which did not spare the tomb of Peter was the Saracens'. Whereas the Nordic invaders of Rome had all been Christians of a sort, the infidel Saracens alone were in no awe of the Faith's most sacred shrine in the west. Contemporary writers mention that they destroyed the altar over the grave,

committing unmentionable wickednesses around it. The excavators are satisfied that they went further than this in smashing and looting what they found within the tomb itself. Toynbee and Perkins sum up their synopsis of the long official report made by Pope Pius's excavators with these words: 'Although it is not certain that the aedicula marks the site of an earlier grave, the hypothesis that it did so explains much that is otherwise obscure; and although there is nothing to prove that this grave was that of St Peter, nothing in the archaeological evidence is inconsistent with such an identification.' To which we may merely add that the second-century builders of the aedicula, or shrine, must have had sounder reasons for putting it where they did than any which we of the twentieth century are likely to discover. The excavations carried out by a group of highly-trained and skilled archaeologists in most difficult circumstances, chief of which was the abiding threat of danger to the great fabric of the present-day St Peter's above ground, have not then established once and for all, as so ardently hoped, that the Apostle's body rests beneath the heart of the basilica. On the other hand, they have enabled the experts to draw a picture of what Constantine the Great saw when he decided to raise a vast basilica in Peter's honour on the slopes of the Vatican Hill. After crossing the Tiber by Nero's bridge, the emperor would leave on his right hand the great drum of Hadrian's Mausoleum, (now the Castle S. Angelo) which dominated the river where it loops sharply to the south. He would then ride, or be driven, along a narrow straight road to where the southern arm of the present colonnade now claws at the entrance of St Peter's Piazza. Ahead of him no sharp cliff of papal palace buildings so familiar to us today, but a steepish slope of poorly cultivated vine terraces. At this spot his road would incline to the west. On his left, on the low ground stretched the oval expanse of Caligula's Circus, punctuated in the centre perhaps by the sharp needle brought from Heliopolis and now gracing the piazza. On his right, reaching to the very edge of the road, the rows of the cemetery tombs, looking like little garden pavilions, spruce and compact and huddled closely together. Dismounting, the emperor would walk through an entrance gate up a narrow path paved with rough concrete, the Red Wall of brick coated with washed plaster to his right, and some grandiose family mausoleums to his left. Skirting the Red Wall, he would emerge into the small courtyard by an entrance in either its northern or eastern enclosure. He then found himself in an altogether humbler quarter of the cemetery. Rising above the unpaved earthen floor a few headstones, or twin slabs of stone leaning together in the form of a tent marked the inhumation graves of St Peter's spiritual heirs. Only against the west wall of the court stood the more prominent aedicula, or shrine, which we have already described as open to the skies. This was the object which the emperor sought to make the central feature of the most ambitious church yet projected by a member of the new Christian faith. As he stopped to gaze upon it and then turned to survey the extremely awkward and steep contours of the surrounding land, which sloped to south and east, he must have pondered the immense task confronting him as well as the odium to be incurred in the total destruction of the cemetery crowded with sepulchres and graves of rich and poor alike.

The Liber Pontificalis states quite categorically that the emperor's first action was to put the Saint's remains, which he either found below the shrine or brought back from St Sebastian's, in a new coffin of cypress wood; this in turn he enclosed within a sarcophagus of bronze. Over the sarcophagus fecit crucem ex auro purissimo - he laid a cross made of purest gold, on which an inscription recorded that it was his and his mother, Helena's gift. This statement has given rise to what in the light of the excavation discoveries must be a fable, namely that the gold cross was seen in 1594.

The Church

Constantine's next move was the leveling of a great space at least 250 m long and 150 m broad to accommodate his projected basilica and atrium. That the emperor regarded the whole enterprise as an act of piety is suggested by the tradition that he carried on his imperial shoulders the first twelve basketfuls of earth for the foundations. Then came the orientation of the church. At St Peter's the setting is the reverse of the later, general custom of having the sanctuary at the east end of the axis. Here the entrance is at the east end and the sanctuary, upon which the body of the church is focused, at the west. This arrangement, not unusual in Constantinian churches, was to enable the rays of the rising sun to fall on the celebrant as he stood before the high altar facing the congregation at Mass. In fact at the vernal equinox the great doors of the porch and those of the church were thrown open at dawn to allow the first beams to illuminate the Apostle's shrine, while the choir and congregation burst into a paean of

thanksgiving. The setting is compatible with Constantine's youthful predilection for sun worship and the Roman Christians' tendency to identify Christ with the god of the rising sun.

Just as many pagan traditions of ritual were adapted to the requirements of the new Faith, so too was pagan architecture largely copied in the building of churches by the early Christians. The plan of Constantine's several churches deliberately followed the conventional plan of the Roman hall of justice, called the Basilica. This law court was habitually rectangular, divided by rows of columns into nave and aisles. At one end, steps led to a platform within a semi-circular apse, in the middle of which sat the chief judge on an armed chair, or throne, made of marble. On either side of him assistant judges perched on curved benches of marble, or stone. A rail or low screen would separate the judges from the populace in the hall below. Before either end of the arc of the apse, and in the body of the hall, stood a box, called the 'ambo', from which counsel and witnesses could address the court. In the middle of the chord of the apse there was often an altar dedicated to Minerva, goddess of wisdom, to whom sacrifice might be made before the legal proceedings began.

Out of these various conventional features the Christian basilica derived. The chief judge's throne was turned into the bishop's throne. The assistant judges' benches became those of the presbyters. The two 'ambos' the pulpits from which the Gospel and Epistle were read. The altar of Minerva gave way to that of the Christian Lord. In execution the chief difference between old St Peter's and a basilica like that of Maxentius lay in the roofing. Whereas Maxentius's basilica had elaborate coffered vaults carried on stout piers in the classical manner admired and followed by the Renaissance, the Christian basilica was roofed in a simple wooden construction which was to be widely imitated by early church builders in Italy. The effect was less remarkable as architecture but more aspirant spiritually. The open timber roofs of most Gothic churches were filled in by later ages contemptuous of this primitive form of carpentry. S. Sabina on the Aventine Hill, dating from about 425 and owing much to St Peter's model, has a flat boarded ceiling inserted beneath the timbers. This church, or nave and two aisles separated by arcades in place of architrave, is in other respects the perfect example of an early medieval Roman basilica, its ample width savouring of serenity and peace.

When St Peter's Basilica was built, the second-century shrine was not buried beneath an altar. On the contrary, it was purposely allowed to stand above the pavement level, but encased in a lavish, contemporary framework befitting so precious a relic. Everything else formerly around it in the old pagan cemetery had been flattened. It alone was made the focal point to which all eyes in the church were to be turned. We may refer once again to the Liber Pontificalis to learn precisely what Constantine did. 'Et exornavit supra,' we read, 'ex columnis purphyreticis et alias columnas vitineas quas de Graecia perduxit.' The little, old-fashioned and rude shrine he enclosed with corner columns, or to be accurate, with pilasters of porphyry. The 'other vine-clad columns', specially brought from Greece, formed part of a new screen across the apse and the canopy over the shrine. This is the earliest reference to six of the strange barley sugar columns of translucent white marble, wreathed with vine tendrils, which still remain in the present St Peter's. Each column, capital, shaft and base is a single block, carved probably around the year 200. Their provenance is not known, and the legend that they came from Solomon's Temple is worth no more than the name of solomónica, which they have given to those ubiquitous twisted columns copied on altars and reredoses in innumerable Spanish renaissance churches. Presumably their pagan significance was Dionysiac, which conveniently became translated by the Christians into the vintage of the Lord. For two centuries and a half the Constantinian setting of the shrine survived. A fifth-century ivory casket, unearthed in 1906 at Samagher, bears in relief a faithful outline of what the canopy looked like. Curved ribs from the corners of four of the columns meet in a boss from which is suspended a lamp shaped like a crown, another gift to St Peter's from the emperor. Between each rear column of the canopy and a pair of separate columns placed at the corners of the apse curtains are hanging. Two priests officiate at the shrine while four more with hands upraised in blessing face the congregation from the sides. Shortly before the Constantinian arrangement was altered a certain deacon, called Agiulf, gave a description of the shrine and the strange antics that took place at it. For anyone wishing to pay particular reverence to the Apostle's tomb, the doors, probably at the rear of the shrine, were unlocked and a small window was opened. The pious person thrust his head inside and was sure to be granted whatever he asked for, provided of course that it was meritorious. Then, having weighed a piece of cloth he

17435 might have brought with him, he dropped it on the end of a string into the tomb
below. After fervently praying, fasting and waiting, he drew up the cloth. If he was
a person of worth, the cloth on being weighed again would prove to be appreciably
heavier than before on account of the special virtue with which it had become
17440 impregnated while in contact with the holy remains. Agiulf spoke of the 'snow-white
columns of wondrous elegance, four in number' of the canopy, as did his contemporary
Gregory of Tours in almost the same phraseology - *mirae elegantiae, candore niveo*.
About 594, however, Gregory the Great thought fit to raise the presbytery some four
and a half feet above the level of the rest of the church. The platform contrived was
17445 approached by steps leading to a central throne and benches fitted into the apse. In
consequence of this alteration, the shrine was left below the presbytery pavement and
must henceforth be looked at through a grill from the lower level. A new canopy with
different supports was provided for an altar which was now built over the sunken
shrine. The six twisted columns were advanced to form a screen to the sanctuary. By
these means, a primitive sort of confession was formed. It was entered from the sides
17450 at the base of the platform and gave access to the shrine by a passage running round
the apse. Thus was established a precedent to be widely followed in Italy and France
in early medieval church building. The first purpose of St. Gregory's alterations was
to protect from barbarian incursions - alas, he did not forestall that of the
Saracens! - the shrine now enriched with the treasure of successive donors. This had
17455 been accumulating for over two centuries. Emperors and popes competed with one
another in making splendid gifts to the Apostle in earnest of their devotion. Pope
Pelagius II, St Gregory's predecessor, had, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*,
'enclosed the body of Blessed Peter, the Apostle, in plates of gilded silver', which
will mean that he had started to redecorate the shrine. Gregory's second purpose was
17460 to form out of the two upper of the three niches of the shrine - all now submerged
below the raised presbytery level - one high and narrow niche to contain the historic
pallia. The pallium is a circular band of white material, marked with six purple
crosses, having pendants on the front and back, to be worn on the shoulders over the
chasuble. It is solely the Pope's right to grant the pallium to archbishops in
17465 symbolism of the plenitude of the pontifical office. The coveted garment is made from
the wool of lambs blessed on St Agnes's Day in the church of S. Agnese fuori le Mura,
and before being dispatched to each recipient rests for a night in front of St
Peter's tomb. In the course of forming the single Niche of the Pallia, the axis of
the shrine was shifted some ten to twelve centimeters to the south.
17470

Gold Finger Rings with the Inscription CONSTANTINO FIDEM

- 17475 The first compilations and discussions of such finger rings can be found in Mowat 1889, Marshall 1907, and Henkel 1913. The items listed here, Nos. 1-16, are from the corresponding list in Noll 1974b, 241-243; Nos. 17-18 have been added. The following list includes only additions (primarily from more recent literature) and corrections to Noll's information, along with the date of discovery, location where they were found, and weight.
- 17480 Four rings with a location of discovery (Nos. 2-5), whose subsequent fate after their discovery is unknown, are contrasted with two rings of unknown origin (Nos. 14-15). It is no longer possible to determine which rings from the two groups are identical due to the lack of or insufficient quality of images of rings Nos. 2-5.
- 17485
- 17490 The following list includes only additions (primarily from more recent literature) and corrections to Noll's information, along with the date of discovery, location where they were found, and weight. No. 1 AMIENS (Somme department) Date of discovery: 1884 (Mowat 1889) Current location: Fitzwilliam Museum, Department of Antiquities, Cambridge (purchased 1975; until 1937 Guilhou Collection, Paris, No. 418) Weight: 10.925 g (courtesy of L. Burn, Cambridge) Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 1 = No. 16; D. Bayard/J.L. Massy, Amiens romain (Heilly 1983) 257, Fig. 130; Ogden 1992, Fig. 3; Entwistle 1994, 27 (No. 3) with illustration
- 17495 No. 2 near TOUL (Meurthe-et-Moselle department), in the Moselle River Date of discovery: before 1906 Current location: "Mus. Toul". (Noll 1974b); an inquiry dated September 23, 1993, to the Musée Municipal in Toul remained unanswered. Weight: unknown. Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 2
- 17500 No. 3 CONTRÉXEVILLE (départ. Vosges) or Solosse (départ. Vosges). Date of discovery: 1873. Location: "Musée Beauvais". (Henkel 1913; Noll 1974b). According to letters from R. Schüler, Musée Départ. Beauvais, dated October 5, 1993, and June 22, 1994, the ring is not listed in the inventories and presumably never entered the museum's collection.
- 17505 Weight: unknown. Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 3
- No. 4 Near Kleve (or Nijmegen?) Date found: 1850. Current location: unknown. Weight: unknown. Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 4
- 17510 No. 5 Qualburg (3 km south of Kleve). Date found: 1905. Current location: unknown. Weight: unknown. Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 5
- 17515 No. 6 Luisendorf (Geldern). Date found: 1836. Current location: British Museum, London. Weight: 10.81 g (Henkel 1913); 10.95 g (Marshall 1907, No. 649). Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 6; Cat. London 1977, 27 (No. 17) with illustration; Noll 1986 with illustration. Johansen 1994, Fig. 3
- 17520 No. 7 at ZERF (17 km south of Trier) Date of discovery: 1882 Location: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier Weight: 10.82 g (Henkel 1913) Literature: Noll 1974b,
- No. 7; Trier, Imperial Residence and Bishopric. Exhibition catalog Trier 1984 (Mainz 1984) 115 (No. 33a) with illustration
- 17525 No. 8 STROMBERG (10 km west of Bingen) Date found: 1879 Current location: Cronberg, Friedrichshof Castle (Henkel 1913) Weight: 11.21 g (Henkel 1913) Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 8
- 17530 No. 9 AUGSBURG (Fig. 1) Date found: 1876 Current location: State Collection of Antiquities, Munich Weight: 10.55 g (Henkel 1913) Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 9; Munich 1989 cat., pp. 73f. (No. 12) with illustration; Biers 1989/90, Fig. 5; Cat. Munich 1998, 173 (No. 228) with illustration; Cat. Rosenheim 2000, 387 (No. 147a)
- 17535 No. 10 OBERWINTERTHUR, City of Winterthur. Date of discovery: 1935. Current location: Swiss National Museum, Zurich. Weight: 10.14 g (courtesy of L. Flutsch, formerly Zurich). Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 10; Noll 1986 with illustration; B. Hedinger, in: Archaeology in the Canton of Zurich 1997-1998. Reports of the Cantonal Archives of Zurich 15 (Zurich/Egg 2000) 312, Fig. 28

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 17540 No. 11 "HUNGARY". Date of discovery: before 1913 Location: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Collection of Classical Antiquities) Weight: 10.7 g (Noll 1974b) Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 11; Noll 1986 with illustration
- 17545 No. 12 SREMSKE MITROVICA (Sirmium) Date of discovery: before 1825 Location: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest Weight: 10.66 g (courtesy of E. Tóth, Budapest) Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 12; Toth 1979, Fig. 5; Noll 1986 with illustration
- 17550 No. 13 BELA PALANKA (40 km south of Niš) Date of discovery: unknown Location: British Museum, London Weight: 7.90 g (!) Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 13; Jovanovic 1978, 20 (No. 22); 110. According to Henkel 1913, 17 with Fig. 6, this ring is said to be "somewhat differently shaped in form." Marshall 1907, 109 notes that the ring is made of light gold and "either it should be angular." However, based on the illustrations in Henkel (ibid., Fig. 6) and Marshall (ibid., Plate 17, No. 650) according to Martin, Constantino Fidem 261, the ring appears to be heavily worn, and the band in the middle section is only about half as wide as at its base on both sides of the (worn and heavily rounded) plate, on which the initial and final letters of the word FIDEM are apparently no longer legible. This wear is confirmed by the much lower weight, which is not taken into account in our table, Fig. 3.
- 17555 [The text abruptly ends here, so the translation stops as well.] No. 14 Location unknown Date of discovery unknown Current location: Pforzheim Jewelry Museum (purchased in 1954 from the Battke Collection) Weight: 10.7 g (courtesy of the museum) Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 14
- 17560 No. 15 Location unknown (Fig. 2)
- 17565 Date of discovery: unknown. Current location: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (on loan from the Zucker Collection since 1985; Basel Coins and Medals Catalogue, Auction XXIII, 1961, No. 220; before 1937 Guilhou Collection, Paris, No. 417). Weight: 10.93 g (Basel Catalogue 1961 and courtesy of G.K. Vikan, Baltimore). Literature: Noll 1974b, No. 15; Vikan 1987, Fig. 3
- 17570 [November 22, 2020: not found on the website of The Walters Art Museum]
- No. 16 = No. 1 (see above)
- 17575 No. 17 BELA PALANKA (cf. No. 13). Date of discovery: before 1934. Current location: unknown. Weight: unknown. Literature: Noll 1974b-; Jovanovic 1978, 20 (No. 21); 110
- 17580 No. 18 LÖCS (Luc, Yugoslavia) Date of discovery: unknown Location: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest Weight: incomplete (only rectangular plate, 11 x 8 mm, with FIDEM and traces of frost) Literature: Noll 1974b-; Toth 1979, Fig. 6 above
- List 2: Gold finger rings with the inscription CONSTANT(I) FIDES
- 17585 No. 1 CAISTOR ST EDMUND/VENTA ICENORUM (Norfolk) (Fig. 6) Date of discovery: 1823 Location: Norwich Castle Museum, Norwich Weight: 9.5 g (kindly communicated by A.E. West, Norwich; according to Archaeologia [London] 21, 1827, 547 "6 dwts. 3grs.") Literature: Noll 1974b, 243 (No. 1); Collingwood/Wright 1991, 16 (No. 2422.4) with illustration
- 17590 No. 2 BIRCHINGTON (Kent) Date of discovery: (before) 1860 Location: unknown Weight: unknown Literature: Noll 1974b, 243 (No. 2); Collingwood/Wright 1991, 16 (No. 2422.7) CONSTANTINO FIDEM and CONSTANT(I) FIDES - Gold Fidelity Rings for Constantine I and his father Constantius Chlorus - CORE Reader <https://core.ac.uk/reader/227000221>
- 17595 November 22, 2020 A gold ring with band shank engraved CONSTANTINO CAVDIVM NOSTRI; rectangular raised bezel engraved FIDEM. 15.24 g, 23.83 mm overall, 21.26 mm internal diameter. From an old collection; formed 1970-1980. Very fine condition. A large wearable size. Very rare.
- 17600 November 22, 2020 TimeLine Auctions
June 2, 2020 Harwich, United Kingdom
<https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/roman-gold-military-fidem-constantino-ring-122-c-5b54f5eb98#>

- 17605 Lot 122: Roman Gold Military 'FIDEM CONSTANTINO' Ring
4th century AD. A gold finger ring with raised rectangular plaque, inscribed in
serifed capitals 'CONSTANTINO FIDEM' (faithful to Constantine"). Cf. Spier, J.,
Treasures of the Ferrell Collection, Wiesbaden, 2010, no. 42 and p. 8 for another
example and discussion on this series of allegiance rings; another example found at
17610 Amiens, France, and acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, acquisition no.
GR.1.1975; another acquired by the British Museum, reference 1917, 10.56 g, 25.88 mm
overall, 23.33 mm internal diameter.
Property of an East Anglian collector; formerly acquired on the European art market
in the 1990s; this lot has been checked against the Interpol Database of stolen works
17615 of art and is accompanied by AIAD certificate number no.158308-10027. Search rings,
declaring allegiance and loyalty to the emperor were presented to high-ranking
military officers as part of their annual bonus payments, a practice that commenced
under Constantine I, the Great; the inclusion of the chi-rho confirms that this
occurred after the conversion to Christianity. After his death in 337 AD, his sons
17620 Constantius II, Constantine II, and Constans ruled the empire together, and the
practice, from very rare surviving examples, is known to have continued until the
reign of Magentius (350-353 AD). A video of this lot can be viewed on the Timeline
Auctions website.
- 17625 June 14-16, 2000 CONSTANTINO FIDEM Loyalty Rings
[...] First, the unusual provenance of our rings should be mentioned: Normally,
objects made of precious metal, which are not discarded even when damaged, are
preserved either as grave goods or as belonging to a hidden, often unrecovered,
burial site in the ground, usually containing other valuables. Many of the
17630 CONSTANTINO FIDEM rings were found before The rings were discovered in 1900 without
regard to the circumstances of their discovery. Nevertheless, it is striking that
none of the rings are listed as having been found in a grave or hoard, a fact that
would hardly have gone unnoticed or unmentioned. One ring (List 1, No. 2) was
recovered from the Moselle River, three more (Nos. 5, 6, and 10) were discovered
17635 during fieldwork, and a fifth (No. 8) was found "all alone and only about half a foot
in the ground." The CONSTANT(I) FIDES ring from near Venta Icenorum (Fig. 6) was also
"ploughed up in a field." If, in fact, neither of the usual methods of transmission
for precious metal objects played a role for either of these rings, one might surmise
that they were once issued and worn in unusually large numbers, of which relatively
17640 few were lost—as genuine losses, which of course never entirely ceased—and never
recovered. The wearers of the rings are described as... One can only imagine members
of the male sex, most likely officers and civil servants.
- 17645 These rings were awarded as decorations or "loyalty rewards"; among the military
wearers, there were likely quite a few of Germanic origin. It is probably no
coincidence that the CONSTANTINO FIDEM rings found in the west have surfaced both
near the imperial residence of Trier and in its surrounding area, from the upper
reaches of the Moselle to Bingen on the Rhine (4x; List 1, Nos. 2, 3, 7 and 8), and
along the imperial border on the Lower Rhine (3x; List 1, Nos. 4-6). However, they
17650 are still absent from the interior of Gaul, with the exception of the single example
from Amiens (List 1, No. I). While one could, in principle, imagine enthusiastic
supporters and partisans of the young Constantine having oath rings made from two
"old" aurei on their own initiative, as already mentioned, more compelling arguments
speak against a "private" production and in favor of an official, centrally directed
17655 manufacture of the rings. This can presumably also be assumed for the loyalty rings
of Constantius Chlorus, especially since here it is not the ring or its wearer who
pledges loyalty and trusts the person named, but rather the emperor's fides (faith),
and presumably also addressed to the emperor, is expressed on an object that the
wearer received from the one to whom he pledged loyalty and trusts. On the FIDES
17660 rings, Constantius Chlorus himself apparently grants the wearer loyalty or protection
and, in turn, counts on the wearer's loyalty. The ingenious formula of his son,
which, with the phrase CONSTANTINO FIDEM, makes the wearer of the ring the speaker,
standing in loyalty to Constantine and simultaneously trusting him, is an
intensification of the idea of connecting fides with a (personal) finger ring. It
17665 creates a closer, almost tangible relationship between the person named on the ring
and its wearer. By placing the oath of loyalty on a ring, the decision to remain
loyal to Constantine and to trust him becomes directly personal and is related to the
wearer and owner. The underlying propaganda is personalized; the oath of allegiance
is not sworn to the state or an institution, but ad personam, to the individual.
17670 According to a later account by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Byzantine emperor from

945 to 959, Constantine the Great is said to have presented the inhabitants of Chersonesus (in Thracian or Taurian territory?) with, among other things, gold finger rings bearing his image, so that he could recognize the messages and petitions they addressed to him by the seal.

17675

Liste I: Fingerringe aus Gold mit Inschrift CONSTANTINO FIDEM

- Erste Zusammenstellungen und Besprechungen derartiger Fingerringe finden sich bei Mowat 1889, Marshall 1907 und Henkel 1913. Die hier angegebenen Nrn. 1-16
- 17680 entsprechender Liste bei Noll 1974b, 241-243; neu kommen hinzu Nrn. 17-18. Im folgenden werden - nebst Funddatum, Aufbewahrungsort und Gewicht - nur Zusätze (v.a. neuere Literatur) und Korrekturen zu Nolls Angaben angeführt.
- Vier Ringen mit Fundortangabe (Nrn. 2-5), deren weiteres Schicksal nach der Auffindung nicht bekannt ist, stehen zwei Ringe unbekannter Herkunft (Nrn.14-15)
- 17685 gegenüber. Welche Ringe beider Gruppen mit einander identisch sind, läßt sich wegen fehlender oder qualitativ unzureichender Abbildungen der Ringe Nrn. 2-5 nicht mehr ausmachen.
- Nr. 1 AMIENS (départ. Somme) Funddatum: 1884 (Mowat 1889) Aufbewahrungsort: Fitzwilliam Museum, Departement of Antiquities, Cambridge (Ankauf 1975; bis 1937 Sammlung Guilhou, Paris, Nr. 418) Gewicht: 10,925 g (frdl. Mitt. L. Burn, Cambridge)
- 17690 Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 1=Nr. 16; D. Bayard/J.L. Massy, Amiens romain (Heilly 1983) 257, Abb. 130; Ogden 1992, Abb. 3; Entwistle 1994, 27 (Nr. 3) mit Abb.
- 17695 Nr. 2 bei TOUL (départ. Meurthe-et-Moselle), in der Mosel Funddatum: vor 1906 Aufbewahrungsort: "Mus. Toul". (Noll 1974b); eine Anfrage vom 23.9.1993 an das Musée municipal in Toul blieb unbeantwortet Gewicht: unbekannt Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 2
- Nr. 3 CONTRÉXEVILLE (départ. Vosges) bzw. Solosse (dep. Vosges) Funddatum: 1873
- 17700 Aufbewahrungsort: "Museum Beauvais". (Henkel 1913; Noll 1974b). Laut Schreiben von R. Schüler, Musée départemental Beauvais, vom 5.10.1993 und 22.6.1994 ist der Ring nicht in den Inventaren verzeichnet und vermutlich nie ins Museum gelangt. Gewicht: unbekannt Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 3
- 17705 Nr. 4 Umgebung von KLEVE (oder Nijmegen?) Funddatum: 1850 Aufbewahrungsort: unbekannt Gewicht: unbekannt Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 4
- Nr. 5 QUALBURG (3 km südlich von Kleve) Funddatum: 1905 Aufbewahrungsort: unbekannt
- 17710 Gewicht: unbekannt Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 5
- Nr. 6 LUISENDORF (Geldern) Funddatum: 1836 Aufbewahrungsort: British Museum, London
- 17715 Gewicht: 10,81 g (Henkel 1913); 10,95 g (Marshall 1907, Nr. 649) Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 6; Kat. London 1977, 27 (Nr. 17) mit Abb.; Noll 1986 mit Abb.; Johansen 1994, Abb.3
- Nr. 7 bei ZERF (17 km südlich von Trier) Funddatum: 1882 Aufbewahrungsort: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier Gewicht: 10,82 g (Henkel 1913) Literatur: Noll 1974b,
- 17720 Nr. 7; Trier, Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz. Ausstellungskatalog Trier 1984 (Mainz 1984) 115 (Nr. 33a) mit Abb.
- Nr. 8 STROMBERG (10 km westlich von Bingen) Funddatum: 1879 Aufbewahrungsort: Cronberg, Schloß Friedrichshof (Henkel 1913) Gewicht: 11,21 g (Henkel 1913)
- 17725 Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 8
- Nr. 9 AUGSBURG (Abb.1) Funddatum: 1876 Aufbewahrungsort: Staatliche Antikensammlung, München Gewicht: 10,55 g (Henkel 1913) Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 9; Kat. München 1989, 73f. (Nr. 12) mit Abb.; Biers 1989/90, Abb. 5; Kat. München 1998, 173 (Nr. 228) mit Abb.; Kat. Rosenheim 2000, 387 (Nr. 147a)
- 17730 Nr. 10 OBERWINTERTHUR, Stadt Winterthur Funddatum: 1935 Aufbewahrungsort: Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich Gewicht: 10,14 g (frdl. Mitt. L. Flutsch, früher Zürich) Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 10; Noll 1986 mit Abb.; B. Hedinger, in: Archäologie im Kanton Zürich 1997-1998. Ber. d. Kantonsarch. Zürich 15 (Zürich/Egg 2000) 312 Abb. 28
- 17735 Nr. 11 "UNGARN". Funddatum: vor 1913 Aufbewahrungsort: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

(Antikensammlung) Gewicht: 10,7 g (Noll 1974b) Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 11; Noll 1986 mit Abb.

- 17740 Nr. 12 SREMSKE MITROVICA (Sirmium) Funddatum: vor 1825 Aufbewahrungsort: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest Gewicht: 10,66 g (frdl. Mitt. E. Tóth, Budapest) Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 12; Toth 1979, Abb. 5; Noll 1986 mit Abb.
- 17745 Nr. 13 BELA PALANKA (40 km südlich von Nis) Funddatum: unbekannt Aufbewahrungsort: British Museum, London Gewicht: 7,90 g(!) Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 13; Jovanovic 1978, 20 (Nr. 22); 110 Nach Henkel 1913, 17 mit Abb. 6 soll dieser Ring "in der Form... etwas abweichend gestaltet sein".; Marshall 1907, 109 vermerkt, daß der Ring aus hellem Gold bestünde und "either should be... angular". sei. Den Abbildungen bei Henkel (ebd. Abb. 6) und Marshall (ebd. Taf. 17, Nr. 650) nach Martin, Constantino Fidem 261 zuschließen, scheint der Ring aber vor allem stark abgenutzt zu sein und ist der Reif im Mittelteil nur noch knapp halb so breit wie an seinem Ansatz beiderseits der (abgeschliffenen und stark verrundeten) Platte, auf der die Anfangs- und Endbuchstaben Fund M des Wortes FIDEM offenbar nicht mehr zu lesen sind. Diese Abnutzungen werden durch das viel geringere Gewicht, das in unserer Tabelle Abb. 3 nicht berücksichtigt wird, bestätigt.
- 17750 Nr. 14 Fundort unbekannt Funddatum: unbekannt Aufbewahrungsort: Schmuckmuseum Pforzheim (Ankauf 1954 aus Sammlung Battke) Gewicht: 10,7 g (frdl. Mitt. des Museums) Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 14
- 17760 Nr. 15 Fundort unbekannt (Abb. 2) Funddatum: unbekannt Aufbewahrungsort: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (seit 1985 Leihgabe der Zucker Collection; Katalog Münzen und Medaillen Basel, Auktion XXIII, 1961, Nr. 220; vor 1937 Sammlung Guilhou, Paris, Nr. 417) Gewicht: 10,93 g (Katalog Basel 1961 und frdl. Mitt. G.K. Vikan, Baltimore)
- 17765 Literatur: Noll 1974b, Nr. 15; Vikan 1987, Abb. 3
[22 november 2020: not found on the website of The Walters Art Museum]
- Nr. 16=Nr. 1 (s.o.)
- 17770 Nr. 17 BELA PALANKA (vgl. Nr. 13) Funddatum: vor 1934 Aufbewahrungsort: unbekannt Gewicht: unbekannt Literatur: Noll 1974b-; Jovanovic 1978, 20 (Nr. 21); 110
- 17775 Nr. 18 LÖCS (Luc, Jugoslawien) Funddatum: unbekannt Aufbewahrungsort: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest Gewicht: unvollständig (nur rechteckige Platte, 11x8 mm, mit FIDEM und Ansätze des Reifserhalten) Literatur: Noll 1974b-; Toth 1979, Abb. 6 oben
- Liste 2: Fingerringe aus Gold mit Inschrift CONSTANT(I) FIDES
- 17780 Nr. 1 CAISTOR ST EDMUND/VENTA ICENORUM (Norfolk) (Abb. 6) Funddatum: 1823 Aufbewahrungsort: Norwich Castle Museum, Norwich Gewicht: 9,5 g (frdl. Mitt. A.E. West, Norwich; laut Archaeologia [London] 21, 1827, 547 "6 dwts. 3grs.") Literatur: Noll 1974b, 243 (Nr. 1); Collingwood/Wright 1991, 16 (Nr. 2422.4) mit Abb.
- 17785 Nr. 2 BIRCHINGTON (Kent) Funddatum: (vor) 1860 Aufbewahrungsort: unbekannt Gewicht: unbekannt Literatur: Noll 1974b, 243 (Nr. 2); Collingwood/Wright 1991, 16 (Nr. 2422.7) CONSTANTINO FIDEM und CONSTANT(I) FIDES - Goldene Treueringe für Constantinus I. und seinen Vater Constantius Chlorus - CORE Reader
<https://core.ac.uk/reader/227000221>
- 17790 22 november 2020 A gold ring with band shank engraved CONSTANTINO CAVDIVM NOSTRI; rectangular raised bezel engraved FIDEM. 15.24 g, 23.83 mm overall, 21.26 mm internal diameter. From a old collection; formed 1970-1980. Very fine condition. A large wearable size. Very rare.
- 17795 22 november 2020 TimeLine Auctions
June 2, 2020 Harwich, United Kingdom
<https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/roman-gold-military-fidem-constantino-ring-122-c-5b54f5eb98#>
- 17800 Lot 122: Roman Gold Military 'FIDEM CONSTANTINO' Ring [See above]
- 14-16 juni 2000 **CONSTANTINO FIDEM Treueringe**
[...] Zunächst ist noch die ungewöhnliche Fundüberlieferung unserer Ringe

anzusprechen: Normalerweise sind uns Gegenstände aus Edelmetall, die bekanntlich auch bei Beschädigung nicht weg geworfen werden, entweder durch ihre Mitgabe ins Grab oder infolge Zugehörigkeit zu einem meistens weitere Wertobjekte enthaltenden, nicht mehr wieder geborgenen Versteckort im Boden überliefert. Zwar sind viele der CONSTANTINO FIDEM-Ringe vor 1900 und ohne Beachtung der Fundumstände entdeckt worden. Dennoch ist es auffällig, daß für keinen Ring die Kategorie Grab- bzw. Versteckfund bezeugt wird, was doch kaum unbeachtet oder unerwähnt geblieben wäre. Ein Ring (Liste 1, Nr. 2) wurde aus der Mosel geborgen, drei weitere (Nrn. 5, 6 und 10) bei Feldarbeiten entdeckt, ein fünfter (Nr. 8) "ganz allein und nur etwa 1/2 Fuß in der Erde"; auch der CONSTANT(I) FIDES-Ring aus der Nähe von Venta Icenorum (Abb. 6) "was ploughed up in a field". Sollte tatsächlich beiden Treueringen weder die eine noch die andere der für Edelmetallobjekte üblichen Überlieferungsformen eine Rolle gespielt haben, so darf man vielleicht vermuten, es seien die Ringe einst in ungewöhnlich großer Zahl ausgegeben und getragen worden, wovon dann eben relativ wenige - als echte Verlustfunde, die natürlich zu keinen Zeiten ganz ausblieben - verloren gegangen und nicht wieder auf gefunden worden wären. Als Träger der Treueringe wird man sich ausschließlich Angehörige des männlichen Geschlechts, am ehesten Offiziere und Beamte, vorstellen müssen, die diese Ringe als Auszeichnungen oder "Treueprämien für Loyalität" erhielten; unter den militärischen Trägern dürften nicht wenige germanischer Herkunft gewesen sein. Vermutlich nicht zufällig sind die im Westen gefundenen CONSTANTINO FIDEM-Ringe einerseits bei der Kaiserresidenz Trier und in ihrem weiteren Umland, vom Oberlauf der Mosel bis nach Bingen am Rhein (4x; Liste 1, Nrn. 2, 3, 7 und 8), andererseits entlang der Reichsgrenze am Niederrhein (3x; Liste 1, Nrn. 4-6) zum Vorschein gekommen, fehlen hingegen bislang im Innern Galliens, bis auf den einen Beleg aus Amiens (Liste 1, Nr. I). Zwar könnte man sich im Prinzip auch begeisterte Anhänger und Parteigänger des jungen Konstantin vorstellen, die sich aus eigenem Antrieb aus jeweils zwei "alten" Aurei Treueringe hätten anfertigen lassen, doch sprechen, wie schon erwähnt, gewichtigere Argumente gegen eine "private" und für eine offizielle, zentral gelenkte Herstellung der Ringe. Dies wird man vermutlich auch für die Treueringe des Constantius Chlorus annehmen dürfen, zumal hier nicht der Ring bzw. Träger dem mit Namen Genannten Treue gelobt und ihm vertraut, sondern die Fides des Kaisers, aber wohl auch zum Kaiser an-und ausgesprochen wird auf einem Gegenstand, den der Träger von dem erhalten hat, dem er Treue gelobt und vertraut. Auf den FIDES Ringen gewährt anscheinend Constantius Chlorus selbst dem Träger Treue bzw. Schutz und zählt seinerseits auf dessen Treue. Die geniale Formel des Sohnes, die mit der Wendung CONSTANTINO FIDEM den Träger des Ringes zum Sprechenden macht, der in Treue zu Konstantin steht und ihm zugleich vertraut, ist eine Steigerung der Idee, Fides mit einem (personengebundenen) Fingerring zu verbinden. Sie schafft eine engere, gleichsam mit Händen zugreifende Beziehung zwischen der auf dem Ring genannten Person und dessen Träger. Mit der Platzierung des Treuegelöbnisses auf einem Ring wird der Entschluß, Konstantin die Treue zu halten und ihm zu vertrauen, unmittelbar persönlich und ist auf den Träger und Besitzer bezogen. Die dahinter stehende Propaganda wird personalisiert, der Treue schwur nicht dem Staat oder einer Institution, sondern ad personam, der Person geleistet. Nach einer späten Nachricht des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, byzantinischer Kaiser von 945 bis 959, soll Konstantin d. Gr. Bewohnern des (thrakischen oder taurischen?) Chersones unter anderem goldene Fingerringe, auf denen sein Bildnis wiedergegeben war, geschenkt haben, damit er Berichte und Bitten, die sie an ihn richteten, am Siegel erkennen könne.

Crispus

Crispus was the oldest son of the emperor Constantine I and played a fairly important role in the political and military events of the early fourth century. The regular form of his full name is Flavius Iulius Crispus, although the forms Flavius Claudius Crispus and Flavius Valerius Crispus also occur. His mother was a woman named Minervina, with whom Constantine had a relationship, probably illegitimate, before he married Fausta in 307. When Minervina died or when Constantine put her aside we do not know. Nor do we know when she gave birth to Crispus; we may assume, of course, that it was before 307. Some modern authorities, on good grounds, think that it was in 305. Crispus' place of birth must have been somewhere in the East, and it is not known when he was brought to Gaul and when, where, or under what circumstances he was separated from his mother. Constantine entrusted the education of his son to the distinguished Christian scholar Lactantius, thereby giving a clear sign of his commitment to Christianity. We are not told when Lactantius assumed his duties, but a

17870 date before 317 seems likely. Nor do we know how successful he was in instilling Christian beliefs and values in his imperial pupil. No later than January of 322 Crispus must have married a woman named Helena -- not to be confused with Constantine's mother or daughter by the same name-- and this woman bore him a child in October of 322. Constantine, we learn, was pleased.

17875 Crispus' official career began at an early age and is well documented. On March 1 of 317, at Serdica (modern Sofia), his father appointed him Caesar. The consulship was his three times, in 318, 321, and 324. While nominally in charge of Gaul, with a prefect at his side, he successfully undertook military operations against the Franks and Alamanni in 320 and 323. In 324, during the second war between Constantine and 17880 Licinius, he excelled as commander of Constantine's fleet in the waters of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosporus, thus making a significant contribution to the outcome of that war. The high points of his career are amply reflected in the imperial coinage. In addition to coins, we have his portrait, with varying degrees of certainty, in a number of sculptures, mosaics, cameos, etc. Contemporary authors heap 17885 praises upon him. Thus the panegyrist Nazarius speaks of Crispus' "magnificent deeds," and Eusebius calls him "an emperor most dear to God and in all regards comparable to his father."

Crispus' end was as tragic as his career had been brilliant. His own father ordered 17890 him to be put to death. We know the year of this sad event, 326, from the Consularia Constantinopolitana, and the place, Pola in Istria, from Ammianus Marcellinus. The circumstances, however, are less clear. Zosimus (6th c.) and Zonaras (12th c.) both report that Crispus and his stepmother Fausta were involved in an illicit 17895 relationship. There may be as much gossip as fact in their reports, but it is certain that at some time during the same year the emperor ordered the death of his own wife as well, and the two cases must be considered together. That Crispus and Fausta plotted treason is reported by Gregory of Tours, but not very believable. We must 17900 resolutely reject the claim of Zosimus that it was Constantine's sense of guilt over these deeds which caused him to accept Christianity, as it alone promised him forgiveness for his sins. A similar claim had already been made by Julian the 17905 Apostate. We must also, I think, reject the suggestion of Guthrie that the emperor acted in the interest of "dynastic legitimacy," that is, that he removed his illegitimate first-born son in order to secure the succession for his three legitimate younger sons. But Crispus must have committed, or at least must have been 17905 suspected of having committed, some especially shocking offense to earn him a sentence of death from his own father. He also suffered *damnatio memoriae*, his honor was never restored, and history has not recorded the fate of his wife and his child (or children).

17910 [Roman Emperors - DIR Crispus Caesar \(luc.edu\)](#)
[The Execution of Crispus on JSTOR](#)
[Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End on JSTOR](#)

Nazarius

(4th century CE), was a Roman and a Latin rhetorician and panegyrist. He was, 17915 according to Ausonius, a professor of rhetoric at Burdigala (Bordeaux). The extant speech of which he is undoubtedly the author (in R.A.B. Mynors, XII Panegyrici Latini, Oxford 1964, No. 4; English translation in C.E.V. Nixon/Barbara 17920 Rodgers, In Praise of Later Roman Emperors (Berkeley 1994) was delivered in 321 CE to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the accession of Constantine the Great, and the fifth of his son Constantine's admission to the rank of Caesar. The preceding speech (No. 12), celebrating the victory of Constantine over Maxentius, delivered in 313 CE at Augusta Treverorum (Trier), has often been attributed to Nazarius, but the 17925 difference in style and vocabulary, and the more distinctly Christian coloring of Nazarius's speech, are against this.

Nazarius was an orator who lived in the fourth century AD. Virtually nothing is known about his life. The only information we have is that he delivered at least two 17930 speeches in 321 in honor of Emperor Constantine and his two sons, Crispus and Constantinus. Of the two speeches Nazarius delivered, only one is known. He is also said to have had a daughter who was a renowned orator.

Sources

Nazarius is known only through three written sources. First, there is the panegyric (eulogy) he left behind. This was delivered in Rome before the Senate in 321. The

17935 occasion for this was the fifteenth anniversary of Constantine's reign and the
 quinquennalia of his two sons, Crispus and Constantinus. The speech celebrates
 Constantine's victory over Maxentius after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312
 and was likely delivered in Constantine's absence. It is striking that Nazarius makes
 almost no further references to the events after the battle. He also mentions nothing
 17940 about himself, his whereabouts, his origins, or his position. This may indicate that
 he deemed this unnecessary due to the fame he enjoyed at the time.[1] The twelfth
 panegyric is sometimes also attributed to Nazarius, but according to Wilhelm Kroll,
 there are insufficient elements to support this claim.[2]
 A second written source comes from Jerome of Stridon (best known for his translation
 17945 of the Bible into Latin).[3] Nazarius appears twice in his chronicles. In the year
 324, Jerome writes: "Nazarius, rethor insignis habitur." Nazarius was therefore a
 renowned orator in his time. In the year 336, Hieronymus mentions the daughter of
 Nazarius: 'Nazarii rethoris filia in eloquentia patri coaequatur.' Apparently,
 Nazarius' daughter had as much rhetorical talent as her father. Finally, Nazarius is
 17950 mentioned in Ausonius's "Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium." Deci(m)us Magnus
 Ausonius (c. 310 – c. 393) was a celebrated Latin poet from Bordeaux, where he taught
 grammar and eloquence. Ausonius writes that Agricus held a chair previously held by
 Nazarius and Patera. This passage has led to much speculation about whether Nazarius
 actually came from Bordeaux. However, this remains highly uncertain. If Nazarius were
 17955 indeed from Bordeaux, Ausonius would undoubtedly have devoted more texts to him.
 Moreover, it is also unclear whether the chair Agricus took in Nazarius's place was
 actually located in Bordeaux. According to some researchers, it was located in Rome.

Contents of the panegyric

17960 As mentioned earlier, the panegyric was addressed to the Senate on the occasion of
 the fifteenth anniversary of Constantine's reign and the quinquennalia of Crispus and
 Constantine, the two sons of Constantine. Constantine himself was probably not
 present during the speech. The speech is primarily a slimy ode to the emperor.
 According to Nazarius, Constantine surpasses all previous emperors.[10] The military
 17965 skills of the emperor and his sons are praised, and he describes Constantine's
 campaign against Maxentius. It was Maxentius's cruelties that forced him into battle.
 Constantine was urged to fight by his deceased father, Constantius. Constantine is
 praised as a peacemaker, and strangely enough, Nazarius does not dwell on the tense
 situation that arose after the victory in 312 between Constantine and Licinius, who
 17970 was still co-emperor in the eastern Roman Empire in 321.

Style

Nazarius writes in baroque prose in Gaulish Latin, overloaded with every conceivable
 stylistic device. Nixon and Rodgers compare his style to that of a student eagerly
 17975 displaying all his rhetorical skills. Nazarius's style betrays a passion for
 obscurity, which was typical of this period. This obscurity is particularly evident
 in the description of Constantine. Nazarius is a master of his classics, and the
 speech is full of allusions to Cicero, Sallust, and Virgil.

Historical Significance

17980 Nazarius's speech contains very little historical information about Constantine.
 Especially from the period after Constantine's victory over Maxentius, almost nothing
 is mentioned. This may be due to the fact that Licinius was still co-emperor in 321.
 The atmosphere between Constantine and Licinius (who was not a Christian) was
 17985 particularly tense at that time.
 It is important to note that Nazarius, along with Eusebius, Lactantius, and the
 unknown author of the twelfth panegyric, are the only contemporaries to have written
 an account of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (just outside Rome). This battle,
 where Constantine defeated Maxentius, is still often considered a milestone in the
 17990 history of Christianity. Constantine is said to have a dream or vision during the
 battle, which led him to victory and subsequent conversion to Christianity. However,
 the accounts of Nazarius, Lactantius, Eusebius, and the unknown author of Panegyric
 12 differ significantly. Moreover, both Eusebius and Nazarius testify in his "Church
 History" that divine intervention occurred just before the start of the Italian
 17995 campaign against Maxentius, and not immediately before the famous battle at the
 Melvian Bridge. According to Lactantius, Constantine had already converted before the
 start of his Italian campaign. According to the primary sources, there is absolutely
 no evidence of Constantine converting to Christianity during the battle.
 From a religious perspective, Nazarius's speech is particularly interesting. Unlike
 18000 Eusebius and Lactantius, Nazarius was clearly not a Christian. Together with the

unknown author of Panegyric 12, Nazarius has handed down to us a pagan version of the battle at the Melvian Bridge. It is particularly difficult to grasp Nazarius's religious convictions. His speech contains many pagan elements. He refers to Mars, among other things, and praises Constantine's immortality (something a Christian author would never do). Yet, there are undoubtedly Christian elements as well. Nazarius's choice of words clearly demonstrates his familiarity with monotheism. Heavenly troops that had aided Constantine in his victory were commanded by his deceased father, Divus Constantius. Nazarius doesn't mention a dream or vision, as Eusebius or Lactantius do, but he does speak of armies sent by heaven to fight for Constantine. This heavenly intervention was a reward for Constantine's piety. It seems highly likely that Nazarius did not dare to take a position between paganism and Christianity. This can be explained by the uncertain political and religious situation in the Roman Empire at the time of his speech. Some researchers, such as T. Barnes, believe that Nazarius was indeed a Christian. Wilhelm Kroll correctly points out the Christian meaning of the name Nazarius.

The archaeology of the cuneiform inscriptions

18020 Preface

The first six chapters which follow, embody the Rhind Lectures in Archaeology which I delivered at Edinburgh in October 1906. The seventh chapter appeared as an article in the Contemporary Review for August 1905, and is here reprinted by the courtesy of the Editor to whom I render my thanks. The book is the first attempt to deal with what I would call the archaeology of cuneiform decipherment, and like all pioneering work consequently claims the indulgence of the reader. For the sake of clearness I have been forced to repeat myself in a few instances, more especially in the sixth chapter, but what has thereby been lost in literary finish will, I hope, be compensated by an increase of clearness in the argument.

18030 If what I have written serves no other purpose, I shall be content if it draws attention to the miserably defective state of our archaeological knowledge of Babylonia and Assyria, and to the necessity of scientific excavations being carried on there similar to those inaugurated by Mr. Rhind in Egypt. We have abundance of epigraphic material; it is the more purely archaeological material that is still wanting.

18035 The need of it is every year becoming more urgent with the ever-growing revelation of the important and far-reaching part played by Babylonian culture in the ancient East. Excavation is just commencing in Asia Minor, and there are many indications that it has startling discoveries and surprises in store for us. Even while my manuscript was in the printer's hands, Professor Winckler has been examining the cuneiform tablets found by him last spring at Boghaz Keui, on the site of the old Hittite capital in Cappadocia, and reading in them the records of the Hittite kings, Khattu-sil, Sapaluliuma, Mur-sila and Muttallu. Most of the tablets, though written in cuneiform characters, are in the native language of the country, but among them is a version in the Babylonian language of the treaty between the "great king of the Hittites" and Riya-masesa Mai or Ramses II, the Egyptian copy of which has long been known to us. The two Arzawan letters in the Tel el-Amarna collection no longer stand alone; the Boghaz Keui tablets show that an active correspondence was carried on between Egypt and Cappadocia. We must revise our old ideas about an absence of intercourse between different parts of the ancient Oriental world: there was quite as much intercommunication as there is today.

18040 Elam and Babylonia, Assyria and Asia Minor, Palestine and Egypt, all were linked together by the ties of a common culture; there were no exclusive religions to raise barriers between nation and nation, and the pottery of the Hittites was not only carried to the south of Canaan, but the civilization of Babylonia made its way through Hittite lands to the shores and islands of Greece. On the south, the Egean became a highway from Asia Minor to Europe, while northward the Troad formed a bridge which carried the culture of Cappadocia to the Balkans and the Danube.

18050 A. H. Sayce.

18060 November 1906.

CHAPTER I THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

[by Rev. A. H. SAYCE PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD]

18065 The decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions was the archaeological romance of the nineteenth century.

There was no Rosetta stone to offer a clue to their meaning; the very names of the

Assyrian kings and of the gods they worshipped had been lost and forgotten; and the characters themselves were but conventional groups of wedges, not pictures of objects and ideas like the hieroglyphs of Egypt. The decipherment started with the guess of a classical scholar who knew no Oriental languages and had never travelled in the East. And yet it is upon this guess that the vast superstructure of cuneiform decipherment has been slowly reared, with its ever-increasing mass of literature in numerous languages, the very existence of some of which had been previously unknown, and with its revelation of a civilized world that had faded out of sight before Greek history began.

The ancient East has risen, as it were, from the dead, with its politics and its wars, its law and its trade, its art, its industries and its science. And this revelation of a new world, this resurrection of a dead past, has started from a successful guess. But the guess had been made in accordance with scientific method and had scientific reasons behind it, and it has proved to be the fruitful seed of an overspreading tree.

Seventy years ago a single small case was sufficient to hold all the Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities possessed by the British Museum. They had been collected by Rich, to whom we owe the first accurate plans of the sites of Babylon and Nineveh. But the cuneiform characters found on the seals and clay cylinders of Babylonia were not the only characters of the kind that were known.

Similar characters had been noticed by travellers on the walls of the ruined palaces of Persepolis in Persia. As far back as 1621 the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle had copied two or three of these, which he reproduced in the account of his travels - some thirty years later. One of the first acts of the newly-founded Royal Society of Great Britain was to ask in their Philosophical Transactions (p. 420) whether some draughtsman could not be found to copy the bas-reliefs and inscriptions which had thus been observed at Persepolis, though the only result of the inquiry was that a few years afterwards (in June 1693) two lines of cuneiform were published in the Transactions from the papers of a Mr. Samuel Flower, who had been the agent of the East India Company in Persia. The editor of the Transactions correctly concluded that the inscriptions were to be read from left to right. The cuneiform characters which were printed in the Transactions were, however, not the first specimens of cuneiform script that had been published in England. Thomas Herbert, in the fourth edition of his Travels, which appeared in 1677, had already given three lines of characters taken indifferently from the three classes of inscriptions engraved on the Persian monuments; these were afterwards annexed by an Italian named Careri, who published them as his own. But the earliest inscription to be reproduced in full was a short one inscribed by Darius I over the windows of his palace, which had been copied by Sir John Chardin during one of his two visits to Persepolis (in 1665 and 1673). Chardin was the son of a Huguenot jeweller in Paris, and after returning from his travels settled in London, where he became a great favourite of Charles II., and was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. The inscription he had copied, however, was not printed in the earlier edition of his Travels, and had to wait until 1735 before it saw the light.¹

The existence of the cuneiform script thus became known in Europe, and that was all. It was not until Carsten Niebuhr, the father of the better-known historian, had been sent by the Danish Government on an exploring mission to the East that fairly complete and accurate copies of the inscriptions of Persepolis were at last put into the hands of European scholars.

Niebuhr, who sacrificed his sight to the work, returned to Denmark in 1767, and seven years later the first of the three volumes in which the scientific results of his travels were embodied was published at Copenhagen.

With the publication of the second volume, which contained his description of the Persepolitan monuments, the attempt to decipher the cuneiform characters began. He himself had noticed that in the first of the three classes or systems of cuneiform writing of which every inscription consisted, only forty-two characters were employed, and he therefore concluded that the system was alphabetic. Another Dane, Bishop Munter, discovered that the words in it were divided from one another by an oblique wedge,¹ and further showed that the monuments must belong to the age of Cyrus and his successors.² One word, which occurs without any variation towards the beginning of each inscription, he correctly inferred to signify "king"; but beyond this he was unable to advance.

Meanwhile, Anquetil-Duperron, with self-sacrificing enthusiasm, had rediscovered the Zend of the later Zoroastrian faith, and de Sacy, with the help of it, had deciphered the Pehlevi inscriptions of the Sassanid kings. It was only the older Persian of the Achaemenian cuneiform inscriptions that still awaited interpretation; and a bridge

had been built between it and modern Persian by means of the Zendic texts. In 1802 the guess was made which opened the way to the decipherment of the mysterious wedge-shaped signs. The inspired genius was Grotefend, an accomplished Latinist and a school-master at Frankfort-on-the-Main. He knew no Oriental languages, but his mother-wit and common-sense more than made up for the deficiency. It was clear to him that the three systems of cuneiform represented three different languages, the Persian kings being like a Turkish pasha of to-day, who, when he wishes an edict to be understood, writes it in Turkish and Arabic. It was also clear to him that the first system must be the script of the Persian kings themselves, of which the other two were translations. The preparatory work for reading this had already been done by Munter; what Grotefend now had to do was to identify and read the names to which the word for "king" was attached.

On comparing the inscriptions together he found that while the word for "king" remained unchanged, the word which accompanied it at the beginning of an inscription varied on different monuments. There were, in fact, two wholly different words, one of which was peculiar to one set of monuments, the other to another set. But he also found that the first of these words followed the other on the second set of monuments, though with a different termination from that which belonged to it when it took the place of the first word. Hence he conjectured that the two words represented the names of two Persian kings, one of whom was the son of the other, the termination of the second name when it followed the first being that of the genitive. It was now necessary to discover who the kings were whose names had thus been found.

Fortunately the Achsemenian dynasty was not a long one, and the number of royal names in it was not large. And of these names, Cyrus was too short and Artaxerxes too long for either of the two names which Grotefend had detected. There only remained Darius and Xerxes, and as Xerxes was the son of Darius, the name which characterized the first set of monuments must be Darius.

Grotefend's next task was to ascertain the old Persian pronunciation of the name of Darius. This had been given by Strabo, while the Persian pronunciation of Xerxes was indicated in the Old Testament. With this assistance Grotefend was able to assign alphabetic values to the cuneiform characters which composed the two names, and a corner of the veil which had so long covered the cuneiform records was lifted at last. A comparison of the names which he had thus read gave the needful verification of the correctness of his method. In the names of Darius and Xerxes the same letters occur, but in different places; a and r in Darius occupy the second and third places, in Xerxes the fourth and fifth, while sk> which is the last letter in Darius, would be the second and sixth in Xerxes. And such was actually the case.

Grotefend was therefore justified in concluding that his guesses were correct, and that the right values had been assigned to the cuneiform characters. A beginning had been made in cuneiform decipherment, and in this instance the beginning was half the whole.

Grotefend's Memoir was presented to the Gottingen Academy on September 4, 1802. By a curious accident it was at the same meeting that Heyne described the first attempts that had been made towards deciphering the Egyptian hieroglyphs. But the learned world looked askance at the discoveries of the young Latinist. The science of archaeology was still unborn, and Oriental philologists were unable even to understand the inductive method of the decipherer. The Academy of Gottingen refused to print his communications, and it was not until 1815 that they appeared in the first volume of the History of his friend Heeren, who, being untrammelled by the prejudices of Oriental learning, had been one of the earliest to accept his conclusions.¹ For a whole generation the work of decipherment was allowed to sleep. It is unfortunately true that after his initial success Grotefend's ignorance of Oriental languages really did stand in his way. He assumed that the language of the inscriptions and that of the Zend-Avesta were one and the same, and accordingly went to the newly-found Zend dictionary for the readings of the cuneiform names and words. Vishtaspa, the name of the father of Darius, was thus read Goshtasp, the word for "king" became khsheh instead of khshayathiya, and that which Grotefend had correctly divined to signify "great," eghre instead of vazraka. It is not wonderful, therefore, that he was never able to follow up the beginning he had made.

The revival of interest in Grotefend's work was due to the fact that Champollion, after the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, found the name of Xerxes on an alabaster vase at Paris on which, according to Grotefend's system, the same name was written in Persian cuneiform. This led the Abbe Saint-Martin, who was a recognized Orientalist, to adopt and follow up Grotefend's discovery in a Memoir which he read before the French Academy in 1822, and Saint-Martin's work attracted the attention of Rask and Burnouf.

18200 To do this was reserved for the Zendic scholars of a later generation. Rask the Dane in 1826 determined the true form of the genitive plural, and thereby identified the character for which gave him the names of the supreme god Auramazda and of Achaemenes the forefather of Cyrus.¹ But the great step forward was made by the eminent French scholar, Emile Burnouf, in 1836.² The first of the inscriptions published by Niebuhr he discovered to contain a list of the satrapies of Darius. With this clue in his

18205 hand the reading of the names and the subsequent identification of the letters which composed them could be a question only of patience and time. For this Burnouf was well equipped by his philological knowledge and training, and the result was an alphabet of thirty letters, the greater part of which had been correctly deciphered. Burnouf's Memoir on the subject was published in June 1836. In the preceding month

18210 his friend and pupil, Professor Lassen of Bonn, had also published a work on "The Old Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis."³ He and Burnouf had been in frequent correspondence, and his claim to have independently detected the names of the satrapies, and thereby to have fixed the values of the Persian characters, was in consequence fiercely attacked. To the attacks made upon him, however, Lassen never

18215 vouchsafed a reply. Whatever his obligations to Burnouf may have been, his own contributions to the decipherment of the inscriptions were numerous and important. He succeeded in fixing the true values of nearly all the letters in the Persian alphabet, in translating the texts, and in proving that the language of them was not Zend, but stood to both Zend

18220 and Sanskrit in the relation of a sister. Meanwhile another scholar, armed with fresh and important material, had entered the field. A young English officer in the East India Company's service, Major Rawlinson by name, was attached to the British Mission in Persia. A happy inspiration led him to attempt the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions. It was in 1835, when he

18225 was twenty-five years old, that he first began his work. All that he knew was that Grotefend had discovered in the texts of Persepolis the names of Darius, of Xerxes and of Hystaspes, but cut off as he was in his official position at Kirmanshah on the western frontier of Persia from European libraries, he was unable to procure either the Memoir of the German scholar or the articles to which it had given rise. Like

18230 Burnouf, he set himself to decipher the two inscriptions of Hamadan, which he had himself copied with great care. He soon recognized in them the names that had been read by Grotefend, and thus obtained a working alphabet. But his position in Persia soon gave him an advantage which was denied to his fellow-workers in Europe. It was not long before he found an opportunity of copying the

18235 great inscription on the sacred rock of Behistun, which had never been copied before. It was by far the longest cuneiform inscription yet discovered, and was filled with proper names, including those of the Persian satrapies. The copying of it, however, cost much time and labour, and was accomplished at actual risk of life, as Major Rawlinson, better known by his later title of Sir Henry Rawlinson, had to be lowered

18240 in a basket from the top of the cliff in order to ascertain the exact forms of certain characters. In the following year (1836) Rawlinson moved to Teheran, and there received from Edwin Norris, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Memoirs of Grotefend and Saint-Martin. In 1837 he finished his copy of the Behistun inscription, and sent

18245 a translation of its opening paragraphs to the Royal Asiatic Society. Before, however, his Paper could be published, the works of Lassen and Burnouf reached him, necessitating a revision of his Paper and the postponement of its publication. Then came other causes of delay. He was called away to Afghanistan to perform the onerous and responsible duties of British Agent at Kandahar, and it was not until 1843 that

18250 he was once more free to resume his cuneiform studies. A year later he was visited by the Danish Professor, Westergaard, who placed at his disposal the copies he had just made of the inscription on the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam and of some shorter inscriptions from Persepolis, and Rawlinson's Memoir was accordingly finished at last and sent to England. Here Norris subjected it to a careful revision, and at his suggestion Rawlinson once

18255 more visited Behistun, where he took squeezes and re-examined doubtful characters. In 1847 the first part of the Memoir was published, though the second part, containing the analysis and commentary on the text, did not appear till 1849.¹ The work, however, was well worthy of the time and care that had been bestowed upon it.

18260 The task of deciphering the Persian cuneiform texts was virtually accomplished, and the guesses of Grotefend had developed into the discovery of a new alphabet and a new language. The capstone was put to the work by the discovery of Hincks, an Irish clergyman, that the alphabet was not a true one in the modern sense of the word, a vowel-sound being attached in pronunciation to each of the consonants represented in

- 18265 it.
- The mystery of the Persian cuneiform texts was thus solved after nearly fifty years of endeavour. A harder task still remained. The Persian texts were accompanied by two other cuneiform transcripts, which, as Grotefend had perceived, must have represented the other two principal languages that were spoken in the Persian Empire. That the
- 18270 third transcript was Babylonian seemed evident from the resemblance of the characters contained in it to those on the bricks and seal-cylinders of Babylonia. Grotefend had already written upon the subject, and had even divined the name of Nebuchadrezzar on certain Babylonian bricks.
- But this third species of writing, which we must henceforth term Babylonian or
- 18275 Assyrian, presented extraordinary difficulties. Instead of an alphabet of forty-two letters, the decipherer was confronted by an enormous number of different characters, while no indication was given of the separation of one word from another. Moreover the forms of the characters as found on the Persepolitan monuments differed considerably from those found on the Babylonian monuments, which again differed
- 18280 greatly from each other. On the seal-cylinders, more especially, they assumed the most complicated shapes, between which and the Persepolitan forms it was often impossible to trace any likeness whatever.
- Suddenly a discovery was made which furnished an abundance of new material and incited the decipherer to fresh efforts. In 1842 Botta was sent to Mossul as French
- 18285 Consul, and at Mohl's instigation began to excavate on the site of Nineveh. His first essays there not proving very successful, he transferred his workmen further north, to the mound of Khorsabad, and there laid bare the ruins of a large and splendid palace which subsequently turned out to be that of Sargon. In the autumn of 1845 the excavations of Botta were succeeded by those of Layard, first at Nimrud (the ancient
- 18290 Calah), and then at Kuyunjik or Nineveh, the result being to fill the British Museum with bas-reliefs covered with cuneiform writing and with other relics of Assyrian civilization.
- The inscriptions brought to light by Botta were copied and published by him in 1846-50.1 The sumptuous work which was dedicated to them was followed by a smaller and
- 18295 cheaper edition, and the author gave further help to the student by classifying the characters, which amounted to as many as 642.2 His work proved conclusively the identity of the script used at Nineveh with that of the third transcripts on the Persian monuments, as well as the substantial agreement of the groups of characters occurring in each.
- The Irish scholar Dr. Hincks — one of the most remarkable and acute decipherers that have ever lived — was already at work on the newly-found texts. In 1847 he published a long article on "The Three Kinds of Persepolitan Writing,"1 and, two years later, another "On the Khorsabad Inscriptions."2 In 1850 he read a Paper before the British
- 18300 Association,3 summing up his conclusions and announcing the important discovery that the Assyrian characters were syllabic and not alphabetic, as had hitherto been supposed. With this discovery the scientific decipherment of the Assyrian
- 18305 inscriptions actually begins.
- The proper names contained in the Persian texts furnished the clue to the reading of the Babylonian transcripts. The values thus obtained for the Babylonian characters made it possible to read many of the words, the meaning of which was fixed by a comparison with the Persian original. It then became clear that Assyrian was a
- 18310 Semitic language, standing in much the same relation to Hebrew that the Old Persian stood to Zend.
- Its Semitic origin was proved to demonstration by the French scholar de Saulcy in
- 18315 1849. Another French scholar, de Longperier, had already discovered the name of Sargon in the Khorsabad inscriptions4 — the first royal Assyrian name that had yet been read.
- De Saulcy himself subjected the Babylonian transcript of the trilingual inscription of Elwend to a minute analysis, and so carefully was the work performed, and so
- 18320 secure were the foundations upon which it rested, that the translation needs but little revision even today.1 The old belief in the alphabetic nature of the characters, however, still possessed the mind of the decipherer, although in one passage he goes so far as to say, "I am tempted to believe" that the signs are
- 18325 syllabic. But he did not go beyond the temptation to believe, and the discovery was reserved for Hincks.
- Rawlinson was now at Bagdad. De Saulcy sent him his Memoirs, and the British scholar had the immense advantage of having in his hands the Babylonian version of the great Behistun inscription, of knowing the country in which the monuments were found, and of possessing copies of inscriptions which had not yet made their way to Europe.
- 18330 Nevertheless, it is amazing with what rapidity and perspicacity he forced his way

through the thick jungle of cuneiform script. In his Memoir on the Persian texts, published in 1847, he already maps out with marvellous fulness and exactitude the different varieties of cuneiform writing. It is his second Memoir, however, which excites in the Assyriologist of to-day the profoundest feelings of surprise and

admiration. This consists of notes on the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, and was communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society at the beginning of the year 1850.² One of the inscriptions he has translated in full – the annals of Shalmaneser II., on an obelisk of black marble discovered at Nimrud and now in the British Museum. The text is a long one, and for the first time the European reader had placed before him a contemporaneous account of the campaigns of an Assyrian monarch in the ninth century before our era.

The translation is substantially correct; it is only in the proper names that Rawlinson has gone much astray.

The values of many of the characters were still uncertain or unknown, and he was under the domination of the belief that they represented alphabetic letters. He was, moreover, mistaken as to the age of the monument itself, which he assigned to too early an epoch. It was Dr. Hincks who again settled the question, by reading upon it the names of Hazael of Damascus and Jehu of Israel.¹ This was one of the first-fruits of his discovery of the syllabic character of the Assyrian signs. Another was the discovery of the name of Sennacherib,² as well as those of Hezekiah and Jerusalem.⁸

Shortly before this Hincks had made another discovery of importance. He had deciphered the names of Nebuchadrezzar and his father on the bricks of Babylon, ⁴ and had further shown that a cylinder of Nebuchadrezzar brought from Babylon by Sir Robert Ker-Porter, and written in the cuneiform characters met with on the Persian monuments, contained the same text as another cylinder obtained by Sir Harford Jones, and inscribed with characters of the most complex kind. A comparison of the two texts gave him the values of the latter characters, which we now know to represent the archaic Babylonian forms of the cuneiform signs.

But the decipherment of the Assyro-Babylonian script was not yet complete. In 1851 Rawlinson's long-promised Memoir on the Babylonian version of the inscription of Behistun was given to the world,¹ and consisted of the cuneiform text, with translation, grammar and commentary, besides a list of 242 characters. It announced, moreover, two facts about these characters, one of which had already been recognized, while the second was received by the Orientalists with shouts of incredulity. The first fact was that the characters, besides having phonetic values, could also be used ideographically to denote objects and ideas.

The second fact was that they were polyphonous, each character possessing more than one phonetic value.

For once the sceptics seemed to have common-sense upon their side. How, it was asked, could a system of writing be read the symbols of which might be pronounced sometimes in one way, sometimes in another? Anything could be made out of anything upon such principles, and a method of interpretation which ended in such a result was pronounced to be self-condemned. Hincks, however, once more entered the field and demonstrated that Rawlinson was right.²

Hincks was an Egyptologist, and consequently the polyphony of the cuneiform characters was not to him a new and startling phenomenon. It merely showed that they must once have been pictorial – as, indeed, their ideographic use also indicated – and in a picture-writing each picture could necessarily be represented by more than one word, and therefore by more than one phonetic value, when the pronunciation of the word came to be employed phonetically. The picture of a foot, for instance, would denote not only a "foot," but also such ideas as "go," "run," "walk," each of which would become one of its phonetic values with the development of the picture into a conventional syllabic sign.

Excavation was still proceeding on the site of Nineveh. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, himself a native of Mossul and the active assistant of Layard, was sent in 1852 by the British Museum to complete the work from which Layard had now been called away by diplomatic duties.¹ In 1853 he made a discovery which proved to be of momentous importance for Assyrian decipherment, and without which, in fact, it could never have advanced very far. He discovered the library of Nineveh with its multitudes of closely-written clay tablets, many of them containing long lists of characters, dictionaries and grammars, which have served at once to verify and to extend the knowledge of the script and language that the early decipherers had obtained. Meanwhile a careful survey of the whole country was made at the expense of the East India Company,¹ and the French Government sent out an exploring and excavating expedition to Babylonia under a young

and brilliant scholar, Jules Oppert. The results of the mission, which lasted from 1851 to 1854, were embodied in two learned volumes, the first of which appeared in 1863.² In these Oppert showed, what Hincks and Rawlinson had already pointed out, that the peculiarities of the Assyrian syllabary were due not only to its pictorial origin but also to the fact that it had been invented by a non-Semitic people. This primitive population of Babylonia, called Akkadian by Hincks, Sumerian by Oppert, had spoken an agglutinative language similar to that of the Turks or Finns, and had been the founders of Babylonian civilization. For these views Oppert found support in the tablets of the library of Nineveh, a large part of which consists of translations from the older language into Semitic Assyrian, as well as of comparative grammars, vocabularies and reading-books in the two languages.

Once more the Semitic scholars protested. There was no end to the extravagant fantasies of the Assyriologists! The learned world was comfortably convinced that none but a Semitic or Aryan people could have been the originators of civilization, and to assert that the Semites had borrowed their culture from a race which seemed to have affinities with Mongols or Tatars was an outrage upon established prejudices. The Semitic philologist was more certain than ever that Assyrian decipherment was the folly of a few "untrained" amateurs, and could safely be disregarded.

But the little band of Assyriologists pursued their labours undisturbed. In 1855-6 Hincks published a most remarkable series of articles in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, in which the various forms of the Assyrian verb were analyzed and given once for all.

The work has never had to be repeated, and the foundations of Assyrian grammar were solidly laid.

A few years later (in 1860) a complete grammar of the language was published by Oppert. The initial stage of Assyrian decipherment was thus at an end.

We must now turn back to the second transcript of the Persian inscriptions, which, thanks to its greater simplicity, had been deciphered before the Assyro-Babylonian.

The way was opened in 1844 by the Danish scholar Westergaard.¹ With the help of the proper names he fixed the values of many of the characters and made a tentative endeavour to read the texts. But the language he brought to light was of so strange a nature as to throw doubt on the correctness of his method. Turkish, Arabic, Indian and even Keltic elements seemed alike to be mingled in it. It was not, therefore, till his readings had been subjected to revision by Hincks in 1846² and de Saulcy in 1850³ that any confidence was reposed in it, and the results made available for the decipherment of the Babylonian transcripts, the characters of which frequently had the same forms. It must be remembered, however, that Westergaard worked from defective materials. Rawlinson had not yet published his copy of the Behistun inscription, which he eventually placed in the hands of Edwin Norris, who, in 1853, edited the text along with a syllabary, grammar and vocabulary, as well as translations and commentary.¹ This edition was a splendid piece of work, and with it the decipherment of the second transcript of the Persian inscriptions may be said to have been accomplished. Oppert's *Peuple et Langage des Mésopotamiens*, which appeared in 1879, did but revise, supplement and systematize the work of Norris.

The new language which had thus been brought to light was agglutinative. Westergaard had seen in it the language of the Medes, and, like Rawlinson, had connected it with a hypothetical "Scythian" family of speech. The term "Scythian" was retained by Norris, who, however, attempted to show that it was really related to the Finnish dialects. But the excavations made at Susa by Loftus in 1851 put another face on the matter. In 1874, and again more fully in 1883,² I pointed out that the inscriptions found at Susa and other ancient Elamite sites were in an older form of the same language as that of the second Achaemenian transcripts, and furthermore that certain inscriptions discovered by Layard in the plain of Mai-Amir eastward of Susa were in practically the same script and dialect. At the same time I fixed the values of the characters in the Mai-Amir texts and gave provisional translations of them, with a vocabulary and commentary. Oppert and myself had already been working at the reading of the older Susian inscriptions, a task in which we were followed by Weissbach with a greater measure of success.

But the same cause which had retarded the decipherment of the second transcript of the Persian inscriptions – a want of materials – militated against any great advance being made in the decipherment of the older Susian, and it is only since 1897, when the excavations of M. de Morgan at Susa were begun, that the student has been at last provided with the necessary means. Thanks to the brilliant penetration of the French Assyriologist, Dr. Scheil, the outlines of the language of the ancient kingdom of Elam can now be sketched with a fair amount of completeness and accuracy.¹ The name of Neo-Susian has by common consent been conferred upon the language of the second

18465 Achaemenian transcripts; perhaps Neo-Elamite would be better. At all events it represents the language of the second capital of the Persian Empire as it was spoken in the age of Darius and his successors, and is a lineal descendant of the old agglutinative language of Elam.

18470 The three systems of cuneiform script, which a hundred years ago seemed so impenetrable in their mystery, have thus, one by one, been forced to yield their secrets. But as each in turn has been deciphered, fresh forms of cuneiform writing and new languages expressed in cuneiform characters have come to light. The first to emerge was that agglutinative language of primitive Chaldaea which so scandalized the philological world and excited such strong distrust of the Assyriologists. The question of the name by which it should be called has been set at rest by the discovery of tablets in which its native designation is made known to us. Some years ago Bezold published a bilingual text in which it is termed "the language of Sumer,"¹ and more recently Messerschmidt has edited a bilingual inscription of the Babylonian king Samsu-ditana in which the Semitic "translation" is described as "Akkadien."² Oppert is thus shown to have been right in the name which he proposed to give to the language of the inventors of the cuneiform script.

18480 The first analysis of Sumerian grammar was made by myself in 1870, when the general outlines of the language were fixed and the verbal forms read and explained.³ Three years later Lenormant threw the materials I had collected into a connected and systematic form, one result of which was a controversy started by the Orientalist, Joseph Hale?, who maintained that Sumerian was not a language at all, but a cryptograph or secret writing. The answers made by the Assyriologists to this curious theory obliged its author constantly to shift his ground, but at the same time it also obliged them to examine their materials more carefully and to revise conclusions which had been arrived at on insufficient evidence. An important discovery was now made by Haupt, who had already given the first scientific translation of a Sumerian text; he demonstrated the existence of two dialects, one of which is marked by all the phenomena of phonetic decay.² This was naturally supposed to indicate a difference of age in the two dialects, the one being the older and the other the later form of the language. Subsequent research, however, has gone to show that the two dialects were really used contemporaneously, the decayed state of that which was called "the woman's language" by the Babylonians being due to the fact that it was spoken in Akkad or Northern Babylonia, where the Semitic element became predominant at a much earlier period than in Sumer or Southern Babylonia.

18495 Up to this time the study of Sumerian had been almost entirely confined to the bilingual texts, of which a very large number existed in the library of Nineveh, and in which a Semitic translation was attached to the Sumerian original. Now, however, the French excavations at Tello in Southern Babylonia began to furnish European scholars with monuments of the pre-Semitic period, and to these the decipherers, among whom Amiaud and Thureau Dangin hold the first place, accordingly turned their attention. Texts composed in days when Sumerian princes still governed the country, and written by scribes who were unacquainted with a Semitic language, were successfully attacked with the assistance of the bilingual tablets of Nineveh. But it was soon found that between these genuine examples of Sumerian composition and the Sumerian which was written and explained by Semitic scribes there was a good deal of difference. The Semites had derived their culture from their Sumerian predecessors, and a considerable part of the religious and legal literature that had been handed on to them was in the older language. This older language long continued to be that of both religion and law, the two conservative forces in society, Sumerian becoming to the Semitic Babylonians what Latin was to mediaeval Europe. The inevitable result followed: Semitic idioms and modes of thought were clothed in a Sumerian dress, and the ignorance of the scribe produced not infrequently the equivalent of the dog-Latin of a modern school-boy. The gradual changes that took place in the cuneiform system of writing, and the adaptation of it to the requirements of Semitic speech, contributed to the creation of an artificial and quite unclassical Sumerian, and the lexical tablets became filled with uses and combinations of characters which were

18500 professedly Sumerian but really Semitic in origin. All this renders the decipherment of a Sumerian text even now a difficult affair, and many years must elapse before we can say that the stage of decipherment is definitely passed and that the scholar may content himself with a purely philological treatment of the language.

18505 But Sumerian was not the only new language outside the circle recognized by the Persian monarchs which the decipherment of the cuneiform characters has revealed to us. Even before the discovery of Sumerian, cuneiform inscriptions had been copied on the rocks and quarried stones of Armenia, which, when the characters composing them came to be read, proved to belong to a language as novel and as apparently unrelated

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to any other as Sumerian itself. As far back as 1826 a young scholar of the name of Schulz had been sent by the French Government to Van in Armenia, where, according to Armenian writers, Semiramis, the fabled queen of Assyria, had once left her monuments. Here Schulz actually found that the cliff on which the ancient fortress of the city stood was covered with lines of cuneiform characters, and similar inscriptions soon came to light in other parts of the country. Before Schulz, however, could return to Europe he was murdered (in 1829) by a Kurdish chief, whose guest he had been. But his papers were recovered, and the copies of the inscriptions he had made were published in 1840 in the Journal Asiatique. The first to attempt to read them was Dr. Hincks, whom no problem in decipherment ever seemed to baffle.¹ The characters, he showed, were practically identical with those found in the Assyrian texts, the values of many of which had now been ascertained; but Hincks, with his usual acuteness, went on to use the Armenian or Vannic inscriptions for settling the values of other Assyrian characters which had not as yet been determined. In 1848 he was already able to read the names of the Vannic kings and fix their succession, to make out the sense of several passages in the texts, and to indicate the nominative and accusative suffixes of the noun.

Here Vannic decipherment rested for many years. There was no difficulty in reading the inscriptions phonetically, for they were written in a very simplified form of the Assyrian syllabary; but the language which was thus revealed stood isolated and alone, without linguistic kindred either ancient or modern.

The various attempts made to decipher it were all failures. So things remained until 1882-3, when I published my Memoir on "The Decipherment of the Vannic Inscriptions" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Here for the first time translations were given of the inscriptions, together with a commentary, grammar and vocabulary. At the same time I settled the chronological place of the Vannic kings, which had hitherto been uncertain, as well as the geography of the country over which they ruled, and analyzed the ancient religion of the people as made known to us by the decipherment of the texts. In revising and supplementing Schulz's copies of the inscriptions I had obtained the help of squeezes taken by Layard and Rassam. The task of decipherment was, after all, not so hard a matter as the absence of a bilingual text might make it appear. The want of a bilingual was compensated by the numerous ideographs and "determinatives" scattered through the inscriptions, which indicated their general meaning, pointed out to the decipherer the names of countries, cities, individuals and the like, and gave him the signification of the phonetically-written words which in parallel passages often replaced them. Moreover, the French Assyriologist, Stanislas Guyard, and myself had independently made the discovery that a clause which frequently comes at the end of a Vannic inscription corresponds with the imprecatory formula of the Assyrians, while the decipherment of the inscriptions led to the further discovery that not only had the characters employed in them been borrowed from the Assyrians in the time of the Assyrian conqueror, Assur-natsir-pal, but that many of the phrases used in Assur-natsir-pal's texts had been borrowed at the same time.

Other scholars soon appeared to pursue and extend my work, more especially Drs. Belck and Lehmann, whose expedition to Armenia in 1898 has placed at our disposal a large store of fresh material. Amongst this fresh material are two long bilingual inscriptions, in Vannic and Assyrian, one of which had been discovered by de Morgan in 1890. These have verified my system of decipherment, have increased our knowledge of the Vannic vocabulary, have corrected a few errors, and, I am bound to add, have in one or two cases justified renderings of mine to which exception had been taken. A historical Vannic text can now be read with almost as much certainty as an Assyrian one.

With the discovery of the language spoken in Armenia before the arrival of the modern Armenians the list of lost languages and dialects brought to light by the decipherment of the cuneiform script is by no means exhausted. Among the tablets found in 1887 at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt was a long letter from the king of Mitanni or Northern Mesopotamia in the native language of his country, which has been partially deciphered by Messerschmidt, Jensen and myself.¹ The language turns out to be distantly related to the Vannic, but is of a much more complicated description. Two of the other letters in the same collection were in yet another previously unknown language, which the contents of one of them showed to be that of a kingdom in Asia Minor called Arzawa. Since then tablets have been found at Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia, on the site of the ancient capital of the Hittites, which are in the same dialect and form of cuneiform writing, and prove that in them we have discovered at last actual relics of the Hittite tongue. Thanks to the light thrown upon them by a tablet from the same locality, which I obtained last year, it is now possible to

18595 raise the veil which has hitherto concealed the Hittite language, and in a Paper
which will shortly be printed I have succeeded in partially translating the texts and
sketching the outlines of their grammar. But any detailed account of these
discoveries must be reserved for a future chapter; at present I can do no more than
refer briefly to these latest problems in cuneiform decipherment.
18600 That other problems still await us cannot be doubted. The number of different
languages which the decipherment of the cuneiform script has thus far revealed to us
is an assurance that, as excavation and research proceed, fresh languages will come
to light which have employed the cuneiform syllabary as a means of expression. Indeed,
18605 we already know that it was used by the Kossaeans, wild mountaineers who skirted the
eastern frontiers of Babylonia, and a list of whose words has been preserved in a
cuneiform tablet,¹ and also that there was a time, before the introduction of the
Phoenician alphabet, when "the language of Canaan" – better known as Hebrew – was
written in cuneiform characters. Canaanite glosses are found in the Tel el-Amarna
tablets, and two Sidonian seals exist in which the cuneiform syllabary is employed to
18610 represent the sounds of Canaanitish speech.²
And the key to all this varied literature, this medley of languages, the very names
of which had perished, was a simple guess! But it was a scientific guess, made in
accordance with scientific method, and based upon sound scientific reasoning. It is
true that it needed the slow and patient work of generations of scholars before the
18615 guess could ripen into maturity; the discovery of the value of a single letter in the
Old Persian alphabet was sometimes the labour of a lifetime; but, like the seed of
the mustard tree, the guess contained within itself all the promise of its future
growth. On the day when Grotefend identified the names of Darius and Xerxes, the
decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, and therewith of the history, the
18620 theology and the civilization of the ancient Oriental world, was potentially
accomplished.

1 In this year an elaborate edition of his work was brought out under the title of *Voyages du
Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres Lieux de l'Orient, Enrichis de Figures en Taillédouce,*
18625 *qui representent les Antiquités et les Choses remarquables du Pais* (Amsterdam), two pages (167–
8) in vol. ii. being devoted to the inscriptions, the cuneiform being printed on plate lxix.
¹ Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt,
vol. i. pp. 563 sqq.; translated into English in 1833.
¹ The discovery has sometimes been claimed for Tychsen (*De cuneatis hiscriptionibus
Persepolitianis Lucubratio*, 1798, p. 24), but Tychsen supposed that the wedge was used to
18630 divide sentences, not words.
² Undersogelser om de Persepolilanske Inscriptioner (1800), translated into German in 1802.
¹ "Om Zendsprogets," in the *Skandinaviske Literaturselskabs Skrifter*, xxi., translated into
German in 1826.
18635 ² Menwire sur deux Inscriptions cuneiformes trouvées prfc (THamadan (Paris, 1836).
³ Die Altpersischen Keil-Inschriften von Persepolis (Bonn, 1836).
¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, x.
¹ Monument de Ninive, with plates drawn by Flandin.
² See his Memoir, "Sur lecriture assyrienne," in the *Journal asiatique*, 1847–8, ix.–xu
18640 ¹ Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, xxi. pp. 240 sqq See also pp. 114 sqq.
² Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, xxii. pp. 3 sqq.
³ Edinburgh Meeting, p. 140.
⁴ *Revue archeologique*, 1847, pp. 501 sqq.
¹ *Recherches sur P/criture cundiforme assyrienne* (1849).
18645 ² Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xii. pp. 401 sqq. The translation of the Black Obelisk
inscription is given on pp.431–48.
¹ *Atheneum*, December 27, 1851.
² In the Paper read by Hincks before the Royal Irish Academy in June 1849, and published the
following year.
18650 ³ For Hincks's translation of the annals of Sennacherib, see Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp.
139 sqq.
* *Literary Gazette* July 5, 1846.
¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xiv.
² A List of Assyro-Babylonian Characters (1852); also the Transactions of the Royal Irish
18655 Academy, xxii. (1855), and more especially The Polyphony of the Assyro-Babylonian Cuneiform
Writing (1863).
¹ See his *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod* (1898).
¹ F. Jones, *Vestiges of Assyria* (1855); Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xv. pp. 297
sqq.; and more especially *Memoirs*, edited by R. H. Thomas, 1857.
18660 ³ *Expedition scientifique en Mesopotamie*.
¹ In the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vi. PP- 337 sqq.
² Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, xxi. pp. 114 sqq. and 233 sqq.
³ *Journal asiatique*, xiv. pp. 93 sqq.; xv. pp. 398sqq.
¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xv.
18665 ² Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, iii. pp. 465 sqq.; *Actes du Vlieme*

Congres International des Orientalistes en 1883, ii. pp. 637 sqq. (1885).

1 Memoires de la Delegation en Perse; the volumes by Dr. Scheil on the inscriptions that have thus far appeared are ii., iii., iv., v. and vi.

1 Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 1889, p. 434.

18670 2 Ak-ka-du; Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung, 1905, p. 268.

3 Journal of Philology, iii. pp. 1 sqq. I endeavoured to settle the nature of Sumerian phonology in a Memoir on "Accadian Phonology," published by the Philological Society, 1877-8.

1 Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze (1879).

18675 2 Gottingen Nachrichten, 17 (1880); Die Akkadische Sprache (1883).

1 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1848, ix. pp. 387 sqq.

1 See my article, "On the Language of Mitanni," in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology, 1900, pp. 171 sqq.; and Leopold Messerschmidt in the Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1899, part iv. pp. 175 sqq.

1 Fr. Delitzsch, Die Sprache der Kossder (1884).

18680 2 They are now in the possession of M. de Clercq. For a translation of the inscriptions upon them, see my Patriarchal Palestine, p. 250.

CHAPTER II THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS; THE EXCAVATIONS AT SUSAN AND THE ORIGIN OF BRONZE

18685 The modern science of archaeology has been derisively called "the study of pots." As a matter of fact, the study of ancient pottery occupies a prominent place in it, and we cannot turn over the pages of a standard archaeological work without constantly coming across photographs and illustrations of the ceramic art or reading descriptions of vases and bowls, of coloured ware and fragmentary sherds.

18690 Questions of date and origin are made to turn on the presence or absence of some particular form of pottery on a given site, and fierce controversies have arisen over a single fragment of a vessel of clay. A knowledge of ancient pottery is a primary requisite in the scientific excavator and archaeologist of to-day.

18695 The reason of this is obvious. Archaeology is an inductive science; its conclusions, therefore, are drawn from the comparison and co-ordination of objects which can be seen and handled, as well as tested by all competent observers. It is built upon what our German friends would call objective facts, and the method it employs is that carefully-disciplined and experimentally-guarded application of the ordinary logic of life which can alone give us scientific results.

18700 The method is one which the purely literary mind seems often curiously incapable of comprehending; the literary student is accustomed to deal so exclusively with matters of merely individual taste and theory that he is as little able to understand what is meant by scientific evidence and probability as the scholar who is not a

18705 mathematician is able to follow the reasoning of Lord Kelvin. This is a fact which has to be borne in mind more especially in archaeological science, for the questions with which archaeology is concerned so frequently invade the domain of literature or appear so closely connected with questions that are more or less literary, that the purely literary scholar is apt to think himself just as well qualified to discuss them as "the man in the street" is apt to think himself qualified to discuss the etymology of a word. To all such the archaeologist would say, "Go and study your pots."

For pottery is practically indestructible. Like the fossils on which the geologist has built up the past history of life upon the earth, it is an enduring evidence, when rightly interpreted, of the past history of man.

18715 Like the fossils, moreover, it exhibits a multitudinous variety of types and forms. But in all these types and forms there is an underlying unity. The primitive needs of man are everywhere the same, and the powers of mind called in to supply them are the same also.

18720 The dish and bowl, the vase and its handles, meet us again and again wherever we go; and the same materials for making them meet us also. The hands of man, guided by the brain of man, found clay wherewith to manufacture the vessels that he needed, and to harden it afterwards in the sun or fire.

Where or how the first pottery was made we do not know, we probably shall never know. When palaeolithic man first makes his appearance in Europe he seems not yet to have been acquainted with it; but it is difficult to prove a negative in archaeology as in other sciences, and the absence of palaeolithic pottery may be due only to the imperfection of the record. At any rate, as we descend the ladder of chronology the existence of man is marked more and more by the fragments of pottery he has left behind him; at Rome a whole mountain of it grew up in the space of a few centuries, and the huge mounds that encircled Cairo a hundred years ago were mainly formed of mediaeval sherds. When excavating on an Egyptian site I have sometimes been tempted to think that the people who once lived there must have spent their whole time in breaking their household ware.

18735 Now not only are the primitive needs of man much the same throughout the world and at all periods of time, the nature of man is much the same also; and a distinguishing feature in his nature is love of variety.

The same variety which we see in the forms of life and in the outward appearance and mental aptitudes of man himself is reflected in the products of his skill.

18740 Yet along with this love of variety goes a strong conservative or imitative instinct – an instinct which finds, too, its counterpart in nature, "so careful of the type." On the one hand, fashions change; on the other, a fashion once introduced spreads rapidly and maintains itself to the exclusion of all others for a determinate period of time throughout a determinate area. And to nothing does this apply with more truth than to pottery. Observation has shown that not only are different tribes or

18745 countries distinguished by a difference in their pottery, but that in each tribe or country similar differences distinguish successive periods of time. When to this is added the practical indestructibility of the potsherd, it will easily be seen what a criterion is afforded by it for fixing the age and character of ancient remains, and their relation to other monuments of the past. It is not surprising that a study of

18750 pottery has become the sheet-anchor of archaeological chronology, and that the first object of the scientific excavator is to determine the relative succession of the ceramic remains he discovers and their connection with similar remains found elsewhere.

18755 Scientific excavation means, before all things else, careful observation and record of every piece of pottery, however apparently worthless, which the excavator disinters.

But now, unfortunately, I have to make an admission. We have, as yet, no ceramic record in either Babylonia or Assyria. Until very recently there has been no attempt in either country at scientific excavation. The pioneers, Layard and Botta and

18760 Loftus, lived and worked before it was known or thought of, and we cannot, therefore, be too thankful to Layard for having nevertheless given us so full and accurate an account of what he found, and the conditions under which he found it. The excavations controlled by the British Museum have, I am sorry to say, been for the most part destructive rather than scientific; such objects as were wanted by the Museum were

18765 alone sought after; little or no record has been kept of their discovery, and they have been mixed with objects bought from natives, of whose origin nothing was known. At one spot, Carchemish, the old Hittite capital, which, though not strictly in Assyria, formed part of the Assyrian Empire, and was the seat of an Assyrian governor, the so-called excavations conducted by the Museum in 1880 were simply a

18770 scandal, which Dr. Hayes Ward, who visited the spot shortly afterwards, has characterized as "wicked." The archaeological evidence there, which would have thrown so much light on the Hittite problem, has been irretrievably lost.

Matters are better now, and if I may judge from the work done by Mr. H. R. Hall at Der el-Bahari in Egypt for the Egypt Exploration Fund, his colleague, Mr. L. W. King,

18775 who has recently been excavating for the British Museum in Assyria, will have done something to retrieve the archaeological good name of our British excavators in the East. M. de Sarzec's excavations at Tello in Southern Babylonia were also conducted with some consideration for archaeological method, at all events on the architectural side, and in the capable hands of M. Heuzey the works of art found there have been

18780 made to yield valuable results.

Moreover, the history of Tello may be said to be comprised in a single epoch of archaic Babylonia, and all objects discovered on the site may consequently be regarded as belonging to one age and phase of Babylonian civilization. Of the

18785 American excavations at Niffer it is difficult to speak at present. The work there has been careful and patient, and has extended over a long series of years. The architectural facts have been accurately recorded, at all events in the case of the great temple of Bel, and about the sequence of the inscribed monuments there is little room for doubt. But accusations of carelessness have lately been brought by the excavators one against the other, and when we find the sharpest critic among them

18790 unable to substantiate his own account of the discovery of a library and implicitly endorsing the assignment of a Parthian palace to the "Mykenaeen" age, it is impossible to put much faith in their descriptions of archaeological details. Some years ago the Germans explored a cemetery at El-Hibba with considerable care and thoroughness, and thus revealed to us pretty much all we know at present about

18795 Babylonian funereal customs; yet here again too little attention was paid to the pottery, and the actual date of the cemetery is still uncertain. It may belong to the Babylonian period, but it may also not be older than the Persian or even Parthian age.

The Germans are once more working in the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris, but in

18800 Babylonia their labours have been mainly confined to the Babylon of Nebuchadrezzar, where comparatively little has been discovered. Since 1904, however, the chief strength of the expedition has been directed upon Qal'at Shiiqat, where Assur, the primitive capital of Assyria, formerly stood, and here we may expect that

18805 archaeological results of first-class importance will at last be obtained. But the work there has not yet advanced far enough for more to be done than the mapping out of the old city, the ascertainment of certain architectural facts, and the recovery of inscriptions of great historical value.

18810 It will be seen, therefore, that the reproach brought against excavations in Egypt by Mr. Rhind in 1862 still holds good of excavations in Babylonia and Assyria. The first stage in their history is only just passing away. The idea that excavation is a trade which any one can take up without previous training, and that all the excavator need think about is the discovery of objects for a museum, is only beginning to disappear. In 1862 Rhind could write of Egyptian tombs: "I am not aware that there can be found the contents of a single sepulchre duly authenticated with satisfactory precision as to what objects were present, and as to the relative positions all these occupied when deposited by contemporary hands.

18815 Indeed, for many of the Egyptian sepulchral antiquities scattered over Europe there exists no record to determine even the part of the country where they were exhumed.... There have thus been swept away unrecorded into the past illustrative facts of very great interest, which cannot now, according to any reasonable probability, be replaced, at all events in the degree which there are grounds to believe were then possible."1 Happily, Mr. Rhind's words are no longer true of Egypt, where he himself set the first example of showing how scientific exploration ought to be carried on, and the result is that the ancient civilization and culture of Egypt

18825 are now known to us even better than those of classical Greece or Rome. But what was true in 1862 of Egypt is still very largely true of Assyria and Babylonia. We are beginning to know something about the history of Assyro-Babylonian architecture; we know a little about the early work of the Babylonians in metal and stone; but the history of Assyro-Babylonian pottery is still, speaking broadly, a blank. For most of his knowledge of the ancient Euphratean civilizations the

18830 archaeologist has to turn to the inscriptions and written literature of which such vast quantities have survived, and hence, besides being an archaeologist in the strict sense, he must be also a decipherer and a philologist. He is still precluded from appealing to the evidence which can be handled and felt.

18835 From the point of view of the archaeologist written evidence is usually unsatisfactory because it admits of more than one interpretation. A translation which seems certain to one scholar may be questioned by another; an inference drawn from the words of a text by one student may be denied by another.

18840 The statements in the texts themselves may be contradictory, or their imperfection may lead to wrong conclusions. Above all, the evidence may come to the archaeologist from a philologist whose bent of mind is literary rather than scientific, and who will therefore be unable either to appreciate or to understand scientific testimony. Nothing is more common than to come across literary critics who cannot be made to understand the nature of inductive proof.

18845 On the other hand, the decipherer of a lost language must necessarily be an archaeologist as well. The clues he follows will be largely archaeological, and he has to appeal to archaeology at every step. The method he must pursue is the method of archaeology and of other inductive sciences, and the materials he uses are in part the materials of archaeology also.

18850 The philologist who knows nothing of history and geography, who is unable to follow a scientific argument and appreciate scientific reasoning, can never decipher; he may take the materials given him by the decipherer and work them into philological shape, but that is all. We must listen to him on questions of grammar and vocabulary; on questions of archaeology his opinions are worth no more than those of the ordinary

18855 man.

18860 I have insisted on this point because it is a very important one in a study like Assyriology. The public naturally thinks that in all Assyriological matters the opinion of one Assyriologist is as good as that of another. We might just as well suppose that in all matters which come under the head of astronomy the opinions of every class of astronomer are equally authoritative. But in astronomy there are questions which are purely mathematical, and there are other questions which are more or less chemical, and the astronomer who has devoted his attention to the spectrum analysis is contented to leave to his mathematical colleague abstruse calculations in advanced mathematics. The Assyriologist who is a grammarian pure and simple is just

18865 as little an authority on the archaeological side of his study as any one else who is

ignorant of archaeology, and the materials he provides must be dealt with by the archaeologist like the literary materials provided for him by the classical philologist; the materials in both cases stand on the same footing.

18870 At the same time, there is a difference between them. In the first place, the literary materials with which the Assyriologist deals are in a very large number of instances autographs. They are the actual documents of the writers whose names they bear or to whose age they belong. And there is all the difference in the world between the letters of a Plato or a Cicero which have come down to us through numerous copyists and the letters of Khammu-rabi of Babylon, the originals of which
18875 are now in our hands. The inscriptions in which Nebuchadrezzar describes his building operations or the contemporaneous annals of the Assyrian kings are, from the historical point of view, of far more value than the books written about them at a later date, however admirable the latter may be as works of literature; in other words, they are first-hand sources, and, as such, objective facts of much the same character as ancient pottery or stone implements.

18880 Then, in the second place, the documents have to be deciphered before they can be treated philologically; and, as I have already said, the task of decipherment is in itself an archaeological pursuit. If carried out on correct lines it is itself an instance of the application of the inductive method, and it is, moreover, constantly
18885 compelled to call archaeology or history to its aid. Assyriology is thus primarily an archaeological study, using the methods of archaeological science and demanding the help of the archaeologist, even though there are Assyriologists who are not archaeologists themselves.

18890 But for the present our archaeological facts have to be taken mainly from the results of the decipherment of the inscriptions. They are for the most part epigraphical; the excavator has not yet supplemented them, as in Egypt or prehistoric Greece, on what I would term the ceramic side. This, at least, is the case in Babylonia and Assyria. It is no longer the case, however, throughout the ancient Assyro-Babylonian world. There is one exception to the charge brought by modern archaeology against the excavators
18895 in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates. M. de Morgan has been working for the last ten years on the site of Susa, the capital of Elam, and he has brought to his labours the knowledge and experience of an excavator who has been trained in modern methods and is fully awake to the requirements of modern science. At last, at Susa, we have an archaeological record of the history of culture, based not only on written
18900 monuments, but also on the more tangible evidence of scientifically-observed strata of human remains. It is true that Elam is not Babylonia; but one of the surprises of M. de Morgan's discoveries is that in the early days of Babylonian history Elam was a Babylonian province, and Susa the seat of a Babylonian governor.

18905 The same culture extended from Sippara on the Euphrates to Susa in Elam, and this culture was Babylonian. Hence, in default of materials from Babylonia itself, we may see in the history of cultural development at Susa a counterpart of that in Babylonia, at any rate during the period when Elam and Babylonia were alike under Semitic rule.¹

18910 At Susa the line of division between the prehistoric or neolithic age and the historical epoch is very clearly marked. The prehistoric stratum lies twenty-five metres below the surface of the mounds, and is divided by M. de Morgan and his fellow-workers into two periods. The first is distinguished by a fine thin pottery, with yellow paste, which is already made upon a wheel. It does not exceed from two to seven millimetres in thickness; it is polished, and decorated with black bands and
18915 various patterns in a brown colour produced by oxide of iron. The designs are not only geometric, but also represent animal and vegetable forms. Among them are rows of ostriches identical with those found on the painted prehistoric pottery of Egypt. Indeed, the explorers were especially struck by the resemblance of the pottery as a whole to that of Egypt in the prehistoric age, though it is difficult to see what connection there can have been between the two countries at so remote a date, and the
18920 curious similarity between the rows of birds depicted on the vases must remain for the present an archaeological puzzle. There is also a certain amount of resemblance between the geometric pottery and that disinterred by M. Chantre at the early Assyrian colony at Kara Eyuk in Cappadocia, which will be discussed more fully in a
18925 later chapter.¹

Among the geometrical patterns of the Susian ware spherical forms are common; the herring-bone pattern is also met with, as well as a pattern like the Greek sigma. The under-part of the vases is often decorated, so also is the inside. A form of vase frequently found is the water-jar with a rounded foot; the goblet is another common
18930 shape. Sometimes the vases are supplied with four handles for suspension. This fine yellow pottery occurs not only at Susa, but also throughout Elam, but

- practically none of it has hitherto been discovered in Babylonia. 1 One cause of this is doubtless that in the alluvial plain of Babylonia a purely neolithic stratum, if it existed at all, would lie below the water-level. Maritime shells are met with as far north as the site of Babylon, showing that the Persian Gulf once extended thus far, and the water of the Euphrates still infiltrates through the soil.
- 18935 The period of the fine thin pottery in Elam comes suddenly to an end, and the people of the second prehistoric period seem to have been intruders who were less civilized than their predecessors and un-acquainted with the art of making the older ware.
- 18940 Their pottery is coarse and porous, and the geometric designs upon it are traced with the pen, not freely painted as in the case of the earlier ceramic. The animal and vegetable designs of the older ware have disappeared, and the zones, triangles and other geometric figures which take their place are traced in black or maroon-red upon a yellow clay. The resemblance between this pottery and that of Kara Eyuk is even greater than in the case of the pottery of the first period. Thick cylindrical vases are common, as well as bowls with a flat bottom and broad sides. Some of the vases resemble the bulbous vases of the Egyptian Twelfth dynasty; there are others with flat bottoms and angular sides which are also like Egyptian water-jars of the same Twelfth-dynasty period. Along with these more characteristic forms of pottery many small, unpainted cups have been found, as well as a few finer wheel-made vases of ovoid shape and yellow or reddish colour. It should be added that coarse, red, hand-made pottery abounds in both the prehistoric periods, as indeed it does also in the later historic epoch.
- 18950 As the second prehistoric epoch drew to a close at Susa, many indications of an advance in culture began to show themselves. Vases and flat-bottomed cups of soft stone were introduced, among them being a few of alabaster; the bricks began to be burnt in a kiln, and even seals with a species of writing upon them made their appearance. Nevertheless, the neolithic age does not pass into the age of metal through any transitional stages.
- 18955 The earliest stratum which marks the historic age yields for the first time clay tablets with inscriptions, the characters of which are already developing out of pictures into the cursive cuneiform. The inscribed cylinder-seals of Babylonia naturally appear along with them; alabaster vases, cups and bowls become common, and some of them are cut into the forms of animals. Comparatively little pottery has been found in this stratum; but this is probably an accident.
- 18960 The next stratum brings us to the period of Babylonian supremacy, when the viceroys of the Babylonian king ruled at Susa, and Semitic influence was already predominant in the Babylonian plain. It is the age of Sargon of Akkad, and its commencement may approximately be placed about BC 4000.
- 18970 The pottery still consists of a yellow paste, though there are also many specimens of a coarse black clay decorated with incrustations in white. The yellow ware is occasionally ornamented with mouldings of trees and other natural objects. A typical vase of the period is one of globular shape and small rim, and with a moulded or incised rope-pattern running round the centre and lower part of the rim. Another type is one which looks like an inverted vase, with a series of rope-patterns encircling it, while another seems to have been copied from the pile of cylindrical vases into which, as into a drain, the body of the dead Babylonian was inserted. These types of vase appear to have lasted, with little variation, down to the end of the Persian period, though, unfortunately, the disturbance of the ground and the consequent mixture of objects under the temple of In-Susinak, where the excavations were carried on, makes certainty on the point unattainable. Immense quantities of bronze votive offerings, of all kinds and sorts, were, however, found here, along with fragments of glass, and, as inscriptions show that they must all have been buried on the spot before the tenth century BC, we have a time-limit for dating the forms of the bronze weapons and tools.
- 18985 The archaeological evidence obtained at Susa has been supplemented by excavations made some ninety miles to the west of it, at a place called Mussian, on the eastern bank of the river Tib. Here there are graves, as well as the remains of a temple and houses with vaults, columns and walls of burnt brick. Where the strata have allowed a section to be cut down to the virgin soil the results are found to agree with those revealed by the excavations at Susa. The earliest layer belongs to the neolithic age, flint and obsidian, as at Susa, being the materials employed for tools and weapons. The pottery is thick and hand-made, the paste being either yellow or red in colour, and the surface is often polished, while many of the vases are furnished with holes for suspension.
- 18990 This layer seems older than anything discovered at Susa. It is followed by a second layer, in which the pottery is wheel-made, and is decorated with animal and vegetable

figures in black or red, like the first prehistoric ware of the Susa mounds. Among the animal figures are those of men, and one fragment of yellow ware is ornamented with the so-called swastika.

In the upper part of the layer a few fragments of copper have been met with, indicating that the neolithic age was beginning to pass into that of copper. Above this layer is a third, characterized by a fine ware, usually yellow but sometimes greenish in colour, and decorated with designs in lustrous black. In the fine specimens the decoration has been laid on before firing, in other cases after firing. The pottery as a whole has a general resemblance to that of prehistoric Egypt. The culture represented by this layer was still neolithic, but objects of copper were making their appearance, and the flint instruments of the past were beginning to be superseded by metal, a knowledge of which appears to have come from abroad. With the introduction of copper the Elamite or historical epoch may be said to have begun. It was now that the temple was first built of crude bricks, reeds taking the place of wood, and so pointing to the influence of Babylonia, where reeds were plentiful and wood was scarce.

Another proof of Babylonian influence must be seen not only in ware of Babylonian origin, but also in the figures of a nude goddess with the hands placed upon the breasts, which originally represented the divinity called Istar by the Semitic Babylonians.

Indeed, from the fact that the goddess was represented in human form we may infer that the figures, though first met with in the Sumerian age, were of Semitic derivation, and show that Sumerian culture was already being affected by the influence of Semitic religious ideas.¹ The pottery found along with the figures is of a very varied description, including coarse red and fine yellow ware. Among the fine yellow ware are goblets with a tall cup supported on a foot.

A typical form of the yellow ware is the vase with angular sides; this, together with vases of more bulbous shape and terra-cotta stands, is remarkably like some of the Egyptian Twelfth-dynasty pottery in form. The stands, more especially, remind us of Twelfth-dynasty Egypt. There is also a black ware decorated with incised lines which are filled in with white. This black ware is also found in Egypt, where Professor Petrie is now inclined to associate it with the Hyksos. At all events it is absent there during the interval that elapsed between the prehistoric period and the epoch of the Twelfth dynasty, and it characterizes the Hyksos sites of the Delta, while its foreign and non-Egyptian character has been recognized from the first. A few fragments of the same class of pottery have been brought to light at Tello in Babylonia, where they would appear to belong to the age of Gudea (BC 2700). One of these formed part of a cylindrical vase or pyxis, identical in shape with the black incised pyxides found at Susa at a depth of from five to ten metres below the surface.

On another fragment are spirited drawings of a water-bird, a fish seized by a gull, a four-footed animal, and a boat with reeds growing behind it, each in a separate panel.¹ Similar ware has been discovered in Southern Palestine, on the eastern coast of Cyprus, in Spain and in the Greek islands. At Syros, for instance, where it goes back to the neolithic age, it is associated with alabaster vases, just as it is at Mussian.

Here the bowls and vases of alabaster are strikingly Egyptian in form.

The clay figures of the Babylonian goddess testify to the same extension of culture in the copper age of Western Asia as do the black incised vases with their white fillings. M. Chantre has found them at Kara Eyuk in Cappadocia, on the borders of the Hittite region, though in these the arms are no longer folded across the breast. Further west I have lately shown² that the so-called figure of Niobe on Mount Sipylus in Lydia is a Hittite modification of them, and Dr. Schliemann discovered one of them, of lead, in the ruins of the Second (prehistoric) city at Troy.¹ At Troy, however, the type was more usually modified in the Hittite direction, as it was also in the islands of the Egean, where marble figures of the goddess are plentiful.² In Egypt clay figures closely resembling those of Babylonia and Elam, but with the arms outstretched, have been met with from time to time at Karnak, and supposed to be dolls of the Roman period; but since the discovery by M. Legrain of remains which prove that the history of Karnak reaches back to the prehistoric or early dynastic period, there is no longer any reason for not connecting them with their analogues elsewhere. And the discoveries recently made by Professor Pumpelly in the tumuli near Askabad, west of Khiva and Herat, go far towards supporting the identification. Here the explorers have brought to light two periods of neo-lithic culture, in the earlier of which no animals were as yet domesticated, and the pottery was of the rudest description. During the second period the domesticated animals were introduced,

including the horse and camel. Then came an age of copper, accompanied by figurines representing the Babylonian goddess, sometimes with the arms outstretched, sometimes with them lying against the sides, as in Cappadocia. The figurines are evidence that the art of working copper was derived from Babylonia, a conclusion which is confirmed by M. Henri de Morgan's excavations in the tumuli of Talish in Gilan, on the south-western shore of the Caspian. 1

As far back as our knowledge of Babylonian history extends the inhabitants of the country were acquainted with copper, and its use lasted century after century into quite recent times. Of a stone age, as I have already said, there is no clear trace. It is true that Captain Cros has sunk shafts at Tello, and reached the virgin soil at a depth of seventeen metres, finding there mace-heads of alabaster and hard stone similar to those of primitive Egypt, as well as other stone objects; but no flint flakes were met with, and the pottery was similar to that of the higher strata.² On the other hand, objects of copper, great and small, including helmets and a colossal spear dedicated by a king of Kis, have been disinterred, though nothing of bronze has been discovered among the earlier remains. It was the same at Muqayyar, the ancient Ur, as well as on the site of Eridu, where Taylor found only copper bowls and the like in the graves, even in those of so late a date as to contain objects of iron and an Egyptian scarab.¹ At Nififer, moreover, the ancient Nippur, American excavation has the same tale to tell. According to Dr. Peters,² though iron knives, hatchets, spear-heads and arrow-heads have been exhumed, the date of which is said to be between 2000 and 1000 BC, there is no trace of bronze, the multitudinous objects, which further west would have been of bronze, being here of copper.

As at Ur, the copper age lasts down to the very end of the Babylonian kingdom. Hilprecht, on the authority of Haynes, does indeed say³ that in the very lowest strata of the temple mound, far below the pavements of Sargon and Naram-Sin (BC 3750), "fragments of copper, bronze and terra-cotta vessels" were disinterred. But no attempt seems to have been made to analyze the so-called "bronze," which may have been a natural alloy of copper with a small percentage of lead or antimony, and the age ascribed to the fragments is rendered doubtful by the accompanying statement, that "fragments of red and black lacquered pottery" were discovered in the same place which were indistinguishable from the red and black pottery of classical Greece. As yet, therefore, excavation in Babylonian lands has failed to tell us when the art of mixing tin with the copper was discovered and copper was superseded by bronze. This, however, had taken place before the commencement of the Assyrian age. The bronze scimitar of Hadad-nirari I (BC 1330) x finds an exact copy in a scimitar discovered by Mr. Macalister at Gezer in Palestine,² and the tools and weapons exhumed at Nineveh are of bronze and not copper. Analysis shows that the bronze usually consisted of about one part of tin to ten of copper, though for special objects like bells the amount of tin was considerably increased.³ When was it that the tin was first imported and intentionally mixed with the copper in order to harden the metal?

In default of archaeological evidence, the only possibility there is of discovering an answer to this question lies in an examination of the primitive pictures out of which the cuneiform characters eventually developed. Here we are at once struck by a curious fact. The "determinative" attached to ideographs signifying "knife," "weapon" and the like is not an ideograph which expresses the name of a metal; nor is it an ideograph denoting "stone," but one which means "wood." That is to say, the material of which cutting instruments were made at the time when the picture-writing of Babylonia came into existence was neither metal nor stone, but wood. That it should not have been stone is explained by the geology of the Babylonian plain, which consists of alluvial soil devoid of stones. That it should not have been of metal can only mean that the inventors of the pictorial script were not yet acquainted with the use of copper, bronze or iron. In default of metal and stone they had to content themselves with hard wood.

On the other hand, copper, as well as gold and silver, had become known to them when the primitive pictographs were still in process of formation, and long before they had passed into cursive cuneiform. Copper was represented by the picture of an ingot or square plate of the metal with a handle attached to it, showing that it was already in a fused and worked state when it was imported into Babylonia.

Gold seems to have originally been denoted by the picture of a collar or necklace, which signified "shining," and was afterwards employed before the names of the precious metals. I have, however, never found this collar actually used to signify "gold"; in the earliest texts yet discovered the phonetic syllable gi is attached to it when "gold" is denoted, the Sumerian word for "gold" being azag-gi. "Silver" was

19130 "the white precious metal," the symbol for "white" being attached to the picture of the collar, and so forming a compound ideograph. This implies that silver became known to the inventors of the hieroglyphs at a later period than gold, though still before what I will call the cuneiform age. Even iron was known to them at the same early epoch, and was expressed by ideographs which literally mean "stone of heaven,"¹

19135 an indication that meteoric iron must be referred to. But now comes a fact which is difficult to explain, so contrary is it to the archaeological evidence. As we have seen, no traces of bronze have been found in the Assyro-Babylonian region before the beginning of the Assyrian age – let us say about BC 2000.

19140 Nevertheless, by the side of the simple ideograph which denotes the Sumerian *tirudu*, "copper" – *er* in Semitic Babylonian – we find a compound ideograph signifying "bronze," called *zabar* in Sumerian, from which the Semites borrowed their *'siparrn*. It is true that it is a compound ideograph, but it occurs in the cuneiform texts, not only in the era of Gudea (BC 2700), but even before the age of Sargon of Akkad (BC

19145 3800). And an analysis of its earliest form seems to indicate that it really must have meant bronze from the first, and that consequently there was no transference of signification in later days. Literally it means "white copper," the word for "copper" being phonetically written *ka-mas*, with which the Semitic Babylonian *kemassu* is closely connected. Lead cannot be intended, as that was denoted by a different word and different ideographs, and I do not see what else "white copper" can be in

19150 contradistinction to red copper except bronze. Polished copper could be termed "bright," but hardly "white."¹ The possibility remains that tin might have been the metal originally denoted by the compound ideograph. If so, both the ideograph and the words expressed by it had lost

19155 all reference to tin before the beginning of the Assyrian period, and neither the Assyrian word for "tin" nor the Sumerian word, if any existed, is now known. Tin, moreover, was archaeologically late in making its appearance. The earliest examples of pure tin of which I know are of the time of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. On the other hand, bronze first appears in Egypt in the age of the Twelfth dynasty, ²

19160 though it does not become common until the Hyksos predecessors of the Eighteenth dynasty had made themselves masters of the valley of the Nile. From about BC 1600 onwards, enormous quantities of it were employed in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean and the adjoining lands, necessitating an equally large supply of tin. What the source of this tin may have been it is not my present purpose to inquire.

19165 But the persistence of the copper age in Babylonia, as well as in the tumuli of Askabad, east of the Caspian, indicates that the manufacture of bronze must have migrated from the north-west to the Babylonian plain. We find it first in Assyria, not in Babylonia, and it may well be that the Assyrians derived it from Armenia and the population of Cappadocia, where, as I shall show in a subsequent chapter, they

19170 had established colonies at an early period. At all events, the earliest examples of bronze yet met with were discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the Second prehistoric city at Troy. It was to this region that classical tradition referred the origin of working in iron. An analysis of the gold of the first six Egyptian dynasties submitted to Dr. Gladstone by Professor Petrie proved that it was mixed with silver, and hence must have been derived from Asia Minor.¹ Egyptian legend made "the followers of Horus," who founded dynastic Egypt, metallurgists and smiths whose metal weapons enabled them to subdue the older neolithic population. The story as it has come down to us declares the smiths to have been workers in iron; iron, however, must be the

19180 substitute of the later version of the story for some other metal, since, though Vyse claims to have discovered an iron clamp in the great pyramid of Giza,¹ and Petrie has found a mass of iron in a Sixth-dynasty deposit in the temple of Osiris at Abydos,² ironsmiths can hardly have existed in the pre-dynastic age. It is probable, therefore, that copper was the metal which the dynastic Egyptians introduced into their new home, and which was already in use in Babylonia. But the intercourse with Asia Minor, which the gold of the First dynasty indicates must even then have been going on, makes it possible that it was from this quarter of the world that the earliest knowledge of the manufacture of bronze was brought to the valley of the Nile. Even in the time of the Twelfth dynasty, however, the tools found by Professor

19190 Petrie in the workmen's huts at Kahun are of copper rather than of bronze.³ The colossal statue of King Pepi of the Sixth dynasty, discovered at Hierakonpolis, is of hammered copper, and we have to wait for the advent of the Eighteenth dynasty before bronze becomes the predominant metal. That such was the case points to the Hyksos period as that in which bronze succeeded in superseding the older copper. It may be that the Hyksos brought the extended use

19195

of it with them from Syria.

In Southern Palestine, Mr. Macalister's excavations at Gezer have shown that bronze rather than copper was largely employed throughout the so-called Amorite period, which went back to an earlier age than that of the Twelfth dynasty, and it is just here that in the time of the Eighteenth dynasty bronze itself began to make way for iron. Mr. J. L. Myres has recently traced the polychrome pottery of Southern Canaan to the Hittite lands of Cappadocia, 1 where the red ochre was found by which it was characterized, and a knowledge of bronze may have travelled along the same road. But these are speculations which may or may not be verified by future research. For the present we must be content with the fact that, in spite of the philological evidence to the contrary, copper, and not bronze, was the metal which preceded the use of iron in Babylonia, whereas in the northern kingdom of Assyria bronze was already known at a comparatively early date. So far as the existing evidence can carry us, it seems to indicate that Babylonia was the primitive home of the copper industry, while bronze, on the other hand, made its way eastward from Asia Minor and the north of Syria. Where bronze was first invented is still unknown to us; all that seems certain is that it must have been in a land where copper and tin are found together.

NOTE

According to the mineralogists, in the western part of the northern hemisphere tin is found only in Britain, Spain and the neighbourhood of Askabad, the scanty surface-tin of Saxony, France and Tuscany being too poor and insignificant to have attracted attention in antiquity (see de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique au Caucase*, ii. pp. 16-28). The American excavations at Askabad under Professor Pumpelly appear to have made it clear that bronze was not invented in that part of the world, or indeed used in early days, and we are thus thrown back on Britain and Spain. It is quite certain, however, that bronze made its way to the west of Europe from the east, and the Hon. John Abercromby has proved {*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. pp. 375-94, and *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1903-4, pp. 323-410) that the bronze culture came to this country from the valley of the central Rhine where it cuts the river at Mayence. On the other hand, the bronze-age civilization of the Danube valley, the Balkan peninsula and Italy forms a whole with that of the south-eastern basin of the Mediterranean, which again is closely connected with the bronze-age culture of the Egean, Asia Minor and Egypt, while the civilization of the Danube valley leads on to that of Central Europe and, to a less extent, of Scandinavia and Northern Germany. Montelius {*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1900, pp. 89 sqq.) has pointed out that the early bronze culture of Northern Italy was carried to Scandinavia along the route of the amber trade as far back as the close of the neolithic age in Sweden, and the numerous objects of Irish gold found in Scandinavia – though, it is true, of somewhat later date – show that commercial relations must have existed between the British Islands and the Scandinavian peninsula. Tin might have followed the gold route until it met the amber route, by which it would have been carried southward to Central Europe and the Adriatic.

In Western Europe the sword, like the socketed celt, is first met with in the third and last period into which the bronze age has been divided. The earliest examples of the sword, in fact, are those discovered at Mykenae, which belong to the age of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. Schliemann found only the dirk at Troy, and, so far as our present evidence goes, the dirk alone was used by the Hittites and Proto-Armenians down to the seventh century BC. The scimitar, however, was known in Assyria and at Gezer at least as early as the fourteenth century BC (see p. 57 above), and in Cyprus the sword makes its appearance along with the knife and fibula in the later bronze age after the close of the age of copper.

Similarly in Krete it was only in tombs of the Late Mykenesean (or Late Minoan) period that the cemetery of Knossos yielded swords of bronze {*Annual of the British School at Athens*, x. p. 4). The dirk of the copper age was stanged as at Troy and in the Danube valley, the Cyprian and Hungarian forms being practically identical. From the Danube valley the stanged spear-head passed to Western Europe during the second period of the bronze age. The fibula is not found at Troy, where the early bronze age will have corresponded with the copper age of Cyprus.

All this goes to show (1) that the scimitar – the harpe of the Perseus myth – was a Semitic invention, while the long sword was of European origin; (2) that at Troy, and possibly also in Southern Palestine, to which Hittite polychrome pottery was carried at an early date, bronze was known at a time when only copper was used in Cyprus and Egypt; and (3) that the characteristic weapon of this primitive bronze age was the dirk, which continued to characterize Asia Minor long after the sword and scimitar

had been invented elsewhere. Taken in connection with the fact that the pottery and decorative designs of Asia Minor can be linked with those of the Balkan peninsula and the valley of the Danube, we may provisionally conclude that Northern Asia Minor was the home of the invention of bronze. Against this is the fact that no tin has hitherto been found there, and we should accordingly have to explain the origin of bronze by the theory that after the discovery of various processes for hardening copper, further experiments were made with imported tin. Unfortunately, neither the south of Cornwall nor Asia Minor, with the exception of the Troad, has as yet been scientifically explored from an archaeological point of view. But it deserves mention that the curious needles with a double head of twisted wire, which are met with among the remains of the bronze age in Britain, are characteristic of the copper age in Cyprus and of the early bronze age at Troy.

- 1 Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants, pp. 62, 66.
- 1 For the archaeological results of M. de Morgan's work, see his *Memoires de la Delegation en Perse*, vols. i. and vii. The eighth volume, which will also be devoted to archaeology, is in preparation.
- 1 Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce* plates x.-xii.
- 1 The yellow and red wheel-made ware, some of it inscribed with characters of the age of Gudea, which has been disinterred at Tello, is quite different. This class of pottery, by the way, seems to have been preceded by a grey coarse ware, made with the hand. One fragment of fine polished yellow ware with traces of black ornamentation has recently been reported from Tello by Captain Cros (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1905, p. 59), but the isolated character of the discovery makes it probable that it was an importation from Elam.
- 1 Copper figurines of the goddess, with hands pressed under the breasts, found in one of the earliest substructures of Tello (circa BC 4000), are published by M. Heuzey in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1899, p. 44.
- 2 Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1905, p. 28.
- 1 Heuzey, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1905, pp. 59 sqq. and plate iii. Von Lichtenberg (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1906) has lately pointed out that the black incised pottery with white fillings is identical in Cyprus, Troy, the Laibach bog and the Mondsee, and that the ornamentation which characterizes it is found in the valley of the Danube and the pile-dwellings of Switzerland. His attempt to derive it from Cyprus, however, cannot be sustained in view of its occurrence in Elam.
- 1 Th'os, p. 337. Schliemann called it the Third city. Dorpfeld's subsequent excavations, however, have shown that it really was the Second city, whose history fell into three periods, 2 Some of these represent the goddess with the arms folded, and not pressed against the breasts. See, for example, the photograph of one found at Naxos in the *Comptes rendus du Congrès International d'Archéologie*, 1905, p. 221. For Trojan examples, see *Ilios*, pp. 331-6.
- 1 See *Memoires de la Delegation en Perse*, viii. pp. 336-7. A report of some of the results of the Pumpelly expedition is given by Dr. Hubert Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1906, Pt. iii. p. 385.
- 2 Flint implements, however, were discovered by Taylor in his excavations at Abu Shahrein, the site of Eridu (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv. p. 410 and plate ii.).
- 1 See Taylor's "Notes on the Ruins of Mugeyer," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv. pp. 271-3 and 415.
- 2 Nippur, vol. ii. pp. 381-6.
- 3 The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, i. 2, pp. 26-7.
- 1 Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology, 1876, pp. 347-8.
- 2 Figured in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, October 1904, p. 335.
- 3 Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 571-3.
- 1 ANA-BAR. Bar is given as the Sumerian pronunciation of the word for "stone" (*Syllabary* 5, iv. 11, in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3rd edition). In Old Egyptian "iron" was similarly ba-n-pet, "stone of heaven," while "silver" was "white gold," "gold" being symbolized by a collar. We may compare the Indo-European "white" metal as a name of "silver." The Sumerian azaggi, "gold," was a form of azagga^ "precious," more especially "precious metal"; the more specific word for "gold" was guskin, with which the Armenian oski must be connected. "Silver" was bdbara, the "bright metal," nagga being "lead," the Armenian anag. The identity of the Armenian and Sumerian words for "gold" and "lead," coupled with the Armenian origin of the vine, and the fact that the mountain on which the ark of the Babylonian Noah rested was Jebel Judi, south of Lake Van, raises an interesting question as to the origin of Sumerian civilization.
- 1 It must be remembered, however, that, according to Aristotle, the copper of the Mossynceci in Northern Asia Minor was brilliant and white, owing to its mixture with a species of earth, the exact nature of which was kept a secret. The Babylonian ideograph for "bronze," therefore, may have been a similar kind of hardened copper, which was transferred to denote "bronze" when the alloy of copper and tin became known.
- 2 See Garstang, *El-Ardabah*, p. 10. Dr. Gladstone, however, after giving the results of his analysis of the Sixth-dynasty copper discovered by Professor Petrie at Dendera, suggests that the small amount of tin observable in it (about one per cent.) may have been added to it artificially (Denderah, p. 61). Bronze was "the normal metal" of the Amorite period at Gezer (Mac-alister, *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, April 1904, p. 1 19), and the three cities which represent this period go back beyond the age of the Twelfth Egyptian

- 19335 dynasty, to at least BC 2900 (see Quarterly Statement, January 1905, pp. 28-9).
At Troy also Schliemann found numerous bronze weapons in the Second (prehistoric) city (Ilios, pp. 475-9). In Krete bronze daggers of the Early Minoan period (coeval with the Middle Empire of Egypt) have been found at Patema and Agia Triada (Annual of the British School at Athens, x. p. 198), and the pottery of the Middle Minoan period (BC 2000-1500) was associated at
- 19340 Palaikastro with a bronze button, two miniature bronze sickles, and a pair of bronze tweezers (ibid, p. 202). As for the Caucasus, bronze was not known there till a late date. Wilke (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 39-104) has shown that the bronze culture of the Caucasus was derived from the valley of the Danube, and made its way eastward along the northern coast of Pontus; see also Rossler, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1905, p. 118.
- 19345 1 Denderah (Egypt Exploration Fund), p. 62, for the gold of the Sixth dynasty; The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties, pp. 39-4? for that of the First dynasty.
1 Vyse, Pyramids of Gizeh, i. p. 276. The clamp was actually found by his assistant Hill, after blasting away the two outer stones behind which it had been placed.
2 Abydos, part ii. p. 33. An iron pin of the age of the Eighteenth dynasty was found by
- 19350 Garstang at Abydos (El-Arabah, p. 30).
3 Illahun, Kahun and Curob, p. 12. Dr. Gladstone's analyses give only about 2 parts of tin to 96*35 of copper. The bronze of the Eighteenth dynasty found at Gurob yielded a less proportion of tin (about 7 parts to 90 of copper) than the bronze of the Second Assyrian Empire. A ring of pure tin, however, was also discovered at Gurob.
- 19355 1 Journal of the Anthropological Institute xxxiii. pp. 367 sqq.

CHAPTER III THE SUMERIANS

- Among the first results of the decipherment of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions was one which was so unexpected and revolutionary, that it was received with
- 19360 incredulity and employed to pour discredit on the fact of the decipherment itself. European scholars had long been nursing the comfortable belief that the white race primarily, and the natives of Europe secondarily, were ipso facto superior to the rest of mankind, and that to them belonged of right the origin and development of civilization. The discovery of the common parentage of the Indo-European languages
- 19365 had come to strengthen the belief; the notion grew up that in Sanskrit we had found, if not the primeval language, at all events a language that was very near to it, and idyllic pictures were painted of the primitive Aryan community living in its Asiatic home and already possessed of the elements of its later culture. Outside and beyond it were the barbarians, races yellow and brown and black, with oblique eyes and
- 19370 narrow foreheads, whose intelligence was not much above that of the brute beasts. Such culture as some of them may have had was derived from the white race, and perhaps spoilt in the borrowing. The idea of the rise of a civilization outside the limits of the white race was regarded as a paradox.
- It was just this paradox to which the first decipherers of Assyrian cuneiform found
- 19375 themselves forced. And another paradox was added to it. Not only had the civilization of the Euphrates and Tigris originated amongst a race that spoke an agglutinative language, and therefore was neither Aryan nor Semitic, the civilization of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians was borrowed from this older civilization along with the cuneiform system of writing. It seemed impossible
- 19380 that so revolutionary a doctrine could be true, and Semitic philologists naturally denounced it. For centuries Hebrew had been supposed to have been the language of Paradise, and the old belief which made the Semitic Adam the first civilized man still unconsciously affected the Semitic scholars of the nineteenth century. It was hard to part with the prejudices of early education, especially when they were called
- 19385 upon to do so by a small group of men whose method of decipherment was an enigma to the ordinary grammarian, and who were introducing new and dangerous principles into the study of the extinct Semitic tongues.
- The method of decipherment was nevertheless a sound one, and the result, which seemed so incredible and impossible when first announced, is now one of the assured facts of
- 19390 science. The first civilized occupants of the alluvial plain of Babylonia were neither Semites nor Aryans, but the speakers of an agglutinative language, and to them were due all the elements of the Babylonian culture of later days. It was they who first drained the marshes, and regulated the course of the rivers by canals, thereby transforming what had been a pestiferous swamp into the most fertile of
- 19395 lands; it was they who founded the great cities of the country, and invented the pictorial characters, the cursive forms of which became what we term cuneiform. The theology and law of later Babylonia went back to them, and long after Semitic Babylonian had become the language of the country, legal judgments were still written in the old language and the theological literature was still studied in it.
- 19400 The Church and the Law were as loth to give up the dead language of Sumer as they were in modern Europe to give up the use of Latin. This dead agglutinative language has been called sometimes Akkadian, sometimes Sumerian, but Sumerian is the name which has been finally selected.

19405 In fact, this was the name applied to it by the Semitic Babylonians themselves, who included in the term the two dialects – or rather the two forms of the language at different periods of its development – which have been preserved to us in the cuneiform tablets. Strictly speaking, the dialect which had been most affected by contact with the Semites, and had in consequence suffered most from phonetic decay, was known as the language of Akkad, but this was because Akkad represented Northern

19410 Babylonia, which had become Semitic at an earlier date than the south and had been the seat of the first great Semitic Empire.¹ Both names, Akkadian and Sumerian, are correct as applied to the primitive language of Chaldaea, but of the two Sumerian is preferable, not only because it was used by the Babylonian scribes themselves, but also because it denoted the oldest and purest form of the language before it had

19415 passed under foreign influence. This, then, was the great archaeological fact which resulted from the decipherment of the Assyro-Babylonian texts. The earliest civilized inhabitants of Babylonia did not speak a Semitic language, and therefore presumably they were not Semites. It is perfectly true that language and race are not synonymous terms, and that we are seldom justified in arguing from the one to the other. But the Sumerian language is one of the exceptions which proves the rule. Those who spoke it were the first

19420 civilizers of Western Asia, the inventors and perfecters of a system of writing which was destined to be one of the chief humanizing agents of the ancient world, the authors of the irrigation engineering of the Babylonian plain, and the builders of its many cities. The language they spoke, accordingly, could not have been forced upon them by conquerors who have otherwise left no trace behind them, and they certainly would not have exchanged it of their own accord for their native tongue. The Semitic languages have always been conspicuous for the tenacity with which they have held their own, and the conservatism with which they have resisted change. We

19425 may still hear in the Egyptian Arabic of to-day the very words which were written by Semitic Babylonian scribes upon their tablets some four or five thousand years ago. A Semitic people would have been the last to borrow the language of its less-civilized neighbours without any assignable reason. The fact, consequently, that the pioneers of Babylonian culture spoke an agglutinative language fully justifies us in

19430 concluding that they belonged to a race that was not Semitic. Sumerian, however, was not the only language in the neighbourhood of the Babylonian plain which was agglutinative. Further to the east, in the highlands of Elam, other agglutinative languages were spoken, monuments of one or more of which have been preserved to us. Whether or not the agglutinative languages of Elam were related to

19440 the Sumerian of Babylonia, I cannot tell; so far as our materials go at present they do not warrant us in saying more than that, like Sumerian, they were of the agglutinative type. It is only rarely that the scientific philologist is able to separate some of the multitudinous languages of the globe into genealogically related groups; for the most part they stand isolated and apart from one another, and,

19445 however much we may wish to group them together, it is seldom that we find such proofs of a common descent as will satisfy the requirements of science. Families of speech – or at all events such as can be scientifically proved to be so – are the exception and not the rule. Eastward of Sumer the type of language was thus agglutinative, as it was in Sumer itself. And in the days when civilization first grew up there, there is no sign or trace of the languages we call inflectional.

19450 The speakers of Aryan dialects, whom we find in classical times in Media or Persia or North-Western India, belong to a later epoch; the old belief in the Asiatic cradle of the Aryan tongues has long since been given up by the anthropologist and comparative philologist, ¹ and it is recognized that if we are to look for it anywhere it must be in Eastern Europe. The Semitic languages are equally absent; the tide of Semitic speech which eventually overflowed Babylonia, surged northward and eastward into Assyria and Elam, but never succeeded in passing Susiana, and was finally driven again from the ground it had once gained there. The home of the Semite lay to the

19455 west and not to the east of the Babylonian plain. Babylonian culture owed its origin to a race whose type of language was that of the Finn, of the Magyar or the Japanese. The physical characteristics of this race cannot as yet be fully determined. The oldest sculptures yielded by Babylonian excavation belong to a time when the Semite

19465 was already in the land. It might be supposed that the early monuments of Tello, which were erected by Sumerian princes and go back to Sumerian times, would give us the necessary materials; but not only are they too rude and infantile to be of scientific use, they also indicate the existence of two ethnological types, one heavily bearded, the other beardless, with oblique eyes and negrito-like face. It is

19470 not until we come to the age of Semitic domination that sculpture is sufficiently realistic for exact anthropological purposes. At the same time, there was to the last a marked contrast of both form and feature in the artistic representation of the Babylonian and his more purely Semitic Assyrian neighbour. The squat, thick figure, the full, well-shaven cheeks, the large, almond-shaped eyes and round head of King

19475 Merodach-nadin-akhi in the twelfth century BC still reproduce the characteristic form and features of the statues found in the palace of Gudea, the Sumerian high-priest of Lagas, who lived more than a thousand years before. The aquiline or hooked nose, the thick lips and muscular limbs which distinguished the Assyrian are generally wanting in Babylonia. And, on the other hand, there is a likeness between the Babylonian as he is portrayed on the monuments and the Elamite adversaries of Assur-bani-pal, some of whom, it is noticeable, are depicted with beards, though the excavations of Dieulafoy and de Morgan at Susa have shown (according to Quatrefages and Hamy) that a beardless and short-nosed negrito type with round heads was aboriginal in Elam. The same type is reproduced in one of the heads found at Tello, and M. de Morgan has

19485 pointed out that similar brachycephalic and beardless negritos are represented on the monuments of Naram-Sin as serving in the army of Akkad. 1 We may conclude, therefore, that they still formed a part of the population of Northern Babylonia even in the age when it had passed completely under Semitic rule. Indeed, Dr. Pinches has shown that the pure Semitic type is not depicted in Babylonian art, outside the kingdom of Akkad, "before the time of the First dynasty of Babylon, which began to reign about BC 2300."

It has often been maintained that the Sumerians themselves were an immigrant people, who had descended from the mountains of Elam. There is nothing unreasonable in the supposition; it was always difficult to prevent the mountaineers of Elam from making

19495 raids in Babylonia, and one of their tribes succeeded in settling in the country and establishing at Babylon one of the longest-lived of its dynasties. But the supposition mainly rests upon two facts. The pictorial hieroglyphs out of which the cuneiform characters have developed had no special sign for "river," while the same character represented both "mountain" and "country." It would seem, therefore, that the land in which the cuneiform system of writing was first invented was just the converse of the Babylonian plain, being at once mountainous and riverless. That the same character means both "mountain" and "country" is no doubt a strong argument in favour of the Elamite origin of Babylonian civilization. That the use of the primitive hieroglyphs should have survived in Elam while it was lost in Babylonia, as

19505 M. de Morgan's discoveries have shown to be the case, is also another fact which may perhaps be claimed on the same side; at any rate it indicates that they were known to the Elamites before the cursive cuneiform had developed out of them. But the want of a special character for "river" is not so decisive as it appears at first sight to be. The word "river" is represented by two ideographic signs which literally signify "the watery deep," and so point to the fact that those who originally invented them lived not in the highlands of the East, but on the shores of that Persian Gulf which the Babylonians of the historic period still called "the deep." As it was also known as "the salt river," it is not difficult to understand how, to those whose experience of navigable water had been confined to the Persian Gulf, the Tigris and Euphrates

19510 would have seemed but repetitions of the Gulf on a smaller scale.¹ The rise of Sumerian culture on the shores of the Persian Gulf is in accordance with Babylonian tradition. Babylonian myths told how Oannes or Ea, the god of culture, had risen each morning out of his palace in "the deep," bringing with him the elements of civilization which he communicated to mankind.

19520 Letters, science and art had all been his gifts. He had instructed the wild tribes of the coast to build houses and erect temples; he had compiled for them the first law-book, and had instructed them in the mysteries of agriculture. Babylonian civilization was sea-born. The system of cosmology which finally won its way to acceptance with the priesthood and philosophers of Babylonia was one which had been first conceived at Eridu, the site of which is now more than a hundred miles distant from the sea, but in the early days of Babylonian history, before the silting up of the shore, had been its sea-port. Here the first man Adam ¹ was supposed to have lived, and to have spent his time fishing in the waters of the Gulf. The whole earth was believed to have grown out of a primeval deep like the mudflats which the

19525 inhabitants of Eridu saw slowly emerging from the retreating sea. Philosophy and cosmology, with the theology with which they were associated, looked back upon Eridu and the Babylonian coast as their primeval home.² In fact the physical conditions of the Babylonian plain rendered it impossible for the first culture of the country to have sprung up in it. Before it was reclaimed by engineering skill and labour the larger part of it had been a pestiferous marsh. The

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science needed for making it habitable, at least by civilized man, must have arisen outside its boundaries. Only when he was already armed with a civilization which enabled him to dig canals, to mould bricks, and pile his houses and temples on artificial foundations could the Sumerian have settled in the Babylonian plain and there developed it still further. The cities of the plain grew up each round its sanctuary, which became a centre of civilization and progress, of agriculture and trade. But the builders of the sanctuaries must have brought their culture with them from elsewhere.

Of these sanctuaries the most venerable was that of Bel the Elder at Nippur. It has been systematically excavated by the Americans down to its foundations, and the successive strata of its history laid bare.

Inscribed objects have been found in all the strata, carrying the history of the cuneiform system of writing back to the days when the temple was originally built. But it is still the cuneiform system of writing as far back as we can go, that is to say the characters are the cursive forms of earlier hieroglyphic pictures, the features of which are in most cases scarcely traceable.

Here and there, it is true, the primitive pictorial form has been preserved, but this is the exception and not the rule. As a rule the earliest writing found at Nippur, and coeval with the foundation of its temple, is already the degenerated and cursive hand which we call cuneiform.

The fact is very noteworthy. The cuneiform characters have assumed the shapes which give them their name owing to their having been inscribed on clay by a stylus of wood or metal, which obliged the writer to substitute a series of wedge-like indentations for curves and straight lines. As time went on, the number of the wedges was reduced, the forms of the characters were simplified, and the resemblance to the pictures they were once intended to represent became more and more indistinct. The cuneiform script is, in short, a running hand, like the hieratic of Egypt.

But whereas in Egypt the hieratic running hand does not come into common use until long after the beginning of the monumental period, while the pictorial hieroglyphs continued to be employed to the last, in Babylonia the cuneiform running hand has superseded the primeval pictures as far back as our records carry us. When the temple of Nippur was built – and it was probably one of the first, if not the first, to be built in the Babylonian plain – the clay tablet was already in use for writing purposes, and the cursive cuneiform had taken the place of the older hieroglyphs.

The Babylonian plain was called by its Sumerian inhabitants the Edin, or "Plain," a name which was borrowed by the Semites and has been made familiar to us by the book of Genesis. Originally it had meant all the uncultivated flats on either side of the Euphrates, but it soon acquired the sense of the country as opposed to the city, and so of the cultivated plain itself. Most of the important Babylonian cities were built in it between the Euphrates on the west and the Tigris on the east. A few only lay beyond it on the western bank of the Euphrates. One of these was Eridu, another was Ur, a third was Borsippa.

Of Eridu I have already spoken. Some six or eight thousand years ago it was the sea-port of primitive Babylonia. 1 Ur, which stood close to it, seems to have been a colony of Nippur, and therefore of comparatively late origin. 2 Borsippa was a small and unimportant town, which eventually became a suburb of Babylon, and Babylon, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, was itself a colony of Eridu. 3

Hence of the cities which stood outside the Edin of Babylonia, and may therefore belong to an age when Babylonian civilization was still in its infancy, Eridu alone is of account. And the priority even of Eridu was contested. Traditionally Sippara, which is expressly stated to have been in "the Edin," claimed to be the oldest of Babylonian cities; one quarter of it bore the name of "Sippara that is from everlasting," and like Eridu, it believed itself to have been the abode of the first man. 1 Thus far, however, the monuments have given us nothing to substantiate the claim; the culture-god of Babylonia was Ea of Eridu, not the Sun-god of Sippara, and for the present, therefore, we must look to the shore of the Persian Gulf, rather than to the "land of Eden" for the cradle of Babylonian civilization.

At any rate, both Sippara and Eridu were of Sumerian foundation, as indeed were nearly all the great cities of Babylonia. Eridu was a later form of the older Eridugga, "the good city," a name which seems to have been the starting-point of more than one legend. The growth of the coast to the south of it gives us some idea as to the age to which its foundation must reach back.

It was, as I have said, the primitive sea-port of Babylonia, and its legend of the first man Adamu made him a fisherman in the Persian Gulf. Its site is now rather more than a hundred miles distant from the present line of coast. The progress of alluvial deposit brought down by the Euphrates and Tigris can be estimated by the fact that

forty-seven miles of it have been formed since Spasinus Charax, the modern Mohammerah, was built in the age of Alexander the Great, and was for a time the port of Chaldsea.

- 19605 During the last 2000 years, accordingly, the rate of deposit would seem to have been about 115 feet a year. This, however, does not agree with the observations of Loftus, who made the rate not more than a mile in every seventy years,¹ while on the other hand Sir Henry Rawlinson adduced reasons for believing it to have been more rapid in the past than it is to-day, and that consequently the rate must once have been as much as a mile in thirty years.² It is desirable that some competent geologist should study the question on the spot. Taking, however, as a basis of calculation, the one known fact of the rate of growth since the foundation of Spasinus Charax, and bearing in mind that before the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates the rate of advance must have been comparatively slow, we should have to go back to about BC 5000 as the latest date at which Eridu could still have been the sea-port of the country.
- 19610 Was it here that the system of writing which was so closely entwined with the origin of Babylonian civilization was first invented? Babylonian tradition in later days certainly believed that such was the case, and the fact that Ea of Eridu was the culture-god of Babylonia is strongly in its favour. But there are difficulties in the way. Eridu was the home of the "white witchcraft" of early Chaldaea; it was here that the charms and incantations were composed which gave the priesthood of Eridu its influence, and made the god they worshipped the impersonation of wisdom. The belief that he was the originator of Babylonian culture may have had its source in the system of magic which was associated with his name.
- 19615 Eridu was built on the Semitic side of the Euphrates, and the Semitic tribes who received their letters and their civilization from the Sumerians of Eridu would naturally have looked upon the city of their teachers as the primeval home of Sumerian culture. The traditions that made Eridu the starting-point of Sumerian civilization could thus be explained away, and we should be left free to settle the question of its origin upon purely archaeological evidence.
- 19620 Unfortunately the site of Eridu has not yet been systematically excavated. Once again the archaeological materials for settling an archaeological question are not at hand, and we are thrown back upon an examination of the picture-writing from which the cuneiform characters are derived. Here the evidence on the whole may be said to be in favour of tradition.
- 19635 It is true that there is no special ideograph for "river," but there is one for "the deep," and "the spirit of the deep" must have been a chief object of worship at the time when the primitive hieroglyphs were first formed. The "ship," too, played a prominent part in the life of their inventors, and the picture of it represented it as moved not by oars but by a sail.¹ The flowering reed was equally prominent, and was even used to symbolize what stood firm and established.² Houses, fortresses, temples, and cities were built of brick, and vases were moulded out of clay.³ The tablet, rectangular or square, was already employed for the purpose of writing, but as it was provided with a handle or a couple of rings at the top,¹ I think it was more probably of wood than of clay. The sheep, goat and ox were domesticated,¹ and so also probably was the ass,² and corn was cultivated in the fields.
- 19640 The symbol of the "earth" appears to have been the picture of an island of circular or elliptical form. Among trees the cedar was well known.
- 19645 All this points to the sea-coast of Babylonia as the district in which its civilization first arose. But on the other hand, there is the fact that "country" and "mountain" are alike represented by the picture of a mountainous land. There is also the fact that the land in which the inventors of the hieroglyphs lived was one in which copper, gold and silver were procurable – perhaps also meteoric iron; and the further fact that hard wood was sufficiently plentiful for tools or weapons to have been made of it before the employment of metal. That they should have been made of wood, however, and not of stone, is a strong argument in favour of the Babylonian coast.
- 19650 It is on wood, moreover, that the first hieroglyphs must have been painted or cut. Many of them represented round objects or were formed of curved lines, which were transformed into a series of wedge-like indentations when imprinted by a stylus upon clay.
- 19655 We know, therefore, that clay was not the original writing material; its use as such, in fact, is coeval with the rise of that cursive script which, in the case of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, is called hieratic, but in Assyro-Babylonian is known as cuneiform. It was the attempt to reproduce the old pictures upon clay that created the cuneiform characters. As metal is not likely to have been employed by the
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primitive scribes of Chaldaea, and there is no trace of stone having been used – even the stone cylinder of later days being called a *dup-sar* or "written tablet" – we are left to choose between wood and papyrus. In favour of papyrus is the fact that the circular forms of so many of the pictures suggest that they were originally painted rather than engraved; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether the papyrus grows in the Babylonian rivers, or at any rate did so in the prehistoric age. And the pictograph of a "written document" is not a strip or roll of papyrus, as in Egypt, but a tablet with a handle or loop. It is true that the primeval picture which denoted "copper" has much the same form, but as even cutting instruments had the determinative of "wood" attached to them in the early picture writing, it is clear that the original tablet could not have been of metal, whatever might have been the case with its later successors.

The picture, moreover, of the "tablet" is distinguished from that of a "plate of bronze" by the addition of a string which is tied to the handle. On the whole, therefore, the only archaeological evidence available at present is on the side of the tradition which made Babylonian culture move north-ward from the coast. The only fact against it of which I know is that, as I have already stated, the word for land was symbolized by the picture of a triple mountain. But this fact is not insuperable.

Before the silting up of the shore, the old coast-line of Babylonia would have stretched away north-eastward of Eridu towards the mountains of Elam. Whether the mountains that fringed what would then have been the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf are visible from the site of Eridu, I do not know; if the clear light of Upper Egypt exists there they would be so.

Nor do I know whether on the western side there are mountain ranges visible in Arabia; these are points which can be cleared up only when the country has been thoroughly explored.

Eridu lay five miles southward of Ur, 1 that "Ur of the Chaldees" from which Hebrew history affirmed the ancestor of the nation had come. Ur was never a maritime port like Eridu; it stood on the Arabian plateau and looked towards the west. Its face was turned to the Semitic rather than to the Sumerian world. From the first, therefore, it must have been in touch with Semitic tribes. And a curious reminiscence of the fact survived in the western Semitic languages.

Ur or Uru signifies "the city"; it was a Sumerian word, another form of which was *eri*. The word was borrowed by the Semites, and in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, accordingly, the idea of "city" is expressed by *ir*. The Assyrians of the north, whose vocabulary was otherwise so full of Sumerian loan-words, preferred the native *dlu*, "a tent," to which the meaning of "city" was assigned when Sumerian culture had been passed on to the Semitic race and the tent had been exchanged for the city. The history of the word is a history of early culture as well.

But I am far from saying that it was through Ur that the civilization of Sumer came to be handed on to its Semitic neighbours. On the contrary, such facts as there are point in a different direction. Western Semites, whom linguistically we may call Arabs or Aramaeans, or Canaanites or Hebrews, doubtless mingled with the Sumerian population of Ur, and adopted more or less of its manners and civilization, but it was further north, in the Babylonian Eden itself, that the Semite first came under the influence of the higher culture, and soon outstripped his masters in the arts of life.

The entrance of the Semitic element into Babylonia is at present one of the most obscure of problems.

All we can be sure of are certain main facts. First of all, as we have seen, the early culture of Babylonia, including so integral a part of it as the script, was of Sumerian origin. So, too, were the great cities and sanctuaries of the country, as well as the system of irrigation engineering which first made it habitable. Sumerian long continued to be the language of theology and law; indeed a large part of the Babylonian pantheon of later days was frankly non-Semitic.

As was inevitable under such conditions, the Assyrian language contained an immense number of words – many of them compound – which were borrowed from the older language, and its idioms and grammar equally showed signs of Sumerian influence. I have sometimes been tempted, from a scientific point of view, to speak of Semitic Babylonian as a mixed language.

On the other hand, if the elements of Babylonian civilization were Sumerian, the superstructure was Semitic. When the Semites entered into the heritage of Sumerian culture, the cuneiform script must have still been in a very inchoate and immature state. Its pictorial ancestry must still have been clear, and no scruples were felt about altering or adding to the characters. The phonetic application of the

characters, which was still in its initial stage in the Sumerian period, was developed and carried to perfection by the Semitic scribes, and a very considerable proportion of their values and ideographic meanings is of Semitic derivation. The theological system was transformed, and a new literature and a new art came into existence. As Sumerian words had been borrowed by the Semites, so, too, Semitic words were borrowed by the Sumerians, and it is possible that examples of them may occur in some of the oldest Sumerian texts known to us.¹ The Babylonians of history, in short, were a mixed people; and their culture and language were mixed like our own. This, then, is one main fact. A second is that the Semitic element first comes to the front in the northern part of Babylonia. It is in Akkad, and not in Sumer, that the first Semitic Empire – that of Sargon the Elder, BC 3800 – had its seat, and old as that empire is, it presupposes a long preceding period of Semitic settlement and advance in power and civilization. The cuneiform system of writing is already complete and has ceased to be Sumerian, archive-chambers of Semitic literature are founded, and Semitic authority is firmly established from Susa in the east to the Mediterranean in the west. Art is no longer Sumerian, and in the hands of the Semitic subjects of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin has reached a perfection which in certain directions was never afterwards surpassed. The engraved seal-cylinders of the period are the finest that we possess. Naturally the Semitic language has superseded the Sumerian in official documents, and the physical type as represented on the monuments is also distinctly Semitic.

At the beginning of the fourth millennium before our era, the civilization and culture of Northern Babylonia have thus ceased to be Sumerian, and the sceptre has fallen into the hands of a Semitic race. But there is a third fact. The displacement of the Sumerian by the Semite was the case only in Northern Babylonia. In the south, in the land of Sumer, the older population continued to be dominant. Sumerian dynasties continued to rule there from time to time, and the old agglutinative language continued to be spoken. When a West-Semitic dynasty governed the country about BC 2200, state proclamations and similar official documents had still to be drawn up in the two languages, Semitic Babylonian and Sumerian.

Sumerian did not become extinct till a later day. Indeed, after the fall of the empire of Sargon of Akkad there seems to have been a Sumerian reaction. While Susa was lost to the Semites and became the capital of a non-Semitic people who spoke an agglutinative language, the power of the Sumerian princes in Southern Babylonia appears to have revived. At all events even the dynasty which followed that of the West-Semites bore Sumerian names. ¹ It was only under the foreign domination of the Kassites, apparently, who governed Babylonia for nearly 600 years, that the Sumerian element finally became merged in the Semitic and the Babylonian of later history was born.

The last fact is that while what we call Assyrian is Semitic Babylonian with a few dialectal variations, it stands apart from the other Semitic languages. A scientific comparison of its grammar with those of the sister-tongues leads us to believe that it represents one of the two primeval dialects of the Semitic family of speech, the other dialect being that which subsequently split up into the varying dialects of Canaanite or Hebrew, Arabic, South-Arabic and Aramaean – or, adopting the genealogical form of linguistic relationship, Assyro-Babylonian would have been one daughter of the primitive parent-speech, while the other daughter comprised the remaining Semitic languages. ² There are two conclusions to be drawn from this; one is that the Babylonian Semites must have separated from their kinsfolk and come under Sumerian influence at a very early period, the other that they moved northward, along the banks of the Tigris into Assyria.

With these two inferences we have to be content. Upon the first home of the Semitic race or its affinities with other branches of the white race, Babylonia can naturally throw no light. The earliest glimpses we catch of the Semites of Babylonia are those of a people who have already come under the influences of Sumerian civilization, who are mingling with their teachers and helping with them to build up the stately edifice of historical Babylonia. There were ruder Semitic tribes, it is true, who continued to live their own nomad life on the western bank of the Euphrates or in the marshes that bordered the Persian Gulf. But like the Bedawin of to-day on the outskirts of Egypt they were little, if at all, affected by the civilization at their sides. They remained the same wild savages of the desert as their descendants who encamp in the swamps of modern Babylonia; they neither traded nor tilled the ground, and the language they spoke was not the same as that of their Babylonian kindred. They served, however, as the herdsmen and shepherds of their Babylonian neighbours, and the vast flocks whose wool was so important an article of Babylonian trade, were

entrusted to their care. But Bedawin they were born, and Bedawin they continued to be.

Even the Aramaean tribes of the coast-land kept apart from the Babylonians, whether Sumerian or Semitic, until the day when one of their tribes, the Kalda or Chaldeans, made themselves masters of Babylon under their prince Merodach-baladan, and from henceforward became an integral factor in the Babylonian population. They must have settled on the borders of Babylonia at a comparatively late date, when Semitic Babylonian had definitely marked itself off from its sister-tongues and the Babylonian Semite had acquired distinctive characteristics of his own. The West-Semitic elements in the population of Babylonia could have entered the country only long after the mixture of Sumerian and Semite had produced the Babylonian of history. The Babylonian of history came to forget that he had ever had another fatherland than the Babylonian plain, the Eden of the Old Testament, the land whose southern border was formed by "the salt river" or Persian Gulf of early Sumerian geography, with its four branches which were themselves "heads." Here the first man Adamu x had been created in Eridu, "the good city," and here therefore the Babylonian Semite placed the home of the first ancestor of his race. But it was a borrowed belief, borrowed along with the other elements of Babylonian culture, and no argument can be drawn from it as to the actual cradle of the Semitic race. Like the story of the deluge, it was part of the Sumerian heritage into which the Semite had entered.

The Semitic tradition which made the first man a tiller of the ground may also have been borrowed from the earlier inhabitants of Babylonia. At all events it is significant that the garden in which he was placed was in the land of Eden, and that the picture of a garden or plantation is one of the primitive hieroglyphs of Sumer. The beginnings of Babylonian civilization were bound up with the cultivation of the Babylonian soil; the reclamation of the great alluvial plain was at once the effect and the cause of Sumerian culture. Sumerian culture, in fact, was at the outset essentially that of an agricultural people.

Trade would have come later, when Eridu had become a seaport, and ships ventured on the waters of the Persian Gulf. It grew up under the shelter of the great sanctuaries. Supported at first by the labour of their serfs, the priests in time came to exchange their surplus revenues – the wool of their sheep, the wheat and sesame of their fields, or the wine yielded by their palms – for other commodities, and the temples themselves formed safe and capacious store-houses in which such goods could be kept. In the historical period Babylonia is already a great trading community, and as the centuries passed trade absorbed more and more the energies of its population, agriculture fell into the background, and the Babylonia conquered by Cyrus could be described with truth as "a nation of shopkeepers." Even the crown prince was a merchant who dealt in wool.¹

The increasing preponderance of trade goes along with the increasing preponderance of the Semitic element in the country, and it is tempting to suppose that there was a connection between the two.

At present, however, there is no positive evidence that such was the case. Nor is there any positive evidence that the Semites who settled in Babylonia were not already agriculturists. The circumstances in which a people lives are mainly responsible for its being agricultural or pastoral, and the fact that the Bedawin neighbours of the Babylonians on the western side of the Euphrates remained a pastoral race does not exclude the possibility that there were other branches of the Semitic family who had already passed out of the pastoral into the agricultural stage before coming into contact with the Sumerians. On the other hand, it is at least noticeable that in Semitic Babylonian the usual word for "city" continued to be one which properly meant a "tent" – the home of the pastoral nomad – and that no Semitic traditions have come down to us of the beginnings of agricultural life outside the limits of the Babylonian "Plain." The title of "Shepherd," moreover, was at times given to the Babylonian kings in days subsequent to the Semitic Empire of Sargon of Akkad. So far as our materials allow us to judge, city-life was the gift of the Sumerian to the primitive Semitic nomad.¹

To the Semite, however, I believe I have shown in my Lectures on Babylonian religion, 2 we must ascribe an important theological conception. In historical Babylonia the gods were conceived of in the form of man. Man was created in the image of God because the gods themselves were men. But the conception cannot be traced back further than the age when the Sumerians and Semites came into contact with one another. In pre-Semitic Sumer there are no anthropomorphic gods. We hear, instead, of the *zi* or "spirit," a word properly signifying "life" which manifested itself in the power of motion. All things that moved were possessed of life, and there was accordingly a "life" or "spirit" of the water as well as of man or beast. In place of

the divine "lord of heaven" whom the Semites adored there was "a spirit of heaven"; in place of Ea, the later Babylonian god of the deep, there was "a spirit of the abyss." Sumerian theology, in fact, was still on the level of animism, and the inventors of the script represented the idea of "god" by the picture of a star.

19870 Vestiges of the old animism can still be detected even in the later cult: by the side of the human gods an Assyrian prayer invokes the mountains, the rivers and the winds, and from time to time we come across a worship of deified towns. It was the town itself that was divine, not the deity to whom its chief temple was dedicated. So, again, the god or goddess continued to be symbolized by some sacred animal or object

19875 whose figure appears upon seals and boundary-stones, and in some cases we learn that the Sumerian prototypes of the later Babylonian divinities bore such names as "the gazelle," "the antelope" or "the bull."

With the advent of the Semite all is changed.

The gods have become men and women with intensified powers and the gift of

19880 immortality, but in all other respects they live and act like the men and women of this nether world. Like them, too, they are born and married, and the court of the early prince finds its counterpart in the divine court of the supreme Bel, or "Lord." The Semitic god of Babylon was "lord of gods" and men, of heaven and earth; Assur of Assyria was "king of the gods" and lord of "the heavenly hosts."

19885 It was natural that, corresponding with this lord of the heavenly hosts, there should be a lord of the hosts of earth, and that as the divine king was clothed in the attributes of man, the human king should take upon him the divine nature. Like the Pharaohs of Egypt or the emperors of Rome, the early kings of Semitic Babylonia were deified. And the deification took place during their life-time, - in fact, so far as

19890 we can judge, upon their accession to the throne. In the eyes of their subjects they were incarnate deities, and in their inscriptions they give themselves the title of god. One of them is even called "the god" of Akkad, his capital.¹

Here, then, in the conception of the divine, we have a clear dividing line between the Semite and his non-Semitic predecessor. So far back as the cuneiform monuments

19895 allow us to carry his history, the Semite is anthropomorphic. As a consequence, the gods he worships conform to the social conditions under which he lives. In the desert the sacred stone becomes "the temple of the god"; in the organized monarchy of Babylonia each deity takes his appointed place in an imperial court. Under the one supreme ruler there are princes and sub-princes, vice-regents and generals, while

19900 angel-messengers carry the commands of Bel to his subjects on earth, like the messengers who carried the letters of the Babylonian king along the high-roads of the empire. On the other hand, the earthly king receives his power and attributes from the god whose adopted son and representative he claims to be. Nowhere has "the divine right of kings" been more fully insisted on than in ancient Babylonia. The laws of

19905 the monarch had to be obeyed, foreign nations had to become his vassals, because he was a god on earth as the supreme Bel was god in heaven.

But the reflection of the divine upon the human brought with it not only the exaltation of sovereignty, but also the rise of a priesthood. There were priests of a sort in Sumer of whom many different classes are enumerated. But when we examine the

19910 signification of the names attached to them we find that they were not priests in the true sense of the word. They were rather magicians, sorcerers, wizards, masters of charms.

They do not develop into priests until after the Semite has entered upon the scene. The god and the priest make their appearance together.

19915 I do not think, however, that we are justified in concluding that the elaborate hierarchy of Babylonia was of purely Semitic origin. On the contrary, like the theological system with which it was associated, it was a composite product. Behind the gods and god-desses of Semitic Babylonia lay the primitive "spirits" and fetishes of Sumer; its mythology and cosmological theories rested on Sumerian foundations; and

19920 in the same way the priestly hierarchy was the result of a racial amalgamation in which the Semitic element had adopted and adapted the ideas and institutions of the older people. We do not find the theology and priesthood of Babylonia among other Semitic populations, except where they had been borrowed from the Babylonians (as in Assyria); in the form in which we know them they were peculiarly and distinctively

19925 Babylonian. Like the language of Semitic Babylonia, which is permeated with Sumerian elements, or the script, which is a Semitic adaptation of the Sumerian system of writing, they presuppose a mixture of race.

The priesthood eventually proved irreconcilable with "the divine right" of the monarch, though both alike had the same origin. The priests prevailed over the king, and as in England the doctrine of divine right was unable to survive the accession of

19930 a German line of princes, so in Babylonia the accession of a foreign, non-Semitic

dynasty (that of the Kassites) dealt a death-blow to the belief in a deified king. The king became merely the representative and deputy of the divine "Lord" of heaven, deriving his right to rule from his adoption by the god as a son; Bel-Merodach came to be regarded as the true ruler of Babylonia, lord of the earth as well as of the heavens, and a theocratic state affords but little room for a secular king. The priests of Bel decided whom their god should recognize or not, and little by little the controlling power of the state passed into their hands. It was in a sense a triumph for the non-Semitic element in the population. While the deification of the sovereign may be said to have been purely Semitic in its origin, the necessary corollary of an anthropomorphic conception of the deity, the supernatural powers supposed to be inherent in the priesthood went back to Sumerian times. It was because he had once been a master of spells that the priest of the anthropomorphic god could influence the spiritual world.

The final triumph of the theocratic principle in Babylonia, where the Semite had been so long dominant, showed that the old racial element was still strong, and ready to reassert itself when the favourable moment arrived. Such, indeed, is generally the history of a mixed people: the conquering or immigrant race may seem to have suppressed or absorbed the earlier population of the country, but as generations pass the foreign element becomes weaker, and the nation in greater or less degree reverts to the older type.

NOTE

So far as the primitive culture of Sumer may be recovered from such of the primitive pictographs as can be at present identified, it may be described as follows. The inventors of them lived on the sea-coast within sight of mountains, but in a marshy district where reeds abounded. Trees also grew there, and the cedar was known. Stone was scarce, but was already cut into blocks and seals. Tablets were used for writing purposes, and copper, gold and silver were worked by the smith. Daggers with metal blades and wooden handles were worn, and copper was hammered into plates, while necklaces or collars were made of gold. Brick was the ordinary building material, and with it cities, forts, temples and houses were constructed. The city was provided with towers and stood on an artificial platform; the house also had a tower-like appearance. It was provided with a door which turned on a hinge, and could be opened with a sort of key; the city gate was on a larger scale, and seems to have been double.

By the side of the house was an enclosed garden planted with trees and other plants; wheat and probably other cereals were sown in the fields, and the shaduf was already employed for the purpose of irrigation.

Plants were also grown in pots or vases. That floods took place is evident from the existence of a pictograph denoting "inundation," and representing a fish left stranded above the foliage of a tree. Canals or aqueducts had already been dug. The sheep, goat, ox and probably ass had been domesticated, the ox being used for draught, and woollen clothing as well as rugs were made from the wool or hair of the two first.

A feathered head-dress was worn on the head. Beds, stools and chairs were used, with carved legs resembling those of an ox. There were fire-places and fire-altars, and apparently chimneys also. Pottery was very plentiful, and the forms of the vases, bowls and dishes were manifold; there were special jars for honey, butter, oil and wine, which was probably made from dates, and one form of vase had a spout protruding from its side. Some of the vases had pointed feet, and stood on stands with crossed legs; others were flat-bottomed, and were set on square or rectangular frames of wood. The oil-jars – and probably others also – were sealed with clay, precisely as in early Egypt. Vases and dishes of stone were made in imitation of those of clay, and baskets were woven of reeds or formed of leather. Knives, drills, wedges and an instrument which looks like a saw were all known, while bows, arrows and daggers (but not swords nor, probably, spears) were employed in war. Time was reckoned in lunar months. Sacred cakes were offered to the gods, whose images were symbolized sometimes by a bearded human head with a feather crown, sometimes by a two-legged table of offerings on which stand two vases (of incense ?). Demons were feared who had wings like a bird, and the foundation stones – or rather bricks – of a house were consecrated by certain objects that were deposited under them. A "year" was denoted by the branch of a tree, as in Egypt, and a "name" by a bird placed over the sacred table of offerings. The country was full of snakes and other creeping things, and wild beasts lurked in the jungle. The pictographs were read from left to right, and various expedients were devised for making them express ideas. Thus mud, "to beget," was denoted by the picture of a bird dropping an egg. At other times the pictograph

was used to express an idea, the pronunciation of which was the same as that of the object which it represented. The bent knee, for example, was used to express dug or tuk, "to have," since it represented a "knee," which was called dug in Sumerian.

1 The two dialects were called eme-K.XJ (i.e. enie-lakhkha, W.A.I, iii. 4,31, 32), "the language of the enchanter," and eme-SAL, "the woman's language," which are rendered in Semitic Babylonian, lisan Sumeri and (lisa?i)Akkadi, "the language of Sumer" and "the language of Akkad." In a tablet (81, 7-27, 130, 6, 7) they are said to be "like" one another. Other dialects were termed "the language of the sacrificer" and "the language of the anointer," as being used by these two classes of priests.

They differed, perhaps, from the standard dialects in intonation or the use of technical words. We hear also of "a carter's language" in which anbarri – which, it is noticeable, is a Sumerian word – meant "yoke and reins," i.e. "harness" {Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, ix. p. 164}.

1 Fick, however, is an exception (Beitrage zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, xxix. pp. 229-247).

1 Memoires de la Delegation en Perse, i. pp. 152-3. Photographs of the two types – Sumerian and Semitic – represented on the early monuments of Babylonia are given by Dr. Pinches in an interesting Paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; January 1900, pp. 87-93.

1 It is noticeable that the script of the other people whose civilization grew up on the banks of a river, the Egyptians namely, contains no special ideograph for "river." The word is expressed by the phonetically-written atur, with the determinative of "water" or "irrigation basin." As in the primitive hieroglyphs of Babylonia, "the sea" was a "circle."

1 For proof of this reading see Expository Times, xvii. p. 416 and note infra, p. 91.

2 See my Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia, pp. 373-84.

1 Taylor found quantities of sea-shells in its ruins {Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xv. p. 412}. At the time of its foundation an arm of the sea probably ran up to it from the south-east, though the myth of Adamu describes him as fishing each day in the waters of the actual Gulf, rather than in an arm of it.

2 The Moon-god of Ur was a "son" of El-lil, the god of Nippur.

3 For proof of this see my Religion of the Ancient Babylonians p. 105.

1 A tablet obtained by Dr. Hayes Ward divides Sippara into four quarters, "Sippara of Eden," "Sippara that is from everlasting," "Sippara of the Sun-god," and "Sippara," which may be the "Sippara of Anunit" or "Sippara of Aruru," the creatress of man, of other inscriptions. Amelon or Amelu, "man," who corresponds with the Enos of Scripture, is said in the fragments of Berossus to have belonged to Pantibibla, or "Book-town," and since Euedoranchus of Pantibibla, the counterpart of the Biblical Enoch, is the monumental Enme-dhur-anki of Sippara, it is clear that Pantibibla is a play on the supposed signification of Sippara (from sipru, "a writing" or "book"). The claim to immemorial antiquity made on behalf of Sippara may be due to the fact that Akkad, the seat of the first Semitic empire, was either in the immediate neighbourhood of Sippara or another name of one of the four quarters of Sippara itself.

1 Chaldaea and Susiana, p. 282.

2 Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, xxvii. p. 1 86. Rawlinson calculated the rate of advance from that made by the Babylonian Delta between 1793 and 1833. In the age of Strabo and Arrian the Tigris and Euphrates were not yet united, while in the time of Nearchus (BC 335) the mouth of the Euphrates was 345 miles from Babylon. De Morgan calculates that between the age of Nearchus and that of Sennacherib, when the Euphrates had not yet joined the more rapid Tigris, the rate of increase must have been much slower than it is to-day and have not exceeded eighty metres a year. In the age of Sennacherib Eridu was already seventy miles distant from the coast (de Morgan, Memoires de la Delegation en Perse, i. pp. 5-23).

The distance from the Shatt el-Arab (the united stream of the Tigris and Euphrates) to the end of the alluvium in the Persian Gulf is 277 kilometres, or 172 miles. Some idea of the appearance of the coast in the Abrahamic age may be gained from the map of the world drawn by a Babylonian tourist in the time of Khammu-rabi which I have published in the Expository Times, November 1906.

1 There is a striking resemblance between the primitive Babylonian picture of a boat and the sailing boat depicted on the prehistoric pottery of Egypt, for which last see Capart, Les Debuts de l'Art en Egypte, p. 1 16.

2 Perhaps, however, this was really due to the accidental similarity of sound between gz, "a reed," and gin, "to be firm."

3 The various forms of vases represented in the early pictography are given by de Morgan in a very instructive article, "Sur les procedes techniques en usage chez les scribes babyloniens," in the Recueil des Travaux relatifs a la Philologie et a l'Archeologie egyptiennes et assyriennes, xxvii. 3, 4 (1905).

Among special vases were those for oil, wine and honey. The butter or oil jar was closed with a clay sealing exactly like those of early Egypt. Vases with spouts were also used.

1 The American excavations at Askabad have shown that the domestication of animals, including the camel, took place during the neolithic age, the goat being one of the last to be tamed.

2 This, however, is not absolutely certain, since the ideograph which denotes an "ass" originally signified merely "a yoked beast."

1 Peters, Nippur, ii. p. 299.

1 Thus in the great historical inscription of Entemena, King of Lagas (BC 4000), M. Thureau Dangin is probably right in seeing in datn-kha-ra (col. i. 26) a Semitic word. In fact where a word is written syllabically, that is to say phonetically, in a Sumerian text there is an a

priori probability that it is a loan-word.

1 This may of course have been only a literary archaism. But if the kings were really of Semitic origin, it is difficult to understand why they should have been ashamed of being called by their native Semitic names.

2 See Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, i. pp. 79-82.

1 Hitherto read A-da-pa. But the character PA had the value of mu when it signified "man," according to a tablet quoted by Fossey, *Contribution au Dictionnaire Sumirien-assyrienne*, No. 2656, and in writing early Babylonian names or words the characters with the requisite

phonetic values were selected which harmonized ideographically with the sense of the words. Thus out of the various characters which had the phonetic value of mu that was chosen which denoted "man" when the name of the first man was needed to be written. The Semitic Adamu, which M. Thureau Dangin has found used as a proper name in tablets from Tello of the age of Sargon of Akkad, was borrowed from the Sumerian adatu, which signified "animal," and then, more specifically "man." Thus in the bilingual story of the creation we have (1. 9) uru nu-dim adam nu-mun-ya, "a city was not built, a man was not made to stand upright," and a list of slaves published by Dr. Scheil (*Recueil de Travaux*, etc., xx. p. 65) is dated in "the year when Rim-Anum the king (conquered) the land of bi and its inhabitants" (adam-bi). See above, p. 76.

1 *Records of the Past*, New Series, iii. pp. 124-7.

1 Erech was one of the earliest of the Semitic settlements in the Babylonian plain, and Erech was known later as 'supuru, "the sheepfold," as is shown by its ideographic equivalent.

2 *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 276-80.

1 See my *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 276-89, 348-61

CHAPTER IV THE RELATION OF BABYLONIAN TO EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION

In dealing with the question of origins, science is constantly confronted with the problem of unity or polygeneity. Has language one origin or many; are the various races of mankind traceable to one ancestor or to several? Do the older civilizations presuppose the same primeval starting-point, or were there independent centres of culture which grew up unknown to one another in different parts of the world?

Under the influences of theology the belief long prevailed that they were all sprung from the same source; of late the tendency has been in an opposite direction. While the biologist has inclined to a belief in the unity of species, the anthropologist has seen reason to maintain the diversity of origin in culture.

The two earliest civilizations with which we are acquainted were those of Babylonia and Egypt. To a certain extent the conditions under which they both arose were similar. They grew up alike on the banks of great rivers and in a warm, though not tropical, climate. They rested, moreover, on organized systems of agriculture, which again had been made possible by irrigation engineering. In Babylonia the first settlers had found a plain which was little more than a swamp, over which the swollen streams of the Euphrates and Tigris wandered at will during the annual period of inundation, and which needed engineering works on a large scale before it could be made habitable. The rivers had to be confined within their channels by means of embankments, and canals had to be cut in order to draw off the surplus supply of water and regulate its distribution to the land. While the swamp was thus being made possible for habitation, the population must have lived on the edge of the desert plateau which bordered it, and have there developed a civilization which not only produced the engineers and their science, but also the concentrated authority which enabled the science to be utilized.

In Egypt it was the banks and delta of the Nile which took the place of the Babylonian plain. Recent discoveries have shown that in the prehistoric age, when the natives still lived in the desert and led a pastoral life, all this was a morass, the haunt of beasts of prey and venomous reptiles. But here again the swamp was rendered habitable by engineering works similar to those of primeval Babylonia. The swamp was transformed into fertile fields, the annual flood of the river was regulated, and an elaborate network of canals and embankments spread over the country.

The pastoral nomads of the neolithic age became agriculturists, or were employed in constructing and repairing the works of irrigation, or in erecting monumental buildings for their rulers. There is evidence of the same centralized government, the same directing brain and organizing force that there is in primitive Babylonia.

Is it possible that two systems of engineering science, so similar in their objects, their methods and their results, should have been invented independently in two different countries? There are scholars who answer in the negative. But the

possibility cannot be denied, since an even more elaborate system of irrigation was invented in China without any suggestion, as far as we know, from outside. The geographical conditions of Babylonia and Egypt, moreover, resemble one another, and the question of draining the swamps and regulating the overflow of the rivers once raised, the answer to it seems fairly obvious. By itself, therefore, the fact that the cultures of ancient Babylonia and Egypt alike rested on a similar system of

irrigation engineering would be no proof of their common origin.

In some respects the problem which the Babylonian engineers were called upon to solve was more difficult than that which faced the Egyptians. The Nile is fed by the rains and melting snows of Abyssinia and Central Africa, and its annual inundation takes place in the later summer months. The Euphrates and Tigris flow from the north, from the highlands of Armenia, and are at their fullest in the spring. Their overflow accordingly comes just before the summer heats, when agriculture is difficult or impossible, whereas in Egypt the period of inundation ushers in the most favourable time of the year for the growth of the crops. What the Babylonian engineers had to do was not only to drain off the overflow, but also to store it for use at least six months later. With them it was a question of storage as well as of regulation. Those then, who believe that the engineering sciences of the Babylonians and Egyptians were no independent inventions are bound to see in Babylonia their original home. It would have been here that the great problems were solved, the practical application of which to the needs of Egypt would have been a comparatively simple matter. On the chronological side there would be no difficulties in such a view. Old as was the civilization of Egypt, the excavations in Babylonia have made it clear that the civilization of Babylonia was at least equally old. At Nippur the American excavators claim to have found inscribed remains which reach back for nearly ten thousand years, and though the data upon which this calculation is based may be disputable, it is certain that the earliest monuments met with are of immense age. And it must be remembered that they belong to a time when the early pictorial writing had already passed into a cursive script, and the plain of Babylonia had been a land of cultivated fields for unnumbered generations.

But by itself, I repeat, the practical identity of engineering science in primeval Babylonia and Egypt is no proof that it had been learnt by the one from the other. If we are to fall back on the old belief which brought the civilized population of Egypt from the plain of Shinar, it must be for reasons which are supported by archaeological facts. If such archaeological facts exist, the parallel systems of irrigation engineering will be additional evidence; alone, they prove nothing. At the outset we are met by a fact which personally I find it hard to explain away. The hieroglyphic script of Egypt has little in common with the primitive pictorial characters of Babylonia. Objects and ideas like "the sun," "man," "number one," will be represented by the same pictures or symbols all the world over, and consequently the fact that in both Babylonian and Egyptian writing the sun is denoted by a circle and the moon by a crescent is of no significance whatsoever. But when we turn to less obvious symbols there is comparatively little similarity between the two forms of script. The ideograph of "god," for example, is a star in Babylonia, a stone axe and its shaft in Egypt; "life" is represented by a flowering reed in the one case, by a knotted girdle in the other. It is true that Professor Hommel and others have pointed to a few coincidences like those between the Egyptian symbol for "foreign land" and the Babylonian ideograph of "country," or between the Egyptian and Babylonian signs for "city," "place," but such coincidences are rare.¹ As a rule, as soon as we leave the more obvious conventions of pictorial writing little or no connection can be traced between the pictorial characters of Egypt and those of Babylonia. As a whole the two graphic systems stand apart.

Nevertheless I am bound to add that it is only as a whole that they do so. With all the general unlikeness there is a curious similarity in a few – a very few – instances which it is difficult to interpret as merely the result of accident. The round circle with lines inside it which denotes "a city" in Egyptian might be explained from the circular villages which still characterize Central Africa; but then how is it that the ideograph for "place" in the pictorial script of Babylonia had precisely the same form? That the word for "country" should be denoted in the Babylonian script by the picture of three mountain peaks may be due to the fact that to the Babylonian "country" and "mountain" were the same; but such an explanation fails us in the case of the Egyptian hieroglyph of "foreign land," where the three peaks appear again, since the hieroglyph for "mountain" in Egyptian has but two. The picture of a seat, and a seat, too, of peculiar shape, represents "place" in Egyptian; in Babylonian the same picture represents "city," thus inverting the ideographic signification of the picture which in Egyptian and Babylonian has respectively the meanings of "city" and "place."

Between the primitive Babylonian picture of a "ship" and the boats depicted in the prehistoric pottery of Egypt, again, the resemblance is very exact, and Professor Hommel has pointed out to me a curious likeness between the original form of the Babylonian ideograph for "a personal name" and the ka-sign with the Horus-hawk above it within which the names of the earliest Pharaohs are inscribed. ¹ Indeed the

learned and ingenious Munich Professor has made out a list of even more striking coincidences, where the characters agree not only in sense but also in the phonetic values attached to them.¹

Here, however, we trench on another question, the philological position of the Egyptian language.

Egyptian scholars to-day are practically unanimous in believing it to belong, more or less remotely, to the Semitic family of speech. The Berlin school of Egyptologists, who under the guidance of Professor Erman have made Egyptian grammar a special subject of investigation, are largely responsible for the dominance of this belief. I ought to be the last person in the world to protest against it, seeing that I maintained it years ago when the patronage of the Berlin Egyptologists had not yet made it fashionable.

At the same time I confess that I cannot follow the Berlin philologists to the extent to which they would have us go. For them the old Egyptian language is not related to the Semitic family of speech "more or less remotely," but very closely indeed. Indeed in their hands it becomes itself a Semitic language, and as a logical consequence the Egyptian script is metamorphosed into one of purely Semitic invention.

But while admitting that Egyptian grammar is Semitic in the sense in which English grammar is Teutonic, the comparative philologist is bound to add that it contains much which cannot be reduced to a Semitic pattern. The structure, moreover, is not on the whole Semitic, neither is a large part of its vocabulary. And among the words in the lexicon which have Semitic affinities there are a good many which are better explained as the result of borrowing than as belonging to the original stratum of the language. In some cases they are demonstrably words which have been introduced into the Egyptian language at a late date; in other cases it seems possible to regard them as loan-words from Semitic Babylonian which entered the language at a "pre-dynastic" epoch. Thus, *qemku*, "the wheaten loaf" which was used for offerings, is the Hebrew *qemakh*, the Babylonian *qimu* and may have been brought into Egypt along with the wheat which was first cultivated in Babylonia and still grows wild on the banks of the Euphrates. To what an early period the importation of the cereal must be referred is shown by its occurrence in the prehistoric graves of Upper Egypt.¹

When all allowances are made, however, the fact remains that the Egyptian language as we know it was related to the Semitic family of speech. It stood to the latter as an elder sister, or rather as the sister of the parent-language which the existing Semitic dialects presuppose. It was not like the so-called Hamitic dialects of Eastern Africa, which are African languages Semitized, but it was itself of the same stock as Hebrew or Semitic Babylonian. It represents, however, a form of language at an earlier stage of development than any of those which we call Semitic, and it has, moreover, been largely influenced and modified by foreign languages, which we may term African. So extensive has this influence been that the Semitic element has been even more disguised in it than the Teutonic element is disguised in modern English. In leaving the soil of Asia the language of Egypt took upon it an African dress.

Now though language can prove but little as regards race, it can prove a great deal as regards history. A mixed language means a mixed history, and indicates an intimate contact between the populations who spoke the languages which are represented in it. Egyptian grammar would not have been Semitic if those who imposed it upon the natives of the Nile had not been of Semitic descent, or at all events had not come from a region where the language was Semitic. Nor would this grammar have been modified by foreign admixture if a part of those who learned to use it had not previously been accustomed to some other form of speech. And since we know of no Semitic languages in Africa which were not brought from Asia, we are justified in concluding that the Semitic element in the Egyptian language was of Asiatic origin.

But we can go yet a step further. Where two languages are brought into close contact, the general rule is that that of the stronger race prevails. The conqueror is less likely to learn the language of the conquered than the conquered are to learn the language of their masters. On the other hand, the negro slave in America became English-speaking, whereas the English emigrant wherever he goes preserves the language of his fathers. It is only where a conquering caste brings no women with it that it is likely to lose its language.

When, therefore, we find that Old Egyptian is an Africanized Semitic language, we have every right to infer that it is because invaders brought it with them from Asia who were Semites either by race or by language. In other words, Egypt must have been occupied in prehistoric days by a people who came from the Semitic area in Asia. The days were prehistoric, but of the invasion itself history preserved a tradition. On the walls of the temple of Edfu it is recounted how the followers of Horus, the

totem guide and patron deity of the first kings of Upper Egypt, made their way across the eastern desert to the banks of the Nile, and there, with the help of their weapons of metal, subjugated the older inhabitants of the valley. Battle after battle was fought as the invaders slowly pushed their way down the Nile to the Delta, establishing a forge and a sanctuary of Horus on every spot where a victory had been gained.¹ The story has come down to us under a disguise of euhemeristic mythology, but the tradition it embodies has been strikingly confirmed by modern discovery. The "dynastic" Egyptians, the Egyptians, that is to say, who founded the Egyptian monarchy and to whom we owe the great monuments of Egypt, were immigrants from the east.

The culture of these "dynastic" Egyptians was built up on two solid foundations, the engineering skill which made Egypt a land of agriculture, and a system of writing which made the organization of the government possible. The culture was at once agricultural and literary, and this alone marked it off from the culture of neolithic (or "prehistoric") Egypt, which belonged to the desert rather than to the banks and delta of the river, and which knew nothing of writing. Now we have seen that there was one other country in the world in which a similar form of culture had come into existence. In Babylonia too we have a civilization which has as its basis the training of rivers for the purpose of irrigation and the use of a pictorial script. The civilization of Babylonia was, it is true, Sumerian at its outset, but in time it became Semitic, and expressed itself in a Semitic tongue. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Semitic-speaking people who brought the science of irrigation and the art of writing to the banks of the Nile came, like the wheat they cultivated, from the Babylonian plain.

There are two archaeological facts connected with the early culture of "dynastic" Egypt which seem to me to prove at any rate some kind of intercourse with Babylonia. No building-stone exists in the Babylonian plain; it was therefore the natural home of the art of building in brick, and since every pebble was of value it was also the natural birthplace of the gem-cutter. Nowhere else could the use of clay as a writing material have suggested itself, or that of the inscribed stone cylinder which left its impression behind it when rolled over the clay. Wherever we have the clay tablet and the seal-cylinder we have evidence of Babylonian influence.

Now recent discoveries have shown that the culture of the early dynastic period of Egypt is distinguished from that of later times by the employment of clay and the stone seal-cylinder. Neither the one nor the other could have originated in the country itself, for Upper Egypt (where all authenticated discoveries of early seal-cylinders have been made) is a land of stone, and the river-silt, which is mixed with sand, is altogether unsuited for the purpose of writing. When the Egyptians of the Eighteenth dynasty corresponded in Babylonian cuneiform with their subjects and allies in Asia, the clay upon which they wrote was brought from a distance. Moreover, the stone seal-cylinder of the early dynasties is an exact reproduction of the early seal-cylinder of Babylonia. Substitute cuneiform characters for the hieroglyphs and there is practically no difference between them in many cases. It is difficult to believe that such an identity of form is the result of accident, more especially when we find that, as Egyptian civilization advanced, the seal-cylinder became less and less like its Babylonian original, and finally disappeared from use altogether. That is to say, as the culture of the people was further removed from its first starting-point, and therefore more national, an object which never had any natural basis in the physical conditions of the country grew more and more of an anomaly, and was eventually superseded, first by the "button-seal" and then by the scarab. I see no other explanation of this than that it was originally introduced from Babylonia, and maintained itself so long in an alien atmosphere only because it was bound up with a culture which had come from the same region of the world. The seal-cylinder of the early Egyptian dynasties seems to me, apart from everything else, to prove the existence of some kind of "prehistoric" intercourse between the civilizations of the Euphrates and the Nile. And in this intercourse the influences came from Babylonia to Egypt, not from Egypt to Babylonia.

The use of brick in early Egypt points in the same direction. While Babylonia was a land of clay, Upper Egypt was a land of stone, and it was as unnatural to invent the art of brick-making in the latter country as it was natural to do so in the former. To this day the Nubians build their cottages of stone; so too do the Bedawin squatters on the east bank of the Nile; it is only where the population is Egyptian and the influence of the old Egyptian civilization is still dominant that brick is employed.

Under the Old Empire the Egyptian Pharaohs built even the temples of the gods of brick; it was but gradually that the brick was superseded by stone.

It was the same also in Assyria; here too, in a land of stone, brick was at first the sole building material, and even the great brick platforms which the marshy soil of Babylonia had necessitated continued to be laid. But Assyrian culture was confessedly Babylonian in origin, and the brick edifice was therefore a characteristic of it. It was only by degrees that Assyrian architecture emancipated itself from its early traditions, and at first timidly, then more boldly, superseded the brick by stone.

The example of Assyria throws light on that of Egypt, and as the Assyrian employment of brick was due to the Babylonian origin of its civilization, it is permissible to infer that the Egyptian employment of brick was also due to the same cause. Once more we may repeat that there was early intercourse between Egypt and Babylonia – the land of the brick-maker – and that in this intercourse the prevailing influences came from the east.

Such, then, is the conclusion to which the most recent research leads us. The "dynastic" Egyptians, the Egyptians of history, spoke a language which is related to those of the Semitic family; their first kingdoms, so far as we know, were in Upper Egypt, and tradition brought them across the eastern desert to the banks of the Nile. The culture which they possessed was characterized by Babylonian features, and was therefore due either wholly or in part to intercourse with Babylonia. The fact that the use of the seal-cylinder – which, by the way, bore the Semitic name of khetem – should have lingered in the valley of the Nile to the very beginnings of the Middle Empire, is an indication that the period of its introduction could not have been very remote. The earliest historical monuments which have been revealed to us by modern excavation may not, after all, be many centuries later than the time when the culture of Babylonia found its way to the Nile.

Indeed, there is a fact which indicates that this is the case, and that the literary culture of Babylonia had been imported into the valley of the Nile at a time when Egypt was divided into independent kingdoms. At an early epoch an ingenious system of official chronology had been invented in Babylonia. The years were named there after the chief events that had occurred in each of them, among these the accession or death of a king being naturally prominent. At the death of a king a list was drawn up of his regnal years, with their characteristic events, and such lists were from time to time combined into longer chronicles. The Babylonians were preeminently a commercial people, and for purposes of trade it was necessary that contracts and other legal documents should be dated accurately, and that in case of a dispute the date should be easily ascertained.

Now an exactly similar system of dating had been adopted in Egypt before the age of the First historical dynasty. A pre-Menic monument dated in this way has been discovered at Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt, and the same method of reckoning time is found on ivory tablets that have been disinterred at Abydos.

The method lasted down to the age of the Fifth dynasty, since the Museum of Palermo contains the fragment of a stone from Heliopolis, on which the chronology of the Egyptian kings is given from Menes onward, each year being named after the event or events from which it had received its official title. The successive reigns are divided from one another as in the Babylonian lists, and the height of the Nile in each year is further added – a note which naturally is of Egyptian origin. It is, therefore, interesting to observe that it is added as a note, independent of the event which gave its name to the year. Nothing could prove more clearly the foreign origin of the whole system of chronology, since, had it been of native invention, the height of the Nile, on which the prosperity of the country depended, would have been the first event to be recorded. After the fall of the Old Empire this ancient Babylonian method of dating seems to have passed out of use like the Babylonian seal-cylinder; at all events we find no further traces of it. It was, in short, an exotic which never took kindly to Egyptian soil.

Did the "dynastic" Egyptians bring this method of dating with them, or did they borrow it after their settlement in Egypt? The second supposition is very difficult to entertain, for intimate trade relations between Babylonia and Upper (or Lower) Egypt in the pre-Menic age appear to be out of the question, and are unsupported by any known facts. And literary correspondence, such as was carried on in the time of the Eighteenth dynasty, seems equally out of the question. How, then, did the Egyptians come to learn the peculiar Babylonian system of chronology unless the founders of the culture of which it formed a portion had originally brought it with them from the east?

The same question is raised by the existence in early Egypt of an artistic motif which had its origin in Babylonia. This is what is usually known as the heraldic position of the figures of men and animals.

An example of it is found on the famous "palette" of Nar-Buzau discovered by Mr.

20405 Ouibell at Hierakonpolis, 1 where the hybrid monsters whose necks form the centre of the slate are heraldically arranged. In this case the design is known to be Babylonian, since M. Heuzey has pointed out a Babylonian seal-cylinder on which the two monsters recur. Nar-Buzau is made the immediate predecessor of Menes by Professor Petrie on grounds to which every

20410 archaeologist must assent; but an even better example of the heraldic design is met with on a great isolated rock of sandstone near El-Kab which was quarried in the time of the Old Empire. Here the ownership and opening of the quarry are denoted by an elaborate sculpture of the Pharaoh, who is duplicated, his two forms being figured as seated back to back, with a column between them, while the winged solar disk of Edfu, with the royal uraei on either side of the orb, spreads its wings above them. Each of

20415 the royal forms holds a sceptre, but that on the left has no head-dress, whereas that on the right wears a skull-cap, above which is the solar orb with the uraeus serpent issuing from it.² In front of the latter is an altar consisting of a bowl on a stand, loaves of bread and a cup and jar of wine (with the customary handles for suspension) being engraved above the bowl along with a series of perpendicular lines which in this instance cannot (as has been suggested) represent the fringes of a mat. In front of the figure on the left is another altar, of different shape, the place of the bowl being taken by a flat top, above which are six upright lines and a fiat cake. Precisely the same altar with the same objects above it are engraved on a broken

20425 seal-cylinder of ivory found by Dr. Reisner at Naga' ed-Der, which I understand from the discoverer to be of the age of the First dynasty. When, therefore, was it that the heraldic design in art was introduced into Egypt from its Babylonian birthplace? In any case it would seem to have been before the foundation of the united monarchy. In Babylonia itself, as we have seen, tradition looked seaward, towards the Persian Gulf, for the elements of its civilization. At any rate the seaport of Eridu was the gateway through which the culture of Babylonia was believed to have passed. Here on the shores of the sea the culture-god of Sumer had his home; here trade sprang up, and the sailors and merchants of Eridu came into contact with men of other lands and other habits. Is it possible to discover a connection between Eridu and primeval

20435 Egypt?

I believe that it is, though in making the attempt we are of course treading upon precarious ground. There are certain curious coincidences, one of which, since it goes to the heart of Sumerian and Egyptian religion, is necessarily of considerable weight. But they are all, it must be remembered, more in the nature of indications and possibilities than of ascertained facts.

20440 Eridu meant in Sumerian "the good city." Memphis (Men-nofer), "the good place," the name of the first capital of united Egypt, had the same signification. In the case of Eridu the name had something to do with the fact that the city was the seat of Ea, the god of beneficent spells and incantations, who had given the arts and sciences to man, and was ever ready to heal those that were sick. The son and vice-gerent of Ea, who carried his commands to earth and spent his time in curing diseases and raising

20445 "the dead to life," was Asari, "the prince," who was usually entitled Mulu-dugga, "the good" or "beneficent one." The character and attributes of Asari are thus the same as those of the Egyptian Osiris, who was also known as Ati, "the prince," and was commonly addressed as Un-nofer, "the good being."

20450 Unlike most of the Egyptian deities, Osiris had the same human form as Asari of Eridu, and the resemblance between the names of Asari and Osiris – Asar in Egyptian – is rendered more striking by the remarkable fact that they are both represented by two ideographs or hieroglyphs of precisely the same shape and signification.¹ It does not appear possible to ascribe such a threefold identity to mere coincidence. And the theory of coincidence becomes still more improbable when we remember that while the story of Osiris centres in his death and resurrection, one of the chief offices of the Sumerian Asari was to "raise the dead to life." Nowhere else in Babylonian literature, whether Sumerian or Semitic, do we find any reference to a resurrection; the Semitic Babylonians, indeed, did not look forward to a future life at all, or if they did, it was to a shadowy existence in a subterranean land of darkness "where all things are forgotten." It is only in connection with Asari that we hear of a possibility that the dead may live again.

Other resemblances between the theologies of Eridu and primitive Egypt have been

20465 pointed out.

Professor Hommel believes that in the Egyptian deity Nun, the heavenly ocean, we must see a Sumerian god Nun, who also represented the celestial abyss. However this may be, an old formula, torn from its context, which has been introduced into the Pyramid texts of the Pharaoh Pepi I., takes us back not only to the cosmology of Eridu but to the literary form in which it had been expressed. Pepi, it is said, "was born of his

20470

father Turn. At that time the heaven was not, the earth was not, men did not exist, the gods were not born, there was no death." The words are almost a repetition of those with which the Babylonian epic of the creation begins: "At that time the heaven above was not known by name, the earth beneath was not named ... at that time the gods had not appeared, any one of them"; and they are also a distant echo of the commencement of the cosmological legend of Sumerian Eridu: "At that time no holy house, no house of the gods in a holy place had been built, no reed had grown, no tree had been planted." x

The testimony of philological archaeology, if I may use such a term, is supplemented by that of archaeological discovery. Sumerian Babylonia and early dynastic Egypt are alike characterized by vases of hard stone, many of which have the same forms. Examples of some of them will be found in de Morgan's *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, ii. p. 257, where J?quier observes that analogues to the Egyptian vases have been disinterred by de Sarzec at Tello in Southern Babylonia, "the shape and execution of which are exactly like" those discovered in Egypt, "the only difference being that the one are ornamented with hieroglyphics, and the others with a cuneiform inscription; apart from this they are identical in make." The most remarkable instance of identity, however, is the design on the palette of the pre-Menic Pharaoh Nar-Buzau to which attention was first called by Professor Heuzey.¹ On this we have a representation of two lions set face to face in the Babylonian fashion, and with long serpentine necks which are interlaced so as to enclose a circle. Precisely the same representation is met with on an early Babylonian seal-cylinder from Tello.

Years ago I noticed the general likeness presented by the seated statues of Tello to those of the Third Egyptian dynasty,² and suggested that both belonged to the same school of sculpture. A little earlier Professor Flinders Petrie had demonstrated that the standard of measurement marked upon the plan of the city which one of the Tello figures holds in his lap is the same as the standard of measurement of the Egyptian pyramid-builders, the cubit, namely, of 20*63, which is quite different from the later Assyro-Babylonian cubit of 22*6.1 Still more convincing, perhaps, is the Babylonian division of the year into twelve months of thirty days each, which was already known in Egypt in the age of the early dynasties. The Babylonian week of five and ten days reappears in the Egyptian week of ten days, while the division of the day into twelve "double hours," six belonging to the day and six to the night, has its counterpart in the Egyptian day of twenty-four hours, twelve of which were reckoned to the day and the other twelve to the night. Since a list of the thirty-six decans or zodiacal stars has recently been found on a coffin of the time of the Twelfth Dynasty² it is possible that this distinctively Babylonian invention may also go back to the age of the first Egyptian dynasties. At all events one of the chief stars in the Pyramid texts is "the Bull of heaven," a translation of the Sumerian Gudi-bir, or "Bull of Light," the name given to the planet Jupiter in its relation to the ecliptic. In primitive Babylonian astronomy the zodiacal sign of the Bull ushered in the year.

It may be that some of these evidences of Babylonian influence are referable to contact between Babylonia and Egypt in the age that immediately preceded the foundation of the united Egyptian monarchy rather than to that still earlier age when the "dynastic" settlers first settled in the valley of the Nile. But at present we do not know how such a contact could have taken place. Upper Egypt and not the Delta was the seat of the first Pharaohs with their Horus-hawk totem, and at the remote period when the future civilization of the country was being developed under their fostering care it is difficult to believe that Babylonian soldiers or traders had made their way to the shores of the Mediterranean, much less to the deserts of the Sayyid. For the present, at all events, where we have clear proof of the dependence of early Egyptian culture upon that of the Babylonians we have no alternative but to ascribe it to the Semitic emigrants or invaders to whom the historical civilization of Egypt was primarily due.¹ This civilization, like that of Babylonia, implied a knowledge of metal. It was a civilization of the copper age, and thus stood in sharp contrast to the neolithic culture, such as it was, of "prehistoric" Egypt. Egyptian tradition, it is true, believed that the metal weapons with which the followers of Horus had overcome the stone-defended natives of the country were of iron, but this was because the compilers of the story in its existing form projected the knowledge and usages of their own time back into the past. There is incontrovertible proof that in Egypt, as in Europe, the ages of copper and bronze preceded that of iron. But the tradition was doubtless right in laying stress upon the fact that the invaders were forgers and blacksmiths. It would have been by reason of the superiority of their arms that they succeeded in subduing the valley of the Nile and reducing its inhabitants to serfdom. They were, too, "the followers of Horus," under the leadership of a single prince who

was himself a Horus, that is to say, an incarnate god. Here, again, we find ourselves in the presence of a conception and doctrine of Semitic Babylonia. There, too, as we have seen, the kings were incarnate gods, not only the sons of a divinity, but themselves divine. In Egypt, apart from the Osirian circle, the gods were not men, but animals, and so deeply rooted was this beast-worship in the hearts of the indigenous population that even the "dynastic" civilization, with all its unifying and absorbing power, never succeeded in doing more than in uniting the head of the beast with the body of the man. Even the human Pharaoh was forced to picture himself as a hawk. In Semitic Babylonia on the other hand, as we have seen, the deification of the king flowed naturally from the anthropomorphic conception of the deity; where man was made in the image of God, it was easy to see in him a god on earth. Like the use of copper, therefore, the deification of the king which characterized dynastic Egypt points back to Babylonia.

It must not be supposed, however, that because certain elements and leading characteristics in the civilization of historical Egypt indicate that the Semitic-speaking race to whom it was mainly due came originally from Babylonia, there are no elements in it which can be derived from elsewhere. On the contrary, there is much that is native to Egypt itself.

Even the script shows but comparatively few traces of a Babylonian origin. If the "dynastic" Egyptians came from Babylonia, they must have very considerably modified and developed the seeds of culture which they brought with them. And in Egypt they found a neolithic culture which had already made considerable progress. The indigenous population possessed the same artistic sense as the palaeolithic European of the Solutrian and Magdalenian epochs, with whom perhaps it was contemporaneous, and under the direction of its dynastic conquerors this sense was trained and educated until the Egyptians of history became one of the most artistic peoples of the old world.

But it is noticeable that throughout the historical period whenever the civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia came into contact, it was Egypt that was influenced rather than Asia. The tradition of the earliest ages was thus carried on; the stream of influence flowed from the east, and Herodotus was justified in assigning Egypt to Asia rather than to Africa. It was, in fact, Asia with an African colouring.

In the days of the Eighteenth dynasty, when Egypt for the first and last time possessed an Asiatic empire, the eastern influence is very marked. The script itself became Babylonian, the correspondence of the Government with its own officials in Canaan was conducted in the Babylonian language and the Babylonian syllabary, and there are indications that even the official memoranda of the campaigns of Thothmes III. were drawn up in cuneiform characters.

The clay tablets of Babylonia were imitated in Upper Egypt, where hieroglyphic and hieratic characters were somewhat awkwardly impressed upon them, and the language was filled with Semitic loan-words. The fashionable author of the age of the Nineteenth dynasty interlarded his style not only with Semitic words, but even with Semitic phrases. It is true that the Semitic words and phrases are Canaanite; but Canaan had long been a province of Babylonia, and it was because it was permeated with Babylonian culture and used the Babylonian script, that the foreign words and phrases were introduced into the literary language of Egypt.

On the other hand, so far as we can judge, there was no reflex action of Egypt upon Babylonia. The seal-cylinder was never superseded there by the scarab; indeed the only scarabs yet found in the Mesopotamian region are memorials of the Egyptian conquests of the Eighteenth dynasty. Neither the hieroglyphs nor the hieratic of Egypt made their way eastward into Asia, a fact which is somewhat remarkable when we remember over how wide an area the more complicated cuneiform spread. It was Europe that was affected by Egypt rather than Asia.

Before Egypt laid claim to Palestine, Babylonian culture had already taken too firm a hold of Western Asia to be dislodged, and in Babylonia itself Egyptian influences are hard to find. In the age of Khammu-rabi, we meet with a few proper names which may contain the name of the Sun-god Ra, as well as with the name of Anupum or Anubis on a stone cylinder, and the hieroglyphic character nefer, "good," is affixed to a legal document.¹ But this merely proves that in a period when the Babylonian Empire reached to the confines of Egypt, there were Egyptians settled in Babylon for the purpose of trade. A more curious example of possible Egyptian influence is one to which I have drawn attention in my lectures on the Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia?

Thoth, the Egyptian god of literature, was accompanied by four apes, who sang hymns to the rising and setting sun. Travellers have described the dancing and screaming of troops of apes at daybreak when the sun first lights up the earth, and the origin of these companions of Thoth has been cleared up by an inscription in a tomb at Assuan.

Here we learn that in the age of the Old Empire, expeditions were sent by the Pharaohs into the Sudan – the home of the apes of Thoth – in order to bring back from "the land of the gods" Danga dwarfs who could "dance the dances of the gods." In the eyes of the Egyptians, it would seem, there was little difference between the ape and the Danga dwarf; the one was a dwarf-like ape, the other an ape-like man. But they alone could perform correctly the dances that were held in honour of certain gods, and which are already depicted on the prehistoric vases of Egypt.¹ Closely allied to the Danga dwarfs and the apes of Thoth are the Khnumu or Pataeki of Memphis, the followers of Ptah, who were also dwarfs with bowed legs. Now dwarfs of precisely the same form are found on early Babylonian seal-cylinders where they are associated sometimes with the goddess Istar, sometimes with an ape and the god Sin.² The Babylonian name of the dwarf was the Sumerian Nu-gid-da, an indication that his association with the deity went back to Sumerian times. We may conclude that, like the Danga dwarf of Egypt, he, too, performed dances in honour of the gods. The extraordinary resemblance of form between the Egyptian and Babylonian sacred dwarfs, as represented in art, raises the question whether the Babylonian dwarf was not an importation from Egypt, since the ape with which he was confounded was a native of the Sudan. This was the view to which I was long inclined, but there are certain considerations which make it difficult to be accepted. The Khnumu of Memphis were not the only dwarfs who were represented by the Egyptian artists. Still better known was Bes, who became a special favourite in the Roman period, when he was made a sort of patron of childbirth. But Bes, it was remembered, had come to Egypt from the southern lands of Somali and Arabia, like the goddess Hathor or the god Horus. Hathor is, I believe, the Babylonian Istar, who has passed to Egypt through her South Arabian name of Athtar; however this may be, Ptah of Memphis, whose followers were the Khnumu dwarfs, bears a Semitic name, and must therefore be of Semitic derivation. He belongs, that is to say, to the Egyptians of the dynastic stock, and is accordingly one of the few Egyptian divinities who is depicted in human form. On the other hand, the Sumerian dwarf Nu-gid-da is the companion of Istar. On the Egyptian side, therefore, the dwarfs of Ptah are associated with a god who has come from Asia, while the dwarf Bes was confessedly of foreign extraction. On the Babylonian side the dwarf Nu-gid-da was the associate of Istar, the counterpart of Hathor, and of Sin, the Moon-god, who was adopted by the people of Southern Arabia, and whose name was carried as far as Mount Sinai on the borders of Egypt. All this suggests that the sacred dwarf came to the valley of the Nile from Babylonia and Arabia like the name of Ptah, the creator of the world. In this case it would have come with the dynastic Egyptians before the age of history begins. But, on the other hand, there is the ape, and the ape is figured along with the dwarf on the Babylonian seals. It is true that the ape is equally foreign to Egypt and Babylonia, but the Sudan is nearer Egypt than Southern Arabia is to Babylonia. The actual date and path of migration, therefore, of the sacred dwarf must be left undecided. Whether he was brought to Egypt at the dawn of history, or whether he travelled to Babylonia in the historical age remains doubtful. All we can be sure of is that the sacred dwarfs of Babylonia and Egypt were originally one and the same, and that they testify to an intercourse between the two countries of which all literary record has been lost.¹ The same verdict must be given in the case of another point, not only of resemblance, but of identity, between ancient Egypt and Babylonia. This is the shaduf or contrivance for drawing water from a falling river for the sake of irrigation. The shaduf, which is still used in Upper Egypt, can be traced back pictorially to the time of the Eighteenth dynasty, but the basin system of irrigation with which it was connected was already of immemorial antiquity. It is a simple yet most effective invention, and on that account perhaps the less likely to have been independently invented, for it is always the obvious which remains longest unnoticed. In the modern shaduf a long pole is laid across a beam which is supported at either end upon other poles or on pillars of brick or mud; it is kept in place by thongs and is heavily weighted at one end, while at the other end a bucket or skin is attached to it by means of a rope. The shaduf of the Eighteenth dynasty was supported sometimes, as to-day, on a cross-beam, sometimes on a column of mud, and the bucket was of triangular form with two handles to which the rope was tied. Representations of it from Theban tombs will be found in Maspero's Dawn of Civilization, p. 764, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, plates 38 and 356. Precisely the same machine is represented on a bas-relief found by Layard in the palace of Kuyunjik at Nineveh,¹ the only difference being that the shaduf-worker stands upon a platform of brick instead of on the bank itself, and that the pillar

upon which the pole is supported seems to be built of bricks rather than of mud. The machine, however, is identical in both its Egyptian and its Assyrian form. That the bas-relief should have been found in Assyria and not in Babylonia is a mere accident. Like almost everything else in Assyrian culture, the invention was of Babylonian origin, and, in fact, formed part of the system of irrigation which made the plain of Babylonia habitable. Herodotus, who calls the machine a *??cavelov*, describes it as being used as in Egypt, and for the same reason, since the river did not rise to the actual level of the cultivated ground, which, like that of Egypt, was divided into a number of basins.²

The palace of Kuyunjik belongs to the last age of Assyrian history. But the shaduf in Babylonia went back to the Sumerian period, as we know from the references to it in the lexical tablets. It was called *duldtum* in Semitic Babylonian, the pole or poles being *kakritum*, and the bucket *zirqu* or *zirqatum* (Sumerian *sd*),¹ and an old Sumerian collection of agricultural precepts describes how the irrigator "fixes up the shaduf, hangs up the bucket and draws water."²

The "irrigator" was naturally an important personage in early Babylonia, and legend averred that the famous Sargon of Akkad, the founder of the first Semitic Empire, had been rescued as a child from a watery grave, and brought up by one. In both Babylonia and Egypt the shaduf was closely associated with a system of irrigation which went back to the dawn of their several histories.

What explanation must we give of its identity in the two countries? There are three possibilities. In the first place, it may have been invented independently on the banks of both the Euphrates and the Nile.

Similar conditions tend to produce similar results.

But against this is the fact that the shaduf was not the only kind of irrigating machine that was suggested by the nature of the two rivers and the lands through which they flowed. In modern Egypt, besides the shaduf there are the *saqia*, or water-wheel, and an irrigating contrivance which is in use in the Delta.

The water-wheel, we know, was a Babylonian invention which was imported into Egypt in comparatively recent times; the irrigating contrivance of the Delta, which consists of a bucket suspended on a rope swung by two men who stand facing each other, is a primitive instrument which might have been invented anywhere.

Its survival is due to the fact that in the flat marshes of the Delta, the shaduf, though saving labour, is not necessary, and it therefore continued to be employed there after the shaduf was known. But this implies that the shaduf was not the oldest instrument for raising the water of the Nile.

Then there is the second possibility that the shaduf was borrowed by Egypt from Babylonia or by Babylonia from Egypt in historical times. In Babylonia, however, we can trace its history back to the Sumerian epoch, and in both countries it was intimately connected with a system of irrigation the origin of which must be sought in the prehistoric age, and which was probably carried from the valley of the Euphrates to that of the Nile. There remains the third possibility that it came to Egypt along with the system of irrigation itself.

It is always easier to ask questions than to answer them, in archaeology as in other things. There are many details connected with the early relationship between the civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt which must be left to future research to discover.

But of that relationship there can now be little question in the minds of those who are accustomed to deal with inductive evidence. There was intercourse in the prehistoric age between the two countries, and the civilizing influences, like the wheat and the language, came from the lands which bordered on the Euphrates. Civilized man made his way from the east, and dwelt in primeval days "in the land of Shinar." x

¹ In Egyptian, however, the bird stands over a door, while in Babylonian it is over the two-legged stool on which two vases of offerings are set when it is used to denote the image of a god.

The Sumerian pictograph for "(divine) lord" or "lady" (*nin*) is the representation of a similar vase on a mat, and thus has the same form as the Egyptian *hotep*. The Egyptian *nefer*, "good," finds its exact counterpart in the Babylonian pictograph of "ornament" (*me-te*). The Babylonian "house," too, is given the same tower-like shape as the Egyptian (*aha*).

² If, however, the Sumerian pictograph for "city" represents a tower on a mound, as seems to be the case, the identity in form of the Egyptian hieroglyph cannot be an accident, since both the tower and the artificial platform were essentially Babylonian.

In the cursive cuneiform two separate pictographs have coalesced, one representing a seat, the other what appears to be a tower on a mound.

¹ In a short Paper entitled *Lexicalische Belege zu meinen Vortrag über die sprachliche Striking des Altegyptischen* (1895), in which he has attempted to draw up a list of phonetic

equivalences between Egyptian and Sumerian. In this, however, I am unable to follow him, as his comparisons of Egyptian and Sumerian words are not convincing.

20740 1 See de Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, pp. 94, 95. According to Schweinfurth, barley, which is also found in the prehistoric graves of Egypt, must originally have come from Babylonia like the wheat. Qemku is found in the Pyramid texts (Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux relatifs de la Philologie et de l'Archeologie egyptiennes et assyriennes*, v. p.10). Boti, whence the Coptic boti and the battawa or "durra cake" of modern Egyptian Arabic, was "durra," not "wheat."

20745 1 See Maspero, *Etudes de Mythologie*, ii. pp. 313 sqq.
1 I have put "Lower" between parentheses since it is very questionable whether this particular system of registering time was known in the Delta until it was introduced from Upper Egypt. On the Palermo stone a list of the early kings of Lower Egypt is given, but without any dates, which make their appearance along with the kings of the First dynasty, who belonged to Upper Egypt. It is interesting to observe that the ideograph for "year" is denoted in exactly the same way in both the Babylonian and the Egyptian hieroglyphs by the branch of a (palm) tree. Such a curious symbol for the idea can hardly have been invented independently Professor Hommel further draws attention to the fact that while the literal translation of a common ideographic mode of representing "year" in Babylonian is "name of heaven," that of the two syllables of the Egyptian word renpet) "year," would also be "name of heaven."

20755 1 Hierakonpolis, part i. plate xxix. The name of the king is usually (but erroneously) written Nar-Mer.

20760 2 As the royal figures wear no crowns, they can hardly depict the king in his double office of king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the duplication of the Pharaoh must consequently have a purely artistic origin. That this artistic origin is closely connected with the origin of the seal-cylinders is shown by the fact that the figures correspond with one of the most common designs on the latter, in which the ka of the person to whom the cylinder belonged is seated on a chair similar to that of the El-Kab king, an altar with offerings of bread being set before him.

20765 1 The eye and the ideograph of city or place. Since the eye here has the phonetic value of eriox art, the ideograph of "city," which is eri in Sumerian, must have the Egyptian value of as.

1 See my *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* p. 238.
20770 1 Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 4 Ser., 1899, xxvii. pp. 60-67 see Hierakonpolis, part ii. plate xxviii. In the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, v. pp. 29-32, Heuzey has lately drawn attention to the resemblance between the early Egyptian and Babylonian bowls of calcite or Egyptian alabaster.

2 Lectures on the Religion of the Aficient Babylonians, 1887, p. 33.

1 Nature, August 9, 1883, p. 341.

20775 2 Daressy, "Le Cercueil d'Emsah," in the *Annales du Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte*, 1899, i. pp. 79-90.

1 I have called Upper Egypt the seat of the first Pharaohs, not only because the earliest dynastic monuments we possess come from thence, but also because it was of Upper Egypt and its ruling caste that the hawk-god Horus was the guardian deity.

20780 From Upper Egypt he was carried to Lower Egypt and its nomes, presumably through conquest, as is monumentally attested by the "palette" of Nar-Buzau discovered at Hierakonpolis (Capart, *Debuts de PAit en Egypte*, p. 236). So, too, the anthropomorphic Osiris – the duplicate of Anhur – made his way from the south to the north. That Southern Arabia should have been the connecting-link between Babylonia and Egypt was the result of its being the source of the

20785 incense which was imported for religious use into both countries alike at the very beginning of their histories. That this foreign product should have been considered an indispensable adjunct of the religions of the two civilizations is one of the best proofs we have of their connection with one another. Dr. Schweinfurth has shown that the sacred trees of Egypt – the sycamore and the persea – which needed artificial cultivation for their preservation there, came from Southern Arabia, where he found them growing wild under the names of Kkanes, Burra and Lebakh (*Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, July 1889, No. 7).

1 In the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney. On an early Babylonian seal-cylinder, bought by Dr. Scheil at Mossul and figured in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs de la Philologie et d'Archeologie egyptiennes et assyriennes*, xix. 1, 2, No. 7 of the plate, we have: "Ili-su-bani son of Aminanum, servant of the gods Bel and Anupum." Aminanum may be a Semitized form of the Egyptian Amen. 2 pp. 133, 139 485.

1 De Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, p. 65.

20800 2 Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux relatifs de la Philologie et d'Archeologie egyptiennes et assyrie/mes*, xix. pp. 50, 54; Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 485. The dwarf is represented as dancing before the god Sin on an early Babylonian seal-cylinder published by Scheil in the *Recueil*, xix. 1, 2, No. 16 of the plate.

1 It is worth notice that the dwarf-god Bes, who is called "God of Punt" in inscriptions of the Ptolemaic age, appears on Arab coins of the Roman period (Schweinfurth, *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 1889, No. 7).

20805 1 Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh Second Series*, pi. 15.

2 Herodotus, i. 193.

1 The rope appears to have been makutum; see IV. A. I. v. 26, 61. i K. 56, ii. 14.

1 For other evidences of contact between primitive Babylonia and early Egypt, see Heuzey in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1899, v. 2, pp. 53-6. He there enumerates (1) the resemblance between the stone mace-heads of the two countries in "prehistoric times," as well as between

the flat dishes of veined and ribboned onyx marble, hollowed and rounded by the hand; (2) between the lion-heads of stone, the onyx stone of one of which is stated in an inscription to have come from Magan; (3) the extraordinary likeness in the delineation of animal forms, which extends to conventional details "like the two concentric curves artificially arranged so as to allow the two corners of the profile to be visible at the same time"; (4) the use of a razor and the custom of completely shaving the face, and even the skull; and (5) the ceremonial form of libation by means of a vase of peculiar shape, with a long curved spout and without a handle.

This libation vase was practically the same in both countries, in spite of its peculiar and somewhat complicated form. Of later introduction into Egypt was the inscribed cone of terra-cotta, which was of early Babylonian origin, but is not met with in Egypt before the age of the Twelfth dynasty. At any rate, the first specimens of it hitherto found there were discovered by myself at Ed-Der, opposite Esna, in 1905 (*Annates du Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte*, 1905, pp. 164-5).

CHAPTER V BABYLONIA AND PALESTINE

A very few years ago Palestine was still archaeologically an unknown land. Its history subsequent to the Israelitish conquest could be gathered from the Old Testament, and Egyptian papyri of the age of the Nineteenth dynasty had told us something about its condition immediately prior to that event.

Thanks to the Palestine Exploration Fund, the country had been carefully surveyed, and the monuments still existing on its surface had been noted and registered. But the earlier history of the people, their races and origin, their social and religious life, and their relation to the rest of the world, were still a blank. Of the Canaan invaded by the children of Israel we knew nothing from an archaeological point of view, and very little even of the Palestine that was governed by Israelitish judges and Jewish kings.

The veil has at last been lifted which so long lay over the face of Palestine. Cuneiform texts have come to clear up its civil history, while the spade of the excavator has supplemented their evidence on the more purely archaeological side. The history of Palestine can now be followed back not only into the neolithic, but even into the palaeolithic age, and the source and character of Canaanite civilization have been in large measure revealed to us.

First and foremost among the materials which have made this possible are the cuneiform tablets of Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt, which were discovered in 1887. Tel el-Amarna, about midway between Minia and Assiut, is the site of a city which sprang, like a meteor, into a brief but glorious existence under the so-called "heretic king" Amon-hotep IV, about BC 1400. Amon-hotep, under the guidance of his mother, had endeavoured to suppress the old state religion of Egypt, and to substitute for it a pantheistic monotheism. In spite of persecution, however, the adherents of the old faith proved too strong for the king; he was forced to leave Thebes, the capital of his fathers, and to build a new capital further north, where he changed his name to that of Khu-n-Aten, and called artists from the islands of the Mediterranean to adorn his palace. When moving from Thebes he naturally transferred to the new seat of government both the Foreign Office and its records in so far as they covered the reign of his father Amon-hotep III. and his own. For reasons unknown to us they do not extend further back.

They were all in the cuneiform script, and for the most part in the Babylonian language. The fact came upon the historian with a shock of surprise, and had far-reaching consequences, historical as well as archaeological. In the first place, they proved what had already been suspected, that under the Eighteenth dynasty Egypt possessed an Asiatic empire which stretched to the banks of the Euphrates. Then, secondly, they showed that Western Asia was at the time intersected by high-roads along which merchants and couriers were constantly passing, and an active literary correspondence was carried on. Thirdly – and this was the greatest surprise of all – they made it clear that this correspondence was in the script and language of Babylonia, and that it was shared in by writers of various nationalities and languages, of all classes of society and of both sexes. The Hittite and Cappadocian kings wrote to the Pharaoh in cuneiform characters, just as did the kings of Babylonia and Assyria. Arab shekhs and Hittite condottieri joined in the correspondence, and politically-minded ladies did the same. Even the Egyptian Government was compelled to suppress all feelings of national vanity, and to conduct the whole of its correspondence with its own governors and vassals in Palestine or Syria in the foreign language and syllabary. There is no trace anywhere of the use of either the Egyptian language or the Egyptian mode of writing.

From these facts other facts follow. The age of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty must have been quite as literary as the age of our own eighteenth century, and international correspondence must have been quite as easy, if not easier. Education,

moreover, must have been very widely spread; all the civilized world was writing and reading; and the system of writing was a most complicated one, demanding years of study and memory. In spite of this it was known not only to a professional class of scribes and the officials of the Government, but also to the shekhs of petty Canaanitish towns and even to Bedawin chiefs. And along with the system of writing went a knowledge of the foreign language of Babylonia – the French of Western Asia – including some slight acquaintance with the extinct language of the Sumerians. All this presupposes libraries and archive-chambers where books and dispatches could be stored, as well as schools where the Babylonian script and language could be taught and learned.

Such libraries and schools had existed in Babylonia from a very early age. Every great city had its library, every great temple its muniment-room. Here the clay books were numbered and arranged on shelves, catalogues being provided which gave their titles. The system under which the longer literary or semi-scientific works were arranged and catalogued was at once ingenious and complete. By the side of the library was naturally the school. Here every effort was made to facilitate the progress of the scholars, more especially in the study of the Sumerian language and texts. The characters of the syllabary were classified and named; comparative grammars, dictionaries and reading-books of Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian were compiled, lists of Semitic synonyms were drawn up, explanatory commentaries were written on older works, and interlinear translations provided for the Sumerian texts.

But with all this the cuneiform system of writing must have been hard even for the native Babylonian to learn, and in the case of the foreigner its difficulties were multiplied. It may be doubted whether the average boy of to-day, who finds the spelling of his own English almost too much for him, would have had the memory and patience, to learn the cuneiform characters. Even in Sumerian times the difficulty of the task was realized, for there is a Sumerian proverb that "he who would excel in the school of the scribes must rise with the dawn." x It says much for the educational zeal of the Oriental world in the century before the Exodus that it was just this difficult and complicated script which it chose as its medium for correspondence.

The fact, however, points unmistakably to its cause. The reason why the Babylonian language and syllabary were thus in use throughout Western Asia, and why even the Egyptian Government was obliged to employ them in its communications with its Asiatic subjects, can only have been because Babylonian culture was too deeply rooted there to be superseded by any other. Before Egypt appeared upon the scene under the conquerors of the Eighteenth dynasty, Western Asia, as far as the Mediterranean, must have been for centuries under the direct influence and domination of Babylonia. I say domination as well as influence", for in the ancient East military conquest was needed to enforce an alien language and literature, theology and system of law upon another people. And even military conquest was not always sufficient, as witness the Assyrian and Persian conquests of Egypt, or the Roman conquest of Syria.

We now have monumental testimony that such domination there actually was. As far back as BC 3800, Sargon of Akkad had founded a Semitic empire which had its centre in Babylon, and which stretched across Asia to the shores of the Mediterranean. We learn from his annals that three campaigns were needed to subdue "the land of the Amorites," as Syria and Palestine were called, and that at last, after three years of warfare, all the coast-lands of "the sea of the setting sun" acknowledged his sway. He set up an image of himself on the Syrian coast in commemoration of his victories, and moulded his conquests "into one" great empire. His son and successor, Naram-Sin, extended his conquests into the Sinaitic peninsula, and a seal-cylinder, on which he is adored as a god, has been found in Cyprus. But Sargon was a patron of literature as well as a conqueror; his court was filled with learned men, and one of the standard works of Babylonian literature is said to have been compiled during his reign. The extension of Babylonian rule, therefore, to Western Asia meant the extension of Babylonian civilization, an integral part of which was its script.

Here, then, is an explanation of the archaeological fact that the graves of the copper and early bronze age in Cyprus, which mark the beginning of civilization in the country, contain numerous seal-cylinders made in imitation of those of Babylonia. 1 Examples of the seal-cylinders from which they were copied have also been discovered there. Among them is the cylinder on which Naram-Sin is adored as a god, another is an extremely fine specimen of the style that was current in the age of Sargon of Akkad. 2 Along with the seal-cylinder it is probable that the clay tablet was also introduced to the people of the West. Though the clay tablets found by Dr. Evans and others in Krete may not go back to so remote a date, the linear Kretan characters belong to the same system of writing as the Cypriote syllabary, and an

20945 inscription in the letters of this syllabary on a seal-cylinder from the early
copper-age cemetery of Paraskevi near Nikosia has recently been published by myself.¹
We may infer that the prototypes of the tablets of Knossos or Phaestos once existed
in Cyprus and Syria, though in the damp climate of the Mediterranean the unbaked clay
of which they were made has long since returned to its original dust.

20950 A few centuries after the age of Sargon of Akkad we find Gudea, a Sumerian prince in
Southern Babylonia, bringing limestone from "the land of the Amorites," blocks of
alabaster from the Lebanon, and beams of cedar from Mount Amanus, for his buildings
in the city of Lagas. Gold-dust and acacia wood were at the same time imported from
the "salt" desert which lay between Palestine and Egypt, and stones from the

20955 mountains of the Taurus, to the north-east of the Gulf of Antioch, were floated down
the Euphrates on rafts.² At a later date we hear of the kings of the Babylonian
dynasty which had its capital at Ur, conducting military expeditions to the district
of the Lebanon.

20960 About BC 2100 Northern Babylonia was occupied by a dynasty of kings, whose names show
that they belonged to the Western division of the Semitic family. The language of
Canaan – better known to us as Hebrew – and that of Southern and North- eastern
Arabia, were at the time substantially one and the same, and as the same deities were
worshipped and the same ancestors were claimed throughout this portion of the Semitic
world, Assyriologists are not agreed as to whether the dynasty in question should be

20965 regarded as coming from Canaan or from Southern Arabia. The Babylonians them-selves
called the names Amorite, so it is possible that they would have pronounced the kings
to have been Amorite also. The point, however, is of little moment; the fact remains
that Northern Babylonia passed under the rule of sovereigns who belonged to the
Western and not to the Babylonian branch of the Semitic race, and who made Babylon

20970 their capital.
The contract tablets and other legal documents of this period show that Babylonia was
at the time full of Amorite, that is Canaanite, settlers, most of whom had come there
for the sake of trade. At Sippara there was a district called "the field of the
Amorites," over which, therefore, they must have had full legal rights. Indeed, it

20975 would seem that in the eyes of the law the Amorite settlers were on a complete
footing of equality with the natives of the country.
This fact, so little in harmony with our ordinary idea of the exclusiveness of the
ancient East, is largely explained by the further fact that Canaan and Syria were now
acknowledged portions of the Babylonian Empire. When Babylonia was conquered by the

20980 Elamites, and the West Semitic king of Babylon allowed to retain his crown as an
Elamite vassal, his claim to rule over "the land of the Amorites" passed naturally to
his suzerain. Accordingly we find Chedor-laomer of Elam in the Book of Genesis
marching to Canaan to put down a local rebellion there, while Eri-Aku, or Arioch, of
Larsa, at the same date describes an Elamite prince as "governor of the land of the

20985 Amorites." When Khammu-rabi, or Amraphel, the king of Babylon, at last succeeded in
shaking off the Elamite yoke and making himself monarch of a free and united
Babylonia, "the land of the Amorites" followed the fortunes of Babylonia as a matter
of course. On a monument discovered at Diarbekir, in Northern Mesopotamia, the only
title taken by the Babylonian sovereign is that of "king of the land of the

20990 Amorites." And the same title is borne by one at least of his successors in the
dynasty.
For more than two thousand years, therefore, Western Asia was more or less closely
attached to Babylonia. At times it was as much a part of the dominions of the
Babylonian king as the cities of Babylonia itself, and it is consequently not

20995 surprising that it should have become thoroughly interpenetrated with Babylonian
culture. There was an excellent postal service connecting Canaan with Babylonia which
went back to the days of Naram-Sin, and some of the clay bulla which served as stamps
for the official correspondence at that period are now in the Museum of the Louvre.¹
On the other hand, a clay docket has been found in the Lebanon, dated in the reign of

21000 the son of Khammu-rabi, which contains one of the notices sent by the Babylonian
Government to its officials at the beginning of each year, in order that they might
know what was its official title and date.¹
When this close connection between Babylonia and its Syrian provinces was broken off
we do not as yet know. Perhaps it did not take place until the conquest of Babylonia

21005 by a horde of half-civilized mountaineers from Elam about BC 1800. At any rate, from
this time forward, though the influence of Babylonian culture continued, Babylonian
rule in the West was at an end. From the Tel el-Amarna correspondence we learn that
the Babylonian Government was still inclined to intrigue in Palestine; the memories
of its ancient empire were not altogether obliterated, and just as the English

21010 sovereigns called themselves kings of France long after they had ceased to possess an

inch of French ground, so the Babylonian kings doubtless persuaded themselves that they were still by right the rulers of Canaan.

The wild mountaineers from the Kossaeen high-lands who had conquered Babylon soon passed under the spell of Babylonian culture, and became themselves Babylonian in habits, if not in name. They founded a dynasty which lasted for five hundred and seventy-six years and nine months. It is a curious coincidence that Egypt also was governed about the same time by foreign conquerors, whose primitive wildness had been tamed by the influences of Egyptian civilization, which they had adopted as the Kossaeen mountaineers adopted that of Babylonia, and whose rule also lasted for more than five hundred years. The Hyksos who conquered Egypt have been convincingly shown by recent discoveries to have been Semites, speaking a language of the West Semitic type.¹ They came from Canaan, and their conquest of Egypt made of it a dependency of Canaan. Hence they fixed their head-quarters in the northern part of their Egyptian territories, where they could easily keep up communication with Asia.

The excavations undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund at Lachish, Gezer and other sites in Southern Canaan have made it clear that throughout the Hyksos period Egypt and that part of Palestine were closely connected with one another. How much further eastward the government or influence of the Hyksos may have extended we do not know; the figure of a lion inscribed with the name of a Hyksos Pharaoh has been discovered in Babylonia, but this may have been brought from elsewhere. At any rate, so far as Palestine is concerned, we may say that the Hyksos period in Egypt coincides with the disappearance of Babylonian rule in Canaan. From that time onward Canaan looks towards Egypt, and not towards Babylonia.

But even before the beginning of the Hyksos period Canaan – or at all events Southern Canaan – is Egyptian rather than Babylonian. That has been abundantly proved by Mr. Macalister's excavations at Gezer. Objects of the age of the Twelfth dynasty have been disinterred there, and of such a character as to make it evident that the country was already subject to Egyptian influence long before the appearance of the Hyksos. An Egyptian of that age was buried within the precincts of the consecrated "high place," and a stela commemorating him erected on the spot.

Both at Gezer and at Lachish it has been possible to trace the archaeological chronology of the sites by the successive cities which arose upon them. Gezer was the older settlement of the two; its history goes back to the neolithic age, when it was inhabited by a race of short stature who lived in caves and burned their dead, and whose pottery was of the roughest description. Some of it was ornamented with streaks of red or black on a yellow or red wash, like coarse pottery of the age of the Third Egyptian dynasty which I have found in so-called "prehistoric" graves at El-Kab. Two settlements of the neolithic population can be made out, one resting upon the other; in the second there was a distinct advance in civilization, and the place became a town surrounded by a wall. The neolithic race was succeeded by a taller race with Semitic characteristics, to whom the name of Amorite has been given; they buried the dead in a contracted position, and were acquainted with the use of copper and later of bronze. The city was now defended by a solid wall of stone, intersected with brick towers; as Mr. Macalister observes, in a country where stone is the natural building material the employment of brick must be due to foreign influence. He thinks the influence was Egyptian; this is very possible; but considering that building with brick was a salient feature in Babylonian civilization, the influence may have come rather from the side of Babylonia.

The first "Amorite" city at Gezer was coeval with the earliest city at Lachish – the modern Tel el-Hesi, where the Amorite settlers had no neolithic predecessors. At Gezer their sanctuary has been discovered. It was a "high place" formed of nine great monoliths running from north to south, and surrounded by a platform of large stones. The second monolith, polished with the kisses of the worshippers, was possibly the central object of veneration, the bcetylos or beth-el, as it was termed.¹ This beth-el, or "house of God," takes us back to Semitic Babylonia. The veneration of isolated stones was common to all branches of the Semitic race; it may have come down to them from the days when their ancestors wandered over the desert plains of Arabia, where the solitary rocks assumed fantastic shapes that appealed to their imagination and excited feelings of awe, while their shadows offered a welcome retreat in the heat of noon-day. In the historical age, however, it was not the rock itself that was adored, but the divinity whose home it had become by consecration with oil. The brick-built temple was called by the Babylonians a bit-ili, beth-el, or "house of God," and the name was easily transferred to the consecrated stones, the worship of which was coeval with the beginnings of Semitic history. But though the worship of stones was primitive, the belief that the stone was not a fetish, but the shrine of divinity, belonged to an age of reflection and points to a Babylonian source.

The first Amorite city at Gezer was succeeded by a second, in which the high place underwent enlargement and was provided with a temenos. Under its pavement have been found memorials of the grim rites performed in honour of its Baal – the bones of children and even adults who had been sacrificed and sometimes burnt and then deposited in jars. Similar sacrifices, it would seem, were offered when a new building was erected, since children's bones have been disinterred from under the foundations of houses, both at Gezer and at Taanach and Megiddo. The bones were placed in jars along with lamps and bowls, which, it has been suggested, were intended to receive the blood of the victim. The old sacred cave of the neolithic race was now brought into connection with the high place of the "Amorite" settlers, and the skeleton of a child has been found in it resting on a flat stone. This fourth city at Gezer – the second since the Semites first settled there – has yielded objects which enable us to assign to it an approximate date. These objects are Egyptian, and belong to the age of the Twelfth dynasty. Many of them are scarabs, but there is also the tombstone of the Egyptian who was buried under the shadow of the Amorite sanctuary.

Fragments of diorite and alabaster vases also occur, telling of trade with Egypt, and in the upper and later part of the stratum painted pottery makes its appearance similar to that met with in the corresponding stratum at Lachish. I shall have more to say about this painted pottery in the next chapter here it is sufficient to state that it is related to the early painted pottery of the Egean, but is itself of Hittite origin, and can be traced back to the Hittite centre in Cappadocia.

The fourth city had a long existence. It lasted from the period of the Twelfth Egyptian dynasty to the middle of the Eighteenth. Then it was ruined by an enemy and its old wall partially destroyed – doubtless by Thothmes III. when he conquered Palestine (about BC 1480). Upon its ruins rose another Amorite town. A new city wall was built of larger circumference and greater strength; it measured fourteen feet in thickness, and the stones of which it was composed were large and well shaped. The houses erected on the debris of the brick towers belonging to the old wall were rilled with scarabs, beads, fragments of pottery and other objects contemporary with the reign of Amon-hotep III. (BC 1400). At Lachish the ruins of the third city were full of similar objects, and among them was a cuneiform tablet in which reference is made to the governor of Lachish mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence. At Taanach the Austrian excavators discovered an archive-chamber, the contents of which were of the same age. Taanach was merely a third-rate or fourth-rate town, but its shekh possessed a fortified residence, in a subterranean chamber of which his official records and private correspondence were kept in a coffer of terra-cotta. They were all in the Babylonian language and script. Among them is a list of the number of men each landowner (?) was required to furnish for the local militia, and there are also the letters which passed between the shekh and his friends about their private affairs. How little of an official character is to be found in these letters may be gathered from the following translation of one of them: "To Istar-yisur (writes) Guli-Hadad. – Live happily! May the gods grant health to yourself, your house and your sons! You have written to me about the money ... and behold I will give fifty pieces of silver, since this has not (yet) been done. – Again: Why have you sent your salutation here afresh? All you have heard there I have (already) learned through Bel-ram. – Again: If the finger of the goddess Asherat appears, let them announce (the omen) and observe (it), and you shall describe to me both the sign and the fact.

As to your daughter, we know the one, Salmisa, who is in the city of Rabbah, and if she grows up, you must give her to the prince; she is in truth fit for a lord."¹ These Taanach letters are a final proof, if any were needed, of the completely Babylonian nature of Canaanitish civilization in the century before the Exodus. When we find the petty shekhs of obscure Canaanite towns corresponding with one another on the trivial matters of every-day life in the foreign language and syllabary of Babylonia, it is evident that Babylonian influence was still as strong in Palestine as it had been in the days when "the land of the Amorites" was a Babylonian province. It is also evident that there must have been plenty of schools in which the foreign language and syllabary could be taught and studied, and that the clay literature of Babylonia had been carried to the West.

Indeed the Tel el-Amarna collection contains proof of this latter fact. Along with the letters are fragments of Babylonian literary works, one of which has been interpunctuated in order to facilitate its reading by the Egyptian scholar.

On the other hand, apart from the cuneiform tablets the more strictly archaeological evidence of Babylonian influence upon Canaan is extraordinarily scanty. Naturally we should discover no traces of "the goodly Babylonish garments" which, as we learn from

the Book of Joshua, were imported into the country, the climate of Palestine not being favourable to their preservation; but it is certainly strange that so few seal-cylinders or similar objects have been disinterred, either at Gezer and Lachish in the south, or at Taanach and Megiddo in the north. What makes it the stranger is that Mr. Macalister has opened a long series of graves, beginning with the neolithic race and coming down to Graeco-Roman times, and that while the influence of Egypt is sufficiently visible in them, that of Babylonia is almost entirely absent. It is true that a few seal-cylinders have been met with in the excavations on the city sites, but with the exception of one found at Taanach¹ I do not know of any that can be said to be of purely Babylonian manufacture; most of them are of Syrian make, and represent a Syrian modification of the Babylonian type. And yet there are seal-cylinders from the Lebanon, now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which are purely Babylonian in origin, and belong to the period of Khammu-rabi. 2 There are also two seal-cylinders of later pattern in M. de Clercq's collection, on which are representations of the Egyptian gods Set and Horus – similar to those found on scarabs from the Delta of the time of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties – as well as of the Canaanite god Reshef, accompanied by cuneiform inscriptions which on palaeographic grounds must be assigned to the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. As the inscriptions record the names of Hadad-sum and his son Anniy, "citizens of Sidon, the crown of the gods," we know that they have come from the Phoenician coast.³ Like the cuneiform tablets, they bear witness to the long-continued influence of Babylonian culture in Canaan on its literary side.

When we turn to theology and law, the same influence is recognizable. The deities of Canaan were to a large extent Babylonian, with Babylonian names. The Babylonian gods Ana, Nebo, Rimmon (Ramman), Hadad and Dagon meet us in the names of places and persons, and Ashtoreth, who shared with Baal the devotion of the inhabitants of Palestine, is the Babylonian Istar with the suffix of the feminine attached to her name. Even Asherah, in whom Semitic scholars were long inclined to see a genuinely Canaanitish goddess, turns out to have been of Babylonian origin, and to be the feminine counter-part of Asir, or Asur, the national god of Assyria. The recently-discovered legal code of Khammu-rabi has shown that such glimpses as we have in the Book of Genesis of the laws and legal customs of Canaan in the patriarchal age all presuppose Babylonian law. From time to time usages are referred to and laws implied which have no parallel in the Mosaic code, and are therefore presumably pre-Israelite.

But though they have no parallel in the Mosaic code, we have now learnt that they were all provided for in the code of Khammu-rabi. Thus Abram's adoption of his slave and house-steward Eliezer is in strict accordance with the provisions of the old Babylonian law. Adoption, indeed, which was practically unknown among the Israelites, was a leading feature in Babylonian life, and the childless man was empowered to adopt an heir, even from among his slaves, to whom he left his name and his property. So, again, Sarai's conduct in regard to Hagar, or Rachel's conduct in regard to Bilhah, is explained by the Babylonian enactment which allowed the wife to present her husband with a concubine; while we can now understand why Hagar was not sold after her quarrel with Sarai, for the Babylonian law laid down that "if a man has married a wife, and she has given a concubine to her husband by whom he has had a child, should the concubine afterwards have a dispute with her mistress because she has borne children, her mistress cannot sell her; she can only lay a task upon her and make her live with the other slaves."

In the account of Isaac's marriage with Rebekah it is again a provision of the old Babylonian code with which we meet. There we hear of the bride receiving a dowry from the father of the bridegroom, and of other presents being made to her mother in conformity with Babylonian usage. So, too, the infliction of death by burning with which Judah threatened his daughter-in-law Tamar, on the supposition that she was a widow, has its explanation in the legislation of Khammu-rabi, where the same punishment is enacted against a nun who has been unfaithful to her vows of virginity or widowhood. The story of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, moreover, has long been recognized by Assyriologists as presupposing an acquaintance with the legal forms of a Babylonian sale of land in the Khammu-rabi age.

With all this heritage of Babylonian culture, therefore, it is curious that the excavators in Palestine have come across so few material evidences of intercourse with Babylonia. Mr. Macalister is inclined to believe that it must belong to a period anterior to the Twelfth Egyptian dynasty. But this raises a chronological question of some difficulty. We have seen that the earlier and inner city wall of Gezer served as the defence of three successive settlements, and that it was partially destroyed along with the city it protected about BC 1480. Now the outer and more massive wall

which superseded it also served to protect three cities, the latest of which was deserted during the Maccabean period, about BC 100. Hence, Mr. Macalister argues, "if we may assume the rate of growth to have been fairly uniform, we are led back to BC 2900 as the (latest) date" for the foundation of the first wall. During this long period of time twenty-eight feet of debris accumulated; below this are as much as twelve feet of neolithic accumulation.¹

The conquests of Sargon of Akkad would accordingly have fallen within the neolithic epoch. But in this case it is strange that the use of copper, with which Babylonia had long been acquainted, was not communicated to its Western province, and that it should have needed a new race and the lapse of nearly a thousand years for its introduction. Moreover, specific evidences of Babylonian civilization are quite as much wanting in the remains of the first Amorite city as they are in those of the second.

And unless we adopt a date for the Twelfth Egyptian dynasty, which on other grounds seems out of the question, it is hard to see how the Khammu-rabi dynasty can be placed before it. What little evidence we possess at present goes to indicate that the Khammu-rabi dynasty was contemporaneous with the earlier Hyksos kings or their immediate predecessors. And yet not only do we know that the Khammu-rabi dynasty ruled in Palestine, but the adoption of the cuneiform script, which was at least as old as the age of that dynasty, as well as the testimony of theology and law, proves that its rule must have exercised a profound and permanent influence upon the people of Canaan. How is it, then, that while the excavations have brought to light so many evidences of Egyptian domination, there is so little in the way of material objects to show that Palestine was once and for several centuries a Babylonian province?¹ Perhaps the excavations which are still proceeding at Megiddo may throw some light upon the problem.

Meanwhile, we may remember that thus far the greater part of the objects that have been found belong to the less wealthy and educated part of the population. The annals of Thothmes III. prove that, so far as the upper classes were concerned, the picture of Canaanitish luxury presented in the Old Testament had a foundation of fact. Among the spoils taken from the princes of Canaan we hear of tables, chairs and staves of cedar and ebony inlaid or gilded with gold, of a golden plough and sceptre, of richly-embroidered stuffs similar to those depicted on the walls of the Egyptian monuments, of chariots chased with silver, of iron tent-poles studded with precious stones, and of "bowls with goats heads on them, and one with a lion's head, the workmanship of the land of the Zahi," that is to say, of the Canaanitish coast.

These latter were doubtless imitations of the gold and silver cups with double handles and animals' heads imported from Krete, which were also received as tribute from the Canaanitish princes by the Egyptian king. Other gifts comprised chariots plated with gold, iron armour with gold inlay, a helmet of gold inlaid with lapis-lazuli, the tusks of elephants, rings of gold and silver that were used as money, copper and lead, as well as jars of wine, oil and balsam. Of all these articles, the copper and lead excepted, it is needless to say next to nothing has been discovered by the excavators. The most valuable work of art yet met with is a bronze sword of precisely the same shape as one found in Assyria, which bears upon it the name of Hadad-nirari I (BC 1330).¹

On the palaeographical side the forms of the cuneiform characters used in Canaan go back to the script of the age of Khammu-rabi and his predecessors. From a purely Assyriological point of view, no regard being had to other considerations, I should date their introduction into Palestine about BC 2300. The chronology that would best harmonize the historical facts would thus be one which made the dominance of Egypt in Palestine under the Twelfth dynasty precede the Babylonian rule of the Khammu-rabi period. Against it is the negative evidence of archaeological discovery, so few traces of this rule having been discovered in the course of the excavations. But neither in archseology nor in anything else is negative evidence of much value. At any rate, thanks to the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, the main facts are clear. Canaan was once a province of the Babylonian Empire, and during the long period of time that this was the case it became permeated with the literary culture of Babylonia. The civilization which was partially destroyed by the Israelitish invasion had its roots in the valley of the Euphrates.

Gezer, it is true, was one of the cities in which no visible break with the past was made by the irruption of the desert tribes. It escaped capture by the invaders, and it was only in the reign of Solomon, when the Israelites had already entered into the heritage of the old Canaanitish culture, that it was handed over by the king of Egypt to his Jewish son-in-law.

But at Lachish the marks of the destruction of the town by Joshua are still visible.

21275 Above the ruins of the Amorite cities is a bed of ashes left by the charcoal-burners who squatted on the site before it was again rebuilt. Above the stratum of ashes all must be Israelitish, and the objects found in the remains of the cities that stand upon it testify accordingly to a complete change. No more cuneiform tablets are met with, and but few Egyptian scarabs; the pottery is different, and the "high place"

21280 has disappeared. The bowl and lamp, indeed, are still buried under the walls of the newly-built house, but the bones of sacrificed children which they once contained are replaced by sand. As the Israelitish power increased the old Babylonian influence necessarily lessened. When the cuneiform syllabary finally made way for the so-called Phoenician alphabet is still uncertain, but it was at all events before the days of

21285 Solomon. Already in the Amorite period the characters of the Kretan linear script discovered by Dr. Evans are found scratched on fragments of pottery, indicating that besides the cuneiform another form of writing was known; it may be that the Israelitish conquest, by destroying the centres of Canaanitish civilization and the schools of the scribes, gave a first blow to the tradition of Babylonian learning, and that the work of destruction was subsequently completed by the Philistine wars.

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1 Recueil de Travaux, etc., xvi. p. 190.

21295 1 In the later bronze or "Mykenaeen" age the seal-cylinders are of a different type, and are engraved on a black artificial paste resembling haematite (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, p. 32).

2 Sayce, Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1877, v. part ii.; Bezold, Zeitschrift für Keilinschrift, 1885, pp. 191-3.

1 Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, November 1905, plate No. 11.

21300 2 A cadastral survey, which was drawn up at this period under Uru-malik, or Urimelech, "the governor of the land of the Amorites," would, if perfect, have given us an interesting description of Syria and Palestine in the third millennium before our era; see Thureau Dangin in the Revue Semitique, Avril 1897.

1 See Heuzey, in the Revue de l'Assyriologie, 1897, pp. 1-12.

21305 1 This was "the year when Samsu-iluna the king gave Merodach a shining mace of gold and silver, the glory of the temple; it made E-Saggil (the temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon) shine like the stars of heaven." The title of the year was derived from the chief event, or events, that characterized it. See Dr. Pinches, in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, April and July 1900, pp. 269-73.

21310 1 See my analysis of some of the Hyksos names in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1901, pp. 95-8. Since the publication of the Paper other names of the same type, like Rabu and Sakti, have come to light. The characteristic names of the Hyksos princes recur among the "Amorite" names found in the contract tablets of the Khammu-rabi period, but not later. The abbreviated forms of the names met with on the Egyptian scarabs are also found in the tablets. Indeed, the contracted form of Ya'qub-el, that is to say, Yakubu, with k instead

21315 of q, must have been transcribed from a cuneiform original.

1 Macalister, Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, January 1903, p. 28. It is the seventh stone, however, which alone has been brought from a distance – the neighbourhood of Jerusalem – all the others being of local origin {Quarterly Statement, July 1904, pp. 194-5}.

21320 1 See Sellin, Tell Taannek (1904) and Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Taannek in Palas Una (1905).

1 Tell Ta'annek, pp. 27-8. The cylinder is earlier than BC 2000.

2 See my Patriarchal Palestine, pp. 60, 61.

3 Collection De Clercq, Catalogue methodique et raisonne, i. p. 217.

1 Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, January 1905, pp. 28, 29.

21325 1 The chronological difficulty, however, would be partially solved if the date recently proposed by Professor Petrie {Researches in Sinai, ch. xii.} for the Twelfth dynasty – BC 3459-3250 – be adopted. The Twelfth dynasty would in this case have reigned a thousand years before the dynasty of Khammu-rabi, whose domination in Palestine would have been an interlude in the history of the Hyksos period, while the conquest of Canaan by Sargon and Naram-Sin

21330 would have coincided with the supersession of the neolithic population by the "Amorites," who brought with them the copper and the culture of Babylonia.

1 Unless we except the gold and silver ornaments found on the body of a woman in a deserted house at Taanach, which, as Dr. Sellin says, are by themselves sufficient to remove all grounds for doubting such accounts as those in Joshua vii. 21, and Judges viii. 26 {Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Tafannek [Taanek?]}.

21335

CHAPTER VI ASIA MINOR

If it has been a surprise to learn that Palestine was once within the circle of Babylonian culture, it has been equally a surprise to learn that Asia Minor was so

21340 too. It is true that Herodotus traced the Herakleid dynasty of Lydian kings to the gods of Nineveh and Babylon, that Strabo knew of a "mound of Semiramis" in Cappadocia, and that in the Book of Genesis Lud is called the son of Shem. But historians had long agreed that all such beliefs were creations of a later day, and rested on no substratum of fact. The northern limits of Babylonian or Assyrian

21345 influence, it was held, were fixed by the Taurus and the mountains of Kurdistan.

The discovery of cuneiform inscriptions on the stones and rocks of Armenia made the first breach in this conclusion. Their existence was known even before Botta and Layard had opened up Nineveh. In 1826 Schulz had been sent by the French Government at the instance of M. Mohl to copy the mysterious characters which had already excited the attention of Oriental writers. Schulz was unexpectedly successful in his quest. The number of inscriptions he discovered was far larger than had been imagined, and his copies of them, as we now know, were remarkably accurate. But the explorer himself never lived to return to Europe. He was murdered by a Kurdish chief, Nurallah Bey, in 1829, while engaged in the work of exploration; his papers, however, were eventually recovered, and the inscriptions he had copied were published in 1840 in the *Journal of the Societe Asiatique*. One of them was a trilingual inscription of Xerxes, the Persian transcript of which was just beginning to be deciphered; the rest were still a closed book.

Then came the discovery of Nineveh and the first essays at the interpretation of the Assyro-Babylonian texts. Layard himself made an expedition to Armenia, and besides recopying Schulz's texts and correcting certain inaccuracies in them, added considerably to the collection. Dr. Hincks, with his usual genius for decipherment, perceived that the syllabary in which they were written was the same as that used at Nineveh, and utilized them for determining the values of some of the Assyrian characters. He succeeded in reading most of the proper names, in assigning the inscriptions to a group of kings whose order he was able to fix, and in pointing out that many of them contain an account of military campaigns and of the amount of booty which had been carried off. But it was also clear that the inscriptions were not in a Semitic language, and as the nominative and accusative of the noun seemed to terminate in -s and -n, while the patronymic was expressed by the suffix -khinis, the decipherer assumed that the language was Indo-European. The most important texts had been found in or near Van, which had apparently been the capital of the kings by whose orders they had been engraved, and the name of Vannic, accordingly, was given to both texts and language.

It was soon recognized that Dr. Hincks had been in error in suggesting that the Vannic language was Indo-European. It was, it is true, inflectional, but with this any resemblance to the languages of the Indo-European family ceased. Nor was there any other language or group of languages to which it appeared to be related, and all attempts failed to advance the decipherment much beyond the point at which it had been left by Hincks. Thanks to the "determinatives," which indicate proper names and the like, and the ideographs, which are fairly plentiful, the general sense of many of the inscriptions could be made out; but beyond that it seemed impossible to go. Lenormant, indeed, following Hincks, showed that the suffix -bi denoted the first person singular of the verb, and indicated Georgian as possibly a related language; but in the hands of other would-be decipherers, like Robert and Mordtmann, there was retrogression instead of advance.

So matters remained until 1882, when Stanislas Guyard pointed out the parallelism between a formula which occurs at the end of many Vannic inscriptions and the imprecatory formula of the Assyrian texts.

I had already been struck by the same fact, and was at the time preparing a Memoir on the decipherment and translation of the inscriptions, which shortly afterwards appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In this I had made use of Layard's copies, which had never been published; other copies also, including photographs, squeezes and casts, had been placed at my disposal, and in 1882 I was able to lay before cuneiform scholars a grammar and vocabulary of the Vannic language, together with translations and analyses of all the known texts.¹ These have been subsequently corrected and extended by other Assyriologists – Guyard, D. H. Muller, Nikolsky, Scheil, Belck and Lehmann, as well as by myself. An ordinary Vannic text can now be translated with nearly as much completeness and certainty as an Assyrian text, and the number of them known to us has been greatly enlarged by the archaeological explorations of Belck and Lehmann.

In the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions the ideographs and determinatives which are scattered through them took the place for me of a bilingual text. The determinatives told me what was the nature of the words which followed or preceded them, and so explained the general sense of the passages in which they occurred, while from time to time a phonetically-written word would be replaced in a parallel passage by an ideograph the signification of which was known.

I soon found, moreover, that the cuneiform syllabary must have been brought from Nineveh to Van in the age of Assur-natsir-pal II. (BC 884-859), and that the actual phrases met with in the inscriptions of that monarch are sometimes reproduced in a Vannic dress.

The Vannic language, however, still remains isolated, though the majority of those who have studied it incline to Lenormant's view that its nearest living representative is Georgian. Not being a Georgian scholar myself, this is a point upon
21415 which I can express no opinion. Instead of "Vannic," it has been proposed to call the language "Khaldian." The chief god of the people whospoke the language was Khaldis, and in the inscriptions we find the people themselves described as "the children of Khaldis." Derivatives from the name are found employed in a geographical sense northward of the region to which the
21420 inscriptions belong. Thus the Khaldi "in the neighbourhood of Colchis" are said to have been also called Khaldaei; "Khaldees" are frequently referred to by Armenian writers as living between Trapezont and Batum, and a Turkish inscription at Sumela shows that as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century Lazistan was still known as Khaldia. That the name was ever applied, however, to the kingdom which had its
21425 chief seat at Van is not proved, and it is therefore best to adhere to the term "Vannic," which commits those who use it to no theory.²

The decipherment of the Vannic texts has not only led to the discovery of a new language, it has also thrown a flood of light on the early history, geography and religion of the Armenian plateau. The military campaigns of the Assyrian kings had
21430 brought it into contact with Assyrian civilization, and in the ninth century before our era a dynasty arose which adopted the literary culture and art of Assyria, and founded a powerful kingdom which extended its sway from Urumia on the east to Malatia on the west, and from the slopes of Ararat and the shores of Lake Erivan to the northern frontiers of Assyria.

The main fact which has thus been disclosed is that the Armenians of history – the Aryan tribes, that is to say, who spoke an Indo-European language – did not enter the country and establish themselves in the place of itsolder rulers before the end of the seventh century before our era. The fall of the Vannic monarchy seems to have
21440 coincided with the fall of the Assyrian Empire, with which it had once contended on almost equal terms, and in each case the invasion of the so-called Scythian hordes from the plains of Eastern Europe had much to do with the result. The founders of Armenian civilization and of the cities of the Armenian plateau had no connection with the Indo-European family. Their type of language corresponded with that which distinguishes most of the actual languages of the Caucasus, though no genetic
21445 relationship is traceable between them. The break with the past, however, occasioned by the irruption of the Indo-European invaders, was so great that not only did the older language become extinct and forgotten, but even the tradition of the older civilization was also lost. Like the recovery of the Sumerian language and the culture it represented, the recovery of the Vannic language and culture is the
21450 revelation of a new world.

At the head of the pantheon was a trinity consisting of Khaldis, the supreme god of the race; Teisbas, the god of the air; and the Sun-god Ardinis. Temples were erected in their honour, and shields and spears dedicated to their service. The vine, which grows wild in Armenia, was the sacred tree of the people, and there are inscriptions
21455 which commemorate its planting and consecration, and describe the endowments that were set apart for its maintenance. Wine was naturally offered to the gods along with the domestic animals and prisoners of war. Dr. Belck has discovered burial-places which go back to the neolithic age, but the majority of the monuments scattered over the Vannic area belong to the bronze age, and testify to a native adaptation of
21460 Assyrian art and culture. Iron also makes its appearance, but scantily. The pottery of the age of the inscriptions is related on the one side to the Assyrian pottery of the same period, and on the other to the pottery of Asia Minor. The polished red ware more especially points to the west.

The existence of a language of the Caucasian type in Armenia, and its association with a powerful king-dom and an advanced culture, is not the only revelation of the kind that we owe to cuneiform decipherment. We have learned that at a much earlier epoch Northern Mesopotamia was occupied by a people who spoke a language of similar type but of far more complicated form; and that here, too, the language in question was accompanied by a high civilization, a powerful monarchy, and the use of the
21470 cuneiform syllabary. The monarchy was that of Mitanni, and its culture and script had been borrowed from Babylonia in the age of Khammu-rabi, instead of from Assyria in the age of Assur-natsir-pal. But it is interesting to observe that in borrowing the script the people of Mitanni had adapted and simplified it in precisely the same way as did the people of Van in after days. Superfluous characters were discarded, a
21475 single phonetic value only assigned to each character, and large use made of those which expressed vowels. In fact, in both Mitannian and Vannic the system of writing begins to approach the alphabetic.

Whether this similarity in adaptation was due to a similarity of phonetic structure in the two languages or to conscious imitation on the part of the Vannic scribes it is difficult to say; it is a point, however, which cannot be passed over.

The name of Mitanni meets us on the Egyptian monuments of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties. The kingdom played a considerable part at that period of time in the politics of Western Asia, and the daughters of its kings were married to the Egyptian Pharaohs. The boundaries of the Egyptian Empire were coterminous with those of Mitanni, and we gather from the Tel el-Amarna correspondence that the Mitannian forces had more than once made their way into Palestine, perhaps as far south as Jerusalem, and that Mitannian intrigue was active in that portion of the Pharaoh's dominions. Among the Canaanitish governors are some who bear Mitannian names, and testify to the continuance of a Mitannian element in that common meeting-place of nationalities.

Several letters from the Mitannian king have been found among the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Most of them are written in the Babylonian language, but one – and fortunately an exceptionally long one – though in cuneiform characters, is in the native language of the country. A comparison of it with its companion letters, assisted by the determinatives and ideographs which are employed in it from time to time, has enabled Jensen, Leopold Messerschmidt and myself to decipher a very considerable part of the letter, and so to compile a grammar and vocabulary of the Mitannian language. That it is distantly related to Vannic seems to admit of little doubt, but it comes before us in a much more developed form; indeed, its system of suffixes is so elaborate and ponderous as to remind us of the polysynthetic languages of America.

A legal document found in Babylonia and dated in the epoch of Khammu-rabi contains a number of proper names which are of Mitannian or allied origin, and show that persons of that race were already settled in Babylonia.¹ As the Mitannian form of cuneiform script must have been borrowed about the same time, we may infer that the advanced guard of the northern race had already made its way as far south as Mesopotamia, and there established its power in the midst of a Semitic population. From that time forward a constant struggle went on between the two races, the Semitic race striving to push back the northern intruders and planting its own colonies in the very heart of the northern area, while the northerners pressed ever more and more to the southward, and at one time even seemed likely to possess themselves of the heritage of the Babylonian Empire in Western Asia. Like Armenia, Northern Mesopotamia was occupied by a people of Caucasian and Asianic affinities, whose armies had crossed the Euphrates and won territory in Syria and Palestine.

On the west, however, the Mitannians found themselves confronted by another northern population, the Hittites, whose first home was in Cappadocia. The Hittites also had passed under the spell of Babylonian culture, and the cuneiform script had been carried to them at an early date. Thanks to recent discoveries, we can now trace in some measure the earlier fortunes of a race who made a profound impression, not only on the future history of Asia Minor and its relations with Greece, but also on the history of Palestine.

As far back as about BC 2000, Babylonian or Assyrian troops had already made their way along the northern banks of the Tigris and Euphrates to the borders of Cappadocia and the neighbourhood of the Halys. I say Babylonian or Assyrian, for Assyria was at the time a province of Babylonia, though as the colonies which settled in the track of the invaders were distinctively Assyrian in their municipal customs and the names of their inhabitants, the troops were probably drafted from Assyria.¹ The mineral wealth of Cappadocia was doubtless the attraction which led them to such distant and semi-barbarous lands; Dr. Gladstone's analysis of the gold of the Sixth Egyptian dynasty, with its admixture of silver, has shown that it was imported from the north of Asia Minor,¹ and the silver itself was probably already worked. Further south, in the Taurus, were mines of copper.

However this may be, the remains of one of these early Assyro-Babylonian colonies has been partially excavated a few miles (twenty-three kilometres) to the north-east of Kaisariyeh.² The site is now known as Kara Eyuk, "the Black Mound," and numerous cuneiform tablets have come from it. It has obtained its present name from the marks of fire which are every-where visible upon it, and bear eloquent testimony to its final fate. Established as an outpost of the Assyrian Empire in the distant west, a time came when, deserted by the Government at home, its strong walls were battered down by the besieging foe and the Assyrian settlers massacred among the ruins of their burning town. According to M. Chantre, its excavator (who, however, believes that it was destroyed by a volcanic eruption), the whole mound is a mass of charred and burnt remains.

21545 The construction of the walls, as well as the pottery found within them, marks it off with great distinctness from the ruins of the Hittite or native Cappadocian cities in its neighbourhood. While in their case the city wall is made of unmortared blocks of stone, the walls of Kara Eyuk are built of brick, and where stones are used they are of small size and cemented with mortar. The pottery differs considerably from that of the Hittite capital at Boghaz Keui. Some of it is of black ware, especially

21550 characterized by the vases with long spouts, which are also found in Phrygia and the Troad. Some of it, again, is of the dark-red lustrous ware which has been met with at Toprak Kaleh, near Van, and Boz Eyuk in Phrygia, while the yellow ware with geometrical patterns in black and maroon-red which has been discovered in Phrygia occurs in large quantities. This latter ware is of the class known as "Mykenaeen."

21555 The cuneiform tablets which have come from the site are known as "Cappadocian," and were first noticed by Dr. Pinches. The forms of the characters resemble those of the early Babylonian script, which was still used in Assyria in the age of Khammu-rabi. Many of the proper names, moreover, seem to be distinctive of that period. On the other hand, a large proportion of them contain the name of Asur – often in its

21560 primitive form of Asir – or are otherwise characteristic of Assyria. The tablets are further dated by the archons who gave their names to the years, a system of chronology which was peculiar to Assyria and unknown in Babylonia, while the month was divided into "weeks" of five days each. The language of the tablets also, which is full of dialectic mispronunciations and strange words, points to Assyria rather

21565 than to the southern kingdom, and we may therefore conclude that the colonists were Assyrians, even though the colony may have been founded when Assyria was still a Babylonian province.

There are indications in the Assyrian inscriptions themselves that the road to Cappadocia was known to the Assyrian princes at an early epoch. The earliest Assyrian

21570 kings whose annals have come down to us are Hadad-nirari I and his son Shalmaneser I (BC 1300). Hadad-nirari tells us that his great-grandfather, Assur-yuballidh, whose letters form part of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, had subdued "the wide-spread" province of Subari, which lay near the sources of the Euphrates, and in which Kara Eyuk was perhaps included, while he himself restored the cities of the same province

21575 which had fallen into ruin. Later, Shalmaneser I conducted campaign after campaign towards the same region. In his second year he overthrew the king of Malatia, and the combined forces of the other "Hittite" states, who had come to his assistance: "all were conquered," from the borders of Cappadocia to the Hittite stronghold of Carchemish.

21580 A military colony was settled at the head waters of the Tigris which secured the high-road to Asia Minor.

Two centuries later we learn from Tiglath-pileser I that Moschians and Hittites had overrun part of this Assyrian territory, and occupied some of the Assyrian

21585 settlements. Once more, therefore, the Assyrian troops marched to the north-west; the provinces which lay in the valley of the Murad-chai were recovered, and the old province of Subari cleared of intruders. Soon afterwards Tiglath-pileser forced his way into Southern Cappadocia and the valley of the Sarus, making Comana tributary, razing to the ground the fortresses that had resisted him, and erecting on their site chambers of brick, with bronze tablets on which his conquests were recorded. Eastern

21590 Cilicia was known at the time to the Assyrians as Muzri, or "the Marchland," a clear proof that it had long formed a borderland and debatable territory between the Assyrian Empire and the nations of Asia Minor.

It is thus evident that even before the rise of the Assyrian monarchy, the road that led to the mining districts of Cappadocia, along the valleys of the Upper Tigris,

21595 Euphrates and Tokhma Su, was not only known to the Assyro-Babylonians, but had actually constituted Assyrian territory, which was colonized by Assyrian garrisons and paid tribute to Nineveh whenever Assyria was strong enough to enforce its authority. At the eastern extremity of the road stood the city of unknown name, now represented by "the Burnt Mound" of Kara Eyuk, whose existence as an Assyro-

21600 Babylonian city probably dates back to the age of Khammu-rabi.

It was the outpost of Babylonian culture in Asia Minor. Babylonian art, and, above all, the Babylonian system of writing, were brought by it into the heart of the Hittite region, and the archaeological objects found there consequently become

21605 important for chronological dating. Not far off, on the other side of the Halys, rose the Hittite capital, now known as Boghaz Keui, the centre from which, as Professor Ramsay has shown, 1 the early roads of Asia Minor radiated in all directions. Boghaz Keui is being excavated at the present moment. Hundreds of clay tablets have already been found there, inscribed with cuneiform characters, the majority of which are in the native Hittite language, though many are in Semitic Babylonian, including

- 21610 a copy of the famous treaty between Ramses I 1, and the Hittite king. So far as the tablets have been examined, they show that the Hittite empire extended from the west of Asia Minor to the Egyptian frontier, and that the cuneiform characters were used in ordinary life.
- 21615 By one of those coincidences which sometimes happen in archaeological research, the discovery fits with another fact which had long been in the possession of the Assyriologist, though the full meaning of it was unknown to him. Among the Tel el-Amarna letters are two in a language unlike any with which we are acquainted. One of them is from a Hittite leader of condottieri,² who has left us two other letters which are in the Assyrian language, and who came from a town in the neighbourhood of Cilicia. The second letter was written to the king of Arzawa by one of the foreign secretaries of the Egyptian Government. But the situation of Arzawa was wholly uncertain; as the king bore the Hittite name of Tarkhundaraba, I suggested that it lay in the Hittite territory, and that consequently in the language of the letter we had a fragment of the Hittite language. For many years, however, this remained a mere conjecture, without any definite proofs.
- 21620 When the fragmentary tablets from Boghaz Keui came to be copied, it was at once perceived that they were in a language which resembled that of the Arzawa letters, but it was not until the new tablet from Constantinople had been cleaned and copied by Dr. Pinches and myself that the actual facts became clear. The Arzawa and Boghaz Keui texts agree in the forms given to the characters, in grammar and in vocabulary. Arzawa, therefore, must have been the Hittite kingdom which had its centre at Boghaz Keui, and already in the age of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty it was employing a form of the cuneiform script which implied a long preceding period of use and adaptation. A new realm has thus to be added to the domain of the cuneiform system of writing; in Syria the Hittite king of Kadesh wrote to the Pharaoh in Babylonian, but in his old home in the north, though the Babylonian syllabary had been adopted, the language it served to express was that of the Hittites themselves.
- 21635 A certain amount of this Hittite language of Arzawa can be deciphered, thanks to those same determinatives and ideographs which have assisted so materially towards the decipherment of the Vannic texts, and more especially to the recurrence in the two Tel el-Amarna letters of phrases that are common to the whole correspondence. The new tablet, however, is more than usually helpful, since it contains Assyrian words and grammatical forms which in parallel passages of the same text are replaced by native equivalents. In this way a sketch of Arzawan grammar can now be made, as well as a list of Arzawan words. The language which is thus disclosed is of an Asianic type, with features that remind us of Lycian on the one side, and of Mitannian and Vannic on the other. But in what may be termed the fundamentals of grammar it agrees with Mitannian and Vannic.
- 21640 At the same time, certain of these same fundamentals have a curious but superficial resemblance to what we have hitherto been accustomed to regard as characteristics of Indo-European grammar. The nominative and accusative of the noun, for example, are distinguished by the suffixes -s and -n, the plural nominative and accusative often terminate in -s, and the possessive pronouns of Arzawan are mis, "mine"; ti-s, "thine"; and sais, "his"; while si is "(to) her."
- 21655 The third person of the present tense ends in -t; es-tu, is "may it be"; es-mi, "may I be." Yet with all these remarkable coincidences, I can assure the comparative philologist that Arzawan is certainly not an Indo-European language, and I must leave him to explain them as best he may.
- 21660 We have, however, learnt a good deal more about the Hittite populations of Asia Minor from the Tel el-Amaraa tablets than the nature of the language which they spoke. In the closing days of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty we find them on the southern side of the Taurus, sending forth bands of adventurers, who hired their services to the king of Egypt and to the rival governors and princes of Palestine, and from time to time carved out principalities of their own with the sword. We are even able to follow the fortunes of some of the leaders of the condottieri, who had no scruple in transferring their allegiance from one vassal prince to another when tempted by the prospect of better pay, or in murdering their employer when the opportunity arose, and plundering or occupying his city. They had, it is true, a wholesome awe of Egyptian power and of the Egyptian army, and some of the letters they wrote to the Egyptian court are amusing examples of the excuses they offered for their misdeeds. But they never hesitated about seizing the Pharaoh's property when they thought they could do so with impunity, while they were all the time professing to be his devoted slaves. A considerable number of the vassal princes of Canaan kept these mercenaries in their pay, and in many cases the Egyptian Foreign Office thought it wisest to confirm one of their leaders in the government of a district, however doubtful might
- 21675

have been the means by which it had come into his hands. So long as the tribute was paid, and the imperial authority acknowledged, no further questions were asked. The mercenaries were useful at times to the imperial forces, and the mutual jealousies and quarrels of the local governors were perhaps not altogether displeasing to the home Government.¹

In this way bands of Hittite mercenaries came to be settled in various parts of Palestine, even in the extreme south. The sons of Arzawaya, "the Arzawan," established themselves in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, whose king, by the way, seems to bear a Mitannian name. The statement in the Book of Genesis that Heth was the son of Canaan receives a new signification from the Tel el-Amarna tablets. But Hittite influence in Southern Palestine goes back to an earlier epoch than the age of the tablets.

The painted pottery found in the "Amorite" strata of Lachish and Gezer shows remarkable affinities to the pottery discovered by Chantre at Boghaz Keui, and Mr. J. L. Myres has succeeded in tracing it in a fairly continuous line to the region north of the Halys.² Here was found the red ochre – or sandarake, as it was called – which was used in the decoration of the pottery, and after the introduction of two other colours still remained the principal feature in the system of ornamentation. This Hittite or Cappadocian pottery was carried westward along the road which led from Boghaz Keui towards the Troad, and south-eastwards across the Taurus into Syria. It was probably the ultimate origin of the painted Minoan or "Kamares" pottery of Krete. The introduction of Hittite pottery into Canaan where it tended to supersede the native ware, was doubtless the result of trade. But in ancient Asia the trader and the soldier were very apt to march side by side. The soldier opened the way for the trader and kept it for him, quite as much as the trader opened it for the soldier. Hence it is not surprising that the Assyrian monuments should furnish incidental evidence of the Hittite occupation of Palestine at an early date. In the inscriptions of Babylonia, as we have seen, Palestine and Syria are "the land of the Amorites"; the name went back to an immemorial antiquity, and indicates that at the time it was first given the Amorites were the ruling population in the West. But in the Assyrian inscriptions the place of the Amorites is taken by the Hittites. For the Assyrians, Syria is "the land of the Hittites," and in the later historical texts even the Israelites and Philistines are classed as "Hittite."¹

Canaan, however, was already well known to the Assyrians in the age of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, when the ambassadors of the Assyrian king carried letters and presents through it to the Pharaoh. It must, therefore, have been at a still earlier period that they first became acquainted with it, and at this period Hittite influence must have been so predominant as to cause them to discard the name of Amorite, consecrated though it was by the long-continued usage of Babylonian literature, and to employ instead of it the name of Hittite. But it was in the direction of the Greek seas that Hittite influence was most powerful. Through Asia Minor Babylonian culture penetrated to the West.

A native imitation of the Babylonian seal-cylinder was found by Dr. Schliemann in the ruins of Hissarlik,¹ and the so-called "heraldic" position of the lions at Mykenae can be traced back through Asia Minor to the designs of the Babylonian gem-cutters. The winged horse, Pegasus, is found on Hittite seals, and, like the double-headed eagle of Eyuk and other composite figures, is derived from Babylonian proto-types.² They represented the first attempts of the creative power, as conceived of by Babylonian cosmology, and an old Babylonian legend of the creation accordingly describes the monsters suckled by Tiamat as "warriors with the bodies of birds, men with the faces of ravens."³ The fantastic monsters of "Minoan" art, which have been brought to light by the excavations in Krete, claim an intimate connection with the similar composite beings which are a characteristic of Hittite art.⁴

The early Hittite art of Asia Minor, as I pointed out many years ago, is dependent on that of Babylonia, and has little in common with the art of Assyria.¹

It is not until we come to the later Hittite monuments of Cilicia and Syria that the influence of Assyrian art makes itself visible. Hence was derived the partiality of the Hittite artist for the composite animals that adorn the seal-cylinders of Babylonia, and which consequently became known wherever the seal-cylinder and the literary culture it accompanied had made their way. As I have already stated, though Subari was an Assyrian province and Kara Eyuk an Assyrian colony, the form of the cuneiform script that was used in Cappadocia was of Babylonian origin.

The writing material of "Minoan" Krete, we now know, consisted of clay tablets. The fact is a proof that the influence of Babylonian culture had extended thus far. But it was an indirect influence only.

Though the clay tablet was employed, the characters impressed upon it were the native

Kretan. This in itself, however, demonstrates how strong the influence must have been, for the Kretan characters, whether hieroglyphic or linear, were less easy to inscribe on clay than the cuneiform. Krete, moreover, is a land of rock and stone rather than of clay. We may infer, therefore, from the use of the Babylonian material that the first impulse to write was inspired by the civilization of Babylonia. How it was brought to Krete we do not know. It may have passed over from the shores of Canaan; it may have come from Cyprus or Asia Minor. A seal-cylinder, which I have lately published, and which was found in the early copper-age cemetery of Agia Paraskevi in Cyprus, shows that the so-called Cypriote syllabary was already in use in the island at a remote date, 1 and this syllabary is closely connected with the linear characters of Krete. Inscriptions in the same form of script have been found on the site of Troy, and the pre-Israelitish pottery of Southern Palestine is marked with signs which seem to be derived from it. So, too, is certain Egyptian pottery of the age of the Eighteenth dynasty, and even of the age of the Twelfth.² It is possible that Krete was the birthplace of the picture writing which developed into the linear script of Knossos and the Cypriote syllabary; it is possible that it was rather Cyprus. I do not think, as I once did, that it comes from Asia Minor, for Asia Minor had its own pictographic system, which we see represented in the Hittite inscriptions, and an increased knowledge of this system tends to dissociate it from the pictographs and syllabaries of Krete and Cyprus. Wherever it arose, however, it was associated with the Babylonian writing material and the Babylonian seal-cylinder. So far as our present knowledge goes, Cyprus is more likely than any other part of the world to have been the meeting-point of Babylonian culture and the nascent civilization of the West. The numerous seal-cylinders which characterize the early copper age of the island are native imitations of Babylonian seal-cylinders of the epoch of Sargon of Akkad, when the boundaries of the Babylonian Empire were pushed to the coasts of the Mediterranean, if not into Cyprus itself, and the great eastern plain of Cyprus was better fitted to provide clay for the tablet than any other Mediterranean district with which I am acquainted. That no written tablets have been found by the excavators in Cyprus is not surprising. In an island climate where heavy rains occur the unbaked tablet soon becomes hardly distinguishable from the earth in which it is embedded. It was almost by accident that even the practised eye of Dr. A. J. Evans was first led to notice the clay tablets of Knossos. The Greek term *8eA.ro?*, which was borrowed from the language of Canaan, is evidence that the tablet was once known to the Greeks. For the letters of the Phoenician and Greek alphabet rolls of papyrus or leather were needed; the fact that the writing material was a tablet and not a roll refers us back to Babylonia. With the introduction of the Phoenician letters the word *SeAros* necessarily changed its meaning, and became synonymous with a wooden board. But it is possible that a reminiscence of its original signification is preserved in a famous passage of the Iliad (vi. 169), where the later "board" has been substituted for the earlier "tablet." Here we are told how Bellerophon carried with him to Lycia "baleful signs" — which may have been the pictographs of Krete or the Hittites, or even cuneiform characters — written upon "a folded board." The expression would have most naturally originated in the folded clay tablet of early Babylonia, the inner tablet being enclosed in an envelope on which the address or a description of the contents of the document is written. On the literary side, however, this is the utmost contribution that we can claim for Babylonia to have made to historical Greece. In the sphere of religion it is possible that the anthropomorphism of Greece was influenced by the anthropomorphism of Babylonia through Asia Minor, where the rock sculptures of Boghaz Keui show how the primitive Hittite fetishes had become human deities like those of Chaldaea; in the sphere of philosophy Thales and Anaximander clothed in a Greek dress the cosmological theories of the Babylonians; and in the domain of art the heraldry and composite monsters of Babylonia made their way to Europe, while the Ionic artists of Ephesus carved ivories into forms so Oriental in character that similar figures found in the palace of Sargon have been pronounced to be the work of Phoenicians. But the literary culture of historical Greece did not begin until the tide of Babylonian influence had already rolled back from Western Asia, when the Phoenician alphabet had taken the place of the cuneiform syllabary in Syria, and the Hittite populations of Asia Minor had returned to their clumsy hieroglyphs. It is, however, remarkable how very nearly the cuneiform script became what the Phoenician alphabet has been called, "the mother of the alphabets of the world." At one time it covered nearly the whole area of the civilized globe. A seal-cylinder

- with a cuneiform inscription in an unknown language has been discovered on the hills near Herat; x in the west its use extended as far as Cappadocia, perhaps further. Northward it made its home in Armenia; southward it obliged even the Egyptian Foreign Office to employ it for correspondence, while military scribes wrote in it their memoranda of the Pharaoh's campaigns. In both Mitanni and Van the syllabary was on the high-road to becoming an alphabet; in Persia it actually became one. But this final evolution came too late. A simpler script had already entered the field, and won its way in lands where clay was scarce and other writing materials more easily procurable. Indeed, it is probable that the presence or absence of clay suitable for writing purposes had quite as much to do with the spread of the cuneiform script as the political events which transformed the map of Western Asia. Canaan still continued to write in cuneiform characters after the empire of Babylonia had been exchanged for that of Egypt, while the use of the script never penetrated far into the limestone regions of the Mediterranean. It was probably the geological formation of Europe more than anything else which saved us to-day from having to learn the latest modification of the cursive writing of the Babylonian plain. But it had been a potent instrument of civilization in its day, perhaps more potent even than the Phoenician alphabet, for its sway lasted for thousands of years. It was at once the symbol and the inspiring spirit of a culture whose roots go back to the very beginnings of human civilization, and to which we still owe part of our own heritage of civilized life. Babylonia was the mother-land of astronomy and irrigation; from thence a knowledge of copper seems to have spread through Western Asia; it was there that the laws and regulations of trade were first formulated, and the earliest legal code, so far as we know, was compiled. Babylonian theology and cosmology left their impress upon beliefs and views of the world which have passed through Judaea to Europe, and the astrology and magic which played so active a part in the mental history of the Middle Ages were Babylonian creations. It is not a little remarkable that an Etruscan model of the liver in bronze (discovered at Piacenza), divided and inscribed for the purposes of haruspicy, finds its counterpart and probably also its prototype in the clay copy of a liver, similarly divided and inscribed, which was found in Babylonia.¹ We are children of our fathers, and amongst our spiritual fathers must be reckoned the Babylonians.
- 1 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, xiv. 3, 4, pp. 377-732.
1 Eustathius on Dion. Perieget. 767. See Lehmann in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 1894, pp. 90 and 358-60.
8 The Vannic kings always call themselves kings, not of the Khaldians, but of Biainas or Bianas, the Byana of Ptolemy, the Van of to-day.
1 See more especially Belck's comparison of the Vannic pottery with that of the Assyrian colony of Kara Eyuk, near Kaisariyeh, in the Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft, December 1901, p. 493. Besides the highly-polished lustrous red ware, he found at Kara Eyuk fragments of the same wheel-made wine-jars, "of gigantic size," which characterized Toprak Kaleh, near Van. Similar jars, as well as lustrous red pottery, were discovered by Schliemann in the "prehistoric" strata at Troy. The animals' heads in terra-cotta found at Kara Eyuk are stated by Dr. Belck to be similar to those of the Digalla Tepe, near Urumiya. For further details see infra.
- 1 See Pinches in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1897, pp. 589-613; and myself in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1897, p. 286.
1 Thus we find from the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets discovered at Kara Eyuk, north-east of Kaisariyeh, that time was reckoned by the annual succession of officers called livuni as in Assyria.
1 Denderék, p. 62.
2 Chantre, Mission en Cappadoce, pp. 71-91.
1 See Belck, Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft, December 1901, p. 493; and the admirable plates, iii., vii.-xiv., in Chantre, Mission en Cappadoce. As has been already mentioned (supra, p. 166), Dr. Belck noticed at Kara Eyuk coarse sherds of great thickness coming from wine-jars similar to those of Toprak Kaleh. The black vases with long spouts have been found at Yortan and Boz Eyuk in Phrygia; long-spouted vases of yellow ware with geometrical patterns in maroon-red on the site of Gordium. Chantre discovered numerous spindle-whorls in the ruins similar to those discovered at Troy. He also found terra-cotta figurines, among which the ram is the most plentiful, as well as covers and handles of vases in the shape of animals heads, and some curious hut-urns not unlike those of Latium. Few bronze objects were met with, but among them were five flanged axe-heads of the incurved Egyptian Hyksos type, totally unlike the straight bronze axe-heads from Troy and Angora (of Egyptian I-XII dynasty form), with which M. Chantre compares them. The obsidian implements and stone celts were of the ordinary Asianic pattern. M. Chantre notes that whereas at Troy the terra-cotta figurines represented the heads of oxen or cows, at Kara Eyuk they were the heads of sheep, horses, and perhaps dogs.
1 Historical Geography of Asia Minor, ch. i., ii.; Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, i. p.

xiv.

- 21880 2 Labawa, or Labbaya, for whom see the next chapter. A revised transcript of his letter in Arzawan (Hittite) is given by Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe*, pp. 38-40. The introductory paragraph should read: Ata-mu kit Labbaya nicmis-la Uan-wa-nnas iskhani-tta-ra atari-ya ueni. "To my lord says Labbaya thy servant of Uan (a district west of Aleppo); seven times I prostrate myself." In other letters Labbaya is called prince of Rukhizzi, the Rokhe's-na of the treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites.
- 21885 1 The facts were first stated in my article in the *Contemporary Review*, August 1905, pp. 264-77, which is reprinted as chapter vii. of the present book.
2 *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*; 1903, xxxiii. pp. 367-400.
1 By Shalmaneser II. (Black Obelisk, 61) and Sargon. Sennacherib describes his famous campaign against Phoenicia and Judah as made "to the land of the Hittites."
- 21890 1 Ih'os, p. 693. What seem to be similar characters on a seal-cylinder found in the copper-age cemetery of Agia Paraskevi in Cyprus have recently been published by me in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, June 1906, plate ii. No. xi. See above, p. 141.
2 One of these seals, with the name of Tua-is, "the Charioteer," in Hittite hieroglyphs, is in the possession of M. de Clercq. Another is figured by Layard, *Culte de Mithra*, xliv. 3.
- 21895 3 See Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 377-9.
4 See Hogarth, "The Zakro Sealings," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxii. pp. 76-93, and plates vi.-x.
- 1 *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1881, vii. 2, p. 27.
1 See above, p. 141.
- 21900 2 Professor Petrie finds similar marks on Egyptian pottery of the prehistoric and early dynastic age; see his table of "signs in The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty (Egypt Exploration Fund), i. p. 32.
1 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xi. pp. 316 sqq. The cylinder was bought by Major Pottinger, but afterwards lost. The inscription seems to read: AN Nin(?) - zi-in Su-luM(?) - me-am-el Khi-ti-sa ARAD-na - "To the god Nin(?) - zin, Sulukh- ammel (?) son of Khiti, his servant."
- 21905 1 The Etruscan monument is described by Deecke, *Das Temp htm von Piacetiza* (Etruskische Forschungen, iv. 1880) and *Etruskische Forschungen imd Studien*, part ii. (1882). For the Babylonian prototype, see Boissier, *Note sur un Monument babylonien se rapportant & Fextispicine* (1899).
- 21910 CHAPTER VII CANAAN IN THE CENTURY BEFORE THE EXODUS
It is now nearly twenty years ago since the archaeological world was startled, not to say revolutionized, by the discovery of the cuneiform tablets of Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt. Nor was it the archaeological world only which the discovery affected. The historian and the theologian have equally had to modify and forsake their old ideas and assumptions, and the criticism of the Old Testament writings has entered upon a new and altogether unexpected stage. The archaeologist, the historian and the Biblical critic alike can never again return to the point of view which was dominant before 1887, or regard the ancient world of the East with the unbelieving eyes of a Grote or a Cornewall Lewis. A single archaeological discovery has upset mountains of learned discussion, of ingenious theory and sceptical demonstration.
At the risk of repeating a well-worn tale, I will describe briefly the nature of the discovery. In the ruins of a city and palace which, like the palace of Aladdin, rose out of the desert sands into gorgeous magnificence for a short thirty years and then perished utterly, some 300 clay tablets were found, inscribed, not with the hieroglyphics of Egypt, but with the cuneiform characters of Babylonia. They were, in fact, the contents of the Foreign Office of Amon-hotep IV., the "Heretic King" of Egyptian history, who endeavoured to reform the old religion of Egypt and to substitute for it a pantheistic monotheism. This was about 1400 years before the birth of Christ, and a full century before the Israelitish Exodus. The attempt failed in spite of the fanatical efforts of its royal patron to force it upon his people, and of his introduction of religious persecution for the first time into the world. The Eighteenth dynasty, to which he belonged, and which had conquered Western Asia, went down in civil and religious war; the Asiatic Empire of Egypt was lost, and a new dynasty sat on the throne of Thebes.
The archives in the Foreign Office included not only the foreign correspondence of Amon-hotep's own reign, but the foreign correspondence also of his father, which he had carried with him from Thebes when he founded his new capital at Tel el-Amarna.
And the scope and character of it are astounding. There are letters from the kings of Babylonia and Assyria, of Mesopotamia and the Hittites, of Cilicia and Cappadocia, besides letters and communications of all sorts from the Egyptian governors and vassal princes in Canaan and Syria. Most of the correspondence is in the language of Babylonia; it is only in a few rare instances that the cuneiform characters embody the actual language of the people from whom the letters were sent. It is difficult to imagine anything more subversive of the ideas about the ancient history of the East, which were current twenty years ago, than the conclusions to be drawn from this
- 21915
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correspondence. It proved that, so far as literary culture is concerned, the civilized Oriental world in the Mosaic age was quite as civilized as our own. There were schools and libraries all over it, in which a foreign language and a complicated foreign system of writing formed an essential part of education. It proved that this education was widely spread: there are letters from Bedawin shekhs as well as from a lady who was much interested in politics. It showed that this correspondence was active and regular, that those who took part in it wrote to each other on the trivial topics of the day, and that the high-roads and postal service were alike well organized. We learned that the nations of the Orient were no isolated units cut off from one another except when one of them made war with the other, but that, on the contrary, their mutual relations were as close and intimate as those of modern Europe. The Babylonian king in his distant capital on the Euphrates sent to condole with the Egyptian Pharaoh on his father's death like a modern potentate, and was every whit as anxious to protect and encourage the trade of his country as Mr. Chamberlain. Indeed, the privileges of the merchant and the sacredness of his person had long been a matter of international law.

In one respect the advocates of international harmony and arbitration were better off in the Mosaic age than they are in the Europe of to-day. There was no difficulty about diversities of language and the danger of being misunderstood. The language of diplomacy, of education and trade was everywhere the same, and was understood, read and written by all educated persons. Even the Egyptian lord of Western Asia had to swallow his pride and write in the language and script of Babylonia when he corresponded with his own subjects in Canaan. Indeed, like English officials in Egypt, who are supposed to write to one another on official business in French, his own Egyptian envoys and commissioners sent their official communications in the foreign tongue. The Oriental world in the century before the Exodus thus anticipated the Roman Empire.

Canaan was the centre and focus of the correspondence. It was the battle-ground and meeting-place of the great powers of the Eastern world. It had long been a province of Babylonia, and, like the rest of the Babylonian Empire, subject to Babylonian law and permeated by Babylonian literary culture. It was during these centuries of Babylonian government that it had come to adopt as its own the script and language of its rulers; the deities of Babylonia were worshipped on the high places of Palestine, and Babylonian legends and traditions were taught in its schools. Out of Canaan had marched the Hyksos who conquered Egypt. The names of their kings found on the monuments that have survived to us are distinctively Canaanite of the patriarchal period; among them is Jacob-el, or Jacob, whom the Alexandrine Jews seem to have identified with their own ancestor. While the Hyksos Pharaohs reigned, Egypt was but a dependency of Canaan; the source of Hyksos power lay in Canaan, and their Egyptian capital was accordingly placed close to the Canaanitish frontier.

When, after five generations of warfare, the native princes of Thebes succeeded at last in expelling the Hyksos conquerors from the valley of the Nile and in founding the Eighteenth dynasty, they perceived that their best hope of preventing a second Asiatic conquest lay in possessing themselves of the land which was, as it were, the key to their own. The Hyksos conquest, in fact, had shown that Canaan was at once a link between Asia and Africa, and the open gate which let the invader into the fertile fields of Egypt. The war, therefore, that had ended by driving the Asiatic out of Egypt was now carried into his own home. Campaign after campaign finally crushed Canaanitish resistance, and the Egyptian standards were planted on the banks of the Euphrates. Palestine and Syria were transformed into Egyptian provinces; in the language of the tenth chapter of Genesis, they became the brothers of Mizraim.

The Tel el-Amarna letters tell us how the new provinces were organized. The most important cities were placed under Egyptian governors, many of whom, however, were natives. But they were carefully watched by Egyptian commissioners, to whom the control of the military forces was entrusted, as well as by special high-commissioners sent from time to time by the imperial Government. Local jealousies and rivalries, moreover, among the governors prevented union among them against the central power, and up to a certain point were not discouraged by the Egyptian Foreign Office. The Tel el-Amarna letters offer us a curious picture of the extent to which their mutual animosities were carried in the days when the Egyptian Empire was growing feeble. All the governors protest their devotion to the court, and all like are accused by their rivals of intriguing and even fighting against it. Besides the states which were thus directly under Egyptian rule, there were also protected states. Here the representative of the old line of kings was allowed to

retain a titular authority, though in reality his power was not greater than that of the governors in other states. But, whether governor or protected prince his duty to the imperial Government was clearly marked out for him. He had to levy the taxes and send a fixed amount of tribute to the Egyptian Treasury, to provide a certain number of militia, and to send official reports to the king. He had further to see that the troops of the army of occupation were duly provided with pay and maintenance.

The army of occupation in the reign of Amonhotep IV. does not seem to have been large. The imperial forces were needed at home to enforce the new faith upon the Egyptian people, and to put down the discontent that was growing there. We hear, however, of "the household troops," who belonged to the standing army of Egypt and formed the nucleus of the permanent garrison. How many of them were native Egyptians it is impossible to say; as we hear of Kushites or Ethiopians among them, it is probable that the Sudanese were at least as largely employed on foreign service as the Egyptians themselves. The Egyptian has never been fond of military service, whereas, we all now know, the Sudanese is essentially a fighting animal.

Both sides of the Jordan were included in the Egyptian administration. One of the Tel el-Amarna letters, for example, is from a governor of "the field of Bashan." It is characteristic of the whole series, and shows what the relations were between the army of occupation and the native levies. I cannot do better than quote it in full: "To the king, my lord, thus says Artamanya, the governor of the Field of Bashan, thy servant: at the feet of the king, my lord, seven times seven do I fall. Behold, thou hast written to me to join the household troops, and how could I be a dog (of the king) and not go ? Behold, I and my soldiers and my chariots will join the house-hold troops in whatever place the king my lord orders."

The name of Artamanya is not Semitic; neither is it Egyptian. The fact brings us to one of the most interesting and unexpected results of the decipherment of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence. And this is that the ruling caste in the Palestine of the Mosaic age was largely of Hittite origin, or had come from those countries of the north whose population was related in blood and language to the Hittites of Asia Minor.

In Northern Mesopotamia was a kingdom which ranked with those of Egypt and Babylonia as regarded power and influence. Its native name was Mitanni; the Hebrews, like the Egyptians, called it the kingdom of Aram Naharaim. It stretched from Assyria to the Orontes, and contended with the Hittites of Carchemish for the possession of the fords of the Euphrates.

Its rulers had descended upon it from the highlands of Armenia and the Caucasus, and had reduced the native Aramaean population to servitude. There are frequent references in the Tel el-Amarna tablets to Mitannian intrigues in Canaan. Mitannian armies had from time to time marched against the Canaanitish cities, and although there was now a nominal alliance between Mitanni and Egypt, and the royal families of the two countries were united by marriage, the Mitannian court never lost an opportunity of sending secret support to the disaffected princes of Canaan or of encouraging them in their revolts from the Egyptian Government. In many parts of the country the ruling family continued to be Mitannian, and accordingly we find more than one governor who bears a Mitannian name. Thus one of them, as we see, was governor of Bashan, and there was another who had his seat near the Sea of Galilee.

Mitannian influence, however, was chiefly confined to the northern part of Palestine. It was otherwise with the Hittites, whose marauding bands penetrated as far south as the frontiers of Egypt. The important part they played in the early history of Canaan and the substantial element they must have contributed to the future population of the country has but lately been disclosed to us by the advance that has been made in the interpretation of the Tel el-Amarna texts.

We have at last obtained an explanation of the fact that whereas in the older Babylonian period Canaan was known as "the land of the Amorites," it was called by the Assyrians "the land of the Hittites." The Assyrian kings even speak of Judah and Moab as "Hittite," and the town of Ashdod is described by Sargon as a "Hittite" state. What this must mean has indeed long been recognized by the Assyriologists. When the Assyrians first became acquainted with Palestine the Hittites must have been there the dominant power. But how and when this came about we have but just begun to learn, and it is the story of the Hittite occupation of Canaan, as a better knowledge of the Tel el-Amarna tablets is making possible, that I now propose to describe.

The Hittite race was of Cappadocian origin. Professor Ramsay has pointed out that the hieroglyphic characters which they used in their inscriptions must have been invented on the treeless plateau of Central Asia Minor, and that their capital, whose ruins now strew the ground at Boghaz Keui, north of the Halys, was the centre towards which all the early high-roads of Asia Minor converge. But they extended on both sides of

22080 the Taurus Mountains, and at an early date had planted themselves in Northern Syria. I have lately succeeded in deciphering their inscriptions, which have so long baffled our attempts to read them, and one result of my decipherment is the discovery of an unexpected fact. I find that the name of Hittite was confined to that portion of the race which lived eastward and southward of the Taurus. In Asia Minor itself, their

22085 first cradle and home, they called themselves Kas or Kasians; it was the kingdom of Kas over which the Hittite lords of Boghaz Keui claimed to rule, and it is still as kings of Kas that they are entitled on the monuments of Carchemish, though here they also acknowledge the name of Hittite.

22090 The name of Kas is met with in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, where it has hitherto been misunderstood.

The kings of the Hittites, of Mitanni and of Kas are associated together as supporting the enemies of the Egyptian Pharaoh or attacking his cities in Syria. Hitherto we have supposed that Kas signified Babylonia, though the supposition had but little in its favour, and a different name is given to Babylonia in passages

22095 where there is no doubt as to what country is meant. Now, however, all becomes clear: in the age of the tablets there were still four Hittite kingdoms in the north: Kas in Asia Minor, the Hittites proper, east and south of the Taurus, Mitanni in Mesopotamia, and Naharaim on the Orontes. Shortly afterwards they were all swallowed up in the empire of the "great king" of the Hittites, whose southern capital was at

22100 Kadesh. Some Kasians had found their way to Jerusalem, where the king Ebed-Kheba – whose name is compounded with that of a Mitannian deity – writes to the Egyptian Government to excuse his conduct in regard to them. They had been accused of plundering the Pharaoh's territory and murdering his servants; he assures the court that nothing of the sort is true. They are still in his house, where it would seem

22105 they formed his body-guard. But, on the other hand, there were other Hittites in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem who were really enemies to the king and threatened Jerusalem itself. These he calls Khabiri, or "Confederates," a name in which, despite history and probability, certain writers have insisted upon seeing the Hebrews of the Old Testament. But Dr. Knudtzon's fresh collation of the Tel el-Amarna texts has at

22110 last dispelled the mystery. The Khabiri turn out to have been bands of Hittite condottieri, who sold their military services to the highest bidder and carved out principalities for themselves in the south of Canaan. The Egyptian Government found them useful in escorting and protecting the trading caravans to Asia Minor and the Taurus region, and as long as their leaders professed themselves the devoted servants

22115 of the Pharaoh it was quite willing to overlook such little accidents as their capture and sack of a Canaanitish town or the murder of a Canaanitish prince. One of these Hittite leaders, Aita-gama by name, had possessed himself of the city of Kadesh on the Orontes, which in the following century was to become the capital of a Hittite empire. In a letter to the Egyptian court he has the audacity to assert that

22120 he was merely claiming his patrimony, the whole district having belonged to his father. If there is any truth in this it can only mean that his father had already led a troop of Hittite raiders into this portion of the Egyptian territory. Along with Aita-gama two other Hittite chieftains had marched, Teuwatti, whose name appears in the native texts under the form of Tuates, and Arzawaya.

22125 Arzawaya means "a man of Arzawa," the country whose language has been revealed to us in one of the Tel el-Amarna letters, and which proves to be the same as the Hittite dialect found in the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui. We are told that he came from a city which was in the neighbourhood of the Karmalas, in Southern Cappadocia. Arzawaya helped Teuwatti to conquer Damascus and then led his followers further

22130 south. Here he acted as a free-lance, hiring himself and his mercenaries to the rival Canaanitish princes and professing himself to be all the while a faithful servant of the Egyptian king. It is amusing to read one of his letters to the Egyptian court: "To my lord the king thus writes Arzawaya, of Rukhiza. At the feet of my lord I prostrate myself. My lord the king wrote that I should join the household troops of

22135 the king my lord and his numerous officers." Here follow four words of Hittite which are accompanied by the translation: "I am a servant of the king my lord." Then the letter proceeds: "I will join the household troops of the king my lord and his officers; and I will send everything after them and march wherever there is rebellion against the king my lord. And we will deliver his enemies into the hand of the king

22140 our lord." Doubtless Arzawaya expected to be well paid for his help. There is another letter from Arzawaya to the Pharaoh in which he calls himself "the dust of his feet and the ground on which he treads." But in this letter he has to explain away the share he took in entering the town of Gezer along with Labbawa, another Hittite leader, and there infringing the royal prerogative by summoning a

22145 levy of the militia. In the eyes of the home Government this was a much more serious

matter than merely plundering or killing a few of its Canaanitish subjects, as it was equivalent to usurping the functions of the imperial power.

Labbawa also had to write and ask for forgiveness, and assure the Pharaoh that he is his "devoted slave," who does "not withhold his tribute" or disobey the "requests" of the Egyptian commissioners. In fact, he concludes his letter with declaring that "if the king should write to me: Run a sword of bronze into your heart and die, I would not fail to execute the king's command." All the same, however, he had established himself securely on Mount Shechem, from whence, like Joshua in after days, he was able to make raids on the surrounding Canaanitish towns.¹

Labbawa, or Labawa, is written Labbaya in the letter which is in the Arzawan language.

In the north we hear of him at Shunem and Gath-Rimmon, where he first appeared upon the scene in the train of the Egyptian army at a time when Amonhotep III. was suppressing an insurrection in that part of Palestine. It is probable that he had just arrived with his band of condottieri, attracted by the pay and the chance of plunder that the Egyptian Pharaoh offered the free-lance. By a curious fatality it was also in this same locality that he afterwards met his death at the hands of the people of Gina – the Cana of Galilee, probably, of St. John's Gospel.

Labbawa cast envious eyes on the important city of Megiddo, and its governor – who, by the way, is mentioned in one of the cuneiform tablets found three years ago by the Austrian excavators on the site of Taanach – sent piteous appeals for assistance against him to the Egyptian Government. The beleaguered governor declared that so closely invested was he by the Hittite free-lances that he could not venture outside the gates of his town. The peasantry were afraid even to bring vegetables into it, and unless help were forthcoming from Egypt, Megiddo was doomed.

After all, however, Labbawa was not only unable to possess himself of the Canaanitish stronghold, but was taken prisoner and confined in the very place he had hoped to capture. But fortune befriended him. He managed to bribe the governor of Acre, and the latter, on the pretext that he was going to send Labbawa by sea to Egypt, took him out of prison and set him free.

Labbawa now turned his attention to the south of Palestine – the future territory of Judah. Here he entered into alliance with the king of Jerusalem, or, to speak more precisely, was taken into his pay, and the two together waged war on the neighbouring states. One of the Egyptian governors complains that they had robbed him of Keilah, and he had to wait for Labbawa's death before he could recover his city.

One of the two letters in the Tel el-Amarna collection which are in the Arzawan or Hittite language was written by Labbawa, as we have lately learned from Dr. Knudtzon's revised copy of it. In this he calls himself a native of the Hittite district of Uan, near Aleppo, and refers to "the Hittite king," though our knowledge of the language is too imperfect to allow us to understand the meaning of the reference.

The letter is addressed simply "to my lord," and we do not know, therefore, whether it was intended for Hittite or Egyptian eyes. After his settlement in Palestine, however, Labbawa adopted the official language of the country; his letters to the Pharaoh are in Babylonian, and his son bore the characteristically Semitic name of Mut-Baal. The fact is an interesting example of the rapid way in which the Hittite settlers in Palestine were Semitized. They brought no women with them, and their wives accordingly were natives of Canaan.

Labbawa left two sons behind him, who, in spite of their Semitic education, followed in their father's footsteps and continued to lead his company of Hittite mercenaries. Mut-Baal, moreover, made himself useful to the Government by escorting the trading caravans to Cappadocia, a fact which proves that he still maintained relations with the country of his origin.

The alliance between Ebed-Kheba of Jerusalem and his father, however, had come to an end; Ebed-Kheba now had the Hittites of Kas in his pay, and no longer needed the services of the sons of Labbawa. They therefore transferred themselves to his rivals, together with the sons of Arzawaya, who, like Labbawa, was now dead, and Ebed-Kheba soon found himself in difficulties. The result was letter after letter from him to the Egyptian court, begging for help against his enemies, and declaring that if no help came the king's territory would be lost. These appeals seem to have met with no response; the Egyptian Government was by no means assured of Ebed-Kheba's loyalty, and knew that if the territory of Jerusalem were to pass into the hands of the Hittite chieftain it would make but little difference to the imperial power.

The tribute would still be paid, the Egyptian commissioner would still be respected, and the new rulers of the district would profess themselves the faithful subjects of the Pharaoh. There would merely be a change of governors, and nothing more. The

Hittite mercenaries were formidable only in the petty struggles which took place between the rival Canaanitish governors; when it came to dealing with the regular army of Egypt they were numerically too few to be of account.

22215 Ebed-Kheba calls the followers of Labbawa and Arzawaya "Khabiri." I have long ago pointed out that the word is found elsewhere in the Assyrian texts in the sense of "Confederates," and that its identification with the Hebrews of the Old Testament, though phonetically possible, is historically impossible. Now that we know the nationality of Labbawa and Arzawaya the question is finally settled, and we can explain a hitherto puzzling passage in one of Ebed-Kheba's letters, in which he says that "when ships were on the sea the arm of the mighty king seized Naharaim and Kas, but now the Khabiri have seized the cities of the king." Naharaim lay southward of the gulf of Antioch, while Kas extended to the Cilician coast, and they were thus, both of them, within reach of a maritime Power; they were, moreover, both of them Hittite regions, Naharaim being the district afterwards called Khattina, "the Hittite land," by the Assyrians, while Kas was the Hittite kingdom of Cappadocia. Ebed-Kheba, therefore, is drawing a comparison between the power of "the mighty king" in the days when an Egyptian fleet controlled the sea and the present time when Hittite marauders are seizing without let or hindrance the king's cities on the very borders of Egypt. Even Lachish and Ashkelon had joined the enemy. Perhaps the most important of the King of Jerusalem's letters is one which has hitherto been misunderstood, partly owing to its being broken in half and the relation of the two halves to one another not being recognized, partly to the imperfections of the published copy. Now that a complete and accurate text of it lies before us, its meaning has ceased to be a riddle, and I will therefore give here the first translation that has been made of the completed text:

"To the king my lord thus says Ebed-Kheba thy servant: at the feet of my lord the king seven times seven I prostrate myself. Behold, Malchiel has not separated himself from the sons of Labbawa and the sons of Arzawaya so as to claim the king's land for them. A governor who commits such an act, why has not the king questioned him (about it)? Behold, Malchiel and Tagi have committed such an act by seizing the city of Rabbah. And now as to Jerusalem, if this land belongs to the king, why is it that Gaza has been appointed for the (residence of the) king ('s commissioner)? Behold the land of Gath-Carmel is in the power of Tagi, and the men of Gath are (his) bodyguard. He is (now) in Beth-Sannah. But (nevertheless) we will act. Malchiel wrote to Tagi that they should give Labbawa and Mount Shechem to the district of the Khabiri, and he took some boys as slaves. They granted all their demands to the people of Keilah. But we will rescue Jerusalem. The garrison which you sent by Khaya the son of Meri-Ra has been taken by Hadad-mikhir and stationed in his house at Gaza. [I have sent messengers] to Egypt, [and may] the king [listen to me], ... There is no garrison of the king [here]. Verily by the life of the king Pa-ur has gone down to Egypt; he has left me and is in Gaza. But let the king entrust to him a garrison for the defence of the land. All the land of the king has revolted. Send Yenkhamu and let him take charge of the king's land.

22270 "(Postscript): To the secretary of the king says Ebed-Kheba your servant: [bring] what I say clearly before the king. Kindest regards to you! I am your servant."

The references in this letter are explained in other letters from the same correspondent. Malchiel was the native governor of the Hebron district, and had married the daughter of Tagi, whose name does not sound Semitic. The Hittite mercenaries of Labbawa from Shechem and of Arzawaya, who does not seem to have established himself in any special district of the country, were now in the pay of

Malchiel, while Ebed-Kheba, as we have seen, had secured the services of another body of Hittites from Kas. He had been accused at the Egyptian court of seeking by their means to make himself independent, and more than one of his letters is occupied with defending himself and bringing a counter-charge against Malchiel. Malchiel, however, secured the support of the royal commissioner, Yenkhamu, who agreed to his employment of the Hittite condottieri. With their assistance Keilah had been recovered from the hands of Ebed-Kheba, who, at an earlier date, had got Labbawa to seize it for him, but after Labbawa's death the tables were turned, and his sons had offered their services to the rival party, doubtless for the sake of better pay. It was now that Malchiel summoned the militia of Gezer, Gath-Carmel and Keilah, and made himself master of Rabbah, a small place north-west of Keilah and Hebron, which Ebed-Kheba asserted belonged to his territory. The tide was beginning to turn against the King of Jerusalem: his enemies were in greater favour at court than he was himself, and they had the support of the Hittite bands. It was in vain that he appealed to the Egyptian Government for aid and declared that not only had his rivals given Mount Shechem to the Hittite free-lances, but that by their action against himself they were delivering the whole of Southern Palestine into Hittite hands. "The king," he writes, "no longer has any territory, the Khabiri have wasted all the lands of the king. If the royal troops come this year, the country will remain my lord the king's, but if no troops come, the territory of the king my lord is lost".

At this point the story breaks off abruptly. The Tel el-Amarna correspondence comes to an end and the fate of Jerusalem and the surrounding districts is unknown to us. Soon afterwards religious troubles at home forced the Egyptian Government to withdraw its troops from Canaan altogether, and for awhile the Egyptian empire in Asia ceased to exist. It was restored, however, by Seti I and his son, Ramses II., at the beginning of the Nineteenth dynasty, and among the cities whose conquest is celebrated by Ramses on the walls of the Ramesseum at Thebes is Shalem or Jerusalem. But this second Egyptian empire in Asia did not last long, and when the Israelitish Exodus took place it was already passing away. When some years later the Israelitish invaders planted themselves in Labbawa's old stronghold on Mount Shechem, the Egyptian occupation of Canaan belonged to the history of the past.

Like the Saxons in England, however, the Hittite chieftains must have founded principalities for them-selves in the south of Canaan, as we know from the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna tablets and the Egyptian monuments that they did in the north. Ezekiel, in fact, tells us that the mother of Jerusalem was a Hittite, and the Jebusites, from whom Jerusalem took its name in the age of the Israelitish conquest, were probably the descendants of the followers of the Hittite Arzawaya. They had, moreover, found a Hittite population already settled in the country, descendants of older bands who had made their way from the highlands of Asia Minor to the frontiers of Egypt in days when as yet Abraham was unborn.

At the very commencement of the Egyptian twelfth dynasty we hear of the Pharaohs destroying "the palaces of the Hittites" in Southern Palestine,¹ and archaeology has recently shown that the painted pottery discovered in the earlier strata of Lachish and Gezer by English excavators had its original home in Northern Cappadocia and is an enduring evidence of Hittite culture and trade.

The Hittites had been preceded in their occupation of Canaan by the Amorites, as we have learnt from the Babylonian inscriptions. But in the Tel el-Amarna age the specifically Amoritish territory was in the north, eastward of Tyre and Gebal. Here Ebed-Asherah and his son Aziru had their seat and from hence they led their forces northwards towards Aleppo to resist "the king of the Hittites" on behalf of the Egyptian Government, or attacked the Phoenician cities on their own account. In the north, in fact, they played much the same part as the Hittite mercenaries did in the south, with the additional advantage of being able to secure secret assistance when it was needed from Mitanni. Between Amorites and Hittites the Canaanites must have had a somewhat unhappy time, like the Britons after the departure of the Roman legions, who found themselves the alternate prey of Saxons and Scots. But we can now understand and appreciate the ethnological notice in the Book of Numbers (xiii. 29), which tells us that "the Hittites and the Jebusites and the Amorites dwell in the mountains, and the Canaanites dwell by the sea and by the coast of Jordan."

The Amorite princes, however, were more formidable to the Egyptian Government than the Hittite chieftains, or else must have played their cards a little too openly, for we find Aziru receiving a scolding such as the Egyptian court seldom had the courage or energy to give. The letter from the Egyptian Foreign Office, which is a long one, is worth translating in full:

"To the governor of the land of the Amorites [thus] says the king your lord. The governor of Gebal, thy brother, whom his brother has driven from the gate (of the

city) has said: 'Take me and bring me back into my city, [and] I will then give you money, [for] I have nothing [of value] with me now.' So he spoke to you. "Behold, you write to the king your lord saying: I am your servant like all the loyal governors who are each in his city. Yet you have acted wrongly in taking a governor whom his brother had driven from the gate of his city, and being in Sidon you handed him over to the governors (there) at your own discretion, as if you did not know that they were rebellious.

"If you are really a servant of the king why have you not seen that he should go up to the presence of the king your lord instead of thinking, 'This governor wrote to me saying, "Take me to thyself and restore me to my city"'?

"But if you have acted loyally and nothing that I write is correct, the king has devised a lie in saying that nothing which you declare is true.

"But it happens that one has heard that you have made a treaty with the (Hittite) prince of Kadesh to deliver food and drink to one another, and it is true. Why have you acted thus? Why have you made a treaty with a governor with whom another governor is at enmity? For if you act with loyalty to him and observe your and his engagements you cannot look after (our) interests as you have undertaken to do long ago. Whatever be your conduct in the matter you are not on the side of the king your lord.

"Now as for these men to whom you want to turn, they are seeking to get you into the fire and to burn (you) and all you most love. Whereas if you submit yourself to the king your lord, what is there which the king cannot do for you? If in anything you love to act wickedly and if you lay up wickedness, even thoughts of rebellion, in your heart, then you will die by the axe of the king along with all your family. Submit therefore to the king your lord, and you shall live, for you know that the king has no wish to be angry with all the land of Canaan.

"And since you write: 'Let the king excuse me this year and I will go next year to the court of the king my lord, my son not being with me,' the king your lord accordingly will excuse you this year as you have asked. Go yourself instead of sending your son, and you shall see the king in the sight of whom all the world lives, and do not say: let me be excused this year also from going to the court of the king your lord; and do not send your son to the king your lord; he must not go in your place.

"And now the king your lord has heard that you wrote to the king saying, 'Let the king my lord permit Khanni the messenger of the king to come to me for the second time, and I will deliver the enemies of the king into his hand.' Now he will go to you as you have asked; do you therefore deliver them (to him) and do not let a single one of them escape. Now the king your lord sends you the names of the king's enemies in this letter by the hand of Khanni the king's messenger; so deliver them to the king your lord and let not a single one of them escape, but put fetters of bronze upon their feet. Behold, the men you are to send to the king your lord are Sarru with all his sons, Tuia, Liya with all his sons, Yisyari with all his sons, (and) the son-in-law of Manya with his sons and wives. The treasurer of Khanni is the official who will read the dispatch. Dasirti, Paluwa and Nimmakhi have gone [to collect taxes?] into the country of the Amorites.

"And know that the king, the Sun-god in heaven, is well; his soldiers and chariots are many; from the upper country to the lower country, from the rising of the sun [to] the setting of the sun all is peace."

We hear again of one of the rebels mentioned in this letter in the tablet discovered at Lachish in Palestine by Mr. Bliss. Yisyari is there described as inciting the governor of Lachish to revolt and promising assistance if he would call out the militia of his city against the king. That an Amorite of the north should thus have been able to interfere in the politics of a city in the south of Palestine is an interesting illustration of what I may call the solidarity of Syria and Canaan in the pre-Mosaic period. They had not yet been broken up into a series of isolated States; like the Hittites, the Amorites still claimed to be a power in the future territory of Judah as well as in the neighbourhood of Sidon or Hamath.

It is possible that a well-known but somewhat mysterious personage of the Old Testament was one of the Hittite leaders who succeeded in carving out a principality for himself: I mean Balaam the son of Beor. He is said to have come from the Hittite town of Pethor near Carchemish, and besides being a seer and a prophet he was also a soldier who fell in the ranks of the Midianites in a war against Israel.

But Balaam the son of Beor was not only a native of Pethor; we hear of him again in the Book of Genesis, and here he appears as the first king of Edom, his name heading the list of Edomite kings extracted from the state annals of Edom and probably brought to Jerusalem when David conquered the country. In the light of what we have

- 22410 learnt from the tablets of Tel el-Amarna it is perhaps not going too far to suppose that in Balaam we have one of those Hittite chieftains who, after playing the part of prophet, made himself leader of a band of Hittite free-lances and established a kingdom for himself in Edom, finally falling in battle by the side of his Midianite allies.
- 22415 However this may be, the important place occupied by the Hittites in creating the Canaan which the Israelites invaded is now clear. While the larger bands of Hittite raiders settled in the north, where they prepared the way for the Hittite king himself with his regular army, and where Hittite power became so firmly established that even the great Ramses could not dislodge it, smaller companies of condottieri
- 22420 made their way to the extreme south of Palestine, hiring their services to the rival governors and princes and seizing a town or district for themselves when the opportunity offered. So long as the tribute was paid, and its subjects were not too troublesome, the Egyptian Government looked on with equanimity while the states of Canaan were practically ruled by the leaders of foreign mercenaries who transferred their services from one paymaster to another with the most perfect impartiality. What is most curious is that the Imperial Government recognized the legal position not only of the Hittite or Amorite mercenaries, but even of organized bands of Bedawin and outlaws. As for the Bedawin, it had companies of them in its own pay, like the Egyptian Government in more recent times, and the governor of Gebal
- 22430 complains that the Egyptian commissioner Pa-Hor had sent some of the latter to murder his garrison of Serdani or Sardinians, who were themselves mercenaries in the Egyptian army. That bodies of outlaws should have been subsidized by the native princes with the permission, or at least the connivance, of the Egyptian court may seem surprising.
- 22435 But after all it is only what we find happening in later times when the king of Gath similarly enrolled David and his band of outlaws into his bodyguard without any remonstrance on the part of the other Philistine "lords." Still it is startling to find one of the Pharaoh's governors coolly announcing that he and his soldiers and chariots, together with his brothers, his "cut-throats" and his Bedawin, are ready to
- 22440 join the royal troops, at the very time when another governor is piteously begging the great king to "save" him "out of the hands of the cut-throats and Bedawin." Here is a strange picture of Canaanitish life in the days when as yet the Israelite was not in the land. Th fact is, the Canaanites were an unwarlike people. Inland, they were
- 22445 agriculturists; on the sea coast they were traders. And, like other trading communities, they were disinclined to fight, preferring to entrust the protection of themselves and their property to a paid soldiery, while at the same time their wealth made them a tempting prize to the assailant. It is true that they maintained a native militia, as we have learned from one of the cuneiform tablets discovered at Taanach, but it was upon a small scale, and apparently so long as the person on the roll could
- 22450 produce the one or two men for whom he was responsible he was not himself obliged to serve. It was again a case of paying others to fight instead of themselves. The fighting population of Canaan, in short, were the foreigners, and these it was who gradually made themselves its practical masters. The leaders of the mercenaries
- 22455 became the rulers of the Canaan ite states, which thus passed into the hands of a dominant military caste. When the Israelites entered the country it was with this military upper class that they had principally to deal; where the Canaanite had not its protection he trusted for his defence to his iron chariots and the strong and lofty walls of his towns. It is instructive to read the long list of unconquered cities and districts given by the Hebrew historian in the first chapter of the Book of Judges; among them are the Jebusites of Jerusalem, while we are told that "the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the mountain, for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley."
- 22460 Canaan, it will probably be thought, was a somewhat insecure country in which to live in the days of the Egyptian Empire. There seem to have been constant turmoil and confusion, governor attacking governor and bribing bands of foreign mercenaries to help him. But the turmoil and confusion were mainly on the surface. When a town is taken from one governor by another we do not hear of its population or their possessions suffering materially; they soon appear upon the scene again as prosperous
- 22470 as before. It is merely the governor and his immediate surroundings who suffer; the capture of the town was probably an affair amicably arranged between the condottieri who were attacking it and the condottieri who were its defenders. The Egyptian commissioners go up and down the country, hearing complaints and settling disputes, and no one ventures even to protest against their decisions, while a few Egyptian troops are
- 22475

stationed in places where the Government was not quite sure of the fidelity of its subjects. Caravans of merchants passed through Canaan going from Egypt to the north, and the traders of Babylonia and Asia Minor travelled along its high roads under the escort of Hittite and other chieftains who were subsidized for the purpose by the Egyptian court.

Even in the days when the Egyptian Government was breaking up, the constant fighting among the foreign mercenaries and their employers seems to have affected the mass of the population little, if at all.

What happened when the strong hand and controlling power of the Egyptian Pharaoh were removed we do not yet know. We must look for information to the systematic excavations that are at last being made on the sites of the old Canaanitish towns. Already cuneiform tablets have been found on them, and though these belong to the Egyptian period we may hope that before long others may be discovered of later date.

We have still to bridge over the age which elapsed between the final withdrawal of Egyptian domination and the conquest of the country by Philistines and Israelites. When that age begins the script and official language of Canaan are still Babylonian; when it closes the cuneiform characters have been superseded by the letters of the Phoenician alphabet, and the language of the inscriptions engraved in them is the language no longer of Babylonia or of Hittite lands, but of Canaan itself.

1 A copy of the text (Louvre, C i) is given by Professor Breasted in the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, xxi. 3 (1905). The determinative attached to the name is not that of "country" but of "going," showing that the scribe supposed the name to be connected with some otherwise unknown word that signified "to go," just as in Gen. xxiii.

"The sons of Heth" are supposed by the Hebrew writer to derive their name from the Hebrew khath t "terror."

http://www.archive.org/stream/archaeologyofcun00sayc/archaeologyofcun00sayc_djvu.txt

DÉCOUVERTES D'ANTIQUITÉS DANS LE DUCHÉ DE LIMBOURG

7 augustus 1866 Découverts d'antiquités dans le Limbourg.

22510 Grâce à l'impulsion bienfaisante donnée par la *Société d'Archéologie dans le duché de Limbourg*, d'importantes découvertes d'antiquités se poursuivent dans notre province. Toutes les trouvailles, qui autrefois passaient inaperçues, sont main tenant consciencieusement visitées et décrites. Depuis les quatre années que la Société existe et travaille, on a fait plus pour l'archéologie proprement dite que par tout le passé. Trente-deux cimetières anciens et douze substructions belgo-romaines ont
22515 été reconnues et inventoriés. Parmi les cimetières régulièrement fouillés, nous nommons ceux de Bergh-Terblyt et celui de Broekhem, près de Fauquemont [=Valkenburg]. Les établissements belgo-romains, trouvés depuis peu de temps, sont ceux de Rondenbosch, à Houthem-St-Gerlach, les deux villas de Meerssen et des substructions fort étendues à Heerlen, dans un lieu nommé *Dodelager*. Toutes ces découvertes se
22520 trouvent le long de la route romaine de Maestricht à Juilliers, par Coriovallum. Cette route même a été retrouvée et sondée en plusieurs lieux. Parmi les établissements qui ont été régulièrement explorés, avec le concours de la Société, nous nommons le Rondenbosch, à Houthem, et le Herkenbergh, sous Meerssen.

Sur la route de Tongres [Tongeren] à Nymègue [=Nijmegen] on a découvert un
22525 établissement romain à Heel, près de Ruremonde [Roermond], et un autre à Mulhem, entre Eysden et Lanklaer. Ce dernier, dont nous devons la connaissance à M. Duchateau, curé à Eysden, est appelé à fixer la situation de la station romaine de *Feresne*, restée inconnue jusqu'à ce jour.

La direction de la route de Coriovallum à Teudurum est restée une hypothèse jusqu'à
22530 ce jour. On la cherchait soit entre le Ravensbosch et Tudderren, soit entre Heerlen et ce lieu. Depuis les belles découvertes faites à Meerssen, ce village commence à entrer en lutte et aura le plus de chance de se revendiquer le nom de *Coriovallum*.

Ce qui confirme admirablement l'hypothèse de placer Coriovallum à Meerssen, c'est d'abord sa situation en ligne directe entre Tongres et Tudderren, et ensuite la
22535 découverte faite, il y a peu de jours, d'un emplacement belgo-romain à Geverick, hameau de la commune de Beek, qui se trouve sur la même ligne. Cet établissement est situé à cent pas de l'ancienne route menant de Sittard à Maestricht. Cette route, que l'on nommé encore actuellement Heerstraet, passé par Geleen, Beek, Vleeck et Meerssen. Nous devons l'intéressante découverte de Geverick à l'obligeance de M.

22540 Stassen, vicaire à Ulestraten. Notons en finissant que toutes les découvertes faites dans le duché de Limbourg, seront décrites et éditées dans les *Publications de la Société d'Archéologie, à Maestricht*. On est donc prié de signaler les découvertes qui pourraient se faire, à l'attention du comité directeur de cette Société.

22545 **Discoveries of Antiquities in Limburg.**

Thanks to the beneficial impetus given by the Archaeological Society in the Duchy of Limburg, important discoveries of antiquities continue to be made in our province. All finds, which once went unnoticed, are now being conscientiously examined and
22550 described. In the four years since the Society's existence and activity began, more has been done for archaeology proper than in all of the previous generations. Thirty-two ancient cemeteries and twelve Gallo-Roman foundations have been identified and cataloged. Among the cemeteries regularly excavated, we mention those of Berg-Terblijt and Broekhem, near Valkenburg. The recently discovered Roman settlements are
22555 those of Rondenbosch, at Houthem-St. Gerlach, the two villas at Meerssen, and extensive foundations at Heerlen, in a place called Dodelager. All these discoveries are located along the Roman road from Maastricht to Juilliards, via Coriovallum. This road itself has been rediscovered and explored in several places. Among the settlements that have been regularly investigated, with the assistance of the
22560 Society, we mention Rondenbosch, at Houthem, and Herkenbergh, near Meerssen. On the road from Tongeren to Nijmegen, a Roman settlement was discovered at Heel, near Roermond, and another at Mülhem, between Eysden and Lanklaar. The latter, whose knowledge we owe to Mr. Duchateau, parish priest of Eysden, is called upon to determine the location of the Roman station at Feresne, which has remained unknown
22565 until now.

The direction of the road from Coriovallum to Teudurum has remained a hypothesis until now. It was sought either between Ravensbosch and Tudderren, or between Heerlen and this location. Since the significant discoveries made at Meerssen, this village

22570 is beginning to assert its claim and will have the best chance of asserting the name of Coriovallum.

What admirably confirms the hypothesis of placing Coriovallum at Meerssen is, firstly, its location on a direct line between Tongeren and Tudderan, and secondly, the recent discovery of a Belgo-Roman site at Geverick, a hamlet in the municipality of Beek, which lies on the same line. This settlement is located a hundred paces from the old road leading from Sittard to Maastricht. This road, still known today as Heerstraat, passed through Geleen, Beek, Vleek, and Meerssen. We owe the interesting discovery at Geverick to the kindness of Mr. Stassen, vicar of Ulestraten.

22575 Finally, we note that all discoveries made in the Duchy of Limburg will be described and published in the Publications of the Archaeological Society in Maastricht.

22580 Therefore, we are asked to report any discoveries that may be made to the Society's board of directors.

17 november 1866 Les membres de la Société d'Archéologie dans le duché de Limbourg viennent de recevoir les 2 premières livraisons du tome III de ses publications, formant 224 pages. En voici le contenu:

22585 1. Opkomst en voortgang der stad Maastricht, met geschiedkundige aanmerkingen, door M. J. Habets. Vervolg.

2. Inventaire chronologique des chartes et documents de l'église de St-Servais à Maestricht, par M. M. Willemsen. Suite.

22590 3. Etude sur les anciens Séminaires du diocèse de Liège, avec quelques documents inédits, par M. A. K.

4. L'église de Mesch, par M. C. Caumartin.

5. Notice sur quelques découvertes d'antiquités dans le duché du Limbourg, par M. J. Habets.

22595 6. Titres de documents concernant la commune et la ville de Maestricht et le comté de Vroenhof, par M. A. S.

Le volume est orné de 3 planches. Ajoutons que la Société a la satisfaction de voir ses travaux favorablement accueillis, comme le prouvent non seulement les nouveaux membres qui se présentent, mais encore l'article élogieux que lui consacre la Revue Catholique de Louvain.

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DÉCOUVERTES D'ANTIQUITÉS
DANS
LE DUCHÉ DE LIMBOURG
PAR
JOS. HABETS,

vicaire à Bergh-Terblyt et président de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie dans le Duché de Limbourg.

22610 TOME I.

Routes romaines, tombeaux, cimetières francs et
romains, substructions, objets d'arts etc.
RUREMONDE,
TYPOGRAPHIE DE J. J. ROMEN.

22615 -
1871.

<https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=%22decouvertes+d%27antiquites%22+habets+tome&coll=boeken1&identifieer=L81SAAAACAAJ&rowid=1>

22620 Members of the Archaeological Society of the Duchy of Limburg have just received the first two installments of Volume III of its publications, comprising 224 pages. The contents are as follows:

1. The Origin and Development of the City of Maastricht, with Historical Remarks, by J. Habets. Continued.

22625 2. Chronological Inventory of the Charters and Documents of the Church of St. Servatius in Maastricht, by M. Willemsen. Continued.

3. A Study of the Former Seminaries of the Diocese of Liège [Dutch: Luik], with Some Unpublished Documents, by A. K.

22630 4. The Church of Mesch, by C. Caumartin.

5. Report on Some Discoveries of Antiquities in the Duchy of Limburg, by J. Habets.

6. Titles of documents concerning the commune and city of Maastricht and the county of Vroenhof, by A. S.

The volume is illustrated with 3 plates. We should add that the Society is pleased to

22635 see its work favorably received, as evidenced not only by the new members who have joined, but also by the laudatory article devoted to it in the Revue Catholique de Louvain.

DISCOVERIES OF ANTIQUITIES IN THE DUCHY OF LIMBURGH BY JOS. HABETS
vicar at Berg-Terblijt and president of the Society of History and Archaeology in the
22640 Duchy of Limburg.

VOLUME I. Roman roads, tombs, Frankish and Roman cemeteries, substructures, works of art, etc.

RUREMONDE, PRINTED BY J. J. ROMEN. 1871.

22645 TABLES DES MATIERES.

Introduction

I. Routes romaines.

II. Exploration d'un cimetière Belgo-roman à Bergh-Terblyt

22650 III. Notice archéologique sur un cimetière Belgo-romain à Broeckhem près de Fauquemont

IV. Notes sur quelques objets funéraires, d'origine Franque trouvés à Heerlen

V. Exploration d'une villa Belgo-romaine au Rondenbosch à Houthem-Saint-Gerlach

VI. Notice archéologique sur un cachet d'oculiste romain trouvé à Heerlen

VII. Découverte d'un autel romain à Kessel près de Ruremonde

22655 VIII. Exploration d'une villa Belgo-romain au Herkenbergh à Meerssen

Delphi in the newspapers

22660 1 August 1854 SOME TREASURES OF THE GLASS PALACE OF SYDENHAM.

The glass palace at Sydenham, of whose external appearance we have before spoken, contains also within itself many productions of art which are well worth seeing.

Entering through the door of the great transept, the eye is at once attracted by the famous works of sculpture which adorn this part of the palace. At the entrance is a

22665 copy of the Greek monument known as the Lantern of Demosthenes or Monument of Lysicrates. It is the only one of its kind which has escaped general destruction.

Close by are the well-known groups of the horses of Monte Cavallo, which are to be seen in Rome in the Quirinal, and are attributed to Phidias and Praxiteles, without having any other proof than that their names are engraved on the marble. There is

22670 also the famous Toro Farnese, found in the baths of Caracalla in Rome and now in the museum of Naples. Pliny attributes this group to Apollonius of Rhodes.

Directly opposite, in the other half of the transept, to make room for the groups of the Quirinal, other statues have been placed, such as: of Castor and Pollux, on horseback, by San Giorgio of Milan, the original pieces of which are made of bronze.

22675 In the middle is the equestrian statue of Coleoni, by Andre Verrocchio, the original of which, also in bronze, is in Venice and is considered one of the most beautiful products of the Renaissance style.

But, after having cast this general glance at the transept, one must return to the most interesting part of the palace, namely, to the halls of the fine arts, which are furnished in the style of the various periods to which they belong. The Egyptian

22680 halls deserve a first mention. Here one cannot say: Ab Jove principium, for Jupiter resembles the youngest of the family among these Gods and Kings, to whom the ancient Egyptian temples are dedicated. One finds oneself here opposite the oldest sculpture

22685 in the world, and what must above all cause astonishment is, that Egyptian art, the oldest and the father of all others, has reached in one leap a height which has

remained the same in later years; the two first monuments of the world, the pyramids, are still the largest.

Egyptian art, which is the oldest known, has also left behind the most remains. The Egyptians built for immortality, and in this they have succeeded, in every way. By

22690 following the rules, which art bound in their strict bonds, they united the highest comprehension with an eminently beautiful execution. They have not only produced

everything that has been produced after them, but even surpassed it. In all other nations art passes through the same phases; from its birth it rises rapidly to a high

22695 degree of perfection, but then slowly descends again. But in Egypt this is by no means the case. The further back one goes in the course of time, the more perfect is

the art; its birth and its zenith are unknown. In the most perfect temples that have been discovered, there are found in the walls stones laid with hieroglyphs on the

inside, which are finer and more beautiful in execution than modern art can achieve. Egyptian sculpture was regulated by the religious laws of this exceptional people,

22700 and has remained unshaken in its general forms for several centuries.

The Egyptian part of the building is reached by an avenue formed by eight large sleeping lions, which are taken from those in the British Museum. The facade, which looks out over the nave, is a portico of the Ptolemaic period; on the frieze is placed a hieroglyphic inscription in honour of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. It reads as follows: "In the seventeenth year of the reign of Her Majesty, the mistress of the waves, the daughter of the Kings - Victoria, most illustrious Queen, the directors, architects, painters, sculptors have laid out this palace and these gardens, to serve as an instruction to the men and women of all countries, of all nations." Most of the temples and colonnades in this part of the palace, are not reproductions of existing monuments; they are a collection of the various orders of architecture, borrowed from various sources, and of which a whole has been formed at will, although good taste has not been lost sight of. Copies of Egyptian monuments were of course out of the question, the temple of the palace of Karnac alone was larger than the entire glass palace! All the monuments of this museum are therefore only models on a very reduced scale.

In this way has been composed the first column facade, a model of that order of the Ptolemies, about three hundred years before Christ, when the Greek influence had already brought a certain looseness of style into the massive and, so to speak, priestly order of the times of the Sesostris and Pharaohs. The colour is taken from that of the ruins. On entering the first room, one sees on the walls paintings of battles and processions, taken from a temple of Ramses, situated near Thebes. It is to this same temple, the Memnonium, that the second of the facades present here belongs; it consists of eight columns, in front of each of which is a colossal statue of King Rhamses. These statues originally had a height of thirty feet.

It is this facade that has been used as a transition to the well-known gallery of columns at Karnac. It is especially in this gigantic monument that the system adopted by the English artists gives ample play to criticism. The Egyptian architecture and sculpture are so astonishingly colossal in size, that models of natural dimensions can only give a false idea of the whole. A reproduction on a small scale, which in itself would not resemble the reality, can give a truer idea of the real monument than a picture in which one can move. The colonnade of Karnac in the glass palace, with however much care it may be executed, can therefore give no idea of the original.

This famous temple, the product of Ramses II, the most powerful of the Egyptian kings, who lived about the year 1170 before Jesus Christ, was connected to the almost equally famous temple of Luxor by means of an avenue of sphinxes of more than 2000 ells in length. A hall of it has been preserved, which is more than 1200 feet long and 360 feet wide. Another avenue led to a portal 360 feet long, 148 feet high, with a great gate 64 feet high, which led into a hall 58,000 square feet in size. In this hall stood, with folded arms, statues with shoulders 25 feet broad, whose face was 7, the nose 21, the beard 51, the headdress 14 feet long. These statues were 72 feet high; they could be seen at a distance of 12 miles. In this hall of columns, restored in the glass palace, were 134 columns, of which in the middle 12 were 66 feet high and 12 feet in diameter, the others 42 feet high and 9 in diameter.

The ambition of the Egyptian kings seems therefore to have consisted exclusively in building immortal tombs; for this purpose they piled one temple and one mountain on top of the other. The two great pyramids are tombs. The smallest covers at its foot an area of 11 acres of ground and its four corners converge at a height of 460 feet to one point. The other is 40 feet higher and 40 feet wider at the lower part. At its foot sits the great sphinx, a lion with a human head; it has a length of 80 feet. This pyramid is the largest monument and the sphinx at the same time the largest statue that has ever been made.

Continuing the road along this side, one first comes to the facade of the old temple of Aboo-Simbel, hewn in the rock about the year 1565 before Christ. This facade was 117 feet long and 100 feet high. The seated statues represent Ramses the Great, his mother, his wife and his daughter; they are found in their original size of 65 feet in another part of the palace. The model of this monument is taken at the 1/10 part of the original.

Turning to the left, one finds the portico of the temple of Philae, situated on an island in the middle of the sacred river of Egypt, the Nile; then passing through the hall of Amenophis, one comes to the tomb of Beni-Hassan, the oldest of the monuments, of which a model was provided in the Glass Palace; it dates from the year 1660 before Christ. The paintings inside represent the domestic life of the Egyptians. In the Egyptian museum one also finds copies of the Bull [Stone!] of Rosetta, which was found by a French engineer on the occasion of the expedition to Egypt. On this basalt stone, which dates from the year 196 before the birth of Jesus Christ, there was an

inscription in hieroglyphs or sacred letters, in common Egyptian and in Greek. It is thanks to this Egyptian translation that the key to the language of the hieroglyphs has been found.

22770 Of all these curiosities of the most remote antiquity it can rightly be said that the ancient master builders were really great men. They could not borrow anything from anyone. Their own genius alone was their source of information and this made them produce things as great as they have ever been seen. They discovered many rules, which constitute the sublime of art and were far superior to useless ornamentation.

22775 They felt all the weight of their calling. The last Egyptian temples, copied from their models, have given the world an idea of the greatness of their architectural order.

In chronological order, after Egypt comes Greece. Entering the nave of the building, one finds oneself before a facade in Doric style, followed by a temple of Jupiter at Nemea, 400 years before Christ. The frieze is decorated with inscriptions and with the names of the principal cities of Greece. In front of the facade are placed groups of wrestlers, of Silenus and Bacchus, of Bacchus and the Fauns. The central door leads to the great hall; this is square, surrounded by porticos and represents the agora of the Greeks, or the forum of the Romans, that is to say a place intended for public meetings. It is of Doric order and the names placed on the frieze are those of poets, philosophers and artists of Greece. The paintings, which will decorate the walls (and which are still being worked on) are illustrations from Greek theology; they are executed under the supervision and according to the sketches of G. Scharf and represent: 1°. Olympus; 2°. the capture of Troy; 3°. the realm of the underworld;

22780 4°. the period of Pericles and Phidias.

In this room one finds collected the masterpieces of ancient sculpture, with which everyone is familiar. In the middle, as the finest stone of this diadem, stands the most beautiful woman in the world, the Venus de Milo, found by Mr. Marcellus in the year 1820 and which now decorates the Louvre in Paris. This is the Venus Victrix.

22795 Next to her stands the Venus of Capua, almost identical to the first, and of which the original is in the Museum of Naples. Furthermore, the wrestler from the Louvre in Paris; the Juno Farnese from Naples, the Naiad from the Louvre, the Faunus from the Vatican; the Faunus from the Capitol, the Minerva Farnese from Naples, the Medicea from Rome, the sleeping Ariadne, which is found in one of the halls of the Vatican, and the Laocoon found in the ruins of the palace of Titus in the year 1506, and which is considered a masterpiece of ancient art.

Continuing along this road, one comes to a covered gallery, where a place has been given to another order of architecture. The square pilasters which support this gallery were found at Eleusis. The ceiling, which is executed with equal talent and taste, is the work of Owen Jones, who is of the opinion that the Greeks painted their monuments and monumental sculpture; and in the copies of the friezes and reliefs of the Parthenon, he has had some parts painted, to serve as a standard of comparison with the rest.

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The principal ornament of the bas-reliefs is an imitation of one of the facades of the Parthenon, the most beautiful of all the temples in the world. It is taken to about one-fourth the ordinary size, and this is the largest representation of it ever made. It is here that the value of the remark previously made, concerning the reproduction on a reduced scale of the Egyptian monuments, may be estimated. In the case of the Greek monuments, copies of ordinary size can give a true idea of the original, because the beauty of Greek art lies less in size than in the harmony of proportions. The Parthenon was at its highest point only 64 feet high; it was 228 feet long and 100 feet wide; the columns were 34 feet high and 6 feet in diameter. This famous temple, as is known, was dedicated to Minerva, the patron goddess of Athens. In the cella, in the middle of the temple, was the statue of this goddess, in gold and ivory, a masterpiece by Phidias. It was under the supervision of this artist that the work on the temple was done, of which Ictinus and Callicrates were the master builders. The Parthenon dates from the most beautiful period of art, that of Pericles, 444 years before Jesus Christ.

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The first drawings that are in possession of the Parthenon are from the year 1674 and were made by a French artist, Jacobus Carrey, while the Marquis de Nointel was at Athens. These drawings are still in the collection at Paris and remain the most accurate ones that have been in our possession since then, since the Parthenon has suffered new and numerous destructions, both by the ravages of time and by the hand of man. When Carrey made his sketches, the temple of Minerva was a Christian church, and the statues had been removed from one of the pediments to replace them with a peddler. A few years later, in 1687, the Venetians shelled Athens, and the Parthenon, which had been turned into a powder magazine, was badly damaged by an explosion that

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destroyed the central part of the building, and shattered several statues. It is known that the Turks used the columns of the Parthenon to make plaster, that
22835 travellers carried off pieces for their collections, and that Lord Elgin finally brought back the most beautiful remains of the work of Phidias in England. These incomparably beautiful remains, which now adorn the British Museum in London, have been restored to the glass palace. The frieze, representing the feasts of Minerva, extends the whole length of the gallery; part of it, as we have said, is painted;
22840 another is white on a blue ground; another is entirely white, so that comparisons may be made. There are also the famous statues brought by Lord Elgin, which have preserved his name. It is believed that the Parthenon contained 44 statues; of these, 13 fragments are now left in London and 2 in Athens; this is all that remains of those beautiful works. The Glass Palace also possesses here a copy of Theseus, which
22845 is considered the most perfect of the known fragments; furthermore copies of Ceres and Proserpina, of a head of the horse of the chariot of the night, and of the Fates. On the opposite side of the Parthenon is placed the well-known group of Niobe, found in the year 1580 at the gate of St. John in Rome, and now in Florence. In the halls of the Glass Palace, devoted to Greek works of art, there are more than 200 statues, the description of which would naturally take us too far, so we have confined
22850 ourselves to the most important. The Roman halls differ little from the Greek; there is no Roman art, properly speaking. The conquerors of the world made the conquered peoples work for them. Among the Romans the first artists were the Etrurians, and then the Greeks.
22855 It is known that the Etrurians, now the Tuscans, were a people who were particularly fond of art; but it was not only in this that they excelled; they were also a very industrious people and already carried on a very extensive trade when Rome was still in its birth. The Romans produced great, especially useful works, such as the construction of roads and water pipes. They also built great temples, but the
22860 Etrurians made the statues and images of gods, either in earth or in bronze. One of the oldest Etrurian fragments is the she-wolf of the Capitol. After the defeat of Pyrrhus (275 years before Christ), and the conquest of Sicily, the Romans brought their victorious arms to Greece, and Paulus Emilius, the conqueror of Perseus, King of Macedonia, returned to Rome in triumph with the booty taken in
22865 Greece. He loaded no less than 250 wagons with it, 167 years before the birth of Christ. Twenty years later, in 146, Mummius completed the conquest of Greece; he gave everything up to plunder and took with him a great number of masterpieces, many of which, however, broke or were badly damaged during transport. What the Romans destroyed during their invasions and during the time of their rule over the Greek
22870 provinces, is incalculable. But at the same time a multitude of Greek artists came to settle in Rome, and a new era of art dawned for them as well as for the Romans, – an era of wealth and elegance of production, but also of decline. The simple and ideal beauty of pure Greek art gave place to something more sensual, which worked less on the feeling than on the
22875 passions. Under the first Roman Emperors, people were content with an imitation of the Greek masterpieces; and this explains why they often made different specimens of the same heaths. For the beautification of his palace, Nero had five hundred statues brought from Delphi. On the site where this palace stood, Titus had his baths built, and it is there that some famous pieces were later found, such as the Laocoon. The
22880 Forum is due to Trajan, and also bears his name; likewise the column, a picture of which will also enrich the glass palace, is from him. The period of Hadrian was the most flourishing; under his reign it seems to have reached a high perfection. It was during the reign of the Antonines that the engraved stones and cameos, which served for many portraits, were made.
22885 In the fourth century, when the seat of the Empire was transferred to Constantinople, the arts, the artists, and the collection of fine arts followed the same path, and were followed by the masterpieces already brought from Greece. But the arrival of the barbarian tribes, who sought only gold, silver and bronze, was a deadly blow to the beautiful collection. Thus the works of Phidias, Polycletus, Lysippus disappeared
22890 long before the fall of the Greek empire. Entering the Roman halls through the nave, one finds oneself opposite a facade, borrowed from the ground floor of the Colisseum in Rome. It is the first time in the history of ancient architecture that one hears mention of the arch style. The Greeks never made use of it. It was therefore thought that the first use of it was made
22895 under the Roman rule; but the latest discoveries made in Assyria have proven that the arch dated back to a much earlier age and that it was used extensively at Nineveh, that it was brought from there to Asia Minor, from where the Etrurians introduced it to Italy. In the Roman halls of the glass palace a model and relief of the Coliseum

22900 will be placed, which is however not yet completely finished. The great hall is entirely covered and decorated with stones, which imitate the porphyry, malachite and rare marbles, of which the Romans made ample use in their palaces. The Venus of the Capitol, which is found here, is preferred by many masters to the Venus of Medici, because it is wrought in a purer and more exalted style; furthermore, there is the Venus Genitrix, the Venus of the sea and the Venus of

22905 Arles, all from the Louvre. Around the Venus Callipygos of Naples, the Bacchus of the Louvre. Around the hall are arranged in chronological order, the busts of the Roman Kings and Emperors. Here is also placed a relief of the forum at Rome, one of the most interesting for study; the mountain of the Capitol, the ruins of the temple of Concord, the arch of Septimius Severus, the column of Phocas, the temples of Antonius and Faustina, the temple of peace, the arch of Constantine, the Coliseum, the arch of

22910 Titus.

On the other side of the main hall are several rooms, of which Roman baths have been made. These baths are furnished entirely according to the original. They have been decorated with beautiful statues; there is the hall of Apollo and the hall of Diana. The Apollo is the one that one sees on the Belvedere in the Vatican, and which has

22915 given rise to so many conjectures. The Diana is the one of the Louvre and the Goddess of the hunt.

August 14, 1854 SOME ART TREASURES FROM THE GLASS PALACE OF SYDENHAM.

22920 The glass palace at Sydenham, whose external appearance we have previously discussed, also contains many works of art within its interior that are well worth seeing. Entering through the door of the great transept, the eye is immediately drawn to the famous works of sculpture that adorn this part of the palace. At the entrance, one encounters a copy of the Greek monument known as the Lantern of Demosthenes or

22925 Monument of Lysicrates. It is the only one of its kind to have escaped general destruction. Nearby are the well-known groups of horses from Monte Cavallo, which can be seen in Rome on the Quirinal Hill and are attributed to Phidias and Praxiteles, without any other evidence than the fact that their names are inscribed on the marble. There is also the famous Farnese Tower, found in the baths of Caracalla in

22930 Rome and now displayed in the Naples Museum. Pliny attributes this group to Apollonius of Rhodes.

Directly opposite, in the other half of the transept, to make room for the Quirinal groups, other statues have been placed, such as: Castor and Pollux, on horseback, by San Giorgio of Milan, whose originals are made of bronze. In the center is the

22935 equestrian statue of Coleoni, by André Verrocchio, the original of which, also in bronze, is in Venice and is considered one of the most beautiful works of the Renaissance style. But after this general glance at the transept, one must return to the most interesting part of the palace, namely the halls of the fine arts, which are decorated in the style of the various periods to which they belong. The Egyptian

22940 halls deserve first mention. Here one cannot say: Ab Jove principium, for Jupiter resembles the youngest of the family among these gods and kings to whom the ancient Egyptian temples are dedicated. Here one finds oneself before the oldest sculpture in the world, and what must be especially astonishing is that Egyptian art, the oldest and father of all others, reached a height in one leap that has remained unchanged in

22945 later years; the two first monuments of the world, the pyramids, are still the largest.

Egyptian art, the oldest known, has also left behind the most remains. The Egyptians built for immortality, and in this they certainly succeeded. By following the precepts that bound art within them, they combined the highest comprehension with an

22950 exceptionally beautiful execution. They not only created everything that came after them, but even surpassed it. In all other nations, art passes through the same phases; from its birth, it rapidly ascends to a high level of perfection, only to then slowly descend again. But in Egypt this is by no means the case. The further back one goes in time, the more perfect the art; its birth and culmination are

22955 unknown. In the most perfect temples discovered, one finds stones set into the walls with hieroglyphs on the inside, which are finer and more beautiful in execution than modern art can achieve. Egyptian sculpture was regulated by the religious laws of this exceptional people and has remained unwavering in its general forms for several centuries. The Egyptian section of the building is reached via an avenue formed by

22960 eight large sleeping lions, modeled after those in the British Museum. The facade, which faces the nave, is a portico from the Ptolemaic period; on the frieze is a hieroglyphic inscription honoring Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. It reads: "In the seventeenth year of the reign of Her Majesty, Mistress of the Waves, Daughter of Kings—Victoria, Most Illustrious Queen—the directors, architects, painters, and

sculptors have created this palace and these gardens for the instruction of the men and women of all lands, of all nations." Most of the temples and colonnades in this part of the palace are not replicas of existing monuments; they are a collection of different architectural orders, borrowed from various sources, and assembled arbitrarily, though good taste has not been lost sight of. Copies of Egyptian monuments were, of course, out of the question; the temple of the palace of Karnac alone was larger than the entire glass palace! All the monuments in this museum are therefore merely models on a very reduced scale. This is how the first column-shaped structure was constructed. A model of the Ptolemaic architectural order, approximately three hundred years before Christ, when Greek influence had already introduced a certain looseness of style into the massive and, so to speak, priestly architectural order from the times of Sesostris and the Pharaohs. The color is based on that of the ruins. Upon entering the first hall, one sees paintings of battles and processions on the walls, taken from a temple of Ramses, located near Thebes. The second of the facades here belongs to this same temple, the Memnonium; it consists of eight columns, each with a colossal statue of King Rhamses. These statues originally measured thirty feet in height. It is this facade that served as a transition to the famous colonnade of Karnac. It is especially in the case of this gigantic monument that the system adopted by English artists is given ample opportunity for criticism. Egyptian architecture and sculpture are so astonishingly colossal in scale that life-size models can only give a false impression of the whole. Reproducing them on a small scale, which in itself would not resemble the real thing, can give a more faithful idea of the actual monument than a static image. The colonnade of Karnac in the glass palace, however carefully executed, can therefore offer no idea of the original. This famous temple, the creation of Rhamses II, the most powerful of the Egyptian kings, who lived around 1170 BC, was connected to the almost equally famous temple of Luxor by an avenue of sphinxes over 2,000 cubits long. A hall has survived, measuring over 1,200 feet long and 360 feet wide. Another avenue led to a portal 360 feet long and 148 feet high, with a large gate 64 feet wide, leading to a hall measuring 58,000 square feet. In this hall, with folded arms, stood statues with shoulders 25 feet wide, whose faces measured 7 feet, their noses 21 feet, their beards 51 feet, and their headdresses 14 feet long. These statues were 72 feet high; they could be seen from a distance of 12 miles. In this hall of columns, restored in the glass palace, were 134 columns, 12 of which were 66 feet high and 12 feet in diameter in the center, while the others were 42 feet high and 9 feet in diameter. The ambition of the Egyptian kings, therefore, seems to have consisted solely in building immortal tombs; For this purpose, they piled one temple and one mountain on top of the other. The two large pyramids are tombs. The smaller one covers an area at its base equal to 11 acres of land, and its four corners converge at a height of 460 feet. The other is 40 feet higher and 40 feet wider at its base. At its foot sits the great sphinx, a lion with a human head; it is 80 feet long. This pyramid is the largest monument, and the sphinx is also the largest statue ever made. Continuing the road along this side, one first comes to the facade of the ancient temple of Abu Simbel, carved into the rock around 1565 BC. This facade was 117 feet long and 100 feet high. The seated statues represent Rhamses the Great, his mother, his wife, and his daughter; they can be found in their original size of 65 feet in another part of the palace. The model of this memorial was taken at one-tenth the size of the original. Turning left, one finds the portico of the temple of Philae, situated on an island in the middle of Egypt's sacred river, the Nile. Then, passing through the Hall of Amenophis, one arrives at the tomb of Beni-Hassan, the oldest of the memorials, a model of which was provided in the Glass Palace; it dates from 1660 BC. The paintings inside depict the domestic life of the Egyptians. The Egyptian Museum also houses copies of the Rosetta Bull (Stone!), which was discovered by a French engineer during the expedition to Egypt. On this basalt stone, dating from the year 196 before the birth of Jesus Christ, was an inscription in hieroglyphs, or sacred letters, in common Egyptian and Greek. It is thanks to this Egyptian translation that the key to the language of hieroglyphs has been discovered. Of all these curiosities of the most remote antiquity, it can rightly be said that the ancient architects were truly great men. They could not borrow anything from anyone. Their own genius alone was their source of inspiration, and this led them to produce works as grand as any they have ever seen. They discovered many rules that... They were considered essential elements of art and were far superior to useless ornamentation. They fully grasped the importance of their calling. The last Egyptian

temples, copied from their models, have given the world an idea of the greatness of their architecture.

Chronologically, after Egypt comes Greece. Entering the nave of the building, one finds oneself before a Doric-style facade, followed by a temple of Jupiter at Nemea, 400 BC. The frieze is decorated with inscriptions and the names of the principal cities of Greece. Groups of wrestlers, Silenus and Bacchus, Bacchus and the Fauns are placed in front of the facade. The central door leads to the great hall; this is square, surrounded by porticos, and represents the agora of the Greeks, or the forum of the Romans—that is, a place intended for public meetings. It is of Doric architecture, and the names placed on the frieze are those of poets, philosophers, and artists of Greece. The paintings that will adorn the walls (and which are still in progress) are illustrations from Greek theology; they are being executed under the supervision and according to the sketches of G. Scharf and depict: 1st. Olympus; 2nd. the capture of Troy; 3rd. the realm of the underworld; 4th. the era of Pericles and Phidias.

In this room, one finds the masterpieces of ancient sculpture, familiar to everyone. In the center, like the finest stone of this diadem, stands the most beautiful woman in the world, the Venus de Milo, discovered by Mr. Marcellus in 1820 and which now adorns the Louvre in Paris. This is the Venus Victrix. Next to her stands the Venus of Capua, almost identical to the former, the original of which can be found in the Museum of Naples. Furthermore, there is the wrestler from the Louvre in Paris. the Juno Farnese from Naples, the Naiad from the Louvre, the Faunus from the Vatican; the Faunus from the Capitol, the Minerva Farnese from Naples, the Medicea from Rome, the Sleeping Ariadne, which is found in one of the Vatican halls, and the Laocoon discovered in the ruins of Titus's palace in 1506 and considered a masterpiece of ancient art.

Continuing along this path, one arrives at a covered gallery, where a different architectural style is given a place. The square pilasters supporting this gallery were found at Eleusis. The ceiling, executed with equal talent and taste, is the work of Owen Jones, who believes that the Greeks painted their monuments and monumental sculpture; and in the copies of the friezes and reliefs of the Parthenon, he had some sections painted to serve as a benchmark for comparison.

The principal adornment of the bas-reliefs is a replica of one of the facades of the Parthenon, the most beautiful of all temples in the world. It is painted at approximately one-quarter of the usual size, and this is the largest representation of it ever made. It is here that one can appreciate the value of the earlier observation regarding the reproduction of Egyptian monuments on a reduced scale. For Greek monuments, copies of normal size can give a faithful idea of the original, because the beauty of Greek art lies less in size than in the harmony of proportions. At its highest point, the Parthenon was only 64 feet high; it was 228 feet long and 100 feet wide; the columns were 34 feet high and 6 feet in diameter. This famous temple, as is well known, was dedicated to Minerva, the patron goddess of Athena. In the cella, in the center of the temple, stood the statue of this goddess, in gold and ivory, a masterpiece by Phidias. It was under the supervision of this artist that the work on the temple, built by Ictinus and Callicrates, took place. The Parthenon dates from the most beautiful age of art, that of Pericles, 444 years before Jesus Christ. The first drawings of the Parthenon that exist date from 1674 and were made by a French artist, Jacobus Carrey, while the Marquis de Nointel was in Athens. These drawings are still in the Paris collection and remain the most accurate ones in existence today, as since then the Parthenon has suffered new and numerous destructions, both by the ravages of time and by human hands. When Carrey made his sketches, the Temple of Minerva served as a Christian church, and the statues had been removed from one of the pediments to replace them with a peddler. A few years later, in 1687, the Venetians shelled Athens, and the Parthenon, which had been converted into a powder magazine, was severely damaged by an explosion that destroyed the central section of the building and shattered several statues. It is known that the Turks used the columns of the Parthenon to make plaster, that travelers took pieces for their collections, and that Lord Elgin finally brought back the finest remains of Phidias's work in England. These incomparably beautiful remains, which now adorn the British Museum in London, have been returned to the Glass Palace. The frieze, depicting the Feasts of Minerva, extends the entire length of the gallery; as we have mentioned, a section is painted; another is white on a blue ground; yet another is completely white, so that comparisons can be made. There you will also find the famous statues brought back by Lord Elgin, which have preserved his name. It is believed that the Parthenon contained 44 statues; of these, 13 fragments are now

left in London and 2 in Athens. This is all that remains of these beautiful works. The Glass Palace also possesses a copy of Theseus, considered the most perfect of the known fragments; furthermore, copies of Ceres and Proserpina, a head of the horse of the chariot of the night, and of the Fates. On the opposite side of the Parthenon is the famous group of Niobe, found in 1580 at the gate of St. John in Rome and now in Florence. In the halls of the Glass Palace dedicated to Greek works of art, there are more than 200 statues, the description of which would naturally take us too far afield, so we have limited ourselves to the most important.

The Roman halls differ little from the Greek ones; there is no such thing as Roman art. The conquerors of the world made the conquered peoples work for them. Among the Romans, the first artists were the Etrurians and then the Greeks. It is known that the Etrurians, now the Tuscans, were a people particularly fond of art; but it was not only in this that they excelled; they were also a very industrious people and already engaged in extensive trade when Rome was still in its infancy. The Romans produced large, primarily useful works, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts. They also built great temples, but the Etrurians sculpted statues and images of gods, whether in earth or bronze. One of the oldest Etrurian fragments is the she-wolf from the Capitol.

After the defeat of Pyrrhus (275 BC) and the conquest of Sicily, the Romans brought their victorious weapons to Greece, and Paulus Emilius, the victor over Perseus, King of Macedonia, returned to Rome in triumph with the spoils captured in Greece. He loaded no fewer than 250 wagons with it (167 years before the birth of Christ). Twenty years later, in 146, Mummius completed the conquest of Greece; he abandoned everything to plunder and took with him a great number of masterpieces, many of which, however, broke or were severely damaged during transport. The destruction of the Romans during their invasions and during their rule over the Greek provinces is incalculable.

But at the same time, a multitude of Greek artists settled in Rome, and a new era of art dawned for them as well as for the Romans—an era of wealth and elegance of production, but also of decline. The simple and ideal beauty of pure Greek art gave way to something more sensuous, which appealed less to the senses than to the passions. Under the first Roman Emperors, people were content with imitating Greek masterpieces; and this explains why they often produced several copies of the same kind. To embellish his palace, Nero commissioned five hundred statues from Delphi. Titus had his baths built on the site where this palace stood, and it was there that some famous pieces were later discovered, such as the Laocoon. The Forum is owed to Trajan and bears his name; likewise, the column, a depiction of which will also enrich the Glass Palace, is his. The era of Hadrian was the most flourishing; during his reign, art seems to have reached a high level of perfection. It was during the reign of the Antonines that the engraved stones and cameos, which served for many portraits, were produced.

In the fourth century, when the seat of the Empire was transferred to Constantinople, the arts, artists, and the collection of fine arts followed the same path, followed by the masterpieces already brought from Greece. But the arrival of Barbarian tribes, who sought only gold, silver, and bronze, was a mortal blow to the finest collections. Thus disappeared the works of Phidias, Polycletus, and Lysippus, long before the fall of the Greek Empire.

Entering the Roman halls through the nave, one finds oneself facing a facade borrowed from the ground floor of the Coliseum in Rome. This is the first time in the history of ancient architecture that one hears mention of the arch style. The Greeks never used it. It was therefore believed that its first use occurred under Roman rule; however, recent discoveries made in Assyria have proven that the arch dated back to a much earlier age and was widely used in Nineveh, and that it was brought from there to Asia Minor, from where the Etrurians introduced it to Italy. A model and relief of the Coliseum, although not yet fully completed, will be placed in the Roman halls of the glass palace. The large hall is entirely clad and decorated with stones imitating the porphyry, malachite, and rare marbles that the Romans used extensively in their palaces.

The Venus of the Capitol, which can be found here, is preferred by many masters to the Venus de Medici, as it is wrought in a purer and more exalted style; also found here are the Venus Genitrix, the Venus of the Sea, and the Venus of Arles, all from the Louvre. Around it, the Venus Callipygos of Naples, the Bacchus of the Louvre. Arranged in chronological order around the hall are the busts of Roman kings and emperors. A relief of the Forum in Rome, one of the most interesting for study, has also been placed here. The Capitoline Hill, the ruins of the Temple of Concord, the Arch of Septimius Severus, the Column of Phocas, the Temples of Antonius and

Faustina, the Temple of Peace, the Arch of Constantine, the Coliseum, and the Arch of Titus.

On the other side of the main hall are several rooms, which have been converted into Roman baths. These baths are furnished entirely in accordance with the original. They are decorated with beautiful statues; there is the Hall of Apollo and the Hall of Diana. Apollo is the one seen on the Belvedere in the Vatican, which has given rise to so many conjectures. Diana is the one from the Louvre and the goddess of the hunt.

August 23, 1896 Archaeological Discoveries in Greece.
(Delphi.)
III.

While excavations at Olympia have been halted for some time, or at least are no longer being continued continuously, scholars of the "French school" in Athens are still constantly at work at Delphi, where they are also continually making more or less important discoveries, including, very recently, that bearded bronze charioteer, one of the most important metal works of art of antiquity, whose excavation has been widely reported. The fact is that excavations at Delphi have only been underway for a few years.

Before excavation began, there was a Pelasgian wall, fragments of walls from the sacred precincts of Delphi, the spring of Castalia, fragments of statues and sculptures embedded, as had been done elsewhere, in the walls of the miserable huts in the surrounding area: this is all that remained of one of the most famous and magnificent metropolises of the ancient world. Founded on a terrace on the southern slope of Parnassus, in this land of Krisoa and Phoki, on the blue Gulf of Corinth, protected on two sides by mighty rock walls, Delphi had for centuries been the most magnificent sanctuary of antiquity. Not only the Greeks, but also the Barbarians had sent envoys to inquire of the oracle of the blind god of light. And gradually, unprecedented treasures, magnificent works of art, were gathered in its treasuries. Pausanias also holds great value compared to Delphi: the Temple of Apollo alone, he said, contains four thousand statues of gold, bronze, and ironwood; then countless shields, tripods, animal images, votive offerings of all kinds, gifts from kings, commonwealths, corporations, and private individuals. But the time came when these treasures were carried away. Nero brought 500 bronze statues from Delphi to Rome, the sanctuary gradually lost its significance, the oracle was opposed by the Church Fathers, and finally, in 390, it was Theodesius who finally closed the door for good. The holy city subsequently fell into ruin, caused by nature and malice, and soon, throughout the Middle Ages, the shepherds of the village of Kastri, now built on its remains, tended their sheep and goats, where the highest wisdom had once spoken. The success the Germans had enjoyed with their excavation of Olympia encouraged the French to attempt similar work at Delphi: in 1881, the French Chamber donated 500,000 francs, and in October 1892, work began, initially encountering strong resistance from the pastoral population of Kastri. And, although not nearly as extensive as at Olympia, the excavations at Delphi have yielded a greater harvest of important artifacts: inscriptions, statues, bas-reliefs, foundations of more than seven buildings, bronzes, vases, etc.

The first major discovery was the Athenian treasury located on the Sacred Way: a small building of Penthellic marble of Darian style, whose walls were literally covered with inscriptions. Destroyed by an earthquake, it had suffered relatively little damage. Pausanias also helped explain the discovery here: the sanctuary of the Athenians, erected in memory of Marathon, the spoils of the Persians. If its walls already constitute a veritable historical library, where an important "Hymn to Apollo" has also been found, which explains so much about the music of the ancients, perhaps even more important are the metopes of this small sanctuary. Thirty of them, all damaged, depict the "Labors of Hercules and Theseus." As sculptures, they are even more valuable than the famous metopes of the Parthenon, unlawfully brought to England by Lord Elgin.

But not only are works from the heyday of Hellenic sculpture found; important works of archaic art have also been discovered, statues of Apollo, in that rigid, hard style reminiscent of the oldest wooden sculptures.

Of the famous treasury of Apollo, of which so many ancient writers recount wonders, nothing more than insignificant fragments remained. It had been systematically destroyed. They were more fortunate with the treasury of the inhabitants of the island of Siphnos, reputed to be the most beautiful and richest at Delphi. The excavations have restored it in its entirety: a work of the 6th century BC, and of admirable architectural execution. A frieze—horsemen, chariots, quadrigas, battle scenes—runs around the four walls of the small temple. It is a truly unique

- 23230 sculptural ensemble, despite being a century older than the aforementioned Elgin marbles of the Parthenon. A significant franton has also been recovered from this sanctuary, important though it is, apparently by another artist, of much less beautiful quality than the frieze. Traces of the colors are still very clear in some of these; the background always blue, the horses red, the armor green, the chariots red, blue, and green.
- 23235 Two exedras, the stoa of the Athenians, a Greco-Roman tomb, houses, an aqueduct, ruins that have not yet been explained—these are some of the remains found at Delphi. But even before these, a few sculptures deserve mention: a very large Sphinx, among others, a gift from the inhabitants of Naxos. Among the most beautiful sculptures found there are three dancing coriatis, surrounded by leaves and flowers. And now, a
- 23240 good year ago, an Antinous was unearthed, a worthy counterpart to the Olympian Hermes. A work of Roman origin, apparently, but of purely Greek beauty. Several important bronzes were also found, including that male statue, which was only recently returned to light a few weeks ago. Such is the case with the excavations at Delphi, which are still ongoing and have proven to be of the utmost importance for
- 23245 the history of Greek art. Besides having yielded valuable clues regarding Greek music, it is hoped that remnants will also be discovered that will reveal the art of painting. To what extent this expectation will be confirmed is difficult to say at this time, but what has already been discovered is of the utmost importance and encourages further exploration.
- 23250 1 juli 1920 DELPHI, MONUMENTS OF THE THESSALIAN PRINCES
[p. 291] It is impossible to prescribe the limits of development for a genius like Lysippus, of whose 1,500 famous bronze statues only a fraction is preserved to-day, not in the originals, but in more or less successful marble copies. That, in spite of
- 23255 all divergences, there are common features connecting the Agias and the Apoxyomenos, has rightly been emphasized by good judges in recent times. 1) The artistic career of Lysippus begins for our inquiries with the year 372 BC, when he executed the statue of a man who had won the chariot-race at Olympia "both with full-grown horses and with colts." The base of the statue was found in the German excavations, and shows characters of writing agreeing well with this date. 2) The monument of Daochus, as shown above, was erected soon after 340 BC; but the original Agias statue at Pharsalus is older, and may well have been produced some years before, in the beginning or middle of the forties.
- 23260 There is no reason to date it still earlier, for we must start with the assumption that Lysippus was not taken up by the Thessalian nobles, but that they only placed orders with him when his fame was assured and his style well known. Pliny gives a far later date, 328 BC, as the culminating-point of his art, probably the time when he executed his most famous portrait, that of Alexander. Even after 320
- 23270 BC, Lysippus is active, and executes a great bronze group at Delphi, the lion-hunt of Alexander and Craterus, which was ordered by Craterus, son-in-law of the Macedonian Viceroy Antipater and one of Alexander's old companions in arms, in memory of the fact that during the Asiatic expedition in a hunt he felled a lion which threatened the life of the great king. In gratitude for the escape of both, the group was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi; but as Craterus died in 321 BC, it was his newly-born
- 23275 son who erected the group in his father's name, exactly as was the case with Hieron's group, erected at Olympia by his son, Deinomene. Pliny names this among the most famous works of Lysippus; Plutarch says it had two authors, Lysippus and Leochares. 3) The base of the group has been discovered at Delphi in a chamber to right of the staircase, which north of the temple leads up to the theatre (fig. 150), and the metrical inscription reports that the group was vowed by Craterus, friend of the great Alexander, but only his son performed the vow and dedicated it in memory of the fight with the lion which his father courageously carried through when he followed
- 23280 King Alexander on his Asiatic expedition; he laid the lion low on the borders of the Nomad Syrians.
- 23285 In consideration of the son's tender age, it was assumed that the group was erected long after 320, about 300 BC, but against that are the other dates of the two artists engaged, and there is nothing to prevent us from thinking of the group as erected in the name of the infant son. 1) Anyhow, it is a long life for an artist, of whose outlines we thus catch glimpses, and the Apoxyomenos probably belongs only to its latest period, the twenties of the fourth century.
- 23290 In any case Lysippus, at the time when he executed the Agias, was strongly influenced by the art of Scopas, and only in advanced years seems to have experienced the artistic transformation of which the Apoxyomenos bears witness. This is the

23295 importance of the Delphic find, that it reveals to us how late this master "found his
nature" as Aristotle would say. 1) In this respect he reminds us of a modern sculptor
like Meunier, who only at the age of fifty-five became the Meunier the world knows
and admires. Homolle conjectures that other figures from the Daochus monument are
23300 copies of Lysippus' originals, and the latest found Agelaus figure (fig. 133) might
point to that. But so long as most of the figures are headless, all appreciation of
them is out of the question, for at this stage of his development Lysippus, like
Scopas, showed more individuality in characterizing heads than bodies. Twenty years
later, on the threshold of old age, he is a different man. A torso, contemporary with
and stylistically akin to the Apoxyomenos, we should without difficulty recognize as
23305 his work. 2)

1 Amelung, in Helbig's Führer, 3rd ed., n. 23; Studniczka, Das Bildnis Menanders, Leipzig, 1918, 20.

2 Pausanias, vi. 1,4.; Loewy, Inschriften griech. Bildhauer, 76.

23310 3 Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv. 64; Plutarch, Alexander, 40.

1 Perdrizet, Bull. de con. hell., xxii, 1898, 566.

1 Lysippus was also the author of the bronze group of the Sun-god on his car founded by the
Rhodians, the base inscription of which Pontow thought he had found in Delphi; Dittenberger,
Sylloge, 441; Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv. 63. This is, however, incorrect; the lettering is
23315 characteristic of the end of the third century, so a century later than Lysippus; Bourguet,
Bull. de corr. hell., xxxiv, 191 1, 458, and Revue arch., 1918, i. 220.

2 In my description of the Thessalians I have omitted to use the judgment Theopompus passes on
them {Athenaeus, xii. 527a): "They play away their time with dancing women and flute-players,
others spend whole days in dice-playing, drinking, or other excesses, and they take more care
23320 about filling their board with all manner of meats than in leading an honourable life. But the
Pharsalians are the laziest and the most pitiful of them all." Further, he describes how one
can win the friendship of the Thessalians by drinking matches with them and by joining in
their debaucheries (op. cit., vi. 260b). But Theopompus passes similar judgments on the
Etruscans, the people of Methymna and other Greek towns, and on Philip of Macedon (Athenaeus,
23325 xii. 507, d, e; x. 442/ -44, a; iv. 166/-167e); so he seems to have been a specialist in
chroniques scandaleuses.

<https://archive.org/details/delphipoulsen00poul>

January 1, 1924 DELPHI

23330 BY DR. J. W. VAN ROOIJEN.

If one wants to reach Delphi by land from Athens, this isn't the easiest route. By
train, one can only travel as far as Brailo, a station on the railway to Salonika.
From there, a bus—a grand name for a truck with some benches—runs to Amphissa.

23335 However, if, like us, you're lucky enough that the bus doesn't even wait for the
express train from Athens, good advice is expensive. The nearest village (I've
forgotten the name) is a few hours away. The helpful stationmaster, however, had some
advice. We were able to rent a couple of mules, and so, packed and ready, we set off.
A car was reportedly available in the village in question.

23340 However, upon arrival, it turned out that the car had to come from Amphissa. It
didn't arrive until evening. We've rarely experienced more frightening moments than
during that car ride. Imagine being driven at breakneck speed up a mountain as high
as Parnassus, in a car driven by the most reckless driver in the world, who takes
corners so sharply that at any moment you think you're going to plunge, car and all,
into the abyss that constantly gapes at you on the right, while you sometimes whizz
23345 past cars going uphill at the speed of an express train. Then you'll understand how
happy we were to finally have arrived in Amphissa.

We don't have any pleasant memories of this last place; the Xenodokeion (hotel),
which was the best in the town, didn't even meet the most modest standards of
cleanliness; we were therefore very glad to be able to leave this inhospitable place
23350 as early as possible.

From Amphissa, however, to Delphi is quite a climb; Cars are unavailable here, so we,
forced by necessity, had to resort again to our driver from the previous evening, who
brought us up without incident.

23355 Delphi, also called Pytho in ancient times, lies between high rocks on a gently
sloping terrain. Where the rocky plateau meets the mountain, rise the so-called
Phaedriades, the shining rocks, so named because the sunlight reflects brilliantly
from the bare limestone. The two rocks form an obtuse angle and are separated only by
a narrow abyss. From the eastern rock rises the spring Kastalia, whose water flows
along the rocks to Pieistos, a quarter of an hour away.

23360 The Delphic oracle was ancient. According to a Delphic legend, the vapors that rose
from a gorge and sent the Pythia into a kind of ecstasy were said to have been
discovered by a goat herder. He had... He noticed that his goats, when they
approached the chasm in question, made strange leaps and uttered unusual sounds; when

he himself approached the chasm, he fell into a kind of ecstasy and began to
23365 prophesy.
Before Apollo established his oracle here, Gaia, the Earth, was the first possessor
of the oracle; her daughter Themis succeeded her; the oracle's pronouncements were
called themistes (laws). Themis voluntarily ceded the place to Phoebe, who then gave
23370 the oracle to her grandson Phoibos Apollo. He traveled from Delos, the island where
he was born, accompanied by the Athenians, who boasted of being the first to pave the
sacred road to Delphi, to Delphi, where the people and King Delphos received him with
joy.
According to another legend, Apollo did not acquire the oracle so peacefully. Shortly
after his birth, Apollo is said to have set out to seek an oracle. He took a liking
23375 to the Valley of Delphi and decided to establish an oracle there. However, the
serpent Python, who lived here near the Delphic spring, prevented him from entering.
The young god engaged the serpent in battle and killed it with his arrows.
There, for the first time, the paeon, the joyful song of victory, resounded from the
mouth of the god and the choir of Delphic young women; in remembrance of this
23380 victory, the Pythian Games were established forever. As penance for the death of the
Python, Apollo was then forced to flee and perform eight years of slave labor. He
went to King Admetus in Thessaly and was purified in the Valley of Tempe, to return
to Delphi as Phoibos, the bright and radiant one.
This penance and purification were symbolically represented at the festivals, which
23385 occurred every eight years; a boy, supposed to represent Apollo, set fire to a hut,
the hut of Python, in front of the temple: then he hastily fled. Accompanied by a
procession, he passed through Locris, Doris, over the Oeta, to Tempe, and here, like
Apollo before him, he was purified. According to legend, Apollo appointed Cretans,
whom he had brought here by sea, as priests. When the leader of these men looked at
23390 the bare rocky plain and asked the god what they were supposed to be made of here.
The god replied, "Everyone must hold the sacrificial knife ready in their right hand
and continually slaughter sacrificial animals, which the people will bring to me in
countless numbers." And so it was done.
People came from all sides to consult the god and have their sacrificial animals
23395 slaughtered; precious gifts were also presented to the god, so that the temple
acquired a great wealth of precious metals and works of art. Homer (Iliad, book 9)
already speaks of "the great riches that the stone threshold of Pytho encloses
within." Not only Greeks consulted the oracle, but also foreign peoples. Don't we
read in "tus" that the king of Lydia, Croesus, consulted the oracle when he wanted to
23400 march against Cyrus, the king of Persia?
A league of so-called Amphictyons, consisting of peoples from Central and Northern
Greece, had united to protect the sanctuary and celebrate the festivals at their
shared expense. The Dorians, in particular, had established close ties with the
oracle when they lived near Parnassus and Oeta, and they maintained these ties even
23405 after settling in the Peloponnese.
In the centuries between Lycurgus and the Persian Wars, Delphi became both the
religious and political center of Greece. Nothing of importance was undertaken by
individuals or states without first seeking the advice of the Delphic god.
At the beginning of the Persian Wars, the oracle was uncertain and gave equivocal
23410 answers. After the Battle of Salamis (480 BC) was the first to take up Greece's
national cause again. The fact that the temple had been spared by the Persians
(probably because of their worship of the god of light) raised the oracle's prestige.
Trophies from the spoils taken from the Persians were erected at Delphi, and the
Amphictyones issued decrees in honor of those who had remained loyal to their
23415 homeland.
However, a reaction gradually set in. In the so-called holy wars, the oracle's power
diminished; at one point, the Phoenicians even seized the temples' immense treasures
and used them to finance the war they waged. Admittedly, the oracle still enjoyed
23420 some prestige during the time of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD), but only in private
matters. When Emperor Julian the Apostate, before his expedition to Persia in 362 AD,
C. had the oracle questioned, and he received the answer: "Tell the king that the
cunningly made dwelling is covered with dust, Phoibos has no more shelter, no
prophetic laurel, nor a bubbling spring; "The beautiful water has ceased to flow."
23425 Finally, in 390 AD, the oracle was closed forever by Emperor Theodosius.
The actual sacred space, formerly enclosed by walls, was approximately 130 meters
wide and 180 m long. The main entrance was located in the southeast, and from here
the sacred road, with two bends, led to the Temple of Apollo. Along this entire road
stood statues and votive offerings in great numbers. Emperor Nero had approximately

- 23430 500 statues removed, yet the number of those remaining was estimated at 3,000. The number of statues at the entrance was exceptionally large. On the right side stood the statue of a bull, dedicated by the Kerkyraeans in 500 BC; opposite this stood the monument built by the Athenians in memory of the Battle of Marathon.
- 23435 To the west of this stood the wooden horse of the Argives, dedicated in 414 BC. C. dedicated. This was followed by a triumphal monument of the Arcadians, which they had erected there to commemorate their liberation of Sparta. On the left were the Seven Against Thebes, with the chariot of Amphiaraus, a memorial of the Argives to their victory at Oenoe.
- 23440 If one continued along the sacred road, one would pass more than a dozen treasuries, built by various cities and states of Greece. Among these, the Siphnian treasury, which we will discuss in more detail below, was well preserved; it resembles an Ionic templum in antis, with caryatides instead of columns. The Doric treasury of the Athenians is also well preserved; it has been rebuilt in its entirety.
- 23445 Following this was a large building, where one can see the bouleuterion, while behind it the terrain has been left in its original rocky state. This is probably the rock on which the Sibyl Herophyle first gave her oracles. A tall Ionic column, built by the Naxians The temple, on which the famous Sphinx stood, towered over the entire site. A little further on, one reached the circular festival site, the Halos (threshing floor), where the aforementioned symbolic depiction of the slaying of the
- 23450 Python took place. Immediately behind the Naxians' column rises the wall of the temple terraces; it was covered with inscriptions containing decrees of the Amphictyones, lists of victors, and charters and the release of slaves. Between this wall and the Halos stood the Athenian Stoa, with columns, built in the Ionic style. This stoa was probably built
- 23455 in gratitude for the victory achieved at Salamis in 480 BC; later (428 BC), Phormion added trophies from captured ships. Next to the southwest corner stood a Nike of Paionios, probably a copy of the one found at Olympia.
- 23460 Several monuments also stood on the east side of the temple terrace, among which the Plataean Tripod is particularly noteworthy. It rested on a base that has been recovered. The central support formed the famous serpent column, and at the top was a golden basin, stolen during the Sacred War. Later, the tripod was taken to Constantinople and can still be seen there in the so-called AT-Meidan. Of the Doric temple of Apollo, which was naturally the principal sanctuary, only the foundations
- 23465 remain; yet, thanks to the Greek writer Pausanias, we know what this temple looked like in ancient times. The sanctuary had been rebuilt, or rebuilt, several times. The oldest temple, according to legend, was formed of laurel trees; the branches of these stemmed from the sacred laurel in Tempe. Next came a temple built by bees from wax. Apollo replaced it with a copper temple; however, this melted in a fire and sank into
- 23470 the earth's fissure. After this, a fourth temple, made of stone, was erected by the master builders Trophonios and Agamedes. After they had completed their work, they asked the god for a reward, which he promised them by the seventh day. When that day arrived, they died the following night. This temple, however, burned down in 548 BC: money was collected
- 23475 from all the Greeks for a new one; even the Egyptian king contributed. The Alcmaeonides, expelled from Athens, undertook the construction for the sum of 300 talents. They built it more expensively than the contract required, but naturally won the favor of the priests of Delphi; the architect was Spintharus of Corinth.
- 23480 In front of the temple was the great altar of burnt offering, and nearby was the statue of a wolf, the animal dedicated to Apollo. On its head, the Delphians had the decree engraved, granting the Spartans who had assisted them the right of promanteia (to consult the oracle on behalf of others). Pericles, however, had the same decree engraved on the back, in favor of the Athenians. Entering the pronaos (forehall), one
- 23485 first saw the golden inscriptions: Gnóthi Seauton (Know Thyself) and Mēden Agaan (Nothing Too Much), both sayings of the Seven Sages; beside these inscriptions stood the image of Homer. The temple cella was 100 feet long and decorated with Doric columns on the outside and Ionic columns on the inside. Here stood the statue of Apollo, and before it the Hestia (hearth) where the eternal fire was maintained by a widow; this hearth was considered the common center of all, and also the center of
- 23490 the entire Greek world. Zeus, in order to discover the center of the earth, had once sent two eagles flying towards each other from east to west, and they had met at this spot.
- 23495 Near the hestia stood the iron chair of Pindar, on which the pious singer had praised Apollo with his hymns. For he was accustomed to offering hymns to the god instead of sacrifices. Moreover, the cella contained a statue of Poseidon, the statues of two

Moiragios (the Fates), along with those of Zeus Moiragetes and Apollo Moiragates (the leader of fate).

Behind the cella was a room intended as a waiting room for those who wished to consult the oracle. This was followed by the Holy of Holies, the adyton, where the cleft of the earth was located, from which the familiar vapors arose. A colossal tripod, made of wood and plated with gold, was erected there, and above it was a seat.

After observing the omens, the Pythia, having first drunk water from the Kastalia spring and taken a laurel leaf in her mouth, proceeded to the adyton and sat on the tripod. The vapors rising from the earth caused her to enter a kind of ecstasy and emit incoherent sounds. These words were then written down in hexameter form by so-called prophets; however, these verses, too, were not easy for the interrogator to understand. Therefore, they went to the professional interpreters to find out from them what the meaning of the oracle was.

The large terrace, which extended along the entire south wall of the temple, contained the much-sung laurel and myrtle forest; in the center of this we also find the the ancient sanctuary of Gaia, who, as we saw, was the first to possess the oracle. To the southeast probably rose the mast with three golden stars, which the Aeginites had dedicated here after the Battle of Salamis; further along stood the pedestal where Perseus of Macedonia intended to place his statue. Aemilius, however, who had defeated him, had his own placed there. The temple's great altar was a foundation of the inhabitants of Chios, erected around 520 BC. A little to the north stood an elegant acanthus column depicting dancing maidens. Golden tripods, which Gelo of Syracuse and his brothers had dedicated after the victory at Himera (480 BC), were also located here. The well-known bronze charioteer also originally stood here.

North of these Sicilian votive offerings, the Thessalian Daochos had nine statues of himself and his ancestors erected. Opposite the northwestern corner of the temple is a room where Craterus had his famous lion hunt, during which he saved Alexander the Great's life, immortalized by Leochares and Lysippos. The theater is located behind this. The space intended for the spectators remains in relatively good condition, although the stage has been destroyed. In the very northern part of the peribolus was the Lesche of the Cnidians, a kind of lounge. On the right-hand wall, according to Pausanias, there was a depiction of the destruction of Troy, painted by Polygnotus, and on the left-hand wall, an image of the Underworld.

Not far from the main entrance is the Kastalia spring. Its water springs from the rock face, which has been carved into a large, square basin. Below it is a large niche, in which a small chapel of Saint John has now been built. In the Kastalia basin, all who wished to enter the temple had to purify themselves by bathing. Even today, the water from the spring, though it has lost its reputation for holiness, is still held in high esteem. Every afternoon, one can still see the mules, hung on both sides with barrels and driven by boys and girls, making their way to the spring to fetch the wonderful, cool water so precious in these arid regions.

It is a picturesque sight to see these groups gather at the spring, especially in the evening, when the sun is already setting behind the mountains and from the heights of Parnassus one sees a magnificent panorama before one, one that one will not forget for the rest of one's life. This spot of land, chosen by the Greeks as the dwelling place of their light god Apollo, who knew how to banish the darkness of the future with his light and to whom people came from far and wide to hear the pronouncements of his oracle, is truly beautiful. We would now like to take a short stroll through the Museum, which is located near the excavations. The building, constructed through the generosity of Syngros, consists of a main building and two wings.

In front of the entrance stands a marble sarcophagus depicting the Calydonian hunt. Entering the main hall, we first see the relatively well-preserved bronze statue of the Charioteer, which was found near the temple. Along with it were a portion of a horse and an arm. All of this belonged to the votive offering that Polyzalos had erected in gratitude for a victory won in a chariot race. It is believed that this Polyzalos was the brother of Gelo and Hiero of Syracuse.

The charioteer stands before us at full length; the folds of his garment are not unlike the fluting of a column; probably some of these folds, which appear somewhat monotonous, were covered by the chariot's body. The bronze workmanship is very fine; the face with its full chin, the expressive eyes, and the hair—all these elements lend the work a high value.

The next room is known as "The Treasury of the Athenians." The metopes that once stood on the outside of this treasury are attached to the walls. They depict the deeds of Hercules and Theseus. Five metopes depict the theft of Geryones' cattle; a

sixth shows a centaur fallen against an opponent (Hercules), who places his foot on his neck. A seventh depiction shows the battle with the Nemean lion, while an eighth metope depicts the capture of the bull.

- 23565 The rest all seem to depict deeds of Theseus, primarily his battle against the Amazons. In one depiction, we see the young Theseus, wearing a helmet, fighting an Amazon; On the other side, the defeat of the Minotaur and the bull of Marathon is depicted. In the center of the hall, one sees Amazons on horseback, the acroteria of the top of the sanctuary.
- 23570 On the right wing is the Greco-Roman hall, or the Monument of Pydna. The monument commemorates the defeat of King Perseus of Macedonia (168 BC); inscriptions appear on all four sides and are decorated with a frieze in relief. Opposite the Macedonians, recognizable by their beautifully decorated shields, are barbarians, almost completely naked; they represent the allies of the Roman people. The Romans themselves are not visible, but their cavalry is. In front of this monument are the Three Dancing Maidens (Karyatides); the support on which they are placed is decorated with acanthus leaves; they form a beautiful base for a tripod or other votive offering. The clothing of these maidens and the garlands of palm leaves have identified them as the Dancers of Karyae, from which the name Caryatides derives,
- 23580 which are also known to be found at the Erechtheion in Athens. We now return to the entrance and reach the hall of the Temple of Apollo. On the right, we find a large relief depicting a youth with outstretched arms; a boy stands beside him. The first figure is usually interpreted as a depiction of Apollo; however, it is probably Apoxyomenos, with an attendant.
- 23585 Fragments of marble statues from the temple of the Alcmaeonides depict lions tearing bulls; two female figures are also seen, each holding her dress in her left hand; on the left wall are depicted scenes from the battle between Athena and the giant Enceladus. Five reliefs were also placed in this hall. On the first, we see the ship Argo; round shields, on the outside, represent the warriors on board; to the side stand two figures playing a lyre, one of whom is probably Orpheus. At each end stands a horseman, apparently Castor and Pollux. In a second relief, Pollux, Idas, and Castor drive the stolen Arcadian ox before them; the division of this ox was the cause of the disagreement between them. Each figure holds two spears in their left hand and a third in their right. The third relief depicts the abduction of Europa on the bull; the story of the Calydonian boar is the subject of the fourth relief; in the image, the remains of a dog can be seen beneath the wild animal. The last relief is severely damaged; it is suspected that it represents the ram on which Phrixus and Helle were seated when they fled the ambushes of their stepmother Ino.
- 23600 East of the temple, a large Omphalos, the stone we mentioned earlier, was found; on it were depicted woolen ribbons; however, this was probably not the original omphalos, as it was covered with real woolen ribbons. Between this and the next room stand the statues of two youths from the Archaic period. On the pedestal of the best-preserved statue, an inscription tells us that the sculptor was an Argive. They
- 23605 closely resemble the well-known Apollo statues, with their round, slightly smiling faces. They probably date from the 7th century BC. It is believed that these statues represent Cleobis and Biton, whom "Tus tells us about" in his history. He relates (1:31) that Solon, the Athenian philosopher, once visited Croesus, the king of the Lydians. One day, the king, who was known for his wealth, had Solon led through all his treasuries. Then he asked him who he considered the happiest man in the world. Solon awarded the first prize to a certain Tellus, an Athenian, and the second to the young men Cleobis and Biton, from Argos. One day, their mother had to be brought to the temple of the goddess Hera, but the oxen were not present in time. The young men then themselves drew their mother to the temple, a distance of 45 stadia (a stadium is approximately 182 meters). The celebrants praised the mother. They were fortunate to have such fine sons. The mother then prayed to the goddess to grant them that which is happiest for mankind. After this prayer, they lay down to sleep in the temple and never rose again. By this, the goddess had shown that death is happiest for mankind. The Argives subsequently had statues made of them and dedicated them at
- 23620 Delphi.

- We have now approached the last room of the museum, that of the Treasury of the Cnidians, or, according to some, Pomtiov, the Siphnians. The sculptures on the facades of the completely destroyed building have been recovered so completely that it has
- 23625 been possible to reconstruct it in its entirety. As we have already seen, the building was in the form of a templum in antis; instead of the usual columns, the roof of the vestibule is supported by the statues of two girls. They remind us of the

priestesses of the Acropolis and are perhaps the precursors of the Caryatides of the Erechtheion. Along the entire building frieze opens. On the north side, it depicts the Gigantomachy; first, we see a man, slightly stooped, holding an object in his hand that resembles a bag. This is Aeolus, the god of the winds, who sets his storms in motion against the giants. Next, two goddesses are engaged in battle with giants. The giants are depicted in normal human form. In the background, we see Hercules, with a lion's skin wrapped around his neck and arms; he is battling a giant with his lance. Dionysus, wearing a long robe and a panther skin, rides into the fray with his chariot, drawn by lions. A little further on, Apollo and Diana stand with their bows. Ephialtes lies dead at their feet; another giant is about to flee, while three others approach in close column. Then Hermes appears, fighting with a sword and recognizable by his conical headdress; the other figures are no longer identifiable.

On the other side, one sees the remains of the eastern frieze; this depicts the battle between Menelaus and a Trojan hero (perhaps Hector) for the body of Euphorbos, while Meriones assists the former and Aeneas the latter. The names of these figures can be determined from the inscriptions. The left half is occupied by an assembly of the gods. The second half shows a battle scene.

It is also worth mentioning the depiction that adorned the western façade, the enigmatic battle over the tripod between Apollo and Hermes; Athena, positioned in the center, seems to separate the combatants; it is said that the Dorians once attempted to place their hero, Heracles, in place of the Ionian Apollo; this could explain the depiction. In the same room is also the aforementioned Column of the Naxians, upon which the Sphinx was placed.

We have now completed our tour; a visit to Delphi will leave an unforgettable impression on anyone.

12 March 1856 MISCELLANEOUS. From Constantinople it is reported that some French soldiers, whose barracks are situated not far from the Atmeidan (the old racecourse from the time of the Emperors), have recently dug up the serpent column buried under the mud there. This column is one of the most remarkable of the few ancient monuments preserved in the capital of the Turkish empire. It consists of three bronze serpents, twisted together, about 25 feet high, and ends at the top in three superbly worked massive serpent heads. These latter were all knocked off by the iconoclastic Turks at the capture of the city, and indeed, as the historians report, the first by Mohammed the conqueror himself. That head is still preserved in the small museum of the former Irene church. Eusebius and Sozomenus relate that this work of art was brought from Delphi to Constantinople by Constantine the Great, and that this column is the same which was placed by the united Greeks, after the battle of Plataea, as the pedestal of a golden tripod made from the booty, in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The classical writers Herodotus, Thucydides and Pausanias speak several times of this serpent or dragon column. Pausanias, King of Sparta, sought to appropriate to himself the fame of the victory at Plataea by having a two-line verse, in which he was celebrated as the hero of Plataea, engraved on this column. The Amphictyones, however, incensed at the unjustness of this boast, gave orders to blot out the words, and decreed that in their stead the names of all the Greek peoples who had taken part in the war against the Persians should be chiselled on the column. The rubbish which had accumulated on this spot for fifteen centuries has up to the present day covered the lower part of this monument, which has suffered greatly through time. It has now been discovered, however, that on one side of the lower twelve serpentine coils a multitude of Greek national names can be read, partly in very ancient script, among which are the names of the inhabitants of Ambracia, Lepreae, Tenos, and Corinth. It is remarkable that up to now no trace has been found of the names of the Athenians and Spartans; they have probably become illegible through the rust with which they are covered. A few young German philologists are busily engaged in the complete decipherment of this remarkable inscription, which dates from the most brilliant period of Greece's heroic age.

(When one compares what Petrus Gyllius in his work: the Topographia Constantinopoleos cap. XII, says about that column or pillar, one will be cautious, with waiting for further reports about this discovery.)

5 February 1882 From Athens it is reported that the archaeological society has decided to have the temple of Apollo at Delphi excavated, provided that the Government compensates the owners of the plots above it.

29 March 1887 Greece and France have concluded an agreement concerning the

- 23695 excavations at Delphi. All the excavated objects remain in Greece, but the French Government reserves the exclusive right to publish the inscriptions and photographs for a certain period.
- 23700 9 May 1887 Between the Greek and German governments a treaty was concluded at the time for the excavations in Olympia that serves as an example of the treaty that the Greek and French governments are currently concluding for the excavations in Delphi. According to this last treaty, the French government would have the right to do excavations in Delphi for five years, but everything that is brought to light would become the property of Greece. The only thing against this is that the French government would have the right to multiply finds by casts and to depict them in scientific writings. The Greek House of Representatives will now have to decide whether or not this treaty will be concluded.
- 23710 1 August 1887 At the latest session of the archaeological society in Berlin, Mr. Ponikoff gave an extensive report of his research to determine the topography of ancient Delphi, so world-famous at the time because of the oracle of Apollo. He found a large number of inscriptions during his excavations and has now made them public. He was also able to praise the fidelity of the description given by Pausanias. This research and the excavations took place in May last and later extensive reports on the remains of the world-famous temple and its surroundings will appear in the light.
- 23715 7 March 1888 It has long been known that in ancient times among the Romans and also in many parts of Greece no one was allowed to sell without being supported by a surety who guaranteed to the buyer that the seller was indeed trading his property and not goods on which his ownership rights could be contested. Such a surety was called by the Romans auctor secundus, by the Greeks bebaioter or proapodotas. An inscription of the demos sypaleitos has now been discovered, from which it appears that in ancient Attica too the buyer had recourse to such a surety, if the surrender of the thing sold was contested by others who could claim a right to it. Here too, at least until the fifth century, the rule seems to have applied that sale and surrender of the thing sold to the buyer was impossible unless in the presence of a third person, who guaranteed that the seller was disposing of his property and not of foreign goods. But in Attica after that time the seller himself was the person responsible to the buyer. In other Greek states, on the other hand, it remained necessary for a long time to call in the intervention of the surety, of the confirmer of the right of ownership, since no other proof of ownership could be produced. As late as the second century, for example, the old institution of a bebaioter was still used in Delphi.
- 23735 11 November 1889 Eduard Engel writes from Greece about "Delphi" to the "N. R. Ct.": A walk within the perimeter of the old sanctuaries leaves one completely unsatisfied. The excavations that have been carried out up to now have certainly aroused desire, but they have brought to light almost nothing that can flatter the artistic sense of even a non-archaeologist. The museum – a room like a stable – possesses, apart from a few insignificant inscriptions, nothing that is worth seeing. And yet it is my firm conviction, to which I want to give the strongest possible expression here, that there is perhaps nowhere in Greece a soil where an excavation undertaken on a large scale will yield such surprising results as at Delphi. And with much smaller resources than were used at Olympia at the time. Here one need not clear away the thousand-year-old stone dust of two riverbeds at a depth of dozens of m; here one has not much more to do than to expropriate the village of Kastri, as it stands there, and then to take up the axe and the spade under every house, in every garden and on every vineyard, in order to come across discoveries of the highest value for science as well as for art, perhaps day after day. The Greek Government and the Archaeological Society at Athens connected with it are aware of the necessity of such an excavation on a large scale, and also of that of the expropriation of Kastri, completely convinced. But with the best will they cannot find the means for it. Americans, swimming in money, have offered to undertake the excavations and to buy the whole of the new Delphi in advance; in this case everything found would come into the possession of Americans and the archaeological treasures would be transferred to America. On that point the small Greek kingdom from top to bottom understands no joke. Anyone who provides the necessary guarantees for a sensible enterprise is allowed to do excavations. In the past Germany received the permit for Olympia, and Germany has contented itself with the certainly not small honor of having dug up a treasure for science and art from the mountain-high rubble of thousands of years. But

- 23760 Greece knowingly gives away nothing of the treasures of its great past, just as all export of that kind is strictly forbidden. For the rest the offer of the Americans is nothing less than generous; for if even a single well-preserved statue from the best period were to be unearthed under the houses of Kastri, that discovery alone would be able to offset the expenses.
- 23765 The Greek Government, in conjunction with the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, has had an investigation made into the costs of the excavations at Delphi, and it estimates the costs of expropriating the Kartriotes at only 3/4 million drachmas (f300,000). Once the houses, mostly miserable cottages, have been pulled down, the work can begin wherever one wants. One would think that somewhere in the
- 23770 world there was a millionaire who, if only out of vanity, would throw a few million drachmas on the table to help bring about such a work, for which one would reap eternal gratitude. And if there is no such millionaire, then the German government, Greece's "sister-in-law", as it is now called in the vernacular of the Hellenes, will eventually develop for Delphi the same selfless activity as it showed for Olympia. It
- 23775 does not really matter for art and science who excavates ancient Delphi, but for German hearts it would be more desirable that Germany were not outdone by France, which is pursuing the same plan. The Greeks, even the simple folk here in the village, are convinced that help will come from Germany. It is a pleasure to see with what confidence people in this eastern corner of Europe have turned their eyes to
- 23780 Germany. Smoke rises from the Kastalian source. I have to smile: I involuntarily think of the tripod of the oracle, from which swirling clouds of smoke and so much wisdom arose. And now I have to laugh out loud. There are two tripods before me, not by the bubbling water from the rock cleft, nor is there a Pythian virgin sitting above the tripod, but there are sturdy black kettles on top, and in them boils the
- 23785 washing of the Delphic men, women and children, and suspended high the women of Kastri splash so bravely in the water that the foam splashes away. On a boulder in the cleft, around which grazing lambs and goats hop, sits a black-eyed rascal of 12 years, the village shepherd, crouched down and blowing on his stick pipe. He suddenly stopped blowing, astonished, when he saw a stranger approaching with a cup in his
- 23790 hand to draw a drink of Kastalian water from the spring that springs from the rock cleft.
- 23795 20 February 1891 – A heated debate was held in the French Chamber about a credit application of fr. 480,000 for the excavations at Delphi. This enterprise is the work of Frenchmen residing in Athens, and important discoveries are expected, which would benefit the French museums. Mr. Le Chevalier raised his voice against the proposal, calling it untimely, now that Versailles and other palaces in France are almost falling into ruins; the money could be better used to maintain these and other State domains. Mr. Dupuy, who defended the proposal, said he could not believe that French
- 23800 legislation would grant the countrymen of Mac Kinley the fame of having excavated the Temple of Apollo. Finally, the proposal was adopted by 341 votes to 61.
- 23805 10 November 1893 A discovery at Delphi!
– During the excavations at the site where the famous temple of Delphi once stood, a discovery has been made which is of the utmost importance for the knowledge of ancient Greek literature and music. For instance, a stone slab was found, in which a hymn of praise to Apollo is engraved, and above each syllable, the notes in which the song was sung are mentioned. It is believed that we now have the key to ancient Greek music, which was sought in vain for so long. The music is by the composer
- 23810 Aristoxenes, a pupil of Aristotle, and dates from the 2nd century BC. According to the convention between Greece and France, the latter country has the right to publish the hymn. A second hymn was found, but this one was not provided with notes.
- 23815 3 April 1894 A most remarkable musical performance took place on Thursday in Athens. In the French school of antiquity a two thousand year old "hymn to Apollo" was performed, the text of which with the notes had recently been found at Delphi. The two tablets on which the hymn is engraved were found during the excavation of a building, which was situated, close to the place which was dedicated to the old
- 23820 oracle. One of the tablets was unfortunately defective, but the other was still almost intact. This discovery was of special importance, because the fragments of old music which had been found up to now, are not complete enough to give a correct idea of the characteristic of a whole composition.
- 23825 Reinach in Paris had set this old music to new notes. The hymn was performed by a quartet of male voices: it made an exceptionally pleasant, though strange effect, and in many respects reminded one of the most beautiful German chorales, the performance

was attended by the king and queen, two princes and princesses, many persons of the court, members of the cabinet and the diplomatic corps. The hymn was so well received that it was repeated at the request of the queen.

23830 25 May 1894 The French archaeologists at Delphi have now also discovered during their excavations the treasury of the ancient inhabitants of the island of Siphnos, which was famous in ancient times for its gold and silver mines. The building is well preserved and remarkably beautiful. It would be of great service to the French, as a reporter from The Standard notes, if they, like the Germans in their excavations in
23835 Greece, would obtain the help of a few architects.

30 May 1894 Among the latest discoveries at Delphi are a horse's head in marble, which probably belonged to the frieze of the Temple of Apollo, six metopes from the treasury of the Athenians, representing fighting Amazons; Theseus wrestling with the Minotaur and other bas-reliefs, which must have belonged to the treasury of Siphnos. The score of a hymn has also been excavated, although it is rather incomplete.
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5 June 1894 Among the latest discoveries at Delphi is a very large statue of Apollo, from an early period of Greek art, and the lower part of an altar erected by Gelon of Syracuse, with an inscription in which the victory of the Tyrant over the Carthaginians at Himera (480 BC) is glorified.
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19 June 1894 At Delphi a column has been excavated, which bears en relief the images of three women, in the spirit of the column in the temple of Ephesus. The drapery of the three well-preserved statues gives an excellent impression that they are in rapid motion. This discovery is considered to be of great value.
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3 October 1894 The Apollo hymn
23855 On the second Apollo hymn, excavated by Homolle at Delphi, not only the notes of the song but also the accompaniment with instruments must have been noted. Since the Greeks used a different and older notation for their instruments than for singing, it is not likely that Homolle would have been mistaken. This discovery may therefore provide an answer to the question of how harmony was among the Greeks. The passages in Aristotle and Plutarch, which until now were the only sources for the knowledge of
23860 harmony among the Greeks, are so obscure that scholars do not agree with each other at all. One claims that the Greeks only knew primes and octaves, the other believes that the Greeks did keep singing homophonous, but that the instruments were allowed to accompany the singing in fifths, fourths or thirds. The hymn that has now been discovered will probably settle that dispute.

23865 As for the text, it is almost identical to that of the first hymn; Apollo's birth on Delos and his battle with the Pytho are sung in it. What is new is that the hymn is concluded with a prayer for Athens and Rome. The poem probably dates from after Christ's birth, and Homolle assumes that it was composed in the second century after Christ. The hymn is engraved in two columns on a single marble slab, which has been
23870 preserved fairly well.

19 January 1895 In an extensive hemisphere, walled in by high and wild rocks, offshoots of Parnassus, on the right bank of the Kephalo-Vrysi, which rises from the source of Oastalis and, forming many waterfalls, makes its way through a forest of
23875 olives and laurels until it falls into the dried-up bed of the Xero-Potamo, there are three or four white houses: that is the village of Castri, which by a miraculous twist of fate has risen on the site of Delphi, the opulent holy city, the great gods servile centre of the civilization of the ancients.

For a long time the learned have wondered whether a city so famously renowned could in reality have disappeared so completely, without leaving anything behind it but a few fragments of marble scattered over the ground, and a few mutilated sculptures set aside under the shade of the olive trees in the gardens; whether the Phocidian
23880 plunderers, the centurions of Sulla and Nero, the Gauls under Brennus, the warriors of Constantine could thus have doomed to nothing that immense city, consisting of
23885 nothing but temples and sanctuaries, peopled by thousands of statues. At the beginning of the year 1891, when the Minister of Education in France put that very old question to Mr. Homolle, the present director of the "Ecole française d'Athènes," the latter did not hesitate to answer that he was convinced that the soil of the village of Castri contained the most precious monuments, and he supported his opinion
23890 by mentioning the efforts made by Ottfried Müller, Wescher, Foucart, Haussoulier and Pomtow, and by the observations which he himself had been allowed to make in the

region of the Delphic valley.

It is to the last parliament's unfading honor to have accepted his assurance and to have granted a considerable sum for this disinterested undertaking, for none of the excavated works will leave the soil of Greece.

A whole year was spent in expropriating the cottages of the farmers, which had been built on the very spot where the principal buildings were formerly located, around the sanctuary of Apollo.

This was accompanied by many difficulties: although 280,000 francs, intended to indemnify the farmers, had immediately been deposited in the Bank of Athens, they would not allow the work to begin until they had the money in their hands. "Here is my field, here is my hand," said an old woman to the director; lay drachmas on that hand, and I will give that land to you." Those poor people did not want to believe that a signature could have any monetary value and in their simplicity imagined that, after having turned the terrain upside down, they would start to dispute the extent of the possessions that they had bought off. Several times Mr. Homolle wanted to persevere, but the farmers demolished the sheds in a riot and it was a close call that a bloody encounter had taken place: they had to exercise patience.

In the month of October of the year 1892, the first ditches were opened and the narrow-gauge railway was laid, with which the excavated soil was carried away. The result of the investigations was not very satisfactory at first. At the site of the temple of Apollo, where it was mainly thought that valuable sculptures would be found, nothing or almost nothing was found, as if — in the expression of Mr. Homolle — the removal of the statues had been carried out according to a specific plan and regulation had taken place. In the year 1893, at the highest point of the sacred road, which intersected the entire city, admirable remains were uncovered, one after the other, the first indemnities of two years of fruitless labor: pedestals of ex-votos, marble horses, female figures, male torsos, and also terra-cottas, bronzes, and inscriptions, among which were fragments of the accounts of the sanctuary, dating from the 4th century before the Christian era.

Then followed the discovery of the Hymn to Apollo, which enabled Mr. Salomon Reinach to revive a tone poem that had been lost for 2000 years. And finally, the results of the campaign of the past year have gloriously rewarded the sacrifices which our budget had made, as well as the diligence of Mr. Homolle and his collaborators, Messrs. Convert, Bourguet, Perdrizet, Millet, Conve, Jonguet-Blot and Tournaire. The workmen have excavated a crossroads, at which four buildings were situated: one of which formerly housed the treasure of the offerings made to the Delphic god by the people of Athens; another the treasure of the Syphnians, a third the treasure of the Beotians. True, they have not been able to lay hands on the talents, the golden drinking vessels, the precious gems which had been in it, and which had once seized the covetousness of the invaders, but masterpieces have been found which have an entirely different value for the knowledge of antiquity. They are, in the treasury of the Athenians, a series of column decorations of a wonderful art, representing the story of Theseus; then not far from there an archaic Apollo, the work of an archaic master, corresponding in all respects with another figure discovered last year; in the treasury of the Syphnians, the construction of which has been entirely restored, bas-reliefs, representing sacred events, besides warriors fighting, horses that have the same noble and impressive bearing, the same fiery and supple movements, as those famous horses of Phidias, which decorated the Parthenon (now belonging to the so-called Elgin Marbles preserved in the British Museum): yet they were carved a century before those of the Athenian master and differ from it only by the frizzy hair of tail and mane, a remnant of the old tradition. Side by side, moreover, there are works of art, which then bear the stamp of that ideal grace, which for us is the highest revelation of art, and others whose artless stiffness, yet not devoid of greatness, seems to date from more distant centuries.

Yet there is no doubt that they were all made at the same time, but the old masters, attached to the old traditions, worked at the same time as the younger ones, whose conception was broader and newer; this contains an important lesson for criticism, which is too anxious to assign to each school its own narrowly limited date.

Among the very latest discoveries, a torso, outstanding in grace and strength, probably the remains of a statue erected for an athlete who had been victorious in the Pythian games, deserves attention, and above all an Antinous in marble, from which nothing but the arms is missing, and which is particularly noble and sober in execution. The casts and photograms of most of these beautiful objects have recently been exhibited at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Later they will be transferred to the Louvre, where they will form a separate collection, which will be enlarged according to the progress of the discoveries.

The excavations are still being continued, and Mr. Homolle is about to return to Greece to resume their direction. Convinced that he has not been going wild since the excavation of the principal sanctuaries, whose names he has been able to establish on the basis of the indications given us by Pausanias, he is fully convinced that he will soon be able to hand over to antiquity and art a new and abundant harvest of monuments. Will he find again one of those wonderful statues whose azure tint excited the admiration of the Roman emperors? That would be a more precious discovery than even that of the fabulous offerings, destined by their richness to fall prey to the desire of the peoples and which were piled up in that city of treasures: the golden bricks dedicated by Croesus, the drinking cups of King Gyges, the throne of Midas, the silver dish which fell to Homer in a contest of poets, the golden statue of the beautiful Phryné. Little can be said of it in advance, but the French Ecole d'Athènes, some of whose members are now even making the rarest discoveries on the island of Delos, has the right to be proud of the work it has done at Delphi: it has once again given France the very true and very noble fame of enriching the entire world.

(ANDRÉ SAGLIO.)

2 June 1895 – As has been repeatedly reported, the French are busy excavating the site where the famous temple at Delphi in Greece once stood. Recently, important antiquities have again been brought to light, among other things from the theater that belonged to the temple and where the competitions were held. Beautiful sculptures have been unearthed, with representations from the Iliad and the Odyssey. A large number of inscriptions were found on the walls of the theater.

24 October 1895 – The excavations at Delphi, carried out at the expense of the French government, have yielded particularly favorable results this year, especially by the uncovering of the two treasuries of the Athenians and the Siphnians. Thirty largely damaged, but still partly well-preserved marble reliefs have come to light, made to glorify the battle of Marathon. Designed in Archaic style, Zeus, Hera, Athena, Dionysus, Apollo and Heracles appear here as conquerors of the giants, six representations of the labors of Heracles, Amazon fights, etc. All these works of art belong to the period between 480 and 470 BC, when the Archaic character began to disappear. Of the original 28 m long frieze more than 20 m have been saved, containing the deification of Heracles, the race of Pelops, the battle for the body of Sarpedon and the Gigantomachy. Artists of the old and the new direction seem to have worked on this work, partly polychromed.

4 January 1896 The French excavations at Delphi have produced a second find of ancient Greek music in the form of a hymn to Apollo, written on stone tablets. The fragments were dug up in the building, described by Pausanias as the treasury of the Athenians: they form a more or less complete whole with ten of the fourteen pieces, which were discovered in 1893. The remaining four formed a separate hymn, which has already been translated and published. Henri Weil and Theodor Reinach will be charged with the decipherment of the new hymn, which is certainly not older than 146 BC, the year of the conquest of Corinth by the Roman general Mummius.

30 May 1896 A new inscription has been discovered at Delphi, which provides special information concerning the training system for the participants in the Olympic Games of antiquity.

12 June 1896 The excavations at Delphi. At the beginning of May, during the excavations at Delphi, near the ruins of the theatre, a remarkable find was made, a bronze statue, of which the head and the upper body were missing. They continued digging and then found the pedestal, as well as an excellently preserved chest piece with a head, of which the eyes were still intact, and finally an arm, whose fingers closed around metal reins. They had discovered the statue of a victor of the Olympic Games; here and there they found pieces of the horse and of the triumphal chariot. The statue is 1 m 80 high and represents a young man. It is a masterpiece of Greek casting, which was undoubtedly made between the years 470 and 460 BC. There are no exact indications about the artist who created it, but it is suspected that he was a teacher of Phidias, called Ageladas.

2 July 1896 Olympic Games. Reuter reports from Athens that an inscription has been dug up at Delphi, in which it is described in detail how the competitors for the Olympic Games in antiquity trained. Could the inscription have been buried on the

occasion of the last Olympiad, last month?

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23 August 1896 The archaeological finds in Greece.
(Delphi.)
III.

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While the excavations at Olympia have been stopped for some time, or at least are no longer being continued continuously, the scholars of the "French school" at Athens are still constantly busy at Delphi, where they are also constantly making more or less important finds, among others now very recently that bearded charioteer of bronze, which is one of the most important metal works of art of antiquity, whose excavation has been reported everywhere. The fact is that they have only been digging at Delphi for a few years. Before the work of excavation began, there was a Pelasgian wall, fragments of the sacred precincts of Delphi, the fountain of Castalia, fragments of statues and sculptures built into the walls, as had been done elsewhere, in the wretched huts of the neighbourhood: this was all that remained of one of the most famous and glorious metropolises of the ancient world. Founded on a terrace of the southern slope of Parnassus, in this land of Krisoa and Phoki, on the blue Gulf of Corinth, protected on two sides by mighty rock walls, Delphi had been for centuries and centuries the most glorious sanctuary of antiquity. Not only the Greeks, but also the Barbarians had sent ambassadors to inquire of the oracle of the blind god of light. And gradually unknown treasures, splendid works of art, were gathered together in its treasuries. Pausanias is also of great value in relation to Delphi: the temple of Apollo alone, he said, contains four thousand statues of gold, bronze, iron wood; then the countless shields, tripods, images of animals, ex-votos of all kinds, gifts from kings, commonwealths, corporations and private individuals. But the time came when these treasures were carried away. Nero brought 500 bronze statues from Delphi to Rome, the sanctuary gradually lost its significance, the oracle was opposed by the church fathers and finally it was here too Theodesius, who, in 390, slammed the door shut for good. The holy city then became a ruin caused by nature and by wilfulness and soon, throughout the Middle Ages, the shepherds of the village Kastri, meanwhile built on its remains, tended their sheep and goats, where once the highest wisdom had spoken.

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The success that the Germans had had with their excavation of Olympia was an encouragement for the French to attempt similar work at Delphi: in 1881 the French Chamber donated a sum of frs. 500,000 and in October 1892 the work began, which at first met with great resistance from the pastoral population of Kastri. And, although not nearly as extensive as at Olympia, the excavations at Delphi have yielded a greater harvest of important objects: in writings, statues, bas-reliefs, foundations of more than seven buildings, bronzes, vases, etc.

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The first important discovery was the treasury of the Athenians on the Sacred Highway: a small building of Penthellic marble of the Aryan order of architecture, whose walls were literally covered with inscriptions. Smashed down by an earthquake, it had suffered relatively little. Pausanias also helped explain the find here: the sanctuary of the Athenians, erected in memory of Marathon, of the spoils of the Persians. If its walls already form a true historical library, on which one has also found important "Hymn to Apollo", which explains so much of the music of the ancients, perhaps even greater importance are the metopes of this small sanctuary. There are thirty of them in number, all damaged, and they represent the "labors of Hercules and Theseus". As sculpture they have even greater value than the famous metopes of the Parthenon, brought to England by Lord Elgin in an unlawful manner. But not only do one find works from the heyday of Hellenic sculpture; also important works of archaic art have been found, statues of Apollo, in that stiff, hard style, which remind one of the oldest statues of wood. Of the famous treasury of Apollo, of which so many ancient writers have told wonders, nothing more than insignificant fragments appeared to be left. It had been systematically destroyed. They were happier with the treasury of the inhabitants of the island of Siphnos, known as the most beautiful and the richest of Delphi. The excavations have brought it back in its entirety: a work of the 6th century before Christ, and of admirable architectural execution. Around the four walls of the little temple runs a frieze – horsemen, chariots, quadrigas, battles – which is a completely unique complex of sculpture, despite the fact that it is a century older than the aforementioned Elgin marbles of the Parthenon. An important franton has also been found from this sanctuary, important although it is, apparently by another hand, a much less beautiful art than the frieze. In one and another the traces of the colours are still very clear; the background is always blue, the horses red, the armour green, the chariots red, blue and green. Two exedras, the stoa of the Athenians, a Greco-Roman tomb, houses, an

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- 24090 aqueduct, ruins that have not yet been explained, that is what has been found at Delphi. But before these, some sculptures deserve to be mentioned: a very large Sphinx, among others, a gift from the inhabitants of Naxos. One of the most beautiful sculptures that were found there, are three dancing coriatis, surrounded by leaves and flowers. And now, a good year ago, an Antinous was excavated, which is a worthy counterpart of the Olympian Hermes. A work of Roman origin apparently, but of purely Greek beauty.
- 24095 Some important bronzes were also found, among others that male statue, which has only been brought back to light a few weeks ago.
- 24100 Such are the excavations of Delphi, which are still continuing and appear to be of the greatest importance for the history of Greek art. Besides the fact that they have yielded valuable indications with respect to the music of Greece, it is hoped that further remains will be found which will reveal the art of painting. To what extent this expectation will be confirmed is difficult to say at present, but what has already been found is of the utmost importance and encourages us to continue.
- 24105 17 February 1897 Important discovery at Delphi.
- Mr. Svaronos, director of the coin cabinet in Athens, has expressed the assumption that the bronze statue found by French discoverers is not Hiero, Tyrant of Syracuse, but one of the kings of Cyrene. He bases his opinion, according to the correspondent of the Standard, on the comparative study of Pausanias on the coins of Cyrene, the ancient province of Africa. According to him, the statue is by the hand of the sculptor Amphion, of Gnossus on Crete. Pausanias already stated that this statue was erected at Delphi by Archesilaus, the king of Cyrene. The poet Pindar, who sang about his reign, also composed the verses that are engraved on the pedestal.
- 24110 Mr. Homulle, director of the French archaeological school, disputes the statement of Mr. Svaronos, whose guesses have aroused great interest. The statue, which is of the greatest artistic value, is equated with the magnificent statue of Mercury by Praxiteles, which was found at Olympia.
- 24115 5 December 1898 COMMUNICATIONS OF VARIOUS NATURE.
- REPORT by Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda, concerning the scientific journey to Italy and Greece. To His Excellency the Minister of Internal Affairs.
- 24125 [...] The way in which the Greek collections are made available for study is, in a word, exemplary and it is therefore very regrettable that, for example, in Delphi, which was excavated by the École Française, the Greek Museum Board, headed by the well-known General ephoros P. Kabbadias, cannot yet act with full authority. Understandably, the French stipulated the right of first publication of what was found there, but for a very long time, a decade, and with a ban on all foreigners not only from drawing and photographing, but even from making notes. Every visitor is therefore closely followed by a soldier.
- 24130 [...]
- From Olympia we went to Patras. From there by steamboat to the beautiful island of Ithaca, from Ithaca to Itea Delphi's harbour. It is probably located almost on the site of the old Cirrha. The road to Delphi first leads through a slowly rising plain, covered with olive groves. You see the Delphic mountain country before you, with the white peak of Parnassos protruding above it. On the left you come along the road that leads to the old Amphissa. Soon, however, you climb along slender mountain roads; one then passes through the village of Chryso, which probably lies on or near the site of the old Krisa. Then one reaches the village of Kastri, the old Delphi. A village of that name was located on the site of the old sanctuary. This was demolished by the French school and rebuilt a little further on. The temple area lies on a fairly steep slope, artificially levelled, against the almost vertically rising Phaedriades. It has now been completely excavated. Opposite the great sanctuary lies the temple of Athena Pronoia, of which Aeschylus speaks in the beginning of his Eumenides; when that will be uncovered, the French excavations will be at an end. The sun-house of the Kastalian spring was completely destroyed early on; the water now springs up elsewhere; yet the place where it stood, a few steps beyond the great sanctuary, is still very well recognisable. Our company left us very soon; we stayed a few days longer. On the site of the excavations one obtains a very clear idea of the entire ground plan of this so extensive sanctuary and as in Olympia the buildings mentioned by Pausanias and others could be found almost. It is a pity that not so much of the upright parts of the buildings has remained. The sculpture that was found and only partly published, is of the highest importance for the history of art. Almost intact
- 24155 a charioteer has come to light, of extraordinary artistic value, certainly the most

- excellently preserved bronze statue from antiquity. In its artistic style the work is from around 470 before Christ. Pieces of horses and a chariot and of one or two more human figures have been found with it and a limestone slab with an inscription belonging to a pedestal, which must have been that of this votive offering; the one
- 24160 who dedicated it was, according to the inscription, Polyzalos, brother of the Syracusan tyrant Gelo. This discovery means for the excavations of Delphi what that of the Hermes of Praxiteles meant for those of Olympia. The epigraphic discoveries are also extremely important. It is very much to be desired that all the inscriptions found will soon be published. From Delphi we went to Athens, where we stayed a few
- 24165 more days. From Athens we sailed to Constantinople. There we wanted to study the two Museums, especially the new one with its famous Sidonian and Klassomenan sarcophagi. The magnificent Aja Sophia was also carefully examined. Of course we also tried to form a good idea of the city and its location. We went home via Vienna. On 4 May 1898 we returned to Leiden. I have more than achieved with this journey what I had
- 24170 imagined of it. I hope and expect that my teaching will prove to have gained much from it and that in general the study of classical antiquity at our university will benefit from it. The new material I brought back for study is not unimportant. I brought together a collection of photographs of about 700. These carefully arranged and provided with an accompanying description now form an excellent aid for study.
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- 28 March 1899 – After the Egyptian cemeteries have given rise to a new Aristotle, the Delphic stones now also speak. Among a number of inscriptions that the French have found in Delphi in recent years and of which hardly a tenth, 382 texts, has been made known, there is also a small fragment in Stoichedon script, with
- 24180 13 partly very mutilated lines. The French scholar Homolle has deciphered the content of this with great acumen; it is a eulogy to Aristotle and his cousin Kalisthenes in gratitude for having arranged the lists of the victors at the Pythian games. This work, which was important not only for the Delphic, but for the entire ancient Greek calendar, is lost to us except for a few clues. Now we have not only recovered the
- 24185 original certificate for that writing, but we may even hope that during further excavations the rest of the lists may also be found. In that inscription the treasurer is ordered to have the list of the victors hewn in stone and placed in the sanctuary of Apollo.
- 24190
- 1 September 1901 Excavations. In Greece.
- The great excavations at Delphi by the French are almost finished. The last great work was the excavation of the Stadion, the great Pythian racecourse, which is about 178 m long and 25 to 28 m wide. Since the entire sacred area of Delphi consists only
- 24195 of large rock surfaces, it was far from easy to build a racecourse there, at the foot of Parnass. A just idea of the great difficulties with which this undertaking was to be contended is given us by the old documents, which mention in particular the expenses of each subdivision of the work: of raising the ground, levelling the ground, removing all weeds, and sprinkling it with white sand; furthermore, of
- 24200 providing spectators' seats, the lower rows of which were hewn out of the rock, and of the construction of a wooden grandstand, which was also intended for musical performances and plays. Of particular interest to the sportsman are the practical arrangements for the starting line. In order to regulate the starting line properly, two steps were hewn out of the rock for the feet of the runner; he stood on one of
- 24205 these with each foot until the signal was given. Such starting places were provided for eighteen competitors. That these had to take their duty seriously and enter the racecourse soberly, has been nicely proven in an inscription dating from around the fifth century before Christ. It reads:
- "Wine shall not be brought into the sanctuary of Eudromos; if it happens, the one who
- 24210 mixed the wine shall offer an atonement to the deity and atone for his guilt with five drachmas; he who informs the authorities of the crime shall receive half of that."
- This inscription is engraved on a stone block in one of the annexes of the Stadium. According to some, it proves that immediately next to the racecourse, where a large
- 24215 triumphal tower stood for a festive entrance of the runners, there was a sanctuary dedicated to the hitherto unknown deity of the runners: Eudromos.
- 1 January 1906 DELPHI.
- In a corner of the valley, which resembled a rocky gorge along the southern slopes of Parnassus, lay Homer's Pytho, the later Delphi. Three entrances connected this sacred
- 24220 place with the outside world. One led eastward to Boeotia, the second northwestward

to Amphissa, and the third southwestward to Crisa and Cirrha. Delphi was not so isolated as one often imagines. It was precisely at the time when it had reached its highest fame, namely shortly before the Persian wars, that the full stream of Greek life bubbled along Parnassus.

The landscape around Delphi has been painted many times: it is incomparable in its impressive beauty. Whether one came from the East or the West, a bend in the road always hid the overwhelming view until one was very near it. In the foreground, deep below, one saw the gorge in which the little river Pleistus rushed to the sea at Cirrha, – further north, at the increasingly longer, increasingly steeply rising foot of the mountain, the simple dwellings of the Delphians, – in the middle of the city the world-famous sanctuary, with its dependencies (treasuries, monuments, etc.) forming a kind of fortress, – and, finally, embracing the whole as in a proud frame, the Castalia gorge, pressed in between terribly steeply rising rock walls, which sends its foaming waves to the Pleistus. The modern tourist, who has arrived here and witnessed the many changes to which the weather is subject here, can form an idea (albeit only a faint one) of the sensations that the pilgrims of antiquity experienced here.

A little less than twenty years ago, on the spot where Delphi once stood, one found the village of Castri. The French scholars, who at that time wanted to do excavations on a large scale, were forced to buy all the huts that made up the tiny village. And that was not enough: new houses had to be built for the inhabitants first, a good distance further on. Only after this complete removal could the French diggers begin their work, – a work that has only recently been completed, and which has been crowned by the completion of a simple museum.

I flatter myself with the hope that many a reader who has never set foot on Delphi's sacred soil will be pleased to know that to follow in thought through the scene of the French discoveries, the full weight of which we shall not gauge until the inscriptions and many other details have been made known to the world.

I now ask you to follow me on my way from the East, as do the pilgrims coming from Boeotia. At the crossroads where, according to tradition, Edipus killed his father, things are still not right, according to the people, who believe in the ghosts of a robber captain killed there. At a pretty village, called Arachowa, we descend into the valley of the Pleistus. Rock tombs and sarcophagi (or rather remains of them) betray to us that we are passing the last resting place of many an ancient Delphian. Another minute or so, and we will have the terraces of what once was Delphi in sight.

First we must pass through the Marmaria, which is a wild field of fragments, where once a kind of suburb seems to have stood, and where an ancient boundary stone announces to us in the Delphic dialect that we are in the quarter of Athene Ergane, i.e. the goddess, in her quality of protector of weaving and similar handicrafts. It is indeed remarkable that the above-mentioned village of Arachowa still flourishes through an industry of a similar nature, namely the manufacture of coarse carpets, horse-cloths, etc., crude fabrics with garish colours and gaudy motley, but nevertheless not entirely unworthy of Athene Ergane.

If we now return to the Marmaria, our attention is soon attracted by not unimportant remains of a subsidiary temple, dedicated to Athene, namely, according to Pausanias, Athene Pronaa (i.e. the Pre-temple-Athens). The relation of this to the actual temple standing nearby is uncertain; but it is certain that this last (a round building) must have been a work of the first rank. One can form a fairly good idea of this from the blocks of stone that lie on the spot, and from the upright parts that can be seen in the above-mentioned Museum. From the attentive consideration of all this it appears that this temple could compete in grandeur and symmetry with the best buildings of the fifth century BC. However, from the connection of Doric outer and Corinthian inner columns I gather that the whole is of a somewhat later date. The round wall (if I may call the main part so) is of light-coloured marble and rests on a solid floor of a black stone, which projects tastefully outwards.

The Marmaria leads us to a somewhat lower "gymnasion", of which enough has been preserved to give us an idea of the furnishings. We find there unmistakable remains of courtyards with annexed rooms, of a swimming place and showers, once fed by the crystal clear Castalia, and, to crown all this, a long portico. Young people, gathered from far and wide, will have trained themselves here many times, to participate with profit in the Pythian games.

A newly constructed road leads us to the Castalia, where there is an opportunity to take a drink from the world-famous water. A glance into the deep rock pool betrays in niches etc. the traces of ancient tributes to the fountain nymph, to which we do not pay much attention, however, because we burn with desire to approach Pytho's ancient

sanctuary.

It does not take long before we are there. A spacious, gracefully paved forecourt immediately attracts our attention. There the processions must have been arranged before entering the sanctuary, with the "laurel bearer" at the head, who represented Phoebus Apollo.

We cross the spot where the main gate must once have stood; and we enter "the Holy Way", still clearly recognizable by numerous broad paving stones.

1) According to Otto Schroeder, in the Preuszische Jahrbücher of September 1905

On both sides of this broad highway the pedestals of disappeared statues crowd together. "Crowding" is the true word here: they often block each other's view, now standing in long rows, then again forming a separate group in a semicircle. Finally the statues stop; and now a number of remains of buildings begin, which are known under the name of "treasuries", but are actually very mysterious. By far the most striking of these largely disappeared buildings is that which is (perhaps wrongly) called "the Cnidian House". Of this, two caryatides, a large part of the front facade and the entire foundations have been preserved. This building is of such importance that a detailed description is justified here, for which in the Museum many a piece of half-raised sculpture and a plaster model of probably the entire decoration of the front facade enable us to do quite well.

One must read the relevant statements carefully in order to be able to get the right understanding. After all, the separate fragments had often become widely separated in the course of the centuries, and were then discovered in very heterogeneous company. The most interesting part is formed by the friezes, a marble sculpture that is well worth a closer look. Let us begin with the part that was first visible from the large access road, and which now rests in the Museum. It is the eastern frieze,

representing the battle of Greek heroes for the body of Euphorbus: gods and goddesses sitting on chairs, are spectators. The names of those present (including the gods) were once noted in colour print next to each; but, although they seem to have been quite clearly visible during the excavation a few years ago, one must assume that they have become unrecognisable through neglect. Today we read names in many places, later added in pencil; but these apparently do not deserve unqualified confidence everywhere. The northern frieze once formed a magnificent ornament of the front facade. It represents an enormous battle, which once took place between giants and gods. On a blue background a magnificent, half-raised, in many places red or yellow coloured statue shows the Giants, in the form of warriors, armed with helmet and armour. The gods fighting against them are, in order, AEolus, Dionysus (in a panther skin and on a team of lions), Heracles, Hermes, Athena, and (walking next to each other) the twins Apollo and Artemis. All these figures are represented with a liveliness of movement, which leaves nothing to be desired.

The southern frieze crowned the backside centuries ago. It represents an episode from a subject that was also much later favoured in the visual arts, the tradition of the persecution of Castor and Pollux by Idas and Lynceus, all four on horseback. The western frieze finally is badly damaged. On the right and left one sees a goddess, drawn by a winged team. One of these goddesses will probably represent Athena, behind whose chariot Hermes appears. Between the two vehicles a figure with a thick stick appears, perhaps Heracles.

Now still over the gable field. This adorns with the representation of a myth, the exact origin of which is unknown, but which seems to be connected with the great Dorian emigration and with disagreements between Apollo and Heracles. The latter is represented here with a tripod hanging over his shoulder, which Apollo tries to wrest from him with both hands. Between the two stands Athena, who, although her head has been lost, was apparently depicted as a giantess. Her left hand is also missing; but the attitude she assumes towards Apollo leaves no doubt as to the intention that she acts as a peacemaker. Less clear is the artist's intention with a fourth figure, who seems to represent Artemis. This character stands behind Apollo, whom she seems to want to stop.

All the above details apply to the main of the three preserved buildings, which are known as "treasuries". The first (the so-called Cnidian House) seems to have been built not long before the year 500 BC, the second (called the Sicyonian House) is probably of an earlier date. Presumably some pieces of relief sculpture found here come from an even older building with the same purpose; at least those pieces betray a not yet very developed technique by their exaggerated detail. One of them represents Castor, Pollux and Idas, while they are going to fetch cattle that were stolen in common.

The largest and youngest of the three preserved treasuries is known as the Athenian

- 24355 House. The word "youngest" is however to be understood very relative here; for the building is in any case older than the battle of Marathon. The anatomical precision, as it were, with which the French excavators have gone to work here, has revealed that the foundations come from an even older building. The Athenian House has its remarkable location above the Cnidian and Sicyonian, which I have discussed above. It
- 24360 is located at the impressive point where the Sacred Road suddenly bends northwards, to wind in a zigzag up the mountain; and the striking scene is made even more striking by the fact that the building is situated on a terrace that rises above the level of the road.
- 24365 Of the many buildings and sculptures that this "treasure chamber" once yielded, the French gentlemen have managed to collect so much that a reconstruction is worth considering. The walls have already been rebuilt up to half their height, with newly inserted plaster pieces.
- In front of it rise two Doric columns, which, in a similar manner to the two caryatids in the Cnidian House, support the roof of the front part, where a portal is
- 24370 added here, resting on two pillars. Quite a lot of the sculptural decorations have been preserved and can be found in the Museum. These include a riding Amazon, from the ridge, and a large part of the front decorations, representing the heroic feats of Heracles and Theseus (e.g. the Nemean lion, the Minotaur, etc.). The artistic value of this relief work is nevertheless not particularly great. Close to the
- 24375 building, on the south side, we find a pedestal, which bears the inscription: "Athenians to Apollo, as Median booty from the battle at Marathon". It seems, however, that this is not the original inscription, but a renewal from the time shortly after Alexander the Great. The booty souvenirs, which used to lie on the pedestal, or were attached to it, have disappeared without a trace. Moreover, neither
- 24380 booty nor pedestal has anything to do with the so-called treasury. Among the ruins of the latter building a few stones have also come to light, which are very important for the history of ancient music, namely two smooth, flat stones, on which are little songs with accompanying music. Now these hymn notes, the decipherment of which is hardly open to doubt, cannot lay claim to a melodiousness which would make them
- 24385 popular at modern concerts; but for music as a science, and for the knowledge of ancient Greek worship, these finds are certainly of the highest importance. In other places, in Delphi, a few other songs, but without the notes, have been dug up. One of them is by Philodamus, the Scarphian, and is dedicated to Bacchus. It has suffered much through time; but with patience and a little ingenuity one can get something
- 24390 like this out of it:
- "In honor of Bacchus,
Whom Semele bore,
And Zeus had for a son!
When he was born,
Then the gods danced,
And here they rejoiced."
- 24395
- We continue, past the so-called Sibyl rock, behind which a fallen Sphinx has been found, namely the votive offering of the Naxians, which once rested on a high column. Having passed over a circular dancing place (orchestra), we reach another foundation
- 24400 of the Athenians, namely the ruins of a simple memorial building of theirs, which seems to be of very ancient date. The very ancient inscription reads: "Athenians have dedicated this building and the weapons and the ..., which they had captured from the enemies, [to Apollo]." Which enemies are meant is unknown. It seems that it cannot be the Persians, but older ones. On the preserved narrow, widely spaced columns a wooden roof seems to have rested. On one side this small building does not stand alone, but leans against a wall, which surrounds the temple terraces, and on which decrees for the freeing of slaves were once announced.
- 24405 At a corner of this wall a steep path leads to the temple height. On the right one found the substructure of the serpent column, which was the bearer of the golden tripod, the magnificent victory symbol of Plataea. Some visitors will remember this column from Constantinople, where it served as a turning post in the racecourse. On the column, as it now adorns the Turkish capital, one can still read the names of the principal Greek cities that defeated the Persians at Plataea. From ?tus and
- 24410 Thucydides we know that on the long-vanished gem on the top of the column there was originally a brazen inscription by Pausanias, "the Greek general". A very short distance further up, and we stand, next to the altar of the citizens of Chios, right in front of the once world-famous temple. Anyone who, following in the footsteps of that other Pausanias, might imagine that he would see the old Alcmaeonides sanctuary revived, — would not be a little disappointed. There is absolutely no question of an
- 24415 impressive whole. The foundations of the walls and a fairly large number of widely
- 24420

scattered small column fragments, – that is all. A kind of consolation can be drawn, however, from the fact that these insignificant remains do not even originate from the real, old temple, but from the Roman imperial period.

24425 The oldest temple building at Delphi dates from the sixth century BC. It was the work of Attic exiles, who had committed themselves to providing a sandstone facade; but, in order to win Apollo's special favor, they gave one of marble. That temple formed a grand whole, especially when the following century had added so many votive offerings to it. When that temple had fallen to pieces, a new one was built in the fourth century: that was the temple in which Pausanias found the facade statues he described (Apollo with mother and sister, the Muses, etc.). That temple too was later replaced by another; and what was subjected to the French excavations initially promised very little.

24435 At a time, that was not so bad. More and more important finds came to light. People were particularly rightly taken with a series of (although fragmentary) finely polychrome marble figures, which together seem to have belonged to the façade of the oldest temple: a deer and a bull, both seized by a lion, horses before two-horse chariots, each with a charioteer, finally some standing women, replicas of some votive figures on the Athenian acropolis.

24440 The leader of the French excavations, Mr. Homolle, has, after long and careful research, come to the conclusion that the aforementioned sculpture most probably once filled the largest part of the eastern façade in the Alcmaeonides temple, and that the missing central piece will have consisted of a representation of the same tripod robbery, which also (as I have already discussed) adorns the so-called Cnidian House. 24445 Other important excavations betray the same technique, but are made of tuff. They represent: Athena in lively motion, a fallen Giant, fragments of vehicles, and a part of a beast of prey (belonging to a corner of a gable field). From these data, it seems, a battle of the Giants must be deduced, in which Athena and perhaps Dionysus on the other side take part, while Zeus sits in the middle. That, however, is partly very uncertain; but it is almost certain that the tuff and marble fragments referred to here belonged to the statues of the oldest of the three temples.

As for the widely renowned earth-navel or world-navel, which in antiquity was often, and sometimes still in our days, regarded as a symbolic, domed tomb of the dragon Python, – that so-called Navel will in any case have been a kind of fetish, like for 24455 example the "Eros-stone" in Thespiae. In the eastern part of the Delphic temple a strange, more or less acorn-shaped object (wrapped with wool) has recently been excavated, which may not be the sacred object itself, but may be a later imitation. The north side of the temple seems to have suffered greatly from earthquakes or other natural disasters; so that much that is now to be found outside the sanctuary 24460 originally stood inside. As an example of this I draw attention to a couple of historically important pedestals, which once supported tripods. The inscriptions come from two famous Syracusan brothers. The first has been completely preserved, and reads as follows:

24465 »Gelo, son of Deinomenes, from Syracuse dedicated this to Apollo. The tripod and the goddess of victory were made by Bion, son of Diodorus, from Miletus«. Of the second pedestal one can still read: "Hiero, son of Deinomenes, has dedicated ..." All the rest has become illegible over time.

Most probably this refers to an epigram attributed to Simonides, which mentions four such votive offerings (also from the two other brothers). In fact, remains of a third 24470 have been found near the two pedestals mentioned. The epigram in question, freely translated, reads as follows:

24475 "Gelo, Hiero, his brother,
Polyzelus, Thrasybulus,
Sons of Deinomenes,
Each dedicated his own tripod
To the temple of Apollo,
In memory of the victory,
Which they with their brave hosts
Over Carthage's power achieved,
24480 Which our people wanted to oppress.
Hellas breathed freely again." 1)

Not far from these Syracusan memorials, a narrow column has been found, which in the museum (most likely rightly) has acquired the hall of the Hellenistic centuries as a residence. This small hall is telescope-shaped and divided into five sections 24485 separated by Acanthus foliage. On the top of these Acanthus rings rise three pretty statues, representing dancers. A tripod seems to have been attached to it as the

crown of the monument.

Of the many things that have come to light here, I will discuss very little in this short overview. In the first place I mention an excellent marble statue of the beautiful Antinous, of which, incidentally, the only thing to say here is that it has been excellently preserved. I cannot be so brief about the second statue that I still wish to discuss, if only because of the much writing that has been provoked by it. I have in mind here the remains of the nine marble statues of the so-called Thessalian votive offering. Among these was a statue in the Museum, representing a beautifully executed athletic man, and bearing an inscription, a duplicate of which has been found in or near Pharsalus, where it is to be read on a statue that was evidently the model of the Delphic one: only it is not of marble, but of metal. Strange is an apparently insignificant difference in the weather silken inscriptions, of which the Pharsalian gives "five Nemean, three Pythian, five Isthmian victories", while the Delphic differs from them in so far that "five Pythian" can be read on it. Another point of difference is that the former mentions the name of the artist (the famous Lysippus), and the Delphic is silent about it. Apparently the Delphic inscription is an improvement on the other, as regards the above-mentioned number "three". On the Delphic statue one reads, moreover, that it was sent by "Daochus, Thessalian Tetrarch, delegate of the Amphictyones", probably shortly before the reign of Alexander the Great.

In the best of times, many statues of bronze or copper stood on either side of the "Holy Way", which later aroused the greed of Roman and other temple robbers, and therefore (or for other reasons) disappeared. Only one exception to this rule has been traced so far, namely the magnificent statue known as "The Charioteer", which probably owes its preservation only to the fact that it was buried under a thick layer of rubble. What a pity that the accompanying quadriga has disappeared, with the exception of a few broken pieces and the stone pedestal of the horses! The inscription has been so badly damaged that the guess that the votive offering is considered a second monument of the Himera victory is quite daring.

Let us now consider this masterpiece of bronze work a little more closely! High above the racing chariot, the impressive figure of the proud, muscular charioteer looks out at us. He wears a kind of tabard, which protects him from the hurling of the rushing horses, and prevents a possible obstructive play of the wind by girdling the upper body. This girdling particularly beautifully highlights the athletic shoulders, connected by a no less muscular neck to a head from which not only physical strength, but also high development of the mind gazes at the admiring spectator. A silver headband wreathes the temples. Both feet are slightly forward, especially the right one, — from which some scholars infer that there may have been another figure on the currus. A goddess of Victory perhaps? or the great Syracusan Gelo? Such suppositions are very daring; but what is in any case indisputable is the high artistic value of this extremely beautiful work. I think I cannot conclude this very brief survey of the French activities in and around Delphi (more methodical than those on the island of Delos) better than by expressing my homage to Mr. Homolle and his faithful phalanx. What a pity that our similar work in the vicinity of Olympia has turned out so much less successful! Not only have at least four masterpieces of sculpture been disinterred from the earth's surface; but now at least a general picture has emerged of that world-famous terrain. Truly, those ten years have been well spent. May the French enterprise find its most beautiful laurel in the unfeigned homage of the entire learned world!

1) The name of Carthage is not mentioned in the original. The victory referred to here is the victory won by Syracusans and other Greeks over the Punics in the year 480 (near the river Himera in the north of Sicily). (Trans.)

5 November 1906 The excavation of ancient Delphi.

The most famous place of worship in ancient Greece, to which people went from all parts of the Greek world to ask advice from the priestess inspired by Apollo, was Delphi. The Pythians in Delphi were also distinguished by their wit in their divination. When Croesus crosses the Halys, a great empire will be destroyed. Whether this was his own empire or that of the king of Persia, Cyrus, Croesus himself could decide. In any case, the oracle had predicted it. Nevertheless, that ancient place was venerated for centuries, and the priests of the Phytian Apollo were known far beyond the borders of Greece.

The temple buildings in Delphi were particularly beautiful. No fewer than six temples stood together. Many of these buildings have been preserved to us, and the French have brought the entire temple surface to light again.

The wealth of the Pythian priests, who were well paid for their oracles, was

- 24555 proverbial. Of the temples, only the foundations of one, the oldest, remain. Of the second, which dates from the sixth century before Christ, one can form a better idea. A magnificent building was the fourth temple, which had the shape of a circus. The roof of that temple is supported by twenty columns in the richest Doric style. The temple was richly decorated, but nothing of the rich sculpture has remained intact. The fifth temple must also have made a magnificent impression. It was built of blue
- 24560 marble. From the surviving pieces one can best make out the plan of the temple. The archaeologists suspect that it was the Athena temple mentioned by Paussanias. The construction shows a harmonious mixture of Doric and Ionic styles.
- 8 December 1912 The goddess of Victory.
- 24565 A few weeks ago, on the day of the declaration of war by Greece, a perfect statue was found at Delphi on the site "Marmaria" (so called because of the large amount of marble found there). People thought they recognized the goddess of victory Nike in it and blessed the find at that very moment. How great was the disillusionment when the French archaeologist Dr. Courby, who is continuing the excavations that were started
- 24570 at the time by the French Archaeological Institute at Delphi, called the statue a facade figure, with which houses and temples used to be decorated. The characteristic wings are missing from the statue. Yet some magazines maintain that even if the statue does not represent Nike herself, it is her daughter, the goddess of fame.
- 24575 1 July 1920 DELPHI, MONUMENTS OF THE THESSALIAN PRINCES [p. 291]
It is impossible to prescribe the limits of development for a genius like Lysippus, of whose 1,500 famous bronze statues only a fraction is preserved to-day, not in the originals, but in more or less successful marble copies, That, in spite of all
- 24580 divergences, there are common features connecting the Agias and the Apoxyomenos, has rightly been emphasized by good judges in recent times. 1) The artistic career of Lysippus begins for our inquiries with the year 372 BC, when he executed the statue of a man who had won the chariot-race at Olympia "both with full-grown horses and with colts." The base of the statue was found in the German excavations, and shows characters of writing agreeing well with this date. 2) The monument of Daochus, as
- 24585 shown above, was erected soon after 340 BC; but the original Agias statue at Pharsalus is older, and may well have been produced some years before, in the beginning or middle of the forties.
There is no reason to date it still earlier, for we must start with the assumption that Lysippus was not taken up by the Thessalian nobles, but that they only placed
- 24590 orders with him when his fame was assured and his style well known. Pliny gives a far later date, 328 BC, as the culminating point of his art, probably the time when he executed his most famous portrait, that of Alexander. Just after 320 BC, Lysippus is active, and executes a great bronze group at Delphi, the lion-hunt of Alexander and Craterus, which was ordered by Craterus, son-in-law of the Macedonian
- 24595 Viceroy Antipater and one of Alexander's old companions in arms, in memory of the fact that during the Asiatic expedition in a hunt he fell a lion which threatened the life of the great king. In gratitude for the escape of both, the group was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi; but as Craterus died in 321 BC, it was his newly-born son who erected the group in his father's name, exactly as was the case with Hieron's group,
- 24600 erected at Olympia by his son, Deinomenes. Pliny names this among the most famous works of Lysippus; Plutarch says it had two authors, Lysippus and Leochares. 3) The base of the group has been discovered at Delphi in a chamber to right of the staircase, which north of the temple leads up to the theater (fig. 150), and the metrical inscription reports that the group was vowed
- 24605 by Craterus, friend of the great Alexander, but only his son performed the vow and dedicated it in memory of the fight with the lion which his father courageously carried through when he followed King Alexander on his Asiatic expedition; he laid the lion low on the borders of the Nomad Syrians.
In consideration of the son's tender age, it was assumed that the group was erected
- 24610 long after 320, about 300 BC, but against that are the other dates of the two artists engaged, and there is nothing to prevent us from thinking of the group as erected in the name of the infant son. 1) Anyhow, it is a long life for an artist, of whose outlines we thus catch glimpses, and the Apoxyomenos probably belongs only to its latest period, the twenties of the fourth century.
- 24615 In any case Lysippus, at the time when he executed the Agias, was strongly influenced by the art of Scopas, and only in advanced years seems to have experienced the artistic transformation of which the Apoxyomenos bears witness. This is the importance of the Delphic find, that it reveals to us how late this master "found his nature" as Aristotle would say. 1) In this respect he reminds us of a modern sculptor

- 24620 like Meunier, who only at the age of fifty-five became the Meunier the world knows and admires. Homolle conjectures that other figures from the Daochus monument are copies of Lysippus' originals, and the latest found Agelaus figure (fig. 133) might point to that so long as most of the figures are headless, all appreciation of them is out of the question, for at this stage of his development Lysippus, like Scopas,
- 24625 showed more individuality in characterizing heads than bodies. Twenty years later, on the threshold of old age, he is a different man. A torso, contemporary with and stylistically akin to the Apoxyomenos, we should recognize without difficulty as his work. 2)
- 24630 1 Amelung, in Helbig's Führer, 3rd ed., n. 23; Studniczka, Das Bildnis Menanders, Leipzig, 1918, 20. 2 Pausanias, vi. 1.4.; Loewy, Inscriptions griech. Bildhauer, 76. 3 Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv. 64; Plutarch, Alexander, 40. 1 Perdrizet, Bull. the con. hell., xxii, 1898, 566. 1
- 24635 Lysippus was also the author of the bronze group of the Sun-god on his car founded by the Rhodians, the base inscription of which Pomtow thought he had found in Delphi; Dittenberger, Sylloge, 441; Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv. 63. This is, however, incorrect; the lettering is characteristic of the end of the third century, so a century later than Lysippus; Bourguet, Bull. the correct hell., xxxiv,
- 24640 191 1, 458, and Revue arch., 1918, i. 220. 2 In my description of the Thessalians I have omitted to use the judgment Theopompus passed on them {Athenaeus, xii. 527a): "They play away their time with dancing women and flute-players, others spend whole days in dice-playing, drinking, or other excesses, and they take more care about filling their board with all manner of meats than in leading an honorable life. But
- 24645 the Pharsalians are the laziest and the most pitiful of them all." Further, he describes how one can win the friendship of the Thessalians by drinking matches with them and by joining in their debaucheries (op. cit., vi. 260b). But Theopompus passes similar judgments on the Etruscans, the people of Methymna and other Greek towns, and on Philip of Macedon (Athenaeus, xii. 507, d, e; x. 442/ -44, a; iv. i66/-i67e) ; so
- 24650 he seems to have been a specialist in chronicles scandaleuses.
<https://archive.org/details/delhipoulsen00poul>
- 1 April 1921 From the School of the Spade. XXII.
[...] At that time, women's bodies were painted white, as men's were painted brown-red. Perhaps Artemis stood next to Apollo, as Hermes in Heracles.
- 24655 So it was represented in life-size, brightly colored as an impressionistic painting – the bare parts of the male body bright brick red, those of the female chalk white, the clothes with colorful borders – how Heracles as one would have guessed from a comparison with several Greek vases may suggest that he is defending his prey, a
- 24660 sacred hind, with a raised club, against the god of Delphi, who is striding towards him resolutely, perhaps with the gruesome bow in his left hand. Spectators are Hermes, often the leader of a daring man, and Artemis, who in courage was not inferior to her brother.
- It seems that this entire group was a votive offering, which was placed either before or in the temple by a worshipper of the god.
- 24665 That the original location was outside, one would be inclined to conclude from the fact that in the pointed cap of Mercury there are small holes, which could have supported a "meniscus". A meniscus, one should know, is a metal plate, which the Greeks often placed above the heads of their statues to prevent – forgive the
- 24670 unsubtle detail – birds from defiling them. But the evidence is not conclusive; a temple has openings along the roof; so sometimes birds come in and you understand me....
- Where the group stood, is just as impossible to determine as what the donor thought about it. The myth is known to us only from vases and reliefs. [...]
- 24675 12 September 1921 [...] Prof. Vollgraff also made a statement "On the Delphic hymn to Dionysus"
- The hymn in honor of Dionysus must be considered one of the most important finds which the French excavations at Delphi brought to light. The hymn was inscribed on a
- 24680 large slab of limestone, and consisted of twelve lyrical stanzas, eight of which have been partially preserved. It was composed by Philodamus of Skarpheia, in the spring of the year 335 BC. In the first part the poet relates in his own way the usual legend of the birth of Dionysus and his travels and wanderings on earth. In the second part he mentions various feasts and sacrifices, which are part of the worship
- 24685 of Dionysus at Delphi or are connected with it. Two things strike us especially: the poet consciously places himself on the standpoint of the mystical teachings of the

Orphics, and he announces an important extension of the cult of Bacchus. Thus, even at the Pythian festivals, formerly dedicated exclusively to Apollo, Dionysus will henceforth be honored with sacrifices and choral dances, and an image of him, resplendent as the sun, will be set up, standing on a chariot drawn by golden lions. This corresponds to the representation of Dionysus as a sun god, which is found in Macedonia and Thrace, and in the Orphic religion. The most remarkable passage in the hymn is that in which King Alexander the Great himself, under the name of son of Dionysus, is designated as the one who gives that increased splendor to the cult of Bacchus.

We know Alexander as an independent ruler and a socially ordering prince, and as a deeply religious nature. The Delphic hymn teaches us that he was a worshipper of Dionysus, the national god of his people, and a confessor of the Orphic doctrine, which also belonged above all in Macedonia and Thrace. The Orphics taught concerning God that he is one. They did not have the rigid monotheism of the Semites, who said that there is one God, and that all other gods are idols. Their henotheism was such that they recognized and respected the gods who enjoyed worship from men, but regarded them all as expressions of the same divine spirit. And should not the policy in religious matters, which Alexander and his successors followed in the East, be regarded as inspired by their own religious views? That policy can be indicated by the one word "syncretism"; that is to say, they have made it their business to equate every foreign deity with a Greek god or goddess, and to merge them with it in worship. Hellenistic syncretism is thus the result of the much older Orphic theokrasý.

22 December 1923 [...] In 340 before Christ, the chief architect of the temple area of Delphi received an unheard-of amount, four drachmas a day. This almost unbelievably high payment for a state official coincided with a period of important construction. Then the priests seem to have understood how important such a post was. Even greedy Delos gives its architect three drachmas a day instead of two in such cases! Yet Delphi lagged far behind. Delphi calculated with Aeginetic currency, which was one and a half times higher than the Attic, so that the four drachmas from there would have been worth six on Delos. After 300 BC, a rapid and continuous decline in wages can be observed on Delos. A typical example, which touches on the material itself from which we draw all these data, is that of the stonemason who made the temple inscriptions. For a very long time this certainly not very stupid workman stipulated and received one drachma per hundred letters. That price was still paid in 302 to a certain Hermodikos, but later on he was increasingly cut back. In the same year 302 the same Hermodikos had to deliver 130 letters, five years later even 300! Around 250 we reach the lowest wage level. Then the temple lords pay for an inscription - of 354 lines with 42,000 letters the sum of 120 drachmas, that is to say one drachma for every 350 letters. But now the bow was apparently too tense. The inscriptions were so shamefully rushed that the principals began to feel ashamed of it. They apparently thought of their good name with posterity and therefore, probably with a bleeding heart, took the brave decision to return to the previous payment. [...]

1 January 1924 DELPHI
BY DR. J. W. VAN ROOIJEN.

If one wants to reach Delphi from Athens by land, this is not the easiest way. By train one can only travel to Brailo, a station on the railway to Saloniki. From there a bus, a grand name for a lorry, in which some benches have been installed, goes to Amphissa. However, if you are lucky, like us, that the bus does not even wait for the express train from Athens, then good advice is expensive. The nearest village (I have forgotten the name) is a few hours away. However, the helpful station master knew what to do. We were able to hire a couple of mules and so, packed and ready, we set off. In the village in question, it was said, a car could be obtained. When we arrived there, it turned out that the car had to come from Amphissa. It did not appear until the evening. We have seldom experienced more anxious moments than during that car journey. Just imagine being driven at breakneck speed up a mountain as high as Parnassus in a car driven by the most reckless driver in the world, who takes the corners so sharply that at any moment you think you are going to plunge car and all into the abyss that is always staring at you on the right side of the road, while you sometimes whizz past wagons going uphill at the speed of an express train, then you will understand that we were glad to have finally arrived in Amphissa. We have no pleasant memories of this last place; the Xenodokeion (hotel), which was the best in the town, did not even meet the most moderate requirements of

cleanliness; we were therefore very glad when we were able to leave this inhospitable place as early as possible.

24755 From Amphissa to Delphi, however, there is still quite a climb; wagons are not to be had, so that, forced by necessity, we had to resort again to our driver of the previous evening, who brought us up without accident.

24760 Delphi, in ancient times also called Pytho, lies between high rocks on a terrain that slopes gently upwards. There, where the rock plateau joins the mountain, rise the so-called Phaedriades, the brilliant rocks, so called because the sunlight radiates brilliantly from the naked limestone. The two rocks form an obtuse angle and are separated from each other only by a narrow abyss. From the eastern rock rises the spring Kastalia, whose water flows along the rocks to Pieistos, a quarter of an hour away.

24765 The Delphic oracle was very old. According to a Delphic legend, the vapours that rose from a gorge and brought the Pythia into a kind of ecstasy were discovered by a goatherd. He had namely noticed that his goats, when they came to the chasm in question, made strange leaps and uttered unusual sounds; when he himself now approached the chasm, he fell into a kind of ecstasy and began to prophesy.

24770 Before Apollo founded his oracle here, Gaia, the Earth, was the first possessor of the oracle; her daughter Themis followed her; the pronouncements of the oracle were called themistes (laws). Themis voluntarily gave the place to Phoebe, who gave the oracle to her grandson Phoibos Apollo. He went from Delos, the island on which he was born, under the guidance of the Athenians, who boasted of having been the first to pave the sacred road to Delphi, where the people and King Delphos received him with joy.

24780 According to another legend, Apollo did not acquire the oracle in such a peaceful manner. Shortly after his birth, Apollo is said to have set out to seek an oracle. The valley of Delphi pleased him and he decided to establish an oracle here. However, the snake Python, who lived here at the spring Delphusa, prevented him from entering. The young god fought the snake and killed it with his arrows.

24785 There, for the first time, the paeon, the joyful song of victory, resounded from the mouth of the god and the choir of the young Delphic women; as a reminder of this victory, the Pythian games were established forever. As penance for the death of the Python, Apollo had to flee and perform 8 years of slave service. He went to King Admetus in Thessaly and was purified in the valley of Tempe, in order to return to Delphi as Phoibos, the bright, shining one.

24790 This penance and purification was symbolically represented at the festivals, which returned every 8 years; a boy, who was supposed to represent Apollo, set fire to a hut, the hut of Python, in front of the temple: then he fled quickly; accompanied by a procession he passed through Locris, Doris, over the Oeta, to Tempe, and here, like Apollo before him, he was purified. According to the legend, Apollo appointed Cretans as priests, whom he had brought here over the sea. When the leader of these men looked at the bare rocky plain and asked the god what they would live on here, the god replied: "Every one must hold the sacrificial knife ready in his right hand and continually slaughter sacrificial animals, which the people will bring me in immeasurable numbers." And so it happened.

24800 From all sides the people came to ask the god for advice and had their sacrificial animals slaughtered; at the same time valuable gifts were offered to the god, so that the temple came to possess a great wealth of precious metals and works of art. Homer (Iliad, 9th book) already speaks of "the great wealth that the stone threshold of Pytho encloses within". Not only Greeks consulted the oracle, but also foreign peoples. Do we not read in "tus" that the king of Lydia, Croesus, had the oracle consulted when he wanted to march against Cyrus, the king in Persia?

24805 A league of so-called Amphictyones, consisting of peoples from Central and Northern Greece, had united to protect the sanctuary and to celebrate the festivals at common expense. The Dorians in particular, when they lived near Parnassus and Oeta, had established close connections with the oracle and also after they had settled in the Peloponnesus, they had maintained these relations.

24810 In the centuries between Lycurgus and the Persian wars, Delphi became both the religious and political centre of Greece. Nothing of importance was taken up by individuals and states without first seeking the advice of the Delphic god.

24815 At the beginning of the Persian wars the oracle was uncertain and gave doubtful answers. After the battle of Salamis (480 BC) was the first to take up the national cause of Greece. The fact that the temple had been spared by the Persians (probably because of their worship of the god of light) raised the prestige of the oracle again. Trophies from the Persians, were established in Delphi and the Amphictyones issued decrees in honor of those who had remained loyal to the fatherland.

24820 Gradually, however, a reaction set in. In the so-called holy wars the power of the oracle diminished; at one time the Phoenicians even seized the incalculable treasures of the temples and paid for the war they waged from them. It is true that the oracle still enjoyed some prestige in the time of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD), but only in private matters. When Emperor Julian the Apostate had the oracle questioned before his journey to Persia in 362, he received the answer: "Tell the king that the

24825 artfully made dwelling is covered with dust, Phoibos has no more shelter and no prophetic laurel, or a babbling spring; the beautiful water has ceased to flow". Finally, in 390, the oracle was closed forever by Emperor Theodosius. The actual sacred space, formerly enclosed by walls, was about 130 m wide and 180 m long. The main entrance was located in the SE and here the sacred road led, with two

24830 bends, to the temple of Apollo. Along this entire road stood statues and votive offerings in great numbers. Emperor Nero had about 500 statues removed and yet the number of those that remained was estimated at 3000. The number of statues at the entrance was exceptionally large. On the right side was the statue of a bull, consecrated in 500 BC by the Kerkyraeans, opposite which rose the monument that the

24835 Athenians had built in memory of the battle of Marathon. To the west of this rose the wooden horse of the Argives, consecrated in 414 BC. This was followed by a triumphal monument of the Arcadians, which they had erected there to commemorate their liberation from Sparta. On the left followed the Seven against Thebes, with the chariot of Amphiaraus, a memorial of the Argives to their victory at Oenoe.

24840 If one walked further along the sacred road, one came across more than a dozen treasuries, which had been built by various cities and states of Greece. Among these, that of the Siphnians, of which we shall speak more fully below, was well preserved; it resembles an Ionic templum in antis, with caryatides instead of columns. The Doric

24845 treasury of the Athenians is also well preserved, it has been possible to rebuild it in its entirety. This was followed by a large building, in which one may see the bouleuterion, while behind it the terrain has been left in its original rocky state. This is probably the rock on which the Sibyl Herophyle first gave her oracles. A high Ionic column, erected by the Naxians, on which stood the well-known Sphinx, towered above the

24850 entire area. A little further on one reached the round festival place, the Halos, (threshing floor), where the already mentioned symbolic representation of the killing of the Python took place. Immediately behind the column of the Naxians rises the wall of the temple terraces; it was covered with inscriptions, which contained decrees of the Amphictyones, lists

24855 of victors and certificates of the release of slaves. Between this wall and the Halos was the Stoa of the Athenians, with columns, built in the Ionic style; this stoa was probably built in gratitude for the victory in 480 BC won at Salamis; later (428 BC) Phormion added trophies of captured ships. Next to the S.W. corner stood a Nike of Paionios, probably the example of the one found at Olympia. Also on the east side of the temple terrace stood several monuments, among these the Tripod of the Plataeans is especially worth mentioning; this rested on a base, which has been found. The middle support formed the famous serpent column, at the top was a golden basin, which was stolen in the Holy War. Later the tripod was taken to Constantinople and can

24860 still be seen there in the so-called AT-Meidan. Of the Doric temple of Apollo, which was of course the most important sanctuary, only the foundations remain; yet we know from the Greek writer Pausanias, how this temple looked in ancient times. The sanctuary was rebuilt or rebuilt several times. The oldest temple was, according to legend, formed from laurel trees; the branches of

24870 these descended from the sacred laurel in Tempe. This was followed by a temple built by bees, from wax. Apollo put a copper temple in its place; this however melted in a fire and sank into the cleft of the earth. After this a fourth temple, of stone, was built by the master builders Trophonios and Agamedes. After they had finished their work, they asked the god for a reward. He

24875 promised them this by the seventh day. When this had come, they died the following night. This temple however burned down in 548 BC: for a new building money was collected among all the Greeks; even the Egyptian king contributed to this. The family of the Alcmaeonidae, expelled from Athens, undertook the construction for the sum of 300

24880 talents. They built it, however, more expensively than the contract required them to do, but naturally won the favor of the priests of Delphi; the architect was Spintharus of Corinth. In front of the temple was the great altar of burnt offering and close to it the statue of a wolf, the animal dedicated to Apollo. On its head the Delphians had the

24885 decree engraved, by which the Spartans who had helped them were granted the right of
promanteia (to be allowed to consult the oracle for others). Pericles, however, had
the same decree engraved on the back, in favor of the Athenians. Entering the pronaos
(forehall), one first saw the golden-lettered sayings: Gnóthi Seauton (Learn to Know
Yourself) and: Mēden Agaán (Nothing too much), both sayings of the Seven Sages; by
24890 these sayings stood the image of Homer. The cella of the temple was 100 feet long and
decorated on the outside with Doric columns, on the inside with Ionic ones. Here was
the statue of Apollo and in front of it the Hestia (hearth) on which the eternal fire
was maintained by a widow; this hearth was considered the common one for all and also
the center of the entire Greek world. Zeus had once, in order to find out the center
24895 of the earth, let two eagles fly towards each other from the East to the West and
they had come together at this place.
Near the hestia stood the iron chair of Pindarus, on which the pious singer had
praised Apollo with his hymns. For he was accustomed to offer hymns to the god
instead of sacrifices. Moreover, in the cella there was a statue of Poseidon, the
24900 statues of two Moira (Goddesses of Fates) with those of Zeus Moiragetes and Apollo
Moiragates (the leader of fate).
Behind the cella was a room, which was intended as a waiting room for those who
wished to consult the oracle. This was followed by the holy of holies, the adyton,
where the cleft of the earth was located, from which the well-known vapours arose;
24905 there a colossal tripod had been erected, made of wood and covered with gold; above
this a seat had been placed.
After the omens had first been observed, the Pythia, after having first drunk water
from the spring Kastalia, and taken a laurel leaf in her mouth, went to the adyton
and sat down on the tripod; through the vapours that rose from the earth, she fell
24910 into a kind of ecstasy and uttered incoherent sounds. These words were then written
down in the form of hexameters by so-called prophets; these verses, however, were not
easy for the interrogator to understand. Therefore they went to the professional
interpreters, to find out from them what the meaning of the oracle was.
The large terrace, which extended along the entire south wall of the temple,
24915 contained the much-sung laurel and myrtle forest; in the middle of this we also have
to look for the old sanctuary of Gaia, who, as we saw, was the first to possess the
oracle. To the south-east probably rose the mast with three golden stars, which the
Aeginetes, after the battle of Salamis, had dedicated here; furthermore here was the
pedestal on which Perseus of Macedonia wanted to place his statue. Aemilius, who had
24920 defeated him, had his own placed there. The great altar of the temple was a
foundation of the inhabitants of Chios, erected about 520 BC. A little to the north
rose an elegant acanthus column, on which dancing girls were depicted. Golden
tripods, which Gelo of Syracuse and his brothers, after the victory at Himera, (480
BC) had dedicated, were located here. The well-known bronze charioteer also
24925 originally stood here.
To the north of these Sicilian votive offerings the Thessalian Daochos had nine
statues of himself and his ancestors erected.
Opposite the N. West corner of the temple is a room, where Craterus had his famous
lion hunt, in which he had saved the life of Alexander the Great, immortalized by
24930 Leochares and Lysippus. The theater is located behind this. The space intended for
the spectators has remained in a fairly good state, the stage has been destroyed. In
the very northern part of the peribolos was the Lesche of the Knidians, a kind of
conversation building. On the wall on the right side, according to Pausanias, there
was a representation of the destruction of Troy, painted by Polygnotus, on the left
24935 wall a picture of the Underworld.
Not far from the main entrance is the source Kastalia. The water of this spring
springs from the rock face, which has been hewn out into a large, square basin. Below
it is a large niche, in which one can now a small chapel of Saint John. In the basin
of the Kastalia all who wished to enter the temple had to cleanse themselves by
24940 taking a bath. Even today the water of the spring, although it has lost its
reputation of holiness, is still held in high esteem. Every afternoon one can still
see the mules, hung on both sides with barrels and driven by boys and girls, going to
the spring to fetch the delicious, cool water that is so precious in these arid
regions.
24945 It is a picturesque sight when one sees these groups gathering at the spring,
especially towards evening, when the sun is already sinking behind the mountains and
from the high Parnassus one sees a splendid panorama before one, which one will not
forget for the rest of one's life. How beautiful is this piece of land, which the
Greeks had chosen as a dwelling place for their god of light Apollo, who knew how to
24950 sweep away the darkness of the future with his light and to whom people came from far

and wide to hear the pronouncements of his oracle.

We would now like to take a walk through the Museum, which is located near the excavations. The building, which was built through the generosity of Syngros, consists of a main building and two wings.

24955 In front of the entrance is a marble sarcophagus, on which the Calydonian hunt is depicted. When we enter the large hall, we see first of all the bronze statue of the Charioteer, fairly well preserved, which was found near the temple. With it were a part of a Horse and an arm. All this belonged to the votive offering that Polyzalos had set up in gratitude for a victory in a race with his chariot. It is supposed that

24960 this Polyzalos was the brother of Gelo and Hiero of Syracuse. The charioteer stands before us at his full length; the folds of his garment are not unlike the cannelures of a column; probably a part of these folds, which appear somewhat monotonous, were covered by the body of the chariot. The workmanship of the bronze is very fine; the face with the full chin, the eyes full of expression, the

24965 workmanship of the hair, all these things lend the work a high value. The next room is known as that of "The Treasury of the Athenians", on the walls are attached the metopes that were on the outside of the said treasury. They represent the deeds of Hercules and Theseus. Five metopes represent the robbery of the cattle of Geryones; a sixth shows us a Centaur, who has fallen against an opponent

24970 (Hercules); he places his foot on his neck. A seventh image shows the fight with the Nemean lion, while an eighth metope represents the capture of the bull.

The rest all seem to represent deeds of Theseus, and in particular his fight against the Amazons. In one image we see the young Theseus, provided with a helmet, fighting an Amazon; on the other side the defeat of the Minotaur and the bull of Marathon is represented. In the middle of the hall one sees Amazons on horseback, the acroteria

24975 of the top of the sanctuary. On the right wing is the Greco-Roman hall, or the Monument of Pydna. The monument records the defeat of King Perseus of Macedonia (168 BC); on all four sides there are inscriptions and it is decorated with a frieze, in relief. Opposite the Macedonians, who can be recognized by their beautifully decorated shields, one sees barbarians, who are almost completely naked; they represent the allies of the Roman people; the Romans themselves are not seen, but their cavalry. In front of this monument are placed the Three Dancing Girls (Karyatides); the support on which they are placed is decorated with acanthus leaves; they form a beautiful base for a tripod, or another votive offering. The clothing of these girls and the garlands of palm leaves have identified them as Dancers of Karyae, from which the name Karyatides is derived, who, as is known, also occur at the Erechtheion in Athens.

We now return to the entrance and reach the hall of the Temple of Apollo; on the right we find a large relief, representing a youth, with outstretched arms; a boy

24990 stands next to him. The first figure is usually taken as an image of Apollo; it is perhaps an Apoxyomenos, with a servant. Fragments of marble statues from the temple of the Alcmaeonides represent lions tearing bulls; one can also see two female figures, who hold her dress with their left hand; on the left wall are depicted scenes from the battle between Athena and the giant Enceladus.

24995 In this room five reliefs were also placed; on the first one one sees the ship Argo; round shields, on the outside, represent the warriors on board; to the side are two people, who play on a lyre, one of these is probably Orpheus. At each end stands a horseman, apparently Castor and Pollux. On a second relief Pollux, Idas and Castor drive the stolen cattle from Arcadia before them; the division of these was the cause of the quarrel between them. Each figure holds two spears in his left hand, a third spear in his right. The third relief shows us the abduction of Europa on the bull; the story of the Calydonian boar is the subject of the fourth relief; in the image we see the remains of a dog under the wild animal. The last relief is much damaged; it is supposed that it represents the ram on which Phrixus and Helle were seated, when they fled the ambushes of their stepmother Ino.

25000 East of the temple was found a large Omphalos, the stone of which we have already spoken; on it were placed images of woolen bands; probably this was not the original omphalos, as it was covered with real woollen bands.

25010 Between this and the next room stand the statues of two youths from the archaic period. On the pedestal of the best preserved statue an inscription tells us that the sculptor was an Argive. They look a lot like the well-known Apollostatues, with the round, somewhat smiling face. They probably date from the 7th century BC. It is believed that these statues represent Cleobis and Biton, about whom "between us"

25015 tells us in his history. He relates (1,31) that Solon, the Athenian philosopher, once visited Croesus, the king of the Lydians. One day the king, who was known for his

wealth, had Solon led through all his treasuries. Then he asked him who he considered the happiest man in the world. Solon awarded the first prize to a certain Tellus, an Athenian, the second to the young men Cleobis and Biton, from Argos. One day their mother had to be brought to the temple of the goddess Hera, but the oxen were not present in time. Then the young men themselves pulled their mother to the temple, a distance of 45 stadia (a stadium is ± 182 m). The partygoers praised the mother happy to have such good sons. Then the mother prayed to the goddess to give them that which is happiest for man. After that prayer they lay down to sleep in the temple and did not get up again. By this the goddess had shown that death is happiest for man. The Argives had statues made of them afterwards and consecrated them in Delphi.

We have now approached the last room of the museum, that of the Treasury of the Cnidians, according to Pomtov, the Siphnians. The sculptures of the facade pieces of the completely destroyed building have been found so completely that it could be reconstructed in its entirety. As we have already seen, the building had the form of a templum in antis; instead of the usual columns the roof of the vestibule is supported by the statues of two girls. They remind us of the priestesses of the Acropolis and are perhaps the forerunners of the Caryatides of the Erechtheion. A frieze runs along the entire building. On the north side it represents the Gigantomachy; first we see a man, in a somewhat bent position, holding an object in his hand that looks like a bag. This is Aeolus, the god of the winds, who sets his storms in motion against the giants. Then follow two goddesses, who are engaged in battle with giants. The giants are depicted in ordinary human form. In the background we discover Hercules, with the lion's skin wrapped around his neck and arms; he fights with his lance against a giant. Dionysus, with a long robe and a panther's skin, rides into the fray with his chariot, drawn by lions. A little further on are Apollo and Diana with their bows. Ephialtes lies dead at their feet; another giant is about to take flight, while three others are approaching in close column. Then Hermes appears, he fights with a sword and can be recognized by his conical headdress; the other figures can no longer be identified.

On the other side one sees the remains of the Eastern frieze; this represents the fight between Menelaus and a Trojan hero (perhaps Hector), for the body of Euphorbos, while Meriones assists the former and Aeneas the latter. The names of these persons can be determined from the inscriptions. The left half is occupied by an assembly of the gods. The second half shows a battle scene.

Also to be mentioned is the image that decorated the Western façade, the mysterious fight for the tripod between Apollo and Hermes; Athena, who is in the middle, seems to separate the combatants; it is said that the Dorians once tried to put their hero Heracles in the place of the Ionian Apollo; in this way the image could be explained.

In the same hall is also the already mentioned Column of the Naxians, on which the Sphinx was placed.

We have now completed our tour; a visit to Delphi will leave an unforgettable impression on everyone.

10 July 1925 From a Travel Diary.

XXIV. Delphi.

From a Travel Diary. XXIV. Delphi.

A mighty, severe god was the prophet Apollo, in dark oracles communicating his wisdom to those of the people who understood him. Realizing this with awe, the Greeks only came closer to him to hear his voice there, where Greek nature unfolds in its greatest majesty, in harmony with the being of the great seer. One of those places is Delos, amidst the deserted beauty of cliffs and sea. Another, even grander and more impressive, is Delphi, in a gorge of one of the mightiest mountain massifs of Greece, Parnassus. In that environment I now want to try to understand something of the great veneration of the Greeks for Apollo, of his influence on their religious and political life.

But my journey does not go directly to Delphi: Thebes lies on my way, the cradle of many legends, immortalized by Greek tragedy.

It is a beautiful journey, in the early morning, to Thebes. First through the fresh green Attic land, between the Pentelicon and the Parnes. Then bending along the Parnes to the well-cultivated plain of Thebes, with a beautiful view, to the east, where the sea appears between the mountains, while above it the still snow-capped peaks of Euboea protrude. In Thebes I do not expect to see any important antiquities; there is a museum in a Fraukian tower with many interesting inscriptions, including the decree in which Nero granted the Greek countries freedom at the Isthmian games in 67 AD. But furthermore, in and around the present city, which occupies the place of the Acropolis of the former, only scarce ruins, one finds barely noticeable traces of

ancient walls. Thebes is more interesting because of the lovely nature of its surroundings, intersected by the brooks Ismenos and Dirke, while in the west the horizon is closed by the grey Muses mountain, the Helikon. To many places in the vicinity, which the modern visitor still tries to determine accurately, the memory of the tremendous dramas of the saga, which must once have taken place here, is bound. The history of Kadmos' unhappy royal family comes to life for him, the tragedies "The Seven Against Thebes" by Aichylos, "King Oedipus" and "Antigone" by Sophocles, "The Bacchantes" by Euripides appear to him in a new form. Modern Thebes is a small, rather poor town on top of a hill: A straight road, the Epammondasstraat, cuts through it in its entire length. Between the heavy trees on either side of the houses, under the still fresh green spring foliage, people practice many crafts in the open air. On one of these trees I read on a notice board that the space at its foot is rented for the practice of a craft. The free space is occupied by the chairs for the small cafés.

In the evening, walking through one of the suburbs, I am struck by a fresh and colorful scene, such as one only finds in small villages. There on the bank of the Dirke is a large fountain, fed by water that, brought over a high viaduct, first runs over a huge wooden water wheel. At more than thirty stone wells stand the women of the village, in their brightly colored clothes, their bare feet in the water, washing their linen. Clear laughter and song sound from their midst. A beautiful village idyll...

The next day I continue my train journey, between the cotton fields of the drained Lake Kopais, past Livadia and Chaeronea, where on the left against a row of cypresses I discover the eight-meter-high gray stone lion with pedestal, which was erected here by the Thebans after the battle of Chaeronea in 338. In a N.W. direction the train now follows the high spurs of the mighty Parnassus on our left to Bralo, where I get off. We have now circumnavigated the Parnassus in the N.E., now I drive it further from the N.W. side by car, along the beautiful road through the mountains, which was constructed here by the French during the war. The weather is gloomy. The mountains rise in pitch-black behind the small red-brown plain that we first speed through. Then it immediately goes up into a ravine between two mountains. We soon have the clouds under us, and above us, around the peaks, up to the winding road, the snow lies on the slopes. Before a snow shower, accompanied by an icy cold wind, we dive deeper into our coats. Finally, we go down the slopes for a long time with the engine turned off, into the valley that is enclosed between Parnassus in the E. and the high mountains of Doris in the W.

In a pouring rain we reach we, after driving 44 km, Amphissa, situated on a green, wooded slope, under a large old castle. In the streets we meet a troop of camels, a relic from the time of the Turks, which maintains the connection with Itea. From here it is still 22 km to Delphi, and because of the pouring rain I am forced to take the car even further. We descend quickly into a fertile plain, occupied by dense olive groves, the old fields of Kirrha and Krisa, – now Chryso – which the Delphic Amphictyony, as its richest possession, has had to defend so often in fierce "holy" wars against its neighbors. Then we go up to the East and the valley of the Pleistos. As we climb, we get a wider view.

In the village of Kastri I get out. Five minutes further on the road bends around a rock, provided with tombs from all times. There lies Delphi before me. On a theatre-shaped sloping terrain, enclosed by vertical rock walls, and on the low side by the ravine of the Pleistos, lies the Temenos of Apollo, rising in terraces. Within this space lies the museum and behind it, diagonally above the excavations, the house of the French school. It is already getting dark, so I first go and look for shelter, to explore the surroundings further the next day. On the balcony of my room I wait for the twilight to fall over this magnificent nature. The gloomy rain clouds have been torn apart. Here and there a piece of the sky comes through. When it has become dark for a moment, in the far East, above the long silent valley of the Pleistos, the moon rises above the mountains, silvering a few clouds that descended deep into the great mountain gorge. A soft light now shines in the depths; the valley is lovely. But the mountain walls on both sides, shrouded in shadow, are now terribly threatening, gloomy black. Oppressively high they embrace the light below. I begin to understand that here the Greeks thought they could hear the voice of their god...

The next morning, armed with "Les ruines de Delphes" by E. Bourquet, I begin the visit to the excavations, too extensive for me to attempt to give more than a single impression of them here.

Already in ancient times this place, thanks to the sulphurous vapour rising from the crevices in the rocks, was dedicated to the worship of the gods of the underworld; it was then called Pytho, and had, near a cave, inhabited by a snake Python, symbol of

the underworld, an oracle, whose service was exercised by Pythia. In later times, sailors introduced the cult of Apollo Delphimos, worshipped in the form of a dolphin. Since this god, under the name of Apollon Pythios, "took possession" of this oracle, the name Pytho was changed to Delphi.

Doubt

But there is still room for doubt, and Prag himself provides arguments for it: "They say he looks like me! I don't see it that way myself, but the head, fully made up, stood here in the room for a while and my assistant who was working at a table opposite, got the fright of her life every time she looked up! We had to take him away."

But Prag derives much confidence from a small ivory statue of the deceased that was in his grave. It belongs to the cabaret, which in Greece long before official art depicted people as they were. The resemblance to the reconstruction is striking. Neave naturally does not claim a complete likeness. Although he himself is sometimes impressed by what the method used can achieve. "I've done Egyptians, police cases, but before and after that of course also control experiments, with corpses of which I only saw the photos afterwards. I once had an assistant here reconstruct the face of an Australian aborigine man, who were quite different. He didn't know that and therefore didn't trust what came out of his hands. He did it four times before he came to me: I can't do it any other way. He was very angry that I hadn't said anything all that time. But I couldn't help it: I wanted to prove something to myself."

Despite all the scientific guarantees, he realizes that he is working on the border between science and art. "You have so much freedom with lips, the nose, the position of the eyes. There are rules of thumb for it, but afterwards you still look at it with the feeling of the artist, changing minute details. Until you get the feeling: that's how it must have been, that's how it looks like a person who really existed."

2 October 1987 'I spy with my little eye' is not just a child's game Medgessy has actually read letters

By R.A. Tybout

The front page of NRC Handelsblad recently reported that Canadian art historian Rolph Medgessy has discovered microscopic signatures by Goya on numerous paintings and drawings that were previously attributed to his most illustrious predecessors. Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Titiaan, Rubens, Rembrandt and Velazquez: they would all have to cede the claim to some of their best-known works to their younger colleague, who would thereby be branded as a forger.

If even a part of Medgessy's observations were correct, it would mean a true revolution in art history. Now revolutions, even when they take place entirely on paper, should be strongly distrusted. The reaction from professional circles was therefore predominantly negative: the signatures "in unusual places, such as nostrils, earlobes, corners of the eyes and eyebrows" are not visible to others and, what is sufficient, a pre-Goyan past can be demonstrated for some works.

The psychological aspect is interesting about this true history: the scholar who 'after twenty years of research' is the only one who believes he can read twelve signatures by Goya on the Venus with the Mirror attributed to Velazquez. Prof. E. van de Wetering already addressed this: "it is a kind of delusion that you as an art historian often encounter in practice. You see something in fly droppings, paint flakes and surface dirt and you recognize scribbles in it".

It can be added that you will read what you expect to find. Tampering with almost invisible signatures, spectacular forgeries: that is really something for the author of a work entitled 'The Secret Life of Goya' - a rich subject, with which several more books could be filled if desired.

Talking stones

That the imagination noted by Van de Wetering can take on considerably stronger forms is proven by a tragicomic affair that recently took place in another scientific field: that of Greek epigraphy. The epigraphician is concerned with deciphering and interpreting texts, usually carved on marble or stone blocks. These 'talking stones' are excavated after an underground stay of usually more than two thousand years. They can also be reused as building material, for example for a threshold in a modern Greek or Turkish home. Moisture, cracks, wear and tear or the shuffling of countless soles often damaged the once clearly legible letters. The epigraphician is then tasked with determining what was or could have been written on the stone. Sometimes he is helped by literary sources, which can contain historical data with the help of

- 25215 which the text of an inscription can be approximately reconstructed. The ideal situation is of course one in which effortlessly legible inscriptions confirm the data already known from the literary tradition. Anyone who, with his new text, finally gets a stagnated discussion out of the doldrums has climbed epigraphic Olympus.
- 25220 Sanctuary of Apollo
- Incidentally, our story takes place in Delphi, in the famous sanctuary of Apollo. Pausanias visited this in the second century AD and noted in his Guide to Greece: "at the entrance to the sanctuary one sees a bronze bull, made by Theopropos of Aegina, consecrated by the inhabitants of Corcyra (...). Then follow consecrations of the inhabitants of Tegea consisting of what they took from the Spartans (...). On the opposite side are votive offerings of the Spartans from the booty taken from the Athenians".
- 25225 The precise location of the three monuments is unclear: what is on the left and what on the right side of the Sacred Way? The modern visitor sees a considerable number of foundations on loose blocks in the intended area. But which of these correspond to the monuments mentioned by Pausanias?
- In 1981 Claude Vatin, a scholar of hitherto undisputed scientific conduct, published numerous interesting inscriptions, which seemed to solve the problems outlined once and for all. He read all these texts on blocks that had been excavated towards the end of the previous century. No one had ever noticed that they were written on. Just as Schliemann was guided by Homer in the excavation of Troy, so our scholar must have had his Pausanias in his pocket. He began, as Pausanias, at the entrance to the Apollo sanctuary. Immediately to the right there stands a limestone block. Could this
- 25230 not very well be the pedestal of the bull of the Korkyraioi mentioned by Pausanias? After long observation, Vatin began to distinguish letters on the heavily weathered stone surface. And what did he read? "Korkyraioi"! Not just in one single version, but five times, with which Vatin clearly lags behind the giant scores of Medgessy.
- 25245 Triumph
- The confirmation of his suspicions must have been a triumph for him. Encouraged by this, he read on the same block: "Theopropos the Aeginetian made this monument". The original signature, and in the Aeginetic alphabet! But that was not all. Pausanias also mentions that the Korkyraioi dedicated the bull to Apollo as a 'tenth' of an abundant tuna catch. What Vatin read more can now be read by anyone honorary reader guess: "As a tenth because of the lucky tuna catch, to Apollo".
- 25250 According to Pausanias, next to the bull stood a monument for the victory of the Tegeates over the Spartans. From Xenophon's Greek History we know that it concerns the attack on a Spartan naval station in 370-369 BC. Armed with this information, Vatin went to the ruins of the colonnade next to the supposed bull pedestal. On a block of the stylobate that was also heavily weathered, he found two inscriptions carved on top of each other: "The Tegeates from Arcadia dedicate the sails captured from the Spartans to Apollo as a tenth" and a ditto text in which 'weapons' takes the place of 'sails'.
- 25255 As if this were not enough, Vatin read fragments of seven (!) almost identical texts on other parts of the building. There was now no doubt about Pausanias' Spartan trophies from the battle against the Athenians, which were situated 'on the other side': they were of course placed opposite the colonnade.
- Vatin also went to work further on in the sanctuary. According to Pausanias, the statue of an ox stood on the square in front of the Temple of Apollo, dedicated to the deity by the inhabitants of Plataiai in memory of their victory over the Persian troops in 479 BC, achieved together with the other Greeks. In this famous battle, the Greeks finally freed themselves from the Persian threat. Who wouldn't like to find a contemporary document that records their victory?
- 25260 Now, in the place indicated by Pausanias, there is a block with a clearly legible signature on one side of the sculptor Theopropos, mentioned earlier. It has been thought that this block contains the pedestal of the bull of the Korkyraioi, which must have been dragged from its original location to the square in front of the Apollo temple after the demolition of the monument in times of decay.
- 25275 But what did Vatin manage to extract from the uneven top of the block? Nothing less than the following dedication: "The Plataeans dedicate this to Apollo, booty taken as revenge from the Persians". For the concept of revenge, Vatin refers to Aeschylus and thus makes his inscription into a paragraph in Greek intellectual history.
- Not a single letter of any of these texts is visible on the photographs published by
- 25280 Vatin. That is why he helps his reader with sketches he made himself on which his

lectures can be seen.

These images have not been able to convince other Delphi experts. Scholars from the French School in Athens have subjected the blocks studied by Vatin to a new investigation, with all the technical aids available to the epigraphician. Their unanimous conclusion: "il n'y a rien, ce sont des illusions". In order to prevent further proliferation of the phantom texts, they shared their findings with a number of other prominent scholars.

For C. Habicht, this warning apparently came too late. Perhaps that was just as well. In 1985, he published a very readable book: Pausanias' guide to ancient Greece. His main thesis is that Pausanias is a much more reliable informant than we always thought. No wonder he gratefully made use of what Vatin offered him, because: "How does Pausanias come out of this? With flying colors"! And with that, the circle is complete.

Projections

As is well known, our powers of perception function extremely selectively. It shows us what we want to see, even our own projections. The good faith of Medgessy and Vatin need not be doubted for a moment: they really read their letters. Unlike most visions, however, their illusion has not crystallized into fleeting images, but into concrete and constantly reread texts. That shows once again how much the human brain is capable of. 'I see, I see what you do not see!' No, that is not child's play.

The author is co-editor of the Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum and works at the Department of Ancient History at Leiden University.

Photos Above: drawing by C. Vatin of inscriptions on the pedestal of the bull of the Korkyraioi. Below: Vatin's drawing of inscriptions on the colonnade of Tegea.

7 January 1988 A discovery in Delphi: Etruscan inscriptions in a Greek sanctuary? Claude Vatin and the benefit of the doubt

By J.A.K.E. de Waele

Anyone who has ever entered the hospitable home of Claude Vatin in one of the picturesque villages near Aix-en-Provence knows that in one of his study rooms there is an impressive series of shelves along all the walls. On these shelves the French scholar has stored the harvest of almost 25 years of epigraphic research in Delphi. In recent years he has 'abgeklatscht' thousands of stones scattered here and there in the sanctuary, a process in which blotting paper is placed on a stone and then moistened. The blotting paper dries in all the irregularities, scratches and cracks of the stone. In negative, on the underside of the blotting sheet to see all traces. In this way, ancient inscriptions engraved in the stone can also be deciphered in the study. In an article on the Opinion page of NRC Handelsblad, R.A. Tybout recently sided with unnamed scholars of the French school, who declared that Vatin's lectures were based on fantasy. Here an attempt is made to make clear how spectacular Vatin's discoveries are and how accurate his working methods are. One must have examined the stones themselves for a long time and studied the Abklatsche if one wants to criticize Vatin's results.

After the French school in Athens had previously uncovered monuments in Delphi, the large-scale excavations were decided upon in 1892 by the French parliament in an atmosphere of animosity with the German Empire. After the reparations that France was forced to make after the Franco-German war of 1870-1871, the German Empire had large amounts of gold in its coffers. This was used to finance the excavations at Olympia 1875-1881, a form of development work avant la lettre. The decision of the French National Assembly to beat the Germans to Delphi must also be seen as an attempt to make up for the damaged glory of the fatherland, at least in science.

The German archaeologists watched with dismay as this important excavation at Delphi, where they had already done the necessary preparatory work, passed them by. The sanctuary was uncovered by French scientists in record time. This was not always done very accurately, but at a time when wages were still low, an immense area was explored. This sacred area is now one of the tourist attractions of the Greek world. One is impressed by the imposing scenery of the steep pink-grey rocks, between which the ruins are nestled. Apollo once spoke here through his famous Oracle, to which the entire Greek world listened. The discussions between the digging French and the Germans on the sidelines frequently flared up. In a time of positivist criticism, in which every ancient text was arbitrarily changed if it did not seem to match archaeological observations, polemics were conducted that sometimes seemed to be a direct continuation of the armed Franco-German conflict. Pomtow, a German archaeologist and historian who has been occupied with Delphi all his life, has

summarized his life's work in an encyclopedia article of 120 densely printed pages of text. He turned against the "French method, particularly beloved in Delphi, of 'ignoring' stones and facts that do not suit them".

Justification

The French response was inevitable; in a youthful work, the French Nestor of epigraphy at Delphi seeks a justification for the attitude of 'ignoring' the various arguments of the German researcher. However, many controversial questions are still unresolved and it may be called a favourable development that now some young German archaeologists are making sensational discoveries thanks to sensitive photography. As a result, one of the greatest controversies seems to be resolved soon, which means that the ancient writers – and the French archaeologists – are once again proven right.

Knowledge of this background is essential to understand the situation in which Vatin finds himself. With a sharp eye he has examined stones and Abklatsche and has overturned many established ideas. One of the sacred houses that is threatened concerns the statues of two archaic young men who have been identified with Cleobis and Biton since the discovery site. According to the story, these had pulled their mother, priestess of the goddess Hera, to the sanctuary in her chariot at "tos" – six km in the burning sun! When they had succumbed to exhaustion, their fellow citizens set up their statues in Delphi.

In 1893, a group of statues of two young men was excavated in Delphi. The inscription on the base was read as if it were Cleobis and Biton. However, Vatin believes that he can see the two Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, in the group. This is not believed by many colleagues. Nevertheless, the inscription on the base of the statues has never been read in such a way that all scholars came to a unanimous interpretation.

Pausanias

The reading of the stones with which Vatin makes the reconstruction that is so criticized by Tybout is no different. It must be stated in advance that Vatin's reading is based on a text by Pausanias, which Pomtow changed with the approval of all scholars because the text did not seem to correspond with the situation in the field. This ancient writer Pausanias, who in the second century AD compiled a 'Baedeker' of ancient Greece, was vilified at the end of the previous century as a scholar who, sitting at his desk, frantically copied earlier authors without actually doing so.

He ever saw the places he describes. Fortunately, this picture has changed radically in modern times. The ancient historian Christian Habicht, who teaches at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, has contributed greatly to this rehabilitation of Pausanias, because he has shown how much Pausanias became the personal enemy of a German classicist and his school. But that is another story. The polemic flared up again when Vatin discovered a bilingual inscription in Etruscan and Greek from Delphi. The editors of the journal where he offered his article refused to publish it. Vatin then announced his data at an Etruscan conference in Italy. The majority of the colleagues present there received this message as a sensational discovery. The document will certainly receive special attention from ancient historians and Etruscanologists in the coming years. The historical importance of the inscription in particular must be investigated.

The correctness of Vatin's observation is not doubted in these circles. She testifies to a method by which the French scholar comes into the limelight in a completely different light than he was previously portrayed in this magazine. Perhaps the French colleagues working in Delphi feel a slight irritation that stones that have been known for so long still appear to contain important epigraphic data. Do they experience it as a disgrace to the national research that has been taking place in Delphi for more than a century? The fact that French epigraphers also have a razor-sharp pen and a great deal of power quickly makes an underdog hopeless and despondent.

But great discoverers in archaeology have already been greeted with derision by their colleagues: the merits of Schliemann are now almost universally recognized. He was also lucky that the weight of the gold he found tipped the scales in his favor. That he has given Greece back a piece of history is now clear to everyone. And when Marinatos offered an article to a magazine in which he identified Thera with Atlantis, the editors disclaimed all responsibility in a note. Fortunately, the Greek archaeologist would once again be able to test his theory in practice through the spectacular finds.

Weathered

25415 A rectangular stone from Delphi has long been known on which the following can be read: "(a tenth of the booty?) have dedicated to Apollo the Tyrrhenians, i.e. the Etruscans". What exactly the Etruscans dedicated is unknown because the upper part of the stone is damaged. The same name was also previously written under the last word 'Tyrrhenians', but it has weathered so much over the years that it has been

25420 reapplied. To his great surprise, Vatin also read a few more letters from the older, heavily weathered inscription, of which 'Kymaion helontes' (= conquered from the inhabitants of Kyme) was the most important. He concluded that this stone had been dedicated after a victory by the Etruscans over Kyme, a Greek city north of Naples, where one of the earliest Greek colonies was located.

25425 Whether this dedication was set up by the Etruscans in a Greek sanctuary will have to be investigated further. Two conflicts between Kyme and the Etruscans are known from historical sources. Both times the Greeks were victorious. The first time the Etruscans were defeated in about 524 by the tyrant Aristodemos. A few decades later the Syrakusan tyrant Hieron drilled the Etruscan fleet into the ground in the

25430 roadstead of Kyme. Helmets that the Syrakusan set up in Olympia still remain from the last victory. It is not clear what reason the Etruscans saw to place a dedication or booty at Delphi. Perhaps the naval battle was not so clearly decided in the Greeks' favour after all.

Bilingual

25435 This discovery prompted Vatin to take another good look at the sides of the stone. What he found there exceeded all expectations. He found a bilingual dedication in Greek and Etruscan. The Greek text reads in translation: "This tripod was consecrated by the Velthanes (?) as a gift from the spoils taken from the Chalkidians at Kyme". Too good to be true. The older inscription on the stone can be found attached to the

25440 side!

Encouraged by this discovery, Vatin continued his search for traces of Etruscans in Delphi. Now, traditionally, a treasury - a temple-like building in which the precious consecrations were placed - had been attributed to an Etruscan city. It concerns a foundation behind the rebuilt treasury of the Athenians in Delphi. It is built of an

25445 unusually dark (tuff?) stone that was assumed to have been brought from Etruria by sea and assembled in Delphi. In itself, this is not unusual; in other sanctuaries, entire buildings were also brought to Greece from Sicily, for example.

However, Vatin was initially very sceptical about the attribution. However, when he carefully examined all the blocks, he found an inscription written in Greek, local

25450 Delphic alphabet: "To Apollo of Delphi the Velthanes have brought a consecration". Furthermore, on another side of the treasury the inscription could be read: "The Tyrrhenians achieved on the inhabitants of Kyme".

Velthanes

25455 This inscription was written in a later period than the one mentioned earlier. Apparently, the inscription was also renewed here in the second instance. This time, however, it no longer refers to 'Velthanes' but to 'Tyrrhenians'. According to the first inscription, a treasury of the Velthanes was built here in the fifth century BC. The inscription was renewed again afterwards, this time in the name of the

25460 Tyrrhenians, probably because the older text mentioning the Velthanes was less deeply engraved and had become difficult to read. From the ancient sources it appears that there were treasuries of the Etruscan cities of Agylla and Spina in Delphi.

Who these Velthanes were has not yet been investigated. Two possibilities present themselves. Either it concerns a consecration of the league of cities that met

25465 annually in the sanctuary of Volsinii (= Velthanes?) near present-day Bolsena, or a connection must be sought with the Etruscan name of Bologna, 'Felsina'.

Geographically, this last city is closer to Spina, but then it remains a mystery how and when these Etruscans waged war with the inhabitants of the Greek Kyme.

This gives ancient historians and Etruscanologists a new bone to chew on. How

25470 incredible do Vatin's observations sound! But also unbelievable? Those who know him will be inclined to take him seriously for his careful working methods and scientific seriousness as a scholar and epigrapher. Despite the criticism of his colleagues, Vatin still deserves the benefit of the doubt. The author is an extraordinary

25475 professor of classical archaeology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen.

Photos The treasury of the Athenians at Delphi.

On the left Vatin's drawing of the front of the stone and on the right his drawing of the left side with the bilingual, Etruscan and Greek, inscription.

The statue group of Cleobis and Biton (?) at Delphi.

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16 February 1988 Etruscanologist Pallottino also doubts the working methods of the French scholar

Vatin's observation deserves scepticism

By R.A. Tybout

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Claude Vatin believes he has discovered Etruscan inscriptions in a sanctuary at Delphi. Nonsense? According to the Dutch archaeologist De Waele (last month on the Opinion page) he should be given the benefit of the doubt. That does not alter the fact that the French scholar sees inscriptions that have remained invisible to others. Some time ago it was reported that Rolph Medgessy had read numerous

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microscopic signatures by Goya on important paintings by several old masters. The straw fire of this news was quickly extinguished by the fact that none of his colleagues appeared to be able to see what Medgessy saw. On the Opinion page of NRC Handelsblad I then pointed out a similar affair in the field of Greek epigraphy: Claude Vatin published a series of interesting texts, which he claims to read on the

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weathered surface of various blocks in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi. In this case too, colleagues reacted extremely sceptically. Not so J.A. de Waele, who on this page broke a lance for Vatin. It would have been relevant if he had published a photo of a stone or Abklatsch from which it would appear that there are indeed letters present. 'Abklatschen' is a procedure in which blotting paper is placed on a stone and moistened. The negative of the dried sheet then shows the irregularities and cracks (and possible letters) in the stone.

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Abklatsche are an 'instrument de travail'. Every epigraphician in the field documents his findings with this prepared blotting paper, among other things. Later, in the peace of his study, he can arrive at a text constitution, whether or not justified.

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Furthermore, De Waele attempts to explain why Vatin's lectures encounter resistance. Not facts, but feelings of unease from his fellow 'Delphiens' are said to be

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responsible for this. It is an old song: the brilliant loner who, because he would pose a threat to the established scientific order, would be ignored or marginalized by it. An attempt is made to reverse the burden of proof and to arouse the sympathy of the general public for the 'underdog'. All this is only interesting as a psychological mechanism, but has no value for disciplines other than psychology.

Verifiable

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But back to the bare facts! Anyone who thinks he can report something of importance publishes his findings in a professional journal. Vatin did the same. Anyone who also wants to gain approval from colleagues should ensure that at least his factual material is verifiable. Vatin did not do so. Note: this does not apply to all his work, but it does apply to a large part of the articles on Delphic inscriptions included in various magazines since 1981, including the texts I mentioned in NRC Handelsblad. On the photographs of stones or Abklatsche that Vatin provides in some cases, not a single letter is visible. This circumstance is, to put it euphemistically, unique.

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It does happen that letters on photographs in comparable publications are illegible, or that the weathered stone surface allows for more readings of certain letters:

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for example, on the pedestals of the statues of 'Kleobis and Biton' mentioned by De Waele. However, there has never been any doubt that these pedestals bear inscriptions. The precise reading of these visible letters is open to dispute. A

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different kind of problem arises with the texts that I quoted in translation: no one except Vatin has been able to observe a single letter. The latter applies to a large number of other Delphic inscriptions that Vatin thinks he reads. These texts show the same profile, with somewhat suspicious contours: they are extremely interesting, groundbreaking in many vexed questions and almost always in perfect agreement with what we know from the literary sources. They are often said to be on stones that also contain an inscription that is visible to everyone. Another characteristic is that

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Vatin usually does not leave it at one new inscription, but that he gives a series of often engraved identical versions (up to seven!) of a text. All this in a script that, according to Vatin himself, is barely perceptible. For example, on the pedestal of the famous 'Danseuses de Delphes' (in the museum at Delphi), he reads, in addition to the already known fragmentary inscription of the oath, eight new texts (some identical), which provide answers to all the questions that this group of statues has raised among generations of scholars: the occasion and date of the dedication

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('victory of Athens over Sparta'; '375-374 BC'), the identity of the dedicators ('The Athenians and their allies'), of the artist (none other than 'Praxiteles'!) and of a later restorer ('Philodemos', 'second century BC'). Can it be more beautiful? "Too

25545 good to be true", writes De Waele in response to another cookie from Vatin's dough. One should be warned not to take this Greek-Etruscan pastry without a few grains of salt.

Now it could be that all appearances are wrongly against Vatin. Therefore, De Waele is right when he says that verification of Vatin's proposals should ultimately be

25550 done on site in Delphi and after thorough study by Abklatsche of the stones in question. Well, that was done, with the result mentioned. And by epigraphists of various persuasions. At the time, I spared the readers of NRC Handelsblad their names. There are indeed 'Delphiens' among them from the French school in Athens. Their secretary J.-Y. Empereur informed the editors of the Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (a publication in book form that organizes and makes accessible the annual

25555 harvest of Greek inscriptions) of their findings in writing. But perhaps none of them could discover a letter because they were collectively cross-eyed with jealousy. My quote "il n'y a rien, ce sont des illusions" however comes from a similar written warning from a scholar who is out of reach of any possible bad vapours of the Delphic

25560 Pythia: O. Masson, a French 'epigraphist without party' of undisputed reputation. De Waele is silent about a few extremely relevant professional publications in this matter. Who is actually "ignoring" whom? Are supposed enemies ignoring Vatin or is De Waele ignoring the fictitious company of conspirators? These publications show that Vatin is by no means being ignored silently and that he is not at all hostile a

25565 priori.

For example, there is the Crete expert P. Faure (also not a 'Delphien'), who, like Vatin, examined the texts on the pedestals of 'Kleobis and Biton' (L'Antiquité Classique 54, 1985, pp. 56-65). The nice thing is that Vatin is right about his

25570 reading of these visible texts as a dedication to the Dioscuri. So there is no trace of partiality; it is very possible that 'Cleobis and Biton' should be relegated to the realm of fable. But about a number of never-observed texts that Vatin also reads here and there on the images, he writes: "I am obliged, but it may be that my eyes are not good enough, to say that I see nothing of it." And neither on the original, nor on plaster casts, nor on Abklatsche, nor on colour and black and white photos.

25575

Pallottino

These negative findings are not limited to the French borders. Vatin's bilingual Greek-Etruscan text also stirred up Italian pens. For example, the Etruscanologist M. Cristofan concluded after studying stone and Abklatsche: "I have not seen a single

25580 sign that could be interpreted with certainty as belonging to an alphabet" (Xenia 8, 1984, p. 13). What does De Waele tell the reader when he speaks about the reception of Vatin's findings among Etruscans? "The correctness of Vatin's observation is not doubted in these circles."

No doubt? There is another person from 'these circles' who shed light on the matter:

25585 none other than the doyen of Etruscans, Massimo Pallottino, wrote a nuanced, but again sceptical, consideration of Vatin's bilingual text under the title De cippus van Delphi en het 'casualt Vatin' (Studi Etruschi 53, 1987, pp. 7-14). Pallottino operates as cautiously as possible and makes every effort to give Vatin the 'benefit of the doubt' – ultimately without positive results. He looks at the matter from

25590 three points of view. First, the technical-epigraphical side: are there indeed letters on the stone in question? Here Pallottino can do little more than establish that no one except Vatin has been able to perceive even a single letter of the disputed texts. He himself has studied some of Vatin's Abklatsche. For the sake of completeness he mentions that "with much good will" two irregularities could be

25595 interpreted as letter signs, but he adds: "There is nothing else to see than this, which could just as well be pure illusion and then explain how it is possible that illusory readings (of letters) are born from unintentional scratches on the stone, wear or irregularities in the surface."

25600

Aplu

Second, Pallottino provides a linguistic analysis of the Etruscan part of Vatin's text. He notes that it is internally consistent and corresponds word for word with Vatin's Greek counterpart text. Of course, that says nothing about the authenticity of either version: either a late archaic Etruscan or Vatin has translated the Greek

25605 into neat Etruscan – except for one detail, "fairly decisive," according to Pallottino. In the archaic period, from which the inscription is said to originate based on its content, one would not expect the syncopated form Aplu instead of Apulu as the name of the god Apollo. Then follows a cautious phrase: "One would truly say that the author of a hypothetical, learned, and ingenious Etruscan version of a Greek

25610 text inspired by the Delphic vowel inscription would have made a rather serious

mistake here through inattention."

Pallottino's third consideration concerns "the personal and psychological profile" of some of the statements that Vatin added to the publication of his inscriptions. He notes that they are sincere, but that they do show an unmistakably apologetic slant: Vatin writes that one must have experience and patience to be able to read his texts, that he does not act out of a desire for fame, nor because there is anything suggestive about finding an Etruscan text, which to his own surprise gradually became apparent to him.

Pallottino's final conclusion: "illusory or not, we have no other material evidence of Vatin's readings than his own explanation. We can, if we wish, give credence to that explanation. But unfortunately science does not base itself on professions of faith."

Whatever one may think of this remarkable history (I still consider it plausible that Vatin 'projected' entirely in good faith into the numerous fissures and cracks of the rough stone letters that are not there): a strong doubt about the reliability of Vatin's observations is certainly justified.

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Photos The Etruscan scholar Massimo Pallottino is sceptical about Vatin's discovery. Also: the Delphic twins: Dioscuri or 'Kleobis and Biton'?

4 July 1989 Pausanias' travel guide to Greece restored to its former glory after a hundred years

Jos de Waele

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The Greek writer Pausanias, who wrote his 'Description of Greece' around 150 AD, is not exactly among the top ten of ancient literature. Little is known about his life. He lived during the Roman imperial period and came from the vicinity of Smyrna in Asia Minor. He deals with the Greek mainland in a dry manner, which he describes as smaller than the present-day Balkan state. As a child of his time, Pausanias looks back as far as we do to the heyday of Gothic cathedrals in classical Greece. His interest lies in the cities and monuments of classical Hellas, which still attract many tourists as ruins.

However, one should not expect Pausanias to provide the detailed descriptions of a Baedeker, Guide bleu or Cantecler guide. His text is not intended as a manual on the spot, but as reading material in the study of the educated intellectual of the imperial period. That is why Pausanias alternates the descriptions of the places with long excursions into mythological and historical background information.

The value of Pausanias was recognized early on by archaeologists in the field. After the liberation from the Turks in 1832, many travelers traveled through Greece with Pausanias in their hands. Many archaeological sites have been found and excavated in this way. In the major tourist attractions of Olympia or Delphi, many buildings would not be identifiable without Pausanias' text. That he did his work thoroughly is evident in Olympia, where he lists more than 200 gifts with inscriptions. Of the 115 bases found, 34 inscriptions are also given by Pausanias. In the agora of Athens, during the American excavations in the 1930s, several crucial monuments were also identified, which allows the entire walk of Pausanias to be reconstructed in broad outline.

Nevertheless, the ancient Baedeker has not always been so highly valued in the scientific literature. In the previous century, the Berlin school, led by the famous Greek Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, severely damaged the reputation of the ancient author. Pausanias was said to have been a 'miserable compiler' and an 'Erzkonfusionar', who copied most of his text from others at home without having travelled much himself.

Although archaeologists immediately came forward with good arguments for Pausanias, the attacks of the Berlin professor and his pupils were merciless. The latter cut down their victims like true epigones, so that many suspicions remained despite all the good services that the 'old Baedeker' had rendered to the archaeologists.

Recently, however, it became clear to what Pausanias owed this. On 18 April 1873, a German travel party left Olympia and headed for Arcadia. Among these grand tourists were hereditary princes and country squires from the Prussian nobility. Due to his knowledge of ancient Greek, Von Wilamowitz was in charge. As reading material, he had a Pausanias text in his pocket. Due to an incorrect interpretation – he did not realise that he was following Pausanias in the opposite direction – he took the wrong

path and after a few hours he had to admit that he was hopelessly lost. The young scholar then became the butt of the ridicule of his fellow travellers. Shortly afterwards the first publications appeared in which Von Wilamowitz tried to show that Pausanias was completely unreliable: "The whole rat-king of contradictions and errors... can only be explained by the fact that Pausanias thoughtlessly copies an earlier description, sometimes weaving his own memories into it and more often supplementing it with quotations from other authors; over all this he hangs a rococo mantle of sophistic absent-mindedness and infantile erodotus imitation." Only recently has Christian Habicht, a former historian at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, found the reason for this trauma: in Von Wilamowitz's wounded pride. Only now can the full rehabilitation of an author be initiated, of whom the famous British historian of religion Sir James Frazer once wrote: "Pausanias could never have foreseen how 1700 years later severe professors would condemn him. Had he seen this coming, he might never have written his entire description of Greece and we would have to regret the loss of one of the most curious and valuable documents that Antiquity has left us."

30 April 1993 The mysterious farmers of the Iron Age
In search of the Celts in the Netherlands
by Pieter Stein

The Netherlands has never had much time for the Celts, even though they were here once. Even the exhibition that the Allard Pierson Museum dedicates to them ends with a question mark: The Celts in the Netherlands? They have not left many traces and the little that there is seems very Roman to the layman. But appearances can be deceptive. "No Roman would dream of building a temple in the countryside."

Generations of grammar school students and readers of the adventures of Asterix can dream of them: the famous opening sentences of Caesar's Notes on the Gallic War. 'Gaul is divided into three parts', the Roman conqueror teaches, and then names the native inhabitants as Belgae (in the North), Aquitani (in the South) and 'people who in their own language are called Celtae but in ours Galli.' The Belgae are the furthest removed from the civilizing influence of the provincia (the Romanized Provence), and are constantly at war with the wild Germans from across the Rhine. That is why, Caesar concludes, they are the bravest of all the Gallic peoples. Caesar knew what he was talking about. When he published his Notes in 51 BC, formerly all of Gaul had been occupied, but in the area between the Rhine and the Marne it had cost him a lot of effort and manpower. For five years he had fought a bloody war there with various Belgian tribes, and especially with the Eburones under their chief Ambiorix. After losing an entire legion in 54, he opted for drastic measures. The enemy was systematically massacred, his lands ransacked, his places of residence wiped off the map. The Eburones disappeared from history. They suffered the fate of the other Celtic tribes on the mainland to an extreme extent: once defeated by the legions, they were absorbed into the Imperium Romanum and transformed into decent 'Gallo-Romans'.

Two thousand years after Julius Caesar, the Celts are making their comeback in historiography. Interest in civilisations from the Iron Age (700-50 BC) is growing and exhibitions of Celtic gold and silver attract full museums. In addition, the importance of the Celts for European culture is increasingly valued; at the time of the great Celt exhibition, two years ago in Venice, they were even proclaimed by some scholars as the real pioneers of a united Europe. That the hundreds of different Celtic tribes in Europe had no central government and at most a Celtic dialect in common was conveniently forgotten in the euphoria. More has been fantasized about the ancient Celts. This is not surprising, because unlike their conquerors, the Romans, they have left no written sources. What we know about them comes from the books of classical historians and ethnographers. They regarded the 'Keltoi' (also called 'Galli' or 'Galatae') as unspoiled savages, who from the sixth century BC had swarmed out from the Alps all over Europe and had plundered Rome and Delphi, among other places. The tall barbarians wore trousers, bracciae, wore thick golden neck rings, torques, washed their hair in a lime bath, and were known for their fearlessness. The story of the meeting between Alexander the Great and a Celtic embassy on the Danube is famous. Alexander asked what the Celts feared most, and expected the answer to be 'You, sir.' But the envoys declared that they were only afraid of one thing, namely that the sky would fall on their heads. Their answer would surprise the Greeks and Romans for centuries to come, and is still one of the running gags of the Asterix comics today.

Fighting and partying

25745 Just like in the rest of Europe, there seems to be more attention in the Netherlands recently for pre-Roman culture, for the forgotten tribes that lived between the Rhine and the Scheldt [Schelde] before (but also after) the beginning of our era. At the end of 1992, the A.G. Foundation van Hamel for Celtic Studies, organised a campaign to raise awareness of the pre-Roman culture. A symposium was held at which the Celts in the Netherlands were discussed. This coming autumn, the exhibition 'Fighting and

25750 partying among the Celts' will take place in Utrecht. And at the moment, a modest exhibition of Celtic art and utensils can be seen in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam – as part of the manifestation 'Celtica Nederland' with which Dutch Celtic studies wants to introduce itself to a broad audience. The Netherlands has never had much time for its Celtic past. Ambiorix may have been widely regarded as the Arminius of the Low Countries, but he was first and foremost a Belgian hero, with a statue in Tongeren. And the Eburones may have lived deep in the Dutch river area, but their ancestral homeland was in Belgian Limburg. In Dutch history books, the Gauls or Belgae were not mentioned as distant ancestors, but the Batavians: a – according to

25760 Roman historians – Germanic tribe that descended the Rhine after Caesar's conquests and settled in the Betuwe. The fact that the Celts appeal so little to the imagination in the Netherlands is undoubtedly because they have left few traces. From abroad you sometimes hear that a Celtic gold treasure has been excavated or a hill fort (oppidum) has been exposed. The British Museum is famous for its display cases full of torques and weapons from the Iron Age, and in the East of Southern France

25765 every medium-sized provincial town has a Gallo-Roman museum. But in the Netherlands no well-known Celtic remains come to mind at first. "That's not so strange," says Celticologist Laurant Toorians, a month before the opening of the exhibition in the Allard Pierson Museum that he helped put together. "The south of the Netherlands was on the edge of the Celtic cultural area, and was also influenced by the Germans from the northeast. There was no 'pure' or rich Celtic culture here, and large oppida such as at Kessel-Lo or on the Kemmelberg in Flanders have not been found. Many special examples of Celtic culture in the Netherlands also date from the Roman period, and then they are soon seen as more Roman than Gallic."

25770

I went to Toorians to find out what remains of the Celts in the Netherlands. The list is manageable: a few artefacts in the large archaeological museums, a small hill fort at the Sint Pietersberg (on the Belgian side), and the remains of two Gallo-Roman sanctuaries under the church of Elst and on the Maas near Empel. When I say that the latter surprises me – I have heard of those temples, but weren't they built by the Batavians, and not by the Celts? – Toorians explains that the Batavians are now often

25780 counted among the Celtic tribes: the Romans called them Germans because they came from across the Rhine, but it seems unlikely that they actually spoke Germanic.

Grave field

25785 Before I go looking for the remains of Celtic Netherlands, I call Dr Nico Roymans. He is an Iron Age specialist affiliated with the Institute for Pre- and Protohistory of the University of Amsterdam, and was one of the excavators of the indigenous Roman 'temple of Empel' in 1990. Roymans is even more cautious than Toorians. He would rather not talk about Celts at all ("As an archaeologist I don't work with those kinds of language-based macro-concepts"), but he invites me to take a look at the only Iron Age excavation that is currently being worked on: the burial ground of Mierlo-Hout, near Helmond. We agree to meet in two weeks' time.

25790

In the meantime I immerse myself in the Celts. I read the standard work by the Belgian S.J. De Laet, Prehistorische culturen in het zuid der Lage Landen (Wetteren 1979), and visit two archaeological museums with an Iron Age collection. The National Museum of Antiquities turns out not to be worth the trip to Leiden: the Netherlands

25795 department is being reorganised and even the world-famous 'disc of Helden', a gilded-silver hunting scene from the Late Iron Age, is not on display to the public. I have better luck in Museum Kam in Nijmegen (once the Celtic Novio-magus, 'Nieuw-markt'). There is renovation work going on, but fortunately almost all the Celtic masterpieces

25800 are on display on the ground floor: an iron sword with bronze scabbard dredged from the Waal (1st century BC); the melted remains of the 'Wagon Grave of Nijmegen', the final resting place of a local nobleman from the fourth century BC; and a beautiful bronze mirror inlaid with red enamel – the only one of its kind found on the European mainland.

25805 Not far from Nijmegen, in the Over-Betuwe, lies Elst. The town between the Lower Rhine and the Waal, a small Batavian settlement in early Roman times, was badly damaged in the Battle of Arnhem, but gained an archaeological monument during the restoration of the Gothic Werenfridus Church. The remains of two Gallo-Roman stone

25810 temples were found under the burnt-out nave. The first was built around 50 AD and destroyed twenty years later during the Batavian uprising against the Romans. The second, six times as large (31 by 23), was built at the end of the first century – fourteen m high and with a spacious colonnade all around. With an old-fashioned pointer, the church sexton explains the mini-exhibition that is set up in a side aisle. The objects on display look unremarkable and above all Roman: a few pieces of
25815 stone, an orange roof tile, and the skull remains of a suovetaurilia, a Roman purification offering consisting of a pig (sus), a sheep (ovis) and a bull (taurus). More interesting are the temple remains in the large crawl space under the church, a maze of walls, pillars and stone stacks in which, with some help, the various building layers and styles can be discovered. Of Temple II, the foundations of the
25820 actual sanctuary (the cella) can be seen and a piece of the colonnade wall. Of Temple I, not much remains than a floor of lime mortar with a large hole in it. But no matter how closely you look, to the layman's eye everything looks Roman. Elst offers precious little Celtic.

25825 Misty
"Appearances can be deceiving," says Nico Roymans, when I tell him about my disappointing visit to the Betuwe a week later at a misty Helmond-'t Hout station. "Just like the temple of Empel, the one in Elst is typically indigenous. Of course, the building techniques were Roman and the materials were imported. But no Roman
25830 would dream of building a temple in the countryside. That, plus the fact that Roman temples never have a four-sided colonnade, is an indication: Elst and Empel were indigenous sanctuaries, built by the Batavian elite on sites where gods were already worshipped in the Iron Age."
We walk through a spacious new housing estate to the site of the Iron Age urn field
25835 that was recently uncovered. An emergency operation, Roymans emphasizes: "We are digging ahead of the bulldozers, in a few months there will be luxury villas on these sandy soils." In an iron construction shed, which serves as headquarters and coffee house for four frozen architects, geologists, Roymans explains the excavation using topographic maps. On either side of the shed is a burial ground of 100 by 500 m
25840 where, in the periods 650-450 BC and 25-400 AD, two hundred and fifty people were buried after being cremated. An estimated three to five families lived around the burial ground, in wooden thatched roof farms of the so-called 'house type': unlike abroad, people and cattle slept under one roof in the Netherlands.
It all sounds rather unspectacular, and it isn't. The excavation is one of the 'for
25845 enthusiasts' category. In the Iron Age, this may have been an idyllic landscape with a few hundred hills, now it is a messy piece of land that is being laboriously prepared for construction. Circles and rectangles are visible in wide, bulldozed trenches – discolorations that indicate where the graves and the associated ditches once lay. No major finds have been made. Roymans: "The people who lived here had a poor burial ritual, but that does not mean that their culture was poorly developed; after all, we also only bury our dead in a suit. From richer excavations on the sandy
25850 soils of Brabant we have at least been able to conclude that there were contacts between the local elites and the Celtic world of Central Europe."
Back in the coffee shop, Roymans wants to say a bit more about what he calls the Celt question. "The discussion about Celts and Germans in the South of the Netherlands is complicated by the fact that scientists from different disciplines talk past each other. Linguists say: someone is a Celt if he speaks Celtic. Unfortunately, little Celtic has been handed down in these regions – a handful of names that could just as well have been borrowed – so try to draw a sensible conclusion. Archaeologists base
25860 themselves on the material culture and prefer not to stick an ethnic label on the farmers from the Iron Age. We do not speak of Celts, but at most of 'Celticized tribes'. Our research focuses on cultural influence.
"The entire discussion goes back to Caesar. He wanted to go down in history as the conqueror of all of Gaul. Because he could not go on forever, he declared the Rhine the ethnic border between the wild Celts and the even wilder Germanic hordes. But if
25865 you had asked an inhabitant of an Iron Age settlement on the Rhine whether he was a Celt or a German, he would have stared at you incredulously. 'I am Jansen van Pietersen,' he would say, or, if he were very open-minded, perhaps: 'I am an Eburone.'

25870 Punitive expedition
That afternoon I travel on to Maastricht, in a last attempt to get in touch with the spirit of the Celts, or at least that of the Eburones. After a short visit to the Bonnefanten Museum – the archaeology department is being reorganized and the famous

25875 Gallic 'cock of Buchten' is not on display – I cycle on a rented Batavus past the Sint Pietersberg and the Eerste Nederlandse Cement Industrie. Just across the Belgian border, a wooded plateau rises on the right side of the road. On top of it, at Kanne-Caster, there is supposed to be a fort from the Gallic War, uncovered in the 1970s. Some scholars believe it was a small oppidum of the Eburones; according to others, it was the legendary Aduatuca, the place where Ambiorix slaughtered six thousand Romans in 54 BC, and from where Caesar later organised his punitive expedition against the Eburones.

25880 After a steep climb along a zigzag path, I expect all sorts of things: cobblestone walls, post holes, defensive ditches – whether or not covered with grass and bushes. But there is nothing archaeological to be seen, not even an information sign. Looking out over the rolling ridge, with a canal low in the distance and a meadow with white cows behind me, it dawns on me that the excavations here were of course of the same nature as those at Helmond. The research has been done, the trenches have been filled in again, and there is nothing left to remind us of the Eburones. When I cycle back over the Sint Pietersberg, I realise how thoroughly Caesar went about his work. However brave the Belgae were, there is depressingly little left of them in the Netherlands.

25895 The exhibition 'Celts in the Netherlands?' in the Allard Pierson Museum can be seen until 11 June. Amsterdam, Oude Turfmarkt 129. Tue. to Fri. 10am-5pm, Sat. and Sun. 1pm-5pm. Information about the manifestation 'Celtica Nederland' at the Stichting A.G. van Hamel, Postbus 1427, 3500 BK Utrecht.

THE NETHERLANDS AROUND THE BEGINNING OF OUR CENTURY

Card: NRC Handelsblad/Willum Morsch, 30.04.93

25900 The bronze 'cock of Buchten' (h. 15 cm), a votive offering decorated with enamel to the indigenous goddess Arcanua, who had a sanctuary in Buchten, Limburg. Second century AD

Reconstruction drawing of the large, second Gallo-Roman temple of Elst, built in the last quarter of the first century AD R.O.B. – J. Ipey – C.J. de Vries

25905 From: 'Asterix – The Champion' (René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo, 1963)

WHY THE PYTHIA DOES NOT NOW GIVE ORACLES IN VERSE

I. Basilocles – Philinus.

THE SPEAKERS BASILOCLÉS, a citizen of Delphi.

25910 PHILINUS, a friend, perhaps also of Delphi.

Bas. "You have made it late in the evening, Philinus, by escorting your guest about amongst the dedicated things: I lost all patience in waiting for you both."

25915 Phil. "Yes, Basilocles, we strolled along slowly – sowing words as we went, and forthwith 'reaping words with strife', that sprung up and emerged along our path, like the crop of the Dragon's Teeth, spiteful and contentious words."

Bas. "Will it then be necessary to ask one of those who were there at the time, or are you willing yourself to oblige us and repeat your conversation? and tell us who were the speakers?"

25920 Phil. "That task, it seems, is mine, for you won't find the others easily; I saw most of them going up again to the Corcium and the Lycoreia, in company with the visitor."

Bas. "How fond our visitor is of seeing the sites, and how extravagantly fond of hearing stories!"

25925 Phil. "Rather, fond of history, and willing to learn; and not so much to be admired for these two qualities, as for gentleness combined with elegance of manner, and then an incredulity and a fondness for disputation – the result of intelligence – with nothing in it ill-tempered or stubborn: so that after being a little while in his company you exclaim, 'The child of a good father!' [Plato Republic 368a] You are surely acquainted with Diogenianus, that best of men?"

25930 Bas. "I have not seen him; but I have met many who greatly approve of his conversation and character, and say just the same things of him as you do of the youth. But what was the occasion of this discussion of yours?"

II. Philinus narrates their conversation.

25935 THE SPEAKERS PHILINUS

DIOGENIANUS, a young visitor from Pergamum, son of Diogenianus.

THEON, a literary friend.

SERAPION, Athenian poet.

BOETHUS, a geometrician, nearly a converted Epicurean.

25940 TWO GUIDES to the Temple of Delphi.

Phil. "The guides were going through their regular spiel, paying no heed to our entreaties that they cut short their long stories and their reading of every single inscription, whatever its interest. The appearance and artistic merit of the statues did not so much attract the notice of the visitor, who had no doubt seen many fine things of the sort elsewhere. But he admired the color of the bronze, which was not like dirt nor like verdigris, but shone with a dark blue dye, so as to contribute considerably to the effect of the statues of the admirals (for there he had begun his tour), standing as they did, sea-like in color, and truly men of the ocean deep. Was there, he asked, some special mode of alloying and preparing the bronze used by the ancient artificers, like the tempering of swords, on the loss of which skill, bronze was exempted from the uses of war? For we know," he continued, "that Corinthian bronze acquired its beauty of color not through any art, but through accident, when a fire consumed a house containing a little gold and silver and a great quantity of bronze; all which being mixed and melted together; and the whole thing took its name from bronze, the preponderating metal."

Theon broke in: "We have heard a different story, with a bit of mischief in it. A Corinthian bronze-worker found a chest containing a hoard of gold. Fearing detection, he chipped it off little by little, quietly mixing the bits with bronze; the result was a marvellous blend, which he sold at a high price, as people were delighted with its color and beauty. However, the one story is as mythical as the other; what we may suppose is that some method was known of mixing and preparing, much as now they alloy gold with silver, producing a peculiar and rare, and to my mind a sickly and pallid effect, a perversion with no beauty in it."

III. Diog. "What then has been the cause, do you think, of the color of these bronzes?"

Theon "Here is a case in which, of the first and primal elements of Nature – namely, Fire, Earth, Air Water – none comes near to, or has to do with, bronze, except only air: clearly then, air is the agent; from its constant presence and contact the bronze gets its exceptional quality, or perhaps τοῦτ' ἤδη πρὶν Θεόγνωιν γεγονέναι. Thus much you knew before Theognis was, as the comic poet has it. But what you want to learn, Diogenianus, is perhaps the nature of the air, and the property in virtue of which repeated contact has thus colored the bronze?" Diogenianus said that it was; "And I too," continued Theon; "my young friend, let us continue our quest together; and first, if you will agree, ask why olive oil produces a more copious rust on the metal than other liquids. It does not, of course, actually make the deposit, because it is pure and uncontaminated when applied."

Diog. "Certainly not; the real cause appears to me to be something different; the oil is fine, pure, and transparent, so the rust when it meets it is specially evident, whereas with other liquids rust becomes invisible."

Theon "Excellent, my young friend, that is prettily put. But consider also, if you please, the cause given by Aristotle."

Diog. "I do please. Aristotle says that rust, when it comes into contact with other liquids, passes invisibly through and is dispersed, because the particles are irregular and fine; whereas in dense oil it is held together and permanently condensed. If, then, we can come to some such hypothesis ourselves, we shall not be entirely at a loss for a spell to charm away this difficulty."

IV. We encouraged him and agreed, and Theon went on to say that the air of Delphi is thick and close of texture, with a tenseness caused by reflection from the hills and their resistance, but is also fine and biting, as seems to be proved by the facts of digestion of food. The tenuity allows it to enter bronze, and to scrape up from it much solid rust, which rust again is held up and compressed, because the density of the air does not allow it a passage through; but the deposit breaks out, because it is so copious, and takes on a bright rich hue at the surface. This we applauded, but the visitor remarked that either hypothesis was sufficient for the argument.

Diog. "The fineness will be found to be in contradiction to the density you speak of, but there is no necessity to assume it. The bronze, as it ages, exhales or throws off rust by its own inherent action; the density holds together and solidifies the rust, and makes it apparent because of its quantity."

Theon broke in, "What is to prevent the same thing being both fine and dense, as silks or fine linen stuffs, of which Homer says καίροσέων δ' ὀθωνῶν ἀπολείβεται ὕγρον ἔλαιον."

And from the close-spun weft the trickling oil will fall, [Od. 7.107: *] where he indicates the minute and delicate workmanship of the fabric by the fact that the oil

would not remain, but trickled or glided off, the fineness at once and the density refusing it passage. And again, the scraping up of the rust is not the only purpose served by the tenuity of the air; it also makes the color itself pleasanter to the eye and brighter, mingling lustre with the azure of the blue."

V. Here there was an interval of silence; the guides were getting back to their routine speeches. A certain oracle given in verse was mentioned – I think it was one about the reign of Aegon the Argive – when Diogenianus observed that he had often been surprised at the badness and common quality of the verse in which oracles are delivered. yet the God is Choirmaster of the Muses, and eloquent language is no less his function than beauty of ode for tune, and he should have a voice far above that of Homer and Hesiod in verse. And yet we have the greater part of the oracles a tissue of bad taste, both in diction and in metre. Then Serapion the poet of Athens, said Serap. "Then do we really believe that these verses are the God's, yet venture to say that they fall behind Homer and Hesiod in beauty? Shall we not rather take them as the best and most beautiful in poetry, and revise our judgement of them, as prejudiced by familiarity with a bad standard?"

At this point Boethus the geometer – you know him, already well on his way into the Epicurean camp – broke in.

Boeth. "Have you ever heard the story of Pauson the painter?"

Serap. "No, I have not."

Boeth. "Well, it's certainly worth hearing. It seems that he had contracted to paint a horse rolling, and not galloping. The buyer was indignant; so Pauson laughed and turned the canvas upside down, with the result that the lower parts became the upper, and there was the horse rolling, not galloping. So it is, Bion tells us, with certain syllogisms when converted. Thus some will tell us not that the oracles are quite beautiful because they are the God's, but that they are not the God's because they are bad! That point may be left unsettled. But that the verses used in the oracles are bad poetry," he continued, "is made clear also in your judgement, my dear Serapion, isn't it so? For you write poems which are severe and philosophical in subject, but in force, grace, and diction are more like the work of Homer and Hesiod than like the utterances of the Pythia!"

VI. Serap. "Yes, we are sick, Boethus, sick in ear, and sick in eye. Luxury and softness have accustomed us to think things beautiful as they are more sweet, and call them so. Soon we shall actually be finding fault with the Pythia because she does not speak with a more thrilling voice than Glaucé the singing-girl, or use costly ointments, or put on purple robes to go down into the sanctuary, or burn on her censor cassia, mastic, and frankincense, rather than her own barley and bay leaves. Do you not see," he went on, "what grace the songs of Sappho have, how they charm and soothe the hearers, while the Sibyl 'with raving mouth,' as Heraclitus says, 'utters words with no laughter, no adornment, no perfumes,' yet makes her voice carry to ten thousand years, because of the God. And Pindar tells us that Cadmus heard from the God 'right music', not sweet music, or delicate music, or twittering music. What is passionless and pure gives no admission to pleasure; she was cast out in this very place, together with pain; and the most of her has dribbled away, it seems, into the ears of men."

VII. When Serapion had done, Theon smiled.

Theon "Serapion has paid his usual tribute to his own proclivities, making capital out of the turn which the conversation had taken about pain and pleasure! But for us, Boethus, even if these verses are inferior to Homer, let us never suppose that the God has composed them; he only gives the initial impulse according to the capacity of each prophetess. Why, suppose the answers had to be written, not spoken. I do not think we should suppose that the letters were made by God, and find fault with the calligraphy as below royal standard. The strain is not the God's, but the woman's, and so with the voice and the phrasing and the metre; he only provides the fantasies, and puts light into her soul to illuminate the future; for that is what inspiration is. To put it plainly, there is no escaping you prophets of Epicurus – yes, you too, Boethus, are drifting that way – you blame those old prophetesses because they used bad poetry, and you also blame those of today because they use no poetry, and speak the first words which come, that they may not be assailed for delivering headless, hollow, crop-tailed lines."

Diog. "Do not jest, in Heaven's name, no! but help us to solve the problem, which interests us all. There is no one who is not in search of a rational account of the fact that the oracle has ceased to use metre and poetry."

- Theon "But right now, my young friend, we seemed to be doing a shabby turn by the guides, keeping them from their proper duties. Suffer them first to do their office; afterwards we shall discuss in peace whatever you wish."
- VIII. Our round had now brought us in front of the statue of Hiero the tyrant. Most of the stories the foreign visitor knew well, but he good-naturedly lent his ear to them. But at last, when he heard that a certain bronze pillar given by Hiero, which had been standing upright, fell of its own accord on the very day when Hiero died at Syracuse, he showed surprise. I set myself to remember similar instances, such as the notable one of Hiero the Spartan, how before his death at Leuctra the eyes fell out of his statue, and the gold stars disappeared which Lysander had dedicated after the naval battle of Aegospotami. And then the stone statue of Lysander himself broke out into such a growth of weeds and grass that the face was hidden. At the time of the Athenian disaster in Syracuse, the golden berries kept dropping off from the palm trees, and crows chipped the shield on the figure of Pallas. Again, the crown of the Cnidians, which Philomelus, tyrant of Phocis, had given to Pharsalia the dancing girl, caused her death, as she was playing near the temple of Apollo in Metapontum, after she had removed from Greece into Italy: for young men made a rush for the crown and in their struggle with one another for the gold, they tore her limb from limb. Now Aristotle used to say that Homer is the only poet who made "words which stir, because of their energy." But I would say that there have been votive offerings sent here which have movement in a high degree, and help the God's foreknowledge to signify things; that none of them is void or without feeling, but all are full of Divinity.
- Boeth. "Very good! So it is not enough to shut the God into a mortal body once every month. We will also knead him into every morsel of stone and brass, to show that we do not choose to hold Fortune, or Spontaneity, a sufficient author of such occurrences."
- Phil. "Then in your opinion," I said, "each of the occurrences looks like Fortune or Spontaneity; and it seems probable to you that the atoms glided forth, and were dispersed, and swerved, not sooner and not later, but at the precise moment when each of the dedicators was to fare worse or better. Epicurus helps you now by what he said or wrote three hundred years ago; but the God, unless he take and shut himself up in all things, and be mingled with all, cannot, you think, initiate movement, or cause change of condition in anything which is."
- IX. Such was my answer to Boethus, and to the same effect about the Sibyl and her utterances. For when we stood near the rock by the Council Chamber, on which the first Sibyl is said to have been seated on her arrival from Helicon, where she had been brought up by the Muses (though others says that she came from the Maleans, and was the daughter of Lamia the daughter of Poseidon), Serapion remembered the verses in which she hymned herself; how she will never cease from prophesying, even after death, but will herself go round in the moon, being turned into what we call the "bright face", while her breath is mingled with the air and borne about in rumours and voices for ever and ever; and her body within the earth is transformed, so that from it spring grass and weeds, the pasture of sacred cattle, which have in their inward parts all the colours, shapes and qualities by which men obtain forecasts of future things. Here Boethus made his derision still more evident.
- The foreign visitor observed that, although these things have a mythical appearance, yet the prophecies are attested by many uprootings and removals of Greek cities, inroads of barbarian hordes, and the overthrow of dynasties.
- Diog. "These still recent troubles at Cumae and Dicæarchia, I were they not long ago foretold in the songs of the Sibyl; so that Time was only discharging his debts in the fires which have burst out of mountains, the boiling seas, the masses of burning rocks tossed aloft by the winds, the ruin of cities many and great, so that if you visit them in broad daylight you cannot get a clear idea of the site, the ground being covered with confused ruins? It is hard to believe that such things have happened at all, let alone that they were predicted long ago – unless with divine assistance."
- X. Boeth. "My good Sir; what does happen in Nature which is not Time paying his debts? Of all the strange, unexpected things, by land or sea, among cities and men, is there any which some one might not foretell, and then, after it has happened, find himself right? Yet this is hardly foretelling at all; it is telling, rather it is tossing or scattering words into the infinite, with no principle in them. They wander about, and sometimes Fortune meets them and falls in with them; but it is all chance."

26140 It is one thing, I think, when what has been foretold happens, and quite another when
 26145 what will happen is foretold. Any statement made about things then non-existent
 contains intrinsic error; it has no right to await the confirmation which comes from
 accident; nor is it any true proof of having foretold with knowledge that the thing
 happened after it was foretold; for Infinity will bring all things. No, the 'good
 26150 guesser', whom the proverb 2 has announced to be the best prophet, is like a man who
 hunts on the tail of the future, by the help of the plausible. These Sibyls and
 Bacises threw into the sea, that is, into time, without having any real clue, nouns
 and verbs about troubles and occurrences of every description. Some of these
 prophecies came about, but they were lies; and what is now pronounced is a lie like
 them, even if, later on, it should happen to turn out true."

26155 XI. When Boethus had finished, Serapion spoke.
 Serap. "The case is quite fairly put by Boethus against prophecies so indefinitely
 worded as those he mentions, with no basis of circumstance: 'If victory has been
 foretold to a general, he has conquered; If the destruction of a city, it is
 26160 overthrown.' But where not only the thing which is to happen is stated, but also the
 how, the when, after what event, with whose help, then it is not a guess at things
 which will perhaps be, but a clear prediction of things which will certainly be. Here
 are the lines with reference to the lameness of Agesilaus: 3
 Sure though thy feet, proud Sparta, have a care,
 26165 A lame king's reign may see thee trip – Beware!
 Troubles unlooked for long shall vex thy shore,
 And rolling Time his tide of carnage pour.
 "And then again those about the island 4 which the sea threw up off Thera and
 Therasia, and upon the war between Philip and the Romans:
 26170 When Trojan race the victory shall win
 From Punic foe, lo! wonders shall begin;
 Unearthly fires from out the sea shall flash,
 Whirlwinds toss stones aloft, and thunder crash,
 An isle unnamed, unknown, shall stand upright,
 26175 The weak shall beat the stronger in the fight.
 "What happened within a short time – that the Romans mastered the Carthaginians, and
 brought the war with Philip to a finish, that Philip met the Aetolians and Romans in
 battle and was defeated, and lastly, that an island rose out of the depths of the
 sea, with much fire and boiling waves – could not all be set down to chance and
 26180 spontaneous occurrence. Why, the order emphasizes the foreknowledge, and so does the
 time predicted to the Romans, some five hundred years before the event, as that in
 which they were to be at war with all the races at once, which meant the war with the
 slaves after their revolt. In all this nothing is unascertainable, the story is not
 left in dim light to be groped out with reference to Fortune 'in Infinity', it gives
 26185 many securities, and is open to trial, it points the road which the destined event is
 to tread. For I do not think that any one will say that the agreement with the
 details as foretold was accidental. Otherwise, what prevents some one else from
 saying that Epicurus did not write his Leading Principles for our use, Boethus, but
 that the letters fell together by chance and just spontaneously, and so the book was
 finished off?"

XII. While we were talking thus, we were moving forward.
 In the store-house of the Corinthians we were looking at the golden palm tree, the
 only remnant of their offerings, when the frogs and water-snakes embossed round the
 26190 roots caused much surprise to Diogenianus, and for the matter of that, to us. For the
 palm tree is not, like many others, a marshy or water-loving plant, nor have frogs
 anything specially to do with the Corinthians. Thus they must be a symbolical or
 canting device of that city, just as the men of Selinus are said to have dedicated a
 golden plant of parsley (σέλινον), and those of Tenedos the axe, because of the crabs
 26195 found round the place which they call Asterium, the only ones, it appears, with the
 brand of an axe on the shell. Yet the God himself is supposed to have a partiality
 for crows and swans and wolves and hawks, for anything rather than beasts like crabs.
 Serapion observed that the artist intended a veiled hint at the sun drawing his
 aliment and origin from exhalations out of moist plants, whether he had it from
 26200 Homer,
 ἥελιος δ' ἀπόρουσε λιπῶν περικαλλέα λίμνην
 Leaving the beauteous lake, the great sun scaled the brazen sky or whether he had
 seen the sun painted by the Egyptians as a new-born child seated on a lotus. I
 laughed:

- 26205 Phil. "Where have you got to again, my good Sir, thrusting the Stoa in here, and quietly slipping into our discussion their 'Conflagrations' and 'Exhalations'? Thessalian women fetch the sun and the moon down to us, but you are assuming that they are first born and then watered out of earth and its waters. Plato dubbed man a 'heavenly plant', 5 rearing himself up from a root on high, namely his head; but you
- 26210 laugh down Empedocles when he tells us how the sun, having been brought into being by reflection of heavenly light around the earth,
ἀνταυγεῖν πρὸς Ὀλυμπὸν ἀταρβήτοισι προσώποις
Beams back upon Olympus undismayed!
- 26215 Yet, on your own showing, the sun is a creature or plant of the marshes, naturalized by you in the country of frogs or water-snakes. However, all this may be reserved for the Stoics and their tragedies; here we have the incidental works of the artists, and let us examine them incidentally. In many respects they are clever people, but they have not in all cases avoided coldness and elaboration. Just as the man who designed Apollo with the cock in his hand meant to suggest the early morning hour when dawn is
- 26220 coming, so here the frogs may be taken for a symbol of the spring season when the sun begins to have power over the air and to break up winter; always supposing that, with you, we are to reckon Apollo and the sun one God, not two."
- Serap. "What? do you not agree? do you hold the sun to be different from Apollo?"
- 26225 Phil. "As different as the moon from the sun; only she does not hide the sun often or from all the world, whereas the sun has made, we may almost say, all the world ignorant of Apollo, diverting thought by sensation, to the apparition from the real."
- XIII. Next Serapion asked the guide the real reason why they call the chamber not after Cypselus, the Dedicator, but after the Corinthians. When they were silent, being, as I privately believe, at a loss for reason, I laughed, and said "What can these men possibly know or remember, utterly dazed as they must be by our high celestial talk? Why, it was only just now that we heard them saying that, after the tyranny was overthrown, the Corinthians wished to inscribe the golden statue at Pisa, and also this treasure-house, with the name of the city. So the Delphians granted it
- 26230 as a right, and agreed; but the Corinthians passed a vote to exclude the Eleians, who had shown jealousy of them, from the Isthmian meetings, and from that time to this there has been no competitor from Elis. The murder of the Molionidæ by Hercules near Cleonæ has nothing to do with the exclusion of the Eleians, though some think that it has. On the contrary, it would have been for them to exclude the Corinthians if that had been the cause of the conflict." Such were my remarks.
- 26235 XIV. When we passed the chamber of the Acanthians and Brasidas, the guide showed us a place where iron obelisks to Rhodopis the courtesan once used to stand. Diogenianus showed annoyance.
- 26245 Diog. "So it was felt to be the duty of the same state both to find a place for Rhodopis to deposit the tithes of her earnings and to put Aesop, her fellow slave, to death!"
- Serap. "Bless you, friend; why so vexed at that? Carry your eyes upwards, and behold among the generals and kings the golden Mnesarete, which Crates called a standing
- 26250 trophy of the lewdness of the Greeks."
- Diog. "Was it then about Phryne that Crates said that?"
- Serap. "Yes it was; her name was Mnesarete, but she took on that of Phryne [toad] as a nickname because of her yellow skin. Many names, it would seem, are concealed by nicknames. There was Polyxena, mother of Alexander, afterwards said to have been
- 26255 called Myrtale and Olympias and Stratonice. Then Eumetis of Rhodes is to this day called by most people Cleobuline, after her father; and Herophile of Erythræ, when she showed a prophetic gift, was addressed as Sibylla. You will hear the grammarians telling us that Leda was named Mnesinoe, and Orestes Achæus. But how do you propose," he continued, looking hard at Theon, "to get rid of the charge as to Phryne?"
- 26260 XV. Theon smiled quietly: "In this way: a counter-charge against you for raking up the pettiest of the Greek misdoings. For as Socrates, 6 when entertained in the house of Callias, makes war upon the ointment only, but looks on all the dancing and tumbling and kisses and buffoonery, and holds his tongue, so you, it seems to me,
- 26265 want to exclude from the temple a poor woman who made an unworthy use of her charms; but when you see the God encompassed by first-fruits and tithes of murder, war, and rapine, and his temple loaded with Greek spoils and booty, you show no disgust; you have no pity for the Greeks when you read on the beautiful offerings such deeply disgraceful inscriptions as 'Brasidas and the Acanthians from the Athenians',
- 26270 'Athenians from Corinthians', 'Phocians from Thessalians', 'Orneatans from

Sicyonians', and 'Amphictyones from Phocians'. So Praxiteles, it seems, was one person who offended Crates by finding room for his mistress to stand here, whereas Crates ought to have commended him for placing beside those golden kings a golden courtesan, a strong rebuke to wealth as having nothing wonderful or worshipful about it. It would be good if kings and rulers were to set up in the God's house offerings to Justice, to Temperance and Magnanimity, not to golden and delicate Abundance, in which even the very foulest lives have their share."

XVI. "You forget to mention," said one of our guides, "how Cræsus had sculpted a golden figure of his baker-woman and dedicated it here." Theon "Yes; but that was not to flout the temple with his luxury of wealth, but for a good and righteous cause. The story is that Alyattes, father of Cræsus, married a second wife and brought up a second family. This woman fomented a plot against Cræsus, giving poison to the baker and telling her to knead a loaf with it and serve it to Cræsus. The baker told Cræsus in secret and set the loaf before the second wife's children. And so, when Cræsus became king, he requited the baker-woman's service in away which made the God a witness, and moreover did a good turn to him. Hence, it is quite proper to honour and love any such offering from cities as that from the Opuntians. When the Phocian tyrants had melted up many of the gold and silver offerings and struck coined money, which they distributed among the cities, the Opuntians collected all the silver they could find, and sent a large jar to be consecrated here to the God. I commend the Myrinæans also, and the Apollonians, who sent hither sheaves of gold, and even more highly the Eretrians and Magnesians, who endowed the God with firstfruits of men, as being the giver of crops and also ancestral, the god of their fathers; racial, the creator of men; and the friend of man. Whereas I blame the Megarians, because they were almost alone in setting up the God holding a lance; this was after the battle in which they defeated and expelled the Athenians who were holding their city, after the Persian wars. Later on, however, they offered to him a golden plectrum, referring it, as it appears, to Scythinus, who says of the lyre:

ἦν ἄρμόζεται
Ζηνὸς εὐειδῆς Ἀπόλλων, πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος
συλλαβλῶν: ἔχει δὲ παμπὸν πλῆκτρον ἡλίου φάος
which the son of Zeus

Wears, the comely God Apollo, gathering first and last in one,
And he holds a golden harp-quill flashing as the very sun.

XVII. Serapion wanted to put in some further remark on this, when the stranger said: Dion. "It is delightful to listen to such speeches as we have heard, but I feel myself obliged to claim fulfillment of the original promise, that we should hear the cause which has made the Pythia cease to prophesy in epic or other verse. So, if it be your pleasure, let us leave to another time the remainder of the sights, sit down where we are, and hear about that. For it is this more than anything else which militates against the credibility of the oracle; for it must be one of two things: either the Pythia does not get near the spot where the Divinity is, or the current is altogether exhausted, and the power has failed."

Accordingly we went round and seated ourselves on the southern plinth of the temple, in view of the temple of Earth and the spring of water, which made Boethus at once observe that the very place where the problem was raised lent itself to the stranger's case. For here was a temple of the Muses where the exhalation rises from the fountain; from which fountain they drew the water used for the lustrations, as Simonides has it:

ἐνθα χερίβεσσιν ἀπύνεται τὸ Μουσᾶν
καλλικόμων ὑπένρθεν ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ.
Whence is drawn for holy washings
Water of the Muses bright.

And again, in a rather more affected strain, the same poet addresses Clio:

ἀγνᾶν ἐπίσκοπον χερνίβων
Chaste guardian of our lustrations
and goes on to say
πολύλιστον ἀρυόντεσσιν
ἀχρυσόπεπλον ...

εὐῶδες ἀμβροσίῳ ἐκ μυχῶν
ἐρανὸν ὕδωρ λαβεῖν.

Goddess sought in many a vow
By no golden robe encumbered, hear thy servants drawing now

Water, fragrant and delightful, from ambrosial depths below.

So Eudoxus was wrong in believing those who have made out that this was called 'Water of Styx'. But they installed the Muses as guardians of prophecy and wardens of the place, by the fountain and the temple of Earth where the oracle used to be, some say, because the responses were given in metre and in lyric strains. And some say further that here the heroic metre was first heard:

συνφέρετε πρὸς τ', οἴωνοις, κηρόν τε, μέλισσαι.

Bring in your feathers, ye birds; ye bees, bring wax at his bidding.

Later Earth became inferior to the God and lost her august position. 8

XVIII. Serapion responded, "More reasonable, that, Boethus, and more in tune with the Muses. For we ought not to fight against the God, nor to remove, along with his prophecy, his Providence and Godhead also, but rather to seek fresh solutions for apparent contradictions, and never to surrender the reverent belief of our fathers." Phil. "Excellent Serapion! you are right. We are not abandoning Philosophy, as cleared out of the way and done for, because once upon a time philosophers put out their dogmas and theories in verse, as Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Empedocles, Thales, whereas later on they gave it up, and have now all given it up – except you! In your hands Poetry is returning home to Philosophy, and clear and noble is the strain in which she rallies our young people. Astronomy again: she was not lowered in the hands of Aristarchus, Timocharis, Aristyllus, Hipparchus, all writing in prose, whereas Eudoxus, Hesiod, and Thales used metre, if we assume that Thales really wrote the Astronomy attributed to him. And Pindar himself confesses that he is quite at a loss about the neglect of verse in his own day, and is astonished 9 It is neither out of the way nor absurd for us to seek out the causes of such changes; but to dismiss any of the arts and sciences altogether, because there is some alteration or variation in their details or delivery, is totally unfair."

XIX. Theon "And yet those instances have involved really great variations and novelties, whereas of the oracles given here we know many in prose even in old days, and those on no trifling matters. When the Lacedæmonians consulted the God after their war with the Athenians, as Thucydides tells us, 10 he promised them victory and mastery, and that "he himself will help them, invited or uninvited". And again, that if they did not restore Pleistonax, they should plough with a silver share. 11 When the Athenians consulted the God about their expedition in Sicily, he directed them to bring the priestess of Erythræ to Athens; now the woman's name was 'Quiet'. When Deinomenes of Sicily inquired about his sons, the answer was that all three should reign as tyrants. 'And the worse for them,' rejoined Deinomenes. 'That too,' added the God, and added it to the response. You know that Gelo had the dropsy and Hiero the stone, while they reigned; Thrasybulus, the third son, was involved in revolutions and wars and soon lost his throne. Then Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus, after putting many others to death in cruel and unlawful ways, at last killed Timarchus, who had come to him from Athens with money, after receiving him with hospitality and kindness; he thrust his body into a basket and threw it into the sea. This he did by the hands of Cleander of Aegina, and no one else knew about it. Afterwards, when he was in sore trouble, he sent his brother Cleotimus to consult the oracle secretly about his own flight and retirement to another land. The God answered that he granted exile to Procles, and retirement either to the place where he had ordered his Aeginetan friend to lodge the basket, or to where the stag sheds his horn. The tyrant understood the God to bid him fling himself into the sea, or to buy himself underground (for the stag buries his horn deep out of sight when it falls off). He waited a short time, but when his affairs became desperate he sought exile. But the friends of Timarchus caught him and slew him, casting the corpse into the sea.

"Now comes the strongest instance: the statutes by which Lycurgus regulated the Lacedæmonian constitution were given to him in prose. So Alyrius, Herodotus, Philochorus, and Ister, the men who most zealously set about collecting metrical prophecies, have written down oracular responses which were not in metre; and Theopompus, who was exceptionally interested in the oracle, administered a vigorous rebuke to those who held that the Pythia did not prophesy in metre in those days; yet, when he wanted to prove the point, he found an exceedingly small number of such answers, which shows that the others, even at that early time, were put forth in prose.

XX. "Some oracles, however, still give their answers in metre; and one of them has become famous. There is in Phocis a temple of Hercules Woman-Hater, where

- the practice is for the consecrated priest not to associate with a woman during his year of office. So they appoint comparatively old men to the priesthood. However, not
26405 very long ago, the office was accepted by a young man of good character, but ambitious, and in love with a young woman. At first he restrained himself and avoided her; but one day, when he was resting after wine and dancing, she burst in and he yielded. Then, in his fear and confusion, he fled to the oracle, and proceeded to ask the God about his offence, and whether it admitted of excuse or expiation. He
26410 received his reply:
ἀπαντα ἀναγκαῖα συγχωρεῖ θεός.
All needful business doth the God allow.
All the same, if it be granted that nothing is prophesied in our own day, otherwise than in metre, the difficulty will be so much greater about the ancients, who
26415 sometimes employed metre for the responses, sometimes not. There is nothing strange, my young friend, in either one or the other, so long as we hold sound, pure views about the God, and do not suppose that it is himself who formerly used to compose the verses, or who now speaks through the Pythia, giving answers as it were through a mask.
26420
XXI. "However, it is worth our while to pursue this inquiry at greater length another time. For the present, let us remember our results, which are briefly these: Body uses ;many instruments, soul uses body and parts, soul has been brought into being as the instrument of God. The excellence of an instrument is to imitate most closely the
26425 power which uses it, with all its own natural power, and to reproduce the effect of his essential thought, but to exhibit it, not pure and passionless and free from error, as it was in the creative artist, but with a large admixture of foreign element. For in itself it is invisible to us, but appearing 'other' and through another medium it is saturated with the nature of that medium. I pass over wax and
26430 gold and silver and copper, and all other varieties of moulded substance, which take on one common form of impressed likeness, but add to the copy each its distinct specialty. I pass over the myriad distortions of images and reflections from a single form in mirrors, plane, hollow, or convex. For nothing seems better to reproduce the type, no instrument more obediently to use its own nature, than the moon. Yet taking from the sun his bright and fiery rays, she does not transmit them so to us: mingled with herself they change colour and also take on a different power; the heat wholly disappeared, and the light fails from weakness before it reaches us. I think you know the saying found in Heraclitus, that 'the sovereign whose seat is at Delphi, speaks not, nor conceals, but signifies'. Take and add then to what is here so well said,
26440 the conception that the God of this place employs the Pythia for the hearing as the sun employs the moon for the seeing. He shows and reveals his own thoughts, but shows them mingled in their passage through a mortal body, and a soul which cannot remain at rest or present itself to the exciting power unexcited and inwardly composed, but which boils and surges and is involved in the stirrings and troublesome passions from within. As whirlpools do not keep a steady hold on bodies borne round and round, and also downwards, since an outer force carries them round, but they sink down of their own nature, so that there is a compound spiral movement, of a confused and distorted kind, even so what we call inspiration seems to be a mixture of two impulses, and the soul is stirred by two forces, one of which it is a passive recipient, one form its
26450 own nature. We see that inanimate and stationary bodies cannot be used or forced contrary to their own nature, that a cylinder cannot be moved as if it were a sphere or a cube, that a lyre cannot be played like a flute or a trumpet like a harp, but that the artistic use of a thing is no other than the natural use. Is it possible, then, that the animate and self-moving, which has both impulse and reason, can be
26455 treated in any other way than is agreeable to the habit, force or natural condition which is already existent within it? Can an unmusical mind be excited like a musical, or an unlettered mind be moved by literature, a mind untrained in reasoning, whether speculative or disciplinary, by logic? It is not to be spoken of.
26460
XXII. "Again, Homer is my witness: he assumes 12 that nothing, so to speak, is brought about without a God; he does not, however, describe the God as using all things for all ends, but according to the art or faculty which each possesses. For do you not see, dear Diogenianus, that Athena, when she wants to persuade the Achæans, calls in Odysseus; 13 when to wreck th truce, she looks for Pandarus; 14 when to rout the Trojans, she approaches Diomedes? 15 Why? because Diomedes is a sturdy man and a fighter, Pandarus an archer and a food, Odysseus a clever speaker and a sensible man. For Homer was not of the same mind as Pindar, 16 if it was Pindar who wrote Sail on a crate, if God so choose 'twill swim.

26470 He knew that different faculties and natural gifts are appointed for different ends; each is moved in its own way, even if the moving force be one for all. As then the force cannot move that which walks so as to make it fly, nor that which lisps to speak clearly, nor the thin voice to be melodious – why, Battus himself was sent as colonist of Libya to get his voice, because he lisped and had a thin voice, but
26475 withal was a kingly, statesmanlike, prudent man – even so, it is impossible for one who has no letters and knows no verse to talk like a poet. And so she who now serves the God has been born as respectably as any man here, and has lived as good and orderly a life; but having been reared in the house of small farmer folk, she brings nothing with her from art or from practice or faculty whatsoever, as she goes down into the sanctuary. As Xenophon thinks that the bride should step into her husband's
26480 home having seen as little as may be, and heard as little, so she, ignorant and untried in almost all things, and a true virgin in soul, is associated with the God. Yet we, who think that the God, when he 'signifies', uses the cries of herons and wrens and ravens, and never ask that they, as the messengers and heralds of the God, should put things into clear rational phrases, do nevertheless ask that the Pythia
26485 should use a voice and style as though from the Thymele, not unembellished and plain, but with metre and elevation, and trills, and verbal metaphors, and a flute accompaniment!

26490 XXIII. "What shall we say then about her older predecessors? Not one thing, I think, but several. In the first place, as has been already said, they, too, for the most part, used to give the responses in prose. In the second place, those times produced temperaments and natural conditions which offered an easy and convenient channel for the stream of poetry, to which were at once superadded, in one and another, an eagerness, an impulse, a preparation of soul, all resulting in a readiness which
26495 needed but a slight initial movement from without to give the imagination a turn. So it was that not only were astronomers and philosophers drawn, as Philinus says, in their several directions, but also, when men were mellow with wine and sentiment, some undercurrent of pity or joy would come, and they would glide into a song-like voice; drinking parties were filled with amorous strains and songs, books with poems in writing. When Euripides wrote 17:
26500 ποιητῆν ἄρα
Ἔρως διδάσκει, κἄν ἄμουσος ᾖ τὸ πρῖν
Love can teach, he makes
A poet of a stranger to the Muse.
26505 he did not mean that Love implants a faculty for poetry or music; the faculty is there already, but Love stirs and warms what was latent and idle. Or are we to say, Sir Stranger, that no one now loves, that Love has gone by the heels, because there is no who, to quote Pindar, 18
26510 ῥίμφα παιδείους
τοξεύει μελιγάρυας ὕμνους
Scatters with easy grace
The vocal shafts of love and joy?

26515 That is absurd. Loves there are and many of them, and they master men; but when they associate with souls which have no natural turn for music, they drop the flute and the lyre, yet are vocal still and fiery through and through, as much as of old. It is an unhallowed thing to say, and an unfair, that the Academy was loveless, or the choir of Socrates and Plato; yet, while we have their love dialogues to read, they have left no poems. Why not declare at once that Sappho was the only woman who ever
26520 loved, if you are to say that Sibylla alone had the gift of prophecy, or Aristonica, and the others who delivered themselves in verse? As Chæremon used to say,
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυται
Wine mingles with the moods of them that drink,
and the prophetic inspiration, like that of love, uses the faculty which is subjected
26525 to it, and stirs its recipients according to the nature of each.

26530 XXIV. "Not but that, if we look also into the subject of the God and his foreknowledge, we shall see that the change has taken place for the better. For the use of language is like exchange in coined money. Here also it is familiarity which gives currency, the purchasing power varies with the times. There was a day when metres, tunes, odes were the coins of language in us; all History and Philosophy, in a word, every feeling and action which called for a more solemn utterance, were drawn to poetry and music. It is not only that now but few understand, and they with effort, whereas then all the world were listeners, and all felt pleasure in what was

26535 sung,
μηλοβόται τ' ἄρόται τ' ὄρνιχολόχοι τε
who fats his flock
Who ploughs the soil, who snares the winged game,
as Pindar 19 has it. More than that, there was an aptitude for poetry, most men used
26540 the lyre and the ode to rebuke, to encourage, to frame myths and proverbs; also hymns
to the Gods, prayers, thanksgivings, were composed in metre and song, as genius or
practice enabled them to do. And so it was with prophecy; the God did not grudge it
ornament and grace, or drive from hence into disgrace the honoured Muse of the
tripod; he rather led her on, awakening and welcoming poetic natures; he gave them
26545 visions from himself, he lent his aid to draw out pomp and eloquence as being fitting
and admirable things. Then there was a change in human life, affecting men both in
fortune and in genius. Expediency banished what was superfluous, top-knots of gold
were dropped, rich robes discarded; probably too clustering curls were shorn off, and
the buskin discontinued. It was not a bad training, to set the beauty of frugality
26550 against that of profusion, to account what was plain and simple, a better ornament
than the pompous and elaborate. So it was with language: it changed with the times,
and shared the general break-up. History got down from its coach, and dropped metre.
Truth was best sifted out from Myth in prose; Philosophy welcomed clearness, and
found it better to instruct than to astonish, so she pursued her inquiry in plain
26555 language. The God made the Pythia leave off calling her own fellow townsmen 'fire-
burners', the Spartans 'serpent-eaters', men 'mountaineers', rivers 'mountain-
drainers'. He cleared the oracle of epic verses, unusual words, circumlocutions, and
vagueness, and so prepared the way to converse with his consultants just as law
converse with states, as kings address subjects, as disciples hear their masters
26560 speak, so framing language as to be intelligible and convincing.

XXV. "For it should be clearly understood that the God is, in the words of Sophocles,
σοφοῖς μὲν αἰνικτιῆρα θεσφάτων ἀεί,
σκαίοις δὲ φαῦλον κἄν βραχεῖ διδάσκαλον
26565 Unto the wise a riddling prophet aye,
to silly souls a teacher plain and brief.

The same turn of things which brought clearness brought also a new standard of
belief; it shared the general change. Whereas of old that which was not familiar or
26570 common, but, in plain words, contorted and over-phrased, was ascribed by the many to
an implied Divinity, and received with awe and reverence; in later times men were
content to learn things clearly and easily with no pomp or artifice; they began to
find fault with the poetical setting of the oracles, not only as a hindrance to the
perception of truth, because it mingled indistinctions and shadow with the meaning,
26575 but also because by this time they were getting to mistrust metaphors, riddles, and
ambiguities, as so many holes or hiding-places provided for him who should trip in
his prophecy, that he might step into them and secure his retreat. You might have
heard it told by many, how certain persons with a turn for poetry still sit about the
place of oracles, waiting to catch the utterances, and then weaving verses, metres,
26580 rhythms, according to occasion, as a sort of vehicle. As to your Onomacrituses, and
Herodotuses, and Cinæthons, and the censures which they brought upon the oracles, by
importing tragedy and pomp where they were out of place, I let the charge pass and
won't join in the attack on them. Most, however, of the discredit which attached so
copiously to poetry came from the gang of soothsayers and scamps who strolled around
26585 the ceremonies of the Great Mother and of Serapis, with their mummeries and tricks,
turning verses out of their own heads, or taking them at random from handbooks, for
servant boys and silly girls, and such as are best attracted by metre and a poetic
cast of words; from all which causes poetry seemed to put herself at the service of
cheats and jugglers and lying prophets, and was lost to truth and to the tripod.

26590 XXVI. "Thus I should not be surprised to find that the old people sometimes required
a certain ambiguity, circumlocution, indistinctness. For it was not then a case of
'A' approaching the oracle with a question, if you please, about the purchase of a
slave, or 'B' about business; powerful states, haughty kings and tyrants would
26595 consult the God on public affairs, men whom it did not answer the officials of his
temple to vex and provoke by letting them hear what they did not wish to hear. For
the God does not obey Euripides, 20 who sets up as a lawgiver with
Φοῖβον ἀνθρώποις μόνον
χρῆν θεσπιῶδεῖν
26600 Phoebus, none but he,

May give men prophecies.

He uses mortal men as ministers and prophets, whom it is his duty to make his care, and to protect, lest they perish at the hands of the bad while serving him. He does not then choose to conceal the truth; what he used to do was to give a twist to its manifestation, which, like a beam of light, is refracted more than once in its passage, and is parted into many rays as it becomes poetry, and so to remove whatever in it was harsh and hard. Tyrants might thus be left in ignorance, and enemies not forewarned. For them he threw a veil in the innuendoes and ambiguities which hid the meaning from others, but he did not elude the intelligence of the actual consultants who gave their whole mind to the answers. Hence, now that things have changed, it is sheer folly to criticize and find fault with the God because he thinks right to give his aid no longer in the same manner but in another.

XXVII. "Another thing is this: Language receives no greater advantage from a poetical form than this, that a meaning which is wrapped and bound in metre is more easily remembered and grasped. Now in those days much memory was required. Many things used to be explained orally; local indications, the times when things were to be done, rites of Gods across the seas, secret burying-places of heroes, hard to be discovered by those setting off for lands far from Greece. You know about Chius and Cretinus, and Nesichus, and Phalanthus, and many other leaders of expeditions, how many clues they needed to find the proper place appointed to each for settlement, while some of them missed the way, as did Battus. 21 He thought that he would be turned out, not understanding what the place was to which he had been sent; then he came a second time loudly complaining. Then the God answered:

αἰ τὺ ἔμεῦ Λιβύαν μαλοτρόφον οἷσθας ἄρειον,
μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντιος, ἄγαν ἀγαμαί σοφίην σευ
Thou that hast never been there, if thou know'st Libya the sheepland
Better than I that have been, then wonderful wise is thy wisdom.
And thus he sent him out again.

Then Lysander 22 entirely failed to make out the hill Orchalides, otherwise called Alopecus, and the river Hoplites,
γῆς τε δράκονθ' ὑπὸν δόλιον κατόπισθεν ἰόντα
Also the dragon, earthborn, in craftiness coming behind thee.

and was defeated in battle and slain in those very spots by Neochorus, a man of Haliartus, who bore on his shield the device of a serpent. There are many such answers given to the old people, all hard to grasp and remember, which I need not give you at length, since you know them.

XXVIII. "Our present settled condition, out of which the questions now put to the God arise, I welcome and accept. There is great peace and tranquility, war has been made to cease, there are no wanderings in exile, no revolutions, no tyrannies, no other plagues or ills in Greece asking for potent and extraordinary remedies. But when there is nothing complicated or mysterious, or dangerous, only questions on petty popular matters, like school themes, 'whether I should marry', 'whether I should sail', 'whether I should lend', and the most serious responses given to states concern harvests and cattle-breeding and public health; in such circumstances, to clothe the answers in metre, or to devise circumlocutions, to introduce strange words on questions calling for a plain, concise answer, is what an ambitious sophist might do, bedizening the oracle for his glory. But the Pythia is a lady in herself, and when she descends thither and is in the presence of the God, she cares for truth rather than for glory, or for the praise or blame of men.

XXIX. "So perhaps ought we too to feel. As it is, in a sort of agony of fear, lest the place should lose its reputation of three thousand years, and a few persons should think lightly of it and cease to visit the oracle, for all the world as if it were a sophist's school, we apologize, and make up reasons and theories about things which we neither know now ought to know. We smooth the critic down, and try to persuade him, whereas we ought to bid him be gone –

αὐτῷ γὰρ οἱ πρῶτον ἀνιηρότερον ἔσται

He shall first suffer in a loss not light 23 –

if that is the view which he takes of the God; for if we welcome and admire what the Wise Men of old days have written up: 'Know Thyself' and 'Nothing too much', not least because of the brevity which includes in a small compass a close hammer-beaten sense, we cannot blame the oracles because they mostly use concise, plain, direct phrases. It is with sayings like those of the Wise Men as with streams compressed into a narrow channel; there is no distinctness or transparency to the eye of the

- mind, but if you look into what has been written or said about them ;by those who have wished to learn the full meaning of each, you will not easily find longer treaties elsewhere. The language of the Pythia illustrates what mathematicians mean by calling a straight line the shortest between the same points; it makes no bending, or curve, or doubling or ambiguity; it lies straight towards truth; it takes risks, its good faith is open to examination, and it has never yet been found wrong; it has filled the shrine with offerings from Barbarians and Greeks, and has beautified it with noble buildings and Amphictyonic fittings. Why, you see for yourselves many buildings added which were not here formerly, many restored which were ruinous or destroyed. As new trees spring up by the side of those in vigorous bearing, so the Pylæa flourishes together with Delphi and is fed upon the same meat; the plenty of the one causes the other to take on shapeliness and figure and a beauty of temples, and halls of meeting and fountains of water, such as it never had in the thousand years before. Now those who dwell about Galaxius in Boeotia felt the manifest presence of the God in the abundance and more than abundance of milk:
- προβάτων γάρ ἐκ πάντων κελάρυξεν,
ὥς ἀπὸ κρηνῶν φέρτατον ὕδωρ,
θηλᾶν γάλα· τοῖ δ' ἐπίμπλεν ἐσσύμενοι πίθους·
ἄσκος δ' οὐδέ τις ἀμφορεὺς ἐλίνυσεν δόμοις,
πέλλαι γὰρ ξύλιναι πίθοι τε πλησθεν ἅπαντες·
From all the kine and every flock,
Plenteous as water from the rock,
Came welling, gurgling on its way
The milk that day.
Hot foot they hied them to the task,
To fill the pail, to fill the cask;
No pot or pan had holiday;
Wine-skin or flagon, none might stay
Within, that day.
But to us he gives tokens bright and stronger and more evident than these, in having, after the days of drought, of desertion and poverty, brought us plenty, splendour, and reputation. True, I am well pleased with myself for anything which my own zeal or service may have contributed to this result in support of Polycrates and Petraeus, well pleased too with him who has been our leader in this policy, to whose thought and planning most of the improvements are due; but it is wholly impossible that so great, so vast a change could have been effected in this short time by merely human care, with no God present here or lending his Divinity to the place of the oracle.
- XXX. "But as in those days there were some who found fault with the responses for obliquity and want of clearness, so now there are those who criticize them as too simple, which is childishness indeed and rank stupidity! For as children show more glee and satisfaction at the sight of rainbows or haloes or comets than in that of the sun or of the moon, so do these people regret the riddles, allegories, and metaphors which are so many modes of refraction of prophetic art in a mortal and fanciful medium. And if they do not fully inquire into the cause of the change, they go away having passed judgement against the God, rather than against ourselves or themselves, for having a power of thought which is too feeble to attain to his counsels."
- NOTES
* Note that the English translation of this passage at Perseus is misnumbered; the translation of line 107 in fact occurs on the previous page and not on the page that says it begins with 1. 107.
1. Alluding to the eruption of Vesuvius in 79. "Dicæarchia" = Puteoli.
2. Euripides; as quoted by Plutarch himself in "De defectu oraculorum", μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς
3. Quoted also in Life of Agesilaus, c.3 (597c).
4. Palæa Kaumene, a volcanic island ejected in 196 BC
5. Tim. 90.
6. Xen. Sympos. c.2.3.
7. Herod. 1.51.
8. This passage from the Loeb edition. The text is defective at this point; Prickard reads "The God was in need, and dignity was waived"; King "... [On its] becoming necessary to the god ... to cast away his gravity."
9. The text is defective at this point, and we unfortunately do not know the cause of Pindar's astonishment.
10. Thucydides I, 118.
11. Ibid. V, 16 (from which words have been supplied in the defective text of Plutarch, which

- 26735 additionally reads "Pausanias" for "Pleistonax"). "Silver share" turned out to mean that their crops would be inadequate and they would have to buy grain.
 12. Od. 2.372.
 13. Il. 2.169.
 14. Il. 4.86.
- 26740 15. Il. 5.1.
 16. The MSS. have "Pandarus". Plutarch probably did not suppose Pindar was the author of the line. It is quoted by Aristophanes, Peace 699, in connexion with the stinginess of Sophocles or Simonides, and the scholiast quotes from Pindar a censure of that vice in poets; so some confusion is possible.
- 26745 17. In the Stheneboea.
 18. Isthm. 2.3.
 19. Isthm. 1.69.
 20. Phoen. 958.
 21. Herod. 4.155; Pindar Pyth. 4.
- 26750 22. See Lysander 450 BC
 23. Od. 2.190.

Note on the text: This text follows the translation of Prickard (1918) with occasional departures where I felt his English was too quirky or ugly or where it departs substantially from other translations I felt to be more acceptable. (You may judge from what is left exactly how quirky and ugly his translation is at times.) The text covers pages 394d to 409e; page numbers are accessible via local links in the html (for instance, "plutarchVerses.html#395f" will take you [approximately] to the appropriate passage). Chapter numbers I-XXX are similarly linked (e.g., "plutarchVerses.html#XXV"). The Greek, where supplied, is mostly from the Loeb edition.

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 CID_4.27 303212 Syll_419 The Amphictyons honour Eudoxos of Argos (270)
 CID_4.28 303213 Syll_482 Delphi honours the hieromnemones (269/8)
 CID_4.33 303218 Syll_483 Delphi honours the hieromnemones (c. 264/3)
- 26770 CID_4.33 303218 Syll_484 A decree of the Aetolians concerning the hieromnemones (264)
 CID_4.35 303220 Syll_488 The Amphictyons honour Aristarchos of Kamarina (c. 263/2)
 CID_4.36 303221 Inscr_94.B The Amphictyons honour the hieromnemones during a war (266)
- CID_4.43 303228 Syll_498 The Amphictyons honour Achaiion and Antagoras (260/59)
- 26775 CID_4.49 303234 Syll_431 The Amphictyons honour Menalkes of Athens (255/4 or 252/1)
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 CID_4.54 303239 Syll_422 The Amphictyons honour Mentor of Naupaktos (252/1 or 249)
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- 26780 Attalos (c. 220)
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- 26785 Council (c. 161/0)
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- 26790 FD_3.1.47 238627 Syll_625 An equestrian statue of Philopoimen at Delphi (183)
 FD_3.1.48 238628 Syll_659 Delphi honours Nikon of Megalopolis (c. 165/4)
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- 26795 FD_3.1.86 238670 Syll_477 Delphi honours Damagetos of Amphilochian Argos (315-280)
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 FD_3.1.96 238681 Syll_309 Delphi honours Telemachos of Thespiiai (318-306)
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- 26800 FD_3.1.146 238739 Syll_383 Delphi honours various Aetolians (c. 283 and 281)
 FD_3.1.181 238775 Syll_378 Delphi honours Timon of Megara (c. 300)
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	FD_3.2.72	239361	Syll_395	Delphi honours Glaukon of Athens (c. 271/0)
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26825	FD_3.2.86	239375	Syll_539	The Amphictyons honour Eudamos of Athens (204)
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	FD_3.2.134.b	239429	Syll_564	The Amphictyons recognise Teos as inviolable (203/2)
	FD_3.2.134.c	239429	Syll_565	Delphi recognises Teos as inviolable (203/2)
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	FD_3.2.159	239456	Syll_403	The Delphians honour Kybernis of Athens (240-230)
	FD_3.2.166	239464	Syll_541	Delphi honours the citizens of Tetrapolis in Attica (240-210)
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<http://www.attalus.org/docs/inscriptions2.html#region3a>

- 26980
- DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE
 ACCORDING TO ITS PRESENT STATE AND RELIGION IN THE LAST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH
 CENTURY, WITH MAPS AND PLATES, BY CHRISTOPH: WILH: LUDEKE,
 Teacher of Theology, first Preacher of the German Congregation, Chairman of the
 Consistory in Stockholm, and Supervisor of the schools;
 according to the High German second edition translated under the motto:
 ALTISSIMO ANNUENTE VIRIBUS MEIS.
 FIRST PART.
 In LEYDEN, By A. and J. HONKOOP, Booksellers
 M D C C L X X X I I.
- 26990
- PREVIOUS NOTE TO THE READERS.
- In the year 1770 I have made my credible reports of the Turkish Empire common through the press. The ecclesiastical duties which I had to attend to in the Levant from the year 1759 to 1768 demanded of me, in a certain respect, a visible account; and the war which afterwards broke out between the Russian and Turkish Empires did not render these published reports concerning the latter Empire superfluous. By so many books, either contradictory, or out-of-date, or in all countries not very well known, which otherwise treat of Turkey, I judged it my duty, not to relate any, of which I, as my own eye-witness, had the most certain and perfect knowledge: especially since,
- 26995
- 27000

besides several journeys made in Turkey, and a long stay at Constantinople and Smyrna, I had attended the Audiences of the Sultan, Grand Vizier, Captain Pasha, and the Mullahs, as well as paid visits myself to the Eastern Patriarchs and Bishops. I must confess, that such reports, far above my expectation, have been received; and the judgments of so many learned Men in the Newspapers of Leipzig, Jena, Gottingen, Helmstad, Halle, Berlin, etc., were, in every respect, favourable concerning them. Since I promised besides that, to improve such a work, when I received any remarkable additions of importance, and to communicate them in an enlarged edition; so I have now wanted to fulfill this promise, by the present issue of the description of the Turkish Empire according to its political and religious constitution. I have, beforehand, given this description into the hands of those who had also stayed many years in the Levant, partly in Constantinople, partly in Smyrna. They have tested it, and compared it with the matters recorded therein, as if on the spot; and thus the work has come into being in the form in which it is at present, and is offered. I deemed the enclosed maps and plates necessary, in order to understand it still better, at various places. The first is the Archipelago, with a special representation of the Channel between the Dardanelles, as it was directly followed from a very accurate sea chart, which, by express order of the King of France for the mariners of the Levant, was cut by Mr. Berthelot at Marseilles. The second provides a View of Constantinople, to form in general a peculiar idea of the excellence of the layout of that city. It is borrowed from the general History, the ground of the Seraglio alone, for the greater accuracy, being covered with many Cypresses. Then follows the Plan of Constantinople itself, which was made from the plate of the famous Imperial Engineer van Reben, as it came to light by Homann in the year 1764, only that which does not belong to Constantinople itself being omitted. The further Tables or Lists, concerning the various Sects among the Mohammedans and their Monastic Orders, I have made from my own reports, and subsequently also by comparing Herbelot with Ricaut and Businello; furthermore I have sent them to Turkey, and had them examined there. An Efendy has tested them, approved them, and after a few, but no remarkable changes, even declared them more complete than they were hardly known among many Mohammedans there. Finally, after the completion of this task set to me in the first and a part of the second part, I will still leave in this last Historical reports of the government, customs and habits of the Ottoman Monarchy, as they were written down by the late Mr. Pet. Businello. Who these were, and what I have observed concerning this his essay in particular, my short Preface to it will show there. This I will only mention here, that the Author, in his Life, gave me complete freedom, to be allowed to publish it in our language. And, because I found it excellent in its kind, in every way suitable either for the elucidation, or to prove my presented matters, I have, about that, wanted to make use of it, and, as I trust, just where it might apply, given it a place. For the rest, let this my work be provided for your use, as well as for your pleasure and amusement.

Stockholm, April 24, 1778. *The Author.*

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- \$. II. The Historical Knowledge of the Turkish Empire.
 27110 Nothing is more difficult than to trace the genealogical registers of the Courts and Families of such remote times. The ancients did not think of making genealogical tables for such things; and the Person of Jesus Christ alone has the privilege of having a genealogical list in the sacred pages, with regard to the great importance of his descent. It should not surprise us that the origin of the Ottoman House is subject to so many difficulties and variations. - The Turkish Historians, to whom one
 27115 may naturally rely more than upon foreigners, testify unanimously, that among the Scythians, who, after the time of Genghiskans, advanced from great Tartary to little Asia, and were divided into many tribes, one tribe, namely the Ogusians, particularly excelled. Of these, a certain Dusalpes, called by the Turks Kya Aleb, was born, and because of his excellent qualities was elected Chief. His son and successor,
 27120 Ogusalpes, is the same, whom the Turks call Soliman Schach. His son, Ertogrul, was, on account of his deeds, also famous, and bred Osman. Just as the former, was accepted by a certain Sultan Aladin at Icony, first as General, and afterwards as Co-regent; thus, after his death, the latter came to the same Honour, and, when Aladdin was deceased, even became the only Sultan. And, when the Great with the Army, about
 27125 the year 1300, acknowledged him as a Sovereign, and he exercised the rights of Majesty; then he gave his subjects, instead of the name Ogusians or Turks, as they had hitherto borne, that of Osman, and became the progenitor of the present Imperial Line. - According to the thoughts of the Turks, two principal lines have sprung from the Ogusian tribe. The first is the Osman, (Ali-Osman, that is, descendants of
 27130 Osman,) which rules the Turkish Empire; the second is the Dschengiskansche, (Ali-Genghizkane, that is, descendants of Dschengiskan,) who reigns in small Tartary. The latter has, after the extinction of the male line of the first Line, (for the female

is not considered,) the certain expectation and right of the Turkish Throne. The name of the grandnephew of the last, who seized small Tartary, was Dscherai, (Geraï) after whom the successors put the Title by their name: for example Kaplan or Ibrahim Dscherai, just as the Roman Emperors by theirs, Augustus.

To deal more definitely with the Ottoman Line; Osman, besides the possession of the Iconian Empire, took from the Greeks much in Asia Minor, among others also the old Prustum, in which his son and successor, Orchan, who had conquered it, established his seat in the year 1326. From him come most of the customs and laws in the Turkish Empire. He made a better arrangement concerning the soldiers; crossed the channel at the Dardanelles, and thus came to Europe, where he took Gallipoli, extended the Mohammedan religion everywhere, by cunning and violence, and first of all erected mosques and dschamis, and lastly schools and hospitals. His son, Amurat I, came to the throne in 1360; took, among several cities, Adrianople and Philippopolis; conquered Serbia, invaded Macedonia and Albania, and founded the Janistas. His Son, Bajazet I, in 1390, performed many heroic deeds, and prescribed conditions to the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, which he wanted, among other things, to build a Dschami (Temple) there, and to establish a Mechkeme (Town House); but was defeated by the so famous Tamerlan, and taken prisoner. Bajazet's Sons, Soliman and Musa, governed the Empire in unrest and division; the Turks regard this time as an intermediate Empire. And it is a special arrangement of God, that the Greeks, at that time, made no end of the Turkish Empire. The third brother, Mahomet I, finally, in the year 1413, seized the whole Empire, and, besides many great deeds, he made Wallachia culpable. His son, Amurat II, who came to the government in 1422, was uncommonly successful against his enemies in Asia, Hungary, Greece, and Albania, and twice resigned the government, although circumstances pressed him to resume it. His son, Mahomet II, in 1451, was the most successful and powerful of all Turkish emperors, who in the year 1453 conquered the city of Constantinople, and all the possessions of the Greek empire, likewise Bosnia, Negroponte, the Archipelago, the Trapezium empire, little Tartary, etc. In the possession of the latter he placed the Line of Dschevay, which still reigns at the present time. His Son, Bajazet II, after he had previously made the Pilgrimage to Mecca, ascended the Throne in the year 1481. He was in Moldavia, and against the Circuses uncommonly successful, and subdued the rest of Bosnia and Croatia. His mutinous Brother, at his instigation, was put to death by a Renegade at Naples; although he was, in a certain respect, at last compelled to leave the Throne to his Son Selim. He, the first of that name, ascended it in the year 1512. Two of his brothers, Achmet and Corkud, were strangled. He humbled the Persians, subdued Diarbekir, and transformed Syria, Palestine, and Egypt into Turkish Provinces. When he was at Cairo, the Sherif of Mecca delivered to him the keys of his city. After his secret death, his Son, Soliman I, was brought from Asia, and in the year 1520, proclaimed Emperor. He took Belgrade; conquered the island of Rhodes, Hungary, and Opeu, besieged Vienna; Moldavia became culpable to him; gained great advantages over the Persians, and subdued Gurgistan. In Naples he suffered himself to be plundered, and conquered a part of Arabia. He made an alliance with France, and gave the King, because of a misunderstanding, as if a certain French Lady, who came to the Seraglio, a daughter of a King of France, the title Padischach, (great Prince,) and the French Ambassadors and Consuls the rank above the other Christians. As formidable as he made himself on land, so formidable was he also at sea. His death was kept secret until his Son arrived. Selim II, (that was his name,) began the reign in the year 1566, and followed, but not with the same success, the conquests of his father. He clipped the wings of the mutinous Arabs, conquered the island of Cyprus, and assisted the Moors against the Spaniards, but lost the famous naval battle of Lepanto. His son, Amurat III, reigned from 1575, and had the upper hand in the long and bloody war with the Persians, but died at the beginning of a war against Hungary. His son, Mahomet III, succeeded him, after he had put nineteen brothers to death on his accession to the throne in 1595, gaining considerable advantages. He was succeeded by Achmet I, 1603, who was unfortunate in the war against the Persians. His brother, Mustapha I, was indeed his successor in 1618; but was also deposed in the same year, and in his place, Achmet's Son, Osman II, declared Emperor; but, after a successful war with Poland, 1622, was deprived of Life by the Janistas, and Mustapha again raised to the Throne, but, shortly afterwards, in a mocking manner, dethroned, and Amurat IV, a Son, of Achmet, 1622, placed thereon. He weakened the Persians exceedingly, even depriving them of Bagdad. Of all Emperors he is marked in History for his drunkenness, and was cruel and bloodthirsty. His brother, Ibrahim I, reigned from 1639, beginning his reign by taking Asof. He did not end the war with the Venetians for the island of Kandi. This was preserved for his son, Mahomet IV, who from 1649 ruled the empire, which the Cossacks subjected of

their own accord, and who, by taking Kaminiek, humiliated the Poles as much as he pleased. But from 1673 onwards his military fortunes were against him, just as, from that time on, the Turkish empire has steadily and more diminished. For the Poles broke the peace, and negotiated a better one; with the Russians it did not go well either, and the siege of Vienna failed so much that half of Hungary, as well as Oseu, was lost; and the Venetians obtained no less advantages over him. All this resulted in his formal deposition, and his brother, Soliman II, was appointed in the year 1688. This had, at first, much to do with the Rebels, and was, in his war against the Germans, so long unhappy, that he made Kuprogli Grand Vizier, under whom even Belgrade, conquered by them, was taken again. But the Venetians remained Master at sea and in Morea. That Grand Vizier was the cause, that the Brother, Achmet II, 1691, came to the government, who likewise waged war with the Austrian House and the Venetians, so, that through the hindrance of France, peace was not concluded, although the Turks spun little side in that war. Mustapha II, a son of Mahomet IV, followed him from the beginning of his advent to the throne, that is, from the year 1695. The Russians and Venetians did no small things against the Turks; but the most important was done by Prince Eugenius with the German army at the Theisse, where the Sultan with a part of his soldiers, a few cannons and baggage, barely reached the other side of that river, but when he had to see that the remainder, consisting of the select troops and Janistaries, after they had risen up against the Grand Vizier and the Pasha, whom they considered traitors, and had killed them all, was cut to pieces by the Emperors. This caused such a fright, that in the year 1699, the Karlowitz peace followed with the German Emperor, Russia, Poland and Venice. Because he hereupon resigned himself from the government, and gave himself up to his pleasures, a general murmur arose against him, which, after the beheading of the Grand Vizier, broke out in such a revolt, that the Emperor himself, in order to prevent a violent deposition, and even an assassination, greeted his brother, Achmet III, desired by the mutinous, as Emperor, in 1703, and the government was overthrown. He gradually had the rebels put to death, and had, because of Charles XII, King of Sweden, a double war with the Russians, in which the Turks were tolerably successful; as also the Venetians were deprived of their previous advantages, and especially the remainder of Kandy, as well as the whole of Morea; being, on the other hand, forced by the Germans, after a heavy loss, to the peace of Passarowitz. The disadvantages which he suffered in the war with the Persians made him hated by the people, and in a riot which arose on account of it, Mahmud, (*) the son of his brother Mustapha II, was put in his place in the year 1730. As badly as the Persian war ended, so good luck served him against the House of Austria, as Serbia and Belgrade were taken from them. He governed with an unusual policy, but with very great severity. Under him trade and commerce, and all the arts flourished, so that his government was considered a golden age, especially by the Europeans. Osman III, his Brother, and from the year 1754 also his successor, enjoyed, in his reign, a time of peace, and Mustapha III, a Son of Achmet III, who became Sultan in the year 1757, also so long, until, in 1768, he got into a heavy and fierce war with Russia, of which he did not live to see the end, because, by death, he made way for his brother, Abdul Hamed, under the name of Achmet IV, in 1774. In that same year, peace was concluded, indeed to a great glory, and to the advantage of Russia, but to an almost unbelievable disadvantage of the Turkish Empire.

(*) The European historians call Mahmud, quite wrongly, Mahomed V. He never wrote himself so, and is therefore the first of that name.

§. III. Of the various peoples in the Turkish Empire. Among the Christian peoples in Turkey the Greeks are the most numerous, and of these will be dealt with separately in the IIIrd Section. Among such one may conveniently reckon the Wallachians, Moldavians, as well as the Bulgarians, who, although they have a different origin, nevertheless, by reason of religion and continued intermingling, have intercourse with them; however, they are more eager for war, and on horseback most skilled in the handling of the sabre. Among them belong the Mayonnais, descendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, whom, as their ancestors, they also equal in everything. They have received this name from the Greek word, μῶνια, (rage), because they attack their enemies in a furious and mad manner. They inhabit the southern part of Morea, especially its mountainous regions from Cape Matapan to Cape St. Angelo. The Sultans have never thought it worth the trouble to subdue them, noting that to subdue them much blood would be shed in the inaccessible mountains, and that the robbers of the neighbouring places might soon nest there again. They are dangerous pirates in the waters there. In their common and small

vessels they spy at night on the ships that are not on their guard, seize them on board, murder the crew, plunder everything, and then sink the ships; wherefore the Europeans, when they come so far, are very watchful, and keep their big and small artillery loaded. Their priests also go out on the plunder; for these robbers, in their unscrupulousness, still want to hear masses and fast. They may amount to about 12 or 14,000 armed men. Even the Venetians could do nothing against them, when they possessed the Morea.

The Copts are descendants of the true Egyptians. Although the old sacred language of Egypt, which is found on the Pyramids and other monuments, is no longer understood; the old common Coptic, though generally with an Arabic translation, is nevertheless still in their Missals and other Church books. In them also they still observe their worship; but read it exceedingly seldom: nay, most priests learn the liturgy by heart, and only mumble it. The public religion is modelled on the Greek. Their Patriarch is chosen from the unmarried monks; has his See at New Cairo, supplying not only Egypt, but also Abyssinia, with Bishops and Priests; for the religion of the Abyssinians is the same as that of the Copts. The Coptic books are only manuscripts. The Egyptian Mohammedans employ the Copts as accountants and stewards; wherefore, in a certain respect, they cannot do without them. By this means the Christian religion is still maintained. Otherwise they are lazy and idle people, like all Egyptians. In their worship they are, except their feasts and fasts, very careless and lukewarm. They spend the nights before the Sundays and feasts in church, listening to their long liturgy, without understanding it, but those days themselves in idleness. They are Monophysites, and come quite close to the Armenians, but otherwise, they have most customs in common with the Greeks. Their ignorance is of such a great extent, and very seldom is the people given instruction in a sermon. They content themselves with reading the History of the Saints, and the parts of the Bible in the Coptic and Arabic languages, on the holy days.

The Armenians will be spoken of in the fourth section. The Maronites come very close to them in stature and manners. These, although they acknowledge the Pope as their Supreme Head, nevertheless retain their particular feelings and religious customs, for instance, to perform the worship in their mother tongue, namely the Arabic, and to distribute the Lord's Supper under both so-called forms. They live among the Druses, and possess many monasteries on Mount Lebanon. Their clergy are famous for a regular way of life and a very stately conduct. Their Patriarch, who wants to present himself as a successor of Peter, as the first Bishop of Antioch, has his seat at Kannobin, a monastery on the aforementioned mountain. He is elected by the Maronite Bishops and Archbishops, but confirmed for the present by the Pope. In another monastery, Deir Hannah Schwoyer, they have a printing house. At what places the Europeans have factories for trade, will be indicated in §. VII.

Among the unbelieving peoples in Turkey, mention must first be made of the Turks, as the ruling nation of this country. But here only their origin and name will be considered. They have not their name from the Land of Turkistan, whereas the Turkmen come from there, who are mistakenly mixed up with the Turks by many writers; but descended from the Ogusian Tartars, and adopted, already in the 10th century, the Mohammedan religion. That name has been in use long before Osman, signifying in general Scythian hordes from great Tartary, who followed Gengitzkhan, and spread everywhere in Persia and Asia Minor. But they received the name Turks from the Persians, because of their white face and black eyes and eyebrows; whereupon it came, that, when Soliman, the grandfather of Osman, wanted to follow in the footsteps of Gengitzkhan, and penetrated with his strong army to Aleppo, but the rumour of these new warriors reached Persia, the poets compared the ugliness of the Scythians with their countrymen, and did not call them mocking Turks, that is, handsome ones, so that the first honourable origin now became a name of abuse. When after that invasion of Genghis Khan many of the Commanders of the Provinces of the far-extended Persian Empire became rebellious; among them was also a certain Aladdin, Sultan of Iconia: but he was overcome by the Scythians, and had to take flight to the Greek Emperor at Constantinople. His Son, Melekschach, first came into possession of his native country, disarmed the Scythians, mixed them with the country people, accustomed them to agriculture, and called them Turks, yes, instead of a Sultan of Iconia, he assumed the Title of a Sultan of the Turks. The above-mentioned Soliman lost his Life in the Euphrates, and his Son, Ertogrul, was appointed General by that Aladdin, and at the death of the latter his Son, Osman, came in his place. Aladdin being subsequently deceased, Osman was unanimously proclaimed Emperor. He changed the name of Turks into Osmans; he himself called himself an Emperor of them, and the Turks, to this day, will not tolerate the name of the Turkish Court, but desire, expressly, the name of Osman Porte; and the people themselves do not like to be called Turks, but

Mussulmans, because they attach to the word Turkish an idea of clumsiness, but to the word Osman, that of graceful and handsome; and have retained only the manner of speaking, the Turkish language. The Arnauts, (among whom there are still some who have adopted the Christian religion,) are the ancient Albanians of the western part of Macedonia, and part of Epirus. They are by nature rough, warlike, brave and indefatigable. They are robbers, and not on land what the Mayots are at sea. After the death of Skanderbeg they were brought under the Turkish yoke, and after Amurat II, by a violent circumcision, nearly all forced to the Mohammedan religion. Many thousands of them are always in the military, and are considered, especially in the rifle, the best soldiers of the Turkish Empire. Besides their mother tongue, which is a corrupt Slavonic, they also use a bad Greek and Turkish dialect. The Arabians form one of those nations which, as to the antiquity of their ancestors, have most maintained themselves. They are a very extensive people. The Turks even include the Moors of the barbarous coasts. Not to speak of great empires in Arabia proper, of which they are the possessors and inhabitants, very numerous hordes, of which we here properly speak, are found in the states of the Great Lord, especially in Egypt and Syria, Palestine also included. These are called Skenites, from the tents under which they dwell, which are of an elongated shape, and Beduins, which signifies inhabitants of the deserts. Their manner of life, in all respects, still savours of the simplicity of the Patriarchs, which they can retain all the more, as they do not enter into any close alliance with other peoples, and even keep themselves separate from the Turks. Their stature is medium, and their countenance falls in the brown. They are, as a rule, of a lasting health, and live under tents, which they change, generally, according to the seasons, as well as the pastures for their cattle. The Chiefs of the several Hordes bear the name of Emirs, which denotes Lords or Princes, and which must be distinguished from those Emirs, who, as descendants of Muhammed, will be spoken of subsequently, although they pretend to be descended from him; but the lesser commanders are called Scheiks, which expresses old and aged persons. Of arts, except those which serve them to provide a livelihood, and of sciences they know little, and seldom can any one of them read or write. They seldom use our firearm, but hold the sabre with bows and arrows more suitable for the people. Cattle breeding is their main occupation. The covering of women, and the jealousy of men, is, among these Arabs, perhaps even greater, than among the Turks; although the unjustly so called Arab women, who are actually African, go naked, and, for their ugliness, also can go. - They are indeed subjects of the Sultan, but are uncommonly spared, even drunk, only to keep them in dependence on the Porte, from which they could easily escape, if they were of one mind among themselves. Their religion is Mohammedan, but with great freedom, because they know almost no external ceremonies. They have no Mosques, but perform their worship in the tent, or under the open sky. They have no Imams, (Priests), but the Chief of the fathers of the household, and the wisest among them, occupy, by solemn prayers, their place. Circumcision, Ramasan and Beiram they observe, and strive to live as naturally honourable people. The plundering of travellers and caravans is their handiwork, making an exception of their natural decency, although they do not readily resort to murdering the plundered. Whoever has once been recommended to their hospitality, or has obtained it, finds in them true friends and protectors; and the Christians living among them are much better treated than by the Turks. Both races, like heathens or vagabonds, devote themselves to fortune-telling.

The Druses are inhabitants of the Anti-Lebanon, and special friends of the Mohammedans, holding themselves, as they are under their obedience, as such, and imitating everything, even if it is that they melt Mohammed and his religion into their hearts, and express this, in conversations with Christians, without any reservation. - Their head is, after birth, pressed in length, and affords a fixed distinguishing mark from other nations. They are, from an early age, rudely and strictly brought up. Their various tribes obey various Princes. They are courageous and warlike people, who are well skilled in the handling of the harquebus and the sabre, and apply themselves to robbery and plunder. Where they can, they provide protectors for the Christians, just as they permit them to use bells in their territory. They uniformly derive their origin from certain Franks, under the leadership of a certain Count of Dreux, who, at the time of the Crusades in the Holy Land, were abandoned by others, and through lack of Teachers, had gradually lost the Christian religion. - The jealousy of women goes, among them, even further than among the Turks. Their articles of faith they keep as secret, as the free masons their principal tenets. They go, when they live among Christians, into their churches, just as among the Mohammedans into their mosques. They have no proper priests, although a kind of them they call wise men, who among the Mohammedans neither eat nor drink,

because they consider all the possessions of the Turks to be plundered, and therefore sinful, and unjustly obtained goods; but among the Christians, and especially the Europeans, they eat and drink. Their supreme Prince has his usual Seat in that part of Mount Lebanon which is called Kefrevan; in their Books, which are more esteemed and destroyed by the Turks than the forbidden Books by the Romanists, Muhammad is much calumniated, and the indifference of Religion, the outward assimilation to the prevailing Religious Party of a Country, and a sort of transmigration of souls taught; wherefore they have no public Worship for themselves, but observe that which is customary in the Country where they dwell. It is certain, that they have certain idolatrous, and extravagant Religious Customs in their Houses and in Secret, though it is not exactly known what they really consist in. The Mohammedans bear them a deadly hatred, as they do them, in occasional disputes, in places where they may venture, attack, and even kill.

The Turkmen, who have their origin in Turkistan, and over whom, as far as they live in the Turkish territory, the Porte sets a Chief, who is called Turkman-Agafzi, are wandering Hordes of two hundred or more Families, who, in a certain respect, form a middle sort between the Arabs and Turks, but at the same time hate both, because of the oppressions they have to endure from them: but this nation is not strong, but loves its liberty exceedingly. It is a swift people, of which the men occupy themselves with cattle breeding, especially with horses, but the female sex with spinning, making coarse blankets, etc. The oriental jealousy of women finds no place among them; for they go and travel with a bare face. They stay in uncultivated regions, live under round tents, erected like towers, conducting a large trade in cattle. In the winter they move to warmer regions, and in the spring they return to the previous ones. In the meantime they move with their families, cattle and other goods, often from one place to another. The men ride on horseback, and are with lances and other weapons of their kind provided; but the goods, children, and tender women are loaded on camels: the others go on foot, doing various works with singing and shouting, for example, winding wool, etc. Their cattle go, each according to its kind, in divided heaps, under their conduct. They lead, in a certain respect, the old patriarchal way of life, which, for the rest, is very simple and moderate. They also have among them a kind of patriarchal government, of which the chief collects the tribute for the Sultan. The Pachas and Agas, in whose territory they stay, or through which they pass, they must, for their freedom, give reasonable presents. Although they are not open highway robbers, and plunder by force; they are accustomed, however, to take with them whatever they find on their way, and for this reason the inhabitants of such regions are very much on their guard during their journeys. They have little religion, except that they betray a certain adherence to the Mohammedan language, but in a fairly free manner. Napoli and Syria are their principal places of residence. They speak corrupted Turkish, and also most closely resemble the Turks in their customs. Amurath IV forced some of these Hordes to march to Europe, near Mount Haemus, where they gradually changed their character. The Kjurds, descendants of the Chaldeans, (for Kjurdistan is the old Chaldea,) are of a hard and strong nature; generally wilder and more cruel than the Arabs; but as to language, customs, and mode of life, they are distinct from each other. They make many sorties into the neighbouring countries, fleeing, when they meet with little resistance, to their principal residence on the Amanian mountains. Their corn-granaries are generally under the ground, and so artfully covered, that it is difficult to find them.

The Jesiddes, as to nation, are also Kurds. Formerly they were Sophys, that is, a certain kind of Mohammedan fanatics, in the first century of Mohammedanism; now they are neither Mohammedans, nor Christians, nor Jews, nor Pagans. They inhabit the Caucasus mountain, and are strong people, content with little, who, in spite of the Turks, drink wine, and eat the flesh of pigs. They shun circumcision in the utmost, and therefore do not mention Satan, because he is a creature of God, and could indeed be received into grace again. The black garments, by which they also swear, serve only for their kind of clergy, but the white for the people. They have no proper buildings for worship; for the beard they have a superstitious reverence; they can neither read nor write, and therefore live in a far-reaching ignorance. They worship God at the rising of the sun, but in their nature and way of life they equal the evil Being, which they will not reject. Square or oblong tents, made of black goats' hair, provide them with dwellings, and they live together in hordes.

The Jews are, in a numerous multitude, scattered throughout Turkey. The greater part of those expelled from Spain and Portugal have fled thither, and they also speak a corrupted Spanish language. Everywhere they enjoy, on condition of paying a poll tax (Charatz), the freedom of religion, although the erection and maintenance of their synagogues requires great expense. They have their Rabbins or Chachams, and worldly

Primates. They do not apply themselves to learning. Their poll tax is the same as
 27465 that which Christians have to pay, but they are treated much more severely by the
 Turks than they are. In matters of commerce they are the brokers between the
 Europeans and the Turks. By the indolence of the latter they have attracted a great
 trade to themselves. They part with the Armenians, to carry out the affairs of the
 27470 Viziers, Pachas and other Grand Men. Then they are admitted to their Secrets, and
 take care of their household, especially their financial affairs. They are the
 Physicians and Interpreters of many great Turks. Many of them are unusually rich,
 concealing this outwardly, but living luxuriously and magnificently in their houses.
 In addition, they are also the money-changers and money-grabbers, and one will not
 easily find a toll where they are not employed. They must wear a different dress from
 that of the Turks and the Christians of the country, and the blue colour is
 27475 prescribed for them in their clothing and shoes. They cure themselves with crafts and
 things, to which both of the aforementioned do not want or cannot apply themselves;
 wherefore they are glaziers, stainers, bookbinders, and especially sellers of old and
 new goods. The Jew women wear, as an ornament, one or more strings of silver or gold
 coins around their necks. These have access to the Turkish women in their Harim,
 27480 where they sell haberdashery, or are matchmakers in courtships, and play fortune-
 tellers. The Jews are in demand by the Turks, and for this reason they are accustomed
 to make use of their dancing and conjuring. Otherwise they remain firmly and
 obstinately with their religion and old customs. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem is a
 matter of great importance to them. Because their fanatical Rabbins inspire them with
 27485 the idea that at Safet, the principal, but otherwise in itself a small place in
 Galilee, not far from Bethulie, the Messiah will reveal his kingdom, and also many of
 their lawyers and supposed saints are buried there; so many from the other provinces
 are wont to go there, in order to die there, and to be buried; but which freedom they
 must buy there, at great expense, from the Turks. In this they nevertheless hold fast
 27490 to the institutions of their fathers, remaining thus, in fulfillment of Jesus' word,
 and in confirmation of the truth of the Christian religion, that people, which is
 captive among all peoples, and that generation, which shall not perish, until all
 that Christ has said shall be fulfilled. Luke XXI 32.
 Often most of these nations dwell together in one city, giving it, by its diverse
 27495 beings, statures and clothing, an enviable precedence over the largest cities of
 Europe.
 A multitude of languages are spoken in the Turkish Empire. The Turkish, as the
 dominant one, must be given the first place, with which the Tartar has close ties.
 With the first one can, fairly, come to terms with European Turkey and Asia Minor.
 27500 The Arabic, but in various dialects, extends further. By it one can help oneself with
 all Scholars and Prominents, not to say, that it is spoken in the vast Arabia, Egypt,
 Syria, and many other Countries. The Persian is spoken in the Provinces bordering on
 Persia. Among all the Greeks the Modern Greek is spoken, as is Armenian among the
 27505 Armenians, although they, often, understand only Turkish and Persian, or Arabic. The
 Coptic can hardly be counted, because the Copts, mostly, make use of Arabic. The
 Illyrian is spoken in Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia. The Walachian, which closely
 resembles Latin, is in use in Walachia and Moldavia. The Lingua Franca is understood
 and spoken by almost all nations on the coasts of the Levant. This is a very
 27510 corrupted Italian, in which the nominative is taken for all cases, and the infinitive
 for all tempora and modes of conjugation. The Jews have, besides the prevailing
 language of the place, mixed their peculiar Hebrew with the Spanish or Italian; for
 fear they say that the latter, and also the French, is understood and spoken among
 the principal merchants.
 27515 §. IV. Physical observations on Turkey, especially the region of Smyrna.
 The climate must naturally vary greatly in such an extensive Empire; but in general
 it may be assumed that the air is reasonably pleasant and healthy. The winter
 consists, properly speaking, only of rainy months, when after a rain, by a subsequent
 27520 north wind, a sensible cold comes, which, after the previously opened sweat-holes,
 goes through the marrow and bone, but does not last long. The water seldom freezes,
 and snow is even rarer. (*) Everyone then covers themselves with fur coats, and warms
 themselves by a fire of coals, which stands in large copper pans in the room; for
 stoves are not in use there at all. Chimneys are seldom. Instead, they make use,
 especially by the First Names [?], of the Tandur. This is a small, about 3 feet high
 27525 square table, which is provided with a bottom at the bottom, so that one can put a
 fire of coals on it. It is covered with carpets, which those who sit at it, and have
 their feet stretched out against the bottom, are accustomed to draw up to their chest
 or neck. The rain often lasts, with heavy showers, three or more days; but in Egypt

it is rare, and even rarer in high than in low Egypt. But it is also, often, fine
 27530 weather, and, especially in February, many flowers and the almond trees are already
 in bloom. Everything then grows so strongly, that one can see it. The fig tree does
 not bud until all the cold is over. This is the allusion of Christ, Luke. XXI 29. 30.
 Spring is exceedingly lovely, but does not last long. Summer comes, usually, already
 27535 in April, with a strong heat. Around Pentecost one still sees everything green; but
 suddenly a south wind arises, and within 24 hours, or at most 2 or 3 days, everything
 is white. By that one will understand the place, Psalm CIII 15. 16. The days of man
 are like grass, like a flower of the field, so he flourishes: when the wind has
 passed over it, it is no more, and its place it knows no more. Hereupon the Harvest
 27540 begins. The corn cut with sickles is brought together on the threshing floors in
 round heaps, under the open sky. There it is threshed out, according to the method
 also indicated in the Bible, by oxen as well as horses; whereas they gradually
 flatten the round heaps of corn, and thereby stamp out the corn, or else drag heavy
 wooden boards, 2 or 3 ells long, worked high at the front, and at the bottom, very
 27545 densely, set with flints, round. Here the corn is thrown against the wind, so that
 the pure corn, of course, flies away to a certain distance from the shovel, but the
 chaff (*) is scattered. Many places in Holy Scripture refer to this custom, e.g.
 Psalm I 4. and Matt. III 12. Therefore, with such threshing, one does not get long
 straw, as elsewhere in Europe: one does not need it either; for the houses, which
 have proper roofs, are covered with tiles, but most of them are provided with
 27550 terraces. Notwithstanding that such threshing, progresses easily, for a couple of
 months; yet it is not disturbed by rain; for the summer is without rain, seeing then,
 in 3 or 4 months, not a cloud in the sky. And this must be considered, as a special
 blessing, that, with the great heat in June, July and August, it does not rain,
 because otherwise the corn on the threshing floors, as well as the raisins and figs,
 27555 would spoil, as those which are dried under the open sky; and the silk-building would
 then often fail. Observing this, one will be able, thereby, to judge Samuel's act,
 Sam. XII 16-18. to raise up a sudden storm and rain, at the time of the wheat
 harvest, at the surrender of the kingdom to Saul, before the eyes of the people, upon
 his prayer to the Lord, and learn to value it as a great and effective miracle. - The
 27560 dew is indeed very strong in the East, and therefore occurs very often in the Bible;
 but is soon lifted up by the sun. For the rest the air remains perfectly clear during
 the day and at night, and no damp mist arises in it. In the period of 9 years such a
 one was once noticed at Smyrna, but was considered a special rarity. Around June all
 the grass on the plain withers, and the leaves only on the trees, the gardens and
 27565 regions that can be watered, as well as the herbs and shrubs on the mountains remain
 green. - The heat in June, July and August, (when, to quench thirst, and to cool
 drinks, much snow and ice are used, which in winter is collected on the mountains,
 and kept in ice-cellars,) is in fact extraordinary. Hence a kind of vapours and
 exhalations are produced, which make the air unbearably sultry, and darken the sun,
 27570 although there is no humidity accompanying it. The earth is greatly rent asunder; the
 rocks on the mountains become hot, and a wind that blows over them, becomes as
 burning. No one, except the common people, shows himself, in such a season, from
 eight in the morning, till four in the afternoon, under the open sky. The heat of the
 sun is not to be trifled with here. If one otherwise went naked, the head must
 27575 nevertheless be covered, so as not to make a sudden end of life by the stinging sun,
 as by a stroke. - Autumn is a very pleasant, and unusually moderate time, extending
 until the new year. Then also the thunderstorms begin to come, of which one in the
 summer almost entirely knows. - On a sufficient rain in the autumn and in April
 almost depends the fruitfulness of the whole year. The first is probably the early,
 27580 and the last the latter rain, of which, in the sacred writings, mention is made as a
 special blessing, but also, if it did not come, as a special curse. - One is seldom
 without winds, and when there are none at all, one is in danger of earthquakes.
 During the whole summer the Imbat, or sea wind, sometimes begins to blow before, or
 long after the rising of the sun, and blows, fairly strongly, until midnight, often
 27585 also almost the whole night through, whereby the country is eminently refreshed. —
 Because the Levant lies nearer the Meridian than Germany; so, there, in the summer
 the days are a few hours shorter, but in the winter much longer. And from this shines
 a special wisdom of the Creator, touching the arrangement of the world-system; for if
 the countries, under the meridian, or near it, had not the advantage of the short
 27590 days; then, because of the heat, they would have to perish. — In Smyrna there is no
 northern light, and therefore probably even less in the more southern regions. The
 Vernae in this respect are as incomprehensible to the inhabitants of the Levant, as
 ice is to an East Indian Prince.
 The earth, excepting the rocky mountains and the real deserts, is fertile, producing

27595 mostly, without great cultivation and expense, the necessities and comforts of human
 life. Above many other countries, Turkey has a precedence, as regards medicinal
 herbs. With respect to field and garden fruits, several things may be observed. Among
 the corn, wheat and barley are chiefly cultivated; oats little, rye and vetches none
 27600 at all. Barley is, in the warm regions, more palatable than in the cold; and, because
 in the Levant, fresh barley bread is baked daily, (although the bakers, except at
 rare times, are not allowed to sell it openly,) it is pleasant, and therefore often
 appears in the Bible as good bread. Barley is, there, also the usual fodder for
 horses. Turkish wheat is not sown in all the provinces. Of a kind of Manna, which is
 27605 said to fall in Arabia, and which one could eat instead of bread, as with the
 Israelites, the Caravans know nothing, and no one travels there in hope of finding
 it, without taking with him the necessary provisions. The Lentils in Egypt are the
 best, and the Peas only a garden-fruit. Pleasure gardens with flower-beds, spacious
 promenades, and other regular arrangements find no favour with the Turks. Trees that
 give shade, sufficient spring or well-water, (the latter being found in most
 27610 Provinces beautiful and in abundance,) at most a good arrangement, form with them the
 greatest ornament. The Easterners are uncommonly careful that none of the water that
 flows down from high mountains is lost, and they understand the art of distributing
 it, and of guiding it skilfully to their gardens or fields. The wells are, seldom, at
 small places in their neighbourhood, but at some distance from them, probably to have
 27615 the water the purer, and because most places are built against the hills. People
 still carry the large jars, provided with handles, on their shoulders, as in former
 days. (Genesis XXIV 15.) Not only common, but also women of a respectable rank fetch
 water there, especially in small and less populated places. The machines, to draw the
 water from low wells, not being deep, are very simple among the Easterns. A larger or
 27620 smaller wheel, provided all round with water-scoops, which reaches into the water, is
 turned by means of an upright disk, in which the teeth of the wheel are engaged.
 Above it a strong stem of equal proportion, somewhat crooked, goes over the wheel, to
 which an ass or horse is attached, which by its pulling sets the machine in motion.
 The water then runs into high masonry troughs; (Havuse,) in large gardens, for that
 27625 purpose, a house is usually built in the form of a tower, (Esaj. V 2.) and is,
 according to convenience, led through pipes, or only through the strong downpour from
 the Havuse, to the proper places. — For the rest, everything grows naturally through
 each other. They have the most, with us well-known ground-fruits, such as lettuce,
 white and cauliflower, yellow and white carrots, radishes, etc., although these are
 27630 more watery than with us, but they do not have curly cabbage at all; on the other
 hand they have Melisans, a fruit of dark blue colour, which grow almost in the shape
 of large cucumbers on fairly high stalks, and the Melons. These are of various kinds,
 among which the water- and King-melons are the best. The first are a special miracle
 of the great Creator, who wanted to prove by this, how He could produce water from
 27635 the rocks. They grow in the poorest earth, hiding in a thick green shell a kind of
 reddish spongy substance, which is full of a very unusually tasty liquid. One cannot
 well imagine what a refreshment this is to the people in the warm regions there. The
 onions and cucumbers around Smyrna are so sweet and pleasant that they are eaten raw
 on all occasions as a delicacy, and soups are cooked of them, although they do not
 27640 yet come up to those of Egypt, and one should therefore not wonder at the complaints
 of the Israelites about having to forego them. The best rice grows in Egypt, but
 before it is transported it is doused with hot water, in order to render it unusable
 for sowing abroad. The so-called Turkish, or properly Arabian Coffee comes from
 Yemen, a Kingdom of happy Arabia, and is transported from Mocha, a port of that
 27645 country, over the Red Sea to Suez in ships, thence to Great Cairo carried on camels,
 and then over the Nile to Alexandria, and other Mediterranean cities of Egypt. This
 same country also produces the best Flax. The Tree-wool is grown in most Provinces,
 as in Napoli, Syria, and Greece; but that around Smyrna is one of the best. It does
 not grow there on trees, but on a plant, the seed of which is sown towards April,
 27650 which reaches the height of a cubit; leaves, like those of the small Mallow, but
 almost of a dark blue colour, just as the blossom looks like this, and on it bears
 nuts the size of medlars, which are united in length as in three divisions, which,
 when they are perfectly ripe, split, and from which the tree wool is picked.
 Among the tree fruits, the cherries and nuts are like ours. Of Apples and Pears there
 27655 are not so many kinds, nor so good, as with us. But our Bergamots cannot come close
 to those of Angora. The Peaches do indeed surpass ours in taste; but they are rarely
 allowed to ripen properly there, but often cut off before the time. The blue Plums
 are hardly found there at all. On the other hand, their Almond, Pomegranate, Fig, and
 Olive trees have their precedence. The Pistachio tree properly belongs to Syria, as
 27660 the Palm tree with its dates to Egypt. The latter does not wither in the largest

measure, and thrives better in a sandy than in a moist soil. The Olive trees indeed shed their leaves in the winter, but others come forth again, so that they are continually green. (Psalm XCII 13.) Many Provinces have forests of Oak and Pine. (*) Otherwise, Cypress trees are found everywhere, which are planted by houses, Mosques, and in cemeteries. Vine is much planted, and the grapes are excellent, and of various kinds. In June and July there are small blue ones, then white ones, then large blue and white ones, and finally brown-red ones. They often last until January and February of the following year. The Turks themselves are not allowed to press wine from it, as is permitted to Christians and Jews only, but not in all places; but they dry, during the long summer, the wine grapes, which with us are currants. From it also the Turks prepare strong spirits of brandy, in which they, for want of wine, drink themselves drunk. The vines for the grapes that are to be dried are not allowed to grow higher than half a foot, but the other against the trees. The common wine is there as cheap, as with us the commonest beers. The wine of the island of Scopoli is the best, to drink it mixed with water; for the rest, the muskadelle wine of Tenedos, Smyrna, and Samos, as well as that of the island of Cyprus, is excellent. And the ancient custom of preserving and transporting liquid things in leather bags, still persists; as especially the oil, almost always, is transported in them, from one place to another.

Among the domestic fowl there are mostly pigeons, common chickens, and turkeys. Geese and ducks are found less, and these do not taste as good as with us. There is no lack of many kinds of wild fowl, for instance, partridges, wild ducks and geese, and francolins, or a kind of small pheasant. The turtle-dove is everywhere, and towards autumn the beccasige, a small migratory bird, which there makes up for the lack of larks. The quails are in Greece, and especially on the islands of the Archipelago, in an uncommon number, which are caught and put in vinegar, and taste very well. The storks are there, in a certain respect, sacred birds, and the swallows enjoy an almost equal esteem with the storks. No one dares to shoot them, and their nests on and at the houses and farms are considered a lucky sign. Near Constantinople one finds a kind of diver or sea raven. They fly, in all seasons, on the Channel. This happens, constantly, on the surface of the water. Because one seldom sees this bird rest; therefore the foreigners have given it, because of its constant flying, the name of damned soul, but the Turks that of Jel-Kowan or wind-chaser. It swims very well, and also dives under. He lives more on insects that fly over the water than on fish. During the day he flies, continually, from the mouth of the Black Sea to the Princes' Islands, following, by flying to and fro, the ebb and flow thereof.

Sheep with and without horns, and goats, form the greatest number among the domestic cattle. The tails of the former are unusually heavy and fat. The flesh of both, (for the latter is, there, not so unpalatable, as in Germany and elsewhere,) is most eaten by the Turks. Among Angora one finds that kind of goat, from which the hair comes, which we call camel-hair. This hair is fine and glossy, hanging almost to the ground. It is not shaved off, but combed off, and, as to beauty, does not yield much to the side. The goats themselves are of a fairly tame nature, and only medium in size. They are often washed in the small river that flows by, and grazed on the dry ground there. If they are brought from there to another country, they perish in a short time altogether. Cattle are found mostly in places where Christians and Jews live; for the Turks do not like beef very much. Bovines are still rarer, because neither Jews nor Turks eat their meat. Hares, Rheinboks and wild Bovines are also not wanting; but Deer are unknown there. The Turkish horses are good for riding, but not for working, and do not equal those of Arabia in continuous and rapid journeys. They are bred with uncommon tenderness. On the warmest summer days, even in the stables, which, because of the heat, have become as warm as a bath stove, a thick woolen blanket is nevertheless put on them, which is fastened with several straps around the belly, so that the body is covered both above and below. On winter days, 2 or 3 are put on; but because of this, these horses also become so tender, that when one has only one hour to prepare them, they have to be led around slowly for a while, before they can be brought into the stable, because otherwise, because of a cold, they might become unfit for use. And this is the reason, when they are brought to Christian countries, and are not treated and cared for so tenderly, that they are not good for long, but soon spoil. Otherwise they are often tamed by the Turks, so that they follow the rider, come to him at his beck and call, or else, without being tied up, stand still. They look fine to the eye, and let themselves be easily trained, to endure the fire, and to accustom them to all kinds of exercises. Of the noble Arabian Horses, (for there are also common ones,) people have wanted to know the origin for a few thousand years. They are also, concerning their uncorrupted kind, reasonably certain, because the mares are always covered in the presence of witnesses. Notwithstanding the

27730 Arabians, when taking oaths, are not exactly good-natured; they are, however, in the
 highest degree, when covering horses. It is even assured, that regular, legal
 testimonies and genealogical registers are kept of them. The Turks generally ride
 Stallions, and not Geldings, and are good Horse-tamers. The Buffaloes draw the
 plough. They are higher than our largest Oxen, and much thicker and bulkier, so that
 they rather resemble monstrous beasts. They do not move otherwise than by a very slow
 step; are generally ashen-grey or blackish, and have, in proportion, very small eyes.
 27735 They also draw the Arraba, or heavy trolleys with 2 wheels, which are used for
 collecting the corn, the chaff, and other household necessities. For the transport of
 real loads and merchants' goods the Asses, Mules and Camels serve. In Asia Minor
 there are only those Camels which have one hump. 'There are several kinds of them.
 The large ones, of the Persian frontiers, are usually called Turkman, after the
 Province of Turkman, in distinction from the others, and are very strong. Around
 27740 Constantinople, and on the Asiatic coasts of the Archipelago, are the smallest. They
 go very slowly, and, although they take wide steps, they must nevertheless have the
 time of 15 hours for a journey of 10 hours. But when they come to walk, this is
 surprising. Of all animals they are the ones that rest the least; and no beast of
 burden can be maintained so easily and at so little expense. They can suffer hunger
 27745 and thirst for many days. They live on the leaves of shrubs. When they are on a
 journey, a wad of common dough is put into their mouths, which they chew on for a
 day, and with it they satisfy their hunger. The large ones have unusually long and
 rough hair on their heads, necks, and joints of their legs. Their growling is
 extremely unpleasant, and often disgusting. Their color tends toward yellow and dark
 27750 brown. They cannot be tamed completely. They are not to be trusted, often striking
 out at someone's head and arms with their long necks; although their drivers are
 fairly secured against it. When loaded they must kneel, and 'crouch down to the
 ground. It is a singular thing, that even when beaten, they do not rise, if the
 burden is greater than the nature and strength of the Camels permits. One is fastened
 27755 to the other saddle, by means of a long and strong rope. The small ones do not carry
 well above six hundred, and the large ones above a thousand pounds. When travelling
 they cannot be made to move, unless a man or an animal, such as a horse, mule or ass,
 goes ahead. If the driver whistles for the first time, and pulls the halter fastened
 round their head; then they fall on their knees: if this is repeated again; then they
 27760 fall completely on the ground: if this happens a third time; then they rise. To
 accustom them to this, when they come into the world, their legs are bent under their
 bodies, and they are left in this position for some days. - Of wild animals there is
 a kind of large and voracious Foxes, which are called Schakals, which at night, often
 by many hundreds, with a howling like that of dogs and cats, go out to prey, and on
 27765 their way they go to the villages; wherefore the ease of catching a good number of
 them may be explained in the History of Samson. (Judges XV 4.) There are also
 Hyaenes, larger than the Schakals, being a mean between Foxes and Wolves. Both of
 them often dig up with their paws the buried human corpses, and devour them; they
 even tear the weaker animals to pieces; and, as the Schakals are otherwise afraid of
 27770 men, the Hyaens even attack them. They are not so high as wolves, but their hair is
 rougher, and marked with large black spots. The ancients thought that the backbone of
 the Hyaens was like that of the Crocodiles, and had no joints; but Russel, who had an
 opportunity of dissecting one, found it to have regular joints, as in dogs. The skin
 of the Schakals, there, the common people, as among us the First Nations use the furs
 27775 of other strange animals. - Rarely, there, excepting the great mountains, are Tigers
 found, and still more rarely Lions.
 There are no lack of large and small Lizards of many kinds. Among these belongs the
 Chameleon, which is distinguished from it only by a higher back and longer legs. It
 cannot move its head separately without the whole body. It catches insects with its
 27780 sticky tongue. It sticks this out to them when they fly, quite long, but so quickly
 that it can seldom be seen. The most remarkable thing about this animal is the change
 of colour, which is seen according to the variety of objects. Although it assumes the
 dark colours most lightly, and therefore looks brownish, green and blackish; yet
 these colours are usually mixed with white and red patches. When it is in the wild;
 27785 then the colours it assumes are more vivid than when it is shut up. In sleep they are
 not changed, and when dead they become pale. They have unusually fiery eyes. -
 Scorpions are found in many places, and snakes of various, but no extraordinary
 kinds. Tortoises run free everywhere, on the mountains, in great numbers, because the
 Greeks and Turks consider them unclean; but they are not large, and one will not
 27790 easily find one, whose shell in the circumference amounted to more than one ell. The
 insects common to us are also, and become, in certain seasons, very troublesome. For
 this reason one must sleep under a mosquito net. This is a covering, suitable for the

bed, of very thin lyme, tree-wool, or silk, which covers the bed like a sack, which, in order that the mosquitoes do not fly into it during the day, is pulled together at the head, when it hangs on two rods, but otherwise rolled up and tied together. – The scale insects are, in most houses, a great plague. The waters have, in general, an abundance of mussels and fish, where the sea fish have the preference over those from the rivers, for the sake of taste and health. Most of them are of the species known to us, such as eels, perches, etc. But otherwise there is also a multitude, which are not caught in the more northern seas. The Sea-lyre (rouget) of the best kind, and other kinds are, meanwhile, also not unknown on the shores of the Mediterranean. The Sword-fish is caught at Constantinople, having its name from it, because the nasal bone, according to its size, projects two or more feet, in the shape of a sword. At Alexandria are the Sea-ashes, from which one gets the roe dried in long and round pieces, which one calls Butarako. Besides the large Sea-lobsters, there are two more kinds. That which is called by the Greeks $\sigma\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ (Stakos), is larger, yes, about a foot and a half long, provided with pointed spines or claws, and also tastes better. The smaller is a medium size, and bears the name of Languste. Of Crabs one finds nothing but the larger, but also the smaller, or so called Taskrabbe. Oysters are caught at Smyrna, Mytilene, and in the Channel, but the largest and tastiest at the Princes' Islands. Among the sea animals one finds in the Archipelago and the Channel of Constantinople, especially the Dolphin. Of these one sees, especially in calm weather, whole flocks, which migrate to where the wind and storm will come from. On such voyages they are wont to leap up with great violence, and to throw themselves back into the water in an arcing manner. They come close to the ships, not only delighting the sailors, but also instructing them as of the rising wind. How wonderful is not the Creator in his works!

Because of the great heat most diseases are of a short duration, and many of our long-lasting diseases are hardly found at all in Asia Minor. To this I add, for instance, the Dropsy, the Podagra, the Tar, etc. The women are there more easily delivered, than in the Northern Countries, and also sooner recovered. The Smallpox, here and there, among adults as well as young people, in certain years, makes a horrible scourge. Although the vaccination thereof is customary in little Tartary, as well as on many islands of the Archipelago; yet, up to my time, it has not yet found a place on the mainland. The Measles are not so common, nor so harmful, as with us. The Fevers are a common Evil, and the hot ones, especially those that prevail in the Autumn, soon put an end to man's Life. Many also die of strokes. The red course is very common in the summer, especially when eating unripe fruits. Very many are plagued by hypochondria, which is probably caused by the much sitting of people, especially in the hot seasons. Women are very exposed to hysterical fits (ascensions), which often turn into madness (Mania). The strong heat of the sun, and the much fine dust raised by the wind also makes many people blind, of whom there are often more in a single city in the Levant than with us in entire provinces. More rare, but not very strange, is the Leprosy, with which the people on the Syrian coasts, the island of Kandia, and elsewhere are infected, and which, by prolonged association and contact, communicates itself to others, whereby the flesh is gradually consumed, so that nothing but skin and bones remain, but whereby even the skin is eaten away by a foul rash. People may suffer from it for ten years or more, and often still work and go and stand. The Lepers, at Smyrna and elsewhere, live together with other people, or, when the Disease becomes very bad, keep to the roads, to be able to beg. Where there are many; there they are wont to keep themselves together, and apart from other people, but at the same time to places where they can conveniently beg.

The greatest Evil of all is the Plague. This makes the most populous people deserts, and the regions waste places. During my nine years' residence in Smyrna, I have experienced, in the years 1759, 1760, 1762, and 1765, general plagues, not counting the less general ones. Usually, at the end of them, there were 15 to 20 thousand fewer inhabitants than before. In the months of May, June, and July, this Evil rages most violently, and daily, between 60 and 300 dead people were usually buried. At Constantinople, the plague is first spoken of when the number of people who die from it amounts to four or five hundred, and when more than a thousand people are carried off daily, it is called a great plague. As to the attack of the plague; it often confuses some people, because of the different circumstances and accidents of its outbreak, and, especially in the beginning, the symptoms are mostly uncertain, and, in appearance, often, of little importance, and not dangerous. Otherwise, he who is infected with it, is aware of a strange headache. His back hurts, and the whole body loses all its strength. This is followed by a strong fever, which makes people fall into a frenzy, and in which he also dies, by a very malignant plague. The peculiarity

of this disease is the effect on the soul of the sufferer; for at the moment he becomes despondent and disconsolate. After death the plague boil then bursts out. But if the plague is not so violent; then this happens before death. Everything goes very quickly here. With some, illness and death are almost in a moment, with others in a few hours, at the most in 3 days. The boils break out, mostly, on the softest parts of the body; sometimes there is only one, then again there are several. There are very clearly two kinds of them. With the malignant one, no cure can be hoped for; with the soft one, the sufferer is still in danger of death for 40 days. The good kind of boils, when they are quite ripe, are opened, from which then flows a stinking Matter. During those 40 days a strict Diet must be kept, and if the Sufferer then may eat any of meat, fish, butter, oil, eggs, etc.; then another plague boil bursts out, from which, without help, he is a child of death. Rice, herbs, barley-drink, etc., are its only food, — It has been observed, that lepers, and people, afflicted with foul rashes, are quite safe from this Evil. — As long as the Plague rages, all other diseases usually cease, or decay in it. But, when they, and especially the Smallpox, begin, and spread; then this is regarded as a sign of the plague coming to an end. Who has once had the Plague; is therefore not free from it at another time. There are examples that people who have had them twelve or more times have finally died from them. Yes, he who has had them once is, in a certain respect, more susceptible to them than another. Such a person can even often know in advance when a Plague will occur; because he has a sharp, stinging, and restless affection from the plague sore he has had. But if someone has had another one, called Carbuncle, in addition to the usual plague sore, and has recovered from both; then it rarely happens that such a person gets the Plague again. Such people also do not usually fear it any more, or take care of it.

Remedies against this Evil have no place. In the beginning it was customary to give a person infected with the Plague a strong diaphoretic, to promote the ripening and passing of the pimple. If it is of a good kind; then the opening of it, and a good Diet, are the way to be restored again. In the opinion of the Public, who regard drinking their own water as a remedy for the Plague, the intelligent certainly think otherwise. It is natural that a fluid already so much corrupted must still increase the Evil. Wherefore the honest Physicians also disapprove of this, and, with right, consider it an unfounded fancy of the filthy Public. Otherwise garlic, burnt waters, wine, vinegar, and strong incense are considered good preservatives. Drunkards at least are not easily snatched away. The Plague spreads itself from one place, very rapidly, to the other countries of the Turkish Empire; for there is no known enclosure of the infected places. For the rest, this Evil is like a fire. Notwithstanding that it is not at all, as far as one can notice, continued by the air, for that remains as healthy in Turkey as before; so the smell or the touching of infected persons and things is more dangerous, since he, who guards against it, remains unaffected. And, because the communication takes place so unnoticed, David was right, when he says, (Psalm XCI. 6.) that the pestilence walks in darkness. The Plague kindles through everything, except bread, wood and liquid things. The beginning, continuation and end of this Evil are uncertain. Often it begins in the Fall, but mostly in the Winter; increases in the Spring, and ceases about the time of the great heat in July. By St. John the end, or at least the abatement of the Plague, is mostly there, especially in Egypt. Not only the Levantine Christians, but also the Mohammedans, depend on this. — Experience teaches that the Plague from the Southern and Eastern Provinces of the Turkish Empire is more dangerous to the Northern, than when it spreads from these to none. For this reason the Egyptian and Syrian Plague is more formidable for the Archipelago, for Nato and Rumelia, than that of Constantinople and Smyrna in Egypt and Syria; yes, the Smyrna at Constantinople is more dangerous than that of Constantinople at Smyrna. The Egyptian Plague usually comes from Ethiopia, and is formidable for Egypt. — The influence of the earthquake on the plague, either to put an end to it or to increase it, seems, upon careful observations, to be more a national prejudice than anything real. — It is most dreadful when animals, for instance, dogs, cats, etc. die of plague boils, as formerly in Egypt. Exod. IX. 3. The Greeks, as well as the inhabitants of the Levant, in their delusion, imagine the Plague as a fearful monster, which, according to some, comes precisely at noon, but according to others at night, and becomes visible. Many even want to assert that they mark the houses where they want to make a slaughter with an indelible mark.

If one asks for the causes, why this Evil, the Plague, rages so often in Turkey? then one can also give the following, among other things. It is certainly bred from putrefaction. Unhealthy food; filthiness, not indeed in the rooms, but nevertheless in the squares and streets; excessive fear, which one can call the beginning of the

27925 Plague; terror, and a sudden inactivity of the body, by which the exhalation is
 stopped; all this subjects men, steadily, more and more to the Plague. But the
 principal reason is this, that the spread is never stopped. The infected houses,
 places and landscapes are never closed off; nor the things subject to infection, such
 27930 as clothes, beds, etc., are never burned, buried under the ground, or properly
 purified, but openly sold, or, if they are inheritances, even locked away in chests
 and cupboards, and a few months or years afterwards brought out again: and so the
 Plague breaks out anew. This unreasonable conduct rests on the feeling of the
 Mohammedans concerning an absolute fate, so that what happens must happen, whatever
 one may do or set oneself to. And this is also the reason why no Mohammedan shuns a
 27935 contaminated place or house. The plague is in his eyes nothing else than arrows of
 God, which hit the intended target; so that it is therefore fruitless to want to
 avoid it. – For the rest I would also hereby acknowledge the traces of God's
 Providence, in the Heaven-provoking sins of the inhabitants of this country.
 The Europeans are not easily exposed to this evil. Their way of life protects them
 27940 possibly against it. In addition, their caution is unusually great, (*) When the
 plague somewhat takes over; then they lock themselves in their houses, or flee to the
 country. They let nothing into their houses that cannot be purified by a strong fume,
 by vinegar or water. The trade is then generally broken off, or only driven to the
 distance of a few paces. All meetings are suspended; and the Protestants close their
 27945 churches, but the Roman Catholics seldom theirs, and the Christians on land never
 theirs. But what always seemed strange to me in this respect is this, that
 nevertheless, in the most terrible times of plague, the English, the Dutch, the
 Swedes and the Danes, load their stuff in their ships, and yet it very seldom happens
 that they become infected. The earthquake is no less great inconvenience in Turkey.
 27950 Although it is, that this also prevails in other countries, such as Portugal, Italy,
 etc.; it seems, however, to belong there as if it were at home. One can, often, know
 it in advance. When the sun, in clear weather, shines reddish, the air sultry, and
 there is no wind; then this is an evil omen. Before the earthquake itself goes a
 peculiar rushing, and, when it will become strong, a noise beforehand. There are two
 27955 kinds of earthquakes. The first, and not so harmful, is when it proceeds as a wave-
 like, or one after the other under the earth; but the other, as the most terrible, is
 when the earth, by fits and starts, rises up. The duration of this is, as is known,
 very different, and usually it does not remain the same. A phenomenon in the world is
 not more hideous than this. The terrible emotion caused by it is seen both in men and
 27960 animals. Therefore the Holy Ghost, in the sacred pages, could not name a more fitting
 sign concerning the dreadfulness of the end of the world, than to mention
 earthquakes. – The wounds, which one might possibly receive in an earthquake, are,
 according to the well-founded or unfounded opinion of many, considered incurable. We
 will not investigate this further, but say only that, if there is anything to it, the
 27965 difficult healing may well come from the fact that fear strikes the blood, and this
 cannot be brought back to its usual course. – Whoever else is somewhat calm in mind
 in an earthquake, takes refuge under the pillar of a door, in order to be protected
 from the wood and stones falling down. And this is also the reason that houses are
 built as much as possible low and close, so that they will yield all the more in the
 27970 event of an earthquake, and will not collapse so quickly.
 Since the manner of building in a country is usually directed to the air, the
 climate, the soil, and other natural circumstances; so here too, seems to be the best
 place to speak of it. In the cities and in the villages it is, everywhere, irregular.
 The streets in the cities are very narrow, and generally not more than two to four
 27975 yards wide. People try to protect themselves from the heat by this, and to keep the
 strong sunshine out of the streets. They also do not need wide streets, because there
 is no carriage in use, but the burdens are carried by men or animals, namely donkeys,
 mules or camels; and those who do not go on foot ride on donkeys or horses, and great
 women, at most, have themselves carried in Tachtaravans, a kind of horse litters. –
 27980 The houses are never built regularly; some of them are two, others more stories high.
 It cannot be otherwise: for, except for large and public buildings, no house is built
 according to a previously made plan, and the parts as a whole are not finished before
 the actual erection, but one builds by pieces, where the thoughts, at the beginning
 of a new part, can change. But often, the natural position with the unforced layout
 27985 of the houses, the decorations added to them, the trees planted around and the
 gardens, as well as the fountains, surpass our artistically worked regularities. In
 large houses one usually finds baths, which consist of two or more rooms, covered
 with lead above, lighted from within, and provided with basins, pipes and all
 conveniences. – The Turks abstain from splendor in building, because, according to
 27990 their thoughts, that is the sign of a puffed up and immoderate heart, which promises

itself, in this Life, as a permanent dwelling. They are content when they are only protected against robbers and evil, as travellers in inns. (*) Most houses, especially in the southern provinces, have, instead of roofs, terraces; these are in the middle, or on one side, somewhat raised platforms, so that the rainwater may run off the easier. Around them runs a railing. On these people go for walks, and also sleep on them in the summer; which rightly serves as a source of many scriptures. – In the middle of large buildings, at the height of one or two steps, there is a large hall, completely open to the forecourt, from which one can look over the gallery into the forecourt. This open Hall is, certainly, the αὐλῆς and υπερωον in the Bible, which served for all kinds of solemn uses, Mark XIV. 15. Acts I.13. IX. 37. XX. 8. and where also, probably, Christ was heard; so that he could see Peter below in the forecourt, Luke XXII. 61. Through a large gate one enters the forecourt from the street, and from this the staircase goes upstairs.

In average houses there is at least one forecourt; in noble ones there are at least two. – The lowest floor is, almost always, used for warehouses, stables and cellars: in the second and higher floors, a gallery runs around the inside like a balcony, which is covered by the roof of the house, and is very good for a walking place, as well as for taking in fresh air. This also leads, for the most part, to all the rooms. In these there is a double row of windows. The lower ones, which are fairly low, and not exactly large, rarely have glass panes, but only a more or less narrow latticework, and they only serve, when sitting on the sofa, for looking out: the upper ones, through which the light actually falls into the rooms, are still smaller, of various shapes, and often covered with glass of various colours. Average rooms therefore sometimes have more than 20 windows. – The open market-places or places of sale of the Turks in the cities, where they, as well as the Christians and Jews, put their goods for sale, are called Basars. Every branch of commerce has its own special Basar, assigned to it. The sellers bring their goods there; whether they lock them up in shops, or only bring them there on market-days, and, when they cannot sell them, take them back again. Therefore it is said: the price of the Basars, or the Rate, may be so or so high. The Besestane, a kind of Halls, are the actual shops, in which all kinds of goods, as well as articles made of gold and silver, etc., are sold, and which are rented to merchants, craftsmen and artists. They are, for fear of fire, made of stone and vaulted, provided with iron doors, and covered with domes, through which the light falls. Because each one lets his goods in; so they are closed at night, and guarded by special watchmen appointed for that purpose. Every nation and every kind of commerce is accustomed to have its own particular places there, or in large cities its own separate Besestane. The Tscharsu does not differ much from this, being a multitude of shops built together, both for craftsmen for their work, and for the sale of goods, in a kind of streets, which are often protected from rain and sunshine by awnings above. – For the rest, fire in Turkey is a dreadful matter. For, as the streets are narrow, the houses, because of the earthquakes, are very lightly built of wood, hung with carpets for ornamental purposes, and provided with wooden galleries; then also all the woodwork is covered with many kinds of olive paints; so, especially in the summer months, everything burns away like straw, and the Turks use no other means to extinguish the fire, than by having a great number of houses pulled down around them. Since there is now much to rob, and the Janistas, in extinguishing fire, are mainly used; so they often even set it up, and in extinguishing it to go slowly to work.

(*) During my nine-year stay in Smyrna the ice in a river was only 2 days so strong that people could stand on it. The snow lay, seldom, on the country so long.
 (*) The chaff is the winter shelter for the cattle; for in the East no hay is won.
 (*) The firewood is, in many places of the Levant, for instance in Smyrna and Jerusalem, bought and paid for by weight.

(*) Most Christian nations have, in Constantinople, Smyrna, as well as in other places, their hospitals with the necessary attendants, in which they are accustomed to receive their, infected with the plague, especially poor fellow believers, as well as foreigners.
 (*) According to the construction method of the East, one can very naturally explain Dan. VI. 11. There one reads, that Prophet Daniel in his summer house (as the Lutheran translation has it, in the Dutch it is opperzaale,) had open windows towards Jerusalem. This is either a hall built onto the house in the Eastern style, still in use today, open on one or three sides and with a roof resting on pillars, or a pleasure house built on a raised spot and open on all four sides, which is called a kiosk there.

§. V. Of the cities in general, of which in the Revelation of John, Head, II and III, are spoken, and of Smyrna in particular.
 Smyrna is a fairly large place. It is, as is known, one of the 7 cities, of which Revelation II and III are spoken: for the Biblical name, Church, might not well be

appropriate to it, considering that it might differ greatly from the description of
28060 Revelation II. 8-10. In the meantime, however, the praise that is found there seems
to determine the reason why it is spared, and has remained to this day. War,
pestilence and earthquake have often visited it, yes, completely destroyed it; but
nevertheless it has, continually, reappeared again: as the other places, of which are
28065 spoken in the said Chapters of Revelation, have mostly become a heap of ruins. —
Ephesus, by the Turks Aja'saluk, still points out an exceedingly great quantity of
remains of antiquity, in demolished churches, aqueducts, chimneys, other buildings,
and broken magnificent pillars; but it is now no longer even a village, and the
standing bits and pieces of the Temple of Diana, besides that of an old St. John's
28070 church, are only the shelter of shepherds with their cattle. The Candlestick of the
Angelium has been entirely banished from this place — (Rev. II 5.) — Pergamus is, at
present, a sort of a village, almost under its old name; likewise Thyatira, under the
name of Akhifar, which is inhabited almost exclusively by Turks, and where a great
deal of tree-wool is collected: Sardis is a common village, excepting the ruins of
old buildings, which has retained its name by abbreviation. Philadelphia, by the
28075 Turks Ala-Kair, is no better, although the Christians there, after Smyrna, form the
most flourishing Church among the cities of which the Revelation speaks, and thus
also experience the promised blessing. (Rev. III 9, 10.) But Laodicea would have
disappeared altogether, if some inscriptions on stones had not pointed out the former
laying of this place, favorably. It was therefore spat out of the mouth of him, on
28080 whom the foundation and overthrow of human buildings depend. (Rev. III 16.) The Turks
call it Eski-Hifa'r.
Smyrna bears the name of Ismir among the Turks, and lies on the so-called Smyrna Sea-
bay. It is, for a very large part, built against the mountains, like an Amphitheatre,
on the top of which an old Castle is still found. In some places there are old, in
28085 others new walls; in others clay walls, and in many it is quite open. On the north
side runs the Meles. Although this, in ancient History, is mentioned, it remains,
however, in the Summer, after he has watered some gardens, scarcely a small arm left,
which is sufficient for the mills, bleaching and weathering. The city contains,
probably, more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, and it is the strongest
28090 commercial city of the so-called Levant. One must be at this place oneself, if one
wants to form a correct idea of the bustle of people in the matter of Commerce. The
Caravans and the Shipping cause such a liveliness, on water and on land, that the
contemplative eye can only be satisfied with it. A Kadi is the Chief, and a Moslem
the Second-in-Command of the city. One finds here almost all the nations of the
28095 world, which differ from each other in their dress and religion. The Greek Church is,
among the Christian denominations at Smyrna, the strongest. It has one Bishop, under
whom stand 12 Archpriests, a great multitude of Deacons, and many foreign
ecclesiastical Persons, who have also obtained the freedom to perform various
religious acts. It has 2 Churches, of which the largest, dedicated to St. Photinus,
28100 burned down in the year 1763; and the smaller one bears the name of St. George. The
first had not yet been rebuilt in the year 1777, and there was doubt whether it would
ever be rebuilt.
The Armenian Church is also served by one Bishop, and 12 Archpriests. This Christian
disposition is, there, not nearly as strong as the Greek, and has only one Church.
28105 The Roman Catholics have one Episcopal Vicar, and three Churches, of which one
belongs to the Franciscans, the second to the Capuchins, and the third to the
Jesuits. The Chapels in the first were much damaged in the fire of 1763, but those of
the Jesuits were completely reduced to ashes. The restoration of the Churches of the
Franciscans and Capuchins could not be effected, owing to the severity of the Turks,
28110 until the year 1776; but the completely burnt down Church of the Jesuits will not be
rebuilt after the subsequent destruction of their Order, although it is probable that
they will subsequently be allowed to enjoy their possessions in peace. The
Protestants have, for the most part, their Chapels by the Consuls, of which there are
three, namely the English, Dutch, and German. The Christian nations, as well as the
28115 Europeans, for example the English, Dutch, French and Italians, as of the Christians
of this country, namely the Greeks and Armenians, have Hospitals, where the sick,
especially those infected with the Plague, are taken care of and cared for.
The Jews there are, for the most part, descendants of those who were expelled from
Portugal and Spain. Their number amounts to more than twelve thousand, and they have
28120 7 Synagogues.
The number of the Turks amounts to 40 or 50 thousand. They observe their worship in a
great number of Mosques. There are there, as in most of the largest places in Turkey,
three religious days: Sunday for the Christians, Saturday for the Jews, and Friday
for the Turks.

28125 The layout of Smyrna is, in all respects, pleasant and advantageous; as one can see
from the plate, by the illustration of the Archipelago. It lies, immediately, at the
end of a bay, which extends from the Archipelago to about 12 German miles in Asia
Minor. This furnishes a rich quantity of fish, oysters, and mussels, and makes the
supply of provisions to the city easy; not to say that it promotes considerable
28130 navigation. The entrance is north-west between Foglieri, (Foggio) and Cape Karaburno.
Not far from the latter, inward, are the English Islands, and still further inward
the Islands of Urla. It cannot be navigated everywhere by large ships, owing to the
number of sand-banks, which the Dutch call Riffen, and which are especially formed by
the Hermus which drains there, and the channel for it becomes, a few German miles
28135 from the city, unusually narrow. On an isthmus, which defines it still more on the
south side, lies a small fortress, enclosed only by a wall without ramparts, which is
called the water castle. The Ree by the city is safe, very situated, so that ships,
without danger, can lie fairly close to the land, and is spacious enough for about a
thousand. The European residential quarter, or the so-called Frankenstreet, lies
28140 northwards close to the sea. At the end of it, to the south, is the large house, the
Tol [Customs office], built in the water; and beside it, inland, the building with
domes provided the large Visier-chans, and still more to the south the lower Castle
provided with old towers. The city itself runs, from the sea, against a fairly high
mountain, on one of whose peaks lies an old Castle for the defence of the city. This,
28145 in ancient times, had as great a circumference, as the top of the mountain is above,
on whose side, towards the city, a small fortress cut off from it has been
constructed. Of the larger one only the fallen walls are visible, and in the vicinity
large and unrecognizable heaps of ruins; a small, now useless and open St. John's
Church, of which the lower part indicates a considerable antiquity, but the upper
28150 part is new; and a very large, but partly ruined, and now completely unusable
cistern. The gate towards the city is complete, and shows itself very well below and
from the sea. To the west of it a large marble slab is bricked in, on which the head
of a supposed Amazon, Smyrna, is depicted, after whom the city is said to have its
name, which is four times as large as a natural head; but the nose and face are very
28155 mutilated. The smaller fortress mentioned has some cannons, and janissary families
for its defence. So it is also with the other fortress, surrounded only by walls,
situated near the sea, where the old harbour used to be, but which is now filled, and
for the greater part built up with shops and houses: so that, if it were not an abuse
of the word, fortress or Citadel, one could say, the city was protected by three
28160 Citadels. - On the north side is a plain, which is watered by small brooks, well 3
hours long, and about two wide, planted with olive, fig and other trees, as well as
many vines, and surrounded all around by high mountains. This is, besides the kyf,
one of the most pleasant and fruitful valleys. Of the mountains, most are covered
with various herbs and shrubs. In this plain, a little hour from the city, is the
28165 bath of Diana. Some old stones are considered to be the remains of the Temple of this
Pagan Goddess. This bath is filled only by some springs, which give up an astonishing
quantity of water from the ground, and make a large basin. On the south side of the
town, below on the hill, are the remains of a church dedicated to the martyred Virgin
Veneranda, where the Greeks have their principal Plague-house and burial-place, and
28170 the Dutch and English have theirs, very remote from their habitations, walled up, but
the Jews have their open cemetery. Superstition holds the well-water at St. Veneranda
to be miraculous. Not far from it, but immediately on the sea, and therefore at the
very end of the town, are a number of houses for the soap-works, and the public
slaughter-place. In the town itself are considerable Chans, Basars, and Baths.
28175 Monuments of antiquity are no longer found, destroyed everything. The so-called St.
John's Church in the upper castle, and a Polycarpus church, not far from it on the
mountain, are indeed dilapidated old buildings, but hardly dating back to the
earliest times, and the remains of an old Amphitheatre, in which Polycarpus suffered
his martyrdom, were sold in the middle of this century, and houses were built in the
28180 Jewish quarter. The Polycarpus church seems, otherwise, to be of no small age. In
front, in the width, is a covered, but not very wide passage. This building, which is
damaged in the vault and otherwise, is not high and without pillars. On each side is
a Chapel of the length, but not of the width of the main vault. Because Smyrna is
also said to be the birthplace of Homer; thus one points to the Castle-mountain of
28185 its cave. Behind it, to the east, between the mountains are some aqueducts, and the
region of the land there is called Paradise because of its beauty.

§. VI. Of Constantinople.

28190 Constantinople is called by the Turks, by abbreviation, Stamboul. From its position
this city seems to be the mistress of two parts of the world. The ease of the waters,

the glory of the air, the easy supply of products from all parts of the world, the virtue and abundance of the fishes, together with other advantages, give it the precedence over most cities on earth. Europe and Asia are, here, only separated from each other by the Canal, which comes from the Black Sea, and is scarcely the eighth

28195 part of a German mile broad, called by the ancients Bosphorus Thraciae. Both banks, through the fertility of the soil, seem to dispute for precedence now by small valleys, now by hills planted with vines, or by mountains, against the rises of which pygmy and cypress trees are placed, and by other projecting regions. The waters, which are in the middle, permit sufficiently to see freely on all sides. From the

28200 North comes the above-mentioned Canal; from the West, and therefore from the side of Europe, comes the so-called Canal of the sweet waters, being the real harbour of the Residence, and bearing the name of Horn because of its crooked shape, into which a river, caused by two large brooks, empties, but which, after mixing with the former, becomes salt, and is also just as broad at the Seraglio or castle of the Turkish

28205 Emperor; to the east is the Bay of Nicea, and to the south the Sea of Marmora. If the former did not extend with the latter in a reasonable breadth as far as Asia; then the waters would converge at Constantinople, almost in the shape of a large cross. - Constantinople itself lies on the European soil, on the Sea of Marmora and the Channel of the Sweet Waters, which forms the harbour, and at the head, where these

28210 two unite, is the Seraglio; the great suburbs, Pera, Galata, Tophana, etc., lie between the Channel of the Sweet Waters, and that which comes from the Black Sea; Scutari, Chalcedon, and an old Seraglio of the great Lord lie on the Asian side, on the latter channel, fairly near the Bay of Nicea. All these cities and suburbs are situated on hills, which gradually become higher towards the land, and which, as

28215 regards Constantinople without the suburbs, are counted in a number of seven or eight, in the same way as ancient Rome. The high buildings project. The Mosques, roofed with lead, and the Minnarets belonging to them, and provided with gilded transepts, spread an uncommon splendor, especially when the sun rises. The Cypresses planted in the squares of the Mosques, and in the gardens of the Seraglio, provide a special variegation. When one imagines all this together; then, without having seen

28220 it oneself, one can justify the proverb: "He who has not seen Constantinople, has not yet seen anything glorious". - The interior of the city, certainly, does not at all come close to the exterior. By this means another proverb may be judged: "Constantinople must be seen only from without, and not from within;" and it is

28225 related that an English traveller, after having examined this city closely from without, had departed again without setting foot in it, in order not to diminish the advantageous idea which the external layout had given him. The representation of this city in the accompanying plate will fully prove this.

The air at Constantinople is very healthy. The summer is very moderated by the winds

28230 coming from the Black Sea; but the winter is, on account of these same winds, often more severe and sensitive than in Germany. This is caused, especially by the very rapid change of the weather, when, on a sudden, a very cold follows, and so the body is completely unprepared until the end.

From the foregoing it may easily be inferred that it is not possible to calculate the

28235 size of Constantineple accurately, especially since the Mosques with their large circumferences and spacious cemeteries are found therein: but, in all probability, one would not be giving too high an estimate if one were to estimate the circumference of the city itself and its extensive suburbs at about 5 German miles: considering that for Constantinople proper, inland, one and a half German miles, for

28240 the side of the suburbs, Kassum-Pascha, Pera, etc. more than one, and seaward, including the harbour, also one and a half, but for Constantinople alone, without the suburbs, one can determine 3 miles. (*) - The inhabitants are estimated at one million, of whom about two hundred thousand are Christians of the Greek nation, about forty thousand Christians of the Armenian nation, and about sixty thousand Jews, but

28245 the rest will be Turks. - The Seven Towers form, to the south, towards the Sea of Marmora, the extremity of the city; it lies, then, in a not very unequal line, up to the point of the country, where the Canal of the sweet waters, or the Haven, unites with the Canal, which comes from the Black Sea. On this point lies the Serail. From this around the said Canal, the actual Constantinople extends towards the land. In

28250 the middle one finds, here, the headquarters of the Greeks, which is called Fänär. It ends behind the Armoury, by the most inland suburb Ejub, which has its name after the Ejubs- (Hiobs-) Mosque situated therein, (*) in which the new Emperor is girded with the Imperial dagger. From here one only has to draw, inland, a not too crooked line to the 7 Towers, and one will see, that Constantinople, in itself, is almost a

28255 Triangle, of which the Serail forms an obtuse angle. To the quarter belonging to the Armoury, which turns round on the other side of the Channel of the Sweet Waters, are

added still smaller parts, which extend to about Galata. These are understood under the name of Kassum-Paschi. Herein is the residence of Captain Pasha, the Armoury, and the shipyard, or the place where the Imperial ships are built, as well as the docks for the galleys. Not far from it is the Banje, or prison for the Imperial slaves, who are treated very badly at this hateful place, by a severe work. Galata is cut off from Kassum-Paschi and the other suburbs by a cemetery, and besides by a special wall, and lies opposite the Seraglio, on the Channel of the Sweet Waters, and that which comes from the Black Sea. It is fairly built against the mountains, on one of which is a fairly high round tower, erected by the Genoese, and of such size that it can pass for a decent city in itself, as there is a good number of suitable and solid houses in it. Next to this lies, still further on the Channel of the Black Sea, Tophana, (Top Chäanek) which bears that name after the gun foundry, and where also an unusual number of metal cannons are used to be placed on the streets and squares.

Next to this, on the Bosphorus, follow Thraciae, Fondukly and Besiktas, which with many others also belong to the suburbs. On the upper heights of Galata and Tophana lies Pera, where the European ambassadors always reside. In the neighbourhood of the latter is the open cemetery of the Europeans, and close by, on a mountain, lies another fairly large suburb, mostly inhabited by Greeks, called St. Demitri. — Let one cross from Tophana or Galata to the Asian coast; then one finds, almost in the middle of the Channel, the Tower of Leander, which the Turks call Kis-Kälä'fzy, which is built on a rock, being a kind of fortress and prison, where some cannons are placed. Fable-lore teaches, why it was built. Notwithstanding that it is thus built in the sea, one finds there, however, sweet and delicious water, which is attributed by some to a spring found there, but by others to a cistern, in which the rainwater from the roof is collected. From this small fortress one could fire the Channel to [?] both seas. — On the Asian soil and ground lies Scutari, also a city of a large circumference, and after the sea-bay of Nicaea an old Seraglio, directly opposite that of Constantinople. Chalcedony, formerly, especially in the history of the Church so famous, is found in the neighbourhood, being, except for some remains of earlier destructions, only a village. — The strength of Constantinople, both on the water and on the land side, does not mean much. On the sea-side there is a single wall, from 14 to 20 feet high, also reasonably thick, and reinforced with square towers; inland it is doubled and stronger, of which the outer is noticeably lower than the inner; but both are, in their entirety and circumference, provided with many towers at a certain distance. Since the invention of artillery, loopholes have also been made in it. One part consists of hewn, another of baked bricks. — Six gates go inland, among which the Adrianople is the most important, seven to the side of the sea Marmora, and thirteen to the Haven. Others may reckon more or less, according as they include or omit the small gates on the water side. — A large part of the suburbs is entirely open; but some parts are surrounded by an old wall, built by the Greeks and Genoese, where, in many places, there is a deep and dry ditch towards the land side, in others not.

What has been said with regard to the manner of building in general, also occurs at Constantinople, namely that most of the streets are narrowly, but fairly well paved, and most of the houses are light and built of wood. Among the streets, the one that runs from the Seraglio to one side of the Hippodromus is the most beautiful, and therefore serves for public entrances and exits. From this one can understand why, when the by fire, thousands of houses, in a short time, can be reduced to ashes. But there is also no lack of a great number of open buildings, which are very thickly built of stones. For the rest, one need not look here for regular houses or streets; for to the Turks this would seem much too uniform, just as the uneven ground, which alternates with mountains and hills, would not permit this.

Among the open buildings, one must certainly mention the Seraglio first. This word is indeed of a general meaning among the Turks, so that it is also used of the Palaces of the Grands of the Court, and of foreign Ambassadors; but if one uses it without an adjunct, one understands by it the residence of the Turkish Emperor. The Turks therefore call it Padischah Serai, the Imperial Castle. Concerning the laying, the necessary has already been mentioned in advance. Constantine the Great, as some have supposed, had his residence at another place, which is still shown. This is known under the name of the Palace of the Blaoners, but of which nothing remains but ruined walls and a few damaged marble pillars. The present Serail has a very pleasant view; to the southeast it has the bay of Nicea, Asia, and especially Scutari; to the northeast the beautiful regions of the Channel, which comes from the Black Sea, and the suburbs, Fondukli, Tophana, Pera, Galata, which on the other side of the Channel from the harbor, are built almost gradually in height on the mountains. It forms in itself, including the gardens, a moderate city; is surrounded by a high wall, on

which, after the canals, on the rocky and stone-covered parapet, many cannons lie on Lavettes. These cannons are only fired at the Emperor's arrival to the Throne, at the delivery of a Sultana, the two Beyrams, and at public joyous deeds in time of war. For at the Emperor's games, and other less important occasions, the cannons serve from Tophana, (Top Chaäne) the armory and Kis-Käläh: and when a Janistar is strangled, it is, for the present time, customary to fire a cannon shot from and the citadel Rumeli-Hhifar. The inner seraglio is covered with leaves, but the upper decorations, such as the knobs, the half moons, etc., are gilded. On the forecourts and in its gardens there is a great multitude of cypresses; which all gives it a magnificent display from the outside. From the inside it has no such beauty. The entrance to the first square is reasonably high and wide, and is the main gate, which is certainly worth seeing. This main gate of the first square of the Seraglio the Turks call Bah Humajun or the Majestic Gate, and have great respect for it. At the entrance into it the Dschjebheidschiv (Armourers and Harness Makers) have their Armour House, in which the helmets, sabres, guns, suits of armour, and all kinds of war supplies are kept according to the old and new manner. Through this gate the public entrances and exits of the Emperors, the Grands of the Empire, and the Ambassadors pass. In front of it, on one side, is the former Sophia Church, and on the other side a very beautiful Fountain. After the entrance, which is occupied by a guard of Guards, a fairly large, much longer than broader, but very irregular and badly paved Square opens up; further on the left hand is the Mint, a hideous building; on the right are the stables, a large hospital, in a word, all that which belongs to the Seraglio in a remote way in buildings for people and cattle. Here one also finds the Court Mosque. At a distance of about 1000 paces, calculated from the outer gate, comes the second gate. This is even more ingenious, than the first, and is also guarded by Guards. Here one comes to the second Square, which is not as large, as the first, but is more beautiful. The buildings around are not of the same height. Some rest on pillars, under which one can walk dry, others do not. In this Square the Grand Vizier, and the principal State and Court servants mount their horses, and descend from it; while the other First Names and Europeans, on the days when audience is granted, do so on the first, near the gate to the second. In the middle is a beautiful Fountain, which is shaded by many Cypress and wild mulberry trees. At this place, in former times, the heads of the Grand of the Empire, the Pasha, and those who fell from grace, were cut off. Almost directly opposite the second gate, a stone, not inconsiderable building with a corner projects. This is the Divan: it is higher than the other buildings. In the lower story are two, not very high halls, which form two vaults, which rest on marble pillars, and are joined above by a stone baluster. The arch of the vault makes, above, a distinct division; but below is a free passage, (*) whose posts, and especially the upper parts, are quite well sculptured. In the front Hall are the principal State Servants, in the other the scribes, the accountants, and the treasurers. Above these two halls stood the Sultan, and watched when any one of the Court was to be tried, and there, wishing to show mercy to the condemned, he gave a sign with his handkerchief. From here one comes, on the right hand, to the third Square, but the entrance to which is forbidden to all who are not Turks, and even to these, if they do not belong to the Court, or are expressly called in, and of which therefore nothing can be said. From the outside they appear to be many and large, but irregularly built houses, which converge in Domes, covered with leaves. For the rest, here is the proper residence of the Emperor and his wives, and ends with the extremity of the ground, where the harbour unites with the other waters. Here are several Kiosks, being a kind of Balconies, built outside, where the Sultan and Sultans take fresh air. One can indeed see from several houses in Galata and Pera, some parts of the Seraglio; but it is accompanied by mortal danger, if someone, to satisfy his curiosity, wanted to use a telescope, and there are examples, that people, who had done so, were hanged for that reason. Besides this Main Seraglio, there is, almost in the middle of the city, another old one, which Mahomet II built, of a fairly wide circumference, and, like the convents of women, surrounded by a high wall. From it, the concubines of the previous Emperors, who have brought sons into the world, are never married off. The number of Mosques in Constantinople is unusually large. In general it is estimated at 3 or 4 thousand: (*) but it is difficult to determine the exact number of the other Mosques, except for the Imperial ones. The principal of them, or the Dschjamis, stand apart in large enclosed places, which are generally planted with Cypress trees, and furnished with fountains; and these Mosques are roofed with lead, and adorned within with marble, or other costly pillars. - The oldest and most famous of all, as regards the order of architecture, is that which, in the time of the Christian emperors, was called the Church of St. Sophia, and is considered larger

28390 than St. Peter's Church at Rome. (*) Before the Turks took possession it seems to
 have been larger than it is now. The form is square, and each side by the third half
 a hundred common paces long. The Dome rests on pillars. of various marbles. The 4
 Menarets or towers Selim II had raised, with the fore-end, of a different
 construction order. It stands quite free, and is surrounded by a Hall, as if by an
 28395 ambulatory. Of these, all the other Mosques are but Copies, except that they are
 larger or smaller, or more expensively constructed, and have fewer or more Towers.
 The Mosques of Selim, Mahmud, Achmet, Solyman, of the Sultana Valide, of the Mother
 of Mahomet IV, and of Bajazet are, furthermore, the most famous, and are called
 Imperial Mosques, from which it is evident, that they have more than one Tower. They
 are mostly covered with lead, and the knobs and half-moons above are gilded. - The
 28400 Grand Lord is accustomed, according to the row, now to say his Friday prayers in
 this, then again in one of the other Imperial Mosques. - Two particular Mosques, in
 which the Dervish observe their supposed worship, will be spoken of in the section of
 the Mohammedan Religion. By the Imperial Mosques, for instance the Sophie Mosque, are
 also the burial places of the Emperors. These are small, square buildings, built of
 28405 white marble, and provided with towers, which are called Kubbe' or Turbe' after the
 Dome. The graves in them are closed off by a fairly long gate. The Imperial body lies
 in the middle of a large marble coffin, broader at the head than at the feet. Over
 this lies a silk, in some cases a stitched spry, and at each end stands an unusually
 thick and high wax candle. The women and children have their place around it. The
 28410 coffin of a woman is covered with only a spry, whereas that of a Prince has, at the
 head, a Turban, by the equipment of which one can distinguish the naturally dead from
 the strangled. Alms are distributed to the poor at these cemeteries, to pray for the
 repose of the souls.
 The Emperor has, besides the Seraglio at Constantinople, others at Pera and Scutari,
 28415 which he is accustomed to visit, but not to make his permanent residence there, not
 to mention the multitude of pleasure-houses and castles, both on the Channel and
 inland. That at Pera is also called the Seraglio of the Idschochlans, because the
 Sons of the Chiefs of the Empire, and other Young Men, whom the Emperor is fond of,
 are educated there. The seven Towers form almost the same thing at Constantinople,
 28420 which with us is a Citadel. They bear that name in fact; for on their walls stand
 seven fairly high and with leaves covered towers of the old order of construction.
 They provide at the same time for a State and Military dungeon of the Court.
 Previously the treasure of the Mosques would have been kept there, although this is
 no longer done, because the remainder of that must be delivered to the Myry (the
 28425 Finance Chamber). Since the time of Murad III the treasures have been kept in the
 Seraglio. Otherwise, according to circumstances and the good pleasure of the Court,
 those Princes of the blood were also locked up there, against whom the Emperor had
 taken a suspicion; as well as the deposed Emperors, as was the case with Mustapha;
 but usually the most important prisoners of war, the Ambassadors of other Powers,
 28430 when a war with them broke out, and the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, when they
 fell into disgrace. It goes without saying that they are of a reasonably large
 circumference. Many of the deposed State servants do not enter, as those who, after
 the deposition, remain safely in their houses at Constantinople, except the Grand
 Viziers, who either forfeit their lives, or are banished to this or that island of
 28435 the Archipelago, and must remain there until they are, possibly, recalled, and put
 back into service.
 The Vizirate or Palace of the Grand Vizier is indeed a spacious and fairly high
 building, but built only of wood, and has often been burnt down; but the stairs in it
 are much better than in the usual Turkish buildings, and the audience-halls are very
 28440 large and airy, and the Tapestries very skilfully worked.
 The Hippodromus, in Turkish Afmeidan, is an unusually large plain. The meaning of the
 Greek and Turkish word indicates that it is adapted for a race-course for horses, and
 it does serve that purpose. It is a real ornament for so large a city, and at least
 three times as long as it is broad; the width is now more than two hundred paces.
 28445 Several Palaces stand around it, and especially the Mosque of Achmet with 6 towers,
 having a regular forecourt, which makes a magnificent sight. On this spot stand two
 Obelisks; the first of which is of Egyptian, reddish granite, stands on a large
 pedestal, said to be 50 feet high, is quadrangular at the top as if converging into a
 spire, and is full of symbolic figures, which have remained fairly undamaged. On the
 28450 pedestal are also Greek and Latin inscriptions, which indicate that he was raised on
 the spot where he was buried, by order of Emperor Theodosius the Great, and that he
 was given the present pedestal. The second is round, higher than the one just
 mentioned, and thinner, but equal above and below, and made of workpieces in the
 shape of millstones, 9 feet and 4 inches thick, but without inscriptions, and badly

28455 damaged by fire. There is another, though somewhat damaged, copper, 15 feet high
Pillar of three snakes, like a roll of tobacco, coiled together, with open throats,
but the time and insight of the raising is unknown. (*) It runs, at the top, pointed
together up to the throats; but the heads are no longer there. Otherwise this plain
is the usual meeting-place of the rioters, as soon as they want to make their riot
28460 openly known.

The Bird-parlour of the Great Lord would have been a Greek Church before this, and
has, for the rest, nothing remarkable. - There are two Casers for the Janistas; the
new one, where their Aga lives, is very spacious, and reasonably well, but the old
one, although small, is very magnificently built, the entrances to it, especially the
28465 upper parts or Thawams, being heavily gilded. But, because many Janistas have wives,
and do needlework, so live in their own houses; only the unmarried stay there. The
public buildings also include the Besestans, which are the vaulted shops of the
merchants and various workmen, especially the fine artists, such as goldsmiths and
jewellers; just as the trading places themselves are called Basar. In Turkey,
28470 especially in large places, the merchants and workers are not spread out in the
cities, but are bound to fixed places. The merchants, in silk and cloth, the
druggists, the goldsmiths, etc. have their special buildings, where they, in divided
shops, put their goods for sale, or work. The great Besestan is an unusually spacious
square hall, whose thick walls are built of hewn stone, and whose very high vault
28475 rests on strong masonry pillars. Around it and against the walls are the shops, (*)
At the Basars there one can get everything that the four continents produce. When
they are lighted up by lamps at night, at the time of Donalma (Feast for the delivery
of a Sultana) or Ramasan (Lent), it presents a most glorious sight. - The Chans and
Caravanseras are a kind of lodging-houses or inns. I say, with fore-day, a kind; for
28480 they are not proper inns, because one finds neither furniture, nor food, nor fodder
in them, but must provide for it himself. The former are, properly speaking, in the
cities; the latter on the highways, where, at a stretch of road, one sometimes finds
small villages or towns. On these Chans there are, as a rule, neither doors nor
28485 windows, but only the bare walls, and on them, all around, a height, like a parapet,
to sit and sleep; sometimes hearths for the people, and cribs for the animals; at the
best also a fountain built of stone. The traveller must provide for wood, beds and
food himself. The most beautiful is called Valide'-Chan, after its founder, the
Mother of Emperor Mahomet IV. It is, like most Chans of this kind, a large square
28490 building, having a spacious inner court, and being provided with a hall, as a
gallery. Behind it, on the ground, are the warehouses for the storage of the
merchants' goods. The stairs are very high, which lead to the upper floor, there
being also a corridor, from which one goes into the rooms, which are reasonably
large, and equal each other. In each is a chimney. The walls of all the Chans consist
28495 of buildings, or very thick baked bricks; the rooms, warehouses and corridors are
vaulted, and the roofs are either provided with good terraces, or consist of domes,
which, like this Valide'-Chan, are covered with lead. In the middle of the courtyard
stands a beautiful fountain.

Baths, in which the Levant women spend a great deal of time, are numerous and
splendid in Constantinople. Those of any importance are found to be built thickly and
28500 strongly, in the manner of a dome, which is covered with lead, in which glass balls,
the size of a human head, are placed, so that the light may fall through, because
there are no windows on the sides. On the inside, all around, are the sophas.
Emperors and wealthy people place honour in them, and supposed religious empires make
a merit of having such built.

28505 About in the middle of the city lies the square slave market, on the sides of which
are found all around partitions for the white slaves, whose wives, when sold, are
very expensively dressed, and are sold for 500, to 1000 and more piastres; the black
ones, on the other hand, sit almost naked, in the middle of the market. Such slave
markets are also in the great cities of Turkey. Touching people cannot enter them
28510 without pity and horror, when they see creatures of their own kind, which according
to the destiny of the Creator should be rightly free, being traded as merchandise and
animals.

An excellent relic of antiquity is still found, which has possibly been spared,
because it is under the earth. It is a subterranean vault, which, it is said, would
28515 have been a Cistern or rain-tank. One climbs down by a common wooden staircase, and
is surprised to find almost a labyrinth under the ground. The several, but united
vaults rest on 450 pillars, which are 100 feet high, if not higher. The ground is
very marshy, and therefore at the place where one has to go, it is covered with
planks. The light enters through several openings from above. It serves for the
28520 present to wind the silk in it.

The Fountains in the principal places in Constantinople are magnificent, and therefore look very well. Their circumference is about 20 feet square, and on each side are pipes. There are always cups of water ready to drink, for the filling of which, expressly, men are appointed. These small buildings are of marble, and the front is worked with foliage of flowers and horns and gilded.

On this occasion it must also be noted, that, except for the cisterns, there is no other water in Constantinople, than that which is brought there by aqueducts, two or three miles long. And this is also the reason, why, often, during dry summer months, there is a great lack of water. In the neighbourhood of Belgrad, a village, at the distance mentioned from the city, one sees therefore the diligence of the Ancients, to remedy such a defect. It is a delight, almost every quarter-hour, to see a large or small water-conduit. Before one comes from the city to this village, one finds a large one of more than 20 arches; but somewhat to the side three, of which the first goes through a broad valley, and has more than 40 arches; the second through a narrower, but deeper, wherefore 3 rows of arches one above the other were necessary; the third is indeed not so long, as the former, but, because the valley is still deeper, necessity demanded, that each of the 3 rows of arches was made still higher. Here below is only one arch, but of an astonishing height, and the walls are about 20 feet thick. One can also, at the last two, go over each ridge, and ride along regular roads. In these lonely places one is amazed by the beauty of nature in the deep valleys, and the art of man to lead the water over them. These water-pipes were indeed laid by the Greek Emperors; but, because they had suffered much through the wars, as well as neglect, they were restored by Solyman, the founder of the great Mosque of his name in Constantinople.

Christian churches are in a great multitude in Constantinople: but they may not have towers or large bells. They must either be covered by walls from view, or have the appearance of other buildings from the outside. On the inside they may be as beautiful as they wish. - The Greeks have, in the city and its jurisdiction, 22 churches, large and small together. The Patriarchal church, but which, like all the others, from the outside only shows a house, and is also much smaller than the residence of the Patriarch, which forms a reasonably spacious building, does not look bad. The bodies of St. Euthymia and the Empress Theodora are shown in two coffins covered with velvet. - The Armenians also have several, but not so many churches as the Greeks. The principal is the Georgian church, but which is very commonly built. Adjoining it are two chapels, in one of which, they say, the general council was held. The Armenian Patriarch has no fixed seat, but at the principal churches his apartments, with whose habitation he is accustomed to interchange. - At Pera there are four public Roman churches, and two chapels; for at Constantinople itself they have none. Two of the first are parish churches, namely, that of St. Mary, which belongs to the Barefooted (Minores Observantes Reformati), and of St. Anthony, which belongs to the Franciscans proper (Minores Conventuales); then the Church of the Trinitarian, and finally the Church of St. Louis or the Capuchins, which originally was nothing else than the Chapel of the French Ambassador. Among the chapels is that which belongs to the Fathers of the Holy Land of the Barefoot Orders, and one of later foundation, which serves as an inn for the Capuchins, destined for the Georgian mission. At Galata there are three public churches. The Parish Church bears the name of the Apostle Peter, and is served by the Dominicans, as is the Georg Church of the Capuchins, and the Benedict Church of the Jesuits. Moreover, each Roman Ambassador has a special Chapel, with the Parochial Right, in his Palace and his own Chaplains. - Three Protestant Ambassadors keep Embassy preachers, namely the English, Swedish and Dutch. In the Palaces of the first and the last are Chapels for religious service. In the Palace of the second, religious service is only held in a common hall. The Dutch Ambassador may not use a newly built Chapel for religious service, but as a Magazine, and has therefore, in order to prevent great inconveniences, had to submit a written assurance to the Porte. In that hall, where the Evangelical worship is held by the Swedish Ambassador, there is, within a partition, an Outaar and Pulpit placed.

At Constantinople one finds Europeans of almost all nations: especially a large number from Geneva, who enjoy the protection of France. All the Ambassadors live in Pera; but the Merchants, for the convenience of Commerce, in Galata. But one is, in several respects, more definite there, than in Smyrna, but in the main the legal liberties are the same. The cemetery of the Europeans is outside Pera, and entirely open.

When one sails on the water at Constantinople; then one has, besides the magnificent layout of that city and regions, the special sight of thousands of small vessels, serving to transport people from one place to another. They are called Kayken there;

the Greeks call them τεραμίδια (vessels for crossing), and the Europeans, by abbreviation, Permes. They are long and narrow, and partly very costly ornamented, and besides uncommonly light. One can move forward quickly with them; for the Kayks, or rowers, are handy: but one can also be knocked over very easily with them. Everything here has its order. The Kayks for the Court are gilded all around inside and outside above the water; for other First Names white outside, and for the rest painted black. The Sultan's Kayk is rowed forward with 13, but that of the Grand Vizier with 12 pairs of oars. The Grands of the Court, as the Pashas and those equal in rank with them, the Ambassadors, as well as the Russian Resident, since the times of Rumanzow, at the peace of 1739, sail with 6 or 7 pairs of oars, according to each one's liking. Other persons may not have more than 4 pairs of oars; just as these are also not allowed a deck over the Kayken: and in the neighbourhood of the Seraglio one may not even hold a sunshade above one's head, because this is considered as something that would diminish the Emperor's Highness. Whereof such a large city was meanwhile provided with necessary provisions, is not inappropriate to speak here. The European land side would not be nearly sufficient for this; but this deficiency is remedied by the great supply from all sides. Nearly all the countries situated on the Black Sea, and especially the Crimea, Wallachia and Moldavia, send an innumerable number of vessels with all kinds of provisions to this capital. If these are stopped by contrary winds, or run into a storm, or are lost; then Constantinople is in distress. Asia also supplies very many necessities. Finally, the islands of the Archipelago, Syria and Egypt supply the rest. From this last kingdom comes the almost indispensable rice for the Turks, and via Egypt the so-called Levant or actually Arabian coffee is also transported to Constantinople. Therefore, in time of peace, this Residency cannot lack supplies. If the wind is south; then the Archipelago, and the countries situated on the Mediterranean Sea offer the necessities: but if the wind blows north; then the supply of the Black Sea remedies the deficiency. For the rest, the waters near Constantinople are rich in fish, lobsters, oysters and other sea creatures. As nearly all nations of the world may trade in Constantinople, it is, of course, very extensive. Indeed, the large and small ships, and of various makes, lie near Constantinople, and on both sides of the Channel of the sweet waters, as well as on the Channel running from the Black Sea, for a length of 2 or 3 German miles, everywhere so, and often so close together, that their masts, from a distance, resemble a forest. - The Channel of the sweet waters is the most splendid harbour, which nature has made without art, having about 2 miles in circumference, and of which the two banks are, seldom, an eighth part of a German mile apart. The ground is indeed boggy, but nevertheless firm, and so deep, that not only warships lay there, but also large merchant ships can come so near the land, that one can go out, by means of a plank. Because it is very difficult and dangerous for medium-sized ships, because of the strong current in the Channel, to go out of the harbour into the sea of Marmora; so they must first, after Besiktas, cross above Tophana, and sail from there. The Channel, which runs downwards from the Black Sea, is, certainly, one of the principal things worth seeing in the world. From Tophana it runs upwards, by four German miles, to the Black Sea. By two miles it is, for the most part, of such width, that medium-sized guns, fired from both sides, can cover it. On the European and Asian sides one sees several Imperial and other Palaces, Mansions, and fine villages, which lie so close together, that one, especially on the first side, hardly knows where one begins and the other ends. They lie so close to the Channel, that one can step out of the house into the barque; but the others are built up against the wine and other mountains. At Terappia and Bujukdere most of the Ambassadors and Europeans have their homes. Of the French also many have theirs on the Princes' Islands, which lie about 2 German miles from Constantinople in the Nicene Gulf, and are inhabited only by Greeks, who have there the freedom of churches, monasteries, towers and bells. But the most splendid pleasure-houses are gradually falling into ruin, because the heirs of the Grands, and even of the Viziers, are not rich enough to maintain them. The voyage on this Channel furnishes one with beautiful and varied views, which were worthy of being depicted. It is often as if covered with dolphins, which come round the barges, and play together; not to say, that a certain kind of migratory birds, in an incredible multitude, are constantly flying up and down. - In order that Constantinople, from the side of the Black Sea, may not be so easily troubled by the enemies; Thus, at the distance of a large German mile, 2 Castles are built on each side, of which that which lies on the European ground, is called Rumeli-Hisar, but which on the Asiatic ground is called Anatoli-Hisar, both consisting only of walls without ramparts, and planted with Cannons, and were founded by Muhammed II, before

- he undertook the siege of that capital, in order to cut it off from communication with the Black Sea. The Canal there is not much more than a quarter of a mile wide. But in a serious attack they would be as little serviceable as the Dardanelles and Castles on the other side of the city. The Emperor uses them to keep the State prisoners in them, and also to have the rebellious Janistas there taken their lives, and especially of the former such as they do not wish to put in the 7 Towers. After the mouth of the Channel, which is about half a mile wide, and 2 miles distant from the preceding one, there are 2 more castles, called Rumeli-Käläh and Anatoli-Käläh, built by Mürad IV. In the war against the Russians, in the year 1770, they were still provided with Batteries; just as, at the same time, 2 strong Castles were built by the Knight Tott, one on the Asian, and the other opposite on the European ground, very near the mouth of the Black Sea. — Near the mouth lies, on the European side, the village of Fanaratti, near which, on a small rock surrounded by the sea, stands the supposed pillar of Pompey. From thence to the above-mentioned village of Belgrad, there stands, in the open field, a kind of a fairly wide, square and thick Tower, which is called the Tower of Ovid, because that Poet, it is said, would have kept his residence there. There is no roof on it, and moreover it is very dilapidated; that he has nothing, which would be remarkable, to see; just as 'there were around, before now, more such towers built, it seems, at the time of the Cosak robberies, to protect these regions against them.
- Of Constantinople, one will be able to form a complete idea, by the accompanying illustration of the ground plan, to whose elucidation the following statement of numbers and figures serves.
- A. The Seraglio.
 - B. The entrance in the first square.
 - C. The entrance in the second square.
 - D. The Divan.
 - E. The entrance in the third square, or in the inner Seraglio.
 - F. The Auditorium.
 - G. The Imperial residences and buildings.
 - H. The Harim, or residence of the Emperor's wives.
 - I. Residences of the Idschoglans, (Servants) and other persons of the inner Seraglio.
 - K. The Mint.
 - L. The Tower, from which the Emperor, without being seen, can see the Ambassadors riding to the Vizier.
 - M. The Porte, or the Serail of the Grand Vizier.
 - N. Bostandschi Kapi, or gardeners' gate.
 - O. The Gate of the black carved ones.
 - P. Bujuk-Kapi, the great Gate, through which the Emperor embarks on his ship.
 - Q. Kiosks, pleasure or garden halls.
 - R. Stables.
 - S. Eski-Serail, the old Serail.
 - T. Ejub-Dschami.
 - V. Fanale, or lighthouse for the ships.
- Names of the gates around the harbour.
- 1. Bagdschjeh-gate.
 - 2. Baluk-Basar-gate.
 - 3. Sindan-gate. 4. Odun Gate.
 - 5. Ajasmah Gate.
 - 6. Uen-Kapan Gate.
 - 7. Dschjäbäly Gate.
 - 8. Ajan Gate.
 - 9. Jengy Gate.
 - 10. Padry Gate.
 - 11. Fener Gate.
 - 12. Balad Gate.
 - 13. A'ywan-Sferay Gate.
- Names of the gates towards the sea.
- 14. Achar Gate.
 - 15. Tschadlady Gate.
 - 16. Kum Gate.
 - 17. Jengy Gate [as 9?].
 - 18. Daud-Pascha Gate.
 - 19. Samathya Gate.

20. Narly Gate

28720

Names of the gates on the land side.

21. Bricked-up gate. (porta aurea.)

22. Jedi-Kuli-Kapi.

23. Bricked-up gate.

28725

24. Selivri-Kapi.

25. Jeni-Kapi. Here was Mahomet's attack.

26. Top-Kapan. at the siege and conquest.

27. Edrene-Kapi. of Constantinople.

28. Bricked-up gate from the Palace of Constantine.

28730

29. Egiri-Kapi.

Mosques and Churches.

30. Hagia-Sofia-Dschami.

31. Sultan-Achmet-Dschami.

28735

32. Sultan Bajazet-Dschami.

33. Jengi, or Valide-Dschami.

34. Sultan-Mahomet-Dschami.

35. Sultan-Solyman-Dschami.

36. Sultan-Selim-Dschami.

28740

37. Schech-zade-Dschami.

38. Kutschuk-Hagia-Sophia-Dschami.

39. Ali-Pacha-Dschami.

40. Edrene-Kapi-Dschami.

41. Small Mosques, in all quarters of the city.

28745

42. Greek Patriarchal Church.

Some other remarkable places and buildings.

43. Atmetaan, or Hippodromus.

44. the great Obelisk, with 2 damaged Pillars.

28750

45. Ruins of the so-called burnt Pillars.

46. Ed-Meidan, Meat Hall.

47. Horse Market.

48. Vizir-Khan.

49. Besestein.

28755

50. Large cistern.

51. Large water tank.

52. Water pipe.

53. Ruined Palace of Constantine.

54. Ruined Town Hall of the ancient Greeks.

28760

55. Bird enclosure.

56. Madhouse.

57. Sarfans, Leather Market.

58. Egyptian Besestein.

59. Idschoglan-Serai at Pera.

28765

60. Very beautiful Fountain on the plain at Tophana.

61. Tophana, the building for the gun foundry.

(* The famous Danish traveller, Niebuhr, thinks the measuring stick on the Map of Constantinople by Reben is too large. He found the circumference of that city, without the suburbs, according to his measurement, not more than thirteen thousand good paces, and therefore not much more than two German miles in size. Perhaps one can rely on him, here, much more than on the Lord of Reben, when he had his Map before him.

28770

(* The Ejubs-Moshee is the first that the Turks built in Constantinople. Opposite the suburb in which it stands, between the sweet waters and the Armoury, at the end of the harbour, is the suburb of the Jews (Askjoy).

28775

(* That there is a birdcage hanging in the Divan, at the top of the ship, and in it a white dove, as some report, is unfounded.

(* At the time of Count Marsigli there were, in Constantinople, 485 principal mosques, among which seven Imperial ones; and in 4 thousand, 4 hundred, 85 quarters of the city inhabited by Turks, there were, in each one or two common mosques, so that this last number might well amount to 7 or 8 thousand. After his time, both kinds of religious places have increased rather than decreased.

28780

(* Concerning the first St. Sophie-church the writers do not agree at all; but this is a settled matter, that Emperor Justinian, when it had previously been burned down several times, and destroyed by earthquakes, had increased the burdens, decorated it much more beautiful and splendid than it was before, made the walls and vaults of baked bricks, covered the inside

28785

with various precious marbles, and the whole

(*) When the Besestam or vaulted shops, at their usual time, are not opened; then this is a sign, that 'there is already a commotion among the people or certainly to be feared.

()??building, at various places, fasten it with anchors. If it is not as large, as the St. Peter's Church in Rome; then it follows immediately after it. Although the Sophie-church is very large, and perhaps does not yield to it in height; nevertheless it remarkably surpasses none in length, for it is a cruciform church. The dome of the Sophie-church is flat, and surpasses that of the Peters-church very much in beauty and boldness of workmanship. This is indeed decorated with a great deal of marble and paintings in mosaic work; but has not such fine and precious pillars as none. Its form is square, and within the walls the length is 42, but the breadth 38 fathoms. Thus Grelot gives both, in his description and drawing, and it seems, that one may rely on him here. If one fathom is reckoned at 6 feet, and multiplied by it; then the length made 252, and the breadth 228 feet. This came pretty close to the statement of Gyllius, who places one at 240, but this one at 230 feet, but at the same time says that he had the measure taken by another.

(*) Concerning this last pillar on the Hippodromus, some researchers of antiquities assert that this monument was brought from the Temple at Delphos, where it was dedicated to Apollo. - In the gardens of the Seraglio, there is, otherwise, in the middle of the Cypresses, another pillar, the inscription of which was made illegible some time ago. Among the words that remain here and there, one can still read: ob victos Gothos, (in memory of the victory over the Goths.) It is thought that it originates from the time of Theodosius, if not even of Constantin. (*) When the Besestam or vaulted shops are not opened at their usual time; then this is a sign that a riot is already brewing among the people or is certainly to be feared.

§. VII. Of the Europeans in Turkey.

The Europeans, who are called Franks in Turkey, are spread among the various principal merchants. The name Franks probably comes from the warring peoples, who in the so-called Holy Wars were to take the promised Land (Palestine), and who consisted mostly of the then Franci. The principal trading cities, where the Europeans settled with their residence, are, in European Turkey, Constantinople, Adrianople and Thessalonica, in Natolia or Asia Minor; Smyrna and Angora; in Syria, Aleppo, Seyde, Jaffa, Ptolemais or St. Jean d'Acre; and in Egypt, Greater Cairo and Alexandria. At other places of less importance in Morea, Candia, Cyprus, the islands of the Archipelago, Barut, Rosetto, etc., some nations, especially the French, as well as the Venetians, of whom the former are, in general, the most numerous among the Europeans in the Levant, also maintain warehouses. Concerning these places, the necessary information has been stated in § I. above.

Those Europeans now have the liberty to trade in Turkey, whose government has concluded a peace treaty with the Porte. These are the Roman-German Emperor, the Russian Court, France, England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Prussia, Venice and Naples. All these various Powers, Poland excepted, have their ambassadors at Constantinople at the time; but Poland sends there only on special occasions, for instance, when a new Sultan has ascended the Throne, extraordinary Ambassadors. In all the merchant cities one finds likewise Consuls or Agents, one of whom, often, attends to the affairs of several nations.

Other Europeans are not allowed to trade at all in the Turkish Territory, or must go under the protection of a Power friendly to the Porte: formerly Genoese were also in the Levant; but now they are no longer there openly, but live, in such a case, under French or other protection.

For the rest, the liberties are not small. The Europeans may observe all religious ceremonies openly, that is, baptisms, marriages, burials, etc. This is done even with persons, exalted above the common man, with more stateliness, than elsewhere. At places where ships are moored, equipped with artillery, the guns are discharged; the ships let the pennants fly, and the flags on the flagpoles, kept in the houses of the Consuls, are hoisted. But towers and bells are absolutely forbidden. None of them can be forced to the Mahometan religion, and if anyone, through imprudence or other circumstances, wishes to oblige himself to do so, then the nation to which he belongs has the right to question him three times solemnly before the Turkish authorities. If he then answers by retracting his word, then he must be extradited on the spot. The Europeans, and even their ecclesiastical Persons, may also, in most places, go in their ordinary dress. The disputes between persons of one Nation are settled by its special Consuls; those of several Nations by their Consuls; but the mixed disputes between Europeans and Turkish subjects are, according to the treaties of peace made, also decided between the Consuls and the Turkish Authorities. Each Nation has, under its Ambassador or Consul, a proportionate settlement. It has its Chaplains, Treasurers, Transcribers, Interpreters, Janistaries, and, besides the members of its Nation, also its comrades among the inhabitants of the Country, who are attached to it by means of a Berat (Letter of Freedom), and on that account enjoy almost the same privileges as they have themselves. The French must have a certificate from the

Chamber of Commerce at Marseilles, to carry on Commerce, for a certain period, for instance ten or twelve years, and when these years are over, they are obliged to return to France, or to have it renewed. The trade is unusually large, and that all the more, as there are few goods that are forbidden to import or export. The taxes on the goods are very moderate, and set at three per hundred. But, because this is an old stipulation, and the goods are now almost three times higher in price, only two per cent is paid by the bank. If a merchant is caught in subterfuge, he pays double the tax as a penalty. This leniency not only surpasses, in a natural and human fairness, the tolls of many Christian powers, but also makes the trade flourish unusually. The shipping of the Europeans is considerable, and is protected and promoted by the warships and merchant ships of the Turks. The pirates on the African, Greek, Nato and Syrian coasts nevertheless often make them unsafe and dangerous. They especially take possession of the small ships, either by cunning, or by suddenly attacking them, because they are accustomed to approach them at night, and then with their sabre in their fist.

The various nations living together in Turkey live, as far as trade and conversation are concerned, in good peace among themselves; but a familiar intercourse has precisely no place. Each one among the Christians, Jews and Turks limits himself to persons of his denomination, the cause of this being not so much the religion, but rather the way of life, which flows from it. Among the Easterners the women do not take part in the companies in which men's sons come. They also live quite differently in them, than the Europeans. Instead of that with us many speak at once, so that the noise, even in an average company, is quite great, so people speak seldom there. It is considered improper to interrupt each other. Most sit quietly, under a pipe of tobacco, and let their thoughts go over one thing or another. The residence of the Europeans, in most of the places of the Levant cited, is divided between the city and the country. They are in general, and therefore also the Ambassadors and Consuls, accustomed to spend the summer months outside the cities, both to take fresher air, and to enjoy more liberty, and to protect themselves better in case of a possible prevailing plague. Their country houses, as regards natural graces, far surpass our artificially made pleasure-houses. The alternation of mountains, valleys, fountains, woods, bushes, etc., furnishes uncommonly enchanting views, and the Europeans live there without ceremonial constraint, with the enjoyment of all the ease in walking, making short excursions, fishing and hunting. — The Ambassadors and Consuls in Turkey represent distinguished persons. Their goods, coming from abroad, are not examined, but they receive them without cost, and without being opened and examined. — The Turks make no distinction between an Ambassador and Envoy, and between an ordinary or extraordinary Envoy; but use for all the name Eldschi. — Their Palaces are filled with various persons belonging to the mission, besides with Servants, Interpreters, Janistaries, etc.; their Audiences with the Grand Vizier and the Grand Lord take place very seldom, because everything must pass in writing through the hands of the Interpreter of the Porte; yes, they must, before the Audience, deliver everything in writing, so that the Turks can consider it beforehand: but, when they take place, with all the greater pomp; and the visits which one Ambassador pays to another, are also not without many solemnities, for instance, that, on their entry into a Palace, a small bell is rung, and they, like the Consuls, Janistas and Interpreters, let them go or ride before them. Before this, however, there was more Honour and Dignity associated with it, than now, since the Ambassadors, because so many Courts have sought the friendship of the Porte, which the Turks regard as a kind of homage, are very common and therefore little esteemed. (*) Decent people are, in the Levant, well received not only by their own, but also by other nations. Generally there prevails a courtesy which is found there only, and not in the most civilised countries. All Europeans there regard each other as countrymen and good friends; wherefore a traveller has a very good time at the place where he stays.

(*) The Ambassadors, Consuls, and the Persons belonging to their nation have great reason to behave cautiously and regularly in Turkey. There one forgets less, than in other places, the mistakes once committed; and those that one commits in particular, are, as a rule, put on the account of his whole nation.

§. VIII. Of the Audiences of the European Ambassadors and Consuls to the Turks. The European Ambassadors, at Constantinople, observe a certain rank, according to which the Consuls in the various maritime cities of Turkey direct themselves. First are the Envoys, namely the French, the English, the Venetian and the Dutch; then come the Envoys, of the German Emperor, who bears the name of Internuncio, the Swedish, the Danish, the Prussian, the Russian, who is called Resident, and the Naples. The last, in order not to detract from the Ceremonial of his Court, goes to the Audiences

eleven days after the others. - The visits of the Consuls to the Cadis are the least frequent. Two or four Janistas with their state caps, and four or five foot long staves, and behind them the Interpreters, go in pairs before the Consul, who follows at a certain distance, and according to the Consulate is accompanied by more or fewer servants; whereupon the journey is concluded by those sons of the men who are under his protection. On arrival at the Mechkeme (meeting-place) he is conducted into the audience-room, whither he has had a state-chair brought, and where, after the Kadi has come and has taken his place on his sofa, raised by some cushions, he sits down. All the other persons present remain mostly standing. After the compliments and a short conversation, the Kadi gives a sign to his Attendants, two of whom place embroidered handkerchiefs on the laps of the Kadi and the Consul, instead of a napkin, and two others hand each a cup of Coffee with Jams, which is likewise offered to the principal Europeans, as well as to the Officials of the Kadi. Then the Sorbet is handed over in large porcelain bowls. Then, to put an end to the visit, the Attendants, at a repeated sign, bring silver or gold sprinkling-pots filled with fragrant water, with which they sprinkle the hands of those who have had the honour of drinking Coffee, and then the Kadi and Consul, holding a handkerchief over their heads, but the others without such a handkerchief, incense with Aloe. At the farewell, at which the Kadi remains seated, the Consul is honoured with a stitched handkerchief or other handkerchief, as are also two or three of the principal persons of his retinue. The audience of a Consul with a Pasha differs from that with a Kadi only in that the latter receives him sitting, and instead of handkerchiefs distributes Kastans. - The Ambassadors of such Powers, who have many ships in Turkish waters, pay an annual visit to the Captain Pasha or Grand Admiral, before he sails with the Ottoman fleet to the Archipelago in the summer, in order to recommend to him the ships of their nation. But this visit is a trifle, compared with the Audience with the Grand Vizier, which all Ambassadors have, on their arrival and departure, as well as on all changes of Emperors and Viziers. In other cases an Ambassador is not easily granted an Audience, but the matters are settled in writing, and the proposals, in Latin or Italian, are handed to the Interpreter of the Porte, who translates them verbatim, and must deliver his translation with the Original to the Porte; and this is followed again in writing, and in the Turkish language, by the answer with a verbatim translation from that Interpreter of the Porte; who forfeits his head, if there be but one word wanting in that translation, or if he does not conceal the Secret. But no Ambassador requests an audience, except in cases of necessity, in order to save the expense of several thousand guilders, which it incurs.

Because with the Turks the main matters are settled early; Thus the Ambassador sets out at about 4 o'clock. First go 12 or 24 Janistas, in pairs in front, with Ceremonial staves in their hands, and caps on their heads, from which, at the back, hangs a white stripe of nearly 2 ells long and a quarter wide; then follow 5 or 7 beautifully adorned hand-horses, at the head of which is the groom on horseback; then 12 to 24 Servants, accepted by the Ambassador, dressed in the manner of the country; the House-Servants dressed in European style, preceded by the Door-keeper; 4 or 8 Chamber-Servants with the Steward; the Interpreter; the Secretary of the Ambassador, who carries the credentials of his Court on a precious cushion; furthermore the Ambassador himself, either on foot, or on horseback, or in a bier, and when he has Heiduks, surrounded by them; the castle makes his retinue, which consists of his nation, and also many foreigners, who wish to see this ceremony. At extraordinary Audiences, when the Ambassador has to deliver letters from his Court, he is also accompanied by the Tschausch-Baschy (Chief Master of Ceremonies) and several Servants of the Porte, as well as by several Janistas. This journey goes as far as the Canal of the [zoete] water, or the Harbour, where the Vizier has sent a sufficient number of Kayken to ferry him across. On the other side is the Tschausch-Baschi, to receive the Envoy. Both, with the principals of the latter's retinue, are brought into a small, very common house, set apart for the purpose, where they are offered Coffee. During this time the Grand Vizier sends the horses to fetch the Envoy. Having mounted on horseback, the journey continues in the order aforesaid, with this difference only, that the Tschausch-Baschi rides at the right hand of an Envoy, as an Ambassador does not readily permit him to do so, but either lets him ride ahead, or at least can demand that someone of his retinue rides at his left hand. When one has entered the Vizier's Palace, the Ambassador is then brought into a hall by the Interpreter of the Porte, in order to report it to the Vizier. A while afterward the Ambassador is led into the Auditorium. The Ceremonial is here very strictly calculated, so as not to yield to each other; wherefore the Vizier does not enter by the door through which the Ambassador has entered. This Auditorium, in which he is received, is built

exactly according to the four points of the sky. It is somewhat longer than it is
 28990 wide. To the north and east are the windows. To the south is the door for the
 Ambassador, and to the west that for the Vizier. Along the said windows are precious
 Sophas, or Eastern couches. In the north-eastern corner is a height, by means of a
 double Sopha for the Grand Vizier; before it, at the distance of three paces, a chair
 28995 without back or support for the Ambassador; for since the Grand Vizier will not give
 him his right hand on the Sofa, and he will not sit on his left hand, such a middle
 way has been devised. On the right side of the door through which the Ambassador
 enters, a row of the principal State servants stands near the Ambassador's chair; and
 a similar row also stands on the left side of the door through which the Vizier
 29000 enters, up to his seat. The Ambassador enters first, and passes through the middle,
 but does not sit down, but remains standing until the Vizier comes and takes his
 seat, because otherwise he would have to get up when he entered; but his retinue may
 not pass through the middle, but must pass between the row and the glasses, and thus
 step behind the Ambassador. A moment later the doors of the Vizier are opened, and he
 then also passes through the middle, to his seat, at the same time receiving the
 29005 Salam or a Turkish Vivat, three times, by all the Turks present. Such a cheer also
 the other Viziers, Pachas and the Captain-Pacha, make of theirs on solemn occasions.
 While he is sitting down, the Ambassador also sits down, and they make each other a
 sort of Compliment, being in the conversation of the Grand Vizier with the Ambassador
 the Interpreter of the Porte the translator. The Grand Men of the Court, and the
 29010 retinue of the Ambassador remain standing. The latter presents his credentials to the
 Vizier, and also receives the written answer to them; for everything has been settled
 beforehand. At the Audience no business is transacted at all, as the bystanders would
 hear everything; but only indifferent things are talked about, and after a few
 moments Coffee with Jams is handed over, followed by a sort of Sorbet or sweet drink.
 29015 With fragrant water one is sprinkled on the head, hands and clothing. Since there are
 now very many people who bring and carry out these things, and each, according to
 Levantine custom, receives only one cup of Coffee; so everything is settled very
 quickly. At the same time the Kastans, or supposed Garments of Honor, are also put on
 the Envoy and his retinue. These are of tree-wool and interwoven flock-silk, thinly
 29020 wrought, mostly whitish, with a few misshapen pale yellow flowers. They resemble ours
 well, except that the sleeves hang almost to the ground, and are so narrow that the
 arm cannot pass through; for which reason they have an opening at the bottom, through
 which the arm may be put. Give a sign to the Grand Vizier that the perfume should be
 brought, and if the Ambassador and his retinue are incensed with it; then it is a
 29025 sign that they will part. The Ambassador then stands up, and bows to the Vizier, who
 also bows, but remains seated; he goes out of the palace of the Vizier, (where, as in
 the Seraglio at the Audience with the Grand Lord, the Turks show him and his retinue
 a respect, according as his Court is respected by the Porte,) in the same order as he
 came. The Audience itself lasts only half an hour, and the Europeans are there, as
 29030 also at the Audiences with the Grand Lord, covered with their hats.
 As for these last Audiences; they are certainly the most solemn. The journey on the
 other side of the Channel of sweet waters is the same; but must go up to that to be
 done under the illumination of torches, because, except during the longest days, it
 is usually still dark. The crossing is then, because of the darkness, difficult, and
 29035 one has work to find the horses. At daybreak one arrives at the Palace of the Vizier.
 Here one must wait in the open air, whatever the weather, on horseback. This often
 takes a fairly long time. For many Grands have to meet with the Vizier, to fetch him.
 They also ride ahead, whereupon the Grand Vizier follows. The Interpreter of the
 Porte closes the gate. Then comes the Envoy with his retinue. One rides through the
 29040 first gate of the Seraglio; but at the second gate one must dismount, and go through
 on foot. This is, on account of the thousands of people who must be in the Seraglio,
 exceedingly difficult, and one is almost crowded and trampled upon. One then goes to
 the Divan, which is opened a short time afterwards. This is a vaulted room, about 50
 feet square. The door is to the East. To this and the South side are also the
 29045 windows. Directly opposite the door, in the wall, about 16 feet from the ground, is a
 golden grating, which may be 4 feet high and 3 feet wide. By means of this, in the
 room adjoining it, which is kept dark there, one can hear and see what passes in the
 Divan, and the Great Lord makes use of it for that purpose. One cannot therefore see
 him, and besides that one is lectured by the Interpreter of the Porte not to look up
 29050 much. Over this, as well as on other places of the wall, are the words, written in
 Arabic in large golden letters: There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet.
 Under this latticework the Grand Vizier sits alone on a divan, which occupies the
 whole side, and after the south and north sides extends almost to the middle of the
 divan. On the right hand of the Grand Vizier, in the corner of the divan, sits the

29055 Captain-Pacha, when he is in Constantinople, as well as other Pashas, when they are
 there, and beside him, on the side divan, the Nischandschy; (great Chancellor,) and
 on the left hand the two Kadhyleschkjer (Chiefs of the army) and beside these on the
 side divan the Defterdar. (Chief Treasurer.) On the right side near the door sits the
 29060 Ambassador on a chair without backrest; the Interpreter of the Porte stands on his
 left hand, and the Ambassador's retinue stands behind him. Legal proceedings are
 begun. There, sometimes, 12 or 18 persons are brought in. A judicial person reads, in
 a few words, the case of each one, and the Grand Vizier, with the Council of
 29065 Byssisters, gives the verdict in a few but clear words. This lasts from 6 to about 8
 o'clock, in which 2 hours more than 50 disputes are settled. Then they proceed to the
 coinage matters; the newly minted coin is shown, and the multitude of purses is
 counted out, which must be distributed among the Janistas for Soldy. This may last
 until about 9 o'clock. Hereupon the Cooks of the Grand Vizier appear. They carry as
 many small round, besides very common, tripod tables, as there are Turkish Ministers
 in the Divan. For each of these one is placed, and a silver table-top is laid over
 29070 it, on which some spoons are laid. Napkins are not given, forks not at all, and only
 one knife, to cut up, what possibly had not already been cut up in the kitchen, or
 could not be done with the fingers of one. The Envoy is, on this occasion, placed at
 the table of the Grand Vizier, opposite him. At every other table sit 2 or 3
 29075 Europeans. As the meat is cooked very soft, and is sprinkled with pepper very
 heavily, and is served in greenish porcelain, indeed strong and thick, but common
 dishes, (whereby the Turks have the fancy, that one could see by this, when the food
 was poisoned,) there is little desire to eat of it, so much the more, when one has to
 touch it with one's fingers. There are several hundred dishes served. One must say,
 29080 served: for one is hardly set up, when it is already taken away again, and another
 brought. But all this is done in the utmost order and silence. For, because the
 multitude of cooks is placed even in the Divan in such a manner, that the dishes from
 the kitchen are given from one to the other, and so set before, are also given back
 in the same manner; so there is no running back and forth at all. At least in half an
 hour this whole meal is finished, however big it may have been. During that whole
 29085 time the second square of the Seraglio is not empty either, but to several thousand
 Janistries the pay for several months is paid. One company after another their
 purses, of which there are 500 piastres in each, are thrown, and because he who
 catches them first draws a reward for them, so almost reaches the ground, because of
 the running of the Janistas. Except for this, there is such a silence in the
 29090 Seraglio, as if there were no one there, and the soldiers do not dare to leave their
 post without being called. These are also fed on such a day with Pillau or rice. When
 the banquet in the Divan is over; then water is given for washing, and the further
 arrangement for the actual Audience is made.
 All the Ministers of State, after a bow to the Grand Vizier, leave the Divan. At the
 29095 same time, the Emperor makes known the desire of the Ambassador for an Audience, by a
 written request, which, like all letters from the Grand Vizier to the Emperor, is
 called Talkysch, and he likewise gives written permission for it, which, like all
 immediate answers from the Emperor, bears the name of Katischerif. The Ambassador,
 after bowing to the Grand Vizier, but who remains seated, goes with his retinue into
 29100 the fore-court, and is brought, on the same side of the Divan building, into a corner
 of the Seraglio to the North, under the open sky, where a crowd of Attendants come
 with Kastans, in order that the Ambassador and his retinue may be clothed with them,
 in order to be worthy to appear before the Emperor in these Turkish garments of
 honour. This Eastern custom clarifies the allusions to the words of the Bible, that
 29105 we, in our sinful condition, need special garments of salvation, in order to be
 considered worthy to stand before the Son of man, the Judge of all flesh. The
 Ambassador with his retinue being dressed in this way, he is placed at the wall under
 a somewhat projecting roof, where he can, in any case, sit down on an old bench, so
 that he has the whole forecourt before him, and at the same time the Janistas also
 29110 place themselves in a certain order.
 On the left hand of that corner, where the Ambassador stands, is the Auditorium of
 the Great Lord. From it come 2 Chamberlains with silver rods, and go straight to the
 Divan. The Grand Vizier comes out of it, to be led to the Emperor. The serious
 attitude of his gait cannot well be imagined. He lays, several times, his right hand
 29115 on his heart, greeting in this manner the several ranks of Janistas, and the
 Ambassador and his retinue. After he has remained with the Grand Lord for some time,
 as many pairs of Masters of Ceremonies come forward, as there are persons allowed to
 enter the Auditorium, this number being, including the Interpreters of the Ambassador
 and the Porte, limited to 10 or 12 persons. Two of them lead a European under their
 29120 arms, and bring him in, fairly held fast. The Emperor sits on a Sopha or Throne,

which has almost the shape of a square bed. The heaven rests on pillars. All the clothing is covered with gold and pearls exceedingly richly. The Grand Vizier stands on his left hand; but the Interpreter of the Porte lies flat on the ground before the Sultan, with his face turned towards the Vizier, as if he were unworthy to look at the Emperor. The Ambassador then makes a bow to him, making at the same time his proposal by handing over the letters of credence, which, if he is prudent, he kisses with a bow from his Secretary, because he must show the same respect to the Emperor's letters. The Interpreter of the Porte translates the Compliment, and the Grand Vizier accepts the letters. He also answers everything; for the Emperor does not deign to speak with the Ambassadors. He hands him the letters at the same time, and in about five minutes the Audience is over. When they leave, the Europeans are called out to go outside the Seraglio. They do not let themselves be told twice; for, because they know what a danger they run at the second gate, where so many thousands of people have to go through and out, everyone does his utmost to get out quickly and to mount his horse. But they cannot get through the third gate until all the State servants and soldiers are outside. As troublesome as it is to wait after so many people, because one has to stop under the open sky, so pleasantly is this trouble nevertheless rewarded, because, besides a few thousand Janistries, one sees all the Civil and Military servants, in their very different dresses, passing or riding before one. After all this the Ambassador also, in the previous order, takes his return, and arrives again at Pera about 11 or 12 o'clock. From this one sees how hearty not only such Audiences are, but also how a barbarous arrogance of the Turks is combined with boorishness and clumsiness, and the prestige of the European Ambassadors is greatly diminished. Truly, one must wonder that the Christian powers can tolerate the Titles of the Turkish Emperor, in the letters written to them, in which he presents himself as no less than a King of all Kings, calling himself among others Schehin-Schah, and Tsill-ullah, that is, Emperor of the Emperors, and the shadow of God on earth; and, when the Title of a Christian king is set, he wishes thereby, whose end may be happy, which among the Turks means, who may become a Mahometan!

SECTION TWO. The condition of the Christian religion in Turkey.

§. IX. Of the religious freedom of the Christians in Turkey in general.

The Christian religious freedom among the Turks is based on various prescriptions in their Koran, of which the so-called Testament of Mahomet may be regarded as a brief summary. Namely, it is said that he came to the monks on Mount Sinai, and was received very kindly by them, and therefore, in gratitude, he gave them a letter of freedom under the said Title. This writing remained in the hands of the monks until the time of Sultan Selim, who judged that it was unholy to leave it in their hands. Wherefore he had them requisition that supposed treasure, giving them a copy in return, which they still preserve. Solyman II confined this entire Testament of Mahomet, and the Catecheriff of Selim resting upon it, to the monastery of Mount Sinai alone, and it was not far off, but that he had destroyed both, on the advice of Kuproli Ogli Mustapha Pacha. The Lord of Mosheim, in his Church History, near the seventh century, gives the necessary account of what our judicious scholars think of it. (*) Whatever thoughts these may now entertain, this is certain, that the Turks nevertheless acknowledge this Testament as genuine; and, because the religious freedom of the Christians among them, in fact, rests on it, I will follow it with a translation, which is this:

"God is great and a Ruler; from Him have all the Prophets come, and before Him there is no unjust testimony: by God's Grace Muhammad, the son of Abdallah, the Messenger of God, and faithful guardian of the world, has drawn up for all those who belong to his people and religion, this present testimonial as a firm and express promise, which the people of the Christians, and the followers of the Nazarene, of whatever kind, great or small, honored, or whatever they may be, will be held; and establish the following:"

I. "Whoever of my people will dare to break my promise and my oath, contained in this letter of freedom, break; he destroys God's promise, acts contrary to the oath, and becomes a despiser of faith, (which God forbid!) for he becomes guilty of the curse, he may be a King or a pauper, or generally, whoever he will".

II. "If any of these Monks, in his travels, should stop on any mountain or hill, in a village or other habitable place, by the sea, in the desert, or in any monastery, in a church or house of prayer; then I will be in the midst of them, as the keeper and protector of their persons, goods and means, with my soul, help and protection, and all my countrymen; for they form a part of my own people, and are my Honour".

III. "I charged all my servants, not to exact any poll tax, nor any other tribute from them; for they shall not be compelled to do anything of this kind".

IV. "No one shall undertake to change their Judges or Overseers, but they shall remain in their office, without being deposed".

29190 V. "No one shall molest them on the highways, in their journeys".

VI. "No one shall deprive them of their churches".

VII. "Whoever destroys any of these liberties granted to me, let him know that he destroys God's order".

29195 VIII. "Furthermore, neither their Judges, Overseers, Monks, Servants, Pupils, nor any others dependent on them, shall pay poll tax, or be taxed in this matter; for I am their protector, whether they be by land or by water, East or West, North or South; for they as well as all that belongs to them are included in this oath and letter of freedom".

29200 IX. "And from those who live quietly and as hermits on the mountains, no poll tax, nor the Tithe of their income, shall be exacted. Nor shall any Orthodox take part in theirs, for they work only for their maintenance".

X. "If the fruits of the earth should prosper, the inhabitants shall be obliged to pay them something of every measure".

29205 XI. "In time of war they shall neither be expelled from their habitation, nor compelled to take the field, nor shall a poll tax be exacted from them".
(Thus far goes that which concerns the Monks of Mount Sinai; the rest concerns all Christians.)

XII. "Those Christians, who are settled in the habitation, and by reason of their wealth and trade are able to pay the poll tax, shall not give more than 12 Drachmas".

29210 XIII. "With this exception, nothing further shall be exacted from them, according to God's express command, which says: do not burden those who have respect for the books that come from God; but share with them, in a loving manner, some of your goods; associate with them, and keep each one from their insults".

XIV. "If a Christian woman should at any time marry an Orthodox, he shall not force her inclination to deprive her of her church, prayers, and religion."

29215 XV. "No one shall prevent them from improving their churches".

XVI. "If anyone acts against this my letter of freedom, or believes the contrary; he falls away from God and his Divine Apostle, in consideration of the protection, which I have granted them, in accordance with this promise".

29220 XVII. "No one shall make war on them; but the Ordinaries shall, rather, make war for them".

XVIII. "And hereby I command, that no one of my people dare to do or act against this my promise, to the end of the world". "Witnesses were: Ali, the Son of, Abu Thaleb (with fifteen others").

29225 "This present was written by the Chief of the Army, the successor of Ali, the Son of Abu Thaleb, when the Prophet, (in which peace be!) had signed it with his own hand, in his Mosque, in the second year of the Hegire, the third day of the month Mahorem".
(*)

29230 Those who are new to History already know the reason why Mahomet, especially at certain times, allowed the Christians so great liberties, namely, partly, by means of their assistance, to subdue the heathen Arabs, partly to avail himself of all Christian denominations, who were excluded from the Greek Church, for the destruction of the Eastern Empire; partly to attract to themselves, by such toleration of that Religion, the more easily the Christians who were discontented under this Empire; and

29235 how, therefore, in a certain respect, an absolute necessity has extorted it from him. But, putting this aside, it remains certain, that, when this so-called Testament was followed by the Turks, the Christians must have lived very quietly among them, which is now very much the case. Mahomet did indeed charge, that the Christians as well as the Jews should be excused, as to their Life and Religion; but on condition, that

29240 they would submit, with good will, to the Mahometans, and pay the ransom, which is called Charatz, for their Life. Most did the first, and all do the latter; henceforth we see why they are tolerated. But nevertheless this liberty has unusually great conditions. The instances are not rare, that whole multitudes of Christians, and still more often, that individuals, in all sorts of incidents, especially when false

29245 witnesses, said that they had heard that such persons wished to adopt the Mohammedan religion, and so also others, in order to escape the penalty of death, were forced to it by force. The clearest examples of this are found in the Lives of Osman and Orchan. Up to the time of Amurat IV, there was a law that the tenth part of the sons born of Christian parents was taken from them by force, and after circumcision was

29250 incorporated into the Janistas; and Selim I was somewhat hindered by the Grand Vizier and the Mufti from making all Christian subjects Mohammedans. But this is the main rule of the Turks, to curtail and to determine the public religion. In places where there have been no Christian churches, or where they have fallen into disuse, the

establishment of them is usually impossible. In places where there are still
 29255 Christian meetings, they are steadily, more and more suppressed. What is defective in
 the churches, and only in small details, such as the roof, the tower, etc., may not
 be improved, except with a special permission from the Court. And this is so
 difficult to obtain, and also involves such great costs, that especially smaller
 29260 communities, one after the other, are ruined by it. The wantonness of the common
 people in public wars, as well as internal unrest in Turkey, very often causes
 plundering and damaging of churches, and even complete destruction. But some
 provinces still have some privileges in this respect, such as Moldavia, Wallachia,
 many parts of Greece proper, and several islands of the Archipelago. In these many
 churches are found with towers and bells, which are not found elsewhere. The churches
 29265 therefore everywhere, at least from the outside, also look very sad, and are,
 especially in the villages, hardly distinguishable from our stables. Monasteries are
 usually found in places where no Turks live: but, contrary to Mahomet's Testament,
 they must either pay all taxes from them, or an even larger sum be raised for gifts
 to the Turks. European Turkey allows the country's Christians somewhat more freedom
 29270 than Asia, where Christians are unequally more oppressed, and their religious
 arrangements destroyed; and this is also the reason why the number of Christians
 there is less than in the other.

Where there are churches; there all religious customs can be observed fairly
 undisturbed. For the public religion, baptism, marriage, etc., no money is paid, but
 29275 for burials one does, for which the permission must be bought with one or more
 thalers. The freedom to hold religious services on the night before the first Easter
 day, and on that feast itself to be allowed to perform all kinds of Christian
 merrymaking, without recourse or punishment, must be bought for about 500 thalers,
 depending on the place, and for example in Smyrna. This last is a real disgrace to
 29280 the Christians. But, the custom has been introduced once, and the Turkish authorities
 would demand this money, even if no irregularities occurred. The ecclesiastical
 persons of the Christians, as Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, etc., enjoy,
 with the exception of special circumstances, a perfect safety, and go about
 everywhere in their priestly garments unmolested; yes, they are respected because of
 29285 their position, and gifts are even made to them, when they are called, here and
 elsewhere, to read the Gospel over their sick, and to drive away the diseases by
 incantations. They are, according to an Imperial charter, exempted from the poll tax,
 which the Bishops for themselves and the ecclesiastical persons under them are
 obliged to purchase. No Christian disposition is permitted to make Prophets among the
 29290 Turks. Whoever would risk this, would forfeit his head, just as the Turk, who thought
 he would become a Christian. The death penalty is in store for all those who speak
 against Mahomet and his religion, or who wish to express his thoughts with contempt
 concerning it. Criminals, if they are Christians, can often escape punishment by
 becoming Mahometans. Apostate Christians enjoy the privilege of being exempted from
 29295 the poll tax; they can then be raised to all kinds of honorary offices, and are
 capable of doing great harm to their relatives who persist in the Christian religion.
 Husbands, and those children who are over fifteen years old, need not follow such a
 renunciation of religion. Sons of men who wish to marry women of the Mahometan
 29300 religion, must first renounce the Christian faith; the female sex may, however, when
 marrying Turks, continue in her faith; but is, according to the church laws of the
 Eastern Christians, excommunicated, and is no longer admitted to the Sacraments; all
 the children, born of such marriages, must be brought up in the Mohammedan religion.
 A Christian woman, who has once married a Turk, may not, after his death, enter into
 marriage with a Christian. From this one sees how useless the missions of the Roman
 29305 Church among the Turks are, and how false are the boastful statements printed in
 Paris, especially of the Jesuits, concerning their works in the Turkish Empire; (*)
 also, how many mockers of the Christian religion betray their, but unexcusable
 ignorance or malice, when, in contempt of the Christian religion, they so broadly
 declare the toleration of Christians among the Turks. The spirit of persecution is
 29310 not the Christian religion, but only a certain party of Christians, who add human
 statements to the only source of truth, namely the Holy Scripture, and indeed give
 the latter precedence over the former.

(*) See Mosheim's church history, 3rd part, page 60 etc. of the Dutch edition of 1771.

29315 (*) As for the signing of Mahomet's so-called Testament; someone who had stayed in Turkey for
 many years and had certainly heard of it, testifies that, instead of a signet, the flat hand
 and fingers were printed under it with Eastern ink, and the genuine copies thereof were sealed
 in the same way.

(*) See the Memoires des Missions au Levant par la Compagnie de Jesus.

§. X. Of the condition of the Christians in the Turkish Empire.

The condition of the Christians among the Turks is not of the same kind. Concerning the European Christians, or rather such as are born in other countries, living in peace with the Great Lord, the most important has already been communicated in § VII., and it remains only to be noted that the greater or lesser liberties which they enjoy depend on the countries in which they reside. In Smyrna, Constantinople and Aleppo they are best off, in other places worse, and in Egypt worst. In the latter Empire they would expose themselves, by the European dress, to much rough treatment from the common people, and in Great Cairo not even a European, except the Consuls, may ride on horseback, but must make use of Donkeys. The native Christians, or the subjects of the Great Lord who are devoted to the Christian religion, must, in many respects, suffer much. The word, Raja or subject, is presented to them by the Turks as if it meant Slaves. The Greeks they call Thauschan, that is, Hares (*), and all Christians Jauer, that is, unbelievers. The native Christians are also not allowed to wear the kind and color of clothing, as the Turks. They are not allowed to use the color green at all. White Turbans or a kind of rolled up caps are also forbidden to them. The Charatz or the head-tax is exacted from them by certain Gadermeesters, Charatzschies. The female sex is exempted from it, but the male sex must pay it from the 15th year. It must be paid every Turkish year, which is about a third of a month shorter than ours, and is of three kinds. The least amounts to one Dschindscherli; the second two, and the third four. All Christians are excluded from testifying at legal proceedings, when something has to be testified against Turks; and they are also not admitted to any offices of honor or government functions. In the meantime, however, this last is subject to some regulation. The Patriarchs and Bishops have another kind of jurisdiction, which the Emperor grants them by his open letter, called Ferman, over their co-religionists, but which does not extend to punishments, and still less to death sentences. But the Bishops cannot, as a rule, exercise this otherwise than with the consultation of the Chiefs of their nation, who are called Primates, and are at certain times interchanged. If the parties are not satisfied with this; then they go to the Turkish courts. Then, one must give the greatest praise, that they direct themselves according to the admonition of the Apostle, I Corinthians VI 1. etc. They leave the decision of their disputes, rather, to their Patriarchs, Bishops, and ecclesiastical Persons, with the consultation of other mediators, than that they turn to the tribunals of the Turks. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, having been transferred to the Turks by a sort of treaty, have their Christian princes, who are chosen by the Grand Lord from the principal Greek families at Constantinople. But notwithstanding this election, they must purchase their appointment, which may amount to 700, or even 1000 purses. In the event of a peace, it sometimes happens, through the mediation of Christian powers, that the sum of money which the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia would otherwise have to pay to the Porte for their appointment, is not so great: but this is a mere accidental advantage, and is of no use to their successors. Their appointment usually lasts only 3 years, and the same expenses are, in the event of renewed security, necessary again; not to mention the unusually large gifts, which must be continually given, in order not to be deposed before the time. A rank of such a Prince is equal to the Bassas of 2 horse's tails. Because he is not assured of his time, and also wants to keep something for himself; so he rather emaciates his Principality. A Prince of Wallachia could make more than 3000, but a Prince of Moldavia about 2000 purses annually. If they are deposed; then the Porte takes everything from them beforehand, and often they are punished with Life. Mostly the Interpreters of the Porte are accustomed to do this. This last Dignity is always held by a Christian of the Greek nation, who receives it for nothing; but besides Turkish must at least understand Latin and Italian. He must be daily, except on Sundays, in the Palace of the Vizier, and in foreign affairs he works under the Reis-Ejferendi, who is the Minister of these affairs, and in this profession directly depends on the Grand Vizier. - Moreover, the Greek Christians have a shadow of jurisdiction on the smaller islands of the Archipelago, where there are no Turks, and where, at the most, there is perhaps a Kadi, being the supreme judge over one or more islands. - The Turks strictly maintain the Greeks by these few privileges, in order thereby to feed upon them continually a tumult, since one seeks to rob the other, by money, of his Dignity, and thus, by this means, to deprive them of their treasures, as a sponge does of water. - Otherwise, alas! one cannot deny that the Christians themselves are continually worsening their condition. Ecclesiastical as well as secular persons endeavored to dispute among themselves the precedence and advantages, in obtaining Patriarchates, Principalities, and winning Lawsuits: as, for instance, the dispute between the Armenian Patriarch at Edschmiazin with that at Jerusalem, concerning the

- preparation of the Holy Oil, his Nation, and the dispute between the Greeks and Romans, concerning the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, both cost incredible sums. The decisions of the Porte on such occasions are, generally, of such a nature, that both Parties are given right or wrong, or the sentence is rendered equivocally, in order that the dispute may soon begin again, and may bring in money. This is an unfortunate source of the impoverishment of Christians, from which, often, arises the despair of passing over to Mahometanism.
- (*) When the Greeks, especially of the Islands of the Archipelago, are called by the Turks Thanschan, that is, Hares; it can be determined with no certainty, whether they were given that name from their skill in running, even on rocks and mountains, or from their former shameful flight before the Turks.
- §. XI. The ignorance and uncivilization of various Christian denominations. One would not at all think that in those countries, from which the heathens obtained their knowledge, and where the Christian religion was planted by the Apostles themselves, such ignorance and uncivilization in divine and human matters have prevailed. And yet the greatest number there live in a dark night, mostly without reading and writing. The latter in particular is something rare. The Bible is only known in name, and what is still known of it, consists of a few Psalms and parts of the Gospels. Of which hardly anyone has a Bible, but only a prayer book. The Armenians deserve some exception, as they are much more fond of the Bible, and among them respectable families, very seldom, are accustomed to be without a House-Bible. The female sex, which is especially sad, is left almost without all instruction and knowledge of religion. One might naturally wonder at such a perverse conduct. But, as the female sex does not appear in public at all, but almost always has to keep the house, it cannot go in schools; and to have teachers come to the house, would partly be expensive, partly, because of the general suspicion, bring such women into a bad reputation. In addition, the parents think how the old custom is thereby violated, and so the ignorant mothers also prefer to keep ignorant daughters. The Greek and Armenian Monks, like most of the Roman Church, do not apply themselves to literary exercises, but spend their time, outside the appointed times, in some manual work, in collecting alms, and in idleness; the few apply themselves to schoolwork and learned things. The actual Priests also, seldom, have more ability for it; for the greatest number are chosen from the Common People, who seldom know more than, as if it were a business, to read the Liturgy, and to observe the other Ceremonies. Except those they call Professors, there are few who can compose a Homily or any kind of Sermon. The Bishops, it is proper, should have studied; but, because money is most used to obtain bishoprics, it is natural that the necessary gifts are very often lacking. There are reading schools almost everywhere; but such that could be compared with our city schools are unusually few; proper universities not at all. For the higher schools at Constantinople, Smyrna, etc., hardly serve to teach something of ancient Greek, the Aristotelian philosophy, and as much theology from the Church Fathers as is necessary to cobble together a sermon. The Greeks still have schools and seminaries on Mount Athos, which is called the holy mountain (Monte Santo) because of the multitude of monasteries; but they do not progress there further than in the aforementioned schools, except that ancient Greek is learned better. Few understand this right, and some books, translated from Italian or French, or composed from them, are their guides. Those who wish to study Medicine, go to Italy, Holland, and sometimes also to Germany and England. The most learned are oppressed by others, or accused of not thinking purely, of deviating from the old custom, etc., so that they are now forbidden the pulpit or the chair of learning. – The Armenians are not much better off; but not so much from neglect and their own fault, as from the sad circumstances in which their nation is placed. Because their fatherland, for a long time, has been the bone of contention between the Persians and Turks; so the inhabitants have been dispersed, the schools destroyed, and the monasteries and churches demolished. From this one can conclude how much all good arrangements, especially those concerning learning and religion, have been destroyed. The prejudice of antiquity and the attachment to their old school and church teachers is, according to the custom of most Easterners, so great, that they remain with it, and adhere to what they say. Now, since the Jews, as mostly with us, live in a completely learned wilderness, and the Turks, as will subsequently appear, are great promoters of ignorance; one may easily conclude from this the general darkness of learning in Turkey. Linguistics has completely decayed; the knowledge of antiquities is entirely unknown; the best Philosophy is corrupted Aristotelian; History, Chronology, Mathematics are covered with great errors and obscurity. The best Physicians have studied in Europe; the others have been servants of these, or mere pharmacies, who have become Physicians

from pretended experiences and books. Of Jurisprudence and Theology we shall be able
 29455 to speak more conveniently next. Public libraries are not found at all. In
 monasteries, as almost privileged dwelling places of superstition and ignorance, one
 must not to search. A few persons are accustomed, here and there, to have a moderate,
 at least small stock of books. The Patriarchs of Constantinople, as well as those of
 29460 Jerusalem, and other Bishops residing there for the continual Synod, have fairly good
 collections; but for such large countries this does not mean much. One would be
 disappointed in the hope of seeing and possibly buying old Manuscripts. Credible
 persons assert that there are few, and that they were preserved and hidden as great
 sanctuaries in places where the Turks had so often not committed plunderings and
 devastations, for instance, in the monasteries on Mount Athos and the Islands of the
 29465 Archipelago. One is seized with a kind of sadness, when one reads in these regions,
 where the former learning is so very degenerate, and considers the present situation.
 There also no improvement can easily be hoped for before a general introduction of
 printing, considering the small printing of the Armenians, as well as that of the
 Maronites on Mount Lebanon, do not yet want to say much.

29470 §. XII. The admirable preservation of the Christian religion in Turkey.
 Here an observation is made, which flows quite naturally from the foregoing, namely,
 that under such circumstances the preservation of the Christian religion is an
 admirable thing. One would think that, with such great ignorance of Christians,
 29475 nothing would be more common than the renunciation of their faith; and yet the cases
 are rare. The profession of Jesus' religion exposes them to great difficulties; the
 names Thauschan (Hazen) and Jauer (Infidels) they must hear, openly, from the filthy
 common people; in the courts their causes are, for the most part, badly treated, and
 the insults done to them by Turks are left unpunished. There is no lack of various
 29480 special taxes; and the poll tax is for the poor, as well as for numerous families, a
 very heavy burden. They could avoid all these inconveniences by a renunciation of
 religion, and obtain the opposite advantages. Daily examples teach, that if the
 Apostates are at all capable, they can go unusually far, and that most Bassas, as
 well as the principal Ministers, yes even Grand Viziers are Apostates, or children of
 29485 them. Crimes, if they are Christians, usually escape the death penalty by an
 abjuration of the Christian religion. To this, often, comes the cruelty of the Turks
 with a barbarous compulsion. There are instances, that many provinces and places have
 proposed the embrace of the Mahometan religion, or its complete extermination, and
 the sons of whole provinces and cities have been circumcised by force, and thus with
 29490 their own have been brought to Mahometanism. This also happens, often, with a few
 persons, who seem to the Turks capable of war, or other affairs. Finally, the Porte
 has not lacked any advisors, that at least the Greek Christians, by circumcision,
 could be forced to the Mahometan religion, and in the year 1760 it was rumoured, that
 the Emperor himself was of this opinion. But this cruelty has nevertheless been
 29495 constantly renewed. Yes, there is no lack of examples, that little children, who fell
 to the Turks, would be violently led to apostasy, but who would rather lose their
 lives than consent to it.

Now, after so many centuries, one sees such a large number of Christians; the service
 of the true God is solemnly maintained, and the name of Jesus Christ openly
 29500 confessed; yes, the attachment to the Christian religion is so deeply pressed into
 the hearts, that all kinds of temporal advantages are forsaken, Christians undergo
 the greatest hardships, yes, in multitudes, they would rather give up their lives
 than deny faith in Jesus; then one can still conclude from this, to this day, the
 truth of Christ's promise: the gates of hell shall not prevail against my Church.
 29505 Matth: XVI 18. A statement, which must give us the well-founded hope, that she will
 never cease, however many weapons, writings and mockeries her enemies may continually
 use for her corruption and downfall.

It is true, and one must, alas! admit it, that the general Christian religion
 professed in Turkey, has been darkened by many impurities; but nevertheless there
 29510 remains, always, a standing signpost to the truth, and an easy possibility, to come
 to the knowledge of salvation.

PART THIRD. OF THE GREEKS.

§. XIII. Of the Greek Church, and its constitution.
 29515 The Greek Church has its name from the famous Greece and its inhabitants, the ancient
 Greeks; and therefore it bears it for the same reason as the English and French
 Churches. It prefers to call itself the orthodox Eastern Church. By this is
 understood the great number of Christians, who either stand under the Patriarch of
 Constantinople, as their highest Head according to the laws of the Council, or at

29520 least maintain an ecclesiastical communion with him. In our regions it has become a custom to understand under the Greek Church only the first kind of Christians; and to this belong the four Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, but which in external circumstances differ greatly from each other. The Alexandrian is much weakened, because nearly all the Christians living in Egypt and the surrounding Provinces have become Monophysites. The Antiochian is, partly for the same reason, partly for a still worse one, namely, the devastation of Syria, and the apostasy of the Christians to Mahometanism, caused by various incidents, very much decayed. The Jerusalem has suffered greatly both from the Crusades, and from the particularly severe governments of the Bassas in the Holy Land, and from the plunderings of the wandering Arabs. The Constantinople is still in the best circumstances; and to it belong European Turkey, the Islands of the Archipelago, and Asia Minor or Nato. The other Patriarchs, in fact, do not come into comparison with the Constantinopolitan, as the latter far surpasses the others in power and prestige, although otherwise all four are independent in their Parishes. The Constantinopolitan has its residence at Constantinople, the Alexandrian at Cairo, the Antiochian at Damascus, and the Jerusalemian at Jerusalem. They often stay all together at Constantinople, to attend the Synod that is permanently held there, which consists of the Patriarch of Constantinople, 12 Archbishops, and 4 other notable Greeks, and provides for the welfare of their Church, especially at Court. On it depends the desire of all the Bishoprics, and all ecclesiastical affairs must come before it. The Patriarch of Constantinople, who calls himself a general (οἰκουµενικόν), and presides at such a Synod, formerly contended with the Pope at Rome for rank. He still considers himself equal with him, although the submission to the Turks, under which the Greeks sighed, has put an end to the public dispute. With the Turks he has the dignity of a Bassa of two horse-tails. Formerly it was still more respectable than at present. The Turkish Emperor, at the time of his appointment, for which he paid no money, made a present of a white horse, a ceremonial robe, and 1000 zecchins or ducats. But after the time, that rank and self-interest, often caused the deposition of the Patriarchs, not only has the just mentioned generosity of the Turkish Emperors ceased, but also an infinitely greater Evil has been introduced. That Patriarchate is sold by the Porte. If this, or the Greek nation, is not satisfied with the Patriarch, or if another offers more than he has given; then he is immediately deposed, and whoever then pays the most, gets his place. The expenses, incurred on this, are indeed uncertain, but formerly amounted to about 30 thousand, and now to almost 100 thousand Piastres; and it is to be feared, that, through the rank and greed of the Greeks, they will subsequently run still higher. As great as this Evil is, because it usually exalts very incompetent persons to Dignity; it is nevertheless, with respect to another arising from it, still small. And this consists in the fact that the new Patriarch places all the Bishops under him, if they wish to retain their Bishoprics, under a heavy Contribution, to pay his debts, and these in return seek to recover their damages from their Clergy, who in turn, for the most part, by illicit means, try to make up for their own, with their Congregations. — If the Patriarch has purchased that Dignity; then he receives from the Grand Vizier the Ferman, or a sort of letter of confirmation, and is brought to the Parochial Church by a Tschaus or Master of Ceremonies, under the guidance of a multitude of Janistas, on horseback. The principal Archbishops and ecclesiastical Persons receive him, with wax candles in their hands, and lead him in. The Tschaus reads the Firman; the new Patriarch takes his place on the special Patriarchal See, and the Greeks must, without further contradiction, acknowledge him in his Dignity. The consecration is, in fact, previously performed by the Archbishop of Heraclea, who in his Pontifical robe leads the new Patriarch by the hand to the Patriarchal See, and after that he is seated thereon, puts on him the Crown, and gives him the shepherd's staff. The Liturgy being sung, the ceremony of this introduction ends. — The deposed Patriarchs are usually, unless they have been accused of a crime, sent into exile, for which purpose the monasteries on the islands of the Archipelago are mainly intended, but from which they are also often recalled, and can even be restored to their office. — In times of war between the Christians and the Turks, the Patriarch always stands at a dangerous post, because he is almost always accused of an understanding with the former, subsequently deposed, and then even put to death. For the rest, no Patriarch or Bishop can hold office unless he has obtained a Barat or Letter of Freedom, at great expense, from the Sultan. By means of this he can maintain the rights of the Church, over the lower Clergy, yes, in a certain respect, rule over his Parish, and protect the monasteries. — The surrender of the other Patriarchates takes place in a freer, and not subject to so much noise, way and manner; for they are further from the Court, and the greed cannot be satisfied so much, because of the small income. But

even then there is no place for so many expenses. The Patriarch of Constantinople resides constantly in the Emperor's Residence, unless the calling of his office calls him to his Parish, or he retires to a country house for a recreation. His dress, outside the church, is not distinguished from that of other Bishops, or even common Priests, consisting of a black wide Surplice with fairly large sleeves over the long Eastern garments, and a black cap, which in the same circumference, as it is pressed on the head, is one and a quarter of an ell high, and then flat. From it hangs, above, a sort of bag down to the neck, which is made of thick crape. If this bag is lacking; then the cap can only serve a Monk, or Deacon, or lower Clergy. In the Church they are clothed with mantles and ceremonial vestments, also wrought with gold and silver, and the Bishops then wear a Crown on ceremonial occasions. For the rest, the Patriarchate of Constantinople is a place that brings in very much. The newly appointed Bishops must, according to the condition and income of their Dioceses, give the Patriarch a few more or less thousands of Piastres, and give him, on many occasions, considerable presents; not to say, that he is the usual heir of the deceased Bishops, and of the Priests, who are immediately under him. (*) But, besides the expenses at the acquisition of the Patriarchate, he must also, annually, for confirmation in it, make great presents, and moreover, have his mind on his Existence after the deposition, or even to obtain it again.

In most cities of any size one finds a Bishop, who is called Despot; (δεσπότης) and each has an Assistant, (πρωτοσυγγελος) whom he himself chooses, and to whom he, as often as he pleases, gives over a certain part of his business. The appointment of the Bishop depends on the Synod; the consecration is performed by the Patriarch, and the Porte grants the security. All this demands very great expenses, and, when a Bishop comes with the Barat (letter of freedom) of the Porte to his Parish, then this always happens with more or less thousands of Dalers, the payment of which falls at his charge; wherefore most Foundations also are in great debt, and many gradually fall into debt. - Most Bishops come to their Dignity, by a sort of Simony, they seldom understand, what is necessary, to satisfy it. They must be unmarried; but widowers are not excluded. They seldom concern themselves with ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs: because they form a sort of Christian Authority; so worldly disputes are their main business. For the rest they are reasonably esteemed, even by the Turks, and their Bishop's staff, which is black and reasonably long, gives them, when they go out, a great authority. As the Patriarch bears the name of Most Holy; so they are called Your Holiness. To them belongs the votive offering of the Priests and lower Clergy, and on high Feast days they are accustomed to say Mass. With them there are the same Cabals, as with the Patriarchs, or after better Bishoprics, or even after the Patriarchate. When a Patriarch or Bishop dies; then he, in his Pontifical robe, is placed on a Throne, and every Greek considers it a religious duty to kiss the hand of the deceased. Failure to do so would be considered a sin by them. Priests are in the congregations in a greater number than is necessary, and it may be calculated that there are many more without than with parishes. These they have to buy for money from every new bishop, and these costs are again extorted from the congregations. These two circumstances today cause and nourish the great corruption in the Greek church. The congregations impoverish themselves without being noticed, and the priests, in order to obtain their existence, resort to lawful and unlawful means, whereby ignorance is nourished, and superstition is increased. Among these belong the showing or selling of common, or so-called miraculous images and relics; the use of powerful prescriptions of prayers that are supposed to have a magical power; the release from fasting for money, etc. For the rest, they may marry once, but nevertheless not otherwise than with a lover, who must be honorable, young, healthy, and beautiful. If they violate this law; then they forfeit their priestly dignity, and must become deacons. Their occupations are to say masses, to hear confessions, to baptize, to marry, and to bury the dead. Preaching is not their work; for few understand this, and, also, during the Lent before Easter, and a few feast days excepted, no sermons are preached. In the meantime some apply themselves to founding and maintaining reading schools for the benefit of the youth. Among the people they are held in great esteem, and are called Papas, just as a Priest's wife is called παπαδία (Papadia. If a Priest misunderstands himself, so that he is unworthy of his Character; then the Bishop has his beard shaved off, and thus he is forever deprived of his Priestly office.

The Deacons take care of the common things in the Church. They have even more freedom to marry than the Priests. They must assist the latter in all ecclesiastical matters, observe the Ceremonies at the Mass with incense, etc., read and sing many pieces at the Liturgy, light the candles, keep the church clean, etc. They are therefore excluded from all priestly works, but are ordained as Priests when they are deemed

capable. The by the Priests lack a little pocket attached to the Cap above, and distinguish them from it; and if they should lose their office of Deacon, then their beard is also shaved off. I consider it unnecessary to mention the lower orders of readers, precentors, etc. in particular.

The Monks (καλόγεροι) are not comparable in number or in prestige with those of the Roman Church. Among them there is only one Order, namely that of St. Basil. Those who live on Mount Athos still devote themselves, in part, to some ecclesiastical learning; but the greater part, in general, observes the Mass and many religious ceremonies by day and night, observes a much stricter fast, and is occupied with manual labor, especially in the cultivation of the vineyards, olive groves, etc. The former is, properly speaking, the work of the Abbot or Archimandrite (ἡγούμενος) with the active Monks, and the latter that of the lay brothers or people who wish to isolate themselves from the world, and imagine the common labors in the monasteries to be more sacred than elsewhere. They keep to their strict, supposed ancient customs, and the modesty in their monasteries, as well as the Turkish rudeness, do not permit them to aim at higher things.

There are also monasteries for the female sex. The Nuns (καλουρία, good old one) also follow the rule of St. Basil, but not in so strict a manner as the Monks, under a Supreme. (ἡγουμένησσα) - In Greece proper one also finds Hermits, who dwell in the caves of the mountains, and, by their rough and strict way of life, deprive themselves of common sense, health of body, and Life; people, possessed with a far-reaching fanaticism.

(*) Of the inheritance which falls to the Patriarch, on the side of the Bishops, and of the Priests immediately under him, the Porte nevertheless takes its own, and often the greater part. The Bishops also inherit the goods of the unmarried Priests who have died in their Parish, if they do not fall to certain monasteries; which is not a fixed and general rule here. The goods of the married fall to the wife and children. In the meantime, however, it is not lacking in all these cases that the Commander of the place would not appropriate a part of it. - The costs in the forgiveness of the Bishoprics are constantly increasing. Whereas a new Bishop in Smyrna; previously, perhaps paid 10 or 20 grants; this has now risen to about 100.

§. XIV. With distinction of the Greek Church from other Christians.

In order that the distinction of the Greek Church from other Christians may become clear, its separation from them must first be noted. Up to the 9th century it was united with the Western Church, as regards faith. For although many disputes had taken place between the two; yet these were more about church customs, boundaries of the Patriarchates, etc. than about actual articles of faith. In this they remained reasonably in agreement, even in their misunderstandings; peace was restored by various treaties, and the erring Teachers were condemned in common. But from the aforementioned time the ground was laid for that great schism, which continues to this day with great violence. The famous Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, had been long and often persecuted by the Roman Pope, Nicholas; whereupon he excommunicated him, together with the whole Roman Church, solely for the following, but in his opinion very important errors, which he mentions in the general letter sent to the Eastern Patriarchs: 1) that the Roman Church fasted on Saturday; 2) that in the first week of Lent before Easter they should permit the use of milk and cheese; 3) that they should absolutely forbid the marriage of ecclesiastical women; 4) that they were of the opinion that the Bishops alone could administer Confirmation with the Holy Oil, and thus reconfirm those who had received it from the Priests; and finally 5) had falsified the Constantinopolitan creed with the addition, and from the Son, and therefore the doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeds not only from the Father, but also from the Son. Photius' successors indeed continued to hold this opinion, but the ecclesiastical ban was no longer thought of, and an outward peace was maintained. But in the eleventh century all unity was broken, by the rashness of Patriarch Cerularius, and the lust for power of Pope Leo IX. The former added to the accusations of Photius others; for instance, that the Latin Church used unleavened bread at the Lord's Supper, did not abstain from the blood in the stitched bread; its monks used pig's fat; its bishops wore rings; the priests were without beards, etc. The Greeks fell upon their patriarchs, and excluded the westerners from their church community. When Leo IX had tried in vain to bring them under his yoke again, he likewise openly excommunicated them. From that time this schism lasted; and the means tried for union, especially the Council of Florence, in the year 1438, have all been fruitless. Nay, the hatred of the Greeks against the Roman Church has, since the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, increased still further, because they regard the popes as the cause of the fact that the western powers did not render them any help against it. In addition to this there is also a great deal of mischief which

29720 befalls them from the side of the Turks, through the agency of the Roman Catholics, and the seduction of many by the Roman missionaries. As often as one speaks to the Eastern Patriarchs and Bishops, so often do they show their very unusual aversion to everything that is Roman; and one sees that it is only a pretext, what the Roman Church presents concerning its agreement with the Greek, as well as with other Eastern churches, and how little one can rely on Leo Allatius and similar writers.

29725 Having let this pass, we must now present the principal doctrines of the Greek Church. We will present these, with reference to a book very much regarded as symbolic by her, which is called *ορθόδοξος ομολογία της πίσεως της καθολικης εκκλησίας της ανατολικης*, and with a Latin translation, published by Laurentius Normann, at Leipzig, in the year 1695, and reprinted by D. Hoffman, at Wittenberg,

29730 with a preface, and Hoogd: translation at Breslau, 1751. As a first foundation of religion, not only the Holy Scripture serves the Greeks, and indeed as with the Protestants, only and exclusively in the Canonical books, but the Apocryphe also has with them almost the same authority. In addition, there are the statements of the church, made at the Councils. In the 96th question of the first part in the

29735 aforementioned book it is said: "although the Church is a creature, and consists of men; she has nevertheless Christ, the true God, as a Supreme Head, and with him the Holy Ghost, who teaches her everywhere. — Therefore we are moved to believe not only the Holy Gospel, but also all other scriptures, and Synodical ordinances". The quotation from the Old Testament is made according to the 70 Translators. Of God's

29740 essence, attributes, and the mystery of the Holy Trinity they have the same conceptions as the other Christian denominations, except that they deny the communication of the Divine essence of the Son to the Holy Spirit, and assert that he proceeds from the Father alone, they refer in this respect solely to the passage of John XV 16.

29745 Of Jesus Christ, his Person, divine and human nature, his threefold mediatorial office and both States, they have the same concepts with the Evangelical Church. But concerning Christ's descent into hell they express themselves (1 part, question 49) thus: "The soul of Christ was indeed separated from the body, but nevertheless it remained always united with the Godhead; with it it also descended into hell. We have

29750 indeed, in this place of the confession of faith, (in the second article) nothing of that; but nevertheless it is confirmed by all the church hymns that deal with it. — As when it is said: You, Lord Christ, were bodily in the grave, in Hell as God with the soul, in Paradise with the murderer, and on the Throne of Glory you fill with the Father and the Holy Spirit, as the immeasurable, everything. And from Hell he has

29755 delivered the souls of the Holy Fathers, and led them into Paradise, and with them also the murderer converted on the cross". Concerning the Angels they teach the same with other Christians, but they still believe that, according to the statement of Pseudo-Dionysius, the good were divided into 9 Choirs, and these into 3 Orders. To the first they bring those who should be next to God, namely the Throne, the

29760 Cherubim, and Seraphim; to the second the Powers, Dominions, and Strengths; and to the third the Angels, Archangels, and Principalities. Of all these they also have the opinion that they brought our prayers, alms, and other good works before God, and were our Advocates with Him.

29765 Here also seems to be the best place to quote the opinion of the Greeks concerning Mary, the Saints, and the worship of images. For the first, the Greek Church has appointed this congratulation: "O Virgin Mary, most divine, hail! the Lord be with thee! blessed art thou among women, and blessed be the fruit of thy body; for thou hast born unto us the Saviour of our souls!" The Church has enjoined to use this congratulation frequently in prayer. "She has exalted her (42 question, 1 part,)

29770 "above the Cherubim and Seraphim. She now also excels all the Choirs of Angels, since she is placed at the right hand of the Son with all Honour and Glory; as the Psalm says: (XLV 10.) The Queen stands at thy right hand, in all precious gold. Every Christian must use this congratulation with reverence, and stand by the intercession of that Virgin, &c". They also maintain, with all zeal, her constant virginal state

29775 until her death. The intercession of the Saints must therefore be humbly requested, that they may pray for men; they declare thereby, that they should not be invoked as Gods, but as friends of those whom they serve, and not to help us by our own strength, but to obtain God's grace through their intercession. The passages which are quoted from Holy Scripture in proof of this, indicate nothing else, than that the

29780 faithful on earth pray for one another, and the perfectly Just in Heaven call upon God to destroy the enemies of his church. They themselves object, however, that the Saints do not hear our prayers knew; but they answer by saying that God makes them known to them. The objection that the invocation of the Saints conflicts with the first commandment: Thou shalt have no other gods besides me, they seek to remove in

29785 two ways; because they partly think that the honour shown to them passes over to the Majesty of God, to whom they, by their faith and virtuous conduct, had been well-pleasing; partly they make a distinction between adoration (λατρεία) and invocation (δουλεία), and thus grant them the latter, because they invoked them as their brothers and friends of God, to seek His help for them, and to take their place with Him. In proof of this, it is only brought from the Bible that the prayer of the Righteous avails much with God on earth. (Jacob: V 16.) – With regard to the worship of images, after the rejection of pagan images, the invocation (highägting) (δουλεία) of the images of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Saints, (55 question of the 3rd part) as well as the Crucifixes, is given up as permissible under this pretext, because people did not honor the images, but those whom they represent; and in proof it is said that the Israelites worshiped the Cherubim in the Temple, (which is nevertheless untrue,) and that the Seventh Council condemned the iconoclasts. Concerning the matter of which they are teachers of creation, Providence, election, God's image, and the fall of the first men, one finds precisely no diversity of the Evangelical Church. And the same can be said of them, with respect to the article concerning sin and its divisions.

29790 Touching upon the free Will they are teachers: (27 question of the 1st part) "although the Will in the desire of the good or evil has remained unblemished; yet he is in some more inclined to evil, and in others to good. Although man's Will is stained with original sin; yet it is in all this in everyone's power to be good and a child of God, or evil and a child of Satan. This depends on the person. God's grace helps to the good; from evil she draws man away, but without forcing his freedom". They count the 10 commandments, like the Reformed, so that 4 are counted to the first, and 6 to the second table.

29795 29800 They do not attribute the justification and forgiveness of sins to faith alone, but also to good works; although it seems that they understand by faith such a thing, which is without works, and they therefore do not so much attribute justification to faith and good works, as to a living and active faith. They count seven Sacraments, or, as they express themselves, mysteries; (98 question of the 1st part) "baptism, anointing or confirmation, the Holy Supper, Penance, the Priesthood, marriage, and the olympic".

29805 The essential concerning Baptism is by the Greeks so, as taught by us; of the extraordinary, something more will be said next. They consider it especially as a cleansing and washing away of the corruption, which is transmitted from the parents to the children. The confirmation takes place after Baptism, and is performed with an oil, consecrated by the Patriarch and the Bishops, on Good Friday, which is mixed with other ingredients, such as Myrrh and Balm. But in proof thereof nothing is added, except such passages, which treat of the laying on of hands, and the sealing of the Holy Ghost. Their opinion concerning the Holy Supper is more remarkable. A private confession, in which the sins, as much as one knows them, are related by name and piece by piece, must precede the enjoyment, which is fixed at twelve, four, at least once a year. The administration of the Lord's Supper to the sick is highly recommended by them. The wying is considered an unbloody sacrifice. The Creed Teacher, (Part I, Question 107) "when the Priest consecrates bread and wine; then one must believe that the Essence thereof was changed into the Essence of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ. This is done by the operation of the Holy Spirit, for whom, in order that this Sacrament may be rightly performed, thus is prayed: send upon us and these proposed gifts thy Holy Spirit, make of this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and of that which is contained in this cup, the precious blood of him, while thou changest it by thy Holy Spirit. After these words the change continues. The bread is changed into the true body, and the wine into the true blood. There remains only, according to a divine destiny, an appearance falling into the senses". The proof of this is derived from the words of the institution: that is my body, that is my blood; and, in order to hold the interpretation of the Greeks to be true, they quote Christ's saying: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed. (John XX 29.) For the rest, they want that not only the Priests, but also the Laymen should partake of the cup, and that the same Honor should be shown to the consecrated Elements as to Christ. One cannot enter into the feelings of some Teachers and persons concerning this Sacrament, who are often as sensual as the Roman Catholics, but often agree with the Evangelical creeds. What was taught of the other alleged Sacraments does not deserve further presentation. From this it follows of itself that their presentation, concerning conversion, must differ much from ours. Their faith is indeed not much different, than a historical knowledge of religious truths; their good works consist in only external acts, as in a civilly honorable behavior, or in a multitude of recited or read prayers, the giving of alms, fasting,

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pilgrimages, etc.

They extend the name of Catholic or universal Church to all Christian denominations. They consider the Church of Jerusalem to be the mother church of Christianity; but, by an Imperial command, and according to the decision of the Council of Nicea, the churches of Rome and Constantinople are allowed precedence over the rest.

Concerning the state after death; they reject Purgatory, which the Roman doctors; they assert a feeling of joy among the pious, and pain among the ungodly; (I part 61-66 question) but of the latter, they think, many were delivered from hell, not well by their penance and confession, but nevertheless by the alms of the deceased, the intercession of the church, and by the bloodless sacrifice of the mass. This strange feeling is proved still more strangely, namely from Christ's words: fear him who has the power to cast into hell. (Luke XII 5.) For (as Theophilactus concludes from it,) in order that Christ does not say, who always and forever casts into Hell, but only, who has the power to cast into Hell; thus one must pray for the deliverance of the dead, distribute alms, and say Mass.

The Greek Church differs, in several respects, from all Western churches. It denies the going forth of the Holy Spirit from the Son; it maintains the necessity, that to a legitimate Baptism belongs the immersion of the Baptized person under water; the use of leavened bread at the Holy Communion seems to it absolutely necessary, and very small children are with it partakers of the Communion: the marriage of priests is, as we saw before, determined by it, and a third or fourth marriage is held by them as fornication. No less does it differ in many points from the Roman Church. The high opinion of the Romans concerning the Pope at Rome, as a visible Governor of Christ and the Supreme Head of the Church, appears to the Greeks blasphemous; their graven images and statues are in their eyes abominable; the withdrawal of the drinking cup they consider a mutilation of the Sacrament, and the prohibition of the marriage of priests as unlawful; Purgatory appears to them ridiculous, and the persecutory spirit of the Romans [Catholics] they utterly reproach.

§. XV. Religious customs of the Greeks.

Since the Greeks follow the old style in the Almanac, and therefore the year also begins 11 days later than we do; so their and our Feasts, except the movable ones, never agree in the days; and, since they never want to celebrate the Easter Feast at the same time as the Jews, this already causes a remarkable deviation from our Feasts. Besides the Apostles and Church Fathers, they have a great multitude of general and special Saints; so that the Sundays with the Feasts take up something more than a third of the year. But the latter are, for the most part, Church Feasts, that is, such as are celebrated by ecclesiastical Persons and Monks alone: for there are those who celebrate them in Chapels, near the cities and villages, or far away from them, in ruined churches, and supposed Holy places, and on which, after Mass, they pass the time in eating, playing, and dancing. At such times there is almost no end of Ceremonies and solemnities. — The first day of May is still always spent in walking and merrymaking. On Corpus Christi, in the Episcopal Churches, the Bishop washes the feet of 12 Priests. For that purpose a stella is erected there, on which the Bishop sits in his Mass vestment with 12 Priests. To represent Judas, a priest with a red beard is brought from outside, if such a priest cannot be found in the city. While this person is seated, a bishop or priest reads from the pulpit the Gospel story of the washing of feet; and at the words, Jesus took an apron and girded himself, (John XIII 4.) the bishop stands up, lays aside his vestment, puts on an apron, and performs everything according to the contents of the story; even he who represents Peter speaks his words to the bishop. Before this ceremony the Holy Communion is celebrated, in which he first distributes himself, and then the priests. — The Easter feast lasts 6 days. On the first day, from the rising of the sun, one hears χρίσας ἀνέζη, Christ is risen; to which the acquaintance to whom it is shouted answers: ἀληθως ἀνέζη, he is truly risen; and after these spoken words one kisses each other three times, namely on both cheeks and on the mouth. Since the Lent of 40 days has come to an end beforehand; so the people then, by far-reaching extravagances, make great display, and one sees whole rows, hand in hand, passing through the streets, singing and playing, in a sort of religious dance. — The Pentecost festival lasts only 2 days with them.

The Lent days cover at least half a year. The first great fast begins on the 15th of November, and lasts until Christmas; the second is that of 40 days before Easter. This is the most difficult; for then nothing of any kind of meat, fish, butter, eggs, oil, cheese, etc., may be eaten. One must content oneself with foodstuffs, which can be boiled with water, almond milk, vinegar, etc. Rice, groats, mealy foods, vegetables, mussels, oysters, therefore, constitute the food alone. But they are also

free to eat caviar, or dried roe of sturgeon and other fish: about which the Romans mocked them, because they ate the eggs of fish, but considered the eating of the fish itself to be unlawful; but the Greeks pay in the same coin, and reproach them, because, in the forbidden enjoyment of fowls, they nevertheless used the eggs. But on the 25th of March, being the Feast of the Annunciation, when this does not fall in Holy Week, and on Palm Sunday, they may eat fish; just as they are permitted to do with eggs and milk-meats in the first week of Lent. The third Lent is named after the Holy Apostles, beginning after Pentecost week, and ending with St. Peter's and Paul's day. As they may eat fish in this, although milk is forbidden, it does not trouble them as much as the others. The fourth Lent precedes the supposed Assumption of Mary, and lasts, with the utmost strictness, from the 1st to the 15th of August, excepting the 6th, when, as on the celebrated Feast of the Declaration of Christ, they may use oil and fish. All Wednesdays and Fridays are fast days, except Saturday, as with the Roman Catholics, except the silent Saturday before Easter. There are also other single fast days; but at certain times they have no place at all, as from Christmas to Epiphany, the Easter and Pentecost week, and a few weeks before Lent of 40 days. But this only affects the Laity in general. Even those among them who are after a greater holiness, likewise the Priests, and especially the Monks, increase the number of fast days, and go much further in the abstinence of all kinds of food. They are also usually so strict and strict about this, that they would rather die, than, for instance, in illness, break their fast, and eat meat. They must have a special permission from the Bishop or other Priests, but from whom they do not easily obtain it. Many even consider murder, fornication, adultery, theft, etc., as minor sins, compared with the violation of Lent. The strictness and rigor which they observe in this respect is wonderful, and they endure them with great patience, in the hope of making up for their loss at the following Feasts; which they do not fail to do; wherefore great joys and excesses are wont to occur at them. The sign of the cross is held in an uncommon esteem by them, as it, in all fairness, ought to be by all Christians, so much the more, as all enemies of the Christian religion hate the thing indicated by it, and it is the best outward sign of distinction among Jews and Turks. But they do not stop there, but believe that there is an uncommon power in it against the Devil and all Evil. Therefore it is made on all occasions, when rising, going to bed, before and after eating, likewise innumerable times in church, for instance, when in their Liturgy the words occur: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen! They make this sign of the cross, while at the words, in the name of the Father, they raise the three fore fingers to the forehead; then at the words, and of the Son, they lower the hand; then at the words, and of the Holy Spirit, they direct it to the right side of the arm, and with a movement of it to the left side, they end at the word, Amen. At the prayers in church they do not kneel, but stand, bowing themselves only according to the circumstances, especially when they make the sign of the cross, deep on the ground; Pentecost excepted, when they kneel three times at their prayers. - They have, like the Armenians and Turks, Rosary beads, of which they do not make the proper religious use, like the Roman Catholics, but nevertheless, often, when counting the corals, they pronounce the words, Lord, have mercy on us! or, God be praised!, just as the Turks, besides playing with them, add God's attributes to them.

As soon as a woman in childbirth is delivered, a priest is brought, who pronounces certain prayers over her. On the eighth day the child is brought to the church; at the door with the sign of the cross on the forehead, the mouth and the body are consecrated, and a prayer is pronounced over it. This is called the Sealing, and is considered a preparation for Baptism. This is not long delayed, and the child is assigned godfathers. Baptism is done in houses. The child is undressed, and, after the Priest has blown upon it three times, he holds it above the body under the arms, cuts through it three times with its feet, but in the form of a cross, the water, which reaches the child to the belly, and, while he holds it, further, with one hand in the water, he pours it, with the other, three times with it. Then after the Baptism the anointing with oil takes place; it also receives the Lord's Supper; and then the Parents always let it go to the Lord's Supper with them. The woman in childbirth may not come into the church before the time, appointed in the Mosaic religion.

The Mass is read with and under long and many Ceremonies. The Romans reproach the Greeks with much mockery, that they worship bread and wine, even before the communion. They use leavened bread at the Lord's Supper, having a round shape, and with the words, but abbreviated, Ἰησοῦς χριστός νικᾷ (Jesus Christ has conquered), drawn, as the figure next to it shows.

It consists of two, but baked on top of each other, two-baked or rusks, so that one

can see where they are baked together. The upper one is about three, the lower two fingers, and all around it is equally thick. Small pieces are broken off from it, and
29985 put in a measured spoon with some consecrated wine, which is mixed with water, and both are thus given to the communicant. The bread consecrated on the proper altar, like such a drink, if there be any left over, is consumed by the Priest alone; but all other bread, lying on a side table, over which prayers have been said, but which was not consecrated on the proper altar with the words of the institution, is
29990 distributed among the people, who, with great devotion, keep it for a holy use. It is indeed brought to the sick, but not worshipped; just as no Processions or walks are made with it. Otherwise, the Greeks observe a very strict Lent before they go to the Lord's Supper. Marriage is performed among them without previous proclamation of marriage orders, and is performed by the Bishops in the case of important Persons,
29995 but by other Priests in the case of Minors. The examples are not rare, that the Bride and Groom were only 26 years old together, just like the premature marriage is very much in vogue among all Eastern peoples. In it there is a great multitude of ceremonies, which are partly modest, partly ridiculous. It takes place mostly under the open sky. There some holy images, especially the image of the Virgin Mary, are
30000 exhibited; two lighted wax candles are placed on a chair or table, and two crowns and two rings are laid by them. Bridegroom and bride must have invited fathers (*) to this ceremony, at the beginning of which the bystanders place their marriage gifts in dishes or baskets. After several incenses and prayers, the rings of the bridegroom and bride are lit and taken off several times, as well as the crowns are put on and
30005 taken off again. After that they, further, take each other by the hand, and in front of the said table or chair, have turned several times around the Fathers; while the Priest, rather inattentively, reads the Form, they drink, at last, a little wine from a glass offered them, which the Priest then drinks down completely, and then breaks into pieces. – The forbidden degrees in the Mosaic law are strictly observed, and
30010 there are many other ecclesiastical regulations. Blood relations may not marry together until after a certain degree; and those who have been godfathers by a baptized person are forbidden to themselves and their descendants, up to certain degrees, all marriage alliances. But such parties, who do not wish to submit to these laws, or where one wishes to marry more than twice, apply to the Turkish courts,
30015 seeking permission from them to live together as spouses. This is called Kapin, and is obtained for a small sum; but the church usually excommunicates such people. Divorces are not rare, and the Patriarch, for want of money, can easily be persuaded to grant permission.

The dead are not kept long in the house. He who dies in the evening is buried early
30020 the next day; but he who dies in the morning is buried after noon. The dead, of whatever opinion he may be, are dressed in his best clothes, and, because the Levantines do not use a coffin, he is laid on a stretcher with no side rails, and on it open is carried to his resting-place; wherefore the youth, who, according to Luke VII 12-15, was carried to the grave in this manner, could not, at the emphatic word
30025 of Christ, arise, stand up without hindrance. More or less priests, according to the circumstances of the persons, go before the corpse, bring it, with singing and much incense, into the church or cemetery, and then masses are said for the deceased, but not in such number as among the Roman Catholics. An unfortunate premonition is derived from it, when a corpse, after the lapse of a year, has not yet decayed,
30030 except in the case of one who was canonized as a saint, when then the non-decay is considered a special grace of God: otherwise it is believed that this body was animated by an evil spirit; and the soul that previously occupied it as its abode is considered lost. At the burials there is a horrible wailing of the blood relatives, even of very strange persons; people even pull out their hair, and walk with their
30035 heads against the walls. This real or feigned commotion takes place both with the dead, whom one once loved, and with such, from whom one wishes to be freed, and in order to remove this already in former times, Paul wrote to the Thessalonians: (1 Thessal. IV 13.) We will not withhold from you because of them that sleep; that ye sorrow not, as others which have no hope. (*) The Greeks make some great work of painted images. The poorest man has many or few of them in his house, the richer more
30040 and more beautiful. They are accustomed to hang them by the bedsteads, as well as inside at the headboards. Every evening before Sundays and feast days, or on other occasions, lamps and candles are lighted, hanging before them, as well as incense offered. They are attributed a magical power for the preservation of all kinds of
30045 ailments, as well as for the healing of diseases; and here and there many images are even held in special esteem, and are borrowed for the aforementioned purposes. Before someone lives in a house, it is consecrated by certain prayers and other ceremonies. But it does not stop there, but on Epiphany or Three Kings' Day such a

30050 consecration is repeated, and often extends to certain waters, fields, etc. They attribute a magical power to many parts of the Holy Scripture, forms of prayers and customs, and on that account they are used for the healing of common and extraordinary diseases, as well as for the conjuring of Elements and Spirits.

30055 A church custom, which fills the Greeks with fear and terror, is the Excommunication or ecclesiastical ban. This is done after a solemn mass. A certain number of candles are lighted beforehand, and these are extinguished according to the forms of ban pronounced in their anathemas. The Bishop alone, or in his absence another ordained ecclesiastical person, can perform the excommunication; and he who is afflicted by it, sees one of each released. But it does not only concern persons who can be named; but is also pronounced over unnamed persons who have committed this or that, for

30060 example, stolen, and on whom it would attach, if no restitution or compensation was made. A multitude of true or fictitious examples of God's judgments, which are said to have come upon the Excommunicated, and are everywhere related and believed, the horrible curses in the Form also included among them, keep this Church usage in its power, notwithstanding that it is often, and even on minor occasions, abused, and one must therefore think that its impression and authority would be greatly diminished.

30065 The Patriarchal See at Constantinople has reserved for itself the Canonization or Canonization. But, in order to make someone, because of his holy Life and alleged Miracles, a sharer in such an Honor, not only the examination of the Patriarch and the Bishops at a Synod is required, but also thousands of witnesses, besides many other circumstances, are required. Since it now entails much expense, not to speak of

30070 any other circumstances and objections; so this ceremony now almost entirely falls away.

30075 (*) These Fathers on the wedding-day are, with the Greeks, not that, but in a stronger sense, what with us the playmates are.
 (*) Christians and Infidels in the Levant are accustomed, at certain times, to visit the graves of their ancestors; the former usually on one of the Easter days.

30080 §. XVI. Of the Holy Places, and the Worship of the Greeks. That the church buildings of the Greeks are of a diverse construction, has been remarked before. It depends mostly on the Provinces in which they are situated, and in which there is a greater or lesser freedom, as well as whether there are many, few, or no Turks at all living there. The old churches, which they have had since the times before the Turkish conquest, are unusually different from the later ones. These

30085 are, often, so badly built, that here and there they resemble common huts. In other places, for instance on the islands of the Archipelago, where one finds a great number of such common churches, they serve as housing for foreigners, and other common uses. Otherwise the arrangement in all large churches is about the same, namely in the form of a Greek, that is, on the four sides equally long cross. Its

30090 layout is from the East to the West; and to the first point of the sky the altar is also always situated. This stands, according to an imagined necessity, under a vault, and is separated from the rest of the space of the church, which is usually lower, by a fence, through which a Holy of Holies is created. This partition is, on the side towards the church, painted with a great multitude of images, which form the object

30095 of their worship, and in it, besides two doors on the sides, in the middle, is a double door of reasonable size, through which the congregation can look at the altar, and which, therefore, is called the Holy Gate. No unconsecrated person may pass through this middle or so-called Holy Gate. The altar has no backrest, on which ornaments or images stood. On it stand one or more Crucifixes and Candlesticks, and

30100 so it has only the form of a raised table. Behind it, at a little distance, is a circle in the wall, and in it a special seat, like a Throne on which the Patriarch or Bishop, on high Feasts, sits down with the crown on his head, and pronounces the blessing over the altar, through the above-mentioned gate, over the assembly. On both sides of the altar, opposite the side doors, stand two tables. On the table on the

30105 left hand side one places the Communion bread, and the cup with wine and water; on the table on the right side books, the Holy vessels and priestly garments are placed. In the church itself, not far from the partition, on the left hand, one finds the usual and somewhat elevated seat of the Patriarch or Bishop, and somewhat lower the seats of the other ecclesiastical persons according to their rank. Opposite the seat

30110 of the Bishop is the Pulpit, and next to it are, often, the seats for the foreign Bishops. Furthermore, there are also other seats for ecclesiastical persons opposite the aforementioned, so that they form a double Choir, and can answer each other in the chants. The seats of the women are, as a rule, within partitioned galleries, and provided with lattices, so that they cannot be seen, although outside that they are

30115 covered with a veil. By a great multitude of candlesticks and lamps the churches are

not only decorated, but also, because they are generally quite dark, lighted. In front of the partition in the church stand candlesticks of various metals, which are partly of a man's height, partly lower, and partly also higher; and according to the height and thickness are also the wax candles sticking on them. The lamps are, according to the wealth of the church, often of silver, hanging on small chains in a certain order in the churches, which decorates them very much on the inside. When entering and leaving the church the Greeks always make the sign of the cross, in the manner and manner mentioned above.

There is no lack of monasteries; but the cruelty of the Turks seems to have greatly reduced them in Asia. In European Turkey, and on the islands of the Archipelago, there are still quite a few. The church stands in the middle of the Square, and around it are the Monks' Cells. The most famous monasteries are on the Princes' Islands, not far from Constantinople; also on Mount Athos, where the large and small ones extend to twenty; then also on the island of Pathmos by the Cave, where, according to tradition, John set up the Revelation; and chiefly on Mount Sinai. From the principal monasteries one or more monks are usually sent out everywhere to collect support money for the monastery, in order to be able to make good the expenses, especially the exactions of the Turks. — Most monasteries are under the Patriarch at Constantinople, who has the priests warded there, and appoints the guardians of the monastery; but some, like those on Mount Athos, do not depend on him. Most of them also have to pay an annual tribute, not to mention other extortioners.

There is no lack of places where the Greeks go to make pilgrimages. The principal pilgrimage is to Jerusalem to the Holy Sepulchre. As this, with the church built over it, had been since the Crusades fairly in the power of the Romanists, who abused it with contempt for the Easterners; so the later Turkish Emperors have greatly reduced it, and assigned the principal share to the Greeks, as their subjects. The pilgrimage there takes place in Lent, to celebrate Holy Week and the Easter festival in Jerusalem. They are especially drawn thither by the Holy fire, which, in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, is said to descend from Heaven on the Saturday before Easter, to which the Greek Patriarch, and afterwards the Patriarchs or principal Bishops of the other Eastern Christians light wax candles, and to them the people theirs. (*) But, because this is not seen to come through the church, and from above into the Cave of the Holy Sepulchre; no one is admitted therewith, except the Patriarchs; thus the deception is evident, which, in familiar conversation, is not denied, but is partly excused by the custom, partly by the prevention of difficulties about Religion among the common people, and by the oppressors of the Turks, who, if such a deceitful Miracle were stopped, would have to forfeit much money. But the Roman Clergy in Jerusalem has no part in it. Otherwise there are still many Pilgrimages. Here and there are even holy Caves; and places, where before there were Churches, Chapels and Monasteries, as well as tombs of Martyrs and supposed Saints, also cause the holy journeys.

The worship is done in the ancient Greek Language. It is incomprehensible, how so many Denominations, because of an excessive adherence to custom and antiquity, observe the worship in dead languages. The Greeks would fear to desecrate it, if they had to perform it in modern Greek. There are few Scholars among them, who understood ancient Greek so well, that they could understand the Religion in it. At the most, in the Sermons, for better comprehension, some modern Greek is spoken. Now let one judge how little use the common man can derive from it. The prejudice of an old custom is also the reason that the worship is held more by night than by day, and, except on the longest days, is usually not ended until the break of day. Now and then, as on Good Friday, Saturday before Easter, and on the first day of Easter, it lasts day and night, so that almost everyone, especially the priests, faint from fatigue. It consists of a fabric of Psalms, short and long prayers, moral lessons, which began with the priests, but are continued and ended by the people; of hymns, which are sung very uniformly, and of the reading of Epistles, Gospels, as well as other parts of the Holy Scripture, and the Legend of the Saints. All this is done according to four distinct Liturgies, namely, that which is wrongly attributed to the Apostle James, and those which bear the name of Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory the Great, and are divided according to the week, Sundays, and feast days. Sermons are seldom delivered, and those which otherwise last long and are obscure, are most esteemed. During and during the Mass, incense is also very strongly burned. For the rest, there is no peculiar edifying attention to their worship, neither by the Priests nor by the Laity; attention is almost entirely lacking, because most of them, besides the unknown language, understand only a few words even when reading quickly. Of them nothing is noticed, except that they make upon themselves the sign of the cross, in

the manner described beforehand, whereby, at large assemblies, a great noise is caused. – Sunday has the special freedom, that Christians may not be disturbed by the Turks on account of taxes and lawsuits, on it. – Church books are not kept at all; and therefore no one can obtain testimonies of baptisms, marriages, and deaths.

(*) By the pretended holy fire in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, as formerly in the Tabernacle, and the Temple of Solomon, God's presence at the Holy Sepulchre would be made visible.

§. XVII. Character and domestic disposition of the Greeks, with other things pertaining thereto.

One must allow the Greek nation, in general, a natural understanding. In children, the capacities of the soul and the dexterity of the body develop much earlier than in us. They also learn to speak earlier, learning usually two, or even three or more languages, without much trouble, at once; but the purity in this respect tends to falter greatly, because art and culture are neglected. With the years all these capacities increase noticeably, and come to a sharpness of understanding, which other peoples, through great diligence and trouble, cannot obtain. But in the communication of the power to judge, nature has not been so favorable to them. They run over everything easily, and things that require a continuous, long and active reflection are none of their business. Yet a good judgment is not thereby denied to a few persons, here and there. History seems to confirm this even in ancient times. The most famous Greek philosophers, with the exception of Plato and Aristotle, have made themselves famous more by mere ingenious sayings, than by a really coherent system, and in every way the understanding shines through in their philosophical thoughts. The modern Greeks (and probably the ancients were also) are fiery in their proposals and undertakings, lively in their intercourse, jocular and full of sense in their expressions. Their passion leads them, as in a moment, to innumerable different objects. In disputing they are indeed fierce, but they also fade away just as quickly. They find much taste in little stories and romantic tales. Their disposition and manner of conduct betray a great instability. The most important things are only passed over by them in passing; their sorrow does not last long; and, as difficult as the Turkish yoke is at other times, they nevertheless bear it so easily, when the outward exercise of religion and the amusements on the feast days are only permitted to them. – Deceit is a crime, peculiar to the wit, and the Greeks are not lacking in it. To fish something out, and to find out, they succeed more easily than others. The ancients have all considered them mendacious, and, when they spoke of Greek loyalty and faith, they always understood by that, deceit and falsehood. The modern Greeks give their ancestors nothing in this respect. They lie, without thinking it themselves, and support their lies, without gravity, by swearing by God, their Soul, their Life, their and other people's eyes, and by their and other people's children. – The imagination and pride concerning the excellence of their Religion and their nation above others, is peculiarly theirs. And the Europeans have therefore the proverb, that in the Levant and among the Greeks no one could live, unless they were kept in check by the Turks. But, however much this is done, their haughtiness and splendor in clothing cannot be restrained. – As proud as a Greek is, so dismayed is he, as soon as he sees a Turk. The flatteries which they show to the latter, the cringing patience with which they endure their insults and severe treatment, and the baseness in the title of them, (*) make one feel an uncommon aversion; and yet there is no lack of a very far-reaching boasting behind the back. This one sees, in an apparent way, in the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia. When they attain to that Dignity, and possess it; then their puffed-up and conceitedness, their wanton pride, their spiteful, nay cruel and inhuman conduct exceeds all that one can think of: but in their misfortune, when they are deposed, one can think of nothing baser, more dejected, more cringing and cowardly than them. Self-interest, greed and avarice are with them as home. For money the Europeans use the Greeks, as they please, and therefore they also tolerate everything. This is the main source, why they spoil themselves with the Turks themselves in the ground, and let what is theirs be taken away. And it is sad to see how their accusations before the Turkish courts arise from this, and how religion, honor, life and property are destroyed there.

One cannot well imagine, what deep roots credulity and superstition have taken among them. However insignificant a priest may have become among them, who has quarrelled with them, drunk himself, or behaved basely in any other way; they still ask his blessing, and kiss his hand, or lay it on their head. (*) The most wicked men, generally, make the most considerable Legacies in their Testaments, in order to atone for sins by such a liberality, and to obtain the intercession of Priests, Monks, and the Poor. In the Provinces, where they are fairly free, as on the countries of the

Archipelago, the rich, at their death, fix a certain sum of money, to build a chapel;
 30250 and this is the reason, why one finds such a great number of chapels. — Many springs
 and waters, both in forests and caves and mountains, which are naturally mineral,
 have been made miraculous, and thus become holy. The Greeks call them hallowed or
 atonement waters. (αγιασματα.) By them, as well as on those images, which are
 30255 supposed to have a healing power, they hang up cloths, as a sign, that they hope for
 healing. Not only other Eastern Christians do it this way, but also the Jews and
 Turks. Of miracles, which are supposed to have happened here and there, one hears
 daily. Apparitions have occurred there; Crucifixes fall from Heaven, which disappear
 again; there are changes seen in the images; the deceased show themselves at night,
 30260 etc. When the writer once went into the Greek church in the Dardanelles, because it
 was somewhat dark there, he saw, by the screen before the altar, a heap in which
 something was moving; coming closer, it was a sick woman on a bed, who, for some
 time, had had herself carried into the church, because she pretended that she was
 greatly refreshed by the sight of a painted image of Mary. (*) Had not the miserable
 30265 nature of this sufferer proved the truth of her illness; what should not a natural
 suspicion have thought about such a thing? Meanwhile the priests approved of such
 superstition, and that at a place so considerable, and not far from Constantinople.
 During his second stay there he visited the Patriarch Karatscha, who had been
 recalled from his exile on the island of Lemnos, and whom he had come to know in his
 30270 dignity during his first stay. At the same time he had many archbishops and bishops,
 as well as important worldly persons, visiting him with congratulatory messages. Can
 one imagine that this patriarch had the audacity to boast before this assembly of the
 appearance of the Virgin Mary in a dream, (*) announcing that he would be recalled
 from his exile, and that he found approval from all? But even prominent worldly
 30275 persons are not free from this superstition. About the year 1763 the Dutch Consul of
 Negroponte, a Greek by religion, had a trial for many previously committed
 subterfuges. Could one believe that this man, on all occasions, turned to his images,
 and asked them for advice, what he proposed, and how he should answer? When those who
 hold Dignities and Offices think and act in this way; what should one expect from the
 30280 Common People? They adhere very much to vanity, and those vices, which the Apostles,
 especially Paul in the letters to Timothy and Titus, charged their ancestors with,
 and punished them for, have been propagated to their descendants. For the rest they
 help themselves very commonly in eating and drinking, if they can only dress
 themselves excellently. (*)
 30285 The language of the Greeks is modern Greek. According to the assurance that was given
 to the writer in Constantinople and Smyrna, one would have difficulty in finding a
 dozen people in the Turkish Empire who understood ancient Greek at the bottom and
 could speak it unadulterated. Modern Greek does not deviate much from this, and the
 30290 difference is no greater than between Latin and Italian. The artificial words and the
 principal expressions are ancient Greek; nothing but the inflection of them, and
 especially the declensions and conjugations are modern. The purer it is spoken, the
 closer it comes to ancient Greek. This takes place chiefly round Athens, and on Mount
 Athos, as well as in all those places, where there are few or no Turks at all,
 30295 consequently the mixing with other languages has not taken hold. In pronunciation
 they are themselves, with the more or less tenderness of some Provinces excepted,
 fairly similar. Generally they are for the Itacismus. The β sounds, in their
 pronunciation, like bh, nay almost like our V; theirs βαλεριάνος Valerianus of the
 Romans; the γ not, as in many Provinces of Germany, like j, but like the true g; the
 30300 δ almost like ds; the θ almost like ths; the η entirely like i; the ζ like a soft s;
 the σ like a sharp s; the αι as ae; the ει and οι as i, the ου as av; the ευ as ev;
 and finally the ου as u. If they wish to express our proper b; then they use for it,
 as μπ, as μπορο (borò) I can; μπάλα (bála) a bullet. Of the Erasmian pronunciation,
 therefore, the Greeks know nothing, and it would sound barbarous in their ears, since
 30305 Greek, according to their pronunciation, is very pleasant to hear. One may think of
 them, that they have the true pronunciation; for, since, notwithstanding their
 subjection to the Turks, they have constantly observed their worship in the ancient
 Greek language, and for the recitation of its parts the Deacons, Monks and priests
 are regularly taught; they are also uncorrupted in many places of the Turks, and
 their religious customs, in many monasteries, have remained unimpaired in the daily
 30310 worship; so one cannot well dispute the true tradition of the sayings, except for
 trifles. — In their chronology they follow the old style.
 Their opinion about various Denominations is not too scriptural. They keep a
 reasonable amount of each other, often calling themselves brothers and sisters.
 Because of the agreement of faith with the Russians they bear them a natural
 affection, often admitting that, to know the Turks, by which they, here and there,

bring upon themselves great inconveniences. They generally regard them as those who will, at some time, deliver them from the Turkish yoke. The Turks know this, and according to their superstition they also imagine that this will happen; yes, from this cause prophecies have arisen which wish to foretell this, without nevertheless determining in advance times, persons, and other circumstances necessary for the fulfilment, which so clearly distinguish the prophecies of the Bible from the lying ones. The Porte, meanwhile, seeks to prevent all communication between the Greeks and the Russians, and the Russian ambassador at Constantinople is not even allowed to enter a Greek church, because otherwise he would expose the Greek nation, and especially its principal ones, especially the Patriarchs, to misfortune and calamity.

30325 - Towards the Protestants the Greeks are most friendly disposed, because they allow them in their countries the freedom of religion, the Protestant ambassadors and consuls also render them many services with the Turks, and do not seek to make them apostate from their religion; but would not a union of religion between the two be so easy to expect, considering that, putting aside the Pope and religious coercion, the same causes almost separate us, which separate us from the Romans. From the latter they have not received what they received from the Protestants; rather they must ascribe to them many persecutions, and therefore they bear them a natural hatred. To the Armenians they have not such hatred, as to the Romans; but nevertheless they have less love for them than for the Protestants, because they have been excluded by a general church council, and that ban has never been withdrawn. They have the most extreme aversion to the Turks, calling them nothing else than dogs. This has become such a habit for them that they are surprised when someone asks them the reason for it, and shows the impermissibility of such a course of action from scripture. Otherwise they have not yet ceased to be hospitable.

30340 To what offices the male race among the Greeks can come, has been indicated in § X.. But the Turks also employ them very much for domestic affairs. They conduct their trade, mostly, in the interior of the Empire; but many also go to the European countries, and conduct it there. The common people are much supplied with agriculture and gardening, or are in the service of Christians and non-Christians. The dress of these common people differs from that of the First Names, while the former use short garments, over which, if they possess any means, they wear on feast days a long fur coat hanging down to the ground; but the latter wear long garments, although the trousers are in all cases very wide, and reach to the feet. (*) The Priests wear moustaches, and also let the hair grow on the chin; but worldly Persons have only the first. (*) In companies they give coffee and tobacco. Of the first, only one cup is always given without milk, and often without sugar. The Tobacco is offered in long pipes, which are of various kinds. The commonest come from Moldavia and Wallachia, and are called Jermessee. The best are those which are made in the Levant itself from Jasmine and Cherry trees, and a black kind, which bears the name of Mussa. Of these a piece may cost 6, 12, and more Piastres. Such a Tobacco pipe is 2 or 3 ells long, and it is considered pleasant to smoke from it, because the smoke comes cold to the mouth. - They carry, like the other Levantines, in companies, especially a kind of rosary with them, which the Rich have of amber, which they serve to play with, because they count the beads with their fingers, and let them pass through their hand. During the visits, not only the Greeks, but also all Levantines, of both sexes, take off their shoes or slippers at the door, or at least when coming to the Sopha. The Firstnames also sometimes have a pair carried by their Servants, Maid or Slave, in order to exchange the good with the bad or the latter with none.

30365 The Women have, just as with us, the domestic duties; but for the rest they abstain from all such, in which they should have uncovered the face. They are thus, in their work, and in their trade and conversation, for all not visible, certain places, where greater freedom reigns, excepted. They spin the yarn, the wool and silk on the spindle, weave the lyves themselves; they sew, stitch and embroider. The latter is especially the work of great women. If all the modes of dress in different countries, in certain respects, differ; yet no real change of fashion takes place. In their house, the court and garden they wear slippers or shoes, (Sandalia) but immediately over the stockings socks of fine leather (μερίλα) with which they slip their slippers or shoes; and when riding out, or when they want to go far, they wear yellow boots. The shoes are, often, artfully made, inlaid with mother of pearl, and the straps stitched over it. The wooden sole, a finger thick, has two cross-pieces underneath, to make it the height of a hand broad. This is, probably, the cothurnus of the ancients. The Greeks all wear, according to the uniform custom of the East, trousers, which hang down to the shoes. Over this hangs the very wide shirt, which, therefore, for adults is made in one way and in the same size, being very fine, or made of tree wool and flax or silk. The sleeves on it are wide, hang almost over the whole hand,

and cover the place of the lobes of the hand. In front of the neck it is made with a button of small or great value, or only with a pin. Over this goes a dress, which fits the body just, only that it is somewhat wider at the bottom, one side folded over the other, and at the chest somewhat cut out, so that it is reasonably
30385 transparent through the fine shirt. The outer garment, Feredsche, consists, when it is winter, of a fur skirt; in summer time of a light material, which is completely open at the front. The undergarment, such as the men, and both ideas among the Armenians, Jews and Turks wear, is fastened around the body by the girdle. This is often, and especially with the women, very beautiful and expensive, so that such a
30390 one can cost a thousand or more Dutch ducats. The necklaces and bracelets usually consist of gold chains. The cloth around the head of the women is made of many kinds and colours, as well as gold and silver threads, and is called Tschember. Their hair is braided in a multitude of small locks, which are twisted together three or five times, and tied in rows around the Tschember. With others these locks hang around
30395 them, and down on the shoulders. One sees easily how naturally they wear it, and how beautifully it must suit the body. When the women go out; then they are obliged to wear a white cloth over their head, to cover their face. (*) It consists of muslin, and is covered with gold threads, a few fingers wide, by the Nobles. It is called Mahraman. In Constantinople, and in many other places, they must, like the Turks, cover themselves almost entirely with this veil; but in places where more freedom
30400 prevails, they only let it hang down over their shoulders. The fan of the Greek women is by the Nobles fairly large, made of peacock feathers, and provided with an ivory handle. In the side towards the inside, at the top of it, is a small mirror. When they are in the house, or under a tree; then they let maids or slaves guard them with
30405 it. For the rest, the domestic condition comes very close to the Turkish. The children are restrained, and kept under a fairly sharp discipline, and the women by their husbands strictly. The love of the children to their parents, and that of the latter to none, is generally great. The maids are not allowed to speak alone with the sons of men. If any one from outside enters the room, the daughters go away, and do
30410 not come in again, unless they are called by their parents. They sew, spin, sew, and do their other work by and before the lattice of the windows, that they may watch the passers-by without being seen. Many Greek women, notwithstanding that they are otherwise fairly well-made, and have a lively colour, paint themselves, laying on all
30415 sorts of places of their faces little muffs of various sizes. They also often paint their eyebrows black; but this is more proper to the Jew women. To express love and joy, or a feast, they have their heads covered with many flowers. – The Minnemoeders are still used, under the name παραμάννα, paramana, (as a second mother) by the principal Greeks. They are, often, incorporated into the families as familiars, and remain, during their lives, in the house.
30420 Of furniture or household goods they know little, who have had no intercourse with the Europeans, and have adopted customs from them. In most of the halls and rooms there is a stool or footstool, which occupies a third or half of it, covered with a Mat or a Carpet. (*) Around the wall at this height is the Sopha, the coverings of which are of very great value according to the condition of the families. Yes, in the
30425 various kinds of cushions each one seeks to show his taste and wealth. In front of the Sopha, cushion, stands a small box of more or less size, and according to the condition of the owner, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and other ornaments. In it the man has his paper, writing equipment, book, etc. and the woman her embroidery, silk, etc. lay. Tables and chairs are in the fewest houses. One sits on the knees crossed
30430 one over the other. The food is placed in small dishes on large copper plates in the middle. Bedsteads are also not in use. There are no feather beds, but they use such mattresses as are filled with wool; and the upper beds are filled with tree wool, and quilted. These are spread out at night on the said height of the footstool, rolled up
30435 into the room at night; then all those present, and the inferiors the superiors, wish themselves a good evening. This is observed as sacredly as by the ancient Greeks. – The secret comforts consist among the Levantines of a triangular hole, which is nevertheless not too large, so that no one falls into it; and the opening is covered with a somewhat raised piece of wood. (*) Not only when discharging, but also when
30440 making one's water, one crouches down on it. One always has clean water at hand to wash oneself. This the Turks never fail to do, because religion obliges them to such a purification. – The Greeks do not lack amusements of various kinds; and where is a place, where the people were not very fertile, to invent them? Most of their games are of such a nature, that bodily exercises are combined with them. They are
30445 uncommonly fond of dancing. This they do a great deal on the feast days; but then it consists, in fact, only in a row, or a kind of marches, processions, and leaps. Among

their games belongs the jumble of money, whether heads or tails fall. They like to play even or odd with axes, nuts, beans, or pieces of money. The game of cards, so corruptible in Europe, is only played by those who have learned it from the Europeans. Their alternate singing, as in choirs, is still very much in use among them. All sorts of merry tunes and love songs are in fashion among them, and are to be found in great abundance, although they have neither Sappho nor Anacreon among them. To avoid the former, the Lyre is still a necessary, at least agreeable instrument among them. European music very seldom pleases the Oriental. The instruments and chants are, with a few exceptions, Turkish; but the words and meaning of them are Greek. The Jews and Armenians have, here, with the Turks even more, nay, almost everything in common. – The walks of the Greek women are taken with their children, the maids and slaves, if they may have such. This journey is done both with splendor, and for the sake of propriety, in distinction from the whores. – At weddings, not only do the guests themselves enjoy themselves with games, dances and merrymaking; but hired jumpers and dancers must also try to entertain them with the music. With the corpses, it is no strange thing to hear the mourners' conversations with the dead, as if he were still alive.

(*) Regarding the Titles, the First Names are very inflated. The Men want to be called Princes (αρχοντες) and the Women Princesses (αρχοντισσας). The Spouse of the Interpreter of the Porte lets herself be called the illustrious Lady. (*) The Greek lords and ladies give their hands to children, servants and slaves, and the Firstnames also their coat, first to kiss, and when this is done, as a sign of still greater reverence, to press it to the forehead. Those in love or tender-hearted people are accustomed to kiss their eyes, and therefore one often hears them say: I want to kiss your eyes. (να φιλησω τα ματια σου.)

(*) In the East the custom is still, as it was in the time of Christ, that a sick person is carried on a bed (κραββατιον, Mark II 3. etc.), to beg, or to be seated before the Churches. And on the Princes' Islands, so near Constantinople, there is a monastery, where they often bring sick people, who lie and sleep in the church, to be restored, as they think, by the action of an image.

(*) The Greeks place much reliance on dreams, and some apply themselves to their interpretation, which is certainly, like all divinations, uncertain and deceptive.

(*) At a marriage the greatest part of the expenditure consists in jewels and clothes, which are put on display. What was reproved in 1 Timothy II 9. and 1 Peter III 3. is still in use. With regard to the braiding of the hair the opinion still prevails: the more, the more beautiful!

(*) The r is often and usually pronounced as a d by modern Greeks after v: for example, παντα ταλαντα, panda talanda, and νομνιτζα domnitza. The pronunciation of Greek has naturally, as with all languages, even those that have remained free from the influence of foreign nations, undergone some change over time; but from this one would very wrongly conclude that the Greeks did not have them more authentically than the foreigners. This would not be a valid objection either, if one were to say that the present Italian pronunciation of Latin was not the old Roman one, notwithstanding that the worship in Italy was held in the Latin language. The case is different with the Greeks. All their churches in Asia and Europe have only one pronunciation during worship, without organ and music. The sayings are clearly recited, and then sung. The Greeks are unusually fond of this. The yoke of the Romans, Persians and Turks has never been able to move them to renounce their language.

(*) The long outer garment, especially the rough and hairy one among the common man, (Kapot") or the Fur among the First Names, still serves at night as a covering, both at home and especially when travelling. (Exod. XXII 26, 27.) The long petticoat fitting to the body is fastened by a girdle. Such a one is often worn more for show than out of necessity. Its use is, according to scripture, very old. It serves to tie the money-bag to it, or to put the money in it. (Matth. X 9.) Our leather money-bags may perhaps have been stripped of them. Nowadays most people put their money-bag, as well as their watch, in a pocket, which is found in the lining of the body-fitting garment near the heart.

(*) Among the Turks it is still by Persons, who nearly equal each other in condition, and request something of each other, the touching and kissing of the beard in use. (2 Sam. XX 9.) The Inferiors among all the Levantines embrace the knees of the First Names. This is the falling down and adoration (προσκυβειν) in the Bible.

(*) The veil of women is an ancient custom, and chiefly depicting modesty. – Gen. XX 16. XXIV 65. But they know how to hang it so, that it increases beauty.

(*) Before this height in the room the house servants among Christians and Turks keep themselves; by which we can explain the Latin expression, ad pedes stare, (to stand before the feet). By the First Names they must administer the coffee, sweets, etc. on their knees.

(*) All Orientals are, by, the natural discharge of the body, very shameful. They wrap their long clothes around the body, and so crouch down. By this one understands, what it means, to cover one's feet, I Sam. XXIV 4.

FOURTH PART, Of the Armenians.

§. XVIII. Of the Armenian Church and its constitution.

The Armenian Church has its name from the people, the inhabitants of Armenia, and the

Armenian language, which they employ in their worship; and this name is all the more due to them, as the natives of Armenia, or their descendants only, on the other hand, no people of other nations belong to this Church. Church history shows that it is a Branch of the Monophysite religious party, whose adherents, for a certain reason, are called Jacobites and Copts. The rejection of the Chalcedonian council has separated it from the Eastern and Western Church. This separation could have been effected and maintained all the more easily, if the Armenians had nothing to do with the Patriarch at Constantinople. They agree with the Monophysites in the main points; but they have their particular customs, and would not accept their Church teachers from them. As none regard the great Patriarch of Alexandria, but his seat is actually at Cairo, as the supreme head in matters of religion; they regard the Patriarch of Edzmiazin as such. The Armenian people, in the change of their country, because it was now a kingdom of its own, now under Persia, now under Turkey, have had peculiar fortunes. The greater part of them have left it voluntarily, or have been carried away by the conqueror. The Persian Kings have sought chiefly to depopulate it, in order to make a desert there, which kept the Turks from warlike attacks on Persia. In such a state of affairs an incredible multitude of people has been carried away, and the suburb of Julsa before Isfahan alone has become populated with about a hundred thousand people. There is no principal city in Persia, as well as in Turkey, especially Asia, in which there were not considerable populations of Armenians; not to mention the great multitudes residing in Poland and Russia, as well as smaller groups in Italy, France, England and Holland. Of the Greeks and Romanists they are, everywhere, looked upon with squints, and called schismatics; but they themselves, with all humility, have a good confidence in their cause.

Although they have several Patriarchs; some are, however, only in name, as that of Constantinople; others in fact; but nevertheless they all give precedence to the one at Edschmiazin, which otherwise had its seat at Schaste in Armenia proper. This Edschmiazin, which is called by the Turks Uetsch-Klissie, in Dutch Driekerken, is a monastery, not far from the mountains of Ararat, in the city of Erivan, lying on the borders of Turkey and Persia. It has the Turkish name after actually three churches, but of which the largest is actually only used; but the Armenian name because of the descent of God's only begotten Son, because, as is alleged, Jesus Christ had visibly appeared to St. Gregory, who was the first Patriarch there. In this monastery, the main seat of the Armenian religion, the Patriarch resides. This is the nursery of the principal Church teachers and Bishops. There are, here, also of them, always, a good number, besides many Monks, who provide the general welfare of the Armenian Religion, besides the Worship and the education in the monastery. The Patriarch is chosen from one of the Bishops; but he lives without outward splendor and pomp; and the Dignity alone distinguishes him from the other Churchmen. He has indeed a large income, but must also spend an unusually large amount, to maintain his Character and the Religion among the Mahometans. The Bishops are all unmarried. The greater part is sent from Edschmiazin, where they are also ordained. They are from there every 3 years exchanged in their Bishoprics, or confirmed anew. This confirmation, both of the Bishops and of the Patriarchs, is held in very high esteem by the Mahometans. Wherefore Simony is not unknown to the higher and lower Clergy. In their calling they are more zealous and diligent than the Greek and Roman Bishops. They preach themselves, but sitting down, and visit the Churches belonging to their Parish very accurately. The Vartabets (*) are a kind of Monks; who come fairly near the Bishops, in the absence of these preaching, and as their Vicars, and often at the same time are Bishops. They form at the same time a kind of Teachers in Theology, who have a certain oversight over the Church. The number of monks among the Armenians is not so great, because they are not kept to go idle, but in the hope of making them teachers of the church at some time. They all follow the rule of Basil. They must read the book of Psalms through, at least on the day of their initiation; at other times it depends on their zeal and devotion. With regard to this last, the Book of Psalms is divided into 8 large divisions, and each of these is again divided into 8 smaller ones, at the end of which: Glory to God the Father, etc. must be said. Their ecclesiastical duties consist only in reading Masses; for other pastoral duties are forbidden to them. They must often endure a long period of probation, and are not easily dressed for manly old age. In this dressing, very strict exercises of solitude, of fasting and prayer are prescribed. Their hair is then cut into the shape of a cross, and, when it has grown again, into the form of a crown, which they endeavor to maintain. This last is customary among all Armenians, in remembrance of Christ's crown of thorns. The Eastern males, in general, do not have long hair hanging down over their shoulders, like the Western ones. The priests, who bear the name of Derder, must necessarily marry once, and besides the religious service, also

attend the elementary schools. By a second marriage they would lose their priesthood. Outside of the services in the church, the Armenian clergy are not distinguished from secular persons in their clothing, except by the dark colours. At the religious service they wear cloth choir-gowns, and the Vartabets a kind of high, pointed, but hanging over the back black Capuchin hood; the latter are also accustomed to wear such hoods in the street. One must give the Armenian clergy the praise that they have a precedence in modesty and restraint above any other denomination. Besides the usual revenues of baptisms, marriages, and burials, she has a special one, to sell from the Holy Olive, which the Patriarchs refuse, and to the Bishops, but these again to the Priests, and which to the people sell very dearly, and to which great powers are attributed; not to say, that they do not forget themselves, in the imposed penances and excommunications. Otherwise the Patriarch of Edschmiazin alone had to refuse the great revenues from the Holy Olive; but about the year 1670 the Patriarch of Jerusalem also took upon himself this, and the very costly dispute about it has been decided by the Porte, just like all such disputes, from which the Turks draw much money, so that both parties can do what they please.

(*) The Armenian Honorific, Vartabet, signifies an ecclesiastical Dignity, as for instance Prelate in the West, and is given to Bishops, Archbishops and Patriarchs. Of the so-called degrees in Theology and other sciences they know nothing.

(*) A letter from Smyrna, of the year 1777, reports that the printing of the Armenian Bible had not yet been accomplished, and in the Armenian translation the Septuagint, that is, the Greek translation of the so-called seventy translators, was followed.

§. XIX. The Creeds of the Armenians, and their Distinction from other Christians. The Creed, which Schroeder has had printed in his work, Thesaurus linguae Armenicae, is so accepted by the Armenians, that they refer all those who wish to have knowledge of their faith to it. It reads thus: "We confess and believe with all our hearts in God the Father, who was not made, nor begotten, nor had a beginning; who begets the Son, and from whom proceeds the Holy Spirit. We also believe in God the Word, who was not made, but from eternity begotten and generated by the Father, neither later nor less; for as the Father is Father; so also is the Son, Son. We believe in the Holy Spirit, who was not made, but eternal, not begotten, but proceeds from the Father, of one Being with him, and of one and the same glory with the Son. We believe in the Holy Trinity, one Nature, one Godhead. There are not three Gods, but one God, one Will, one Kingdom, one Dominion, the Creator of visible and invisible things. We believe one Holy Church, the forgiveness of sins, the communion of saints. We believe that one of the three Persons, God the Word, who was born of the Father from eternity, in time, descended into the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, took her blood, and united it with his Godhead; that it was preserved nine months in the body of the immaculate Virgin, and thus God became a perfect man in his infusion, mind and body; one Person, one manifestation, and indeed united in one nature. God became man without deformation, without change. Without seed was his conception, and without corruption his birth. Just as his Godhead is without beginning; so is his humanity without end. For Jesus Christ is yesterday, and today, and the same also forever. We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, after he had walked on earth for thirty years, was baptized; that the Father testified, this is my dear Son, and that the Holy Spirit descended upon him in the form of a dove; that he was tempted by the devil, but that he overcame him; that he preached salvation to men, experienced bodily infirmities, became weary, hungered and thirsted, then voluntarily came to suffer, was crucified, and died bodily, but remained alive according to the Godhead; his body, united with the Godhead, lay in the grave; that he in the Spirit, he the undivided Godhead, descended into hell, preached to spirits, destroyed hell, and delivered spirits; that after three days he rose from the dead, and they appeared to his disciples. We believe that our Savior, Jesus Christ, ascended into heaven with the same body, and sits at the right hand of the Father; also in that same body and glory of the Father shall come again, to judge the living and the dead, which is also the resurrection of all men. We believe finally in a reward of works, namely, eternal life to the righteous, but eternal pain to sinners".

The Armenians are, in the first principles of divine truths, much purer than all non-Protestant Christians. The reverence for the Bible is among them unusually great; and the Church and Church teachers count for them no more than human, though otherwise excellent testimonies. Have they now nevertheless accepted much leaven from their ancestors, and do they retain it; this comes from the immoderate respect, which they have for antiquity in all things. — Everyone has the liberty to read the Bible, and it is also read aloud in church, for a reasonable long time. They have, since 1767, begun to collect the oldest manuscripts of their Bibles, the most learned among them

To call together the ecclesiastical people, and to make an apparatus for a printing-office, in order to publish an improved Bible at Edschmiazin, and to leave it to their nation, in a larger quantity, for a more moderate price, than has hitherto been possible. It is to be wished, that God will let a work, in every respect so salutary, come to pass. (*)

The Confession of Faith itself shows us the healthy and Christian thoughts, which the Armenians have of God in general, and the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, their particular opinion, concerning the outgoing of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, excepted. In the Doctrine of Christ, and especially the union of his two natures into one Person, the error charged against them, as many Scholars think, seems to rest only on indefinite, or different artificial words from us. What in the aforementioned translation is brought out by representation, bears in Syriac the name of Barsopa, and is the same as the Greek $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\mu\omicron\nu$. But the words, united in one nature, they do not understand in the sense in which they are taken by us and whereby they destroyed the distinction of natures; because they add further:

"God became man, without deformation, without change".

The Doctrine concerning justification by faith in Christ is not so very pure, because much is built on supposed good works, for instance Fasting, etc. They retain the intercession of the Saints, and the reverence for images, because of tradition and custom, because this seems to them to be something innocent; and to the images of the Saints they show an internal and external Honor.

To express the idea of a Sacrament, they have no proper word, but call it a Mystery. They have seven after the manner of the Romans, and also the same, although with some other Explanation and use; for the formation, for instance, they continue after baptism, and the last Olyzel usually takes place with them concerning ecclesiastical persons, and that only after death. But if one finds them in this, and in other new errors, agreeing with the Greeks and Romans; this should not surprise anyone. It is natural that the later missionaries can quite unnoticed inspire many things as orthodox in a people who were previously very ignorant, and not yet sufficiently vigilant against the wiles and baseness of the Roman Court; not to say that, in the union with the Greek and Roman Church that had often been in view, they may have accepted many things in such negotiations: as is evident in their feelings concerning the Mass and Transubstantiation. At Baptism they also make use of Godparents, who hand the Baptized person over to the Priest. The Priest sprinkles his head three times with water, while he pronounces the words of the institution. He is also immersed three times under the water, and the whole body is washed. This is followed by confirmation with oil; in which the Armenians have something special above other Eastern Christians. The Priest anoints with it, in the form of a cross, the forehead, the eyes, the ears, the lower body, the flat of the hand, and the soles of the feet. Then he also smears the lips of the Baptized person with the consecrated forms of the Lord's Supper.

Before the enjoyment of the Holy Supper, Confession must precede. This must extend to all particular sins. The penances imposed for sins are very severe, and the priests do not forget their purses at all. The Mass is with them about the same as with the Greeks and Romans. They use leavened bread and only wine without water. They also believe in the change of the consecrated bread into the body, and of the consecrated wine into the blood of Christ. This deserves some attention. The Lutherans and Reformed, in the diversity of their thoughts concerning the Holy Supper, appeal to the opinion of the early Church. The clergy is of the opinion that the latter fell short before its judgment seat. The question is in fact questionable: which thought could have educated all Christians, before the Reformation, to Transubstantiation? Those which the Reformed nourish, that in the Supper there is nothing but bread and wine? or those which the Lutherans, concerning the real presence of Christ's body and blood in this Sacrament, nourish? Of these, in the dark times, the Transition, light, to Transubstantiation, was, but not of none. But, if all Transubstantiation is believed by the Armenians, yet the carrying of the Host is unknown to them. They also give the cup to each one. But the two forms are administered together, because the consecrated bread is dipped in the consecrated wine.

Their opinion concerning the deceased does not seem to be pure, however much they contradict the Purgatory of the Romans. They have several candles lighted above their graves, at certain times also prayers said, and other Ceremonies performed; especially they are very careful in this for their deceased blood relatives, and for this purpose the Easter Monday is appointed. Although they do not now believe that the souls of the Righteous will come to the immediate sight of God before the resurrection; nevertheless they do not consider the invocation of the Saints absurd. The ecclesiastical ban is in use among them, as among the Greeks.

§. XX. Religious customs and ecclesiastical circumstances of the Armenians.

- 30720 As to the feast days the Armenians are not so extravagant as the Greeks and Romans. The number of these is much smaller. They make a distinction between those who celebrate the Church and those who also affect the people. Of the former there are many, and the priests must observe the public worship; but each one remains at ease with his calling, at the most he attends one Mass, and then goes back to his work. Of
- 30725 the latter there are very few: Christmas, New Year and Epiphany are celebrated by them on the latter feast day at the same time. Then the congratulations are much stronger among them than among us. But they are accustomed to go to church the night before, and come out again at the break of day. During this whole time a multitude of ceremonies must be performed. Corpus Christi is also very solemn with them, marked in
- 30730 the afternoon, after a very long service, the feet of all the sons of men are washed by the priests, and a cross is smeared on them with butter. Easter is a great feast with them. The preceding strict fast of 40 days makes that they wait for it very seriously. On Saturday afternoon before, when they come out of church, they have the liberty to break it, except for the use of meat. Then the Easter believers must
- 30735 observe it exceptionally. The Greeks are wont to mock them on this account, (*) as with people who cannot wait a few hours until the end of the great Lent. The greater part of the night between Saturday and Easter is, likewise, spent in church on account of the many ceremonies. The feast of Pentecost is also very solemn among them.
- 30740 The fasting is unusually strict among them. That which the Romans observe is slight, in comparison with the Greek, and this slight, in comparison with the Armenian. Wednesday and Friday are the usual fasting days in every week. There is also a great difference between the fasting of the ecclesiastical and that of the people. The latter lasts nearly half a year; that of the former will probably account for two-
- 30745 thirds of the days of a year. It is of three kinds. The first only commands the abstinence from meat; the second also forbids the use of fish, eggs, milk food, oil and all fat; the third consists in the abstinence from all food until the evening, etc. The clergy are often subject to the latter, and the monks never eat meat, and never drink wine. Eggs, milk, butter and fish they may eat only on Saturday and
- 30750 Sunday outside Lent. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem and other supposed holy places are also not lacking among the Armenians; meanwhile, that after Edjchmiazin is the most important. The religious service is among them, often, at night and generally held in such a way that, except on the longest days, it is ended before the sunrise. It lasts unusually
- 30755 long, by three, four and more, yes on the high feast days by six or eight hours. The Armenians are unusually zealous in attending him. The worship itself, namely the Mass, the reading of the Holy Scripture, the Psalms, the principal confessions of faith, etc., are done in the old Armenian language, of which, alas! the common people understand nothing. Everyone does not sing with it, but, except the priests, only
- 30760 certain appointed people. Their Liturgy consists partly of that which is attributed to the Apostle James, and partly of that of which Chrysostom and Basil are said to be the authors. The sermons are done in a new Armenian language; yes, in order to understand them better, translations into Turkish and Syriac are mixed with them, according to the Provinces, which makes them excessively long. From this we see what
- 30765 Antiquity can do over the East. Whereas the first Christians, on account of the heathen persecutions, observed the worship by night; so, although that reason has ceased, they continue with such a custom; and, because their ancestors, in their former mother tongue, served God, so they do it in the same, although a newer one has come in its place. Music is 'not used with it', unless one had to reckon thereto the ringing of a small bell, and the assembly of thin metal disks, which are round, and on which, sometimes, bells hang round; but all the more church ornaments, incense burners, candles, etc., take place with it: although in this respect it is with them simpler and less glittering, than with the Greeks and Romans. The use of dead
- 30775 languages in public worship, and, in order to make them at least somewhat understandable, the mixing in of one or more living languages, must be charged to all Eastern Christians. For there are provinces where, in public worship, one can hear Armenian, Arabic, Syriac, Turkish, and many other languages. The weddings take place under great ceremonies; - the marriage lasts unusually long. It takes place in the church, where the bridegroom and bride must enjoy the Holy
- 30780 Communion, and the bride is covered with a veil under which it is also administered to her, so that she remains covered. She is not seen by her bridegroom during the day, even on the wedding day, and among the strict Armenians in 3 days. She sits,

like a statue, in the most important corner of the room on the Sopha, with a broad cap on her head, over which a red, fine veil hangs down to her feet. Suitors must marry suitors, and widowers widows. To marry for the third time is considered by them as fornication, and with regard to the forbidden degrees they think, like the Greeks. Burials take place there in the country with them, as with the Greeks, after death. The Bishops and the principal ecclesiastical bodies are, beforehand, anointed with a consecrated oil, but all others are only washed. The dead man is wrapped in linen and sewn up, so that nothing of him can be seen. Before he is carried away, many prayers are said and sung over him by the ecclesiastical bodies, during which time the nearest blood friends, in very common clothes, and the women covered, embrace him and mourn him, yes, they act as if they would hardly let him be carried away. When the prayers are ended, the body is then laid on a stretcher. The priests go, or almost walk in front; and those who follow the body follow one after the other. The body is placed in the forecourt of the church, after which prayers follow; then it is carried to the grave, where one or two men stand and receive it. This whole Ceremony is very disagreeable to a spectator, and a European feels a chill through all his limbs, to see a body so sewn up, and treated without a coffin.

In the Churches there is just nothing to be noticed, except that they have no such farewell before the altar as the Greeks, nor so many images as these. But the seats of the women are entirely separated from the men, and provided with latticework. Monasteries there are, in comparison with the Greeks and Romans, very few, and not nearly so rich as with the latter, but in every Armenia they are more considerable. They are left by the Mohammedans quite undisturbed in their state, and by gifts to the Great, as well as certain taxes, to the enjoyment of their other goods.

(*) The custom of this nation, before the breaking of the great Lent of 40 days, of eating Easter eggs, which is much ridiculed by other Eastern Christians, is declared to be very sensible by an experienced European physician at Surinta. He has found that to him and other physicians, because of the all too rapid transition from Lent to fatty foods, more sick Greeks and Turks than Armenians came, because the latter had at least a short interval to accustom their stomachs to something else.

§. XXI. National Character of the Armenians, and other things pertaining to it. The Armenian nation has, above many others, something in advance, as regards its disposition of mind. One would think that its warm Fatherland made it loose and exuberant; but in this one would be mistaken. It is ??l and serious; not nearly as noisy and quarrelsome as the Greek; lives unusually reserved, and helps itself with little. Constancy is its own, and the change of religion of an Armenian something very unusually rare. It is also not subject to so many lapses and vices, as other peoples. The Armenians remain with the utmost obstinacy in their once adopted feelings. They have no great share in intelligence. Their judgment does not seem to extend itself to learned researches; but to commerce they seem as if born. In this they are so cunning, that they are called Christian-Jews, and it is maintained, that they could not be deceived by any Jew. There is hardly any important Merchant in the three ancient parts of the world, but there are Armenians in it. With the Turks of rank they are the Money-changers and Agents. Their loyalty is praised, although they do not lose sight of their own interest. Their uncommon avarice becomes a proverb with other nations. Their desire for trade prompts them to make the most difficult journeys through the whole world, and they learn many languages by intercourse, but seldom pure and complete. Both thoughts are only of average size, but generally somewhat compact. The head is strong; the being full and flat; and their bodily movements, by nature, not so rapid as with others. The parents still give themselves a patriarchal appearance in their houses. The women live in a submissiveness to the men, which indicates little more than their preference over the girls. The fourth (fifth) commandment is so strictly observed by the children, that their respect for the parents can serve as an example to other peoples. Among the Turks, the Armenians are also usually held in the highest esteem among all Christians. Their adherence to the customs of their forefathers has already been noted. They propagate them, in an admirable way, to their children, and their modest way of life makes this all the more possible. In their clothing they resemble the Turks most, except for the green colour and the turban. Instead of the latter they wear a small undercap, which just covers the head, and over that another, which is fairly high, and made of single skins, to which the hair is curled. Such a one is also used by the principal Greeks, and this is called Kalpak.

Up to the present they have not singularly applied themselves to learning. This is almost exclusively confined to the ecclesiastical; of whom only a moderate number devote themselves to study, so that one cannot, of course, expect such great things

30850 from them. And, as these hardly ever come outside the bosom of their nation, they seldom understand other languages than their own, and can therefore make almost no use of foreign aids at all. The books printed in their language in Holland and England they give precedence over all others, because they found those printed in Roman countries to be very falsified. At Constantinople and Smyrna they had small
30855 printing presses, but these were sent to the Bible printing press after Edschmiazin with more printing type bought in Europe, and other necessary things belonging to it. The abductions from their native country have caused the manuscripts to become unusually rare among them. The old Armenian is very different from what they now speak; the pronunciation sounds rough and hard; but the letters look elegant (*).
30860 They praise their language very much, because it expresses everything very well, especially the old Armenian. But all the Easterners are great braggarts in boasting of old things. In domestic customs the Armenians come unusually close to the Turks. They go to bed early, but rise early again. They do not eat at noon, but have a good breakfast early, at 8 o'clock, and have their main meal at 5 o'clock in the evening. Of chairs, tables, cupboards, etc. they know little. A sofa and many cupboards in the wall serve them for their necessities. The women keep themselves unusually hidden. Except for their closest friends, no one gets to see them. In the streets they are so covered that one sees only a little of the tip of their nose, and almost nothing of both eyes, so that then, like the similarly disguised Turks, they look
30870 like ghosts. Indeed, a bridegroom does not see his bride until the day of the engagement. Those who still live in Armenia have this additional arrangement, that no son of a man, not even a young man in the tenderest years, travels outside the country, unless he is betrothed to a son of a woman of his own age, and must be of older years. To perform the marriage, return to his native country; whereupon he then
30875 travels and returns, according to his calling. Superstition also prevails, in all respects, among the Armenians, but in matters of religion it is not so great, as among the Greeks and Romans. For the rest, one must account for their religion as something good, that he has much more love for man and Christianity towards other religions and their adherents, than he can promise himself of these. For the Protestants he has a true affection; and a Bishop at Smyrna, in the year 1762, openly prayed in church for them, which would also happen elsewhere often. As regards the Greeks they behave in a friendly manner. The Romans are a thorn in their side. For since much mischief is done to them by the Turks, and their missionaries draw away many members of their church, and the wealthy
30885 especially seek to gain all kinds of, especially temporary advantages; so they have constant disputes with them at the Porte; and the name, Pope, is almost as repugnant to them, as others are to the name, devil. From which one can judge again, what those Roman scholars are making the world believe, who present the Armenians, as well as almost all Eastern Christians, as being of one mind with them in faith. They are and
30890 remain all equally of one mind, in contradicting the main article of the Roman Church, that the Pope is the Governor of Christ, and the visible Supreme Head of the Church.

30895 (*) Their letters, especially in old Armenian, provide a kind of figurative language. Its shape is apparently borrowed from humans, animals, plants, etc.

FIFTH SECTION. Of other Christian denominations in Turkey.

§. XXII. Of the Roman Church.

30900 The Roman Church has also in the Turkish Empire fairly large congregations. To them belong all Europeans from Roman countries, and their descendants who remained in Turkey; not less a large number of families, who lived in provinces, formerly belonging to the Imperials or Venetians. Many Greeks have, likewise, now and then, exchanged their religion with the Roman. The Propaganda in Rome has the supreme oversight over them, and there is also in Constantinople an Archbishop, but who must be under French protection. To be observed, namely, that the Roman Churches and ecclesiastical arrangements, the monasteries and clergy are neither directly nor indirectly subject to the Porte, but by means of a European protection, principally of France, but also of other Powers, yes even of England and Holland, are only tolerated as foreigners. They have places where European Roman Catholics live,
30905 Churches or Chapels, also Monasteries; and the latter possess, on the islands of the Archipelago, considerable lands. There are monks of all kinds of Orders in the Levant who are accustomed to have their superiors at Constantinople. They are looked at askance by the Turks, and they gradually lose much of their cunningly acquired, or legitimate privileges, as they then usually lose in the disputes with the Eastern
30910 Christians before the Porte, and not very long ago in the Trial, arose about the Holy Sepulchre, they have come very short. For the rest they have the same trouble with

them, in the restoration of Churches destroyed by old age, or fire, or other accidents. The greater part of the Monks are at the same time Missionaries; but among the Turks they are not allowed to venture. The Jesuits have indeed, in the third volume of their Levant letters??, or memoirs of the Missions au Levant par la Compagnie de Jesus, published in Paris, given up on many conversions wrought by the Turks; but these are the most complete untruths that have ever been conceived. But for the other Christian denominations these missions are extremely disadvantageous. Partly they cause such very unfortunate schisms and divisions, which have a great influence on their religious and civil condition, of which the Syrian Christians have had sad experiences; partly they seek to make the most wealthy people averse to them, which the Armenians in particular have experienced; partly they cause them, and that often even by the European ambassadors and consuls of their religion in Turkey, great and expensive lawsuits with the Turks. It is not only oral proposals, but especially also temporary promises that are the reason by which the Eastern Christians are moved to convert to the Roman Catholics, but also the books printed in the vernacular languages, which are occasionally brought among the people. It is a pity that the Protestants have not tried the latter way, in order to open a wider door for the knowledge of the truth to godliness. Because the Roman Catholics, for the rest, live entirely in ecclesia prejfa??, or under pressure, among the Turks; so they are much more flexible towards the Lutherans and Reformed there, than they are otherwise accustomed to be in those countries, where they are the ruling church. They often have the sorrow to see their greatest enemies in those who were converted in Rome and in Italy, or in France, and educated there; and those in the East who have gone over to them for various reasons, when they cease, change their minds again, or adopt the Roman religion only on certain conditions.

§. XXIII. Of the Monophysite and Nestorian Church.

The Armenians are indeed a branch of the Monophysite church, because they have adopted the thesis of the same, concerning one nature in the Redemption, as has been previously noted, in their doctrine, although, because of many particular customs and sentiments, they nevertheless maintain no particular church community, but have their various church forms of worship and ecclesiastical persons. The Monophysites form a very popular denomination, which began in the ??th century under Eutyches, an abbot at Constantinople, and has spread into Syria, Egypt, and Abyssinia, and is divided into the Asiatic and African. The former bear the name Syrian after Syria, and after one of their principal teachers, Jacob Baradaeus, the name Jacobites; but which, outside Syria, also inhabit the countries on the Euphrates and Tygris, whose chief Patriarch is the Antiochian, although he has not his See at Antioch, a city now entirely destitute of its former prosperity, but transfers it now to Aleppo, now to another place or monastery. A second Patriarch on the Persian borders has the ecclesiastical oversight of the Churches there. All these Patriarchs bear the name after the Martyr Ignatius. The African Monophytes are the Copts, of whom § III has been treated.

The Nestorians form the opposite party to those mentioned above, and have seemed to assert not only two Natures, but also two Persons in Christ; for which reason they were also excluded from their church community by the old Christians. Their origin in religion they have from Nestorius, a Constantinopolitan Patriarch in the 5th century. They have, in the following times, made themselves exceedingly famous, because of the extension of the Christian religion, and have planted very considerable communities throughout the East, even in great Tartary and China. These have indeed perished in the latter countries; but in Mesopotamia, from which they are also called Chaldeans, and in the surrounding countries, and in Arabia, there is still a good number of them; even the St. Thomas Christians on the coasts of Mediæval belong to them. The Nestorians have the reputation, among all Eastern Christians, of having preserved the purity and simplicity of the first Church the most. By the Roman missionaries great commotions have arisen among them. The principal Patriarch of the true Nestorians is called Catholicus, and has his See at Mosul, or in the neighbourhood. For two centuries past he who is raised to this Dignity has been wont to take the name of Elias.

When the old controversies have been calmly judged, it has been found that the principal sentiments of the Nestorians and Monophytes, the sound of the words being set aside, do not differ much as regards the matter itself from the opinion of the other Christians. In an unfortunate way, the antiquity of the separation is a cause of the still continuing division, and the Mahometans chiefly prevent the union of the various Christian denominations to the utmost, by fostering among them, most carefully, all possible hostilities and tumults.

- 30985 §. XXIV. Of Western Christian denominations that arose after the Reformation. These have all, up to now, formed only small communities in Turkey, consisting of persons who, while they were there, stay for the sake of trade and commerce, or who, while they were married to Christian women of this country, have left children, brought up in their paternal religion. They enjoy their ecclesiastical protection
- 30990 only from the European ambassadors or consuls, and they are not regarded by the Porte as natives, but as foreigners. There are four Lutheran churches in Turkey, namely in Smyrna, Constantinople, Bukhareil and Bilipschi. The first was at first founded by private persons, and maintained by the Community, until the Royal House of Denmark and the Free City of
- 30995 Danzig took care of it. It is maintained, under the supervision of the Danish missionary college, according to a strict church order. The second, at Constantinople, is solely a matter for the Swedish Ambassador. In his Palace the divine service is held in a common hall, which serves as a passage to the apartments. The reports are untrue, that the Swedes had built a public Lutheran Church there. The
- 31000 Church at Bucharest in Wallachia is in bad circumstances, because the supporters of that Community were not wise enough with the money. The institution at Bilipschi has been well laid out. This place is on the Moldavian soil and ground, on the Niejier, opposite the Polish spot Salisch-Tschik; by which the Lutherans in the surrounding Provinces keep themselves.
- 31005 Reformed Churches are only in Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo. In the first two cities there are two, namely by the English and Dutch Nation. By the latter keep themselves the Genevans and Swiss who are in Turkey. In Aleppo there is only one English Chapel. The Remonstrants and Mennonites are accustomed, for the most part, to keep themselves
- 31010 by the Dutch Churches. It has pleased the Count of Zinzendorf, to dedicate his work, published in the year 1739, the good word of the Lord and, to the Hernhutsche Congregations, and among a multitude of them, also to give some in the Levant; but these are fictions, and no one there knows anything about them.
- 31015 SIXTH PART, Of the Turks.
§. XXV. Of Muhammad. 'The news concerning the Turks and the Mahometan religion to which they adhere, demands a preliminary treatise concerning Muhammad or Mahomet himself. A detailed
- 31020 biography of him, however, must not be expected here, because that would be contrary to the purpose of this work, and one can come to the right elsewhere. The Englishman Sale, in his preface to the Koran, (*) is in this respect, in the opinion of all intelligent men, the best teacher; but, whoever would take issue with
- 31025 Boulainvilliers, in his work, vie de Mahomet, hond. 1730. 8vo.; he would be just as deceived as he who would believe a novel. Herbelot was, by his Oriental Linguistics, and by the sufficient number of books, pertaining to these matters, able to deliver something genuine, and he gives us, in his Oriental Dictionary, (*) on the article, Muhammed and Ajat or his Wonders, and Hegrah's?? following report, which, as regards the main points, is literally this. "The commentators of the Koran, and other
- 31030 Mahometan Teachers, have extolled this supposed Prophet as highly as the Arians, Paidicians, and other Heretics have praised Jesus Christ, although they deny his Godhead: for they assert that he was created before all time, that the world was made for him alone, and that he is finally the only Mediator between God and men; not to speak of so great a part of the mysteries which they relate of him. The first thing which God created, they say, was light, in which they agree with the Holy Scripture; but they assert that this light, which they call Nur, was a Substance, out of which the Soul of Muhammad, and afterwards the souls of all other creatures, among whom those of the Patriarchs and Prophets had the preeminence, were produced. As to his earthly origin, the Arabia, among whom he was born, and who are the most accurate
- 31040 people in the investigation of genealogical records, say unanimously that he was a son of Abdallah, a nephew of Abdal-Mothleb, and a second cousin of Haschem. They let the genealogy of the latter go up to Adnan, and from him to Ishmael, Son of Abraham: but they confess, that one does not have the same certainty concerning it from Ishmael to Adnan, as from him to Mohammed". Although the year of his birth is subject
- 31045 to much doubt, and falls in the last half of the sixth century; one knows with perfect certainty, however, where he was born. "He was born in Mecca, of the Family of the Koraishites, which was considered one of the oldest and most famous of Arabia, and was distinguished above others by the fact that the preservation and supervision

of the Kaaba or Temple was entrusted to them. (*) To understand the Mahometan History and the numbers of several persons concerning the succession of Mohammed, it must be known, that Abdal-Mothleb, his grandfather, had 10 sons: Hareth, Gaïdak, Abuleheb, Abdalkabah, Dheran, Abbas, Hazmah, Zobeir, Abuthaleb, and Abdallah. This last was Mohammed's father. Of the rest, as well as his uncles, Abuleheb was his greatest and most implacable enemy. Abbas also was for some time his enemy, even making war against him; but, being taken prisoner, he was reconciled with him, and accepted his doctrine. Abuthaleb, the ninth Uncle of Muhammed, was the Father of Ali, Muhammed loved them both exceedingly, and chose the latter for his Son-in-law, because he gave him his only Daughter, Fatima, to wife".

Since the necessary of the Koran will occur in the following Paragraph; it seems not amiss to us to speak here of the Hegire. "This is the time, when Muhammed with his followers departed from Mecca, to escape the persecution of the Koranites, who were very powerful there, and could not tolerate that he abolished idolatry, and established his new Religion. This flight, which was not the first, but nevertheless the most remarkable, happened after Muhammad had for fourteen years set himself up as a Prophet and Messenger of God, made known the Koran, and preached his religion. It happened, according to the report of some, during the day, and in the company of a few persons, although more followed afterwards, who did not think themselves safe enough in Mecca. Muhammad fled to Jatreb; for so Medina was called, before his stay there, and arrived there at the end of the month RdbUal-aual, which is the third in the Arabian years, which are only lunar years, and therefore only of 354 days. In the meantime the Mohammedans begin the Hegire of the preceding month Muharram, which falls in the middle of Julius in the year 622 after the birth of Christ. This must be observed, as the commonest sentiment of the most famous chronologists, in order to determine the years of the Hegire, or of the Mahometan calendar".

"As to the Miracles of Muhammad, it is said that the Kordishites, who rejected his Doctrine, turned to him. We said: You tell us that when Moses struck a rock in the desert with his rod, fountains gushed out from it, and that Jesus, the Son of Mary, raised the dead; we believe it: do you also for that reason some such miracle; then we will believe that you are a Prophet and a Messenger of God; to teach us His law: pray to God that He will turn this mountain of Safa into gold; for if you obtain this from God, then every one of you will follow and be obedient. Then Muhammad began to pray to work this miracle; but the Angel Gabriel, who always helped him out of his embarrassment, came to his aid, and made him understand, that if men doubted the mission of God's Prophets, and demanded some miracle in proof thereof, he granted their request, but on this dreadful condition, that if after the miracle they continued in their unbelief, they should perish without mercy, as had happened in the time of the Prophets, Heber and Salah; when the nations to whom they had preached, and for whom they had wrought miracles, had been punished for their unbelief with the entire extermination of their persons, and the utter destruction of their country. Choose therefore, said Gabriel to Mohammed, one of these two, either to do this Miracle, with which so terrible a punishment is attached, or not to do it, until the Korahites, for their infidelity, shall have done penance, and shall have returned to God. Mohammed made no difficulty in choosing the latter, according to the great love for his countrymen, whom he did not wish to expose to such great danger; therefore the mountain of Safa remained, without being changed into gold. He has always been reproached, that he did not do Miracles, to prove his mission. In the Chapter of the Thunder, we find these words: the Infidels say, when he did a Miracle; then we could believe in him. They put it to him, you are but a fool, doing nothing but preaching to others. The commentators, to whom this passage gives trouble, pretend, that the Infidels had desired, that God should have given to Muhammad, like Moses, a rod, or like the Messiah, the power of raising the dead; but, according to their opinion, they endowed every Prophet with the gift of working miracles, in that sort of things which are most in esteem in the country in which he preaches; just as, therefore, magic was in use in Egypt in the time of Moses, but the healing of the sick in Judea in the time of the Messiah, so also the miracles of Moses and Jesus Christ were suited to the times of these Prophets. And, as the eloquence and purity of language were especially in esteem among the Arabs in the time of Muhammad, the Koran was his greatest miracle. For, said he, when he boasted of its beauty, who among you can produce a single chapter equal to it in beauty or purity? This is certain, that Muhammad, in order to make this miracle the greater, often spoke of it, and even increased his ignorance in many places".

"In the Chapter of the Koran, which bears the name of Aaraf, it is written, that those who shall follow this ignorant Prophet, shall find his name in the law and the Gospel, that is, in the Old and New Testament. And of this deceitful deception he

31115 makes use, to prove to the Jews and Christians the Divinity of his mission. To this
end he introduces, in the Chapter, Surat Saf, Jesus Christ thus speaking to the Jews:
Ye children of Israel, I am he whom God hath sent unto you, to confirm unto you all
that hath been revealed of me in the law of Moses, and to fulfil it, and to announce
31120 unto you another Messenger of God, who shall come after me, and shall be called
Achmeo (which is as much as Mohammed). But these and more such places are not in the
Holy Scripture".
Among Muhammad's remarkable deeds, which his followers give as Miracles, they
especially count the victories which he gained over his enemies; – and they endeavor
to attribute to him almost all that which the Prophets have said of the Messiah. They
31125 also assert that he, like Jesus, was preserved from original sin and evil lust by the
Angel Gabriel. But they confess that he had 21 wives, although the law permitted only
4. Of these he repudiated six, and five died before him. From the story of An Ben
Malek it appears that he boasted of 4 privileges above all other people, namely, of
surpassing them in courage, generosity, strength of fist, and power in the married
31130 state. As the Arabs speak ill of his customs; so they spare still less his religion,
which they consider to be a fraud, and give to its founder the surnames of a Sabi,
Zendik, and Medschiuschy, that is, of a man who concocts many religions, and
consequently has none at all. They describe him as a light-hearted man, and in the
promulgation of his law a fickle man, who afterwards destroyed the laws once
31135 established, as the establishment of the Ke??a, or the place to which one must turn
for prayer, because for that purpose he first prescribed the Temple at Jerusalem, but
afterwards that at Mecca. He forbids all compulsion for the acceptance of his
religion; but afterwards he commands to wage war with all unbelievers, permitting his
own not to make peace with them, but only to conclude a standstill of arms. In
31140 support of his doctrine he appeals, almost generally, to the Old and New Testaments;
in the meantime he annihilates both, on the pretext that both were falsified. He
almost contradicts himself in all the Histories, which he here or there quotes; –
and, though he broke the idols, he nevertheless retained all the Ceremonies which
were in use with the Pagans in the Temple at Mecca. The Mahometan Historians are not
31145 agreed as to the time of his death; but in this they agree, that he died of a slow-
working mistake, which was suggested to him by a woman, seduced thereto by his
Enemies. – Medina, whither he had betaken himself, in his flight from Mecca, became
the Seat of his Kingdom, and finally also his burial place. – He left no male heirs".

31150 (*) This work bears, in English, the following Title: "the Koran, commonly called the Alcoran
of Mohammed, translated into the English immediately from the original Arabie &c. by George
Sale". Land. This work has indeed been translated into High German by Theod. Aknold, and
printed in Lemgo ?? but the best High German translation, directly from Arabic, is so far that
of F. C. Boysen, Halle 1773-??.

31155 (*) This was published in Paris in the previous century, under the Title Bibliotheque
Oriëntale, fol.
(*) Muhammed, or according to the Turkish pronunciation Muua'mmid, as a Koraischit, did not
descend from a minor, but in a certain respect Princely Family, which also waged war with the
multitude of small Arab tribes, in which then, as now, this Nation was divided.

31160 §. XXVI. Of the Koran.
The Koran, which is wrongly called Alkoran, marked Alm. the Arabic word, the,
signifies, is that book, which Muhammad has placed in the hands of the world as a
Divine Revelation. Herbelot gives us, in his aforementioned Oriental Library, on the
31165 Article, Alkoran, the following well-founded report of it. "The Mohammedans have very
exalted thoughts of it. They say: it is taken from the great book of the divine
decrees, since the creation of the world detached from it, and preserved in one of
the seven heavens, which are under the firmament; from this, from verse to verse,
Gabriel, one of the principal orders of angels, delivered it to Muhammad. In the
31170 seventh chapter of the Koran he introduces God concerning this supposed mystery,
saying thus: we have caused it to descend from heaven on the night of the decree, and
we declare to you that this night is more worthy than a thousand full months, because
the angels descend in it to the earth, and among them also the Spirit of God by his
Will! Concerning this night the Mohammedans have various opinions, – but in them they
31175 are they agree that from that time Gabriel communicated the Koran, verse by verse,
within 23 years, to Muhammad, according to the need of the people and the
circumstances that occurred. They claim that the verse that he received is in the ??
Chapter. He received it in a cave on the mountain of Harah near Mecca. Gabriel
appeared to him, saying: God has sent me to you, to teach you, that he has made you a
31180 Prophet and Apostle to this people; take and read! Having said this, he held up the
following verse to him: Read in the name of your Lord and, who created all things,
made men from one blood, and united them in his parts. Muhammad confessed to the

Angel that he could not read, and saw no writing on the paper that was held up to him. Whereupon Gabriel seized him, plopped him three times on the ground, and enabled him to read. This has, among several Sects of the Mahometans, given rise to great disputes and persecutions, because one party considered the Koran to be created, but another considered it uncreated.

After Abubaker had collected the scattered leaves of the Koran here and there, and brought them into a volume, he called it Moschaf, that is, the book, as all books; which Ketab also indicates. When the Mahometan writers quote any passage from it, it is done with these words, written in large or red letters: God says it, without mentioning Chapter and Verse. There are principal editions of the Koran, of which two were made at Medina, one at Mecca, one at Kufa, one at Bassora, one in Syria, and lastly one, which is called the common. They differ only in the verses, — but not in the words and letters, because in all the editions 77639 words, and 323015 letters are found. — Abubekker entrusted this arranged Copy to Hafessah, daughter of Omar, and Widow of Muhammad. — Since Muhammad, in his Koran, wished to imitate the language of the Prophets; he thought to effect this, when he made use of a frequently broken style, which had no coherent propositions; and there is, in fact, almost no connection of verses with each other. — He borrows, often, passages from the Old and New Testaments, but which have always been changed, and bases all his authority and pronouncements on them. The commentators unanimously say, that the most eloquent passage of the entire Koran is in the Chapter H??d, where God, in order to put an end to the flood, speaks these words: Earth, swallow up your water! Heaven, scoop up what you have poured out! Immediately the water flowed away, God's command was fulfilled, the Ark descended upon the mountain, and the words were heard: Woe to the godless! The Arabic is, here, in fact, very emphatic. These same commentators also observe, that the most excellent passage of all in the entire Koran, at the end of the Chapter Aaraf, is contained in this verse: Forgive easily, do good to all, and do not contend with the ignorant. A certain writer reports that Muhammad asked for an explanation of this verse, sent to him by Gabriel from God, and he gave it to him in these words: seek not him that persecuteth thee; give him that robeth thee; forgive him that offendeth thee; for God willeth that thou shouldest be perfect, even as he is! It is easy to see that this is taken from the Bible. The most probable thing concerning the composition of the Koran is, that some Nestorians, Eutychians, etc., condemned by the Councils, and banished from the Greek territory, communicated to Muhammad unfaithful and misunderstood drafts of the Old and New Testaments, with which he thought to cover up his deceits. The Jews, who had then greatly expanded in Arabia, also contributed their part to this. One is all the more entitled to believe this, if the Koran is full of the sentiments and errors of the aforementioned Heretics and Jews". The Arabic word, Koran, signifies a reading, therefore a book, which must be read in particular; and this name is given to it, perhaps, for the same reason, as we call the Divine Revelation the Bible. Among the Mohammedans it is considered unlawful to let someone, who is not of their faith, come to it, because he would be desecrated thereby. Therefore it costs extraordinary difficulty, that a Christian can get a copy of it. If a Mohammedan sat on it, that would be considered a sin, and, if a Christian did it, a punishable crime. They also consider it, in the Arabic language, so sacred, that they do not approve of any translation of it into other languages, so much the more, if, in their opinion, it his exaltation, cannot even be translated into it. He is not only considered a Revelation necessary to salvation, but also the principal source of all useful human knowledge. For this reason Omar, the successor of Abubekker, burned the famous Library at Alexandria, because, possessing the Koran, one could do without all other books. In schools it is the principal textbook. In the chapels of mosques, where the bodies of important persons may be interred, it is customary, often, to place some copies fastened in chains, in which religious Mahometans read for one or more hours for the repose of their separated souls; yes, for that purpose certain readers are also kept and paid. As a proof of the whole Koran, the following remarkable passages, according to the true and excellent translation of Sale, will be recorded.

The First Chapter.

The Preface or Introduction, with the Title: Revealed at Mecca. (*)

"In the name of the most merciful God!

"Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most merciful, the King of the Day of Judgment! To Thee do we worship, and from Thee do we pray for help. Guide us on the right path, on the path of those on whom Thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom Thou art angry, nor of those who go astray!"

From the Second Chapter.

31250 "It is He (God) Who created for you everything that is on earth, and then cast His thoughts upon the creation of the Heavens, and formed them in 7 Heavens. He knows all things. When thy Lord said unto the angels, I will appoint a Governor in the earth, they said, Wilt thou appoint therein one who will do evil upon it, and shed blood? But we declare thy praise, and extol thee. God said, Verily I know that which ye know
31255 not. And He taught Adam the names of all things, and commanded them to the angels, and said, Show me the names of these things, if ye speak the truth. They said, Praise be to thee, we have no knowledge save that which thou teachest us; for thou art All-Knowing, All-Wise. Then God said, O Adam, tell them their names. And when he had told them their names, God said, Did I not tell thee that I know the secrets of the
31260 heavens and the earth, and know that which ye reveal, and that which ye conceal. And when We said to the angels: Worship Adam, they all worshipped him, except Ihlis; (*) who refused, and was puffed up with pride, and became one of the number of disbelievers. And We said: O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the Garden, and eat of its fruits in abundance wherever thou wilt. But come not near this tree, lest thou
31265 become among the number of transgressors. But Satan led them astray, to lose Paradise, and drove them out of the state of bliss in which they had been. So We said: Go, get you hence; let one of you be an enemy to the other, and it will be a dwelling place for you on earth, and a provision for a time. And Adam learned words of prayer from his Lord, and God turned to him; for he is easily reconciled, and full
31270 of mercy. We said: Go, take all of you from here. Then you will receive a precept from me, and all who will follow my precept, on such will come no fear, neither will they be tormented. But those who are unbelievers, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they will increase the company of hell fire, there it will remain forever. O ye children of Israel, remember my favor, wherewith I have favored you, and fulfill your covenant with me; then will I fulfill my covenant with you, and honor me, and believe
31275 the Revelation which I have sent down to you, which confirms those that you already have, and be not the first to disbelieve. So also do not exchange my signs for a small price, and fear me. Clothe not the truth with vanity. Neither hide the truth from your own conscience. Observe the times of prayer, and give alms commanded you in
31280 the law, and bow down with them that bow down. Would ye command men to do righteousness, and forget your own soul? Yet ye read the book of the law; understand ye not therefore? Pray for help with perseverance and prayers. This is indeed difficult, but not for the humble, who seriously consider that they find their Lord, and shall come unto him at last. O children of Israel, remember my grace wherewith I
31285 have favored you, and that I have chosen you above all people. Fear the day when no soul shall equal another: then no intercession will be accepted from them, nor will they receive any reward, nor will they be helped. Remember when We delivered you from Pharaoh's people, who oppressed you terribly, so that they killed your children of the males and left alive those of the females. Therein was a great trial from your
31290 Lord. And when We divided the sea for you and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people because you were looking on. And when We spoke with Moses forty nights, then you took the calf for your God and did evil. Yet We pardoned you afterwards, that you might give thanks. And when We gave Moses the Book of the Law and taught him the difference between good and evil, that you might be governed. And when Moses said to
31295 his people: O my people! Surely you have sinned against yourselves in that you have taken the calf for your God. So turn to your Creator, and slay those of you who are guilty of such a sin. That will be better for you in the sight of your Creator. And he turned to you. For He is easy to appease, and full of mercy."

31300 From the Third Chapter.

"It was God who hears and knows. Remember the wife of Imran (*) who said: My Lord, I, have betrothed to thee, that which is in my body, that it may be consecrated to thy service. Therefore accept it of me. For thou art he that hearest and knowest. And when she was delivered thereof, she said: Lord, verily I have brought forth a girl,
31305 (and God wills well, what she brought forth,) and a boy is not as a girl. I have called her Mary, and commended her to thy protection, as well as that which shall come of her, against Satan, who was driven away with stones. Wherefore the Lord received her with a gracious consent, and caused a sticking out branch to grow from her. And Zacharias took care of the child. Whenever Zacharias went into her chamber,
31310 he always found her cared for, and said: O Mary, whence hast thou this? She answered: This is from God. For God provideth whomsoever he will, without measure. Then Zacharias called upon his Lord, saying, Lord, let me bring forth of thee a good Branch; for thou hearest prayer. And the angels called unto him, as he stood and prayed in the chamber, and said, Of a truth God hath promised thee a Son, called

31315 John, who shall bear record of the word which is of God; an honourable person, chaste, and one of the righteous prophets. He answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, seeing I am well advanced in years, and my wife is barren? The angel said, So doth God that which seemeth him good. Zacharias answered, Lord, give me a sign. The angel said, Thy sign shall be, that within three days thou shalt not speak with any man, 31320 save with signs. Remember your Lord often, and praise Him in the evening and in the morning. And when the angels said: O Mary, verily God has chosen you and purified you, and chosen you above all women in the world. O Mary, be religious to your Lord, and worship, and prostrate with those who prostrate themselves. This: is a hidden story. We reveal it to you, if indeed you were not present with them when they cast their rods to cast lots as to who should have the upbringing of Mary. Likewise, you were not with them when they fought among themselves. When the angels said: O Mary, 31325 verily God sends you good tidings that you will bear the Word, which proceeds from Himself. His name shall be Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary, worthy of worship in this world and in the world to come, and shall be one of those who approach the presence of God; and he shall speak to men in the cradle, and when he is grown up, and he shall be one of the Just. She answered: Lord, how shall I have a son, seeing I know not man? The angel said: God creates what he pleases. When he decrees a thing, he only says: She! then it is done. God shall teach him scripture and wisdom and the law and the gospel, and shall ordain him to be his apostle to the children of Israel; and 31335 he shall say: Surely I come to you with a sign from your Lord. For I could make of clay like the figure of a bird before your eyes. Then will I blow upon it, and by the permission of God it shall become a bird. And I will heal him that was blind from his birth; and the leprosy: and I will raise the dead by the permission of God: and I will foretell you what ye shall eat, and what ye shall lay up in store in your 31340 houses. Verily in this shall be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And I come to confirm the law which is revealed from me, and to grant you a just portion of that which was forbidden you; and I come unto you with a sign from your Lord. Therefore fear God, and obey me. Verily God is my Lord, your Lords. Therefore serve him. This is the right way. But when Jesus saw their unbelief, he said: Who will be my helpers before God? The apostles answered: We will be God's helpers. We believe in God, and bear Thou witness unto us, that we are true believers. O Lord, we believe in what Thou hast sent us down, and we have followed Thine Apostle. Write us therefore down with those that testify of him. And the Jews devised a plot against him, but God devised a plot against them, and God is the best discoverer of plots. When God said: O Jesus, 31350 verily I will cause thee to die, and will take thee unto myself, and will separate thee from among the unbelievers: and I will make them that follow thee rulers over the unbelievers until the day of resurrection: then shall ye return unto me; and I will not judge between you any thing concerning which ye differ. But I will punish the unbelievers with a severe ?? and there will be none to help them. But to those 31355 who believe and do what is right, He will give them their reward. For God does not love those who do evil. These signs and this wise exhortation we recite to you. Surely the likeness of Jesus in the sight of God is as the likeness of Adam. He created him from dust, and said to him, Be! and he was. This is the truth from the Lord. Therefore not one of those who doubt. And whoever wants to contend with you 31360 according to the knowledge given to you, say to such: Come, let us call together our sons and your sons, and our wives and your wives, and ourselves and you, then let us use curses and put the curse of God on those who lie. Verily this is a true History. And there is no god but God, and God is Omnipotent and Wise. When they return, God knows best the wrongdoers. Say: O you who have been given the Scripture! Come to a just decision between us and you, that we worship no one besides God, nor associate with him any creature; and that none of us take others as lords besides God. But if they return, say: Bear witness that we are true believers. O ye, to whom the scripture was given, why contend ye about Abraham, seeing the law and the gospel were not sent down till after his time? yet understand ye not? Behold, ye are they that 31370 contend about that which ye have no knowledge of. Why then contend ye about that which ye have no knowledge of? God knoweth, but ye know nothing. Abraham was neither a Jew, nor a Christian; but he was one of the true religion, who had surrendered himself unto God, and not of the number of idolaters. Surely the men that are next unto Abraham are they that follow him; and this Prophet, and they that believe in him. God is the protector of the believers."

From the Eighth Chapter.

"Surely the worst cattle in the sight of God are those who are hardened unbelievers, and will not believe. When you encounter in war those who enter into a covenant with you, and then, at every suitable opportunity, break their covenant, and do not fear 31380

God; then make them an example, and scatter also those who will come after them, that they may be warned. Or if you fear treachery from a people, then throw back their covenant with the same treatment. For God loves not the treacherous, and do not think that the unbelievers have escaped the vengeance of God. For they will not weaken the power of God. Therefore make such strong military preparations against them as is possible, with troops and horsemen, whereby you may terrify God's enemies and your enemies, as well as other unbelievers besides them, whom you do not know, but God knows very well. And whatever you spend in defense of God's service, that will all be repaid to you, and will not be taken ill of you in the least. And if they are inclined to peace, let them also find you inclined to it, and put your trust in God. For it is he who hears and understands. But if they seek to deceive you, then God will be your protection. It is he who has strengthened you with his help and with that of the believers, and has united their hearts. And if ye had devoted to it all the wealth that is in the world, yet ye could not have united their hearts. But God united them. For he is Mighty and Wise. O Prophet! God is your protection and your help, and such of the true believers as follow you. O Prophet, encourage the believers to war."

From the Thirty-third Chapter.

"O believers, when ye marry women who are believers, and afterwards put them away before ye have touched them, then no certain time is prescribed for you, which ye must fulfill concerning them after their divorce; but give them a present, and let them go voluntarily with an honourable discharge. O Prophet, We have granted to you your wives, to whom you have given their captivity, and the slaves whom your right hand possesses from the spoils which God has granted you; and the daughters of your nephews and the daughters of your nieces, both on your father's side and on your mother's side, who fled with you from Mecca, and every believing woman, if she surrenders herself to the Prophet himself; in case she desires to take the Prophet for a wife. This is a liberty specially granted to you above all other true believers. We know that We have revealed it to them for their wives and for their slaves whom their right hand possesses, so that it might not be explained to you as an evil thing if you make use of the liberty granted to you. For God is gracious and merciful. You may set aside such of your wives as may come to your bed, at your pleasure, and take with you those whom you like best, and those whom you have put away before, and it will be no mischief on your part. This will be easier, that they may be perfectly content and not grieved, but with what you shall give each one, they may be well contented: God knows all that is in your heart, and God is omniscient and merciful. It will not be at your liberty to take others for wives afterwards, nor to exchange any of your wives for them, though their beauty may please you: except the female slaves, whom your right hand shall possess: and God see all things. O true believer, do not enter into the Prophet's house, unless it were lawful for you to eat with him, without waiting for his convenient time: but, when you are invited, go in; and when you have eaten, go away again, and do not stay there to engage in familiar conversation; for this wearies the Prophet. He is ashamed to order you to depart. But God is not at all ashamed of the truth. And, if you want or desire to obtain anything from the Prophet's wife, then demand it from her behind a covering. This will be purer for your hearts and their hearts. So it is not fitting that you should displease the Apostle of God, or marry his wives after him for eternity; for that would be an abomination in the sight of Allah. Whether you spread a matter openly or conceal it, surely Allah knows all things. It will be no wrong for them, as for their fathers, or their sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their wives, or the slaves whom their right hand possesses, if they speak to them openly: and fear ye Allah, for Allah is Witness to all things."

From the Sixty-second Chapter, the collection, under the Title, revealed at Medina. "In the name of the most merciful God!

"All that is in heaven and in earth praise God, the King, the Holy, the Mighty, the Wise. It is He who raised up among the unlearned Arabians an Apostle from among them, to recite to them his signs, and to purify them, and to teach them the scripture and wisdom; since before, certainly, they were in open error; and others of them have not yet come to it by accepting the faith, although they will be converted at the time acceptable to God. For he is mighty and wise. This is God's free grace; he grants it to whom he will. And God is endowed with great bounty. The likeness of those who were burdened with keeping the law, and yet did not keep it, is like the likeness of a Donkey, laden with books. How contemptible is the equality of the people who accuse the signs of God of falsehood! And God does not rule the unjust people. Say: O ye who

follow the Jewish religion, when ye pretend to be friends of God above other men, ye desire death when ye speak the truth, but they will never desire it, because of what their hands have sent before them. And God is well aware of the unjust. Say: truly death, from whom you flee, will surely meet you enough: then you will be brought before him, who knows as well what is hidden as what is discovered, and he will show you what you have done."

(*) This chapter is used by the Mahometans, as the Christians use the Lord's Prayer.
 (*) The Angel, who by this, according to Mahomet's grounds, has become the Devil.
 (*) Is, according to the opinion of the Mahometans, the Father of the Virgin Mary.

§. XXVII. Of the various Sects among the Mahometans. (*)

It makes a great difference that the Mahometans should be unanimous in their faith: because no religion has more Sects than they count among themselves, Mahomet himself wanted to predict that in his doctrine 70 Sects would arise; but the Turks themselves confess that there were more, and they do not consider this a disgrace either. Party-taking already took hold in his time, but it increased and enlarged in his successors. The greatest schism is made by the Sunnites and the Scyites. The Sunnites have their name from the Arabic word, Sunnah or Sunnet, which means the second or oral law, which was not written down by the Legislator, but derived solely from his reasons and actions, and preserved by the tradition of credible persons. This Sunnah is obligatory for the greater part of the Mohammedans, and serves them, as the Jews the Mishna, and the Romans the Traditions?? traditions, as a rule of faith and life. The Turks, Tartars, Arabs and Africans generally accept it. But they are by no means entirely agreed in religion, and the Tartars, for example, are considered heretics by the Turks. (*)

The Schiytes have their name from the Arabic word Schiah or Eschya't, which generally denotes a group of people united together, or a particular religious party. The orthodox Mohammedans who call their faith Sunnah, give the name Schiah to that party who are followers of Ali, and have many special customs and sentiments. A Shiite is therefore the opposite party to the Sunnit, and the principal difference between the two consists in the fact that the former believes and professes that the Supreme Imamat, that is, all spiritual and temporal power over the Mohammedans, according to the divine right, belongs to Ali and his descendants. The Persians and partly also the Mughals are Shiites, who are again divided into various Sects. All these Sects are very hostile to each other. From this a great many persecutions have arisen, and the wars have been quite bloody. But all agree in this, that they consider Muhammad to be God's last Prophet, whom every one, if he wishes to be saved, must follow, and that they consider his Koran to be the obligatory Revelation of God. They covet the name of Mussulmen, that is, Orthodox. When Christians therefore give them this name, they either do not know what it means, or they declare themselves by it to be Irreligious or Unbelievers.

Many Mohammedans, especially in Arabia, and of a more practical than contemplative kind. But in the latter case they have reason to be very on their guard, and to keep quiet.

(*) Concerning these Sects the attached lists give the clearest instruction.

(*) The Tartars, especially the Kasan, Astrakhan, Nogai, and Circasian, are not considered by the Turks to be strict observers of the law. But the Tartars in the Crimea, as being the most civilized, are considered as orthodox as the Turks themselves. In general, in Turkey it is sufficient for Orthodoxy to be achieved when only the sovereign and the lawyers nourish orthodox principles, because the whole is judged and estimated by them.

§. XXVIII. The principal contents of the Mohammedan religion.

Many are accustomed to speak of the Turkish religion; but this is just as wrong as if one wanted to speak of the German or French religion. One should therefore really say the Mohammedan religion, which the Turks profess; namely as Sunnites, which expression has been explained in the preceding paragraph. One might well think that there could be no sects in Mohammedanism, considering that the disputes about the God who is very strictly forbidden them; but, according to the preceding paragraph, there are nevertheless more of them than in other religions. This gives rise, meanwhile, among Mohammedans of a certain sect, to a very special kind of conversation in companies about matters of religion. Instead of others having heated discussions about the latter, because of the different opinions, and the reasons for and against them being brought forward; it is much more calmly done among the Mohammedans about it. Even if someone has proposed the opinions that are traceless, yet no one contradicts him, but one person nods his approval with a nod - another immediately expresses his astonishment; a third with a silence his indifference: possibly the

31515 exact opposite will come to light shortly afterwards, and his proposal will have to
 expect the same behaviour from all those present. In Turkey no division in the
 religions once adopted is tolerated, because the government fears danger to the State
 by it. For that reason also no synods and religious discussions are permitted among
 31520 the Mohammedans; but they prefer to leave everyone in ignorance, so as not to see
 themselves divided in their opinions. This being supposed, their doctrinal works must
 now be considered more closely.
 The sources of their religious knowledge deserve the first place. Because in
 Muhammad's time, not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians, a great
 multitude of apocryphal books was found; thus he has attributed a great number of
 31525 Divine Revelations to these and no Holy Men, such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Abraham, etc.
 The Old and New Testaments are especially praised, (*) and some parts of them,
 especially David's Psalms and the Gospels, are also still read with reverence by the
 Mohammedans. But it is pretended that the Bible was falsified by the Jews and
 Christians, and that instead of it the Koran was made known by Muhammad, as the seal
 31530 of all Divine Revelations; that one must adhere to it alone, and thereby dispense
 with all the rest. From the Koran, therefore, and the accepted traditions, of
 Muhammad's first helpers and followers, for example Abubekker, Omar, Othman, Aly,
 etc., the Mohammedan religion must be learned. But how uncertain are these two
 sources? The confusion, in which a Chaos of divine, civil and historical things is
 31535 presented in the Koran; the broken and bloated style, in which the matters are
 presented, do not at all allow, to make a certain meaning, which is laid in the
 words, or 'derived from them, but only to guess and guess. The Traditions or
 traditions are covered with still more darkness. Some blunt Free-spirits, but who
 nevertheless have heard of Turks and Mohammedans, have been of the opinion, that in
 31540 the Christian religion we have very many articles offaith, and on the other hand in
 the Mohammedan religion only a few, and this because the latter prescribe nothing but
 this short confession: I believe that there is no God besides God, and that Mohammed
 is his Prophet. One must confess, if this is taken according to the words, that it is
 short enough; but an equally short one can make of the Christian religion. But if one
 31545 takes it, as it must be taken justly, according to the meaning and opinion; then this
 confession becomes so verbose, that one finds no end to it: for to prove that
 Muhammad is a Prophet of God, and to deduce from an accepted truth of this eternally
 unprovable proposition the system of religion, which would naturally follow from it,
 leads to infinite verbosity. – The Mohammedans are strict defenders of the Unity of
 31550 God's Being, and this is laid down in the preliminary formula of the confession,
 which is proclaimed from the Mosques, to indicate the hour of prayer. The single
 word, God, is so venerable to them, that they lay their hand on their foreheads, and
 they can move other Denominations not to profane God's name. In this they go so far,
 that they do not let any written paper be laid on the ground, or used for common
 31555 things, for fear that the word, God, might stand upon it, but keep it, or put it in
 chinks and crevices, that it may not be trampled underfoot. No greater enemies of the
 religion of healing are found than they, and therefore they regard those Christians
 who worship images as no better than heathens. Of God's attributes they have very
 exalted ideas, but more of the so-called natural, than moral. Thus they think of
 31560 omnipotence, for example, much better and more exalted, than of God's holiness, will,
 justice and goodness. They fiercely oppose the mystery of the Holy Trinity, because
 they consider it to be polytheism, because they lack a faithful instruction
 concerning it. They do not have the same thoughts concerning the Person of Jesus
 Christ. Many place Muhammad above him only because he was God's last Prophet in their
 31565 judgment, and therefore had to be heard. The Koran could give no other account of
 him, than that which corresponded with the misgivings of the then unorthodox.
 Muhammad appeals to him, as to the one who had done miracles before him, and for
 whose sake the world was obliged to obey him, because he had testified of him. Jesus
 Christ is even called the Spirit of God; an expression which has remained
 31570 unanswerable to Mohammedans, when this conclusion has been drawn from it against
 them: whoever is the Spirit of God; he must belong to God, or be of one essence with
 Him, consequently also Jesus Christ. They therefore do not honor in him the Sacrifice
 of mankind. Of the Saints they have such notions, which indicate that they regard
 them as a sort of intercessors; for they make pilgrimages to their graves, pray over
 31575 the last, etc.
 The creation of the world, as the Bible relates it, and the arrangement of the
 heavenly and worldly bodies, they have, by childish and ridiculous fables, deformed.
 Just as God's decrees, in their presentation, are a mixture of great and wallis??
 sheep absurdities; so the Doctrine of God's Providence will not differ much from the
 31580 blind fate of the Pagans with them. They call it Kismet. And, when this word goes out

of their mouths; then it is as much as if a Pagan Poet speaks of the Parcae or Fates. With them, by this, human freedom is almost destroyed, and they think, that, just as, without their seeking, the destined happiness must come to them, they also, with all prudence, could not escape the misfortune that befell them.

31585 - Of the Angels they have, besides the but very falsified, biblical reports, a multitude of fictions, which are better suited to the ipinkarhers??. than this work. That they think, that God has given many Revelations at various times, has been noted beforehand. They imagine, that this happens because God often changes His Will, and by new Revelations clarifies the old ones. Therefore we should not be surprised, that
31590 the number of Prophets among them exceeds a hundred thousand, even though they differ among themselves concerning the determination of them. Concerning their Morals, many more cases will occur. It is not presented to them in any connection, but only in scattered proverbs. A good part of it is borrowed from the precepts of Holy
31595 Scripture, especially Jesus' speeches, from which they derive even more Miracles than are in the Bible. These are good; but the rest, which Mohammed has added, betrays its fanatical and deceitful inventor. And what can one expect from a Morals which does not recommend to man a complete conversion, instruct him about it, and impart the necessary powers to it, but leaves it to rest solely and exclusively with proposals for an outward change. The future state after this Life is not unknown to them,
31600 though with much superstition. They believe in a resurrection of the dead; a judgment on the world, whose permanence the Koran fixes at very many years, to wit, up to a thousand and fifty thousand, and therefore contradicts itself in this respect; a recompense according to the various works; the refreshment of the Righteous in Paradise, which however, according to the description in the Koran, is placed almost
31605 in the enjoyment of carnal pleasures, and after a previous atonement for the sins will take place in Hell; and finally they believe the hellish punishments of the ungodly.

Reland, who has made a plan of the Mohammedan religion, especially after the system of the Sunnites, is accused by the Scholars, of having presented it on the best side, by the observance of hard places, and by a most possible flexible explanation of the indubitable statements of the Koran. This should not seem strange to anyone who knows the nature of man. In what one wants to praise and defend, appearances are never
31610 lacking. One then presents persons and things, not as they really are, but as they should be according to our ideas. In this, one part ends in improper exaltation, and another in contempt; and thus, often, the truth is diminished through no fault of its own, and untruth is raised without reason. This can easily be transferred to Reland. Just as, according to Bossuet, the Roman religion is not as he arranges him, but as he must be regarded by others; so it is with Reland, with respect to the Mohammedan religion.

31620 Besides the previously mentioned articles of faith, there is a multitude of religious observances, which are just as necessary, as none, which one can consider as the practical?? part thereof, and which will be booked next.

31625 (*) As to the respect, which many Mohammedans have for the Bible; concerning this, a special example of an Arabic language master from Damascus comes to mind. He read the New Testament as attentively, as if by a Christian, and showed a kind of reverence at the name of Jesus, almost always.

§. XXIX. Religious customs of the Mohammedans.

31630 One will be able to perceive, with a little knowledge, that all false religions build the salvation of their adherents on the holiness of works, or promise them the same, if they only experience the external religious duties in a certain measure. This takes place among the Mohammedans in the highest degree. A multitude of religious works commanded in the Old Testament, but mostly arbitrary, will pave the way for
31635 them to Paradise.

Circumcision is considered by them as the distinguishing mark, by which the believers are incorporated into Mohammedanism. It is not charged in the Koran; but is nevertheless strictly observed in imitation of Muhammad, who is said to have been circumcised. With boys it is usually performed from the seventh year onwards, and in
31640 case of some hindrances up to the fifteenth year; but with apostates it is performed after the apostasy. The place as well as the time, as well as the person who performs it, is left to the discretion of the parents or guardians. The circumcision of Jews is considered lawful; the apostates are not circumcised again, but are only obliged to recite the short Mohammedan creed under the upraised index finger. It is performed
31645 otherwise with great solemnity, especially with children of important parents, who are previously led around the towns or villages on horseback, in costly finery; and it is considered a good work, when a rich father has the sons of poor parents

circumcised at the same time, who are also among the stately retinue of his son. It is performed in the houses. At the circumcision the first names are accustomed to have music played, so that the children are encouraged, and their cries are not heard by those present. The latter are received with dignity; also some cattle are killed, as victims, while the name Allah (God) is called out, and the meat thereof, with recommendation of intercession, is distributed among the poor. The name is not given to the children at the circumcision, which extends beyond that only to the sons, but from the father, after birth. Prayer is considered by them to be a necessary duty. According to the Koran it must be done three times a day, shortly before the rising of the sun, about 2 hours before the setting of the sun, and as much time afterwards. The Mohammedans are invited to this, instead of bells, by the priests, who from the towers of the mosques, or, if they have none, next to them, from an elevated place, according to the 4 points of the sky, cry out: God is great / There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet! This being proclaimed twice, it is added: come ye people to the place of quarrel and truth?? come to the place of sanctuary of salvation. This sign for public prayer is called Efany and is given eight times on Friday, but on the other days five times. On Friday it is done for the solemn worship, two hours before noon. To pray three times a day God would have charged Muhammad; but to do it five times he commanded, as a pretended Prophet of God. And it will not easily be found a Mohammedan who will not pray five times, to wit, besides at the times aforesaid, also at noon, and in the first quarter of the night. Now he who lives in places, goes to the Mosques; he who is in the field, seeks out a green place; and he who rides on horses, asses, or camels, gets down, to prepare himself for prayer. After this, before the prayer, follows a purification and washing with water, to cleanse oneself from sins, which the Turks call Abdefi; or, if there is no water at hand, the rubbing of the forehead and hands with dust. To wit, in ordinary faults it is sufficient with them to wash the feet, the arms up to the elbows, the neck, the face up to behind the ears, the eyes, the mouth and the private parts; but in serious crimes the whole body must be washed. For this reason the sanctity of works has installed fountains and water-conduits on the highways, wherever possible, so that travellers can also make use of them for their prayers. It is indeed worthy of note to see a multitude of travellers and workers in the fields in their devotion at the time of such a prayer. The face must be directed towards the Temple of Mecca while praying; for, although Muhammad, first of all, destroyed the direction of the face towards a certain region, he nevertheless changed, in order to gain the ??, he their superstitious esteem for the Temple, of thoughts. The positions of the body change very often during prayer. At first the hands are raised to Heaven, and then they let them fall, holding them before the lower abdomen, in that form as slaves stand before their Lords. Then the body is bent forward, and the hands are placed on the knees; but, after that then one straightens up again, and then has knelt on the ground, the praying person sits on his legs stretched out behind him, and finally he throws himself down so long that even his head touches the ground. Putting aside these gestures, which they judge to be important, they have a rule of prayer, namely that one should beware of strange thoughts, and if they have disturbed someone in the devotion, the prayer should begin again from the beginning; a rule which the Christians also had to follow. Besides, they also shame them in the boldness with which they, in these mostly very humble bodily postures, pray in all places, and in the presence of all kinds of people, without reserve, since we often falsely shame ourselves because of prayer, and especially more appropriate gestures with it. But one knows, because of the innate corruption, how to abuse the good in all religions. If one of them is in company and negotiations that he does not like; then he pretends to prayer, and breaks off, going away, as he thinks fit. The prayer, if it is not done in the mosques, is very short, and lasts only a few minutes. In public worship the Mohammedans tolerate no music, for the same reason, which they pretend, why they suffer no bells on the towers of the mosques. They are of the opinion that God should be honored only with human voices. In this respect there is only one exception among the monks, who are called Draajers. On working days it consists only in the previously mentioned prayer exercise, which in the mosques therefore lasts longer, because a chapter from the Koran is also read out; but in the time of a quarter of an hour, also in ?? or 12 minutes everything is finished. Friday is, in fact, their Holy day, and when examining the reason why Muhammad chose it, besides that that day was already suitable for the religious meetings of the Arabs, it is the most important, because he wanted to distinguish his religion, by that, from the Christians and Jews; although the Mohammedans maintain that this happened because Muhammad had to flee from Mecca to Medina on such a day. Then the service lasts three quarters of an hour. Besides the prayers and the reading of passages from

the Koran, sermons are also preached in larger places, in which, instead of arranging
 31715 the proposals morally and emphatically, they are usually about worldly affairs,
 political events, bad weather, wars, etc., and with such imprudent expressions that
 simple minds were more inclined to dissolute subjects, and incited to them, than
 deterred and restrained from them; unless a fanatic or spirit-driver, such as have
 31720 always been and still are in the warm countries, would advocate an excessive and
 extravagant morality concerning the sanctity of absolute poverty, a fanatical
 introspection in God, the usefulness of alms, pilgrimages, laying of ashes and
 renunciation of human reason, etc. The Christians and Jews are forbidden, under
 penalty of death or under the risk of being forced to convert to Mohammedanism, to be
 present there. The female sex may also not appear there at the same time as the male.
 31725 Otherwise they are very strict about this, and the Emperor himself never misses a
 Friday to go openly to this or that Mosque. Apart from this longer religious
 exercise, the Friday is almost equal to the working days. The First Names employ it
 in visits, walks, and other amusements: a reproach which is often made against
 Christians for observing Sunday! the Merchant goes to his trade, and the common man
 31730 to his handicraft. The traveller by water and land, if possible, postpones his
 journey till Friday, and sets out on it when he comes out of the Mosque. (*) Besides,
 there are extraordinary services on their festivals and fast-days. Fasting is, with
 the Mohammedans, likewise, a very obligatory article of faith. There are fixed and
 voluntary Fasts. Of the first kind, that which falls in the month of Ramasan is the
 31735 most important. This does not always fall in the same season, but he shifts the
 shorter years of the Turks, annually, eleven days, so that Ramasan, within 33 years,
 falls in all seasons. Concerning this Fast it is strange: for during the day one may
 not eat anything dry or wet; but, as soon as the stars become visible in the sky,
 until the time that they disappear, everyone makes up for his loss in eating and
 31740 drinking, without making a distinction in the kinds of food. Then the night is only
 changed into day, and the day into night. The walk above the Minnarets is then
 lighted with a certain kind of lanterns, to indicate that it is the permitted time
 for the meal, which they do in the Mosques after the prayer. The travelers and the
 sick are well aware of it excepted, but for that they must, afterwards, fast at
 31745 another time. If this Fast falls in the hot months with long days; then it is,
 especially for the laborers, very troublesome. For the rest, the violation of this
 Fast can also be made up for by feeding a poor person. If it ends at the setting of
 the sun on the last day; then the revelries are incredible. – On the day after
 Ramasan the so-called Beyram, or the Feast of Sacrifice, begins. On this feast the
 31750 Radja, or such subjects, who are not of the Mohammedan religion, must give presents
 to the principal Turks, with whom they have intercourse, as also the Europeans to the
 Grand of the Porte, as well as to the Pachas and Kadhys in the place where they live
 and trade. The Turks are accustomed, about that time, to arrange themselves and their
 house anew, and the chiefs among them to send presents to the lesser ones. This
 31755 Beyram, to distinguish it from a second Beyram, or Kurban-beyram, which falls 70 days
 later, when the Pilgrims arrive at Mecca, is called by many the great (Bujuck), just
 as this is called the small (Kiutschuck). This is said to be a memorial of Ishmael's
 sacrifice by Abraham. The lambs killed on the last are, usually, distributed among
 the Poor, so that they may pray for the Rich. The beginning of the Barnajan and
 31760 Beyram must be reckoned from the first day of the new moon. This reckoning is not
 done according to an Almanac, but according to the Moon seen by persons expressly
 appointed for that purpose. For this reason the places are divided into four,
 especially when they lie deep in the country, or the air is overcast. The large
 places give notice of their discoveries, and the firing of guns and cannons gives the
 31765 surrounding regions notice of the invaded Beyram, which, as mentioned above, is
 called the great Beyram, in distinction from a second Beyram. On such feasts the
 people are very wild and exuberant; and the Christians and Jews usually keep
 themselves, as much as possible, at home, in order not to incur any inconvenience.
 The great Beyram is celebrated for three, but the small one only for two days.
 31770 The distribution of alms is, in the Koran, not only very seriously recommended, but
 every one is also urged to be willing to do so, under great promises. The Mohammedans
 therefore consider themselves obliged to give necessary, and also voluntary alms. But
 how far one should go in this, according to each one's circumstances, they do not
 agree. Some set the tenth, others the twentieth, still others even the half part of
 31775 the income. The first seems to be the most natural. But there is also a reduction;
 (*) for, because the subjects of the Great Lord must bring the tithes to him, the
 greater part already considers this as alms. In the meantime, however, many
 distribute something considerable; and this extends not only to men, but also to
 animals, especially to dogs, of which there is an unusually large number in the

31780 cities and villages, and to which one throws bread and meat. Yes, the animals often have more to expect than the people, especially the Christians. For the Turks are not infrequently of the opinion, that, because God has given the latter reason, but has refused it to the former, they in a certain respect deserve less compassion, because they have not used it rightly, and therefore, through their own fault, suffer want.

31785 There is also no lack of people who buy a multitude of captured birds, then let them fly again, and thus grant them freedom. To treat animals harshly, or to torture them, when they have not deserved it, is considered the greatest cruelty, nay, a formal godlessness. Most of them, meanwhile, spend their alms on more lasting causes. They spend much on Mosques and schools, on the construction of fountains for travellers, on the improvement or making of paved roads and bridges, as well as water pipes, on the building of Caravanseras or buildings on the highways, especially in regions where there are no towns or villages, so that the travellers, under the roof, may be safe from storms and cold. The Mohammedans highly value such public good works, which tend to the best of the Common Good. But ambition and a work sanctity have the

31790 greatest share in it, which is why the name of the Founder, where it could happen, is carved somewhere in a stone.

Concerning the Pilgrimages, the necessary will occur in the following Paragraph. But here some mention must be made of them, because they are imposed on the Mohammedans as an essential duty of religion. Several outward things which are forbidden are also

31800 religious with them. Mohammed had indeed, at first, permitted the use of wine; but afterwards he forbade it with all games. But his followers know how to avoid both an. Many, in fact, do not drink wine, but use drinks that are much stronger. And if anyone drinks wine; he is accustomed, however, to abstain from it at least in Ramasan. They must also abstain from that which has been strangled, from blood, and from that which has been killed by an unfortunate accident, as well as from pigs' meat, etc.; all which, as well as many other such things, Mohammed has borrowed from the Levitical law; but they do not take this so strictly, but say without hesitation, to the pure all things are pure. Usury is indeed strictly forbidden, and, if there are complaints before the court for debts, no interest is allowed: but, nevertheless, nowhere is there more usury than in the Levant. One accepts from 10 to 25 per cent interest, but also notes this in the debt notes, so as not to fall short for the courts. So that he who, for example, accepts 100 piasters, must sign for it a bond of 110 to 125 piasters, according to the extent that one has agreed on the interest.

31805 Marriage takes place with many ceremonies, and is there a ceremony that affects not only the Church, but also the Government. The method concerning this in Turkey is actually this. After the proposal for the bride has been made, and her mortuary has been determined, the freedom to marry is requested from the Kadhy (Judge). The Bridegroom and Bride then usually send Proxies to the Imam (Chief of the Priests), who asks the one on the Bridegroom's side: whether he is prepared to give such a dowry? and the one on the Bride's side: whether he is satisfied with it? This being answered in the affirmative, the Bridegroom and Bride appear before him; he places their hands together, the morning's dowry is paid, and the treaty is concluded with a prayer from the Koran. The Bridegroom can then take his Bride to himself at his pleasure. — Poor men often make do with one wife. The Koran allows those who can support them four. Wives can each take as many as he likes. Not only can he repudiate this at any time, but a second divorce of the woman against her will is also

31810 permitted, but for the third time it is not granted otherwise than with her consent. But if a man takes back the divorced woman, and she has not been married to another since the divorce, then the shameful law is this, that she must first be slept with by another. This is disguised with the pretext, that thereby the capriciousness of men may be kept in check, and that a shame may be done to those who abuse the freedom of divorce. But in order to lessen the shame, which the man would undergo, who marries a divorced woman again, he first brings her before the Judge, to conclude the marriage contract anew. Then he asks a good friend, who in the presence of the man

31815 lies down with this woman on the bed, as if it were by sleeping together, and therewith she is accepted again. — Forbidden degrees in marriage take place among the Mohammedans, almost in the same way, as among the Jews. For the rest, women can also insist on divorce.

If a Mohammedan sick person is in mortal danger, then an Imam, if one can get one, reads certain prayers. As soon as he has died, the head is laid to the side of Mecca. Then other pious people come with the Imam, wash the corpse with warm water and soap, and kick it on the abdomen, in order to squeeze out the filth everywhere. Finally, they plug it, the ears, the nose, the mouth, and the back with tree wool.

31820 Burials, finally, form a special religious ceremony. The dead has hardly become cold, or he is buried. The body is wrapped in a linen cloth, and thus laid on a bier. The

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coffin is spared in many places, and, if one is used at all, then it consists of common planks joined together. It is carried away very quickly, and those who follow it, run after it without order. People, who meet it on the way, continue to lay hands on the bier, to show the dead the last honor. Even travelers and horsemen dismount from their horses, at least to touch the bier. This is, with persons who have died of the plague, a dangerous opportunity to spread the Evil in all houses. The dead are carried to the grave with their heads forward. In the grave it is laid towards the side of Mecca, and the body is surrounded with small pieces of planks, if no coffin has been used, and covered with earth on top. Prayers are said on the graves at various times by the survivors of both deceased. They sprinkle them with various flowers. It is also customary for names and rich people not only to place standing stones with inscriptions on them, but also very often to plant cypresses. This may well be derived from the ancient custom of the Fathers and Israelites to bury the dead, as an indication of the resurrection they expected, under trees. Genes: XXXV 8. i Sam: XXXI 13. In these cemeteries one also finds, not infrequently, pieces and fragments of old columns and monuments of the finest marble, and other fine stones. At the top of it a turban is carved. And, because its various forms indicate the state or the way of life of the deceased; thus one knows of what rank he was. Under the r?? one usually finds a golden inscription on a blue field. The tombstones are always erected upright by the Turks, so that God's name is not, in their opinion, trampled underfoot in this respect; and on that account they blame our lying graves. By persons of rank, at the four corners of the circumference of a grave, a wall of hewn or baked stones, also marble, is customary, to be erected to the height of an ell, and the hollow between the two is left empty, or is to be raised with square and other large stones, but without an inscription, like that on the pillar. The common man has only one oblong stone at the head, and one similar at the foot. — In many places, from the multitude of gravestones, one can see that there must have been large cities there before. (*) Because one never buries another on the spot where someone has already been buried; but, when a place is filled with corpses, it is then left unused, and new places are sought; Thus, in populous places, the surrounding fields become mere burial grounds: and if Turkey were as populated as, for example, Holland; then it would already have become a cemetery, or would soon become such a one.

(*) Although the Levantines are indifferent about the other days of the week; they are not so about Tuesday. On such a day, as an unfortunate one in their opinion, neither the Turk nor the Greek etc. will set out on a journey. If there is an urgent need; then one breaks off in the last hours of Monday, and then, on Tuesday, continues the journey without difficulty.

(*) Many think, in their opinion, to satisfy the ordered distribution of alms, or to give a certain portion of one's to the poor, also by this means. Someone, for example, must give a hundred out of 1000 piastres. Now he may have such a high, but uncertain, debt, so he puts some ready money with it, calls the first one for the best poor, and asks him; whether he, what he wanted to give him, would accept for a thousand, or so and so much? He, who must naturally fear, that if he refuses, he will receive nothing, answers: Kabul, I accept it. In this or a similar way they feed and clothe the poor, setting, for example, worn-out things and rags at a price, as they think fit.

(*) Accounting for the prayers, gestures, and other customs belonging to the public Worship or Religion of the Turks, one can read about them with profit: Tractatus Alberti Bobonii &c. de Turcarum Liturgia, peregrinatione Meccana, circumcissione, aegrotorum visitatione &fr. ex editiane Th: ??yde. ?? 1690.

§. XXX. The Holy Places.

Among the Holy Places the Mosques deserve the first place. In Turkish they bear the name of Mesdschjid. They are with the Turks that which with us the churches are. In Turkey they may not be built without the express permission of the Emperors. Above the common Mosques the Dfschamis have the precedence, because in these, but not in none, the solemn Friday prayers can be said, and public schools (Madrass) and hospitals (Imarets) are usually built there. The principal ones, which are also called Imperial Mosques, because they were founded by the Sultans, after a victory over the infidels, are usually only at such places where they had their seat, namely at Brussa, Adrianople and Constantinople. They are like our churches, from the outside, by their construction, distinguished from other buildings. The most important ones are provided with Menarets (Towers), vaulted in the manner of a Dome, and the roofs covered with lead. The Menarets are round towers, and only of such thickness that a spiral staircase can go up from within. Below the roof one finds at the Mosques a walkway or gallery, and at the Dschamis two or three, from which the Imam, at fixed times, calls the people together to prayer. These walks or galleries below the roof of the Menarets (not of the Mosques) are, in the fasting month, at

night, hung with lamps or lanterns, which in cities, where there are many Mosques, makes for a pleasant sight. In order that these Menarets may not be easily overthrown by earthquakes, the stones are united with very many iron supports. The best old churches of the Christians have been changed into mosques, after the images, crucifixes, altars, and other signs of the Christian religion have been removed from them. On the inside, according to their size, they are without or with pillars. The Turks are very careful, wherever they have mosques or prayer-places (Namas-Kjah), to take the best precautions, so that one may know where one must turn one's face during prayer or worship. For this reason there is in it, towards the region where Mecca lies, a table or case in the wall, in which perhaps copies of the Koran are laid, with the characteristic that this is the region of the sky towards which the praying must turn their eyes, which is called Kebla or the sight. In front of this Kebla is a raised place, to which one climbs by means of some steps, and on which prayers and sermons are said, which one can therefore compare with our pulpits. For the rest one finds no benches or chairs in it, but the ground is only covered with mats, made of thin reeds, or with carpets, so that the praying does not find it so difficult to kneel down on the ground. The principal ones are, on the inside, artfully hung with many precious lamps, and between these usually also ostrich-eyes or all kinds of rarities are placed. Otherwise the Mosques enjoy great liberties and revenues, which no Government may encroach upon. This causes an extraordinary disorder in the State; for persons and Families of all persuasions, who do not think themselves safe from the Emperor in their houses and possessions, make them for a Mosque, which they please, on such conditions, as they think good, so that, for instance, they pay one or more Piastres annually to it, but retain the rest of the full possession thereof for themselves and all their descendants. – The goods of the Mosques are calculated in order, and of those that lie in Turkey, an account must be made to the Grand Lord: but he can take nothing from it, and at the most he is only allowed support from it for war against the enemies of Religion. To none but the Mohammedans is the entrance into the Mosques open, because, according to their opinion, they would be desecrated by the entrance of persons of other Denominations; but the possessions which are made to them are called Vakuf. The Stewards of the Ecclesiastical Revenues bear the name of Mutewelly, and they are co-supervisors of the goods of one or more Mosques. These are generally under the Kislär-Aga; but often they must also render accounts to the Myry, according to the Government's pleasure. The respect of the Turks for the Mosques is extraordinary. They do not spit in them; they do not allow filth to pass outside them, and they do not allow animals, such as dogs, etc., to run into them. In the squares, or in the neighbourhood, fountains are laid out for religious washing. Whoever enters to pray, after having purified, leaves his slippers at the door, or takes them under his arms, so as not to spoil the mats and carpets. If one has to spit, then one uses his handkerchief. No one greets another, but each one gives his attention to God alone.

In Constantinople, with regard to the prohibition not to enter a Mosque, two exceptions take place. The former St. Sophia church is shown in order, according to an old custom, to the Venetian ambassador, after his audience with the Emperor; (*) and whoever offers the Overseer of it two or more Zecchins, also receives the freedom to be led around it, at sunrise, on one of the galleries, for a shorter or longer time. Moreover, there are 2 Mosques of Dervish or Turkish Monks, which, besides the freedom to enter, also grant another, namely to be allowed to attend their worship, at least at certain times. We could give one kind of them the name of Draajers, and the other the name of Roepers. But both permit all Confessions to behold it, because they think to bring them to Mohammedanism. From what we shall observe concerning both, it will soon be seen whether this can easily move an intelligent person to it. The Mevelevi, after their Founder Mevelane, who, because of one of their principal religious practices, may not unjustly be called Draajers, have their Mosque and Cells at Pera, where they practice therein not only on Fridays, like the other Mohammedans in other Mosques, but also on Tuesdays, their supposed alluring and strange Religion. The Mosque is round; it has, on the inside, a row of pillars, which stands about 6 paces from the wall, and is closed off with a gate, so that the space within the pillars remains completely free. The spectators stand outside it. To the heavenly region of Mecca was the previously explained Kebla, as well as a height, resembling not so much a pulpit, as an altar. Before it sat the Sheik or Chief of the Monks, somewhat elevated, and they sat as if at his feet. Instead of music never being permitted in the Mohammedan worship, because it is thought that instrumental music is unworthy of it, and that God can only be honored with human voices; so here, however, he began with Arabic chants, accompanied by instrumental music, but so disagreeable to European ears, that one was glad when it ceased. The Chief of the Monks is also

31980 accustomed, at this worship, to make a proposal. The Monks kept quiet until the sign
of their Chiefs; but when it was given, the first stood up, and made a deep bow to
him. Their dress is singular. An ash-gray cap, as long as a reasonable sugar-loaf,
and nearly equally thick above and below, covered each head; the hair hung down
31985 behind, somewhat shortened; a close dark-brown dress covered the upper body; over it
was girt a skirt, like our women's skirts, but innumerable full of folds; the color
of it drew toward black; and hung a foot longer than the feet. When the monk arose,
he had his pleated skirt thrown about his legs; but when he, after bowing to the
Supreme, turned himself round quickly, like a top, the air entered him, and also
31990 expanded it, under him, for a width of some yards in the round. Both arms wheeled in
length, extended. The rapidity with which he turned round is incredible. When the
first monk, by this turning round, was about three paces from the Supreme, the second
of these received a sign, and brought himself in a similar motion behind the first.
Finally all seven came to the plain, which, one behind the other, within the row of
pillars, moved so quickly, and then in time around the pillars, that one could see
31995 their faces and the backs of their heads. One of us, in such an exercise, would soon
fall to the ground; but these Monks not only held themselves upright, but also lay
down, in the space of about twenty minutes, their turn round in the Mosque, and, when
they came again to the Supreme, they made a deep obeisance to him; the air went out
of their coats, and they sat down again at his feet, as calmly as if they had not
32000 moved. When they were all in their places, I thought that the Furies, of whom the
Pagan Poets sew up so many fables, had become real. The music, with the accompanying
Arabian songs, continued, by which they seemed to be inspired, and with the end of
that the whole supposed worship ended. These Monks, besides their other follies, are
uncommonly humane, and have no such religious hatred of the Christians as other
32005 Mohammedans. Their principal monastery is at Iconium. Its Chief is the General of the
Order. They are accustomed to dance from an early age, which they do in memory of the
Founder, of whom it is said that he endured it for a fortnight without taking any
food. — The Kadri, who, from their religious shouting, may justly be called Shouters,
are not of this good sort, but rather look surly. They shout, in their religious
32010 dance, the Arabic word, Hu?!, which is the same as Allah, namely God, means, so long,
until they fall to the ground as if beside themselves, and foam stands before their
mouths, yea, in many cases even the blood runs out of them. These have their
monastery at Tophana.
The principal place to which the Mohammedans make their pilgrimage is Mecca.
32015 According to the Koran they must all do this. But its expositors have moderated this
severity, and thus it is asserted, that he who has many occupations, may send another
in his place. And, because the necessity of the pilgrimage extends only to those who
can afford the necessary expenses, consequently the poor are not obliged; so they let
themselves be sent there by the rich, to a very great extent, and even several times.
32020 The Great Lord himself cannot fail to send there annually a camel very richly laden
with gifts, especially precious materials. These materials are used to hang the Kaaba
(Temple, Mosque). (*) The camel is then considered sacred and is not used any
further. Mecca is considered so sacred that no one who is not a Mohammedan may show
himself within a radius of nine miles. In this city, according to their opinion, is
32025 the most holy Temple, which is called the Haram, and in the middle thereof the Kaaba,
or an ancient building of the Arabs, in the wall of which, on one side, is built a
black stone, inset with silver, more than two cubits high from the ground, which
seems to have been an idol before the time of Mohammed, and by him was destined for
the Kabla, that is, for an object for the direction of the face in prayer. He foresaw
32030 the harm which would be done to him by the Arabs in the destruction of their highly
esteemed Kaaba, and the destruction of its black stone. Hence he supposed that the
first built by Adam, was indeed destroyed by the flood, but had been restored again
by Abraham and Ishmael, and that with the intention that the only God of the faithful
was worshipped in it. By this device the superstition of the Arabs was, by a slight
32035 perversion, consecrated to the worship of God. Within the Haram, at some distance
from the Kaaba, is the spring Zemzem, from which the Mohammedans drink with great
reverence, and which, according to their pretense, is the spring pointed out by the
Angel to Hagar. The Pilgrims have to make several very arbitrary preparations, both
at home and on the way. As they must arrive at one time for the pilgrimage ceremonies
32040 at Mecca; but some travellers, from the insecurity, could not escape the danger; so
the Pilgrims from particular countries form small Caravans or travelling companies,
to which, on their journeys, several others continually join, and who, for better
order, choose a Caravan-Baschi or Head of the Caravan. There are three principal
Caravans, to which the others usually join. The first starts from Great Cairo in
32045 Egypt, with extraordinary ceremonies, after the African Caravans have first arrived;

the second from Damascus, to which the Mohammedan Pilgrims from Europe usually join; the third from Bagdat, to which the Persian and Indian Pilgrims belong. The Bassas of these places are obliged, with several thousand soldiers, to accompany, or to have accompanied, the Caravans that depart from thence; and yet it often happens, that although they may amount to fifty thousand men, they are nevertheless attacked, plundered, and scattered by the wandering Arabs in the deserts. They all three meet at one place, at a certain distance from Mecca. Up to this point each has its Chief; but from there the Pasha of Damascus receives the government of all, and is therefore called Emir Hadschi (leader of the Pilgrims). He then leads them to Mecca, and from there back to the former place. To these 3 Caravans would, generally, belong 200,000 men and 300,000 beasts of burden. For the rest, the pilgrimage ceremonies are more ridiculous, than serious, I say nothing, than sensible and religious. The Pilgrims, on their arrival in the neighbourhood of Mecca, are instructed by the Imams concerning their duties. This accomplished, they go into the city, and seven times around the Kaaba, where they begin from the black stone, which they touch, and, if possible, also kiss. The first three times they go quickly, the remaining four times more slowly, when, as they pass by the black stone, they touch or kiss it; and finally, after this circuit, they go into the Kaaba, and perform their prayers. They must, in memory of Hagar seeking water for her Son, go seven times, from Mount Safa to Mount Merva, partly walking slowly, partly on foot. They remain day and night on Mount Arafat in prayer exercises. They have their heads shaved, and in the valley of Mina they sacrifice cattle, of which they eat themselves, and the leftovers to distribute among the poor. Then they are given testimony that they have accomplished everything properly. Finally they are accustomed to visit the Kaaba again, to take leave of it. On the seventeenth day they all assemble, and receive, after a solemn prayer, in a certain respect, the blessing with these words: "May God let you return in peace to the place from whence you came." Furthermore, this Kaaba also has an astonishing income; for there is hardly a city in the Turkish territory where houses, lands, land taxes, etc. have not been made for it. — Those Pilgrims who wish to do a really good work also visit Medina and Jerusalem on their return journey in a religious manner. And otherwise pilgrimages are also sometimes made to the graves of various supposed Saints, especially of the first Caliphs, such as Ali, Otilman, etc.; but these are of less importance, and do not compare with the pilgrimage to Mecca.

(*) Notwithstanding that the Venetian ambassadors are shown only the Sophie Mosque openly; nevertheless, the other ambassadors would not be refused the public viewing of it, if they so desired. But they leave this, in order to save unnecessary expense, visiting it, like other private persons, for a gift of ?? or more ducats.

(*) At each Kurban-Beyram, (Sacrifice-feast) when the new cloths donated by the Sultan for the Kjiïbet (the Temple at Mecca) arrive at Mecca, the covering of the previous year is taken away, and left to the Pilgrims as a precious Relic. The gifts of the Great Lord include 500 zecchins and a gold-plated Koran.

§. XXXI. Of religious persons.
Among the Mohammedans there are many religious persons, but who, often, have to do not only with spiritual, but also with worldly affairs. Thus the Kadhy-Leschkjer, (supreme judge of the army), the Mulla (Governor) and the Kadhy (Judge) belong to the Clergy, although they are also civil persons. They are namely also charged with civil affairs, because the Koran, just as the books of Moses among the Jews, contains not only the precepts of religion, but also the sum of civil knowledge, and therefore, what belongs to these two objects must be decided from there. A clergyman and a lawyer by profession are therefore with them almost the same, and the boundaries between theology and law are therefore difficult to determine. The whole group of them is called Uleua, or, as we would express ourselves, the Geejlelykheid. The most important of them all is the Grand Muftif, who is also called Sheik-Ulifam, that is, the Chief of the chosen ones, or the Elder of the Faith. He is chosen by the Emperor himself, and, after he has had him called into the Seraglio, is raised to this Dignity. On that occasion, it is said, the Emperor, while he stoops to brush his coat, gives him a kiss on the shoulder. And otherwise he has also the privilege of being allowed to kiss the Emperor's shoulder on other occasions, whereas otherwise even the Grand Vizier may not kiss more than the hem of his coat. He is one of the most distinguished in the Turkish Empire, having only the Grand Vizier above him. With him is taken counsel in all important, both spiritual and state matters. Although the Emperor receives everyone, yes even the Grand Vizier, sitting; yet when the Mufti enters he stands up, or receives him standing. Without his approval nothing can be done, no war announced, and no peace made. If he has set this down in writing

according to his approval; then it is called a Fetfah. If, for certain reasons, certain cases are withheld from him, and his Fetfah is nevertheless necessary; then the question is put to him, without naming the persons, etc., thus: for example, what does someone deserve, who has done this or that? what should be done about a Kingdom, which behaves in this or that way towards the Porte? etc. Whereupon, in very few words, he gives the decision, and, signing his name, at the bottom on the edge of the paper, always adds: the lowly servant of God. Since the punishment of honor, in putting to death the great, consists in strangling; such a punishment cannot be inflicted on him, as long as he is in his Dignity; but another means is used: the Emperor deposes him for minor crimes, but confiscates to him the revenues of some courts, or banishes him to a certain place. As an assistant he has an Eetf'ah - Emini, or his Secret Scribe, who supports him, and in matters of less importance writes the decision, and submits it for signature, or at least predicts it; so that, when such a one is bribed, two and indeed contradictory Fetfahs may come forward in one and the same case. - In great men one finds a Sub-Mufti, who cannot buy his appointment from the Grand Mufti, but nevertheless does not receive it without considerable presents. The Muftis are very modest in their dress and carriage. In this, and by their large Ceremonial turban, they distinguish themselves from others. Those ecclesiastical Persons, who make the announcement of the prayer of the Menarets, have the name of Muedsin; but those who perform the worship in the Mosques everywhere, are called Imam. These are therefore actually the Mohammedan Priests, and they are taken from the first. The Imam in the Seraglio bears the name of Imam-Efendy, or Chunkjar (that is, Imperial) Imam, but a Preacher that of Scheych. In their dress they are not distinguished from the people, except that the head-ornament or the Turban makes some exception. They draw their income from the Mosques, which have received the necessary Legacies from their Founders or charitable persons. A kind of co-helpers of the Imams, who read in the Mosques, or do the prayers, especially the public intercessions for the Sultan, are called Chatibs. The Dervish are, among the Mohammedans, that which the Monks are among the Romans. There are several kinds of them. Of two of them at Constantinople we have spoken in the preceding paragraph. Besides these there are also the Bektaschi and the Seyah. The former have their name from a Hadschi Bektaschi, whose tomb is named at the village Beflktaschi??, not far from Tophana, on the Channel of the Black Sea; and according to their rule they must travel in Mohammedan countries, and call upon their fellow believers one of God's names, and one of his attributes, viz., his love. The latter are, probably, the most numerous. They do not all live together in monasteries, but also keep themselves here and there, especially on the roads, to offer travellers a drink of water, etc. Some marry, others do not. The greater part of them, especially of the Seyah, consists of melancholy, melancholy and wandering people, such as one finds many in the climate there. Wherefore it is true, as the Church history also shows, that monasticism with all its arbitrary cults, fanaticism and extravagances had its beginning there, and subsequently, by degrees, spread from the East to the West. Many of them, especially of the latter kind, are also the most subtle and hateful deceivers, yes even highway robbers. They generally wear high, and pointed, but withal blunt caps, of grey felt, by which they are recognizable. They have free access everywhere, take in the markets and in the shops, what they like, sit down, without circumstances, with the principal ones at table, and go away again in the same way.

Of the Emyrs they often speak even the newspapers. They are also called Sharifs (Saints), and are not considered as ecclesiastical Persons, before they are actually accepted among them. These are the descendants of Mohammed and his Family. They distinguish themselves by a very green Turban, which is entwined round over the head, from all other Mohammedans. They have, generally, fallen into great poverty and want, earning their bread, often, by the lowest handicrafts. They are very great in their descent; more foul than others, and the masters of riots and mutinies. They are generally much esteemed, and, as their testimony is decisive in court, so, when their mode of life is regulated, they are much respected. They are under the Nakyb, or, as it is fully stated, Nakyb-ul-Eschraf, (Holy Overseer) who always belongs to the Ue'lema, in dignity next to the Mufty, is in a certain respect the Overseer of Mohammed's standard, and has under him the Ae'lemdav or Ensign, who bears it on solemn occasions. They are free from the general burdens of the country, and cannot be summoned before any worldly Judges. If they are punished; then, out of respect for their state, they first take off their green Turban. From the Emyrs are taken the Scheyks or Heads of the Sophie and Ejubs, and also other Dschamis, and one of the two represents the Great Scheyk. These ecclesiastical Scheyks, or Heads of the great Mosques, may, in a certain respect, be compared with the public Teachers of Theology,

such as formerly were the Bishops at the Cathedral Schools; as they always have to
 32180 instruct a certain number of Students (Sochtahs) in the Mohammedan Religion. They not
 only preach before the Sultan in their Mosques, but are also employed in political
 affairs. The Sheik of the Ejubs-mosque is a Vicar of the Head of the Order residing
 at Joco?iien, who has the privilege of girding the sword on the Emperor, on his
 ascension to the Throne, but usually hands it over to the former.

32185 The Preachers among the Mohammedans are taken from the Imams, Dervishes and Emyrs.
 Concerning the contents of their sermons, the necessary has already been mentioned
 beforehand. They are always admirable by the Authorities; for not so much the truths
 of religion, but rather state and civil affairs are, as a rule, the subject of their
 treatises. They are the public firebrands, and, when they agree with the Janistas at
 32190 Constantinople, then it is over with the Great Lord.

Those who have made the Pilgrimage to Mecca are called Hadschies. This name is also
 given to those Greek and Armenian Christians who have been as Pilgrims to the Holy
 Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Now, since the Mohammedan Hadschies make this pilgrimage
 solely and solely out of a work-holiness, or for others to do it for money; that
 32195 pilgrimage is also not capable of improving people; but that journey tempts them to
 idleness, theft and other irregularities; so they are considered the most reckless,
 and the Mohammedans themselves judge that whoever does not yet know evil enough,
 learns it by and on his pilgrimage. The idea that they have for the rest of a Saint,
 Dely in their language, (which word also means a Fool,) is the strangest that anyone
 32200 can ever form. All mad and senseless people, in a word, all Fools are considered by
 them to be Saints. As strange as this feeling is, so foolish is the reason that is
 brought forward for it. They pretend, namely, that these people, in thinking strongly
 about divine things, are so deeply in thought, that they have lost all communication
 with the lower world. To the Fools also the most liberality in alms extends with
 32205 them. A Mohammedan considers it a happiness to be allowed to touch and spy them.
 In Egypt they are most, and there also most seen. Therefore, they are considered to
 be the best of all rashness. And the result of this is that many a villain shows and
 adopts such a foolishness, and then appears in a torn garment, whereby, in idleness,
 they live on other people's simplicity and expense, commit great irregularities, and
 32210 often cause great mischief to those who do not wave the desired incense to their
 holiness. Otherwise, at least from the intelligent, they are regarded with an almost
 incredible pity. But if they cause public disturbances or insults; then they are
 locked up in a madhouse.

32215 §. XXXII. Of the difficulty of converting the Mohammedans, and of the apostasy to
 them.

Let no one be surprised that it so seldom happens that the Mohammedans are brought to
 the Christian religion. The reasons for this are tangible. If one deplores that the
 32220 prejudice of education is general, and that children remain with the religion of
 their parents, for no other reason than because they lived in it; so also this
 prejudice of education is with the Mohammedans as at home. With them, the hatred of
 other denominations is instilled in the children, with such unintelligence, that it
 cannot be expressed. They learn to pronounce the word, Jatter, that is, Infidel,
 32225 sooner than the word Allah, that is, God. They grow up; then they see nothing but the
 hatred of adults against other co-religionists and their insults, noting no less the
 great oppressions under which they sigh. What is therefore more natural with them
 than an absolute aversion to everything that has not sworn by the banner of Mohammed?
 But, even supposing that they would think about matters of the Christian religion,
 will not the danger that accompanies a change of religion deter them from further
 32230 investigation? Mohammedans do not settle in a Christian country, but live only under
 governments of their faith. The wandering Tartars under Russian protection make,
 here, no real exception. But what punishment is set for the apostasy of a Mohammedan
 from his faith? None less than the death penalty. In addition, they are the strongest
 enemies of all idolatry and image-worship. Unfortunately, the vast majority of
 32235 Christians who live among them are great advocates of the latter, and the offences
 given by them are no less than those in use among us; what temptation can there be
 among them to the Christian religion? If we add to this, that they lack almost all
 instruction in the Christian religion in their language; that in general, with the
 exception of the New Testament, little is printed in Arabic and Turkish, and that
 32240 even this does not easily come into their hands; printed books are generally despised
 by them, but manuscripts are of great value; yes, finally, the greater part cannot
 even be read, and the death penalty is imposed on all oral instruction; then we need
 not at all wonder at the difficulty of bringing the Mohammedans to the Christian
 religion. Should the Gospel therefore take root among them; then the prohibition must

- 32245 be annulled, that among them its Teachers shall not be killed, and the rightful liberty of conscience must be permitted. This depends, in the meantime, on great changes of the Empire, which God's Providence alone can arrange, and through which the necessary door to the knowledge of the truth can open.
- 32250 One would hardly believe, that people of other Religions, especially if they rest on truly divine Revelation in gene??, as Christians and Jews, could convert to Mohammedanism: and yet there is no lack of such Apostates. That there are such among the Christians, in Turkey, or otherwise in Mohammedan countries, can surprise no one. What can a wicked man, who has no religion besides that, lose by gaining at the same time some temporal advantages, as previously mentioned? Can a criminal, he who has
- 32255 already seared his conscience, find it difficult to exchange Jesus Christ for Mohammed, only to escape the punishments that his deeds deserve? Many, through unfortunate circumstances, become Apostates, who, after having acknowledged the fall, would gladly rise again and return, if the death penalty imposed upon them did not frighten the weak flesh. These are accustomed, then, to honor Christ inwardly, but
- 32260 Mohammed outwardly; such double-minded men there are even many among the Turks, who, through no acquired complete conviction, or through fear of man, remain doubters. All these have, in the meantime, some semblance of excuse; but what shall we say of Europeans who adopt the Mohammedan faith? Some take flight from European States or ships, to escape responsibility for crimes committed, of which the Count Bonneval has
- 32265 given a notorious example. On the ships of war one finds the foulest scum of the people, and they seldom land in a Levantine port, but some escape, and become Mohammedans. But one would think that it at least did not happen, that sober men, and to whom one must ascribe a sound mind, nay, who even boast of great erudition, would commit such rashness, or rather such impiety. In the meantime there are Petit-Maitres
- 32270 and Abbes, as well as other persons, who leave their native country, and come to Turkey, to become Mohammedans. One is perhaps eager to know the motives and temptations of these presumptuous men to such an undertaking. These are usually but two in number. The reading of liberal books, especially of the French, who almost always, by wittily dressed proposals concerning the Turks, degrade Christianity,
- 32275 confuses the little understanding which these people still possess to this degree. In addition, the freedom of thought, this beloved word and the motto of the supposed strong Spirits, but at the same time the freedom, or rather the audacity, of living according to their own taste, and by the Turks to bathe in the so beloved lusts of the flesh, unpunished and without gnawing of conscience, is so attractively depicted,
- 32280 that they, as Mohammedans, here, tried to obtain a Paradise, for which unbelief left them no hope after this Life. One sees from this, what harm the letters, memoirs, composed in the style of the Romance do to people, who, because nature has not provided them with a sufficient capacity to judge, are blinded by a playful and false wit. But all these poor and pitiful bloods soon become aware of their error. The
- 32285 Turks count few such windbreakers. The sweet dreams of the Apostates, at their conversion to Mohammedanism, concerning offices of honour, riches, women, etc., disappear further after circumcision, because they can only become doorkeepers, grooms, or something so lowly. They experience shame and confusion, after they see themselves deceived by witty rhapsodies and groundless proposals. And, if their
- 32290 Conscience cannot awaken, because they have none, the freedom to think, it no longer deceives them so strongly, but they try to escape from this labyrinth by flight, which is indeed dangerous, because if they are caught, they must forfeit their Life, but to which, however, compassionate persons still always offer their hand.
- 32295 Thoughtful Turks also do not think much of such Christian apostates, if they are not people of exalted circumstances and great treasures; for their fundamental principle is: a lying Christian cannot be a good Mohammedan. Jews also fall away; but the examples concerning this are nevertheless not so many; and the Turks do not count them much either, because they consider them very little. (*)
- 32300 (*) That the Jews, in the renunciation of their religion, first had to be Christians, and also baptized, is untrue: but they must, according to the Mohammedan religion, consider Jesus a true Prophet.
- §. XXXIII. Of the Turkish Emperor.
- 32305 Of the origin of the Imperial House § II. has been treated beforehand. The Turkish Emperor is named with the Arabic word Sultan, which means a Lord or Regent in an absolute sense, and expresses Schach in Persian. Padischah is considered higher by the Porte, and the Turkish Emperor assumes this honorary title, as Schach is given to the Emperor of Persia. Schach is more than Chan, having such a one as a subject under
- 32310 him. Padischah means the Regent very briefly. When one asks for example: who comes there? then the answer is: Padischah! But, since the Turks have given this title to

some Christian powers, it has lost much of its great significance with them. The Sultans now so often no longer make use of this in enumerating their Titles, but rather of the Title, Schah or Schehinscha, which is never given to Christian Princes.

32315 In addition, they add, after their other Titles, and indeed after their own name, the distinguishing Title of Chan, for instance, Ibrahim-Chan, in order to indicate their Royal descent from another Royal Line of the Tartars, which bears the name of Ogusian. For this word, Chan, which signifies a King and Emperor, is given to all reigning Princes of the Family of Dschjingjiys-Chan.

32320 The Succession to the Throne of the Turkish Emperors differs from all other Governments; for, as by this either a free election, or primogeniture gives one the right to govern, so in Turkey not always the Sons, but often the Brothers, according to age, succeed the deceased Emperor; and if there are no more of these, then the Throne falls to the eldest Prince of the Main Line, and the Princes of the last

32325 Emperors are passed over. (*) The salutary purpose of such an arrangement is undoubtedly to avert the inconvenience which the Bible presents with these words: "Woe to the land whose King is a child!" and consequently to obtain no other than Emperors of mature years, who are no longer subject to the laxities of childhood; but also the depravity of man has destroyed this desired benefit. In the destroyed good

32330 intentions of the Founders of worldly governments we see the truths ?? holy saying: "men have all turned aside, and altogether become wicked; there is none that doeth good, no, not one". For although they in the Monarchical, or Aristocratic, or Democratic, or mixed forms of government, wanted to secure their welfare in every possible way, they have nevertheless also, in this respect, had to find: "the Lord hath cursed the earth, for man's sake". In Turkey it has happened the same way. Because the Emperors fear that their successor, before the time, might gain desire for the Throne, or that the people, if they promised themselves anything good from him, might elect him in a rebellion; so he, like a child, is kept and preserved in useless occupations among women and eunuchs. From which one may conclude, how

32335 immature in understanding, at older years, the Turkish Princes come to the government. In former times the education of these was indeed very free, as with other Princes; but now it depends entirely on the permission of the Sultan, to what extent they will be freer and nobler or not. The history of the Turkish Empire forms a principal subject of instruction. A Turkish Emperor has, for the most part, had a pitiful education. Except for the Mohammedan religion, and some Arabic and Persian, he knows almost nothing at all. In his former company he is deprived of all knowledge of the world, and much more deprived of the disposition necessary for government. Since, as in his dungeon, even the name of freedom has remained unknown to him, and he sees himself, at the opening of it, idolized by the Seraglio and the people, and

32350 exalted to the Throne of his Ancestor; one can easily imagine what an impression such a sudden and blinding change must make on him. - The death of a Turkish Emperor is, in order to prevent adieu and unrest, as much as possible kept hidden outside the Seraglio until the successor to the Throne has been raised to the vacant Dignity by the Grand Vizier, the Mufti, the Aga of the Janistas and the principal persons of the

32355 Seraglio. Then the great Divan is summoned, by it the new Emperor does homage, and his name is proclaimed by the Telals or public Heralds. He shows himself to the people, while riding to the Mosque. The actual appointment is not done by an anointing or crowning, but by the girding of the Sabre, which in the Ejuhs-Mosque in Constantinople, by the Sheik, is performed with these words: go, yours is the victory, but only by God!

32360 The Title of the Turkish Emperor is Eastern, that is, blown up to the point of being lost. A part of which exists only in imagination, but nevertheless does not signify much less than a King of other Kings, a shining sun, a crown of many, a shadow of God, the gate of salvation, and such vaunts more; another part is spurious, giving up small Provinces, which are already included in the larger ones, or very particular cities, which are situated in them; still another part mentions things, which signify nothing at all, as when he is called a Lord of the Holy Places. Nevertheless the Title is not the same with all Sultans, but, as with other Princes, according to the increase or decrease of their possessions, is subject to many changes. Muhammad IV gave himself the following Title: "the Governor (namely of God) on the face of the earth, the Lord of Lords on the face of the earth, the Ruler of the necks of men, the King of the faithful and unbelievers, the King of Kings in the world, the Emperor of the East and West, the Emperor of Emperors, great in power, the Prince and Lord of the happiest heavenly signs, the Majesty's Emperor, the seal of victory, the refuge

32375 of mankind, the shadow of God spreading rest on the face of the earth, the King of Greece and Asia Minor, of Arabia, Persia, Turkistan, Tartary, the happy and rocky Arabia, of Egypt, Syria, Karmali Kjurdiplan, Circalli, the Abasites and Georgians, a

Lord of the white and black Sea and of the Ocean, Lord of Hungary, Wallachia and Moldavia, of Africa, Algiers and Barbary, no less the Heir of many other thousands of Kingdoms and Provinces, Sultan Muhamm?? Cte. a Son of Sultan Ibrahim Chan, a Son of Sultan Achmed Chan, etc". And otherwise the Title of a Sultan, in a letter to a German Emperor, was abbreviated thus:

"I, the Lord of all Lords, the Ruler of the East and West, who have the power to do and to leave undone what I please, the Lord of all Greece, Persia and Arabia, the ruler of all that a King and Lord can be subjected to, the great Hero of this time, and the strong Giant of the spacious globe, the Lord of the white and black sea, and of the Holy, with God's splendor shining city of Mecca, the city of Medina, and the Holy and pure city of Jerusalem; the King of the famous Empire of Egypt; the Lord of Jonia, and the cities of Athens, Senamim, the Holy Temple of God Zabilon and Bajjio, Rethfan and Magodvn; the Seat and Throne of the great King Nashin Retram; Lord of the island of Algiers, and the Prince of the Empires, Tartary, Mesopotamia, Media, Georgia, and all Greece, of Morea and Natolia, Asia, Armenia, Wallachia, Moldavia, and very many other Kingdoms and Principalities, of which I am Ruler; the greatest Emperor, Sultan N. N. a Son of the great Emperor, Sultans, N. N. who has the power from God to keep all peoples in check, and to open the gates and locks of all cities and auctions; into my hand are delivered all the ends of the earth, without exception; I, the Lord of the East, from the Kingdom of Chin (China), to the ends of Africa, whom God has appointed as a brave warrior; among whose brave Kingdoms the invincible Castle, Caesarea, is considered small, and among my hereditary kingdoms the territory and dominion of the Great Alexander is considered small; with me is the strength of the whole world, and the power of the Firmaments: peace be upon the King N. N. who is the mighty Lord of all Christendom, and the chosen vessel of the mighty Christian faith, the real and chosen Emperor of the Roman people, etc." By the Holy places, of which the Sultans commonly call themselves Lords, are understood, as appears from the last Title, Jerusalem, and especially Mecca and Medina. Of the first the Sultan calls himself a Protector, but of the two last only a Servant. But this Title nevertheless includes much with the Mohammedans; because the Sultan, as Supreme Lord of these places, is therefore held to be the Chief of the Religion, and a true Successor of Mohammed.

On the seal is not the crescent, as which, properly and solely, is a symbol of the nation and of the Empire; but his and his Father's or Ancestor's name, with the suffix: victorious and invincible Emperor.

As for the occupations of a Sultan; they must be infinite, if he wanted to burden himself with them: but it depends, as with other Princes, mainly on his own inclination, whether he wants to take much or little part in them. And the Eastern Greatness seems to entail, that he must, as much as possible, show himself and speak seldom, in order to remain in an all the more unknown Highness with those who approach him. Nevertheless it must have the name, that the most important matters happened as if under his eyes; and, since these must be taken off in the Divan, and he can observe everything that goes on in the adjoining room, through the aforementioned golden latticework, without being seen, therefore the Grands of the Empire treat everything in order: or else he causes secret councils to be held, to discuss and settle matters of importance in his presence. Since in the meantime most State servants in the Provinces and places where they are, have almost an indefinite power, yea even the right over Life and Death; so one sees, that so many things do not come before the highest government, or before the Divan, as with us. In this Divan the Grand Vizier decides almost everything, and only matters of the utmost importance come before the Emperor, who nevertheless adheres to his opinion, unless the Favorites and women of the Seraglio make him change his mind. The Grand Vizier also executes most of it in the Emperor's name. Such orders and answers are called Verman: but if they come directly from the Emperor; then they bear the name of Chath-Scheryf, that is, holy noble writing, under which he has written these words with his own hand: my command shall be done according to its form and content. But usually he only lets his name be printed above the commands by the Nischandschy-Pascha (Grand Chancellor). This command is irrevocable, even supposing it were ever so unreasonable. Between this and the Papal Bulls there is a perfect agreement. By this the Persian custom, of which mention is made in Eph. 1. 19. and Dan. VI. 9. 13. 16. is made, may be elucidated. He pardons the highest offices of honour, but seldom without consulting the Grand Visier. He and the other Grands of the Empire pardon the lower offices. Every Friday, unless he be detained by any weighty impediment, he rides openly, and with great solemnity, to the Mosque. This time the oppressed often take advantage of, to convey their distress by petitions, delivered to him during this ride, as if before his Throne. For this purpose, in order to discover the weight

of their petition, and to attract his attention, or to induce him to take part in
32445 their circumstances, they have well covered their heads with a piece of reed mat,
which they either light above, or hold a burning candle over it. As soon as this is
seen, let them fetch the Emperor, and receive their petition. (Rom. XII 20.) Woe then
to him against whom, in this manner, a complaint is justly made! He takes most of his
32450 pleasures in journeys by water to his country castles. Here and there he pays a visit
to a Great Man of the Kingdom; but nothing is more troublesome and costly to the
Tranquillity than such a one. — On all sorts of occasions, as on the Beyram festival
and other times, the Great Men must bring him presents, an ancient custom which
already occurs in Sam: X 27. 2 Chron: XVII 5. He often gives the Great Men such
32455 things; but this demands return presents, which must amount to ten or twenty times
more. — He often goes out in disguise, especially when the times are troublesome.
Disguised guards follow him, who understand a sort of language, by speaking signs,
and on such occasions what is stated in Prov. XVI 14. is fulfilled: The King's wrath
is a messenger of death. In this manner the Emperor Mahmud discovered the many plots
32460 against him, and 'there were for a time so many people thrown into the Channel, that
every one had an aversion to eating fish. The number of his wives and concubines is
great. These are indeed Secrets to all those who are not in the Harim or the
habitation of women; but yet so much is known, that the Emperor is accustomed to
divide his time among them, although it is not easy to decide whether he takes much
32465 pleasure in it. For, as they must love him even against their Will; each of them
seeks to fetter his heart; one is against the other; and thus, besides the slavish
determination of their freedom, jealousy and commotion are common among them; so,
often, unpleasant investigations, nay, even sharp executions may be necessary. The
Sultan associates with no one in confidence, except his wives and one or other of his
32470 favourites. Few persons have the privilege of speaking with him, for instance the
Grand Visir, the Mufti, the Kisler-Aga, the Bostanschi-Baschi, the Lyfarts, etc. All
others may not speak with him until after a previous permission. No one may eat with
him. Everyone approaches him with downcast eyes, and hands placed together in a
cross-like manner towards the abdomen. This brings with it the Eastern Ceremonial;
and a Sultan would be relieved who would abolish it.

32475 For the rest, the Turkish Emperor need not be a false or untrue politician, nor a
Machiavellian. This is only necessary for small Princes at its highest, in order to
thereby obtain for themselves Dignity, greatness and prestige, which, in their vanity
and ambition, the small extent of their country would not grant them. The Great Lord,
in his Dignity, proceeds absolutely. He commands as Emperor, and as a vice-regent of
32480 Mohammed. The greatest hope considers him as having died a blessed death, who is
strangled at his command. He is almost worshipped in his dignity. His Seraglio, which
only lasts as long as he is Emperor, regards him as the sun, on the setting of which
a night of death would follow for it. He who is given his Chath-Sheriff (writing)
rises, and presses it to his forehead when he receives it. The streets through which
32485 he rides are made clean, and in the summer sprinkled with water. In a word, his whole
government is despotic, and the respect which the people show him, almost divine. But
this despotism or absolute power rests solely on the foundations of the Koran, and
the customs which flow from it. By it he is often very much limited. In addition, the
nature of man, by all this Majesty, cannot be eradicated. It retains its freedom. As
32490 great as in general the Sultan's power is over the State servants and the Great, who
are considered his slaves, and are also called so; he must nevertheless proceed
cautiously, when it concerns the rights of the people, or a State in particular, or
the well-being of an entire Province. Then one takes no delay in maintaining one's
rights. The Mohammedan religion does not change men, but leaves them as corrupted as
32495 they are by nature. The people begin to mutiny, abandoning their otherwise customary
respect because of a just, or at least supposedly just, displeasure. The Emperor's
Person is then no longer sacred. His star??, his wink and his commands have then lost
their enchanting power. 'It is a crime against him.' Happy is he, when he is thrown
into the dungeon, in which he, hitherto, kept the successor to the Throne locked up,
32500 and which is raised to the same pinnacle of Honour from which he was made to tumble.
But there is also no lack of examples, that he has become a victim of the people's
anger. And this always happens, under the appearance of justice, or under the real
protection and defence of the law. The Mufti or one of the Sheiks of the Sophie or
Ejubs Mosque, or at least one of the principal Judges and Lawyers must, on the side
32505 of the discontented, give him the reason for his incompetence and unworthiness to
govern, and at the same time announce the sentence. Let no one imagine that the Turks
are worse in this respect than other peoples. But that, among Christians, such scenes
in the oppression of their subjects, take place so seldom, and many centuries show us
scarcely one King of England in this kind, the Princes owe this solely to the

32510 Christian Religion, which makes a multitude of their subjects from natural men to
patient Christians, and among the rest, especially by the public intercessions from
the pulpits, leaves such an impression, that they are even in the burdens subject to
the Government, who have power over them, Rom: XIII 1.5. and that not from necessity,
32515 for the punishment, but also for the sake of Conscience. Would to God, that all
Princes would think of this! and, when even the English Scene is caused by a wrongly
understood Religion; nothing should go more to their hearts, than a purified one.

(*) In general, this is the rule concerning the succession, that, upon the death of a Sultan,
the eldest Prince of the blood becomes Emperor; unless he is declared incapable, or there has
32520 been a rebellion. In such a case, one does not look at the distant or near relationship with
the deceased Sultan.

§. XXXIV. The Emperor's Procession.

32525 Although all the districts of Constantinople are provided with sufficient guards,
courts of justice, and other civil arrangements; the Emperor, nevertheless, often
goes about the city in disguise, and he is accompanied by disguised persons, who at
his beck understand his will, and carry it out. But, at certain times, he holds
public processions. The most magnificent among the usual is on the great Beyram
32530 festival, when all the First Names greet him in the Seraglio, give him gifts, and
from there must sail to the Mosque. Every Friday he rides with him to a Mosque. The
streets through which he rides on horseback, (for riding in a carriage is not at all
customary,) are cleaned, and in the summer sprinkled with water. From the Seraglio to
the Mosque, on either side, stand Janistas or other guards, but without guns, who, as
a sign of slavish submission, have their hands laid downwards against their bellies,
32535 crosswise over each other. The principal servants of the Seraglio walk or ride before
him. His horse is surrounded by about a dozen Schurbahdschys, who wear on their
ceremonial caps thin, but extended in length, and at the same time standing quite
high, plumes, and walk close around him. In such a procession he also rides, often,
at other times, through the streets of the city, also paying visits to the Grand Men
32540 of his Court. The Tractant must indeed do everything in his power to entertain such a
great Guest properly; but he may not draw anything for it, and must also make him a
suitable present. When riding through the streets, every one who is in the shops and
before the glasses must stand; if he were to sit he would run great danger. The
Emperor is accustomed to salute the guards and people on both sides, while he turns
32545 his head with a little bow, and lays his right hand on his left breast; whereupon the
people answer with an applause: just as, according to the Turkish custom, the Greater
salutes the Lesser first. When sailing on the water, the Emperor is accompanied by
the Servants of the Court or Seraglio, but the Grand Vizier by the State Servants;
but both never sail together in one barge; and then the Guns of the Seraglio are
32550 fired: but both may never remain outside the city for a night, unless a Kaym-Maekam
(Respondent) were appointed.

§. XXXV. Of the Turkish Court.

32555 After the Turkish Emperor, in a natural order, the Osman Porte, or, which is the
same, of the Turkish Court, must be dealt with. Concerning the name and origin of the
word, Osman, there is no objection, since it is derived from one of the principal
Founders of the Empire, namely Osman; but concerning the word, Porte, opinions are
divided. The most probable is determined by the Bible, according to which the
32560 Easterners regarded the gates of a city as the principal places for negotiation and
legal proceedings. Because therefore, from the first foundation of this Empire, the
residence of the Princes was united with the main court; hence the name of the Osman
Porte arose. That this derivation is the real one, is still secured by custom, since
one hears the Palace of an Envoy, a Cashier, etc., given by the inhabitants of the
country, the name of Porte. And if one speaks in Constantinople simply of the Porte,
32565 without using the adjective, high, then everyone understands by it the Palace of the
Grand Visier, in which most business is conducted. As the Turkish Empire has
expanded; so also the Porte or Court has been transferred to other cities, for
example ??en, Brussa, Adrianople, but finally, after the capture of Constantinople,
to this city. There now in the Seraglio the Turkish Court has established its seat.
32570 Everything that belongs to this Court, and stays in the Seraglio, consists of many
thousands of people. After the Emperor, Imperial women deserve the first place here.
These consist of the most select beauties. They are not only bought, and then brought
to the Seraglio, but the Paqhas (Raffas) and the Great also make a merit of bringing
them there, by way of a present. For if they have won the favour of the Prince; then
32575 they generally promote the happiness of their benefactors. The consorts of the
Emperors are, by the Europeans, by a mistake, called Sultans. The Turks call them the

first, second, third wife, etc. Actually that title belongs only to the Princesses of the Great Lord, or to a really and effectively appointed Consort of him. These so-called Sultans of the former Emperors were, formerly, often put to death, but now they are preserved with due decorum in certain State prisons, and generally in the Old Seraglio: but the mother of the reigning Emperor, who is called Sultana-mother (Walidet-Sultan), has a special prestige. Her Chief Steward bears the name of Walidet-Kjetchudafzy. — Among the active Sultans, as is known, he has none as precedence as the first Prince brought into the world. Of females there is no certainty, but nevertheless a great number. It is remarkable, that according to a fixed arrangement, which has the force of a law, no Turkin, at least never of respectable parents, comes into the Seraglio. All the Sultans are brought there as slaves. The reason for a thing which seems to us so strange, rests partly on their religion, on that the holy race of the Turkish Princes does not require mothers who are connected with families, but such as must be considered as familyless; partly on political grounds, in order that no Turkish Family, through a Sultana, may be related to the Imperial, and thus may lay claim to the Throne. At least this custom has been maintained since Bajazet I. For when he, with a lawful Spouse, got into Tamerlan's prison, and was very badly treated; nevertheless the shame and disgrace which she had to endure in his presence seemed to him the only thing that mattered most. And therefore his successors do not marry lawful wives, so that in such misfortune no similar shame may befall them: unless one would place the cause of this not marrying, actually, in the economy, namely not to establish and maintain a special court for such a Sultana, which would cost half a million Piastres annually. There would be no end of commotion among these Sultans and concubines. If one of them is pregnant; then she is almost carried on the hands. Around and in the Seraglio there then reigns an unusual silence. The European ships, which otherwise make their arrival known by a few cannon shots, this shooting is already prohibited at the Dardanelles in advance. Yes, because otherwise, during the Emperor's recreational voyage on the Channel, the cannons are fired around the Seraglio, this shooting is then stopped. For the rest they are all deprived of their liberty, and shut up in the Harim or the Seraglio or the country castles. If they go out to play, or sometimes walk in a garden; then this is done where one can be seen from mountains or some other place, so covered, that one can hardly breathe, and always under the supervision of the eunuchs, who see and observe everything with an Argus eye. Nothing is more confused, than when by the Emperor's wife when a Physician is needed. It would end badly with such a one, if he should desire to see the tongue, the eyes, and the sight, to judge of the disease; and the danger is most great, and he would be seen especially at Court, when he has the liberty to feel the pulse, without the hand being covered with a veil. For the rest they pass the time in an idle idleness, such as visits, which they pay each other in their shut-up dwellings, dancing, music, embroidery, &c. But I break off here, so as not to be rambling on in useless trifles, and even to incur suspicion of a reprehensible judgment of the way of life at many European Courts. Now comes a Sultana in childbirth; then a great Donalmaoi Feast is celebrated for the birth, and indeed for a Prince in the whole Empire, but for a Princess only in Constantinople. The streets and lanes are then illuminated at night, and the revelries last for three or more days. The Princes of the reigning Emperors are, at first, educated by women, but afterwards all have their tutors, (Chodschjah) and are well treated; but the fate of the other Princes is sad. But these are now no longer, as otherwise happened before, deprived of Life by their brother's coming to the Throne. They are locked up within a small circumference of the Seraglio, are very carefully guarded, and are cut off from intercourse with all others. They may only make their appearance at the Emperor at a few times, such as on the Beyram Feast. Otherwise they usually do not see him; and if they show anywhere that they wish to stand for higher things, or if the people seem to place any confidence in one or the other, only in name, then his Life is in danger, and strangling or mistake is the last mercy. The Circumcised are their strict rulers, and when they come to manhood; then they are given only wives who are barren; and if it should happen that children, especially of the male sex, are born, then they are put to death by poison. — With the Princesses the Great Lord uses to conduct a common trade. He marries them off, when they are only 2 years old, to old Visiers or Bassas. But the Bridegroom does not see his Bride. In the meantime he must give her considerable presents, which the Great Lord takes to himself. If that man dies; then everything falls to the supposed Spouse, or actually to the Great Lord. Such a game lasts so long, until it is actually given to a man already previously, or newly engaged to her, which happens under ridiculous ceremonies, that, for example, she draws a dagger against him at his show, but also at public ceremonies in Constantinople. Nothing is more foolish, than such a marriage. When the

man, as usually happens, has his office abroad; then the Spouse, who by reason of her descent is still always called Sultana, remains, according to a fixed law, in the Residence. The man has, without her special permission, no freedom to keep co-wives; for more wives are not allowed to one who has a Sultana. This blood relationship with the Emperor also seldom helps him in time; for he can be deposed, sent into exile, and strangled by all this. If the fate of the children, borne by Imperial Princesses by their husbands, is sad, because they are sometimes deprived of Life after birth; yet the children of the female sex are better off: for they are allowed to live, and are called Kanum Sultanen (women of the blood). If such marry, then all their children remain alive. Sometimes the sons of the first are also allowed to live; but they have no rank or part in the Imperial Family. Besides, all this depends on the Sultan's caprice, according to whether he wishes to deal kindly or cruelly with his sisters or daughters. The object of these arranged marriages is therefore only this, to attract to himself the Estate of great and wealthy persons, to whom the Great Lord can under no pretense of right come; or to allay the fear which he must have from their prestige, acquired in the Provinces, since they must often come to Constantinople on account of their Wives, and one can always seize upon their persons on such an occasion. — No one may refuse the offered marriage; and, when he himself is married, he must, by the proposed union with the Imperial blood, repudiate his former Wife. As for the number of the Persons of the Imperial Family, as well as other things that happen in the Seraglio; these are for those who are not admitted to anything in person, Secrets that are covered with thick darkness. Of adult Princes and Princesses one knows from many circumstances whether they are still alive or not; but by new births, as well as deaths of young Princes, the people are greatly deceived. The former are often concealed, none of the women having been with child. The latter are kept hidden from the world, as long as it pleases; they are still counted among the living, when they have long since died and decayed. For these and all other Secrets the Engraved Ones are employed. These creatures, which no one of either sex otherwise assumes, or acknowledges as his own, are the secret motives of the Seraglio. They are of two kinds, namely, black and white. Among the white Engraved Ones is the Chief Chamberlain, or the Overseer of the Chafz-Ocla, that is, the Chafz-Oda-Baschy, the Chief Treasurer, Chafynehdür-Bajchy; the Chief Kitchen and Cellar Master, Kjilardschjy-Baschy; and the Casteschi of the Seraglio, Sheraydar-Agafzy. Their Chief is called Kapi-Aga, who is in a certain respect the Chief Court as well as the Regaejl??-master in the Seraglio. The blacks are most powerful; for they best fit the evils of the Seraglio; they also have less attractiveness than the white; and one wishes to have perfect monsters in them. From these is taken the Kislär-Aga or Chief of the Disciples, (*) who, after the Great Lord, is the most important in the interior of the Seraglio. This office, so contemptible to human nature, is reckoned among the first of the Court; for it permits immediate access to the Emperor, to the Sultans, and to the innermost of all affairs of the Empire and State. Everything lies and bows before him in the Seraglio, and even the Grand Vizier and all the Grands of the Court must respect him, and seek to make himself a friend. Under him he has a very large body of Chief Surgeons, among whom then their numerous bands are gradually distributed. His Secretary, under the name of Jafydschy-Efendy, is also an important person, especially because of the immediate influence on the Grand Lord. For the rest, according to true descriptions, nothing is more untamed than the disposition of these Emasculates. Because they are not only, at some time, cut off, but also that which is wholly taken away from them, by which nature has wished to distinguish the two sexes from each other; so they betray on all occasions, that they have expelled themselves from humanity, and renounced human nature, since they are neither married, (*) nor can ever expect a Family; so all those who show inclinations of tenderness under their care, are the hated objects of their jealousy and envy. They have been treated unmercifully; therefore they endeavor, by mercilessness, to make themselves harmless. Noted that they have abandoned all blood relationship, because they were taken from their parents at an early age, and they can hope for no new kindred; thus they are alienated from all natural connection with men, and a filthy avarice, ambition, and pride rule their souls. In order to burn incense to these idols, the very lowest means are chosen. A cowardly flattery towards those who are above them, a blind obedience to execute their most unreasonable commands, the deepest silence, filthy calumnies of women and other persons under them, the fostering of disputes among them, and an inviolable loyalty in all this are their own. To these Servants, who seem so necessary to the Turkish Court, belongs, besides some old women, appointed to oversee the Seraglio, another class of people, and these are the Mutes. The aforementioned Eunuchs would already seem to us very useless; but the Turks consider them as bars for the preservation of chastity and

marital fidelity, and the most capable among them occupy the place of teachers: but
32710 what should we think of the mutes? Nevertheless they have their use. It is not
fitting that one should speak in the presence of the Emperor, and in his vicinity.
There must therefore be mutes, who are such by nature, or at least have renounced the
use of speech, but are otherwise able to communicate the commands of the Great Lord
and their thoughts among themselves, by certain signs. And in this they would have
32715 come so far, without words, that, besides the imagery during the day, they could even
express their opinion at night, by touching their limbs. To this we must add the
dwarves, who are just as useless, do not observe serious matters, but merely occupy
the place of court jesters. As to these Dumbs and Dwarves; it all depends on the
Emperor's inclination and caprice, whether they be many or few, and whether they are
32720 esteemed or not. The Cooks, among whom the first is called Aschaschjy-Baschy, but the
Chief of all Muthpaech-Emyny, also form a Band of some hundreds: of them often become
great State servants; and it has happened, that one of them, who dissected the meat
into larger parts, came out the country's Courts as Envoy. It would be very wordy,
without any use, if one wanted to speak of the other Servants, for instance the cup-
32725 bearer (Kaedaehkjar), the ?? of (Tschaschnyghyr-Baschy), the Tschoadars, that is,
Chamber servants, Groomsmen and servants, the Ibrikdars, who offer the Great Lord the
lamps and basins before prayer, the Berber-Baschy or body-healer, etc. The Silahdar-
Aga (Sword-bearer in Chief), the Tschoadar-Aga (Grand Chamberlain), the Rikjahdar-Aga
(Sultan's Styrofoam-bearer), the Dulbend-Aga (who puts on his Turban), the Ibrykdar-
32730 Aga (Lampet-bearer), and the Berber-Baschy (first surgeon) are the first Officials in
the Seraglio. They are called, together with the other persons belonging to them,
Chafz-Odaly, that is, Chamberlains of the Great Lord. Their number extends to forty,
and the Sultan, whose person they serve immediately, is their Chief. Some, such as
the Bostandschy - Baschy (Head of the Guard) and the Equerries, with some others, are
32735 called Kpltuk-Wefyr, that is, Vizier,s of the shoulders, and are often made Pachas
(Bassas) of 3 horsetails. Besides these worldly Courtiers, there are also
ecclesiastical or Ulema, who at least become great Mullas or Kudileskiers, (chiefs of
the army), when they leave the Seraglio; namely the Hod??, Instructor of the Sultan;
the Hekim Effendi, first Body Physician; the Munejin-Baschi, first Soothsayer; and
32740 the Dscherrah-Baschi, first Physician.
To the Seraglio, although not so immediately, many important Servants still belong.
Of the Nischandschjy-Pacha, when he is of the Masse of the Pachas, because otherwise
he is only called Nischandschjy-Effendi, has been spoken of before, who must always
be near the Emperor. If the Grand Vizier has duties which separate him from the
32745 Emperor, then he appoints him a Nischandschjy-Effendi, (*) to express the Tura or
name of the Sultan. The Bostanschi-Baschi, having his name from Bostan, which in
Turkish means a Garden, is the Overseer of the outer part of the Seraglio and its
gardens, as well as the Chief Overseer of the entire Canal, and all the Imperial
pleasure-houses situated thereon. He constantly accompanies the Sultan on his
32750 pleasure-boat trips on the water, and keeps the rudder of the Imperial vessel in
view. He alone has, like the Emperor, as a sign of freedom, the privilege of wearing
a beard in the Seraglio, since all the others, like slaves, must shave it off, and
may only wear a moustache. Such a Bostanschi-Baschi is not only at Constantinople,
but also at Adrianople. He has many thousands of Bostanschi under him, who in a
32755 certain respect keep watch at the Seraglio and that pleasure-house where the Emperor
stays; they are also his rowers, and secret executioners. The Court Marshals and
Ceremonial Attendants bear the name of Tschausch, and the principal one that of
Tschausch Baschy, which, according to our title, one might well bring out by a Chief
Court Marshal, a Chief Master of Ceremonies, as well as a State Petitioner. To him
32760 are referred for decision the less important cases by the Grand Visier and the Kadhy-
Leschkjers (chief judges). The Chief Master of Ceremonies at the ceremonies in the
Seraglio itself is called Kapudschjylar-Kietchnadafzy. On such occasions he often
performs services at the same time as the Tschausch-Baschy, who is actually the
Porte-Master of Ceremonies outside the Seraglio. Under him are the Kap??dschy, of
32765 Kapu, door, and could be brought out by Doorkeepers; as they then actually keep watch
not only at the gates of the Seraglio, but also in times of war around the tent of
the Sultan, and are at the same time often the foreign executioners of the Porte. Of
these the Kapudschy-Baschy (Chamberlains) differ entirely. These are men of a good
Family, who do not belong to the inner but outer Court of the Seraglio. For instance,
32770 at the Audiences they conduct the foreigners into the Sultan's auditorium. Outside
Constantinople they execute the more important commands of the Emyr-A'lem, that is,
the Governor of a small Province. - The Chief Groom is called Bujugh Emyr Achori, the
Under-Groom Kjutschugk Emyr Achor; both in general, in a corrupt pronunciation,
Imbrahor. The training school of all high and low Court and State offices are the

- 32775 Ytsch-oglaus, Chamber servants, Pagiën or Youths, to serve with the Prince, and to pass over to State offices; and the Adschjam-oglaus, Youths for lower duties. The former are under their Chief Oda-Baschy, and the latter under the Bostandsckjy-Baschy. From these are taken the Bastandschjys, as well as the Baltahdschjys or Hellebardiers, a kind of Guards, provided with axes, whose Chief is called
- 32780 Baltahdschjylar, Kjetchada. Both enjoy, among the Gesnedenen, an unusually sharp and strict education in the Seraglio, especially to teach obedience, silence, and moderation.
- They are kept under a severe restraint, for the slightest misdeeds, they are punished with flogging, and after the years of apprenticeship the former, as has been said,
- 32785 are even raised to the highest offices, but the latter are destined for the low, and are raised to Bostandschjys, Kapudschjys, etc. The actual State servants live outside the Seraglio, appearing there only at the time of the Divan. For the rest, no one is allowed in the Seraglio, except those summoned, although admission is also granted to the Doctors and such Christian and Jewish women who have galantries to sell. Where
- 32790 there are no fixed characteristics that reveal one's sex with certainty, or because of a familiar intercourse; there one is kept outside, or sharply investigated beforehand. But, if they are allowed in; then they are accompanied everywhere by the Genedenen, and kept in view, so that no Secrets may be discovered or heard, or anything else may happen that one does not want to tolerate. And hereby one can
- 32795 understand, why it always remains Secrets to the world, what actually goes on in the Seraglio.
- (*) The Kislär-Aga and other prominent Ge??n have, likewise, their Haerem, (women's residence), but not for their need, but because their Dignity and the Character of an orthodox Mohammedan entail, to have wives. These poor women are very bad at it. All satisfaction for their suffering, which they have to endure from their emasculated husbands, consists only in riches. (*) The Kislär-Aga and other great Gene??n have, likewise, their Haerem, (women's residence), but not for their want, but because their Dignity and the Character of an orthodox Mohammedan entail, to have wives. These poor women are very bad at it. All satisfaction for their suffering, which they have to endure from their emasculated husbands, consists only in riches.
- 32800
- 32805 (*) The Nischandschjy is in this respect nothing, what a Grand-Chancellor is with us. As a State servant he properly belongs to the Divan. His post gives more Honour, than advantage and influence over others, unless he is a Favourite of the Emperor. Nijl??ian gives a sign, and here the drawing of the name.
- 32810
- §. XXXVI. Of the Turkish State Servants.
- In Turkey, with the exception of the Imperial Family, there is no distinction between the Families. Consequently, no one serves, in fact, his descent, to recommend him.
- 32815 One finds only exceptions in this respect among the descendants of Ibrahim-Chan-Oglu and Kjøprogli-Oglu, none of whom ever accept public offices of honour, but do not refuse them so sternly. The former descend from the Grand Visir, Ibrahim, at the time of Mahomed I, who, after his death, was succeeded by his successor Amurat II very deserved, received the Title of Chan, with the privilege, that his Family should be
- 32820 free from all the Offices of Honour, which are so dangerous in Turkey, and usually involve the loss of Life and property, and not, like the Turkish Emperors, mix with foreign blood, but might propagate themselves through slaves. The latter descend from the famous Grand Vizier Kuprogli, and content themselves, without accepting Offices of Honour, to be Mutewellys of their property, which are all Vakuf. But both Families
- 32825 are, nevertheless, at Court and among the people in the greatest respect. — Each serves therefore from below, and, according to Providence, which of unknowing men by the word, happiness, so often forgotten, governs the fallen in the world, so he rises or falls. Of which nothing is more common than to see the children of the meanest people raised to the dignity of Visiers, but those of the great placed in needy
- 32830 circumstances. One would therefore think that, as hardly any one is educated in youth, except in a remote way, to what he will become in time, the places were very poorly filled; and yet one is mistaken. A little experience, which they gain in filling various offices, enables them, with a naturally good understanding, if they are not corrupted by malice, self-interest, and other views and vices, to fill with decency the higher offices of honour, of which one sees constant examples there. Nor does the manner of government suffer at all by such changes, noting that the subordinate officials, who are trained in business, remain, or even rise, and thus become the leaders or assistants of him who first received an office. Then, from this one might form a wrong idea, and imagine that all offices were given according to
- 32835 merit. This had to happen; but money decides for each. No one can get to a place, unless he makes presents to those on whom the recommendation at Court or the appointment itself depends, according to the offices of honour. Now this is, among
- 32840

many other circumstances, one of the principal reasons for the falsification of Turkey. Everyone must think of four kinds of expenditure, partly to get an office; partly to maintain his rank; partly to be able to exist afterwards, until he gets another, because the offices, usually, are only forgiven for one to three years; partly finally to be able to bring in the gifts again in order to obtain a new office. What source is left for him, therefore, to make up for his loss? None other, than the most hideous extortions, injustices, or cunning deceits.

The Divan is the highest State Council of the Turkish Court. It is generally held, twice a week, namely on Sunday and Tuesday, (*) and before noon, in the hall of the second Court of the Seraglio, which is therefore also called the Divan, as well as Kubbh (Dome in a special sense). The number of its members is not always the same, but depends on the time and the circumstances. The Grand Vizier presides therein, the Mufti only appears there when he is expressly invited to do so. The Aga of the Janistas, the Spahilar-Aga, Silhadar-Aga and others keep to the door outside the Divan. Each in particular then appears in his official robes. — In times of war extraordinary council meetings, which are there called Muschawaret, are also held by the Mufti, in the presence of the Emperor. Therein are present the Mufti, Kaym-Maekam, (Vicar of the Sultan or Grand Vizier) Reys-Efendy, (Chief Secretary of State) and some of the Chiefs of the Uelema, (Scholars of the Law) as well as the two Kadhy-Leschkj'er, (Chief Judges of the Army) and the Istanbul-Efendy (Secretary of Constantinople). The great council meetings, in which at the same time the civil Councils (Khodschjah-Aefan) and the Chiefs of the various warring nations are consulted, are held in the Seraglio, or with the Grand Vizier. But the first and usual Divan, which bears the name of Galibî-Divan, is distinguished from that in the Palace of the Grand Vizier, in a room open on the fourth side, called Divan-Chane. In Zen he usually presides himself, and on Mondays he has the Mullas of Ejub and Scutari, on Wednesdays the Stanibol-Efeniy, on Fridays the Kadile Kiers of Rumelie and Notolie, and on Saturdays the Mulla of Galata to Bystanders. Here are lawsuits settled, and the Spahis paid; whereas on the contrary, in the Galir be-Divan the payment of the Janistas is made. For the rest, the courts of the Mullas or Kadis are called Mechkeme.

The Grand Vizier (Visir Asem) is the most important of all the State servants, and his Dignity is equal to that which Pharaoh gave to Joseph. (Genesis: XLI 40 etc.) His Title, as well as that of the Emperor, is in the m?? far exalted, above what we call Highness and Majesty. One finds, for example, the following Titles in the Imperial written answers to him: "Most honorable state, most excellent Counselor, Governor of the world, Ruler of the State in a lofty way of thinking, Executor of human affairs with an attack that reaches the target, Guardian of the building of Ottoman well-being, Builder of the foundations of Ottoman Majesty, Dispenser of the Dignities of the highest Calyphat, Executor of the law of the greatest Empire, the Forest Lion in war, the Mountain Lion in battle, who is loaded with many favors and benefits from the highest King, etc." Many an Emperor has not been distinguished from the Visier in much more than name, unless he were known as Mustapha III in the last years, the power itself reserved. He is as the born Generalissimo of the Army. At the Courts of Europe nothing comes near his Dignity, and the so-called Premiers Ministers (first Ministers) are scarcely a shadow, compared to him. He executes the most important things, using, at the most, only the Emperor's name. As the Imperial Seal Keeper, he wears the seal constantly around his neck. Hanging it with it constitutes his appointment, and taking it away also his deposition. Without further inquiry and account, having printed this seal, he executes all orders for the Empire. He may indeed be appointed by the Sultan alone, but often the Sultans, the Grands of the Seraglio, and often even the Janistas, or the people of Constantinople, may bring much or little to his appointment. Everywhere he is the real Governor of the Emperor. On the water-tours he accompanies the Sultan, but is nevertheless never with him in one and the same barge. At the regular meetings of the Divans he must appear at the Seraglio, and is, besides that, invited there to the secret conversations with the Emperor. In this last case he is accustomed, when the circumstances are dire, to prepare himself for death before he goes there; for it is often the place of justice of the Grand Viziers. The gates of the Seraglio are closed after he has been admitted; then it is a sign that his life is over. Those who are next to the Emperor, such as the Sultana-mother, the Kisler-A'ga, the Bostanschi-Bafc??, and other favourites, he tries to oblige by services, and especially by gifts. He must also do the same to the Grand Lord, several times, for the trifles, which he receives from him. For this now his fixed annual salary would not suffice; for that can be estimated at 80 purses, or 40 thousand piastres; but his other income amounts, annually, to several millions. All requests of subjects, especially the gift of

offices, bring in so much, that, if he holds his post for only a short time, he leaves behind a treasure of several millions. His Court is in fact Kingly. But all this Highness is very uncertain: because in his Person all the Offices of Honour are united, and he is the highest Judge, the supreme governor of domestic and foreign affairs, and the real General; so he has an astonishing responsibility, and innumerable enemies against him. — During a campaign the Emperor, in sight of the army, takes one of the three black and beautiful Candid heron plumes fastened to his headdress, and puts it on the Turban of the Grand Vizier. This is a badge, that he commands on the Emperor's side, and the army therefore shows him the same obedience. Happy is he, when he is only deposed, and banished to an island of the Archipelago, or to another province or city of the Empire, with or without confiscation of his goods. But he is seldom so happy. The strangulation usually puts an end to his Life. — As dangerous as such a Dignity seems to be for a chief Empire; so advantageous is it for the Turkish. The Grand Vizier, in case of rising riots, is like the Sultan's stab, against which he can stop all attacks, when he throws the blame for the supposed or real irregularities on him, and then makes him the victim of the Rebels. Because it would be impossible in the meantime, in such an extensive Empire, to observe so many things; so he has, like most State Servants, two Kihajas or Governors. The chief adds him Emperor, and by him is called Kjetchuda Begh, but the other he accepts as an accomplice or Kjetchuda himself. After the Grand Vizier there were formerly six others, who were only called Vizier,s, or Kubbeh-Welyre, and were the real State Councilors. They had their seat in the Divan, saying their opinion at the questioning of the Grand Vizier, and had only to carry out the things which he charged them with. But Ibrahim Pascha considered them disadvantageous to the Grand Vizier, persuading, under the pretext of saving expenses, Muhammid III, to make them depart for the most advantageous Stadtholderships. Otherwise the Porte still gives the Title Vizier,s to all Bassas of 3 Horsetails, and these only, because they are so by virtue of their Stadtholderships; for the word Wesyr (Visier) signifies one who carries out the Prince's command.

Of the Mufti, who is the first Counsellor in matters of Religion and State, § XXXI. has already been treated of.

A Bassa or Pascha is, hereinafter, one of the principal State Persons. This word, Pascha, is composed of the words Pa, (foot,) and Scha, (great Regent,) and therefore signifies a Governor of the Prince. Such a one is indeed appointed by the Sultan. but in his appointment the Divan, and especially the Grand Visier, nevertheless has a great deal to say. A lesser one has two, but a more important one three Horsetails. The latter are also called Beglerbeks, Princes of Princes, from Beg, Prince; although three of them in particular receive this name, namely those who have their seat at Sophia, Kutaja and Damascus. The Beglerbeg of Sophia is called Rumeli??, that of Kutaja Anadoli?? and that of Damascus Schaem-Begler-Beg. The origin of Horsetails is said to have originated from the invention of a War Hero, who in a battle, when the standards were lost, cut off a horse's tail, stuck it on a pole, and kept the soldiers in order with it. The Turks call them Tugs. Such a Tug consists of a long pike, at the top with a golden apple, from which a white horsetail hangs down. When the Sultan takes the field in person, he must carry seven such Tugs or Horsetails before him; the Visier has, as a rule, but three, as do all the Bassas of his rank, whether they be Sfer-Askjir (Army-Chiefs) or not; except in the case when he is in the army, when, like the Tartar-Chan, he has five. On journeys and when entering cities they have them carried before them; and in the army the tents of the Bassas are distinguished by the number of these tokens of honour erected before them. — These Bassas are civil soldiers, and commanders over larger or smaller Provinces, and are therefore called Baschalics. They are indeed accustomed to be changed several times every three years, here and there. The Baschalic of Babylon (Bagdat) is the most considerable, and its Bassa has even opposed the Emperor. The principal Bassas have indeed the dignity of a Vizier, but have nothing to do, than the Stadtholderships of their Provinces, which were formerly Kingdoms, as of Babylon, Cairo, Diarbekir, etc. The journeys of the Bassas through the Turkish Empire are uncommonly desolate, being, namely, often, done with small armies. These they keep at their own expense, partly for their bodyguard, partly to have their orders most strictly executed. Their cavalry is called Seradsche, and their infantry Seimen. During these journeys the Tschaus-Baschi goes before with a horse's tail, sticking it up at the Konak, that is, at the place, where one wants to rest and stay the night. On the arrival of the Bassa, the second and third horse's tail are also stuck up. During these journeys they must be kept free from the places through which they pass. Is it not known that the Bassa maintains a very strict military order; then everyone runs away, except the inhabitants of the cities, leaving house and yard, and whatever

32975 he cannot take with him to the mountains or elsewhere, behind him. If he therefore
keeps a day of rest somewhere; then he sets out to places, where there are no equal
or greater Commanders than he, his Divan or court, to hear legal cases, ??rest, etc.
and the usual courts must be silent at that time, and approve of his actions and
omissions, which causes an astonishing confusion, not to mention the crying
32980 injustices that are then committed. If, after complaints have been brought in, he is
deposed by the Porte, and also strangled; then the Sultan approaches all his
soldiers, who have been discharged from service by the death or deposition of a
Bassa, and Kapuszies, that is, people called outside the Porte or Palace of a Bassa,
then go in droves, and plunder the Provinces. After the Bassa comes a Beg or Bey.,
32985 and then a Sandschiak. A Bey has two horsetails; the Sandschiak but one horsetail, or
one banner, as this word also means. And a Sandschiak-Beg is someone who has a Fief
or a small Stadtholdership. In Jerusalem there is no Bassa, but a Sandschiak
appointed, who indeed does not have his qualities, but otherwise observes the same
duties, and possesses all the privileges, whereas the Sultan himself, under his own
32990 Titles, uses the name of a Stadtholder of the Holy Places. Although it is now, that
the Begs (Beys) and Sandschiaks are lower, than the Bassas; they nevertheless have
their Dignity, immediately, from the Porte. The deposition of a Visier or Bassa takes
place in the following words. "You, for instance?? Ibrahim! so notorious are your
crimes, that you are absolutely guilty of death, and are condemned to it.
32995 Nevertheless, we want to acquit you of this, by an operation of our grace. But the
high command, proceeding from us, is, that you raise the Dignity of Vizier (Bassa),
and go to the place of your exile Candie etc." All offices of honor, except the Grand
Vizier and the actual Courtiers, are, usually, forgiven by the Divan, under the
Emperor's ratification. It is the same way with Captain Bassa, who is actually the
33000 Grand Admiral of the Empire. As such he is also a member of the Divan itself. This
place he seldom holds longer than a year, and is the Chief Overseer of the Sea State,
of which he usually understands nothing. His rank depends on whether he is Bassa of 2
or 3 horsetails. If he has 3 horsetails; then he is called Denies- or Derja-Begler-
Begh, that is, supreme Prince of the sea. His main work is the summer voyage to the
33005 Archipelago with a part of the Turkish fleet. For this purpose he receives an
Imperial plenipotentiary power, which has its force as soon as he is outside the
Dardanelles, being drawn up in such high-flown terms, as if the Pagan Poets spoke of
Neptune. The purpose of this voyage would be to exercise the fleet, and to receive
the Imperial revenues of the whole Archipelago; but otherwise he holds judgments
33010 there, as well as in the ports and sea-cities, like the Visiers and Bassas at their
places, and exercises justice.
The Defterdar is the Chief Overseer of Finance and of the 12 Chancellors under him,
and the Grand Treasurer; but the Kasnadar-Baschi is the proper treasurer of the
Sultan for his special Fund; and both are, according to the nature of things, only
33015 civil persons: just as the Aga of the Janistas, before he is made Bassa, is a proper
soldier. He is, in times of peace, always at Constantinople, figuring, as General of
the Janistas, especially in times of commotion, a distinguished person, according as
he joins one party or another. He alone is the Judge of his soldiers, and lets them
be arrested according to their merit, likewise appointing the Serdars or Under-
33020 Janistar-Agas to other places. The Spahilar-Aga is the General of the Horsemen. The
two Chief Judges or Cancelliers of European and Asian Turkey bear the name of Kadhy-
Leschkjers. (*) These have their rank after the Mufti, and often take his place: they
are called Judges of the Army, because it is judged by them alone. In the part of the
Empire under them they appoint the Kadhys. or Judges. The Reys-Efendy, who is also
33025 called Reyful-Kittal, that is, Director of writings and Cancellary, is the Head of
the Chodschjah-A?jan, civil-councilors and Secretaries, and the Court-chancellor and
Chief-secretary of state. He thus directs and executes both the domestic and foreign
Cancellary affairs. The Teskjerehdschjy (writer) is like the Sub-Reys-Efendy, in
whose custody are the registers of the Cancellarye. The Istanbul - Efendy has the
33030 supervision of the means of subsistence in Constantinople, in order to prevent
dearness and fraud concerning it. He is thus like the enforcer of the City laws, only
one degree lower than the above-mentioned Kadhy-Leschkjers; and, what these are over
European and Asian affairs, he is over Constantinople. The Reis-Kitab is the State or
Secret Writer of the Sultan. The words, Mulla and Kadhy, indicate almost the same
33035 person, this difference being only that the first has a higher rank, namely that of
Chief Judge in civil and criminal cases, and which is also, often, the Governor of
large cities, but then is changed annually; note the Arabic word, Mulla, a Governor,
just as Kadhy means a Judge. They must be Learned, and in the laws and customs of the
Empire, which are everywhere the same, well practiced. They have a great power; for
33040 their sentences are, furthermore, carried out both until further notice in civil, and

absolutely in criminal cases, whether death or other life sentences. Their accommodation is at the Mechkjeme (Town Hall). Upon their arrival they must be entertained for three days, at the expense of the city. Each of them keeps a Kiaja or Advocate, and states, when he remains absent for a longer time, a Naib or deputy, who, in that absence, is a sub-judge, and also the real scribe. Under the Mulla or Kadhy is the Moslem, who executes the sentences of the court, and could not badly be called a Commander under a Governor. His appointment seldom lasts more than one year. Wherefore also every Bassa has a Moslem, who differs from his Kiaja in that he accompanies him everywhere, and passes judgment under him, which a Moslem only does in his absence. An Aga generally means a Chief, as Janista Aga, Meimar-Aga (Chief Architect), etc., but in the Provinces it is the commander of a larger or smaller circle, or only of a village. Baschi also means a Chief, as Tschaus-Baschi, but of less importance than Pascha. Efendy is an honorary title of all kinds of State persons. All these honorary offices are, in Turkey, of great importance; each requires a sort of court retinue, and the power, to judge about life and death, without inquiry of the Court, goes with it. It would be useless to speak of other further offices, which, by reason of necessity, take place among the Turks as well as among us, and to give an extensive register of Turkish titles. But of 2 honorary offices, mention must be made, in the right understanding of the reports in the newspapers and elsewhere, namely the Sfer-Askyr and Kaym-Maekam. A Sfer-Askyr is a General-Field-Marshal; a Dignity of very indefinite power, which on special occasions, especially in times of war, is conferred by the Sultan upon the deposed Grand Vizier or Bassas. For the actual Grand Vizier, as long as he is really such, cannot be made a Sfer-Askyr, since, according to his Post, he is already the natural Generalissimo. Rather, he has to command a Sfer-Askyr, and can even depose him; but must then be assured of the Sultan's approval. A Kaym-Maekam is the substitute of a Grand Vizier, who, in his absence from Constantinople, or upon his deposition and death, is appointed, in case the Emperor cannot then decide to appoint a new one: wherefore this Dignity also ceases upon the appointment or presence of the Grand Vizier. He may not decide on important matters, unless they suffer no delay, but must await his orders beforehand. Moreover, the Emperor also appoints, in his own absence from the Residence, a special Kaym-Maekam, to whom he then, within Constantinople, is accustomed to give a power almost equal to that of the Vizier,; but whose reign also ends upon the Emperor's return. According to the nature of the case and the meaning of the word, there can be no permanent Kaym-Maekam.

(*) Under the reign of Mustapha III, the Divan was held only on Tuesdays, and only once every 2 or 3 weeks, to collect the large coins that are made from the special treasure of the Sultan's {Ciafyiehj estate, as which, every journey, on account of the Pilait fry?? for the Janistas, and the tables of the State servants, amount to about ?? purses.
 (*) Selim I did indeed appoint a Kadhy-Leschkjer in Cairo. But he is not so much a third party, as the Great Kadh?? of Egypt, whose jurisdiction extends also over Arabia, Syria, and some parts of Armenia.

§. XXXVII. Of the civil condition of the Turkish Empire in itself. The foundation of the entire civil condition is the Koran, which, as has been said, like the books of Moses among the Jews, contains not only the prescriptions of religion, but also those for worldly government. But, because its style is broken and does not cohere, the decision that must be derived from it in doubtful cases is so uncertain that one and the same place is made the basis for completely conflicting decisions. Moreover, its pages bend, without great weight, to the weight of the money offered for the settlement of a case: not to say, that the Koran, which at first was composed only for a small group of Arabs, is very defective in the great empires which subsequently arose, such as, for instance, the Turkish, and therefore has had to be explained and made more complete by a multitude of Commentaries. – Certain Travellers have indeed reported, that, besides the Koran with its Commentaries, the corpus juris civilis Romani, as well as the Codex of Justinian and Theodesius, had been translated into the Turkish language, and were taught in the schools; but I have been absolutely assured that neither the Arabs nor the Turks have ever thought of such a translation, since in Jurisprudence they refer solely and exclusively to the Koran and the Fetwa collections or legal expositions on all sorts of cases, which their principal Kadhys have drawn up. These Fetwa books are therefore legal prescriptions and questions, which have been collected with their solutions and decisions. And, since these are all known to Jurists, the disputing parties need only turn to the Fetwa-Emyny (advocacy of the Mufti), and demand the solution of such or such a legal question. Generally they providethemselves with several Fetwas for all those cases to which their cause could be subject, and they present them before the

Judge, according as they think they fit the circumstances of their case. It is the Judge's duty to decide whether or not the Fetwa presented to him can be applied to it. These Fetwas therefore always correspond with their law, and are therefore considered sacred. Should one party lose the trial, although the Fetwa was in its favour; then the reason is that it was not judged applicable to the disputed case. And so it is the same with it, as in other places with the legal Consultations. — One poses, according to the collected regulations, the question in a few words: for example, whether this or no act deserves death? whether one may announce war to a Power that has behaved in this or that way? The Mufti answers, below, to the question presented to him, with the single word: Olfun! (yes! — one can,) or with the negation: OU mas! (no! — it cannot be done!) without adding a further signature, because without such a one these Fetwas already bring with them the marks of their legality, marked they agree with the Fetwa books and regulations, which are in the hands of all jurists, and can be secured from each one. — For the rest, the Turkish administration of justice is not entirely like the European: now it seems more advantageous; but then again more disadvantageous. For the most part, the cases are settled very quickly, and further. A poor blood, in legal complaints, often has the advantage over a well-to-do man. The former is safe, but the latter is burdened with the payment; and the former, often, wins with the Judge at the same time. Yes, the false accuser is never punished; but perhaps still has use for a false accusation; and this is the reason that naughty people gladly let themselves be used for this. Every man is his own Advocate, and cases are more settled than decided. The saddest thing is when in a dispute it comes to witnesses; for for little money one can get as many as one wants. Yes, many Turks consider it a merit to take false oaths against Christians and Jews. But when an oath has to be taken, then the Christians must lay their fingers on the Evangelists, the Jews on the law, and the Mohammedans on the Koran. Otherwise money has the strongest influence on the Judges, who are mostly only for one year, and must provide for the future Existence. The written judicial records are short; the disputing parties pay not nearly so much, because of sealed papers and salaries to advocates and solicitors, as in other countries. All judicial decisions are sealed by the Judge with his own signet. When these are shown before a higher Court in proof of what has been decided, then the seal is left with the Mufti; for with him are found the impressions of all the signets of those who have been appointed Mulas or Kadhys. A Ylarn or judicial decision is signed by no one but the Judge alone with his Signet. Other judicial writings, such as Contracts, etc., which come before the Judge, bear the name of Hudschjet, and are, according to the cases, sealed by witnesses, or rather their names are expressed under the writing. Other, decided among private persons, are, sometimes, ratified by many seals or signatures, and then one can say: it seems that their number gives them a greater force or emphasis. For the rest, the judicial writings always retain their generally accepted form and simplicity according to the form and usage. — In all Processes, the tenth part of what is disputed belongs to the justice. They can also be renewed at greater or lesser cost, at a constant pace, upon the arrival of a new Judge, or upon the passage of a higher Judge. If a Trial is renewed by new witnesses or motives and pretexts, then, however, the first sentence passed is considered true and legal, with respect to the reason presented therein. It is never heard to be said that a sentence passed was unjust. That would be considered blasphemy. Nor can one find any example of a sentence being quashed as unjust, unless it had been pronounced by an ignorant person, who had not known how to observe the formalities required for it, namely, to reconcile the decision and the application of the law with the previous judicial investigations presented in the sentence. But the injustice is committed in the organization of the Trial. Incorrect circumstances are stated; the case is presented in a completely different way than it actually is; and the parties are allowed to speak to the witnesses, as they think fit, in order to achieve the aforementioned goal. The worst evil of justice is the Avani, that is, someone can summon me to court without any semblance of right he wants; I am responsible for it; great expenses are demanded to release me from it; and if it concerns money and goods, then I must often consider myself lucky if I get away with the payment of the tenth part: this also includes that a house, a neighborhood, a region remains responsible for a murdered person for so long, and, where there is a blood avenger, must pay the blood money, until the actual perpetrator is discovered. These Avani are, in fact, not subject to the Europeans, because they are released from them by treaties; but examples to the contrary are not entirely lacking, and one must seek to prevent them, with a gift, before the outbreak.

For the rest, the City Servants can maintain their duties, on the spot, with great sharpness, if they were not, as everywhere, also in Turkey, bribed by money and

yeast. But here and there punishments are exercised, which one must wonder about, and
33175 by which, in an otherwise so badly constituted country, the frauds are still fairly
counteracted. For example, 'an unexpected investigation of weights, measures,
merchandise and provisions takes place. If irregularities are now found; then, if one
sees that action has been taken, the fraudster is laid on his back, and receives,
33180 besides other punishments, usually 100 lashes under the soles of the feet. Criminal
cases are also dealt with much more quickly than with us. Criminals are not allowed
to eat useless bread for so long. Lesser crimes are punished with lashes under the
soles of the feet. Among them the Jewish law still applies, to give forty lashes less
one. But this divine forbearance of punishment is destroyed by the Turks in another
way; for they only allow 39 lashes to be given at once, but these by repetition, so
33185 that the criminals die under these lashes, or afterwards. Dishonorable women, false
witnesses, and people of a bad stamp are mounted backwards on donkeys, led through
the city, and then mostly banished from that place for their lives, or for certain
years: although this seldom happens, because otherwise the Judge would soon be
deprived of the means of getting money through the disappearances of such people. A
33190 more severe punishment is banishment from a place to this or that island, where the
banished must remain, until he is, possibly, recalled from there. The death penalty
is something common in Turkey: but money can also ward them off. This latter occurs
especially in the case of manslaughter, if it can be shown that it was committed in
haste and in the course of some dispute; but it is more seldom sustained if it was
33195 committed treacherously; and in such a case it usually depends on the consent of the
relatives of the dead, whether the punishment shall be completed by the forfeiture of
life, or by a blood-money. If any one kill a married man, then such a one is also
condemned to marry his wife. The Turks laugh at our formalities, courts,
executioners, etc. If someone, for example, has to be hanged; then they hang him on a
33200 tree or house, or other place, where the theft or murder has been committed, or on a
place where they think it good. In the latter case, they erect four wooden ones,
almost in the shape of St. Andrew's crosses, put a cross over them, and hang the
criminal on them without any circumstances. The first, the best one hangs him, and if
'possibly, not one more' offers to do it, then someone from the crowd, or a passing
33205 traveler, is forced to carry out this good work. If he is faint-hearted in doing so;
then he is still ridiculed, or ill-treated, for which reason the Christians and Jews
do not like to be present at such punishments. (*) Although the punishments are now
so severe, there is nevertheless, except for the cities, where houses are only
slightly kept, and of thefts in actual fact seldom heard, of street rioting and
33210 murders there is no end. A city or a village, or even a whole district must 'assure
it; but the Commissioner of the Porte puts the tax imposed on it in his pocket; the
murderers or robbers flee to a distant Province, and the offended or his own is not
compensated for the damage. Insignificant people are even impaled for gross crimes.
Prominent people and the Janistas are strangled, and either buried further, or their
33215 heads cut off, and left unburied for three days. In general, no criminal who has been
put to death remains hanging in the open air any longer. The heads of rebels are also
sometimes sent to the Porte from the most remote provinces. The slain or put to death
are usually buried on the spot where they were killed or slain, unless this may have
been done in houses or towns, and two oblong stones are erected, one at the head and
33220 one at the foot. A number of such burial places are found on the roads of the Lord.
Burial places are even sewn into a bag and thus thrown into the water. The stamping
of the head in a mortar would actually be the punishment of the Muftis and Judges;
but that is no longer in use. (*) That the offices of honour and offices are
purchased throughout Turkey, or at least obtained by gifts, has already been noted.
33225 This brings in extraordinary sums. The Kadi of Smyrna alone pays for his Post, which
lasts only one year, more than 40 purses. Of corn, oil, wine grapes, etc., the tithes
must be paid, which the Porte leases to the Agas and other persons. The tolls are, as
has been said beforehand, perhaps the fairest in Turkey. The Turks and Europeans pay
three in all, but the land registers and Jews five per hundred. In trifles it is not
33230 even taken very seriously. On the other hand, the right of inheritance is a crying
injustice. He who observes this for the Great Lord is called Beytul-Maldschy. (†) If
there are male heirs present; then, in fact, the tenth part should be paid. But,
because the Beytul-Maldschy values everything very highly, on the other hand, has
himself paid in cash; in that case the tenth part goes double. If there are only
33235 children of the female sex and a widow; then they may consider themselves lucky if
they keep the tenth part. If there are no children at all, or very close friends;
then parents, if they do not want to sell their goods, are accustomed to adopt
someone for a child. This last is done mostly by the country Christians. They choose
a child according to their wishes, and bring it, if it still has parents, with them

33240 before the government, to legally adopt it for a child. Those parents then also solemnly relinquish their child, and it cannot be disinherited again. It is called a child of the soul. (*) Besides these inconveniences, to which all the inhabitants of the Turkish Empire, without distinction of religion, except the Europeans, are subject, the native Christians and Jews feel a special one, and that is the Charatz.

33245 By virtue of the payment of this, as a head and ransom, all those who are not Mohammedans or Europeans, retain their freedom of religion. The female sex never pays this, but the male sex only, from the 14th year onwards. It varies according to the state and the goods, amounting, annually, from one to 4 Turkish Zechines, and of that kind, which is called Dschindscherli. If one makes a small assumption about these

33250 submitted documents, and considers that the Great exploit the Small, and that the Emperor finally takes everything away first, or by confiscation, and finally that these, except for the expenses of his Court, the military affairs and the soldiers of the Janistaries, are deducted from his income, which is so astonishing

33255 end his, spends nothing, but leaves everything in the treasury; then one can easily imagine how full it must be. According to the Turks' own proverb, the Imperial Treasure is like a water-bowl in a valley, from which indeed everyone draws water for his need, but which soon falls back again. The usual treasure is kept in 4 chambers, (*) but the whole remains in bags, in each of which are fifteen thousand Zecchins, and which are placed in strong chests, in a subterranean vault. The chests, as they

33260 are filled, are closed and sealed, and not opened until the necessity of war demands it; in which case the treasure of the Mosques is also allowed to the Emperor, but only under the pretext of defending Religion. And such a one is very easily found, because according to the opinion of the Turks, everything that opposes the Sultan, as Mohammed's Governor, is considered unbeliever, and therefore every war can be

33265 considered a matter of religion. For the rest, the policy with which this Empire is governed and maintained is strange. To the highest offices of honor come either bought, or slaves stolen in war, or other persons drawn up in the Seraglio, who know nothing but an indefinite subjection to the Sultan, and who, because they rarely have considerable families as

33270 next of kin, can all the more easily be deposed, banished, and put to death. The offices remain in the hands of one person only for a short time, and the children of the First Names rarely attain to a Dignity. The slightest faults, even the slightest insincerity, are punished most emphatically as crimes of the State. If one has something to fear from the subjects because of a Judge or Stadtholder, wealth,

33275 prestige and acquired love; then he is now publicly, now again cunningly humiliated. All those subjects who are not Turks, such as Christians, Arabs, Turkmen, Druses, etc., are emaciated by extortions, provoked disputes, and other tricks and tricks?? The Provinces, which form the boundaries of the Empire, are devastated, and the inhabitants thereof drawn to the inner States. To what extent the Princes of the

33280 Blood are kept from rebellions, and the Princesses are used for the downfall of the Great, has been indicated beforehand, § XXXV.

(*) There are examples of a strange judicial procedure, when field mice or other vermin devastate the country. In the years 1760, etc., the region around Smyrna was visited by an

33285 astonishing number of locusts. The complaints of the inhabitants became general, and the then Mula Helde set to work the following judicial procedure: He had the magistrates summoned, sent a Muhdhir or Summoner, summoning the troops and bands of locusts before the Divine court, to be tried against the inhabitants. This having been done three times, but in vain, he declared them, in his judicial sentence, to be rebels against the Divine laws and the Judge, and gave everyone freedom to exterminate them. Scarcely had this been done, when the air in the city was darkened by the locusts, which covered the roofs, houses, streets, and the sea-bay to a considerable extent, and were either drowned, or else killed. Their defeat caused a horrible slump.

33290

(*) The great mortar, in which the head of a Mufti, it is said, was once vaporized, is still

33295 in Constantinople, but is overturned, and is now unfit for use.

(†) Beytul-Maldschy is an Arabic word, signifies one who provides for the Fiscus, in a certain respect a Fiscal, or household goods-leaseholder. In the appointment of such an Official there seems in itself nothing unreasonable. By this means an inheritance will be secured for absent heirs, and they will be handed over to them, after having proved their rights, against a fair

33300 compensation for the trouble. Whoever occupies this place, leases the Sultan's rights to the hereditary estates, so that the profit arising from it is legitimate, and does not seem to correspond with what takes place elsewhere in a different form.

(*) The main provision, which is made to the Sultan by the inheritances and estates, consists in the fact that the heirs enter into a treaty with the Myry; not to say, that the women are

33305 usually allowed to keep their matrimonial property, and the children something for their education, and also the fixed property of their ancestors.

(*) Actually there are 2 treasuries in the Capital. That which belongs to the Emperor in particular, (Chdfyneh) is in a part of the vaults of the Seraglio, which the Sultan inhabits.

- 33310 The Treasury or Finance Chamber (Myry) (is under the management of the Defterdariat, and serves to defray public expenses. This is often exhausted, whereupon a loan is made from the former, which is afterwards made good. Many Sultans have also collected a special treasure, a legacy.
- 33315 §. XXXVIII. Of the Political Condition of the Turkish Empire, with Relation to Other Countries.
- 33320 The external condition, or the relation of the Turkish Empire to other States, also deserves a special explanation. With which European countries the Porte has concluded peace treaties, is mentioned in § VII. The King of France, Francis I, preceded the other Christian powers in an alliance with the Turks, and in the year 1535 concluded the first Commercial Treaty with the Porte. Most European Powers followed him: and with Persia, as well as all African Countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, the Porte also maintains friendship.— It has cost many of the European Princes great
- 33325 difficulty to purchase peace by considerable gifts; others, in all their searching, have not succeeded to this day. The Porte does not easily enter into novelties; and the design to obtain its friendship has made it so proud, that it considered it the greatest favour, to grant it a European country. Therefore one should not wonder at its haughty conduct towards the Europeans, but it must surprise one, that our Powers can stand such an exaltation of them above them in Titles and the whole treatment, which can hardly be reconciled with their rest of their affectation. The peace
- 33330 treaty, which the Porte grants, bears the name of Capitulation, by the Turks Aelid Nameh Humajun, that is, open Imperial letters, or by these permitted and fixed conditions: being such a one with all European nations, the secret Articles excepted, as to the principal points, the same, and of the French pass something else than a copy. It is always drawn up in the Turkish language. In treaties of peace it is
- 33335 sometimes permitted that the other party should have a translation ratified by the Interpreter of the Porte; but in fact the Turkish original is only considered obligatory. By this the Turks sometimes find occasion to stir up subtle and deceitful disputes about the meaning of words, the full force of which they know, or at least pretend to know them better than the foreigners. Nevertheless, the Turks must be
- 33340 praised for being fairly punctual in coming to and keeping the Capitulation. They grant the Europeans many things that would hardly be granted to them in other countries. Otherwise their policy towards them is strange, and not easy to reduce to fixed rules. Most things are obtained by the Porte with money; on the contrary, in other things, which we would even consider trifles, the largest sums of money and all
- 33345 motives can avail nothing. If the friendship is sincere; then that State sends an Envoy, who is received at the borders of Turkey, with many ceremonies, by some Court servants. From that day on he is also maintained at the expense of the Grand Lord. This provision concerns the Transport, the provisions and a certain sum of money, together with a guard of Janistas, called Tain, and which after the arrival of the
- 33350 Envoy remains at Constantinople, sometimes higher, sometimes lower, and, according to circumstances, continues for more or less months. From these journeys of the foreign Envoys, the places through which they pass also have great inconveniences. Their inhabitants are forced, by blows and violence, to provide the necessary carriages and provisions; whereas, on the contrary, the Master of Ceremonies, who is called
- 33355 Vizier,—Aga, with his people and the Janistas, is accustomed to make use of the money fixed for this purpose by the Emperor. — The Audiences have already been dealt with in § VIII. After them, the Ambassador is given Letters of Freedom (Berate) by the Porte, the number of which used to be between 30 and 50, (*) which he may hand over to the Christians and Jews of the country for the service of his mission and nation, who are thereby regarded as Europeans, and are exempted from all land taxes. Since
- 33360 they do not now need so many Letters of Liberty for this purpose, they sell the rest, and receive, according to the times, for each open letter between 2 or 3 thousand Piastres: but after the death of the purchaser it reverts to the Ambassador, and he can sell it again. — If the Porte sends Ambassadors to a Power with which it is on friendly terms; then they must be provided for and maintained in the same manner as its own. Although it now sometimes sends persons of little reputation as Ambassadors to foreign Courts; yet, generally, persons from the Chancelleries are taken in, who, before, have held all kinds of offices, and after the mission is ended, are often
- 33365 elevated to the most important offices. As many are hungry for such embassies, so dearly do they cost the Court, according to which they are done: for according to Eastern Ceremonial it would be unseemly, to admit such an Envoy to an Audience at once, but one must postpone it for a long time, in order to show that one is pleased to have the Guest; for after the Audience he must, in all fairness, take his return journey.
- 33370 According to the prescription of the Koran, no Mohammedan Power, and therefore not
- 33375

even the Great Lord, can conclude a permanent peace with a Christian state. The famous name of an eternal peace, which often has the power to oblige Christian powers for a few years, is unknown to the Turks. Besides a standstill of arms, they have, at the most, in later times, out of necessity, concluded a permanent peace, as in the year 1718, with Venice, and in the peace of Belgrade with Russia. For in general the Koran charges, on all occasions, the Gaur (Infidels) to be brought to the Mohammedan Religion by means of arms. But otherwise they are of the opinion, that that party, which breaks a standstill of arms, before the elapse of time, by a war, is unfortunate. Therefore also various circumstances must occur, if this is to happen on their side. But if otherwise a war should begin, then the first step of their declaration is taken by having the Envoy of the hostile Power placed in the 7 Towers, where he is now worse, now better treated; This is indeed considered cruel according to our missionary law, and in fact not without reason; but it must be observed, that the Turks regard the permanent and constant ambassadors at Constantinople almost as nothing else, than as plenipotentiary state spies, and those none but as real ambassadors, who, like the Persian, Polish, Moroccan, etc., come for certain negotiations, and after the execution of them go away again. (*) Moreover, they also retain those ambassadors as hostages, so that, if a Grand Vizier or any other great man should be taken prisoner, an exchange may be made the more easily. With the arrest of the ambassadors also goes the imprisonment of all persons belonging to his nation, and the confiscation of their goods. Moreover, certain, but not always the same ceremonies are usually performed at the declaration of war at Constantinople. Thus all the crafts and guilds, before the departure to war, must hold a procession through the Capital with some of their tools or goods, such as bakers, furriers, grocers, smiths, etc. who thereby offer themselves as being at the service of the Great Lord, but at the same time must give considerable presents. When the Court was still at Adrianople, Mohammed's standard was hung at the Seraglio, and a horse's tail at that gate from which the people were to march to war. Whereby the Turks relate, that, when Selim I ordered the Grand Vizier to hang up the horse's tail, and he asked at which gate? he had him put to death; which was done by two others, until the Grand Vizier appointed thereupon, by the same command, had one put up at every gate, and further, to the Emperor's question, where the horse's tail was put up, answered: "at all gates! Your Majesty can go out wherever she pleases!" whereupon he would have been considered a particularly capable Person.

Concerning the opinion of the Turks, what one should think of other Kingdoms and Powers, various reports from writers who deal with Turkey, very much. Every European claims in Turkey of his Nation, that it is most esteemed. But all are in general in the case, to be feared according to circumstances, more or less highly esteemed, according as one needs their friendship more or less. This is generally the course of human affairs, and therefore this rule has been almost everywhere adopted in Policy. There is hardly a nation in Turkey which, notwithstanding its supposed pre-eminence, has not had to experience many unpleasantnesses. By the natural instability and ferocity of the Turks, the most extreme indignities are here and there inflicted upon those who were a short time before their favour. The Turks are too puffed up and too much pleased with themselves to allow those of them who are treated as infidels to compare themselves with them and their nation. They are always seeking an opportunity to degrade those who wish to exalt themselves, because this offends their national pride; and they seldom care for the consequences, because every civil servant does not long retain his office; to satisfy their self-will and revengefulness, this moves them most for that moment and at the present time. Morocco is treated courteously by the Porte; and both States, as co-religionists, maintain a mutual friendship. The distance only prevents a closer union. Persia was, about the middle of this century, much hated and also feared by the Turks; but, after the old Imperial family died out there, and the Empire is so much troubled, fear has changed into indifference, and the size of the Turkish Empire has somewhat prevented the Porte from profiting from its internal disturbances. The alliances with Christian powers are either old or new. Among the old belong France, the German Empire, Russia, Poland, Venice, England and Holland. France trades as much in Turkey as all other Christian empires put together; but the high esteem of the Turks for it is not determined by this. The Turks never place a right of trust in it. The French must, here and there, suffer humiliations which are not made to experience by other nations; and even the common people look at them with eyes of contempt. Do they believe that they are misguided by the French? or is their conduct concerning the Imperial Court, when they fell upon it in the rear in the wars with the Turks, doubtful? or do they stumble at their national character? That would be difficult to determine. But this is certain, that nevertheless they often yield to them in many things, because they count on their assistance, in case

they should come to war with other Christian kingdoms. They deal cautiously with the German Imperial Court. The German soldiers are always a terror to them, and, if they have overcome them, then, according to their own statements, it was not due to the soldiers, but to other circumstances. Russia is for them, for various reasons, the most formidable of all Christian kingdoms. Its inner greatness is questionable to them. The agreement in religion with the Greeks causes them much suspicion. With the Russian soldiers they can hardly come to an agreement, because they either stand and conquer or die. In addition, there are predictions according to the Turkish ideas, which will make Russia their conqueror. — Poland and Venice are considered by them as small, and as countries that depend on their mercy. The English and the Dutch are the most beloved among all Europeans. They have high respect for both, because they have never had war with them, but only trade and intercourse are sought, and the Turks, by all kinds of treaties and mediations, have at some time enjoyed advantages. The alliances of the Prussian, Danish, Swedish and Naples Courts are new, and therefore the degree of respect is by no means determined. But in general the Turks consider them either as small, or very remote kingdoms, whose friendship or enmity can have no strange influence on their State. With Spain, Portugal and Sardinia they have, up to now, nothing at all to do.

(*) Berat actually means an open letter or diploma ??t to appoint someone, for instance a Pasha, to his office, at the same time being clothed, according to his Dignity, with a Fur or Chestnut. The Berate issued for the Europeans are therefore Imperial orders, that this or that person must be considered as Consul of his nation at such or such a place. The same is the case with Interpreters, who would not be recognized in their post without a Berat. The advantages allowed therein are, that such a one may, for his Person, of the Charad (the poll tax is exempted, in his house then necessary stock of wine, which is otherwise generally forbidden, although it is tolerated in private), dress according to his condition, wear yellow slippers, etc. He may also, if he trades, easily obtain from the Publicans the reduction of the toll up to 3 per hundred, although other good merchants may also come to that, since the Publicans find their own account in it. The French, English and Dutch have, from former times, the most Berate, although they have also begun to determine it. The later, friendly nations with the Porte, such as the Swedish, Danish, Prussian, and Naples, have only Berate for 4 Interpreters in Constantinople, and for one at the Consulates in the Levant. Consequently, the Berate are no longer as advantageous as before, and there is no longer so much money spent on them: only perhaps the freedom to wear yellow slippers usually induces a Petit-maitre to buy one.

(*) The Turks themselves do not keep a permanent Ambassador to other Courts, because they do not need to spend much money on messages from other countries. Their Rajas, (subjects) Greeks, Armenians, and especially the Jews, who are scattered everywhere for the sake of commerce, give them these in order to gain favor by doing so. These spies are, in other States, less noticed. In the year 1750, and probably before that time, it was the duty of the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia to deliver reports from the Christian States, and the Interpreter of the Porte had to hand over the Leydsche Fransche Courant translated.

§. XXXIX. Of the Military State of the Turks.

It seems very unfortunate to someone who has spent some time in Turkey when he reads European writings in which the military state of the Turks is described as either formidable or merely mediocre. Such novels (for they cannot be considered higher) are either hatched out of greed in the rooms of those who have never seen Turkey, and cobbled together from former military histories, or by those who have travelled rapidly through the Ottoman Empire, according to the custom of writing about foreign countries not so much true as wonderful things, among other things making known fictitious cases.

In Turkey everyone travels armed, because of the many street robberies. No traveller is without a harquebus, pistols and sabre. The farmer goes with the last two behind his plough. No one is forbidden to hunt either. Wherefore it should not surprise us, that, while every one carries the murder-guns, murder and manslaughter are very common, every farmer is almost a land-soldier, and the Turkish horses can fearlessly endure the shooting with the harquebus. But without preparing for war in the least, all this does not mean much. The actual Land and Naval Forces require a further discussion. The Land Forces belong first of all to the soldiers. The real infantry are the Janistas. But these are no longer the old ones, which, in former times, were such a terror to the enemies of the Porte. They do not consist at present of Christian children and Christian slaves, but are nearly all born Turks, yea, sons of Janistas, who have received by inheritance the pay of their fathers. This pay is not one of a kind; for because of old age or wars experienced, it is greatly increased. A soldier has, at the beginning, no more than 6 Aspers per day, and, when he advances in time, 15 Aspers. This pay is paid every quarter of a year; but the necessary provisions of bread, rice, and meat are given with it. At the same time they are free

to observe the agriculture, the trade, and what each has learned differently. For with regard to the trade of arms they are completely free, and exempted from it, because it finds no place. For what it means to exercise, to march on the Parade and to be on guard, is completely unknown to them. From which one can easily judge that closing in ranks and lines, marching, turning right and right, evolutions, firing in Battalion and Platoon, a Battalion square, and still more important matters of war are things which they do not understand at all. The Turks consider themselves fortunate to belong to this militia, not so much because of the small pay, as because of the great privileges. - They are divided into 126 Odas or Regiments, each of which would be about 800 men strong, but they are never complete. Each Ode is under a Captain, Shvrbalidschjy, who commands outside the barracks or Odas, and under a Sub-Captain, Oda-Baschy, who commands within them. From these Janissaries a bodyguard of the Emperor is taken, which are called Solak and Karipi. The former consist of 500 men, and are the bodyguard on foot; the latter amount to a number of 3 thousand, and form his bodyguard on horseback. The Peygk are ceremonial youths and footmen, who march with the soldiers at the side of the Sultan. Their general Chief is the Janissary Aga at Constantinople, where the principal body is of 8 or 10 thousand, and forms the garrison of that city, while the latter are divided into smaller parties in the largest cities. They are so little trained in military affairs, that they are even forbidden to bear arms, because their rebellion should thus be thought of before; for of that they are the ringleaders and the troublemakers. But the lust for power, by which this militia, now of a changed nature, could heretofore demand from the Emperor the deposition or the killing of the Ministers of State, is now quite destroyed. They are not soldiers, therefore, because they understand the craft of war, for that does not take place; but because they must go to war for their pay, while for the rest everyone can remain at home. Their remuneration, which with that which the Spahis (horsemen) receive, amounts annually to about 4 thousand purses, is distributed to them on the Divans days in the Seraglio. On that occasion they are also always fed with Pillau. The Seraglio trembles, if they refuse to use it; for that is a sign, that they are making sharp demands on the head of one or other Minister of State, or are dissatisfied with the whole Government; and if they are not satisfied on the spot, then a riot is the result. There is already danger, if they do not attack the plates with Pillau at once, and swallow him greedily. In the war itself it is a restless and easily injured militia. If there is no rice and coffee, and no fresh bread is baked daily; then grumbling and riot are to be expected. In one battle they can only be brought to an attack three times. If the enemy does not then give way; then they recoil and if he still presses forward, then they take flight and seek a good escape. - The Horsemen of the Turks are called Spahi or Sipahy. Their soldiery is, like that of the Janistas, unequal, and can amount daily to from 12 to 100 Asprs. Mutejerrikeh are about five hundred Horsemen of good descent, selected from the Spahis, who serve as a bodyguard and for dispatches of the Sultan, and form a militia of higher rank, even above the Tschausche, under the Muteferrikeh-Baschy. The Sultan himself is their Chief, and they therefore only fight when he takes the field in person. Whoever imagines that the Spahis are a Cavalry like ours, and imagines that their horses are as difficult to keep up as ours, and that they can separate from each other and get back into order, would be very much mistaken. They are an irregular party, who have voluntarily taken up the race, and whose whole exercise consists in one chasing the other, and trying to throw a club of about one and a half yards long (Dscherid) at his head, but the one after whom it must be thrown tries to avoid or catch it in flight and speed. They are divided into 6 Standards, and are said to number more than 12 thousand men. They, who with the lands, taken from the Christians, as a kind of fief, are endowed, according to their value, in one or more persons on horseback in the field. Their number is, especially because of the Provinces, the Venetians are deprived of, very considerable. The Firstnames and Riches bear the name of Zaims, but the others Th??riots, The above-mentioned types of soldiers are the usual war-people, which name they do not deserve, because they were possibly regulated, but because they have to serve on account of pay. But these form the smallest part of the Turkish Army. There is a general summons in the country; In the Mosques a war prayer is openly read, and in it an encouragement to take the field against the Heretics, that is the Persians, or against the Infidels, that is the Christians, and from this arises a general desire for war. These are only Volunteers. All highway robbers and filthy riffraff go to the appointed place of war. Everyone who has nothing to lose; people burdened with debts, take the field; even many who have something, sell it, and go to war, in the hope of rich booty. They do not actually receive any soldiers, but only some provisions; on the other hand, everything they capture is their own property. These Volunteers often

do not spare the Turkish places themselves: but they do spare an enemy country, into which they penetrate! But if the enemy power can secure its borders, so that no plundering and subsistence can be seized from the plundering class, or if things do not go according to plan in attacks and battles; then these Volunteers very quickly leave the Janistas and Spahis, and return to their country, or run elsewhere. Wherefore a large Turkish Army, in a few days, can melt down to several thousand. For the rest there is neither among the ordinary soldiers, nor among the Volunteers a true subordination. The former, at the least displeasure, cause a riot; and the latter come and go, flee and cease this, as they please. So that a Turkish army, in the present state of affairs, is an irregular group, in which, besides the soldiers mentioned, servants, murderers, street violators, idlers, etc. are considered soldiers, who, as long as things go well and there is something to rob, increase in size like a snowball in the march, but also by an unfortunate chance, when the snow melts suddenly due to warm weather. In the Eastern Kingdoms in general, and in Turkey in particular, the so necessary military support is lacking. And woe to us! if this, with the ease of raising such numerous armies, were to take place. Europe would then soon be devoured. In addition, the soldiers are not divided among sufficient officers. A Commando of soldiers of various kinds is called Buluk, and its leader Buluk-Baschy. No European State of any importance need fear the naval power of the Turks. Their ships are neither dangerous to the enemy, neither by their number nor by their construction. The warships of the Great Lord (caravels) are of an astonishing size and resemble castles. They also project, especially behind, about three medium-sized levels from the sea, and can be hit and shattered all the more easily by the cannons. The heavy and large construction naturally causes a great difficulty and clumsiness to turn them. In proportion to their terrible size, there are also by no means enough cannon holes bored in them. All of the ship life and motion, is bad and misshapen. Masts, rudders, ropes, sails, etc. do not correspond at all to the size. They do carry very large guns; but the height of the bearing prevents hitting, and in their direction they are also badly adjusted; not to say that loading is slow and takes a long time. They have galleys of various kinds. But the defects that occur in warships on a large scale, are also found in these on a small scale. Then, the ships are floating houses and auctions, powerless in themselves, unless the sailors on them can make the right use of them. These bear the name of Leventi; and everything that has been said before about the inexperience and disobedience of the land soldiers, applies equally to these. Besides, what can be expected of them, since Captain Pacha (Grand Admiral) himself does not understand seafaring? For the rest, their navigation has neither art nor safety. Their pilots know nothing of rules, but have some experience as a teacher. They make no use of sea charts, and understand almost nothing at all the daily calculation of the distance travelled and the region where they are, if they do not see the coasts, and have other guesses before them. They also do not know how to make proper use of the compass, so that they would thaw out in the wide and open sea and perish. Their sailors make no use of a light breeze, but usually wait half a day, to see whether the wind will continue to blow, whereby much is often neglected; not to say that they do not know how to resist the wind, and therefore let themselves be driven back by slight headwinds. The Turkish warships are a mockery of the European merchant ships, because of their ignorance and singular mode of trading. The chief of these is done by slaves, condemned criminals, and Greeks. How little one can rely on all these, was proved by another example from the year 1660, when on the Admiral's ship, on a Friday, when Captain Pacha had landed on the island of Stanchio, a riot arose, the above-mentioned people set themselves free, and brought the ship, which, as the most important of the warships, had been called Sultana, to Malta. The naval officers are therefore bad, the sailors worse still, and the gunners worst of all. The latter bear the name of Toppedschis, and are about 2 thousand strong, to whom one must add about as many Dschebedschis, who take care of the ammunition, and also a certain number of Bombardiers.

The Turkish fortresses do not deserve a lengthy report. The fortifications have not risen to such a degree among them that one could learn anything from them. What can still be found about them, can be seen in places that have been in Christian hands, and whose fortifications have come into their power either completely, or at least damaged. The cities within the country are either still surrounded by old Greek walls, and also have a ruined castle, or are open, like the villages with us. The roads and harbours, as well as the sailors, are accustomed to have castles, which originate from the Genoese or Venetians; in particular, the almost incredible labour of the former is still visible to this day. But such fortifications are useless in our times; and a few well-directed shots from warships render the garrison incapable of loading and defending themselves. The manner of the Turks in waging war is not at

all such as to entice European warlike volunteers to join them. In dangerous campaigns, Mohammed's banner is taken along. To this old rag of red colour, which
33645 will be the remainder of the real banner of this deceiver, the same, and almost a greater power is attributed than in the dark times was attributed to the banners which the Pope had consecrated. It now mostly remains in the Seraglio; but the water in which it is put is considered strong, and is at least communicated to the war
33650 chiefs. When in the field, it is not allowed to fly freely, lest the wind should tear it to pieces, but it remains rolled up round the topmast. The principal military ensigns are the Horse-tails; and the lesser the banners (Sandschak) of green colour, for which the model is taken from Mohammed's banner. A kind of rather broad banners is called Bairak. — A Turkish army, which wants to take the field, is a misfortune to all the Provinces of the Empire which it attacks. These are made deserts. The Land-
33655 Christians are especially ill-fated at such times. The rich lose their lives and goods, under the charge of treason, secret correspondence with enemies, etc. Young persons, capable of war, are taken away, forcibly converted into Mohammedans by means of circumcision, and then under the Janistards, not to mention the heavy and extraordinary ??all, plundering of their churches and houses, and other acts of
33660 violence. Among the oppressions to which the countries are exposed in the Turkish war, belongs also this: that the Great Lord declares this or that Province, rightly or wrongly suspected, guilty of treason. Then its inhabitants can be made slaves, and their property, without circumstances and responsibility, be taken away. — The food and military provisions are brought to the Army, mostly on camels and mules, and only
33665 to places where the roads permit it, on Arrabas. As sad as the shortage is in all armies; so dangerous is it especially in a Turkish army. Should the Turks proceed in a more defensive manner; then they are unusually quick to retreat, to protect themselves by raised ramparts or sorts of fortifications, etc. If they make the attack; then it is done, by the infantry, with a fierce shouting, and almost with a
33670 bestial fury. What then does not stand firm or is well closed; that is divided, or run over. This attack is, with the larger parties, repeated three times. But if they are then received with the Cannon or a good fire from the guns and repulsed; then no Turk can be brought to a further attack; and if the party then presses on, then a complete defeat of the Turks, the desertion of their Generals, and the abandonment of
33675 the artillery, the Baggage, the provisions and the war-supply is certain. Whoever tried to stop them here; he ran the risk of being thrown over. — It has generally been observed, that if a Christian army, in sight of a Turkish one, holds out for a few days, the latter entirely loses courage, and one must endure its first fire for some time, in order to be able to conquer with ease. That they attack in ranks and
33680 ranks in a savage manner, is a mere fiction. — In special circumstances a few, whose brains are heated by their feelings concerning the Kismeth or an absolute fate, make a mad beginning, which more others imitate, in the hope of penetrating the more easily through the openings made by none. They are not a little prompted to this by another feeling of their Religion, which declares those who die in the war against
33685 the Christians to be Martyrs, and promises an excellent and very pleasing place in Heaven. Besides these Daredevils, Dely, (which word properly signifies Fools, but here in the aforesaid respect courageous, good men, who are with a Turkish Army,) a certain Guard of the Grand Vizier also bears this name, and their leader is called Dely-Baschy. — Their cavalry does not make a regular attack in closed ranks and
33690 ranks. Nor is it trained for it. It comes running; turns, if it is opposed, and comes again. Where it finds little resistance, or the enemy defenseless or in flight, it inflicts a great slaughter; for the Turks are trained to slash, when they are allowed to do so. But their soldiers cannot hold their own against a closed Army. Their commanding army chiefs understand nothing of the art of war. The Renegades, as well
33695 as the foreigners, who are base and godless enough to want to teach them anything, make little fortune with them in this respect. They will learn nothing from them, and they are regarded by the Turks as the Bear in Gellert's sabre, who, on his return from foreign lands, was bitten by his fellow-bears on account of the learned dancing, because they could not bear that he understood more than they. Bonneval, with his
33700 otherwise great Credit, has sufficiently experienced this. They have accepted nothing else from him than this principle, never to lead their Army against the enemy at once, but to divide it, so that when one part was beaten, another had to repair it; and besides, they have only allowed themselves to be better instructed in the artillery foundry. — Against this proposition, concerning the bad military condition
33705 of the Turks, the objection might perhaps be made concerning former victories. But against this it must be observed, that they were, formerly, very different Heroes, than at present, now that their military Character has so much declined and degraded. If they keep to a war in the condition in which they were, or even win it; then

nothing can be thought of as prouder than they: the whole world seems too small to
 33710 them, and the propositions concerning it are so Eastern and pompous, that the cases
 of Don Quixote seem to one in comparison only common affairs. In the meantime, woe to
 the conquered Provinces! For fear that they might not keep them, and especially to
 grant the soldiers their plunder, the people are made slaves, the places are burned,
 and, as has been said before, all goods taken away. But if they are subdued and lose,
 33715 then nothing is more fearful than a Turkish army. When this is once driven to flight,
 then there is no thought of stopping it again. Because it almost completely
 disperses, it strikes fear and terror into all the remaining soldiers, placing the
 whole Empire in the utmost dismay. This happened several times, in the time of
 Eugenius, and still in the year 1739, when the Count of Munich defeated the Turks at
 33720 Choczi??n. The Porte does everything it can to prevent disadvantageous consequences,
 and although one loss follows another, it nevertheless, in order to deceive the
 people, lets the cannons fire at Constantinople. – For the rest, the Turks do not
 lack military supplies. Gunpowder and lead, cannons, pistols, sabres, and
 33725 harquebuses, they either have themselves, or receive them from outside in abundance;
 but nothing is in order, and not even in unison.
 The defense of those places, where there are mosques, is very unusual. The law
 obliges them to defend themselves there, until they surrender by force, or by a
 storm. They therefore do not think of capitulation, even though they knew that they
 would die by the sword or hunger. Therefore, during the sieges of their auctions, one
 33730 must prepare oneself for patience and violence.
 During sieges, the Turkish soldiers are very zealous; for the Emperor and Generals
 promise them, with the exception of the buildings, and what belongs to the government
 of the country, a general plunder. What is this not a powerful motive for courage and
 diligence? In conclusion of this consideration of the Turkish military equipment, I
 33735 must remark that we have very extensive explanations on this subject from Count
 Marsigli. He was himself a soldier, and had stayed with the Turkish army. His reports
 are partly drawn from the regulations and arrangements, drawn up in the Turkish
 language. The irregularities, which have now crept into their Armeen, have arisen
 partly from the neglect of their first military force, the inexperience of their
 33740 Generals, and other causes, and have therefore had the same evil consequences as in
 other States.
 In order to see the Turkish army with one glance of the eye, I will present the
 following illustration. (*) "The Turkish Army consists of four kinds of forts of
 troops. To the first belong the Kapikuli, whose name means to confess, just as, in
 33745 former times, in Germany and elsewhere, soldiers were called Landsknechts. They are
 actually standing in zoldy, and according to the Ottoman manner regular soldiers, and
 form the first and most important part of the Turkish Army. They are either
 Infantrymen, or Cavalrymen, or Artillerists. The Infantrymen bear the name of
 33750 Janistaries, besides whom the Ottomans have no troops on foot, on whom one can make
 any dependence. Their number amounts, at present, to scarcely 40,000 men, and of
 these one must deduct at least 16 thousand, who are stationed in the fortresses, and
 in the cities of Constantinople, Adrianople, and Bursa, as well as those who, because
 of old age or other reasons, do not need to take the field, and are a kind of
 33755 invalids. There remain only 24,000 men, who can actually appear in the field. For the
 rest they are divided, both in peace and war, into 196 companies (Odas, chambers). 2)
 The cavalrymen are called Spahis. They would be 20 thousand men strong; but there can
 hardly be brought into the field 15 thousand; the rest remain behind for various
 reasons. 3) The Artillerists, in the last war with Russia (1773), formed two Corps,
 each of 3000 men, but in times of peace they are only half as strong".
 33760 "To the second kind of troops belong Toprakli or Provincial soldiers, who have to
 supply the Pashas (Bassas) from the Provinces over which they are placed. They form
 irregular light troops on horseback; they are now never more than 75 thousand men
 strong, but usually much less. Because they do not draw soldiers, they decrease with
 every campaign, and go home, especially when the first or second does not turn out
 33765 well, and they lose their Equipagie".
 "To the third kind of troops belong those, which the Countries, under the supremacy
 and protection of the Sultan, supply. The first would be the Wallachians and
 Moldavians, and the last the Tartars; but none are completely exhausted, and these
 cannot now yield much, after that, by the peace treaty of 1774, the Crimsche-Khan has
 33770 been declared an independent Prince".
 "The fourth kind constitutes Serradknlly (Serhaedkuly), that is, those troops, which
 protect the borders of the Turkish Empire. They consist of Infantry and Cavalry. To
 the first belong, besides the Reserve Corps for the Artillerists, which may amount to
 4000 men, mainly the Azaps, who are a national militia, and, when this is too weak,

33775 about 10 thousand Bosnians and Arnauts are taken into service in the same way as the Swiss by some European powers. The cavalry does not exceed 10 thousand men. If we now add up these above-mentioned sums, we can calculate:

	i. In troops on foot	
33780	1) Janistries proper, who can take the field, about - - -	22000
	2) Egyptian Janistries - - -	3000
	3) Border soldiers to supplement and reinforce the Janistries - - -	10000
	4) Regular artillerymen - - -	6000
	5) Artillerymen, lying on the borders - - -	4000
33785		45000
	ii. To troops on horseback:	
	1) Spahis - - -	20000
	2) Provincial - riders, at most - - -	75000
	3) Border riders - - -	10000
33790		105000 (*)

(*) This following essay is literally in A.F. Buschings (Hoogd.) weekly reports of new maps, etc. being the piece of the year, and is an extract from the Etat présent des forces Turques par terre 1774. from a (probably Russian) officer, and is found in detail in Buschings (Hoogd:) Magazine of the year 1777. With this Etat &c. as well as Buschings extract from it, it is indeed, as stated, situated. But one must not forget that the description of the Turkish land power only refers to a war with Russia, namely from the year 1774, and therefore also suffers various changes in wars with other powers at other times.

33800 (*) The power calculated according to this statement in the year 1774, in the war against the Russians, would therefore, according to the state of the Turkish Empire at that time, have amounted to 150 thousand men.

§. XL. Of the learning of the Turks.
Learning owes an extraordinary amount to the Arabs and Caliphs (Governors of the Prophet); for in the dark times it was nourished and maintained by them. But the Turks have no share in this gain. Their former warlike government has choked all desire for it in them. In the villages, with the exception of the Imam, there is seldom anyone who can read. There are schools among the people, (Maedras), which also vary according to the size of the cities. But most of it does not consist so much in public as in private schools. Besides reading and writing in Turkish, one mainly applies oneself to the Persian and Arabic languages: but those who do so are few in number. Such Pupils and Students, who often grow quite old, generally form the worst people. The female Sex is, for the most part, left out of all instruction; and the Common People also receive no education. Only those remain who wish to become merchants, or something else in the State. One must not think of Universities. Public Libraries are not found, except those which belong to the great Mosques, and are sometimes reasonably numerous, but are not open to any Christian. A few persons often possess a fair stock of books. To purchase these requires all the more money, if they consist solely of manuscripts. The printing press, namely, has not made great progress among the Turks, up to now. That of Constantinople was established in the first half of this century, under the promotion of a Grand Visir, and the instigation of a certain Ibrahim Efendy. That one is still there, but is no longer used. The Armenians and Jews also have small printing-offices, where they print all sorts of trifles, for instance the prices of goods, but no Bibles or parts thereof, in their languages. The manuscripts are sold in the bookshops, just as books are sold with us. (*) But none that touch religion are left to Christians; and when buying other books they are even ridiculed and mocked. In the above-mentioned city there are, possibly, 20 thousand people, (and how many will there not be in the whole Empire?) who either entirely or partly live by the copying of books, and therefore, if printing were established, would have no existence. When printing was invented in Europe, this difficulty was but slight, because most of the copyists of books were monks, who earned their living outside that. Such a deficiency now protects the Turks against an inundation of so many useless and harmful books; but at the same time it prevents so many sciences, and their more general spread. It would also encounter difficulties, if one wanted to make use of printed Korans, and the state of their religion might especially oppose it, as they had to fear that many un-Mahomedan books would be imported into the country from Europe, and the people would be brought to other thoughts. Even the Turkish policy prevents the establishment of book printers, in order that no rebellious writings or unpleasant reports may come so easily among the people. In general, the Turks do not like printed books as much as they do manuscripts. And this disdain arises among other reasons, because their manuscripts, often, are beautifully written, and they, because of the Arabic letters hanging

together, certainly look much more elegant than almost the still so beautifully and elegantly printed books. Their copyists of books are also book binders. The books are covered with common or Turkish leather, and very artfully covered with gold in all sorts of figures. Their style is pompous and long-winded. The high-flown with conceit makes it unnatural. — In poetry they claim to have done something special. They observe the measure in this respect, with and without rhyme. The figurative in it climbs so high in symbols, that one almost needs a divine understanding, to be able to understand the contents. What they now know as genuine of the description of the geography, that still comes from Ptolemy, but it is very falsified by many spurious additions. Their descriptions of the country are very defective and wrong; and their ignorance concerning other countries and peoples is incredible. Their history is full of fables; the chronology, except their Hegire, very confused; the Biblical history entirely wrong; the general History a hodgepodge. They find a special taste in descriptions of lives, which are not so much true as wonderful. The Antiquities, instead of being preserved, are steadily, more and more spoiled, and, the matter continuing in this way, there will be scarcely any more remains of them to be found in a short time. This is experienced by those who have read the descriptions of travels, at the beginning of this century or in the previous set up, with the present view, because the Weather, and still more superstition, has made the then legible Inscriptions illegible, and the Pyramids, Figures, Statues, etc. unrecognizable, or even mutilated. The Inscriptions namely always arouse the suspicion among the Turks, that they contained an announcement of hidden treasures, and that the Europeans therefore so eagerly sought them out. But their Religion induces them to destroy the Figures in the Bas-reliefs, and still more the Statues, because they consider them on the one hand as objects of idolatry, and on the other hand imagine, that the image or statue representing a person was in some way inspired by such a one, and that its soul cannot therefore be completely at rest; wherefore at least the heads are cut off, or the faces are defaced. They also imagine that the statues of men were entitled to demand souls from their makers, and, because they could not give them, that the Devil makes use of them to disturb men; but that this should be prevented when they are mutilated. For this reason they tolerate no paintings on which men are depicted, and no statues, except those of the Sultans, which are preserved in the Seraglio at Constantinople. (*) — They calculate the months strictly according to the Moons; wherefore their years are shorter than ours, as consisting of 354 days, as one can clearly deduce from the following list, according to which, in 33 years, their shorter months fall again at the same time: for example,

33880 Lunar months. 30 Muharrem
29 Safur
30 Rabial-aual.
29 Rabial-achar.
30 Dschemafiul-aual.
33885 29 Dschemafiul-achar
30 Redscheb.
29 Schaban.
30 Ramassan.
29 Schewal.
33890 30 Silkade.
29 Silhidsche.

Solar months.
September 16.
33895 October 16.
November 14.
December 14
January. 13.
February. 11.
33900 March 12.
April 11.
May 10.
June 9.
July 8.
33905 August 7.

The account of time bears the name of Hegire. They esteem Mathematics highly, but make little use of it, and lack the instruments to make a proper use of it.

Archimedes and Euclid are known to them. Their Philosophy is that which Averroes and
33910 Avicenna have learned from Aristotle, consisting more in imitated subtleties than in
independent and free investigations; which the Koran prevents them from doing. In
Physics they have not got far. With them it contains little more than the common
knowledge of a Farmer. Their Medicine rests solely on experience. Averroes and
33915 Avicenna are indeed mentioned, and quoted in boast, but partly not rightly
interpreted, partly wrongly applied. Anatomy is not even allowed to take place on the
corpses of men, and they do not think of making experiments on the bodies of animals.
Of chemistry, for the sake of medicine, they know nothing at all. With aschemy only
here and there one and another is so much occupied, that he and his family come to
the beggar's pocket. A Doctor of Physician is called by them Hekim, and the chief
33920 Physician at Constantinople Hekim-Baschi, who must always be a Turk. But there, as in
other countries, three special and different sciences do not belong to medicine,
which also require three different men, namely a Doctor, Apothecary and Surgeon; but
one and the same person must be knowledgeable in all these things. As great as this
elf is; so badly is it satisfied by the physicians there, and such a medical polymath
33925 would not be considered a slob among us, in all such cases. The main cure consists in
prescribing a very strict diet. The sufferer is only allowed water with rice or white
bread and some lemon juice in it. Therefore the European physicians, as well as those
Jewish and Greek, who have studied in Europe, do not make much headway among the
Turks. But they are accustomed, because they are bad payers in healing, and
33930 especially in death, to make a contract at the beginning of the cure, and then to
have the first half paid, so that if the second does not follow, they are in any case
free from compensation. Their barbers would not be at all right with us; for they are
not at all handy. Namely, they sit down on a high place, take the head of the one who
is being shaved between the legs, pull his skin upwards to the resin pan, and shave
33935 his beard in this way. The washing is done so clumsily that one must fear to lose the
skin in the process. Touching theology and jurisprudence, one knows, from what has
been said before, that, according to the Mohammedan religion, they go together. Their
morality is not in any connection, but in short and witty, even often ambiguous,
phrases which, after the Eastern manner, are symbolically disguised. They are
33940 especially great in that they exorcise the incantations of spirits, the rigid witch-
doctor, the soothsayer and magic in general among the sciences known to them. Sultan
Mustapha III occupied himself with the prediction from the stars; and this was the
reason, that, in his war against Russia, nothing was taken up in important matters,
before and until the Star-dowser of the Seraglio (Munefckjm-Bafcky) had been
33945 consulted. He calculated the days, and indicated, when the army had to break up,
cross a river, yes, a battle had to be fought. No journey of a Great was undertaken,
in matters of importance, for the Sultan, unless the hour and minutes for the
departure were determined and calculated in advance. The result, on all occasions,
clearly showed, that one had been deceived; but nevertheless there was no lack of
33950 excuses, to excuse oneself.

Note that the Turks form a branch of the Tartar nation; thus one can also very easily
understand that their language is a daughter of the Tartar. It sounds very rough to
the ears, and is not rich in words in itself. They need Persian to give their
language grace and elegance in conversation, poetry, and indulgences that do not
33955 belong to a fine taste; and Arabic to express artistic, learned, and divine matters
properly. This mixture of the manifold Arabic and Persian under Turkish makes the
latter unusual for the foreigners, and very difficult for the natives themselves. It
suffers not only from the various Provinces, but also from a profession and the
duties of the office, extraordinary changes, since, according to the matter and its
33960 content, now more, now less Arabic or Persian is mixed in. And this difficulty of
that language is, moreover, increased beyond measure by the various Characters of the
letters, together with the usual utterance of the vowels, which have besides that
few, and many sounds. — They use Arabic letters with some slight changes, and also
read, like the Jews and Arabs, from the right to the left hand. They also write in
33965 the same manner. They get their paper from Europe, especially from Venice, but have
it, before use, made so smooth that it looks like our folded linen. Their pens are
cut from a fine reed, and their ink resembles our printer's ink. They write on their
knees, and at the most a board serves as a support. The masters, even among the
Christians and Jews, who can write, still carry their writing instrument on the left
33970 side in their belt, as Ezekiel IX 2, 3, 11. says. The vowels, which consist of
straight or curved strokes, and are now placed above, now again below the consonants,
are, except in the Koran, seldom expressed. The manner of writing in these is almost
as in our printed books: but that used in judicial essays, accounts, letters, and
other essays, differs from it. In the Koran everything is written straight; but in

- 33975 this crooked, like a fourth part of a chariot wheel. The letters to important persons are not sealed in an envelope, as is often the case with us, but put in a purse, which, according to the dignity of the person to whom they are addressed, is less or more precious. On their Signets are never figures, but flecked names, or something from the Koran, or else a motto. The material on which they print the Signets is a
- 33980 multifaceted wax, consisting of many soft, but hardening Compositions: by which one can easily add Dan: VI 18. and similar passages from the Bible. That manner of writing, which serves for inscriptions, and becomes very artful by many strokes, bears the name of Kufi. No one should have the desire to travel to them, in order to learn the Music. Their vocal music is not harmonious, but falls into the rough and
- 33985 wild, and seems to be suited to indicate and express the strong and pleasant emotions of the mind. Their instrumental music is more for the gardens and the open field, than for a closed room. Thus a strong affect prevails in their songs, but mostly in a melancholy manner. Although they understand the Measure; the way to write notes, however, is wanting to them. They learn only by hearing, and yet the Measure is kept, when several play together. They have neither a Bass, nor other changes in the Music, but all play the same. (*) Very simple kinds of Zithers, Violins, Lyres, Toggles and Timpani are the usual instruments, which express something wild by rustling and croaking tones. The commonest, which even women use, to accompany the voice and other instruments, is a round bent, thin piece of wood, about the width of a hand, in which
- 33995 a stretched skin is fastened. In the round there are also 5 or 6 holes, in which pieces of broadly beaten white can be turned on thin shafts. This instrument is called, shaken in a trembling manner, in the hand, and with the fingers, according to the measure, struck on the sheet.
- 34000 (*) In a Greifwald newspaper of the year 1773 it was reported: "that old manuscripts were not seldom, and often for a reasonable price to be had by the booksellers in Cairo and Constantinople". But this is unfounded. It may, perhaps, have happened about this or that, by a special coincidence; but in general it will never happen.
- 34005 (*) The images of the Sultans in the Seraglio are said to have been painted with watercolour without shadow; of which subsequently other Turks also had copies made, without bothering themselves about the superstition of their co-religionists. (*) Mr. Murat, Swedish interpreter at Constantinople, invented the art of setting Turkish music to notes, and published the following work: *Essai sur la Melodie Oiëntale, ou explication du système des modes & des mesures de la Musique Turque* par Antoine du Murat. This report can be read in Prof. Biornstahl's letters of the Schloeizersche Correspondence, part II. piece 8. No. 23.
- 34010 §. XLI. Of the civil condition, and other things pertaining thereto. The various kinds of money, and their Value, must be known, one will rightly understand the Turkish reports and affairs. At Constantinople, Adrianople and Great
- 34015 Cairo are large mints, to mint money, on which never busts, but only the Emperor's engraved name is stamped. On the obverse is written: Sultan N. N. Ibn Sultan N. N. El-Sultan, Ibn El-Sultan; that is, "Emperor N." N. a Son of Emperor N. N. who himself is "Emperor and a Son of an Emperor:" and on the reverse is written: Sultan el-Ben-eyn, we Chakan el-Bahhrein. Which Title rhymes, and in both, relative words, Berrein and Bahhrein, would, according to the opinion of the Turks, convey something exalted and much expressive. They are of an Arabic origin, and stand in the twofold number. This rhyme actually means: Lord of both lands; Lord of both seas. By the heathlands are understood Europe and Asia, and by the two seas the black and white, that is, the Mediterranean Sea. One does not want to be grand about Africa and the Indian and Red
- 34025 Sea, in the imagination, that the twofold number, here, indicates something more exalted. Chakan is a Tartar Title, which means something like King of Kings. Even when the Emperor takes the field, money is minted in the army, with this inscription: *Fi Ordüi humajun*; that is, under the tent of the Most Illustrious. There is silver and gold money. To the first belong the Asper, the Para and the Piaster. An Asper is the smallest kind of money. Three of them go into a Para. There are not many of them, and the merchants in their accounts counted one, of which two and a half go into a Para. Forty Para make a Piaster. There are single, five, ten, twenty, thirty Para-pieces, as well as Piasters, and also one and a half Piaster-pieces. A Piaster is a (German) Specie-guilder or ?? Groseen. Of gold-money only Dir coats, which are
- 34035 expressed by the Italian word Zechinen, are minted; but they are of various Values. Some are of a hundred and five Para; others, and indeed the most common, of a hundred and ten Paras are called, after the various places where they are minted, Dschindscherli and Sermappuppen; the Arabic are of 130 Paras; the Fondukli of 155 Paras. Of foreign silver money, only Raguser pieces to one and a half Piastres, and Imperial Dollars to ?? Piastres are current; on the other hand, all European Ducats are accepted. The Venetian are considered equal to the Fondukli; but the Dutch and all others are reckoned at 146 and 2 thirds Para, and therefore three to 11 Piastres.
- 34040

Here and there, also, in merchant cities a variable Exchange takes place, although it is prohibited by Imperial regulations. Five hundred Piastres make up a Purse; and besides these usual Purses in accounts, as well as in trade and commerce, (*) there are also gold purses, in which go 15 thousand Turkish Ducats. Of the great Interests which the money gives, has been spoken of before; but the least among good Friends are 7 or 8 per hundred. The Money Doubters, who also shoot money to high per cent, are called Saraphs. — There is no doubt that a country so rich in mountains would not also be rich in Mines, as such are then, from time to time, actually discovered; but the Turks are bad at constructing mountain works, and for Christians this is also a very questionable and dangerous matter, because they can expose themselves to great Avanis. Of good kinds of stones. Marble, Porphyry, etc., there is no lack. There is an abundance of sea salt, and the mountain salt comes from Moldavia.

Trade and commerce is, in the Turkish Empire, reasonably free. There is no hunting right there, but everyone may shoot the Game. A tax is imposed on the Fisheries, although the Europeans may fish freely. Monopolies, which are so common in European States, under many apparent pretexts, to the detriment of the largest number of the country's inhabitants, were in my time, up to now, not yet introduced. An unusually large quantity of goods is brought from Europe, especially much English, Dutch, and French cloth. The Armenians and Jews are, between the Europeans and the country's inhabitants, mostly the Brokers (Censals). Otherwise, the Persian trade was also very considerable; but, since Persia, about the year 1740, with the extinction of the Royal Tribe, became a scene of internal wars and devastations, it has almost ceased. Turkey in itself supplies the merchant with considerable goods. The wool stands almost at the top. Very many ships are loaded with it. What we call Camel's hair is goat's hair from Angora. The Turkish yarn is dyed at Adrianople and Smyrna. This, however much the Europeans have tried, has not been able to be imitated, although they knew even the ingredients for this dye. And, since this can not even be done to all places in Turkey, this is a characteristic that it is due to the water and other circumstances of the country. More detailed reports concerning the Levantine trade in Corn, Tree Oil, Figs, Razines, Coffee, Rice, Medicines, Spices, Silk, etc., are found elsewhere. — In the Levant almost everything, even wine and firewood, is sold by weight. At Smyrna the weight consists of Drachmas, Okkes and Kanthars. An Okke is two and a half our pounds, and the Kanthar resembles 100 our pounds by weight. As for the rest wagons are not common; so everything is transported from one place to another 3 by means of Camels and Mules, whereby a necessary number of men are found for the delivery and safety. A certain company of such travellers with merchandise is called a Caravan, and a road which they can cover in one go with Camels, Konak. Yet one Konak is never the same as another in width and distance, but is adapted to the condition of the road, thus requiring more or less hours. But, as Camels and Mules keep almost everywhere a fairly constant pace; so one can reckon 2 hours to a German mile, and from that conclude to the day's journeys, which occur in the Levant travel descriptions, which can amount to between 4 and 6 German miles. It should be noted that the Camels never go side by side, but always behind each other, so that a Caravan, depending on its size, extends half a mile, or even a whole mile in length. — Such posts as we have with us, are not in Turkey; but every fortnight, letters from Constantinople to Vienna, and also back, are brought by mounted Janistas; and from the first mentioned place to Smyrna, Angora and Aleppo are fixed letter carriers; to other places and in extraordinary times one must make use of the opportunities that arise. On the principal roads, certain guards are indeed posted for their safety; but if the commanding Bajfaoi' Aga himself is not strict; then they are, not infrequently, highway robbers themselves, or at least make themselves pay dearly for the safety they provide. Otherwise, the trade by water, within the various Provinces of the Empire, is carried on by means of various kinds of ships. Between Constantinople, Egypt, and Syria, this is done with armed frigates, in order to be able to defend themselves against the Maltese; but in the Archipelago and the Hellespont with Voliken. These have only one mast, but long sprits to stretch the reasonably large sails. The stern projects higher out of the water than it is under it. Above, it is often decorated, and hung with garlands of flowers and other things. The ship itself is flat, and has a widely projecting prow. — Rich or distinguished travelers provide themselves with a Ferman from the Porte. Then, without contradiction, they can take away the horses for the continuation of their journey anywhere. This same power is also possessed by all messengers sent out by the Porte. Although those arts do not flourish in Turkey, which necessity, convenience or splendor has produced with us; nevertheless they do not lack all this, according to their country's manner or customs. Although they are not far advanced in mechanics;

yet they have no lack of gold, silver, copper and ironsmiths. They do not come close
34110 to ours in hammered work, in new models, and in purity in large pieces; but they
know, nevertheless, that in making gold arm-ornaments and other pieces, in use there
in the country, as well as in working copper and tinning it, advantages which we do
not have. (*) For fine work in gold, the artist is allowed to come into the house,
who brings his tools and furnace, and, where he wants, sets up his workshop. – The
34115 silk-bow succeeds, with a reasonable ease and still greater profit, on the islands of
the Archipelago, and the Greek, Natolian and Syrian coasts. Cloth-manufacturers are
entirely absent; but all the more there are manufactories, in which silk, tree-wool,
camel-hair fabrics, and indeed according to their taste, are made very beautifully
and costly. Constantinople, Angora, Aleppo, and the island of Scio are very famous in
34120 this respect. The silk shirts for the more affluent women, belts, veils, as well as a
kind of velvet for the sofa-cushions are made with great beauty. In this the
inhabitants of Brussa excel in particular. Embroidery is brought there to the
greatest perfection. In Turkey they embroider images and flowers from life; and this
is the work especially and mostly of women, not only of the great, but also of
34125 slaves. The Turkish carpets in all their thickness, variety of colours and flowers,
and various sizes, are worked with large needles. They also make, especially in
Egypt, mats, which are of fine reed on thin rope, very pure, and worked after all
kinds of models. In Smyrna and other places are good Cotton-Printing-Houses; also
there, and especially at Kanea on the island of Candia, much soap is made.
34130 The same crafts are there, as with us, and indeed by way of guilds, as masons,
tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, etc. What they cannot make themselves, they get from
Europe, or from European and resident artists. Among the latter, however, the watch-
makers made a great fortune; since clocks, instead of other imperfect time-keeping,
for instance by water-glasses, have become fashionable among the Turks. The Painters
34135 do not know much more, than to make some shoddy work, or at the most common figures
and trees. Becoming a master at the crafts is fixed at certain times, when solemn
processions are held with Music in the cities. Agriculture is diligently practised,
and in the winter, which is the rainy season there, most is sown. It is there almost
as in Europe, but easier, because the ground is light, and with the plough, which is
34140 generally made of wood without any iron, one does not cut the earth at all deep, but
only about a hand's breadth. One ploughs the land once, sows it, and harrows the seed
under. No trouble is made to weed out the weeds. All fields rest and bear one year
after the other. No horses are used for ploughing, but oxen, and chiefly buffaloes.
The greatest diligence is still expended in planting olive trees and vine, where it
34145 thrives. Cattle breeding is mostly limited to stud farms and herds of goats and
sheep. But, because of everything large tributes must be given, and no one knows
whether he, what he has, his heirs will receive, and the encouragements, and even
more the rewards are usually lacking; thus the greatest hope does not work more, than
he needs for himself and his age.
34150

(*) It is strange, that the true calculation of the Purses, so often, is done wrong. Still the
greatest geographic writer of our time, Mr. D. Busching declared, in his (Hoogd:) weekly
reports ?? Maps for the year 1773 No. 40. 15 hundred Purses for 7 hundred and 50 thousand
34155 Prussian Reichsthalers: because it is only so many Piastres, of which one is only three
quarters of such a Taalder. And in that for the year 1775 5 Piasters are declared for one
Ducat (page 410) and 4 thousand Purses for 2 millions of Daalders (page 412.). Will these be
Prussian Daalders, as it seems; then it is untrue. There are only so many Piasters or Lion-
Daalders.

(*) The frequent use of copper vessels in the Levant is, as much as is generally believed, not
34160 harmful because of the there holding, very protruding and often repeated tinning.

§. XLIII. Of the domestic condition of the Turks.
Among the Turks, almost all families are esteemed equally; none is excluded from the
ascent of the highest offices of honour; as also none, by their actual possession, is
34165 insured against a complete fall. – Marriages take place in a manner very different
from ours; they are concluded before both parties have seen and spoken to each other;
although it sometimes happens that the Bridegroom, through his mother or some other
person, may obtain a picture of his future wife. On the wedding day, the dowry is
sent to the Bridegroom's house. When the Bride is fetched, then this is done in
34170 disguise, and her Father's house; mourns and weeps over it as if someone had died. At
the wedding feast as well as at all other solemn visits the male and female sex have
their company and amusements separate and apart from each other. – The condition of
most Turkish women is severe, and the man's good nature makes at most an exception.
Because a well-to-do man has several wives; this alone causes jealousy and envy among
34175 them, not to mention other passions. The man can, on all occasions, repudiate them,

and, by threatening to do so, make them afraid. The rule of the man can therefore be tyrannical, and otherwise he can also, by using slaves, break the marital fidelity as often as he pleases. These are kidnapped or bought Christian women, who fall into the hands of the Turks on the Russian, Polish, Hungarian and Italian borders; and besides

34180 that Georgia and Circas with the neighboring countries must also pay a common human tribute; yes, the inhabitants there are so dehumanized, that the husbands and wives, not less the parents the children, and these sell them either by force or cunning. – The number of white and black slaves, which are brought annually to Constantinople, can indeed be determined with no certainty; but they will amount, one year counted by

34185 the other, to no less than 25 thousand. What one cannot get rid of there at a reasonable price; that is carried to other provinces, especially to Egypt, where the white slaves are rare and expensive. Otherwise the Christians and Jews might also buy slaves of the Christian religion; but Mustapha III has forbidden this, under severe punishment, which can extend to death. (*) A man may sell the bought or stolen

34190 slaves, when he is tired of them; although they usually then obtain their freedom, if they have brought children into the world. A real, but divorced woman must be returned her matrimonial property, except when she has given occasion for divorce by an indecent act. Women do not obtain these so easily; but they may desire them, when the man does not give her the necessary maintenance, or has wanted to abuse her

34195 unnaturally. In order to indicate this latter point to the Judge, they are accustomed, without saying a word, merely to turn over the thin undershoes they have taken off, with which they go into the rooms. The Judge understands this metaphor further. Meanwhile, among the Turks, the children bred from co-wives have the same rights, as well as the same paternal inheritance with those who are born of

34200 legitimate women. It is almost unnecessary to mention how, in polygamy, the discipline of children is placed. The understanding, especially in the female sex, is left very untrained; no one thinks of the real improvement of the will and heart. The necessity of it is not even understood. Wild and licentiousness is considered something unconstrained. The

34205 children of common people run, without any instruction or discipline, along the streets; those of nobles, whose sons are called Tschelebi, have Slaves and Enslaved Men as Tutors and Stewards; certainly, very unfit persons for such an important matter. The Mohammedan religion is not able to produce anything good in children, and domestic examples are able to further pervert nature, which is already corrupt in

34210 itself. The Eunuchs are also by the Chief overseers of women, and are entirely deprived of their manhood, so as not to give the landlord the least suspicion in expiation of his lusts with his wives. With regard to the long garments of the Turks in general, I thought it worthy of

34215 remark here, that the Chiefs not only wear a light long outer garment over the long petticoat, and 'also a' fur over it, but moreover, on their journeys and otherwise, take several with them, to be able to exchange for convenience and splendor. This is very conveniently transferred to the prohibition of Christ, whereby he forbade the Apostles to carry more than one coat on their journey; just as he would not allow

34220 them to use shoes, but instead to tie on shoe soles. X 10. Marc. VI 9. Their shirts are made nearly like the European women's shirts. The trousers are, in many classes, of an unusual width, and so full of pleats, that for a pair well over 40 yards of linen three-quarters wide are needed. The turban gives them a special dignity, and is of very different kinds and shapes, according to the rank of the persons who wear it. Gold and silver are not seen at all on the clothes of the men's sons, as it, in their

34225 opinion, does not belong to the ornament of men; but they spend a great deal of money on horsebacks and saddles, daggers, pistols and harquebuses. The Emperor himself makes no exception here, plumes with precious stones on his Turban, besides three plumes of Candid herons, one in front, and two on either side, somewhat

34230 distinguishing him from others. The principal Bassas have of the first kind one of the same on the left side, and lesser persons only one in common. It is known that the Turks have appropriated the colour green; and no one, who is not a Mohammedan or a European, may wear such a colour in their country, as a colour in a certain respect sacred to them. – When riding they use boots; but when walking only slippers, which they take off in the apartments and when praying. This last serves to explain those

34235 passages in the Bible, where the taking off of shoes is given as a sign of outward reverence for God and man. The Easterners of the male race seldom wear stockings. When therefore the first Christians were baptized among them, it happened very easily, by their climbing into the edge of the water. Handel. VIII 38. – The watch is worn in a purse on the breast near the heart. The undergarment, (Dtiaman) over which

34240 the outer garment, (Feredsche) often hangs open, only from the shoulders down, is provided with narrow sleeves, and tied around the hips with a belt, in which the

pistols are stuck, as well as the Hattagan or a certain knife, in the shape of our sabres, three quarters long or a perfect El. This is seldom seen, because it is covered by the outer garment; and one can understand by this, ??the Ehud, (Judge: III 20. etc.) Joab, (2 Sam: XX 10.) and others could use their Eastern swords, unnoticed, to pierce. The outer garment is, in the summer, of very light material; but in the winter of cloth, lined with fur. The Turks are exceedingly fond of the beard. They consider it an essential privilege, by which God has wanted to distinguish the male from the female thought. And so one can easily understand, why in David's time it was considered the greatest insult, that one had cut off his ambassador's. 2 Sam. X 4. 5. They are also accustomed to comb it, to puff it up, to incense it, and to anoint it with fragrant waters and ointments. And since they remain unyielding in this ancient custom, as in the mode of dress in general; so one can, without mistake, conclude with certainty from the present to the former customs. – Even the meanest people wear gold or silver rings, which in the case of the better-off are set with stones, on which their names or an inscription are engraved. And, since these rings serve the Easterns as insignia, seal and inscription are identical expressions. (2 Timothy ii 9.) These seals are printed with black ink, similar to our printer's ink; wherefore the passages from the Holy Scripture, Rev. vii 2. etc. Ezek. ix 4. will not seem strange or absurd to anyone. The greater part of their names, especially male ones, are taken from the Old Testament, and are bent and changed somewhat to the Arabic or Turkish pronunciation. The Turkish women in their mode of dress come fairly near the Greek, and, however concealed they may be, are never idle. There are special days and places in Turkey, when they sell and buy, but covered, raw wool and silk, as well as wool, silk and all kinds of woven materials. At Smyrna, Angora and elsewhere are common women's markets. And their work is still, as I have often seen, that they, covered with a veil, fetch water from the often remote springs. Wherefore the punishment which Joshua inflicted on the Gibeonites, (Joshua IX 21. etc.) consisted in their degradation from military affairs to womanly occupations. The female sex is, as is known, exceedingly modest. For Christians and Jews it is a very dangerous business to have to do with a Turkin. They either forfeit their lives, or must adopt the Mohammedan religion, and marry her; at least it costs them a great deal of money to settle the matter. The common women of all kinds go out of the rooms, even covered with a white veil. The Turks, for instance, are of the opinion that beautiful women cannot be looked at without the evil desires of men, and that they are therefore considered and concealed. If they go walking alone; then they often disregard the rules of European politeness: and this is the reason that male sons, especially of other persuasions, gladly get out of the way, to avoid their attacks and presumptuous impudence. But otherwise this is done, for the most part, in a large company, under the supervision of Eunuchs or black Arabs. Since carriages are not at all in use, the men ride as well as the women. – If prominent male sons go out for pleasure; then a certain number of servants go ahead in pairs, carrying the things necessary for eating and drinking, as well as for changing clothes. To ride on donkeys is, in most Provinces, not contemptible. Their saddles differ much from ours. These are long and soft, and the children are usually placed behind them. The stirrups are short and broad, so that the slippers do not fall out so lightly. There is a great difference between these saddles and those for camels and asses (Sphemer). These are mainly fitted for girding up the burdens, of wood and leather, therefore hard and uncomfortable; wherefore one must put either coverings, or the long Eastern garments on them, in order to ride at all comfortably: as this was also observed by Christ's disciples at the time of his entry into Jerusalem. Matth: XXI 7. -- In European Turkey there is indeed a kind of carriages: but these are not so much used for travelling, as for taking a rest. They have long wheels, are small, with latticework, and hung with common or precious material. The latter can be moved aside to create air, so that the latticework remains, so that those who sit in it are not seen on their sofa cushions.

Companies of both ideas are considered indecent. Each one joins his peers. Brothers and sisters-children of different generations will not easily see each other, I am not mentioning any further kinship. No one asks after the health of another's wife or daughter, because this would be completely against their politeness, and would be taken as an insult. A familiar intercourse with other religious parties does not take place. They are merely visits for action or ceremony. The offering of coffee is begun, if rank does not permit a pipe of tobacco to be offered. Immediately before the coffee, some preserved fruit is also offered. Only one cup of coffee is served, only half full, and usually without sugar. This is followed by a sorbet or sweet drink. During this time, business is transacted. If they wish the visit to come to an end, then a sweet-smelling water is brought, and the guests are sprinkled with it;

then follows an incense, with which very fine cloths are spread over the heads, so that it does not evaporate so quickly. The Turks of rank are very industrious, both in their visits and in their intercourse with other peoples, and the Europeans are despised by them with their much chatter and laughter. But as silent as the male sex is in its intercourse, the louder and more talkative is the female. Wherefore the Turks have this proverb: "Two Asses make a noise like a Caravan; but two Wives like a Council". — Persons of a low rank stand before the Great in a very humble form. The hands hang down against the lower abdomen, one over the other, and the eyes are cast down to the ground. With deep Compliments the custom so often found in the Bible still holds good among them, namely, that the inferior should fall on his knees before the Great: and before the Princes and Great in the East no one may appear without a present. — It would be very improper if a woman were to go to the door of her husband, even after a long journey, and receive him. — In common intercourse they regard no rank; but in ceremonies and ceremonies each is assigned his own place. With men of the law (Ulema), as with us, the right hand is the place of honour, but with soldiers the left; so that the Grand Vizier and the Mufti, when they come together, have no difference in this respect, since each, according to his opinion and the prevailing custom, has the higher hand. Their greetings among themselves and toward others consist in these words: Salam-aleikom, that is: peace be with you, with which they, while bowing their heads, lay their left hand on their breast: but Christians and Jews may not address them with this, just as if they could not wish them peace. The turban is never taken off in greetings, and a Turk would believe that a European was making fun of him if he took off his hat in his presence. The inferiors, when addressing and departing, kiss the hem of the coat of a noble, or press it against his forehead. The Orientals are not fond of walking. When the weather is good they go to a pleasant place, where there is water and shade, and stay there from morning till night. Many even stay the night under tents. They are not accustomed to sit on chairs, but either on the grass, over which a carpet is sometimes spread, or on a low sofa, and indeed with their legs crossed over each other. The domestic servants of the Orientals of both sexes are not only sent out with the children alone, but are also taken along when the husband and wife go out. The servants take children, especially when they are a bit bigger, usually on their backs, so that they put their hands around their necks, but keep their legs at their sides, and look over them with their heads. Although the furniture is not so abundant among the Turks as it is among us; nevertheless there is an exception in this respect. For one finds the Grands of the Empire, who have furnished their apartments, after the European manner, with costly mirrors, armchairs, cupboards, tables, etc. from France and England, or else with paintings of landscapes and country views, but without human figures. In the apartments, where they keep house, everything is so clean and neat, that no one wears shoes in them; but the floors, stairs and forecourts are not lightly swept and dusted; for they are very indifferent about their houses and palaces. This is done partly from a true principle of religion, because they were only foreigners there; partly also for political reasons, because no one knows whether he will long possess them, and whether their descendants will inherit them. For this reason one seldom sees them improve a house. They inhabit it as long as they can. If they are still alive then; then they break it down completely and build a new one. The most secluded part in larger houses serves as a dwelling place for the women, and bears the name of Haerem. (*) The attics in the rooms are painted, sometimes gilded, and the floor is covered with mats or carpets. On the walls all around is the Sophar. The preparation of their food differs a great deal from ours. Instead of butter, which does not succeed there, as it does with us, they not only use their excellent oil, but also have the fat of curdled milk, which can be eaten fresh on bread, and is probably the Cherriah (ntf??) of the Hebrews. Judge: V 25. The rest they dry or use as an ingredient in certain dishes; or use it as sour milk for food and drink. Meanwhile the European Turks, in many provinces, use butter in abundance. As to the use of spices, especially pepper and camel, they are excessive. Their thin bread is baked not only in Nato, but also in an unusually large number of regions of Arabia, Syria, and towards the Euphrates, for want of wood, over cow and camel mist. And so it can surprise no one that Prophet Ezechiel (Chapter: IV 12.) had to bake his bread over the dung of man's extremity, instead of camel mist, as a foreshadowing of impending punishments. These cakes, like their bread, are put on the table almost as warm and fresh as they come from under the ashes. Because no leaven gets into them, they only last the day they are baked. Otherwise they are white, of a good smell, and only half a finger thick. If they are used the next day, out of necessity; then they must be warmed over coals, because otherwise they would be too tasteless. A liquid, that which is pressed from Susam-seed (Tachin'), and another, that which is called

Petmes, and is also sweetish, are poured together, and are like their butter. Without
34375 the well-known Pillau or boiled rice, a meal is not easily done. According to
proportion, for instance one measure of rice and two measures of water, they boil the
latter first, and then put the rice in, to let both boil together. Then they leave
the pot open, and, without covering it further, or stirring the rice, let it boil
34380 or brown butter or fat, stir it with a spoon handle, cover the pot for about five
minutes, and then ladle up the Pillau. Otherwise it is also sometimes finished with
fowl or mutton, and boiled with raisins, and, when it is put on the table, sprinkled
abundantly with pepper. Mutton and goat meat, with fowl is their favourite food. But
in general they are not great meat eaters, but are more fond of garden and tree
34385 fruits. In eating Turks are generally very moderate. The lesser ones content
themselves with salt and bread, garlic or onions and sour milk, to which occasionally
olives are added, and on ceremonial occasions other food; so that a Turk, according
to our way of living, generally helps himself to little food. Important persons
use spoons made of tortoise shells, smaller ones of horn, and the common ones of
34390 wood. Knives and forks are not used on the table, and the meat is already cut into
small pieces in the kitchen. Besides, the meat is cooked so soft that it falls to
pieces when touched. Their way of eating is therefore repugnant to us, because what
we eat with spoons, they put into their mouths with their fingers. With respectable
people the tablecloth consists only of a round piece of leather, which is spread out
34395 on the floor. They use tinned copperware, and the drinking vessels are large dishes
of copper or porcelain. The guests of equal rank sit on their feet crossed under
them, and the lesser ones on their knees all around. On the leather they place the
bread cakes all around. With their right hand they only touch the dish, putting food
on the bread, or sometimes on the leather, they break the meat into pieces with their
34400 fingers, and then eat at will. When they get up from eating; then they say, God be
praised! Water is their principal drink. After the meal they always wash themselves.
For refreshment they use the Sorbet, which is not made in any way, and is seldom to
the taste of the Europeans. The coffee pot with them only gets cold, because on a
summer day it stands in the kitchen, but in the winter on the cooking-pan in the
34405 room: but, because the cups are small, and are often poured barely half full, a
strong coffee-drinker there only drinks as much, as an average one with us. The
coffee is fairly strong, but is never drunk with milk, and as saucers are not in use,
the cup, to avoid burning the fingers, is placed in a sort of saucer, which among
common people is made of copper, but among nobles is made very purely of broken
34410 silver or gold. A Turk does not easily live without tobacco. Both in the country and
at home he has his pipe almost always in his mouth; and from a sort of cleanliness it
is, that he, at least in company, swallows his saliva. But the tobacco is smoked very
slowly, and indeed from pipes, the stems of which are from 2 to 4 ells long; through
which nothing but an airy vapour comes to the mouth, which does not bite the tongue,
34415 nor is it as intoxicating as with us. The stems are often covered with silver or
gold, and sometimes even wrapped in some kind of material, which, especially in
summer, is moistened with a sponge, so that the smoke may come very cool into the
mouth. The landlord himself or a servant hands the lighted pipe to all. The opium is
taken by many in such a measure that they become intoxicated in a certain sense, and
34420 thus, as if enraptured, give themselves up to their dreams. At first they become
waking dreamers; but gradually all the powers of mind and body are so weakened that,
while the body is still alive, they become senseless, insensible and inactive. Rich
and distinguished Turks keep a great number of servants and slaves of both kinds. If
they buy the latter by the more mature years; then they will not easily force them to
34425 their religion; nor do they deal with them so mercilessly as the Mohammedans do on
the coasts of Barbary. Their cruelty is well understandable. For the scum of those
Turks, whom, except by death, they wish to punish most severely, are banished from
Turkey to the coasts of Africa, or, in some places, are taken by the Moors and
employed, where they make a great fortune there in a short time. For the rest, the
34430 Slaves of both kinds, who are not robbed in their youth, or bought and then brought
up, are generally the worst creatures. Otherwise, their worldly condition could not
be considered unhappy. In their native country they are for the most part no better
than the Savages; but now they are well maintained and clothed; instructed in many
things, and often make a great fortune; as one finds examples of this in the earliest
34435 Histories, that they, behaving well, are adopted by their owners as children, and
made sons-in-law, Genes: XV 3. 1 Chronik: II 34. 35. The beautiful slaves are
described as exuberant, proud and self-willed, and those who are stolen in tender
youth, are inspired by the Turks with a great hatred against the Christians. The
children of slaves are, according to the law, their own, unless the owner grants them

34440 their freedom.
 The Turks, as a lazy, idle people, are uncommonly fond of pastime; but not of such as they should exert their energy in, but of such as they can act as dreaming
 34445 spectators. Tightrope walkers, fighters, wrestlers, and indeed in a coarse taste can gain something by it. There is also no lack of such rabble of men and women. While showing their works of art, in which they often express the most lustful movements, they always let a music be heard, which with a common drum and some hoarse wind
 34450 instruments are made. Actual plays, comedies and operas are not a fashion with them. The fighters, after the custom of the ancients, smear themselves with oil, and have no other clothes on, except a pair of leathern stockings. As they behave like monkeys, with their various swings and simulated attacks; one becomes dissatisfied in oneself, that one can thus degrade people below their natural dignity. The games are short in their separate performances, and at each end the principal spectators are asked for a tip. Gambling is not so common among the Turks, except the game of chess, the draughts-board and the Mangala, or the counting of a multitude of beans or small
 34455 stones in 12 hollowed-out holes in a thick board. In winning or losing they show neither joy nor sorrow. It is also done for no money; for gambling with money is considered a great sin by them. Both thoughts seek the greatest amusement in gardens or pleasant regions, especially where there is a rushing water, or a strong passage of travellers, to pass the time as if dreaming, while listening to music or smoking
 34460 tobacco. For this reason, coffee houses are also built not only in the cities and villages, but also on popular highways. The Dscherid or stick game is for the riders, and is considered by them, in a certain respect, as a martial exercise. One spurs the horse on with all one's might, and, while one lets it run around, one tries to get behind the back of one's party, and to throw the stick at its shoulders, because one
 34465 should never aim at its belly. They pick up the sticks from the ground at full gallop without dismounting, turn themselves around the belly of their horse, and make several swings, to avoid the throw intended for them. In this bodily exercise they are very skilled. Among the pastimes belong the Baths, (*) which, on a medicinal pretext, are visited by the women during the day, and by the men's sons towards the
 34470 evening, several times a month. Now, because large companies of one sex, but nevertheless of all peoples and denominations and ranks, usually come there, and converse with each other without ceremonies; thus they stay there, while bathing, drinking coffee and talking, for 3 or 4 hours. These are the proper places of meeting: for the women to tell each other all sorts of news, and to show each other
 34475 their precious things. Should a man's son sneak in; then, when he is undressed, he would not only be easily known, but even be in danger of his life. When the inhabitants travel in Turkey; then they take with them a Mat or a Carpet, to sit and sleep on, some blankets, a cooking-kettle and a bowl with a drinking-bowl and a coffee-pot. These are all their utensils; and if they have no Servants or Slaves,
 34480 then they boil their own coffee and rice.

(*) Notwithstanding this Prohibition, they are still allowed to buy them, for the benefit of the Turks, as their owners. But the buyers close the deal before the court, and have a Tlam?? or judicial testimony given concerning it, in order to be assured against all the Avaniens?? in the future.

34485 (*) Haerem not only means, as in a similar Hebrew word, a holy place, but also the women and their dwelling. Haeremcyn, in the double number, expresses the two supposed holy places, Mecca and Medina.

34490 (*) Bathing has become almost a necessity with them. It must, for example, be done before marriage; and they do not take a slave into the house who has not first been bathed.

§. XLIII. National Character of the Turks, and other things pertaining thereto. In such a large Empire as the Turkish, which is composed of so many Provinces situated under many climates, the inhabitants cannot well have one national
 34495 Character: for example, the Turks in Greece proper, in Egypt, on Kandia, Cyprus and elsewhere are more wicked than those living around Constantinople, Smyrna, etc. The Europeans are considered active, impetuous, brave, rough in their morals; the Asiatic, on the other hand, are considered cowardly, tender, effeminate and lazy. But the following will generally be true and sufficient for their representation.
 34500 The Turkish nation has a natural intellect and judgment. This can be inferred from the fact that the Turks, without much justification, by themselves, in all sorts of things, come reasonably far. The examples are many, that men of the lowest state attain to the highest dignities, and know very well how to conform themselves to them. It is a great amusement to the hearers, in judicial, and often very delicate
 34505 investigations, with what subtlety and ignorance the Judges, without being instructed in our legal matters, question the parties, and are able to discover the most secret

acts. Their ideas are, often, singular in their kind. But this does not prevent them from being uncommonly superstitious. There is not a people who could be more attached to superstition. Almost all chance things, yes, even the colours of their clothes, furnish them with matter for good or evil premonitions. They consider dreams as a kind of divine inspirations. Supposed astrologers, soothsayers, and enchanters are always very popular among the principal people. Many carry talismans with them during their lives. These superstitious signs, to protect themselves from injuries and accidents, are not of one kind. One of them consists in certain sayings from the Koran, or in prayers, which are written on paper or parchment, and worn in a little bag on the naked body on a cord. Another contains certain forms, cut on metal or stone, and is fastened by means of a ring passing round the arm, or elsewhere. They are even hung on the necks of horses. None of them is free from the imagination that one can do much harm to another by an evil glance of the eye. Charms to make a person fall in love are believed to be used there, besides by the Mohammedans, also by the Jews and Eastern Christians. Various charms are used with the sick; indeed, passages from the Gospels are read for their cure, and recourse is had to the graves of supposed Saints among the Christians and Turks. If they have a strong and constant pain, in whatever part of the body it may be; then they hold a small burning blade or cloth to it; with which various words are spoken by Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, and crosses are made by the former over the painful place. This is called the holy fire, and great power is attributed to the ceremonies customary with it. — In Egypt it is generally believed that the Feast of John the Baptist puts an end to the plague. Their stature is well-made, stout and manly. Their strength is not small, and they can bear burdens which one must resist. Their bodily posture and movements are simple, not so made, as ours, and they do not fence, while speaking, so much with the limbs, especially with the hands. The Turkish women are described as beautiful. Their skin, because of the covering, must naturally be more tender. — A high opinion of themselves is theirs in a very high degree. But which peoples are free from this pride? Are not a Spaniard, Englishman, Frenchman, etc., in their own eyes exalted above all others? According to the imagination of the Turks, no State is better constructed than theirs; no nation equals theirs to precedence; no religion more wholesome than theirs. What we have previously remarked concerning their learning, enables us to judge whether they may be considered infallible judges in these respects. — They give all nations epithets; the Greeks they call Tauschein, hares; the Jews Schifud, dogs; the Armenians Boktschi, dung-eaters; the Germans Dschurur-Kiafir, filthy swearers, etc. In their conduct they are serious, and one cannot well imagine what dignity they are able to display constantly. As to customs, habits, and manner of dress, they are extremely constant and obstinate. They regard these as things connected with religion, so that he who would change them, seems to change religion along with them. When therefore Sultan Mahmud, in this century, borrowed some arrangements and customs from the Europeans, he had to tolerate that he should adopt the Frankish ??auer or the European Infidel was called. Their way of life is very uniform. They go to bed early, except for Ramasan, and rise early again. At 7 or 8 o'clock they have a moderate breakfast, and towards evening their main meal. They spend the day either in idleness or in occupation. City clocks for dividing time are not at all in use. The calling of the Mosques to prayer serves for this purpose, and one would believe that by the construction of the first their Imam and the Dignity of the Religion itself would lose something. The largest group lives moderately, making do with little and small food; and, as their main drink is water, the table does not require great expense. Of soups they know almost nothing; and many live, in the season of fruit, only on bread, fruit, and water. — Avarice is also with them the root of all evil; and generosity is an almost entirely unknown virtue to them. With money one can get the most from them. One can make everything right with it, buy off life sentences, and procure as many false witnesses and perjurers as one needs. Even the First Names of the Court, the women, the eunuchs, and other Trustees are won by this metal. And therefore things that are not of gold and other precious materials are of no Value to them. Our taste in paintings, furniture, porcelain, etc., is despicable to them. Has one given a present to a Turk, of whatever state he may be, on a certain occasion, as on a solemn day; then he regards this as an obligation to a superior, and demands a new one in return: why also the word, Baechsersch (gift), which is none, which one hears so often in Turkey. They have little inclination for fine arts. They love idleness more than work, so that they often spend the whole day in playing. — If the earth, with a little effort, did not produce almost everything of itself, and if the Turks did not live so moderately; then they would soon have to perish. In business and conduct they seldom keep the middle way, but are either naturally just and hypocritical, or very malicious and

deceitful. They can become very easily angry and irascible. They are idle, and can dissemble unusually. They incline to cruelty and tyranny. Their desire for revenge is not easily sated. Trifles can set them to second thoughts, which can seldom be taken from them. Their love, as a rule, results in cruelties, of which one or the other party becomes a horrible victim. Not infrequently, young men or women are found murdered in lonely places or in the water, their faces mutilated, so as to remain unknown. As insatiable as the Turks are in their desire to amass wealth, so wasteful are they when it comes to satisfying their lust or splendor. Their lust is worldly; and both minds, to satisfy it, devise the most cunning means, or fall into the most unnatural tracelessness: so that in them the very remarkable word of the Apostle, Rom. 1 26-28. is fulfilled. This should surprise no one. The climate is hot; and the Mohammedan religion, instead of restricting and appeasing the lusts of the flesh, rather leaves them complete freedom, and, instead of providing means to subdue them, gives them food to follow. Among them unnatural sins are in vogue, whose names must be covered with eternal silence, and which nevertheless often form the substance of their songs, and furnish matter for conversation, especially among the Great. They have only base thoughts of the female sex, considering women to be an inferior sort of people. On this account no care is taken for their education, but they grow up without any knowledge, and are wild and dissolute. Very few of them have any understanding of religion. It is considered a matter of indifference whether they pray or not; whether they go to the Mosque or not. When a crowd of them is in the street or elsewhere; then they go as far out of the way as they can, to be protected against their excesses. — For the rest, the Turks are great lovers of tame cattle. Most common fathers of the house have a sheep, which goes with them to the fields, and follows them everywhere. Such a custom probably took place in David's time; and therefore, on a certain occasion, the Prophet Nathan spoke to him of a sheep, which had been fed and maintained with such care by its owner. 2 Sam. XII. 1, etc.

Dogs and cats are so well cared for by them, that the former are nowhere better off than in Turkey. The streets are full of them, and it is considered a good work to throw them bread and meat. If they were as quick-witted as we are, then the pedestrians would be unhappy: but they are lazy and do not stir, even greater would be the misfortune, if they became mad; but of this they know nothing there. But the cats alone are tolerated in the houses and rooms, and not the dogs, which are considered unclean animals. From this one can understand, why they, Rev. XXII 15. are presented as a symbol of reprehensible people, and unworthy of salvation. Because now, because of a wrong and ill-conceived conception of love, they do not let them be killed; so they multiply in the streets and on all corners unusually. They are extraordinarily fond of horses, and take almost more care of them, than of people. Each horse, while grazing, is fastened to a pole by means of a rope on one leg, in such a way, however, that it can walk around freely up to a certain distance. In addition, they are all, according to the owner, covered with a bad or expensive covering, to be protected against heat or cold. The Turks generally ride on stallions, and not on geldings. They are good horse-tamers, straightening the horses more with good and gentle words, than with cursing and beating. The bits and bridles are also different from ours, oppressing the tongue at the slightest pull, so that the horses let themselves be controlled further.

The thoughts of the Turks about other nations and beliefs are not the best. They consider it not only permissible, but even a work of religion, to revile and mock them, in order that, to avoid this, they might be induced to adopt the Mohammedan religion. Although the free gift is not exercised among them to the same degree as among the Tartars; yet it is not easy for anyone to perish of hunger among them. For the Mohammedans of other sects they have as little love as the Romanists have for the Protestants. The hatred against the Christians is great, and among them those who worship images are a scandal to them, nay, a horror. As for the Jews they have an uncommon contempt, and they are an object of their ridicule. But this reproach may also, alas! be made of many Christians.

§. XLIV. Internal condition of the Turkish Empire.

As great as the Turkish Empire is, so weak is it in all this. The population does not at all correspond to its size. (*) In many places the whole is destitute of people. One need not travel to the borders between Turkey and Persia, or to the Arabian deserts, to convince oneself of this; but the best Provinces show this fully. The regions around large cities are still quite well populated; but in places that are further away, the inhabitants decrease imperceptibly, and the few that remain, also leave them at last, and go to large cities. These are, according to all observations, the abyss in which the human race is devoured. The Polygamy, as experience teaches

there, does not populate the countries, but it does depopulate them. There are, in
 34640 comparison with our families, but few, in which, with many wives, there are as many
 children, as we find among us in the succession of the divine laws of marriage. – The
 reason why the people of the country go to the great cities, is the severity and
 cruelty with which the farmers are oppressed. – The wild regions are steadily
 34645 increasing, and one finds not only a few houses, but even whole villages, which no
 one inhabits any more. Many kingdoms and provinces bring little to the Porte. The
 Emperor, in comparison with this rich country, draws little from the fat Egypt.
 Moreover, it is full of internal unrest. It is the same with Morea, Georgia, Kandy,
 and other countries. Many nations wandering wildly in Turkey increase the disorder,
 and diminish the strength of the Empire, among which belong the Turkmen, the Druses,
 34650 and the Arab Hordes. – Although many and various denominations are tolerated; yet
 this tolerance is so badly regulated, that mutual oppressions, hostilities, and
 hatreds are never wanting. – The Mohammedans indeed constitute the dominant religion;
 but of Christians and Jews there is no less an extraordinary number. – The Turkmen
 and Druses, in a certain respect also the Arnauts, seem only outwardly to profess
 34655 Mohammedanism, but to abhor it in their hearts; which latter the Jesids also do. The
 oppressions which the inhabitants of Turkey, especially by the Avanians, and under
 the government of the Bassas, Kadis, etc., have to endure, are terrible and infinite.
 Wherefore they also seek to hide their treasures, as much as possible. The rich
 therefore live, in appearance, poor and lowly, and their houses do not look very
 34660 strange from the outside. This makes them all discontented, and in times of war the
 Great Lord cannot rely on them. – The whole Empire is badly disposed within. Many
 Bassas and Agas obey only as far as they please. For this reason there is never any
 lack of internal unrest. The Porte often sees this gladly, allowing such to arise and
 be caused between them, in order that they may consume themselves among themselves.
 34665 It mostly approaches the treasures of the underlying party; but the country suffers
 irreparable damage from it. Thousands of inhabitants are spoiled by it; others are
 driven away; towns and villages are destroyed; and fields and pastures are
 devastated. – From all this it appears how easy it would be to put an end to the
 Turkish Empire. Possession of it in part or in whole would certainly be too
 34670 advantageous for one European Power, and would give it too great a preponderance over
 all others. But this difficulty would disappear if one of the principal countries
 were appointed King or Emperor. It needs no proof what advantages would arise for
 humanity, the Christian religion, and the European, as well as other countries, from
 the destruction of the Turkish Empire. (*) For the rest, one must wonder that such an
 34675 irregular Empire can still exist; and this must be attributed to God's permissive
 Providence alone, which allows such a monstrosity to maintain its permanence for the
 humiliation of the European Powers.

(*) The population in Turkey, up to now, cannot be calculated with certainty at all, not even
 34680 in a single large Turkish city. No lists are kept of those who are born, nor of those who
 marry or die; and the poll tax is only collected from those who are not Mohammedans, and
 indeed only from the male, thought to have reached the age of thirty.

(*) This proposal, to make one of the principal Christians of the country King or Emperor,
 upon the destruction of the Turkish Empire, would also, I admit, encounter great difficulty.
 34685 Of the former Imperial Families there may well be no descendants left, although many still
 claim to be descended from them. In this connection one need only recall what I have
 previously stated, § XVII. concerning the Charaer of the Greek nation, especially if it is
 going well with it.

34690 End of the first Part.

NOTICE.

The Maps and Places belonging to this first Volume will be supplied in the coming
 34695 year, when the second and last Volume is published.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH KINGDOM ACCORDING TO ITS PRESENT STATE AND RELIGION IN THE
 LAST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, WITH MAPS AND PLATES, BY CHRISTOPH: WILH:
 LUDEKE,

34700 Teacher of Theology, first Preacher of the German Community, Chairman of the
 Consistory in Stockholm, and Supervisor of the schools;
 according to the High German second edition translated under the motto:
 ALTISSIMO ANNUENTE VIRIBUS MEIS.

SECOND PART.

34705 Behind which follow HISTORICAL REPORTS Of the Government, Customs and Habits of the
 OTTOMAN MONARCHY BY PETER BUSINELLO,

Secretary of State of the Republic of Venice. At LEYDEN, By A. and J. HONKOOP,
Booksellers
M D C C L X X X I I.

34710

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\$. XLV. The precedence of the Christian religion, according to the Bible, above the Mohammedan.

The basic principles of a religion can indeed be learned from its textbooks, without having to stay in the countries where it is practiced; but the consequences, effects, and other circumstances, which accompany them, can best be learned by seeing them, and the grounds themselves are thereby placed in a clearer light. For this reason I considered myself obliged, notwithstanding many trials of the Christian and Mohammedan religions, to make such remarks as may reassure Christians, but may shame unbelievers.

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— When I now speak of the Christian religion, I mean only that which rests on the Bible: whereby, furthermore, a great multitude of mockeries fall, which are produced by Roman or ignorant Freemen, who do not touch the Christian religion according to the fundamental principles of the Bible, but only in general, but according to their narrow concepts, or actually the Roman religion. The first foundation of the Christian and Mohammedan religions, where the first acknowledges the Bible, the second the Koran, already offers very clear characteristics to distinguish the divine from the ungodly. This appears as clear as day, when one compares them both together. The writers or compilers differ greatly from each other. Among the writings of the Old and New Testaments, one finds, according to number, many, of which a part in a rather broken series, and indeed in a period of about a thousand years, and, four

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centuries before the birth of Christ, the first; but another part after the same, indeed in a shorter period of time, but nevertheless from many purposes, and in several places, the last has been left in writing; whereby, however, in the principal ends, for which a divine revelation is necessary, they agree with each other in every way; yet so that one can see how they did not agree together on what they wanted to write. Of the Koran, Mohammed is the only author who lets in many main parts of it implausible contradictions flow in, which one does not hold to the best of any

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writer, even if he does not claim to have any divine inspiration; I say nothing of the fact that one could forgive him a supposed Messenger of God, for whom Mohammed nevertheless wanted to be regarded. — An actual Revelation of God also brings with it undeniable characteristics of Divinity. The Bible is confirmed by Miracles, by which the Jews and Christians were moved, to often, against their will, become obedient to the faith; which the Koran and Mohammedans by no means deny, but allow them, and even increase. There are predictions in it, which neutral and unprejudiced minds clearly see fulfilled, and which Mohammed himself, by a perversion and a wrong quotation, attempts to apply to himself. How much these characteristics are wanting in the

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Koran? since its author always refuses to comply with the demand made of him to work miracles, and appeals to Christ, by means of perverted predictions of scripture, as

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having done miracles before him; and since his supposed predictions are of such a nature, that every guess, subsequently, may as well be considered a prediction. The content and presentation of sowing in both, likewise, differ greatly from each other. One need not be a great Scholar to see, by their comparison, the vast difference which exists between the Biblical proposals for arriving at the knowledge of God and eternal Life, and those of the Koran. One may, without fearing a well-founded contradiction, boldly assert that all that is good in it, is taken from Scripture, especially Christian Morality, and that consequently this alone, out of ignorance and malice, can be abused to belittle and disparage the Christian Religion. What then must one think of Writers, who, from the entire Koran, on a few pages, devise a brief conception of its teachings in good ideas, and thereby wish to persuade the Readers that there are principles in it which equal the Biblical sublimity? How deceitful and malicious is not the design of the conduct of such? And how easy would it be to think that even from a common book of some size a few pages of good thoughts could not be gathered, especially when they were drawn from a certain source, such as the Bible is in comparison with the Koran? The manner in which they both make their doctrines known to man for salvation is decisive in favor of the first. He commands him to test himself, and, since his particular parts proceed from men who possessed the gift, to speak of several languages, and which each people in its own language proclaimed the religion orally; thus the first Christians saw themselves authorized to translate it for general publication into different languages. The Koran shuns both the test and the translation.

The Christian religion surpasses, infinitely, the Mohammedan in the proposition of the condition of mankind, its present corruption, and the restoration of it. The latter treats man as a creature, which is only pathetic, and must be guided by pathetic feelings; the former deals with him as a rational creature, which can be guided and improved by reason and convictions. The latter flatters man's natural inclinations, yea, his carnal lusts, as if they were indifferent emotions, so much so, as if man had no reason, and had to act according to them chiefly, and had to try everything: the former explains to him, that between the emotions and inclinations in themselves, as they are created in him by the Creator, and the use or abuse of them by man, in a corrupt nature, a great distinction must be made. The Koran gives a very defective and wrong account concerning the origin or origin of sin; man's present condition in his moral relation to good and evil is presented very superficially, and thus also the sad consequences of natural depravity are extremely diminished; This now is as harmful to the soul of man, as if one were to be negligent in his bodily disease, and not consider its real danger. Just as little as one thinks here of powerful remedies, and of the disease at its root; just as powerless are, in the face of the real sinful evil of man, the remedies of the Mahamedan religion, and consequently also small, nay, insignificant, the improvement and restoration of man sought thereby. It is true, the Bible gives, in the statements: "the whole world is in evil, (John V, 19) and all the writing and endeavoring of the heart of man is evil from youth, and only, (Genes. vi, 5. vin, 19) an explanation against which the heart of a natural man rises up: but should we be surprised by this? Does a dangerous sufferer love the announcement: that his Evil is incurable for man? Nevertheless, the Bible proceeds as a faithful and true Physician. He tells us the first origin of our entire decline; he describes to us its consequences in a general depravity of all our powers; but he conceals from us as little the means by which we can be helped in the bottom, as the order in which we must use them, in order to save ourselves from to cure our spiritual disease, so that we may, in a certain and sensible manner, safely err.

The Christian religion gains a very decisive victory, when its Founder is compared with that of the Mohammedan. The birth of both affords the first ground for this comparison. At the birth of the first, special evidences of God's Providence were seen. The nation from which he came; the family from which he descended; the place where he saw the light of life; the time when he would appear; these circumstances, in many more strict determinations, had been indicated, thousands of years before, by so many Prophets; so that in the lapse of about four thousand years after the creation of the world, the coming of the Savior of the world was expected. Jesus of Nazareth fulfilled, by his birth, the predictions previously briefly mentioned, and a short time afterward such changes took place, that they can no longer be fulfilled by anyone. The birth of Mohammed has nothing extraordinary, nor in that respect different from other men; no one had a divine prediction to expect him; and when, against all the thoughts of the Arabs, he presented himself as a Prophet, he saw the necessity of resorting to violent perversions of the Bible passages; and, in order to defend these, to pretend in an absurd manner that the Jews and Christians had

falsified the Bible. Both lay claim to a divine mission; but what a diversity is not
34840 visible in this? Christ said in his earliest youth, "Know ye not that I must be in
that which is my Father's?" Luke II, 49; Beginning, to accomplish his mission, was
announced by John the Baptist, a man for whom the Turks have the greatest respect.
Christ himself accepted his mission, by the open announcement of God's command to
34845 call men to repentance, and to fulfill the law for them, with the declaration: that
he needed no angel to give him knowledge of God's will, but that he knew all things,
because he was one with the Father. Mohammed, first of all, at a great age, came to
the thought, to present himself as a Prophet, whereupon his wife and relations
considered him a madman; and, as his affairs took a favourable turn, his supposed
Revelations gradually came to light with many changes and contradictions. The Angel
34850 Gabriel was, as he pretended, his executing Messenger from God. But how far one can
rely on this, the preceding 25. and 6. Paragraphs in the first part concerning
Mohammed and the Koran do not obscurely teach us. — As diverse as the mission of both
is; so diverse was also the execution thereof, and their conduct in it. Christ, in
his doctrine, presented without respect to persons, laid this, as its principal
34855 content, for a foundation: "the Kingdom of God is come near: do penance, and believe
in the Gospel." Mark. I, 15. His Doctrine and Way of Teaching remained the same, and
no violence or outward coercion accompanied it. Could one think that Jews and
Gentiles would have accepted this Doctrine? But the Miracles that accompanied it
convinced them of its Divinity: Miracles that Christ performed by His own power, but
34860 His Apostles by the power that He communicated to them: Miracles that the Jews did
not deny. One of their Superiors said to him: "We know that you are a Teacher come
from God: for no man can do these Signs that you do, except God be with him." John
III, 2. And the Jews of the present day know of no other escape than this: Christ did
them by sorcery, or by the workings of Satan; an evasion, too simple, to refute, or
34865 to dwell upon. The miracles of Christ were so well known to Paganism, that the
apostate Julian, that idol of Free Spirits, expressly acknowledged them, and sought
to weaken the proof of the divinity of the Christian religion which arose from them,
that they should be attributed to magic, a pretext, which to a truly free or neutral
person can only appear ridiculous. How convinced the Mohammedans are of the miracles
34870 of Christ, has been previously recorded. — He moreover confirmed his doctrine by the
holiest example, so that his enemies could find no apparent ground of accusation in
him, and a Pagan judge openly testified that he condemned him innocently. And, as he
came chiefly to give up his Life in death for the atonement of mankind, he also
fulfilled this principal object of his mission, and became, in death on the cross, a
34875 curse to God's enemies, that he might thereby deliver them from the curse. Mohammed
accomplished his mission quite differently. The substance of his Religion is
presented in §. 28. of the first part, and a mediocre intellect is conceived, that to
concoct it, neither inspiration nor anything supernatural was necessary. And, as he
lacked the gift of working Miracles, he sought to remedy this defect by the facility
34880 which is permitted to corrupt men in following the lusts of the flesh, as well as by
the force of arms. For the rest he has no merit whatever with mankind. It cannot be
taught by him as it is done by the Bible. His way of life serves as no example to be
followed, and he has not even thought of the reconciliation of man with God. — The
principal enmities to life, and the moral character of both founders of religion,
34885 differ, likewise, greatly from each other. Christ's birth was the only one of its
kind. His education took place in an obscure place; and yet everyone, when accepting
his teaching, must ask in amazement: whence comes this such wisdom? Matt. xiii, 54. A
deep poverty was his lot in this world, with a special abstinence from all earthly
things, by this explained in: my kingdom is not of this world. Joh. xvii??, 36.
34890 Friends and enemies alike had to admire his holy conduct. A Pharisee?? fancy, which
places holiness without inward change of heart in gestures, clothing, and such habits
as are proper to hypocrites, objected to him, that he was a friend of Publicans and
Sinners; but this set the design of his mission beyond all contradiction, that he had
come to save the souls of men without respect of persons. He proved by his example,
34895 how one should regard the worldly Powers, and pay tribute without deceit. He was the
highest example of the strictest chastity. His humility, in his conduct towards
people of the lowest estate, and even children, was endearing. His meekness was
equally great towards high and low, friends and enemies; yet he also showed, on
suitable occasions, what he ought to show as a Teacher sent from God, an earnestness
34900 and zeal in the punishment of the ungodly. Such love, as he showed to the people
sensibly, is without example. He has sought everywhere to do good and to make
healthy. Handel, x, 38. And, since according to the thoughts of men no one has
greater love than this, that he lays down his life for his friends, or for the
fatherland; a love, by which one, usually, in an almost fanatical manner, encourages

the soldiers in battles, conquests and sieges; so Christ had this love, which surpasses all our conceptions, that he laid down his life for his enemies. His last suffering and his death, with what would follow, he foretold. He endured everything with an admirable patience, which was neither an insensibility, nor even less a hardening. He proved himself, after his resurrection, the one visibly, who would be the sufficient witnesses thereof to the world. After his Ascension he partly fulfilled the promise made to the Apostles, to endow them with a never heard of miraculous gift of God's Spirit; partly the threat pronounced upon the Jewish people, that their spiritual and civil state should be destroyed, and that it should be scattered among all nations, and among them should live as a separate people to the end of the world. In this respect also Mohammed differs entirely from Christ. His purest adherents allow him no other birth, as they can, according to a credible history, allow him no other, than that which agrees with the natural order in the generation of men. He devoted himself to commerce; a clear proof that he was not so ignorant as he pretended to be. The desire for earthly goods tempted him to commit open highway robbery. His Life was, according to the principles of a natural Morality, scandalous. Against his own Government he became a bloodthirsty Rebel. In the shame of an unbridled lust and carnal impurity he placed his Honour. Of humility, humanity, patience, and other virtues he gave no, but of his impetuous and cruelty, horrible examples, by which many thousands of men lost their Lives. His death was, like the death of other men, and his grave, as it is found at Medina, does not distinguish his body from other dead.

Perhaps someone could admire in Mohammed the duty of charity and almsgiving, so emphatically prescribed by him. But could he have recommended it with more emphasis than Christ did in the so-called Sermon on the Mount, and in the proclamation of the rewards of good works on the day of judgment? It cannot serve in the least to defend his other moral character. It was a mere political invention to provide his new religion with the most general acceptance; for the poor, who need alms, are always the most among a people, and the rich were also provided for. For they could, with their wealth, bathe themselves in all sorts of pleasures, and yet boast of their good deeds before God and man, and even by them, with their other irregularities, earn Paradise. Moreover, Mohammed, in this and many other pieces, thought and acted as it is now the manner of all crafty and cunning enemies of revealed religion; namely, to conceal from the eyes of men the renunciation and neglect of far more important truths and duties, they choose some virtue or other, which they know is easy for earthly-minded men (of whom the greatest number consists), and has the most general approval, endeavoring to excel others in it. Many a man, merely from hatred of Christianity, is in such cases outwardly virtuous. The celebrated Mosheim, on proposing the question, Whether Mohammed was among the enthusiasts or impostors?, is of the opinion that he was both; and he is probably right: for hot Arabia nourishes many of the former, and the bodily and mental weakness to which he was subject at first, to the great relief of his own, as well as the idea that one has there of a Saint, could easily make him such a one. An Enthusiast has by his imagination, of seeing that which he does not see, and of hearing that which he does not hear, a good disposition for artifices and the finest deceptions. What has been said for the rest, in this comparison between Jesus and Mohammed, flows impartially from the Koran, and what the Mohammedans themselves profess. They seek the shameful in the customs of their Legislator. by which to justify, that it was free to him, as a Prophet, especially through Divine Revelations, and that his manliness, courage, bravery, etc., shone through in it. - A small comparison of the principal turns of both Religions, will soon give the Christian the preference. When Mohammed himself confesses, that Jesus of Nazareth led a very holy Religion on earth, but which is too difficult for man, in his present condition, to observe, and that he had come to present a more convenient one; then one may infer from it, what one ought to adhere to in conscience. As to the pretext, that the Mohammedan religion has few articles of faith, and the Christian so many; this has been answered beforehand; and whether the former is more intelligible than the latter, may also be easily decided. For whoever can nevertheless hold Mohammed, according to the confession made by himself, and according to the reports of his adherents, to be an ambassador of God, and commend his religion, and even set this against Christ and the Christian religion, proves not unequivocally, that the limits of intelligibility and incomprehensibility are very unknown to him.

One may, with right, expect from a truly divine religion such a report of our future state, which can exist with God's attributes and the spiritual disposition of man. Here now one sees a remarkable difference between the proposals, which the Bible and the Koran give us concerning it. The first sets the future state of the pious and the

impious in a complete light; and, because it is written for everyone, without exception of sex, rank and age, it expresses itself about it not only with proper, but also with improper and symbolic proposals, which are derived, from that which in this Life, either in a legitimate way is pleasant, joyful and splendid, or else unpleasant, painful and loathsome. This makes a very powerful impression on the minds of most people. But what is one to think of the proposals of the Koran in this respect, which describes Paradise so carnally, as if the lusts could not be followed more licentiously, and the passions nowhere better satisfied, than just there? Let us not bring the symbols of the Bible and the Koran into one class. The former, however sensual they may be, to suit us, may be represented, to none other than divine and rational; but the latter, visibly, to irrational and animal pleasures. The condition of the female sex would indeed be deplorable, if it had to be decided according to the Koran, because the Paradise of women, from that which men inhabit, differs infinitely in perfection, and the parents are, by it, little comforted at the death of their children. People appeal, as proof of the divinity of a religion, to the good effects which it must produce in its adherents. This may be expected, with right, from a divine religion. I do not refer here to the wrong and often fanatical notions which many have of piety. The question is not what someone thinks of it according to his imagination, but what he must think of it, according to the sources of his religion. The Bible now gives this description of it: a Christian, by the saving grace of God, who has appeared to all men, may be so instructed, that he may deny the ungodly deeds and the worldly lusts, and live moderately, justly and godly in this world; and wait for the blessed hope and appearance of the Judge of the world. (Tit. II, 11-13.) What a happy person then is not a true Christian for himself, and what an excellent fellow-member is he not for the State? What, according to the fundamental principles of Mohammedans, belongs to a godly man, and how far this differs from Christian virtue, is fully evident from what has been said before. In order to see by experience the apparent influence which both religions have on men, one must go to countries where they prevail. The irregularities which have taken the upper hand in all States in Turkey, street desecration, extortion, murder, unnatural sins, etc., are in vogue there everywhere. Severe punishments are indeed imposed on many of these; but yet it is clearly seen that these, even to the suppression of outward sins, are powerless without sharper bonds of conscience. However much one complains of licentiousness among us, and is justified in it, because of the neglected use of opportunities and means for improvement; we still live in the light, when we compare ourselves with the people in Mohammedan countries. If one is there; then one clearly understands what advantages arise from the Christian religion for particular persons, entire societies and states, and what a general improvement of morals follows from it. Since the Mohammedan religion freely permits very many sins, does not sufficiently define others, and leaves the hearts of its adherents untouched and unchanged; so their immoralities must also be placed at his account. But if there are vices among us, then this would be wrongly charged against the Christian religion; the false Christians one must blame it alone, who will not follow his teaching, and give no place to its salutary power for improvement. For the rest, the finding that here and there one naturally finds honorable and sincere Turks, cannot be used to abuse the common phrases, which one so often hears used to diminish the power of the Christian religion: there are good and naughty people in all denominations. For the question here is not, what kind of people there can be in a denomination; but how people, by a true adherence to their religion, by a pure adherence to its grounds, - and by the influence thereof on their minds, become. If one does this, and imagines a Mohammedan, according to the grounds of his religion; then it will be found, that man by that not at all can become so?? Text can, if it must be written, to please God, and therefore to be saved.

Freedom of conscience, which the Christian religion allowsevery neutral mind, to investigate it for itself, in a proper way, is an uncommonly noble thing, which the Mohammedan does not grant to anyone. While therefore the Founder of the first cries out to us: if any man will do the Will of my Father; he shall acknowledge, whether this Doctrine be of ??, or whether I speak of myself; (??, 17.) Thus the founder of the latter forbids the investigation of his religion, begging to exterminate those who would not accept his doctrine, or to allow them to live only on payment of a ransom, and not to conclude peace with strangers but only one of arms.

§. XLVI. Precedence of the Christian-Biblical Religion over the other Christian denominations.

From the contents of the preceding paragraph flows a very clear consequence, namely that, if by comparing the Mohammedan religion with the Christian religion, in

succession the grounds of the Holy Scripture, the latter obtains a divine predominance over the former, among the Christian denominations that do not have the precedence over the rest, which accepts the Bible as a sole first source of doctrines for salvation. Those who do not remain alone with this, either allow reason too much; or follow the established doctrines of supposed great or holy men too slavishly; or they imagine that they still receive Revelations from God. Who can wonder that, by so many errant ways, men have also deviated from Christ's own religion so strangely, and have fallen into great errors, whereby they have been greatly corrupted? Because men have thus chosen themselves or others as leaders; thus the corruption of man, of which learned philosophers among the heathen so much complained, has been greatly diminished, and the proposition concerning a Savior of the world and the work of redemption accomplished by him, has lost much of its force. One party has wished to make religion and its principal object, God, very accessible to the human understanding, and to separate all mysteries from it altogether; but makes itself, by that, extremely suspect, especially among actively thinking people: for, upon the discovery of many secrets in the creatures, to persuade oneself, that for us there were none to be found in the infinite Creator, is to assert the most incomprehensible thing. Another party has succeeded definitively, and invented secrets, wherefore and the religion there has increased with immoderate doctrines, to which belongs in particular the so very conspicuous idolatry, worthy especially of extraordinary offense to Mahmedans. The state after this life has, by the way, become. One party has given the godless hope, that after death they may still be cleansed of their sins, while another, by their complete destruction, has wished to put an end to their punishments. Another party has allowed such unbridled freedom in religion, that every one, without generally arrived at and established principal doctrines, can think what he will, and thereby open a free course for the extravagant mind and the corrupt heart of man: but the opposing party has forbidden the freedom of man's religion according to God's word, under threat of prison and death sentences, and has attempted to spread the religion, which in its own opinion is solely and exclusively saving, by fire and sword. I have only examined the external side of this unscriptural system of religion; what will one find when considering the internal? What great advantages will one not gain, if one directs oneself in the Christian religion solely to the grounds of Holy Scripture? Then all real scandals, together with the well-founded attacks of Mohammedans and other infidels, will cease, and they will be made more willing to accept Christianity.

§. XLVII. Precedence of Christian modes of government over the Turkish. The complaints about the modes of government are as common as those which the Lords have over the servants, and which they have over them. Perhaps they are never unfounded; for the Monarch, Aristocratic and Democratic, or of a single or mixed disposition, have their many defects. But should this surprise us? We must indeed perceive precisely that everything here is imperfect, and the earth is oppressed by the curse of sin, and that we must therefore strive for a better world. But in Christian countries this discomfort is felt less than in Turkey. In the former the relation of the Authorities and Subjects to each other is more clearly defined; Religion, if it has not been able to show all its power, by a wilful opposition, yet has in a certain respect taken care of the hearts, so that the Authorities do not easily fall into tyranny and cruelty, and the subjects into disobedience and rebellion. Few in both cases harden themselves to such a degree, that they do not feel remorse in conscience because of an approaching account. In Turkey this is wanting. The Mohammedan religion does not at all, instruct and tame the Authorities and subjects, in a convincing manner. When one compares our civil laws and legal arrangements, with what has been said concerning them, beforehand, of the Turks; then one might at first think, that with us everything was more regular, but there more quickly done. But these thoughts will soon be abandoned, when one considers that everything is decided there by force, that usually one, and at most only a few persons pass judgment, and who can therefore become very unjust through ignorance, haste and bribery; that the law itself is very indefinite and ambiguous, and, by the mixing of religious and state laws, the confusion must be increased. Therefore, in our country, in most cases, one will gain by the multitude of judges, and the prolongation of the course of justice. This circumstance becomes still more important, when one considers that in Christian countries the judges may never assume the tenth of the disputed case, and we know nothing of the unjust Avani. Criminal affairs also have a completely different form among Christians than among the Turks. It is unbelievable how little the latter esteem the Life of men. It is astonishing that so many Visiers, Bassas, Kadis, etc. have the power over Life and Death, and can

maintain them without a wide-ranging investigation. If, in many Christian countries, possibly on good grounds, the death penalty is very quickly established after broken laws and committed crimes, this case nevertheless differs very much from the first, in which one proceeds without many circumstances, and not seldom from rashness and other unfounded reasons. The waging of war raises the Christian methods of government infinitely above the Turkish. From this, certainly, arose the proverb, that when one speaks of soldiers who behaved inhumanly, one says: the Turks could not have done it worse! However great an evil the war may be with us, it is small, compared with a Turkish one. The cruelty extends first of all to our own countries. These are plundered by the dissolute military people; the places where the inhabitants do not wish to submit to plundering, or which they have abandoned for fear of it, are laid waste; the children are stolen; people, not of the Mohammedan religion, are horribly maltreated, and forced to their religion by force, and the female sex violated. What must the enemy countries now expect? Everything that can ever be called misery is brought upon them by a Turkish army. If defeat does not compel a hasty and fearful flight; then everything is destroyed, and men are made slaves. Among Christians this is almost unheard of, and from recent times one will hardly find examples of it. Now to whom do Christian countries owe this better fate? Jesus' religion alone. For, whatever one may say of equity and humanity, these are words without meaning among peoples who are not Christians, and Christianity has first determined them, and attached a force to them. From which we can conclude how happy all countries would be, if all the inhabitants were true Christians.

§. XLVIII. Precedence of the domestic condition in Christian countries above the Mohammedan.

The Christians may consider themselves happy not only because of their religious and political disposition, but also because of their domestic condition. Without involving myself in the decision of the question, whether slavery is permitted among us, according to the grounds of our religion, or not? without determining whether the corporal property, as it still persists in some countries, is of the same nature as slavery among the Turks and Mohammedans? This is at least certain, that Christians do not obtain slaves in the same way as the Turks, nor generally treat them in the same way. The relationship that must take place between parents and children, if mutual well-being is to be promoted, is lacking among the Turks. Excepting the natural tenderness, which is even peculiar to animals, there is a want of that bond of conscience, by which parents are induced to a true love and care for their children, and these to a pure respect and obedience towards them. As also in general moral improvement is very little, or hardly at all, sweetened among the Turks, no strange instruction, and still less good examples for the civilisation of the children, can be expected from the parents. Their usual irregularities, their beating and fighting with each other, their reviling of strangers, and other wantonness, are almost entirely overlooked. - In a family among us, a very great godlessness must certainly have prevailed, if the parents did not regard their children as co-heirs of eternal life, and both, on that account, would treat each other lovingly. The closest bond of human society is found in the married state. But if there are causes that break this bond; then, of course, the real state is dissatisfied. Now, when women are considered by the Turks as an inferior species of humanity, and the natural equality between the sexes is thereby destroyed; can the wife of a man who is only somewhat unfair, expect anything but contempt on the slightest occasion? Since polygamy is permitted among them; must not the jealousy, with which every woman seeks to win the heart of her husband, make them all dissatisfied? Since divorce, even according to their supposed divine laws, can be so easily accomplished among them; must not this fill the heart of every right-thinking woman with fear for the future? These inconveniences of the aforesaid inequality of both sexes, of jealousy and divorce, are common to all true Christians; and where they are found, they are signs of a prevailing godlessness. To what exactly must we attribute this pre-eminence of the domestic condition among us? Precisely also to the Christian religion, which teaches us the creation of man and woman after the image of God, and produces in us the renewal to it.

§. XLIX. Judgment of the Free Spirits and Mockers of Religion among Christians.

A person who has had occasion to see the workings of the Christian and Mohammedan Religion in various countries, cannot be angry enough with the Free Spirits and Mockers of Religion, who, in devising new tricks for their cause, have fallen into the habit of elevating the latter by various pretexts, and thereby degrading the former. What else can one expect, than that, by this, many immature minds will be confused, and at least doubted in the faith? In order to remedy this, and to show

such an artifice in its true form, I have written down the aforementioned matters in a few words, and thereby proved myself a true Free Spirit. Then, do they, to whom this name is so dear and worthy, consider well what it signifies? and how it does not allow itself to be brought into agreement with blinding and deceptive partying, and just as little with the servitude of self-will, pride, superstition, sins and vices? Do they consider with other mockers of Religion, that in that of Mohammed their calumnies would not be permitted? that they must thank the Christian Religion for this pardon of their abused freedom, which has an aversion to the coercion of conscience, and calls out to its true Disciples in general: you gladly bear with Fools, because you are wise. (Corinth. XI, 19.)

After that now the necessary, touching Mohammed, the Koran, the Turkish Empire, etc., has been presented in the first part; thus one will be able to judge the liberal exaltation of the Mohammedan religion above the Christian. Nothing but a punishable ignorance, or a wilful malice can be the cause of it. That the Bible is so variously interpreted, is an old objection that is made against it. Experience confirms it; but the conclusion that one wishes to deduce from it, that there is no certain meaning to be found in it, is false. This is even seen by the erring Denominations among Christians; for this reason they do not derive their proofs from the Holy Scripture, but from prejudices and false conclusions, which they call conclusions, or from the pronouncements of the Church, or from new revelations. If only the Mohammedans were somewhat unanimous about the interpretation of the Koran; What would not be inferred from this to the humiliation of the Christian religion? Nothing has been more dear to the Free Spirits than that they might humiliate its servants to the utmost. But can they have the power and right to do so, since they do not, like the Imams, present their listeners with earthly things, and are still less the ringleaders of State unrest? Does not from them, as the instruments of religion to the whole people, still proceed that improvement of morals which sets some limit and restraint to the innate and general depravity of men? To whom must one attribute the good order in the domestic state? Who keeps the greatest number of the inhabitants of a State, even without external punishment, in submission and obedience, and this by means of the firm bonds of conscience? Apparently the dogmatic order. And, when it has ceased in any country, how (one has the experience of it in Asia and Africa!) have men, very quickly, become exuberant, and animals in human forms? - Nothing is more agreeable to natural man than to satisfy the lusts of the flesh. Whoever would expect anything else; he must have little knowledge of the general depravity. But this must surprise us, when one arranges this abomination, presents polygamy and whoredom?? as useful to the population of countries, yes, even wants to appear an animalistic succession of carnal lusts as harmless. Sophistry does not detract from this; one should pay attention to experience: and, whoever is not taken in by prejudice, can fully justify Turkey in this respect. For the rest, the cry of reason cannot at all be reconciled with the conduct of the Free Spirits, who, by the commendation of such licentiousness, and the further destruction of the essential great distinction between good and evil, wish to make men into animals again, from which the Creator, by a sound reason, has so clearly distinguished them. The imagination has arisen since the creeping in of free spiritism, and is steadily increasing, so that according to it the times have been more and more clarified. It is true, every Free Spirit imagines himself to be a Philosopher, a Historian, a Theologian, in a word, a Know-it-all; whatever is not written in a sharp and mocking tone, is, with all brevity, declared to be trifle. But do they consider that even among the most stupid and unlearned Turks there are no lack of scoffers against religion? as proof that with an evil heart, a tendency to sins and vices, a bold impudence, and some corrupt wit, nothing is easier for a man than to become a mocker of Religion. And he openly betrays the deepest ignorance, which denied the former times to learning, and would deny that the Christian Church was the preserver of it. How have not, in the darkest times, the ecclesiastical persons made themselves deserved for the writing out of manuscripts, and the preservation of libraries? The Christian Religion and learning have always risen and fallen together; a sign, that they are well tolerated together: whereas Mohammedanism, on the contrary, except the time of the Caliphs, has always shunned free learning, and still shuns it. Superstition is rightly considered a great Evil, and every one is encouraged to rid himself of it. But what has best discovered and banished it? The Christian religion according to the grounds of the Bible. That has freed us from so many sinful and strange things, under whose yoke other peoples slavishly sighed, not because they lacked reason, but because they were not enlightened by a further Revelation, and educated to that truth, which is indeed reasonable, but to whose discovery reason itself would not have come. Where now there is still superstition among Christians; of that they alone are the cause, which do

35235 not surrender themselves purely to Jesus' religion, who discovers and destroys it; whereas, on the contrary, it is inseparably associated with all false religions, and especially with the Mohammedan religion, and the traces of which are also seen in those Christians who live intermingled with the Mohammedans. May they, who abuse Mohammedanism to the contempt of Christianity, consider that by the latter they offer
 35240 a strong support: for Mohammed gives, in the Tonsera, the clearest and most emphatic testimonies of the miracles of Jesus and those of his Apostles, as well as the credibility of all that the scoffers so willingly wish to make uncertain with religion. From my own experience I derive for myself, and from my lecture for my
 35245 readers, the obligation to be thankful for that light which we have received through the extensive knowledge of the Holy Scripture, and the Christian religion based upon it, and to walk in this light, so that darkness may not overtake us.

\$. L. Of the travels in Turkey.

One often falls into a kind of ecstasy when one inhabits or travels through those
 35250 places and regions where, in ancient times, so many famous men lived, so many remarkable cases occurred, and of which so much has been written. Therefore I venture to make some proposals to those who wish to travel profitably in the Levant, either for themselves or at the expense of others. - They must especially try to find out whether they possess the necessary health and physical strength to
 35255 endure all kinds of discomforts that go with it. In many places one must be content to sleep under the open sky. In summer travels one makes there of the day night, and of the night day, in order to travel by night because of the heat, and to rest during the day. In Winter one is almost paralysed by the rain and the cold winds; and in Summer one is almost suffocated by a stifling heat. The bad condition of the Turkish
 35260 inns, or Chans and Caravanseras has been mentioned before, and in many regions there are not even such. - In order to learn the national languages, especially Greek, Turkish and Arabic, the easier, one must have laid the groundwork for it in Europe beforehand: for otherwise the wind-breaking language masters will take a very long time with it. One must also, in advance, draw up a certain Plan, or have one drawn
 35265 up, of which regions one wants to travel through, and read the principal travel descriptions about them, so as not to set out on the journey without all instruction; but to have already been made aware of the remarkable things, in accordance with that excellent arrangement which the Lord Hofraad Michaelis, at Gottingen, has made for the Danish travellers. - Before actually starting on the journey, one must stop in
 35270 the Levant at a place where there are few or no Europeans at all, in order to associate more with the inhabitants of the country, to learn the languages more quickly, and to accustom oneself to the Eastern dress, customs and way of life, as well as to the food and drink. Many Europeans have had to pay for their waywardness or recklessness in this respect with their lives. - One must provide oneself for the
 35275 journey itself with a Passport (Ferman) from the Porte, by means of a European Ambassador; just as one also needs and can very well use the letters of recommendation of these, as well as the Consuls, Merchants and Roman Monasteries, also the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs and Bishops. One does much with them, everywhere, and can usually promise oneself good results, much help and charity. For
 35280 the Europeans of all nations and denominations, even the Roman Monasteries, are, when receiving recommendations, there, much more courteous to a Foreigner, than in any other country. - From Magistrates-Persons among the Turks, unless they bring along special circumstances and relations, one should not seek recommendations or
 35285 Addresses; otherwise one seems to them too respectable, and they would not only be a burden to the purse, but also to others, who become suspicious that much can be extracted from someone. Merchants and needy Scholars are the most useful intercourse. The expenses run high in the journeys, in many ways, and yet great caution is required, in order not to show that one can do them. - One cannot travel through many
 35290 Provinces or Cities without not giving the commanders, especially the Bassas, a present; those places alone are excepted, because the Europeans have much intercourse; and in the Holy Land, at very many places, the Kaff thief must pay a toll on the roads, and a certain amount for going into cities and churches, which is often not small, and can consist of twelve or more Piastres. - The less expense one makes; the better it is and the less one is stopped. For the rest, one must not make
 35295 a note of posts, or good roads, or vehicles and other conveniences; but one must provide oneself with horses or mules, tents, provisions and other necessities, of which one obtains sufficient instruction there. On the journeys one succeeds best with such servants, especially of the Armenian nation, who have already been formerly at the place where one intends to travel or to stay. If one hires the animals and the
 35300 persons belonging to them; then one usually pays half in advance, and the rest at the

- end of the journey. — For the rest one must conceal the purpose for which one travels, as much as possible, from the Turks. A European is easily suspected of seeking treasures, and then he is exposed to Avani??. — With caravans one travels most safely, especially when one is a merchant or a physician, or at least can pass for one. Many went disguised as Roman Catholic Fathers, especially Franciscans and Capuchins, and traveled in that way, because they were considered poor. — One must not think of wanting to travel alone or with a few persons, especially in certain Provinces; because one would soon run the risk, especially if one were taken for a foreigner, of being plundered or even murdered.
- One must keep a watchful eye on one's goods, so as not to be robbed by the robbers during the day, or by the fellow-travellers of the Caravan itself at night. — Travelling is everywhere difficult and expensive, and voyages by water with Levantine vessels are besides that dangerous. But short voyages on them, for instance from Constantinople to the Archipelago, or in general around the coasts, are, especially in Summer days, not so unsafe, because they are very often done by the sailors there, and at the appearance of the least danger, are sought for the harbours or roads. The sea voyages in general have certain advantages over the land voyages, but also their inconveniences. One is on the ships like at home; but with a strong wind, and in sunny storms the movement is often so great, that what is below, is above, and what is above is below. This causes with most people, especially when they travel by sea for the first time, that seasickness, which is accompanied by illness, vomiting, etc., so that one seems more dead than alive, although he continues to pass over, as soon as one is brought ashore. For the rest, one cannot imagine anything more beautiful than to have a circle of German miles on the flat sea around oneself in clear weather, and then especially to see the rising and setting of the sun. But nothing is more terrible than the violence of the waves, stirred up by a storm, and rising sky-high, and the roaring thereof, when they beat against each other or against a ship. The latter is often covered by them with deposits. During calms one sees many kinds of fish, which often pass in an innumerable multitude before the ships. — At night, by rapid navigation, one learns to understand the seething of the sea, and the lighting thereof. Job XLI, 22. 23. What is there attributed to Leviathan, can be pointed out par excellence to the course of a ship. The lighting there mentioned, or the coming out of the water like sparks, and the electrical matter caused by it, remains for physicists an inexplicable phenomenon. From later researches it appears that it is caused by the illumination of several species of small, slimy marine animals, which are produced when the sea-water is rubbed against each other.
- §. LI. Of the Turkish travel accounts, and the reports of Turkey in general.
- One has reason to be cautious when reading the reports and travel accounts of Turkey. Many of them are composed in book rooms, without ever having been there, from other books and hearsay. When good sources have been used; however, much will be lacking in true accuracy, unless the writer, by appearance, has brought the knowledge to himself, or arranged it in some other way. Many things are made known by travellers, who have passed through Turkey as if in passing. Prominent and wealthy, and at the same time curious young people appear in Turkey; stay for a short time in various places, where Europeans live; take part in their amusements, and see and travel, in order to be able to say that they had seen and traveled. Of this kind one sees so often Travelers in Turkey, when new Ambassadors are sent to Constantinople; and one understands, without my needing to remark, what one must make of their reports. Many even want to achieve one-sided aims by such descriptions, as is visible in so many Lettres, Memoirs, etc. (*)
- Therefore I do not at all think it superfluous, but rather advisable, to let a factual report of the best-known writers on the Levant follow.
- I leave the travel descriptions before the 16th century there, because, with the exception of the researcher of ancient history, they contribute little to the knowledge of the present state of the Turkish Empire. Anyone who now desires instruction in this regard and wants to read a lot of it, should I refer to the *Voyages faits principalement en Asie dans les XII. XIII. XIV. et XV. siècles* par Benj. de Tudele Jean du Plan-Carpin, N.A Scelth, Guillaume de Rubriquis, Marc Paul Venitien, Haiton, Jean de Mandeville et Ambroise Contarini, accompagnés de l'histoire des Sarrassins et des Tartans ?? par Pierre Beugeron, la Haie 1735. 2 tom. in fol. Arias Montanus published the *Itinerarium Benjamini Tudelensis*, in Antwerp, separately in the year 1578. in 8. He found the Hebrew manuscript of this well-known travel writer, a Jew of the 12th century, in Trent, and published it in a Latin translation; but otherwise it had been printed in Hebrew a few times long before him. The

translation was published again in Leipzig in 1764 in 8. with various additions and clarifications.

I may not, however, omit to mention two works of the 15th century, of which the first actually belongs, and the other in a certain respect also belongs to it; namely Breydenbach itinerarium, and the travel book of the Holy Land.

Bernh. the Breydenbach itinerarium Hj??rtfol. is, in small fol. without mention of the printing place and the year, but probably in Ments in the year 1490. This man undertook, in the year 1483, with a considerable retinue, the voyage by water via Venice to the Holy Land, where he made the Holy Pilgrimages; whereupon he gives a short description of it, and then of the various Denominations in it, the Mohammedans, and indeed very extensively, but much more briefly, of the Jews, Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Abyssinians, Maronites, and finally speaks of the Latins or Romanists. He laments the state of the promised land, and exhorts the Christian princes to its defence, or new Crusades. From Jerusalem he travelled, through the desert, to Mount Sinai, and was on his way from the 27th of August to the 22nd of September. On the 27th of that month he set out on his usual journey to Cairo. At the end of the Red Sea he saw remarkable monuments of the former great undertaking to unite it with the Nile by a canal. At Matharea, near Cairo, where he arrived on the 6th of October, he was taken into the balsam gardens which were then still in existence. His description of Cairo is a pleasure to read, as is also his return via Rosetta and Alexandria to Venice. In the appendix one finds a short account of the conquest of Jerusalem, the taking of Negropont, the siege of Rhodes, and the taking of Id??runt. There are enclosed impressions of the alphabets of several Eastern languages, as well as several wooden plates with representations of cities, but which still visibly reveal the infancy of this art at that time. Although this work is full of many religious and other prejudices of that age; it is nevertheless one of the first good travel descriptions, and contains various reports, which make it still worth reading today. This itinerarium is a translation of a German original, which would have been published around the year 1486. The contents of this book will be discussed in the following article.

Credible travel book of the Holy Land etc. (*) Neurenb. 1569. and a second part, Frankf. aan den Main, 1609. both in Folio. This is a collection of 21 journeys made in the Holy Land and its surrounding regions, which are hereby included are printed together, and, besides their descriptions, also report various things concerning the nations and denominations living there. The list of works contained therein, and differing greatly in importance and credibility, is as follows. 1) Ruperti, Abbot of Bergen, description of the mighty army of Christians in the Holy Land, in the year 1095, under Godfrey, Duke of Bulion. 2) Description of the journey to the Holy Land of Duke Alexander, Count Palatine on the Rhine, etc. in the years 1495 and 1496. 3) Journey of Bugislaus X, Duke of Pomerania, to the promised Land, in the year 1496. 4) Joh. Count of Solms etc. journey to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai, in the year 1483 and described by Mr. Bernh. of Breitenbach. 5) Joh. Werli of Zimpern pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in the year 1484, described by Brother Feux etc. 6) Pilgrimage of Albrecht, Count of Löwensteint etc. to the Holy Sepulchre, Egypt, and Mount Sinai, in the years 1561 and 1562. with 7) an added Pilgrim's Book. 8) Jac. Wormsers etc. journey to the Holy Land and Egypt, in the years 1561. and 1562. 9) Steph. van Gumpenberg etc. journey to the promised land, in the year 1449. 10) Mesch, van Seydlitz etc. journey and pilgrimage, from 1556. to 1559, described in order by himself. 11) Joh. Van Enrenberg journey to the Holy Sepulchre, in the year 1556. 12) Leonh. Rauchwolf, M. D. journey to the Holy Land and other Eastern countries, in the year 1573. 13) J. Tuchers van Nuremberg, journey to the Holy Sepulchre and other surrounding places, 1479-14??. 14) Helffrichs van Leipzig, journey to the Holy Land and other adjacent places, in the year 1565. 15) Dan. Eckleigs van Arm travels to the Holy Sepulchre, in the years 1552 and 1553. 16) Joh. de Monteville travels through the promised land, India and Persia, in the year 1350. 17) Travel of Rudolph, Churchmaster at Suchen in Westphalen etc. to the Holy Land, as well as a clear description of that and other countries and important places, from the years 1336 to 1350. 18) Brother Brocard's diligent description of the Holy Land, as it was in the year 1283. 19; Sal. Schweigger's travels to the Holy Land in the year 1576. 20) Nicol Christ. Radzivil, Duke etc. travels to Jerusalem, 1583. 21) Joh. Schwallart's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in the year 1586. As thick as this work is, as thin it would become, if it were to be taken out of what is contained therein ten or more times. Several of these descriptions, which describe the journey, made almost at the same time, are almost of the same content. Most of the earlier ones rarely contain

more than the names of the so-called Holy places to which one is taken, and the legends which are usually told to travellers and pilgrims. Some are filled with the most absurd fables, for example those of Motteville; others only provide the supposedly serious pilgrimage histories, and their compilers did not even consider it worth the trouble to visit those places where no indulgence was to be obtained; and some others, of which I shall subsequently speak separately, as a Rauchwolf, Radzivil, etc. (*) also deserve to be read in our vieden, as they can also serve to compare matters as they were in former times and are now, and to gain knowledge of the then times and circumstances of the world. I content myself with merely recording a little, partly to point out to the reader who may desire it. Breitenbach gives (pp. 117-138.) a regular description of the Holy Land. Concerning the Sea Maron he reports (page 121.) what is otherwise well known, that it becomes completely dry in the summer, and trees, grass and shrubs grow in it; but he adds: that there then hide themselves lions, bears, and other wild animals, for the instruction of those who will not admit that there were such in the Holy Land. Touching the Dead Sea, he reports (page 129.) that it sometimes rises, as the snow melts on Mount Lebanon and other mountains, and that there the Jordan and many other rivers swell, as if by rain. He took the highway from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai, through the desert, which is seldom chosen by travellers. He reports that the costly work, by which an Egyptian King had wished to unite the Red Sea by means of a Canal, for the accomplishment of which, certainly, great mountains and dunes had to be dug through, and many rocks had to be broken up, had for that reason remained stuck, because the fertile Nyl water would thereby have become salty, and a large part of Egypt might have been flooded by it. The Balsam Garden, he says, page 195, by Matharea, two German miles from Cairo, was very carefully guarded and kept closed. Of the companions of the journey, only six were allowed in at one time, and that under strict threat not to touch anything, much less to take anything with them. The one who led them around, took a branch, bent it against the Sun like a hoop, and, when it pressed, a clear fluid like oil ran out of it, with which the air around was completely filled; yes, when one of the travellers anointed his hand from the inside with this oil, he had, according to his report, so penetrated it, that one had seen and smelled it on the other side. When one only rubbed the leaves or branches vigorously between the hands, they even smelled strongly. The balsam bushes grew to the height of a man, and resembled currant trees. In December they cut the branches three times in the bark, and hung glasses under the incision, from which the oil dripped into them. What was gathered from the first cutting was for the Sultan; whoever took anything of it and kept it, was punished with death. The balsam of the second and third cutting was as good as of the first, and was sold openly. The Prince of Radzivil, who travelled a hundred years after, in the interval between which the country had come under the obedience of the Turkish Emperors, also saw this garden, and some plants in it, which were nearly two ells high, but withered. For Hassan, who had been Governor in Egypt a short time before, had caused the Moor who had had the superintendence of it, and had collected much money by it, to be strangled; whereupon it had followed, that the balsam bushes had entirely perished, because no one could be found who knew how to look after them. He also relates, that in happy Arabia, by the arrangement of the Emperor Soliman, the balsam bushes grew in abundance, which had been transplanted thither from the Egyptian Garden, and were now brought from Mecca by the Caravans. Concerning the Pyramids, one finds, and several of these travelogues, for instance, Löwenstein, Helfrich, and Radzivil, reports which others have made use of; but touching the largest, I will quote the following from the first (page 366.) books among others, there was a deep cistern, which had three partitions, and, when we had let three of our companions down on one side, three of us also had to go to them; upon this we let them go further, then three more had to come to us, who let us down; but the others waited above, until we had examined everything. (I leave untouched, what he reports of the care to keep lanterns and lights burning.) When we were now completely on the ground, we found 2 dead bodies standing leaning against the wall, which, as soon as we touched them, fell into ashes. We also saw a bricked-up door under the ground there, which we broke open with pickaxes, for we had always been told that a treasure was hidden there, but no Turk or Arab had dared to go down so deep, whereupon we found a very fine, smooth, vaulted passage, so that a man could stand upright in it and walk. We also went quite far into it, but, because night overtook us, we had to go further. We were told that this passage ran to Axandria. - All this was the treasure that we found there. "Touching the usual bread of the wandering Arabs, Löwenstein reports (page 376.) when he was among them as a prisoner: "it was baked under camel dung; as was their custom, to carry flour and dried camel mist everywhere. Now when they are in the field, or in their houses; then they make cakes,

- lay them on the ground, put camel-mist over them, which burns easily, and gives great heat; then they turn them over, and thus they bake. Wurmser reports the same, (page 414.) saying, when he had come to an Arab house: "we found the bread there tasteless; for it was baked of flour on the ground in the sand, by means of dry camel-mist, noting that there was no wood. But we thanked God, that we had it".
- (*) How difficult it is to get thorough information about Turkey, even the English Ambassador ??Porter confesses. In order to prove this more forcefully, and at the same time to make the readers of Turkish travelogues attentive to an accurate, nay, almost suspicious, judgment of the information contained therein, I cannot pass over the words of the High Hon. Björnstahl, when he stayed in Constantinople in the years 1776 and 1777, and as one reads in Schlözer's (High Hon.) correspondence, 2, ?? piece 8. 0. 23. finds, to be placed here: "it is infinitely difficult, (he says there) to obtain a complete and full knowledge of the Turks' character, way of thinking, customs, habits, arts, amusements, festivals, games and pastimes, their way of governing and living, offices and occupations of their servants. -- The only way to do that is a long stay in that country."
- (*) In the Hoogd. Bewahrtes Reisbuch?? des heilige Landes &c.
 (*) Nicol. Christ. Radzivillii Principis Hierosotymitana peregrinatio &c. in latinam translata & correctius in lucem edita. Antw. 1614. fol. This description consists of 4 pieces, in which the diary according to the travels, in the year 1583 in various countries, is divided. There is an image of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the external design as well as the mediaeval of the Holy Sepulchre itself, as well as the Liturgy of the Procession with it, and the ceremony added, when someone is succeeded as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.
- §. LII. Of some writers of the 16th century; contents of their works, and judgment thereof.
- Among the travellers and writers of the 16th century I notice especially the following, giving first place to Auger Gislen of Busbek. He was in Commynes, in the year 1522 born of a distinguished family; was highly respected for his learning, and employed by Emperor Ferdinand I in state affairs, but especially as extraordinary ambassador sent to Constantinople. Because he did not find the Turkish Emperor, Soliman, there, he had to go to Amasia in Asia Minor, where he could only obtain a rest from arms for 6 months. He then returned; but was again sent to the Sultan, and remained in Turkey for 7 years, also bringing about a standstill of arms for 8 years. In the meantime he acquired great knowledge of the Turkish state, having made it known in four Latin letters under the title, *Itinerarium Turcicum*, which work was also printed among others, at Leiden, in the year 1633. It is indeed not an actual description; but nevertheless one finds in it a report of the Turkish form of government, the state of war, and some customs, not to speak of weighty remarks, very well-founded information, and those letters can be read very well in Latin. In his time it was still the custom, (as he also mentions this with melancholy,) that the Janissaries were taken by force from Christian children of the inhabitants of the country. He died 1592.
- To this we follow: *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* Barthol. de Saligniaco equitis et jureconsulti Galli. Magd. 1587. He made his journey in the year 1522. This work is half an Alphabet in 4to size; but is, by the later, made very redundant. Turkey, Chronika, Glaube, Gesetz, Sitten. From a Siebenburger, so that he was born in Turkey, and lived happily ever after, Zwickau 1530. col. 4. One would almost think that this work, written in old High German by a Zevenberger, is the same, which is cited here and there under the title: *Septem-Castrensis de moribus Turcarum*. This work mentioned here, according to the title, would have been composed already in the year 1436, dealing in 25 sections with its subject neither so detailed nor so pleasant, that one could have a desire to read it. It remains fairly true, but is not precise nor punctual enough in its expressions. Whoever is therefore not interested in reading the reports of a writer of that time, can, in our times, leave it completely at that. The observations of several singularities & memorable things, found in Greece, Asia, Judea, Egypt, Arabia & other foreign countries, edited in three books by Pierre Belon du Mans. *Reveus de nouveau & augmenté de figures*. In Paris 1588. 4to large 468 pages. This Author, born about the year 1518, became an early Scholar, Doctor Medicinæ in the Faculty at Paris, and was murdered in 1564. The accusation is not sufficiently proven, that he took away a part of the writings of P. Gyl, after his death, and published them afterwards for his own work. His journey falls in about the year 1537, making a considerable part of it with the then French Ambassador, Fumet. - After a short introduction he describes, in the first book, the island of Crete, mentioning at the same time much of the Greek nation. He travelled through some islands of the Archipelago, especially Lemnos; saw Mount Athos and a part of Greece; stayed at Constantinople, on that occasion recording all sorts of observations about the Turks. The second book contains the actual Eastern voyage. He sailed through the Hellespont

and Archipelago, where he touched at the Dardanelles, Tenedos, Scio, Samos, Pathmus, Rhodes, to Alexandria. On the Thracian soil one finds many, artificially raised, fairly high round hills, which can also be seen from the Marmore Sea. These are the tombs of the former Kings and Emperors of Thrace. In his time one saw more of Troy than at present; from him the aforementioned Abbot de la Porte has borrowed the report that one can see the remains of it on the sea between that ruined place and the island of Tenedos. From Alexandria he took the usual road via Rosetta and Cairo. Here he stayed for a fairly long time, viewed the Balsam Garden at Matarea, and the Pyramids. In the largest he found the Base (ground) 380 somewhat wide steps, from one end to the other. In ascending he counted 250 steps, each at the height of five feet, the foot being counted to 9 Points. He thinks that the best archer, who shot down from the top of the Pyramid, could hardly shoot the arrow so far that it did not fall down on the steps. I leave there what he says of the other Pyramids, the Sphinx-head, the Mumien, etc. He then travelled to Mount Sinai, assuring by the roundabout way which he, like usually happens, around the Red Sea had to assume that it, like the Ocean, has ebb and flow. (*) The journey to Jerusalem was made from Cairo by land. This was a laborious journey through the sandy desert to Gaza. From there it went via Ramah to Jerusalem. For this, 9 or 10 days are usually required. He saw the Jordan in November near Jericho. He found the bed of that river not wider than about 7 or 8 fathoms, so that a small boy could throw a stone over it, as it was also not very deep. He certainly saw it at a season of the year when many rivers there are almost completely dried up. In the laying of Jerusalem he observes that, from whichever side one comes there, the road always goes upwards, clarifying there by the expression of Holy Scripture, in which it is always said of the travelers to Jerusalem, that they went up. (Mark x, 32. 33 etc.) The further journey he made by land through Galilee to Damascus, Mount Lebanon, Caesarea, (modern Balbek,) Tarsus, to Aleppo, the old Berrhoeen or Bereen, from here to Antioch over the mountains

(*) Mr. Niebuhr has confirmed this even more accurately, on his travels, by ordinary observations, and has put it beyond all contradiction.

Amanus to Adana, and from there over the Taurus mountains to Iconien. In the third book, in several principal parts, the Turks, Mohammed, the Mohammedan religion, the customs of the Turks, the Armenian and other Christians in Turkey, and the Jews are spoken of. The latter printed, in his time, Hebrew books, but without points, at Constantinople; likewise also Spanish, Italian, Greek, German writings; but Turkish and Arabic they were not allowed to print. He continued his journey to Constantinople via Brussa. In his time, according to his report, the former would have been richer and more populous than the latter, but which now has no place. — This is, certainly, a very good travel description, especially for natural history, because the places, animals, and generally the Naturalia of all the countries traversed are accurately noted. For learned travellers of those regions it is very useful, and according to its Value, certainly not by far sufficiently known. It is very accurate, although many things, as to places, antiquities and other circumstances, have naturally changed with time, and the former have either been diminished or entirely destroyed. Thus, for example, the German Imperial Ambassadors must no longer reside in the actual city of Constantinople, nor must the ships leaving through the Hellespont stay three days at the Dardanelles for inspection. For the rest, the author reasonably well satisfies the Title of his work, describing mostly only the particularly remarkable things. (Singularities) Travel remarks, which one often finds too much with other travellers, are almost entirely absent from him. He is in all respects a serious travel writer and it is strange that the following ones do not follow his example, but have often cobbled together such bad and uncertain stuff. The arrangement could have been a little better. It goes without saying that the French is as it was written before the third half century. Many wooden plates have been added to illustrate regions, plants, trees and animals, but those that are supposed to serve as maps are the least good. It is truly a pity that an index, at least in the aforementioned edition, is lacking.

Barth. Georgieuitz de Turcarim moribus epitome seems, according to the dedication, to have been published in Rome in the year 1552, but was published with all kinds of small appendices in Geneva, 1629, measuring 184 pages. and then with the addition: Autore Joh. PICKERO, in Hanau 1686, reprinted again. This booklet can now be completely missed.

P. Gyllii de Bosphoro Thracio, lib. 3. Lugd. Batav. 1632, large 379 pages in 12. He was born in the year 1490. in Albi, and, after completing studies in languages and

- 35635 natural history, was ready to travel. In a work, dedicated to Franciscus I King of France 1533, he encouraged him in the dedication, to let some Scholars travel at his expense; about which he found approval, and was himself sent to the Levant. But, because he had not drawn an annual stipend during the King's lifetime, he found himself forced, after his death in 1547, if he wished to survive, to take service among the soldiers of Soliman II. Three years later he returned from the Levant with the French ambassador, and died in the year 1555. - After a reasoned introduction to the description of the Bosphorus, it is dealt with, but solely and exclusively according to the old Geography, so that the places found about it by the old land-describers are collected, and partly, according to the way he found them and imagined them, are compared. - His Topographia Constantinopoleos, lib. 4. is to the above-mentioned place, in the same year and format, published in the size of 428 pages. In the preface hy describes the whole extraordinary good legging this city very circumstantially, and in the first book, probably among all writers the most completely, its fortunes, building, seven hills and valleys, walls and gates. In the following books he goes, equally elaborately, through all the Wykent city, comparing, what Strabo, Stephanus, Euagrius, Procopius, Suidas, Cedrenus, Tzetzes, Zonaras, and Nicephorus did not mention, very accurately, without what he himself said. Later added Anonymi cuiusdam (which lived before the time of Justinian,) libellus de regionibus nova Roma Constantinopolitana, with the comments of Guido Pancirolus. - Otherwise, the writer has fulfilled his purpose in both works.
- 35655 Turkish Chronicle. True, actual and brief description of the Turks. Arrival, Management &c. It. of the Turkish Religion und Gesetz &c. from Italy. translated into German by the Licensee Muller, with plates, Frankf. on the Main, 1577. 3 volumes of 300 leaves. It is reported in the supplies, that a Genoese, Joh. Ant. Menavin, the writer is, who was imprisoned in the Turkish Court. It is not worth it, to continue reading this book. The cases are better and more accurately presented by other writers. The wooden plates, which are fairly gross, and the Emperors, battles and other incidents imagined, are solely and solely from the power of the imagination. The style is so sloppy, and so old-fashioned, that one must, at least, guess at the phrase. Weshalven it would be useless, say with the content to want to stop.
- 35660 André Thevet Cosmographie de Levant, à Lyon 1556. in 4. met fig. large 418 pages. Of these the Dictionaire historique portativ, published in Paris, reports that he made the voyages as a Franciscan monk, and died as a Historian of France in 1590, having been otherwise childish, superstitious, and possessing little judgment, and therefore worthy of being read. This judgment, being perfectly true, I co-sign. He traveled in the Levant, between the years 1550 and 1552, and wrote down everything he saw and heard, old and new, without distinguishing the true from the false; yes he is so superstitious and stupidly sad, that he wants to impress readers with his last as essentially believable: for example, page 146. that Muhammad was buried in Mecca; that the Nile, Tiger, and Ganges had their origin in the earthly Paradise, on a high mountain, from which water pours down a Sea, and that it makes such a great noise, that all who were near them were deafened; A bladder. 148. that there is a country of Dwarves, to the size of half or two Ellen, zy, who also, on ??Hamels and Bokken fighting with the Crane-birds, are depicted in one plate. The truth of this is proved by the fact that, in his time, there were some Dwarves at the Castle at Cairo, which he himself had seen. It would hardly be worthwhile, therefore, to give the contents of the Principals; but we prefer to trace the beginnings of the writers and their works in the 16th century.
- 35670 Nicolo di Nicolai navigation and trips made in Turkey. Translated by Franc, in hal. in Venice 1580. Fol. with 67 plates, on which people of both sexes are depicted in various dresses. The writer made these voyages with the French Envoy, in the year 1551. The voyages to the Barbary Coasts he narrates very briefly. (Book I.) more extensive is hy by the description zyner voyages from Malta to Constantinople, both in respect of some islands of the Archipelago, than the said city itself. (Book II.) In the further description of Turkey he assigns to the Adschjamoglans, Janistaaren, Solaks, Peygks, Worstelaars and Kampers, Koks des Sultan, Physicians, KadhyLeschkjers, Monks, Emyrs, Hadschjys and others. {Book III.) Further hy nopens brings forth the Persians, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks various things, and presents the Persons in their various costumes. - Notwithstanding now the principal case therein has almost always remained the same; there are, however, many things although the length, brevity, and other such incidental circumstances of dress have changed, happiness can be very clearly deduced from the comparison of your time with the
- 35685
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- 35700 present. In several respects, and even to satisfy curiosity, this work also retains
zyne value two centuries after it was written.
- C. Furers von Haimendorf Travel description in Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria &c..
Nurnb. 1646. with plates, large 360 leaves. in 4. Zyne reis takes place in the years
35705 1565 and 1566. It is, as the Title also indicates, a tamely executed diary, with
appended dialogues and histories. - He landed at Alexandria, taking the usual route
from there to Cairo. Of both places, especially the last, hy speaks very
circumspectly rather indefinitely about the circumference and position of the
35710 Pyramids. "The largest of these is, (according to his story,) of some large,
considerable square stones, of which one was about 7 feet long, and so high, that
many of them came to my breast; but one is nevertheless larger than the other. Below,
at the ground and the stones, it is, at all four corners, very much fallen down,
especially in the middle; but we have measured the length of one side, which was
about 300 and a few my paces long, and yet they did not measure it entirely at the
35715 bottom, because it is broader. When one stands below, it appears, because of its
great height, to be pointed at the top, but nevertheless has about 52 my feet in
circumference. From below, to the top, there are about 212 steps or square stones,
and has a fine entrance at the north-north-west; but the opening, through which one
must pass, is not very large, &c." - He undertook the journey to Mount Sinai with
35720 several others, among whom was also J. Helffrich, of whom was spoken in the preceding
paragraph. At the Red Sea it was just low tide, so that he could enter it almost half
a mile away. On the return journey he ventured to cross the Ebbe with some, having
been taken through an arm of it, but they nearly lost their lives. For however they
hurried, the water still went up to their oxen. He found the Arabs in those regions,
35725 as all travellers describe them, very bold and shameless, because they consider
themselves lords in their deserts, and spare no one. The famous Greek Monks'
Monastery lies in a narrow valley on the Mount Sinai, built quadrangularly of square
stones, reasonably strong and high. The one side is 125 common paces long, makes 500
paces square, without the little triangular forecourt, through which one enters. He
35730 traveled again via Rosetta, to Alexandria, and from thence again via Rosetta to
Damiate. Here still stood the Tower, on which the dead pigeons were kept, which were
then used to convey some message to Alexandria and Cairo. In the first of these
cities there was also a Tower, built for that purpose; but they no longer kept such
pigeons there. Now he took the highway to the promised land at Gaza, covering it,
35735 according to the usual day's journey of the Camels, in ten days. Thus he traveled
through the former country of the Palestine, and thus came via Jaffa and Ramah to
Jerusalem. Here occurs the usual description of this city with its pretended holy
places. He also made several journeys in the neighbourhood, such as to Bethlehem, the
Monastery of Sr. Saba, the Dead Sea and Jericho. On this occasion the entire
35740 travelling party fell into the hands of the rapacious Arabs, from which nothing came,
except with much difficulty and danger. He travelled from Jerusalem through the
promised land to the Gallic Sea, came to the beautiful Balbek and so to Tripoli. Via
Cyprus he returned to Europe. - This work is not one of the best, but also not one of
the worst. It contains several things, which one possibly does not find in other
35745 travel accounts in such detail, although everything is not described with the skill
and accuracy of a Belon and Rauchwolf. One naturally finds in him many things, which
at his time, but were not found afterwards. In what he himself has seen, he seems to
deserve credit; but often it is difficult to distinguish what he himself saw from
what he relates from hearsay. In Egypt and the Holy Land he quotes, everywhere, the
35750 Biblical Histories in their entire circumference often unnecessarily, often even
incorrectly; whereby this book has become more verbose than was necessary.
- Itinerario di Marc Antonio Pigafetta. Londra 1585. klein 4to. One would hardly
believe that in this old work, the size of 140 pages, there were so many real and
35755 beautiful things, as are actually found in it; so that even now, were it not so rare,
it can be read with great pleasure by someone who understands Italian; and one must
wonder that the writers who subsequently wrote about the Turkish Empire did not
prefer to make use of it, rather than of other works, less valuable. - The writer
found himself among the great mission that Emperor Maximilian II, in the year 1567,
35760 sent to the Sultan Selim II. The reason and occasion of this embassy, the journey
from Vienna to Belgrade, further through Rascia, Bulgaria and Thrace to
Constantinople, he relates in the first four; and the Audience, but the circumstances
of which at that time differed somewhat from those of the present, in the fifth
Chapter. From the 6th to the 16th he interweaves reports concerning Turkey in a good
35765 order. He describes Constantinople with its curiosities, Pera and the Thracian

- Bosphorus; he treats of the origin of the Turks in general, and how their empire increased up to his time, and the condition of the Christians in it; furthermore he gives an account of their manner of dress, their customs, and religious persons; speaks of the Soldiers, to whom, at that time, the tenth Christian child was enrolled, and was brought up in the Mohammedan religion; particularly of the Seraglio, and the persons belonging to it, who lived either in or without it; next of the Janissaries, Solaks, Sipahys, and their order; the several Visiers, their rank and number, of the Person of the Great Lord himself, and the number of the Soldiers under the several Beghler-begs, who were then under the Ottoman Empire. The 17th, with the remaining Chapters to the end, contains the return journey, with what he remarked touching the several places through which they passed, and particularly of Adrianople; forgetting also, on occasion, without becoming too wordy, to add good historical and geographical remarks.
- Historia universale dell' origine & imperio de Turchi; raccolta da M. Francesco Sansovino in Venezia, 1568. in 4. large 430 pages. This Sansovino was, in his time, a prominent writer in Italy, who had this work, consisting of treatises by various writers, printed. It is therefore a kind of collection, but whose parts are nevertheless worthy of a mention. The first book provides, without indicating the sources, from various writers the way of life, laws and customs of the Turkish nation, as well as the court of the Sultan and the condition of the Christian slaves. Added to all this are treatises by a certain Luigi Bassano of Zara, and by a Greek, Theodori Spandugini, on the customs of the Turks, and concluded with the latter's biography of the Persian Kings, Shah Ismaël and his Son Shah Tamas, as well as the letters of Pope Pius II to the Sultan Mohammed II., to admonish him to adopt the Christian religion. - In the second book are collected a treatise by an Andr. Cambini of Florence, on the origin of the Turks; the above-mentioned Th. Spandugini's treatise on the origin of the Turkish Princes; an argument by Bishop Paul Jovius concerning the Turks before Emperor Charles V; Jac. Fontanus's description of the war waged over the island of Rhodes; acts of Sultan Suleyman after the taking away of this island, up to the year 1533, and a letter from a Secretary of Sigism. Malatesta, concerning what Muhammid II has accomplished in Morca. In the last book one finds a short Chronicle of the Saracen and Turkish History; a treatise by an unknown person on Mahomed and his successors; letters from the Archbishop of Metelino, Leonhardus, and Cardinal Isidore to Pope Nicolaus V, concerning the conquest of Constantinople, as well as reports from a certain Christ. Richerius on the same subject. The other Treatises treat of Dalmatia, Negroponte, Skanderbegh, and the failed undertaking of King Philippus Catholicus concerning Africa.
- Leonh. Rauchwolf, M. D. (High) proper description of the journey etc. to the East, etc. 4 parts in 4to, Laugingen 1583. covering the first 3 487, and the last 42 pages. In the first book, the 1st chapter begins with the journey from Augsburg, in the year 1573. to Marseille, and from there to Tripoli in Syria. That city is described in chapter 2., and in the 3rd a report is given of the Turks of high and low status, male and female persons, as well as their offices, customs, habits and clothing, but in the following of all kinds of crops, as much as the writer could observe about it, during his stay in Tripoli. His journey from there to Aleppo is described in the following chapter at whose end he remarks, that neither there, nor in the other Turkish cities, a stranger may ride in on horseback, but which is now permitted in most cities. The four remaining chapters of this book treat of the city of Aleppo, its buildings, tasty fruits and herbs; the Bassas and their court, as well as of the Turks' way of life, liberties, nobility and conduct; the great trade there, as well as the Turks' food, drinks and ceremonies, and their reading of herbs. In August of the year 1574. (Book 2, chapter 1.) he departed thence, and sailed over the Euphrates. The water of this river, he says, is turbid, and therefore not good to drink, unless it has previously stood in earthen pots and jars, and the sand and dirt therein have sunk. He sailed (chapter 2.) down this river in a vessel, describing the neighbouring regions, the wandering Arabs there, the city of Raka, (chapter 3.) the inhabitants of the mountains and the great desert, (chapter 4.) the city of Anna, (chapter 5.) the journey from there to ancient Babylon, (chapter 6) with the ruined remains and surrounding regions, (chapter 7.) besides his journey to Baghdad and that city itself, its situation, crops, trade, nations and other things, quite extensively. (chapter 8.) His report concerning the supposed Tower of Babel I want to book here. "It has indeed half a mile of road in the vicinity, but is so dilapidated that it is no longer high, and is also infested with so many vermin that one should not come near it for half a mile, except in the winter for a month or two, when it is

still in sight". From there he returned (Chapter 9.) through Assyria, the land of the Kurds, to the river Tyger, via Mosul, at the beginning of the year 1575, as well as through Mesopotamia via Orpha (Chapter 10.) to Aleppo. He concludes this book with a
35835 report concerning the Turkish physicians and chemists, and some particular observations, (Chapter 11.) Mount Lebanon, its inhabitants and herbs, (Chapter 12.) and the plans of the Turks, (Chapter 13.) to make war on those who are Druses and Maronites. The 3rd book describes the Holy Land. He travelled from Tripoli via Jaffa (Chapter 1) to Jerusalem, (Chapter 2.) Before starting his journey there he had to
35840 give 9, but a Greek 5 ducats for the freedom to travel, and safe-conduct. Of present-day Jerusalem and its surrounding regions he first speaks in general, (Chapter 3.) and then more particularly. He viewed, as much as was permitted him, Zion and its holy places, (H. 4.) as well as Moria, and the pretended Temple of Solomon, or actually the Mosque built by Omer, the third Mohammedan Chief of Army after Mohammed, to which entrance is forbidden to all who are not Mohammedans. (H. 5.) Here he
35845 inserts true and false information concerning the Saracen and Turkish religion, ceremonies, way of life, etc., together in a special treatise. (H. 6.) He was further shown the houses of Pilate and Herod, (H. 7.) Mount Calvary, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, (H. 8.) at which Eastern Christians entering had to pay from two to five, and the European five ducats, and finally the epitaphs of the Christian Kings. (H. 9.) This gives him occasion to give a general account of the various Christian
35850 denominations there; (H. 10.) which is followed by a special, but very short, therefore superficial and defective report, concerning the Greeks, (H. 11.) the Syrians, (H. 12.) the Georgians, (H. 13.) the Armenians, (H. 14.) the Nestorians, (H. 15) the Jacobites or Copts, (H. 16.) the Abyssinians, (H. 17.) the Maronites, (H. 18.) and the Roman Catholics. (H. 19.) These sent two monks to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on each journey, to remain there for a fortnight at a time, to guard the Holy Sepulchre, to attend to the Getae, and to keep burning the very precious lamps
35855 venerated there by Kings and Princes. For the same purpose there are also Clergymen of other Christian denominations. These are all usually obliged to stay there for 14 days. The doors are bound shut by the Turks. In the largest are three holes of various sizes, through which the necessary provisions are given. All European travellers are accommodated by the Roman Catholics, and according to the circumstances there are well received. In recent years there have been complaints
35860 that they have to pay a bit dearly for the accommodation, but this is rarely the cause of the Fathers, but rather the Oppressions to which they are exposed according to their position there, and which always involve great costs. Here follows (H. 20.) a report concerning the Orders of St. John, or, as they now say there, the Knightly Orders of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Father Guardian, that is, the Pope's Overseer
35865 over all the Roman Clergy in the Holy Land, distributes. He also visited Mount Olivet and the Holy Places, (H. 21.) as well as Bethlehem and the mountains of Judah. (H. 22.) Then he returned via Tripoli to Venice, and so to Augsburg, (H. 23.) where he arrived in February 1576. The fourth book contains 42 wooden plates of foreign herbs. – One would hardly think that two centuries ago such a good travel description had
35870 been drawn up as this one actually is. He certainly inserted strange, and often untrue, reports into it; but, where he speaks and describes himself, he seems, generally, to deserve the absolute credence. He has carefully observed the Eastern customs. This book would not be unworthy, that one 'for the general service, made a good extract of it.
35875 Sal. Schweigger (Hoogd.) neue herausgegebene Reisbeschreibung nach Konstant. und Jerusal. Numb. 1664. with many wooden plates, 4to, large 346 pages. The first book contains ?? pages describing in brief the journey from Tübingen via Vienna to Constantinople, as well as the places through which it passed, with added comments. The second book deals with Turkey. The 9 first chapter describe the then residence of
35880 the German Imperial Ambassadors in Constantinople proper, their care by the Sultan and their audience with him, as they then still had to kneel before him on the ground, and the Imperial gift that was considered by the Turks nothing more than a tribute. Here is also mentioned the Seraglio, the succession of the German-Imperial Ambassadors at Constantinople, the expenses incurred on the mission, the freedom of religion in the residence of the Ambassadors, and of the burials of the Germans. Of the 27th Head, several cases are mentioned, which occurred during the Author's stay at Constantinople with Georgian Princes, a Persian mission, etc.; and herein he
35885 relates in detail the sad fate of the Christians who fell into slavery. In the 2nd Head, he gives a description of Constantinople, in the ??st, of the Turkish Temples and burial chapels; in the 30th and 31st of the Turkish schools; in the 3rd of the Tibypials; in the 33rd of the Baths, and in the 34th of the Caravanserai. – But Constantinople has since then been remarkably changed and enlarged, so that the

descriptions are mostly incomplete for one who has not been there. — The 35th Chapter treats of the Monastery and the residence of the Greek, and the 36th of the residence of the Armenian Patriarchs. Both have now been changed. — The 37th Chapter describes the Hippodrome and the Pillars; the 38th the Emperor's pleasure gardens and the snow and ice trade; the 39th the water buildings in and outside Constantinople; the 40th the rare animals; the 41st the Bezestein; the 42nd the Eski-Serail; the 43rd the 7 Towers and other ancient buildings. In the 44th and 45th Chapters. he ends the description of Constantinople with Galata, Tophana and Scutari. The 46th contains observations on the usefulness of the Turkish Empire, the Tyranny, and the causes of its long endurance, as does the 47th of the Table, the servants, stables, pharmacies and the Sultan's ride to the Mosque. In the 48th he examines the then reason of the Turkish victories over the Christians. After having described in the 4th Chapter, the Sultan's Officers and Commanders, he treats in the 50th of the Turkish courts, authorities and punishments of criminals. In the 5th it is reported that the Turks cheered beforehand, while they took the field against an enemy. The following 10 Chapters. are mostly devoted to describing the religion of the Turks, namely their confession of God and Mohammed, the Koran, their worship, method of preaching, circumcision, vain and feasts, monks, funerals, household and clothing, marriage and divorce. The 6th to 64th Chapters speak of the Greeks, mainly their religion, as does the 65th, but both very briefly and incompletely, of the Armenians. The third book provides a description of the journey from Constantinople to Jerusalem. In the 9th first Chapter, the arrangements for the journey are partly described, partly the navigation through the Propontis, Hellespont and Archipelago to Alexandria is described: in the following 11 Chapters. one finds the description of the aforementioned city, Rosetto, the Nile, the fertility of Egypt, the buildings there, the camel, the languages, the currency, the clothing, customs and Mummies. — But the whole description does not say much. The 21st and 22nd Chapters contain the Sea voyage to Palestine. From the 23rd to the 36th Chapters we deal with Ptolemais, Joppa, Rama, the Arab escort, the arrival at Jerusalem, the Patriarch there, the going to the Holy Sepulchre, of this, the Temple and its sanctuaries, of the Ceremonies to make someone a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, of the present city of Jerusalem, the surrounding region, and of Bethlehem. In the 37th Chapter he tells of his departure from Jerusalem, and up to the 431st his return journey via Damascus, Tripoli and Kandia to Germany. The style was good for the times then, but not at all now. The wooden plates are not bad, but those that are supposed to depict places are not the best. The journey from Constantinople to Egypt was made from 3 March 1581. to November of the same year to Germany. From which one can easily conclude that everything is almost short and incomplete. Also, much hearsay is mixed in. A Tournefort and Pococke make the whole work superfluous.

I. Leunclavii annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti, Francoph. 1588, 4to 519 pages. C) The Ottoman Yearbooks in the Turkish language had an Austrian Nobleman

(*) The well-known Swedish Prof. Björnstahl, who stayed in Constantinople in 1770 and 1777, and had ample opportunity, through his intercourse with Mr. Muradschja, (see I. Part, genealogical register of the Turkish Emperors, opposite page 46, below the remark.) to learn the quality of the Christian historians concerning the Turkish Empire from himself, about this in a letter written from there (ZicSciillozers ((lied.) briefvethfel. 2 part, 8 fiêh 11. 23.) in this way. "There is still no good history concerning the Turks. The last published Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman from his origins until the peace of Belgrade in 1740. by Mr. l'Abbé Mignot, in Paris 1771. in is, in several parts are badly written, and in many places nothing but a Romance, although the author affirms that he has drawn from good sources, in the Royal Library at Paris. Mr. Mignot is a Nephew of Voltaire, and in fact equals this great Poet, who uses fiction even in History; but in style he certainly does not equal him. The History of Prince Cantimir is likewise no good; but his added observations are good; for they concern the Turks and their state. Leunclavius is reasonably good, but too old: he came out in the year 1596, (to wit, in a later edition,) and therefore nearly two centuries are lacking to our time. Ricaut, de Guer and others contain many apocryphal and other absurd reports. The same is also true of Chalkokandytes, and other Greek historians. They were enemies of the Turks, in whose mouths even the truth is suspected. It seems strange to me that such a great collector as Mr. Büsching did not know Leunclavius' Annales Turci, or at least did not use it. Otherwise it would have considerably reduced the number of his

- misdeeds. We shall speak of this reproach elsewhere. It is much too indefinite, and
 35965 also too unfounded, to be approved.
- bought at Constantinople and brought them as a gift to Emperor Ferdinand. Leunclavius
 35970 had also been there, having brought with him good knowledge of the Turkish Empire,
 and was requested by the latter to translate them into Latin. These annals extended
 only to the year 1551. He added to them the history of the following 37 years, and a
 multitude of observations, which he calls Pandelles, in which he compares the Turkish
 35975 stories with the Greek, Latin, Italian, French and German history. The whole work is
 finally concluded with a history of the siege of Vienna in the year 1529. A list of
 about 60 writers or manuscripts, which were used in compiling the Pandelles, is added
 to the preface. The first, the history with the supplement, occupies 184 pages, but
 the last extend to page 482; and the history of the siege forms the rest of the work.
 These annals do not really concern me; at the most they serve only, as far as they
 reach, to clarify \$. II. in my first Part; but the Pandects?? deserve here, justly, a
 35980 place, containing besides the descriptions of the countries and places, which
 gradually came under the Turkish obedience, also the old Geography, the State and
 Military Condition of the Turkish Empire, and the explanations of the words, with
 respect to offices as otherwise occurring, which one searches in vain elsewhere, and
 remains an important book in this field. The explanation of the Porte of
 35985 Constantinople (page 409-419.) is, with the exception of Gill, the most complete,
 that I have ever seen on it. It is a pity, that in the said edition an index is
 missing, and therefore the search for many useful Articles is made so difficult.
- Epistola continens Hodoeporieon navigationis ex Constantinopoli in Syriam, Palastinam
 35990 & Aegyptum, '6? montem Sinai, Vienn. 1583. in 4t0 consists of only one and a half
 pages, being not much more than a scanty list of places.
- H. von Lichtenstein (Hoogd.) Reisz auf Constantinopel im jahre 1584, described by
 Meschior Besolt, is only a day-narrative of the journey from Vienna to
 35995 Constantinople, in 16 pages in folio, in which not much can be said.
- Joh. Sanderson, an English merchant, made several journeys between 1584 and 1602 in
 the Levant. The first went in the first year mentioned to Constantinople, and from
 there to Cairo and Tripoli in Syria; the second in the year 1591 again to
 36000 Constantinople and the Syrian coasts; the third in the year 1598, again to
 Constantinople, and from there to Syria in Palestine. There is also added a special
 description of Constantinople.
- M. Heberer van Bretken Aegyptiaca servutus, that is, a true description of a three-
 36005 year slavery, which began in Alexandria and ended in Constantinople, has been
 published in Heidelberg, without mentioning the year when it was printed, in the size
 of 522 pages. In 1585 the author had the misfortune to end up in a very hard prison
 of the Turks. He relates this with all the remarks that of course cannot be read
 without emotion. But to know the provinces, this work does not say much, and one can
 36010 therefore, in this respect, do without it very well. The wooden plates added to it
 also do not say much. Since it could not come into many hands in the meantime, I want
 to place his report concerning the notorious Neuser (page 348.) here, which he
 received from the mouth of one of his fellow apostates, namely, who had been a
 learned reformed preacher in Heidelberg, had later apostatized, become an Arian, and
 was imprisoned for his apostasy, but nevertheless escaped, fled from Germany to
 36015 Turkey.
- omen, had travelled through Zevenbergen, and had urged him and one of his companions
 to be a travelling companion, and had incited and moved him to a similar apostasy
 from religion. — After they had all three arrived at Constantinople, they had adopted
 the Turkish faith, and offered themselves to serve the Turkish Emperor. They were
 36020 then circumcised, and promoted to Tschaus, that is, to travelling services. But,
 because Neuser had thought that he would climb a higher ladder of honour, he had,
 when this had not happened, led an Epicurean and bestial life; was finally attacked
 by the plague, and died in that disease in the utmost despair, so that his last words
 were: after this life nothing more".
 36025
- Jules Turci?? Othomannitique imperii descriptio ab Antonio Gen??eo gallice edita,
 deinde latine reddita, Basil. 1587. ??, is a collection, which we can do without.
- A. Hoeniger von Königshofen aan de Tauler Hofhaltung (Court) des Turkischsn Keizers.

- 36030 (Hoogd.) Basel 1596. 2 parts in small folio, is, according to the author's own report, a collection, which we now no longer need.
- 36035 Fvnes Moryson itinerary, hond. 1617. fol. In it are European and Asian travels. From page 210. begins the Eastern journey, which he 1596. of Venice to Palestine. He visited Jerusalem, travelled to Jaffa, Tripoli in Syria, Aleppo, Scanderona, and returned to Venice the following year by sea via Constantinople. In the third part are the practical descriptions of his travels, as (Book I.) of travelling in general, and the geographical description, as well as the location, fruitfulness, trade of Turkey, and way of life of the Turks, book III. Everything is of course presented very briefly.
- 36040 Some treatises on the Turks, published around this time or later, are in the following work: Herm. Conringii h??ri varii de bello contra Turcas prudenter gerendo. Helmst. 4T0. 1664. In it are found the following Treatises in Latin. 1) Lazari Sokanchii Patrieii Veneti Ottomannus feu de inu perio Turcico. Ex Italico vertit Jac. Geuderus üb?? Herolzberga. This work was written in the year 1598. was good for those times, but now unnecessary. 2) Achillis Tardücii ?? ca venerabilis in Ungaria fifo also came out at the end of the 16th century, belonging to the great, and then occupied, subject of many writers, how to resist and overcome the Turks. In the first part the writer points out the means and ways by which the Turks had come to such a power, and proves that it was not by mere luck, but by cunning and courage. Hungary and Germany are, according to the second part, perfectly sufficient to subdue the Turks, showing at the same time in detail how one should conduct the war itself. The third part, as the application of the two preceding ones, concerns itself with the number and disposition of the soldiers, as well as the armies, their distribution in their various stations, and how one should conduct oneself in a battle with the Turks themselves. This treatise is very regularly written, lays a good knowledge of the Turkish State in its entire vicinity as a basis, and would perhaps still be worthy, by one who understands the present circumstances, by consulting with a Warnery and Marsiglt, civilized, and those who wage war with the Turks, to be given into the hands.
- 36045 36050 36055 36060
- 36065 Of the rest I need only mention the Titles. 3) Anonymi cujusdam dissertatio de fiatu imperii Turcici, cujusmodi fub Amurathe III fuit, deque ejus evertendi modo. 4) A. G. Busbegjjii exclamatio, feu de re militari contra Turcam instituenda confilium. 5) John Tarnovii de bello cum Turcis gerendo disputatio. 6) Lazari Stuendii &c. quomodo Turcis fit refistendum confilium. 7) Fierce. Petancii libellus de itine. rite aggrediendi Turcam. 8) Francii dolium Diogenis, slrepitu fuo collaborans dynastis iihrijHk nis, helium in Turcas parantibus. 9) H. de Tourenne 'de bello Turcico oratio.
- 36070 36075 36080 36085 36090 36095
- Johannis Cotovici itinerarium Hierofolymitanum& Syriacum, Antw. 1619. 4. 518 pag. This is an excellent and original travel description, which would have been worthy of having been printed with better plates, which occurs in the years 1598 and 1599, and must be equated with a Boxen Rauciiwolf. What these have in Natural History, they have in Antiquities and the illustration of customs. Instead of a preface, the author has preceded with a practical instruction for those who wish to travel those regions, and then treats of his subject in five books. The first describes his sea voyage from Venice to Jaffa, in which he learns of the islands, regions and places, for example. Ragusa, Corfu, Serigo, Morea, Rhodes, Cyprus, Sydon, Tyre, Ptolemais, etc., which he encountered on the way. The second concerns his Palestinian journey, especially to Jerusalem and the surrounding provinces. Here one is referred to Jaffa, Karna, Jerusalem itself, Bethlehem, Jericho etc. very extensively maintained. Many will not find it unpleasant to find the Liturgies here recorded, which are prayed or sung at various, whether real or pretended holy places, many of which are very moving and powerful. The third book elucidates his Syrian or further journey from Jerusalem to Aleppo. He begins with a general introduction to Syria, and leads his readers to Shiloh, Shechem, Sebaste, Nain, the mountains Gilboa and Hermon, Nazareth, Tabor, the Sea of Tiberias, Damascus, Mount Lebanon, (where he also speaks of the Druses), Emesjen, Heman and Aleppo. Everywhere he remains the same in treating important subjects. The fourth book gives his acquired knowledge concerning the religion, customs, manners, and habits of the Mohammedans as well as Christians living in Syria, for which a stay of three months in Aleppo was very profitable to him. He begins with the Turks, their and the Mohammedans' origin and different disposition, as well as their feelings of religion; speaks of their washings, baths, public worship, fasts, ecclesiastical persons, pilgrimages, monks, public customs, alms and

- good works, the condition of the dying, and the burials, as well as the churchyards of Christians and Jews; notes the necessary concerning the Bassas, Sandjaks and Snbaschys, as well as the Soldiers of the Turks and the punishments, ending this book with the manners and condition of the native Syrian Mohammedans and Christians, the Turkish Coins, dwellings and furniture, food and drink, clothing of the Turks; Moors, Christians and Jews of the male and female sex, as well as the ornaments and way of life of the latter. The fifth or last book contains his reports concerning Aleppo, Antioch, Mount Amanus, and Alexandria, as well as his return journey by water almost along the same route that he had taken on the outward journey. This is one of the best travel descriptions that one has of Palestine and Syria, and a masterpiece for the time in which the author lived. In the first three books most has been elucidated by plates. Many have made use of these as well as his reports, without naming him. A Latin reader will be able to gather from this work an unusually large number of useful and pleasant things, which should be much better known than they actually are.
- Georg Douser de itinere fuo Constantinopolitano epistola. The journey took place in 1598. The description of it is very short, and especially remarkable because of the added old inscriptions, which are found in Constantinople. Voiage du Mont Liban traait de italien du R. P. Jerôme Dandini &c. or it was treated with the creation of the customs of the Maronites, which touched upon the many particularities of the Turks and the few literary places of the Orient, with remarks on the Theology of the Christians of the Levant and the Cells of the Mahometans, by R. S. P. in Paris 1685, in 12 ?? pp. The original, under the Title: Missione Apostolica al Patriarca e Maroniti del Monte Libano, was printed in 1656, much more extensively than it appears here in the translation. But the translator reports that he considered it useless to translate the account of a journey to Jerusalem contained therein, because it contained almost nothing that other travellers had not already said about it. In this abbreviated form the journey made in the year 1599, occupies 198, but the translator's comments occupy the remaining pages. It contributes nothing to a correct knowledge of Turkey, because it abounds in errors, which the translator has partly, but by no means all, corrected. Therefore it serves no other purpose than as a report concerning the Maronites, and in particular the author's activities, who was sent to them as Papal Nuncio.
- §. LIIII. Writers of the seventeenth century; contents of their works, and judgment of them.
- Joh. Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, was born in Paris in 1605, and began to travel through Europe from the 22nd year of his age. Subsequently, within 40 years, he made six journeys through Turkey, Persia and India. Because he spoke French poorly; he used partly the pen of de Chappuzeau, who assures that, with the exception of certain memoirs, the former had given him the rest from Memory in his pen; partly also of de la Chapelle. He also published, in Tavernier's name, the report concerning the Turkish Seraglio. From which one can understand why the style is different and bad. The High. Title is: J. B. Tavernier sechs Reisen in Turkey, Persien und Indien &c. Geneva 1681. fol. with many (but common) plates. (xl yearly Travels of Tavernier, Amji. 1682, 3 parts in 40) Only the first part contains reports concerning Turkey. The first book deals with various roads from Paris to Isfahan through the northern provinces of Turkey, especially in the 2nd, 33rd and 7th Heads. In the 10th the Caravanserai and Caravans are discussed, and in the 11th the Camels. In the 2nd Head, the book, there are observations on the Trade on the island of Kandy and the principal islands of the Archipelago. Everywhere the places and the most important cases of the author are described. In the 4th book, Chapters 9-14, an account is given of the Armenians, and in particular of their Communion, Priest-Winging, Baptism, Marriages, Burials, and permanence in the Worship. To the 3rd part is added a new description of the internal condition of the Seraglio of the Great Lord. This matter, recorded in Chapters 19, etc., I have nowhere read so completely, and, as far as I know, not so accurately, as treated as here. In the 4th Chapter of the Hall, in which the Sultan listens to the Ambassadors, he reports that on the left side of the Throne there is a small seat, covered with red velvet, and lined with gold braid, on which the Ambassadors sit down, after they have kissed the Emperor's coat. This is either generally untrue, or it is no longer customary. George Sandys has published an account of his voyage in English. He made it from the year 1610, went by water from Venice to Constantinople, and on the way visited several islands of the Archipelago. In describing Constantinople his proposition will not easily be approved, to wit, that the Turkish Empire was, possibly, the largest of all the Empires that had existed since the creation of the world; for the Roman Empire surpassed it in size. The condition of the Turkish Empire, the manner of life of the Turks, as well as the

condition of the Greeks under the Turkish yoke, he represents, and seems to deserve credit in what he himself has seen, but which has not always been accurately distinguished from what has been heard elsewhere. From Constantinople he sailed to Egypt. Here he made the usual voyage from Alexandria to Cairo on the Nile; from Egypt he travelled to the Holy Land. He viewed Jerusalem with all its antiquities and neighbourhood, Mount Carmel, and several cities, such as Seyde, Damascus etc. This travel description does not seem to have to be put aside, considering that he was actually on the places themselves, although many of the later ones are more accurate and detailed.

W. Lithgow discourse of a peregrination from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Africke, Lond. 1614. large 14 pages in 4 to. In it everything is so short, that one finds little more, than the names of the places and some remarks. *Voïages de Pietro della Valeöefau la Turquie, ?? Egypte, la Palestine, la Perse, les Indes Orientales & autres lieux, T. I-VIII. a Paris 1645. 8 (Travels of P. della Valla, ??mst. 1666. 6 vols. -)* The author was born in Rome in 1586, and has described his journey in several letters, which were subsequently translated from Italian into several languages. The first letter, written in 1614, describes the voyage from Venice to Constantinople by water. On this occasion he visited the coasts of Troy, finding there a fair number of ancient buildings and pyramids. In the second letter he describes Constantinople in its layout, size, fortifications, houses, Mosques, the Bosphorus of Thrace, places, Columns, cisterns, markets, the 7 Towers, the Seraglio, Dervishes, Ramasan, with the death of a Grand Vizier, and the riding of a Sultan to the Mosque. In many respects he gives preference to Naples. In the third letter his own and the Turks' domestic affairs appear, also speaking of Coffee, as a drink then still unknown in Italy. The fourth is a single special letter. In the fifth he describes the still customary entry of a new Venetian Envoy to the Porte in the suburb of Pera, and his Audience with the Great Lord. These two Articles are detailed and precise. The remark is offensive when it says: that the Ambassador, as little as his retinue, the Grand Vizier and the other Ministers in the Divan, had greeted with their hats, because they had not been greeted by them. For the Turks would consider the taking off of the hat as a mockery, or at least laugh at it. The sixth letter gives a very detailed account of the departure of a Turkish Army to war against the Persians. In the seventh to tenth, mostly special matters occur. In the ninth he mentions the difficulty of buying books from the Turks; also refuting Belon, who had praised the Church of St. Sophia (which has now been converted into a Mosque) as superior to the Rotonda in Rome. The two following letters are written from Cairo, and contain his sea voyage from Constantinople to Egypt. He came to the island of Stanchio (for this Colony) and Rhodes, describing what he saw remarkable at Alexandria, Rosetta, and finally Cairo. The new travellers, such as Pocock and Niebuhk, are certainly more accurate and detailed about all this; but nevertheless one reads with pleasure what he reports of it, as well as of the Pyramids, Mumi, Copts, Arabs, the Monastery on Mount Sinai, this mountain itself and Mount Horeb, the Red Sea, and some animals. Here and there very good remarks, even examples, concerning the caution so necessary there in travelling are inserted. The reports concerning the horrors of lust that grip the Hand there dishonour humanity. He speaks of Pigeons, which were trained in some places for carrying letters; (which is certainly not common, but only a rare thing,) of the so-called Palace of Pharaoh; the beautiful burial-places of the Turks, and the Ovens in which the eggs are hatched; but he found that the chicks were not nearly so tasty as those hatched under a hen. In the 2nd part follows the 1.3rd letter concerning Aleppo. He travelled with a Caravan from Cairo, through the desert, via Gaza, Ramah, Emmaus to Jerusalem, and from thence to the Jordan, Bethlehem, Hebron, then via Shechem, Samaria, (where he relates some things concerning the Samaritans and their books,) Nazareth, Tabor, in the neighbourhood of the Sea Genesareth, finally to Damascus. After a stay there the journey went, with a caravan, overstem, (formerly Hemesfa??) and Hamah (formerly Apamea) to Aleppo. Notwithstanding that all this is to be found more extensively and accurately, and by means of the plates for the imagination clearer, in Pocock, and as for Egypt, also in Niebuhr; nevertheless it will not be unpleasant and useless to anyone, and especially to him who wanted to travel to these regions, to read the things themselves and their incidents on the journey. It goes without saying that he was shown all those places and things, which are supposed to have become remarkable by this and not by Biblical history. Several times he corrects places and rivers Belojst, which he praises for the rest. How money is extorted from the Christian pilgrims on their journeys to the Holy Land, is evident from the fact that in his time each had to pay five ducats for going to the city of Jerusalem, eight or nine for going to the Holy Sepulchre, four or five for the journey and the protection of

the Turks on the road to the Jordan, and as many ducats for the journey to Hebron. The three following letters contain indifferent matters. The 17th was written about the end of the year 1616, and at Bagdad. The writer provided himself, at Aleppo, before his departure, with the necessary necessities, which were required for such a difficult route, through the sandy deserts of Arabia and Mesopotamia, which were bare for many days' journey from towns and villages. In this one is as on the Sea, and in the sand one needs special guideposts, just as on the Sea one needs pilots. He also gives some account of the Turks and Arabs; but d'Arvieux is more circumstantial about them. He approached the Euphrates, the banks of which are here and there fairly inhabited, and came to the city of Anna. There he heard of a Mohammedan sect, but which had to keep very quiet, in order not to be persecuted, but whose doctrines he found to be the same as those which the Magi had accepted. Here he went with the caravan over the Euphrates, and came, by dangerous roads from Mesopotamia, to Bagdad, through which the Tiber flows, so that nevertheless the principal and strongest part of this city lies on the Persian side, and both are united by a bridge of boats. The Tiger he holds to be a fifth part wider than the Euphrates. No stone bridge can be made over either; for as low as they are in times of drought, so exceedingly do they increase when the snow melts, so that they overflow high lands, and by their rapid course sweep away everything. He shows very clearly that Bagdad is not the old Babylon; noting that the first to lay on the Tiger, and the last to have lain on the Euphrates. He also, on a journey made thither, inspected the demolished remains, finding among them clear signs of the Tower of Babel described in the Bible. It was a confused heap of various building materials, which had the size of a mountain, was almost square, and had the shape of a Tower or Pyramid, the four sides of which were directed towards the four points of the compass, and was about 1140 paces in circumference. He also made a journey to the region of the Tiger, where at one time Seleucia towards Turkey, and Ctephiphon towards Persia were said to have been situated so that they were only separated from each other by the said river. In the letter, also at Bagdad ??, he describes some Apothecary's goods. - The last two in this part form a beginning of the Persian correspondence, which is followed in the third part until the middle of the sixth. Then follow the journeys to India, which end with the seventh part. In the last one finds the tenth letter of Bassora, describing his journey from Mascat to the said city, which is situated on the united rivers, the Euphrates and the Tiger, before their division into ?? arms, and their course in the Persian Sea. Various reports occur of this as well as of Bassora. The following letter is a diary of his journey from there to Aleppo, through the Arabian deserts. He finished this in the months of June and July. This diary would be useful to those who wanted to make a journey there. The wandering Arabs, the winds by day, which blow up the dust and sand, but at the same time lessen the otherwise unbearable heat, the cold by night, and the deceitfulness of the Arab guides, are equally troublesome to the travellers. The other letters were written from Cyprus, Malta, Syracuse, Messina and Rome, and their contents do not concern us. This travel description is, for its time, above all expectation good, has every credibility, and can not only be read with pleasure now, but will also be of use to many a traveller. But the newer ones quoted by me here and elsewhere are, certainly, much more complete and detailed. Although this is not the place to make remarks, I must nevertheless place this, that the writer, at??, married a Mesopotamian Christian woman, who left her native country, and accompanied him bravely on his journey. She died in Persia. He had the body embalmed, placed in a strong coffin, taking it with him, with great and costly trouble, on his East Indian and other journeys, until he had it interred in his own tomb at Rome. Whether one should admire the certainly rare love of the Knight, or the excellence of the Lady, who had made himself so lovable to him, I leave aside. In the meantime she is worthy to be included here: her name was Sim Rob??Wither, an Englishman, has published a description of the Seraglio, being at the same time a treatise of the Porte and the whole Ottoman State. I find this in Purchas Pilgrimes, the second part, Lond. 1625 fol. from pages 1580-1613. inserted by paragraphs, without knowing exactly whether the author himself composed them in order, and when. But the latter seems to have happened about the year 1618. The laying and division of the Seraglio, the Divan and the administration of justice, the Audience of the Ambassadors, the inhabitants of the Seraglio, especially the female sex, the Adschjamoglans and their education, the Eunuchs and important Servants of the Seraglio, the way of life and ceremonies in it, the old Seraglio, and then the Religion, feelings and customs of the Turks are here and mostly described so accurately that one must wonder that this treatise is not better known and has been omitted by a multitude of useless sketches?? on this subject. Trattato delle Piante ed image of the factory edifizj of ierra Santa defegnate in Jerusalem fecendule

- regole della Prospettiva [e vera mifura della lor grandezza dal R. P. F. Bernardino. In Firenze, 1620. Here on about 60 pages, in small fol., the Church at Bethlehem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the city of Jerusalem, and the other remarkable buildings, partly in sketches, partly in designs, are so clearly represented that one can form correct ideas of all these things. But it is a pity that few will be able to obtain this book.
- Voiage de Levant par-le Commandement du Roi (to wit, deFrance) en fannée 1021, parle Sr. D. C. feconde Edition h Paris, 4*0; large 495 pages. with some good plates, drawings of places and maps of those regions. The first 98 pages give an account of his journey through Germany and Hungary to Constantinople; which is then described very accurately. Many things have changed with time, as everywhere else. Helling is, as everyone knows, unfounded, (page 123) that the Supreme Head of the Armenian Church, namely its Patriarch, in Great Armenia the Pope for the general Supreme Head of the Church acknowledges; also the two churches belonging to the Roman Catholics in the city of Constantinople itself were taken from them. Concerning the Seraglio follows (from page 127.) a special report. Here he places the following lists of the supply of meat for its use: annually 400a oxen; daily 200 lambs; 100 lambs or goats; 10 calves; 50 geese; 200 head of birds; 400 chickens, 200 pigeons. Concerning the Audiences of the Ambassadors some change occurred; and the children's tribute customary at the time of the writer has also ceased. Here he treats (page 157.) of the Emperor's wives, and of the gardens of the Seraglio, (page 167.) where also the private life of the Sultan among his courtiers and wives, his pleasures, religious exercises, conduct towards his children, etc., occur. "When riding to the Mosque, he who believes he has suffered an exceptionally great injustice, holds a lighted torch above his head, to indicate to the Great Lord that if he does not do him justice, his soul, like this torch, will burn in the future Life.— After the Mosque he is, as a rule, accompanied by seven or eight hundred horses and four thousand Janistars. He sits down in it on a raised place, where he is separated from the people. — The deawi/aarro go ahead on foot, and have no other weapon than an Indian reed in their hand. They are led by forty of their Headmen on horseback. Finally their General, the Janistar-J ga, comes. After him follow three or four hundred Kapudschjys, all on foot, except their Headmen, who lead them. Behind them ride 300 Tschausche, who are clothed with gold or silver, and whose horses are adorned with precious saddles and bridles. On these come 200 Mutefertikeh, still more splendidly dressed. From 12 to 15 hand-horses of the Great Lord are each led by two servants. One cannot easily see anything more beautiful, because of the costliness of their saddles, which are in every way set with precious stones. The Sultan himself rides in the midst of 40 or 50 Sfolaks. (Guardians.) His first groom, who lays his hand behind the saddle-tree of his horse, walks beside him with many Peigks (Lakeys). The Sfolaks make loud wishes for the well-being of his government, to which the people respond with a not too loud voice. Although the Turkish horses never hold their heads stiff, 5 his is nevertheless almost without any movement, which does not tire him at all, because he has not been allowed to sleep for three nights before. The Vizier,s and many of the Seraglio's servants, Engraved as well as Idsch-Oglans, (Pages) make the castle. "Under the Title: Relation de iEtdt du Gr. Seigneur (page 183.) there is actually a description of the State of the Turkish Empire, with regard to its size, and yet its small population, the Land Militia, the Naval State, and the many defects, which must naturally arise from the depopulation, the diversity of denominations and nations, the lack of auctions, and the difficulty and length of time to gather soldiers. While he speaks of the Finances (page 226.) and the Government (page 231.); he also brings up the most remarkable, concerning the State and judicial employees, as well as the Processes in criminal cases, on which follows from page 254. to 274. a treatise on the Mohammedan Religion, especially that Sect, to which the Turks adhere. After that he, herein, has generally remarked the necessary concerning the form of government in the Provinces and also in Algiers; he gives the reason of the general obedience to the even cruel commands of the Great Lord. (page 281.) He finds it in the skill of their execution, whereby the subjects had no time to flee, and at the same time the principle of Religion, that they then died happily! Persons, who held the highest Posts, were mostly of a Low descent; had therefore no support to hope from a powerful Family; could not easily come beyond the borders; were ignorant of the Gcographic, and thought that most of the other Princes under the Sultan (showed, or would, like him, take possession of their money, by murdering them: large rewards and severe punishments, the marriage of the sisters or daughters of the Sultan to the Great, kept the State standing. The war is troublesome for them. (page 288.) Many months pass before the army from the great Empire can go to the theater of war, and with the middle of November the troops, who are not in a fixed wage, part. Their field army is

36360 well and magnificently organized. They easily hold out in the field, because they are accustomed to a modest way of life. The Empire falls under great state defects; the previously unknown, but now completely introduced sale of honorary titles, the distribution of commanderies or Tymare to Persons who draw the income but keep no Soldiers, and the acceptance of Turkish instead of Christian children in the

36365 Seraglio, and drawn into the Mohammedan religion, certainly cause, in time, a great weakening of this State. In presenting the interests of the Christian powers in their treaties with the Porte (page 396.) France would have only the maintenance of the Christian (he means Roman) religion, the preservation of the Holy Places, the release of captive Christians, and the welfare of all Christendom in view. His observations

36370 on the interest of the German Emperor, the Republic of Venice, of Poland, Russia, Persia, Abyssinia, with the Porte, are no longer appropriate in our times, when circumstances have almost entirely changed. — His journey to Jerusalem follows from page 332. It is no longer customary now that ships coming from Constantinople must stop for three days at the Dardanelles, whether perhaps an inquiry might be made from there concerning concealed fiaves or a smuggling trade. I leave the description of the voyage to Jerusalem through the Archipelago untouched, as well as that of the Holy Land (page 377), as it is of no use at present. A report concerning Jerusalem and the Holy places in and outside its Veilen is found from page 389 to 419. But, because he stayed there only 22 days, the reports concerning various regions and

36380 places in the Holy Land seem to come from others, and not from himself, although they agree reasonably well with other credible travel descriptions. The return journey from Jerusalem (page 429.) to Europe, with the presentation of the usual routes from France to Constantinople, together with a not unpleasant description of the most remarkable regions and places, through which they pass, constitutes the essence of this work, which was certainly accurate in its time, and is still usable today, although many things have changed since then, and the writer only stayed six weeks in Constantinople.

Henr. Rantzowen (High) Reisebuch auf Jerusalem, Cairo und Constantinopel, Copenhagen 1669. 4t0, large 92 pages. One notices easily from the small number of pages, that here not much more than a meager, and almost too short diary occurs, in which more is seldom indicated, than that one has seen this or that. Moreover, it is written in an unpleasant style, and with many Italian and Latin periods interspersed. Because of the short time, not much more could be done than has been done. For on the 7th of February 1623, the writer travelled from Venice, and returned on the 4th of December

36395 of the same year. The first 24 pages deal with his journey to Cyprus. He landed on the way at Saide, and thus arrived at Acre. From there he rode to Galilee, Samaria and Jerusalem, page 29. Here he was led around with other pilgrims, making the journey with them to the Jordan. From Jajfa (page 40) he travelled to Damiate, (page 41) and up the Nile to Cairo. (page 42.) He found that river so rich in fish that one could catch the fish with one's hands. He stayed in the last-mentioned city for twenty days. At Matharea he found the garden, where the excellent balm grew for it, but eight years before it had been spoiled by a too great flood of the Niles, and now no balm grows in all of Egypt. (page 44.) He climbed the well-known great Pyramid by means of 225 steps, many of which were so high that one alone reached his chest. He

36405 had to climb down a hundred steps from the plane of terribly large square stones on top of the Pyramid to the well-known entrance into it. He, like all travellers, is in the greatest astonishment at it, saying: "I can write no more of it, than that it is an "astonishing work, and of great expense." "He is of the opinion that one can ride round the actual city of Fözzo, which is rightly inhabited, in five hours; but if one were to include Old Cairo and Bulak, as is commonly done, then they would be eight German miles in circumference. He sailed on the Nile to Rosetta, and rode from there to Alexandria. Here he apparently went to Constantinople (page 65.) where he stayed nearly two months, and thus returned to Venice by way of Dalmatia. Here, except for the places and the description of the things, there is nothing to be sought, and,

36415 what may have been read of reports here and there, seems moreover to be based on a suspected hearsay.

Purchas Pilgrimage, Lond. 1626. fol. fourth edition, is by the same author Pilgrim distinguished work. Here, in the third book, a treatise drawn together by several writers on the Arabs, Saracens and Turks occurs. The religion and political condition of the latter is treated quite extensively, from pp. 223-342.

36420 The description of the travels of Balthasar of Monconys to Asia and Palestine is such that it is not worth the trouble to give a content of the main part, although they are in the year 1697. in Leipzig in 4t0 in the High German were published. The bad style, the unimportant circumstances of his intercourse with common people, and the

36425 widely reported purchase of Turkish things are still bearable, in comparison with the

Recipes of supposed Secrets, the signs of a far-reaching superstition, and the multitude of foolish fortune-tellings.

Joh. Mocquet (High D.) Reise-begebnisse in Africa, Asia und Oost- und West-Indien translated from the French, Lunenburg, 4to. probably 1688*. The Original came out in Rouen 1645. Hyde made a journey from Syria to Jerusalem and the Holy Land around the year 1630. In it are the usual Pilgrim's reports concerning the Holy Land, an extensive description of old Jerusalem, the Temple, etc., which no one would look for there, and for the rest travel notes, so that one can do without this book without any disadvantage, and a special statement of its contents would be quite useless. He refers very much to the following travel description of Neitzschitz.

G. C. von Neitzschitz (High Rev.) fiebenjalu ngeund gefährliche Reisebeschreibung &c. after his death, from his handbook published by M. Chr. Iëger, Budissin 1663. in kl. 4to, 389 pages. The author, a Saxon nobleman, made this journey from 1630 to 1637. First he took the route across Italy, by water, to Smyrna and Constantinople, and so back by land to Vienna. From there he made a second journey to Constantinople with an Imperial mission. He relates this in the first two main divisions. The third treats, in several books, of his journey to the Levant. This went from Vienna through Austria via Venice, (book 1.) to Egypt, (book 2.) and according to custom to Alexandria, Rome and Cairo. (book 3.) The journey to Mount Sinai, where he stayed for 7 days (books 4-6.) is the best and most detailed in this work. One will hardly find so many reports about this elsewhere. The journey to the Holy Land, and through it, he did not make with the pilgrims in their own way and along their usual, and almost always the same roads; but the anxieties about it did not extend further than what the Roman monks told him. The return journey forms the last main division. During his stay in Egypt he visited Matharea, in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and there was still a beautiful garden of Balm, (*) Palm, Lemon and other fruitful trees unknown to him. Qag-163-)° On one (but he does not state which) side he climbed the great Pyramid, and counted 320 stones or steps, each from one, one and a half, to two ells high" and a third half, also three ells long, which were squarely worked, and very flat, like a well-polished Marble stone. At the opening or the entrance in this Pyramid he measured exactly 160 to each corner, and thus found the one whole side 320 common paces wide, from which he judges that it

(*) Pantzow, who traveled in 1623., reports that the balm jars had already perished 8 years before, in a very great flood of the Nile.

itself whole circumference must amount to 1280 such paces. (page 168, 169.) On the journey to Mount Sinai the Arabs showed him, at several places, (page 185, 188, 195, 192.) old inscriptions, hewn in hard rock, which, according to them, were Hebrew, and of the Children of Israel, as a sign of their former passage there. But they had rather perished. According to his report the letters were longer than one finger, and many had become almost equal to the stone. At one place there were also all kinds of Egyptian characters, but which had rather faded away, and were no longer recognizable: the Manna is usually found at a certain season; (page 221.) it was, when it was shown to him, a thick dew of a sweetish taste; it can be collected and preserved as melted wax, or rather as a soft dough. On his return journey from Mount Sinai, in the fore-journey to the Red Sea, there was just ebb in it, as it then, according to his report, page 231, runs out daily, at a certain time, so that he rode with his Camel to the deserted place there, but where, because of the slippery ground, he had almost been unhappy. At Damiate he was very surprised at the Pigeons, which were used as letter carriers to Cairo, when a ship had arrived there; page 248. they tie the letters under their wings or to their legs, and let them fly with them. The writer seems to tell the story honestly everywhere, but does not go further than he has seen and heard. His own reports are not accurately distinguished from hearsay, rather according to the old taste, and therefore seldom sufficiently definite. It was a pity that he did not travel with the knowledge of a learned man, and of natural history, as well as mathematics, he seems to have understood nothing. It is therefore, as the title shows, a world-view, but not a perusal and comprehension. Itinerarium orientale Philippi a SanStisstma Trinitate Carmelitee, ab ipso conseriptum &c. Lugd. 1649. 8. groot 431 peg. This monk made that journey 1629 to the East, stayed nearly eight years in East India, and returned 1639 via Goa. He traveled from Italy over the Mediterranean to Syria, arrived at Aleppo, passed through the Arabian deserts, and arrived via Bagdad at Ispahan, and from there via Bassora, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Sea at Goa. This is the contents of the first book, and relates on 39 pages the outward journey, just as the tenth or last, on as many pages the return journey, which he took almost along the same route; with this difference only, that instead of taking the road through the Arabian deserts, he took it through

Armenia, and tarried on the coasts of Syria and the Holy Land. If one could fully
 36495 rely on this writer, his travel book would be much more worthy: but in this respect
 we may encounter difficulties. That he adopts the usual song of his Order, and
 asserts its origin from Prophet Bias, one may at least take it to his credit, as if a
 certain Order wanted to derive his from Noah. But this betrays an almost
 unforgettable belief, and makes his own observations very uncertain, when he does so.
 36500 as a true event relates, that before his departure from Rome, he took the Holy
 Communion, and after partaking of it saw fresh drops of blood in the chalice and on
 the fingers with which he had touched the Court: page 8. His use of other reports
 might become just as uncertain, if he did not deceive himself somewhat cautiously. He
 reports in person, p. this unbelievable incident, which is said to have happened at
 36505 his residence in Goa, that a Crucifix, during the ceremonies of Lent, the Passion,
 and especially on Good Friday, the GQgeq had been opened, had its face distorted,
 moved, and once the whole attitude became so expressive, as if it had been animated.
 But nevertheless he is so circumspect in this, that he does not relate it in his own
 words, but places the translated report of the Nuns of the Augustinian orders at the
 Archbishop's See at Goa, and then only reports, that this incident was, justly,
 36510 declared to be a Miracle, and was publicly celebrated by a Te Deum (which is so often
 abused even in civil and war cases), as well as by Processions, etc. - His learned
 guesses are often wrong; for instance, after he had investigated and rejected foolish
 feelings concerning Paradise; (pa. 128.) thus he presents his own account, according
 to which it would now be situated on earth, and indeed in a pleasant plain, temperate
 36515 with cold and heat, on top of a mountain in great Armenia, near Erivan, where Enoch
 and Elias still lived, and by the enjoyment of the fruit of the tree of life, were
 freed from all the infirmities of old age and disease. For the rest it would be to be
 desired, that still that which he himself has certainly seen and experienced, were
 clearly separated from that which he has heard of. Between the first and last single
 36520 and real chapters of travel he now inserts his acquired Eastern knowledge and
 reports, that they are certainly of the same value. The more 2 dTief"ZyV°Or dQGaphie,
 the second and third books. The first contains 16 main parts: of the Turkish Empire;
 the Holy Land; His wild and happy Arabia; of Mesopotamia; Chaldea; Armenia; of the
 Persian Empire, its description and the Parthian Empire East in general, its sea
 36525 coasts and the islands of the Indian Sea; but especially the island and the city of
 Goa. The last aforementioned treats, in a main objects, of the Mediterranean Sea; the
 Persian Gulf; the Ar?? Greene Z- enabyde S ? and Orontes-For the »4*« in the 7th
 book the wdk in * the *-* other flesh of animals, snakes and worms, East Indian birds
 and fish, fruit-bearing bulb one d besides other trees and plants is described. The
 36530 knowledge of the four so-called Monarchs of the Ashrymians and CJtó*»», of the Jv f«
 and Jfifi* of the Greeks - *ede of the Turkish Emperors, the Indian Kotiingen, and
 the Kings and Princes of the Holy Land, one can leave for him alone. Not many
 important things are found in the 5th and 6th book. The first is suitable for the
 Colonies of the Portuguese in the East, their government and trade there, then the
 36535 other Eastern Christians, namely the Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians and Jacobites; the
 latter is for the knowledge of the Turks, Arabs, Persians, heathen Indians, the
 unjustly so called St. John's Christians and Eastern Jews; but both books are far
 below the expectation of a man who lived so long in those regions, and could well
 have gathered better knowledge. The 8th and 9th books may, possibly, be of service to
 36540 one or other. They treat of the Roman missions in the East in general, and then in
 Persia, India, Arabia, Syria and the Holy Land in special, and relate many, in such
 Kingdoms, in his time, events that occurred. Of the Armenians he reports, page 243.
 the following, of which I, in my frequent intercourse with important and ancient
 Families among this Nation, have heard nothing, and which seems to me, at least in
 36545 our time, as incredible, as the assertion of the Jews, that they still have somewhere
 in a country, (but which is never mentioned,) a King of David's lineage. "The
 Armenians obey the laws of those Princes, under whose rule they stand; for they have
 no visible Armenian King. The Turkish Emperor and the King of Persia have divided
 themselves in Armenia. But secretly they have a King, who descends from the old
 36550 Armenian Royal Family, and is secretly anointed by the Patriarch, as he himself
 assured our Fathers (Patres), although few know otherwise. "The following report
 (page 403.) concerning a Persian settlement is all the more certain: "because in
 Persia there are no permanent stopping-places, where the horses necessary for a post
 may be taken; so the King's Messengers can, at their pleasure, take the horses that
 36555 come to them, and take the Life of those who resist; and thus, often, the travellers,
 After the horses were taken from them, they were forced to remain on the road."
 Pauxli Strasburgii, Suecics Regis quondani Consiliarii secretioris Aulici & ad
 Amurathem IV, legati, relatio de Byzantino itinere ac negotiis in Ottomannica aula

- perattis, no non de Jlatu ac facie Orientalis imperii, qualis er at circa. A. 1633. This is a very short, but otherwise very humane message, covering 41 pages. in 4 to. A. Olearii, (Hoogd.) Beschreibung der oriental. Reife, Schleszwig 1647, M with plates, large 546. pages. (published in Dutch under the Title: A. Olearius Persian travels of the Holstein Ambassadors, Amst.1691. 4-) The author's journey went with the Holstein Ambassadors to Persia, in the years 1035-1639. over the Baltic Sea, through Russia, over the Caspian Sea, and so through Persia's Mediterranean, and from there along the Caspian Sea almost the same route back to Holstein. The usefulness of this book for the countries travelled is certain; but it has no real relation to Turkey, and so I am exempted from its further assessment. - The same applies to J. A. von Mandelslo Hoogd.) Travel description, which was also published in Paris in 1679, in French, in 2 parts in 4C0. John Graeves description of the Pyramids b c mth a description of the Gr. S. Seraglio, Lond, i737. 2volk in 8/0. These are the well-known, and often, even as regards the description of the Pyramids, miden, especially in the general History produced fruits of a journey, which the writer made after the year 1638. to the Levant.
- Historiea., Theologica & raoralis Terrce S. dilucidatio. Auctore Fr. Ojjaresmio, olim term f. Prafulc ac Commrio Apost'jii, 2 parts infol. Antw. 1639. This work contains indeed an unusually large number of things, for our times and way of thinking not at all suited; but, whoever wants to know, of what the Pilgrimage used to be shown there, as well as of the state of the Order of the Patres de Terra S. will find here an extensive explanation. There are also some plates added.
- A completely different writer is Lorent d'Arvieux. He was born in Marfeille 1635 and traveled 1653. to Sayd, where he stayed for 12 years, learned the Eastern languages, and at the same time studied the ancient history, customs, habits and learning of the ancient peoples. The King of France sent him 1668. to Tunis, 1672 to Constantinople, then made him Consul in Algiers, and finally in Aleppo. He died in the beginning of the 1.8th century in his native country. His work was published in High German under the following title; *ow Arvieux Nachrichten, worin er feine Reifen nach Constantinopel, in Asten, Syrian, dem gelobten Lande, Aegypten und der Rarbarey &c. heschreibt, 6B. 8. Kopp-und Leipzig 1753-1759. The first part begins with the author's journey to Smyrna, and is dealt with in the first four chapters; just as his journey to Egypt is dealt with in the four following chapters. From the 9th to the ttzHead, one finds his journey to the Holy Land, so that nevertheless many chapters are filled with matters of commerce, biography and observations. The second part describes the Holy Land, and a part of Syria. In the third part appear the reports concerning the Arabs and Tunis. The fourth part continues the accounts of Tunis, and describes the journey to Constantinople and Adrianople, and the stay there. The fifth part treats of Algiers, and many matters of Commerce, and Treaties of France with the Powers of Barbary and the Sultan, as well as of the author's recent stay at Aleppo; which is continued in the sixth part, and concluded with several military, commercial, and private histories. Innumerable, and often rambling, stories and quotations, and a multitude of useful* empty remarks have made this work grow to such a thickness, which otherwise, if they were omitted, would constitute a very useful travelogue; all the more so, if the writer remains faithful to the truth. Small errors, for instance when he gives the Armenian nation at Smyrna two churches, are unavoidable. In his time all Europeans in the Levant had to wear beards; but this custom has now ceased in most places; also, since that time, they have been determined in many privileges and liberties.
- De Turcarum moribus Commentarius, autiore Joh. Bapt. Montalbano, Lugd. Bat. 1654, in i6mo. large 120 pag. seems to have been collected partly from personal experience, partly from other reports.
- Clas Kalams Constantinopolitaniske Resd, Stokholm 1679. in 4. large 93 pp. At the conclusion of the work it is shown that many more and more detailed things are in the writer's diary than in this description, which were worthy of being made known by the print. One may not doubt that when one reads these abbreviated travel reports. He collected them as extraordinary ambassador of the King of Sweden, Karel Gustavus, in the years 1657. and 1658. Despite all their brevity, they are, nevertheless, still worthy of reading because of their accuracy. One will read there many events of that time, and especially the Porte, as well as the course of his negotiations with them, and his journeys there and back, not without amusement. The state of the Turkish Empire (pp. 70-79.) he relates according to the faithful instruction of a certain Alb. Bobowski, a Pole of reformed parents, who was taken prisoner in his youth, and brought up in the Mohammedan religion, but nevertheless always retained an inclination to Christianity, and was a very learned man, especially in languages.
- JÜRGEN ANDERSEN and VolQUARD IVERSEN (High) Orientalische Reiseschreibungen,

- published by OLEARius, Schleswig 1669. kl. foh of about 200 pages. They mostly go over the East Indies, and only briefly, on about 6 pages, touch upon a part of the journey, from there over Bagdad, Moful, Aleppo, Jerusalem and Skanderona to Malta. Eduward Melton's Sea and land journeys through Egypt etc. translated from the own notes and letters of Mr. Melton, Amst. 1681. and 1691, 4. with pl. The preface with the title assures that these journeys were made in the years 1660-167-., and the collected reports, above many other writings of this kind, were worthy of translation. In this I agree with the publisher, with regard to the time, and I think I have discovered clear traces elsewhere that this writer, without quoting his name, has mostly written out. The plates do not depict countries, places and antiquities, but almost exclusively events, for instance judicial executions, and therefore they can usually be dispensed with. The first part (of 119 pages) deals only with Egypt, and is also possibly not yet redundant with a Maillet, Pococe and Norden. The second part (from pages 121-226.) describes the West Indian journeys, and the third (from pages 227-357) the Turkish and Persian. Via Livomo he travelled to Smyrna, visited Ephesus, describes from experience the inns and journeys in the East, as well as his journey via Sardis, Philadelphia and Tokkat to Erzerum. Hylascht, everywhere, '6 remarkable, both about places and countries, as well as peoples and their customs. He was in the main monastery Driekerken. His journey went to Isfahan. This gave him the opportunity to report much about the Turkmen, the Armenians, the Gwebers and Persians. The fourth and last part relates his return journey from Isfahan to the Asian Turkey, and his five months' stay in Constantinople. The comments given about this city, the Seraglio, the Porte, the Turkish religion and the religious ceremonies are quite true, but what he heard from others is not so certain. He says nothing about the Turkish Empire in general and its form of government. The rest concerns Persia, the East Indies and the African coasts, and does not belong to my Plan. Franz. Ferd. von Troilo &c. (High.) Orientalische Reisheschreibungen êfV. Leipz. and Frankf. if-ip 8. large in p. The writer made this journey in the year 1666. etc. He traveled from Germany via Venice to the Gulf of Venice to Candida, p. 1-30; from there to Cyprus, which he describes according to its fruitfulness, cities and inhabitants, to p. 53. ' On his further journey he treats of Tripoli in Syria, Mount Lebanon, of Balbek, Barut, Sidon, Sarepta, Cana, and therewith of the fountain of living water, of Fyrus, Ptolemais, Mount Carmel, of Cefarea and Jaffa to p. 101. At this city he notes that every traveler, for his person, must pay 24 piastres poll tax upon his arrival there. Now this sum has been reduced to 11, at least for the poor. As for the Holy Land, of its fertility in general, even at the time of the writer, (*)
- (*) Since still in our days, the mockers of religion dispute the credibility of the O. T. also for the reason that in the Holy Land such a multitude of people as is stated therein, cannot live, and therefore the well-known Mr. du Luc, te Gerieve, writer of the Observations for the Savans incredules, desired sufficient testimony; so I have procured him such a, in the year 1-69 from the Chevallier de Montagu, who there can almost be regarded as a native of those countries and therefore no mocker; with religion will be, nor can be suspected. Of course this was made known openly from the first in a writing, or somewhere else, and no one will -with gTondj anything, amnen fabw _ notes that Chevalier has drawn up, signed with his own hand, and ratified with his Family fignette, but in which he has indicated in detail and assured that, in proportion to the cultivated lands and their yieldability to the uncultivated, the H. Land would certainly have contained and could feed the specified, large number of inhabitants.
- Of Jaffa, Rama, Lidda and other places and churches up to Jerusalem he speaks until page 120. He gives reports of his reception there in the Monastery of the Holy Redeemer, of old Jerusalem and its builders; of the owners of the Holy Land and that old city up to the time of Christ; of the new city of Jerusalem, as well as its and the country's possessors and inhabitants in the first centuries after Christ's death, and on this occasion also of the Maronites, the Eastern Greeks, their laws and errors; the Eastern Armenians and their errors; the Nestorians, Syrians or Jacobites, Georgians, Abyssinians, and their errors; where also the old fable of the Priest John, as an Emperor of Abyssinia and the East Indies, occurs; and of the Iciscan monks, to page 194. - Certainly what is related here is far from sufficient to know those religious parties, and the saying is, often, also unfounded. the report, concerning the possessors and inhabitants of the Holy Land from the 6th to the 12th century, he follows up to page 2ii. - Dealing with the Church and Monastery of St. Salvador to page 214, he also mentions the various curiosities in Jerusalem, namely what is said there concerning the house of Hannah, the old and so-called Temple of Solomon, the house of Herod, the Palace of Pilate, the road to Calvane, at the same time citing all the fables concerning them. From page 256, etc. he gives a description of the Church of the Resurrection, its furnishings, and other truly or

36695 falsely impersonated holy and remarkable places, chapels, hills, stones, caves, springs, valleys, graves, especially the Holy Sepulchre. On this occasion he gives a full account of the deception concerning the so-called Holy Fire, and wishes to prove from many examples of the pious and the impious, that one cannot enter the Holy Sepulchre without a holy fear, which makes a strong impression on the mind; he also relates the manner and method of the Orders of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Procession, which the Supreme of the Monastery of St. Salvador, belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, with his fellow believers, and all who wish, makes openly from Bethphage to Jerusalem, on Palm Sunday, on an ass, and during that journey causes the History from Matthew to be read aloud in certain places. The Author adds, on all occasions, the actual history of all the places from the Bible, as well as the History thereof from the Middle Ages and later times, besides the modern traditions, or rather fables. In the treatise, page 380, etc. touching the road to Bethlehem, of Bethlehem itself and the surrounding places, as well as of Hebron, the road to the Jordan, this river and the superstitious solemnities occurring there, of the city of Jericho and the Dead Sea, there appear, in detail, the traditional feelings of the supposed Holy houses, springs, caves, deserts, mountains and chapels. On page 454, etc. he mentions how he traveled from Jerusalem to Cairo, and from there to Mount Sinai and the Red Sea. He completed the journey by land in sixteen days, and gives a general description of Egypt. Of Cairo he says that one needs four good hours from one end of the city to the other, but nine to go round it. He reckons in it and in the foremen 24 thousand streets and three hundred thousand houses. Among these must certainly have been counted the very smallest streets, otherwise each street, counted together, would have had only 12 or 13 houses. According to page 491, etc. he speaks of the Nyl, the rice, the flax and the sinker, as well as of Heliopolis. – P. 512, etc. the journey to Sinai, the description of the mountain and the Monastery there, of the city of Suez and the Red Sea occur, besides the viewing of the Pyramids, the Sphinx and the Manden. Then he travelled, page 527. via Jerusalem to Damascus, where he speaks of Silo, Shechem, the field of Esdraelom, Nazareth, Tabor, the Galilean Sea, Tiberias, Capemaum and Damascus itself, and at the same time mentions the many, dangerous and costly troubles of the Arabs and Turks, because in some places they exact an arbitrary toll for each person of up to 6, 10 and more Piastrs. From Damascus he travelled to Aleppo, page 602. etc. which he briefly describes, as well as the further journey to Antioch and Alexandria, as well as the unpleasant conditions of travel to Constantinople. Of this he leaves a short description, page 662. etc. When he puts the number of Christian churches in that city at 447; then this, being the reason of the actual churches, is undoubtedly too great, although there were more then than at present. According to page 673 he speaks of Mohammed's progress; the pilgrimage to Mecca; the Mohammedans in general, and the Arabs and Turks in particular. The latter he considers with the Turkmen as one people. Of the Turks' ecclesiastical government, religion and ceremonies he treats imperfectly. Although even that which he further reports of their and all Eastern customs is not sufficient; one sees, however, that they have made no change at all in this respect up to the present. The adventures of his journey from Constantinople to Alexandria by land he gives page 728. etc. as well as page 750. etc. that of his journey to Tripoli in Syria, Ioppe, Jerusalem, Damiate, Cairo, Rosetta to Alexandria. Finally he reports his return journey to Europe, and various things concerning Algiers, where, on this return journey, he ended up in prison. The style in this book is by no means attractive. Many Italian words have been left unseen, and therefore unintelligible to many; for example Turcolmen, (Translator) Caffarierer, (a Tax collector on the roads in the Holy Land) Vaschallen, (Schepen) Avangardi, Retrogardi etc. One finds many remarks and events everywhere, although the fortunes of the places, especially in whose hands they were, are very well recorded. His assertion is, by far, generally not true, that in all of Turkey, in all cities and villages, the Turks had burial places outside them and without walls and fences. Otherwise the work generally has the stamp of truth. Since the writer probably made his journey for pleasure; so his intention seems to have been only to provide a description of what he saw and heard, and in this respect he must also be judged. Whoever is therefore open to criticism; he will be better satisfied here, than he who desires precise descriptions of things. J T Struis travels, noting the wreck etc. with pi Amst. The writer was finally a sailmaker on a Dutch East Indies ship, and from 1647-1673 on land and water on voyages. His reports consist more in the rare cases that came to him, than in actual descriptions of countries, places and peoples. These are not reported only on occasion, and do not seem to correspond with the truth everywhere. So little is said about Turkey, that this work could very well do without in a Turkish Library. Steph. Gerlachs (High) Tagebuch einer Reifean die Ottomannische Pforte &c. Frankf. a

- 36760 M. 1674. Fol. large 552 pages. It is written in the manner of a diary, and a collection of all kinds of true and untrue things that the writer has seen and heard. The style is not at all pleasant. Many untrue things he has either written down himself, or have been inserted by the publisher, S. Gerlach. Many very strange histories, for example. what has happened in the meantime in the other parts of Europe, and strange stories with remarks are mixed with it. It is perhaps pleasant to
- 36765 many a one to find here a part of the negotiations, between the Tubingen and other theologians of our (Lutheran) Church with the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Greek Church, to give them an idea of ours. One reads more than once, one and the same thing repeated. The circumstances then oppressive for Hungary and the House of Austria are very clearly depicted; as well as the astonishing perfidy of the Turks, and their unbearable pride concerning the Christians, yes all European Powers. One
- 36770 also finds in it various letters from German and Turkish Emperors, from some Kings, Envoys and Baifas. One can do without it completely, to know the Turkish Empire; unless one wanted to look specifically at the times in which he lived.
- 36775 Q. F. von der Groeben (Hoogd.) Orientalische Reisebeschreibung. Marienwerder, 1694 it! 4:0. large 399 pages. He made this journey in the year 1675, and passed through Malta, Kandy, Rhodes, Cyprus, Jaffa and Jerusalem. From here he made several journeys to Emahus, Bethany, Jericho, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan, as well as to Bethlehem, and show the curiosities in and outside Jerusalem itself. Then he took his way through Galilee to Ptolemais. Here he embarked, landed at Tripoli, travelled to
- 36780 Lebanon, came to Damascus, and departed with a caravan via Ashdod and Ascalon to Cairo. He climbed, like all travellers, the great Pyramid, found the length of each of its four sides, below, 324 paces, and climbed by 250 steps, of which each was five feet, (*) and these each were reckoned to 9 inches, to the top, which exists in a plain, where about 50 persons can stand side by side. He also made a journey to Mount Sinai, returning then via Cairo, Damiata, Rosetta and Alexandria to Europe. The
- 36785 author seems to have travelled with great zeal for religion. He is extensive, where one does not
- 36790 (*) In this respect he differs from other travellers, who testify that, according to the height, the thickness of the steps decreases, and they become thinner.
- 36795 desired, as with the insertion of whole extensive and unsacred histories, and very short, where one nevertheless wanted to read more; so that, with a reasonable thickness of the book, curiosity is nevertheless not very satisfied. But in his apology one can say, that he refers, in remarkable things, to Be. Ion, Breidenbach, Radzivil, Rauchwolf and others, and points to them, to read them further. There are many, but fairly coarse wooden plates of countries, churches, etc. added to this work. A not very well known, and yet in many respects strange book is the following: L'état present de la Turquie, ou il est traité des vies, moeurs & coutumes des
- 36800 Ottomans & other peoples of their Empire &c. by Michel Febure in Paris 1675. 8. large 450 pages. Although the author's style is not exactly enticing, one is nevertheless kept going because of the content, and especially many examples. In the dedication to the King of France, he is very flatteringly presented as the future Conqueror of Turkey, which the peoples there, according to the author, desired, and which their pretended Prophets confirmed. But here either an untruth is told, or the matter must have changed a lot since then. The first part treats of the infidel nations, and the first main part of the Turks. Here in 16 divisions the following subjects are found: their policy, and that it will still cause the downfall of their empire; their
- 36805 religion, superstition, festivals and fasts; their mosques, dervishes, pilgrims, marriages and domestic circumstances of women; their conduct at deaths; their disposition, manners and inclinations; cruelties; their maintenance of justice and the abuses therein; their ignorance and many customs. The 17th division considers their peculiar customs, opposed to ours: for instance, they wash themselves after eating; cut the hair of their head, and let the beard grow; wear clothes of very many
- 36815 bright colours; write from the right to the left hand; never uncover their heads, to salute and show respect; let those who visit them come and go alone; keep the place in a corner for the most important; cover the floors and not the walls; sit on carpets, and sleep on them; destroy the frontiers and boundary-places; have seldom windows into the streets; tolerate and honour the magicians; change the offices of
- 36820 honour almost annually; have their grand meal in the evening; let no one enter their houses lightly; request, besides the Mohammedans, also the Christians and Jews, to pray for them openly and secretly; are cruel to the vanquished, humble and friendly in defeat, and hasty in winning, &c. With us the opposite occurs. The three following Sections represent the power and weakness of the Turks, as well as their opinion of
- 36825 the Christian princes; as he then in two other councils partly to bring and keep

Turkey under France, partly to make the Turks Christians, and finally all Christians in Turkey Roman Catholics. To the first he reckons, besides a general peace of the Christian powers, a sudden attack on Constantinople with a fleet, and a war of the German Emperor as well as of the German Empire on land against the Turks, whereby he absolutely assures, that the various discontented nations in the Empire would not sit idle, the war of Spain against the Coasts of Barbary, not to stop at sea with other places, but to continue to seize the Dardanelles, because there the whole Empire was divided in the middle; - to treat the conquered peoples with gentleness, and to allow the Soldiers no plundering; but the neighbouring Christian powers had to come to an understanding, peacefully, because of the provinces situated near them. To the latter he proposes to change the Turkish Empire into one or two Christian empires, in which the Princes should be chosen from the House of Bourbon. The Levantines were to be left to the old customs under Christian governors, but the Christians were to be increased, and the Mohammedans were to be decreased; which would happen if the latter were placed in the circumstances in which the former are now among them. But in order to unite the Christians among themselves, the same advantages should be granted to all; all churches should be arranged for general use, and no special Roman, Greek, Armenian, etc. churches should be built; in the schools everything should be taught only in the Turkish and Arabic languages, and if they did not formally want to convert to the Roman Church, they should be charged with half of what the Turks had to give. The principal ports in Turkey, and the goods which are imported and exported, he describes in the 23rd section. At that time the English cloth was in use, but now the Dutch, and especially the French, are the most popular. As the Venetian were too dear to the Turks; so now the English, and almost also the Dutch, are; but the French, being cheap and of very bright and beautiful colours, were most in demand. In the last two parts he speaks of the manner of travelling, especially with caravans, and especially of the principal offices of government in the Turkish Empire. The second head treats of the Arabs; the third of the Kurds; the fourth of the Turkmen; the fifth of the Jesids; the sixth of the Druses; the seventh of the Jews. Here he remarks, that before they were admitted to the Mohammedan religion, they had first to confess that the Messiah was come, and to have learned the Gospel. Other writers go still further in this respect, even stating, that they had to be baptized. Both have either never been true, as at least the latter seems incredible; or it is now altogether out of use, although, according to the accepted Mohammedan doctrines, they must consider Christ, and subsequently the Koran, as a great Prophet. In the last six nations the author praises the special esteem and affection for Friry??. The second part, dealing with the Christian nations, begins with an introduction to the customs of all Eastern Christians, where, besides a fairly extensive account of their objections to the Roman Church, it is observed that the Bishops and Patriarchs, before they attained to their Dignities, had to put on the habit of a monk, but the Priests and Deacons were married. Hereupon he speaks of the marriage itself, the Holy fire at Jerusalem, and the deceptions concerning it; of the difference between their traps and those of the Romans; of their tributes, and that they were not allowed to keep Turkish servants. The added information, that the young women-Persons need to go to church, at the most only four times in one year, and that the Christians there did not differ in their attire, is untrue; unless such freedom were so limited to a few places. Hereupon he comes to a special, but for the most part only short and superficial treatise. In the first chapter, of the Greeks, he adds many things, concerning the disputes of the Romans with them. Of the Armenians, in the second chapter, he seems to speak much too harshly, out of a general hatred of the Romans against them. Of the Syrians Jacobites, he shows, in the third Head, how they are drawn to their Church by the Roman Missionaries. Of the Nestorians or Chaldeans, the Maronites, the Copts, and Abyssinians, he speaks in the following Heads. In the sixth he makes mention of the Shamfi, of whom it is believed that they worship the Sun. They were not numerous, and very secret in their doctrines; they had no Churches, but held only secret meetings until, by the compulsion of the Turks, they professed a Religion accepted in the Empire, and then, in a certain respect, joined the Jacobites. In conclusion he makes a long address to the Cahinists, as he calls them, asserting the agreement of all Eastern Christians with the Roman Church, but with which he apparently contradicts what he had previously related. Everywhere he shows that all Christian denominations in Turkey were also very inclined to accept the King of France as their sovereign, but which, with the exception of the Romans, is by no means the opinion of the others at present. It is thought that George Guillet, who was born in Auvergne around the year 1625, and was appointed first hororiographer of the?? Academy of Sculptor and Painter in Pau in 1682, is the author of the following work: Guilletiere Athene ancienne & moderne ??

The State Present of the Turkish Empire in Paris 1678. 8. Large 456 pages. In it one finds a multitude of insignificant, yet extensive histories of pirates and mischief, as well as disputes of the French Consuls on account of rank with others, and a long dispute of a Greek priest with the Europeans, that they had obtained their knowledge from the Greeks, and had deserted them, in their sad circumstances under the Turks. A journey from Athens to the army for Candie will form the description of the then state of the Turkish Empire, but is not at all sufficient. One side object of this work is, to discover the coasts, fresh water sources on them, and several courses in the sea for the use of navigation; but the principal object is certainly, partly to furnish a history of Athens from the ancient writers and in the state of his time; partly to give a picture of the antiquities, which were no longer there, and of the construction of the old theatres; partly by occasion to place the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, who read in Athens. This book can be entirely dispensed with.

George Wheler and Jacob Spon made, 1675 and 1676, a journey to the Levant. The first was an Englishman, and his work bears, in the French translation, the following title: George Wheler Voïage de Dalmatie, Grèce & du Levant, à Amst. 1689. 2 part. 8. with plate. together large 607. pag. In the first part the 1st book describes a journey from Venice to Constantinople, and in particular the coasts of Dalmatia, and the islands of the Venetians, Corfu, Zante, Zephalonia, etc. and those islands of the Archipelago, which the writer touched on his journey to Constantinople, such as Serigo, Lino, Delos, Mykonos, Lesbos or Mytilene, furthermore the Trojan shore, the Hellespont, Gallipoli, Lampfacos and Heraclea, with many both Latin and Greek inscriptions, and a decent list of herbs. The second book contains no bad description of Constantinople and the neighbouring places, but without plates of the Channel and Constantinople. Here one finds, besides several former inscriptions, also the representation of all the Pyramids, and a Botanical register, as well as the doctrines of the Greek Church, especially in the part of the Holy Communion. The third book relates the journey in Natolie to Brussa, Thiatyra, Magnesia, Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamus, Sardis, Laodicea, Philadelphia, Phoce, Melasso, and several small places, where not only many pictures of cities, antiquities and plants, but also many inscriptions and explanations of old coins occur. In the first book of the second part one finds the journey from Zante to Athens, and the description of many places in Greece, such as Patrasso, Lepanto, Salone, Delphos, Parmus, Thebes etc. with the pictures of many places and plants. The 2nd book provides the description of Athens and the surrounding places. Here the writer is quite extensive, and by many plates and inscriptions the matters are also clarified, and various observations concerning the Greek Church and language are added. The third book contains the journey from Athens to the surrounding regions of Greece, as well as to the Attic region, to Corinth, Megara and Negroponte, where many things, concerning the Greek monasteries, as well as great lists of plants, and the illustrations of many of them, not less the explanations of the ancient places mentioned in Classical writers occur. Of the Turks little is mentioned, and that only in passing. The plates of cities and islands are common, but the illustrations of antiquities more accurate. I do not answer for all the descriptions. At least that of Smyrna concerning the listing of the inhabitants, in particular the relation of the Europeans to the native Christians, as if the former outnumbered the latter, is absolutely untrue; although there may have been more of the former then than now. Otherwise this work is very readable.

The Italian, Dalmatic, Greek and Oriental Description of Reie by Jacob Spon, a Frenchman and travelling companion of the aforementioned, was translated from French into High German, and published in Nuremberg, 1690 in fol. 2 part. large 240 pages with plates. [in Dutch in Amsterdam, 1689 with pl. in 4. under the Title: Jac. Spon and Wheelers travel through Italy, Dalmatia, Greece and the Levant.] Here one finds the same places described, as Wheler has done, but he does not at all enter into the Botanical field, looking more at the antiquities. This book is, at least in the (High) translation, precisely not pleasant to read. The plates are common, but possibly better in the Original. By Negroponte one finds information, concerning the Ebb and Flood of the Euripus. At the back is placed a small dictionary of the modern Greek language, and with each part a great multitude of Latin and Greek inscriptions with a German translation are added.

Jean Chardin, a jeweler's son, was born in Paris in 1643, and was subsequently knighted by Charles II, King of England. He started traveling early and came from P for the first time in 1666. After a second journey he had his Journal du Voïage de Persie printed in a volume, ??, with beautiful plates, in London, whither he had fled for the freedom of religion. (In Dutch known under the title: Chardyns reize naar Persien en Oostindien, met ??. Amsterd. 1685 4to) the first part, after the introduction, something comes before the trade at Smyrna, and at the stay at

Constantinople a long story of the difficulties at that time, which the French encountered in the restoration of their Capitulation. Furthermore he gives an account of his journey from there over the Black Sea to Caffa, and further over the same to Mingrelien. In the description of this country is placed the report of a Theatian monk, Zampi, who had been there for 23 years, concerning the religion of the Mingrelien, to which the writer adds his remarks about the Principalities of Gurriel and Imirette; all of which inhabitants adhered to a very degenerate Greek religion, very ignorant and the ecclesiastical and secular Persons are so barbarous, that they leave their own to the Turks for a tribute, or sell them as slaves. He relates the difficulties and dangers of his journey in this wild Mingrelian; his plunderings suffered by the inhabitants; while the writer remarked, when he paid his visit to the Prince, to complain that he himself had been among the robbers; and the manner of undertaking war, or rather plunderings, among themselves, or of enduring it from the Turks. He inserts an account of the rebellions of the Princes of this country, as well as of his own incidents, which testify to the injustices of this country, and the Tyranny towards foreigners, with a short description of the Caucasus mountain. In the journey, the stay and the description of Georgia, and in particular; the capital Tiblis, he notes, that the Georgians with the Mingretians are one, although in the national Character somewhat better, and the women are famous for their beauty and cleverness, but besides faithless. The journey to Armenia he made over the Taurus mountains, where he gives a short description of Armenia, as well as necessary information about Erivan, Edschmia, ?? and Ararat. The rest with the second part deals only with Persia, and therefore does not belong to this field. This entire travel description has the stamp of truth, and one can learn from it, in particular, the Avanis concerning travelers.

The book, Relation nouvelle d'un Voïage de Constantinople à Paris 1681. with ?? plates, in 8vo, is, as the almost extravagantly flattering dedication to the King of France indicates, published by Greeot. After the preface are printed some testimonies of learned eyewitnesses concerning the authenticity of the plates, which are in fact quite accurate. The description of the Hellespont and the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the places around is filled with so many indifferent things, that one could write folios on all kinds of subjects on this basis. Constantinople is treated in detail, but very incompletely, but on the contrary very extensively of the Sophie-, Ackmets-, Solimans-, and Valide-mosques. Under the Title: Performance of the Christian Religion in the Sophie Church, the general appearance of the Greek Worship is described, such as the ecclesiastical Persons, Liturgy, Monasteries, as well as the Worship itself; but under that: the exercise of the Mohammedan Worship in the Sophie Mosque, the external observation of the entire Mohammedan Worship. Finally, the author gives some, but, except for the comments, little information of interest about the winds in Constantinople, the visits to the Mosques by the Mohammedans, the Divan and the Turkish justice, and the activities of the Turks. For the rest, this work remains very useful for getting to know Constantinople, although there is neither an image nor a drawing of this city among the plates. Meschis. Thevenot, a famous traveller of Europe, Royal Librarian, who died in 1692, has also earned himself a place among the Levantine and Oriental writers of the 17th century, although he did not see those countries himself, but only from the mouths of travellers and credible writers, especially Arvieux, collected the materials for his work. The title is: Voïages de Mr de Thevenot &c. en 5 tomes, 3 edit. U Amst. 172?. 8. with plates. (in Dutch 1 hevenots reizen, 3 parts with pi. Amst. 17 q 0 In the first 2 parts he treats extensively of Turkey. He pretends to have made the journey there in the years 1655 and 1656, presenting all the circumstances as if he had actually made them. One cannot dispute that he made good use of another's knowledge; but nevertheless one can see that he has been in those regions -eleven ' with. He gives, for example, for, of the ship on the Asian shores, opposite Tenedos, the ruins of Troja; he makes no mention of the outer castles of the Hellespont, on the JanitCaaren cape; asserts that the present-day Dardanelles stood where Sectos and Abydos once lay; says of Scutari, it was a village; and makes no distinction between the Divan and the Serail, and the Palace of the Grand Vizier. He reports to many places that he wishes to record credible reports concerning this or any place and circumstances, which had come into his hands.

Voïage au Levant &c. translated from the Dutch by Corneille le Bkvn,"u Delst 1700. fol., 408 pages in size, with many maps and plates. (In 't Nederduitsch, C. de Bruin travels through Muscovia, Persia and India, with pl. Amst. 1714. fol. and through Asia, with lp/. Delst 1698. fol.) In the preface the author reports that he had prepared for his travels by means of the works of della Valle, Thevenot and Grelot, indeed had them at hand, and had mainly devoted himself to accurately recording the

drawings (for he was a painter) on the spot. His travels fall in the years 1678 to
37025 1684. The first five chapters contain short reports of his European travels, and the
next two of Smyrna and Ephesians; the eighth of his journey to Constantinople, and
the three following of that city itself, its suburbs, the Bosphorus Thracians, the
Sea of Marmora, (Propontis,) the places adjacent thereto, and the external appearance
37030 of Constantinople. From thence to the 29th Chapter the following treatises are
placed: special observations on the religion of the Turks and Greeks; by the first-
mentioned prayers and feasts prescribed in the law, besides the forbidden things,
such as images, various kinds of meat, wine, and interests; the esteem of the Turks
for the various Orders of their clergy; their feelings about Jesus Christ, the Virgin
Mary, and the Prophets; their marriages and divorces; their mourning and sorrow over
37035 the dead; as well as their thoughts concerning the last judgment and the
resurrection; their, and also the Jews', both men's and women's clothing; food and
drink; gay advice; punishments; virtues and vices, besides their conduct towards the
female sex; learning; the hunting, travelling, table, and other circumstances of the
Sultan who was living at the time of the author; about his military force, etc. which
37040 is concluded with the description of an entry of a Grand Vizier who had returned
victorious from the war, as well as some observations on the character of the Greeks
and Greek women, besides that of the Jews, especially with regard to their early
marriage. I cannot say that I have found anything extraordinary here, and the author
himself says: he borrowed all that from Grelot. In the 3rd Chapter. he describes his
37045 return journey to Smyrna, and in the following his stay there. From the 32nd onwards
his journeys through the Archipelago to Egypt, especially to Damiate, Cairo, the
Pyramids, the Mumien field, to Rosetta and Alexandria; all of which he describes, as
well as other curiosities of Egypt, for instance, the inhabitants, the Nile, etc.,
mostly in Thevenots and other words. chapter 45 follows the journey to the Holy Land,
37050 Jaffa, Rama, Jerusalem, Bethany, Bethlehem, Tripoli in Syria, Mount Lebanon, to
Ptolemais, Nazareth, Tyre, Sayde, Aleppo, Scanderona, Cyprus, Sattalia, etc. via
Smyrna back to Europe. — A large part of the descriptions occurring here is, so to
speak, taken verbatim from the aforementioned writers, whereby one can believe him,
as often as he gives them his permission, and in what he himself declares to have
37055 seen, because, what I know with certainty, has been described by him accurately: but
with time one thing and another has changed. The views and plates are correct; but
possibly they are even more accurate in the Dutch edition; and therein lies, in my
opinion, the greatest priority of this work.

J. Dappers Beschreibung von Asien, translated from the Dutch, Nurnb. 1681. fol. with
37060 many plates. (In Dutch, J. Dapper beschryving van Asia, of het Rijk van den grote
Mogol Atnjl. 1672.) In it Mesopotamia, tfatyfo. me, Assyriën, Anatolia and Rafoe are
described. Concerning the Mohammedan religion an extensive appendix is added.
Everything is a collection from other writers.

Critique de la Cróance & des Coütfumes des nations du Levant publiée par le Sr. de
37065 Mont, a Francf. 1684 large 229 pp. (Low German: du Mont reizen naar de Levant, 2
parts with pl. Utrecht 1695. 4.) The author declares in the preface that this is a
writing by an unknown person, and was of great service to him during his travels in
the Levant; that only the appendix comes from him. The work will actually serve to
settle the disputes then taking place between the Reformed and Roman Catholics in
37070 France concerning the Doctrine of the Holy Communion, and indeed to unite them among
themselves, because it is shown that the Eastern Churches agree in most of the pieces
with the Roman Church. One must almost in every respect do justice to the author,
whoever he may be, for the historical truth. He often refutes the Roman writers, who,
in a deceptive way, attribute to the Eastern Christians sentiments which they do not
37075 have, or pretend to have more agreement with the Roman Church than there really is.
The previously mentioned main object of this work would almost lead to the idea that
it has been compiled with good advantage from other reports. It has indeed nothing
special; but can nevertheless be read with great profit. — This is the content of the
sections.

I. Of the Doctrine and Customs of the Contemporary Greeks.
37080 II. Of the Tranfubstantiation. Whether it was also permitted to those Greeks who are
called Schismatics, that is, such as did not wish to unite with the Roman Church?
III. Of the adoration of the Sacrament in the Holy Supper, and whether it is
customary among the Greeks?

37085 IV. Of the creed of the Meschites.
V. and VI. Of the religious positions and customs of the Georgians and Iberians, as
well as of the inhabitants of Coschis and Mingrelia.
VII. Of the religious sentiments and customs of the Nestorians.
VIII. Of the St. Thomas Christians in the East Indies.

- 37090 IX. Of the ceremonies and customs of the Jacobites.
X. and XI. Of the sentiments and customs of the Copts and Abyssinians.
XII. Of the Armenians.
XIII and XIV. of the Maronites.
XV. Of the doctrines and sentiments of the Mohammedans.
- 37095 The appendix consists of
1) two registers of the Churches, which depend on the Patriarchate of Constantinople, of which the first is taken from Leo Allatius de confenfu ecdef. Occid.tf Orient, the second from the slatus prcef. ecdef. Greece;
2) three testimonies for and against the Transubstantiation; finally
37100 3) Usca's register of the Armenian Churches] which depend on the Patriarch at Edschmiazin.
- Voïages du Sr. du Mont and Frame, en Italië, en Allemagne, a Malthe & en Turquie. 4 part in kl. 8" with pi. a la Haye, 1699. (Low German: du Mont reizen door Europa en Asta naar H Oojlen, met pl. Utrecht 1699. 4C0 This work consists of letters. In the
37105 second part, with the 3rd Mef, the stories concerning Turkey begin. This and the following describe, in the usual way, Constantinople, so that I have often thought that the words were borrowed from other writers, and especially Grelot. He confesses his ignorance concerning the reason why that city and other Turkish cities had such narrow streets, since there was no lack of space. But, besides the first design of
37110 old cities, which almost always have narrow streets, there is another natural reason, namely this: to keep the great heat out of the streets, and thereby the traffic in the cities during the day easy Biaks. Wherefore often the outer narrow streets with coarse linen, or with light and movable wooden awnings, at least during the time of the greatest heat, are covered. In the 5th letter, a triumphant entry of the Sultan into Constantinople occurs, in detail, together with the history of a tried Vannel. To this is added a historical appendix, under the title: Constantinople thrice besieged. The 6th letter treats of the islands of Metelino and Scio; the 7th of Delos, Nicaria, Kalami, Lango, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the Knights of St. John; the 8th of Axandriax, the customs, religion and chronology of the ancient Egyptians, the
37120 various revolts in Egypt, the Column of Pompey, the earlier and later Arabs, besides their customs and religion; the 9*8 of the Pyramids, the Sphinx, the Mumien and their preparation, as well as a history of Cairo, and the description of that city, of the Castle and the magnificent spring therein, of the soil and its produce, and of the Crocodile. This is concluded with a treatise on the origin of the Nile and the cause
37125 of its growth, as with the last letter of this volume partly on Smyrna, the earthquake, the Turkish ships and slaves. The third part treats almost exclusively of the Mohammedan religion, and is everywhere secured with translated passages from the Koran. The author makes, in all honesty, general remarks on it; letter x. relates hereto, letter 2. their doctrines and fundamental teachings concerning God, the
37130 angels and men, predestination, ascension and the last judgment, Paradise, Hell and the middle state between the two; treats of the Koran, Mohammed and his mission, and the sentiments of the Turks concerning the Christians and all erring ones, in letter 3.1. From Ricaut he propagates, page 69. the error that Mohammed's so-called Testament was given to the monks on Mount Carmel; and from its contents he infers, page 70. the result is that those writers are very wrong who say that it is lawful
37135 for the Turks to kill Christians or to oppress them. Here is an extract from the Biblical history according to the sense of the Mohammedans are in their rightful place, (letter how namely their, and especially the Koran follow, raving the creation of the world, the flood and some Prophets after Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses and the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, the journey of Moses, Job, Alexander the Great, (as who according to their dreams also belongs to the Prophets,) the 7
37140 Sleepers, David and Salonion, Zacharias and John the Baptist, Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mother, and finally Mohammed himself. This piece is worth reading, to see at a glance the deformed perversions of the Holy Scripture and the fixed reckoning of time that occur in the Koran. - Then, further, in the 5th letter, the duties towards God are enumerated, and in addition to that circumcision, washing, fasting, the
37145 pilgrimage to Mecca, prayer, abstinence from wine and forbidden foods. These are followed, letter 6. by the social, as well religious, as civil duties, as works of charity concerning people and animals, and marriage. Here he accuses Thevenot of a mistake, who wrote: "the Turks do not believe that women came to Paradise; scarcely did they consider them to be reasonable creatures, and they regarded them as nothing else than horses in their "services;" which is in every way crude and too harshly expressed. He does not forget the legal proceedings, the punishments, the lawsuits concerning marriage and divorce. On this occasion he quotes from the chapter of the
37150 Koran, bearing the Title, the Cow, the following passage: "He who has put away his

wife three times, cannot take her again, "until she has married someone" who has put her away likewise. Then "they can come together again, and without sin marry again, when they think that they can live according to God's commandments, which he has revealed to the wise and prudent. "This letter ends with adultery, testaments, sleeping with slaves, murder and manslaughter, false oaths and ecclesiastical orders. Concerning the superstition of the Turks he brings many things worth reading, especially in comparison with the superstition of other peoples; he dwells most extensively on the evil glances of the eyes, letter 8. The effeminacy and inactivity of the Turks; their attachment to old customs; their greedy nature and ignorance; way of life, skill on horseback, manner of dress, inclination towards the female sex; various marriages; slaves; irregular love of women and their weeding; public baths, pastimes, music, dancing, ceremonies, etc. close the last letter. Of the fourth part the first letters still belong to Turkey. The author begins with the Greeks: a brief account of their history, their present slavery, clothing, dances, feelings of the East concerning the virgin state, greetings, religious feelings: of their Bishops and Priests, especially of Cyril Lucaris, their Churches and images: of the Armenians and their fasts: of the Greeks' thoughts concerning unperished corpses, and their ceremonies at burials: of the Jews in the Levant (letter 1) To the report that the Greeks accept the Transubstantiation, he adds, under the assurance that he was an eyewitness to it, the following: "that the Greeks, on Good Friday, came in Pro"ceffie to the Parish Church of the French, to worship the Sacrament exhibited there, and even 500 Piastres" paid, to have the freedom to do so. "So true it is, that they did not wish to be separated from the Roman Church. "Concerning the Jews, he says, as his opinion, with Ricaut's words, in the Life of Murad IV. "Secretly cursed, but in general they are loved. Everywhere they are slaves; meanwhile they are sought. They seem to possess nothing; yet they live in abundance. They are vagabonds; but wherever they dwell, they find a fatherland. They may possess no lands; yet they accumulate immeasurable treasures. Their number increases daily, for they all marry, and war does not destroy them. They are the Confidants of the Turks, and the sworn enemies of the Christians. In a word, at Constantinople avarice is the open whore, before whom every one makes his appearance, and where the Jews are the negotiators of such traffic. "Of the beauties, or, as we say, the Pagans, the Tschakals, the extraordinary strength of some Turks, their burials, the Plague, the Opium, the peculiar land and sea products of Nato; of the intermediate kingdoms and the pride of the Sultans. In this he greatly deceives himself, nay, speaks again himself, when he considers the Plague as a necessary Evil, to relieve the large population in Turkey, which was so much promoted by Polygamy; for this could, with so many uncultivated lands, support five times more people than are actually there. He remarks, very emphatically, the great pride with which the Sultans regard other Princes. (letter 2) Of the Coffee, its condition and preparation he speaks at length in the 3rd letter; but thereby falls into a great error. Namely he wants to describe the many kinds of dearness of it in the Levant, mentioning that it is better bought in Marseille than there, and that therefore they have it brought from there to Turkey; but forgets the great difference that exists between the Arabian and American coffee, so that the former would not be available for the same price in Turkey and France, but that the American, as of a lower price, is often brought to the Levant, and not only mixed with the Arabian, but also, if it is good, in a deceptive manner, out-spirited for the latter, and sold dearly. In the three following letters, which still belong to them, he relates various incidents at Smyrna, the history of the reign of Muhammad IV, and some of the affairs of the time in the peace negotiations with the German Emperor. All these letters were written, mostly in the years 1690 and 1691, as one imagines, at Constantinople, Alexandria, Smyrna, etc. At first I thought that it was a collection, because too many books are cited, which a traveller can hardly carry with him; but because of the various particular reports, which a foreigner can hardly give so well, I have changed my mind, and think that the writer, perhaps, after his return, may have composed those letters first, or at least revised them anew. He has quoted Belon, Croix, Gill, Grelot, Monconys, Ricaut, Spon, Tavernier, Thevenot, Thevet, Wheler and others, now with approval, then again with disapproval and even refutation of their reports, added many comments to them, and interwoven all kinds of treatises from the history of other peoples, so that this work belongs to the good books of this kind; but the plates do not say much. Ricaut Etdt prefent de Empire Ottoman &c. traduit de l'Anglois par Bespier, T. I & II. h Rouen, 1677 8. with pl. (Low German: Ricaut story and state of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire, next to the Life of the last four Turkish Emperors and, with pl. Amsterdam 1670 4) The text with the publisher's notes amounts to 720 pages. He has put the names of 90 writers, such as historians, poets, etc., from which he wants to

have such observations taken, although it is difficult to understand how they will all contribute to this. — In the first book the following subjects gradually appear. The last chapter serves as a general introduction: the government of the Turks differs from most other forms of government in the entire world, also requiring special principles and rules for its maintenance. Therefore (chapter 2) the absolute rule of the Emperor is the most important support of the Empire, and (Chapter 3) the obedience which was shown to the Sultan, was among the Turks more a principle of Religion than of State. In the 4th Chapter, he places a detailed account of the remarkable conspiracy of the Sultana Kiosem against her Nephew, the Sultan Mohammed. The 5th gives a description of how the youth were educated in the Seraglio. From these are taken sons who reach the most important offices of State; and it is a fundamental principle of Turkish Policy, that the Sultan has no other persons in his service, than such as he can raise without envy, and take from power without danger. Five Chambers, like so many chambers, are appointed for the youth. The first two differed according to the number of the intellects, and were therefore divided into large and cringe, although otherwise they stood equal in Dignity. From thence they passed to the third, which was called Kilar-Oda (Spice-perfume-etc. chamber), then to the fourth, Haf na-O de (Treasury chamber), and from thence to the highest, Has-Oda or special chamber, that is, that to which the Sultan's Nobles belong. Hereupon he relates in the next Head, the manner of instruction, according to which the young men in the Seraglio were instructed in the arts and sciences appointed for them, speaking, by way of an appendage, of the unseemly inclination and friendship, which, notwithstanding all strictness and regard, they nevertheless had for each other. In the 8th Head, he speaks of the Dumb and Dwarfs* of whom the Seraglio now holds less, than then; chapter 9. of the black and white Sentences, and the women in the Seraglio, and chapter 10. of the Adschamoglans. The following Heads treat, that which has not so much with the Seraglio, as with the Empire proper, go in common. The 11th Head, begins with the Great Vizier and his exalted post. The places of the Vizier, of the Bank mentioned therein have been destroyed since that time. Speaking of the horsetails, he reports, that only dnchajfas, to be known of Babylon, Great Cairo and Or and, (which then also belonged to the Turks) had the liberty to conduct three such, but that the others might have only one. This is untrue, contradicting even that none, what he himself says, page 160., that 2j8 and more Beglerbegs or Bassas of the first rank had three. The Divans-days' customary at his time (page 14r.) have been changed afterwards. In the 12th chapter he gives an account of the highest State offices and the various Stadtholderships of the Empire, concerning which, according to the present situation, one is further informed in Businello; chapter 13 of the Tartars, their Clan, and how they depend on the Turks; and chapter 14 of the Princes, who pay tribute to the Sultan, to wit, of Moldavia, Wallachia, Sevenbergen and Ragusa. Hereupon he gives the reason for the stability of the Turkish Empire. To this he adds, Chapter 15, the devastation which the Turks wrought in the Asian and other Provinces remote from the Capital; the custom (Chapter 16) of not allowing any important office and Governorship to pass from the Father to the Son, and of exterminating the old important Families; the fundamental principle (Chapter 17) of frequently changing the State officials, of elevating them and of not depriving any of their power; and finally (Chapter 18) their intention to increase the number of their subjects in every possible way, especially by plundering and in war. The last four Chapters concern the foreign affairs at the Turkish Court, to wit, how the Turks regard and receive the foreign Ambassadors, but concerning which, for some time, changes have occurred; how they must conduct themselves towards them in their negotiations; how the Turks regard the other Princes, and how they keep the Treaties and Treaties which they conclude with them. The remarks which the second translator of the English original, Bespier, (for it was already an earlier, but imperfectly translated,) has added, refer especially to the spelling and explanation of the Turkish words, and other circumstances, and are important. But this can hardly be forgiven him, that, at the end of it, in the first part, against Ricaut, he greatly exalts the moral Character of the Turks, and this by justifying the unlawful Thevenot, that is nothing else, than to wax the Moor. It is improper, in a remote country, to assert such a thing against a writer, who by many years' experience could know the more precise concerning it. The 2nd book deals with Religion. The first head, contains a general introduction. The second deals with the promises, which Mohammed made at the beginning of his Kingdom, to tolerate other Denominations, and how badly they are fulfilled. On this occasion he places his so-called Testament; but commits two almost incomprehensible errors, by pretending, partly, that this is in the Monastery of Mount Carmel, near Mount Lebanon, and partly, that the latter is a day's journey from Mecca. What various devices the Turks employ to extend their

religion, forms the content of the third chapter The next two report what the work and power of the Muftis is, and how they conduct themselves with regard to religion, in which mention is also made of the Kadileskirs, Mollas, Kadis, etc.; what the income of the Muftis is, and from what they receive it. For this purpose a new Mufti also received a visit and presents from the Christian ambassadors; but this has long ceased. The sixth Head, gives an account of the Emirs, and the next of the revenues of the Imperial Mosques, as well as of the manner in which the Turks bring in the Tithes for the support of their Clergy. On page 347 it is asserted that the Sophie Mosque has, annually, about 100 thousand ducats. The eighth Head: considers the Doctrine of the Turks concerning predestination; the next their several Sects and sentiments concerning Religion in general. The three following Heads give an account of the two principal Señors, the Sonnites and the Schiites, with an annexed list of their errors, by a Mufti of Constantinople, and the earlier as well as later heresies. Of the Dervish or Mohammedan Monks in general, and of the various Monastic Orders in particular, the 13th to the 20th Head treats of them more fully than I have found elsewhere. While he mentions the various Sects, page 39*, he adds the remark, that every Hodschia or Teacher of the Mohammedan Religion, who possesses any more ability than a single Pedant, and has read some books of fables composed by Arab writers, would imagine that he is doing his Honour a disservice, if he did not distinguish himself from other Teachers by some particular sentiments, (but which must not run counter to their principal religious principles,) but in this respect they give imaginary insights into other Denominations, even Christian ones.

The sixth Head deals with the Marriages and Divorces of the Turks, with which the Priests have nothing to do, but only the Judges; the 22nd of the circumcision; the 23rd (12th of the five main articles of Mohammedanism, viz. washing, praying, fasting, distributing alms, and the pilgrimage to Mecca; the 24th of the Beiram and its ceremonies, especially in the Serail the following of the prohibition of eating pig's meat and drinking wine, the Last Head ends with the observation that the moral virtues of the Turks seldom have any other basis than to be seen and praised by men; of which he cites the building of the Chans, and the public eating of the leagues and other animals as examples.

The military state is described in the third book. "The first Head, paints it in general, representing him as already then very much deteriorated. He has since become even more aggravated. In the following Chapters he shows himself in particular pieces in, after the assurance previously given, how he may be dealt with in all things, since he had received these reports from a well-experienced Turkish military commissioner. He divides, (Chapter 2.) the Militia into horsemen and infantry, and the first again into two classes: 1) that which has its income from lands, and is called Zaims and Timariotes, which in the third Head, are calculated, as in the fourth certain customs pertaining thereto are added; on which in the fifth the of the Egyptian militia, commanded by the 12 Beghs, and the auxiliary troops of the Turks on the side of the Tartars, Moldavians, etc. is dealt with. 2) Which is paid from the Sultan's treasury. These are the Spahis. (Chapter 6) When the Great Lord himself takes the field; then he must make each of these, as well as each fanatic, a present of five thousand extortions. The writer observes that the first-mentioned, because of their mutinies, had lost all their old prestige; that their payment was from 12 to 100 extortions daily. — In the treatise on the infantry, the 7th Head begins with the Janiifars, describing their organization, strength, and disposition; the next relates the various means of humiliating this rebellious Militia; the 9th Head treats of the Tschaufen, and the 10th of the other types of Turkish militia, namely the Toppedschis, Dschebedschis, etc. In the next Head, one finds observations on the manner of camping of the Turks, the splendor of their tents, and the cleanliness of their quarters. — The unfounded feeling, concerning the so-called Paulliners living in Sophia, the Miss of Montagüe, probably, copied from him, and revived it in her letters. The last Head, represents the state of the Turkish navy, which in the writer's time already did not want to say much, so that the Turks themselves had this proverb: God had given the Christians the sea, but them the earth.

This writer has been an eyewitness of everything, and very credible. He deserves all possible praise. Almost everyone has copied him, even down to the few mass days; and, instead of so many collections published in Germany and other countries, he should have been given to the readers only with comments on the new changes. Memoires heloriques & geographiques du Roïaume de la Morée, Negropont & de places maritimes jusques a Theffalonique per P. M. Coronelli, translated from Italian into French, Amst. 1686 8o with many plates, size 232 pages. The author is the, because of so many writings, mainly of a mathematical and geographical content, well-known Geographist of the Republic of Venice. When it is said of these Memoires, that they were

37355 collected by him; then this actually means: he took the geographical and historical observations about the described countries from other authors. This also seems to be testified by the unnamed French translator in the preface, but in such a way, that it was done with great accuracy; which must be left at his place, because no guarantee has been given concerning it. *Descriptio imperii Turcici: das ijl: Beschreibung und Entwurfung des Turk. Reichs unter Muham. IV mit kupf. Wurzb. 1687 4to.* The Asian

37360 Turkey covers 154, the African 72, and the European 162 pages. According to the title, this description is drawn from the later and most credible *Cosmo-Geo-Choro-Topo- and Historiographi*, and therefore a collection. P. della Falie, Struis, Vansleb, Oleerius and some others are quoted verbatim. The plates are common. Since we have later and better Originals and collections; we consider it unnecessary to

37365 give an extensive account of the contents of this book, which is otherwise not badly written for its times. *Voïage en divers et dis d'Europe, entrepris pour decouvririr un nouveau chemin a la Chine, a Paris 1693 8.* Dejeffuit P. Avril is the author of it. (In Dutch German considers this work to be entitled: P. Avril travels through Turkey, Persia and Armenia, with pl. Utrecht 1694 4.) The journey went by water to

37370 Scanderone, and then by land through Astatic Turkey, Armenia and Tartary to Russia, Poland, European Turkey, and so back to France. To get to know Turkey, this work does not say much, but it can be of service to a traveller there, and not unpleasant to a reader.

37375 *Stato militare dello imperio Ottomanno, incremento e decremento del medefimo del Sgr. Conté di Marfigli éfc. Opera ornata di tavole, tagliate in ram. Part.I. inHaga, 1732.* Opposite is the French, but the Italian seems to be the original. The writer belongs neither to the travelogues, nor to the Collectors, but to the few original writers* who have seen, found and investigated everything themselves. Not only a stay at Constantinople with the Venetian Ambassador, which was like a preparation for the

37380 following remarkable life, but also a slavery of several years under the Turks, during which he was an eyewitness of the last siege of Vienna; finally a German-Imperial task assigned to him at the conclusion of the peace at Carlonitz, enabled him to write with certainty what he wrote. As a foundation he has laid the so-called Kanon-name; these are the State registers of the Empire's income, military

37385 conditions, etc. to which he came by money. Everything has been clarified by pure and clear plates. The first part contains 151 pages. The first seven chapters give, in a certain respect, a preliminary introduction to the work, concerning the condition of the Ottoman Empire; the difference between the earlier and later Turks; the progress and prosperity of the Ottoman Empire; the decline of this flourishing condition; a

37390 general proposal of the laws, finances and military state of the same; various languages and denominations therein, besides an investigation concerning the prestige of the Sultan, the Vizier and the Baf as well as a consideration of the character of the Turks. — I content myself with merely recording from it a few things which are either the author's own, or very well presented by him. This includes almost the

37395 entire 2nd Chapter, in which he clearly indicates that the present Turks, because of the multitude of either bought or robbed people, are a mixture of Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, Illyrians, Poles, Russians, Hungarians and Germans, Italians, French, Jews, etc. Regarding the astonishing extent of the Empire, which is in many places very wild, he remarks that, since everything must nevertheless be kept in obedience, the

37400 expenses amount to more, and more garrisons are required, than many large Provinces are worthy of; certainly an important lesson for Princes, not so much to look to the possession of many countries, but rather to their real good governance. In the Turkish Empire there were, in his time, forty-eight different Sects among the Mohammedans, and seventeen Dervish orders. He believed that the supposed Paullicians

37405 were to be found between Adrianople and Philippopolis. The Armenian Patriarch carried the Title of Catholicos, (general), and his Parish extended far into the States of the Prince of Persia. This proves him much esteem; let him sit beside him, perform his office, and enjoy his considerable incomes, which he draws from Persia and Turkey. He must also have his letters of confirmation from the Princes of both

37410 Empires. The outward splendor of the Sultans and the Bassas, besides the tyrant abuse which they often make of their power, and the almost incredible respect which the people seem to show them outwardly, but at the same time also the great regulations which are imposed by the Uilema and the military state, these provincial Divans, consisting of lawyers, generals, elders of the militia and guilds, leave the Count in

37415 doubt whether the Ottoman Empire should be called a monarchy or an aristocracy, or a democracy. The many baths weakened the people and made them effeminate; wherefore "they were also obliged to use the pelfen" and could endure heat rather than cold. To indulge their lust, they spared no expense, and even in the field, where they were not allowed to carry off any female sons, they knew how to keep themselves harmless.

37420 In smoking much tobacco, they never spat out the saliva, but let it pass; as a result, the hairs on their bodies fell out everywhere. In general, they, and especially the Most Eminent and Courtiers, were great hypocrites, in order to deceive the world. They did indeed make great foundations; but this was not so much done on account of piety, as for their descendants, in order to provide them, by the

37425 principal share of their income, with a large income, which the Sultan must not be allowed to indulge. The Turks, he seeks to acquit from the reproach of complete ignorance, while, as is also true, relates that no learned man was found who did not understand, besides Turkish, also Persian and Arabic; and he possessed a book list of 86 thousand writers of the last century. Although this defends this nation, to some

37430 extent, against the all too great uncivilization charged to it by others; nevertheless, the state of learning there may not in the least be compared with that in France, Germany, England, etc. The printing of books was also, in his time, in the Capital, prevented by a number of 90 thousand copyists, who earned their living by writing. He is of a different opinion, that not easily a State could be found, which

37435 had such good registers for its Traditions, receipts, publications, Ceremonial, services and regulations, as the Turkish. In general they were, and especially the Chiefs and Courtiers, great hypocrites, to deceive the world. They did indeed make great foundations; but this was not so much done for the sake of piety, as for their descendants, in order to provide them, by the principal share of their revenues, with

37440 a fixed income, which the Sultan may not abuse. The Turks, he seeks to acquit from the reproach of complete ignorance, while he relates, as is also true, that no learned man was found, who did not understand, besides Turkish, also Persian and Arabic; and he possessed a book list of eighty-six thousand writers of the last century. Although this defends this nation, in some way, against the too great

37445 uncivilization charged against it by others; however, the state of learning there may not in the least be compared with that in France, Germany, England, etc. The printing of books was also, in his time, in the Capital, prevented by a number of 90 thousand copyists, who earned their living by writing. He is of a different opinion, that not easily a State could be found, which had such good registers for its Tra&aaten,

37450 receipts, expenditure, the Ceremonial, the services and regulations, as the Turkish. He praises the patience of the Turks as such, one whose equal was not found at all among other nations. In the example cited he is completely right. When namely a modern Vizier is robbed of all his Dignity; then he tolerates that with a kind of absolute indifference; and if, as has happened here and there, he is again exalted to

37455 it; then he is as grand as if no accident had befallen him. But the old Stoics and fateful men could hardly give them anything in this. He rightly reproaches them with their dissimulation, the duplicity of their expressions, and their avarice; but do not forget to remark that one must not think of obtaining everything, especially from the Ministers of the Porte, by money. - I should have to write out an unusually large

37460 amount if I were to furnish such extracts from all the Chapters as from the first seven. Of the following, which almost mostly concern the Court and Military servants, I will only set down the Titles: of the kinds of money, but concerning which, since the Count's time, some change has occurred; the weight and measure at Constantinople; the trade of the Turks; the income and expenditure of the Ottoman Empire. From the

37465 beginning to the end of the first part, one finds the treatise on the Military State. Here are Tables, concerning the Army and the various military peoples belonging to it, on foot, on horseback and at sea; as well as concerning the Paschals and the Beghs, Sae'yms and Tymariotes belonging to them, their income and the soldiers they have to provide, added. The lists concerning the Paschals differ frequently from the

37470 statement of Businello, and may well have undergone various changes since Marsigli's time, as is visible in those who closed the Persian and Hungarian borders. - The second part (Parte II. SV) was printed in the same year and format, and is 199 pages large. with very many plates, well. can depict the war machine, army, marches, battle order, and battles of the Turks. It deals entirely with military affairs, and ends

37475 with the final remark, how little one has to fear the Turkish armies, with the current decline of the Ottoman military state, and with the answer to some objections against it. - This work cannot be missed by a soldier who has to fight with the Turks; one probably finds it at all courts, and is very useful for all who want to know the internal condition of the Turkish Empire, especially with regard to its true

37480 strength, accurately. It is a pity that most Turkish words in Italian as well as French have been very distorted in print, and here and there almost unrecognizable. H. Maundrel Travels from Aleppo to Verufalem. Utrecht (1713-14) The writer made them from Aleppo, where he was Chaplain of the English Pastory, in the year 1696. The journey once via Lattakia, Tortofa, Tripoli, Barut, Sidon, Trus, Ftolemais, Sebaste,

37485 or the former Samarie, Naplufa, (the old SrchemJ to Jerusalem. Here he attended the

Easter diplomacies. About the rarities and antiquities he does not expand himself in much, if not as others, but refers to Sandys. He made the usual journey with the pilgrims "aden fordaan", the region of Jicho, the Dead Sea, as well as to Bethlehem. The city of Jerusalem he went carefully around on foot and finds it in its circumference 46 30 his paces large. The return journey he took over Nazareth, Sidon, Mount Lebanon, Damascus, Bal. bek, Lebanon, and the Maromosque principal monastery of Kannobin, and over Emessen Aleppo. Because he came to Jerusalem with a French Consul, he could enter with him and the entire retinue on horseback and with arms, which is otherwise absolutely forbidden. This travel description not only bears the stamp of truth; but also contains many useful and genuine remarks concerning the antiquities, Geographic and the Bible, which &g to be read.

A. de la Mortraye Voïages: 2 vol. in fol. with maps and plates. For Turkey only the first part serves, a la Haye, 1727. In the 5. and 6. Heads, is the description of his journey to the Syrian and Egyptian coasts, in the year 1697. I have found there, except for the description of a bathing stove and the bathing itself, mostly only travel notes. After Napoli he travelled in the year 1698. From the ?? Head, to almost the end of the first part, he describes his almost ten years' stay in Turkey. He was in Smyrna for half a year, during which time he visited several islands of the Archipelago. He stayed in Constantinople for several years. Of that city itself, the Seraglio, the Turkish marriages, and various religious ceremonies, as well as the public buildings, he delivers quite extensive reports. He made a journey to Nicomedia, Brussa, Angora, Synope, some islands of the Archipelago, Salonike, Adrianople and Troja. The description of these places does not occupy many pages. There occur important and less important cases, which happened in his time in Turkey, both in State and religious affairs, not only at the Porte, but also by foreign ambassadors, among the Eastern and Western Christians. The magnificent entry of Sultan Mustapha into Constantinople he describes in chapter 13. and relates many things of Prince Tokeli and King Carl XII. Concerning coins and antiquities he reports various things, and also depicts them on plates; just as such plates are more suitable, to know the clothing, religious ceremonies, amusements, etc. there. In general this book will be pleasant and useful to the great mass of ordinary readers. This is certain, that very many collectors have borrowed an unusually large amount from him, whereby they have wanted to make their works attractive and engaging.

§. LIV. Some writers of the eighteenth century; content of their works, and assessed. At the beginning of this century, Joseph Pitton le Tournefort made a journey to the Levant, at the expense of the King of France. He was, as is known, one of the greatest herbalists of his time. His travel description consists of twenty-two letters written to the Secretary of State, Count de Pontehartraust, under the title: Relation du Voïage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roi de France fif c. par J.P. de Tournefort. Tom. I. & II. a Paris, 1717. 4. with very many plates: (in the Dutch P. de Tournefort travels to the Levant, with pl. Amst. 1736. 4. and in the High D. at Nuremberg, 1776. in 8th.) The first two letters describe the island of Kandia, and the third the present state of the Greek church, rather neutral. The following 7 letters mention his journey to the principal islands of the Archipelago. In the 11th and 2nd ?? one finds the description of the Dardanelles, Gallipoli and Constantinople. The 13th treats of the form of government, and the 14th of the religion, customs and habits of the Turks. In the 15th there is a description of the Channel and the Black Sea. The 16th and 17th contain the journey after, and the description of the southern coasts of the Black Sea from the Channel to Sinope, and from there to Trapezium. The journey through Armenia and Georgia is found in the letter. Here he relates in detail to how many unjust insults one is exposed, when one travels from Turkey to Persia. He also describes the Kurds, but is mistaken, when he considers them together with the Sesides as one people. The 19th letter gives the journey to Edschmiazin, Ararat, and the return journey to Erzerum, concerning which he agrees reasonably with Chardin. The 20th letter provides an appendix to the two preceding ones, by illustrating the customs, religion and trade of the Armenians. Here he seems somewhat bitter and partisan, although the matter is generally true, and in many respects very circumstantial. The 21st and 22nd letters conclude the journey of Tokkat and Angora, and of Smyrna and Ephesus. Smyrna has certainly changed much since its time, and the number of its inhabitants has become much greater. — This travelogue deserves, in general, all possible praise. It is correct and accurate; and the islands, cities, antiquities, modes of dress, plants, etc., are depicted on beautiful and clear plates. Everywhere the old Geography is compared with the present. A series of Antiquities is found in it, and probably a third part of this work is well devoted to botanical researches. These, as they are unintelligible and of no service to most

readers, had been omitted from this edition, placed in the *Systema Botanicum Tournefortianum*, and there a third part could be shortened by this travel description. Otherwise one reads the travel notes with pleasure, and the style is graceful. In his time the German Imperial, Polish and Ragusian Ambassadors were still housed in Constantinople. This no longer happens. The former have a regular Palace in Pera, and for others, upon their arrival, houses are rented there.

Travels through a part of Europe, Little Asia, several islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai etc. by I. A. van Egmond van der Nyenburg etc. and Joh. Heyman. II parts. Leyden, 1757. 1758. in 4. The latter, Professor of Oriental languages at Leyden, made his travels from 1700-1709; but the former, extraordinary Dutch Ambassador at Naples, in the years 1720-1723. Both travelled through almost the same regions, and from their papers J. W. Heiman, M. D. produced this travel description by way of letters. The first six letters, which deal with Europe, do not belong to my field. The 7th speaks briefly of some islands of the Archipelago. In the four following, Smyrna, Ephesus, Scala nova, Tiria, Sardis, with the surrounding countries, and added, numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions, such also occur elsewhere in abundance, are described. The 12th and 13th contain a journey by water and land from Smyrna to Constantinople, with the places visited on the way; like the two following, a description of the capital itself, an audience with the Sultan, the public ceremonies and rejoicings, as well as many customs and usages. Scio, Rhodes and Cyprus occupy the 16th-18th letter. The remaining letters up to the ??th treat of Palestine, and especially of Jaffa, Rama, Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Easter ceremonies, the Jordan, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem, and the curiosities there. However much information we have of all this; one will nevertheless, to one's amusement, be informed of many things unnoticed by others. — In the second part one reads, letter. 27-29. news, touching Mount Carmel, Nazareth, Mount Tabor, Cana, Tiberias, Bethsaida, Saphet, and the present condition of the Jews at the last place, where they had a printing-office and a high school. Then the journey to Egypt continued, (Letter 30-34.) via Damiate and Cairo, and from there back via Rosetta to Alexandria. On this occasion the cities as well as the curiosities there are described, and observations on the Coptic scripts and Pyramids are given. The 35-39 letters deal with the journey to Mount Sinai, to Suez, the Red Sea, and some reports concerning the Nyl, the Caravan to Mecca, the Mumien, the natural condition of Egypt, and the qualities of its inhabitants. The remaining 40-50 letters deal with Syria, especially Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, Balbek, Mount Lebanon, besides the Cedar Trees, the monastery of Kannobisn and the Maronites; about Tripoli, extensively about the Druses, Lattakia, Antioch, Aleppo and Alexandre, also about various Eastern Christians and the Carden??. — The publisher has, in the appended notes, pointed to other writers, where one is either instructed more extensively about the matters, or where also illustrations and plates, which one does not find in this work, are found. I can assure with complete conviction, that this is in every respect one of the best travel descriptions that we have; much more satisfactory, than most, give, and would have been worthy of a good extract. The Turkish words are also, here, sometimes incorrectly stated; but this does not detract from the excellence of this work. Maillet's description of Egypt is too well known for me to have to speak of it in detail, and it also belongs here only in a special respect, namely insofar as this Kingdom is one of the countries now under the Sultan. Here is the title: *description de l'Egypte &c.* composed on the memoirs of Maillet by Mr. l'Abbé le Mascrier, a la Playe, 1740 2 tom. 8. with maps and plates. (in Dutch: *Maillet beschryving van Egypten*, 2 parts with pl. Amst. 1737. 4.) Maillet was, from 1692 onwards, French General Consul in Egypt for 16 years, collecting the materials that Le Mascrier described in letters. Many would have preferred to read those materials as they were at first, rather than in the form of letters; but possibly they have become more attractive there. I will do no more here than set down the contents of the letters. The first part is 328 pages long. The first letter deals with Egypt in general, its extent, borders, pleasure, number of cities and inhabitants: the 2nd letter, with the Nile, its origin, course, mouths, causes and effects of its growth. The 3rd letter contains the division of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt, where also the so-called Delta and the coasts, the cities Damiate and Rosetto, the Sea Sirbon, and some other remarkable sights in this part of Egypt are dealt with. The 4th letter contains a description of old and new Alexandria, its monuments, and in particular the Pyramid of Pompey. The fifth letter is about the city of Cairo, its origin, its climate, antiquities, and especially Joseph's corn-magazines and springs. Then follows in the 6th letter a description of the famous Egyptian Pyramids, especially the largest, their interior, and the secret places in them. The second part is large 397 pages. The 7th letter treats of the places of the

- Mumien, and the famous city of Memphis: the 8th letter of Upper Egypt, its climate, cities, riches and antiquities, the deserts of St. Macarius and Thebes, the famous Monastery of St. Anthony, etc. the 9th letter of the natural history of Egypt, fruitfulness of the land, trees, plants, flowers, fruits and animals: the 10th letter of the religion and religious customs of both the former and later inhabitants of Egypt: the 11th letter, of their customs, together with a comparison of their former and later customs: the 12th letter, of the government over Egypt, and the various arrangements of the warriors formed for the defence of this kingdom: the letter, of the present state of the arts and trade in Egypt, with a proposal for the union of the European and Asian Trade, by means of the Red Sea. The last letter gives a description of the Caravans, especially of those that go annually from Cairo on pilgrimage to Mecca, with remarks on Mecca, Medina, the tomb of Mohammed, and the so-called house of Abraham. How much such an important description of Egypt is used by others, and how it justly deserves it, can be fully gathered from the single statement of the main parts.
- Damni Anselmi Banduri imperium orientale, sive antiquitates Constantinopolitanae in IV partei distributa, 2 Fol. U Tom. Parisiis 17???. The preface, large 54 Wa?? contains, besides some necessary preliminary remarks, 111 the last and largest half, a chronological register of the Emperors and Patriarchs of Constantinople, which began with Constantine the Great until the conquest of Constantinople. In the 1st and 2nd parts, 214 pages in size, the following parts are provided: the Emperor Constantine's Porphyrogenneta, two so-called books de thematibus Orientis & Occidentis, and Hieroclis Grammaticus Synecdemus, or work of the Provinces and cities of the Eastern Empire, etc. In the third part, 440 pages in size, various reports concerning the Antiquities of Constantinople are printed in eight books, namely in the Greek originals with a Latin translation. Added to this are Petri Gyelii de Bosphoro Thracne, Ub. 3. and his Topographia Constantinopoleos, sif de illius antiquitatibus, Ub. IV. The second part continues with the third part of the pages, and together makes up 1017 pages. It is decorated with approximately 50 pure plates in fol. and maps, which partly depict many coins, partly many things from Grelot about Constantinople, but in a larger format, partly in particular very detailed the so-called historical Pyramid, with what was on it. In it are eight books Commentaries of the author about the antiquities of Constantinople, etc. From this list one will easily notice with what advantage this work can be used, to know the earlier and later History of Constantinople, the Eastern Empire, and the Greek Church.
- Frodnuan (High) reports the working use of the Turks, Tartam, and the in foschen Landen unter ihnen walmenden Christen. Stralsund 1715. I do not know with certainty whether the author has given his true or merely a fictitious name. According to his pretense he had been in Turkey with Charles XII. and writes, according to his report, from a fresh memory. This work consists of 8 pages, in kl. 8vo, and seems to have been composed more for the common man than for other readers. It would not be worth the trouble to report the contents further.
- G. C. von den Driesch (High) historical Nachricht von der Römisch-Kaiserlichen Grossbotschaft nach Constantinopel Nurnb. 1723, large 494 pages in 4to. In it one finds, according to the indication on the title, very special reports of the Turkish politics, religion, Greek antiquities, and other remarkable, elsewhere in vain sought matters, in which many things are clarified with the most accurate plates. But it is a, filled with an unusually large amount, and for most readers indifferent matters, actually a Gezandschap-dagverhaal, in which, according to occasion and circumstances, this and that about Turkey is noted, outside all order and coherence, and not at all in an enticing style. There are indeed all kinds of things in it; times; those are found, by other writers, collected much more regularly and concisely. One will certainly find, here and there, some important remarks; but to obtain a sufficient knowledge of the Turkish Empire, it is not worth the trouble, to read it through. From him and others come the masses; for example, page 283 that at Mecca is Muhamed's grave; his pretended Testament (page 334) was granted to the monks of the Monastery on Mount Carmel by Mount Lebanon, and this lay only one hour from Mecca; on Mount Sinai (page 366) there were 22 monasteries, and there were no women to be found; since this of the Monastery mentioned only applies to the so-called Holy Mountain (Athos); the Mufti girded the Sultan (page 429) at the Ascension to the Throne, the Sabre around, etc. The plates serve little to elucidate Turkish. Paul Luke's travels have been published (in the High German) in some small parts. — mass to the Levant etc. transferred, Hamburg 1709. 8 is 165 pages large. Here is the journey from France to Egypt, and the journeys made there; and from there to Cyprus, Tripoli in Syria, to Lebanon, to Balhek, Damascus, Aleppo, the Euphrates, to Erzerum and Kars. — The plate touching the Nile, from Cairo to the Waterwalls seems to have been laid by Pocock as

a good foundation. For the most part they are more travel stories and short events, than actual descriptions. Pocock and Tournefort provide better information. – Journey to the Levant, Armenia, Persia, Turkey etc. Hamb. 8. 208 pages large. This is a single diary, in which he mainly reports on his travels, and what he has seen in passing; but where, rarely, descriptions of places, and much less of the various maps occur. Most places have also only been traveled through quickly, and so Chardin is a completely different man. The scornful treatment can be learned well from it, to which not only the inhabitants of the country, but also the travelers have been exposed. – Most recent journey in Asia Minor and Africa etc. by order of the King of France made by Paul Lukas etc. with an accurate map. (Hoogduits) Hamberg 15 8. large 370 pages. Here one reads the journey from France to Constantinople by water; from there via Chalcedon, Nicomedia, Nicea, Brussa, Kutaja, Angora, Cesarea, Kogni, Scutari, back to Constantinople, and thence after Adrianople, Philippopolis, Salonica, Monte Santo, Negroponte, Athens, the islands of Andros and Scio, Smyrna, Sardis, Kogni, Adama, Antioch, Aleppo, Sidon, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and the surrounding countries, St. Jean Sacre, Cyprus, Fiume and Arfinoë in Egypt, Alexandria, Tripoli in Barlnrye??, Cyrene and Tunis to Marseilles. – His stay at most places was too short to be able to do much. His aim was mainly to buy up old coins for the King of France, under the pretext of a medical journey. He inserts his travels in detail, as well as reports from others. The map seems to have been laid partly by Pocock as a foundation for his. It is a single diary; wherefore one must seek the materials in two or more of these travel pieces together. The credibility may not be easily doubted. – P. Lukas travel to Turkey, Syria, the Holy Land, as well as High and Low Egypt etc. Hamburg 1721 and 1722 2 parts 8vo. Here one finds the journey to the aforementioned countries, with many comments, and is more detailed than the previous one. The second part describes Egypt in particular, being added in the sixth book a general illustration of Egypt-land, concerning its layout, advantages, power, trade customs, and a map of Lower Egypt. – It is conceivable that the Original is more pleasant to read than the translation. In many pieces, very well known to me, and belonging suitably to the travel description, I have found this work very accurate. But the aforementioned writers relieve one from the trouble of reading it now. Except for a few remarks made in passing, one finds nothing important in it concerning Turkey and the Turks.

De la Roque voïage de Syria & du Mont Liban. part 8. a Paris, 1722. On the title is the entire content of this book, thus a description of the entire country known under the name of Lebanon, An??bon, Kes?? etc. besides the origin, religion, members of the peoples who inhabited that country; the description of the ruins now called ??m, and a ??action on this city; with a short biography of a Pro??maaden Noblemen and Hermit on the mountain L??, ?? Prince Juxes, who died for the Christian religion. "If one wanted what ?? then such few pages would exist. Most of it looks at the minor red-marks- Demetrius Kantemirs i.» r Empire Othoman & c tradition and Francois pa de [oNCuiERES, h Paris, i743- * W* the Highd. published in Hamburg *74*M originally written in the Literary. The OnX neel is said to be in Petersburg, and is still with Jedmkt. The author's son had begun, an Italian translation From the A»** translation rs the W f makes In the preface he compares the HeZe with the Christian chronology, under, investigating both the name of the Turks, and the origin of the Ottoman House.

The history of the Turkish emperors is described up to Achmet III., and taken from sources, which our historians either do not possess, or do not understand; although also many errors either on the account of the translators, or of the first publisher, certainly, must be stated. And the spelling of the Turkish words in particular is not at all the best, but better is that in the German edition, where one has referred to Meninski. For the rest, those who have compared Kantemir with the Turkish original pieces assure that he has used them either superficially, and by no means with a proper accuracy.

Th. Shaw, an English physician, has published travels to Barbary and the Levant, where he stayed for a considerable time about the year 30 of this century. They differ, unusually, from the largest mass of other travel descriptions. For they do not yield cases, isolated observations, fables and ideas, but a treasure of geographical, physical, philological and other knowledge, which the writer has not collected on a fleeting journey, but during a longer stay in those regions. The French translation is in The Hague, 1743 in 2 tem in 4to, with many maps and plates, (and in two separate translations into Dutch, under the Title: Th. Shaw travels through Barbaryen and the East, with pl. at Utrecht and Amsterdam, 177& 4-) – It is not a travel diary, but a compilation, and as a result of discoveries, which the author has made, having placed for it a very useful preface, from which I will materially set down that which may be useful to readers of my work, and which

- 37750 nevertheless is not included. "To travel in the East in a manner (he says) which may make a noise, and excite the suspicion of riches, is very dangerous. In the sandy deserts, for want of water, one travels not with horses or mules, but with camels. These are made to camp in a circle around the party, so that the heads are outward. Ag
- 37755 on them they lay the saddles, goods, and whatever they carry with them, thus making a bulwark around them. The Kanwelen are by nature lively, awake at the least noise, and are therefore almost sentinels. _ With leather bags for water, with flour, oil, wine, olives, dried meat, a wooden dish to bake bread, and a copper pot for cooking, are preferred. _ The dried camel-mist of a previously drawn caravan serves for wood. -
- 37760 The presents, which one receives from the Arabs in Barbary, demand return presents of needles, maces, scissors, etc. - In Syria and Egypt one cannot travel otherwise than with caravans, and not nearly so safely, as among the Arabs in Barbary. - A traveller does well to dress like them. "The first part does not really belong, or only in a remote way, as far as Algiers and Tunis are countries, under Turkish protection, to my profession. Namely, he delivers in 414 pages geographical, natural, and mixed, but everywhere excellent observations on the two countries mentioned. The second part contains, in 192. pages, five main parts of the following content: geographical observations on Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine, on Egypt, rocky Arabia, and the
- 37770 travels and camps of the children of Israel, natural observations, or a sample of the natural history of Syria, Phoenicia and the Holy Land; such on rocky Arabia; and finally natural and other observations on Egypt. All this is concluded with an excellent appendix of extracts from old writings, verses and other additions, which serve as testimonies and explanations of the entire work. Therefore it is useful and
- 37775 useful for the researchers of scripture and nature, as well as for him who devotes himself to literature, geography and antiquities, and has, in this field, few equals. For those who wish to travel to those countries, it serves, in advance, as an excellent instruction, what they should pay attention to, and how they should conduct themselves in their reports to him.
- 37780 Nouveau voyage de Grece, #'Egypte, de tale. fine, d Italië, de Suffe, ff Al/ace & des Pats-bas, fait en * * H W. Oil\$* this broad Title, with which one would expect some folios or quartines, are 25 letters on 382 pages. printed in ottavo, which have no other stamp than that of a high and superficial collection of the best-known travel descriptions. Two circumstances seem to confirm this; partly that the writer has not
- 37785 expressed his name, partly that it has been dedicated to a lady. If the writer had really been to those places, as he imagined, this would not make his work more commendable. The thought expressed in the preface, that in the Levant the Christian religion would soon come to an end, if the Jesmts did not maintain it, I will not leave for the Protestants, but for the Roman Catholics alone to ponder. Fifty
- 37790 Families, in Egypt, who, according to his story, only follow the law of nature, and would speak about the fundamental truths of Christianity, like the Free Spirits, are nothing more than a fiction of the author. P. Angeligüs Maria peregrinans in Jerusalem: stranger in Jerusalem, or extensive travel descriptions. (Hoogd.) Vienna and Nuremberg, 1735. in 4. with many plates, large 964 pages. This is a large
- 37795 Magazine of working descriptions, and observations of all kinds, which the author, on his travels from 1726 onwards, has collected over Italy, the Archipelago, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, in which many good and genuine pieces on Geography, Physics, Antiquities, Nations etc. occur; but first of all a careful reader and researcher, with a good judgment, must search for them in the mass of
- 37800 extensive and confused reports. The plates are mostly made after those of Tournefort and others.
- Twdnne Stora Swenska Herrars (v. Hopken and Carlson, Swedish Ambassadors to the Pore) Reise-Beskrifning ifran Cypera til Asien, Jerusalem éfV. Stockholm 1768. As this travel description, apart from the publisher's preface, consists of only two pages;
- 37805 so one cannot search much in it: but nevertheless she sees nothing, except what is certain, and how it looked in the year 1733, when this journey was made, in the Holy Land and in Jerusalem; and in that respect she is also useful.
- Jean Bell l'Antermony, Voyages &c. a Paris 1767 8. translated from English. (In Dutch known, under the Title: John Bell reize van Petersburg naar de hoofd' gewesten van Asia, 2 parts, with pl. Leiden 1770 8.) Here one finds, at the end of the third part, a short account of a journey from Petersburg to Constantinople. What he says of the latter city, is, according to his own confession, indeed little, but true; but his guess, that there were probably no more than four hundred thousand people in it, is certainly unfounded. Among the few remarkable and outstanding Turkish families he
- 37815 counts the two Tschigal-Ogiu and Kuperli, among whose privileges also this is, that

the Sultan could not condemn her to death. The given, and calculated in miles, travel route between the two previously mentioned cities will not be unpleasant to many. He reckons it at 1925 English miles.

- 37820 *Voïage d'Egypte & de Nubia par Mr. Fred. Louis Norden. Ouvrage enrichi de cartes & de figures destintes fur les lieux par / Auteur même, Copenh. 1755. fW.* This work is as beautifully printed, as possible no travel description. Besides the preface and the register the work contains 278 pages and is provided with 159 equally magnificent plates. The writer, em Holjkiner, made this journey, equipped with the necessary knowledge, in the years 1737 and 1738. Since this is not really what the title
- 37825 promises; one only finds, in passing, remarks on the condition of the Turkish Empire, and therefore I need do nothing more than give the main contents of the Chapters, so that one knows what one should look for in them. The first section contains the description of old Alexandria, in 24 pages; the second, of new Alexandria, to page 44 and the third, of old and new Cairo, to page 70. Here he had to stay longer than he
- 37830 thought, due to various circumstances; why in the fourth he gives a description of the Pyramids, with remarks on the needle columns, to page 104. The following main objects provide his travel story from Cairo to Dschlrdfdie, the capital in Upper Egypt, to page 150. Continuation of the journey to Essuan, to page 190. and from there in Nubia, but with much difficulty, great expense and dangers to the city of
- 37835 Deir or Derri, to page 238. He wanted to travel from there to the second great waterfall of the Nyh; but met, in the last-mentioned city, so many really insurmountable obstacles, which were placed in his way by the inhabitants there, and especially the Aga, that he had to consider himself happy with the Life of it, and thus to return by the same road to Cairo. \i Kortens Reis mar het beloften Land,
- 37840 (Hoogd.) was published in the year 1741. at Altona, with five plates depicting the city of Jervfaem and the Holy Sepulchre. The author, a bookseller, who, according to his own confession, possessed no learned languages or other sciences, made that journey in the year 1738. This work is large 544 pages, but could be two-thirds smaller, if the mixed, not at all pertaining to the matter, mostly edifying, but here
- 37845 not sought-after remarks had been left out. As a travel description it is one of the least important books. Two traps deserve attention, and he himself recommends their further investigation, especially by a mathematician, most emphatically. First, the present Jerusalem, almost contrary to the generally accepted opinion, would stand exactly on the site of the old one, with this only difference, that it is much
- 37850 smaller than it; and he seems to have no unfounded proof for it, to wit, this: that the valleys which enclose it would not permit any displacement to that side, where it must have taken place, if it had been so. Secondly, that the Holy Sepulchre was not at all the true burial place of Christ, but that of the present rather, and that, in Constantine's time, it was laid out on the present site, and the Church built over
- 37855 it, in order to contain, as in a brief summary, all the supposed sacred peculiarities of Christ's death and burial. – The writer took almost the same road that Hasselqutst took, but may not be compared with him at all. The following passages (page 33.) from him I will here quote only, which serve to further elucidate the learned Swedish travel description. "At Jaffa I paid the Roman Procurator of the Pilgrims 66
- 37860 Piastres, whereby he told me that they did not earn the least, but that everything was spent for tolls to the Turks, and for expenses for horses and conductors. For that they provided me free to Jerusalem and back again. They ask nothing for food and good reception in their Monastery, but each gives for that according to his condition and ability, 20, 30, 50 and more Piastres; and they told me that I had four weeks to
- 37865 stay in Jerusalem for that. "That is how it ended with him. For he would have liked to have stayed there longer, but they pressed him so strongly that he had to leave Jerusalem again at the time mentioned. Further on, page 38, he writes: "In various travelogues I have read that people complain that the haughty Turks do not allow a Christian to ride into the city on horseback, but must go there on an ass or on foot;
- 37870 but we rode, on our horses, to the gate of the Roman monastery. From which one sees that such things change, depending on the disposition of a Bajfa, or whether his favor is bought by gifts." Mrs. van Moniague, Wife of an English
- 37875 her Envoy at Constantinople, has made herself famous by her letters, (known in Dutch under the Title: M. W. Montague letters, written during her journey in Europe, Asia and Africa, 1 part, 8. Amst. 1765. etc.). One must indeed admire in her the knowledge of many languages, of heathen antiquities, the intelligent ideas, a pictorial style and other excellences. But, whoever would seek in it a system concerning the condition of Turkey, would be extremely deceived. She maintains, besides unbelievable things, and the all too flatteringly painted Character of the Nation, complete
- 37880 untruths. She ascribes great liberties to the Turkish women, which they possessed, by means of their Procuresses, the Jewish women; she considers her way of life happy,

because she did not have to work in public and outside the house, as if an idle life were the happiest. In the 3rd letter she diminishes the Plague to such an extent, as if it were scarcely equal to one of our common Epidemic diseases, of which yet the opposite is evident. She denies that the images and statues were destroyed by the Turks, because they nevertheless left the symbolic figures on the Needle Columns (Obelisks) untouched; which is contrary to general experience, and moreover rests on untruth, because the Hieroglyphs or Symbols do not consist in the forms of men, but in birds, trees, and other arbitrary signs, which the Turks themselves paint. In the 27th letter she speaks of the so-called Pauainers at Sophia, as followers and special respecters of the Apostle Paul, who had a church there, in which he is said to have preached; since these are the Pauliciani, a branch of a Manichean Se&e. There she also asserts that our translations of the Koran were made from the copies of Greek Christians, who did not fail to falsify it with the utmost malice. In the same letter she judges of the Armutes, that they, in a sensible manner, professed the Christian and Mohammedan religion. Would others think so strangely, and not attribute understanding to a people who read in the utmost uncultivated heathen ignorance? Concerning the Armenians she reports in the 4th letter that they did not believe in Transubstantiation, and in the 43rd that Chalcedon is still a large city; both of which are nevertheless untrue.

With Tournefort one can, without any difficulty, equate the work of the learned Englishman, Richaro Pocock: *Travele to the East with cuts and maps* &c. Lond. 1743. 2 vol. fol. in the High Rev. bearing the Title: *Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger anderer Länder*. Erlangen 3 Th. in 4. mit viel kupfern itfsla etc. by Windheim, and republished by Prof. Breier and D. Schreber. (and in Dutch, *Description of the East and of some other Lands* etc. Utrecht, Rott. and Amst. 1776 etc.) In the first part the first book deals with Lower Egypt; the second relates a journey of the writer from Great Cairo over the waterfall of the Nyls, and down to Cairo and Damiate; the third contains the journey from Great Cairo along the Red Sea, in rocky Arabia, to Mount Sinai, and back to Cairo, Rosetto and Alexandria; the fourth contains the government, customs and natural history of Egypt; and finally the fifth contains mixed observations, mainly concerning the antiquities and natural history of Egypt. In the second part the first book deals with Palestine or the Holy Land; the second with Syria and Mesopotamia; the third of the island of Cyprus, and the fourth of the island of Kandida. In the third part the author comes, in the first book, to the islands of the Archipelago, but of which he describes only Scio, Mytilene, Tenedos, Lemnos, Samos, and Pathmos. The journey through Natolia, according to the old division of Ionia, Caria, Great Phrygia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Propontis, forms the second book; as does that through Thrace and Greece, with the description of antiquities and plants, the third. To this are added three books as an appendix, in which remarks on some parts of Europe, the old description of the earth and on travel, customs and manners, and finally on the great change of things in the world occur. – Although in this travelogue, with the exception of Egypt, almost nothing is said about the condition of the Turkish Empire, 5 it is nevertheless, in its kind, one of the most complete, and is exceptionally clarified by the beautiful maps and plates. The writer often wanders in his guesses, and it surprises the reader, on one page, in the reports, sometimes several times to read: according to my thoughts; according to my judgment, etc. But perhaps he becomes all the more credible by that, in all those descriptions, in which one finds such additions. The style is otherwise often broken, and by no means attractive; and the whole work is, in general, not for the unlearned, but for the learned.

Salmons and van Gochs modern History, cf. current State of the Turkish Empire etc. described in High German: first part, containing the Turkish countries in Asia and Africa, Alt and Flensb. 402 pages in 4to– Dlt Jf a work compiled by various writers, in which Ricaut, Mortraye, Thevenot, Maundrel, Toumefort, Rauchwolf, Lucas, della VaVe, Hamilton, Tavemier etc. are explicitly mentioned. The first Heading, is like an introduction, Inclining the layout, size, and various Provinces of this Empire for, just like the following, the mcires, seas and rivers in it. In the listing of miles there is certainly an error here. The harbour of Constantinople is said to be (page ro.) 8 miles in circumference, and the sea of Marmora yet only 15 or 20 miles broad, and 40 long. The third head, deals with the origin, inclination and disposition of the Turks, form, dress, manner of life, food and drink, amusements and ceremonies. The alleged inability of the Turks, to carry on trade without keeping accounts, and to get to it more quickly than we do, needs an explanation. Because they know nothing of a trade of exchange, and they give no Credit to foreign nations; thus the trade is much simpler than with us, and does not require so many subtle accounts and accounts – The proposition that with the Turks, when they have a quarrel, it seldom comes to

blows, and that it does not come to a duel at all, should have been put forward somewhat more widely. The rash ceremonial duel is indeed unknown to them; but otherwise they either go for the dagger and harquebus, or, on occasion, set their revenge to work in a treacherous manner. - Whether it is true, but not in general, that the Turks are respectable people in person, the reason given for it is nevertheless unfounded, because the greatest Beauties from Georgia and Circus are brought to Turkey, and the Turks buy the most beautiful Girls, because this could only take place among the First Names and Rich, that is, only among a few, and not among the great multitude. - Mortraye is brought forward, page 22, as a witness, that one can travel very cheaply; because one only had to go to the Porte or the Stadtholder of the place through the Ambassador or Referee of his nation, whereupon a request was not refused, to make the entire journey at the Sultan's expense. This is a misconception, and entirely beside the truth. Such freedom is accorded only and exclusively to the Governor of a foreign Power, or to any other person, who travels on behalf of the Sultans, and then of course at their own expense. The fourth Head, describes the Imperial power, Court and State servants, women, and other inhabitants of the Seraglio or the Haram. I will not speak of the confusion, if the Seraglio and the Haram were one and the same; for these are very different things. This also is not so generally true, as is said further in the beginning; that the Emperor's rule was not determined by laws and treaties. Not the Mufti, page 26. but the Sheik of the Eiubs-mosque protects the Sultan- Regarding the remuneration of the Grand Vifitrs, page 35. which is set at 00 pounds, must certainly be a printing error; otherwise it would be a gross mistake.

What is said about the so-called Visiers of the Bank and the Divan, is taken from old writers, and concerning it, great changes have now been made. Some ground, rules of Turkish policy are given in the fifth Head, to which in the following are added the tricks which the Turks use to increase their people, and to make neo-converts. The seventh Head, about the reception of the Ambassadors, and their conduct in the negotiations with the Porte, is full of errors. Here the Turkish Army and land militia are described; also the income of the Sultan, the State in which he openly appears, his appointment and deposition are recorded. Here, in the girding of the Sabre in the Ejüks-Dscha, in my opinion, this unfounded remark comes up, page 82. "This must be done by the Adgi-Bassa, who, according to the report of tradition, is always a descendant of Hiob. "The tenth Head speaks of the maintenance of justice, and the punishments imposed on certain crimes in Turkey, and the next examines that Sect of Mohammedanism to which the Turks are devoted. In the 12th Head, of trade, weights and measures, as well as of currencies, the following should not have been included at the time this work was composed; page 117. "that the Genoese had a Resident at Constantinople; the trade and commerce of the French and Italians had greatly diminished since the Dutch and English had come thither; at least that their trade, in comparison with the latter, was very small; the Venetians alone had the liberty of sailing to Caffa in Crimean Tartary; and finally (p. . 118.) the Dutch, annually, sent 12 ships in two fleets, accompanied by two warships, there". Marriages, divorces and funerals occur in the fifteenth chapter The other Heads belong to Geography, and so I will not mention them. What use one should make of this work, is not so difficult to decide. One should consider it as a collection, and not at all as a first source. In the first respect one can use it, but not in the last. The reports concerning all places are not equally credible. The city of Bir, in Diarbek (formerly Mesopotamia,) would, according to page 147, lie one, according to page 155. four days' journey from Aleppo. But it is possible in the first place that it is a printing error, and should be several days' journey. It seems to me so well-known Smyrna resembles not so much a triangle, as an unequal square. The Befestein is no Exchange, page 235. The dove-posts in the Levant the recorder reckons, page among the old Hiltorien, which one had to laugh at; but many credible former, and quite new travellers will testify against him. The same will have regarded the carelessness of the Turks, related in the Text (page 236.), in sowing no more corn than they necessarily need, as the happiest contentment which the Saviour had commanded. But in this he is mistaken. The Turk must pay the great burdens of his crops to the Government, and he knows in advance that a considerable part of his inheritance will not come to his heirs; therefore he is slow. Thevenot's story that many of the Mohammedan Saints went to Egypt quite naked, without covering themselves with any rags, the same annotator, page 322, wants to make uncertain, saying: he had never seen this, and hardly believed it, because the Turks had an aversion to showing the limbs that nature teaches us to keep covered. But here, according to irrefutable witnesses, Thevenot, who otherwise cannot always be relied upon, is nevertheless right. - Second part, containing the Turkish countries in

Europe, 1749. 192 pages in size in 410, to which is added, in an appendix, a brief history of the Turkish wars, especially from the 16th century onwards, up to our own times, waged in Europe, 115 pages in size. First of all, one finds, (Hoofd, ??.) a report of a narrow?? mentioned, concerning the Crimea or Little Tartary, and Oczakow or the Budziackian Tartary, which is concluded in the following with a description of Besarabia and the residence of King Karl I??. Bulgaria, Bosnia, Serbia, Moldavia and Wallachia are treated very briefly (chapter 3.), but Romania or Thrace, and especially Constantinople (chapter 4.) are treated more extensively. The introduction to the description of this city is singular. "Constantinople, the old Byzantium, is generally called the Porte by the Turks Stambour, (probably Stambul,) and by the Europeans par excellence, because there is the finest harbour in the whole world, although some think that it received its name, Porte, from the Great Sultan's Seraglio or Palace, whose principal gate leads to the city. "It is equally shocking to hear Hansen or Canvanserese speak on page 50. At Pera, it says on page 52. the Christian ambassadors had their residence, with the exception of the Imperial and Polish, who were free to have houses within the walls of Constantinople. Whoever has read the old travel writers, will soon find that this was a very bad freedom; for they were, in a certain respect, kept as prisoners in the city, and now live, like all the others, at Pera. On page 56 it is indeed pretended that the Hellespont between the Dardanelles is too wide for the ships to be stopped by the castles lying there; but it is beyond question that, in that respect, it is not too wide. In order to remedy the scantiness of the geographical description, the state of the Christian religion in Turkey, and in particular the Greek Church, is recorded, as is expressly assured (Chapter 5). This has been extensively collected from Tournefort, Smit, Ricaut, Covell, and the disturbances, which arose in Constantinople because of the Greek Patriarch, Cyril Lucaris, the result of which was his death, have been included. Macedonia and Albania, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly and Greece proper are, as well as Morea, treated very briefly, and Athens alone is treated at length. Chapters 6-9. Kandia occupies Chapter 10 and in the remaining Chapters (11-16) the islands of the Archipelago are discussed. This part on European Turkey seems to me to be worse edited than the first. Otters *voilage en Turquie et en Perse, à Paris 1747. 2 tom.* in 8 with a map on which the author's Asian travels are depicted. He made (Book I, Chapter, ??) in the year 1734 his journey to Constantinople, of which he, Chapter 2, as well as of the Audientien by the Great of the Empire, Chapter 3. gives a short description. He also reports, from his own experience, in some examples, (Chapter 4.) to what inconveniences the Europeans expose themselves, because of their dress and way of life. He visited, (Chapter 5.) the nearby resorts. Because at that time the Turks were at war with the Russians, but made peace with the Persians; (Chapter 6.) he found an opportunity, with the Persian Ambassador, 1736. to travel to Persia. They passed through Iconia, Addma, Alexandria, Antioch, Aleppo, over the Euphrates, to Urfa, to Mosul, and via Kierkiuk to Bagdad. (Chapters 7-15.) From here the journey went to Persia, on whose borders the heat, in one day, and the thirst, with bad water, were so great, that fourteen people died, and many were sick for a long time. Concerning the wind Samum, which blows frequently in those countries, he gives the following description: "it is burning, mixed with sulphurous fumes, and kills the persons who breathe, on the spot. In those deserts it blows, chiefly, in Julius and August. It comes as a whirlwind, but does not last long. As soon as they noticed it from afar, they threw themselves down on their bellies on the ground, covered themselves well, and pressed their faces into the sand. He did not kill the hairy animals, but they stood out a lot from it, and experienced a tremor with a heavy sweat. On his journey to Persia and his stay there, I do not follow him. This description, as well as the reports concerning the undertakings of Tamas-Kuli-Chan, and the return journey to Bagdad, 1739, I leave there, as not belonging to my purpose. He now proceeded to Bassora, (Book II. chapter 4.) and that by water. On the vessel he saw doves, which are used between the two cities just mentioned, to convey news. He asked a merchant how they could travel this route without wandering; and received the answer that, in order to accustom them to it, they were first let fly from a place only a little distant, and so gradually further and further, until finally at Bassora: as soon as they were let loose, they flew very high in the air, but then descended, and took their flight directly to Bagdad, following the river Tiger as their guide. At Bassora he stayed a long time. Besides describing this city, he also relates everything he heard of Persia and the government of Thamas-Kuli-Khan. Among these is the following, which one has read in various books: that this ruler of Persia, about the year 1740? had given orders to translate the Bible and the Koran into Persian at Isfahan. The European missionaries, Armenian prelates, rabbis and Mullas had assembled daily for this purpose, and had

38080 laboured for a long time on this great work, under the supervision of Mir Mafum, Imam
of the Royal Mosque. As soon as the translation was finished, he had ordered the
principal translators to bring them to him at Tahrán. They had also gone there, and
had the honour of handing them over to him. When they had now been read to him, he
38085 had jested with the mysteries of the Christian religion, ridiculed the Jewish
religion, laughed at Mahomet and Ali, and had all the works locked up in a chest,
with this declaration, that if God would give him life, he hoped to deliver to men a
much better religion than any hitherto known. This absurd hope was shattered. For
that Hero, or rather Tyrant, fell into the folly of wishing to compel the Persians to
adopt the principles of the Turks, and was thereupon, in an uprising, put to death.
38090 (Chapter 5-26.) In May 1743 he departed from Bassora, chapter 27. he suffered many
inconveniences on his voyage by water, over Hilla, in whose neighbourhood the once so
famous Babel lay, over Bagdad through the deserts, over Kierkiuk to Mosul, and thence
over Mardin to Diarbekir, (Chapter 28-39.) which was otherwise called the fortress of
the Amid. On his further journey he saw the gold and silver mines at Argana and
38095 Kiebban, but they were no longer in their former state. The former had, formerly, had
about 400 smelting furnaces; but the latter now had only eight or ten. (Chapter 40.)
On his journey to Arebkiir and Divringi (Chapter 41, 42.) he suffered much under his
treacherous guides. People were surprised that he had taken such a dangerous route,
where probably no European had ever been. But this did not seem strange to him,
38100 because he saw how mercilessly the Turkish Militia dealt with the Sultan's own
subjects. (Chapter 43.) When he expressed his surprise at it to the Chief, he
received the answer: "The Bassas were obliged to maintain a certain number of
soldiers, but withheld their pay, and were therefore forced to tolerate their
debauchery. Some of these could do nothing else, because they received too little and
38105 had to spend too much. Others were uncertain whether
they would remain long in the governorship, which the Porte gave them, or how long
they themselves buy expensive pensions. They had therefore to watch the time, in
order not to get what they had shot back, yes, if it were possible, to seek to enrich
themselves. They were therefore, in a word, the destroyers, and not the protectors of
38110 the Provinces. After so many dangers he finally arrived at Sivas, (the old Sebaste,)
then at Tokkat, Amafia, (Chapter 44-46.) and so gradually over several less important
places of Napoli back to Constantinople. - This travel description deserves much
praise. What other travellers have already actually described, he speaks of very
briefly, and does well. In this he has a special merit, that he gives sufficient and
38115 good descriptions of Provinces, cities, mountains, rivers, products etc. At the
principal places he also notes the location according to the geographical longitude
and latitude. This book is therefore necessary for every land writer, from a certain
point of view, considering the regions travelled, and every future traveller to them
will find it a very useful preliminary instruction concerning the necessary caution.
38120 Moeurs 6? usages des Turcs, leur religion, leur gouvernement civil, militaire ??if
politique avec un Abregé de l'histoire Ottomane par Mr. Güer, in Paris 1747. 2 Tom.
in 4w. of which the first 45??, the second 537 pages large, very beautifully printed,
and provided with plates. In the preface the author declares that he has not been in
Turkey, but has compiled from Mirkond, Condemir, Pietro della Falie, Septem-
38125 Castrensts, le P. Maracci, du Ryer, Busbec, Grelot, Belon, Roland, Ricaut, le Comte
de MarfigU, de Maillet les Ah. hés Banier ??f leMaserier, Kant emir, Boulain
villiers, Vét?? présent de l'Empire Ottoman, ??pion Turc, the Dictionnaire
Geographique, the letters Persannes, the letters Juives, and their scattered reports
for the benefit of the public, of merchants and travellers to the Levant, he will
38130 bring them into a system. The first book provides a sketch of Turkish history. In
which the first chapter deals with the origin of the Turks; the second a Plan of
their history from Osman to Bajazet II., as well as the third of these to Mahomed V.
This is mostly drawn together from Kantex??, and only arranged with a few remarks, or
verses from French poets. In the fourth chapter he tackles the description of the
38135 Turkish Empire. As to its vast extent he is mistaken, when he includes the threefold
Arahe, and all the Coasts of the Mediterranean from Egypt to Longer; these are partly
self-existing Empires, partly at most alone, and not even everywhere remote Protected
Empires, which cost the Porte more than they bring in, but give it the advantage of
extending to good boundaries. Under the article of the beauty of the Turkish Empire
38140 he mentions the mountains, rivers, Mynas, etc., as well as Commerce, but only very
superficially; just as under that of the various peoples who inhabit it, the Greeks;
the Jews, concerning whom he incorrectly states that they must be dressed in black;
the Arabs; the Kurds, who, in his opinion, would mortally hate the European Turks,
and consider them heretics, as if the Asiatics had another religion; the Turkmen, the
38145 Tesulians, whose number he estimates, from unnamed sources, at more than two hundred

thousand people, and reports that they sing hymns of praise to Jesus and the Virgin Mary at their graves; and finally the Druses. Then he comes to the most famous cities, Alexandria, Cairo, Jerusalem, Constantinople, in which he places two millions of inhabitants. That the historical Pyramid was burned in 1660 is a slight mistake.

38150 The second book treats (Page 147, etc.) of the religion of the Turks. After a brief remark, that man in general has an impression of religion, by which one, if one knows how to make use of it, can easily gain entrance, he comes (Chapter 1.) to Mohammed, whom he describes neutrally from the well-known writers, and leaves a short historical account, concerning the interval between this and the first Turkish

38155 Emperor. The second Head, treats of the Koran, from which he quotes the contents of the principal chapters, and concludes with a body of its traceless doctrines. In the meantime, the added assertion, that it is written in very bad Arabic, will not be approved by those who understand it. The third Head, states the Mohammedan creeds, as well as the fourth their Moral Doctrine, and that in such a way, that the matter is

38160 stated correctly. In the fifth chapter follow their religious ceremonies, and therein especially their rules concerning prayer; ablutions; pilgrimage to Mecca" where he finds a Caravan-Baschi and Emir-Hadschi as one and the same spirit; circumcision; fasting, where he wonders how Mohammed, by his Sense and Religion, so difficult a matter, though it may easily be explained; the Mohammedan Festivals; the Saints; the

38165 Miracles and Relics, among which he reckons Mohammed's figure, and his Coat of white Camelot, both of which are sacredly preserved in the Seraglio. The seals impressed on paper with the former, and the water in which the latter is dipped, and sealed with the Sultan's ligature, are venerated as great and sacred rarities, but which cost the recipient dear. The conclusion is made by some other laws of the Koran, such as to

38170 read it diligently, not to eat pig's flesh, and not to drink wine. The sixth Head describes the Mosques, Imams, and Emirs; the seventh the Turkish Monks and their Saints. Finally, he remarks on all their occupations, that they are either fanatics, or harlots, or soothsayers, &c., and that there were also nuns, whose occupations were quite similar to those of the aforesaid. The eighth Head, treats of the

38175 divisions among the Mohammedans. This is almost all taken in a Ricatian way. In the ninth Head, he considers the reason of the uncertainty of the Turks in matters of religion, which arises from the doubtful expressions of the Koran, and the astonishing variety of its interpreters, as well as the prohibition of Mohammed to dispute about matters of religion. He might well have added, that this uncertainty is

38180 increased by the light which they receive, in a remote manner, from the Christians living among them, and the Christian slaves and slave-girls adopted into the Turkish families. The first chapter describes the Myjiik of the Turks; shows how extravagantly they present their religious propositions; and adds, as proof, an extract from the work of Echialle, an Arahifdi writer and former Mufti, which was

38185 printed at Brussels in the year 1764. In the last Head, he ends with several, both favourable and aversive prejudices for and against the Mohammedan Religion, where he rather emphatically collects all that has been brought forward in its defence, but also what can be brought against it on good grounds. The contents of the third corner look upon the habits of the Turks, and the first Head, their Character. He reproaches

38190 them with deceit and ingratitude, elucidating this clearly by very suitable examples from History. He describes them as clever, melancholy, and therefore attentive to everything, especially to the Great. He acquits them of the accusation, because they had little intercourse with each other, and the female sex was especially marked: their anger broke out in great disputes, and often in murder and manslaughter: real

38195 friendship found no place among them: they were serious in public, but exuberant at home, and insatiable in their lust. He says that their superstition extends far, and that their fixed reference to a passage in the Koran, opened by chance, to the influence of the stars on the fortunes of men, to divination, interpretations of dreams, pronouncements of the dying, charms, and benefits to animals, furnishes

38200 sufficient examples concerning it; that their finace is rough, in the contempt of true learning and fine sciences, especially of antiquities, illustrations, etc., and finally their avarice is in the highest degree shameful. The fairly general subjection of children to their parents, as in the time of the patriarchs, is

38205 praised, and the writer of the Jewish biography, who so often brings forward untruths, is at the same time refuted. In the second chapter he describes the habits of the Turks, and their manner of life as to food, drink, housework, exercises, ceremonies, amusements in games, dancing, comedies, puppets and jugglery, the public merrymaking in the processions of the various trades, illuminations and fireworks. In the third Heading he speaks of the Turkish women, the marriages and funeral stations.

38210 This is a fitting and credible refutation of what Madame de Moniague had said concerning the first. On this occasion as well as with the marriages, he describes

the many irregularities concerning lust, which are in vogue among the Mohammedans. In the reviews he places the report of some travellers, who maintained that the wives and daughters were not present, but stayed at home to entertain the Imams on their return. But this is unfounded. With common people they follow at some distance, with nobles they stay at home. Apart from that, Turkish women generally have nothing to do with entertaining foreigners, and therefore also with the Imam. The fourth Heading ends with the arts and sciences.' After he has noted their rudeness in general, and refuted Count Boulainvilliers; he then reports how things now look, and notes, but without naming his guarantors, that certain historians have the annals of the Empire, which were put away in the Sultan's private book room. In another library there would also be found 120 beautiful manuscripts in very large folio, which still came from the Library of Constantine the Great, but where the Sidtans were also very secret, and they did not show them to anyone. But concerning this the writer is wrong, that he thinks that the books of all kinds printed in Christendom, and brought to Turkey, would, there, kindle a great light. For the Turks do not understand that, and also do not count the printed books much. A small appendix, concerning the Mosques; the Chans, the Baths, the Caravanseras and prisons, besides a list of the Christian powers living together with the Turkish Emperors up to Achmet III ends the first part. In the second part the 4th of the Turkish Court is treated. The first 106 pages treat, in the first Head, of that which concerns it most nearly and immediately. A beginning is made with the explanation of the word Sultan, and the description of his high-flown Titles. Then follows his appointment and Coronation, if one may otherwise call the girding with a sword so, which, wrongly, is attributed to the Mufti (page 9.). He commits a special blunder, when he reports a magnificent conduct of the Emperor to the Ejubs suburb, which was different from the procession to the Ejubs mosque, mentioned on the previous page, for the girding of the Sabre; because it is only one procession and one place. In the manner of life of the Great Lord he observes his religious exercises, his work, his meals, his amusements in the water games, his hunting, his stay in the women's apartment, and his other travels. He divides the Emperor's wives into only Favourites (Odalike) and into Aphekis. The latter are those who have brought Princes into the world, and thereby, in a certain respect, become as much as Empresses. He who brought the first Prince into the world is called Bujuk-Apheki, great Favourite. He also relates her dissensions, commotions and avarice. In the representation of the buildings of the Seraglio, the statement is unfounded that the Chief of the White Engraved is the Chief Overseer of the Imperial Mosques. Here is a not unpleasant digression concerning the Enclaves and their occupations inserted, as well as concerning the lower Court servants and subordinate treasuries. The second Head, represents the State and Empire servants. The fifth book deals with the Government of the Turks. In the general introduction to it, it is said (page 142.) either through an error of writing, or through a printing error, that the Begkrbeg vatfmelis is always Bassa of Kutaja; whereas this is indeed the Beglerbeg of Natolie. The main parts belonging to this contain the following texts: 1) the maintenance of the law, in which also necessary reports concerning the Divan, the Magistrates and their clothing, the decisions of cases and punishments occur. The page 153 standing from the bed of the latticework in the Divan is wrongly equated with the ground, because it is indeed about 12 feet from the ground. 2) In the Finances he makes, wrongly, a distinction between Carache and Haraï, to which he has probably been led, by the different spellings of the word, Haradsch, among travel writers, considering both to mean one and the same thing, namely the head-money of those who are not Mohammedans. This is followed by 3) the Polickey, and finally the Mint, which, in most books, is a confused Article. Thus it is also stated here, page 190: that a Para amounted to four Aspers, and 260 Aspers made up a Hungarian or Dutch Ducat. The expression on the following page: la bourse d'or est de quinze mille sequins, où de trok mille kus, I find, either by a mistake of the writer or a misprint, contradictory and unintelligible. That there is a mint at Smyrna, is taken from Kantemir, and untrue; as is also the statement that only gold money was minted at Cairo. - The article concerning the military power of Turkey, because of its extent, is divided into two sections. In the first, the land and naval power are dealt with very vividly; but concerning the statement that there were only 1,200 Janistries at Constantinople, one is very much mistaken. In the second Section, which in order forms the 7th book, one finds the continuation of the state of war; the description of the Artillery and arms, Battle signs, music and horses, their thoughts about war, their way of collecting an army, marching it and defeating it, and providing it with food, their way of fighting, and their ideas about war. The 8th book describes the power of the Turks, as the departure of the Emperor to war, the ceremonies at the Beiram, the circumcision of the Turkish Princes and the marriage of

the Princesses, as well as the treatment of foreign Sentinels. Here we see he seeks to refute Ricaut, who wanted to assert that the English Ambassadors to the Porte were more respected than the French; where, however, in the description of the Audiences, several errors are committed; not to say that here, according to the rest, a remarkable defect prevails. He ends with some remarks on the truly indescribable treasure in the Seraglio and the Sultan's tent, and in the Palaces and tents of the State and Military servants.

In the lying book the Policy of the Turks is described. General remarks on it form the introduction, chapter 1. He places, (chapter 2) its principal principles partly in the hypocrisy and perfidy; partly in the desire to extend Mohammedanism. In one of these he appropriates, after an error received from Ricaut, Mohammed's so-called Testament to the Monks of Mount Carmel, because he had nevertheless drawn it up for them on Mount Sinai. In both he is angry with Ricaut, who, according to his thoughts, had spoken too unfavourably of the French in Turkey. In the third Head, he shows that the indefinite power of the Great Lord is the foundation of the Turkish government, because he was Lord over the Life and Property of all his subjects, and (chapter 4.) there was no Nobility in Turkey, who had obtained any respect among the people, and could oppose the Emperor, to which was added (chapter 5) that all elevation of his Descendants was carefully prevented. He adds (chapter 6.) that the other Denominations permitted Freedom of Conscience, under the name of a privilege, which could always be destroyed, and often had been destroyed, and the permitted polygamy had contributed much to the confirmation and extension of the Turkish Empire. In the tenth book there are observations on the power of the Turks, and on the weakening of their Empire. The former are the contents of the first in the main; the latter the contents of the rest. Among the causes of the weakening he counts (chapter 2.) the great number of abuses, which had crept into war and naval affairs, into the maintenance of justice, and into the government of the Provinces; the polygamy, which does not increase the number of subjects, whereas on the contrary the Enslaved, and the lusts prevailing among the East diminish it. On this occasion he proposes a thought which is not improbable: "this Empire, he says, would perish, if any Power should tap the springs from which the Turks draw so many slaves, and deprive it of the support of those slaves, who maintain the greatness of the Empire. "Perhaps this is fulfilled by the peace concluded between the Russians and the Turks in 1774, in which the latter, according to one of the articles of peace, must renounce the plundering of all slaves. In the third Head, the author shows how much the frequent uprisings in the Turkish Empire and the Artists of the Seraglio have weakened it. He brings the reason of the uprising on the side of the Janistas, the Ministers of State and Bassas, the Sultans, etc., and then gives several examples of the practices of the Seraglio, as well as of the mistresses that occur therein; not forgetting also the great misfortunes that arise from the Sultans interfering with the affairs of the government. In the fourth Head, he clarifies, by the deposition of Achmet III and the death of Osman, how the ambition of the State servants makes the Throne wobble; and how unstable the Osman Throne is, is pointed out in the last Head.

I have, with forewarning, dwelt somewhat longer on this work; for, except for the evident errors which I have touched upon, it is one of the best, most complete and most regular collections which have come to my attention in this field. The inserted digressions are not badly placed, and the presentation is kept lively, by a multitude of remarks and examples. The Turkish words and names, as in most works of that nature, have remained very mutilated; and this is, here, much less excusable, if the compiler could use the subsequent new edition of Rteaut, in which its spelling has been noticeably improved.

Fred. Hasselquist's M. D. iter Palcestinum. 8. Stockh. 1757. (in Dutch known under the title: Hasselqutst reize naar Paleslina, 2 parts, with plates, Amst. 8V°.) This is the original in the Swedish language, except for the learned in natural history, which is described in Latin. The work, large 619 pages, was published after the author's death, which occurred in Smyrna, by the famous Linnaeus, and he has placed a short preface concerning the life and manuscript of the author. He traveled in 1749, from Stockholm to the sea, and arrived at Smyrna towards the end of the same year. About this, as well as about a journey made to Magnefia, he gives very good and readable reports, relating here, ev

and as a matter of all, with a special distinction made, what he himself has seen, and what he has heard; he usually speaks of the first only. On the occasion of the Turkish cemeteries, which are heavily covered with Cypressess and Rosemary trees, he remarks how beneficial this is to the health, because the air, by the fragrant and aromatic exhalations of both, is protected against that of the decayed corpses. The Armenians at Smyrna had, according to his opinion, (Wslld«.5iO Second' fasting Bishop,

but adhered to the Bishops of other councils, and were only visited there by these
38345 heels. This is not so, but it is true that he was very often away from home. Concerning the external appearance of religion and ceremonies among the Greeks and Armenians he is very detailed, and reports the real. In the year 1750. he travelled to Egypt. In describing Alexandria and Rosetta he gives an account of things of
38350 nature, and customs both in joy and in sorrow. A story of the large number of crutches and sticks, which he found in a Coptic church, (page 69. 70.) possibly clears up a misinterpretation of them in certain Roman Catholic Churches, where it is imagined that those of the lame and the halt were used, but having been restored by an image or something of the kind, in remembrance of the pretended Miracle, were left there. He was told that at the time of the persecution they had served to defend
38355 themselves against the possible attacks of the enemies, but were now used to lean on, because there were no pews or chairs in their Church. Concerning the Snake-charmers, several reports occur, especially pages 70-72, of which the main thing is this: that many Egyptians, and, it is said, particular Families among them, knew the hitherto impenetrable Secret of handling the most vile Snakes with their bare hands, as they
38360 pleased, without suffering the least Injury thereby. — He remained in Cairo 9 months. With so many reports concerning this city, his are not superfluous. Among them we find the description of the caravan going from thence to Mecca. Here, in so accurate a writer, two circumstances are very shocking. According to his report namely (page 88.) Mahomed's grave would be in the last mentioned city, since it is nevertheless
38365 generally known, that it is in Medina. The second is the assurance given to him, page 89, that among the presents of the Sultan for Mecca no Koran is found, although many travel writers assured it; and yet he had previously, page 6, related, that he, by an illuminator of an unusually rich Turk, saw a picture of the Machine, or rather the Chest, in which, annually, the Koran was sent with the caravan to Mecca. This now
38370 apparently contradicts itself. — At Damiate, one, in his and everyone's opinion, for a European the most unpleasant place and in all of Turkey, he was only a few days. In the spring of 1751 he came to Jaffa, and then made the usual journey with the pilgrims to Jerusalem, Jereho, Bethlehem, and back via Ramah to Jaffa, and from there via Acre to Nazareth, Tiberias, Cana in Galilee, Tyre and Sidde. Then he returned
38375 via Cyprus, Rhodit and Scio to Smyrna, where he was prevented by his death from communicating more information about his journey to Constantinople, etc. — Here and there there seem to be gaps, which, according to all accounts, would not have been there if he himself had been the publisher. — Arriving ashore at Jaffa, he had to pay 22 piastres for the freedom, 62 piastres for his journey from that city to Jerusalem and back again, and 10 piastres for the permission to travel to Jericho to the
38380 Governor of Jerusalem. — His admiration (page 153.) for two lions carved in stone by the Turks above a new gate at Nazareth should surprise no one, for the reason that they do not suffer from statues; for this refers solely to statues of people and not to other objects. — Among many proofs of the author's good thinking, with respect to religion, is a remark (page 558.) on the occasion of circumcision, offensive: the "females circumcise their children on the eighth day, which seems to be a hard and dangerous operation for so tender a child. The Turks act more sensibly, who postpone this useful religious observance until their sons have reached the eighth year. "For as long as it pleased God to charge it as lawful under these or no circumstances, all
38385 human prudence that determines otherwise is foolishness — nay, godlessness. But perhaps this remark does not originate from the author himself; for otherwise he has proceeded very diligently, carefully and cautiously, and is an example of an accurate travel description, which philologists and naturalists, if they wish to travel to those countries, may make use of. — Concerning the Turkish Empire in'
38395 in general nothing is recorded; on the other hand his descriptions of Nature (page t87. to the end,) are excellent, and arranged according to the Method of Linnaeus. Alex. Rcssel, an English physician, has published Natv.ralhistory of Aleppo and parts adjacent, in London, US- in gr. 4- the size of 266 mg. with pure plates, which is exceptionally beautiful. (In Dutch known, under the title of A. Russel description
38400 of Aleppo, with pi. Amst. 1762. \$vfi) By the manner of treatment one would only wish that he had divided the contents of the first part by Main Parts or Sections from each other, so that one could find what one wants to look for the more easily. He so satisfies the title of the work, that he leaves few things undone, and may serve as an example to those who, according to their calling, remain long in the Levant, in
38405 order to be of service to others by instruction. The first part treats of the city of Aleppo, its layout, buildings, etc. (page 1. etc.) in general; and further of the condition of Syria, of the weather, agriculture, fruits, herbs, tame and wild animals, birds, fish, etc. (page 10.) of the inhabitants, their mode of living, provisions, amusements, clothing, studies in general; (page 77.) of the Turks, their

38410 food, customs, marriages, baths, and burials; (page T05.) Here he places a burial form at a Mohammedan burial: "O man, out of the earth you were first created; you must now return to it. This grave is the first step in your progress to the dwellings of the world to come. Have you been beneficent in your actions; then you will be acquitted before God; but if not, God's mercy is greater than all things. Remember

38415 that in this world you believed: God was your Lord, and Mohammed your Prophet; call to mind all the Prophets and Apostles, and may much be forgiven. The burial form of the bards differs from this, and thus reads: "have you taken; then you must "give back: have you done something; then you will find it: have you not believed; then you will 3, now you see. "Here follow not many, but only true things concerning the

38420 religion and the government of the Turks, (page 119. ras.) Because of the Feasts of the various Eastern Christian denominations (page 123.) he adds the following Table
oy;
Orisks, Syrians, Blaremtets, rmsniers, "Fasting before Pafiben 43 days, 48 days, 48d.igen, have in everything

38425 hnFecfi Mi, whereby
derjptfele», 12; - 12 -. 4 ., still free.
y - -.»;-- tetF"st willing vaslti,
of Mary 15 - -, s. - xs -. ic"a, jfa for one r.
fCersmis 40 - - 05 -. 10 - -

38430 ii5 l?o 8?
By their Marriages (page 125.) f&Mf a detailed description of a Moroccan Wedding, because from this one, with little change, one can conclude to the others; mentioning at the same time the behavior of the women towards their husbands, as well as the burials; then (page 130.) of the Jews, and the Europeans. (page 132.) The first part

38435 ends with a general treatise on Epidemic diseases, page 130 144 - The second part provides, in regularly divided Chapters, the following: remarks on the Weather in general; (chapter 1.1) special observations on the Weather, of the year 17-1747, and of 1752 and 1753; (chapter 2.) reports of the temporal diseases that prevailed at Leppo in the years mentioned above. (Chapter 30 YW» the Plague is spoken of in the

38440 following fourth Chapter, so that first of it in general, then of its outbreaks in the years 1742-1744, and finally of the precautionary measures of the Em-oer* in plague-time are treated. These are, probably, the certain reports concerning this evil, differing from mine only in that they come from a learned Physician, who describes everything according to his knowledge. He quotes Morellus in appropriate

38445 words: the terrible pestil. cap. 5. "the dreadful circumstances accompanying the plague cause that our senses deceive, and I" think, that Hippocrates himself would be deceived". "Perhaps one is eager to know his good advice against it. Here is by: "not sobering up in the morning to go out; to avoid as much as possible all

38450 irregularities, violent affections, and too strong discharges of the body, but then also to live "neither in eating nor drinking more moderately" than one is accustomed to; one or a few glasses of good wine more, than one's usual, might be more useful; and a strong use of acidic drinks is not only "pleasant, but also useful. - When one enters the room of such a patient, or passes a corpse, or any other contagious thing, then one must not swallow the saliva, but breathe through a handkerchief or a sponge,

38455 dipped in pure vinegar or vinegar mixed with wine. - "If one had to feel the pulse, or other circumstance, examine a patient's dexterity from nearby, then one had to take the breath, as
5, as much as possible, to hold back, and as soon as one is out of the room, wash the mouth, the face and the hands with wine; when one comes home 5, put on different

38460 clothes and hang the clothes one has put on in the air. He also thinks it advisable to fumigate them with sulphur, and again to wash the mouth, the face and the hands. "The last main part, with the description of the Aleppian Sea, makes a rash of the body, the Heart of this, for the naturalist and physician, yes for all kinds of readers, over useful and credible work.

38465 Tableau de VEmpire Ottoman, a Francf. 17S7 consists of 227 pages in 12. The unnamed author says in the short preface, that he has drawn from the first sources, and has therefore published this small work, because in the French language (for he could not understand another language, because he writes French, and yet speaks of our language,) one has no such extensive work on the subjects presented here. The first

38470 mentioned is a laudable confession, and this Traétaat is therefore a collection in this field; but the latter is untrue, because one has had other translated works in this field for a long time. - In this book the Religion, the Military State and the Government of the Turks are treated. Since we have already so many such collections from other works; it is not worth the trouble to speak at length of this, which

38475 belongs to the mediocre, and it would be useless to point out the untruths and

mistakes found therein, or to properly correct the often mutilated Turkish customs. Eduard Ives Rcifen nach Indien und Persiën, in het Hoogd. translated by C. W. Dohm: (in Dutch Edward Ives travels from England to India, and from Persia to England, Rott. and Utrecht, ms.) The English original has a very long title, the beginning and
38480 end of which are as follows: a voyage from England to India, in the year 1754'. ffY. by Edward Ives, Lond. 1773. A'°- 'The (High) translator has delivered this work in 2 parts in 8*o ge, delivered. The first part contains the voyage to India, .and a party of the translator's appendices, as well as a map of India, and 2 plates, Leipz. 1774-
38485 8. Of this part I speak not here, as it does not belong to my profession. But the second part belongs to it; for it contains the journey from Persia to England, with a map of the journey from Bassora to the Mediterranean, and 6 plates, Leipzig 1775. One finds (Chapter 1.) the description of Bassora and the surrounding country, and an account of the voyage on the Euphrates to Koma, Kota and Se, .mava; furthermore (Chapter 2.) the continuation of the journey via Dewana, or Haska, and Hilla to
38490 Bagdad. Of the Aga at Dewana Ives relates, 'that, TURKISH KINGDOM etc. 251 notwithstanding that he, according to the Imperial tribute, had to bring annually only one thousand and five hundred purses into the treasury of the Bassa at Bagdad, yet he used to deliver as much again, namely three thousand purses, to maintain himself in his Stadtholdership. This seems terse, incomprehensible to Mr. D.
38495 Husching, according to a note in the translation. And why? He reckons a purse at 500 daald. Prussian money. But this is wrong. It is only so many piastres, and one of these is no longer valid, at 18 or 20 Prussian grosseri. Instead of the sum of one and a half million thalers given by him, it amounts to only a little more than one million and two hundred thousand thalers; which does not seem so incredible to me, considering that the territory of that Aga extends in length from Korna to Uilla, that is, over four degrees, or more than 60 German miles, and indeed on fertile and reasonably well inhabited banks of the Euphrates, and is the largest Stadtholdership in that province after that of Bagdad, yes, only a few of the Scheygks under it have 500 purses, accordingly the sixth part of that sum found to be so large must be paid
38500 to the Aga - The journey from Bassora to Uilla was made on the Euphrates, but the rest by land. In the third head, he gives accounts of the wind Samum, of a litter, and the great city of Bagdad, as well as observations concerning its former Bassa, the military state there, the Turks in general, and some ruins, among which also belong the aforementioned remains of the Tower of Babel. In the translator's Notes (page 93-Chapter) concerning the multitude of the people in Constantinople, as if it amounted to not much more than five hundred thousand, or half a million people, and Tavcmier and Thevenot are cited as witnesses of the small population of the city of Bagdad, many things were indeed to be noted; but they are to be found in my
38505 description. - In the neighbourhood of this city he saw the extensive remains which are called Nimrod's Tower, but which he and the translator, and rightly, deny; although no one would think it incredible that they were converted into other buildings in later times.
n used thus to be mixed with these. From Bagdad the journey went to Moful. (Chapter 4.) As journeys are here calculated according to hours, as is almost generally done
38520 in the East; so the translator is in doubt how he should understand this calculation, but finally thinks that it is a distance of an hour, and this is also so. According to the almost always equal pace of camels, donkeys and mules, according to which the horses must usually orient themselves, one can reckon two hours' journey on one German mile. On that road itself he passed through a place whose inhabitants were
38525 mostly worshippers of the Devil. - Moful is (Chapter 5.) according to his reports, one of the best built cities in Turkey, and gives, according to the unusually extensive ruins lying around it, the surest suspicion that here, once upon a time, an unusually large city, and because in this region no other, besides Nineveh, is known, this one must also have been located here. Here the writer was asked by the Turkish
38530 authorities whether he wanted to travel by post or by caravan? This seems strange to the translator, because he does not know of having read something somewhere about a post in the Turkish Empire, and he had always thought that one could not travel there otherwise than by caravan; think therefore, that they have no agreement with our Posts, and were possibly only Couriers, through whom the Governors, at certain times, dealt with State affairs, who then, undoubtedly, had a good protection, under which
38535 private Persons could also travel safely. This suspicion is true. For the Porte, as well as the High and Sub-Stadholders of Provinces and cities, do not send, not the Kapudschjy, these the Tschokahdars, or Janistas with their open commands, not indeed at certain times, but according to the circumstances, to this and no places, often
38540 alone, often with some Janistas or Servants, who, everywhere have the right, not only to certain places, but also elsewhere to take horses, by if their own became tired.

They are almost. also just as safe, as the Couriers in Europe, because every Commander must vouch for their safety, and, when it is not safe in his District, provide for it by special cover. Ives had previously also (page 150) related an example of this. He reports, (page 21 o.) that, Merdin and Nifibin were indeed in the Governorship of Mosul, but nevertheless both were under the Bassa of Bagdad, who also designates them as their Sub-Commanders: where the translator remarks, that according to Mr. D. Busching, they were under the Paschal Diarbekir. This remark seems to be true, and must be a misprint in Ives, because the layout on the map is decisive for Mr. Büsching, and Ricaut also reports it as follows: unless, because of the trade with Persia, (which is not impossible,) the Bassa of Bagdad might have had an extraordinary authority over those places. - Now the journey went to Diarbekir (Chapter 6.), of which he gives as much account as could be made during the short stay there. With the great multitude of people there is such. he also had given of Bagdad and Mosul, mostly, according to the story of the Roman monks residing there, the translator accuses the calculation of it of untruth, because he finds it all too large, and one cannot have any certainty about the Turkish cities. Now, I cannot contradict him directly on this point; he also relies on the credible testimonies of Mr. Niebuhr on this point. But I must not conceal one thing. The large cities, namely, in which the most important Bassas auction their seat, are against all expectation populous, however wild and destitute of people, often the flat country is, because they are too much pressed by the small bloodsuckers and robbers, and then are urged to take refuge in the cities; wherefore also a pestilence, famine and similar plagues make such incredible slaughters among the people in them. - At Bir he crossed the Euphrates, and thus arrived at Aleppo. - Further I do not follow him, except that I add his travel register, which may not be unpleasant to feel; from Bafora to Korna 75 miles
 -r Korna - Kota 91
 Kota Dcwana 211 \

38570 Dewana Uilla fa - -
 Nilla Kirkoot 167 -
 Kirkoot Arvela 54,
 Arvela - Mosul 49 -
 Mosul. - Nifibin 103 .,

38575 Nifibin Arm 26
 Ann Diarbakir 58
 Diarbekir Aleppo 54 - j.
 together from Têri to Aleppo 990 English miles

38580 This journey made in those regions of Asian Turkey lasted from April to September. 1758, and he was, because of the heat, flies, mosquitoes and other insects, as well as because of the Arabs, Turks, and other peoples living on this way, exposed to so many inconveniences, - and the journey was accompanied by such great expenses, that one need not wonder, when so few do it. In the description one learns, as in others, in detail,

38585 the deceitful and terrible injustices, which in Turkey, especially in the places remote from Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo, are inflicted on the traveller. Who in the meantime wanted to make the journey to the regions of the Euphrates and Tyger; this work would be very useful to him, and it deserves to be compared with Otter, yes to be put on a par with him.

38590 Petro Businello, Secretary of State and Embassy at the Bailo, historical reports of the government, customs and habits of the Ottoman Monarchy. These are in J. F. Zêbret (High) Magazine, for the use of State and Church History, part ?? pages 52-160. and part 2, pages 107-232. Ulm?? etc. 8. (and will be placed after this work, translated according to the author's handwriting.) They consist of 80. Sections, of which the first forms the introduction, and the second speaks of the Founder of the Turkish (Mahometan) Religion, as well as of the motive which prompted him to establish it. Here one finds a good natural explanation concerning it; although the error at the same time (which I shall mention here and elsewhere in this work) occurs, that Mahomet's so-called Testament was found in the Monastery on Mount Carmel, and the

38600 Original was brought into the Library of the King of France. In the third section he shows in what the Religion of the Turks consists. In mentioning the Pilgrimage to Mecca he does the matter an injustice, when he reckons the number of the Pilgrims at only fifty or sixty thousand, considering that almost each of the three principal caravans is by itself so strong. Of the Beiram, the marriages and divorces of the

38605 Turks, how far they extend the concubine, and of their moral deeds, the fourth division treats, and of the Servants of Religion the fifth division. Here is inserted the Title which the Sultan gives to the Mufti: "to you, N. N. who are the wisest of

all wise men, instructed in all knowledge, the most excellent of all excellent men; who abstain from unlawful things; who are the source of virtue and true knowledge, and the heir of the Prophetic and Apostolic Doctrine; you solve the questions of
38610 faith; you make known the articles of true faith; you are the key to the treasures of truth; the light of doubtful Allegories; you are strengthened with the grace of the supreme guide and legislator of mankind! The 3, great God perpetuate your virtues! The income of the Mufti is certainly a misprint; for as this is reckoned at four and
38615 a half Venetian Ducats daily, it makes this not two hundred, but two thousand Aspers. Of the Monastic Orders among the Turks the sixth section speaks. He relates their unfounded boasting, to exalt their origin, but observes, that they did not originate earlier than under Orchan, who, out of gratitude to God and Mohammed for the conquered countries, appointed persons, who would observe prayer according to fixed
38620 rules, and would educate the conquered peoples. This is indeed so; but nevertheless the Turks, probably, adopted the monkhood of the Christians there. Of the Mosques, their revenues and privileges, is only briefly dealt with, of the principal divisions in the Mohammedan Religion, section. 8, and of other Sects therein, section. 9. Here comes that foolish rabble, which almost solely arose from the directly opposed sentiments of all kinds of articles of faith. In the tenth section, of the unbelief
38625 of the Turks, he asserts, that 'there are among them Atheists and Naturalists in great numbers, who partly from the evil foundations of their Religion, partly from the impiety of the Christian and Jewish Apostates, became doubters of, and deniers of, everything. The Religion of the Turks, he says in the eleventh section, rests solely on views of State, and is very accurately judged of its importance. His
38630 observation, that the Turks, continually, more and more doubted their Religion, and his hopes derived from it of a good future State, we leave in their place. He often makes Mohammed a Politician; when he is certainly nothing more than an Enthusiast. With the ??de section, he goes over to the civil government, speaking also of the Seraglio, its guard and population. The number of those there, amounting to about 8
38635 thousand people, he calculates as follows:
People at the stud farm 500
Bostandschi or gardeners 2000
Baltadschi or wood splitters 400
38640 White subjects 120
Black subjects 300
Women's sons about 430
Idschoglans, (Chamber servants) 700
In the Kitchen etc. ??00
38645 The 13th section deals with the stud farms. Besides the three thousand horses of the Sultan, there will be just as many for the Ministers, since some, like the Kislara-Aga, have about three hundred. Besides that, there are four hundred Imperial mules, to meet the necessities.
and. (Section 14.) Of the Bostandschi and Baltadschi he speaks of section 15. of the white and black Encyclopedes; section 16. of the chambers of the Idschoglans. As many
38650 as possible, Christian children were taken there. — Section 17. deals with the manner in which the young people in the Seraglio are instructed in the sciences. To this he adds the reading and writing of Arabic and Persian; the reading of Histories, especially of high-flown Novels; the study of the Koran; Poetry, Music, and some
38655 painting. Of the Mutes and Dwarves, (Section 18.) The number of the first was, in his time, about forty. In describing the apartments of the Harem (section 19.) he states that the Sultans themselves had to appease animal lust, and that they were only permitted, on solemn occasions, to take a new wife as their bedfellow, because the arrangement of the Court state demands too much expense for a woman impregnated by
38660 the Sultan. — (Section 20.) Of the tendency which prevails in the Seraglio between persons of the same sex. Very cautiously is spoken of the dumb sins which are not only in vogue there, but also throughout the whole Turkish Empire. Of the first Vizier and his Kiaja. (section 21.) This last word is everywhere, incorrectly, printed Chiafa, just as one finds more such errors in other words in the section, in
38665 the Visions of the Bank, the Bef ter Aar, etc. In the first section, he observes, by the civil government and the good order in the city of Constantinople, that the courts would have to be loaded with many more cases, if the various nations did not decide their disputes among themselves, by their Primates and imported customs. In the next section, of the nations, who live as subjects of the Sultan in
38670 Constantinople, the Jews and Christians, the author contradicts himself. He asserts, that the first, whom he estimates at 20 thousand families, were the most numerous. The same he says, next, of the Greeks: unless one, and thus all conflict would fall away, had to consider the latter, with respect to the other Christian-religious

parties, as the most numerous. In the translation or in the printing the error has
38675 been made, that the Quarter of the Greeks in Constantinople is called Feuer, where it
means Fener of a watchfire. The city laws and the maintenance of justice are spoken
of in the 25th section, as well as the Empire's offices in the 26th. After he had
here observed, that every Bajfa, by the five thousand extortions fixed revenues, in
time of war is bound to deliver one Soldier for the army; he makes the following list
38680 of it, which, generally speaking, is true, but in which I shall remark in the Notes,
in what way Ricaut differs from her. I will almost go into this more here. because he
does not express the numbers with numerals, like Businello, but with words, as I
shall do: although this can be changed after wars, when Provinces are won or lost,
and this is the reason why Ricaut himself, on both occasions, when he deals with
38685 this, is not always the same, namely, Search I. chapter 12. and Book III. chapter 3.
A. Beglerbeg, who draw their income from their stadtholderships. j. in Afi'è. Bassim*
three has un-1 annual income- delivers in ear- horse-tail- zigst to Atpen logst ten.
Sand- 200 Zoldna- schakken I ten' 1) of Nato- fourteen \ one million Hè', (lives in
Rutajaij yanW seven six hundred sixty hundred r, L Huizend (a) two and der- manne (te
38690 ciuum V "\ tig. KogntO 3) of O) Ric. six hundred sixty thousand and seventy-four. f
snT"egemien I one million and two hundred behroïMe- | two times a hundred and forty
phopotamy, I thousand (£) (at Diarbekir, formerly Amida.-) övwGreat six nine hundred
hundred and Armenia' (at thousand Sivai). 5Damascus\ ten one mi-Hoen two hundred 6)
£OT, a veera one million, two hundred j (O two hundred and forty, thousand, 00 7) Of
38695 or, fourteen one million, one two hundred Medle' hundred, two and six and twenty.
thirty thousand, (0 tig. 8) f#/(f). nine nine hundred, one hundred five I twenty-five
and eighty. | thousand, (g) 9J Aleppo | nine() one million (/) J two hundred (b) Ric.
one million, two hundred thousand, six hundred and sixty. (0 Ric eleven, 00 Ric, one
million, two hundred thousand, six hundred and sixty. (0 Ric one million, one hundred
38700 thirty-two thousand, two hundred and nine. (f) Is probably what is called by Ricaut
Tschildir, on the borders of Georgia, around Great Ar. vtenia. O?) Ric. nine hundred
twenty thousand. (h-) Ric. Seven. 00 Ric. eight hundred seventeen lasting, seven
hundred and seventy-two, loZittaQt) four | six hundred, thirty-hundred six (w) j tig
thousand (/) and twenty. 11 Tripoli di four eight times hundred hundreds Soria.
38705 thousand, sixty. \2)Trebifon- four C») seven hundred, one hundred seven- five and
thirty doves and for- sending
(0) tig.
13) Kan six eight hundred and one hundred and four twenty thousand and sixty.
14) Mosul five six hundred one hundred seven eighty thousand and thirty.

38710

(*) Probably this is by Ricaut Marasch, on the Euphrates between Mephopotamia and Aleppo, the
capital of a Province of the same name situated on Mount Amanus.

(/) Ric. six hundred twenty-eight thousand, four hundred and fifty.

38715 (jn) Ricaut adds here:
Scheherezul in Afyria, the capital of Kurdislan, of two hundred Sandschakken, and a
million revenue.
Larnica on Cyprus, of seven Sandschakken and five times a hundred thousand, six
hundred and fifty Aspers. The first was probably lost in a war with Persia,

38720 (») Ric. does not count one.
(e) Ric. seven hundred, thirty-four thousand, eight hundred and fifty.
(†) Ric. eight hundred and twenty thousand, six hundred and fifty.
(?) Six hundred and eighty-one thousand, six and fifty;.
15) Urstf(r) | seven I eight hundred eighty I hundred ze?

38725 I, thousand (Y) one and seventy.
II. In Europe (†).
1) of Ru- four and I a million hundred- I two hundred melia lives twenty. third
thousand As- and twenty, in Sophia. pers
2) of Bos. eight one million eight three hundred
38730 times a hundred thousand and sixty. send. («)
3) The Kapi- thirteen nine times hundred and tenin-Bafa. thirty thousand. (V) eighty.
4) Belgrade. six eight times a hundred hundreds
thousand. sixty.
5) Morea thirteen nine times a hundred and
38735 third thousand. eighty.
6) Choczim four seven times a hundred and
third thousand. forty.
7) Bender three eight times a hundred hundred and
thousand. sixty. S) Kandië. eleven nine times a hundred and I third thousand. |
38740 eighty.

\$0 Km

(r) This is probably Rica by Ricaut.

CO K-Ic- six hundred, eighty thousand. Businello seems to be right, according to the calculation of the Soldiers, which Ricaut has entirely omitted, and according to which one Soldier must be placed on five thousand Aspers. (0 Many of these Ricaut does not have; on the other hand he still has Paschalike at Ofen, Temeswar eiz. which the House of Austria has taken back into possession.

(ti) Ricaut does not specify a sum here.

Cr) Ric. eight hundred, five and eighty thousand.

g-) Karna five six hundred five hundred and ty thousand. thirty.

10) Retimo four six times a hundred a hundred and thousand. twenty.

,0 Silislria seven seven hundred and ' fifty thousand. fifty.

Nidiri I six seven times a hundred | hundred and third thousand. forty

13) Negro- two five hundred du- hundred zend

14) Lepatitè five four hundred, five j ninety thousand.

B. Sandschakken, (y) which are paid from the Empire treasury.

1) Cairo sixteen sixty thousand du- five hundred ducate(s)

of Babylon two one million, seven- three hundred twenty and a hundred thousand and forty, send Aspers.

3) Bajjora four six hundred thousand and ten Aspers.

Consequently, in all Bafas were 32 7 which

Sandschakken 281 3 at their own expense, in time of war had to supply 597* men.

Each of such Stadtbouderschappen has its own Mufti, Reis-Effendi, Grand Treasurer,

j) Businello says so; but it should be Bcglerbegs.

O) Ricaut is apparently wrong when he states six times a hundred thousand ducats. of the Janistas-Aga and Spahilar-Aga. In the 2nd Section it is said of the and the government at Cairo: that it was very much determined by the 24 Beys in the country and the rebellious people. With regard to the government over Wallachia (section 28.) he notes that this Province formerly gave sixty thousand Piastres, but since 1665.

has to deliver 1) the Sultan two hundred and thirty thousand (a) Piastres, 15 thousand Ukken of honey, and nine thousand Okken of wax; 2) the Grand Fisherman five

thousand Piastres, as well as a Sable Pelt; 3) his Kiaja five hundred piastres, and an equal Pelt; 4) the Grand Treasurer five hundred piastres; (T) the Kislar-Aga, two

thousand piastres. Mol davië (Division 29.) is not much better off ' When Mahomed II made it cynsible, it paid only two thousand piastres, afterwards eight thousand. But,

after it has been brought under the Ottoman yoke, it pays 1) the Sultan one hundred and sixty thousand piastres, (c) ten thousand ocks of wax and as much honey; 2) to the Armoury 600 pounds

(a) Ricaut says: one hundred and thirty thousand; but at the same time declares that IVMacHia and Moldavia had to give even as much as was determined.

(b) Ricaut adds: and a sable pelt.

(c) Ric. states only sixty thousand, but is mistaken in all circumstances.

the sulphur, one thousand three hundred and twenty ochres of wax, five hundred skins of skins, and as many pieces of kanephas for clothing for the slaves on the galleys;

3) the GmouVistervxi one thousand piastres and a sable pelt, 4) its Kiaja five hundred piastres; 5) its Treasurer (d) five hundred piastres. The 30th division deals

with the Tartars and Allies of the Porte on the Barbarian coast. Among the culpable nations of the Turkish Empire are counted by (section 31) the Georgians, MinGrelies and Ragusans. Of the two first, the Porte receives Slavs; of the latter, the Turkish

protection comes to pay, every three years, about 16 thousand Venetian ducats. By the household of the Turkish Empire, its public treasuries, and the persons, the

government there. Speaking of which, (section 32) he testifies, how difficult it is, to know anything certain about it, because of the far-reaching arrogance of the

Turks. The Mirl or the Reichs-kasse and their annual income he calculates (section 33-5 thus:

The usual poll tax three million piastres.

Salt mines and fishery three Lettings, leases, Contribution of Offices two -

(d) Ricaut understands by this, and certainly better, the Reich.-Treasurer or Destetdar

From the public goods two million piastres.

From the Tollen Five million piastres.

From the other income about five,
so 20 million piastres.

38810 The Hafna or treasury of the Great Lord brings in just as much, without having the
expenditure of the Miri, and consists of the tribute of Cairo, Waüachiè, Moldavia,
Ragusa, the confiscated goods of the Baf as, income due to experiences, the fines,
the mines of Erzerum, Diarbekir, etc. (e) The following six sections deal with Trade,
38815 as the 34 of the Turkish. Wolocken will mean Volikèn, a kind of vessel, but Echim-
Bassi the first Doctor, Hekim Bafelh. He represents the Vietnamese trade as very much
in decline, but also the means to make it flourish again. The French trade is (as it
still is) the strongest; but that of the English and Dutch has never flourished so
much before. The Russian is very advantageous to Russia, especially with regard to
derpeltery; the German can, because of the

38820 (e) Kantemr reports that in his time, only fourteen millions had come into each of
the two; the Turkish Emperors had understood the art so well, to increase their
income by taxes, as other Princes.

38825 asks the Goods, never to become great. The Swedish trade with ironwork did not mean
much, and is more a Levantine shipping; that of the Neapolitans consists in trifles.
He comes (section 40.) to the causes of the decline of the Economy in the Turkish
Empire. He finds these 1) in that the Europeans export a lot of money for worked
38830 Goods and Diamonds. Mainly he should have reported, that most of the country's
products, such as silk, goat hair, tree wool, wool etc. go out unworked.
2) Because the government is mostly in the hands of the Neighbours, who draw all the
money into the Seraglio, but spend little, whereby the circulation of it among the
people stops;

38835 3) because of the unfortunate wars. — This is followed by the *t«è section, the
military state of the Turks. After a general introduction he describes (section 42)
the Topschi and Kumbaradschi. The former are the Artillerists, the latter the
Bombardiers. Both would number 18 thousand men, but they were far from complete. The
three following sections on the Maritime State, the Turkish ships and their
construction methods are accompanied by the observation that shipbuilding is
38840 extremely deceptive, because the Overseers and builders, for example, darkened the
iron nails and hammered in wooden ones. The 46 11th section deals with the Armoury at
Colonial. The Turks had everything that belongs to shipbuilding, at little expense,
such as wood, iron, canvas, ropes, etc., but everything was in disrepair. But they
had a supporting navy. (section 47) They received ten ships from the Barbarian
38845 coasts, and 24 from Egypt, which were used as merchant ships in time of peace, but
all could pass for ships of fifty guns and 600 men. The fanistaries, (section 48)
which are at Constantinople, he estimates at thirty thousand. The Mectors,
Bostanschi, Leventis, and Serads are described in the 49th section. The first are
intended to break up the army, to take away and transport the tents, and would amount
38850 to six thousand; the last are the soldiers of the Bassas, who must look after the
baggage in time of war, and form the reference corps. The Spahi follow in the 50th
division. They have lost much of their old Dignity, which they often abused. Among
these were also included the Zaim and Timariotes. (section 51) They could be called
the feudal militia, because the feudal lords were obliged to provide men according to
38855 their income. The former had, annually, income from 20 thousand to 99 thousand seven
hundred and 99 Aspers; the latter partly from three thousand to five thousand nine
hundred and ninety-nine, partly from six thousand to 19 thousand 9 hundred and
ninety-nine. The former had to provide a well-ridden horseman against five thousand
(because 500 is a misprint) Aspers, the latter against three thousand, (here too 300
38860 is a misprint) a common mounted horseman Rellen. The sum of which amounted to one
hundred and thirty-one thousand, 9 hundred and 64 men. The Dschedschi (section 52)
were, at first, only a foe of armourers, and 630 men strong; but now served as the
principal Spahi, and would be 30 thousand men strong, although they were not nearly
so. The Segbani had to be supplied by the Bas/as, and came near the Dragoons. The
38865 Mukladschi were the servants of the officers. From this, section 53- the following
account of the troops is then drawn up.

Foot soldiers

Janistaars, 162 chambers, each for 700 men, 113400

Toppedschis, —

38870 Kumbaradschi, — 2000

Bostanschi, — 12000

Mekterfi, — 6000

Seradsche, — 6000

	Kairo Militia, —	3000
38875	Leventi, —	32000
	Naval troops. — — —	1?000
	Summa	207400
	Ridery.	
38880	Spahi,	10000
	Zaitn and Timariotes, —	132054
	Dschedschi,	18000
	Segbani,.	4000
	Mukladschi, —	6000
38885	Free willing,	1000
	Tartars, (although they, justifiably, had to deliver 100000, —	60000
	Summa	240054
38890	Infantry and cavalry thus made up 447454 men; but of these, 120000 went to the occupation of Constantinople and other places, and 50000 men to the crew of the ships. The political system of the Porte (section 54) was very changeable. With regard to the State economy (section 55) the policy of the Turks was strange. The Families, by the right of inheritance of the Great Lord, were allowed to become impoverished, and the Bassas were deprived of the goods extorted in their Provinces,	
38895	and either sent them into exile, or strangled them. As a result the country became subjection, and the power of the Families quite pretended. As to the Policy with regard to the Government, (section 56) there was a general dissimulation. The highest State officials were drawn up as slaves, who can gain adherence, but are still hated. In their Policy, with regard to war, (section 57) he observes, how that they kept or	
38900	sent out their Missionaries everywhere, and for that purpose employed their native subjects among Christians and Turks, by whom they allowed themselves to be instructed in everything without cost. If they lost a battle, the General was blamed for it. After a conquest of the Provinces they sought further to make peace, and to depopulate them of their native subjects, in order to occupy them with Mohammedans.	
38905	For the Militia they had the greatest respect, and the Great Lords enrolled themselves in their registers. The Porte especially provided for the provisions with which Constantinople could be supplied. The laws were so arranged, and were so enforced, that the power of the Monarch was supported by them, but the subjects were oppressed, and the treasuries were enriched. This was easily put into operation by	
38910	the current false testimony, and arbitrary power of the Judges, and these were finally shaken off. They had their Policy, with respect to punishments, (section 60) which are sudden and cruel; as also to rewards (section 61) which, excepting the offices of honour, consist in trifles, as a fur or a sabre, and yet were considered as gifts from Heaven. Since therefore (section 62) the nature of Turkish policy ends	
38915	in the support of the Sultan's power, the oppression of the subjects, and the enrichment of the treasuries; therefore they made use of the oppression of families, the destruction of the natural right of inheritance, the exchange of state servants, and rapid and severe punishments. In the following ten sections he presents the Porte's way of thinking about Persia; — about the Mughals and Ushecken; — about	
38920	Muscovy; — Prussia and Sweden; (of both they sought to take advantage against Muscovy,) — about Poland, which they considered only to determine the Russians by it; — concerning the House of Oojlenryk, which for them, especially when the Imperial Dignity, and therefore the union with Germany were therewith, is formidable 5	
38925	concerning France, England and Holland. With Spain there was, in a certain respect, an antiquated enmity; Naples they respected, because it has such close ties with Spain and France. Coming to Vmetia, he naturally shows some nationalism. With regard to the peace treaties and treaties with foreign Powers, (section 73-) the Turks held the religious position that they not only could, but also had to break them, if they thereby enlarged their Empire and could propagate their Religion. They had also, many	
38930	times, made use of it, especially when they clearly saw the advantages ahead. The last 7 sections concern the foreign ambassadors to the Porte. They honour them as representatives of their courts, but they also regard them as pledges of loyalty, which must be observed in times of war, as well as otherwise. He relates the ceremonies that occurred at the departure of an ordinary ambassador of the Republic	
38935	of Venice to Constantinople; — an honour that she has, by virtue of an old custom; furthermore the audiences with the Grand Vizier and Sultan, and the circumstances at the presentation of the presents, in particular the	
	none" which the Venetian Ambassadors let the Imperial Harem handle. The necessary	

- 38940 knowledge of an Ambassador refusing to the Porte, and the requisite rules of conduct, form the conclusion of this work, which is, certainly, the most extensive and accurate of its kind, and cannot be recommended enough to those who wish to know with what eyes a Political Scientist has viewed the Turkish Empire. I have dwelt so long on the evaluation and extracts thereof, with forewarning, because my work itself
- 38945 receives many good additions therefrom, and I shall be all the more brief with others.
- Observations fur le Commerce é? fur les arts d'une part ie de l'Europe, de l'Asie cfc. par Jean Claude Flachet, 2 Tom. a Lion, 1766 8. De plates usually represent Machines, but are small and not at all beautiful. — The author travelled through
- 38950 France, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and Wallachia, beginning on page 377, with mention of Constantinople. — On page 383 he assures us that he measured the former St. Sophie's church well, and found it to be about 213 feet long, and 150 feet wide (*). Up to page 490 he writes only the truth concerning the Turks. — On page 491 Reland is wrongly called Ecclesiastique Suedois. — On pages 518-562 the whole of the Ca-
- 38955 (*) This is, certainly, far too little. Grelot says: "elle" a de long en dedans quarante deux toiles fur trente-huit" de large. "These were (the Toife reckoned to six feet,) 252 feet for the length, and 228 for the breadth. Gii.l, in his Topogr. Constant. Ub. 2. cap. 3. states the utmost height of the interior at 140, the length at 240, and the breadth at 230" feet.
- 38960 pitulation. Of these the peace treaties with other Christian powers are no more than Copies. What he writes, at the end of the first part, concerning the prophecies, which would not be very strange in Turkey, is for his account. Each, according to his particular understanding, either accepts such things, or does not believe them. — In
- 38965 the second part there are detailed anecdotes and remarks concerning the governments of Mahmud and Osman, of whom the first died in his time, and the other became his successor. These are very useful for the History of those times and secret Court negotiations, because he, as Bassarian-Baschi (chief negotiator) of the Kislar-Aga, is well in could experience. In virtue of that post he once had the opportunity to see the Seraglio from the inside, of which he relates as much as he could retain in his memory on pages 164-224. For he was not permitted to write anything down during the visit, much less to draw anything. In the remaining pages to the end he expands on other subjects, such as water pipes, the trade of France with Turkey, the dyeing of tree wool, etc. in which I am not knowledgeable, but nevertheless must judge from
- 38975 various circumstances that there are many useful things for merchants of the commercial colleges of other countries. His pretense that Mohammed's grave is in Mecca, and the Zetnzem well there in a public place, is unfounded. Otherwise this book bears the stamp of truth, although it is not apparent from the title that it is a travelogue, and the remarks in it are only made by chance. For me the description
- 38980 of the Seraglio is remarkable from the inside, and I think I can fill a gap in my work with it, and at the same time give my readers pleasure, when I communicate the most important of it; because I consider it, for various reasons, to be the most genuine, that we know of it, so far.
- One enters the third Court, or the third Square, through a very projecting Portal. Sixteen pillars of porphyry stone decorate it on either side. The vault is heavily
- 38985 gilded, and painted with somewhat raised leaves and flowers. Here one finds two rooms. The doors are closed; then the white Engraved are so safe, that they could withstand a siege. From their windows they see everything that goes on in the second and third Square. This is not so much because of its size, but rather the ornaments
- 38990 that are lavished on it, the most beautiful. The walls are covered with slabs of porphyry and other choice marble, on which one sees a great multitude of Turkish inscriptions in gold letters. The floor is special, of marble, but carved with stripes, so that the horses should not slip. The Ambassadors go from here to the famous Audience Hall of the Sultan. This consists of an open gallery, which is
- 38995 gilded, and well provided with sculptural and plasterwork. Pillars of inestimable value form the principal ornament of this free-standing Hall. It is square, and covered with a large dome, which ends in a long gilded spire, on which stands a half moon. The Sultan's Throne is worthy to be seen. — The outer rooms, courts and gardens, in fact, by their vastness, give the Palace
- 39000 of a great Prince. But, if I except the great number of precious pillars, and some other remains of the splendor of the Eastern Emperors, then one sees no masterpieces of various arts. These could have exhausted themselves here, if the Sultans had had more taste. — The Audience Hall would lie quite free, if it had not been united on one side with the Gallery leading to it. The Sepher-Oda Hall, where the Sultan's
- 39005 Guards are kept, is at the right hand at the end of the Square. The front part of a building, which is made of several large pillars of porphyry stone, raises the

magnificent floor, to which one comes by a large marble staircase. It leads to a spacious hall, around which run two galleries, resting on square beams. The Seferli sleep there on a sofa a hand's breadth high. In the morning each rolls up his

39010 mattress in the place which has been assigned to him, and fastens it to the wall with the sheet and the blanket. Under the sofa is a chest, in which they can lock away their best things. — They almost always walk under the pillars of the Gallery, to keep watch. From there one enters a bath.

The Hasne or Imperial Treasure is, on the same side, eastward, and on a floor, at the

39015 end of which is the first of the two doors, which one carefully closes, when the Hasne-Kiaja counts out the currencies, and makes his account. — They are first examined, counted and weighed, before they are thrown into the large bag, in which five thousand Zechines go. — Then the seal is pressed on it. — That Hafne consists of very many rooms. There are many under the ground, which receive their light through

39020 windows, which are opened from the side of the sea. Everything is kept there that cannot be damaged by damp. But in the rooms, laid out on the same level as the floor of the Seraglio, one sees on shelves in various compartments, or cases, materials of all kinds, vessels of infinite value, rough and worked stones; in a word, the Emperor's greatest treasures. A story of this would be too long, and seem incredible.

39025 The workshops of the Jewelers are near the Hafne, and almost next to the forecourt. They are very active. They are paid daily. For each piece they receive, according to the effort expended on it, a reward.

A steeply ascending underground passage leads to the Hall of the White Engraved, to whom the guarding of the door is also entrusted. Before one enters the Allee, which

39030 separates two beautiful flower arrangements, one encounters a small, very beautiful Mosque, whose dome is covered with lead. Two lattices are in this passage to the Allee. The view here is admirable; for it lies on high Terraces, from which one sees over the Sea and the Asian coasts.

The Boyanshi keep watch at the door, which is opposite the subterranean passage; they

39035 also have their dwelling there, just as the white Engraved ones at the said passage in the rooms, which have been constructed above it and to the side.

Then one goes down to the place of the stone pillars. The Chafz-Oda (Chamber of the Sultan's servants) and the rooms of the Seliktar are at the end of one of the two

39040 previously mentioned flower arrangements, and opposite the Hall of the Seferli. They are not far from the new Kiosk, which Mohammed V. had built for the amusements in the spring. It is near the great city wall. One enters, on the same ground, the flower arrangements, which are here maintained with extraordinary care, because they come up against the principal rooms of the Seraglio.

The large square Kiosk is visible from afar, and seems to rise from the midst of

39045 flowers, orange and other trees. It is the most beautiful of all, and built as if on a bulwark with two wings. The dome rests on painted wooden pillars. The door is to the south; the other sides are provided with glass windows. — The Orangery is below on the wall to the north. — The water runs in abundance from the upper garden there into a basin of old marble, which is carved with extraordinary skill. I return to the

39050 door where the white Engraved keep watch, and from which one comes to the Chambers of the black Engraved and the Kislar-Aga. The Mosque of the Chasz-Oda has no other decoration than a beautiful Carpet on the floor. It lies westward on the great wall. The Idschoglans have their dwelling in this court, doing their prayers in it. The Sultan also sometimes goes there, when the weather is rainy or cold. Here, opposite

39055 the floor in front of the Hasne, is a covered passage with pillars of granite stone, which serves as a foundation and support of a large building, to which one climbs by a beautiful marble staircase. The entrance is from the western side. Around the Mosque one enters a wide antechamber covered with marble, from which many fountains spring from a beautiful basin. The Seliktar, the Rikiabdar Aga and the Tscho adar-

39060 Baschi occupy the rooms on the first floor, which look out on the great Square, and the Kaffedschi-Bassi the open one, which is below it, next to the great staircase. In the sockets of the inner wall, by which the pillars are united, are kept the clothes, trinkets, horse-harnesses, and in general everything that serves for the usual ceremonies, and cannot be brought into the ??to other than with difficulty, and even

39065 danger. When one has passed the corner, which forms the western side of the Square; then one sees the great door of the Chasz-Oda, through which the Sultan enters the Harem. On each side are two Terraces, raised one foot above the ground of the Square, and paved with beautiful square stones, where the Gentlemen and Servants of the Court stay, because they are not allowed to go any further.

39070 The buildings, which form the front part of the north side, are regular and uniform. This piece of architecture would be admired everywhere. A large number of free-standing pillars provide a beautiful corridor, in which one can go to all the rooms.

39075 The Treasurer's room has his room in the corner of a very spacious hall. It looks very much like the Sefer-Oda. On both sides, as long as it is, one finds a wide Sofa, on which 50 people could sleep comfortably. — The same also on the upper gallery. Each floor or section is lit by well-placed windows. From this first room one goes into another, which is just as large, and laid out in the same way, and is intended for the same use.

39080 The warm room, where one smokes tobacco on the sofas, is the last, and is only separated from it by an antechamber. — The walls of the bath stove and its antechamber are furnished with imitation porcelain vessels. — The aforementioned other room occupies the entire front part of the third square on the north side; the two doors and the windows provide a pleasant view, notwithstanding the fact that the construction method is very simple. It is on the side of the above-described Audience Hall. — Between these two Sowings of the Idschoglans a special building has been constructed. In it are three rooms, level with the ground. — The Hasne-Kiaja gives Audience there. There is another, at the same distance from this and the Sultan's Audience Hall. From there he sees the exercises and games which are arranged in the square for his amusement. It is two stories high, regularly built, and covered with very beautiful marble.

39090 The noon-time of the Minnarets is announced everywhere. The Imam climbs, to that end, on the third square of the Seraglio, on a pillar of porphyry stone. This rises only six feet above the ground. The rest with the foot is under the ground. From what one sees of it, one must regret that it is intended for this use, so admirably is it wrought.

39095 On returning to the gardens I saw with pleasure the large square Kiosk again, which lies to the north. The light falls in through 40 windows. The panes were 22 inches wide. The lead roof runs in a square pointed shape, and carries an octagonal lantern with glass. The small dome, which covers it, and the spire placed on it are heavily gilded.

39100 There is another, also large Kiosk, although of a different construction, in the upper garden, but also northward, in the shape of a cross. Each wing is supported by seven arches. The Hall is laid out according to the same design. — The main building consists of 4 sections, and gets its light by a lantern from the large dome. — These two buildings with a smaller Kiosk make up the entire outer side of the gardens northward. You see them from far away.

39105 When you come to the third square of the Serail; then the Audience Hall was at the right hand. At the end of this square is the entrance to the interior of the Serail. — The Chasz-Oda (the Hall of the Idschoglans) is the first room level with the ground towards the west, very spacious, and covered with marble. — In it they keep watch day and night. I do not repeat here, that all the rooms are covered with lead, and most of the domes are gilded. Through a lantern on the large dome the light falls into each room.

39110 From here one goes into two vaulted rooms, which are kept by black carvings. A small square separates them from each other, and each has stoves on the side, to heat in the winter.

39115 A gallery, which is covered with five domes, and runs towards the south, leads to a large place. It is the ante-room to the first chamber of the Sultan. One can also reach it through an upper gallery, which is attached to the residence of the Kislär-Aga. The principal servants of the Porte are also brought in there, who have to deal with important matters with the Sultan. A large number of black Ennemies live around in small rooms. This room has two doors; the first is to the north; the other to the south; none for the Sultan, this one for the Kislär-Aga. The first leads to a corridor, to which the boundaries of the Harem. They are of medium size built of stone; they overlook a garden, which is surrounded by a very high wall; they are clear, and furnished with fine furniture. These consist of carpets, hangings, curtains, mirrors, clocks, and small chests, which are placed in the corners of the sofa, which goes all around, and on which one stays day and night. — From this first garden one goes into a second. The two-story high Kiosk is in the middle, and a pleasant place to stay. The Sultan often goes there with the Sultans.

39120 The principal inner court of the Seraglio is at the end of this garden. It consists of four principal buildings. The Sultan occupies that which lies to the west, whose outer walls are upholstered with porcelain. In the others, which also all rest on arches, the Sultans live. This square rather resembles the Place Royale in Paris. It is longer than it is wide. The rooms are heated by stoves, standing on the ground below.

39125 After the Grand Duke's room, one climbs a magnificent staircase. The floor is square; the anteroom is much larger; the room itself extends to the corner of the square, and

39130

39135

on this side forms an end of the building of the Seraglio.

39140 Here one can form an idea of the opulence of the Sultans. Everything is in the utmost
splendor. Everywhere one sees unusually fine porcelain, with excellent flowerwork.
The walls are hung with gold fabrics. The sofa is of the same rich material. The
mirrors, clocks, small chests, in a word, everything is remarkable. The most
39145 remarkable thing is that it is almost always masterpieces of foreign artists with
which one tries to arrange this room.

Then one comes to the Gallery, where the rooms of the 12 Sultans are. These are
large, and furnished with excellent furniture. There are lattices in front of the
windows, and they have a view of the square. On the garden side they have Saxons or
small projecting balconies, in which they sit, and can see the country, and what is
39150 going on in the gardens, without being seen.

In the middle of the north side they have a projecting building. This is like the
meeting room; there the women come, to be on the lookout for the Great Lord, and to
make themselves comfortable with him by a thousand pleasures. - From there one goes
to the large bath. This consists of three divisions, all of which are covered with
39155 marble. The middle one is the most elegant; its vault rests on marble pillars;
through inset crystals the light falls in. Between both are only doors with glass, to
see everything one does. - The women's sons of a lower rank, and the black Engraveds
have their special, very pure and comfortable baths.

When one comes out of the great Harem; one takes one's way through a very gloomy
39160 passage; this goes through the principal residence of the Engraveds, and leads
directly to the prison-house of the Princes, who as Sons of the Sultans can stand to
the Throne. It resembles a strong fortress, and is surrounded by a great wall. - One
enters through two gates, carefully guarded from within and without by Engraveds,
each of which has a double iron gate, the stay there seems to be sad. There is a very
39165 pretty garden with good water by it. The Princes have beautiful buildings and baths
in the principal buildings, which enclose the court. The Engraveds appointed to their
service, inhabit the apartments that are level with the ground.

So far I have spoken only of the buildings that one inhabits in the Seraglio. - In
general, an admirable simplicity reigns in this vast Palace, to the eyes of the
39170 Connoisseurs. Although one finds few masterpieces of architecture and other arts that
they sail away; one must nevertheless admit that everything announces the Palace of a
great Emperor. - I should have to digress too far; if I were to mention and describe
all the apartments and subterranean water-basins. I am less surprised at the
astonishing vastness of these places, than at their manner of construction. Under the
39175 apartments, and even under the squares of the Seraglio, there are vaults, which rest
on large stone pillars. The walls can withstand all tests. - The Sultans are there,
as in an invincible fortress, completely safe. In times of unrest Mahmud came back
quickly from the other Imperial pleasure houses where he did not consider himself
safe enough. In the meantime it seemed that he left the shores of the Sea with
39180 dissatisfaction, because he took great pleasure in them. And this was the reason why
he decided, in the year 1745, to build the Serail of Top-Kapi, even in the vicinity
of the great Serail.

This was built on the Sea. The residence of the Great Lord is between East and South,
opposite Scutari. The Court occupies the main buildings from North to West. One
39185 enters from the Sea side through two gates. One (Top-Kapi) is defended by two towers
rising high. The entrance is very dark. One goes for a long time under a surprisingly
long vault, on which a beautiful garden has been laid out, and to which one can come
directly from the second floor of the Harem. - The apartment of the Sultan surpasses
in the costliness of its furniture that of the great Seraglio. - The prisons of the
39190 Bostanschi-Baschi are near the Sea-Kiosk. This rests on 9 high vaults, whose pillars
are of an unusual thickness. - The Kiosk, which is before the second gate (Jali
Kioske-Kapi), where the Bostanschi and Kapidschi keep watch, has only one floor. -
The Hall, where the Sultan gives audience to the Captain-Bassa, receives its light
from the lantern of the great dome. - One climbs it from the four sides by a large,
39195 white marble staircase. The Throne or Sofa of the Sultan is at the end; a gate
prevents one from coming near it; the vault, which is painted, decorated with
sculptures, and gilded in a reasonably good taste, rests on 24 pillars. It is
generally one of the most beautiful Kiosks in the Imperial Palaces.

When one goes through the gate Jatli-Kioske; then an Allee leads to the Kioske, a
39200 gate of the Harem, which is called Kalfaje. - From there one goes, by various Alleys,
to the rooms of the Bostanschi-Baschi, the new Kioske of Aganum-Harem, the Harem of
the Sultan, the Chasz-Oda and the old Seraglio, which is decorated with beautiful
pillars and Mo??. - From there I came to the so-called iron gate Demir-Kapiy Tower
Alai-Kioske, which is opposite the Palace of the Grand Visir. - Continued on the

right hand; then one could continue to the place Tfiragan, where the apartments of the Kislär-Aga are. - When one approaches the sea from here; one can go down to a square, which is longer than wide, and at the end of which is a large wooden surface, which forms an ante-room of small rooms, as well as a covered corridor, from which one goes into a magnificent, longer than wide Hall - This is equipped with precious, European furniture, even with an Organ and Clavier. - attached to this is a square, richly decorated Cabinet, from which one comes into the Harem described above. My description would have become too long if I had wanted to mention all the valuables. - The Sultans have made it a law to themselves not to let anything leave the Imperial Palace. They either buy or receive, as a gift, what the whole world has in the way of more ornaments or rare things. - In the choice of these, no less attention has been paid to the perfection of the work than to the material from which it is made. I saw nothing in common. Each gem was found in its rightful place. - It would have taken whole days if one had only wanted to examine quickly the products of any art. - Everything is displayed in open cases. The most beautiful crystalline vessels, full of new Zecchins, seem to be intended only to separate the gems from each other. - But this is only, so to speak, the Cabinet of jewels; many others follow, where one finds in a very excellent order, hanging candlesticks, cabinets, chests, writing desks, boxes for tea, coffee and chocolate, mirrors, tables, armchairs, sofas, all kinds of fabrics, watches, gold and silver work, etc. Nothing is uniform; everything is different. - From these rooms one enters a long Gallery, which is loftier than the great wall, for the defence of which a great number of towers are placed, like the walls of the city, which enclose the houses and gardens of the Seraglio. It receives its light through 15 cross-windows; and from it one sees the walls, Scutari and all the waters nearby. From here one comes, on one side, to a small Kiosk, and on the other side to a beautiful bath. There is another one just like it for the upper rooms.

Here I was led back over a Terrace, and through a small garden to the large court, from which one comes to the previously described Chasz-Oda, and had thus seen the whole Seraglio, and even the most secret places. - In general I must declare, that everywhere the ancients and later ones have been imitated. One has made use of what time has left. At every step one discovers remains of the ancient splendor of the Greek Emperors.

Voyage litteraire de la Grèce, ou lettres fur les Grecs anciens & modernes avec un Parallele de leurs moiurs Tom. 1. pag. 420 Tom. II. pag. 244 a Paris 1771. 8. This book has been translated into High German, under the Title: Literary journey to Greece etc. Leipzig 1772 2 parts. The author is a French merchant from Marseille, who was very well experienced in the Greek language and ancient writers, and described his journey in letters from Constantinople, Adrianople and Smyrna to a Mr. Bourlat de Montredon, for the use of his children, but was subsequently persuaded by his friends to publish the edition. The first letter is written as a preface, and 1750. For the benefit of those who do not understand Italian, it would have been necessary to translate the expression, ü paterna nido (the; fathers hm). - Letter 2 contains general observations on the Turks, Armenians and Jews. This is a very useful illustration of these peoples for those who have to do with them. But this is far from the truth, (unless the translation were wrong,) that the Armenians formed the most numerous, wealthiest and most intelligent nation. In the third letter one finds real general observations on the later Greeks, they were still the old ones, only with the loss of freedom and knowledge under the Turkish yoke. In the fourth letter, of houses, apartments, lamps, sofas, fire-pans, women, embroideries, etc., a passage is quoted from Madame Dacier from Hesvchius, according to which, in the Greek apartments, a fire-pan was placed, and dry wood was burned in it, to warm themselves by. This is not so; for then they had to swallow the smoke: they put extinguished cages in it. - Letter five treats of lovers, mistresses, maids, daughters, who live very modestly, and of honors, by kissing the hands. - Letter six of the dressing-table, the hair-toysel, clothing, precious stones, fanes. - Letter seven of the head-veils. - Letter 8. national character, conversations, liveliness, expressions, proverbs, nobility. - Letter nine, belts, face covering, painted eyebrows, black eyes. - Letter ten, Feasts, meals, far-reaching extravagance at banquets, entertainment with flowers, songs, etc. In the eleventh letter, about the Greek religion, superstition, predictions, dreams, etc. one must wonder that a Roman Catholic can write so much about the ignorance of the Greeks in matters of religion. He thereby, always, silently rebukes his own denomination. - From the i2d to the 18th letter he describes dreams, dances, games, baths, marriages, nymphs, women in childbirth, love for children, hospitality and burials. In the i0th letter, about the graves, burial places and ruins, he wrongly denies that the former were surrounded by

walls; for many have, where there is a strong passage, a wall about three or four feet high. Thus also the assertion is groundless, that they are all outside Reason. Within Constantinople and Smyrna there are many. In the letter of reconciliation of the Turkish counts he praises the steadfastness of an old Father, thinking that it was more than Christian; but it must be ascribed to the Turks the fanatical feeling concerning an absolute fate. — Letter 21 he quotes a great number of Greek stories (rupapuh*). — Letter 22. treats of the oaths of the Greeks: letter 23 of trade and navigation: letter 24 of fishing and the origin of the mandrakes for catching tony, that is, to show how the mandrakes or drag-nets, for catching tony by the roe, originated with the ancient Greeks. The four following letters contain various customs, and a review of the preceding ones. Here he quotes, from hearsay alone, two customs on the island of Mi-telin, which are discussed further on. — Letter 29. treats of the Libatien, for example, when a new ship is launched; then the builder takes wine, and pours it into the stern, and expresses good wishes for the success of the voyage and of the bystanders, then he drinks, and lets the bystanders drink with it. Nor does one ever end a solemn Greek meal, not even at burials, without, as of old, pouring wine, while at the same time one makes good wishes for the Tractant and the Guests. — The thirtieth letter provides observations on various passages in the book, *Esprit des ioix*, on some customs of the Turks, and Mahomed, in which Montesquëteu was wrong. When the writer, in the four following letters, treats of the Arts; he observes therein, that, although they had almost all perished under the Turkish rule, yet among the Greeks there was still all the genius to practice the ancient arts, if they had but the freedom to do so. — In Architecture (letters) he assures, that for public buildings, (for the private houses do not look pretty from the outside,) there were still good Greek architects. — The Music of the Greeks and other Eastern peoples (letter 36) he certainly exalts, because of a strange one-sidedness, above ours. On the Plague (letter 37) he quotes very good observations, especially from ancient History; In the meantime I did not like to follow the writer Hippocrates, who thinks: "that it arose from the frequent rains and south winds, which always blow before the summer, and which were followed by a great calm and heat. "I do not deny in the least the great influence of the weather on health and disease; but I have clearly noticed that the plague by all kinds of i Weather and in all seasons has come out. He further relates how the Jesuits on the island of Scio formerly pretended that of the Romans hardly any had died, and only of the Greeks so many had been carried off; but this is natural; for the former do not compare with the latter, as to numbers. He hereby places an essay by a certain English physician, Mackenzy, on the Plague, who attributes its first origin to the wind, but maintains of the plagued, who suddenly fall down and die, that they must have had the plague beforehand, and had only tried to conceal it, in order not to be abandoned by their friends. But this last point is entirely rejected, because the Turks, especially the common people, with their sense of absolute doom, are not accustomed to abandon their own. — He represents the love of the Fatherland among the present-day Greeks (briest) as still as great as among their ancestors; and it really is; for otherwise they would have long since abandoned it under the tyranny of the Turks, especially when they have little or nothing to lose. — In the 30th letter he gives the following contents of an inscription discovered above one of the Constantinople gates: "in less than two months" the victorious Conjlantyn, on the orders of Theodosius, had these walls built. "Palias himself would hardly have erected such a strong citadel in so short a time. "The three other letters have no specific subject, except that in the last he gives his children instructions on how to compare the earlier and later Greeks in travel, and how to judge the travel descriptions written beforehand. He recommends those who had the opportunity of entering the gardens of the Sultan to draw an obeliscus on which he had read the words: Theodofio Magno ob Gothos devictos; and adds the following in the first letter the two customs mentioned on the island of Mytilene are the real solution of the former French Consul at Smyrna, Mr. de Peyssonnel by: " 'there is on this island a village, Katotrito, where an arriving foreigner is addressed in the following words, to give himself in marriage: avö putros èurut', Travrpevtrovl If you are a man, enter into marriage! This is all that has been retained from the old custom." For the rest it is true that the old laws of this island grant the inheritance of father and mother to the eldest daughter, without the sons being able to demand the least of it. The inhabitants adhere faithfully to this law, when they are not forced by the Turkish Commanders to accept the succession in the inheritance introduced by the Koran. The author has written, as an accurate eye-witness, with such good proof, that it might seem to many as if he had gone too far, and even to trifles. One cannot find any real mistake in his work, and he remains, in his profession, a leading writer for

those who wish to hear the ancient Greeks and Latins on such subjects. He provides a multitude of quotations from Greek and Latin writers, y whose true opinion, as far as it rests on usage, is very well elucidated.

39340 C. Niebuhrs Reischeschreibung nach Amerika und andere umliegenden Landern, Koppenh. 1774 in 4. (in Dutch reize naar Amerika etc. Amsterdam en Utrecht 1776). Preceded by a short travel description from Copenhagen to Constantinople. Regarding this last city he further provides some remarks, suspecting on probable grounds that the measuring rod on Reben's map (which is also laid down in my description) has been
39345 made a third too small, and consequently the city has been made just as much too large. In the further calculation of the number of inhabitants he found very clearly, that many travellers, who judge them solely by the number of people during the day in the principal districts, are very much mistaken, partly because the streets are very narrow, partly because thousands of traders, artists, craftsmen, etc. stay there
39350 during the day because of their business and work, but in the evening, at some distance, even two miles or more, return to their own homes by water or by land. Of the Pyramid with symbolic figures on Atmeidan he provides a drawing. Then follows the voyage by water to Alexandria, with remarks about it. Thence the voyage went to Cairo; then over the Red Sea to Temen, and after some stay there from Mecca, by
39355 water, to Bombay. In the last treatises this travel description is therefore, in accordance with its purpose, most extensive, deserving all the praise that has been given to it elsewhere.

Travels in small Asia by Richard Chandler. Translated from English into High German, Leipzig 1776 in 8 large 396 pages (in Dutch R. Chandler's travels through small Asia etc. Utrecht 1777 in 8.) I have this traveller with his two travelling companions in person, and as diligent researchers known. In the preface one finds an instruction, which the Society of the Amateur in London gave this traveling society, and from which it appears, that the principal aim was indeed to make such discoveries and observations, as the traveling society found itself, of the old state of these
39360 countries, but nevertheless by no means to limit them to that; that they were rather to record everything, which could attract the attention of curious and observant travelers. And at the same time it is said, that the works: Ruins of Athen, and Jewish antiquities, as well as Opfichristen had already been published, and possibly still, when the journeys in Asia Minor were well received, also those that were made
39370 in Greece would be published, (as they were published in Dutch translation, under the Title: R. Chandler travels through Greece, Utrecht 1779.) The journey related here takes place in the year 1765, describing the region around the Dardanelles, Troy, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus, Laodicea, Philadelphia, Sardis and Magnifica, provided with a map, which represents the Archipelago and the adjacent part of Asia Minor. This
39375 work, which can be read very well, is more suitable for scholars than unlearned, although some travel notes are inserted; provides the old, and partly also new History of the places; is occupied with the old and new Geography; and gives good extracts from Pocock, Wheler, and Chishull. The climate and the changes of Weather in the four seasons are fairly accurately noted, and for the rest the regions and
39380 customs are very naturally described, as they appear to a foreigner.

Sir James Forter observations on the Religion, the Government, and Manners of the Turks, (Ch.) from the English. Leipzig 1768 8vo4 186 pages. The author was, about the year 1760, for some time English Ambassador to Constantinople, and for this he provides important and true news. In the first Head he represents the difficulties of
39385 obtaining true news in Turkey; by which one can understand, Why, for example, Madame MonTaöue, in many respects, records untruths. He at the same time paints the Character of the Turks according to Truth, but in an imperfect manner. The second Head, treats of the Mohammedan Religion and the Pilgrimage to Mecca; the third of the Setton of the Mohammedans; the fourth of the Mohammedan Church Government and their
39390 civil laws, and the fifth of the Koran, mostly supplying scattered but genuine observations, the sixth of Despotism and its appeasement, is not ill-suited to refute Montesquieu. The two following main parts supply, in the incidents, for the elucidation of the preceding Chapter, and on the Turkish Government, besides the Vizirate of Rahib Mehemet Bassa, fine observations of the same kind also in the ninth
39395 and tenth parts. on the change of the Visier, the order concerning affairs, the Policy of the Turkish Ministers, and the maintenance of justice with choice examples. Of the Ambassadors and their Audiences he speaks, from his own experience, in the following main part. The mixed observations on the customs of the Turks, in the twelfth chapter, provide things worth reading. The last two chapters deal with the
39400 Greeks and their religion, in which their disputes with the Roman Catholics before the Turks about the so-called Holy places arerelated truthfully and accurately. A few unfounded propositions do not detract from the value of this work. One never

hears, it is said on page 23, of executions, pains, punishments or fines among the
 Turks, which were inflicted on and imposed on anyone for religion. This conflicts
 39405 with what is recorded on page 27, that death is the punishment for an apostate. On
 page 26 he asserts in the observation that, since the beginning of the Hegire, not a
 single example of the conversion of a Turkish to another religion can be brought
 forward. Now this proposition is, in general, not only difficult to prove; (for who
 can give the necessary historical guarantee for it?) but is also apparently
 39410 unfounded. Kantemir, in the Life of Solyman I §. 12. relates a very extraordinary and
 readable example concerning this, presented more fully below. (*) And the cases are
 also lacking

(*)" The civil unrest of that time was followed by another, which concerned religion, and
 39415 1527- broke out. In Constantinople there was namely a scholar of the first rank, in religion
 and sciences exceptionally sad, by name Kabyzi Aijie, who openly maintained that the Christian
 religion rested on better grounds than the Mohammedans, and did not at all conceal his
 thoughts on this. He defended this both in the schools and in the mosques, doing everything
 possible to convince the people of it. Not only the common people stumbled at this, but also
 39420 the lawyers, who heard this reason with displeasure.

and, and with believing, that a man of his learning could do it. They sought in vain
 to induce him to recant; he stuck to his language; so that they saw themselves forced
 to arrest him, and bring him to the Mufti. There he repeated with great boldness,
 39425 what he had so zealously impressed upon the people, living by the strongest proofs
 and the comparison of the Koran with the Euan«lium, that the Christian religion with
 its precepts had an infinite precedence over the Mohammedans. He was again pressed to
 accept his opinion; they even sought to win him by self-love, representing to him
 that a holy Life, like his, seemed to exist with his apostasy, and that his acquired
 39430 fame of virtue was sullied by a hateful error. He despised the admonitions and
 threats, remaining steadfast in his opinion; so that the Emperor could not fail to
 approve the sentence of his beheading. On this occasion a law was made, in which all
 those who, even under the pretext of disputing, should dare to give the Christian
 Religion the precedence over the Mahogany. Although for the reason stated it is rare
 39435 for the Turks to go to Christian countries and become Christians. The remark, page 59
 below, that a thaler makes 120 Aspers, is, at least for the Germans, expressed
 indefinitely. This is a so-called Leeuwenr thaler or Piajler, of which eleven make
 three Dutch ducats. – This work has been translated into French, and has been
 published under the following title: Observations for the religion, the law, the
 39440 government, & the customs of the Turks &c. by Mr. Porter, Nouvelle édition
 confiderablement augmentée de nptes, faites par w Vdiageur, qui afait unféjour
 enTurquie, Neuschatel 1770. This title is, with regard to the added notes, very
 deceptive. One must wonder that one can so shamelessly deceive the public in our days
 by additions to newly improved and enlarged editions. The notes made, which are said
 39445 to have been made by a traveller, do not at all refer to the improvement or
 enlargements of Potter's work, but are generally remarks which one can make in one's
 study, without travelling. For instance, when on pages 53 and 54 of the French
 edition, the far-reaching religious disputes were discussed; one finds, below, this
 remark: "from old times it has been said: "tantum religio potuit fuadere malorum! (so
 39450 many misfortunes can religion bring about!)" These errors, imbibed by religious zeal,
 have not only devastated Asia; but the whole world has also become the horrible scene
 of devastation, caused by a furious and armed fanaticism. For 16 centuries one sect
 has destroyed another. The Christians have nothing to reproach the Muslims with in
 this respect. Should one not be surprised to read again such a remark, the
 39455 groundlessness of which, when it is so generally put down, has been demonstrated so
 many times? It is not religion in itself, not Christianity according to the Holy
 Scripture that brings about devastation, but so-called Christians, who have departed
 from the latter, and others who want to express their own conceived sentiments under
 the name of Christianity, by fire and sword, to impose. – After Porter had spoken of
 39460 the various Sects among the Turks, the annotator makes the following observation on
 page 60: "the Turks, indeed, in matters of religion, show no tolerance towards
 unbelievers, but nevertheless among themselves. This cannot be said of the
 Christians. The various Sects among the Turks live in peace, and do not judge each
 other. How groundless is this observation! Can we deny the Turks all tolerance
 39465 concerning the religion of others, whom they call unbelievers, since so many
 Christians and Jews actually live among them? But do they exercise it among
 themselves, when they strictly forbid investigations into matters of religion, and
 absolutely do not tolerate strange feelings among their own co-religionists? Are
 these Christians according to the Holy Scripture, who persecute their fellow

39470 Christians with fire and sword? - The remark, page 100, is of this content: "Mr. van
Bre?? ?? presents us, in an excellent essay, 5, in the collection of the Academy of
Inscriptions in Paris, tom. 32., Mahomed in a quite different light, than that in
39475 which he has hitherto been generally exhibited. If we may concern this famous
Academician; then Mahomed, by his birth, and by the example of his ancestors, was
called to that role, which he played in Arabia. As he was the heir of the priestly
and princely Family; so he had no other aim, than the preeminence of his House, and
the purity of the ancient Religion, which it maintained.
This essay is full of new prospects, deep investigations, and the most enlightened
39480 judgment. "I have not read that essay; but I wonder at its design and intention. What
will it profit to present Mohammed from time to time in a different light, so long as
one can instruct oneself, as to his business, character, and religion, from his
Koran, and the wit expended in his veneration will be wasted? It would then have to
come to the point that, as the unbelievers do with the writers of the Holy Scripture,
one would deny him this. - I will only quote the addition on page 192: "the
39485 extraordinary ambassadors of Poland (to the Porte) have also some special advantages;
perhaps because, at the Audience, they appear in the Seraglio in long robes. They
are, by the Porte, from their arrival in the Empire and during their stay kept free
etc. "Now this is confused and unfounded. The Venetian Ambassador is also, at the
Audience, long dressed; and as for the advantages; they are, in a certain respect,
39490 due to all Ambassadors; concerning which the work of Porter, in the same Head, should
only have been checked.
Lord Baltimore has published: travel in the East, in the years 1763, in 1764 and
observations on the city of Constantinople and the Turks, together with some selected
39495 samples of the wit and poetry of the East. (at least that is the title of this book
according to the High German.) Augsburg 1770 large 100 pages in large 8vo. The Lord,
known for his treasures and literary exercises, describes, in the first 26 pages his
journey from Naples through the Archipelago to Constantinople. His stay there lasted
from August 1763 to May 1764. He communicates his observations on this capital up to
page 46, and from there to page 74 the samples of the Eastern way of thinking,
39500 learning, wit and poetry. The rest contains the return journey by land. On many
occasions the places of the Latin poets are quoted. The title does not correspond
with the content, because a journey to the East promises more than a single journey
to Constantinople. No one may doubt the truth of the reports, since the Lord, during
his stay in Constantinople, tried to live entirely according to the customs of the
39505 Turks. The short time he was there certainly prevented him from judging the Plague
better than he actually does, when he asserts that "it is not nearly so dangerous
there as is generally imagined. He considers it no more contagious than other
epidemic fevers. He is right in thinking that in the Eastern countries the Levantine
Plague is too dangerous, and as it is wont to rage among us; but a longer stay would
39510 nevertheless have informed him better. Here I must discover another error concerning
the Plague, which is found in a travel description to the island of Cyprus. (Viaggi
per Vifola di Cipro de Giov. Mariti Lucca. According to the Higher Göttingische
Anzeigen 1770, 139 St.) "Egypt would have the Plague of Constantinople. For from
here, from Smyrna and Thessalonica, the Plague would spread, unusually easily, to
39515 Egypt. Such and similar untruths propagate themselves unnoticed, especially among the
writers.
We have now also received a Thevenot of the present century in France in an Abbot de
la Porte, (translated into Dutch and known by the name of the new traveller, ger.
Dordrecht 1709 etc. 8.) of whose work the first and second parts of Turkey deal. They
39520 are fictional letters from a Frenchman to a Lady; and who would doubt that this work
was not ingeniously written? The writer also plays his part not badly, and
understands the art of composition very well; but nevertheless she has not been able
to protect him against several, and fairly gross mistakes. He asserts in the tenth
letter, that the islands of Corfu, Zephalonia and Zante, which are under Venetian
39525 obedience, belong to the Turkish Empire: in the thirteenth letter, "it seemed from
afar, as if the castles of the Dardanelles could cover Europe and Asia with cannons,
which, when the reason is the Hellespont, does not only seem, but is in reality as if
the size of Constantinople were only a fourth part of Paris. - Almost to the 7 towers
extends one corner of the city, because it extends all the way to that. And the
39530 middle square of the Seraglio is larger, than the outer one, which is untrue. In the
14th letter he places the city of Abydos and Leander's tower very near each other;
notwithstanding the former on the Hellespont not far from the present Dardanelles,
but the latter between Galata and Scuiari in the Bosphorus Thracia lies. The
assurance that the Turkish women had more than once allowed him to lift and take off
39535 their veils is indeed only an endearing idea for those with whom he corresponded. The

writer of the (High) remarkable facts from the best writers for those who do not read great works; Tübingen 1772-1778. for he testifies in the preface that, because the great works were too precious and too verbose, and the French were full of misdeeds, he wanted to provide an extract from the best. To that end he has drawn together
 39540 Cantemir, Arvieux, Deguignes, la Croix, Ricaut etc. and especially the first two, almost word for word, in his work, and divided them into the following Chapters. In the first he treats of the name, origin, former residence, and principal cases of the Turks, up to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire; and in the second Head, of the Religion, and the Religious customs of the Turks. In this I would not fully approve
 39545 of the comparison of the Kadileskier there with our General Auditors. The prestige and the position of the first are more important, and include more. In the third Head, treated of the Constitution and the principal offices of the Ottoman Empire, several errors are found. It is untrue that the Bostanschi-Baschi is the Chief Overseer of the suburbs of Constantinople, for they have their Molla or Voivodes; that the Nidschanschi-Pascha sits in the Divan just under the window, for that is the place of the Grand Vizier; that at Smyrna there is a Mint, for this is not so. The Article, concerning the Audience of an Envoy to the Sultan, is confused, for instance: the Envoy sits next to the Grand Vizier and the other Vizier,s of the first rank; – the money being divided, he goes to table with the Vizier and Testerdar; – after the meal he is conducted into a private room; – the squares through which the procession from the Divan to the Emperor passes are occupied by Janistaries; – the Sultan himself answered, in a few words, to the proposal of the Ambassador. One see on this the work of Porter and my book, where one will find all this more accurately. It is further ambiguous, that the Divan is under a vault in the outer square of the Seraglio; it is in the second. The fourth Head, deals with the Military State of the Turks, where Cantemir, Marstgli and others are very well compared with each other; just as in the fifth Head, the Court of the Ottoman Emperor, and something of the way of life of the Turks occurs. It is stated here, that the Seraglio is divided into the inner and outer court. But there are, in fact, three Courts: that the Eski-Serail or old Palace is a large building surrounded by high walls, and by it separated from the other parts of the Serail; which is not so, because they are separated from each other by reasonable quarters of the city, as the illustration of Constantinople shows. The author complains, in this Chapter, of the quarrels of travellers, and he is right; for they have, generally, not time enough to learn fully the Character of the Turks and their customs. The last Head, delivers a concise History of the Ottoman Emperors from the foundation of their Empire; in which page 252, contrary to the established custom, the castles of Constantinople towards the Black Sea are called Dardanelles at the mouth thereof. Otherwise this work is well composed and useful. A. F. Buschings (Hoogd.) new description of the land, five parts of the first part, etc. Hamb. 1768. 580 pages in 8. (in the Dutch new Geographie etc. fifth part first part, containing various countries of Asia, Amsterdam and Utrecht 1770. 8.) The preface contains a list of the great number of travel descriptions, from which the famous author made extracts, compared them with each other, and compiled them into a system. In this part, after a general introduction to Asia, the countries of the Turkish Empire appear on 446 pages (of the Dutch edition), the remainder deals with Arabia. In my opinion this piece is one of the most difficult works that can be thought of, and everywhere one notices the uncommon accuracy with which the author has treated his subject. We have not yet had such a work in this field, and we wished to have such an appropriate composition (I take the word here in a good sense) concerning the rest of Asia, and then of Africa and America. He recommends his book to travellers as a special manual, but then also for improvement and perfection. That Mosques and Mescheds are taken for two kinds of religious buildings; Anatoli Eski Hifar attributed to Bajazet I, as the Founder, (page 55.) and Brussa was given up as the Ottoman Capital for so long, until it became Constantinople, and certain, partly small villages around Smyrna were recorded as towns, etc. (page 73.) can neither diminish nor detract from the value of this work.
 N. E. Kleemans Reifen von Wien über Belgrad in die Krim (fc. in the years 1768-1770 with an appendix about Crimean Tartar, came out in a second and enlarged edition (in High German) with plates, in Leipzig, 1773 large ??8 pages in 8. (in the Dutch daily story of the travels of N. E. Kleeman. Haarlem 1774?? This is a single travel description, which does not say much about Turkey, but about Little Tartary is somewhat more satisfactory and for him who wanted to make such a journey, it would be very useful to read, in order to learn the necessary caution with the ingenious deceptions and acts of violence of those peoples. The author is wrong, when on page 195 asserts, that the Channel is narrower at the Castles than at the Dardanelles. Reife durch Sicilien und Grosz-Griechenland. (Hoogd.) Zwibmi. 8. large 272 pages.

The title of this book, published by Baron van Riedesel, could give rise to the misconception, as if here also of the real Greece, under the Turks, was treated. This did not happen, but this journey only goes over Sicily and the lower part of the Kingdom of Naples.

Neueste Reisbeschreibung durch die vornehmsten Provinzen der Ottomannischen Pforte &c. (Hoogduits=German) Berl. en Leipz., large 169 pages without name of the author. He testifies, that he has composed this work in a political manner, contrary to the title, as which a travel description suggests. - The State changes of the Turkish Empire go to § 21. By the origin of the Turks, which was correctly stated at the beginning, he thinks, that Turkomanie had received the name of, the first invasion of the Turks in it; since the Turkmen are a nation different from the Turks, and inhabiting Turkomanie. The following under the Title: Boundaries and principal rivers of European Turkey, is stated too definitely; for, as the sequel shows, it deals not only with European, but with the whole of Turkey. But in § 11. the length and breadth of European, and in §. 22. with Asian, are stated more than half longer and wider than it really is, unless other than German miles are meant. In §. 25. Constantinople is described as 15 Italian miles in size, but it is somewhat larger. Adrianople is estimated at 8, probably also Italian miles in size. The assertion in §. 43. that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is only 100 paces long, and 60 broad, is untrue; not less, that the Latins alone observed there the public worship, which the Greeks and Armenians do just as well, yes, according to the institution, Christians of all denominations can do. In the given size of Damascus and Smyrna it is not stated what kind of miles they are, but they must be Italian. In §. 45. it is said of Tripoli, that it is a small city in Napoli; but it lies in Syria. It is equally strange, that in §. 48. Tyre is reckoned to Napoli, since it nevertheless lies in Palestine or Syria, in a wider sense. It is strange, that according to §. 49. Comana is not far from Tocat, and yet would border on Muscovy and the Caspian Sea; since between the first and these last two lie fairly large kingdoms, compared to which Comana is a trifle. The author is very much mistaken in §. 52, when he considers Tenedos as 50 German miles in the vicinity; there are hardly so many Italians; and similar mistakes are found with the islands of Sciro, Jcaria and Pathtnos. In the saying concerning Candia it will probably be a misprint: "the inhabitants were" mostly Greek, most of them adhered to the Mohammedan religion. "Instead of most, the least should often stand. Such a mistake must also be suspected in the statement in §. 53, concerning the island of Cyprus: "the inhabitants are partly Christians, partly Turks; the latter, when they are rich, hide their treasures here under the earth, so that they are not taken from them". "This refers to the first, namely the Christians; for the Turks have no great need of this caution. The air at Smyrna is described in §. 85. as unhealthy. At the end of it he says, according to the statement of others, that on most of the islands of the Archipelago, in the summer, it seldom rains or thunders; now this certainly happens seldom. In §. 88. the customs of the East are declared to be strange and hideous; which I would not assert. They certainly pass this judgment of ours also. The customs are, everywhere, of a mixed nature. §. 90. treats of the state of religion, and gives the following principal parties: "Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Marabutes, Malekites, Ilanefites, Scha'feits, and Hanbalites. The last four are to be noted in particular, because all Maho'medans, except the Persians alone, "usually belong to one of these names. "Here the two principal parties of Mohammedanism, namely, Sonnites and Schiites, should have been mentioned before the Subsidiaries. Notwithstanding the Jews are so numerous; yet no mention is made of them. It is very strange to want to call the Jesids, §. 91. Disciples of Jesus. Of the Mosques, §. 99. assured that: around them were six Towers (Minnarets)"from which the Muessins called the people to prayer. This is untrue. There is but one Mosque of this kind in Constantinople; even the Sophie Mosque has but four, most have but one Minaret: and not from this, but from the Gallery that goes round it, the proclamation for prayer is made. It is equally untrue that women may not enter Mosques; they may only not be there at the same time as men for the Divine Service. At the end of §. 102. he says: the other Christian denominations had only Patriarchs in name, whom the Pope appointed. This applies only to the Maronites, and to those who apostatized from the Armenians, Copts and Nestorians, and to the so-called united Schismatics with the Roman Church. Thus it must also be said that §. 103. Of the Eastern Christians it is related, that they held the Patriarch at Constantinople for the visible Supreme Head of the Church, of the Greek Christians only is understood. That the lesser Clergy mostly live from Commerce, is not true; but they often soothe themselves with tillage, gardening and gathering silk. What occurs §. 104. concerning the Monastic Orders, is very ambiguous. If he speaks only of the Eastern; then it is too much; but if he includes the Roman, then it is too little, the report concerning monasteries,

\$. 106. is uncertain; but it is untrue, that all Churches in the whole country are called Monasteries; as well as that none, which \$. 107. It states that those who entered the Monastery of the Holy Father were not allowed to marry; because marriage is not permitted to the consecrated, but only to the secular ecclesiastical, although only once. In this place \$. 108. states: "Mahomet" is said to have been born in the Monastery on Mount Sinai," it should have said: he would have come there, and have been well received by the Monks, and have given them the well-known Testament on the way. From \$. 114 to 118. the learning there, with a neglected distinction between Turks and Christians, has been dealt with very ambiguously for the uninformed. According to \$. 119. the Commerce would mostly be left to the Christians; since the Jews nevertheless have just as much part in it, and the Genoese have, there, openly nothing more to do. The Commerce of the English and Dutch does not disappoint compared to that which the French and Italians drive. The price of slaves is ten, nay twenty times higher, than is stated in \$. 121. In the Turkish money \$. 125. the calculation of the Aspers to three pence, (Prmssischf) and therefore of the Para to 9 pence is false, and the Titci of the Emperor, \$. 128. is very briefly condensed. The following words, \$. 129. suffer many changes: "as soon as an Emperor comes to the Throne, he is led, with great state, to the alleged monument of the Prophet Job. Here they pray that God may bless the new Emperor, and enlighten him with wisdom. Hereupon the Mufti embraces him, and pronounces the blessing, etc. It is asserted \$. 137- absolutely contrary to the truth, that the Kislar-Aga and Kapi-Aga were from the number of the Dumb and Court Madmen; for they are indeed the Chiefs of the Enlightened, but at the same time also the principal Ministers of the Seraglio. In \$. 141, the error so often recounted is stated, that only an Imperial Envoy, when entering the Turkish frontiers until his return journey, is kept free in everything. For the Porte shows this honour to every extraordinary Envoy, of whatever nation he may be; but it also expects the same from other Courts, when it sends someone. To the Audiences, \$. 142. and 43 several things are incorrectly stated; just as this \$. 174- it is absolutely untrue, that the brothers of the Sultan could never become Kapidisch-Baschi again. "- Just as it seems very uncertain to me, when the unnamed writer assures in the preface, that he had seen much on his travels; just as the fulfillment of his request seems unnecessary to me, to express himself widely, more bitterly in another work; because that would in fact be of no use, if it were to consist only of a collection,

Staats-und Kriegsgeschichte des russischen und türkischen Reichs. Leipz. 1772. groot 34 Hoogd, Madz. in 4to. On the 14 first page the writer deals with the Russian Empire. This is followed by a historical description of the Turkish Princes, and page 16. a geographic one of the Turkish Empire. Regarding the assertions occurring therein: that Osman raised the Janistas, and Selim II Cyprus taken away, one can consult the second paragraph of my work. In the description of the inhabitants and the way of government, page 18. says in general that every Christian must pay a ducat poll tax annually. In the discussion of the Turkish faith, which sounds just as if one wanted to speak of the German, Swedish, etc. faith, he mixes Critics and Satyrs of his kind. On the remaining pages, which deal with the previous Turkish war, many things occur (and everyone will wonder how that fits in here) concerning penny disputes and the stupidity of the Christian cliques for, which, according to the author's opinion, were al, too, an appendix to these. When one despairs of offering to the world so few, hastily composed, and as regards the war, drawn from the newspapers, under a splendid and very promising title; then the complaints about the multitude and boldness of the authors, as well as the deceptive titles of the books, will be steadily, more and more justified.

Rémarques fur le militaire des Turcs & des Russes; fur la facon de combattre les premiers 6? c. for the Georgians, Coschidois, Mainottes, Montenegrins, Albanois, Chrétiens Gfecs (tfc. avec Plans par Mr. de Warnery, Major General. Breslau 1771. 12. large 264. pages. In the first Heading, he treats of the Military State of the Turks very nicely. One must allow him minor errors: for instance, in the beginning, that the dead three Turks were buried only about one foot deep under the earth, whereas it is nevertheless about two yards: the Commando in a Turkish Army was not separated, (Wade. 48.) and the General does indeed hold a Divan, but decides according to his own judgment; which is only true of a Seraskian. According to his assertion (page 49.) the Bassa of Runielië would have led the Turkish army command, if it were in Europe; but the Bassa of Natolia, if it were in Astë, because these were like the native SetasBërs. He assures (page 61.) quite, that one counts all Servants, Merchants, etc. in a Turkish Army, and thus constitutes a large Army, but that one can consider only the third part as Soldiers. That these for the rest, (page 6a.) excepting the men in the service of the Porte, are only administered from the day of

George to Demetrius, according to the old style. — In the second chapter he judges
 39735 not bad of the Russian Army, the Fleet and the character of that Nation. The idea,
 common to Voltaire (page 142.), that men could not have proceeded from an earlier
 Pair, because they were so different in several Provinces, I leave to the judgment of
 the readers. — When, in the third Heading, he speaks of the Georgians, Cossidae, and
 39740 other peoples, who could take up arms in favor of the Russians; he expresses the
 misunderstanding, as if the greater part of the subjects of the Porte consisted in
 Christians of the same Denomination as the Russians. By Asia he mentions the old
 Czschis, to which at present Mingrelia, Imirette, and Guriel are reckoned, of Georgia
 proper and Armenia; but by Europe, of the Greeks, Maroons, Albanians, Montenegrinese,
 in short. The last Chapter presents the manner of fighting the Turks on nearly a
 39745 hundred pages. The whole work is a very good instruction, which no Officer, I do not
 mention a General, can do without in the war against the Turks. But I must not forget
 that the remarks, very inappropriate, are ordered in the Text. Description of the
 City of Constantinople and of the Bardanellen. (Hoogd.') Berlin, *7?i. 8. large one
 and a half pages, without the name of the author. This is a, according to his
 39750 confession, drawn together from Journefort, Thevenot, Spon and others, and not a bad
 description. To give Thevenot a Rem is, according to what I have previously reported
 of him, indecent. In the meantime, one rarely remains without misdeeds, when one
 draws from even the most certain sources, but has not oneself been to the place or in
 the provinces. For example, on page 18 it is said: that an Asper is about three
 39755 pence, which is much too high; it is noted that three of such Aspers go to a Para,
 and 146! of these to a Dutch Ducat. According to page 25, the Genoese were still
 Patrons of the Georgian Church, since they were nevertheless cast entirely outside
 the Levant, and had to move there, in trade, under foreign protection. On page 26, it
 is stated of the Hungarian, or German-Imperial, as well as of the Polish Ambassadors,
 39760 that they lived in the city of Constantinople: this was so in former times, but no
 longer; for now they dwell with the other Ambassadors at Pera.
 These are the principal Authors, of whose works, as far as they belonged to my
 profession, I have set down my judgment, with that impartiality, as I myself wish,
 that the readers may pass their judgment on my essay.

39765
 END of the SECOND and LAST PART.

HISTORICAL REPORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT, CUSTOMS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE OTTOMAN MONARCHY
 BY PETER BUSINELLO, Secretary of State of the Republic of Venice.

39770
 PREFACE.

The Author of these reports, of which I have given a material extract in my work, \$.
 LIV. by quoting and judging the writers of the eighteenth century, died in the year
 176??, in Venice, and was, in his lifetime, considered one of the greatest
 39775 politicians of his time. Formerly he was Secretary of the Embassy of the Bailo or
 Venetian Envoy to the Porte; and on that occasion he collected the materials for this
 work, which he sent and appropriated to the then Doge of Venice. The famous Professor
 and first Librarian, ??e Bret, at Stuttgart, has divided it, and made it known in the
 first and second part of his Magasin for the use of History. I have looked it over
 39780 again with an Italian Manuscript, and changed several things in the notes, but
 especially restored the often completely mutilated Turkish words and names. Otherwise
 the Text, with the exception of a few minor improvements, is printed as it was, only
 the unnecessary dedication, as well as the repeated transitions from one section to
 another being omitted, because they are indicated above each section itself.
 39785 STOKHOLM, in March 1778.
 D. CHRISTOPH. WILL. LÜDEKE.

I. INTRODUCTION.

You, Most Illustrious Prince, have charged me, when I left Venice, to write to you
 39790 often, and I have promised you to do so.
 I know your noble curiosity; I know therefore also that you desire essential, and not
 small and common things from foreign countries. For what use is there in the
 knowledge of the condition, the state, the factories, the customs, etc., when they
 are only such things that one finds in all countries? Since, I now know that you
 39795 require essential knowledge; I want to enable you to form a right idea of this great
 Empire, which, perhaps, will differ entirely from what one forms about it in Italy.
 I will therefore give you a description of the origin, the religion, the doctrine,
 the customs, and various religious arrangements of the Osmanis. Hereupon I shall
 conduct you into the Seraglio, and concerning the distinction of the people and

39800 offices of that same jurisdiction. Then I shall speak of the Ministry, the variety and prestige of the Ministers, of the manner of government in the subjected cynical and united Provinces, of the order in maintaining the law, and of the Policy in the capital. Then I shall proceed to the State-household, and distinguish the funds, revenues and State charges, as well as speak of the Commerce which the subjects and
 39805 inhabitants of Asia, Africa and Europe now carry on here. Whereupon the Military State will follow, which I shall indicate accurately: I shall also treat of the Artillery, the State of War, and of the Militia. Finally you will find, what kind of Policy the Ottomans observe in the government of their own Kingdom; as also, how they regard foreign Princes, their Ministers, and with what Ceremonies they receive them; and lastly, what must be observed in the negotiations with this Court.
 39810 If you do not find in these documents that accuracy which corresponds to this vast Empire; then permit me to tell you, that the size of the Empire itself makes a greater accuracy impossible. How can you desire that a Minister, who, during his Ministry, must employ Interpreters, should know everything? He learns to know the Nation, with which he stays, from a certain Ministerial point of view. But of this you may be assured, that what I write to you is true and credible. It is true, that this is the usual assurance of every one who writes of a foreign country; but perhaps this assurance is not always well founded. To convince you now of my sincerity, I need only assure you that I have not the least interest in this nation, which could
 39815 induce me to exalt its virtues. I have therefore no other motive than pure justice, which teaches me not to charge it with those faults which it has not, and not to magnify those which it has. I will therefore not be one-sided, nor show hostility and prejudice against this nation; and I will not even blind my place of residence, which otherwise keeps many writers captive. I will report nothing but what I have either
 39820 seen myself, or about which I have many credible witnesses.
 39825

II. Of the Founder of the Mohammedan Religion, and the Motives which moved him to establish it.
 Everyone knows that Mohammed is the Founder of that Religion which the Osmanis profess. All writers also agree in this, that Mecca was his birthplace; but all
 39830 differ in respect of the nature of his origin, and the Motives which determined him to set himself up as Legislator. After that I have, in this respect, examined many old original writings, which are found here in the Library of a distinguished Greek; I will now inform you of what seemed to me most probable in this respect concerning this fortunate Chief of Army. To know him aright, it must be known, that Arabia, which, because of its
 39835 fruitfulness, is called the happy one, in which also Mecca, the fatherland of Mohammed, lies, was at the time of his birth, (as it is now,) inhabited by peoples, who were divided into several Republics. Each Republic, which was called a Tribe, had
 39840 at its head or Head, the oldest and most distinguished of one of the principal Families of which the Republic consisted. The tribe of which Mohammed was, bore the name of Kureysch, whose principal Family was called Haschem. This had at that time for Head Ae'bdal, Mothleb, whose first-born son was called Ae'bdullah, being Mohammed's Father. This Family dwelt on the coasts of the Red Sea, and Ae'bdal-Mothleb was Priest in the Temple at Mecca, where the Idols of the country were worshipped. As Head of the Tribe he was Prince over these places, and in this
 39845 capacity he waged wars against the Persians and Ethiopians; which proves that Mohammed was not, as many pretend, descended from the lowly common people. His father died before his grandfather ?? Mohammed's youth caused him to lose his own rights, when his uncle placed himself in possession of the sovereignty. In this way Mohammed, who was born to command, found himself in the sad necessity of going into the service of a rich widow, Chadiga. The writers are not agreed whether they traded with camels and mules in Syria, or whether they only had a shop at Mecca. But however it may be, whether he served as a boy in that shop, or as a mule-driver; this much is at least
 39855 certain, that he was in the service of this Widow; that, afterwards, through her close intercourse with Mohammed, who had no common strength, she fell in love with him, and married him, whereby she made him one of the richest Merchants in Mecca. Mohammed was then thirty years old, but at the same time subject to epilepsy. He desired that his wife should not perceive his weakness. His wealth made him ambitious to reassert his own rights, and to place himself again in that post which his uncle had taken from him. Intercourse with the Christians of Egypt, and with the Jews of Judea, whom he had become acquainted with in his business, had instructed him concerning the variety of Sects, from which he concluded what a consequence the variety and zeal of sentiments might have in matters of Religion. On this resolution
 39860 he built his own interest, and resolved to become a Legislator of a new Religion. The
 39865

circumstances of the time could not have been more favourable to his purpose. The Arabs were weary of their old Idolatry, and were falling into a sort of Ungodliness; therefore Mohammed began to lead a sober and exemplary Life, and spent most of his time in a few contemplations. When his illness came upon him; then he told his wife, he fell because he could not bear the face of Gabriel, who, in God's name, revealed to him many important things concerning religion. Chadiga, who was either really deceived, or pretended to be deceived, spread in all houses that her husband was a prophet, which he had confirmed by his servants, and by another trusted person, whom he had instructed for that purpose. When he saw that he had admirers, he began to speak more freely of his revelations and visions, knowing well that these are the most powerful means to attract the people.

In the meantime his uncle, the governor of Mecca, died; and, not being strong enough to obtain the government, he was obliged to yield to one of his blood friends, who, on account of Mohammed's designs, became jealous, and forced him to leave Mecca, and flee to Medina, where the greater part of the inhabitants, who were Arians, were seduced by his intrigues, and adhered to him. Seeing his followers daily increasing, he ceased to prove his new sect by reason, and persuaded his friends that his doctrine must be extended by force of arms. To this end he sought to strengthen his own party by alliances, and married the daughters of the four most important inhabitants of Medina. With the help of these he began to conquer one tribe after another until he finally became master of the city of Mecca. But, because he had wars with the Arabs, and had much reason to fear from the Christians; he was, as a good politician, anxious to protect himself against this danger, and concluded with them a solemn treaty, of which the original was found in the monastery on Mount Carmel (*), and brought to France, where it is still preserved in the King's library. According to this treaty he bound himself to protect the Christians in their Persons, Churches, Monasteries and Properties, not to disturb the Clergy in their Parishes, never to compel them by force to renounce their faith, nor to compel the Monks to give up their Orders, not to destroy any Church, nor to convert it into a Mosque, not to burden them with greater taxes than the Mussulmans, to relieve their Ecclesiastical Fathers from all burdens, not to compel them to perform military services, but rather to be concerned with their defence, not to compel the Fathers and Mothers of Christians to marry their daughters to Mussulmans, and, if a Christian woman married a Mussulman, he would allow her freedom with regard to her religious practice. He further commands the Mussulmans not to compel the Christians living in their States to do slave-services, nor to act tyrannically towards them in any way. On the other hand, the Christians, according to this Treaty, bound themselves not to help an enemy of the Mussulmans, to support him, nor to receive him, nor to shelter him in their houses, but rather to treat the Mussulmans well, and to exercise hospitality towards them. — This Treaty, which Mohammed himself, afterwards, so little followed, protected him then from danger, and made him accomplish his own Plan. His hypocrisy and deceit helped him, at last, to the Sovereignty, to which he stood, having the happiness, so rare for impostors, to see the progress of his Religion, and to transmit his Dignity, at his death, to his posterity. This is the History of the false Prophet, which I hold among so many to be the most probable, because it agrees most with the thing itself, and the nature of Policy.

(*) This is a mistake: it must be Sinai. Also, the alleged Original is from the Secretary of the Seraglio in the Library of the King of France.

III. Of the Religious Postulates of the Turks.

The law of the Turks is contained in three books, the first is the Koran, which prescribes the articles of faith. The second bears the name of Esfunnet, explaining the traditions of the Prophet, and the sentiments of the Wise Men. The third treats of the consequences which may be drawn from the first two. — The Koran was written by Mohammed himself, who, besides the religious commandments, also added a rule for civil government. The other two were drawn up by his four first successors, namely Ebubekr, Omer, Osman, and A'ely. Also the decisions and decrees of the Chaldeans of Babylonia and Egypt were considered infallible, because they were teachers and expounders of the law. But, as their temporal power has diminished, so has the feeling of their infallibility diminished. — In the explanation of the law itself there is a great difference between these Teachers, especially between Omer and Ae'ly, the two successors of Mohammed, who directly contradict each other, and who have produced the two Sects hostile to each other, namely Omer the Ottoman, and Ae'ly the Persian. (*) Here I will speak only of the religious tenets of Omer's followers, as it is the religion of this kingdom. They have only one article of faith, namely, that there is one God and Mohammed his

Prophet. But, if one would be a good Mohammedan, there are five practical articles which he must observe, which they call the fundamental parts of the religion. The first is washing; the second, prayer repeated five times a day; the third, fasting in Ramasan; the fourth, the blind observance of the Sfaedaeket, or giving of alms; the fifth, the pilgrimage to Mecca, when there is no legal impediment. To these five principal articles are added some others, which are indeed of a lower class, but nevertheless make him, as we might say, a sinner who does not observe them. But they are not observed with much care by the Turks, and are not regarded by many of their teachers as essential parts of the religion, but as such things by which men are turned to fulfil the necessary commandments of the law. Among these are the abstinence from pig meat and wine, circumcision, and the observance of Friday as a day of devotion. Concerning each of these Articles of both classes I will tell you something. I will begin with washing, which is the first necessary Article for a true Mussulman. Of this there are three kinds. The first is called Ahdest, by which one prepares oneself for prayer. This is observed before one goes to the Mosque. The second is called Guful, and is done by the use of baths, after intercourse with the other thought, or some other chance at night. The third is called Thaeharet, and is done after one has done one's business. Of the first I must tell you a little more, especially since I have not yet come across any writer who has spoken of it. First they both wash their hands, and say: "Blessed be God, who created pure water, and gave it the power of cleansing, and has made our faith glorious." Then they take water with their right hand into their mouths three times, saying as they wash: "I pray thee, Lord my God, to give me to taste of the water which thou didst give to the Prophet Mohammed in Paradise, which is more fragrant than balm, whiter than milk, and sweeter than honey, and has the power to quench the thirst of him that thirsteth for ever. Then they draw water through their noses, and say: "Give me, O Lord, to smell the odor of Paradise; let me enjoy it, and let me not taste the stench of Hell." Then they wash their whole face to the ears three times, and say: "Cleanse, O Lord, my face, as, on the day of judgment, the face of your Prophets and all those who will have obeyed you will be. Then they take water in the flat of their right hand, and say: "Let me, Lord, on the last day, give the book of my works into my right hand, which is the hand of the Elect, and forgive me my crimes. Then they take water, as before, in their left hand, and say: "Let me not give the book of my Sins from the left hand or from behind, and do not enter into judgment with me, because of my crimes. Then they wash their foreheads, saying: "Receive me, O Lord, with thy mercy, when I shall appear before thee, and impress upon my head the virtues, and not the vices." - Then they take water with both hands, wash their ears with the two thumbs, and say: "Let me, Lord, be of thy servants, who give ear to what is written in the holy books, and direct themselves thereto." With the other fingers they wash their necks, and say: "Free me, Lord, from Hell and the bonds, which one, here, the neck and feet". They wash their feet, without ever failing to do so, at one of the five prayer hours. At other times it is enough when they touch the right foot with their fingers, which they always do with the left hand, and say the following prayer: "Hold me fast, O Lord, and do not let me slip from the bridge of Hell". They say bridge; because they believe that a bridge leads to Paradise, under which Hell is, but which is as narrow and narrow as the cutting part of a knife. Finally they also wash the left foot, and close with the following prayer: "Receive, O Lord, my prayer; forgive me my guilt: accept the offer which I make to you, that this my prayer may not be unfruitful. These are the ceremonies of washing, when they prepare to go into the Mosque and pray there. In the other two washings they do not speak a word. Now I pass on to their prayer. The Koran commands that they should pray five times every twenty-four hours; first at the rising of the sun; second at noon; third between noon and the setting of the sun; fourth after the setting of the sun; five and a half hours after midnight. To all these five times they are exhorted from the Menaret or tower, by certain appointed men, who chant prayers and pious invitations. They perform their prayer with an attention and collection of thoughts, which is worthy to be imitated by the lovers of the true religion. They so exert their minds, that nothing may distract or distract them from it; yes, according to their superstition, they go so far in this respect, that, when either coughing or sneezing disturbs them in their prayer, they consider themselves obliged to begin the prayer again from the beginning. Now these prayers are not taken from the Koran, but from the writings of the four principal teachers, Ebubekr, Osman, Omer and Ae'ly. In these prayers they make endless turns and twists of the body. They stretch out their arms, raise them upwards, fall down, and touch the ground with their foreheads. The third

article concerns fasting and in Ramasan. This lasts a whole month, which has the same name. I do not believe that there is a Confession in the world that fasts more strictly. From the rising of the Sun until its setting they may neither eat nor drink, nor smell anything; in a word: they may do nothing that affects one of their five senses. Poor people observe it with the utmost severity; for the most severe punishments are imposed for the transgression. It is said that in former times molten lead was poured into the mouth of a man who had not kept Lent. But whether people have become wiser in the meantime, or have adopted a reasonable zeal for religion, I at least, as long as I have been here, have not yet seen anyone punished for it. I also believe that this commandment has never been less observed than at present, especially by people of rank. But, as strict as the mode of life during this month is during the day, it is just as extravagant at night. People then go from one house to another; they hold banquets, and spend whole nights in drinking and revelry. The fasting consists chiefly in changing day into night, and for the present time, besides that, it is usually observed only by the common people and the common people. The fourth article prescribed by the Koran is Sfaedaeket or giving alms. By this every one is obliged, annually, to give a part of a hundred from his income, to maintain the poor. But it is difficult to think, that at least among people of rank, the Police and avarice would not oppose the strict observance of this commandment. It seems to me impossible, that avarice would permit someone to deprive himself of a sum, which in itself can become very considerable. Rather, prudence advises everyone not to let the true condition of his wealth be openly known. The fifth article concerns the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Koran commands this to all who are able to perform it, unless they have important positions in government or other legal impediments. The pilgrims usually depart from Constantinople in the month of May, going to Damascus, to join the pilgrims from Vaio?? and other Asian countries. Then they join those who come from Persia, Egypt, and other Ottoman (*) kingdoms, which amounts to a number of fifty or sixty thousand people every year, (†) who assemble on a mountain near Mecca, and there make an offering, consisting in killing some lambs, and then distributing them among the poor. Then they take off their clothes and wrap a coarse blanket around their bodies, in which clothing they climb the mountain. – The Great Lord sends, every year, five hundred Zechines and a Koran covered with gold, as a precious cloth, to cover Mohammed's grave with. (*) When the new cloth is laid over it; the old is taken away beforehand, and divided into small pieces among the Pilgrims, who keep them as Relics.

After that I have told you as much as I know concerning the principal articles of their Religion; I now come to the other less important ones. Circumcision is not prescribed in the Koran, but the Turks observe it as a custom transmitted to them from their ancestors, and consider it a necessary sign of a true Believer. It is performed by a surgeon, without the assistance of a Priest. Many Ceremonies are associated with it, but which resemble more a Bacchus festival than that they would be signs of a Religious ceremony. The observance of Friday has no other cause than convenience and amusement. Women have more advantage by it than men: for, while pretending to keep that day holy, they find, under the pretext of bathing, convenient time to communicate their ideas to each other. – As for eating pig's meat and drinking wine; I must tell you, that this is a commandment or a custom, of which now scarcely anything but the name remains. The Turks call such things Haerem, that is, filthy and disgusting things. (*) For at present, certainly, more wine is used in Constantinople than in Venice; and, if I told you, that they use twice as much, I should say no more than the truth. There is no one left, then, but a few hypocrites or sharp wits, who are by nature enemies of the name and all customs of the Christians. These people still look upon drinking wine with contempt. But among men of rank there is no one, who does not use wine, and endeavors to have the best and from the most distant countries in the house. On the other hand, they use the Liqueurs and Rofolis [Rosolis??] incredibly strongly, because they believe, that these things have more resemblance to water; as I can assure you, that I have seen them, at one time, drink whole cups full, of which we use for drinking water. Rofolis they give the name of breast-water.

(*) Instead of Osmansche it should have been Secte der Sinnitessche, ?? of Persian, Secte der Schiiten.

(*) This must be Mohammedan.

(†) Their number is much greater. Each particular Caravan?? is almost as strong.

(*) But this is not at Mecca, but at Medina.

(*) Actually, forbidden, unlawful things.

IV. Of the Beyram, the principal Feast of the Turks; their marriages and divorces; how far they extend their marriage; and of their moral works.

The Beyram is the greatest Feast of the Turks, and corresponds to our Easter. It commences at the moment that the moon is discovered, which follows the month of Ramasan. It is made known to the people by the sound of many instruments, and by the firing of the Artillery from the Seraglio and the suburb of Thöpchaneh, and the Common People rejoice for the three days that it lasts. On this occasion many ceremonies take place in the Seraglio. The Grand Lord, at daybreak, proceeds with all his retinue, in the greatest splendor, to the Mosque, and having returned he receives the Compliments of the Vizier, of all the Ministers and Lawyers, who, one after the other, prostrate themselves at his feet, and say Gianscherif, that is, Hail to the Prince, (*). The last who compliments the Grand Lord on this occasion is the Aga of the Janistas. - In these days the Sultans, locked up in the old Seraglio, have the liberty to visit the Grand Lord, which happiness also the Sultana's mother and consort, when they are present, have with the other women. On this day the Grand Lord has the principal officials of the Empire entertained magnificently, presents sixteen of them with Furs, and with that the Ceremony ends. Seventy days after this, which is called the ??roeten Beyram, follows the other, which is called the small or Kurban, that ??ijer-beyram. On this day the Sultan also rides out with great state, and goes to the Mosque before he enters it, at the door three large camels?? are prepared, which, by their beauty and size, distinguish themselves from others; they are somewhat decorated, and in some places the moon is painted on them. The Great Lord slays one, whereupon the others are also slayed. All are distributed among the people as an alms. Everyone makes, on this day, an offering, according to his ability, and these lambs are also distributed among the poor. This offering takes place on the first day; but the joy and this Feast last, as with the others, three days. Marriage is held sacred by the Turks, although none of the Ministers of their Religion take part in the ceremony; for it is only ratified by a Kadhy or Judge of the place. The Bride is not present at the ceremony itself, but in her place her Father or one of her Relatives goes for her to the Kadhy, and attends the ceremony. The Bride is then conducted to the house of her husband, who in person undresses her and puts her to bed.

The Turks have a second kind of marriage, called Kjabin, which is also concluded before the Kadhy. By means of it a man may marry a woman for a certain time, and then leave her again, when he has paid the Somme, fixed by the Contract, and which is always very small. This kind of marriage is ordained for the benefit of travellers. - The Turks may marry any woman, of whatever religion she may be, if such a religion has books written for its benefit. (*) Even the Enemies are free to marry, and there are some who have more than one wife.

Polygamy is permitted by their religion; but according to political laws it is forbidden, after the example of the legislator Mohammed, to have more than four wives, because the man is obliged to pay each her own dowry. But, in order that this law may not take away the freedom to be able to use women, who, according to them, are given to them by God, they are free to keep slaves, the number of which has no other limits than each one's caprice and ability. It is strange, and one sees clearly, how much first impressions and an old custom with such a people can do, that the women, because of such a Concubinage, show a jealousy. - The man is bound, indeed, to admit each of his wives into his bed once a week; and, if he does not wish to do this, his wife can complain to the Court, and have him compelled by a Judge.

Many such complaints are also related; but generally they are only made by people of the lowest kind. People of a higher position know well how to help themselves, without so much commotion, and in a way more agreeable to their wives. - The insult for the unchastity of a woman falls among the Turks not on the man, but on the elders of the women, who have the displeasure that their daughters are sent home to them. As for the children; those who are brought into the world by the woman are considered as children of the Father; but the children of the Slaves become Slaves of the first-born Son of one among the women, when otherwise the Father has not made provision for them in his Testament.

The Sultan is not obliged to marry, but has the freedom to take as many wives as he pleases. But it seems to be a rule of state that he may not take a wife. But I think that the only reason for abstaining from it is to save the astonishingly great expenses that were incurred in marrying the former Sultans.

The Turks have two gates of divorce, which all take place in the presence of the Kadhy. The first only separates from the bed; the second also separates completely from the house. The man must pay the woman the sum fixed in the marriage contract, and the woman has the freedom to marry whom she pleases. If the man, after the

divorce, regrets that he has divorced his wife, and wishes to marry her again; then he is not permitted to do so by law, if he does not previously tolerate another sleeping with his wife in his presence. But it is natural that there has never been a Turk who has taken a wife back on such a mocking condition. (*)

The moral deeds of the Turks consist, mostly, in giving alms to their fellow men. These extend so far that they build public houses or Chans, for the convenience of travelers, of which buildings are very expensive, which have considerable income. To this they also include the construction of bridges for the convenience of travellers over the rivers, the water pipes and fountains for the same purpose, the public hospitals for the care of the sick, the public schools for the education of children and for their instruction, not only in the Koran, but also in the Persian and Arabic languages. The most distinguished Turks seek to perpetuate their name by erecting Mosques, and on all kinds of aforementioned buildings they are wont to spend much money, according to their taste. But this part of Turkish morality is also accompanied by many prejudices and superstitions. Their love extends even to the dogs they see in the streets, and to the Camels, which they load less heavily in their freight from one place to another.

They never throw a written piece of paper on the ground; indeed many pick it up when they find it, even when such letters are written on it that they cannot read, on the ground that such letters, with which one writes God's name, may not be trampled underfoot. According to this principle, it was very offensive for a Turk, who saw one of our Latin Churches, to see inscriptions on gravestones.

The most praiseworthy, and I would almost say, the most enviable part of their morality is, certainly, their esteem for, and their trust in God. (*) In their language one does not know what blasphemy is; and they never undertake anything without saying, In Sha Allah, that is, if it pleases God. Thus, even in the most absurd and simple Religion there is something from which one can derive benefit.

(*) Should probably be: Indschjahh-Scheryf.

(*) This is: reads books that contain a Co??te Revealed, such as the Christian and Jewish.

(*) Yet it would not be without examples. But how man can moderate this, one sees after \$. ?? page 371. in my description of the Turkish ??

(*) This trust in God loses much of its value, prayer, when one thinks of the absolute predestination believed in by the Turks. According to this one seems to prove a trust in God, since it is nevertheless nothing else than this predicate: what happens, that must surely happen.

V. Of the Religious Governors among the Turks.

After I have given you an account of the origin and condition of the Turkish (Mahometan) Religion; I now come to those who maintain the affairs of Religion. The Mufti is the Head and Oracle of Religion and the law, consequently the highest Priest. His choice depends solely and exclusively on the Great Lord, who usually appoints men of standing, understanding and proven integrity. The decrees of the Mufti are as many laws for all Judges, but not for the Prince, who, when he asks him about a matter, and does not receive an answer that pleases him, takes away his dignity as well as his infallibility, and appoints in his place another Oracle, who solves the difficulties in a way that is more suitable to his wishes. Nevertheless, the Sultans always have great respect for the Mufti, and seldom oppose his decisions. These always end with the expression: God knows what is better. When the Sultan writes to the Mufti; then he uses the following words: "To you, Effad, who are the wisest of all the Wise, instructed in all knowledge, the most excellent of all the Excellent; who abstain from unlawful things; who are the source of virtue and true knowledge, and the heir of the Prophetic and Apostolic Doctrine; you solve the questions of faith; you make known the Articles of true faith; you are the key to the treasures of truth, the light in doubtful Allegories; you are strengthened with the grace of the supreme Guide and Lawgiver of mankind; the great God eternalize your virtues!"

When a Mufti is elected; then the Grand Vizier calls him to the Seraglio, appoints him himself to his dignity, and has him put on a fur coat, which is lined with white cloth; on which he has a handkerchief with a thousand piastres put in his hand. Then the Mufti goes to the house of the Vizier, who receives him at the stairs, gives him the higher hand, and likewise clothes him with a fur coat, but lined with green cloth, and has rich presents brought to the house on top of it. The Sultan allots him, daily, two thousand Aspers, which amounts to about four and a half Zechines of our Venetian money. He has no other fixed income; but, as he has the right to grant many offices to the Imperial Mosques, and all promotions of the lawyers must pass through his hands, he draws a considerable income from it. In former times his income

was about fifty thousand lion dollars; but now, when avarice and luxury supplant all strict and scrupulous honesty, I believe that the income of this highest priest amounts to four times as much. The magnificent house in which the present Mufti lives, and the numerous court which he keeps, testify to this. His physician, who has visited his sick wives in her haerem, assured me that he has about sixty of them. For the rest, this is the only dignity by which, even if the person falls into disgrace, his goods are not yet declared confiscated. What the Mufti possesses is considered something sacred, and cannot therefore be touched, even if he is guilty of a crime of state. Now since everything is in his Children, it follows that a House which has had a Mufti, always remains a large and wealthy Family.

This exalted Dignity is followed by that of a Kadhy Leschkjer. Of these there are two, one from Rumelia, and one from Natolia. Their first destiny was to judge the legal cases of the Soldiers, one in Asia, the other in Europe. But now their right extends over all kinds of Persons; they hear and decide legal cases of all kinds. This Dignity is the step to the highest Priesthood.

Then follows the so considerable Dignity of a Mula. Of these there are two kinds. Those of the first class have, daily, five hundred Aspers, and the jurisdiction of a Bassa of three Horsetails. The Kadhy in the cities depend on them. Those of the second class are the principal Judges in the smallest Provinces; and, as they have only Kadhy of small places and poor towns under them, they have consequently only moderate incomes. From the first class are usually drawn the Kadhy-Leschkjer, consequently such Persons as can attain the Dignity of a Mufti. These Mula and Kadhy, who are called men of the law (U'lema), are, like the Mufti, counted among the Religious Governors. For, considering that the civil law as well as the Religion comes from their Prophet, the Turks never separate these two classes. The College of the Mula is held in great esteem, and is also treated with extraordinary respect by the Monarch himself. As they are the interpreters of Religion and the Law; Thus, in previous times, many examples have been seen that they, because of emotional and religious difficulties, are always prepared to be supported in their decisions, even when the reason is the deposition of the Monarch.

Since they know well how strong this impression is; thus they will always know how to gain respect from the people and the Monarch. The principal overseers of the Mosques, who are called Imam, are chosen by the first Visier. (*) The people of their wisdom must recommend them to the first Minister, who then appoints them by his command, without needing any other Character or Order to perform their office. They must be able to read the Koran, and have observed the ministry of those who from the Towers call the people, with a loud voice, to prayer. The Mufti has no jurisdiction over them, because each of them is independent in the government of his district, but in civil and capital matters they are all subject to the usual Authorities. (†)

Among the ecclesiastical Persons one may also count the Emyrs, who distinguish themselves from the other Turks by the green Turban, which is the color of the Prophet. Emyrs are those who descend from the Prophet himself, and are divided into an infinite number. This right of descent is possessed both from the Fathers and Mothers. For when an Emyr marries someone who is not an Emyr; then the children born from this marriage have the privilege of the Emyrate, which they propagate to all their Children, both of the male and female kind. These Emyrs have their Chief, who is called Nakyl-al-Efchraf. His principal work is to increase the number of the Emyrs as much as possible; wherefore he enrolls all those as Emyrs who can prove their descent from Mohammed in any way. Their Chief has an indefinite power over them; but never lets them be punished openly, to prevent scandal, and to keep their thought in good esteem with the people. He has a Governor, who bears the name of Je Umdar, and has the right to carry the Prophet's banner on all solemn occasions, as often as the Sultan thinks fit to take it into the field.

The Emyrs are capable of all offices, and can attain to the highest dignities of the Empire. They have very excellent privileges, among which the most remarkable is, that they may not be offended or insulted, without the guilty one raising his hand. But the Turks soon devised means to divide this privilege: for if disputes arise, or they find an Emyr drunk, they take from him the green turban, which is the sign of the Emyrate, and afterwards, without any gravity, they pass him through clearly. The greater part of those who carry on the slave trade are of this kind. For this, besides their innate hatred of Christians, they were also in esteem because in obeying the commandments they were the most zealous Mohammedans, and in keeping their promises and treaties the most honest Turks. But, I can assure you, that it is now quite the reverse. For the Emyrs excel others in the greatest vices of lust and drunkenness.

(*) If this may happen here and there, it does not happen always.

(*) This is, by far, not to be expected of all Mosques.

(†) One should remember from the foregoing that the actual Judges are ecclesiastical and civil Persons alike.

40270 VI. Of the Monastic Orders among the Turks.

The Turks have also, after the example of many Christians, a kind of Monasteries; in which Ecclesiastical Persons live. I have taken much pains to discover, when and how such an arrangement arose. If one speaks with these Monks themselves; then they tell one such extraordinary and fabulous things about this, that, whoever has the
40275 slightest understanding, cannot possibly believe it. What they say, is also so contradictory, that it appears to be untrue.

Some of them assert, that the Orders of the Dervish, were ordained and instituted by their Lawgiver himself; others attribute it to his four Disciples; still others to a very recent origin. Some believe that he was charged, in a trance of the first

40280 Founders of the Mohammedan faith, by a voice from God himself; others will that he was presented to the Disciples and Descendants of Mohammed, in a trance, by their Prophet himself, as in a picture. Others still bring forward more absurd things, which are not worthy of being quoted. The most probable thing I have been able to

40285 ascertain concerning it, is this: that the Monastic Orders arose under the reign of Orchan. This warlike and fortunate Emperor conquered many Kingdoms; extended his dominion almost over the whole of Nato, and established his Imperial Seat at Bursa. Then, to give a witness of his gratitude to God and his Prophet, he appointed

Persons, who, according to established rules, said prayers, and instructed the newly conquered peoples in the Religion. It is said that for this purpose he made use of
40290 two Persons, who had the reputation of pious at his Court, the name of one being Nackschbendy, and that of the other Chaelwety. The first had as pupils Ebrbuhar and Mewlana; and the last six others, Kadry, Bektasch, Herevy, Edhemy, Kalendery, and Nimetulahy. All these founded a special Order according to certain obligations and Methods. It is difficult to give a true description of their Doctrine, customs, and

40295 Monasteries: but I will say something about it. The Mewelewites, founded by Mewlana, have their principal Monastery at Kogni, consisting of four hundred (*) Monks. On this Monastery depend all others of these Orders, and even that at Constantinople. They are called Dervish; (†) and I was assured that they have the greatest respect for their Superiors, before whom they never appear otherwise than with their hands on
40300 their breasts, with downcast eyes, and with their heads bent forward. They wear a shirt of coarse linen, a robe of dark wool, a surcoat of white wool, and always go with their breasts and feet bare. On their heads they wear a kind of round and long caps of camel's hair, and gird themselves with a leathern belt. They generally have a rosary in their hands, and make their prayers according to its beads, and repeat the
40305 name of God. Except the fast of Ramazan, they fast every Thursday. On Tuesdays and Fridays the Superior of the Monastery preaches a sermon, in explanation of the Koran and other books of the Teachers of the Mohammedan religion. When this is finished, they make a deep bow to their Superiors, and, accompanied by a symphony of

40310 instruments, they turn about with such a rapidity that one can no longer distinguish their faces, and with such grace that they follow in a certain respect the tone of the instruments. As soon as these cease, they also cease to whirl themselves about, and it is wonderful that after whirling about, which may have lasted at least an hour (*), they do not finally become quite intoxicated. That much does custom; for after this they practice from their childhood, after the example of Mewlana, their Founder,

40315 of whom they tell the fable, that he had whirled about in this manner for a fortnight together, without taking the least food, and that he fell into a trance, and had apparitions and revelations, which moved him to found these Orders. These Dervish have Monasteries in all the considerable cities of Turkey, where they receive all the pilgrims of their Orders, and all the Turkish Monks. For no one travels more in all
40320 the Mohammedan countries than they. All these Dervish use Opium in great abundance, to which they gradually become accustomed, and at last bring it so far, that there was not one among us, who, without fainting, could eat but the fourth part of it.

After they fall asleep by this, they lie as if intoxicated, and become aware in their Mind of a certain joy, but without order and reason. Upon this they remain senseless, which they call a rapture, saying, that their Founder brought it about by such means.
40325 Now they also accomplish such things by wine, noting that no one in Turkey commits greater excess in wine, than the Dervish.

Monks of the Orders of Honour fast on Mondays and Fridays, and with such strictness that they even abstain from smelling. They are the strictest in Morals, and
40330 constantly occupy themselves with speculations. But nevertheless they are held heretics, because they say that the journey to Mecca is not necessary for salvation. These are the two Orders of Nachsci-ibendy.

Among the six Orders that came from Chaelwet, the most important are those that Kadrv founded. The Founder of this Order, it is said, lived very virtuously and moderately. At present the Pilgrims still make pilgrimages to his grave, which lies in the region of Baghdad. According to their Order's rule, which rests entirely on moderation, none of them may eat more food during the day than eight Ours weighed by us (*) Every Tuesday they spend the greater part of the night in turning themselves round to the sound of a small drum, and in constantly repeating the word Hajji, that is, the lively, a property which they attribute to God. They follow this Ceremony with such vehemence that often the blood runs from their mouths, and their breath fails them. They always go barefoot, and never shave. They also say a kind of prayer, which they listen to each other in the ear. - Marriage is not forbidden to them; but in such a case they must live in a house, and may only go to the Monastery at the time of prayer. These Orders also often produce delights through Opium and wine. The Herewites have the giving of alms as a rule of the Order. But they extend this love to animals, and one of their greatest cares is that they take care of the dogs that run in the streets. They take a vow of poverty, and boast that the Founder of their Order was very knowledgeable in chemistry. Of these Orders, most are found in Baghdad, Cairo, and in the city of Bursa, where he was founded. Ibrahim Edhemy was an Abyssinian by birth, and it is said that he led a very strict, religious, and edifying Life. His disciples tried to follow him, and their institution has preaching as its aim. This Order is not in Constantinople, but flourishes mainly in the Persian Empire. Calendar is called the great Saint, because of the holiness of his Life. It is said that he went bareheaded, completely naked, covered only with the skin of a wild animal. His disciples, on the other hand, live quite differently, banishing all kinds of abstinence and melancholy. They say, when God lets them live a day, that He does so so that man may have use of it; now the use that one can have of it, is this, that one may make good use of it. On this account they often say: "Today is for us; tomorrow will be for him who will live, and he may enjoy it." They make no distinction between a Mosque and a Pub; and maintain as an article of faith, that one serves God just as well by using one's creatures as by abstinence and a strict way of life. Nimetulahy founded another Order, which observes no abstinence. This Order consists only in the monks singing praises to God in Arabic verses. The probationary period before one is accepted is the most severe; for they lock up a novice for 40 days in a room, and give him only 24 drachmas of food per day for his food, after which probation he is received into the Orders. Bekiasch, the sixth Pupil of Chaelwety is the last among all the founders of the Orders. He was the first Imam with the army of Sultan Murad I in his famous campaigns. A large number of Janissaries accept his Teaching, according to which they are exempted from observing prayer, as a thing not necessary for salvation. This Order easily finds a following among the Soldiers, who have little inclination for a religious Life and prayer. This Legislator is accused of having extended the stupid sins among the Turks. Besides these eight Orders, there are many others in Persia, Arabia, and Egypt, of which many traceless things are told. But, because I have not seen them, and have not been able to obtain any real reports from them, on which one can rely; I will not speak of them either, so much the more, as, if I wanted to write something about them, I would have to report nothing but annoyances and traceless things.

(*) There is no fixed and definite number.
 (†) This name is borne by the Monks of all Orders.
 (*) When I saw it, it did not last a full half hour.
 (*) Perhaps this should only be understood of the time of their trial and acceptance into the Orders.

VII. Of the Mosques, their Revenues and Benefits.
 The most magnificent buildings that one sees in the countries of the Turks are the Mosques. (*) They all have almost the same figure, a Dome, and on the side a Menaret or tower, but some have four or more, which give the Mosques a great ornament. These as well as the towers are covered with lead. Some of them bear the name of Imperial Mosques, and these are the richest. The cities of Bursa, Adrianople and Constantinople, where the Emperors had their Seats, have Mosques of this kind. The Kislär-Aga, or Chief of the Black Slits, and Chief Overseer of the Sultan's Wife, has also the Superintendence of the Imperial Mosques, which bring him large sums, because the granting of places in them depends on him. In the city of Constantinople there are ten such Mosques, first, Santa Sophia, a Church formerly built by the Emperor ?? fufiinias; then the Mosque of Sultan Muhammid, which took Constantinople; third, the Mosque of Sultan Bajsyd; (Bajazet,) fourth, Sultan Se'lym's Mosque; fifth, Sultan

40400 Suleyman's (Soliman's) Mosque; sixth, the Mosque of Schah-Sadeh, that is, of the Sultan's Son; seventh, Sultan Achmed's Mosque; furthermore one, that a Sultana, and then two more, which the mothers of the Sultans have had built. The Mosque of S. Sophia surpasses in splendor and wealth the income of all the others. I have been assured that its income, annually, at present, amounts to more
 40405 than 100 thousand Zechines, which it draws all from buildings and rents within the City of Constantinople. The Sultan himself pays it, annually, one thousand and one Aspers a day for the ground, on which a part of the Seraglio is built, which depends on this Church, and in the time of the Greeks belonged to its environs. The exterior of this building was magnificent before them, but is now defaced and spoiled. The
 40410 Turkish Emperors have had some Prayer and similar Chapels built around that Church, in which are the burial places of the Imperial Family. In these Chapels lamps burn continually, and men are paid there, who must pray there for their souls. At certain hours, daily, alms are distributed among the poor. — Some of these Imperial Mosques have certain privileges, to instruct the youth in the law; there are also Hospitals
 40415 for the sick, and dwellings for strangers and Pilgrims. There are even some, which have Kitchens, where they cook for the Poor. Many have their income from certain lands, villages, and entire Provinces. The inhabitants of such places have extraordinary privileges, chiefly that they are exempt from the quartering of troops, military services, and oppressions of the Bassas, since they depend solely on the
 40420 Kislär-Aga. The Mosques, founded by private persons, have not these privileges, and may not draw any income from lands. All their income consists therefore in interest, which amounts to eighteen out of a hundred per year; a privilege which is only allowed to the Mosques and the Wise, because otherwise, according to the Mohammedan law, on pain of losing the Capital, one may not give money on Interest. All Mosques
 40425 have something which attracts the attention of foreigners. Everywhere they are so rich in pillars of rare Marble, that one will hardly find such a large number elsewhere. Among these Mosques I must say something in particular about one, which the Turks call Imbrahor-Dsthami?? that is, Mosque of the Chief Stablemaster. It was dedicated to St. Matthias, and, if I am correct, the first building of Constantine at
 40430 Constantinople, and his Imperial Chapel. Two rows of pillars divide it into three sections; each pillar has two and a half ells in circumference, and a length of three men. They are of very beautiful old green, and have a capital of Greek marble, which is so finely carved, that it was even in wood worthy of admiration. There are 28 pillars. Many of the second row were taken away, and used for the buildings of the
 40435 Seraglio. Fourteen are still below, and remain a precious monument of the ancient splendor.

(*) The word Moschee (Mosque) originates from the Persian word, Musekkju. Mesdschjia is the name of such Temples, where daily, raaaf?? Dschjaw?? of that which is done in the solemn
 40440 Friday worship service.

VIII. Of the divisions in the Mohammedan Religion, and the two Sects, of Omer, which the Turks follow, and of Ae'ly, which the Persians follow. The Mohammedan Religion is one of those which has the most Sects. The common opinion counts seventy-two of them. But I believe there are more. For almost every Turk, with whom one has any conversation, betrays some diversity in the Religion. I will here speak only of a few of the principal ones, because it is impossible to get an account of them all. The two Sects which differ most from each other, and which bear the greatest hatred to each other, are the Sect of Omer, which the Turks follow, and of
 40450 Ae'ly, which the Persians follow. It is almost incredible how much these two Sects hate each other. I have often looked into the matter, spoken to many of them, and endeavored, if possible, to obtain an accurate account, so as to discover not only the difference between them, but also the real motive of such a violent hatred. But I have been unable to obtain anything
 40455 certain of it; wherefore I will give you some thoughts on the subject. I consider it very natural that such an ingrained and violent hatred should have a very remote origin, and that one must consequently go back to the times of the Lawgivers. I have already told you that Omer and Aely were two of Mohammed's four disciples. It is also known that Mohammed appointed this Aely as his successor and heir. Now when he was
 40460 then in Arabia; 20 In his absence the other three united to exclude him from that place to which he was destined. Ebubekr, by the force of arms, succeeded to a post which Omer received after his death. When Omer took over the place of commander-in-chief, and kept Aely in constant oppression with an armed hand, he could neither resist nor defend his own rights. As long as Omer reigned, Aely remained in Arabia, and showed to the eye such esteem as may be expected from a man who is unable to
 40465 avenge himself. But by the succession of nature, which, through lack of strength,

reveals its violence in words, he sought to make his enemy feel sorry. Namely, he composed explanations of the Koran, mixing among them such doctrines as were contrary to Omer's doctrine. In this he had the political purpose of attracting to himself a greater number of adherents, while he convinced his friends that Omer was no true disciple of Mahomet, but a heretic. Both rivals gave each other this name in turn, and when, after Omer, Ae'ly became the supreme head of the religion, he had the more power to extend his doctrine. He also extended it, in effect, throughout all Persia and all the provinces dependent on that empire. After this extension, the sect of Ae'ly opposed that of Omer; each remained obstinate in his opinion; the disputes increased, caused much bloodshed, and continue in our own times. This I hold to be the true origin of the so far-reaching hatred between these two Sects. Now I will say something more about the difference between them. This consists chiefly in the Hierarchy, especially as regards the Supreme Head of Religion. For the Turks accept the Mufti of Constantinople, the Persians on the contrary that of Persia, as their Supreme Head. Besides this difference concerning the Heads of Religion, the Turks ascribe many Heresies to the Persians. The first is this: that they reject the three great Teachers of the Laws of Mohammed, Eubekr, Osman, and Omer; further, that they do not permit the washing of bare feet; that they use the green colour, which is the colour of Mohammed's banner, only for their shoes and clothes; that they eat all kinds of meat, and drink wine, without any heaviness; that they do not consider it a sin when more than one man has to do with one woman. (*) — From this the Turks draw the conclusion, which they maintain as an article of faith, that a Persian not only cannot be saved, but also cannot convert. This prejudice goes so far that in the Seraglio, where children of all denominations and nations are accepted, no Persian is accepted, because they consider it absolutely impossible that he can become a good believer. When Sultan Murac conquered Babylon, he had all the Korans and religious books collected, and locked up in the Seraglio of Constantinople, forbidding at the same time, under penalty of a curse, to read them. Now I must tell you another peculiar prejudice, which prevails among the Turks, and which they hold as certain as their creed, viz., that the souls of the Hebrews (Jews) after their death are changed into Asses, which carry the souls of the Persians to Hell. Nay, they maintain, that a true Mohammedan acquires as much merit for himself by killing a Persian, as by killing five Christians.

Man falls into such tracelessness, when he judges matters of faith according to his passions alone. One hears many other extravagances in this regard among the common people; but I only write that no, otherwise sensible people, and true Muslim (that is, Sunni) clergymen accept.

(*) My manuscript adds: "finally they state, that one may steal a country of the Sunnis, and also rob their women naked, and make them slaves".

IX. Of other Sects among the Turks. I now proceed to the other Sects, which are very numerous in the Mohammedan Religion. The Turks regard four Sects as orthodox, namely those of Hanysch, of Schast??, of Meligs, and of Hanbaly. Those of Hanysch are followed by the Turks, Tartars, and Usbekens. The Sect of Schafiy is followed by most Arabs; that of Meligk by all Africans, especially Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers. The Sect of Hanbaly has only a few Arabs as adherents. These four Sects are regarded as orthodox, and differ in almost nothing, except in respect of the Teacher, after whom they bear the name. (*) Of the heretical Sects I will only mention to you a few of the most important. A certain Alassan put a question to his own Teacher, and gave his opinion, without expecting an answer. He called himself Mi??tafalite, which with us signifies a Separatist, because he separated himself from all others. — He formed a Sect, and took the name of a defender of God's Unity and Justice. But his Disciples are not even agreed in the ideas of God's Unity and Justice, but have rather divided themselves into twenty-two distinct Sects. One of these, called the Hajethytic Sect, believes that the Messiah was eternal, and became a man, as the Christians believe. They have therefore added an Article to their creed, that Christ will come at the last day, and judge the world. They also use the words, Messiah and Christ, indiscriminately. — Another Sect of these (*) maintains that the Koran was nothing else than a Copy which Mohammed had stolen from the Original, which God Himself had written, and which had remained in the Celestial Library. The Sect which chiefly opposes that of the Mu'tafalites is that of the Sphephatites. They admit eternal properties in God; but are so ignorant, that they say, He has bodily senses and organs; this they assert very obstinately, and appeal to the Holy Scripture itself, in which they literally take and understand the passages which represent God on a Throne, and ascribe to Him wrath against sinners, etc. The Sect of the Kadarites is equally unreasonable. They deny God's commandments, Predestination, and attribute to

man a free Will, from which all good and evil that he does proceeds, and consequently that nothing, whether or not deserved by God, must be derived. The Sect of the Djibbaryjites stands directly against this. They maintain that man is guided by a higher Being, and that man's Will and actions are only means to enlighten the will of this Being; that man's actions proceed from a natural principle, just as water flows away, a river swells, and heavy bodies fall, according to natural causes. The most serious defender of the Mohammedanism is the Sect of the Murdschjytes, who maintain that, just as the good works of the Infidels never work their Salvation, so also the evil works and the Sins of the Mussulmans can never cause them to perish. The Sect of the Waeydites contradicts the aforementioned, and maintains that a Mussulman, for serious sins, can be damned, just as an Infidel, but with this distinction, that he will not be tortured so cruelly as this one. In this great diversity of sentiments in so important a matter, the Turks adopt the opinion, as most agreeable to their faith, that the greatest sinner, after his death, if he has done no penance, is left to the mercy of God, and that man, through the mediation of Mohammed, after he has suffered some punishment from him for his sins, can be received into Paradise. (*) For this reason also the Turks pray for the dead. The Sect of the Scythians prevails very strongly in Persia. They even place Ae'ly above Mohammed, and assert that Ae'ly alone had the gift of prophecy, received his instruction and the mysteries of religion from God's own mouth, and they expect, like the Jews, that their Prophet Ae'ly will return in the clouds. Against these the Khawaridschites oppose themselves, who maintain that no man has ever been a Prophet of God, and that God has never sent anyone into this world with an infallible power, and that this was not necessary when a new Religion had to be established; but if this were necessary, God would not have made use of any man or place. The Seydytes maintain that God had to send a Prophet to the Persians, who should utterly extirpate the memory of Mohammed's Religion. They say that the Believers will see God in the other world as we see the Sun in this; which runs counter to the Koran, which teaches that God is seen no more in the other than in this world. Another Sect maintains that man, even in this world, can come to a perfect knowledge of God, when he first knows himself perfectly. This bears the name of the Sect of Mae'hmites. Others, who are called Medfichu??n, say, that even an imperfect knowledge of God is sufficient for Salvation.

The Fabaphaisi (*) do not allow that God knows the future. They say, just as a Prince governs his State, so God governs the world, and adjusts himself to the circumstances, while he daily gains more experience. It is remarkable, that in all these Sects no novelty has arisen either in the five practical articles, or in those articles of faith, which constitute the Essence of the Mohammedan Religion. But in recent times other Sects and sentiments have arisen, which may well have dangerous consequences for their Religion and the State.

The Tschop-Meszyhhytes, or followers of the Messiah, are a Confession of this kind. They hold that Christ is God and the Savior of the world. Men of rank, the most cultured Men, and a great part of those who come from the Seraglio, are of this opinion. This has produced a sort of proverb among the Turks, because, when they wish to praise someone, in one word, as an honest man, they say to him: you are as courteous and cultured as a Servant of the Messiah.

The Kadhyphadehites take great care of the dead; pray much for them, even going to the graves, where they cry to the dead, they may remember that there is but one God and one Prophet.

The greater part of the people is possessed with this prejudice. Some of this Sect make a strange mixture of Christianity with the Mohammedan faith, saying: that Mohammed is the Spirit, the Comforter, whom God promised to send. This Sect has an uncommon aversion to images. (*)

The Bektaschites follow all the superstitions of the Mohammedan law very closely; but they deny God all attributes, saying, that, as God is an incomprehensible and infinite Being, it is too bold for the Spirit, finite for man, to ascribe to him the attribute of mercy. In practice the followers of this S??le foster another error, although it seems to be accompanied by an aversion to nature. The nearest Blood Friends mingle among themselves, without excluding the Children, under the vain pretext that whoever has planted a vineyard or a tree, has also the right to eat of its fruits.

Another Sect I consider to be much more dangerous to the State. (†) It is not altogether unknown in Constantinople, but prevails, chiefly, in the Astatic Provinces, and most of all in Me??ia. They are in a certain respect idolaters, and are therefore opposed to the true Mohammedans, who make it an honour to be enemies and exterminators of idolatry. They attribute a Deity to the Sun and Moon, because of

40600 the influences that these Planets have on the creatures. They are convinced of the
immortality of the soul (*), but nevertheless remain idolaters, and are not at all
vengeful, because they regard the insults done to them as natural effects of the
Heavenly influences: a feeling that makes them regard the most hideous things with
indifference, just as people endure cold and heat. When a false doctrine makes so
40605 much impression on unbelievers; then we must be ashamed that the holy lessons of our
law do not produce the same effect in us.
The Turks also have their Pythagoreans. This sect bears the name of Munafichites
among them. They believe in the transmigration of souls, and therefore cannot bear an
image of a living creature. (†) Concerning this they bring such traceless things to
40610 light, that one would consider it impossible, how an intelligent Being could think
so. And yet they are the most numerous among all Sects.
In a certain respect there are also Gartesians: they are called Hayretites. Their
first fundamental principle is, to doubt everything, and to establish nothing. They
also mix something Pyrrhonian with it. For when they speak of a matter in dispute,
40615 they usually say: God knows it, and, this is unknown to us. These fundamental
principles make them flexible in all things. Wherefore people of that Sect can easily
attain the dignity of a Mufti. For they gladly regulate their decisions according to
the will of the Court, which is a necessary characteristic, to attain that Dignity.
Yet they observe the ceremonies of the Mohammedan religion with the utmost
40620 strictness.
The Sect of the Ishramites I have reserved for the last, because I give it precedence
over all others. A great part of the lawyers, and especially of the Imams of the
Imperial Mosques, are of this Sect, which is entirely Platonic, and has exalted ideas
of the Godhead. They believe in the unity of God, and do not deny the Trinity; but
40625 they regard it as a number, proceeding from the unity. They allow the Koran, so far
as it agrees with their grounds, but the rest they reject as something that is simple
and unreasonable. They teach that one cannot be loved by God, without loving his
neighbour, which makes them very compassionate towards the poor, and friendly and
charitable towards strangers. They speak with much more freedom, than all other
40630 Mahoganyans, living sincerely, without harshness. They are above all others for an
honest and agreeable intercourse. They do not so much despise and shun Christians,
but rather regard them as blind, and therefore pray to God that He will enlighten
them to the true faith, which they sometimes say to a person as a courtesy, and as a
proof of their good heart, as I have had to hear more than once. Besides all these
40635 Sects, there are innumerable others, of which I will not speak, because I cannot
speak of them otherwise than with confusion. However, to form an idea of it, I must
observe, that innumerable sentiments have crept into the Mohammedans, from the
Greeks, by means of their ancient Philosophers. Other errors have their origin from
the Muscovites, Georgians, and others. For, when these peoples converted to the
40640 Mohammedan religion, they all brought something of their faith with them. From which
you can judge how many sects must have arisen among the Mohammedans, and what a
mixture their religion is.

(*) Regarding these and the following facts, see the Lasten na, in the description of the
40645 Turkish Empire, against page 344. (Overview)
(*) These are the Tsiten or Meidarites.
(*) This proposition is unfounded. Businello, who has often, and especially in this section
Ricaut quit?? written, or compiled, has misunderstood this, because he says thus: "the deceased
40650 sinner must be left to God's Will, either to be punished for his crimes, or to obtain
forgiveness because of Mohammed's past".
(*) In the French translation of Ricaut they are called Jabvakites, but in my Italian
manuscript of Euhneuo Se??ajti. Whatever I have asked or checked about this, I have not been
able to find out anything further.
(*) This is what all true Mahometans do without exception.
40655 (†) My Italian manuscript calls them ??. Per? are they the ??
(*) My manuscript adds little to it: and so it must be according to Ricalt.
(†) My Italian manuscript has, here, certainly better, and therefore Aachten no living
animal".

40660 X. Of the Unbelief of the Turks.
After having spoken so extensively of the Religion of the Turks, I must now tell you
something of their unbelief, in order that you may see how far Ungodliness has spread
in this country. I can assure you that it has penetrated even into the most secret
rooms of the Seraglio. The Bassas of the Empire and the places at Court are likewise
40665 infected with it.
It is said that the origin of this comes from Sultan Murad, (*) who, as a greedy
Prince, was pleased to see his subjects break all ties of Religion, and plunder the

Provinces, in order that he might enrich himself the easier with their booty, when he had them put to death, under the guise of justice, as a punishment for their extortions. But, leaving this aside, it is certain that not only Deisiery?? but also Ungodliness has now greatly expanded among the Osmani. Very many profess this freely, without shame or hesitation. They deny the Godhead, acknowledging nothing but Nature. By Nature they understand the internal principle of every Being, which arranges, regulates and guides all things that we see. From this principle, the Sun, moon and stars have with them their origin and their motion; from this it comes that man has the power to rise up, to bow down, and to grow like plants. Their chief proof for such a detestable Doctrine is a fallacy. They say: there is either no God, or he is not as wise as our Teachers themselves assert; for he would never have placed such men as we are in the world, who are enemies of his Existence, and laugh at his Godhead. Either there is no God, or, if there is one, he is not wise, and he is not that perfect Being, as we represent him to be. The great multitude of apostate Christians have spread this so foul poison, and their uncivil deceits have easily made an impression on a people, who are above all others in the knowledge of Religion. Wherefore this godless Doctrine has also taken strong roots among the lawyers. These godless among the Turks give themselves the name of Muszerrin, which means something like men, who possess the Secret. Those who are attached to this delusion, take great pains to show themselves courteous and hospitable towards strangers, to speak freely, and to conform to the prevailing vices, through which they easily find entrance among men.

Besides this Plague, which infects the Mohammedan Religion, I must tell you, that in no Denomination do so many people doubt the truth of their Religion, as the Turks do theirs. Now, through intercourse with Foreigners, they have become somewhat more civilized; they have acquired more insights, and thus learned to think, and to seek the truth.

Just as their Religion, in reality, is nothing else than a collection of ideas, through which one seeks to promote the welfare of the State, rather than true virtue; so they now begin to investigate this fundamental principle, and from this knowledge innumerable doubts arise among them. The learned Turks are rare, with whom one would not, when one speaks with them about matters of religion, notice some heaviness and uncertainty in their imagination, which, in their faith, does not allow them any stability. I have made this observation with pleasure, because this may be a fundamental principle, which, in time, may do this Empire great harm.

(*) Probably the fourth of that name.

XI. The Religion of the Turks rests solely on political views, and is judged quite agreeably with the State's interest.

That the Mohammedan Religion has its origin solely in Policy, and is founded solely on political views, is so evident, that I need not first prove it at length. Then, having told you what I have found remarkable in this respect, I must nevertheless tell you something more in proof of this truth, in order subsequently to unfold the fundamental principles of the Turks, according to which they maintain and extend it, because it is exceptionally useful to their political views.

When from the history concerning the Founder of this Religion, on the one hand, the simplicity and wickedness of an uncivilized Legislator appears; so I believe, that on the other hand, one cannot deny his policy. In fact, as in his rules there is nothing that can lead to true virtue, as to the source of salvation, so it seems to me rather that everything is meant for the great purpose, which he had proposed to himself, to set himself up as sovereign, and to lay the ground for a kingdom, which could become fruitful.

If one goes to the contents of Mohammed's religion in general, then one sees, that its first aim was to attract the people. He left the examples of all the religions that then flourished, and only concentrated on that, that which he wished to introduce, should permit all the ease that was in keeping with the evil inclination of man. He allowed, therefore, a perfect sensual freedom; made the atonement of sins easy, and consequently lightened the hope of salvation. These were only baits to seduce the credulous ignorance of the common people. All other little regulations, which could be regarded as inconvenient to man, who by nature loves liberty, and cannot endure moderation and inconveniences, were only ordained from political views, because they were considered necessary to the State, which the wicked Legislator, according to his wide views, intended to establish. In proof of this truth I will go through the rules of the Mohammedan religion from piece to piece, because I think they clearly demonstrate my position. — The only article of faith of the Turks, that there is but one God and Mohammed his Prophet, shows that it was adopted only to give

40735 the false Legislator the more respect, and to extend among the people the blind
 belief in his deceits, which was necessary for his political purposes.
 As to the five practical Articles, of which that concerning washing is the first;
 Mohammed understood very well that the true power of the States consists in the power
 40740 of the people, and that the first care of a Prince must be to keep it, as much as
 possible, numerous. To this end he not only permitted polygamy and the use of co-
 wives, (*) but also ignored none of the other rules of policy which he deemed
 necessary for his purpose. He saw that he had to place himself at the head of a bad
 people, to expose himself to discomforts in a very warm country, where he had to
 provide for the necessary purity, so that the people would not be infected. He made
 40745 it 'therefore' a duty of religion to wash himself often, and brought it about that
 people did not consider that a spiritual means, which really only served to preserve
 his people. The second duty is the prayer repeated five times a day. Mohammed saw
 well that the heaviest yoke for people is slavery, which he nevertheless had set as a
 principal target in his new Empire. He believed, therefore, that the people must be
 40750 accustomed to this yoke by degrees, and that it would be much easier to begin with
 it, when a people are brought under the yoke in the matter of religion, so that when
 they were once accustomed to it, the political yoke would seem the less strange to
 them. To this end he imposed repeated prayers at certain hours, which is very
 inconvenient, and a perpetual slavery to those who observe the Mohammedan religion.
 40755 The third article obliges the Turks to give one in a hundred of their income in alms.
 Mohammed understood very well how useful it was that a Prince should know exactly the
 wealth of his subjects, so that he would never be disappointed in the measures of the
 State economy, which he had to take either from a certain necessity, or from some
 other view, for the service of his State. For this reason he ordained this religious
 40760 duty, as a certain means, which he, in his taxes, according to the needs of the
 State, could make use of, or which also in the case of arbitrary avarice could serve
 a Sultan for all kinds of extortions. (*)
 The fourth Article contains fasting in Ramasan, which, according to the description
 given above, consists only in that one should fast the night in the day changed. The
 40765 fame of a Conqueror, after whom Mohammed stood, made him foresee well, that certain
 occasions might come, in which his people had to endure extraordinary hardships and
 inconveniences. For this he wished to prepare it by a commandment of Religion, well
 understanding, that, when men were accustomed by this, to suffer hunger and thirst in
 the daytime for one whole month every year, and to watch at night, they would become
 40770 the less sullen, when they were forced to endure the same inconvenience in the
 service of the State. The last duty of God's service is the journey to Mecca. Here
 was his goal, on which all his wide designs came to fruition, to found a great
 Empire. On this account he obliged the descendants to make a pilgrimage to the place
 of their forefathers, who had extended the Empire so far, as each one had to travel
 40775 from his place of residence, in order that the descendants might be the more incited
 to follow their example. He ordered this as the greatest proof that people believed
 in his divine mission, with which he wanted to cover himself, while he made his own
 Fatherland as holy and divine. The other prohibitions, to eat pork and to drink wine,
 evidently have the State's aims in mind. The first is an unhealthy food in the whole
 40780 Levant, and especially in Arabia. Therefore he forbade them to prevent diseases. The
 second weakens and bewilders man, and nothing can be worse than a Soldier who is
 deprived of his reason here. — From this you may sufficiently gather, why I judge,
 that Mohammed's Religion had its origin in Policy, and that he sought nothing else
 here, than to give the Legislator prestige, and to preserve the people, to accustom
 40785 them to slavery and inconveniences, and to achieve by this all the purposes, which a
 Prince, with respect to his own States, is necessary.
 These same political purposes also appear in the preservation and extension of that
 Religion. For, although the Turks outwardly show, that they tolerate other
 Denominations, they nevertheless legalize the temptations and violence, by which men
 40790 are persuaded and forced to the Mohammedan faith. When a person converts to their
 Religion, then his Sons, if they are not yet 14 years old, must follow the example of
 their fathers. If a person is caught in a forbidden intercourse with a Turkin; then
 he either raises his head, or he must become a Turk. If someone says either in anger,
 or in drunkenness, that he wants to become a Mohammedan; or if he utters in an
 40795 unthinking manner the words in which their articles of faith consist, namely, that
 there is but one God, and that Mohammed is his Prophet; then he must also become
 either a Mohammedan, or a Martyr.
 Just as the Turkish Empire has been steadily extended by arms and violence; so it has
 been made a principle of religion not to give up places where a Mosque had been
 40800 established. Thus with them the Goa service serves as a state service, and so the

people are encouraged by the gift of religion to regain what they have lost. For the same reason they also believe that he who dies in a battle against the Christians will certainly enter Paradise without having done any meritorious work. This idea of the Turks is the principal motive by which they, as the Histories show, are incited to such bold undertakings.

Besides, these principles of religion are no longer followed so strictly as before. Their power has diminished, and the people are weakened by vice and lust. The Empire is surrounded by much more formidable Powers than before. They therefore no longer stand so strongly on many of their old fundamental principles, allowing their weakenings which they would not have permitted sixty years ago. They have given up cities and auctions in the last peace, in which there were many mosques, of which the peace concluded with Moscow, Austria, and Venice is a clear proof.

As long as I have been in Constantinople, I have seen that Christian subjects of neighboring powers, who wanted to adopt the religion of the Turks, were not accepted by them, out of fear of the power whose subjects they were. I have also seen that a fallen Christian adopted the Christian religion again, without the Turks making the least movement to get him back. So much can the interest of the state be with a people, whose religion is too entirely political. I now pass on to their civil government.

(*) Here the writer, in my opinion, is very wrong in his guess. In order to permit polygamy, the tendency to great lust did indeed work more in Mahomed, as a purpose of State. At least this would not have been achieved in a hoped-for strong population. Experience proves this.

(*) In this piece, as in the Feasts and the Pilgrimage, the writer, apparently, but wrongly, makes Mahomed a much greater politician than he ever was: because there is no fixed sum of a hundred fixed for the expenditure of alms; therefore the calculation of the goods of the subjects cannot be made by it, and it has never been made with regard to this expenditure of alms. The writer's judgment concerning the reason for these religious propositions does not go through at all. The life-history of Mohammed, and the first institution of his religion, do not at all allow such far-seeing and artful state-objects to be suspected on any ground.

XII. Of the civil government of the Turks. Of the Seraglio, its guard and population. It is difficult to form a correct idea of the government of the Turks, if one does not know in advance what the Seraglio and the Porte are. Both have such a share in the civil government, that, in order to know them thoroughly, one must examine both separately. I will therefore first speak of the Seraglio, and then pass on to the idea concerning the Porte.

Everyone knows that by the Seraglio one understands that Palace, where the Ottoman Monarch lives. But all do not know, that this residence deserves the name of a city, rather than of a Palace. It covers the entire terrain, where the old Byzantium stood before; it contains therefore the first of the 7 hills, on which Constantinople is built, which has its view towards Asia. Its circumference covers more than three (Italian) miles. The building is completely surrounded by very high walls, provided with spires and towers according to the taste of ancient military architecture. From the large circumference one can conclude the multitude of squares and gardens that are there. The population also corresponds to the extent of the place. According to the reports that I have received from people who are knowledgeable and who have lived in the Seraglio for more than thirty years, ten thousand persons live there. People who belong to the stud farms and guards form a large part of this population, of which I want to provide you with a list, according to accurately drawn up reports: People to the horse stables and stud farms. 3500

Bostandschjy or gardeners, -- 2000
Baltahdschjy or wood splitters, (*) -- 400
White Entrants, -- 120
Black Entrants, -- 300
Woman with sons about, -- 430
Tdsch-Oglan about -- 700
By the Kitchen etc. -- 400
All others up to 10 thousand consist of persons who hold the principal Dignities, and of their Servants, living in the Seraglio.

According to this general idea of people of various status, I will indicate in the following sections, what their office consists of, and how they are maintained and paid. Now I will only tell you in general, that they are mostly Christian children, who in their early years, through war, fell into slavery, and were honored by the Princes. For they always had, and still have, the rule, that they let themselves be served by such people, who do not know their own origin, do not know their own parents, and are consequently bound to no one but the Monarch, who clothes and supports them. If one of these Youths comes into the Seraglio; then they first check

whether he has a natural defect, and in such a case they do not accept him, because the Turks are all too much taken with the idea, which is otherwise often true, that in a body, having a natural defect, can hardly house a soul, that is not defective. If they are found without defects; then their names, their age, the name of their country are written on a list of the Treasury, and the Treasurer is ordered to pay the salary that is imposed on such a person. This now amounts to only four Aspers per day. Then they are sent to a Seraglio or to Tera, or Constantinople; but those who are sent to the latter are, as a rule, the first to be raised to office. This was formerly done for all who were in the service of the Seraglio, as also the many successful wars of the Sultans, partly by presents, partly by tribute, produced a very large number of slaves. But now, when the military fortunes of this Empire have declined, only the Tdjch-Oglan are of such origin in the Seraglio. All other Servants either transmit the office from the Father to the Son, or they attain to it by services and practices rendered. – The Seraglio is guarded in the following manner. The whole circumference is entrusted to the care of the Bostandschjy or gardeners, who form the first guard; (*) the second guard consists of the Baltahdschjy or Hellebardiers, who are armed with axes; after these follow the guard of the white Cutthroats, and finally the guard of the black Cutthroats, who are next to the Sultan. This is sufficient to form a general idea of it.

(*) These are not only the actual wood-splitters, but also a kind of Hellerbardiers, who, instead of other weapons, carry an axe after the old military equipment.

XIII. Of the persons belonging to the stables and stud farms. The number of 3500 persons, which I determined in advance for the service of the Stud Farms, might seem too high; but one will easily understand it, when I say, that, for the service of the Sultan alone, 3000 horses are always kept, which number may neither be increased nor decreased. As soon as a horse is donated or bought above this number; then one of the smaller ones is given away; and if one dies, then another is bought, so that the number always remains the same. They are all from Arabia or Egypt; for the horses from Asia and Rumelia are considered far too common. In order to be sure that the best horses should be brought to Constantinople, there is an ancient law, according to which the owners of horses, as well as of the ships on which they are brought, are required, under penalty of death, to bring them before their introduction into the city to the Seraglio, in order that the best may be selected there first. They are divided into three stables; in the first are eighteen hundred, in the second seven hundred, and in the third five hundred horses. Besides these horses of the Sultan's own, there are also four hundred mules for the transport and hauling of so many things necessary for the Court of so great a Monarch, and for so many people. To these animals, belonging to the Sovereign, are added the horses and mules of his Ministers, residing in the Seraglio, of which some, for instance the Kislär-Aga, the Chafynehdar-Aga, and the Silahdar-Aga, have about three hundred for their special service. Each, even the meanest Page, has three. Consequently there may be in all about six thousand horses in the stables. – The Turks are accustomed every year, in the month of May, to drive their horses into the meadows, to eat the green grass. But the horses of the Sultan's stables have their meadows within the Seraglio, from which one may judge of their size.

(*) It is strange that the Kapudschjy are let out here.

XIV. Of the Bostandshjy and Baltahdshjy. The Bostandshjy, who form the first guard of the Seraglio, (*) are under their Chief, the Bostandshjy-Baschy, who has general supervision not only over the gardens of the Seraglio at Constantinople, but also over all the other Seraglios, fountains and pleasure-houses of the Grand Lord, which are situated in many places on the harbour and the Bosphorus. His jurisdiction extends to the mouth of the Black Sea, since now all the numerous and populous villages, on the shores of Asia and Europe, lying on the Channel, are under him, so he has a large income. – When the Sultan sails in a Kandschjabasch or rowing yacht; then the Bostandshjy-Baschy is always at the helm. Because he is therefore, by reason of this office, near the Sultan, and has easy opportunity to speak with him; he is considered by the Turks themselves as a very respectable State servant. He has his residence on the shore of the harbour, which has communication with the Seraglio itself, and is the place where the guilty are made to suffer the punishment. The duty of the Bostandschjy is now this: they have the outer guard of the Seraglio; they guard the pleasure-houses of the Great Lord; they plant and cultivate his gardens, they row on all the barges of the Seraglio, and perform the cruel office of

putting the guilty to death. Among all the servants of the Seraglio, who are mostly civilized and courteous people, these are the most uncivilized and cruel. Next come the Baltahdschjy, whose office is to chop wood and bring it to the Seraglio. They take the second watch, and are therefore one degree higher than the Bostandschjy. But they are dressed in almost the same manner, except that they have on their garments a small collar of blue colour, such as some of our soldiers wear, only with this difference, that in their case it is longer, and extends almost to the breast. The head of the Bostandschjy and Baltahdschjy is covered with a long cap of scarlet, hanging down nearly half a yard.

These two kinds of guards exercise themselves in running, leaping, wrestling, and throwing the javelin, in which they are very skilled, as they are in all such exercises, by which the body is made strong and fit.

All these sorts of people consisted, for the present, of young Christian slaves, which had been obtained in the war. From them were also taken all the following sorts of servants: first the Ashdschjy or Cooks, who wear on their heads a high cap, which has a backward-falling point; secondly the Candidates, wearing a cap of camel's hair, almost like a sugar loaf, of a dark yellow colour; thirdly the Butchers, who also wear such a cap; fourthly the Peygk or Lackeys, wearing a short coat, lined with gold trimmings, and caps of gilded metal, with a plume, more than an ell high; then the servants for the Hospital of the Noblemen, besides many other lowly and servile offices. But for the present time, when there are few Christian slaves left, they take in their place children of common people, who are taken into the Seraglio either because of certain services in the interest of their parents, or because of their poverty.

These are the lowly ministries of the Seraglio, or the persons who make up the outside guards.

(*) The Kapudschjy have the guard at the main gate to the city.

XV. Of the Lamé and Black Engraved, Just as the Mohammedans have no religious bond, by which they restrain the impure flames of nature; so no one is easily more exposed to them than they. For this reason the Ottoman Emperors, like other Eastern Princes, employ Engraved, for the internal seraglio of the Imperial Families. The white Engraved form a sort of bodyguard of the Monarch, and the black ones the bodyguard of the women.

The Chief of the white Engraved is the Kapu-Aga, who commands all the Pages and white Engraved of the Court. Under him he has three principal Officers. The first is the Chasz-Oda-Baschy, or Grand Chamberlain: the second the Sferay-Kjetckada or Chief Steward, who has the superintendence of the Pages and other court servants. The third is the Kjilar-Dschjy-Baschy, or Chief Kitchen and Cellar Master. There are other Servants of the white Engraveds, for instance the first and second Teachers, the first Chief Overseer of the Mosques of the Great Lord, and fifty other Officials, who have fifty Aspers every day. (*) Of these Engraveds they also take some, whom they call Teachers of the Imperial Mosques, whose revenues are much greater, because some of them have a hundred Zechines (†) every day. — The black Engraveds serve in the charge of the women. They are entirely carved, and the blackest of all, who come from Africa. Their Chief is the Kislär-Aga, who has general charge of the Harem, being the place where the women are guarded. He also has charge of the Imperial Mosques, which brings him a great deal.

The second Dignity is that of the Chafynehdar-Aga, or Grand Treasurer of the Seraglio. Next to him comes the Bnjugk-Oda-Aga, who has charge of the large Chambers of the Pages. Next to him comes the Kjutschugk-Oda-Aga, who is placed over the small Chambers; the Basch-Kapn-Oglany, or the Chief of the Doorkeepers of the Women's Apartments; and finally the two Imams of the Imperial Mosque of the Empress-Mother, where the women of the Seraglio say their prayers.

When there is a Sultana-Mother or a Consort of the reigning Sultan; then there are four more principal Dignities among the black Engraved, among whom some have the rank next to the Grand Treasurer. The first is the Dignity of Valikt-Aga, being the chief doorkeeper at the Empress-mother. The second is the Schafadehlar-Aga, or first Steward of the Sultan's Sons. The third is the Chafyneh-Aga, or treasurer of the Empress-mother. The fourth is the Kjuar-Aga, set over the Jams, and other delicacies of the Empress-mother. These Dignities take place, when there is a Consort of the Sultan; but in such a case, they follow the Attendants of the Empress-mother.

(*) My manuscript mentions ten other Officials, who have 12 Aspers every day.

(†) Here is a great mistake; for the Grand Mufti does not have, daily, a perfect five Zekhinās.

XVI. Of the Chambers of the Ydsch-Oglans or Pages of the Seraglio. The Pages in the Seraglio are all Christian children, (*) who, in their tender youth, have been captured in times of war, or are honored by the Generals or Ministers of the Monarch. When they are examined, and then received in the Seraglio; then they are placed under the supervision of the Chief of the white Ennemies, who places them either in the large or small chamber or school. None are called Bjugk but these Kjutschugk-Oda. Generally there are four hundred in the first, and two hundred and fifty in the second. They are kept under strict discipline, and instructed in courtesy and modesty. Their first studies consist in the religion of Mohammed, and in learning the Persian and Arabic languages, in order that they may speak Turkish as beautifully as it is used in the Seraglio. They are constantly clothed with good cloth, and sparingly supplied with rice and healthy food. They all sleep in one place together, and their beds are one behind the other, as is the custom in our Seminaries; but the attention is paid to the fact that every four or five beds have the bed of a Disciplined man, who watches them. These Disciplines keep a close eye on them, to keep them from the vices that are all too common in the Seraglio. When they reach manly old age; then they are given physical exercises, by which their constitution becomes stronger. They train themselves with the lance, the bow, the javelin, and other weapons, both on foot and on horseback. In the javelin they excel all other nations. The constant practice makes them shoot the javelin with such emphasis that they are even capable of breaking a leg. Besides these strong bodily exercises, they are also instructed in mechanical and liberal arts; for example, they make bows, arrows, horse harnesses, etc. They are instructed in painting, but mainly in Turkish music. From these Chambers they are promoted to many important offices, because they serve the person of the Monarch; then their pension is increased to eight Aspers a day. They are distributed either in the treasury of the Seraglio, or in the Chambers of spices, cordials, and elixirs of uncommon value, which are kept in abundance for the use of the Sultan. From these two Chambers they come to the Chafz-Oda, which is the most important Chamber in the Seraglio, consisting of only 40 Persons. These have the Title of Aga, and are in great esteem, because they are constantly near the Person of the Sultan. From these 40 persons are drawn the thirteen principal offices of the Court, which are 1) the Silahdar-Aga who bears the sword of the Great Lord; 2) the Tschokahdar-Aga, its train-bearer; 3) the Rikjahdar-Aga, who holds its stirrup; 4) the Ibrykdar-Aga, who holds his Lampet; 5) the Dulbendar-Aga, who prepares and carries his Turban; 6) Iskjetnlehdschjy-Aga, who carries the footstool for his mounting and dismounting from the horse; 7) Kaemizar-Aga, the Chief Overseer of the Wardrobe, who has the Great Lord's linen washed; 8) Tschaschnyghyr-Aga, the Chief of those who taste the food which is set before the Great Lord; 9) Sagardschjy-Aga, or Chief Overseer of the hunting dogs; 10) Themakdschjy-Raschy, who cuts the Sultan's nails; 11) Berber-Baschy, or his first barber; 12) Muhafebehschjy-Baschy, or his first accountant; 13) Teskjerehschjy-Baschy, his first Secretary. There are still at the Court two other very important offices, namely the Thogandschjy-Baschy, or great Falconer, and the Haemmamdschjy-Baschy, or chief overseer of the baths; but these are never changed, - and they therefore have no hope of reaching higher offices. These two do not even have the honor of being allowed to enter the Chambers of Sidtan. Nine persons have the honor of handing the Sultan the petitions; they are called Aerdhs-Agaler Four are in the great Chamber of 40, namely the Silahdar-Aga, the Tschokahdar-Aga, the Rikjahdar-Aga and the Dulbendar-Aga. The five others are: the first Official at the treasury; the Chief Overseer of the provisions and Jams; the Chief Huntsman; the first Commander of the Imperial Chamber; and the first Instructor of the Pages.

These 9 Persons have the nearest hope, to come out of the Seraglio, and to be raised to the principal Empires, especially to the office of a Bassa. The others of the great Chamber are often sent either to the Visier, or to the Bassa, or to the Princes, who pay tribute, on which occasions they receive considerable presents, because it is well known, that the Monarch therefore only sends people of such rank. Now, according as one of these Persons comes out of the Seraglio, and is raised to such principal Empires; thus his vacant place in the great Chamber is again filled, for which purpose the honors are taken from the lower Chambers. - This is the order, with respect to the Dignities of the Seraglio, and by such steps and offices one must go, before one comes out. From which it may be inferred, that a man seldom comes out before he is forty years old, and is therefore able to fill a place which is entrusted to him. The offices which those who go out of the Seraglio generally receive, are either important Bassa-places, or the Dignity of an Aga of the Janistas, of a General of Spain, and sometimes even the place of a first Visier. I am told, that they have incredible Compliments and Ceremonies, when they go out of the

41070 Seraglio, and take leave of their friends in it. I have been assured, that in the most civilized countries, they do not make so much use of Compliments, and that even the ceremonies of a certain Court in Italy do not come far short of those which the Turks observe on such occasions. It is certain that all who are brought up in the Seraglio are very courteous and polite; and, as they show no grandeur or contempt for the customs of other peoples, not even for Christians; so one may well imagine how uncommonly friendly they must be towards their comrades.

(*) The Kapudschjy keep watch at the principal gate to the city.

41080 XVII. Of the manner in which the young men in the Seraglio are instructed in the sciences.

In comparison with all other nations, the Turks do not seem to make much of the sciences. It is seen that they continually give preference to the soldiers over the scholars, because they promote them only to the great offices at the Court, or to the principal stadtholderships in the Provinces. Nevertheless, they do not neglect to promote a kind of sciences in their schools, and in particular they take great pains to ensure that the youth in the Seraglio learn something. They teach these young men to read and write. In this they must apply themselves to the Arabic language; for, as all the doctrines of their religion, and all their civil laws, are written in Arabic, this language becomes necessary to all those who wish to excel either in religion or in government. They also instruct them in the Persian language, because it is rich in lively and pleasant expressions, and improves the coarseness of the Turkish language. They let young people read many novels and romances in the Persian language, which are full of lively, witty, and charming expressions, in order that they may be accustomed to be quick and lively. Do they find, among these young people, people of a melancholy and serious disposition; then they must apply themselves, with an uncommon diligence, to the improvement of their style in writing, in order that he may be elevated as much as possible, being such a necessary quality, if one wishes to attain the important positions of a Secretary of State, a Grand Chancellor, a Secretary at the Treasury, a Grand Treasurer and others, but especially of such ecclesiastical persons, who, so to speak, are Teachers of an important Mosque of Imperial foundation.

After these first studies, some apply themselves to learning the Koran by heart; others translate books on the Mohammedan religion from Arabic into Turkish, and make comments and explanations about them, in order to instruct ignorant people. Still others devote themselves to Arabic and Persian poetry, in which they make great progress, and, often to astonishment, know how to express themselves well. Music also keeps a great part of the youth in the Seraglio busy. It cannot be denied that there is something rough in Turkish music, as regards the humming; but equally it cannot be denied that it nevertheless has a certain endearing harmony.

Up to now it was forbidden by a state rule to print books, because it was considered dangerous for the State. But for the present, now that the desire to know something has become greater among the Turks, and they no longer have such a great aversion to dealing with Christians, they have abandoned that rule, and have begun to print books. (*) They have also supplied maps and sea charts; but both have turned out so badly, that I almost consider them as altogether useless. Other sciences they understand almost not at all, such as reasoning, physics, arithmetic and mathematics, if one does not want to say that in the latter they know the most necessary propositions, having its regard to Artillery.

41120 (*) This printing house had already ceased at the time the author wrote this, and the hope that it will start up again, given the present prosperity of the Turkish Empire and other circumstances, is steadily disappearing more and more.

41125 XVIII. Of the Dumb and Dwarfs in the Seraglio.

In order that the Ottoman Emperors should not neglect anything by which they might display their Highness; thus, after the example of the ancient Princes, they have collected Dumb and Dwarfs in their own Seraglio. People of that stamp, who at other Courts serve only for the amusement of the Prince, serve at the Ottoman Court not only for the amusement of the Monarch, but also serve to instruct the Pages in an art which is not used among other nations, namely, in the art of expressing themselves by signs of movement and significance. The respect which the Turks have for their Monarch makes that silence becomes a duty with them, so that he will never be in the least disturbed by their voices. To this end there are in the Seraglio, at all times, forty men, (*) who were born deaf and dumb, who can express themselves only by significant signs. At night they sleep in the Chamber of the Pages, and during the

day they are either in their schools, or stand before the Mosque, to teach by their example the art of signifying, which is highly esteemed in the Seraglio. I am assured that in this art there are such excellent men, that they know how to tell a long story by significant signs alone. Two or three of the oldest Dumb Men are admitted into the Sultan's Chamber, or serve as Court Jesters, to amuse him. The Dwarfs are used in the same way; and, if anyone is also dumb and cut, then he is considered a great rarity in the Seraglio.

(*) Under the last governments, not as much work has been made of the Dumb and Dwarfs as under the previous ones.

XIX. Of the Room of the Women in the Seraglio.

All the women in the Seraglio are for the sole use of the Great Lord, and it is not lawful for any one to bring one even within the first gate. (*) These women are shut up in a large apartment, which is called Harem, in a secluded place, which has a view of the Sea of Marmora. No one may see them, except the Monarch and the Enthroned, when they amuse themselves in the gardens. When they go from the Seraglio with the Great Lord to the country; then they make this journey either in barges or in wagons, which are provided with lattices: and, when they climb out of the barge or from the wagon, silks are stretched on the little road to their departure, so that it is impossible to see them. All of them are either captured in war, or sent as a gift by cynical peoples, because for the Seraglio, women of perfect beauty and certain purity are always chosen. They are separated into two Chambers, like the Pages, and their work consists in sewing and embroidery. Besides these feminine occupations, they are also instructed in Music, in dancing, and other pleasant arts, which I may not mention out of modesty, but are unknown to many other nations. By this means they seek to attract the Monarch, and to win his affection. Their number depends on the inclination of the reigning Sultan. It is said, Sultan Selym has had two thousand, while on the contrary the reigning Sultan (*) has no more than three hundred. These two Chambers of women's sons have many Instructors, but no maids to serve them. They serve each other themselves according to the order, when they have come into the Seraglio. The last, who has come there, must serve the last but one, and this again the one who has come before her, and so it is with all, so that only the first serves no other, and the last herself and the one but one is the last; and the others serve, and are served. They all sleep in one place, but all on separate beds one after the other; after the fifth bed always lies, one of the sober tutors, who takes care of her behavior.

Her Chief Court Mistress bears the name of Kadun-Kjehuda, or Court Mistress of the women of State. If there is an Empress-mother; then she chooses her Court from the Ladies of these Chambers, because she has the liberty to choose those that please her best. — The Great Lord sometimes permits them to take a rest in the gardens. In this case, each of them must go there. At all posts, the Snipes are placed in a guard with a sabre in their fist; others go around, and if anyone is caught within the forbidden place, whether he has come from carelessness or ignorance, he is beheaded without any mercy: and the Snipes do indeed shy away from such occasions; for if they bring such a head to the Monarch, they are generously rewarded for it.

Sometimes the Sultan also comes into the gardens to amuse himself there. Then there is not one of the women who does not, by dancing or singing, or by talking, appeal to the Sultan's love, and to that end make the most indecent gestures and movements. It is believed in Italy, that the Great Lord, for the service of his bed, may take any one or more, as he pleases. But this is groundless. Before, it was so; but the great expense, which was required, to maintain all the women employed by the Great Lord, introduced here, under the name of household, certain regulations. Now the Sultan may indeed take any one, when and where he pleased; but this was an act of violence against the law, which the Monarchs themselves are accustomed to observe, and the chosen person could thereby lose her life. For it is related as a certainty, that under Sultan Achmet III many women were therefore put to death by poison, because they had, untimely, by artifices, procured the Sultan's love. Now the Sultan is not at liberty to take a new wife into his bed, except on solemn days, and on an extraordinary occasion; for instance, on the celebration of the second Beyram, on the birthday of Mohammed, on the birthday of the Sultan, on the day of his coming to the Throne, on the occasion of a victory, or some other occasion joyful to the Empire. On such occasions, when the Monarch has to seek a new concubine, he goes into the women's apartment, where the women are placed in rows by the Chief Stewards, from whom he then says, who pleases him best. For it is a fable, that they say in Italy (and elsewhere), that he throws her his handkerchief. The chosen wife then falls on her knees, and kisses the hem of the Great Lord's robe. Then she is taken to the bath

by her companions, washed, incense is poured upon her, and, splendidly adorned with
 41205 songs and instruments, led to the Sultan's Chamber; there she receives the Encircled
 of the guard, and brings her into the Sultan's Chamber, who is usually already in
 bed. As soon as she has entered, she falls on her knees, and, when the Sultan calls
 her, then she comes from the foot of the bed under the blanket, unless the Sultan
 41210 gave her orders, to climb in in another way. When the Sultan has amused himself with
 her; then she is, by the Chief Stewards and her companions, led back with the same
 state to the apartment of the Great Lord. If she is now with child, and bears the
 first-born son; then she is called Chassekjy Sultana, which means Princess mother of
 the first-born; she is given the honour of crowning them, and she has the liberty of
 appointing her Court, choosing from the Chambers of the women those which she most
 41215 pleases. Her particular Offspring are given her as a Guard. But those who bring forth
 Sons after her are neither crowned, nor treated with such special distinction,
 involving expenses; but such have a listless journey as Princesses. — After the death
 of the Sultan, the mothers of Princes are locked up in the Seraglio of the old
 Ladies, from whence they do not come, unless the Son of one of them ascends the
 41220 Throne. The women who have brought forth Princesses may marry again after the death
 of the Sultan; and she never lacks the opportunity of marrying the most distinguished
 men of the Empire, whom she willingly marries, in order to promote their happiness
 the better by the followers and friends they have in the Seraglio. Those whom the
 Sultan has already had as a bedfellow are locked up in the old Seraglio; and those
 41225 who remain virgins are locked up in their own chambers, at the service of the new
 Sultan.

(*) But well-known commercial women are, by the black Engraved, brought to certain apartments,
 and under special rules of prudence.
 41230 (*) It was Machmud.

XX. Of the lust that reigns in the Seraglio between Persons of the same sex.
 A matter of which no mention should be made! But whoever writes of the Seraglio must
 also report the passions that reign there. It is unbelievable how fierce the love,
 41235 and consequently also the love, that one Page bears to another are. Notwithstanding
 the severity of their Overseers, they have often committed such horrors in their
 Chambers that one had to resort to the death penalty to exterminate them.
 This filthy passion reigns not only among the youth, but there are even examples that
 the most important persons, who held the greatest offices of the Empire, were
 41240 infected with it, yes, the Sultans themselves were not free from it. Ottoman history
 furnishes us with the example of the famous Murad, who was madly in love with an
 Armenian youth, and raised him to the distinguished office of Silahdar (Court
 Marshal). Mahomed IV made the famous Culoghi his chief favourite, who reigned
 supreme. Besides these, there are many others, which prove how old this vice is
 41245 within these walls. Now this can be applied to the whole Ottoman State; for there is
 no estate, no office, not even among ecclesiastical persons, free from this vice. But
 what strikes me most astonishing in this respect, is the folly of them saying so
 openly, and naming and determining places and people, which are tolerated. What I say
 of the Men, can also be applied to the female Sex, especially those who are in the
 41250 Seraglio. I am told that they have an incredible lust for each other. The eldest wait
 for the youngest, they become impoverished at last, to give her all that they
 possess. (*) This unfruitful love has penetrated everything, and against it neither
 walls nor sharp-sighted Guards can help.

(*) This place is dark, and possibly placed so by chance, in order not to express clearly the
 ambiguous meaning that lies therein.

XXI. Of the first Vizier of the Turkish Empire and its Kjetchuda.
 By the Ministry I understand such persons, who have influence on the government of
 the State. The first Person in rank is the Grand Vizier, of whom I will now speak.
 The Turks call him Wefyr-aé'tzem, which means approximately, Head of the Council and
 Governor of the Empire. He has the great Seal, on which the Sultan's name is carved,
 having thereby a share in the Prince's entire power.
 This Dignity was established by Murad I, who wanted to reward his own Chief of Staff
 41265 Lala Schahyn, because of the conquest of Adrianople, with this. From that time on the
 Emperors, until now, have considered it useful to maintain this Dignity. His Court is
 very numerous in Officers and Servants. I have been in his Palace, when I had to go
 to the Divan, and I should not write an untruth, if I said, that his Court amounts to
 more than a thousand Persons.
 41270 He is always Bassa of three horse-tails, this being a sign of a great Dignity in this

Empire. His salary, which he draws from the Treasury, is very small, consisting annually of only 20 thousand Reals. (*) But the presents, which the Bassas make him, when they obtain their office, and wish to maintain themselves in it; that which he draws from the Envoys of the Provinces; and finally that which he extorts from every one who has anything to do at Court; all this taken together, amounts to immeasurable Sums. Therefore it is not possible to give the true income of the Grand Vizier accurately: for it depends on the circumstances of the time and the inclination of the one who holds this office, how much he wants and can gain. The extortions of a Grand Vizier are, generally, tolerated by the Monarch, who remains silent in the face of his oppressors, because the treasures which his Minister collects, return to his own treasury, since the Vizier either makes presents, or the Court has to pay money, or everything is declared forfeit, when the Vizier, by an unfortunate chance, or arbitrarily, is deposed from his office. The great treasures were, often, the only cause why a Grand Vizier lost his Dignity and his Life.

The power of the Grand Vizier was, before this, almost entirely absolute. He commanded not only the Life of the Subjects, but also the Life of the Bassas and Favourites of the Great Lord himself, without his knowledge. But for the present, now that the Government within the Seraglio, namely the Enthroned, rule over the mind of the Monarch entirely, he can no longer let one's Life be taken away, without the Great Lord permitting it, or at least notifying him of it.

Even in public Imperial Affairs, the Vizier received, before this, the letters of the Generals and Governors of the Provinces, which he presented to the Sultan, only when and as he pleased. But this communication was always done by means of certain extracts and reports, which the Vizier had made by the Travel-Efense, but in which he omitted everything that could be disadvantageous to his particular purposes. He kept silent about the disorders, which he either hoped to remove by himself, or which, according to his thoughts, might disturb the Sultan's peace, and interrupt his own happiness. But now the Grand Vizier has no more this considerable privilege. He must now send the letters sealed to the Seraglio, where the affairs are investigated by the Favourites, Moors and Enemies, and often they conceal from the Grand Vizier, now, that which he formerly concealed from the Seraglio.

A so special and sensible change has taken place under the present Vizier, who, however seen otherwise for his military valour and honesty, has very little experience in government affairs, since he cannot even write. He still retains the Appeal of all the other Tribunals. For this reason he lives in Divanby, where he goes, with a large retinue of officers and servants. Twice a week he holds Divan in his own house. There only the two Kadhyleschkjer of Natolia and Romania may sit on his bench, who are the two highest judges of the law. These have full authority to pass sentences; but the Vizier can, by his prestige, quash them of his own free will. All petitions to the Sultan must first pass through the hands of the Grand Vizier, so that, without his previous knowledge, nothing can be delivered to the Monarch. If, however, he committed any injustice, or a private person, for some other reason, wanted to complain about him; then the way is continually open to petition the protection or justice of the Great Lord, while, when he passes by, he shows himself, and holds something burning above his head, by which sign he who petitions anything is not only protected from all opposition and insult, but also has always someone at his side who takes the petitions out of his hands, to present them to the Monarch to hand over.

For the rest, the Vizier has the power to punish the Spahy and Janistas; but this he cannot do without the consent of their commanders. He always has his Kjetchuda; a considerable office, because he attends to everything that the Grand Visier, by reason of his many duties, cannot do. This post is usually filled by persons of merit and virtue, who are able to give the Grand Vizier good advice.

When the Grand Vizier grants audience to foreign Ambassadors and Ministers; then he sits alone in the corner of the Sofa; on the left side, next to him stands the Kjetchuda, and on the right side the Reis-Efendy. The foreign Ambassador places himself on a chair without backrest, directly opposite the Visier. But if one has an audience, either in the Imperial Armoury, or in an Imperial Palace on the Black Sea Canal; then the Kjetchuda is not present, because either the Vizier, or he, must necessarily always be at Constantinople.

If the Vizier goes to war; then he not only follows him, but also all the Ministers of the Secretary and Chancellor, and even the Christian of them is taken with them to the army. Although the experience of the loss of them, in the flight after the siege of Vienna, must have convinced the Turks of the folly of this custom; yet they have not yet, up to now, abandoned it. When the Vizier is on the march, then only his Governor remains at Constantinople, but he has only a semblance of power. For, since

all the registers are in the army, he cannot decide on anything without sending it to the Grand Vizier, in order that the necessary knowledge and information may be obtained from the Archives. This Kaym-Maekam, for the rest, observes the same that the Grand Vizier had to observe; but his office lasts only so long, until the Grand Vizier, who was in the army, returns. In case at that time, when the Grand Vizier serves in the field, the Great Lord goes to Adrianople or another city, as Achmed III, in time of war, went from Candia to Thessalonica; then, besides the Kaym-Maekam of Constantinople and his Minister, another with his Minister is elected on the spot, where the Sultan is staying. On such occasions one counts one Grand Visier, two Kaym-Maekams and three Ministers; but these two last only so long, until the most important one, who is in the army, returns to Constantinople.

(*) So it is in Ricaut, and so it was before. Now the fixed pension is doubled.

XXII. Of the Viziers of the Bank, the Desterdat, Nischandschjy, Reis-Efendy and the Teskjerehdschjy. Besides the first Vizier,, the Sultans were accustomed to keep six other Vizier,s at Constantinople, who were called Vizier,s of the Bank. These attended the Divan, but were not allowed to express their opinion, unless the Grand Vizier asked them. Nevertheless, as often as one had to deliberate on a matter, they were always admitted to the Cabinet college, where they expressed their thoughts with complete freedom. But, because these Vizier,s seemed dangerous to the first Vizier,s, who feared that they could be deposed all the more conveniently, because others could be appointed in their place; as they were, moreover, an obstacle to the Grand Vizier in the council meetings themselves; so the latter thought of means to be discharged from them, and under the cloak of zeal for service and the pretext of economy, persuaded the Sultans to deprive them of their office, and to send them to the richest Provinces as Stadtholders. The sharpness of the first Vizier Ibrahim Pascha succeeded in bringing about this important affair, because he knew how to make good use of the propensity of Sultan Mahomed III (*) to avarice. Under the appearance of favor to these Vizier,s, the most advantageous offices in the Provinces were assigned to them, ??confiscations of lands, loans, the annual gifts of the Bassas, Sandschaken, and all other regulations in this Empire. He gives every ship that sails from the harbor a toll-ticket, for which five reals must be paid. This brings in a great deal, considering that ships constantly sail from this great harbor, which may easily be gathered from the uncommon population of this great city, and from the great trade, which many nations from Africa, Asia, and all European nations carry on here. In addition, he has the advantage of the Cancellation, which is proportional to the number of the Provinces and subjects of the Empire. From this it may be concluded what an advantage he can draw from these rich sources, but which are all legitimate with his Dignity. Add to this what he can gain by unjust means, noting that there is no office of the Empire which could extort more and more easily than this, since a Travel Agency need only tire people by a slow execution of affairs; then his income increases still more. He has no seat in the Divan; on the contrary, this place is usually filled with people who possess virtue and a quickness of mind; qualities which, with the multitude of occupations, are absolutely necessary in so great an Empire. The Defterdar is the Great Treasurer of the Empire, and must be distinguished from the Treasurer of the Seraglio, who manages the private treasury of the Great Lord. His office involves collecting the income of the Empire, and making good the public expenditure; that he must always be on the lookout to increase the former, and to diminish the latter. I shall speak of his Cashier, when I come to the State-household. For the rest, this office is very considerable; he has, on solemn occasions, the precedence over the Court-Chancellor, and sits in the Divan on the bench directly opposite the Nischandschjy. He has many people under him; a College, which we might call the Chamber. The place where he exercises his office is a room near the Hall of the Divan.

The Teskjerehdschjy is a sort of Sub-Court-Chancellor, an equally considerable office, because he has all the registers of the Cancellary in his keeping. He has the supervision of the registers themselves, the execution of the Fermans, (orders of the Porte.) the preservation of the writings, and is obliged to vouch for the diligence and accuracy of his servants at the Travel Office, who work in great numbers in the Chancellery. He has a share in all State secrets; attends the most secret conversations, and also often says his opinion. From this post one usually arrives at the Dignity of a Travel Office.

(*) My Italian manuscript is called here, and rightly so, Achmed III.

XXIII. Of the services for the civil government, and good order in the city.

41405 The Tschausch-Baschy is a Dignity, which, in our respect, represents two persons. For on the one hand he is Judge over civil affairs, on the other hand he is Court Marshal. As Court Marshal he receives the foreign Ambassadors outside the city, accompanies them on their entry, leading them to Audience. This brings him much, because all the Ambassadors present him with rich Manufactures from their countries. 41410 But even more advantageous is his other office, in deciding legal cases. The Visier and highest Judges or Kadhy-Leschkjer refer all legal cases to him, which are either of little importance, or in which no things, touching Religion or State, take place. Since he now draws a fixed money from a hundred of all the Capitals, on which he judges; so he has a fair income from this. He is the Chief, and on him depends the 41415 whole state of the Tschauschen, which is more or less in agreement with our Commanders.

Another considerable Dignity is that of an Istanbul-Efendy, or Governor of Constantinople. He has the oversight of all the food and provisions. He endeavors to maintain the abundance of these in that city; he is vigilant that the price of them 41420 does not rise through bribery; and, if there is a shortage of anything, he takes care that it is distributed in such a measure that the city in general suffers no shortage. This office is always held by a man of policy and standing, who draws so much from it that he can live magnificently and respectably. In judging his income, it must be remembered that he draws his share from everything, even from the least 41425 things, which are demanded for the consumption of such a numerous multitude as is at Constantinople.

The Kadhy decide minor disputes, and in this way the multitude of occupations in the high offices is diminished, so that they are not hindered by minor matters in more important ones. A similar object also has the appointment of Chiefs in each trade, 41430 who decide disputes which arise either between men of the same trade, trade, or between a trade and a foreign merchant, whereby the higher courts are relieved of innumerable difficulties.

With regard to the new building of houses, which is a source of disputes in all countries, there is no special court to have the oversight thereof. All disputes 41435 concerning this are settled by the Memar-Baschy, that is, the general overseer of the buildings. There is no appeal against his verdict, and, when it is once struck at a place where one is building, then it decides for or against the legality of the building. One either continues with this, or, what has been built, is pulled down. But, just as he knows how to interpret the law according to his interest, so he is 41440 always right who offers him the most money; and so he who holds this office is always a man of means.

But the greatest relief for the Turkish Tribunal, with such a great number of cases, which such a strong population could produce in Constantinople, is this, that the inhabitants of this city seldom go to the Judge. This is because they govern 41445 themselves almost entirely.

XXIV. Of the Nations, who are subjects of the Turks, and live at Constantinople, namely, the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks.

The population of Constantinople would be much smaller, if it consisted of Turks alone; but it is considerably increased by other nations, who are indeed under the 41450 Turks, but otherwise, as regards language and religion, differ entirely from them. The most numerous are the Jews, (*) who live partly in the city, partly in the villages around it. They form 20 thousand Families. They have an Aristocratic government, under which the people stand in religion, manners, and customs. The most 41455 notable among them are the Teachers of the law, called Chacans, who decide disputes that may arise in the Families. And none of them dares to appeal to a Turkish one from a sentence passed before their court. They possess no goods, and yet they are all reasonably well-off, and many even rich. The reason for this I will mention when I speak of Commerce. For the present it is sufficient for me to have merely mentioned 41460 their aristocratic position, according to which they do not cause the Turkish courts any trouble. But now I must also mention how they behave in Constantinople.

Just as there is no respectable Turkish house to which a Jew has not been admitted; so, more naturally, the number and condition of their protectors give them great 41465 prestige. There is indeed no nation which is more mistreated and cursed by the Turks than they; but on the other hand, none is more cherished than they. They are like slaves; but always retain a certain character of mastery. They possess nothing, and yet they live with ease and in abundance. They cannot acquire lands, but accumulate immeasurable goods. They increase daily; for they all marry, and none of them goes to war. They are the greatest Confidants of the Turks. In a word: at Constantinople

- avarice is indeed abhorred in outward appearance, but in reality it is nourished; and the Jews are the negotiators of the most shameful usury. The other nation living at Constantinople are the Armenians. Their number amounts to about forty thousand, who are mostly schismatics(*) and a few Roman Catholics. The first are the Aechychians; they deny the one nature in Christ, having an aversion to the Council of Chalcedon.
- The poorest of them, of whom there is a great number, are mostly servants, and the others devote themselves to Commerce. In their dealings they all depend on their Overman, having no need to apply to Turkish courts for that purpose. Above all nations the Greek is the most numerous. She has indeed lost authority with the Empire; but nevertheless, besides the cunning, cunning and proud nature of her forefathers, she has retained some power, as well as the praiseworthy, intelligent and lively Charaster, always characteristic of that Nation, is still perceived in her. By this they know how to take the Court, and obtain, through the favour of the Ministers, the government of Wallachia and Moldavia, over which they exercise an almost absolute dominion. There are also among them some of the old distinguished Families, but who now bear nothing but a famous name without emphasis. They live almost all in Fener, being a suburb, which is united to the walls of Constantinople without.
- They possess very few lands, and their principal existence lies in the two Principalities mentioned, where they hold the offices of a Protospadar, Grand-Chancellor, Treasurer, House-steward, Lyfarts, and Agents of the Porte, because all these offices may have certain lands in these Provinces for their use. Although previous experience has sufficiently shown how dangerous rocks these two Principalities and the Dignities dependent upon them are, because there are very few who have occupied them to their death, or have enriched themselves thereby; the Greeks, however, as soon as they have accumulated any goods, are, according to their usual ambition, so strongly in it, that they willingly sacrifice the most sacred ties of blood and nature, when they deem it necessary to attain their purpose. The interpreters of Captain Bassa and the Bassas on the borders with European Princes are also all together Greeks, and are uncommonly good at it, because they not only understand Turkish and Greek, as their mother tongue, but apply themselves strongly to Italian and French. They take part in the business, and are employed in the most important affairs. The Turks rely on them especially, because they were born under their rule, and are bound to them by the ties of kindredship; yes, when their ambition is satisfied by a share in the affairs of state of the empire, they easily forget their misfortune, and gladly bear the chains of their slavery. Others become ecclesiastical, by obtaining, by the favoring of the principal Ministers and Vizier,s, the highest Ecclesiastical offices and Patriarchates. These are the offices of the principal Greeks. The inferiors apply themselves to Commerce and mechanical arts. They serve as Sailors on Turkish and Greek ships, and work in the Armoury. Now since all these people depend on their Overmen, or on the highest Ecclesiastical, or the principal Dignities of their nation; so they, usually, settle their disputes among themselves, and very seldom go before the courts of the Turks, who are therefore little burdened by such a numerous nation.
- (*) This is untrue. Then the writer himself says, that the Greeks are the most numerous.
 (†) At least it happens seldom.
 (*) To wit, according to the opinion of the Roman Catholics.
- XXV. Of the government of the city, and the maintenance of justice.
- Having spoken of the offices, intended for the civil government and good order, I must now bring something concerning the way, to observe the laws, and to maintain justice. The guard consists of a certain number of men at each gate, under the command of a captain of the janissaries. In the most populous districts sentries are posted, and in the streets patrols go round, who prevent all disorder. These men are provided with nothing but sticks; but men fear them more than in other countries soldiers who carry guns. The Turks know how to handle these sticks so skillfully, that they stop every fugitive with them. They also throw them to an incredible distance, and are sure to hit. Thus this great city is guarded; rarely is a murder committed there, in peacetime; and, when one is committed, the perpetrator is known to man. The penalty for this is death, and nothing can free him from it, except in case the guilty one should satisfy himself with the blood relations of the murdered. In such a case he is not only freed from death, but also from all punishment. Besides, since the offended, by this, becomes almost the judge of the offender, this case of mercy is very rare; the more so, if it had to be brought about in the first instance, when, in a more human way, one thinks of nothing but revenge. Every man respects and honors the life of his neighbor as much as the other loves his own.

Otherwise it is impossible that such a murderer should not be discovered. For the whole district where the murder was committed must answer for it until the guilty party is discovered.

41540 This strict law is extended so far that when a body is washed up from the sea on the shore of a village in which signs of violence are discovered, that village must pay a certain sum, which, in the absence of friends of the deceased, falls to the Bostandschijy-Baschy. In such circumstances everyone makes an effort to discover the perpetrator, and it almost never happens that the guilty party remains hidden.

41545 Justice is administered in the following manner. The Divan is a court of justice, which is open to all who wish to go there, and is held on appointed days. The ??ten Divan is held once a week by the Grand Lord in the Seraglio, always on Tuesday. (*) He attends him, without being seen, sitting at a window above the head of the Grand Vizier,, who sits directly opposite the door through which those who have anything to plead enter. In this way the Emperor hears everything his Ministers do, as well as all complaints and requests of his subjects. In legal cases no Advocates are used; each presents his own case, and hands his petition to the first Minister. If he shows clemency, he signs the petition with his name. If he refuses the request, he tears the petition to pieces, and thus the most important cases come to an end. Legal cases
41555 are dealt with briefly; for the evidence consists, as a rule, only in the examination of witnesses. If the case is obscure, and requires further investigation; then she appoints the Visier a lesser Minister, and determines the time when she shall be finished.

41560 In Turkey they know nothing of long Processes; therefore they do not know the judicial tricks which in other countries are so disadvantageous to the subjects. Almost always the two Kadhy-Leschkjer are present, to whom the Visier, although he otherwise has complete freedom, usually assigns matters of Religion. Among these are matters concerning divorce, complaints against an unchaste woman, against those who seduce girls, immoral Imams or Priests, investigations concerning the property of the
41565 Mosques, etc. On Mondays and Fridays there is no Divan, but otherwise it is always open either at the Porte or in the Grand Visier's own house. It is strange that so great a Minister, upon whom the whole care of the State rests, and who must deal with such important matters, in such a vast Empire, which daily happens, spends almost the whole morning alone with it, that he listens to the complaints of shameless women and
41570 affairs, who make much noise, however little they have to do, to all which he listens with a dogged patience. It is truly hard to believe how much long-suffering is required, and how much patience he actually shows. But where is it with, that the affairs, in advance, are already purified of all ambiguities. For he could really not possibly get ready, if he had not a multitude of Assistants, who already presented
41575 the matter to him in order.

(*) Under the last governments, to save costs, this has only been done once every two or three weeks. In general, this depends on the Sultan's caprice.

41580 XXVI. Of the Empire offices, by which the Empire provinces are governed. The Stadtholders of the Provinces of the Turkish Empire are divided into three classes, namely Begler-Begh or Bassa, Begh and Sandschjakken. One distinguishes itself from the other by the number of horse tails, which is the badge of honour that one carries on the marches before them. A Beghler-Begh has three, a Begh two, and a Sandschjak one: therefore one says, a Bassa of one', two or three horse tails. (*) This badge of honour actually consists of a horse's tail, which hangs from a long
41585 peak, like our sticks of the standards of the Infantry; above is a thick gilded knob, and at the side hang silk tassels. The origin of such a horse tail is very old. It comes from a war-case, when a brave man, when the Turkish Army was beaten and
41590 scattered, and could find no standard, fastened a horse's tail to a stick, gathered a troop of people, and on this gained a complete victory. The fortunate result caused them to be regarded as a good omen, instead of standards, to be carried for the Commander, and used as insignia of rank. — The Beghler-Begh are of two kinds, the first is called Chasz-Iieh-Begler-Begh, carrying their

41595 (*) This is not at all true; a Sandsjah receives only a standard or banner.

income from the lands of their Stadtholderships. The others bear the name of Sfalyan-Beghler-Begh, who receive their pension from the Mury's Fund or the Defterdar's Rich Fund. — After the Grand Vizier, Beghler-Beghs are the most important persons of the
41600 Empire; they hold the Stadtholderships of the Provinces and Empires, and have many Beghs and Sandjaks, as well as other Officers under them. From these Stadtholderships they draw an astonishing income; and, when the Bassa of

41605 Damascus died recently, whose Stadtholdership is nevertheless not the most profitable, he left five millions of piastres in cash. It is impossible to mention all the means they use to scrape together such sums: confiscations, breaches of covenants, sale of vacant religious offices, extortion, acts of violence, are only means they use. The government tolerates them according to the Constitution, of which I shall speak more fully subsequently. Here I will only mention the number of the
41610 Beghler-Beghs with their fixed income. For every 5000 Aspers of fixed income, one Beghler-Begh is obliged in time of war to supply a Soldier for the army. On the list which I here give of the Bassa and their income, therefore also stands the number of Soldiers which they must supply at their expense; from which one sees how many Soldiers this government can count on in case of incidents.

41615 Each of these Stadtholderships has its own Mufti, Reis-Efendy, Grand Treasurer, Janista-Aga, Spahidar-Aga, of whom the first is General over the Janistas, and the latter over the cavalry of the Province. When going to war, the Beghler-Begh of Napoli, Babylon, Cairo and Rome have precedence over all others. The rank of the
41620 others is regulated by the time when the country over which they are placed has been conquered by the Turks. — It would be too lengthy to mention the other Stadtholderships, dependent on the above-mentioned. I do this all the less, because my report cannot be as detailed as I would like it to be. It is enough for me to have given a brief conception of the external government of the Provinces, or rather of
41625 the continuing misery which is caused by the cruelty and avarice of the rulers. Among the above mentioned I have also placed that of Cairo. But, because this government, which embraces all the Egyptian Kingdoms, has more the appearance than the deed of a Stadtholdership, I believe that a more extensive account of it will not be out of place.

41630 (*) My Italian manuscript has only 885000.

XXVII. Of the Bassa and the Government of Cairo.
The Bassa of Cairo has his seat in Cairo, the capital of Egypt, the former Empire of
41635 the Mamluks. Sultan Selim I formerly subdued these brave peoples; wherefore this country is governed under Turkish suzerainty, by a Bassa sent from the Porte, and 24 Begh or Princes, whom he chooses from the principal Families of the Empire. The Bassa and they together form a Divan or Council of State. They meet on certain fixed days, to deliberate on military and state affairs, which are mainly entrusted to their
41640 supervision. But the Bassa, as Sultan's Governor, exercises an indefinite rule over them, and they must direct themselves according to his Will. For the rest this country is governed according to its laws, and this is still the shadow of freedom, which it alone enjoys, by a special favour of the conqueror. The land militia amounts to 20 thousand foot soldiers and cavalry, which are partly in occupation in the city,
41645 partly in the surrounding provinces. The Sultan can, in time of war, command only three thousand of this militia, because all the rest remain there in occupation of the Empire. This country is very populous, fertile and rich, to which the fortunate inundations of the Nile, the influence of the Climate, and the great domestic and foreign trade contribute unusually much. The wealth of this country is proved by the
41650 Jasteelij?? which it bears annually, or to maintain 20 thousand men; the tribute which it pays the Sultan; the satisfaction of so many magistrates, as well as so many other expenses; without counting what the avarice of the higher and lower commanders extorts. For the rest, it is well understood that the government of the city is indeed a mixed government, but that nevertheless the Sultan alone is really competent
41655 to act as sovereign. But the wealth of the Beghs, their exclusive character, the dependence and inclination of the subjects for them as natives, and finally the renunciation of the Imperial See, make them almost always proud and bold to throw off the yoke. Wherefore the rebellions are frequent, the Bassas are often in danger, and in the meantime the disorder and licentiousness continue. 'Civil wars arise; they
41660 fight among themselves; they drive each other away, and sometimes even refuse, according to the commotion and the confusion, to give the Sultan the annual tribute. The Bassa must always govern them; but he governs with that moderation which is more used with regard to allies than subjects.

The Porte always endeavors to send capable men to this Empire. At present there is a
41665 man of distinction, who, for many years, has been here Reis-Efendy, in which dignity he has acquired the esteem and affection of all foreign Ministers. (*) I knew him as a refined and honest man, who possessed much ability, and, which is a rare quality among the Turks, was not at all set on his own interests. Although he is now a man of very much experience in affairs of state, and of exalted qualities; yet he cannot
41670 quell the disturbances in this Province, which, for a few years, has not sent tribute

to the Porte. One of the Beghs has set himself up as Prince; governs arbitrarily; exacts the revenues; and the Bassa is forced to tolerate everything, and to flatter him, because he lacks the means to bring him under the yoke. — This is the present state of Cairo. From which it may be inferred, that the Sovereignty of the Porte over Egypt exists only in a single semblance. When it is brought to peace again, and the annual tribute is again sent to the Porte; then I cannot, however, regard this rich country as anything but a single cynical Empire of the Turkish Empire. (*)

(*) His name was Mehhmed.

XXVIII. Of the government of Wallachia.

The old Dacia, which was always famous for the bravery of its inhabitants, included the three Provinces, Sevenbergen, Wallachia and Moldavia. All three suffered for a long time much from the marauding now by the Germans, then by the Poles, then again by the Turks, so that they were finally forced to buy the Turkish protection for an annual tribute. Sevenbergen, because it bordered on the Imperial States, which Power had many auctions on its borders, first agreed for the small sum of six thousand Zechines, which was then brought to ten thousand, besides 3.00 Scudi and two silver barrels for each of the seven Vizier,s, who then still existed, namely the six Vizier,s of the Bank and the Grand Vizier,. But when this country was taken from the Turks, it came, by the peace of Carlowitz, to the Emperor, and thus passed from the rule of the Turks to that of one of the most pious Princes on earth.

But the two other Provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, are still under the Porte. This always assigns the government of them to a Greek, who is usually chosen from the Families that live in Fanari (*). But these elections are mostly effected by presents, which the competitors distribute among the Turkish Ministers. These Stadtholders have the Title as Taywodah or Begh, which gives them the distinguishing sign of two horsetails. They are obliged to collect the tribute in the Provinces, and to send it to the Porte. Here I will speak only of Wallachia. This paid, up to now, only sixty thousand Reals (*) a year. But, after the Waywodah of Wallachia had risen against the Turks in the year 1655, and the rebels were beaten thereupon, the tribute was increased to the same rate as she now pays it. Namely, she pays to the Great Lord 230 thousand Reals, 15 thousand Oks of honey and 9 thousand Oks of wax; to the Great Vizier five thousand Reals, besides a Pels; to his Kjetchuda five hundred Reals and a Pels; furthermore to his Treasurer five hundred Reals, and finally to the Kislar-Aga 20 thousand Reals.

These are the taxes which the Prince of Wallachia must pay. But sometimes there are extraordinarily great gifts, to maintain himself or his dignity, or to free himself from wiles and deceits or other accidents, and these sums often amount to more than the usual tribute. Thus these sums, the maintenance of the Court of the Stadtholders, and the care of their Subsistence, when they are deposed, must be demanded of the subjects of this Province; and thus its inhabitants suffer. Their misery is so great, that I can affirm, according to credible reports, that in the last three years only, more than two thousand families have left this Province, who would rather go under the Bassa of Nidiri (*), under whom they live more happily, than under their own Prince.

In this manner this country is robbed of its inhabitants; the Field is not cultivated; the Products diminish; the extortions are increasing every year; and so this Province must either become very desolate, or the few inhabitants who are left live in the utmost misery. That the burdens must continually increase is a necessary consequence of the custom of the Greeks, introduced a few years ago, having its basis in their avarice and ambition. For whereas, formerly, they did not spend 100 purses to obtain this office, the present Prince has had to pay a million for it. Thus, out of blind ambition, they waste immeasurable sums, from which nothing else can arise than that they, by much extortion, try to get back their spent sums. At the end of their reign they generally have little use for it; In the meantime they have sacrificed their own name, and are often in danger of losing their lives and their goods. For often, when they are deposed, there is this misfortune added to it, that they have to give an account of their government. The last deposed Prince not only ran the risk of losing his head, which he retained only by paying a sum of 150 thousand reals, but he has also been banished for more than a year on the island of Metelino.

(*) In the meantime, the Porte, with their great dissimulation, always plays the boss again, now or soon. Compare the Hot of \$. I. in my description of the Turkish Empire, page 43.

(*) The principal district of the Greeks in Constantinople.

(*) This must be Piastres.

(*) In my manuscript it says, and probably ?? Widin.

- 41740 XXIX. Of the government of Moldavia.
Moldavia is not happier than Wallachia. It has also a Greek Prince who governs it. Since this one, in the same way, comes to his Principality; so this unhappy Province must therefore also experience the same misery. When Mohammed I made this Empire
- 41745 cynical, it paid, annually, only two thousand Reals. This tribute was, afterwards, steadily increased to eight thousand Reals. But, after she is brought entirely under the obedience of the Turks, she pays, annually, to the Grand Lord 160 thousand Reals, 10 thousand Oks of Wax, and 10 thousand Oks of Honey: furthermore, for the service of the Armoury, 600 centeners of Sulphur, 1320 Oks of Wax, 500 Ox-hides, and 500 pieces of Kanefas for clothing for those condemned to the Galleys, and for other necessities
- 41750 of the Galleys themselves: furthermore, to the Grand Vizier,, five thousand Reals and a Fur; to his Kjetchuda, five hundred Reals, and finally his Treasurer, 500 Reals. This is the annual tribute of Moldavia.
I will not give you a long list of the expenses which these two Princes must make, when they receive their offices. For these depend upon the circumstances, according
- 41755 to whether many or few are in this office, according to whether the Ministers of the Porte are more or less satisfied, and whether the Ambition is great or small with the impatience of the Competitors. On such occasions the costs mount very high. Since now also the maintenance of the Prince's Court is added to this, it follows that the Moldayans bear the same burdens with the Wallachians; therefore the population of
- 41760 these Provinces must daily decrease more than increase.
If they were governed differently, and the neighbouring peoples urged to come and populate them, then these two Provinces would be very rich; for the soil could not be more fertile. It has been calculated that even in not very fertile years the Corn increases a hundredfold. They have rivers enough for the convenience of Commerce, as
- 41765 well as abundant products of their own to carry on Commerce. Corn, wine, wool, leather, honey, wax, oxen, sheep are there in a fair abundance. As the land is little cultivated; the rivers are not made navigable; the country is depopulated; the wealthiest men cannot get a desire to improve the happy circumstances in a Climate which has the sad characteristic, that he who has any money is easily considered
- 41770 guilty of a crime; so everyone is content with what is sufficient for a mediocre Existence. The fear and malice of men therefore makes that so many gifts of nature remain useless.
- XXX. Of the Tartars and Allies of the Porte on the Barbarian Coasts.
- 41775 Having spoken of all the Provinces under the Turkish Empire, I now come to its Allies. These are the Tartars and the three provinces on the Barbarian Coast. The Tartars of Perecop, the Tauric Chersonesus, or inhabiting the peninsula of Crimea, and the Nogai Tartars, who live between the Volga and the Don on the Mo??otic marsh, are indeed peoples dependent on the Porte, but they deserve more the name of
- 41780 Allies, because of the mutual treaty they have entered into together, that if the male Line of the Osmans should die out, the Tartars, and likewise if the Princes of the Tartars should die out, the Osmans should succeed. This holds them together with the strongest bond, and makes the Tartars gladly suffer that the Porte should choose the Chan of the Tartars. - By virtue of an old treaty the Great Lord possesses the city of Caffa. For this purpose the first-born Son of the Chan of the Tartars had to remain at Constantinople as pawnbroker??; but the Tartars have, for some years, opposed this second treaty, as an injustice.
- 41785 As often as the Great Lord himself goes to war, the Chan of the Tartars is obliged, according to old covenants, to accompany him with an army of 100 thousand men. But if the Grand Visir or another Bassa, such as Sfer Askyr, leads the army; then he is obliged to send at most 40 thousand soldiers. It should be noted that this is a militia which does more harm than good, because it devastates the country of both friends and enemies, and is not good for regular battles; the Turks have seen the matter somewhat more deeply, and only use a moderate number of them in cases of
- 41795 extreme necessity. This year the Sultan demanded twelve thousand Tartars, to send them against the Persians; but not even 9 thousand came, but zebras and more than 40 thousand horses. From this it followed quite naturally that they devastated the whole country through which they passed, about which violence the subjects complained very much. It is already foreseeable that after such a great disadvantage these troops
- 41800 will be of little use. And the Osmans will therefore see more and more that the Tartar militia does them more harm than good. For the rest, the Sultan does not treat the Tartars so supremely as he treats his other subjects. When he has to send them an order, it is not done by a Ferman, but by letters, which are otherwise just as perfectly obeyed. The Title, which the Great Lord uses, when he writes to the Chan of

41805 the Tartars, is this: "You, to whom the power of ruling belongs, share in the government, lineage of happiness, gain of Bliss, rich in perfect power and glorious fame; you, who walk in the path of valor and happy chances, planted in the row of fame and Majesty, chosen by the great Grace of the favorable King; (that is, God,) you combative Gheray Chan, Emperor and Lord of the Crimea, of No?gay, Circassia, 41810 Albi-Kjerman, of That and Taman and other great holy armies; the Most High perpetuates your Highness, etc. These peoples pay no annual tribute, but send, from time to time, the Sultan and his principal Ministers some presents, mostly in horses, wives, slaves, and other products of their country. The provinces of Barbary, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, are treated almost in the same 41815 manner as the Tartars; the only difference is that the Tartars honor and obey the Sultan's orders, which the Barbarian countries do only when it suits their interests. These are also obliged, in time of war, to join the Turkish fleet with all their vessels. It is reckoned that all three of them can now supply eleven ships of the line. The old treaty, according to which these Provinces are obliged to help the 41820 Porte, also obliges the Porte to assist them in case of necessity, when they should be attacked by a Power. They pay no tribute, but usually come every three years with presents of animals and slaves; in return, the Great Lord generally gives them a fully equipped Warship, but without a crew. Therefore, these peoples could also be considered Allies of this Empire on such terms.

41825 XXXI. Of the taxable Peoples of the Turkish Empire.
Taxable peoples of the Porte are three in number, namely those of Georgia, Mingrelia and Ragusa. The tribute which the Georgians pay to the Turkish Empire has its origin in earlier times. When Solman the Magnanimous took Erzerum, he concluded a treaty 41830 with the Persians, to divide with him the tribute of the Kingdom of Georgia, which consisted of 7 Provinces. It was agreed that three would be taxable to the Great Lord, and three to the Sophia of Persia, and over the seventh a Prince of the country, who then bore the name of Achjach-Basch, would be Sovereign, who at the same time as Stadtholder would also have the supreme oversight of the other six taxables. 41835 These Provinces then paid their tribute regularly, but when, instead of the Prince Stadtholder over the six, and the Sovereign over the seventh, a new Prince had to be appointed, dissensions arose in the Empire, which were partly fed by the Turks, partly by the Persians. Each Power appealed to the obligation to assist its taxable peoples. From this arose long-lasting wars, which were waged by both Empires with a 41840 mutual jealousy, the luck of Persian arms gained the upper hand under the government of Sophi Thomas Kuiikan, and the Turks lost the tribute of Georgia, so that not but a few peoples of these extensive Provinces remained to them: these consist in the district of Auchasja, which belongs to Georgia, and lies between Mingrelia and Persia. The country is barren, full of forests and barren, therefore poor. This 41845 country can now provide no other tribute than that it sends the Porte some slaves as a present. The Mingrelians are also poor people, paying a similar tribute. Every three years they send 7 young slaves, and as many young female slaves to the service of the Great Lord, and some other slaves for the Ministers. The female sex of this country is in a special esteem above all the female slaves of other nations. They are 41850 not only richly endowed with the gifts of nature, especially an uncommon beauty, but also have a quick mind and a very flattering and modest character, as one might expect from a woman who wants to make the happiness of her Lord or Husband. The experience of these excellent gifts has then raised the price of the slaves of this nation beyond measure. The small Republic of Ragusa, formerly called Epidaurus, and 41855 is situated in Dalmatia. She pays, likewise, every three years, to the Porte a tribute, which she sends by two men of her Nobility, to whom she gives the Title of Ambassadors. To these the Porte pays the Tain, but it does not amount to much, consisting only of one and a half Reals per day. These Ambassadors must wear a long robe, and appear with a beard. The tribute consists of twelve thousand and five 41860 hundred Zecchines, to which must be added the presents which they bring to the Visier, Kjetchuda, Reis-Efendy and Defterdar and other Ministers of the Porte, so that, including the costs of the Ambassadors, this amounts to at least sixteen thousand Zecchines for the Republic, every three years.

41865 XXXII. Of the Household of the Turkish Empire, the Public Treasury, and those who have the Administration thereof.
Nothing costs more trouble than the Household of the Turkish Empire, if one wishes to have a true account of it. The natural pride of the nation, which causes it to magnify all its affairs, never lets us hope to obtain a true and credible account 41870 from the persons who have their hands in it. The extraordinary size of the Empire and

the number of Provinces of which it consists, place it impossible for a Foreigner to obtain the exact knowledge of it that he desires. The many writers who have written about Turkey are so little agreed that some have been misled by the false reports of the Turks to put the income of the Reich's treasury at 40 millions. Others, on the contrary, doubting with reason the authenticity of the reports which were given to them, have given too little, and have only fixed eleven millions. I think that in this piece one must choose the middle way, to which the many reports which I have obtained, and subsequently also by many experiences, have been secured, determine me. Then, before I speak of the quantity and condition of the income, I must give an idea of the treasuries into which they flow, and the persons who have the management of them. All the revenues of the Turkish Empire are divided into two classes, one of which is outside the Serail, and is called Myry, but the other is in the Serail, and bears the name of Chafyneh. The first is the Empire-casse, under the Defterdar or Great-treasurer. The second is managed by the Chafynehdar-Aga, which is a considerable office, which is always held by a black Ensign, and this is the special Cash of the Sultan.

XXXVIII. Of the Myry or the Kingdom-cash, and of the Chafyneh or Kasse of the Great Lord, its receipt and expenditure.

The Kingdom-cash, under the Defterdar, may amount to about 20 millions according to the most convenient account. This flows from various sources; but I will speak only of the principal ones.

The poll tax is a tribute, which everyone pays, living in the Turkish Empire, except the women, and who are under the protection of the Ambassadors and Consuls. Every male son begins to pay this tribute from the 14.1st year, amounting to a Zechine. This is the least sum; but increases, according to the public need and necessity. The tribute of the poll tax is appropriate to the ability of the subjects, and is divided annually into three Classes. The most well-to-do pay 12 piastres, the middle-class 8, and the poorest 4. But if the Empire needs money, then these sums must be paid twice a year instead of once a year. According to the calculation of persons who had to do with the leasing of this tax, it brings in three millions a year. Three millions are brought in by the salt mines and fish-rich waters; two millions are received from the leases, leases, and those offices which have to give a certain tribute. Two other millions are received from public goods. The Customs houses bring in five millions. The three principal ones are those of Constantinople, Smyrna, and Salonica. These would yield much more, if they were observed with the same exact severity on the same footing, as the Europeans observe, times the tolls are otherwise very moderate, and do not exceed three per hundred among Europeans; even the penalty imposed on illicit traffic is moderate; for in this case one pays only a double toll.

Another considerable sum is brought in by the tolls imposed on things that serve the pleasure and enjoyment of life, such as tobacco, coffee and spices, which are more burdensome than all other things necessary to man's life. Still some other minor incomes, which I leave untouched, with those that I have recorded, constitute the annual income of the external government fund, under the Defterdar, and these amount together to 20 millions of reals. This Fund makes good the expenses of the fleet, the maintenance of the militia, the remuneration of so many officers in war and in the city, as well as the extraordinary accidents, which usually either consume or exceed the entire amount of the revenue. This Fund is, at present, in the worst circumstances. So many wars, which the Porte has continually waged, and which have ended unhappily, especially the so destructive Persian war, which has lasted so many years, have not only weakened it, but also brought it into the utmost confusion. Besides a debt of 16 millions, which this Fund owes the Sultan, and the advance expenditure in the revenues of two years, it cannot pay many things above that. Wherefore the confusion is so great, that, according to the confession of some persons working therein, no other means can be thought of to keep it standing, than that the Great Lord, from his own Treasury, should give a few millions into the State Treasury. This was also done several times, and this is indeed a means, to keep the Treasury standing, which is not common to the Treasuries of other Princes.

The Chafyneh or Treasury of the Great Lord is in a very different state. Its income cannot be determined precisely, because it is coincidental and arbitrary, and consequently, to a very great extent, subject to change. Of fixed incomes flow into it those of Cairo, Wallachia, Moldavia, Ragusa and Mingrelia. This last Province yields no money at present; for she is so poor, that she can only deliver a few slaves as tribute,

Cairo delivers, annually, Reals -- 600000
Wallachia -- 230000

Moldavia -- 60000
 Ragusa -- 16666

The incidental incomes, which are still much more considerable, flow from the
 41940 confiscated goods of the deposed and executed Bassas; from the goods, which, for want
 of heirs, fall to the treasury; from the fines; from the tithes of all profits, and
 from the income of the mining. This last source is, at present, for various reasons,
 very weakened. The Silver Mines, which lie in the district of Erzurum, and otherwise
 41945 yielded very much, may be considered as lost, because in that country there is too
 great a lack of wood to work them, and the transportation of wood is too expensive.
 Even the mines of Diarbekir, which yielded very much gold of the best alloy, yield
 s not nearly those great advantages which they previously delivered, For, since the
 population of this Province, by the constant raids of the Persian troops, is very
 weakened in these regions, so the work is either not always continued, or by very few
 41950 workers.

In the meantime, it cannot be otherwise, or this Kasse must be very rich. One only
 considers how many Bassas lose their goods, which provide the Sultan's Kasse with
 incredible sums. The only old Bassa of Damascus, who died last year, left five
 millions in cash. Furthermore, the Monarchs, for many years now, have been collecting
 41955 money with the utmost vigilance; but are very frugal in spending; the Sultan's own
 maintenance is regulated, and the pension of the Servants is fairly determined. Even
 the ostentation of one's own concubines is no longer so excessive as before, when the
 Sultans wasted incredible sums on them. Formerly it cost much less to declare one as
 Consort or Favorite. But now this is no longer done, in order to recover expenses.
 41960 The only case in which Economy has no place is the birth of a Prince: for then one
 must do what custom and courtesy require. Sultan Achmet has even in the Seraglio
 abolished many offices which he considered superfluous; but the incomes of those
 which could be considered necessary, he has cut back. (*) The Court expenses, which
 are now only made good from the Chafyneh, are therefore very moderate, and reduce
 41965 very little the large sums which flow into it annually. All other arbitrary expenses,
 serving the pleasure of the Monarch, for instance, buildings, furniture,
 haberdashery, illuminations, amusements, are made good by his Ministers as a dispute;
 wherefore the Chafyneh has no further charges concerning them, as she nevertheless
 had, before this, to the great disadvantage of the Treasury.

The Sultan alone has to command over this unusually rich treasury, and he very
 reluctantly resolves to meet the Imperial Treasury by a loan. If he does so, then the
 need must be great. The Ministers also avoided in every possible way to turn to him
 on this matter, in order not to receive reproaches for bad management, and not to
 give the Monarch an opportunity to become angry. This nevertheless often forces them
 41975 to do so, and in such a case they avail themselves, under the present government, of
 remarks concerning a fearful revolt; for fear alone is able to impress a Sultan, and
 to increase his natural passions, which are common to almost all Turks. There are
 also political considerations and rules, having their basis in the Seraglio itself,
 why the Monarchs are so reluctant to let money go out of the Seraglio. I will speak
 41980 of this when I shall treat of the Politics of the Turks.

{*} My Italian manuscript gives, augmented, ???.

XXXIV. Of the Commerce of the Turks and their Subjects at Constantinople, and in
 41985 general. I am writing to you about Commerce, a matter which does not belong to my
 ministerial object, and which I have not learned either. Therefore I do not promise
 you any Merchant's knowledge concerning the essence of Commerce, such as I leave to
 the Merchants. It is enough for me to give such reports concerning it, as agree with
 my general determinations, and which I have been able to learn from old, good and
 41990 experienced Merchants. I will therefore report something concerning the sources of
 this Commerce, the condition of the costs and effects, the property and the various
 prices of the materials, as well as the virtue of the Manufactures; and hereby say
 something of the accidental determinations and quality of the persons through whose
 hands the Commerce passes. Here I shall begin to speak of the Commerce which the
 41995 Turks and the nations subordinate to them carry on here. Then I shall speak of the
 European nations and their Commerce. -- The Turks trade, very seldom, with foreign
 countries; for they can content themselves with the use of their extensive Empires
 and Provinces. Therefore they have two kinds of Commerce. One is the Commerce on the
 Black Sea, which they carry on with their so-called Saïks, Voleken, and other small
 42000 ships. The cargo of these is varied, according to the various things which they fetch
 on the shores of this Sea, and according to the places where they load the Goods. On
 the side of ??fe, and especially in the neighbourhood of the river Phafis, they load
 some wood. On the European coasts they fetch coal, and in the more remote regions

42005 towards the Danube they load corn, wax and cattle. As the Crimea has an abundance of leather, small cattle, wax, honey, butter and corn; they make their cargoes there at such advantageous prices, that the merchants who carry on this branch of trade gain an unusually large amount of money by it. The other considerable and more profitable trade is carried on in the Mediterranean, with ships called Kaikes. The spices and coffee are brought over the Red Sea to Suez. Here camels are loaded with them, which 42010 carry them to Cairo. From this city the goods are brought, in large barges, over the Nile to Rosetta and Damiate, where they are loaded into larger ships. Egypt has an abundance of other products mentioned above. The cloths, which the common people use, and with which the militia is usually also clothed, are made at Salonike, which they also have the reputation of making better and finer than at Constantinople. The 42015 cameltoes are prepared in the neighbourhood of Angora, a country which has very fine wool, or rather the finest hair of goats, silk ribbons and other manufactures of this kind. On the island of Scio, especially in the city, are made cloths of tree wool and silk, but cloths of tree wool are made chiefly at Alexandria, and on the island of Cyprus. Sailcloth for the ships, and linen for the Army, are made in various 42020 countries, but that which is required for the use of the fleet, at Sifanio, an island in the Archipelago, which supplies it annually on account of its tribute. The price of such Goods and Manufactures is, generally, determined by the custom and way of thinking of the Turkish Merchants, who, however, are generally satisfied with a moderate profit. In all the Contracts of the Merchants, it is reckoned in Piastres, 42025 of which each, according to us (Venetian) money, amounts to about six Lire. (*) The Turks, therefore, in their Commerce, confine themselves only to the Transport of their own Products and Manufactures from one Country to another, and content themselves with a less profit, against which they also venture less. Among the Turkish subjects, many of the Greeks apply themselves to the Commerce on the Black 42030 Sea, and many hundreds of Saïks are occupied with Greeks, who procure themselves employment by this trade. The other Greeks apply themselves to arts and other branches of commerce; they also trade in European countries with such Products, which I shall mention, when I shall speak of those Nations. The Armenians do not venture much upon the Sea. Their greatest Trade consists in precious Stones, which they buy 42035 rough from the Europeans, then have prepared and set according to the Eastern taste, and thereby gain much Money. The Jews also do not much concern themselves with Shipping, but nevertheless venture great Capitals in the Sea Trade, which they carry on with all Nations in Europe. Many of them apply themselves to Medicine, with the permission of the Hekjym-Baschy, upon whom all Physicians depend, except the few who 42040 are in the Service of Foreign Ambassadors. Very many of them also find it a good Profit, that they are the Brokers with other Merchants. For according to a privilege no one but they can be a Broker in Constantinople. The European Merchants have often tried to avoid such troublesome people to get rid of; they have also been freed from it for some time. But, since the Jews have the Ministers of the Court on their side, 42045 with whom they converse familiarly; so they had to employ them again in their business of commerce.

The Persians, for this, also carried on a heavy and profitable trade at Constantinople. The Chan or their warehouse, where they live, and deposit their goods, is one of the country's most beautiful buildings. Indian fabrics, woollen 42050 cloths, silk goods of all kinds, were the principal articles of this rich trade. He does not want to say much now. The long-lasting war between the two kingdoms caused the journeys of the great caravans, which came annually from Persia, to cease.

42055 (*) Concerning the value of money, one can consult my description, § XLI, page 52?

XXXV. Of the Commerce of the Venetians at Constantinople.
Since the Venetians are considered the oldest Merchants in this country; I will speak of their Commerce, first of all, before all other nations of Europe. This is, at 42060 present, by innumerable accidents, considerably weakened. Many irregularities have crept in, which have given it a great blow. So many wars, waged with the Turks, which often lasted many years together, have stopped and broken it up. Other nations have taken advantage of this opportunity, and used the loss of the Venetians to their own advantage. The English, Dutch, French, and others have put themselves in possession of the harvest, and have drawn to themselves a great part of the goods, which, for 42065 many centuries, passed through the hands of the Venetians. To this end the factories established in their countries, chiefly the cloth factories, which the French promoted by the moderate and low prices, helped. Their silk fabrics were praised by the beauty and good colours, which gave them a beautiful appearance. Then also the mirror and crystal factories in France, not only, but also in England and Germany, 42070 did great harm to the Venetian trade. But the greatest harm was done to it by the

shipping, which the Portuguese and Dutch, with such good success, undertook to the East Indies. For, since these nations now, immediately, traded with the inhabitants of these coasts, they thus withdrew from the Venetian merchants, who for the latter, by the distribution of such goods, gained infinitely much, the most excellent and most sought-after effects of spice goods. At present the greater part of the trade of the Venetians consists in gold and silk fabrics, which are called Damasks. These still remain in some respect, and are placed above those which have been made, to lower the price of the Venetian Damasks. It is incredible, how great the amusement of them is among the Turks for their Families. (*)

The Venetian cloths are still highly esteemed; the amusement of them would be much greater, if the price were not too high. Those Turks, who want to save, are more in favor of the English and Dutch cloths. The most economical buy French cloths, because they look beautiful, are pleasing because of their mixed colors, and can be bought for a very moderate price. The Turks have made the experiment of setting up factories of cloth, drap d'or, silk, etc. in the capital and in other places, in order to break down other nations there, and to keep in the country the large sums of money that annually leave their country. They have made much effort, and spent much money for it. But their intention failed, either through ignorance of the masters, or because the climate and water were not favorable for it. For gold and silk fabrics, and for velvet, many spinning houses and looms were built, partly in Constantinople, partly in Bursa, partly also in Scio. The manufactures that are made there are also very good. But they do not come close to the Venetian, neither in brilliance and beauty, nor in the arrangement and liveliness of the colors. Therefore the amusement of them is also very small in comparison with ours. Besides the cloth and silk materials, other articles belong to the essential trade of the Venetians in Constantinople. Ready money, glass, caps, paper, apothecary's goods, processed wax, pickled goods, and other things promote a profitable trade, which is not to be despised. From the Turks, on the other hand, the Venetians take leather, wool, tree wool, impure wax, smoked meat, powder, oil of Candia, etc., but chiefly coffee. It is not possible to determine exactly how much the cloth, damask, silk materials, and other effects amount to, which go from Venice to the Levant, any more than what the goods amount to, going from the Levant to Venice. For this is very unmerciful, and depends on all sorts of treaties, on a greater or lesser abundance, on the fine and condition of the work, and especially also on the taxes, expenses and demand.

These are the external and unavoidable causes, which have done damage to the Venetian trade. But, before I close this article, I must say something about other causes, on which their free Will has an influence, which they calmly allow, and either do not count, or do not understand, notwithstanding that they are still much greater damage. After that the Venetians were deterred from this trade, by the multitude of dangers and the small profit, that they 'withdrew from it, compared with former times, and because of their wealth and other conveniences gradually became negligent; Thus they left their affairs to foreign correspondents, to whom they sent their goods, for instance Jews, Armenians, Greeks and Frenchmen, who took part in the trade and profit, under the obligation to treat the goods sent well. They determined their correspondents to give a certain provision per hundred of the Capital, yea, they even left them to what they could possibly gain above the fixed price.

As great as the advantage was, that they drew for their trouble; the Correspondents were not yet content with that; they wanted to gain still more, making use of the unlawful means of filthy bankruptcies, so that many of the Vmetian Merchants either had to go bankrupt themselves, or yet weakened themselves, and lost all desire for such a trade.

This notwithstanding, since all the articles of trade are very peculiar to the Venetian nation, without other nations having a share in them, because they cost much, and yet are very soft; however, the Venetian trade could revive again, if one, as much as possible, moderated the price, made the entertainment easy, and in addition took honest people and native Venetians, who conducted the trade properly, and did not, as I see with displeasure in many, draw the whole profit to themselves, while they caused the Venetian merchants extraordinary expenses, partly by charging the costs too high, partly by falsifying the accounts, partly by delaying the reclaims.

I find two ways, by which one could prevent the fraudulent corruption of our Commerce: first, when one had in the Levant itself Families, who possessed their own Capital. For these themselves conducted their Commerce; then they would not be exposed to the dirty management of the Merchants, who are after all their Commissioners: furthermore, when classes were made, and certain prices were set for each, for instance, sheets, mirrors with gilded frames, damasks, etc. Of each class

three kinds could be set, fine, medium, small. For each kind a certain price could be set, and corresponding to the condition of the Goods, which one had to prohibit or to raise or to diminish. In the same way one had to prohibit also the various stamps of the Manufacturers. For with these one only plays, and they serve more to deceive the Merchants, than to the good thoughts one has of a Good. I know by experience, how much the Capital of trade suffers by this. In this way, not only would all disputes be removed, but also the wiles and bases of our own merchants would be curbed and appeased, since now one brings the goods of the other into discredit. They conclude double contracts, of which one goods, but the other, seems only advantageous. They tolerate the great disadvantage of accounts, since everything is swallowed up by counter-accounts; they sell and allow that the payment is only made after many months.

But most of all, an oversight over these commissioners would be necessary, in order to make a balance of their cash and the condition of the warehouses every year, and these people did not take the liberty of giving the money belonging to the owners to the inhabitants of the country at interest. For in that way they alone draw the profit; the place Venice suffers, in all respects, partly by the delay of the requisitions, partly and sometimes also by the total loss of the Capital.

But above all it were necessary to exclude all foreigners who have mixed themselves in the Venetian trade, and to follow in this the example of all other trading companies. I could say more, concerning the manner of the delegation of Venetian goods, the time when the dispatch must take place, as well as the quantity, so that it does not exceed the amusement. But if I wanted to say something about every circumstance and every irregularity by which our Commerce is hindered; then I should have to say things that are all too much against my grain.

(*) Mr. Grifelini has only made many new designs for the damasks a few years ago, in order to continue this trade as a new life, which have turned out well.

XXXVI. Of the Commerce of the French.

The Commerce of the French is the richest and s??. No nation surpasses the French.

(*) It is reckoned that the annual montant thereof amounts to nearly 20 millions of Reals, that not counting also what they bring from France to the Levant, and from the latter back again. From France come sheets, silk fabrics, caps for the Turks, paper, sugar, Conchenille, Indigo, gold braid, and a multitude of other Galanterie goods. In return for these go back to France corn, coffee, camel hair, tree wool, and especially wool. These are the principal articles.

Cloth is the principal branch of their Commerce. They bring cloths of three kinds of quality to Turkey: the best they sell for three piastres, the average for two and a half, and the least for two and a quarter piastres. But these prices may be subject to change, if, in case of war between France and England, the insurance costs too much. The cheap price, but not the real quality of the cloths, makes the Turks give them preference above all others. Besides that, it also makes the mixture of colours so beautiful, that they have held up until now, without any harm.

The greatest advantage of these cloths is this, that the Turks are accustomed to dress their numerous servants, whom they support, twice a year in new clothes. For this purpose they prefer French cloth, which looks beautiful, costs little, and can be worn very comfortably. This trade is managed by certain persons, who depend on the Chamber of Marseilles. They must remain here for a certain time, after which they return to France, and send others in their place.

No one can sell this cloth, without the French Ambassador, and all the French Merchants being aware of it. For the sale must be regular, and have a certain agreement: a custom, worthy of being followed, because it prevents all disputes, frauds, and forgeries, which are always disadvantageous to the Capital of trade. That nation has its Treasury, and for every bale of cloth a certain sum of money comes into the Treasury. But this burden is not heavy for the Merchants, because they derive so great profit from this branch of trade. Without burdening Commerce by the maintenance of this Treasury, they obtain the following advantages: first, they secure the Capital of the Merchants of their nation. For, if a Merchant goes bankrupt; then they enable themselves in advance, not to suffer any loss thereby. For they observe, in their Contracts, an invariable custom. The French sell their cloth, usually, on Credit of eight months. The Purchaser must pay in three installments, each one third of the Somme. If he does not pay his debt; then, as interest, ten per hundred is put into his account. This makes the Purchasers, generally, keep their word, and therefore the return purchases are not stopped, and the Capitalists convert their money steadily. If the Purchaser does not pay; then the national Treasury has the advantage of ten per hundred, which comes into it under the name of Interest.

From this source, and from what is paid for every bale of cloth sold, the Treasury, in case of bankruptcy, pays the whole sum. And, as in this way the interest continues, the Capital of the Merchants suffers nothing. This Treasury, furthermore, pays all the extraordinary necessities of the nation; from it the Palace of the Ambassador is maintained, and every year a certain sum is distributed as alms to the poor, which often goes so far that whole Families are supported from it.

By this arrangement, from which this clever nation has Honor, the Royal Household finds its advantages; Religion has its share in it; and that nation quickly maintains its interest, its peace and Honor. I cannot deny the inventor of it the praise due to him. It was the Lord Marquis de Villeneuve, who was French Ambassador at Constantinople. The next Ambassador, the Count of Chatelet, kept a very watchful eye over them, and had them observed still more strictly,

Besides this profitable trade, the inhabitants of Provence gain much more by their Tartans and other ships, with which they provide Transport. They transport people, and goods of all kinds, from one place to another. They are never idle; as soon as they have unloaded their goods, they look again for new orders. There is, so to speak, no inhabited rock, and no harbour, without a French Consul or Vice-Consul, who protects and promotes Commerce,

From this one sees how much trouble this idle nation takes, to seek in every corner of the Empire sources of income and employment. With such a happy result the French trade in these provinces.

(*) Namely in the Levantine trade.

XXXVII. Of the Commerce of the English and Dutch.

The Commerce of the English is no longer nearly so extensive as it was before. Nevertheless it is very profitable and rich. The French cloths, by the beauty of their colors and the cheap price, have diminished the great amusement of those of the English, who, before, have sold 25 thousand baizes at Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo. Another considerable loss has their Commerce suffered. Formerly this was a rule in the English Commerce in the Levant: neither cloth nor other goods, neither to be given on Credit, nor to be exchanged; a very commendable rule, but which, as soon as the other nations, to the great disadvantage of the trade, put it out of sight, the English also had to abandon, if they did not want to see their Trade completely spoiled.

A certain number of Englishmen is appointed over this trade, who depend on a Company of trading Merchants. Every year, by a single Convoy, the quality of Goods is sent to them, which can be sold in Turkey. (*) But one always looks at the state of the need, so that the Goods, through abundance, do not lose their Credit and their high price. A prudence, which is advantageous for the Trade, and worthy of being followed. The articles of their Commerce are Lead, Tin, Watches, and other Manufactures, and Cloths of divers Makes, from three Piastres the El to higher Classes. The Attention with which this Commerce is conducted, may serve as an Example. Now, as these Goods are at a high Price, are certainly entertained, and one has a certain Profit by them; so it cannot fail, but this Trade must be Useful and Prosperous.

At Constantinople there is no Article, which the English bring back, and their Return Ships could load. On that Account none of their Ships land at this Port. They all go to Smyrna, where they load Wool and Tree Wool, but mostly Goats-hair of Angora and Persian Silk. But since the Russians have become masters of the trade on the Caspian Sea, most of the Persian silk goes to Afiracan, and from thence over the Volga to the Canals of Petersburg. Wherefore the abundance at Smirna has much diminished, and so the English ships do not always find cargo enough for their ships in this port. The trade of the Dutch has also, in comparison with former times, much diminished. What they now do of trade at Aleppo, Constantinople and Smirna, is a very mediocre remainder of the great, which they formerly carried on there. Their principal articles are cloth, pepper, metals and velvet. The metals and pepper they sell for ready money. But as to the cloth and velvet; they are in the same unhappy condition, as other nations, and must give them on credit for many months. Their principal requisitions are the Camel Hair of Angora, which they need for their Camels. At present, in Constantinople, there is not one single Good, and original Dutch Merchant firm. The whole trade is therefore scattered, and divided among the Foreigners, who observe them, but without paying the least attention to the general welfare of the trade of the nation. (*) They care for nothing, but their own interest, directing themselves, sometimes, solely to their needs. In this way, therefore, that formerly so flourishing Trade also declines.

(*) Both found no place in the years 1770, etc., The number of English Merchants was

indefinite; and, except in times of war, the ships came, sometimes singly, sometimes more together, to Constantinople and Smyrna.

(*) That is how it seemed to me too. But native Hollanders assured me that the State gains all the more from Consulate fees, and from the demands of the certainly very flourishing and considerable shipping; not to say that their Republican principles did not permit any provision in this matter.

XXXVIII. Of the Commerce of the Russians and Germans.

The Commerce of the Russians is a silent business, which makes not much noise, but it is the most profitable and flourishing of all the kinds of commerce of the European nations. It consists in furs of all kinds. The rarest and most expensive are the skins of black foxes and of sables. The ermines, water sables, and foxes of all kinds are most drawn, are indeed small, but nevertheless bring in a great deal of money. Since the Turks and all the inhabitants of the Empire, both male and female, wear furs at all times of the year; it is almost unbelievable how great the amusement, and consequently the advantage, is in the Russians' drawing. Besides this principal article, they also bring into the Turkish States leather, linen, and other manufactures, which make the trade of the Russians with the Turks profitable. On the other hand, they draw few and cheap things, prepared leather for shoes, limes, and dried fruits. (*)

The Germans have been seeking, for several years, to open a source of trade with Turkey, and for that purpose they have sent able men there to find them. Two ways (†) would make the matter possible: one is the land road, when the goods were brought on wagons; the other is the road on the Danube, over which the goods can go into the Black Sea. (§) But, since all the principal articles, from which they can promise themselves profit, are heavy and large, their trade will always be less profitable, because of the heavy freight costs.

I believe, that it will always be a mediocre trade, whose result is uncertain. For everything that can go from Germany to Turkey, comes in great abundance from so many other countries, and from other nations, who have been in possession of it for a long time. The articles, which can serve for their trade, are steel, tin, iron, glass, etc.

From the nature of these things, one can always conclude to the small Capital of this trade.

At present there is no Merchant of this nation in Constantinople, and the little trade, which is conducted here by Germans, is divided among the Merchants of other European nations, and other subjects of the Porte.

(*) That is, figs and raisins.

(†) My handwriting says three.

(§) My manuscript adds, and rightly so, that the third and principal way is via Trieste, by means of the Adriatic Sea.

XXXIX. Of the Commerce of the Swedes and Neapolitans.

It is but a few years since the Swedes and Neapolitans sent ambassadors, with the character of extraordinary ministers, to the Porte. Sweden sent its ambassadors when they wanted to break with Russia; but Naples, after the King had taken this kingdom from Emperor Charles VI.

The ministers of these two courts have formed two new nations of Franks at Constantinople, and both have taken great pains to introduce some trade for their nations. Although it now means so little that it hardly deserves the name of trade, I will nevertheless, in order not to omit anything, report what it consists of, and how it is conducted.

The Swedes conduct their trade in small, well-equipped ships, which they furnish with skilled men. There comes there every year only one ship, (*) laden with Swedish products. These consist of iron and other things, of which that cold country has an abundance. The other ships go more to the Barbarian Coasts ?? because the advantage of this nation, with respect to the Turkish State, consists more in shipping than in trade.

The advantage that the Neapolitans derive from the Commerce with this Kingdom is even more definite: for they lack the means to derive their profit from shipping, like the Swedes. In the space of three years I have seen only one small ship arrive here. All their other shipping consists of Tartans and small Polakers. With these they navigate the Coasts; but those ships are small, consequently the profit from freighting is also small. They are averse to goods, with which they could gain so much, that it would be worthy to be called a trade. The principal article consists in silk, which they work at Messina. Although the materials made of it are not good in longevity,

42340 and have no colours which will last; nevertheless they present themselves beautifully to the eye, and find amusement. Their whole trade consists in works of tortoiseshell, boxes, and other smaller things. Their goods, which they bring, therefore do not cost much, and the demand is consequently just as small. This cannot generally be determined. In the few opportunities which they have to provide for themselves with something, they adapt themselves to the circumstances, look for the cheap, and take
42345 what they like.

Furthermore, I cannot say anything of the trade. I would only report a little of each nation which trades at Constantinople. But whether this entire Commerce, taken together, as it is carried on by so many nations, is active or passive for Turkey, that is, advantageous or disadvantageous for the household of the Turkish Empire, we
42350 shall see later.

(*) This has changed. Now and then there is not a single ship in the year, but then again several have arrived. The latter happens, mainly, in times of war.

42355 XL. Of the causes of the decay of the economy of the Turkish Empire. I maintain quite that the Commerce which the Franks carry on in Turkey is a passive trade for the economy of the Turkish Empire, consequently one of the principal causes of its decay. One need only make a comparison between the articles which are brought from the European countries to the Turkish States, and between those which they export from Turkey; and one will
42360 see that the Goods which are imported, consist mostly of things which have a small extent, and yet are at a high price, and that, on the contrary, what is exported is of great extent and low cost. Now since the Merchants have not the means to send their return goods in smaller effects; thus they do it in great measures, robbing, in this way, annually, the country of very considerable sums of cash. (*)

42365 Among the Turkish money the best is the bondukly, because it is of pure gold and of the weight of our Zechine; (†) But it has become very rare, because they have almost all gone to France, where the merchants find some advantage in it.

A considerable sum of money goes for a commodity, which above all others yields great advantage. I have not hitherto made mention of it, because this trade is divided between three
42370 different nations, namely the Dutch, English and Venetians. This is the diamond trade, of which one can count one year through the other, a pleasure of one million reals at the least. Seldom do the Merchants, who deal there, wish to receive Returns. They all seek ready money, which they spend all the more quickly on new Capital, in order to be able to multiply the circulation of money and the profit thereof all the more. (*) As often as a Courier departs
42375 from European nations, he has many bundles of money with him. Every ship that sails has something like that. There is also no law that prohibits the export of money. From which one can deduce how strong the export of money is annually. It is beyond doubt that the more one diminishes the circulating mass of money, the more the people suffer, and the Prince's Treasury has the less profit. This I consider to be one of the principal causes of the decline
42380 of the State economy of the Empire. I have already dealt with the lack of mining works. The Silver Mines cannot be promoted for want of wood, and the Gold Mines for want of men. This is the second reason which greatly weakens the State economy.

The third cause is the present system of government. All power is in the hands of the Enlightened, who have an indescribable desire for money, and let as little of it as possible
42385 come among the people. They remain permanently locked up in the Seraglio, and care very little about the People. Consequently, the large sums that fall into their hands remain buried, and have no influence on the real course of the State. And so the people, as before, cannot possibly pay the Imperial charges. The principal and most deadly shock is finally received by the Government by so many wars, which the Porte has waged with great loss. Seldom or never
42390 does it make such booty as this, and which was the most profitable source of this Empire. The Persian war in particular has devoured immeasurable sums, which far exceeded the income, and brought the State economy into the most miserable condition. If the fortune of this Empire does not change; then it must, steadily, become more and more confused. At least I see it in
42395 such a state, that it will hardly be able to recover itself again, without a complete reversal of the present condition.

By this one can form an idea of the unhappy state of the household of the Turkish Empire, and remove the reasons which have brought it into the present bad condition.

42400 (*) There goes, now, indeed an unusual amount of Spanish, Venetian, German Imperial, and other gold and silver money to f??bye: but it does not remain there, but only goes through to the East Indies.

(†) That is, Venetian. Of its value, in my time, one can consult my description of the Turkish Empire ?? XL1. page 521. etc.

42405 (*) The diamond trade and export of money decreased, in my time, noticeably, because the Turkish had become much worse.

XLI. Of the State of War of the Turkish Empire in General. The Turkish Empire has begun to strengthen itself by arms, and by these it has come to that pinnacle of power, which made it formidable to other Powers. The bold and
42410 courageous deeds, as well as the almost unbelievable Discomforts, which the Turkish

militia has endured, prove also in deed, that it was by nature and by practice exceptionally strong and brave. But, because it, like all human things, was subject to change, it began to lose its first prestige, and the irregularities that crept in have gradually so spoiled it, that it is now no longer so formidable to its neighbors. It may be said that all kinds of this militia are corrupt, and that, instead of the old Krygstugt, vices and absences have gained the upper hand. There are among the Turks many kinds of militia, both among the infantry and among the cavalry. To the infantry belong the Janistas, (Jen Ttschjery,) the Thopdschjy, the Kumbarahdschjy, the Bostandschjy, the Mehterdschjy, the Sferradschjy and the Leventen. To the cavalry belong the Spahy, (Sipahy-) the Sfae'yms, the Tymars, the Dschjebahdschjy, the Sfeghban and the Maklahdschjy. They are not all paid in the same way; the Sfaeyms and Tymars receive their payment from the revenues of the lands, which the Sultan grants them, and which are almost to be regarded as our fiefs. All others are paid from the Myry, that is, the Empire Treasury.

Since in all Principalities the War State is divided into three branches, namely, Artillery, Militia and Navy, - I will now deal with each separately to speak, in order to get a correct idea of what knowledge the Turks have of their power, and how they use it.

XLII. Of the Thopdschjys and Kumbarahdichjys, the Artillery and the Gunpowder. The Thopdschjy and Kumbarahdschjy are the Artillery-militia; the first correspond with our Bombardiers, and the others with our Bombers. The Commander of the first is the Topdschjy-Baschy, a considerable office, who has to say about everything that belongs to the Artillery.

The Chief of the second bears the name of Kumbarahdschjy-Baschy, being usually a Bassa of two horsetails, but who always depends on others. The number of the Thopdschjy in the whole Turkish Empire amounts to 18,000 men, of whom 6,000 lie in the capital, and the others are distributed in the Provinces. They are divided into Chambers or Regiments, like the Janistries. Few of them understand the right way to handle the guns. They lack the theory altogether; therefore they do everything according to a certain experience. They do not know how to hit the right line according to the art of sight; they miss the diameter of the guns above and to the side; therefore they cannot direct the height of the gun correctly; they know nothing of the parallel line of sight. They aim therefore only with an eye to an adventure, directing their eye to the loading hole; wherefore also the bullets, generally, only hit where they happen to come. Nevertheless they sometimes practice this, and by habit some of them bring it to a fixed experience; but the number of these will always be very small. The Kumbarahdschjy do not number two thousand men. Six hundred of them are said to be at Constantinople; but their officers, in order to draw the pay in the meantime, usually wait until the war begins, when they recruit their men. This kind of men is therefore, of course, very inexperienced; and the more so, because they are hardly ever trained by their officers. As long as I have been at Constantinople, they have not even practiced throwing bombs. In this way, therefore, the Sultan will always pay men for the Kumbarahdschjy, but he will not get good soldiers by it; and, if a war should arise, it will only depend on bribes, on frequent practice, or on blind chance, when a masterpiece will be executed by such men. Are those who are in charge of the Artillery so ignorant; then on the contrary, those who are used by the gun-foundries deserve less reproach.

The gun-foundries in this Kingdom are in truth so constituted that they yield nothing to the experienced nations in this. They have brought the mixing of metals to a reasonable perfection, and the casting is, possibly, performed with more precision and skill than with us. (*) The only fault that I have been able to observe in some of their guns, consists in the little relation to the laying, where they place the ears. In some these are so far to the rear, that they have too great a preponderance in front. Therefore the front preponderance must produce the effect that the guns skip to the detriment of the carriages themselves, whereby the shots, naturally, become very uncertain. The tin used therewith comes from England, and this is an article which not only from the Emperor's treasury, but also from the State itself, annually brings a great deal of money to foreign States. The famous mortars also have the defect that they are much shorter than ours; when they are used therefore, especially on ships, especially under the wind; then this must be accompanied, as regards the fire, with much danger. Besides the warships, which nevertheless have been built in advance to make use of such cannons, they make use of them in the Sea-castles, and especially in the Castles of Sefto and Abido, which are commonly called the Dardanelles. They are planted there on beams, and are so placed, that they always stand motionless, and strike horizontally with the water. I have counted 32 in the

Castle of Afiey and 28 in that of Europe. On the occasion of the Artillery I must also mention something of the gunpowder. If it is not more perfect, it nevertheless equals ours. But in its preparation such deceits take place, which, according to
42480 experience and an accurate comparison made on this subject, can have no place at all in our countries. The gunpowder makers here always increase, in the mixture, the parts of coal and sulphur, but add less saltpetre, which is nevertheless one of the principal ingredients. This they use to their own advantage, and cheat in the work. According to the last change the gunpowder must be of 5?? ace. On each ace, that is,
42485 on each 5: part of saltpetre, one part of coal and one of sulphur is reckoned. But now I have been assured by those who have made an accurate experiment of it, that for every 7?- pounds there are not even 5 whole pounds of saltpeter taken, since it should be 5?- pounds. Notwithstanding this foul deception, gunpowder is nevertheless well proved well, and is so well preserved, that, if it does not exceed the working
42490 of ours, it is nevertheless equal to it. The Carriages at the Artillery are made of Oak, but are not at all beautifully worked. The iron fittings do not correspond with them, and this is the reason, that their artillery carriages, usually, do not last long. As to the figure, so do the Sea, as well as the Land and Auction guns, correspond with ours.
42495 But as to the gun foundries themselves; of these I can say nothing, because that is what foreigners are allowed to go there. Otherwise it is a very beautiful building, entirely of stone, and provided with 17 Domes, roofed with lead. The space from outside indicates that there must be numerous workshops inside. In the vicinity of them very spacious magazines have been constructed, to store the lightest pieces; the
42500 heaviest serve as ornaments to the street on the side, and for the large square in front of the foundry on the shore of the sea. It stands opposite the Seraglio in a street, near Galata and Pera, which therefore received the name Thopchaneh after the gun foundry. In the neighborhood is the Palace of the Thopdschjy-Baschy, who always has a numerous guard of people of his profession.
42505 (*) Businello means the Venetians alone, and then he is quite right.

XLIII. Of the Naval Power in General, and the Offices by It.
Nothing is in a greater decline in the Turkish Empire than the Naval Power. Before
42510 this, very numerous fleets appeared at sea; but after the war of Candia, which the Porte waged for 25 years with the Republic of Venice, this Empire was so weakened at sea that 'there never appeared again a fleet that constituted even a third part of ships, compared to the fleets of former times. The heavy and constant loss in that
42515 war has been of such effect to the Turks that they still firmly believe that God has destined the land for them, but the sea for the Christians. From that time their desire for maritime affairs has considerably diminished, and although they have somewhat strengthened their power at sea, on the occasion of the last war with the Venetians, they have nevertheless, after the peace, almost entirely changed their minds. To this end the continued and long-lasting unfortunate wars against Russia and
42520 Persia have also brought their share. For in them they have had to make so many expenses, that they were almost reduced to the impossibility of making good those which are required for a fleet. Their maritime power is now so weak, that not only can they hardly protect so many seas, coasts and isolated kingdoms, in the possession of which the Porte is, but that not even the necessary duties at sea on the ships and
42525 galleys can be properly performed; and one sees almost every year that either no one who has such a service leaves the harbour, or, if he does sail, leaves no ship behind. At present this Empire has only eleven galleys, and eleven partly ships, partly caravels. I count in this harbour no more than twelve already old dismantled ships, which can no longer do service. The services at sea are almost all given to
42530 men who are very ignorant in maritime affairs. The supreme Commander of the navy, namely Captain Bassa, is one of the Empire's most distinguished persons. The present one is of a high birth, descends from several Bassas, and is related to the Imperial Family through his wife. But he is very unskilled in maritime affairs, never noting navigation as his profession. Of the same stamp are the lower Commanders. On the
42535 ships there are three Officers' offices. The first is the Captain of the Ships, - the second the Patrona, corresponding to our (Venetian) Admiral; and the third the King's, agreeing with our (Venetian) Patrona. Each ship has its Captain, Lieutenant, and 10 Officers, including the Navigators, and Sailors. The Terschaneh-Emyny commands, in the absence of the Captain-Bassa, the small fleet,
42540 and is as much as our (Venetian) Proveditor d'Armaia. The Commanders of the Galleys bear the name of Begh; they are almost all rich, Sons of Nobles, and mostly Bassas of two Horsetails, to whom, for the maintenance of their own Galleys, the revenues of certain countries are assigned, or the government of Metelino, Rhodes, Chio and

others islands. The Sultan grants them the whole Galley, giving them some money for equipment; but all the rest is for the account of the Begh. These expenses are richly reimbursed to them by the income of the Stadtholderships, which the Porte allows them to enjoy; and the oldest of them are, as a rule, gradually promoted to the richest Stadtholderships.

The Turks also make use of Barques and other small vessels, which they call Kantschabasz, and which may be compared with our Brigantines. They are used for rapid dispatches because of the shallows, which are on all the Coasts of the Black and White Sea. These are under the Menexis-Bey (*) or Sfer-Askjir of the Barques, to which, on the best islands of the Archipelago, the principal income is allocated. The Commanders of the Fleet of Gallies take precedence over the others, who command the ships. (†) An old custom and a certain respect, which one has for the Beghs, on account of their descent and their wealth, makes that they maintain the precedence of their offices.

(*) This must perhaps be Ghemy-Begh, Head of the Aldermen; for otherwise the word, standing in the text, has no meaning.

(†) My Italian manuscript says: have the same rank.

XLIV. Of the Kinds of Ships, and their Equipment.

Three different kinds of ships are used in the Turkish fleet: ships of three decks, the Sultana and the Carvel. The length of the ships of three decks, calculated from the long ground beam, is 62 ells. The ell of this Arsenal has 2 and a half geometrical feet, which is half our stride. Each of these ships has 106 metal pieces of Cannon: namely, on the first deck ?? 15 gates on each side, only pieces of 50 pounds; on the second deck also in 15 gates pieces of 30 pounds; on the third deck, in 14 gates, pieces of 30 pounds; on the stem in 7 gates, pieces of 14 pounds 5 on the stern two for pieces of 14 pounds, and two culverins to 30 pounds; which together make up 106 pieces.

In order to give this heavy body a greater speed, they have provided it with high masts and ropes, which can carry much larger sails than usual. But these ships have lost their prestige among sailors, because they cannot be turned without a strong and violent wind. The equipment of these ships, in times of war, amounts to 1200 Leventi, and 100 Greek sailors. Leventi are the sea soldiers, mostly young Greeks, many of whom have learned seafaring on merchant or plunder ships. Their salary is fixed at six months to sixty Reals, upon which the ships are usually disarmed; then they receive their farewell, going in the winter to their own homes, to rest there from the inconveniences suffered. Besides this money they also receive, for their daily maintenance, a certain portion of rice, pickled meat, butter, peas and beans, besides other trifles, with which they are quite content. But what most induces them to such troublesome naval services, is the hope of promotion, or a pension for all their lives, which they receive, according to the services rendered. Before they go on board, they are paid three months' wages in advance, and when they return home they receive the other half. The ground beam of the Sultana is 54 ells long. Some have 13, many 14, and most 15 gun-holes: and each has on the first deck pieces of 50, on the second deck of 30, on the prow of 12, on the after two pieces of 12, and two culverins of 30 pounds. Each Sultana has therefore about 66 pieces, 800 Leventi, and 50 Greek sailors. The Caravelles (Carvels) have at the base the length of 40 ells and are almost equal to our Frigates. They have 36 to 48 pieces, 200 Leventi, and 30 Greeks.

XLV. Of the manner in which ships are built.

The shipbuilders who build the Turkish ships are mostly Greeks from the Archipelago. Although they lack all theory, and work everything only according to a certain experience; they nevertheless build the ships with such correct measurements, that the Turkish ships in proportion and beauty yield nothing to the most famous ships of other nations. The crooked timbers and the whole frame, which goes under water, are of oak; the upper part of pine; which makes them lighter, and in a battle also causes less loss of men, because the pine wood splinters less than the oak. The outermost crossbeams at the stern, and the Argana (*), are of elm; and the outer parts are united with those of the inside by strong wooden pins, to make them durable. At least the ships should have been built in this way, with respect to the various kinds of wood.

But this is not so, but the malice and greed of the people who are employed in it, changes and confuses everything. Slaves are made to work on it. I have heard from some of our countrymen, who, during their slavery, were employed in shipbuilding, that they mix the weak with the strong wood in advance, in order to make the frame

- less durable, to which a certain religious zeal moves them, in which they are out to inflict as much damage as possible on the enemies. To this, furthermore, comes the greed, because everywhere, where it is necessary, the wood is not joined with nails; in many places only weak wooden pins are used, in order to have an opportunity to
- 42615 steal the iron bolts. The persons, placed over the shipbuilding, agree with the slaves, share the necessities and the advantage, causing the Empire an extraordinary disadvantage. This is the reason, that the Turkish ships burst and break so easily, and do not last half as long, as ours. A proof of this can serve, that of the ships, built in the last war, not one can serve any more. This dirty way of building also
- 42620 makes that they are not beautiful on the inside. ?? the outer skin are planks of pine, oak, and other kinds of trees united together, whereby not only the strength of the vessel itself is weakened, but also the external appearance of the ship loses much. The masts consist of several pieces, which are joined together with iron bands, which method I consider better than ours, at least in that they can be repaired more
- 42625 easily in certain accidents. The sails could not be finer. They are all of fine woolen material, catch the wind easily, and require much less manpower than our sails. The ropes could not be worse, whether this is due to the bad choice of the hemp, or to incompetence in working them. All their ropes are much coarser than ours, consequently less competent, and do
- 42630 not last half as long as ours. They are exceedingly fond of tar, and on every voyage the ships are tarred once, which is sometimes done in an interval, to protect the ships from harm, and to make them sail faster.
- 42635 (*) My handwriting makes it doubtful whether it should not mean Argine, and therefore the ship's gunwale.
- XLVI. Of the Armoury at Constantinople.
- The Armoury at Constantinople lies across the harbour on the shore of the city, at
- 42640 the very spot where the harbour forms a sea bay. A part of it serves for the large, another for the small ships. Many sheds are erected for the building of ships, but the shipbuilders always build the ships, either from habit or for convenience, in the open air. The galleys and other small vessels are built under sheds, at a special place designated for this purpose. There are many warehouses there, in which the
- 42645 things necessary for shipbuilding are kept. The entire circumference of an (Italian) mine?? is surrounded by walls, to protect it against fire and theft. Nevertheless, a few months ago, a fire broke out in the largest and richest warehouse; this consisted again of 24 warehouses; it was entirely built of stone, and covered with lead: everything burned, and caused a damage of several millions. But this building was,
- 42650 within a few months, much more solid and beautiful, than before, repaired; but it will not be so easy to restore the lost building materials in the former abundance. For it will cost a great deal and require a long series of years, until everything is put in order again. The Captain Bassa lives in a Palace in the Arsenal, and has the first supervision and command over it. When he is absent, then the Terschaneh-Emyny or Chief Overseer of the Fleet lives there, who is the chief Official after the
- 42655 Captain Bassa. This Armoury is therefore a sufficient and well-regulated building, to equip numerous fleets. There is no lack of skilled Chief Builders, and Ship Carpenters are plentiful. There is wood in abundance; and, as it is only brought from the near Sea-bay, so also the Transport is easy. There is no lack of iron-work, and from the whole
- 42660 Archipelago one gets enough cloth for sails. There can be no lack of Sailors, because the Kayak-navigators of the city, and so many people, who sail on many thousands of Kayaks in the Black Sea, on the shores of the Mediterranean, and in so many special Provinces, can furnish sailors enough, to man the most numerous fleets.
- 42665 Notwithstanding this great facility, which the nature and disposition of the country, together with the uncommon extent of the Empire, offer, the Maritime State is in decline, and the fleet consists of the small number of ships, which I have mentioned above. They are now building two ships in this port, and seven others in the Armouries of Metelino and Sinope, where they are also building fine ships. But the
- 42670 small remuneration, which is generally the cause of the decline of the Maritime State, also causes these particular works to proceed slowly. To conclude this subject, nothing remains for me, but to show how considerable is the assistance which the Porte, in time of war, receives from its Allies.
- 42675 XLVII. Of the Allies of the Turks at Sea. In a time of war the Porte receives considerable help, to strengthen its fleet. The auxiliaries come from two sides; from the Cantons of Barbary, and from Cairo. The

Allies of Barbary can furnish ten ships, namely Algiers four, Tunis three, and Tripoli three. As these ships are manned with numerous and experienced men, because they are trained by the pirates; so they can do good service in a sea battle. They are also, because of their skill, very useful for cruising, for preventing supplies, and for guarding the coasts.

Still more numerous and considerable is the help of ships, which Cairo furnishes. There are 24 in all, which serve the Porte in time of war; they are generally called Cairon (or Alexandrian). In times of peace they serve as merchant ships, and belong to special merchants of Cairo. It was a good idea of the Vizier,s, who devised this reinforcement, and by it hindered the Knights of Malta, that they could not take away so many cays and other small ships, with which the rich Egyptian trade was then carried on, with so great danger. They therefore obliged the merchants to unite among themselves, and, who could not, they helped him; whereby they brought it so far in a short time, that private persons could safely trade. But still greater was the advantage to the Empire itself, because of the service, which they can render on occasion. In size they equal the Sultana, but neither the make, nor the form is so beautiful. In times of war they carry fifty pieces, and six hundred Kairiners of the most valiant men who live in the Turkish Empire.

From this it may be seen how much the Turkish maritime state is in decline. It cannot be denied that, on certain occasions, it can be given still more strength, by which the Turkish fleet could become very considerable. Even in its present decline it would, however, consist of forty-five ships of the line, namely eleven from the Empire, twenty-four from Cairo, and ten from the Barbarian Coast.

XLVIII. Of the Janissaries. (*)

Among all the Turkish Militia the Janissaries are the most important. In this Empire they are the same as the Praetorians under the Roman Emperors. Their Founder was Murad I. But according to the first design there were to be only seven thousand men. He accepted only Christian children, and even in later times officers went about in the villages to select the strongest young men. They tore them from the hands of their parents, educated them in the Turkish religion, and made them fit for this service. But this cruel custom has now been abandoned, and the Janissaries are recruited at the whim of the officers. One hundred and sixty-two Chambers or Regiments make up, for the present, the entire Corps of Janistaries of the Turkish Empire. Each Regiment was to consist of 1000 men; but now, counting one by the other, they amount to only 500. About thirty thousand are in this Capital; the others are distributed in the Provinces. In their Chambers they live with the greatest regularity and strictness. No woman's son may enter there; no wine may be brought to them; disputes and all indiscretions are forbidden, and everything is strictly observed.

Each Chamber has its Oda-Baschy or Colonel, its Treasurer, Ensign and Cook. Besides the Soldiers, they receive their own maintenance from the Prince in the Chambers. The Gagie begins with one Asper a day, and increases according to the years and merits. For the rest, this is a Militia of which one may rightly say that it is still susceptible to the feeling of Honour. For it is not possible that anyone would be tolerated who had committed the least theft, or had married a common whore, which so much dishonors our Militia. They have many privileges, and are regarded with such respect, that the Sultan himself has himself registered in one of the Chambers, with the fixed sum of 7 Aspers a day. The association, prevailing among these Regiments, makes them Honorable, and feared by the Sultan himself, who sees well that his own preservation depends on them. In the Provinces the Janistas have, in each their own particular Chief, commanding all the Janistas, who are in the Province. Their weapons are a harquebus and a saber. They fought without order, not knowing what military exercises are. In peace-time they are exercised in nothing, but in shooting at the mark, and in bodily strength, in order that their body may become the more agile. But at present they have no longer that agility and bravery which they once possessed. The avarice and carelessness of their officers have caused the old military

establishment to decay, and that young boys and useless men have crept in among them. Ten important offices are always filled by persons of this militia. The first is the Aga of the Janistas, who is their commanding General, and is always chosen from the Imperial Chamber of the Seraglio. The second is the Kul-Kjetchuda, or their General-Lieutenant}, the third is the Sfegkban-Baschy, the overseer of the dogs, at a so-called Janista Chamber; the fourth, the Thurnadschy-Baschy, who has the superintendence of the Cranes of the Grand Lord. The fifth is the Sfanznndschy Baschy, the Chief of those who guard the dogs for the Sultan's Bull-hunt; the sixth, the Sagardschy-Baschy, who has the superintendence of the Brakken. The seventh is the

- 42745 Solack-Baschy, or Captain of the Archers, commanding the Janistaries armed with bows. The eighth is the S??u-Baschy, the Chief of the Sergeants, who, on public ceremonies, go by the side of the horse of the Grand Lord. The ninth is the Peigk-Baschy, who commands the runners of the Grand Lord; and last is the Muhdhir-Jga, or Chief of the Sergeants of the Janistaries' militia. (*)
- 42750 (*) Jen-Tytschjery, that is, new Militia. But I have left Janissaries, everywhere, because we are generally accustomed to this word.
(*) The Titles borrowed from Dogs and Cranes serve here, to distinguish certain Chambers or groups of Janissaries from others.
- 42755 XLIX. Of the Mehterdschys, Bostandschys, Sferradsch and the Leventi.
After the Janissaries, among the Infantry, the most important are the Thopdschy and Kumbarahdschy. But, having spoken of these in § 42., I did not consider it necessary to dwell on them here in detail; and of the other militia of the Leventi I spoke
- 42760 above § 44., when I treated of the ships, etc. Here I will only add that this Militia also has its Chambers, but it does not live according to the arrangement and with the severity that the Janissaries live in their Chambers. The number of these sea soldiers cannot be determined, because it depends on the number of ships that the Empire must keep equipped. She is entirely under Captain Bassa, and forms the guard of the Armoury.
- 42765 Of the Bostandschy I have spoken above, when I treated of § 12 and 14. of the Guard of the Seraglio. I said then, that two thousand of them form the first outer guard, adding what their work consists of. But in time of war, when the Sultan takes the field, they form a kind of Militia, which is increased to 12 thousand men; they keep guard around the tent of the Great Lord.
- 42770 The Mehterdschy are a kind of militia, which is not well found at the Courts of other Princes. Their work is to set up camp, pitch tents, take them down, and in case of a march to transport them. It is incredible how quickly these people can erect a large tent, pack it up again in a few moments, and load it on their beasts of burden. I consider this militia to be a very useful institution, for the Economy as well as for
- 42775 good order. As this is their only duty; they take care of the preservation of the tents, which cost every Prince a great deal of money. They also make such a regular arrangement in the camp, that everyone can find what he needs; and everything is so arranged, that everyone can do his thing without confusion, and have the advantage that is possible in an army. The number of this militia will amount to about six
- 42780 thousand men. Their Chief bears the name of Mehterdschy-Baschy, a distinguished and respectable office, from which one usually comes to that of a Dschjebahdschjy-Baschy, being one of the principal Commanders of the cavalry. The Sferradsch are a portion of those troops, which each Bassa, according to the income of his Stadtholdership, is obliged to bring into the field. Their number can therefore be calculated perfectly
- 42785 according to the Bassas, and this I shall do, when I shall draw up the general calculation of the Troops, which the Turkish Empire can bring into the field. The work of this militia consists in taking care of the baggage; they form a sort of Corps de reserve, and are armed with harquebuses and sabres, like the Janistas.
- 42790
- L. Of the cavalry of the Spahi.
The Spahi were, before this, in great esteem in the Turkish Empire. They formed in every way the Corps de reserve, and served the Monarch as a guard. The precedence and the esteem which they enjoyed, made them so proud and mutinous, that they often rose
- 42795 up against the person of the Prince himself. The love for them and their esteem thus changed into fear and hatred. Sultan Mahomed III, on the advice of the famous Visier, Kiuperli??, took advantage of the disputes of this militia with the Janistas, and found an opportunity to humiliate them, while he sacrificed their principal
- 42800 Commanders to his hatred. In this way they became hated and despised by the whole nation, and there is now no longer any prospect that they will ever again bring themselves into the former esteem.
This militia is considered, according to the various methods of payment, in two ways. The most important are the Sae'yms and Tymariotes, who draw their Soldiers from the revenues of the lands assigned to them as a fief. The other kind is paid from the
- 42805 Empire's treasury, and these are the properly so-called Spahi, of whom I speak here. Their Corps is 12 thousand men strong; and these are divided into two distinct classes. The oldest, having a yellow banner, bear the name of Silahdari, that is, Sword-bearers, the later, having a red banner, are called Spahy-Oglan, that is, servants of the Spahi. Although these, according to their foundations and their name,
- 42810 follow the first; yet they have the precedence over them on marches, as a special

favor, because under Sultan Mahomed II they resumed a battle, and gained a complete victory, after the Spahi of the former class had already taken flight. The Chief of this militia bears the name of Spahilar-Agafy, being the first General in the cavalry.

42815 They carry a long sword with a very broad blade, pistols and a carbine. But many, and especially those from Asia, make use of a pike, bow and arrows. This is a militia, which cannot handle a gun; but for cutting with a saber in their fist they are very good: the Spahi from Asia are also better mounted, than the European; but these are much braver, than none. Their wages vary according to the more or less wealthy
42820 Chambers by which they are paid. In general their minimum wage is 12 aspers a day, but it can rise to 100; but in this case it is required that a Soldier has acquitted himself particularly in the war. The Sons of the Spahi have the privilege of being able to enlist among the Spahi, whenever they wish; but their wages cannot rise higher than 13 aspers a day, while the Father, on the other hand, is deducted so
42825 much; consequently this privilege has no other advantage than that one has the certainty of being taken into service.

Besides these two kinds of Spahi, in case of emergency, four other kinds are recruited, which are distinguished by the colours of their banners, and from which they also receive their special name. The first kind has a white and red one; the
42830 second a white and yellow one; the third a green, and the last a very white colour. The number of these four kinds of Spahi cannot be determined; for it depends on the circumstances of necessity, but even more on the Will of the subjects, according as they wish to be recruited for this Corps.

42835 LI. Of the Sae'yms and Tymariotes.

These two are included under the Spahi, and form the largest number of the Cavalry of the Turkish Empire. They draw their Gagie from the countries, which are granted to them as a fief; wherefore the militia of the Sae'yms and Tymariotes is the Turkish feudal militia. The difference in their names consists in the difference of income,
42840 since the least income of the Sae'yms amounts to 20 thousand Aspers per year, and may rise to 100 thousand; whereas on the contrary the least income of the Tymariotes amounts to six thousand Aspers per year, and may rise to 19 thousand 9 hundred and 99. But among the Tymariotes there are two classes. The one receives letters open from the Sultan for their countries, and these have the previously mentioned revenue
42845 of six thousand Aspers a year at the least, and of 19 thousand, 9 hundred and 99 at the most. The others receive their letters open only from the Stadtholders of the Provinces, having at the least three thousand Aspers a year, and at the most six thousand. The Sae'yims are obliged, for every five thousand Aspers revenue they possess, to furnish one Horseman for the army; and the Tymariotes must likewise
42850 furnish a man on horseback for every five thousand Aspers revenue. But the Sae'yms must make greater expenses, with respect to the Equipagie, which with them, generally, must be more splendid and costly, than the equipment of the Tymariotes. This entire militia is divided into Regiments, which have a Colonel at their head. These Captains are under a Sandschjak, and he is under a Beghler-Begh.

42855 In order to calculate exactly how many horsemen the militia of the Sae'yms and Tymariotes comprise, it must be observed that a Sae'ym can bring no fewer than four men on horseback, and at the most twenty with him to the war; but a Tymariote can have no fewer than one, and at the most six men. But it is certain that this feudal militia is not always ready to march; and, when they do march, they do not always
42860 bring with them as many men as the Imperial laws require.

Now to give the most probable calculation of them, as I have received it from several persons, who, on several occasions, have seen this militia with the Armenians; thus I can calculate that, counted together, a Sae'ym delivers four men, and a Tymariot two. According to this proportion I will draw up a list of all Sae'yms and Tymariots, who
42865 are in the Turkish Empire, and hereby very probably determine their number.

In the Stadtholdership of Natolia there are 295 Sae'yms and 7740 Tymariots, which amounts to
1180 Horsemen for the first
others 15480
in all — — 16660

42870 When the Seat of the Turkish Empire was in Bursa, consequently Natolia was a Province adjacent to the Christians, it delivered to the army thirty thousand horsemen; but the Turkish Empire further expanding its conquests, and consequently with the expansion of the countries also increasing the population, which was then only limited to Natolia; thus this Province now alone supplies the above-mentioned sum.

42875 In Carmania there are 73 Sae'yms and 2165 Tymariotes.

The first provide 292 horsemen

550	Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator		
		the others	4330
		In all.	-- 4522
	Diarbekir has 106 Sae'yms and 540 Tymariotes.		
42880		The first provide	424 horsemen
		the others	1080
		In all	-- 1504
	Damascus has 128 Sae'yms and 873 Tymariotes.		
42885		None provide	512 horsemen
		these	1746
		In all	-- 2258
	Sivas has 108 Sae'yms and 3029 Tymariotes.		
		The first provide	432 horsemen
42890		the last	6058
		Total	-- 6490
	Erzerum has 122 Sae'yms and 5548 Tymariotes.		
		The first provide	488 horsemen
		the last	11096
42895		Total	-- 11584
	Van has 185 Sae'yms, and 826? Tymariotes.		
		Geen provide	740 horsemen
		these	1652
		In everything	-- 2392
	Idin has 110 Sae'yms, and 4325 Tymariotes,		
42900		no troops	440 horsemen
		these	8650
		In all	-- 9090
	Musul has 27 Sae'yms, and 512 Tymariotes.		
42905		No troops	108 horsemen
		these	1024
		All	-- 1132
	Tripoli in Syria has 63 Sae'yms, and 500 Tymariotes.		
		None provide	552 horsemen
42910		These	1140
		In all	-- 1392
	Urfa has 60 Sae'yms, and 666 Tymariotes,		
		The former provide	240 horsemen
		the latter	1332 horsemen
42915		In all	-- 1572
	Trebisonde has 56 Sae'yms, and 389 Tymariotes.		
		The former provide	224 horsemen
		the others	796
		In all	-- 1020
42920	Silistria has 40 Sae'yms, and 1067 Tymariotes.		
		The former provide	160 horsemen
		the latter	2134
		In all	-- 2294
	The territory of Aleppo has 117 Sae'yms, and 1044 Tymariotes.		
42925		The first provide	468 riders
		the others	2088
		In total	2556
	In the district of Captain Bassa there are 124 Sae'yms and 1152 Tymariots.		
		The first provide	496 riders
42930		the others	2304
		Whole	-- 2800
	The Governorate of Rumelia has 1057 Sae'yms, and 8194 Tymariots.		
		None provide	4300 horsemen
		these	16388
42935		In total	-- 20688
	5t Government of Bosnia is the most numerous of all, and has: 4000 Sae'yms and 14000 Tymariotes, of which		
		the first provide	16000 horsemen
		and the latter	28000
42940		is all	-- 44000
		Of which the whole Sum amounts to	132054
	In addition, there are still volunteers, who at their own expense, serve among the Sae'yms and Tymariotes, in the hope, of bringing about the Honor by an excellent		

- deed, that they, when one of the others raises Life in war, they are endowed with his land. When a Sae'ym or Tymariot of Rumelia dies in war; then his Sia'met or Tymar is divided into as many parts, as he leaves Sons. If a Tymar leaves only three thousand Aspers income; then the Firstborn of the deceased receives it all. But if they die, outside this opportunity, or in the Army a natural death; then the Fief is left to the arbitrary decision of the Stadtholder of the Province.
- If a Sae'ym or Tymariot becomes old and out of state; then he can give his Sia'met or Tymar to one of his Sons or Next of Kin, in Natoië there are many privileged Sia'mets and Tymare, which are hereditary, and come from the Father to the Son. Whoever possesses them need not serve in person, but may send someone in his place with the troop that must deliver his fief.
- LII. Of the Dschjcbchdschjy, Seghban and Mikladschjy.
The Corps of the Dschjebchdschjy, in its first establishment, according to the former Plan, amounted to only 630 men. Their purpose was to clean and maintain the gun. They were therefore more armourers than a real Corps of Soldiers. But now it is different with them. Their Corps consists of 30 thousand men, who are divided into 60 Chambers, of which each should be 500 men strong, but which is seldom so strong. Their General, who commands them, bears the name of Dschjebchdschjy-Bassa, a considerable office, from which one often rises to a Bassa of three horsetails. For the present they are regarded as a kind of Curassiers; they ride the strongest Spahi horses, and are armed, like them.
- The Seghban form another kind of cavalry, which each Bassa, according to his Stadtholdership, must lead into the field. They correspond with our Dragoons, and also fight on foot. Their work is to guard the baggage of the Empire; wherefore this militia also usually forms the Corps de reserve. Thenumber of these we shall, in the next division, state in the general order, when we shall determine how many Soldiers each Bassa, according to his income, must provide.
- The Makladschjy are indeed considered by the Turks as a kind of militia, but are, in fact, nothing else than Servants of the Beghler-Begh and of the Bassas. As every person who holds one of these important offices, usually keeps a large number of servants, who cost them nothing but their living and clothing, while no one is paid any money; so, generally, the number of these in the Turkish army is very considerable. They are all young, strong, well-made men, but more suited to the practice of the javelin than to the real use of arms. Nor is there to be found in the whole of Turkish history an example of this kind of people having done any work worthy of being passed down to posterity.
- LIII. Calculation of the troops which the Turkish Porte can bring into the field in case of emergency, and of the arrangement concerning the march of a Turkish army. Having spoken of each type of Turkish militia, both cavalry and infantry, I will now calculate their number, in order that one may judge how many troops the Turks can bring into the field in case of emergency.
- Infantry.
The Janissaries in each Chamber were to be a thousand men strong, consequently their number made 162 thousand. But, because each Chamber, at present, has many incapable or old, often also too young men; I believe, especially when I also consider the avarice of the Officers in this respect, that each Chamber is only 700 men strong; of which 162 Chambers would amount to at most 113400
- The Thoptschjy or Cannoniers, who were to be 18 thousand men strong, are not in that disorder, as the Janistas, but can hardly amount to 15000
- The Kumbarahdschjy or Bombardiers, according to the order, were to make up two thousand men, but of them there are now only 400; but they could, in case of emergency, be brought back to the specified number, that is 2000
- The Bostandschjy, having the guard at the Sultan's tent, who in case of emergency, would certainly march themselves, would, infallibly, appear in their specified number, that is 12000
- The Mehterdschjy would be reduced little or not at all, if the Sultan marched himself; consequently they amount to 6000
- The Serradsch, according to the calculation of the income of the Bassas, should be 3000 men strong; but, as every Bassa, in case of necessity, tries to excel by his service-zeal, so this militia, without doubt, would be much stronger, and could, at the least, be counted at 6000
- The militia of Cairo is always complete, so 3000
- The Leventi or Sea-soldiers cannot be determined, because their number depends on

	that of the vessels and ships. But I reckon that, in case of emergency, this Empire	
43010	can send 40 ships, each of 800 men, to sea, which amounts to	32000
	Twenty Caravels, up to 300 men, that is	6000
	Forty Galleys up to 150 men, makes	6000
	A hundred Galleons or Kandschjabasse up to 60 men, makes	6000
	Thus the entire Infantry of this Empire amounts to	207400
43015	Cavalry.	
	The number of the Spahi is determined at 12 thousand men; they would also, in case of emergency, be reduced little, so that they can be set at	10000
43020	The Sae'yms and Tymariotes I have already calculated in advance, after some reduction they will amount to	132054
	The Dschjebchschjy or Curassiers can be determined just as little precisely, as the Janistas. Each Chamber had to be five hundred men strong 5 but they cannot be set higher, than three hundred men, which of 60 Chambers amounts to	8000
43025	The Seghban are, like the Serradsch, brought by the Bassas, and their number would therefore, according to the income of the Bassas, be increased more than decreased. According to the above-mentioned account they would amount to only 2000 men; but in case of emergency they had to be set even higher, that is	4000
	If we suppose that there are 20 Bassas of three Horsetails in the army; then the Mikladschjy, each Tassa reckoned to 300 men, would amount to	6000
43030	The Volunteers, as I have heard from many who have been present with the Turkish armies, usually amount to four thousand men; but in case of need they could rise to	10,000
	To this cavalry one must add the Tartars, who, in case of need, could be strong, but amount to at least	60,000
43035	This brings the cavalry in the entire Turkish Empire to	240,054
		207,400
	Consequently, infantry and cavalry, together,	447,454
	But all these troops can never, for the following reason, take the field together.	
43040	The sea soldiers, who are estimated at 50,000 men, must serve on the ships. The Garrison of Constantinople requires at least 20,000 men; the Garrisons of so many other people and fellings likewise 100,000 men; this in all makes a reduction of 170 thousand men, consequently the Turkish Army, at its highest, can amount to ff277454. But, when the Sultan, or the Vizier advances alone; then the number of people is much greater. For in this case he is followed by the Chancellery, the Ministry, and a part of each Guild from the city, which together make up at least 50 thousand persons. These people indeed increase the number, but not the strength of an army, by which they are, rather, a very great burden.	
43050	Now a word about the arrangement for the procession. Twenty thousand Janistas, armed with harquebuses and sabres, and the two Bassas of Damascus and Aleppo with the troops of their Provinces, have the honor of forming the vanguard. The Beghler-Begh of Rumelia with his Sandjaken covers the right wing; the Beghler-Begh of Natolie with his Sandjaken the left wing; the Bassas of Carthanie and Erzerum with the Spahi-Oglan of the red banner make up the right wing, the Bassas of Diarbekir and Kars with the Spahi-Silahdary make up the left wing: the other Bassas divide themselves right and left, according to the age when their Provinces came to the Turkish Empire. The four eldest make up the rear guard. In the middle is the Sultan with the Tdsch-Oglan, the Standards and the Music, which is always placed in the safest place, as it is the main banner, which is guarded with the utmost care.	
43060	LIV. Of the Politics of the Turks in general.	
	It will always be difficult to give an idea of the Politics of a supreme government, which never observes firm principles and stability in its aims and directions. Everything depends on the whim and the way of thinking of the Monarch, and on the particular insights of the Ministers who surround him. (*)	
43065	History also teaches us fully, that the most and cruelest wars, and the most violent changes of the State of the Empires had their first source in very small causes, and that either the arbitrariness and self-will of the Prince, or the self-interested aims of the Ministers who were around him, brought about most of it. But if there is ever a form of government in the world subject to unstable fundamental rules, unexpected changes of directions and aims, and traceless designs of the internal constitution of the State; then it is certainly the Turkish. Consequently it is altogether impossible to give an idea of a political government, which to all appearance has no System.	
43070		

- 43075 In fact, whoever knows the internal arrangement of the Turkish State; he sees that it consists only of Slaves. The Great Lord is, always, a Son of a Slave. The brothers and sons of the reigning Sultans are kept as prisoners, until they ascend the Throne. All the people in the Seraglio are locked up there for 30 or 40 years, and the sons of women remain in a permanent prison.
- 43080 The greater part of the most important persons are not born as free men. For the Turks, as a rule, have more Sons from their Slaves than from their Wives. Now, since men who are to govern the Empire, generally have an education that is in accordance with their birth, whether custom or political aims have a share in it, the youth are never taught rules of government, nor are they given any insight into the aims and designs of a State. This may arise from the same jealousy that causes future Princes to remain so long in prison. In this way, Princes, as well as their Ministers, are slaves by birth; and, after they are raised in blindness and ignorance, the former ascend the Throne, and the latter are set over affairs of State, of which they have not the least idea. To this we add the indefinite power of the Turkish Vizier,s, who, however little understanding and virtue they often possess, often with a single word, and with a still so irrational act, give examples and prescribe laws.
- 43085 Virtue is seldom rewarded. Often incompetent persons, men of low birth, men without merit, come to the most important offices of government by flattery, sometimes even by witty ideas. The government servants are often changed, and this change, so often repeated, results in a constant change and alteration of rules and insights. (*) From this confused and irregular method, everyone can gather what ideas one must form about the policy of the Turks.
- 43090 I can compare them nowhere better than to a sea, on which many ships constantly sail, but not one of them leaves any trace of where it has sailed. But this nevertheless, since there is no government, be it as confused andwithout a trace as it will, which has no fixed fundamental rules, on which the whole building rests as on a foundation; so also the Turkish Court must have certain fixed fundamental principles, of which I shall now attempt to give an idea. I shall add some observations which I have made, as long as I have dwelt in this country; for I have collected many samples on account of the negotiations which I have myself seen carried out.
- 43100 In order now to bring what I have to say on this subject into a System, I will first explain what the Turks, in their method of government, have for rules and aims, with respect to all parts in which, according to the common opinion of politicians, the policy of every State is analysed. I shall then add those fundamental rules of the Turks, which cannot be applied to other States. Hereupon I shall come to their Policy with regard to foreign Princes, and finally make some observations on the knowledge that foreign Ministers residing at the Turkish Porte must have, in order to direct themselves, on occasion.
- 43105 Just as I believe that a Prince must pay attention, in the main, to seven points, in which he needs a complete knowledge of circumstances, which is precisely called Policy; so I will give, piece by piece, an idea of the Policy of the Turks. For this I shall first speak of the State-household, then of Policy, both in times of peace and war, as well as with regard to the means of subsistence, with regard to the laws, and finally with regard to rewards and punishments.
- 43115 (*) This is so a generally not, as it is presented here. There are certain general rights of religion, the people and certain states in it, which, when they were disregarded and offended, not infrequently caused the corruption and downfall of the Sultan and his Ministers.
- 43120 (*) This is true; but it almost exclusively and exclusively takes place with the Heads of a rank or the Advocates of a College. Those persons, on whom the main matters depend, and who must submit the devised matters to the Heads for judgment and decision thereof, have generally served from below, so that, with the changes of State officials, the matters themselves do not undergo so much change.
- 43125 IV. Of the Politics of the Turks, with respect to the State Economy.
- 43130 With regard to the care of the household, I have observed among the Turks everything that one can ever observe touching prudence and policy in the most regular States. I have observed both among the Ministers of the Household; they are just as careful about the preservation of what belongs to the household, as they are attentive to make these sources more fruitful.
- 43135 To this is added a complete knowledge to impose taxes and tributes without the danger of a riot, and an ability to remove the first principles of even aseeming danger. So that the Turks, in this matter, yield nothing to the most legitimate and attentive governments. But I also notice with them more Rules in the State-household, which do not agree with the strictest justice, consequently cannot be applied to other States.
- 43140 The first is this, that they deprive the Sons of the goods of their fathers, when

they die. The Sultan takes possession of these goods, and leaves the Sons only what is necessary to be able to live. (*) This rule, which seems to mean the improvement and enlargement of the State-household solely and exclusively, has nevertheless real aims, which rest on Turkish Policy. Its aim is, that in the Turkish Empire there shall be no rich and noble Families.

This is one of the most important Rules of State; it is also almost necessary in such a form of government, which rests entirely on the despotic Will of the Monarch. Everything is accompanied by violence; everything must be done on one side, which can induce the subjects to throw off the yoke. Generally, people are moved to bold undertakings, by ease and wealth and by the feeling of Honour, which is united with an original Nobility; for from this arises the tendency to obtain more freedom. This Rule serves very well, to banish all danger from that side.

It should be noted that the Bassas are always people who possess wealth, have enough ability to undertake something, and can strengthen themselves by their followers and their friends, for which reason it would often be dangerous to sacrifice them; thus the Turks have a political means to make them poor, during the time that they distinguish them, in outward appearance, from others. The Sultan obliges such a Bassa to marry either a Sister or Daughter of his. The Bridegroom must, before the marriage-bond, give his Bride considerable presents, after the betrothal make heavy expenses, and by this means his treasures gradually diminish. But, because he is at the same time the Emperor's blood, his ambition is satisfied. The Sultan provides for a Princess, without it costing him anything, acts economically, and ensures the peace of the State.

The Sons, born of such marriages, according to the laws, seldom rise higher than to the office of a Kapudschjy-Baschy; a law, which is seldom violated, because it is too much in accordance with the fundamental rule, of humiliating the Nobility, and not allowing the succession of great Families. Another political Rule, useful to the State Economy, consists in the frequent change of the State officials. From this the Monarch derives real advantages. As often as a man is promoted, he must give rich presents. The shortness of time, which they spend in the great offices, does not permit those who hold them, to carry out designs which are contrary to blind and slavish submission, and this always remains the foundation of government.

For it is, that such men, in order to make good the expenses which they had to make when assuming their Dignity, are placed in the necessity of committing oppressions, robberies and acts of violence; so this also agrees very well with the policy of the Empire, to dampen the courage of the subjects and the common people by heavy taxes, and to accustom them not to rebel against every injustice. The rule, to let the Stadtholders emaciate the Provinces, has therefore a double purpose.

In fact, there is not a kind of oppression or any other artifice, which the Bassas and Sandjaken would not use, to enrich themselves. The Government knows this very well, and allows it. Sometimes one or other is allowed to have his head cut off, and thereby the people are led up the garden path, so that they may believe, how zealously they maintain the right; and how ardent the love towards the subjects is.

There are two cases usually, in which the Stadtholders are sacrificed to public vengeance. The first is when the people of the Province, from impatience at the exactions, begin to mutiny: they immediately cut off the head of the Bassa and quell the murmuring of the Commons. The other is when the State deems it necessary to exempt itself by the exception of a Cityholder to enrich the governor. This is a cruel, but at the same time very fine policy. The Prince, by means of the Stadtholders, emaciates the people, and yet has the appearance of committing no injustice. But in reality these Stadtholders are nothing else than agents, through whom the Treasury gains immeasurable sums. The subject oppressed, and the Treasury enriched, then the latter has sufficient means to make good the necessities of the State; but the former is unable to disturb the public peace. Consequently the fundamental rule of Turkish policy achieves its purpose.

(*) This is generally not true. With most persons, who die a natural death, and are previously of the civil state, the goods, after a reduction of legal percentages, go to the Sons.

LVI. Of the Politics of the Turks, with respect to the Government of the State. One of the principal occupations of a well-regulated Government is the Government of the State, and this the Turks understand very well. In this Art they bring it to a great perfection, because they understand the art of dissimulation in the highest degree.

They are so much taken with the excellence of this quality, very necessary for a Prince, that they sacrifice to it their most agreeable and dominant passions. Avarice and pride disappear, when they want to dissimulate. They know very well how to

- distinguish with whom they live in peace, make alliances, keep friends, do deeds. Prove without words, and about which they must use good words without deeds; yes, how, how much, when, how far, on what occasions, openly or in confidence, they must employ such means.
- I should have to enlarge too much if I were to prove all this by particular examples. In general, I only assure that, if they have an advantage by it, they know how to relate every healing. Of all the ideas that are generally formed of the Turks, this is the most wrong, when one believes that the Turks were exposed to hastiness and rashness, in the art of governing well.
- It is true that sometimes they act somewhat hastily in matters; but this only happens because they make use of a prejudice that is well suited to them. They know very well that the threats that they make sometimes cause fear. From fear always arises a complacency in the party; and, when they use this means, they almost always achieve their aim. But it is incredible what an art they possess in the highest degree, to mix the lie with the truth, to spread it, if necessary, among the people, and to profit from the credulity of others, to assure themselves of the external. For with regard to the internal they observe two rules, from which they do not depart. They oppress the people, as I remarked above with regard to the State economy, by extortions, so that the mind, choked by injustice, may bear all the misery in which it is placed, with the more resignation. The other they observe, with regard to the Stadtholderships and important offices. None last long, and these are not transmitted to the descendants. The Stadtholderships are usually given to people who have been educated in the Seraglio. Such people know neither their Family, nor their Descendants; they have no help or refuge to hope for from anywhere, and therefore can do nothing against the Sultan. Some restless spirits have sometimes raised their heads; but usually they have also had to bear the punishment for their blindness, without the Sultan being forced to use open violence. It is no work to help someone by secret tricks and stratagems in the ground, whose followers consist of people who were born in slavery, and are all strangers to him, while he has neither parents nor friends who seriously and emphatically look after his cause.
- It cannot be denied that more than once, bold and presumptuous people have caused unrest in the capital, which were dangerous to the Sultan himself and his life. But of this the rule of state was no cause, but the misfortune came, rather, from the fact that one had put its observation out of sight. It is certain, that the succession of ordinary and fixed fundamental principles causes no change in the hearts of subjects. On the contrary, extraordinary incursions and the Prince's wilfulness, all too evident injustices, and neglect of respect for the militia, are the three rocks against which the Prince can suffer shipwreck. Each of these pieces arouses anger; from anger arises the spirit of revenge; the spirit of revenge breeds parties; from party lust follows disorder and confusion; and from disorder arises the entire ruin.
- Let the Turkish Monarchs beware of that which can arouse such movements; then, furthermore, because of the tranquility of the Empire, they have nothing to fear, which is the other part of the State.
- LVII. Of the Policy of the Turks, with respect to war.
- Have the Turks a Policy, agreeable to their State-system in State affairs and the State-household; they have also certain State-principles with respect to war. They know very precisely, when it is time to begin it; by what means they continue it, and how they bring it to an end.
- But, just as the Porte well understands how necessary it is, it wants to consider every circumstance in a true point of view, that it understands the State-interest of all other Princes, not only of its allies and neighbours, but also of all others, who unite with them or can declare against them; so it spares no expense, and omits nothing, which can give it the surest, most definite and most true information concerning it. For this reason she keeps in all, even the most remote countries, attentive spies, mostly Greeks and Jews, who help each other, and find means, to send her the messages.
- If one examines the custom, to keep such spies; then one easily notices here, the most refined Policy, apparently with respect to the State and its household. The prestige and Dignity of the Sultan, in so many incidents, which can occur, is never exposed to the fate of a Minister, who clothes the Character of an Ambassador. The household gains by it: for one does not need the splendor, with which a characterized Minister must appear; and one only makes those expenses, which are useful for the true State interest, because one, partly, reports with certainty, and hears the intentions, partly also brings the matters to an end quickly. These veiled people can

- 43275 mingle in all societies, without any attention being paid to them. As one can deal with them with less reserve; so they have less difficulty in penetrating into the Secrets, and often hear that which an openly characterized Minister would find difficult to discover.
- 43280 In this way the Porte is served, without the Sultan's reputation being injured, and without it costing much. He learns everything with more precision and accuracy, than any Prince in the world. He knows with all certainty, how powerful a King is; who can and will associate with him; what disputes a Prince has with others; what kind of native unrest arises in each Kingdom, and what a Prince is like for himself. From this knowledge he draws consequences for his own circumstances, behaving towards the
- 43285 Ambassadors of foreign Powers, being at his Court, as he judges necessary. He flatters; he is proud; he arouses in one distrust of another, as he deems advisable for his purposes.
- Now since the Porte has such complete reports concerning the condition of other countries; then it is not likely that they will engage in a war, without probable
- 43290 hope of concluding it happily and well. And once it has begun, they know exactly when it is time to lay down their arms. But in order to be assured that the war is waged with all emphasis, it is a rule: the Turkish commander must win the battles, and be happy; otherwise the blame is given to him. The Generals are mostly innocent; but, as it is a fixed rule that their lives are at an end when they lose a battle; so every
- 43295 one of them is driven to despair.
- For the rest, the Turks do not know the means which civilized nations employ to preserve their conquests. They employ no other means than violence, by which they compel the inhabitants of such Provinces, which lie far from the capital, to move into the neighbouring towns, in order that they may always be under the eye of the Stadtholders, and that they may be watched the more closely and accurately.
- 43300 Two political aims induce the Turks, as much as possible, to depopulate newly conquered Provinces. The first is to prevent rebellions, and, if one should arise, to be able to suppress it the more easily, while the rebels lack the means to fortify themselves in a distant country. The other is to make it difficult for their enemies to enter with an army. For, the less a country is populated, the more it suffers from want of provisions. One may also, according to Turkish history, make the observation that the Turks, as often as they have conquered an important province, have readily concluded a peace, because they were very anxious to establish themselves there, and to have time to do so. This happened most easily, when they denuded the country of
- 43310 inhabitants, and on the other hand populated it with Mohammedans.
- For the Militia, the Turks, among all the Princes of the earth, have the greatest respect. This is evidenced by the custom of the Sultans to enroll themselves as common Janistas in one of their regiments, in order to give the people an even more exalted idea of the excellence of the militia. And this purpose they have so well
- 43315 attained, that 'there is not a man in the Turkish Empire, be he fortunate or unfortunate? who did not consider it an honour to be enrolled in the army. Every prince will do it service, when his people have lofty ideas of the military state.
- LVIII. Of the Policy of the Turks, with respect to the provisions at Constantinople. Experience itself teaches how great the diligence of the Turks is, and how serious their care is, with respect to the provisions. Constantinople, much more populated than any city in Europe, always has an abundance of provisions, and can buy them better than even one of the most fertile countries. (*)
- But the care and judgment of the Turkish government are not yet satisfied with this.
- 43325 They know very well with which peoples they must keep friendship, in order to have the abundance and supply of provisions constantly open. For this reason they turned a blind eye to many acts of violence by the Tartars, and on several occasions they paid little attention to their disobedience. For the Crimea is one of the most generous sources from which the capital is supplied. For this very reason they were at all
- 43330 times very active to maintain free navigation on the Black Sea. For the same reason they used tricks, and spent immeasurable sums, to bring the Cossacks under the obedience of the Turks; and this was also the reason why they stuck steadfastly to the fundamental principle of prohibiting other nations from trading on this Sea. The Porte is so jealous of this point, that they never consent to tolerate a French
- 43335 Consul in the Crimea. For this step was regarded as a source from which such consequences could flow in time, as would affect their rules of conduct concerning the means of subsistence.
- The Porte is equally averse to a war with Persia. For, since many Provinces in Asia lack the necessary supplies, she understands very well how much she risks when she
- 43340 starts a war in these regions, where the lack of provisions can make it necessary for

her to withdraw the army with little Honour, or to conclude a standstill of arms and peace at an inopportune time, to the greatest disadvantage of her Honour with Foreigners, and to the displeasure of her subjects.

I could add several more remarks, how careful the Turks are to determine and stop purchases, arbitrary undertakings of Merchants, and price increases. But it is enough for me to give a general idea, how vigilant and good Politicians they are with regard to the care of the provisions.

(*) The alleged population is, as is known, an uncertain matter. The price of provisions has risen exceedingly since the author's time; but it may also change again according to times and circumstances.

LIX. Of the Politics of the Turks, with respect to the laws.

The laws, which in all States are the foundation of justice, consequently also the foundation of peace and general order, seem to me to have an entirely different object in Turkey.

The outward appearance is the same. But, as essentially as the legislative Method of the Turks differs from that in other countries, so is the operation different. In other States the laws mean the maintenance of justice; but in Turkey the three principal aims of Turkish Politics must be supported by them, namely the indefinite power of the Monarch, the oppression of the subjects, and the enrichment of the Imperial Treasury.

The entire judicial process of the Turks consists in the examination of the witnesses, and the evidence drawn from them. But it is not at all difficult to find a witness, such as one would like him to be. And so it often happens that one testifies and swears against the truth.

As much as this Method offends the right; so useful is it, on the other hand, to support the absolute power and arbitrary lust for power of the Monarch, which always remains the foundation of the Political government of the Turks ?? the Judge is always free to accept the testimonies as true, or to reject them as false, according to whether or not they agree with his own interest, or according to the interest and the Will of the Prince.

In this way the right remains in the arbitrariness of the Judge, which in various cases can be determined by regulations and orders. Thus the way is open for the State to bend the right to the intentions of the Sovereign.

Such a liberty keeps the subject in oppression, and sometimes, by the chastisement and plunder of an unjust Judge, brings considerable sums into the Emperor's coffers. Against this kind of people, who maintain justice, the Government often acts in the same way as against the Stadtholders of the Provinces.

They like to see them act according to their own arbitrariness, and their acts of violence are tolerated until the clamour of the subjects brings near the moment to enrich the treasury.

LX. Of the Politics of the Turks, with respect to punishments.

As to punishments, no country can be more severe, and no Prince more hasty, than they do in Turkey. Among the Turks there is almost no difference between crimes. Everything is punished with death, whether it be a serious crime of state, or a minor error, to which ignorance or a single case often gave rise.

Such a cruel way, by which one necessarily, very often, sins through injustice, is however almost necessary in such an extensive Empire, as the Turkish is, where everything is done by force, and which is governed more by the Prince's wilfulness, than by a Stelzei.

The many changes of the Empire's offices, which are held by people, whom the Sultan has exalted by his wilfulness; who usually have no education; who often lack the ability to observe them, produce so much confusion, and cause so many wounds to the political body, that one cannot punish otherwise than by such a strict and rapid law. Therefore the Rule, however cruel it may seem, is necessary for the durability of the Turkish Empire.

As for the persons who serve in war; they are dealt with with the same strict rapidity. For this reason one seldom finds examples of commanders carrying out base deeds; on the contrary, one reads in Turkish history of examples of the boldest and most desperate deeds. Therefore the severity fetters the persons of war and peace; they must do their duty: the people, on the other hand, are kept in such calmness and patience, that one seldom finds examples of it in other countries. Truly, it is a strange thing, that in a city so uncommonly populated as Constantinople, where people of such different nations and customs are, hardly ever or very seldom a murder or any disorder is committed.

The whole merit of patience and obedience rests on the severity of the punishments. The rapidity with which unruly spirits are removed, increases fear, and besides that city enjoys the tranquillity which is justly admired by all foreigners.

LXI. Of the Politics of the Turks, with respect to rewards.

There is no government where services are less and worse rewarded than in Turkey. With common people everything consists of a small sum of money; people of rank receive a fur or sabre from the Monarch.

These are the extraordinary rewards with the Turks, with which one rewards merits. I do not want to speak of the promotions, which one receives according to the rank of age and service to the Porte. The domestic, political and military services are all considerable; one has enough Honour, and they also bring in reasonable sums. These small, extraordinary rewards are considered the greatest gifts that one of our Princes could give, whose favor nevertheless goes so far that they enrich an entire Family now with considerable estates and generous annual salaries, then again bestow upon the Nobility and distinguished Titles.

This is an effect of the Policy of the Turks, according to which the people are already taken with the ideas of an absolute power of their own Monarch, and of the blind obedience due to the Prince. The youth, who are educated in the Seraglio, and usually attain such Dignities that they sit at the helm of State, already form the idea in their first years, that the most blind obedience is the most necessary quality of a true subject.

With regard to this obedience there is no exception or determination. Educated with such impressions, they undergo death with complete resignation. They are assured that they die as Martyrs, and enter Paradise, when they die by the command of their Monarch. For this very political reason they give all those who hold Dignities dependent on the Crown the Title of Kul or Slave.

The first Vizier himself gives himself this name, which is much more illustrious among the Turks than the Title, Subject. For a Kul can oppress the subjects with impunity, and the subjects may not oppose him, without being guilty of the severest punishments.

Now if the heart is taken with such ideas; then it considers every reward, coming from the hand of the Monarch, as a gift from Heaven. They also, in fact, give their Monarch the Titles of a God on earth, a Shadow of God, and the like. The Teachers of the laws teach that the Monarch is exalted above the laws. They assert that he can revoke his promises, and withdraw his oaths, when he believes that they are disadvantageous to his highest power. For, when he swears and solemnly promises, at his coronation, to defend the Mohammedan religion and the laws of the Prophet, the same law nevertheless calls him the Interpreter of the law. Besides, there are wiser interpreters of the laws and of the Koran, who deny that the Monarch has any power in matters of religion, and who attribute to him all, even absolute power in civil matters.

From this saying one can easily see how the constitutions in the policy of the Turks are connected.

LXII. Of the nature of Turkish Politics.

So far I have spoken of the political attempts of the Turks, with regard to the household, the State, the war, the means of subsistence, the laws, the punishments and rewards, because I believe that every Prince must pay attention to these seven points, if he wants to govern his country well.

It will have been observed that the Turks, in their method of governing, have quite different ideas than those in Italy. Since they are not inexperienced in the art of governing, and know the system of every other Prince; so they do not act at all like blind men, only according to their own instincts, but according to reasons, and pay attention to their State's interest. I have observed that their Policy has three principal objects: first, to support the despotic power of the Sultan, which is not determined by any laws, and almost also not bound by Religion; next, to oppress the subjects; and finally, to enrich the Treasury. I have shown that from this may be explained the rule according to which obedience to their Prince is instilled in the youth, more as a fundamental principle of Religion, than of State; according to which, further, the maintenance of the powerful Houses, and the succession in their estates, is prevented, and the newly conquered countries, far distant from the capital of government, are depopulated. From this same reason also flows, that the Stadtholderships and Ministers are frequently interchanged; and that, finally, justice, at the least suspicion of a crime, is enforced with the greatest haste and severity. Whatever this political system may be, it is in accordance with the

43475 fundamental principles on which the system of the entire Turkish Empire rests. The
Turks have actually begun to base their political government during the war, and
during a war that had as its aim to build an Empire on plunder and violent land
reclamations.

43480 In the essential grounds nothing has changed. Wherefore one should not be surprised
that the entire State still agrees with the circumstances on which it was founded.
The great extent of the Empire has rather secured it even more. For in a large body
one must remove evil from its first birth. This is the reason why with the Turks,
often the slightest suspicion is a sufficient motive to proceed to the utmost death
penalties. The only difference between the former and latter times, which I have
43485 discovered among the Turks, is this, that in State negotiations they are now somewhat
more tractable, and in Military affairs somewhat more judicious.
This change, however, is very natural. For it depends upon the circumstances of
fortune, to which all human affairs are exposed. In former times, when the Turks were
constantly victorious, enriched themselves with a fat booty, amassed immeasurable
treasures, and were consequently dreaded by all Princes, they gave themselves up more
43490 to blind chance; and, however unreasonable the manner in which they then proceeded,
they nevertheless, by their boldness and steadfastness, removed the greatest
obstacles out of the way, because the circumstances were favourable to them. But now
that fortune has changed, their militia has fallen into disarray, and the household,
for the reason mentioned, has fallen into disorder; so, in respect of manner, they
43495 have also changed somewhat. But in deed they have accomplished nothing else than that
they refined their policy, and have now learned the art of covering the unjust
violence of their rules with the cloak of reason and common sense. On that account
they have adopted the most flattering and polite manners that one can expect from the
most refined Cabinet ministers in Europe.

43500 As much as I have been able to discover during the time that I have had the honor of
being at this Court, this is the essence of Turkish policy. But how they are disposed
towards other foreign Monarchs, both in Europe and in Asia, with whom their Empire
has some connection, we shall examine subsequently.

43505 LXIII. How the Turks are disposed towards Persia.
Three nations have only a mutual relation of importance with the Turkish Empire, the
Persians, the subjects of the Mogul, and the Ushuaks. Here I shall speak only of
Persia.

43510 The Persians are a Power, which, because of the extent of their Empire, the number of
their armies, and the distinction of their Doctrine, is no less detested than feared.
There is no more formidable enemy for the Turks, for several reasons. The principal
is, that all the Turkish people fear nothing more, than when they have to serve in a
war on the borders of Persia. The discomfort of the long and remote journey, the
43515 difficulty of the climate, which is deadly for all European nations, the lack of
provisions in wild and sparsely populated provinces, the Turks have learned by
experience that usually the least return from these regions.
The very great extent of the borders from Cabarta (Circassia) to Bassora makes it
necessary for the Turks to keep more and more armies in the field, consequently
incurring expenses that are detrimental to their household.

43520 This, furthermore, also suffers a considerable disadvantage, because then the trade
is broken off, which consists of the richest articles, and consequently brings great
profit to the Imperial toll houses. In addition, there was the sad experience since
the war with the Persians, when the Sofi Thamas Kulikan came to the throne, which
caused that, when all the fortunes of war changed, the Turks understood well, that,
43525 if they made any conquests, they could not keep them, because of the great distance
from the heart of the Empire. Even religion contributes something to wishing for
peace with Persia. Many of the Turks, namely, accept the same doctrine of Ali, and
adhere to the Persian creed. For this reason the government always nourishes a
certain distrust of those whom it chooses as commanders in such defensive wars.

43530 Wherefore, for this and similar reasons, it is a rule of the Turkish government to
avoid war with Persia, because the Porte foresees that it is ruinous for it, still
more so, if it is not ended in a few campaigns.
Because Sofi Kulikan is a brave and sensible man, and understands the way of thinking
of the Turks; therefore he conducts his war in that way, which is the most sensitive
43535 and deadly for the Turks. He does not seek to make conquests; he marches from one
corner of the frontiers to the other; he wanders everywhere, and lives at the expense
of his enemies; he drags along people of all ages and sexes; lets his troops rest in
his country during the winter, and seeks, in a word, to prolong the war, considering
this to be the best means to weaken the Turkish Empire, and to make it so weak, that

43540 it can henceforth undertake nothing against Persia.
That is how I regard Persia, and in this I am protected by the Turks' own way of
thinking about Persia. At present there is no prospect of peace; but if the Turks get
it, then they will hardly start unrest again so easily. For they know their own
43545 interest only too well, and do not get involved in war, without a moral certainty,
that they will profit from it. (*)

(*) The author's thoughts. concerning the way of thinking of the Turks concerning the wars
with Persia, is so real, that, notwithstanding that Persia, after the death of Thamas-Kuui
Khan, has fallen into the utmost confusion, the Porte trembles not to undertake to attack that
43550 Empire. She is content, if she is only left in peace on that side.

LXIV. How the Turks think of the Moguls and Ushuaks.
The war which the Turks wage with Persia has caused the Mogul Emperor to offer to
make a diversion against the Shah. The Mogul Ministers made designs which were
43555 otherwise ineffective. The real reason for this was that the Moguls are held in
little esteem by the Turks.
They know that they do not understand military strategy, and after the Persian
destruction of this country they are poor in money, and they lose courage. The great
distance, which makes fixed designs almost impossible, and prevents one from
43560 proceeding with emphasis and certainty, has caused the Porte to abandon this
negotiation. But she has shown much respect for the Mughal Ministers, to which the
uniformity of Religion and the aims concerning Commerce also brought it. For in fact
the Commerce which she carries on with the Mughal Empires is very great. This is done
through the Persian Gulf over Bashora, where one of the richest Custom-houses of the
43565 Turkish Empire is. The Porte nourishes and maintains the friendship with the Mughal
countries from views of Commerce; but further alliances are considered useless,
because of the distance and the natural condition of the Mughal peoples. The Usbeks
also sent Ambassadors to the Porte, to propose to her a diversion against Persia,
because they were angry about the depredations which the Shah had committed in their
43570 countries. The Usbek Empire borders on the Caspian Sea to the West, on Persia to the
South, on the Karakalpak Tartars to the North, and on Turkestan to the East. But,
because these peoples are not respected by the Porte because of their military valor,
it has not deemed it necessary to involve itself with them in military projects. The
Usbeks, seeing that the first subject of their mission was fruitless, made proposals
43575 for commerce. Their country is rich in diamond mines of the most perfect and rarest
kind. They offered the Turks that they could discuss with them a plan for such a rich
trade, which would be very useful to both States. Several conferences were held on
this subject. But, because the only way was by means of the Caspian Sea, they soon
saw the difficulty that arose because of navigation. For this is in the hands of the
43580 Muscovites, who profit from this precious trade. Now that the Porte is at war with
Persia, (*) it has seen fit to reject this affair, which will never be easily
accomplished.

The Porte has no dealings with other Asiatic States. Neither state aims nor interests
unite it with anyone else; for it does not believe that it should place the Kurds and
43585 Dagestanis in this class, who are peoples without religion, laws and customs, who
almost constantly wander about, and know nothing more than how, like animals, they
defend their dens.

(*) The writer speaks of the time of his stay in Constantinople, namely 1760.

43590 LXV. Behavior of the Turks toward Russia.
The Turks, who are naturally proud, despise the Christian princes. But intelligent
men and the ministers of state among them do not think so. I will only report how
they think of each one who has influence on their State or their trade.
43595 The Russians are, at present, among all the Christian powers, the most formidable to
the Turks. The numerous armies which this Power keeps on its feet even in peacetime,
and the troops which constantly keep watch on the Turkish borders, give the Turks a
correct idea of the power and strength of the Russians. They understand therefore how
dangerous it is for them to have Russia as an enemy. The Turks have experienced
43600 enough at Choczim, Oczakov and in the Crimea what they have to expect from the power
of the Russians. The alliance entered into by Russia with Austria or some other
Power, makes the Porte's affair still more anxious, and she must therefore redouble
her high esteem for Russia. It is certain that the Porte takes great pains to
maintain Russian friendship, because she has reason to fear that Russia might unite
43605 with the Persians. But, as much as the Porte, in appearance, treats the Russians with
respect, and spares them, so much does she hate them in her heart, and longs for a

favourable opportunity to curtail the power of the Russians. To this end the Porte continually seeks to arouse distrust of the Russians among the neighbouring Princes and their friends, using everything to stir up a Christian power against that Empire in one way or another, so that when the hostility between the Porte and Persia is finally ended, they may take advantage of the opportunity to gain some advantage over Russia.

The growth of Russian power has, in fact, also greatly reduced the population and the profit of the Turkish Empire. The Russians are continually active on the frontiers, and the Tartars can no longer commit those raids which they then continually dared to do, as long as Russia was less warlike and regular.

Consequently, that astonishing multitude of slaves no longer comes, which the Tartars otherwise, annually, like a branch?? of Commerce to Constantinople. It has been calculated that by this means, every year, the population of that capital increased by 20 thousand people. The Tartars supplied men enough for the service of the galleys, which, notwithstanding their small number, are now very poorly provided with sailors. With the reduction of the Turkish Empire, it is difficult to think that the Turks will ever gain great advantages over the Russians. (*)

(*) The war, waged about the year ?? between the Russians and the Turks, has fully confirmed the author's judgment.

LXVI. Behavior of the Turks toward Prussia and Sweden.

Prussia was, until a short time ago, still an almost unknown Power to the Turkish Government. But, after the Prussian House, in later times, waged wars against the Austrian House, and entered into alliances with many powerful Princes, the rumor concerning the strength and bravery of the Prussian troops also reached the Turkish Court. The new blood relationship of the Prussian House with the Crown of Sweden, has, in particular, aroused in the Turks the desire to live in friendship with the King of Prussia, and they began to flatter themselves that they could maintain a good friendship with him. The Porte understands very well that, by reason of the constitution of the States, and by reason of the numerous armies, this is a Power that can do much in the North and in Germany. It is certain that the Porte will make every effort to bring all the Powers on its side that border on the Empire or on Russia, in order to divide them among themselves when the opportunity arises. This will always be a false maxim of the Turks. Sweden is a Power that has been on good terms with the Turks for many years. She was held in good esteem by them under Charles XII. The Turks have indeed lost some of their esteem for the Swedes after the misfortune that this Crown had with Russia in Finland; but nevertheless they continue to maintain the closest friendship with them, in order to maintain the same political views against Russia for which they also seek friendship with the King of Prussia.

LXVII. What the Turks think of Poland.

Up to this time there was no Power more formidable to the Turks, for whom they had greater respect, than Poland. The wealth, the extent and population of this Empire, the number of horsemen, which it could bring into the field, and which of the Turks were considered very brave, was a motive, why the Porte had so great respect for this Power.

A stronger reason for fear were the Cossacks, dependent on this Crown. These came, often, with all their power from the Black Sea, devastated and plundered the villages almost to the gates of Constantinople, which city they often placed in great want of provisions, while they disturbed the trade of the Turks. As imprudent as the Poles were in their conduct towards this warlike nation, so attentive were, on the contrary, the Turks. They flattered and caressed them so long, until they finally obtained what they had desired for so many years. They moved the Cossacks to a revolt, and made them submit to the protection of the Sultan.

After they had obtained safety on the Black Sea in this way, they saw themselves freed from a dangerous enemy, and the Crown withdrew from Poland a strength, by which this Empire otherwise made itself formidable. When, in addition to this, the native unrest arose in this Empire, the Turks saw its weakness more and more. The more hospitable they are towards Poland, the less is their respect for the Poles.

Notwithstanding this, they endeavor to live in good confidence with them; for they consider Poland as one of the strongest means to bring Russia under the yoke. When therefore unrest arises in this Republic, then the Turks take every care to receive news of all internal events. They use all artifices, so that the Russian party does not gain the upper hand among the Vagabonds. The Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia and the neighboring countries have orders to keep a watchful eye on everything that goes on, and to give the Polish nation all possible signs of friendship and good

confidence, only to flatter it.

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LXVIII. What the Turks think of the Austrian House.

The Austrian House was always a Power that was treated with great respect by the Turks. The frequent experience of the bravery of the Austrian troops has taught the Turks, through their own disadvantage, to have very great respect for the German militia. They give it the testimony without contradiction, that it is the bravest among all European nations. When the Imperial Crown is united with this Illustrious House; then the Turks treat the Emperor with the utmost respect. They understand well, that when the German Princes assist him, he has a Power, against which that of the Great Lord cannot stand. The only consolation for the Turks was otherwise the discontent of the Hungarian States, who, under the pretext of religion, were always prepared to stir up trouble. The Turks always secretly rejoice in it, because, in case of war, they could use this pretext to make a diversion.

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It was very sensitive to them, when this Empire so unanimously decided, with the utmost force and all emphasis, to support and obey the reigning Queen of Hungary, Daughter of Charles VI. For by this they were cut off from the only means of hoping for internal trouble, if they should come to war with this Power.

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It would be even more sensitive to them, if the Imperial Crown remained with this House. But, whatever may happen, the Turks will always have high respect for the Archhouse of Austria. For they know well, that this House, even without the Imperial Crown, because of the great following and the close alliance with the German Princes, can obtain powerful help on occasion.

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Another strong thorn for the Turks, and which hurts them very much, is the alliance with Russia. The Porte will never cease, if possible, to arouse distrust between both Courts, and with all its strength seek to break a chain, which is the strongest of all, and greatly hinders it, to war the Christian countries. When, for the rest, a favorable opportunity for the Turks presents itself; then, they will certainly not neglect to draw after them the Banat of Temeswar, and possibly more. Besides that they see how much without the possession of this country Belgrade is weakened, and how much it concerns them, for reasons of State, to have the rule over such an important place; so the government will also be urged to do so, by the proposal of many private people, who have an interest in it. For many distinguished Turks possessed, in this Banat, rich lands, and the Sultan granted there much Saeyme and Tymar??.

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But, as long as the Turkish Empire remains in its present weakness, it will be very difficult, that the Porte decides on such an important undertaking.

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LXIX. What the Turks think of France.

The King of France was the first among the Christian princes, whose States do not border on the Sultan's lands, who, because of the freedom of Commerce, entered into negotiations with the Porte, and obtained the Title as Emperor. Since the mutual alliance of Francis I with the Turks, these two Courts have maintained a good friendship. The Turks have the most accurate and certain knowledge of the French Power and the prestige that this Crown holds among all Christian powers. But the Turks will, not only because of the power of the French, but also for their own interest, constantly endeavor to maintain the most intimate friendship with the Crown of France. They understand that France is the Power that, above all others, can keep the Austrian Power in balance, and in case of necessity can make a strong diversion. On the other hand, this is also certain: as much as the Turks will do all they can to seek assistance from the Crown of France against the enemies of the Porte; so it will be difficult for the French, in case of need, to prudently assist the Turks, if they do not see their own advantage crystal clear. The rich and liberal Commerce, which the French carry on in Turkey, also provides them with advantages, and makes them good friends together. For the Imperial Customs Houses derive extraordinary advantage from it. But, just as the Turks know the French nation as very fine politicians, who understand the handling of affairs well; so, at present, they deal with the French with the utmost caution, playing the hypocrite with them in everything. They do not trust them, always fearing that this intelligent and active nation might outdo them.

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LXX. What the Turks think of England and Holland.

The Crown of England was always regarded with special respect by the Turks, because of its naval power, its great and extensive trade, and because of the merit of so many peace treaties concluded with the Porte under English mediation. But at present it is very sensible to the Turks to see that England has such a power at sea, and so numerous fleets, which sail around in the Mediterranean and in the

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- 43740 Ocean. On the contrary, the Turks lament the decline of their own naval power, finding it a sorrow, to which so proud a nation is susceptible, which, from the earliest times, regarded itself as the most powerful on water and on land. Besides, the Turks conceal their sorrow, trying rather to cover it up by the attention with which they treat this Crown. Although the Commerce of the English in
- 43745 these countries is no longer so great as in former times; the English Crown nevertheless deserves to be treated with respect by the Turks. For they need many English Manufactures, especially such as serve for pleasure and luxury. The great distance of England from the Turkish Empire, the special position of this island, its great power at sea, protect it from all danger and insults of the Turks,
- 43750 who see well that it is much easier to be attacked by England, than that they could on the contrary again trouble this Crown. England's friendship will therefore bring more advantage to the Turks, than that of any Monarch and such Powers, which, because of the proximity of their States, can have disputes with this Empire. The Dutch were, until the year 1660, in no special esteem in Turkey, because they conducted their
- 43755 trade there under the protection of the English. But, after the Turks have learned what a power Holland has at sea, and what rich trade they conduct in India; they now esteem this power very highly, and treat their Ministers more respectfully.
- LXXI. What the Turks think of the Kings of Spain and Naples.
- 43760 The Spanish Crown is, because of its first principles, an enemy of the Turks. There are always some armed ships at sea, which disturb the commerce of the Turks in the Mediterranean. These would also often have gladly made peace with the Spaniards, if their old enmity and natural pride had not kept them from it. For the rest, they know that the Spanish Crown is no longer as powerful as it used to be, and that,
- 43765 notwithstanding the help which it receives from its fleets from the West Indies, it has noticeably diminished in its household, through the many wars, and has no very populous country. The King of Naples is highly esteemed by the Turks, not only because of his alliance with the Crown of Spain, but also because of that with France. It may happen that peace is also made with the Spanish Crown by him on
- 43770 occasion. In the meantime, the King of Naples keeps a Minister here, with the Character of an extraordinary ambassador, who is treated by the Turks in the same way as the Ministers of the oldest Crowns. The Turks have also concluded a Commercial Treaty with the Court of Naples, but that does not mean much. For the rest, the Turks know well that Naples lays claim to some States, now under the rule of the Turks.
- 43775 Often the Kings of Naples could also, if opportunity arose, come forward with the old demands of their Kings; but on the other hand, the Turks also pay attention to every step that the Court of Naples takes.
- LXXII. What the Turks think of the Republic of Venice.
- 43780 The Republic of Venice is held in the highest esteem by the Turks, and is now regarded by them as uncommon. (*) The long durability of its rule, which they regard as a result of the shrewdness of the Council, causes the Turks to regard the Venetian government as the wisest in Europe. The long experience which they have gained of their bravery in repeated naval
- 43785 battles, but mostly in so many battles in the well-known Candidate War, has inspired in the minds of the Turks a very exalted idea of the bravery of the Venetians at sea, and of their knowledge in naval affairs. They frankly admit that from that time on the Turkish naval power has begun to decline. Then she was so weakened by so many defeats, that from that time on no more
- 43790 so numerous and powerful fleet appeared in the sea, as in former times. Since, above that of the Venetians, they have found in all negotiations, a certain sincerity, and from all Venetian merchants loyalty and honesty in their contracts; so the Turks consider the Venetian nation to be an honest and punctual nation, dealing, perhaps, with her with more sincerity, than with any other.
- 43795 In former times, on the other hand, no nation was more hated by the Turks, than the Venetian. The many wars, which arose from time to time, increased the hatred on both sides. But, after they concluded an eternal peace with the Venetians, which Venice also maintained, and even in the last disturbances observed a strict neutrality; Thus disaffection has changed into affection, and the Turks now consider the Venetians
- 43800 their best friends. I can assure you that on certain occasions, as soon as I said that I was a Venetian, I was received in the most friendly and courteous manner, and people dealt with me openly. It is beyond dispute that the wise measures of the Venetian ambassadors have contributed infinitely to the foundation of this familiarity, who by their amiable intercourse, their wise plots, their illustrious
- 43805 conduct, have brought honor, esteem, and affection to the Venetian nation. In order

to maintain this precedence, it will be very useful that men should always be chosen for this office who have experience in negotiations, and who possess the ability to perform the office of a public ambassador with that decency which is useful everywhere, but very necessary at the Turkish Court.

43810 This being assumed, I consider it almost impossible that a great dispute could arise which could induce the Turkish Empire to a breach of peace with Venice. Besides the fact that the Turks have favourable impressions of the wise and uprightness of the government, and of the honesty of the nation, they see very well that, under the present System of Europe, it is not at all advisable or useful for them to wage war with Venice.

43815 There is also, in fact, no longer any proportion between their danger and their hope. Everywhere, in the Levant and in Dalmatia, they would meet with the strongest places, which would cost blood, time and treasure, if they would bother to conquer them. And, if they did conquer any, the gain would not be as great as the loss. In addition, since the treaty of the Archduke of Austria with Russia is the most dangerous thorn for them, they must always give the Commonwealth good words, so that it takes no part in it. For since Venice is a maritime power, she would always be able with her strong fleets to make the Turkish Empire a tremendous diversion. The Porte would be forced to occupy as many separate Empires and Coasts well, and to provide them with strong Garrisons, because the Republic could attack them very easily. If therefore an imprudent Sultan should ascend the Throne, or any other accident should occur; yet, for all the aforementioned reasons of affection, policy and interest, the Turkish Empire would hardly decide to trouble the Republic of Venice.

43820 When the Sultan writes to the Republic of Venice; then he uses the following words: "To the most illustrious among the great Princes of Jesus Religion, housekeepers of notable persons of the nation of the Messiah, deciders of the affairs of the Christian nations, with the mantle of glory and majesty clothed Lords, possessors of Honor and fame, our Venerable Friend, the Doge and the Republic of Venice, whose end may be happy!" (*)

43835 (*) One will well hold this assurance to the best of a Venetian writer. One cannot accuse it of falsehood; but in general every writer testifies something of his Nation.

43840 (*) These words, whose ending is happy! form the conclusion in the Titles which the Porte gives in all their letters to the Christian powers, and so much meaning: that they might find happiness in adopting the Mohammedan religion.

43845 LXXIII. What the Turks think of the Peace Treaties and Treaties with Foreign Princes. The Code of the Mohammedans, Kitah Adia, (†) establishes as a rule of religion that the Turks not only can, but also must break the Peace Treaties, when they expand their Empire there and propagate their religion.

43850 To support this principle, say ?? Mohammed, when he was forced to lift the siege of Mecca, made peace with the inhabitants of that city, and then attacked them again when they least thought of it: by this example he taught his descendants that peace treaties should only be used to the extent that the interest of the Empire and the religion entails. Turkish history is full of examples of how the Turks have behaved in such cases, among which the Treaty of 1604 is the most extraordinary. The Plenipotentiary Ministers of the Porte and of the Emperor were assembled at Pest, to work there for a peace. The Turks treated the Imperial Plenipotentiaries in the most stately manner; but, during the Treaty, the garrison of Osen, in the hope of not finding the walls well garrisoned, set out to attack that place, but found them so well guarded that they had to retreat in shame. This proves that everyone is deceived who thinks to find any honesty or justice in the Treaty of the Turks. Wherefore it will always be a rule of policy for a Prince, to have his Ministers in Turkey, at every movement of the Turks, continue to work on the matter. Otherwise it is certain, 43860 that, when they rely entirely on Treaties, they will, at the first opportunity favorable to the Unbelievers, have a painful experience of this Turkish rule of religion, to their disadvantage.

43865 (†) I do not guarantee, whether the Title of this book is correctly given: s. In the meantime it is also so in my manuscript.

43870 LXXIV. How the Turks regard the Ambassadors of foreign Powers. The Turks make no distinction between the rank of foreign Ministers residing at the Porte. They call the Ambassadors, Envoys and Residents all by the name of Eltschjy. Their Law and the Koran regard the rank of an Ambassador as inviolable: and this notwithstanding, we have innumerable examples to the contrary. The reason of this is this: because the Turks regard the Ministers in two senses, as

if they were two very distinct people. First, they regard them as such as represent their Lord who sends them, in whose name they execute something with the Great Lord, and complain of breaches of peace and other violations of the Treaties. Secondly, they regard them as mere Hostages, to secure the treaties concluded between their Lord and the Sultan. In this second respect they make no difficulty at all in violating the right of the people, and arresting the Minister of each Power, or putting him in the seven Towers. When a war breaks out; then this violence is almost a necessary consequence. For the cases are very rare, that, on the occasion of a breach of peace, the Minister is not imprisoned in the seven towers, or in one of the Castles of the Bosphorus. As soon as they have but a small dispute with a Prince; then his Minister must suffer violence. Among all foreign Ministers, two of them, with respect to ceremonies, are treated with special respect, namely the Imperial and Venetian. As soon as an Imperial Minister arrives in the Turkish States, he is, furthermore, entertained at the expense of the Grand Lord, until he departs again. But recently this respect has also been shown to a Russian and Polish Minister. As for the Imperial Minister: he usually brings the Sultan rich presents, which he also returns through his Minister. In the same way do the French, English and Dutch Ambassadors; but this difference exists, that the Sultan does not return their presents: for he considers them as a right, and as a reward for the protection which he allows the Merchants of these nations to enjoy.

The difference which the Venetian Ambassador enjoys above others, consists in the fact that he makes a public entry into the city; a ceremony which is reserved for the extraordinary Ambassadors of other Princes, and which the Ambassadors of the Republic have enjoyed since ancient times. This is a distinguishing Honour for the Ambassador of Venice, which is indeed small in itself, but deserves all remark, because no other Minister enjoys this Honour.

On the day of St. Mark, as the National Feast, he, according to an old custom, lets some mortars be fired in his Palace, which the Porte has never been willing to permit other Ministers, not even at the marriage, birth and coronation ceremonies of their Princes. For the rest, the Turks are careful not to admit foreign Ministers to the Audience of the Great Lord, except on such days, when their Court appears with pomp and splendour. For this reason they usually grant audience on such days as the militia is paid. This true Weden of these Audiences, and the manner in which they take place, are worthy of being reported in particular. When one knows them by one Minister; then one knows them by all. There is no difference, except in that the Venetian makes his entry openly.

LXXV. Ceremonies at the Entry of an Ordinary Ambassador of the Republic of Venice. The first work that a Venetian Ambassador performs, in distinction from all other Ambassadors, is his public entry into the city. In the one I attended, it went as follows:

Early in the morning of the appointed day, at 2 p.m. according to our time, the Ambassador proceeded in a litter from his residence to Thopchaneh. His retinue went partly before, partly after. Having arrived at the shore, they embarked on kaykes, which were provided with several oars. The Ambassador separated himself, and went in a projecting kayke, which the Terschaneh-Emyr, who in the absence of Captain Bassa took his place, had sent to him. She had cushions and coverings, covered with gold, and twelve pairs of oars. In these went the Ambassador, the Secretary, and an Interpreter of the Republic. They sailed very smoothly, and with the favor of a good wind and clear sky, under a constant shooting of three Venetian ships and many barges and merchant tartans, to the staircase Meez-Skeleafy, where they usually go ashore. From here the Ambassador with all his retinue went to a house, where he was received by the Tschausch Baschy and other Turkish Ministers. They complimented each other, took refreshments according to the Turkish custom, and ate for some time, until the numerous retinue, standing on the wide shore, could be put in order to be ready for the voyage.

This was done in the following order. In front marched 300 Janistas, each with a Kjulah on his head, being a long cap of white cloth, hanging down over his shoulders. Behind them went their Cook in a dress of black fur, from which hung on many silver chains forms of implements, necessary for the Kitchen. Then came 60 Tschauschen on horseback with the Tschausch-Kjulah, or their Ceremonial cap on his head. Then followed 36 Slavonians of the Ambassador in their livery with their leader at their head; the Equerry's Master of the Horse, at the head of six beautifully equipped riding horses, half in Turkish, half in Italian equipment. These were led by six Groomsmen in their livery. The House-steward, and another house servant on horseback, led 56 Footmen on foot in costly liveries. Furthermore came 14 Chamber

servants on horseback, the Page of his Excellency on horseback, ten language boys (*) and six Interpreters on horseback; the Chief of the Janistas on horseback, with six Tschokahdars on foot; the Waiwode or Governor of Galata with six Tschokahdars; the Interpreter of the Republic Ralli; the Tschauschar-Kjetchuda or Master of Ceremonies with another Officer of the Spahilar Aga with four Tschokahdars; the Tschauschar Eniyn or Chief Overseer of the Tschausch with four Tschokahdars; the Tschausch-Baschy or General of the Tschaufen with ?? Tschokahdars. At last the Ambassador came in a red silk armour, richly decorated with gold. He had the ducal cap of the same material on his head, and rode on a horse, which the Court had sent him. Around him were six Slavonians in their livery. Three nobles of Venice, the two secretaries of the Embassy, and others of his Court, together 20 persons, rode on Court horses. Then followed 49, partly merchants, partly other Vetians on horseback. The procession was closed by one Tschausch, one Kapudschjy, and two Janistas on horseback, with other persons on foot, who were all subjects of the Republic, about a hundred persons. In this order and with this splendor the procession lasted two hours, first through the streets of Galata, then through those of Pera to the Palace of the Bailo. The Envoy rode into the Court, and with this the ceremony of the entry came to an end.

(*) Several nations, such as the Imperial, French, Venetian and others, keep a certain number of young men, who are instructed in the languages for the future service of their nation.

LXXVI. Ceremony at the visit of the first Visier. The public entry is followed by the visits to the Court. The Ceremonial entails that the Grand Visier is visited before the Grand Lord. On an appointed day, in the same order, and with the same retinue, the Ambassador proceeded to Thopchaneh, where he embarked and sailed with Kaiken across the Canal of Pera to Constantinople. He, the Secretary of the Embassy and the Interpreter sat in the Kaiken of the Tschausch Baschy; the Venetian ships and vessels fired their guns. When the Ambassador stepped ashore on the other side, he received the compliments of the Tschausch-Baschy and other Turkish Ministers; he mounted his horse and arrived with his entire retinue, the same as at the entry, within half an hour at the Palace of the Grand Visier. At the stairs he was received by the Interpreter of the Porte, who conducted him, and brought him into the Audience-hall, in the corner to the Sofa of the first Vizier, . Here the Ambassador enjoyed a special Honour. For otherwise it is the custom, that the Ambassadors are first made to sit in an anteroom, and wait a while, whereupon they are led into the Audience-hall, where they must nevertheless wait, until the Vizier comes. When the Ambassador entered, he was made to sit on a chair without backrest, on which lay a beautifully wrought sheet cushion. Around him stood his whole considerable Court, on the right hand the Interpreter of the Porte, on the left hand the Interpreter of the Ambassador, and nearer to his side stood the Secretary of the Embassy with the letter of the Council, which he held in both hands. It was in a purse of crimson cloth, embroidered with gold, but the seal pressed on a solid gold box. The whole apartment was full of the principal Turks; they all stood in a line, to make their Court to the Grand Vizier,, who came a few moments after, and was greeted by the Turks with a loud voice. Before him went the Kjetchuda and the Reis-Efendy, who stood opposite at the corner, where he sat. His dress was a long Tabbert of green colour, with broad sleeves, and lined with sable. On his head he had a long, tapering turban, which was square after the blows of the head. It was lined with white silk, and had a border with a gold plate, four fingers thick, which suited him properly. As soon as he appeared, the Ambassador rose, (*) but remained covered, as did all his retinue, as is the custom among the Turks. After they had greeted each other, the Ambassador, at the same time, sat down with the Vizier,. Thereupon the Ambassador made a suitable speech, which was answered by the Vizier with a frankness and courtesy unusual among the Turks. The Vizier even indulged in several friendly expressions and questions, touching the person of the Ambassador. After that, both the Coffee, then the Sorbet, and finally the sweet-smelling water and the perfume, all in very precious vessels, had been offered, the Envoy was presented with a fine Chestnut, as well as his entire considerable retinue of 40 persons. This Ceremony being at an end, the Vizier presented the request of the Envoy, fixing for him the Audience with the Sultan on the following Tuesday. This Audience ended thus. At the farewell, the Envoy was presented with two Handkerchiefs by the Vizier,, - one of which was interwoven with gold, and the other with silver. After the end of this entire ceremony, the Envoy went back to his own Palace.

(*) It is customary for the Ambassadors not to sit down, so as not to have to get up when the Vizier enters. For he would certainly not get up, just as he does not do so when the Ambassador departs, but remains seated.

44010 LXXVII. Solemnity at the Audience of the Great Lord. On the day appointed for the Audience, the Envoy proceeded, an hour before sunrise, from Pera to Constantinople, where he found at his landing the Tschausch-Baschy, in a magnificent dress of silver and gold, lined with fur, and with many horses from the Imperial stables. After he had consumed the coffee in a small house there, and it had gradually become day; he
44015 took the long journey to the Seraglio of the Great Lord and the Divan, where the Envoys are received. When they arrived at the great gate of the first square, they encountered the numerous guards, which, at the entrance of the Envoy, drew up in ranks. He came with his whole retinue, among an innumerable crowd of Turks, who were spectators, to the gate of the second square, where he dismounted, because no one
44020 (that is to say, Europeans) may enter further on horseback. There he was received by the Interpreter of the Porte, and, after he had spoken with him for a while in the inner court, he entered the Divan. Before him went the Tschausch-Baschy and the Master of Ceremonies, (Kapudschjylar-Kjetchudafy,) both likewise dressed, with a silver staff in their hands, with which, from time to time, after certain steps, they
44025 struck the stones that lie in the middle of the square, and immediately end at the door of the Divan. As they proceeded, it is worth noting the great company of Janissaries that paraded. There were ten thousand of them, standing on the right side of the square. At a sign, which was given them, they walked with the utmost haste, as was possible, to the aforesaid road, to take after them the P?? or rice, which stood
44030 on the ground, and which is usually given them on such occasions. The Ambassador having entered the Divan, and having made the usual Compliments to the Grand Vizier,, he was shown the usual place to sit. Next to him stood the Interpreter of the Porte and many of his own people, the Secretary of the Embassy, the Venetian Nobles of his retinue, and still others of his Court, all with covered heads, as is the custom
44035 there. The Divan is an almost square, vaulted, and not very high Hall. The whole length of this, opposite the door, serves as a Court. In the middle sat the Grand Visier on a carpet of golden cloth, at the height of two feet. He had on the aforementioned dress, and the Turban on his head. At some height above his seat is a window with lattices of gilded iron, through which the Sultan can see into the Hall, without being seen himself. One is not aware of his presence otherwise than by the
44040 shine which the jewels of his clothes give of themselves. On the right side of the bench sat no one, on the left in the back corner sat the two Chief Judges, called Kadhy-Leschkjer, with their very thick Turbans, of which one had a green, the other a white side. Further into the Hall, after entering, sat, on the right side, the
44045 Nischandschjy, or he who expresses the name of the Great Lord in numerals; opposite him the Defterdar or Treasurer. Behind the bench of the Divan the wall opens out through a broad vault, which is just as high, where one saw another place, in which many other important Ministers and Judges assemble, who hold sessions on special matters of the Kingdoms of this great Empire. Since the Divan is the place where the
44050 Grand Vizier receives petitions with open doors; so he performed this work for a while, and in the meantime called the Interpreter of the Porte by him, who stood at the side of the Ambassador. By him he had a Compliment made to him. As soon as he had finished the petitions, the payments began, which the Turks gladly prove to the Ambassadors, because they consider it a mark of their power and wealth. 'Sixteen
44055 hundred purses were brought into the Divan, and placed before the Grand Vizier,. They were all of yellow leather, one as large as the other; in each were five hundred Piastres. On the bench were placed many other purses of white linen, which were partly filled with Zecchins, partly with small silver coins, to make up the sums, as the necessity required. This cash, taken together, amounted to more than a million,
44060 and yet this was only a payment for three months for the militia, which serves only in the capital. After all this ready money had been brought into the Divan, the Visier had one of all these purses opened, to see the specie that was in it; and then the payment began. First come the Janistas. At the door appears the oldest Commander of the Regiment; and then, by specially appointed persons, as many purses are thrown
44065 out as are required for their payment. Outside the door the purses are counted again, and thrown out on the square. The Commander then makes his bow before the Divan, and walks backwards to the square. As soon as he appears there, the Janistas of his Regiment run like arrows to the purses, considering it among themselves as a bravery, the more of them one receives. Each Regiment has this ceremony. The other Soldiers
44070 follow the Janistas, who are very numerous. After them come the Seraglio's Attendants, according to their rank, into the Hall, and collect their payment very calmly and quietly. Finally the Lackeys of the Great

Lord also appear. Truly a very difficult function, which lasts about three hours. This being done, three tables were set, one for the Grand Visier, the second for the Nischandfichjy, and the third for the Defterdar: At the first sat the Envoy alone; and to the other two the Secretary, the Venetian Nobles, and other distinguished persons of the retinue, eight persons in all. They did not stay long at the table, although they served various dishes. They were all served in very fine dishes of green porcelain. According to their custom, they leave each dish on the table for only a few moments.

After eating, the Ambassador went back to his place. After this, the Travel-Effect approached the Visier with a writing to the Emperor, in which it was stated that the Ambassador requested to be admitted to an audience with the Emperor. He read it, signed it, did it in very fine silk, and sealed it with his own hand. Then he put it in another fair paper, sealed it again, and sent it by the Tschausch-Baschy, who served in the office, to the Grand Lord.

When he returned with the answer, the Visier went to the door of the Divan to receive it. After he had kissed it, and held it to his forehead in token of respect, he returned to his place, where he opened the paper, and read it, and made a sign to conduct the Ambassador to his usual place. This is a bench under a gallery, near the great door that leads to the Imperial apartments.

There the Ambassador put on the mantle of golden cloth over the ducal crimson, overlaid with gold, which he already had on. And over both he added the Imperial Chest, as he also had distributed among the Chiefs of his retinue by the forty Chests, to put on. In the meantime the Grand Vizier and the Aga of the Janistas had gone to the Great Lord, and the Ambassador was led in by two Kapudschjys-Baschys, as Honour-chamberlains of the Sultan. With him went the Secretary of the Embassy, and held the Duke's letter in both hands. After him came the other Venetian Nobles, and the Noble retinue of ten persons. Before we entered the Monarch's apartment, we passed through a Hall, by which from outside we found, besides a multitude of Ministers, also a row of Tschauschen, who held the presents of the Republic in their arms. From this Hall the Ambassador entered the Imperial Apartment, which is everywhere of uncommon splendor, and came just before the Monarch. Mahmud sat on a spacious Throne, inlaid with precious stones and large pearls. He himself appeared in the utmost splendor that can ever be expected from one of the greatest Powers of the world. The Ambassador made a deep bow, and made a speech in accordance with the rules of the Republic, according to which it expressed its desire to maintain good friendship and peace with the Porte. He concluded, and wished the Monarch a long life and a happy reign. Then he beckoned to the Secretary to present his letter of credence, which he delivered into the hands of the Master of Ceremonies. The latter delivered him to the Aga of the Janistas; the Aga delivered him into the hands of the Grand Vizier, who laid him down on the Throne.

Then the Sultan spoke for a while, and gave the Grand Vizier orders to answer the Ambassador to his presentation. At this every one stood astonished, as at an uncommon courtesy, because the Turkish Monarchs are not accustomed to speak more than a few words. (*) The Grand Vizier repeated in a loud voice what the Monarch had ordered him. After the Interpreter of the Porte had explained it, it was learned that his Majesty was pleased to see the Ambassador of a Power that was a good friend of the Porte; that he on his part wished to maintain peace; and that not only the Ambassador, but also all the Venetian subjects would enjoy his Imperial protection in all his States, as well as his own subjects.

Then they went out of the room, (and so also out of the second square,) and the Envoy mounted his horse with all his retinue. In the meantime it was a delight to see how all the Janistas and all the Servants went out of the Seraglio. After the Janistas came an innumerable crowd of Tschauschen, on whom, each in his rank, all the Ministers with their Servants, all on excellent, well-equipped horses, gradually followed. Finally the Grand Visier also came with a retinue, according to his considerable Dignity. Hereupon we began our journey again. The Ambassador was accompanied to his ship, and with it, under the firing of the Venetian ships and vessels, brought back to his residence.

(*) He was a Friend of the Europeans.

LXXVIII. Ceremonies when Presents are Brought to the Sultan.

It is an old custom of the Republic to have presents sent to the Sultan's Mother and Wife. In the absence of this, as was the case at present, the presents are handed over by the Secretary to his Majesty's Favorites.

I must also report something of this transaction. I placed myself at the usual place at Thopchaneh, with the Chancellor, two Interpreters and two Chamberlains, in a Kaike

44140 of six pairs of oars with a Janistar on the stern. In other Barques went the Liverymen and the Slavonians with the presents. Arriving at the steps of Constantinople, I proceeded in the following order to the Palace of the Grand Vizier, : for the custom is that they are shown to him before they are brought into the Seraglio. Four Janistas with their ceremonial caps went before them; these were
44145 followed by six Footmen in gala livery; then 30 Slavonians with the presents in flat baskets covered with a crimson cloth, which they carried on their heads; these were two Chamberlains, and then two Interpreters on horseback; and after them the Chancellor also on horseback; lastly the Secretary on a horse, equipped in the Italian manner. Arriving in this order at the residence of the Grand Vizier,, the presents were then taken from the hands of the Slavonians, and brought into the Hall, where he usually gives audience to foreign Ministers. He had me led in at once, and before me went two Venetian Interpreters with their hats on their heads, after the Turkish custom. Entering the room, I found the Grand Vizier sitting on a Sofa, but the presents had been placed before him. Three paces from the Vizier I stopped, and
44155 said: "The Most Illustrious Republic of Venice, which is always equal in constancy to maintain the holy and perpetual peace with the illustrious Porte, remains also equal in the zeal to give proofs of its high esteem to all who are in favor with the Majesty of the Sultan. Wherefore I have the honor to deliver to your Highness a proof of the Manufactures of the capital Venice for the Favorites of his Majesty. I am
44160 assured that this proof of high esteem, on the part of my Most Illustrious Republic, will be favorably regarded by your Highness as a consequence of the holy and perpetual peace, which was signed in the name of this Empire with your own hands, when you formerly held the office which to this day, by your virtues, the true happiness of the greatest of the Empires."

44165 The Visier replied: "the proofs of the friendship of the Republic are always pleasing to the Monarch; and, if she, on her side, continues in this way, then, on the side of the Porte, the treaty of a holy peace will be sacredly maintained." He then called one of his Secretaries, and gave him orders to conduct the Venetians with the Interpreter of the Porte to the Seraglio Ejüb, where the Court was then located,
44170 three miles from Constantinople, at the extreme end of the harbor, where the fresh water flows into the sea.

When I arrived there, I was taken with the Chancellor and the two Interpreters into a room of the Chiefs of the Forest, who form the first guard. After I had taken coffee, and smoked a pipe of tobacco, I was conducted by the guard of the Bushmen into the
44175 first square. Here the Baltahdschjy received me, and I was conducted into another room of the captain of this guard. There, after we had sat down on the sofa, we were given coffee, tobacco, sherbet, jams, and sweet-smelling water, and I and the two interpreters were each intoxicated with a handkerchief interwoven with silver. Then this same officer conducted me into the second square, where the Imperial guard
44180 of the white eunuchs took me over. In the third square the guard of the Moors conducted me into a room on the same ground. I had hardly entered there, when the Kislär-Aga, the chief of the eunuchs and favorite minister of the monarch, appeared. He sat down on a bench, and, after the presents were brought in, I addressed him in this manner: "These presents are a consequence of the holy and eternal peace which
44185 has been sworn between the glorious Porte and my Most Illustrious Republic. They are a living proof of their esteem, and I have, in that respect, the honour to present them to your Excellency for the Favourites of his Majesty. The Most Illustrious Republic and my Ambassador, who has charged me to congratulate your Excellency in his name, flatter themselves that they will be favourably regarded by the Monarch, and by the Favourites, as a public token of the confidence of a Prince who is a friend of the glorious Porte. Just as the Ambassador will endeavour to continually strengthen and confirm the confidence; so I am I also assure you that your Excellency, by his prestige, will confirm the good understanding and promote happiness, bbetween the mutual subjects, and will cooperate for the benefit of Commerce".

44195 The Kislär-Aga answered: the presents which I see are worthy of the magnanimity of the Most Illustrious Republic. They will be received with respect, because they come from a Prince who is beloved by the Monarch, and especially esteemed by me". Then he turned to his Entourage, and ordered them to prepare the Kastans, with which I, the Interpreter of the Porte, the Chancellor, and the two Venetian Interpreters were to
44200 be clothed.

After I had distributed the usual drinks; said the Kislär-Aga: "Greet your Ambassador, and assure him that I shall always seek an opportunity to prove my friendship to him. I wish that the friendship between the two Powers may be maintained unalterably, and that these presents may last for many years, so that the
44205 peace may also remain unbroken, which will be faithfully maintained on the side of

the Porte." I answered: "If these be the sentiments of the Porte; then I assure your Excellency that the peace will last forever. For the rest, I also wish that these presents may last for many years, but that they may always be placed in the hands of your Excellency, to whom I wish happiness and a long life, as your virtues deserve, which make you, justly, a favourite of the greatest of monarchs." The old Moor answered with a cheerful countenance: "I am too old; but I shall die contented, when I shall see the friendship of my Lordship with the Republic lasting. In the meantime I wish you a happy journey to Pera, and a happy stay there always." I answered: "To make it contented, the favour of your Excellency, with respect to the affairs of the Republic, will do most, which is the only wish of your Servant." Thus ended the visit, and I was conducted by the Interpreter of the Porte to the Kaike again. These are all the ceremonies which, on the arrival of an Ambassador of a crowned Head at the Porte, are usually observed.

LXXIX. Necessary knowledge of a foreign Minister residing at the Porte. From what I have thus far reported of the political measures of the Turks, and their way of thinking, one will be able to fully conclude that they are now very different people than they were before. They are becoming more civilized every day. It is therefore increasingly necessary that such Persons, whom the European Princes send to the Porte, possess such knowledge, which is not common to all. One has to deal with a Cabinet entirely educated in political groups, and with Ministers of almost all the most important Princes of Europe. Therefore much is required of a Person, when he, in the midst of so many circumstances, which usually conflict with each other, wishes to appear with Honor. Nothing is in fact more difficult than to give rules how a foreign Minister must behave. For the prudence of men must change them very often, and adapt themselves to the circumstances of time, place, affairs and persons. For this reason I will only speak of general qualities and rules, which, if they are absolutely necessary for a foreign Minister, are nevertheless more necessary for those who have to reside at the Turkish Court. Here I will speak only of those skills which I judge necessary for them. Then I will give rules which I have found necessary by experience.

The first skill which a Minister at this Court must possess is the knowledge of the world. Namely, one must know its manners and fundamental principles. To the first I reckon courtesy; to the last I require knowledge. One must understand the manners of the world, know all the rules of politeness, customary in a country, and converse with men of understanding and judgment. One must understand the principles of the world, and the motives of its actions.

If one understands manners; then one can show oneself with grace, behave with understanding, and promise oneself a pleasant reception. If one understands their fundamental principles; then one can derive benefit from their absences, guard oneself against their wiles and deceits, and protect oneself against all kinds of accidents. This twofold knowledge is necessary for every Minister; but most of all at this Court, where there is no abundance of men of great learning. If one has but knowledge of manners; then he can conceal his ignorance, and yet enjoy all the pleasure of intercourse. Just as the intercourse with people of less insight is more frequent than with persons of great merit, who are usually not only seldom, but also more active; so the knowledge of the way of life at this Court is of daily use. Still more difficult, but just as necessary is the knowledge of the fundamental principles of the world. For by that one learns to know the characters of people, who usually all differ as much as their Beings. By this means one learns to behave cautiously, in order to know their distrust or confidence, their discomfort or ease, their generosity or avarice, their pride or modesty, their duplicity and cunning or sincerity, their stupidity or their intelligence, their moderation or passion, their ability or ignorance, their disinclination or inclination to pleasure, but especially their selfish or unselfish way of thinking in the handling of affairs. It is very difficult to name all the motives of men's passions, but at the very least a Minister at this Court must have a general knowledge of them, in order to know how to behave well in his own negotiations. The second necessary skill for a Minister is the knowledge of the interest, not only of his own Prince and the Porte by which he is employed, but also of all the Princes of Europe. In fact, all the various States of Europe, with respect to the Turkish Empire, form a kind of Republic; the interest of all such States being so intertwined and connected, that each can give knowledge and rules, how to conduct itself happily with the Turks, in negotiations with them. On this account it is necessary to know their State power, their mutual relations, their alliances, friendship, and the Treaties by which they have united themselves. In a word, one must know their entire system of religion, state, and trade, insofar as it

has any influence on Turkey. The third skill, perhaps the most necessary of all, is the knowledge of languages. This would be desirable, but is seldom found, because the Turkish language is not in use in Europe. Therefore the European Princes will always have to suffer the disadvantage to which the handling of their own affairs, by means of third persons, is exposed. For however zealous and capable these may be, it is nevertheless not possible that six would not take away something either from the force, or the grounds, at least with regard to the manner of explanation, of that language, in which they are presented by the Ministers.

Wherefore the Princes, in the choice of Interpreters, had to use extraordinary attention, of which I shall now speak.

LXXX. Necessary rules for the Ministers who reside at the Turkish Court.

I now come to the necessary rules which a Minister at the Porte must observe. I will not unfold all those which are common to the Ministers at all Courts. I will only mention those which are peculiar to the Turkish Porte.

Just as here the Government is always in the hands of such people who are in special favour with the Monarch; and, because there are always many who seek such Offices, so a Minister must especially take care that he knows which favourites are most seen from time to time. Otherwise he must proceed when they are persons of the Ministry, and otherwise when they serve in the Seraglio. The first he must flatter freely and openly, so that in case of necessity they may not be disfavored. But the friendship of the others he must endeavor to win in a suitable manner, and proceed secretly in so doing, so that it does not come to the ears of the Ministers of the Porte. For they would necessarily be angry by it, because they show jealousy and displeasure to everyone who turns to the persons of the Seraglio. For they believe that they are thereby prevented from using the whole circumference of their power. If he takes this into account, and deals cautiously with both, gradually learns to know their constitution, knows their virtues and vices; then it will not be at all difficult for him to win them, and he will always find great advantage in the outcome of his affairs. In his dealings with them he must, according to a fixed principle, always enlarge the idea of his Lordship's power by a wise course of action; that is, he must behave in a becoming manner, as if he did not count the contemptible manners which are peculiar to the pride of the Turks, and show firmness, without the least fear of their threats.

A Minister must have perfect courage to oppose himself, but at the same time possess a noble dissimulation, to be able to yield in due time, so that he never lets matters come to sharp points, and may escape the danger of seeing the esteem due to his Character offended. To protect himself against such tricks, he must, in the negotiation of affairs, use firm and strong evidence, appeal to their laws and customs, and stand by their examples, even to the point of self-will.

Indeed, no Minister would be worse off with the Turks than one who readily yielded and readily complied. For it is certain that when one grants the Turks only one thing, they will then desire another, and this is sometimes enough to make a habit.

For this reason I thought it necessary that one should never show too much desire to seek the familiar friendship of the Turks. One proceeds much more cautiously when one lives with them in an apparent friendship, and always keeps oneself under wraps. For, as nothing can be obtained from the Turks without money or presents, their familiar friendship is very useless to foreign Ministers, as who in case of necessity, even if they had numerous, yea all Great and Dear Friends, will still obtain nothing without money. Therefore their familiarity, on certain occasions, is of no advantage and extremely troublesome, because they have the rule that it is free to demand as much as they want from their familiar friends.

A third rule is, likewise, very necessary for the Ministers residing at the Porte. They must deal kindly with all sorts of people. For it has already been experienced more than once, that a common and poor Kaiken-vaarder has become Grand Visier. But this friendliness must be used with moderation, and his esteem must always be preserved; in one word, to behave in such a way that one obliges the people, but at the same time keeps them in awe.

To live in the greatest confidence with all Christian ministers will certainly be very useful. For such an association can inspire the Turks in particular moderation and respect in all negotiations.

The last and most important rule is this, that one chooses and uses one's own Interpreters. In fact, too many qualities are required to make an Interpreter who can rightly be called good. Courage, fearlessness, wisdom, skill and eloquence are really necessary qualities, in order that he can explain the thoughts of his Ministers with the necessary steadfastness. (*)

Now it will be impossible to find these qualities, as long as the Princes do not come to that, that they use their own subjects, and provide people of good descent with such an important service. At present the persons, whom one chooses for this, are mostly subjects of the Turkish Emperor, who are seated in the Turkish countries, where they consequently also have their families and goods. Therefore they have a natural respect for the Prince, who has goods and friends in his power; and this causes them to seldom, nay never, with zeal and constancy do their duty, when circumstances demand that they show constancy. For it is natural, that men of this origin and such a condition, if not more, yet are just as much concerned to obtain and retain the favour of the Turks, as to attend to the affairs of the Prince, in whose service they are. They always do not tell the Turks what they have been charged; at least they do not say it as they have been ordered. They sweeten the main point; they foresaw the force of expressions; they also do not always faithfully state what the Turks have given them in answer. They are unreasonable in their demands, and want them to be continually given large presents. For this reason they do not, finally, make it a hardship to sometimes sacrifice the State-interest of the Prince whom they serve, to their own interest, their fears and their own reservations.

It will be expedient, and very necessary for the State-interest of every Prince, to choose his own subjects as Interpreters, who are obliged by their Religion, the law of nature, their descent and customs, to serve the Prince well, and in case of necessity to sacrifice themselves without hesitation, and to be assured that in all cases their own Families will receive rich rewards from the favor of their own Princes. Everyone can acknowledge this truth; but to know it rightly and fundamentally, one must be at Constantinople, where one has, daily, proof enough of it. Now I have sufficiently treated of the Religion, the Court, the Government, the State, the Household, the Militia and Policy of the Turks. These conceal their affairs very carefully. Wherefore I have only attempted to collect the essential; and I succeeded in obtaining more and truer reports than I have yet found from others.

(*) This and the following are worthy of all the attention of the Christian princes, because, in certain cases, the Interpreters can either do as much use, or even more harm, as possibly the Ambassadors themselves.

End of the second and last Part.

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45245

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45250

49) Venedig.

Schon i. J. 1408 schloss Venedig met S. Suleiman, dem Sohne S. Bajefid's I, einen vertrag (II. 607);
zur Zeit der Alleinherrschaft S. Mohammed's I im J. 1413 erneuerte Franz Foscari den Frieden (I. 363);

45255

venezianische Gesandte wünschten zur Thronbesteigung S. Murad's II Und S. Mohammed's II Glück,
und nach der Eroberung Constantinopel's I J. 1454 erneuerte der Bothschafter Marcello den Frieden (II 12);

i. J. 1478 Thomas Malipieri Gesandter (II 153);

45260

i. J. 1479 schliesst Giovanni Dario den Frieden, und Pietro Vettore vertritt die Stelle des Bailo (II. 169);

der Bothschafter Melchior Trevisan brachte Reliquien des Blutes Christi und der Salbe Magdalena's (Commentarii della guerradi Ferrara, di Marino Sanuto. Venezia 1828, p. 56);

45265

Tosto che furono queste cose al Senato raccontate, furono fatti consigli, ed a tutto fu provveduto. Nel Consiglio de' Pregadi fu eletto ambasciatore al Turco Melchior Trevisan, il quale era Patrone all'Arsenale, quello cioè che dopo fatta la pace con il Turco Maometto, era primo Capitano delle gallere di Romagna, che per le mercanzie vi andavano; quello, che a Venezia portò quella piccola reliquia del Sangue di Cristo, e dell'Unguento di santa Maria Maddalena, trovato dai Turchi in una Chiesa chiamata Χρηστίχορα (cioè Delle Grazie) che donò alla chiesa dei Frati Minori. Al Trevisano adunque fu commesso, che se abbisognasse, dovesse pregare il Turco, che secondo li capitoli ci volesse dare aiuto: ed in verità se li nostri avessero voluto fare un minimo segno, il Turco sarebbe venuto con la sua armata, che era alla Vallona nella Puglia, e poi fino a Roma, cosa che sommamente desiderava. Ma li nostri mai nol vollero, abbenchè fossero esortati dall'Ambasciator del Turco a ciò, perchè non si dicesse, che i Viniziani avessero messo i Turchi nell'Italia, come il duca di Calabria, che venuto contro la Chiesa, elesse questo Ambasciatore sì per le cose, che gli abbisognavano, come pure per far timore, e paura alli Signori d'Italia.

45280

As soon as these things were reported to the Senate, councils were held, and everything was provided for. In the Council of Pregadi, Melchior Trevisan was elected ambassador to the Turk, who was the patron of the Arsenal, that is, the one who after peace was made with the Turk Mahomet, was the first Captain of the Romagna galleys, which went there for merchandise; the one who brought to Venice that small relic of the Blood of Christ, and of the Ointment of Saint Mary Magdalene, found by the Turks in a Church called Χρηστίχορα (that is, Of the Graces) which he donated to the church of the Friars Minor. It was therefore instructed to the Trevisan that if necessary, he should ask the Turk, that according to the agreements he would give us help: and in truth if our men had wanted to make even the slightest sign, the Turk would have come with his army, which was in Vallona in Puglia, and then as far as Rome, something which he greatly desired. But our men never wanted it, although they were exhorted by the Turkish Ambassador to do so, so that it would not be said that the Venetians had placed the Turks in Italy, like the Duke of Calabria, who, having come against the Church, chose this Ambassador both for the things he needed, and also to instill fear and terror in the Lords of Italy.

45295

i. J. 1481 wünschte der Bothschafter Antonio Veturini zur Thronbesteigung S. Bajefid's II Glück (II. 287);

i. J. 1483 Domenico Bolani, und sein Bruder Francesco Aurelio, zur Bestätigung des erneuerten Friedens (II. 287);

45300

im selben Jahre Giovanni Dario Ueberbringer der Urkunde der Ausfuhr von Schafen, i. J. 1484 (Mar. Sanuto Commentarii p. 187);

i. J. 1487 die Bothschafter Antonio Ferra und Giovanni Dario (II. 295);

i. J. 1497 handelt Andrea Gritte die Geschäfte, und i. J. 1498 Andrea Zanchani, Bothschafter zur Erneuerung des Friedens (II. 315);

45305

i. J. 1503 Gritti Bothschafter, und Aloisio Sagundino ihm beygegeben (II. 331);

i. J. 1517 die Gesandten Bartolomeo Contarini und Aloisio Mocenigo in Kairo bey S Selim I (II. 508 u. 525);

i. J. 1521 erneuert der Bothschafter Marco Memmo den Frieden (III. 16);

i. J. 1526 der Bailo Pietro Bragadin, abgelöset durch Pietro Zen (III. 50);

45310

i. J. 1530 Mocenigo, als glückwünschender Bothschafter zum Beschneidungsfeste (III.

96);

i. J. 1536 der Secretär der Pregadi, Daniele di Federici; dann der Bothschafter Tomaso Mocenigo, um zum persischen Feldzuge Glück zu wünschen (III. 181);

i. J. 1537 Orsini Bailo (III. 183);

45315 i. J. 1539 Pietro Zen, zum dritten Mahle als Bothschafter nach Constantinopel, und da er auf dem Wege gestorben, an seine Stelle der vier und achtzigjährige Greis Tomaso Contarini (III. 218);

i. J. 1552 Bernardo di Navagiero Bailo a) (III. 315);

i. J. 1554 u. 1555 Bernardo Trevisan (Relation im Hausarchive);

45320 i. J. 1556 Antonio Barbarico (Rel. im H.);

i. J. 1559 Martin de Cavalli (Rel. im H.);

i. J. 1562 Andrea Dandolo (Rel. im H.);

i. J. 1564 Daniele Barbarico (Rel. im H.);

45325 im selben Jahre der Secretär Bonrizzo (Rel. im Hausarchive; im selben fehlen aber die Relationen des Bailo Soranzo und des Bailo Barbaro, von denen dieser jenen i.J. 1569 abgelöset) (III. 525);

i. J. 1571 der Bothschafter Alessandro Donado (III. 590), dann Giacomo Ragazzoni, Bailo (III. 591, dessen Relation im Hausarchive);

45330 im selben Jahre Antonio Barbaro, Bailo (III. 602), und Rel. im H.), dann Andrea Baduer, als ausserordentlicher Bothschafter, und Antonio Tiepolo, Bailo i. J. 1572 (III. 602, und Rel. im H.);

i. J. 1575 Giacomo Soranzo, zur Thronbesteigung Sultan Murad's III (IV. 18, und Rel. im H.);

i. J. 1576 Antonio Barbaro, Bailo (Rel. im H.);

45335 im J. 1578 Giovanni Correr, Bailo (IV. 38, und Rel. im H.);

i. J. 1582 Giacomo Soranzo, Bailo (Rel. im H.);

im selben Jahre Maffeo Venier, Bailo (eben da);

i. J. 1584 Giacomo Soranzo, Bailo (eben da);

i. J. 1585 [Francesco Morosini](#), Bailo (eben da);

45340 i. J. 1590 Lorenzo Bernardo, Bailo (eben da).

Von hier eine Lücke im Hausarchive, bis ins Jahr 1609.

Im J. 1590 der Bailo Moro (IV. 212);

i. J. 1591 der Bailo Zani (eben da), dann der Bailo Lipomani (eben da);

i. J. 1595 der Bailo Veniero, dann im folgenden Jahre der Bailo Capello (IV. 276);

45345 i. J. 1604 Ottavio Bon, Bailo (IV. 362, und Rel. im H.), dann Mocenigo, Bailo zur Thronbesteigung S. Ahmed's I (IV. 362);

i. J. 1612 Simone Contareni, Bailo (IV. 482);

i. J. 1614 Christiforo Valier (Rel. im H.);

45350 im selben Jahre der Bailo Moro Nani (IV. 482 u. 504; seine Relation fehlt im Hausarchive, in welchem eine Lücke bis 1634);

i. J. 1619 der Bothschafter Contareni (IV. 504);

i. J. 1624 Simon Contareni, ausserordentlicher Bothschafter (V. 24);

i. J. 1628 Veniero, Bothschafter (V. 89, seine Relation fehlt, wie die des vorigen, im Hausarchive);

45355 i. J. 1634 Giovanni Capello (Relation im Hausarchive);

l. J. 1637 Pietro Foscarini (eben da);

i. J. 1638 Luigi Contareni, Bailo (V. 280, und Rel. im Hausarchive);

i. J. 1641 Pietro Foscarini, Bothschafter, erneuerte die Capitulation (V. 302, und Rel. im H.);

45360 i. J. 1652 Capello, Bothschafter (V. 558 u. 647, die Relation fehlt im Hausarchive);

i. J. 1657 underhandelt der Secretär Ballerino den Frieden (V. 647 u. VI. 179);

i. J. 1664 Andreas Holz (Rel. im H.)

i. J. 1668 Luigi Molino, Gesandter zu Larissa (VI. 214, 215 u. 242);

i. J. 1667 der Secretär Giavarino, und Padavino Unterhändler des Friedens (VI. 227);

45365 i. J. 1672 Giacomo Quirini, zur Auswechslung der Gefangenen (VI. 277 u. 307, und Rel. im H.);

i. J. 1676 Giovanni Morosini, Bailo (VI. 320, und Rel. in H.);

i. J. 1680 Pietro Cuirano (VI. 359 u. 375, und Rel. in H.), Bailo;

i. J. 1682 Giovanni Battista Dona (Rel. im H. und die gedruckte);

45370 i. J. 1684 der Bothschafter Capello erklärt den Krieg (VI. 443);

i. J. 1699 unterzeichnet Lorenzo Soranzo den Carlowiczzer Frieden und geht dann als Bothschafter nach Constantinopel (VII. 24);

i. J. 1706 erneuert Carlo Ruzzini den Frieden (VII. 120, und Rel. im H.);

i. J. 1725 der Bailo Giovanni Emmo, abgelöset durch Francesco Gritti (VII. 312, und Rel. in H.);

45375 i. J. 1733 verewiget Simone Contareni den Carlowiczzer Frieden (VIII. 449);

i. J. 1745 wird der Bailo Erizzo durch den B. Giovanni Donado abgelöset (VIII. 59), Businello war de Bothschaftssecretär (VIII. 87).

- 45380 14) Chania (Canea), auf Creya die bekannte Festung, von Constantinopel 150 Moglien; monathlich 450 Asp.
222) Retimo, auf Candia, von Constantinopel 750 Miglien; monathlich ... 150 Asp.
654) Eskijagh kapani mes., d. i. Moschee des alten Schmalz-magazins; Erbauer der ermordete Grosswesir [Ibrahimpascha](#), der seinen Stamm von Constantin dem Grosse ableitete, und die Moscheen zu Selanik, Hissargrad und Kawala gestiftet, dessen Serai zu Constantinopel am Hippodrom, und dessen Grab im Arsenal an der Zelle Dschanfefa (Seelenvermehrend) auf besonderem Soffa, wo hernach auch der hingerichtete Grosswesir Nassuhpascha an seiner Seite bestattet ward.
- 45385 831) Schreiben des Kaisers an den Wesir Mohammedpascha, Statthalter von Ofen {Osen}, dass ein Constantin Constantinopel erbaut, ein Constantin dasselbe verloren, so auch Constantinopel von Mohammed erbaut, unter einem Sultan Mohammed (III.) wieder werde verloren werden; v. J. 1002 (1593). (Venez. Inscha Nr. 5, und Nabi's Inscha Nr. 132.)
1345) Sicherheitsurkunde an den [Provveditore](#) von Canea, bey Uebergabe der Festung, auf des Feldherrn Jusufpascha Vortrag ertheilt; Ende Dschemafiul-achir 1055 (22. August 1645). (Eben da Nr. 75)
- 45395 1530) Schreiben (aufgefangenes) Morosini's an den Dogen, über den wirklichen Stand der Festung Candia, v. J. 1077 (1666). (Eben da Nr. 54.)
1532) Schreiben des Grosswesirs an der Vertrauten Wesir Mustafapascha, über die Belagerung Kandia's; arabisch; (Rami in meiner Sammlung Nr. 126.)
- 45400 1533) Schreiben des Grosswesirs an der Vertrauten des Sultans, den Wesir Mustafapascha, vor Kandia (Eben da Nr. 127.)
1546) Schreiben S. Mohammed's IV an der Grosswesir Ahmed Köprili, demselben zu seiner Ankunft auf Kreta Glück zu wünschen; v. J. 1077 (1666). (Inscha des Reis Efendi Mohammed Nr. 80.)
- 45405 1553) Schreiben des Grosswesirs an den Kiflaraga (Abbasaga), ihm von den Fortschritten der belagerung Kandia's Bericht zu geben. (Eben da Nr. 260.)
1572) Schreiben des Grosswesirs Ahmed Köprili an den Mufti: Die Unruhen Bassra's und der Krim seyen, Gott sey Dank! beygelegt; am 25. Silkide 1079 (26. April 1668) sey die kaiserl. Flotte zu Fodella angekommen, und am selben Tage habe sich die
- 45410 feindliche Flotte gegenüber vor Kandia gezeigt; es fehle an Kugeln, zu deren Herbeyschaffung von Selanik der Kapudanpascha abgeordnet worden sey; mit den details der fortschreitenden Belagerungsarbeiten. (Rami in meiner Sammlung Nr. 298.)
1578) Zweytes Chattscheriff S. Mohammed's IV an den Grosswesir Ahmed Köprili, denselben und das Heer neuerdings zur Eroberung Kandia's anzuspornen. (Ahmed Köprili's Geschichte Nr. 64.)
- 45415 1579) Schreiben des zu Canea in Verhaft gehaltenen venezianischen Gesandten an den Grosswesir Ahmed Köprili, um Gehör zu erbitten; vom Redscheb 1079 (Dec. 1668). (Ahmed Köprili's Geschichte Nr. 65.)
1580) Antwort des Grosswesirs Ahmed Köprili, an den zu Canea zurückgehaltenen venez. Gesandten: Ihm sey unbekannt, warum der Sultan zornig, der Zurücksendung des Gesandten befohlen habe; er müsse ihm genau aus einander setzen, was zwischen ihm und dem Kaimakam vorgefallen; wenn er aber mit keinen anderen Aufträgen gekommen sey, als mit den zu Theben verworfenen, so sey es thöricht gewesen, ihn zu senden; die Zeit erfordere andere Worte. (Eben da Nr. 66.)
- 45425 1581) Schreiben des Grosswesirs Ahmed Köprili, an den zu Canea verhafteten venez. Gesandten, wodurch er ihm die Erlaubniss, ins Lager zu kommen, ertheilt (Eben da Nr. 70.)
1585) Schreiben des Secretärs Giovanni, des venezianischen Bothschafters (im türkischen Lager), an Morosini, dass man ihn von Retimo nach Neu-Kandia gebracht, in
- 45430 eines der Häuser einquartiert habe, dass man aber mit Niemandem unterhandeln wolle, der nicht zur Abtretung des Festung bevollmächtigt sey. (Ahmed Köprili's Geschichte Nr. 53.)
1586) Vortrag des Grosswesirs Ahmed Köprili an den Sultan, über die Landung des Kapudan Kaplanpascha zu Fodella, und die fortgesetzte belagerung Kandia's; v. J. 1079 (1668) (Eben da Nr. 59.)
- 45435 1587) Drittes Chattscherif S. Mohammed's. an Ahmed Köprili, seine Tapferkeit vor Kandia belobend. (Eben da Nr. 63.)
1588) Schreiben des Grosswesirs an der Vertrauten des Sultans, den Wesir Mustafapascha, von den Fortschritten der Belagerung Kandia's Bericht erstattend.
- 45440 (Rami in meiner Sammlung Nr. 124.)
1620) Chattscherif S. Mohammed's IV nach Kandia's Eroberung (Ahmed Köprili's Geschichte Nr. 77.)

- 1621) Siegesschreiben nach Kandia's Eroberung. (Eben da Nr. 80.)
 1622) Siegesschreiben zur Kündigung der Eroberung Kandia's auf Kreta; Ende
 45445 Dschemafiul-archir 1080 (24. Nov. 1669).
 1623) Urkunde des mit Venedig durch die Eroberung Kandia's wieder hergestellten
 Friedens; aus der Feder Ssidki Efendi's; v. J. 1081 (1669.). (Rami in meiner Sammlung
 Nr. 156.)
 1630) Schreiben des Grosswesirs an die Griechen von Maina, nach Kandia's Eroberung,
 45450 denselben Amnestie gewährend. (Rami in meiner Sammlung Nr. 450.)
 1633) Schreiben des Sultans an der Scherif von Mekka, Saad Ben Said Ben Muhsin,
 demselben die Eroberung Kandia's und den mit Venedig geschlossenen Frieden zu künden;
 arabisch; v. J. 1080 (1669). (Inscha des Reis Efendi Mohammed Nr. 137.)
 1635) Schreiben des Grosswesirs an den Chan der Chane, nach der Beendigung des
 45455 cretischen Feldzuges durch Kandia's Eroberung; v. J. 1080 (1669). (Rami in meiner
 Samml. Nr. 28.)
 1641) Schreiben des Grosswesirs, als nach Kandia's Eroberung der erste Stallmeister,
 Huseinaga, mit Säbel und Kaftan kam. (Eben da Nr. 306.)
 2558) Schreiben des Grosswesirs an den Statthalter von Kandia, Achmedpascha,
 45460 demselben das Einvernehmen mit dem neu ernannten Befehlshaber von Canea ze empfehlen;
 vom 23. Silhidsche 1114 (10 May 1703). (Eben da Nr. 286.)
 3526-3527) Bittschreiben (zwey) Newres Efendi's an Schehsuwarfade Mustafapascha und
 den abgesetzten Köprili, Statthalter von Canea; aus Retimo. (Eben da Nr. 25-26.)
 3528) Bittschreiben Newres Efendi's an Baltadschifade Silihdar Mustafapascha. (Eben
 45465 da Nr. 27.)
 3529) Schreiben Newres Efendi's aus Retimo, an den Mirachor Mustafapascha,
 Statthalter von Canea. (Eben da Nr. 28.)
 3531) Schreiben Newres Efendi's, aus dem Exil von Retimo, am Kamil Ahmedpascha, den
 Defterdar. (Eben da Nr. 30.)
 3547) Schreiben Newres Efendi's aus Retimo, an den Kiaja des Statthalters von Kandia.
 45470 (Eben da Nr. 46.)
 3548) Schreiben Newres Efendi's an den Secretär des Statthalters von Kandia, um für
 ein erhaltenes Geschenk von Aloe, Ambra und Tabakpfeife zu danken. (Eben da Nr. 48.)
 3538) Schreiben Newres Efendi's aus Kandia, an den Richter von Kairo (Eben da Nr.
 45475 37.)
 3552) Schreiben Newres Efendi's aus Retimo, an den Mufti. (Eben da Nr. 52.)
 3553) Schreiben Newres Efendi's aus Chios, als Antwort auf das Schreiben des nach
 Retimo bestimmten Diwitdar Ahmedaga. (Eben da Nr. 53.)
 3539) Schreiben Newres Efendi's aus Retimo, an Chodschafade Mohammed Said Efendi.
 45480 (Eben da Nr. 38.)
 3577) Bittschrift Newres Efendi's, als er verwiesen zu Retimo, an Abdullahpascha,
 Statthalter von Aegypten. (Eben da Nr. 6.)
 3619-3624) Schreiben (sechs) Newres Efendi's an den Mufti Murtefa Efendi; aus Retimo.
 (Newres's Inscha Nr. 8-13.)
 3900) Empfangsbestätigung eines Schreibens des Beglerbeks, Commandanten von Retimo.
 45485 (S. 158.)
 3930) Schreiben desselben an den zu Retimo commandirenden Osmanpascha, ihn zum
 Ausharren in seiner Pflicht, trotz der schwierigen Umstände, ermunternd. (S. 183.)
 3932) Schreiben desselben an den Commandirenden von Kandia, bey Ernennung Huseinbeg's
 45490 zum Baschbogh der ägyptischen Truppen auf Creta, und Absendung von 200 Reitern, 50
 Kawassen (Trabanten) und 5 Koghoschaga (Quartiermeistern). (S. 185.)
 3949) Schreiben desselben an den zu Canea commandirenden Wesir, denselben damit zu
 trösten, dass er bald von seiner dermaligen misslichen Lage erlöst werden solle. (S.
 202.)
 45495

Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa

- 1856 [http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?
 query=marino+sanuto+candia&coll=boeken1&identificer=dFlVAAAACAAJ](http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=marino+sanuto+candia&coll=boeken1&identificer=dFlVAAAACAAJ)
 45500 Geschichte Griechenlands von der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch die Türken im Jahre
 1453 bis auf unsere Tage
 Von Karl Mendelssohn Bartholdy. 1870
 In zwei Theilen. [Erster Theil.](#)
 45505 Die Insel Kreta und der nationale Kampf gegen die Türken.
 in [Unsere Zeit](#) 1869 p. 321-349
 Von Professor D. Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy.
 Zweiter Artikel.

Vgl. den ersten Artikel in "Unsere Zeit", Neue Folge, V, 1., 481-499.

45510 Bilder aus Kreta.
in Unsere Zeit 1874 p. 338-356
Von Elpis Melena

45515 NOTABEL SCHRYVENS UYT VENETIEN, Volgens de Brieven van den GENERALISSIMUS MOROSINI,
Aen d'Heeren Senaet vande SERENISSIME REPUBLYQUE, AENGAENDE De Successen vande
Wapenen der Christenen, tegens de Turcken in 't Coninckrijck CANDIA.
Gedrukt in 't Jaer ons Heeren 1660.

45520 1660 [http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?
query=notabel+schryvens&coll=boeken1&identificer=hiLdA_pXnV4C](http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=notabel+schryvens&coll=boeken1&identificer=hiLdA_pXnV4C)

NOTABEL SCHRYVENS UYT VENETIEN

45525 Volgens de Brieven van den Generalissimus Morosina
aen d'Heeren Senaet vande Serenissime Republique, Aengaende De Successen vande
Wapenen der Christenen tegens de Turcken in 't Koninckrijck Candia.

45530 MYNHEER, Terwijl Godt den Vrede in Europa / heeft gelieven te planten / onder de
Christene Potentaten / voornamentlich tusschen de Grootmachtichste Monarchen van
Vranckrijck / ende Spaingen ende den bloedighen oorlogh in't Noorden / tusschen de
Croonen / Poolen / Denemarcken / Sweden heeft doen cessereren / daermede meest alle
Potentaten besich waren / welke generalick naer hun trocken / het Lantverderf / ende
eene onveplige navigatie in't Christendom: waer door nu het meeste oogherck is
omtrent den oorlogh / tusschen de Christenen / ende Zarasijnen en niet wonder isset
45535 want sulckx het algemeene intrest der Christenen is: dat ten anderen oock de
curieusheden ontrent verder Nouvelles van oorlochs-faicten / door de steriliteydt der
selvige / niet konnen gedient werden / als een weynich / wegens de Poolen / Carters /
Cosacken / ende Moscoviters / die noch seer traegelick inkomen / en dienvolges op ver
naer niet so considerabel / als dien / die om de sake Christi gevoert wert / daer toe
45540 alle Christene machten / ende Potentaten in desen genadigen ouyst / van Godts
gesegenden Vrede / behoorden te contribueren / ende soodanige hant te bieden / dat nu
in dit Hemels-saysoen / uyt der Turcken Clauwen weder gerucht wierden / de schoone
Europische Peerlen van 't Christendom / t'sedert anvanck der Christenen oneenicheyt /
ende oorlogen / het Christendom ontweldicht.

45545 Dit Jaer 1660 heeft Europa veel wonders / en groots belooft: van over de dertich
jaren heb ick voorname Astrologanten vande wonderen welcke in't selfde geschieden
souden hooren spreken / en van verscheyde hare annotatien / ende memorialen noch
bewaert: en sonder dat ick wil anraken den kelck daer het gront-zop / dat Tycho-bra /
ter syden gestelt heeft / noch in is: soo staet met my uwe ooghen op de
45550 geschiedenissen / siet Spaingen / ende Vranckrijck eens aen / siet waer dat
Konincklick wonderlick instrumeet Gusradus is. Want nu de 17 Nederlanden sijn / ende
pondereert / doch rijpelick de wonderen van Engelant / 't welck onze naerkomelingen /
voor Homayns / ende voor ongeloovige Historien sullen opnemen.

45555 Onder deze wonderen bidde ick u t'examineren / de kloeckmoedigheyt vande
Venetianen / welcke alleen soo veel jaren groorlocht hebbende met geen / oft seer
weynige assistentie / tegens de Orthomansche macht / de selfde in't resisteren / ende
defenderen van het Bollewerck des Christenrijckx / so veel werckx gevonden / dat den
Turck geene progressen siende te doen / tegens die voortreffelicke Helden / die in
Candia den Standaert Christi maintineren / altijdt met schade / ende schande wierden
45560 afgewesen / tot dat sy dit jaer in Sevenbergen gevallen sijnde / daer in twee maenden
meer Steden winnen / als in 20 Jaeren / voeten aerde / op die Manhaefte Venetianen.
On-aengesien de macht des Keysers / ende vande Hungersche gespanschapen / daer
ontrent.

45565 Den Alder-Christelickxsten Koninck / hebbende / te Mardijck lest door kranck
leggende / belofte aen Godt ghedaen / de Venetiaenen / tegens den algemeenen vyant
t'assisteren / so haest den Vrede soude gesloten wesen / so heeft hy eyndelick /
onder den Modeenschen Prins Almerick d'Este tusschen de 3 a 4000 Soldaten naer de
Levant gesonden / om de Venetiaenen aldaer te conjungeren.

45570 Deze Conjunctie eyndelick geschiet sijnde / so wiert geresolveert / volgens
d'Instructie vande Serenissime Republicque / om Canea te belegeren / 't welck de
Turcken in t koninckrijck Candia inhielden met eenighe andere plaetsen / daer mede de
Turcken de Christenen / uyt de reste des Koninckrijckx meenden te verdrijven /
ghelijck so daer toe eenige jaren gearbeyt hadden / maar te vergeefs / ende daer
hielden de Venetianen stant / teghens de gansche Turckxsche Macht te Water ende te

- 45575 Lande / tot dat sy nu finalick geassisteert sijnde alle de Turcken daer uyt soecken te verjagen / ghelijck sy haer daer toe als Leeuwen zijn aenstellende: maer eer ick tot 't verhael van hare Chrijghs-daden kome / so gelieft geimportuneert te zijn / niet te weten / d'hoedanicheydt van Candia met welckx winste de Turcken Sicilien ende Malta / soudén hebben kómen te veroveren.
- 45580 De qualiteyt van het Eylant en Koninckrijck Candia door / on aengesien seer berghachtigh / heeft nochtans veek Valeyen / seer abundant / ende extraordinary vruchtbaer / door dien t'selbe bespringht werdt / door menichte Fonteyen / en bevochtigt door veel Beken ende Rivieren. Den Wijn-stock wast daer naer wensch / en in overvloed wast daer d'alderdelicaetste Malvasepe / melch en honigh isser oock
- 45585 overvloedige en vleesch in soussisance / soodanigh dat d'Oude 't selfde ten rechte ghenoeft hebben / het wel-geluckigh Eylant. Daer wassen oock d'alderschoonste Cypres diemen met oogen zien magh / ende Boomen van alle slaghe / bequaem om Schepen te bouwen / 't welck tot groot proffijt voor de Sereniss. Republ: is. Men heeft er oock niet een schadelijck Gedierte / dat wreet ende fenijnigh is / als uytgesondert den
- 45590 Phalanges, welke zijn als Spinnen; maer binnen Candia zijnde niet dangereus. Dit Coninckrijck is noch overvloedigh van Septen / Hertén en wilde Bocken / maer men ziet weynich wilde Swijnen / als naer de sijde van Canea / daer rondom den Veneetschen Standaert nu in 't veldt uytzwaeyt. Daer zijn noch Bouchestains, die niet grooter als een Geyte zijn / en hebben nochtans soo veel vleesch als den grootsten Hert / heeft
- 45595 het hayr beuckel en kortachtigh / ende draeght eenen langen zwartachtigen baert. Men vanght hem somtijts als hy noch seer kleyn is / om met de Septen t'samen op te voeden / ende daer van andere te queecken / soo om sijn schoonheyt / als om de delicatessen ende smakelijckheyt sijns vleesch. Sijn Hoorns zijn seer groot / sijn Corps is de
- 45600 Septe ghelijck / maer nochtans soo veerdigh dat hy de Hertén ont loopén overtreft / ende d'Honden int riechen / want hy de Jagers 100 passen verrieckt / sulcx darmen om hem te vangen / tamme Septen moet binden ontrent d'aenkomsten ende passagien vande geberghten / en soo komt den Bouchestain, dese riechende / tot haer / en dan wert hy vande Jagers gequetst / maer niet doodelick sijnde / ende of schoon fenynich pier [pijl?] noch in 't lijf blijft / soo gaet hy echter door / ende etende het cruyt
- 45605 Dictame geneest. Dits 't Cruyt / daer van Dioscoride secht / welckx reuck alleen Serpénten ende andere fenijnige beesten doet sterven. Aengaende d'ouwde manieren vande Candiotten / de selfde hebben so gefloreert / dat hare Koningen / by naer gantsch Griekenlant geteugelt hielden / sy sijn geweest de beste Schutters vander aerden / hebben den wijdt bekenden Dans Syrrique verdicht /
- 45610 ten tijde haers Koninckx Eydon / en vanden hoofde tot den voete waren sy ghewapent / doen sy dien dansten / en die so gecontinueert / dat de Boeren / op Feestdagen / inde grootste hitte des daechs dien dansten, sonder naer de schaduwe te kijken / gewapent / te weten met den boogh / Pijl-koker / ende 't Rappier / als of 't dansen sonder t'selfde geen goede gratie hadde.
- 45615 D'Alder uytmyténste Grieken / hebben hare wetten vande Candiotten ghenomen / selfs Plato / ende boven al / die van Lacedemonien / volghden de practique. Een haerder wetten hielt / datmen de kinders in 't gemeen moeste opvoeden / op datmen / 't voetsel so wel als de rijcke hebbende / geen oorsake mochte opnemen / om deselvige te haten: en verders warender noch Statuyten / datmen om de kinders te gewinnen / om
- 45620 niets te vreesen / maer veel eer / om alles met gedult / ende patientie te boven te komen / ende te supporterén / die van dat sy konden gaen / inde wapenen soudén oeffenen / en haer leeren verachten / hitte / koude / honger / ende dorst / ende dat sy in 't danssen boogh / ende Pijlen soudén gebruycken / ende kleederen aen hebben / op d'oorloghstoerustingé gefatsoenneert. Item alle Candiotten / waeren genootsaecht te trouwen op de jaren van Majoriteyt / en doen trockense uyt de menichte / die als
- 45625 vooren gesecht is / onder de minderjarige opgevoet wierden / doch leyden hare getrouwde niet strackx naer huys / maer sy lietense blijven / so lange tot dat sy bequaem waren / om het Huys-houden te regeren. Ende de Vrienden trouwden hun indifferéntelick / d'een met d'andere / en verders verklaerde de Weth / dat so de
- 45630 Zuster met haren Broeder ghetrouwt was / dat hy haer met sijn half Patrimonie moest doteren. Het vervoeren van Dochters / wiert meer geestimeert / dan ofmen die niet uryen wille hadde verworven. Maer eyndelick de Candiotten latende hare ouwde discipline / wierden Zee-Roovers / als die van alle tijden / d'eerste ter Zee hadden geweest / en haer so kloeckmoedich gequeten hadden / dat sy d'Attiques overwonnen /
- 45635 ende voerden hare Legerscharen geluckelick tot in Sicilien. Ende een weynigh seggende vande manieren deser tijt / weet dat de Candiotten veerdigh zijn om quaet te doen. d'Oude selfs hebben haer den naem van Logenaers gegeven / sy zijn schalck / gierigh / en tegenwoordigh können sy den arbeyt qualijck dragen / ende en leeren konst noch wetenschap volkomentlijck. Doch het is waer / volgens 't
- 45640 schrijven van Beilon, dat sy haer van haer kintsheyt af oeffenen int schieten met den

Boogh / daer in sy doch de Turcken over-treffen. Ter Zee zijn sy gauw / dispoost ende
 vaillant / soo wel als sy t'anderen tijde gheweest zijn.
 De sterckte deses Eylants en Coninckrijcx / is Candia principael / dat de Christenen
 hebben / en Canea dat de Turcken possederen / beyde seer machtigh sterck / soo door
 45645 de nature / als ter oorzake van hare gelegenthede. Maer Rettimo ende Seytien konnen
 niet gerenomeert werden / als ten opsichte vande plaets / waer sy in gelegen zijn.
 Binnen Candia is een schoon Arsenael voor de Galeyen. Aengaende de Religie /
 d'Inwoonders volgen meest de Latijnen. Dus ver van de gestaltenis deses Koninckrijcx
 45650 gesproken hebbende / soo sal ick voortgaen met de saecke vande tegenwoordighe
 verrechtinge vande Christenen Veyrkracht in dat Lantschap.
 Sondagh avont arriveerde hier een Schip van die Landen met brieven aen de Sereniss:
 Heeren / dat de Veneetsche Armada / ghekomen sijnde inde Haven van Suda / hadt
 ghelandt aen de genaemde plaets Colata / ontrent 9000 strijtbare mannen / die te
 45655 gelijck ordentelijck advanceerden naer het Fort d'Apricorni / dringende soo voorts
 tot onder de wal / ende naer dat die van binnen lange defentie en tegenstant gedaen
 hadden / wierden overweldicht / ende verlieten 't Fort met groot verlies / ende
 liepen met d'andere Garnisoenen van Cisterne / Calamo ende Calogero / binnen Canea /
 achterlatende 35 a 40 stucken / met menichte Amonutie.
 45660 Dijnsdaeghs daer aen / genoeghsaem met het krioel des daegs / aeriveerde noch eene
 Galiote / gedepescheert van den Capiteyn Generael / met Pacquetten aen 't Senaet / en
 relateerde het naervolgende / op de bovenste wijze / maer met dese bysondere
 distinctie: seggende dat d'Armada Maratim vande Sereniss: Seigneurie / consisterende
 in 30 Oorloghs-Schepen / 28 subtile Galeyen / met de 7 van Malta / (item naer dat 4
 45665 van den Paus / ende de 3 van de Grooten Herrogh van Florencen / wederom na hare
 Havens waren gekeert) 6 Galeassen / en soo veel Galioten Avonturiers. Het volck naer
 dat het gelant was / annumereerde tot 6000 Voetknechten (daer onder 2000 in Candia
 gelicht) item 3500 Franchoyzen / en ontrent 800 peerden / dewelcke naer dat sy
 ingenomen hadden de 4 boven gementioneerde Forten / togen recta tot de belegeringe
 45670 van Canea / maer doch eer sy de Linie begonden / so quam den Bassa Commandant
 uytvallen / met een deel van het Garnisoen / de Schermutsel nam furieuselik begin /
 en wedsijts kost het veel bloets en so het gemeen is / dat honden voor Menschen
 loopen / soo liepen de Turcken eyndelick oock voor de Christenen. Den Bassa
 Commandant bleef / met een van sijne Soonen / onder de voeten doot. Vande sijde der
 Christenen / is het considerabelste verlies / den Heer d'Ardena Luytenant vande
 45675 Cavallerye van welckx doode Lichaem de Turcken het hooft hadden afgezabelt / maer
 doen de Turcken 't selfde in Canea meenden te brengen / so rende een Frans Capiteyn
 hun naer / en recupereerde het selvighe / met verlies van het leven / van die daer
 mede meende te triumpieren.
 Den Prins Almerigo d'Este Generael over 't Fransche leger / van secours liep groot
 45680 perijckel van doot te blijven / soo in 't veroveren van Apicorno / als inden uytval
 vanden gementioneerden Bassa Commandant / want alsdoen trefte / ende doode achter hem
 / een Canonkogel sijnen Paige.
 Kort naer desen uytval en goede successen voor de Christenen, daer over Godt moet
 gedanckt zijn, soo ontvingen de Generaels advijs, dat uyt Candia nova 4000 Turcken
 45685 tot ontset van Canea quamen hier over vielen dispuytten tusschen den Veneetschen
 Capiteyn Generael, en den Prins Almerico, d'een meende men behoorde haer tegens te
 trecken, en daer mede te strijden, d'andere vreesde men mocht op wegh omringht
 werden, terwijl binnen Canea, boven 't verlies van den uytgevallenen Commandant en de
 45690 sijne, noch 2500 voetknechten en 300 peerden waren, en dat het nutter ende
 nootsakelijcker was de retraicte te slaen, ende in versekertheyt te rug te trecken,
 tot dat het Heyr der Christenen gerentforceert was vande Boeren, diemen uyt
 verscheyde gewesten des Coninckrijcx verwachtete, gelyck van Sfacchia elle uyren
 duysent man stonden te volgen.
 In desen stant bevonden daer de saken, doen het Galioot gheexpedieert wiert,
 45695 versoekende van het Senaet promptelyck gelt en Amonitie, strax wiert geresolveert
 dat den nobelen Heer Francisco Barbaro, 80000 Ducaten soude overvoeren, en dat de
 Keyserl: assistentie soude gelast werden datelyck te vertrecken.
 Kort daer aen volghden noch 2 Advijsen, d'eene vande 3 Eylanden, refererende dat de
 45700 onse het recours van Candia de hovo geslagen hadden, maer dat zyn Particuliere
 tijdingen, welcke naerder sekerheydt vereysschen. Het ander komende over O?trante,
 dat de Christenen de belegeringe van Canea te heet voelende, te rugh geweken waren.
 Ende eyndelijck soo heb ick hier noch een advijs by te doen van den Proveditor vande
 Fortresse Suda, bevestigende dat de Christenen van ontrent Canea waren opgebroken,
 45705 ende dat sy haer tot Calamo gingen beschanssen, een plaets alwaer sy bequameelyck
 allesints konnen zien passeren dat in Canea te lande soude willen, ende dat sekerlyck
 van Candia nova quam, het bovengeschreven bystant ende secours voor de Turcken: en

vreesende dat sy om 't Leger niet al te veel te zwacken, niet en soudén konnen belet houden de ingenomen Forten, so hebben sy laten mineren en springen het Fort van d'Apricornò. 1000 Ffacchioti waren int Leger der Christenen gearriveert, en ten
45710 eersten werden 4000 boeren verwacht, daer mede het Christen-Generalen meene bestant te zijn, om formelyck Canea te belegeren, dat ter zee alreede vande Armade nauw besloten is.

Dits is mijn Heer d'hoedanicheden in een korte descriptie van het befaeme Koninckrijck Candia, beneffens de publicque / ende particuliere advijsen / omtrent
45715 het Leger der Christen aldaer / voorgevallen / hope dat Godt / wiens sake het is deselve sal Croonen / met heyl / ende verder victorie / ende dat ick alsoo in vreucht / ende met een vrymoedicheyt H E. van tijdt tot rijdt / daer van noch sal deelachtig maken Ec.

Venetien den 8 Octobers 1660.

45720 NOTABLE WRITINGS FROM VENICE

According to the Letters of Generalissimo Morosina to the Lords Senate of the Serenissime Republique, Concerning the Successes of the Arms of the Christians against the Turks in the Kingdom of Candia.

45725 MY LORD, While God has pleased to plant Peace in Europe among the Christian Potentates, especially between the most powerful Monarchs of France and Spain and has caused the bloody war in the North between the Crowns, Poland, Denmark and Sweden to be ceded, whereby most all Potentates were concerned, who generally sought after
45730 their country's destruction and an inevitable navigation in Christendom: whereby the greatest attention is now paid to the war between the Christians and the Zarezins, and it is not surprising, because such is the general interest of the Christians: that on the other hand the curiosities concerning further News of war facts, due to the sterility of the same, could not be served as a little / because of the Poles /
45735 Carters / Cossacks / and Muscovites / who still come very slowly / and consequently not nearly as considerable / as those / who were led for the sake of Christ / to which all Christian powers / and potentates in this gracious east / of God's blessed Peace / ought to contribute / and to offer such a hand / that now in this Heavenly season / from the Turkish claws / the beautiful European Pearls of Christianity were
45740 again heard / / since the beginning of the Christian disunity / and wars / have disproved Christianity. This year 1660 has promised Europe many wonders / and great things: for over thirty years I have heard important astrologers speak of the wonders which would occur in the same history / and of various their annotations / and
45745 memorials I have still preserved: and without that I want to touch the chalice in which the ground-soap / that Tycho-bra / has set aside / is still in: so stand with me your eyes on the histories / look at Spain / and France / see where that Kingdom miraculous instrument Gusradus is. For now the 17 Netherlands are / and ponder / yet
45750 mature the wonders of England / which our descendants / will take up for Homayns / and for unbelieving Histories. Among these wonders I beg you to examine / the courage of the Venetians / who alone have prospered for so many years with no or very little assistance / against the Orthoman power / the same in resisting / and defending the Bollewerck of Christendom / found so much work / that the Turks saw no progress /
45755 against those excellent Heroes / who in Canada maintained the Standard of Christ / were always repulsed with damage / and shame / until they fell this year in Sevenbergen / where in two months more cities gained / than in 20 years / feet of earth / on the Manly Venetians. Notwithstanding the power of the Emperor / and of the Hunger troops / around there. The Most Christian King, having recently, while lying ill, promised God to assist the Venetians against the general enemy as soon as peace would be concluded, finally sent between 3 and 4,000 soldiers to the Levant under the
45760 command of the Modern Prince Almerick d'Este, to conjugate the Venetians there. This Conjunction having finally happened, it was resolved, according to the Instruction of the Serenissime Republique, to besiege Canea, which the Turks held in the kingdom of Candia, with some other places, with which the Turks intended to drive out the Christians from the rest of the kingdom, as they had labored for some years to do,
45765 but in vain, and there the Venetians held out against the entire Turkish Power on Water and Land, until now, finally assisted, they sought to drive out all the Turks, as they appointed them as Lions: but before I go into the story of their The deeds of Christianity come / so gladly imported / not to know / the quality of Candia with which profit the Turks would have come to conquer Sicily and Malta.

45770 The quality of the Island and Kingdom of Candia by / seen very mountainous / nevertheless has many Valleys / very abundant / and exceptionally fertile / by which it was sprinkled / by many Fountains / and watered by many Streams and Rivers. The

wine-stock grows there according to desire / and in abundance grew there the most delicate Malvasia / milk and honey are also abundant and meat in sustenance / such that the ancients have rightly called the same / the happy Island. There also grow the most beautiful Cypress that one may see with one's eyes / and trees of all kinds / suitable for building ships / which is to great profit for the Sereniss. Republ:. There is also no harmful Animal / that is cruel and venomous / except the Phalanges, which are like Spiders; but within Candia they are not dangerous. This Kingdom is still abundant with Septen / Deer and wild Bucks / but one sees few wild Boars / as towards the side of Canea / around which the Venetian Standard now spreads out in the field. There are still Bouchestains, which are no larger than a Goat / and yet have as much flesh as the largest Deer / it has its beak and short / and wears a long blackish beard. He is sometimes caught when he is still very small, to be raised together with the Septen, and to feed on others, both for his beauty and for the delicacy and taste of his flesh. His horns are very large / his body is like a septum / but nevertheless so strong that he outruns the deer / and the dogs in scenting / because he entices the hunters 100 paces / such intestines to catch him / tame septums must be tied around the arrivals and passages of the mountains / and so the Bouchestain, this scenting / comes to them / and then he is wounded by the hunters / but not mortally / and although a phoenix arrow [arrow?] remains in the body / he nevertheless passes on / and eating the herb Dictame heals. This is the herb / of which Dioscoride speaks / whose smell only kills serpents and other venomous beasts.

As for the ancient manners of the Candiots, the same flourished so much that their Kings held almost all of Greece in check, they were the best archers of the earth, they invented the widely known Dance Syrrique, in the time of their King Eydon, and from head to foot they were armed, when they danced it, and it continued so much that the Farmers, on Feast Days, in the greatest heat of the day, danced it, without looking at the shadow, armed, namely with the bow, quiver and rapier, as if dancing without it had no good grace. The most excellent Greeks took their laws from the Candidates, even Plato, and above all those of Lacedaemonia followed the practice. One of their laws was that children should be brought up in common, so that, having the same food as the rich, one should not take cause to hate them: and furthermore there were also statutes, that in order to accustom children to fear nothing, but much honour, to overcome everything with patience and patience, and to support them, so that they could go, to practice in arms, and to teach them to despise heat, cold, hunger and thirst, and that they should use bows and arrows in dancing, and wear clothes fashioned in warlike attire. All Candidates were required to marry at the age of Majority, and were drawn from the crowd, who, as mentioned above, were raised among minors, but did not immediately send their spouses home, but allowed them to remain until they were fit to manage the House. And the Friends married them indifferently, one to the other, and furthermore the Law declared that if the Sister was married to her Brother, he had to endow her with half his Patrimony. The transport of Daughters was more enthusiastic than if one had not acquired them willingly. But finally the Candidates, abandoning their ancient discipline, became Sea Robbers, as those of all times had been the first at sea, and had served so valiantly, that they overcame the Attica, and led their armies happily to Sicily. And saying a little of the manners of this time, know that the Candidates are quick to do evil. The ancients themselves have given them the name of Logenars, they are cunning, greedy, and at present they can ill bear labor, and learn neither art nor science perfectly.

But it is true / according to the writing of Beilon, that they have been practicing shooting with the Bow since their childhood / in which they surpass the Turks. At sea they are quick / dispatch and vassal / as well as they have been at other times. The strength of this Island and Kingdom / is Candia in principle / that the Christians have / and Canea that the Turks possess / both very powerful strength / both by nature / as well as by reason of their situation. But Rettimo and Seytien cannot be renowned / as in view of the place / in which they are situated. Within Candia there is a beautiful Arsenal for the Galleys. As for the religion / the inhabitants mostly follow the Latins. Thus far having spoken of the form of this Kingdom, I will now proceed to the matter of the present fate of the Christian Forces in that Country. Sunday evening a ship arrived here from those Countries with letters to the Sereniss: Gentlemen / that the Venetian Armada / having arrived in the Port of Suda / had landed at the named place Colata / about 9000 fighting men / who at the same time advanced in an orderly manner to the Fort d'Apricorni / pressing further to under the wall / and after that they had made a long defense and resistance inside, they were overwhelmed / and left the Fort with great loss / and walked with the other Garrisons

of Cisterne / Calamo and Calogero / inside Canea / leaving behind 35 to 40 pieces /
 45840 with many Ammunition. Dijnsdaeghs there aen / enough with the crowd of the day / did
 not arrive nor a Galiote / delegated from the Capiteyn General / with Pacquettes to
 the Senaet / and related the following / in the highest manner / but with this
 special distinction: saying that d'Armada Maratim of the Sereniss: Seigneurie /
 45845 consistende in 30 War Ships / 28 subtile Galeys / with the 7 of Malta / (after that 4
 of the Pope / and the 3 of the Grand Duke of Florence / had again returned to their
 ports) 6 Galeases / and so many Galeoten Adventurers. The people, after they were
 landed, numbered 6000 foot soldiers (among them 2000 raised in Candia), item 3500
 Frenchmen and about 800 horses, who, after they had taken the 4 forts mentioned
 45850 above, went straight to the siege of Canea, but before they had begun the line, the
 Bassa commander came out with a part of the garrison, the skirmish began furiously
 and in return cost much blood and as it is common for dogs to run before men, so the
 Turks eventually also ran before the Christians. The Bassa commander, with one of his
 sons, was killed underfoot. On the side of the Christians, the most considerable loss
 was that of Lord d'Ardena, Lieutenant of the Cavalry, whose dead body the Turks had
 45855 cut off the head, but when the Turks thought they would bring the same to Canea, a
 French Captain ran after them and recovered the same, with the loss of life, of the
 man who thought he would triumph with it.
 Prince Almerigo d'Este, General of the French army, of secours, ran a great risk of
 remaining dead, both in the conquest of Apicorno, and in the sortie of the commended
 45860 Bassa Commandant, because in doing so a cannon ball struck and killed his Paige
 behind him. Shortly after this sortie and good successes for the Christians, for
 which God must be thanked, the Generals received advice that 4000 Turks had come from
 Candia Nova to the relief of Canea, where there had been disputes between the
 45865 Venetian Captain General and Prince Almerico, one thought it was right to go against
 them and fight with them, the other feared that they might be surrounded on the way,
 while within Canea, besides the loss of the fallen Commander and his, there were
 still 2500 infantry and 300 horse, and that it was more useful and necessary to
 retreat and retreat in safety until the army of Christians had been repatriated from
 the Peasants, who were expected from various provinces of the Kingdom, like from
 45870 Sfacchia, a thousand men were following every hour.
 At this time the affairs were there, when the Galiot was sent out, requesting money
 and ammunition from the Senate promptly, it was immediately resolved that the noble
 Lord Francisco Barbaro would bring over 80,000 Ducats, and that the Emperor's
 45875 assistance would be ordered to depart immediately.
 Shortly thereafter followed two more Councils, one from the three Islands, referring
 that ours had beaten the recourse of Candia the hovo, but these are private tidings,
 which require more certainty. The other thing coming over O?trante, that the
 Christians, feeling the siege of Canea too hot, had retreated.
 And finally I have to add here another advice from the Proveditor of the Fortress
 45880 Suda, confirming that the Christians had broken up from near Canea, and that they
 were going to fortify themselves to Calamo, a place where they could conveniently see
 everything passing that would want to land in Canea, and that certainly from Candia
 nova came the above-mentioned bystander and security for the Turks: and fearing that
 in order not to weaken the army too much, they would not be able to prevent the
 45885 captured Forts from being held, so they had the Fort of d'Apricorno mined and blown
 up. 1000 Ffacchioti had arrived in the army of the Christians, and first of all 4000
 farmers were expected, with whom the Christian Generals thought they were, to
 formally besiege Canea, which is already closely enclosed by the sea from the Armadé.
 This is my Lord the qualities in a short description of the famous Kingdom of Candia,
 45890 besides the publicque / ende part specific advice / concerning the Christian Army
 there / occurred / hope that God / whose cause it is will crown it / with happiness /
 and further victory / and that I thus in joy / and with a freedom of speech H E. from
 time to time / will still partake of it Ec.
 Venice, October 8, 1660.

45895 Zie ook *De beschrijving van de leste oorlog in 't koninkrijk Kandia (1671)*
[https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?](https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=gerola&coll=boeken1&identificer=D7RpAAAcAAJ)
[query=gerola&coll=boeken1&identificer=D7RpAAAcAAJ](https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=gerola&coll=boeken1&identificer=D7RpAAAcAAJ)

45900 **DE BESCHRYVING Van de leste Oorlog in 't Koninkrijk KANDIA.**
 In vier Delen onderscheiden;
 I. D'oorsprong van deze Oorlog, en de Verövering van 't Koninkryk Kandia.
 II. De Reis van de Markgraaf *Villa*, en zijn Bedrijf in de Stat Kandia.
 III. D'Intreê des Markgraafs van *S. André Montbrun*, en des Graafs *de la Fueillade* in

- 45905 deze Vesting.
IV. De Koomst der Lunenburgers, gelijk ook die van de leste Bystant der *Franschen*, onder de Hertogen van *Beaufort*, en *Navaille*, en hun Bedrijf tot aan d'Overgeving van deze plaats, en 't Vertrek der Venecianen uit dit gewest.
Alles door J.H. GLAZEMAKER in de Nederlantsche Taal gebracht.
- 45910 Ottoman era (1453-1922)
On 29 May 1453, the then-emergent Ottoman Empire conquered the city of Constantinople following a lengthy campaign wherein the Ottomans constructed fortifications on each side of the strait, the Anadoluhisarı (1393) and the Rumelihisarı (1451), in
45915 preparation for not only the primary battle but to assert long-term control over the Bosphorus and surrounding waterways. The final 53-day campaign, which resulted in Ottoman victory, constituted an important turn in world history. Together with Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the Americas in 1492, the 1453 conquest of Constantinople is commonly noted as among the events that brought an end to the
45920 Middle Ages and marked the transition to the Renaissance and the Age of Discovery. The event also marked the end of the Byzantines – the final remnants of the Roman Empire – and the transfer of the control of the Bosphorus into Ottoman hands, who made Constantinople their new capital, and from where they expanded their empire in the centuries that followed.
45925 At its peak between the 16th and 18th centuries, the Ottoman Empire had used the strategic importance of the Bosphorus to expand their regional ambitions and to wrest control of the entire Black Sea area, which they regarded as an "Ottoman lake", on which Russian warships were prohibited.
Subsequently, several international treaties have governed vessels using the waters.
45930 Under the Treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi of 8 July 1833, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits were to be closed on Russian demand to naval vessels of other powers. By the terms of the London Straits Convention concluded on 13 July 1841, between the Great Powers of Europe – Russia, the United Kingdom, France, Austria and Prussia – the "ancient rule" of the Ottoman Empire was re-established by closing the Turkish
45935 Straits to any and all warships, barring those of the Sultan's allies during wartime. It thus benefited British naval power at the expense of Russian, as the latter lacked direct access for its navy to the Mediterranean.
Following the First World War, the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres demilitarized the strait and made it an international territory under the control of the League of Nations.
- 45940

Discoveries in Millingen

- July 3, 1845 - From Nijmegen, a report of July 1st reads:
45945 "The archaeological excavations in the Holledoorn, near Groesbeek, have led to an important discovery this month. Close to the spot where the tile with Latin cursive inscription was found last year, and where, during the planting of trees, old masonry was encountered, meticulous excavations were now carried out. These resulted in, among other things, the discovery of an almost complete Roman hypocaust (subterranean
45950 fireplace and heating system), possibly belonging to the bathroom of a large villa. The cleared foundations, which have only now become fully visible, present a striking sight. They form an oval 6.50 yds long, 5.25 yds high, and 2.80 yds deep." Running along its length, from east to west, is a subterranean passageway, vaulted by ten round arches and so wide that two people of average height can easily walk through it
45955 side by side. The arches of this passageway or vault are separated by cleverly constructed brickwork spaces of 0.25 cubits in average width, which, like the interior of the vault and the passageway, bear traces of intense fire heat, smoke, and soot. The vault and the interstices are floored with square tiles, on top of which hard-burned earth mixed with pebbles follows. A layer of square tiles finally
45960 completes the whole, in such a way that the tiles and the burnt earth above the interstices are here and there provided with elaborately crafted openings, which have allowed the heat from the subterranean passage to pass vertically upwards, down to the ground floor of the chamber. South and east of the hypocaust, new wall fragments are continually discovered from time to time, the exposing of which, however, is
45965 encountering great difficulty due to the hardness of the rubble and the abundance of tree roots present there. Among the numerous legion stones found were also some from the XXXth legion, from which one can conclude that the discovered hypocaust predates the time of Trajan, since the aforementioned legion later adopted the name Ulpia Trajana, after this Emperor.
- 45970

June 8, 1846 NIJMEGEN, June 5. The archaeological excavations, hich were again carried out this year in nearby Holledoorn, municipality of Groesbeek, by Dr. Janssen, curator at the National Museum of Antiquities, at the behest of the high authorities, have, as we understand it, once again yielded important results. Not far from the site where, last year, the same scholar discovered Roman outars with inscriptions, hypocausts, and other structures, a rare as-yet-unknown stone has now been discovered, at a depth of 0.75 meters, under hard rubble. A well-preserved Roman aqueduct was discovered, now stripped 12 cubits long. It runs north to south and was apparently connected to the structures discovered last year. It consists of round pipes of red baked clay, measuring 0.44 to 0.54 cubits in length and 0.2 cubits in diameter, tightly packed together between solid clay bricks; they are supported on the sides by Roman tile fragments. Judging by the inscriptions found on these tile fragments, the aqueduct cannot have been constructed before the time of the Antonines.

July 13, 1846 MILLINGEN (near NIJMEGEN) July 6

On July 2, during the excavation of soil to reinforce the dike, a corn mill was discovered in the Millingen municipality, just outside the dike, just downstream, opposite the point where the dike separated from Rhine and Waal, found at a depth of about half a yard in the ground, a chest with a loose lid, made entirely of dufa, which is of rough construction. Inside the chest were only a few burnt bones in small pieces, a little ash, and an irregularly round ball, also made of dufa, with a diameter of about 5 Dutch inches. Also found scattered in the ground around the chest were: 1. Four light yellow earthenware jars, narrow at the top and bottom and very wide in the middle, with handles. Two of these were broken during excavation, while one contained a substance resembling ash. 2. A veryold-fashioned small jug, also narrow at the top and bottom and wide in the middle. 3. Five red earthenware dishes of various sizes, two of which bear the inscription "Vanrodia." 4. Another black earthenware dish of greater weight and size. 5o. A copper coin, on which the coat of arms or inscription is no longer discernible. 6o. A small piece of iron, worked in an old-fashioned way. All these pieces appear to be very old.

The origins and all suggest that they are of Roman origin. Both here and elsewhere, great value is attached to such antiquities, for which reason anything further of this nature will be carefully preserved.

July 22, 1846 Leiden, July 14, 1846.

Your Honor!

In your newspaper of the 13th of this month, a report appears from Millingen, near Nijmegen, dated last 6th, about a tuff stone chest and other objects found there. It is stated that all these pieces suggest they are of Roman origin, and that two of the saucers found bear the inscription VANRODIA. Since I have meticulously recorded everything found on site, it will perhaps not be indifferent to some reader of your newspaper to learn that the objects excavated in Millingen on the 2nd of this month are definitely of Roman origin; that the tuff stone coffin is a coffin containing the cremated bones and ashes of the deceased, and that two terra sigillata saucers bear not the inscription VANRODIA, but the stamp of the pottery maker VICTORINUS.

Giving Your Honor the freedom to use this information as you see fit, I have the honor to subscribe.

Your Honor,

L. J. F. JANSSEN,
Curator at the Museum of Antiquities.

December 12, 1846 DISCOVERY OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN MILLINGEN (ABOVE NIJMEGEN).

Recently, reports have been read in some newspapers regarding Roman antiquities discovered this summer in Millingen during the raising of the dike; see b. The Utrechtsche Courant of July 13th and 22nd last. A local investigation convinced me both of the incompleteness and deficiencies of these reports and of the importance of the discovery itself. Therefore, since this matter has once been discussed in public newspapers, I feel compelled to offer the public a better report on the matter; I reserve the right to a more detailed and scientific treatment in a subsequent volume of Antiquities. Such an improved report will be considered all the less inappropriate because, since the initial discovery, several other objects have been excavated at the same location, none of which have been publicly reported. I am particularly well-placed to do so thanks to a favorable arrangement: Mr. TERWINDT, mayor of the town, with the permission of Mr. COLENBRANDER, Lordof Millingen, has donated all the findings to me as a gift for the Museum of Antiquities. so that it could be examined

and assessed by me in the smallest detail here in the museum.

Half an hour west of Millingen Church, on the aforementioned occasion, some Roman remains were found in the meadowland on July 2nd. This land is owned by the municipality and forms part of a large meadow, situated a yard higher than the adjacent land. The latter is particularly noteworthy because it suggests that this land was less susceptible to flooding in the past, and the remains were therefore more protected from destruction; also because this gives rise to the suspicion that further excavation would reveal even more. After excavating the earth to a depth of over a cubit, Roman artifacts were discovered, arranged in an oblong square over an area of 25 to 30 cubits, mixed with burnt charcoal and ash, the remains of a significant combustion. The objects, with the exception of a tuff coffin, were largely from domestic life, and the entire collection unequivocally demonstrated that the discovery belonged to a burial site. The tuff coffin, oblong and square in shape and of relatively rough workmanship, was fitted with a lid that sloped gently on four sides. With the lid, it measured 0.41 meters in height, 0.75 meters in length, and 0.45 meters in width. It had nothing remarkable other than a projecting ledge on one of its narrow sides, onto which the lid rested, and in the center of which a star was carved, indicating how the lid should be placed on the coffin. Inside the coffin were household items and the burned bones of an adult human being. I was no longer able to accurately specify which household items were found inside and which outside the coffin; however, among the items found there were certainly a few terra sigillata dishes and a few white pipe clay jars. The objects found then, and during later excavations at the same site, are as follows:

Made of baked earth:

1. three small terra sigillata dishes, two of which bear the mark of the manufacturer VICTORINVS, and the third CRVMMVIF, i.e., the factory of CRUMMUUS or CAJUS RUMMUUS; also fragments of seven or eight similar dishes;
2. a small gray, hard-baked earth dish, plus

Fragments of four or more similar ones;

3. Part of a large mixing bowl, made of terra sigillata, decorated externally with foliage;
4. Part of an offering bowl made of light-red, roughly worked earth;
5. Pear-shaped vase made of fine red earth, painted brown and ribbed around the belly; as well as fragments of two similar ones, perhaps used for scented ointments or oils;
6. Remains of about twenty pots, generally roughly worked, hard-fired, and yellow, red, gray, and black in color. Based on their shape, they belong to the storage vessels, for liquids or edibles, and are primarily known as mortuary urns, because similar pots were usually used to store the cremated remains of the deceased;
7. Small drinking bowl made of terra sigillata, the bottom of which is roughly scratched with a pointed tool; IUL VICT, i.e., JULIUS VICTOR, the name of its owner or user.

It is important to note here that a master potter (magister figulorum), on a rare outlier on Vesta, excavated in Holledoorn, near Nijmegen, under my supervision in 1845 and now in the museum here, bears precisely the same name; see Oudheidk.

Mededeelingen, St. IV, Pl. XI, I, p. 337 et seq. – Also a fragment of a similar bowl, and one made of rougher earth;

8. Two water jars made of white robes, paired and provided with a single handle; as well as remains of ten or eleven similar ones;
9. Fragment of a colossal wine vessel, or apparently of a wine jug;

10. Three fragments of Roman tiles;

Of glass:

11. A beautiful spherical vase of light green glass, 0.11 cubits high;
13. Two scent or balm bottles of light green glass, such as were formerly considered tear bottles, 0.14 to 0.15 cubits high; these still contained an ancient foreign substance, the chemical analysis of which is the preoccupation of one of our most competent chemists;
13. Part of a balm or oil bottle of light green glass and square;
14. Fragments of a beautiful light green bottle, with a long neck and ribbed belly;
15. Fragments of a round jar of white glass with two handles;

Made of stone:

16. Seven roughly worked balls (apparently sling balls), made of Andernach trass,

measuring 2 to 5 inches in diameter; as well as a rough chunk of red sandstone. Made of metal:

17. Several pieces of oblong, flat iron, 3 to 4 inches wide, in which nails have been hammered at regular intervals, apparently representing bands of wooden barrels, wells, buckets, or the like;

18. A round plate of a yellow copper cloak hook (fibula), on which the bust of a Roman emperor, adorned with a radiate crown, is stamped. The image is very worn, but according to the unanimous opinion of three mint experts, it could be that of Postumus (258-267 AD);

19. A completely worn copper coin, 1st size; Finally, three horse molars.

Whether all this is the burial of one or more individuals must be left open, due to the lack of larger local excavations and accurate reports from those who found the objects. However, both the coffin and the objects of luxury reveal that this was the burial place of a prominent Roman, on whose pyre, according to custom, incense was poured, at whose grave sacrifices to the spirits (manes) were performed, and the funeral supper was likely celebrated; the latter being particularly suggested by the many broken bowls and pots found there. The name of JULIUS VICTOR, on a small bowl, might suggest that it was the burial place of the aforementioned chief potter of that name, or one of his relatives; with which the suspicion that the found objects, according to the aforementioned fibula, belong to the time of POSTUMUS would not be particularly contradictory, because the discovered outtar of JULIUS VICTOR could belong to that same period. However, we should not attach too much importance to this, because at Millingen, according to the inscription on a Roman memorial stone found there earlier, now in the museum of antiquities here, a burial place of a notable Roman woman or girl must be sought. That inscription (which was first accurately published in my Mus. Lugd. Bat. Inscriptiones Graec. et Lat. Tab. XIII I, cf. p. 89, and will be further explained in the more detailed description of this discovery) teaches: that there was a sacred grove, in which an outtar stood (in honour and memory) of RUFIA MATERNA, erected and consecrated by (her mother) MUCRONIA MARCIA; that religious activities would take place in this forest at three different times of the year, namely in February, at the time of the general Roman festival of the dead; on July 15 (probably the day of death)

(g of MATERNA, or the day on which the forest and the altar were consecrated), and in October, on MATERNA's birthday; a custom that would take place every year, i.e., as long as Roman power and Roman law were honored at that location. The memorial could also date from the aforementioned period. And who would blame anyone if they suspected that among the aforementioned remains belonged to this woman's grave?

Further investigations at this location will, we hope, provide decisive clarification in this regard. This hope is not entirely in vain; for while writing the conclusion of this report, I received from the kind hand of Mr. J. G. MAEIJER, pastor of Millingen, a communication dated December 8th, stating: that very recently, not far from the site where the object described here was found, three more sites were discovered where fires were lit in ancient times, and on which jars and bottles were found. These objects include a ribbed, fine earthenware vase (as no. 5), a glass saucer, and a square glass bottle (as no. 13), marked on the bottom with the factory letters: CG

CP

Which rare objects, through the favorable intervention of their former owner and the honored owners, we hope will once again find a worthy place in the Museum here. It goes without saying that this latest discovery once again highlights the importance of Millingen in the Roman period of our history, reinforces the suspicion that even more remains hidden underground, and revives the prospect that further research there will shed new light on both that cemetery and the aforementioned remarkable memorial stone.

Leyden,

December 9, 1846. L. J. F. JANSSEN,

Conservator at the Museum of Antiquities.

October 17, 1847, ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN MILLINGEN (ABOVE NIJMEGEN).

Since the last reports regarding Roman antiquities found in Millingen (see Staats-Courant 1846, no. 297 and 1847, no. 84), the area where the discovery was made has been explored at a relatively low water level, and excavations have been carried out under my direction at its highest points. These, in turn, yielded not insignificant results and once again enriched the Museum of Antiquities with several objects whose mention is certainly worthy of the attention of Dutch antiquarians. Regarding the

discovery site, it should also be noted that it is located half an hour northwest of Millingen; that the depth at which the objects were buried under the earth is estimated to be 1.5 cubits (if one also considers the earth recently excavated to raise the dike), and that the area within which the objects are found is estimated to be 75 square cubits. Outside this area, at least, nothing has been found thus far, after repeated investigations; however, it is possible that remains were discovered during excavations, especially on the north side of this site, in the as yet unexcavated high meadow belonging to Mr. COLENBRANDER of Zutphen. — I owe this more precise determination of the site to investigations carried out on July 8th and 9th, using excavations and pointed iron. The objects found on this occasion, combined with those favorably preserved for the Museum by Mr. J. G. MAEIJER, pastor, and TH. TERWINDT, mayor of Millingen, are (1):

Of stone:

1. Two roughly worked balls of Andernach trass, apparently sling balls, 5 to 7 inches in diameter. They are of the same type as those under no. 16 of the Staats-Courant of 1846, no. 297.

Made of baked earth.

*2. A lamp, painted black or dark brown on the outside; the shape as, for example, in my "Memorials," etc., Pl. XVII:6.

3. A saucer of terra sigillata, inside marked with the manufacturer's mark CVDILVN, i.e., Cudiluni or Cudilunis fecit. The same name can also be found on a fragment of a similar saucer, excavated in Rinderen, and brought back by me last year for the museum there; see Staats-Courant 1847, no. 84. — Also fragments of a similar saucer.

4. A saucer of coarse gray, and two saucers of yellow, fine earth. One of these contained several small bones, which Dr. H. SCHLEGEL, curator at the National Museum of Natural History here, had the goodness to examine, and declared some to be the bones of a wild boar, and others (due to their fragmentary condition) unidentifiable. This discovery therefore also serves as evidence that similar dishes can be mistaken for dinner plates. The latter dish

The small bowl has a diameter of 0.195, a height of 0.03 ell, and the shape of, for example, Pl. XII:10 and XVIII:4 of the aforementioned Memorials. — Also fragments of two similar dishes.

5. A small bowl of terra sigillata; shape much like Memorials, Pl. XII:7.

6. A small bowl of coarse, gray earth, 0.86 high, 0.16 ell wide. Inside it lay a fine and smooth milky quartz of 5 to 6 inches in diameter. — Also fragments of two similar bowls.

7. A small pot of fine yellow earth, externally decorated with incisions and painted black; shape like Memorials, Pl. XVIII:3. — Also fragments of two similar pots. 8. A pear-shaped vase of light-red, fine clay, with five impressed grooves around the body and a glossy black exterior. — This and no. 7 appear to have been intended for storing oil or a fatty substance.

9. A small jar of light-red, fine clay, with an ornate handle and gilded on the outside, 0.25 cubits high. This rare object was severely damaged during excavation. — Also found are fragments of a small jar of the same clay, but painted externally as terra sigillata;

10. Six small jars of white pipe clay, with a handle and 0.175 to 0.285 cubits high; as well as fragments of a large jar of the same clay; shape similar to, for example, Memorials, Pt. XII:8 and XVIII:17. Among these jars are some that were previously found and preserved by the aforementioned gentlemen in Millingen.

11. Part of a white pipe clay beaker, shaped like a wine tumbler. Furthermore, among the more than 20 different types of broken pottery, are some fragments of an offering dish and a terra sigillata bowl, decorated with relief foliage.

Of glass:

12. A light green saucer-shaped bowl, height 0.04 and diameter 0.09 ells. Compare Staats-Courant, 1846, no. 297.

13. Fragments of two bowls like *12.

*14. A square light green bottle with a flat handle and the letters CG CP in relief on the bottom, arranged in such a way that a letter is located on each corner. The shape of the bottle is like, for example, in my antiquity.

- 46235 Communications, n. III, pl. V. 2; height 0.21, width 0.11 ell. Compare Staats-Courant 1846, n°. 297.
Of metal:
15. An iron arrowhead, oxidized and damaged, but still 0.07 ell long. 16. Two iron nails.
- 46240 *17. A gold coin (tiers de sous d'or), probably of Emperor JUSTINIAN (537-566), similar to a similar one by DE SAULCY, Monn. Byzant. Pl. II, 4; on the obverse, the barbarically carved bust of the Emperor with a difficult-to-read inscription; on the reverse, Victory, holding a cross in his left hand and a wreath in his right, with the inscription [VI]CTORIA AUGUSTORUM; in the excerpt CONOB (?)
- 46245 I cannot pass up this opportunity to share the results of the chemical analysis of the substance contained in two glass bottles, which were discovered last year at the same location and described in the aforementioned Staats-Courant under number 12 as scent and balm bottles.
- 46250 Mr. VAN DER BOON MESCH, professor of chemistry here, graciously undertook this chemical analysis and has kindly permitted me to publish the results he obtained in his own words. They read as follows:
"Bottle No. 1 (this bottle is convex at the bottom and 0.14 cubits long) contained, besides some sand, very small pieces of shapeless baked clay, a very small round
- 46255 tube, almost 1.5 lines in diameter and 1 line long, carbon dioxide, lime, and resin, and a small quantity of a soft, brownish substance." composed of fat mixed with a small amount of clay and bone ash. By treating it with ether, pure water,
- 46260 hydrochloric acid, ammonia hydroxide, and hydrochloric acid, potassium hydrate solution, and chlorammonium, chlorbanum, and gypsum solutions, fat, carbon dioxide, lime, silica, alumina, and phosphoric acid were separated from the substances present in this vial, and resin was also separated from the tube.
- "Vial no. 2 (this is 0.16 meters long and approximately the same shape as no. 504 letter H. of the Egyptian monuments in the Leiden Museum) contained a grayish-white
- 46265 substance, firmly compressed, with a broken white bone peg in the center. This grayish substance was composed of fat, carbon dioxide, lime, clay, white lead, traces of common salt, and bone ash. By treating it with ether, Water, hydrochloric acid, ammonia hydroxide, sodium carbonate for the blowpipe, nitric acid, silver oxide, ammonia solution, chlorbanium, hydrochloric acid, gypsum solution, nitric acid,
- 46270 hydrogen sulfide gas-grease, carbon dioxide, lime, alumina, silicic acid, lead oxide, chlorine, and phosphoric acid were separated from it. These constituents prove (this scholar concludes) that they are not scent bottles, at least not if they were originally filled with the aforementioned substances. Had they previously contained any essential oil or natural balm, a portion would have remained as resin. Most
- 46275 remarkable is that no. 2 as much lead white (carbon dioxide, lead oxide, and lead oxide hydrant)."
- The broken bone pin discovered between the slipper is still two inches long and two lines wide; it is fairly pointed at the intact end, but must have been thicker at the broken end. One could consider it the lower part of a hair needle or one of those
- 46280 needles that the ancients used to dye eyebrows and eyelids black, and of which wooden bronze needles are found among the Egyptian monuments of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, described by Dr. LEEMANS in the Catalogue raisonné of those monuments, letter F, nos. 57 and 63; cf. his communication on the dyes of the ancients and the dyeing of eyelids and eyebrows, in the Algem. Konst en Letterbode 1847 nos. 33-34.
- 46285 Since it However, it is highly probable that our bone pin was closely related to the material in which it was found. And that material, according to chemical analysis, has proven not to be the same as that used by the ancients to dye eyebrows and eyelids. On the contrary, a great deal of lead white was found in that material, which is a component of what is actually called face paint. One would be inclined to
- 46290 consider this bone pin a fragment of a face paint spade and the bottles, or at least one of them, face paint bottles. Thus, it would follow from the arguments presented that these two seemingly insignificant Millingen objects provided a new contribution to Roman cosmetology, and also proof that similar bottles, previously mistaken for tear bottles, were later too generally labeled as perfume and balm bottles.
- 46295 The Curator of the Archaeological Cabinet at Leyden,
L. J. F. JANSSEN.
- (1) The last-mentioned objects (two of which are noted at the end of my report in the Staats-Courant of 1846, no. 297) are marked with a * in this report.
- 46300 Regarding inscriptions and excavations in the Rhineland:

January 1, 1867 Corpus inscriptionum Rhenanarum

See [http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?](http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=hollendoorn&coll=boeken1&page=1&maxperpage=40&identifier=Kv1RAAAAcAAJ)

[query=hollendoorn&coll=boeken1&page=1&maxperpage=40&identifier=Kv1RAAAAcAAJ](http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=hollendoorn&coll=boeken1&page=1&maxperpage=40&identifier=Kv1RAAAAcAAJ)

46305 Number 129

DEAE DOMINAE RVFIAE

mATERNAE ARAM ER

i vCVM CONSACRAVIT

46310 MVCRONIA MARCIA

vBI OMNIBUS ANNS SACRUM

INSTITVIT XVI K AVG

eT NATAL MATAERNAE F S?AT

vc]N OCTOB ET PARENTAI

46315 \K MARTAS RVFIS SIMIL ;

mATRI ET SIMILI G ET

MATERNAI

46320 January 1, 1870 Die römischen Alterthümer von Düffelward

May 8, 2017 Website of the National Museum of Antiquities reports about the coin:
Byzantine coin from Rhenen; silver; Justinian; 555-565 AD

- 46325 **Domination by Alice Roberts review - a brilliant but cynical history of Christianity**
- The humanist historian brings objects to life beautifully, but falters when it comes to people and their beliefs
- 46330 Domination tells the story of how a tiny local cult became one of the greatest cultural and political forces in history. Alice Roberts puts the case that the Roman empire lived on in a different form in the church.
- 46335 It is not an original idea - after all the foundation prayer of Christianity says "thy Kingdom come" - but Roberts tells the story from the point of view of individual parishes and even buildings. It's a revelation, like watching those stop-motion films of how a plant grows and blooms. There's a section about how a Roman villa might transform into a parish, the long barn providing the footprint, the web of relationships providing the social connection, the very tiles and columns providing the building materials. I can't think of anyone who writes better about the way
- 46340 objects can speak to us. There's a passage here describing her joy on grasping what it means that an ordinary-looking clay lamp found in Carlisle is purple on the inside; there's a beautiful afterword about the history of bells.
- 46345 The book revolves around the moment that Christianity became a religion of empire - the Council of Nicaea in AD325. Roberts patiently picks away at the mythologising around this key event to figure out how a multitude of competing interests was finally brought together under the umbrella of a particular Christology. She illuminates the way Christianity manages to be both centralised and local. This is still true: a recent Bible Society report shows that if you close a church a third of its congregation will not even try to find another. Truth may be universal, loyalty
- 46350 is parochial.
- The trouble with rolling your eyes is that you end up looking in the wrong direction*
- 46355 The book (according to its YouTube trailer, at least) promises to "lift the veil on secrets that have been hidden in plain sight" and find out who started Christianity and why. It is a humanist take, so you know the who and why is not likely to be Jesus, and the forgiveness of sins. And some of the secrets have been hidden in very plain sight indeed. The fact that Christians served in the Roman army won't be news to fans of that patron of archers, gay icon, and subject of portraits by Botticelli,
- 46360 El Greco, Mishima, Derek Jarman and Louise Bourgeois: Saint Sebastian. There is a bracingly contrarian takedown of Saint Paul, reframing him as a Trumpian grifter and stupidity advocate. It's fun but no more lifts the veil on his influence than pointing out that Marie Stopes was a raging eugenicist would lift the veil on the appeal of contraception.
- 46365 If you're looking for the open, inquisitive humanism of Erasmus or Ursula K Le Guin, then you'll have to read them. Prof Roberts's approach is more brisk. Anyone who thinks the church was about anything "other than money and power", she says, is suffering from Stockholm syndrome. Illuminators of manuscripts, builders of cathedrals, makers of the objects in which she herself finds such wonder were all
- 46370 either duplicitous or duped. In a splendidly anachronistic closing flourish she shelves the empire metaphor and instead compares the church to a corporation with directors and CEOs, franchises and a product to sell. This - with its implication of top-down control and single unswerving purpose - is queasily close to a conspiracy theory, albeit one that the best bits of this book refute.
- 46375 There is a lot of disappointed eye-rolling about the things that people believed - or pretended to believe. The trouble with rolling your eyes is that you end up looking in the wrong direction. One example among many: Roberts is dismissive of saints such as Columba and Aidan who chose to live on isolated islands, pointing out that these islands were not that isolated in days when sea was safer than roads. But surely they
- 46380 were choosing to embrace simplicity not just for its own sake but as a kind of protest, a holding to account. Yes, you can more or less see Bamburgh castle from Lindisfarne - but isn't that the point? That the king in his castle is forced to consider the saint in his cell every time he looks out from the battlements. To protest somewhere truly isolated would be like shouting "fuck the patriarchy" in a penguin colony. Of course from some angles Christianity does look like a business, but then from many angles a dolphin looks like a fish. It swims, eats and lives like a fish but there's an important difference. It suckles its young.
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- 46390 Back in 2016, Alice Roberts had a go at a vastly more sacred cow than Christianity. In a piece in Scientific American, she attacked David Attenborough himself for

promoting the "aquatic ape hypothesis", dismissing it as a theory of everything, and like all theories of everything, "both too extravagant and too simple". I know this because I kept the article on my desk for years. Cynicism is also a theory of everything. If the humanism that frames the narrative here is ever to offer more than eye-rolling, it needs to embrace the fact that, to quote the Alice Roberts of 2016, the reality is "both more complex and more interesting".

[Domination by Alice Roberts review - a brilliant but cynical history of Christianity | History books | The Guardian](#)

The Donation of Constantine.

Falsely, falsely, but not without good faith. Pope Innocent III.
 Melius est ut scandalum oriatur quam veritas relinquatur. *)
 Bernhard of Clairvaux.

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Among the sciences that present almost insurmountable obstacles, historical research holds a prominent place, especially when it concerns long-ago times. In our day, when the telegraph is at our service, when newspaper reporters strive to report what happened as quickly and as faithfully as possible, it is already difficult to judge what actually took place; we often encounter contradictory reports; sometimes what is asserted today is retracted tomorrow; How much more so must this be true for the distant past, when printing did not yet exist, when the events of the day were passed down orally and, if recorded, did not come to the attention of the general public. It has become clear, therefore, how the first pages of the history of every nation consist of myths and legends, in which the truth is shrouded and of which, upon close examination, sometimes precious little reality remains. In later history, there are stories and situations that have long been considered historical, but have dissolved into mists in the face of contemporary criticism. Such a fiction usually occurred inadvertently, the result of earlier credulity, of a lack of sense of truth and reality. So it is with the well-known legend of Tell in Switzerland, so it is with the stories of the deaths of Albrecht Beiling and Jan van Schaffelaar in our national history.

These are innocent errors. Worse is when history is deliberately falsified, in the interest of one person or one party. In this, the Roman Catholic Church has always demonstrated exceptional skill. It is well known how, even today, the story repeatedly surfaces that Luther committed suicide and that he only left the Roman Catholic Church so he could marry. Well known is Janssen's falsification of history in Germany, and among us, the distortion of national history by Nuijens. But all this is nothing compared to the falsifications committed in earlier times by the Church of Rome, with no other goal than to further its rule. A remarkable example of this is the so-called Donatio Constantini, or Donation of Constantine the Great. Now that it has become apparent, on the occasion of the peace conference, that the Pope, even by Protestants, is still more or less accorded a place among the Princes, it is not superfluous to fully illuminate the origins of the Roman bishop's temporal power. As is well known, the Pope of Rome was a secular monarch until 1870. Although the Papal States had already been taken from him, the capital remained in his possession thanks to the support of French soldiers. However, when these soldiers withdrew due to the war with Germany, the troops of the Italian government entered the gates without a fight, and Rome was declared the capital of Italy. The Pope was allowed to retain only his palace, the Vatican. And although this palace is a colossal building with 1,100 rooms and a garden where one can ride around in a carriage and horse, in this respect the Pope is equal to any private individual who lives in a large house and owns a large country estate; there can no longer be any question of secular territory for him. He is a dethroned monarch, who by the grace of the Italian government has remained in possession of that palace. Nothing can be said against that. When, then, did this secular territory, which the Pope lost in 1870 and to which he still lays claim, begin? History answers: in the middle of the 8th century. Then, Pepin the Short, anointed king of the Frankish empire by Pope Stephen II in 754, surrendered to the Pope all the cities he had conquered in a war with the Lombards. From that time on, the head of the Roman Church became a secular monarch, who negotiated with kings and emperors as their equals and even felt superior to all kings and emperors. How Pepin came to thus relinquish what he had conquered by force of arms with great effort, at the cost of much human blood, can be partly explained by the spirit of the times, which believed that a head of the Church gained prestige when he could rule over lands and peoples as a monarch. This idea was not new. From ancient times, Christian emperors were accustomed to granting bishops, in addition to their ecclesiastical domains, considerable influence over the administration of secular affairs. Between that influence and actual governance was only a step. The boundaries between the secular and the spiritual were almost nonexistent. more. The Master's words, "My kingdom is not of this world," had been completely forgotten. Until the time of the Reformation, we see popes, cardinals, and bishops participating in hunting, and in times of war, mounted on warhorses, armored and armed, marching out to battle. But beyond all this, there was a special reason why Pepin the Short gave such a vast territory to Pope Stephen II. To understand this properly, we must try to imagine ourselves in the circumstances of that time. In the mid-8th century, the Pope of Rome was in a precarious position. The

city was threatened by the Lombards, a powerful tribe who, since 568, had conquered most of Italy from the emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, the so-called Greek emperor, but had not been able to completely oust him from Italy. Rome and the Exarchate of Ravenna were still under his jurisdiction. The latter was eventually conquered by the Lombards, but lost again by their king, Luitprand, in the mid-eighth century. His successor, Aistulf, reclaimed it in 751 and now marched against Rome. While Pope Zacharias had succeeded in restraining the pious Luitprand through religious considerations and persuading him to withdraw from Rome, his successor, Stephen II, found no sympathy from the less pious Aistulf. Although he sent his brother, the deacon Paulus, *) to the king, along with the envoy of the Greek emperor, to persuade him to return the places he had occupied to the emperor, it was to no avail.

The pope now turned to the Greek emperor with an urgent plea to send an army to Italy's aid and to liberate both Rome and the entire province from the Lombards. But here too, he knocked on a closed door, and now, in desperation, the Pope turned to the West to seek help from Pepin, the King of the Franks. Pepin was one of those mayors of the palace, or administrators of the royal house, who, during the collapse of the Merovingian royal house, had managed to elevate themselves above the king through their skill and bravery. Only the title of king was still lacking. He managed to obtain this through the Pope, aided by Boniface, the apostle of the Germans. Boniface was devoted to the authority of the Pope with heart and soul. The Christianity he preached had the same fundamental articles of faith: blind submission to the Holy See. He had also managed to impress this upon the Franks. Pepin, therefore, believed there was no better way to achieve his goal than to appeal to the Pope. And the Pope declared that "he who had the power also had the right." Pepin was anointed king by Boniface, amidst popular acclaim. He was therefore under an obligation to the pope. His successor, Stephen II, took advantage of this in his perilous circumstances. Negotiations were opened, first through a pilgrim who brought Pepin a letter from the pope requesting him to send envoys to Rome, pleading with him to come to France and escort him there. Pepin complied with this request and sent Abbot Hrotgang to Rome, then a second, Dux Autchar, the king's trusted confidant, both promising to do what the pope desired. He had sought and received the consent of the leading figures of his realm for this. The pope invoked religious, not political, reasons for his visit. "It is," he says, "by God's command that I come to you. The good work has been reserved for the king of the Franks, to raise the church from its humiliation and to restore the prince of the apostles to his right. None of your ancestors deserved such a glorious task; but God has chosen you and ordained you before all time, as it is written (Rom. 8:30): 'Whom he predestined, them he also called; And whom he called, them he also justified.' You are called; hasten to vindicate the prince of the Apostles; for it is written: 'Faith is justified by works.'" (James 2:26).

"At God's command," the pope now travels to France, anoints Pepin once more at St. Denis (July 28, 754), and falls on his knees before him, praying that he protect him from the Lombards. Pepin declares himself willing to do so and also promises to donate all the cities he conquers from the Lombards to the pope. How? we ask. Wasn't this much more than the pope desired? The opposite is true. In the letter of Stephen, from which we quoted a few lines, we already heard him speak of a "raising (exaltare) of the church" from its humiliation, a restoration of the pope to his right. And as we read further, we begin to suspect that the Pope made his trip to France not intended something more than just protection against an overwhelming enemy. He draws a comparison between Pepin and Emperor Constantine the Great. "Just as God had acted in this case through the apostles Peter and Paul and through Pope Sylvester, so it is now. God approaches Pepin through his Apostle Peter, through Pope Stephen II. Thus, the blessing and grace of Saint Peter are also poured out upon Pepin."

Negotiations preceded the pope's arrival in France, and these negotiations had reached a successful conclusion. But when the pope invokes the right of the church and Pepin's obligation to raise it from its humiliation, he must have been able to prove that right with the documents. This becomes especially clear when we hear the pope, in his correspondence with Pepin, speak of a restitution (restitutio) of what belonged to the church. And when in 754 an envoy from Constantinople appeared at Pepin's camp in Pavia to request the restitution of his property on behalf of his master, the Greek emperor, Pepin replied, "that he had not gone to war for the convenience of any man, but solely out of veneration for Saint Peter and to obtain forgiveness of his sins."

The pope had thus managed to convince him that forgiveness of his sins could only be

obtained at the cost of surrendering what he intended to conquer from the Lombards. To this end, he invoked Matthew 16:18, 19, the right granted to Peter, and therefore also to his successors, to bind and loose. He had already exercised this right when he declared the last Merovingian king dethroned and had Pepin anointed in his place. But he also sent them a letter from Peter himself, in which this Apostle implores the Frankish kings, now with promises and now with threats, to save Rome and the Roman Church—a letter that has been included as genuine in the collection of the Codex Carolinus!

However, all this was not enough to achieve Stephen's intended goal. To this end, Pepin was shown a document, said to date from the 4th century, in which Constantine the Great had granted Pope Sylvester all sorts of privileges for him and the clergy, and finally presented him with the city and territory of Rome, along with the Exarchate of Ravenna. This document is the infamous Donatio Constantini, which fully convinced Pepin and was ratified by his son, Charles the Great. Thus, he came to donate everything he had conquered from the Lombards to the papal throne. We must now examine this document more closely.

It is reviewed in its entirety by Prof. J. Friedrich, in his important book: The Constantinian Gift *). It looks strange. After a long introduction, listing all of Constantine's titles, it begins with a confession of faith, in accordance with the Symbolum Nicaenum. Then the emperor recounts how he had been struck by a severe leprosy all over his body and had consulted many physicians in vain, when some priests from the Capitol came to him and told him to make a pool in the Capitol, fill it with the warm blood of young children, and then bathe in it. At his command, a number of boys were gathered, and the priests stood ready to slaughter them; however, when the emperor saw the tears of their mothers, he restrained the priests and returned the boys, laden with gifts, to their mothers. The following night, the empress dreamed of the apostles Peter and Paul, who told him that, because of the compassion he had shown, they had been sent by Christ to give him good advice for his recovery. Pope Sylvester, due to the emperor's persecution, had fled to Mount Seraptus (Soracte) and had found refuge in a cave with his clergy. He was to send for him from there; the pope would then show him a consecrated pool, in which he was to bathe three times, after which the leprosy would disappear. In gratitude for this favor, he was then to restore all the churches of the world, abandon all superstition and idol worship, and convert to the one true God.

After the emperor awoke from sleep, he summoned Pope Sylvester and told him his dream, asking which gods Peter and Paul were. "They are not gods," said Sylvester, "but Apostles of our Savior Jesus Christ. Don't you have a picture of those apostles?" asked the emperor, "so that I may see if they are the same men who appeared to me in the dream." The pope produces the requested pictures, and the emperor immediately recognizes the men he has seen. The pope now imposes a period of penance on him in his palace, the Lateran, to atone for his sins against the Christians. The clergy then laid hands on him and brought him to the Pope, before whom he abjured Satan and his works, along with those of all idols, and professed his faith in the almighty Father and his Son before all the people. He bathed three times in the consecrated pool and was cured of his illness. He was clothed in white robes, anointed with holy oil, and consecrated to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit by the sign of the cross on his forehead. He then received baptism.

The following day, Sylvester instructed him about the power conferred on Peter by Christ, according to Matthew 16:18, 19. The emperor then recognized the Pope as the vicar of Christ and the successor of Peter. He decided to elevate the Roman Church above his own worldly domain and endow it with imperial splendor. He placed it above the churches of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and the Pope above the priests of the entire world. He founded a magnificent church in the Lateran and endowed it with all manner of gold and silver ornaments.

Furthermore, the Pope was given the Lateran as a residence; he was permitted to wear all the imperial ornaments: a gold crown, the phrygium, the lorium (a necklace), a purple robe, etc. He returned to this later, but with the remark that Sylvester, who already wore the crown of Peter, the tonsure, did not want to wear a gold crown over it and was content with the phrygium (tiara). Why he retracted this point and added that he performed the duties of Sylvester's groom, leading his horse by the bridle, will become clear later. The Roman clergy was placed on an equal footing with the Imperial Senate, thus obtaining the ranks of Patricius and Consul. They were granted the right to wear the insignia of imperial noble officials. They were permitted to serve the Pope as chamberlains, doorkeepers, and bodyguards. They were permitted to ride horses with white robes and wear white sandals, which was considered an

46600 extraordinary distinction. If a member of the Senate, with the Pope's approval, wished to become a clergyman, no one was permitted to prevent them from doing so. Finally, and last but not least, the Emperor granted the Pope and his successors the authority over the city of Rome and all the provinces of Italy and *) the West. And to demonstrate the exalted power of the Pope, Constantine decided to move his

46605 imperial seat to Byzantium and found a new city there (Constantinople). "For it is not right that the earthly emperor should rule where the dominion of the head of the Christian church is established." These decrees must remain inviolate until the end of the world. They are sworn to by the emperor before God and declared effective for all his successors, while the most terrible punishments in this and the next life are

46610 invoked against all who would deviate from them. This decree was ratified by the emperor with his own signature.

This was the Donation of Constantine, which was presented to Pepin. He was not a man to doubt or investigate the authenticity of this document, but accepted it faithfully as coming from Constantine the Great. As an obedient son of the church, after his

46615 victory over the Lombards, he placed the keys of the Exarchate, with the city of Ravenna and twenty other cities—of Emilia, Flaminia, and Pentapolis—on the altar of St. Peter's Church. Charlemagne was less credulous and refused to hear the story of Constantine's conversion. But he recognized his Donation as genuine and sealed his father's gift. Indeed, it was explained to him that Pepin had donated much more to

46620 the pope, including Corsica, Venice, Istria, Luni, Monfelice, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, so that he retained little of his Italian possessions. Much of it, in fact, did not even belong to him.

The popes made little use of the Donation Charter in the early years. Their secular dominion, including Rome, existed more in name than in reality. It later became a

46625 constant bone of contention between them and the German emperors. It was not until 777 that Pope Adrian I mentioned the charter in a letter to Charlemagne. Again, in 785, in a letter to the Greek emperor. Expressions borrowed from the document also appear in the Libri Carolini, four books commissioned by Charlemagne and written by Frankish theologians on the subject of the iconoclasm.

46630 In 840, it was included in a collection of so-called papal decrees, known as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. From then on, it was also disseminated outside Italy, particularly in France.

Among scholars experienced in ecclesiastical history and literature, Aeneas, Bishop of Paris, and Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, it was recognized as genuine, although the

46635 latter was deeply convinced of its inauthenticity and, if need be, provided evidence of it. Some criticism, some doubt about its authenticity, thus began to surface even then.

The popes made no mention of the Donation in their letters until Leo IX, who, in 1054, confidently communicated almost the entire text to the Patriarch of

46640 Constantinople, Michael Gerularius, so that he would "convince himself of the earthly and heavenly Empire, the royal priesthood of the Roman See, and that no trace of doubt would remain in his mind," as if this See "wanted to arrogate power through tasteless and old wives' tales." He is the only pope who made the document public in its essence. To the extent that he did so, he did so against his intention, in that

46645 it provoked criticism.

Gregory VII, his successor, does not mention the Donation in any of his letters. But in 1081, he did demand of Rudolph of Swabia, who had declared himself king against Henry IV, an oath to restore the lands and revenues granted to Saint Peter by

46650 Constantine and Charlemagne. His friend, Cardinal Damian, appealed to the Germans to the authority granted by Constantine to the popes to judge Italy. And when the Margravine Matilda, in 1097, granted the provinces of Liguria and Fuscina to Gregory, we recall that her confessor, Anselm, recorded the Donation in his legal book, and we now understand how she arrived at this generous gift. However highly Gregory VII may have ranked in other respects, he did not hesitate to use questionable documents to

46655 expand his power. For example, in 1081, he claimed that, according to the documents preserved in the archives of St. Peter's Church, all of Gaul had been made tributary to the Roman Church by Charlemagne and that this emperor had donated all of Saxony to that church.

46660 As we have seen, Charlemagne had already given the island of Corsica to the Pope. Urban II seems to have been unaware of this; at least, he based his claim to that island on the Donation of Constantine, with the peculiar assertion that all islands were, by law, the property of the state and that Constantine therefore had the right to dispose of them. This assertion was now built upon by including Ireland among the

46665 islands. It was Adrian IV, a native Englishman, who first came up with this ingenious

idea. As a great favor, he entrusted the administration of that island to the English king, Henry II. It was a disservice he rendered him, for Ireland still had to be conquered, which was only achieved after a struggle lasting 500 years. Attempts were made to convince the Irish that their island had formerly belonged to the Pope and that he had ceded it to the English king; but they were not foolish enough to believe it. They knew full well that neither the Roman emperors nor the Roman popes had ever possessed a foot of land on their island.

Rome's example of enriching itself by invoking Constantine's Donation was too tempting not to be imitated elsewhere. Thus, one reads in a chronicle of the church of St. Mary of the Principate that the emperor had granted Sylvester, in addition to his other possessions, the kingdom of Sicily on both sides of the Faro. Only Naples was excluded; The emperor and the pope had indeed visited that city, and the former had attended mass in the aforementioned church more than once. He had granted it all sorts of temporal privileges, including a number of estates and possessions, but had not presented it to the pope as a gift.

It is noteworthy, however, that in Italy there was no objection to rejecting the Donation if it conflicted with alleged rights or political plans. For example, in 1105, the monks of the monastery of Farfa, which had been endowed with numerous privileges by the emperor, opposed several Roman nobles who, based on the Donation, wanted to appropriate a castle. While they did not deny its authenticity, they attempted to prove on historical grounds that it could not have referred to the possession of Italy, but only to spiritual rights, since all emperors after Constantine had exercised unlimited rule over Italy. Paschal II, then pope, was so little recognized in Rome itself as lord of Italy that the monks dared to declare without contradiction before the Roman court that the pope was not entitled to worldly rule, since he had received not the keys to an earthly kingdom, but only to the kingdom of heaven.

In 1152, a follower of Arnold of Brescia, Wetzel, in a letter to Emperor Frederick I, decisively opposed the authenticity of the Donation. "That lie and heretical fable," he wrote, "that Constantine ceded the imperial rights in the city to Pope Sylvester is now so clear that even day laborers and women could convince the most learned of it, and the Pope and his cardinals would have to cower in shame." The grounds on which Wetzel relies are incorrect. But it is noteworthy that even then, doubts about or the conviction of the Donation's falsity were so widespread that the author dared to invoke day laborers and women.

Little attention was paid to this contradiction by the papal government. On the contrary, the document continued to be used in Rome where appropriate. It was incorporated into the legal records by Anselm of Lucca, Cardinal Deusdedit, and Ivo of Chartres. Otto of Freising claimed, in his Chronicle of 1143-1146, that all western lands owed the German and French tribute to the Pope. Others inferred from this that imperial power was a voluntary gift from the Pope and that the Emperor should therefore be considered a vassal of the latter. On this basis, in 1157, to the great indignation of the Germans, Adrian IV spoke in a letter to Frederick Barbarossa of "benefices" granted to the Emperor, and even presented the imperial crown as such a benefice. Provost Gerhoh of Reigersberg rightly raised his voice forcefully against this, although he was otherwise deeply sympathetic to the Roman see.

Meanwhile, historians began to treat the Donation with increasing caution. Sicard of Cremona speaks only in general terms of "regalia" granted by Constantine to Sylvester, without further defining those regalia. Romuald of Salerno speaks only of the bishops' submission to the pope. Robert Abolant speaks only of a "privilege" granted by Constantine to the popes. Tolomeo of Lucca speaks only of rights and privileges with which the emperor had endowed certain Roman clergy, the later cardinals. The papal historian Bernard Guidonis is entirely silent on the Donation. Amalrich Augerii mentions only the government of Rome and the granting of the imperial insignia. The latter is not even mentioned by the Belgian Balduin, a monk at the Monastery of Ninove. Another, Gotfried, a canon at Viterbo, allows the proponents and opponents of authenticity to argue with each other, without reaching a decision. While Gervasius of Tilbury, in 1211, believed that Constantine had indeed granted Sylvester royal power over the western lands, but without thereby granting him the empire itself or imperial dignity.

Against this, the jurists and the popes continued to maintain the authenticity of the Donation for a long time. Innocent III says in a sermon on Sylvester that Constantine had granted him "all the kingdoms of the West." The same man, whose beautiful statement we placed at the beginning of this article, dared to defend the temporal power of the popes by invoking the plurality of keys, mentioned in Matthew 16:1. Only the church, he says, can command, like Christ: "Put your sword into its sheath." He

was also the one who compared the rule of the pope and the emperor to the light of the sun and the moon. The moon, that is, the emperor, receives its light from the sun, the pope. Before him, Gregory VII had asserted that all secular power that does not acknowledge its dependence on the Church is robbery and theft. The first king, he said, was the hunter Nimrod, who oppressed his fellow citizens, and to this day, most princes are true sons of this hunter.

Gregory IX asserted to Emperor Frederick II that "Constantine, with the imperial insignia, entrusted Rome, its territory, and the Empire, the realm, to the care of the popes forever. It was a favor of the popes that they had granted the emperors the power of the sword, so that they could be called to account by the popes at any time." In a letter to Bishop Herman of Metz, the same Gregory invokes a letter from Pope Gelasius to Emperor Anastasius, but through elaborations and conflating phrases, manages to distort this so that Gelasius says the opposite of what he intended, since he had actually admonished the heads of the church to obey the imperial laws.

Innocent IV went even further. He called it an error that Constantine was the first to grant temporal power to the Roman See. No, Christ himself granted both royal and priestly power to Peter and his successors. Constantine, therefore, did nothing more than return the power he wrongfully exercised to its rightful owner, the church, and deprive it of this power recovered. This doctrine was formalized by Roman court theologians. Christ, they said, was lord of the entire world; at his ascension, he bequeathed this dominion to his vicar Peter and his successors. Even the most powerful monarch possesses only as much as the Pope has granted him. This theory was intended to deprive the objections to the Donation of Constantine of all force.

For these objections became increasingly loud. A French lawyer, Pierre Dubois, stated, in his dissertation on the bull of Boniface VIII, that the Donation was unlawful from the outset on legal grounds. He invoked the judgment of all legal scholars, but added the peculiar reasoning that the long statute of limitations now granted it a legitimate existence. As if theft ceases to be theft by prolonged possession, a lie by prolonged persistence. On the same grounds as Dubois, in 1306 the Dominican Johannes Quidort, master of the theological faculty of Paris, challenged the legitimacy of the Donation. An emperor, he argued, may only expand the empire, not shrink it. Such a distortion could be undone by any successor, since the emperor alone administers his lands.

During the period of ongoing conflict between the empire and the papacy, from the death of Frederick II until Louis of Bavaria, 1250-1346, the Donation was frequently discussed. The Minorite Marsiglio of Padua, who sided with the emperor, was unsure what to do with it and used it only to emphasize that an emperor who can grant something to a pope thereby proves to be superior to him.

Opinions regarding the extent of the Donation were divided in the 13th and 14th centuries. Some, like Pope Nicholas III, applied it only to Rome. Others, like Clement V, understood it to encompass all kinds of imperial rights in general; or, like John XXII, they spoke only of the imperial seat that Constantine had granted to Sylvester, which the latter could freely dispose of, or, like a Dante commentator, of "all imperial dignities." In contrast, Rudolph of Colonna mentions Rome, Italy, and all the western empires. Nicholas of Clamenge even claims that Constantine had given the entire western empire to the Roman Church and appointed the cardinals as senators.

This went too far. The Parisian theologian Jacques Almain declares that Constantine could not dispose of any land without the consent of the people and that, moreover, the Romans had never been legitimate lords of Gaul. But he adds that it is the general doctrine of the doctors that Constantine never actually renounced the western empire. Nowhere, he says, does one read that. Luipold of Babenberg also dedicated his reflections, in a book on the Roman Empire, to the Archbishop of Trier (1307-1054). He admits, however, that all Roman legal scholars consider the Donation valid and irrevocable; but he also knows that all emperors after Constantine, as well as before him, ruled the West. He even found passages in ecclesiastical law books that only mention a surrender of the city of Rome. He dares not decide and leaves the matter to higher wisdom.

Thus, uncertainty remained for a long time. It was felt that something was amiss in the matter; but a thorough investigation was not yet undertaken. At the end of the 15th century, Johan Hug, pastor of Strasbourg, still dared to defend the Donation. And in Germany, on this basis, the clergy imposed fines for matters that fell entirely within the scope of civil law.

However, alongside the desire to enhance the church's prestige through substantial donations, the conviction arose as early as the 12th century that the church's corruption was primarily due to the clergy's greed, and that this was hindering a

radical reformation of the church. People remembered that the clergy had originally been poor and had to live on charity, and they lamented that Constantine and Sylvester had awakened in them the desire for wealth. The various sects that arose in the Middle Ages fostered this belief and spread it in Italy, Germany, and France. They themselves set the example of this poverty. Consider the Poor of Lyon. Dante's voice in this spirit was heard loud and clear. He names greed and simony as the ill-fated fruits of the Donation. Ottokar von Horneck says that Constantine gave the popes the sword, along with the stole, which they nevertheless did not know how to wield. Walther von der Vogelweide has an angel cry out "Woe!" over the church, which has imbibed poison. The St. Rabsburg chronicler Königshofen says that a voice was heard across Rome: "Today the bile and poison have been poured out in holy Christendom. And know that this is still the source of all strife between popes and emperors." The Minorite Johan von Winterthur, the theologian Johannes van Parijs, and, a hundred years later, the Augustinian monk Dietrich Vrie of Osnabrück, all speak in the same spirit. It became a popular proverb that an angel had proclaimed Woe! upon Rome. At first, it was a fallen angel, the devil himself; later, he became an angel of light. The idea that Constantine had corrupted the church through his Donation was also shared by Wicleff.

However, belief in its authenticity would not last long. As early as 1443, Aeneas Sylvius, then secretary to Frederick III, later Pope Pius II, advised the emperor to convene a council to discuss the issue of the Donation, which "confounded many minds." Apparently, he himself was convinced of its inauthenticity; neither among the ancient historians nor among Damasus, that is, in the Papal Book, *), he said, is there any evidence of it. He wanted the council to declare the inauthenticity. Around the same time, voices were heard from various quarters in the same vein. Cardinal Cusa did not yet dare to declare himself entirely in favor of its inauthenticity. In contrast, Reginald Pocock, Bishop of Chichester, conducted a very careful historical investigation of the sources. But Laurentius Valla went the furthest. Born in Piacenza in 1407, he served as a teacher of fine arts in the principal cities of Italy in 1431 and 1433. His liberal views incurred the enmity of the scholastics, but he was protected by the King of Naples. Here he published his treatise "De donazione Constantini," in which he demonstrated that the pope had no right to Rome and the Papal States, that he was only the Vicar of Christ, but not of the emperor. In a rhetorical style, he couched the evidence for the falsehood in the form of conversations between Constantine's sons, Pope Sylvester, and the Roman people, thus putting an end to the matter once and for all. The Inquisition instituted a prosecution against the author, which he escaped by flight. In Rome, however, he was protected and accepted by Pope Nicholas V, without having to recant. *)

For another hundred years, Roman legal scholars clung to the authenticity of the Donation. One of the most famous jurists of the 15th century, Nicolaas Tudeschi, declared any doubt about its authenticity to be heresy. So did Cardinal Parisius, the Spanish bishop Albertinus, Antonius Rosellus, and Louis Gomez. Cardinal Albano considered it evidence of extreme impudence not to bow to the unanimous opinion of so many and such great Church Fathers, or, as Peter Igneus put it, of the entire academy of canonists and legalists.

When Cardinal Baronius finally added his voice to that of the opponents of its authenticity, the fate of the Donation was sealed. He did, however, maintain that Constantine had offered Rome to Sylvester, but that he had refused; nevertheless, he considered the document itself a fabrication. Even popes now smiled at the people's credulity. **) Emperor Otto III had already done the same five centuries earlier. When Ulrich von Hutten, in 1510, was about to leave Bologna, he found Valla's writings in the possession of his friend, the humanist Cochlaeus. He was so captivated by it that he requested a copy, which was provided to him by Frederick Fisher, canon of Würzburg. In 1517, he published it with a mischievous dedication to Leo 7th, whom he praised in various ways as the most excellent pope, a friend of the truth, to whom a writing like this would therefore be especially welcome. He hoped that Leo would openly admit his enthusiasm; then he would make an effort to find something similar for him. He particularly highlights the clumsiness of the deception in this dedication, from which one could sense that it was aimed at the Germans, whom the Italians were accustomed to saying had no brains. If they had been dealing with other peoples, they would have planned things more cleverly. When this publication came into Luther's hands, he was astonished that such blatant lies could have persisted for so many centuries, indeed, could have been considered articles of faith. Now it became fully clear to him that the Pope was none other than the Antichrist.

The deception was indeed so clumsy that it is almost incomprehensible how anyone

could have believed in the truth of this fable for eight hundred years. The story of Constantine's baptism by Sylvester had already been thoroughly discredited.

The legends, from which one usually drew one's knowledge of the fourth century, were in direct conflict. He was not baptized by Sylvester, but by the Ananian bishop Eusebius; not in Rome, but at the castle of Akyron near Nicomedia; not twenty years before his death, but only at the end of his life.

This legend originated as early as the end of the fifth century, probably in Rome. It survives only in a Greek translation and contains no historical element. According to it, Constantine was initially an opponent of Christianity and had many Christians who refused to sacrifice, including his own wife, put to death. Fearing him, Pope Sylvester fled to Mount Soracte. Then follows the story of the emperor's leprosy, which we already know, of his miraculous healing and baptism, whereupon all of Rome, the Senate and the people, believe in Christ. Because Constantine's baptism in the East was recounted by too many Church Fathers to deny it any credibility, the explanation was devised that another Constantine, a nephew of the emperor, was meant; or it was claimed that Constantine had converted to Arian Christianity and been baptized a second time in Nicomedia. The story of the baptism in Rome was included in the Liber pontificalis without any criticism, and the subsequent popes—Adrian I, Nicholas I, and Leo IX—did not hesitate to accept it as undeniable truth in their writings. Even long after the fabrication had been proven by undeniable evidence, men of repute continued to cling to the legend.

Today, no one, even among Roman theologians, dares to defend it. And the Donation, too, has lost all historical significance after Laurentius Valla and the age of the Reformation. The only question about which there can still be a difference of opinion is that of the time in which it originated. That it was concocted in Rome is beyond all doubt. It cannot have originated in Greece, as some have believed, for internal reasons. It also only became known in Greece at the end of the twelfth century. Of France, as others believe, even less can be said. Everything points to its origin in the seat of the papacy. There, in the eighth century, the desire for secular rule had awakened. In 728, Gregory II already attempted to establish a league of cities against the Greeks and Lombards, of which the papacy would be the head and center. That attempt failed. But it increasingly fostered the desire to somehow free itself from the crumbling Eastern Roman Empire and the rule of the Lombards. The city of Sutri, not far from Rome, had already been donated to the papal throne by Liutprand; it was the foundation of the secular realm. *) That peach tasted like more. And now an obliging spirit came up with the idea of having Constantine the Great fulfill the pope's ardent desire for supremacy. Who that was will become clear to us later. As for the time of the document's creation, it was previously believed **) that it first originated in the ninth century. However, the research of Professors Döllinger and Friedrich has clearly shown that it is of earlier origin. In his Papst-fabeln ***) (1863), Döllinger generally accepted a period between 752 and 774, in view of the mention of the Donation by Pope Adrian I. He is inclined to attribute the fiction to Charlemagne, as how Pepin came to donate so much land to the Pope remains unanswered. In his 1893 work, Das Papsthum ****), he arrives at a more precise and earlier determination. There it is stated that the document was intended to be shown to Pepin and must have been written shortly before 754, just like the infamous Epistle of Peter. This makes it perfectly clear how the credulous Pepin complied with Stephen's wish by threatening him with the most terrible tortures of body and soul and promising complete forgiveness of sins. We possess an even more detailed examination of the matter in Friedrich's important 1889 book, "Die Constantinische Sehenkung" (The Constantinian Recording). In it, he adds new evidence for the existence of the document in the eighth century, at least before 785. But he also demonstrates that it did not suddenly appear in the form in which we know it today. He divides it into an older and a more recent document. And he does so so clearly that we think of Columbus's egg. Who didn't find it strange that the most important thing in the Donation, the surrender of such a vast territory, is only mentioned at the end, after mentioning all sorts of distinctions of far lesser value? And then, after everything has been enumerated by which the Roman Catholic church was elevated in prestige, she revisits the matter and presents it differently. Constantine had given Sylvester his diadem, the crown, and the phrygium, and he had accepted everything. But now we read that Sylvester felt he was not entitled to wear a golden crown above Peter's crown, the tonsure, and contented himself with the phrygium. Furthermore, the emperor performed the duties of a groom for the pope, leading his horse by the bridle. First, the Lateran Palace had been given to the pope; now, in addition, the city of Rome, with Italy and the western provinces, is added.

- 46930 Constantine leaves the West and establishes his seat in the East, because it is not fitting for a secular ruler to occupy the same throne as the ecclesiastical; the former yields to the latter. Whereas the emperor had first made the pope prince over all the priests of the entire world, in the final section it is the "heavenly emperor" who grants the earthly emperor his exalted rank.
- 46935 All this demonstrates that the charter of the Donation was initially simpler. But once the process of condensing had begun, and with success, the papal court saw no objection to resorting to new condensations and enriching the church with ever greater power and influence through Constantine.
- 46940 When would this first and most extensive section have originated? According to Friedrich, in the seventh century. From a linguistic perspective, this is already clear. A number of words and expressions are used in it in a sense similar to that found in contemporary writers of that century, and no longer so. This is supported by numerous pieces of evidence. Friedrich believes he can pinpoint the time of the first drafting of the document even more precisely, namely during the pontifical reign of
- 46945 Honorius I or Martin I, i.e., between 625 and 653. This, too, is demonstrated by numerous pieces of evidence. The confession of faith, which opens the document, is particularly relevant here. And why this confession was placed at the head of the Donation is also explicable. It vindicated Pope Honorius, who had been condemned for heresy, and demonstrated that he had taught nothing other than what Pope Sylvester
- 46950 had already presented to Constantine. The document must have been composed only after Honorius' death in 638 and before the banishment of Martin I in 653.
- 46955 Friedrich also points to the precedence accorded the Lateran Church over St. Peter's Church in the first section. The former is first called Basilica Gonstantiniana in 487, without its construction by Constantine being inferred from this. Gradually, it emerged as the main church, the only church where baptisms took place. St. Peter's Church was only mentioned as a baptismal church after 600, and then, in the time of Honorius I, after 625, it began to be placed above the Lateran Church, although opinions remained divided for a long time as to which church had precedence. Indeed, under Honorius, and with his support, the clergy of the Lateran Church succeeded in
- 46960 elevating themselves above those of St. Peter's, and we find expression of this in the first part of the Donation. Martin I confirmed the precedence of the Lateran Church in a papal letter. Since then, there has been no mention of this.
- 46965 The question of how the Donation was condensed in the seventh century is obvious. The struggle for precedence between Rome and Constantinople had lasted a long time. By this means, they attempted to secure Rome's definitive victory. Constantine the Great, who, as the first Christian emperor, was highly revered throughout the entire church, was made to solemnly declare upon his conversion to Christianity that, by his imperial will, he granted Rome precedence (privilegium) above all churches. This
- 46970 declared the Bishop of Rome the head of all bishops worldwide, a title already offered to Gregory the Great but indignantly rejected by him. Since the seventh century, the Bishop of Rome, who previously called himself "the servant of servants," has been called the "universal pope" (universalis papa) in all official documents. Papal authority is equated with that of the emperor. To this end, Sylvester receives the imperial palace in the Lateran and all the insignia of imperial dignity, the
- 46975 crown, the scepter, etc., all the honors due to the emperor. Rome was still considered the seat of the empire (Imperii solium). But the Senate no longer existed, and in reality, Rome was ruled by the pope. It was obvious that he now also considered himself the owner of the imperial crown and claimed the right to wear the imperial insignia.
- 46980 Once this was accepted, his entourage also had to correspond to the high rank he held. Hence, the Roman Catholic clergy is being considered. For a long time, they had been accustomed to adorning themselves with insignia in papal processions. Now, they wanted to elevate them to the rank of the former Senate. In the time of Gregory the Great, their presumption had become apparent. What they were denied then, they now
- 46985 managed to obtain through the Donation. And if one examines the various insignia, one finds new evidence for the origin of the first part of the Donation in the seventh century. In the eighth or ninth century, granting such insignia would have been meaningless. At the same time, this part of the document sheds a unique light on the customs and traditions of the time in which it originated.
- 46990 A hundred years later, however, people were still not satisfied with all the privileges granted to the papal chair, and once again the old and tried method of forgery was resorted to. An addition to the Donation was made, beginning with the words: Decrevimus itaque et hoe. At the end of the seventh century, attention was again focused on Pope Sylvester. In 687, between the death of Pope Conon and the
- 46995 election of his successor, Sergius, an oratory, a place of worship, dedicated to

Sylvester, previously unheard of, suddenly appeared, located in the Patriarchy of the Lateran and decorated with paintings by Pope Zacharias. A few years later, Bishop Aldhelm, who was in Rome in 690, published an addition to the Sylvester legend: a new dream of Constantine, which led him to found Constantinople and establish his see there. He did this at the pope's command. And now, in the most recent part of the Donation, we find the answer to the question of why this had to happen. This was because the earthly emperor was not allowed to have his seat in the same city where the heavenly emperor enthroned the head of the Christian religion.

When Pepin's brother, Carloman, went to Rome in 747 and became a monk, he retreated to Mount Soracte, where Sylvester had sought refuge, and there founded a monastery, which Pepin requested as a gift. This shows that Pepin was also a devotee of Sylvester, a veneration that was promoted by Popes Stephen II and Paul I. Thus, in those days, one could readily present the Sylvester legend and make of it what one wished. This most likely occurred shortly before the year 754, when Pepin undertook his first expedition against the Lombards. From 752 onward, the popes in their letters speak not of a gift, but of a restitution, sometimes to St. Peter, sometimes to the Roman Republic. And when Stephen II urges Pepin to do so, he does so not on political grounds, but at God's command and by appealing to Romans 8:29, 90. Just as God had worked with Constantine through Peter and Paul, and Paul in turn through Sylvester, so it was now. Pepin was the chosen one, to whom God approached through his apostle Peter, and Paul through the pope. Therefore, anyone who wants to achieve anything must have Peter and his vicar as "protectors," and to achieve this, the Roman Church must be "elevated," restored to its glory.

Thus began the negotiation between Stephen and Pepin. It ended with the Donation of the Exarchate, along with Rome and twenty other cities of Italy. In between lies the supplemented document, which led Pepin to believe that he was only returning to the Church what was rightfully its own. That this was indeed the pope's intention is evident from a letter from Pope Paul I, the same person who, as a deacon under his brother Stephen II, most likely led the negotiations. Regarding the Greeks' claims, he writes to Pepin that they rest on fables, while those of Rome rest on "divine words" and "apostolic documents." We find these divine words in Matthew 16:18, 19, the "apostolic" or papal *) documents in the Donation of Constantine.

It is now clear why the most important thing in that Donation, the ceding of the territory, is mentioned last. It is also clear how Pepin came to not only receive the pope with pomp but even to lead his horse by the bridle like a groom, something that had never happened before and was contrary to Frankish customs. Also, why the right to wear the imperial crown is revisited in the most recent part of the Donation? The reality conflicted with this acquired right. No pope had ever worn an imperial crown. Therefore, a solution had to be found to eliminate this contradiction. It was now said that the pope had refused the crown because he had already worn the crown of Peter in the tonsure.

The result of these various considerations is, that the oldest part of the Donation was condensed in the middle of the seventh century, specifically under Pope Martin I, between 638 and 653, and that the later part was added to it under Stephen II, in 753. Noteworthy is the similarity of expressions in seven letters of this pope with peculiar expressions in this second part. The same applies to the life of Stephen in the Liber pontificalis. This is even more true for Paul I, Stephen's brother and successor. From this, it can be deduced that no other author of the latest part of the Donation than this same Paul, when he was still a deacon under his brother. Thus, through the acumen of Professors Döllinger and Friedrich, it was possible to completely lift the veil that lay over the Donation document. Although we would not wish to assert that the rule of all other monarchs is based on truth and justice, the aforementioned revelations have made it crystal clear that the worldly rule of the popes rests on lies and deceit.

*) Untruth under the guise of sanctity must not be tolerated. It is better that scandal arise than that the truth be abandoned.

*) To be distinguished from Paulus Diaconus, a scholar among the Lombards, author of their history, to whom we owe much for our knowledge of this period.

*) It is strange that this work cannot be found in any of our university libraries. For our research, we also used Prof. Döllinger's Die Papst-fabeln des Mittelalters, 2nd edition, 1890, and Das Papstthum, 1893. The latter is a revised and supplemented edition of Der Papst und das Concil by Friedrich, by Janus. Die Const. The gift is from 1889.

*) In Constantine's letter, seu (or) appears; but in the Middle Ages, this word had the meaning of et (and). Anselm of Lucca therefore substituted et.

*) The Papal Book, or Liber Pontificalis, is a collection of biographies of the Roman popes, from Peter to Conon (687), continued from time to time later. It is of very relative historical value, especially the first part.

- 47065 *) According to Bayle and Gibbon, he seems to have done so later. See Bayle, in voce Vallet; Gibbon, Hist. of the Decline etc. V, 35.
 **) See Gibbon, V, 36.
 *) According to others, it was the cities of Osemo and Ancona that Pope Zacharias received as a gift from Liutprand.
 **) Zoo Gieseler, K. G. II, 1, 11, 189.
 47070 ***) Papst-fabeln, p. 67.
 ****) Das Papstthum, p. 28.
 *) That the word "apostolic" is indeed equivalent to papal is demonstrated by Friedrich, pp. 146 ff.

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47080

Dux Mogontiacensis

In Dej nomine' incipiunt annu°tiato°es Prouintiarx Græcarx & Pinnarx vl Gallicanarx
cu° Priuilegijs [Bildnr. 127]

Civitas centron° tarrentasia

47085

Civitas valensiu octodorx

Prouintia viennensis metropol

Civitas viennensiu°

Civitas Gennauensiu°

Civitas Gratianopolitana

47090

Civitas Albensiu° [Bildnr. 128]

Civitas Deensium

Civitas valentinorx

Civitas tricastmorx

Civitas vasensiu°

47095

Civitas Aurasicorx

Civitas Cauellicorx

Civitas Auennechorx

Civitas Arelatensui°

Civitas Maßiliensis

47100

Prouintia Lugdunensis prima

Metropol civit Lugdunensis

Civitas Eduorx

Civitas Imgoniu°

Castru° Caualonense'

47105

Prouintia Lugdunensis secunda

Civitas Rotogansiu°

Civitas Baiocaßiu°

Civitas Abiucatu°

Civitas Ebroicorx

47110

Civitas Saiorx

Civitas Lexiouiorx

Civitas Constantia

Prouintia Lugdunensis tertia

Metrop civit tyrenorx

47115

Civitas Celomannarx

Civitas Redonum

Civitas Andecauorx

Civitas Namnetu°

Civitas Consolitu°

47120

Civitas Ganeti

Civitas Osisinorx

Civitas Deabient°

Prouintia Lugdunensis quarta

Civit metrop Senonu°

47125

Civitas Cartotu°

Civitas Tricaßiu°

Civitas Autisiorx

Civitas Aurelianorx

Civitas Parisiorx

47130

Civitas Melduorx

Prouintia Belgica prima

Civit° metrop Treuerorx

Civitas Mediomatricu°

Civitas Leoeorx tullos

47135

Civitas Verodunensis

Prouintia Belgica secunda

Civit° metrop° Remoru

Civitas Seßionu°

Civitas Catalaonorx

47140

Civitas Veromandorx

Civitas Atrabatu°

Civitas Cameracentiu°

Civitas Turnacensiu°

Civitas Silianectum [Bildnr. 129]

47145

Civitas Bellouacorx

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- Civitas Ambiennensui∞
 Civitas Morenu∞
 Civitas Bonomensiu∞
 Prouintia Germanorx priorx
 47150 Civitas metro" Magoziacensiu∞
 Civitas Ariotoratensiu∞
 Civitas Neometu∞
 Civitas Vuangionu∞
 Prouintia Germaniæ Secundæ'
 47155 Civitas Agripinensiu∞
 Civitas Tungrorx
 Prouintia maxima Sequanorx
 PROVINCIÆ GALLIARx SUNT XVII [Bildnr. 130]
 Prima viennensis
 47160 Secunda narbonensis
 Tertia aquitania prima
 Quarta aquitania Secunda
 Quinta nove∞polana
 Sexta alpes maritimarx
 47165 Septima belgica prima ni quæst treueris
 Octaua begica scta de g"transistus britanorx
 Nona Germania prima Super Renu∞
 Decima Germania ij versus britann
 Vndecima lugdunensis prima
 47170 Duodecima lugdunensis supra oceanu∞
 Tertia decima lugd ut sup versus britan.
 Quarta decima Senonia [Bildnr. 131]
 Quintadecima Maxima
 Sextadecima Sequanorx
 47175 Septima decima alpes Graiæ'
 Sub dispositione'viri illustris Magistri militii per oriente vexillationes Comitaten
 ses decem [Bildnr. 193]
 Equites secundi Stablesiani
 Equites tertij Stablesiani
 47180 Sub dispositione'viri Spectabilis Comitatis rei militaris per AEgyptii [Bildnr. 230]
 Equites Stablesiani Pelusio
 Sub dispositione'viri Spectabilis Ducis Scythiæ' [Bildnr. 252]
 Cuneus equitu∞ Stablesianorx Cij
 Cuneus equitu∞ Stablesianorx Bireo
 47185 Sub dispositione'viri Spectabilis Ducis Mæsiæ' Sctæ'. [Bildnr. 254]
 Cuneus equitu∞ Stablesianorx Sucidaua.
 Sub dispositione'viri Spectabilis Ducis Daciæ'Ripensis [Bildnr. 258]
 Cuneus equitu∞ Stablesianorx Almo.
 Noticia Dignitatu∞ omniu∞ tam cuiliu qua militarui in partibus occidentis [Bildnr.
 47190 263]
 Præfectus prætorio Galliarx
 Magister equitu∞ per Gallias
 Per Gallias Sex
 Viennensis
 47195 Lugdunensis primæ'
 Germaniæ' Secundæ'
 Belgicæ'primæ'
 Belgicæ'Secundæ'
 Germaniæ' primæ'
 47200 Sub dispositione'virorx illustriu∞ præfect: prætor Italiæ' Diocese infrascriptæ'.
 [Bildnr. 267]
 vij prouinciarx xij
 Belgica prima
 Belgica secunda
 47205 Offitiu∞ viri Illust: præfecti ptor Galliarx
 Princeps
 Cornicularius
 Aduitor
 Commentariensis
 47210 Abactis Numerarij
 Subadiuuæ'

- Sub dispositione'viri illustris Magistri peditu præfentialis Comites mi"litu^o
infrascriptarx [Bildnr. 276]
Duces Limitu^o infra Scriptorx decem
- 47215 Belgicæ'Secundæ'
Germaniæ'primæ'
Mogontiacensis
Insignia viri Illustris Magistri equitu^o [Bildnr. 278]
Stablesianj [Bildnr. 279]
- 47220 Stablesianj
Sub dispositione'viri illustris Comit'is & magistri equitu^o præfentalis [Bildnr. 280]
Vexillationes Comitatus.
Equites stablesiani africani.
Equites Stablesiani italiciani
- 47225 Infra africa^o cu^o viro spec"tabili Comite'Africæ'. [Bildnr. 282]
Equites Stablesiani itali"ciani.
Equites Stablesiani Senior:
Infra Brittannias cu^o viro spectabili Comite'Brittanniarx. [Bildnr. 283]
Equites Stablesiani
- 47230 Sub dispositione'viri Illustris Magistri offitiorx. [Bildnr. 285]
Fabricæ'infrascriptæ'in Illyrico.
In Gallis
Argentomagensis armorx omniu^o.
Sub dispositione'viri Spectabilis Comit'is litoris Saxor per Brittannia^o. [Bildnr. 310]
Praepositus militu^o tungraecanorx Dubris.
Præpositus equitu^o Stablesian: Gariañonens: Gariañonor.
Sub dispositione'viri spectabilis ducis Prouinciæ'Valeriæ'Ripensis. [Bildnr. 321]
Cun equit Stablesianorx ripa alta nunc conradcuha.
- 47240 Sub dispositione'viri spectabilis ducis Pannoniæ'primæ' & Norici [Bilder 323]
Cuneus equitu^o Stablesianorx Arrabonæ'
Sub dispositione'viri spect: ducis Prouinciæ 'Rhetiæ'primæ' & 'secundæ' [Bildnr. 325]
Equites Stablesiani senio"res Augustanis
47245 Equit: Stablesiani iuni"ores ponteoni nunc fe"bians.
Equites Stablesiani iu"niore sub Muntorio.
Dux Belgicæ'secundæ' [Bildnr. 330] [Heerführer der Provinz Belgica II]
Sub dispositione'viri Spectabilis ducis belgicæ'secundæ'.
Equites Dalmatiæ' Marcis in littore Saxonico.
- 47250 Claßes iambricæ'in lococo quartensi sine hornesi^o
Tribunus militii Neruiox portue'patiati.
Offitiu aut habet ide vir spect: hoc modo.
Principem ex eode^o corpo"re. Numerariu^o. [Kanzleivorshere (aus den Reihen der Armee)]
[Buchführer]
- 47255 Com[m]entariensem [Buchführer, Rechtskundiger aus der Armee/Rechtsbeistand]
Adiutorem [Helfer/Assistent]
Subadiuuam [untergeordnete Helfer/Hilfskraft]
Regendariu^o [Verwaltung]
Exceptores [Juristen]
- 47260 Singulares & reliquos offitiales. [Garde/Leibwächter und sonstige Beamte]
Dux Germaniæ primæ.
Dux Mogontiacensis [Bildnr. 333 e.v.] [Heerführer der Mainzer Region]
Sub dispositione'viri spectabilis Ducis Mogontiacensis [Bildnr. 334]
Præfectus militiu^o pacentiu^o Saletione' [Seltz]
- 47265 Præfec: milit: menapiorx tabernis [Rheinzabern]
Præf: mil anderetianorx vicouilio [Germersheim]
Præf: mil vindicum Nemetis [Speyer]
Præf: mil Martentiu^o altaripa. [Altrip]
Præfect: mil sectæ flaviæ'vangiones [Worms]
- 47270 Præf: militum armigerorx Mongontiaci [Mainz]
Præf: mil: bingentiu^o Bingio. [Bingen]
Præfec: mil: Balistariorx Bodobrica [Boppard]
Præfec: mil: defensorx Confluentibus. [Koblenz]
Præfec: mil: acincentium Antonaco. [Andernach]
- 47275 Offitiu^o aut ht idem vir Specta"bilis Dux hoc modo.
Principem ex offitijs Magistrorx militum præsentaliu^o alternis annis
Numerariu^o a parte'peditu^o semper Adiutorem Subadiuuam Regerendariu^o Exceptores.

- Singulares & reliquos offitiales.
Item Præposituræ'magistri mi"litum præsentaliuº a parte pedi"tum in Italia. Provincia
- 47280 vire"tia Inferiore'.
Præfec: mil iuniorx italicorx Rabennæ'
Præfect: claßis rabennanciuº cuº curis eius de civitate'Rabennæ'
In prouincia Liguriæ'
Præfec: claßis comensis cum curis eiusdem civitatis Como.
47285 In prouincia Campaniæ'
Præfec: claßis misenatiuº Miseno
In Prouincia Galliani parensi.
Præfectus claßis fluis Rhodani Viennæ'siue'Arelati.
Præfec: claßis barcariorx Ebruduni Sapaudiæ'.
47290 Præfec: mil musculariopx Maßiliæ' Græcorum
Tribunus cohortis primæ'flaviæ'sapaudiæ'Calaronæ'.
In prouincia populana.
Tribunus cohortis novæ'populanæ'lapurdo
In prouincia lugdonensi prima
47295 Præfec: claßis araricæ'Caballoduno
In prouincia lugdonensi Senonia
Præfectus claßis anderecianorx parisijs
In prouincia hispanæ'Calleria.
Præfec: legionis septimæ 'Geminæ'legionæ'.
47300 Tribunus cohortis sectæ'flaviæ'pacatione'pætaonio. [Bildnr. 335]
Tribunus cohortis sectæ Gallicæ'ad cohortem Gallicam.
Tribunus cohortis lugensis Luco.
Tribunus cohortis Celtibene'bri"gantia'nunciu liobriga.
In prouincia tarraconensi
47305 Tribu: cohortis primæ'Gallicæ'vleia.
Præfec: Lætorx teutonicianorx Carnunta Senoniæ'Lugdonensi.
Præfect: Lætorx batauorx & genti"lium Sueuorx baiocas & constantia'lugdonensi
secundæ'.
Præfec: lætorx gentiliuº sueuorx & Ceromannos lugdonensis tertiæ'
47310 Præfectus lætorx Francoruº Redonas lugdunensis tertiæ'.
Præfec: lætorx lingonentiuº per di"uersa dispersorx belgicæ'primæ'
Præfec: lætorx actorum epuso belgi"ca'primæ'
Præfectus lætorx Neruiorx Fano"mantis belgicæ secundæ'
Præfect: lætorx batauorx neme tacentium atrabatis belg: sctæ.
47315 Præfect: lætorx batauorx contra ginnentiuº noviomago belgicæ'sectæ
Præfectus lætorx gentiliuº remo & syluanectas belgicæ'secundæ'.
Præfect: lætorx lagentiuº pro partun"gris Germaniæ'secundæ'.
Præfectus lætorx gentiliuº Sueuorx arumbernos Aquitanicæ'primæ'.
Item Prouincia Italia
47320 Præfec: Sarmatarx Gentiliuº Apuliæ' & Calabriæ'.
Præfec: Sarmatarx Gentiliuº per brutios & lucaniam
Item in prouincia Italia Mediterranea
Præfec: Sarmatarx Gentiliuº Apuliæ' & Calabriæ'
Perfectus Sarmatarx gentiliuº per brutios & lucaniam.
47325 Præfec: Sarmatarx Gentiliuº Foro"fuluiensi
Præfect: Sarmatarx gentiliuº
Præf: Sarmatarx
Præfectus Sarmatarx
Præfec: Sarmatarx gentiliuº Cremone'
47330 Præfec: Sarmatarum gentiliuº taurinis.
Præfect: Sarmatarx gentiliuº aquis sive'tertona
Præf: Sarmat: gent: Nouariæ'
Præf: Sarma: gent: Vercellis.
Præf: Sarma: gent: Regionis Sa'nitis
47335 Præf: Sarma: gent: Bononiæ'in amilia/æmilia.
Præfectus Sarmatarx gentiliuº quadratis & Eporizio. [Bildnr. 336]
Præfect: Sarmatarx gentiliuº in liguria pollentia.
Præfect: Sarmatarx & Taifalo"rum gentiliuº pictauis in Gallia
Præf: Sarmat: gentiliuº achora parisios usq.
47340 Perfectus Sarmatarx gentiliuº interrenos & Rambianos proui"ciæ'belgicæ sectæ.
Præfect Sarmat: gentiliuº per tractum

An Economic Evaluation of the Edict on Maximum Prices

Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices, promulgated in 301 CE, attempted to put a stop to the runaway inflation resulting from the Crisis of the Third Century. Many scholars, such as Alfred Wassink (1991), have ridiculed Diocletian's edict as poor economic policy, which they argue was widely recognized at that time as poor economic policy and was quickly abandoned.

However, Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices must be reevaluated with an open mind, relying on the modern economic theories of John Maynard Keynes and Milton Friedman. John Maynard Keynes published the General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money in 1936, revolutionizing the entire field of economics with his theories concerning consumption, production, equilibrium, and fiscal policy. In the 1960s, Milton Friedman founded the monetarist school of economics, which focuses on the importance of the money supply in affecting consumption, inflation, and the economy as a whole. Both literary references to Diocletian's economic policies and numismatic evidence will be evaluated. Diocletian's edict should be considered a success because it broke a dangerous economic cycle, which was driving towards the total collapse of imperial monetary and fiscal policy.

The Edict on Maximum Prices established a price ceiling, preventing people from charging a price higher than the one prescribed. This price ceiling certainly caused economic distortions, including higher unemployment and a contraction in production. This was the result of both producers deciding to no longer produce, because at the edict's prices they could no longer turn a profit, and an increase in bartering, which, compared to monetary transactions, is inherently inefficient and economically problematic. Nevertheless, this shocking damper on the price level worked to cut inflation in the long term. It did so by eliminating the popular assumption that inflation would continue, since, according to the economic idea of adaptive expectations, people's expectations of further inflation play an important role in driving inflation higher. Therefore, breaking this negative economic cycle was, in the end, a beneficial economic decision. To draw a comparison from recent history, Paul Volcker, in combating the stagflation of the 1970s and early 1980s, increased interest rates to reduce inflation, an act which significantly increased unemployment and reduced GDP, which is the sum of all goods and services produced within a particular country. Nevertheless, by breaking the cycle of stagflation, he laid the foundation for the solid economic growth of the late 1980s and the 1990s.

Although it is generally agreed by economists that setting a price ceiling is never a good thing, the establishment of a price ceiling, in this particular situation, stabilized the economic situation of the empire. Scholars have too often viewed the people of the ancient world, including Diocletian, as having a poor understanding of economics. Of course, the field of economics only got started in the late 1700s with Adam Smith and greatly picked up speed in the 20th century. Regardless, this evaluation of the Edict of Maximum Prices shows that Diocletian, relying on the history of imperial economic policy and the knowledge of the imperial bureaucracy, was capable of crafting sensible and relatively successful pieces of economic policy. Therefore, by coming to a better understanding of Diocletian's economic policies and their effects, it will be possible to develop a better understanding of the ways in which the reign of Diocletian serves as an important transitional period between the intense instability of the third century and greater stability of the fourth century.

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Edictum de pretiis rerum venalium; Price Edict of Diocletianus

I. De frugibus
 II. De vinis
 III. De oleo, aceto, liquamine, sale, melle
 IV. De carnibus
 V. De piscibus
 VI. De oleribus et pomis

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- VII. De mercedibus operariorum
VIII. De pelliibus, coriis, segestibus
IX. De formis caligaribus
X. De loramentis
47415 XI. De saetis caprinis sive camelinis
XII. De materiis
XIII. De radiis
XIV. De oneribus lignariis
XV. De lignis in vehiculis
47420 XVI. De materiis satoriis
XVII. De vecturarum mercedibus
XVIII. De pluma
XIX. De vestibus
XX. De mercedibus plumariorum et sericariorum
47425 XXI. De lanariis
XXII. De fullonibus
XXIII. De sericis
XXIV. De purpura
XXV. De lana
47430 XXVI. De lino
XXVII. De linteis
XXVIII. De linteis
XXIX. De clavis
XXX. De auro
47435 XXXI. De pretiis mancipiorum
XXXII. De pecoribus
XXXIII. De marmoribus
XXXIV. De feris Libycis
XXXV. De chartis
47440 XXXVI. De aromatibus et medicamentis
XXXVII. Ex quibus locis ad quas provincias quantum nauli excedere minime sit licitum
- I. Pulse and cereals
II. Wines
47445 III. Oil, salt etc.
IV. Meat
V. Fishes
VI. Vegetables, fruits
VII. Wages
47450 VIII. Hides, leather
IX. Shoes
X. Leather goods
XI. Products made of camel- and goat's hair
XII. Timber
47455 XIII. Combs, spindles
XIV. Poles, firewood
XV. Wagons, wooden tools, metals and terracotta, pottery
XVI. Ivory, needles
XVII. Freight, fodder
47460 XVIII. Feathers, cushions, writing utensils
XIX. Clothing
XX. Wages for embroiderers
XXI. Wages for weavers
XXII. Wages for fullers
47465 XXIII. Silk
XXIV. Purple thread
XXV. Woollens
XXVI. Linens
XXVII. Linens
47470 XXVIII. Linens
XXIX. Purple textiles
XXX. Gold and silver
XXXI. Slaves
XXXII. Cattle
47475 XXXIII. Marbles and other stone
XXXIV. Animals from the wild

XXXV. For waxes and resins, etc

XXXVI. For drugs, paints, dyes, glues

XXXVII. Sea freight

47480

I De frugibus

1. frumenti k(astrensem) mo(dium) [unum]

hordei k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

centenu<m> sive sicale k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

47485

mili pisti k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

mili integri k(astrensem) mo(dium) [unum]

panicii k(astrensem) mo(dium) [unum]

speltae mundae k(astrensem) mo(dium) [unum]

<farris k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

47490

scandulae sive speltae k(astrensem) mo(dium) [unum]

10. <hervuli k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

fab<a>e fressae [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

fabae non fress<a>e [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

lentic<u>lae [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

47495

herbiliae [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

pisae fractae [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

pisae non fractae [k(astrensem) mo(dium)] unum

ciceris [k(astrensem) mo(dium) un]um

hervi [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

47500

avenae [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

20. faeni Graeci [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

lupini crudi [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

lupini cocti [Ital(icum) s(extarium) unum]

fasioli sicci [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

47505

lini seminis [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

[oryz]ae mundae [k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum]

[tisana]e mundae [mo(dium) unum]

[alicae mun]dae [mo(dium) unum]

[s]esami k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

47510

faen<i> seminis k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

Medicae seminis k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

30. cannabis seminis k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

viciae siccae k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

papaveris k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

47515

cymini mundi k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

seminis raphanini k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

sinapis k(astrensem) mo(dium) unum

sinapis confectae Itali(cum) s. unum

47520

I. For pulse and cereals.

1a Wheat 1 k. mod. 100

2 Barley 1 k. mod. 60

3 Rye 1 k. mod. 60

4 Millet, hulled 1 k. mod. 10

47525

5 Millet, unhulled 1 k. mod.

6 Panic grass 1 k. mod. 5

7 Spelt 1 k. mod. 10

7a

8 Emmer 1 k. mod. 30

47530

8a Vetch

9 Broad beans, shelled ... 100

10 Broad beans, unshelled ... 6

11 Lentils ... 100

12 Sweet peas ... 80

47535

13 Peas, shelled ... 100

14 Peas, unshelled 1 k. mod. 6

15 Chick peas 1 k. mod. 100

16 Bitter vetch 1 k. mod. 100

17 Oats 1 k. mod. 30

47540

18 Fenugreek 1 k. mod. 100

19 Lupines, raw ... 60

20 Lupines, cooked ... 4

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- 21 Kidney beans , dried ... 100
 22 Flaxseed ... 150
 47545 23 Rice, hulled ... 200
 24 Barley grits, hulled ... 100
 25 Spelt grits, hulled ... 200
 26 Sesame 1 k. mod. 200
 27 Hay seed 1 k. mod. 30
 47550 28 Alfalfa seed 1 k. mod. 150
 29 Hemp seed 1 k. mod. 80
 30 Vetch, dried 1 k. mod. 80
 31 Poppy seed 1 k. mod. 150
 32 Cumin, cleaned 1 k. mod. 200
 47555 33 Radish deed 1 k. mod. 150
 34 Mustard seed 1 k. mod. 150
 35 Mustard, prepared 1 sextarius 8
 36
 37
 47560
- II Item de vinis**
1. Piceni Italicum s(extarium) unum
 Tiburtini Italicum s(extarium) unum
 Sabini Italicum s(extarium) unum
 47565 Aminnei Italicum s(extarium) unum
 Saiti Italicum s(extarium) unum
 Surrentini Italicum s(extarium) unum
 Falerini Italicum s(extarium) unum
 item vini veteris primi gustus Ital. s(extarium) unum
 47570 vini veteris sequentis gustus Italicum s(extarium) unum
 10. vini rustici Ital. s(extarium) unum
 cervesiae <sive> cami Italicum s(extarium) unum
 zythi Italicum s(extarium) unum
 item caroeni Maeoni Italicum s(extarium) unum
 47575 chrysattici Italicum s(extarium) unum
 decocti Italicum s(extarium) unum
 [def]ritis Italicum s(extarium) unum
 conditi Italicum s(extarium) unum
 apsinthi Italicum s(extarium) unum
 47580 rhosati Italicum s(extarium) unum
- II. For wines
- 1a Picene 1 sextarius 30
 2 Tiburtine 1 sextarius 30
 47585 3 Sabine 1 sextarius 30
 4 Aminian 1 sextarius 30
 5 Setine 1 sextarius 30
 6 Surrentine 1 sextarius 30
 7 Falernian 1 sextarius 30 8 Falernian, one year old, first quality 1 sextarius 24
 47590 9 Wine, one year old, second quality 1 sextarius 16
 10 Ordinary wine 1 sextarius 8
 11 Wheat beer 1 sextarius 4
 12 Barley beer 1 sextarius 2
 13 Maeonian wine, boiled down one third 1 sextarius 30
 47595 14 Golden Attic wine 1 sextarius 24
 15 Must, boiled down 1 sextarius 16
 16 Must, boiled down one half 1 sextarius 20
 17 Spiced wine 1 sextarius 24
 18 Wine with wormwood 1 sextarius 20
 47600 19 Rose wine 1 sextarius 20
- III Item olei, aceti, liquaminis, salis, mellis**
1. olei floris Italicum s(extarium) unum
 olei sequentis Italicum s(extarium) unum
 47605 olei cibari Italicum s(extarium) unum
 olei raphanini Italicum s(extarium) unum
 aceti Italicum s(extarium) unum
 liquaminis primi Italicum s(extarium) unum

- 47610 1<i>quaminis secundi Italicum s(extarium) unum
salis <k(astrensem)> mo(dium) unum
salis conditi Italicum s(extarium) unum
10. mellis optimi Italicum s(extarium) unum
mellis secundi Italicum s(extarium) unum
mellis Phoenicini Italicum s(extarium) unum
- 47615 III. For oils, etc.
1a Olive oil, virgin, first quality 1 sextarius 40
2 Olive oil, second pressing 1 sextarius 24
3 Olive oil, ordinary 1 sextarius 12
47620 4 Oil from radish seed 1 sextarius 8
5 Vinegar 1 sextarius 6
6 Fish sauce, first quality 1 sextarius 16
7 Fish sauce, second quality 1 sextarius 12
8 Salt 1 k. mod. 100
47625 9 Spiced salt 1 sextarius 8
10 Honey, best quality 1 sextarius 40
11 Honey, second quality 1 sextarius 24
12 Phoenician date honey 1 sextarius 8
- 47630 **IV Item carnis**
1. carnis porcinae Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
carnis bubulae Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
carnis caprinae si[v]e vervecinae Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
vulvae Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
47635 suminis Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
ficati optimi Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
laridi optimi Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
per<n>ae optimae petasonis sive Menapicae vel Cerritanae Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
per<n>ae optimae petasonis Marsicae Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
47640 10. adipis recentis Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
axungiae Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
ungellas quattuor et aqualiculum
isicium porcinum unciae unius
isicia bubula Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
47645 Lucanicarum Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
Lucanicarum bubularum Ital(icum) po(ndo) un(um)
fasianus pastus
fasianus agrestis
fasiana pasta
47650 20. fasiana non pasta
anser pastus
anser non pastus
pullo[r]um par unum
perdix unus
47655 turtur singul[ari]s
turtur agrestis unus
turdorum decuria
palumborum par
columbinorum par
47660 30. attagena [una]
anatum par
lepus
cunic[ulus]
[am]pe[l]iones singulares (umero) decem]
47665 [ampeliones agrestes n(umero) decem]
[ficedulae n(umero) decem]
[passeres n(umero) decem]
[glires n(umero) dec]em
[pa]bus ma[s]
47670 40. [pabus] femina
coturnices n(umero) <decem>
sturni n(umero) decem
aprunae Ital(icum) po(ndo) <I>
cerbinae Ital(icum) po(ndo) I

- 47675 dorci si[v]e caprae vel dammae Ital(icum) po(ndo) I
 porcelli lanctantis in po(ndo) I
 agnus in po(ndo) I
 haedus in po(ndo) I
 sevi Ital(icum) po(ndo) I
- 47680 50. butyri Ital(icum) po(ndo) I
- IV. For meat
- 1a Pork 1 lb 12
 2 Beef 1 lb 8
- 47685 3 Goat's meat or mutton 1 lb 8
 4 Sow's uterus 1 lb 24
 5 Sow's udder 1 lb 20
 6 Liver of swine, fed on figs, best quality 1 lb 16
 7 Pork, salted, best quality 1 lb 16
- 47690 8 Ham, Menapian or Cerritane, best quality 1 lb 20
 9 Marsic 1 lb 20
 10 Pork fat, fresh 1 lb 12
 11 Ointment of pork fat 1 lb 12
 12 The four feet and the stomach are sold at the same price as the meat
- 47695 13 Pork sausage 1 uncia 2
 14 Beef sausage 1 lb 10
 15 Smoked Lucanian pork sausage 1 lb 16
 16 Smoked Lucanian beef sausage 1 lb 10
 17 Pheasant, fattened 1 250
- 47700 18 Pheasant, not fattened 1 125
 19 Hen pheasant, fattened 1 200
 20 Hen pheasant, not fattened 1 100
 21 Goose, fattened 1 200
 22 Goose, not fattened 1 100
- 47705 23 Chickens pair 60
 24 Partridge 1 30
 25 Turtle dove, kept, in good condition 1 16
 26 Turtle dove, wild 1 12
 27 Thrushes 10 60
- 47710 28 Wild dove pair 20
 29 Pigeon pair 24
 30 Francolin 1 20
 31 Duck pair 40
 32 Hare 1 150
- 47715 33 Rabbit 1 40
 34 Goldfinch, kept, in good condition 10 40
 35 Goldfinch, wild 10 20
 36 Figpeckers 10 40
 37 Sparrows 10 16
- 47720 38 Dormice 10 40
 39 Peacock 1 300
 40 Peahen
 41 Quails
 42 Starlings
- 47725 43 Boar meat
 44 Venison
 45 Meat of gazelle, wild goat or roc
 46 Suckling pig
 47 Lamb
- 47730 48 Kid
 49 Suet, beef or mutton
 50 Butter
- V Item piscis**
- 47735 piscis aspratilis marini Ital(icum) po(ndo) I
 piscis secundi Ital(icum) po(ndo) I
 piscis flubialis optimi Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
 piscis secundi flubialis Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
 piscis salsi Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
- 47740 ostriae n(umero) centum

echini n(umero) centum
 echini recentis purgati Italicum s(extarius) unum
 echini salsi Italicum s(extarius) unum
 sphonduli marini n(umero) centum
 47745 casei sicci <marini> Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum
 sardae sive sardinae Ital(icum) po(ndo) unum

V. For fish

1a Sea fish, not boney 1 lb 24
 47750 2 Sea fish, second quality 1 lb 16
 3 River fish, first quality 1 lb 12
 4 River fish, second quality 1 lb 8
 5 Salted fish 1 lb 6
 6 Oysters 100 100
 47755 7 Sea urchins 100 50
 8 Sea urchins, fresh, cleaned 1 sextarius 50
 9 Sea urchins, salted 1 sextarius 100
 10 Sea mussels 100 50
 11 Dried cheese 1 lb 12
 47760 12 Sardines 1 lb 16

VI [I]tem <de oleribus, pomis et ovis>

1. cardus maiores n(umero) quinque
 sponduli n(umero) decem
 47765 intiba optima n(umero) decem
 <intiba> sequentia n(umero) decem
 malvae maximae n(umero) quinque
 malvae sequent<e>s n(umero) decem
 lactucae optimae n(umero) quinque
 47770 <lactucae> sequentes n(umero) decem
 coliculi optimi n(umero) quinque
 10. <coliculi> sequentes n(umero) decem
 cymae optimae fascem unum
 porri maximi n(umero) decem
 47775 <porri> sequentes n(umero) viginti
 betae maximae n(umero) quinque
 <betae> sequentes n(umero) decem
 radices maximae [n(umero)] decem
 <radices> sequentes n(umero) viginti
 47780 rapae maximae n(umero) decem
 <rapae> sequentes [n(umero) vig]int[i]
 20. ceparum siccarum I[tal(icum)] m(odum) I
 cepae viridis prim[ae] n(umero) [v]iginti q[ui]nque
 <cepae viridis> sequentes n(umero) quinquaginta
 47785 alei Ital(icum) m(odum) unum
 sisinbriorum fascis in n(umero) viginti
 capparis Ital(icum) m(odum) unum
 cucurbitae primae n(umero) decem
 <cucurbitae> sequentes n(umero) viginti
 47790 cucumeres primi n(umero) decem
 <cucumeres> sequentes n(umero) viginti
 30. melopepones maiores n(umero) duo
 <meloepenes> sequentes n(umero) quattuor
 pepones n(umero) quattuor
 47795 fasiolorum fascis habens n(umero) XXV
 asparagi hortulan[i] fascis habe<n>s n(umero) XXV
 asparagi agreste[s] n(umer)o quinquaginta
 rusci fasc<i>s habes n(umer)o sexaginta
 ciceris viridis fa[sc]iculi n(umer)o quattuor
 47800 fabae viridis pu[rg]atae Italicum s(extarium) unum
 fasioli viridis purg[a]ti Italicum s(extarium) unum
 40. germina palmae [s]i[v]e elatae n(umer)o quattuor
 bulbi Afri siv[e] Fa[b]riani maximi n(umer)o viginti
 bulbi minores n(umer)o <q>uadraginta
 47805 ova n(umero) <q>uattuor
 parstinacae maximae fascis habens n(umer)o viginti quinque

- <parstinacae> seque[n]tes fascis habens n(umer)o quinquaginta]
 cuchlia[e maximae] n(umer)o [v]iginti
 <cuchliae> sequente[s] n(umer)o quadraginta
 47810 condimen[torum] praemiscuorum fa<sce>s n(umer)o octo
 castaneae n(umer)o centum
 50. nuces optimae virides n(umer)o quinquaginta
 nuces siccae n(umer)o centum
 amygdalarum purgatarum Ital(icum) s(extarium) unum
 47815 nucium Abellanarum purgatarum It(alicum) s(extarium) unum
 nuclei pinei purgati Ital(icum) s(extarium) unum
 pistaciorum Ital(icum) s(extarium) unum
 zizyphorum Ital(icum) s(extarium) unum
 cerasorum p(ondo) quattuor
 47820 praecocia n(umer)o decem
 duracina maxima n(umer)o decem
 60. <duracina> sequentia n(umer)o viginti
 Persica maxima n(umer)o decem
 <Persica> sequentia n(umer)o viginti
 47825 pira maxima [n(umer)o de]cem
 <pira> sequentia [n(umer)o vi]ginti
 mala optima Mattiana sive Saligniana n(umer)o X
 <mala> sequentia n(umer)o viginti
 mala minora n(umer)o quadrag(inta)
 47830 rosae n(umer)o c[e]ntum
 70. pruna cerea maxima n(umer)o tr[ig]inta
 <pruna cerea> sequentia n(umer)o quadraginta
 mala granata maxima n(umer)o decem
 <mala granata> sequentia n(umer)o [v]iginti
 47835 mala Cydonea n(umer)o de[c]em
 <mala Cydonea> sequentia n(umer)o [v]iginti
 citrium maximum
 <citrium> sequens
 mora fiscilla capiens Ita[l(icum)] s(extarium) unum
 47840 ficus optimae n(umer)o viginti quinque
 <ficus> sequentes n(umer)o quadraginta
 80. u[v]ae duracinae seu bumastae po(ndo) IIII
 dactulos Nicolaos optimos octo
 dactulos Nicolaos sequentes n(umer)o sedecim
 47845 palmulas n(umer)o viginti quinque
 ficus Caricas n(umer)o viginti quinque
 Caricae pressae s(extarium) unum
 Damascena moneaea sicca n(umer)o octo
 <Damascena moneaea> sequentia numero sedecim
 47850 ficus du[plices] p(ondo) unum
 oli[v]ae Tarsicae numero viginti
 90. oli[v]ae columbades numero quadraginta
 oli[v]ae nigrae s(extarium) Ital(icum) unum
 u[v]e passae fabriles s(extarium) Ital(icum) unum
 47855 u[v]ae <p>assae maximae s(extarium) Ital(icum) unum
 terracuberum p(ondo) unum
 lactis ovilli s(extarium) Ital(icum) unum
 casei recentis Ital(icum) p(ondo) unum
 47860 VI. For vegetables and fruits
 1a Artichokes, large size 5 10
 2 Hearts of artichokes 10 6
 3 Endive, best quality 10 10
 4 Endive, second quality 10 4
 47865 5 Mallow, largest size 5 4
 6 Mallow, smaller 10 4
 7 Lettuce, best quality 5 4
 8 Lettuce, second quality 10 4
 9 Cabbage, best quality 5 4
 47870 10 Cabbage, second quality 10 4
 11 Cabbage sprouts 1 bundle 4
 12 Leeks, largest size 10 4

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

	13	Leeks, smaller	20	4
	14	Beets, largest	5	4
47875	15	Beets, smaller	10	4
	16	Radishes, largest size	10	4
	17	Radishes, smaller size	20	4
	18	Turnips, largest	10	4
	19	Turnips, smaller	20	4
47880	20	Onions, dried 1 mod.	50	
	21	Onions, green, first size	25	4
	22	Onions, green, smaller	50	4
	23	Garlic 1 mod.	60	
	24	Watercress Fascis in n. viginti (20 bundles, or bundle of 20?)	10	
47885	25	Capers 1 mod.	100	
	26	Gourds, first size	10	4
	27	Gourds, smaller	20	4
	28	Cucumbers, first size	10	4
	29	Cucumbers, smaller	20	4
47890	30	Sugar melons, large	2	4
	31	Sugar melons, smaller	4	4
	32	Watermelons	4	4
	33	Kidney beans? (fasiolorum) 1 bundle of	25	4
	34	Asparagus, cultivated 1 bundle of	25	6
47895	35	Asparagus, wild	50	4
	36	Butcher's broom 1 bundle of	60	4
	37	Chickpea, green 1 bundle of	4	(?) 4
	38	Beans, green, shelled 1 sextarius	4	
	39	Kidney beans, green, shelled 1 sextarius	4	
47900	40	Palm shoots	4	4
	41	Onions, African or Fabrian, largest size	20	12
	42	Onions, African or Fabrian, smaller size	40	12
	43	Eggs	4	4
	44	Parsnips, largest size 1 bundle of	25	6
47905	45	Parsnips, smaller size 1 bundle of	50	6
	46	Snails, largest size	20	4
	47	Snails, smaller	40	4
	48	Mixed herbs 1 bundle of	8	4
	49	Chestnuts	100	4
47910	50	Walnuts, green, best quality	50	4
	51	Walnuts, dried	100	4
	52	Almonds, shelled 1 sextarius	6	
	53	Hazelnuts 1 sextarius	4	
	54	Pine nuts, shelled 1 sextarius	12	
47915	55	Pistachios 1 sextarius	16	
	56	Jujubes 1 sextarius	4	
	57	Cherries	4	lb
	58	Apricots	10	4
	59	Peaches, firm fleshed, largest	10	4
47920	60	Peaches, firm fleshed, smaller	20	6
	61	Peaches, largest size	10	4
	62	Peaches, smaller	20	4
	63	Pears, largest size	10	...
	64	Pears, smaller	20	
47925	65	Apples, Matian or Salignian, best quality	10	4
	66	Apples, Matian or Salignian, second quality	20	4
	67	Apples, smaller	40	4
	68	Rosehips	100	8
	69	Plums, yellow, largest size	30	4
47930	70	Plums, yellow, smaller size	40	4
	71	Pomegranates, largest size	10	8
	72	Pomegranates, smaller size	20	8
	73	Quinces	10	4
	74	Quinces, smaller size	20	4
47935	75	Citron, largest size ...	24	
	76	Citron, smaller size ...	16	
	77	Mulberries 1 sextarius	4	
	78	Figs, best quality	25	4

- 79 Figs, second quality 40 4
 47940 80 Table grapes, hard fleshed or long 4 lb 4
 81 Dates, Nicolaän, best quality 8 4
 82 Dates, Nicolaän, second quality 16 4
 83 Dates, small 25 4
 84 Figs, Carian 25 4
 47945 85 Figs, Carian, pressed ? 4
 86 Damsons, dried, Moneaeen 8 4
 87 Damsons, dried, Moneaeen, second quality 16 4
 88 Figs, delacere (?) 1 lb 4
 89 Olives from Tarsus 20 4
 47950 90 Olives in brine 40 4
 91 Ripe, black olives 1 sextarius 4
 92 Raisins, smoke dried 1 sextarius 8
 93 Raisins, largest 1 sextarius 4
 94 Truffle 1 lb 16
 47955 95 Sheep's milk 1 sextarius 8
 96 Fresh cheese 1 lb 8

VII de mercedibus oper[arior]um, de aeramento

1. operario rustico p[asto diu]rni
 47960 [- - - - - diurni
 lapidario structori pas[to diurni]
 fabro intestina[ri]o ut sup[ra diu]rni
 fabro tignario ut supra [diurni
 calcis coctori ut supra [diurni]
 47965 marmorario ut supra [diurni]
 musaeario ut supra diurni
 tessellario ut supra [diu]r<n>i
 10. pictori parietario ut supra diurni
 pictori imaginario ut supra diurni
 47970 carpentario ut supra diurni
 fabro ferrario ut supra diurni
 pistori ut supra diurni
 naupego in navi maritima ut supra diurni
 naupego in navi amnica ut supra diurni
 47975 lateris crudi ad laterculos diurnam mercedem, in lateribus quattuor pedum vinum, ita
 ut ipse sibi inpensam praep[ar]et, pasto
 item lateris ex luto diurnam mercedem, in lateribus n(umer)o octo, ita ut ipse sibi
 inpensam praeparet, pasto
 camelario sibe asinario et burdonario pasto diurni
 47980 20. pastori pasto diurnos
 mulioni pasto diurnos
 mulomedico tonsurae et aptaturae pedum in capite uno
 deple<tu>rae et purgat<u>rae capitis per singula capita
 tonsori per homines singulos
 47985 tonsori pec<o>rum in uno capiteae pasto

DE AERAMENTO

- aerario in orichalco mercedis in po(ndo) I
 aerario in cupri in po(ndo) I
 47990 aerario in vasculis diversi generis in po(ndo) I
 aerario in si<g>illis vel statuis in po(ndo) I
 30. aerario ind<u>ctilis aeramenti in po(ndo) I
 plastae imaginario diurnae mercedis pasto
 47995 reliquis plastis gypsariis p<as>tis diurnos
 aquario omni die operanti pasto diurnos
 cloacario omni die operanti pasto diurnos
 samiatori in spatha ex usu
 samiatori in casside e<x> usu
 48000 samiatori in securi
 samiatori in bipenni
 samiatori vagina spat<h>ae
 40. membranario in [qua]t<erni>one pedali pergamen[i vel] croca[ti]
 scriptori in sc<ri>ptura optima versus n(umero) centum

- 48005 sequ[enti]s scripturae versuum n(umer)o centum
 tabellani in scriptura libelli vel tabularum [in ver]sibus n(umer)o centum
 braccario pro excisura et <o>rnatura pro birro qualitatis primae
 <braccario> pro birro qualitatis secundae
 <braccario> pro caracalla maiori
 48010 <braccario> pro caracalla minori
 <braccario> pro braccibus
 <braccario> pro udonibus
 50. sarcinatori in veste subtili replicaturae
 eidem aperturae cum subsutura holosericae
 48015 eidem aperturae cum subsutura supsericae
 <eidem aperturae cum> [sub]suturae in veste grossiori
 [c]entunculum equestrae quoactile album sive nigrum librarum trium
 [c]entunculum primum ornatum ab acu ponderis supra script[i]
 [color]atori [in] tunica muliebri vulgari rudi
 48020 <coloratori in tunica muliebri vulgari> ab usu
 <coloratori> in strictoria virili de tela
 <coloratori in strictoria virili> ab usu
 60. <coloratori> in infantili rud*i*
 <coloratori in infantili> ab usu
 48025 <coloratori> sagum sive rachanam rudi
 <coloratori sagum sive rachanam> ab usu
 <coloratori> in tapete rudi
 <coloratori in tapete> ab usu
 ceromatitae in singulis discipulis menstros
 48030 paedagogo in singulis pueris menstros
 magistro instituto<ri> litterarum in singulis pueris menstros
 calculatori in singulis pueris menstros
 70. notario in singulis pueris menstros
 librario sive antiquario in singulis discipulis menstros
 48035 <g>rammatico Graeco sive Latino et geometrae in singulis discipulis menstros
 oratori sive sophistae in singulis discipulis menstros
 advocato sive iuris perito mercedis in postulatione
 advocato sive iuris perito mercedis in cognitione
 architecto magistro per singulos pueros menstros
 48040 capsario in singulis labantibus
 balneatori privataro in singulis lavantius
- VII. For wages
- 1a Farm labourer, with maintenance For a day 25
 48045 1b
 2 Stonemason, with maintenance For a day 50
 3 Cabinet maker, with maintenance For a day 50
 3a Carpenter, with maintenance For a day 50
 4 Lime burner, with maintenance For a day 50
 48050 5 Worker in marble pavements, with maintenance For a day 60
 6 Worker in wall mosaics, with maintenance For a day 60
 7 Worker in tessellated floors, with maintenance For a day 50
 8 Wall painter, with maintenance For a day 75
 9 Figure painter, with maintenance For a day 150
 48055 10 Wagon wright, with maintenance For a day 50
 11 Blacksmith for wagons, with maintenance For a day 50
 12 Baker, with maintenance For a day 50
 13 Shipwright, working on seagoing vessels, with maintenance For a day 60
 14 Shipwright, working on river vessels, with maintenance For a day 50
 48060 15 For a maker of bricks ready for firing, for every 4 bricks of two feet and for the
 preparation of the clay, with maintenance For 1 unit (?) 2
 16 For a maker of sun-dried bricks, for every 8 bricks and for the preparation of the
 clay, with maintenance For 1 unit (?) 2
 17 Driver of camels, asses or mules, with maintenance For a day 25
 48065 18 Shepard, with maintenance For a day 25
 19 Mule driver, with maintenance For a day 25
 20 Veterinary, for clipping and preparing the hoofs For each animal 6
 21 Veterinary, for bleeding and (also interior?) cleaning of the head For each animal
 20
 48070 22 Barber For each client 2

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

	23 Shearer, with maintenance For each animal	2
	24 For bronze work	
	24a Bronze smith For each lb of processed metal	8
	25 Copper smith For each lb of processed metal	6
48075	26 Copper smith, for small vessels of various kind For each lb of processed metal	6
	27 Copper smith, for figurines For each lb of processed metal	4
	28 Copper smith for bronze inlays For each lb of processed metal	6
	29 Maker of terracotta figurines, with maintenance For a day	75
	30 Maker of plaster figurines, with maintenance For a day	50
48080	31 Water carrier, full day, with maintenance For a day	25
	32 Sewer cleaner, full day, with maintenance For a day	25
	33 Armourer, for sharpening a used sword For 1 item	25
	34 Armourer, for maintenance of a used helmet For 1 item	25
	35 Armourer, for sharpening an axe For 1 item	6
48085	36 Armourer, for sharpening a double bladed axe For 1 item	8
	37 Armourer, for making (?) a sword scabbard For 1 item	100
	38 Parchment maker for making a quaternion measuring a foot, of white or yellow parchment	40
	39 Scribe, for the best writing For 100 lines	25
48090	40 Scribe, for writing of the second quality For 100 lines	20
	41 Notary, for writing petitions or legal documents For 100 lines	10
	42 Tailor, for cutting and finishing a hooded cloak (birrus) of the finest quality For 1 item	60
48095	43 Tailor, for cutting and finishing a hooded cloak (birrus) of the second quality For 1 item	40
	44 Tailor, for cutting and finishing a cloak, caracalla, largest For 1 item	25
	45 Tailor, for cutting and finishing a cloak, caracalla, smaller For 1 item	20
	46 Tailor, for cutting and finishing breeches For 1 item	20
	47 Tailor, for making felt leggings For 1 item	4
48100	48 Tailor, for folding and sewing a fine garment For 1 item	6
	49 Tailor, for making and attaching silk bands on neck and sleeves For 1 item	50
	50 Tailor, for making and attaching partly silk bands on neck and sleeves For 1 item	30
	51 Tailor, for stitching a seam in a coarse garment For 1 item	4
48105	52 Tailor, for making a white or black horse blanket of felt, weighing 3 pounds For 1 item	100
	53 Tailor, for making a first quality embroidered horse blanket, weighing 3 pounds For 1 item	250
	54 For bleaching or colouring a woman's new ordinary tunic For 1 item	16
48110	55 For bleaching or colouring a woman's new ordinary tunic which is already in use For 1 item	10
	56 For bleaching or colouring a close fitting man's shirt with sleeves, new from the loom For 1 item	10
48115	57 For bleaching or colouring a close fitting man's shirt with sleeves which is already in use For 1 item	6
	58 For bleaching or colouring a close fitting child's shirt with sleeves, new from the loom For 1 item	6
	59 For bleaching or colouring a close fitting child's shirt with sleeves which is already in use For 1 item	2
48120	60 For bleaching or colouring a soldier's new cloak, a sagum or rachanam For 1 item	16
	61 For bleaching or colouring a soldier's cloak, a sagum or rachanam which is already in use For 1 item	6
	62 For bleaching or colouring a new cloth or rug used for covering For 1 item	24
48125	63 For bleaching or colouring cloth or rug used for covering which is already in use For 1 item	10
	64 Gymnastic instructor Monthly for each pupil	50
	65 Pedagogue Monthly for each charge	50
	66 Elementary teacher Monthly for each pupil	50
48130	67 Teacher of arithmetic Monthly for each pupil	75
	68 Teacher for shorthand Monthly for each pupil	75
	69 Teacher of manuscript writing or palaeography Monthly for each pupil	50
	70 Teacher of Greek or Latin literature and of geometry Monthly for each pupil	200
	71 Teacher of rhetoric or public speaking Monthly for each pupil	250
48135	72 Attorney for opening a case	250
	73 Attorney for pleading a case	1.000

74 Teacher of architecture Monthly for each pupil 100
 75 Guard of clothes in public bath For each bather
 76 Bath superintendent in a private bath For each bather

48140

VIII <de pellibus, de coriis, de segestribus>

DE PELLIBUS BABYLONICIS SEU TRALLIANIS VEL PHOENICEIS

pellis Babylonica primae formae
 <pellis Babylonica> formae secundae

48145

pellis Tralliana
 pellis Phoenicea
 pellis lacc<he>na

DE CORIIS BUBULI

48150

corium bubulum infectum formae primae
 idem confectum ad sol<er>anda calceamenta
 <idem confectum> ad loramenta et cetera
 corium secundae formae infectum
 idem [confectum]

48155

pell[is cal]prina [maxim]a infecta
 [ead]em [con]fecta
 pellis [verve]cina maxima infecta
 eadem c[on]fecta

48160

pellis bellearis prima
 pileum factum
 pellis haedina infecta
 eadem confecta
 pellis hyaenae infecta
 eadem confecta

48165

pellis dorci infecta
 eadem confecta
 pellis cervin(a) primae formae infecta
 eadem [c]onfecta
 pellis oviferi infecta

48170

eadem confecta
 pellis lupina infecta
 eadem confecta
 pellis melina infecta
 eadem con[fect]a

48175

pellis castorina in[fecta]
 eadem co<n>fecta
 pellis ursina maxima inf[ecta]
 eadem confecta
 pellis lu<p>i cervari infecta

48180

eadem confecta
 pellis vituli marini infecta
 eadem confecta
 pellis leopardina infecta
 eadem confecta

48185

pellis leonina confecta

DE SEGESTRIBUS

segestrae de caprinis <v>illis n(umero) octo
 pulicare tenerrium et maximum

48190

VIII. For Babylonian, Trallian or Phoenician hides

1a Babylonian hide, first quality 500
 2 Babylonian hide, second quality 400
 3 Trallian hide 200

48195

4 Phoenician hide 100
 5 Hide dyed indigo 400
 6 For ox hides

6a Ox hide, untanned, first quality 500
 7 Ox hide, tanned for shoe soles 750

48200

8 Ox hide, tanned for harnesses, etc. 600
 9 Ox hide untanned, second quality 300
 10 Ox hide tanned, second quality 400

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- 11 Goat skin, largest, untanned 40
 12 Goat skin, largest, tanned 50
 48205 13 Sheep skin, largest, untanned 20
 14 Sheep skin, largest, tanned 30
 15 Sheep skin for a cap, first quality 100
 16 Sheep skin cap, completed 200
 17 Kid skin, untanned 10
 48210 18 Kid skin, tanned 16
 19 Hyena skin, untanned 40
 20 Hyena skin, tanned 60
 21 Gazelle skin, untanned 10
 22 Gazelle skin, tanned 15
 48215 23 Deer skin, untanned, first quality 75
 24 Deer skin, tanned, first quality 100
 25 Wild sheep skin, untanned
 20 26 Wild sheep skin, tanned 30
 27 Wolf skin, untanned 25
 48220 28 Wolf skin, tanned 40
 29 Marten (Lauffer 1971) or badger (Graser 1940) skin, untanned 10
 30 Marten (Lauffer 1971) or badger (Graser 1940) skin, tanned 15
 31 Beaver skin, untanned 20
 32 Beaver skin, tanned 30
 48225 33 Bear skin, largest, untanned 100
 34 Bear skin, largest, tanned 150
 35 Lynx skin, untanned 40
 36 Lynx skin, tanned 60
 37 Seal skin, untanned 1.250
 48230 38 Seal skin, tanned 1.500
 39 Leopard skin, untanned 1.000
 40 Leopard skin, tanned 1.250
 41 Lion skin, tanned 1.000
 42 For leather covers, used in wagons
 48235 42a Leather cover of eight first quality goat skins 600
 43 Finest and largest cover 600
 (Note: refers to types of hides and - in chapter IX and X- leather. For instance:
 'Babylonian' indicates the colour, red or purple)
 48240 **IX de formis caligaribus, de caligis, de soleis et gallicis, de soleis Babylonicis et
 purpureis et Phoeniceis et albis, de furnis domesticis**
 DE FORMIS CALIGARIBUS
 formae caligares maximae
 formae secundae mensurae
 48245 formae muliebres
 formae infantiles
 DE CALIGIS
 caligae primae formae mulierum sive rusticae par sine clavis
 48250 caligae militares sine clavo
 calcei patricii
 calicae senatorum
 calicae equestres
 caligae muliebres par
 48255 ca[m]pagi militares
 DE SOLEIS ET GALLICIS
 gallicae viriles rusticanae bisoles par
 gallicae viriles monsoles par
 48260 [gal]licae cursoriae par
 [tau]rinae muliebres bisoles par
 [tau]rinae muliebres monsoles par
 [DE SO]LEIS BABYLONICIS ET PURPUREIS ET PHOENICEIS ET ALBIS
 48265 [soleae] Babylonicae par
 [socci] purpurei sive Phoenicei par
 [socci] albi par

- [DE FURNIS DOMESTICIS]
 48270 [soc]ci vi[riles par]
 [so]cci muliebres pa[r]
 [socci i]nauratae
 socci Babylonici purp[urei]
 taurinae inauratae
 48275 taurinae lanatae
- IX. For lasts for boots and shoes
 1a Lasts for boots, largest size 100
 2 Lasts, second size 80
 48280 3 Women's lasts 60
 4 Children's lasts 30
 5 Boots
 5a Boots for mule drivers or farm workers, first quality, without hob nails 120
 6 Boots for soldiers, without hob nails 100
 48285 7 Shoes for patricians 150
 8 Shoes for senators 100
 9 Shoes for equestrians 70
 10 Mule drivers boots 60
 11 Soldier's shoes 75
 48290 12 For sandals and Gallic sandals
 12a Gallic men's sandals for farm workers, double soled 80
 13 Gallic men's sandals, single soled 50
 14 Gallic sandals for couriers 60
 15 Women's ox hide sandals, double soled 50
 48295 16 Women's ox hide sandals, single soled 30
 17 For Babylonian and Phoenician purple or white slippers
 17a Babylonian sandals 120
 18 Purple or Phoenician slippers 60
 19 White slippers ...
 48300 20
 20a Men's slippers, first quality 60
 21 Women's slippers, first quality 50
 22 Gilded slippers 80
 23 Babylonian purple slippers 80
 48305 24 Gilded ox hide slippers 75
 25 Ox hide slippers, lined with wool 50

X De locramentis, de zonis militaribus, de utribus, de scortiis

- DE LOCRAVENTIS
 48310 1. averta primae formae in caruca
 scordiscum militare
 parammas mulares cum flagello
 capistrum equestrae cum circulis et ducali
 frenum equestre cum salibario instructum
 48315 frenum mulare cum capistello
 capistrum mu[la]re

- DE ZONIS MILITAR[IBUS]
 zona Babulonica [lata - -]
 48320 item lata [Alexandrina]
 10. subalare Ba[bylonicum]
 zona alba [dig]itorum quattuor
 item digit[orum se]x

- 48325 DE UTRIBUS
 utrem primae formae
 utrem olearium primae formae
 [in] utrem mercedem diurnam

- 48330 DE SCORTIIS
 scortia in sexstario uno
 thecam cannarum n(umero) quinque par
 flagellum mulionicum cum virga
 corrigiam aurigalem

48335

X. For leather goods

1a Traveling bag, first quality 1.500

2 Military saddle 500

3 Mule saddle, with whip 800

48340 4 Halter for a horse, with rings and leading rein 75

5 Complete bridle for a horse, with bit 100

6 Bridle for a mule, with halter 120

7 Halter for a mule 80

8 For soldier's belts

48345 8a Babylonian belt, ... wide 100

9 Babylonian belt, ... wide 200

10 Babylonian chest strap 100

11 White belt, four digiti wide 60

12 White belt, six digiti wide 75

48350 13 For leather sacks

13a Sack, first quality 120

14 Sack for oil, first quality 100

15 Daily charge for rental of a sack 2

16 For leather articles

48355 16a Leather container holding one sextarius 20

17 Box for five reed pens 40

18 Mule whip with handle 16

19 Driver's reins 2

48360 **XI De saetis, de sagmis, de zabernis**

DE SAET<I>S CAPRINIS SIVE CAMELLINIS

pilorum infectorum p(ondo) unum

pili neti ad zabernas vel sacc<o>s p(ondo) unum

pilorum ad funem confect<o>rum p(ondo) unum

48365

DE SAGMIS

sagma burdonis

sagma asini

sagma cameli

48370

DE ZABERNIS

zabernarum sive saccorum par habens pondo triginta

saccopathnas latitudinis pedum trium, longitudinis quantum fuerit, pro singulis

libris

48375

XI. For products made of camel- and goat's hair

1a Unworked hair 1 lb 6

2 Hair, woven into bags or clothes sacks 1 lb 10

3 Hair, twisted to a rope 1 lb 10

48380 4 For packsaddles

4a Packsaddle for a mule 350

5 Packsaddle for an ass 250

6 Packsaddle for a camel 350

7 For bags for clothing

48385 7a Double sacks for clothing A pair weighing 30 lb 400

8 Bag, 3 feet wide and of any desired length For each lb weight (AK: or carrying capacity?) 16

XII. For timber

48390 1a Fir planks, 50 cubits long, 4 cubits in perimeter 50.000

2 Fir planks, 45 cubits long, 4 cubits in perimeter 40.000

3 Fir planks, 40 cubits long, 4 cubits in perimeter 30.000

4 Fir planks, 35 cubits long, 80 digiti in perimeter 12.000

5 Fir planks, 28 cubits long, 4 cubits in perimeter 10.000

48395 6 Fir planks, 30 cubits long, 72 digiti in perimeter 8.000

7 Fir planks, 28 cubits long, 64 digiti in perimeter 6.000

8 Fir planks, 25 cubits long, 64 digiti in perimeter 5.000

9 The prices above are also established for pine

10 Oak planks, 14 cubits long, 68 digiti in perimeter 250

48400 11 Ash planks, 14 cubits long, 48 digiti in perimeter 250

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- 12 Beech planks, 14 cubits long, 48 digiti in perimeter 250
- 13 Cypress planks, 12 cubits long, 48 digiti in perimeter 300
- 14 Fir or pine planks, 12 cubits long, 48 digiti in perimeter 250
- 16 Oak wood 1 cubit ...
- 48405 16 ... foot, a foot ...
- 16a
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 48410 19a
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 48415 XIII. For spindles, shuttles and combs
- 1a Shuttle of boxwood 14
- 2 Shuttles of other woods 30
- 3 Weavers comb of boxwood 12
- 4 Weavers comb of other woods 14
- 48420 5 Spindle of boxwood, with whorl 12
- 6 Spindle of other woods, with whorl 15
- 7 Women's comb of boxwood 14
- 8 Women's scraping knife 12
- 9 Scraper made of tortoise shield 4
- 48425 10 Scraper made of amber ...
- XIV. For poles and firewood
- 1a Round stakes 2 40
- 2 Medium reeds 2 50
- 48430 3 Large reeds 2 100
- 4 Lance shaft of cornel wood 30
- 5 Shaft for long lance 50
- 6 Ordinary large ladder of 30 rungs 150
- 7 Plant stakes Bundle of 100 10
- 48435 8 Wagon load of firewood 1.200 lb 150
- 9 Camel load of firewood 400 lb 50
- 10 Mule load of firewood 300 lb 30
- 11 Ass load of firewood 200 lb ...
- 48440 12 Twigs and pieces of firewood, for use in ovens Bundle of 15 lb 30
- XV. For wood for wagons, for wagons, for wooden items and metals, for terracotta/pottery
- 1a Turned axle 250
- 2 Axle, unturned 200
- 48445 3 Hub of a wheel, turned 240
- 4 Hub of a wheel, unturned 200
- 5 Spoke of a wheel, turned 70
- 6 Spoke of a wheel, unturned 30
- 7 Seats, turned 200 plus
- 48450 8 Seats, unturned 200
- 9 Wagon fork, turned ...
- 10 Wagon fork, unturned 175
- 11 Wagon tongue, turned 200
- 12 Wagon tongue, unturned 100
- 48455 13 Straight piece, turned 75
- 14 Straight piece, unturned 35
- 15 Clamp, turned 75
- 16 Clamp, unturned 45
- 17 Prod or whip, turned 5
- 48460 18 Prod or whip, unturned 4
- 19 Side pieces or ribs(?), turned ...
- 20 Side pieces or ribs, unturned 30
- 21 Hay implement (?), turned 16
- 22 Hay implement, unturned ...
- 48465 23a ...
- 23b ...

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	24 ... 40
	25 ... 20
	26 ... 70
48470	27 ... 70
	28 ... 70
	29 ... 30
	30 ... 36
	31 For vehicles
48475	31a Freight wagon, best quality, with wheel-rims of one piece, ironwork not included 6.000
	32 Freight wagon, with joined wheel rims, ironwork not included 3.500
	33 Four wheeled passenger wagon, with joined wheel rims, ironwork not included 3.000
	34 Sleeping wagon, with wheel-rims of one piece, ironwork not included 7.500
48480	35 Sleeping wagon, with joined wheel rims, ironwork not included 4.000
	36 Freight wagons with wheel-rims of one piece, and other wagons with wheels fitted out with ironwork are to be sold at a price which includes the ironwork
	37 Four wheeled travelling wagon, with the wheel rims of one piece, ironwork not included 7.000
48485	38 For wagons
	38a Four wheeled wagon with yoke, not including the ironwork 1.500
	39 A wagon with ironwork is to be sold at a price in which the value of the wood and iron are included
	40 Two wheeled freight wagon with yoke, not including the ironwork 800
48490	41 Wooden threshing sledge 200
	42 Wooden plow with yoke 100
	43 Rammer or two-sided hoe(?) or fork 100
	44 Double sided hoe? 12
	45 Shovel 4
48495	46 Three-pronged fork 8
	47 Two-pronged fork 4
	48 Five-modius trough 150
	49 Wooden one-modius measure 50
	50 Wooden one-modius measure, iron bound 75
48500	51 Turned wooden bowl, one half modius 30
	52 For mills
	52a Horse mill with millstones 1.500
	53 Ass mill 1.250
	54 Water driven mill 2.000
48505	55 Hand mill 250
	56 For sieves
	56a Leather sieve for threshing 250
	57 Leather sieve for the finest wheat meal 400
	58 Large woven sieve 200
48510	59 Ordinary woven sieve 100
	60 Woven sieve for pulse 50
	61 Woven sieve for... 35
	62 Woven sieve ... 60
	63 For metals
48515	63a Brass 1 lb 100
	64 Copper 1 lb 75
	65 Hammered bronze plate 1 lb 60
	66 Unworked bronze 1 lb 50
	67 [for terracotta and pottery]
48520	68 Ordinary tile with joint-tile ..
	69 Brick for wall, two feet long ...
	70 Brick for wall, one foot long 4
	71 Round brick 4
	72 Fluepipe for hypocaust heating 6
48525	73 Exit-stack for fluepipe 6
	74 Water pipe 'qqualem modialem' (?) 12
	75 Water pipe 'sev. modialem' (?) 6
	76 Water pipe, 4 digitus wide 4
	77 Storage jar of 1000 sextarii 1 1000
48530	78 Jar of 2 sextarii 1 2
	79 Oil lamp 10 (?) 4
	80 Jar of 20 sextarii 1 12

81 More containers with a price on the basis of capacity

48535 XVI. For glass, ivory, needles

1 For glass

1a Alexandrian glass 1 lb 24

2 Judaeen greenish glass 1 lb 13

3 Alexandrian plain glass cups and vessels 1 lb 30

48540 4 Judaeen plain glass cups and vessels 1 lb 20

5 Window glass, best quality 1 lb 8

6 For ivory and tortoise 6a Ivory 1 lb 150

7 Shield of tortoise from India 1 lb 100

8 For needles

48545 8a Sewing needle, very fine 4

9 Sewing needle, second quality 2

10 Needle for sewing sacks or packsaddles 2

(Note AK: sources for glass, see literature; for terracotta - including pottery - see introduction)

48550 XVII. For road transport charges

1a Charge for one person For each mile 2

2 Charge for a full wagon For each mile 12

3 Freight charge for a 1.200 lb wagon load For each mile 20

48555 4 Freight charge for a 600 lb wagon load For each mile 8

5 Freight charge for an ass load For each mile 4

6 For fodder

6a Vetch fodder 2 lb 2

7 Hay or chaff 4 lb 2

48560 8 Green fodder 6 lb 1

XVIII. For down, feathers and cushioning

1a Goose down 1 lb 100

2 Down of different birds 1 lb 50

48565 3 Soft feathers of various birds 1 lb 2

4 Fluff from willows 100 lb 1.000

5 Cushioning of Verbascum 100 lb 1.000

6 Cushioning of reed tufts 100 lb 100

7 Cushioning of wool flocks 1 lb 8

48570 8 Cushioning of wool flocks, second quality 1 lb 4

9 Peacock's feather, finest 1 2

10 Vulture's feathers 25 6

11 For writing reeds and ink

11a Ink 1 lb 12

48575 12 Reeds with one knot from Paphos and Alexandria 10 4

13 Reeds, second quality 20 4

XIX. For clothing

48580 1a Military mantle, best quality, as described in the indictio (note AK: tax regulations) 4.000

2 Shirt, as described in the indictio 2.000

3 Shirt, as described in the indictio, without purple bands 1.250

4 Cover to be used as a tent, 16 by 16 feet, dyed 2.500

5 White cover for a bed, weighing 12 lb, best quality 1.600

48585 6 A dyed cover, Arabian or Damascene or any other provenance, is to be sold at a price in which the weight of the wool and the cost of the embroidery are included

7 Ordinary cover, weight 10 lb 500

8 Women's dalmatica (note AK: a wide sleeved tunic) of coarse wool, striped with archil purple, weight 2 lb ...

48590 9 Men's dalmatica, with light purple bands, part silk unciae ...

10 Close fitting strictoria (note AK: close fitting undershirt with narrow sleeves) part silk, with light purple bands ...

11 Close fitting strictoria with coloured bands 6.000

48595 12 Dalmaticomafortium (Note AK: hooded wide garment with sleeves), part silk, with light purple bands 44.000

13 Dalmaticomafortium, part silk, part wool from Mutina, with light purple bands 46.000

14 Dalmaticomafortium, part silk, part 'sea wool' (Note: 'wool' made from the byssus)

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	thread of the Pinna nobilis musle shell) with light purple bands 48.000
48600	15 Men's silk dalmatica with dark purple bands, ... lb 50.000
	16 Men's silk dalmaticomafortium with coloured bands, weighing 2 lb 135.000
	17 (follows)
	18 Silk strictoria with purple bands, weighing six unciae 40.000
	19 ... silk, without bands ... 45.000
48605	20 ... quality of the wool ... and the quantity of the gold thread and the embroidering must be taken into account
	21 Cloak of wool from Mutina, double, purple bands, dyed once ...
	22 ... cloak ... (follows) ...
	23 Cloak of wool from Mutina, single, with purple bands.. five unciae ...
48610	24 Women's garment of wool from Mutina, closed with clasps, single, with purple bands, once dyed, ... unciae ...
	25 Women's garment of wool from Mutina, from Laodicea, closed with clasps, single, with purple bands, once dyed, four unciae (AK: garment or paint?) 40 ...
48615	26 Cloak of wool from Mutina or Laodicea, single, with purple bands, once dyed, ... unciae 15.000
	27 Women's garment from Laodicea, closed with clasps, with purple bands, first ... four unciae 4.000
	28 Cover from Britannia, first quality 5.000
	29 Cover from Britannia, second quality 4.000
48620	30 Cover from Cappadocia or Pontia, first quality 3.000
	31 Cover from Cappadocia or Pontia, second quality 2.000
	32 Cover from Egypt 1.750
	33 Cover from ... 4.000
	34 Cover from ... for covering a reclining dinner sofa 4.500
48625	35 Cover from Africa 1.500
	36 Covers are to be sold according to the value of the weight of the wool and the dying and the embroidery
	37 Laodicean hooded cloak 4.500
	38 Laodicean hooded cloak, resembling a Nervian cloak 10.000
48630	39 Tunic from Laodicea, undecorated, without bands, twilled 2.000
	40 The price of a bordered tunic from Laodicea must include the price of the purple used
	41
	42
48635	43 5
	44 First quality Nervian hooded cloak, the colour of a lion 15.000
	45 Hooded cloak of the type taurogastrico 12.000
	46 Hooded cloak from the lower Danube 8.000
	47 Hooded cloak from Noricum 10.000
48640	48 Hooded cloak from Britannia 6.000
	49 Hooded cloak from Melitomagus 6.000
	50 Striped hooded cloak from Canusius (AK: Apulia), first quality 4.000
	51 Hooded cloak from Numidia 3.000
	52 Argolic hooded cloak, first quality 6.000
48645	53 Achaean or Phrygian hooded cloak, first quality 2.000
	54 African hooded cloak 1.500
	55 'Banata' (AK: unexplained), double, from Noricum 20.000
	56 'Fedox' (AK: unexplained), from Noricum, first quality 10.000
	57 Gallic 'banata' 15.000
48650	58 Gallic 'fedox' 8.000
	59 Singilio (AK: unexplained, shirt?) from Noricum 1.500
	60 Singilio (AK: unexplained) from Gallia 1.200
	61 Singilio (AK: unexplained) from Numidia 600
	62 Singilio (AK: unexplained) from Phrygia or Bissicus 600
48655	63 Hooded cape from Laodicea, best quality 5.000
	64 Hooded cape from Balesium 4.000
	65 Cloak with clasp from Rhaetia 12.000
	66 Cloak with clasp from the Treveri 8.000
48660	67 Cloak with clasp from Petovionicum (AK: Poetovio in Pannonia/present day Slovenia) 5.000
	68 Cloak with clasp from Africa 2.000
	69 Short mantle from Dardenica, double, best quality 12.500
	70 Short mantle from Dardania, single, best quality 7.000
	71 Short cloak 1.000

- 48665 72 Short cloak from Africa 500
 73 Short cloak from Gallia, from the Ambiani or the Bituriges 8.000
 73a Close fitting strictoria (note AK: close fitting undershirt with narrow sleeves) from the wool of hares or rabbits 6.000
 73b Dalmaticomafortium (Note AK: hooded wide garment with sleeves) from the wool of hares (Laufer 1971) or rabbits (Graser 1940) with purple bands 7.000
- 48670 XX. For Payments for embroiderers and silk workers
 1a For embroidery on a close fitting strictoria (note AK: close fitting undershirt with sleeves), part silk For one uncia of thread 200
 48675 2 For embroidery on a close fitting strictoria (note AK: close fitting undershirt with narrow sleeves), pure silk For one uncia of thread 300
 3 For embroidery on a light cloak of wool from Mutina For one uncia of thread 25
 4 For embroidery on a light cloak from Laodiceia in the way of Mutina For one uncia of thread 25
 48680 5 For a brocade maker, working in gold thread, for work of the best quality For one uncia of thread 1.000
 6 For a brocade maker, working in gold thread, for work of the second quality For one uncia of thread 750
 7 For a gold embroiderer on pure silk For one uncia of thread 500
 48685 8 For a gold embroiderer on pure silk, in second quality For one uncia of thread 400
 9 Silk worker on part silk, with maintenance For a day 25
 10 Silk worker on pure silk, with maintenance For a day 25
 11 Silk worker on pure silk, checkered, with maintenance For a day 40
 12 Woman weaver of tunica's of soft cloth, according to the indictio, with
 48690 maintenance For a day 12
 13 Woman weaver of tunica's of cloth from Mutina and other places, with maintenance For a day 16
- XXI. (...) (Graser fills in:) For wool weavers
 48695 1a Wool weaver, working in wool from Mutina or 'sea wool' (Note: 'wool' made from the byssus thread of the Pinna nobilis muscle shell), with maintenance For 1 lb 40
 2 Wool weaver, working in wool from Tarentum, Laodiceia or Altinum For 1 lb 30
 3 Wool weaver, working in wool of the second quality For 1 lb 20
 4 Wool weaver, working in wool of the third, coarse quality For 1 lb 15
 48700 5 Linen weaver for first quality work, with maintenance For a day 40
 6 Linen weaver for second quality work, with maintenance For a day 20
- XXII. For wages for fullers and launderers
 48705 1a Fuller, for a light new cloak, as described in the indictio (note AK: tax regulations) 50
 2 For a new strictoria (note AK: close fitting undershirt with narrow sleeves) as described in the indictio 25
 3 For a shirt without decoration, of coarser wool 20
 4 For a new cover 30
 48710 5 For a new dalmaticomafortium (Note AK: hooded wide garment with sleeves) of coarser wool 50
 6 For a new dalmaticomafortium of pure soft-finished wool 100
 7 For a new strictoria of pure soft-finished wool 50
 8 For a man's new dalmatica, part silk 200
 48715 9 For a new strictoria, part silk 175
 10 For a new strictoria, part silk, without purple bands 125
 11 For a new dalmaticomafortium, part silk 300
 12 For a man's new dalmatica in pure silk 400
 13 For a new dalmaticomafortium, pure silk 600
 48720 14 For a new strictoria, pure silk 250
 15 For a new strictoria, pure silk, without purple bands 200
 16 For a new light cloak, double, of wool from Mutina 500
 17 For a new light cloak, single, of wool from Mutina 250
 18 For a new garment closed with clasps, of wool from Mutina 200
 48725 19 For a new garment closed with clasps, of wool from Laodiceia 200
 20 For a light new cloak of wool from Laodiceia 200
 21 For a new hooded cloak of wool from the Nervii 600
 22 For a new hooded cloak of wool from Laodiceia 175
 23 For a new hooded cloak from Ripensi or of the type taurogastrico 300
 48730 24 For a new hooded cloak from Noricum 200

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- 25 For other hooded cloaks 100
26 For African or Achaean hooded cloaks 50

XXIII. For the price of silks

- 48735 1a White unprocessed silk 1 lb 12.000
2 For those unravelling silk, with maintenance 1 uncia 64

XXIV. For purple

- 48740 1a Unprocessed silk, dyed purple 1 lb 150.000
2 Wool, dyed purple 1 lb 50.000
3 Wool, dyed lighter purple 1 lb 32.000
4 Wool, dyed bright Tyrian purple 1 lb 16.000
5 Wool, dyed purple once 1 lb 12.000
6 Wool, dyed twice in the best Milesian purple 1 lb 12.000
48745 7 Wool, dyed in second quality Milesian purple 1 lb 10.000
8 Wool, dyed scarlet-red with Nicene Kermes (AK: shield lice) 1 lb 1.500
9 Wool, dyed in the best quality archil purple (AK: a lichen) 1 lb 600
10 Wool, dyed in second quality archil purple 1 lb 500
48750 11 Wool, dyed in third quality archil purple 1 lb 400
12 Wool, dyed in fourth quality archil purple 1 lb 300
13 For those unravelling unprocessed silk, dyed purple or ny other colour 1 uncia
3(?) (AK: probably:) 50
14 For those spinning purple silk for pure silk cloth 1 uncia 116
15 For those spinning purple silk for part silk cloth 1 uncia 60
48755 16 For those spinning purple wool of the first quality for soft-finished cloth 1
uncia 24
17 (follows)
18 (follows)
19 (follows)
48760 20 (follows)
21 (follows)

XXV. For wool

- 48765 1a Wool from Tarentum, washed 1 lb 175
2 Wool from Laodiceia, washed 1 lb 150
3 Wool from Asturia, washed 1 lb 100
4 Wool of the best middle quality, washed 1 lb 50
5 All other wool, washed 1 lb 25
48770 6 Sea wool (Note AK: 'wool' made from the byssus thread of the Pinna nobilis musle
shell) 1 lb 150
7 Rabbit's hair, unsorted 1 lb 100
8 Wool from Aria (AK: Persia?) 1 lb 150
9 Wool from the Atrebetes 1 lb 200
10 (follows)
48775 11 (follows)
12 (follows)
13 (follows)

XXVI. For linen

- 48780 1a Combed, unspun flax, first quality 1 lb 24
2 Combed, unspun flax, second quality 1 lb 20
3 Combed, unspun flax, third quality 1 lb 16
4 For the different kinds of linen yarn, the prices below must not be exceeded
4a First quality 1 lb 1.200
48785 5 Second quality 1 lb 960
6 Third quality 1 lb 840
7 Further, linen yarn inferior to the third quality mentioned above
7a First quality 1 lb 720
8 Second quality 1 lb 600
48790 9 Third quality 1 lb 450
10 Coarse linen, for common people, farmers and slaves
10a First quality 1 lb 250
11 Second quality 1 lb 125
12 Third quality 1 lb 72
48795 13 Linen unit of textile (AK: will be referred to below as '1 web'), woven for a
shirt without colour bands 13a First quality from Scythopolis 1 web 7.000

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	14	First quality from Tarsus 1 web 6.000
	15	First quality from Byblus 1 web 5.000
	16	First quality from Laodiceia 1 web 4.500
48800	17	First quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 4.000
	18	Second quality from Scythopolis 1 web 6.000
	19	Second quality from Tarsus 1 web 5.000
	20	Second quality from Byblus 1 web 4.000
	21	Second quality from Laodiceia 1 web 3.500
48805	22	Second quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 3.000
	23	Third quality from Scythopolis 1 web 5.000
	24	Third quality from Tarsus 1 web 3.500
	25	Third quality from Byblus 1 web 3.000
	26	Third quality from Laodiceia 1 web 2.500
48810	27	Third quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 2.000
	28	For a soldiers' Strictorium
	28a	First quality 1.500
	29	Second quality 1.250
	30	Third quality 1.000
48815	31	(Strictorium?) of coarse linen for the use of common people or slaves
	31a	First quality ...
	32	Second quality 600
	33	Third quality 500
48820	34	For a woman's dalmatica without coloured bands 34a First quality from Scythopolis 1 web 11.000
	35	First quality from Tarsus 1 web 10.000
	36	First quality from Byblus 1 web 9.000
	37	First quality from Laodiceia 1 web 8.000
	38	First quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 7.000
48825	39	For a man's dalmatica or for a short sleeved tunica, a Colobia
	39a	First quality from Scythopolis 1 web 10.000
	40	First quality from Tarsus 1 web 9.000
	41	First quality from Byblus 1 web 8.000
	42	First quality from Laodiceia 1 web 7.500
48830	43	First quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 6.500
	44	For a woman's dalmatica
	44a	Second quality from Scythopolis 1 web 9.000
	45	Second quality from Tarsus 1 web 8.000
	46	Second quality from Byblus 1 web 7.000
48835	47	Second quality from Laodiceia 1 web 6.000
	48	Second quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 4.500
	49	For a man's dalmatica or for a short sleeved tunica, a colobia
	49a	Second quality from Scythopolis 1 web 7.500
	50	Second quality from Tarsus 1 web 6.500
48840	51	Second quality from Byblus 1 web 6.000
	52	Second quality from Laodiceia 1 web 5.000
	53	Second quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 4.500
	54	For a woman's dalmatica
	54a	Third quality from Scythopolis 1 web 7.000
48845	55	Third quality from Tarsus 1 web 6.000
	56	Third quality from Byblus 1 web 5.000
	57	Third quality from Laodiceia 1 web 4.000
	58	Third quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 3.000
	59	For a man's dalmatica or for a short sleeved tunica, a colobia
48850	59a	Third quality from Scythopolis 1 web 6.000
	60	Third quality from Tarsus 1 web 5.000
	61	Third quality from Byblus 1 web 4.000 62 Third quality from Laodiceia 1 web 3.000
	63	Third quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 2.000
	64	For linen clothing without coloured bands
48855	65	The following prices for linens below the third quality, which are produced at the majority of weaving sheds, no one is permitted to exceed
	66	For a woman's dalmatica
	66a	First quality 1 web 2.500
	67	Second quality 1 web 2.250
48860	68	Third quality 1 web 1.750
	69	For coarser linen for common people or slaves
	69a	First quality 1 web 1.000

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- 70 Second quality 1 web 800
- 71 Third quality 1 web 600
- 48865 72 For a man's dalmatica or for a short sleeved tunica, a colobia
- 72a First quality 1 web 2.500
- 73 Second quality 1 web 2.000
- 74 Third quality 1 web 1.500
- 75 For coarser linen for common people or slaves
- 48870 75a First quality 1 web 800
- 76 Second quality 1 web 600
- 77 Third quality 1 web 500
- 78 For wraps
- 78a First quality from Scythopolis 1 web 7.500
- 48875 79 First quality from Tarsus 1 web 7.000
- 80 First quality from Byblus 1 web 6.000
- 81 First quality from Laodiceia 1 web 5.500
- 82 First quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 4.500
- 83 Second quality from Scythopolis 1 web 6.500
- 48880 84 Second quality from Tarsus 1 web 5.500
- 85 Second quality from Byblus 1 web 5.000
- 86 Second quality from Laodiceia 1 web 4.000
- 87 Second quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 3.000
- 88 Third quality from Scythopolis 1 web 5.000
- 48885 89 Third quality from Tarsus 1 web 4.000
- 90 Third quality from Byblus 1 web 3.500
- 91 Third quality from Laodiceia 1 web 3.000
- 92 Third quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 2.500
- 93 Wraps inferior to the third quality mentioned above
- 48890 93a First quality 1 web 2.250
- 94 Second quality 1 web 1.750
- 95 Third quality 1 web 1.250
- 96 For coarser linen for common people or slaves
- 96a First quality 1 web 800
- 48895 97 Second quality 1 web 600
- 98 Third quality 1 web 500
- 99 For a face cloth (sweat cloth), without coloured bands
- 99a First quality from Scythopolis 1 web 3.250
- 100 First quality from Tarsus 1 web 3.000
- 48900 101 First quality from Byblus 1 web 2.500
- 102 First quality from Laodiceia 1 web 2.250
- 103 First quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 1.750
- 104 Second quality from Scythopolis 1 web 2.500
- 105 Second quality from Tarsus 1 web 2.250
- 48905 106 Second quality from Byblus 1 web 2.250
- 107 Second quality from Laodiceia 1 web 2.000
- 108 Second quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 1.500
- 109 Third quality from Scythopolis 1 web 2.250
- 110 Third quality from Tarsus 1 web 2.000
- 48910 111 Third quality from Byblus 1 web 1.750
- 112 Third quality from Laodiceia 1 web 1.500
- 113 Third quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 1.250
- 114 For face cloths (sweat cloths), inferior to the third quality mentioned above
- 114a First quality 1 web 1.000
- 48915 115 Second quality 1 web 750
- 116 Third quality 1 web 500
- 117 For coarser linen for common people or slaves
- 117a First quality 1 web 350
- 118 Second quality 1 web 225
- 48920 119 Third quality 1 web 200
- 120 Hooded cloaks (caracallae), short to medium
- 120a First quality from Scythopolis 1 web 3.500
- 121 First quality from Tarsus 1 web 3.000
- 122 First quality from Byblus 1 web 2.500
- 48925 123 First quality from Laodiceia 1 web 2.250
- 124 First quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 1.750
- 125 Second quality from Scythopolis 1 web 3.000
- 126 Second quality from Tarsus 1 web 2.500

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- 127 Second quality from Byblus 1 web 2.250
- 48930 128 Second quality from Laodiceia 1 web 2.000
- 129 Second quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 1.500
- 130 Third quality from Scythopolis 1 web 2.500
- 131 Third quality from Tarsus 1 web 2.250
- 132 Third quality from Byblus 1 web 2.000
- 48935 133 Third quality from Laodiceia 1 web 1.750
- 134 Third quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 1.250
- 135 For short to medium hooded cloaks, inferior to the third quality mentioned above
- 135a First quality 1 web 1.000
- 136 Second quality 1 web 750
- 48940 137 Third quality 1 web 600
- 138 For short to medium hooded cloaks for the use of women of the lower classes
- 138a First quality
- 139 Second quality
- 140 Third quality
- 48945 141ff
- XXVII. (For further linens)
- 1 ... 1 web 1.250
- 2 For loin cloths which are inferior to the quality mentioned above
- 48950 2a First quality 1 web 1.000
- 3 Second quality 1 web 800
- 4 Third quality 1 web 600
- 5 For loin cloths for the use of common people or slaves
- 5a First quality 1 web 400
- 48955 6 Second quality 1 web 300
- 7 Third quality 1 web 200
- 8 For pocket handkerchiefs, first quality from Scythopolis 1 web 1.300
- 9 First quality from Tarsus 1 web 1.000
- 10 First quality from Byblus 1 web 800
- 48960 11 Second quality 1 web 400
- 12 Third quality 1 web 300
- 13 Of coarse linen for the use of common people or slave women
- 13a First quality 1 web 250
- 14 Second quality 1 web 200
- 48965 15 Third quality 1 web 150
- 16 For bed linens
- 16a First quality from Scythopolis 1 web ...
- 17 First quality from Tarsus 1 web ..
- 18 First quality from Byblus 1 web ..
- 48970 19 First quality from Laodiceia 1 web 8.000
- 20 First quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 7.500
- 21 Second quality from Scythopolis 1 web ...
- 21 Second quality from Tarsus 1 web ...
- 23 Second quality from Byblus 1 web ...
- 48975 24 Second quality from Laodiceia 1 web ...50
- 25 Second quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web ...750
- 26 Third quality from Scythopolis 1 web ...500
- 27 Third quality from Tarsus 1 web ...700
- 28 Third quality from Byblus 1 web ...
- 48980 29 Third quality from Laodiceia 1 web 5.250
- 30 Third quality from Tarsus, Alexandrian 1 web 4.500
- 31 For bed linens inferior to the third quality mentioned above
- 31a First quality 1 web 3.000
- 32 Second quality 1 web 2.500
- 48985 33 Third quality 1 web 1.750
- 34 Of coarse linen for the use of common people or slaves
- 34a First quality 1 web 1.400
- 35 Second quality 1 web 1.000
- 36 Third quality 1 web 800
- 48990 37 Bands
- 37a First quality, of linen from Scythopolis, Tarsus, Byblus, Laodiceia or any other purest linen ... 1.500
- 38 Second quality 1 1.250
- 39 Third quality 1 1.000 ?

- 48995 40 Those which are inferior to the third quality mentioned abovep
 40a First quality 1 750
 41 Second quality 1 500
 42 Third quality 1 400
 43 Of coarse linen for the use of common people and slaves
- 49000 43a First quality 1 300
 44 Second quality 1 200
 45 Third quality 1 150
 46 Bed ticking and pillow ticking from Tralles or Antinoe 2.750
 47 From Damascus or Cyprus or other places First quality 1.750
- 49005 48 Second quality 1.250
 49 Third quality 800
 50 Those which are inferior to the third quality mentioned above
 50a Bed ticking and pillow ticking First quality 600
 51 Second quality 500
- 49010 52 Third quality 400
 53 Of coarse linen for the use of common people or slaves
 53a First quality 350
 54 Second quality 300
 55 Third quality 250
- 49015 56 Bed cushion for the use of common people 100
 57 Linen towels, Gallic First quality 1 web 2.500
 58 Second quality 1 web 2.000
 59 Third quality 1 web 820
 60 Linen towels, ... and ...
- 49020 60a First quality 1 square 1.800
 61 Second quality 1 square 1.200
 62 Third quality 1 square ...
 63 Towels..
 64 (fragments)
- 49025 65 (fragments)
 66 (fragments)
 67 ...
 68 (fragments)
 69 ...
- 49030 70 (fragments)
 71 (fragments)
 72 (fragments)
 73 (fragments)
 74
- 49035 75
 76 (fragments)
 77 (fragments)
- XXVIII. Linens ???
- 49040 XXIX. ... (AK: purple fabrics)
 1 (follows)
 2 (follows)
 3 (follows)
- 49045 4 (follows)
 5 (follows)
 6 (follows)
 7 (follows)
 8 (follows)
- 49050 9 (follows)
 10 (follows)
 11 (follows)
 12 (follows)
 13 (follows)
- 49055 14 (follows)
 15 (follows)
 16 (follows)
 17 (follows)
 18 (follows)
- 49060 19 (follows)

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- 20 (follows)
21 (follows)
22 (follows)
23 (follows)
49065 24 (follows)
25 (follows)
26 (follows)
27 (follows)
28 (follows)
49070 29 (follows)
30 Dalmatica, with purple bands, with 1 lb of archil purple 1 web 4.500
31 Dalmatica, with purple bands, with 6 unciae of archil purple 1 web 4.000
32 Dalmatica, with vertical purple bands, with 6 unciae of purple 1 web 32.000
33 With six unciae of light purple 1 web 22.000
49075 34 With six unciae of bright Tyrian purple 1 web 13.000
35 With six unciae of simple or once-dyed purple 1 web 10.000
36 With one lb of archil purple 1 web 2.500?
37 With six unciae of archil purple 1 web 3.500
38 Face cloths, with purple bands, with six unciae of purple 1 web 30.000
49080 39 With six unciae of light purple 1 web 22.000
40 With six unciae of bright Tyrian purple 1 web 12.000
41 With six unciae of simple or once-dyed purple 1 web 8.500
42 With one lb of archil purple 1 web 3.500
43 With six unciae of archil purple 1 web 2.500
49085 44 Hoods (mafortia), women's, with vertical purple bands, with 1 lb of purple 1 web 55.000
45 With 1 lb of light purple 1 web 36.000
46 With 1 lb of bright Tyrian purple 1 web 20.000
47 With 1 lb of simple or once-dyed purple 1 web 15.000
49090 48 With one lb of archil purple 1 web 3.500
49 In all the aforesaid types of merchandise all the standards are to be observed for women's as well as for children's and for all other types. Any type of merchandise for which a standard has not been specifically set is to be sold after a reckoning of the quality of the purple and of the linen, and of the weight, and of the
49095 workmanship, and of the standard (that) has been made between the seller and the buyer.
- XXX. For gold and silver
(AK: see Crawford and Reynolds 1979)
49100 1a Gold, refined, in bars or in coins 1 lb 72.000
2 Spun gold (Graser: gold drawn out, gold wire) 1 lb 72.000
3 Goldsmith working in gold 1 lb 5.000
4 Gold cutters making gold foil 1 lb 3.000 58
5 For drawers of gold in the leaf 1 lb (Erim and Crawford 1979, p. 197: should
49105 probably be 1 uncia) 250
6 Maker of gold thread, gold spinner 1 lb 2.500
7 Goldsmith for simple work 1 uncia 50
8 Goldsmith for precise work 1 uncia 80
9 Refined silver of the first quality 1 lb 6.000
49110 10 Silversmith for work of the first quality 1 lb 300
11 Silversmith for work of the second quality 1 lb 150
12 Silversmith for work of the third quality 1 lb 75
- XXXI. On the price of slaves
(AK: See Salway 2010)
49115 1a Slave, rural or urban, of the masculine sex, from sixteen years to forty years 30.000
2 Woman of the above written age 25.000
3 Similarly, male from forty to sixty years 25.000
49120 4 Woman of the above written age 20.000
5 Boy from eight years up to sixteen years and girl of the above written age 20.000
6 Man above sixty years and boy below eight years 15.000
7 Woman of the above written age 10.000
49125 8 For a slave trained in a skill, according to gender and age, and the quality of the skill, it shall be proper to agree the price between the buyer and the seller as long as double the price for a single one should not in the least be exceeded

XXXII. For the price of beasts

(AK: see Crawford and Reynolds 1979)

- 49130 1a Race horse 100.000
- 2 Best war horse, first category 36.000
- 3 Best she-mule, first category 36.000
- 4 Best hinny 36.000
- 5 Dark horse (?) 10.000
- 49135 6 Bactrian camel 25.000
- 7 Camel with two humps 60.000
- 8 Camel, female, with two humps 30.000
- 9 Best Arabian camel 12.000
- 10 Best dromedary 20.000
- 49140 11 Donkey for riding 15.000
- 12 Pack donkey 7.000
- 13 Female donkey for breeding 5.000+
- 14 Best oxen 1 pair 10.000
- 15 Best bull for breeding, first quality 5.000
- 49145 16 Cow, best quality 2.000
- 17 Neutered ram, best quality 500
- 18 Sheep, best quality 400
- 19 Billy goat, best quality 500
- 20 Female goat, best quality 400

49150

XXXIII. For marble and other kinds of stone

- 1a Porphyry from Egypt 1 cubic foot 250
- 2 Marble from Laconia 1 cubic foot 250
- 3 ... 1 cubic foot 200
- 49155 4 Dark or black marble from Chios or Melos 1 cubic foot 150
- 5 Red granite from Syene 1 cubic foot 100
- 6 Grey granite from Claudianus mons in Egypt 1 cubic foot 100
- 7 White marble (Alabastrene) 1 cubic foot 75
- 8 White marble with red veins from Phrygia 1 cubic foot 200
- 49160 9 Euthydemian (?)marble 1 cubic foot 60
- 10 Anacasene (?) marble 1 cubic foot 40
- 11 Tripontic (?) marble 1 cubic foot 75
- 12 Green marble from Thessaly 1 cubic foot 150
- 13 Carystian (?) marble 1 cubic foot 100
- 49165 14 Multicolour marble from Skyros 1 cubic foot 40
- 15 Heracleote (?) 1 cubic foot 75
- 16 Lesbian marble 1 cubic foot 40
- 17 Marble from Thasos 1 cubic foot 50
- 18 Stone from the river Gallos in Phrygia 1 cubic foot 40
- 49170 19 Potamogallene (?) marble 1 cubic foot 40

XXXIV. For wild animals from Africa

(AK: additional information and numbers taken from Crawford and Reynolds (1979))

- 1a Lion, first class 150.000
- 49175 2 Lion, second class 125.000
- 3 Lioness, first class 125.000
- 4 Lioness, second class 100.000
- 5 Leopard, first class 100.000
- 6 Leopard, second class 75.000
- 49180 7 Ostrich 5.000
- 8 Herbivore animals
- 8a Bear, first class 25.000
- 9 Bear, second class 20.000
- 10 Wild boar, first class 6.000
- 49185 11 Wild boar, second class 4.000
- 12 Stag, first class 3.000
- 13 Stag, second class 2.000
- 14 Onager 5.000

49190 XXXV. ... (AK: waxes and resins etc.)

See Crawford and Reynolds (1979), follows their numbering.

1a ...

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- 2 ...
3 For waxes
49195 3a Wax...?
4 Wax...?
5 Wax...?
6 Red wax 1 lb 25
7 Solid pitch 1 lb 8
49200 8 Liquid pitch 1 lb 12
9 Terebinth resin 1 lb 40
10 Colophonian or Phrygian resin 1 lb 6
11 Split alum 1 lb 20
12 Alum 1 lb 10
49205 13 Sulphur 1 lb 6
14 Dry candles 1 lb 4
15 Two dyed tapers (?) 1 lb 2
16 Cedar resin 1 lb 24
17 For hemp and esparto
49210 17a Prepared hemp 1 lb 4
18 Hemp spun for ropes 1 lb 6
19 A bag or net must be sold according to its weight
20 Ropes (?) of hemp or flax 1 lb 8
21 Ropes (?) of esparto 1 lb 8
49215 22 Palm fibre 1 lb ...
23 Ropes of grass 1 lb 2
24 Papyrus ropes 1 lb ...
25 Ropes of pith 1 lb 2
26 Bundle of esparto 1 lb ...
49220 27 Baskets of palm fibre, made by any method
28 Hamper of the ... quality 1 lb 2
29 For one modus capacity 4
30 ...
31 ...
49225 32 ...
33 ...
34 ...
35 ...
36 Lauffer XXXVI 44 etc. Soap 1 lb 24
49230 37 Soap 1 lb ...
38 46 Sodium carbonate (?) 1 lb 100
39 47 Sodium carbonate (?) 1 lb ...

XXXVI. ... (AK: For drugs, paints, dyes, glues, all sold by pigmentarii)
49235 ... 1a Costmary 1 lb 250
48 2 Leaf of malabathrum 1 lb 60
49 3 Unwashed leaf of malabathrum 1 lb 60
50 4 Washed nard 1 lb ...
51 5 Cassia 1 lb 120
49240 52 6 Xylocassia 1 lb 125
53 7 Bdellium 1 lb 100
54 8 Bdellium from Petra 1 lb 175
55 9 Parsley 1 lb 120
56 10 Finest frankincense 1 lb 100
49245 57 11 Storax resin from Cilicea 1 lb 500
58 12 Storax resin from Antioch 1 lb 200
59 13 Incense 1 lb 150
60 14 Saffron from Arabia 1 lb 2.000
61 15 Saffron from Cilicea 1 lb 1.000
49250 62 16 Saffron from Africa 1 lb 600
63 17 White mastic from Chios 1 lb 175
64 18 Black mastic 1 lb 24
65 19 Absinth from Pontus 1 lb ...
66 20 Melilot 1 lb ...
49255 67 21 Split alum (AK: cf. XXXV.1, 11 1 lb ...
68 22 Round alum 1 lb 30
69 23 Alum from Melia 1 lb ...
70 24 ... 1 lb ...

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	71	25	Arsenic	1 lb ...
49260	72	26	... 1 lb	20
	73	27		
	74	28		
	75	29		
	76	30		
49265	77	31		
	78	32		
	79	33		
	80	34		
	81	35		
49270	82	36		500
	83	37	Amomum	1 lb 125
	84	38	Opobalsamum	1 lb 600
	85	39	... 1 lb	250
	86	40	... 1 lb	200
49275	87	41	... 1 lb	600
	88	42	... 1 lb	1.000
	89	43	Rose oil, first quality	1 lb 80
	90	44	Rose oil, second quality	1 lb 50
	91	45	Storax oil	1 lb 30
49280	92	46	Iris oil	1 lb 30
	93	47	Henna oil from Canope	1 lb 50
	94	48	Smoky oil (fumaria officinalis)	1 lb 30
	95	49	Parthian oil	1 lb 30
	96	50	Lily oil	1 lb 100
49285	97	51	Rose honey	1 lb 75
	98	52	Nard oil	1 lb 75
	99	53	Marjoram oil	1 lb 100
	100	54	Fresh oil	1 lb 25
	101	55	Prepared ginger	1 lb 400
49290	102	56	Dried ginger	1 lb 250
	103	57	Euphorbia resin	1 lb 600
	104	58	Troglitic myrrh	1 lb 400
	105	59	Myrrh, for drops	1 lb ...
	106	60	Myrrh, first quality	1 lb ...
49295	107	61	Lead white	1 lb ...
	108	62	Ripensis (?) red (AK: rouge)	1 lb ...
	109	63	Litmus, 'Orseille colouring'	1 lb ...
	109a	...	...	...
	110	...	...	...
49300	111	...	...	...
	112	Curcuma (?)	...	...
	113	66	Silphium	1 lb 16
	114	67	Pepper	1 lb 800
	115	68	Wood from the terebinth tree	1 lb 40
49305	116	69	Wood from the buxus tree (Lauffer) or Judean balsam tree (Crawford and Reynolds 1979)	1 lb 20
	117	70	Asphalt	1 lb (?) 25
	118	71	Naphta, crude oil (Lauffer) or mastic oil (Crawford and Reynolds 1979)	1 lb 50
	119	72	Calamus (Lauffer) or cardamom (Crawford and Reynolds 1979)	1 lb 40
49310	120	73	Indigo (?)	1 lb 750
	120a	...	...	...
	74	Dardanian cinnabar, that is minium	1 lb 500	
	75	Second quality cinnabar, that is minium	1 lb 300	
	76	Pontic castor oil	1 lb 600	
49315	77	Dalmatian castor oil	1 lb 400	
	78	Sandyx	1 lb 40	
	79	Mastic wood	1 lb 50	
	80	Ladanum, first quality	1 lb 100	
	81	Ladanum, second quality	1 lb 50	
49320	82	Iris	1 lb 25	
	83	Cyaneus, that is Vestorian (blue dye, AK)	1 lb 150	
	84	Cyaneus, second quality, that is Vestorian	1 lb 80	
	85	Cuprous oxide? (Aeraminis exusti)	1 lb 150	
	86	Unalloyed copper? chalcoerytre v. os)	1 lb 150	

- 49325 87 Squama aeris, second quality 1 lb 50
 88 Elecampane 1 lb 25
 89 ...
 90 ...
 91 ...
 49330 92 ...
 121 93 ... second quality
 122 94 Penicillum (AK: funghi used in foods) 1 lb 6
 123 95 Schoenianthus (AK: Iuncus odoratus) 1 lb 50
 124 96 Aristolochia 1 lb 50
 49335 125 97 Halacanthi (Lauffer: unexplained) 1 lb 50
 126 98 Rhubarb from Pontum 1 lb 50
 127 99 Mastic gum from Chios 1 lb 150
 128 100 Mastic gum, second quality 1 lb 80
 129 101 Pine resin 1 lb 20
 49340 130 102 Pine resin from Colophonia 1 lb 16
 131 103 Opium from Thebe 1 lb 1.000
 132 104 Opium from Cyrene 1 lb 1.250
 133 105 Coral (?) first quality 1 lb 2.000
 134 106 Coral (?) second quality 1 lb 1.000
 49345 135 107 Ochre 1 lb 100
 136 108 Rose-like drug ? (rodoides) 1 lb 150
 137 109 Scammonia (AK: a purgative) 1 lb 500
 138 110 Chalk for cleaning silver etc. 1 lb 10
 - 111 Cimolean earth 1 lb 4
 49350 139 112 Glue made from fish bones 1 lb 80
 140 113 Bovine bone glue 1 lb 20
 141 114 Pot of ?, or: medicinal terracotta powder (?) (Gastraciae vasum) 1 lb 10
- XXXVII ... (Sea freight)
- 49355 1 The following sea rates must not be exceeded for transport between the following regions in different provinces.
 1a Alexandria - Rome (Seidel: Ostia) 1k. mo. 16
 2 Alexandria - Nicomedia 1k. mo. 12
 3 Alexandria - Byzantium 1k. mo. 12
 49360 4 Alexandria - Dalmatia (Seidel: Salona) 1k. mo. 18
 5 Alexandria - Aquileia 1k. mo. 24
 6 Alexandria - Africa (Seidel: Carthago) 1k. mo. 10
 7 Alexandria - Sicily (Seidel: Messana) 1k. mo. 10
 8 Alexandria - Ephesus 1k. mo. 8
 49365 9 Alexandria - Thessalonica 1k. mo. 12
 10 Alexandria - Pamphylia 1k. mo. 6
 11 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Rome 1k. mo. 18
 12 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Salona 1k. mo. 16
 13 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Aquileia 1k. mo. 22
 49370 14 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Africa (Seidel: Carthago) 1k. mo. 16
 15 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Hispania (Seidel: Tarraco or Carthago Nova) 1k. mo. 20
 16 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Southern Hispania (Seidel: Gades) 1k. mo. 22
 17 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Lusitania (Seidel: Olisipo) 1k. mo. 26
 49375 18 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Gallia (Seidel: Narbo) 1k. mo. 24
 19 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Byzantium 1k. mo. 12
 20 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Ephesus 1k. mo. 10
 21 Syria (Seidel: Seleukeia Pieria) - Sicily (Seidel: Messana) 1k. mo. 16
 22 Ephesus - Rome 1k. mo. 16
 49380 23 Ephesus - Africa (Seidel: Carthago) 1k. mo. 8
 24 Ephesus - Dalmatia (Seidel: Salona) 1k. mo. 12
 25 Africa (Seidel: Carthago) - Rome 1k. mo. ...
 26 Africa (Seidel: Carthago) - Salona 1k. mo. 18
 27 Africa (Seidel: Carthago) - Sicily (Seidel: Messana) 1k. mo. 6
 49385 28 Africa (Seidel: Carthago) - Hispania (Seidel: Tarraco or Carthago Nova) 1k. mo. 8
 29 Africa (Seidel: Carthago) - Gallia (Seidel: Narbo) 1k. mo. 4
 30 Africa (Seidel: Carthago) - Achaia (Seidel: Corinthus) 1k. mo. 12
 31 Africa (Seidel: Carthago) - Pamphylia 1k. mo. 14
 32 Rome - Sicily (Seidel: Messana) 1k. mo. 6
 49390 33 Rome - Thessalonica 1k. mo. 18

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- 34 Rome - Achaea (Seidel: Corinthus) 1k. mo. 14
 35 Rome - Hispania (Seidel: Tarraco or Carthago Nova) 1k. mo. 10
 36 Rome - Gallia (Seidel: Narbo) 1k. mo. 4
 37 Sicily (Seidel: Messina) - Gallia (Seidel: Narbo) 1k. mo. 8
 49395 38 Nicomedia - Rome 1k. mo. 18
 39 Nicomedia - Ephesus 1k. mo. 6
 40 Nicomedia - Thessalonica 1k. mo. 8
 41 Nicomedia - Achaea (Seidel: Corinthus) 1k. mo. 8
 42 Nicomedia - Salona 1k. mo. 14
 49400 43 Nicomedia - Pamphylia 1k. mo. 8
 44 Nicomedia - Syria (Seidel: Berytus) 1k. mo. 12
 45 Nicomedia - Africa (Seidel: Carthago) 1k. mo. 14
 46 Byzantium - Rome 1k. mo.
 47 Byzantium - Trapezunt 1k. mo. 18
 49405 48 Byzantium - Sinope 1k. mo. 8
 49 Byzantium - Amastri and Sinope Tomis 1k. mo. 8
 50 (follows)
 51 (follows)
 52 ... 4
 49410 53 ...
 54 ... - Rome 1k. mo...
 55 For freight in official transport a special rate must be obtained
 56 ... 1k. mo. 2
 57 ...
 49415 58 ... 1k. mo. 6
 59 Nicomedia - ... 1k. mo. 8
 60 Nicomedia - ... 1k. mo. 8
 61 Nicomedia - ... 1k. mo. 14
 62 Nicomedia - ... 1k. mo. 16
 49420 63 Nicomedia - 1k. mo. 8
 64 Nicomedia - ... 1k. mo. 12
 65 Byzantium - 1k. mo. 18
 66 ...
 67 ...
 49425 68 Amastri and Sinope - 1k. mo. 8
 69 (follows)
 70 (follows)
 71 (follows)
 72 (follows)
 49430 73 (follows)
 74 (follows)
 75 (follows)
- 49435 See [\(66\) New English translation of the Price Edict of Diocletianus](#)
- An English translation of the Edict on Maximum Prices, also known as the Price Edict of Diocletian.**
 (Edictum de pretiis rerum venalium).
- 49440 Issued between November 20 and December 10 of the year 301 AD, the price edict gives maximum prices for more than 1.200 products, raw materials, labour and services, transport, animals and even slaves. Prices ranged from 1 denarius communis for fresh green animal fodder to 150.000 denarii for a male lion or for purple dyed silk. The
- 49445 price edict and the monetary edict issued some months before were an attempt to check inflation.
 The edict came to us through (fragments of) inscriptions on stone slabs (fig. 1) found at a number of sites, all but one in the eastern part of the Empire where Diocletianus resided.
- 49450 The edict presents some questions. The edict was part of the legislation of the first tetrarchy (293-305 AD): co-Augusti Diocletian and Maximianus and their Caesares Galerius and Constantius ruled the Roman Empire. The tetrarchs state in the preface that the maximum prices are effective in 'our whole realm'. We would expect the edict to apply also to the western part of the Empire where Maximianus resided. Why was the
- 49455 edict not displayed in stone in the west, as the absence of surviving fragments seem to suggest? After all, chapter XXXVII (maximum sea freight rates) does include

western harbours.

Was the price edict effective and if so, for how long? From the (hostile) account of Lactantius (De Mortibus Persecutorum 7.6-7.7) we might conclude that the edict all but destroyed trade, caused a lot of bloodshed and had to be withdrawn.

But can we trust Lactantius on the outcome of the edict?

What do we know about the coins and their values at the time of the price edict?

Although all prices are quoted in denarii communes, the denarius had in fact transformed from an actual coin in mass circulation into a unit of account.

Actual payments were made in other coins.

The aureus at the time functioned as gold bullion and did not circulate.

The argenteus (nominal value 100 dc) was scarce and hardly formed a part of regular circulation. The argenteus barely left a trace in hoards and is rather scarce as a site find in many areas.

Diocletian's currency scheme, designed to be trimetallic, was in reality a monometallic system, based on the slightly argentiferous nummus (25 dc) and on the new radiate fractal, and for a time on the old but initially still circulating aureliani (both 4 dc).

In the West, the old antoninianus filled the role of fractal adjunct to the omnipresent nummus and we should consider the possibility that, if the Currency Revaluation and Edict on Maximum Prices were applicable in the West, this coin might have had a face value of 4 dc after 1 September 301, equal to that of the (in the west) virtually absent aureliani and copper radiate fractals. The rare small copper laureate never circulated.

The nummus was in fact the pivot of the tetrarchic currency system and it circulated in the entire Roman Empire. As neither aureus nor argenteus were in fact available for payments, folles or sealed and standardized bags of nummi were probably used for large payments. See Kropff, A. 2017.

Diocletian's Currency System after 1 September 301 AD: an inquiry into values.

Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie 163, p. 167-187. Fig. 2. Nummus Maximianus (28mm, 10.22 g). Heraclea mint, RIC VI 19b. © CNG, Inc.

This webpage presents the first online translation in English of the full text of the Price Edict. Translations of some selected parts of the edict (for instance on the price of labour, of fish, of transport) and selections or cross-sections of a range of prices were available on the internet, but no translation of the entire 3 edict. This translation does not pretend to be a scientific contribution to any discussion, as some of the published papers on my website www.thirdcentury.nl do.

Latin and Greek texts are not included and no provenances (CIL reference, publication, and whereabouts of the fragments) are given. All this can be found in the source material, summarized under 'Literature' below. Graser (1940) gives an English translation, but is based on the then known sixty fragments.

Many more fragments have been found since then and Graser is outdated now.

Lauffer (1971) has included 126 fragments but provided no translation in English, only notes in German. Giaccherio (1974) offers a more complete edition, but translates in Italian. Some of the publications on more recent finds include no translation at all, as these were written with classicists in mind.

The Latin text of the first ten chapters with numbered items (numbers not always following Lauffer) can be found in the Bibliotheca Augustana, at www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost04/Diocletianus/dio_ep_i.html.

The Latin text of some of the fragments, including an important one found at Aphrodisias (CIL III, pp. 2208-2209) can be found at http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr/Constitutiones/maximum_CIL.html. The items are in CIL format and consequently not numbered, so locating a Latin text for any given item from chapter XI on will be quite a challenge!

The Aezani text (Crawford and Reynolds) in Latin can also be found at http://www.mikoflohr.nl/data/texts/Aezani_Aezani/

An extensive (but unnumbered and incomplete) Italian translation can be found at <http://www.circolonumismaticomonzese.org> where the link Editto dei prezzi di Diocleziano will open the xls file of the translation.

We hope the present translation will be useful for those interested in Roman history and in ancient economy. Many items can be found in the edict, from onions to linen garments, from Menapian ham to a travel coach, from the wages of untrained farm workers to the tariffs of solicitors and Latin grammar teachers.

Or the price of a slave.

The edict provides a fascinating read. Surprising are the relatively high prices of garments compared to the relatively low prices of the cheaply produced clothes of

today. After all, every thread had to be spun by hand, using a spindle. The translation follows the numbers used by Lauffer following Mommsen (numbers added or inserted for new material) and is textually based on Graser wherever possible. Her translation has been changed for some entries. For instance: in chapter XII.1. (timber) her incorrect 'inch' (2,54 cm) was replaced with the original digitus ('finger', 1,85 cm). Some comments, marked A(nty) K(ropff) were inserted by the present compiler. When an entrance seems to require a clarification, one is proposed. For instance: the garments strictoria, dalmatica and dalmaticomafortium are explained at their first appearance. Also, for prices we followed Lauffer's reading rather than Graser's wherever entries diverged. For instance: where Graser gives a maximum price 3.500 d for linen towels (XXVIII.57). This translation follows Lauffer and gives 2.500 d. Lauffer (1971) has been consulted for all entries. This filled in many gaps in Graser's text, for instance the metals (XV.63-67, etc.). Also included are some more recent publications (providing the prices of glass, slaves, the correct prices of gold, additional items under chapter XXXVI, etc.) See the list of literature for details. A translation of the edict can never be called complete, as new fragments will probably be found in future. This translation certainly is a work in progress. For some entries the indication 'follows' implies that a translation will be included in next versions, which will also be published here. If you discover a mistake or would like an alternative comment or new material to be included, please contact Antony Kropff at info@thirdcentury.nl. Your comments are welcome!

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49570

Epitome De Caesaribus

In these days, the Caesars Constantius, the father of Constantine, and Armentarius were proclaimed Augusti, with Severus in Italy and, in Oriens, Maximinus, the son of Galerius' sister, created Caesars; and at the same time Constantine was made a

49575

Caesar.
2. Maxentius was made emperor in a villa six miles outside the city, on the road to Lavicanum, next Licinius became an Augustus, and, in the same fashion, Alexander at Carthagina; and likewise Valens was created emperor. Their demise was as follows:

49580

3. Severus Caesar was killed by Herculus Maximian in Rome at Tres Tabernae and his ashes were interred in the sepulchre of Gallienus, which is nine miles from the city on the Appian Way.

4. Galerius Maximianus, when his genitals were consumed, died.

5. Maximian Herculus, besieged by Constantine at Massilia, then captured, was executed in a fashion most base, with his neck snapped by a noose.

49585

6. Alexander was slaughtered by Constantine's army.

7. Maxentius, while engaged against Constantine, hastening to enter from the side a bridge of boats constructed a little above the Milvian Bridge, was plunged into the depth when his horse slipped; his body, swallowed up by the weight of his armor, was barely recovered.

49590

8. Maximinus died a simple death at Tarsus.

9. Valens was punished with death by Licinius.

10. As for characters, moreover, they were of this sort: Aurelius Maximian, with the cognomen Herculus, was fierce by nature, burning with lust, stolid in his counsels, of rustic and Pannonian stock. For even now, not far from Sirmium, there is a spot prominent because of a palace constructed there, where his parents once worked wage-earning jobs.

49595

11. He died at the age of sixty, emperor for twenty years.

12. From Eutropia, a Syrian woman, he sired Maxentius and Fausta, the wife of Constantine, to whose father Constantius had given his stepdaughter, Theodora.

49600

13. But Maxentius, they say, was substituted by the womanly wile of one laboring to control a husband's affection by means of an auspice of a most felicitous fecundity which commenced with a boy.

14. Maxentius was dear to no one at all, not even to his father or father-in-law, Galerius.

49605

15. Galerius, moreover, although possessed of an uncultivated and rustic justice, was praiseworthy enough, physically attractive, a skilled and fortunate warrior, sprung from country parents, a keeper of cattle, whence for him the cognomen Armentarius ["Herdsman"].

49610

16. He was born and also buried in Dacia Ripensis, a place which he had called Romulianum from the name of his mother, Romula.

17. He insolently dared to affirm that, in the fashion of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, his mother had conceived him after she had been embraced by a serpent.

49615

18. Galerius Maximinus, scion of Armentarius' sister, called by the name Dacia, to be sure, before imperium, was a Caesar for four years, then an Augustus in Oriens for three -- in birth, indeed, and in station a shepherd, yet a supporter of every very learned man and of literature, quiet by nature, too fond of wine.

19. Drunk with which, with his mind corrupted, he used to command certain harsh measures; but when he repented what had been done, in a continent and sober time, what he had enjoined, he ordered deferred.

49620

20. Alexander was a Phrygian in origin, inferior in the face of hardship through the fault of old age. [166]

49625

With all these men out of the way, the rights of imperium fell to Constantine and Licinius.

2. Constantine, son of emperor Constantius and Helena, ruled thirty years. While a young man being held as a hostage by Galerius in the city of Rome on the pretence of his religion, he took flight and, for the purpose of frustrating his pursuers, wherever his journey had brought him, he destroyed the public transports, and reached his father in Britain; and by chance, in those very days in the same place, ultimate destiny was pressing on his parent, Constantius.

49630

3. With him dead, as all who were present -- but especially Crocus, King of the Alamanni, who had accompanied Constantius for the sake of support -- were urging him on, he took imperium.

49635

4. To Licinius, who was summoned to Mediolanum, he wed his own sister Constantia; and

his own son, Crispus by name, born by Minervina, a concubine, and likewise Constantinus, born in those same days at the city Arlate, and Licinianus, son of Licinius, about twenty months old, he made Caesars.

5. But, indeed, as imperia preserve concord with difficulty, a rift arose between Licinius and Constantine; and first, near Cibalae, beside a lake named Hiulca, when Constantine burst into Licinus' camps by night, Licinius sought escape and, by a swift flight, reached Byzantium.

6. There Martinianus, Master of Offices, he made a Caesar.

7. Then Constantine, stronger in battle in Bithynia, pledged through the wife to confer regal garb upon Licinius, his safety having been guaranteed. Then, after he had been sent to Thessalonica, a little later he ordered him and Martinianus slaughtered.

8. Licinius died after about fourteen years of dominatio, and near the sixtieth year of his life: through a love of avarice he was the worst of all men and not a stranger to sexual debauchery, harsh indeed, immoderately impatient, hostile toward literature, which, as a result of his boundless ignorance, he used to call a poison and a public pestilence, especially forensic endeavor.

9. Obviously he was sufficiently salutary to farmers and country folk, because he had sprung from and had been raised from that group, and a most strict guardian of the military according to the institutes of our forefathers.

10. He was a vehement suppressor of all eunuchs and courtiers, calling them worms and vermin of the palace.

11. But Constantine, when mastery of the entire Roman empire had been obtained through the wondrous good fortune of his wars, with his wife, Fausta, inciting him, so men think, ordered his son Crispus put to death.

12. Then, when his mother, Helena, as a result of excessive grief for her grandson, chastised him, he killed his own wife, Fausta, who was thrown into hot baths.

13. He was, to be sure, too desirous of praise, as is able to be ascertained. On account of the legends inscribed on many structures, he was accustomed to call Trajan "Wall Plant". He built a bridge over the Danube.

14. The royal garb he adorned with gems, and his head, at all times, with a diadem. Nevertheless, he was most agreeable in many matters: by means of laws most severe he checked malicious prosecutions; he nurtured the fine arts, especially studies of literature; he himself read, wrote, reflected, and listened to legations and the complaints of the provinces.

15. And when, with his children and his brother's son, Delmatius, confirmed as Caesars, he had lived sixty-three years, half of which thus, so that thirteen he alone ruled, he was consumed by disease.

16. He was a mocker rather than a flatterer. From this he was called after Trachala in the folktale, for ten years a most excellent man, for the following twelve a brigand, for the last ten, on account of his unrestrained prodigality, a ward irresponsible for his own actions.

17. His body was buried in Byzantium, called Constantinople.

18. With him dead, Delmatius was put to death by the violence of the troops.

19. Thus dominatio of the Roman world was returned to three men, Constantinus, Constantius, and Constans, the sons of Constantine.

20. These individually held these areas as their realms: Constantinus the Younger, everything beyond the Alps; Constantius, from the Strait of the Propontis, Asia, and Oriens; Constans, Illyricum and Italy and Africa; Delmatius, Thrace and Macedonia and Achaea; Hannibalianus, brother of Delmatius Caesar, Armenia and neighboring, allied nations.

21. However, on account of the legal right to Italy and Africa, Constantinus and Constans immediately disagreed. When Constantinus, reckless and horribly intoxicated, in a display of highway robbery, rushed into territories not his own, he was slain and thrown into a river, the name for which is Alsa, not far from Aquileia.

22. But while Constans, because of a desire of hunting, was roaming through forests and woodland pastures, some soldiers, with Chrestius, Marcellinus, and also Magnentius the instigators, conspired toward his murder. As soon as the day of carrying out the business was resolved, Marcellinus, feigning the birth of a son, invited many men to dinner. And so, late in the night, while a drinking party was being celebrated, he withdrew as if to relieve himself as is normal, and assumed the revered attire.

23. When this action was discovered, Constans attempted to flee to Helena, a city close to the Pyrenees, and by Gaiso, who had been dispatched with picked men, he was killed in the thirteenth year of his reign as an Augustus (for he had been a Caesar for a three-year period), at the age of twenty-seven.

24. Disabled in the feet and hands through a malady of the joints, he was fortunate in temperateness of climate, in an abundance of harvests, and in no terror from barbarians, things which would have been still greater indeed, if he had promoted governorsof provinces not for a price, but on the basis of judgment.

25. When his death became known, Vetrano, Master of Soldiers, seized imperium in Pannonia at Mursia; not many days after, Constantius desposed him from power, granting to him not only a long life, but also a retirement full of pleasures. He was, moreover, a most simpleminded man, verging on stupidity.

Constantius proclaimed Caesar Gallus, the son of his father's brother, marrying to him his sister, Constantia.

2. Magnentius, too, made Decentius, his brother, Caesar beyond the Alps.

3. In these days, at Rome, Nepotianus, son of Eutropia, Constantine's sister, with those who had been destroyed driving him on, took the name Augustus; him Magnentius crushed in twenty-eight days.

4. At this time, Constantius did battle with Magnentius at Mursa and was victorious. In this battle, hardly anywhere was Roman might more fully consumed and the fortune of the whole empire dashed.

5. Then, when Magnentius had removed himself toward Italy, near Ticinum he scattered many who were recklessly and, as is customary in victory, too boldly pursuing him.

6. Not much later, cornered near Lugdunum, he breathed his last in the forty-second month of imperium and in about the fiftieth year of his life, his side pierced with a sword secretly supplied, assisting the blow by pushing against a wall - as he was of immense size -, spewing blood from the wound, his nostrils, and mouth.

7. He sprang from barbarian parents, who inhabited Gallia; he was inclined toward the study of reading, sharp of tongue, of a haughty spirit, and cowardly beyond measure; a master, nevertheless, for concealing terror under a pretext of boldness.

8. When his death was heard of, Decentius ended his life with a noose made of a cloth swathe.

9. At this time, Gallus Caesar was killed by Constantius. He ruled four years.

10. Silvanus was made emperor and, on the twenty-eighth day of imperium, was destroyed. He was by nature most charming.

11. Although the scion of a barbarian father, he was nevertheless, as a result of Roman training, sufficiently cultivated and patient.

12. Constantius took to himself with the rank of Caesar Claudius Julian, Gallus' brother, almost twenty-three years old.

13. In the Argentoratensian Fields in Gallia, he, with a few troops, destroyed an innumerable army of enemies.

14. The heaps were standing like mountains, the blood was flowing in the fashion of rivers; a king, noble Nodomarius, was captured; the entire aristocracy was routed; the frontier of Roman property was restored; and afterward, doing battle with the Alamanni, he captured their most powerful king, Badomarius.

15. He was proclaimed Augustus by the Gallic troops.

16. Through legations, Constantius urged him to return to his original status and title. Julian, in a rather mild, secret correspondence, replied that he would serve far more dutifully under the title of a lofty imperium.

17. As a result of these things, Constantius burned more and more with outrage and, as he was unable to endure the like, with a sharp fever which excessive indignation increased by sleepless nights, perished in the foothills of Mount Taurus near Mopsocrene in the forty-fourth year of age and in the thirty-ninth of imperium, but in his twenty-fourth as an Augustus: eight alone, sixteen with his brothers and Magnentius, fifteen as a Caesar.

18. He was lucky in civil wars, lamentable in foreign; an amazing artist with arrows, very abstinent from food, drink, and sleep, able to endure labor, a lover of eloquence, which, since, through slowness of mind, he was unable to attain, he used to envy in others.

19. He was addicted to the love of eunuchs, courtiers, and wives, by whom - satisfied by no deviant or unlawful pleasure - he used to be polluted.

20. But from wives, many whom he obtained, he especially delighted in Eusebia, who was indeed elegant, but, through Adamantiae and Gorgoniae and other dangerous abettors, harmful of her husband's reputation, contrary to what is customary for more upright females whose precepts often aid their husbands.

21. For, as I pass over others, it is incredible to relate how much Pompeia Plotina increased the glory of Trajan: when his procuratores were disrupting the provinces with false accusations to the extent that one of them was said to have greeted a certain wealthy fellow thus, "How did you get so much?"; another, "Where did you get

so much?"; a third, "Give me what you've got," she admonished her husband and, reproaching him because he was so unconcerned with his reputation, returned so much that afterward he spurned unjust exactions and called the fisc the spleen, because, as it increased, the remaining muscles and limbs dwindled.

<https://www.roman-emperors.org/epitome.htm>

Origo Constantini Imperatoris

Constantius, grandson of the brother of that best of emperors Claudius, was first one of the emperor's bodyguard, then a tribune, and later, governor of Dalmatia. With Galerius, he was appointed Caesar by Diocletian; for he put away his former wife Helena and married Theodora, daughter of Maximianus, by whom he afterwards had six children, brothers of Constantine. But by his former wife Helena, he already had a son Constantine, who was later the mightiest of emperors.

This Constantine, then, born of Helena, a mother of very common origin, and brought up in the town of Naissus, which he afterwards splendidly adorned, had but slight training in letters. He was held as a hostage by Diocletian and Galerius, and did valiant service under those emperors in Asia. After the abdication of Diocletian and Herculus, Constantius asked Galerius to return his son; but Galerius first exposed him to many dangers. For when Constantine, then a young man, was serving in the cavalry against the Sarmatians, he seized by the hair and carried off a fierce savage, and threw him at the feet of the emperor Galerius. Then sent by Galerius through a swamp, he entered it on his horse and made a way for the rest to the Sarmatians, of whom he slew many and won the victory for Galerius. Then at last, Galerius sent him back to his father. But in order to avoid meeting Severus as he passed through Italy, Constantine crossed the Alps with the greatest haste, ordering the post-horses to be killed as he went on; and he came up with his father Constantius at Bononia, which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum. But his father Constantius, after winning a victory over the Picts, died at York, and Constantine was unanimously hailed as Caesar by all the troops.

In the meantime, two other Caesars had been appointed, Severus and Maximinus; to Maximinus was given the rule of the Orient; Galerius retained Illyricum for himself, as well as the Thracian provinces and Bithynia; Severus received Italy and whatever Herculus had formerly governed. But after Constantius died in Britain, and his son Constantine succeeded him, Maxentius, the son of Herculus, was suddenly hailed as emperor by the praetorian soldiers in the city of Rome. By order of Galerius, Severus took the field against Maxentius, but he was suddenly deserted by all his followers and fled to Ravenna. Thereupon Galerius, with a great army, came against Rome, threatening the destruction of the city, and encamped at Interamna near the Tiber. Then he sent Licinius and Probus to the city as envoys, asking that the son-in law, that is Maxentius, should attain his desires from the father-in law, that is Galerius, at the price of requests rather than of arms.

Galerius' proposal was scorned, and having learned that through Maxentius' promises many of his own men had been led to desert his cause, he was distressed and turned back; and in order to furnish his men with whatever booty he could, he gave orders that the Flaminian Road should be plundered. Maximianus took refuge with Constantine. Then Galerius made Licinius a Caesar in Illyricum, and after that, leaving him in Pannonia, returned himself to Serdica, where he was attacked by a violent disease and wasted away so completely, that he died with the inner parts of his body exposed and in a state of corruption – a punishment for a most unjust persecution, which recoiled as a well-merited penalty upon the author of the iniquitous order. He ruled for nineteen years.

Severus Caesar was low both in character and in origin, given to drink, and hence a friend to Galerius. Accordingly, Galerius made Caesars of him and Maximinus, without Constantine having knowledge of any such step. To this Severus were assigned some cities of Pannonia, Italy, and Africa. Through this chance, Maxentius became emperor; for Severus was deserted by his men and fled to Ravenna. Summoned to support his son Maxentius, Herculus came to Ravenna, deceived Severus by a false oath, gave him into custody, and took him to Rome in the condition of a captive; there he had him kept under guard in a villa belonging to the state, situated thirty miles from Rome on the Appian Road. When Galerius later went to Italy, Severus was executed; then his body was taken to a place eight miles from the city, and laid in the tomb of Gallienus. Now Galerius was such a tippler that when he was drunk he gave orders such as ought

but to be obeyed; and so, at the advice of his prefect, he directed that no one should execute any commands which he issued after luncheon.

Meanwhile Constantine, after defeating the tyrant's generals at Verona, went on to Rome. When he had reached the city, Maxentius came out and chose a plain above the Tiber as the place to do battle. There the usurper was defeated, and when all his men were put to flight, he was prevented from escaping by the crowd of fugitives, thrown from his horse into the river, and drowned. On the following day his body was recovered from the Tiber, and the head was cut off and taken to Rome. When his mother was questioned about his parentage, she admitted that he was the son of a Syrian. He ruled for six years.

Now Licinius was a native of New Dacia, and was of somewhat common origin. He was made emperor by Galerius, in order that he might take the field against Maxentius. But when Maxentius was overthrown and Constantine had recovered Italy, he made Licinius his colleague on condition that he should marry Constantine's sister Constantia at Mediolanum. After the celebration of the wedding Constantine went to Gaul, and Licinius returned to Illyricum. Some time after that Constantine sent Constantius to Licinius, to persuade him to confer the rank of Caesar on Bassianus, who was married to a second sister of Constantine (named Anastasia), to the end that, after the manner of Maximianus, Bassianus might hold Italy and thus stand as a buffer between Constantine and Licinius. But Licinius thwarted such an arrangement, and influenced by Bassianus' brother Senicio, who was loyal to Licinius, Bassianus took up arms against Constantine. But he was arrested in the act of accomplishing his purpose, and by order of Constantine was condemned and executed. When the punishment of Senicio was demanded as the instigator of the plot and Licinius refused, the harmony between the two emperors came to an end; an additional reason for the break was, that Licinius had overthrown the busts and statues of Constantine at Emona. Then the two emperors declared open war. Their armies were led to the plain of Cibalae. Licinius had 35000 infantry and cavalry; Constantine commanded 20000. After an indecisive contest, in which 20000 of Licinius' foot soldiers and a part of his mail-clad horsemen were slain, he himself with a great part of his other cavalry made his escape under cover of night to Sirmium. From there, taking with him his wife, his son, and his treasures, he went to Dacia and appointed Valens, who was commander on the frontier, to the rank of Caesar. Then, having through Valens mustered a large force at Hadrianopolis, a city of Thrace, he sent envoys to Constantine, who had established himself at Philippi, to treat for peace. When the envoys were sent back without accomplishing anything, the war was renewed and the two rivals joined battle on the plain of Mardia. After a long and indecisive struggle, the troops of Licinius gave way and night aided them to escape. Thereupon Licinius and Valens, believing that Constantine (as turned out to be the case), in order to follow up his advantage, would advance farther in the direction of Byzantium, turned aside and made their way towards Beroea. As Constantine was eagerly pushing on, he learned that Licinius had remained behind him; and just then, when his men were worn out from fighting and marching, Mestrianus was sent to him as an envoy, to propose peace in the name of Licinius, who promised to do as he was bidden. Valens was ordered to return again to his former private station; when that was done, peace was concluded by both emperors, with the stipulation that Licinius should hold the Orient, Asia, Thrace, Moesia, and Lesser Scythia. Then Constantine, having returned to Serdica, arranged with Licinius, who was elsewhere, that Crispus and Constantinus, sons of Constantine, and Licinius, son of Licinius, should be made Caesars, and that thus the rule should be carried on in harmony by both emperors. Thus Constantine and Licinius became colleagues in the consulship. In the regions of the Orient, while Licinius and Constantine were consuls, Licinius was stirred by sudden madness and ordered that all the Christians should be driven from the Palace.

Soon war flamed out again between Licinius himself and Constantine. Also, when Constantine was at Thessalonica, the Goths broke through the neglected frontiers, devastated Thrace and Moesia, and began to drive off booty. Then because of fear of Constantine and his check of their attack they returned their prisoners to him and peace was granted them. But Licinius complained of this action as a breach of faith, on the ground that his function had been usurped by another. Finally, by using sometimes humble entreaties and sometimes arrogant threats, he aroused the deserved wrath of Constantine. During the interval before the civil war began, but while it was in preparation, Licinius gave himself up to a frenzy of wickedness, cruelty, avarice and lust; he put many men to death for the sake of their riches, and violated

49900 their wives. Now peace was broken by consent of both sides; Constantine sent Crispus Caesar with a large fleet to take possession of Asia, and on the side of Licinius, Amandus opposed him, likewise with naval forces. Licinius himself had covered the slopes of high mountain near Hadrianopolis with a huge army. Hither Constantine

49905 turned his march with his entire force. While the war went on slowly by land and sea, although Constantine's army had great difficulty in scaling the heights, at last his good fortune and the discipline of his army prevailed, and he defeated the confused and disorganised army of Licinius; but Constantine was slightly wounded in the thigh. Then Licinius fled to Byzantium; and while his scattered forces were on the way to the city, Licinius closed it, and feeling secure against an attack by sea, planned to

49910 meet a siege from the land-side. But Constantine got together a fleet from Thrace. Then Licinius, with his usual lack of consideration, chose Martinianus as his Caesar. But Crispus, with Constantine's fleet, sailed to Callipolis, where in a sea-fight he so utterly defeated Amandus that the latter barely made his escape with the help of the forces which he had left on shore. But Licinius' fleet was in part destroyed and

49915 in part captured. Licinius, abandoning hope on the sea, by way of which he saw that he would be blockaded, fled with his treasures to Chalcedon. Constantine entered Byzantium, where he met Crispus and learned of his naval victory. Then Licinius began a battle at Chrysopolis, being especially aided by the Gothic auxiliaries which their prince Alica had brought; whereupon the army of Constantine was victorious, slaying

49920 25000 soldiers of the opposing side and putting the rest to flight. Later, when they saw Constantine's legions coming in Liburnian galleys, the survivors threw down their arms and gave themselves up. But on the following day Constantia, sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, came to her brother's camp and begged that her husband's life be spared, which was granted. Thus Licinius became a private citizen, and was entertained at a banquet by Constantine. Martinianus' life was also spared. Licinius was sent to Thessalonica; but Constantine, influenced by the example of his father-in law Herculus Maximianus, for fear that Licinius might again, with

49925 disastrous consequences to the State, resume the purple which he had laid down, and also because the soldiers mutinously demanded his death, had him assassinated at Thessalonica, and Martinianus in Cappadocia. Licinius reigned nineteen years and was survived by his wife and a son. And yet, after all the other participants in the abominable persecution had already perished, the penalty he deserved would surely demand this man also, a persecutor so far as he could act as such. In commemoration of his splendid victory Constantine called Byzantium Constantinople

49935 after his own name; and as if it were his native city, he adorned it with great magnificence and wished to make it equal to Rome. Then he sought out new citizens for it from every quarter, and lavished such wealth on the city, that thereon he all but exhausted the imperial fortunes. There he also established a senate of the second rank, the members of which had the title of clari. Then he began war against the

49940 Goths, rendering aid also to the Sarmatians, who had appealed to him for help. The result was that almost a hundred thousand of the Goths were destroyed by hunger and cold through Constantinus Caesar. Then he also received hostages, among whom was Ariaricus, the king's son. When peace with the Goths had thus been secured, Constantine turned against the Sarmatians, who were showing themselves to be of

49945 doubtful loyalty. But the slaves of the Sarmatians rebelled against all their masters and drove them from the country. These Constantine willingly received, and distributed more than three hundred thousand people of different ages and both sexes through Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy.

49950 Constantine was also the first Christian emperor, with the exception of Philippus who seemed to me to have become a Christian merely in order that the one-thousandth year of Rome might be dedicated to Christ rather than to pagan idols. But from Constantine down to the present day all the emperors that have been chosen were Christians, with the exception of Julian, whose disastrous life forsook him in the midst of the

49955 impious plans which it was said that he was devising. Moreover, Constantine made the change in a just and humane fashion; for he issued an edict that the temples should be closed without any shedding of pagan blood. Afterwards he destroyed the bravest and most populous of the Gothic tribes in the very heart of the barbarian territory; that is, in the lands of the Sarmatians.

49960 Constantine also put down a certain Calocaerus, who tried to achieve a revolution in Cyprus. He made Delmatius, son of his brother of the same name, a Caesar; Delmatius' brother Hannibalianus he created King of Kings and ruler of the Pontic tribes, after giving him his daughter Constantiana in marriage. Then it was arranged that the

49965 younger Constantine should rule the Gallic provinces, Constantius Caesar the Orient,

Constans Illyricum and Italy, while Dalmatius was to guard the Gothic coastline. While Constantine was planning to make war on the Persians, he died in an imperial villa in the suburbs of Constantinople, not far from Nicomedia, leaving the State in good order to his sons. He was buried in Constantinople, after a reign of thirty-one years.

<https://www.constantinethegreatcoins.com/Constantine/Origo.html>

Constantine: triumph over a usurper

Victory in war was, as already mentioned, an integral part of generating political legitimacy, and, as during the Late Republic, civil war had to be justified if individual emperors were to obtain that legitimacy. Discussing the contested triumph of Constantine, Beard comments on later Roman triumphal celebrations:

Yet we should hesitate before we conclude that the ancient triumph lasted as long as anyone was prepared to describe ceremonies in triumphal terms. This was, after all, contested territory. And at a certain point the gap between the triumphal rhetoric and the ritual action must have become so wide as to be implausible. It does indeed seem difficult to use the evidence of panegyrists and poets to determine whether a triumph has actually taken place, and in general one should be careful with inferences on this point drawn from their effusions. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the triumph was, as mentioned above, already contested territory during the period of the Late Republic.

But first an obvious point: we should not exclude any triumphs held outside Rome. Triumphs in imperial residences were nothing new by the time of Constantine and certainly were not problematic, moreover, but as we shall see, a similar practice can be traced to Republican times. During Constantine's time at Trier he successfully defeated several German tribes. Barnes has tabulated these victories as follows: the first German victories of Constantine appeared in 307, the second in 308, and the third preceded his decennalia in 315, most probably in 313.

The panegyric of 310 recounts the punishing of enemy chiefs within a triumphal context, referring to triumphs of the Republican period (Pan. Lat. 6(7).10.2-11.6, esp. 10.5-7). The result of the victory was peace (11.1), which corresponds to the 'sense of an ending' implicit in the ritual of the triumph (cf. Livy 26.21.2-4). After this victory over Frankish tribes, a procession was held in Trier culminating with the enemy chiefs being fed to the beasts in the arena (Eutr. 10.3.2: "magnificum spectaculum"). The spectacle and punishment of the enemy is also described in the panegyric of 307 (Pan. Lat. 7(6).4.2, 4; cf. Eutr. 10.3.2). The panegyric of 313 (Pan. Lat. 12(9).21.5-22.5; 23.3-4; cf. Euseb. Vit. Const. 1.46; RIC 7 124, 163f, 166f) also mentions the celebration of a Frankish triumph (triumphus), probably in 313 (23.3):

Nam quid hoc triumpho pulchrius, quo caedibus hostium utitur etiam ad nostrum omnium voluptatem, et pompam munerum de reliquiis barbaricae cladis exaggerat?

What is lovelier than this triumphal celebration in which he employs the slaughter of enemies for the pleasure of us all, and enlarges the procession of the games out of the survivors of the massacre of the barbarians?

Cameron and Hall suggest that this was only a generalizing statement, not a reference to a specific campaign. This cannot be entirely excluded, but a local triumph remains a more reasonable conclusion, in light of the detailed description of the fate of the enemy chiefs. In 307 and 308 Rome was under the control of the usurper Maxentius and even if Constantine desired to celebrate a triumph in Rome, he would not have had access to the city. In 313 Constantine chose to celebrate a triumph in Trier for other reasons, away from Rome and the Capitol, perhaps because this was close to the victories and because crossing the Alps with a large armed force would have weakened the frontiers.

In the Republic the Alban Mount triumph had already revealed the conundrum of the physical locality of the triumph: it concluded outside the city of Rome, approximately 30 km to the South-East of the city. As it did not end on the Capitol, it could not be considered a triumph; moreover it was the only form of triumph that was not granted to the victorious commander by the Senate. However, Alban Mount triumphs are mentioned and recorded on the Fasti Triumphales, erected during the reign of Augustus. This adaptability in the concept of the triumph can also be seen in the celebrations of Constantine in Trier: triumphs held outside Rome, out of necessity or practicality. And this adaptability reappears in the 312 celebrations in Rome.

Constantine and Rome AD 312

Having been passed over as a member of the tetrarchy, Maxentius usurped power in Rome, whereupon Galerius summoned Severus to recover the city from the usurper. This was unsuccessful, as was Galerius' later attempt to take Rome. Finally in 312 Constantine invaded Italy and after the capitulation of Verona, moved against Rome. The Tetrarchy was finally collapsing into civil war. On the 28th of October Maxentius was defeated at the Milvian Bridge, in what was to become the foundation myth of the regime, and on the 29th of October Constantine entered Rome.

As a usurper Maxentius was a *hostis publicus* and could be killed without consequence. Furthermore, Lactantius and Zosimus both claim that Maxentius declared war on Constantine due to the death of his father, allegedly killed by Constantine. This, however, may be a later rewriting by the regime, as the panegyric from 321 (4(10).9-11) observes that Constantine attacked first.

The case is similar to that of Antonius in the civil war against Octavian: if Antonius, as mentioned, was to take up arms against Octavian and the *res publica*, he would declare war on the *res publica* and thus declare himself a *hostis*. This was mainly a question of justification: civil war appeared inevitable, but Constantine did not want to be seen to cause it. He was, it would seem, closely following the tactics of Augustus.

https://www.academia.edu/7442635/Constantine_s_Civil_War_Triumph_of_AD_312_and_the_Adaptability_of_Triumphal_Tradition_Analecta_Romana_Institutu_Danici_37_2012_29_53_the_complete_article_swp=rr-rw-wc-4359131

EDICT OF CONSTANTINE I CONCERNING THE ACCUSATIONS (314-323)

Two chapters of this edict are preserved in CTh. 9, 5 and in CJ 9, 8, 3. Three copies of the edict on stone have been discovered: one somewhere in Asia Minor, before 1600, but now lost; one in Lycia, also in Asia Minor, before 1902; one in Crete, reported in 1889, which exhibits all of the surviving part of the edict. The date is doubtful, for the superscription and the subscription preserved in the codes do not agree by an interval of about a decade, but the codes and the stones all agree in the subscription, which is dated 314

1) Copy of the sacred edict.

2) ... it has been proved that very many persons not only in respect to their fortunes ... accusations ... sometimes ... by cases of this kind those who are accused as well as those who are summoned for evidence are afflicted with very serious annoyances. Wherefore, taking counsel for the security of our provinces, we provide remedies of this character, that an accuser indeed may not entirely be repulsed from court, but whoever believes that he can add proofs to his charges may have the free opportunity to approach a judge and may reveal the defendant by clear evidence of the offenses, so that according to the nature of the deeds suitable punishment may be inflicted on the person who is convicted. But if he is not at all able to establish those charges which he makes he shall know that he must be subjected to a very severe sentence.

3) To be sure, if anyone charges someone with the crime of treason, since the accusation of such a kind not at all protects anyone by the privilege of any high rank from a very strict inquisition, he shall know that he also must be subject to torture if he is not able to establish his accusation by other clear evidences and proofs, since in the case of the person who is detected in this temerity this fact properly shall be elicited also by torture, namely, by whose advice and instigation it appears that he entered upon the accusation, so that punishment from all persons who are accessory to so great a deed can be exacted.

4) Moreover, it is known to all how often an opportunity also to approach a judge has been denied to informers not only by the statutes of our parents, but also by our ordinances, since a hearing must not be granted to persons of this kind, because indeed they must be subjected to punishment in accordance with the daring of such great wickedness.

5) Also in the case of slaves or of freedmen who attempt to accuse or to report their masters or their patrons we decree that the law according to the statute of the ancient law also must be observed, namely, that, to be sure, the declaration of such atrocious audacity shall be repressed immediately in the inception of its commission itself by the judge's decision, and, after a hearing has been denied, whoever proceeds to the desperate boldness of this kind shall offer, affixed to a gibbet, an example to all others, lest anyone of like audacity should appear in the future.

6) To be sure, that everywhere counsel may be taken for the security of innocent persons, it is our pleasure that defamatory informations shall not be accepted. And

if anyone discovers these displayed anonymously, he shall be bound to remove them immediately and to tear them in pieces or to consume them by fire. And in these cases it shall be proper for the judges to take note of such a kind that, if perchance such information is brought to them, they shall direct it to be burned by fire, since a writing of such kind properly shall be removed completely from a judge's hearing, but an investigation shall remain against those persons who dare to display information of such a sort, that, when discovered, they shall be subjected to the due punishments of their temerity.

7) Accordingly, we have written about all these matters not only to our prefects but also to the governors and the treasurer and the master of our private estate, by whose other copy, when our edict has been published, it is declared most fully what kind of law and statute it contains.

8) Publicly posted January I in the consulship of Volusianus and Annianus.

Excavations by F.C. Bursch in Ukrain

October 20, 1930 National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

The director would like to thank all those who made the celebration of his twenty-five years in office such a memorable event. The volunteers F. C. Bursch and W. C. Braat were appointed scientific assistants. In response to the difficulties that these officials seem to experience in obtaining their PhDs here in the country, the director writes a bitter argument about the fact that Dutch archeology is still not "honest" in our scientific world. It is gratefully stated that the Government has opened up the possibility of making some foreign trips, which are necessary to keep contact with sister institutions elsewhere alive. Among the donations we mention the collection of objects excavated by the Dutch committee in Shechem, which marked the beginning of a Pre-Asian division, an important collection of Egyptian objects from the Insinger collection, a precious Roman bowl of rare millefiori glass (gift from Dr. Holwerda's anniversary); of the purchases some important samples of Sumerian sculpture, a Coptic fabric depicting a saint, and a number of objects from Swiss pile walls. It would take us too far to even give an overview of the many excavations that took place again this year.

October 21, 1930 National Museum of Antiquities.

The two volunteers, Mr F. C. Bursch and W. C. Braat, whose training at the Museum was already mentioned in my previous report, according to the director, were both appointed temporary scientific assistants on April 1. It is very regrettable that, despite the great zeal and dedication that both demonstrate, this training is not easy. It would be so simple if, in addition to their studies as scientific museum officials, they could also receive their further education at the university and could also take the exams that would provide them with the academic degree that the public now wants. seems to demand from the scientific official. However, Dutch archeology is still not entirely fashionable in our Dutch science. Those who compiled the new Academic Statute a few years ago knew as a subject of study "the archeology of any independent civilization area outside Europe", but that of our own continent, of our own country, did not exist for them. Anyone who, like our two assistants, is specifically dependent on this study for his training as a museum official will certainly find plenty of opportunity in our museum to acquire the real knowledge that his later position will demand of him, but if he wants official recognition of his studies, he wants to get a Dr. right in time. to put his name in front of his name, as the outside world actually demands of him, then he will still have to seek refuge abroad, unless he wants to undergo a double study to acquire his title somewhere in a completely different field of study. It hardly needs saying how much this complicates the training of good museum officials. In connection with his studies, Mr. F. G. Bursch was granted leave to attend classes in prehistory and related subjects at the University of Marburg during the winter semester.

From around 1930, the employee of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden was Dr. F.C. Bursch assistant to the director Holwerda.

The arrogance of the museum is once again evident from an article about excavations near Vlodrop. That article of October 28, 1933 by Gerhard Krekelberg ends as follows: October 28, 1933 Then a few years ago, at my repeated request, Dr. Holwerda from Leiden sent his assistant, Mr. Bursch, here with some diggers to excavate a part of the Knippeheide in which the undersigned had already brought numerous urns to the surface before then, and where Mr. Bursch now also dug up 18 urns, plus a piece of

sword at a Germanic cult site, and I later discovered more sites, it was said that this exploitation would be revisited.

50165 This whole event was reported in the Publications 1932 [an archeological magazine] with the following few words: "A remarkable urn field was excavated there (i.e. Vlodrop), on a site for which permission had been obtained (i.e. from the owner from Belgium) through the goodwill of H.H. van Cruchten and Linssen in Roermond". (Not a word was said about the fact that this remarkable field had been discovered by
50170 the undersigned after much searching, and that the digging only took place after my repeated correspondence with the Museum of Antiquities.) Summarizing all this now, it seems a bit strange, even painful, to have to hear afterwards that a competent person once said: "in the area of Vl.[odrop] there is nothing to learn." The reader can sense for himself how obvious this untruth is.
50175 GERH. KR.

August 17, 1935 PRAE-HISTORICAL FINDS IN OSS.

Royal graves in Brabant soil.

We are told from Oss:

50180 In the past week, Dr. F. C. Bursch, assistant at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, conducted research at various places in the municipality of Oss, during which very important results were achieved. A dome grave belonging to the Beaker culture was found, dating from about 1800 BC.

50185 The foundation of the round wooden structure that surrounded the actual grave was still clearly visible in the solid ground. In one place a branch of this track pointed to an entrance to a vaulted space, in the middle of which the deceased was buried. This had been burned, although the shape of the deeply buried grave at first seemed to indicate the interment of an unburned body.

50190 Among the bones found was a beautiful bell beaker of Veluwe type, the first to be found on Brabant soil. It also turned out that a barbed arrowhead that had been damaged by the fire had been given to the deceased.

50195 Both in terms of construction and discovery, this hill was already something very special for Brabant. This was even more the case with the other two graves that Mr. Bursch found. These were located slightly west of the royal grave discovered in 1933 and further examined by Dr. Holwerda. On a plateau, without any elevation indicating anything special, were two graves, characterized by a large number of poles, which originally surrounded the graves in different circles.

50200 The graves themselves clearly contain traces of the dead, which in both cases were buried unburned and in a stretched position. One of these graves had a widening on one of the long walls, in which one found as an addition a large decorated pot, provided with a separate base and resembling a so-called deverel urn. If finding such a piece of crockery was already of great importance, this is even more the case with the grave shapes found. One grave was surrounded by a triple edge of upright posts, which stood out particularly beautifully in the main soil due to their gray color.

50205 The other grave was much more impressive. Here was a four-, in some cases even six-fold, wreath of such poles around the grave. These posts surrounded the grave like a strong fence. In addition, beyond the extreme of these piles ran a wide, shallow ditch, which had now filled with heather. The shape of this boundary was an ellipse, so that the space enclosed by it was only partly filled by the circle of piles and
50210 was otherwise empty. To a very small extent, this canal even disappeared under the wall of the current caravan camp. Burial mounds such as these are dated between the Beaker period and that of the urnfields.

January 23, 1936 Lectures in Leiden

50215 In the National Museum of Antiquities

The spring program for 1936 of archaeological lectures and courses, which will be held in the evening in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, is composed as follows:

January 28: Dr. W. C. Braat, Syria and the borders of the Roman Empire in the East;

50220 February 11: Dr. S. Loeschcke, Trier: Sieg bodenstandiger Kraft, an Rhein, Donau und Mosel über rötische Weltmacht;

February 13: Dr. S. Loeschcke, Trier, Bedeutsame ceramic Neufunde aus römischen Töpferwerkstätten in Trier.

March 3: Prof. Dr. J. A. J. Barge, Leiden, On anthropology and the anthropological composition of the Dutch people.

50225 March 17: Dr. J. H. Holwerda, Greek sculptures in the National Museum of Antiquities.

March 31: Dr. F. C. Bursch, The Central European Elements in Mycenaean Civilization.

Those who wish to attend one or more lectures, please register before January 22, either in writing to the Management or by signing their name on the list available

- for this purpose at the Museum Porter, adding or paying f 1.- per person for expenses. (Postal account 171035). They will then receive a separate free admission ticket for each lecture in good time.
Registrations for the 1935 Autumn lectures are also valid for these 1936 Spring lectures.
- 50235 August 1, 1936 OLD URNS AND GRAVES IN SWALMEN
Archaeological research by the Rijksmuseum in Leiden.
In the past three weeks, archaeological investigations were conducted by the National Museum of Antiquity in Leiden, under the direction of the Curator Dr. F. C. Bursch on the Wylerheide, east of Swalmen. During the reclamation works, which took place there
- 50240 last winter as a job-providing object, some urns were found, which thanks to the good care of the municipal council, in particular Mayor Strens and the municipal supervisor Geraedts, as well as the Very Rev. Lord Pinckers, pastor in Asselt, for science were preserved and are currently being restored in the Museum in Leiden, to later be distributed among the museums in Leiden, Maastricht and Asselt.
- 50245 The aim of the research was primarily to determine, if possible, the size and construction of this urn field. Despite the difficulties associated with the fact that the entire plot of heathland had already been dug up, this was almost successful. It was established that the urn field originally extended in a relatively narrow strip along the Swalmen-Bruggen road (Germany) and was continued in the areas
- 50250 now occupied by the factory and warehouses of the company Gebr. Terstappen. As for the construction, it was relatively irregular, the trenches usually found around the urn burials were partly missing, and on the other hand they were very different in size and were not in all cases circular, but elliptical. This research also revealed various urns, which, together with the previously found specimens, gave a clear
- 50255 picture of the diversity in shape and decoration. All found urns are beautifully decorated, either with deeply carved geometric ornaments, or more simply with vertical finger impressions. The shape and decoration indicate an early stage of urn culture, corresponding, for example, to the urn types found a few years ago in Vlodrop. Of great importance was the discovery of numerous burial mounds in the same
- 50260 area, eight of which were examined this year. These date from a much earlier period and belong to the so-called Beaker culture. Apart from a few finds of pottery, this is the southernmost point in the Netherlands where this culture has been found to date. The mounds served as a grave monument for one or rarely several dead, who were interred in the center and always contain traces of a decayed grave building. In most
- 50265 cases this grave building was dome-shaped, usually built of wood, in one case particularly beautiful and clearly visible, made of sods. In one case the wooden dome could be found twice concentric to each other in the hill. Another mound showed a ring of alternating double and single poles around the burial pit. In the grave, which was sometimes not dug into the solid ground, some clear markings of the
- 50270 interred corpses were found, in a crouching position, lying on their sides with their knees drawn up and always oriented towards the East. Twice it happened that two dead bodies, lying one above the other, could be clearly identified in this way. In one of the mounds, after the original wooden grave structure had collapsed due to rotting, a dead person was buried in a stretched position in a tree trunk hollowed out by fire.
- 50275 The finds here were very rich. A total of 11 pieces of crockery were found here, including from one grave 4 and from both double graves respectively 3 and 2. All cups had a curved S-shaped profile and were richly decorated with rope impressions or other rectilinear ornaments.
- 50280 The excavations were completed on Friday, visited by a number of German scholars from Bonn and Krefeld, who expressed their admiration for the way in which the often insignificant foundation traces were revealed and explained.
The excavations will probably continue next year.
- 50285 August 14, 1936 Archaeological finds in Swalmen (L)
In recent weeks, archaeological research has been carried out on the Wijlerheide in Swalmen (L), by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, under the supervision of the curator Dr. F. C. Bursch.
Last winter there were: some urns found at the reclamation works; The aim of the research was now to investigate the construction and size of the urn field.
- 50290 This investigation again revealed several urns, which, together with the previously found specimens, gave a clear picture of the diversity in shape and decoration. All found urns are beautifully carved geometric ornaments, either simply with vertical finger impressions.
The shape and decoration indicate an early stage of urn culture, corresponding, for

- 50295 example, to the urn types found a few years ago in Vlodrop.
Of great importance was the discovery of numerous burial mounds in the same area, eight of which were examined this year.
These date from a much earlier period and belong to the so-called Beaker culture. Apart from a few finds of pottery, this is the southernmost point in the Netherlands
- 50300 where this culture has been found to date.
The mounds served as a grave monument for one or (rarely) more dead, who were interred in the center and they always contain traces of a decayed grave building. In most cases this grave building was built from wood, in one case particularly beautiful and clearly recognizable, from sods.
- 50305 In one case the wooden dome was concerned twice or tritritical in relation to each other in the hill. Another mound showed a ring of alternating double and single poles around the burial pit.
In the grave, which was sometimes not dug into the solid ground, some clear markings of the interred corpses were found, in a crouching position, lying on their sides
- 50310 with their knees drawn up and always oriented towards the East. Twice it happened that two dead bodies, lying one above the other, could be clearly identified in this way.
In one of the hills, after the original wooden grave structure had collapsed due to rotting, a dead person was buried in a stretched position in a tree trunk hollowed out by fire.
- 50315 The finds here were very rich. A total of 11 pieces of crockery were found, including from one grave 4 and from both double graves respectively 3 and 2. All cups had a curved S-shaped profile and were richly decorated with other rectilinear ornaments.
- 50320 August 5, 1937 ANTIQUE RESEARCH IN SWALMEN
The excavations at Swalmen, which had already been carried out so successfully in 1936, were continued in recent weeks under the leadership of Dr. F. C. Bursch, curator at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.
This year, several burial mounds located on the Boschberg, as well as three mounds on
- 50325 the grounds of Hillenraedt Castle, were examined.
The burial mounds at Hillenraedt were from the Early Bronze Age and showed similarity to the dome tombs examined last year. In one of the mounds very clear traces of corpses were found crouched, and in another, burnt bones were strewn in the grave.
The discovery of three bronze "rag axes" in the hills was important. This rarely
- 50330 happens, that one finds bronze objects in the graves in the south and center of the country and these axes of Italian model were excellently preserved. Just like last year, these finds, together with an urn buried later, will be distributed between the Limburg museums and the National Museum of Antiquities.
The hills on the Boschberg were built of sods, and the presence of some circles of
- 50335 originally upright poles could be clearly demonstrated. However, here the hills also showed a phenomenon that undermined the accuracy of the predictions already made by Dr. Holwerda's proposed reconstruction of the dome graves was confirmed. After all, at the top of the hill, within such a double circle of piles, five charred beams were found lying next to each other, just as they had been imagined in this
- 50340 reconstruction. The fact that the entire dome had not been preserved was due to the fact that in later times the skulls of criminals, whose bones were perhaps scattered in all directions, had been buried here.
The graves themselves contained unburned corpses, and in each mound later also burned bones, with or without an urn, were buried.
- 50345 Finally, the existence of Roman roads in this area was demonstrated at some points by the fact that gravel road surfaces and the road ditches on either side were clearly visible in the profile.
- 50350 August 7, 1937 NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIDEN
Report for 1936.
Dr. J. H. Holwerda, as director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, published a report on this institution for the year 1936. It repeats the complaint that the government makes virtually nothing available for purchases, so that the "Gildemeester Fund" has again paid for almost all purchases. Mr W. Spijjer in
- 50355 Amsterdam again gave some interesting things as a gift, including a number of molds or seals from Tell Amarna. Gifts were also received from Mr Chenet and Dr I. M. van der Vlerk. Reports have been published on various excavations in which the Museum was involved. The museum's holdings have increased with various objects obtained during these investigations or through finds from private individuals; such as a zone cup
- 50360 from Varsseveld, a Roman amphora from Wamel; bronze objects from Roman times, from

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Heerewaarden; Roman and Germanic pottery from the Maas near Lith and from Alphen aan de Maas, a "Faltenbecher" from Megen, Hallstatt pots found in Oss, a bronze Hallstatt sword and urns from near Venlo, bell beakers from a cemetery near Swalmen. The curator Dr. F. C. Bursch and Dr. W. C. Braat, titular curator and also the director, have apparently again worked tirelessly to reveal what the soil of the Netherlands contains in prehistoric and early historical terms. Since Dr. Holwerda had a serious illness in the last months of the previous year, he was replaced by Dr. W. D. van Wijngaarden. The institution also demonstrated its activity through various publications and the well-known evening lectures in the Museum. The library was increased by 159 numbers and a record collection of Tutenchamon's grave finds from the "London News" was taken over. The total number of visitors was 8859.

August 7, 1937 ANTIQUE FINDS IN HEYTHUIZEN

Ancient objects have been found in the Heythuizerbeek in Heythuizen. These come from stag horn, they may be associated with remains of a stilt house culture, which is related to the cultures found in Switzerland and southern Germany. Dr. F. C. Bursch [Bursch], curator of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, has studied the objects. Since it had long been hoped to find such objects in Brabant and Limburg, the research will continue. The stag horn objects, chisels, were found during the normalization works on the aforementioned stream.

May 18, 1938 EXCAVATIONS IN HELDEN-GRASHOEK

In connection with the various discoveries made in recent years in Helden-Grashoek (L.), in which urns and other objects from earlier centuries were excavated, the museum will now, under the leadership of Dr. F. C. Bursch, van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Leiden, at the beginning of June excavations are being done on the ridge found there.

June 12, 1938 EXCAVATION HELDEN-GRASHOEK

Under the leadership of Dr. Bursch of the Archaeological Museum in Leiden, excavations have now begun in Helden-Grashoek (L.) on a site where several archaeological discoveries have recently been made. By digging a wide trench around the site, it is already believed that good results will be achieved. It is expected that urns will be excavated in a few days, as sites have now been discovered.

July 8, 1938 THE ANTIQUE EXCAVATIONS IN HELDEN.

Important finds again.

The second excavation in the urn field in Koningslust (municipality Helden) also revealed important finds. Fourteen workers examined the soil under the expert guidance of Dr. Bursch from Leiden for more than a week. The excavations culminated in the uncovering of a domed grave, which still clearly bore the characteristics of an old cemetery.

This dome tomb contained seven urns, including several of a rare shape, as well as a bell beaker, a stone knife and various stone arrowheads.

The finds clearly bear the stamp of their period. For example, urns have now been found from 1000, 400, 500 and 300 years BC. It was a pity that the areas in which the excavations were carried out had already been partially dug up by non-experts. The finds will be sent to Leiden for restoration, after which they will be given a destination.

September 28, 1938 Archaeological finds in Swalmen

ROMAN PAN OVENS EXPOSED.

In recent weeks, archaeological research has been carried out in various places in the municipality of Swalmen, starting from the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, under the direction of Dr. F. C. Bursch, curator of this central institution. Following the investigations of 1936 and 1937, two burial mounds were first excavated, containing burnt human bones buried in tree coffins. This further completes the series of different grave forms from around 1800 BC, previously demonstrated in this municipality, so that continuous habitation can be assumed here from this date until Roman times.

The remains of a Roman villa dating from the latter period, more specifically from the 2nd century AD, were excavated on his estate "Groenewoud" with the kind permission of the owner, Mr. Finken. These residential remains were located on the Swalm, close to the Roman road found there in 1937.

Finally, in the hamlet of "Middelhoven", three Roman pan kilns from the last part of the 2nd century could be uncovered, the first finds of this kind in Limburg. These

- ovens were extremely well preserved, so that many details could be studied better than elsewhere. The central flue and the side flues running diagonally upwards had been exposed to such heat from the blazing fire that their walls were covered with a fairly thick layer of green or blue glaze of beautiful colors. This fire reached the material to be fired, which stood on a clay floor above, through numerous small round openings in that floor. The whole was originally covered with a vault, in which holes must also have been left to allow the smoke to escape. Finally, these ovens were covered together with a roof resting on posts, of which, however, only the large stones on which the supporting posts rested were found in a square. In these ovens, which partly covered each other and were therefore used one after the other (first two smaller ones, then the larger one), in addition to a few shards, also the puduets of this industry, pans, floor tiles, heating pipes, etc. were found. Some pans had an inscription, others had an impression and of a Roman hobnail shoe and of a dog's or fox's paw. A row of finished tiles still rested where one of the deck posts had stood, ready to be transported to the customers. This large and flourishing industry, whose heirs in Swalmen today make the same clay tiles, etc., has fortunately unexpectedly ceased operations. The clay pit was found in the vicinity of the ovens, while at least some of the raw material must have been extracted from the Swalmen in the immediate vicinity. Since this was such an excellently preserved and historically important object, the first of its kind found in Limburg, the interest from the current industrialists in Limburg, as well as from the population of Swalmen itself, was very great.
- August 19, 1939 The forgery of prehistoric objects.
An arrest in Putten.
In yesterday's magazine, extensive mention was made of the forgery of prehistoric objects on the Veluwe, which have been marketed as genuine and of which many have already fallen victim.
- One of the victims was the retired teacher Z. from Lunteren, who had purchased approximately 30 guilders worth of so-called prehistoric objects from a certain H. de R. from Putten, who claimed to have taken them out of the ground. Dr. F. C. Bursch, curator of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, who currently leads the excavations on the "de Valk" estate in Lunteren, had, however, established its inauthenticity, reports the "N. R. Crt." [now: NRC]. Mr Z. has now submitted a complaint to the police in Ede and as a result an investigation has been initiated by the police commissioner there, Mr H. P. J. Hulsman, together with the brigade commander of the National Police in Putten.
- Some counterfeit prehistoric objects were found at R.'s, but he insisted that these, as well as the collection he had sold to Mr. Z., were genuine. A report has been drawn up against him for fraud.
- The question is whether R. should be regarded as the main perpetrator of the falsifications or as an accomplice who promoted the falsifications by discovering them in the ground during excavations. He had also done this in Lunteren, where doubts immediately arose as to the scientific value of his alleged discoveries, so that he had to cease his work. In the meantime, however, he had already sold a collection of the objects to Mr. Z., including some cups, a string of beads and a flint chisel, all of which had turned out to be forgeries.
- The suspicion is not unfounded that he obtained them from someone else who manufactured these objects on a large scale. The police are now also conducting an investigation into the origin.
- July 1, 1940 14 days after the start of the war, this Bursch is appointed head of a committee for archaeological soil research. There is immediate mention of Germanic culture and they want to make an inventory per municipality of finds that are in the hands of private individuals. And in addition:
Moreover, if these are unique finds of truly national significance, we will of course make every effort to give these objects a place in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, possibly by exchanging them with other museum pieces, but the main reason why we have to do this is a to have a complete overview of what the Dutch soil has yielded and will yield in terms of archaeology.
- August 10, 1940 EXCAVATIONS IN NORTH LIMBURG
Numerous important finds. Much was lost.
- The establishment of the National Bureau for Archaeological Soil Research a few weeks ago was received with great approval among stakeholders in North Limburg. This may be primarily because it will now be a thing of the past that excavations can be carried

out by unauthorized persons, with the result that important areas for excavations will be lost.

50495 More and more areas have been developed in Limburg in the last half century. In addition, many hill edges of high terrain were excavated. This has almost always happened without any attention being paid to the importance or not of these areas from an archaeological point of view. Besides the fact that Limburg has lost its beauty as a result - the hilly area that gave the landscape such a special cachet
50500 disappeared - it has also lost its importance. After all, such excavated areas often had their own history, which previously appealed to the nature lover, but has now become virtually worthless for him. Some of these areas are artificial heights - e.g. burial mounds - however, they are largely natural heights, which were often trodden by man in times long past: man lived there and left his mark left behind.
50505 Especially in the years that major works were carried out in Limburg - the construction of railway lines, the digging of canals, etc. - not only many heights were excavated that were in the route, but also many heights far away, which served as sand depots, were considered and excavated. Naturally, discoveries were occasionally made that attracted attention. However, this interest soon waned. The finds were namely previously not sufficiently studied. People contented themselves with collecting those found objects - usually only the gifts, such as urns and weapons. Shards were considered of no importance. Nor do the discovery circumstances, which would now have special significance for the experts. As a result of all these
50510 circumstances, it may have been the case that until recently it was believed that flint was minted almost exclusively in South Limburg and was traded from there in prehistoric times to other areas, whereby the the rest of Limburg thought it could count. The research of Mr. L.D. Keus in Venlo, who, as an archaeologist and reporter for the Rijksmuseum, carries out excavations in North Limburg and Oost-Brabant, has conclusively demonstrated the untenability of this with regard to the Venlo area and
50520 its surroundings. Over the past six years he has carried out numerous excavations here and has come to the conclusion that there were indeed flint workshops here, which apparently had been in use for centuries: several dating back to about 20,000 BC or even earlier until the Neolithic, others also after that. These studios are all located on high ground, almost always on flat tundra banks. As
50525 a rule, they are not lower than 20 meters above A.P. [Amsterdams Peil] and therefore - especially if they were located near inhabited areas or near roads, railways, etc. - they were sacrificed to excavations as a sand deposit. All these places have been completely or partially destroyed for road construction, raising of land, stone production, etc. Of all the studios that Mr Keus has been able to discover so far,
50530 none are now intact: almost all have been completely excavated. The workshops each had more than one battle circle (battle site). Four or five more battle sites were found in the larger workshops, which does not rule out the possibility that there may have been more. They are all located near sites where flint lumps were naturally found, as well as pieces of (lime sand) Devon rock. The
50535 oldest inhabitants processed both rocks, small tools (microliths) and larger tools from Devon rock. In addition to many beaten flints and various larger tools and working stones made of Devon rock, a knot was found here, which was used for salmon fishing and is similar to that found on the Maas side: this is a find of very great significance. Studios were found - now, as mentioned, they are all almost completely
50540 excavated - two large and three small ones to the N.E. of Venlo; one at Ossenbong and one at Lomm and one at the lock in Belfeld. Battle circles were found in Lottum, Molenbosch and Hout. Both on the east and west sides of the Maas there are mountain ridges at some distance, which are now increasingly being cultivated. These ridges are almost always places where people lived or were buried in the past. According to
50545 the research of Mr. Keus, the settlements from before Christ (indigenous population) were almost always halfway up the slope. Two of them were so low that a wall of one meter was necessary to protect the residents against high water levels. These finds of great archaeological significance were both completely excavated for sand extraction. One is halfway along the Grubbenvorst-Blerick road; the other halfway
50550 along the Belfeld-Reuver road. During the cultivation of land, a La Taine residence was found on a ridge on the west side of the Maas. In general it can be said that the ridge from Kessel-Eych [Kessel-Eik] to Baarlo is an uninterrupted series of urn fields, where all kinds of material can be found. This ridge is increasingly being cultivated, which is at the expense of
50555 many finds. All this shows how much it is necessary that the processing, excavation or cultivation of areas that may be of significance from an archaeological point of view, takes place under expert supervision, so that finds and discovery conditions can be brought to the attention of the government.

50560 September 20, 1941 EXCAVATIONS IN KESSEL-HOUT
In recent weeks, the National Museum of Antiquities led by Dr. Bursch has been busy with excavations under Kessel in Limburg. On a site reported several years ago by a correspondent of the museum, Mr Keus from Venlo, during the mobilization of military excavators Roman wall foundations were discovered. The investigation now carried out

50565 showed that we were dealing with the foundations of a fairly large but simple building from Roman times. The large mass of charcoal found indicates that a wooden superstructure once stood on these foundations; in fact, several large nails that were used for this have also been found. This building was destroyed by fire. Later, a much smaller building was built on the same site, the foundations of which have

50570 also been found, also from Roman times. The pottery found was mainly Roman, while there were also some indigenous pieces. Based on the pottery, both buildings can be dated to the third century AD. Coins were not found this time. It turned out that Roman coins have always been found on a neighboring site, which - as goes without saying - are of the utmost importance for dating. These coins are often sold well

50575 below their value. As usual, it turned out that it is in the interest of science and in the interest of the finder if finds - and this of course applies just as much to coins as to other antiquities such as urns, etc. - are reported to the National Museum of Antiquities, Rapenburg, Leiden, as it is impossible for a non-expert to determine the value of such finds. The intention is to continue the research next

50580 year on the adjacent site, where tile pieces, foundations and even chunks of mural work were also found during a test excavation.

August 6, 1942 New avenues in archaeological soil research
DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE INTO ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESORTS WITH THE REGIONAL MUSEUMS AS THE

50585 CENTERS
The establishment of archaeological departments, centered on the various regional museums, represents an important advance in the field of methodical soil research into monuments of historical value. This arrangement, which had been prepared for a long time, came into force by a decision of the Secretary General of the Department

50590 of Education, Science and Cultural Protection dated 31 July. This provides a legal basis for a arrangement that had been designed for some time and which should be can be regarded as a decentralization measure in the archaeological field. Previously, most excavations on a larger scale were carried out exclusively under the auspices of the Oudheidkundig Museum in Leiden or the Archaeological Institute in Groningen.

50595 These two university institutions had the necessary scientifically and practically trained staff and also received government support. But outside these institutions, anyone could carry out excavations on his own if he received permission from the owner of the land and had the time and resources to complete the work successfully. In this way it was quite an expensive hobby and we owe the knowledge of the history

50600 of our region (and we are thinking in particular of pre-history) to those energetic and knowledgeable men who willingly sacrificed their time and money for it. It is also thanks to these men that quite a lot of what emerged from the soil over time has been preserved for Limburg. Because as soon as Leiden or Groningen were involved (and this was especially the case with promising explorations), the objects from the

50605 Limburg soil went straight to these central collection points, while the local institutions received, at best, plaster casted copies. All this has now changed due to the official recognition of the regional museums as supervisory bodies for excavations in the area under their jurisdiction. In the case of proposed soil research, the regional museum must be made aware of it, while the finds must be made

50610 available to it. This important task has made the museum the center of historical and archaeological life in a particular region. It is therefore officially recognized. As an umbrella organization, the Provincial Historical and Archaeological Society reserves those areas for itself that have not been assigned to a regional museum. The Society will also be the connecting link with the central museums in Leiden and

50615 Groningen. The Society's task has been delegated to the archaeological sub-committee for the province of Limburg, which is under the proven leadership of Dr. H. J. Beckers Sr. in Beek. The heads of the various regional museums are corresponding members of the sub-committee and keep them informed of the status of excavations in their archaeological area by regularly sending messages and reports. According to the

50620 above-mentioned decision of the Secretary General of the Department of Education, Science and Cultural Protection, these archaeological areas are specifically the aforementioned regional museums are assigned as follows:

10. The Provincial Archaeological Museum of the Limburg Historical and Archaeological

- 50625 Society in MAASTRICHT, with the entire province of Limburg and in particular South Limburg, in the North up to and including the municipalities of Bunde, Meerssen, Valkenburg-Houthem, Hulsberg, Klimmen, Schin on Geul, Wijlré and Wittem:
20. The Municipal Archaeological Museum in HEERLEN, with the municipalities of Schinveld, Merkelbeek, Brunssum, Amstenrade, Hoensbroek, Nuth, Schimmert,
- 50630 Wijnandsrade, Voerendaal, Simpelveld, Bocholtz, Heerlen, Scheijdt, Kerkrade, Eijgelshoven and Ubach over Worms.
30. The "Museum Doctor Beckers" in BEEK, within the jurisdiction of the municipalities of Geulle, Ulestraten, Spaubeek, Beek, Elsloo, Stein, Urmond, Geleen and Schinnen;
- 50635 40. "Museum Het Land van Sittard" in SITTARD, with the municipalities of Sittard, Munstergeleen, Oirsbeek, Bingelrade, Jabeek, Limbricht, Born, Obbicht and Papenhoven, Grevenbicht, Susteren, Roosteren, Nieuwstadt, Ohé and Laak, Echt, Stevensweert, Montfort and Posterholt;
- 50640 50. The Stedelijk Museum in WEERT, with the municipalities of Neeritter, Ittervoort, Hunsel, Grathem, Baexem, Heythuysen, Stramproy, Weert and Nederweert;
60. The Municipal Museum in ROERMOND, with the municipalities of Roermond, Haelen, Horn, Beegden, Herten, Maasbracht, Linne, Odiliënberg, Melick and Herkenbosch, Vlodrop, Maasniel, Swalmen, Buggenum, Nunhem, Neer, Beesel, Heythuysen, Roggel, Meijel, Grathem, Heel and Panheel, Wessem, Thorn and Ittervoort;
- 50645 70. The Folkloric Museum of the monumental church in ASSELT, within the jurisdiction of the municipalities mentioned under 60;
80. The Tegelsche Oudheidkamer in TEGELEN, with the municipalities of Tegelen, Venlo Belfeld, Arcen en Velden, Maasbree, Helden, Horst and Sevenum;
- 50650 90. The Municipal Museum in VENLO, within the jurisdiction of the municipalities mentioned under 80., and with the provision that the recognition takes effect on the day that the museum is founded.

May 26, 1943 Excavations in Ukraine

Led by Dr. Bursch

- 50655 The East Company writes:
- On the initiative of the "Bezirkskommissar" of Dnipropetrovsk, archaeological excavations will soon be carried out in the bend of the Dnieper, between Dnipropetrovsk and Saparosje. There are a number of Scythian dolmens here, while quite extensive Gothic burial grounds are present in the same region.
- 50660 The latter in particular can make an extremely valuable contribution to the knowledge of the first Gothic settlements in these areas
- It may be considered an honor for Dutch science that the director of the National Bureau for Archeological Soil Research, Dr. F. C. Bursch, has been appointed to conduct excavations on site. These days Dr. Bursch left for the East with some
- 50665 assistants. They have been granted leave for this trip by the Department of Education, Science and Cultural Protection
- Since this concerns not only a general Dutch scientific interest, but also an important Dutch share in the opening up of the European East, the study department of the Dutch East Company has made its contribution to the success of the undertaking by
- 50670 Dr. Bursch to provide him with full scientific and field equipment and to assist him further in his journey.

June 5, 1943 NEWS FROM EMMEN

- 50675 As we were informed, Mr. Bursch from Leiden will not be doing any work here this year, as he will soon be leaving with his staff for the Ukraine for archaeological excavations.

June 11, 1943 A Dutch archaeologist in the Russian Steppe
IMPRESSIONS FROM A TRIP TO SOUTHERN RUSSIA

- 50680 We were a living demonstration of Germanic cooperation and solidarity, as we gathered at the Charlottenburg station in Berlin: a German Untersturmführer der Waffen-SS., a Russian professor of German descent from Dniepropetrovsk, a Danish employee who was an active Danish National Socialist, and the three of us are Dutch. The Russian was silent, deeply impressed by everything he experienced in Germany, where he had
- 50685 discovered that not only was culture and science at a much higher level than at home, but that individual freedom was also incomparably greater than in Red Russia. The Dane was lively, full of spirit, and an ideal tour guide when it came to caring for the salvation of the inner man, or otherwise looking after our interests. We hear a lot about our plans and prospects from the Untersturmführer and we look forward to
- 50690 the foreign country with excitement.

Meanwhile, the train rushes on, punctually, through the beautiful, well-cultivated country of Neumark, West Prussia and the former Polish Corridor. There we see what Germanic industry and Germanic culture, which had been active for centuries, could do.

Because once we have passed the former Polish-German border, then everything is over, what makes a Germanic landscape so attractive. Certainly the soil is no less fertile, the crops in the field are no worse off, but the organizing, cleansing, truly caring hand seems to be missing. Poor houses, dirty roads predominate. All those in the Netherlands who still regard the Germans as foreigners would like to be shown this difference, this difference between Germanism and Slavery, between progressive culture and backward filth. We like to believe that the Polish nobility, and perhaps also a part of the Polish middle class, may have had a decent civilization in many respects according to our ideas, but the mass of the Polish population lived in conditions so devoid of everything that our Westerners would expect makes life worth living, that we cannot imagine it from a distance.

We pass through Warsaw, heavily ravaged, in the evening. During the long delay at the station we receive the soldiers' rations, which prove to be ample and of excellent quality. Early the next morning we cross the Russian border and after transferring in Kowel we finally arrive in Rowno. We stay here for a night for some business arrangements and we find an unsought opportunity to observe life in a Russian city, even if it is in former Polish territory.

Rowno is located on the northwestern edge of Ukraine. When we leave the station, we immediately notice the consequences of the war that has raged here in all its ferocity. When we enter the city, the destruction is not that bad. There happens to be a market and the pan carts, covered with straw and pulled by two skinny horses, take the farmers to the village.

The city has one asphalted street, namely the main road that connects Ukraine with Central Europe. The rest is dirty, bumpy as far as the pavement is concerned and the houses are higgledy-piggledy and placed in perfect randomness, the whole thing indescribably more primitive than the least village in our country or in Germany. Long before we had regulations regulating the building line, the method of construction, etc., our farmers already knew that order and regularity in the development of the village were a prerequisite for it to be entirely to their taste and habitable. Every Dutch village, with for example a village green as its center, is the result of this line of thought. Not so in Rowno. There is one square space, randomly in the middle of the city, where a market is held and furthermore we find a wild series of houses and streets.

The Russian white church with its green towers is beautiful, in which we attend a service in the evening, which is quite busy and which conveys great consecration through the beautiful a capella choir. Beggars sit on the steps of the church. The next morning, when we leave our quarters, an accident has happened on the main road: a small figure, probably a boy of perhaps fourteen years old, lies there motionless, seriously injured, or at least unconscious, while a truck and a pan truck are standing there. No one cares about the injured person, who was apparently hit by the native driver of the car, but everyone shouts at each other, probably about the question of guilt, while the victim has to lie there motionless, until finally a rough guy takes him under his arms and drags him rather than carries him to the car that will probably take him to the hospital. Russia, where the individual man is nothing, has revealed itself to us...

The next morning we go to the station on spec and truly, we are lucky! We catch a freight wagon, which alone, pulled by the locomotive, takes us to the Sdolbunow railway junction. And there is another train to our destination: Dnipropetrowsk, ready. In these times of war it is important to take advantage of all opportunities that arise, because in this way we save about 10 hours of travel. In the freight wagon, the bottom of which is covered with straw, a nice heater is burning, because it is still chilly and cold from the rain this May morning.

Last night the Dane and the Dutch also sat around the Russian stove and discussed Germanic cooperation. Compared to the Russian space, all the difficulties caused by human imperfections, ambition, tactlessness, and self-interest, above all, pale into insignificance, because only here does one feel the common calling: to continuously permeate the Eastern European space with everything that the Germans and Dutch have in common possess qualities that can only be a blessing to this space!

On our further train journey we pass the border of the actual Ukraine, the land of the Black Earth, between Shitomir and Berditsjef. This land is incredibly fertile, with its meters-thick, pitch-black humus layer, created by centuries of forest

- wealth, above the loose and marl, already so fat and fertile in itself. This year the cultivation is exceptionally intensive: only 14% of the area is undeveloped, the rest of the endless plains, days away, are completely sown with all the products that Europe so needs, or, if it concerns low-lying lands, we see large herds of cattle and horses grazing there, as in the Hungarian Puszta.
- The landscape is by no means monotonous. Gently rolling slopes, mightier, but otherwise very similar to those of southern England, alternate. Here and there we find some forests and beautiful views under the spring skies that always captivate our eyes. The approach to the Dnieper is particularly beautiful, which meanders through this landscape in many twists and turns and is now beautifully illuminated. This country has an overwhelming grandeur due to its dimensions and is at the same time so lovely that it does not act as a deterrent.
- Dnepropetrovsk suffered greatly during the war. In contrast to Rowno, it is a generously laid out city with wide streets and many trees (especially flowering acacias!) and parks. Some of the trams are still running (others stand like wrecks at the station), but the main image of the traffic is formed by the army, which often passes through this city behind the front in long columns. We also see many uniforms that we have not seen before: Romanians, Italians, Hungarians, Croats and also Ukrainians and Russians, in addition to all other allies of the Empire, walk through the streets. We also meet Dutch people, as we did in Rowno. This time it is boys who work for the N.S.K.K. serve. They are very pleased when they come to chat with us on the tram and are full of praise for the care. If a Dutch boy of 18 or 20 says that he cannot eat the food that is put in front of him, then this requires no further comment.
- When we arrive on Sunday afternoon, there is a slipper parade on Broad Street. The Ukrainians make an excellent and thoroughly European impression, in contrast to the actual Russians.
- Dnipropetrovsk has several churches, but the one we visit is completely neglected and was used as a sugar warehouse. Although there are now a large number of icons hanging, one still gets the strong impression that, unlike Rowno, religion no longer has much significance for the population of this industrial city.
- We are experiencing the last rainy season before the start of the hot summer. After heavy rain, the sometimes rather steep streets of the city immediately form the beds of rushing mountain streams, which also carry some of the black earth with them as mud. Pedestrians soon can't cross the streets, motorcycles stall, cars spray fountains. For hours afterwards, the streets are covered in dirty mud, the tram rails are flooded and form obstacles for traffic that are difficult to overcome, and pedestrians always have to make long detours to get home on dry feet. Outside the city, deep gorges reveal the consequences of erosion caused by such tropical rain showers. Due to the heavy deforestation under the Soviets of the originally very forested Dnieper area, erosion becomes a major danger, also for the railway line, but mainly for the fields, from which the fertile black humus is washed away.
- When we leave Dnipropetrovsk in the morning, our car immediately comes into contact with Russian roads: wide plains, left open between the fields, with numerous deep wheel ruts next to each other, like gigantic Hesse roads, but unspeakably muddy and full of potholes. The utmost is demanded of the cars, as well as of the drivers. Shortly afterwards we drive again in this land of contradictions on a fairly good asphalt road in the direction of Saporozje, until, turning to the west, we finally reach our final destination: Solonje.
- F.C. BURSCH.
- As has already been learned from the newspapers, the Director of the National Institute for Archaeological Soil Research, Dr. F. C. Bursch, at the invitation of the Commissioner General of Dnipropetrovsk, excavations at Solonje, one day's journey by panjewagen from Dnipropetrovsk, in the inner bend of the Dnieper. Dr. Bursch has promised to occasionally write down his experiences and adventures for the readers of "De Waag"; the first article, written shortly after arrival in Dnipropetrovsk, was received by courier just before this issue went to press. We hasten to present it to our readers. The Dutch contribution to the opening up of the East consists not only of the deployment of labor power and capital, but also of spiritual labor. It can be great satisfaction, that Dutch science has already been enabled to play its part.
- EDITORIAL.
- July 2, 1943 A Dutch archaeologist in the Russian Steppe
THE UKRAINE IN ANTIQUITY

Anyone who has ever traveled to Berlin knows that, with the exception of the so-called Porta Westfalica, he constantly passed through the same, fairly flat country, which reflects the "Dutch" character of the country, both in the pasturelands and continues to speak clearly in the Veluwe-like hill areas.

If one now goes further east, either north through the former Polish corridor, or directly into Russia via Breslau and Posen, the relatively flat character of the country is preserved, until it finally merges unnoticed into the steppe. Only in Ukraine does the country become more hilly, but nevertheless there are no mountains of any importance here either until the Jaila Mountains in Crimea, and finally the Caucasus in the south and the Urals in the east.

This Western, Northern and Eastern European plain lies as one contiguous whole to the north of the German Central Mountains, and therefore extends from the Netherlands (and actually from southeastern England) in the West to the Urals in the East. In this immense space we see numerous popular movements taking place in ancient times, sometimes across this entire area, and that is why there are still wires running from the low countries on the North Sea that reach here into the Ukraine.

During the last ice age, a culture with its own unique art prevailed in Ukraine. While everywhere else naturalism flourishes among hunting tribes, who had to subdue their hunting prey through magic, and therefore restrict the animals into the image, here we find the oldest products of an abstract art, focused solely on decoration by maeanders. In the same Ukraine, this ornament revived in the centuries before about 2000 BC among the farming population, who then inhabit the wider country in large numbers. Is this a coincidence, or is there a genetic connection between the two phenomena, are we dealing with a direct continuation? As long as we do not know the ornaments of the intervening times (in general we know virtually nothing about the so-called Middle Stone Age, that is, the period between the end of the Ice Age and the beginning of agriculture as far as southern Russia is concerned!), people cannot obtain certainty here.

How important would be the confirmation of this hypothesis! One of the most important facts in world history is the transition from a wandering hunter's life, from hand to mouth, to the existence of the farmer, who, with wise precaution, grows his crops to see them ripen, and manages his flocks and one place to thrive in peace.

We must assume that this transition took place independently in various parts of the earth. One of the oldest farming populations in the world today is that whose civilization is characterized by spiral and moon decoration on the dishes, the so-called "band ceramics". We find the westernmost offshoots of this culture in our country, in Limburg, where they were probably the oldest farmers in our country. In eastern Europe, decoration of the same nature, with the same ornaments, is applied in red or yellow paint, including in the Ukrainian "Tripolje culture", named after a site near Kiev. Some sites in Asia Minor (Anau and Susa), in Greece (Sesklo and Dimini in Thessaly) and in Romania (Cucuteni et al.) show great agreement with this.

So at a very early date we find an agricultural population on the border between Europe and Asia, who is mainly known through the research of their places of residence, and who everywhere applied maeanders and spirals in paint to the dishes. In itself it is obvious that the first center from which these cultures spread across the adjacent areas of two continents must have been located in the extremely fertile regions of the Ukraine, from where we already know during the Ice Age a population that applied the same ornaments to her jewelry.

Another proof of relative primitiveness, which can therefore indicate old age, is shown by this culture, where in the beginning it still buried its dead in a squatting position in the homes of the living. Only later are cremations found in separate, but still residential, structures in which a large number of urns are housed.

People already grew wheat, barley and millet, and their pets were dogs, cattle, boars, sheep, goats and horses.

As everywhere else in Europe, this farming population was destroyed here by 2000 BC surprised by new crowds invading the country. In southern Russia we find remains of civilizations that we know well from our own country: collar bottles and beakers from our dolmens we also find in the Western Ukraine, and a little later, stone coffins of the form that followed the dolmens in Denmark, penetrated even further east with the ceramics so-called "ball amphorae", a group related to dolmen ceramics, which had an important center in Brandenburg, for example.

We therefore see that in recent times there was no one-sided contact in an East-West direction, but rather that there were two originally independent civilization areas that made reciprocal contact: the East radiates influences from the side of the

50890 Tripolje culture, the Northwest of Europe from the side of the Hunebed culture. Thus, towards the end of the Stone Age, a certain European unity in diversity was already growing, reaching from the North Sea to the Black Sea right through the Northern European plain, with two centers of gravity: the center of gravity of the Dolmen culture on the North and Baltic Seas on the one hand, the center of the band decoration on the one hand, the edges of the Black Sea on the other.

50895 Around 1800 BC we again see an appearance familiar to us from the Netherlands also appearing in southern Russia: the burial mound with a body burial in a crouching position, with a war hammer and rope cup as grave goods, as in the eastern Netherlands on the sandy soils. The graves here are painted red with a lot of ochre, which Remouchamps also noticed in the Netherlands at the time. Timber structures above the grave also occur in the hills here, and are better preserved than in the Netherlands. It is a real house, built over the dead, with an oak roof over the shaft grave. It will be interesting to compare these Russian phenomena with the Dutch ones, but this will require further research.

50900 What is striking is the great similarity in the tableware: cups, bowls on four feet, amphorae, etc. between the Central German finds, from which the Dutch phenomena can be derived, and this from southern Russia. Moreover, the first metal appears everywhere in this context.

50905 In the following century, the so-called Bronze Age, the grave shape remains completely the same. In the beginning this was also the case with ceramics and other cultural heritage, but later spiral decoration, adopted from the indigenous Tripolje culture, came to the fore. The bronzes are largely Central European in origin, and others are of Asian Minority origin.

50910 The number of burial mounds here is enormous, formerly Kurgans, now usually called Moghila (dialect Mohila), most of which date from the Bronze Age. We rarely find metal in burial mounds, but more often one finds cast molds and loose bronze objects, which are remarkably lacking in the swords and jewelry that we know from Europe. Predominant are sickles, small pins, often with hammer-shaped heads, and small lances. One must assume that bronze was intensively cast here, but with a limited range of forms and more for direct practical use than for weapons and adornment. Hollow axes, originally imported from Central Europe (Lausitz and Hungary), were later also found in cast form as proof that they were copied here. All in all, the Bronze Age would not have made an original impression here at all, and certainly not independently, if there had not been some treasure discoveries of silver and gold objects, imported from the Caucasus, which prove the wealth of the Ukrainian people of the Bronze Age.

50920 So in the Bronze Age we see the mating of the industrious Tripolje population with the newly arrived Ochre grave builders, whereby the first, soil-connected people certainly did not form the minority, but the second element apparently also remained strongly represented.

50925 Possibly one may give this people, amalgamated from both elements, the name Cimmerians, which has come down to us from classical reports.

50930 During the popular movements in Asia and Europe around the year 1000 BC the people of the Scythians (here curiously pronounced Skifien) invade southern Russia from the East. They are a nomadic people, with a totemic view of life, typical steppe inhabitants. They also bury their dead in a crouching position under large burial mounds. The princes and nobles are buried in the company of women, servants and domestic animals. Among the Scythians we also find timber construction in the burial mounds, although now often more tent-shaped, without it being possible to determine whether this is a prehistoric custom or was adopted from the original population. Perhaps the Scythians are also the direct descendants of the Ochre Tomb Builders. A few centuries later the Greeks settled in colony cities on the Black Sea (Olbia and Kertsch). The Scythians, who as a ruling class had probably achieved wealth through the labor of the natives, had Greek artists work for them in their own barbaric animal style, which had spread to China, inspired by their religion (totem animals). Especially the deer was frequently depicted, but not in a naturalistic manner, as the Greek would have preferred, but dissolved into its parts: antlers, legs, etc., from which parts in turn other animal ornaments: bird heads and snakes, for example, sprout.

50940 A well-known example of this Greek-barbarian art is the golden fish from Vetttersvelde near Berlin, with other animal figures on it, which was left behind during a raid by the Scythians (approx. 500 BC).

50950 The Scythians were replaced in their rule over southern Russia by the Sarmatians, who

- brought an even stronger Asian influence, which was reflected, among other things, in the use of colored gemstones (amaldien), imported from the East Indies.
- Then comes, in quicker succession, the conquest of southern Russia alternately by northern and central European peoples and by Asian hordes from the steppes:
- In the third century the Germanic Bastarnae and Skyren invaded. We know images of the Bastarnae from the Roman victory sign that the general Crassus had erected after his victory over them at Adamklissi in the Dobrudscha in 45. Around 200 AD they were absorbed into the Goths, who conquered the East from Scandinavia. The Bastarnae burned their dead, the Goths buried them. The Goths were especially influenced by the Sarmatians, which influences, driven to the West by the steppe people of the Huns in 375, they spread in the Germanic world of migration, among the Franks, Alamanni, etc. Some of the Goths did not make the journey to the countries around the western Mediterranean, but withdrew to the Crimea, where they maintained themselves in strong fortresses for a long time (5th-8th century), and where their language remained intact until the Middle Ages and was spoken later.
- In the 7th and 8th centuries, Tartars and Turks invaded the southern Russian space from Asia again, but from the West the Normans (Waraegi) came to dominate Central Russia, while the Genoese occupied the Black Sea coasts via the sea route from 1266 to 1475, until in the latter year the Turks, having gained possession of Constantinople, seized power there.
- First the Romanovs reconquered this area for Russia, while Charles XII of Sweden attempted to repeat the Waraegi's raids in the 18th century. In the meantime, the Germanic East colonization (Hanseatic, German Order, Anabaptists, etc.) had infused the country with new Germanic blood in the struggle against the Slavs.
- Thus, from the Stone Age onwards, we have seen the South Russian region as the scene of perpetual battle between East and West, between steppe and cultural land, between nomads and farmers, between Asia and Europe, a battle that is now being fought out again.
- It is therefore extremely difficult to unite the South Russian population, or even to see Russia as a unit. At least here in Southern Ukraine, there is a very strong feeling of being bound to this country by many ties, ties that make it easier for Western Europeans and Dutch people to feel at home there.
- F.C. BURSCH.
- July 30, 1943 A Dutch archaeologist in the Russian Steppe
- THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION
- In the previous article about Ukraine in Antiquity we briefly outlined the origins of the Ukrainian people. The impression created by these observations must be that on the old pattern of the Tripolje population, from before 2000 BC, perhaps already established in the country since the Ice Age, new influxes from East and West are being woven in later centuries. The current population is therefore largely indigenous, but strongly Germanized on the one hand, and not without a strong Asian influence on the other. What is the effect of these different components of its composition on the current population of Ukraine? Naturally, in what follows, in which we attempt to provide an answer to this question, a very preliminary first impression is decided. We are therefore aware that our view will eventually require further correction. Nevertheless, we will try to describe what immediately struck us most.
- We in the West are accustomed to speaking of "the Russian" or "the Russians" without realizing that we are doing just as wrongly as when we spoke of "the Indonesian". Just as we made a distinction in Insulinde [East India] between the Javanese, the Madurese, the Toradja and the Balinese and the Acehnese, so here we must distinguish more sharply between the different people groups.
- In our first letter we clearly highlighted the difference between Rowno and Dnipropetrovsk, but now we realize even better that this distinction has its deep foundation in the nature of the human species that lives there.
- Here in Ukraine we already distinguish four different types of people. First of all, several Volksdeutsche live here, all of whom have now been taken into German service in various positions. Many names remind us of the existence of German settlements, including in this area, where we find farmsteads called Nemetskij (Westerners, Germans) and Franzoff. The right hand of the District Commissioner here is Herr Wilms, who remembers that his family was originally settled on the Lower Rhine, and from there first to East Prussia, and then moved here for a few centuries. The

history of his family will certainly be an example for many others, who have forgotten the memory of their German, often Lower Rhine, origins, but who still speak their mother tongue to a greater or lesser extent, in addition to Ukrainian and Russian.

51025 Among those who no longer have any contact in language or otherwise with the West, we find many who nevertheless appear outwardly to be purely Western European, or rather Nordic. Blond hair, blue eyes, long and narrow face, usually a beautiful figure, we often encounter here, in contrast to, for example, Rowno. They are elegant and quick in their movements, active, intelligent and proud. 25 years of Bolshevik rule have
51030 not changed these people internally. Now that conspicuous cleanliness and cleanliness are no longer seen as proof of a reprehensible capitalist attitude, but on the contrary as a virtue, they are valued by the government, they diligently take care of the good appearance of their homes and of themselves. They wear colorful blouses decorated with crochet, are clean, often have curtains and flowers in the windows,
51035 the house is well painted and the roof is covered with tiles. They especially leave their mark on our village. Their circles mainly consist of artisans and small businesses, as well as farmers. Presumably their example is also the reason that every piece of land, even the 4 or more meters high and steep burial mounds, has been brought into cultivation, because they now know that the additional
51040 yield of their soil exceeds the obligatory part to be delivered is entirely personal to them. They will soon achieve great prosperity in the new Europe, for which they manage the breadbasket, through their industry and intelligence, when private property has been restored for a few years.

51045 We drive through the fields in our cart. It is about three o'clock in the afternoon, and everywhere people, mostly tall women, are busy in the fields. Suddenly, however, we discover two horses running loose, one of which has its two front legs tied together with a very short rope, so that it cannot walk, but can only perform short jumps while standing on its hind legs. A team stands aside. The farmer sleeps
51050 stretched out on his stomach. When we return after an hour, the man wakes up again, and we can now take him in better. It is a blond type with blue eyes, but with a yellowish complexion and strongly developed cheekbones. He is dressed in a ragged suit, consisting of long trousers and a lined vest, with a fur hat on his head, and is of short, stocky stature. In appearance and attitude this is an example of the
51055 other, Mongolian type of Russians. Slow, kind and good-natured, but stupid and lazy and extremely dirty and poor. This human species does not place the slightest demands on life, which it takes as it falls. One could briefly call it the "Nitschewo type". They are doomed to always remain the robots, the workers, the slaves, no matter under what regime. However, some of them, stimulated by Bolshevism, are able to whip up the
51060 masses of their fellow sufferers into a fanatical, stupid hatred and lust for destruction towards everything that is greater than themselves. But an attempt to level the entire Ukrainian people to the level of unity, as was at least theoretically the intention of the Soviets, had to result in everyone being brought down to this low level.

51065 In our maidservant we had another example, extremely good-willed and full of nervous care to do well, but the effect of all this effort was very poor, because she could never think ahead, and only on one thing at a time. When she called us to the table, the potatoes were ready, but we had to wait quite some time for the rest. Time and again she forgot to boil the milk, so that it spoiled in the heat. She often arrived
51070 late at the store, so that the food was already sold out. She could only be used if there was someone standing next to her who thought for her, which, however, is not to be expected from a male household, the members of which have other work to do! She wasted an awful lot of fat and butter, because her cooking was done without consultation, and then she thought that she could not keep our little house with a
51075 wooden floor clean, and that a second girl would have to come for that! She was also very good-natured, although she shed tears at every difficulty, so that the whole thing aroused more pity than anger.

She told all kinds of untruths about herself in order to pretend that she was being persecuted by fate. Completely unnecessarily, she got herself into trouble with the
51080 government, from which she tried to extricate herself by boasting about the distinguished gentlemen (us!) whom she had to take care of. For such people, the time factor does not play a role, hence the great irregularity in preparing meals. If we were also people who, at every difficulty that arose, also said "nitschewo" and nothing more, then everything would have gone well, but now this
51085 was not the case.

These people, left to their fate, would live under the most miserable conditions,

because they do not have the will and strength to work their way out of difficulties. A fatherly rule must watch over their well-being. They once allowed Father Tsar and Father Stalin to pass over them with the same good-natured submissiveness.

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The coachman Iwan is very tall and dark of hair and eyes. His complexion is also not white, but yellowish, and his cheekbones are visible in his narrow face. He is Cossack, completely one with his horses as a rider and as a driver, whom he takes good care of, but does not spare at all.

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In him we suspect Tartar blood of the steppe. The cow boys must be of his kind, who grow up outside with the cattle in the summer in a certain wildness. It is also a beautiful human character, but different from the Westerners. What opportunities are available for their development, thanks to their greater energy and courage, will have to be seen. Perhaps there are unsuspected possibilities here. Once they were the rulers of the steppes, herders of large herds of cattle and horses, and formidable warriors. Nowadays, it seems to us, they only form a small minority here in the South.

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It goes without saying that the boundaries between the four types listed are not clear everywhere. There are of course numerous transitions to be noted, racial mixtures, etc. All in all, in the first two categories we see the Northern race, the Central and Northwestern European, the "Nitsche woman" and the "Tartar" representatives of the East, of the steppe, of Asia.

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It is of course more difficult to say which popular movements were responsible for bringing this blood into the Ukrainian people. It seems impossible to us to say anything with certainty about this before anthropology (racial science) in collaboration with archeology and with the help of distribution maps can possibly arrive at certain results. Two other branches of science, folklore and dialectology, can certainly also make very positive contributions to this. Bolshevism tried to create a uniform culture, and here too it passed completely unnoticed: women with plucked eyebrows, children's toys and trinkets from the "cooperative" of a dreary formlessness and primitiveness and tastelessness, uniform furniture of false splendor: buffets, also canapés, are the proofs of it, as well as the killing of all popular initiative.

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Nevertheless, as far as we can already conclude, the national character expresses itself mainly in two forms: in song and in wedding customs.

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In the evening, when darkness has suddenly fallen, one hears the singing coming up again and again: one voice, loud and shrill, starts a song in a minor key, and immediately other voices join in, and in two voices, with long outbursts and wonderfully enduring, they insist, the sound through the night.

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To our ear they are rather formless primordial sounds, but carried very musically like a psalm, but shrill like clarion calls, sternly chanted like German soldiers' songs.

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On Sundays, and also occasionally during the week (it seems to depend on this season, it happens so often!), the bridal couples pass by. She, blushing under the wreath of flowers in her hair, from which colorful ribbons hang, and sometimes adorned with a red sash, the groom with a red rosette with hanging ribbons in the buttonhole, and followed by groomsmen and bridesmaids, also decorated with ribbons. Family and friends offer the bridal couple bread as a gift, small round rolls, on the outside like a Christmas wreath, on the inside with dots at the top.

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The bridal couples often also ride on a wagon, and in the evening there is a party with lots of singing and playing on the balalaika.

On Sunday the Ukrainians sang for the small garrison stationed here, played the balalaika and danced. We hope to be able to be there next time and report further on this later.

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F.C. BURSCH.

September 24, 1943 A Dutch archaeologist in the Russian Steppe
THE HARD HEART

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Ukraine has asked for its price and has received it. We have all been more or less seriously ill. If a simple cold would have gotten through the summer, intestinal, liver, biliary or kidney ailments arise here, which sometimes take quite some time before they are completely cured. We got away miraculously with a light attack.

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And its inhabitants are also as hard as this country. They have been hardened by the climate, and through the horrors of the Bolshevik years they have also come to know the hardness of their fellow countrymen. The torments to which the Volksdeutsche and the propertied peasants have been exposed are indescribable, and indescribable are

also the expressions of their immense lack of control, which I summarized in a previous article under the name of "nitschewomensch". It is therefore better not to mention these expressions of wild anger in detail. Hopefully they will never have the opportunity to give in to these animal instincts again.

How is it that these people come to such cruelty, to such incredibly sophisticated devising of the most terrible tortures against their fellow human beings, and on the other hand to such an immoderateness that can no longer even be called animal, of which I cannot refrain from giving one example, being capable of?

What to say about people who in a village, when there is no authority in the Bolshevik revolution, have only one goal, the liquor distillery? When they have looted to their heart's content, the Bolshevik small military group finally arrives, tries to create order, shoots some people dead and finally empties the full barrels into the street. However, the residents then come with buckets and all the other dishes at their disposal and collect the alcohol flow. They throw themselves into the stream and, lying on their bellies, drink the fluid that flows beneath them. And when the entire village finally lies unconscious, the children come and shovel the alcohol-soaked mud into new buckets to enjoy this liquid as well. These are facts, told to me by a Volksdeutsche, who saw these events unfold in front of the window with his mother in their home town.

He has now returned from a stay of several days in his village, which he has not seen since. Destroyed, razed to the ground is his house, the graves in the cemetery of his relatives, the beautiful old castle is destroyed down to the last stone and terrible are the stories that once prosperous farmers told him of the torments they suffered. have been exposed, not to mention the many who have been expelled, tortured to death, exiled.

There must be factors, deeply rooted in the national character, that can explain these incomprehensible states of the soul. We can describe some facets of this national character, but we are not yet able to discover its deepest depth. The people of forced laborers who work for us have a camaraderie that goes so far that sometimes three men share one cigarette. On the other hand, they do not show the slightest sympathy. It sometimes happens that one of the girls finds her fate, her work, too difficult and she breaks out into tears. Not the slightest note is taken of this by the others and when I asked why she is crying, I was asked the surprising counter question: why does this actually interest me? On the one hand, sharing in a friendly manner all the good that the earth still offers here, fruits for example, the comrades and us too are generously offered by the lucky owner, but on the other hand there is an indifference to everything that touches the soul of others.

Permissiveness on our part, showing sympathy, is immediately met with sabotage in work. One of the girls had even put a bandage on her foot and was crying in pain. When this didn't help and I remained hard, the false bandage was removed and everything went back to normal. Horses are, by our standards, shamefully abused here. If one observes the interaction of girls and boys on the street, it is striking that there is no mention here of the "preliminaries" to interaction with each other. Only energetic suitors, who take immediate action with force, are successful. The care of the dead is deeply sad. The cemeteries are without any fence, and as one passes by they are wretched ruins; broken and sagging stones, including those with hammer and sickle, are the rule. It is clear that neither the government nor the relatives in the last Bolshevik years were in the least concerned about the final place of the dead.

And now we already understand something of the Russian mentality. What is unknown here is the concept of tenderness and compassion. When a few persistent rebels in our village had to be shot, their wives, in complete control, came to collect the bodies, without shedding a tear. This people is hard, hard towards themselves, so they can tolerate anything, hard towards others, only aiming to have the best possible for themselves.

It is said that some can also be faithful to those who know how to bind them to themselves. However, it is usually the case that they accept gentleness and kindness for granted, but are very happy to defect to the opponent as soon as the other party offers more.

For this people is childish in the highest degree. They are also cunning, with that calculation that children use to get something done from their parents. But at the same time they cannot see further than the length of their nose. They take for granted what is given to them today, but when the enemy promises them paradise in his

propaganda, they also believe in it unconditionally. They have little or no sense of
51220 duty, everything must be ordered to them.

In addition to the large collective farms, this year, for the first time, part of the
land has been allocated to the population in small fields. They can plant whatever
they want on it and the government will buy it off them at a fixed price, according
to a certain estimated yield. They may freely dispose of the additional proceeds. The
51225 result is that there is no longer any undeveloped plot of land, but the government
still has to designate certain days of the week on which they are obliged to work in
their own fields. Of course, there are also those who also weed on other days.
Because fortunately one cannot tar everyone with the same brush. There are a lot of
51230 good people here who work as much as they can and who also see the great
opportunities that are now being offered to them and seize them with both hands.
However, the government in general must have a firm hand in addition to a loving
heart and great justice.

Now that our main road needs to be repaved, it will be divided into four widthwise.
Four die-hard pavers work side by side in noble competition to see who can deliver
51235 their work the fastest and best. The government imposes strict penalties for sabotage
or laziness, but at the same time it has additional allocations of vodka, cigarettes
and similar luxury items that would otherwise not be available. These are distributed
as a bonus for extra good agricultural work.

Thus a fatherly government takes care of these childish people, with strict justice,
51240 in the only way in which dealing with them is possible. To regard and treat them as
equals is the biggest mistake one can make. They first have to earn this position,
which fortunately is already the case for many.

The image that we designed above about Ukrainian people is not as attractive as our
51245 first one, but it is necessary to also show this other side as a supplement.
Necessary for two reasons: on the one hand for the Dutchman, who will soon have to
work with these people here, and on the other hand for a good understanding of what
moves our enemies.

In this hard country, hard people are also needed. The pioneers who leave our people
51250 to the east must bury all softness and tenderness deep in their hearts, in order to
remain in charge of this people with a firm and just hand. All "ethical politics" are
just as out of the question here as before in our colonies. At the same time,
however, the core of goodwill must be strengthened here and educated towards human
51255 European life. What a task would be reserved here for a church that still had faith
in its own strength! But it often seems that the struggle for political power in the
homeland seems more important to her than the spread of the faith! Then it must be
our task as National Socialists to awaken the concept of popular culture here and to
develop it into a force that may later be able to subdue those other primal forces
that can only have a destructive effect.

51260 Here in Dnipropetrovsk I came into contact with a number of young Dutchmen, not
National Socialists, but good, young guys who can be tough, and who, after having
done compulsory work in Germany for a short time, were so sensible, for this country.
They first also experienced the harshness of the land, were also sick, but now they
go their way determined, healthy and brave, an example for our people!

51265 If the Dutch share in the so-called "Osteinsatz" is well organised, then it is
important to promote Dutch cultural life by founding libraries, educational
institutions and the like and in this way to provide support to the Dutch in Ukraine,
which will enable them to carry out their constructive work here with joy. There is
still a lot of rewarding work waiting for us here!

51270 Now we also understand what it is that distinguishes Europe from its enemies: with
them we, in East and West, miss the tender love for our own, which previous
generations have built up in Europe. Whether it is the struggle for life of the
Americans or Bolshevism, both lack warmth only a thousand-year-old culture can give.

51275 Both have that hardness, that rock-solid insensitivity, which we described above.
Naive opponents may ask whether National Socialism does not possess this harshness,
especially towards the conquered peoples? It certainly possesses this and the war is
not the time to fully get to know National Socialism. To this end, more Dutch people
51280 should have gone to Germany when there was still an opportunity to do so, to see
there with what great love and sacrifice all the beautiful things that our culture
had built up in the past were cared for, restored, and especially was brought to the
people. Not only the beautiful new museums and the beautiful books, but also the
painstaking restoration of old parts of the city spoke of this. I need only mention
the examples, now largely barbarically destroyed, of Cologne, Krefeld and Trier.

51285 And if harshness is now also applied to the Dutch, then this harshness is absolutely necessary in these circumstances, in this war, against these enemies. The war has reached a stage where people used to call thinking about sins "hard against hard". Now it is indeed a battle as to who will prove to be the toughest, Europe or the others. Western Europe was not tough enough and fell in an incredibly short time, 51290 England was not tough enough and is now at the mercy of an opponent or ally. The hardest peoples still remain and the issue now is who can remain hard the longest. Every other thought must now give way to that. It would later seem unforgivable to us if it turned out that we had not been tough enough in the decisive hour.

51295 So this is clearly our path: We must learn to be tough, to be tough in the demands we set for ourselves, tough in the measures and demands that the party has to take towards its members, to be tough towards our youth, who has already been partly raised in softness, to be hard also in our love for our people. "Gentle surgeons, stinking wounds" is now said of this regime towards the people. And this harshness 51300 will not be allowed to pass away at the end of the war as a nightmare that temporarily oppressed us. We want and must continue to work hard in order to create a spirit in Europe and among our own people that dares to face real life again, in the homeland and in the Eastern regions.

51305 Europe is now waging a stubborn battle for the existence of itself and of everything that we feel makes life worth living, against the harsh peoples in the East and West. We must guard ourselves against Americanism and Bolshevism with all the strength in us.

This is the lesson that a stay in the East has taught us, to armor our hearts against the outside world. However, we hope to be able to prove after the war that this same 51310 heart is full of tenderness and love and is prepared to pour both of these out in streams over the people. Then it is time to show the Dutch everything that is beautiful and good in us National Socialists; as the German people have discovered this in its leadership, which it therefore follows unwaveringly, even in these times of need. Because National Socialism can also appropriate the Amsterdam Rasphuis

51315 saying:
 "Hard is my hand, but sweet is my mind."
 That's how it is and that's how it should be, there is no other choice.
 There is still much to be written, especially about the development in Ukraine.
 However, this will probably be our last article for "De Waag" during our stay here.
 51320 The work, which promises good fruits, now takes up all my attention, time lost due to illness must be made up for!
 F.C. BURSCH.

December 13, 1943 Dutch archeology in Ukraine

51325 The director of the National Office for Archaeological Soil Research, Dr. F. C. Bursch, who in May 1943 had left for the Dnieper bend under the auspices of the study department of the Dutch East Company to conduct research into remains of the Goths, who were first Germans had conquered the Ukraine around the beginning of our era, returned with his two assistants and told a representative of the A.N.P. [Algemeen 51330 Nederlands Persbureau] that, contrary to expectations, in three burial mounds near the village of Solonje, 40 km of Dnipropotrowsk, no remains of Gothic culture have been found, but other discoveries have been made. Two of the three mounds turned out to date from much earlier times, one from the Bronze Age (1000 years BC) and one from the time of the Scythians, who lived in the Ukraine from 800 to 300 years BC. During 51335 the investigation of the mounds and the investigation of the most important finds, a gain has been made that, for the first time, new detection methods have been successfully applied in Russian soil, which were developed in the Netherlands and can advance science. This is a Dutch contribution to the development of archaeology. The objects brought to light are expected here soon to be studied further and then 51340 loaned to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

December 14, 1943 Dr. BURSCH ABOUT HIS TRIP TO RUSSIA

Dutch contribution to the development of archaeology

51345 Recently it has been read that the expedition, led by the director of the State Bureau for Archeological Soil Research, Comrade F. C. Bursch, which traveled to the Dnieper bend in May 1943 under the auspices of the study department of the Dutch East Company, has left, returned from the East with rich experiences. The A.N.P. has had a meeting with Dr. Bursch these days in order to learn more about the relevant experiences gained in the eastern areas. Dr. Bursch said that he had 51350 been invited by the Commissar General of Dnipropetrovsk. The "Ahnenerbe" in Berlin,

the well-known Germanic Institute of the SS, mediated for this purpose. After he had accepted this invitation, an expedition was equipped on behalf of the study department of the Dutch East Company (later the Dutch East Institute) and Dr. Bursch left with two assistants, W. J. de Boone in Amsterdam and F. van Meer in Arnhem, to the village of Solonje, 40 km southwest of Dnipropetrowsk.

"What prompted this invitation?"

The attention of the Commissioner General had fallen - according to Dr. Bursch - on some burial mounds and he hoped that these would contain the remains of Goths, who were the first Germans to conquer the Ukraine around the beginning of our era. People were disappointed in that expectation. Gutters were not found there.

The three burial mounds dated from much earlier times, two from the Bronze Age (1000 BC) and one from the time of the Scythians, who lived from 800 to 300 BC lived in Ukraine. One of these hills was about 5 m high and had a diameter of 70 m.

Four particularly well-cared for graves were found in this hill. The mound of each of these graves had been significantly raised and enlarged. Such a grave consisted of a rectangular pit in the bottom of the hill, covered above by wooden beams and a reed mat. A second mat was wrapped around the corpse, which had been laid on its back with its knees drawn up. Sometimes the walls of the burial pit were whitened with lime, while the deceased himself showed traces of red paint on the skeleton.

After these four main graves, which were undoubtedly related, the mound was enlarged several times in more modest sizes on the sides for later graves, which were simpler in nature.

The second mound, close by, contained a large number of these simpler graves. In each case the deceased lay in a crouching position in a simple and shallow pit, usually carrying one or more pieces of pottery. The main grave of this second mound, however, was covered by a large stone.

The mound was barely 1 m high, and much smaller than the first mound.

Finally, the third mound was lower and smaller again and contained only one grave, dug 2 m deep under the center of the mound. This deceased was also in a crouching position again, this time the grave goods were: bronze arrowhead, bead, gold ring, recognizable as Scythian.

The finds were further studied here in this country and therefore temporarily ended up in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden for that purpose.

The main benefit of these investigations in the Ukraine, however, was to provide proof that the application of excavation methods developed in the Netherlands to Ukrainian objects has been of great value for the development of South Russian archaeology. It is very likely - Dr. Bursch continued - that all three hills examined succeeded each other as graves of the inhabitants of that region, who were under the influence of the Scythians, but were already there for the latter tribe. Those

predecessors were the Cimmerians. The Cimmerian, whose remains were given the above-mentioned grave goods, probably saw the Scythians coming, given the objects that he received in the grave. "Were any more items found?"

Mostly pots and also a skull have been sent here, according to Dr. Bursch. The objects are expected here soon to be studied further and then loaned to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

Dr. Bursch expressed his opinion that this trip to the Dnieper bend, in addition to the experiences gained, has yielded the benefit that for the first time and successfully, new detection methods have been applied in Russian soil, which were developed in the Netherlands and can further advance science. This therefore concerns a Dutch contribution to the development of archaeology

January 15, 1944 DR F. C. BURSCH

The Beaker culture in Brabant and Limburg

About ten years ago it looked as if there was a great gap between the phenomena of civilization in the Young Stone Age in the area to the south of our great rivers and in that to the north.

In my dissertation, written in 1931/32 and published in 1933 nothing of the sort was known from Brabant at the time.

Some things have changed in the meantime. After all, in short succession two finds of burial mounds of Beaker culture became known, one near Oss and one near Schaik, so that suddenly the province of North Brabant also joined the more northern provinces where finds of this nature were known. Moreover, due to the excavation of a number of tumuli on the German border, east of Swalmen, the number of beakers known from our South was suddenly more than doubled, because 11 beakers came to us from this one site alone. The presence of other burial mounds of this nature, west of the Central Limburg Maas, is also very likely.

Thus, in a relatively short period of time, a completely different light has been shed on the oldest history of Brabant and Limburg, a light that is reinforced by the fact that discoveries have now also been made in Belgium (since 1940) that point out that, contrary to the original view that Belgium was not at all influenced by the Beaker culture, the people of the Beaker culture have indeed also penetrated the south of our country, so that our southern discoveries are no longer so isolated. So instead of counting on only a few finds that came here more or less by chance from the abundance of similar phenomena on the other side of the rivers, we are now obliged to take serious account of the fact that around 1800 BC In our era an important penetration of the Beaker people into our southern provinces took place.

In general it can be concluded that archeology has worked somewhat too much with the hypothesis that every change in cultural heritage is also a change of the nature of the population of a particular region. We are now increasingly coming to the realization that in any case the indigenous population of a particular region always played the leading role, regardless of the influences exerted on it over the centuries.

Now, however, it is precisely the cup culture that represents a sharp break with the past, and if it has ever happened that new elements have flowed to our country from abroad, to first play an important and independent role in the population and only in the long run to merge with the masses of the people, then that was indeed the case with these rather small crowds. It is clear that the role played by these leaders in the Europe of those days can hardly be overestimated in insignificance. In these years between 2000 and 1800 BC in large parts of Europe a completely different, enterprising, expansive, martial element emerged that was not there before. These were turbulent times, which is proven by the erection of fortifications at many points, and very strikingly by the large numbers of stone weapons, mainly arrowheads and spear points, in the moats and against the walls of some such fortresses in Central Germany found.

This appearance of a new element in Central and also in Western Europe (Scandinavia, the Netherlands and England) also coincides with similar phenomena in Greece (appearance of stone hammers and cups), and with much commotion in Asia Minor up to Egypt (Hyksos).

If we let the latter phenomenon rest outside the borders of our continent for a moment and limit ourselves to Europe itself, it becomes clear that neither before nor later can an era be found in which a cultural unity of such magnitude can be established. The slender shapes of the pottery cups appear everywhere, usually slightly S-shaped. The martial performance includes the new weapons that the people carry: the stone war hammer, the bronze dagger (because the new population elements also bring with them the first knowledge of working with metal everywhere in Europe), bow and arrow (a stone plate to protect the wrist against the return of the bowstring), and also the horse and perhaps even the chariot! (For example, we found a horse buried in a hill in Garderen.) We can now perhaps feel the effect that these new means of fighting had on the opponent better than ever, now that we have seen the effect of Stuka's and other surprising new war equipment.

Perhaps we should attribute it to the fact that in a relatively short time all of Europe north of the Alps, including West and Eastern Europe up to the Black Sea, was brought under the sphere of influence of the Beaker people.

As we saw, Brabant and Limburg were also part of the area flooded by the Beaker people, in contrast to France, for example, which was completely outside it. This therefore means that most of Europe was suddenly included in a large whole, which will probably have had no political significance (because it is of course completely wrong to apply modern concepts of state and power to periods in which primitive man was still the sole ruler!), but which did offer great economic and cultural opportunities. After all, it makes a big difference whether humanity lived in large or small, but in any case isolated, groups, or whether contact had been established between all these groups, which could thereby achieve an exchange of material and spiritual possessions. It therefore appears that it will never again be possible for the researcher to draw such sharp boundaries in the periods following the Bronze Age as this would have been possible in the Stone Age, for example between the dolmen group and the pile building group or the so-called band-ceramic group. Afterwards, people's lifestyles apparently never diverged as much from each other as they had before the conquests of the Beaker people. For example, we see that the burial mound is on its way to becoming the universal grave monument for Central and Western Europe. In Eastern Europe, the burning of the corpse, which was already competing for supremacy with the burial of the corpse in the church culture, is gaining the upper

hand. European humanity, which had also become acquainted with metal as a raw material for utensils through the beaker culture, clung to this material in later times, and thus not only a civilization based on bronze emerged everywhere, but logically also an extensive trade, because tin and copper, the raw materials for bronze, did not occur everywhere in nature, so had to be exported and imported. Naturally, the trade relations also include those countries that had not come into contact with the Beaker people, such as Spain, Italy and France. For the Netherlands, the conquest of our southern provinces in addition to the others by the Beaker people meant that not only in the short period of time of this conquest, but also for quite a few centuries afterwards, a cultural unity continued to prevail between the North and South of the country, so that we had the same type of burial mounds and graves in the North and South of the Netherlands: namely palisade mounds with corpse burial or cremation in tree coffins, and that the bronze shapes differ much less than in the past, for example the shapes of the stone axes in the North and South. It indeed looks as if a cultural unity of the Dutch (of course together with the neighboring German!) areas has emerged. The fact that this seems to change again later, during the time of the urnfields, ultimately turns out to be a temporary phenomenon.

When we have attempted to outline the significance of the Beaker people for the history of our South in the above, our conclusion was that a relatively small number of conquerors succeeded in expanding the ties between the originally sharply separated areas north of the large rivers and to the South (and West) of this, so that from now on our South would participate in the cultural and social life in Central Europe and the surrounding area. However, we must also be aware of the fact that compared to the large number of original inhabitants, the new arrivals almost fade into insignificance. From the same direction, a much stronger penetration of population elements into our South took place in the centuries before the beginning of our era (first Germanic land acquisition) and later through the Frankish colonization.

It would of course now be of the utmost importance if we knew something more about these newly arrived people than just the remains of their material culture. It is clear that this material culture is only a reflection of the nature of these people themselves. For it is not a coincidence that one people prefers sharp shapes and another prefers duller ones, or prefers bright colors rather than soft ones, or buries the dead in family (sibbe) or tribal graves or in burial mounds for one person. Ultimately, all these external phenomena reflect man's spirit and talent. And so we can say with all the more certainty that the people of the Beaker culture were undoubtedly different from those of stilt houses or those of dolmens.

The finds prove what it looked like of skeletons in the burial mounds. Already in the first systematically excavated burial mounds of the Beaker people in the Netherlands, i.e. in Nierssen (O.M. 1908), excellently preserved skeletons were found, which were found by Prof. Dr A. W. Nieuwenhuis were subjected to a systematic anthropological investigation. They turned out to have pure Northern Breed skulls. Although it was only rarely that the skeletons were found as intact as there in Nierssen, the long skull, always of almost the same high and narrow type, could always be recognized from the general shape. One gets the impression of great homogeneity, therefore of a fairly great racial purity, among the bearers of the Beaker culture. The same has also been noticed in all other countries where the Cup culture occurs, and there is currently a strong tendency to see in the Cup culture the reflection of the civilization of the Northern Race. We will therefore also have to take into account that in Brabant and Limburg, in view of this racial purity and in view of the apparently closed as a people advance of the bearers of this culture, that Northern race elements have invaded our South with the Beaker people, while we completely leave aside the question, to what extent it would be possible that such population elements were previously present.

Besides the race of these people we can probably also say something about their language. The linguists, at least most of them, assume that the great relationship between the various Indo-Germanic languages would have arisen because an Indo-Germanic speaking primitive people would have Indo-Germanicized the various previously existing languages. If this hypothesis is correct, then it is beyond all doubt on ancient grounds that no other person should be considered for this Indo-Germanic primitive people than the people of the Beaker culture, which has carried out the most extensive and intensive conquests. Moreover, the fact that these conquests took place on the border between the Stone and Bronze Ages, the period in which, according to philologists, Indo-germanization should have taken place also speaks for this. During that period, it is impossible for another, a second nation to be eligible to play this important role in addition to the Beaker nation.

51550 It is therefore clear that the discovery of several graves and objects in the Brabant and Limburg heathlands has been of far-reaching significance for the knowledge of the history of the Netherlands.

1) F. C. Bursch, Die Becherkultur in den Niederlanden, Marburg-Leiden, 1933.

51555 POTTERY OF THE CUP CULTURE FROM BURIAL MILLS NEAR SWALMEN (LIMBURG) (2x)
STONE HAMMER OF HANOVERAN TYPE MADE OF DIORITE, WITH PART OF THE WOODEN HANDLE, DECORATE ON TOP WITH BRONZE NAILS AND STRAPS
STONE HAMMER OF HANOVERIAN TYPE FROM DIORITE. LOCATION OF HEYTHUYSEN (PHOTOS ARCHIVE)
51560 BURIAL MILLS FROM THE STONE AND BRONZE AGE (THE LAST WITH PILE WREATH) NEAR OSS, WITH BELL CUP ($\pm$ 1800 BC) AND URN ($\pm$ 1000 BC)

January 17, 1944 The Spade House opened

Seat put into use by the Frankish Working Community

51565 Saturday, January 15, was a great, memorable day for practitioners of local folklore in our South, in Frankish Limburg and North Brabant. After all, on that day in Sittard, with its old churches, ramparts and picturesque corners, the Frankish Working Community, which aims to study the region of our Frankish regions and whose membership has increased significantly recently, built a comfortable building of its own in the heart of the city was opened and put into use in a festive manner. A large
51570 number of ladies and gentlemen, not only from Limburg and North Brabant, but also from other regions of our country, had traveled to the town, which is the gateway to the South Limburg mining area for visitors from the North, to to witness this important fact. Present at the ceremony were, among others, F. C. Bursch, director of the State Bureau for Archeology and Soil Research, the administrative [...]

51575 March 23, 1944 DR BURSCH ON HIS EXCAVATIONS IN THE UKRAINE

In a meeting in Pulchri Studio which was convened by the socio-economic association "Netherlands and Europe" in collaboration with the Dutch East Institute, archaeologist Dr. F. C. Bursch gave a lecture with illuminated images about his
51580 excavation work last year in the south of Ukraine. Drs. Goedhuys introduced the speaker.

Dr. F. C. Bursch explained that what had been hoped to find in the three designated burial mounds at Solonje, south-west of Dnipropetrowsk - namely graves of Goths - was not found. Speaker was of the opinion that they were dealing with graves of Scythians or Chimeras, as Herodotus called them, which date from 900 to 500 BC. A very simple
51585 bell-beaker decoration was found on one cup. Furthermore, a bronze arrowhead was found and a baked bead and gold ring, both of which were probably made in Greece. Based on the simple ornamental motif - the peak of the Bell Beaker culture in the Netherlands is around 1800 BC - tried to to show that those buried here were distant
51590 outposts and colonists of the Northern Race, who, far from their own cultural center, had to gradually lose their forms of civilization under the foreign influences there. He also argued, using other examples, that it is incorrect to assume that culture and civilization came to us from the East, as Anglo-Saxon and Russian scholars sometimes want to believe. On the contrary, Central Europe with its northern race has always
51595 been the radiating cultural area. Russia was the host.

May 1, 1944 PROFESSOR OF PRAE HISTORY.

Dr. F.C. Bursch appointed.

51600 AMSTERDAM, April 29. - We hear that Dr. F. C. Bursch, curator at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden and director of the National Office for Archaeological Soil Research, has been appointed extraordinary professor of prehistory at the municipal university.

Dr. Bursch was born in Leiden in 1903. He studied history, archeology and prehistory at the universities of Leiden, Amsterdam and Marburg and obtained his doctorate with honors in Marburg in 1932. Dr. Bursch is a member of the German Archaeological
51605 Institute. He has written many articles on prehistory in scientific journals; his dissertation dealt with "Die Becherkultur in den Niederlande". In recent years, Dr. Bursch has conducted scientific research in Ukraine, among other places.

51610 May 5, 1944 Dr. Bursch extraordinary professor

As successor to Prof. Dr. A. E. van Giffen, the mayor of Amsterdam has appointed Dr. F. C. Bursch in Oegstgeest as extraordinary professor of prehistory at the University of Amsterdam. Dr. Bursch also carried out many excavations in Limburg and worked on the earliest history of these regions. He also recently made a study trip to Ukraine

51615 and scientifically examined old burial mounds there. He is director of the Bureau for Archaeological Soil Research in Leiden.

June 1, 1944 THE TOMBS IN THE UKRAINE

51620 For a small circle of interested parties, Dr. F. C. Bursch gave a lecture on Friday evening in the Korenbeurs [this is in Eindhoven and there were only a few listeners, we read!] about his excavations in Southern Ukraine.

In our country, Dr. Bursch has conducted research into old burial mounds, several of which he has uncovered in Drenthe and the Veluwe. Very interesting discoveries have been made, which bring us closer to the lives of our ancestors.

51625 In southern Russia this archaeologist has examined three burial mounds, where it was hoped to find the graves of Goths. However, this was not allowed to succeed. However, Dr. Bursch has made interesting finds here, whereby examination of the objects, the location of the remains and more technical details concluded that they were related to graves of Scythians or Chimeras from the period of 900 BC. Dr. Bursch then
51630 explained how these excavations may lead to the conclusion that civilization did not come to us from the East, as is often claimed, but on the contrary, the North Race has formed outposts of civilization in the East Country. The audience listened to Dr. Bursch's presentation with great interest.

51635 November 15, 1944 PROF. DR F. C. BURSCH

THE BIRTH OF EUROPE

There is no end in life,

It is always a life.

Goethe

51640 Everything that is dear to us represents the highest value to us at that moment when the threat of possible loss hovers over it. Then it is also the time to reflect on what constitutes its value, to ask ourselves how it became our own property and what powers and possibilities it gave us.

51645 This is how it is going for all of us now, when we see how large parts of Europe are being turned into a wasteland, much scorched by the violence of war, which threatens to destroy everything that belongs to the very essence of our continent. Nowhere else in the world will one find such a high-quality culture, which nevertheless grew organically and is so closely connected to the surrounding nature to form a unity. A village in the trees along the rivers or in heath and forest, isolated farms whose
51650 yards and fields blend unnoticed into the trees around, but also an old town in its ramparts or even towns that have gradually grown over the centuries such as Amsterdam gives us this enchanting feeling of bondage to land and soil.

But it is not only this unity between nature and man that affects us in Europe.

51655 Whenever we travel, we are struck again and again, wherever we go, by the familiarity that is common to all countries, in addition to all that which constitutes the special value of each region in itself. Europe is a unity in diversity, both deeply rooted in ancient, inherited values, and this sets it apart from all other continents.

51660 The problem with which we now wish to concern ourselves for a moment is the question of the deepest origin of our varied culture. And we will have to dig deep, deeper than people previously thought.

For it will not be sufficient if, in order to explain this phenomenon of European unity in diversity, we point to the influences that emanated on the one hand from the Roman Empire and the Christian faith as promoters of unity, and on the other hand
51665 from the history lived together by each nation, which would have caused the diversity.

After all, when we define culture as the ability to work something that is given by nature or through natural forces into something else, and then to use this further for purposes that cannot be achieved by the original, natural 1) then it is clear how
51670 important the nature of the human being who creates or experiences culture is.

We also speak of the undergoing of culture, because a culture does not always have to be created by the person who is under the influence of this culture. Culture can therefore indeed be imposed on man as a phenomenon originally foreign to him. In this way it can be explained that in Europe over the centuries numerous cultural forms
51675 have been absorbed or developed by the same people, which sometimes differed from each other in very important characteristics.

Fully accepting all this, it is nevertheless clear that there is a close connection between culture and the natural nature of man, closer than could be directly

51680 concluded from this. For as culture is understood as nature reworked by man, it is clear that not only is the emergence of new culture directly from nature a creation

of man, but also that this process of creation is also present when the culture has come to man from outside. In other words: every encounter between man and culture is a cause of human creative capacity, which is aimed at further developing culture in the direction that best suits man's natural talent, i.e. his own capabilities. And these powers are hereditarily given to him, are present in him outside his will. So we know the duality: man and culture. Moreover, in this culture a distinction can be made between that culture that man has created independently of others and the culture with which he comes into contact through circumstances beyond his will as something that comes to him from outside and which he then recreates in an ongoing process into something, according to his own nature.

The problem has thus been shifted to an answer to the question whether there is a characteristic present in different representatives of humanity, including in their mental powers with which they create culture, by which we can distinguish between the reactions with which they confront nature or against a culture originally foreign to them, in the creation or recreation of culture. If we are convinced that we must answer this question in the affirmative, then this conviction is based precisely on what we witnessed at the birth of European culture. After all, it is clear that we can most clearly determine the identity of the various peoples and races that inhabit Europe where they are observed in their most primitive reactions, that is, in ancient times, when natural disposition played a much greater role than now, now that advancing civilization has increasingly overgrown these natural properties with a number of other learned properties. It is the same reason why we encounter many more remains of natural bonds and resulting properties and reactions in the countryside than in the large cities, which means, among other things, that the diversity between the village municipalities in the different landscapes is much greater than the difference between one big city and the other.

Since the time of Romanticism, we have known for more than a century the existence of this non-universalistic, underground civilization among everyone who has not yet become a mass human being broken free from all natural bonds, i.e. "Americanized". This civilization, in contrast to the generally applicable, now technologicalized civilization that is increasingly uprooting itself in many forms and norms, includes everything that we will continue to call "folkish" with a much-controversial word, and that goes deeper than all shared history.

Without this folk element there would be no European diversity in unity today, just as there would be a unity without strong kinship between the original cultures in the different countries of our continent.

Man therefore creates his culture from the nature surrounding him, and he accomplishes this culture-creating act from the moment of his first appearance in the world. The most primitive tools, which show clear traces of human processing, bear the earliest testimony to this. In Europe we already know these phenomena in the early Pleistocene, and a Tertiary origin of humans is certainly a possibility. Yet in the beginning man was apparently so little differentiated that we find the oldest forms of his tools, the so-called hand axes, in exactly the same forms over large areas, even outside our continent. We only find a stronger differentiation during the last ice age.

At the time that a large part of Europe was covered by an ice cap for the last time, we already distinguished various cultural provinces in Central, Eastern and Western Europe, which were, however, partly connected. At the beginning of the last ice age, the so-called Aurignacian civilization prevailed everywhere, but it developed differently in the Mediterranean area (Spain and North Africa up to and including Egypt) than in Central and Western Europe. A completely different culture emerges in the Alpine regions. These differences are clearly expressed in the visual arts, among other things. While the Mediterranean area, mainly Eastern Spain, from the first, very primitive Aurignac art with female figures made of baked clay or stone with exaggerated sexual characteristics (steatopygia), was a lively, full of action, working mainly in black and white and also depicting humans. The art of faithfully depicting the animal as an isolated figure is gradually flourishing in southern France and northern Spain in the well-known rock paintings, hardly involved in a group or in an action as in Eastern Spain. This art, undoubtedly eidetic in origin and having numerous parallels in other parts of the world, is immediately capable of accomplishing this limited task in a way that could not even remotely be approached elsewhere. In Central Europe, the steatopygian female figures in free sculpture simultaneously give rise to beautiful, finely crafted female heads (Unter-Wisternitz in Bohemia, for example) full of expression, while in Eastern Europe art soon moves away from this naturalistic phase and moves on to depicting schematic, rectilinear figures (meanders), after similar female figures as elsewhere had first set the tone

there.

The civilization, named after Le Solutré in France, which, with extremely beautifully crafted flint tools, intrudes on the Western European development, which leads directly from the Aurignacian to the Magdalenian, and thus represents a certain break or at least interruption through the manifestation of the Solutréen, shows, this Solutréan civilization is an originally East-Central European phenomenon, perhaps partly a harking back to older forms of the hand axe.

The high art of the Ice Age shows a degeneration at the end in France, the number of tool types decreases until only a scraper remains, while on the other hand, with the melting of the ice, we can observe a further push of the Magdalenian culture further northwards into our country and near Hamburg. Central European elements are also penetrating the West and North-West of our continent.

Thus, Europe was already a unity in diversity during the last ice age. While we can still see in the hand ax a universal tool, which could possibly have been independently invented everywhere in the meantime to meet the same need (cutting down trees), from the Aurignacian onwards we see a different response to nature and consequently the origin of although still very extensive, but also independent cultural areas in the various parts of Europe. This phenomenon occurs at the same time that we see a new human type, homo sapiens, emerge, immediately in different manifestations, that is, races. The man from the caves of Grimaldi, near Monaco, looked different from those of Brünn in Bohemia, or those of Aurignac and Canelade.

Is it a coincidence that this coincidence occurs between the appearance of independent cultural areas with the appearance of separate human races: the Mediterranean, the Western European, the Central European race? We dare not judge this with certainty, but this is striking respond differently to virtually identical conditions in the surrounding world in different parts of Europe, undoubtedly. Man shows more and more that he wants to uproot himself from the compelling laws of nature, insofar as they make him too dependent, and in this cultural reaction he apparently follows much more differentiated paths than was previously possible for him.

Unfortunately, many of the important developments that undoubtedly occurred in the following centuries after 10,000 BC are still shrouded in darkness. We only have more definitive data from a few areas of Europe: Germany, England, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian North. Furthermore, we know that due to special landscape and climatic conditions in Southern Europe around the Mediterranean Sea, and in particular in Egypt and in the Two Rivers Country, man early develops into an existence tied to fixed dwellings, and thus into a higher level of civilization, earlier than in Europe north and west of the Alps, where he gradually changes from hunter and fisherman to farmer tied to permanent residences.

Was there any interaction between the areas of Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean basin and Asia Minor in these centuries? From the course of the following development one can certainly conclude that an affirmative answer to this question is given. After all, in the Near East, as well as in South-Eastern Europe (Crete, Greece, the Balkans and the Danube region) we see a similar initial development of the culture of an agricultural population. We must probably interpret the phenomena as meaning that cultural influences penetrate from the South-East into the heart of Europe, causing the gradual transition from wandering nomadic life to the existence of farmers. This is indicated by the appearance of motifs on the oldest pottery, such as the palm tree, and of shells from the Mediterranean region as an import from that side among the earliest products of the oldest Neolithic culture in Central Europe. What escapes our observation, however, is the possibility that previously Central European currents may have radiated inversely to the Balkans and Asia Minor, thus creating the possibility of these later connections. In general, especially on the basis of what we see happening later, one may assume that popular movements have always taken place in the North-South direction, and never in the opposite direction.

Around 4000-3000 BC one must therefore imagine that the naturally more favored Mediterranean region and Asia Minor formed the center from which Central, Eastern and Western Europe were influenced. Only in Denmark and the surrounding area do we see a development that takes place simultaneously, but independently of these influences, where people apparently occupy permanent residences for at least part of the year, and then proceed to the production of originally very primitive pottery without a base (the culture of Kjökkenmöddinger kitchen waste heaps). For the rest, however, Europe from the South and especially from the South East is currently being culturally influenced. This influence first takes place in the loess areas of Central Europe, which extend in the West to South Limburg. There we find an agricultural population everywhere, with bowl-shaped pottery with band decoration, who live in

village communities, and in order to defend themselves against the animal world surrounding them, but very probably also against the hunting tribes, builds their large shelters for people and livestock, which we visit from Maastricht to found in Thessaly. Local differences in this distribution area naturally occur, and it cannot be assumed that this development progressed other than very slowly from East to West. In the meantime, however, we see the phenomenon that new cultures of humanity bound to permanent residences are emerging everywhere. In southern Russia, Romania, Thessaly and as far as Bohemia we find a culture with different local variations, which is closely related to the preceding culture of the so-called banded ceramics, but on the other hand has connections with its painted pottery as far as China and Persia. Since this culture so clearly has its center of gravity in the East, it is certainly obvious to assume an Asian Minor origin, which would then continue to exert its influence, especially on Crete, in the following centuries. In Bohemia it has been shown stratigraphically that this painted ceramic is younger than the band ceramic. However, band pottery and painted ware are the only cultural influences associated with Asia Minor. In various parts of Europe we are also gradually seeing more and more independent cultures emerging, partly spontaneously, partly as a result of action on these Eastern influences.

Thus, along the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean: in Portugal, France, southern and western England and Ireland, and in Scandinavia, we find civilization characterized by memorials to the dead, consisting of large stones, either single, vertical stones (menhirs), either stone wreaths and other stone settings to enclose a space (cromleghs, etc.), or actual burial chambers of three supporting stones (dolmen) or more, which together support one or more covering stones (dolmens, etc.). If we examine this Atlantic megalithic culture more closely, we see that the similarity between the phenomena on the Atlantic coasts and along the Baltic Sea is only apparent, and that there are even differences between the phenomena in Portugal, France and western England. In France (and Brittany) this culture results in a rich, almost exuberant variety of stone monuments, to a lesser extent in England, while on the Iberian Peninsula and especially in southern Scandinavia and Denmark (where they also extend away from the coasts spreads inland) the culture has been reduced to more modest proportions. On the other hand, it is precisely in Scandinavia and Denmark that the other cultural content is particularly richly varied, and a unique style in form and ornament, mainly of the tableware, develops there, which is also spreading in the center of our continent. It is therefore clear that forces of their own are at work there in the North-West of Europe, which demonstrate forces, both in style formation and in influence to the outside world, that are not present in this form elsewhere.

In Western Europe (the Rhine region, Northern France, Eastern England) and Central Europe (Switzerland and Southern Germany) we find traces of another culture, also, but to a lesser extent, separated into local variations, which is characterized by settlements along the water and fortifications on the heights, and by the tulip-shaped, virtually undecorated pottery. In the Eastern Alpine region, a culture with plastically decorated tableware is still emerging.

Finally, on the border between the Stone Age and the Bronze Age, we see two new cultures emerge: the Bell Beaker culture, which emerged from Spain in England, France, Sicily, West, Central and South Germany as far as Hungary, and the war hammer civilization, which we, with a center in Central Germany, radiating to the West to England, to the North to Southern Sweden, to the East to the coasts of the Black Sea and Troy, to the South to Greece, Northern Italy and Switzerland. As a result, the whole of Europe, including the Baltic region, which was the last to follow this development, has become the home of a wide variety of agricultural groups, each with their own cultural forms.

So much for the facts, as the findings teach us. How should we imagine the historical events that underlie this? What we see happening before our eyes is the transition everywhere in Europe from the cultural stage, in which man lives from what the surrounding nature provides from its abundance, without its products having to undergo any special processing by man, to the stage, in which man, as it were, takes the initiative himself, forces and controls nature, and thus places himself, as it were, in opposition to nature for the first time. This is undoubtedly the most important moment in the history of human development after its origin. The completely different living conditions brought about by being tied to permanent residences also revived handicrafts everywhere and thus created consumer goods with a much greater versatility than had hitherto been possible. The most important asset was the tableware, and people also learned to take better care of their stone tools, including by sharpening them. People also faced new problems when choosing and

51880 building places to live, while much more care could be given to the graves of the dead, now that people no longer left their place of residence. Culture therefore takes on many more forms in which it manifests itself to us, namely in the guises of grave and house, pottery and tools. What we learned in these centuries before 2000 BC see happening, is responding differently to the new way of life, taking into account the natural conditions in the different parts of Europe.

51885 We then saw how man initially chose as his home those areas where his struggle against the surrounding nature was easiest for him. These were the barren loess areas in Central Europe, and the regions along the sea, rivers and streams. This is how the cultures of banded ceramics and later of painted ceramics, the Atlantic culture and the culture of "stilt houses" and mountain fortresses came into being. We have to

51890 assume that this was a process, sometimes starting from a center in all directions, or taking place in one direction, sometimes caused by outside influences. We therefore do not believe that popular movements were the basis for this in these cases. It may be assumed that the country of origin of these cultures lies somewhere in the area of their closest distribution.

51895 Hitherto the antiquary has been inclined to see in every culture the manifestation of one people, following the example of Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931). This was connected with the half-unconscious acceptance as an axiom of the hypothesis that culture can only arise through popular movements that transferred it from one place to another. It is clear that if one regards culture a priori as transmissible, as we did at the

51900 beginning, one must also abandon this axiom. It is therefore difficult to assume that, for example in the case of the band ceramics from Maastricht to, say, Sebastopol, one people would have lived there. Once we have seen these cultures emerge, we can further understand them as spheres of influence, because there is clear mutual contact between the areas covered by them.

51905 And when we observe the further development of these cultural groups, we see remarkable differences in their behavior. The once supreme culture of banded ceramics later left not the slightest traces of its influence in Western and Central Europe. On the other hand, we see the sphere of influence of the North-Western European dolmen culture extending over Central Germany, South and East Germany (in part),

51910 Bohemia, Poland, South Russia, where it partly replaces the culture of band ceramics. The latter only persists in South-Eastern Europe in its form of painted pottery, probably because these areas were closest to the center of this culture. We therefore conclude that certain cultures have no, while others have very great, expansive power. The latter is especially the case with the Central European cup and

51915 battle hammer culture, which also imposes its shape on the inhabitants of those regions where completely different cultures used to prevail, for example in Greece, part of the old area of the colored ceramics. We also find traces of the original Spanish Bell Beaker culture in vast areas of our continent, also above or next to previous cultures of a completely different character. In these cases we see

51920 originally non-native cultures busy bringing other areas under their influence. In the case of the Bell Beaker culture we are dealing with a relatively small number of finds, which are moreover not tied to one grave shape, but on the contrary the dolmens of Brittany and Spain, the burial mounds in our heathlands, and numerous flat graves in Central Europe into use in Germany. Here we are not dealing with a culture

51925 that presents one and the same image wherever it appears. Since this occurrence coincides with the earliest appearance of metal, it is obvious to recognize influences in this type of pottery that arose through trade. One thinks of small groups of "prospectors" looking for metal. It is a different case with Northern culture and that of the war hammers. Here the

51930 influence is neither temporary nor superficial, but instead long-lasting and profound and universal. Where northern culture has once emerged, from now on nothing more than articulated shapes are made, albeit also in numerous variants of the shapes that originally came from Scandinavia. The decoration continues to adapt to these shapes, and a combative character appears in the mostly original peaceful farming cultures.

51935 So there is one choice: either the inhabitants of these regions will gradually develop a northern-tinted culture after they have temporarily undergone the influence of banded ceramics, or there will be an influx of new population flows from Northern, Western and Central Europe to the South and East. place. The first possibility is most likely in the case of the North-Western European culture, the second in the case

51940 of the militant war hammer people. Northern European humanity, after being influenced by band ceramics, is therefore regaining its identity and making Northern forms the prevailing rule everywhere in the area where people live whose sense of form corresponds to that of the Northern European countries. The war hammer culture, on the other hand, conquers fallow as well as already cultivated areas in Northern,

51945 Central and Southern Europe from Central Germany, and everywhere puts its own stamp on the future development of culture in all these newly conquered areas. The other cultures of Europe mentioned remain in possession of their original sphere of influence, except for this one to expand, or their influence is curtailed by these newly emerging influences or conquerors.

51950 The cultures can therefore be compared to living beings, who lead an existence depending on their life force. In addition to cultures that behave very passively, or even perish due to a lack of vitality, we apparently find very active cultural elements in Europe, which expand their area with dynamic force, possibly at the expense of the living space of others.

51955 With the inauguration of the Bronze Age we see an end to the emergence of new civilizations, and rather an era of consolidation dawning, in which the main centers in Europe are the Upper Rhine, Silesia, Bohemia and Saxony (with princely tombs and rich bronze industry) and other centers of bronze industry in Spain and Wales. Eastern Europe then has such a center of industry in Zevenburgen. In Greece, the

51960 Mycenaean civilization, clearly influenced by Central Europe, flourishes on the mainland, alongside the originally Asian Minor culture on Crete. Trade relations develop between Mycenae and Troy on the one hand, and Central Europe on the other, so that we find Baltic amber and Germanic sword shapes in Greece and even in Egypt, and on the other hand other pieces of Eastern Mediterranean model or manufacture in

51965 Bavaria and Silesia. These and other trade relations that are now being established, including between England and Egypt, Hungary and Scandinavia, testify that the upheavals of the Stone Age have now come to a rest. The fronts are clearly formed, cultural provinces are created.

51970 Around 1000 BC, new commotion arose: In Lusatia, Hungary and the Eastern Alps, a new culture with funeral burning and plastically decorated pottery gradually emerged from the original inhabitants with Northern European and band-ceramic culture through mixing with the warhammer people, supported by a very large population. Due to an unknown cause, perhaps due to threats from the East, where Slavs and Cimmerians first lived, and later also Scythians, we suddenly see this culture with cremation and

51975 plastically decorated forms of tableware spreading across the Balkans to Greece and Troy, on the other hand also in the North. It invades Italy, through southern Germany to the West, exert its influence as far as our country [the Netherlands], and also reach into the northern part of Central Europe as far as Mecklenburg. Without any doubt, we are really dealing here with popular movements, conquests from one area, of

51980 which the so-called Dorian migration in Greece is only a part. The Illyrians played the main role in this. Around 400 BC the movements of the Celts began, which also expanded to the East, West and South from their original area on the Upper Rhine into Asia Minor, Spain, England and Italy. From these trips they derive the classical Greek influence, which they then process independently. First pushed back by

51985 Illyrians and Celts, or at least cut off from the southern part of our continent, the Germanic people gradually broke through the ring surrounding them everywhere, first towards the East, after the Illyrians had moved into their southern settlements, then towards the South-West after the Celts had also spread out. The heyday of the Roman empire coincided with this Germanic expansion, and the collision of these two worlds

51990 ultimately ended after centuries of bitter struggle with the time of the Germanic migration, during which almost all of Europe became Germanic: Goths, Walloons, Franks, Angles, Saxons, etc. While Charlemagne once again united the Germans on the mainland under his empire around 800, the Slavs from the East pushed forward, as they did around 500 BC the Scythians had already penetrated as far as Berlin, and now

51995 Hungary is also being flooded by Asian hordes, Huns and Avars, and ultimately the Balkans also become Slavic. At the same time, however, the Normans swarm the European coasts and islands, as founders of Germanic empires on the periphery of our continent, including in Slavic Russia, but Moors and Turks threaten Europe's South and South East from Asia.

52000 In later centuries, the common struggle of Europe was again and again directed against Moors, Mussulmans and Slavs as extra-European enemies, insofar as the emergence of nations and the resulting disunity of our continent still permits a correct insight into the danger that threatens all alike. whether a high and sacred common ideal binds them together. (Final to follow)

52005 1) Th. Haering: Die deutsche und die europäische Philosophie, Stuttgart/Berlin 1943, S. 4.

52010 December 15, 1944 PROF. DR F. C. BURSCH
THE BIRTH OF EUROPE

Thus, from the Bronze Age onwards we see again how the center and the north of our continent formed the areas from which the popular movements emerged that promoted the unity of Europe. Italy and Greece both received around 1000 BC fresh blood and new impulses from this side, which will help determine further development in those countries. Thus it is that classical influences in turn easily penetrate these receptive peoples, because related peoples such as the Celts and later the Germanic people, although these influences were also independently processed into something of their own. The relationship between central Europe and the classical countries therefore gave these influences a greater place in Europe than was ever the case with Greek colonization in Asia Minor and southern Russia, or with the Roman Empire in its Asian and African provinces. used to be. The deployment of power of an Alexander the Great or of the Romans, applied only to Europe instead of directed towards the East and South, would certainly have had much more effect.

Accepting the multitude of European cultures in the Stone Age, and conceiving these cultures as organisms that exert an effect, whether through the emission of indirect influence, through trade or of a spiritual nature, or through direct pressure through force of arms and conquest, we see in antiquity already the same phenomenon as with a state in the modern sense. The latter, through its bare existence, as it were without its will, through political power, biological force and economic wealth, through location, etc., exerts influence that, with a modern term, is called geopolitical according to its nature. Even in antiquity one can speak of the geopolitical influence of a culture, and therefore of geopolitical archaeology. If we examine the above-mentioned development of Europe more closely from this point of view, we see countries and cultures that behave purely receptively in all respects, against other countries and cultures that form a powerful center of forces. Moreover, there are countries that radiate cultural strength, but biologically absorb strength.

Some examples for clarification:

England is essentially a receptive country. Assuming that the Atlantic culture of Portugal and France, via England, at least became the stimulus for building megalithic memorials for Scandinavia, and seeing that in the very earliest Bronze Age, the natural resources of raw materials made England the supplier of bronze to part of Europe was made, and furthermore that in the heyday of Anglo-Saxon art cultural emanation to Europe took place, we further see England in all respects as the power receiving forces from Europe. From Europe it received the Megaliths, the "pile building culture", the battle hammer culture and the bell beaker culture, the culture of the Celts, the Roman rule, the Anglo-Saxon conquest and the Normans. The East is also culturally receptive: Russia and the Baltic countries, which areas rely almost entirely on the influence of Central Europe, and therefore always lag behind the center of our continent in terms of culture. Only the Scythians, Slavs, Avars and Huns assert their biological strength, but then to a strong extent.

In the South of Europe the situation is slightly different: people there are undeniably receptive. If we ignore the very temporary influence that the Bell Beaker culture that emerged from Spain exerts on Western and Central Europe and on Southern Italy, then we only see population movements from North to South in Spain as well as in Italy and Greece: Celts in Spain; "pole building", warhammer culture, Villanovan culture, Celts and Germanic people in Italy; spiral ceramics (with and without painting), battle hammer culture, Lusatian elements in the Doric migration, Celts, Germanic people and Romans in Greece. Undoubtedly, there are cultural radiations back to the North - behind which biological forces in no case hide: export of Trojan and Mycenaean objects from Greece to Eastern and Southern Central Europe (in exchange for bronze and amber), the Greek-Italian influence on the origins of the Celtic la Tène style, influence of Etruria on the origins of the Hallstatt style (± 800-400) among Celts and Illyrians, the strong Mediterranean character of Spain's cultural development through the influence of Crete and Greece. France once again behaves essentially receptive, until the Franks, coming from across the Rhine, extend their power back there.

Differently the Center and North of our continent: After the culture of banded ceramics was the first culture of farmers tied to permanent residences to peacefully penetrate across Europe in the loess area was completed, other cultures of completely different character arose everywhere based on her example. In Eastern Europe, banded ceramics remained partly the dominant culture, but west of it other more militant cultures of a Northern European character arose, which ensured that banded ceramics soon largely disappeared from Europe.

In a surprisingly rich variety of strictly articulated pottery forms, relatives of Northern European culture are mainly manifested, as far as Southern Germany, while the Northern European cultural radiation extends to the East as far as Central and

Southern Russia.

As we have already noted above, we do not regard all these groups as having arisen through conquest from one center, but on the contrary we believe that at this time so important for Europe we are dealing with the manifestation of the original inhabitants who emerged almost simultaneously. The example of the culture of band ceramics, to a way of life of farmers tied to permanent residences, and at the same time, each according to his own taste, making ceramics and cut stone tools at home. One sphere of influence may be somewhat larger than the other, development may proceed somewhat faster here than there, but the surrender of cultural property took place everywhere fairly quickly and without shocks. Taking into account the density of habitation and the nature of the area, it must be concluded that a lot of forest must have been cleared at that time, and that in general the fertile lands were inhabited quite intensively. These northern cultures even extend to Zevenburgen, including the area originally dominated by banded ceramics. The phenomenon of warhammer culture, which certainly did not originate in southern Russia, must, on the contrary, have its origins in Central Europe. The country of origin need not have been narrowly defined, it is very possible that it extended from Jutland to Thuringia. It seems most likely to us that in this short-lived appearance dating late to the Stone Age, on the most barren lands, we see the last remnant of the hunter peoples from the Middle Stone Age, who are now occupied by the expanding agricultural population of Europe, cornered to a certain extent, swarming to East, South and West. We also already talked about this. Illyrians, Celts and Germans later moved in the same directions, and so Europe continually received new impulses from its center. If we look again at the development in the aforementioned areas, located on the periphery of Europe, in this light, we discover that this influx of new elements from Central Europe always stimulates our own development. England's influences on Europe in the early Bronze Age and in the early Middle Ages immediately followed the influx of the warhammer people and the Anglo-Saxons. Rome's position of power follows the influx of Central European elements (Illyrians) around 1000 BC, the Mycenaean as well as the later Greek cultural development originated with the participation of warhammer people and "Dorians". The center and north of Europe is indeed apparently the heart that regulates the circulation of blood in Europe, that out of great abundance supplies forces to the rest of the world, in order to defend biological and cultural Europe on the edges of our continent. There are even times when these forces break through the boundaries of our continent: in Luristan in Persia we discover some Central European utensils from the Bronze Age, and we know that Indogermans took power there and in the East Indies. There is currently a tendency, in my opinion on good grounds, to place this Indogermanization chronologically in the Middle Stone Age to the East took place and not the other way around. We now return to our starting point: the unity in diversity in European culture. We saw the diversity of our culture already rooted in the Stone Age, when we spontaneously responded to a new phase in cultural development in the different regions of our continent, different forms of culture emerged. The unity in culture is explained by the fact that new juices continually flow from Europe's heart to all sides, which then return to this same heart as new cultural sources of power and help raise Europe's cultural level. And yet we have not yet explored and explained everything. Because now the question arises for us, why this heart is so activating, why precisely in Europe itself these forces are active that push our continent forward? Neither unity nor diversity. These can be explained by the natural condition of Europe, for why did America lag behind Europe for so long, where we find largely the same climate, the same alternation of plains and mountains? Europe is not one contiguous landscape that promotes unity, nor have most natural boundaries proven to be such that they could permanently separate cultural provinces. Far be it from us to underestimate the influences of location, climate and natural boundaries (the receptive character of England and the three Southern Peninsulas towards Europe can undoubtedly be partly explained by this), but ultimately man is decisive in this regard. For it appeared from our consideration of the unequivocal archaeological evidence that the unity of Europe was brought about by the repeated migration of the population of its North and Center. The heart of Europe bears this name not only because it is truly the center, but also because it was from there that Europe received its lifeblood, and because without this heart as a guiding organ, it could not have lived, at least not as it has lived until today: in unity through diversity. And so we finally came to the people of this North and Center as a determining factor in the history of our continent compared to the rest of the world, albeit through different paths than is usually the case. The man of Northern and Central Europe is the man who "always strives for himself", the man of the race that still today

- constitutes the predominant majority of the population in Northern and Central Europe, the race to which in ancient times the bearers of the megalithic culture, the Central German mixed cultures and the warhammer culture belonged to the race that included Illyrians, Celts and Germanic people in whole or in part: the Northern Race. And now we also understand the unity in folk culture: fairy tale, folk custom and tradition (think of the great Pan, for example x)) in Europe, and the receptivity for everything good and beautiful that our relatives in Greece, where their gods showed that they had a strong kinship with the Germanic son, both in the trembling that was placed in the hearts of men by Zeus and Wodan, as well as in the intimate familiarity between the other gods and men. The urge for the distance later drove this man through the entire world, everywhere propagating the values inherent in his being, and partly turning away from the heart of his existence. Now the time has come when the population of Europe as a whole must once again reflect on its own values and return to the source of its existence. To this end it is not necessary to neglect or forget the achievements of the European man in the world outside our continent, because they are also achievements that have naturally emerged from that same Northern race man with his longing for the distance. But one should never forget that the heart of Europe is more than just a random neighbor, but the origin of our entire existence. Long before archeology discovered the origins of our common culture in its unity and diversity, the great poet from the heart of Europe had already noticed these relationships. Because Mephisto's words from the classic Walpurgisnacht in the second part of Faust do not only apply to things from the devil's domain, but include everything that is peculiar to us European people:
- Hier dacht'ich lauter Unbekannte
Und finde leider Wahlverwandte;
Es ist ein altes Buch zu blattern
Vom Harz bis Hellas immer Vettern!
- This Europe, which emerged in conflict and with much suffering, and which is now once again assigned suffering and struggle by powers outside it, may hereafter rise again, purified and strengthened, to fulfil its mission in the world, living on the inexhaustible powers of its nourishing heart!
- *) F. Muller, The Death of the Great Pan, View. 1942, 162-169 and 226-238.
1) O. Paret, Die Bandkeramiker und die Indogermanenfrage die Welt als Geschichte 1942 Heft 42 S. 53 ff.
- August 14, 1945 Amsterdam professors suspended
- At the municipal university in Amsterdam, the following have been suspended by the military authorities: Prof. Dr. G. A. S. Snijder, Prof. Dr. L. J. van Apeldoorn, Prof. Dr. F. C. Bursch, Prof. Dr. A. F. H. Gerth, Prof. Dr. R. W. Weitzenbock, Prof. W. L. L. Carol, Prof. P. Stenimga Hzn., Dr. T. L. de Bruin, lecturer, Dr. K. Mueller lecturer, Dr. F. H. ter Poorten, curator, Dr. J. de Wit, private lecturer, while Prof. W. A. P. Schueffner, former professor, has been denied access to Senate meetings.
- Furthermore, the military authority has issued an order to cease their duties to: Prof. Dr. H. A. Brouwer, Prof. Dr. L. E. J. Brouwer, Prof. Dr. C. F. A. van Dam, Prof. Dr. H. T. Deelman, Prof. Dr. G. Revesz, Prof. Dr. Th. J. Stomps, Dr. Th. E. de Jonge Cohen, private lecturer, P. Otten, secretary of curators, because the investigation into their conduct during the occupation has not yet ended and to: Prof. Dr. B. Brouwer, Prof. Dr. J. de Decker, Prof. Dr. A. W. de Groot, Prof. Dr. J. A. A. Ketelaar, Prof. Dr. A. de Klein, Prof. Dr. N. H. Swellengrebel, Prof. Dr. H. ter Veen, Prof. Dr. J. P. Wibaut, Dr. E. M. Bruins, lecturer, Dr. A. Heyting, lecturer, because the investigation into their conduct during the occupation led to disciplinary measures being taken against them .
- January 29, 1946 APPOINTMENTS, DISMISSALS, ETC.
[...] 1945, to resign from his position to L. J. van Apeldoorn, professor at the municipal university in Amsterdam; effective September 25, 1945, to resign from his positions to F. C. Bursch, professor at the Municipal University of Amsterdam and curator at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden; [...]
- August 23, 1946 [...] Partly thanks to the articles of the tireless investigator Van der Berg has appointed the currently suspended curator Dr. F. C. Bursch conducted an investigation on site in 1942. The archaeologist thought he could conclude from the excavations that there was an old cemetery, possibly with a chapel, from the 10th century. So one of the oldest churches in Friesland had probably been uncovered. Mr Van der Berg was grateful, but not satisfied, he wanted the cemetery to

52210 be older, even much older (6)
 Furthermore, on the basis of similarity between the current cemetery of the village (which almost certainly already existed in 1661) and the present cemetery, he believed that we were dealing here with the old cemetery of the village of Oudehorne, which he considered a center of ancient culture - for the surrounding area - and
 52215 which would later have been moved to the North. It may be, although the evidence is not conclusive. The gentleman mentioned is definitely on the wrong track if he even suggests the possibility of having something to do with a branch of the Gravinneweg (that jack of all trades).
 Since in 1623 there is mention of "het olde kerckhoff" (7) and the peat works in
 52220 Oudehorne, with the exception of a few smaller pieces from the private property of P. van Dekama, date from around 1650, this cemetery can bear its name - now we assume, that the flag covers the load - only obtained because Jews were buried in this old, possibly disused cemetery during the time of the settlements. However, the fact that the archaeologist dates the chapel to the tenth century gives us the courage to
 52225 venture on thin ice. In addition to the Thabor monastery near Tirns, the monks of "Avert" owned land near the cemetery, and perhaps the Kikenberg itself, as shown above. Since the well-known Cistercian monastery Aduard was founded around 1200, it could be that its monks had a courtyard, possibly with a chapel, of which the abbot mentioned the priest, under Oudehorne have been mistaken for a few centuries,
 52230 something that is far from impossible considering the disturbed condition of the ground in which it was located.

July 14, 1952 PRAEHISTORY

52235 Dr F. C. Bursch has presented very interesting ideas about the oldest history of Western European man and his civilization in his book The Western Man Discovers His World (Sijthoff, Leiden). The writer approaches the mental state of primitive man with the help of the insights of modern psychology, and thus arrives at surprising conclusions, each of which is worth long-term consideration. The reproach that the author addresses to many prehistorians in his introduction - namely, that an image of
 52240 primitive man has never appeared behind their description of graves, utensils, drawings, etc. - does not affect him in any way. Despite the fact that the usual data of a factual nature can be found in large numbers in this book, Dr Bursch remains primarily concerned with the spirit and religion of the oldest bearers and founders of our civilization. The writer presents interesting thoughts, especially with regard
 52245 to the artistic work of primitive Europeans, based on an astute interpretation of long-known facts. This excellent work gains even more value due to the fascinating style in which it is written, and is therefore also very important for the layman.

September 27, 2003 Engagement with one's own

52250 Why wouldn't Dutch archaeologists cooperate with the Germans after 1933? Both groups were aware of the ethnic significance of their profession and there was hardly any difference of opinion regarding professional content.

Theo Toe Bosch

September 27, 2003

52255 'Just get some air,' said historian Martijn Eickhoff to himself. It was 1996 and he was in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin going through a file for his dissertation on Dutch archeology during the occupation, when for him every historian's dream came true. He suddenly had tangible evidence in his hands for something that he would otherwise have had to make plausible through argumentation. In front of him, in a former SS
 52260 barracks, lay a diagram that a German archaeologist had made in June 1940, showing the strategy to be followed to Nazisify Dutch archaeology. A refreshing rain shower was falling outside.

Seven years later, next Tuesday, Eickhoff (1967) will receive his PhD at the University of Amsterdam on The origin of the 'own', The Netherlands' earliest past,
 52265 archeology and National Socialism. The dissertation is the result of nine years of research, over four hundred pages long. The origins of this lie in his student days, when he attended some archeology lectures and experienced an excursion to Valkenburg in South Holland. To his surprise, he learned that Dutch archaeologists had excavated several Roman forts in the village between 1941 and 1943. 'Gosh', he thought, 'I
 52270 didn't know that excavations were also carried out during the war. Interesting. Because what role did the Germans play in this?'

The Dutch archaeologists were initially hesitant that his research would lead to the conclusion that Dutch archeology had been wrong during the war. But as befits a modern historian, he was not concerned with right or wrong. He wanted to know how
 52275 Dutch archaeologists had responded to the Nazis' interest in their work and to

investigate the professional differences and similarities between Nazi archeology and 'normal' archaeology. After the archaeologists' initial fears were allayed, he never felt like an outsider among them. The funding for his research even came from the NWO [Nederlands Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek] archeology fund.

three portraits

Eickhoff begins his dissertation with an extensive sketch of Dutch archeology in the first half of the twentieth century. He does this on the basis of the portraits of three archaeologists, J.H. Holwerda, A.E. van Giffen and A.W. Byvanck. Holwerda, classicist and director of the National Museum of Antiquities (RMO) in Leiden, was a scholar in the classical-humanistic knowledge tradition. For him, everything still began and ended with Classical Antiquity. He therefore studied indigenous Dutch archaeological phenomena in connection with what the ancient Greeks and Romans had produced. By writing popular science books and newspaper articles about his excavations, he was the best-known Dutch archaeologist around the 1920s.

Unlike Holwerda himself, Byvanck, professor of Archeology and Ancient History at Leiden University, did not excavate. He focused entirely on classical art expressions, which he considered the most important source for gaining knowledge about the 'spirit' of a period or culture. When he later became interested in Dutch pre- and protohistory, the 'folk spirit' in archaeological finds became his most important object of study.

Van Giffen was director of the Biological Archaeological Institute (BAI) of the University of Groningen. Originally a biologist, he was empirically oriented. He was concerned with the systematic classification of directly observable archaeological phenomena. *Die Tatsachen bleiben, die Interpretation schwankt* was his favorite motto. His research area was mainly in the three northern provinces. Due to commercial excavations of mounds, the historic cultural landscape was in danger of disappearing at a rapid pace. The provincial notables encouraged Van Giffen to study cultural and natural history before it was too late. Van Giffen established his international fame with the excavation of the Ezinge mound.

According to Eickhoff, there were three different research traditions in Dutch archeology at that time: the classical-humanistic of Holwerda, the romantic-idealistic of Byvanck and the empirical-natural scientific of Van Giffen. But despite the differences, there was an important similarity between Holwerda, Byvanck and Van Giffen, says Eickhoff. All three were looking for insight into the ethnic and racial composition of the Dutch people. Hence their special attention to the prehistoric dolmen builders and the Beaker peoples, the first inhabitants of the Netherlands, and the Germanic tribes who were considered their direct ancestors: the Franks, Frisians and Saxons.

The archaeological research into the ancestors influenced the way in which national history was described. Until around 1920, the starting point was usually with the Romans and the time of the Migrations, later history started with references to the Late Stone Age. The archaeological research results also ended up in folklore, physical anthropology, logical and sociological studies about the Dutch people. The concept of 'Dutch people' gradually acquired an ethnic meaning in addition to a political, social and cultural-historical meaning. People became convinced that shared descent was reflected in the character and appearance of the current population. In this way, cultural differences within the Netherlands could be explained ethnically. At the same time, the interest in 'their own' led some to commitment to their own region, others had visions of a Greater Netherlands and in the late 1930s there were also Dutch people who believed that the homeland should be absorbed into a Greater Germanic unity.

Eickhoff wants to say that ethnic awareness occurred in many sections of Dutch society. But it is mainly the German archeology of that time that is associated with it, he continues. The National Socialists stimulated the profession in the Third Reich by increasing the number of chairs in pre- and protohistoric archeology at universities. Not without reason, because they considered archeology the most national of all sciences. Cultures and peoples were one for them. Based on the origin of the oldest finds, they could say which people came from where. All attention was paid to the ancient Germanic people. In the eyes of the Nazis, these were, after all, the blond, blue-eyed Aryans, the firstborn of the Indo-Europeans, groups of whom had moved south and east from their cradle of Schleswig Holstein to bring culture and civilization there. According to the National Socialist archaeologists, scientists who believed that civilization had come from the east and south showed a shameful lack of patriotism. The true German archaeologist should look for Germanic roots

everywhere in Europe and should find it quite normal for Germany to assert historical rights in those places.

No one in the Netherlands made a fuss when Van Giffen attended conferences in Germany in the 1930s that were organized by scientists who had joined the SS or the NSDAP. Dutch archaeologists traditionally had good contacts with their German colleagues. These good contacts remained, even after 1933. In terms of professional content, is one of Eickhoff's most important conclusions, there was little difference of opinion. Although Van Giffen believed that Frisians and Saxons were too culturally related to divide them on the basis of their pottery, he also supported the general idea that cultural expressions said something about ethnicity and migration flows in the past.

dolmens

The Germans therefore had good hopes of Nazisifying Dutch archaeology. Better said, the Germans believed in the self-Nazification of Dutch archaeology. This had to be done, as emerged from the diagram that Eickhoff found in the Federal Archives, by encouraging cross-border inventories, for example by mapping the dolmens in the Netherlands and Lower Saxony. Furthermore, it was necessary to allow research in military areas. But above all, good scientific contacts had to be maintained. And so from 1940 onwards, Dutch archaeologists received invitations for a trip to German archaeological museums along the Rhine or their German colleagues visited them for tea, sometimes even in uniform.

Then came the great dilemma for the Dutch prehistorians, as can be seen from Eickhoff's reconstruction of the war past of the Dutch archaeologists. Should they or should they not cooperate with the Germans, while there were few professional reasons not to do so? As a classical archaeologist, Bijvanck was able to remain in the shadows. He wrote a retrospective work, *The Prehistory of the Netherlands*, in which he placed the origins of the Dutch national character for the Frisians, Franks and Saxons in the Neolithic. The book, which had its third edition in 1944, earned him both praise and criticism from National Socialists.

Holwerda had already given up his directorship of the RMO before the occupation, it was his student, the Leiden prehistorian F.C. Bursch, who decided to collaborate with the Germans. The Netherlands and Germany belonged together, he was convinced. That's how it had been in prehistory, and that's how it would be again in the future according to a kind of natural law. Eickhoff: "Based on his knowledge of the past, Bursch drew consequences for the present and committed himself to propaganda for National Socialist ideas. He also conducted an excavation in Ukraine for the SS." Van Giffen decided differently. According to him, science should be free of politics. He kept the Germans, including colleagues and old friends, at a distance, but without this being at the expense of his work. For the Germans, there was a good relationship with the Dutch archaeologists, especially with Van Giffen, who was considered as the best excavator in Europe, so important that they let him do his thing. Van Giffen gratefully took advantage of this. After the bombing of Valkenburg airport in May 1940, the neighboring village was in havoc. A great opportunity for Van Giffen to finally investigate the elevation in the landscape that he had already discovered in 1914 - the excavation that gave Eickhoff the idea to study Dutch archeology during the occupation.

When it suited him, Van Giffen also collaborated with the Germans or their sympathizers. For example, in early 1943 he carried out an emergency excavation with the Nazi Dutch Labor Service in the Havelter Berg nature reserve, where the Germans were going to build a military airfield.

After the war, Bursch was convicted. Van Giffen became the head of the National Office for Archaeological Soil Research, founded in 1947, and the most important and powerful man in Dutch archaeology. Among some archaeologists he was also given the name of a collaborator who had escaped the dance. Not right, says Eickhoff. "He did try to take advantage of the German interest in his profession. And after the war he quickly restored contacts with his German colleagues. At that time, he attached even more importance to scientific accuracy and objectivity than before, which meant that his research focused less and less on race and ethnicity."

The Dutch archaeologists are ultimately happy that Eickhoff, as a historian, did the research. He had a blank attitude towards people and institutions and the current structures and frameworks regarding the earliest history of the Netherlands were not in his head. As a result, he did not fall into the trap of using current knowledge as a frame of reference.

Eickhoff hopes that historians will also learn from his research. Nowadays they often see archeology as nothing but dusty pots and pans. But: "Archaeology is not only a science, but also a specific form of historical awareness. If you study

- archaeologists and their work, you learn a lot about how society thinks about issues such as who are we and where do we come from. So you get to know the ideas about the origins of your own."
- 52410 M. Eickhoff: The origin of 'own'. The Netherlands' earliest past, archeology and National Socialism. Edition Tree. ISBN 90 5352 935 7. Price €25.-
- 52415 March 11, 2006 'The Pompeii of the North'
'I don't know that leather travel bag with metal fittings, where the name Van Giffen is engraved. He didn't have that with him in my time.'
Theo Toebosch
March 11, 2006
- 52420 You will hear such details when you tour the exhibition Professor van Giffen and the secret of the mounds in the Groninger Museum with Tjalling Waterbolk. The now eighty-year-old emeritus professor of archeology at the University of Groningen was a student and student assistant and later the successor of A.E. van Giffen (1884-1973).
- 52425 Albert Egges van Giffen was one of the most important Dutch archaeologists, if not the most important. He developed an excavation method that is still used today and has examined and excavated numerous dolmens, prehistoric burial fields and mounds, mounds and mounds, Roman settlements and medieval churches. He was also curator of the museums of Groningen and Assen, professor in Groningen and Amsterdam and the first director of the National Office for Archaeological Soil Research.
- 52430 Originally a biologist, Van Giffen studied not only the material culture of people but also their natural living conditions, Waterbolk writes in the introduction to the book that accompanies the exhibition (and bears the same title). Van Giffen has introduced many things that are now self-evident. For example, he ensured the merger of archeology and natural scientific research such as paleobotany and zoology and he
- 52435 had landscape reconstructions drawn, complete with swirling smoke from houses and a man with an ox cart.
Waterbolk is visiting the exhibition for the second time. During the opening, where State Secretary Van der Laan unpleasantly surprised the archaeologists present by talking about the 'eighteenth-century professor Van Griffen' who dug up items 'from the Ice Age', it was so busy that he could not get a good impression. 'A beautiful, interesting exhibition,' he says now. The accompanying book is also beautiful and interesting, with beautiful full-page historical photos of the excavations of the mounds. Also beautiful are Hans Sas's photos of the current mound landscape north of Groningen.
- 52440 The book and exhibition focus on research into the mounds, but attention is also paid to Van Giffen himself and his (scientific) world. As a student in Groningen, the pastor's son Van Giffen attended lectures with the geologist Van Calcar. In 1908, he asked Van Giffen 'on behalf of science' to supervise the commercial excavation of the Dorkwerd mound. The land was sold as fertilizer to farmers on poorer sand and peat soils. People like Van Calcar, who were involved in archeology in their spare time, were afraid that the excavations would result in the loss of much information about residential mounds that had once been raised by human hands against the rising sea water in a dynamic landscape without dikes.
- 52445 Van Giffen started collecting the biological remains in Dorkwerd. He made an agreement with the excavators of seventy other mounds that they would report archaeological finds to him. He called for structured research to finally discover the history of the formation of the mounds and mounds.
A great task for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (RMO), at the time the only archaeological institute in the country. The Groningen potato manufacturer J.E. Scholten declared himself willing to finance an excavation, but father and son
- 52460 Holwerda, who led the RMO, declined the offer. Too few staff, was the argument. Holwerda Jr. was nevertheless impressed by the enthusiasm of Van Giffen, ten years his junior, and asked him to become an assistant in Leiden.
It became the seed for more than thirty years of discord in Dutch archaeology.
- 52465 Stubborn as he was, as is evident from Leo Verhart's contribution in the book, Van Giffen - who thought Holwerda Jr. was a bad excavator - tried to bend things to his will in Leiden. This did not go down well in the formal RMO and after many arguments Van Giffen left for Groningen again. From his Biological-Archaeological Institute, Van Giffen led his years of prestige battle against Holwerda.
- 52470 The exhibition makers have beautifully depicted that struggle. In one room, plaster copies of classical Greek statues show the thinking of Holwerda Jr. As a classicist, he was convinced that the origins of the Dutch population had to be sought in Southeastern Europe. The 'proof': remains of 'dome graves' that he had excavated on the 't Loo estate - with the original form of the stone dome grave as it was known

- 52475 from Greek Mycenae. Van Giffen would later show that they were simply burial mounds. In the adjacent room, a microscope by Carl Zeiss and a 'mound' of animal skulls refer to Van Giffen's belief that the combination of natural science and archeology is necessary for prehistoric research.
- 52480 One wall is full of painted portraits of men who were important to Van Giffen's career. Among them, potato manufacturer J.E. Scholten, who has funded many studies. Van Giffen had the gift of winning over high-ranking people and getting everything done from them. He was strict towards his assistants. They had to be there for him day and night, Waterbolk knows from personal experience.
- 52485 In the early 1930s, Van Giffen finally had the opportunity to systematically excavate a mound in Ezinge. For the first time, an archaeologist uncovered the habitation history of a place outside the classical world. Ezinge became the 'Pompeii of the North', with, as Van Giffen established, the earliest habitation phase dating from the fifth century BC. The inhabitants of the far North were not, as the Roman writer Pliny wrote, poor fishermen in stilt houses, but farmers who kept cattle and grew crops on the artificial hill. And Roman pottery from Tunisia pointed to contacts with the outside world.
- 52490 The research into the mounds also provided the answer to the question of whether there was rapid sea level rise. Van Giffen came up with 10 centimeters per century, not bad.
- 52495 Standing in front of the portrait of geologist Van Calcar, Waterbolk notes that geology has played an important role in the history of Dutch archaeology. Van Giffen's mound research would never have received so much support if the geological issue of land subsidence and sea level rise had not also played a role.
- 52500 The still highly regarded Groningen C14 laboratory (for dating), which Van Giffen initiated in the 1950s, would also not have come about without geology. Geological research also stood at the beginning of Dutch ship archaeology. During the reclamation of the Noordoostpolder in the 1940s, Van Giffen managed to get an assistant to excavate shipwrecks. The responsible authorities had given their approval because geologists could date sedimentary layers on the basis of objects in the ships.
- 52505 The book and exhibition do not explicitly state this. That is the advantage of visiting an exhibition in the company of an old initiated scholar. Then you hear just a little more.
- 52510 exhibition: 'professor van Giffen and the secret of the mounds'. Groningen Museum, until April 9. catalogue: €34.95. ISBN 90 78214 01 5.
- December 8, 2007 Silent conspiracy
The Nazis used archeology to justify their expansion policy.
- 52515 It offered archaeologists unprecedented career opportunities. Only now are the details coming out. Theo Toebosch
December 8, 2007
- 52520 Jankuhn, Kersten, Kimmig, Dehn, Werner, Tackenberg. The archaeologist Waterbolk knew them all. "But I'm only now finding out what they did in World War II." Tjalling Waterbolk, the 83-year-old emeritus professor of archeology at the University of Groningen, rightly calls the contents of the recently published conference volume L'archéologie nazie en Europe de l'Ouest "revealing".
- 52525 Herbert Jankuhn, the colleague from Göttingen, knew Waterbolk after the war as "a real leader, a very smart man and not an unpleasant figure". But before that, Jankuhn, as Sturmbannführer, belonged to the personal staff of SS leader Heinrich Himmler and he led the Sonderkommando Jankuhn, which was involved in art theft in the Soviet Union. Karl Kersten was the man "with whom I could comfortably speak Danish": also a member of Jankuhn's Sonderkommando. And Wolfgang Kimmig, "the colleague from Tübingen" was involved in the inventory of French archaeological collections in order to - euphemistically put it - 'safeguard' them. Wolfgang Dehn, "the sympathetic colleague from Marburg", was a member of the SA in 1933 and in 1935 as an SS member Ehreramtlicher Arbeiter in Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS, received a high Nazi decoration in 1939 and was involved in excavations from 1940 in occupied Luxembourg.
- 52530 Joachim Werner, "an amicable man who did not want to know anything about C14 dating", was an employee of the Kunstschutz of the German army and was mainly concerned with the study of so-called Germanic graves in Belgium. Kurt Tackenberg, "a somewhat steep man, who sent his students to our excavations in Wijster", was a member of the Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur and the NSDAP and, on behalf of the SS Ahnenerbe, leader of the German Institute in Brussels.
- 52535 Waterbolk: "I have never heard anything about this past, not even from their students who succeeded them. It has been, as its compilers say, a conspiracy of silence." Not

everyone was completely ignorant. It is said of the archaeologist Jankuhn that in his old age, and already a bit forgetful, he sometimes gave the Hitler salute at meetings, to the consternation of his colleagues.

The collection not only outlines what German archaeologists and some foreign collaborationist colleagues did between 1933 and 1945, but also the developments before and after that time.

Nazi archeology looked everywhere for anything that could indicate an earlier Germanic presence. And that tendency did not just appear out of the blue, says historian Martijn Eickhoff, who obtained his PhD in Dutch archeology in the Second World War and is the author of a contribution to the collection. "The idea that something like a people or ethnicity could be deduced from an excavated earthenware pot was widely accepted in the 1920s."

youth associations

However, German archaeologists drew the utmost consequences from this scientific approach. Philologist Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1932) called archeology the most national of all sciences. German archaeologists, especially prehistorians, felt the same way after the loss of German territory after the Treaty of Versailles. Many of them had become members at a young age of Nazi youth associations that saw and glorified Germanic roots everywhere. When the Nazis, who were able to use archeology to justify their expansionist policies, seized power in 1933, they offered archaeologists unprecedented career opportunities. In 1933 there were only seven chairs in prehistory, but three years later there were already fifteen. At its peak in 1942, there were twenty-five chairs. More than eighty percent of the approximately six hundred archaeologists in Germany were members of the NSDAP, a percentage comparable to that of SD officers.

During the war years, archaeologists were sent to the occupied and annexed areas to excavate and protect Germanic heritage.

Ultimately, not much came of the archaeological programs drawn up. In the Netherlands, for example, a law passed shortly after May Day made it impossible for German archaeologists to excavate themselves. They then approached Waterbolk's teacher Albert Egges van Giffen, then the best excavator in Europe, but he held off. Only when it suited him did he seek help from the Germans for excavations. Eickhoff: "Van Giffen was a master at confusing the occupying authorities and playing them off against each other." Frans Christian Bursch of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden allowed himself to be won over by the Nazis. But frustrated by Van Giffen in the Netherlands, he eventually turned his interest abroad. For example, in 1943 he carried out an excavation in the Ukraine - using duress.

In France and Belgium, where the Germans were able to conduct archaeological research themselves, excavations came to a minimum after the German defeat at Stalingrad in 1942. Many archaeologists were then called up for active duty.

Atlantis

As in other sections of the Nazis, there was also a struggle for power in archeology. That battle was mainly between Alfred Rosenberg's Amt Rosenberg, who wanted to use archeology to demonstrate the superiority of the Aryan Germanic people and the existence of the mythical Atlantis, and Heinrich Himmler's Ahnenerbe, the SS organization for the study of prehistory. The Ahnenerbe won that battle by sidelining Hans Reinerth, the most important archaeologist at Amt Rosenberg, through a smear campaign. In addition to being a convinced National Socialist, Reinerth was also a great supporter of interdisciplinary research, experimental archeology and popularization of archaeology. These interests came together in Unteruhldingen, where in 1922 he had prehistoric stilt houses built in an open-air museum on the shores of Lake Constance. Waterbolk also knows him as a pioneer in the introduction of pollen analysis. "He was decisive." From 1942 onwards the SS started to ridicule him. They sent out countless newspaper reports questioning the former existence of stilt houses. Reinerth himself was called a fantasist. At the beginning of 1945, the victory of the Ahnenerbe was final when Reinerth was expelled from the NSDAP after an internal investigation due to friendship with Jews.

After the war, Reinerth also became the scapegoat with which his fellow archaeologists could launder their own past. At a meeting of prehistorians in Regensburg in 1949, they distanced themselves in a resolution from the 'unbusinesslike and tendentious science of prehistory' as it had been propagated by Reinerth. People like Jankuhn simply kept their positions at the universities and quickly re-established contacts with their foreign colleagues. They even published the excavations they carried out in occupied territory, but without mentioning the

circumstances under which the excavations were carried out.

52610 "There was a perception that most German prehistorians had in fact resisted by adhering to 'pure, objective' science," Waterbolk recalls. "That image was reinforced in the 1970s by Manfred Kater's book about the Ahnenerbe, in which the archaeologists were exonerated, with one exception."

52615 Only after the fall of the Wall did new sources become available and the silence was broken. Achim Leube (1936), originally East German and professor at Humboldt University in Berlin, organized an international conference on Nazi archeology in Berlin in 1998. Partly for this reason, say the compilers of the collection, it can no longer be said that everything was not too bad, because it would only have involved a few people and archaeologists did not kill anyone and only fulfilled their 'task'.

52620 complicit

The majority of German archaeologists chose to join the NSDAP knowingly and without any external pressure. German prehistorians also gratefully benefited from the policies of the Third Reich. But the most important conclusion is that the German prehistorians are complicit because they helped to legitimize the imperialist cultural policy of the Nazis.

52625 That conclusion is still not easy in Germany. An exhibition on Nazi archeology in Trier in 2002 sparked protests before its opening.

52630 On the other hand, publications on archeology during the Vichy regime are still the subject of debate in France, and in Belgium and Austria research into archeology during the Second World War has still been minimal.

Strikingly enough, says Martijn Eickhoff, Leube believes that the publications in recent years on Nazi archeology are damaging current archeology in Germany. "Many chairs are disappearing due to budget cuts. Leube fears that the Nazi past is being used to eliminate chairs."

52635 Jean-Pierre Legendre, Laurent Olivier, Bernadette Schnitzler (ed.), L'archéologie nazie en L'Europe de l'Ouest, 2007, isbn 978-2-88474-804-9

52640 **Translation of articles with respect to archaeological finds in the Rhine-Maas-Moselle area**

52645 April 9, 1640 HORN-HEEL. In a manuscript from the library of the University of Liège, bearing the number 188 and written around the middle of the 17th century by Canon Henri van den Berch, King of Arms of the Liège region, there is a curious note on antiquities that existed in Horn and Heel, and which today are mostly in the collection of Mr. Guillon. [...]

52650 1 January 1698 Thesavrvs antiqvitatvm Romanarvm, in quo continentur, lectissimi quique scriptores, qui superiori aut nostro seculo Romanae reipublicae rationem, Zie <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=stablesianorum&coll=boeken1&identificer=g0NkAAAAcAAJ>

52655 1 Januari 1715 The treasures of Roman coins
633. At Velp, near Arenscheim, not far from Arnhem (Gelderland), around 1715, treasure composed of a gold chain and bracelets, gold medallions, decorated with circles, and coins, also in gold, struck under the sons of Constantine, under Honorius, Galla Placidia, Gratian, Valentinian, Valens, Arcadius, John and others
52660 emperors and empresses of that time.
(Revue num. 1883, p. 81 et seq.).

52665 January 9, 1753 By Douay these days about 4000 pieces of old Copper Coins, including several from Aur. Valerianus, Gallius Claudius Gothicus, C. Aur. Diocletian and Maximilian, also some of Constantine the Great, found under the Earth.

52670 August 3, 1775. Severe thunderstorms have been reported from several locations recently, including Schyndel in the Meyery van 's-Hertogenbosch, in the Peelland district, on July 30. Yesterday afternoon, around 4 p.m., we experienced a most terrible thunderstorm of thunder and lightning, accompanied by heavy wind and hail. The hail was so considerable that in several places it was 3 feet high. Underneath, stones were found the size of chicken and pigeon eggs, and hail is still being found in several places this afternoon. It caused considerable damage to standing rye, oats, buckwheat, barley, and hops, as well as to young trees and plants, which were

- 52675 largely destroyed and crushed. The glass and several houses, which faced the windward side, were also completely shattered. It was found that as soon as the hailstorm had ended, a vapor arose from the ground, giving off a sulfurous odor. This sad event caused general despondency among the inhabitants, as many lost their entire harvest and were deprived of garden produce.
- 52680 1 January 1787 C. IANVARIUS] The name C. IANVARIUS can be found in Rome on an old monument in the Vinea Peretti. In Muratorius, p. MCCLXXVIII. 9. C. N. IANVARIUS: On a stone, excavated in the village of Rummel in the Meijerije of 's-Hertogenbosch, C. IANVARIUS. See Gisb. Cuperus in Confecr. Homer, p. 271, in Monument. Antiq., p. 218.
- 52685 [Translation and brief explanation ... p. 69]
- 1 January 1789 The Lives of Illustrious Greeks and Romans, Compared by PLUTARCH THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER [in Caesar]
<https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken/view?identificator=dpo%3A9388%3Ampg21%3A0011&query=plutarchus+theophilus+alexander&coll=boeken>
- 52690 p. 83 of 135 ff. Having the last time to convey this to PARMENIO, he placed the helmet on his head; as if he had already donned his other weapons in the Tent, consisting (1/+) of a Sicilian-made tunic surrounded by a girdle, and over this a doubled linen armorial, from the spoils taken at the Battle of Issus. His helmet was
- 52695 of iron, made by THEOPHILUS (m/\$), who had wrought it so beautifully that it glittered as if it were pure silver. To this helmet was attached a gorget, also of iron, but set here and there with gems. His sword was of unparalleled temper and exceptionally light. It had been given to him by the King of the Cities (n/**). He wore this because he was accustomed to using a sword in battle. The sling from which
- 52700 this sword hung was more magnificently crafted than his other armor, being the work of Helicon the Elder and a tribute to the Rhodian Citizenship, which Alexander had received as a gift. Yesterday, too, he was accustomed to using it in battles.
- 52705 You have written your words, you have never heard of them, but they have not heard anything about Phalanx, and you have heard them, you have heard them, you have heard them, you have heard them, and you know them. Dan zo dra was men niet gered om aan het werk te gaan, of dit Paard wierd gehaald; het welk zo ras niet door hem was beklommen, of hy gaf het teken tot den aanval.
- 52710 (+) But it's yesterday that we're here to take care of it, but we don't know what to do with it, we'll see ALEXANDER at the end of the day, we'll do it again and describe, but also carefully record its authors. This remarkable battle, in fact, brought about the downfall of the Persian monarchy. Furthermore, DACIER has very well observed: >> that PLUTARCH also followed the example of HOMER here.
- 52715 (\$) We have heard no mention of this artist elsewhere, nor of HELICON, who is mentioned next.
 (**) Inhabitants of Citium, a city on the island of Cyprus.
- 52720 [p. 163 ff.] How, he said, would anyone personally take the trouble to prepare his horse, or to polish his lance, or helmet, if he is loath to lay hands on his own beloved body? - "Don't you know," he said, "that the main thing for victory is for you not to do the same as those who are conquered by you?" Furthermore, for this reason, he was even more enthused in all sorts of activities, from warfare to
- 52725 hunting, in which he feared no fatigue or danger. It was from this source that a certain Spartan envoy, who was present when he slew a great lion, exclaimed to him: "Truly, Alexander, you fought very bravely with that lion for the kingdom!" Of this hunting, Craterus has a dedication made in the Temple at Delphi, consisting of copper images of the Lion, the Dogs, the King fighting the Lion, and himself rushing to the rescue.
- 52730 Part of it was made by Lysippus (k), another part by Leochares.
- (k) This Gift of Craterus, dedicated in the Temple at Delphi, is mentioned among the works of Lysippus by Pliny, H.N. XXXIV, 7. Pliny himself speaks of Leochares, L. XXXIV, 8 and XXXVI, 5.
- 52735 See <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken/view?objectsearch=lysippus&coll=boeken&identificator=dpo%3A9388%3Ampg21%3A0005&query=plutarchus+theophilus+alexander&pres%5Bmaxperpage%5D=36&pres%5Bpage%5D=1&pres%5Bnbuffer%5D=bottom>
- 52740 January 1, 1809 Plutarch's Lives, tr. by J. and W. Langhorne

- As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer, he put on his helmet; for in other points he had come ready-armed out of his tent. He had a short coat of the Sicilian fashion girt close about him, and over that a breast-plate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so well polished that it shine like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon which he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citeans, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt, which he wore in all his engagements, was more superb than the rest of his armor. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon 99 had exerted all his art upon it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as in exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse; but he constantly charged upon him; and he had no sooner mounted him, than the signal was always given.
- 99 In this description of Alexander's armor, and the mention of the workmen by whom it had been made, as well as in the principle of his preceding reply to Parmenio, and the eagle introduced below, Dacier traces the imitator of Homer. Helicon and his father Acesus were eminent in the art of embroidery, as we learn from Athenaeus, xi. 9., who preserves an inscription to that purport copies from the temple of Apollo at Delphi.
- After this, he constantly took the exercise of war or hunting, and exposed himself to danger and fatigue with less precaution than ever: so that a Lacedaemonian ambassador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, said: "Alexander, you have disputed the prize of royalty gloriously with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece represented in bronze, and consecrated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting with the lion, and Craterus advancing to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares.
- October 1, 1802 [195] (a) It was also in the vicinity of Cuijk, on the road from Boxmeer to Grave, on the so-called Bord In October 1802, in Boord, a highly important medal was unearthed, worth over forty-nine guilders in gold alone. An old sword was also found with it, which, however, was so badly rusted that it shattered upon contact. An urn of beautiful, round clay was shattered by the workers; it seemed to have contained nothing but ashes. The medal itself was the size of a regular dime, and on the right side, it depicted the head of Emperor Antonius Pius, which perfectly resembled the image of that Caesar in the SCHIJNVOET coin cabinet. The edge inscription was for a portion easy to read. The reverse side showed an image, probably of victory, but indistinct, as did the inscription on the edge. A gold edge was soldered around the medal, so [196] that it was the size of a guilder coin. The right side was covered in three circles around the medal with red, white, and green glass pebbles; the bases and boxes in which they were set were colored, so that the pebbles also showed their color. The reverse side was covered with figures using a thick gold thread, beautifully worked like a cable rope. Around the edge were eighteen eyelets, through which a piece of loose gold thread ran. On the reverse side, there seemed to have been something with which the medal could be fastened, but this could not be clearly seen. [...]
- January 1, 1807 "Ringkraag"
According to a description from 1840, a kind of ridge collar was found in Meijel in 1807:
I have heard that a farmer in Deurne-Liessel was said to possess a Roman sword and a gold shield, which were supposedly dug up in the Peel. I highly doubt this, as I had never heard anything about it. Upon investigation, I also discovered that no one knows anything about it; this was probably confused with what happened in the neighboring municipality of Meyel. In 1807, a gold shield was found there. A few years ago, while in Meyel, I went to the house of the then mayor, Goossens, to see this curiosity. He showed me a shield that had been found in the Peel in 1807, about five feet below the surface of the ground in the Peel during a peat excavation. It was made of gold, or at least heavily gilded, embossed with hydroglyphs and other figures of lions, tigers, etc., and had the shape of a crescent moon, closely resembling a gorget.
- This description indicates a phalera and bears a striking resemblance to the phalara

from Starobêlsk, as can be seen in figure 20 of *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*.

52810 May 9, 1817. In an old booklet, published in Venlo in 1821 by the widow H. Bontamps,
under the title "Short geographical sketch of the province of Limburg for children,"
page 35-36, the following footnote:
"When, on May 9, 1817, a resident of this city (Venlo), had the ground dug up behind
his house (No. 693 in Vleeschstraat) for the construction of a new factory building,
52815 they came across a stone slab, surrounded by clay, lying on a layer of pebbles, at a
depth of 7 to 8 feet. Its length was 6 and a half, its width 4 feet. The oval-shaped,
carved slab was 6 feet long and 3 and a half wide, and fitted with a very fitting
lid. This lid is a table carved from hard limestone, 4 inches thick, very smoothly
ground inside and on the edge. The tuff stone from which the sarcophagus (stone
coffin) is made is not found anywhere in the area; but the blue limestone is found
52820 the vicinity of Namur, brought here by barge. The sarcophagus stood facing east-west.
Close to the east side stood another tin urn, which, at its widest point, was 11
inches high and 15 inches in diameter. Its shape is very simple, the opening 6 inches
wide, and is closed by a lid. Inside the sarcophagus were found some pieces of white
thin glass, probably from a tear glass, some earth, and the remains of burnt bones,
52825 among which fragments of skulls and legs were clearly visible. Also in the urn was
something resembling burnt bones, but in much smaller fragments. The sarcophagus was
uninscribed; however, runic writing can be seen around the urn, which is not deeply
and irregularly impressed into the tin, and for this reason, as well as because of
the dents in the urn, is illegible. Near the burial site, another flint of 12 to 15
52830 inches in length and 6 inches in thickness."
The question is whether anything more is known in Venlo about that find and where the
objects are currently located.

52835 June 4, 1817 - En creusant, entre les anciens et les nouveaux remparts de Tongres,
for a visit to the countryside in Saint-Trond, on a large quantity of antique
romaines, the tombs, the urns, the lacrymatoires, the arms, the cendres de morts, the
poignards, the parts of the corne de cerf, and the rest ayant la pointe faite de
cette corne; the pieux pénées don't have a bronze, a beautiful design, a beautiful
font and perfect preservation; des monnaies de tous genres; the large amphorae,
52840 including inscriptions, don't leave a trace on time and the most recent communication
in the environment; In the end, it is a matter of time and hope that the success of
the job is impossible. These objects were born in 2000, prouvent l'antiquité de la
ville de Tongres, bâtie, croit-on, 800 ans avant J.-C. et 100 ans avant la fondation
de Rome, par Tongres, qui en fut le premier roi, Jules-César, ayant conquis ce
52845 royaume, dont l'existence a duré près de huit siècles, l'unit in Brabant. Ont pretend
que Salvius-Braban (qui, dit-on, le Brabant doit son nom) and fut created the prime
minister governor.

52850 October 25, 1817 To our deep sorrow, he died this morning, about seven hours, at the
ripe old age of almost eighty years, our beloved Grandmother, Widow HUB, was suddenly
shaken. BONTAMPS, born SIB. CRUSTS. All who knew the quiet domestic virtues and the
good and noble character of the deceased will mourn her loss with us, of which we are
assured, even without letters of condolence.
Venlo On behalf of my Sisters and Brother,
52855 October 19, 1817. C. H. L. BONTAMPS.

October 17, 1825 A resident of Valognes (Manches), made an important discovery of
antiquities. While digging a well in his garden, he found a gravestone, which could
only be removed with great difficulty. At the opening, a skeleton was found, which
52860 collapsed. A silver coin found in the skeleton's mouth suggests it is the corpse of a
Roman general, a comrade-in-arms of Caesar at the time of his victory over the Gauls.
On one side of the coin is the inscription "Caes. Imp.," and on the other, "Vic.
Gal." At the skeleton's feet was found a silver box, 1 foot long and 8 inches wide,
containing 150 medals: 40 of bronze, the size of our two-stuiver coins, 95 of silver,
52865 the size of our two-franc coins, and 15 of gold, the size of our five-franc coins.
These medals are decorated with the images of Caesar, Pompey, Mitridates, Cleopatra,
Crassus, Spartacus, Sylla, Anibal, Asdrubal, Scipio Africanus, Philippus of Macedon,
Pharnacus, Nicomede, Perpenna, and Sertorius.
Fifty years ago, Roman monuments were discovered in these regions, and it is believed
52870 that the ancient Crociatonum, capital of the Unelli people, with whom Caesar had a
camp, was located there.

October 17, 1825: A resident of Valognes (Manches) made an important discovery of antiquities. While digging a well in his garden, he found a tombstone, which could only be removed with great difficulty. At the opening, a skeleton was found, which collapsed. A silver coin found in the skeleton's mouth suggests it is the corpse of a Roman general, a comrade-in-arms of Caesar at the time of his victory over the Gauls. On one side of the coin is the inscription "Caes. Imp.," and on the other, "Vic. Gal." At the skeleton's feet was found a silver box, 1 foot long and 8 inches wide, containing 150 medals: 40 of bronze, the size of our two-stuiver coins, 95 of silver, the size of our two-franc coins, and 15 of gold, the size of our five-franc coins. These medals are decorated with the images of Caesar, Pompey, Mitridates, Cleopatra, Crassus, Spartacus, Sijlla, Anibal, Asdrubal, Scipio Africanus, Philippus of Macedon, Pharnacus, Nicomede, Perpenna, and Sertorius. Fifty years ago, Roman monuments were discovered in these regions, and it is believed that the ancient Crociatonum, capital of the Unelli people, where Caesar had a camp, was located there.

October 12, 1827: Excavation of a Roman building near Voorburg. It is well known that our neighbors have for many years been dedicated to uncovering the remains of antiquity, both of Roman and other origins, which are so important to early history. These remains, initially obscured by the wildness and ignorance of the Middle Ages, were later destroyed by the subsequent population growth, both for the construction of later cities and for the development of the country. In Germany, many excavations are carried out at the expense of various governments: the Austrian government in Salzburg, the Prussian near Bonn, the Neuwied government near the town of the same name; and various societies: the Thuringian-Saxon Association, the Saxon Association, the Society for Silesian Early Christianity, and the Historical Association of Westphalia, all work towards the same goal. In France, the Prefects are charged with collecting reports on antiquities, each in his own department, and the state or city governments support the excavations at the baths of Emperor Julian in Paris, at the Maison Carrée in Nîmes, etc. In England, it is often the wealthy landowners who carry out archaeological research on their own soil, in which interest has been drawn for a century by the Society of Antiquaries and the Society of Dilettanti.

The tightly packed population of our country, its early prosperity, and partly also the nature of the soil have caused almost all traces of former inhabitants to disappear here, especially in South and North Holland. Only the farmstead of Arentsburg, near Voorburg, seemed to contain any Roman remains that had not yet been entirely destroyed. Its elevated position compared to neighboring lands, and the discovery of Roman antiquities there (including, especially in 1771, that of a bronze hand of a colossal statue, described with great interest by Mr. van Wijn, had attracted general attention), which continued to be discovered, all this demonstrated that an excavation here would not be without results. His Majesty has therefore graciously agreed to purchase this farmstead, which had been in stable hands for many years and was publicly auctioned in 1826, for the state, with the intention of having its soil investigated and to entrust the undersigned with the management of this investigation.

The excavations have been carried out this current year, from June until now, mostly with a considerable number of workers; and the results are already very interesting and instructive, both for the country's history and for archaeology in general. Foundations of an extensive Roman building have been discovered, most of which have been traced with remarkable clarity. While a few had already been excavated and are only recognizable by faint markings on the ground, other areas still reveal the existing wall, at a height of more or less one Dutch yard.

It is known that the land of Arentsburg and its immediate surroundings had always retained the name "den Burg" (formerly the land "ten Hoogen Burg"), and that a municipal footpath stretched across this land from Voorburg to Rijswijk, and thus east and west. The main excavated portion of the building lies directly along this former footpath or Burgpad, namely, on the north side the lower foundations, mostly lying on white sand, and, on the south side, the higher ones, which largely rest on clay soil, filled with charcoal, ash, whole or finely crushed tiles and pottery, and even oyster and mussel shells and animal bones.

It is on this south side that the aforementioned remains of actual walls are found, in a few rooms, some distance apart, which, being considerably deeper than the others, may have been cellars. It is noteworthy that both of these cellars are equipped with a well: the easternmost has it within its walls, and this well is built square; at the other cellar, the well, which is oval and rests on piles, is only a

few steps away. This most significant section of the excavation covers approximately 80 yards north and south, and 60 yards east and west.

Furthermore, during partial ground investigations, a good 55 yards further north, another extensive section of floor was found, and a good 70 yards further on, or more than 125 yards from the aforementioned, the foundation of a long wall running east and west, covering the entire width of Arentsburg (that is, approximately 80 yards).

So far, it appears that this wall served as a perimeter wall for all of the aforementioned, if it does not belong to another building. This is the first thing that walkers coming from The Hague will see. A little further south (about 20 yards), at the eastern end of the supposed ring wall, a smaller building must have stood, perhaps connected to it. Many fragments of columns in white chalky stone have been found, but the foundations of which, at least as far as excavation has gone, have been almost completely destroyed.

The building materials, in general, are natural, mostly German stone, as well as the familiar Roman bricks and tiles, as well as slate for the roofs. Among the tiles and other baked bricks, many bear the marks of the XXX, some those of the 16th and 10th Legions; also many bear the inscription EX. GER. INF. (Army of Lower Germany), etc. A large number of fragments found attest to the fact that the lime walls were colored and some decorated with well-drawn floral patterns.

The remains of floors are made of lime with small, broken tiles. Mosaic floors, mentioned in older reports, have not yet been found here.

The walls, in the section now excavated, are mostly demolished down to their foundations. No large objects of art or household goods have been found either. Nevertheless, numerous pieces of fine Roman pottery, known as terra sigillata, or, in others, terra samia, have been unearthed, of which some thirty or forty pieces depicting figures,

A sufficiently complete set has been compiled, and many others are so complete that the majority of the drawing can be seen. These all form a beautiful and instructive series of works of art from the Roman imperial period, in a type of vessel of which undamaged pieces are almost never found.

Another series of 130 to 140 of these is marked with the names of the potters. The fragments of other pottery are also so numerous that one estimates well over 2,000 bases. Among these are a number of fragments of large oil and wine jars, which end in a point at the bottom, probably the amphorae, or more often the dolia of the Romans, which are also provided with either an imprinted manufacturer's mark or the incised mark of their weight. A great deal of broken glass also appears, which, judging by the handles, etc., must have belonged to medium-sized bottles.

The household and ornamental objects are made of bronze, among which a small reclining hunting dog stands out, as well as some clothes buckles, three finger rings, some writing styli, copper and iron keys; as well as an iron tripod to which a similar brazier, a small bronze cup, and a whetstone appear to belong; all four of these objects were found in the same well, in one of the cellars. However, no weapons have yet been discovered.

Of inscriptions, only fragments remain, found under the fragments of columns near the supposed ring wall. Another piece of stone bears two medieval letters most similar to Gothic ones. While the Nestor of Dutch scholars mentioned medals by Constantine, and even by Valentinian, as found at Arentsburg, the current deliberate excavation has not yet uncovered any later than those of Maximinus Pius. Several silver coins of this type were found together with those of his immediate predecessors Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, and Julia Mamaea, all in the cellar with the well. Yet another location yielded a similar find; but generally speaking, the majority of them are in bronze of the first and second magnitude, from the first emperors, and have been found scattered. However, a few silver coins from much later periods have also come to light: one from John I, Count of Holland, the other from Maximilian and Philip of Austria, and thus from the 13th and 15th centuries. As far as the discovered building can be judged now, it most closely resembles the Roman villas, or country estates, in England, several of which have been excavated and published on plates, but are unknown to many antiquarians on the Continent. Little resemblance to the Roman camp at Neuwied, recently republished by Messrs. Dorow and Hundeshagen, has been observed, except perhaps the two middle, still incompletely known, buildings of that camp would qualify. It is certain, at least, that the Roman fortress at the mouth of the Rhine, the house at Britten, now swallowed by the sea, did not resemble the institution at Voorburg in any way, and was much smaller than it. Indeed, the newly discovered, and even the entire, land of Arentsburg constitutes

- 53005 only a portion of the Roman building, since its foundations undoubtedly continue beneath the adjacent properties. It is unfortunate, however, that a ditch dug in 1771 runs along the footpath, thus cutting straight through Arentsburg and the old building, destroying part of the foundations. This has broken the connection between the higher and lower sections, which is now very difficult to restore in a drawing, but perhaps, if the excavation continues, it will become clearer.
- 53010 His Majesty has graciously granted permission for the description and publication with plates of this important archaeological discovery at the country's expense. C. J. C. REUVENS.
- 53015 An attempt will be made to keep the excavation exposed and visible for a few more days, as long as the season permits. Enthusiasts of antiquities who wish to use them in the meantime can, until further notice, register for this purpose, stating their name and quality, at the homestead itself every day from 12 noon to 1½ hours.
- 53020 January 1, 1828 NEERHAREN. On a trip to Neerharen in 1828, during construction du canal de Maestricht at Bois-le-Duc a belle cruche romaine en argent. The vase, which is the current point, with three meters under the sol, with a height of 0.322 and the cisterns and the cercles on the col and on the pied. The fond du vase également ciselé portait une inscription. Ce bel objet fait, depuis 1831, partie du musée de Leyde (1).
- 53025 (1) C. Leemans, Roman antiquities in Maastricht, p. 69.
- 53030 June 18, 1830 - Deux journaliers de Baarlo, Limbourg, occupies à retirer de la terre glaise, ont trouvé, en creusant, une Earthenware vase filled with antique gold and silver medals, worth 300 florins; they are all the size of a 25-cent coin.
- 53035 June 19/22, 1830 To the Editors of the Political Scout. Baerlo, June 19, 1830.
- Gentlemen,
In yesterday's issue, you reported on a find made here a few days ago while digging in the clay. — It is true, gentlemen, that an urn was found filled with various coins, both gold and silver, but of greater value than the 300 florins mentioned in your newspaper.
- 53040 I know that the owner, Mathieu Holtakkers, sold some of it in the first few days to a single person for 1600 florins, and since then to others for 3000 florins. — It seems the urn never runs dry, since they still sell them every day, and you can even pay 4 francs for a silver coin and 20 francs for a gold one the size of a Napoleon.
- 53045 Most of the coins in this collection are different from one another and date from the time of Nero Vespasian, Trajan, Faustina Augusta, Diva Augusta, Antonina, and other Roman emperors. A subscriber.
- 53050 September 1, 1830, Baerlo. In September 1830, a certain Holtakkers, known as den Bisschop, found in the municipality of Baerlo, opposite the church, on the Blerick side (ancient Blariacum), an urn containing several hundred Roman coins from various consulships, in gold and silver. This collection was dispersed in the surrounding area, but the greater part of it was purchased by Mr. Louis Wolters, a banker in Venlo.
- 53055 1 January 1833 Bl. 17. Te Leende ontdekte een smid, in 1833, bij gelegenheid van veengraven, op eene diepte van nagenoeg twaalf Rhijnlandsche voeten, drie Romeinsche penningen van geel koper, van de eerste grootte, voortreffelijk behouden, prijkende met de borstbeelden en nomen van AUGUSTUS CLAUDIUS en NERO. Bl. 17. Magusamus of Macusanus. De Dommel stroomt hier voorbij.
- 53060 1 January 1834 45. Cornalijs. MERCURIUS, of een GENIUS, die in den linkerarm een horen des overvloeds draagt. From Cuyk aan de Maas; found in 1834; collection as no. 6. [=J.J. Nahuis in Utrecht] [more stones from the collection of Guyot in Nijmegen]
- 53070 January 1, 1835 MONTFORT. Weapons made of stone and bronze have been found several

- times in this village. One example of these objects is in the museum in Bois-le-Duc. It is a quarter-axe, found in 1835 in a peat bog, 8 to 10 feet below the surface. (1) Mr. Guillon, notary in Roermond, gave four stone axes or wedges to the Royal Museum of Brussels, three of which were flint and one of basalt, found in 1836 and 1837 in the peat bogs of the municipality of Montfort. (2)
- 1 January 1835 Vigilum romanorum latercula duo coelimontana magnam partem militiae romanae explicantia editit atque illustravit
Zie <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=muttienus&coll=boeken1&identifier=IvFOAAAACAAJ>
OLAUS KELLERMAN, DANUS
- 269.*
C NASENNIO ♥ C F ♥ MARCELLO SENIORI
PRAEF COH I APAMENAR TRIS COH I ITALICAE CIVIVM ROMANORVM VOLVN
TARIORVM PRAEF ALAE PHRYGVM PRAEF FABRVM AEDILI QVAESTORI DVVMVI
RO QVINQVENALLI III CVRATORI OPERVM PVBLICORUM ET AQVARUM ♥
PERPETVO PRAETORI ET PONTIFICI LAVRENTIVM LAVINATIVM P C OSTENTIVM
NASENNIA HELPIS FECIT PATRONO INDVLGENTISSIMO ET C NASENNIO SA
TVRNINO CONIVGI CARISSIMO SIBI LIBERIS LIBERTIS LIBERTATSVS POSTERIS
THAT EORVM //////////////////////////////////////
269. Tab. marm. Exscribes Romae in Mus. Vatican. V. 8 scalpro erasus. Murat. 1053, 1 (In S. Agnetis, mis. Alex. Capponius (. - V. 5 habet: LAVRENTVM.
- 269a.
D M
ACIPE NUNC
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MI MVNDVS M
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D XIII VAL DONATVS
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D S P
269a. Brixiae in coenobio S. Cosmi detecta mense Januario hujus anni. Mecum communicavit Joh. Labus V. Cl. - Exarchorum exempla habes Grut. 528.7; Wall. 789.7; 791. 8.
[het betrayed by Valerius Donatus]
- December 1, 1835 STUDY OF ANTIQUITY IN HOLLAND. - ARCHAEOLOGY. UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN.
Obituary for Mr. C. J. C. Reuens [...]
- December 3, 1835 STUDY OF ANTIQUITY IN HOLLAND. - ARCHAEOLOGY. UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN.
Obituary for Mr. C. J. C. Reuens [...]
- December 15, 1836 - At Arles-sur-Aube, on the road from Arles to Trier, a few steps from the town, on land belonging to a mound already noted as a burial site for the inhabitants before the re-establishment of Christianity, a discovery was recently made which confirms this opinion: vases of different materials and shapes, amulets, Roman medals, Charon's obol near the bones or hand bones of skeletons. A complete skeleton was found in a pit.
- January 1, 1837 Around the year 1837, in the hamlet of Pey, two feet under the ground, a fine flint weapon was found. (2)
- February 4, 1837 Deurne 3 February
Row 1837.

To the Editors of the Noord-Brabander. For eight days now, the municipality of Deurne has provided proof that this region also contains treasures, in terms of antiquity and history, that can easily be placed on a par with other parts of our country. The attention of our Dutch scholars is therefore drawn to the following: through which they may be given the opportunity not only to expand their collections of antiquities with important articles, but also to render important contributions to history. Begun by the official corps of Regt. Huss. No. 6 and continued by private individuals in the hope of finding treasures, they are here busy excavating a camp or army, or even a cemetery; presumably originating from a tribe driven out of the Ardennes by the Romans and hidden here, behind the marshlands of the Peel. Several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of cremated bodies and small bones, have already been excavated; while in some, fragments of metal and parts of weapons have been found. These pots are covered by mounds of varying heights, which, like the pots themselves, have certainly increased in size and height according to the prestige and rank of the person buried there. The pot is almost like a globe, tapering slightly oval towards the top and bottom, while at the top it has a slanting rim, which will have approximately the same circumference as the pot itself. The lid, which is very small in proportion to the pot, fits well and appears to be tightly covered. The largest pots will have a diameter of 3 palms, while the smallest will barely reach 1 to 1.5, and the mounds will also vary by almost a yard, as some are nearly 2 feet high, while others are more than five feet high. The pots are made of potting clay (which is also found here) and demonstrate that they had already advanced the art of turning to a considerable extent.

P. [elsewhere:] - The attention of our national scholars and antiquarians is called to this discovery, which may be useful for adding to their collections or for elucidating history.

February 4, 1837 [1] Several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of burned bodies and small bones [2], while in some, pieces of metal and fragments of weapons have been found.

In January and February 1837, a captain with the 10th Company of the Regt. Hussars No. 6, stationed in Deurne, had excavations carried out in the heathland for so-called dolmens, small mounds or raised hills from which various urns or earthenware pots had been dug. As soon as the residents got wind of this, they also began to dig up these mounds and retrieve earthenware pots, among which one contained a crude and inconspicuous metal statuette, approximately two palms long.

From Chronicle of Heeze or Note of Remarkable Events within the Municipality of Heeze and Surrounding Villages, by Hendrik G. van Moorsel.
This is again mentioned in the book "People in the Peel."

May 4, 1837, NETHERLANDS. In the latest issue of the Nederlandsch Magazijn (Dutch Magazine), one finds an article about the recently unearthed urns in North Brabant. It mainly concerns the recent publication of reports in several of our daily newspapers regarding the excavation of antiquities in the municipality of Deurne, province of North Brabant. The editors of the aforementioned magazine have now received some details regarding this excavation, primarily as follows: A captain in the Hussar Regiment No. 6, having previously discovered that some mounds on the Kempen heathland, excavated, turned out to be burial mounds and contained urns or ash jars, came up with the idea that some such mounds, which were present on the heath near Deurne, his current cantonment, might have served similar purposes and contained antiquities. With the permission of the mayor, having had excavations carried out, five urns or ash jars were found, which increased with subsequent excavations and now number over fifty. It is unfortunate that the farmers, hearing of this, also began digging on their own side, hoping to find treasures; they smashed or damaged the urns they unearthed. Their disappointment was great when they found nothing but ash and a few apparently half-decayed human bones, such as skulls, ribs, thighbones, etc. Not a single penny or coin was unearthed; only a small piece of metal, which is believed to be the mouthpiece of a wind instrument. The urns found are of various sizes, all of virtually the same shape, some with lids. The heathland in which the urns were found is about four acres in size, the mounds are fairly regular, but the entire area appears to have served as a burial ground, as urns have also been found outside the mounds and at some distance from them. The urns are usually covered with a layer of charcoal; after all, as soon as one finds this, one is certain to be near an urn.

Some are so high that the fibrous roots of common heather can be found at the top of the ash; others have been found deeper, but at uneven depths. The material from which these pots or urns are composed is smooth, solid, and dark brown; no vitrification is visible on them, nor any inscriptions or inscriptions. If these were made in Deurne, where two potteries are still found, then one must admit that this art has not progressed there in 10 or 15 centuries; because these urns are more refined and smoother in workmanship and treated with more care than is currently the case. Excavations are still continuing in some locations, but, as mentioned, nothing is found in the urns except ashes and the aforementioned human bones.

June 3, 1837 HAARLEM, February 30
A report has been received from the municipality of Deurne (North Brabant) concerning the discovery, near that location, of an encampment or burial ground; believed to originate from an ancient tribe, driven from the Ardennes by the Romans, who perhaps sought refuge there behind the marshlands of the Peel. The first discovery of this army or cemetery was made by officers of the Hussar Regiment No. 6, stationed in the area, and since then, excavations have continued by private individuals hoping to find treasures. Among the finds so far are several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of cremated bodies and small bones; in some of these pots, it is reported, pieces of metal and fragments of weapons have been found. These pots are covered by mounds of varying height, which, like the pots themselves, have likely increased in size and height according to the appearance and rank of the person buried there. The pots are made of clay and well-turned; the largest have a diameter of 3 feet, the smallest just over 1 palm; some mounds are almost 2 feet high, others more than 5 feet.

May 26, 1838 (§§) The Roman graves, even the simplest, e.g. Those that did not contain stone coffins yielded not only pottery, immediately identifiable as Roman by its workmanship, shape, color, or decoration, but also objects or fragments of metal, glass, or other composite material. On the contrary, no flint objects were ever found there. I have noted the distinct character of Roman and Germanic mound graves, among other places, in a report on the Antiquity discovery in Deurne, in the Konst- en Letterbode of May 26, 1838.

On April 23, 1839 [8], a number of urns were sent to us, which had recently been discovered in Deurne, in North Brabant; and the number was further increased by the proceeds of a deliberate excavation ordered for this purpose, donated to the Museum by the mayor of that town, Mr. van Riet. [probably NBD 2, vRD 4a, vRD 2, vRD 3, ND 3, GtD 15a, k 1942/6.1, k 1925/1.1, NBD 1, k 1942/6.2, vRD 7, k 1925/1.2, ND 2, k 1942/6.3, ND 13, vRD 4b, vRD 5a, ND 4, GtD 13a, ND 8, k 1932/12.9, ND 10, ND 5, vRD 8, vRD 5b, ND 11, k 1942/6.4, GtD 14b]
[10] The urns appear not to date from the Roman period, but from many hundreds of years earlier.

June 7, 1839 BALLO, June 2.
More than two hundred Roman silver coins, the size of a dime and about the thickness of a twenty-five-cent coin, have been found in the vicinity here. They usually bear on one side an image with the inscription: Diva Faustina, Antoninus Pius, or the like, and on the other side some symbolic representation with the inscription: Aeternitas, or the like. Perhaps a careful investigation of these coins, and the location where they were found, could significantly influence our understanding of Roman residence in these regions. It is therefore to be hoped that, since this remains unknown, the competent authorities would initiate an investigation. This, one imagines, should be easy, since the sellers of these coins are sufficiently well known.

June 18, 1839 Roman Coins.
From the outset, after I had gained some certainty that Roman coins had been found in this area, I intended, after receiving further information, to have an article about this published in the Drentsche Courant. However, the articles about this...

The subject, in the Groninger Couranten of the 7th and 14th, and in the Drentsche Courant of the 11th of this month, compels me, more hastily, yet also less precisely than I would like, to report the following:
As early as April 25th, 160 of these coins were sold to a silversmith here, who

- informed me of them on May 4th or 5th, and which I received from him on loan. Upon
 53270 examination, I found that they all date from the 2nd century AD, namely those of
 Antoninus, Faustina, Aurelius, Verus, and Lucilla.
 They are exceptionally well preserved, so that the images are clearly visible, and
 the inscriptions and inscriptions of most can be read word for word. The obverses
 show the heads of the aforementioned Emperors and Princesses; While the reverse sides
 53275 depict goddesses or other symbolic figures, applicable to contemporary events and
 mostly different.
 To give an example of each, one of my medals has the following inscription: on the
 obverse: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS. P. P. Tr. P. COS. III; on the reverse: PROVIDENTIA.
 DEORVM. A second, obverse: FAVSTINA. AVGUSTA; reverse: IVNO; a third, obverse:
 53280 AVRELIVS CAESAR AVGVSTVS}, reverse: COS; II; a fourth, obverse: VERVS. AVG.
 ARMENIACUS; reverse: TR. P. III. IMP. H. COS. II; on the extergue: ARMIN; and a
 fifth, obverse: LVCILLAE. AVG. ANTONINI AVG. F.; reverse: CONCORDIA.
 The coins are all the size of our 10-cent coin, but are thicker and each weighs
 almost three wedges.
 53285 Apparently, they initially refused to disclose the name of the finder or the location
 where they were all discovered, and it wasn't until the evening of the 8th of this
 month that I learned of this. The following day, accompanied by Mr. Homan, Mayor of
 Rolde, and the owner of the land where the coins were found, located in the
 aforementioned municipality near Ballo, I went there and had the pleasure, in my
 53290 presence, of having six similar pieces excavated.
 Those unearthed thus far (approximately 350 pieces, of which about 100 are in my
 possession) were found in a spot measuring approximately 2.5 square Dutch yards. The
 land is high sandy soil on the west side, covered with heath, but gradually slopes
 downwards, down to the Anderse Diepje canal. The excavation site is hayfield, covered
 53295 with a poor type of grass, situated on a mixed soil of peat and sand (mud), 40 to 42
 Dutch inches thick, apparently containing more sand than peat fragments, and resting
 on a stiff, grayish-yellow sandbank.
 The excavated fragments were scattered, over a foot deep in this mud, to which
 species I attribute their excellent preservation. At least, one of the six I helped
 53300 excavate had sunk onto or near the solid sandbank, and this was so decomposed that I
 could barely make out a woman's head (apparently Faustina's) on it. The nature of
 this publication does not permit more detail at this time, while mentioning the
 method of discovery of these and various antiquities in this region, traditions, the
 discovery of old Groningen and Spanish coins in the vicinity, etc., is less
 53305 appropriate. -- I would only like to point out that it was not the report in the
 Groninger Courant of the 7th of this month that prompted several of my fellow
 citizens to further investigation, as they had already been more diligently engaged
 in this earlier than the author seems to assume.
- 53310 Assen, June 14, 1839. G. W. VAN DER FELTZ.
- June 29, 1839 M. G. W. van der Feltz, de Assen, published in the Drentsche Courant,
 the following notice on Roman medals, found recently in the environs of Ballo: ROMAN
 53315 MEDALS.
- January 1, 1840 If you, gentlemen, who do not forget the noble pleasure of hunting
 during your recreations,
 are inclined, or feel inspired, to bring to light such remnants of the distant past,
 then nothing more is necessary than to observe whether your eye finds any mounds on
 53320 the flat heath, approximately one and a half yards high, and two to two and a half or
 three feet in diameter. If you come across such mounds, it is almost certain that
 urns are hidden there. The cemetery in Deurne and the one in Baarle-Nassau, at least,
 were discovered by hunters while hunting, who also claim to have encountered similar
 tumuli in the past, though without paying attention, in the North Brabant heathland.
 53325
- March 14, 1840 MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIJDEN.
 [...] From Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa, of Dordrecht, two tuff mortars with pestles,
 unearthed in the vicinity of Deurne in North Brabant; these are the only objects of
 this kind in the Museum's possession, and which, as far as we know, have not yet been
 53330 found elsewhere. The proximity of the extensive burial grounds there, discovered in
 the heathland a few years ago, gives a high degree of probability that both those
 mortars and the urns found in such large numbers in that area belong to the same
 tribe, thus providing a most important contribution to the knowledge of the domestic
 life of the ancient Germanic peoples, of whose household goods, except in northern

- 53335 Europe, relatively little remains. [...]
- June 18, 1839 Roman Coins.
From the beginning, after I had obtained some certainty that Roman Coins had been found in this area, I intended, after having received more information about this, to
- 53340 have a report placed in the Drentsche Courant.
However, the pieces on this subject, in the Groninger Couranten of the 7th and 14th and in the Drentsche Courant of the 11th of this month, urge me, more hastily, but also less accurately than I would like, to report the following:
As early as April 25th, 160 of these coins were sold to a silversmith here, who
- 53345 informed me of them on May 4th or 5th, and which I received from him on loan. Upon examination I found that they were all from the 2nd century of our era, namely of Antoninus, Faustina, Aurelius, Verus and Lucilla.
They have been excellently preserved, so that the images are clearly visible, and the inscriptions and inscriptions of most of them can be read letter by letter. The
- 53350 obverses show the heads of the aforementioned Emperors and Princesses; while the reverse sides yield Goddesses or other symbolic figures, applicable to events of that time and mostly all different.
To give an example of each, one of my medals has the inscription: on the obverse ANTONINVS AVG PIVS. P. P. Tr. P. COS. III, on the reverse: PROVIDENTIA. DEORVM. A
- 53355 2nd, obverse: FAVSTINA. AVGVSTA; reverse: IVNO; a 3rd, obverse: AVRELIVS CAESAR AVGVSTVS}, reverse: COS; II; a 4th, obverse: VERVS. AVG. ARMENIACUS; reverse: TR. P. III. IMP. H. COS. II on the extergue ARMIN; and a 5th, obverse: LVCILLAE. AVG. ANTONINI AVG. F.; reverse: CONCORDIA.
The coins are all the size of our 10 cents piece, but are thicker and each weighs
- 53360 almost three wedges.
The name of the finder, and the place where they were all discovered, were not wanted to be known at first, it seemed, and it was not until the evening of the 8th of this month that this came to my attention, whereupon the next day, accompanied by Mr.
- 53365 Homan, Mayor of Rolde, and the owner of the land where the coins were found, located in the said municipality under Ballo, I went there, and had the pleasure, in my presence, of having six such pieces dug up. The excavated so far (about 350 pieces, of which about 100 are in my possession) were found on a spot of about 2½ square Dutch ells. The land is high sandy soil on the west side, covered with heath, but gradually slopes down, to the Andersche diepje. The place where the excavation takes
- 53370 place is hayfield, covered with a bad kind of grass, which is located on a mixed soil of peat and sand (derrie), with a thickness of 40 to 42 Dutch inches, as it seems to me containing more sand than peat parts, and resting on a stiff, grayish-yellow sandbank. The excavated pieces lay scattered, more than a foot deep in this muck, to which species I attribute it, that they have been preserved so beautifully, at least
- 53375 one of the 6, which I myself also excavated, had sunk to or on the solid sandbank, and this was so rotted, that I could hardly distinguish a woman's head (it seemed to be Faustina's) on it.
The nature of this sheet does not permit to be more extensive now, while also the mention of the manner of discovery of these and various antiquities in this region, of traditions, of the finding of old Groningen and Spanish coins in the vicinity, etc., is now less appropriate. -- I would only like to point out that it was not the report in the Groninger Courant of the 7th of this month that was the stimulus that prompted several of my fellow citizens to further investigation, since they had already been more diligently engaged in this earlier than the author seems to assume.
- 53385 Assen, June 14, 1839. G. W. VAN DER FELTZ.
- May 12, 1840 [letter to the mayor of Deurne]
Mayor of Deurne Liessel Helmond, May 12, 1840
The Lord Governor of this province (probably requested to do so by the board of the
- 53390 society for the promotion of sciences and arts in North Brabant) has given me a large number of questions to answer regarding antiquities in my District.
These questions, as far as they concern the municipality of Deurne Liessel, are the following:
according to a reported report, a farmer named van de Mortel is said to possess a
- 53395 Roman sword and a gold shield, which were dug up in the Peel.
1°. Is this really so? and if so, when and where on the spot were that sword and shield found?
2°. Would there be an opportunity to purchase it for the collection of old and rare items of the provincial society of arts and water boards?
- 53400 3°. If so, at what price?

4°. If the owner cannot decide to sell, would he then be willing to hand over the objects for assessment and signing against proof?

5°. Is there an opportunity to purchase some of the recently found mortuary urns or other curiosities excavated there?

53405 6°. What is the name of the place where the urns were excavated?

A somewhat speedy answer to these questions would be pleasant to me

D Distr.

October 15, 1909 Coin and Medal Auction.

53410 In the Wednesday morning auction of the coin and medal collection of the late Mr. L. G. Brouwer, under the direction of the expert J. Schülman, the following interesting items were sold, among others:

[...] In the afternoon session, the Greek and Roman coins were sold amidst great interest, including: [...] 2251, a sou d'or of Constantine the Great, f68; 2252, the same of the same with a hole, f27.

53415

February 25, 1910 The director conveys a request from Steegh to rent the floating factory three days a week at f15 per day and 12 cents for each package. The Helenaveen Company would then have to operate independently. This would require 20 people per day. This operation would then take approximately four months. However, the director fears that this approach would leave him with insufficient labor to prepare the land.

53420

Since this cannot yet be stated with certainty, the decision on whether to accept Steegh's proposal is left to the chairman and the director.

53425

February 21, 1910, email from G. Venner dated November 19, 2010

On February 21, 1910, Van Beurden offered archival documents from Well Castle and other archival materials as a gift. On March 12, 1910, the national archivist requested the Minister of the Interior to ensure that Van Beurden receives the honorary medal intended for those who have made a significant contribution to the national museums and collections. That same day, Van Beurden had already offered documents as gifts and for sale, including an incunabulum from the Franciscan monastery in Venray. A silver medal of honor was awarded to A.F. van Beurden by the minister on April 6, 1910. On August 25, he again offered archival documents, but these were not accepted because they did not belong in the Limburg depot.

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April 9, 1910: Scientific collection.

Mr. A.F. van Beurden, surveyor for the Land Registry here, donated an important collection of archival materials to the National Archives in Limburg. Mr. Van Beurden had previously demonstrated his interest in the State's old archives on several occasions by donating archival documents. In response to this, the honorary medal intended by the Royal Decree of March 19 was awarded to Mr. Van Beurden. of May 24, 1897, and June 22, 1898, in silver, awarded as a token of appreciation for his interest in the State's scientific collections. St. Ct.

53440

53445

April 27, 1910

The Most Reverend Mr. A. F. van Beurden, Roermond.

Sir!

In response to your postcard of the 20th of this month, I enclose a map indicating the areas to be measured.

53450

The areas enclosed by red lines are being cultivated; we need the correct size for the lease.

If possible, we look forward to your visit sometime next week.

Sincerely, A. Bos.

53455

An attachment.

April 30, 1910 The article "Limburg Myths and Legends" is very noteworthy. SCHATBERG, KRONENBERG, DE MEIR AND SCHENKENBURG NEAR SEVENUM, which A.F. van Beurden published in the magazine "Buiten" on April 30, 1910, several months before the discovery of the Peel helmet.

53460

The article is actually about several hamlets belonging to Sevenum.

Van Beurden actually visits the village, as he writes: Further on the horizon are forests, towers, factory chimneys, and a drilling tower, which herald the slowly coming transformation of the Peel region into inhabited and profitable territory.

53465

That drilling tower must have been deep borehole 11, America, municipality of Horst, section F, plot 974. Period: April 5, 1909, to January 19, 1910.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

This was followed by deep borehole 12, Beesel, from January 27 to September 28, 1910; this was probably less visible from the Schatberg in Sevenum. Van Beurden notes a story told by several people about an officer, in Roman or Spanish service, who was said to have died there, apparently in combat.

June 15, 1910 [March 18, 2006] The Curse of the Roman]

[...] He has since recovered two newspaper articles that prove that the helmet wasn't found by the peat cutter from Meijel at all, but by a peat cutter from Helden, officially named Peter Janssen, but better known as Loeves Pier. This had appeared in the newspaper because of his diamond wedding anniversary, in the autumn of 1965. Loeves Pier had told the reporter that on that afternoon in 1910, he had just managed to prevent Gebbel Smolenaars from smashing the helmet. Piet had slid into the peat pit and dug the thing out with both hands. He had rinsed the helmet in a peat puddle and then placed it on his own head. Pier had even gone to the bakery in Helenaveen to ask for a cardboard box so Smolenaars could take the treasure home. Because they had found much more that afternoon, 'like a pair of boots, a pair of shoes or sandals, a leather horse blanket, and so on.'

A silver spur and about 40 copper coins, Loeves Pier had told the reporter. [...] His father had spoken with peat diggers who had witnessed the commotion surrounding the discovery in 1910. A lot must have been lost during the digging. His father once had a piece of the lance, which had been cut to pieces by the peat diggers.

He later gave the stones to the Helden local history society and they are now somewhere in the attic.

[On October 23, 1905, Peter Janssen from Helden married Maria Wilhelmina Peters from Tegelen.]

June 17, 1910 Correspondence with the National Museum of Antiquities
Helenaveen, June 17, 1910.

Dear Mr. Holwerda! Last Wednesday, a peat worker found three coins in the peat, followed by a beautiful helmet, which unfortunately had been shattered, pieces of leather that must have formed a garment, two sandals, both of which are still very intact, a hook, such as those found among the Romans to fasten garments together, and 38 bronze or silver coins.

Several of these coins clearly depict the image of a reigning monarch; the image is a robust head with a curved nose, with a wreath around the hair. The inscription on several coins reads "Constantinus." One also clearly shows "Victoriatius"; surely a very common inscription on Roman coins?

The find extends over several meters of peat; various items were found at a depth of approximately one meter.

There isn't much peat at this location. One meter of so-called gray peat, then the objects, then approximately 30 c. M. black peat, and then already the firm sandy soil.

I hope the sketch below gives you some idea.

Approximately at the border between sandy soil and peat, where the peat begins and there is only 30 cm of peat, is the location of the discovery.

Are the objects the remains of people who died in the peat bog?

May I also mention that some pieces of wood were found; could these have come from a spear?

You would certainly be very pleased to provide information about this discovery to many, including myself.

I shared this information with you in the hope that you would find it worthwhile to learn about it.

Superficially, it seems that the objects are very old, from the time of Constantine the Great?

The found objects are carefully preserved; The finder is poor and would greatly benefit from selling them for their actual value.

I am happy to provide further information, if possible.

If you consider it worthwhile to come and view the items in person, I would be happy to open my home to you.

Sincerely, Yours sincerely, Reverend B. de Jong, Reverend Preacher

June 18, 1910 A discovery. During peat digging in Helenaveen, three coins, a pair of shoes, and a leather doublet, covered by a brown fabric, were found. These items were found in the so-called black peat, of which only a 30 cm layer is present at the location where the objects were found, covered by 1 meter of peat.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 53535 June 18, 1910 The Dutch Heath Society visits Westphalia.
Hagen, I/W., June 16.
- 53540 As in previous years, several Dutch people participated in the excursion organized recently by the Association for Meadow Building, Moor and Heathland Cultures in Westphalia. Among the 17 members of the Dutch Heathland Association present were the board members, Mr. Ruys de Beerenbrouck and Mr. A. Staring, the company's director, Mr. J.B. van Lonkhuijzen, several large landowners, and Mr. A. Bos, director of the Helenaveen Association. Numerous authorities from Westphalia, including those in the agricultural field, with Dr. Weddige, the association's chairperson, as leader and Breme, the provincial meadow builder, as technical leader, jointly undertook this two-day trip on Wednesday morning. That morning, over 70 people gathered at the Maria-Veen station between Coesfeld and Hervest-Dorsten to visit the cultural center of the "Maria Veen" workers' colony. [...]
- 53550 June 19, 1910 While excavating peat in Meijel (Limburg), a worker found a gold helmet, gold footprints, a gold ball, and three quarter-sized gold coins at a depth of 2.5 meters. The latter bears the date 512. The find is still in good condition.
- 53555 June 20, 1910, M. Wijmans, Roermond, June 20, 1910
To the Hon. Ed Zeergel, Mr. Dr. Holwerda, Leiden
The Hon. Ed Zeergel, Mr.
- 53560 I have often read your name in connection with excavations, so this information may be of interest to you. Today, while traveling by train between Weert and Budel (Limburg), a gentleman pointed out to me that traces of gold helmets, coins, and gold coins (approximately 200) had been found in the peat. The gold value of the coins was said to be approximately 8 guilders. He had seen some of this, as he lived there. The helmet was silver on the inside. Many urns, etc., are also found at this location and he said it had been a coffin cemetery. I have not been able to verify the accuracy of his information as I lacked the time.
Perhaps the Weert Municipal Council knows more about this.
- 53565 Sincerely, Yours sincerely, M. Wijmans, address Nijmegen
- 53570 June 21, 1910 Remarkable find.
Meijel. As reported in our issue, peat worker G. Smolenaers found several gold objects, including three gold coins. We can now report that the same worker found another 36 gold coins on Friday afternoon at the same location, but slightly deeper in the peat. All bear dates ranging between 500 and 600. It is suspected that the man found a considerable amount of value. The objects have already attracted numerous visitors.
- 53575 June 25, 1910 A gilded silver helmet, 30 cm long and 20 cm high, was found. wide and equally high. It consisted of a strong leather cap, to which, by means of numerous silver pins ending in pearl heads, eight beautifully crafted quadrilateral and triangular plates of gilded silver were attached. They were held together by a comb of precious metal, set with silver pearls, running from front to back. At the front, above the face, the helmet was somewhat more oval. The beautiful side pieces, which hang from the helmet along the shoulders, were also present. They are 20 cm high, 12 cm wide at the top, and with a graceful taper, tapering to 5 cm. Alongside them was a gold lily decoration, 10 cm by 10 cm; a beautiful back plate, semicircular, to which the buckles and a strap were attached, and on which a long name is engraved in a very strange script. The script is reminiscent of runic script, but shows more Greek forms. Attached to a coarse shoe was a bronze-gilded spur, and attached to a piece of cloth or leather was a well-formed, heavy cloak hook or fibula. Also found among these relics from times long past were 41 coins.
- 53590 July 1, 1910 Nothing came of the leasing of the floating factory to Steegh en Esser.
- 53595 July 2, 1910 Description by van Beurden in BUITEN
It was a piece of the helmet, covered internally with leather, which even contained a small cushion to protect the head from pressure. Gradually, the leather socket, a coarse shoe, to which the bronze-gilded spur was attached, a bronze cloak hook, the endpiece of a quiver, and then the silver, heavily gilded helmet covered with embossed molding and ornamentation, held together; all of this was attached to the leather cap with silver pins, which ended in knobs. The metal is pure stainless steel, the gilding is slightly darker in color, but well preserved. Because,

53600 unfortunately, the metal was separated from the leather, the helmet has fallen into its original component pieces. Two plates of the helmet, a sword lily, which was attached to the cap by pins as an ornament, were also found. A side plate bears an inscription that one of the readers may be able to decipher. Another plate was found by another worker. Thanks to the goodwill of the Mayor of Deurne, a guard was posted at the discovery site, preventing unauthorized excavation. Among all this, 41 bronze and silver coins were found with the head and inscription "Constantinus," the reverse side, for example, depicting a crowned naked god with staff, lightning bolts, and bird, next to it a B. [...]

53610 July 14, 1910 Archaeological research. *We received a letter from Rijsbergen: At the direction of Mr. J. Gommers, mayor of Zevenbergen, last Friday Dr. A. Holwerda, director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, visited the site beneath this municipality where, in earlier centuries, the temple of the pagan goddess Sandraudiga is said to have stood. This temple appears to have been destroyed by the preachers who preached Christianity in Taxandria (present-day North Brabant). 53615 The hamlet of Hellegat was also visited, where a pagan cemetery is likely located. The intention is to conduct an investigation at both locations on behalf of the aforementioned Museum to identify any antiquities that may be present. Excavations will likely begin this year.

53620 December 31, 1910 Biography of and by A.F. van Beurden
In 1910, I moved my office to the new National Office Building on Begijnhofstraat. The old one was opposite the Brothers, belonging to Guillon and is now St. Christopher's House.
On November 1st, Victor was No. 1 in his class thanks to his perseverance.
53625 We, as was our duty, supported Mama van Schoonhoven for 30 years with 120 guilders a year, which was enough for us, as we were so richly blessed with children. When François van Schoonhoven, a draftsman at the land registry, died, we asked Mathilde van Schoonhoven, married to Pierre Bingen, to contribute theirs as well. The contributions to Mama have brought us blessings.
53630 Mama van Schoonhoven passed away suddenly and was buried amid much sympathy. Uncle Dr. Cuijpers also attended church.

53635 May 30, 1911 Upcoming new publications: Our earliest civilization in pictures [in NIEUWSBLAD VOOR DE BOEKHANDEL]

November 23, 1911 Today saw the publication: Dr. J. H. HOLWERDA The Netherlands' earliest History in Pictures
Atlas with 120 plates and 2 color maps.
Price fl.75; b. f2.25.
53640 The above work precedes the magnificent edition of the Dutch Historical Prints (1555-1900) [...]

December 9, 1911 Helenaveen, December 9, 1911. The Most Reverend Dr. J. H. Holwerda Leiden
53645 Sir,
I have the honor to share the following with you, based on what I read in your work "Nederland's Vroegste geschiedenis in beeld" (The Netherlands' Earliest History in Pictures), page 29, regarding the discovery in the Peel region near the municipality of Deurne.
53650 What I read in your description gives me the impression that you were not properly informed about some matters, and that not everything found was made available. The day after the discovery was made, I visited the site and inspected everything. I also collected all the leather, which had been torn to pieces due to the finders' ignorance.
53655 The objects were found in the upper layers of the black peat, almost at the transition to the gray peat. The thickness of the black peat was too great for the people who died there to have been on horseback; horses cannot ride over such layers of peat. Among the leather were the remains of two beautifully crafted shoes. A third, very simply made shoe was found about 15 meters from the first site, along with the money and the leather, probably from a small leather pouch. From this, I 53660 thought I could deduce that the presumed nobleman was accompanied by a minor, and that thus two people had perished.
I collected all the leather separately, as well as the shoes, the pouch, what had been torn from the helmet, etc. The woven fabric was already too torn apart to make

53665 much of it; it mostly looked like it had been ribbons, wider and narrower. Regarding the weaponry, it could be determined that it probably consisted of a spear or lance, a bow, and a sword. The remains of these had to be partially retrieved from the excavated peat, so they had been cut into pieces during the peat digging. 1. Pieces of round, cut wood, approximately 3 cm in diameter; some were flat and showed grooves as if they had been metal-tipped, presumably the metal point or tip. 53670 2. Pieces of flat wood, beautifully worked in the center, with metal residues as if a steel spring had been inserted through the wood; all pointed to the wood of a bow. 3. A small block had grooves to smooth the bowstring. 4. A piece of peat, approximately 30 cm long, with the imprint of a sword blade, 53675 approximately 2.5 cm wide. The metal had completely eroded and was still present only as a dark, blue-gray powder. I packed all these objects individually and returned them to the finder, requesting that they later be handed over to the buyer or to a museum, where the objects would likely be sent. However, it was later tampered with considerably, and the man took it 53680 to fairs. When I saw it again later, it had suffered greatly. The lack of interest initially shown in this discovery, and the dispute over who owns it, was the reason I stayed out of it. However, after reading your description, I now felt compelled to share the above with you. In the illustration in your piece, I'm still missing a large piece with signs or 53685 letters. I thought this was particularly important. Isn't it in your possession? Later, a third party brought me a pin, which was still embedded in a piece of leather. One arm had broken off, and a stone was included, which had two flat sides and must have served as a fastening, as everything came from a single peat and was brought to me. Here in the Peel region, finding anything in the peat is very rare. 53690 Previously, a few leather headdresses, a few large horns, and something similar have been unearthed, but everything else has been lost. If you would like any further information about any of this, I would be happy to provide it to the extent possible. Sincerely, 53695 Your Honor, A. Bos.

January 1, 1925 Antiquity reports from the National Museum of Antiquities Oudheidkundige mededeelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden = Nuntii ex Museo Antiquario Leidensi, 1925, Deel: VI, 1925 » 1925 - Pag. 68 | Delpher 53700 A. E. REMOUCHAMPS. Excavation of a Roman villa in Ravenbosch (L.) ... 41 THE FINDINGS. Bronze Inscription Plaques. In room 20, fragments were found of two bronze plaques (Ia-b and II) on which very 53705 important inscriptions appear. A part of a third plaque (III) with a similar inscription was found at the front of the building, approximately where the large staircase that gives access to the portico has been determined. Inscription Ia. A large fragment of the first plaque has been preserved of 11.5 cm 53710 high and 13.4 cm long. This fragment is itself also broken into two pieces, while a few very small fragments also belong to this plaque. The indicated height is undoubtedly also the original, as appears from the partially preserved profiled frame. The length must originally have been considerably greater. The side edge has been preserved on one side. How large the lost part must have been we will consider 53715 later when discussing the inscriptions. The plaque is made of bronze and has a beautiful shiny dark green patina on the front; the back is duller. The bronze is slightly more than 0.5 mm thick. Presumably the original shape of this inscription was rectangular, and so we do not recognize a tabula ansata in it, as in the other plaques to be discussed below: after all, no break can be recognized on the preserved 53720 side edge, as would rightly be expected if we were dealing with a tabula ansata. Of this inscription on the front we give here an image (Fig. 54) with next to it a copy of the text as we believe we may read and supplement it: That we may assume an i for the last letter of the 1st line is beyond doubt, and the reading Vitalinius is therefore also certain. In the 2nd line perhaps only the 53725 meaning of the last two letters is somewhat doubtful. However, the beginning of the 3rd line gives reason to add "quaestoricio". IIVIR. Q. on the 3rd line could be read as duumvir quinquennalis? 1) The last line is clear: Julius Amico; this was probably followed by: optimo. However, Julius is probably the cognomen, while at the end of the 3rd line the gentilicium would have 53730 been omitted. This inscription therefore shows that MARCUS VITALINIUS, who was former quaestor of

the Colonia Ulpia Trajana and held the position of duumvir, is given the assurance of friendship by ... JULIUS.

The letters are carefully cut into the metal in such a way that the grooves, which

Fig. 54 (at approximately 1/2).

M•VITALINI

DEC•C•V•T•QV....

CIO•IIIVIR•Q...

IVLIVS•AMICO...

M(arco) Vitalini(o Secundo) dec(urioni) C(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(rajanae) qu(aestori)cio duumviro q(uinquennali) Julius Amico (optimo).

are quite wide on the metal surface (1 to 1.5 mm), tapering to a V-shape, as the Romans also used to do with their inscriptions on stone.

Inscription Ib. When we turn the plate with the previous inscription around its longitudinal axis, we see another inscription on the back (Fig. 55). Here the letters are formed by punched dotted lines and, as is clear from the fact that some of these dots damaged the letters on the front, this inscription is of a more recent date. As with the front, we must assume that here too part of the inscription has been lost, namely the end of each line. On the first line we see after the last letter of Tertinio an indented dot that probably points to a beginning new word, without us having any indication of the first letter of this word.

Also in the 2nd line we see after aedilicio a barely noticeable trace of a letter of which the first part consists of a vertical line.

On the 3rd line we clearly see C•V• and on a small matching fragment of this picture - corresponding with the V at the end of the 2nd line of the front - we see a dot at half the letter height after this V so that we may read C•V•. We

1) Prof. BOHN from Berlin, who during the study of these inscriptions facilitated my task by giving me many pieces of advice, points out to me that questoricio II viro quinquennali skips the dignity of the single II vir. One would therefore have to expect: quest. II vir, II vir quinq. - Cf. C. I. L. XIII. 8772. Dessau And. p. 698.

are therefore inclined to add a T here and to read Coloniae Ulpiae Trajanae as we already did on the front.

The 4th line is very clear. Here we must read Pagus Catualium. After all Catualium

Fig. 55 (at about 1/2).

•T• TERTINIO...

AEDILICIO.....

PAGVS CATVAL...

NO

T(ito) Tertinio ... aedilicio ... C(oloniae) U(lpiae Trajanae) ... Pagus Catual(ium patro)no

[the text has been added in pencil, see on the Antiquities Reports of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden=Nuntii ex Museo Antiquario Leidensi, 1925, Part: Nieuwe Reeks VI, 01-01-1925 » 01 Jan 1925 - Page 67 | Delpher]

is the place indicated on the Peutinger map (Fig. 56) on the left bank of the Maas between Tongeren (Atuatuca) and Nijmegen (Noviomagus) that according to some we should look for in the village of Haalen opposite Roermond 1); or according to some in Heel 2) or in

Fig. 56. Part of the Peutinger map.

Horn, which is located slightly further south, while the hypothesis that it would be Kessel, which is located much further north, has also been suggested. But if one adheres to the distances indicated on the

1) Miller: Itineraria Romana (1916) p. 58. Cf. Publications de la Société hist. et arch. dans le Limb. 1924, p. 155.

2) C. Leemans: Romeinsche Oudheden te Maastricht Pl. I (Leiden, 1843).

Peutinger map, then the identification with Heel seems most likely, especially since foundations of Roman buildings have actually been established there 1). Of great

importance to us, however, is that this name, which on the said map only indicates a station, occurs here in connection with Pagus, but we will find an opportunity to discuss this further below. After Catualium, PATRO was certainly mentioned. After all, on the 5th line we read NO, and placed in such a way that we can recognize the continuation of the fourth line. Although a few words of this inscription may remain uncompleted, it is clear that we are dealing with a tabula patronatus 2) given by the Pagus Catualium to a certain Titus Tertinius, who himself was a former aedile of the Colonia Ulpia Trajana.

Inscription II. The fragments of the second bronze plaque consist of three larger and one small piece. The patina is excellent and of a beautiful bluish color. All pieces belong to the first lines of the inscription, while the other half is missing. The fragments in question all fit together. They form a plaque of 10 cm high by 8.4 cm. length, provided with a dovetail-shaped projection (which is approximately 3.5 cm long at

Fig. 57 (on 1/2)

HONO...
T•TERTI...
NV...
DEC•II•VII///...
MANSVET...
MACRIN...
Hono(ri) T(iti) Terti(nii) ... now ... Dec(urionis) Duumviri ... Mansuet(us ... et) Macrin(us) ...

7 cm. at its greatest width). The thickness of the metal is almost the same as in the 1st plaque. The inscription is very well cared for; the letters are of the same nature (pointed) as on the front of the specimen already discussed (Fig. 57). It is clear that a fairly large part (possibly slightly more than half) of the plaque is missing here. The first line contains, after a palm ornament, the letters Hon and the beginning of a round letter that we can consider as an O, which makes the reading Honori likely (cf. C. XII. 3165b; Dessau 1214, 1220, 1243), behind which

1) Publicat. de la Société historique et archéologique T. XVIII, 1881, p. 207 (Habets, Découvertes d'antiquités dans le Limbourg). – The distance Atuatuca-Catualium is on the P. map 30 leugae or 66.66 K.M.
2) HUEBNER: Exempla script, epigr. latinae p. 301.

then a second palm ornament bent in the opposite direction may be assumed. If this reading is correct and therefore also the number of missing letters, then the picture would originally have been about 15 cm long, regardless of course of the projections on both sides.

The 2nd line contains the letters T. Terti, which may certainly be read as Tertinio on the basis of the content of the inscription on the back of I. So the same person is meant here, as the first name Titus also shows.

The 3rd line can again be regarded as a continuation of the previous one; but it is more difficult to fill in the missing part here, which probably consisted of 3 letters.

On the 4th line we read Dec. II VI I, the last of which must certainly be read as R. The 5th line contains the beginning of the name Mansuetus and the 6th line the beginning of the name Macrinus. It is likely that we are dealing with two persons and that we still have to add "et" after Mansuetus.

Inscription III. Only a relatively small part of the third plate has been preserved. This shows us another such inscription and here too only the initial letters of each line have been preserved. One of the two dovetail-shaped projections is also still present here. The thickness of the plate is approximately 0.5 m.M. The original height can be accurately indicated, thanks to the preserved edges: it amounts to 11.4 cm. The length of the fragment is only 3.7 cm. The projection is approximately 3.5 cm long and must originally have had a height of ±8 cm. (Fig. 58).

Fig. 58 (on 1/2).

TE...
DEC...

VIR...
FLOR.
A. .

Te(rtinio) ... dec(urioni) ... (duum)viro ... Flor ... a(mico optimo)

53870 That the first line will have mentioned the name TE(RTINIVS) again is very likely;
but the line is difficult to complete further. Since we are dealing with a very
compact font here, TERTINIO would only take up a small part (±5 cm) of space, so that
if we think of the original form of the discussed picture as a horizontal rectangle
53875 of ±14 cm long and if we assume that both before the first letter of the line and
behind the last letter about 2 cm of space has been left, after TERTINIO about 6 to 7
letters can be assumed; although this of course remains a rough guess since the
length of the picture is uncertain.

The 2nd line starts with DEC, which may be read as the abbreviation of decurio. What
follows is uncertain, but from the beginning of the next line it is clear that we may
53880 assume that the enumeration of official titles continued and that the line will have
ended on II, which together with the 3rd line can be read as IIviro.
The 4th line is uncertain. Could FLOR possibly be interpreted as the beginning of a
name such as Florentinus?

The 5th and last line, which jumps back somewhat, begins with an A and the following
53885 letter was most likely an M. The first leg of this letter can still be seen at the
break that occurred here. We are inclined to add Amico optimo here. Although we are
again dealing with a very lacunae inscription here, it seems certain that it also
contains the text of a formula by which honour is paid to Tertinius (who is here
referred to as decurio and IIvir) by a person whose name probably begins with Flor...

53890 Meaning of these inscriptions: Of these four different inscriptions, two (Ib and II)
refer to the same Titus Tertinius. We will leave III out of consideration for a
moment, although there is every reason to attribute this to the same person. From Ib
we see that T. Tertinius was a former aedile, probably of the Colonia Ulpia Trajana.
53895 As is known, the aediles (two in number) were, together with the duumviri and the
quaestors, the highest administrative officials of a colonia. While the aedile had to
fulfil special police functions (guarding streets, squares and markets, supervising
the construction and maintenance of roads, etc.), the duumvir was the head of the
judiciary and the quaestor was charged with the management of the finances and the
53900 collection of taxes. Due to the absence of the end of the second line, we do not know
what other office he held at the time that the Pagus Catualium chose him as patron.
It is very likely that he was a duumvir. After all, the aediles are usually
subordinate to the duumviri in the city government, even though they are their
colleagues, so that Tertinius could have been promoted to duumvir after having been
53905 an aedile.

Whatever the case, on II we read that Tertinius is a decurio and duumvir without any
indication of which colonia. However, it may be difficult to assume that this refers
to a colonia other than the one mentioned on Ib. After all, a decurio (i.e. the
official title for members of the city council of cities with Roman law) of the
53910 colony of Ravensbosch itself is hardly conceivable; since this settlement should
rather be regarded as a vicus, and vici and castella were usually added to
neighbouring cities. And even if we consider the vicus of Ravensbosch as the main
town of a pagus, the existence of an ordo decurionum would still not be likely there.
Pagi with such an ordo have only been established with certainty in Africa. Moreover,
53915 for cases in which aediles or quaestors have been established for a vicus magistri,
it is still assumed that these higher officials could often have been the same as
those of the colonia.

From all this it appears that a connection must be sought between the settlement of
Ravensbosch and Catualium on the one hand, and Xanten on the other. It is known that
53920 the latter was the main town of a civitas or gouw, although one was in the dark about
the boundaries of the territory of this civitas. It may be assumed that a civitas
preferably included one or more specific tribes and for the civitas Ulpia Trajana it
has been established that part of the area along the Maas must also have belonged to
it 1). Civitates are often also referred to by the name of such a tribe. In our
53925 country we know of a Civitas Batavorum through the wisdom stone from Ruimel (south of
's Hertogenbosch) (C.I.L. XIII 8771) (erected in honour of Hercules Magusanus) whose
main town has been sought both in Lugdunum Batavorum and in Nijmegen.

The connection that may now be made in the first place between the Civitas Ulpia
Trajana and the Pagus Catualium cannot be doubted. The latter was a subdistrict of
53930 the civitas; the inscription Ib provides of it for the first time the proof. It must
be left open whether the vicus of Ravensbosch also belonged to Catualium and

therefore also to Xanten.

Another valuable fact that we obtain through Ib is that Catualium (which we only know from the Peutinger map (Fig. 56) as a station on the road along the left bank of the

Maas between Maastricht and Nijmegen) is indicated here as a pagus. As for the person of Tertinius, I am not aware of any document on which this name appears with the same first name Titus; we do read on a pointer to Jupiter (C.I.L. XIII 8619), coincidentally originating from the vicinity of Xanten (dated 232 AD), the name Tertinius Vitalis. Furthermore, an inscription with the name Tertinius is known from Mainz (C.I.L. XIII 7115), among others. The reading of C. V. T. as Colonia Ulpia Trajana also deserves further discussion. After all, it may be surprising that someone who holds a position in a city council would live so far away from this city (as the crow flies, the distance between Xanten and the Ravensbosch is over 100 km.). Prof. Bohn is of the opinion, although he acknowledges that there are no examples where the abbreviation C. V. T. has a different meaning than Col. Ulp. Trajana, that the possibility remains that another Colonia is meant here: e.g. a Colonia Ulpia Tungrorum.

However, this problem can perhaps also be solved by assuming that Tertinius originally lived in Xanten or in the vicinity, but that later, when he had ceased to be part of the city council there, he settled in the Ravensbosch. He would then have taken the inscriptions that had been given to him in Xanten to his new home. The name Mansuetus, which we find mentioned on II, is also difficult to place. He does appear several times in inscriptions (C.I.L. XIII, 6871, 6873) without any connection being made 2). And we do not know Macrinus any better either, although the name appears several times (Cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. II, p. 314, 24 and Macrinus Perpetuus on C.I.L. XIII, 7281. 230 AD). Or should we perhaps recognize the ophthalmologist Macrinus here, whose ointment stamp was found in Heerlen in 1866? (C.I.L. 10021. 109).

1) SCHUMACHER, Siedelungs- u. Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande, Bnd. II, p. 216. The area of the Civitas U. T. was inhabited by the Cugerni, the Baetasii and the Sugambri and had numerous small towns and villages situated near the Rhine and the Maas.

2) Cf. JULIUS MANSUETUS by Otto Schilling: de legionibus romanorum 1893 p. 55; Bonn. Jahrb. 83, 136 n° 37.

If we now connect the inscription III with Ib and II, then there is no doubt that the same Tertinius is mentioned here with the same titles (decurio and duumvir) that we already found mentioned on II. We cannot determine the name of the person who pays him tribute.

The oldest inscription of the four is without any doubt Ia. After all, the bronze plate on which it appears was originally intended for Vitalinius alone. Only later was the back used for the application of Ib. Since Ia was dedicated to Vitalinius, we must assume that a certain time had already passed when the Tertinius inscription was placed on it. This oldest inscription is now entirely of the same nature as the one already discussed. It is dedicated to M. Vitalinius, decurio of the Colonia Ulpia Trajana, former quaestor and duumvir. This M. Vitalinius is very well possible the same one who is mentioned on an inscription from the vicinity of Xanten (C.I.L. XIII 8621) with the cognomen Secundus and who was then beneficiarius consularis. We may assume that Vitalinius, after retiring from military service, started to play a role in the city government of the Colonia Trajana.

Finally, we must briefly discuss the question of what the small bronze tables were used for. They are usually found with dedication formulas to a deity. The Museum of the Provincial Utrecht Society 1) possesses, for example, such a plaque from the vicinity of Kleve [Dutch Kleef]. That these plaques were attached to votive offerings is certain; the formula "Votum solvit libens merito" or "dono dedit" that often occurs on them shows this. Sometimes even the wire with which the table was attached to the gift seems to have been preserved 2). We may therefore assume that our bronze plaques were attached to a gift (for example a bust) that was then placed in the atrium or the room that served for it in the villa of Ravensbosch. After all, it is in this room that two of the plaques were found, while the third came to light near the entrance hall. Undoubtedly, the use of the table aenea was much greater than we can assume on the basis of the number of copies that have come down to us. After all, the twice-used copy Ia-b already shows us that bronze was a valuable metal. And at the looting of the abandoned villas, these bronze objects will also have been the first to be taken away. As for the nature of the gifts, we may first think of statues (compare e.g. C.I.L. XIII, 5063), especially since such gifts were also given by vici and pagi to deserving dignitaries and were placed in their homes.3)

A large number of pottery fragments were also found among the rubble of this villa,

as well as numerous metal objects, a few coins, etc. The character of all these [...]

1) Catalogue, 1868, AD 2, p. 164.

2) The grave relief GIL XIII 4669, (= Espérandieu: VI 4674): Protome viri imberbis tabellam ansatam tenentis, to which Prof. Bohn drew my attention, can only support this view.

3) FRIEDLAENDER: Darstellungen aus der Stitengeschichte Roms 8 ed. III p. 271.

29 juli 2005 **Emperor's Head Found in Sewer**

A 1,700-year-old carved marble head of the Emperor Constantine has been found in a sewer in central Rome.

Archaeologists found the 60 cm head while clearing an ancient drainage system in the ruins of the Roman Forum.

Eugenio La Rocca, superintendent of Rome's artefacts, described the head as a rare find and said it was possible it had been used to clear a blocked sewer.

Constantine, who reigned from AD 306 to 337, is known for ending the persecution of Christians and creating the city of Constantinople from the Greek town of Byzantium.

Although most of his subjects remained pagans, he is credited with helping to establish Europe's Christian roots by proclaiming religious freedom.

The white marble head was confirmed as a portrait of Constantine by experts who compared it with coins and two other giant heads kept in Rome's Capitoline Museums.

Probably carved between AD 312 and 325, when Constantine was at the height of his power, it may have belonged to a statue of the emperor in full armour.

"Recovering a portrait of this size and in this state of conservation in the very heart of the city is really extraordinary," said Mr La Rocca.

"We have concluded that the head did not fall by accident into the passage, but was put there on purpose.

"It could have been used as a big piece of stone to divert water from the drain, or it could have been put there to symbolise the resentment of a pagan people for their Christian emperor."

The head's unceremonious insertion in the drain may have saved it from the plundering of the Forum after the fall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century.

It is expected to go on display in Rome's museums after a brief period of restoration.

1 januari 2010 Phalerae of horse harness in the votive depositions of the 2nd - 1st centuries BC in the North Pontic region and problems of their cultural background
Valentina Mordvintseva

(1) In the history of the North Pontic region a distinctive place belongs to the phalerae - silver roundels presumably of horse harness with representations of different images - anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, and ornamented with floral and geometrical decoration. They were widespread in the North Pontic steppes and neighbouring regions during the last centuries BC.

(2) First survey of such phalerae was published by A.A. Spitsyn. The aim of his work was to discuss their chronology and to define thier stylistic features. He also noted, that these phalerae belong to some culture of the turn of the era, which still is scarcely known in our antiquities".

It is due to M.I. Rostovtzeff, that the phalerae began to play a special role in the investigation of the Sarmatian Culture of the North Pontic region. He saw in those phalerae a distinctive cultural influence from the East. He suggested, that they were brought to the North Pontic Steppes with the new tribes of the Iranian origin, which came from the boundaries of Graeco-Bactria and which were known from the ancient sources as Sakoi.

As a proof to his theory Rostovtzeff point on the non-Greek character of representations on the phalerae, its polychrome (partly gilded silver), representations of a floral rosette, which he thought to be a pure Persian motive.

(3) As an analogy - even "the only close analogy" to the Pontic phalerae he takes horse trappings of the Sasanian time. He believed, that «this Persian ornaments were taken by the Sasanians from the Parthians, and by those from the Achaemenidian Persians».

He mentions also stylistic parallels to the representations on the Pontic phalerae.

(4) A deity on the phalera from Yanchokrak Rostovtzeff suggested to have closest parallels in the Graeco-Indian Art of Taxila and Hatra. With this art Rostovtzeff compares also the floral rosettes of the Pontic phalerae.

- (5) These phalerae as distinctive burial goods were taken by Rostovtzeff to show the first movement of the great Sarmatian Migration in all his main works on the history of Bosphorus and the Scythia. A new assemblage, discovered in Bulgaria – the Galice hoard – Rostovtzeff suggested as the most western find, connected with the appearance of the Sarmatians on this territory.
- 54070 The ideas of Rostovtzeff and his predecessors were developed by K.V. Trever in her book "The monuments of the Graeco-Bactrian Art". Actually, in this volume were published items mostly without clear provenance, which were kept in the Department of Eastern Antiquities of the State Hermitage. The idea of Rostovtzeff was taken in
- 54075 whole, thus, in her book Trever even has not done attempts to find analogies around the places, where some of the phalerae were found. Thus, the animals represented on the phalera found near Starobelsk in the Ukraine were declared as incarnations of the Indo-Iranian deities Indra, Mithra and so on. Afterwards many scholars noted, that some of the published articles cannot be attributed to the production of the Graeco-Bactria.
- 54080
- (6) A special research on the phalerae was made by N. Fettich (1953). He has done very accurate study of the new finds of phalerae from the territories of Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. Also he personally investigated the phalerae from the Soviet museums – those, which survived to the time. To the analysis he took as well items from the Dacian silver hoards.
- 54085 N. Fettich pointed out the main decorative features of the discussing group of the material – graphical elements such as lines of dots, rows of triangles, zig-zag, running wave and ovoi. With this particular group he connected not all known
- 54090 phalerae, but only from the assemblages of Yanchokrak, Taganrog, Balakleja, Galiche, Scorce and Herastreu. After all he concluded, that all these objects were produced in Olbia in the second half of the 1st century BC. He believed, that it was connected somehow with the military events of the time – wars of Burebista.
- 54095
- (7) In his work N. Fettich based himself on the idea of Rostovtzeff, that the phalerae were used primarily as the ornaments of horse harness and were a sign of the Sarmatian ethnicity. Existence of brooches made in the same style in the Dacian material he explained in some cases as second use of the phalerae of harness. Olbia he believed as a centre of production, in which craftsmen made items of the Sarmatian use (phalerae) for the Sarmatians, and items of the Dacian use (brooches, bracelets, torques, chaines) – for the Dacians and Getoi.
- 54100 T. Sulimirsky in his book about the Sarmatians (1970) thought, that phalerae, which were found in the North Pontic region were made by the jewellers of Panticapeum. The appearance of the phalerae in the Pontic Steppe he connected with the arrival to the Crimea in the 2nd c. BC of the troops of the Pontic Army of Diophantus, and with the Mithridathes' Wars of the 1st half of the 1st century BC.
- 54105
- (8) In the concept of K.F. Smirnov (1984) assemblages with the phalerae were seen as signs of the Sarmatian movement from the East to the West. He supposed, that the easternmost assemblages should be dated earlier than the westernmost assemblages. Despite the work of Fettich, which he mentioned in his book, Smirnov still named all phalerae as items of the Graeco-Bactrian style. However, in some notes in his book he suggested as possible also the Bosphoran provenance of them.
- 54110
- (9) Phalerae were also a subject of my dissertation delivered in 1996 and published in 2001. There were pointed out several stylistical groups of phalerae.
- 54115
- (10) With the namely Graeco-Bactrian Style it was possible to connect a group of phalerae with distinctive compositional, stylistic, and technical features. These phalerae are slightly concave and comparatively big in size – their diameter is about 24-26 cm. Their composition is divided in three zones. In the centre one can see the main subject. It is surrounded by a classical wreath. On the border there is a row of fine ornamentation – circles, running wave. All these parts of composition are gilded. The rest of phalerae remains ungilded. This makes a kind of colour play. Such phalerae were done in pairs. A representation on the second item of the pair is done always in mirror-reflection. On the back-side they bear 3 loops, by which they were attached to the belts of a saddlery. This type of phalerae is actually characteristic to the eastern territories. Phalerae with 3 loops on the back were
- 54120
- 54125 found even in Taxila, their representations are well-known in the Iranian world. They definitely belonged to some particular horse harness, consisted of a pair of
- 54130

saddlery-phalerae and phalerae of a bridle.

Here it is worthy to note, that phalerae of the proper Graeco-Bactrian style were found eastwards of Volga. 3-loop phalerae of other stylistic group were found also in Kuban and Lower Don region, but never in the North Pontic region.

(11) Other group of the phalerae - phalerae of the Pontic Graphical Style. These are very high roundels, which are comparatively not so big in their size - diameter ca. 15 cm. Representations are made in low relief and richly ornamented with the punch-decoration. The main subject of most of the phalerae is a rosette with leaves of acanthus and lotus.

(12) Some of phalerae bear images of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures. The border is decorated with many rows of graphical elements - zig-zag, running wave, ovoi.

(13) Some of these elements were made with some special tools and were used only on the phalerae found in the North Pontic region. This allow one to suggest, that they were made in this region. At the same time such special details are absent on the phalerae from the hoards of Galice, Scercze and Herastreu. Differently, the graphical elements on borders a made not with the poinsons of special shapes but by a free-hand. Consequently they were made in different workshops and not in one, as Fettich believed.

(14) Subjects of the phalerae of Pontic Graphical Style also cannot be suggested as of eastern provenance, they are far from eastern motives as in the meaning, as in the composition, as in the delivering. (14) Such a motive as the floral rosette came widely in fasion from the end of the 3rd century BC, which can be shown on the example of the mould-made bowls or silver cups with similar ornamentation.

Other subjects also have a little in common with the art of the Hellenistic Bactria and Parthia.

(15) Such compositions as two pairs of animals jumped one against another are well-known as a classical subject.

(16) Human faces-masks are the motives, which rather familiar to the European monuments of the La Tène period. Some ornaments from the Starobelsk Treasure is similar to the ordinary items of Pojanesti-Lukashevka Culture.

(16a) Half-represented figures of deities and figures of riders are frequent on the silverware of the Western Pontic region.

(17) On one of the phalerae of Yanchokrak Hoard there is a creature with the shield, on which an umbon is represented. This M. Schukin connected with representations of umbons of the La Tène type.

Deity from the other phalera resembles features of the Scythian and Thracian tradition of representation - a form of the head, a headress, a composition with a bird aside, a type of the bird, ornament on the shoulders and hands.

(18) The phalerae of the Pontic Graphical Style were found only to the west of the Volga, in the North Pontic region and in the Kuban valley. Most of the Pontic Graphical Style phalerae belong to the other type of the saddlery phalerae - with 2 iron straps on the back. Some examples bear also 3 loops, and those ones are the easternmost, found on the territory of Kalmykia and in the Kuban region.

(19) The difference between the two mentioned groups of material is not confined only by their stylistical or constructional features. They differ also by their burial rite.

In the case of the phalerae of the 1st type of saddlery they were deposited in graves. In the case of phalerae of the 2nd type of saddlery - they were found mainly as votive depositions in the kurgan mounds or even in natural hills. The easternmost votive deposit is a find in the mound of kurgan 27 in Zhutovo cemetery, situated between the rivers Don and Volga.

(20) Votive depositions of the North Pontic region are not confined only by those, where phalerae were found. Much more are assemblages consisted of other objects: horse ornaments of other kind, horse bits and psalia, helmets, weapons, silver cups and so on.

- (20a) These objects are often found in a damaged condition. Such a burial rite is not known in the Volga region, which is believed as a Motherland of the Sarmatians, and on the territories eastwards of the Volga, but it is well-known in Europe, in the Cultures of the Scythians and Thracians as well.
- Thus, from the very beginning of their research phalerae were suggested to show the movement of the Iranian tribes to the North Pontic region from the boundaries of the Graeco-Bactria. However, they demonstrate a different tendency. Stylistical and typological features of the phalerae of the Pontic Graphical Style and their special burial rite are comparable with territories situated to the west of the Scythia. How one should interpret these finds of phalerae and is it worthy to connect them with the Sarmatians?
- To answer the question it is necessary to define - what we mean under the terms "Sarmatians" and "Sarmatian Culture".
- In the original texts of ancient authors of the early Hellenistic period the Sarmatia or the Sarmatians are scarcely mentioned. Those passages are very rare, short, and unclear.
- (21) From the sources dated from the 5th to the 2nd centuries BC one can see that all writers connected the names of Sauromatians, Syrmatians, and Sarmatians with the Meotida and the Tanais.
- However, we have no chance to know - are those names the different spellings of one or do they belong to different peoples. What we know more or less definitely, is that the ancient authors of later times (from about the 1st BC onwards) did not recognize the difference. About earlier sources it is difficult to judge, because of their paucity and unclearness.
- (22) In the later sources there is a bit more information about the Sarmatians. Polybius described the treaty of the Pontic states (179 BC), in which took part one Gatal - the "kinglet of the Sarmatians". Polybius did not define the territory, from which came this Gatal, but he was mentioned as an European ruler. This does not exclude the same territory mentioned before - around Meotida and Tanais.
- The most important record for the fate of the Sarmatian archaeology was a line of Diodorus (1 c. BC), that «Many years later this people (i.e. Sauromatae - V.M.) became powerful and ravaged a large part of Scythia, and destroying utterly all whom they subdued they turned most of the land into a desert» (Diodorus, Hist., II, 43, 7). This episode was the main record to suggest a massive invasion of the Sarmatians from the East. Diodorus was not a witness to this migration. He described this as an event, which happened a long time ago. To date this event - was always a task for many historians researching the Scythia and Sarmatia. But one should notice, that it is nothing in the text to suggest that the Sauromatians came from some distant land to fight Scythia. From the text it is to conclude, that the Sauromatians invaded Scythia from their own territory near the Tanais and Meotida.
- (23) In one Chersonesian decree dated to the end of the 2nd c. is written about danger from the Scythians and some other barbarians to the city of Kalos-Limen, which was also situated comparatively close to Meotida.
- At the same time the epigraphical sources of the 2nd - 1st centuries BC also speak clearly about other events.
- In the Decree in Honour of Protogenus (the last third of the 3rd c. BC - beginning of the 2nd c. BC) is described the dangerous state of Olbia, which was threatened from the West, from the Skiroi and Galatoi, usually thought as Keltoi.
- A Decree in honour of Diophantus, which describes the events in the Crimea at the end of the 2nd c. BC, mentions several barbarian tribes - the Scythians, Reuxinaloi, Tauroi.
- (24) In the dedication of Posideos of the second half of the 2nd c. BC, found at the Scythian Neapolis, are mentioned some Satarchai. The inscription is not clear because it is very damaged.
- In the second half of the 2nd c. BC Olbia was under the protection of the Scythian king Skiluros, whose name and a name of the city were struck on the Olbian coins. The inscription on a marble plat newly found at the heroon of the king Argotus - a predecessor to Skiluros, mentions his victories under the Thracians and Meotians. It is important, that the king is named as "the governor of Scythia - rich of horse pastures". The construction of the heroon is dated not earlier than as 130 BC.
- Thus, in the epigraphical and written sources records about the arrival of the Sarmatians in the North Pontic region from the East are absent. Semi-legendary data

54265 about some Sarmatia, which lays near Meotida, corresponds with the usual information about the territory of the Sauromatians, who by ancient authors were also named as Sarmatians.

54270 (25) The great migration from the East into the North Pontic region in the 3rd - 2nd centuries BC is not noticed either by the archaeological material. Alternatively, in the archaeological culture of the barbarians of the North Pontic area there are more signs, which show the connections with the Western World of the Thracians, Celts and Germans. The traces of such connections we have also observed in the epigraphical sources.

54275 Why is it, that in all works on the history and archaeology of the Sarmatians prevails a version about the occupation of Scythia in the Hellenistic period by the Sarmatian tribes from the East?

Archaeological monuments relatively late were taken as an important source to reconstruct those historical events, which are believed to be connected with the Sarmatians.

54280 (26) The investigator, who for the first time clearly shaped the concept about the Sarmatian invasion of Scythia, which now is a part of our way of thinking, was M.I. Rostowzeff. Many elements in his "Sarmatian paradigm" were stated as an extrapolation of the later records about the Sarmatians on the earlier periods of their history. As Rostowtzeff before he started to be interested in history of the North Pontic area was a historian of the Roman period, the written sources of this time gave him a stable historical portrait of the Sarmatians, features of which became the most important for Rostowtzeff in finding the material culture of the Sarmatians. The main elements of the Sarmatian concept of Rostowtzeff were the following:

54295 1. The Sarmatians were the eastern neighbours to the Scythians, they invaded Scythia and became rulers of the North Pontic region. Generally this was based on the record of Diodorus. This event Rostowtzeff dated to the transition from the 4th to the 3rd centuries BC. After that instead of Scythia appeared Sarmatia, and the Scythians were pushed to the West (Dobrudja) and to the South (the Crimea).

54300 2. The names "Sarmatians" and "Sauromatians" are not similar, according to Rostowtzeff, and mean different peoples. The Sauromatians were a Meotian tribe. Very characteristic feature of them was to have many matriarchal customs in their culture. Separating the Sauromatians from the Sarmatians he supposed, that these names were mixed by the later authors, and the earlier authors used the names properly.

3. Under the common name of Sarmatians Rostowtzeff meant different tribes of Iranian origin, who constantly invaded the Steppes of South Russia from the East. Rostowtzeff mentions two main waves of migrations - early (Saki) and late (Yüe-chi).

54305 4. The most splendid feature of the Sarmatian culture, which one could characterise as a feature of their material culture, was a special type of weapon and arms (katafrakta). It consisted of: a long heavy lance, a long sword and a dagger, an armour or a chain-armour, and a helmet (usually of conical shape). All this - according to Rostowtzeff - was different to the arms of the Scythians. This image of the Sarmatian kataphraktarii, described in the works of Ammianus Marcellinus (4th c. AD), Rostowtzeff extrapolates on the earlier Sarmatians.

54310 5. He constantly underlines the close similarity of the Sarmatians with the Parthians, an impression he also took from the ancient sources. This connection consisted in the special features of the Sarmatian art, which was brought with them into South Russia (polychrome, animal style), in their religion (Fire-worship), in their patriarchal way of life, and in the military organisation of their society. To correspond to this image of the Sarmatians Rostowtzeff was looking for monuments of material culture, which would be situated eastwards of Scythia, dated to the end of the 4th - beginning of the 3rd c. BC, and exhibiting the above-mentioned features, which could point on their Iranian origin.

54320 (27) Such material monuments became the Prokhorovka kurgans (Orenburg group, after Rostowtzeff). Their discovery coincided with Rostowtzeff's visit to his parents in Orenburg in 1915. In kurgan 1 were found an iron armour, a long sword, polychrome jewels, items of Animal Style, and Achaemenidian bowls - i.e. direct Iranian imports, which gave Rostowtzeff an argument to suggest these monuments as belonging to the Sarmatians - the new Iranian comers from the East. But by those Sarmatians he did not mean the local population. The Sarmatians - as well as the Scythians, Rostowtzeff imagined as a group of tribes of Iranian origin, who were a minority of the population and ruled the majority of the local people. They were mounted warriors,

54330 who came to rule the Steppes of the South Russia from the East.

(28) After his opinion even in the 4th century BC the whole Steppe eastwards of the Don was in hands of these newcomers.

54335 Rostowtzeff suggested that the kurgans near Elizavetovskaya stanitsa on the Don were very close in the material culture to that of the Orenburg group. The third close assemblages he located in the Kuban region and Taman peninsula (Stavropol Treasure, Buerova Mogila, kurgans near stanitsa Beslennenskaya and Kurdzhipskaya). Thus, approximately on the base of ten or so assemblages was formed an idea about the main directions of connections to demonstrate the movement of the Sarmatian tribes

54340 from the East to the West: Orenburg group (East, the Sarmatians themselves) - Elisavetovskaya group (possible Syrmatae/Sarmatae) - Kuban group.

To show this movement of people from the East to the West by the archaeological material were drawn the phalerae of horse harness,

54345 (29) and a group of polychrome brooches found in the Kuban region. Now its Bosporan provenance is shown in works of M. Treister.

(30) The second wave of migrants - Yüe-chi - brought the new Animal Style. This event Rostowtzeff dated from the 1st c. BC to the 1st c. AD.

54350 Before 1917 Rostowtzeff has worked out his notion of the Sarmatian Culture, which later changed only in details. He created a clear historical idea of the Sarmatian Culture, he pointed out the main historical stages of this Culture and connected the historical name "Sarmatians" with the monuments of material culture.

54355 However, the concept of Rostowtzeff had its weak sides depended mostly on the lack of archaeological material for proper analysis. In fact the culture of the early Sarmatians was defined on the base of one kurgan mound (Prokhorovka No. 1), which was actually not excavated fully. And the animal style of the Sarmatians he characterised only on the base of finds from the kurgan "Khokhlach" and the Majkop-belt, which was a fake, also introducing some objects from the Siberian collection of the Peter the

54360 Great to the analysts.

In 20-s of the 20th century the chronological phases of the "Sarmatian stage" on the base of new excavations in the Volga-Ural region were worked out. The authority of the Rostowtzeff's theory about the Sarmatian character of the Orenburg kurgans was quite strong and this idea was taken as an axiom in future studies.

54365 (31) The creator of the periodisation of the Sarmatian Culture, which is still alive, was Paul Rau. Rau was a local German - a citizen of the newly organized Republik of Germans of the Volga region, who was really enthusiastic to collect all sources about the ancient history of his region and to save them for the new generations. He tried

54370 to show the development of his region in the context of surrounding territories of South Russia and Siberia. In this way the Volga-Ural region became for him a centre, a sort of standard measure in this comparison with other regions.

In his early works P. Rau made an analysis of the archaeological material - scrupulous and based on new methods (for example, with correlation tables). In his

54375 last book about Scythian arrow-heads he has proposed briefly a historical concept of the Sarmatian Culture.

The statements of the Rau concept, which became a part of the modern "Sarmatian Paradigma" are the following:

54380 1. The Volga and Ural steppes were the Motherland of the Sarmatians, the culture of whom spread from this territory westwards (North Pontic region) and south-eastwards (Middle Asia, Siberia).

2. The Sauromatian (6th - 4th BC) and the Sarmatian (3rd BC - 3rd AD) cultures are connected by their origin.

54385 After the features of burial rite P. Rau pointed out 4 stages of the common Sauromato-Sarmatian Culture. Thus, he constructed its relative chronology. Rau took the orientation and type of a grave's form to the main cultural features. With the Sauromatian stage he connected the Culture of «Ostwestgräber», and with the Sarmatian - the Culture of «Meridionalgräber».

54390 (32) It was K.F. Smirnov, who has developed and expanded the main ideas of P. Rau. Under his direction were made the wide-scale excavations in the South Ural and Volga districts. In the 1960-s the number of archaeological monuments of the Sarmatian Culture was counted in hundreds.

54395 In works of Smirnov the Volga-Ural region is seen as a centre of origin of the Sauromato-Sarmatian Culture in general. This culture - as in works of Rau - is shown

as a definite measure to compare with the barbarian cultures from other territories. Thus, Smirnov underlines the connection of the Sarmatian Culture with cultures of the Late Bronze Age to show the autochthon origin of the Sarmatian population of the Volga-Ural region.

(33) Thus, since the 3rd c. BC the Sarmatian tribes slowly moved to the West. As we have seen earlier, to show this slow movement were sets of phalerae, found as votive depositions. A lack of monuments of the Volga type in the North Pontic region was explained by the low degree of investigation in this area.

Very important for the creating of the "Sarmatian Paradigma" was also the placing of the tribes known from the written sources (Aorsi, Siraki, Alanae) on the archaeological map. The name Upper Aorsi was in fact created to call the Aorsi, who, according to Strabo, lived above the Aorsi themselves. These tribes became to be seen as confederations of tribes. This archaeological map was connected with the chronological scheme showing the stages of the Sarmatian Culture. Thus, in this periodisation the ethnical aspect became a matter of the main importance.

After the works of Smirnov the "Sarmatian Paradigma" was not remarkably changed, but it developed in some its parts.

In the following works of sarmatologists the chronological periods of the Sarmatian Culture became periods of the domination of some nomadic groups - the Sauromatae, the Aorsi, the Alanae. Dating of the appearance of some definite tribe on the historical scene began to influence the dating of the archaeological assemblages, intuitively connected with the historical events.

(34) To make a conclusion about the development of the "Sarmatian Paradigma" it is necessary to note, that initially the material culture of the Sarmatians was closely connected with the image of the Sarmatians, which came from the works of Roman historians. This connection was so strong, that it pressed other sources - epigraphical and archaeological, which - despite they were called the most objective to the ancient history - still are just passive illustrations to the historical concepts.

The main difficulties arise with the identification of the Sarmatians in the North Pontic region. The archaeological picture does not correlate with the picture painted by the historians. The Sarmatian attack - if we have in mind the monuments of the Volga area) in the 3rd - 1st centuries BC is not visible.

After my point of view, there is no ground to suggest the Volga-Ural region as the centre and Motherland of the Sarmatians of the historical sources. The movement of some people from the Volga basin to the North Pontic region in the 2nd c. BC is no more than a speculation based on the doubtful interpretation of the fragmentary and dubious written sources.

A distant eastern influence, which is definitely clear in the material culture in valleys of the Volga, the lower Don and the Kuban from the second half of the 2nd c. BC, is not seen in the North Pontic area.

Who were the people in this case, who left those votive depositions with silver phalerae? This question can not be decided easily. At any rate they were not the Sakoi, who came from the boundaries of Graeco-Bactria and whom Rostovtzeff suggested as the first Sarmatians, and they were not the barbarian tribes of the Lower Volga and Ural region, whom suggested as the Sarmatians Smirnov.

More likely seems to compare the monuments of the North Pontic region with the western Pontic territories. This could be seen as in the artistic tradition, as in the rite of votive depositions.

29 april 2016 **Massive 600 kg haul of ancient Roman coins unearthed in Spain**

Construction workers have found 600kg of ancient Roman coins while carrying out routine work on water pipes in southern Spain, local officials have said.

"It is a unique collection and there are very few similar cases," Ana Navarro, head of Seville's archeology museum, which is looking after the find, told a news conference.

Dating back to the late third and early fourth centuries, the bronze coins were found on Wednesday inside 19 Roman amphoras, a type of jar, in the town of Tomares near Seville.

Navarro declined to give a precise estimate for the value of the haul, saying only that the coins were worth "certainly several million euros".

The coins are stamped with the inscriptions of emperors Maximian and Constantine, and they appeared not to have been in circulation as they show little evidence of wear and tear.

It is thought they were intended to pay the army or civil servants.

"The majority were newly minted and some of them probably were bathed in silver, not just bronze," said Navarro.

54465 "I could not give you an economic value, because the value they really have is historical and you can't calculate that."

Local officials have suspended the work on the water pipes and plan to carry out an archaeological excavation on the site.

54470 The Romans conquered the Iberian Peninsula in 218 BC, ruling until the early fifth century, when they were ousted by the Visigoths.

15 november 2016 Minerva and Medusa

Olim Medusa, puella pulchra, in terra obscura habitabat ubi neque sol neque luna apparebat. Terra obscura puellae grata non erat. Medusa igitur Minervam adoravit.

54475 "Dea sapientiae, audi me," puella misera oravit. "Juva me! Terra obscura, ubi habito, mihi grata non est. Pulchra sum; pulchram comam atque faciem pulchram habeo. Nemo autem in terra obscura me videre potest. Desidero in terra clara habitare."

Dea autem Medusam juvare recusavit. Tum puella irata Minervae dixit, "Invidiosa es quod tam pulchra sum! Populum me videre non desideras!"

54480 Tum dea irata pulchram comam puellae mutavit.

"Tu fuisti superba propter comam pulchram atque faciem pulchram. Ego comam tuam in serpentes mutavi," dea dixit irata. "Non jam tua coma erit pulchra. Tua facies erit pulchra, sed nemo te spectare poterit. In saxa tua facies viros mutabit."

54485 Minerva and Medusa (Translation)

Once upon a time Medusa, a beautiful girl, was living on dark land where neither the sun nor the moon appeared. The dark land was not pleasing to the girl. Therefore Medusa adored Minerva.

54490 "Goddess of wisdom, hear me," the miserable girl begged. "Help me! The dark land, in which I have lived, is not pleasing to me. I am beautiful; I have beautiful hair and a beautiful face. No one however is able to see me on the dark land. I want to live on bright land."

However the goddess refused to help Medusa. Then the angry girl said to Minerva, "You are jealous because I am so pretty! The people do not want you to see me!"

54495 Then the angry goddess changed the beautiful hair of the girl.

"You were arrogant because of beautiful hair and a beautiful face. I changed your hair into serpents," said the angry goddess. Your hair will no longer be beautiful. You will be made beautiful, but no one will be able to see you. You will make men change into stone."

54500

Commentary

Throughout this passage, the genitive case is used quite often. For example, the genitive of description is shown in the phrase, "dea sapientiae" meaning the goddess of wisdom. In addition, the imperative is utilized as well when Medusa addressed Minerva. This is an instance where the imperative is present: "Juva me!" Starting from line five to line six, a form of repetition - parallel structure is shown by the recurrence of the adjective "pulchra" and the accusative case. This line proves to be significant because of the way Medusa praises her own beauty, causing Minerva to become irritated.

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25 oktober 2016 **In Troje offert Alexander aan Minerva, zoals we kunnen lezen bij Plutarchus:**

Τοιαύτῃ μὲν οὖν ὁρμῇ καὶ παρασκευῇ διανοίας τὸν Ἑλλησποντιον διεπέρασεν. ἀναβὰς δ' εἰς Ἴλιον, ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἔσπεισε. τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων συναναδραμῶν γυμνὸς ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστεφάνωσε, μακαρίσας αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ζῶν φίλου πιστοῦ καὶ τελευτήσας μεγάλου κήρυκος ἔτυχεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιῦναι καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτόν, εἰ βούλεται τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου λύραν ἰδεῖν, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζειν ἐκείνης ἐφη, τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως ζητεῖν, ἥ τὰ κλέα καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὕμνει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνος.

54520 With such vigorous resolutions, and his mind thus disposed, he passed the Hellespont, and at Troy sacrificed to Minerva, and honoured the memory of the heroes who were buried there, with solemn libations; especially Achilles, whose gravestone he anointed, and with his friends, as the ancient custom is, ran naked about his sepulchre, and crowned it with garlands, declaring how happy he esteemed him, in

54525 having while he lived so faithful a friend, and when he was dead, so famous a poet to proclaim his actions. While he was viewing the rest of the antiquities and curiosities of the place, being told he might see Paris's harp, if he pleased, he said he thought it not worth looking on, but he should be glad to see that of

Achilles, to which he used to sing the glories and great actions of brave men.

54530

ON THE DEATH OF THE EMPRESS FAUSTA

By DAVID WOODS

54535 Fausta, or Flavia Maxima Fausta to call her by her full name, was the daughter of one western emperor, Maximianus Herculus (286-305), the sister of another, Maxentius (306-312), and the wife of a third, Constantine I (306-337).¹ She was married to Constantine in 307, and bore him at least five children from 316 onwards, three sons (Constantine, Constantius, and Constans), and two daughters (Constantina and
54540 Helena).² Following his defeat of his rival Licinius at the battle of Chrysopolis in 324, and the unification of the empire under his rule as the sole Augustus once more, Constantine honoured with the title of Augusta both his wife Fausta and his mother Helena, as is revealed by the issue of coins in their names each with this title.³ However, tragedy struck in 326 when Constantine appears to have executed first his
54545 eldest son Crispus, then Fausta herself. The reason for these executions, and the extent to which these deaths were related, has attracted a great deal of debate. Yet more remains to be said about the manner in which Fausta died, which may well provide an important clue as to the full circumstances of her death, whether she was executed, died by accident, or committed suicide even. Thus, it is my intention here,
54550 firstly, to offer a new explanation for the manner of her death, and secondly, to draw attention to an overlooked allusion to her death in a late Latin source, the Historia Augusta.

I. How did Fausta die?

54555 Let us begin with a brief catalogue of the more important sources for the deaths of Crispus and Fausta, that is, those sources which do not simply note the occurrence of these executions, but seek to provide some detail also concerning their full circumstances:⁴

54560 (i) The anonymous author of the Latin Epitome de Caesaribus, composed c.396, wrote as follows (Epit. 41.11-12):⁵

But when Constantine had obtained control of the whole Roman Empire by means of his wondrous success in battle, he ordered his son Crispus to be put to death, at the suggestion of his wife Fausta, so they say. Then he killed his wife Fausta by hurling her into boiling baths (in balneas ardentis coniectam), when his mother Helena
54565 rebuked him with excessive grief for her grandson.

(ii) According to the surviving epitome of his work by the 9th-century scholar Photius of Constantinople, the Arian ecclesiastical historian Philostorgius, who wrote circa 425, claimed that (HE 2.4):⁶

54570 ... Constantine was induced by the fraudulent artifices of his step-mother to put his son Crispus to death; and afterwards, upon detecting her in the act of adultery with one of his cursors, ordered the former to be suffocated in a hot bath (τη του λουτρου αλέα αναποπνιγναι).⁷

(iii) Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Arvernus in Gaul c.471-87, wrote to a friend in praise of his poetry, stating that (Epist. 5.8.2):⁸

54575 ... no greater power of satiric suggestion was shown by consul Ablabius when in a couple of verses he stabbed at the life and family of Constantine and put his tooth into them with this distich posted up secretly on the door of the palace:

Who would now want the golden age of Saturn?

Ours is a diamond age - of Nero's pattern.

54580 He wrote this, of course, because the aforesaid Augustus had almost simultaneously got rid of his wife Fausta with a hot bath (calore balnei) and his son Crispus with cold poison.⁹

54585 (iv) A pagan historian of the early 6th-century, Zosimus, probably working at Constantinople, did little more than abbreviate the work of a late 4th-century pagan historian, Eunapius, and reported that (HN 2.29.2):¹⁰

Without any consideration for natural law he [Constantine] killed his son, Crispus, who, as I have related before, had been considered worthy of the rank of Caesar, on suspicion of having had intercourse with his stepmother, Fausta. And when Constantine's mother, Helena, was saddened by this atrocity and was inconsolable at
54590 the young man's death, Constantine as if to comfort her, applied a remedy worse than the disease: he ordered a bath to be over-heated (βαλανειον γαρ υπερ το μέτρον έκπυρωθηναι) and shut Fausta up in it until she was dead.¹¹

54595 (v) The Passion of Artemius, a largely fictitious account of the trial under the emperor Julian of the general (dux) Artemius, which depends for much of its historical information on the work of Philostorgius above, and was probably written

in the 8th century by the theologian John of Damascus, attributes to Artemius a speech which includes the following (Art. Pass 45):¹² Constantine did kill his wife Fausta – and rightly so, since she had imitated Phaedra of old, and accused his son Crispus of being in love with her and assaulting her by force, just as Phaedra accused Theseus' son Hippolytus. And so according to the laws of nature, as a father he punished his son. But later he learnt the truth and killed her as well, exacting the most righteous penalty against her.

(vi) Writing in the 12th-century, although with access to early 4th-century sources, the Greek historian Zonaras claimed (Epit. 13.2.38–41):¹³

His [Crispus'] stepmother Fausta was madly in love with him but did not easily get him to go along. She then announced to his father that he [Crispus] loved her and had often attempted to do violence to her. Therefore, Crispus was condemned to death by his father, who believed his wife. But when the emperor later recognized the truth he punished his wife too because of her licentiousness and the death of his son. Fausta was placed in an overheated bath (εἰσαχθεῖσα γὰρ ἐν λουτρῷ ... σφοδρῶς ἐκκαυθέντι) and there found a violent end of her life.¹⁴

So what do modern commentators make of these unsavoury allegations? Obviously something terrible happened. Not only were Crispus and Fausta executed, but their memory was also condemned (*damnatio memoriae*). Their names were erased from public inscriptions, and the literary record was similarly affected.¹⁵ Eusebius of Caesarea, for example, revised later copies of his Ecclesiastical History in order to omit earlier material in praise of Crispus, and his Life of Constantine which he composed c.338 makes no mention whatsoever of either Crispus or Fausta.¹⁶ Yet there has been marked reluctance in recent times to accept the allegations of a sexual scandal, that Crispus and Fausta had become embroiled in an intimate relationship for which they both paid with their lives.¹⁷ Hence P. Guthrie, for example, has argued that the execution of Crispus was a dynastic murder by Constantine in order to remove his eldest and illegitimate son from the succession in favour of his three legitimate sons by Fausta.¹⁸ This has been ably refuted by H. A. Pohlsander who, among his other arguments, pointed out that the appointment of Crispus to the rank of Caesar in 317 had already proved his eligibility for the rank of Augustus, and that Constantine was unlikely to regard illegitimacy as a bar to succession, being illegitimate himself also.¹⁹

Yet argument and counter-argument both suffer serious flaws, the former more so, in that it is not at all clear that Crispus and Constantine were actually illegitimate. Many scholars now deny this.²⁰ More importantly, this theory does not explain why Constantine had Fausta executed also, nor the unusual manner of her death. In brief, it pays too little attention to what the sources themselves actually say in this matter.

Another theory has some merit in that it does at least accept that there was a real connection between the deaths of Crispus and Fausta. According to N. J. E. Austin, Crispus had his future predicted, and Fausta reported this to Constantine as a conspiracy against his rule.²¹ He executed Crispus immediately, but soon repented of his haste when he discovered that there was little basis to her allegation. Consequently, he held her responsible for Crispus' death, and executed her also. Again, this explanation of events pays too little attention to the testimony of the sources themselves. It ignores the allegations of adultery, nor does it sufficiently explain the unusual manner of Fausta's death. Furthermore, as J. W. Drijvers notes, it does not explain why the condemnation of Crispus' memory was not reversed when it emerged that he was innocent.²² If Fausta had been killed because her charge against Crispus was discovered to be false, then his memory ought to have been restored and commemorated accordingly. But this did not happen.

The reasons why some scholars have been so reluctant to accept the allegation of a sexual relationship between Crispus and Fausta vary somewhat. T. D. Barnes, for example, excluded the possibility of a sexual relationship between them on the basis that 'Crispus normally resided at Trier, far from his stepmother, who lived at his father's court'.²³ Hence his claim that 'Fausta or her agents (my emphasis) must have played a large role in securing Crispus' condemnation', playing down the possibility of any physical contact between the two. Alternatively, others have been deterred by the similarity of the alleged relationship between Fausta and Crispus to that between Phaedra and Hippolytus, as if the story of their relationship was an invention simply with this myth as its model.²⁴ Others again have been influenced more by the apparent origin of this allegation than by the nature of the allegation itself. For it is possible that all the surviving sources in this matter depend upon a single original source only, a pagan source which was implacably opposed to Constantine because of

his rejection of Rome's traditional cults and his espousal of Christianity. The fact that Zosimus explicitly links the murders of Crispus and Fausta to Constantine's conversion to Christianity serves to fuel this scepticism. According to Zosimus (HN 2.29.3-5), when the full impact of his deeds had dawned upon him, Constantine had approached the pagan priests and sought purification for his sins. When these told him that no purification was possible for these sins, an Egyptian from Spain, normally identified as bishop Ossius of Cordova, informed him to the contrary, that Christ would forgive all sins.²⁵ Hence Constantine became a Christian. The polemical nature of this story, and the tradition which it represents, is such that Drijvers has rejected it in entirety, claiming that 'only one option is left and that is to conclude that Constantine's motives for killing his son and wife will always remain unknown, in spite of the many ingenious suppositions of historians'.²⁶ Yet while one does not doubt that pagan historians hostile to Constantine rejoiced to recount his cruel execution of Crispus and Fausta, it does not necessarily follow that one of their number must have invented the story of their adultery also. The silence of the earliest Christian authors on this topic is sufficient guarantee that a serious scandal really did lie behind their deaths. Pagan tradition simply preserved that which most Christians were all too eager to forget, and eventually set it to serve a new polemical purpose. So why was Fausta killed in the unusual manner alleged? All the surviving sources who care to comment on the exact manner of her death, Greek and Latin, pagan or Christian, seem to agree on its location, in a bath or bathroom, even if they do not agree upon, or care to mention even, the nature of her offence. There is strong agreement also that it was the heat of the bath or bathroom which was the immediate cause of her death. However, it remains unclear whether Fausta suffocated to death in the steam, or was scalded to death by the water itself. Of our ancient sources, only Philostorgius, or his epitomator rather, favours death by suffocation, and the rest remain sufficiently vague to allow of either possibility. The problem is that the terms used to describe the exact location of Fausta at her death (balneum, *βλανεϊον*, *λουτρον*) can all refer either to the bath itself or to the room within which this bath was situated. Unless the verb used in association with these terms is itself specific, that she suffocated, drowned or was burned to death, we must remain in the dark as to the exact manner of her death. Yet while Philostorgius is quite clear that Fausta suffocated to death, it is important to remember that his original account has not itself survived, but only an epitome of the same by Photius. There must be some doubt, therefore, whether Philostorgius himself actually stated that Fausta suffocated, or Photius just assumed this upon reading Philostorgius' description of the cause of death, the heat of her bath or bathroom. It is no surprise, therefore, that modern commentators seem unable to agree on the exact manner of her death either. Drowning, suffocation by steam, and burning or scalding to death, have all had their advocates.²⁷ One scholar considers Fausta's confinement to an overheated bath (or bathroom) as an ordeal to find out whether she had committed adultery with Crispus.²⁸ It was a means of interrogation first, then execution. Yet this treatment seems no less extraordinary whether one considers it a form of interrogation by torture only, or a deliberate method of execution. A number of different forms of capital punishment were practised during the 4th century. These included beheading, burning at the stake, and dismemberment, as well as more inventive punishments such as suffocation over a slow fire, or the pouring of molten lead down the victim's throat.²⁹ However, no other case is known where the victim was sentenced to death in a bath. Indeed, there are no known instances of the application of the death penalty for adultery under Constantine, other than in the case of Crispus and Fausta, and although adulterers were often punished with death during later reigns, beheading seems to have been the favoured punishment.³⁰ Hence the suggestion that Fausta committed suicide, even if it was 'suicide under compulsion', has some merit, and the unusual manner of her death may well have been suggested to her in order to emphasize its 'voluntary' nature.³¹ One notes, for example, that during the investigation of various sexual crimes at Rome circa 368, a certain Hesychia suffocated herself on her feather bed rather than face interrogation.³² This is reminiscent of the claim that Fausta suffocated to death also, although it may be that Hesychia's choice was dictated more by the absence of other means rather than a preference for suffocation itself. A third possibility is that Fausta died by accident instead. In his ecclesiastical history Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus 423-466, tells of a number of encounters which took place at Antioch between the Syrian monk Aphraates and the emperor Valens (364-378), or members of his staff, including the following cautionary tale (HE 4.23):

One of the grooms of the imperial bedchamber, who threatened the godly man [Aphraates] somewhat more violently, met with the following fate. He was entrusted

with the charge of the bath, and immediately after this conversation he came down to get it ready for the emperor. On entering he lost his wits, stepped into the boiling water before it was mixed with the cold, and so met his end. The emperor sat waiting for him to announce that the bath was ready for him to enter, and after a considerable time had gone by he sent other officers to report the cause of the delay. After they had gone in and looked all about the room they discovered the chamberlain slain by the heat, and lying dead in the boiling water.³³

While this tale serves to illustrate that fatal accidents were possible when preparing a hot bath, it also shows that these were far more likely to happen to their servants than to the members of the imperial family themselves. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Fausta would have died in such a manner. One should remember at this point, though, that baths often served purposes other than those of hygiene or pleasure, being regarded as beneficial for a variety of ailments also.³⁴ It is said, for example, that Constantine visited the hot baths shortly before his own illness and death.³⁵ So was Fausta sick when she took to her hot bath, with the result that it was her illness rather than the heat which overcame her? Perhaps. Yet a darker possibility suggests itself also in so far as hot baths feature prominently among the advice which was often given to women on how to induce abortion. The 2nd-century physician Soranus, who studied at Alexandria in Egypt but practised at Rome itself, has left us a valuable work whose title sufficiently explains its contents, his *Gynaecology*.³⁶ Soranus was one of the most highly reputed of ancient medical authorities, and enjoyed great popularity in the West during late antiquity, particularly in North Africa. He continued to be consulted into the 16th century even. In his *Gynaecology* Soranus discusses various methods of contraception and abortion at some length, but sums up his basic theory thus (*Gyn.* 1.61):

For such of these things [drugs] as are styptic, clogging, and cooling cause the orifice of the uterus to shut before the time of coitus and do not let the seed pass into its fundus. Such, however, as are hot and irritating, not only do not allow the seed of the man to remain in the cavity of the uterus, but draw forth as well another fluid from it.³⁷

Cold causes the mouth of the uterus to shut, assisting thereby at contraception, but heat causes the uterus to evacuate its contents, assisting thereby at abortion. It is for this reason that baths, which are understood to be hot baths, although not too hot, feature so prominently in his advice on how to induce abortion. The patient is advised (*Gyn.* 1.64):?

She should use diuretic concoctions ... bathing daily in sweet water which is not too hot, lingering in the baths and drinking first a little wine and living on pungent food. If this is without effect, one must also treat locally by having her sit in a bath of a decoction of linseed, fenugreek, mallow, marsh-mallow, and wormwood. The advice continues a little later (*Gyn.* 1.65):

For a woman who intends to have an abortion, it is necessary for two or three days beforehand to take protracted baths, little food and to use softening vaginal suppositories; ... But if a woman reacts unfavourably to venesection and is languid, one must first relax the parts by means of sitz-baths, full baths, softening vaginal suppositories ... And she who intends to apply these things should be bathed beforehand or made to relax by sitz-baths; and if after some time she brings forth nothing, she should again be relaxed by sitz-baths and for the second time a suppository should be applied.

It seems possible, therefore, that Fausta took to her hot bath as part of an attempt to induce an abortion. Yet abortion was often fatal. Obviously so for the unborn child, but often for the mother also, even in the best of circumstances. It is reported, for example, that the emperor Domitian (81-96) seduced his niece Julia, and was the cause of her death, therefore, when he forced her to have an abortion.³⁸ Julia should have been able to afford the best medical advice of her day, but death still occurred. Indeed, it was the absence of effective contraception, combined with the dangers of abortion, that led to the widespread practice by which unwanted children were simply abandoned, either to die or to be rescued by strangers.³⁹ Many of the church fathers regarded abortion as attempted suicide even.⁴⁰ In this case, however, it was unthinkable that Fausta should continue her pregnancy and abandon her child, as there was always the possibility that he or she would one day return and lay claim to the throne. Dynastic considerations required that Fausta should have an abortion, despite the risk to her person which this inevitably entailed. Hence this interpretation of events, that Fausta died during an attempted abortion, merits serious consideration because it explains not only the unusual manner of Fausta's death, in a hot bath, but the very fact of her death also. More importantly, though, it is in perfect accord with the claims that Fausta had had a sexual relationship

54795 with Crispus, whether willingly or not. There seems a strong possibility that an unwanted pregnancy would have resulted from such a relationship. For Fausta was perfectly healthy in this regard, having given birth to at least five children in the ten years before her death, and ancient forms of contraception were not particularly reliable. As for Crispus, we know that he was fertile also, because his wife Helena had given birth in 322, and may have been expecting again in 324 also.⁴¹ It is my argument, therefore, that Fausta was pregnant by Crispus, and died in her bath when an attempt to induce abortion went fatally wrong.

54800 So how does this change our understanding of all that went before Fausta's death? Constantine cannot be held directly responsible for her death in so far as he did not order her execution as such. However, the very sequence of events, the death of Crispus followed by that of Fausta, suggests that Constantine had discovered what had happened between Crispus and Fausta, or what was alleged to have happened, and that he had forced her to have an abortion rather than that she had undergone it willingly in an attempt to destroy the evidence of her guilt. Concealment, or further deceit, was no longer possible by the time that she died. This explanation contributes towards the solution of another problem also. How did Constantine learn of the alleged adultery between Crispus and Fausta? Sidonius Apollinaris seems to claim that Ablabius had played a role in revealing his wife's adultery to Constantine, but this only sets the question a stage further back in time. How did Ablabius himself learn of this adultery? One assumes, if Crispus and Fausta really did have an affair, that they were as discreet as possible and took every measure to conceal their relationship. However, the situation would have become much more difficult once Fausta became pregnant, particularly if she was unwilling to undergo a life-threatening abortion. It seems probable, therefore, that it was her pregnancy which brought Fausta's adultery into the open. There came a time when her physical condition gave rise to rumours among her private staff, these reached Ablabius, and he reported them to Constantine.

54810 This assumes, of course, that it was obvious to those involved that Constantine could not have been responsible if Fausta really were pregnant, that is, that he must have been away from Fausta long enough for all to realize that this could not be so. However, our sources are quite clear that something did happen between Crispus and Fausta, whether an affair or the rape of Fausta by Crispus, such as would not have happened, presumably, had Constantine been at hand. So the present interpretation requires little more than our sources themselves demand. Constantine was away from Fausta for several months, at the end of which time rumours were circulating that she and Crispus were having an affair, rumours which had originated with the suspicions in some quarters that she may have been pregnant. Constantine was informed, and questioned Fausta upon his return. She confessed that she was indeed pregnant, but claimed, truthfully perhaps, that Crispus had forced himself upon her. Hence Constantine had Crispus punished, following which he forced Fausta to proceed with an abortion, in the course of which she died.

54835 Strictly speaking, therefore, Fausta died by accident, and Constantine can be absolved of guilt in this matter in so far as he had not intended her death. Yet as far as Christian teaching was concerned, this made little difference. From a Christian point of view, he remained responsible not only for her death, but for the death of her unborn child also.⁴² Hence Constantine had no choice but to conceal as best he could the real circumstances of her death, assuming, that is, that he wished to minimize the damage to his reputation as a Christian leader. There was also his personal pride to be taken into account. He hardly wanted to confirm to all and sundry that he had been made a cuckold, and this by his own son. If the fact that Fausta had died during an attempted abortion had escaped, pagan tradition would have rejoiced to recount this extra piece of scandal, if for no other reason than that it would seem to confirm the rumour that Fausta had been engaged in an illicit relationship. However, this does not seem to have happened. Constantine managed, with commendable efficiency, to keep a lid on the worst aspects of this affair. How did he do this? Enter Helena. What was her role in these events? Clearly, she must have done something suspicious at this time for the tradition to grow that she was responsible for Fausta's death. One suspects, though, that it was Constantine who sought her out and asked her to help deal with Fausta, rather than that she had sought him out in order to complain about Fausta. Doubtless there was hostility between Fausta and Helena, exactly as our sources allege, but it is possible that this was due more to Helena's role as Constantine's agent, and her attempts to persuade Fausta to proceed with an abortion, than any other reason. It is my argument, therefore, that the surviving tradition concerning Helena's role in Fausta's death depends more on external observation of the comings and goings at the palace rather than any genuine

54860 inside knowledge of the cause of all this activity. It was noted, perhaps, that
Constantine had some unusual private meetings with his mother, and that she herself
was greatly distressed. It was noted also that the two imperial ladies had become
openly hostile towards each other. Then Fausta died in unusual circumstances, and no
official explanation was forthcoming.

54865 Two and two were added to make five, and Helena was blamed for Fausta's death. In
reality, though, she was no more than Constantine's confidential agent, chosen first
to persuade Fausta to have an abortion, and then to act as her assistant during the
fatal procedure itself.⁴³ It was in this manner, therefore, that Constantine sought
to minimize public knowledge of this whole sordid affair, by entrusting his mother
54870 with the more sensitive roles.⁴⁴ It is little wonder that she felt the need to go on
pilgrimage to the Holy Land shortly thereafter, probably in autumn 326.⁴⁵
It is appropriate at this point to comment in brief upon the death of Crispus also,
concerning which two facts alone emerge, the location and means of the same. Writing
c.391, the pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus (14.11.20) let slip that Crispus was
54875 put to death at Pola on the Istrian peninsula. This is an important piece of
information. For Pola was such an out-of-the-way place that Crispus must have had a
particular reason to be there. It is generally accepted that Fausta died at Rome
itself, and often held that Crispus normally resided at Trier in Germany.⁴⁶ So how
did he end up at Pola? It must itself have been his final destination, or the final
54880 stop on his journey to another location nearby, to one of the offshore islands
perhaps. He could not have arrived there accidentally while on a journey from one
imperial capital to another.⁴⁷ Nor was this an important military zone such as might
well have required his presence otherwise. Hence the best explanation for his
presence at such a remote location is that he had been exiled there, or that he was
54885 on his way to exile on one of the nearby islands.⁴⁸ So what sort of crimes merited
such punishment? One notes that Constantine sentenced a senator, Ceionius Rufius
Albinus, to exile on a charge of adultery at about this time also.⁴⁹ Whether this is
relevant to Crispus' own fate remains unclear, but it is important to note that
Constantine considered exile an appropriate punishment for adultery, at least as far
54890 as the highest social classes were concerned. Hence the location of Crispus at his
death, in a region to whose islands exiles were often sent, lends some support to the
tradition that he had been convicted of adultery, and exiled as a result.
Let us turn next to the means of his death. Sidonius Apollinaris alone records that
he died of poison, and in so far as no other source contradicts him in this, and his
54895 claim concerning Fausta's death, that she died in a hot bath, is supported by several
other sources also, there is no cause to doubt his testimony here. Crispus was
poisoned. This is important in that poison was not an official means of execution,
which points to suicide by Crispus.⁵⁰ Crispus, it would seem, killed himself, in
despair perhaps, or in order to pre-empt the execution which he feared was his
54900 destined lot, whether immediately at the end of his journey or at some later point in
time. Important exiles were at the mercy always of those factions at court which
feared the return to influence of their enemies once more, and sought, therefore, to
achieve their more permanent end. The elder Licinius had been exiled to Thessalonica
following his defeat in 324, but Constantine had him killed shortly thereafter,
54905 despite an oath to preserve his life.⁵¹ In 354 Constantius II sentenced his cousin
Gallus to exile only, but senior courtiers soon persuaded him to order his execution
also, and even contrived to prevent a second order countermanding this execution from
reaching its destination in time.⁵² Crispus seems to have realized that his death was
only a matter of time, and acted accordingly.

54910 II. An overlooked allusion to the death of Fausta
The *Historia Augusta* charts the lives and reigns of the Roman emperors from Hadrian,
who began to rule in 117, to Carinus, who was killed in 285, although its text has
not survived for the period 244 to 260. It professes to be the work of six different
54915 authors writing during the reigns of Diocletian (284-305), Constantius I (305-6), and
Constantine I (306-37), but there is general agreement now that it was really written
by one author only, writing at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th
century.⁵³ Its value as a historical source deteriorates as it progresses from
Hadrian to Carinus, and although it begins almost as trustworthy biography, its
54920 accounts of the late 3rd-century emperors are nearly completely fictitious. This is
certainly true of its account of the emperor Carinus which is of most interest to us
here.
Carinus was the eldest son of the emperor Carus who rose to power in late 282
following the assassination of his predecessor Probus near Sirmium in Pannonia. Carus
54925 then elevated Carinus to the rank of Caesar and left him in command of the Western

Empire while he set out on an expedition against the Persians together with his youngest son Numerianus, Caesar also. The expedition was successful, and they captured the Persian capital Ctesiphon. Shortly afterwards, however, Carus was killed by lightning, and Numerianus succeeded him.⁵⁴ He was assassinated while leading his army home, and Diocletian, the commander of his bodyguard, succeeded him in turn. When news of these events reached the West, Carinus had first to put down a military revolt in northern Italy, and readied himself then to confront his rival Diocletian. In the spring of 285 their armies met near the river Margus in Moesia, and Diocletian emerged victorious.

This is a summary of what little is known about Carinus and his family, most of which comes from various 4th-century epitomators. These same sources all agree that Carinus lived a life of lust and vindictiveness, and that he lost his battle against Diocletian because his troops deserted him in disgust at this lifestyle.⁵⁵ Of most relevance to us here, however, is an anecdote concerning his decadence which occurs in the *Historia Augusta* alone. Following a description of his bejewelled finery, his luxurious banquets, and his custom of showering his banqueting-halls and bedrooms with roses from Milan, Carinus' bathing habits are described as follows (V. Can 17): The baths which he [Carinus] used were as cold as the air of rooms that are under the ground, and his plunge-baths were always cooled by means of snow. Once, when he came in the winter to a certain place in which the spring-water was very tepid - its wonted natural temperature during the winter - and he had bathed in it in the pool, he shouted to the bath-attendants, it is said, 'This is water for a woman that you have given me'; and this is reported as his most famous saying. When his father heard of all that he did, he exclaimed, 'He is no son of mine', and at last he determined to appoint Constantius - afterwards made Caesar but at that time serving as governor of Dalmatia in the place of Carinus, for the reason that no one even then seemed to be better, and he even planned, as Onesimus relates, to put Carinus to death.⁵⁶ With the possible exception of the reference to the position of Constantius I as governor of Dalmatia, these allegations are obviously and totally fictitious. But what was the purpose of this unhistorical nonsense? It is generally accepted now that many of the fictitious claims within the *Historia Augusta* allude to various 4th-century events.⁵⁷ It has been argued, for example, that its account of the emperor Elagabalus (218-22) consists in large part of a satire on Constantine I.⁵⁸ It has even been claimed that 'Elagabalus' unsuccessful attempt to murder his adopted son Alexander Severus recalls Constantine's murder of his son Crispus'.⁵⁹ It is not unreasonable, therefore, to seek a similar allusion in the above passage, and there is a strong case to be made that it alludes to the deaths of Crispus and Fausta in particular.

Firstly, the claim by Carinus that the water in the pool where he was bathing, which happened to be too warm for his liking, was 'water for a woman' (aqua muliebris) reminds one of the claim that Fausta died in an overheated bath. Indeed, it is difficult to make sense of this passage otherwise. In so far as mixed bathing was common practice in the public baths, and there is no evidence that baths were maintained at different temperatures for women, the description of water which was too warm as 'water fit for a woman' seems to make little sense in and of itself.⁶⁰ Secondly, Carus' alleged exclamation concerning Carinus, 'He is no son of mine', taken literally at least, raises the question of illegitimacy and adultery. At one level this reads as an accusation by Carinus against his wife that she had committed adultery and passed off another man's child as his son, reminiscent of the tradition that Fausta was guilty of adultery.⁶¹ Finally, the claim that Carus wished to put to death Carinus, his eldest son and Caesar, cannot but remind one that Constantine put to death Crispus, his eldest son and Caesar also, or so the story went. It is my argument, therefore, that the author of the *Historia Augusta* had before him a source which included an account of the controversy surrounding the deaths of Crispus and Fausta, and wove different elements of this account into his narrative concerning Carinus. He did not intend an exact analogy, but expected rather that the very combination of these elements would be enough for his reader to understand the subject of his allusion. Furthermore, there is a strong similarity between the vices and excesses which he had attributed to Elagabalus earlier and those which he attributed to Carinus here.⁶² Why is this? The fact that his life of Elagabalus was a satire on Constantine I, and that his life of Carinus reminds us of Elagabalus once more is surely important. The author is trying to signal to us that he has returned to the subject of Constantine once more in his life of Carinus, and that it is to his reign which we must turn again also if we are to hope to understand the real significance of his words.

In conclusion, therefore, Constantine has been unfairly blamed for the execution of

his wife and eldest son, neither of whom he had wished to see dead. The best explanation for the unusual circumstances of Fausta at her death, in a hot bath, is that she died by accident during an attempted abortion. This ties in with the allegation that she was guilty of adultery with Crispus. As for Crispus, he was sentenced to exile, a punishment which points towards his conviction of adultery also. He then committed suicide.

Constantine did his best to cover up this whole sordid mess. He managed to conceal the details of Fausta's death, that she had died during an attempted abortion, because it had taken place in the privacy of the imperial bathroom when Fausta was attended only by the other imperial ladies, not least her mother-in-law Helena. He could not, however, conceal the fact that she had died in a hot bath, which information is surely due to the servants who had prepared the same. Nor could he prevent people from assuming, as a result of their close succession, that the deaths of Crispus and Fausta must have been related, an assumption fuelled by a palace rumour that the pair had committed adultery together. Indeed, the veil of secrecy with which he surrounded the death of Fausta in particular only served to confirm people's worst suspicions, that he must have ordered their executions. He further reinforced these suspicions by condemning the memory of both, or by allowing this condemnation to stand even after their deaths. This reflected merely his continuing anger at their adultery together, and at the situation in which their untimely deaths had placed him, but it encouraged people to assume the worst.⁶³ Together with his apparent refusal to justify 'his' actions, since, of course, he did not regard himself as responsible for either death, one a suicide, the other an accident, this left a vacuum which rumour and innuendo strove to fill. In the end, therefore, Constantine proved the worst enemy of his own reputation.

NOTES

1. For full references, see A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I: AD 260-395* (Cambridge, 1971), 325-6. Her full name is known only from coins (n. 3).
2. See T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 42-3.
3. See P. Bruun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage VII: Constantine and Licinius AD 313-37* (London, 1966), 116, 137, 203, 263ⁿ, 325-6, 383, 447, 475, 514-15, 551, 612-13, 647, 709.
4. In his *Liber de Caesaribus* composed c.361, Aurelius Victor notes only that (De Caes. 41.11), 'When the eldest of these [Constantine's children] had died on the orders of his father, suddenly Calocerus, commander of the imperial camel herd, insanely seized the island of Cyprus and pretended to rule', with no mention of Fausta. In his *Breviarium* composed c.369, Eutropius claims that Constantine became arrogant with the result that (Brev. 10.6) 'First he persecuted his relatives and killed his son, an outstanding man, and his sister's son, subsequently his wife and afterwards numerous friends'. Writing c.380, Jerome notes in his *Chronicle* for 325, 'Crispus, the son of Constantine, and Licinius Junior, the son of Licinius and Constantia, Constantine's sister, are most cruelly killed', but misdates the death of Fausta to 328, stating simply, 'Constantine kills his wife Fausta'. The anonymous compiler of the first recension of the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, writing c.388, dates the death of Crispus to 326, stating only, 'Crispus was killed'. He dates the death of Licinius Junior to 325, but does not mention Fausta at all. Finally, the ecclesiastical historian Orosius, writing c.417, claims, following a brief mention of the Arian heresy and the Council of Nicaea in 325, that (Adv. Pag. 7.26) 'Constantine turned the sword of vengeance and the punishment destined for the impious against even his close relatives. For he killed his own son, Crispus, and his sister's son, Licinius.'
5. In general, see Barnes, 'The Epitome de Caesaribus and Its Sources', CPh 71 (1976), 258-68.
6. In general, see A. E. Nobbs, 'Philostorgius' View of the Past' in G. Clarke, B. Croke, A. E. Nobbs, and R. Mortley (edd.), *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* (Rushcutters Bay, 1990), 251-64.
7. From E. Walford, *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen ... also the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius as Epitomized by Photius* (London, 1855), 435.
8. In general, see J. Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome AD 407-485* (Oxford, 1994).
9. From the Loeb translation by W. B. Anderson, *Sidonius: Poems and Letters II* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 197. The description of an age 'of Nero's pattern' refers to the claims by earlier sources that the emperor Nero (54-68) had had an incestuous relationship with his natural mother Agrippina (Tac. Ann. 14.2; Suet. Nero 28.2), alluding thereby to the claim that Crispus had enjoyed a similar relationship also with his stepmother Fausta.
10. In general, see R. T. Ridley, 'Zosimus the Historian', BZ 65 (1972), 277-302.
11. From R. T. Ridley, *Zosimus' New History: a Translation with Commentary* (Canberra, 1982), 36-7.
12. See S. N. C. Lieu and D. Montserrat (edd.), *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views. A Source History* (London, 1996), 210-62, for a full discussion of this text, and the translation which I have followed here, 242.
13. In general, see B. Bleckmann, 'Die Chronik des Johannes Zonaras und eine pagane Quelle zur

- Geschichte Konstantins', *Historia* 40 (1991), 343-65.
- 55065 14. From the translation by H. A. Pohlsander, 'Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End', *Historia* 33 (1984), 79-106, at 101.
15. Crispus' name was erased from CIL 11.4107, III.7172, V.8030, IX.6386a, X.517, together with that of Fausta from CIL X.678. 16. See Barnes, 'The Editions of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History', *GRBS* 2X (1980), 191-201, at 197.
- 55070 17. It is a sad comment on our age that it seems so incomprehensible to many that anyone should ever have been punished just for adultery. Conspiracies or other political machinations have to be discovered as the 'real' causes of events. See A. Ferrill, 'Augustus and His Daughter: a Modern Myth', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History II* (Collection Latomus 168: Brussels, 1980), 332-46, for a similar dispute concerning the 'real' reason for the exile by Augustus of his daughter Julia to the island of Pandateria in 2 B.C. A recent exception is G. Marasco, 'Constantino e le uccisioni di Crispo e Fausta (326DC)', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 121 (1993), 297-317, who argues that Crispus and Fausta were executed not so much for adultery, but for incest; I thank Prof. T. G. Elliott for drawing this last to my attention.
- 55075 18. P. Guthrie, 'The Execution of Crispus', *Phoenix* 20 (1966), 325-31.
- 55080 19. Pohlsander, art. cit. (n. 14), 105-6.
20. Pan. Lat. 1A refers to Minervina, the mother of Crispus, as Constantine's wife, which seems proof that he was legitimate. In general, see Barnes, op. cit. (n. 2), 36, 42-3; also, J. E. Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity: the Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation* (Oxford, 1995), 306-7.
- 55085 21. N. J. E. Austin, 'Constantine and Crispus', *Acta Classica* 23 (1980), 133-8.
22. J. W. Drijvers, 'Flavia Maxima Fausta: Some Remarks', *Historia* 41 (1992), 500-6, at 505.
23. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 220. 24. So Pohlsander, art. cit. (n. 14), 101, claims of the relevant passages in Zosimus and Zonaras, that 'the Phaedra-and-Hippolytus motif is obvious and certainly raises doubts about the veracity of this account'. Yet similar such relationships did sometimes occur, as in the case of Antonina, the wife of the 6th-century general Belisarius, who had an affair with their adopted son Theodosius (Proc. Anec. 1.14-30). See also P. A. Watson, *Ancient Stepmothers: Myth, Misogyny, and Reality* (Leiden, 1995), 136-9.
- 55090 25. In general, see F. Paschoud, 'Zosime 2.29 et la version paienne de la conversion de Constantin', *Historia* 20 (1971), 334-53. See also G. Fowden, 'The Last Days of Constantine: Oppositional Versions and their Influence', *JRS* 84 (1994), 146-70, esp. 163-8, where he argues that, in this instance, Zosimus combined Eunapius' text with the fictitious Actus Silvestri.
- 55095 26. Drijvers, art. cit. (n. 22), 505.
27. E.g., J. Burckhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great* (London, 1949: a translation by M. Hadas of the German original), 283, alleges that Constantine had Fausta 'drowned in her bath'; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Roman Women: their History and Habits* (London, 1962), 170, claims that 'she was roasted - or scalded - to death in the baths'; Barnes, op. cit. (n. 23), 221, claims that she 'suffocated in the steam'; M. Grant, *The Emperor Constantine* (London, 1993), 114, keeps an open mind, claiming that 'he [Constantine] had her immersed in a scalding bath, or suffocated in a deliberately over-heated steam-room'.
- 55100 28. J.-L. Desnier, 'Zosime II, 29 et la mort de Fausta', *BAGB* (1987), 297-309, at 305.
- 55105 29. In general, see R. MacMullen, 'Judicial Savagery in the Roman Empire', *Chiron* 16 (1986), 147-66.
30. Grubbs, op. cit. (n. 20), 216-21.
- 55110 31. Barnes, op. cit. (n. 23), 221, opts strongly for suicide, as he continues to do in *JEH* 44 (1993), 293, reviewing J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: the Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden, 1992), who accepts (60) that Fausta was executed.
- 55115 32. Amm. 28.1.47.
33. From the translation by B. Jackson, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers III*.
34. See F. Yeghli, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 352-5.
35. There is some dispute over the exact location of these baths. Eusebius (KC4.61) claims that Constantine visited the hot baths of his own city, by which he must mean Constantinople, while Zonaras (Epit. 13.4.25-27) claims that he sailed across to visit hot springs at Soteropolis in Asia Minor. It is possible that he visited both.
- 55120 36. On the life, works, and nachleben of Soranus, see A. E. Hanson, 'Soranus of Ephesus: Methodicorum Princeps', in W. Haase and H. Temporini (edd.), *ANRW II.37.2* (Berlin, 1994), 968-1075.
- 55125 37. The following passages of translation are from O. Temkin, *Soranus' Gynecology* (Baltimore, 1956).
38. Suet. Domit. 22.
39. See E. Eyben, 'Family Planning in Graeco-Roman Antiquity', *AncSoc* 11/12 (1980/81), 582; also, W. V. Harris, 'Child-Exposure in the Roman Empire', *JRS* 84 (1994), 1-22. 40. E.g., Jerome, Ep. 22.13; Basil, Ep. 188 Canon 2.
- 55130 41. Barnes, op. cit. (n. 2), 44, on C.Th. 9.38.1 and Porphyrius, Carm. 10.
42. Eyben, art. cit. (n. 39), 62-74.
43. A number of other imperial ladies were probably available also to help Helena if she so required, including Eutropia, Fausta's own mother, and Constantia, Constantine's sister. On the last, see now H. A. Pohlsander, 'Constantia', *AncSoc* 25 (1994), 151-67.
- 55135 44. Imperial ladies, even Christians, were no less likely to be aware of various methods of contraception or abortion than any other group. E.g., Eusebia, wife of Constantius II (337-

61), was alleged to have tricked Helena, the wife of Julian Caesar, into drinking a potion that caused her to miscarry (Amm. 16.10.18). Theodora, the wife of Justinian I (527–65), was alleged to have had many abortions during her years as an 'actress' (Proc. Anec. 9.19, 17.16).
 45. Eus, VC 3.42–6. Grant, op. cit. (n. 27), 115, refers to 'Constantine's dispatch of his mother Helena to the Holy Land, in the hope of expiation'.
 46. On Fausta's location, see, e.g., Barnes, op. cit. (n. 23), 221; Drijvers, art. cit. (n. 22), 506. On Crispus' journeys and residence, see Barnes, op. cit. (n. 2), 83–4.
 47. The evidence for the imperial journeys of the period 283–337 has been collected by Barnes, op. cit. (n. 2), but there is no evidence that anyone else happened ever to visit Pola other than Crispus. The same is true of the period 337–361, on which see Barnes, Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 218–228, with one exception, the ex-Caesar Gallus who passed near Pola on his way to exile at Flanona on a nearby island (Amm. 14.11.20; Cons. Constant, s.a. 354; Soc. HE 2.34).
 48. Other 4th-century exiles to the Dalmatian islands include the ex-magister officiorum Florentius in 361 (Amm. 22.3.6), and the ex-proconsul of Africa Hymetius c.371 (Amm. 28.1.23).
 49. See Barnes, 'Two Senators Under Constantine', JRS 64 (1975), 40–9, on Firm. Mat. Math. 2.29.10. 50. So Pohlsander, art. cit. (n. 14), 104, argues that Crispus was 'confronted by an imperial emissary and allowed to choose the means of death'.
 51. Eutr. Brev. 10.6.1; Epit. 41.7; Zos. HN 2.28. The claim that Licinius was trying to raise a revolt once more, Soc. HE 1.4, seems simply a propaganda effort by Constantine, or his flatterers, to justify this crime.
 52. Philost. HE 4.1; Art. Pass. 15.
 53. See, e.g., P. White, 'The Authorship of the Historia Augusta', JRS 57 (1967), 115–33; T. Honore, 'Scriptor Historiae Augustae', JRS 77 (1987), 156–76. The Historia Augusta is usually dated by means of its perceived dependency upon a variety of late antique texts which include works by Eunapius, Claudian, and Vegetius. Unfortunately, though, the dates of composition of many of these works are themselves subject to dispute. English-speaking scholars generally date its composition c. 395.
 54. See H. W. Bird, 'Diocletian and the Deaths of Carus, Numerian and Carinus', Latotnus 35 (1976), 123–32.
 55. Aur. Viet. De Caes. 39.11; Eutr. Brev. 9.20; Epit. 37.7–8.
 56. From the Loeb translation by D. Magie, The Scriptores Historiae Augustae III (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), 443–5.
 57. See, e.g., R. Syme, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta (Oxford, 1968), passim.
 58. See R. Turcan, 'Heliogabale précurseur de Constantin?', BAGB (1988), 38–52; G. Fowden, 'Constantine's Porphyry Column: the Earliest Literary Allusion', JRS 81 (1991), 119–31. 59. Fowden, art. cit. (n. 58), 120, on V. Heliogab. 13–14.
 60. That prostitutes often entertained their clients at the baths is sufficient proof that male and female could tolerate the same water. In general, see R. Bowen Ward, 'Women in Roman Baths', HThR 85 (1992), 125–47; also c. Dauphin, 'Brothels, Baths, and Babes: Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land', Classics Ireland 3 (1996), 47–72.
 61. See A. Chastagnol, 'Etudes sur la Vita Can IX: Non est meus', in G. Bonamente and F. Paschoud (edd.), Historiae Augustae Colloquium Genevense: Atti dei Convegni sulla Historia Augusta II (Bari, 1994), 89–99, esp. 92, on adultery, and 98, on Crispus and Fausta.
 62. See Chastagnol, 'Etude sur la Vita Can VIII: Carin et Elagabal', in J. Straub (ed.), Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1979–81 (Bonn, 1985), 99–113. 63. Pohlsander, art. cit. (n. 14), 103, rejects the possibility that Fausta died by accident in her bath on the basis that Constantine did not restore her memory, or honour her with 'a splendid funeral, orations, and monuments'. But accidents continue to happen even to people deep in disgrace.

https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/3CE624703CA80405ACBFBB40EA629FCC/S0017383500029156a.pdf/on_the_death_of_the_empress_fausta.pdf

Fifty Bibles of Constantine

It is speculated that this commission may have provided motivation for the development of the canon lists and that Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus are possible surviving examples of these Bibles. There is no evidence among the records of the First Council of Nicaea of any determination on the canon; however, Jerome, in his Prologue to Judith, makes the claim that the Book of Judith was "found by the Nicene Council to have been counted among the number of the Sacred Scriptures".

[circa 330]
 See for example: [Great uncial codices](#)

Constantine I (reigned 306–337) adopted Christianity as his system of belief after the Battle of Milvian Bridge in 312. His victorious legions fought under the "labarum", a standard with the first two Greek letters of Christ's name (XP). In 313 the Edict of Milan legalised Christianity alongside other religions allowed in the Roman Empire. In 325 the First Council of Nicaea signalled consolidation of Christianity under an orthodoxy endorsed by Constantine, and though this did not make

other Christian groups outside the adopted definition illegal, the dissenting Arian bishops were initially exiled. But Constantine reinstated Arius just before the heresiarch died in 336 and exiled the Orthodox Athanasius of Alexandria from 335 to 337. In 380 Emperor Theodosius I made Christianity the Roman Empire's official religion (see State church of the Roman Empire, Byzantine Empire and the Goths) and did enforce the edict. In 392 Theodosius passed legislation prohibiting all pagan cultic worship.

During the 4th century, however, there was no real unity between church and state: in the course of the Arian controversy, Arian or semi-Arian emperors exiled leading Trinitarian bishops, such as Athanasius (335, 339, 356, 362, 365) Hilary of Poitiers (356), and Gregory of Nyssa (374); just as leading Arian and Anomoean theologians such as Aëtius (fl. 350) also suffered exile.

Towards the end of the century, Bishop Ambrose of Milan made the powerful Emperor Theodosius I (reigned 379–395) do penance for several months after the massacre of Thessalonica (390) before admitting him again to the Eucharist. On the other hand, only a few years later, Chrysostom, who as bishop of Constantinople criticized the excesses of the royal court, was eventually banished (403) and died (407) while traveling to his place of exile.

See: [Constantinian shift](#)

The Fifty Bibles of Constantine

were Bibles in the original Greek language commissioned in 331 by Constantine I and prepared by Eusebius of Caesarea. They were made for the use of the Bishop of Constantinople in the growing number of churches in that very new city. Eusebius quoted the letter of commission in his Life of Constantine, and it is the only surviving source from which we know of the existence of the Bibles.

It is speculated that this commission may have provided motivation for the development of the canon lists and that Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus are possible surviving examples of these Bibles. There is no evidence among the records of the First Council of Nicaea of any determination on the canon; however, Jerome, in his Prologue to Judith, makes the claim that the Book of Judith was "found by the Nicene Council to have been counted among the number of the Sacred Scriptures". According to Eusebius, Constantine I wrote him in his letter:

I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practised in their art.

About accomplishing the Emperor's demand:

Such were the emperor's commands, which were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a threefold and fourfold form.

This is the usual way in which Eusebius' text is translated, but there are more possibilities, because the phrase "ἐν πολυτελῶς ἡσκευμένοις τεύχεσιν τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ διαπεψφάντων ἡμῶν" has many meanings:

Three or four codices were prepared at a time – Kirsopp Lake and Bernard de Montfaucon;

Codices were sent in three or four boxes – F. A. Heinichen;

Codices were prepared in with three or four folios – Scrivener;

Text of the codices was written in three or four columns per page – Tischendorf, Gebhardt, and Gregory, Kirsopp Lake;

Codices were sent by threes or fours.

Some codices contained three gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) but others included four gospels (including John) – Eduard Schwartz.

Athanasius of Alexandria referred to another request of producing Bible manuscripts: "I sent to him volumes containing the holy Scriptures, which he had ordered me to prepare for him". Athanasius could have received this request between 337–339.

Constantin von Tischendorf, discoverer of Codex Sinaiticus, believed that Sinaiticus and Vaticanus were among these fifty Bibles prepared by Eusebius in Caesarea.

According to him, they were written with three (as Vaticanus) or four columns per page (as Sinaiticus). Tischendorf's view was supported by Pierre Batiffol.

Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener rejected Tischendorf's speculation because of differences between the two manuscripts. In Sinaiticus, the text of the Gospels is divided according to the Ammonian Sections with references to the Eusebian Canons,

- 55275 but Vaticanus used the older system of division. Vaticanus was prepared in a format of 5 folios in one quire, but Sinaiticus had 8 folios. According to Scrivener, Eusebian Bibles contained three or four folios per quire (Scrivener used a Latin version of Valesius). Scrivener stated that the Eusebian is unclear and should not be used for a doubtful theory.
- 55280 Westcott and Hort argued the order of biblical books on the Eusebian list of the canonical books, quoted by Eusebius in "Ecclesiastical History" (III, 25), is different from every surviving manuscript. Probably none of the 50 copies survive today.
- 55285 Caspar René Gregory believed that Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were written in Caesarea, and they could belong to the Eusebian fifty. According to Victor Gardthausen Sinaiticus is younger than Vaticanus by at least 50 years.
- 55290 Kirsopp Lake states "copies of three and four columns" is grammatically sound, but there appears not to be good evidence for this technical use of the words. "Sending them by threes or fours" is the most attractive, but there is no evidence that τρισσα can denote "three at a time". Regarding "in three or four columns per page," there is only one known manuscript written in that way - Sinaiticus. Sinaiticus has a curious spelling of the word κραβατιος as κραβακτιος; Sinaiticus spells Ισραηλειτης as Ισδραηλειτης, Vaticanus as Ισραηλειτης; these forms have been regarded as Latin, and they can find in papyri from Egypt. There is no other known Greek district in which these forms were used. The argument for a Caesarean origin of these two manuscripts is much weaker than Egyptian.
- 55295 According to Heinrich Schumacher, Eusebius instead prepared fifty lectionaries, not Bibles.
- 55300 Skeat argued that Sinaiticus was a first attempt to produce a full Bible in fulfillment of Constantine's order but was abandoned before completion in favor of a more compact form (then languishing in Caesarea until salvaged in the sixth century), while Vaticanus was one of the fifty Bibles actually delivered to Constantinople.
- 55305 Kurt Aland, Bruce M. Metzger, Bart D. Ehrman doubt that Sinaiticus and Vaticanus were copied by Eusebius on the Constantine order.
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fifty_Bibles_of_Constantine

The Rubrics of the First Book of Lactantius Firmianus's
On the Divine Institutes Against the Pagans Begin

- 55310 This very rare work by Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius is one of the first books printed in Italy and the first dated Italian imprint. It was produced by the German typographers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, who established a printing press in 1465 at the Benedictine abbey of Subiaco, near Rome. According to the colophon, the book was completed "In the year of Our Lord 1465, in the second year of the papacy of Paul II, the thirteenth indiction and the last day but two of the month of October. In the venerable monastery of Subiaco". Sweynheym and Pannartz moved to Rome in 1467 and by 1475 had printed 50 books, including works by church fathers and classical Roman authors. This volume contains the seven books of Lactantius's most important work, Divinarum institutionum libri VII (The divine institutions), and two minor works by the same author. Born in North Africa late in the third century AD, Lactantius was a teacher of rhetoric who, after his conversion, wrote works patterned after classical models that explained Christianity in ways intended to appeal to educated Romans still practicing the traditional religions of their empire. Written between 303 and 311, Divinarum institutionum argues the futility of pagan belief and the logic and truth of Christianity. The beginning of the volume contains a table of nine explanatory commentaries introducing the texts that follow. Throughout most of the book, the first letters of paragraphs are in red or blue, and the beginnings of chapters are handwritten in red. Initial capital letters illuminated with gold leaf open each of the nine books within the work. The volume was bound in gold-tooled red morocco leather in the middle of the 19th century.
- 55330 <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/4172/>

Vervolging en de kunst van het tussen de regels schrijven:

- De vita beata, Lactantius en de Grote Christenvervolging
- 55335 Pastristici en historici hebben tot nu toe geen aandacht gehad voor Boek 7 (De vita beata) van de Divinae Institutiones van Lactantius. Dat boek, geschreven tussen 306 en 310, lijkt een pastiche van eindtijd-profetieën. Maar indien men het als een soort ex eventu profetie situeert in de ruimere context van de kritiek van Porphyrius van Tyr op het Boek Daniël, blijken de aanvallen op de twee regerende "beesten" te verwijzen naar de Keizers Diocletianus en Galerius, die zonet de "Grote
- 55340

Christenvervolging" hadden ingezet. In lijn hiermee kan men bovendien suggereren dat de "goddelijke koning" die de wereld zal redden en zijn alleenheerschappij zal vestigen voor een nieuw millennium niemand anders is dan Constantijn, die sinds 306 het noordwestelijke deel van het Rijk regeerde.

55345 <http://newadvent.org/fathers/0701.htm>
<https://www.wdl.org/en/item/4172/view/1/9/>

Persecution and the Art of Writing between the Lines: De vita beata, Lactantius, and the Great Persecution

55350 Elizabeth Depalma Digeser
https://www.persee.fr/doc/rbph_0035-0818_2014_num_92_1_8546?q=diocletianus+edictum

55355 HET ALGEMEEN CONCILIE IN DE VIERDE EEUW
ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT TER VERKRIJGING VAN DE GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE H. GODGELEERDHEID AAN DE ROOMSCH-KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT VAN NIJMEGEN, OP GEZAG VAN DEN WND. RECTOR MAGNIFICUS PROF. MR. B. H. D. HERMESDORF, HOOGLEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER RECHTSGELEERDHEID VOLGENS BESLUIT VAN DE SENAAT IN HET OPENBAAR TE VERDEDIGEN IN DE AULA DER UNIVERSITEIT OP VRIJDAG 13 JULI 1945 'S NAMIDDAGS TE 4 UUR
55360 DOOR P. fr. MONALD GOEMANS O.F.M.
GEBOREN TE HILLEGOM
1945 DEKKER & VAN DE VEGT N.V. - NIJMEGEN-UTRECHT

55365 Het algemeen concilie in de vierde eeuw » Goemans, Monald » 1945 - Pag. 9 | Delpher

THE GENERAL COUNCIL IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

55370 ACADEMIC THESIS FOR THE OBTAINING OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF HOLY THEOLOGY AT THE ROMAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF NIJMEGEN, BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE ACTUAL RECTOR MAGNIFICUS PROF. B.H.D. HERMESDORF, PROFESSOR IN THE FACULTY OF LAW, ACCORDING TO A DECISION OF THE SENATE TO BE PUBLICLY DEFENDED IN THE AUDITORY OF THE UNIVERSITY ON FRIDAY 13 JULY 1945 AT 4 O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON BY MONALD GOEMANS O.F.M. BORN IN HILLEGOM

55375 PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVE
Introduction

That no council can exist as "ecumenical" without a "cooperation" of the visible Supreme Head of the Church, the Bishop of Rome, is a truth that no Catholic can and will doubt. However, when Catholic scholars, dogmatists, canonists and historians
55380 want to determine in more detail what that cooperation of the Pope must consist of or has existed in the course of history, one encounters, besides great agreement and irrefutable certainty, not only different formulations of one and the same thing, but also divergent and even opposing opinions. Both, both the different formulations and the divergent, even opposing opinions, form an obstacle to a clear insight, a
55385 clouding becomes inevitable, moreover, because the authors repeatedly use vague expressions, do not seem to distinguish sufficiently between the various issues, even to confuse them or on the other hand want to make distinctions that give the impression of belonging more to dialectics than to logic. The following definition, given by J. Forget, of the concept of "ecumenical council": "An ecumenical or
55390 universal council is a solitary assembly of the universal eves, called upon and under authority and the presidency of the Roman Pontiff to liberate and legislate in common on matters of interest to the Christian faith"1), may sound ever so clear, concrete and distinct, but in reality this definition cannot boast of these so necessary characteristics. For if this definition is to claim to be correct, it must be
55395 applicable to the councils which are accepted as "ecumenical". From a historical point of view, however, numerous difficulties must arise, and the definition appears not only to be expressed in general terms, but even to be open to question, perhaps even incomplete. If we confine ourselves for the time being to the "cooperation" of the Pope, as described in the definition, then the historian is faced with the thorny
55400 question: was there any question of a convocation at the first eight General Councils held in the East by the Pope? Or also for this problem: how can the demand for papal presidency be reconciled with the facts of the second General Council in 381 in Constantinopel, where successively Meletius of Antioch presided, after his death Gregory of Nazianzus and after his abdication Nectarius of Constantinopel? Or with
55405 the facts of the fifth General Council in 553 also in Constantinopel, which was held against the wishes and without any cooperation of Pope Vigilius? Indeed, without the

Pope no General Council and that is undoubtedly firmly anchored in the above definition. But that the influence which the Pope has actually exercised on the Ecumenical Councils in the course of history has not always fully corresponded to the above requirements, is admitted by the same author, J. Forget, when he continues: "It is true that, in order to be ecumenical without restriction, it means that I have always been through my convocation, my celebration and the plurality of powers; but in all cases, according to my appreciation and traditional terminology, a council is not ecumenical, as it is not universal, that it is the legal representation, the authorized body of the whole Church; or, if you don't want to wait until the end of the day, you don't have to worry about it; And because of the intervention of the superior suffragans, the guarantee of *autorité absolue et universelle des décisions*. "De la vient que certains councils sont considérés comme ecuméniques pour partie seulement de leurs décrets, le concours ou l'approbation du saint-siège ayant manqué pour le reste" 2).

Here, then, a distinction is apparently made between General Councils "sans restriction aucune", to which the above-mentioned definition applies, and General Councils, to which not all of these characteristics are present and which are therefore general in a broader sense. For this category of General Councils, the terms "la représentation juridique, l'organe autorisé de toute l'Église, l'intervention du chef suprême, parce qu'elle garantira l'autorité absolue et universelle des décisions" apparently serve as a definition. The convocation and the meeting itself may, if necessary, lack something, as long as the deficiency is then supplemented by that "cooperation" (concours) of the Pope, which consists in the approval, by which the decisions first receive an absolute and universal authority. This view seems to be in accord with the historical facts, at least when we read the judgment of the impartial historian, the Anglican Herbert Scott, who wrote in 1928: "It appears that what in the opinion of the Easterns of these centuries [before the Eastern Schism] made a Council to be reckoned ecumenical was ratification and confirmation by the Pope" 3). It is, however, difficult to assume that only the ratification and confirmation of the Pope stamps a council as an "ecumenical". The ratification and confirmation by the Bishop of Rome, even if they take place in forma sollemni, of the decisions of a particular council, do indeed give such decisions a universal force, valid for the entire Church, but do not make such a council itself an ecumenical one. The representation of the entire Church of Christ by the Fathers present is also one of the requirements. The latter is also indicated by the dogmatists in various words as a requirement; for example, Forget speaks of the "assemblée solennelle des évêques de tout l'univers". But then another difficulty immediately arises. What should one think of the words: "the bishops of the whole world", when at the first eight Councils held in the East only four or six or ten from the whole West were present and represented? Or what should one think of the Second General Council at Constantinople in 381, at which not even a single Western bishop was invited, present or represented? Yet another condition is defined by Forget with the words: "pour délibérer et légiférer en commun sur les choses qui intéressent la chrétienté entière". Now, however, it is not immediately obvious what matters are that belong to the interest of the whole of Christendom. In itself, every matter concerning faith or morals is of importance to the whole of Christendom. But not every matter concerning faith or morals calls forth a General Council, nor does it have to do so. The solution, after all, of a question may be urgent for a certain region, where this question is the centre of attention, and thus certainly justify a regional synod, but when that question remains limited within narrower boundaries, a General Council will rightly be absent, even if it concerns faith or morals. Circumstances will have to show whether the integrity of faith and the purity of morals of the whole of Christendom are at stake or only of a smaller group; as is self-evident, it will often be difficult to draw a fixed boundary. How easily different questions are confused may be seen from the following words of Forget: "pour être oecuménique sans restriction aucune, il doit l'être à la fois par sa convocation, sa célébration et la plénitude du pouvoir". This fullness of power is not a constitutive element of a General Council, but an essential consequence, a consequence in particular of the fact that the authorities of the entire Church are present and represented. A Council is not general partly because of the fullness of power, but on the contrary: possesses the fullness of power because of its generality.

The difficult to determine boundary, which according to Forget's definition should be drawn between matters of importance to the entire Christendom and only to a certain part, is no longer fortunately in the definition of a General Council given by a

dogmatist like H. Dieckmann: "est conventus legitimus omnium episcoporum ad deliberandas et decernendas res ecclesiasticas", or a little further "res et quaestiones, quae spectant ad Ecclesiam" 4). When Dieckmann now asks himself in concrete terms what is "required" to be able to call a council ecumenical, he immediately makes a distinction between the quaestio iuris and the quaestio facti. With regard to the General Councils which have already taken place, he acknowledges the existence of a threefold difficulty, namely: the absence of all bishops numerically or physically, the apparent absence of virtually all bishops, necessary for the General Council to be the representation of the universal teaching authority of the Church, and finally the absence of complete agreement among the assembled. In order to resolve the quaestio iuris, Dieckmann follows the prescriptions of canon law 5), firstly with regard to the share of the bishops (can. 223-226), secondly with regard to the share of the Pope (can. 222 and can. 227).

As regards the number of bishops present, it is necessary and sufficient that the assembled bishops represent the entire teaching authority of the Church. Here already Dieckmann is forced to note that a distinction must be made between councils which are general from the beginning and others which, by virtue of their convocation, must rather be called particular councils, but which are later elevated to the dignity of General Council 6). As far as general consent is concerned, the majority of votes are recognized as sufficient for a decision with infallible force.

Passing on to the part of the Bishop of Rome, Dieckmann has much more opportunity to rely on canon law, since this defines the papal functions much more precisely. In the first place, the Pope, and indeed he alone and exclusively, has the right to convene a General Council, in accordance with canon 222, § 1: "Dari nequit Oecumenicum Concilium quod a Romano Pontifice non fuerit convocatum". Here, however, a difficulty arises for us again. Undoubtedly the Pope has the right to convene a General Council, and that exclusively, since He alone is the visible Supreme Head of the entire Church. But it is another matter whether the Pope must always make use of that right, and whether the convocation by the Pope belongs to the necessities, the requirements of a General Council. And this is nevertheless the question which the author wants to solve. Apparently two questions are confused here, although it must be admitted that both are closely related. History also shows that the first eight General Councils were not convened by the Pope, but by the Emperor. Dieckmann does not ignore this and tries to explain these facts by appealing to a development in knowledge about the Primacy and about the rights resulting from it, as well as to the possibility that the Pope has explicitly or tacitly delegated the "right of convocation" to the Emperor, which can happen, for example, by the fact that the Pope recognizes a council convened by the Emperor. Then, however, it seems more correct to speak of a delegation, not as regards the "right of convocation", but as regards the "convocation"; thus one has the right distinction between the right to convene, the jus convocandi, and the actual convening, the convocare, and the above-mentioned confusion of the two issues is avoided. The jus convocandi belongs to the Pope by the nature of the matter, the exercise of that right or better the mere convocare can also be done by others.

In the second place Dieckmann mentions the leadership and the chairmanship as elements that belong to the Pope, in accordance with canon 222, § 2: "Eiusdem Romani Pontificis est Oecumenico Concilio per se vel per alios praeesse, res in eo tractandas ordinemque servandum constituere ac designare, Concilium ipsum transferre, suspendere, dissolvere". All this belongs to the task of the Pope "with the same supreme right". Like the previous, this right also flows from the nature of the matter itself. But here again one may ask whether a distinction should not be made between the right and its exercise.

The third right which belongs to the Pope is the right of confirmation, in accordance with the paragraph of canon 222 just quoted: "Eiusdem Romani Pontificis est... eiusque decreta confirmare". Here Dieckmann notes that "this is the most important right of all." After all, there were councils which were not convened by the Bishop of Rome; others at which he did not preside; but there was never a General Council which would not derive and has not derived its universal authority from the confirmation by the Bishop of Rome 7). Why then in the foregoing speak of the convocation and the leadership as requirements, if these may be lacking if need be? "Requirements" nevertheless evoke the concept of necessity, of essential element, when one treats the requirements as an explanation of a definition. An essential element is something that must be present, if the thing itself is to be present.

That confirmation is an essential element and therefore indispensable, can be beyond doubt; confirmation is equivalent to the vote of the Pope and without the papal vote

one can never speak of a decision taken by the entire Church teaching authority, which is possible if another bishop were to refuse to give his vote. And only when papal confirmation is present and one can therefore speak of a decision of the entire Church teaching authority, will the Council decision have a definitive or infallible force, in accordance with canon 227: "Concilii decreta vim definitivam obligandi non habent, nisi a Romano Pontifice fuerint confirmata et eius iussu promulgata".

That confirmation is indeed the essential element, if not the only essential element among the various possible influences of the Pope, could also be illustrated by Dieckmann's own words concerning the Council of Constantinople 381. The author states that only Eastern bishops were present at this Council; "this synod was only later recognized as ecumenical" 8). A little further on the author explains himself further by writing that some synods were only later elevated to the dignity of ecumenical synod, "such as Constantinople I by the immediately following approval of Pope Damasus and the Western bishops" 9). We find the same thing again when Dieckmann writes that Constantinople I was not ecumenical as regards the convocation, but "later as generally recognized because of the recognition by Pope Damasus and the bishops of the West" 10). However necessary the confirmation of the Pope may be, it seems from the words just quoted that this alone is not sufficient; the ecumenical dignity, indeed, is derived not only from the approval of the Pope, but also from that of the Western bishops; now, these, added to the signature of the Eastern bishops present at that Council, together form the recognition of the entire Church's teaching authority. And this recognition then elevates the Council to an ecumenical one.

To elevate the Council to an ecumenical one. Would it not be more correct to say that this recognition of the entire Church's teaching authority gives infallible force to the decisions and thus makes this Council a Council at which decisions were made which later acquired infallible force? In this context, reference may also be made to the less fortunately chosen terminology of *decretum vere conciliare universale* 11) in the sense of "infallible" Council decision. It would be preferable to speak of *decretum vere conciliare infallibile* or of *decretum vere conciliare universale et itaque infallibile*. The awareness that doctrinal decisions on faith and morals issued by a General Council possess the privilege of infallibility and the naturally associated universally binding force for the entire Church, seems to be so firmly anchored in the Catholic mentality and these conciliar decisions seem to have grown together into such a natural whole with their infallibility that the distinction between the otherwise very closely connected concepts of "ecumenicity" and "infallibility" of a General Council practically fades away. As a result, one comes to use both terms either side by side as two terms of virtually one and the same concept or simply interchangeably. While the "infallibility" of the decisions of a General Council is a consequence of the fact that these decisions were made by a Council that is the representation of the entire Church teaching authority, and is therefore a consequence of "ecumenicity". The treatise has so far been a critical rendering of Dieckmann's exposition, in the following it may be permitted to make some remarks on the method used by the author; this method, which is also the one usually used, can be formulated briefly as a dogmatic exposition based on the data of the *Codex Iuris Canonici*. While a collaboration between scholars of different disciplines is to be welcomed, the way in which in this case the dogmatician relies on the data of canon law seems to us incorrect and also fatal. Incorrect, because the provisions of the *Codex* do not want to indicate anything more than the requirements of and the conditions for a General Council from Pentecost 1918, a regulation of the future and not an assessment of the past. The *Codex* is not a book of dogmatics, nor does it want to be, and it is an incorrect view of the dogmatist when he draws his dogmatic doctrine, which must also be true in the past, from and lets it rest on the *Codex*. There are, however, various canons in the *Codex* that can be indicated, which contain the official formulation of one or another doctrine, have a dogmatic content; here canon law has been taken over from dogmatics. In that case, however, they are dogmatic provisions not because they are in the *Codex*, but because this is evident from elsewhere. It therefore remains the only correct method for the dogmatician to appeal, not to the *Codex*, but to the same source of dogmatics from which the compilers of the *Codex* also drew when adopting a dogmatic provision among the canons. The method is fatal, because it is due to this that the dogmatician in his exposition loses sight of the real question of the "requirements" or "essential elements" of a General Council and starts talking about the "rights" of Pope and Concilium Fathers, in accordance with the terminology of the Code. At the same time, one overlooks the fact that the Code does not mention a distinction between that which is of divine right and that which is only of ecclesiastical right, or between that which

necessarily follows from the nature and essence of the matter and therefore must be present at all times and that which for some external reason has been determined in the past or is determined for the future and therefore does not always have to be true in all General Councils in order to be able to speak of an Ecumenical Council. With regard to the doctrine of the General Councils, various questions can therefore be raised, all of which culminate in the further determination concerning the required "cooperation" of the Pope. And although it is certain on the one hand that the vote or confirmation of the Pope is required in order to be able to speak of a true universal conciliar decision, and on the other hand that doctrinal decisions of an Ecumenical Council on faith and morals possess the privilege of infallibility, the question has not yet been resolved unanimously among dogmatists as to who or what in concrete terms is the bearer of that awesome authority. Are these the pastors, gathered and assembled from all quarters, precisely through their union with the Pope and only insofar as they are united with him, so that ultimately the Pope is the only adequate bearer of infallibility, or do the bishops enjoy the special guidance of the Holy Spirit, who protects them from error and even from the possibility of error, together with the Pope, so that besides the Pope, the universal ecclesiastical teaching authority, in which the Pope is necessarily included, is also the bearer of infallibility. Since the history of the Councils, which are in fact considered ecumenical, offers valuable data showing what is required in order to be able to speak de jure of a General Council 12) and since the history of the tradition surrounding the concept of "General Council" may with equal right claim consultation as a source of valuable data, the aim that is set out below is to conduct a purely historical investigation into the facts and into the views of the fourth century which can shed light on the questions surrounding the concept of "Ecumenical Council". This formulation already implies that this historical research will mainly, although not exclusively, concern itself with the two Councils that are recognized as the only General Councils of this period: the Council of Nicea in 325 and the Council of Constantinople in 381. The facts and opinions concerning other councils or synods are examined, because they too can contribute to a correct explanation. The research therefore opens with an overview of the synods before the year 325, among which not a single General Council was held; a separate chapter is devoted to such important synods as Sardica 343 and Rimini-Seleucia 359. When it comes to questions concerning the concept of "Ecumenical Council", as is self-evident after all that has been said, the focus will be on the questions of ecumenicity, infallibility and the bearer of infallibility. Here the historical research is again concentrated on the question of whether in the 4th century the Pope was considered the subject of infallibility, as Forget 13) and many others assume or whether on the contrary the thesis of F. X. Funk 14) is historically founded! according to which the General Council itself, in other words the assembled bishops together with the Pope, possessed this authority according to the view of that time.

CHAPTER I SYNODS BEFORE THE YEAR 325

Terminology and Nature

A detailed theory of the General Council will not yet be expected from the Church Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the 4th century, the first century in which General Councils occur. It is therefore necessary to unearth their views on the concept of "General Council" from more or less loose sayings, from indirect indications, from the line of conduct with regard to the General Council and of particular synods, from the various events. Valuable data can also be hidden under the perhaps colorless-seeming terminology that the sources use when they deal with General Councils on the one hand and with particular synods on the other. It is therefore important to investigate the way in which various synods before the year 325, all particular, are described. There is an essential difference between a General Council and a particular council. This is already apparent from the difference in authority. The authority of the first is infallible, that of the second is not. The investigation of the terminology is therefore connected with a sketch of the nature of the particular synods that took place before the first General Council of Nicea in 325.

When one reads through the texts of the already numerous synods before the year 325, the sobriety immediately stands out as a characteristic feature. Not so much as regards the number of texts. For, even if the historian lacks a detailed account of most synods from the early times of the Church and has the authentic Acts of only one of those synods, he can still, with a careful investigation, compile a collection of a respectable number of texts, taken from immediate sources. The sobriety that is

striking is especially that in the terminology. The expressions are of a monotonous sameness, without any embellishment or variation.

When Eusebius of Caesarea writes about the Easter Controversy at the end of the 2nd century: "On this matter there were synods and meetings of bishops, and all
55675 unanimously established by means of letters an ecclesiastical regulation for all the faithful... Even now there is a letter in circulation from those who at that time met in Palestine, under the chairmanship of Theophilus, bishop of the community in Caesarea, and Narcissus, bishop of that in Jerusalem" 1), then he has gathered together almost the entire repertoire of terminology concerning the synods before the
55680 year 325, both the repertoire of the writers before Nicea and those after Nicea. An older witness is Polycrates of Ephesus, who in a letter to Pope Victor also reports on the Easter controversy: "I could also mention the bishops present who requested me to convene it, and whom I did convene; whose names - if I must write them - are of a great number" 2).

This sobriety in terminology applies not only to the less important or almost unknown synods from the earliest times (2nd century), but also to the most well-known, the most important and the often very busy synods from the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century. St. Cyprian writes in connection with the heretic baptismal controversy over a nefarious one in Cathago, held around the year 220 3), the following": "Our
55690 opinion that those who come from heresy to the Church must be baptized is nothing new and unexpected with us, given the fact that many years and a long time ago under Agrippinus, of last memory, very many bishops have met and established this" 4).

Concerning the Synod of Carthage in April or May 251, as well as a synod in Rome in the same year, the following words flow from the pen of the same Father of the
55695 Church, Cyprian: "According to what had been previously agreed upon, especially when there would be an opportunity to meet together (facultas in unum conveniendi) due to the end of the persecution, we bishops ... have assembled in large numbers ... And if perhaps the number of bishops in Africa is not considered large enough, we have also written to Rome about this matter, to our fellow bishop Cornelius, who himself, after
55700 a council of very many fellow bishops [cum plurimus coepiscopis habito concilio], agreed with us in the same conviction" 5). The synodal letter of Carthage 253, which was written by Cyprian and signed by sixty-six bishops, is entitled: "Cyprian and the other fellow bishops, who were present at the council in the number of sixty-six, to Brother Fidus, greetings); in the letter one can read: "Now concerning the matter of

children, that according to your words they should not be baptized within two or
55705 three days of their birth and that the ancient law of circumcision should be observed, so that according to your opinion no newborn should be baptized and sanctified within eight days: quite different is the view of our council"?) Regarding the heretic baptismal council in Carthage during the spring of the year 256, at which
55710 seventy-one bishops from proconsular Africa and Numidia were present»), the synodal letter to Pope Otephanus writes: "In order to settle certain matters and to examine them thoroughly by common agreement, we have deemed it necessary, dear brother, to convene and hold a council, at which very many priests came together and much was discussed and carried out" 9). From these letters it appears that both Cyprian and
55715 the assembled bishops call their meeting a "council" without further ado. Even more simply in a letter to Pope Lucius: "Cyprian with his fellow bishops to Brother Lucius, hail" 10).

The oldest authentic document of synodal Acts known to us, entitled: Sententiae
55720 episcopomm numero lxxxvii de haeretias baptizandis, which gives an official report of the synod of Carthage on 1 September 256 11), at which no fewer than eighty-five bishops were present 12), states very matter-of-factly that on 1 September several bishops from the provinces of Africa, Numidia and Mauretania had assembled in Carthage with priests and deacons, while a very large part of the people was also present, and after the letter of Jubaianus to Cyprian had been read, as well as that
55725 of Cyprianus to Jubaianus on the baptism of heretics and what the same Jubaianus had subsequently written back to Cyprian, Cyprian spoke ... " 13). Bishop Crescens Cirta appears to be the most elegiac, when he introduces his vote as follows: "After to such a company [tanto coetu] of holy confreres in the Priesthood the letters have been read from our beloved Cyprianus to Jubaianus and to Stephanus 14), which contain
55730 so much in them of holy testimonies of predecessors from divine scriptures, that we all rightly, gathered together [adunati] by Cod's grace, must agree, I give as my vote... 15).

Cyprianus and his fellow fighters speak together in simple words about these
55735 important and, as far as the number of people present, large synods are concerned, Cyprian writes just as simply in his numerous private letters about the other synods in Carthage, which for the area of Africa from the middle of the 11th century seem to

belong to an annual or even semi-annual institution and at which the bishops of three provinces: Africa proconsularis, Numidia and Mauretania, met 16). The contemporary, Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria, writes in a letter to Pope Sixtus about the various heretic baptismal councils: "And consider the weight of the matter. For indeed, as I hear, it has been decided in the largest synods of bishops on this subject, that those who join heresies must first become catechumens, then wash and purify themselves again from the stain of the old and impure leaven" 17).

Later, post-Nicene writers also display a similar simplicity towards these synods. One of the many examples from the Church History of Eusebius opened this series of texts 18). In the case of St. Augustine, too, one must again make a choice from much material, since Augustine repeatedly speaks of the Carthaginian synods in connection with Donatism. Dealing with the heretic baptismal controversy, the bishop of Hippo says: "Indeed, he [Cyprian] says that not one, but two or more councils were held on this question, African ones nonetheless. And he mentions that at one of them there were seventy-one bishops..." 19). Augustine reproaches the Donatists for sowing discord against the intention of Cyprian, to whom they appeal: "What can you say, that you even dare to appeal to Saint Cyprian, as if he, a defender in great measure of Catholic unity and peace, were the author of your schism? Take care [Augustine addresses the Donatist Cresconius] in the first place to be in the Church which, as is certain, Cyprian kept and preached; and only then have the mischief to name Cyprian as the inventor of your conception: first of all imitate the affectionate love and humility of Cyprian, and first come then bring up with the Council of Cyprian 20). Elsewhere Augustine writes: "Let those [the Donatists], by whom unity is assailed by an appeal to this council, listen carefully to how much unity must be loved according to this council 21). Referring to this same Council of Carthage, 1 September 256, at which eighty-five bishops were present, Augustine writes extensively about the gesta concilii, the "acts of the council" 22).

Among the legion of texts about this Carthaginian meeting in his seven books De Baptismo contra Donatistas, the synod is called a "holy council" only once: "I for one believe that the Catholic bishop Cyprian, the Catholic martyr, who, in order to find favor in the eyes of God, – humbled himself in everything according as he was more respected, uttered nothing at all, especially in the holy council of his fellow bishops [in sancto praesertim concilio collegarum], but what he had in his heart" 23). Vincent of Lerin asks: "What authority does this African council or decree possess 24)? In De viris illustribus, Jerome gives the following testimony about Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria: "He agreed with the decision of Cyprian and the African synod about the rebaptism of heretics." 25)

At a synod convened by Pope Cornelius in Rome in the year 251 for the purpose of settling the Novatian question, Eusebius says: "A very large synod was assembled at Rome for this matter, bishops to the number of sixty, and many more priests as well as deacons" 26). Despite the large number of people present and the special importance, since this concerns a Roman synod convened by a Pope, Eusebius does not use any special epitheta ornantia, any more than in the following quotation: "There are still in circulation among us letters from Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, to Fabius, the bishop of the Antiochene Church, which make known the proceedings concerning the Roman synod and the views of all in Italy, Africa and the regions therein" 27). About the same synod Jerome also writes in simple words in De viris illustribus: "Cornelius ... wrote a letter to Fabius, bishop of the Church of Antioch, about the synod at Rome, in Italy and Africa, and another about Novatian and those who have apostatized; a third about the proceedings of the Roman synod" 28). When Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria, in his struggle against the Sabellian heresy, was suspected of preaching the opposite heresy, that the Son was only a creature and not co-existent with the Father, and an accusation was even brought against his namesake Pope Dionysius, this Pope convened a synod in Rome in the year 259 or 260 29). About this the later Athanasius writes: "the synod in Rome expressed its dissatisfaction" 30).

The synodal letter of the synod at Antioch in the year 268 31), at which no fewer than seventy to eighty bishops were present 32), Eusebius introduces with the following words: "With unanimous decision therefore the pastors assembled thereupon wrote [ol èm xauxó auyKEKpoxr|pévoi noipévec;] a letter to the bishop of Rome, Dionysius, and Maximus, the bishop of Alexandria, and sent it around to all the provinces" 33). The address of the synodal letter itself is not more abundant: "To Dionysius and Maximus ... and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven, Helenus and Hymenaeus ... and all the other bishops and priests and deacons, who live with us in neighboring cities and under the ðovt]" 34). In the letter itself it says once: "But while we were together auveXrjXuSóxcov]" 35). Theodoret of Cyrus also says that "they

met at a synod" 36), Athanasius, Basil and bishop Alexander of Alexandria observe the same simplicity 37).

55805 We still have the canons of the council at Elvira (around 300) 38). Without any addition of "holy synod" or anything of the sort, fifty-eight canons of the total number of eighty-one introduce the decision with "it is decided" [placuit] or "it pleases us" [placet]; the other canons lack even this 39). The sources speak no differently about the synod of Alexandria in 306; about the meeting of seventy

55810 Donatist bishops at Carthage in 312; about the synod in the Lateran Palace in Rome from 2 to 4 October 313, convened at the invitation, if not by order, of Constantine I to put an end to the schism in Africa, under the presidency of Pope Miltiades, while in addition three Gallic and fifteen Italian bishops acted as judges, all of whom acquitted Caecilian of Carthage and condemned Donatus of Casae-Nigrae. With this

55815 last-mentioned council, however, the troubles in Africa had not yet ended. The Donatists continued to trouble the emperor with their complaints against Caecilian, and Constantine, irritated, simply referred them to the decision of the Roman synod. In reply, the Donatists indicated that only a few bishops had pronounced their judgment; they also claimed that they had not been sufficiently heard in Rome 40); at

55820 his wits' end 41), Constantine decided that the question should be finally settled at a great meeting of bishops, which he convened on 1 August 314 at Arles 42). One of his letters of invitation 43) has been preserved, addressed to Chrestus, the bishop of Syracuse. After a complaint about the failure of the synod at Rome, because in conflict with the fraternal harmony the discord in Africa continued to exist,

55825 Constantine writes: "Therefore it fell upon me to try, whether that which should have come to an end after the decision already issued by voluntary agreement, could now find a conclusion by a gathering of many. Since we have ordered [ἐκςΧεόααρεν] very many bishops from various and innumerable places to assemble [ουβεΧοειν] in the city of Arles before the 1st of August, we also thought it necessary to write to you,

55830 asking you to go to the aforementioned place before the same day, so that ... you, both by your steadfastness and by the unanimous and unanimous view of the other congressmen [ἐὰν ἄλλοι; Χονχφjq xcbv ουviόvxcov ὁποιjiόxου Καl ὁπόippovoq αυέαεοq], that which has hitherto been frivolously continued in a shameful, mutual strife, may at last be brought back to the due respect in faith as well as to brotherly harmony,

55835 after all the delegates sent by those who are now divided into two parties, whom we have also ordered to appear, have been heard" 44). Constantine rightly speaks in his letter of "very many bishops from innumerable places". There are traditions according to which no fewer than six hundred bishops were gathered in Arles 45). Ellies du Pin 46) however believes that the number should

55840 be limited to thirty-three bishops, because the synodal letter to Pope Sylvester 47) does not mention more in the title and also the persons-list, which is found in various manuscripts, has this number 48). Notwithstanding this relatively limited number of bishops, all the provinces of the empire, under Constantine, were represented at this Council. For besides the thirty-three bishops of the synodal

55845 letter, the list of persons mentions a respectable number of priests and deacons, some as attendants of their bishop, others as representatives and proxies of their absent bishops, so that one can count forty-six, perhaps forty-seven seats. Pope Sylvester is also represented at this Council, according to the signatures of two priests, Claudian and Vitus, as well as by two deacons, Eugenius and Cyriacus 49).

55850 From the fact that the name of Bishop Marinus of Arles appears first in the synodal letter, one may well infer that he held the presidency. With Marinus of Arles there are also: Acratius of Trier, Theodorus of Aquileia, Proterius of Capua, Vocius of Lyon, Caecilianus of Carthage, Reticius of Autun, Ambitatusus of Reims, Merocles of Milan, Adelphius of London, Maternus of Cologne, Liberius of Merida in Spain.

55855 Indeed, the Church provinces of the West: Gaul, Italy, Dalmatia, Africa, Spain and Britain, were present in Arles. The Pope was also represented and if one may fully accept the signature even in an impressive way; a stronger representation than that same Pope Sylvester had at Nicea, where only two priests fulfilled the legateship, stronger also than at the Council of Sardica in 343, where Pope Julius was also

55860 represented by only two priests. Notwithstanding the controversy, the extreme limits of which as far as the number of bishops is concerned are far apart, the number of those present can be called respectable. The Synod of Arles is undoubtedly one of the first really great councils in Church history, if one considers not only the number of those present but also the provinces represented. However, this council cannot be

55865 called ecumenical for the simple reason that the Eastern patriarchates did not participate in it, they had not been invited; they would even have been virtually unaware of the existence of a Donatist question, according to the testimony of Saint Augustine). However, it has been claimed that Saint Augustine considered this synod

55870 to be an ecumenical one, in which case an appeal has been made to his writing *De*
Baptismo contra Donatistas, where he calls Arles a "concilium plenum" 51) and to
his *Epistola xliiii*, where this synod is characterized as a "plenum Ecclesiae
universae concilium" 52). Let it be permitted here to leave aside the question of
55875 whether Augustine has the Synod of Arles in mind in these texts 53) and also of the
question of what is meant in these texts by the expressions *concilium plenum* and
plenum Ecclesiae universae concilium 54); these questions belong to an
investigation of the view of St. Augustine on the Ecumenical Council.
At present it is more interesting whether the contemporaries themselves regarded
Arles as an ecumenical synod. And this is not apparent anywhere. The type of
convocation letters sent around by Constantine can be seen above in his letter to
55880 Chrestus of Syracuse 55). Even though Constantine says that he invited bishops from
various and almost unmentionably many provinces, this expression is also justified
when sending convocation letters only to the numerous bishops of the West between
London and Syracuse, between Cologne and Carthage. Moreover, it is not apparent
anywhere in this letter that Constantine wants an "ecumenical", a "world" synod, a
55885 synod in which also the various, extensive areas of the East would be represented; in
fact they were not present. This is a major difference with the letter of convocation
of Constantine, which concerns Nicea, in which the emperor states as one of the
reasons why he chose Nicea as a meeting place: "so that the bishops from Italy and
the rest of Europe can more easily go there 56); besides the East, the entire West,
55890 the entire Church was invited to participate. The letter of convocation of Arles, on
the contrary, does not speak of the East and from the actual circumstances, among
other things the sole representation of Western bishops, it clearly follows that
Arles was intended as a Western council; but then also a council at which the entire
West had to be present.

55895 Neither do the two synodal letters 57) to Pope Sylvester give any indication that
Arles was considered ecumenical by contemporaries. The opening of the shorter synodal
letter does not differ from that of the synodal letters of earlier councils; it reads
very simply: "To the much beloved Pope Silvester, Marinus, Acratius, ... Epictetus,
eternal salvation in the Lord" 58). And then the letter continues: "Bound together by
55900 the common bond of love and by the unity of the mother, the Catholic Church, we have
been led [adducti] by the command of the most pious emperor to the city of Arles, and
from there we greet you, glorious Pope, with the respect due ... And if you, most
beloved brother, had considered it of such great importance to be present at this
most glorious spectacle, then we certainly believe that a stricter judgment would
55905 have been pronounced against them [the Donatists]; while our assembly [coetus noster]
would have rejoiced with still greater joy, if You had spoken rightly with us... and
since we have come together from different provinces [cum diversae sint provinciae ex
quibus advenimus], there are accordingly also different matters, which according to
our judgment must be considered. In the presence of the Holy Spirit and His Angels,
55910 it has pleased us [placuit ergo, praesente Spiritu Sancto et angelis eius] to bring
forward for judgment, from the matters which greatly interested each one separately,
those which deal with the present peace. It has also pleased everything to You, who
have the greatest dioceses governs, to write and especially to make known to all by
you. As for our opinion, we have added it to the writing of our lowliness [scripto
55915 nostrae mediocritatis]" 59). The fact that the "jubilant" bishops use the solemn
terms of "such a glorious spectacle", "in the presence of the Holy Spirit and His
Angels", does indicate the awareness of the special character of this council, as the
first council at which the entire West is present.

The second synodal letter to Pope Silvester, which literally and exclusively contains
55920 the canons and addresses the Pope only in the preamble and the first canon, begins as
follows: "To the most holy brother, Mr. Silvester, Marinus or the assembly of
bishops, who were together in the place of Arles. What we have decided in common
decision [Quid decrevimus communi consilio], we make known to you, beloved, so that
all may know what they have to do in the future" 60). In the twenty-two canons of
55925 Arles, added to this letter, "placuit" is always used without more, for example in
the third canon: "De his qui arma proiciunt in pace, placuit abstinere eos a
communione" 61). At the end of the first-quoted synodal letter, the contents of the
canons are briefly stated and there too, placuit is used without more. The synodal
letter of Nicea I will sound more resonant with its "the holy synod", "the great and
55930 holy synod" 62) and six canons of the twenty, also with their "the great and holy
synod" 63). Also the letter by Constantine after the Council of Arles to the bishops,
in which the emperor complains about the heretics, who had appealed to the emperor's
judgment, while the judgment of the priests had to be considered as from God himself:
sacerdotum iudicium ita debet haberi, ac si ipse Dominus residens iudicet, this

letter also contains nothing special 64). How completely different is Constantine's ardent conviction expressed in his letter after the Council of Nicea written to various Churches 65)!

From the foregoing the conclusion may be drawn that the Council of Arles was indeed an important council and was also regarded as such by contemporaries, but that there is no question of a "world synod", a General Council with its characteristic features, not even in the thinking of contemporaries. When the Church could breathe freely after the death of Maximinus in the summer of the year 313, at the same time as the Council of Arles, several "assemblies of bishops" also took place in the East 66). One of the first and best known is the Council of Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, held between Easter and Pentecost in the year 314 67), at which eighteen bishops from almost all the Asian provinces were present. The canons of this council have been preserved both in Greek text and in various old Latin translations 68). While two codices bear the heading: "Canons of the Synod of Ancyra" 69), the best Greek manuscripts bear the following heading: "Canons of the Blessed Fathers, who met at Ancyra: which, however, are of an older date than the canons promulgated at Nicea, but are second in rank because of the authority of the ecumenical synod" 70). These canons also always have very simply: "it has pleased" or: "it pleases" [sokel or bet] 71). In the sixth canon we read: "As for those who ... have now joined on the occasion of the synod ... it has pleased ... If there are, however, those who have been admitted to penance before this synod ..." 72).

It is therefore very striking that in these twenty-five canons there is only one mention of "the holy synod [q ayia aóvoöoc;] and the most remarkable and strange, not to say inexplicable thing, is that this represents the first and only case before Nicea. In the seventeenth canon it is stated: "Those who have lived as if without reason [i.e. have committed the sin of bestiality] and have become unclean [leper] and have made others unclean [leper], must, according to the decree of the holy synod, pray under the xei-Pa^oPévoucl" 73). In vain will one look for an explanation of this fact in commentators such as Balsamom, Zonaras and Aristenus, or also Beveridge 74); it does not even seem to have occurred to them, because none of them draws attention to this remarkable fact. Nor does Hefele-Leclercq, who, especially in the French edition of Leclercq, always draws attention to all kinds of small details, always relying on an extensive literature 75). One also searches in vain with X. Le Bachelet, while he draws attention specifically to this canon because of the term "Xeipa^oPévous" 76). The same applies to the extensive Baronius 77). The canon collection of Isidorus Mercator does not speak of "the holy synod", but simply gives placuit, "it has been pleased" or "it has been decided" 78), as does the Prisca versio 79). That of Dionysius Exiguus, on the other hand, has "the holy synod, [q ayia aóvoöoc; sancta synodus 80), as well as the reading in Ceillier, who, however, in his commentary pays no attention to this peculiarity 81). Constantinus Harmenopulus has rendered the text freely: "'O aXoyeuoapEvoc;, Kal Xeitpot; &>v, r) XeTtpcáoag, év Totq euxeóßco" 82), Tillemont does not point this out either 83), nor does Van Espen in his extensive commentary on this canon 84). It is of course possible that the Synod of Ancyra used the term "the holy synod" for the first time in history; it seems more likely to us, however, that this synod, like all its predecessors and entirely in accordance with its own terminology in the sixth canon 85), also spoke simply of "the synod" or even of "it has pleased" in its seventeenth canon. The presently occurring "fj ayia auvobog" would then have to be regarded as a later addition either of the word "ayia" or of the entire expression "fj ayia auvobog"; This addition is quite understandable if one takes into account the fact that the canons of this synod have not been preserved separately, but only in council collections which were compiled after the General Council of Nicea and in which this latter Council always occupied the first place 86); the compiler or copyist of these collections could very well, consciously or unconsciously, have inserted this terminology into the seventeenth canon of Ancyra, under the influence of the preceding canons of Nicea, in which reference is made several times to "the holy synod", as well as under the influence of the fact that after Nicea the terminology "the holy synod" became more and more common also for smaller, particular synods. Going further, one can posit the possibility that there were old Greek manuscripts of these council collections in which the collector left the original "fj ouvo&oq" or, other Greek manuscripts in which the collector used "fj ayia aóvoboc;", which explains why the two oldest Latin translations, the versio Isidoriana and the versio Prisca, have simply "it has been decided", the other manuscripts of the Latin translations "the holy synod". The synod at Neo-Caesarea, the capital of the Pontus Polemoniacus, held a little later than that of Ancyra, provides no material for this

investigation in its fifteen canons; even the otherwise so common "it has pleased", "ἐβόη,ε" does not occur.

Meanwhile, with the rise of Arianism, the eve of Nicaea is approaching. Already around 323 87) Arius was condemned by a great synod in Alexandria, at which about a hundred bishops from Egypt and Libya were present, convened by the Alexandrian bishop Alexander. After this synod Alexander sent a letter to numerous bishops 88), in which the head of the Alexandrian Church wrote: "Since the followers of Arius asserted this... we met with the bishops of Egypt and Libya, almost a hundred in number, and pronounced condemnation against them" 89). And in a letter to his namesake, Alexander of Constantinopel, one can read: "We have therefore unanimously [uapijitjtpei] expelled them from the Church, which reveres the divinity of Christ" 90). In the same letter the request is made not to admit "these people, condemned by the brotherhood" 91) into communion. Still further Alexander speaks simply of "our fellow servants" 92) and indicates that letters were sent in all directions to all Egypt and Thebais, to Libya and the Pentapolis, to Syria, Lycia and Pamphylia, to Asia, Cappadocia and neighbouring regions. Later writers speak of this synod in a similar manner. Thus the historian Socrates: "Hearing and seeing these events, Alexander was enraged; and after he had called a synod [ouvebpiov] of many bishops, he condemned Arius and those who adhered to his doctrine" 93). The historian Sozomenus uses such terms as: "he [Alexander] sat down as judge with the clerics" 94); "after another synod had been held" 95). St. Epiphanius states in his catalogue of heretics: "This [Arius] reached his zenith in the time of the holy bishop Alexander, the successor of Peter, who sent this Arius amid much commotion and condemned by means of a great synod" 96). In very general terms this synod is indicated by St. Athanasius as follows: "The Arians, who were expelled for impiety by Alexander, of blessed memory, the former bishop of Alexandria" 97). Elsewhere this Church Father says: "These [Arians] were declared heretics thirty-six years ago" 98). Sozomenus also speaks of a synod in Bithynia, held by the followers of Arius. "And when they had assembled a synod in Bithynia, they wrote everywhere to the bishops to hold fellowship with the followers of Arius as orthodox believers and to bring about that Alexander also should enter into fellowship with them" 99). A similar synod must also have been held at Caesarea in Palestine 100). Probably in the year 324 another synod was held in Alexandria, at which Ossius of Cordova 101), who had already reached the age of sixty-seven, must have been present. At this synod the priest Colluthus, who claimed for himself the power to administer Holy Orders, was deposed. 102) In his Apologia contra Arianos Athanasius includes a letter from priests and deacons from Mareotis, in which it is written: "But behold, because he [Colluthus] assumed such a title, he was deposed from his [priestly] office at the synod assembled in Alexandria, in the presence of our Father Ossius" 103). Much later Patriarch Photius testifies: "[Philostorgius says] that before the synod of Nicea Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, came to Nicomedia and found Ossius of Cordova with the bishops present with him and with synodal votes he worked on the Son "to confess to the Father and also to expel Arius" 104). The entire terminology with regard to the particular synods before Nicea, taken together, shows such colorless expressions as convenire in unum, coire, cogere et celebrare concilium, advenire, adunati, concilium, synodus, coetus noster, visum est, placuit, statuere, οὐκ ὀρθόδοξοι, περὶ τῶν ἁγίων, αὐτοκαταλείπει, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνόμοιοι, ἀνόμιμοι, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνόμοιοι, ἀνόμιμοι. Special epitheta ornantia are completely absent, with one exception: the seventeenth canon of the council at Ancyra in the year 314 with its "the holy synod" 105).

If one now asks for the reasons why these meetings of bishops were held in the various church provinces, Tertullian gives the first answer: "Moreover, in the Greek countries in certain places councils are held from all the churches, whereby both the more important matters are dealt with in common and the representation of everything that is called Christian is celebrated in a venerable manner. And how right it is to gather together under the good omen of faith from all sides around Christ! See, how good and pleasant it is when brothers are united together [Ps. CXXXII, 1]; you can perhaps only sing this text when you are eating a good meal with more people. These meetings, however, first devote themselves to the stations and other fasts and thus know how to mourn with the mourners and then to rejoice with those who rejoice" 106). The seriousness and importance of the issues caused the bishops to meet to consult together. The Church was faced with such a matter when, under the pressure of persecution, many had renounced their faith and wished to be received back into the ecclesiastical community in more peaceful times. This was a burning problem, especially in Africa in the middle of the 11th century, not in one or another diocese, but in all three provinces: Africa proconsularis, Numidia and Mauretania.

The Primas Africae, St. Cyprian, did not feel responsible, if he were to decide alone and on the question of the lapsi; he considered himself obliged to call together his fellow bishops for this purpose in order to make a joint decision. On the occasion of the synod held at Carthage in the spring of the year 251, he wrote to Bishop Antonian: "It was necessary to write to you about this now, so that you would know, that I have acted nothing frivolously, but, entirely in accordance with the position previously expressed in my letters, have referred everything to the common decision of our council and that I had not had any intercourse with any of the lapsi beforehand, when there was still an opportunity to receive not only forgiveness, but even the crown. Afterwards, however, as the agreement with my fellow bishops and the interest of uniting our brothers and healing the wound required, I yielded to the circumstances of the time and I thought I had to provide for the salvation of many. And now I do not deviate from what was once decided in our council by common agreement" 107). A judgment of several bishops will be more mature and correct and therefore carry more weight. Before the Council of Carthage, held on the fifteenth of May 252, Cyprian reported to a number of bishops who had asked him for advice about three who had fallen through weakness: "Since you have written to me to discuss this matter thoroughly with several fellow bishops and because such an important matter requires a more extensive deliberation, one that is of greater importance because many seek their cooperation... I will discuss this more deeply with each of them" 108).

In this way the bishops were able to form their own Church-province through the surf. Accordingly, Pope Cornelius received a letter from Africa, in which he read: "For since it has been determined by all of us, as is just and just, that the cause of each should be heard there, where the fault has been committed, and to each shepherd a portion of the flock has been entrusted, which each has to govern and guide, while he must render an account to God of his actions, those over whom we are appointed should not seek refuge hither and thither, nor seek to break the concord of the bishops by their crafty and lying recklessness, but should plead their cause there, wherever they may find accusers and witnesses of their crime." 109) It was therefore not from fear of lack of jurisdiction that two Spanish Churches 110) turned to Africa to express their opinion on the matter of the apostate Spanish bishops, Basilides and Martialis; but they did this, according to Cyprian, in order to receive comfort and reinforcement, which would be especially welcome to them, because Basilides and Martial had already taken refuge in Rome with Pope Stephen, whom they had succeeded in winning over. And in the same way the council at Carthage, autumn 254, did not think of examining this question again, completely independently. The synodal letter, written by Cyprian and co-signed by thirty-six other bishops, contains the following words: "You [the two Spanish Churches] have expressed the wish that you would receive an answer on this matter and that your justified and at the same time necessary concern would be relieved either by the comfort or by the help of our judgment. But your request already contains the answer not so much in our advice, as in the divine precepts" 111).

There have been several councils in Africa that have dealt with the heretic baptismal controversy. This question belonged to the "more important matters" mentioned by Tertullian, on which a common deliberation was to be held. That this was the prevailing view is evident not only from the fact of these heretical baptismal councils, but also from the words of a synodal letter signed by seventy-one bishops to Pope Stephen of the synod held at Carthage in the spring of 256: "In order to regulate certain matters and to examine them thoroughly by common consultation, we have deemed it necessary, dear brother, to convene and hold a council, at which a great many priests came together" 112). The baptism of heretics is emphasized in the remainder of the letter and is the only point of discussion; the members of the council express their opinion that they must communicate their decision on this matter to the Pope. Dionysius of Alexandria also judges the heretical baptismal controversy to be a matter of great importance and supports this opinion by appealing to the fact that great heretical baptismal councils have been held. He writes to Pope Xistus: "And note the weight of the matter. Indeed, because decisions have been made on this subject at the greatest synods of bishops" 113).

In addition to the numerous councils, especially in Africa, on lapsi and heretical baptism, there have been others that had as their subject the Easter controversy, heretical or at least very dangerous opinions such as those of Origen, Privatus, Beryllus of Bostra, the hypnopsychites, the Millenarians, Paul of Samosate, Meletius of Lycopolis, the Donatists and Arius and his followers; even bishop Dionysius of Alexandria was accused of heresy in the Logos doctrine in Rome and asked by a synod

- for a written explanation. Schismatics such as Felicissimus, Novatianus, Nepos were condemned at councils. In Africa, at a synod in the early 11th century, the question was discussed whether clerics were allowed to take on the task of tutor or curator testamenti, which was answered in the negative and this prohibition was tightened up again at the council of Carthage in 249. The agenda of the synod in Alexandria in 324 included the celebration of Easter, the Meletian schism and the condemnation of Colluthus.
- During this period, then, synods were held at Rome, in Africa, at Alexandria, in Arabia, in Palestine, Achaia, Cilicia and Phrygia, Galatia and Cappadocia, in Spain and Gaul, synods at which bishops, either from the same province or from different neighbouring provinces, came together to deliberate on ecclesiastical interests, which were of various kinds, very important ones like heretical baptism and less important ones like tutorship, interests in the doctrinal and disciplinary fields, and to judge various persons, priests like Origen and Colluthus and also bishops like Privatus of Lambesia, Paul of Samosate and the orthodox Dionysius of Alexandria 114).
- Striking is the often repeated expression of the ultimate agreement of the assembled bishops. How often does Cyprian point out that the decisions were made "unanimously"! In the footsteps one encounters in the sources: omnes uno consensu, de consensu communi, quid decrevimus communi consilio, de communi conlatione, universi iudicavimus, $\rho\delta\iota\ \Upsilon\upsilon<\eta\pi\beta>\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{KOivfjq yvcbpqc}$;, $\text{blo}\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\text{ijjoyoo}\ \text{K}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\ \acute{\omicron}\text{pcxppovoc}$; $\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\epsilon\text{ocoq},\ \alpha\acute{\omicron}\text{ptpcovov}\ \text{qj}\text{rjcpov}\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\text{,eveyK}\acute{\omicron}\text{VTEq}$.
- Once the bishops had jointly determined their position and made their decisions [decreta or placita], then these pronouncements possessed authority [decreti nostri auctoritas] and the force of law, which was also the case for pronouncements made by predecessors [ab antecessoribus nostris statutam sententiam] 115). The bishops were also subject to the decisions which they themselves had made jointly. Does not Cyprian say that he and his fellow bishops were deeply indignant when they heard that Bishop Geminius Victor, on his deathbed, had appointed the priest Geminius Faustinus as executor of his will, "while it had already been decided earlier at a council of bishops that no one should appoint any of the clerics or servants in God's House as tutor or curator for his estate" 116)? Therefore, for this bishop, who acted "against the norm recently established by priests in a council," no Holy Mass may be offered or publicly prayed in the Church, "so that the decision of the priests may be observed by us." 117)? And the sixty-six bishops at the council of Carthage in 253 reproached Therapius, Bishop of Bulla, for having reconciled one of his priests, named Victor, with the Church without demanding sufficient penance; this meant a violation of the rule established by the council of 251: "And this grieves us deeply, that the authority of our decision has been set aside" 118). Regarding the action taken with regard to the already mentioned Spanish bishops, Basilides and Martialis 119), the synodal letter of 254 writes that such people cannot stand at the head of Christ's Church nor may they offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass "especially since our fellow bishop Cornelius has already previously decided with us and with literally all the bishops throughout the world that such people may indeed be admitted to penance, but must be kept away from ordination as clerics and from the priestly office" 120). Dionysius of Alexandria does not want to detract from the decisions on heretical baptism that were taken at so many councils, for example in Iconia and Synnada 121). Apparently, the Egyptian bishop Meletius, who was deposed at a synod in Alexandria at the beginning of the 4th century for various crimes, also considered the pronouncement to be of such force that he did not seek it from another authority, but simply renounced obedience, so that Athanasius could later testify: "Meletius, however, did not have recourse to another synod, nor did he endeavor to defend himself for posterity; he caused a schism" 122). The Council of Arles, which expressed its regret that the Pope had not been present 123), made its decision known "so that all would know what they must observe and observe in the future" 124). Nevertheless, people were convinced that the pronouncements of particular synods were not decisions that could no longer be changed: infallibility, an absolute, always and everywhere valid force, cannot be attributed to them. Is this already indirectly evident from the fact that on exactly the same subject, on which a decision had already been made, a council was held several times without protest and in different parts of the world and even in the same ecclesiastical province 125), this can be demonstrated very clearly and directly from the words spoken by Cyprian on September 1, 256, in the presence of more than eighty bishops at the opening of the third council held by him on the baptism of heretics. "You have heard, most beloved colleagues, what our fellow bishop Jubaianus has written to me to consult our lowliness about the illicit and unholy baptism of heretics and what I have written

back to him, namely my judgment that we have already pronounced once and again and often: that the heretics who wish to be received into the Church must be baptized and sanctified with the baptism of the Church ... '. It now remains for each of us to express our opinion on this matter separately, not pronouncing judgment or condemnation on anyone or denying the right of community to anyone if he is of a different opinion" 126). Although the question had already been decided several times and the decision taken several times had the force of law, the matter was once again dealt with in its entirety and every bishop present was still free to maintain whatever he thought fit concerning the validity of heretical baptism, so that any possible proponent of the validity, in deviation from the previous decisions, would not incur excommunication 127). A position that cannot be reconciled with an infallible pronouncement. About the synod at Carthage in the spring of the year 251, at which the attitude towards the lapsi was determined, Cyprian wrote in a later circular: "And if the number of bishops in Africa is perhaps not considered large enough, we have also written to Rome about this matter, to our fellow bishop Cornelius" 128); at the council at Rome in the autumn of the year 251, the Pope agreed with the decision of the African synod. A decision of a particular synod, even if it had the force of law, was still subject to further scrutiny.

CHAPTER II THE FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL AT NICEA IN 325

It is difficult to determine who or to whom the initiative for the first General Council belonged. If a synodal letter in Syriac is indeed a translation of an authentic document, a synod must have been held in Antioch in the winter of 324 to 325 1). Fifty-six bishops 2) from Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, Coelesyria, Cilicia and Cappadocia were assembled under the chairmanship of Eusebius of Isauria. They had to choose a new bishop for Antioch, since Philogonius had died on 24 December 324; their choice fell on Eustathius, bishop of neighbouring Beroea and kindred spirit of Alexander of Alexandria. The opportunity was also used to condemn the heresy of Arius and to make a confession of the true faith. Three of those present, Theodotus of Laodicea, Narcissus of Neronias, and Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, refused to sign the formula; the synod excluded them from the community, although not definitively, since they were given time and opportunity to come to their senses. A synodal letter was sent in all directions, especially to the "bishops of Italy, who belonged to the See of the great Rome". These Western bishops sent back a letter approving the decree of faith of Antioch 3). The phrase from the synodal letter, in which the provisional character of the excommunication of the three bishops is expressed, reads as follows: "And you must also know this, that because of the great brotherly love of the synod we have given these persons time to repent and to acknowledge the truth until the great synod of priests at Ancyra" 4). Based on this information, some have thought that the proposal for a General Council originated with the Fathers of the Antiochene synods 5). However, from the text just quoted one can read no more than that already at the end of the year 324 the plan was known to hold a General Council at Ancyra 6) because of the Arian doctrines and that the invitations had most probably already been sent and received by the Eastern bishops; however, this synodal letter says nothing about the initiative. According to Sulpicius Severus, Ossius of Cordova is the author of the Nicene Council 7). Philostorgius seems to regard Alexander of Alexandria as the main driving force, in collaboration with Ossius and other bishops 8).

Usually, however, the initiative is attributed to Emperor Constantine; the emperor as initiator is also the representation given by the eyewitness and oldest church historian, Eusebius. He writes: "Thereupon he [the emperor], as if taking the field against him [Arius] with a phalanx of God, assembled an ecumenical synod by urging the bishops of all regions with honorable letters to hasten" 9). However, one must not lose sight of the fact that Eusebius in this writing, *De Vita Constantini*, is not primarily a historian but a panegyrist; for the eulogist there is a real danger of exaggeration, which is why it is very possible that Eusebius was the great and the of course, for the world more conspicuous part of Constantine has made into an exclusive role.

A combination of the different reports perhaps brings us closest to the actual course of events. The situation indeed threatened to become serious. The heresy of Arius was in itself devastating for Christianity: it denied after all one of the fundamental principles of Christianity, the true Godhead of Christ. Moreover, Arianism meant a rationalization of faith, the battle waged by pure reason against the spirit of faith 10), the battle of a mentality, entangled in the remains of pagan views against the pure Christian mentality. Several bishops, priests and believers had already been affected by this pernicious tendency and heretical doctrine and despite a

56265 condemnation at the Council of Alexandria, a particular synod, the evil continued to
 proliferate. In addition to this danger to the true religion, there was a danger to
 the State. Recently, since the death of Licinius in 324, the unity of the Empire had
 been restored and order and peace could enter under the sole rule of Constantine, who
 56270 was well-disposed towards the Christians. Now, however, the danger of a conflict of
 faith, of sharp religious disputes threatened; unity in the Church would be over.
 With that, the newly acquired unity, peace and order in the State would also come to
 an end. Under these circumstances, both the ecclesiastical authorities and the head
 of State had to feel drawn to take energetic measures to exorcise the evil spirits.
 The appropriate, already existing means was: a council of bishops. Was it not
 56275 obvious, after the failure of the particular synod in Alexandria, and now that unity
 in the entire Church and the entire State was at stake, to convene a meeting of the
 bishops from the entire Church and the entire State, a world meeting or "ecumenical"
 synod? For the first time in the history of the Church, external circumstances made
 such a meeting possible. Moreover, a world meeting would not only be the only
 56280 effective measure, but also a solemn manifestation of the unity so much desired by
 the emperor and the bishops. The idea of such a world meeting must therefore have
 hung in the air, as it were, in the given circumstances, and must have occurred
 spontaneously to several people. 11). In a personal contact between the emperor and
 Ossius of Cordova, between Ossius and Alexander of Alexandria, between these persons
 56285 and other bishops, who were all disappointed in the more private attempts, it is
 therefore quite natural that the desirability and the possibility of a world meeting
 were discussed on both sides. The initiative is then not to be attributed to one
 person, but to the spontaneous, common idea of all of them who were involved in the
 fight against the Arian heresy and focused on the unity of Church and State; in the
 56290 first place one thinks of Ossius, Alexander and Constantine. The transformation of
 the idea into action, of the initiative into reality, must be attributed to the only
 person who was practically able to bring together the bishops of the entire world:
 the emperor; hence the panegyrist Eusebius was tempted to mention only Constantine,
 so that one gets the impression that everything originated from the emperor alone.
 56295 However, the emperor brought the Council together after and as a result of the
 exchange of ideas with leading figures in the Church; probably Ossius, who had a
 personal interview with the emperor in the year 324 and was sent to Alexandria with
 an imperial letter on the Arian question, was Constantine's principal adviser, so
 that Sulpicius Severus was allowed to mention Ossius in particular as the arranger of
 56300 the General Council; the text of Sulpicius Severus must not be interpreted in the
 sense that Ossius was the sole arranger. Philostorgius rightly mentions a third
 leading figure, namely Alexander of Alexandria; insofar as Philostorgius makes it
 clear that Alexander collaborated with other persons, he represents the actual
 situation more accurately than the other sources.
 56305 That Ancyra was indeed originally determined as the meeting place, is evident from
 the convocation letter of Emperor Constantine. This letter has been preserved in the
 oldest Syriac version of the Nicene canons, by Marouta, bishop of Maipherkat,
 produced at the instigation of the Patriarch Isaac of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (4th
 century). After this letter is announced with the words: "Letter of Emperor
 56310 Constantine to the sixty bishops", the text follows: "It is, I think, known to all,
 that nothing is so dear to my heart as piety towards God. Although at first I thought
 it good to convene a synod of bishops in the city of Ancyra in Galatia, it has now
 appeared to me for many reasons more expedient to convene the synod in the city of
 Nicea in Bithynia 12), and so that the bishops from Italy and the rest of Europe can
 56315 more easily go there, and because the weather there is milder and healthier, and so
 that I myself can be present and take part in the proceedings. And therefore, dear
 brethren, I communicate to you as my will, that all shall meet as soon as possible in
 the aforesaid city, namely Nicea. Every one of you, taking into account the great
 interest, may hasten, as has been said, to come without delay, to take part in the
 56320 discussions in person. May God protect you, dearly beloved brethren" 13).

This letter of convocation shows that it was Emperor Constantine who called the first
 General Council of Nicea, and he alone. Constantine apparently acted on his own
 authority and regarded the convocation as a matter which was rightfully his as
 56325 basileus and on which he decided independently. The empress does not let the idea
 even hint in her letter that the approval or action on the orders of a second and in
 particular of the Bishop of Rome would in fact be present or required. The other
 initiators such as Ossius and Alexander of Alexandria are not even mentioned; they
 may have suggested the idea of the desirability of a general synod, but the
 56330 convocation of such a synod belongs to the emperor and is not done on the orders of

others 14).

Various other statements by Emperor Constantine about the Council of Nicea reflect the same train of thought. In his speech to the synod Constantine says: when I heard of the ecclesiastical discord, I thought I should attend to this matter; I also wished to use my resources and therefore "I called them all together without delay" 15). In a letter to the Alexandrian Church Constantine also writes that he called the synod at Nicea "by the inspiration of God" 16); even here the emperor does not speak of the cooperation or consent of the Bishop of Rome, any more than in his circular letter to the Churches 17) and in his later letter to the Church of Nicomedia 18).

The Council itself also knows nothing else than that it was brought together by the grace of God and the care of the basileus, beloved of God, Constantine 19).

Constantine's contemporary Eusebius of Caesarea bears witness to the same view when he simply mentions that the emperor called an Ecumenical Synod 20). In the same way, the later historian Socrates says that the emperor "called together an ecumenical synod, inviting the bishops of all regions by letters to meet at Nicea of Bithynia" 21). The same can be found in Sozomenus 22), Theodoret 23) and in the continuation of the Eusebian Church History by Rufinus 24). According to the latter historian, the emperor convenes the assembly "at the wish of the priests" *ex sacerdotum sententia*. Who these priests, or rather bishops, are, Rufinus does not mention. But here one feels compelled to think especially of Ossius and Alexander of Alexandria, whose desire for the definitive means of a General Council has already been demonstrated. If the historical circumstances preceding Nicea already give the legitimate

presumption that Rufinus means Alexander and Ossius with the expression *ex sententia sacerdotum*, written not before the year 403, this presumption becomes certain when one reads the testimonies of Epiphanius and Sulpicius Severus. In the years 374-377 Epiphanius already wrote: "But soon Constantine, of blessed memory, assembled a synod in the city of Nicea at the zealous urging of Alexander, the holy bishop of Alexandria" 25). At the same time as Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus wrote in his

Chronicles that Ossius was the author of the Nicene Council, which means that it must be meant that Ossius belonged to the *auctores intellectuales* 26). That Pope Silvester would also have been included among those "sacerdotes" is not apparent anywhere and is very unlikely, since Constantine convened the Council during his stay in the East and the Pope would not have followed him there. Moreover, if Pope Silvester were indeed among the number of bishops at whose request Constantine convened the Council, the silence of all sources about this special advisor becomes puzzling and inexplicable. However, even if one wants to see the Pope included in Rufinus' words, the text is still not conclusive for the recognition of a papal right of approval. Rufinus only speaks of "wish", not of approval; and then about different bishops, not about the Pope alone, which would have to be the case if one wants to read the recognition of the papal right of approval into the text. From all these testimonies it appears that the emperor and this one alone convened the General Council of Nicea, and that the time-notes granted the emperor the right of convening. If one had been convinced that the Pope had to grant the emperor full authority to do so and the granting of this authority consisted in approval and if the emperor had also acted accordingly with the approval of the Bishop of Rome, then this cooperation of the Pope could not always have been completely passed over by the various sources in a way that suggests the very opposite 27).

Because the various reports do not agree, it is difficult or impossible to determine the exact number of participants. The eyewitness Eusebius of Caesarea counts more than two hundred and fifty bishops, while according to him the number of priests, deacons and acolytes who accompanied their bishops was almost innumerable 28). Saint Eustathius of Antioch, who was also present at the Council, speaks of about two hundred and seventy-eight bishops 29). Another participant, Saint Athanasius, repeatedly gives the number as three hundred bishops or about three hundred 30). In *De synodis seu de fide Orientalium* of Saint Hilary of Poitiers, written in the year 359 shortly before the synods of Rimini and Seleucia, the well-known number of three hundred and eighteen is found for the first time; this number then signifies for Hilary a sacred and symbolic number as being the number of servants of the conqueror Abraham (Gen., XIV, 14) 31). From that time on this symbolic number is held on to. Hilary himself repeats this figure in his *Liber contra Constantium Imperatorem*, written in the year 360 32). His example is now also followed by Athanasius in his *Epistola ad Afros episcopos* of the year 369 33). Three hundred and eighteen is also the number given by Pope Liberius 34), Pope Damasus 35), Epiphanius 36), Hieronymus 37), Rufinus 38), and as a symbolic number especially by Ambrose 39). The later historians Socrates 40) and Theodoret 41) adopt this number; only Sozomenus still

speaks of about three hundred and twenty bishops 42).

People came together at Nicea from all sides. Eusebius describes this in the following way; "From all the Churches now, which filled all of Europe, Libya and Asia, the flower of God's servants came together. A single house of prayer, as if enlarged by divine power, offered room within its walls for Syrians as well as Cilicians, Phoenicians and Arabs, for Palestinians and also for those from Egypt, from Thebais and Libya and for those who came from Mesopotamia. A bishop from Persia was present at the synod, and Scythia was not lacking in this company; Pontus and Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia and Asia and Phrygia had their elite among those present; and also Thracians and Macedonians, Achaeans and Epirotes, and among them those who lived the furthest away had come; even from Spain the much-vaunted one came together with many others to sit with the words: "the head of the imperial city [Rome] however was absent because of old age, but his priests were present to take his place" 43).

The Eastern part of the Empire formed by far the majority at this Council; almost all the bishops were Eastern bishops: Egypt, Palestine, Coelesyria, Asia Minor counted many bishops among those present. The Greek regions of Europe, notably Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia, Dardania and Achaia had some representatives: of Moesia and Dacia only two bishops' names are known.

But nevertheless the large ecclesiastical areas of the West were also represented. North Africa was present in the person of the bishop of Carthage, Caecilian; Calabria was also represented by one bishop, Marcus graced; Milan by its bishop Eustorgius 44); Gaul by the bishop of Die, Nicasius 5); Ossius of Cordova represented Spain; the bishop of Rome was personally represented by two Roman priests, Vito and Vincentius. Only of Britain no representative is known. From the shores of the Black Sea came the bishop of Pityus in the Caucasus, that of the Bosporus, and two from Great Armenia; Persia had one bishop at the Council of Nicaea 46). In spite of the Eastern majority, one may therefore say that the whole Church and all parts of the Church at this Council in the history of the Church, which indeed embraced the whole Catholic world. The Fathers present showed understandable differences in nature and disposition. Some were skilled in theological difficulties and mutual arguments; for Eustathius of Antioch, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Alexandria or Marcellus of Ancyra, who at this Council was one of the principal opponents of the Arians 47), the Arian doctrine held no secrets. There were learned men like Eusebius of Caesarea, who knew ancient Church history to the finest detail. By the many graces of God the bishop of Cyprus, Spiridion, had come to great sanctuary; this bishop was famous for his miracles and James of Nisbee was also known as a wonder-worker. Others had heroically testified to their faith in times of persecution and could proudly show their wounds; for example, Paul of Neocaesarea, Paphnutius the Egyptian, Amphion of Epiphania and Potamon of Heraclea in Egypt. Among the participants may also be mentioned Macarius of Jerusalem; the three Apostolic sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were all present, while the see of Rome was represented. Lientius of Caesarea in Cappadocia possessed the gift of prophecy. Nicholas of Myra was known as the great benefactor. Eusebius rightly wrote: "Of these servants of God, some were distinguished by their wise words, others by their strict life, patience, and self-control; others again were endowed with the virtue of modesty. There were those who were honored for their great age, others distinguished by their youthful strength of body and soul, or had only recently come to this degree of ministry [the episcopal office] 48). And Theodoret later testified: "Many there were at that time who were distinguished by Apostolic gifts: many who bore in their bodies the stigmata of the Lord Jesus 49). Among those who accompanied their bishop to the Council as priests or deacons, the most famous must be mentioned: St. Athanasius, who as a young deacon of Bishop Alexander of Alexandria was the most vehement opponent of the Arian party 50). That Rome occupied and should occupy a very special place according to the Orientals, is evident from what Eusebius of Caesarea relates in his *De Vita Constantini*. In the seventh chapter of the third book, Eusebius is enumerating which regions are represented by their bishops and he closes the series with the words: "the head of the imperial city [Rome], however, was absent because of old age, but its priests were present to take his place" 51).

After the series of bishops who were present, this special and isolated mention of the absence of Rome's bishop is nevertheless an indication that, according to the Easterners, Rome occupied a special place. This is all the more compelling when one takes into account that of the other Western regions, only the representative of Spain is mentioned by name by Eusebius, the in the East famous and revered bishop of Cordova, Ossius. Neither the brevity that Eusebius observes, nor the great prestige

that Ossius enjoyed, are able to displace the thought of and the mention of Rome. Finally, although Eusebius in this seventh chapter speaks exclusively of the bishops, only to add at the end of the eighth chapter that the number of priests, deacons, acolytes and others can hardly be indicated, the representation of Rome by two priests is nevertheless recorded in the seventh chapter. From the quoted text, however, it cannot be proven that, according to Eusebius, Rome occupied that special place for dogmatic reasons; that special mention can, perhaps must be explained by the fact that Rome was the "capital of the empire", to which Eusebius himself points out 52).

The first meeting took place on the 20th of May in the year 325. This is the date that Socrates found in the notes of the council documents 53). The bishops met in the great hall of the imperial palace. The meeting was attended by the emperor, who was accompanied only by a few Christian courtiers; Constantine resembled "an angel of God from heaven" 54). The bishop, seated at the right hand of the emperor, rose and thanked him for the care he had taken for the sake of the Church. Then the emperor made a speech to the Fathers, beginning with the words: "It was my most fervent wish, beloved, to be able to rejoice in your assembly, and this has now fallen to my lot. I express my gratitude to the King of the universe, that after all other benefits He has given me this surpassing pleasure to see; I mean this, that I have been able to see you all come together in one place in the spirit of concord and harmony" 55). The emperor considered a strife within the Church of God worse and more dangerous than any war or quarrel, and this strife grieved him more than any other thing. Therefore, as soon as he had learned of the discord, he had made every effort to summon all to this synod without delay. "And I now rejoice to see your assembly". Then Constantine urged them to remove all causes of discord and to secure peace. With that this speech ended, which is rightly called "the speech on peace". This speech, delivered by Constantine in Latin, was immediately translated into Greek. After this the emperor gave the floor "to the presidents of the synod" 56). According to Eusebius, the emperor had to guide the heated discussions several times in the right direction and use all possible means to restore peace. This representation will not be entirely true, and must be attributed in part to the ardent desire and premeditated intention of Eusebius to praise the emperor as highly as possible 57). According to Rufinus, laymen, some of whom were not even Christians, joined the company to dispute with the bishops; their attempts to bluff the bishops with dialectical reasoning would have been frustrated by the simplicity of faith which the church princes displayed 58). This dispute between the pagan philosophers and the Fathers of Nicea certainly belongs to the realm of fables 59). The question of who held the presidency presents no small difficulties. It has just been heard that a bishop seated at the right hand of the emperor opened the first meeting with an address to the monarch. According to the heading of the eleventh chapter in the third book of the Vita Constantini, this bishop was called Eusebius, and it must therefore have been Eusebius of Caesarea himself. But, since the headings of the chapters were not added by Eusebius, but only later, little or no value can be attached to this testimony. Constantine, after having made a speech himself, gave the leadership of the discussions into the hands of the "xipoeSpoL" or "chairmen." It seems that there were several leading persons to be. Who were these persons? According to Theodoret, Eustathius of Antioch acted as the leading person 60); Theodoret probably derived this from a letter written a few years earlier by John of Antioch (429-441) to Proclus of Constantinopel (434-446), in which the exaltation of the Antiochene see is emphasized 61). The testimony is therefore not very reliable, both because of the great distance from Nicea and because of the tendency 62). Were perhaps the Roman priests Vito and Vincentius, as legates of the Pope, the presidents of the Council? This is not very likely, since there are no positive data for this opinion, and a study of the conduct of Rome up to the Council of Chalcedon (451) shows that the Roman legates did not go to the councils to preside, but only to assist and, if necessary, to show by their presence the adhesion of the Holy See. 63) Moreover, Pope Julius writes in the year 341 about these Roman legates that they were present at Nicea and there confirmed the orthodox faith; if these priests had indeed also been the presidents, Pope Julius would probably have mentioned this in this letter within twenty years after Nicea. 64) The bishops at Nicea would also have found it difficult to accept that simple priests presided over their meeting; If they had done so and the peculiar fact had taken place that priests had the leadership over bishops, the actual and actual persons authorized to judge, then this would probably have been recorded as something striking in the sources or at least clearly stated in some source. The candidate suggested to us by the eyewitness Athanasius can reap more certainty. In the year 357 Athanasius writes about Ossius: "What synod is there that he has not presided over?"

65). Could Athanasius, who apparently does not expect any objection, have written this if Ossius had not presided over the most important Council? And to confirm this testimony of Athanasius, there are the lists with the signatures; on all these lists the name of Ossius is at the top, followed only by the names of the Roman priests. It is therefore very likely, if not almost certain, that Ossius held the chairmanship. Equally unlikely, however, is that Ossius would owe this presidency to a delegation from the Holy See; it was Rome's custom not to reserve the presidency for itself in any way; on the contrary, until the Council of Chalcedon Rome left the question of the presidency to circumstances 66). The choice of Ossius as president can hardly be attributed to the fact that he occupied the see of Cordova; this see was not important enough for that. Undoubtedly Ossius owed the presidency to his personal prestige, to the confidence that he had long enjoyed with Constantine and thus also to the emperor's favour, to the fact that he was well informed about the theological questions at issue and finally to the fact that as a Western bishop he could be considered more suitable to judge the disputes between the Easterners in an impartial manner 67).

The Arian question was in the centre of attention. Although Rufinus mentions that Arius was summoned to the meetings several times to give an account of himself 68), it is not very likely that he was admitted to a discussion with the bishops. Even if Arius himself was not present, he had supporters and defenders among those present; Philostorgius gives a list of twenty-two names, among which are Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicea, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berytus, Aetius of Lydda, Menophantes of Ephesus, Patrophilus of Scythopolis and Narcissus of Neronias; also the Egyptian bishops Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais, who had already been condemned in their own country, belonged to this group 69). Moreover, the Council had the writings of Arius at its disposal to be able to pronounce judgment; thus, at the Council, several passages from his Thalia were read, and this was enough to arouse indignation: upon hearing these blasphemies, the bishops stopped their ears 70). It was agreed that the real Godhead of the Son was a point of faith. Some now thought that one should continue to adhere to the creed that had been handed down from the beginning and that one should not introduce anything new; they belonged especially to that category of persons who in their simplicity of faith had a great fear of elaborating the content of the faith on reasonable grounds. Others, however, were of the opinion that one should not follow the earlier views without investigation 71). This difference of opinion led to lengthy discussions. It was indeed a difficult task to briefly record the traditional faith in precise terms. At first one tried to use only words from Holy Scripture. This was also in accordance with the wishes of the Arians themselves, because they hoped that the expressions would then be vague and general enough to allow an interpretation in accordance with their doctrine. For example, the Fathers wanted to accept the expression; the Logos is from God (ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ), meaning by this that the Son is not from nothing, as the Arians taught. Eusebius of Nicomedia and his followers readily accepted this expression, saying: for we also are of God, for all things are of God, as the Apostle Paul says (I Cor., VIII, 6). When the Fathers noticed this tactic, they felt compelled to define this "of God" more precisely. They now wrote: the Son is of the essence of God (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ). Thus, words of Scripture alone were not sufficient; precise definitions were necessary to safeguard the pure doctrine against the Arians 72). Thus one arrived, one had to arrive, at the term "co-independent" or "ὁμοούσιος;" 73). Even among the Eusebians disagreement arose, and some of them sought refuge in silence when they understood the weakness of their position 74). These latter also foresaw a condemnation, which was certainly capable of infuriating their fervour; for a condemnation could mean for the adherents the loss of their office and dignity.

In order to avoid the so precise and therefore so feared ὁμοούσιος;, Eusebius of Caesarea intervened. He presented to the Council the baptismal confession that was in use in his church; it would be able to satisfy both parties. This procedure is known from a letter that Eusebius himself wrote to his faithful after the Council in order to justify his attitude at the Council; as Eusebius writes, this confession was read in the presence of the emperor and was recognized as good and right 75). The emperor, according to Eusebius, praised this confession and urged everyone to accept and sign it; only the term ὁμοούσιος; had to be added. Indeed, the Fathers of Nicea included the word ὁμοούσιος; in their confession of faith, thereby establishing a profound difference between the Nicene symbolum and that of the Church of Caesarea; but there are still more important differences between the two formulas 76). The confession of Eusebius might perhaps have been accepted by the Arians, but the Nicene creed was so

clear and precise that the Arians were cut off from evasions. The principal term, the ὁποόατογ, more or less suspected in the East because of the abuse of Paul of Samosate, was inserted probably especially under the influence of Ossius of Cordova and the Western Fathers in general 77), since this term had already acquired civil rights in the West and especially in Rome 78). Later Basil or John Chrysostom 79) would make the statement that the redaction of the creed was entrusted to a deacon named Hermogenes, who became bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia 80).

After lengthy deliberations, after much struggle and a careful investigation, the Nicene Creed was established on 19 June 81). Provided with the anathematism of the Arian doctrines, this creed has been preserved in a letter from Eusebius of Caesarea to his faithful 82). All the bishops present at the Council were requested in order to sign 83) and all immediately complied with this request, convinced that this formula contained the ancient and apostolic faith of the Church 84). However, when the creed was handed to Eusebius of Caesarea for signature, he asked for a moment's reflection; then he too signed 85). Eusebius himself wrote to his Church after the Council that he had not wanted to sign before having made a careful investigation into the meaning intended by the Fathers by expressions such as ἐκ xfjc; οἰαίαq and ὁποόαιoc;; after questions and answers he was reassured about this; out of love for peace and in order not to keep himself aloof from the pure faith, he no longer wanted to reject the term ὁποουατοc; 86). Only two Arian bishops stubbornly refused to sign: the Egyptians Secundus of Ptolemais and Theonas of Marmarica 87). Philostorgius relates that the other Arian bishops, named Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicea and Maris of Chalcedon, used a ruse by signing a text in which the word ὁποόατοq had been replaced by the term ὁποτοόotoq 88). This is not very likely. Theonas and Secundus were excluded from the Church; the same fate befell Arius and all who would adhere to his doctrine; the writings of Arius also fell under the anathema 89). Secundus, Theonas, Arius and the priests who remained loyal to him were immediately banished by the emperor to Illyria.

After the Arian question had been settled, the Fathers turned their attention to the Meletian schism in Egypt. The schismatic Meletians supported Arianism and had brought Bishop Alexander of Alexandria before the Empress as an accusation 90); Constantine had left the judgment to the great synod. The Fathers took a very moderate attitude towards the Meletians. Meletius himself retained his title of bishop and was allowed to remain in Lycopolis, but to administer no more ordinations; the bishops he had ordained, twenty-eight in number 91), priests and deacons were admitted under mild conditions 92).

There was still a difference between the Church of Antioch and that of Alexandria in the calculation of the date of Easter. This gave rise to unpleasantness. This question also had to be resolved by the Council. The Nicene Fathers decided that henceforth Easter would be celebrated on the same date throughout the Church. The Antiochene Church, which until then had borrowed its calculation from the Jewish one, now adopted the usage of the Alexandrian and Roman Churches 93). The agreement does not seem to have been reached without difficulties; under the leadership of Eusebius of Nicomedia the Syrians asserted their tradition 94); in the end, however, they yielded to the opinion of the others.

Finally the Council issued twenty canons 95). The contents of this need not be given here; it may only be noted that the Nicene canons in many places are a repetition and supplement of the canons of Arles, so that here too, as in the confession of faith, the influence of the Western bishops on the Council becomes visible 96). The terminology of these prescriptions is significant. In the second canon the Fathers say: "it seemed good to us that in future such a thing should not occur again"; the canon closes with the words: "he who acts contrary to these provisions and presumes to oppose this great synod, runs the risk of losing his clergy" 97). In the third canon it imposes a ban on bishops, priests and deacons in the sixth canon. 98) The Fathers again call their meeting in the sixth canon the "great synod" 99) (in the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and twentieth canons even "the holy and great synod 100). In the eleventh canon, however, it simply says "the synod 101). The fact that this Council uses "the great synod" three times and even "the holy and great synod" six times for the first time within the short space of only twenty canons does indicate that the Nicene Fathers themselves were convinced of the very special character of their meeting; the conviction that a synod of this character had never taken place and that they enjoyed the privilege of composing such a synod for the first time in history, made the Fathers use a new, more exalted terminology, which was adapted to the sublimity and special value of this Council; the ordinary "placuit" or "synod" was no longer sufficient and had to make way for the "great and holy synod".

The collections of the canons of various synods, which collections were soon compiled and widely distributed (4th century) 102), also offer a favorable testimony to Nicea. For from these collections appears the conviction which the East possessed concerning the special position of Nicea. Not only does the Synod of Nicea receive special

56665 epitheta ornantia in those collections as "the great, holy, and ecumenical" 103) but its canons even take first place, so that the decisions of earlier councils such as Ancyra in Galatia (314) and Neocaesarea in Cappadocia (between 314 and 325) come

56670 after those of Nicea. Thus the already cited collection of Marouta of Maipherkat 104) explicitly states: "Those canons [meaning those of Ancyra] are chronologically earlier than the canons of Nicea. But because of the authority of the great and holy Synod of Nicea, being canons of Nicea in the first place written down" 105). After the canons of Ancyra come in this collection the canons of Neocaesarea, where it is noted: "These canons are indeed of a later date than the canons of Ancyra, but nevertheless existed before the canons of Nicea" 106). This collection and other

56675 Greek, Arabic, Chaldean, Ethiopian and perhaps also Armenian ones observe a hierarchical order as far as Nicea is concerned, but with respect to the other councils they are again chronological, they go from Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea to Constantinopel (381).

56680 This makes it easy to explain that later, like for example Pope Zosimus (417-418), canons were attributed to Nicea that were not from Nicea; in the manuscripts, above the canons that followed those of Nicea, there were no more names of the various councils to which they belonged; the copyists had not copied the names. This may have happened by chance, but it was most probably done deliberately, in several cases at least, in order to let these particular decisions with their limited authority share

56685 in the universal authority of the canons of Nicea. The flag of Nicea had to cover the lesser cargo and ensure its sales area. Nicea suffered the same fate as the Apostles, to whom, because of their authority, considerably more has been attributed than corresponds to reality 107).

56690 It is not possible to say with certainty at what date the end of the Council should be placed. Arguments can be made for 19 June 108), 25 July 109) or 25 August 110); 19 June, however, is the most likely date 111). Constantine, convinced that the much-desired unity and peace had been achieved, wanted to celebrate the outcome of the deliberations with great festivities. The occasion was all the more favorable, because Constantine was just commemorating his twenty-year jubilee as emperor. The

56695 monarch invited the Fathers to a grand banquet, about which Eusebius of Caesarea writes with great enthusiasm 112). Before leaving Nicea, the bishops came to the emperor, who gave an encouraging and edifying speech, presenting the bishops with gifts and then gave them permission to return home 113).

56700 Before their departure, the Fathers had sent a synodal letter to the bishops of Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, in which the decisions taken on the three points under discussion: Arianism, the Meletian schism, and the date of Easter 114). This letter, with the creed and the canons, the only authentic ones that have survived from Nicea, is addressed: "To the by God's grace holy and great Church of Alexandria and to the beloved brethren in Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, the bishops

56705 assembled at Nicea and composing the great and holy synod, greetings in the Lord." 115). In the letter itself, the Fathers call their Council three times "the holy" or "the great and holy synod" 116); twice the expression "synod" occurs without further ado 117). The Fathers also expressly mention the fact that the condemnation of Arianism was unanimous 118) and the fact that unanimity had been reached on the

56710 Easter question 119). The synod probably sent other letters of similar or nearly similar content, but these have not been preserved. It has rightly been asked whether there were never any official Acts of this Council or stenographic reports of the sessions. In view of the custom on other occasions, both before and after Nicea, it is very likely that stenographic reports were made. But it is certain that no trace

56715 of these reports can be found anywhere 120). That a council such as that at Nicea possessed more than ordinary power or influence was also the conviction of Emperor Constantine, as is evident from one of his letters, written after the Council to the various absent Churches about "the one faith and pure love as well as harmonious worship of Almighty God" 121).

56720 The Emperor writes: "But since it was not possible to make a fixed and lasting arrangement, unless all, or at least a large part of the bishops came together for that purpose", we have summoned as many as possible 122). And the result of this meeting is that "nothing remains for disagreement or conflict of faith" 123).

56725 May Constantine also indicate the origin of the authority at the end of this letter with the words: "This being so, receive with joy the grace of God and the truly divine commandment; for everything that happens in the holy synods of bishops is

traceable to the divine will 124), yet one finds herein no indication and explanation of the special authority that this General Council possessed, since according to the text the decisions of every synod of bishops contain a divine command and are traceable to the divine will. In the same vein, Constantine had already written to the bishops after the Council of Arles: "The judgment of the priests must be considered as if the Lord Himself were present and judging. For they may not think or judge anything other than what has been taught them by their teacher Christ" 125). We see this more clearly than in the previous letter to the Church of Alexandria, in which, according to him, the deepest foundation of the absolute authority of the Nicene Fathers lies. The emperor exults:

"We have received a perfect favor from divine Providence, that we are especially delivered from every error and profess one and the same faith" 126). Constantine then emphasizes once more that the more than three hundred bishops have established one faith and that only Arius remained caught in the snares of the devil. What these bishops taught is the truth, "for what pleased the three hundred bishops is nothing other than the opinion of God, especially since the Holy Spirit is in the minds of such men and makes known the divine will. So that no one may doubt" 127). The Fathers derived their authority from the assistance of the Holy Spirit. The historian Socrates also draws attention to this opinion of Constantine in the following words: "The opinion of all who came together, he [Constantine] calls simply the opinion of God, and he firmly believes that the unanimity of so many and such bishops is due to the Holy Spirit" 128). Socrates adopts this view when he argues against the Macedonian Sabinus, who accused the Nicene Fathers of ignorance and stupidity: "but he [Sabinus] did not consider that, even if the Fathers were undeveloped, they were enlightened by God and the grace of the Holy Spirit and could in no way miss the truth" 129). The assistance of the Holy Spirit is therefore the most important thing; by it the Fathers are protected from error, even if they may be undeveloped.

A summary of the results of this chapter may first draw attention to the persons who initiated this Council. Although the initiative is attributable to the spontaneous, common thought of many who saw a great danger in the teaching of Arius, and of those who longed for unity, peace and order in Church and State, one may nevertheless say that prominent persons such as Alexander of Alexandria and Ossius of Cordova from the ecclesiastical side and an emperor Constantine from the political side must have had a suggestive share in it. The initiative was transformed into reality, in other words the Council was convened by him who was practically the only one capable of doing so: Emperor Constantine. That it was the emperor who convened the council on his own authority is evident from Constantine's own letter of convocation, from his speech to the Council Fathers, from his letters to the Alexandrian Church and to the Church of Nicomedia, and from his circular letter to the Churches. The Council itself also testifies to this in its letter to the Church of Alexandria, as do Eusebius of Caesarea and the later historians Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret, who all attributed the emperor the right of convocation.

The great majority of those present at the Council came from the East; but the various parts of the West were also represented; only from Britain no participant is known. The whole Church and all parts of the Church therefore made their voices heard at this Council, so that this Council is in truth the first synod of the "oiKoupévr]" or the first "ouvo&og oiKoopEVLKp". From the way in which Eusebius of Caesarea describes the various regions and their representatives, it is clear that the Bishop of Rome, according to Eusebius' view and according to that of the Orientals in general, occupied a special place among the ecclesiastical dignitaries; the reason, however, for this special esteem in relation to the Pope is not indicated. The question of the presidency at the Council cannot be resolved with complete certainty. But at least Ossius of Cordova was the president, who enjoyed that privilege because he was more or less the designated person for it for incidental or coincidental reasons; the idea that he owed the presidency to a delegation from the Holy See can safely be dismissed as unfounded. It may also be safely denied that the Roman priests Vito and Vincentius presided over the Council as delegates of the Pope. This can of course be combined with the fact that these priests and other prominent persons assisted Ossius with advice in his difficult task, which involved such great responsibility.

Three important questions were settled by this Council by unanimous decision: the Arian question, the Meletian question and the question of the date of Easter. In the conviction that the Nicene Creed contained "the ancient and apostolic faith of the Church", all signed this formula, even the former defenders of Arius; only two

56795 Egyptian bishops, Secundus of Ptolemais and Theonas of Marmarica, stubbornly refused to sign. The refusal of two of those present shows that the expression of "unanimity" that was also used and customary at that time should not be taken in an absolute sense. Nor is it necessary that the opinions were unanimous from the first moment, since it appears from the De synodis of Athanasius that agreement regarding the Easter question was only reached after the Syrians, led by Eusebius of Nicomedia, had put up resistance; moreover, the drafting of the creed was preceded by days of discussions. The good end result is born from the choc des idées and therefore Fathers from the entire Church were gathered to be able to choose the right position after mutual consultation, that is, after an exchange of thoughts and opinions. Despite the relatively small number of Western bishops at this Council, one may see a strong Western influence in the fact of the insertion of the term ὁποῦαιος; in the creed; the East itself was averse to this term, which had already been discredited a century earlier by Paul of Samosate, the West, on the other hand, especially Rome, had a special preference for this expression; Ossius of Cordova in particular will have exerted his influence and dominance over the Easterners here. Western influence also becomes visible when one compares the twenty canons of Nicea with those of Arles.

56800 If one extends the comparison still further by confronting the Nicene canons with the canons of all earlier synods under the supervision of the terminology used, one finds the fact that the Nicene Fathers employ a new, more elevated terminology, adapted to the sublimity and special value of their Council. The Nicene Fathers themselves were therefore convinced of the very special character of their meeting. They also bear witness to this in their synodal letter to the bishops of Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis. The more than ordinary power or influence of Nicea was also recognized by Constantine the Great, as appears from several of his letters. Constantine derives the authority of the Council Fathers in general and that of the Nicene Fathers in particular from the assistance of the Holy Spirit, whereby the council opinion is the opinion of God. In the first half of the 5th century, the historian Socrates even declares that the assistance of the Holy Spirit is the only cause of authority and not the learning or otherwise of the Council Fathers. Already in the 4th century, the various collections of canons give very favorable testimony to Nicea; not only do these collections use a special terminology for Nicea, but they also place this Council on the highest level of the hierarchical gradation; of all the councils, Nicea is the most important.

56815 The General Council of Nicea is a council that was not convened by the Pope and was not chaired by his legates, the priests Vito and Vincentius. Did the Pope perhaps make use of the sovereign right to ratify the decisions? Before answering this question, it is necessary to determine the meaning of the term "ratify". A double ratification can be distinguished. The one is already included in the fact that the Pope, either personally or by means of legates, takes part in the council and its deliberations, gives his vote and signs the acts with the others. The second is present when the Pope, by a separate act, ratifies the decisions taken at the end of the council. If there is to be a ratification in the second sense, the papal ratification must be found after the council and not as part of the council itself. For this approval or confirmation in the second sense, it is also not sufficient to demonstrate that the Pope accepts the council decisions; simply accepting or, which is the same, not rejecting cannot be equated with what is understood and must be understood by the term ratify. Ratifying means giving a decision validity and legal force, so that with the demand for papal ratification in the second sense, the council decisions have no validity and legal force without that ratification and the decisions only acquire validity and legal force through and with that papal confirmation. If one applies these general remarks to the first General Council of Nicea, then there is no doubt that the decrees of Nicea possess papal ratification in the first sense. Vito and Vincentius participated in the deliberations as legates of Pope Sylvester and gave their assent to the decrees concerning the Arian, the Meletian and the Easter question, in particular also to the Nicene Creed; all decrees were taken with "unanimity", and therefore also received the vote of the papal legates. To doubt this, because the sources do not specifically record the assent of the papal legates when mentioning "unanimity", would be hypercritical. Moreover, such doubt would be completely destroyed by the fact that the papal legates signed the acts of this Council, in other words the aforementioned decrees and the twenty canons, and thus approved and ratified them. That Pope Sylvester, however, would have ratified the Council of Nicea by a special act after the end of the Council, cannot be demonstrated by any testimony and must, in view of the absence of this ratification compared to the other General Councils in Antiquity, be denied by

analogy. Christian Antiquity considered papal ratification in the first sense sufficient, but not necessary in the second sense 130).

If the Emperor had summoned the Council, he also gave permission to return home. After the Council, Constantine wrote a letter to the various absent Churches and one to the Church of Alexandria, in which he made the decrees of Nicea known to his people and gave them civil force.

CHAPTER III THE EUSEBIAN REACTION AGAINST NICEA

Emperor Constantine was mistaken when he thought that the decision of Nicea would definitively put an end to discord, unrest and differences of opinion. After Nicea, religious unrest in the East really broke out. Several bishops had given their signature at the council out of fear of and under pressure from the emperor. Among them were especially Eusebius of Nicomedia and his followers, who formed a strong middle party between the real Arians and the orthodox 1). Eusebius and the real Arians formed an alliance in their fight against Nicea and the orthodox, their common enemy. In Egypt they found allies in the Meletians, who, despite the mildness of Nicea towards them, continued to sow unrest. The most complicated contradictions revealed themselves, the most unsavory means of struggle were used and it is not without reason that Socrates compares the religious disputes after Nicea with night battles 2).

Barely three months after the conclusion of the Synod of Nicea, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, and Theognis of Nicea informed the emperor that they were withdrawing their signature from the Creed of Nicea. Constantine acted as the protector of orthodoxy and of the Creed for which he had taken so much trouble: he sent the three opponents into exile in Gaul. The emperor even succeeded in having new bishops elected for the sees of Nicomedia and Nicea, Amphion and Chrestus respectively. A few years later, on June 7, 328, the opponents of Nicea saw their greatest enemy ascend the see of Alexandria: St. Athanasius, who had already been designated as his successor by his predecessor Alexander. The hatred of the Eusebians and Arians against Athanasius dated back to the Council of Nicea. whereupon Athanasius, then still a deacon, had taken a very determined attitude towards Arian impiety 3).

However favourable the situation seemed on the surface for orthodoxy, thanks to the emperor's strong support, the struggle soon broke out. Eusebius of Nicomedia had a powerful advocate at the imperial court in the emperor's sister, Constantia; perhaps also in the emperor's mother, Helena, whom Eusebius regarded only as the disciple of the martyr Lucian of Antioch 4), whom she greatly revered. It is probably due to their efforts that Constantine allowed Eusebius and Theognis to return to their dioceses in 328, after they had given him reassuring assurances 5). They even resumed the leadership of their Church, despite the rights of their legitimate successors. From that time on, Eusebius waged a subtle diplomatic war against the faithful adherents of the Nicene $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omicron\upsilon\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$; especially against the leaders of orthodoxy, whom he tried to render harmless. While Eusebius and his followers pretended to submit to the decisions of Nicea, they secretly and in various ways tried to destroy the $\omicron\pi\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma$ and to make their Arian and subordinate views prevail. The emperor was won over above all by the deceptive promise of complete unity in doctrinal matters: Arius and his followers were supposedly orthodox at bottom and prepared to sign an eighteen-carat orthodox formula of faith, if they were allowed to return from exile 6).

After Eusebius of Nicomedia had tried in vain to discredit the election and ordination of St. Athanasius, he turned against another champion of Nicea, Eustathius of Antioch. He was accused of Sabellianism. At the end of 330 or the beginning of 331 Eusebius convened a great synod at Antioch against Eustathius. At this council, among others, Eusebius of Caesarea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Aetius of Lydda and Theodotus of Laodicea were present as partisans of Eusebius of Nicomedia. According to Socrates, Cyrus of Beroea was the main opponent of Eustathius at this synod and formally accused him of Sabellianism. Eustathius was also wrongly accused of less honourable matters 7). The "unlawful assembly" 8) deposed the bishop of Antioch, which caused a violent popular uprising in the city, where Eustathius was much loved. Emperor Constantine, informed by bias, sent Eustathius into exile, where he must have died a few years later. The assembled bishops elected Paulinus of Tyre as their successor, and from this time dates the endless struggle for the episcopal see of Antioch, a struggle which continued throughout the century and which led to a serious crisis between East and West after the Council of Constantinople in 381 9). Several other orthodox bishops suffered the same fate as Eustathius of Antioch at this time.

56925 Once again, Athanasius was chosen as his victim. The Eusebians made common cause with
the Meletians in Egypt, and together they presented false accusations against the
Alexandrian bishop to the emperor. Their first attempts failed, because Athanasius
managed to convince the emperor of his innocence 10). After this failure the
56930 Meletians tried to win the friendship of Athanasius, but soon they were again incited
against the Alexandrian by the Eusebians. Barely ten years after the Council of Nicea
the unrest in Church and State was greater than ever. Cunning as they were, the
Eusebians had already proposed to the emperor several times to hold a great council
and thereby restore peace and unity in Church and State. The most favourable
56935 opportunity now presented itself. In 335 the emperor was going to celebrate his
thirty-year jubilee of reign and this year was also the tenth anniversary of the
Council of Nice. Constantine wanted to embellish and immortalize the celebration of
his Tricennalia by consecrating the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. A
large number of bishops had to be present. "How much more impressive would all this
be if unity among the bishops had been restored beforehand," said the Eusebians.
56940 And "the emperor, beloved of God, again called for a synod of very many bishops and
drew them up like an army of God in battle array against the blasphemous devil: from
all Egypt and Libya, Asia as well as Europe, he urged them to hasten, first to put an
end to the discord, then to perform the aforesaid sanctuary; he therefore ordered
that they should resolve the dispute en passant in the metropolis of Phoenicia
56945 [Tyre]" 11). The emperor also addressed a letter to the holy synod in the city of
Tyre, held in the year 335, from which letter it appears that the ex-consul Flavius
Dionysius was appointed to keep a watchful eye on the assembly on behalf of the
emperor; if there should be a bishop who refused to come against the orders of the
empress, she would drive him into exile; finally Constantine urged to put aside all
56950 dissension 12). Socrates 13), Theodoret 14), Rufinus 15), Epiphanius 16) and also
Athanasius 17) also report that this synod was convoked at Tyre by the emperor.
A large number of bishops were present. "And there appeared at the synod at Tyre
bishops from various places, about the number of Nestig," writes Socrates.) To these
there were added eight Egyptian suffragan bishops of forty, nearly one hundred i») 20).
56955 The Eusebians were of course very strongly present; in Tyre one saw leaders such
as Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Caesarea, Theognis of Nicea, Maris of
Chalcedon, Macedonia of Mopsueste, Flaccillus of Antioch, Theodore of Heraclea and
Patrophilus of Scythopolis; also two bishops from Pannonia, who would play a great
role in the following years, made their entrance into the company of the Eusebians:
56960 Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum 21). The few moderate or orthodox bishops,
such as Maximus of Jerusalem, Alexander of Thessalonica and Marcellus of Ancyra could
not exert any influence on the course of events 22); the orthodox bishops from Egypt,
who accompanied Athanasius, were denied entrance 23). Now Athanasius refused to
appear, but in the end he had to yield to the emperor, who threatened to use force
56965 otherwise 24). Macarius, an Alexandrian priest, against whom the Eusebians had also
brought a false accusation, was even taken in chains to Tyre 25).
In Tyre Athanasius found himself among his enemies; the Egyptian-Meletian bishops
acted as accusers, the Eusebians fulfilled the role of judges, Athanasius was the
accused. The presidency rested mainly in the hands of Eusebius of Caesarea 26). The
56970 accusations rained down. Athanasius is said to have broken a chalice, destroyed an
altar, thrown Ischyrras into prison and slandered him to the prefect of Egypt; bishop
Callinicus of Pelusia is said to have been unlawfully deposed by Athanasius because
of this affair 27); other Meletian bishops such as Euplus, Pachomius, Isaac, Achilles
and Hermaeon complained about corporal punishments and all opposed the legality of
56975 Athanasius' choice of bishop 28). The Alexandrian bishop was even said to have
murdered the Meletian bishop Arsenius, and a severed hand was shown as a gruesome
piece of evidence; Athanasius was able to refute this accusation convincingly by
having Arsenius come in and showing him both hands; a great commotion arose and
people even wanted to attack Athanasius. 29). It is also reported that a woman was
56980 brought in, who was said to have been violated by Athanasius, but this accusation
also fell into insignificance, because the woman showed that she did not even
recognize Athanasius by sight 30); Sozomenus also relates that this case was not
recorded in the acta concilii for no other reason, in his opinion, than because this
case was too shameful and ridiculous to be registered in synodal acts 31); the
56985 authenticity of this story can be seriously doubted and perhaps Rufinus is the
disseminator of it 32), which in the last instance could then be traced back to the
Church History of Gelasius of Caesarea.
Successively the various accusations against Athanasius proved to be without
foundation. The Eusebians tried to divert attention from this by pushing the case
56990 forward against the Alexandrian priest Macarius, who was said to have been the

helping hand in Athanasius' cruelties against Ischyrras. The synod should appoint a commission, which should conduct an investigation in Mareotis itself, the homeland of Ischyrras. The Eusebians intended this, according to Athanasius, to create an opportunity to take revenge on Athanasius in Egypt during his absence 33). Athanasius considered an investigation in Mareotis superfluous, but in the end the Eusebians and Meletians succeeded in having a very partial committee sent, consisting of Theognis of Nicea, Maris of Chalcedon, Ursacius, Valens, Macedonius and Theodorus 34). Protected by a military escort and provided with a letter of recommendation for the governor of Egypt, the company set out. Aided by the Egyptian prefect, Philagrius, refused to hear the eyewitnesses; on the contrary, it listened eagerly to the assertions of Jews, pagans, and catechumens, who could not act as eyewitnesses, because it concerned a fact that was supposed to have taken place in the sacrarium, where even the catechumens had no access 35).

This partial and illegal action aroused a fiery protest from the clergy in Egypt and Mareotis; they sent letters to the commissioners 36), to the synod at Tyre 37), to Philagrius and another imperial official 38). Athanasius, according to these letters, is innocent and Ischyrras, who falsely presents himself as a priest, has borne false witness. The Egyptian bishops, who had gone to Tyre with Athanasius, also opposed the conduct of the Eusebians in a letter addressed to the entire council 39). They declared that they had been forced to remain silent by the Eusebians; that those who wished to judge according to justice and equity were harassed by threats or accusations, so that the Eusebians could freely act as enemies. They reproached the embassy and adjured the bishops not to make common cause with the Eusebians, but to fear God more than threats. They sent an almost identical letter to Count Flavius Dionysius 40). Later they sent him another letter, in which it was written that they felt compelled by the intrigues of their enemies to leave the judgment of their case to the emperor 41). This imperial official also received a letter from Bishop Alexander of Thessalonica, warning him against the Eusebians 42). At all this Dionysius contented himself with urging the Eusebians to moderation and caution 43).

As the Eusebians continued to carry out their plans, Athanasius withdrew from their grasp 44), secretly left the city of Tyre and sailed for Constantinople to have refuge with the emperor 45). After the committee had returned from Egypt and had delivered its biased report, the Eusebians, although not present, deposed Athanasius and forbade him to return to Alexandria 46). The committee's report was carefully concealed from Athanasius, and the Eusebians were furious when Pope Julius later sent this report to Athanasius 47). Thus the Alexandrian was condemned on false charges, none of which, remarkably, had any bearing on his doctrine. In Tyre the Meletian bishop John Archaph and his party followers were received into ecclesiastical communion and restored to their office; Ischyrras was even appointed bishop. The decisions were brought to the attention of the emperor and a synodal letter to all bishops imposed the obligation to break off all relations with Athanasius 48). Sozomenus adds: "That this condemnation was not right, was also thought by many of the priests present" 49). Hardly had these decisions been taken when an imperial messenger came to warn those assembled in Tyre to proceed to Jerusalem as soon as possible to attend and to grace the consecration of the church there 50). The Eusebians took advantage of the opportunity to call another council in the same year 335, this time in Jerusalem. Eusebius of Caesarea writes in praise of this: "The whole place here was then filled with a very great choir of God, because the illustrious bishops from all the provinces came together in Jerusalem; for the Macedonians had the bishop of their metropolis sent 51), the Pannonians and the Moesians the flower and ornaments of the young bishops consecrated to God 52); also from the Persian bishops there was a holy ornament present, a man exceptionally skilled in the Holy Scripture, and also the Bithynians and the Thracians increased the splendor of the synodal college 53). Nor were the most famous of the Cilicians lacking. of the Cappadocians, among all, those who were most developed in knowledge and eloquence shone forth. And all Syria and Mesopotamia, Phoenicia as well as Arabia with Palestine itself, the Egyptians with Libya and the inhabitants of Thebais, all together made up the great choir of God; them followed an innumerable multitude from all provinces; and they were all assisted by imperial servants, and from the imperial palace itself excellent men had been sent to enliven the festivities with funds provided by the emperor" 54). The bishops were received magnificently on behalf of the emperor by the tribune and notary Marianus 55). While the preceding quotation from Eusebius, especially through the expression "the great choir of God", strongly recalls the description given by the same author of Nicea, in the following quotation this council in Jerusalem is even expressly placed by Eusebius on a par with the Nicene. "This second synod, he writes, which to our knowledge is the greatest, was

convened by the empress Jerusalem, after the first, which was held by him in the famous city of Bithynia" 56). Other sources, however, draw the true picture of this great meeting; not on the same level as Nicea, but the antithesis of Nicea Before giving the synodal letter of this synod, St. Athanasius introduces his chapter thus: "Meanwhile, they were [the Eusebians] but never tired of continually holding synods against the General [of Nicea]. For although the Eusebians were deposed after the Synod of Nicea, yet after a time they insolently invaded the Churches and even began to harass the bishops who opposed them, and to appoint in their place adherents of their own heresy against the Churches; in order that they might [thus] hold synods at will, since they [now] had men who were on their side and whom they had purposely ordained for this very purpose. They now assembled in Jerusalem" 57). To the question put by the emperor concerning the confession of faith submitted some time before by Arius and his followers, the Eusebians replied that that confession was sufficient and orthodox, and they solemnly declared that the Arians should be received into communion 58). These decisions they communicated by synodal letter to the emperor, to all the bishops and to the entire clergy, especially to that of Egypt, so that this example of tolerance would be followed everywhere. The opening of this synodal letter reads as follows: "The holy synod, which by the grace of God is assembled in Jerusalem, to the Church of God in Alexandria, and to that in all Egypt, and Thebais and Libya and Pentapolis, and to the bishops and priests and deacons throughout the world, salvation in the Lord" 59). The Eusebians write that they have received Arius and his followers at the instigation of the emperor, because Constantine accepted the orthodoxy of their creed; this creed "we have all recognized as good and ecclesiastical" 60). They expect great joy from all over this reunion. "And having heard the acts of the council, especially how those persons have united themselves with us and have been received by such a holy synod, it is indeed most fitting for you to enter into communion and peace with your own members, especially since the profession of faith made by them is uncontested and inviolate the Apostolic tradition and doctrine professed by all" 61). Athanasius could rightly pronounce the following judgment on this synod and that of Tyre: "And they did not hesitate to write such things nor to assert that those possessed orthodox opinions which had been condemned by the entire ecumenical synod; nor did they fear to underhandedly render powerless that great synod to the best of their ability, proceeding very lightly in all their sayings and doings" 62). If the Council of Nicea had condemned Arius, the synod of Jerusalem rehabilitated him; both synods are therefore diametrically opposed to each other.

In the meantime, Athanasius lodged his complaint with the emperor in Constantinople. Constantine sent a letter "to the bishops assembled in Tyre" 63). "I really do not know what was decided so tumultuously and stormily by your synod" 64), writes the emperor. The truth seems to have been lost in all this commotion. "Therefore I desire that you all come to me quickly, so that you may give us a precise account of your conduct" 65). They are summoned to Constantinople at the request of Athanasius himself, so that he can complain in their presence about the injustice done to him; all this discord greatly displeases the emperor. After this letter the Eusebians did not feel reassured; they succeeded in preventing the bishops who had protested against the conduct towards Athanasius 66) from going to Constantinople, so that in the end only Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, Maris, Patrophilus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Theodore, Ursacius and Valens left for the imperial city. There they found Athanasius in the company of some other orthodox believers, namely the Egyptian bishops Adamantius, Anubion, Agathammon, Arbethion and Peter. 67) In the presence of the emperor the Eusebius dared to the bishops no longer touched upon the question of the chalice and of Ischyra; they invented a new accusation; Athanasius was said to have threatened to stop the grain supply from Alexandria to Constantinople. When the emperor heard this he flew into a rage, would not even listen to Athanasius's defence and banished him to Gaul 68). Sozomenus adds that the emperor may have done this in the belief that the bishops would henceforth live in peace 69). Later Constantine II wrote that his father had done this in order to free Athanasius from the hands of his mortal enemies and not to punish or condemn him; his father would therefore have wanted to restore Athanasius to his see, but death had prevented him from carrying out this plan 70). Athanasius himself seems to have believed these words 71). Much more likely, however, is that Constantine wanted to carry out the judgment of the synod at Tyre by banishing Athanasius and to gain his imperial approval for it. On the 5th of February 336, Athanasius left Constantinople for his place of exile, the city of Trier 72).

A next victim was Marcellus of Ancyra. At a Eusebian synod at Constantinople in 336,

he was accused mainly of heresy in his writing against the Arian sophist Asterius. Marcellus was deposed and banished; a certain Basilius took Marcellus' seat at Ancyra 73). After Constantine the Great had died on Pentecost in the year 337, Athanasius was able to return to Alexandria 74), where he arrived on 23 November of the same year 75). While Constantine II and Constans remained loyal to the Nicene faith, Constantius, who governed the East, soon became entangled in the Eusebian net. Paul us, the bishop of Constantinopel, was deposed at a Eusebian synod in his episcopal city in the year 338; thrown in chains on Constantius' orders, he too went into exile at Singar in Mesopotamia, while Eusebius of Nicomedia succeeded him in Constantinopel 76).

At the same time the intrigues against Athanasius began to revive; rallying around their own bishop Pistus 77) the Alexandrian Arians and with them the Eusebians accused Athanasius of new crimes, which were brought before the three emperors; Constantius alone considered the charges well-founded. The Eusebians carried their brutality so far that they sent an embassy to Pope Julius I, consisting of the priest Macarius and two deacons, Martyrius and Hesychius, to introduce their accusations against Athanasius in Rome and even to induce the Pope to recognize Pistus as a legitimate bishop. The embassy had to submit to the Pope the reports of the committee sent to Mareotis in 335.

Pope Julius sent Athanasius a copy of these reports, whereupon Athanasius sent some representatives in his defense to Rome and the emperors Constantine II and Constans. Moreover, he had already prepared a synod at Alexandria of all the Catholic bishops from Egypt, Libya, Thebais and Pentapolis. Nearly one hundred bishops met 78) in the year 338. A synodal letter of this synod has the following opening: "The holy synod, assembled in Alexandria from Egypt, Thebais, Libya and Pentapolis, to all the bishops of the Catholic Church, the beloved and much loved brothers in the Lord, greetings" 79). In this letter all the accusations against Athanasius are refuted; no reprisals were taken by Athanasius upon his return to Alexandria against priests or laymen; the facts, brought forward by the Eusebians, took place before Athanasius' return and the responsibility for them rests with the prefect of Egypt, who is not very orthodox; 80) the reason for the hatred against Athanasius is his actions against Arius and Arianism; Athanasius was desired by all as a bishop and lawfully consecrated 881).

How dare Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicea depose one another?

They themselves have been deposed. For the Pope knows that in their place Amphion of Nicomedia and Chrestus of Nicea have been consecrated, because Eusebius and Theognis "have been rejected by the ecumenical synod. This true synod they want to destroy, they try to call their own unjust conspiracy [the synod of Tyre] a synod and while they want to make the decrees of Nicea invalid, they want to ratify their own decrees; and that they call a synod, while they have so sublime a synod with obedient ones. Thus they do not care about a synod, but they pretend to care about it" 82). This is a very different sound from that of Eusebius of Caesarea; this put Jerusalem, which is actually a continuation of Tyre, on a par with Nicea, the Egyptian bishops on the other hand do not want to see Tyre and thus implicitly its continuation in Jerusalem as a "synod" but as a "conspiracy" and underline as strongly as possible the contrast between Nicea and Tyre-Jerusalem. Then the synod letter bears witness to the great joy at Athanasius' return 83). What confidence, the letter continues, did such a synod as that held in Tyre have, what confidence can one place in its decisions? "For what kind of synod of bishops was it then? Was it a meeting that devoted itself to the truth? Were most of them with us with How is it possible that such people want to hold a synod against us? How dare they call such a thing a synod when a count was in charge and a supervisor was present, and a comentarius led us in instead of deacons of the Church. He spoke, those present were silent, rather surrendered to the words of the count. And that those bishops of whom it was clear that they had to be removed were indeed removed, prevented his advice. He ordered, we were led away by soldiers; or rather, the Eusebians gave orders, he, helped them in their decisions. In short, beloved, what kind of synod is this, the end of which could have been banishment and murder If that had been according to the emperor's wish?). This passage does throw a sharp light on the events at Tyre; it was not a real synod, not a meeting of bishops, at which impartial and truthful justice was pronounced on the accusations against Athanasius, but really a conspiracy of the Eusebians with the help of imperial officials and soldiers; the imperial officials and especially the count even somewhat predominated, while at a synod, which aims at the leadership of a spiritual community, the bishops should be the only legal persons. The meeting at Tyre was indeed far removed from the character of a real synod. Then the episode at Constantinopel, end 335 to beginning 336, is discussed; by

banishing Athanasius the emperor managed to prevent the bishop from being killed; Constantine wanted to do well, but could not do otherwise; this was evident from the letter which he had written to Athanasius before the meeting at Tyre, in which he had incriminated those hostile plots, condemned the Meletians, and called them villainous and accursed 85). "But in order that it might be seen that they were destroying both the truth and this imperial letter, those admirable Eusebians gave to their meeting [at Tyre] the name of "synod," and to the synodal acts the appearance of having come from the emperor. Therefore a count was present, and soldiers were the bodyguard of the bishops, and there was an imperial letter which forced them to assemble, which they themselves had requested. But if they left the judgment to themselves as bishops alone [and not to the emperor], why were there any need of a count and soldiers? Or why did they let themselves be assembled by an imperial letter? If they needed the emperor and wanted to borrow authority from him, why did they make his judgment invalid?" 86). An equally sharp indictment against Tyre and a painful dilemma for the Eusebians. The synodal letter deals with the various subjects: on the breaking of the chalice 87), on Ischyra 88), on the embassy of the Eusebians to Mareotis 89), on the conduct of that committee in Egypt 90), on the letter of Bishop Alexander of Thessalonica to Dionysius 91), and on the attitude of the Egyptian clergy and their letters 92). The synod declares that Athanasius had proceeded to the satisfaction of all in the distribution of the grain; the Arians, on the other hand, had tried to get their hands on the grain that was intended for the church 93). The letter ends with a request to all bishops to have compassion for the fate of their fellow bishop Athanasius and to express their indignation about the conduct of the Eusebians 94). In addition, Athanasius expressly testifies that this synodal letter was also sent to Pope Julius 95). When the priest Macarius, the leader of the Eusebian embassy to Pope Julius, learned that a legation from Egypt was on its way to Rome, he left the city during the night despite his illness 96). The deacons Martyrius and Hesychius, however, were confronted with Athanasius's legation and refuted in everything; they seized a last straw and requested the Pope to convene a synod and to write to Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, as well as to the Eusebians, so that a just judgment could be passed in the presence of all. For then they would prove all the accusations against Athanasius, they promised" 97). Pope Julius acceded to this request and announced by letter that a synod was to be held at a place of choice by both parties 98).

Athanasius was all the more prepared to respond to this papal appeal, because serious events had taken place in his episcopal city. A certain Gregory of Cappadocia had been appointed by imperial decree as Athanasius's successor 99) and his installation had resulted in acts of violence and bloodshed. This Cappadocian had been chosen and consecrated by the Eusebians at a synod at Antioch in the month of January or February of the year 339, because they understood that Pistus had little chance of being recognized by the Pope. That Eusebian synod is known from the above-mentioned letter of Pope Julius; in it we read: "What kind of ecclesiastical canon or what kind of apostolic tradition prescribes that while the Church is living in peace and so many bishops are in agreement with the Alexandrian bishop Athanasius Gregory should be sent, a stranger to the city of Alexandria, who was not even baptized there and also unknown to most, neither asked for by priests, nor by bishops, nor by the people? But he had been appointed in Antioch and was sent to Alexandria, not in the company of priests or deacons of the city nor in the company of bishops from Egypt, but with an escort of soldiers. For these accusations were told by those who came here; even if Athanasius had been found guilty after the synod" 100), it would still have been against ecclesiastical law to simply appoint someone else. No wonder that Pope Julius did not grant this synod any authority and rightly put the Eusebians to the question, which also contained a serious reproach: "Consider carefully, then, who acted against the canons: we, who after so much proof received this man [Athanasius], or they who, thirty-six days' journey away in Antioch, appointed a foreigner as bishop and sent him to Alexandria with military force?" 101). Athanasius himself also relates that Gregory was appointed in violation of canon law and apostolic tradition and that he was someone "from the palace" 102), sent by the emperor 103). Emperor Constantius and the Eusebian bishops thus always worked together.

After Easter of the year 339 Athanasius arrived in Rome, and Pope Julius immediately sent two priests, Elpidius and Philoxenus, to Antioch, who were to announce a limit within which the Eusebians were expected at Rome to meet at a synod 104). "But the Eusebians, upon hearing that it would be an ecclesiastical investigation, at which no count would appear, nor would soldiers stand at the door, and that the acts of the synod would not be ratified by an imperial edict (for by these means they had always exerted their influence against the bishops, and without it they dared say nothing at

all), were so filled with fear that they kept the priests even after the appointed time and invented a feeble excuse: they could not come now because of the war with the Persians" 105). Very sarcastically, but not without reason, Athanasius remarks: what have bishops to do with war, and why were they prevented by the Persians (in the East) from going to Rome (in the West), a city far away and over sea? Elpidius and Philoxenus were sent back to Rome with a letter containing a sharp protest against a possible revision of the synodal decision of Tyre concerning Athanasius' deposition 106) and an accusation against the Pope for his association with Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra 107). The Eusebians refused to come to Rome. After Pope Julius had kept this fiercely arrogant letter of the Eusebians secret for a long time, in the hope that eventually some Eusebians would respond to his appeal 108), he decided to hold a synod in the city of Rome at the end of 340. More than fifty bishops were assembled 109): the Pope, Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and many bishops from Thrace, Coelesyria, Phoenicia, and Palestine: in addition, many priests from various countries, among whom also a deputation from Alexandria and all Egypte 110). Apparently there were also Italian bishops and priests present 111). After Athanasius had defended himself before them, they received him into communion as well as Marcellus of Ancyra and declared both their depositions for unjust 112). The assembly requested the Pope to make the decisions known in writing to the Eusebians 113). A very detailed letter from Pope Julius went to the East: "Julius to Danius, Flaccillus, Narcissus, Eusebius, Maris, Macedonius, Theodore and their companions, who wrote to us from Antioch, to the beloved brethren, greetings in the Lord" 114). The Pope states that he had finally had to make their arrogant letter known and that everyone was astonished and could hardly believe that the Eusebians had written such a letter 115). Why should there not be an inquiry into whether Athanasius had been rightly deposed by the synod at Tyre? "The bishops also assembled at the great Council at Nicea, not without God's will, had permitted the proceedings of an earlier synod to be examined at another synod. If you do not wish this already ancient custom, mentioned and described at the great council, to be in force among you, such a demand is inappropriate; for that which has once become customary law in the Church and has been ratified by synods, cannot reasonably be made invalid by any one" 116). Pope Julius clearly sets before his eyes the authority of Nicea; the Eusebians must submit to that which, besides by customary law, was expressly sanctioned at this Council; they have no right to disapprove of the Pope's action and must recognize the decision of the Roman synod as legitimate and valid. After all that series of meetings in the thirties, this Roman synod in 340 is finally the first, after Alexandria in 338, that can properly be called a "synod"; and the first thing that this synod makes heard through the mouth of Pope Julius is an appeal to the General Council. Here the sublimity of Nicea is recalled by a synod which itself might almost be considered a general synod: under the presidency of the Pope, there were bishops present from various parts of the East and the West were not absent; however, for a real general synod the number of bishops was rather small and apparently the West only the Italian area was represented 117); this synod was therefore never considered ecumenical. Since the Eusebian legation, the Pope continues, had itself requested a synod, the Eusebians should have come to this council with all the more reason to be happy instead of showing their indignation. The Eusebians had written that every synod had authority and power and that it was an insult to the judge if his judgment was examined by another. Very well. But then consider who the synods hold in honor and who deprive the judgments of others of their power 118). "After the Arians were expelled for impiety by Alexander of blessed memory, the former bishop of Alexandria, they were not only publicly forbidden by every city, but also excommunicated by all who came together at the great Council of Nicea" 119). These now were received into communion by the Eusebians. Whom do the synods dishonor? "Are they not those who hold the judgment of the three hundred to be nothing?" And Marcellus, who resisted the Arians at the Council of Nicea, and Athanasius, whose guilt could not be proven either at Tyre or at Mareotis, they condemned. 120) The Pope then gives some concrete cases from which their association with the condemned Arians is evident; for example, their communion with the priest Pistus, who had been expelled "by the Council of Nicea" and was later consecrated bishop by a certain Secundus, who had also been condemned by "the great Council." Are they not rather guilty who despise "the great Council"? 121) "If, then, as you write, it is evident from the cases of Novatian and Paul of Samosate that the decisions of the synods must be and remain in force, then all the more reason should not be given to invalidating the judgment of the three hundred, then the Catholic Council should not be despised by any" 122). Who then will light the torch of discord? We, or on the contrary "those who ambitiously and contrary to the canon dissolve the judgment of

the three hundred and despise the Council in everything?" 123). Here the Pope touches on the critical point; the opponents of Athanasius are an oligarchy who claim to have the precedence over a council, which represents the whole Catholic Church. You should therefore have come to Rome to bring this question to a good end. Your excuses, that

57325 the appointed time is too short or the situation in the East does not permit it, are not valid 124). To the complaint of the Eusebians, that the letter of convocation of the Pope was addressed only to them and not to all the Eastern bishops, the Pope replies that the letter of convocation was a reply and therefore only sent to those who asked for a reply; the Eusebians. The Pope had not written to them, they

57330 believed, only in his own name, but they should know that his opinion was also that of "all in Italy" and of the bishops in those regions. "But I did not want to urge them all to write, because that would cause difficulty for many. But rest assured, at the appointed time the bishops met and they were of the same opinion, which I again make known to you by my letter; so that, beloved, you must know that this is the

57335 opinion of all, even though I write alone" 125). The Pope then shows that Athanasius and Marcellus were received into communion "not lightly or unjustly and without a form of trial" 126). Here Julius I also mentions the goodwill of "the great Council", that is, of Nicea 127) as well as the fact that "our priests, who were present at the Council of Nicea at that time" have now

57340 testified to Marcellus' orthodoxy 128). Incidentally, Athanasius and Marcellus were not the only ones who had filed complaints; many bishops and priests from Thrace, Coelesyria, Phoenicia and Palestine and also from Alexandria and all Egypt had done the same at this synod; especially there had come from Alexandria and Egypt, who testified that many bishops and priests had intended to attend the synod, but had

57345 been prevented from doing so: it was in Egypt a real persecution, and at Ancyra in Galatia it went no better 129). Who then stirs up discord? Let not the limbs of Christ be torn asunder. Even if Athanasius and Marcellus had been guilty, and with them all the other bishops and priests who were condemned or persecuted by the Eusebians, the Eusebians would still not have acted rightly. "For granted that, as

57350 you say, some fault could indeed be imputed to them, then the judgment should have been made according to the canon of the Church, and not in that way; all should have written to Us, so that in this way the right thing might be determined by all. Or do you not know that it is customary to write to Us first, and that in this way the judgment is pronounced here? If, therefore, any suspicion of that kind had fallen on the bishop of that city [Alexandria], they should have written to this Church [Rome]"

57355 130). However, the way the Eusebians acted is not according to the regulations of St. Paul, nor according to tradition, but something quite different and an attitude of their own invention. Finally, the Pope adjures the Eusebians to desist from their course of action and to disturb the Church no more. This important letter sheds a

57360 clear light on two things: first, that the Pope and his circle attached no value to the synod at Tyre and its continuation in Jerusalem, no matter how the Eusebians, and especially Eusebius of Caesarea, had expressed themselves about it; secondly, that the Pope and his circle recognized in a special way the authority of Nicea, to which they always appealed. Tyre-Jerusalem and Nicea are opposites. Emperor Constantine the

57365 Great had already begun to build a church at Antioch, which was called the great church or apostolic church, also called the golden church. Constantius finished the building and the consecration had to take place in a solemn manner. As was customary, such a ceremony attracted a large number of bishops and provided a fine opportunity to hold a synod. The consecration of the church at Antioch attracted ninety-seven

57370 bishops, who held a synod there between 22 May and 1 September of the year 341 131). Athanasius calls this synod expressly "ἐν xotc; 'EyKaivtoiq", "the synod of initiation", so that from the beginning it was always called "Antioch in Encaeniis" 132). Emperor Constantius himself was present at this synod 133). According to the testimony of Socrates, it was Eusebius of Nicomedia who had ensured that this synod

57375 took place 134) and Sozomenus also attributes the meeting to the influence of the Eusebians 135). Nevertheless, the Eusebians formed the minority, a third belonged to the moderates and the rest were entirely orthodox and Nicene. All the bishops were from the East; although the majority were from the Antiochene patriarchate, there also appeared Acacius of Caesarea in Palestine, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Theodore

57380 of Heraclea, Eudoxius of Germanicia, Gregory of Alexandria, Dianius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, George of Laodicea in Syria, and Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was now bishop of Constantinople 136). Flaccillus of Antioch was probably president 137). Socrates and Sozomenus further mention that Maximus of Jerusalem refused to come, because he regretted having been deceived at the synod at Tyre six years before, and

57385 had been induced by the wiles of the Eusebians to sign the deposition of Athanasius 138). Socrates also mentions that Pope Julius was not present and had not sent anyone

to take his place: "while the canon of the Church forbids the Churches to establish canons without the will of the Bishop of Rome" 139). Sozomenus says that no one from the Italian area or from the other Western provinces was present either 140). "Since
57390 the assembled bishops were partly Eusebians, partly moderates, and partly fully orthodox, it is understandable that this synod was largely orthodox in its actions and decisions, and partly heretical or at least under the influence of heretical currents.

Twenty-five canons have been promulgated in Antioch 141). The promulgation bull
57395 begins with the following words: "The holy and most peaceful synod assembled by Goddess Antioch from the eparchy of Coelesyria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Isauria, to the unanimous and holy priests in all provinces, salvation in the Lord" 142). The assembled point out that they are making known the canons "under the inspiration of the Holy and peaceful Spirit" 143) and "after much
57400 and careful investigation" 144). They trust that all will agree with them, ratify the decisions and confirm them "with the consent of the Holy Spirit" 145). The first canon deals with the feast of Easter and determines that all who dare to deprive "the decree of the holy and great synod assembled at Nicea" of its force must be excommunicated. Should anyone in the future dare to celebrate Easter at the same time
57405 as the Jews, this holy synod (at Antioch) will consider him a secessionist 146). While this canon can be attributed entirely to the influence of the orthodox party and perhaps also to that of the moderates, the fourth canon strongly suggests the influence of the Eusebians. For this canon determines that if a bishop, priest or
57410 deacon has been deposed by a synod and yet dares to exercise some ecclesiastical function, such a person cannot, according to the custom already in force, hope to be reinstated by another synod; such a person may not even expect to be given the opportunity to defend himself; the same applies to all those who continue in fellowship with such people. 147) This canon, according to the Eusebian view, is applicable to Athanasius and even to all who adhered to him; for, although deposed by
57415 the Synod of Tyre, Athanasius had nevertheless later exercised his episcopal office again in Alexandria, had defended himself before the Pope at the Synod in Rome, and had been recognized as innocent by this Synod and received into communion. The twelfth canon was also deliberately edited or renewed by the Eusebian party. It stipulates that when a priest or deacon, deposed by his bishop, or a bishop deposed
57420 by a synod, has complained about it to the emperor, he must bring his case before a larger synod, submit his complaints there and submit himself to the decision of this assembly; if, however, he does not take these legal means into account and continues to insist on the emperor, then he no longer deserves forgiveness, he no longer has the right to defend himself and he can cherish no hope of being reinstated. Another
57425 threat to Athanasius. For after his condemnation at Tyre he had sought refuge in Constantinopel and appealed to the emperor. Afterwards a large council had been held at Jerusalem, at which Athanasius had not been present and at which the decision of the synod at Tyre was implicitly ratified. And Athanasius was later restored to his seat in Alexandria through the mediation of Emperor Constantine II. But, thus
57430 Athanasius could defend himself with this canon, this provision is nevertheless from a few years after the events and so I can hardly be affected by it. Confident in the success achieved with this canon, the Eusebians went a step further. After the editing of the canons they asked for confirmation of the decree of deposition against Athanasius. Socrates testifies: "The Eusebians made it their main task to falsely
57435 accuse Athanasius, and in the first place of the fact that he had acted contrary to the canon which they themselves had then established, that he had in particular exercised the episcopal office again without the judgment of a common conference of bishops" 149). Sozomenus also says: "Many of them expressed their discontent and vehemently accused Athanasius of having despised the priestly law which they
57440 themselves had issued, and of having resumed the government of the Alexandrian Church before it had been permitted him by a synod" 150). The Eusebians therefore wanted to give these canons retroactive effect and thus checkmate the decision of Pope Julius and the Roman synod. Whether the decree of deposition against Athanasius was confirmed by this synod and, if so, whether all those assembled agreed to it, is
57445 difficult to determine with certainty. In any case, Socrates and Sozomenus made a mistake when they called Gregory the Cappadocian to this synod bishop of Alexandria and thus implicitly had Athanasius deposed by this synod; that appointment had already taken place at an earlier synod in Antioch in the year 339 151). Even if the orthodox bishops had confirmed a decree of deposition in 341, there is still no
57450 reason for surprise; after all the intrigues of the Eusebians, the chance of a clear and good insight and certainly also of a calm and mature judgment was almost impossible. In addition, the extreme Nicene Athanasius gave rise to suspicions of

Sabellianism, while his great friend and fellow-combatant Marcellus of Ancyra at least came very close to Sabellianism and used expressions that were difficult to reconcile with the doctrine of the Son of God as a Person. In this confused state of affairs, the orthodox bishops should not be bothered too much with a possible ratification of a decree of deposition 152).

The other canons of this synod do not give rise to the suspicion of different parties and it suffices to mention here that the ninth canon contains: "therefore it has pleased" 153), the tenth canon: "it has pleased the holy synod" 154), the thirteenth canon: "by this fact the holy synod declares him condemned" 155), and the fourteenth: "it has pleased the holy synod" 156); the sixteenth canon agrees with "complete, a complete synod" and itself gives the explanation of this term: "A complete synod is that at which the metropolitan is present" (157). The seventeenth and eighteenth canons also mention the complete synod (158).

The main characteristic of this synod, however, is that it inaugurated a new period in the Eusebian reaction to Nicea. At Antioch, it was no longer personal matters that were the centre of attention; the question of faith itself was given first place for the first time since Nicea. Three confessions of faith were submitted at this synod in succession. Here too, the various parties among those present made themselves felt, but the Eusebian influence was strongly restrained by the orthodox bishops.

The first confession of faith was brought to our attention in a circular letter, which opens with the words: "We are not followers of Arius, for how could we bishops be followers of a priest? Nor did we accept any other faith than that which was handed down from the beginning. In fact, because we had to examine and test his [Arius'] faith, we accepted him rather than followed him." 159) It is clear from this introduction that the Eusebian group, which had received Arius into communion, inspired this text and tried to justify itself here. They apologize, as it were, for having received Arius into communion; they do not want their name to be connected with that of Arius on that account, and they attach importance to declaring that their beliefs agree with the old traditional faith. 160) And to prove this last assertion they follow up with a confession of faith. The contents of this confession are described by Sozomenus in the following words: in this formula no mention is made of the subsistence of the Father or of the Son, nor of the term *ὁμοουσιος*; . The same author gives his judgment by saying that the meaning of this confession was so ambiguous or neutral that neither the Arians nor the followers of Nicea could bring an accusation on the basis of the expressions used; terms that were foreign to the language of Holy Scripture were not in it; the expressions that both parties rejected had been passed over in silence on purpose and those that both parties accepted had been included 161). This confession may therefore not be called heretical; it can be explained entirely in an orthodox sense. But why not simply accept the formula of faith of Nicea? Because that was impossible for the Eusebian group without condemning their own opinions. By the given confession, however, the Eusebians hoped to be recognized as orthodox, while, precisely because this confession remained outside the points of contention, they believed that they could hold on to their own views. Moreover, they cherished the hope that a new confession would supplant the criticized Nicene with its specific *ὁμοοὐσιώσιος*; . Thus a, literally speaking, neutral confession of faith came into being in circumstances that were extremely serious for the life of faith, because heretical views were gaining more and more influence and Nicea was increasingly and directly attacked. Nicea found itself in serious danger and here in Antioch had the Eusebians managed to set a questionable precedent; in the future this precedent would be followed with pleasure and repeatedly and new formulas of faith would be issued at the expense of orthodoxy. The tendency of the Eusebian endeavour is indicated by Socrates in the words; "They did not change the creed in any [open] disapproval of what had been established at Nicea, but in reality they did so in order to undermine and modify the belief in the *οὐσιώσιος*; because by their actions they gave cause to continually hold synods and to issue a different definition of faith, so that in this way they gradually turned towards the Arian view 162); Athanasius also judges that the endeavour of the Eusebians was aimed at making heresy gain ground 163). The first formula apparently did not satisfy the assembled. The sources say that they regretted it and that they invented new and different things 164). A second, extensive confession of faith was issued. This is indeed the official formula of the synod and will for many years be explicitly regarded as the only true confession of Antioch in Encaeniis. This formula is rightly attributed to Lucian of Antioch who died as a martyr in 312 165). The confession is directed against the Sabellian views, of which Marcellus of Ancyra had been openly accused and Athanasius had been seriously suspected by several, including orthodox ones 166).

This formula also has nothing positively heretical. St. Hilary even does his utmost to demonstrate its orthodoxy, notwithstanding that, -- even in his opinion, less correct expressions could be cited and the word *ὁποσοῖοι* is missing 167). This concealment of the *ὁποουαι*oc; is indeed the greatest error which adheres to the confession. A third formula is explicitly directed against the Sabellians, while Marcellus of Ancyra is also explicitly mentioned as a supporter of this heresy. According to Athanasius, Bishop Theophronius of Tyana composed this confession, presented it to the assembly, and all accepted the confession as orthodox declared and signed 168). With this the work of this synod was ended 169).

In the meantime the emperor of the West, Constans, had asked his brother Constantius for information about the attitude of the Eastern episcopate. In order to comply with this request, probably at the beginning of 342, four bishops, namely Narcissus of Neronias in Cilicia, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodorus of Heraclea and Marcus of Arethusa in Syria, went from Antioch to the court at Trier. They brought with them a new confession of faith, which is usually called the fourth formula of Antioch, but has nothing to do with the synod 170). This formula is also anti-Sabellian and is closer to the confession of Nicea than the first Antiochene formula; the term *ὁγοῦῶ*aioc; is however also missing here. This was probably drawn up by the Eusebians, because it offers even more opportunity than the others for subtle and abundant hair-splitting 171) and the Eusebians hoped that the West would regard this formula as the faith of the whole East.

Due to the presence of various influences at this synod it is understandable that posterity had a non-uniform appreciation of it with respect to Antioch in Encaeniis 172). The canons have acquired a high esteem in the Church, so that they have also been preserved in numerous manuscripts. Two of these canons, the fourth 173) and the fifteenth, were quoted by the Fourth General Council, at Chalcedon in 451, under the name: canons of the holy Fathers 174). Pope John II sent these two canons in 534 to Caesarius of Arles to make use of them in the matter with Bishop Contumeliosus 175). The ninth canon was placed by Pope Zacharias, in a letter to Pepin the Short and the clergy of the Frankish kingdom, among the canons of the holy Fathers, established by the Spirit of God and confirmed by the reverence of the whole world. 176) At a synod, held in Rome in 853, all those present, at the suggestion of Pope Leo IV, gave the following testimony: "We could do no better than judge and repeat what the holy Fathers at the Synod of Antioch in the third chapter [that is, the third canon] promulgated and established inviolably." 177) St. Hilary wrote that "the synod of saints" composed various formulas of faith 178). Sozomenus, on the other hand, viewed the synod from the other side. He had this synod meet at the instigation of the Eusebians: "ostensibly as if to consecrate the newly built church; as the outcome showed, however, to change the decrees of Nicea." 179) And when the unjust deposition of John Chrysostom was confirmed by appealing to the fourth canon, St. John called this canon "not a canon of their church, but of the Arians; for those who had assembled at Antioch to tear down the faith of the "*ὁποooooooooi*oc" issued this canon out of hatred against Athanasius" 180). Likewise Sozomenus testifies that John Chrysostom called this a "law of heterodoxes" and that the Arians had established this law 181). Pope Innocent I (402-417) wrote on this matter in a letter to the clergy and people of Constantinople that one must obey only the canons of Nicea; canons that deviate from it and are composed by heretics are rejected by the Catholic bishops; these canons are to be condemned at the same time as the heretical and schismatic doctrines, as the synod of Sardica already did 182). Most probably the synod of Gangra, the metropolis of Paphlagonia, must be placed around the year 340 183). From the reports of the historians Socrates and Sozomenus and from the data in the synodal letter it appears that this synod was directed against the leader of the semi-Arian fraction Eustathius of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia or even more against various unauthorized practices of Eustathius' disciples 184). The thirteen bishops at this synod 185) issued twenty canons, which condemn the various practices and opinions of the Eustathians. These twenty canons, which all begin with "if anyone" and end with "let him be accursed" 186), contain nothing special for this investigation 187). In the synodal letter, which gives a summary of the contents of the twenty canons, the synod already calls itself in the address the "holy synod of Gangra" 188); immediately after that "the most holy 189) and at the end, before giving the canons themselves, twice "the holy synod" 190). For the sake of clarity, the synod concluded its canons with an epilogue, intended to prevent misinterpretations of these decrees 191). However, the epilogue does not offer any details regarding this investigation; each time it speaks of "we without further ado: we write, we feel admiration, we accept, we admire, we value, we do not despise, we praise, we reject, we honor, we have lyre, we approve, we have praise, we wish 192).

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The Eusebians must have considered it presumptuous to go directly against the General Council of Nicea and its creed. They chose a more cautious tactic, which, they hoped, would be equally effective: to neutralize the advocates of Nicea, first of all to foremost and most vigorous defenders of orthodoxy, such as Athanasius of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Paul of Constantinopel. In carrying out their plans, the Eusebians sought to overthrow these persons into discredit, but not by immediately bringing an accusation concerning their doctrine, for this would have meant an accusation against the Nicene faith and would have exposed too clearly the aim of the Eusebian endeavour. Immoral acts, invalidity of the election or consecration of a bishop, political crimes and the like were the accusations which they embraced, even though they were aware of the total falsity or far-reaching exaggeration of these accusations. Only Marcellus of Anya could be accused with any justification of Sabellianism or the use of Sabellian expressions. The Eusebian tactic was only too successful; bowed down by the gravest suspicions, Athanasius, Eustathius, Paulus and many others with them had to take the road to exile. It was not until 341, when the Eusebians saw the successes already achieved being undone by Rome and the West and the exiled Niceans having been accepted into communion by a synodal decision, that they tried it with the question of faith itself: a new creed had to supplant the Nicene creed with all its hatred. However, they apparently did not dare to make an open protest against the Nicene faith, a protest such as the followers of Nicea directed against everything that was not Nicene. After all, by openly opposing Nicea, they would openly and definitively exclude themselves from the Church and they wanted to avoid that; they wanted to be regarded as Catholics. They understood that for that they had to submit themselves, at least in appearance, to Nicea, since this was a General Council, a council at which the entire Church had defined the Catholic faith. Without this submission they would fall into the position of heretics or excluded. Their reaction against the General Council could therefore not be anything other than a side-line reaction.

In sharp terms, the Catholic synod at Alexandria in 338 condemned the actions of the Eusebians, who were led by Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicea, against Athanasius. Eusebius and Theognis were not able to depose another bishop, in this case Athanasius. After all, they no longer possessed any power, because they themselves had been deposed and rejected on the basis of what was determined at Nicea at the "ecumenical synod", a council "in the true sense of the word, elevated above synods such as those at Tyre and Jerusalem, which are not real synods, but only conspiracies. A real synod is a meeting of bishops who defend and make known the truth and indeed as independent judges of themselves, independent of all extra-ecclesiastical influences; worldly dignitaries, even the emperor, may not take a leading position at the meetings, church officials such as deacons must assist the bishops, with soldiers or imperial officials. Two years later, Pope Julius outlined the authority of the ecumenical synod. After investigation, the Bishop of Rome admitted Athanasius, who had sought justice from him, into communion and to all who seek justice from the Pope, justice will be done. The Pope is not obliged to endorse without investigation the judgment of particular synods, however great they may be. A definitive judgment is given only by that synod at which the entire episcopate of the Catholic Church is represented. And therefore the Pope can rightly appeal to "the great Council of Nicea" to justify his actions; for "not without God's will" this council permitted the proceedings of an earlier synod to be examined at another (193). And a decision of Nicea is the decision of the entire Catholic episcopate and therefore definitive, always and everywhere binding. The Eusebians must also submit to a decision of Nicea on pain of loss of catholicity. This is the judgment of the Roman synod of 340, that is to say, of the Pope and of more than fifty bishops from East and West. The Pope supplements this positive argument with an argumentum ad hominem. The Eusebians may not reproach the Pope and the Roman synod with making synodal decisions powerless and worthless. For it is precisely the Eusebians who dishonor the synod by not recognizing the judgment "of the three hundred," "of the great Council of Nicea." If one must recognize one synod, it is the Synod of Nicea, and whoever despises the Synod of Nicea cannot have respect for any synod; for Nicea is "the Catholic Council" and as such stands above all councils that have ever been held, above Tyre and Jerusalem, above the councils of the eleventh century against Novatian and Paul of Samosate. Nicea is "the holy and great" synod, as the first canon of Antioch 341 says. This last synod, that of Antioch, is also convinced that it has drawn up its canons "under the inspiration of the peaceful and holy Spirit", which does not alter the fact that the drawing up of these regulations was preceded by a "careful and repeated investigation". Synods increasingly call themselves "the

holy synod". The orthodox synod at Alexandria in 338 does so in the address of its synodal letter 194), Antioch in Encaeniis up to four times in its canons 195), while in the promulgation bull it speaks of "the holy and most peaceful synod" 196). The synod at Gangra even calls itself once "the most holy synod" in its synodal letter 197). It is indeed distressing that an untrue synod like Jerusalem 335 dares to also claim the title of "holy synod" in the address of its synodal letter and once in the corpus thereof 198). Constantine the Great does the same with regard to the synod at Tyre, when he writes the address on the letter addressed to it; in the letter itself, however, Constantine uses the term synod without further ado 199); the clergy of Mareotis also write in the address of their protest letter to the same synod "the holy synod of blessed bishops" 200), so that one may conclude that this designation is already understood as a stencil; however, the same clergy does not use this title when they speak about Tyre in a letter to the imperial officials Philagrius and Curiosus 201). Moreover, the terminology used in the sources remains simple. All the various synods after Nicea are called "synods" without further ado, while Theodoret and Philostorgius have a special predilection for the word "ouvé&piov", which term Socrates uses once for Constantinopel 338 202). The lyric, which a partisan like Eusebius of Caesarea uses with regard to the synod at Jerusalem 335, can be left out of consideration. Among the many texts only Nicea receives the name of "ecumenical" synod, the catholic or general 203). Nicea is also the great synod 204) or the holy and great synod 205).

For concepts such as calling together 206), coming together 207), holding a synod 208) and gathering 209) one finds the usual terminology. As far as calling together is concerned, it has been pointed out several times that this was often done by the emperor.

CHAPTER IV THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA IN 343-344

Once again banished from the East, Athanasius stayed in Rome. There, after three years, in April or May 342, he received a letter from Emperor Constans, who summoned him to Milan. Some bishops, including Pope Julius, Ossius of Cordova and Maximus of Trier 1), had asked Constans to mediate with Constantius to have a synod held in Sardica 2), at which the points of contention concerning Athanasius were to be definitively resolved 3). Constans received a similar request from followers of Paul, the legal and orthodox, but also expelled bishop of Constantinopel, as well as from followers of Athanasius; they demanded that "an end be put to these personal matters as well as to the questions of faith at a general synod 4). Emperor Constans conveyed this request to his brother, and both decided to hold a synod. "There was thus again a convocation of a general council at Sardica, a city of Illyria, according to the decision of the two emperors, one of whom had requested it by letter, the other, namely that of the East, had willingly consented" 5). With this testimony of Socrates is that of Sozomenus agrees: "It pleased both emperors that the bishops of each of the realms would meet in Sardis on the appointed day" 6). A General Council (Socrates) as a council of the two parts of the realm, East and West (Sozomenus). The synodal letter also bears witness to the fact that the emperors convened this synod "with the assistance of God's grace" and that they permitted this "holy synod" to be held 7). St. Athanasius also repeatedly testifies to this course of events 8). The initiative for this council came from various bishops, among whom was the Pope; the emperors called it together with the intention that it should be a "General" Council, a council of East and West, on which they also assigned both the Eastern and Western bishops. When Socrates and Sozomenus place the Council of Sardica during the consulate of Rufinus and Eusebius in the eleventh year after the death of Constantine the Great, that is, after 22 May 347, they are mistaken 10). The starting point falls in the second half of the year 343 and the end point probably in the spring of 344. The twofold purpose of this meeting is stated in the synodal letter of the council itself as follows: "so that all differences of opinion may disappear, all errors of faith may be banished, and only the true cult of Christ may be maintained by all and "especially because of what they [the Easterners] repeatedly related about our beloved brothers and colleagues, Athanasius, bishop of Alexan, and Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia".

Elsewhere this council mentions as the three questions dealt with: the restoration of the true faith, which had been violated by several, the question of the deposition of several bishops, and the acts of violence against bishops, priests and other classes of clergy 14).

From the East and West 15) at the very favourably situated place Sardica many bishops came together. The Eusebians feared the judgment; however, with the support of the two imperial officials they brought with them, Musonianus and Hesychius, they

trusted, as usual, that they would win the case 16). "But as soon as they perceived that it was a purely ecclesiastical justice without count and soldiers, as soon as they saw the accusers of each Church and city and the evidence against them" they became confused 17). The number of participants of each party is difficult to determine precisely. The Eusebians, or more generally the Easterners, say in their synodal letter that they came to Sardica with eighty bishops 18). But only seventy-three, or rather seventy-two, signed this letter 19); but it is evident from the same letter that besides these seventy-three, Maris of Chalcedon, Macedonius of Mopsueste and Ursacius of Singidunum were also present 20). So then there would have been seventy-six, which number is given by Socrates 21) and Sozomenus 22). Socrates explicitly states that he is relying here on Sabinus, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, a semi-Arian, who probably wrote a treatise on councils in the time of Emperor Valens, which was later lost 23). The principal participants of the Eusebian party were, besides the three already with named, Valens of Mursa and Theodore of Heraclea, five of whom had belonged to the committee sent to Mareotis by the synod of Tyre 24); furthermore the new bishop of Antioch, Stephanus, Menophantus of Ephesus, Acacius of Caesarea in Palestine, Marcus of Arethusa, Eudoxius of Germanicia and Basil of Ancyra. They were joined by Dianius of Caesarea in Cappadocia and Ischyrras of Mareotis.

It is more difficult to determine the number of orthodox or Western bishops. According to Socrates and Sozomenus the number of Westerners was about three hundred 25). Socrates adds that Athanasius gives this number. Athanasius, however, says that more than three hundred bishops "agreed" to the decisions of Sardica 26). In the same Apologia contra Arianos Athanasius takes up the synodal letter of Sardica and follows it with the names of two hundred and eighty-four bishops, among whom was Pope Julius "by means of the priests Archidamus and Philoxenus" 27); but before giving this list of names Athanasius says: "This letter was also sent by the synod of Sardica to those who had not been able to come; and they also declared that they agreed with the decisions." The names of the signatories at the synod and of the other bishops are given below 28), and after the list Athanasius adds: "These then are those who signed the letter of the synod; then there are very many others, who also wrote in my favor before this synod from Asia and Phrygia and Isauria, and their names are in their own letters, among the three and sixty, all together three hundred and forty-four" 29). These numbers do not therefore indicate the number of participants at the synod; on the other hand, among these names are not those of Euphratas of Cologne 30), Marcellus of Ancyra and a certain Olympius 31), who were certainly present at the synod. Elsewhere Athanasius says that from the East and West about one hundred and seventy bishops were present 32). According to the context, this number also includes the Eusebians 33); if, however, they were not included and their number were counted at eighty, the total would be two hundred and fifty, the number given by Theodoret 34).

In any case, the number of bishops was respectable; it can be safely estimated at a hundred and seventy or eighty, of whom eighty were Eusebians and therefore almost a hundred orthodox. On the basis of the various documents with signatures 35) and other historical data, the Ballerini brothers were able to compile a list of ninety-seven orthodox bishops who were present at the council 36). Of these, six were from Spain, two from Gaul, four from Africa, eight from Italy, three from Illyria, nine from Dacia, thirty-three from Macedonia with Crete, four from Thrace, one from Asia, one from Pontus, three from Syria, one from Egypt and twenty-one from unknown regions, among whom there must have been several from Egypt 37). Of the West, only Britain was not represented.

Pope Julius had himself replaced by two priests, Archidamus and Philoxenus and the deacon Leo 38). The synodal letter to the Pope says: "You, therefore, most beloved brother, were indeed physically absent, but present with the will and in the spirit of concord and your apology for your absence was praiseworthy but also necessary, so that the schismatic wolves could not commit theft and plunder by cunning and ambush, or the heretical dogs inflamed with fury would not bark senselessly or the devilish serpent would not vomit his blasphemous poison" 39). Whether the sentence immediately following this is genuine, one can reasonably doubt. It follows in particular: "We consider this to be good and entirely proper, that the priests [bishops] should report to the Head, that is, to the Chair of the Apostle Peter, concerning every province of the Lord." 40)

Ossius of Cordova, who had left Gaul for Sardis at the same time as Athanasius 41), took over the presidency and as such he proposed the canons 42) and was the first to sign the council documents 43). Athanasius expressly says: "the holy synod, of which the great Ossius was president" 44), after having previously written that "the

Western [i.e. orthodox] bishops were alone with their father Ossius 45). In a similar manner Theodoret writes: "This Ossius was bishop of Cordova and had shone at the great synod at Nicea and had taken the first place among those assembled at Sardis" 46). Sozomenus calls the orthodox party "the Ossians" 47) and writes further: "Ossius and Protogenes [of Sardica], who were then in charge of the Western assembly at Sardica" 48). The Eusebians also regard Ossius and Protogenes of Sardica as the leaders of the orthodox 49). In the same spirit Socrates speaks of Protogenes and Ossius 50).

Besides Ossius of Cordova there were also from Spain Amanus of Castulo 51), Castus of Saragossa, Domitian of Asturia, Bloquentius of Emerita and Praetextatus of Barcelona. Gaul was represented by Verissimus of Lyons and Maximus of Trier; Italy by Protasius of Milan, Severinus of Ravenna, Januanus of Beneventum, Fortunatianus of Aquileia, Lucius of Verona, Sterconius of Apulia, Ursacius of Brescia, and Vincentius of Oapua. Among the great number of bishops from Macedonia and Achaia were Athenodorus of Platea, Dionysius of Elis, Hermogenes of Sicyon, and Plutarchus of Patras. Asia had sent as its orthodox bishop Diodorus of Tenedos. The three accused Athanasius of Alexandria, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas of Gaza in Palestine were also present. According to Socrates, Paul of Constantinopel was also present as an accused 52), but this is contradicted by the synodal letter of the Eusebians: "through Asclepas they [the orthodox] held communion with Paul and they received letters from him and they sent them to him" 53).

Before going to Sardica, where the orthodox were already, the Eusebians held a meeting in the nearby city of Philippopolis; from here they wrote to the Fathers at Sardica, that they should expel Athanasius from the council and break communion with him, because he had been deposed from his episcopal office. When they arrived at Sardica they refused to set foot in the church where the meetings were to be held, as long as Athanasius, Marcellus and Asclepas were present 54). The Eusebians could not reinstate them in the episcopal office, because that would mean an infringement of an ancient tradition and this power the Church did not grant to itself and had not received from God; faithful to the divine laws, to tradition and to the ecclesiastical regulations they had never yet received anyone who had once been condemned. "And therefore, we have never shaken anything that is indissolubly established: but rather maintained that which was determined by the Fathers 55). They then called meetings on their own occasion and had managed to force their adherents under threats to promise not to attend the orthodox meeting or prevented the well-intentioned from going there. At Sardica they stayed together in a house, the Palatium, and did not allow anyone to isolate himself. And two of them, Macarius (also called Arius) from Palestine and Asterius from Petra in Arabia, were able to avoid this forced isolation to escape; they went to the Orthodox and reported the conduct of the Eusebians 56). These two bishops had to pay for this after the council with their exile in Libya, where they were sent by Emperor Constantius" 57). Indeed, the Eusebians could well have been afraid, since an impartial investigation was being held in Sardica, independent of imperial officials, and where there were several bishops and priests who could testify to their misdeeds; chains and fetters were even produced as evidence 58).

Of course, the Eusebians themselves gave a representation of the course of events that was more to their advantage. According to them, Athanasius, after the death of several accusers, witnesses and judges, would have driven the Pope, Ossius, Maximus of Trier and other bishops to bring about the Council of Sardica. Out of respect for tradition and the council decisions, the Eusebians had ordered Ossius and Protogenes to remove Athanasius, Marcellus and other condemned bishops. After that, the Eusebians would, together with the orthodox to investigate what sentences these bishops had undergone in the past. Apparently the Eusebians denied Sardica the right to revise the sentence of Tyre and Antioch. But since the orthodox persisted in their communion with these sinners, the Eusebians burst into tears; they could have no part in the holy mysteries with profane men, and it was impossible for them to hold court with men who had been condemned by their predecessors. The Eusebians had repeatedly requested not to trample on divine laws, not to neglect ecclesiastical tradition, not to cause a new schism, or not to despise the Eastern bishops and the most holy synods. But these Westerners ignored all this, threatened us, and promised to avenge Athanasius and the other criminals. As if they could have said and done anything else, those who received all criminals and reprobates into their communion. They carried their presumption so far as to set themselves up as judges over the judges, and to try to overturn the judgment of those who were already in communion with God. While both parties were thus disputing, the five remaining members of the committee that had once been sent to Mareotis had proposed, so the Eusebians always did, to

57850 send some bishops from both parties to the places where Athanasius had committed his infamies. Should this embassy come to the conclusion that they, the five members of the committee, had made a false statement, then they would consent to their own condemnation; but if they had given their report truthfully, then the orthodox delegates of this new committee would have to be excluded from the community, as well as all the supporters and defenders of Athanasius and Marcellus. Ossius, Protogenes and their followers would have recoiled from this proposal. After a long series of accusations against the Fathers, the Eusebians wrote that the orthodox had wanted to intimidate them with the imperial letters in order to force them to join Ossius and Protogenes. Thereupon the Eusebians decided to return to their homeland and, before leaving Sardica, to inform Christendom in writing of what had happened. 59)

57855 The orthodox would have liked to see the Eusebians appear at their council; they had also repeatedly invited them and warned them not to withdraw, as this would be the principal evidence against them. For from this one might rightly conclude that they could not prove their accusations against Athanasius and the other bishops and that they had therefore been false accusers; as such the council would have to brand them in that case 60). Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas and many others, on the other hand, were present and prepared to refute every accusation and to prove the crimes of the Eusebians. The Eusebians chose flight 61), by which they acknowledged their shameful conduct. Ossius himself testifies to his accommodating attitude towards the Eusebians in a letter to the Emperor Constantius. "When the enemies of Athanasius came to the church where I usually stayed, I myself invited them to speak, if they had anything against him. I solemnly assured them that they might rest easy, and promised that they could expect nothing but an impartial tribunal in all respects. And this I did not once, but twice, adding that if they would not do it before the whole synod, they would at least do it before me individually. I also promised that if he were found guilty, he would undoubtedly be expelled by us; but that if Athanasius were found innocent and proved their fraud, and they nevertheless rejected him, I would try to persuade him to go with me to Spain. Athanasius also accepted these conditions without a word of protest; but they had no hesitation in no good head in it and refused to go into this also" 62). Athanasius also mentions that the Eusebians preferred the shame of flight to the shame of being openly denounced as impostors; and that if they were convicted at Sardica the emperor would not have them expelled from their churches 63). Before leaving the council city the Eusebians sent Eustathius, a priest of Sardica, to the orthodox with the message that they had received a letter from the emperor, in which his victory over the Persians was mentioned; they were therefore obliged to go and congratulate the emperor. Seeing through this subterfuge, the synod immediately replied: "come here to defend yourselves against the charges brought against you and to cleanse yourselves of the frauds you have committed, or else; know that the synod condemns you as guilty, the Athanasians .on the other hand will declare free and pure from all guilt" 64). During the night the Eusebians left.

57885 With this the orthodox could have considered the matter settled and declared Athanasius and the other accused innocent without further ado. However, in order that the Eusebians would not use their flight as a new pretext for further intrigues, the assembled decided to re-examine the whole affair and to examine all the documents in order to bring the truth to light. It then turned out that Athanasius had been falsely accused of murdering Arsenius; Macarius, the priest of Athanasius, falsely accused of breaking a chalice. The council received the full information from several Egyptian bishops who were present at Sardica, as well as from the letter which eighty Egyptian bishops had at that time sent to Pope Julius 65).

57900 The council then considered the accusations against Marcellus of Ancyra. The book written by Marcellus was read. The Western bishops were not sufficiently versed in all the subtleties which a dialectician of Greek speech could develop. With too much indulgence they declared that the impugned passages were written more in hypothetical form to express a doubt than as defended propositions; they therefore judged Marcellus' doctrine to be fundamentally orthodox. 66) A third accused was Asclepas of Gaza in Palestine, who had been deposed by the Eusebians at Antioch. Asclepas produced the acts of the synod at Antioch and proved his innocence by the words of his own judges. 67) It also appeared that the Eusebians had not only received into their community some persons who had been condemned for their Arianism, but had even promoted them to a higher ecclesiastical rank; certain acts of violence by the Eusebians could be established 68). The council judged Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas and their followers, among whom in particular the Alexandrian priests Aphthonius, Athanasius, the son of Capito, Paulus and Plution 69) innocent and sent a

57915 letter to each diocese with the admonition to acknowledge their innocence and to
 receive them as bishop. However, those who had invaded the Churches like wolves,
 namely Gregory in Alexandria, Basil in Ancyra and Quintian in Gaza, were not to be
 named bishops and were not to have any communication with them. The "holy synod
 57920 declared with unanimous consent" Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace, Narcissus of
 Neronias, Acacius of Caesarea in Palestine. Stephen of Antioch, Ursacius of
 Singidunum, Valens of Mursa, Menophantus of Ephesus, and George of Laodicea in Syria
 were deprived of their episcopal dignity because of their Arianism and crimes
 committed; they were also to be excluded from the ecclesiastical community become
 57925 Patrophilus of Scythopolis; in this, however, Athanasius seems to be mistaken 71).
 Theodoret also seems to be guilty of an anachronism when he relates that Maris,
 Valens and Ursacius asked forgiveness from the council after they had acknowledged
 their partiality in the investigation at Mareotis 72); two of them, namely Valens and
 Ursacius, only took a similar step later. The council Fathers also informed the
 57930 emperors of their decisions 73).
 The task of the council also included banishing every error concerning the faith and
 restoring the true faith in all its glory. According to Athanasius, some bishops in
 their rashness proposed at the council to issue a formula of faith, as if there were
 something lacking in the Symbol of Nicea; "but the holy synod at Sardica was
 57935 indignant at this and determined that nothing more should be written about the faith
 and that the formula of faith composed by the Fathers at Nicea was sufficient, since
 it left nothing to be desired, but was full of piety. And the synod determined that
 no other formula of faith should be issued, so that the one at Nicea would not be
 considered imperfect and no pretext would be given to those who wanted to write and
 57940 define the faith all the time" 74). The council of Sardica thus clearly saw through
 the efforts of the last years to undermine the Symbol of Nicea by means of new
 formulas of faith. The Fathers at Sardica considered Nicea inviolable and perfect.
 Nevertheless, soon after the council a confession of faith was in circulation which
 was wrongly attributed to Sardica. Athanasius and the bishops gathered around him
 57945 declared this formula to be spurious and false in Alexandria in 362 75). Eusebius of
 Vercelli, who was also present at this council in Alexandria, signed the acts in
 Latin and in his signature also condemned the pseudo-Sardica formula; only the Nicene
 was to be considered the true confession and it was not necessary to add anything to
 it. The text of this signature has been preserved by Athanasius 76).
 57950 At the end of the synodal letter of Sardica to the entire Church, Theodoret gives a
 copy of this confession of faith 77). This confession of faith is probably intended
 as an explanation of the Nicene symbolum; it therefore has an orthodox meaning and
 contains, besides the positive part, a refutation of the Arian conception of the
 Father and the Son. In the Historia Tripartita one finds a Latin translation by
 57955 Epiphanius Scholasticus 78). Sozomenus mentions this formula as an "enlargement of
 that of Nicea," but with the same meaning and not differing word for word. He then
 relates how Ossius and Protogenes testify in a letter to Pope Julius that they had
 ratified this formula; for fear that some would detract from the Nicene decrees, they
 had composed this somewhat more detailed confession in order to prevent the Arians
 57960 from abusing the brevity of the Nicene formula 79). This report of Sozomenus has been
 confirmed by a discovery by Scipio Maffei in the eighteenth century. In the library
 of his birthplace Verona he found an old Latin translation of almost all the acts of
 Sardica. The brothers Ballerini and also Mansi published these documents and among
 them one indeed finds a short letter from Ossius and Protogenes to Pope Julius, which
 57965 agrees with the table of contents given by Sozomenus. Ossius and Protogenes sent the
 confession of faith to the Pope "so that no criticism would be made of their conduct"
 80). The council of Chalcedon in 451 probably had this formula of faith in mind in
 its allocation to Emperor Marcian 81). The Latin translation of the text has been
 preserved in the Verona manuscript 82); in general, however, the Greek text in
 57970 Theodoret at the end of the synodal letter is better 83).

The apparently contradictory data of Athanasius and of the letter of Ossius and
 Protogenes to Pope Julius can be reconciled with the Ballerini thus: the confession
 proposed by Ossius and Protogenes did not receive the official approval of the
 57975 council; nevertheless, the confession and the letter about it to Pope Tullius were
 later included in the collection of acts of this synod; soon both documents were
 wrongly regarded as official synodal documents; the Council of Chalcedon must also
 have made this mistake. Is it not surprising then that Athanasius speaks of the
 rashness of some bishops? The wise, high-minded and generally respected Ossius and
 57980 his co-president Protogenes can hardly have been considered rash by Athanasius.

Perhaps there were some bishops who more or less rashly insisted on the promulgation of a formula of faith and this trend was the reason for Ossius and Protogenes to make an attempt in that direction. In that case the qualification of rashness does not apply to Ossius and Protogenes and on the contrary one sees an example of their policy and tact not to suppress this trend without further ado on the one hand and not to urge their proposed formula as chairmen against the majority on the other hand; their tact knew how to guide the trends into the right channel and thus to settle the issue without discord. According to the introduction to the Easter letters of St. Athanasius, the Council of Sardica also dealt with the Easter question, which had not yet been completely resolved by the Council of Nicea. For a period of fifty years, the same day for celebrating Easter was established at Sardica for the Roman and Alexandrian Churches 84); only a *modus vivendi*, therefore, not a solution on principle. In his Eastern Letter of the year 346, St. Athanasius, with reference to this council, establishes the Easter festival for the Egyptian Church not on the 27th Phamenoth, but 8 days later on the 4th Pharmuthi 85). After the threefold task had been fulfilled by the synod, the Fathers were still occupied with church discipline and issued a series of canons. Of these canons, there is a double, official version, a Latin one for the West and a Greek one for the East. In the history of the Church, this is the first fact of an official bilingual document. From this date on, the division between East and West took place more and more, also in the area of language.

By the bilingualism of Sardica the distance between East and West was not only officially announced or established, but even more so, as it were, sanctioned. It was clear that from now on one had to take into account a dual Christianity, of which the two parts had different interests, different concerns and also different languages 86). A symbolization of the distance between the two parts of the Church can be seen in the fact that the Orthodox met in the church at Sardica, while the Eusebians held their meetings in the Palatium and later left Sardica for Philippopolis; in the sources both parties are indicated respectively as Westerners and Easterners, although there were several Eastern bishops among the Orthodox. Socrates already describes the situation very aptly in the following words: "The West was now torn away from the East and there was a dividing line [ὄρος] between their mutual intercourse, namely the mountain [ὄρος] Tisoukis 87), which lies between Illyria and Thrace; in the immediate vicinity of this mountain there was a common mutual intercourse, although there was a difference of faith; between the more extensive areas, however, there was no mutual intercourse 88). Such a confused state of affairs then prevailed in the Churches" 89).

The Greek text of the canons has been handed down by John of Constantinople (fifth century) and by various manuscripts, the original Latin text in the three most famous Western canon collections, the *Prisca*, that of Dionysius Exiguus and that of Isidore of Seville 90). The following words introduce the canons: "The Holy Synod of Sardica, assembled from the various eparchies, has established the following" 91). Ossius of Cordova first makes a proposal and asks whether it pleases everyone, to which he replies "all the bishops" answer: "it pleases all" 92). This first canon is apparently directed against the Eusebians, to whom Pope Julius had already reproached that their bishops changed diocese so often out of desire for rich bishoprics; this practice had already been forbidden by the fifteenth canon of Nicea. The second canon, also directed against the Eusebians, is, like the first, a proposal by Ossius and formulated in the same way. The same applies to the third, fourth and fifth canons, which together form a unity and establish the principle of the appeal to Rome 93): the fourth canon, however, is a supplementary proposal by Bishop Gaudentius of Naissus in Dacia to the proposal of Ossius in the third canon. From the sixth to the thirteenth 94) each canon also contains a proposal by Ossius, which is approved by all. According to the Greek version, Ossius expresses his concern in the fourteenth canon about a priest or a deacon who would be the subject of a rather impetuous bishop and would be excluded from the community by him; all the Fathers of Sardica together then indicate how such a case should be solved. According to the Latin version, where it is the seventeenth canon, Ossius himself indicates the line of conduct to be followed. In deviation from the still existing Greek text, in the Latin version a proposal by Bishop Januarius of Beneventum in Campania follows as the eighteenth canon; all accept this proposal 95). In the fifteenth canon (Greek) one sees the same as in canons 6-13. The sixteenth canon offers a case brought up by Aëtius of Thessalonica in connection with the eleventh canon, for which special case Ossius then gives the application of the eleventh canon in the name of all. In the seventeenth canon Ossius takes over a proposal from Olympius of Aenus in Thrace and

this is also accepted by all. In the Latin version, where this is the twenty-first and last canon, the signatures follow. The eighteenth and nineteenth canons contain a proposal from Bishop Gaudentius, which is taken over and more sharply defined by
58050 Ossius and accepted by all; since they relate exclusively to the Church of Thessalonica, it is not surprising that these canons are absent from the Latin version. Again, the twentieth and twenty-first canons 96) form a unity, in which also a proposal from Gaudentius is approved by all. In the Latin version, a decree from
58055 Ossius now follows as the twelfth canon; the absence of this in the Greek text is explained by the fact that this proposal does not have the express approval of the synod and especially because this canon is of course of a very temporary nature, because here the procedure is prescribed for making the decisions of Sardica known; after publication the regulation automatically lapses. This council left behind several synodal letters. The most important is that to the bishops of the entire
58060 Church 97). Since Athanasius preserved this letter in Greek and Hilarius includes a Latin text in his collection of documents from Sardica, the conclusion seems justified that Sardica itself, as well as its canons, also made a double redaction of this general synodal letter; the number of Western bishops present in Sardica was approximately equal to the number of Eastern bishops. The address reads in Greek
58065 redaction: "The holy synod, by the grace of God assembled in Sardica, to the bishops and the Catholic Church everywhere in the world, beloved brethren, salvation in the Lord" 98). A second synodal letter is addressed to the Church that had suffered most from the Eusebian intrigues, the Church of Alexandria; the address of which is in the same terms as that of the previous letter 99). The bishops of Egypt and Libya
58070 received a similar letter); the Christians of Mareotis also honored the Fathers with a letter). At the request of the other bishops, who had been recognized as innocent by this council, the Fathers also sent letters to their Churches with the order to restore the previously expelled bishops to their dignity 102). Pope Julius was also allowed to receive a letter, of which only a Latin text exists; perhaps it was
58075 written by the council only in Latin 103). An official address is missing in the extant text. In all these official documents the course of the council is outlined and the decisions are communicated; in the letter to the Pope special attention is requested for the heretics Ursacius and Valens, who belong to the West. The Pope is requested to accept the judgment pronounced by the council with regard to these two
58080 "young men". Ursacius and Valens do not hesitate to spread their heresy in Italy; Valens himself had left his episcopal see to seize that of Aquileia, on which occasion riots had taken place; Bishop Viator, who had been unable to flee, had been so trampled underfoot that he died three days later. Finally, the Fathers addressed the Pope in writing to inform the bishops of Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy of
58085 everything. In this letter the Pope was addressed as "beatissime pater" and "eximia gravitas tua." According to this correspondence, the council also sent a petition to Emperor Constantius; in it the Fathers implored him to put an end to the intrigues and acts of violence of certain bishops and to forbid civil magistrates to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs.
58090 Athanasius personally sent a letter to the priests and deacons of Mareotis, which after a preambulum contains an almost complete copy of the synodal letter to the Church of Alexandria and finally signed by Athanasius as well as by a large number of bishops present in Sardica 105); Athanasius also wrote a letter to the priests and deacons of the Church of Alexandria 106).
58095 Pope Julius' joy over the results of Sardica was great. The Pope expressed this in a letter to the Church of Alexandria, which Athanasius included in his collection of documents 107). In this letter the Alexandrian Church is congratulated on the recovery of Athanasius, on its steadfastness in the faith, on the fact that Athanasius, despite his long absence, has not forgotten his episcopal church. After a
58100 eulogy of Athanasius 108), the Pope says that Athanasius is now returning more gloriously than he left. They must therefore receive their bishop with joy as a true Athanasius (immortal) 109); in the spirit of it the Pope sees all the demonstration of joy in honour of Athanasius' return. The joy also falls largely on the Pope, since he has come to know such an illustrious man. This letter is concluded with a prayer.
58105 Emperor Constantius had also already shown his good disposition towards Athanasius, but not before he had received a more or less threatening letter from his brother, Emperor Constans, with whom Athanasius and Paul of Constantinopel had sought refuge 110). In a threefold letter to Athanasius the emperor invited the bishop to come to an audience with him; to his brother, the emperor Constans, he had already sent a
58110 letter requesting Athanasius to grant him leave to return to Alexandria. 111) From Sardica a circular letter had also been sent by the Eusebians to all the bishops and other ecclesiastical ministers and faithful of the whole Church, but was addressed in

particular to Gregory of Alexandria, the schismatic bishop Donatus of Carthage, Maximus of Salonae, the present Spalato on the Adriatic, and to some other bishops. This letter was handed down in Latin translation by Hilarius 112). The address reads as follows: "To Bishop Gregory of Alexandria, to the Bishop of Nicomedia, the Bishop of Carthage, the Bishop of Campania, the Bishop of Neapolis in Campania, to the clergy of Rimini, to the Bishop of Campania, the Bishop of Salonae in Dalmatia, Amphion, Donatus, Desiderius, Fortunatus, Euthicius, Maximus, Sinferons, and to all our fellow bishops throughout the world, to the priests and deacons, and to all who are in the holy catholic Church here in the world, the bishops who assembled in the city of Sardica to hold a council from the different provinces of the East, namely, from the province of Thebais, and the province of Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, [Galatia], Isauria, Cappadocia, Galatia, Pontus, Bithynia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, Caria, Phrygia, Pisidia and the islands of the Cyclades, of Lydia, Asia, Europe, the Hellespont, Thrace, Emimontus, eternal salvation in the Lord." 113) The Eusebians begin with the following words: "We continually ask in our prayer, dearly beloved brethren, first of all that the holy catholic Church of the Lord, free from all discord and schism, may everywhere preserve the unity of spirit and the bond of charity in the orthodox faith. It is also fitting that all who call upon the Lord, and especially we, the bishops, who are at the head of the holy Churches, preserve, embrace and maintain an undefiled life. Secondly, we pray that the ecclesiastical ordinance and the sacred tradition of the Fathers and their decrees may remain in force and unshaken for ever, and that new sects or pernicious traditions, especially in the appointment or deposition of bishops, may never trouble us, but on the contrary the evangelical and sacred precepts and what was prescribed by the holy and most blessed Apostles and by our forefathers and has been observed and is observed by ourselves to this day, may remain in force 114). Then they discuss the question of Marcellus of Ancyra, "that accursed heretical plague", condemned at the Council of Constantinopel in 336, but received into communion with Sardica, even by Protogenes of Sardica, who had signed the decree of condemnation of Constantinopel. The Pope is also accused of having received Marcellus and acquitted him of heresy. The Eusebians forbid anyone to have intercourse with him or his followers 115). Then follows a long series of accusations against Athanasius 116), after which Paul of Constantinopel, Marcellus of Ancyra, Asclepas of Gaza, Lucius of Adrianople and again Athanasius are accused of the worst crimes, as well as of intrigues with the Western bishops, so that they even "planned to introduce a new law by having the Eastern bishops judged by the Western bishops" 117). Next the Eusebians give their partial and dishonest representation of the proceedings at Sardica 118). With the fine words: "A great multitude of all sorts of evildoers and rabble, coming from Constantinopel and Alexandria, gathered at Sardica," a defamation of the Fathers of Sardica is introduced. 119) After the Eusebians have declared that they must therefore withdraw from Sardica and that the schism is entirely due to the Western bishops, they forbid communication with Ossius, Protogenes, Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, Paulus, and also Pope Julius; After this they even venture to urge to preserve unity and peace in the Church and to elect only holy bishops, that is, men pure in faith and with a holy life 120). After having again accused the Western bishops and appealed to the inviolability of synodal decisions, they announce that the entire council has condemned, according to ancient law, Pope Julius, Ossius, Protogenes, Gaudentius (of Nice) and Maximus of Trier, because of their communion with Athanasius, Marcellus, Paul of Constantinopel and their followers; in what that communion consists is further elaborated for each separately 121). The letter ends with a confession of faith, which is equal to the fourth formula of Antioch, except for a small addition; this confession is followed by some anathematisms 122). A long series of signatures, in all seventy-three, concludes this document 123). The Eusebians also addressed this letter especially to Donatus of Carthage, probably in order to win over the Donatists, as they had previously won over the Meletian party in Egypt. From various reports in St. Augustine it appears that the Eusebians succeeded in their intention to pass off their illegal meeting in the Church of Carthage as the true Council of Sardica, so that Augustine, unaware of the true facts, could write to the Donatists that the Council of Sardica was a council of Arians 124).

A survey of the terminology shows that Theodoret, in the few words which he himself devotes to this council, gives it no higher title than "synod". The same is the case with Sozomenus. When Socrates speaks about the convocation, he says twice that it concerns "ecumenical synod", otherwise it is at most "synod". In addition to the many texts in which Athanasius Sardica simply calls "synod", there are two texts in him in

which mention is made of the "great synod at Sardica 125) and thirteen texts in which the expression the "holy" synod occurs 126), of which once in direct connection with Nicea, which is there locally called "the synod at Nicea" 127). In the address of its synodal letters and in its promulgation bull of the canons, one sees the council itself repeatedly calling itself "the Holy Synod, "by the grace of God" gathered at Sardica; also in the letters themselves the council always speaks of "the holy" synod, or "the synod of all the holy bishops" 128), or "the holy and great synod" 129). The council explicitly says in its synodal letter to the entire Church that it "unanimously" deposed the intruder Gregory as bishop of Alexandria 130); thus Athanasius writes that "the entire holy synod" deposed the various bishops 131); in the same spirit Pope Julius writes that Athanasius has been declared innocent by the judgment of the entire synod 132). No mention is ever made of differing opinions among the Fathers, except with regard to whether or not to issue a formula of faith, and this question too has apparently been resolved to everyone's satisfaction. Here too one naturally finds the usual terminology of calling together 133), coming together 134), holding a synod 135), gathering 136) and determining, establishing, defining 137). In the canons one finds the terms beplezier 138), be of opinion 139), determine 140), befit 141). The verbs occur in the first person plural 142) or in the second person plural 143). The Fathers are addressed in the canons as; "if it pleases you, beloved brothers" 144), "Your sagacity must judge" 145), "Let your holiness establish" 146); in the twentieth canon it reads very solemnly: "That which is wholesome and fitting and in accordance with the honor of us priests, and according to the pleasure of God and man, will preserve the firm force; to this proposal all respond; "this opinion suits and pleases us" 147). The tenth canon points out that all scrupulousness and care must be used 148) and all respond that the decision is definitive and valid for all time 149). The bishops declare in the eleventh canon that they take this decision because it is already very appropriate 150) In the fifteenth canon the bishops respond that this too is definite 151). They were therefore convinced of the definitive force of their decisions. The indissolubility is also the view which the Eusebians tried to gain acceptance with regard to the decisions taken at their various synods against Athanasius and other accused; for by appealing to this they denied Sardica the right to judge these persons again. When one has to determine the value of this council, one will immediately feel compelled to say that the Council of Sardica has all the airs of a General Council. The decision to hold a general synod was made by various bishops in the East and West, among whom the Pope each. The emperors of both empires convened the council with the intention that it would be a synod of the East and West of the entire Church. And bishops from all directions came to Sardica even if one only takes into account the orthodox group one still sees the various parts of the Church represented with the exception of Britain 152). Papal participation in the deliberations was guaranteed by the presence of two priests and one deacon, a larger number of presence then at the Council of Nicea. The issues that Sardica had to resolve were fully worthy of a General Council; after all, it was not just about personal issues, but about "the restoration of the true faith" itself, a new attempt at unity and peace in Church and State, which had been hoped for in vain as a result of Nicea. Moreover, as at Nicea, the Easter question was on the agenda. Church discipline also had full interest, as is evident from the series of canons. The required papal ratification was also present, since the decisions were taken unanimously and thus also the papal representatives approved those decisions; their names therefore appear on the signature lists 153). However, nothing is known about papal ratification, consisting of a special act by Pope Julius after the end of the council, with respect to Sardica, just as little as with Nicea. From the letter which the council sent to Pope Julius, it appears that the Fathers did not consider such a ratification necessary; it was not their intention by means of this letter to request the Pope to ratify the decisions taken, but to officially inform the Pope of these decisions, which were valid and legally valid in themselves, and at the same time to request him to inform the neighbouring Churches with which persons they were to maintain communion according to the synodal decision and with which persons they were not 154). That the Pope was in complete agreement with Sardica may be concluded indirectly from the letter of Julius to the Church of Alexandria, in which he expresses his joy at the rehabilitation of Athanasius. The council also sent a circular to all the Churches to make the decisions known, and according to the testimonies of Athanasius, subscriptions flowed in from all sides; one gets the impression that the outcome of Sardica was a relief to all orthodox believers in the entire Church; they had all desired such a solution. The emperors were also informed by letter; the Western emperor Constans immediately expressed his joy; the more Eusebian-minded Eastern

emperor Constantius, also under pressure from his imperial brother, felt compelled to accept the decision of Sardica concerning Athanasius. All the usual requisites for a General Council are apparently present in Sardica. That the Fathers of Sardica themselves were convinced to put together a more than ordinary council, more than just a council of the Western Church, is already evident from the address of their letter to the Alexandrian Church: "The holy synod by the grace of God gathered together in Sardinia, from Rome, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Campania, Calabria, Apulia, Africa, Sardinia, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia, Noricum, Siscia, Dardania, the other Dacia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Aachâia, Epirus, Thrace and Rhodope, Palestine, Arabia, Crete and Egypt, to the priests and deacons and to the whole holy Church of God in Alexandria, to the beloved brethren salvation in the Lord" 155). Many people's attention has naturally been drawn to the question of whether this council belongs to the ecumenical one, especially since this council in its third, fourth and fifth canons establishes a right of appeal to Rome and thus deals with and contains papal jurisdiction and the views on it in the fourth century 156). Since this council is indicated in the sources as a General Council by design, it is significant that no source calls it an "ecumenical" council; it may be called a "great" council, a "holy" one, or both together, every reporter and even the council itself are careful not to speak of "ecumenical". Sulpicius Severus relates that the emperor "convenes bishops from all over the world at Sardica" 157). And Socrates reports that the followers of Paul of Constantinopel and Athanasius wanted to see an end to the question by a "general synod" and that therefore a "general" synod is called 158). But in both cases apparently nothing more is said than that the design was that of a "general". Emperor Justinian mentions in his *Confessio rectae fidei* that various doctrines were proclaimed which were contrary to the symbolum of Nicea; these persons were condemned, either during their life or after their death, by Pope Damasus and by "the synod of Sardica". This is how it is in the Greek text according to the edition of Migne. In the council edition of Hardouin, however, it says "the ecumenical synod of Sardica", which can also be read in the Latin translation, both by Migne and Hardouin, where the words occur: "ab universali Sardicensi synodo". Perhaps all this came about under the influence of the environment, because in this writing there is talk several times of General Councils and especially because just before that the Council of Nicea is mentioned and immediately afterwards that of Chalcedon, both of which, however, in the Greek and Latin text, both in Migne and Hardouin, are simply called "the holy synod" 159). It is certainly not the intention of Emperor Justinian to regard Sardica as a General Council and to put it on the same level as Nicea, Constantinopel 381, Ephesus and Chalcedon, because elsewhere in this same writing he mentions these four councils in succession, apparently in order to enumerate the "general" ones that had taken place up to that time and were regarded as such 160), which is further confirmed by two other passages from two other writings of Justinian on the same subject 161). Moreover, if there are no other testimonies from which it would appear that Sardica was regarded as general, then an emperor is not the competent person to decide on the generality. The defenders of the generality of Sardica have also appealed to the second canon of the Trullan synod in 680-681, in which the Fathers ratified the canons of Sardica. It is true that the ratification of the Sardicean canons comes immediately after that of the canons of Constantinopel 381, of Ephesus and of Chalcedon, but in the same canon are also ratified those of Nicea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch in Syria, Laodicea in Phrygia; after that of Sardica follows the ratification of the canons of Carthage, Constantinopel, of Bishop Dionysius, Bishop Peter and a whole series of bishops 162). This Trullan canon cannot therefore be cited as a witness for the view of the generality of Sardica; then Ancyra, Neocaesarea and all the other synods mentioned would also have been conceived as general, which no one will accept or assert; moreover, the canons of individual bishops then a very strange phenomenon in the series. People have also appealed to a statement by Pope Nicholas I (858-867). He writes to Photius: "That you now say that you have or accept neither the council of Sardica nor the decretals of the holy Popes, we find it difficult to believe: especially since the council of Sardica, which was held in your territories, is also accepted by the entire Church; how could it then happen that the holy Church of Constantinopel would have rejected this council and would not have adhered to it properly?" 163) In this letter the Pope contests the view of Photius, who, by appealing to examples such as St. Ambrose, Nectarius and Tarasius, wanted to prove that he had rightly become a bishop from a layman. This is not in accordance with the law, but on the contrary contrary to ecclesiastical and papal regulations, according to the Pope. Also in conflict with the ordinances of Sardica. You say that the Constantinopolitan Church

does not know or accept them. How is that possible? The entire Church knows the legal validity of the provisions of Sardica and therefore accepts them as decisions with legal force. The Pope therefore appeals to nothing more or less than the general recognition of the legal validity of the canons or decisions of Sardica. But it does not follow from this that the Pope or his contemporaries accepted this council as "general". Also the councils such as Ancyra, Neocaesarea and so many others were and are generally accepted, in other words generally recognized as real councils with legally valid decisions, while there is no mention at all of the concept of "general" councils. At the time of St. Augustine, one certainly did not think of a recognition of ecumenicity. For then Augustine could not have been so ignorant of the true character of Sardica and could not simply have called this council a "synod of Arians".

Nowhere is there an ecclesiastical testimony to be found in favor of ecumenicity; on the contrary, when a list is given of general councils, Sardica is always missing. Despite its airs of generality, this council was never accepted by the Church as ecumenical 164). At first glance this may seem surprising, but on closer inspection it is understandable. The council was intended as a meeting of the joint episcopate from East and West, of followers of Nicea, of moderates and of opponents of the Nicene *ὁποῴαιος*; in order to bring both parts of the Church together again and to restore unity between all. The various parties therefore received a summons and arrived in Sardica; but immediately, from the very beginning, a large group, almost half the total number, separated under the leadership of Eusebius. In very general terms one may say that in Sardica from the very beginning the East, that is to say those who had at least a shudder for the *ὁποῴσιος*; and to whom persons like Athanasius and Marcellus were suspect, stood opposed to the West or those who had a predilection for the *ὁποῴσιος* and were convinced of the orthodoxy and innocence of Athanasius and Marcellus. As a result, Sardica was no longer a general council, but immediately a Western council, despite the fact that several Eastern bishops also fall under the title of "Westerners". According to the view of that time and in accordance with the actual situation, one had to consider the council of Sardica not as a general council, but only as a Western one, in which the only tendency was indeed the specifically Western tendency. From the beginning, Sardica also meant a failure, because due to the separation of one group, the goal: to restore unity between both areas, was and remained unattainable. No wonder, therefore, that contemporaries never saw an ecumenical synod in Sardica and that the very first sources already speak of the council of the Westerners and the separate meetings of the Easterners. Already at that time, that is, in the first half of the 4th century, people were convinced that the characteristics of a General Council included: the representation of the entire Church, of East and West, and that without this representation no council could be called "general". According to the testimony of Athanasius 165), the Council of Sardica was convinced that the creed of Nicea was sufficient and even perfect and therefore left nothing to be desired. New formulas of faith were therefore unnecessary and harmful to the perfect creed of Nicea.

CONCLUSION

At the end of this study it is possible and desirable to offer a summary of the separate conclusions, which are written down on the basis of the historical data at the end of each chapter. In connection with the Introduction to this work, some dogmatic reflections are added to the historical conclusions.

Before the year 400 there was no council that was so much in the center of attention among proponents and opponents as the Council of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, assembled in Nicea in 325. The dogmatic controversies in the 4th century concentrated almost exclusively on the Nicene Council with its confession of faith. Initially, the heretical direction of the Eusebians did not dare to open an action against the Nicene confession. Their first effort was aimed at rendering the great proponents and defenders of Nicea harmless by discrediting them; the Eusebians deliberately refrained from accusations of a dogmatic nature. The year 341 brought a change in the tactics of the Eusebians. From this time onwards the question of faith itself came more to the fore. New creeds with all sorts of nuances followed each other in quick succession; it was intended that by their introduction they would deprive the Nicene Creed with the hated *ὁποῴσιος*; of its prestige; the Nicene Creed had to fade into the background or better yet disappear. This reaction against the Nicene Creed also meant a sideways reaction, however, because an open and direct rejection of the Nicene Creed would immediately have branded the Eusebians as heretics and would have excluded them from the Church by the fact itself. Their

tactics, however, even though they were sideways, were fully understood by the followers of Nicea and therefore fiercely opposed. During the 4th century, one sees everything that was orthodox rallying in explicit terms to Nicea, everything that was against the *óποουοιόκ*; making attempts in all sorts of ways to undermine Nicea. Nicea was considered the most exalted council, standing on the highest step of the hierarchical gradation, as the council that put all others in the shade, as the council "in the true sense of the word".

The reason for this special esteem is already expressed in the term that was used for this council: Nicea and Nicea alone is an *αόνο&οq oiKoupeviKr]*, a catholic or general synod, a world synod. Nicea is the only council that receives the full meaning of this terminology in the 4th century. Repeatedly between 325 and 400 the desire for a world synod arose, several serious attempts to bring about a world synod were made, the plans were carried out several times, but each time they failed and only Nicea was considered ecumenical. Even the Council of Sardica in 343-344, which apparently possessed all the requirements of a General Council, did not receive the term "ecumenical", nor did Rimini-Seleucia in 359. In order to qualify for the title of General Council, another requirement was that the council indeed be a world synod. The Council Fathers really had to represent the whole Church, East and West and all parts of the Church. But even the Christians of the fourth century did not make the impossible demand that numerically all the bishops of the whole Church were present; nor did they rack their brains with the question of how large the number had to be exactly or in percentage terms in order to be able to consider a council as general; it was sufficient if the composition of the bishops present was of such a nature that one could say: the assembled bishops represent the whole Church teaching authority, because they represent the whole Church and all parts of the Church. Because Nicea fulfilled these requirements, it was eligible for the dignity of General Council and received the name of world synod. The absence of this requirement at the Council of Arles in 314, in which the East had no part, is the reason why this council was not considered general, however important it was. The Council of Sardica 343-344 was divided from the beginning into two large parties, of which one party, the Eusebians, separated itself and met separately; as a result, this council was actually no more than a Western council and the goal: restoration of unity, became unattainable from the start. Constantinople 381 was a purely Eastern council and was intended and convened as such. Because the Eastern episcopate actually kept aloof, the Roman council of 382 was an explicitly Western council. And although the number of Westerners at the Council of Nicea, certainly in proportion to the number of Easterners, was very small, the Westerners present were the representatives of the entire Western Church and of all parts of the Western Church: North Africa, Calabria, Northern Italy, Rome, Gaul and Spain, as well as the more Eastern parts of the Western Church such as Moesia and Dacia. Despite their small number, the Western bishops evidently had a strong influence, given the insertion of the term *óποουαίόκ*; in the symbolum and the content of various canons; they therefore really gave evidence of their presence. Only from Britain no representative is known; this province was moreover often absent from the great councils of the fourth century, as example also on that of Sardica; the absence of one province, which moreover lay more on the periphery of the inhabited world and did not yet possess such great influence, was apparently no obstacle to the view that the entire Church teaching authority was represented at the Council of Nicea.

The character of universality through representation of the entire Catholic episcopate seemed, in our opinion rightly, to be considered saved, when the entire East and the entire West each met separately and after determining the position each sent an embassy, which both embassies, having come together in one place, had to act as the spokesmen of both episcopates in order to come to a definitive agreement after joint consultation. An intention, however, which failed for various reasons at Rimini-Seleucia.

There must be a sufficient or legitimate reason for holding a synod. Already from ancient times the seriousness and importance of the issues made bishops meet to consult together. A judgment of several bishops, after all, will be more mature and correct and therefore carry more weight. The more far-reaching the questions were, the more desirable it was to hold a more influential or larger synod. And the further, geographically speaking, an issue extended, the larger area naturally the synod had to cover, as far as the assembled bishops were concerned. In 381 and 382, did one not hear Ambrose and the Eastern episcopate assert that exclusively Western affairs should be resolved by a Western council and exclusively Eastern affairs by an Eastern council? The question, however, which was on the programme for the Council of Nicea, certainly justified a world meeting. The heresy of Arius was dangerous and

naturally vital enough to stir up the entire Church, as the facts have shown. Moreover, it undermined the very foundations of the Christian faith. True faith and peace and order in Church and State were at stake. At the same time, this meeting of bishops could serve as the glorious manifestation of the unity of the Holy Church, which, despite the persecutions, had formed itself into a world institution and now, since the reign of Constantine the Great, promised to enter into a flourishing future. The Fathers of the fourth century continually emphasized the unanimity with which decisions were made. However, unanimity should not be taken in an absolute sense. For example, two Egyptian bishops continued to refuse to sign the formula of Nicea; after the other Fathers had signed the formula, they excluded both Egyptians from the ecclesiastical community. From the fact that Pope Liberius wrote to the Easterners after the Roman synod of the year 353 that there was no reason to depart from Athanasius, since the majority of the bishops present at the council had declared Athanasius innocent, we may perhaps conclude that according to the view of the 4th century the majority was sufficient to make a legally valid decision. The 4th century did not consider it necessary that unanimity was present from the very beginning. At the Council of Nicea, agreement on the Easter question was only reached after exchange of ideas and even opposition, and the formulation of the creed was also preceded by lengthy deliberations, much conflict and careful investigation. However, if the final agreement is to have any value, it is necessary that it be reached freely and without coercion. This is also one of the reasons why Rimini-Seleucia 359 was never considered ecumenical; the final signatures were involuntary and forced, so that they did not reflect the inner view of the signatories. The agreement must therefore be the reflection of the inner mood, of the inner conception, as can be read from the synodal letter of the Roman synod of 368 to the Eastern bishops and to those of Illyria. The inner conception of the Fathers of Rimini-Seleucia was to be found in their initial refusal to sign; when they had finally freed themselves from pressure and coercion, they, one after the other, revoked their signature.

As for the question of the Pope's cooperation, this cannot be determined in a single word. In fact, the Pope's cooperation at the Council of Nicea consisted in his presence through two representatives, in the participation in the deliberations by these representatives, and in the ratification of the creed and the canons by their signature. In reality, therefore, the bishops present formed the entire ecclesiastical teaching authority, because Rome also participated with the other parts of the Church. By this presence of the papal legates the influence on and participation in the deliberations of the Roman Church was guaranteed, just as by the signing of the creed and canons the ratification of the Roman Church was confirmed. Whether the 4th century considered this cooperation, and in particular this ratification, as requirements, is not so clear. From the history of facts one can establish with certainty that the 4th century did not consider papal ratification by a separate act after the end of the council to be necessary in order to accept the legal validity of the decisions and to consider the council as general. If one then examines the many texts in which the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers speak about Nicea, it is immediately noticeable that no attention is paid to papal cooperation, nor to papal ratification, which is included in the votum of the papal legates and in their signing of the acts; even St. Athanasius, the ardent defender of Nicea, who possessed an almost fully developed theory about the General Council, did not mention this cooperation in his numerous writings. However, it is not justified to conclude from this that this cooperation was not required according to the then prevailing view. There are also too many testimonies from this century, from which a recognition of the Primacy of Rome is evident, for such a conclusion to remain unpunished. Only a positive statement by one or other or by more Fathers about the non-necessity of this cooperation would legitimize the conclusion. Such a statement is not now available.

Moreover, the evidence to the contrary, especially for the necessity of papal cooperation or, more correctly, ratification, is not entirely lacking in the fourth century. The lack of papal approval was the first complaint that the Roman synod of 368 clearly brought forward against Rimini in its synodal letters; no one should be misled by the large number of bishops assembled in Rimini, because the Pope had not given his approval, according to the synodal letter to the Illyrians. In other words: all the bishops in the world without the Pope are not able to form a General Council and cannot make generally binding and always valid decisions. The Roman synod in 368 was therefore apparently of the opinion that papal approval or ratification was necessary. If one projects this opinion a decade ago and applies it to the synod of Milan 355, to which all the bishops of the world were invited, in which many Western

and also some Eastern bishops participated as well as a papal embassy, one can put forward as another reason why this synod was never recognized as general, the fact that both papal embassies refused to sign and Pope Liberius even openly disapproved of the synod in the same year. On this basis one might conclude that the 4th century considered the necessity of papal cooperation, in particular papal ratification, as a requirement.

From the otherwise general silence, however, one can, we think, conclude that the 4th century was not deeply imbued with the necessity of such cooperation or at least gave its first and even exclusive attention to the representation by the entire Church. The specific term, introduced by the 4th century, for a Council like Nicea, namely the *ouoboc; oiKoupeVikg*, therefore has a pronounced geographical character.

Certainly, in the 4th century the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome was recognized. This did not, however, prevent the views on the Primacy and the practical implementation of those views from undergoing a whole development in the course of the centuries before they could catch, which is present today. Consider, for example, the view concerning the infallibility of the Pope. Not all rights and duties, not all consequences, which flow from the Primacy, could have been clearly and distinctly in the minds of the Fathers of the fourth century, if they were in their minds at all and did not previously remain in the subconscious. Thus, it seems to us, the question of the extent to which papal cooperation in a General Council was necessary, did not yet belong to the questions which the Fathers of the fourth century explicitly posed to themselves. And to that extent the doctrine concerning the General Council still had to undergo a development, just as the doctrine concerning the Primacy, taken in general, would still show a history of development. Precisely because the doctrine concerning papal cooperation in a General Council is a part of the doctrine concerning the Primacy, taken in general, the development of the one will keep pace with the development of the other and they will be able to influence each other mutually. To establish this development in its components, through the centuries, is of course beyond the scope of this work and will be the task of various historians. In any case, it is clear from this that one must be extremely careful about simply projecting modern dogmatic views back into the ancient past, in this case to want to see the modern views on the Pope's cooperation with the General Council come true in the 4th century. And one will certainly be embarking on dangerous paths, historically considered, if one wants to see the views that are currently valid regarding that papal cooperation, which are the fruit of a development that has lasted for centuries, explicitly present in the Fathers, that is to say the theologians, of Antiquity. That the 4th century was not yet fully aware of all the rights that flowed from the Primacy, and that those rights were more implicitly than explicitly included in the general idea of Primacy, which was and was explicitly present, is clearly illustrated by the questions of the convocation and the chairmanship. The convocation, including that of the General Council, was done by the emperor and by him alone, who regarded this as a matter which rightfully belonged to him as *basileus* and on which he could decide independently, without the cooperation, approval or order of a second, namely the Bishop of Rome, being required. The contemporaries, including the Council Fathers and the Popes, also granted the emperor the right to convene councils, in particular a General Council. It was also the emperor who dissolved the council and allowed the Fathers to return home. The Fathers of Rimini had waited in vain for this imperial permission for a long time, and this was also one of the means by which Emperor Constantius achieved his goal: the signing. The right to convene a General Council, however, is a right that naturally belongs only to the Pope as Head of the Church and that may be considered an inalienable right. Seen in this light, it is strange that in the fourth century the right of convocation was simply attributed to the emperor. Here a difficulty presents itself that cannot be solved by simply distinguishing between the right and whether or not it was used. For the case of the fourth century is not only such that the Pope did not use this right of convocation and left the convocation to the emperor, but it goes even further: the emperor was attributed the right of convocation and no thought or talk was given about the exclusive right of the Pope. In order to explain this fact, we think that an appeal can and must be made here too to the development in knowledge about the Primacy and the rights resulting from it²). It is also not surprising that in the fourth century no thought or talk was given about the Pope's right of convocation. In practice, only the empress was able to bring about a General Council, as far as the material side of it was concerned. The emperor came to the rescue, called the bishops together and made it possible for them to travel there and back and to stay there. The emperor could do it, the emperor did it. In such circumstances the opinion could easily take hold: the convocation is something that

the emperor must do, the convocation must come from the emperor, for the convocation we must go to the emperor. If the Fathers of the fourth century thought that the basileus had the right to convene, this, we think, means no more than that they thought that the convocation had to be done by the emperor. The question of law in the strict sense as well as the question whether the Pope as Head of the Church does not have the exclusive right to convene, are questions that were not yet asked at that time and did not yet occur to the Fathers of the fourth century. An answer to these questions should not really be sought in the fourth century. If the convocation was not done by the Pope, the presidency at the council was not in the hands of the Pope or the papal legates; in this century the Roman legates did not yet go to the councils to preside there. Here, therefore, an analogous picture presents itself as with the convocation. The question was not yet raised as to who in the strict sense of the word had the right to the presidency, and the Pope or the papal legates did not yet lay claim to the leadership; the leadership was simply left to the person who, because of his personal qualities or because of external circumstances, was the most suitable person for it.

That the Fathers precisely the representation of the entire Church and paid little, or better still, no attention to the papal cooperation in the Council, can be explained, apart from by appealing to the development of knowledge concerning the Primacy, also by the course of action which the heretics followed and against which the Fathers had to act. In order to undermine Nicea, the heretics convened one synod after another and in various ways they ensured that several of these synods were impressive in number. In contrast to this, the Fathers showed that these countersynods could not at all outweigh the Council of Nicea, since Nicea was a council at which the entire Church was represented, while the countersynods of the heretics, despite their outward impressiveness, were only particular synods. The whole is always more than a part or a few parts. The position which was taken by the heretics and against which the Fathers had to fight is also in another way a ground for explaining the fact that the Fathers paid no attention to the papal cooperation at the Council of Nicea. One of the principal arguments, after all, which the heretics tirelessly brought forward against the *ópooucnoç*; was the remark that this term did not appear in Holy Scripture. The heretics therefore referred the fight to the terrain of tradition. And against this the Fathers saw themselves obliged always to bring forward as an important argument in favor of the *ópoouoioc*; that this term was in agreement with the tradition which went back through the Fathers and the Apostles to Christ Himself and could be found in the prophetic, evangelical and apostolic books or in Holy Scripture. Therefore the *fides Nicaena* was identical with the *fides catholica* or *ecclesiastica* and this confession found the approval of the entire Church. This entire assent was then for the Fathers a new proof of the truth or infallibility of the Nicene faith. Thus in their argument tradition and especially Holy Scripture came first. The Nicene Creed or, more generally speaking, the dogmatic determinations of a General Council possessed, according to the Fathers of the fourth century, perpetual or infallible force. In their opposition to the heretical currents the Fathers came rather to exaggerate than to diminish the authority of the Nicene formula, since they repeatedly argued that this confession was not only sufficient, but also perfect and conclusive, so that besides the heresy of Arius, which it was about in the year 325, it also refuted all heresies. As to the cause of the authority: mention is made of the assistance of the Holy Ghost, for example by the Fathers of Rimini in their synodal letter to the emperor, sent before their apostasy; or the presence of Christ Himself at the Council is the guarantee of infallibility, as St. Ambrose teaches. Therefore, the opinion of the entire Catholic episcopate, assembled at the Council, is the opinion of God. In the first half of the 5th century, the historian Socrates will already say explicitly that the authority is not dependent on the greater or lesser learning of the Fathers. This view of the assistance of the Holy Spirit did not, however, exclude that one was convinced of the necessity of a careful and repeated investigation, of diligence and effort, in short of man's cooperation. Finally, if one has to answer the question whether the Pope was considered the subject of infallibility in the fourth century or the General Council itself, then the answer must be that the General Council itself was considered as such. The dogmatic decisions taken by the bishops assembled from the entire Church had, from the moment they were established at the council, a generally and always binding force. That the General Council itself was, according to the view of the fourth century, the subject of infallibility is evident from the fact that the approval or ratification of the Pope by a separate act after the end of the council was not considered necessary. The decisions had their definitive force through the fact itself that the council had established them with general consent. Also from the

synodal letter of Sardica to Pope Julius it appears that the Fathers did not consider it necessary to ratify the Pope by means of a separate act; by this letter they simply officially informed the Pope of their decisions, which were valid and legally valid in themselves. Secondly, it also applies here that in the 4th century people did not yet explicitly ask themselves whether the Pope possessed the gift of infallibility; and certainly not whether the General Council or actually the Pope and with and through him the Council possessed that gift. People were explicitly of the opinion that the subject of infallibility was in the Church: the General Council as such. The reflections on the relationship and the interaction between the Pope and the General Council are of a later date. If one wants to summarize everything in one formula, then one can say: for the Fathers of the 4th century, the Council of Nicaea was a meeting of bishops, who, summoned for a good, legitimate reason, represented the entire Church or the entire Church teaching authority and who, after deliberation, unanimously and in full freedom, reached their decisions and above all drew up their infallible confession of faith, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit or that of Christ. The doctrine contained in this confession was not the own invention of the Nicene Fathers, but a summary of that which was contained in the written source of Revelation, the Holy Scripture, and in the oral tradition, which was ultimately the doctrine of Christ Himself. The Nicene faith was therefore identical with the fides catholica, the faith that had the general assent of the Church.

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58915

Berichten over de ontdekte Germaanse begraafplaats in Deurne24 februari 2014 **Eind januari 1837 wordt op de heide bij Deurne**

een compleet grafveld gevonden. Al direct worden urnen als geschenk weggegeven, zodat er weinig duidelijkheid is over de voorwerpen en de huidige "verblijfplaats". In mindere mate geldt dit overigens ook voor de enkele andere voorwerpen die in de venen/moerassen in de gemeente Deurne zijn gevonden en elders in de Peel, en landelijk gezien in de veengebieden in het noorden van het land.

58925 In dit bestand beperk ik me tot de begraafplaats. Informatie over de andere gebieden is te vinden in andere bestanden van www.theelen.info.

Op mijn verzoek heeft de heer H. Pauts van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden nadere informatie gegeven over voorwerpen die zich al van oudsher in zijn museum bevinden. Toch zijn er enkele, tenminste de mortieren en stampers, afgestaan voor een op te richten museum. Vanaf dat moment zijn we het spoor bijster...

58930 De opmerkingen van H. Pauts zijn verwerkt tussen mijn eigen naspeuringen.

Verzamelde details betreffende de begraafplaats bij Deurne

[1] Verscheidene urnen of potten van verschillende grootte, allen met asch van verbrande lichamen en kleine beentjes opgevuld

58935 [2] terwijl in sommige stukjes van metaal en gedeelten van wapenen gevonden zijn

[3] Kempensche heide

[4] eerst 5, daarna 50 urnen gevonden

[5] Niet één penning of muntstuk is opgedolven; alleen een stukje metaal, hetwelk men meent voor een mondstuk van een blaasinstrument te moeten houden.

58940 [6] De opgravingen worden op sommige plekken nog voortgezet, doch men vindt in de urnen, zoo als gezegd is, niets dan asch en de bovengemelde menschenbeenderen.

[7] urnen of potten van verschillende grootte, allen met asch van verbrande lichamen en kleine beentjes opgevuld;

58945 [8] werden ons een aantal urnen toegezonden, die kort te voren te Deurne, in Noord-Brabant, ontdekt waren geworden; en werd het aantal nog vermeerderd door de opbrengst eener opzettelijke daartoe verordende opdelving, door den burgemeester dier plaats, de heer van Riet, aan het Museum  geschenke gegeven.

[9] Romeinsche voorwerpen uit de nalatenschap van wijlen den heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA werden ook eenige overgenomen, van de vroegere bewoners van ons Vaderland afkomstig:

58950 [10] De urnen blijken niet uit de Romeinse tijd te dateren, maar van vele honderden jaren daarvoor.

[11] Van den heer S. H. van der Noordaa, te Dordrecht, twee tufsteen en vijzels met stampers, in den omtrek van Deurne in Noord-Brabant opgedolven;

58955 [12] Deze objecten (vijzels) zijn NIET gevonden in de gegevens van de ruim 40.000 objecten online. De vijzels dateren zeer waarschijnlijk uit de middeleeuwen en zijn rond 1875 door het museum in Leiden  afgestaan aan een ander op te richten museum.

[13] Van den heer P. O. P. Guyot  te Nijmegen, eene allerbelangrijkste verzameling van bronzen en andere voorwerpen bij Deurne, in de provincie Noord-Brabant, opgedolven, en die voor het grootste gedeelte door den Ritmeester Baron van Voorst bijeengebragt, en aan den heer Guyot afgestaan waren.

58960 [14] is het Museum thans in het bezit gesteld van de voornaamste en zeldzaamste stukken, die bij de ontdekking te Deurne gedaan, voor den dag zijn gekomen, en die, langs verschillende wegen, eindelijk wederom bij elkander gebragt, een geheel vormen, dat [...]

58965 [15] Van den heer P. C. G. GUYOT, te Nijmegen, nog een aantal van tien urnen, potjes en schalen, te Deurne in Noord-Brabant gevonden;

[16] Van den Heer S. H. van der Noordaa te Dordrecht, nog een drietal kleine voorwerpen in urnen te Deurne gevonden.

58970 [17] Van de heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA ontvingen wij wederom een mortier van

tufsteen, in den omtrek van Deurne gevonden.

[18] No. 1-3 afkomstig van Deurne.

58975 [19] Romeinsche voorwerpen uit de nalatenschap van wijlen den heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA werden ook eenige overgenomen, van de vroegere bewoners van ons Vaderland afkomstig:

[20] eene zeer fraai gepolijste vuursteen BIJL, 12 dm. lang;

[21] een ruw bewerkte BAL van trachiet, 4 dm. in doorsnede;

[22] eene URNE van gebakken aarde, gevuld met verbrande menschenbeenderen, hoog 19 dm.;

58980 [23] eene andere URNE, 18 dm. hoog, met de daarin gevonden brokken van eene bronzen HAARNAALD;

[24, 25, 26] nog een drietal URNEN met verbrande beenderen en

[27] overblijfsels van bronzen RINGEN enz.; de urnen van 10, 15.5 en 16 duim hoogte;

[28] twee KOMMETJES, 9 en 7 dm.;

58985 [29] 4 POTJES van verschillende vormen, 6 5 tot 9.5 dm. hoog;

[30] een bekervormig VAATJE, 5.5 dm. hoog, en eenige brokstukken van potten.

[31] Al deze voorwerpen, met uitzondering welligt van de WIGGE, waren in 1837 op de oude begraafplaats te Deurne in Noordbrabant opgegraven;

58990 [32] een paar trachietsteen MORTIEREN met STAMPERS uit den omtrek van Deurne afkomstig en tot de reeds meermalen genoemde nalatenschap van wijlen den heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA behorende;

[33] zij vormen nu met de stukken die, ter zelfder plaats gevonden, in 1840 en 1841 door wijlen den heer P. O. G. GUYOT aan het Museum geschonken werden, een aanzienlijk geheel.

58995 [34] Een persoon met de naam van der Noordaa, wonende in Dinther, was rond 1820 schoolopzichter in een district van de provincie.

24 februari 2014 Antwoord van Heikki Pauts van het Rijksmuseum te Leiden

59000 Ik stuur u hieronder een complete lijst van vondsten uit Deurne, die het RMO in de 19de eeuw heeft gekregen. Een aantal van deze objecten kunt u ook op onze website vinden - daar zijn alleen de objecten gepubliceerd die een foto hebben. De rest van de informatie is afkomstig uit onze Inventarisboeken. Tussen 1818 en 1891 gebruikte men in het RMO voor de inventarisnummers een enigszins verwarrende combinatie van de voorletters van namen van personen en vindplaatsen, dus bijvoorbeeld "vRD" bevat "van Riet Deurne". Vanaf 1891 stapte het RMO over naar een nieuw systeem van inventarisnummers, bestaande uit provinciecode (k = Noord-Brabant), jaartal, / maand en volgnummer. Dus bijvoorbeeld k 1932/12.9 is in het museum binnengekomen in december 1932.

59010 4 februari 1837 **Deurne 3 Februarij 1837.**

Aan de Redactie van den Noord-Brabander. Sedert acht dagen levert de gemeente van Deurne een bewijs op, dat ook dit gewest schatten in zich bevat, wat oudheid en geschiedenis betreft, gerust met de andere deelen onzes lands gelijk kan gesteld worden. De aandacht onzer Vaderl. geleerden wordt derhalve op het volgende gevestigd: 59015 waardoor zij mogelijk in de gelegenheid gesteld zullen worden, niet alleen om hunne collectien van antiquiteiten met belangrijke artikelen te vermeerderen, maar ook om de geschiedenis met gewigtige bijdragen, dienst te bewijzen.

Door het corps offic. van het Regt. Huss. N°. 6 begonnen en door particulieren, in hoop van schatten te vinden, voortgezet, is men hier bezig, met het opdooven eener 59020 kamp of leger, of wel begraafplaats; denkelijk afkomstig, van eene door de Romeinen, uit de Ardennen verdreven, en hier, achter de moerasgronden der Peel, versholene volksstam. Verscheidene urnen of potten van verschillende grootte, allen met asch van verbrande ligchamen en kleine beentjes opgevuld, zijn reeds opgegraven; terwijl in sommige stukjes van metaal en gedeelten van wapenen gevonden zijn. Deze potten zijn 59025 door heuveltjes van differente hoogte bedekt, en die even als de potten, zekerlijk na het aanzien en rang, dat de aldaar begravenen bekleed heeft, in grootte en hoogte hebben toegenomen. De pot is bijna gelijk eene kloot, eenigzins naar het boven- en benedeneinde ovaal toeloopende, terwijl ze aan het bovineinde eene schuins opslaande rand heeft, die genoegzaam dezelfde omtrek als de pot zelve zal hebben, en het deksel

59030 dat in evenredigheid der pot zeer klein is, sluit goed en schijnt digt bestreken te zijn. De grootste potten zullen eene diameter van 3 palmen hebben terwijl de kleinste naauwelijks 1 a 1½ zullen reiken en de heuveltjes ook wel een verschil van bijna ééne el zullen opleveren, daar men er vindt, die schier 2 en anderen die meer dan vijf voeten hoog zijn. De potten zijn van potaarde (welke ook hier gevonden wordt) 59035 gemaakt, en toonen aan dat zij de kunst van draaijen reeds tot eene aanmerkelijke hoogte gebracht hadden.

P.

[elders nog:] - De aandacht onzer vaderlandsche geleerden en oudheidkundigen wordt op deze ontdekking, die tot aanwinst voor hunne verzamelingen, of tot opheldring der geschiedenis, van nut kan zijn, ingeroepen.

4 februari 1837 [1] Verscheidene urnen of potten van verschillende grootte, allen met asch van verbrande ligchamen en kleine beentjes opgevuld
[2] terwijl in sommige stukjes van metaal en gedeelten van wapenen gevonden zijn

4 mei 1837 **NEDERLANDEN. - In het laatst uitgekomen nummer**

van het *Nederlandsch Magazijn* treft men een artikel aan over de onlangs opgedolven urnen in Noord-Brabant. Hetzelve houdt hoofdzakelijk in dat men onlangs in onderscheidene onzer dagbladen, berigten vond wegens het opdelven van oudheden in de gemeente Deurne, provincie Noord-Brabant, en thans bij de Redactie van boven gemeld magazijn eenige bijzonderheden nopens die opdelving zijn ingekomen, voornamelijk hierop nederkomende: Een Ritmeester bij het regiment huzaren n°. 6, bij eene vroegere gelegenheid, ontwaar geworden zijnde, dat eenige heuveltjes op de Kempensche heide, bij opdelving, bleken grafheuveltjes te zijn, en urnen of aschkruiken te bevatten, kwam op het denkbeeld, dat eenige dergelijke heuveltjes, welke op de heide nabij Deurne, zijn tegenwoordig kantonnement, aanwezig waren, tot dergelijke einden mogten gediend hebben en oudheden bevatten. Met toestemming des burgemeesters aldaar, hebbende doen graven, vond men vijf urnen of asch-kruiken, welke bij opvolgende delvingen vermeerderden, en thans reeds het getal van vijftig te boven gaan. Jammer is het, dat de landlieden, hiervan gehoord hebbende, ook van hunne zijde aan het graven gingen, in de hoop om schatten te vinden; de door hen opgedolvene urnen in stukken sloegen of beschadigden; groot was de teleurstelling dezer lieden, toen zij in dezelve niets dan asch en eenige half vergane kennelijke menschen-beenderen, als: schedels, ribben, dijbeenderen enz. vonden. Niet één penning of muntstuk is opgedolven; alleen een stukje metaal, hetwelk men meent voor een mondstuk van een blaasinstrument te moeten houden. De gevonden urnen zijn van verschillende grootte, doch alle van nagenoeg ééne gedaante, sommige van deksels voorzien. Het heide-veld, waarin de urnen gevonden zijn, is omtrent vier bunders groot, de heuveltjes zijn vrij regelmatig, doch het geheel terrein schijnt tot begraafplaats gediend te hebben, dewijl men ook urnen buiten de heuveltjes en op eenigen afstand van dezelve heeft gevonden. De urnen zijn meestal met eene laag houtskool bedekt; immers zoodra men deze vindt, is men zeker nabij eene urn te zijn. Sommige zitten zoo hoog, dat men boven in de asch de vezelworteltjes der gewone heide vindt; andere zijn dieper gevonden, doch op ongelijke diepte. De zelfstandigheid, waaruit deze potten of urnen zijn zamengesteld, is glad, gedegen, en van eene donker bruine kleur; geen verglaassel is op dezelve zichtbaar, noch eenig in- of opschrift. Indien dezelve te Deurne vervaardigd zijn, alwaar thans nog twee pottebakkerijen gevonden worden, dan moet men bekennen, dat deze kunst aldaar in 10 of 15 eeuwen geene vorderingen gemaakt heeft; want deze urnen zijn zuiverder en gladder bewerkt en met meer zorg behandeld dan thans geschiedt. De opgravingen worden op sommige plekken nog voortgezet, doch men vindt in de urnen, zoo als gezegd is, niets dan asch en de bovengemelde menschenbeenderen.

24 februari 2014 Antwoord van Heikki Pauts van het Rijksmuseum te Leiden
- mei 1837, inventarisnummers NBD 1-3 "Opgegraven te Deurne en door het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken aan het Museum ten geschenke gegeven";
http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?q=NBD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=

4 mei 1837 [3] Kempensche heide
[4] eerst 5, daarna 50 urnen gevonden
[5] Niet één penning of muntstuk is opgedolven; alleen een stukje metaal, hetwelk men meent voor een mondstuk van een blaasinstrument te moeten houden.
[6] De opgravingen worden op sommige plekken nog voortgezet, doch men vindt in de urnen, zoo als gezegd is, niets dan asch en de bovengemelde menschenbeenderen.

3 juni 1837 **HAARLEM, 30 Februarij**

Uit de gemeente Deurne (Noord-Brabant) wordt een bericht medegedeeld wegens het ontdekken, in de nabijheid dier plaats, van een kampleger of wel begraafplaats; zoo men denkt afkomstig van een ouden volksstam, die door de Romeinen uit de Ardennes verdreven, willigt daar ter plaatse, achter de moerasgronden der Peel, eene veilige wijkplaats zochten. De eerste ontdekking dier leger- of begraafplaats werd gedaan

- door officieren van het in den omtrek gekantonneede regiment huzaren no. 6, en sedert worden de opdelvingen door particulieren, in hoop van schatten te vinden, voortgezet.
- 59105 Onder hetgeen tot dus ver gevonden is noemt men verscheidene urnen of potten van verschillende grootte, allen met asch van verbrande lichamen en kleine beentjes opgevuld; in sommige dier potten zijn, naar men meld, stukjes metaal en gedeelten van wapenen gevonden. De genoemde potten zijn bedekt door heuveltjes van verschillende hoogte, die, even als de potten waarschijnlijk naar het aanzien en den rang, welke de
- 59110 daar begravenen bekleed heeft, in grootte en hoogte hebben toegenomen. De potten zijn van pot-aarde en goed gedraaid; de grootste hebben eene middellijn van 3, de kleinste van ruim 1 palm; sommige heuveltjes zijn bijna 2, andere meer dan 5 voeten hoog.
- 3 juni 1837 [7] urnen of potten van verschillende grootte, allen met asch van verbrande lichamen en kleine beentjes opgevuld;
- 59115
- 24 februari 2014 Antwoord van Heikki Pauts van het Rijksmuseum te Leiden - augustus 1837, inventarisnummers vRD 1-9b "Gevonden bij Deurne en aan het RMO ten geschenke gegeven door dhr. van Riet, burgemeester van Deurne en Liessel in Augustus 1837";
- 59120 [http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?
q=vRD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=](http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?q=vRD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=)
- 26 mei 1838 (§§) **De Romeinsche graven, ook de eenvoudigste,**
- 59125 b. v. die geene steenen kisten bevatteden, leverden niet alleen aardewerk op, hetwelk door bewerking, vorm, kleur of versiering zich terstond als Romeinsche kenmerkte, maar ook daarenboven voorwerpen of fragmenten van metaal, glas of andere zamengestelde stof. Integendeel werden daarin nimmervoorwerpen van vuursteen gevonden. Het onderscheiden karakter der Romeinsche en Germaansche heuvelgraven is
- 59130 door mij aangestipt o. a. in een bericht over de Oudheidk. ontdekking te Deurne, in den Konst- en Letterbode van het jaar 1838, d. d. 26 Mei.
- 23 april 1839 [8] werden ons een aantal urnen toegezonden, die kort te voren te Deurne, in Noord-Brabant, ontdekt waren geworden; en werd het aantal nog vermeerderd door de opbrengst eener opzettelijke daartoe verordende opdelving, door den
- 59135 burgemeester dier plaats, de heer van Riet, aan het Museum ten geschenke gegeven. [wellicht [NBD 2](#), [vRD 4a](#), [vRD 2](#), [vRD 3](#), [ND 3](#), GtD 15a, k 1942/6.1, k 1925/1.1, [NBD 1](#), k 1942/6.2, vRD 7, k 1925/1.2, ND 2, k 1942/6.3, ND 13, vRD 4b, vRD 5a, ND 4, GtD 13a, ND 8, k 1932/12.9, ND 10, ND 5, vRD 8, vRD 5b, ND 11, k 1942/6.4, GtD 14b]
- 59140 [10] De urnen blijken niet uit de Romeinse tijd te dateren, maar van vele honderden jaren daarvoor.
- 18 maart 1840 [11] Van den heer S. H. van der Noordaa, te Dordrecht, twee tufsteenenvijzels met stampers, in den omtrek van Deurne in Noord-Brabant opgedolven;
- [12] Deze objecten zijn NIET gevonden in de gegevens van de ruim 40.000 objecten online.
- 59145
- 1 januari 1840 Indien ook gij, Mijne Heeren, die onder uwe uitspanningen het edele jagtvermaak niet vergeet, genegen zijt, of U opgewekt gevoeld, om ook dergelijke overblijfselen van den grijzen voortijd aan het licht te brengen, zoo is daartoe niets anders noodig, als te letten, of uw oog op de vlakke heide geene heuveltjes vindt, die ongeveer één half el hoog, en twee tot twee en een half of drie voet in doorsnede zijn. Wanneer gij op dergelijke heuveltjes staat, is het bijna zeker, dat er urnen verscholen zijn. De begraafplaats te Deurne en die te Baarle-Nassau althans zijn door jagers op de jagt ontdekt, die tevens verzekeren, dat zij vroeger meer
- 59155 dergelijke tumuli, doch zonder er acht op te slaan, in Noord-Brabands heide ontmoet hebben.
- 14 maart 1840 **MUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN TE LEIJDEN.**
- [...] Van den heer S. H. van der Noordaa, te Dordrecht, twee tufsteenenvijzels met stampers, in den omtrek van Deurne in Noord-Brabant opgedolven; zijnde deze de eenige voorwerpen van die soort welke het Museum bezit, en die, voor zoo verre ons bekend is, elders nog niet zijn voorgekomen. De nabijheid van de uitgebreide begraafakkers aldaar, in de heide voor een paar jaren ontdekt, geven veel waarschijnlijkheid aan het vermoeden dat en die vijzels, en de urnen die in zoo grooten getale in dien
- 59160 omtrek voorkomen, tot denzelfden volksstam behooren, en leveren alsdan eene allerbelangrijkste bijdrage tot de kennis van het huiselijk leven der oude Germaansche volken, van wier huisraad, behalve in het noordelijk Europa, betrekkelijk zoo weinig meer is overgebleven. [...]
- 59165

- 59170 12 mei 1840 **[brief aan de burgemeester van Deurne]**
Burgemeester van Deurne Liessel Helmond, den 12 Mei 1840
De Heer Gouverneur dezer provincie (waarschijnlijk door het bestuur van het
genoodschap ter bevordering van wetenschappen en kunsten in Noord Brabant daartoe
aangezocht) heeft mij een groot aantal vraagpunten ter beantwoording opgegeven
59175 betrekkelijk oudheden in mijn District.
deze vragen, voor zoover zij de gemeente Deurne Liessel betreffen zijn de navolgende:
volgens een medegedeeld bericht zoude een landbouwer van de Mortel genaamd, een
romeinsch zwaard en een goude schild bezitten, welke in den peul zoude zijn
uitgegraven.
59180 1°. Is dit werkelijk zoo? en in dat geval, wanneer en waar ter plaatse heeft men dat
zwaard en schild gevonden?
2°. Zoude er gelegenheid zijn om hetzelfde voor de verzameling van oud en
zeldzaamheden van het provinciaal genoodschap van kunsten en wetenschappen
aantekopen?
59185 3°. Zoo ja, tot welken prijs?
4°. Wanneer de eigenaar tot verkoop niet mogt kunnen besluiten, zoude hij dan die
voorwerpen tegen bewijs ter beoordeeling en afteekening willen overmaken?
5°. Is er gelegenheid om nog eenige der aldaar onlangs gevonden lijken of andere
aldaar opgegraven merkwaardigheden te koopen?
59190 6°. Hoe is de benaming der plaats waar die urnen opgegraven zijn?
Een eenigzins spoedig antwoord op deze vragen zal mij aangenaam zijn
D Distr.
- 29 juni 1840 **Provinciaal Bestuur RANB 17 inv. nr. 12419**
59195 n° 1
Missive van 17 april 11 n° 8. / Antwoord op de missive van
afdeeling kunsten en wetenschappen / 17 april 11 no 8.
- Helmond den 29 Juny 1840.
- 59200 [Aan den gouverneur]
Bij de aangehaalde missive/missieve heeft UWEG mij eenige vraagpunten betrekkelijk
oude monumenten die zich in sommige gemeentens van mijn district/District zouden
bevinden, ter beantwoording opgegeven. Eenige dezer vraagpunten zoude ik dadelijk
59205 hebben kunnen beantwoorden, [doch] tot het bekomen van inlichtingen heb ik de
gelegenheid mijner rondreis waar genomen, als wanneer de leden van den raad
vergaderd zijnde, ik vermeende beter te kunnen geïnformeerd worden. Ik zal de volg
orde in acht nemen, zoo als zij in uwe missieve voorkomt.
[...]
- 59210 Gemeente Deurne Liessel.
~~Naar het bericht~~ Ik heb het bericht dat een landbouwer te Deurne Liessel in het bezit
zoude zijn van een ~~oud~~ romeinsch zwaard en een goud schild welk in den peul zoude
zijn uitgegraven, zeer betwijfeld, wijl ik er nooit iets van vernomen had. ook is mij
bij onderzoek ~~verzekerd~~ gebleken dat er niemand iets van weet. waarschijnlijk heeft
59215 men dit verward met ?? het geen in de naburige gemeente Meyel heeft plaats gehad. ~~In~~
~~het jaar 1807~~ men heeft ~~men~~ aldaar een goud schild gevonden. voor eenige jaren te
Meyel zijnde heb ik mij naar het huis van den toenmaligen burgemeester Goossens
begeven om deze merkw  digheid te zien. hij vertoonde mij een schild welk in den
peul in het jaar 1807 ~~met~~ trent vijf voeten onder ~~het onder~~ de oppervlakte van den
59220 grond ~~in den peul~~ bij gelegenheid eener turfgraving gevonden was, hetzelfde was van
goud of althans zwaar verguld ~~gedreven werk~~, op hetzelfde waren hyroglyphen en andere
figuren van leeuwen, tijgers &c gedreven, en had de vorm van een halve maan, veel
geleken naar een ringkraag zoo als de kapiteins der infanterie ~~voor~~ ? nog niet zeer
lang geleden op de borst droegen. de Heer van Keverberg, destijds sousprefet te
59225 Cleef, had dit stuk mede naar Parijs genomen en na zijne terugkomst, volgens zeggen
van den Burgemeester veel geld voor geboden, doch men was het over den prijs niet
eens kunnen worden. -
Er zijn te Deurne geene lijken meer verkrijgbaar. de Heer burgemeester zoude ~~door~~
trachten ~~er~~ door graving er nog te krijgen, welke hij alsdan, indien dit gelukken
59230 mogt gaarne zoude afstaan. -
De Districts Commissaris / DD.
Wesselman.

- 59235 - september 1840, inventarisnummers GtD 1-12b "Gevonden te Deurne en geschonken door dhr. P.C.G. Guyot te Nijmegen";
- 1 oktober 1840 [...] Alzoo bezit het Noord-Brabandsch genootschap reeds urnen van drie Heidensche begraafplaatsen, als: van *Deurne* in 1837, van *Genderen* in 1839 en van *Gemonde* in 1849 gevonden. [...]
- 59240 21 oktober 1840 **De Germaansche en Noordsche monumenten van het museum te Leyden**
N. A. beteekent: Nordische Altherthumskunde
G. A. ----- Germaniche Altherthumskunde
59245 Een * ----- dat het voorwerp zeldzaam is.
- 21a. Beiteltje van koper, met kopergroen bezet; vorm als Fig. 14, doch zonder versiering aan den steel; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
59250 Lang 0,087 El.
- 21b. Beiteltje van koper, met kopergroen bezet; vorm als Fig. 15; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
Lang 0,062 El.
59255
- B.21c. Beiteltje van koper, met kopergroen bezet; vorm als Fig. 13, doch de waaijer zeer beschadigd; afkomst, *Deurne*; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
Lang 0,067 El (1).
- 59260 36. Lans-spits van koper, met kopergroen bezet, bewerking en vorm als in G. A. Taf. XVII. Fig. 2, en aan het benedeneinde van twee gaatjes voorzien om a  eene schaft bevestigd te worden; afkomst, *Deurne*; geschenk van den Heer *van Riet*.
Lang 0,115 El.
- 59265 38. Lans-spits van ijzer; bewerking en vorm als in N. A. Taf. XVII. Fig. 1, van twee gaatjes voorzien als n. 36; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *van Riet*.
Lang 0,23 El.
- 59270 53a. Twee fragmenten van een' mantelhaak naar het schijnt, van koper en met kopergroen bezet; afkomst *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
- 59275 B.53b. Schijf van spiraalsgewijs gewonden koperdraad, met kopergroen bezet (fragment van een' mantelhaak); vorm als in G. A. Taf. 5 Fig. 1; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
- 59280 53c. Twee fragmenten eener koperen haarnaald, met kopergroen bezet; vorm nagenoeg als in G. A. Taf. 2 Fig. 4; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
- 59285 56a. Fragment van een' spiraalsgewijs gewonden ring naar het schijnt, van koper en met kopergroen bezet; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
Middelbare dikte 0,006 El.
- 59290 B.56b. Fragment van een' ronden armring (?) van koper, met kopergroen bezet; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
Dik 0,036 El.
- 59295 56c. Fragment van een' ronden armring (?) van koper, met kopergroen bezet; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
Dik 0,006 El.
- 59295 B.58A* Plat ringetje van graauwachtig roode aarde en fijne bewerking; hetzelfde heeft waarschijnlijk als hals- of oorring aan een' anderen ring gehangen; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.
Middellijn 0,013 El; dikte 0,005 El.
- 59300 66a. Pot van donkerbruine aarde, vorm als Fig. 28, doch gebarsten; inhoud, verbrande

beenderen; afkomst *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
Hoog 0,16 El.

- 59305 C.74. Potje van bruine aarde, vorm als Fig. 29, doch zonder ooren; inhoud, aschachige aarde; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
Dit potje werd gevonden in den pot n. 81.
Hoog 0,095 El.

- 59310 74a. Pot van donkerbruin aarde; vorm, nagenoeg als Fig. 32, doch aan den rand beschadigd; inhoud, verbrande beenderen; afkomst *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
In denzelven bevond zich het potje n. 164.

- 59315 Hoog 0,25 El.
81. Potje van donkerbruine aarde, tamelijk fijne bewerking en vermoedelijke vorm als Fig. 32, doch de rand is afgebroken; inhoud, verbrande beenderen; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
59320 In denzelven bevond zich het potje n. 74.
Hoog 0.195 El.

82. Pot van donkerbruine aarde; vorm als Fig. 32; inhoud, verbrande beenderen en asch; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
59325 Hoog 0,24 El.

91. Pot van bruine aarde; vorm nagenoeg als Fig. 28, doch van boven geschonden; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
59330 Hoog 0,16 El.

93. Pot van lichtbruine aarde; vorm nagenoeg als Fig. 37, doch van een oortje voorzien; inhoud, verbrande beenderen en asch, boven welke eenige fragmenten ruw aardewerk lagen, die oorspronkelijk tot een' schotel van 18 duim middellijn kunnen behoord hebben; afkomst, *Deurne*; uit een Germaanschen grafheuvel.
59335 Hoog 0,21 El.

98. Pot van donkerbruine aarde; vorm nagenoeg als Fig. 41, doch aan ééne zijde zeer geschonden; inhoud, verbrande beenderen; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Hr. van Riet.
59340 Hoog 0,245 El.

- C. 99. Pot van donkerbruine aarde; vorm nagenoeg als Fig. 41; inhoud, verbrande beenderen; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel.
59345 Hoog 0,205 El.

101. Pot van bruine aarde; vorm nagenoeg als Fig. 34; inhoud, verbrande beenderen; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
59350 Hoog 0,15 El.

- C. 109. Pot van donkerbruine aarde; vermoedelijke vorm als Fig. 34, doch boven ter helft geschonden; inhoud, verbrande beenderen; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
59355 Hoog 0,27 El.

119. Pot van bruine aarde; vermoedelijke vorm nagenoeg als Fig. 42, doch rand en ooren zijn weggebroken; versiering, 5 ruw ingekrabde lijnen boven den buik; inhoud, verbrande beenderen; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel, geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
59360 Hoog 0,16 El.

- C. 164. Potje van graauwe aarde, tamelijk fijne stof en ruwe bewerking; vorm nagenoeg als Fig. 67, doch aan ééne zijde geschonden; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel, gevonden in den pot n. 74*; geschenk van den Heer van Riet.
59365 Hoog 0,04 El.

195A en 195 B. Mortier en stamper van tufsteen; vorm als Fig. 20a en 20b; afkomst, Deurne; geschenk van den Heer *S. H. van der Noordaa*.
De mortier is hoog 0,075 El; breed 0,11 El.

59370 De stamper is lang 0,1555 El.

196A en 196B. Mortier en stamper van tufsteen; vorm als Fig. 20 a en b; versiering der zijden als a, c en d; afkomst Deurne; geschenk van den Heer *S. H. van der Noordaa*.

59375 De mortier is hoog 0,07 El, breed 0,13 El.

De stamper is lang 0,10 El.

209*. Bladvormig werktuig van gegoten koper en met kopergroen bezet, voorzien van eene gesplitste punt en drie kunstige gaatjes, en aan de zijden scherp, zie Gig. 16; misschien eene vorm tot bewerken van potten; afkomst, *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van de Heer *P. Guyot*.

59380 Oorspronkelijke middellijn van het geheel 0,045 El.

209a. Twee fragmenten koper, met kopergroen bezet, doch door verbranding misvormd; dezelve schijnen het mondstuk eener trompet te hebben uitgemaakt; afkomst *Deurne*, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel; geschenk van den Heer *P. Guyot*.

59385 Oorspronkelijke middellijn van het geheel 0,045 El.

24 februari 2014 Antwoord van Heikki Pauts van het Rijksmuseum te Leiden

59390 **2014: Over die mortieren en stampers hadden we vorige zomer al contact.**

Zoals ik toen al schreef zijn de betreffende objecten al in de 19de eeuw overgedragen naar Amsterdam (VdN a-f aan het Museum van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap in 1860, VdN g-k aan de toenmalige Rijksadviseur voor de Monumenten van Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Kunst in 1875). Ik weet niet zeker, maar ik denk dat die collecties

59395 later in het Rijksmuseum Amsterdam terecht zijn gekomen.

Hieronder nog samenvattend de informatie over de betreffende mortieren en stampers uit onze Inventarisboeken:

- februari 1839, inventarisnummers VdN a-b "Gevonden in Noord-Brabant, aan het museum van oudheden geschonken door den Hr. S.H. van der Noordaa te Dordrecht.

59400 **a) Vijzel met stamper, uit graauwen tufsteen;**

waarschijnlijk tot het fijnwrijven van koren; (welligt ook om de geringere grootte ter bereiding van mostaard). De vijzel is van buiten vierkant doch aan de hoeken eenigszins bijgerond; van binnen bolvormig uitgehold.

59405 **b) Stamper is van boven vierkant, doch loopt onder conisch kegelvormig toe,**

eenigszins gelijkende naar eenen omgekeerden cippus met voetstuk.

Over deze beide voorwerpen geeft de Heer v.d. Noordaa in Zijnen brief dd. Dordrecht 17 Dec. 1838 aan Dr. L.J.F. Janssen het volgende berigt:

59410 "Doch ook werd aan mij toegezonden een vijzeltje en een stamper van bazalt, omtrent van vorm als die ik bezit, met dit onderscheid alléén dat de eerste bij mij bekomen

vijzel en stamper bij elkaar schijnen te behooren, terwijl de stamper U gezonden voor den daarbij toegeschikten vijzel wat te groot is. Beide vijzels, beide de stampers zijn van bazalt, van die soortzoo als ze aan den Rijn voorkomt. Men heeft aan die voorwerpen met de minste moeite dien vorm gegeven welke de natuurlijke draad van den steen aanwees. Deze oudheden zijn niet gevonden aan de bewuste begraafplaats te

59415 Deurne; maar nu eenige jaren geleden aldaar in het land en in eenen tuin, de laatst toegezonden vijzel en stamper zijn zelfs afkomstig van verschillende plaatsen onder Deurne en van verschillende personen. Er zijn in dien omtrek meer soortgelijke ruwe huismeubels geweest, groter en kleiner, vroeger en later gevonden, doch die weder zijn verstrooid geraakt. Een mijner broeder vroeger bij de Lanciers, thans door

59420 zwakke gezondheid buiten eenige betrekking en wondende te Deurne heeft de bedoelde vijzels voor mij opgespoord. Hij doorkruiste de Majorij in alle rigtingen, hij is

daar overal bekend, ook ik zelve zoude 's nachts er aan vele plaatsen den weg vinden, en nogthans is het om niet mogen gelukken na alle nasporingen soortgelijke vijzels

59425 ergens elders in Noord-Brabant, dan juist in den omtrek van Deurne te ontdekken alwaar die dan ook wel stellig zeker alléén zijn gevonden en bekend zijn geraakt,

want zoo als ik zeide men heeft er daar meer gehad. Over dit verschijnsel nadenkende, is het mij voorgekomen dat deze gereedschappen zouden kunnen afkomstig zijn van denzelfden volkstam die er zijne overledenen aan de ontdekte begraafplaats heeft nagelaten".

59430 - november 1839, inventarisnummers VdN c-d "Gevonden in den omtrek van Deurne en aan het Museum geschonken door S.H. van der Noordaa, Substit. Griffier te Dordrecht.

c) Een vijzel van tufsteen, vierkant van gedaante en van buiten

van eenige versiering voorzien, als aan elk der hoeken een colommetje, terwijl de vier velden tusschen deze colommetjes in ruiten en driehoeken zijn afgedeeld. Van die vier velden zijn er twee (welke tegen elkaar over staan) dus behouwen: [tekening] het derde heeft regtstaande, en het vierde verschoven ruitjes, als: [tekening] inwendig is dezelve rond uitgehold.

d) Stamper van dezelfde steensoort, aan het bovineinde vierkant en beneden rond. Dezelve is te klein dan dat hij oorspronkelijk tot bovengenoemden vijzel zoude hebben behoord.

Het is opmerkelijk dat deze en soortgelijke vijzels in zoo groot getal in de omstreek van Deurne Lijsel en Asten, gelijk de Hr. vdNoordaa mij (Dr. Janssen) mondeling verzekerde, gevonden zijn en wel binnen den omtrek van een uur, terwijl men ze elders in Noord-Brabant, volgens 's mans verzekering, nog niet heeft aangetroffen".

- october 1842, inventarisnummers VdN e-f "Gevonden in den omtrek van Deurne en aan het Museum geschonken door S.H. van der Noordaa te Dordrecht.

e) Een mortier van tufsteen, langwerpig-vierkant van gedaante en tamelijk ruw bewerkt.

f) Twee stukken ijzererts naar het schijnt, gevonden in eene urn.

- juni 1863, inventarisnummers VdN g-k "Gevonden in den omtrek van Deurne, afkomstig uit de verzameling van wijlen den Heer S.H. van der Noordaa, en van diens zoon, Mr. v.d. Noordaa te Dortrecht, voor het Museum van Oudheden overgenomen.

g) Mortier van trachijsteen, van binnen rond, van buiten achtzijdig, en versierd met gothische nissen, in reliëf; in twee dier nissen is het jaartal 1393 ingebeiteld, en in twee andere zijn de letters A en H, denkkelijk door eene latere hand, ingekrabd. De vorm is p.m. [tekening]

h) Stamper van trachijsteen, behoorende bij de mortier VdN g, vorm p.m. [tekening]

i) Mortier als VdN g, doch vierkant van vorm, met vier pilasters aan de buitenzijde, als VdN h.

k) Stamper, als VdN h, en behoorende bij de mortier VdN i.

31 december 1865 Als aanvulling vinden we nog enkele elders niet genoemde details in het boek Noord-Brabants Oudheden (facsimile van 2012):

Met een dertigtal liefhebbers zijner compagnie toog hij naar de heide te *Deurne* en had weldra de overtuiging, dat die verhevenheden lijkheuvelen waren. Deze zijn ongelijk van hoogte, daar eenige slechts 60 duim, en andere 7,60 el. Nog waren op eenen grooteren of kleineren omtrek naar gelang der hoogte. Er zullen een honderdtal urnen gevonden zijn, van de groote eens theekops tot 100 pd. zwaar. [...]

In het voorjaar van 1840 ben ik met wijlen Dr. Niermeijer, later professor te *Leiden*, deze heide wezen bezoeken en vond de heuvels nog zóó als toen men ophield met dit schatgraven! [...]

In het Rijks-Museum te *Leiden* worden dertien urnen en bijpotjes, bij Jhr. Mr. H. de Grez te 's *Hertogenbosch*, vier urnen en bijpotjes (1) en in het kabinet van het Noord-Brabantsch Genootschap twee urnen en een bijpotje bewaard.

(1) Onder het afdrukken van dit bericht verplichtte mij de heer de Grez met die goed bewaarde urnen aan ons kabinet ten geschenke aan te bieden.

1 januari 1841 **VERHANDELING over de in Noord-Brabant ontdekte Germaansche Begraafplaatsen.**

[262] "De Grafheuvel en de daarin gevondene merkwaardigheden mogen in den eersten opslag, het voorkomen van weinige beteekenis hebben, dit vooroordeel zal weldra afgelegd worden, wanneer men tot zijne verbazing ontdekt, dat zulk een op zich weinig beduidend toeval zoo veel stof aanbiedt, om de Schriften der ouden te verstaan, en over de oudste geschiedenis en volksgebruiken zulk een licht verspreidt." Westendorp.

Noord-Brabant is rijk in overblijfsels van den voortijd, en bezit vooral nog zeer veel in hare volksbegrippen, volksgebruiken en volksverleveringen, dat voor den oudheidkundige onschatbaar is, en hem tot eene meer grondige kennis kan doen komen van het volk, 't welk de oorlogende Romeinen het eerst leerden kennen en in ruwe trekken afmaalden.

In de voorgaande afleveringen van het *Mengelwerk* hebben wij reeds eenige berigten deswege medegedeeld, en de bijval, welke dezelve bij vele lezers gevonden [263] hebben, moedigt mij aan, om onze overige navorschingen

1°. omtrent de goden en dezelve tempels,
2°. " de gewijde bosschen,
3°. " de heilige boomen,

59500 4°. " de heilige bronnen,
5°. " de heidensehe begraafplaatsen
van tijd tot tijd mede te deelen.
Wij kiezen thans de heidensche begraafplaatsen ter beschouwing, die ontdekt zijn:
1°. te Orten bij 's Hertogenbosch,
59505 2°. " Alphen in de baronie van Breda,
3°. " Mun onder Oss,
4°. " Deurne bij Helmond,
5°. " Gemonde bij St. Michiels-Gestel,
6°. " Genderen (land van Heusden),
59510 7°. " Engelen " " "
8°. " Tilburg,
9°. " Haren bij Megen.
Deze opgaven zullen wij doen vergezeld gaan van die bijzonderheden, welke onze
vaderen voornamelijk den kennen bij het plegtige tijdstips des verscheidens, en of
59515 uit middeleeuwsche oorkonden, of uit de taal, of uit den mond des volks bijeengebragt
zijn. De uitvoerigheid dezer verhandeling zal, hopen wij, om de verscheidenheid en
nieuwheid van vele onzer opmerkingen, bij den lezer gereedelijk verschooning vinden.

[273] **BEGRAAFPLAATS TE DEURNE.**

59520 De begraafplaats uit den heidenschen voortijd, welke in 1837, in de heide 20 minuten
van Deurne, ontdekt werd, en waaruit wel 100 urnen gegraven zijn, heeft veel gerucht
gemaakt. In het voorjaar van 1840 heb ik mij derwaarts begeven, om met eigene oogen
dit ke  op te nemen, en na gedaan  erzoek bevonden, dat de berigten, door Dr.
Jansen  den *Konst- en Letterbode* (a)  plaatst, allernaauwkeurigst zijn, weshalve
59525 wij het zakelijke berigt met de woorden van dezen oudheidkundige zullen overnemen.
De heer F. baron van Voorst tot Voorst, ritmeester bij het regiment Huzaren N. 6. te
Somerens gecantonneerd, vond al jagende in de omstreken van onderscheidene dorpen, zoo
ook te Deurne, in de hoogste punten der heide, [274] regelmatige verhevenheden, die
hij veronderstelde, dat in vroegere tijden een doel gehad moeten hebben. "Ik dacht",
59530 zoo schrijft zijn Hoog wel geboren, wiens woorden wij verder laten volgen, "ik dacht,
na den jagdtijd wil ik weten, wat daar in zit; sprak er met den Burgemeester over,
die bereidwillig de vergunning tot het opgraven gaf. Met een dertigtal liefhebbers
der kompagnie, waarbij ik sta, aan het werk gegaan, vonden wij in een paar uren tijds
vier urnen, van verschillende gedaanten en grootte, waarvan er drie gebarsten waren,
59535 en die met het opheffen uit een vielen. Alle waren, als ook de nadere gevondene, met
verbrande menschenbeenderen tot op de helft gevuld. Het aanvulsel is eene compacte
zwarte aarde, misschien vroeger asch en houtskool... Wanneer men bij het graven
houtskool ontdekte, wan was de urne niet ver af te vinden."

"Zelden vond men menschenbeenderen zonder urnen. Van de menschenbeenderen zijn
59540 stukken van schedels, ribben en vooral de ronde hoofden der dij- en opperarmbeenderen
nog duidelijk te onderkennen... Ik beschouw dezelve uit de hand gemaakt, ten minste
niet zoo als thans gedraaid en slecht gebakken, dat bij het doorbreken der scherven
op de kanten te zien is. De kleur is bij eenige als chocolade, bij andere
grauwachtig. Twee waren ligt rood en eene scheen ruw verglaasd. daags na mijn begin
59545 waren eenige boeren en burgers ook begonnen, om een door den Ritmeester aangeduiden
schat te zoeken, en weldra twee honderd boeren bezig, om alles zonder orde of overleg
ten onderste boven te keeren. Goede raad kon niet baten. Naderhand werd dit door
eenigen begrepen. De aarde heeft een en half spit die vast en bruinheid... welke zij 
59550 elders bezit. Dieper [275] spittende bespeurt men weldra dat de grond vroeger (niet?)
geroerd is geweest."

"De urnen, die in geel zand zitten, zijn gaver, witter en helderder van kleur, dan
die in den grond, welke op teelaarde gelijkt. Die, welke in den vlakken grond worden
aangetroffen, zitten zelfs minder dan een voet diep; in de heuvels $2\frac{1}{2}$ tot 3 voet; de
59555 eene urne boven de andere; bij grootere ook wel kleinere, of daarin orgen, als de
kraamvrouw met haar kind. - Ik had de grootste heuvels onderzocht (a) n de
veronderstelling, dat dit de graven der voornaamste personen zouden zijn. Wanneer dit
niet meer dan een gewoon kerkhof van dien tijd is geweest, dan kunnen dit familie-
graven geweest zijn, hetwelk men geneigd is te gelooven, wanneer men de urnen met
59560 eenige tusschenruimte boven elkander zag geplaatst; waardoor die bergjes
achtereenvolgens die hoogte verkregen, welke door verloop van tijd veel van derzelver
hoogte, door regen, droogte en wind moeten hebben verloren. - Op eenige urnen is
verbrand metaal gevonden; al zeer gering (echter) in vergelijking van de
uitgestrektheid opgeworpen grond, die thans eene woestijn gelijkt... Deze
59565 begraafplaats wordt door een voetpad op Astendoorsneden, liggende op 20 minuten
afstands van Deurne; zij zal op het oog geschat, 150 passen breed, en 500 land

zijn... Er zullen ruim een honderdtal urnen gevonden zijn van verschillende gedaante en grootte, waarvan een 2/3 gedeelte beschadigd was, van de grootte eens theekops af tot 100 pd. zwaar. Zij worden van f1 tot f4 verkocht... Ik moet nog bijbrengen, dat niet [276] geheel ver van de begraafplaats eene lange breedte sloot bestaat, waarvan het doel niet is te begrijpen, die noch tot vervoer (tenzij aanvoer van drinkwater). noch tot omsluiting, noch grensscheiding kan hebben gediend."

Tot zoo ver deelt Dr. Jansen bovenstaande merkwaardige berigten mede met de woorden van den baron van Voorst zelven, getrokken uit eenen brief gedagteekend: *Someren 25 Maart 1837*, die er tot lof van den geëerden ontdekker bijvoegt: "Ziet men uit dit belangrijk berigt, dat de heer van Voorst de eerste was, die de ontdekking maakte: men zal hem tevens den lof niet kunnen weigeren, dat hij daarbij oordeelkundiger en naauwkeuriger is te werk gegaan, dan men van iemand, die deze soort van nasporing niet tot zijne bijzondere studie maakte, had mogen verwachten; men zal hem erkentelijk zijn, dat hij gelet heeft op bijzonderheden, die bij eene wetenschappelijke beoordeeling niet gemist kunnen worden."

Toen ik te Deurne was, werd mij verhaald, dat reeds vóór dertig jaren een schaapsherder eene urne met menschen-beenderen gevonden had, doch dat hij die als overblijfsels van eenen manslag beschouwd en, om met de politie in geene aanraking te komen, de zaak stil gehouden en de beenderen met de potscherven weder in den grond gestopt had.

Beschouwen wij thans de voorwerpen, welke in deze Germaansche begraafplaats ontdekt zijn. Dezelve zijn van drieërlei aard, als:

1°. Een honderdtal urnen.

2°. Eenige metalen versierselen.

3°. Een drietal verdachte voorwerpen.

[277] I. LIJKURNEN.

In het Rijks Museum van oudheden te Leiden worden bewaard:

1°. Een gebarsten pot van donker bruine aarde, met verbrande beenderen. Hoog 0,16 el. (zijnde N°, 66a der verzameling van oudheden.)

2°. Potje van bruine aarde, met aschachtige aarde. Hoog 0,095 el (N°. C. 74). Dit potje werd gevonden in een

3°. Pot van donkerbruine aarde, zijnde tamelijk fijn bewerkt, doch aan den rand geschonden, met verbrande beenderen. Hoog 0,195 el. (N°. 81.)

4°. Pot van donkerbruine aarde, aan den rand beschadigd, met verbrande beenderen. Hoog 0,25 el. (N°. 74a). In denzelfden bevond zich een

5°. Potje van graauwe aarde, tamelijk fijne stof en ruwe bewerking, doch aan ééne zijde geschonden. Hoog 0,04 el. (N°. C. 164.)

6°. Pot van donkerbruine aarde; vorm als Fig. 3 der bijgaande plaat, met verbrande menschen beenderen en asch. Hoog 0,24 el. (N°. 82.)

7°. Pot van bruine aarde; doch van boven geschonden. Hoog 0,16 el. (N°. 91.)

8°. Pot van lichtbruine aarde, met één oortje voorzien, en met verbrande beenderen en asch, boven welke eenige fragmenten ruw aardewerk lagen, die oorspronkelijk tot een' schotel van 18 duim middellijn kunnen behoord hebben. Hoog 0,2 el. (N°. 93.)

9°. Pot van donkerbruine aarde, aan ééne zijde zeer beschadigd, met verbrande beenderen. Hoog 0,245 el. (N°. 98.) [278]

10°. Pot van donkerbruine aarde, met verbrande menschen-beenderen. Hoog 0,205 el. (N°. C. 99.)

11°. Pot van bruine aarde, met verbrande beenderen. Hoog 0,15 el. (N°. 101.)

12°. Pot van donkerbruine aarde, doch boven ter helft geschonden, met verbrande beenderen. Hoog 0,27 el. (N°. C. 109.)

13°. Pot van bruine aarde, waarvan de rand en ooren weggebroken zijn, met vijf ruw ingekrabde lijnen boven den buik, met verbrande beenderen. Hoog 0,16 el. (N°. 119.)

De omschrijving dezer 13 lijkurnen is overgenomen uit *Dr. Jansen, de Germaansche en noordsche monumenten van het Museum te Leiden* (Leiden 1840), met opgave der Nummers, waaronder zij in de verzameling voorkomen.

Nog hebben wij het genoegen van twee urnen te gewagen, die door den baron van den Bogaerde van ter Brugge aan het Provinciaal Genootschap te 's Hertogenbosch geschonken zijn, en op de Boekerij van dat Genootschap bewaard worden.

1°. Pot van donkerbruine aarde, in den rand eenigzins beschadigd. Hoog 0,16 el. (Zie Fig. 2.) In deze urne werd gevonden een

2°. Potje mede van donkerbruine aarde, hetwelk veel geleden heeft. Hoog 0,073 el. (Zie Fig. 4.)

Laat ons thans de geleerde aanmerkingen van den heer Jansen overnemen, zoo als die in den Letterbode voorkomen.

"De bestemming der urnen", zegt hij "is aan geene bedenking onderworpen; zij waren

geheel of ten deele met verbrande menschen-beenderen gevuld, boven welke [279] met houtskolen en asch gemengde aarde; het waren dus dooden-urnen, die 't laatste overschot der verbrande lijken bevatteden. Minder bepaald is de bestemming der kleine
59635 potjes, die soms, boven op, soms binnen in en soms naast de urnen gevonden worden. Als zeker zal men slechts die voor kinder-urnen houden mogen, bij welks de beendertjes zulks uitwijzen. De ons bekend gewordenen hebben het niet bewezen. Deze "(zijnde vijf stuks door den Heer Jansen onderzocht) "bevatteden eene geele, soms graauw, van asch gemengde aarde, terwijl slechts één en schelfertje been in zich
59640 hield. De jongste oudheidkundige ontdekkingen, bij soortgelijke elders ontdekte potjes, hebben aangetoond, dat sommige gediend hebben, om iets tot nut of sieraad des levens in te leggen. Tegen het veelal omhelsd gevoelen, dat zij steeds de asch der kraamkinderen zouden bevatten, strijdt onder andere ook het zeer groot getal van deze, zoo wel te Deurne als elders gevondene bij-potjes."
59645 "Dat de urnen en potjes zeer onderscheiden zjn in grootte, gedaante en uitwenig vertoon, is opgemerkt, en ook aan ons gebleken. De hoogte en wijdte staan niet in evenredige verhouding, maar alle hebben eene wijde opening, die geschikt is tot het inleggen van voorwerpen, en gelijken eene gewone tobbe, terwijl geene enkele kruikvormig is. Zeldzaam schijnen die, thans op het Museum alhier aanwezig, was er
59650 slechts eene, gedekt met brokstukken eener groote schaal of tobbe, noch opzettelijk tot bedekking vervaardigd, noch ook op de urne sluitende. Volgens afbeeldingen is er echter eene ontdekt, waarvan het deksel binnen de urne beter sloot, en eene waarbij het over den rand uitstak. Ook [280] hebben slechts weinige één of twee oortjes en nog zeldzamer schijnen die te zijn voorgekomen, die eenige versieringen hadden, eene
59655 versiering echter, die naauwelijks dien naam mag verdienen. Bij eene in ons Museum aanwezige bestaat zij in vijf lijnen, die onevenredig onder elkander rondom den rand der urne loopen, en er met een puntig werktuig zijningeschrabt, toen de aarde nog week was. Volgens afbeeldingen is er echter ook eene ontdekt bij welke die lijnen regtstandig naast elkander en eene andere, bij welke zij kruislings van malkander om
59660 de urne liepen. De kleur der bij onze geziene, is eene gemengde bruine, nu meer in graauw dan in geel of rood spelende, na gelang van de aarde, waaruit zij gevormd zijn, en den graad der warmte tot bakking aangewend. Sommige zijn uitwendig tamelijk glad gestreken of gewreven, doch aan geene heb ik sporen van glasuur of verw kunnen ontdekken. Het meest opmerkenswaardig schijnt de ruwe bewerking. De stof is weinig
59665 bereid en gezuiverd; de vorming waarschijnlijk uit de hand, niet op eene schijf geschied; dit althans blijkt duidelijk bij de kleine potjes en de brokstukken van het bovengenoemde deksel. De groote broosheid, die men bij sommige der geschondene potten bespeurt, doet met regt vermoeden, dat zij weinig gebakken, welligt slechts bij het vuur gedroogd zijn; aan welke broosheid het mede is toe te schrijven, dat zoo weinige
59670 ongeschonden aan het licht gekomen zijn. Wanneer men dit ruwe en zoo geringe kunstvordering aantoonende karakter van het aardewerk overweegt, kan men niet gelooven, dat dit van hetzelfde volk afkomstig zoude zijn, hetwelk de keurig bewerkte metalen (waarvan straks) vervaardigd heeft. Bij het aardewerk aan Romeinschen [281] arbeid te denken, verbiedt ons eene opzettelijke vergelijking met soortgelijke
59675 voorwerpen van Romeinsche afkomst. Het Romeinsche aardewerk, ook het eenvoudigste, ook het in de armste graven ontdekte, vertoonde ons steeds die fiksche bewerking, die evenredige, door geoefende schijfdraaiingen ontstane vormen, die vaste bakking, die bestemde kleuren en juiste versieringen, welke wij bij het onze missen."

59680 II. METALEN VERSIERSELEN.

In het Rijks-Museum te Leiden worden bewaard:
1°. Beitelte van koper, met kopergroen bezet. Lang 0,087 el. (N°. 21a.)
2°. Beitelte van koper, met kopergroen bezet. Lang 0,062 el. (N°. 21b.) Zie Fig. 5.
3°. Beitelte van koper, met kopergroen bezet; doch de waaijer zeer beschadigd. Lang
59685 0,067 el. (N°. B. 21c.)
Dr. Jansen geeft in bedenking, of deze beitels geene pottebakkers gereedschappen geweest zijn. Zoo dit waar is, moeten de urnen op de begraafplaatsen zelve gevormd en gebakken zijn, hetwelk niet onmogelijk is. Ik stel mij intusschen de zaak zoo voor, dat destijds een pottebakker zal belast geweest zijn met het maken der urnen, even
59690 als thans een kistemaker, of de eene of andere godsdienstige of weldadige inrigting met het maken der lijkkasten, zoodat de pottenvormer even zoo min zijne beitels, als thans een kistemaker zijne gereedschappen met de kist zal hebben afgeleverd. Daar de kennis, die wij van Germaansche begraafplaatsen hebben, nog zoo jong en weinig ontwikkeld is, komt het mij voor, dat de tijd nog niet gekomen is, om het doel en het
59695 ge- [282] bruik aan te wijzen der bij lijk-urnen gevonden wordende werktuigen. Beschrijven wij liever naauwkeurig en geven wij juiste afbeeldingen van het gevondene, waardoor de oudheidkundige na ons genoegzamen voorraad verkrijgen zal, om

- door vergelijking van vele gelijkvormige voorwerpen, een juister denkbeeld te geven van het doel en gebruik, als dit bij de kindschheid der Noordsche Archeologie doenlijk is. Het spreekt echter van zelve, dat men verpligt is, om de voorwerpen voorloopig eene benaming te geven, wil men van dezelve spreken; doch dit geschiede voorwaardelijk, tot dat die ons nader bekend zullen zijn geworden; uit dien hoofde billijken wij de benamingen, die de geleerde Jansen aan de te Deurne gevondene voorwerpen geeft, en nemen wij die gaarne over.
- 59700 4°. Lans-spits van koper, met kopergroen bezet, aan het beneden einde van twee gaatjes voorzien, om aan eene schaft bevestigd te worden. Lang 0,115 el. (N°. 36.)
- 59705 5°. Lans-spits van ijzer, van twee gaatjes voorzien. Lang 0,23 el. (N°. 38.)
- 6°. Twee fragmenten van eenen mantelhaak naar het schijnt, van koper en met kopergroen bezet. (N°. 53a.)
- 59710 7°. Schijf van spiraalsgewijs gewonden koperdraad, met kopergroen bezet; (fragment van eenen mantelhaak). (N°. 53b.)
- 8°. Twee fragmenten eener koperen haarnaald, met kopergroen bezet (N°. 53 c.)
- 9°. Fragment van een' spiraalsgewijs gewonden ring naar het schijnt, van koper en met kopergroen bezet. Middellbare dikte 0,006 el. (N°. 56 a.)
- 59715 10°. Fragment van een' ronden armring (?) van koper, met kopergroen bezet. Dik 0,036 el. (N°. B. 56b.)
- [283]
- 11°. Fragment van een' armring (?) van koper, met kopergroen bezet. Dik 0,006 el. (N°. 56c.)
- 59720 12°. Bladvormig werktuig van gegoten koper, met kopergroen bezet, voorzien van eene gesplitste punt en drie kunstige gaatjes en aan de zijden scherp (zie fig. 6). Dr. Jansen gist, dat het misschien eene vorm is tot het bewerken van potten. Lang 0,017 el (N°. 209*.)
- 13°. Twee fragmenten koper, met kopergroen bezet, doch door verbranding misvormd; dezelve schijnen het mondstuk eener trompet te hebben uitgemaakt. Oorspronkelijke middellijn van het geheel 0,045 el. (N°. 209a.)
- 59725 Behalve deze metalen versierselen is in het Museum te Leiden nog een
- 14°. Plat ringetje van graauwachtig roode aarde en fijne bewerking; hetzelfde heeft waarschijnlijk als hals- of oorring aan een' anderen ring gehangen. Middellijn 0,013 el; dikte 0,005 el. (N°. B. 58a*.)
- 59730 Wij hebben de opgave dezer veertien versierselen, welke in lijkheuvelen te Deurne gevonden zijn, gedaan met de woorden van Dr. Jansen (*Germ. en noordsche monum. van het Museum te Leiden*).
- De meeste dezer voorwerpen had zijn Ed. zeer geleerde reeds in den Letterbode (1838. I. 390) doen kennen, alwaar nog van vier metalen versierselen gemeld wordt. Na deze opgave zegt Jansen:
- 59735 "Voor zoo verre wij weten, is het opgenoemde al het metaal, dat uit het groote aantal heuvelen is aan het licht gebracht, en wekte deze zeldzaamheid met regt de bevreemding van den heer van Voorst; zoo verdient het tevens opmerking, dat er geene voorwerpen van edele metaal, van goud of zilver, en waarschijnlijk ook [284] niet eens van ijzer (a) ontdekt zijn. De bewerking dezer voorwerpen is zeer zorgvuldig en naauwkeurig; zij zijn deels gegoten, deels geslagen en getrokken, en, ofschoon van beeldwerk ontbloot, verraden zij eenen zeer gevorderden trap van kunsttoefening, en wijzen op een volk, dat op eene aanzienlijke hoogte van beschaving moet hebben
- 59745 gestaan. Neemt men den vorm en de beteekenis in aanmerking, vergelijkt men dezelve met gelijksoortige voorwerpen van stellig Romeinschen oorsprong, zoo ontwaart men de meest in het oog loopende overeenkomst, eene overeenkomst die ons althans zoo groot is voorgekomen, dat, zoo wij dezelve tusschen Romeinsche voorwerpen hadden gevonden, er geene enkele twijfeling zoude overblijven, dat zij uit eene Romeinsche fabriek afkomstig waren."
- 59750 Dat deze vordering in beschaving - welke Dr. Jansen uit de gevondene voorwerpen afleidt, bij de in- en ombewoners van Deurne tijdens het heidendom reeds bestaan te hebben - werkelijk aldaar bestond, toen de H. Willebrord benevens den H. Lambertus de inwoners van Peelland, tot het christendom bekeerde, zal ten klaarste blijken uit
- 59755 onze verhandeling: *De H. Willebrord en de H. Lambertus in Noord-Brabant*, uit charters en gelijktijdige oorkonden opgemaakt, welke wij in eene volgende aflevering van dit Mengelwerk zullen mededeelen.

III. VERDACHTE VOORWERPEN.

- 59760 De baatzucht of minachting, voor al wat den kortzigtigen mensch vreemd is, den oudheidkundige steeds tracht te verschalken, heeft men te meermalen, tot mer- [285] kelijk nadeel der Archeologie, ondervonden, dan dat men te Deurne ook dergelijke kunstenarijen niet zou hebben trachten aan te wenden. Toen ik mij in persoon te

- Deurne met nasporingen bezig hield, stond ik aan dezelfde bedriegerij bloot. Men bood mij een ijzeren beeldje te koop aan, dat alle blijken droeg, van vroeger tot een heft van een mes te hebben gediend. Op mijne vragen kreeg ik zulke ontwijkende antwoorden, en de verkooper werd zo zeer gedecontanceerd, dat ik hem afwees met eene houding, die hem duidelijk deed gevoelen, dat ik hem voor eenen lagen en baatzuchtigen bedrieger hield.
- In den Letterbode spreekt de heer van Voorst:
 1°. van een metalen beeldje, met platte vierkante hoofddekking, zijnde een span lang, en gekleed als b. v. Erasmus te Rotterdam, met gevouwen handen, waarin duidelijk een rozenkrans te onderkennen is. "Zoo dit beeldje werkelijk opgegraven is", schrijft de heer van Voorst, "dan is 't denkelijk van lateren datum."
- 2°. Van eenen sabel of kling. "Maar zoo deze, zegt Dr. Jansen, ook al te Deurne mogt opgedolven zijn, gelijk men den heer van Voorst, volgens aan mij gerigte missive, had verzekerd, behoort zij echter geenszins tot de grafheuvelen; daar zij ons bij onderzoek gebleken is van zoo jeugdigen tijd te zijn, dat zij niet eens aan de middeleeuwen reikt. Derzelver beeldwerk en verduisterd opschrift geeft de overtuiging, dat zij den tijd van Lodewijk XIV niet kan te boven gaan. Klingen uit de vorige eeuw, nog geene honderd jaren oud, en uit Amsterdamsche fabrieken, hebben met deze Deurnesche de treffendste overeenkomst."
- [286]
- 3°. Van eenen ijzeren bout of hamer. "Deszelfs bezitter, de heer P. Guyot te Nijmegen, zegt Dr. Jansen, berigtte mij, dat hij het niet der moeite waard geacht had, deze ter bezigtiging over te zenden, aangezien hij te kennelijke blijken droeg van een' gewone grendel uit zeer jeugdigen tijd te zijn."
- Wij eindigen deze berigten wegens de Germaansche begraafplaats te Deurne, met den wensch, dat de bezitters van daar opgegravene oudheden mogten worden opgewekt, om dezelve, tegen behoorlijke schadeloosstelling, af te staan aan het Provinciaal Noord-Brabandsch Genootschap te 's Hertogenbosch.
- Fig. 2-6. Oudheden te Deurne gevonden.
- 1 januari 1841 **Deurne is een net en welvarend dorp met eene sierlijke kerk** en eenen fraaijen toren, bij de roomschen in gebruik. Het kasteel te Deurne is nog in zijnen oudentoestand en een aangenaam verblijf. Schuins tegenover hetzelfde ligt nog een gedeelte van een ander kasteel of huizing, alwaar eenmaal de wieg stond van den natuurkundigen Joannes Florentius Martinet, die naar de getuigenissen van Uilkens meer dan iemand heeft bijgedragen, om de natuurlijke historie onder onze landgenooten te populariseren. Deurne heeft met *Liessel* eene bevolking van 3,256 inwoners, die zich generen met den landbouw en het steken van den peelturf. Te Deurne is in het jaar 1837 een germaansch kerkhof uit den heidenschen voortijd ontdekt geworden. Men zeide ons, dat de heer F. baron van Voorst tot Voorst, ridmeester bij het regiment huzaren, het eerst deze grafheuvels ontdekt heeft. Voor dertig jaren had een schaapherder wel eene urne met gebrande menschenbeenderen gevonden, doch, daar hij die als het overblijfsel hield van eenen manslag en voor de politie beducht was, had hij de zaak stil gehouden, en de beenderen met de potscherven weder in den grond gestopt. De begraafplaats wordt door een voetpad op Asten doorsneden, liggende rondom in de heide, en 20 minuten van Deurne, hebbende nagenoeg eene lengte van 500 en eene breedte van 150 passen. Men had ongeveer 100 lijkbussen van allerlei groote uitgegraven. Dit heidensch overblijfsel gaf ons ruime stof, om het eentoonige der heide te doen vergeten.
- 26 januari 1841 **Bij de afdeeling der Germaansche en Noordsche oudheden,** van den Generaal Majoor Rottiers, aan wiens ijver en zorg het Museum het bezit van zoo vele Grieksche kunststukken te danken heeft, een bronzen Goden-beeldtje, in den omtrek van Aken gevonden.
- Van den heer P. O. P. Guyot, te Nijmegen, eene allerbelangrijkste verzameling van bronzen en andere voorwerpen bij Deurne, in de provincie Noord-Brabant, opgedoken, en die voor het grootste gedeelte door den heer Ritmeester Baron van Voorst bijeengebragt, en aan den heer Guyot afgestaan waren. Door deze aanzienlijke aanwinst, vereenigd met de urnen en andere voorwerpen, waarvan wij in onze vorige berigten (*Staats-Courant* 1838 en 1839) gewaagden, is het Museum thans in het bezit gesteld van de voornaamste en zeldzaamste stukken, die bij de ontdekking te Deurne gedaan, voordien dag zijn gekomen, en die, langs verschillende wegen, eindelijk wederom bij elkander gebragt, een geheel vormen, dat tot de kennis van een der oude volksstammen, die vroeger ons land bewoonden, eene zoo onverwachte als aanzienlijke bijdrage leveren kan. In den *Konst- en Letterbode* 1838, Mei. pag. 379-395, zijn de

- 59830 meeste der voorwerpen door den heer Conservator Dr. Janssen, beschreven.
- 25 februari 1842 M. P. O. P. Guyot à Nymègue d'une collection très-remarquable de bronzes et d'autres objets trouvés près de Deurne dans le Brabant-Septentrional et qui pour la plupart avaient été rassemblés par M. le capitaine baron Van Vorst qui les remis à M. Guyot. Cette importante acquisition jointe aux urnes et autres objets
- 59835 dont il a été rendu compte en 1838 et en 1839, met le Musée en possession des principaux et des plus rares résultats de la fouille près de Deurne. Toutes ces découvertes éparses, réunies maintenant, forment un ensemble qui pourra jeter un grand jour sur la connaissance des anciens peuples qui ont habité jadis notre pays.
- 59840 La plupart de ces objets sont décrits par M. le conservateur Janssen dans le *Konst- en Letterbode* de 1838, pages 370--395.
- 26 januari 1841 [13] Van den heer P. O. P. Guyot, te Nijmegen, eene
- 59845 allerbelangrijkste verzameling van bronzen en andere voorwerpen bij Deurne, in de provincie Noord-Brabant, opgedolven, en die voor het grootste gedeelte door den Ritmeester Baron van Voorst bijeengebracht, en aan den heer Guyot afgestaan waren. [14] is het Museum thans in het bezit gesteld van de voornaamste en zeldzaamste stukken, die bij de ontdekking te Deurne gedaan, voor den dag zijn gekomen, en die, langs verschillende wegen, eindelijk wederom bij elkander gebragt, een geheel vormen, dat [...]
- 59850 24 februari 2014 Antwoord van Heikki Pauts van het Rijksmuseum te Leiden - mei 1841, inventarisnummers GtD 13-20 "Gevonden te Deurne en geschonken door dhr. P.C.G. Guyot te Nijmegen";
- 59855 http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?q=GtD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=
- 24 februari 2014 Antwoord van Heikki Pauts van het Rijksmuseum te Leiden - november 1841, inventarisnummers VdN 1-3 "Gevonden in een urn te Deurne, door dhr. S.H. van der Noordaa te Dordrecht aan de conservator L.J.F. Janssen gegeven";
- 59860 1 januari 1842 4.) *De Germaansche en Noordsche Monumenten van het Museum te Leyden, kort beschreven door L. J. F. JANSSEN, Conservator bij het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden.* - Met twee platen. - Te Leyden bij S. en J. Luchtmans, 1840. Gr. Oct. 70 Bladz.
- 59865 [...] Onder deze vindt men hier als zeldzaam aangeteekend: een plat ringetjes van graauwachtige roode aarde uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel te Deurne; [...] een bladvormig werktuig van gegoten koper, uit een' Germaanschen grafheuvel te Deurne;
- 59870 12 januari 1842 [15] Van den heer P. C. G. GUYOT, te Nijmegen, nog een aantal van tien urnen, potjes en schalen, te Deurne in Noord-Brabant gevonden; [16] Van den Heer S. H. van der Noordaa te Dordrecht, nog een drietal kleine voorwerpen in urnen te Deurne gevonden.
- 59875 20 januari 1843 [17] Van de heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA ontvingen wij wederom een mortier van tufsteen, in den omtrek van Deurne gevonden.
- 1 juli 1845 uit: *Handelingen van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten ...*
- 59880 72 Romeinsche koperen braadpan (Sartago), in den zomer van 1845 gevonden in de Peel, drie uren van Cuyk, drie voet onder het moer. Zeer zeldzaam. Van wege de Provinciale Commissie van Oudheden, die dit gedenkstuk voor 2 gulden kocht.
- 74 Lijkurnen en bijpotjes van Germaanschen oorsprong, met een catalogus van No. 1-50.
- 59885 [18] No. 1-3 afkomstig van Deurne. [...]
- 111 Eene Peelslang in 1851 levend gevangen, in eene flesch op liquor. Geschenk van den Notaris Rovers, te Asten
- 59890 1 januari 1850 [...] **Uit zijn [=Limburgs] bodem** zijn in vroegeren en lateren tijd tal van voorwerpen uit de steen, brons- en ijzerperiode voor den dag gekomen. De wetenschappelijke onderzoeken om daarvan op het spoor te komen, dagteekenen het eerst van omstreeks 1825. Deze werden door den heer CHARLES GUILLON, notaris te Roermond, ingesteld. Een zeer bemiddeld man, legde
- 59895 hij eene groote verzameling van oudheden aan, van allerlei soort en uit verschillende

tijdperken, die tot aan zijn overlijden op 10 Nov. 1873 geregeld werd aangevuld. Later is zij door verkoop verspreid geraakt, maar de meeste voorwerpen uit de voorhistorische tijd hebben in het Rijksmuseum te Leiden gelukkig een onderkomen gevonden. [...]

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5 december 1856 **Op MAANDAG 15 December 1856 en Vijf volgende dagen,** des Voor- en Namiddags, zal de Boekhandelaar G. THEOD. BOM, te Amsterdam, in ODEON Publiek Verkoopen: het uitmuntende KABINET GEDENK- EN LEGPENNINGEN, EERE- en DRAAGTEEKENEN, VROEDSCHAPS-, GILDE-, SCHUTTERS-, RELIGIEUSE-, VRIJMETSELAARS-, PRIJS- en BRANDSPUITPENNINGEN. NOODMUNTEN EN MUNTEN, MUNT-, PENNING- EN WAPENKUNDIGE BOEKEN, NAGELATEN DOOR WIJLEN DEN HEER S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, Lid van verschillende Binnen- en Buitenlandsche Letterk., Histor. en Oudheidkundige Genootschappen, te Dordrecht. KIJKDAGEN: VRIJDAG en ZATURDAG 12 en 13 December. De CATALOGUS is op franco aanvraag a 20 Cents te bekomen bij G. THEOD. BOM, Kalverstraat, E 10. (19573)

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24 februari 2014 Antwoord van Heikki Pauts van het Rijksmuseum te Leiden - juni 1863, inventarisnummers ND 1-15 "Afkomstig uit de verzameling van wijlen de hr. S.H. van der Noordaa, opgegraven te Deurne. Overgenomen van zijn zoon, Mr. van der Noordaa. Volgens etiketjes, van de hand van wijlen den Heer S.H. van der Noordaa, zijn alle deze voorwerpen (ND 1-15) in het jaar 1837 op de te Deurne aanwezige oude begraafplaats opgegraven";

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31 maart 1864 **Voor de VADERLANDSCHE oudheden** werden onderscheidene aanwinsten gedaan. Met de hierboven vermelde Romeinsche voorwerpen uit de nalatenschap van wijlen den heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA werden ook eenige overgenomen, van de vroegere bewoners van ons Vaderland afkomstig: eene zeer fraai gepolijste vuursteen BIJL, 12 dm. lang; een ruw bewerkte BAL van trachiet, 4 dm. in doorsnede; eene URNE van gebakken aarde, gevuld met verbrande menschenbeenderen, hoog 19 dm.; eene andere URNE, 18 dm. hoog, met de daarin gevonden brokken van eene bronzen HAARNAALD; nog een drietal URNEN met verbrande beenderen en overblijfsels van bronzen RINGEN enz.; de urnen van 10, 15.5 en 16 duim hoogte; twee KOMMETJES, 9 en 7 dm.; 4 POTJES van verschillende vormen, 6 5 tot 9.5 dm. hoog; een bekervormig VAATJE, 5.5 dm. hoog, en eenige brokstukken van potten. Al deze voorwerpen, met uitzondering welligt van de WIGGE, waren in 1837 op de oude begraafplaats te Deurne in Noordbrabant opgegraven; zij vormen nu met de stukken die, ter zelfder plaats gevonden, in 1840 en 1841 door wijlen den heer P. O. G. GUYOT aan het Museum geschonken werden, een aanzienlijk geheel. [...]

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Eenige MIDDELEEWSCHEN EN LATERE VOORWERPEN, afkomstig uit de ontgravingen voor de legerplaats te Nijmegen, een paar trachietsteen MORTIEREN met STAMPERS uit den omtrek van Deurne afkomstig en tot de reeds meermalen genoemde nalatenschap van wijlen den heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA behorende; [...]

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31 maart 1864 [19] Romeinsche voorwerpen uit de nalatenschap van wijlen den heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA werden ook eenige overgenomen, van de vroegere bewoners van ons Vaderland afkomstig:

[20] eene zeer fraai gepolijste vuursteen BIJL, 12 dm. lang;

[21] een ruw bewerkte BAL van trachiet, 4 dm. in doorsnede;

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[22] eene URNE van gebakken aarde, gevuld met verbrande menschenbeenderen, hoog 19 dm.;

[23] eene andere URNE, 18 dm. hoog, met de daarin gevonden brokken van eene bronzen HAARNAALD;

[24, 25, 26] nog een drietal URNEN met verbrande beenderen en

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[27] overblijfsels van bronzen RINGEN enz.; de urnen van 10, 15.5 en 16 duim hoogte;

[28] twee KOMMETJES, 9 en 7 dm.;

[29] 4 POTJES van verschillende vormen, 6 5 tot 9.5 dm. hoog;

[30] een bekervormig VAATJE, 5.5 dm. hoog, en eenige brokstukken van potten.

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[31] Al deze voorwerpen, met uitzondering welligt van de WIGGE, waren in 1837 op de oude begraafplaats te Deurne in Noordbrabant opgegraven;

[32] een paar trachietsteen MORTIEREN met STAMPERS uit den omtrek van Deurne afkomstig en tot de reeds meermalen genoemde nalatenschap van wijlen den heer S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA behorende;

[33] zij vormen nu met de stukken die, ter zelfder plaats gevonden, in 1840 en 1841 door wijlen den heer P. O. G. GUYOT aan het Museum geschonken werden, een aanzienlijk geheel.

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28 november 1874 **OUDHEDEN.**

De belangrijke verzamelingen van oudheden, kunstvoorwerpen, boeken en archieven, nagelaten door den Heer G. Ch. H. GUILLON, in leven Notaris te Roermond, zullende ten verzoeken van den heer Mr. C. Guillon, Procureur aldaar, ten overstaan van den te Roermond residerenden Notaris MAX. CORNELIS, ten sterfhuize, op de volgende dagen, iedere reis te beginnen des voormiddags ten 9 ure, openbaar verkocht worden, te weten:

De Gothische kasten en andere voorwerpen van Kunst op maandag den 30 November eerstkomende.

De schilderijen en gravuren op den 1sten en 2den December daaraanvolgende.

De Archieven op den 9 december en volgende dagen.

De prehistorische, Romeinsche, Germaansche en Frankische oudheden op den 11 Jan. 1875 en volgende dagen

De intaglio's (intailles), Romeinsche munten en medailles, benevens de Middeleeuwsche munten en andere penningen, op den 18 Januarij 1875 en volgende dagen.

Alle verzamelingen, met uitzondering der bibliotheek, zullen tegen contante betaling en tien percent verhooging voor kosten, verkocht worden.

Voor de voldoening der boeken wordt drie maanden crediet verleend.

Aan heeren liefhebbers zal daags voor de respectieve verkooppingen, van des voormiddags 9 tot des namiddags 5 ure, de gelegenheid gegeven worden om de te verkoopen verzameling te bezichtigen.

De vereenigde Catalogussen zijn tegen betaling van 60 cents verkrijgbaar bij den uitgever dezer Courant, terwijl daarenboven voor aanvragen buiten Roermond het porto der post bedraagt als volgt: voor Nederland en België 22, voor Duitschland 55 en voor Frankrijk 56 cents.

Ter voldoening van koopprijs en porto worden postzegels aangenomen.

24 februari 2014 Antwoord van Heikki Pauts van het Rijksmuseum te Leiden

- april 1884, inventarisnummers ND 16-37 "Afkomstig uit de verzameling van wijlen de hr. S.H. van der Noordaa, opgegraven te Deurne. Aangekocht op een verkoping te Amsterdam bij Frederik Muller en Co op 8 April en volgende dagen 1884 "in de brakke gronden".

[http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?](http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?g=ND&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=)

[g=ND&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=](http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?g=ND&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=)

1 maart 1890 **Antiquiteiten.**

Het beroemde MUSÉE GUILLON gedurende meer dan een halve eeuw bijeenverzameld door den bekenden oudheidkundige CHARLES GUILLON, Notaris te Roermond, zal publiek worden VERKOCHT op Dinsdag 11-15 Maart a.s. te AMSTERDAM door G. THEOD. BOM & ZOON, Spuistraat 135.

De verzameling omvat meest in Limburg opgegravene Romeinsche, Germaansche, Celtische en Middeleeuwsche Oudheden, Romeinsche en Geldersche Munten en Medailles, Limburgsche Muntstempels, Japansch gelakte en oude eikenhouten Meubelen, Porceleinen, Schilderijen, Kostbaarheden, enz.

Catalogus f 0 25.

8 maart 1890 **De catalogus der kunstvoorwerpen,**

nagelaten door wijlen den notaris Guillon alhier, noemt wel duizend in Limburg opgegravene Romeinsche, Germaansche, Keltische, Frankische en middeleeuwsche oudheden, uit het steen- en uit het bronstijdperk, lijkurnen, Romeinsch glas- en aardewerk, ruim 70 stuks van het fraaie roode aardewerk van Samos, een eenige in zilver gedrevene schildplaat, waarschijnlijk uit de laatsten tijd van het Romeinsche keizerrijk, ruim 80 gesneden steenen of cameeën, 1400 antike gouden, zilveren en bronzen munten, eenige middeleeuwsche Geldersche en Limburgsche munten, muntstempels en zegels, benevens eene kleine verzameling zilveren drijfwerken, oude meubelen, enz. De met zorg bewerkte catalogus bewijst wel, dat hier voor onze antiquaren en oudheidkundigen veel belangrijks te vinden is.

10 maart 1890 **Twee zeer belangrijke veilingen**

zullen dezer dagen weder bij de auctionarissen G. Theod. Bom & Zoon, te Amsterdam, plaats hebben.

De eerste, bevattende de verzameling oudheden en munten, nagelaten door wijlen den Heer Charles Guillon, notaris te Roermond, is voor de beoefenaars der geschiedenis van ons vaderland vooral van groot belang. Nimmer toch werd eene dergelijke collectie van 1000 in Limburg opgegraven Romeinsche, Germaansche, Keltische, Frankische en middeleeuwsche oudheden in veiling gebracht. Zij doet ons een blik werpen in de zeden

- en gebruiken van die tijden. Zoowel het steen- als het bronstijdperk zijn ruim vertegenwoordigd, terwijl de verzameling Germaansch aardewerk, waaronder vele urnen met de asch onzer Germaansche voorvaderen, tot de rijkste mag worden gerekend. Ook het Romeinsche glas- en aardewerk, urnen, enz., waaronder van het fraaie roode aardewerk van Samos, verdient belangstelling, evenzeer als de in zilver en haut-relief gedreven umbo of schildplaat, een meesterstuk van drijfwerk uit den tijd van het Bas Empire. Voorts behoort tot deze collectie nog eene verzameling van ruim 80 meest antieke gesneden steenen of cameeën, antieke gouden, zilveren en bronzen munten, eenige middeleeuwsche Geldersche en Limburgsche munten, enz., enz. De tweede, van beperkter omvang, bevat een collectie antiquiteiten, zilveren drijfwerken, antieke meubelen, historische en Amsterdamsche rariteiten, kostbaarheden, porselein en Delftsch aardewerk, horens en schelpen, schilderijen, stereoscopen, glazen stereoscoopplaten, enz.
- Een en ander is te bezichtigen in het verkooplokaal der firma, Spuistraat 135, Zaterdag, Zondag en Maandag 8-10 Maart, van 10-3 uur.
- 10 maart 1890 **Dinsdagochtend Tien uur: VERKOOPING**
bij G. THEOD. BOM & ZOON, Spuistraat 135 naast *Die Port van Cleve*.
Collectie Guillon Antiquiteiten uit het Steen- en Bronstijdperk, Germaansche urnen, No.1-813.
Des avonds te Zes uur antieke Romeinsche Munten, te beginnen met No. 1.
Met terugsending van den Catalogus Guillon zal men de Verkoopers ten eerste verplichten.
- 14 maart 1890 **De verzameling Limburgsche oudheden,**
die bij G. Theod. Bom & Zoon, op de Spuistraat alhier, thans wordt verkocht en van den Heer Ch. Guillon te Roermond afkomstig was, blijkt algemeen de aandacht te hebben getrokken.
Gelukkig blijft het grootste gedeelte daarvan in ons land en is voornamelijk voor het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden en voor het Maastrichtsch museum van oudheden aangekocht. Het overige ging in handen van particulieren, terwijl enkele zeer fraaie stukken voor Engelsche rekening werden gekocht. No. 79 steenen bijl bracht op f14; no. 38 een dito f11.50; no. 160 steenen pijlpunten f15; no. 167 een steenen ponjaard f26; no. 199 een bronzen scheermes f10; no. 200 een lemmet voor een zwaard f28; no. 300 een germaansche beker f12; no. 314 en 315 2 bronzen beeldjes f39; no. 321 2 koperen ornamenten van een drievoot f14; no. 329 een dito reukdoosje met lepel f13; no. 336 een plaat met Jupiter en Hébe f48; no. 410 een Romeinsche flesch f35; no 411 een dito kleiner f20; no. 427 een vaas van aardewerk van Samos f32. De veiling duurt voort.
- 1 december 1894 **Verkoop van Wapens en Kunstvoorwerpen TE KEULEN.**
[...] 2°. Kunst-verzamelingen van wijlen den WelEd. Gestr. Heer C. Guillon, advocaat te Roermond, [...] Verkoop 12-18 December 1894.
Prijs van den geïllustreerden catalogus 3 Mark.
J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz' Söhne), Keulen.
- 4 mei 1929 **[...] In Roermond nu had in het jaar 1874**
een hoogst belangrijke verkoop van documenten, archivalia en oude curiositeiten plaats. Het was de verkoop der curiosa nagelaten door wijlen Mr. C. Guillon, advocaat en tevens notaris te Roermond. Deze zeldzame collectie, die circa 10.000 nummers bevatte, kwam onder den hamer en de verkoop, die van 30 November 1874 tot 19 Januari 1875 duurden had een afdeeling "Manuscripts, Archives et autres Documents historiques", die een kleine 1000 nummers bevatte. De catalogus van dezen verkoop is thans reeds een werkje geworden van bibliofilische waarde. [...]
- 27 februari 2014
Eindhoven, 27 februari 2014
Geachte mijnheer Louer,
Als bijlage vindt u een bestand over vondsten in de Peel. Ik ben zeer geïnteresseerd in voorwerpen die tot nu toe nog niet beschreven zijn. Verder verwijs ik naar www.theelen.info.
met vriendelijke groeten,
Paul Theelen
- Geachte mijnheer Scheijvens,
Naar aanleiding van ons telefoongesprek stuur ik als bijlage gegevens van voorwerpen

- 60095 die in de Peel, vooral bij het turfsteken, zijn gevonden. Voor het overige verwijs ik naar de uitgebreide website www.theelen.info, daarvan stuur ik ook de inhoudsopgave mee, zodat u er met trefwoorden in kunt zoeken en van daaruit naar het betrokken bestand kunt springen.
met vriendelijke groeten,
Paul Theelen
- 60100 27 februari 2014 van Ronald Louer (rlouer@brabant.nl)
Geachte heer Theelen, Beste Paul,
Hierbij een inventarislijst van vondsten uit de Peel (Helmond, Laarbeek, Gemert-Bakel, Deurne, Asten, Someren en Geldrop – zonder de plaatsnaam Mierlo) die
60105 geïnventariseerd zijn in het Provinciaal Depot Bodemvondsten Noord-Brabant. Nog niet de gehele collectie is geïnventariseerd, dus er kunnen nog meer vondsten in ons depot aanwezig zijn uit die gemeenten. De Provincie Noord-Brabant is pas vanaf het jaar 2000 verantwoordelijk voor het Provinciaal Depot Bodemvondsten Noord-Brabant. Daarvoor viel dit depot onder de verantwoordelijkheid van het Rijk. Sinds 2000 zijn
60110 wij bezig om de gehele collectie na te lopen en te inventariseren. De vondsten die gedaan zijn voor 1960 vallen in het algemeen onder het Noordbrabants Museum (als voortzetting van het Provinciaal Genootschap Noord-Brabant) of zijn in andere collecties terecht gekomen, maar een aantal van deze oudere vondsten bleken toch in ons depot aanwezig.
60115 Indien u nog verdere vragen heeft, ben ik graag bereid deze naar vermogen te beantwoorden.
Met vriendelijke groet,
Ronald Louer | Beheerder Provinciaal Depot Bodemvondsten Noord-Brabant | 06-18303225
- 60120 10 maart 2014 aan avanpinxteren@hnbm.nl
Eindhoven, 10 maart 2014
Geachte mijnheer van Pinxteren,
Ik ben bezig met het inventariseren van vondsten die in het veen van de Peel zijn terecht gekomen. Vondsten uit de veengebieden in het noorden van het land worden
60125 daarbij betrokken omdat daar wat meer is gevonden dan in de Peel. In het bijzonder richt ik het verzoek aan u betreffende de begraafplaats ten zuiden van Deurne die in 1837 is gevonden. Hoewel dit strikt gesproken niet tot de venen behoort. In uw museum zijn voorwerpen terecht gekomen, zoals urnen met inhoud; enkele vijzels (waarschijnlijk uit de Middeleeuwen) zijn via het museum van Leiden rond of na 1875
60130 ook bij u terecht gekomen of ze zijn verdwenen...
Kunt u aan de hand van de bijgestuurde bestanden op zoek gaan naar genoemde urnen en metalen voorwerpen, al dan niet door het museum aangekocht of anderszins verworven? bij voorbaat dank,
Paul Theelen zie ook www.theelen.info
- 60135

Reports on the discovered Germanic cemetery in Deurne

- 60140 February 24, 2014. At the end of January 1837, a complete burial plot was discovered on the heathland near Deurne. Urns were immediately given away as gifts, so there is little clarity about the objects and their current "whereabouts." This also applies, to a lesser extent, to the few other objects found in the peat bogs/marshes in the municipality of Deurne and elsewhere in the Peel region, and nationally in the peatlands of the north of the country.
- 60145 In this file, I will limit myself to the cemetery. Information about the other areas can be found in other files at www.theelen.info.
At my request, Mr. H. Pauts of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden provided further information about objects that have been in his museum since ancient times. However, some, at least the mortars and pestles, have been donated to a prospective
60150 museum. From that moment on, we lost track...
H. Pauts's comments have been incorporated into my own research.
- Collected details regarding the cemetery near Deurne
- 60155 [1] Several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of cremated bodies and small bones
[2] while in some, pieces of metal and parts of weapons were found
[3] Kempen heath
[4] First 5, then 50 urns were found
[5] Not a single penny or coin was unearthed; only a piece of metal, which is

- 60160 believed to be the mouthpiece of a wind instrument.
[6] Excavations are still continuing in some places, but as mentioned, nothing but ashes and the aforementioned human bones are found in the urns.
[7] Urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of cremated bodies and small bones;
- 60165 [8] We received a number of urns that had recently been discovered in Deurne, North Brabant; and the number was further increased by the proceeds of a deliberate excavation ordered for this purpose, donated to the Museum by the mayor of that town, Mr. van Riet.
[9] Several Roman objects from the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA were also acquired, originating from former inhabitants of our country:
- 60170 [10] The urns appear not to date from the Roman period, but from many hundreds of years earlier.
[11] Two tuff mortars with pestles, excavated near Deurne in North Brabant, were sent to Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa of Dordrecht;
- 60175 [12] These objects (mortars) were NOT found in the data of the more than 40,000 objects online. The mortars most likely date from the Middle Ages and were donated by the museum in Leiden around 1875 to another museum yet to be established.
[13] From Mr. P. O. P. Guyot, of Nijmegen, a very important collection of bronze and other objects excavated near Deurne, in the province of North Brabant, most of which
- 60180 were assembled by Captain Baron van Voorst and donated to Mr. Guyot.
[14] The Museum now possesses the most important and rarest pieces that came to light during the discovery in Deurne, and which, through various means, finally reassembled, form a whole that [...]
[15] From Mr. P. C. G. GUYOT, of Nijmegen, a number of ten urns, pots, and bowls, found in Deurne in North Brabant; [16] From Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa in Dordrecht, three more small objects in urns were found in Deurne.
- [17] From Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, we again received a tuff mortar, found in the vicinity of Deurne.
- 60190 [18] Nos. 1-3 from Deurne.
[19] Several Roman objects from the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA were also acquired, originating from former inhabitants of our country:
[20] a very beautifully polished flint axe, 12 dm long;
[21] a roughly worked trachyte ball, 4 dm in diameter;
- 60195 [22] a baked earthenware urn filled with burnt human bones, 19 dm high;
[23] Another URN, 18 dm. high, containing the fragments of a bronze HAIR NEEDLE found inside;
[24, 25, 26] Three more URNS containing burnt bones and
[27] remains of bronze RINGS, etc.; the urns were 10, 15.5, and 16 inches high; [28]
- 60200 Two CUBS, 9 and 7 dm.;
[29] Four POTS of various shapes, 6.5 to 9.5 dm. high;
[30] A beaker-shaped VESSEL, 5.5 dm. high, and some fragments of pots.
[31] All these objects, with the possible exception of the WIGGE, were excavated in 1837 at the old cemetery in Deurne, North Brabant;
- 60205 [32] a pair of trachyte stone MORTARS with PESTLES from the vicinity of Deurne and belonging to the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, already mentioned several times;
[33] they now form part of the pieces found at the same location in 1840 and 1841 by the late Mr. P. O. G. GUYOT
- 60210 A considerable collection was donated to the Museum.
[34] A person named van der Noordaa, living in Dinther, was a school inspector in a district of the province around 1820.
- February 24, 2014 Response from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden
- 60215 Below, I am sending you a complete list of finds from Deurne that the RMO received in the 19th century. You can also find some of these objects on our website - only those with a photograph are published there. The rest of the information comes from our inventory books. Between 1818 and 1891, the RMO used a somewhat confusing combination of the initials of personal names and locations for its inventory numbers, so, for example, "vRD" contains "van Riet Deurne." From 1891 onwards, the RMO switched to a new system of inventory numbers, consisting of a province code (k = North Brabant), year, month, and serial number. So, for example, k 1932/12.9 arrived at the museum in December 1932.
- 60220
- 60225 February 4, 1837 Deurne, February 3, 1837.

To the Editors of the Noord-Brabander. For eight days now, the municipality of Deurne has provided proof that this region also contains treasures, in terms of antiquity and history, that can easily be compared to other parts of our country. The attention of our Dutch scholars is therefore drawn to the following: this may enable them not only to expand their collections of antiquities with important articles, but also to render important contributions to history.

Begun by the official corps of Regt. Huss. No. 6 and continued by private individuals in the hope of finding treasures, they are busy here excavating a camp or army, or even a cemetery; Probably originating from a tribe driven from the Ardennes by the Romans, and hidden here, behind the marshlands of the Peel. Several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of burned bodies and small bones, have already been excavated; while in some, fragments of metal and parts of weapons have been found. These pots are covered by mounds of varying heights, which, like the pots themselves, have certainly increased in size and height, reflecting the prestige and rank of the person buried there. The pot is almost like a globe, tapering slightly oval towards the top and bottom, while at the top it has a slanting rim, which will have approximately the same circumference as the pot itself. The lid, which is very small in proportion to the pot, fits well and appears to be tightly covered. The largest pots will have a diameter of 3 palms, while the smallest will barely reach 1 to 1.5, and the mounds will also vary by almost a yard, as some are nearly 2 feet high, while others are more than five feet high. The pots are made of potting clay (which is also found here) and demonstrate that they had already advanced the art of turning to a considerable extent.

P.
[elsewhere:] - The attention of our national scholars and antiquarians is called to this discovery, which may be useful for adding to their collections or for elucidating history.

February 4, 1837 [1] Several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of burned bodies and small bones,
[2] while in some, pieces of metal and fragments of weapons have been found.

May 4, 1837 NETHERLANDS. In the latest issue of the Dutch Magazine, one finds an article about the recently unearthed urns in North Brabant. It mainly concerns the recent publication of reports in several of our daily newspapers regarding the excavation of antiquities in the municipality of Deurne, province of North Brabant. The editors of the aforementioned magazine have now received some details regarding this excavation, primarily as follows: A captain in the Hussar Regiment No. 6, having previously discovered that some mounds on the Kempen heath, during excavations, turned out to be burial mounds and contained urns or ash jars, came up with the idea that some similar mounds, which were present on the heath near Deurne, his current cantonment, might have served similar purposes and contained antiquities. With the permission of the mayor, having had excavations carried out, five urns or ash jars were found, which increased with subsequent excavations and now number more than fifty. It is unfortunate that the farmers, hearing of this, also began digging on their own side, hoping to find treasures; they smashed or damaged the urns they unearthed. Their disappointment was great when they found nothing but ashes in them. A few half-decayed human bones, such as skulls, ribs, thighbones, etc., were found. Not a single penny or coin was unearthed; only a small piece of metal, which is believed to be the mouthpiece of a wind instrument. The urns found are of varying sizes, but all of roughly the same shape, and some have lids. The heathland in which the urns were found is about four acres in size; the mounds are fairly regular, but the entire area appears to have served as a burial ground, as urns have also been found outside the mounds and at some distance from them. The urns are usually covered with a layer of charcoal; after all, as soon as one finds this, one is certain to be near an urn. Some are so high that the fibrous roots of common heather can be found above the ashes; others have been found deeper, but at uneven depths. The material from which these pots or urns are composed is smooth, solid, and dark brown in color; no glaze is visible on them, nor any inscription or inscription. If they were made in Deurne, where two potteries are still found, then one must admit that this art has not progressed there in 10 or 15 centuries; because these urns are worked more precisely and smoothly and treated with more care than is currently the case. Excavations are still continuing in some places, but, as mentioned, nothing is found in the urns other than ash and the aforementioned human bones.

February 24, 2014 Response from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- May 1837, inventory numbers NBD 1-3 "Excavated in Deurne and donated to the Museum by the Ministry of the Interior"; http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?q=NBD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=

60295

May 4, 1837 [3] Kempen heath

[4] First 5, then 50 urns found

[5] Not a single penny or coin has been unearthed; only a piece of metal, which is believed to be the mouthpiece of a wind instrument.

60300

[6] Excavations are still continuing in some places, but as mentioned, nothing but ashes and the aforementioned human bones are found in the urns.

June 3, 1837 HAARLEM, February 30

60305

A report has been received from the municipality of Deurne (North Brabant) regarding the discovery of a camp or cemetery near that location; It is believed to originate from an ancient tribe, driven from the Ardennes by the Romans, who sought refuge there, behind the marshlands of the Peel. The first discovery of this military or burial ground was made by officers of the Hussar Regiment No. 6, stationed in the area, and since then, excavations have continued by private individuals in the hope of finding treasure. Among the finds thus far are several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of cremated bodies and small bones; in some of these pots, it is reported, pieces of metal and fragments of weapons have been found. The aforementioned pots are covered by mounds of varying height, which, like the pots themselves, have likely increased in size and height according to the appearance and rank of the person buried there. The pots are made of clay and are well-turned; the largest have a diameter of 3, the smallest just over 1 palm. Some mounds are almost 2 feet high, others more than 5 feet.

60310

60315

June 3, 1837 [7] urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of cremated bodies and small bones;

60320

February 24, 2014 Response from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden

- August 1837, inventory numbers vRD 1-9b "Found near Deurne and given to the RMO as a gift by Mr. van Riet, mayor of Deurne and Liessel in August 1837"; http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?q=vRD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=

60325

May 26, 1838 (\$\$) The Roman graves, even the simplest ones,

b. Those that did not contain stone coffins yielded not only pottery, immediately identifiable as Roman by its workmanship, shape, color, or decoration, but also objects or fragments of metal, glass, or other composite material. On the contrary, no flint objects were ever found there. I have noted the distinct character of Roman and Germanic mound graves, among other places, in a report on the Antiquity discovery in Deurne, published in the Konst- en Letterbode of May 26, 1838.

60335

On April 23, 1839 [8], a number of urns were sent to us, which had recently been discovered in Deurne, in North Brabant; and the number was further increased by the proceeds of a specially ordered excavation, donated to the Museum by the mayor of that town, Mr. van Riet. [probably NBD 2, vRD 4a, vRD 2, vRD 3, ND 3, GtD 15]

60340

a, k 1942/6.1, k 1925/1.1, NBD 1, k 1942/6.2, vRD 7, k 1925/1.2, ND 2, k 1942/6.3, ND 13, vRD 4b, vRD 5a, ND 4, GtD 13a, ND 8, k 1932/12.9, ND 10, ND 5, vRD 8, vRD 5b, ND 11, k 1942/6.4, GtD 14b]

[10] The urns appear not to date from the Roman period, but from many hundreds of years earlier. March 18, 1840 [11] From Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa, in Dordrecht, two tuff mortars with pestles, excavated in the vicinity of Deurne in North Brabant; [12] These objects were NOT found in the data of the more than 40,000 objects online.

60345

January 1, 1840 If you, gentlemen, who do not forget the noble pleasure of hunting during your recreations, are inclined, or feel inspired, to bring to light such remnants of the distant past, then nothing more is necessary than to pay attention to whether your eye finds any mounds on the flat heath, approximately one and a half yards high, and two to two and a half or three feet in diameter. If you come across such mounds, it is almost certain that urns are hidden there. The cemetery in Deurne and the one in Baarle-Nassau, at least, were discovered by hunters while hunting, who also claim to have encountered similar tumuli in the past, though without noticing them, on the North Brabant heathland.

60355

March 14, 1840 MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIJDEN.

[...] From Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa, of Dordrecht, two tuff mortars with pestles, excavated in the vicinity of Deurne in North Brabant; these are the only objects of this kind in the Museum's possession, and which, as far as we know, have not yet been found elsewhere. The proximity of the extensive burial grounds there, discovered in the heath a few years ago, lends considerable credibility to the suspicion that both the mortars and the urns found in such large numbers in that area belong to the same tribe, thus providing a crucial contribution to the knowledge of the domestic life of the ancient Germanic peoples, of whose household goods, except in northern Europe, relatively little remains. [...]

May 12, 1840 [letter to the mayor of Deurne]

Mayor of Deurne Liessel Helmond, May 12, 1840

The Lord Governor of this province (probably commissioned by the board of the Society for the Promotion of Science and the Arts in North Brabant) has given me a large number of questions to answer regarding antiquities in my District. These questions, insofar as they concern the municipality of Deurne-Liessel, are as follows:

According to a reported report, a farmer named Mortel allegedly possesses a Roman sword and a gold shield, which were allegedly excavated in the Peel.

1. Is this actually the case? And if so, when and where were the sword and shield found?

2. Would it be possible to purchase them for the collection of antiques and rarities of the provincial society of arts and water boards?

3. If so, at what price?

4. If the owner is unable to decide to sell, would they be willing to hand over the objects for appraisal and signature, against proof?

5. Is it possible to purchase some of the recently discovered mortuary urns or other curiosities excavated there?

6. What is the name of the place where these urns were excavated?

A somewhat prompt answer to these questions would be appreciated.

D. Distr.

June 29, 1840 Provincial Board RANB 17 inv. no. 12419
no. 1

Missive of April 17, 1840, no. 8. / Response to the letter from
the Department of Arts and Sciences / April 17, 1840, no. 8.
Helmond, June 29, 1840.

[To the Governor]

In the aforementioned letter, UWEG provided me with some questions regarding ancient monuments that are said to be located in some municipalities of my district. I could have answered some of these questions immediately, but I took advantage of my travels to gather information, as I believed I could be better informed when the council members were in session. I will observe the order as it appears in your letter.
[...]

Municipality of Deurne-Liessel.

I have very much doubted the report that a farmer in Deurne-Liessel was in possession of an old Roman sword and a gold shield, which were supposedly dug up in the Peel, as I had never heard anything about it. Research has also revealed that no one knows anything about it. This was probably confused with what happened in the neighboring municipality of Meyel. In 1807, a gold shield was found there. A few years ago, while I was in Meyel, I went to the house of the then mayor, Goossens, to see this remarkable sight. He showed me a shield that had been found in the Peel in 1807 five feet below the surface of the ground in the Peel, found during a peat excavation, it was made of gold or at least heavily gilded, hammered work. Hydroglyphs and other figures of lions, tigers, etc., were engraved on it, and had the shape of a crescent, closely resembling a gorget such as infantry captains wore on their chests not so long ago. The Lord of Keverberg, then deputy prefect in Cleef, had taken this piece with him to Paris and, according to the Mayor, offered a high price for it after his return, but they could not agree on the price. -

There are no longer any mortuary urns available in Deurne. The Lord Mayor would attempt to acquire more by excavation, which he would gladly relinquish if successful. -

The District Commissioner / DD.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Wesselman.

60425

February 24, 2014 Answer from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden
- September 1840, inventory numbers GtD 1-12b "Found in Deurne and donated by Mr. P.C.G. Guyot in Nijmegen";

60430

October 1, 1840 [...] Thus, the North Brabant Society already possesses urns from three pagan cemeteries, namely: those found in Deurne in 1837, in Genderen in 1839, and in Gemonde in 1849. [...]

60435

October 21, 1840 The Germanic and Nordic monuments of the museum in Leiden
N.A. means: Nordic Altherthumskunde
G.A. ----- Germaniche Altherthumskunde
A * ----- indicates that the object is rare.

60440

21a. Small copper chisel, set with verdigris; shape as in Fig. 14, but without decoration on the handle; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.
Length: 0.087 ells.

60445

21b. Small copper chisel, set with verdigris; shape as in Fig. 15; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.
Length: 0.062 ells.

60450

B.21c. Small copper chisel, set with verdigris; shape as in Fig. 13, but the fan is very damaged; origin: Deurne; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.
Length: 0.067 ells (1).

60455

36. Spear-point of copper, set with verdigris, workmanship and shape as in G.A. Table XVII, Fig. 2, and provided with two holes at the lower end for attachment to a shaft; Origin: Deurne; gift from the Lord of Riet.
Length: 0.115 ells.

60460

38. Lance-point of iron; workmanship and shape as in N.A. Table XVII, Fig. 1, with two holes as in no. 36; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from the Lord of Riet.
Length: 0.23 ells.

60465

53a. Two fragments of a cloak hook, apparently made of copper and decorated with copper verdigris; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from Mr. P. Guyot.

60470

B.53b. Disk of spirally wound copper wire, decorated with copper verdigris (fragment of a cloak hook); shape as in G.A. Table 5, Fig. 1; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from Mr. P. Guyot.

60475

53c. Two fragments of a copper hairpin, set with verdigris; shape approximately as in G.A. Table 2 Fig. 4; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.

60480

56a. Fragment of a spirally wound ring, apparently made of copper and set with verdigris; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.
Medium thickness: 0.006 ell.

60485

B.56b. Fragment of a round armring (?) made of copper, set with verdigris; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.
Thickness: 0.036 ell.

56c. Fragment of a round armring (?) made of copper, set with verdigris; Origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.
Thickness: 0.006 ell.

B.58A* Flat ring of grayish-red earth, finely worked; it probably hung on another ring as a necklace or earring; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.
Diameter: 0.013 ell; thickness: 0.005 ell.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

60490

66a. Pot of dark brown earth, shape as in Fig. 28, but cracked; contents: burnt bones; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. van Riet.
Height: 0.16 ell.

60495

C.74. Pot of brown earth, shape as in Fig. 29, but without handles; contents: ash-like earth; Origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from the Lord of Riet. This jar was found in jar no. 81.
Height: 0.095 ells.

60500

74a. Jar of dark brown earth; shape, much like Fig. 32, but damaged at the rim; contents: burnt bones; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from the Lord of Riet.
Inside it was jar no. 164.
Height: 0.25 ells.

60505

81. Small jar of dark brown earth, fairly finely worked and probably shaped like Fig. 32, but the rim is broken off; contents: burnt bones; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from the Lord of Riet.
Inside it was jar no. 74.

60510

Height: 0.195 ells.

82. Pot of dark brown earth; shape as in Fig. 32; contents, burnt

60515

Bones and ashes; origin, Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of the Lord of Riet.
Height: 0.24 cubits.

91. Pot of brown earth; shape similar to Fig. 28, but damaged on top; origin, Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of the Lord of Riet.

60520

Height: 0.16 cubits.

93. Pot of light brown earth; shape similar to Fig. 37, but with a handle; contents: burnt bones and ashes, above which lay some fragments of rough pottery, which may originally have belonged to a dish of 18 inches in diameter; origin, Deurne; from a Germanic burial mound.

60525

Height: 0.21 cubits.

98. Pot of dark brown earth; shape similar to Fig. 41, but severely damaged on one side; Contents: burnt bones; origin, Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from Mr. van Riet.

60530

Height: 0.245 ells.

C. 99. Pot of dark brown earth; shape approximately like Fig. 41; contents: burnt bones; origin, Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound.

60535

Height: 0.205 ells.

101. Pot of brown earth; shape approximately like Fig. 34; contents: burnt bones; origin, Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from the Lord of Riet.
Height: 0.15 ells.

60540

C. 109. Pot of dark brown earth; probable shape as Fig. 34, but half damaged at the top; contents: burnt bones; origin, Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift from the Lord of Riet. Height 0.27 cubits.

60545

119. Brown earthenware pot; probable shape similar to Fig. 42, but the rim and handles are broken away; decoration: 5 roughly scratched lines above the body; contents: burnt bones; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound, gift of the Lord of Riet.
Height 0.16 cubits.

60550

C. 164. Small grey earthenware pot, fairly fine material and rough workmanship; shape similar to Fig. 67, but damaged on one side; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound found in pot no. 74*; gift of the Lord of Riet.
Height 0.04 cubits.

60555

195A and 195 B. Tuff mortar and pestle; shape similar to Fig. 20a and 20b; origin: Deurne; Gift of Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa.
The mortar is 0.075 cubits high; 0.11 cubits wide.
The pestle is 0.1555 cubits long.

196A and 196B. Mortar and pestle of tuff; shape as in Fig. 20 a and b; decoration on the sides as in a, c, and d; origin Deurne; gift of Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa.
The mortar is 0.07 cubits high, 0.13 cubits wide.
The pestle is 0.10 cubits long.

209*. Leaf-shaped tool of cast copper, decorated with verdigris, provided with a split point and three elaborate holes, and sharp on the sides, see Fig. 16; possibly a tool for working pots; origin Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot. Original diameter of the whole: 0.045 el.

209a. Two copper fragments, covered with verdigris, but deformed by burning; these appear to have been the mouthpiece of a trumpet; origin: Deurne, from a Germanic burial mound; gift of Mr. P. Guyot.
Original diameter of the whole: 0.045 el.

February 24, 2014 Response from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden
2014: We were already in contact about those mortars and pestles last summer.

As I wrote then, the objects in question were transferred to Amsterdam in the 19th century (VdN a-f to the Museum of the Royal Antiquarian Society in 1860, VdN g-k to the then National Advisor for Monuments of Dutch History and Art in 1875). I'm not sure, but I think those collections later ended up in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Below is a summary of the information about the relevant mortars and pestles from our inventory books:

- February 1839, inventory numbers VdN a-b "Found in North Brabant, donated to the Museum of Antiquities by Mr. S.H. van der Noordaa in Dordrecht.

a) Mortar with pestle, made of gray tuff; probably for grinding grain; (perhaps also for the preparation of mustard due to its smaller size). The mortar is square on the outside but slightly rounded at the corners; hollowed out spherically on the inside.

b) The pestle is square on top, but tapers conically at the bottom, somewhat resembling an inverted cippus with a base.

Regarding these two objects, Mr. van der Noordaa writes the following in his letter dated Dordrecht, December 17, 1838, to Dr. L.J.F. Janssen: Report:

"However, a small basalt mortar and pestle were also sent to me, roughly similar in shape to the one I possess, with the only difference being that the first mortar and pestle I received seem to belong together, while the pestle sent to you is somewhat too large for the mortar intended for it. Both mortars and both pestles are made of basalt, the kind found along the Rhine. These objects were shaped with minimal effort to match the natural grain of the stone. These antiquities were not found at the cemetery in Deurne in question; but now...

A few years ago, I found them in the countryside and in a garden there. The last mortar and pestle sent even came from various places near Deurne and from different people. There have been more similar, rough household items in that area, larger and smaller, found earlier and later, but they have been scattered again. One of my brothers, formerly with the Lanciers, now out of work due to poor health and wounded in Deurne, tracked down the mortars in question for me. He crisscrossed the Majorij in all directions; he is known everywhere there. I myself would find my way to many places at night, and yet, after all the searches, it is impossible to discover similar mortars anywhere else in North Brabant, other than precisely in the vicinity of Deurne, where they have certainly been found and known, because, as I said, they have had more of them there. Thinking about this phenomenon, it occurred to me that these tools could have originated from the same tribe that bequeathed its deceased to the discovered cemetery.

- November 1839, inventory numbers VdN c-d "Found in the vicinity of Deurne and donated to the Museum by S.H. van der Noordaa, Deputy Clerk in Dordrecht.

c) A mortar made of tuff stone, square in shape and decorated on the outside, such as a small column at each corner, while the four fields between these columns are divided into diamonds and triangles. Of these four fields, two (which face each other) are carved thus: [drawing] the third has upright, and the fourth offset

diamonds, as: [drawing] internally it has been hollowed out round.

d) Pestle of the same type of stone, square at the top and round at the bottom. This one is too small to have originally belonged to the aforementioned mortar.

60625 It is remarkable that this and similar mortars have been found in such large numbers in the vicinity of Deurne, Lijsel, and Asten, as Mr. van der Noordaa verbally assured me (Dr. Janssen), and indeed within an hour's radius, while, according to his assurance, they have not yet been found elsewhere in North Brabant.

60630 - October 1842, inventory numbers VdN e-f "Found in the vicinity of Deurne and donated to the Museum by S.H. van der Noordaa in Dordrecht.

e) A tuff mortar, oblong-square in shape and rather roughly worked.

f) Two pieces of iron ore, apparently found in an urn. - June 1863, inventory numbers VdN g-k "Found in the vicinity of Deurne, originating from the collection of the late Mr. S.H. van der Noordaa, and of his son, Mr. van der Noordaa of Dordrecht, acquired for the Museum of Antiquities.

60635 g) Mortar of trachyte stone, round on the inside, octagonal on the outside, and decorated with Gothic niches, in relief; the date 1393 is chiseled into two of these niches, and the letters A and H are scratched into two others, probably by a later hand. The shape is p.m. [drawing]

60640 h) Pestle of trachyte stone, belonging to the mortar VdN g, shape p.m. [drawing]

i) Mortar as VdN g, but square in shape, with four pilasters on the outside, as VdN h.

k) Pestle, as VdN h, and belonging to the mortar VdN i.

60645 December 31, 1865. As a supplement, we find some details not mentioned elsewhere in the book Noord-Brabants Oudheden (facsimile from 2012):

With about thirty enthusiasts from his company, he went to the heath at Deurne and soon became convinced that these elevations were burial mounds. These are of varying height, with some being only 60 inches high, and others 7.60 ells high, with a larger or smaller circumference depending on the height. Approximately one hundred urns were found, ranging from the size of a teacup to 100 pound in weight. [...]

60650 In the spring of 1840, I visited this heath with the late Dr. Niermeijer, later a professor in Leiden, and found the mounds just as they were when this treasure hunting stopped! [...]

60655 Thirteen urns and small jars are on display in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. At the home of Mr. H. de Grez in 's-Hertogenbosch, four urns and small jars (1), and two urns and a small jar are preserved in the cabinet of the North Brabant Society.

60660 (1) While printing this report, Mr. de Grez obliged me to present these well-preserved urns to our cabinet as a gift.

January 1, 1841 TREATMENT on the Germanic Cemeteries discovered in North Brabant.

[262] "The burial mound and the curiosities found therein may seem insignificant at first glance, but this prejudice will soon be discarded when one discovers, to one's surprise, that such an insignificant coincidence offers so much material for understanding the writings of the ancients and sheds such light on the oldest history and folk customs."

Westendorp.

60670 North Brabant is rich in remains of the time before, and it still contains much in its folk concepts, customs, and folk traditions, which is invaluable to the antiquarian and can lead him to a more thorough understanding of the people whom the warring Romans first encountered and roughly depicted.

60675 In the previous installments of the Miscellany, we have already shared some reports on this subject, and the approval they have received from many readers [263] encourages me to share our other research from time to time:

1. concerning the gods and their temples,

2. "the sacred groves,"

3. "the sacred trees,"

60680 4. "the sacred springs,"

5. "the pagan burial sites."

We now select for consideration the pagan burial sites that have been discovered:

1. at Orten near 's-Hertogenbosch,

2. Alphen in the barony of Breda,

60685 3rd. Mun near Oss,

4th. Deurne near Helmond,

5th. Gemonde near St. Michielsgestel,

6th. Genderen (land of Heusden),
 7th. Engelen
 60690 8th. Tilburg,
 9th. Haren near Megen.

We will accompany these statements with those details that our ancestors primarily knew at the solemn time of their passing, and which were gathered either from medieval documents, from the language, or from the mouths of the people. We hope that
 60695 the reader will readily appreciate the length of this treatise, due to the variety and novelty of many of our observations.

[273] CEMETERY IN DEURNE.

The cemetery from the heathen past, which was discovered in 1837 in the heathland 20 minutes from Deurne, and from which some 100 urns were dug, has caused quite a stir. In the spring of 1840, I went there to inspect this cemetery with my own eyes, and after conducting research, I found that the reports by Dr. Jansen in the Konst- en Letterbode (a) placed, are most accurate, which is why we will reproduce the factual report in the words of this antiquarian.

60700 Mr. F. Baron van Voorst tot Voorst, captain in the Hussars N. 6. regiment stationed in Someren, found while hunting in the vicinity of various villages, including Deurne, in the highest points of the heath, [274] regular elevations, which he assumed must have had a purpose in earlier times. "I thought," writes his well-born Highness, whose words we will follow, "I thought, after the hunting season I want to
 60710 know what's in there; I spoke about it with the Mayor, who willingly granted permission for the excavation. With about thirty enthusiasts from the company, which I am with, we set to work and, in a few hours, found four urns of various shapes and sizes, three of which were cracked and fell apart when lifted. All the wares, as well as those found more closely, were half-filled with burnt human bones. The addition is
 60715 a compact black earth, perhaps formerly ash and charcoal... If charcoal were discovered while digging, the urn wouldn't be far away.

"Human bones without urns were rarely found. Of the human bones, fragments of skulls, ribs, and especially the rounded heads of the femurs and humers are still clearly distinguishable... I consider them hand-made, at least not as they are now turned and poorly fired, which can be seen on the edges when the shards are broken. The color of some is chocolate-like, of others grayish. Two were light red, and one seemed roughly glazed. The day after I started, several farmers and burghers had also begun searching for a treasure pointed out by the Captain of the Cavalry, and soon two
 60725 hundred farmers were busy turning everything upside down without order or consultation. Good advice was of no use. Later, some understood this. The earth has a depth and a half of that solidity and brownness... which it possesses elsewhere. Digging deeper [275] one soon discovers that the ground has not been disturbed before (or not).

60730 "The urns, which are in yellow sand, are smoother, whiter, and brighter in color than those in soil that resembles topsoil. Those found in the flat ground are even less than a foot deep; in the mounds, 2.5 to 3 feet; one urn above the other; in larger ones, sometimes smaller ones, or hidden within them, like a woman in labor with her child. - I had examined the largest mounds (a), assuming that these were the graves
 60735 of the most prominent people. If this was nothing more than an ordinary cemetery of that time, then these could have been family graves, which one is inclined to believe when one sees the urns placed above each other with some space between them; through which these mounds successively reached that height, which must have lost much of its height over time due to rain, drought, and wind. - Burnt metal has been found on some
 60740 urns; very small (however) in comparison to the urns expanse of raised ground, which now resembles a desert... This cemetery is intersected by a footpath to Asten, located 20 minutes from Deurne; it is estimated at eye level to be 150 paces wide and 500 meters in area... Well over a hundred urns of various shapes and sizes were found, two-thirds of which were damaged, ranging from the size of a teacup to
 60745 weighing 100 pence. They are sold for 1 to 4 guilders... I should also add that not far from the cemetery there is a long, wide ditch, the purpose of which is unclear; it was used for transport (except as a supply of drinking water). could not have served as either an enclosure or a boundary divider."

To this point, Dr. Jansen shares the above-mentioned remarkable reports with the words of Baron van Voorst himself, taken from a letter dated Someren, March 25, 1837, who adds in praise of the honored discoverer: "From this important report, it becomes clear that Mr. van Voorst was the first to make the discovery. At the same time, one cannot deny him the praise for having proceeded more judiciously and accurately than

one might have expected from someone who did not make this type of exploration his special study; He will be grateful for his attention to details that cannot be overlooked in a scientific assessment."

When I was in Deurne, I was told that thirty years ago a shepherd had found an urn containing human bones, but that he had considered them the remains of a manslaughter and, to avoid contact with the police, had kept the matter quiet and buried the bones and potsherds back in the ground.

Let us now consider the objects discovered in this Germanic cemetery. They are of three kinds:

1. About a hundred urns.
2. Some metal ornaments.
3. Three suspicious objects.

[277] I. URNS.

The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden preserves:

1. A cracked pot of dark brown earth, containing burnt bones. Height 0.16 ells. (being No. 66a of the collection of antiquities.)
2. Small pot of brown earth, with ash-like soil. Height 0.095 cubits (No. C. 74). This pot was found in a
3. Pot of dark brown earth, fairly finely worked, but damaged at the rim, with burnt bones. Height 0.195 cubits (No. 81).
4. Pot of dark brown earth, damaged at the rim, with burnt bones. Height 0.25 cubits (No. 74a). Inside it was a
5. Small pot of gray earth, fairly fine material and rough workmanship, but damaged on one side. Height 0.04 cubits (No. C. 164).
6. Pot of dark brown earth; shape as in Fig. 3 of the accompanying plate, with burnt human bones and ash. Height 0.24 cubits. (No. 82.)
7. Pot of brown earth; but damaged at the top. Height 0.16 cubits. (No. 91.)
8. Pot of light brown earth, with one handle, and with burnt bones and ash, above which lay some fragments of rough pottery, which may originally have belonged to a dish of 18 inches in diameter. Height 0.2 cubits. (No. 93.)
9. Pot of dark brown earth, badly damaged on one side, with burnt bones. Height 0.245 cubits. (No. 98.) [278]
10. Pot of dark brown earth, with burnt human bones. Height 0.205 cubits. (No. C. 99.)
11. Pot of brown earth, with burnt bones. Height 0.15 cubits. (No. 101.)
- 12th. Pot of dark brown earth, but half damaged at the top, with burnt bones. Height 0.27 cubits. (No. C. 109.)
- 13th. Pot of brown earth, of which the rim and handles have been broken away, with five roughly scratched lines above the body, with burnt bones. Height 0.16 cubits. (No. 119.)

The description of these 13 mortuary urns is taken from Dr. Jansen, "The Germanic and Nordic Monuments of the Museum in Leiden" (Leijden 1840), with an indication of the numbers under which they appear in the collection.

We also have the pleasure of mentioning two urns, which were donated by Baron van den Bogaerde of Ter Brugge to the Provincial Society in 's-Hertogenbosch and are preserved in the Library of that Society.

1st. Pot of Dark brown earth, slightly damaged at the rim. Height 0.16 ells. (See Fig. 2.) In this urn was found a 2nd small pot, also made of dark brown earth, which had suffered considerably. Height 0.073 ells. (See Fig. 4.)

Let us now adopt the learned observations of Mr. Jansen, as they appear in the Letterbode.

"The purpose of the urns," he says, "is beyond doubt; they were filled wholly or partially with cremated human bones, above which [279] was mixed earth with charcoal and ash; they were therefore funeral urns, containing the last remains of the cremated corpses. Less certain is the purpose of the small pots, which are sometimes found on top of, sometimes inside, and sometimes next to the urns. Only these can be considered certain as children's urns, whose bones indicate this. The ones known to us have not proven it. These (being five specimens examined by Mr. Jansen) contained a yellow, sometimes gray, earth mixed with ash, while only one contained a shard of bone. Recent archaeological discoveries, in similar jars discovered elsewhere, have shown that some served to contain something useful or beautiful. The often-held belief that they always contained the ashes of postpartum children is also contradicted by the very large number of these small jars found both in Deurne and elsewhere.

"That the urns and jars vary greatly in size, shape, and external appearance has been

60820 noted, and also demonstrated to us. The height and width are not proportional, but
all have a wide opening, suitable for placing objects, and resemble an ordinary tub,
while none are jar-shaped. Those currently in the Museum here seem rare; only one was
covered with fragments of a large bowl or tub, neither intentionally made as a cover,
60825 nor did it fit the urn. However, according to illustrations, one has been discovered
whose lid fit better within the urn, and one where it extended over the rim. Also
[280] only a few have one or two handles, and even rarer are those that had any
decorations, though a decoration that hardly deserves that name. In one in our
Museum, it consists of five lines, which run disproportionately under each other
60830 around the rim of the urn, and were scratched into it with a pointed tool when the
earth was still soft. However, according to illustrations, one has also been
discovered in which the lines lie perpendicular to each other, and another in which
they cross each other around the urn. The color of the one we saw is a mixed brown,
now more gray than yellow or red, depending on the earth from which they were formed
and the degree of heat used for firing. Some have been smoothed or rubbed fairly
60835 smoothly on the outside, but I have not been able to discover traces of glaze or
paint on any of them. The most remarkable aspect seems to be the roughness of the
workmanship. The material is poorly prepared and refined; the shaping was probably
done by hand, not on a wheel; this is at least clearly evident in the small pots and
the fragments of the aforementioned lid. The great fragility observed in some of the
60840 damaged pots rightly suggests that they were lightly fired, perhaps only dried in a
fire; to this fragility it is partly attributable that so few have come to light
undamaged. When one considers this crude and so little artistic progress-evident
character of the pottery, one cannot believe that it originated from the same people
who produced the finely wrought metals (discussed shortly). To think of Roman [281]
60845 work in the pottery forbids us from a deliberate comparison with similar objects of
Roman origin. Roman pottery, even the simplest, even that discovered in the poorest
graves, always showed us that meticulous workmanship, those proportionate shapes
created by skilled disc turning, that solid firing, those predetermined colors, and
precise decorations, which we lack in our own.

60850
II. METAL DECORATIONS.
The Rijksmuseum in Leiden preserves:
1. Copper chisel, set with verdigris. 0.087 ells long (No. 21a).
2. Copper chisel, set with verdigris. 0.062 ells long (No. 21b). See Fig. 5.
60855 3. Copper chisel, set with verdigris; but the fan is severely damaged. 0.067 ells
long (No. B. 21c).
Dr. Jansen raises the question of whether these chisels were not potter's tools. are.
If this is true, the urns must have been formed and fired in the burial sites
themselves, which is not impossible. However, I imagine that at that time a potter
60860 would have been responsible for making the urns, just as a coffin maker or some
religious or charitable institution is now responsible for making coffins. So, the
potter would no more have delivered his chisels with the coffin than a coffin maker
would have delivered his tools today. Since the knowledge we have of Germanic burial
sites is still so young and undeveloped, it seems to me that the time has not yet
60865 come to indicate the purpose and [282] use of the tools found in burial urns. Let us
describe precisely and provide accurate illustrations of what has been found, so that
the antiquarian, after us, will have sufficient information to form a more accurate
idea of the purpose and use, if this is feasible in the infancy of Nordic
archaeology. However, it speaks for itself, that one is obliged to provisionally name
60870 the objects, one will speak of them; but this is conditional, until they become more
familiar to us; for this reason, we approve the names that the scholar Jansen gives
to the objects found in Deurne, and we gladly adopt them.
4. Lance-point of copper, covered with verdigris, with two holes at the lower end for
attachment to a shaft. Length 0.115 ells. (No. 36.)
60875 5. Lance-point of iron, with two holes. Length 0.23 ells. (No. 38.)
6. Two fragments of a cloak hook, apparently made of copper and covered with
verdigris. (No. 53a.)
7. Disk of spirally wound copper wire, covered with verdigris; (Fragment of a cloak
hook). (No. 53b.)
60880 8. Two fragments of a copper hair pin, set with verdigris. (No. 53c.)
9. Fragment of a spirally wound ring, apparently made of copper and set with
verdigris. Average thickness 0.006 ells. (No. 56a.)
10. Fragment of a round armring (?) made of copper, set with verdigris. Thickness
0.036 ells. (No. B. 56b.)
60885 [283]

11. Fragment of an armring (?) made of copper, set with verdigris. Thickness 0.006 ells. (No. 56c.)

12. Leaf-shaped tool of cast copper, set with verdigris, provided with a split point and three elaborate holes, and sharp on the sides (see fig. 6). Dr. Jansen speculates that it may be a form for working pottery. Length 0.017 ell (No. 209*).

13. Two copper fragments, covered with verdigris, but deformed by burning; these appear to have formed the mouthpiece of a trumpet. Original diameter of the whole 0.045 ell. (No. 209a).

Besides these metal ornaments, the Leiden Museum also has a

14. Flat ring of grayish-red earth and finely worked; it probably hung from another ring as a neck or earring. Diameter 0.013 ell; thickness 0.005 ell. (No. B. 58a*).

We have listed these fourteen ornaments, which were found in burial mounds in Deurne, in the words of Dr. Jansen (German and Northern Monuments of the Leiden Museum).

His Honour, the highly learned scholar, had already introduced most of these objects in the Letterbode (1838, I. 390), where four metal ornaments are also mentioned.

After this statement, Jansen says:

"As far as we know, the aforementioned constitutes all the metals brought to light from the large number of mounds, and this rarity rightly aroused the surprise of Mr. van Voorst; it is also noteworthy that no objects of more precious metal, gold or silver, and probably [284] not even iron (a), have been discovered. The workmanship of these objects is very careful and precise; they are partly cast, partly struck and drawn, and, although devoid of figurative work, they betray a very advanced level of artistic practice and point to a people that must have reached a considerable height of civilization. If one considers the form and significance, and compares them with similar objects of undeniably Roman origin, one perceives the most striking similarity, a similarity that has struck us as so great that, had we found it among Roman objects, There would be no doubt whatsoever that they originated from a Roman factory."

That this advancement in civilization—which Dr. Jansen deduces from the objects found to have already existed among the inhabitants of Deurne during the pagan era—actually existed there when Saint Willebrord, along with Saint Lambert, converted the inhabitants of Peelland to Christianity, will be clearly demonstrated in our treatise: Saint Willebrord and Saint Lambert in North Brabant, drawn up from charters and contemporaneous documents, which we will report in a subsequent installment of this Miscellany.

III. SUSPICIOUS OBJECTS. The self-interest or contempt for everything alien to the short-sighted, which always tries to outwit the antiquarian, has been experienced more than once, to the considerable [285] detriment of Archaeology, so that in Deurne they would not have attempted to employ similar feats. When I was personally engaged in investigations in Deurne, I was exposed to the same deception. I was offered for sale an iron statuette that bore all the evidence of having previously served as a knife handle. My questions were met with such evasive answers, and the seller was so disrespectful that I rejected him with an attitude that clearly made him realize I considered him a deceitful and self-interested fraud.

In the Letterbode, Mr. van Voorst speaks:

1°. of a metal statuette, with a flat, square headdress, being a span long, and dressed as a... v. Erasmus in Rotterdam, with folded hands, in which a rosary can clearly be seen. "If this statuette was actually excavated," writes Mr. van Voorst, "then it is probably of a later date."

2. From a saber or blade. "But if this, says Dr. Jansen, was also excavated in Deurne, as Mr. van Voorst was assured, according to a letter addressed to me, it certainly does not belong to the burial mounds; since upon investigation it has shown us to be from so recent a period that it does not even reach the Middle Ages. Its imagery and obscured inscription convince us that it cannot date back to the time of Louis XIV. Blades from the previous century, less than a hundred years old, and from Amsterdam factories, bear the most striking resemblance to this Deurne one."

[286]

3. From an iron bolt or hammer. "Its owner, Mr. P. Guyot of Nijmegen, says Dr. Jansen, informed me that he had not considered it worthwhile to send it for inspection, as it bore too obvious signs of being an ordinary bolt from a very recent period."

We conclude these reports, referring to the Germanic cemetery in Deurne, with the hope that the owners of antiquities excavated there may be encouraged to donate them, in exchange for reasonable compensation, to the Provincial North Brabant Society in 's-Hertogenbosch.

Fig. 2-6. Antiquities found in Deurne.

60955 January 1, 1841 Deurne is a neat and prosperous village with an elegant church
and a beautiful tower, used by the Roman Catholic Church. The castle in Deurne is
still in its original condition and a pleasant place to stay. Diagonally across from
it lies a portion of another castle or house, where the naturalist Joannes Florentius
60960 Martinet once stood, who, according to Uilkens, contributed more than anyone to
popularizing natural history among our countrymen. Deurne, along with Liessel, has a
population of 3,256 inhabitants, who earn their living from agriculture and peat
cutting. A Germanic cemetery from pagan times was discovered in Deurne in 1837. We
were told that Mr. F. Baron van Voorst tot Voorst, a captain in the Hussar regiment,
first discovered these burial mounds. Thirty years ago, a shepherd had found an urn
60965 containing burned human bones, but, considering it the remains of a manslaughter and
fearing the police, he had kept the matter quiet and buried the bones and potsherds
back in the ground. The cemetery is bisected by a footpath on Asten, which runs all
around the heathland, and is 20 minutes from Deurne. It is approximately 500 paces
long and 150 paces wide. Approximately 100 hearses of all sizes had been excavated.
60970 This heathen relic provided ample material to help us forget the monotony of the
heathland.

January 26, 1841. In the department of Germanic and Nordic antiquities, from Major
General Rottiers, to whose zeal and care the Museum owes its possession of so many
60975 Greek works of art, a bronze statuette of a god, found near Aachen.
From Mr. P. O. P. Guyot, in Nijmegen, a most important collection of bronzes and
other objects, discovered near Deurne, in the province of North Brabant, largely
assembled by Captain Baron van Voorst and given to Mr. Guyot. This significant
acquisition, combined with the urns and other objects mentioned in our previous
60980 reports (Staats-Courant 1838 and 1839), now provides the Museum with the most
important and rare pieces unearthed during the discovery in Deurne. These, finally
reunited through various means, form a whole that can make an unexpected and
significant contribution to the knowledge of one of the ancient tribes that formerly
inhabited our country. In the Konst- en Letterbode 1838, May, pages 379-395, most of
60985 the objects were described by the Curator, Dr. Janssen. February 25, 1842 M. P. O. P.
Guyot à Nymègue d'une collection très-remarquable de bronzes et d'autres objets
trouvés près de Deurne dans le Brabant-Septentrional et qui pour la plupart avaient
été assemblés by M. le capitaine baron Van Vorst qui les remis à M. Guyot. This
important acquisition joint with urns and other objects was completed in 1838 and
60990 1839, with the Museum and possession of the principals and the additional rare
results of the fouille près de Deurne. After all, the preparations for maintenant
reunions form an ensemble that lasts a long time over the connaissance of the old
people that they used to live in. La part de ces objets sont décrits par M. le
conservator Janssen dans le Konst- en Letterbode de 1838, pages 370--395.
60995

January 26, 1841 [13] From Mr. P. O. P. Guyot, in Nijmegen, a most important
collection of bronze and other objects excavated near Deurne, in the province of
North Brabant, most of which were assembled by Captain Baron van Voorst and given to
Mr. Guyot.
61000 [14] The Museum has now been given possession of the most important and rare pieces
that were unearthed during the discovery in Deurne, and which, through various means,
have finally been reassembled to form a whole that [...]

February 24, 2014 Response from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden
61005 - May 1841, inventory numbers GtD 13-20 "Found in Deurne and donated by Mr. P.C.G.
Guyot in Nijmegen"; [http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?](http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?q=GtD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=)
[q=GtD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=](http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?q=GtD*&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=)

February 24, 2014 Response from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden
61010 - November 1841, inventory numbers VdN 1-3 "Found in an urn in Deurne, given by Mr.
S.H. van der Noordaa in Dordrecht to the curator L.J.F. Janssen";

January 1, 1842 4.) The Germanic and Nordic Monuments of the Museum
in Leiden, briefly described by L. J. F. JANSSEN, Curator at the Museum of
61015 Antiquities in Leiden. - With two plates. - In Leiden, by S. and J. Luchtmans, 1840.
Gr. Oct. 70 Pages.
[...] Among these, the following are noted here as rare: a flat ring of grayish-red

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- earth from a Germanic burial mound in Deurne;
[...] a leaf-shaped tool of cast copper, from a Germanic burial mound in Deurne;
- 61020
- January 12, 1842 [15] From Mr. P. C. G. GUYOT, of Nijmegen, another number of ten urns, pots, and bowls, found in Deurne in North Brabant;
[16] From Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa, of Dordrecht, another three small objects in urns found in Deurne.
- 61025
- January 20, 1843 [17] From Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, we received another tuff mortar, found in the vicinity of Deurne.
- 61030
- July 1, 1845, from: Proceedings of the Provincial Society of Arts ...
72 Roman copper frying pan (Sartago), found in the summer of 1845 in the Peel region, three hours from Cuyk, three feet below the peat. Very rare.
On behalf of the Provincial Committee of Antiquities, which purchased this commemorative piece for 2 guilders.
- 61035
- 74 Funeral urns and small jars of Germanic origin, with a catalog of Nos. 1-50.
[18] Nos. 1-3 from Deurne.
[...]
111 A Peel snake captured alive in 1851, in a bottle in liquor.
Gift of Notary Rovers, in Asten
- 61040
- January 1, 1850 [...] Numerous objects from the stone, bronze, and iron periods have been unearthed from its [=Limburgian] soil in earlier and later periods. The scientific investigations to uncover this first date back to around 1825. These were initiated by Mr. CHARLES GUILLON, a notary in Roermond. A very wealthy man, he amassed a large collection of antiquities of all kinds and from various periods,
- 61045
- which was regularly supplemented until his death on November 10, 1873. Later, it was dispersed through sale, but most of the objects from the prehistoric period have fortunately found a home in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. [...]
- 61050
- December 5, 1856 On Monday, December 15, 1856, and the following five days, in the morning and afternoon, the bookseller G. THEOD. BOM, in Amsterdam, at ODEON for Public Sale: the excellent CABINET OF MEMORIAL AND TOKENS, HONOUR AND WARRING MARKS, MEETING COINS, GUILD COINS, SHUTTERS, RELIGIOUS, FREEMASONIC, PRIZE AND FIRE ENGINE TOKENS. EMERGENCY COINS AND COINS, COIN, MEMBERS AND HEROMICAL BOOKS, BEQUESTED BY
- 61055
- THE LATE MR. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, Member of various Domestic and Foreign Literary, Historical and Archaeological Societies in Dordrecht. VIEWING DAYS: FRIDAY and SATURDAY, December 12th and 13th. The CATALOGUE can be obtained, postage paid, upon request for 20 cents from G. THEOD. BOM, Kalverstraat, E 10. (19573)
- 61060
- February 24, 2014 Response from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden
- June 1863, inventory numbers ND 1-15 "From the collection of the late Mr. S.H. van der Noordaa, excavated in Deurne. Acquired from his son, Mr. van der Noordaa. According to labels by the late Mr. S.H. van der Noordaa, all these objects (ND 1-15) were excavated in 1837 at the old cemetery in Deurne";
- 61065
- March 31, 1864 Several acquisitions were made for the National Antiquities. Along with the above-mentioned Roman objects from the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, several others were also acquired from former inhabitants of our country: a beautifully polished flint axe, 12 dm long; a roughly worked trachyte ball, 4 dm in diameter; a baked earthenware urn filled with burnt human bones, 19 dm high; another
- 61070
- urn, 18 dm high, containing fragments of a bronze hair needle found inside; three more urns containing burnt bones and the remains of bronze rings etc.; the urns measuring 10, 15.5, and 16 inches high; two bowls, 9 and 7 dm; four pots of various shapes, 6.5 to 9.5 dm high; a beaker-shaped vessel, 5.5 dm high, and some fragments of pots. All these objects, with the possible exception of the WIGGE, were excavated
- 61075
- in 1837 at the old cemetery in Deurne, North Brabant; they now form a substantial collection, together with the pieces found at the same location and donated to the Museum in 1840 and 1841 by the late Mr. P. O. G. GUYOT. [...]
- 61080
- Some MEDIEVAL AND LATER OBJECTS, originating from the excavations for the Nijmegen army barracks, a pair of trachyte stone MORTARS with PESTLES from the Deurne area and belonging to the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, already mentioned several times; [...]
- March 31, 1864 [19] Roman objects from the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER

NOORDAA were also acquired, some from former inhabitants of our country:
61085 [20] a very beautifully polished flint axe, 12 dm long;
[21] a roughly worked trachyte BALL, 4 dm in diameter;
[22] a baked earthenware URN, filled with burnt human bones, 19 dm high;
[23] Another URN, 18 dm. high, containing the fragments of a bronze HAIR NEEDLE found inside;
61090 [24, 25, 26] Three more URNS containing burnt bones and
[27] remains of bronze RINGS, etc.; the urns were 10, 15.5, and 16 inches high; [28] Two CUBS, 9 and 7 dm.;
[29] Four POTS of various shapes, 6.5 to 9.5 dm. high;
[30] A beaker-shaped VESSEL, 5.5 dm. high, and some fragments of pots.
61095 [31] All these objects, with the possible exception of the WIGGE, were excavated in 1837 at the old cemetery in Deurne, North Brabant;
[32] a pair of trachyte stone MORTARS with PESTLES from the Deurne area, belonging to the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, already mentioned several times;
[33] these now form a significant collection, together with the pieces found at the
61100 same location and donated to the Museum in 1840 and 1841 by the late Mr. P. O. G. GUYOT.

November 28, 1874 ANTIQUITIES.
The important collections of antiquities, works of art, books, and archives
61105 bequeathed by Mr. G. Ch. H. GUILLON, a living Notary in Roermond, will be presented at the request of Mr. C. Guillon, Attorney there, in the presence of Notary MAX. CORNELIS, at the house of his death, will be publicly sold on the following days, each journey beginning at 9:00 a.m.:
The Gothic cabinets and other objects of art on Monday, November 30th.
61110 The paintings and engravings on the following December 1st and 2nd.
The Archives on December 9th and subsequent days.
The prehistoric, Roman, Germanic, and Frankish antiquities on January 11, 1875, and subsequent days.
The intaglios (intaglios), Roman coins and medals, as well as the Medieval coins and
61115 other tokens, on January 18, 1875, and subsequent days.
All collections, with the exception of the library, will be sold for cash payment plus a ten percent surcharge for expenses.
Three months' credit will be granted for the payment of the books. Gentlemen
enthusiasts will be given the opportunity to view the collection for sale the day
61120 before the prospective sales, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.
The combined catalogs are available from the publisher of this newspaper for 60 cents. In addition, for requests outside Roermond, the postage is as follows: 22 cents to the Netherlands and Belgium, 55 cents to Germany, and 56 cents to France. Stamps are accepted to cover the purchase price and postage.

February 24, 2014 Response from Heikki Pauts of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden
- April 1884, inventory numbers ND 16-37 "From the collection of the late Mr. S.H. van der Noordaa, excavated in Deurne. Purchased at a sale in Amsterdam at Frederik Muller and Co. on April 8 and the following days, 1884, "in brackish soil."
61130 <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?q=ND&Afdeling=&Objectnaam=&Materiaal=&Periode=&Vindplaats=>

March 1, 1890 Antiquities.
The famous MUSÉE GUILLON, collected over more than half a century by the accomplished
61135 antiquarian CHARLES GUILLON, Notary in Roermond, will be publicly SOLD on Tuesday, March 11-15, 2014, in Amsterdam by G. THEOD. BOM & ZOON, Spuistraat 135.
The collection includes Roman, Germanic, Celtic, and Medieval antiquities excavated primarily in Limburg, Roman and Gelderland coins and medals, Limburg coin stamps, Japanese lacquered and old oak furniture, porcelain, paintings, valuables, etc.
61140 Catalog f 0 25.

March 8, 1890. The catalog of works of art,
bequeathed by the late notary Guillon here, lists no fewer than a thousand Roman, Germanic, and Celtic
61145 Roman, Frankish, and medieval antiquities from the Stone and Bronze Ages, mortuary urns, Roman glass and pottery, over 70 pieces of beautiful red Samian pottery, a single silver-chased shield plate, probably from the latter part of the Roman Empire, over 80 carved stones or cameos, 1,400 antique gold, silver, and bronze coins, some

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 61150 medieval Gelderland and Limburg coins, coin dies and seals, as well as a small collection of silver chased coins, old furniture, etc.
The carefully edited catalog proves that much of interest can be found here for our antiquarians and archaeologists.
- 61155 March 10, 1890 Two very important auctions will be held in the coming days by the auctioneers G. Theod. Bom & Zoon, in Amsterdam.
- 61160 The first, containing the collection of antiquities and coins bequeathed by the late Mr. Charles Guillon, notary in Roermond, is of particular interest to students of the history of our country. Never before has such a collection of 1,000 Roman, Germanic, Celtic, Frankish, and medieval antiquities excavated in Limburg been auctioned. It offers us a glimpse into the customs and traditions of those times. Both the Stone Age and the Bronze Age are amply represented, while the collection of Germanic pottery, including many urns containing the ashes of our Germanic ancestors, may be considered among the richest. The Roman glassware and pottery, urns, etc., including the beautiful red pottery from Samos, are also worthy of interest, as is the umbo, or shield plate, embossed in silver and high relief, a masterpiece of chased work from the period of the Bas Empire. This collection also includes a collection of over 80 mostly antique carved stones or cameos, antique gold, silver, and bronze coins, some
- 61170 medieval Gelderland and Limburg coins, etc., etc.
The second, more limited collection contains a collection of antiques, silver chased pieces, antique furniture, historical and Amsterdam rarities, valuables, porcelain and Delftware, horns and shells, paintings, stereoscopes, glass stereoscopic slides, etc.
- 61175 These items can be viewed in the firm's salesroom, Spuistraat 135, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, March 8-10, from 10:00 AM to 3:00 PM.
- 61180 March 10, 1890, Tuesday morning, Ten o'clock: SALE at G. THEOD. BOM & ZOON, Spuistraat 135, next to Die Port van Cleve.
Guillon Collection: Stone Age and Bronze Age Antiquities, Germanic Urns, No. 1-813. At six o'clock in the evening: Ancient Roman Coins, beginning with No. 1. The Sellers will be greatly obliged by returning the Guillon Catalogue.
- 61185 March 14, 1890. The collection of Limburg antiquities, currently being sold by G. Theod. Bom & Zoon, on Spuistraat here, and originating from Mr. Ch. Guillon of Roermond, appears to have attracted general attention. Fortunately, the majority of it remains in our country and was purchased primarily for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden and the Maastricht Museum of Antiquities. The remainder went to private individuals, while a few very fine pieces
- 61190 were purchased for English money. No. 79, a stone axe, fetched 14 guilders; no. 38, a similar 11.50 guilders; no. 160, stone arrowheads, 15 guilders; no. 167, a stone poniard, 26 guilders; no. 199, a bronze razor, 10 guilders; No. 200, a sword blade, f28; No. 300, a Germanic cup, f12; Nos. 314 and 315, two bronze statuettes, f39; No. 321, two copper ornaments of a tripod, f14; No. 329, a similar incense box with spoon, f13; No. 336, a plaque with Jupiter and Hebe, f48; No. 410, a Roman flask, f35; No. 411, a similar smaller one, f20; No. 427, a Samian earthenware vase, f32. The auction continues.
- 61200 December 1, 1894, Sale of Weapons and Works of Art in Cologne.
[...] 2nd. Art collections of the late Honourable Gestr. Mr. C. Guillon, lawyer in Roermond, [...] Sale 12-18 December 1894.
Price of the illustrated catalogue 3 Marks.
J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz's sons), Cologne.
- 61205 May 4, 1929 [...] In Roermond, in 1874, a highly important sale of documents, archival materials, and old curiosities took place. It was the sale of curiosities bequeathed by the late Mr. C. Guillon, lawyer and notary in Roermond. This rare collection, containing approximately 10,000 items, went under the hammer, and the sale, which lasted from November 30, 1874, to January
- 61210 19, 1875, had a section entitled "Manuscripts, Archives, and Other Historical Documents," which contained nearly 1,000 items. The catalog of this sale has already become a work of bibliophilic value. [...]
- 61215 February 27, 2014
Eindhoven, February 27, 2014

Dear Mr. Louer,
Please find attached a file on finds in the Peel region. I am very interested in objects that have not yet been described. I also refer you to www.theelen.info.
Kind regards,
Paul Theelen

Dear Mr. Scheijvens,
Following our telephone conversation, I am attaching information about objects found in the Peel region, primarily during peat cutting. For further information, please refer to the comprehensive website www.theelen.info, which also includes the table of contents so you can search using keywords and then jump to the relevant file.
Kind regards,
Paul Theelen

February 27, 2014, from Ronald Louer (rlouer@brabant.nl)
Dear Mr. Theelen, Dear Paul,
Enclosed is an inventory of finds from the Peel region (Helmond, Laarbeek, Gemert-Bakel, Deurne, Astén, Someren, and Geldrop - excluding the place name Mierlo) that have been catalogued in the Provincial Depot of Archaeological Finds in North Brabant. The entire collection has not yet been inventoried, so there may be more finds from those municipalities in our depot. The Province of North Brabant has only been responsible for the Provincial Depot of Archaeological Finds in North Brabant since 2000. Before that, this depot was the responsibility of the national government. Since 2000, we have been reviewing and inventorying the entire collection. Finds made before 1960 generally fall under the Noordbrabants Museum (as a continuation of the Provincial Society of North Brabant) or have ended up in other collections, but some of these older finds have been found in our depot. If you have any further questions, I am happy to answer them to the best of my ability.
Sincerely,
Ronald Louer | Manager of the Provincial Depot of Archaeological Finds in North Brabant | 06-18303225

March 10, 2014 to avanpinxteren@hnbm.nl
Eindhoven, March 10, 2014
Dear Mr. van Pinxteren,
I am currently compiling an inventory of finds that have been found in the peat bog of the Peel region. Finds from the peat areas in the north of the country are included because somewhat more have been found there than in the Peel region. I am specifically requesting information regarding the cemetery south of Deurne, which was discovered in 1837. Although, strictly speaking, this is not part of the peat bog. Objects such as urns with contents have ended up in your museum; some mortars (probably from the Middle Ages) also came to you via the Leiden museum around or after 1875, or they have disappeared...
Could you, using the updated files, search for the aforementioned urns and metal objects, whether purchased or otherwise acquired by the museum? Thanks in advance,
Paul Theelen See also www.theelen.info

ON THE GOLD NECKLACES AND RINGS FOUND IN VELP, NEAR ARNHEM
BY Dr. L. J. F. JANSSEN, CONSERVATOR AT THE MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIJDEN.

With illustrations.
NOT SOLD SEPARATELY.
IN ARNHEM, WITH IS. AN. NIJHOFF. 1851.

Among the rarest discoveries recently made in our country are the gold ornaments mentioned at the beginning of this article, which are reproduced hereinafter in precise illustrations. This great rarity is the reason why we are publishing them soon and accompanying them with a brief explanatory note. We found this all the more compelling reason because an earlier report, circulated by the newspapers, had given rise to the erroneous belief that these objects were from the chivalric era or from some noble family, thus of very late origin (*). Before I proceed to clarify this, I would first like to offer my sincere thanks and appreciation to Mr. T. BRANTSEN, mayor of Reeden et al., for his cooperation in preventing these objects from being scattered or thrown into the melting pot, as well as for the opportunity he gave me

to examine them accurately.

(*) See, for example, Algemeen Handelsblad, January 15, 1851.

to examine them, and, with the owner's consent, to have them reproduced under my supervision. Indeed, even if my illuminating notes were of no value, these images would still be of great importance, as they prevent science from being too severely damaged in the event of the possible loss of the original pieces, and because images of single memorials like these significantly enrich the building material of archaeology.

I will 1.) briefly report the discovery, with regard to the exact location and manner in which the objects were found, according to the finder's reports and an autopsy; 2.) describe the found objects in those details that could not be determined by the images; 3.) attempt to shed some light on their age, origin, and intended purpose.

1.

On January 16, 1851, the gardener CARRO of Velp, in the garden of Mr. J. J. JOBIUS [JORIUS], accidentally discovered eleven gold ornaments while turning the soil: neck and finger rings, all hanging from one of the large neck rings (see Fig. 1), and apparently placed in the ground deliberately, though in ancient times. The depth at which they were found was over half a Dutch ell, and they lay on the usual sandy soil of the area. This garden was formerly communal land; near the spot where the objects were found, the villagers used to collect their sand; only later was the land cultivated and transferred to private ownership. The discovery site is situated quite high and appears to have been somewhat higher in the past than it is now. Apparently, it is situated at the same elevation as the Reformed Church, which is approximately 250 yards south of it. Neither under nor around the objects was anything other than ordinary sandy soil found; no trace of burning was discovered, nor any evidence that the pieces had originally been enclosed in a cloth, box, or similar object. This is all the more certain because the entire garden and even adjacent fields were carefully turned over after the discovery, in the hope of finding something, but this effort was entirely fruitless. The precise location of this discovery is not without importance, because in 1715, in the same village, a treasure of ancient gold objects was also discovered (mentioned below), from which these ornaments receive some clarification.

2.

Of the eleven rings, only eight are depicted here, because four were similar in shape and decoration, so that three can be sufficiently identified by reference to a single illustration.

Fig. 1. Neck ring; heavy 7 lead, 7 wedges; fineness 18 carats; gold value f95.50.

Fig. 2. Neck ring; only the front part of the clasp is depicted, because the rest corresponded exactly to Fig. 1; heavy 5 lead, 7 wedges, 3 grains; fineness 18 carats; gold value f71.

Fig. 3. Neck ring; heavy 5 lead, 8 wedges, 3 grains; fineness 18 carats; gold value f72.05. There are three more of this type, which are not depicted, because their shape and decoration were completely identical to this one. Only one of these three is missing the small cluster of decorations seen on both sides of Fig. 3. The weight of one of these three is 7 lead, 3 wedges, 8 grains, the gold value f91. The weight of the second is 7 lead, 5 grains, worth 87.40 guilders in gold; the weight of the third is 8 lead, 7 wedges, 7 grains, worth 106.20 guilders in gold. All are 18-carat fineness.

Fig. 4. Necklace; weight 4 lead, 1 wedge, 6 grains; fineness 18 carats; worth 51.55 guilders in gold.

Fig. 5. Spiral, as a finger ring; heavy 3 lead, 9 wedge; fineness 18 carats; gold value 48.35 guilders.

Fig. 6. Fragment of a ring, deliberately bent, and very likely a ring like Fig. 4 or 5. Heavy 7 wedge, 2 grains; fineness 24 carats; gold value 11.20 guilders.

Fig. 7. Finger ring, provided with an oval, hollowed-out shield, which would originally have contained an engraved stone. However, the stone was missing when it was found, and was probably already missing when the ring fell into the ground, as the finder assured me that he found nothing but sand in the hollow of the shield and searched in vain for the missing stone. This ring shows signs of having been worn extensively. Heavy 1 lead, 2 grains; fineness 24 carats; gold value 15.90 guilders.

Fig. 8. Finger ring, on whose square shield the bust of a warrior is deeply engraved (en crux) and surrounded by a pointed border; the warrior appears to be a barbarian,

not a Roman. Weight 1 lead; fineness 18 carats; gold value f12.40.

61350 This statement shows that the eleven gold rings together weighed 53 lead 4 grains, with a gold value of f652.95 (*), and that they were made of 18 carat gold, with the exception of Figs. 6 and 7, which were fineness 24 carats.

* The appraisal was done by M. C. MENTE, a goldsmith here.

61355 All objects showed signs of wear, some more, some less; the finger rings Figs. 7 and 8 showed the most. The round portion of the neck rings had several small curves, which could have been caused by frequent putting on and taking off, which forced the rings to bend, or by repeated pressure from other objects that may have rested on them.

61360 All were hand-worked; even the round portion of the neck rings, evident from small irregularities, has been hammered out of the band. The flat portion is three-sided on the outside; see the cross-sections in Fig. 1. b, c, and d. The decorations were stamped in, not hand-engraved, which is especially evident from their perfect uniformity. They demonstrate great taste and artistry. The circles in Fig. 6 are only on one side, which would have been the outer edge of the ring. The bust in Fig. 7 appears to have been hand-engraved.

61365 The closure of the neck rings is the same on all of them; namely, an acorn-shaped eyelet (see Fig. 1a), through which a pointed button was inserted. Furthermore, the neck rings, especially at the front and on the outside, have a brownish color, from which the goldsmith charged with the appraisal concluded that they were originally deliberately colored.

3.

61375 To judge the age, origin, and purpose, we have, due to the lack of inscriptions (such as coins and memorial stones), only the objects themselves as guides, and must therefore seek light from these, compared with others found elsewhere.

61380 The eye is involuntarily drawn first to the finger ring Fig. 7, which bears a bust. One hopes that the portrait will be recognized and verified by history. But in the rough features in which that image is depicted, we have searched in vain for a known person. It is not a Roman emperor. The head is adorned with dense and small curls, or with a fur cap. On the chest and shoulders, one sees the folds of a cloak, and possibly the upper edge of a shield is indicated under his chin. He appears to be a barbarian, although I have not found the image among known barbarian princes.

61385 However, one would more likely suspect him of being a barbarian than a Roman, because the specific characteristics of the Roman character and costume are lacking.

61390 Meanwhile, the workmanship and shape of the ring itself are similar to those of Roman rings from a later period. In shape and rough workmanship, it is similar, for example, to the ring at ARNETH, Gold- und Silberwerke u. s. f., Tab. G, S. XX No. 152, S. 33, on whose square shield the busts of Constantinus Jun. and his wife are engraved; as well as to the ring from Louisendorf, with the inscription FIDEM CONSTANTINO, depicted in my "Memorials of the Germans and Romans, etc.," pl. XVI, 6-8, and to another from the same region, exactly identical to the latter, in the possession of Mr. P. C. G. GUYOT in The Hague (*). But I would consider our Velp ring to be from even later than the Constantinian period. This is prompted by the consideration of the gold treasure found in the same village in 1715, which included coins from the period of the

61400 (*) Mr. GUYOT's ring was found in the vicinity of Kleve in 1850 and is so excellently preserved that it could be considered new. Since two finger rings have now been found, completely identical, including the inscription, and from the same region, one may assume that they were donated by one of the Constantinians.

61405 municipal commanders, probably of barbarian auxiliaries, were given, as was very common, especially in that period.

61410 Constantinians were, and later ones too, the youngest of the tyrant John, whose last coin (MEDIOPARBI, p. 537) is from the year 425. This golden treasure, not unimportant for elucidating our ornaments in general, may be briefly mentioned here, especially because it is little known and can only be known incompletely from written works in Dutch. Some reports about it can be found in ENGELBERTS, *Aloude staat*, IV. 336; G. VAN HASSELT, *Arnhemsche Oudheden*, IV. 1-3; REUVENS AND WESTENDORP, *Antiquities*, III. 148, where mention is also made of STARING, in the *Verh. der Haarlemsche Maatschappij*, XI. 451 (1822); IS. AN. NIJHOFF, *Wandelingen in de Omstreken van Arnhem*, 5th ed., p. 107, where KILIAAN, *Etymol. voce thunderstone*, was also

- 61415 mentioned; but the most voluminous and contemporaneous documents can be found in G. CUPER, *Lettres de critiques* etc., Amsterdam 1742, 4°, p. 179, and in the *saggi di Dissertat. Accadd. di Cortona*, tom. IV. p. 255 sqq. (Roma 1743, 4°), *Dissert. YI**, sopra alcune medaglie d'oro, divisa in tre letterse, due di GISBERTO CUPERO ed una di Mr. FRANSCISCO BIANCHINI.
- 61420 In both of the latter works, there are also two images of medallions by Honorius and Galla Placidia, rounded up from that treasure (*). The following report is taken from these documents.
- 61425 At Laar(\$), in Velp, in 1715, workmen and soldiers, while digging and leveling a barren and hilly piece of pastureland (sterile prato), belonging to a tobacco merchant, discovered this treasure.
- 61430 (*) ARNETH, who in his *Gold- und Silberw.*, p. 7, cites this Velp gold treasure as one of the most important gold discoveries in Europe, and who cites the *Lettres de critiques* l. c. as his source, incorrectly named Velperg as the discovery site, instead of Velp, and listed Cuper GISBERT as the describer, instead of the renowned scholar GISBERT CUPER.
(\$) Laar, ed. Lár ~ dwelling, house; see GRAFF, *althochd. Sprachschatz*; II, 143; cf. MEIJER *Zurich. Ortsnamen* S. 10 (1849); and L. P. C. VAN DEN BERGH, *Krit. Woordenb. der Ned. Myth.*, p. 124.
- 61440 While he wanted to improve it into tobacco land, a gold treasure was found with a gold value of 10,000 to 12,000 guilders. It consisted of a necklace (collier), bracelets (brasseletten), coins, and medallions. Everything lay in the loose earth, but the necklace and bracelets were laid in a circle; the center of this circle was covered with medallions, which had decorative borders and were placed next to each other in such a way that they formed a kind of floor, five of these medallions being attached to the necklace (*). On these medallions, the smaller gold coins were placed side by side. The finders immediately divided the treasure, made off with it, and sold the majority to goldsmiths, who threw it into the melting pot, so that the
- 61445 combined find has never been seen by any connoisseur or enthusiast. Meanwhile, Cuperus had the privilege of viewing another thirty of the gold coins found in Arnhem and even purchasing two of them, one by Honorius and one by Valentinian; the others he had seen belonged to Constantine the Great and his sons, to Valens, Gratian, and other emperors of the time, as well as one by John. He also saw a few more medallions
- 61450 in Arnhem, specifically one by Honorius and one by Galla Placidia (\$). According to the information of Cuperus (who cites Baron Van Spaen of Biljoen as an informant), the brasselets and the necklace
- 61455 (*) For examples of how such medallions hung on the necklaces, see the *Hist. Ant. Mittheilungen* of the Society of Antiquities in Copenhagen, pages 97-98, fig. 1, and in Arneth l. c. Table G. L., p. 8.
(\$) Both of these were published in the aforementioned treatises. The medallion of Honorius was then in the possession of Mayor De Groot of Arnhem, and that of Galla Placidia was with Baron Van Spaen of Biljoen. Later, the Galla Placidia came into the collection of Mr. Van Damme; see Engelberts l. c., and from there passed into the Royal Collection in The Hague; see J. C. De Jonge, *Notice*, p. 99.
- 61460 have melted down. ENGELBERTS, on the other hand, reports that the necklace "is still kept as a baptismal ornament by a certain family." ENGELBERTS had not seen it with his own eyes, nor did he describe it or name the family; but his assurance seems beyond doubt. If it were still kept by any family, they would certainly oblige science by reporting it (*). ENGELBERTS also reported that Mr. VAN DAMME from the same area (Velp) owned an unusually large medal of Constantine the Great, which, however, had not been attached to the gold necklace, as well as a heavy gold finger
- 61470 ring, or ring, decorated with inlaid figurines of the early Christians (and?) with a sapphire stone, depicting the Empress Helena. From this report, one seems to infer that these objects also came from Velp. Regarding the discovery site, Het Laar, we read in CUPER's account that some, because of the mounds that had formerly been in that field, had thought this golden treasure came from a burial ground. However,
- 61475 CUPER considered this improbable because, according to him, not the slightest trace of a burial ground was found during the demolition of the mound where these objects lay, and because burial with treasure was no longer common among the Romans at that time.
- 61480 We agree with CUPER on this point; But we must not fail to note that it has not been proven that the treasure was hidden there by the Romans, and that barbarians at that time were indeed in the habit of burying it with their deceased treasures. —

(*) But it probably no longer exists. After all, the aforementioned Mr. Brantsen told me that he had only a vague idea that the necklace had been in his family, but that it had been converted into currency during the French occupation.

From these statements, one may conclude without presumption that the gold discovery at Laar dates from the first half of the fifth century, because the youngest coins were from the beginning of the fifth century. And this is the reason why we have raised the suspicion that our gold ornaments date from a slightly later period than that of the Constantines. Indeed, both gold discoveries may well be considered simultaneous or nearly so, since Laar is only 10 minutes away from the site where our objects were found, and because neither find yielded any traces of burial, but rather that they were deliberately buried in the ground and not lost by chance.

The finger ring, Fig. 8, which originally contained an engraved stone, is so strikingly similar in form and workmanship to Roman finger rings that we need not cite any examples for comparison. However, the situation is different with the other ornaments, particularly the neck rings. These do not correspond in either form or ornamentation to the Roman ones we know. At first glance, one might even suspect that they were rather head rings, diadems; after all, their shape is somewhat similar to that of some diadems from classical antiquity: see, for example, the illustrations in CAYLUS, Recueil, I. partie 4, ri. LXXXV, 4; MONTFAUCON, Antiq. expliq. III Pl. XX. and XXV, and BOLDETTI, i cimiteri etc. p. 526. Mr. HIIDEBRAND, supervisor of the Museum of Antiquities in Copenhagen, who (28 August) saw the drawings of our Velp ornaments here, also recently told me that gold diadems of a similar shape had been found in Sweden, which were suspected there of being of Eastern origin. Meanwhile, these Swedish diadems were so different from ours that they were closed at the back and open at the front (perpendicularly cut) and therefore elastic. However, our Velp rings cannot be mistaken for diadems, because the wide, flat portion of the clasps runs counter to the back closure, so that if they were used as diadems, they would not lie flat against the forehead, but would injure the head with the sharp point of the front; whereas, placed around the neck, they fit very effectively with the flat front against the breastbone, and the decorated portion is therefore visible to everyone. This purpose is beyond doubt, and if any doubt remains, it will disappear upon consideration that similar rings have been found elsewhere fastened around the necks of corpses. However, these rings found elsewhere are few in number and extremely rare. They were found in a region that has so far been little explored for comparative archaeology, and we are all the more willing to mention them because they are the only examples from all antiquity (at least as far as I know) that closely resemble our Velp neck rings.

In Livonia, east of the Baltic Sea, DR. F. KRUSE, the tireless researcher of monumental antiquity, has recently conducted many excavations, particularly in burial mounds of the oldest inhabitants there. He shared his findings in the work "Necrolivonica," published in Petersburg in 1842. There, Tab. 4, fig. N. (cf. p. 7 of the text), one finds a bronze neck ring depicted, found in an old grave at Aschenraden and still attached to the skeleton's neck. This neck-ring is remarkably similar in shape to ours (namely Figs. 1, 2 and 3); it is, like ours, hammered out on three sides at the front, while the rest is round. It differs only in that the ornaments are not entirely the same, and that the closure is not exactly at the back, but on the right side of the neck. On the wide front, there are also some bronze clasps, which are almost shaped like spoons from ancient hair tongs (tweezers). This last detail, however, does not detract from the similarity in the least, because according to Kruse's reports, such neck rings without clasps have also been found in Livonia. At Ronneberg, in an old grave, he discovered two such neck rings, one above the other, around the neck of a male skeleton; these are depicted at the top of Table 27, fig. 8. A neck ring was found at Kerklingen, in Kurland, and at the top of Table 27, fig. 8. 41, fig. 3, depicted, is decorated on the front, on the wide part, with a decoration that completely resembles the triangular decorations of our rings; but this neck ring is rope-shaped at the back. Furthermore, what KRUSE reports regarding the decorations on the Aschenrade antiquities is noteworthy. These decorations generally consisted of circular eyelets (sometimes one eyelet with a double outline, sometimes two single eyelets below and one above), zigzags, and small squares. Such decorations are also found on our rings. Regarding the rarity of these objects, KRUSE states that he had never encountered a ring similar to the Aschenrade one, neither in Germany nor in Scandinavia. This testimony is significant coming from an antiquarian with as much experience as KRUSE. We permit ourselves to add only that we are not aware of any such neck rings from Britain (*), France, and Belgium (\$), while the classical art

- 61550 (*) In this connection, I must also note that, according to ARNETH I. c., a gold torque, broad on one side like a diadem, was found in Cornwall in 1783, depicted in LYSONS, Magna Britt. III. p. CCXXI, and a bronze one, depicted in the Archaeologia, XIV, 94. But the rings mentioned in those works bear very little resemblance to ours.
- 61555 (\$) It should be noted that this by no means denies that the Germans, Britons, and Celts living in those countries generally did not wear neck rings. The opposite is well known; there is ample evidence for this, which can be found from ancient writers and monuments; We will, however, save this discussion for another occasion, as we must now concentrate on brevity and will only touch upon the most necessary points that serve as clarification here.
- 61560 works from Greece and Italy (including the Etruscans) offer no comparison other than the aforementioned, rather inconspicuous, diadems (*). The evidence will undoubtedly have demonstrated the extreme rarity of these objects; even rarer than the Aschenraden by KRUSE, insofar as these were made only of bronze, while ours, on the other hand, are made of gold.
- 61565 The few explanations KRUSE has provided regarding the origin and age of the Aschenraden rings cannot be of any use to us, as they consist only of quotations from ancient Nordic and Russian authors, relating to the use of neck rings in general and dating back no further than the eleventh century. KRUSE may have judged his Aschenraden objects to belong to that late medieval period, although he doesn't
- 61570 explicitly say so. However, if he were of that opinion, our Velp neck rings would certainly lead him to a different conclusion.
- 61575 * A small, flat, diadem-shaped gold finger ring, found near Wijk bij Duurstede and now in the Museum of Antiquities here, may be compared from afar. This one is decorated on the outside with triangular figures, provided with eyelets, and enclosed in a pointed edge; it is open at the narrow end and therefore elastic, unlike the aforementioned Swedish diadems, although in those cases the opening was on the wide side. This Wijk finger ring was judged by the Swedish antiquarian, Mr. HILDEBRAND, to belong to the fifth century. For the shape of this Wijk ring, compare the arm ring in WORSAAE, Dänemarks Vorzeit, p. 46, and for the decoration, p. 47.
- 61580 Regarding the specific tribe from which they supposedly originated, KRUSE also offers no clues. But if the graves he found at Aschenraden belong to a people indigenous there, then in our view they belonged to a Nordic tribe, for it is plausible that the peoples who formerly lived close to the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea (specifically
- 61585 its southern part) were of the same tribe as those on the western coast, which now belongs to Sweden. According to MONE, Gesch. des Heidenth., I.7,66, the Livonians, Ebstlanders, and Kurlanders were attributed to the Finnic lineage; but regarding the oldest peoples on the Baltic coasts, see especially Grimm, History of the German Language, p. 716 A.D.
- 61590 The neck ring Fig. 4, which consists entirely of round, hammered gold wire, must be attributed a similar origin due to its similar closure and similar gold content. We will not dwell on this in detail; it is apparently of the simplest type; but it was possible that it originally held ornaments; at least, the completely round clasp is very suitable for this, and such round neck rings, with objects hanging from them,
- 61595 have sometimes been found (*).
- 61600 The heavy spiral ring Fig. 5, which could have been used as a finger ring, although its size and weight must have somewhat hindered the free movement of the finger, seems, like the previous one, not to be Roman, but barbarian in origin or purpose. One could argue against this that the Romans in the later imperial period took the luxury of wearing many and heavy finger rings to great lengths, and that they sometimes covered all their fingers, up to the top, with them without taste; see QUINTILIAN. XI, 3, MARTIAL. XIV, 123, and especially XI, 59, where he lashes Zoilus with bitter mockery.
- 61605 (*) For example. in Normandy; see the yearbooks of the Societé des antiquaires de Normandie, 1827-1828, pl. 20 No. C. Tombeaux Gaulois-Romains.
- 61610 Zoile, quid tota gemmam praecingere libra
Too juvat et miserum perdere sardonycha?
Annulus iste tuis fuerat mode cruribus optus,
Non eadem digitis pondera conveniunt.
- 61615 But spiral finger rings as heavy as ours are not known to me from the Romans, neither in figurines nor in originals. On the other hand, they have been found among Germanic-Nordic objects. We will mention only one example, which offers the greatest resemblance to our ring. In 1833, a gold treasure was discovered in Fühnen, consisting of arm rings, brasselets, cloak hooks, medallions, etc., together weighing

8 pounds 7 lead (Nordic weight); among these was a heavy, solid gold spiral finger ring, similar to ours; see the illustration in the Hist. Antiq. Mittheilungen der Societät für Nord. Allerth., Table V, 13, compare the text S. 92-97. This Fühnen ring is only slightly shorter than ours, and tapers at both ends; But it was possible that our Velp ring had originally been somewhat thinner at both ends, and that those ends had been removed for commercial use (see below). It is also worth noting that the medallions with which the Fühnen ring was found were barbaric imitations of coins of Constans and other successors of Constantine the Great, and that the learned Nordic reporter correctly concludes that this gold treasure, which was of Nordic manufacture, must be dated to the fifth century. (*)

(*) Germanic gold spiral finger rings found in Meklenburg, see mentioned and illustrated in the Frederico-Francisceum, Table XXIII, 1,4, 6-8, compare the text of LISCH, Table 137, 138, and LISCH, in the Jahrb. für Meklenb. Gesch. u. Alterth., W, 269, 270; and in the Holstein, b[j] RHODE, Holst. Cimbr. antiq. Rom. p. 137, fig. 1, 4, pp. 142-143, fig. 2, 3. All these rings, however, are noticeably thinner and finer than the Fühnen and our Veluws rings.

This similarity with Germanic-Nordic rings is no less striking in the decorated fragment Fig. 6. For among the Fühnen objects were four similar broken and bent pieces of rings (some spiral-shaped), which were roughly hung together like a chain; see the illustration in the aforementioned Mittheilungen, Tab. V. Fig. 15. The publisher quite rightly characterizes these as "broken, bent, and linked rings, for the purpose of trade" (trade and circulation). Ring money was in use among many ancient peoples, not only among the Norwegians, but also among the Celts, and even among the Hungarians; see for brevity's sake SCHREIBER, Taschenb. für Gesch. u. Alterthümer in Süddeutschland 1840, and Nachtrag inden Jahrg. 1841, p. 401. From what has been presented thus far, the following conclusions may be drawn.

1. The gold ornaments found in Velp, in terms of their antiquity, can most likely be dated to the first half of the 5th century.
2. The large rings were men's neck rings; one person could wear more than one at a time (one over the other). are. This may also clarify why the rings are so bent and dented; after all, men would have handled them more roughly than women tend to; and if these men were warriors, as is likely, then the rings could also have been bent by weapons that may have pressed against them.
3. The smaller rings were finger rings; due to their size and weight, probably also men's; while the spiral ring and the curved fragment would also have been intended to be cut into pieces during trade, purchase, or exchange.

4. Most rings exhibit a non-Roman, barbarian style in shape and decoration, and in this respect most closely resemble objects from the north, found on the coasts of the Baltic Sea.

5. The non-Roman character of the rings does not yet allow us to conclude with certainty that they were made by barbarians; for it was possible that they were made by Romans in a barbarian style and given by the Romans as gifts to barbarians to gain their favor, reward their loyalty, or buy off their threats; of which numerous examples from that period are found in history. (*)

6. The earlier discovery, in the same village, of a treasure of Roman coins, medallions, etc., might reinforce the idea that the ones found now were also made by Romans. But it was also possible that the previously discovered treasure had been plundered by Roman barbarians, or captured in victory and temporarily stored there. In this case, one should not draw any conclusions from this regarding the Roman production of our ornaments.

7. The similar manner in which both treasures were buried in the ground, and the proximity of the two discovery sites, lead to the conclusion that both treasures were buried simultaneously, or on the same occasion and by the same people, or by people of the same people. -

I think I should refrain from making any conjectures regarding the specific tribe that made our ornaments

(*) How dependent the Romans were on the bat baron at that time, and what extorted gifts cost them, is important evidence of the testimony of SALVIANUS Massiliensis (from the fifth century), the governor. Dei, VI. 211, p. 129 (edit. Brem. 1688). For the rest, we refer to GIBBON, Gesch. des Röm. Weltreiches, uebers. von SPORSCHIL, Leipzig 1840, Th. VII. Chap. LVI. P. 4-90, where the main sources are cited.

buried in the soils. Too large a field lies open here. What peoples from the North, East, and West did not harass the Roman Empire in the first half of the fifth century! The increasingly sinking Western empire was alternately assaulted and undermined by Getae, Gepids, Avars, Quadi, Alans, Suevi, Wandals, Franks, and Huns,

sometimes friendly to each other (*). Aetius, a Scythian by birth (\$), who matured under the Hunnic tents, having risen to the head of the Western empire (433-454), spent twenty years solely delaying its fall by defending it against barbarians, while in numerous battles in Gaul (†) he subdued the Franks on the Rhine and the Burgundians (**). I hope to return to this subject in due time and to be able to recommend a specific conjecture. For now, I will only permit myself the observation that no traces of a battle fought there have yet been found in the vicinity of Velp. Even in the unfortunate forest, I have searched in vain for undoubted burial mounds. A single funerary urn, reportedly discovered earlier at the Essop (\$\$), and the few remains of an old burial, which I excavated in a hill in the spring of this year in the so-called Stadsbosch near Arnhem, above Valkenhuizen, prove too little (††). The Germanic graves in Apeldoorn are somewhat distant.

(*) See JORNANDES, the reb. Gethsemane, c. 34; MEROBAUDES, Panegy. cn. CORRIPUS, de laudibus Justin. min. (Corp. Scriptt. Byz. edit. BEKKERI) passim; compare GIBBON l. c. VII.

(\$\$) According to REN. FRIGERIDUS. He was actually born in Dorestena in Moesia; see the note on MEROBAUDES l. c. p. 15.

(†) "Galliam bis quinos certamina traxit in annos And senior post bella redit".

MEROBAUDES l. c. p. 16, vs. 147.

(**) See GIBBON l. c. VII. chap. 35 S. 3 u. i.

(\$\$) IS. AN. NIJHOFF, Walks in the vicinity of Arnhem 5th edition, bl. 108.

(††) G. VAN HASSELT collected on his estate Daalhuizen near Velp, besides rare Roman coins, also urns or coffins and javelins (frameae)", as NIJHOFF, t. a. pl. p. 89, according to oral information from Mr. VAN HASSELT, but neither their number nor Neither the type nor the discovery sites are known, so no conclusions can be drawn from them.

The simplicity of the contents and the lack of weaponry suggest that it dates back to the fifth century and not to having been killed in battle (*). It is possible that those who buried these treasures in the Velp soil fled from the left bank of the Rhine to the right, the Germanic one, and considered their temporary preservation safe at this isolated spot between the Rhine and the IJssel. All this does not deny the possibility of what has been suspected regarding the previously discovered gold treasure: that it was part of an imperial treasure; but even in such a quantity, it would certainly not have been recovered by order of an emperor, who would have provided better clothing, but rather should be considered stolen, as looted.

Leiden, September 15, 1851.

POSTSCRIPT.

After the above had already been largely printed, I found, in my work, Neues vaterländ. Archiv – von SPIEL, fortgesetzt von SPANGENBERG, B. IV. Heft 1 S. 184 (Luneborg bei Herold 1823, 8°), which is rare in our country, a report concerning the discovery of a golden treasure in Hanover, not mentioned elsewhere as far as I know, and which included a collar that seems to have had some similarity to our Velp treasure and also belonged to around the same time. We

(*) Regarding the Apeldoorn graves, see my essay: Ancient Germanic and Frankish Antiquities in Apeldoorn, in these Contributions, D. VII, pages 320 et seq.

I will include that report here, also in the hope that it may help to elicit a more accurate and illustrated description of this treasure, or an indication of where it can be found? The aforementioned report is by Dr. KOELER of Zelle and reads as follows: "On May 31 (1823), the treasurer CLAUS BÖSCHEN of Mulsuwer Wiede, in the office of Dorum of the Wursten district, near the Hollseler forest, in the Heidestatt region, while cutting sods, found a gold ornament belonging to an old leader from the past, just below the surface of the ground. It is most likely to be mistaken for a necklace and weighs about half a pound. Where it is somewhat wider, a few small half-moons have been added for decoration. At the same location, five ancient Roman coins were found, all fitted with eyelets and which appear to have hung from the thin end of the necklace. On them are the names of ANASTASIUS and VALENTINIANUS, and repeatedly the words victor and victori (VICTORINUS?). On one, which appears to be the oldest and is already quite worn, there is a head with the inscription RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE and below the head ANT ... S. If this is to be called ANTONIUS, the piece would be older than the Christian era. Each coin weighs slightly more than a ducat, and the goldsmith declares it to be 24-carat gold. Four of them and the collar were purchased by the court or the Landstuba, and these pieces of antiquity will probably be offered to the government, for the Museum in Göttingen or for another public

- 61755 collection. The collar is broken in two, and it appears to have been hooked together on one side and attached to the other by two sliders (Schieber), which are still present.
- 61760 December 17, 1920 – In Westerkappeln (Westphalia), a clay vase containing 37 gold coins was found in a field during digging. The broken vase was carelessly discarded, but later, at the site where it was found, a ring with three stones and a worked piece of solid gold were found. The large, heavy coins are of Roman origin and represent an important numismatic asset.
- 61765 August 12, 2007, GOLD TREASURE FROM VELP APPEARS TO BE PARTLY IN MOSCOW!
The early medieval Velp Gold Treasure, looted from Berlin by the Red Army in 1945, is located in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. This was reported by Jos Bazelmans, head of research at the Rijksdienst (National Service for the History of the Netherlands). for Archaeology, Cultural Landscapes and Monuments (RACM). He recently saw the treasure, excavated in 1851 and sold to Germany a few years later, prominently
- 61770 featured in the catalog of an exhibition on Merovingian art at the Moscow museum. The fact that this has only now become known is entirely due to a degree of political openness to the West by former President Vladimir Putin. The treasure now has two sides: archaeologically very interesting for the Netherlands, but also historically charged! This is also historically interesting because the reason the treasure is in
- 61775 Moscow relates to the outcome and history of World War II. The treasure was taken in crates from Berlin to Moscow by Russian troops in 1945, as one of the means of reparation for all the enormous damage the Germans had caused in Russia. Because the treasure was purchased by the Germans in the Netherlands at the time, the Netherlands will never be able to claim the objects. The Germans are negotiating with the
- 61780 Russians about restitution or, for example, the creation of replicas. This issue, even 65 years later, remains very sensitive. The Municipality of Rheden has already contacted the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, purely with the intention of updating each other on the current state of affairs. There are plans to send a Dutch research team to Moscow under German supervision for further investigation. More to come!
- 61785 Dutch archaeologists want to dig up the treasure and study the hoard, said Emeritus Professor of Archaeology Tjalling Waterbolk on Thursday, because it resembles other gold treasures from the Netherlands, such as the Beilen hoard he excavated in 1955. Bazelmans has asked the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science to arrange for a Dutch archaeologist to study the hoard in Moscow. The Velp hoard was originally
- 61790 larger and, in addition to these medals, also consisted of a large number of gold coins, bracelets, neck rings, and a gold chain. Only the coin jewelry has been preserved.
- 61795 THE VELP TREASURE; GISBERT CUPER, FRANKS AND ROMANS
Speaker: Drs. P. Beliën.
The hoard discovered in Velp in 1715 is one of the most spectacular treasure finds ever made in the Netherlands. The lecture will discuss the discovery of the hoard and what subsequently happened to the gold from the find. After this, we'll take a step back in time, to the beginning of the fifth century AD. This was the period when the
- 61800 treasure was entrusted to the earth. We'll try to answer the question of how the gold ended up in Velp and who owned it.
Gold objects have been found in two locations in Velp. The gold hoard, found at the former Villa den Heuvel, can be admired either partially or entirely in Moscow. A second find containing gold objects is said to have been sold to Paris. Nothing more
- 61805 is known about this. All in all, a very international treasure story!
- Germanic Necklaces
In 1916, four solid gold necklaces were discovered on the floodplains of the Gelderse IJssel near Olst. They were made around 400 AD from melted solidi. Solidi, the plural of the Latin solidus, are late Roman gold coins. Precious metal jewelry was highly
- 61810 valued in Germanic society. In the British epic Beowulf (8th century), the author speaks approvingly of the generosity of a king who showers the best warrior with royal gifts.
The Olst hoard is not unique; similar finds have been made elsewhere in the
- 61815 Netherlands. For example, in 1955, five gold neck rings and a bracelet were discovered in Beilen. This hoard also contained 22 coins. More than a century earlier, in 1850, a neck ring and a coin were already known from this site, but were subsequently lost. The Beilen neck rings are also thickened in the middle and bear typical Germanic decorative motifs. It has been calculated that more than one hundred

61820 solidi must have been melted down for the six pieces of jewelry from the Beilen hoard. The Beilen hoard is now on display at the Drents Museum in Assen. Other sites where such remarkable jewelry has been found are Rhenen, near the early medieval burial ground, and Velp. Part of the latter gold hoard, discovered in 1751, is in the National Museum of Antiquities: two medals, crafted into medallions, minted in Ravenna around 425. The Velp hoard was originally larger and, in addition to these medals, also consisted of a large number of gold coins, bracelets, neck rings, and a gold chain. Only the coin ornaments have been preserved.

61825 The gold hoards share the fact that they were buried at the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century. The reason for the burial of such valuables cannot be determined with certainty. In any case, these objects must have belonged to prominent Germanic chieftains who maintained contacts with the Roman Empire. They may have received the gold as a reward for services rendered to the Romans, such as participation in military operations. For example, the Germanic tribes who protected the Roman Empire's border from their own kind undoubtedly received generous payments, in gold. A centurion may also have received Roman gold in exchange for a promise not to engage in hostilities against the Romans.

61830 The great political unrest, internal strife, and invading plunderers during the period of the migrations may have led the owner to hide his treasures. Perhaps he himself participated in military expeditions and therefore had to find a safe hiding place for his valuables. Perhaps he was unable to unearth the hidden treasure afterward, for example, because he had been killed in action. If no other survivors were informed, the location of the treasure was forgotten

61835 Recently, another possible reason for burying such valuables has been suggested. The gold treasures may also have been used as offerings to appease the gods, or to gain their support in turbulent times. Splendid offerings of prestigious neck rings (symbols of worldly power) and other gold objects conferred prestige on the ??

61840 and whom the gods honored so princely. The gold treasures from the late 4th and early 5th centuries, found both north and south of the Rhine, certainly reflect the unstable political situation of this period. Moreover, these riches demonstrate the Romans' desire to defy the threat to their empire from external invasions through alliances. Quite a few gifts would have been necessary to improve relations with Germanic chieftains and maintain the alliances. Ultimately, it was to no avail, because in 406, Germanic tribes finally crossed the Rhine border, marking the end of Roman rule in the Netherlands.

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Кулаков В.И.

Римские наградные гривны из Велпа (Нидерланды)

61860 В 2003 и 2005 гг. в рамках выполнения договора между Институтом археологии Российской академии наук и Государственным Музеем изобразительных искусств им. А.С. Пушкина автору этих строк выпала честь работать по теме «Научный анализ и каталогизация западно-европейских находок IV–VII вв. н.э. из собрания ГМИИ им. А.С. Пушкина».

61865 Необходимо отметить доброжелательную помощь, непременно оказывавшуюся мне в ходе этой непростой работы со стороны директора Государственного Музея изобразительных искусств им. А.С. Пушкина И.А. Антоновой, заведующего Отделом Искусства и археологии Древнего мира, хранителя коллекции В.П. Толстикова, а также помощника заведующего Отделом по хранительской работе, заведующего Сектором Античного искусства О.В. Тугушевой. Пользуюсь случаем высказать мою глубокую благодарность этим коллегам.

61870 В процессе разборки группы находок, ранее хранившийся в фондах Музея Древней и Ранней истории (Берлин, дворец Шарлоттенбург), а ныне находящихся в фондах ГМИИ им. А.С. Пушкина, моё внимание привлёк комплекс, состоящих из семи золотых гривен (Кулаков В.И., Толстиков В.П., 2007, с. 278, 279). Этот комплекс входил в состав клада, найденного в 1851 г. в южной части Нидерландов (провинция Гельдерланд), в историческом регионе Северный Брабант. Кроме гривен, в составе депозита обнаружены два перстня со щитками, спиральное кольцо и петля проволоочная, изготовленные из золота. Клад был случайно обнаружен во время сельскохозяйственных работ в саду в окрестностях селения Велп (Velp), которое расположено к востоку от города Арнхайм (Arnhem), при впадении реки Ййссель (IJssel) в один из рукавов дельты р. Рейн – в Недер Рийн (Nederriijn = голл. «Нижний Рейн»), на правом берегу последнего (рис. 1). Гривны были проданы находчиком (?) и оказались на рынке художественных произведений (антикварном ?) в г. Лейдене. Там они в 1852 г. были приобретены для Королевского музея в Берлине (ныне – Музей Древней и Ранней истории) (Менгин В., 2007, с. 42 и

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- опубликованы в Нидерландах (Janssen, 1852, p. 161-180). Типологическая принадлежность находки (инвентарь погребения или клад) долгие десятилетия оставались не ясными. Известно лишь, что в начале весны 1945 г. этот комплекс вместе с остальными более чем 700 золотыми музейными экспонатами был депонирован в бункере (третий этаж 7-этажного комплекса противозвоздушной обороны Люфтваффе – Fleckturm «Zoobunker») в районе Берлинского зоопарка и 4 мая того же года передан представителям Красной Армии (Bertram M., 1995, S. 16). Оказавшийся в английской зоне оккупации Берлина Fleckturm Zoobunker представители Великобритании позднее получили уже без музейных экспонатов.
- Информация, связанная с комплексом гривен из Велпа, интересна и заслуживает специального рассмотрения ввиду уникальности упомянутых музейных экспонатов (рис. 2). В европейской археологии известны золотые шейные украшения (die Halsringe), именуемые «гривны типа Велп» и происходящие из:
2. (здесь и далее – №№ по карте на рис. 2). Ниймеген, Нидерланды (Nijmegen, Holland) – фасетированная гривна со штемпельным орнаментом;
 3. Ренен, Нидерланды (Rhenen, Holland) – 2 фасетированные гривны весом 85 и 55 г со штемпельным орнаментом, одна из гривен имеет пластину со вставками из гранатов (?), фрагмент плоской гривны с надписью «ER.E.F(ecit)V(uncial=136,44 г)Proclu(s) (Roes A., 1947, p. 186);
 4. Ольст, Нидерланды (Olst, Holland) – 4 фасетированные гривны (die Facettenhalsringe), три из которых имеют штемпельный орнамент, их вес достигает 22 карата золота;
 5. Байлен, Нидерланды (Beilen, Holland) – 4 фасетированные гривны со штемпельным орнаментом, гривна из 8-гранного дрота, свёрнутая до размера браслета, 1 фасетированный браслет со штемпельным орнаментом, вес гривен – 43,2 г, 66,9 г, 67,8 г, 80,8 г, 93,4 г, всего их вес составляет 100 солидов из расчёта веса одного позднеримского солида 4,55 г), в составе клада – 23 солида (?) эпохи правления Гонориуса и другие римские монеты;
 6. Ёстрих-Летмате, Германия (Ostrich-Letmathe, Deutschland) – фасетированная гривна со штемпельным орнаментом, браслет из дрота с круглым сечением, с расширяющимися концами и со штемпельным орнаментом;
 7. Вестеркаппель, Германия (Westerkappeln, Kr. Tecklenburg, Deutschland) – фасетированный браслет со штемпельным орнаментом, римские монеты, чеканенные в 337–378 гг. н.э.
- Все перечисленные выше гривны в западноевропейской археологии принято считать происходящими из единой мастерской (оттиски штемпелей их декора вполне идентичны). Гривны считаются ранговыми знаками вождей германских дружин конца IV – начала V в. или его первой половины, сопутствующие гривнам в кладах монеты интерпретируются как римский donatium/stipendium германским наёмникам («цена крови»). Клады с гривнами типа Велп трактуются как жертвы богам отдельных германских племён (указаны на рис. 1) низовий Рейна (Steuer H., 2006, S. 120-123).
- Используя представившуюся возможность непосредственного осмотра и фиксации гривен из Велпа был создан каталог этих находок. В нём гривны выступают под номерами фондового хранения в ГМИИ им. А.С. Пушкина (далее – ГМИИ). Номера хранения в фондах Музея До- и Протоистории (Берлин) даны в скобках.

Каталог гривен из Велпа

- Аар 1479 (II 3694) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 14,9x14,1 см, вес 41,52 г (9 солидов), изготовлена из дрота, имеет застёжку в виде крючка и 8-видной петли. Петля спаяна из гнутого конца дрота гривны. В тыльной части дрот гривны имеет диам. 1,9 мм, в лицевой части – 3,1 мм. Сечение дрота по всему периметру гривны круглое, в пределах петли застёжки – миндалевидное. Эта гривна, как и остальные предметы из комплекса, найденного у пос. Велп, имеет дрот волнистых очертаний. Это – результат распрямления дрота, поступившего в 1945 г. в ГМИИ смятым. На рисунке в первой публикации этой гривны она имеет уплощённо-овальную форму (рис. 2,8). Однако искривлённость дрота гривны видна и на этом рисунке. Соответственно, гривны были найдены смятыми, что прямо указывает на характер комплекса – клад, компоненты которого были смяты для большей компактности клада и удобства его сокрытия.
- Аар 1478 (II 3689) – гривна золотая (проба 750°), разм. 17,5x14,4 см, вес 76,77 г (17 солидов), является имитацией гривен и браслетов типа «с расширенными концами». Эти концы у этой и последующих гривен из Велпа не разделены. Гривны надевались так, чтобы их широкая уплощённая часть (в сечении имела вид весьма плоского треугольника с усечённой вершиной) находилась на груди их хозяина. Тыльная половина обода гривны имеет вид дрота. Он ещё на уровне восковой литейной модели был уплощён на лицевой стороне и приобрёл видимость соединённых расширенных концов гривны. Гривна украшена оттисками штампа (чекана). Гривна Аар 1478 – единственная из гривен клада в Велпе, расширенная часть которой покрыта оттисками 4 различных видов штампов (рис. 3)

- целиком, что находит полную аналогию в гривне из Ренен (Rhenen). Гривна имеет форму ассиметричного, вытянутого вправо овала.
- 61955 Аар 1477 (II 3692) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 19,2x15,7 см, вес 57,32 г (12,6 солидов), однотипна гривне Аар 1478. Гривна Аар 1477 – единственная из гривен из Велпа, имеющая особую композицию декора. Она состоит из поперечных линий чеканного орнамента, вытянутых горизонтально вправо и влево от центра широкой лицевой части гривны. Линии оттисков штампа завершаются стреловидными фигурами (рис. 3, 4). Гривна,
- 61960 как и остальные гривны из Велпа, имеет застёжку в виде крючка и 8-видной паяной петли.
- Аар 1474 (II 3690) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 18,8x13,6 см, вес 58,05 г (13,8 солидов), однотипна гривне Аар 1478. Эта и последующие гривны декорированы стандартно при помощи ромбоидальной композиции, образованной оттисками различных
- 61965 штампов и разделённой полосой из оттисков полукруглых и угольчатых штампов (рис. 2, 3). На пограничных участках при переходе с дрота к пластине гривны её плоскость украшена локальной группой оттисков штампов.
- Аар 1475 (II 3693) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 24,3x16,7 см, вес 85,43 г (18,8 солидов), однотипна гривне Аар 1478, по орнаменту – аналогична Аар 1474. На
- 61970 пограничных участках при переходе с дрота к пластине гривны её плоскость украшена локальной группой оттисков штампов.
- Аар 1476 (II 3691) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 18,8x14,4 см, вес 70,25 г (15,4 солида), однотипна гривне Аар 1478, по орнаменту – аналогична Аар 1474.
- Аар 1473 (II 3688) – гривна золотая (проба 800°), разм. 24,3x16,7 см, вес 73,73 г (16
- 61975 солидов), однотипна гривне Аар 1478, по орнаменту – аналогична Аар 1474. На пограничных участках при переходе с дрота к пластине гривны её плоскость украшена локальной группой оттисков штампов.
- Типологизация гривен из Велпа усложнена редкими для *Barbaricum* видами их формы и орнамента. В кладах, представленных на рис. 1, обнаружены сходные гривны и браслеты, изготовленные из золота. При этом гривна из Ёстрих по орнаменту и параметрам является типологически полной аналогией шейным украшениям из Велп (Аар 1474, Аар 1475, Аар 1476, Аар 1473). Браслет из Ёстрих имеет в своей лицевой части реальные, а не мнимые
- 61980 (как на гривнах) утолщения, украшенные чеканным орнаментом типа гривен из Велпа (Radig W., 1939, S. 109, Abb. 108).
- Дротовая гривна Аар 1479 вполне типична для различных германских и балтских древностей второй четверти I тысячелетия н.э. К сожалению, именно эта типичность не позволяет осуществить точную культурно-этническую идентификацию этого предмета. Ясно лишь, что, обладая самыми малыми среди гривен из Велпа размерами (14,9x14,1 см), эта
- 61990 гривна непосредственно примыкала к шее своего хозяина. Судя по стёртости (скорее – полировки) ношение гривны Аар 1479 было долговременным. Кстати, этого нельзя сказать о других гривнах из клада в Велпе. Все они, в особенности гривна Аар 1478, не несут значительных следов употребления. Края лицевых пластин гривен настолько остры, что о них можно порезаться. При этом эти края в ряде мест несут следы механических
- 61995 воздействий (поперечные вмятины), являющиеся, скорее всего, следствием сминания гривен при их депонировании.
- Особенности формы лицевой части гривен (рис. 3, 4) позволяет полагать в данном случае имитацию гривен и браслетов с расширенными концами. Такие детали убора (браслеты типа Kolbenring, поздний вариант – тип Szentendre) являлись у членов древнегерманского «героического общества» символами власти «варварских» principes III-VI вв. н.э. (Lund Hansen U., 1998, S. 348). Также они могли отмечать членов семей из состава «варварской» аристократии.
- Несмотря на то, что гривны из Велпа имитируют детали «варварского» убора, особенности их формы и декора, приёмы изготовления гривен (следы волочения дрота, аккуратная
- 62000 расковка лицевых частей гривен, разнообразные формы штампов, чётко выдержанные орнаментальные композиции) позволяют уверенно причислять их к продукции провинциально-римских мастеров. Указание на типологическую принадлежность уникальных гривен (включая дротовую) из Велпа содержится в особой 8-видной форме петель их застёжек. Доказано, что гривны такими петлями появляются на рейнском лимесе Империи
- 62010 около середины III в. н.э. (Stjernquist B. 1955. p. 137) и являются прототипами для шейных украшений с так называемыми «грушевидными» замками.
- Особый интерес вызывает декор гривен из Велпа. Он представлен композициями из оттисков круглых, полукруглых и треугольных штампов. В старой немецкой историографии они относятся к декору типа eingestempelte Ornamente, нанесённому одиночными
- 62015 пуансонами (рис. 5, №№ 1-4, 6, 7, 17 и 18 в нижней части рисунка). Как правило, они характерны для скандинавских древностей ранней фазы эпохи Великого переселения народов. На север Европы они поступили непосредственно из римских провинций. Показательно, что для прусского материала стиля Sosdala, позднего относительно

- скандинавских пуансонных декоров, упомянутые формы штампов не характерны (Aberg N., 1919, 47, 49). В исторической Пруссии орнамент стиля Sosdala существует на фазах C2/D2 (возможно – с фазы D1), на Неманском правобережье – на фазах C2/D1. В эти регионы Балтии обычай наносить такой декор на металлические детали воинского убора принесли с собой вернувшиеся на родину (?) ветераны (пешие воины-ауксиларии и кавалеристы), служившие в римских войсках на рейнском или на дунайском лимесе
- 62025 (Кулаков В.И., 2006, с. 64, 65). Клад из Велпа обнаружен как раз в одном из районов эвентуальной дислокации этих «варварских» подразделений на службе Рима. К сожалению, на закате Империи иными войсками она уже не располагала. Поэтому, в частности, ясно, почему форма гривен из Велп ориентируется на образцы престижных германских украшений, характерных
- 62030 исключительно для «варварской» дружинной элиты. Гривны из Велпа не обладают орнаментов в стиле Sosdala, типичными для которого являются звёздные композиции. Зато на одной из этих гривен представлен оттиск миндалевидного штампа со слабым углублением в центре (рис. 4, Aар 1478, по краям каждого из оттисков треугольного штампа). Аналог этого штампа представлен на пряжке из Бриже (Briza, Bez. Litomerice) в Чехии (Tejral J., 2001, S. 40), типичной для древностей горизонта Унтерзибенбрунн (Untersiebenbrunn), относимых в Центральной Европе к фазе D2 (ок. 380/400–ок. 440/450 гг. н.э.) (Kazanski M., Koch U., 2001, S. 85). Такие углубления создавали эффект плоского рельефа у изображений, на самом деле
- 62040 изготовленных гравировкой, акцентированной точечным штампом. Этот орнаментальный приём, представленный, в частности, на обломке серебряного блюда из клада В в Млотечно (тип Eggers 115), появляется, судя по этой находке, ещё на фазе B1 (Кулаков В.И., 1998, с. 99) и являются древнейшим предшественником декора гривен из Велпа и, соответственно, орнамента стиля Untersiebenbrunn.
- 62045 Отсутствие следов деградации орнамента на гривнах из Велпа позволяют датировать их началом этого горизонта. Не исключено, что орнамент на гривнах – своеобразная предтеча декора стиля Untersiebenbrunn. В целом приведённые аргументы позволяют предварительно отнести гривны из Велпа ко времени ок. 370–400 гг. н.э. Само происхождение декора Untersiebenbrunn чрезвычайно интересно и нуждается в развёрнутом искусствоведческом анализе. Пока можно предполагать, что этот тип
- 62050 орнамента является финальной формой развития декора деталей провинциально-римского воинского снаряжения и должен находится в конце типологического ряда, начатого в эпоху Юлиев–Клавдиев декором в стиле Opus interrasile, продолженном в эпоху «солдатских» императоров уплощённым рельефом, углублённые части которого со временем теряли свою глубину. В конечном итоге утратившие навыки своих предшественников, мастера эпохи заката Империи, слабо помнив о необходимости изготовления на своих
- 62055 изделий неких углублённых частей, стали имитировать их скоплениями различных штампов. Издавна изделия с таким декором (стиль Untersiebenbrunn) производили впечатление предметов со стёртыми, еле видными остатками рельефных изображений. Мода на протяжении веков (в том числе – современная) даёт серию примеров сходной утраты первоначального смысла декора или же предмета убора при его долговременном
- 62060 изготовлении (превращение цилиндра в кепи, мутация джинсов как рабочей одежды в бессмысленно затёртый аксессуар «от кутюр»).
- 62065 Если вопросы типологии и хронологии гривен из Велпа решаемы с привлечением сходных по признакам предметов материальной культуры Barbaricum конца IV в. н.э., то семантическое значение этих предметов можно раскрыть лишь с привлечением сугубо римских аналогий, причём – довольно ранних.
- Перед выяснением семантики интересующих нас гривен следует попытаться установить принципы их ношения. Вотивный характер этих гривен явно исключается, ибо со времени Миланского эдикта (313 г. н.э.), проведения Никейского собора (325 г.) и неудачной попытки воссоздания отеческих культов при Императоре Юлиане «Отступнике» (355–363 гг. н.э.) христианская религия стала господствующей в Империи. Принесение драгоценных даров римским богам в конце IV в. н.э. уже не было возможно.
- 62070 Слабые следы стёртости присутствуют почти у всех гривен (кроме Аар 1479 и Аар 1478) в верхней части расширения в центре их лицевой стороны. Можно предполагать факт ношение всех этих гривен одновременно, причём так, что гривны с меньшим диаметром находились поверх гривен с большим диаметром и, соответственно, частично их перекрывали. В соответствии с этим принципом проведена реконструкция схемы ношения комплекса гривен из Велпа (порядок гривен показан на рис. 6). В этом комплексе своими крупными
- 62080 параметрами выделяются две нижние гривны – Аар 1475 и Аар 1476. Они явно рассчитаны для расположения на предплечье. Остальные гривны, обладающие математически убывающими параметрами, составляют в схеме ношения некую цилиндрическую фигуру. Иными словами, эти гривны покрывали собственно шею своего хозяина. Пространство, образовавшееся между тыльными частями трёх нижних гривен и четырёх верхних гривен (рис. 6), могло

- 62085 быть заполнено, например, шейным платком. Эта неременная деталь убора римского легионера могла выгодно оттенять сияние золота гривен и оберегать шею их хозяина от натирания острыми гранями гривен. Несмотря на внушительный вид всего комплекса гривен, их ношение всех вместе ввиду их незначительного веса, было вполне достижимым. Упомянутый выше феномен возрастания параметров гривен в значительной мере дублируется их весовыми значениями в следующей последовательности, реализованной в характерной для римского времени мере веса, использовавшейся при ювелирных работах – в скрупулах (1,137 г):
- 62095 Перед выяснением семантики интересующих нас гривен следует попытаться установить принципы их ношения. Вотивный характер этих гривен явно исключается, ибо со времени Миланского эдикта (313 г. н.э.), проведения Никейского собора (325 г.) и неудачной попытки воссоздания отеческих культов при Императоре Юлиане «Отступнике» (355–363 гг. н.э.) христианская религия стала господствующей в Империи. Принесение драгоценных даров римским богам в конце IV в. н.э. уже не было возможно.
- 62100 Слабые следы стёртости присутствуют почти у всех гривен (кроме Аар 1479 и Аар 1478) в верхней части расширения в центре их лицевой стороны. Можно предполагать факт ношение всех этих гривен одновременно, причём так, что гривны с меньшим диаметром находились поверх гривен с большим диаметром и, соответственно, частично их перекрывали. В соответствии с этим принципом проведена реконструкция схемы ношения комплекса
- 62105 гривен из Велпа (порядок гривен показан на рис. 6). В этом комплексе своими крупными параметрами выделяются две нижние гривны – Аар 1475 и Аар 1476. Они явно рассчитаны для расположения на предплечье. Остальные гривны, обладающие математически убывающими параметрами, составляют в схеме ношения некую цилиндрическую фигуру. Иными словами, эти гривны покрывали собственно шею своего хозяина. Пространство, образовавшееся
- 62110 между тыльными частями трёх нижних гривен и четырёхверхних гривен (рис. 6), могло быть заполнено, например, шейным платком. Эта неременная деталь убора римского легионера могла выгодно оттенять сияние золота гривен и оберегать шею их хозяина от натирания острыми гранями гривен. Несмотря на внушительный вид всего комплекса гривен, их ношение всех вместе ввиду их незначительного веса, было вполне достижимым. Упомянутый выше феномен возрастания параметров гривен в значительной мере дублируется их весовыми значениями в следующей последовательности, реализованной в характерной для римского времени мере веса, использовавшейся при ювелирных работах – в скрупулах (1,137 г):
- 62120 Аар 1479 – 36,52 скрупул
Аар 1477 – 50,41 скрупул
Аар 1474 – 51,05 скрупул
Аар 1476 – 61,78 скрупул
Аар 1473 – 64,84 скрупул
Аар 1478 – 67,84 скрупул
62125 Аар 1475 – 75,13 скрупул
- 62130 Разумеется, не полностью кратные значения веса гривен в римской весовой системе зависит как от возможных ошибок изготовителей этих предметов, так и от микроскопических утрат (царапин, трещин и проч.), со временем искаживших заданный в древности вес гривен. Однако более наглядно выглядит весовая стопа, разделяющая гривны:
- Между Аар 1477 и Аар 1474 – 0,64 скрупул, то есть 1/40 унции (в унции – 24 скрупулы)
Между Аар 1474 и Аар 1476 – 10,73 скрупул, то есть 1/5 унции
Между Аар 1476 и Аар 1473 – 3,06 скрупулы, то есть 1/12 унции
62135 Между Аар 1473 и Аар 1478 – 2,68 скрупулы, то есть примерно 1/12 унции
Между Аар 1478 и Аар 1475 – 7,6 скрупул, то есть 1/6 унции
- Если между указанными выше гривнами видна довольно чёткая римская двенадцатеричная стопа, то дротовая гривна Аар 1479 весит в римской весовой системе 36,52 скрупул и не обладает кратным различием (стопой) ни с одной из остальных гривен комплекса. Это прямо свидетельствует об изготовлении этих гривен в мастерской, в которой работали мастера, неукоснительно придерживавшиеся римской весовой системы. Напротив, творец дротовой гривны Аар 1479 (вес – 9 солидов) указанной системы не придерживался и ориентировался на более грубую весовую стопу солидов, популярную в Barbaricum. Не столь чётко выглядят золотые пробы гривен, исчисляемые в основном значением 800°.
- 62140 Лишь самая крупная, с лицевой стороны орнаментированная полностью гривна Аар 1478 имеет золотую пробу 750°.
- 62145 Интересно сравнение последовательности гривен по нарастанию их метрических и весовых параметров. Их динамика в целом совпадает в следующем виде:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| По возрастанию метрических параметров | По возрастанию весовых параметров |
| 62150 Аар 1478 | Аар 1474 |

	Aар 1477	Aар 1473
	Aар 1477	Aар 1476
	Aар 1474	Aар 1478
	Aар 1473	Aар 1475
62155	Aар 1476	Aар 1475
- Важен вопрос поло-возрастной и социальной принадлежности хозяина гривен из Велпа. Обычай ношения гривен как украшения шеи римлянами и римлянками не только не использовался на всём протяжении римской истории, но и считался для них чуждым. Не следует забывать о том, что носители традиции использования гривен (лат. *torques*) кельты, позднее – германцы, являлись традиционными противниками Рима.
- Тем не менее (скорее – благодаря этому атрибуту «варваров», воспринимавшемуся римлянами как трофей – Махлаук А.В., 2006, с. 328) в римской армии гривны наряду с браслетами и фалерами (нагрудные бляхи) в начале нашей эры стали знаками отличия для рядовых легионеров. Уже в эпоху Августа на надгробии центуриона первой когорты XVIII легиона Марка Целия, погибшего в 9 г. н.э. в битве в Тевтобургском лесу и похороненного у Ксанта (Нидерланды), видны наградные браслеты (рис. 7), привязанные тканевыми жгутами к наплечным пластинам панциря. Шею центуриона украшала наградная витая (тордированная ?) гривна. Если в эпоху ранней Империи наградные гривны крепились замками на тыльной части шеи, то в середине – второй половине IV в. н.э. такие шейные награды на своей лицевой части имеют утолщения, имитирующие расширенные концы гривны. Они украшают шеи телохранителей (лат. *singularis*) Императоров Констанция II (рис. 8) и Феодосия I Великого (рис. 9), представленных на серебряных блюдах, хранящихся в музеях Санкт-Петербурга и Мадрида. Кстати, именно императоры единолично могли вручать (видимо – и утверждать) награды не только «офицерам», но и рядовым солдатам (лат. *caligae*) легионов (Махлаук А.В., 2006, с. 324). Такие гривны застёгивались на тыльной стороне шеи воина (рис. 5,1). Точно так же устроены и гривны из Велпа. Очевидно, этот принцип использовался и в ранней Византии, наследовавшей часть римских воинских обычаев. Правда, в эпоху Юстиниана I Великого его телохранители, судя по мозаике из базилики Сан Витале в Равенне, носили гривны с медальонами на лицевой стороне. При этом медальоны либо украшались вставками камней, либо декорировались эмалью. Пример таких гривен имеется в кладе в Ренен.
- Обнаруженная на оборотной стороне этой плоской детали гривны подчёркивает важность её весового значения, соответствующего, очевидно, приказу о данной награде. Таким образом, типологическая линия развития римских наградных гривен-*torques* в первой половине VI в. Прерывается.
- Уже с эпохи Принципата в римской армии существует традиция множественных награждений – *dona militaria*. Фалеры вручались отличившимся в бою легионерам в комплексе из 6-и и более металлических или даже стеклянных блях, соединённых ремнями для крепления на груди воина (на доспехах). Гривны при награждении сопровождалась браслетами (рис. 10,2). В нашем случае процесс сложения комплекса наградных гривен можно попытаться реконструировать следующим образом. Воин, обладавший своей персональной дротовой гривной, указывающей на его «варварское» (возможно – германское) происхождение, за некий подвиг был награждён одиночной гривной Аар 1478. Её лицевая пластина полностью покрыта чеканным орнаментом. Неорнаментированными остались боковые и тыльная дротовые части гривны, скрывавшиеся плащом. Далее происходит следующее награждение, также – одиночной гривной Аар 1478 (рис. 3). Правда, мастер, видимо, осведомлённый о вторичности этой награды, украшает на этой гривне лишь часть лицевой стороны. Остальная поверхность её лицевой пластины частично скрыта более ранним награждением – гривной Аар 1478 и не нуждается в декорировании. С таким же принципом экономии своей работы этот же (или другой ?) мастер подошёл к третьей, уже множественной награде – четырём гривнам Аар 1473, Аар 1474, Аар 1476 и Аар 1475. Прямой связи между весами этих гривен в виде стопы скрупул не отмечается (см. выше). Упомянутые четыре гривны стереотипно снабжены симметричными сериями треугольных композиций из оттисков штампов в центральной части лицевой пластины гривны. Это третье награждение, выделяемое эвентуально и характерное для воинских традиций Рима (Колобов А.В., 1999, с. 67), могло стать для воина последним воздаянием за его подвиги во славу Рима. Учитывая находки аналогичных гривен в Ёстрих и в других пунктах бассейна Нижнего Рейна, можно выдвинуть предположение о существовании в конце IV в. н.э. на рейнском лимесе стандартных золотых наградных гривен.
- Ввиду некоей внезапной ситуации или сам воин депонировал свои награды вместе с персональной гривной, или (что предпочтительней) некий противник Рима, повергнув в схватке этого героя, сорвал с него и *dona militaria*, и личную гривну, сокрыв это уже на правом, германском берегу р. Рейна. Вместе с этими предметами, соединявшимися, очевидно, петлёй из обрывка золотого дрота (рис. 2,6), оказались в земле и золотых два перстня со щитками. Эти предметы римского ювелирного искусства (на щитке одного

из перстней – профильное изображение Императора /?/ – рис. 2,7) могли также входить в состав инвентаря безвестного римского воина. Трактовать эти перстни в качестве наград (как и явно «варварский» спиральный перстень – рис. 2,5) не представляется возможным.

62220 Ещё со времён Юлия Цезаря враги стремились позастыдиться у поверженного легионера его ценные и по материалу, и по общественному статусу награды (Кован Р., 2005, с. 28, 29). Отметим, что и в последующих войнах, включая Вторую Мировую войну, солдаты многих европейских армий проявляли особое внимание к наградам врага, считая их престижными трофеями и первым делом пополняя им свои вешки и ранцы. Такие трофеи на

62225 рубеже IV–V вв. при прорыве рейнского лимеса попали в руки воинов различных племён и осели в земле на их родине (рис. 1).

Как уже отмечалось выше, уникальная форма гривен из Велпа не позволяет найти им близкую аналогию в римском и «варварском» археологическом материале позднеантичного

62230 времени. Это является результатом чрезвычайной редкости находок римских наградных гривен, которые весьма высоко ценились как их обладателями, так и врагами Рима. Автору этих строк известна лишь одна из немногих находок сходной *dona militaria*. Это – фрагмент гривны из Карнунтума на дунайском лимесе. Гривна представляла собой фрагмент кольцевидно изогнутой пластины, заканчивавшейся грушевидной в плане застёжкой. На этой пластине ещё на стадии создания восковой матрицы была нанесена рельефная латинская надпись, от которой сохранился лишь фрагмент «*felices Tungri*...». Возможно, полностью надпись должна выглядеть как «*felices Tungri*» и упоминать

62235 представителя германского племени тунгров (совр. Бельгия), составлявших во II–III вв. н.э. I пограничную алу тунгров в провинции Дакия (Roes A., 1947, p. 181). На внутренней стороне гривны слабо видно руническое (?) граффити (Beninger E., 1934, Taf. 300,6). Как гривны типа Велп, так и гривна из Карнунтума – плоские, но производят впечатление массивных предметов и при этом не обременительны при их ношении.

Итак, ясна принадлежность гривен типа Велп – *dona militaria*. В современном

62245 антиковедении сложилось мнение о том, что «в эпоху Антонинов (II в.) начинается вытеснение *dona militaria*, включая браслеты и ожерелья (= гривны – К.В.), чисто материальными методами стимулирования отличившихся воинов...» (Колобов А.В., 1999, с. 71). В позднем Риме, кроме того, наградами служили золотые медальоны с надписями, возмечивавшими подвиги защитников Империи (Махлаук А.В., 2006, с. 331). Находки из

62250 Велпа показывают факт существования во всяком случае одной из разновидностей *dona militaria* – гривен-*torques* в эпоху битвы при Адрианополе. Памятники искусства V–VI вв. содержат изображения наградных (статусных ?) гривен у имперских воинов развитой фазы эпохи Великого переселения народов. Длинные волосы у телохранителей Феодосия I Великого и Юстиниана I Великого (традиция древнегерманских дружинников-*capillati*)

62255 справедливо позволили трактовать их как германцев (Fuchs S., 1943, S. 150). Ношение ими (тем более – в присутствии Императора) гривен указывает на то, что они не исполняют здесь роль языческих по происхождению украшений, а являются знаками отличия воинов, своей храбростью завоевавших право составлять ближнее окружение Императора. Мнение о культурно-этнической и социальной принадлежности гривен из Велпа недавно

62260 высказано директором Музея Древней и Ранней истории (Берлин) Проф. Др. Вильфридом Менгином. Он считает, «... что клад из Фельпа принадлежал одному из франкских вождей, взявших на себя со второй половины IV в. в качестве федератов Рима границ Империи на участке между Маасом и Шельдой» (Менгин В., 2007, с. 42). Приведённая выше серия доказательств свидетельствует, напротив, о том, что:

62265 1. Гривны из Велпа изготовлены в конце IV в. н.э. провинциально-римскими мастерами.
2. Эти предметы являются не украшениями и, тем более, не статусными аксессуарами статусного/сакрального достояния «варварских» королей, а являются римскими воинскими наградами *dona militaria*.

62270 3. Гривны из Велпа по статусу относятся к наградам, традиционно выдававшимся в римских легионах воинам рядового состава (*caliga*), в эпоху битвы при Адрианополе набиравшихся преимущественно из «варваров». Члены командного состава легионов, к которому мог принадлежать в легионах некий франкский король (по версии В. Менгина), в позднеимперское время представлялись к награждениям почётными знамёнами и копьями

62275 (*vexilla et hastae*) (Махлаук А.В., 2006, с. 329). Таким образом, становится явной ошибочность выводов о принадлежности гривен из Велпа, сделанных берлинским коллегой, специалистом по двулезвийным мечам эпохи раннего средневековья.

Местоположение клада гривен из Велпа соответствует северной части рейнского лимеса

62280 (рис. 1). 31 декабря 406 г. Галлия впервые подверглась с востока мощному наступлению «варваров», среди которых были представители племён гуннов, вандалов, аланов, свевов и бургундов (Perin P., Feffer L-Ch., 1987, p. 80). Это нашествие, для многих из его

участников ставшее последней битвой, могло не миновать и одного из воинов рейнского лимеса, охранявшего в составе одной из ауксилиев или же отряда воинов-limitanei
 62285 неспокойную имперскую границу. Этот воин (скорее всего – военачальник) пал на защите римских рубежей, его награды и перстни стали добычей некоего германского «варваров», поместившего свои трофеи в землю поблизости от места битвы на лимесе, скорее всего, в жертву отеческим богам. Менее чем через столетие, в начале эпохи правления конунга Хлодвиг (в 481 или 482 гг.) данный участок бывшей имперской территории будет
 62290 окончательно оккупирован франками (Perin P., 1995, p. 252).

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Сокращения:

- 62335 М. – Москва СПб – Санкт-Петербург
- Подписи к рисункам к статье В.И. Кулакова «Гривны горизонта Унтерзибенбрунн из Велпа (Нидерланды)»:
- Рис. 1. Распространение гривен типа Велп на римском лимесе (по: Steuer H., 2006, Abb. 24 с добавлениями автора): а – клад с гривнами типа Велп; b – единичная находка гривны типа Велп.
- 62340 Рис. 2. Клад, найденный в 1851 г. в Велпе (по: Janssen L.J.F., 1852, p. 162).
- Рис. 3. Гривны из Велпа (Северный Брабант, Нидерланды) (Gelderland!).
- Рис. 4. Орнамент на гривнах из Велпа.
- Рис. 5. Варианты звёздчатых фигур и виды отдельных штампов, характерные для стилей Сёсдала и Унтерзибенбрунн (по: Aberg N., 1919, S. 43, 44).
- 62345 Рис. 6. Гривны из Велпа: порядок их расположения на шее воина.
- Рис. 7. Надгробие центуриона первой когорты XVIII легиона Марка Целия, погибшего в 9 г. н.э. в битве в Тевтобургском лесу и похороненного у Ксанта (Нидерланды) (Duitsland!) и реконструкция битвы (по А. Мак-Брайд).
- Рис. 8. Бюдо Констанция II из склепа в имении Гордиковых на горе Митридат (Керчь).
- 62350 Рис. 9. Телохранители Феодосия I Великого из Мадридского музея.
- Рис. 10. Римские воинские награды: 1 – реконструкция наградных гривен и браслетов по воинским надгробиям (по: Maxfield V.A., 1981, p. 89); 2 – надгробие Ц. Вибиуса Мацера (эпоха Августа) с наградными короной, фалерами, копьями, гривнами и браслетами (по: Maxfield V.A., 1981, fig. 5).
- 62355 Рис. 11. Телохранители Юстиниана I на мозаике из базилики Сан-Витале (Равенна)

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- 62380 V.I. Kulakov.

Roman Award Torques from Velp (Netherlands)

- 62385 In 2003 and 2005, as part of an agreement between the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, this author had the privilege of working on the topic "Scientific Analysis and Cataloging of Western European Finds from the 4th-7th Centuries AD from the Collection of the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts."

- 62390 I would like to acknowledge the generous assistance I received throughout this challenging work from I.A. Antonova, Director of the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts; V.P. Tolstikov, Head of the Department of Ancient Art and Archaeology and Curator of the Collection; and O.V. Tugusheva, Assistant Head of the Department for Custody and Head of the Sector of Ancient Art. I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to these colleagues.

- 62395 While sorting through a group of finds previously housed in the collections of the Museum of Ancient and Early History (Berlin, Charlottenburg Palace) and now housed in the collections of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, my attention was drawn to a complex of seven gold grivnas (V.I. Kulakov, V.P. Tolstikov, 2007, pp. 278, 279). This complex was part of a hoard discovered in 1851 in the southern Netherlands (province of Gelderland), in the historical region of North Brabant. In addition to
- 62400 the grivnas, the deposit also included two rings with shields, a spiral ring, and a wire loop, all made of gold. The treasure was discovered by chance during agricultural work in a garden near the village of Velp, which is located east of the city of Arnhem, at the confluence of the IJssel River with one of the branches of the Rhine delta - the Nederrijn (Dutch: "Lower Rhine"), on the right bank of the latter

- 62405 (Fig. 1). The torcs were sold by the finder (?) and ended up on the art (antique) market in Leiden. There, in 1852, they were acquired for the Royal Museum in Berlin (now the Museum of Ancient and Early History) (Mengin V., 2007, p. 42) and published in the Netherlands (Janssen, 1852, pp. 161-180). The typological affiliation of the find (burial inventory or treasure) remained unclear for many decades. It is only

- 62410 known that in the early spring of 1945, this complex, along with more than 700 other gold museum exhibits, was deposited in a bunker (the third floor of the 7-story Luftwaffe anti-aircraft defense complex - Fleckturm "Zoobunker") in the area of the Berlin Zoo and on May 4 of the same year was handed over to representatives of the Red Army (Bertram M., 1995, p. 16). Fleckturm, which ended up in the British
- 62415 occupation zone of Berlin was later the UK representatives received the Zoobunker without the museum exhibits.

- The information related to the Velp torc complex is interesting and deserves special consideration given the uniqueness of the aforementioned museum exhibits (Fig. 2). European archaeology is aware of gold neck ornaments (die Halsringe), referred to as
- 62420 "Velp-type torcs," originating from:

2. (hereinafter, numbers according to the map in Fig. 2). Nijmegen, Netherlands (Nijmegen, Holland) - a faceted torc with a stamp ornament;

3. Rhenen, Netherlands (Rhenen, Holland) - two faceted torcs weighing 85 and 55 g with a stamp ornament; one of the torcs has a plate with garnet inserts (?), a

- 62425 fragment of a flat torc with the inscription "ER.E.F(ecit)V(uncial=136.44 g)Proclu(s)" (Roes A., 1947, p. 186);
4. Olst, Netherlands (Olst, Holland) - 4 faceted torcs (die Facettenhalsringe), three of which have a stamp ornament, their weight reaches 22 karat gold;
5. Beilen, Netherlands (Beilen, Holland) - 4 faceted torcs with a stamp ornament, a
- 62430 torc made of an octagonal dart, rolled to the size of a bracelet, 1 faceted bracelet with a stamp ornament, the weight of the torcs is 43.2 g, 66.9 g, 67.8 g, 80.8 g, 93.4 g, their total weight is 100 solidi (based on the weight of one late Roman solidus of 4.55 g), the hoard contains 23 solidi (?) from the reign of Honorius and other Roman coins;
- 62435 6. Ostrich-Letmathe, Germany (Ostrich-Letmathe, Germany) - a faceted torc with a stamped ornament, a bracelet made of round wire with flared ends and a stamped ornament;
7. Westerkappeln, Germany (Westerkappeln, Kr. Tecklenburg, Germany) - a faceted
- 62440 bracelet with a stamped ornament, Roman coins minted in 337-378 AD.
- All of the above-mentioned torcs are generally considered by Western European archaeologists to have originated from a single workshop (the stamp impressions of their decoration are quite identical). Torcs are considered to be rank insignia of Germanic warlords of the late 4th - early 5th centuries or the first half of the 5th
- 62445 century; coins found in hoards accompanying torcs are interpreted as Roman donatium/stipendiums for Germanic mercenaries ("blood price"). The hoards of torcs of the Velp type are interpreted as offerings to the gods of individual Germanic tribes (shown in Fig. 1) of the lower Rhine (Steuer H., 2006, pp. 120-123).
- Using the opportunity to directly examine and record the torcs from Velp, a catalog
- 62450 of these finds was created. The torcs are listed under their storage numbers in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts (hereinafter referred to as the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts). Storage numbers in the collections of the Museum of Pre- and Protohistory (Berlin) are given in parentheses.
- 62455 **Catalogue of Velp Torcs**
- Aar 1479 (II 3694) - gold torc (800° fineness), dimensions 14.9x14.1 cm, weight 41.52 g (9 solidi), made of wire, with a hook-and-eye clasp. The loop is soldered from the bent end of the torc's wire. The diameter of the wire on the back is 1.9 mm, and on
- 62460 the front - 3.1 mm. The wire is round around the entire perimeter of the torc, and almond-shaped within the clasp loop. This torc, like other items from the assemblage found near the village of Velp, has a wavy shaft. This is the result of straightening the shaft, which arrived at the Pushkin Museum in a crumpled state in 1945. In the drawing in the first publication of this torc, it has a flattened oval shape (Fig. 2.8). However, the curvature of the torc's shaft is also visible in this drawing.
- 62465 Accordingly, the torcs were found crumpled, which directly indicates the nature of the assemblage—a hoard whose components were crumpled for greater compactness and ease of concealment.
- Aar 1478 (II 3689) is a gold torc (750° fineness), measuring 17.5x14.4 cm, weighing 76.77 g (17 solidi), is an imitation of torcs and bracelets of the "widened ends" type. These ends of this and subsequent torcs from Velp are not separated. Torques
- 62470 were worn so that their wide, flattened portion (in cross-section, it resembled a very flat triangle with a truncated apex) rested on the wearer's chest. The back half of the torque's rim resembles a dart. Even at the wax casting stage, it was flattened on the obverse, taking on the appearance of the connected, widened ends of the torque. The torque is decorated with stamp impressions (coinage). The Aar 1478 torque is the only torque from the Velp hoard whose widened portion is entirely covered with stamp impressions from four different types of stamps (Fig. 3), a feature completely analogous to the Rhenen torque. The torque is shaped like an asymmetrical, right-elongated oval.
- 62475 Aar 1477 (II 3692) - gold torque (800° fineness), size 1800 mm. 19.2x15.7 cm, weight 57.32 g (12.6 solidi), identical to the Aar 1478 grivna. The Aar 1477 grivna is the only one of the Velp grivnas with a unique decorative composition. It consists of transverse lines of chased ornamentation, elongated horizontally to the right and left from the center of the wide obverse of the grivna. The lines of the stamp
- 62485 impressions end in arrow-shaped figures (Figs. 3, 4). The grivna, like the other Velp grivnas, has a clasp in the form of a hook and a soldered figure-8 loop.
- Aar 1474 (II 3690) - gold grivna (800° fineness), size 18.8x13.6 cm, weight 58.05 g (13.8 solidi), similar to the Aar 1478 grivna. This and subsequent grivnas are decorated in a standard manner using a diamond-shaped composition formed by the
- 62490 impressions of various stamps and divided by a band of semicircular and charcoal

- stamps (Figs. 2, 3). At the border sections, when transitioning from the rod to the grivna plate, its surface is decorated with a local group of stamp impressions.
- 62495 Aar 1475 (II 3693) – gold grivna (800° fineness), size 24.3x16.7 cm, weight 85.43 g (18.8 solidi), identical to the Aar 1478 grivna, similar in ornamentation to the Aar 1474. At the border sections, when transitioning from the rod to the grivna plate, its surface is decorated with a local group of stamp impressions.
- 62500 Aar 1476 (II 3691) – gold grivna (fineness 800°), dimensions 18.8x14.4 cm, weight 70.25 g (15.4 solidi), identical to the Aar 1478 grivna, similar in ornamentation to the Aar 1474.
- Aar 1473 (II 3688) – gold grivna (fineness 800°), dimensions 24.3x16.7 cm, weight 73.73 g (16 solidi), identical to the Aar 1478 torx, similar in ornamentation to Aar 1474. At the borderline sections where the torx transitions from the drot to the torx plate, its surface is decorated with a localized group of stamp impressions.
- 62505 The typology of the Velp torxes is complicated by their shapes and ornamentation, which are rare for Barbaricum. Similar torxes and bracelets made of gold were discovered in the hoards shown in Fig. 1. Moreover, the Östrich torx, in its ornamentation and dimensions, is typologically identical to the neck ornaments from Velp (Aar 1474, Aar 1475, Aar 1476, Aar 1473). The Östrich bracelet features real, not imaginary (as on torcs) thickenings on its face, decorated with a chased ornament similar to the torcs from Velp (Radig W., 1939, p. 109, Abb. 108).
- 62510 The Aar 1479 drot torc is quite typical of various Germanic and Baltic antiquities from the second quarter of the first millennium CE. Unfortunately, it is precisely this typicality that prevents a precise cultural and ethnic identification of this object. It is only clear that, with the smallest dimensions of the Velp torcs (14.9x14.1 cm), this torc was worn directly against the neck of its owner. Judging by the wear (more likely polishing), the Aar 1479 torc was worn for a long time. Incidentally, the same cannot be said of the other torcs from the Velp hoard. All of them, especially the Aar 1478 torc, show no significant signs of use. The edges of the torcs' faceplates are so sharp that they can cut one's skin. However, in some places, these edges bear traces of mechanical impact (transverse dents), which are most likely the result of
- 62515 The crumpling of the torceniums during their deposit.
- 62525 The shape of the torceniums' faces (Figs. 3, 4) suggests that these are imitation torceniums and bracelets with widened ends. Such headgear (bracelets of the Kolbenring type, a later variant of the Szentendre type) were symbols of the power of the "barbarian" principes among members of the ancient Germanic "heroic society" in the 3rd-6th centuries AD (Lund Hansen U., 1998, p. 348). They could also identify
- 62530 members of families from the "barbarian" aristocracy. Although the Velp torcs imitate details of "barbarian" attire, the distinctive features of their shape and decoration, as well as the manufacturing techniques used (marks of wire drawing, careful hammering of the torc faces, varied stamp shapes, and precisely maintained ornamental compositions), allow us to confidently attribute them to provincial Roman craftsmen. The typological identity of the unique torcs (including the wire torc) from Velp is indicated by the distinctive 8-shaped loops of their clasps. It has been proven that torcs with such loops appeared on the Rhine limes of the Empire around the mid-3rd century AD (Stjernquist B. 1955, p. 137) and serve as prototypes for neck ornaments with so-called "pear-shaped" clasps.
- 62535 The decoration of the Velp torcs is particularly interesting. It is represented by compositions of impressions from round, semicircular, and triangular stamps. In old German historiography, they are classified as *eingestempelte Ornamente*, a type of decoration applied by single punches (Fig. 5, Nos. 1-4, 6, 7, 17, and 18 in the lower part of the figure). As a rule, they are characteristic of Scandinavian antiquities of the early phase of the Great Migration Period. They arrived in northern Europe directly from the Roman provinces. It is significant that the aforementioned stamp forms are not characteristic of Prussian Sosdala style material, which was later than Scandinavian punch decorations (Aberg N., 1919, 47, 49). In historical Prussia, Sosdala style ornamentation exists in phases C2/D2 (possibly from phase D1), and on the right bank of the Neman, in phases C2/D1. The custom of applying such decoration to metal parts of military attire was brought to these Baltic regions by veterans (auxiliary foot soldiers and cavalrymen) who had served in the Roman armies on the Rhine or Danube Limes (Kulakov V.I., 2006, pp. 64, 65) upon returning home (?). The Velp hoard was discovered in one of the areas where these "barbarian" units were
- 62540 likely deployed in the service of Rome. Unfortunately, by the end of the Empire, it no longer had any other troops. Therefore, it is particularly clear why the shape of
- 62545
- 62550
- 62555

the Velp torcs is based on prestigious Germanic jewelry, characteristic exclusively of the "barbarian" warrior elite.

The Velp torcs do not feature Sosdala-style ornamentation, typical of which are star-shaped compositions. However, one of these torcs bears the impression of an almond-shaped stamp with a slight depression in the center (Fig. 4, Aap 1478, at the edges of each of the impressions of a triangular stamp). An analogue of this stamp is presented on the buckle from Briža (Bez. Litomerice) in the Czech Republic (Tejral J., 2001, p. 40), typical of antiquities from the Untersiebenbrunn horizon, attributed in Central Europe to the D2 phase (c. 380/400 – c. 440/450 AD) (Kazanski M., Koch U., 2001, p. 85). Such depressions created the effect of flat relief on images that were actually made by engraving, accentuated by a dot stamp. This ornamental technique, represented, in particular, on a fragment of a silver dish from hoard B in Mlotechno (Eggers type 115), appears, judging by this find, as early as phase B1 (Kulakov V.I., 1998, p. 99) and is the earliest precursor to the decoration of the Velp torcs and, accordingly, to the Untersiebenbrunn style ornamentation. The absence of traces of ornamental degradation on the Velp torcs allows them to be dated to the beginning of this horizon. It is possible that the ornamentation on the torcs is a unique precursor to the Untersiebenbrunn style decoration. Overall, the presented arguments allow us to tentatively date the Velp torcs to a time of ca. 370–400 AD.

The origin of the Untersiebenbrunn decoration itself is extremely interesting and requires a comprehensive art historical analysis. For now, it can be assumed that this type of ornament represents the final form of development in the decoration of provincial Roman military equipment and should be located at the end of a typological series that began in the Julio-Claudian era with decoration in the *Opus interrasile* style, continued in the era of the "soldier" emperors with flattened relief, the recessed parts of which lost their depth over time. Ultimately, having lost the skills of their predecessors, the craftsmen of the twilight of the Empire, having little memory of the need to create certain recessed parts on their products, began to imitate them with clusters of various stamps. From a distance, products with such decoration (the Untersiebenbrunn style) gave the impression of objects with erased, barely visible remnants of relief images. Fashion over the centuries (including modern) provides a series of examples of a similar loss of the original meaning of decoration or an object during its long-term production (the transformation of a top hat into a cap, the mutation of jeans from workwear into a pointlessly worn haute couture accessory).

While the typology and chronology of the Velp torcs can be resolved by incorporating similar objects from the Barbaricum material culture of the late 4th century AD, the semantic meaning of these objects can only be revealed by incorporating purely Roman analogies, and quite early ones at that.

Before clarifying the semantics of the torcs in question, we should attempt to establish the principles of their wearing. A votive nature for these torcs is clearly excluded, since from the time of the Edict of Milan (313 AD), the Council of Nicaea (325 AD), and the unsuccessful attempt to recreate the patristic cults under Emperor Julian the Apostate (355–363 AD), Christianity became dominant in the Empire. Offering precious gifts to the Roman gods was no longer possible by the end of the 4th century AD.

Faint traces of wear are present on almost all the torcs (except Aap 1479 and Aap 1478) at the top of the widened center of their obverse. It can be assumed that all these torcs were worn simultaneously, with the smaller-diameter torcs placed on top of the larger-diameter torcs, partially overlapping them.

According to this principle, a reconstruction of the wearing pattern of the Velp torc complex has been conducted (the order of the torcs is shown in Fig. 6). In this complex, the two lower torcs – Aap 1475 and Aap 1476 – stand out due to their large dimensions. They were clearly designed to be worn on the forearm. The remaining torcs, with decreasing dimensions, form a cylindrical figure in the wearing pattern. In other words, these torcs actually covered their owner's neck. The space created between the backs of the three lower and four upper torcs (Fig. 6) could have been filled, for example, with a neck scarf. This essential part of a Roman legionary's attire could have complemented the shine of the torcs' gold and protected the wearer's neck from chafing from the torcs' sharp edges. Despite the impressive appearance of the entire torc set, wearing them all together was entirely feasible due to their light weight.

The aforementioned phenomenon of increasing torc parameters is largely duplicated by

their weight values in the following sequence, expressed in the scruple (1.137 g), a unit of weight typical of Roman times used in jewelry.

62625 Aar 1479 - 36.52 scruples
Aar 1477 - 50.41 scruples
Aar 1474 - 51.05 scruples
Aar 1476 - 61.78 scruples
62630 Aar 1473 - 64.84 scruples
Aar 1478 - 67.84 scruples
Aar 1475 - 75.13 scruples

62635 Of course, the non-exact multiples of tornine weights in the Roman weight system depend both on possible errors by the makers of these items, and on microscopic losses (scratches, cracks, etc.), which distorted the appearance over time. The weight of the hryvnia, as defined in ancient times. However, the weight stop dividing the hryvnias is more visually clear:

62640 Between Aar 1477 and Aar 1474 - 0.64 scruples, or 1/40 of an ounce (there are 24 scruples in an ounce).

Between Aar 1474 and Aar 1476 - 10.73 scruples, or 1/5 of an ounce

Between Aar 1476 and Aar 1473 - 3.06 scruples, or 1/12 of an ounce

Between Aar 1473 and Aar 1478 - 2.68 scruples, or approximately 1/12 of an ounce

62645 Between Aar 1478 and Aar 1475 - 7.6 scruples, or 1/6 of an ounce

62650 While a fairly clear Roman duodecimal foot is visible between the above-mentioned grivnas, the Aar 1479 drot grivna weighs 36.52 scruples in the Roman weight system and does not have a multiple difference (foot) with any of the other grivnas in the complex. This clearly indicates that these torven coins were produced in a workshop staffed by artisans who strictly adhered to the Roman weight system. In contrast, the creator of the Aar 1479 torven coin (weight: 9 solidi) did not adhere to this system and relied on the coarser solidi weight unit popular in Barbaricum. The gold fineness of the torven coins, generally measured in 800°, is less clear. Only the largest torven coin, Aar 1478, fully ornamented on the obverse, has a gold fineness of 750°.

62655 It is interesting to compare the sequence of torven coins according to their increasing metric and weight parameters. Their dynamics generally coincide as follows:

By increasing metric parameters

By increasing weight parameters

62660	Aar 1478	Aar 1474
	Aar 1477	Aar 1473
	Aar 1477	Aar 1476
62665	Aar 1474	Aar 1478
	Aar 1473	Aar 1475
62670	Aar 1476	

62675 The question of the gender, age, and social class of the owner of the Velp torceniums is important. The custom of wearing torceniums as neck ornaments by Roman men and women was not only not used throughout Roman history but was also considered alien to them. It should not be forgotten that the bearers of the tradition of using torceniums (Latin: torques) - the Celts, and later the Germans - were traditional adversaries of Rome. Nevertheless (more likely due to this "barbarian" attribute, which was perceived by the Romans as a trophy - Makhlayuk A.V., 2006, p. 328) in the Roman army, grivnas, along with bracelets and phalerae (chest plaques), became insignia for ordinary legionaries at the beginning of our era. Already in the era of

62680 Augustus, on the tombstone of the centurion of the first cohort of the XVIII legion Marcus Caelius, who died in 9 AD in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest and was buried near Xanten (Netherlands), award bracelets are visible (Fig. 7), tied with fabric cords to the shoulder plates of his cuirass. The centurion's neck was adorned with an award twisted (tortured?) grivna. If in the era of the early Empire award grivnas were fastened with clasps on the back of the neck, then in the middle - second half

62685 of the 4th century AD. Such neck awards have thickenings on their front, imitating the widened ends of a torc. They adorn the necks of the bodyguards (Latin: singularis) of the Emperors Constantius II (Fig. 8) and Theodosius I the Great (Fig.

9), depicted on silver dishes kept in the museums of St. Petersburg and Madrid. Incidentally, it was the emperors who could personally present (apparently, approve) awards not only to "officers" but also to ordinary soldiers (Latin: *caligae*) of the legions (Makhlayuk A.V., 2006, p. 324). Such torcs were fastened on the back of the warrior's neck (Fig. 5.1). The torcs from Velp are constructed in exactly the same way. Apparently, this principle was also used in early Byzantium, which inherited some of the Roman military customs. True, during the reign of Justinian I the Great, his bodyguards, judging by a mosaic in the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna, wore torcs with medallions on the obverse. These medallions were either adorned with stone inlays or decorated with enamel. An example of such torcs is found in the Rhenen hoard. The flat detail found on the reverse of this torc emphasizes the importance of its weight, which apparently corresponded to the decree for this award. Thus, the typological development of Roman award torcs (*torques*) in the first half of the sixth century is interrupted.

Early on, the Roman army had a tradition of multiple awards – *dona militaria* – since the Principate. Phaleres were awarded to legionaries who distinguished themselves in battle as a set of six or more metal or even glass plaques, connected by straps for fastening to the warrior's chest (or armor). When awarded, torcs were accompanied by bracelets (Fig. 10.2). In our case, the process of putting together a set of award *grivnas* can be reconstructed as follows. A warrior, who possessed his own personal *drot grivna*, indicating his "barbarian" (possibly Germanic) origin, was awarded a single Aar 1478 *grivna* for a certain feat. Its front plate is completely covered with chased ornamentation. The side and back *drot* parts of the *grivna*, hidden by a cloak, remained unadorned. Then comes the next award, also a single Aar 1478 *grivna* (Fig. 3). However, the master, apparently aware of the secondary nature of this award, decorates only part of the front side of this *grivna*. The rest of the surface of its front plate is partially hidden by an earlier award – the Aar 1478 *grivna* – and does not require decoration. With the same principle of economy in his work, the same (or another?) master approached the third, already multiple special award – four *grivnas* Aar 1473, Aar 1474, Aar 1476, and Aar 1475. There is no direct connection between the weights of these *grivnas* in the form of a stack of scruples (see above). The four aforementioned *grivnas* are stereotypically provided with symmetrical series of triangular compositions of stamp impressions in the central part of the *grivna*'s obverse plate. This third award, possibly distinguished and characteristic of Roman military traditions (Kolobov A.V., 1999, p. 67), could have been the warrior's final reward for his exploits for the glory of Rome. Considering the finds of similar *grivnas* in Oestrich and other locations in the Lower Rhine basin, it can be hypothesized that standard gold award *grivnas* existed on the Rhine limes at the end of the 4th century AD. Due to some unexpected situation, either the warrior himself deposited his awards along with his personal *grivna*, or (more likely) some enemy of Rome, having defeated this hero in combat, tore off both his *dona militaria* and personal *grivna*, hiding them on the right, German bank of the Rhine. Along with these objects, apparently connected by a loop made from a fragment of a gold dart (Fig. 2.6), two gold rings with shields were also found in the ground. These pieces of Roman jewelry (on the shield of one of the rings is a profile image of the Emperor /?/ – Fig. 2.7) could also have been part of the inventory of an unknown Roman warrior. It is impossible to interpret these rings as awards (like the clearly "barbarian" spiral ring – Fig. 2.5). Ever since the time of Julius Caesar, enemies have sought to steal the awards of a defeated legionary, valuable both in terms of material and social status (Cowan R., 2005, pp. 28, 29). It is noteworthy that in subsequent wars, including World War II, soldiers in many European armies paid particular attention to the enemy's awards, considering them prestigious trophies and first adding them to their poles and knapsacks. Such trophies, during the breakthrough of the Rhine limes at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries, fell into the hands of warriors from various tribes and were deposited in the soil of their homelands (Fig. 1).

As noted above, the unique shape of the Velp torcs prevents any close parallels from being found in Roman or "barbarian" archaeological material from the late antique period. This is due to the extreme rarity of finds of Roman award torcs, which were highly prized by both their owners and Rome's enemies. The author of these lines is aware of only one of the few finds of a similar *dona militaria*. This is a fragment of a torc from Carnuntum on the Danube limes. The torc was a fragment of a ring-shaped curved plate, ending in a pear-shaped clasp. A relief Latin inscription was applied to this plate during the wax matrix creation stage, of which only a fragment,

62755 "felices tun...", has survived. It is possible that the full inscription was intended to read "felices Tungri" and refer to a representative of the Germanic Tungrian tribe (modern Belgium), who constituted the first border ala of the Tungrians in the province of Dacia in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD (Roes A., 1947, p. 181). On the inside of the torc, runic (?) graffiti is faintly visible (Beninger E., 1934, Taf. 300.6).
62760 Both the Velp-type torcs and the torc from Carnuntum are flat, yet they give the impression of being massive objects and are not burdensome to wear.

Thus, the torcs of the Velp type are clearly related to dona militaria. Modern classical studies have come to the conclusion that "in the Antonine period (2nd century), the dona militaria, including bracelets and necklaces (= torcs - K.V.), began to be supplanted by purely material methods of rewarding distinguished warriors..." (Kolobov A.V., 1999, p. 71). In late Rome, gold medallions with inscriptions extolling the exploits of the Empire's defenders also served as awards (Makhlayuk A.V., 2006, p. 331). Finds from Velp demonstrate the existence of at least one type of dona militaria – torques – during the Battle of Adrianople. Artwork from the 5th and 6th centuries contains images of award (status?) torques worn by imperial warriors during the developed phase of the Great Migration Period. The long hair of the bodyguards of Theodosius I the Great and Justinian I the Great (a tradition of ancient Germanic capillati warriors) has justifiably led to their interpretation as Germanic (Fuchs S., 1943, p. 150). The fact that they wore torcs (especially in the presence of the Emperor) indicates that they do not serve as pagan jewelry, but are insignia of warriors whose bravery earned them the right to be part of the Emperor's inner circle.

62780 The opinion on the cultural, ethnic, and social origins of the Velp torcs was recently expressed by Professor Dr. Wilfried Menghin, Director of the Museum of Ancient and Early History (Berlin). He believes that "...the Velp hoard belonged to one of the Frankish leaders who, from the second half of the 4th century, assumed control of the Empire's borders between the Maas and the Scheldt as Roman foederati" (Menghin V., 2007, p. 42). The above series of evidence, on the contrary, suggests that:
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1. The Velp torcs were made at the end of the 4th century AD by provincial Roman artisans.
 2. These objects are not jewelry, and certainly not status accessories of the status/sacred property of "barbarian" kings, but are Roman military awards, dona militaria.
 3. The Velp torcs are considered awards traditionally issued to rank-and-file soldiers (caliga) in the Roman legions, who were recruited primarily from among the "barbarians" during the Battle of Adrianople. Members of the legionary command staff, to which a certain Frankish king may have belonged (according to V. Menghin), were presented in late Roman times with honorary banners and spears (vexilla et hastae) (Makhlayuk A.V., 2006, p. 329). Thus, the erroneous conclusions about the origin of the Velp torcs drawn by a Berlin colleague, a specialist in early medieval double-edged swords, become clear.
- 62800 The location of the Velp torc hoard corresponds to the northern part of the Rhenish Limes (Fig. 1). On December 31, 406, Gaul was subjected for the first time to a powerful attack from the east by "barbarians," including representatives of the Huns, Vandals, Alans, Suevi, and Burgundians (Perin P., Feffer L-Ch., 1987, p. 80). This invasion, which was the final battle for many of its participants, could have easily taken its toll on one of the warriors of the Rhenish Limes, guarding the volatile imperial border as part of one of the auxilia or a detachment of limitanei warriors. This warrior (most likely a military leader) died defending the Roman borders; his awards and rings became the loot of a certain Germanic "barbarian," who buried his trophies in the ground near the site of the battle on the limes, most likely as a sacrifice to the ancestral gods. Less than a century later, at the beginning of the reign of King Clovis (in 481 or 482), this section of former imperial territory would be finally occupied by the Franks (Perin P., 1995, p. 252).

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- Abbreviations:**
- M. - Moscow; St. Petersburg - St. Petersburg
- 62860 Figure captions for V.I. Kulakov's article "Torques of the Untersiebenbrunn Horizon from Velp (Netherlands)":
- Fig. 1. Distribution of Velp-type torcs on a Roman limes (after: Steuer H., 2006, Abb. 24 with additions by the author): a - hoard of Velp-type torcs; b - single find of a Velp-type torc.
- 62865 Fig. 2 A hoard found in 1851 in Velp (after Janssen L.J.F., 1852, p. 162).
- Fig. 3. Torques from Velp (North Brabant, Netherlands) (Gelderland!).
- Fig. 4. Ornamentation on the torcs from Velp.
- Fig. 5. Variations of star-shaped figures and types of individual stamps characteristic of the Sødal and Untersiebenbrunn styles (after Aberg N., 1919, pp. 43, 44).
- 62870 Fig. 6. Torques from Velp: their order of arrangement on the warrior's neck.
- Fig. 7. Tombstone of Marcus Caelius, a centurion of the first cohort of the XVIIIth legion, who died in 9 AD. in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest and buried near Xanten (Netherlands) (Duitsland/Germany!) and a reconstruction of the battle (after A. McBride).
- Fig. 8. Dish of Constantius II from the crypt at the Gordikov estate on Mount Mithridates (Kerch).
- 62875 Fig. 9. Bodyguards of Theodosius I the Great from the Madrid Museum.
- Fig. 10. Roman military awards: 1 - reconstruction of award torcs and bracelets based on military tombstones (after: Maxfield V.A., 1981, p. 89); 2 - tombstone of C. Vibius Macer (Augustus era) with award crown, phalerae, spears, torcs, and bracelets (after: Maxfield V.A., 1981, Fig. 5).
- 62880 Fig. 11. Bodyguards of Justinian I on a mosaic from the Basilica of San Vitale (Ravenna)
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The Great Cameo of Constantine

62905 The large agate cameo in the Royal Dutch collection known as the Great Cameo takes the form of a fully classicising scene of imperial triumph and harmony that surely owes a stylistic debt to Augustan and Julio-Claudian gem cutting. The imperial family - Constantine, Fausta, Crispus and a second female figure who might be identified as Constantine's grandmother Claudia - rides in a triumphal chariot pulled by two

62910 bearded centaurs, one of whom holds a trophy over his shoulder while trampling underfoot two bare-headed and clean-shaven enemies, one of them appearing to be wearing a Roman military tunic. In the foreground a *cantharus* or wine vessel lies on its side on the ground. In the background a winged Victory spectacularly shoots across the sky in the direction of the imperial party; she holds out in both hands a victor's garland with which to crown the emperor. Constantine, caught in profile, appears on the gem wearing a laurel wreath and civilian rather than military garb, he holds in his right hand a spear or thunderbolt aimed at the enemies ahead of the chariot. Fausta is shown with veiled head, holding a corn ear or poppy head in her

62915 hand, perhaps as a symbol of dynastic fertility and continuity. Crispus, though clearly still a boy, is dressed in a military cuirass and helmet, and holds his left hand ready on his sword scabbard. Again, this might be taken as an individual image of dynastic readiness even into the next generation. The final figures to need identification are the two men being trampled by one of the centaurs drawing the chariot. This is obviously a standard way to portray the fate of enemies of Rome and the power of the emperor; however, on most occasions the enemies being killed and humiliate in this way are quite obviously barbarians, even at this period most commonly bearded northern barbarians. But given the appearance of the two overcome

62920 foes it can only be assumed that they are intended in this context to represent Maxentius's army defeated by Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in AD 312 and shown being decimated by Constantine's forces on the contemporary frieze on the Arch of Constantine.

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See <https://books.google.nl/books?id=ihGoAwAAOBAJ&pg=PA9-IA3&lpg=PA9-IA3&dq=ada+cameo&source=bl&ots=9kr4Qg5i83&sig=E6rijGaHriiiewPieUKjvB0qx4D4&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwii9ayh0qLVAhXLPRoKHRZcBTgQ6AEIPTAE#v=snippet&q=plate%2014&f=false>

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By contrast or comparison from the article of Ruurd B. Halbertsma: ***Nulli tam laeti triumphi - Constantine's victory on a reworked cameo in Leiden***

62940 The scene shows a chariot, drawn by two prancing centaurs. On the chariot four persons are depicted: a man with a laurel wreath, holding a stylized thunderbolt, and embracing, with his left arm, a woman. The woman wears a wreath or diadem. Her head is covered with a veil. In her left hand she is holding a corn-ear and a poppy head. She is pointing with her index finger towards a young boy. Behind the man a second woman is depicted, wearing a laurel wreath. With her right hand she is also pointing

62945 at the boy in front of the couple. The boy is dressed in military gear and reaches with his right hand behind his back to produce an arrow from a quiver. With his left hand he touches the scabbard of his sword. A helmet with plume covers his head. The two prancing centaurs form a lively composition. They are supporting an upturned shield on which a *tropaeum* is visible, consisting of a scaled cuirass and a scabbard hanging from a belt. The right centaur is upholding the pole on which the tropaeum is draped. Under his hooves two figures are visible. The person on the left wears a Roman tunic and is crouching, holding the leg of his partner and looking in fear at the centaur above him. The other man is wearing a military outfit and tries to support himself on his shield. His downward gaze shows he is succumbing, only moments

62950 away from death. Under the hooves of the left centaur a fallen calyx crater is visible, lying between the eight-spoked wheels of the chariot. Above the centaurs a winged Victoria in a long garment is flying towards the group in the chariot. In her outstretched hands she holds a crown, from which a very long double ribbon is spiralling. The ribbon makes a few twists then disappears behind the *tropaeum* and reemerges above the head of the right centaur, where it ends in straight lines.

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62960

GREECE UNDER THE TURKS. I

62965 From the second half of the fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century, a large part of what now constitutes the Kingdom of Greece belonged to Turkey; and beginning with the second half of the sixteenth century, only a few Ionian Islands and a few Cyclades were free from Turkish rule. For the first time since the Frankish conquest, a deathly uniformity, broken only by a few local privileges, replaced the

62970 feudal states whose fortunes had helped shape the annals of at least two centuries earlier. Greece, so often prey to division, had at last found unity, but at the cost of its freedom: and the Turkish conquerors, following in the footsteps of ancient Rome, had trampled on the last vestiges of Greek independence. Once again (with relatively minor exceptions), the Greek world obeyed a foreign ruler, who resided in

62975 Constantinople, and whose minions more or less arbitrarily governed the affairs of the Greek subjects. There is, however, an important difference between the two periods in which Turkish rule in those regions must be divided. During the first of the two

62980 1) According to W. Miller in the August issue of the Westminster Review. (ending with the conquest of the Morea by Venice), Turkey was a power that inspired awe throughout Europe; but in the second (ending with the foundation of the Kingdom of Greece), the Ottoman Empire increasingly declined, except in the art it never

62985 lost: martial arts. Like the ancient Romans, the Turks were also good soldiers at all times: but, although they equaled their predecessors in some other respects, in one respect this was certainly not the case: they were poor administrators. Even if (as was often the case) their regulations were impeccable, practice tended to undermine all that was good.

62990 The political structure of Greece under the Turks was essentially simple. The Greek regions were included within the administrative circle of the Beylerbeg (i.e., lord of lords) of Rumelia (Rumili), who held his official residence in Sofia. They were divided into six "sandzhaks," so called after the flag that symbolized each region of any size—a division that reflected the warlike nature of all Turkish regulations.

62995 Since 1470, when the conquest of Euboea crowned the Greek conquests of Muhammad II, the six sandjaks were as follows: Evripos (Euripos or Euboea), Trikkala, Lepanto, Karlili, Joanina, and Morea.

63000 Number One of these six encompassed Euboea, Boeotia, and Attica. The capital of this important region was Chalcis; and among its other cities of some importance were Athens, Thebes, and Livadia. Karlili encompassed Aetolia and Acarnania, as well as the immediate vicinity of the Gulf of Arta or Ambracia: its name was derived from a certain Carlo Tocco, whose extensive possessions had fallen to the Turks. As for the Morea, the capital of that peninsula alternated between Corinth, Mistra, and Leondari

63005 (the ancient Megalopolis), until the conquest of Nauplia from the Venetians in 1540 made that fortress the official residence of the Turkish Pasha. When the Duchy of Naxos ceased to exist shortly thereafter, a seventh Greek sanjak was formed from the Cyclades and the island of Santa Maura, the ancient Leucas. Some Cyclades were excluded from this because they were venerated by the Sultana Favorite. And later,

63010 when Crete was conquered, three new sanjaks were formed from that large island: Candia, Canea, and Rethymno. In turn, each sanjak was divided into a certain number of cazas, or districts, 23 of which belonged to the Morea. Athens appears to have been the capital of such a caza (belonging to Evripos: see above) from 1470 to around 1610. Just as each sandjak was

63015 governed by a Pasha (in the Cyclades by a Capudan Pasha, i.e., an Admiral), so too was each caza under the administration of a lower-ranking official, called a Voivode, who was assisted in jurisprudence by a Kadi. Faithful to the Turkish feudal system, which had been established in Thessaly at the end of the 14th century and introduced in Aetolia and Acarnania after the fall of the

63020 aforementioned Tocco dynasty, Muhammad II divided Morea and Hellas (in the narrower sense) into fiefs and granted them to his former comrades-in-arms. These fiefs belonged to two kinds: the zaimet and the timar. The first included the large fiefs and required their holders to equip and deploy fifteen horsemen each. The timar was the name of the smaller type, of which each owner (feudal lord) was

63025 required to provide only two men for the cavalry. The banner of the sandzhak-bey (Pacha) was the united point for all those feudal lords and the horsemen they provided, when the need arose. Around the middle of the 17th century, the six existing sandjaks had been fragmented into 267 zaimets and 1,625 timars, together

representing a total of 7,255 horsemen.

The numerical difference between the large and small fiefs became even more pronounced when the same system was also applied to Crete. That island had to be able to provide 5,350 horsemen, divided between 2,550 timars and only seventeen zaimets. Initially, this system was not based on a hereditary aristocracy. Originally, the timars were simple annuities, awarded as a reward for services rendered to the Sultan by senior warriors, who could perhaps still be summoned to appear with their subjects at the summons of their feudal lord. In the golden age of Turkish rule (assuming one can ever use the word "golden" of anything Turkish), the son of such a vassal was usually only favored with a large fief after he had proven his suitability with a smaller one. However, the Turkish system of government soon developed, as almost everywhere such systems do: starting with no other criterion for reward than competence, it ended up replacing competence with favor as much as possible. The abuse increasingly crept in that it was the Beglerbeg in Sofia to whom the Great Lord entrusted the endowment of large and small fiefs; And it was quite natural that this powerful ruler would favor his own favorites, just as an English cabinet chief, given free rein by weak or biased monarchs, is wont to grant peers and other titles to men he believes he can rely on, or whom he hopes to win over by doing so. It should therefore come as no surprise that in the second half of the seventeenth century, both in Sofia and Constantinople, the custom had crept in that, if the holder of a zaimet or timar died on the field of honor, his fief was divided into as many parts as he left sons, unless the annual income did not exceed three thousand aspers, in which case the eldest son was favored with the entire fief. However, if the feudal lord died otherwise than in battle for prince and country, his fief fell to the Beglerbeg, who could, at his discretion, grant it to the deceased's heirs, or make someone else happy with it, or sell it for his own profit.

1) The asper is the smallest Turkish coin, worth barely four cents.

Initially, the Turks had enough common sense not to interfere with the local government of the Greeks, which had existed for centuries before the Turkish conquest. Under the Byzantine emperors, Greek communities often had themselves represented at the court in Constantinople by men who were not always chosen from their own ranks. This was also sometimes the case with an association of communities. Thus, we read that in the eleventh century, Michael Psellos represented the Cyclades in the great court city. It also happened that, instead of a permanent representative, an envoy or embassy from a municipality, an island, etc., would occasionally travel to Constantinople to discuss special matters with the high government. Such representations also seem to have been common under the Venetian administration. At least it is attested that when the island of Tenos belonged to Venice, there was a council of notables whose task it was to oversee the administrative measures of the Italian officials. Like the Romans, the followers of Muhammad II, etc., were perfectly willing to grant the Greek municipalities a certain degree of autonomy. Therefore, these municipalities were given free rein to promote trade and industry, establish schools, etc., while the Greek language remained in use for all public affairs. There seem never to have been any fixed rules regarding all this; But we may assume as common custom that each community had its own officials (Greeks, of course), that these men were elected (albeit indirectly) by the Christian population (or a portion thereof), and that these representatives (if one may use that term) were given the names of Presbyters, Archons, Foremen, or, in Turkish, "Khodzja-baskis." Thus, even in the late period of Ottoman rule, on the island of Psara the entire community gathered annually to elect forty electors, who in turn appointed four "Elders (Presbyters) of the community." We also read that around the same time on the island of Spetsai, the five foremen were elected annually by the ship's commanders and the wealthy citizens—and, well into the eighteenth century, the important island of Hydra was still governed by its priests with two laymen as assessors. As for the mainland of Morea, it enjoyed special municipal privileges. It was allowed to send two or three Foremen to Constantinople, whose residence in the metropolis enabled them to exert their influence to mitigate the extortions of the Pashas. Moreover, each province of the peninsula was allowed to send two of its leading citizens to the Pasha's see once or twice a year to discuss the interests of Morea with him. Both there and in Thessaly, it was not uncommon for municipal positions to be passed down from father to son. Unfortunately, this also applied to the irreconcilable feuds that were common among the prominent Christians of Morea. The official duties of these gentlemen included levying local taxes, managing the municipal treasury, deciding civil cases, and protecting the oppressed with advice

and deeds. Some performed the latter duties without regard to persons; but there was also no shortage of individuals whose behavior earned them the name "Christian-Turks."

Both the law of "the great Prophet" and that of humanity opposed the complete conversion of the Greeks to Islam. Mohammed II, who spoke Greek fluently and knew the Greeks well, demonstrated his statesmanlike wisdom by his plan to govern his Greek subjects through their own clergy. He was convinced that he and his followers constituted, as it were, a foreign garrison in a hostile country; And he believed that a new crusade of Roman Catholics against the conquerors of "the East" was by no means impossible. The bitter hatred that Eastern and Western Christians bore each other provided the wily Sultan with a powerful incentive not only to tolerate the "Orthodox Church," but even to protect it. He realized that by favoring one branch of Christianity, he would prevent collusion with the other; and, to bring this well-thought-out plan to fruition, he chose a particularly suitable instrument.

Among the most vigorous and able opponents of the reunification of the two Churches was George Scholar, a man as influential among the Eastern as he was hated by the Western leaders of the Church. No sooner had Constantinople fallen into the hands of the Turks than the Sultan ordered a search everywhere for this unwavering champion of the "Orthodox": and when he was finally located, he issued orders aimed at having him elevated to "Ecumenical Patriarch." For centuries, this was the name used in Constantinople to refer to a sort of Eastern pope. Scholarios was naturally elected, specifically under the name of Gennadios II. The Sultan received him ceremoniously, showed him the utmost kindness, and after the festivities, escorted him to where his horse was waiting, and personally helped him into the saddle. An imperial decree (berat) defined the position, power, and privileges of Gennadios and his successors. In this document, they were declared "exempt from taxation and irremovable." It is a pity that the text of this important document has been lost; So we cannot judge to what extent the chronicler Phrantzes is correct when he claims that in that state document, the conversion of Christian churches into mosques was prohibited.

Incidentally, the loss of the original text is not so regrettable, since so much was later changed that the privileges in question were increasingly curtailed.

One thing is certain: Mohammed II vested the Patriarch with the supreme authority over all Greek Orthodox churches and monasteries, the right to depose bishops and archbishops, and supreme jurisdiction over his entire clergy. He was also granted jurisdiction over all matrimonial matters and all other points of civil law, in which the parties involved, being Christians, preferred not to submit to the judgment of a Turkish court. He was authorized to levy taxes on behalf of the Church, and this from both clergy and secular persons. But the most important point was that all church property would be honored, and no Christian would be forced to convert to Islam. It's a pity, however, that on all these points, the history of Greek Christians in Turkey reveals an ever-increasing denial of the original intentions of Mohammed II. A later decree, for example, stipulated that the Patriarch could be deposed in three cases, the oppression of his flock, violation of ecclesiastical law, and high treason—all flexible expressions that could easily lead to abuse.

Mohammed II himself provided an example of this when he deposed Patriarch Joseph I for refusing to ratify the marriage that the widow of the last Duke of Athens had contracted with Amoiroutzes, the traitor who had betrayed Trebizond to the Turks, and whose wife was still alive. During the seventeenth century, three Patriarchs were deposed; and there are even examples of Sultans imposing punishments on Patriarchs reminiscent of the gruesome mutilations of the Byzantine emperors. How quickly the Cathedral of St. Sophia became a mosque is well known; and the number of other Christian churches that later suffered the same fate is legion. Thus, while traveling through Greece, I saw, among other places, dilapidated buildings in Larissa and Livadia, which had first been churches and later mosques. The Patriarch's office was also not respected. Connected to the Church of the Apostles by Mohammed II, it was subsequently moved repeatedly until it finally (at the beginning of the seventeenth century) found its present location in Phanar.

Phanar is the Greek quarter of Constantinople located on the northern shore of the Golden Horn. Trans.

Also, payments were occasionally levied, which were demanded of the churchwardens; and it was not long before the elections of the Patriarch were dominated by bribery. The Greeks had only themselves to blame for this regrettable innovation. After the fall of Trebizond (1461), many prominent figures from that place sought a good opportunity in Constantinople to recover. Among the prestigious positions they coveted was that of Patriarch. This was already evident in 1467, when they attempted

to oust Marcus II, the third successor to the aforementioned Gennadios, from his throne. They succeeded only too well. Marcus was deposed; and one of their own took his place, but only after he had pledged to pay the Sultan a thousand gold pieces annually and relinquished the annual stipend his four predecessors had drawn from the imperial treasury. Once the first step had been taken on the disastrous path of simony, their example was increasingly imitated. Just two years later, the displaced man was ousted when a wealthier admirer offered double the amount. Later, the annual "tribute," or rather bribe, rose to three thousand gold pieces; Moreover, large sums were often spent bribing courtiers, eunuchs, janissaries, Sultana Favorites, and the like, while, to make matters worse, these enormous expenses were recovered as much as possible from the community and the lower clergy.

Thus we see that the unsavory history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate bears striking similarities to the medieval papacy, which also did not shy away from such base tactics. And, as for the Eastern supreme churchwarden, after the Western Reformation, that high office became even more the object of all sorts of intrigue, as Jesuits and influential Protestants vied in attempts to secure the Patriarchate for men who might advance their respective interests. In the 76 years preceding 1700, no fewer than fifty Patriarchal elections took place; and most of them were marred by large-scale bribery. Colossal debts began to burden the Patriarchate so much that the newly elected dignitary usually resorted to selling the well-paid positions he was to fill. No wonder this increasingly widespread problem became a primary cause of the aversion the Greek Church instilled in the many Christians living in the Turkish Empire who belonged to a nationality other than Greek. The history of the Balkan Peninsula abounds with examples of the extortion perpetrated by Greek bishops against the common people, who were condemned to compensate their clergy as much as possible for the financial sacrifices they had made to obtain their office.

Another cause later contributed significantly to the Turkish government's weakening of the dignity and privileges of the Ecumenical Patriarch. Though Mohammed II had considered and honored it as a powerful bulwark against the Roman Powers, more than a century later Rome, as a result of the Protestant secession, had become considerably less dangerous, while Venice had lost its last possessions in the Morea, and Spain, too, inspired less and less fear. There was more. France, the "oldest daughter of Mother Church," and for a long time a great protector of the Jesuits, had become Turkey's ally; and when these dangerous people first appeared in Constantinople in 1609, they, relying on France, plotted against the Patriarch with all their might. Thus, the Sultans had little to fear from a hopelessly divided Europe and a clipped Papacy: and therefore the Grand Lord could safely degrade the Patriarch. Beginning in 1657, this spiritual ruler was no longer installed by his secular overlord in person, but by the Grand Vizier; and in other respects as well, the honors granted him were later increasingly curtailed.

Yet, the Patriarchs continued to exercise a power in all of the Sultan's possessions, which was to be reckoned with from both a political and an ecclesiastical perspective. It was a power, such as many a Patriarch under the Christian Emperors had not even enjoyed, nor was they granted it when the secession from the Kingdom of Greece significantly curtailed their authority. Before the Greek War of Independence, the Ecumenical Patriarch was the ecclesiastical, and in a certain sense also political, head, not only of the Greeks, but also of all Bulgarians, Serbs, Armenians, etc., belonging to the same Church. The general name commonly given to all these nationalities in Turkish territory was "Romans"; because, especially in Turkey at the time, origin was paid much less attention than the fact that they all professed the religion of the "Roman" Constantine the Great. Furthermore, the Modern Greek language, unlike the ancient Greek, was, and still is, labeled "Roman."

Returning to the Ecumenical Patriarchs, these high clergymen were also the ecclesiastical heads of all "Orthodox" communities, which were among the Venetian conquests; and as long as a permanent Venetian envoy remained in Constantinople, he negotiated no less with the Patriarch than with the Porte. About a year after the fall of Constantinople, Muhammad II concluded a treaty with Venice, in which the Patriarch was permanently guaranteed all the revenues that had been paid to his predecessors by the Christians in the Levant. In many places in the chronicles, mention is made of the Patriarchs' intervention on behalf of the Orthodox who lived in Venetian territory. At times, they intervene on behalf of the Greeks of Crete or southern Morea, at other times (and successfully) they urge the preservation of the Julian Calendar in the Venetian Levantine possessions. In one place, we are pleasantly surprised by a philippic against the co-religionists in Crete, because of their persecution of Jews.

The peculiar relationship of The Patriarch's role as representative of a remarkable

imperium in imperio is particularly striking, as evidenced by the fact that the Porte used to negotiate with him through the intermediary of Reis Effendi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. We see, then, that there was good reason to call such a powerful personage a "supreme lord," even a "king." This involuntarily reminds me of the Pope's relationship with the outside world since the loss of the Papal States. Like the Pope, the Patriarch had no secular authority, but his spiritual power extended far beyond the capital, where another ruled. Like the Pope, he negotiated with foreign powers, even where religion was non-existent, and occasionally conspired against the monarch, who had guaranteed him full enforcement of his spiritual rights. Although the Koran forbade violent conversion, a combination of circumstances worked to swell the ranks. to swell the Muslim population. Since the Turks were few in number compared to the millions of Christians who groaned under their yoke, they soon realized that in the long run they would not only be unable to expand their conquests, but not even to maintain them, unless they also included Christians (and many of them) in their ranks. Therefore, they early decided to follow the example (though in reverse) of some Christian rulers in the Levant, who included young Turks in their armies. In response, Sultan Orchan had already, in the first half of the fourteenth century, established the later notorious army corps of Janissaries. Until the mid-sixteenth century, these corps consisted exclusively of Christians, raised from childhood in the teachings of the Prophet.

Initially, the number of children employed for this purpose averaged a thousand per year. At the tender age of six or seven, they were taken from their parents, until later (probably not long after the fall of Constantinople) a regular levy of prospective soldiers was prescribed by all Turkish dependencies. Only a few places were exempt from this. Gradually, this levy of Christian children, who were to become Muslim warriors, became a systematic and ruthlessly enforced means of proselytizing. While initially these levying were far from annual, they later became so. Each levy was preceded by the appearance of a Janissary officer, accompanied by a scribe, in the main town of each district, where he demanded from the local government a complete list of all Christian families living there. This resulted in every Christian father being forced to declare which children he had who were eligible and then to have them appear before the court of the military commissioner. Initially, only one boy from each family was designated for this purpose, and then only if there were at least five sons. Later, however, this was no longer observed, but the government, in addition to the number of boys it deemed necessary, selected the fittest, and had no qualms about taking away even an only son. Even adults (at least those over fifteen) were sometimes conscripted. I need not dwell here on the misery brought upon the wretched parents by a system reminiscent of the fable of the Minotaur sacrifices. An eyewitness tells us that he saw mothers praying to God to deliver their sons by killing them on the spot. The institution did not apply to married sons; and therefore, it sometimes happened that children, even under ten years of age, were married off for the sake of convenience. But it was not long before the conscripting officers spared even these "married" ones. These blood edicts could be circumvented in only two ways. One was bribery, the other flight to the Venetian possessions in Greece. The latter, however, was abandoned when Venice lost its Greek provinces.

Now, one would think that such a shocking and recurring example of oppression would likely have led to rebellion. And yet, in the long list of uprisings against Turkish tyranny, we find only one (in 1565) attributed to that cause; and that was not even a Greek uprising, but an Albanian one. What is recorded in this regard is typical. As the Janissaries became increasingly pampered and powerful, many Greeks came to consider membership in that elite band a blessing rather than a curse. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Venetian ambassador to Constantinople wrote that the induction of children as future Janissaries was usually considered a special favor by Christian parents, guaranteeing their sons a comfortable and profitable position. There was even no shortage of Muslim parents who did not hesitate to lend their boys to Christians, so that they might share in the same fine privilege.

We, who view all this with entirely different eyes, lament it, because this preoccupation with male potential has resulted in an immense loss for both Christianity and Greece. When we remember that for two centuries the Janissaries were composed exclusively of Christian sons, that the Christian population of Turkey was mainly confined to the European provinces, and that the young men not incorporated into the elite army were generally the weakest, then we can imagine how heavily all this must have weighed on the propagation and development of Christianity in southeastern Europe. Moreover, the Janissaries, as is the case today with some African bodyguards, were prohibited from marriage. The modern Greek historian

63295 Paparrigopoulos calculates the number of Christian boys incorporated into the Janissaries during the first two centuries at at least one million. This does not alter the fact that this incorporation was abolished in the seventeenth century, or at least was no longer required. Several causes contributed to the decline of an institution that had long hardened the Turkish army, at the expense of the Christian population. First and foremost, the abolition of the marriage ban comes into consideration, as married bodyguards increasingly managed to force their sons into the "elite band." A second cause is the continued increase in induction through bribery. Furthermore, the Sultans likely came to distrust their bodyguards, in the same way the Roman emperors had done with the Praetorians. It is no wonder that they increasingly devoted less effort to a supplement. In addition, the decline in the Christian population also reduced the choice. Finally, the increasing unscrupulousness and indifference of the officers must also be taken into account. All this led to the complete abolition of the bodyguard in the nineteenth century, and already in the second half of the seventeenth century to the abolition of the forced conscription of Christians.

63300 Another reason for the adoption of Islam by many Greeks lay in the offices assigned to them at that time. When the uncivilized Turkish people saw themselves masters of a large and powerful European empire, they lacked all the ability, both financially and diplomatically, to maintain such an empire as required. Turkish arithmetic was

63305 terribly cumbersome, the Turkish language unsuitable for writing of any importance; and the Turks had the same weakness that we English still tend to have today: they understood no language but their own. Hence, they consistently entrusted the drafting of documents intended for foreign countries to Greeks who understood Turkish. Yet, it is undeniable that it is not linguists, but men of character who have a future as conquerors; and it is equally certain that the Greeks possessed precisely those qualities that the Ottomans lacked. It is therefore no wonder that the astute Mohammed II, who, as a rare exception, understood Greek, was convinced that the innate adaptability and acquired knowledge of his new subjects could be of incalculable use to him in governing his vast possessions.

63310 However, an undeniable difficulty arose. Almost all more or less learned Greeks had fled to Western and Central Europe after the fall of Constantinople; And it is to this that it is attributable that during the first two centuries after that fall, the Greeks generally did not advance beyond the ranks of scribes in the departments of Finance and Foreign Affairs in the Turkish service. However, there was a striking exception early on: the high post of Grand Vizier. Of the five Grand Viziers who served Mohammed II, two were of Greek nationality, the first of whom, Mahmud Pasha, was the first Christian to be entrusted with this high position. Under Bajazet II, we again find two Greek Christians as Grand Viziers, and under the great Soliman, two more. Later, even a son of a Pope was appointed to this position. The fearsome

63315 Barbarossa, the scourge of Christians at sea, was also of Greek descent. Around the middle of the sixteenth century, the Venetian ambassador to Constantinople could assure us that the most important positions in Turkish government service usually fell to Greek Christians, and that the Turks complained bitterly because the unbelievers had better prospects than they themselves.

63320 It took a long time, however, before these positions, with the exception of the very highest, could be obtained by anything other than conversion to Islam; therefore, the temptation to take that step was great. In Greece, however, the number of these converts was much smaller than in Bosnia and neighboring regions among Slavs and Albanians; And when (around the middle of the seventeenth century) the Turkish government began to become less strict in demanding apostasy, and even opened several important positions to the rayas, it was a great satisfaction for the Greeks that they could fulfill a laudable ambition without qualms.

63325 1) Horus, nicknamed Barbarossa, was a renegade and pirate in the early sixteenth century. He defeated the Dey of Algiers and became Dey in his place. Trans.

63330 The aforementioned lack of educated Greeks in the principal Turkish cities had ceased to exist; and the Porte took advantage of this by immediately granting the important post of Grand Dragoman to a Greek Christian, who managed to conduct the negotiations regarding Candia with the desired results. From then until the War of Independence, his successors were generally Greek Christians.

63335 Similarly, the important position of Dragoman of the Navy was usually filled by a Greek from the mid-sixteenth century onwards; and the island of Paros still possesses numerous reminders of the Mavrogenes family, two of whose members managed the naval affairs of the Kapudan Pasha (head of the Navy). One of this remarkable family, Nicholas, was elevated to the position of Feudal Prince of Wallachia (first half of

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the eighteenth century). For almost the entire eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the two thrones of Wallachia and Moldavia, which were more or less dependent on Turkey, were continuously occupied by Phanariotes (Greeks from Constantinople), and unfortunately, were all too subservient to their particular interests and desires.

Eighteenth-century sultans even seriously considered doing the same in Morea, but it remained limited to the elevation of that peninsula to a government under a Christian governor. Such elevations of Greek Christians were always very advantageous and pleasant for those individuals; however, as soon as the interests of the governed did not entirely align with the whims of the rulers, the latter usually carried the brunt.

But we lack the right to expect the virtues of heroes and saints in the offspring of men who, century after century, had groaned under the yoke of foreign rulers. Yet, while fully acknowledging this mitigating circumstance, we must acknowledge from the heart that the loss of Euboea and Crete, and other such terrible blows inflicted on Hellenism in Turkey, are primarily attributable to Greek Christians. Moreover, denial of nationality was commonplace in Turkey at the time, including among Albanians and Slavs (especially Bosnians and Serbs), who, like a multitude of Cretans, had also exchanged their faith for Islam and from that moment on, largely became the staunchest supporters of a regime that enabled them to oppress their fellow tribesmen. This is still often more or less the case with Turkish Greeks today, even when they are not Muslim. For example, in 1897, a Greek of this ilk did his utmost to thwart the interests of his fellow tribesmen when, as Turkish ambassador in London, he discussed the Greco-Turkish war. And so, even today, it is almost always men of Greek descent who are presented by the Porte to the Christian powers as models of impeccable statesmanship. And the island of Samos, with its Greek Christian prince at its head, can be considered a remarkable reminder of the time when the Sultans regularly sent out degenerate Greeks north of the Danube to subordinate the well-being of the inhabitants to their own interests and those of their feudal lord. Twice (once under Selim II, in 1514, and once during the early part of the Cretan War, in 1646) there was serious talk of exterminating all Christians in Turkey.

Fortunately, more sensible plans prevailed; so that even before the eighteenth century, the Porte had been intent on increasing rather than decreasing the number of Christian taxpayers. Not without reason, the Turkish rulers feared that their Christian subjects were slowly but surely disappearing; and that would be an insurmountable blow to Turkish finances. For much more could be gained from such a Christian dog than from a believer. However, to avoid driving the rayas to despair, the Nizam Jiddid (New System) was introduced in 1691, which ordered the provincial governors to levy no other tax on these people than the harash, i.e., poll tax. Aside from the blood tax for the Janissaries' replenishment, this poll tax had originally been the only standard Christian tax in Turkey. It had to be paid by all "unbelievers" over the age of ten, except for clergy, the elderly, the blind, the lame, and the maimed. Moreover, the import and export duties for unbelievers were double those for Muslims.

That, one might say, was oppressive enough; but from ancient times, and still today, the harshness of taxes in Turkey lies less in the legal amount than in the illegal collection. A pitiful example of this was provided in 1571. At that time, the Christian subjects of the Great Lord were driven to despair by extortion, while the vast majority were so poor and miserable that they shuddered to look a Muslim in the eye, imbued as they were with the realization that their oppressors would deprive them of everything that even remotely left them with their necessities. Bearing this in mind, the reader will realize that the introduction of the Nizam Jeddid, combined with the de facto abolition of the Janissary blood tax, allowed Turkish Christians to breathe more freely, and from that time on, examples of apostasy kept pace with the diminished temptation. The Venetians' conquest of Morea at the beginning of the eighteenth century crowned this salutary change, because, on the one hand, many who had more or less been forced to become Muslims now returned to the Church of their fathers, and, on the other hand, the Turkish government began to treat its Christian subjects better, for fear of comparing too unfavorably with the Italians. And it was not long before Russia's claim to patronage over the rayas contributed even more to preventing their apostasy.

It was however, not only in the number, but also in the quality of the population, the Greek provinces of Turkey had reason to regret their forced incorporation into the Empire of the Crescent. The vast majority of the highly cultured, almost all the notables, in short, the flower of Greek nationality—all of these, after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, had preferred voluntary exile. True, Mohammed II had a Greek

proclamation issued, addressed to the nobles of Morea, in which he promised to respect their families and property and to promote their prosperity; but this remained almost ineffective. So widespread was the emigration of families of any significance that only four or five of the Peloponnesian clans (if I may so call them), who had played a major role in the Middle Ages, remained in the land of their fathers; and in the rest of Greece, the situation was not much better. Since these "aristocrats" had a significant impact, this exodus was no less dangerous for the maintenance of Greek nationality than the emigration to America today, in which so many Greek peasants participate that the press in Athens, Patras, etc., is alarmed. It was natural that most of the aforementioned emigrants settled in the Venetian colonies on ancient Greek territory, which, as a result, became a thorn in the side of the Turkish conqueror. I will give a few examples of such emigrants here. Michael Ralles, one of the foremost Laconian (Spartan) Archontes, a champion of the Turkish-Venetian war, and the Daimonogiannes brothers, prominent figures, also from Laconia, settled in the Venetian possessions on the peninsula; And Palaiologos, who can be considered the last defender of Morea, entered Venetian military service. Yet other high-ranking Greeks accompanied Sophia, the daughter of another member of that famous family, which had last headed the Byzantine government, on her journey to Moscow, where she was to marry Grand Duke Ivan of Muscovy. As a result, the Muscovite court soon became a favorite residence of the prominent Greeks who had known her father and whose descendants, three centuries later, played a prominent role in or after the failed uprising that took place in Morea at that time.

A large number of Greeks, eager to fight the enemies not only of their own but also of their adopted homeland, volunteered to enlist as light cavalry of the Venetian commonwealth. The research of Sathas, a distinguished Greek scholar of our time, has shed all the desired light on this remarkable elitetroop. The name "Stradiotians," by which they are known, is not the Greek (= soldiers), but the Italian word "strada" (= road), with a Greek suffix—thus meaning "roadmen," i.e., men without a permanent residence. Composed of Greeks and Albanians (Arnauts), the corps drew its largest component from Laconia (the Mayonnais) and its bravest from Nauplia (Argolis). In the list of its commanders, we find names such as Palaiologos and others, once belonging to men who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the Peloponnese. The golden age for the Stradiotians was the sixteenth century, when Europe resounded with the praise of their daring. A Stradiot even served in the English military under Henry VIII, for whom he achieved fame in Scotland and was rewarded with the command of Boulogne, then an English fortress. 2)

The Stradiots were also widely known in other respects, and not always with praise. Their boastfulness and vanity were a favorite subject of mockery in Venetian theatricals, just as Plautus of old entertained Roman audiences with the snarky antics of his Pyrgopolynices (in his comedy "The Boastful Soldier"). Thus, Tasso speaks of the rapacity of the Stradiots. Other poets, however, have sung their praises. It is certain that some of them made a name for themselves in science and poetry. Their name, especially as lyricists, still resonates well.

1) However, not runaways, nor vagabonds. 2) Only for six years (1544-1550).

Even today, some of these songs, written in a mixed language based on Greek, are still sung from time to time. Overall, however, the Stradiotians excelled more in their feats of arms than in their use of the lute. Their most formidable weapon was a long spear, equipped with a razor-sharp point at both ends, which made the weapon equally sharp from behind.

If it ever (which rarely happened) failed the rider, he had an effective substitute on his saddle—a club; and woe betide the skull on which that formidable object landed. How unfortunate that all that force and skill was usually directed not against Turks, but against Christians, who had the misfortune to stand in the way of the Venetians!

Even more lamentable is the fact that the classical soil of Greece also lost its centuries-old fame in arts and sciences when the Turks took control. All traces of higher education disappeared from the favorite seat of the Muses. Most literate Greeks emigrated to Italy; and, just as once, in the words of Horace, "Captivated Hellas knew how to captivate its conquerors," so, sixteen centuries later, it knew how to kindle the light of Hellenism in the twilight of Christian Europe. A few examples will suffice here. The Athenian Demetrius Chalcocondyles became the tutor of one of the sons of the great Florentine Lorenzo dei Medici, while Georgios Hermonymos, a Spartan, was the first Greek to openly teach his language in Paris. Two Peloponnesians, Demetrius Ralles, a learned warrior, and Isidore, who had distinguished himself as a theologian and also in the

- 63495 defense of Constantinople, spent the rest of their lives in Italy; and the historian Phrantzes wrote his chronicle on the island of Corfu, where he lived until his death under Venetian protection.
- 63500 We owe a great deal of our civilization to this fifteenth-century dissemination of Greek scholarship; but what Europe gained, Greece lost. More than two hundred years passed before that unfortunate country could at least partially compensate for the loss it incurred through the emigration of so many bright minds. Although they did their best to interest numerous influential men in the fate of their beleaguered homeland, the practical benefit was small compared to the irreparable loss their
- 63505 unfortunate fellow tribesmen had suffered in their persons. Had they remained in Greece, their influence would undoubtedly have been felt: they would have obtained important positions in Turkish service, which would likely have enabled them to alleviate the plight of their fellow citizens; and their example would, in any case, have prevented the majority of Greece from falling prey to the most lamentable
- 63510 ignorance for more than two centuries. In the absence of an aristocracy and literate people, the peasantry and the clergy (mostly the sons of farmers) now became the sole, or at least the most important, representatives of the Greek nation. And now we are faced with a remarkable phenomenon. Never before has Greece suffered such great losses as under the Turks
- 63515 (through apostasy and emigration); And yet, Greece, under foreign rule, never experienced a time when its descendants were so free from mixing with other races as in the long years between the Turkish conquest and the decisive war of liberation. There is no reasonable doubt that after the prolonged period of confusion that followed the fall of Frankish authority in Greece, even the Turkish government
- 63520 (because it was strong and decisive) was, to a certain extent, a true blessing for the vast majority of the Christian population. There is another important point. The settlement of foreign invaders, which had been commonplace during the centuries of Christian rule, now came to an end; and the natural consequence was that for nearly four centuries the Hellenic race remained free from foreign taint.
- 63525 Traces of the Franks settled in Greece were only of any significance on the islands; there was no longer any talk of Slavic incursions. And the Greeks who had remained loyal to the Orthodox Church never married a Turkish woman, while a Greek woman who married a Muslim was immediately excommunicated. Thus, an abyss remained between Christianity and Islam in Greece: and (miracle of miracles) there was harmony between
- 63530 Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians, and Rumenians. The irritability that otherwise alienated all these nationalities ceased under the Turkish system of government at the time, which tarred all Christians with the same brush, thereby causing them to regard each other only as fellow sufferers.
- 63535 In the Greek regions that obeyed Venice, intellectual development was certainly not great, but nevertheless much better than in Turkish Greece. For more than two hundred years, literally nothing was done there to teach the people even to read and write; and only in exceptional cases was it found that an archbishop who could properly write his name. Larissa was still the largest and wealthiest city in Thessaly; and yet it is a fact that a modern scholar who examined the archiepiscopal archives from
- 63540 that period was shocked by the barbaric Greekness of those records. It is even surprising that, in all those years, some literary work was occasionally done. Among the scribes of that period rescued from utter oblivion by Sathas, only four, not counting some theologians, belong to Greece proper. The first two of these soon emigrated to Italy, namely the learned Chalcocondyles brothers. The aforementioned
- 63545 Demetrius, of whom the aforementioned brother, provided critical editions of Homer, etc., in Milan, where a tomb was erected for him, while the other brother published a History of the Turks. The other two mentioned here were citizens of what was then Venetian Nauplia, and lived around the end of the sixteenth century, mostly in Constantinople. One of them (Zygomalas) wrote a History of Constantinople from 1391
- 63550 to 1578. Another historical work was more important. I mean the "Chronicle" by Dorotheos, later Metropolitan of Monembasia; the author was from Moldavia. This curious book contained the entire history of the world from Adam to the year 1629, and was later continued by others until the year 1685. Until very recently, this work was the only popular history book of the Greek people.
- 63555 Around the middle of the seventeenth century, some effort finally began to be made towards school education in Greece. This was thanks to the "Haggineion," a Greek school still existing today in Venice, which took its name from a certain wealthy Greek merchant, Haggines, who founded it in 1621. Just as the leading Greek merchants
- 63560 still do today, based in London and elsewhere abroad, the wealthy seventeenth-century

colony of such merchants in Venice also took a keen interest in the well-being and progress of their fatherland. To this end, spurred on by Haggines' example, they occasionally sent delegates to Greece, who were to promote the higher interests of the old country as much as possible by establishing schools and acting as apostles of the gospel of literary civilization. And so, as early as 1647, one of those Venetian Greeks founded two model schools, one in Joanina (now in southern Albania), his birthplace, the other in Athens, where, around the same time, Roman Catholic monks were also teaching the youth the very basics of science.
{Conclusion follows.}

GREECE UNDER THE TURKS. II

One would be mistaken to believe that the Greeks always patiently acquiesced to Turkish rule. The prolonged rule of the "Franks" had resulted in them becoming much more warlike than they had previously been; but the awareness of the crushing superiority of the Ottomans made them averse to rebellion if they could not count on foreign aid. In the immediate period after the conquest of Constantinople, it truly seemed that such aid would not be long in coming. The East expected a new Crusade; and the West was planning one. Georgilas, a Greek poet of the period, appealed to "French and English, Spaniards and Germans" to join forces for the reconquest of the new Byzantium. The many learned Greeks, who had been dispersed across a large part of Western Europe by the loss of that capital, attempted to rouse the rulers of Christendom to the fate of their remaining compatriots. This was particularly successful for Cardinal Bessarion, who was twice considered for the papal throne and who crisscrossed Europe with unwavering zeal in the cause of oppressed Hellenism. The popes of that era supported Bessarion as much as they could; and Pius II even temporarily relocated to Ancona, where the Crusaders were to assemble. But the death of that church prince in that famous seaport brought the great enterprise to ruin; And the crusade, for which such elaborate preparations had been made, ended in a miserable fiasco.

Meanwhile, war between the sultan and the Venetian republic had become inevitable. The Venetians, after all, were convinced that the great "infidel" conqueror would attempt to complete his Greek territories by conquering the colonies they had left on Greek soil. A pretext for hostilities was quickly found. An Arnautic (Albanian) slave, belonging to the Pasha of Athens, had run away with his master's valuables and had sought refuge in the city to the banner of Saint Mark flying in Methone. The Venetian commander of the fortress refused the extradition; whereupon the Turks, in turn, seized Argos, which had been handed over to them by a treacherous priest. Moreover, they burned down the area around Methone. No wonder the war party in Venice then got its way, so that in 1463 hostilities began on both sides. Bertoldo d'Este became commander-in-chief of the Venetian army, with orders to proceed to Nauplia and cooperate as much as possible with Admiral Loredan, while the famous Albanian Skanderbeg received ample support to create a formidable diversion in the wild mountainous regions of his native land.

The Venetian commander-in-chief received considerable reinforcement by opening the gates of the Cretan prisons and converting their forced inmates into soldiers. At the same time, he issued a proclamation calling on the oppressed Greeks to gain their freedom with his help. This call was immediately echoed by the Spartans, who took up arms under the valiant Michael Ralles, head of a renowned Lacedaemonian family. Sparta's example was followed not only by the indomitable Mayans, but also by the

Arcadians, commanded by Bua, the same Albanian who (strangely enough) had waged war against the Greeks nine years earlier. With united forces, Argos was soon recaptured; whereupon d'Este ordered the rebuilding of the famous wall that closed off the Isthmus of Corinth and had been destroyed by the efforts of Sultan Murad II. In the incredibly short time of fifteen days, that six-mile-long and twelve-foot-high wall, secured by a double moat and 136 small towers, was rebuilt by the combined force of approximately thirty thousand Greeks, Albanians, and Italians (d'Este's united army). However, prosperity was followed by adversity. In a battle near Corinth, d'Este lost his life; and Mahmud Pasha, the first Greek to hold the high office of Grand Vizier, led the victorious Turkish army, which had just put an end to the Kingdom of Bosnia, to the recently repaired enclosing wall of the vast peninsula. Fear gripped the hearts of the defenders when a battle-worn force, three times their own, prepared to besiege the great defensive structure. Without a fight, they abandoned the magnificent creation of their hands and sought refuge in the heart of the Peloponnese. Once again, the isthmus was stripped bare of defenses, and Argos was abandoned to the victorious Turks, who then vented their fury on the Venetian colony of Corone, whose leading members, dispatched to Constantinople, were sawn to pieces

by order of the Sultan. When the Spartans realized that the Venetians were abandoning them, they retreated to the inaccessible recesses of the southernmost headland, where the Turks tried in vain to lure them with offers of complete impunity.

63630 Yet Venice was not discouraged. Sigismundo Malatesta, the well-known founder of Rimini's cathedral, was appointed in d'Este's place, but his Peloponnesian campaign did not achieve much recognition. The grand castle of Mistra, now an imposing ruin, withstood all his efforts; and he returned to Italy with no other booty than the bones of Gemistos Plethon, a late philosopher, whose Neo-Platonic teachings he
63635 adored, and whose bones he had interred in his magnificent foundation at Rimini, where his own tomb stands beside that of the sage. Barberigo, the Venetian governor of the Morea, continued the war with even less luck than Malatesta. Disregarding the advice of Ralles, who was fully acquainted with the local situation, he decided to besiege Patras; and, attempting to repel a false sortie, he fell into an ambush and
63640 was killed. Even more unfortunate was poor Ralles, who fell alive into the enemy's hands and was speared by them. The pitiful remnants of the Venetian force retreated to Kalamata, where they were defeated once again.

Meanwhile, the Venetian fleet had been very busy cruising the Aegean Sea, conquering some islands, and plundering others. In 1466, Capello, the admiral, anchored at the Piraeus and landed troops to launch an attack on Athens. Since the conquest of that
63645 famous city, nothing had become known of it in the literary world of the rest of Europe, except what can be read about it in a fantastic description of it, written by an unknown person around the year 1460. I mean the Greek manuscript titled "Athens" Theaters and Schools," discovered much later in Vienna. Now, however, Athens once
63650 again briefly acquired a modest place in world history. Initially, the Turkish garrison drove back Capello's troops; but when they returned in larger numbers, they seized the city proper, massacred the Turks who stood in their way, and plundered the citizens. Capello, however, did not attempt a storming of the Acropolis; and when the Turkish commander showed no inclination to evacuate that famous citadel, he embarked
63655 again and landed in Argolis, where he learned of Barberigo's death. He then sailed to Euboea, where he soon died of heartbreak.

From that moment on, Athens disappears from the pages of history for well over a century. However, a Greek chronicle among the manuscripts of Oxford University, dated
63660 1606, reveals that Athens suffered horribly from the plague seven times between 1480 and 1554, and that the citizens regularly had to enlist their boys to support the Janissaries. Moreover, we know of three Athenian Metropolitans during that period; and a little later, an Athenian became Ecumenical Patriarch. The jealousy that Venice's power had inspired in the other Italian states prevented them from supporting the powerful republic in this unequal struggle; and when the new Pope,
63665 Paul II, though a Venetian by birth, showed little enthusiasm for combating the Crescent, the ambitious republic had no other armed ally than Skanderbeg, whose death (1468) placed Venice in the greatest straits. In the early years of the thirteenth century, Venice had established a foothold on the large island of Euboea; and later, it became its undisputed master. However, especially since the incorporation of
63670 Thessaly into Turkey, the Venetian colonists on Euboea increasingly became troublesome neighbors to the Turks. Their raids there became increasingly frequent; and on each trip, they kidnapped a number of inhabitants, some of whose places were taken by Albanian colonists from Thessaly. Added to the enormous nuisance the population suffered as a result was finally the formidable plague of plague; so it
63675 was no surprise when, on the island, now christened "Negroponte," one heard the common saying that only a good peace or a good war could bring salvation. This saying was all the less exaggerated because it included "a plague of Jews." Gradually, almost all land ownership on Negroponte had passed into the hands of these clever guests; consequently, the Venetian government finally prohibited any further land
63680 purchases by Israelites, raised their taxes, and prohibited them from keeping Christian slaves or serfs. Conversely, the executioner was regularly chosen from their ranks. Yet, all this was not enough. The island's Catholic rulers observed with ever-increasing distrust that their Greek Orthodox subjects here, as almost
63685 everywhere else, preferred Islam to the Church of Rome. From the perspective of the Italian rulers, we must admit that they were right, when, increasingly provoked by the growing Turkish threat, they refused to accept into their ranks a single non-Catholic comrade-in-arms, who, encompassing all Catholic islanders over the age of eighteen, armed them with sword or bow against the Ottomans. Even membership in the Council of Governors, previously open to the Greeks, was now taken away from them.
63690 Negroponte retained that sharply defined Italian-Catholic type until the Venetian government ceased to exist there. Only in a few other places, for example, Corfu, did the rule of that mighty republic take such deep root.

Such was the state of affairs when Mohammed II, whose armies had conquered Athens and almost all of Morea, began seriously to consider annexing the large island, situated so close to the mainland. Spies soon informed the Venetian government of the impending storm. From Cyprus, from Rhodes, and from wherever else, even from Burgundy, people sought help against the great sultan, who had already conquered so many Christian states and was now preparing to lose such an important island to Christendom. However, Venice was generally abandoned. When the going got tough in 1470, the Venetian forces proved unequal to the daunting task that awaited them. Muhammad II had carefully surveyed Negroponte beforehand; and now he carefully planned his attack accordingly. While a large Turkish fleet sailed there, he personally led the land army to the spot where Chalcis, the capital, was only just a stone's throw from the mainland.

It is separated by a very narrow strait. Land and naval forces arrived almost simultaneously at that famous spot for many centuries. The Venetian naval commander was not strong enough to effectively oppose the landing of the troops on the Turkish ships, or the construction of a pontoon bridge across the Euripus, which brought Mohammed and his men to the Negropontian shore. Shortly thereafter, Chalcis was besieged by land and sea.

For four weeks, the city was defended with all the courage of desperation by the Venetians and the majority of the citizens, and heavy losses were inflicted on the besiegers; but in the end, the commander's faintheartedness, combined with the treachery of some citizens, tipped the scales in the Turks' favor. The sultan had discovered (through treachery?) a weak point in the defenses; And when he stormed that point with all his troops, a furious battle that lasted for hours, in which even women and children participated, could not prevent the enemy from entering the city. They still did not surrender, but defended themselves for a considerable time behind the chains stretched across the streets. More than six thousand townspeople and soldiers paid for this with their lives; and when at last the garrison of the citadel surrendered, after having been solemnly promised their lives, that solemn promise was horribly broken. The lesser soldiers were flayed and speared alive, and the general was sawn to pieces. The remaining fortified points on the island soon surrendered to the Turks, who slaughtered the Italians and carried off the Greeks as slaves. The sultan, who had suffered enormous losses, was finally satisfied with his revenge and returned to Constantinople, congratulating himself on having dealt the formidable republic a blow unlike any it had ever received. This was also the sentiment of the Venetians themselves, who rightly described the news of Euboea's defeat as "the worst news that had ever befallen the republic."

That there was little enthusiasm in the city of St. Mark for the remaining defenders of Negroponte is quite natural, though it did not achieve anything. The commander, who had proven to be as unenterprising as he was heroic, was punished with lifelong exile. As for the Italian families of the island, who, having escaped the enemy's sword, had sought refuge in Venetian colonies or in the city of Venice—the fate of those people was pitiful. Many of them had lost everything; And there was no shortage of noblewomen, who had led a glorious life on Negroponte on large estates, the family's property from generation to generation, and who were now forced to live out the remainder of their lives in convents with meager government support. And yet, even in appearance, the memory of the Venetian era has not yet disappeared in the capital of this beautiful island: even today, the ramparts of Chalcis are adorned with the proud Lion of Saint Mark, and a citizen of that charming city will likely show you in one of its squares a large pile of stone cannonballs that served in the memorable siege. But since that sad event, although there have been no shortage of vigorous attempts at reconquest, Euboea has had no other masters than the Turks, until it finally, as for many centuries, once again formed an important part of the Greek homeland. Despite this heavy blow, the Venetians remained undeterred. Pope Sixtus IV successfully attempted to persuade the rulers of Naples and Cyprus, and the Order of St. John on Rhodes, to join a "holy alliance" in support of Venice against the Turks, who were being attacked by Persia in Asia, while the partners of the Holy Alliance would keep them busy in Europe. Now, the tide seemed to turn. The Venetian general Mocenigo plundered several Turkish-occupied islands in the Aegean Sea and bombarded Smyrna; so that Sultan Mohammed reluctantly agreed to make peace proposals. Venice would hear nothing of it; but now the promising alliance collapsed due to the defection of the King of Naples. He would grant Cyprus to no one but himself; And when he saw that Venice laid claim to that glorious island, he not only broke the alliance but even sided with the sultan. This is the first, but by no means the last, example of a Christian prince aiding the Muslims in fighting his fellow believers. It

was as if this treachery had no blessing; for the Venetian-Greek garrison of Lepanto (Naupactus) thwarted all attempts by the Turks, who finally transferred the battlefield to Albania, where the Venetians had some possessions. After a sixteen-year struggle, Venice, however powerful, longed for peace. In 1479, peace was concluded with Mohammed. Venice retained possession of the island of Aegina, Lepanto, and seven fortresses on the Morea, of which Nauplia, Argos, and Navarino are the best known. Thus, the republic retained possession of some important settlements in Greece; but the island par excellence (Negroponte) remained lost to it. This loss, however, was nothing compared to what the Greeks suffered. Venice's naval power was far superior to the Turkish; and to it it owed all its victories and conquests; but the poor Greeks had to pay for this all too often, just as, during the most recent Greek revolt against Turkey, the Greek population of Smyrna, for example, undoubtedly would have paid the price for the consequences of a possible bombardment. In the fifteenth century, thousands of Greek inhabitants were deported as slaves or little better from the fortresses and coasts contested by Venice; and thus these poor oppressed people often suffered no less from the Christians than from the Muslims. The sixteen-year war had proven that the Greek nation had not yet degenerated to the point of ceasing to produce champions of the highest caliber. One example is appropriate here: that of Maroula, the heroine of Lemnos, who deserves to be placed on a par with the noblest women of ancient Sparta. The island of Lemnos, belonging to Venice, had been invaded by the Turks; and its only city was besieged by them. Already the courage of the Christians began to fail when Maroula wrenched his sword and shield from her dying father's stiffened fingers, placed herself at the head of the islanders, and drove out the Turks. As a reward, she was given the freedom to choose a husband from among the most noble of the unmarried officers; and Venice provided a rich dowry. The twenty-year peace that followed the Venetian War was by no means a period of tranquility for the Greeks. Hardly had peace been concluded when a formidable uprising broke out on the central tip of the Morea Peninsula, the well-known Maina. The soul of this uprising was the chieftain Korkodeilos Kladas, after whom the nineteenth-century leaders who played such a significant role in the great war of independence seem to have been modeled. Kladas was among the last Peloponnesian chieftains who submitted to Mohammed II; and the shrewd conqueror had deemed it expedient to win him over, if possible, by granting him the fertile plain of Helos, bordering the northern border of Maina, as a military fief. While the highly debatable assertion that the Helots of antiquity derived their name from it is true, it is at least certain that Kladas resembled an old Spartan more than a Helot. The Venetians also attempted to win him over by appointing him captain of the Stradiotians mentioned in the first part of this essay; and as such he proved himself useful in the Sixteen Years' War. But it soon became apparent that a leader of irregular troops, who considers himself indispensable in wartime, is likely to become a bone of contention after peace is concluded. Kladas refused to acknowledge the cession of the Maina to the Turks. He secretly left the fortress of Corone, which remained in Venice; and the Maina became a safe haven for him. There he raised the standard of revolt; and soon gathered thousands of armed men around him. The Venetian rulers feared that the Sultan would suspect them of complicity and break the recently concluded peace. To this end, they captured Kladas's remaining relatives and demanded that the Mayonnais hand over the rebel leader to the Turkish governor of Morea. A large bounty was also placed on Kladas's head. However, the freedom-loving Mayonnais refused to betray their brave leader; and a Turkish army sent against him suffered a heavy blow. Unfortunately, heated disputes broke out between Kladas and Theodoros Boua, another rebel leader. The Turks did not hesitate to capitalize on this, penetrating into hidden corners where no follower of the Prophet had ever set foot. Yet, Kladas was their master. After a desperate and successful attack on a small Turkish force, he found safe refuge on a galley belonging to a Neapolitan squadron anchored in those waters. That ship landed him safely in Naples, where he received an excellent welcome from the king, who was worried about an impending Turkish invasion of the eastern coasts of the kingdom. Kladas now ceased to play a role in the history of his homeland; but in the chronicles from the Kingdom of Naples, we find him fighting alongside Skanderbeg's son in southern Albania in Neapolitan service. King Ferdinand later rewarded him with a generous pension, which passed on to his son. In 1489, a new revolt broke out among the Mayans; but a far more important event was unfolding around that time in southeastern Europe. Andreas Palaiologos, the eldest son of the last feudal prince (Despotes) of Morea (who was a brother of Byzantium's last emperor), had made vain attempts to obtain aid from the King of Naples in his

63825 attempt to regain his father's principality. He was more successful with the
 ambitious King of France, Charles VIII. In 1494, a solemn meeting took place in Rome
 between the Greek prince and Cardinal York, King Charles's representative. The result
 of the discussions held at that time was that Palaiologos transferred all his rights
 63830 to the Byzantine throne to His Most Christian Majesty. He did not do this for free,
 however, but in exchange for an annual payment of 4,300 ducats and a gift of lands
 whose annual yield was estimated at an average of 5,000 ducats. Furthermore, Charles,
 through the cardinal, promised to return to the other his fief (Despotate) of Morea
 if possible, in return for which Palaiologos pledged to present the king with a
 63835 magnificent grey horse annually on St. Louis's Day, as a form of feudal homage. In
 that same year, 1494, the French king marched on Naples, having sent ahead an
 exaggerated proclamation announcing his grandiose plans against the Turks, while a
 court poet made a point of sounding the prediction that "I pass, the man; then Greece
 enters, and we shall be acclaimed by the king by his progress."
 Shortly after entering Rome, the adventurous king came into contact with Prince Jim,
 63840 an older brother of Sultan Mohammed's successor, Bajazet II, whose throne he
 contested and by whom he had therefore been banished. Having resided in Rome for
 several years under papal protection, he had struck King Charles as a suitable lord
 to use for his purposes. However, nothing came of it. The wretch, who at the time was
 dishonoring the papal throne, had hastened to warn the Sultan; and this promised him
 63845 300,000 ducats if he ensured that Jim was "withdrawn from the misery of earthly life"
 as soon as possible. The shameful bargain was concluded; and shortly thereafter, Jim
 breathed his last, one of the victims of the terrible poisonous powder, the secret of
 which was held by the dear Borgia family.
 Meanwhile, fame had spread the brilliant and dazzling plans of the French king beyond
 63850 the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. Now that he had driven Ferdinand of Arragon from his
 kingdom of Naples, he was expected as a savior not only in southern Albania but also
 in Thessaly. Fear gripped the hearts of the Turks, and Bajazet considered crossing
 the Bosphorus with all his baggage. False alarm! Charles's comprehensive plans had
 aroused the jealousy of Europe's rulers; Venice captured the French chief agent and
 63855 forbade all ships in the ports under his control to oblige the French king. He made a
 virtue of necessity, returned to France, and abandoned the unfortunate Greeks, who
 had counted on him, to their fate, which was terrible for many because of Bajazet's
 vengeance. Such has been the usual outcome of Europe's many attempts to intervene in
 Greek affairs. *Quidquid deirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* 1)

63860 The services rendered to the Sultan were not long enough to deter him from his plans
 for Venice's possessions in the Levant. As early as 1499, war flared up again. It was
 primarily aimed at Lepanto, so fortified by Venice that the Venetian historian
 Cappelletto called it "the principal stronghold of the Christian peoples in the
 63865 East." But to wrest Lepanto from the republic, the Turkish fleet had to force its way
 into the Corinthian Gulf, which was blocked by Venetian ships. A formidable naval
 battle took place in the open sea. Two Venetian captains boarded one of the largest
 Turkish ships of the line on either side; but the intrepid sailor in command set it
 on fire; and all three ships and their heroic crews were soon reduced to rubble. The
 remaining Venetian ships retreated to Corfu; the Turkish fleet sailed into the vast
 63870 bay; and Lepanto surrendered. To secure access in the future, Bajazet had the forts
 of Rhion and Antirrhion built at the point where the two shores were closest
 together, which are known as to cover the "Little Dardanelles."
 The loss of Lepanto compelled the republic to make peace proposals. However, the
 sultan imposed such exorbitant conditions that the war resumed with renewed vigor on
 63875 both sides. Bajazet personally presented himself as head of the land army; and
 already in the following year (1500), a second Venetian fortress, the formidable
 Methone, fell to the Turks after a stubborn defense, who slaughtered almost half the
 population. Corone and Navarino surrendered at the first requisition. Since the loss
 of Euboea, no such heavy loss had befallen the Venetian authorities in the East.
 63880 Methone, in particular, was greatly deplored, as this now-insignificant seaport,
 according to a Venetian archival document, was "the refuge par excellence for our
 galleys and other ships on their way to the Levant." Methone and Corone were Venice's
 oldest possessions in Greece; but the Doges and their councilors had the unfortunate
 habit of exploiting these two important assets to the fullest, simply to free up
 63885 funds for other ventures. And so it came about that, in the Lagoons, it was realized
 too late that if an overseas territory is valuable to the mother country, it must
 also be given considerable money. Regarding Methone specifically, Sultan Bajazet
 valued this acquisition so highly that he implemented a peculiarly practical measure:
 all the Peloponnesian cities were each required to surrender five families, who would
 63890 form the core of the new population. Stirred by this example, Venice soon after did

something similar: when, with the help of Spanish troops under the famous Gonsalvo de Cordova, it wrested Cephallonia from the Turks, it granted new settlements on that rather large island to the refugees from Methone and Corone.

It was fortunate for the Venetians that the sultan rested on his laurels, so that in 1502 they conquered the island of Santa Maura (Leucas) without much difficulty. The following year, peace was concluded, stipulating that Venice would retain possession of Cephallonia but return Santa Maura. The overall outcome of the war was disadvantageous for both the Greeks and the Italian Republic. This was also evident, among other things, from what happened to Megara. This ancient city was quite important at the time as a foraging point for the Turks; But precisely for that reason, it suffered so much from the Venetians that its population almost disappeared, only to be gradually revived by the influx of Albanians.

For more than thirty years, Greece was no longer a theater of war for the Venetians and the Sultan. Both sides had their hands full elsewhere: and so it was that the Doge even congratulated the famous Soliman the Magnificent on the sad fact for Christendom that the Turk had wrested the island of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John. In Greece, things were calm, and the population recovered somewhat from the formidable blows they had suffered; but the well-meaning exhortations of some popes, combined with the patriotic eloquence of Greek exiles like Lascaris, failed to rouse the European rulers to a new Crusade. Emperor Charles V was not the man to liberate Hellas as a tribute to the memory of those great men of antiquity, whose names Lascaris so eloquently invoked. This scholar and ardent patriot lies buried in Rome, as does that other great advocate of the Greek cause, Bessarion. What a pity that reborn Greece is not endowed with a Pantheon, where the remains of its noble exiles may finally rest in free, native soil!

In 1531, Methone was besieged again, this time by the Johannites, who contented themselves with plundering. Of far more significance was an invasion of the Greek coasts the following year, when Emperor Charles waged war against the sultan. Charles, who cared far more about harming the Turks than benefiting the Greeks, contented himself with sending a fleet under the renowned Genoese Andrea Doria to the Levant. A series of rapid victories justified the trust placed in him. Corone, for example, was taken with the cooperation of the population; but the emperor, realizing he could not sustain such a remote possession in the long run, offered it to the Johanniters. When they declined this difficult offer, and the sultan prepared to besiege Corone, Charles turned necessity into a virtue and decided to have the entire population of the city relocated. This came as a thunderbolt to those poor people (mostly Albanians), especially since the plague had broken out among them. Yet, it seems the vast majority embarked on imperial vessels.

They embarked, where many of them succumbed to the plague. When the survivors were brought ashore in Messina, they looked so miserable that the terrified citizenry did not rest until they were transferred to the hospital. The few who survived all this moved to Naples, where the emperor granted them an annuity, as well as some dispensations, such as the use of an Orthodox (Greek) church. Out of gratitude, they enlisted as imperial Stradiotes, in which capacity they displayed a heroism that would have served them well had they gone into battle against the hereditary enemies of their homeland.

Meanwhile, Doria continued to make the sultan tremble. For example, he forced the Turkish garrison of Patras to surrender and seized the two forts dominating the aforementioned "Little Dardanelles." Deceived by his pretenses and blinded by his victories, the Greek population revolted; and all the Turks they could find were slaughtered. Alas! this cost them dearly. It was not long before the Genoese naval hero departed, leaving his Greek allies pitifully in the lurch. They paid terribly for their momentary blindness: and they were fully justified in praying: "Lord, deliver us from our saviors!"

In 1537, Soliman declared war on Venice; and hostilities began with the siege of Corfu, one of the mainstays of Venice's power. Although the Turks lost their lives to that important fortress, they inflicted considerable damage on their enemies in the Levant. The Turkish fleet, led by the notorious pirate Haireddin, nicknamed Barbarossa, a man of Greek origin, visited one Greek-Venetian island after another, leaving burning villages, destruction, and misery in its wake. Even the Ionian Islands were not spared his chastisement, after which he skirted the Morea and unexpectedly appeared before Aegina. At that time, the ancient and renowned capital of that wealthy island was uninhabited, and the population, fearing the pirates, had built a new city on a nearly inaccessible rock, which is still full of ruins to this

day. For Haireddin, this new city also proved to be accessible. Everything became his prey; the adult males were murdered without exception; and the women and children were mercilessly carried off as slaves. There were more than six thousand of them! So steadfastly and meticulously did the victors proceed that a French nobleman, who visited the unfortunate island with a French squadron not long afterward, found literally no one there. As for Morea, the Turks had laid siege to Nauplia (Napoli di Romania). This important port city defended itself heroically. The besiegers had planted their artillery on a nearby hill, where today a prison seems to cast a piteous glance at the city below. But despite the multitude of bullets that threatened the garrison and civilians, there was not a moment's thought of surrender; and finally, the siege was lifted. Until then, Venice had stood alone, and the sultan had found an ally (at least nominally) in Francis I, who had signaled a pro-Turkish policy, which later had an undeniable influence on the much-discussed Eastern Question. Now, however, Pope Paul III succeeded in forging an alliance between the emperor, Venice, and himself. Corfu became the gathering place for the Triple Alliance fleet; from there, they sailed to the Gulf of Arta (Ambracia), where sixteen centuries earlier the Battle of Actium had decided the fate of the Roman Empire, and where the red-bearded buccaneer was now prepared for a naval battle. Unfortunately, command of the allied fleet had been entrusted to Doria, who, however capable and brave, was jealous of Venice as Genoa's sworn enemy, and from whom no great effort could therefore be expected. No wonder, then, that Haireddin won an easy victory, and that the unworthy alliance collapsed.

Thus, Venice was once again forced to fend for itself. More or less at the Sultan's mercy, it concluded a peace treaty with him in 1540, surrendering Nauplia and Monembasia (Malvasia), its last possessions in the Morea. What a humiliation for the proud Lion of St. Mark, now that he had to withdraw completely from the Greek mainland, where he had been ensconced for almost three and a half centuries! Aside from the Ionian Islands and half-Greek Cyprus, nothing remained of all his Greek possessions except Crete and two insignificant Cyclades (Tenos and Myconos). The loyal population of Nauplia and Monembasia was transferred to Corfu, where they formed a significant part of the citizenry, and where the name of the town of Stradioti still keeps alive the memory of that great migration.

The disappearance of the Venetian flag from mainland Greece deprived the inhabitants (or at least the vast majority) of their last refuge. Most of their leaders, following the example of Michael Ralles, had found a safe haven in Venetian territory (Crete, Corfu, etc.). While there is no shortage of examples of Greeks who placed Turkish rule above Venetian rule, it is nevertheless a given that the Greeks of that time were wont to do as Westerners promised them liberation from the Turkish yoke. Before 1540, the Venetian settlements in the Peloponnese certainly had the advantage of making those regions accessible to Western civilization; But on the other hand, the sorely tried country had at least enjoyed relief since 1540, after the unrest and disasters of the clashes between the Cross and the Crescent. Among the Turks, dull monotony reigned, but at least tranquility; and that tranquility served to hold together, if not strengthen, the disparate elements of Hellenism.

During the first thirty years after the disappearance of the Venetian banner from Morea, the Greek mainland was quiet, although some continued to eloquently advocate on its behalf. The fall of the Duchy of Naxos in 1566 and the expulsion of the Genoese from Chios by the Turks that same year further diminished Italian influence in the Levant; but it was not until Selim II attacked the Venetian island of Cyprus in 1570 that the Greeks once again witnessed a momentous struggle. The first military operations were directed against the coast opposite Corfu and against a fort the Turks had recently built to control a natural harbor near Cape Matapan. The Turkish galleys under the protection of this fort could probably bombard the ships sent by Venice to defend Cyprus. Thanks to the help of the Mayots, always ready to vent their wrath on the Turks, the Venetians succeeded in capturing the fort in question. Unable to hold it, they destroyed it and then sailed to the island of Andros, whose Greek population, however, suffered even more than the Turkish garrison from the excesses of the Venetian visitors.

Meanwhile, the powerful republic had done its utmost to forge an alliance against the Sultan. Consequently, in the spring of 1571, an alliance was concluded between Pope Pius V, the Spanish King Philip II, and the Republic, aimed at the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. This was now the thirteenth time that a "Holy Alliance" with the same goal had been announced to the world. Now, however, it seemed that it would finally achieve its goal. A colossal fleet was assembled, commanded by Don John of Austria, a bastard son of Charles V. However, almost five weeks before that Armada left the Sicilian coast, Cyprus had already fallen; and, while the allies were not yet fully

in agreement on their plans, the Turkish fleet had already ravaged the coast of Crete and carried off more than six thousand people from Cephallonia.

It was not until the morning of October 7 that a naval battle broke out. The Turkish fleet commander awaited the enemy off Lepanto, while the Christian fleet lay at anchor outside the Corinthian Gulf near the Echinades (a group of islands near the northern coast). Ali, the Turkish admiral, against the advice of wise men, left his favorable mooring and sought out the enemy, who did the same. They met a good distance west of Lepanto. It was a striking spectacle. A brilliant sun reflected off the colorful Turkish ships, off the steel armor of the Christian warriors, and off the calm waves, where almost two thousand years earlier a bloody naval battle had taken place between Corinthians and Corcyraeans. The Christian warriors numbered approximately 30,000, the Turks some five thousand fewer. Several Venetian galleys were commanded by Greeks, including two Cretans. But the foremost among the Greek naval heroes, indeed the jewel of the entire Christian fleet, was Kondokallis, a scion of Corfu.

Parata, a Venetian historian of the time, unequivocally awards the palm of honor to all the Greeks who participated in this unforgettable naval battle, specifically in three respects: daring, skill, and discipline. So, precisely the three essentials. To sugarcoat the pill a little for his Italian readers, he adds that the Greeks are more accustomed to naval warfare than the Italians and Spanish.

The Turkish defeat was crushing. Well over two hundred ships were captured or destroyed, and nearly thirty thousand men were killed, compared to fifteen ships and eight thousand Christian deaths, among whom, however, were numerous prominent Venetians. Among the Turkish dead, I mention only the commander-in-chief. Among the wounded was the world-famous author of "Don Quixote," who, like Aeschylus at Marathon, had his hand severed, also for Greece against the Barbarians.

The first impression of this tremendous defeat was so crushing that Sultan Selim did not eat any food for three days. And no wonder. The Turkish fleet (one of the largest in the world) was destroyed; the Greeks became rebellious; and a coolly calculating French diplomat expressed his conviction that the allies could have conquered Constantinople with little difficulty. But the disunity of those allies and the spirit of Sokolli, the Grand Vizier, were the salvation of the venerable Turkish empire. Eight months after the "Battle of Lepanto," a new fleet sailed out of the Dardanelles, numbering 250 ships, fifteen of the largest of which were a gift from a wealthy Greek merchant, a citizen of Constantinople, known to his tribesmen as "Son of Satan." And Sokolli rightly said that Venice had shaved off the sultan's beard, but that he (the Vizier) had severed an arm of the republic (referring to Cyprus). The Battle of Lepanto threw the world into turmoil; but as far as the Greeks were concerned, it would have been better if that bloody victory had never been won. With enthusiasm, those unfortunates had awaited the arrival of the Armada, which would free them from the hated yoke; The intoxication of their magnificent victory prompted

them to take up arms, urging the victors to support the rebellion on the Morea with their fleet, which had proven irresistible. But, as usual, everything was now also ruined by a lack of unity among the allies. They soon held a major council of war aboard the admiral's ship; but Don John proved to be little more than a trooper in the face of the prevailing discord. One advocated a grand naval display along the Peloponnese coasts, another an attack on Euboea, a third a similar attack on Santa Maura (the only of the Ionian Islands that belonged to the Turks), while a fourth advocated an attack on the forts of the "little Dardanelles." Ultimately, they did nothing, because "winter was approaching," and they retreated to Corfu, from where the Spanish and papal ships sailed further west. Meanwhile, many Peloponnesians had crossed the Gulf of Corinth and, in the port town of Galaxidi (south of Delphi), joined a large contingent from Salona (ancient Amphissa). In the church of Galaxidi, these patriots swore an immediate, mortal war against the Turks. But among those who took part in this most solemn oath was a traitor who secretly crossed the Gulf and revealed the plot to the sultan's henchmen. Seething with anger, the sultan then took

revenge on the poor Archbishop of Patras, who was burned alive. Unaware of this, the rebels, three thousand strong, marched north of the Gulf of Corinth toward Salona, then a relatively important city. Instead of the expected "Frankish" aid, they found access to that fortress blocked by Turkish troops. The wily Bey, who resided in Salona, had them kindly invited to come and openly plead their grievances before him. They fell into a trap. Eighty of them were sent to the Bey, who received them with honors and listened to them with great sympathy. But hardly had night fallen when he had all the delegates thrown into the castledungeon, where they were soon executed, with the exception of a priest, who owed his survival to the strength of his fists.

64090 The rebels who had remained outside now crossed the inlet again; and with many reinforcements, they found refuge in the Maina, where not long afterward the two Melissenos brothers from Epidaurus gathered an army of 28,000 men under their banners, and with them bedeviled the Turks in that almost inaccessible region for two whole years. Don John, who led an idle life in Messina, was reluctant to resume his command, as Spain became increasingly at odds with France. Therefore, he wrote a

64095 letter to one of the two heroic brothers, urging him to keep the revolt going until the liberators' fleet arrived. He did not rush: it was not until August 1572 that he resumed command of the allied ships. Off Messenia, they encountered the Turkish fleet; but no engagement took place. Attempts to capture Methone and Navarino were unsuccessful to seize; and when the season was already too far advanced, they

64100 retreated westward. The broken rebels held out for a short time in the recesses of the Maina; but finally they abandoned their desperate resistance and were accepted with favor after the Melissenos brothers fled. In the city of Naples, both found an excellent welcome and, after their death, a tomb.

64105 Before the summer of 1573, peace was restored between Venice and the Sultan. The republic resigned itself to the loss of the beautiful island of Cyprus; and for its immense sacrifices of blood and money, the meager laurels of Lepanto were its only compensation. As for the Turks, it soon became clear that they knew how to capitalize on the lessons of experience. They built a strong fortress that guarded the entrance to the Bay of Navarino and also fortified the Peloponnesian coast at many other

64110 points. In another way, the disappointed Greeks demonstrated that they had become wiser. A letter from the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople, which has come down to us, reveals that the sultan distrusted the Grand Duke of Muscovy as a designated protector of his Greek Orthodox co-religionists. This letter is dated 1576; and it also reveals that the Greek subjects showed a willingness to place themselves under

64115 Muscovite protection in order to escape the Turkish yoke. The shadow of the Russian bear became increasingly visible, while that of the Venetian lion faded.

February 13, 1855 DESCRIPTION OF CRIMEA.
(Taken from the work "De Oorlog," which is continually published by H. NIJGH, Rotterdam). The Crimean Peninsula, which stretches so gracefully and elegantly into the Black Sea on the map, is divided by nature into two completely different parts: the beautiful southern coast, which can be called a true paradise, and the lonely steppes of the north. Crimea is connected to the mainland only by the narrow Isthmus of Perekop; this strip of land also forms the boundary between the Sea of Azov and

64120 the Black Sea. The entire circumference of the peninsula is 140 German miles long and its area is 360 square German miles, making the area of Crimea slightly larger than half the area of our homeland.

64130 To the east, the Kerch Peninsula, which borders the Sea of Azov to the south, extends to the Taman Peninsula, which belongs to Caucasia, from which it is separated by the Kerch Strait or Kaffa Strait. Behind that eastern point, near Kaffa, rises steeply from the sea the Tauric or Jaila Mountains, a continuation of the Caucasus. This mountain range extends along the entire southern coast of Crimea and spreads northward in several parallel arms, covered with forests that gradually disappear

64135 into the flat, uniform steppes that make up most of Crimea. But this southern mountain range, crowned by the Shadir-Dagh, which rises 4,740 German or 5,812 English feet high, is, especially on the seaward side, one of the most beautiful and charming places in the world. The valleys, which partly wind their way to the heights like narrow rocky paths, partly widen into mountain gorges or form meandering valleys, are crisscrossed by small rivers and streams, everywhere cascading and foaming down, and adorn themselves with all the splendor of tropical vegetation, under the influence of the softest and most pleasant atmosphere, as the high mountains prevent the harsh north winds from penetrating further. Picturesquely nestled in the depths or clinging to the rocks, the Tartar villages here reveal a

64140 Greek monastery, while there a mosque with its tall, spindly tower is visible. Steep rock faces alternate with gentle slopes, where lush green pastures are covered with numerous cattle; Charming Swiss houses form a striking contrast to the ruins of castles and towns from centuries gone by, while the eye rests with pleasure on the magnificent estates and castles of Russian nobles, wreathed by olive trees, fruit trees, and vineyards. Corn and tobacco sprout in abundance from the fertile fields; grapes grow luxuriantly on the rocks, brought here from Burgundy and Champagne, or from the banks of the Rhine, or from Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Madeira, and their vines gracefully twine around the tall trees. In the gardens, the gaze is treated to an abundance of fruits: melons and figs, almonds and oranges; while flowers from all

64150

- 64155 quarters display their colors and fragrances, and myrtle and cypress trees arch their dark foliage over them. Opposite this so richly blessed place, which in Russian bears the name of Juschnoi-bereg and which is teeming with towns, villages and pleasure gardens.
- 64160 The northern part of Crimea stands out bleakly. Here one finds a continuation of the Nogai steppe, which covers the entire southern Russia from Astrakhan to Odessa. There is little water and almost no trees; only in exceptional cases is the land cultivable, and then only where the steppe is covered with dense grass; but usually, the soil is only sand or sparse grass; the numerous salt marshes found there prove that the sea once washed over these plains; in winter it is bitterly cold and in
- 64165 summer scorching hot.
- Crimea has a population of approximately 300,000. More than two-thirds of this population consists of Tartars, the remainder of Russians, Greeks, and many German colonists. Although the climate is generally quite healthy, fevers are frequent; foreigners are especially susceptible to them. The Tartars, on the other hand, know nothing of it, but they suffer from dropsy, gout, and smallpox, as they have not yet learned to vaccinate their children.
- 64170 The capitals of Crimea are Sevastopol, Simferopol, and Bacchus.
- 64175 Sevastopol, which has now acquired European fame through the siege, lies on the southwestern tip of the peninsula. This seaport was founded in 1786, during the reign of Catherine II, on the site previously occupied by the Tartar village of Akthiar, and in the last twenty years has become one of the strongest fortresses in the world; it soon became the major base and staging area of the Russian navy in the Black Sea. A promontory points out the harbor to sailors from afar. Once one has rounded the
- 64180 reef-fringed promontory and reached the narrow channel at the entrance to the Bay of Sevastopol, one finds oneself an hour's distance from the city, recognizable from afar by a few white limestone cliffs and situated on the right or southern shore of the bay, which extends two hours inland, west to southeast.
- 64185 In the crooks of the partly rocky mountain range that surrounds this bay, itself an excellent anchorage, on all sides, lie five inlets, each forming a natural harbor basin; these include: the quarantine harbor, the artillery or arsenal harbor, the small war port or naval arsenal harbor, and the shipyard or calf dock. These natural harbor basins are deep enough for the largest ships, and the steeply sloping rock
- 64190 walls that surround them facilitate mooring. The bay is exceptionally well protected by the heights that enclose it; other, even higher mountains rise further up; the slope near the large naval port is so steep that at a certain distance one can no longer see even the masts of the largest warships.
- 64195 The city, which rises amphitheater-like, was poorly fortified on the landward side before 1852 and dominated by the surrounding heights; but since then, with astonishing effort, these heights have been partially leveled, and the city has been surrounded by a rampart or rampart, fitted with casemates. These casemates are bombproof vaults, built of stone, in which the artillery is housed; earthworks, lunettes, and several batteries have also been erected on the landward side.
- 64200 Sevastopol, however, is especially strongly defended on the seaward side. All the protruding points on both banks of the bay are covered with stone forts or fortified batteries. There are twelve of them in all, six of which are located on the southern and six on the northern bank, almost opposite each other. The artillery of these fortifications, consisting of approximately 1,350 guns, covers the entire bay, from
- 64205 the buoys out to sea, and can be positioned in such a way that a fleet attempting to approach the roadstead by force would have to cover a distance of approximately 3,000 feet under a threefold, extremely intense crossfire.
- In addition, there are a number of batteries scattered here and there. On the heights to the north lies a strong star redoubt, called the Noorderfort (Northern Fort),
- 64210 which commands the beach on that side. On the south side, an important fortification, the rond fort, protects the city. A mile and a half from Sevastopol lies a fortified camp. Finally, on the opposite side of the maritime establishments and the artillery park, four more fortified barracks are found. As one approaches the entrance to the bay or channel, which extends about four cable-lengths wide between the reefs of the
- 64215 northern and southern shores, the fortifications of Sevastopol present a truly formidable sight. Starting from Cape Constantine on the northern shore, one first encounters a battery armed with 17 guns and barbettes, called the Telegraph Battery; nearby, at the end of the headland lies Fort Constantine, armed with 104 guns; next comes Fort Katharina, armed with 120 guns, then a smaller battery with 30, and
- 64220 further inland, a battery with 34 guns. Behind this second battery rises the Noorder-

fort, armed with 50 guns. The Russian fleet anchors between this second battery and Forts Nikolaas and Paul, located just below the city, of which the former has 192 guns, the latter 80. Now returning seaward along the southern bank, one first comes to a battery on the left edge of the city, with 50 guns, then Fort Alexander, armed with 64 guns, which, unlike Fort Constantine, located opposite, guards the entrance to the bay, and finally, the Quarantaine fort or battery, situated closer to the sea, with 51 guns. All these forts and batteries are equipped with casemates. However, the fortifications are not, like those of Kroonstad, built of granite, but of sandstone. It is calculated that the costs for the construction of these fortifications and those spent on the repair of the military buildings, the water supply, and the harbor works totaled two hundred and fifty million guilders.

The city itself, as we mentioned, is situated on a slope: the lowest part is 20, the highest built-up point 150 feet above the sea level. The entire length of the city is 1,200, the width 400 paces. Before the outbreak of the last war, the population amounted to approximately 40,000 souls, of which the numerous garrison of the navy and land forces and the various personnel constituted three-quarters. In the city's innermost part, one finds the magnificent Greek church, the lavishly furnished library, and the market; In the lower section: the large admiralty building, the arsenal, and other maritime establishments; opposite these buildings, on the other or right bank of the small or southern naval port—whose entrance is protected by Forts Nikolaas and Paul and by a submarine chain—the docks, the naval hospital, the extensive warehouses, and the troop barracks form a kind of suburb.

The vast docks, located behind Fort Paul, were constructed according to the plans and under the supervision of the English engineer John Hupton; the basin is supplied with water by a water conduit, ten versts long, connected to the Chernaya Rechka stream, or Black Stream, which itself flows into the Bay of Sevastopol. In addition, there is a reservoir into which seawater can be pumped by means of a steam engine. Sevastopol is built evenly on the uneven, bare, white, chalky soil; but the city is difficult to navigate and, apart from the main street and the magnificent steps along the quay, features only insignificant squares and alleys, and, apart from the rural buildings, only insignificant houses. The quays, however, are magnificent and lined with pillars and granite parapets. Although situated very close to the most beautiful part of Crimea, Sevastopol does not enjoy the favorable climate prevailing there. The mountain range, which blocks the north winds, begins to descend towards the west and, around Sevastopol, presents only barren and stony heights, which do not rise high enough to completely protect the city. However, the cold is less severe there than in the central Crimea, and the harbor remains open in winter. In summer, the sun beats down on the white stones, while the wind stirs up clouds of sand and dust. Overall, Sevastopol does not make for a pleasant place to stay.

The neighboring quarries of Inkerman, formerly a Genoese fortress but now a small town, provided the materials for the extensive works undertaken in Sevastopol. The old town of Inkerman was situated at the end of the large bay or nave of Sevastopol, near the mouth of the Chernaya River; the new town, recently destroyed by the Allies, contained two churches, a beautiful, wide main street, and a fine quay; also warehouses, barracks, and a few shops. It was built by the Russians around 1790, and the excellent harbor where it was situated—this harbor, here called Inkerman Bay, with a depth of between 21 and 70 feet and where the largest ships could anchor within a cable's length of the beach—promised a brilliant future for it. However, Inkerman never rose to the important position it could have achieved: merchant ships were, by a strange provision of the protective system, kept out of the port unless they were in distress, and as a result of this foolish law the commercial spirit among the inhabitants was completely extinguished, and Inkerman, which would otherwise have become a flourishing commercial town, declined into a small, insignificant town.

The environs of Inkerman enchant travelers. It is indeed a city of caves, for in the white cliffs that overhang the Bay of Aktiar or Sevastopol, a multitude of strange grottoes are found, partly naturally formed, partly carved into the hard rock, revealing chambers with Gothic window arches, chapels with altars, monastic cells, and burial vaults. These caverns are believed by some to be the refuge of Christians during their persecution; but they, like the ruins of the old city, among which various remains of Greek architecture can still be found, were not spared by the Russian soldiers.

The second city of Crimea, Simferopol or Akmeshed, lies further inland, at the northern end of the mountainous region, not far from the source of the Salghyr River, and has 3,000 inhabitants. The foundation of this city is of more recent date, and it therefore boasts straight, wide streets and many attractive houses, their facades

adorned with columns.
(Continued below.)

- 64290 February 14, 1855 DESCRIPTION OF CRIMEA.
(Taken from the work "De Oorlog" (The War), which is continually published by H. NIJGH, in Rotterdam.)
(Continued from No. 44.)
- 64295 But infinitely more important for the lover of antiquities and history is Bakchisarai, the capital of the former Tartar Khans, situated between Simferopol and Sevastopol. Bakchisarai is a garden in Tartar, and Bakchisarai means: the Serail or the palace of the gardens. This city is one of the most peculiar that one can see; It lies in a narrow valley and, from a distance, with its numerous minarets, incredibly tall chimneys, and no less tall poplars, resembles a forest of nothing but turrets.
- 64300 The houses, trees, and gardens still cover a small portion of the surrounding rocks, the uppermost of which presents a steep, bare, light-gray limestone cliff. Here, for several centuries, was the headquarters of that important state, the last remnant of the Mongol Empire in Europe, that state which, from the Crimea, extended its authority over the lands through which the Dnieper and Dniester rivers meander. Here,
- 64305 where the mountains border the steppes, was the abode of those mighty khans, before whom Russia's czars trembled even in the 17th century, whose friendship the Poles, Russians, and Turks alike flattered, until Catherine, the brave and cunning, finally conquered and drove them out. Even today, the Tartars, who have remained faithful to their mountains since the destruction of their empire, cherish a great fondness for
- 64310 the old capital, which still displays a shadow of its former grandeur. The Khan's palace is still standing, and the population, except for the few Russian officials, consists entirely of Tartars. No one belonging to another nation is even allowed to live in the city; among the 14,000 inhabitants, only 2,450 are Russians. Bakchisarai can therefore rightly be considered a remnant of the old Tartar empire. The city is
- 64315 lively; its numerous inhabitants love music and song; sybals and timpani resound through the exceptionally long main street, which runs between the rocks and is divided into two almost equal parts by the old Khan's palace. This single main street is more than two versts long, yet extremely narrow; It is where the trade and commerce are concentrated, not only of the city itself, but also of the entire
- 64320 western Tauride region. The shops are filled with all the products of Tartar and Turkish art, and here and there one sees the workshops where all these things are made. The small, tightly packed houses have almost no windows, yet the entire facade, consisting entirely of wooden shutters, can be opened. These shutters are partly removed, partly lowered like tables projecting over the street, and one sees the open
- 64325 houses, as if in cross-section. The residents perform their various tasks before the eyes of the public: here a baker is busy preparing his bread; there the bussa, that beloved Turkish drink, is being produced; further on sits a tailor with his companions; There again, the vapors and aromas of a soup kitchen spread, where one can enjoy one's midday meal as one passes by; or one delights for a moment in the
- 64330 contemplation of the fantastic spectacle presented by yonder forge, where a Gypsy or pagan family works valiantly, illuminated by the bright reflection of the flames kindled by the mother with the bellows and splashed by the playful sparks that leap from under the father's hammer. In the shops, merchandise is displayed for the eye, and one is most drawn by the ornate saddles and harnesses, and the beautifully woven whips, with their handles of silver wire and red morocco; in the tobacco shop finely chopped herbs are piled high in the streets, and beautiful pipe stems hang for sale; the fruit shops boast the treasures of the neighboring valleys, while finally, the covered galleries of the coffee houses, which stretch along the street, are bustling all day long. The street itself is teeming with Russians and Tartars, while the
- 64340 slender, elegantly formed mountain dwellers are quickly distinguished from their brown, plump brethren from the plains. Here, the white turban of a Hadshis is visible, for even from these far northern regions, a pious pilgrim sometimes makes the pilgrimage to the holy Mecca. There, again, a Tartar woman, wrapped in her white veil, timidly pushes through the crowd; while her Russian sisters are recognizable by
- 64345 their flashy red, green, blue, or yellow cloths and dresses. Beautiful, proud Greek women in their black robes adorned with gold. Talmudic and Karaite Jews also frequently visit the city. Camels laden with goods trot majestically through all these people in their various costumes, and riders constantly passby, or you have to give way to the clumsy carts, drawn by buffalo and equipped with oversized, creaking
- 64350 wheels.
The palace, spared by Empress Catherine II, is well-maintained; however, enclosed by high walls, through which only a single large gate can be seen, the exterior is not

very appealing. However, the interior is different. Once through that gate, you find yourself in a square shaped like a parallelogram, and you behold the mosque belonging to the palace, the largest in the entire city. Some tombstones of the ancient Tartar princes lie further on, and on the other side, one sees the main building of the palace itself, which contains several magnificent halls and before which a terrace has been created, decorated with vineyards, flowers, and fountains. There are also several kiosks, as well as the walled lawn where the khans' wives once entertained themselves.

The other cities in Crimea are: in the eastern part, Karasubazar, with 3,700 inhabitants; on the southwestern coast, north of Sevastopol, the small seaport of Koslov, or Eupatoria, with 4,000 inhabitants, mostly Tartars and Jews; south of Sevastopol, Balaklava, with an excellent harbor enclosed by high mountains; on the southeastern coast, Kaffa, near the bay of the same name; further on, Kertsch, on the Kertsch Strait, or Yenikale Strait. Near this fortified seaport, one can still see the extensive ruins of Panticapaea, the former residence of Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus and Bosphorus. Yenikale itself, situated at the entrance of the strait to the Sea of Azof, is a small fortress with 600 inhabitants. Finally, the fortress of Perekop, on the isthmus of the same name, has a population of between 3,000 and 4,000 souls. Near this place, one finds a wide, deep moat, defended by a strong wall, which has bisected the isthmus since time immemorial.

History of Crimea.

To properly assess the importance of Crimea, this peninsula, which, due to its location in the Black Sea, simultaneously dominates the coasts of Asia, the mouths of the Danube, and the entrance to the Bosphorus, it is necessary to consider the significant events that have occurred there over time.

In the middle of the seventh century B.C.E., the Milesians from Asia Minor first visited the northern coasts of the Pontus Euxine and established colonies on the present-day Kerch Peninsula, which they took complete possession of. The flourishing agriculture, which the colonists soon enjoyed, became known in Greece and prompted many Greeks to migrate to Tauria, where the ports of Theodosia, Nymphaea, Panticapaea, and Mermiciona soon arose. Encouraged by the favorable results obtained by the Milesians, the inhabitants of Heraclea in Thrace also conceived the plan to establish several colonies in Tauria. They focused on the western part and set foot on land near Cape Pharthenica. They drove the uncivilized Taurians back into the mountains and settled on the headland of Trachaea, now known as the ancient Chersonesus. Thus were laid the first foundations of the famous republic of Cherson, which flourished for more than fifteen centuries.

While the Heracleans consolidated their authority and saw their industry and trade grow, the Milesian colonies developed with astonishing rapidity. Cities were also founded on the Asian coast, where they expanded: Phanagoria, Hermonassa, and Cepas arose. All these various Milesian colonies were initially independent of one another; but at last they followed the flow of events, and, 480 years before Christ, from its political union arose the Empire of the Bosphorus.

The great wealth of the Milesians had found a principal source in agriculture, and the new government devoted its attention to this fertile branch of national existence. King Leucon exempted the Athenians from the tax that burdened the export of grain. As a result of this generous measure, exports rose to an unprecedented level, and Crimea became the storehouse of Greece. Theodosia and Panticapaea rose to become very prominent trading cities, where numerous foreign merchants came to supply themselves with woolen cloth, furs, and all the salted goods that still constitute one of the principal resources of southern Russia.

Certainly, the inhabitants of Crimea received in exchange for these products all the precious manufactured goods that luxury had brought into use in Athens, and probably all the beautiful works of art that can still be admired today in the museum at Kerch were created by Greek artists. The materials with which the Taurian colonists built their cities and palaces were also likely imported from Greece. Yet, no trace of white marble can be found in either the Crimea or the northern shores of the Black Sea; and yet, during excavations at Kerch, a multitude of pieces of this marble were found; it is even quite possible that the large sculptures used for public and private carving were sent fully finished from Greek workshops to Panticapaea.

For more than three centuries, the Bosphorus Empire enjoyed a desirable tranquility, despite the dangerous proximity of the Sarmatians, a Scythian tribe settled east of the Don. Through a bold and enlightened policy, the empire gained in prosperity and wealth, until the Roman conquest of Greece disrupted all trade relations in the East. Around this time, the Bosphorus were attacked by the Scythians, and feeling powerless

- to resist, they threw themselves into the arms of Mithridates the Great, who
64420 incorporated their state as a province into the empire of Pontus and bestowed it upon
his son Makhares.
- When Rome had defeated and lost its implacable enemy by death, it bestowed the crown
of the Bosphorus empire on Pharnaces, who had betrayed his father; but the rule of
this son of Mithridates existed only in name, and his successors, powerless as they
64425 were and devoid of all that the Milesians had previously possessed on the Asian
coast, were entirely at the whim of the Roman emperors.
(Continued below.)
- February 17, 1855 DESCRIPTION OF CRIMEA.
64430 (Taken from the work "De Oorlog," which is continually published by H. NIJGH, in
Rotterdam.)
(Continued from No. 45.)
- Around the middle of the first century AD, the Alans invaded Tauria; they devastated
most of the country and destroyed the city of Theodosia, which had attempted to
64435 resist them. They were followed by the Goths, who in turn ruled the peninsula; but
they, far from abusing their superior power, allied themselves closely with the
conquered, established numerous colonies in the northern plains, and cultivated the
fields. A new era of peace and prosperity now began for Tauric Chersonesus.
Unfortunately, however, Greece, under Roman rule, was in great decline at the time;
64440 while Egypt, Sicily, and Africa alone supplied the Roman world with grain. Despite
all efforts, Tauria could not rise above the humble position it had been placed in by
the momentous events of the first century CE.
- Amidst those first barbarian invasions, the small republic of Cherson, remote and
difficult to reach as it was, had maintained its independence. During the time of
64445 Emperor Diocletian, the Chersonites, whose territory extended across almost the
entire mountainous region, had attracted all the trade still flowing between Tauria
and some parts of the lands bordering the Black Sea. Their republics constituted the
most powerful state on the peninsula when war broke out between them and the
Sarmatians. These Sarmatians had already seized the Bosphorus kingdom and given it a
64450 king from among themselves. The struggle between these two nations lasted for almost
a century; The Sarmatians were finally driven out, and the Bosphorus, freed from the
foreign yoke, once again enjoyed the sweet fruits of peace and freedom for several
years.
- This peace, however, was short-lived and would soon be replaced by the most terrible
64455 plague yet to ravage the peninsula. The ferocious Huns, emerging from the distant
steppes of Asia, echoed their war cry on the shores of the Sea of Azof, and soon the
terrified inhabitants saw the Crimeans, crossing the sea, their wild hordes flooded
the peninsula, and the ancient empire of the Milesians was destroyed forever (375).
The numerous colonies of the united Alans and Goths suffered the same fate, and all
64460 the prosperous places that flourished through agriculture were reduced to ashes. The
Chersonites, always protected by their western location, were the only ones who
escaped destruction, thanks to the tremendous speed with which the Hunnic stream
rushed towards western Europe.
- Taurias was still groaning under the terrible disasters that the arrival of the Huns
had brought upon it, when, after the death of Attila, their returning, scattered
hordes once again brought devastation and misery. Now the Chersonites were also
threatened, and the fear of the barbarians caused them to call upon the Eastern Roman
Empire for help. Emperor Justinian, then reigning in Constantinople, immediately
64470 granted their request; but this favor cost them dearly: under the pretext that their
defense required it, the emperor had two forts erected on the southern coast, and
soon the republic became tributary to the empire.
- At the end of the 7th century (679), Tauria was invaded by the Khazars. These hordes,
who had followed the Huns and settled in Lithuania, where Attila himself had founded
64475 an independent empire for them, as rulers of a vast territory, caused Constantinople
to tremble at their approach. The Eastern emperors sought to win their friendship,
and the Byzantine court even asked the daughter of the Kalgan, or the chief, in
marriage to the son of Emperor Leo. The imperial court's fears proved well-founded,
for less than a century and a half had passed before the Khazars, who had given their
64480 name to the Crimea, established an empire whose borders extended across Europe to the
Danube and across Asia to the foot of the Caucasus.
But the Khazars, in turn, succumbed to a nomadic tribe descending from the banks of
the Volga. The victorious Peschenegs established rule over the entire region, with
the exception of the southern territory of Cherson, which was united with the Eastern

64485 Empire.
Under the rule of the Peschenegs, trade and industry began to flourish again on the peninsula; Trade with Constantinople became increasingly lively, and Byzantine traders came to the ports of Tauria to stock up on purple and fine fabrics, embroidered sheets, ermine, tiger skins, and all kinds of furs, pepper, and other
64490 spices, which the Petschenegs were buying in the eastern part of Russia and as far as the banks of the Cyrus and Araxes rivers in Armenia.

For a century and a half, Crimea, then still called Khazaria, flourished under the rule of the Petschenegs; then they were driven out, just as they had once driven out the Khazars. The development of the Mongol Empire had driven the Komani from their
64495 land; they attacked the Petschenegs and threw them back into Asia. The Komani elevated Solda, located on the southern coast of Crimea, to their capital; But scarcely had they established their authority when they had to yield to other conquerors and seek refuge in regions further west.

64500 With the expulsion of the Komani, all those fleeting incursions ceased, which for more than ten centuries had drenched the soil of Tauria with blood. After all these diverse hordes, most of whom left their names only in history, came two peoples, both equally worthy of attention: one, conqueror of Asia, had founded the most colossal empire of the Middle Ages; the other, born in a trading city of Italy, would elevate
64505 Khazaria to the center of trade between Europe and Asia.

In 1226, that memorable invasion of the Mongolian Tartars took place, ushering in that unfortunate era of slavery and oppression for the Tsarist empire, which has left such disastrous marks on the national character of the Muscovites. Russia, Poland, and Hungary were successively plowed through by the bands of the famous grandson of
64510 Tschinkis Khan, and Khazaria, which they added to their countless conquests, soon became, under the name of Little Tartary, the cradle of a powerful state that maintained its independence until the end of the 18th century. Under Mongol rule, Tauria was initially oppressed, but later it experienced a revival and soon emerged from its decline. Soldaia, returned to the Christians, soon began to flourish and
64515 proved that the sources of wool trade were far from dry, and that, now as before, only peace and tranquility were needed to develop the elements of wealth with which nature had endowed this region so richly.

had wisely endowed. In a few years, Solda rose to become the most important port on the Black Sea, becoming one of the great centers of trade between Europe and Asia. However, this city's great prosperity would not last long; another people, more
64520 zealous than the Greeks and gifted with a bolder commercial spirit, would soon give new life to the peninsula. The Genoese already owned important factories in Constantinople and had long appreciated the favorable situation of the Black Sea, calculating all the advantages that a centralization of trade relations between
64525 Europe and Russia, Persia and India, by means of that waterway, would yield. Fearing that Venice might preempt them, they managed, partly through cunning and partly through force, to seize possession of the territory where ancient Theodosia once stood. There, around 1280, they founded the famous city of Kaffa, which guaranteed the Genoese Republic dominion over the Black Sea and the trade therein. The Genoese
64530 raised Tauria to unprecedented heights: the city of Kaffa, through its size, its population, and its wealth, became a rival to Constantinople. And when their consuls also managed to gain control of Cerco, Soldaia, and Cembalo, they soon became masters of the entire southern coast of Crimea. Later, the Genoese also extended their
64535 conquests beyond the peninsula. Their galleys penetrated the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azof), they wrested Tana, situated at the mouth of the Don, from Tartar rule, founded a fortress at the mouth of the Dniester, erected numerous warehouses in Colchida or Mingrelia and on the Caucasian coasts, and forcibly established a major trading post in the imperial city of Trebizond.

64540 Thus, the Genoese colonies became the universal storehouse for the rich products of Russia, Asia Minor, Persia, and India; they held a monopoly on trade between Europe and Asia, and for more than two centuries enjoyed astonishing wealth, dazzling grandeur, and prosperity. But finally, the radiant sun of happiness, in whose rays they had basked for so long, also waned. In 1453, the moon standard fluttered from the pinnacle of Saint Sophia Church, and relations between Crimea and the
64545 Mediterranean were severed. The Genoese foundations fell into disrepair, and the republic, despairing of their preservation, transferred them to the Bank of St. George. This transfer, concluded on November 15, 1453, severed the bond between the colonies and the mother city; discouragement and a division of forces were the
64550 result. The consular government, formerly so renowned for its honesty and virtues,

soon, through treacherous actions, enraged the Tartars, instead of seeking to ally them and unitedly resist the Porte; indeed, it offered its aid in gold to all the parties that were then tearing Crimea apart. Such a situation could not last long. On June 6, 1473, Kaffa was forced to surrender to the Turks, whether at all, and a few months later, all the points occupied by the Genoese had fallen into the hands of the Ottomans. All trade relations with Russia and Asia ceased; the Venetians had vainly purchased from the Turks the right to navigate the Black Sea for an annual tribute of 10,000 ducats. They too were expelled. Passage through the Bosphorus was denied to all the western peoples, and only the Turks and the Greek inhabitants of the Archipelago, their subjects, were allowed to visit the Black or Azov Seas. Other routes were now opened for trade: Smyrna was now elevated to a trading post, while the discovery of Vasco de Gama soon brought about a complete revolution in that trade. (Continued below.)

February 18, 1855 DESCRIPTION OF CRIMEA.

(Taken from the work "De Oorlog" (The War), which is continually published by H. NIJGH, in Rotterdam.)

(Continued from No. 48.)

Under the rule of the first Khans, liable to tribute from the Porte, Crimea lost all the importance that agriculture and trade had previously conferred upon it. Constant wars, incessant uprisings, instigated by ambitious leaders, now favored, now condemned by the Porte, and, moreover, the still deeply ingrained habits of a nomadic life—all this hindered all new development for a number of years.

Finally, however, the wealth and fertility of the soil, which could so amply provide for the needs of its inhabitants, triumphed over the volatile character of the Tartars; valleys and hills were covered with villages; the internal tranquility allowed all branches of industry to flourish again. the grain rippled again on the lush fields, the livestock improved, fishing revived, the salt pits were reclaimed.

The forests once again yielded their tribute, and soon Lesser Tartary saw a multitude of ships returning to its ports. Trade with Central Asia was indeed lost forever, but the export of native products and those brought from Russia along the Don and across the Sea of Azof—these exports were more than sufficient to spread prosperity among the population. Kaffa also began to recover and, as in the Genoese era, became the center of the country's trade; the city's prosperity even increased to such an extent that the Turks gave it the name Koutchouk-Stamboul, meaning Lesser Constantinople.

The Khans' dominion at that time extended throughout Europe and Asia, from the banks of the Danube to the foot of the Caucasian Mountains, and even the indomitable mountaineers of Circassia frequently paid tribute to the rulers of Tauria. The Mohammedan population separated into two major groups: the descendants of the first conquerors, more specifically called Tartars, and the Nogais, or Nogayers, nomadic tribes who, after the conquest of Khazaria, came under the protection of the successors of the famous Batou Khan. The former, the Tartars, who had intermingled with the remnants of the ancient populations of Tauria, constituted the civilized portion of the nation; they occupied the mountainous regions, inhabited the towns and villages, and successfully applied themselves to industry and agriculture. The

Nogais, on the other hand, lived to a certain extent independently on the vast plains of southern Russia, where they were exclusively engaged in cattle breeding. They were divided at that time into five main hordes: that of Boujiak, who inhabited the plains of Bessarabia, from the mouths of the Danube to the Dniester; that of Jedisan, the most important, who could muster 80,000 horsemen and pitched their tents between the Dniester and the Dnieper; those of Djamboïlouk and Jedickhoul, whose descendants can still be found in the territory their ancestors occupied from the banks of the Dnieper to the western shores of the Sea of Azov; finally, the tribes of Kouban, who roamed the steppes between the Dnieper and the Don, today the domain of the Black Sea Cossacks. All these different tribes could, if necessary, mobilize more than 400,000 troops. Such was the political situation of Lesser Tartary when the Russians sought to subdue the coastal regions of the Azov and Black Seas. We must now examine how

Crimea became connected to the Russian Empire. Russia's first attempts to gain possession of Crimea date back to the mid-17th century; but it wasn't until 1689 that Crimea was attacked with armed force. Peter the Great suddenly appeared with a powerful army near Perekop, then called Orkapi, and penetrated the peninsula. It seemed as if he could take possession without a fight; but Khan Selim rallied his loyalists, met the enemy, and drove them back.

This defeat, which cost the Tsar a large part of his best troops, seemed to have instilled in him some respect for the Tartars, whom he had previously counted very little; it was, however, several years before he returned to harass them. In 1696, he

undertook a new campaign, and this time, though not without great effort, he succeeded in capturing the important cities of Azov and Taganrog. Now the idea also dawned on Peter the Great to gain control of the Black Sea, whatever the cost. He issued a ukaze, urging his people to offer monetary sacrifices to enable him to launch the holy and glorious attack he intended. Nobles, merchants, and priests all strove to bolster the treasury, and Peter felt able to assemble a formidable army. However, he would not command that army in person. From his carpenter's cottage in Zaandam, he sent the order for the attack, and the army, obedient to the imperial word, even though it was given from afar by Peterbaas, advanced toward the Crimea and soon captured the fortress of Perekop.

When Peter returned to his empire, he began building fleets, increasing his armies, and strengthening his border fortresses. Turkey, always keeping a watchful eye on Russia, demanded an explanation for these warlike preparations; but the Tsar replied that he was master of his own country and that he could do whatever he pleased without asking the Sultan's permission. This answer was not very suitable to satisfy and reassure Turkey; moreover, the loss of Azof had not yet been forgotten, and they were eager to regain that city. The Porte declared war on them.

A neighbor, and Khan Dewlet invaded Russian territory.

Tsar Peter immediately planned measures for a major and, he hoped, final campaign against Turkey. Admiral Apraxin was sent to Azof, and Peter himself hastily marched to the Pruth River in support of one of his army commanders, who was threatened by a hundred thousand Turks under the Grand Vizier, Baltigie. It was on this occasion that Empress Catherine, the former soldier's wife, saved the Russian army from utter destruction. When Tsar Peter arrived at Jassy, he received bad news: the hospodar of Wallachia, on whose help he had counted, had secretly gone over to the Turkish side; a long-awaited shipment of provisions failed to arrive; the troops had been struck by disease; swarms of insects ravaged the fields, and the burning sun dried up the streams and brooks. Peter understood that he had to try as quickly as possible to place the Pruth between him and the enemy. He crossed the river and wanted to prevent the Turks from following him, but it was too late; the enemy was already on the other side. The two armies were now close together; but the Russians were in a miserable condition; hunger and thirst ravaged them terribly, and within sight of a river, hundreds of them died of thirst, for the Turks held the opposite bank and prevented the Russians from approaching the water with their artillery. Peter attempted to withdraw unnoticed under cover of night; but the Turks had occupied all the passages, and on July 20, 1711, a battle broke out in which the Muslims emerged victorious. During the night following the battle, Empress Catherine discovered a plan she had devised to prevent further bloodshed, and the next day it was put into action. She sent all her jewels and furs as a gift to the Grand Vizier, who commanded the Turkish army, along with a sum of money to be distributed among the members of the council. In the letter accompanying these gifts, Peter wrote to the Grand Vizier, "that if he had been so unfortunate as to displease His Highness, he was ready to remove the grounds for complaint; but that he adjured him to prevent further bloodshed and to silence his guns." A few hours after sending that letter, Baltigi actually ordered a cessation of hostilities, but he demanded as a first condition for peace the immediate withdrawal of the Russian armies, the abandonment of Azov and the surrounding territory, and the demolition of several fortresses. The peace treaty, known as the Treaty of the Pruth, was concluded on these grounds.

Twenty years later, the Russians violated the peace they themselves had desired and destroyed Azov. They then advanced into Crimea, devastated most of the peninsula, and occupied it for three months. It now became clear that Russia had set its sights on conquering Crimea, and the following year the Turks preempted the Russians, having assembled a sufficient force to repulse them in the event of a renewed attack.

Catherine II, who ascended the Russian throne in 1762 after the death of her husband Peter III, zealously followed Peter the Great's policy toward Crimea. When the Porte forced her to declare war in 1770, she sent Count Romanzow at the head of a powerful army to Crimea. The city of Bender was besieged in vain by this general, and Khan Kaplan advanced against the enemy at the head of 80,000 Tartars. A month of mixed success had already elapsed on the banks of the Pruth when the Russian general made a retreat; the Tartars abandoned their camp and attacked the retreating enemy, but the latter soon formed a front and, despite a Turkish army coming to the Tartars' aid, Romanzow achieved a complete victory. The cities of Ismailov, Bender, and Ackerman subsequently fell into the hands of the Russians. But Crimea was still not conquered.

To finally achieve this long-desired goal, the Empress sent secret agents to the peninsula in 1772 to incite the population to revolt; moreover, Prince Dolgoroucki appeared with an army before Perekop. The sword completed what the ruse had begun:

the Tartars, who attempted to defend their borders, were defeated, and Dolgoroucki triumphantly entered Crimea, receiving from the Empress the honorific of Krimsky. Shortly thereafter, an armistice was concluded between Turkey and Busland, and the terms of peace were discussed at Fokshiani. However, the Empress's demands proved too high, the negotiations remained fruitless, and hostilities resumed. Katharina, however, had managed to take advantage of the lull; she had secretly won over the Khan of Crimea and persuaded him to declare independence from the Porte and place himself under the protection of Russia. The war between Russia and Turkey was only ended by the well-known Treaty of Kainardji, concluded on July 25, 1774, in which the Sultan recognized the independence of Crimea. (Continued below.)

February 19, 1855 DESCRIPTION OF CRIMEA.
(Taken from the work "De Oorlog," which is continually published by H. NIJGH, in Rotterdam.)
{Continued from No. 49.)

But Dewlet III, who was called to the position of Khan, was pro-Turkish; Katharina sought to gain support through money and valuables, and when the population began to revolt, a Russian army invaded the peninsula: the Khan was deposed, and a favorite of the empress, Sahim Gherai or Guerei, was appointed in his place. Porte Dewlet III attempted in vain to restore his rights. Dahim Gherai remained master of the Crimea. He sent an embassy to Petersburg to request the empress to take the Crimea under her high protection; Katharina readily complied with this request and, together with the Khan, began providing a guard of Russian soldiers. It is said that this bodyguard was deliberately sent to the Crimea to be murdered there, so that the empress, under the pretext of avenging their deaths, could have the peninsula reoccupied. Be that as it may, it happened thus: the bodyguard was attacked and defeated by the Tartars, and Katharina sent a new expedition to the Crimea, commanded by Prince Prozorowsky, at whose approach Sahim's enemies fled.

In 1779, after a new war with Turkey, Russia allied itself to evacuate the Crimea again; but the Khan was and remained merely a tool in the hands of the Empress, and while she, at his request, sent him an appointment to the Russian army and decorated him with the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Anne, she, on the other hand, used these favors, through her agents and her gold, to incite the population against the poor Khan, who so completely forgot his dignity and trampled on nationality.

Soon Sahim was forced to flee to Taganrog; now a Russian army under Potemkin advanced to support him. He was brought back to his capital and once again recognized as Khan by the chiefs. The Empress had not suspected this, but she was undeterred; she instructed her envoy in Constantinople to ensure that the Sultan remained neutral in any unrest that might arise in the Crimea. Deeply indignant at Russia's insinuations, the Porte sent a Pasha to the island of Taman to take possession of it in the Sultan's name. Whereupon Sahim, urged by the Empress, in turn sent an envoy to that Pasha with orders to withdraw. However, instead of complying with this impudent summons, the Pasha had the Crimean envoy publicly executed. The Empress had now found a new pretext to seize the Crimea, without sparing the Porte. She forced the Imans and other Tartar chiefs to swear an oath of allegiance to her on pain of death and issued a manifesto to justify her deceitful behavior. It included the following:

"Since our last war against the Ottoman Empire was entirely successful, we undoubtedly had the right to incorporate Crimea into our empire. Nevertheless, in our ardent desire to ensure public peace and to establish good relations between our court and that of Turkey, we did not hesitate to abandon this and other conquests. This was the reason that moved us to demand the freedom and independence of the Tartars, who had already been conquered by our weapons, in the hope of thus permanently removing all cause of discord or reflux between Russia and Turkey..."

Thus ran the opening of the manifesto, while the conclusion was worded as follows: "Inspired by the sincere desire to confirm and maintain the peace concluded by treaty with the Porte, we believe we are justified in putting an end to the unrest in Crimea. To this end, we must annex the aforementioned Crimean peninsula, the island of Taman, and Kuban to our empire; this is no more than a fair compensation for the disadvantages we have suffered and for the difficulties encountered in our attempts to maintain peace and tranquility." On June 27, 1783, Potemkin advanced with an army of 70,000 men to the borders of Crimea; General Repnin followed him with 40,000 men, while a third army under Romanzov gathered at Kyiv. At the same time, the fleet in the Black Sea was prepared for battle. But Turkey was too weak to wage war; the first of a variety of negotiations were held. The following year, a new treaty was

concluded, whereby Turkey recognized the empress as sovereign over Crimea, the island of Taman, and part of Kuhan. Thus, Katharina finally saw her demand fulfilled, while she secured an extensive territory, one and a half million subjects, and control of the Black Sea.

But she also had to try to preserve what she had acquired, and fearing that many among the freedom-loving Tartars would not willingly submit to her yoke for long, she had several thousand of them deported to Siberia. Three years later, Katharina made her solemn entry into Crimea, and her visit to the peninsula was a succession of splendid festivities that formed a strange contrast with the miserable state of the conquered province. Thus the Tartar Empire had fallen entirely under the control of Russia, after fifty years of that colossus's sometimes secret, sometimes open, and armed attacks had shaken and disturbed it, gradually exhausting it and finally dissolving it entirely.

Soon, the last vestiges of the flourishing Tauria, so often devastated, yet always rising again from its ruins, disappeared. As early as 1778, Russia had facilitated the emigration of all the Armenian and Greek inhabitants of the peninsula, and an industrious population had voluntarily, as Russia claimed, left fertile regions to settle in the wild steppes of the Don and the Sea of Azof. At the same time, also under the influence of imperial authority, the emigration of the Tartars and Nogais began; Some of them sought refuge in Turkish territory, while others united with the Caucasian mountaineers. When the Russians finally took full possession of the peninsula, even more Muslims left their native land. The entire Jedisan tribe had already disappeared by the time the Czars' authority extended to the Dniester; the Tartars, who inhabited the regions between the Dnieper and the Sea of Azov, migrated less widely, for even before the conquest of the Crimea, they had been surrounded by imperial armies. The peninsula itself, where the population had settled more permanently and firmly and which formed the center of Tartar civilization and power, also suffered the most. It was devastated and drenched in blood; it lost more than nine-tenths of its population; the cities were plundered and destroyed; the fields remained uncultivated and desolate; misery and poverty replaced prosperity and prosperity. Sixty years have passed since then, during which the Russian authorities encountered the slightest resistance and had no revolt to suppress. Yet, even despite the restoration of free passage through the Bosphorus, Tauria could not rise from the deep abyss into which it had fallen as a result of the events at the end of the 18th century. Magnificent country houses arose on the southern hills, and luxury and abundance reigned there; but the vital forces of the people were suppressed and undermined, and native industry and agriculture were destroyed. It is precisely this undisturbed tranquility in which the diminished Tartar population has sunk, without deriving any benefit from it, that proves that all sources of prosperity have dried up, that all moral energy has been extinguished, and that the death-dealing system of Russian administration has suffocated. When Russia had definitively established its authority in the Crimea and calm had followed the ravages of the Muscovite armies, it seemed as if the imperial government wanted to rekindle the peninsula's last sparks of prosperity. Emperor Alexander, in particular, was imbued with good intentions for the Crimea, whose resources he knew. But the poor state of administration remained, and half-measures were resorted to: customs and quarantines were regulated; Kaffa was renamed a Milesian colony; several German villages were founded, now numbering nine, with a population of 1,800; considerable portions of land were ceded to Russians and foreigners; vineyards were planted, and even attempts were made to cultivate olives, but the vital questions remained unresolved. There was no concern for exploring means of entertainment or establishing trade relations, and the government, true to its prohibition system, excluded all freedom of trade, thus depriving Crimea of its only means of revitalization.

Kaffa, which at first seemed destined to become one of the principal ports of southern Russia and suited itself particularly well to this end, was soon ousted by Kerch. The old Theodosia had to give way to the old Panticapaea, the Milesian colony had to make way for the old capital of the Bosphoric empire, and this despite the fact that the port of Kerch, sometimes inaccessible for three to four months, was far less safe and good than the excellent, always open and free port of Kaffa, and although the latter city is infinitely better situated near fertile areas than Kerch, which lies at the edge of a sparsely populated and barren peninsula.

Nevertheless, Kerch was elevated to a first-class port in 1827 and equipped with customs for export and import and a hospital for quarantine, which is very strict and lasts more than thirty days. The city soon began to develop, but this development was only artificial, and the quarantine and customs measures, which are very costly and hinder ships sailing to and from the Sea of Azof, naturally cause trade to languish.

64815 The port city of Kerch has thus, as was to be expected, failed to realize the brilliant expectations that were foolishly harbored for it; it has hampered the redevelopment of the once-famous Genoese colony, robbed Crimea of its commercial importance, and harmed the ports in the Sea of Azov by impeding navigation, all without deriving any lasting benefit from it itself.

64820 June 25, 1855 Kerch and Yenikale
The second edition of a work entitled:
"The Crimea with Sevastopol, Balaklava, and other cities, together with a description of its rivers, lakes, mountains, and valleys, as well as its history, inhabitants, laws, customs, and way of life, by Th. A. Fedorov. With three city views and maps."

64825 This monograph contains a description of Kertsch and Yenikale, cities so easily captured by the allies these days. The following lines, taken from the aforementioned work, provide a glimpse into the significance of this conquest, not only from a political or commercial perspective, but also from a scientific one, assuming that appropriate use is made of the antiquities located there, some of which are very valuable, and that preliminary reports of the wanton robbery of the Kertsch museum do not materialize. Kertsch, the ancient Pantikapea, the seat of the Bosporian ruler, lies 2,057 versts from Petersburg, 1,413 from Moscow, and 201 from Simferopol, on a deep bend or bay that closes off the Cimmerian Bosphorus. It covers a fairly large plain, extending along the bay's northern shore, on its level, surrounded by hills.

64830 Pantikapea, like all cities situated on both banks of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, was founded by the Milesians in the first half of the sixth century BC. The government of this city, as in all trading colonies, was probably initially democratic, but history is silent about the first and possibly most successful years of its political existence, and Pantikapea first appears as the capital of the Bosporian ruler. Present-day Kertsch is the capital of the district that makes up the separate Kertsch-Yenikah city-government, and was formerly called "Krtschew" by the Russians, and "Tscherkio" by the Italians and Genoese, based on its sound. In the last twenty years, Kertsch has acquired the present appearance of a European city through various additions.

64845 Kertsch is the Turkish name for a fortress known in fourteenth-century geographies as Bosphorus, Waspro, and Pandiko. It was most likely built by the Genoese on the harbor side of ancient Pantikapea, at the foot of the hills where the ruins of that city were located.

64850 When Kertsch came under Russian rule in 1771, five to six hundred low huts surrounded the fortress, which was built of sandstone and had a rounded shape with projecting corners. Most of these huts were demolished, and a fort in the shape of a star was built to defend the harbor. However, this fortification was very insignificant, as it was dominated by Mount Mithridates, causing Kertsch to fall into poverty and oblivion. In 1821, the location of this town, with its trade implications, attracted the attention of Emperor Alexander, who declared Kertsch a seaport. The fort no longer exists, and a public market has taken its place. A tower on the beach, the only remaining medieval monument, is a tower, which is therefore preserved today. Grain shipments from the Don and the northern coasts of the Azov Sea used to pass through Taganrog; but the sandbanks of this sea, the strong winds and the precautions which had to be observed along this entire coast, delayed this voyage considerably, so that a ship from the South of Europe could only sail once a year. It could take on cargo in the Azov Sea. The establishment of a deliberate facility at Kerch made observing the quarantine much easier than was previously the case throughout the Azov Sea, and the construction of extensive warehouses made sailing to Taganrog all the less necessary, as an excellent roadstead was also found at Kerch. The quarantine buildings were built four wersts from the city on a stony promontory jutting out into the sea, where the Greek city of Marmikion once stood. Due to the muddy waters, ships cannot approach the Kerch quay, but they remain in the vicinity of the quarantine, where the sea is very deep and provides excellent anchorage.

64860 The Kerch quarantine facility, thanks to everything that prudence and care for the prevention of the spread of disease can dictate, is one of the most excellent of its kind in Europe. It alone encompasses everything good and useful found in the quarantines of Marseille, Genoa, Livorno, and Trieste. Moreover, it was built according to a new plan, which can be expanded as traffic increases. All ships arriving from the Levant and bringing Russian goods, brought in by coastal vessels from Taganrog, remain in the Kerch quarantine facility. Over time, Kerch could become one of the most important depots for trade between Europe and Asia.

64875 One advantage of the Kerch port can also be considered the possibility not only of offering the inhabitants of the Black Sea a place to sell their goods, but also of

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establishing relations with even the rough Caucasian tribes, which could be fostered by the staff of Mercury.

In Kerch, a church is particularly noteworthy, bearing the name of John the Baptist, which has existed for twelve centuries. The dome of this magnificent building is supported by four gigantic columns of gray marble, whose bases have sunk deeper into the earth than a sash. A multitude of inscriptions, bas-reliefs, column ruins, etc., found in this church lead to the conclusion that it was built by the first Christians who settled in these regions, specifically from the ruins of the temple of the famous Aesculapius of Pantikapea, of whom ancient writers often mention. Tradition also holds that this church was built on the site where another had been erected by one of the apostles who had come to the shores of the Black Sea to preach the Holy Gospel. Here is an inscription on parchment, which, according to the opinion of several archaeologists, must date at least from the sixth century. Many broken Greek bas-reliefs and columns lie scattered in the various corners of the cemetery, including a female statue, the work of a powerful chisel, while the torso of a male statue, also found there, is of much less value. It is a pity that the head of one of these statues rarely survives. During their first invasion of the Crimea, the Tartars, out of barbarity and superstition, destroyed the temples, crushed the monuments of the fine arts, and used the precious remains of Greek and Roman art to build fortifications and mosques. Within the city, and almost in its center, rises a fairly large mountain, descending perpendicularly into the sea, called the Mount of Mithridates. On its summit stands a grave mound covered with enormous stones, called the Tomb of Mithridates. The mountain has been searched in many places, and a wealth of human bones and coins of great antiquity have been found. Today, a museum stands on the summit of the mountain, where all the objects found in this tomb and its surroundings are preserved. The facade of this museum recalls the ancient Temple of Theseus in Athens. From the museum, one enters the city via a magnificent staircase that leads to the arcaded market square.

Among the buildings of Kertsch, we must also mention the imperial steam engine factory, which manufactured the steamboats of New Russia and the Caucasus and was founded in 1846.

Kertsch has 13,106 inhabitants, most of whom are Greek. It is regrettable that these Greeks, like their predecessors, the Tartars, have not been able to extract from their new, so richly endowed homeland the advantages it is capable of offering them. The charming valleys and hills of Pantikapea remain uncultivated to this day and are used exclusively for food for numerous herds of cattle and sheep, while the skilled hand of the farmer could produce from them all the grains and fruits known on earth. In this regard, it is sufficient to mention here that the caper bush, so delicate and so sensitive to cold that it thrives on its own in the vicinity of Kertsch on the seacoast without any human care, and that the wine produced there is among the best of the Crimean peninsula.

The Greeks of Kertsch are largely engaged in fishing, especially herring and sturgeon, from which this place derives great profit. The sturgeon is salted here in the Dutch manner and transported to the interior of Russia. The necessary salt is provided by the Aputski and Cherufski lakes near Kertsch, from which nearly half a million pounds of salt is obtained annually. In the vicinity of Kertsch there are also sulfur and naphtha springs, from which the inhabitants are equally unable to make any profit. Moreover, one finds here the remains of an ancient waterfall and considerable shell-lime quarries. Twelve versts from Kerch lies the Bay of Kamusch-Burunn, known for its lucrative herring fishery, which takes place there annually.

Trade from Kerch is not very substantial, as ships only come here to observe their quarantine. After the quarantine in Kerch has expired, the majority of foreign merchandise is brought to Taganrog on ships from foreign ports, as well as on coastal vessels, to pay the toll. Only a small portion of foreign goods is declared at the Kerch customs office, such as tree oil, raw sugar, coffee, dried and fresh fruits, Greek wines, tobacco, Turkish cottons and silks. These products are largely consumed in Kerch and in the neighboring towns of the Crimean peninsula. The principal item exported from Kerch is Crimean salt, of which one to two million puds are loaded annually in the ports of the Azov and Black Seas. Close to the city, besides the sulfur springs, one also finds slate quarries, mountain oil, yellow ochre ore, and many mounds of that exceptionally fine clay, which the ancient inhabitants of these coasts undoubtedly used to make those precious vases, new ones of which are constantly found in the ruins of their old capital. This clay was destined to become a new, significant branch of trade and industry, as it can be used to make exquisite porcelain.

Straight streets are not found in the city; they are mostly crooked, and the city consists of a few houses scattered along the slopes of Mount Mithridates. However, these are mostly built of stone, for which the surrounding area provides the finest building materials. The houses built more recently have a European appearance, while the older buildings, such as the Bazaar, bear the stamp of Asiatic influence and still vividly recall the former Tartar rule. Tartar, Greek, and Russian are spoken everywhere here. Englishmen also frequently visit Kerts. For example, it is said that two English travelers, one from Petersburg and the other from Calcutta, had designated Kertsch as their rendezvous, and were so meticulous that one arrived only four days earlier than the other.

In the vicinity of Kertsch, approximately [a thousand] burial places can be seen; in one of them, precious gold ornaments such as crowns, scepters, shields, etc., were found. In another, a tomb with crossbows was discovered, consisting of enormous square blocks of stone, unconnected by any trass. No more magnificent tomb than this has been found in the tombs of any Roman emperor, but it was completely empty; the objects within were robbed, and thus it is unknown which of the great men of this world were buried there. In other burial mounds, numerous Greek vases, statuettes, and urns of various sizes, often masterfully crafted, were found. Besides the skeleton of a woman, even the remains of her beloved bird were found; nets and a beautifully crafted basket woven from small wooden rods were also discovered, along with statues and gravestones with inscriptions dating back to before the birth of Christ.

Among the multitude of these burial mounds of Kertsch, the most remarkable are: first, the golden or princely one, called Alty Oba by the Tartars, and second, the Kurgan Kulodach.

The golden or princely Kurgan, located three versts from Kertsch on the road to Feodosia, deserves attention, indeed even a particularly careful study, by archaeologists, as it is an excellent monument that illustrates two architectural periods: the Cyclopean and the Bosporan. The golden Kurgan has for countless years been considered the repository of immense treasures, and popular superstition has surrounded it with fearsome apparitions and monsters; but now it is acknowledged as true that this Kurgan served as the burial place of the princes of the Bosphorus.

Evidence of this is provided by the princely crowns found there, shaped like laurel branches with long leaves of beaten gold, bracelets, and other ornaments, which offer admiration for the fine and masterly workmanship of that remote antiquity. A number of these precious objects, signs of the wealth and prestige of the Pontic dynasty, have already been transported to the capital of the Russian monarchy and are preserved in the Imperial Hermitage.

The Kurgan Kulodach lies six versts from Kertsch, also on the Strait of Feodosia. In this burial mound, a cell measuring two squares in length, two squares in width, and three squares in height was discovered; its groin vault consisted of very large square stones. Two skeletons, one male and one female, were found here. The female's head wore a gold diadem with enamel stars, and a braided gold chain hung around her neck. On the chest lay two gold medallions, and the arms were adorned with bracelets. On either side of the female robe were gold vases with Scythian images, and next to the head lay a silver scepter and a sacrificial knife with a gold handle. Similar objects were also found on the male skeleton; in addition, a gold shield (depicting a fish, a snake, a Medusa's head, and Scythians), gold statuettes depicting Scythians, and other objects. To the left of the entrance stood three very large cauldrons of red copper, filled with ash and burnt bones. More than 40 pounds of gold alone were found in this cemetery.

The first impetus for investigating the ancient monuments in the Kerchian graves came from Chancellor Count N. P. Rumjanzow. Following his decree, a Kertsch resident, Lord du Bruiks, examined the Kurgans located there for several years and reportedly brought the count many curious discoveries. Captain Patanioti discovered a second burial vault in the aforementioned golden or princely Kurgan, containing numerous valuables encircling a skeleton whose bones were of unusual size.

Behind the village of Glinische, a marble sarcophagus was found in a burial vault, containing a multitude of gold, silver, and bronze objects of unusual artistry. This is said to be the burial place of the wife of the Bosporian prince, Riskoporis IV, a contemporary of Caracalla; thus, it would date from the beginning of the third century. The most remarkable object found in this grave was a gold mask of the queen's face; a gold diadem, bracelets, and a censer studded with Syrian garnets. a ring with a stone on which Amor was depicted in relief resting on his bow; a large

65015 bronze offering bowl, in some places of which the gilding was still visible; a small, square, striped column on which stood a satyr wreathed in vine leaves; a round, flat silver platter with the Greek inscription "To Prince Riskoporis," several silver vessels of various kinds, silver ingots, etc.; a multitude of small gold ornaments, flowers, and stars, some belonging to the clothing and some to the domestic luxury of the ancients, which testify to their taste, their love of splendor, and the high degree of their artistic skill.

65020 A number of burial mounds are located on the road leading from Kertsch to the quarantine facility, on the site where the ancient city of Marmikion once stood. Major excavations are undertaken here every year; for example, in 1843 alone, seventeen Kurgans were opened, in which thirty-three burial sites were discovered. The excavations are now carried out at the expense of the government, which has hired

65025 special workers for this purpose. The objects found here are kept in the museum in Kertsch, and some are also sent to St. Petersburg. At the exhibition of antiquities in the museum A chronological order is observed as much as possible. Antiquity researchers and antiquity enthusiasts will find almost nowhere as fertile a territory as in the vicinity of Kerts.

65030 Yeni-Kale is 212 versts from Simferopol and 12 versts from Kerts. This city has belonged alternately to the Genoese and then to the Turks, and is now almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks. In the northern part of the city stands a small fortress, built by the Turks and improved by the Russians. Noteworthy are an Eastern-style gate and an enormous square tower, whose architecture recalls the Genoese

65035 warfare. The majority of the city's inhabitants make their living from fishing and conduct a brisk fish trade, primarily in Kerts. Close to Yeni-Kale stands a beacon, which guides ships in the Azov Sea.

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AGATHANGELOS

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(Greek for "messenger of good news"), the supposed author of a History of the Armenians, which describes the conversion of King Trdat of Armenia to Christianity at the beginning of the 4th century. The Armenian version (Aa) of this History dates from the second half of the 5th century. The first mention of a history by Agathangelos in other Armenian sources is found in Lazar of P'arp (ca. 500). A Greek version of Aa (Ag) was made soon after the Armenian received its present form. On Ag depend an Arabic version and numerous secondary versions in Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic.

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In addition to the "A" recension of versions, which all derive from the known Armenian text, there is a less homogenous "V" cycle derived from a lost Armenian text which has left no direct trace in the later Armenian tradition. To the "V" cycle belong two Greek, two Arabic, and a Karshuni version.

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In the prologue to Aa, Agathangelos introduces himself as an eyewitness of the events he describes and claims to be writing at the express request of King Trdat. But the History received its present form well after the invention of the Armenian script (ca. 400). It is a compilation of various traditions welded into a none too coherent whole.

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The main divisions are the following:

- war between Armenia and Persia after Ardašīr I's revolution;
- the restoration of Trdat to the Armenian throne with Roman help and the imprisonment of Gregory;
- the martyrdom at Valarshapat of nuns supposedly fleeing from Diocletian;
- the release of Gregory and the conversion of king and court; the destruction of pagan temples and the establishment in Armenia of a regular Christian clergy and hierarchy.

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After the prologue, one manuscript of the Ag version (Florence, Laurentianus, Plut. VII cod. gr. 25; 12th cent.) inserts the story of Ardašīr's revolt against the Arsacid Artabanus V. It is derived from a lost Armenian version of the Pahlavi romance, Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pāpakān, and does not go back to the time of the translation of Ag. There is no suggestion in Armenian tradition that this episode was ever associated with the Armenian Agathangelos. The Armenian History proper begins with an account of the wars between Khosrov, king of Armenia, and the Persians after the fall of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty. Khosrov attempted to avenge the Parthians; for the Armenian Arsacids had second rank in the Parthian kingdom (Aa 18). He organized a coalition of peoples from the Caucasus and the "Huns;" but after ten years of war he was murdered by a renegade Parthian noble, Anak, at Ardašīr's instigation. Armenia was then made into a Persian province, Khosrov's son Trdat having fled to the Roman empire. Trdat was later restored to Armenia by an unnamed emperor (Diocletian in later Armenian tradition). Agathangelos has thus condensed the political events of some sixty or more years into the life of Trdat from childhood to adulthood. When Trdat was restored he was accompanied to Armenia by Gregory, the unrecognized son of the regicide Anak; he had been brought up as a Christian in Caesarea.

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Having refused to sacrifice to Anahit (Mid. Pers. Anāhīd), he was tortured and imprisoned for thirteen (or fifteen) years. Meanwhile a group of nuns from Rome supposedly take refuge from Diocletian in Armenia, but are martyred at Trdat's capital, Valarshapat. In retribution Trdat is turned into the form of a boar, but is cured when Gregory is brought alive out of prison. The rest of the History describes:

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- the conversion of the Armenian court;
 - the burial of the martyrs at sites revealed to Gregory in a vision; the destruction of pagan temples;
 - Gregory's consecration as bishop for Armenia in Caesarea (an historical event, probably occurring in 314);
 - the building of churches and missionary work throughout Armenia;
 - the visit of Trdat and Gregory to the newly converted Constantine;
- and the attendance of Gregory's son and successor Aristakes at the council of Nicaea in 325.

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The History of Agathangelos is not of great value as a historical document. Authentic reminiscences of the bishop Gregory, whose episcopal see was at Ashtishat in western Armenia, have been overlaid with elaborate inventions based on biblical and hagiographical motifs. The missionary work of Gregory in Armenia has been based almost verbatim on the life of Mashtots' (inventor of the Armenian alphabet) written

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by the latter's pupil Koriun soon after 440. The association of Gregory with the cathedral at Valarshapat dates from after the division of Armenia in 387 into Roman and Iranian spheres of influence, when the patriarchs moved to eastern Armenia. Trdat and Gregory's visit to Constantine is legendary, but the signature of Aristakes does appear on the lists of bishops at Nicaea (see H. Gelzer, *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina*, Leipzig, 1898).

The pagan deities and their cult sites mentioned by Agathangelos have attracted attention, but little reliable information can be gleaned from this hagiographical work. Indeed, the description of Anahit's cult at Erez (Aa 48-49) bears no relation to the account in Strabo (11.14.16) but is based on a combination of passages from the Books of Maccabees unrelated to Anahit. She is described by Agathangelos as the special protectress of the Armenian people, source of life and fertility, and as the "golden mother" or "golden-born goddess" from the wealth of her sanctuaries. At Ashtishat Gregory's first church was built on the site of a "trinity" of cults: Anahit, Aramazd (Mid. Pers. Ohrmazd, father of all the gods, creator of heaven and earth), and Vahagn (Mid. Pers. Wahrām), called vishapak'at ("who handles dragons"). Other deities mentioned by Agathangelos are Ashtlik ("little star," spouse of Vahagn), Tir (called "interpreter of dreams"), Name (Nanaia), Barshamin, and Mihr. Agathangelos is also credited with a list of early Armenian kings supposedly culled from Trdat's archives and included in the so-called "Primary History". This is an account of the early mythical Armenian heroes, the settlement of Armenia, and the establishment of the Armenian Arsacid dynasty. It is of unknown authorship and date, and was later incorporated as the first chapter into the seventh century History of Heraclius attributed to Sebeos.

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/agathangelos>

[Tiridates III of Armenia - Wikipedia](#)

[Gregory of Nyssa - Wikipedia](#)

and for the following text

<http://www.vehi.net/istoriya/armenia/agathangelos/en/AGATHANGELOS.html>

History of St. Gregory and the Conversion of Armenia

Introduction

Though we cannot date Agathangelos' History precisely, we know that it was written earlier than the tenth century, and most likely did not receive its final form before the year 450. There are several versions of the History, and there is also at least one other Armenian account of Saint Gregory's life which differs considerably from Agathangelos' in the facts and details its presents.

The name "Agathangelos" is probably fictional, even though the writer introduces himself in the Prologue as a man from the great city of Rome who is well versed in literary skills and knows several languages. The Prologue also tells us that Agathangelos was an eyewitness to the events he describes. It is unlikely that this is true, especially because some of the words he uses are taken directly from the life of Mesrob Mashdotz written by that great monk's student, Koriun (about which you can read in the first volume of this series).

What, then, is this History? It is a piece of hagiography (a biography of a saint, written usually with affection and admiration rather than impartial judgment) which contains many of the traditional characteristics of that genre. It is customary for a hagiographer to say he witnessed the events he writes about, for example. It is also typical for the writer to describe the saints' tortures at the hands of pagans in great detail, as Agathangelos does here. The long public prayers which Gregory recites as he is being tortured, and his seeming imperviousness to the pain being inflicted on him, are typical of the descriptions in many lives of saints. Another thing that often appears, as it does here, is a "text" of an anti-Christian edict that a pagan king makes when the Christians threaten his price and power.

If so much of the History, including its writer's name, is fictitious, how can we accept it as a piece of history? What does it offer to the modern reader? In fact it offers a very great deal. Agathangelos does give us a history of Gregory's life and times; the people and events he writes about really existed and had a great impact on the life of the Christian Church and the Armenian people.

But we cannot look at this History as merely an impartial recording of events, for it was not written to be that. Agathangelos has produced an account which is meant to describe Christian faith and its powerful effects, and to inspire those who read it to greater faith. We can see this in many of the History's characteristics. First, the biblical references and similes are innumerable. The prologue uses the nautical imagery so popular in Agathangelos' time, and ties it directly to the Bible's story

of the search for the pearl of great price. The long prayers of Gregory and of Hripsime are filled with Biblical phrases and references of those who preceded them in suffering and enduring for the Lord.

Even when Agathangelos describes well-known events, he borrows from the Bible. Diocletian's persecution of the Church is talked about completely in Bible images, with no reference to any actual events. Gregory is nourished in the terrible pit as Elijah was; Drtad's bestial transformation recalls that of Nebuchadnezzar. There are also countless references to liturgical and patristic writings, and it is unfortunate that we modern readers miss so many of these. Agathangelos presumed on the part of his readers an intimate familiarity with the Scriptures, Liturgy, and spiritual writings that most of us today simply do not possess.

Agathangelos had a purpose in mind as he wrote about Gregory. That purpose is reflected in some of the differences in emphasis between Agathangelos' work about the saint and the work of others. For example, Movses Khorenatsi gives us much more detail about Gregory's origins, and tries to tie him to the first enlightener, Thaddeus. In general, he gives more detail about all aspects of Gregory's life than Agathangelos does. But Agathangelos is not interested in establishing an apostolic tie for Gregory, or presenting his life in detail. His purpose is mainly to enhance Gregory's role as the first bishop, first church builder, and first establisher of a hierarchy in the Armenian Church. He wants to show the importance of the hierarchical structure of the Church, and emphasize the authority of the patriarch's position, and this he does by tying both to the great saint so highly venerated in the Church. Central to this effort is Agathangelos' description of Gregory's vision of the burial place of the martyrs. Gregory is shown a golden base where the cathedral at Vagharshapat (later Etchmiadzin) is to be built. Thus Agathangelos establishes a divine foundation for the cathedral and for the church leaders who will reside there so again, he makes a case for the "rightness" of the hierarchs and the hierarchical structure of the Church.

The History is, as we have said, hagiographical. To some people this means that its value is diminished because of it is invented, some facts are embroidered, and the writer is consciously trying to make his subject "look good". In many modern dictionaries of saints' lives, you will see events dismissed impatiently as "merely legendary" or "invented by a pious biographer". But we must remember that historical writing is always interpretive. Nobody can write about things that happened and not assign some meaning to them. And the truth is that the Christian saints and martyrs did stand up against the most powerful rulers the earth had ever known, so powerful that they were traditionally considered to be divine. The truth is that saints changed the world in ways that nobody else has ever done, and that they are known throughout the world despite the absence of "advanced" communications equipment in their time. They were persecuted by hard-headed kings; they did change history; they did bring whole nations to Christ.

Agathangelos wrote as those of his day wrote. It is not the way we write today, and perhaps we can grumble that he did not "stick to the facts". But if we believe that the greatest fact is Christ and His salvation, then the History is a factual work. It does give us the truth, for all the people in it lived through the things it describes. But it gives us that truth in light of the coming of Christ. In all the world, there is no brighter or clearer light than that to illumine the truth.

Prologue

The fervent wish of sailors, as their journey nears its end, is to reach port safely. So amidst surging billows and tempestuous winds they spur on their steeds made of wood and iron and held together by nails. They fly over the mounting waves until, finally escaping the troubled waters, they race to their homelands. They tell their loved ones how they braved the fearful tumult of the sea in order to come back home with the spoils of their perilous sea journey. With their profits they settle debts, free their families from servitude to kings and overlords, and make a name for themselves as being generous and rich.

Such people risk their lives not because they are greedy, but because they really want to make their lives better. Some of them then use their wealth for their country's good. They give the king treasures of every description. They create jobs for the poor; from their sea journeys they bring back new and wonderful things such as herbs that are beneficial to health. And for this they are willing to put themselves at the mercy of the sea, and allow the tumultuous winds to plot their course.

Like them, the one who writes this history now sets sail on the perilous sea of wisdom. Like them, the writer is at the mercy of another power that of the princes who

command that an account of past events should be written. It is impossible to oppose royal commands, so here is the history, written to show forth the glory of God's workers, the saints. They shine like the priceless pearls, adorning the crowns of kings and consoling, refreshing, enlightening even the poorest in the kingdoms. They give rest and hope to the work-worn, and enrich the land by their prayers. They are guideposts on the road to God's Kingdom. They were tortured and died for God, and they gained life, leaving the fruits of their triumph for us to enjoy. They fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and opened the gates of Christ's compassion to all of us. They battled through the sea of sin, and when they reached the heavenly port they offered the King of Light their prayers for us. Through their intercession we receive God's mercy and love. And what can we offer to be worthy of such a gift? Only a heart ready to hear God's word. If we bow our heads we will receive the spiritual crown. If we merely wash ourselves of sin, we will be clothed with an everlasting shining garment that makes us more splendid than the lily. If we just let ourselves be thirsty for His love, a living spring will satisfy us eternally.

From these historical writings, readers may gain some spiritual wisdom. Therefore I have set them down, I, Agathangelos from the great city of Rome and trained in the art of the ancients, proficient in Latin and Greek, a not unskilled literary practitioner.

And so we come to the Arsacid court during the reign of Drtad, who has ordered me to narrate not a false account of his brave deeds, but what really happened in the battles, the plundering of provinces, the capture of towns, the struggles of men for renown or revenge. Here are the deeds of the brave King Khosrov, and the equally valorous exploits of his son Drtad, and the works of God's beloved martyrs who rose like stars to scatter the mist of darkness from this land of Armenia. These martyrs died for God's truth, and He had mercy on the land, showing miracles through one man who endured countless afflictions and then triumphed for Christ, even making the mighty Drtad accept a salvation he had known nothing about.

This history will tell how the teaching of the Gospel came to be honored in Armenia, by the king and then by all his subjects. We shall see how they undertook to destroy the pagan temples and establish the foundations of the Holy Church, and how they appointed a man as shepherd of the land and benefited by his teaching. We shall see how Drtad visited and made a covenant with Emperor Constantine, and returned to glory and honor, dedicating many places to God.

All this we shall relate in detail, with the teaching of St. Gregory who became bishop and inherited the patriarchal title as a champion of virtue who he was, and from what descent and family he came.

Then, when future generations look to their past, they will open this book and come to know what happened. They will read how the Gospel was preached in Armenia, and how a man appointed by divine grace did teach and endure tortures, and how by his love for God the cults were crushed. They will read how the first churches were built, and how the people were pulled from the treacherous sea of sin by his preaching.

Part 1

Artashir, a Sassanian prince from the province of Stahr, put an end to the Parthian kingdom when he murdered the Parthian ruler Artavan. He had united the Persian forces, and now they rejected Parthian sovereignty and chose him as their leader.

Khosrov, king of the Armenians, was greatly distressed by this news and soon took up arms to avenge Artavan's death. He gathered Albanian and Georgian forces, and called on the Huns to invade Persian territory. Khosrov and his armies ravaged the land, destroying towns and cities, trying to overthrow the Persian kingdom and wipe out its civilization. Even though the Parthians refused to help him, having attached themselves to Artashir, Khosrov was able to inflict devastating losses on the Persians.

Then Khosrov returned victoriously to the Armenian city of Vagharshapat to celebrate his conquests and reward his soldiers, whom he showered with gifts and sent home. He also honored his family's ancestral worship sites, with white oxen, white rams, white horses and mules, and he gave a fifth of all his plundered booty to the priests. He similarly honored the temples of the idol-worshipping cults throughout the land.

The following year, still full of his intoxicating victory, Khosrov called his armies together again, and for the next ten years they freely plundered all the far-reaching lands under Persian rule. So completely did they scatter the enemy's forces that finally the Persian king could stand it no longer. He called together all the governors, princes, generals, and nobles of his kingdom, and said to them: "If a man can be found to take vengeance against this bloody Khosrov, I will elevate him to the second rank in the kingdom. Only I will be above him, no matter how humble or

honorably his origin. I will bestow gifts and rewards without measure upon him if only
65305 he will avenge me!"

Among the king's council was a leading Parthian chieftain named Anak. He stood up, strode forward, and offered to carry out the king's wish. And the king said to him: "If you can manage this, Anak, I shall honor you with a crown". Anak agreed to the plan, asking only that the king look after the rest of his family during his absence.
65310 Then he and his brother, along with their wives and children, made their way to Armenia. Anak presented himself to King Khosrov at the winter quarters in Khalkhal, saying he was emigrating to Armenia in revolt against the Persian king. Khosrov received him gladly, honored him, and passed the long winter days with him in good cheer and happiness.

But when spring came, thoughts of the Persian king's promises stirred in Anak's mind. He began to yearn for his own country of Pahlav. So he made a plan with his brother, and together they got Khosrov alone as if they wanted to speak with him. Then they raised their swords and struck the king dead.
65315 When the Armenian princes realized what had happened, they split into groups to scour the countryside and find the killers. This they did, and cast them from a bridge into the swollen waters of the Araxes River. And then, according to the king's deathbed decree, they slaughtered the murderers' families. But two infant sons were saved by their nurses, one of whom fled with her charge to Persian and the other to Greek territory.

The Persian king rejoiced at his enemy's death. He took the opportunity to invade Armenia, correctly surmising that the stunned and grieving people would not offer much resistance. One of Khosrov's sons, Drtad, survived this terrible raid; his tutors took him to the emperor's court in Greek territory. Meanwhile, the Persian king imposed his own name on Armenia, sending the Greek army in retreat back to its
65330 own borders. He drove out the inhabitants of the land he had conquered and made it his own.

Drtad was raised and educated in the house of a count named Licinius. The other exile, Gregory, was raised as a devout Christian in Caesarea, capital of Cappadocia. In an effort to make amends for what his father had done, he offered himself to Drtad as a servant, without ever revealing his parentage. But Drtad had been taught to hate and persecute the Christian Church, and when he heard that Gregory belonged to it he made frightening threats, even imprisoning and tormenting Gregory in order to get him to renounce the worship of Christ, and worship instead the pagan gods of Armenia.
65335 At about the same time, the king of the Goths sent a message to the Greek emperor. It said: "Why should both our countries suffer the devastation of war? Instead, let you and I come forth as the single champions of our armies, and fight. If I win, your Greeks will submit to my rule. And if you win, my people shall become your subjects". The Greek king, not a physically strong man, was terrified by this proposal. He called all his troops and their commanders in from the fields of battle to meet with him. Among those answering the summons were the count, Licinius, and his soldiers, including Drtad. At a place where they camped overnight there was no forage available for the hungry horses. But there was a vast pile of hay locked in a pen with a wall so high that no one thought it could be breached. No one, that is, except Drtad, who climbed over and tossed back heaps of hay until there was plenty for all the horses.
65350 Licinius, amazed by this feat, hastened to meet with the emperor as soon as they reached him the next morning. He told the king what Drtad had done, and together they agreed that his young man from the family of the Armenian king must be the one to meet the challenge of the Goths. Drtad was called into the emperor's presence, and everything was explained to him. Having obtained his consent, the emperor arranged a duel for the very next morning.

So the "false emperor," dressed in royal purple and wearing the royal emblem, went out to meet the king of the Goths. He beat the king handily, and was duly honored by the Emperor. Drtad returned to Armenia with a great army. He beat back the Persians who had subdued his native land, and brought it under his own rule.
65360 During the first year of his reign, Drtad and his courtiers visited a provincial town to sacrifice to the goddess Anahid in her temple there. He ordered Gregory to venerate her statue, and when Gregory refused Drtad asked him: "You have served me well these many years. Why in this one matter do you refuse to do my will?". Gregory answered: "You speak truly. I have served you as God commands us to serve our earthly lords. But He alone is the creator of angels and men, of heaven and earth. We can worship only Him".
65365 Drtad frowned and said: "By saying this you render all your service to me completely worthless. I shall punish rather than reward you as I had planned. It will be prison and bondage for you unless you honor the goddess Anahid". Gregory replied: "My

65370 service to you is not worthless; God values it as He promised always to value our efforts for Him. It is He I seek to please. And if you punish me, I rejoice, for my lord Christ suffered affliction and death, and I will gladly follow Him into death so that I can be with Him in everlasting life. You speak of Anahit, and perhaps demons did once bedazzle men into building temples for them and worshipping them. But I will not worship lifeless objects of stone. We must worship the One who lives and gives life".

65375 Drtad then asked Gregory to tell him more about this living One. Gregory proceeded to explain that Christ is the Lord of creation and the true light for those in the darkness of idolatry. He exhorted the king to use his intelligence and put away the mulishly stupid devotion to mere images.

65380 Drtad exploded in anger. He shouted: "You have insulted the gods and insulted me by calling me stupid for worshipping them. You had the audacity to speak to me as if you were my equal. You said I was stupid as a mule; now you shall feel the burden of such words".

65385 With that he ordered Gregory to be bound and strung up, with a muzzle over his mouth and a heavy block of salt hung on his back. After a week of this torture Gregory was brought before the king, who said: "Now like a mule you have carried a load. But worse things can happen to you if you further insult our deities".

65390 Gregory, however, had not been subdued by his suffering. He told the king that he did not mind tortures, and that only those who worship idols need fear the Lord's wrath. So Drtad tortured him further, hanging him by one foot for seven days. But Gregory passed the time in prayer. He recalled in his prayer how God had prepared mankind for eternal life, a gift which we threw away with our disobedience. Yet God did not abandon us rather He sent the prophets, and finally His own Son, to show us His will.

65395 Christ became the image of God so that we, who love to worship images, might finally worship the Truth. He gave us a wooden cross rather than wooden idols. He called us to sacrifice as Christ had sacrificed, and to partake of His body and blood as we had once eaten sacrificial animals.

65400 After recalling these wonderful acts of God, Gregory asked Him for strength and grace to endure torments and to fight for the truth, receiving the crown promised to those who are steadfast. Then Gregory praised God's creation of the light and the darkness, with the sun and moon as their rulers. Finally, he prayed that his tormentors might be shown the truth, and turn from false worship, so that they could live everlastingly in God's Kingdom, along with those whose faith was always true.

65405 Even this terrible torture, which broke his body, did not sway Gregory. After a week of it, he was again brought before Drtad, who asked him once more to pay homage to the idols. Gregory again refused, and Drtad submitted him to many more hideous tortures. But Gregory withstood them all and told the king: "I can endure all this not through my own power but by the Lord's grace. Now you will see that nothing can separate us from His love".

65410 It was about this time that a prince of the court told Drtad that Gregory was the murderer Anak's son. Upon hearing this, Drtad ordered Gregory to be put in a deep pit until he died. As it turned out, Gregory would be there for thirteen years.

65415 Part 2

King Drtad spent much of his reign devastating the Persian kingdom. One of the proverbial sayings of the Armenians was: "Like the haughty Drtad, who in his pride devastated the dikes of rivers and in his arrogance dried up the currents of seas". He was exceedingly brave and daring, and also very proud. While Drtad was thus flourishing, Gregory continued to survive, though still in a pit that had killed all others condemned to it because of the filth, the snakes, and the stench. But Gregory was secretly fed by a widow who had heard God command her in a dream to toss a loaf of bread into the pit each day. So the two men, each in his own way, were moving toward the day when they would meet again.

65425 Drtad, still devoted to idol worship, remained an implacable foe of the Christian faith. He issued two edicts, one commanding his people to pay proper homage to the gods to insure that they would make Armenia prosper. The other edict instructed all citizens to reveal any members of the cult of Christians, because this cult was an insuperable obstacle to the proper worship of the gods. Drtad even threatened those who dared to hide Christians, and reminded his subjects of the severe way he had dealt with Gregory, a member of his own court. With Christians, there could be no leniency.

65430 During these days the Emperor Diocletian was seeking a wife. He sent portrait painters out into the kingdom to find lovely women and bring back portraits of them, so that from these pictures he could choose a beautiful wife for himself.

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The painters found, in the city, a group of nuns living a monastic life of constant prayer and ascetic fasting. Their abbess was named Gayane, and one of them, Hripsime, was very beautiful. The painters were quite taken with her, and rushed to complete her portrait to show to the king. He was so smitten that he immediately wanted to

65440 arrange a grand wedding. His arrogance and vanity led him to persecute the Christian churches in order to show his power over them.

This was all terribly upsetting to the nuns. They were saddened by the persecution of their fellow Christians, and worried by the king's unseemly interest in Hripsime. They prayed fervently to God that he would enable them, like the virgins in the

65445 parable, to keep their lamps filled with oil and that worldly cares would not distract them from His service. They asked for His protection against the pagan powers assailing them.

The women decided to flee, and that was how they came to be in Vagharshapat, the residence of the Armenian kings. They lived by selling the glass pearls which one of them made. But in the very same city, King Drtad received an emissary from

65450 Diocletian. He brought a royal edict which said: "Let my brother Drtad know of the evils that constantly beset us because of this error-ridden sect, the Christians. For they worship a dead man, adore a cross because he was crucified, and consider their own death on his behalf to be glory and honor. They teach dishonor for kings and hold as nothing the power of the sun and moon and stars. Everywhere among our people they discourage the worship of the gods, and our threats and punishments against hem are

to no avail.
"I happened to see among them a lovely young girl, and wanted to have her as my wife. But she and her companions have insulted my majesty by fleeing to the regions of your

65460 kingdom.

"So, my brother, find them for me and take vengeance. Send her back to me unless you wish to keep her for yourself. And may you be well by the worship of the gods". Drtad immediately ordered a search, and the nuns were soon found. For it was ordained by God that their light should not be hidden under a bushel, but shine out over the

65465 world. And since word of the emperor's edict had spread across the land, there were soon crowds of people straining to catch a glimpse of Hripsime's now-famous beauty. The nuns, whose only wish was to have a holy and solitary life, offered up constant prayers and lamentations to God.

Drtad, having heard from those who saw her that she was indeed a great beauty, sent a golden litter with attendants and filled with magnificent robes so that Hripsime could adorn herself and come to meet him in the palace. Seeing all this, the abbess Gayane told the younger woman: "Remember, my child, that you have abandoned your

65475 father's throne (for Hripsime was of royal lineage) and longed instead for the never-ending life of the Kingdom of Christ. Do not give up your choice now, and risk your holy virtue with these infidels".

Inspired by her abbess' words, Hripsime prayed intently, asking God to protect her as He had protected all the Old Testament people who faced danger. Her sisters prayed with her, and soon they heard a voice like thunder, assuring them of God's love and care. The thunderous sound caused panic among the throngs of people looking on they

65480 trampled each other in their confusion. But when King Drtad was told what had happened, he was not at all frightened. He was furious that Hripsime would not come to him, and ordered that she be brought to the palace by force. So she was dragged along, with a great crowd following, and as she went she prayed that like Daniel and Susanna, she would be saved from her tormentors.

Drtad, seeing her at last, was enthralled by her beauty and tried with all his great strength to seduce her. But Hripsime, delicate as she was, struggled against him so hard that he could not overcome her. Exhausted by his efforts, he ordered the abbess Gayane to intercede with the young nun and tell her to accede. But Gayane took the opportunity instead to strengthen Hripsime in her resistance to the king. Drtad's

65490 attendants beat and threatened her, but she persisted in encouraging the younger woman to stand firm and trust in God.

Hripsime did so for many hours, and then finally escaped from the palace. She ran through the city to the nuns' dwelling place to tell them what had happened. Then she went out from the city to a high, sandy point near the main road to Artashat. There

65495 she thanked God for keeping her safe. She prayed that soon she might be allowed to leave the temptations of the world behind and enter, by His mercy, the heavenly realm. She thanked Him for the certainty that if torments were to come, He would be there with her. Hripsime ended her prayer with these words: "Let the light of the Lord God be over us".

That very night, Drtad's men came and tortured Hripsime to death. Other followers of Christ were also killed, and so were many of those who came to wrap and bury their

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bodies. But all of them prayed to God and thanked Him for making them worthy of martyrdom. The king's men dragged their bodies out and threw them as food for the prowling dogs.

65505 Drtad was unashamed of what he had done. Indeed his heart was more inflamed against the Christians and especially against Gayane, who had counseled his wonderful Hripsime not to yield to him. He commanded that the abbess should be killed, and so she was taken to the place used for criminals' executions. But like her companions, Gayane was unafraid, and expressed her wish to join her sisters speedily. She died as
65510 they had, with a prayer on her lips.

King Drtad was not an introspective man, and after a week of grieving over Hripsime's death, he had to have some strenuous activity. He arranged to go hunting, and when the hounds and nets and traps and beaters were all ready, he climbed into his chariot to leave the city for the plain where he loved to hunt.

65515 Suddenly, Drtad fell from the chariot, as if struck down by a demon. He began to rave and grunt, like an animal. As their king was crazed, so all the people suddenly seemed to be, and there was chaos and ruin throughout the city and from the highest to the lowest of the king's household.

But one person had a solution. The king's sister, Khosrovitookht, had a heavenly
65520 vision which told her that only the prisoner in the pit, Gregory, could end the terrible nightmare. At first people said she too was mad; Gregory must be dead after so many years in the awful place. But the vision came to her again and again, and each time it disturbed her more. So it was finally decided to send one of the young princes to Artashat. When he arrived, the prince convinced some people there to lower
65525 long ropes into the pit, and he called out: "Gregory, if you are down there, let us know!" They felt a tug on the rope, and pulled it up out of the pit. There was Gregory, his body blackened by dirt to the color of coal. The people helped him get clean, and brought clean clothing for him, and he was taken to Vagharshapat with joy and high hopes that he could remedy the situation there.

65530 A pitiful sight greeted him in the great city: the people, raving and foaming at the mouth, rushed toward him like wild dogs. He knelt and prayed, and at once the people regained at least enough of their senses to listen to him. The king knelt before him and begged forgiveness. But Gregory pulled Drtad to his feet and said: "I am just a man like you. The One who has had mercy on you is your creator, the Lord and Creator
65535 of all things".

Gregory gathered up the remains of those who had been martyred; no dog had touched the bodies, and they were not decomposed and he enshrouded them and took them to the nuns' former dwelling place. He spent that night praying for the salvation and repentance of the Armenian populace. The next morning, Drtad and a great crowd of
65540 people came to see Gregory, and asked him:

"Intercede with your God to save us, and not let us perish for all the crimes we have committed against you". For they realized that whenever he left them for a moment, the demons assailed them again.

Gregory answered: "You say 'your God', but the One you speak of created all things
65545 and is your creator. Recognize Him, as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and you will have everlasting life with Him. Do not be like those who, even though they are His creatures, fail to recognize Him.

"You see how much He loves those who believe in Him. He kept firm the maiden Hripsime so that she could fulfill her vow of chastity. Even to such an unworthy one as myself
65550 He gave the great privilege of suffering for His sake, and He granted me the endurance to survive.

"Now recognize Him, and throw off the yoke of evil. What you did to Hripsime and the others you did in ignorance. Ask them to pray to God for His mercy on you. Know God; put away your idols. He is long-suffering, pardoning, and nourishing in His mercy,
65555 and He cares for you all.

"God calls you; that is why He sent the martyrs to shine their light among you. They were witnesses to the majesty of the Trinity, and sealed their faith with martyrs' deaths. Recognize what they were showing you: that the Son of God humbled Himself in death so that we might be exalted. You tortured me, but my sufferings did not kill
65560 me; they exalted me instead. I endured so that, by His will, I could offer you spiritual healing. Now will you hear the teachings of the Lord?"

All the people fell down, and tore their clothes, and said that they did want to hear God's word so that they might live and be pardoned for the things they had done to Gregory. He began to teach them.

65565 "You have seen the power of God. For who but the One who made all things could change their character as He wishes to? Yet God changed the poisonous snakes in the pit into harmless creatures for your sake so that I, his unworthy servant, would be saved and

you would see the power of His miracles. And you saw a young girl defeat a powerful giant of a man, your king. She was martyred so that you might be healed. These are God's mighty works, done for your sake.

"And if you will turn to Him, then I shall gladly tell you how He made the world and showed Himself in it. For even though we cannot know Him, being only creatures, still He sent men called prophets to tell of eternal and divine life. They were men of the pious race of Hebrews, the seed of Abraham who is called the father of all races. Among these luminous men who spread God's words was one called Moses. He handed down true knowledge through the generations. So by the grace of the Spirit will I also try to teach you, trusting that He will place the proper words in my mouth. Let us begin".

Part 3

So Gregory taught the people about God and His desires for our salvation. Then he urged the people to build chapels for the martyrs, as a way of showing reverence for God and in order that the saints' intercessory prayers would enlighten them. He encouraged them to fast, study, and pray to become ready for baptism, and become worthy partakers in God's life and His eternal Kingdom. Having said all this, he sent them home to get a good night's rest before beginning the work of building the martyrs' sanctuaries.

But King Dardanus and the nobles would not leave Gregory's side because they were still fearful and tormented. Day and night they fasted and sat on ashes, dressed in hair shirts. Gregory used the time for they were like this for sixty-five days to tell them the whole long history of God's salvation for mankind. Many other people also came to hear Gregory's tales of the saints and his explanations of the word of God. They were a huge crowd, attentive and filled with wonder at what they were hearing.

On the morning of the sixty-sixth day, the king and nobles and the crowd with them approached Gregory and begged him to free them entirely from the torments which had beset them all this time. The king especially was eager for this, because his form was still more like a beast's than a man's. But it was God's will not yet to heal them completely, and to give them only enough understanding to comprehend Gregory's teaching. One way he taught them was by describing a wonderful vision which had come to him, concerning the chapels for the martyrs.

Gregory said: "One night I heard a fearful thunderous sound like roaring sea waves. The firmament of heaven opened, and a man descended in the form of light. He called my name; I looked up and saw him and fell to the ground, struck by terror. But he commanded me to look up and see great wonders.

"I did look up, and saw the firmament opened with the waters above it divided as is the firmament itself. The waters were like valleys and mountaintops, with infinite expanses that went far out of sight. Light flowed down to the earth, and the light was filled with shining two-winged creatures, human in appearance and with wings like fire. Their leader was a tall and fearful man who carried a golden hammer. He flew down near the ground in the middle of the city, and struck the earth. The rumbling sounded even in the depths of hell, and as far as the eye could see the earth was struck as level as a plain.

"I saw him in the middle of the city, near the palace, a circular base of gold as big as a hill, with a column of fire on it. On top of the column was a capital of clouds, and above that a cross of light. There were three other bases at the sites where St. Gayane and St. Hripsime were martyred, and one near the wine press where the nuns lived. These bases were blood-red, and they had columns of clouds and capitals of fire. From the columns, marvelous vaults fitted into one another and above this was a dome-shaped canopy of clouds. Under the canopy were thirty-seven holy martyrs in shining light. I cannot even describe them.

"At the summit of all this was a wonderful throne of fire with the Lord's cross above it. Light spread out in every direction from it. And an abundant spring gushed forth, flowing over and filling the plains as far as one could see. They made a vast bluish sea, the color of heaven. There were numerous fiery altars shining like stars, with a column on each altar and a cross on each column.

"There were herds of black goats, which when they passed through the water became sparkling white sheep. They gave birth to more sheep, filling the land. But some of these crossed to the other side of the water and became brown wolves which attacked the flocks. But the flocks grew wings and flew up to join the shining host, and a torrent of fire carried away the wolves.

"I stood amazed at this sight. And the man who had earlier called my name and said: "Why do you stand gaping? Pay attention to what is being revealed to you. The heavens have been opened! Here is what the vision means. The voice like thunder is the

beginning of God's mercy raining down upon mankind. The gates of heaven are opened, and also the waters above them. There is nothing to keep us mortals from rising up, for those who were martyred here have made a path for others.

"The light filling the land is the preaching of the Gospel, and the fearsome man is the providence of God, who looks on the earth and it trembles, who touches the mountains and they smoke, as the psalm tells us. This fear of God has flattened and destroyed error on the earth.

"The golden base is God's true Church, gathering all His people, and the shining cross above it is Christ Himself. The three blood-red bases are the martyrs' torments. But the columns of cloud show how quickly they will rise to heaven at the universal resurrection. The capital is fiery because they will love in the fire of divine light. And the crosses show that they are fellow sufferers with their lord Christ.

"The vaults joining the columns show the unity of the Church, and the cloud canopy above shows the gathering place of all believers, the celestial city. The throne, above which the whole structure is held together, is almighty God, the head of the Church. The shining light around the throne is the Holy Spirit, who glorifies the Son. The spreading waters are the grace of the Spirit, which will save many through baptism and make earth like heaven (that is why the plains became the color of heaven.) The herds of goats are sinners, washed clean by God's mercy, and worthy of His Kingdom. The flocks of sheep give birth because many generations will hear the preaching of the Word; but the flocks that became wolves are like those who depart from the truth. They lead sheep astray with their falsehoods.

But the sheep that endure will rise to Christ's Kingdom, and the wolves will be handed over to eternal fire."

Gregory continued: "And when he had told me the vision's meaning, he said to be strong because I had a great task. I was to build a temple to God on the place where the gold base had been shown to me, and the martyrs' chapels in the places where they suffered and died. After he told me all this, there was an earthquake, and I could see him no more.

"God showed me this vision of the future so that I could do His will among you. Let us go now and build the chapels, giving the martyrs rest".

"So all the people took up tools, and gathered materials, and set to work. Gregory himself took the architect's measuring line and laid out the foundations. They built three chapels, and made a casket for each saint's body. After Gregory had sealed the caskets, the king and people brought sweet oils and incense and rich robes. But Gregory said: "I am glad to see you honor these saints. But do not offer gifts to the holy ones until you have been purified by baptism. One day, we shall use all these beautiful things to adorn God's altar. But until true worship is established in this land, let them remain in the royal treasury".

The time had come for the king and all the people to be completely freed from their tormenting demons. Gregory knelt by the saints' caskets and prayed for Drtad and all the rest. Then he turned to the king, and by Christ's grace cured his hands and feet enough so that he was able with his own hands to dig graves and bury the caskets in them. His wife Ashkhen and sister Khosrovitookht helped him to arrange the places. With his prodigious strength Drtad carried stones from Mount Massis to make thresholds for the chapels.

When the chapels were ready, the martyrs were laid to rest in them. Gregory placed a cross in front of each, and told the people that the proper place for worship was in front of that saving sign of Jesus Christ. Then he took them to build a high wall around the place where the golden base had been revealed, for that was to be the site of the Lord's house. There too, a cross was placed so that people could worship God truly.

Gregory could see that the people were willing to heed his words, give up idol worship, and give themselves to study, fasting, and prayer. He gathered them to pray together for healing, and as they all prayed the king was fully restored to his human appearance, and the people were freed from their various afflictions. The news of this wonder spread through the land, inspiring people everywhere to come to Ayarat and hear about Jesus Christ, and learn how to live as He calls us to do.

Gregory then asked the king for permission to overthrow and destroy the pagan shrines and temples. Drtad readily issued an edict entrusting Gregory with this task, and himself set out from the city to destroy shrines along the highways. Together the men worked feverishly, and they distributed the temple treasures among the poor. In all the cities he visited, Gregory marked sites for Christian churches, but because he did not hold the rank of priest he did not erect any altars. At each place he set a cross, and he also placed crosses along roads and at squares and intersections.

65700 Drtad and his family members were then thoroughly instructed in the faith by Gregory. When they had all been convinced to worship the only true God, Gregory and Drtad began traveling to other parts of the country to instruct the people and to destroy the altars of the false gods. In many of the provincial towns, demons in the form of

65705 armed soldiers fought against the evangelist's efforts. They were put to flight each time, and then Gregory would tell the people not to be afraid, but to drive out their own personal demons of false worship, and follow Christ. He performed miracles to show the people how loving and powerful God is. And the king gave testimony about his sinful acts, and the miracles and mercy of healing which God had shown him. So they traveled through the provinces and everywhere they spread the light of the

65710 Gospel and destroyed the dark pagan superstitions which had held the people captive. After they returned to Vagharshapat, Drtad called together all his courtiers and the leaders from every corner of the land. The king wanted to make Gregory their pastor, so that everyone could be baptized and begin in earnest to live the new life in Christ. Gregory protested his unworthiness, but Drtad had a wonderful vision from God

65715 urging him to carry out his plan, and the angelic vision also appeared to Gregory, telling him not to thwart it. So Gregory said: "Let God's will be done". Drtad then chose some of the leading princes to take Gregory to Caesarea, in Cappadocia, with an edict for the bishop Leontius. The edict gave the whole history of Armenia's pagan worship, the suffering of the nuns, Gregory's witness and work

65720 among the people, and the king's own desire to have Gregory be the spiritual leader of Armenia. The group set off with Gregory in a royal carriage, taking along gifts for each of the churches they would pass. They were welcomed heartily in the land of the Greeks, who rejoiced to hear of God's miracles and the great conversion which had taken

65725 place. When the men reached Caesarea, Gregory was duly ordained, and the bishops laid their hands on him and prayed for him. He, too, was now consecrated as a bishop for God's church. With joyous and loving farewells, the nobles and Gregory set out for home, and as they stopped at various towns, Gregory persuaded some good Christian men to return

65730 with him and be ordained to serve the people. In all the towns, crowds of people gathered to see the new bishop pass, and to receive his blessing.

Part 4

65735 Back within the borders of Armenia, Gregory heard that in a certain region there was a large, richly-appointed temple devoted to the cult of Vahagn. It was on a mountain peak near the Euphrates, and contained three altars, one for Vahagn, one for his mother, and one for his spouse Astghig who corresponded to the Greek Aphrodite. People still made sacrifices at these pagan altars. Gregory had brought from Cappadocia some relics of John the Baptist and the martyr

65740 Athenogenes. He intended to take these up to the mountain, destroy the pagan temples, and build chapels for the relics there. But as his carriage neared a small valley, the horses halted and would not go any farther. An angel appeared and said: "It has pleased God that the saints should dwell here". So the entourage set to work and made a chapel for the relics.

65745 While they were doing so, Gregory took some of the men with him to destroy the pagan altars. Pondering as they might, they could not batter down the gates. So Gregory took the cross and held it up saying: "Let your angel drive the demons away, Lord". And a wind like a hurricane blew from the cross and leveled the altars so that later not a trace of them could be found. Many people seeing this came to believe in Jesus Christ, for as Gregory told them: "See, your stumbling blocks have been removed". It was on that spot that Gregory first laid the foundations of a church and erected an altar to the glory of God, and then arranged a baptismal font. He was with the people for

65750 twenty days, and more than one hundred and ninety thousand of them were baptized. This was the beginning of Gregory's effort to fill the land with church buildings and priests. And in each place he left a tiny portion of the saints' relics so they could be venerated.

65755 King Drtad, informed that Gregory was back in the country, set out from Vagharshapat to meet him. He had to wait a month, because Gregory was traveling far and wide to provide every region with churches and priests to do services in them, and was also

65760 baptizing scores of people. Finally Gregory did arrive, and the king went out to greet him on the banks of the Euphrates. Everyone was filled with joy, and the nobles who had gone with Gregory presented Drtad with Bishop Leontius' reply to his edict. In it, the bishop praised God's loving mercy in showing the Armenian people His will for them through the

65765 efforts of Gregory, whom they at first had despised but who became their spiritual

champion. The bishop quoted Scripture: "The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner" (Matthew 21:42). He asked the new Christians to remember him in their prayers, and wished them well.

When the welcoming festivities were over, Gregory once again settled down to the task of instructing the people, and ever more of them came to learn how to live in a new way. Then he and the men he had recruited began a period of fasting and prayer, vigils and tearful repentance. The royal camp also prayed and fasted for a full month. Gregory built a church and placed in it the last of the relics he had brought to Armenia. When all this was done the month of preparation was completed, the whole royal camp went down to the Euphrates one morning at dawn, and he baptized them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. As this was being done, a bright light appeared over the water, with the cross above it. The people were amazed and blessed God's glory. That evening they went forth, more than one hundred fifty thousand new Christians, with lighted candles and in their white garments, praising God with psalms and prayers. They received Holy Communion in the new church which Gregory had built.

During the next week, Gregory baptized more multitudes of people, and he fixed a date for commemorating the martyrs. This date was the same as that of a former pagan festival New Year's Day. He then continued to travel around the land to give instruction and blessings to all the people, urging them to give up their old worship and pagan feasts, and come instead to know and worship the one true God. Gregory was especially concerned with leadership and education. He made sure that each church had a priest and each region had a bishop. Then he persuaded the king to gather peasant children from all over the country so that they, too, might learn from him and the men he had chosen. The king was willing also to have some children taught to read and become better acquainted with the Scriptures and other sacred writings. Some learned Syriac and some Greek, but all found new and precious knowledge in the word of God.

So Gregory's work continued. He spread the gospel message everywhere; he helped many in distress and despair, and established monastic orders in the populous plains and the isolated mountain caves. He educated many of the pagan priests' children and when they were ready he made them bishops of the Church.

The first of these, Albianos, was often left in charge of the court so that Gregory could retreat to a lonely place and live austere with pupils from the monasteries. They would give themselves to prayer and works of humility, proclaiming God's strength by their own weakness. They did the worship services together, studied the Bible, sang spiritual songs, and encouraged each other to live according to God's way rather than the world's. But Gregory was always ready to visit a city to work with the people in churches there, and met often with priests and bishops. He was their best example of how to live and do their work as the Lord would want, and constantly reminded them to teach others as Christ had done.

King Drtad lamented Gregory's absence very much, but at about this time he learned that from a youthful marriage Gregory had two sons, Vertanes and Aristakes. Both had been raised to be priests, but Vertanes was living a secular life. Armenia's light shone so brightly in the world in this wonderful time that other lands truly admired her and felt she was blessed. Everything was flowering, and the king continued to travel around the land to urge his people to follow Christ. But Gregory no longer went with him; instead he lived in the desert. Aristakes, on the other hand, was living a stringently ascetical life of prayer as a monk. Elated by the news, Drtad sent for them both. Aristakes was at first reluctant to leave his desert hermitage, but fellow Christians persuaded him to go and do whatever God called him to. As soon as they arrived at court, Drtad went out with them to seek their father. They found him on the mountain called the Caves of Mane, in the province of Daranalik. Drtad asked Gregory to make Aristakes a bishop, so he could carry on his father's work. This was done, and Gregory himself visited some of the churches he had established.

Drtad was also a tireless servant of the Lord, both in his witness to others and his personal spiritual life. He kept the feasts and fasts, asked forgiveness for his sins, and strove to do God's will. He used his royal authority to promote the teaching of the Gospel everywhere, and tried to be a living example of it for his people.

While all this was going on in Armenia, Constantine became emperor in Spain and Gaul. He was a Christian and made a covenant with his large and mighty army that they would work together to glorify God.

So with his soldiers, Constantine marched against the heathen king Diocletian,

marcianos, Macimianos, Licinius and Maxentius. He rebuilt the Christian churches they had destroyed during the persecutions, and built chapels for those they had martyred. He destroyed the temples of idols and took the cross as his sign. Constantine greatly fortified his rule over a large part of the known world, honoring all who worshipped the true God and fighting vigorously against all others.

King Drtad was eager to pay his respects to another monarch who believed as he did. He set out with Gregory, the bishops Aristakes and Albianos, and some of the highest-ranking members of his own court. As they traveled from Vagharshapat through Greek territory they were honorably received along the way, and when they arrived in Rome the emperor and the great Patriarch Eusebius greeted them warmly. After the lavish ceremonies, Constantine pressed them to tell about the miracles that had come to pass in Armenia.

So Drtad told his spiritual brother all that had happened, not even keeping back the details of his own bestial transformation. He spoke about the brave sacrifice of the martyrs, and introduced Gregory to the emperor as the man through whom God's will had been done. Constantine was amazed by the story, and humbly asked Gregory's blessing. The emperor was also able to tell Drtad more about the martyrs, whom he had known of while they were still in his land. He spoke of how he himself had come to know God, and made an alliance with his fellow king to keep the love of Christ as a bond between their kingdoms.

When they returned to Armenia, Drtad offered all the gold and silver gifts they had received to the service of the Church, and placed several precious articles in the martyrs' chapels. Gregory and Aristakes continued their travels and teaching across the land. It was Aristakes, too, who journeyed to the city of Nicaea when Constantine convened all the Christian bishops there for an ecumenical council. At that council, doctrines were expounded and canons were formed. Aristakes made these known when he came back to Armenia, further strengthening the Church and insuring good practices among the people.

Gregory continued his teaching and writing to make the faithful think about things of the Kingdom by his stories about things of this world. With fasting and prayers, taking only minimal rest, Gregory spread forth the word of the Lord until the end of his days. He had taught his students well, and they too spent time in reading Scripture and urging each other to follow the words of Saint Paul: "Take care for yourself and your teaching, and persevere in the same. If you do this you will save yourself and those who hear you". (Timothy 4:13-16). Thus it was that Gregory spent the days of his life in acts like those of the Apostles, following God's commands until he died. And immersed in the love of Christ, he shone forth to all.

Now according to your command, King Drtad, we have written all this down as a chronicle in the literary style of the Greeks. Like the Old Testament prophets and rulers, we have put down these events for future generations everywhere to read and learn from; we have not set them down from old tales but according to what we ourselves saw and heard. An like the writer Luke, we have put down the main points, not including each small detail but passing over some things and describing only those that are most important and illuminating. We have made our story not to honor those who have already pleased God with their service, but to inspire their children and all those in every land who will receive these words. May they come, one day, to say to Him, "You are our God," and hear His life-giving answer, "You are my people".

OVER DE GOUDEN HALSBANDEN EN RINGEN, TE VELP, BIJ ARNHEM, GEVONDEN

DOOR Dr. L. J. F. JANSSEN. CONSERVATOR BIJ HET MUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN TE LEIJDEN.

Met afbeeldingen.

NIET AFZONDERLIJK IN DEN HANDEL.

TE ARNHEM, BIJ IS. AN. NIJHOFF. 1851.

Onder de zeldzaamste ontdekkingen, die in den jongsten tijd in ons vaderland hebben plaats gevonden, behooren de gouden versierselen, aan het hoofd dezes gemeld, en die hiernevens in naauwkeurige afbeeldingen worden uitgegeven. Die groote zeldzaamheid is oorzaak, dat wij de uitgave spoedig doen plaats vinden en van een kort ophelderend berigt vergezellen. Wij vonden daartoe te dringender aanleiding, omdat een vroeger bericht, door de nieuwsbladen verspreid, aan de onjuiste meening ingang moest verschaffen, dat die voorwerpen uit de riddertijden of van de eene of andere adellijke familie, dus van zeer laten oorsprong, zouden zijn (*). Eer ik tot de opheldering overga, zij vooraf openlijk hulde en dank toegebracht aan den heer Mr. T.

BRANTSEN, burgemeester van Reeden c. a., voor zijne medewerking ter voorkoming dat die voorwerpen nog niet verstrooid of in den smeltkroes geworpen werden, alsmede voor de gelegenheid waarin hij mij gesteld heeft om ze naauwkeurig

(*) Zie b. v. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1851 den 15 Januarij.

te onderzoeken, en, met bewilliging van den bezitter, onder mijn toezigt te laten afbeelden. Immers, wanneer ook de ophelderende aantekeningen van mijne hand geene waarde mochten hebben, zouden die afbeeldingen toch van groot belang zijn, omdat daardoor verhoed is, dat, bij mogelijk verlies van de oorspronkelijke stukken, de wetenschap niet al te zeer benadeeld zijn zou, en omdat door afbeeldingen van geheel éénige gedenkstukken, als deze, de bouwstof der archaeologie eene wezenlijke aanwinst erlangt.

Ik zal 1.) de ontdekking kort vermelden, met betrekking tot de juiste plaats en de wijze waarop de voorwerpen gevonde zijn, naar mededeelingen van den vinder en volgens autopsie; 2.) de gevonden voorwerpen beschrijven, in die bijzonderheden, die door de afbeeldingen niet konden worden aangewezen; 3.) over den ouderdom, de afkomst en de bestemming eenig licht trachten te verspreiden.

1.

Op den 16 Januarij 1851 werden, door den tuinman CARRO, te Velp, in den tuin van den heer J. J. JOBIUS [JORIUS], toevallig, bij het omzetten van den grond, gevonden: elf stuks gouden versierselen, zijnde hals- en vingerringen, allen aan een' der groote halsringen (zie Fig. 1.) hangende, en klaarblijkelijk met opzet, doch in ouden tijd in den grond gelegd. De diepte waarop zij gevonden werden, was ruim eene halve Nederl. El, en zij lagen op den gewonen zandgrond, waaruit de bodem daar bestaat. Eertijds was die tuin gemeentegrond; dicht bij de plek waar de voorwerpen lagen, waren de dorpsbewoners vroeger gewoon hun zand te halen; eerst in lateren tijd werd de grond gekultiveerd en ging in bijzonder eigendom over. De vindingsplaats ligt tamelijk hoog en schijnt vroeger nog iets hooger geweest te zijn dan thans; oogenschijnlijk is zij even hoog gelegen als de hervormde kerk, die er p. m. 250 el ten zuiden van verwijderd is. Noch onder, noch rondom de voorwerpen werd iets anders dan de gewone zandaarde gevonden; men ontdekte geene spoor van verbranding, noch eenig bewijs, dat de stukken oorspronkelijk in een' doek, kistje of dergelijke besloten geweest waren. Men heeft hiervan te meer zekerheid, omdat de geheele tuui en zelfs belende akkers na de ontdekking zorgvuldig zijn omgewoeld, in de hoop van nog iets te vinden, doch welke arbeid geheel vruchteloos is geweest. De juiste aanwijzing van deze vindingsplaats is niet zonder belang, omdat in het jaar 1715, ia hetzelfde dorp, eveneens een schat van antieke gouden voorwerpen gevonden is (beneden te vermelden), waaruit deze versierselen eenige opheldering erlangen.

2.

Van de elf ringen zijn er hier slechts acht afgebeeld, omdat vier in vorm en versiering aan elkander gelijk waren, zoodat er drie door verwijzing naar éene afbeelding genoegzaam kunnen gekend worden.

Fig. 1. Halsring; zwaar 7 lood 7 wigtje; gehalte 18 karaten; goudswaarde f95,50.

Fig. 2. Halsring; doch waarvan slechts het voorste gedeelte van den beugel afgebeeld is, omdat het overige geheel overeenkwam met Fig. 1; zwaar 5 lood 7 wigtje 3 korrel; gehalte 18 karaten; goudswaarde f71.

Fig. 3. Halsring; zwaar 5 lood 8 wigtje 3 korrel; gehalte 18 karaten; goudswaarde f72,05. Van deze soort zijn er nog drie, die niet afgebeeld zijn, omdat zij in vorm en versiering volkomen met dezen overeen kwamen. Slechts op één dier drie ontbreekt het kleine groepje versierselen, hetwelk op beide zijden van Fig. 3 gezien wordt. Het gewigt van den éenen dier drie is 7 lood 3 wigtje 8 korrel, de goudswaarde f91; het gewigt van den tweeden is 7 lood, 5 korrel, de goudswaarde f87,40; het gewigt van den derden is 8 lood 7 wigtje 7 korrel, de goudswaarde f 106,20. Het gehalte van allen is 18 karaten.

Fig. 4. Halsring; zwaar 4 lood 1 wigtje 6 korrel; gehalte 18 karaten; goudswaarde f51,55.

Fig. 5. Spiraal, als vingerring; zwaar 3 lood 9 wigtje; gehalte 18 karaten; goudswaarde f48,35.

Fig. 6. Fragment van een' ring, met opzet ineens gebogen, en zeer waarschijnlijk van een' ring als Fig. 4 of 5. Zwaar 7 wigtje 2 korrel; gehalte 24 karaten; goudswaarde f11,20.

Fig. 7. Vingerring, voorzien van een ovaal, uitgehold schild, waarin oorspronkelijk een gegraveerde steen zal gezeten hebben. De steen echter ontbrak bij het vinden, en had waarschijnlijk reeds ontbroken toen de ring in den grond geraakte, aangezien de

- 65965 vinder mij verzekerde, in de holte van het schild niets dan zand gevonden en vruchteloos naar het ontbrekende steentje gezocht te hebben. Deze ring draagt sporen van veel gedragen te zijn. Zwaar 1 lood 2 korrel; gehalte 24 karaten; goudswaarde f15,90.
- 65970 *Fig. 8.* Vingerring, op welks vierkant schild het borstbeeld van een' krijgsman diep (en creux) gegraveerd en van eene gepuntcerde lijst omgeven is; de krijgsman schijnt een barbaar  geen Romein, te zijn. Zwaar 1 lood; gehalte 18 karaten; goudswaarde f12,40.
- 65975 Uit deze opgave blijkt, dat de elf gouden ringen te zamen het gewigt hadden van 53 lood 4 korrel, ter goudswaarde van f652,95 (*), en dat zij van 18 karaats goud waren, met uitzondering van *Fig. 6* en *7*, wier gehalte 24 karaten was.
- (*) De waardering ia geschied door M. C. MENTE, goudsmid alhier.
- 65980 Alle voorwerpen droegen blijken van gebruikt te zijn, sommige meer, andere minder; de vingerringen *Fig. 7* en *8* het meest. Het ronde gedeelte van de beugels der halsringen had onderscheidene kleine bogten, die veroorzaakt konden zijn door dikwijls om- en afdoen, waardoor de beugels moesten verbogen worden, of door herhaalde drukkingen van andere voorwerpen, die er op kunnen gerust hebben.
- 65985 Allen zijn uit de hand bewerkt; zelfs het ronde gedeelte der halsringen is, blijkens kleine onevenredigheden, uit de band geklopt. Het platte gedeelte vertoont zich aan den buitenkant driezijdig; zie de doorsneden *Fig. 1. b, c* en *d*. De versieringen zijn er met een' stempel in geslagen, niet uit de hand gegraveerd, hetwelk vooral blijkt uit hare volkomene gelijkheid. Zij getuigen van veel smaak en kunstvaardigheid. De cirkeltjes op *Fig. 6* beviuden zich slechts aan ééne zijde, die de buitenzijde van den
- 65990 ring zal geweest zijn. Het borstbeeld op *Fig. 7* schijnt uit de hand gegraveerd te zijn.
- 65995 De sluiting der halsringen is bij allen dezelfde; te weten, een eikelvormig oogje (zie *Fig. 1a*), door hetwelk een puntig knopje gestoken werd. Voorts hebben de halsringen, vooral van voren en aan de buitenzijde, eene bruinachtige kleur, waaruit de goudsmid, die met de waardering belast was, het besluit opmaakte, dat zij oorspronkelijk opzettelijk gekleurd waren.
- 3.
- 66000 Om over den ouderdom, de afkomst en de bestemming te oordeelen, hebben wij, bij gebrek aan opschriftelijke stukken (gelijk munten en gedenksteen en zouden zijn), enkel de voorwerpen zelve tot gidsen, en zullen dus uit deze, vergeleken met andere elders gevondene, licht moeten zoeken.
- 66005 Onwillekeurig vestigt zich het oog in de eerste plaats op den vingerring *Fig. 7*, die van een borstbeeld voorzien is. Men hoopt, dat het portret erkend en door de geschiedenis geverifieerd zal kunnen worden. Maar in de ruwe trekken, waarin ziekt dat beeld verloont, hebben wij vruchteloos naar een bekend persoon gezocht. Een Romeinsch keizer is het niet. Het hoofd is voorzien van digte en kleine krullen, of van eene pelsmuts. Op borst en schouders ziet men vouwen van een' mantel, en mogelijk is onder zijne kin de bovenrand van een schild aangeduid. Het schijnt een barbaar te zijn, ofschoon ik de beeldtenis onder bekende barbaarsche vorsten niet gevonden heb.
- 66010 Men zal er echter eer een' barbaar dan een' Romein in vermoeden, omdat de bepaalde kenmerken van het Romeinsche karakter en kostuum ontbreken. Intusschen komen bewerking en vorm van den ring zelfen met die van Romeinsche ringen uit laten tijd overeen. In vorm en ruwe bewerking is hij bij voorb. gelijk aan den ring bij ARNETH, *Gold- und Silberwerke u. s. f.*, Tab. G, S. XX N° 152, S. 33, op welks vierkant schild de borstbeelden van Constantinus Jun. en zijne vrouw gegraveerd zijn; alsmede aan den ring uit *Louisendorf*, met het opschrift FIDEM CONSTANTINO, afgebeeld in mijne *Gedenkteeken der Germanen en Romeinen enz.*, Pl. XVI, 6-8, en aan eenen anderen uit dezelfde streek, volkomen gelijk aan den laatstgenoemden, in bezit van den heer P. C.
- 66015 G. GUYOT te 's Hage (*). Maar ik zou onzen Velpschen ring nog eer iets later, dan uit den tijd der Constantijnen afkomstig achten. Hiertoe dringt de overweging van den in 1715 in hetzelfde dorp gevonden gouden schat, waarbij èn munten uit den tijd der
- 66025 (*) De ring van den heer GUYOT werd in het jaar 1850 in de omstreek van Kleef gevonden en is zoo uitmuntend bewaard, dat hij als nieuw zou kunnen beschouwd worden. Daar er thans twee vingerringen gevonden zijn, geheel gelijk, ook wat het opschrift hetreft, en uit dezelfde streek, mag men veronderstellen, dat zij door een' der Constantijnen als *donaria* aan verdienstelijke bevelhebbers, waarschijnlijk van barbaarsche hulptroepen, geschonken zijn, gelijk, vooral in dien tijd, zeer veel plaats vond.
- 66030 Constantijnen waren èn ook latere, de jongste van den tiran Johannes, wiens laatste

- munt (MEDIIOBARBI, p. 537) van het jaar 425 is. Die gouden schat, niet onbelangrijk tot opheldering van onze versierselen in het algemeen, moge hier kort vermeid staan, te meer, omdat hij weinig bekend is, en uit Nederduitsch geschreven werken ook
- 66035 slechts onvolledig gekend kan worden. Men vindt er eenige berigten over bij ENGELBERTS, *Aloude staat*, IV. 336; G. VAN HASSELT, [Arnhemsche Oudheden](#), IV. 1-3; REUVENS EN WESTENDORP, *Antiquiteiten*. III. 148, waar nog wordt aangeroerd STARING, in de *Verh. der Haarlemsche Maatschappij*, XI. 451 (1822); IS. AN. NIJHOFF, [Wandelingen in de Omstreken van Arnhem](#), 5e uitg. bl. 107, waar nog is aangeroerd KILIAAN, *Etymol.*
- 66040 *voce* dondersteen; maar de meest uitroerige en meest gelijktijdige bescheiden vindt men in G. CUPER, *Lettres de critiques etc.*, Amsterdam 1742, 4° p. 179, en in de *saggi di Dissertat. Accadd. di Cortona*, tom. IV. p. 255 sqq. (Roma 1743, 4°), *Dissert.* YI*, sopra alcune medaglie d'oro, divisa in tre lettere, due di GISBERTO CUPERO ed una di Mr. FRANSISCO BIANCHINI.
- 66045 In beide laatstgemelde werken bevinden zich, t. a. p., ook twee afbeeldingen van medaillons van Honorius en van Galla Placidia, bij dien schat geronden (*). Uit deze bescheiden is ons navolgend bericht ontleend.
- Op het Laar(\$), te Velp, werd in het jaar 1715, door werklieden en soldaten, bij het omspitten en gelijkmaken van een onvruchtbaar en heuvelachtig stuk weiland (*sterile prato*), toebehoorende aan een' tabakskoopman, die
- 66050 (*) ARNETH, die in zijne *Gold- und Silberw.*, p. 7, dezen Velschen goudschat aanvoert als behoorende onder de belangrijkste goudvondsten in Europa, en die als zijne bron noemt de *Lettres de critiques* l. c., heeft verkeerdelijk als vindingsplaats *Velperg* genoemd, in plaats van *Velp*, en als beschrijver opgegeven CUPER GISBERT, in plaats van den bekenden geleerde GISBERT CUPER.
- 66055 (\$) *Laar*, oudd. *Lár* ~ woning, huis; zie GRAFF, *althochd. Sprachschatz*, II, 143; vergel. MEIJER *Zürich. Ortsnamen* S. 10 (1849); en L. P. C. VAN DEN BERGH, *Krit. Woordenb. der Ned. Myth.*, bl. 124.
- 66060 het tot tabaksland verbeteren wilde, een gouden schat gevonden ter goudswaarde van f10,000 tot f12,000. Hij bestond in een' halsband (*collier*), in armringen (*brasseletten*), in munten en medaillons. Alles lag in de losse aarde, maar de halsband en de armringen waren in de rondte gelegd; het midden van dit rondje was
- 66065 met de medaillons bedekt, die van sierlijke randen voorzien waren en die zóó naast elkander lagen, dat zij eene soort van vloer vormden, zijnde vijf dier medaillons nog aan de *collier* bevestigd geweest (*). Op deze medaillons waren de kleinere gouden munten, op den kant, naast elkander gezet. De vindere verdeelden den schat onverwijld, maakten zich er mede uit de voeten en verkochten het grootste gedeelte
- 66070 aan goudsmiden, die het in den smeltkroes wierpen, zoodat de gezamenlijke vondst door geen' kenner of liefhebber ooit gezien is. Intusschen had CUPERUS het voorregt, te Arnhem nog een dertigtal der gevonden gouden munten te bezichtigen en er zelfs twee van te kunnen koopen, ééne van Honorius en ééne van Valentinianus; de overige die hij gezien had waren geweest van Constantijn den Groote en zijne zonen, van Valens,
- 66075 Gratianus en andere keizers van dien tijd, alsmede een van Johannes. Ook zag hij te Arnhem nog enkelen der medaillons, met name een van Honorius en een van Galla Placidia (\$). Volgens de mededeelingen van CUPERUS (die als zegsman den Baron VAN SPAEN van Biljoen noemt), zouden de brasseletten en de *collier*
- 66080 (*) Hoe zulke medaillons aan de *colliers* hingen, daarvan zie voorbeelden in de *Hist. Ant. Mittheilungen* van het Genootschap voor Oudheden te Copenhagen, S. 97-98, fig. 1, en bij ARNETH l. c. Taf. G. L. p. 8.
- 66085 (\$) Deze beiden zijn in de voornoemde verhandelingen uitgegeven. Het medaillon van Honorius was toen in bezit van den burgemeester DE GROOT te Arnhem, en dat van Galla Placidia bevond zich bij den Baron VAN SPAEN te Biljoen. Later kwam de GALLA PLACIDIA in de verzameling van den heer VAN DAMME; zie ENGELBERTS l. c., en ging uit deze over in de Koninkl. verzameling te 's Hage; zie J. C. DE JONGE, *Notice*, p. 99.
- 66090 versmolten zijn. ENGELBERTS daarentegen berigt, dat de *collier* »nog als *doopstuk* bij zekere familie bewaard wordt." ENGELBERTS had het wel niet met eigen oogen gezien, hij geeft er ook geene beschrijving van en noemt de familie niet; maar zijne verzekering schijnt niet betwijfeld te mogen worden. Indien het *thans* nog bij eenige familie mogt bewaard zijn, zou deze zeker de wetenschap verplichten door daarvan kennis te geven (*). ENGELBERTS heeft nog berigt, dat de heer VAN DAMME »uit
- 66095 denzelfden omtrek (Velp) bezat, eene buitengemeen groote medalje van Constantijn den Groote, die echter niet aan de gouden *collier* bevestigd was geweest, alsmede een' zwaren gouden vingerring, of ring, versierd met ingewerkte beeldjes van de eerste Christenen (en?) met een' saphirsteen, verbeeldende de keizerinne Helena." Uit dit bericht schijnt men te mogen opmaken, dat ook die voorwerpen van Velp afkomstig waren.

- 66100 Ten aanzien van de vindingsplaats, het *Laar*, leest men nog bij CUPER, dat sommigen, wegens de heuvelen die vroeger op dien akker geweest waren, gemeend hadden, dat deze gouden schat van eene begraafplaats afkomstig zoude zijn. CUPER hield dit echter voor niet aannemelijk, omdat er, volgens hem, bij de slechting van den heuvel waarin deze voorwerpen lagen, niet de minste sporen van eene begraafplaats gevonden waren, en
- 66105 omdat het begraven met schatten in dien tijd bij de *Romeinen* niet meer in zwang was. Wij zijn het hierin met CUPER eens; doch mogen niet nalaten op te merken, dat het niet bewezen is, dat die schat er door Romeinen geborgen is geweest, en dat barbaren in dien tijd de gewoonte wèl hadden, om met hunne afgestorvenen schatten te begraven.
- 66110 —
- (*) Maar vermoedelijk bestaat het niet meer. Immers voormelde heer BRANTSEN zeide mij, dat hem flaaauw voor den geest stond, dat de *collier* in zijne familie geweest, maar dat zij ten tijde der Fransche overheersching tot geld gemaakt was.
- 66115 Men mag uit deze opgaven zonder vermetelheid besluiten, dat die goudvondst op het *Laar* uit de eerste helft der vijfde eeuw is, omdat de jongste der munten uit den aanvang der vijfde eeuw was. En hierin is de reden gelegen, waarom wij boven het vermoeden geuit hebben, dat onze gouden versierselen uit iets lateren tijd dan dien der Constantijnen zouden zijn. Immers men zal beide goudvondsten wel als gelijktijdig
- 66120 of nagenoeg gelijktijdig mogen aanmerken, omdat het *Laar* slechts 10 minuten van de plek waar onze voorwerpen gevonden zijn verwijderd is, en omdat beide vondsten geene sporen opleverden van begrafenis, maar wel, dat zij opzettelijk in den grond geborgen, niet bij toeval verloren geweest waren.
- 66125 De vingerring Fig. 8, waarin zich oorspronkelijk een gegraveerd steentje zal bevonden hebben, komt in vorm en bewerking zoo in het oogvallend met Romeinsche vingerringen overeen, dat wij daarvoor geene voorbeelden ter vergelijking behoeven aan te voeren. Anders is het echter gelegen met de overige versierselen, bepaaldelijk met de halsringen. Deze komen noch in vorm, noch in versiering met de ons bekende Romeinsche overeen. Op het eerste gezicht zou iemand zelfs vermoeden kunnen, dat zij veeleer
- 66130 hoofdringen, diademen, waren; immers hun vorm is *eenigermate* met dien van enkele diademen uit de klassieke oudheid overeenkomstig: zie b. v. afbeeldingen bij CAYLUS, *Recueil*, I. partie 4, ri. LXXXV, 4; MONTFAUCON, *Antiq. expliq.* III Pl. XX. en XXV, en BOLDETTI, *i cimiteri* etc. p. 526. Ook zeide mij onlangs de heer HIIDEBRAND, opzigter van het Museum van Oudheden te Kopenhagen, die (28 Aug. jl.) alhier de teekeningen
- 66135 onzer Velpsche versierselen zag, dat er in Zweden gouden diademen van *soortgelijke* vorm gevonden waren, welke men daar vermoedde van Oostersche afkomst te zijn. Intusschen waren die Zweedsche diademen voor zóó ver van de onze onderscheiden, dat zij van achteren digt en van voren open (perpendiculair doorgesneden) en daardoor elastiek waren.
- 66140 Intusschen zal men onze Velpsche ringen niet voor diademen kunnen houden, omdat het breede en platte gedeelte der beugels eene tegengestelde rigting heeft met de sluiting van achteren, in dier voege, dat, wanneer zij als diademen gebruikt werden, zij niet plat tegen het voorhoofd zouden liggen, maar met de scherpe punt der voorzijde het hoofd zouden verwonden; terwijl zij daarentegen, om den hals gelegd
- 66145 zijnde, zeer doelmatig met de platte voorzijde tegen het borstbeen sluiten, en het versierde gedeelte dan ook voor ieder zichtbaar is. Aan deze bestemming is niet te twijfelen, en wanneer daaromtrent nog twijfeling mogt overblijven, zoo zal die wijken bij overweging, dat gelijksoortige ringen elders nog om den hals van de lijken bevestigd gevonden zijn. Die elders gevonden ringen zijn echter weinig in getal en
- 66150 hoogst zeldzaam. Zij werden gevonden in een gewest, hetwelk tot nog toe voor de vergelijkende archaeologie weinig geraadpleegd is, en wij gaan tot de vermelding daarvan te gereeder over, omdat het de eenige voorbeelden zijn uit de gansche oudheid (voor zoo veel mij althans bekend is), die met onze Velpsche halsringen grootelijks overeenkomen.
- 66155 In *Lijfland*, ten oosten van de Baltische zee, werden in den jongsten tijd door DR. F. KRUSE, den onvermoeiden navorscher der monumentale oudheid, vele opgravingen bewerkstelligd, vooral ook in grafheuvels der oudste bewoners aldaar. De uitkomsten daarvan zijn door hem medegedeeld in het werk *Necrolivonica*, in 1842 te Petersburg uitgegeven. Daar vindt men, Tab. 4. fig. N. (vergel. p. 7 van den tekst), een'
- 66160 bronzen halsring afgebeeld, te *Aschenraden* in een oud graf gevonden en nog om den hals van het scelet bevestigd. Die halsring komt in vorm buitengemeen met de onze (namelijk Fig. 1, 2 en 3) overeen; hij is, even als de onze, van voren driezijdig uitgeklopt, terwijl het overige rond is. Slechts daarin verschilt hij, dat de versierselen niet geheel dezelfde zijn, en dat de sluiting niet juist van achteren
- 66165 maar ter regterzijde van den hals is, en er aan de breede voorzijde nog eenige bronzen kleppertjes aanhangen, die nagenoeg den vorm hebben van lepeltjes van antieke

haartangetjes (pincetjes). Deze laatste bijzonderheid doet echter aan de overeenkomst geen de minste afbreuk, omdat volgens KRUSE's berigten in *Lijfland* ook zulke halsringen zonder kloppertjes gevonden zijn. Te *Ronneberg* namelijk ontdekte hij, in een oud graf, om den hals van een mannelijk scelet, twee zulke halsringen over elkander; deze zijn t. a. pl. Taf. 27, fig. 8, afgebeeld. Een halsring te *Kerklingen*, in Kurland, gevonden en t. a. pl. Taf. 41, fig. 3, afgebeeld, is van voren, op het breede gedeelte, van eene versiering voorzien, die volkomen overeenkomst heeft met de driehoek-versieringen van onze ringen; doch die halsring is van achteren touw-vormig. Voorts is nog opmerkelijk wat KRUSE aangaande de versieringen op de Aschenradensche oudheden meldt. Die versieringen bestonden in het algemeen uit cirkelvormige oogjes (soms één oogje met dubbele omtrekslijn, soms twee enkele oogjes beneden en één er boven), uit zigzags en uit kleine vierkantjes. Zulke versieringen nu bevinden zich ook op onze ringen. Ten aanzien van de zeldzaamheid dier voorwerpen verklaart KRUSE, dat hem noch in Duitschland, noch in Scandinavië immer een ring was voorgekomen overeenkomstig met die van Aschenrade. Deze getuigenis beteekent veel in den mond van een' oudheidkundige, die zoo groote ervaring als KRUSE heeft. Wij veroorloven ons, er alleen nog bij aan te t, dat ons ook uit Brittanië (*), Frankrijk en België zulke halsringen niet zijn bekend geworden (§), terwijl de klassieke kunstge-

(*) Ten deze moet ik nog opmerken, dat, volgens ARNETH 1. c. te *Cornwall* in het jaar 1783 een gouden *torques* zou gevonden zijn, die aan eene zijde diadeemachtig breed was, afgebeeld in LYSONS, *Magna Britt.* III. p. CCXXI, en eene bronzen, afgebeeld in de *Archaeologia*, XIV, 94. Maar de in die werken voorkomende ringen hebben met de onze zeer weinig overeenkomst. (§) Men gelieve wel in het oog te houden, dat hierdoor geenszins ontkend wordt, dat de Germanen, Britten en Kelten, in die landen woonachtig, in het algemeen geene halsringen zouden gedragen hebben. Het tegendeel toch is genoeg bekend; vele zijn de bewijzen, daarvoor uit oude schrijvers en uit monumenten aan te voeren; wij besparen echter de behandeling hiervan tot eene andere gelegenheid, daar wij ons thans op korthed moetende toeleggen, slechts het noodzakelijkste, hier tot opheldering dienende, aanstippen.

wrochten uit Griekenland en Italië (de Etrurische daaronder begrepen) mede geene vergelijking aanbieden, dan de genoemde, weinig in het oog loopende, met enkele diademen (*). Uit het aangevoerde zal dan wel de uitstekende zeldzaamheid dezer voorwerpen gebleken zijn; zeldzamer nog dan de Aschenradensche bij KRUSE, voor zoo ver die slechts uit brons bestonden, de onze daarentegen van goud zijn. De weinige ophelderingen, die KRUSE over de afkomst en den ouderdom der Aschenradensche ringen heeft bijgebracht, kunnen ons van geene dienst zijn, omdat zij slechts bestaan in aanhalingen uit oude Noordsche en Russische schrijvers, betrekking hebbende op het gebruik van halsringen in 't algemeen en niet hooger dan de elfde eeuw opklimmende. Mogelijk heeft KRUSE geoordeeld, dat zijne Aschenradensche voorwerpen tot dien laat-middeleeuwschen tijd behoorden, ofschoon hij dit niet uitdrukkelijk zegt. In geval hij echter in die meening verkeerde, zou hij door onze Velpsche halsringen zeker tot een ander gevoelen geleid worden.

(*) Van verre mag er nog mede vergeleken worden een kleine, platte, diadeemvormige, gouden vingerring, bij Wijk bij Duurstede gevonden en thans in het Museum van oudheden alhier. Deze is van buiten versierd met driehoekige figuurtjes, van oogjes voorzien, en besloten in een' gepunteerden rand; hij is aan het smalle gedeelte open en dus elastiek, hierin niet de voornoemde Zweedsche diademen overeenkomstig, hoewel dáár de opening aan de breede zijde was. Deze Wijksche vingerring werd door den Zweedschen oudheidkundige, den heer HILDEBRAND, geoordeeld tot de vijfde eeuw te behooren. Voor den vorm van dien Wijkschen ring, vergelijkte men den armring bij WORSAAE, *Dänemarks Vorzeit*, S. 46, en voor de versiering S. 47.

Aangaande den bepaalden volksstam, waarvan zij zouden afkomstig zijn, brengt KRUSE mede niets in het midden. Maar indien de graven, die hij te Aschenraden vond, van een volk zijn dat dáár inheemsch was, dan behoorden zij onzes inziens tot een' Noordschen stam, want het is aannemelijk, dat de volkeren die oudtijds digt aan de oostkust der Baltische zee (en wel aan haar zuidelijk gedeelte) woonden, van denzelfden stam waren, als aan de westkust, thans tot *Zweden* behorende. Door MONE, *Gesch. des Heidenth.*, I.7,66, worden de Lijflanders, Ehistlanders en Kurlanders tot den Finnischen stam gebracht; maar zie over de oudste volken aan de Oostzeekusten vooral GRIMM, *Gesch. der deutschen Sprache*, S. 716 n. f.

Aan den halsring Fig. 4, die geheel uit rond geklopt gouddraad bestaat, moet, wegens gelijke sluiting en gelijk goud-gehalte, eene gelijke afkomst worden toegekend. Wij zullen daarbij niet uitvoerig stilstaan; hij is blijkbaar van de eenvoudigste soort; doch het was mogelijk, dat er oorspronkelijk versierselen aan hadden gehangen; daarvoor is althans die geheel ronde beugel zeer geschikt, en zulke ronde halsringen, met voorwerpen daaraan hangende, zijn soms gevonden (*).

66235 De zware spiraalring Fig. 5, die als vingerring kan gebruikt zijn, ofschoon hij door zijne grootte en zwaarte eenigermate de vrije beweging van den vinger moet belemmerd hebben, schijnt, even als de voorgaande, niet Romeinsch maar barbaarsch van afkomst of bestemming te zijn. Men zou hiertegen kunnen aanvoeren, dat de Romeinen in den
66240 lateren keizertijd de weelde in het dragen van vele en zware vingerringen zeer verdreven, en dat zij zonder smaak daarmede soms alle vingers, tot boven toe, bedekten; zie QUINTILIAN. XI, 3, MARTIAL. XIV, 123, en vooral XI, 59, waar hij met bitteren spot Zoilus geesselt.

(*) Bij voorb. in Normandië; zie de jaarboeken der *Société des antiquaires de Normandie*, 1827–1828, pl. 20 No. C. Tombeaux Gaulois-Romains.

66245 Zoile, quid tota gemmam praecingere libra
Te juvat et miserum perdere sardonicha?
*Annulus iste tuis fuerat mode cruribus optus,
Non eadem digitis pondera conveniunt.*

Maar spiraal-vingerringen zoo zwaar als de onze, zijn mij van de Romeinen niet bekend geworden, noch op beeldwerken, noch oorspronkelijke. Daarentegen zijn zij tusschen Germaansch-Noordsche voorwerpen gevonden. Wij willen slechts één voorbeeld vermelden,
66255 hetwelk de meeste overeenkomst met onzen ring aanbiedt. Op Fühnen werd in het jaar 1833 een gouden schat ontdekt, bestaande in armringen, brasseletten, mantelhaken, médaillons enz., tezamen 8 pond 7 lood (noordsch gewigt) zwaar; daartusschen bevond zich een zware, massief-gouden spiraal-vingerring, overeenkomstig met den onzen; zie de afbeelding in de *Hist. Antiq. Mittheilungen der Societät für Nord. Alterth.*, Taf. V, 13, vergel. den tekst S. 92–97. Die Fühnensche ring is slechts een weinig korter
66260 dan de onze, en aan beide einden dunner bijlopende; maar het was mogelijk, dat onze Velpsche ring oorspronkelijk ook aan beide einden iets dunner was geweest, en dat die einden er waren afgenomen tot handelsgebruik (zie beneden). Het verdient ook nog opmerking, dat de médaillons, waarmede de Fühnensche ring gevonden werd, barbaarsche nabootsing
66265 en waren van munten van Constans en andere opvolgers van Constantijn den Groote, en dat de geleerde Noordsche berigtgever op goede gronden vaststelt, dat die gouden schat, welke van Noordsch fabrikaat was, tot de vijfde eeuw moet gebragt worden (*).

66270 (*) Germaansche gouden spiraalvingerringen in het *Meklenburgsche* gevonden, zie vermeld en afgebeeld in het Frederico-Francisceum Taf. XXIII, 1, 4, 6–8, vergel. den tekst van LISCH, T. 137, 138, en LISCH, in de *Jahrbb. für Meklenb. Gesch. u. Alterth.*, W, 269, 270; en in het Holstein'sche, b[j RHODE, *Holst. Cimbr. antiq. Rom.* p. 137, fig. 1, 4, p. 142–143, fig. 2, 3. Alle die ringen zijn echter merkelyk dunner en fijner, dan de Fühnensche en onze Velusche.

66275 Deze overeenkomst met Germaansch-Noordsche ringen valt niet minder in het oog bij het versierde fragment Fig. 6. Want onder de voorwerpen van Fühnen bevonden zich vier even zulke afgebrokene en ineengebogene stukken van ringen (sommige spiraalvormig), die ruw als eene keten in elkaâr gehangen waren; zie de afbeelding in genoemde
66280 *Mittheilungen*, Tab. V. Fig. 15. Zeer teregt kenmerkt de uitgever die als «stukgeslagene, ineengebogene, en zamengeschakelde ringen, ten behoeve van het verkeer" (handel en roulage). Het ringgeld is bij vele oude volkeren in zwang geweest, niet slechts bij de Noren, maar ook bij de Kelten, en zelfs bij de Hongaren; zie korthedshalve SCHREIBER, *Taschenb. für Gesch. u. Alterthümer in Süddeutschland*
66285 1840, en *Nachtrag* in den *Jahrg.* 1841 S. 401.

Uit het tot dus ver aangevoerde zal men deze gevolgtrekkingen mogen maken.
1. De te Velp gevonden gouden versierselen zijn, wat hunne oudheid aanbelangt, met waarschijnlijkheid te brengen tot de eerste helft der 5e eeuw.
2. De groote ringen zijn halsringen van mannen geweest; waarvan er door éenen persoon
66290 meer dan één te gelijk (over elkander) kan gedragen zijn. Hierdoor wordt misschien ook meer duidelyk, waarom die ringen zoo gebogen en gedeukt zijn; immers mannen zullen daarmede ruwer hebben omgegaan, dan vrouwen plegen te doen; en zijn die mannen krijgslieden geweest, gelijk waarschijnlijk is, dan kunnen de ringen ook door wapentuig, hetwelk er op gedrukt kan hebben, gebogen zijn.

66295 3. De kleinere ringen zijn vingerringen geweest; wegens hunne grootte en zwaarte waarschijnlijk ook van mannen; terwijl de spiraal-ring en het gebogen fragment tevens bestemd zullen zijn geweest, om bij het verkeer, bij koop of ruil, in stukken gesneden te worden.

66300 4. De meeste ringen vertoonen in vorm en versiering eenen niet-Romeinschen barbaarschen stijl, en komen ten deze het meest overeen met voorwerpen uit het noorden, aan de kusten der Baltische zee gevonden.

5. Uit het niet-Romeinsche karakter der ringen is nog *niet met zekerheid* af te leiden, dat zij door barbaren zouden vervaardigd zijn; want het was mogelijk, dat zij door Romeinen in barbaarschen stijl vervaardigd en door de Romeinen als geschenken
66305 aan barbaren gegeven waren, om de gunst van deze te winnen, of hunne trouw te bcloonen, of hunne bedreigingen af te koopen; waarvan uit dien tijd eene menigte van voorbeelden in de geschiedenis gevonden worden (*)
6. De vroegere ontdekking, in hetzelfde dorp, van een' schat van Romeinsche munten, medaillons enz., zou misschien de meening kunnen versterken, dat de thans gevondene
66310 eveneens door Romeinen vervaardigd waren; maar het was ook mogelijk, dat die vroeger gevonden schat door barbaren van de Romeinen geroofd, of bij overwinning veroverd en tijdelijk daar ter plaats geborgen was. In dit geval zou men daaruit geen gevolg mogen trekken op de Romeinsche vervaardiging van onze versierselen.
7. De gelijke wijze waarop beide schatten in den grond geborgen waren, en de
66315 nabijheid van de bcide vindingsplaatsen, geven aanleiding om te stellen, dat beide schatten gelijktijdig, of bij eene gelijke gelegenheid en door dezelfde personen, of door personen van hetzelfde volk, begraven zijn. –
Ik meen mij als nog te moeten onthouden van gissingen omtrent den bepaalden
66320 volksstam, die onze versier-
- (*) Hoe afhankelijk de Romeinen toen van de batbaron waren, en wat al afgeperste geschenken hun deze kostten, daarvoor ia belangrijk de getuigenis van SALVIANUS *Massiliensis* (uit de vijfde eeuw), *de gubern. Dei*, VI. 211, p. 129 (edit. Brem. 1688). Voor het overige verwijzen
66325 wij naar GIBBON, *Gesch. des Röm. Weltreiches*, uebers. von SPORSCHIL, Leipz. 1840, Th. VII. Kap. LVI. S. 4–90, waar de voornaamste bronnen aangevoerd zijn.
- selen in den grond geborgen heeft. Hier ligt een tegroot veld open. Wat al volkeren toch uit het Noorden, Oosten en Westen hebben niet in de eerste helft der vijfde eeuw het Romeinsche Rijk bestookt! Het meer en meer zinkende Westersche rijk werd
66330 beurtelings door Geten, Gepiden, Avaren, Quaden, Alanen, Sueven, Wandalen, Franken, Hunnen, soms onderling bevriend, bestormd en ondermijnd (*), en Aëtius, van geboorte een Scyth (§), onder de tenten der Hunnen rijp geworden, heeft, aan het hoofd van het Westersche rijk gekomen (433–454), twintig jaren besteed alleen om diens val te vertragen, door het tegen barbaren te verdedigen, terwijl hij in vele veldslagen in
66335 Gallië (†) de Franken aan den Rijn en de Burgondiërs bedwong (**). Ik hoop ter geschikter tijd op dit onderwerp terug te komen en eene bepaalde gissing te kunnen aanbevelen. Thans veroorloof ik mij nog slechts de opmerking, dat er in den omtrek van Velp nog geene sporen gevonden zijn van eenen daar geleverden veldslag. Zelfs in het
66340 *onzalige bosch* is vruchteloos door mij naar ontwijfelbare grafheuvels gezocht. Ééne enkele doodurn, vroeger aan den *Essop*, naar men zegt, ontdekt (§§), en geringe overblijfselen van oude begrafenis, door mij in de lente van dit jaar in het zoogenaamde *Stadsbosch* bij Arnhem, boven Valkenhuizen, in een' heuvel opgegraven, bewijzen te weinig (††). De *Apeldoornsche* Germaansche graven liggen wat ver, en schijnen mij ook toe, we-
- 66345 (*) Zia JORNANDES, *de reb. Get.*, c. 34; MEROBAUDES, *Panegy. cn CORRIPIUS, de laudibus Justin. min. (Corp. Scriptt. Byz. edit. BEKKERI)* passim; vergel. GIBBON l. c. VII.
(§) Volgens REN. FRIGERIDUS. Hij was eigenlijk geboren te *Dorestena* in Moesië; zie de aant. op MEROBAUDES l. c. p. 15.
66350 (†) »Galliam bis quinos certamina traxit in annos
Et senior post bella redit."
MEROBAUDES l. c. p. 16, vs. 147.
(**) Zie GIBBON l. c. VII. kap. 35 S. 3 u. i.
(§§) IS. AN. NIJHOFF, *Wandelingen in de omstreken van Arnhem* 5e druk, bl. 108.
66355 (††) G. VAN HASSELT verzamelde op zijn landgoed *Daalhuizen* bij Velp, nevens zeldzame Romeinsche munten, ook urnen of lijkbussen en werpspiesen (*frameae*)" zoo als NIJHOFF, t. a. pl. bl. 89, naar de mondelinge mededeeling van den heer VAN HASSELT, verzekert; maar noch hun getal, noch soort, noch vindingsplaatsen zijn bekend, zoodat daaruit geene gevolgtrekkingen kunnen gemaakt worden.
- 66360 gens eenvoud van inhoud en gebrek aan wapentuig, onder dan de vijfde eeuw en niet van in een' slag gesneuvelden te zijn (*). Mogelijk zijn zij, die deze schatten in den Velpschen bodem borgen, van den linker Rijnsoever naar den regter, den Germaanschen, gevlugt, en hebben op deze eenzame plek, tusschen Rijn en IJssel, de lijdelijke
66365 bewaring veilig geacht. Met dit alles wordt de mogelijkheid niet ontkend van hetgeen aangaande den vroeger gevonden goudschat vermoed is, dat die namelijk een gedeelte van een' *keizerlijken schat* zoude zijn; maar ook in zulk getal zou hij zeker niet op last eens keizers geborgen zijn, die voor betere omkleeding zou gezorgd hebben, maar veeleer als ontvreemd, als geroofd, moeten worden aangemerkt.

66370

Leiden, den 15 Sept. 1851.

NASCHRIFT.

66375

Nadat het bovenstaande reeds grootendeels gedrukt was, vond ik, in heb bij ons te lande zeldzame werk Neues vaterländ. Archiv – von SPIEL, fortgesetzt von SPANGENBERG, B. IV. Heft 1 S. 184 (Lüneburg bei Herold 1823, 8°), een bericht aangaande de ontdekking van een' gouden schat in Hannover, zoo ver ik weet nergens elders vermeld, en waarbij zich een halsband bevonden, had, die eenige overeenkomst met onze Velsche schijnt gehad te hebben, en ook tot omstreeks denzelfden tijd behoord heeft. Wij

66380

(*) Zie, over die Apeldoornsche graven, mijn opstel: *Oud-Germaansche en Frankische oudheden te Apeldoorn*, in deze *Bijdragen*, D. VII. bladz. 320 en volg.

66385

laten dat bericht hier nog volgen, ook in de hoop, dat het medewerken moge om eene juistere en van eene afbeelding voorzien beschrijving van dien schat uit te lokken, of eene aanwijzing, waar men die kan vinden? Voormeld bericht is van de hand van Dr. KOELER te Zelle en luidt aldus: »Op den 31 Mei (1823) heeft de ontvanger CLAUS BÖSCHEN te Mulsuwer Wiede, in het ambt Dorum van het land Wursten, nabij het Hollseler bosch, in de streek van Heidestatt, bij het steken van plaggen, even onder de oppervlakte van den grond, een gouden versiersel gevonden van een' ouden aanvoerder uit den vóórtijd. Het is met de meeste waarschijnlijkheid voor een' halsband te houden en weegt omstreeks een half pond. Daar, waar het iets breeder is, zijn er tot versiering enkele kleine halve maantjes op aangebragt. Ter zelfder plaats vond men vijf stuks oude Romeinsche munten, allen van oogjes voorzien en die aan het dunne einde van den halsband schijnen gehangen te hebben. Men vindt daarop de namen van ANASTASIUS en VALENTINIANUS, en herhaaldelijk het woord victor en victori (VICTORINUS ?). Op eene, die de oudste schijnt te zijn en reeds tamelijk afgesleten is, bevindt zich een hoofd met het opschrift RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE en onder het hoofd ANT ... S. Wanneer dit ANTONIUS heeten moet, zou dat stuk ouder dan de christelijke jaartelling zijn. Elke munt weegt iets meer dan een ducaat, en de goudsmid verklaart, dat het goud van 24 karaten is. Vier er van en de halsband zijn van wege het geregt of de *Landstuba* aangekocht, en men zal deze stukken der oudheid waarschijnlijk aan het gouvernement, voor het Museum te Göttingen of voor eene andere openbare verzameling, aanbieden. De halsband is in twee stukken gebroken, en het schijnt dat hij aan de ééne zijde over elkaar gehaakt en aan de andere door twee schuivers (*Schieber*), die er nog op aanwezig zijn, bevestigd geworden is."

66410

17 december 1920 – In Westerkappeln (Westfalen) heeft men in een akker bij het graven een leemen vaas met 37 gouden munten gevonden. Men wierp de gebroken vaas achteloos weg, maar vond later op de plaats, waar ze gevonden werd, nog een ring met drie steenen en een bewerkt stuk massief goud. De groote, zware munten zijn van Romeinschen oorsprong en vormen een belangrijke aanwinst voor de numismatiek.

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12 augustus 2007 GOUDSCHAT VAN VELD BLIJKT VOOR EEN DEEL IN MOSKOU TE ZIJN!
De vroegmiddeleeuwse Goudschat van Veld, die in 1945 door het Rode Leger uit Berlijn is geroofd, bevindt zich in het Poesjkin Museum in Moskou. Dat meldt Jos Bazelmans, hoofd onderzoek van de Rijksdienst voor Archeologie, Cultuurlandschap en Monumenten (RACM). Hij zag onlangs de schat, die in 1851 is opgegraven en een paar jaar later aan Duitsland is verkocht, prominent vermeld in de catalogus van een tentoonstelling over Merovingische kunst in het Moskouse museum.

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Dat dit nu pas bekend is geworden heeft alles te maken met een stukje politieke openheid naar het westen door voormalig president Vladimir Poetin. De goudschat heeft nu twee kanten, archeologische erg interessant voor Nederland maar ook historisch beladen! Dit is eigenlijk ook weer historisch interessant omdat de reden dat de goudschat in Moskou ligt, te maken heeft met het afloop en de historie van de Tweede Wereldoorlog. De goudschat is in 1945 in kisten door de Russische troepen vanuit Berlijn mee genomen naar Moskou, als een van de goedmakers voor alle enorme schade die de Duitsers in Rusland hadden veroorzaakt. Omdat de schat destijds gekocht is door de Duitsers in Nederland, zal Nederland nooit aanspraak kunnen maken op de voorwerpen. De Duitsers zijn over teruggave of bijv. het aanmaken van replica's in onderhandeling met de Russen. Dit punt ligt, ook 65 jaar na dato, nog erg gevoelig. Vanuit de Gemeente Rheden is er al wel contact geweest met Poesjkin Museum in Moskou. Zuiver met de intentie om elkaar op de hoogte te stellen van de stand van zaken. Er zijn plannen om onder Duitse supervisie een Nederlands onderzoeksteam naar Moskou af te laten reizen voor verder onderzoek. Wordt vervolgt dus!

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Nederlandse archeologen willen de schat graag bestuderen, meldde donderdag emeritus

- 66440 hoogleraar archeologie Tjalling Waterbolk, omdat hij lijkt op andere goudschatten uit Nederland, zoals de door hem in 1955 opgegraven goudschat van Beilen. Bazelmans heeft aan het ministerie van OCW gevraagd ervoor te zorgen dat een Nederlandse archeoloog de schat in Moskou kan bestuderen. De goudschat van Velp is oorspronkelijk groter geweest en heeft naast deze penningen ook bestaan uit een groot aantal gouden munten, armbanden, halsringen en een gouden ketting. Alleen de muntsieraden zijn bewaard gebleven.
- 66445 DE SCHAT VAN VELP; GISBERT CUPER, FRANKEN EN ROMEINEN
Spreker: drs. P. Beliën.
De schat die in 1715 in Velp werd ontdekt is één van de meest spectaculaire schatvondsten die ooit in ons land is gedaan. Tijdens de lezing zal worden ingegaan op de ontdekking van de schat en wat er vervolgens met het goud uit de vondst
- 66450 gebeurde. Hierna wordt een sprong terug in de tijd gemaakt, naar het begin van de vijfde eeuw n. Chr. Dit was de periode dat de schat aan de bodem werd toevertrouwd. Geprobeerd zal worden de vraag te beantwoorden hoe het goud in Velp terecht is gekomen en wie de eigenaar is geweest.
- 66455 Er zijn in Velp op twee plaatsen gouden voorwerpen gevonden. De goudschat, gevonden bij de voormalige Villa den Heuvel, is deels dan wel geheel in Moskou te bewonderen. Een tweede vondst met gouden voorwerpen zou richting Parijs verkocht zijn. Hier is verder niets meer over bekend. Al met al een zeer internationaal schatverhaal!
- Germaanse halssieraden**
- 66460 In 1916 werden aan de uiterwaarden van de Gelderse IJssel bij Olst vier massief gouden halssieraden aangetroffen. Ze zijn omstreeks 400 vervaardigd uit omgesmolten solidi. Solidi, het meervoud van het Latijnse solidus, zijn laat-Romeinse gouden munten. In de Germaanse samenleving werd erg veel waarde gehecht aan edelmetalen sieraden. In het Britse heldenepos Beowulf (8ste eeuw) spreekt de maker goedkeurend over de vrijgevigheid van een koning die de beste strijder overlaadt met koninklijke geschenken:
- 66465 De goudschat van Olst staat niet op zichzelf; ook op andere plaatsen in Nederland zijn vergelijkbare vondsten gedaan. Zo werden in Beilen in 1955 vijf gouden halsringen en een armband aangetroffen. Deze goudschat telde ook nog eens 22 munten. Ruim een eeuw daarvoor, in 1850, waren er van deze vindplaats al een halsring en een munt bekend, die daarna weer kwijt zijn geraakt. Ook de halsringen van Beilen zijn in het midden verdikt en dragen typisch Germaanse versieringsmotieven. Er is berekend dat voor de zes sieraden uit de schatvondst van Beilen meer dan honderd solidi omgesmolten moeten zijn. De goudschat van Beilen is nu te bezichtigen in het Drents
- 66475 Museum te Assen.
- 66480 Andere vindplaatsen van dergelijke bijzondere sieraden zijn Rhenen, in de buurt van het vroegmiddeleeuwse grafveld, en Velp. Een deel van laatstgenoemde goudschat, gevonden in 1751, is in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: twee tot medaillons verwerkte penningen, die omstreeks 425 in Ravenna geslagen zijn. De goudschat van Velp is oorspronkelijk groter geweest en heeft naast deze penningen ook bestaan uit een groot aantal gouden munten, armbanden, halsringen en een gouden ketting. Alleen de muntsieraden zijn bewaard gebleven.
- 66485 De goudschatten hebben met elkaar gemeen dat ze aan het einde van de 4de eeuw of in het begin van de 5de eeuw in de grond terecht zijn gekomen. Wat de reden voor het begraven van dergelijke kostbaarheden is geweest, is niet met zekerheid te zeggen. In ieder geval moeten deze voorwerpen toebehoord hebben aan vooraanstaande Germaanse stamhoofden, die contacten met het Romeinse rijk onderhielden. Mogelijk hebben ze het goud gekregen als beloning voor diensten die ze de Romeinen geleverd hebben. Daarbij kan gedacht worden aan deelname aan militaire acties. Zo zullen de Germaanse stammen
- 66490 die de Romeinse rijksgrens tegen hun eigen soort beschermden zich ongetwijfeld vorstelijk, dus in goud, hebben laten betalen. Ook kan een hoofdman het Romeinse goud ontvangen hebben in ruil voor de belofte geen vijandelijkheden tegen de Romeinen te ondernemen.
- 66495 De grote politieke onrust, onderlinge strijd en invallende plunderaars ten tijde van de volksverhuizingen kunnen de eigenaar ertoe hebben gebracht zijn schatten te verbergen. Misschien nam hij zelf deel aan militaire expedities en moest hij daardoor een veilige bergplaats voor zijn kostbaarheden vinden. Misschien was hij daarna niet meer in staat de verborgen schat op te graven, bijvoorbeeld omdat hij gesneuveld was. Indien geen andere overlevende op de hoogte was gebracht, raakte de bergplaats van de
- 66500 schat in vergetelheid.
- Recentelijk heeft men op een andere mogelijke reden voor het begraven van dergelijke kostbaarheden gewezen. De goudschatten kunnen namelijk ook gebruikt zijn als offers

om de goden gunstig te stemmen, of om de steun van de goden in onrustige tijden te krijgen. Schitterende offers van prestigieuze halsringen (symbool van wereldlijke macht) en andere gouden voorwerpen verleenden aanzien aan hen die de goden zo vorstelijk eerden. De goudschatten uit het einde van de 4de en het begin van de 5de eeuw, die zowel ten noorden als ten zuiden van de Rijn zijn gevonden, weerspiegelen in ieder geval de onstabiele politieke situatie in deze periode. Bovendien tonen deze rijkdommen het streven van de Romeinen om door allianties de bedreiging van hun imperium door invallen van buitenaf te trotseren. Er zullen nogal wat geschenken aan te pas zijn gekomen om de relaties met Germaanse stamhoofden te verbeteren en de allianties in stand te houden. Uiteindelijk mocht het niet baten, want in 406 overschreden Germaanse stammen definitief de Rijn grens en kwam er in Nederland een eind aan de Romeinse overheersing.

<https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=louisendorf+romeinsche&coll=boeken1&identificer=kXVfAAAAcAAJ>
<https://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/view?identificer=MMKB07%3A000749001%3A00175&query=halsbanden+ringen+velp&coll=dts&page=1&sortfield=date>
<https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=engelberts+cuper&coll=boeken1&identificer=Mioqla0aDuEC>

66525 **Helena on the Move**

The Makings of a Medieval Saint Relics played a key role as early Christian veneration of the martyrs transformed and developed into the medieval cult of the saints.

Curiously, these material manifestations of the living presence of the saints on earth are remarkably uncommunicative objects by themselves. As has been argued by Patrick Geary, a relic has few properties that can directly convey a specific message compared to a text, an image, or an artwork.

The cultural significance of relics almost entirely depends on the external forces of a good story, a tradition to supply meaning. Hagiography makes up for what relics lack: clear links with the saint they represent, with communities of the faithful, and with the geographical locations where relics offer contact with the sacred.

This essay investigates the role of narratives about relic mobility in the creation of medieval sainthood. It pays particular attention to relics' connections with history and specific geographical locations, taking as its case-study Helena Augusta (c. 250-330), mother of Constantine the Great.

Today Helena's saintly status within Roman Catholicism is a widely accepted given; so much so, that assumptions about the universality of her saintly status are often erroneously projected back onto the late antique and medieval period.

In reality Helena's sainthood developed through a long and meandering process which gained speed only many centuries after her lifetime and lasted well into the seventeenth century. What little we know about the historical empress became interwoven with the legend(s) of the finding of the true cross soon after her death, but this did not immediately result in her sainthood in Western Christianity. Only

from the ninth century onward did Helena become venerated as a saint at an increasing number of regional cults, most notably in the Rhineland. There are very few signs that Helena was venerated in Rome until the late fifteenth century, but once her cult caught on there during the course of the sixteenth century, the omphalic quality of the eternal city seems to have eventually ensured her status as one of the most important female saints of early modernity.

The aim of this essay is to reconstruct Helena's route to becoming a key figure in Catholicism – honoured with a chapel and a colossal statue at Bernini's monumental crossing at St Peter's in Rome in the 1630s – by analysing the medieval history of her route to sainthood.

While the facts about her life, her role in the true cross legend, her cult in the Rhineland, and her legend in Britain have been studied, it remains unclear how and why Helena eventually became ever more universally venerated. The inventio crucis legend is often (somewhat vaguely) invoked as explaining her sainthood, but it does not provide clear answers.

Hagiographical mobility and relic mobility are crucial for understanding the development of Helena's cult in the West: the potential of her story and her relics to cross boundaries and to (re-)anchor at different locations.

In order to reconstruct Helena's trajectory to sainthood – from regional, to Roman,

to universally revered Roman Catholic saint – I first examine the life of the
66570 historical empress, giving particular attention to the places which she visited and
to how her travels were first construed as pious mobility. The following section then
elucidates how the finding of the cross legend magnified both her (perceived)
66575 historicity and her piety (and pious mobility), without making her a saint. The third
and fourth sections analyse how the core of Helena's medieval cult was first created
and was fundamentally characterized by narratives about relic mobility and border
crossing. As it developed through a complex conversation between various locations,
historical periods, literary forms, and (holy) objects, and by their transmission
across Europe, her cult crossed numerous boundaries – both geographical and temporal.
66580 Helena's relics acquired significance as they moved from place to place, and once she
became known as a supplier of Holy Land relics, links with Rome and Jerusalem became
increasingly important, too. By foregrounding the interplay between holy objects and
hagiography, a versatile, transregional paradigm of sainthood emerges. Helena's
circuitous path to sainthood showcases the dynamism of hagiography as an expansive
66585 generic category which encompasses dialogues between various types of texts,
including secular and sacred historiography.
It also emphasizes the importance of the interactions between these texts and
material culture (holy objects) as fundamental for the business of medieval saint
making.

66590 The Historical Helena
Helena's historicity provided a foundation for her cult as it developed in later
centuries. Historicity helped authenticate her as a saint. A real-life Christian
empress, whose ties with places such as Rome and Jerusalem were backed up by
66595 respected historical writings, could make for a much more convincing case. The
historical facts about Helena have, with time, become so entangled with historical
legend that (parts of) the legend have come to be – and sometimes still are –
accepted as historical truth. This has been discussed in several modern analyses of
Helena's life structured along the lines of 'fact and fiction' and 'truth and
legend'.

66600 It is worthwhile to briefly retrace the steps of this literature and to establish the
historical facts about her life before moving on to discuss its legendary aspects.
Only by first peeling off and then reconstructing step by step the intricate tissue
of multiple legends that surround Helena's person does it become possible to bring
into focus the process of hagiographic innovation which is the subject of this essay.
66605 We have little solid information about the historical Helena. Her place of birth is
unknown. Although several suggestions have been made – Drepanum (later called
Helenopolis [Hersek, modern-day Turkey]), various towns in Mesopotamia, Edessa,
Trier, and Colchester – none of these can be incontrovertibly substantiated.
The approximate years of her birth and death (c. 248/249–c. 328/329) can be
66610 reconstructed based on her age (around 80) at the time of her death, which occurred
shortly after her journey to the eastern provinces of the empire (c. 326–328), as
well as the sudden cessation in the issue of Helena-coinage after the spring of 329.
Contemporary sources say nothing about her social origins, while later sources
suggest these were humble.

66615 She may have been working at an inn, possibly as a prostitute, when she met
Constantine's father Constantius Chlorus (c. 250–306) in the 270s. The couple seems
to have had a stable relationship, which probably consisted of concubinage, an
arrangement which was usual for couples of unequal social standing. Constantine was
born at Naissus (Nis, modern-day Serbia) on 27 February 272 or 273. In 289
66620 Constantius married the more well-connected Theodora, a lady of imperial standing,
and Helena's whereabouts cannot be inferred until Constantine's succession of his
father in 306. She probably then joined her son's court, which first mainly resided
in Trier and later in Rome. Despite the suggestions of later traditions, no
substantial evidence of Helena's presence in Trier survives.

66625 As for Rome, sometime after 312 Helena owned a considerable estate southeast of the
city, the fundus Laurentus, which included an imperial residence, the Sessorian
palace, where she likely resided. She was certainly buried in the mausoleum on the
Via Labicana, located on the same fundus. Four inscriptions recovered in this area
attest to Helena's involvement with the water supply and reconstruction of a bathing
66630 complex known as the Thermae Helenae.
Helena's status increased significantly toward the end of her life. A small number of
coins, minted in Thessalonica with Helena's image and the inscription NF, suggest
that she had received the title Nobilissima Femina, indicating membership in the
imperial family. It is not clear when she received this title or when these coins

66635 were minted.
In 324, the year that Constantine became sole emperor, he granted both his wife Fausta and his mother the title of Augusta, symbolically sharing his power with them. Helena was thus raised to the status of empress. Large numbers of Helena Augusta-coins were minted all over the empire, typically with the legend *securitas reipublicae*. Combined with evidence from inscriptions, it appears that Helena had been allotted an important role in imperial propaganda as the matriarch of a stable dynasty and state.

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Appearances of stability were soon afterward seriously threatened when Constantine had his eldest son Crispus and his wife Fausta put to death in 326. The reasons behind these executions remain unclear; there is no evidence that Helena had a hand in them.

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This familial turmoil directly precedes the act for which Helena is most famous, her journey to the eastern provinces of the empire in c. 326/328. The only contemporary source that mentions her trip is the *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea (c. 260/265–340). After discussing the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and Constantine's orders to erect a church over it, Eusebius briefly describes Helena's visit to the east, presenting it as primarily motivated by religious reasons. He suggests that she founded the Nativity Basilica in Bethlehem and a church on the Mount of Olives and describes her munificence to the inhabitants of the eastern provinces, especially the needy. Eusebius praises Helena's piety profusely and describes how Constantine honoured her memory with a stately burial in 'the imperial city' (meaning Rome, as elsewhere in the *Life*, but this would soon lead to enduring confusion with Constantinople).

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15 Based on Eusebius's account, Helena's journey has often been interpreted as a pilgrimage, motivated by personal piety. Eusebius's text cannot be taken at face value, however; it is a highly partial panegyric of the first Christian emperor and his pro-Christian policies.

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It casts Helena as the exemplary and pious Christian dowager empress in order to further accentuate her son's prowess and to celebrate his Church-building in the east. Several interpretations have emphasized the public (non-personal) nature of Helena's journey: an affair of state aimed at garnering support for the emperor in the east.

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Its religious overtones apart, Eusebius's account coincides with all the conventional trappings of an *iter principis* or imperial progress: the empress distributed gifts to the people and the troops, sponsored public building activities, and granted pardons. This much can be reliably established about Helena without overinterpreting or projecting back later traditions to the historical person. While she was not venerated as a saint or credited with miraculous deeds during her lifetime, it is possible to identify historical aspects which were to become important ingredients for her later legendary persona. Helena's historicity – as empress and mother of the first Christian emperor of Rome – could lend credibility to later traditions.

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Moreover, her documented presence at the important religious centres of Rome and Jerusalem could provide a basis not only for veneration in those cities, but also for cults further afield, wishing to invoke their sacred grandeur. Eusebius's account of her journey to the eastern provinces facilitated such long-distance associations, since he had – crucially – interpreted Helena's trip as a form of pious mobility. Mobility would go on to become a defining feature of her cult. Helena first became a saint through a narrative about relic mobility: the *translatio* of her relics from Rome to France. Later on Eusebius's piously travelling empress morphed into a major supplier of Holy Land and other relics. Yet the historical empress Helena could only transform into a travelling, relic dispensing saint after several layers of legend had been added to her story.

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The *Inventio* Legend: From Legendary Founder to Auxiliary

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The next, posthumous step in Helena's route to sainthood was shaped by the legend of the finding or *inventio* of the true cross. Its main holy protagonist is the cross; however, as its finder, Helena eventually also acquired a degree of saintliness by association. The medieval *inventio crucis* legend and the connected veneration of the cross were extremely widespread, complex, and diverse phenomena. I briefly analyse the legend's development in Western Christianity to illustrate how Helena – hitching a lift with the *inventio* legend – became a widely known quasi-saintly character. While the legend did not transform her into a saint directly, it did fortify the foundations for her later sainthood by magnifying both her (perceived) historicity and her exceptional piety. My discussion also aims to facilitate differentiation between Helena as cross-finder (an essentially auxiliary character) and Helena as a

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saint in her own right, with her own vita, relics, and geographically anchored cults (which will be discussed in the next sections). Veneration of the cross apparently preceded the legend about its miraculous discovery. Its cult was first recorded by Cyril (315-386), Bishop of Jerusalem, who around 340 wrote in his Catecheses that wood of the cross was present and venerated in Jerusalem (presumably at the Holy Sepulchre basilica), and that from there pieces of it had spread all over the world. In 351 Cyril wrote a letter to Constantine's son, Constantius II (317-361), informing the emperor about the appearance of a luminous cross in the sky above Jerusalem, also mentioning the discovery of the cross in the same city in the times of the emperor's father. Helena is not mentioned. For comparison's sake, we can recall that Eusebius's Life of Constantine had neither referred to either (the finding of) the cross, or suggested any connection between it and Helena.

In any case, several other witnesses confirm that the cult of the cross had begun in, and was spreading from, Jerusalem during the second half of the fourth century. The earliest written evidence of the inventio legend which also involves Helena is found not in a hagiographical text (narrowly defined), but in a funeral oration: De Obitu Theodosii Oratio (395), which was delivered by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (c. 340-397) forty days after the death of Emperor Theodosius I (r. 379-395). Towards the end, Ambrose imagines that Theodosius can now greet Constantine in heaven, thanks to the latter's deathbed baptism and having left a 'heritage of faith to princes'. Ambrose then refers to Zachariah 14. 20 and states that Helena fulfilled this prophecy. She travelled to Jerusalem and confronted Satan on Golgotha, accusing him of hiding the cross. By finding it she was the second to beat Satan (the first being Mary, by giving birth to Christ). Helena found three crosses and identified Christ's cross (the middle one, marked with the titulus crucis). She also looked for and found the crucifixion nails, which she has worked into the bridle of Constantine's horse and the emperor's diadem. According to Ambrose the nail in the diadem then transformed Roman emperors from persecutors to preachers of the Christian faith, and the nail in the bridle reined them in as Christians, thus fulfilling the prophecy in Zachariah 14. 20.

Ambrose thus attributes the consolidation of Christianity as the hereditary faith of the emperors to Helena. His extremely favourable account of Helena (overcoming Satan, comparable with Mary, founding the Christian empire) was likely directed at the women of the late Theodosius's court.

As co-foundress of the Christian Empire, Helena indeed went on to become a powerful and empowering model for Byzantine imperial ladies.

The initial lustre of Ambrose's Helena wanes in subsequent traditions, while at the same time the perceived historicity of the legend increased, since it was mostly discussed in historiographical texts. The next to record the inventio legend is the monk and theologian Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 345-411) in book X of his Church History (c. 402). In this version, visions inspire Helena to travel to Jerusalem, where a heavenly sign helps her find three crosses. To identify the right one, Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, tests them on a dying woman, who is miraculously cured after touching Christ's cross. Helena then builds a church on the site of discovery and sends a part of the cross to Constantine (the other part remains in Jerusalem), as well as the nails (for his helmet and horse's bridle). She hosts and serves at a banquet for holy virgins. Rufinus may have translated/adopted the story from Bishop Gelasius of Caesarea's now lost Church History (c. 390), written at the request of this cousin Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, which would point to a Levantine origin for the inventio legend.

However, adding Helena to the legend may have also been an original touch by Rufinus himself. Combined with the early interest in Helena as cross-finder shown by Ambrose of Milan (in 395), Paulinus of Nola (in 403), and Sulpicius Severus (in c. 403), a Western origin also becomes conceivable.

At any rate, the legend (with slight variations) also became known in the East, judging from the fifth-century Greek Church Histories by Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theoderet of Cyrrhus.

On the basis of these histories, the Roman statesman and scholar Cassiodorus (c. 485-c. 585) compiled the influential Historia Tripartita, ensuring that a synthesis of these three Greek accounts of the inventio legend became widespread in the Latin west Europe.

Although the earliest versions of the legend feature Helena as cross-finder, she was

not the only character to play that part. The slightly later Protonike legend, first recorded in Syriac, has a fictitious empress called Protonike find the cross. Around 415-440, a third version of the legend appeared: the Judas Cyriacus legend.

66770 Although the oldest surviving witness of this legend is recorded in Syrian, it was likely first composed in Greek in Jerusalem.

In the Cyriacus legend Helena interrogates representatives of the Jewish population of Jerusalem about various scriptural prophecies, particularly a certain Judas, whom she eventually pressures into finding the cross for her through his prayer. Three 66775 crosses are unearthed, the true one identified by testing on a dead youth who is revived. Helena builds a church on the site of discovery.

Judas is baptized Cyriacus. When Helena looks for the nails, they are again revealed by Cyriacus's prayer. The nails are used for the bridle of the emperor's horse and kept as imperial trophies.

66780 In this anti-Jewish version of the legend the main character is Judas, an example of a Jew converting to Christianity, rather than Helena.

The Judas Cyriacus legend eventually became the most widespread version in the medieval West, thanks to initial dissemination via influential sources like the Roman Book of the Popes or *Liber pontificalis* and Gregory of Tours's *Ten Books of* 66785 *Histories*, as well as later via the *Legenda aurea* by Jacopo da Varazze (1229-1289) (see below).

Helena's occasional appearance in legends about other historical persons, such as myths about Constantine and/or Silvester (Bishop of Rome in 314-335), further 66790 magnified the (perceived) historicity of her persona.

These legends could add new details to her biography. For example, according to the Silvester legend Helena was Jewish. In it, Constantine is afflicted by leprosy. He refuses the recommended treatment of bathing in infants' blood, opting instead for baptism by Silvester, which cures him and convinces him to convert. Helena initially 66795 opposes his conversion, favouring Judaism instead, but eventually also converts.

The inclusion of both the Silvester and the (Cyriacus) *inventio* legends in the *Legenda Aurea* (1260s) compiled by Jacopo da Varazze firmly established Helena's status as a major saintly supporting actress. This extremely popular compendium (transmitted through about 1000 Latin and 500 vernacular manuscripts) does not discuss Helena as one of its 153 saints, but she is briefly mentioned in the readings 66800 about the birth of Christ, Silvester, Epiphany, and the exaltation of the cross. Helena figures most extensively in its *inventio crucis* legend, although she is arguably not the most important character in Da Varrazze's version.

Constantine sends her to Jerusalem to find the cross. Once there she rounds up all Jewish men, threatening to burn them all if they do not help her, and Judas is handed 66805 over to her. Helena starves Judas in a pit for a week, after which he agrees to help. Judas's prayer reveals the cross (and later the nails), he accepts baptism, and becomes bishop of Jerusalem. Helena sends a piece of the cross to her son, the rest remaining where it was found. Two nails are worked into the emperor's bridle, a third in a statue of Constantine in Rome, and a fourth is cast into the Adriatic to pacify 66810 the sea.

In the *Legenda* Helena has little agency: she carries out Constantine's orders, while Judas Cyriacus performs the miraculous findings. This is also, by and large, the Helena that made her way into various visual representations of the *inventio* legend, including monumental cycles like Piero della Francesca's *inventio*-cycle at Arezzo.

66815 In visual representations Helena often (but not always) appears haloed, and the *Golden Legend* occasionally calls her a saint.

Yet it was not the *inventio* legend that initially turned Helena into a saint, although it did play an important role in that trajectory. Since the legend was the stuff of church histories, it did magnify her historicity as well as her piety. It 66820 transformed Eusebius's piously travelling empress into a lady who purposefully went to the Holy Land to recover the cross. Moreover, it first added the dimension of relics to Helena's story. The relics she was said to have collected in the Holy Land do not (yet) travel far in the *inventio* legend: they stay in Jerusalem, go to the bottom of the sea, or are worked into objects for Helena's son to support the

66825 Christian empire (according to the version of the *Golden Legend*). At a later stage, Helena's potential as a mobile, travelling character who could supply Holy Land relics would become a central feature of her cult in Western Europe. This will be explored in the final portion of this essay, but first we examine how Helena did in fact become a saint.

66830 Helena's Move to Sainthood

Narratives about relic mobility and relics' meaningful connection to geographical

place are crucial for understanding how Helena's cult first began. Pre-existing legend/history also mattered: the inventio- and related legends established Helena's image as a devout historical figure, but perceived 'history' by itself was not enough and it initially did not lead to veneration in the West. In what follows I trace the (legendary) fate of Helena's own bodily remains in order to elucidate how stories about relic mobility and the crossing of boundaries were crucial for the creation of her sainthood. The hagiographical narrative in question did not concern a cross relic, but rather Helena's body, which had been interred in Rome. Following her death in c. 328-329 Helena was buried in the imperial mausoleum just outside Rome at the third mile of the Via Labicana (situated on the fundus Laurentus formerly owned by herself). While both this mausoleum and the porphyry sarcophagus in which she was buried may have originally been intended for a male member of the imperial family, it is clear that she was buried here. This is confirmed by sources such as the *Liber Pontificalis* which reports that during the pontificate of Silvester (314-335) Constantine built a basilica for Marcellinus and Petrus 'ubi mater ipsius sepulta est Helena Augusta, via Lavicana millario III'. He also endowed the site with precious gifts 'for the love of his mother and the veneration of the saints'. Three seventh-century pilgrims' guides to Rome also link this location to Helena, referring to it as ad Helenam, ecclesia Helenae and sancta Helena in sua rotunda; 'church of Saint Helena (Sancta Elena), where her body lies'; and 'Beata Helena'. The epithets sancta and beata in these seventh-century guides have been interpreted by Seelinger as possibly already indicating saintly holiness instead of imperial titlature, especially combined with a Greek graffito at the site which invokes 'Saint Helena'. This may possibly suggest veneration of Helena in Rome while the city was under Byzantine overlordship. However, if Helena was venerated in Rome during the early Middle Ages, her cult does not seem to have been embraced with much enthusiasm. This is corroborated by liturgical sources: Helena is not included in the Roman Canons of the Mass. She does not appear in liturgies of the cross or in martyrologies until the ninth century; these later inclusions stem from her Carolingian cult. Even more telling is the obscure fate of Helena's remains in and around Rome. The status of the mausoleum-cum-catacombs complex (also called inter duos lauros) at the Via Labicana gradually declined. In 774 Pope Hadrian I still ordered a renovation of the cimiterium of Marcellinus and Petrus and during the pontificate of Stephen IV (816-817) new gold decorations for the basilica beatae Helenae are reported. The translatio of the relics of Marcellinus and Petrus to Seligenstadt in 827, famously ordered and recorded as a *furtum sacrum* by the Carolingian court historian Einhard (c. 775-840), marks a turning point in the prestige of the complex. Not long after this, around 840, the theft of Helena's remains and their transportation to the abbey of Hautvillers in France was reported by a monk of that abbey (who may have been writing decades after the event). The mausoleum seems to have nevertheless remained in use until the middle of the twelfth century, when Helena's porphyry sarcophagus was moved to the Lateran basilica so that Pope Anastasius IV (d. 1154) could be buried in it, a repurposing which bespeaks little respect for either the empress or (possibly) the saint. The site subsequently became ruinous, was used as private residence and stone quarry, and memory of Helena's burial there was lost until rediscovery in 1594 by catacomb-explorer Antonio Bosio (c. 1575-1629). What stands out about the removal of Helena's relics to the city of Rome is that the event hardly caused a stir. A single thirteenth- to fourteenth-century liturgical manuscript from an abbey in Castel Sant'Elia (Viterbo) briefly records the event. It contains readings for Helena's feast (based on Altmann of Hautvillers's vita), and concludes with a supplementary reading which relates that during the Pontificate of Innocent II (1130-1143) Helena's mausoleum was plundered for precious materials. Helena's head and larger bones were then brought to the city for safety first, while the smaller bones later went along with the sarcophagus to the Lateran's, from where they were distributed among various churches. However, where exactly the relics went within Rome is far from clear; contemporary translatio-narratives triumphantly claiming Helena's remains for a Roman church do not survive. Where her relics may have gone can only be reconstructed from (much) later sources, which suggests that Helena's status as a saint in medieval Rome was humble at best, if she was venerated at all. The apparent disinterest in the whereabouts of Helena's Roman relics is telling, since relic mobility required a story proving provenance, authenticity, and purpose

in the new location, in order to ensure continued cultural significance.

66900 The fact that Helena's remains could be transported in and around Rome without an accompanying narrative tradition elucidating where they came from, where exactly they went, and why, suggests that her remains had little to no cultural significance as saintly relics at this time and place.

66905 The importance of narratives about the mobility and geographical anchoring of relics becomes especially evident when the Roman situation is compared with the vibrant Helena cult which first developed in ninth-century France. Its earliest witness is a *translatio* account, a hagiographical form which creates or reinvigorates a cult by foregrounding the transportation of relics from one place to another.

66910 In a hagiographical dossier on Helena, the Benedictine monk Altmann relates how her relics were stolen from Rome and taken to his abbey at Hautvillers in the diocese of Reims around 840 CE.

Whether the theft of Helena's remains from Rome and their transportation to the diocese of Reims actually happened is impossible to establish; it may not have. This is not out of character for Carolingian reports about relic theft, which often

66915 disguised relic purchase or could be entirely fabricated.

Following more general Carolingian practice, Altmann composed a hagiographical dossier about Helena – containing a *vita*, a *translatio*, and *miraculae* (in that order) – offering, as it were, all the ingredients for sainthood in one package.

66920 The *vita* records Helena's exemplary holy life and deeds, the *translatio* authenticates her relics and their presence at Hautvillers, and the miracles prove that Helena, i.e. her relics, performs as may be expected of a saint. In the *vita* and *translatio* in particular Altmann weaves together history and meaningful connection to place to provide a foundation for this new cult. Relic mobility plays a crucial role in tying together this argument: it serves to connect the remains of the historical empress

66925 who had been interred in Rome with the relics which arrived in the diocese of Reims in the ninth century.

Moreover, by inventing a new layer of 'history' – the suggestion that Helena had been born in Gallia Belgica – Altmann turns the relic transferral into a meaningful return to home ground; the crossing of the borders to her Gallic fatherland is a

66930 transformative moment in this narrative.

For his account of Helena's life, Altmann used historical texts well-known to his contemporaries, such as those by the ancient Church historians Paulus Orosius (c. 375/385–c. 420) and Rufinus of Aquileia (see above). For the *inventio crucis* he

66935 relied on Cassiodorus's *Historia Tripartita* (see above). While Altmann knew the Judas Cyriacus legend, Judas is not mentioned, probably because this would detract from Helena's lustre.

Rather than other saints' lives or legends, Altmann's main hagiographical example was the *Epitaphium Paulae* in which Jerome of Stridon (c. 347–420) commemorates his friend Paula, casting her as a model of matronly saintliness, including travel to the Holy

66940 Land.

Altmann thus underscores the historicity of Helena, a lady whose holy deeds were previously recorded by respected historians. However, these traditions had not – so far – given rise to veneration of Helena in the West. Altmann needed to offer something new, but equally authentic and trustworthy, to legitimize the cult that had

66945 newly sprung up at Hautvillers. He accomplished this by retelling Helena's story in the shape of a saint's *vita* and – crucially – by authenticating her relics and their presence at Hautvillers by means of the *translatio*: the story of how the relics moved there.

Proving that these relics were indeed authentic was essential, all the more because

66950 it seems that Helena's relics arrived at the abbey at a less than ideal moment. Altmann dates their arrival to 840, when – he says – the archiepiscopal seat of Reims was vacant (due to altercations related to Carolingian dynastic succession). This dating implicitly suggests two problems concerning Helena's relics. First, they could not be authenticated by a bishop directly upon arrival. Second, they were acquired by

66955 Halduin (not mentioned by Altmann), then abbot of Hautvillers. This abbot was deposed in 853 because of his ordination by Bishop Ebbo of Reims (epis. 817–835; 840–841), eventually disgraced for choosing the wrong side in dynastic conflicts. Altmann explicitly indicates that he wrote Helena's *vita* at the request of Hincmar (epis. 845–882), the next Archbishop of Reims. Hincmar probably also acted as superior of

66960 Hautvillers, since the abbey was apparently without abbot during this period. Combined with the inquiry into and authentication of Helena's relics at Reims (probably in 849), this suggests that the hagiographical dossier may have formed part of a concerted effort to straighten out the problematic start for Helena's relics in the diocese.

- 66965 The narrative about the transferral of the relics to Hautvillers played an essential role in solving these initial complications. Authentication was therefore at the forefront of Altmann's mind when he composed his dossier on Helena, sometime between 850 and 890 CE.
- 66970 Apart from cleverly valorizing her historicity, he also aimed to silence any doubts surrounding the provenance of her relics as well as to validate their rightful place at Hautvillers. This is where Helena's furtive translatio comes in. Starting with a chapter titled 'How the body of St Helena was taken to the Gallic fatherland (patria Gallie)', Altmann relates the story of Theogesius, a Remois priest who had wanted to go on pilgrimage to Rome for years, but could not on account of his bad health, until
- 66975 he sought the intercession of Helena. The moment he set out, he started feeling better, and he arrived in Rome cured. In the church where Helena was buried, Theogesius stayed on after vespers and stole her relics at night (with God's blessing, Altmann underlines), leaving for home the next morning.
- 66980 So far so good. However, when Theogesius came to 'the borders of our fatherland', things got sticky: 'useful doubts were born in the chests of many', who wanted to know how such a great saint could be transported by such a lowly priest. Altmann thus emphasizes that within the borders of the Gallic fatherland people entertain a healthy distrust of obscure wandering priests claiming to possess valuable relics.
- 66985 He then goes on to demonstrate that in Theogesius's case their misgivings eventually proved unfounded. Since doubts and altercations persisted, it was decided to hold an assembly in the cathedral of Reims, at which a map of Rome and histories were consulted. After much discussion the assembly unanimously concluded that Helena had indeed been buried in Rome.
- 66990 This still left open the question how such a great saint could ever reside at the insignificant monastery of Hautvillers, giving rise to continued unrest. The monks of Hautvillers then subjected themselves to much praying and fasting, before seeking the truth through a 'legal examination', which again turned out in their favour.
- 66995 To convince absolutely everyone, the (bishopless) cathedral of Reims, finally sent three Hautvillers monks to Rome to inquire; they came back with more assurances about the authenticity of Helena's relics and, as an additional bonus, relics of Polycarp, Sebastian, Urban, and Quirinus.
- 67000 With this Altmann considers the provenance of Helena's relics and their destination exhaustively validated and authenticated and concludes the translatio portion of the dossier.
- 67005 Highlighting the special connection between Helena and Gallia Belgica and suggesting that within this region her relics are more meaningful than elsewhere are the primary aims of the dossier. Therefore, geography and the crossing of geographical borders play an important role in the reasoning that Altmann uses to meaningfully connect these – potentially problematic – relics to the right saint, to their previous and new locations, and to the community that welcomes them. His suggestion that a map of Rome was consulted at the assembly at Reims cathedral is a case in point. Geography really begins to matter, however, the moment that Helena's relics cross the borders of the Gallic fatherland and their authenticity suddenly becomes an issue. He thus
- 67010 accentuates that inside this fatherland the potential significance of her relics was greater than outside of it. The suggestion of Helena's special connection with the Gallic fatherland does not come out of the blue. In the first line of the vita Altmann had already indicated that Helena was born in Trier; he is the first to ever suggest this. There he also points out that her residence in Trier was converted into a church dedicated to St Peter, belonging to the episcopal see: 'the first of Gallia Belgica'.
- 67015 Historians have sometimes puzzled over this suggestion, because Altmann's patron Hincmar (Archbishop of Reims) was embroiled in a conflict with Trier about which Belgic episcopal seat – Trier or Reims – should take precedence over the other.
- 67020 Altmann's remarks about Trier do make sense, however. First, Trier is a historically plausible birthplace for Helena (more so than Reims at least), since Trier had been the imperial capital of both her partner and son.
- 67025 Second, this also allowed Altmann to style the transferral of Helena's body to the patria Galliae as a meaningful return, back to her own fatherland.
- 67030 Finally, it offered a way of getting back at the see of Trier. Right at the start of the translatio Altmann explains that it had pleased the Lord to exalt the region of Belgica Secunda (including the diocese of Reims) with the precious relics of a body (Helena), which had been born in Belgica Prima (of which Trier was the capital).
- Note the jibe here: Helena was born at Trier in Belgica Prima but Belgica Secunda

(the diocese of Reims) received her relics, an even better price perhaps than episcopal precedence.

In Altmann's narrative Helena's relics accrete significance as they move: from relatively indifferent holy props in the adventures of Theogesius, to the initially contested, but eventually very valuable relics of a holy empress returning to her fatherland, offering divine compensation for the political injustice of the primacy of the see of Trier over Reims. Crossing the boundaries of the Gallic fatherland is a transformative moment in this process. In the authentication procedures that ensue, the authenticity of Helena's relics is put to the test by renewed mobility. Three respectable Hautvillers monks retrace humble Theogesius's steps to Rome and back, and since this imitative trip only produces more relics, more sanctity for their monastery, the prototype transferral (of Helena) is considered authentic. Seen from this perspective, Helena's translatio not only makes a double statement about the place of departure and of arrival – as has been cogently argued by M. Caroli about translatio accounts in general – but it also makes a statement about relic mobility: the crossing of geographical boundaries and (renewed) mobility create sanctity.

While Altmann's claims about Helena's translatio from Rome to Hautvillers and the connections which he elaborates between her and Gallia Belgica cannot stand the test of modern historical inquiry, his version of events did resonate with contemporaries. Acceptance of the narrative was undoubtedly helped by the fact that it fitted into an established literary tradition of Rome-to-Rhineland translations, originally started by Einhard's *Translatio SS. Marcellini et Petri*.

Altmann does not cite this archetypal translatio, nor does he say explicitly that Helena's relics came from the same cemetery. He does indicate that she was buried at inter duos lauros on the Via Labicana, citing the *Liber Pontificalis* (which does name Marcellinus and Petrus).

Whether or not Altmann was hoping to create associations with Einhard's well-known translatio remains unclear. The commonality was not missed by later medieval commentators, in any case.

Two contemporary texts that refer to Helena's translatio – anonymous *miraculae* (after 882) and the ecclesiastical history of Reims by the Frankish historian Flodoard of Reims (c. 893/894–966) – are primarily interested in the miracles performed by Helena's relics as they were on their way to Hautvillers (both based on Altmann's own *miraculae*).

Flodoard even rewrites Helena's translatio as an itinerary of successive miracles on the way from Rome to Hautvillers, suggesting that the idea of successful relic mobility (i.e. condoned by the saint herself) appealed to contemporary audiences. With his hagiographical dossier Altmann transformed Helena from a historical figure into a saint, by styling the translatio of her relics as a triumphant return 'home'. Despite Helena's long pre-existing role as auxiliary in the *inventio crucis* legend, she thus first became a saint in her own right through a story about the mobility and authenticity of her own relics, crucial for the new cult at Hautvillers, rather than a narrative about cross relics. The eventual success of Helena's cult – i.e. its gradual evolution from local, to Roman, to universal – would be ensured by an increasing variety of sacred objects associated with the empress's legendary travels. This growing assortment of holy things allegedly transported by Helena enhanced the appeal of her cult and allowed it to sail on the currents of not only the cult of corporeal relics, but also that of holy objects (construed more broadly), as discussed by Bianca Lopez in this volume.

Following a Carolingian start, the next phase in Helena's route to universal sainthood was characterized by portable holy things.

Helena as Mover of Relics

After starting as a local Hautvillers/Reims phenomenon centred on Helena's own relics, her cult eventually began to spread and to include new aspects: Helena as an imperial local native and founder, as well as a supplier of (Holy Land) relics. In what follows, I highlight the interplay between relics (both Helena and Holy Land relics) and hagiography (as well as reinventions of late antique local history) to demonstrate how her sainthood developed into a versatile paradigm of mobility, of herself and of holy objects.

Altmann briefly suggests that Helena sent various relics (including a Holy Land relic – Christ's last supper knife – but no cross relics) to Gallia, but seems uninterested in Helena as a supplier of relics.

Nevertheless this suggestion, and his suggestion of her Trier (or more broadly Western European) origin, set the tone for later medieval cult(s), which often tended

to claim Helena as an imperial connection in local/national narratives. This version of St Helena first developed in the Rhineland and was highly concerned with elaborating connections between local history and ecclesiastical and/or imperial Rome. Transregional mobility was crucial for the connections which these traditions sought to elaborate between Rome, Jerusalem, and their own locale. As a result, it will become possible to elucidate why she attracted veneration at these locations, and not in Rome, during the early and high Middle Ages.

The earliest documented signs of Helena veneration outside the Champagne region (home to Hautvillers and Reims) date to the late tenth century. In 952 a Helena relic was deposited, along with other relics, in the altar of a newly dedicated crypt at the abbey church of St Maximin in Trier.

In the same period, St Maximin's also began to claim that Helena had encouraged Constantine to found this abbey.

This claim and the inclusion of the relic point to awareness of Helena's supposed Trier origins, first introduced by Altmann more than a century before. Helena's Rhineland roots must have been widely accepted, since the tenth-century *Passio S. Gereonis* also proposes that Helena founded St Gereon's church in Cologne, which likewise points to a close association between herself and the region. In both cases, claiming foundation by Helena not only increased prestige, but could also offer political advantages, because of the privileges enjoyed by imperial foundations.

During the eleventh century more and clearer signs of a cult appeared, most importantly in the shape of a hagiographical text which elaborates additional links between Helena and Trier, and which also discusses relics she would have sent there.

The *Vita S. Helene et S. Agrici episcopi* (c. 1050-1072) caters to the interests of Trier cathedral, as well as those of the abbey of St Maximin.

The double vita first briefly describes Helena's life loosely based on Altmann's *vita Helene*, with as the main innovation the twist that Trier had reverted to paganism while she was away, first finding the cross in Jerusalem and later living in Rome. From there, she then lobbied for the reconversion of her home city with Pope Sylvester, resulting in the successful mission of Agricius, former patriarch of Antioch, to Trier.

The somewhat longer life of Agricius that follows then strives to elaborate close connections between Rome and Trier, emphasizing that the latter's church is an apostolic foundation, a second Rome, in order to promote Trier's independence and primacy as the first see of Gaul and Germany.

The double vita stresses the importance of relics Helena would have sent to her home city by giving them to Agricius to take with him on his mission. According to the vita she prepared a reliquary with relics she had collected in the Holy Land: the body of St Matthew the apostle, a crucifixion nail, and a knife from the last supper (first mentioned by Altmann, see above), plus unnamed 'relics of the Lord' (no explicit mention of cross relics). These relics play a key role in the (forged) 'Sylvester charter', quoted in this text, in which Pope Sylvester would have granted Trier primacy in Gallia and Germania.

According to the double vita this privilege was confirmed through the relics sent by Helena.

Helena thus not only initiated Agricius's reconversion mission as a caring imperial hailing from Trier, but she also supplied the tangible evidence of Trier's exceptional mandate as episcopal see in the shape of relics. It seems that the body of Matthew and a crucifixion nail could be worshipped in the city during the eleventh century; the abbey of St Maximin claimed to possess the knife from the last supper. The double vita (and in it Helena specifically) thus also allowed for authentication of Holy Land relics present in Trier; as a Holy Land pilgrim, she must have surely supplied the real thing.

Which appeared first in Trier, these relics or the (possibly orally transmitted) legend that Helena had supplied them, is a chicken-or-egg conundrum. It is clear, however, that the various roles attributed to Helena in the eleventh-century double vita – as an imperial, Christian founder of Trier, as supplier and authenticator of Holy Land relics – converge to further local interests in the shape of ecclesiastical power and assets, namely relics.

The role for Helena in the ecclesiastical history of Trier suggested by the *The Vita S. Helene et S. Agrici episcopi* provided a common thread for subsequent medieval traditions. For example, the slightly later city chronicle *Gesta Treverorum* (1101) lists additional relics sent to Trier by Helena in confirmation of the Sylvester charter: the body of Matthew, the Holy Robe, a tooth of St Peter, sandals of St Andrew, and the head of Pope Cornelius, also conveniently introducing relics preserved by Trier cathedral.

The Holy Robe, which was moved to the cathedral's main altar in 1196, has enjoyed a particularly long career as one of Trier's prize relics. It was first displayed for Emperor Maximilian I (and to eager crowds) during the imperial diet of 1512, and has attracted popular devotion at many subsequent showings, the last of which occurred in 2012.

Outside of Trier, in the wider Rhineland region, legendary associations between Helena and the Theban Legion – a Roman legion which converted to Christianity and was collectively martyred by the end of the third century CE – were important for her cult. From the tenth century onward, she was typically credited with founding churches to house the remains of sainted Theban soldiers, such as St Gereon's at Cologne (see above) and St Victor's at Xanten. Menager cogently analyses these traditions as offering counterweight to the (Helena-based) claims and ambitions of Trier, while displaying a comparable interest in the benefits of claiming imperial foundation and in *renovatio imperii* rhetoric.

With time, Cologne could also boast its own Helena-associated Holy Land relics. The remains of the three Magi were said to have been found and brought to Constantinople by herself, before they had resurfaced in Milan in 1158. The archbishop of Cologne, who accompanied Barbarossa on his campaign against Milan, acquired them there for his cathedral in 1164.

The above illustrates Helena's appeal as a legendary imperial founder of ecclesiastical establishments and bringer of arguably authentic Holy Land relics in the Rhineland. It does not necessarily point to her veneration as a saint. However, in addition to liturgical and hagiographical witnesses, the presence of numerous Helena relics in the area clearly indicates a vibrant cult.

The abbey of St Maximin in Trier possessed a relic already in 952 (see above). During the eleventh century Helena relics started appearing across the Rhineland and beyond.

Relics were recorded at Echternach (Luxemburg) in 1039, at Gorze near Metz in 1068 and 1077, at Trier-Euren in 1075, at Bonn in 1135, at Cologne in 1135 and 1219, at Xanten in 1220.

In the category of slightly larger relics, the provost of St Gereon in Cologne acquired an arm-relic of Helena in 1220, the archbishop of Trier received a head-relic from Emperor Charles IV for which the bishop had a reliquary bust made in 1380, and a hand-relic is mentioned in the records of St Victor's at Xanten in 1507.

Contact relics (sanctified by proximity to Helena's person) were also recorded. A monstrelance said to incorporate the corona sanctae Helenae was first carried in a procession at St Gereon's in Cologne in 1266.

Various Helena-related objects were reported at Trier cathedral at several points during the later Middle Ages, such as another crown, an ancient drinking bowl, a comb, and a brooch.

From the long eleventh century onward, Helena became widely venerated as a saint in the Rhineland, while at the same time becoming a key character in local ecclesiastical histories, as an imperial local native, founder of churches, and bringer of relics. This version of Helena, both in her saintly and her imperial capacity, continued to shape local historiography and devotion. The *Medulla Gestorum Treveren* (1514) by auxiliary bishop and university rector Johan Enen (c. 1480–1519), for example, emphasizes the apostolic and imperial roots of ecclesiastical Trier according to the same paradigm first presented by the eleventh-century double vita of Helena and Agricius. This sixteenth-century description of the religious foundations and sacred objects in Trier reserves a large role for Helena in the history of this 'holy city'.

Her impact on the present is also discussed, in the shape of important relics preserved at Trier cathedral.

Enen first stresses that this cathedral was converted from Helena's palace, and then discusses her head-relic as one of the prize *heiltumb* of this establishment, others of which included several relics she had supplied: the body of St Matthew, a crucifixion nail, the head of Pope Cornelius, and above all the Holy Robe.

Late Medieval Developments and Concluding Remarks

It has been my object to demonstrate that Helena's medieval sainthood was not made by the *inventio crucis* legend (although it provided an important narrative foundation), but by narratives about relic mobility and the potential of her legendary personage for elaborating physical connections (in the shape of relics) with the major religious centres elsewhere, most importantly Rome and Jerusalem. Altmann of Hautvillers first created her as a saint in the ninth century by telling the story of

the translatio of her relics from Rome to the diocese of Reims. His innovative claim that Helena had been born in Gallia gave meaning to this furtive relic relocation: the empress was returning home to honour her home region. During the long eleventh century, meaningful relic transfer became even more important for Helena's cult as it spread in the Rhineland, and she received an additional role as supplier of Holy Land relics, which in turn also confirmed connections with ecclesiastical and imperial Rome.

The relic-obsessed Rhineland paradigm for Helena's sainthood, fundamentally characterized by relic mobility and interested in imperial allure, would go on to shape several subsequent variants of Helena's legend and cult. During the later Middle Ages it also co-existed – and sometimes competed with – variant traditions. Cults in France remained more Hautvillers-oriented: the cathedral at Orleans received Helena relics from the abbey in the thirteenth century, and Helena's head was venerated at the town of Montier-en-Der (rivalling Trier's head-relic). During the thirteenth century a new cult developed in Venice; in 1212 Helena's body was said to have been moved there from Constantinople, a translatio first recorded in the chronicle by Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354).

The Rhineland paradigm was paralleled by a largely secular British Helena tradition which took its cue from Altmann's keenness to 'press the local connection'. Henry of Huntington's *Historia Anglorum* (1123-1154) first presents Helena as a British princess, the daughter of King Cole of Colchester, to establish Constantine's British princeliness in his discussion on the development of the British monarchy; the *inventio crucis* is not mentioned. Geoffrey of Monmouth popularized this story in his *Historia regum Britannie* (c. 1136-1138), portraying Helena as the excellent progenitrix of English monarchs, including King Arthur. Geoffrey too is unconcerned with Helena's saintly deeds.

Later chronicle traditions did add religious overtones by referring to the *inventio crucis*, and the British Helena first entered hagiography with the *Vita sancta Helene* (c. 1198-1207) by Jocelin of Furness, but on the whole Helena does not appear to have been a popular saint in Britain.

Helena again appeared in British hagiography three centuries later in the *Nova Legenda Anglie* (1516), an early sixteenth-century revision of a pre-existing collection of English saints.

Helena also features in post-Reformation English Catholic hagiographical collections, such as the Stowe 53 and Folger V.b. 334 manuscripts discussed by Jenny Bledsoe elsewhere in this volume, which illustrates the adaptability of her story. However, the British Helena Legend predominantly thrived in secular contexts with nationalist agendas, which were served by proving Constantine's British birth, from around 1500 CE onward, until Edward Gibbon dispelled the myth in the late eighteenth century. That the British Helena mostly remained the stuff of historiographical rather than hagiographical legend is corroborated by the striking insular disinterest in Helena (or Helena-associated) relics.

Despite important differences, the Rhineland cult and the British tradition have one thing in common: they value Helena for the potential of her legendary character to create links with Rome, imperial and/or ecclesiastical. This commonality helps explain why in twelfth-century Rome, it was all right to reuse Helena's sarcophagus for the burial of a pope and disperse her remains to (initially) unknown locations, while this would have been unthinkable in the Rhineland or Britain during the same period. Rome already was Rome, the former imperial capital, with plenty of obvious claims to being the centre of Christian empire. The papacy could invoke the *donatio Constantini*; there was no need to stake any claims based on Helena's legendary character.

It seems that this had not changed by the 1260s, if we refer to the Golden Legend as a touchstone of widely accepted traditions about Helena's legendary deeds on the Italian peninsula. Jacopo da Varazze briefly observes that Helena may have been born in either Britain or Trier, but does not seem to care which is true.

He also does not reflect on where her relics might be, and does not connect her with Rome, except by observing that she had one crucifixion nail incorporated into a statue of Constantine in Rome.

In the legend on the birth of Christ it is suggested as an aside that Helena brought nativity hay to Rome, but that is where her links with Rome end.

Helena thus appears in the role of supplier of Holy Land relics, but there are no indications that Rome claimed to be a prime destination of such relics at this point in time.

This would change over the next few centuries. Several allegedly Helena-supplied Holy Land relics can be venerated in Rome still today: cross relics, the *titulus crucis*,

- 67295 earth from the Holy Land, the scala sancta, etc. The Rhineland paradigm for Helena's sainthood clearly caught on in Rome. These Roman traditions claim to be ancient, yet they are surprisingly late, as are traditions about Helena's own relics within Rome. Only from the late fifteenth century onward did Holy Land relics supposedly brought by Helena and relics of herself start to be a factor of note in the sacred cityscape
- 67300 of the eternal city and only in the course of the seventeenth century did her cult become fully established. Eventually it was this Roman Helena legend that would go on to become so ubiquitous that the impression that Helena had always been a saint in Rome and in Catholicism has become difficult to avoid. In reality, her sainthood was made by medieval
- 67305 narratives about sacred mobility, which clearly enjoyed renewed/continued cultural relevance in Renaissance Rome. Helena's long trajectory to universal sainthood exemplifies several larger trends in the cult of the saints as it evolved within the contexts of both medieval and post-Tridentine Catholicism. It is, for example, illustrative of the general (although
- 67310 never altogether hegemonic) shift from the early medieval abundance of geographically localized cults to the handful of universal star-saints which dominated early modernity. Moreover, it participates in the broader medieval preoccupation with holy objects (including relics) which are at once similar and dissimilar to the heavenly (Christ)
- 67315 and earthly (Holy Land) originals which they represent. The growing number of such nuggets of portable sanctity associated with Helena's cult eventually ensured its success. The aim of this essay has been to bring into focus the highly dynamic and multifaceted processes of medieval hagiographic construction and to make a case for studying medieval sainthood as a dynamic conversation between
- 67320 various texts and objects in perpetual geographic transition. As a result, it has become clear that hagiographical narratives about relic mobility were not just a Carolingian or a high medieval phenomenon, but remained important well into the late medieval and early modern period.
- 67325 1 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*; Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien*; Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust*
2 Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 6-7
3 Compare, for example, Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 82, and Oosten, 'The Mausoleum of Helena', p.138
- 67330 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*; Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien*; Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust*
4 Lavin, *Bernini and the Crossing of Saint Peter's*.
5 Compare, for example, Harbus, *Helena of Britain*, p. 20 ; Pohlsander, *Helena*, pp. 186-95
- 67335 6 The most rigorous and complete contribution (thus structured) to date is Drijvers's *Helena Augusta*, on which I base my discussion of the historical Helena. Other examples include Couzard, *Sainte Helene*; Hunt's *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, pp. 28-49; and Lauer, *Kaiserin Helena*. For a recent addition to the bibliography on the historical Helena, see Hillner, *Helena Augusta*.
7 Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, pp. 9-12; Drepanum is typically accepted as likely option, compare for example Pohlsander, *Helena*, pp. 3-5; Kajava, 'Some Remarks'; Vatchkova, '(Saint) Helena of Sofia'.
- 67340 8 Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, pp. 12-15.
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67445 Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Helenopolis/Drepana
 CHAPTER LXI: His Sickness at Helenopolis, and Prayers respecting his Baptism.
 AT first he experienced some slight bodily indisposition, which was soon followed by
 67450 positive disease. In consequence of this he visited the hot baths of his own city;
 and thence proceeded to that which bore the name of his mother. Here he passed some
 time in the church of the martyrs, and offered up supplications and prayers to God.
 Being at length convinced that his life was drawing to a close, he felt the time was
 come at which he should seek purification from sins of his past career, firmly
 67455 believing that whatever errors he had committed as a mortal man, his soul would be
 purified from them through the efficacy of the mystical words and the salutary waters
 of baptism. Impressed with these thoughts, he poured forth his supplications and
 confessions to God, kneeling on the pavement in the church itself, in which he also
 now for the first time received the imposition of hands with prayer. After this he
 proceeded as far as the suburbs of Nicomedia, and there, having summoned the bishops
 to meet him, addressed them in the following words.

67460 "THE time is arrived which I have long hoped for, with an earnest desire and prayer
 that I might obtain the salvation of God. The hour is come in which I too may have
 the blessing of that seal which confers immortality; the hour in which I may receive
 the seal of salvation. I had thought to do this in the waters of the river Jordan,
 67465 wherein our Saviour, for our example, is recorded to have been baptized: but God, who
 knows what is expedient for us, is pleased that I should receive this blessing here.
 Be it so, then, without delay: for should it be his will who is Lord of life and
 death, that my existence here should be prolonged, and should I be destined
 henceforth to associate with the people of God, and unite with them in prayer as a
 67470 member of his. Church, I will prescribe to myself from this time such a course of
 life as befits his service."

Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Aphaca
 CHAPTER LV: Overthrow of an Idol Temple, and Abolition of Licentious Practices, at
 67475 Aphaca in Phoenicia.
 THE emperor's next care was to kindle, as it were, a brilliant torch, by the light of
 which he directed his imperial gaze around, to see if any hidden vestiges of error
 might still exist. And as the keen-sighted eagle in its heavenward flight is able to
 descry from its lofty height the most distant objects on the earth, so did he, while
 67480 residing in the imperial palace of his own fair city, discover as from a watch-tower
 a hidden and fatal snare of souls in the province of Phoenicia. This was a grove and
 temple, not situated in the midst of any city, nor in any public place, as for
 splendor of effect is generally the case, but apart from the beaten and frequented
 road, at Aphaca, on part of the summit of Mount Lebanon, and dedicated to the foul
 67485 demon known by the name of Venus. It was a school of wickedness for all the votaries
 of impurity, and such as destroyed their bodies with effeminacy. Here men undeserving
 of the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the demon by their
 effeminate conduct; here too unlawful commerce of women and adulterous intercourse,
 with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple as in a
 67490 place beyond the scope and restraint of law. Meantime these evils remained unchecked
 by the presence of any observer, since no one of fair character ventured to visit
 such scenes. These proceedings, however, could not escape the vigilance of our august
 emperor, who, having himself inspected them with characteristic forethought, and
 judging that such a temple was unfit for the light of heaven, gave orders that the
 67495 building with its offerings should be utterly destroyed. Accordingly, in obedience to
 the imperial command, these engines of an impure superstition were immediately
 abolished, and the hand of military force was made instrumental in purging the place.
 And now those who had heretofore lived without restraint learned self-control through
 the emperor's threat of punishment, as likewise those superstitious Gentiles wise in
 67500 their own conceit, who now obtained experimental proof of their own folly.

Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Heliopolis
 CHAPTER LVIII: How he destroyed the Temple of Venus at Heliopolis, and built the
 First Church in that City.
 SUCH actions as I have described may well be reckoned among the emperor's noblest
 67505 achievements, as also the wise arrangements which he made respecting each particular
 province. We may instance the Phoenician city Heliopolis, in which those who dignify
 licentious pleasure with a distinguishing title of honor, had permitted their wives
 and daughters to commit shameless fornication. But now a new statute, breathing the
 very spirit of modesty, proceeded from the emperor, which peremptorily forbade the
 67510 continuance of former practices. And besides this he sent them also written

exhortations, as though he had been especially ordained by God for this end, that he might instruct all men in the principles of chastity. Hence, he disdained not to communicate by letter even with these persons, urging them to seek diligently the knowledge of God. At the same time he followed up his words by corresponding deeds, and erected even in this city a church of great size and magnificence: so that an event unheard of before in any age, now for the first time came to pass, namely, that a city which had hitherto been wholly given up to superstition now obtained the privilege of a church of God, with presbyters and deacons, and its people were placed under the presiding care of a bishop consecrated to the service of the supreme God. And further, the emperor, being anxious that here also as many as possible might be won to the truth, bestowed abundant provision for the necessities of the poor, desiring even thus to invite them to seek the doctrines of salvation, as though he were almost adopting the words of him who said, "Whether in pretense, or in truth, let Christ be preached."

Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Aegae

CHAPTER LVI: Destruction of the Temple of Aesculapius at Aegae.

FOR since a wide-spread error of these pretenders to wisdom concerned the demon worshiped in Cilicia, whom thousands regarded with reverence as the possessor of saving and healing power, who sometimes appeared to those who passed the night in his temple, sometimes restored the diseased to health, though on the contrary he was a destroyer of souls, who drew his easily deluded worshipers from the true Saviour to involve them in impious error, the emperor, consistently with his practice, and desire to advance the worship of him who is at once a jealous God and the true Saviour, gave directions that this temple also should be razed to the ground. In prompt obedience to this command, a band of soldiers laid this building, the admiration of noble philosophers, prostrate in the dust, together with its unseen inmate, neither demon nor god, but rather a deceiver of souls, who had seduced mankind for so long a time through various ages. And thus he who had promised to others deliverance from misfortune and distress, could find no means for his own security, any more than when, as is told in myth, he was scorched by the lightning's stroke. Our emperor's pious deeds, however, had in them nothing fabulous or feigned; but by virtue of the manifested power of his Saviour, this temple as well as others was so utterly overthrown, that not a vestige of the former follies was left behind.

Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Bethlehem

CHAPTER XLI: Of the Erection of Churches in Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives. IN the same country he discovered other places, venerable as being the localities of two sacred caves: and these also he adorned with lavish magnificence. In the one case, he rendered due honor to that which had been the scene of the first manifestation of our Saviour's divine presence, when he submitted to be born in mortal flesh; while in the case of the second cavern he hallowed the remembrance of his ascension to heaven from the mountain top. And while he thus nobly testified his reverence for these places, he at the same time eternized the memory of his mother, who had been the instrument of conferring so valuable a benefit on mankind.

CHAPTER XLII: That the Empress Helena, Constantine's Mother, having visited this Locality for Devotional Purposes, built these Churches.

FOR she, having resolved to discharge the duties of pious devotion to the God, the King of kings, and feeling it incumbent on her to render thanksgivings with prayers on behalf both of her own son, now so mighty an emperor, and of his sons, her own grandchildren, the divinely favored Caesars, though now advanced in years, yet gifted with no common degree of wisdom, had hastened with youthful alacrity to survey this venerable land; and at the same time to visit the eastern provinces, cities, and people, with a truly imperial solicitude. As soon, then, as she had rendered due reverence to the ground which the Saviour's feet had trodden, according to the prophetic word which says "Let us worship at the place whereon his feet have stood," she immediately bequeathed the fruit of her piety to future generations.

CHAPTER XLIII: A Farther Notice of the Churches at Bethlehem.

FOR without delay she dedicated two churches to the God whom she adored, one at the grotto which had been the scene of the Saviour's birth; the other on the mount of his ascension. For he who was "God with us" had submitted to be born even in a cave of the earth, and the place of his nativity was called Bethlehem by the Hebrews.

Accordingly the pious empress honored with rare memorials the scene of her travail who bore this heavenly child, and beautified the sacred cave with all possible

splendor. The emperor himself soon after testified his reverence for the spot by princely offerings, and added to his mother's magnificence by costly presents of silver and gold, and embroidered hangings. And farther, the mother of the emperor raised a stately structure on the Mount of Olives also, in memory of his ascent to heaven who is the Saviour of mankind, erecting a sacred church and temple on the very summit of the mount.

And indeed authentic history informs us that in this very cave the Saviour imparted his secret revelations to his disciples. And here also the emperor testified his reverence for the King of kings, by diverse and costly offerings. Thus did Helena Augusta, the pious mother of a pious emperor, erect over the two mystic caverns these two noble and beautiful monuments of devotion, worthy of everlasting remembrance, to the honor of God her Saviour, and as proofs of her holy zeal, receiving from her son the aid of his imperial power. Nor was it long ere this aged woman reaped the due reward of her labors. After passing the whole period of her life, even to declining age, in the greatest prosperity, and exhibiting both in word and deed abundant fruits of obedience to the divine precepts, and having enjoyed in consequence an easy and tranquil existence, with unimpaired powers of body and mind, at length she obtained from God an end befitting her pious course, and a recompense of her good deeds even in this present life.

Basilica

Above a cave in Bethlehem, Constantine built an octogon with a basilica and a court enclosed by four porticoes in the front. During the Samaritan revolt of 529 C.E. the building was destroyed. Justinian rebuilt it in its actual shape, which was preserved by the Persian invaders (612). In the crypts the traditional Nativity cave is connected with other caves where the monastic sojourn of Jerome and his community is commemorated (Vincent and Abel 1914; M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map with Introduction and Commentary*, Jerusalem 1954, *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4 vols., ed. M. Avi-Yonah, 1975 1:202-6; Heitz 1983:6-18; Murphy-O'Connor 1983:12-13).

Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine: Nicomedia*

CHAPTER L: That he erected Churches in Nicomedia, and in Other Cities.

HAVING thus embellished the city which bore his name, he next distinguished the capital of Bithynia by the erection of a stately and magnificent church, being desirous of raising in this city also, in honor of his Saviour and at his own charges, a memorial of his victory over his own enemies and the adversaries of God. He also decorated the principal cities of the other provinces with sacred edifices of great beauty; as, for example, in the case of that metropolis of the East which derived its name from Antiochus, in which, as the head of that portion of the empire, he consecrated to the service of God a church of unparalleled size and beauty. The entire building was encompassed by an enclosure of great extent, within which the church itself rose to a vast elevation, being of an octagonal form, and surrounded on all sides by many chambers, courts, and upper and lower apartments; the whole richly adorned with a profusion of gold, brass, and other materials of the most costly kind.

CHAPTER LXVI: Removal of the Body from Nicomedia to the Palace at Constantinople.

AFTER this the soldiers lifted the body from its couch, and laid it in a golden coffin, which they enveloped in a covering of purple, and removed to the city which was called by his own name. Here it was placed in an elevated position in the principal chamber of the imperial palace, and surrounded by candles burning in candlesticks of gold, presenting a marvelous spectacle, and such as no one under the light of the sun had ever seen on earth since the world itself began. For in the central apartment of the imperial palace, the body of the emperor lay in its elevated resting-place, arrayed in the symbols of sovereignty, the diadem and purple robe, and encircled by a numerous retinue of attendants, who watched around it incessantly night and day.

Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine: Jerusalem*

CHAPTER XXVIII: Discovery of the Most Holy Sepulchre.

THIS also was accomplished without delay. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hollowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. Then indeed did this most holy cave present a faithful similitude of his return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded to all who came to witness the sight, a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been the scene, a testimony to the resurrection

of the Saviour clearer than any voice could give.

67645 CHAPTER XXIX: How he wrote concerning the Erection of a Church, both to the Governors of the Provinces, and to the Bishop Macarius.

67650 IMMEDIATELY after the transactions I have recorded, the emperor sent forth injunctions which breathed a truly pious spirit, at the same time granting ample supplies of money, and commanding that a house of prayer worthy of the worship of God should be erected near the Saviour's tomb on a scale of rich and royal greatness. This object he had indeed for some time kept in view, and had foreseen, as if by the aid of a superior intelligence, that which should afterwards come to pass. He laid his commands, therefore, on the governors of the Eastern provinces, that by an abundant and unsparing expenditure they should secure the completion of the work on a scale of noble and ample magnificence. He also dispatched the following letter to the bishop who at that time presided over the church at Jerusalem, in which he clearly asserted the saving doctrine of the faith, writing in these terms.

67660 CHAPTER XXX: Constantine's Letter to Macarius respecting the Building of the Church of our Saviour.

"VICTOR CONSTANTIUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Macarius.

67665 "Such is our Saviour's grace, that no power of language seems adequate to describe the wondrous circumstance to which I am about to refer. For, that the monument of his most holy Passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to his servants now set free through the removal of him who was the common enemy of all, is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration. For if all who are accounted wise throughout the world were to unite in their endeavors to say somewhat worthy of this event, they would be unable to attain their object in the smallest degree. Indeed, the nature of this miracle as far transcends the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to human affairs. For this cause it is ever my first, and indeed my only object, that, as the authority of the truth is evincing itself daily by fresh wonders, so our souls may all become more zealous, with all sobriety and earnest unanimity, for the honor of the Divine law. I desire, therefore, especially, that you should be persuaded of that which I suppose is evident to all beside, namely, that I have no greater care than how I may best adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were of the heavy weight of foul idol worship; a spot which has been accounted holy from the beginning in God's judgment, but which now appears holier still, since it has brought to light a clear assurance of our Saviour's passion.

67685 CHAPTER XXXI: That the Building should surpass all the Churches in the World in the Beauty of its Walls, its Columns, and Marbles.

67690 "IT will be well, therefore, for your sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the church itself as a whole may surpass all others whatsoever in beauty, but that the details of the building may be of such a kind that the fairest structures in any city of the empire may be excelled by this. And with respect to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you that our friend Dracilianus, the deputy of the Praetorian Praefects, and the governor of the province, have received a charge from us. For our pious directions to them are to the effect that artificers and laborers, and whatever they shall understand from your sagacity to be needful for the advancement of the work, shall forthwith be furnished by their care. And as to the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge, after actual inspection of the plan, to be especially precious and serviceable, be diligent to send information to us in writing, in order that whatever quantity or sort of materials we shall esteem from your letter to be needful, may be procured from every quarter, as required, for it is fitting that the most marvelous place in the world should be worthily decorated.

67700 CHAPTER XXXII: That he instructed the Governors concerning the Beautifying of the Roof; also concerning Workmen, and Materials.

67705 "WITH respect to the ceiling of the church, I wish to know from you whether in your judgment it should be panel-ceiled, or finished with any other kind of workmanship. If the panel ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold. For the rest, your Holiness will give information as early as possible to the before-mentioned magistrates how many laborers and artificers, and what expenditure of money is required. You will also be careful to send us a report without delay, not only respecting the marbles and columns, but the paneled ceiling also, should this appear

to you to be the most beautiful form. God preserve you, beloved brother!"

CHAPTER XXXIIII: How the Church of our Saviour, the New Jerusalem prophesied of in Scripture, was built.

THIS was the emperor's letter; and his directions were at once carried into effect. Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of Divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence. And it may be that this was that second and new Jerusalem spoken of in the predictions of the prophets, concerning which such abundant testimony is given in the divinely inspired records. First of all, then, he adorned the sacred cave itself, as the chief part of the whole work, and the hallowed monument at which the angel radiant with light had once declared to all that regeneration which was first manifested in the Saviour's person.

CHAPTER XXXIV: Description of the Structure of the Holy Sepulchre.

THIS monument, therefore, first of all, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, anti profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind.

CHAPTER XXXV: Description of the Atrium and Porticoes.

THE next object of his attention was a space of ground of great extent, and open to the pure air of heaven. This he adorned with a pavement of finely polished stone, and enclosed it on three sides with porticoes of great length.

CHAPTER XXXVI: Description of the Walls, Roof, Decoration, and Gilding of the Body of the Church.

FOR at the side opposite to the cave, which was the eastern side, the church itself was erected; a noble work rising to a vast height, and of great extent both in length and breadth. The interior of this structure was floored with marble slabs of various colors; while the external surface of the walls, which shone with polished stones exactly fitted together, exhibited a degree of splendor in no respect inferior to that of marble. With regard to the roof, it was covered on the outside with lead, as a protection against the rains of winter. But the inner part of the roof, which was finished with sculptured panel work, extended in a series of connected compartments, like a vast sea, over the whole church; and, being overlaid throughout with the purest gold, caused the entire building to glitter as it were with rays of light.

CHAPTER XXXVII: Description of the Double Porticoes on Either Side, and of the Three Eastern Gates.

BESIDES this were two porticoes on each side, with upper and lower ranges of pillars, corresponding in length with the church itself; and these also had their roofs ornamented with gold. Of these porticoes, those which were exterior to the church were supported by columns of great size, while those within these rested on piles of stone beautifully adorned on the surface. Three gates, placed exactly east, were intended to receive the multitudes who entered the church.

CHAPTER XXXVIII: Description of the Hemisphere, the Twelve Columns, and their Bowls.

OPPOSITE these gates the crowning part of the whole was the hemisphere, which rose to the very summit of the church. This was encircled by twelve columns (according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour), having their capitals embellished with silver bowls of great size, which the emperor himself presented as a splendid offering to his God.

CHAPTER XXXIX: Description of the Inner Court, the Arcades and Porches.

IN the next place he enclosed the atrium which occupied the space leading to the entrances in front of the church. This comprehended, first the court, then the porticoes on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. After these, in the midst of the open market-place, the general entrance-gates, which were of exquisite workmanship, afforded to passers-by on the outside a view of the interior which could not fail to inspire astonishment.

CHAPTER XL: Of the Number of his Offerings.

THIS temple, then, the emperor erected as a conspicuous monument of the Saviour's

67775 resurrection, and embellished it throughout on an imperial scale of magnificence. He
 further enriched it with numberless offerings of inexpressible beauty and various
 materials, - gold, silver, and precious stones, the skillful and elaborate
 arrangement of which, in regard to their magnitude, number, and variety, we have not
 67780 leisure at present to describe particularly.

CHAPTER XXV: How he ordered the Erection of a Church at Jerusalem, in the Holy Place
 of our Saviour's Resurrection.
 AFTER these things, the pious emperor addressed himself to another work truly worthy
 of record, in the province of Palestine. What then was this work? He judged it
 67785 incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an
 object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions,
 therefore, for the erection in that spot of a house of prayer: and this he did, not
 on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Saviour
 himself.

67790 CHAPTER XXVI: That the Holy Sepulchre had been covered with Rubbish and with Idols by
 the Ungodly.

FOR it had been in time past the endeavor of impious men (or rather let me say of the
 whole race of evil spirits through their means), to consign to the darkness of
 67795 oblivion that divine monument of immortality to which the radiant angel had descended
 from heaven, and rolled away the stone for those who still had stony hearts, and who
 supposed that the living One still lay among the dead; and had declared glad tidings
 to the women also, and removed their stony-hearted unbelief by the conviction that he
 whom they sought was alive. This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless
 67800 persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly
 that thus they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly they
 brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire
 spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone,
 concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose
 67805 had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful
 sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure
 spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and
 accursed altars. For they supposed that their object could not otherwise be fully
 attained, than by thus burying the sacred cave beneath these foul pollutions. Unhappy
 67810 men! they were unable to comprehend how impossible it was that their attempt should
 remain unknown to him who had been crowned with victory over death, any more than the
 blazing sun, when he rises above the earth, and holds his wonted course through the
 midst of heaven, is unseen by the whole race of mankind. Indeed, his saving power,
 shining with still greater brightness, and illumining, not the bodies, but the souls
 67815 of men, was already filling the world with the effulgence of its own light.
 Nevertheless, these devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed
 for a long time, nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of
 the emperors themselves ever yet appeared, with ability to abolish these daring
 impieties, save only that one who enjoyed the favor of the King of kings. And now,
 67820 acting as he did under the guidance of the divine Spirit, he could not consent to see
 the sacred spot of which we have spoken, thus buried, through the devices of the
 adversaries, under every kind of impurity, and abandoned to forgetfulness and
 neglect; nor would he yield to the malice of those who had contracted this guilt, but
 calling on the divine aid, gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified,
 67825 thinking that the parts which had been most polluted by the enemy ought to receive
 special tokens, through his means, of the greatness of the divine favor. As soon,
 then, as his commands were issued, these engines of deceit were cast down from their
 proud eminence to the very ground, and the dwelling-places of error, with the statues
 and the evil spirits which they represented, were overthrown and utterly destroyed.

67830 CHAPTER XXVII: How Constantine commanded the Materials of the Idol Temple, and the
 Soil itself, to be removed at a Distance.

NOR did the emperor's zeal stop here; but he gave further orders that the materials
 of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as
 67835 far from the spot as possible; and this command also was speedily executed. The
 emperor, however, was not satisfied with having proceeded thus far: once more, fired
 with holy ardor, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a
 considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of
 demon worship transported to a far distant place.

67840 Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Mambre

CHAPTER LI: That he ordered a Church to be built at Mambre.

SUCH was the principal sacred edifices erected by the emperor's command. But having heard that the self-same Saviour who ere while had appeared on earth had in ages long since past afforded a manifestation of his Divine presence to holy men of Palestine near the oak of Mambre, he ordered that a house of prayer should be built there also in honor of the God who had thus appeared. Accordingly the imperial commission was transmitted to the provincial governors by letters addressed to them individually, enjoining a speedy completion of the appointed work. He sent moreover to the writer of this history an eloquent admonition, a copy of which I think it well to insert in the present work, in order to convey a just idea of his pious diligence and zeal. To express, then, his displeasure at the evil practices which he had heard were usual in the place just referred to, he addressed me in the following terms.

CHAPTER LII: Constantine's Letter to Eusebius concerning Mambre.

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Macarius, and the rest of the bishops in Palestine.

"One benefit, and that of no ordinary importance, has been conferred on us by my truly pious mother-in-law, in that she has made known to us by letter that abandoned folly of impious men which has hitherto escaped detection by you: so that the criminal conduct thus overlooked may now through our means obtain fitting correction and remedy, necessary though tardy. For surely it is a grave impiety indeed, that holy places should be defiled by the stain of unhallowed impurities. What then is this, dearest brethren, which, though it has eluded your sagacity, she of whom I speak was impelled by a pious sense of duty to disclose?

CHAPTER LIII: That the Saviour appeared in this Place to Abraham.

"SHE assures me, then, that the place which takes its name from the oak of Mambre, where we find that Abraham dwelt, is defiled by certain of the slaves of superstition in every possible way. She declares that idols which should be utterly destroyed have been erected on the site of that tree; that an altar is near the spot; and that impure sacrifices are continually performed. Now since it is evident that these practices are equally inconsistent with the character of our times, and unworthy the sanctity of the place itself, I wish your Gravities to be informed that the illustrious Count Acacius, our friend, has received instructions by letter from me, to the effect that every idol which shall be found in the place above-mentioned shall immediately be consigned to the flames; that the altar be utterly demolished; and that if any one, after this our mandate, shall be guilty of impiety of any kind in this place, he shall be visited with condign punishment. The place itself we have directed to be adorned with an unpolluted structure, I mean a church; in order that it may become a fitting place of assembly for holy men. Meantime, should any breach of these our commands occur, it should be made known to our clemency without the least delay by letters from you, that we may direct the person detected to be dealt with, as a transgressor of the law, in the severest manner. For you are not ignorant that the Supreme God first appeared to Abraham, and conversed with him, in that place. There it was that the observance of the Divine law first began; there first the Saviour himself, with the two angels, vouchsafed to Abraham a manifestation of his presence; there God first appeared to men; there he gave promise to Abraham concerning his future seed, and straightway fulfilled that promise; there he foretold that he should be the father of a multitude of nations. For these reasons, it seems to me right that this place should not only be kept pure through your diligence from all defilement, but restored also to its pristine sanctity; that nothing hereafter may be done there except the performance of fitting service to him who is the Almighty God, and our Saviour, and Lord of all. And this service it is incumbent on you to care for with due attention, if your Gravities be willing (and of this I feel confident) to gratify my wishes, which are especially interested in the worship of God. May he preserve you, beloved brethren!"

Arbo, also Terebinth. The Oak of Mambre - (Ramat al-Khalil)

The site of Mamre, known in Arabic as Haram Ramet el-Khalil, lies approximately 3 km north of Hebron on the ancient road linking the main Hebron-Jerusalem and Bethlehem-Ziph routes. The Bible describes Elonei (oaks of) Mamre as Abraham's dwelling place, where he built an altar to God (Gen. 13:18, 18:1, 23:19). Some scholars locate the biblical Elonei Mamre within the town of ancient Hebron (Tell Rumeideh); others identify it with the enclosure of Haram Ramat el-Khalil which was already considered a sacred site in the Second Temple period.

Josephus relates that Abraham resided near Hebron, by an oak called ogyges, the oak of Genesis (Antiq. 1, 186). Elsewhere he mentions a terebinth 6 stadia from Hebron

that had stood there since creation (War IV, 533); it is not clear whether both references are to the same place. In Antiquities he tells the biblical story, calling the tree an oak: whereas in War of the Jews he is describing a holy place in his own time, calling it a terebinth. Josephus is mistaken about the distance between Elonei Mamre and Hebron, which is not 6 but approximately 18 stadia (3 km). Neither does he mention a structure around the terebinth. Modern excavations have made it clear that the structure was already standing in his time.

The book of Jubilees (29:17-19; 37:14-17) refers to Abraham's capital in the Hebron Hills as a tower (migdal). The reference is probably to Abraham's residence at Elonei Mamre. If so, the author, a contemporary of the Second Temple, was describing the enclosure at Elonei Mamre in terms associated with the Temple Mount - migdal or birah - both meaning tower or fortress. Talmudic literature refers to the place as Beth Ilanim or Botnah and it is mentioned as the site of one of the most important fairs in Palestine: "There are three fairs: the fair of Gaza, the fair of Acco, the fair of Botnah, and the least doubtful of them all is the fair of Botnah," meaning that of the three fairs this was the one most definitely associated with idolatry and therefore Jews were forbidden to participate in it (J.T. A.Z. 39c; Gen. Rab. 47:10). The fair is mentioned in two of Jerome's commentaries (In Hieremiam VI, 18, 6, CCSL 74, 307; In Zachariam III, 4-5. CCSL 76A, 851), where it is said that Hadrian brought the captive Jews to the famous marketplace at Terebinth. There he sold many into slavery. For this reason the Jews in Jerome's time shunned the annual fair. The same story is told in the seventh-century Chronicon Paschale (PG 92, col. 613) with some additions.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (Itin. Burd. 599, 3-7) states that the emperor Constantine built a basilica there. Eusebius (Vita Constantini III. 51-53, GCS 7, 99-101) and Sozomenus (HE II, 4. GCS 50, 54-56) report the circumstances and the official documentation referring to the building. Both Julius Africanus (Chron. XVIII) and Eusebius (Vita Constantini III, 53, 100; Onom. 6. 12-14; 76. 1-3) mention a pagan altar at the site. The most detailed description of the site is in the work of Sozomenus. He reports that the place situated 15 stadia from Hebron, was the site of the terebinth, where the angels had appeared to Abraham. In summer, he states, a great fair was held there, attracting hordes of people from far away, who came to offer libations and burn incense, but also to trade; among them were pagans, Christians and Jews. The Medeba map seems to differentiate between Botna and Mamre, as the mosaic depicts both a church and a terebinth. During the seventh century CE there was a monastery at the site that continued to exist after the Arab conquest (Adamnanus, De Locis Sanctis II, II. 6, CCSL 175, 211). In Crusader times, the site may have been occupied by the Church of the Trinity.

Eusebius, Onomasticon 6:8-12 (ca. 295 A.D.); Jerome 7:18-24 (ca. 390 A.D.) Arboc. Corrupte in nostris codicibus Arboc scribitur, cum in Hebraeis legatur Arbe, id est quattuor, eo quod ibi tres patriarchae, Abraam, Isaac et Iacob, sepulti sunt, et "Adam Magnus", ut in Iesu libro scriptum est: licet eum quidam conditum in loco Calvariae suspicientur. Haec est autem eadem Chebron, olim metropolis Filistinorum et habita-culum gigantum, regnumque postea David, in tribu Iudae civitas sacerdotalis et fugitivorum. Distat ad meridianam plagam ab Aelia milibus circiter viginti duobus. (Jerome 7:11-18)

Et quercus Abraam, quae et Mambre, usque ad Costantii regis imperium monstrabatur, et mausoleum eius in praesentiarum cernitur, cumque a nostris ibidem ecclesia iam extructa sit, a cunctis in circuitu gentibus terebinthi locus superstitione colitur, eo quod sub ea Abraam angelos quondam hospitio suscepit. Haec ergo primum Arbe, postea a Chebron, uno filiorum Chaleb sortita vocabulum est. Lege Verba dierum.

Arbo (Gen 23:2). In our codices it is written in a corrupted form, 'Arboc', while the Hebrew text reads 'Arba', that is, 'four', because the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are buried there, as well as 'the great Adam', as is written in the Book of Joshua (Jos. 14:15), although some suppose that he is buried on the Calvary. 'That is Hebron', today a large village, in ancient times one of the main cities of the Philistines [Eusebius: 'the aliens', i.e. the Cannanites in general] and a dwelling place of giants, and later royal seat of David. It fell into the lot of the tribe of Judah, and was a priestly city and one of the cities of refuge. It is south of Jerusalem at a distance of about 20 [22] miles.

The oak of Abraham, also called Mambre, could be seen standing until the reign of

67975 Constantius, and the tomb of the same is visible to this day and while a church has been erected there by our people, the place of the oak is [greatly] venerated by all the pagan population around, because under it Abraham gave hospitality to the angels. At first the place was called Arbe, and later it was named Hebron after Hebron, one of the sons of Caleb, as we read in the Chronicles. (1 Chron 2:42).

67980 Sozomenus, Historia Ecclesiastica II, 4
I deem necessary to declare now what was resolved about the oak of Mambre by Emperor Constantine. The place is presently called the Terebinth, and is situated at the distance of fifteen stadia from Hebron, which is to the south... Every year, at summer time, the inhabitants of that place and the Palestinians, the Phoenicians and the Arabs, coming from far away, make a fair there. Many come there for the sake of
67985 business, some to sell and some to buy. The feast is celebrated by a very big congregation of Jews, since they boast of Abraham as their forefather, of heathens since angels came there, of Christians since he who should be born from the Virgin for the salvation of humankind appeared there to that pious man. Everyone venerates this place according to his religion: some praying God the ruler of all, some calling
67990 upon the angels and offering libations of wine, burning incense or sacrificing an ox, a pig, a sheep or a cock. Constantine's mother in law (Euthropia), having come there to fulfill a vow, gave notice of all this to the Emperor. So he wrote to the bishops of Palestine reproaching them for having forgot their mission and permitted such a most holy place to be defiled by those libations and sacrifices.

67995 Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Constantinopel
CHAPTER XLVIII: How he built Churches in Honor of Martyrs, and abolished Idolatry at Constantinople.
AND being fully resolved to distinguish the city which bore his name with especial honor, he embellished it with numerous sacred edifices, both memorials of martyrs on
68000 the largest scale, and other buildings of the most splendid kind, not only within the city itself, but in its vicinity: and thus at the same time he rendered honor to the memory of the martyrs, and consecrated his city to the martyrs' God. Being filled, too, with Divine wisdom, he determined to purge the city which was to be
68005 distinguished by his own name from idolatry of every kind, that henceforth no statues might be worshiped there in the temples of those falsely reputed to be gods, nor any altars defiled by the pollution of blood: that there might be no sacrifices consumed by fire, no demon festivals, nor any of the other ceremonies usually observed by the superstitious.

68010 CHAPTER XLIX: Representation of the Cross in the Palace, and of Daniel at the Public Fountains.
ON the other hand one might see the fountains in the midst of the market place graced with figures representing the good Shepherd, well known to those who study the sacred oracles, and that of Daniel also with the lions, forged in brass, and resplendent
68015 with plates of gold. Indeed, so large a measure of Divine love possessed the emperor's soul, that in the principal apartment of the imperial palace itself, on a vast tablet displayed in the center of its gold-covered paneled ceiling, he caused the symbol of our Saviour's Passion to be fixed, composed of a variety of precious stones richly inwrought with gold. This symbol he seemed to have intended to be as it
68020 were the safeguard of the empire itself.

Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Constantinopel
CHAPTER LVIII: Concerning the Building of a Church in Honor of the Apostles at Constantinople.
68025 AFTER this he proceeded to erect a church in memory of the apostles, in the city which bears his name. This building he carried to a vast height, and brilliantly decorated by encasing it from the foundation to the roof with marble slabs of various colors. He also formed the inner roof of finely fretted work, and overlaid it throughout with gold. The external covering, which protected the building from the
68030 rain, was of brass instead of tiles; and this too was splendidly and profusely adorned with gold, and reflected the sun's rays with a brilliancy which dazzled the distant beholder. The dome was entirely encompassed by a finely carved tracery, wrought in brass and gold.

68035 CHAPTER LX: He also erected his own Sepulchral Monument in this Church.
ALL these edifices the emperor consecrated with the desire of perpetuating the memory of the apostles of our Saviour. He had, however, another object in erecting this building: an object at first unknown, but which afterwards became evident to all. He

68040 had in fact made choice of this spot in the prospect of his own death, anticipating
with extraordinary fervor of faith that his body would share their title with the
apostles themselves, and that he should thus even after death become the subject,
with them, of the devotions which should be performed to their honor in this place.
He accordingly caused twelve coffins to be set up in this church, like sacred pillars
68045 in honor and memory of the apostolic number, in the center of which his own was
placed, having six of theirs on either side of it. Thus, as I said, he had provided
with prudent foresight an honorable resting-place for his body after death, and,
having long before secretly formed this resolution, he now consecrated this church to
the apostles, believing that this tribute to their memory would be of no small
68050 advantage to his own soul. Nor did God disappoint him of that which he so ardently
expected and desired. For after he had completed the first services of the feast of
Easter, and had passed this sacred day of our Lord in a manner which made it an
occasion of joy and gladness to himself and to all; the God through whose aid he
performed all these acts, and whose zealous servant he continued to be even to the
end of life, was pleased at a happy time to translate him to a better life.

68055 CHAPTER LXX: His Burial by his Son Constantius at Constantinople.
THUS did they there testify their respect for the memory of him who had been honored
by God. The second of his sons, however, who had by this time arrived, proceeded to
celebrate his father's funeral in the city which bears his name, himself heading the
68060 procession, which was preceded by detachments of soldiers in military array, and
followed by vast multitudes, the body itself being surrounded by companies of
spearmen and heavy armed infantry. On the arrival of the procession at the church
dedicated to the apostles of our Saviour, the coffin was there entombed. Such honor
did the youthful emperor Constantius render to his deceased parent, both by his
68065 presence, and by the due performance of this sacred ceremony.

Chapter LXXI: Sacred Service in the Church of the Apostles on the Occasion of
Constantine's Funeral.
AS soon as [Constantius] had withdrawn himself with the military train, the ministers
68070 of God came forward, with the multitude and the whole congregation of the faithful,
and performed the rites of Divine worship with prayer. At the same time the tribute
of their praises was given to the character of this blessed prince, whose body rested
on a lofty and conspicuous monument, and the whole multitude united with the priests
of God in offering prayers for his soul, not without tears, – nay, rather with much
68075 weeping; thus performing an office consonant with the desires of the pious deceased.
In this respect also the favor of God was manifested to his servant, in that he not
only bequeathed the succession of the empire to his own beloved sons, but that the
earthly tabernacle of his thrice blessed soul, according to his own earnest wish, was
permitted to share the monument of the apostles; was associated with the honor of
68080 their name, and with that of the people of God; was honored by the performance of the
sacred ordinances and mystic service; and enjoyed a participation in the prayers of
the saints. Thus, too, he continued to possess imperial power even after death,
controlling, as though with renovated life, a universal dominion, and retaining in
his own name, as Victor, Maximus, Augustus, the sovereignty of the Roman world.

68085 CHAPTER I: Preface. – Of the Death of Constantine.
ALREADY have all mankind united in celebrating with joyous festivities the completion
of the second and third decennial period of this great emperor's reign; already have
we ourselves received him as a triumphant conqueror in the assembly of God's
68090 ministers, and greeted him with the due mead of praise on the twentieth anniversary
of his reign: and still more recently we have woven, as it were, garlands of words,
wherewith we encircled his sacred head in his own palace on his thirtieth
anniversary.
But now, while I desire to give utterance to some of the customary sentiments, I
68095 stand perplexed and doubtful which way to turn, being wholly lost in wonder at the
extraordinary spectacle before me. For to whatever quarter I direct my view, whether
to the east, or to the west, or over the whole world, or toward heaven itself,
everywhere and always I see the blessed one yet administering the self-same empire.
On earth I behold his sons, like some new reflectors of his brightness, diffusing
68100 everywhere the luster of their father's character, and himself still living and
powerful, and governing all the affairs of men more completely than ever before,
being multiplied in the succession of his children. They had indeed previously the
dignity of Caesars; but now, being invested with his very self, and graced by his
accomplishments, for the excellence of their piety they are proclaimed by the titles

68105 of Sovereign, Augustus, Worshipful, and Emperor.

Church of the Holy Apostles

68110 The grounds of the first church of the Holy Apostles contained both a rotunda mausoleum built by Constantine and a church built soon afterward by his successor Constantius. Little is known of the appearance of this original church except that it was cross-shaped, but the historian Eusebius (c. 263-339) gives a description of Constantine's mausoleum and the surrounding grounds before Constantius' church was built.

68115 Such was the magnificence with which the emperor was pleased to beautify this church. The building was surrounded by an open area of great extent, the four sides of which were terminated by porticoes which enclosed the area and the church itself. Adjoining these porticoes were ranges of stately chambers, with baths and promenades, and besides many apartments adapted to the use of those who had charge of the place. The cruciform plan was a landmark development in Christian architecture, because it replaced a basilica plan with the centralized shrine plan. Dozens of cruciform church buildings in the late fourth and early fifth centuries were rough imitations of the Constantine-era Church of the Holy Apostles, such as St. Ambrose's Church of the Apostles in Milan, the martyrrium of St. Babylas in Antioch, and the Church of Saint Simeon Stylites in Aleppo, Syria.

68125 See too CONSTANTINE'S CHURCHES by GREGORY T. AMSTRONG

68130 The original church of the Holy Apostles was dedicated in about 330 by Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople, the new capital of the Roman Empire. The church was unfinished when Constantine died in 337, and it was brought to completion by his son and successor Constantius II, who buried his father's remains there. The church was dedicated to the Twelve Apostles of Jesus, and it was the Emperor's intention to gather relics of all the Apostles in the church. For this undertaking, only relics of Saint Andrew, Saint Luke and Saint Timothy (the latter two not strictly apostles) were acquired, and in later centuries it came to be assumed that the church was dedicated to these three only.

68135 By the reign of the Emperor Justinian I, the church was no longer considered grand enough, and a new Church of the Holy Apostles was built on the same site. The historian Procopius attributes the rebuilding to Justinian, while the writer known as Pseudo-Codinus attributes it to the Empress Theodora. The new church was designed and built by the architects Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, the same architects of the Hagia Sophia, and was consecrated on 28 June 550. The relics of Constantine and the three saints were re-installed in the new church, and a mausoleum for Justinian and his family was built at the end of its northern arm.

68145 For more than 700 years, the church of the Holy Apostles was the second-most important church in Constantinople, after that of the Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia). But whereas the church of the Holy Wisdom was in the city's oldest part, that of the Holy Apostles stood in the centre of the newer part of the much expanded imperial capital, on the great thoroughfare called Mese Odós (English: Central Street), and was the city's busiest church. Most emperors and many patriarchs and bishops were buried in the church, and their relics were venerated by the faithful for centuries.

68155 The church's most treasured possessions were the skulls of Saints Andrew, Luke and Timothy, but the church also held what was believed to be part of the "Column of Flagellation", to which Jesus had been bound and flogged. Its treasury also held relics of Saint John Chrysostom and other Church Fathers, saints and martyrs. Over the years the church acquired huge amounts of gold, silver and gems donated by the faithful.

68160 Emperor Basil I renovated and probably enlarged the church, and in 874 the remains of the historian and patriarch Nikephoros I, who had died earlier in the century, were reinterred in the popular and rebuilt church, where they became the site of annual imperial devotion. In the 10th century Constantine of Rhodes composed a Description of the building of the Apostles in verse, which he dedicated to Constantine VII. The basilica was looted during the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The historian Nicetas Choniates records that the Crusaders plundered the imperial tombs and robbed them of gold and gems. Not even Justinian's tomb was spared. The tomb of Emperor Heraclius was opened and his golden crown was stolen along with the late Emperor's hairs still attached on it. Some of these treasures were taken to Venice, where they can still be seen in St Mark's Basilica, while the body of St. Gregory was brought to Rome.

68170 When Michael VIII Palaeologus recaptured the city from the Crusaders, he erected a

statue of the Archangel Michael at the church to commemorate the event, and himself. The church was partially restored again by Andronicus II Palaeologus in the early 14th century, but thereafter fell into disrepair as the Empire declined and Constantinople's population fell. The Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti saw the dilapidated church in 1420.

Uit: <http://www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/2013/12/18/more-on-the-tombs-of-the-emperors-at-the-church-of-the-holy-apostles-in-constantinople/>

The shape of the Heroon of Constantine is said by Mesarites to be circular, with a dome. Mesarites tells us that the mausoleum of Justinian had many "stoaed" (i.e. pillared) corners, so perhaps that was octagonal or hexagonal or something like that. However the arrangement of the tombs within the Heroon, by 400 AD, schematically, was as follows:

Entry to the building was from the west. Mesarites tells us that, in the principal place, at the east end, was the tomb of Constantine the Great. To the south was that of Constantius II, while the tomb of Theodosius the Great was to the north.

Let's hear from Mesarites:

XXXIX. But let us, if you please, go off to this church which lies toward the east, so that we may look at the things in it, in order to admire and describe them-this church whose founder our discourse has already declared to be Constantius. 2. This whole church is domical and circular, and because of the rather extensive area of the plan, I suppose, it is divided up on all sides by numerous stoaed angles, for it was built for the reception of his father's body and of his own and of the bodies of those who should rule after them. 3. To the east, then, and in first place the body of Constantine, who first ruled the Christian Empire, is laid to rest within this purple-hued sarcophagus as though on some purple-blooming royal couch - he who was, after the twelve disciples, the thirteenth herald of the orthodox faith, and likewise the founder of this imperial city. 4. The sarcophagus has a four-sided shape, somewhat oblong but not with equal sides. The tradition is that Helen, his mother and his fellow-worker for the orthodox faith, is buried with her son. 5. The tomb toward the south is that of the famous Constantius, the founder of the Church. This too is of porphyry color but not in all respects similar to the tomb of his father, just as he who lies within it was not in all ways similar to his father, but was inferior to his father, and followed behind him, in piety and in mental endowment. 6. The tomb toward the north and opposite this, and similar to those which have been mentioned, holds the body of Theodosius the Great like an inexhaustible treasure of noble deeds. 7. The one toward the east, closest to this one, is that of Pulcheria. She is the honored and celebrated founder of the monastery of the Hodegon; see how she, a virgin herself, holds in her hands the likeness of the all-holy Virgin. ... Additional tombs, after Theodosius, were inserted later around the walls.

The Chronicon Altinate gives a list of emperors and their lengths of reigns. It is of interest to us for what it says about the emperors in the mausoleum. Starting on p. 62 of MGH supplement 14:

Constantine, son of Constantius, born in Britain from the concubine Helena - the city in his name is in Thrace - ... died on the 20th of May, a great and most Christian emperor. His remains were placed in the church of the Holy Apostles in the sacrarium, which he himself also built, in a porphyry "pila". ...

Constantius ... son of Constantine reigned for 24 years. Constantine [sic] died on 3rd November and his body was placed in the church of the Holy Apostles in a porphyry "pila".

Julian the apostate His body was brought to Constantinople and placed in the western part in the church of the Holy Apostles in a porphyry "labrum". ...

On the 27th September Juvian [sic] died, most religious emperor, in Thichera a city of Galicia, and his body was brought to Constantinople, in the church of the Holy Apostles, in the porphyry "labrum" of the great Constantine. After this his wife was placed in the same "labrum". He reigned 8 months.

... (the body of Valens was not found) ...

[Valentinian]'s body was brought in the time of Theodosius the Great and placed in the church of the Holy Apostles where Constantine the Great [was] in a porphyry "lanarx". ...

On the 7th of January died the emperor Theodosius the Great at Milan. His remains were brought to Constantinople and placed in the church of all the holy Apostles, in the sacrarium of Constantine the Great, in a porphyry "pila"; where also his wife Pracilla had previously been placed.

On the 1st May died the emperor Arcadius and his body was placed in the church of all the Holy Apostles in a porphyry "pilla" [sic] in the middle portico with his wife Eudokia, who before she died [acted] to the injury of St. John Chrysostom. ...

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The Serpent Column of Delphi in Constantinople

There is no record of the Serpent Column's removal from Delphi in the early fourth century, but there are numerous references among Roman sources to its arrival on the Bosphorus. Constantine I's importation into the capital of a great many divine and profane statues was an embarrassment to his Christian friends. Eusebius claimed that the emperor collected and displayed the artworks only to demonstrate that the idols of the past were now decoration to be laughed at or scorned. Sozomenus and Socrates echoed this in their continuations of Eusebius' Church History. Eusebius did not mention the Serpent Column directly, but rather that 'the Delphic tripods were deposited in the Hippodrome.' Sozomenus, however, explicitly recorded that among them was the famous tripod which Pausanias and the Greek cities dedicated after their victory over the Persians.

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https://www.academia.edu/3334914/The_Serpent_Column_of_Delphi_in_Constantinople_Place_ment_Purposes_and_Mutilations

The Column of Constantine (Turkish: Çemberlitaş Sütunu, from çemberli 'hooped' and taş 'stone'), also known as the Burnt Stone or the Burnt Pillar, is a Roman monumental column constructed on the orders of the Roman emperor Constantine the Great in 330 AD. It commemorates the declaration of Byzantium (renamed by Constantine as Nova Roma) as the new capital city of the Roman Empire. The column is located on Yenîçeriler Caddesi in the eponymous neighborhood of Çemberlitaş, Fatih, central Istanbul, along the old Divan Yolu (the 'Road to the Imperial Council') between the Hippodrome of Constantinople (now Sultanahmet Square) and the Forum of Theodosius (now Beyazıt Square).

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The Column of Constantine is one of the most important examples of Roman art in Istanbul. The column is 35 meters tall today. Restoration work has been under way since 1955. Cracks in the porphyry were filled and metal brackets renewed in 1972. Since 1985, the monuments of the historic peninsula of Istanbul, including the column, have been listed as a World Heritage Site.

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The column was dedicated on May 11, 330 AD, with a mix of Christian and pagan ceremonies.

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In Constantine's day the column was at the center of the Forum of Constantine (today known as Çemberlitaş Square), an oval forum situated outside the city walls in the vicinity of what may have been the west gate of Antoniniana. On its erection, the column was 50 meters tall, constructed of several cylindrical porphyry blocks. The exact number of porphyry blocks is disputed, but common figures range from seven, up to as many as eleven. These blocks were surmounted by a statue of Constantine in the figure of Apollo. The orb he carried was said to contain a fragment of the True Cross. At the foot of the column was a sanctuary which contained relics allegedly from the crosses of the two thieves who were crucified with Jesus Christ at Calvary, the baskets from the loaves and fishes miracle, an alabaster ointment jar belonging to Mary Magdalene and used by her for anointing the head and feet of Jesus, and the palladium of ancient Rome (a wooden statue of Pallas Athena from Troy).

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A strong gale in 1106 AD felled the statue and three of the upper cylinders of the column. Some years later, Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (reigned 1143-1180) placed a cross on top in place of the original statue and added a commemorative inscription that read "Faithful Manuel invigorated this holy work of art, which has been damaged by time". Bronze wreaths once covered the joints between the drums, but these were taken by the Latin Crusaders who plundered the city during the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The cross was removed by the Ottoman Turks after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

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Earthquakes and a fire in 1779 destroyed the neighborhood surrounding the column, leaving it with black scorch marks and earning it the name 'Burnt Column' (or, as referred to by Gibbon, the "burned pillar"). The column was restored by Abdülhamid I, who had the present masonry base added. The base was strengthened in 1779. The original platform of the column is 2.5 meters below ground.

68300

Reconstruction of Constantinople, Byzantium 1200

Website <http://www.byzantium1200.com/xxx.html> (oud) en
<https://twitter.com/Byzantium1200> (nieuw)

- 68305 30 September 2011 Forum Constantine is updated. 13 June 2011 A new color scale based on certainty is introduced. See the page 12 June 2011 page is added 10 June 2011 First 3D reconstruction of the greek city Byzantion is added 30 May 2011 Byzantium 1200 is now on twitter From now on no mail will be sent to anyone about the updates. If you want to learn what is going on with the project, please follow Byzantium1200.
- 68310 28 May 2011 There is a new short clip at Vimeo from Byzantium 1200. The original is in Full HD format. 30 April 2011 Tekfur Palace is updated. (Though it is not a subject of this project, I had to update it for an exhibition). 03 March 2011 Aetios Cistern is updated. 03 March 2011 All tile images are updated. 28 December 2010 Tile 10 is completed. All tiles of the model are now complete. 25 December 2010 Tile 9 is
- 68315 completed 15 September 2010 4 new images of the city walls are added 8 June 2010 Constantine's Statue in Forum Constantine is added, see also Constantine 22 May 2010 Hippodrome images are online 12 May 2009 Hagia Sophia Fountain added 3 May 2009 Boukoleon "balcony" updated from the 1850 photolithograph 10 March 2009 Hippodrome statues are being updated 7 March 2009 Porphyry statues of Constantine & his father
- 68320 Constantius Chlorus, also new information on the Philadelphion Obelisk are added 28 February 2009 A new rendering of the quadriga horses is added 31 January 2009 New website Arkeo3D is up 9 January 2009 Tile 7 is completed 8 November 2008 Porta Aurea is updated 15 October 2008 The scale model exhibition has ended 10 October 2008 Equestrian statue of Justinian is completed 27 August 2008 Seventh tile of the
- 68325 Byzantium 1200 model is completed 25 August 2008 Tile 2 is updated 22 May 2008 The Delphi Tripod is updated 15 May 2008 2nd edition of "Walking thru Byzantium" is available 4 May 2008 All monument locations are linked to Google Earth 1 May 2008 Saint John of Stoudios is textured 29 April 2008 Palace near Myrelaion is textured 29 April 2008 Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii is textured 23 April 2008 Myrelaion is textured 20
- 68330 April 2008 Gül Camii is textured 15 April 2008 Akataleptos Monastery is textured 13 April 2008 Lips Monastery is textured 10 April 2008 12th century Chora is textured 8 April 2008 14th century Chora is textured 5 April 2008 Saints Sergios and Bacchos is now textured 2 April 2008 Milion is updated 20 March 2008 Substructure under Kukulaoglu Building page is added 18 March 2008 Sixth tile of the Byzantium 1200
- 68335 model is completed 14 March 2008 Blachernae Palace page is added 8 March 2008 page is added 6 March 2008 Pantepoptes Monastery renamed to Akataleptos Monastery due to new research 14 February 2008 Fifth tile of the Byzantium 1200 model is completed 12 February 2008 Hagioi Pantes page is added 9 February 2008 Fourth tile of the Byzantium 1200 model is completed 31 January 2008 Third tile of the Byzantium 1200
- 68340 model is completed 15 January 2008 Tile 1 is updated 11 January 2008 Capitolium page is added 9 January 2008 Seyh Süleyman Mescidi page is added 6 January 2008 Beyazit Churches and Balaban Aga Mescidi are added 2 January 2008 Second tile of the Byzantium 1200 model is completed
- 68345 19 December 2007 First tile of the Byzantium 1200 model is completed 19 December 2007 A new image of the land model is added 14 December 2007 Covered Hippodrome page is added 13 December 2007 Mosaic Peristyle page is added 3 November 2007 Column of Justinian and Augustaion are updated 2 November 2007 Pürkuyu Mescidi page is added 31 October 2007 Chalke and Magnaura porch are updated 30 October 2007 Saints Karpos and Papylos and Saint John the Baptist en to Trullo are updated 28 October 2007 Magnaura page is updated 26 October 2007 Toklu Dede Mescidi page is added 23 October 2007 Hospital of Sampson page is added 22 October 2007 Hagia Eirene is textured 17 October 2007 Forum of Theodosios is updated, links page is updated 16 October 2007 Forum Constantine and Senat House are updated 12 August 2007 Two new images of hippodrome
- 68355 are added 14 July 2007 A new image of Chora Monastery is added 29 June 2007 Chrysotriklinos page is back online, many images updated 17 April 2007 Chora scale model is complete 27 March 2007 Hippodrome scale model is complete 4 January 2007 Theodora page is added 8 December 2006 Byzantium 1200 has a museum now! 27 June 2006 Antiochos Palace is updated Two new images of Great Palace are added 2 November 2005
- 68360 Images of Hagia Sophia Atrium are added 1 November 2005 An aerial view of Zeuxippos is added, Sea Walls page is updated with new image 30 October 2005 Holy Apostles is now textured 23 October 2005 Augustaion is now textured 13 September 2005 Landwalls page is updated with new images 09 August 2005 Aquaeduct model is updated 29 May 2005 Sea Walls page is added 19 May 2005 Two new images of Hippodrome are added 07 May
- 68365 2005 Hagia Sophia is now textured 21 August 2004 the look of the site is updated, most links activated 29 May 2004 Kathisma image is updated 27 April 2004 Great Palace sample images are online 14 September 2003 We are back online after being shut down by hackers. Active links contain new material. All links will be active shortly

68370

Helios and the Emperor in the Late Antique Peloponnese

GEORGIOS DELIGIANNAKIS

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This paper discusses a badly damaged over-life-sized marble head with radiate headgear found in the Roman theater of Gytheum. It probably belonged to a public statue or shield monument of the god Helios and is thought to be late antique. It is here argued that this monument was in fact intended to pay honor to the ruling emperor, who was associated with the god Helios. It is also suggested that the association of the new Flavian dynasty with the solar god represents a particular way by which the people of Greece, among other provincials, chose to express their loyalty to the emperor along traditional religious lines.

Description and Identification

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The head is carved of local beige marble, with a height of 0.52 meters and a width of 0.37 meters. It has a strong frontal rendering and cursorily curved features. It may be reworked from a previous piece (Figs. 1-5). It now appears severely damaged due to later re-use; the back side is hollowed out. It seems that the head was later placed upside-down and the newly carved concavity used as a fountain urn. It features large almond-shaped eyes, wide-open. Boldly emphasized eyelids frame the eyeballs. The damaged nose is wedge-shaped and crudely modelled. The mouth simply appears as a horizontal sharpcut across thickly modeled lips. The ears are rendered by curved incisions in very low relief. The hair projecting in front of the forehead is a compact mass, defined against the flesh by a continuous chisel-line above the forehead. The hair is rendered in a cursory way as being thick and long and brushed back-wards on all sides of the head; superficially incised chisel lines on the left and right temple can be discerned; below the left ear the head is broken off. Seven rectangular mortises (0.02 m×0.03 m) are still visible, chiseled above the hairline for the support of metal inserts. Their number, size, and near rectangular shape suggest that these deep mortises were most probably intended for the insertion of metal rays. Near the center of the cranium, a thin metal spike is still preserved. If this is a feature of the head and not a later addition, it may be a dowel for the attachment of a separate piece of stone to complete the top of the head. The head gives the impression that it was left unfinished. Yet the sockets for metal rays and the metal spike on the top of the head leave little doubt that this piece, together with the rest of the monument of which it presumably was a part, had been placed on display in antiquity.

Despite its bad condition, the characteristic headgear identifies this as an image of the god Helios. Its style and technique places it chronologically after the collapse of the provincial sculpture workshops in Late Antiquity, which can be roughly placed after the 270s. Thereafter only a few workshops, located mostly in provincial capitals or big cities, were able to produce high-quality portrait sculpture for the needs of local elites and for representatives of the imperial government. The rendering of the frontal, bulging eyes, awkwardly placed on the face, appears similar to the style of a life-sized portrait head made of local marble and found in the theater of Sparta. In the case of the Spartan head, which probably portrayed a local dignitary or a provincial governor, the pupils of the eyes are drilled. Its excavators suggested a date close to the last phase of the theater, about 375-400 (Fig. 6). Moreover, two late antique statues of similar technique and style, one an imperial portrait (probably Constantine I), from an urban mansion in Messene can be approximately dated on archaeological grounds to no later than 360/70. Based on its late antique style and crude technique, the Gytheum head could be dated to any period from the late third century onwards. Yet it is its possible connection to imperial imagery, as we will see below, which provides a more specific chronological and historical context, in the second or third quarter of the fourth century.

In a period when the local production of sculpture had sharply decreased and the cutting of new pieces of life-size sculpture depicting mythological themes was rare, the discovery of this head from Gytheum is striking.

Gytheum in southernmost Laconia was the most important city of the region and the major port for exporting the famous local green porphyry stone in Roman times. The *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (composed around 359-360) singles out "Laconica" as one of the three districts of the province of Achaia. By "Laconica" one should understand the cities of the League of the Free Laconians, rather than Sparta. Thinking in commercial terms, the author of *Expositio* adds, "it is considered to be rich in one product alone, the stone of Crocinum which they call 'Lacedaemonian'."

68435 The Tabula Peutingeriana (Tetrarchic to fifth century) names Gytheum, along with Asopos and Boeae as part of the late Roman cursus publicus. Moreover, the late Roman imperial fleet probably used Gytheum as an occasional port of call on the east-west sea route, while auxiliaries in the Roman army from Sparta and Laconia are attested in the second and third centuries.

68440 It is important to ask why the people of Gytheum decided to erect this imposing statue of a pagan god in the public domain, despite its poor work-manship and deviation from the trends that we postulate about late antique public statuary in Greece and the Greek East, when we find almost no public statuary monuments with polytheistic themes. The choice of a pagan god whose cult was of little popularity in

68445 Greece but with strong links to Hellenistic and imperial perceptions of rulership, along with the fact that the majority of public statuary in Late Antiquity normally consisted of images of the emperor, suggest a connection between this mythological figure and the ruling emperor.

68450 Drawing on extensive previous scholarship in this field, Bergmann and Bardill have recently offered a systematic study of the use and meaning of the radiate portrait by Hellenistic and Roman rulers as well as the relation of solar imagery to imperial iconography. Bardill points out that Constantine had tried to re-employ iconographic traits of Alexander, Augustus and Nero, among them an association with the god Apollo-Helios and the use of the radiate crown. The statue of Constantine as Apollo-

68455 Helios on the porphyry column in Constantinople had an obvious precursor in the statue of Augustus on a column in the precinct of Apollo on the Palatine Hill, and also the "Colossus of Nero" in Rome. Although many later emperors had worn radiate crowns on coins, only with Constantine did this attribute convey a profound solar aspect in the guise of Sol Invictus, with the exception of Aurelian (reigned 270-275).

68460 In fact, a fascination with solar imagery and the imagery of light as an attribute of imperial rule under divine guidance would endure until the end of his life, whether expressed in a traditional religious context or a Christian one. By 310 Constantine officially declared Sol as his new religious patron. The Latin panegyrist of 310 has him witness a vision from Sol while on a military campaign, near an important

68465 sanctuary of Apollo Grannus in Gaul. All of Constantine's imperial mints for the years from 310 to 317 massively produced copper alloy coins that displayed Sol on the reverse. He also adopted the legend SOLI INVICTO on his gold solidi as well as the epithet INVICTUS as part of his personal titulature. After his victory over

68470 Maxentius, Constantine issued a gold medallion (Ticinum, 313) showing Constantine's bust overlapping that of Sol wearing a radiate crown; on the shield of the emperor, Sol in his horse-drawn chariot rises from the ocean (Fig. 7). Constantine and Sol were overtly juxtaposed on the Arch of Constantine dedicated in 315 in Rome and also the colossal statue of Sol nearby. Even after Constantine began to advertise his conversion to Christianity, the images of Sol and Constantine continued to be

68475 featured together on the gold solidi of various mints between 316 and 324 or 325, describing Sol as the protector of Constantine. In this period, Sol probably provided a unifying bridge between Licinius's paganism and Constantine's Christian God. Furthermore, Licinius's troops in 324 marched against Constantine under Sol's protection, while Constantine too seems to have celebrated his victory over his

68480 opponent with gold solidi bearing the legend SOLI COMITI AUG. Even though after 325 or 326 Constantine abandoned Sol Invictus on his coins and his support for Christianity became more manifest, the erection of the colossal radiate statue in Constantinople as late as 328 or 330 shows that Constantine continued to promote his solar associations in a way that easily appealed to a pagan and a Christian audience.

68485 In various sources of this period the solar imagery is now used to symbolize the eternity of Constantine's unified rule, the beginning of a Golden Age, but also the coming of a new Christian era.

The most remarkable monument that associated Constantine with Helios, which is also the most pertinent to our discussion, is the colossal bronze statue of Constantine on

68490 a porphyry column in the middle of his forum in Constantinople (Fig. 8). Its model was apparently the Colossus of Sol in Rome, which was erected by Nero and later moved to the Colosseum. Constantine's New Colossus was erected in 328 or 330 but is now lost. Only the column survives, truncated, but later textual sources refer to the statue above. It wore a radiate crown and carried a spear in one hand and a globe in

68495 the other. Whether it was naked or draped is not certain, as comparative evidence suggests either possibility. Most modern scholars agree that the image of Constantine incorporated the identity of Apollo-Helios. Writing in the sixth century, Hesychius mentions "the notable porphyry column on which we see Constantine set up, shining forth to his citizens in the manner of the sun". He gives an interpretation of the

68500 image that emphasizes the element of solar and divine radiance of the emperor, while

avoiding any explicit pagan association, and in that it seems to reflect to a great extent the way Christians viewed it. Later texts make explicit that the figure was a statue of Apollo (Patria) or Helios (Anna Comnena, Zonaras) re-used by Constantine, something that may be taken as yet another indirect proof of the intentional religious ambiguity of the message that the monument had originally intended to transmit. Another sixth-century source, Malalas, reports that the statue bore seven rays on his head, as in our example from Gytheum. Constantine's crown probably had angled, rather than vertical, rays, of a type that appeared often in the iconography of Hellenistic kings as well as the representation of Nero-Helios, thus making later observers identify it with the Sun god. An illusion to the sun could also be contained in the inscription that was probably placed on the base of the column, whose text (or part of it) is given by a mid-tenth century source. Constantine's adoption of the diadem, of Sol-Apollo as the dynasty's protector, and the Apolline portrait (modeled on Alexander and Augustus) denoted a striking break with previous Tetrarchic traditions. The new message offered different readings to his subjects. With the majority of the empire's population still pagan, it is reasonable to suppose that most would have tried to situate the emperor against traditional religious forms of mediation, foremost the imperial cult and the assimilation of the person of the emperor with ancestral cults. The promotion of Sol Invictus as the heavenly protector of the emperor provided a universal point of reference. It was this parallel association with Apollo-Helios and a Hellenistic royal style in his official self-representation that probably shaped how a Greek-speaking population sought to naturalize the official imperial message. The following examples illustrate this dynamic. Sometime between 324 and 337, the city of Termessos in Pisidia erected a monumental equestrian bronze statue in which the emperor Constantine was honored in the guise of the local god Helios Panteoptes, "All-Seeing Sun" (Fig. 9). The latter appears on the city's past bronze coins with a radiate crown and riding on a horse; it seems that the equestrian statue along with the inscribed block were re-used to create an image of Constantine from a previous dedication to the local solar god. There seems to be only a single way to interpret this evidence: the people of Termessos tried to respond to the strong solar associations of the new Flavian dynasty by assimilating him with a local solar deity. On the inscription of a statue dedication to Constantine in Lepcis Magna in Libya Tripolitania, we read that the provincial governor set up a marble statue that "was radiant by his divine spirit to our lord Constantine, most powerful victor, eternal Augustus" (dated between 324 and 326). The language is more allusive here, but as Tantillo suggested, a badly damaged imperial head of Julio-Claudian date, which was re-carved and given seven holes for the insertion of metal rays, possibly came from the same monument. Another example is a reused portrait head of a clean-shaven man from Augusta Treverorum (Trier), who is wearing a diadem and radiate crown and has also been identified with Constantine. A fourth example is a reused bust of Caracalla with a dedication to Constantine, found in a Mithraeum in Rusica in Numidia. Constantine's name replaced that of Caracalla. In the inscription, the emperor is addressed with the standard epithet of Sol: "to the divine spirit (numini) of the most sacred (sanctissimi) and invincible (invictissimi) Constantine." Furthermore, a group of late antique images, which have long been only tentatively identified as reproducing radiant portrait images of Constantine in minor form (for private veneration?), further underline how fertile the ground was for the cultivation of this particular assimilation of the emperor with Sol. Each of them, it has been suggested, may be a reminiscent of the image of a radiate Constantine holding the Tyche of the city of Constantinople, which on the day of the city's anniversary would be paraded on a golden chariot into the hippodrome and parked before the imperial box, or that of the forum. Returning to the Gytheum head, it was found in the Roman theater, but we cannot rule out that the monument stood in the nearby Kaisareion of the city. The Kaisareion is only epigraphically attested but is believed to have been part of the so-called "Roman Agora", located close to the theater. According to the well-known lex sacra of Gytheum (15 CE), the sacred procession of the local Kaisareion passed by different sanctuaries of the city and finally reached the Kaisareion and the Agora, where sacrifices took place; then the sacred images of the emperor and his family (probably panel paintings) were carried to the theater, where they could watch the festivities. The head, whether originally erected in the theater, or the Kaisareion, could be linked to the local festival of the imperial cult, which is epigraphically attested until the late third century. The connection with the festival of the imperial cult in the reign of Constantine in Gytheum is also likely, since a priest of the imperial cult is attested at Sparta in 325 or 329. Could the veneration of the person of the

emperor also be embedded in a traditional local cult of the god Helios in Gytheum or its periphery? An honorific inscription dated to the imperial period refers to a local priesthood of Helios and Selene. One may assume that the cults of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, who had been closely associated with that divine couple, and later that of Constantine, were integrated into this local cult. Be that as it may, a temple of the god Helios in Gytheum is not known. Regarding cults of Helios in Laconia, we know of a sanctuary of Helios in Taleton on the peak of Taygetos; an oracle sanctuary of Ino-Pasiphae (Selene) at Thalamae, where Helios was also worshipped; and a place sacred to Helios on the Tainaron promontory mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Apollo. It is impossible to know whether the foundation of the statue of Helios was connected to these Laconian ancestral cults, or was anchored in a previous cult of Helios and Selene at Gytheum.

I would propose instead that the Gytheum head should be understood along the same lines as the above examples, that is, as an attempt on the part of the local community to read the solar associations of Constantine's official image through a local religious idiom. The transcendent power of the association between Constantine and Apollo-Helios in Achaia is explicitly attested by the issue of a bronze coin of Constantine from the mint of Thessalonica, which together with Achaia was part of the diocese of Macedonia, featuring a unique iconographic type on its reverse: Sol Invictus together with an enigmatic solar pattern made of overlaid X-formations (Fig. 10). It is dated to 319, that is, only two years after the annexation of Illyricum by Constantine.

The veneration of an emperor styled as Apollo-Helios in the Greek East had a striking precedent in the case of Nero. Drawing on the model of Alexander and Augustus, Nero associated himself with solar and Apolline aspects, wishing to express his aspiration for a new Golden Age of peace and prosperity. He too appeared wearing a radiate crown on coins, while his Colossus in Rome was presumably the model for Constantine's similar statue in New Rome. In response to court propaganda that linked the emperor with Apollo and Helios, Greek cities venerated Nero as New Apollo (at Athens) and New Helios (at Akraiphia in Boeotia and at Sagalassos in Pisidia). It is therefore likely that the strong similarities between the ideological package of Nero and that of Constantine (including a close association with Sol-Helios-Apollo; the imitation of Augustus's persona; the Golden Age; the Colossi) stimulated similar initiatives on the part of the Greek provincials of Greece and Pisidia, while striving to pay honor to a benevolent emperor associated with Apollo-Helios.

I have so far argued that the Gytheum head can be associated with public honors to the emperor Constantine, based on the strong solar imagery of his official representation and the receptiveness of this particular aspect of his image into local contexts, as the numerous examples presented above show. It should be noted that Licinius and Julian too were associated with Sol Invictus, yet the almost total absence of public dedications to these emperors in Achaia, the shorter period of their reigns, and the lack of similar evidence proving the connection of Helios and these emperors on a provincial level in Achaia or elsewhere make Constantine our most plausible candidate.

If we accept the proposed identification, the earliest chronological context of the Gytheum head should be the year 317, when Constantine took control of the province of Achaia. Since Constantine felt no qualms about representing the Sun god as his divine companion on coins down to 325 and 326 (at least on the gold), and his Colossus was erected in Constantinople as late as 328 or 330, it is possible to place the Gytheum head any time between 317 and Constantine's death in 337. Besides, pagans preferred to associate Constantine and his successors with the sun long after their conversion to Christianity.

68620 Greece and Constantine

By exploring additional aspects of the regional history of Greece in the early fourth century, the present section seeks to set the Helios head of Gytheum in a wider historical context. I begin by highlighting a serious landmark in the late Roman history of the province of Achaia: the regaining of its proconsular status after a short interlude during the Tetrarchy. This occurred either after a joint decision of Constantine and Licinius in 314 or – more probably – by Constantine alone, after he took control of Illyricum from Licinius in 317. A remarkable number of statue dedications to Constantine and his sons are attested in Greece. They come from even insignificant cities, to the extent that these stones are often the only late antique public inscription, or the last attested, from the site.

Julian in his Speech of Praise for Constantius mentions that the Athenians had granted the title of strategos of the Athenians to Constantine and also dedicated to

him a statue with an elaborate inscription. Greatly pleased with this action, which gave him "more than the highest honors", Constantine bestowed on the city an annual gift of many tens of thousands of bushels of wheat. A series of statue dedications to Constantine and his sons (in Latin) were recently discovered near the Roman Agora. Two prominent Athenians were closely connected with Constantine; one is Nicagoras, son of Minucianus, a cultured man and priest of Eleusis, who travelled at the emperor's expense to the Valley of the Kings in Egypt in 326. He left two graffiti in the tomb of Ramses VI in the Valley of the Kings near Thebes commemorating his visit and naming his benefactor, "the most pious emperor Constantine". There was also the Athenian Praxagoras, who wrote a flattering history of Constantine in two books, of which only small fragments survive.

A third possible example is Onasimus, a historian and rhetorician, who was a citizen of Sparta or Athens (or both) and wrote an Encomium of Constantine.

The aim of Nicagoras's mission at Thebes is puzzling. For several scholars, by sponsoring it Constantine intended to favor the pagan aristocracy of Athens and present himself as a friend of the arts. Moreover, Fowden has suggested that Constantine entrusted Nicagoras to visit Egypt and secure the removal of two obelisks, which were later erected on the spina of the Circus Maximus in Rome and of the hippodrome in Constantinople, and a porphyry column for his Colossus in Constantinople. As he notes, this project should be understood as a conciliatory move by Constantine, who had already started to favor Christianity, towards the pagan establishment of his Empire. Constantine's favors to Athens, a predominately pagan city and center of learning, are customarily interpreted in the same way.

There is much scholarly discussion about the motives and the circumstances of the removal of statues and other religious objects from Greek cities by Constantine. The emperor had dispatched officials to travel through the provinces and confiscate treasures from Greek sanctuaries either to melt them down into bullion or to transport them to Constantinople. Despite what Eusebius wanted his readers to believe (that Constantine wanted his subjects to ridicule pagan art), the emperor really intended to adorn and glorify the new city with the art and iconic cultural symbols of the Greek East. The removal and transfer of temple treasures from the provinces apparently intensified around 330. The famous Panhellenic victory monument of the battle of Plataea (479 BCE), the Serpent Column of Delphi, together with a statue of Apollo and sacred tripods, were removed and placed on the spina of the hippodrome of Constantinople. It accompanied other victory monuments, images of public figures and other spolia that intended to denote the supremacy and grandeur of the city, graced by the authority of the Greek and Roman past. A group (or groups) of Muses from the Museion on Mount Helicon in Thespieae was also sent to Constantinople. It is striking that Nicagoras, a priest of the Eleusinian mysteries, would be assigned a mission that many pagans may have regarded as a sacrilege, as many expressed their indignation at the stripping of temples of their treasures and holy objects by Constantine's agents. However, both Delphi and Thespieae, whose artworks were removed, honored Constantine and his sons with several statue monuments. On the flip side, Constantine showed his favor towards the Pythian priesthood, even though Delphi may have also been responsible for instigating the renewal of the persecution against the Christians by Diocletian. Indeed, this implies a reciprocal process between Constantine and the prominently pagan local establishment. Local elites had consented to Constantine's policy of confiscating temple treasures, and in the case of Nicagoras may have been involved in it, perhaps in exchange for favors or other local privileges. On the other hand, this may be the reason why so few artworks from mainland Greece are reported in Constantinople in the early fourth century, in comparison to those from other cities of the East.

Between 326 and 329, the city of Sparta dedicated a statue of the provincial governor Publilius Optatianus (signo Porfyrius) and placed it next to the image of Lycurgus, along the east parodos of the city's theater. As proconsul of Achaia, Optatianus had the privilege of appealing directly to the emperor and enjoyed the pleasures of the intellectual life of Athens, the historical monuments of Greece, and perhaps traditional cult. Optatianus was a Roman aristocrat and a poet and had exchanged letters with Constantine on literary matters in 312. He was later banished (apparently in 322/323), but perhaps thanks to a series of poems he sent to the emperor, he was recalled from exile (325/326) and advanced to prefect of the city of Rome (in 329 and 333). His post in Greece probably dated after his exile and before his prefecture. The local magistrate Marcus Aurelius Stephanus, who paid for the statue of Optatianus, is also the last recorded priest of the imperial cult in Achaia. Could Optatianus also be responsible for the statue of Helios in neighboring Gytheum? This is impossible to know. In the Spartan text, he is described as a

benefactor in all things and savior of Lacedaemon. In his praises to Constantine, Optatianus makes regular references to Apollo and the Heliconian Muses primarily in terms of literary allusions, that is, as gods of his poetic inspiration. At the same time, his collection includes clear references to Christianity. Regarding the protecting deity, he often refers to him as "the Highest God", but in a few cases the god Helios is mentioned in this function or in an allusion to Constantine's rulership. Along with these poetic allusions, in one of Optatianus's picture-poems dedicated to Constantine the enigmatic solar symbol we saw on the coin of Thessalonica appears once again. Although this evidence cannot be connected to the Gytheum head, it may reveal the attitude of a powerful imperial official who, as part of his conventus, must have visited Sparta and, probably on one of these occasions, was honored with a statue set up by the priest of the imperial cult next to that of the city's mythical law-giver.

Krallis has recently suggested that sections 2.22-28 of Zosimus New History, which refer to Constantine's war against Licinius, is modelled on the battles of Salamis and Hydapses and might come from the work of the Athenian historian Praxagoras. The assimilation of Constantine's victories to famous battles of the Greco-Persian Wars and the campaigns of Alexander by an Athenian historian possibly reveals how the Athenian intellectual elite tried to flatter the emperor by giving a Panhellenic, or Athenocentric, myth-historical version of Constantine's successful campaigns, casting his opponent as an oriental despot of some sort fighting against Hellas. This new reading also supports the view that the Serpent Column of Delphi in the hippodrome should primarily be seen as a trophy monument, which urged the viewer to compare the great moments of Hellas with Constantine's victories and, together with the Egyptian obelisks, reinforced the solar allusions of Constantine's image in the hippodrome. When Prohaeresius was called forward to praise Constans publicly in Athens with respect to the renewal of the grant of corn supply to the city, he cited Celeus, Triptolemus, and Demeter. So, a mythical king of Athens, Alexander, Apollo-Helios, and Zeus Eleutherius (who was traditionally associated with the imperial cult in Athens and the Panhellenic commemoration of the Persian Wars at Plataea) may all have been powerful comparisons to make for praising Constantine. Interestingly enough, when Himerius (315-386), a teacher of rhetoric in Athens, praised Constantius II on behalf of the city, he also used solar imagery and named the Sun as Constantius's II ancestor (προπάτωρ), thus revealing that Sol still offered an appropriate comparandum for the son of Constantine when an Athenian wished to praise him in 351. It is therefore possible to imagine that the head of Gytheum may have also been reconfigured several times in honor of different emperors in the course of the fourth century.

Conclusion

The Gytheum head belonged to a late antique sculptured monument representing Helios. The poor condition and technique of the work do not allow us to decide whether the sculptor had also intended to combine divine and imperial portrait iconography. Be that as it may, the image of Helios and his symbolism in the 320s provided a syncretistic blueprint for the glorification of Constantine that possibly aimed to reassure the pagan population of the recently conquered eastern territories in the face of Constantine's Christianity. Deprived of traditional worship, entailing sacrifice and idol veneration, but also accommodating an attempted de-paganized version of imperial cult, the solar imagery offered apolysemy that would cater to both pagans and Christians. I have argued that the Gytheum head could be read as a manifestation of loyalty and popular devotion towards Constantine, being expressed in a way that was not only in accord with the official image promoted at that time by the court, but also drew on traditional norms of honoring the emperor in the Greek East. Key elements of Constantine's negotiated conceptualization by the cities of Hellas would include the close association with the Sun god – the Supreme Deity and protector of the emperor – and the link between his recent military victories and classical Greek and Roman conceptions of the glorious past. If the Athenians liked to emphasize culture and letters, the Laonians prized more the god who was still most connected to the late Roman army. In all these time-tested strategies of praise, the people of Hellas were walking a well-trodden path, whose value an emperor like Constantine still knew how to appreciate.

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Zosimus Book Two

THE longest period of the life of man is only equal to the intermediate space between these games. For an age, or the space of one hundred years, which we call *aivon*, is by the Romans called *seculum*. This is an excellent remedy for the plague, consumption and other diseases; of its origin receive this account. Valesus Valesius, from whom

descended the Valerian family, was a great man among the Sabines, before whose house was a grove of very lofty trees, which were burnt with lightning. He was thus induced to enquire the meaning of such a portent. His children, moreover, falling sick, he consulted both the physicians and the soothsayers. He was told by them, that by the manner of the fire falling the gods were angry; which caused Valesius wisely to attempt by sacrifices to appease them. He and his wife being terrified, and expecting every moment the death of their children, he prostrated himself before Vesta, and promised to offer up two entire souls instead of their children, which were his own and that of their mother. But turning to the grove that had been burnt, he seemed to hear a voice that commanded him to carry the children to Tarentum, and there to warm some |36 Tiber water over the fire of Pluto and Proserpine, and to give it to the children to drink. On hearing this he despaired the more of the recovery of the children. For Tarentum was at a great distance, and besides there was no Tiber water to be had there: and it caused him to entertain more desponding thoughts of it, that the voice had told him the water must be warmed on the altar of the infernal deities, at which the soothsayers themselves were also startled. However, having heard it the second time, he obeyed the command of the gods. Putting his children on board a small river-vessel, he carried the fire along with him. The children were ready to faint through heat, while he sailed to that part of the river where the stream is most gentle; and taking up his lodging at a shepherd's cottage, he heard a voice say that he must stay at Tarentum, for that was the name of the place, which had the same name with Tarentum near the Iapygian promontory; On which Valesius, having paid due adoration to the gods for his good fortune, ordered the pilot to put to shore, and, landing, told the whole story to the shepherds. Presently taking some water out of the Tiber, and heating it on an altar erected by himself, he gave it to his children to drink; as soon as they had drunk it they fell asleep and were perfectly cured. But in that sleep they fancied that they saw a vision, which told them to offer black victims to Pluto and Proserpine, and to spend three nights in singing and dancing; which dream they communicated to their father, and that it was a huge man of a godlike presence, who ordered them to do it in the Campus Martius, where the horse-races are held. Valesius, therefore, intending to build an altar in that place, set the masons to dig, who found an altar ready made, on which was inscribed. "To Pluto and Proserpine". By which being more plainly instructed how to act, he sacrificed the black victims on the altar, and kept the vigils in that place.

This same altar, and the manner of sacrificing on it, thus originated. The Romans and the Albans being at war, and both prepared for battle, a monstrous figure appeared, clothed in a black skin, and crying out, that Pluto and Proserpine commanded sacrifices to be made to them before they fought, it disappeared. On which, the Romans, who were terrified at the sight, made an altar underground, and when they had sacrificed on it, buried it at the depth of twenty feet., in order that it might not be found by any but themselves. Valesius having found it, according to command, sacrificed upon it, and kept the vigils; for which he was called Manius Valerius Tarentinus. For the Romans call the infernal gods Manes, and Valere signifies to be in good health; |37 and the surname of Tarentinus he derived from Tarentum where he sacrificed. Some time afterwards, when a plague happened in the city, which was the year after the expulsion of the kings, Publius Valerius Publicola sacrificed a black bull and a black heifer to Pluto and Proserpine, by which he freed the city from the disease. He wrote on the altar this inscription; "Publius Valerius Publicola dedicated fire to Pluto and Proserpine in the Campus Martius, and exhibited spectacles in honour of them, for the preservation of the Roman people."

But afterwards, when they were oppressed with diseases and wars, which was in the year 352 after the building of the city, the senate endeavoured to deliver themselves from those calamities by means of the oracles of the Sibyls, and therefore commanded those whose office it was to consult those oracles. Having so done they told the senate, that by sacrificing to Pluto and Proserpine an end would be put to all their miseries. They therefore chose a convenient place, which they consecrated to Pluto and Proserpine as they were commanded, when Marcus Potitus was in his fourth consulate. And when the ceremony was completed, being delivered from their grievances, they again laid aside the altar in some extremity of the Campus Martius. These rites were afterwards neglected for many years, until some misfortunes befell them, and then Octavianus Augustus renewed the games which had before been celebrated, when Lucius. Censorinus and Marcus Manlius Puelius were consuls. They were again used under the consulate of Lucius Censorinus and Caius Sabinus, when Ateius Capito had explained the laws concerning them, and the fifteen men who had the care of the books of the Sibyls had found out the time when the sacrifice ought to be performed and the games held. After Augustus was dead, these games were celebrated by

Claudius, without any regard to the due time. After him Domitian, who paid no regard to what Claudius had done, computed the years from the time when Augustus kept that festival, and seemed to observe their original institution. And after them Severus in the hundred and tenth year restored the same game, with his two sons Antoninus and Geta, when Chilo and Libo were consuls. This is said to be the manner in which these games were observed. The beadles went round at the time, and invited all the people to a spectacle, such as they had never witnessed and never would again. The Quindecimviri, in the summer season, a little before the games began, sat in the Capitol, and in the Palatine, temple, upon a tribunal, from which they distributed to the people a kind of purifying |38 preparations, called lustralia, which consisted of torches, brimstone and pitch, of which none but freemen are allowed to participate. And when the people assembled in the above mentioned places and in the temple of Diana, which is on mount Aventine, each person brought wheat, barley, and beans, and kept vigils to the fatal sisters. The time of the festival being arrived, which was celebrated three successive days and nights in the Campus Martins, the victims were consecrated near the bank of the Tiber at Tarentum. There they sacrificed to several deities; to Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, Latona, and to the Parcae, Lucinae, Ceres, Pluto, and Proserpine, which was performed in this order. The first night that the spectacles were exhibited, the emperor with the Quindecimviri sacrificed three lambs on as many altars purposely placed on the side of the river, where having sprinkled the altars with blood he offered up the victims whole. Then, having prepared a scene without a theatre, they placed a great number of lights, and made a large fire, by which they sang a new hymn, to render the games more solemn. They who performed these ceremonies were rewarded for their labour with the first fruits of their wheat, barley, and beans. For these were as I stated distributed among the people. The following day they went up to the Capitol, where the usual sacrifices were offered, and going from thence to the appointed place, celebrated games in honour of Apollo and Diana. On the next day, the principal ladies entered the Capitol at the hour appointed by the oracle, where they conducted themselves with due reverence: and at the third hour, in the temple of Apollo near the palace, twenty-seven children of each sex, whose parents were all living, sang hymns, and spoke in Greek and Latin; by which the Roman empire was preserved. Besides these, however, there were other rites observed by the divine command, which as long as they were kept up preserved the Roman empire. And in confirmation of what I have stated, I will add the oracle of the Sibyl, which has been mentioned by others before my time;

But when a hundred years and ten are past
Which is the longest time man's age doth last,
Romans! be sure (it is fatal to mistake
In any point) due offerings to make
To heaven, and see you bring the sacrifice
Into that field which on the Tiber lies:
And do it, in that season, when the night
Deprives men least of the diurnal light.
After sun set; Then to the Parcae pay
Your homage; and upon their altars lay |39
Young sheep and goats: next the Lucinae please
With decent rites, who childing women ease,
Those finished offer a black hog and sow
To Tellus, for the product of the plow,
But to Jove's altar bring the bulls milk-while
For victims, in the day-time, not by night:
(For heavenly deities accept of none
But what are offer'd in the day alone.)
And next to Juno sacrifice a cow
Spotless all o'er, and pure as fulling snow,
Then let Apollo, whom they call the sun,
And Phoebus, have his equal honours done.
Whilst in the temple Latin girls and boys
In sacred hymns make a triumphant noise.
But let them be apart, the girls to stand
And sing on this, the boys on t'other hand;
Besides this caution I must farther give
That all the parents of them be alive.
As for the married women, let them pray
To Juno on their knees, that each one may
Have their desire, both men and women too,

But chiefly women. Then, let all of you
Bring from your houses what is fit to bring,
(As the first-fruits of every useful thing)

To the immortal gods an offering.

And let all that upon your altars lie,
Whence you may men and women both supply.

But to attend the gods be sure there be
Both night and day a numerous company
Of votaries both serious and free.

These laws observ'd not Latium alone
But Italy's extent your sway shall own.

Experience assures us, that while these ceremonies were duly performed, according to the direction of the oracles, the empire was secure, and likely to retain its sovereignty over almost all the known world; and on the other hand, when they were neglected, about the time when Dioclesian laid down the imperial dignity, it fell to decay, and degenerated insensibly into barbarism. That I state nothing but truth I will prove from chronology. From the consulate of Chilo and Libo, in which Severus celebrated the secular games, or rites, to the ninth consulate of Dioclesian, and eighth of Maximianus, was a hundred and one years. Then Dioclesian from an emperor became a private individual, and Maximianus followed his example. But when Constantine and Licinius were in their third consulship, the 110 years were completed, and the festival ought to have been kept |40 according to custom; but it was neglected, and affairs consequently declined to their present unfortunate condition.

Three years after Dioclesian died, and the reigning emperors, Constantius and Maximianus Gallerius declared Severus and Maximinus (who was nephew to Gallerius), the Caesars, giving all Italy to Severus, and the eastern provinces to Maximinus. Affairs being all regulated and the barbarians quiet, since the Romans had been so successful against them, Constantine, who was the son of Constantius by a concubine, and had previously an ambition of being emperor (but was more inflamed with that desire, since Severus and Maximinus had acquired the name and honour of Caesars), was now resolved to leave the place where he had resided, and to go to his father Constantius, who was beyond the Alps, and generally in Britain. But being apprehensive of seizure by the way, many persons being well acquainted of his anxiety for dominion, he maimed all the horses that were kept for public service, whenever he came to any stable where they were kept, except what he took for his own use. He continued to do this throughout his journey, by which means he prevented those that pursued him from going further, while he himself proceeded toward the country where his father was.

It happened that Constantius died at that time; the guards, therefore, who thought none of his legitimate children to be fit for the imperial dignity, considered that Constantine was a person capable of sustaining it, and conferred the honour upon him, in hopes of being remunerated with handsome presents. When his effigy according to custom was exhibited at Rome, Maxentius, the son of Maximianus Herculus, could not endure the sight of Constantine's good fortune, who was the son of a harlot, while himself, who was the son of so great an emperor, remained at home in indolence, and his father's empire was enjoyed by others. He therefore associated with himself in the enterprise Marcellianus and Marcellus, two military tribunes, and Lucianus, who distributed the swine's flesh, with which the people of Rome were provided by the treasury, and the court-guards called Praetoriani. By them he was promoted to the imperial throne, having promised liberally to reward all that assisted him in it. For this purpose they first murdered Abellius, because he, being prefect of the city, opposed their enterprise.

Maximianus Gallerius, when he had learned this, sent Severus Caesar against Maxentius with an army. But while he advanced from Milan with several legions of Moors, Maxentius corrupted his troops with money, and even the prefect of the court, Anullinus, |41 and thereby conquered him with great ease. On which Severus fled to Ravenna, which is a strong and populous city, provided with necessaries sufficient for himself and soldiers. When Maximianus Herculus knew this, he was doubtless greatly concerned for his son Maxentius, and therefore, leaving Lucania where he then was, he went to Ravenna. Finding that Severus could not by any means be forced out of this city, it being well fortified, and stored with provisions, he deluded him with false oaths, and persuaded him to go to Rome. But on his way thither, coming to a place called the Three Tabernae, he was taken by a stratagem of Maxentius and immediately executed. Maximianus Gallerius could not patiently endure these injuries done to Severus, and therefore resolved to go from the east to Rome, and to punish,

68965 Maxentius as he deserved. On his arrival in Italy, he found the soldiers about him so treacherous, that he returned into the east without fighting a battle. At this period Maximianus Herculus, who lamented the tumults which disturbed the public peace, came to Dioclesian who then lived at Carnutum, a town of Gallia Celtica, and endeavoured to persuade him to resume the empire, and not to suffer the government which they had preserved so long and with so much difficulty to be exposed to the madness and folly of those who had possessed themselves of it, and who had already brought it near to ruin. But Dioclesian refused to listen to him; for he wisely preferred his own quiet, and perhaps foresaw the troubles that would ensue, being a man well versed in matters of religion. Herculus therefore, perceiving that he could not prevail with him, came to Ravenna, and so returned to the Alps to meet Constantine, who lay there. And being naturally a busy faithless man, he promised his daughter Fausta to Constantine, which he performed, but persuaded him to pursue Maximianus Gallerius, who was then leaving Italy, and to lay wait for Maxentius. To all which Constantine agreed. He then left him, designing if possible to recover the empire, as he hoped to create a quarrel between Constantine and his son Maxentius. But while he attempted these things, Maximianus Gallerius assumed Licinius, as his colleague in the empire, with whose assistance he hoped to cope with Maxentius. But while Gallerius deliberated on these affairs, he died of an incurable wound, and Licinius then also claimed the sole dominion. Maximianus Herculus endeavoured, as I have said, to recover the empire by alienating the soldiers from Maxentius. For which purpose, by gifts and insinuating addresses, having brought them over to him, |42 he endeavoured to form a conspiracy against Constantine, in which his soldiers were to join. But Fausta revealed it to Constantine, and Herculus, who was now overborne by so many disappointments, died of a distemper at Tarsus.

68990 Maxentius, having escaped this danger, and being of opinion that he was now well enough established in the empire, sent persons into Africa, and in particular to Carthage, to carry his image about that country. But the soldiers in that country forbade it, out of regard to Maximianus Gallerius, and the respect they had for his memory, until they heard that Maxentius was coming to make war on them on the plea of an insurrection. They then went to Alexandria, but meeting with a great army with which they were not able to contend, they returned to Carthage. Maxentius, being disturbed at this, resolved to sail for Africa, and to punish the authors of the commotion. But the soothsayers having sacrificed and given him ill omens, he was afraid to go, not only because the entrails had that appearance, but also lest Alexander, who was prefect of the court in Africa, should be his enemy. To secure his passage thither from all doubt, he sent to Alexander, desiring him to send his son as an hostage. But he, suspecting that Maxentius did not desire his son for the mere purpose of an hostage, but to deceive him, denied the request. After this, Maxentius sending other agents to him to take him off by treachery and stratagem, the plot was discovered; and the soldiers, having then got a favourable opportunity to rebel, conferred the purple robe on Alexander, though he was by birth not only a Phrygian, but a timid cowardly man, and unlit for any difficult undertaking, and was, moreover, of an advanced age.

69005 At that time a fire happened at Rome; whether it came out of the air or earth is uncertain. It broke out in the temple of Fortune; and while the people ran to extinguish it, a soldier, speaking blasphemy against the goddess, was killed by the mob out of zeal, by which a mutiny was occasioned among the soldiers. They would have destroyed the whole city, had not Maxentius soon appeased their rage. Maxentius after this sought every occasion to make war on Constantine, and pretending grief for his father's death, of which Constantine was the cause, he designed to go towards Rhaetia, which is contiguous both to Gaul and Illyricum. For he imagined that he should subdue Dalmatia and Illyricum, by the assistance of the generals in those parts, and of the army of Licinius. But thinking it better first to arrange affairs in Africa, he raised an army, bestowing the command of it on Rufius Volusianus, prefect of the court, and sent |43 them into Africa. He sent Zeno also along with Rufius, who was a person not only expert in military affairs, but esteemed for his courtesy and affability. On the first charge, Alexander's troops retired on a body of men in the rear, nor was the other party left unconquered by the enemy. Alexander himself was taken and strangled.

69025 The war being thus at an end, a good opportunity was afforded to sycophants and informers of impeaching all the persons in Africa, who had good estates, as friends to Alexander: nor were any of the accused spared, but some of them put to death, and others deprived of all their possessions. After this he triumphed at Rome for the mischief done at Carthage. Such was the state of the affairs of Maxentius, who conducted himself with cruelty and licentiousness towards all the inhabitants of

69030 Italy, and even to Rome itself. Meantime Constantine, who had long been jealous of
him, was then much more disposed to contention. Having therefore raised an army
amongst the Barbarians, Germans, and Celts, whom he had conquered, and likewise drawn
a force out of Britain, amounting in the whole to ninety thousand foot and eight
thousand horse, he marched from the Alps into Italy, passing those towns that
69035 surrendered without doing them any damage, but taking by storm those which resisted.
While he was making this progress, Maxentius had collected a much stronger army;
consisting of eighty thousand Romans and Italians, all the Tuscans on the sea coast,
forty thousand men from Carthage, besides what the Sicilians sent him; his whole
force amounting to a hundred and seventy thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse.
69040 Both being thus prepared, Maxentius threw a bridge over the Tiber, which was not of
one entire piece, but divided into two parts, the centre of the bridge being made to
fasten with irons, which might be drawn out upon occasion. He gave orders to the
workmen, that as soon as they saw the army of Constantine upon the juncture of the
bridge, they should draw out the iron fastenings, that the enemy who stood upon it
69045 might fall into the river.
Constantine, advancing with his army to Rome, encamped in a field before the city,
which was broad and therefore convenient for cavalry. Maxentius in the mean time shut
himself up within the walls, and sacrificed to the gods, and, moreover, consulted the
Sibylline oracles concerning the event of the war. Finding a prediction, that whoever
69050 designed any harm to the Romans should die a miserable death, he applied it to
himself, because he withstood those that came against Rome, and wished to take it.
His application indeed proved just. For when Maxentius drew out |44 his army before
the city, and was marching over the bridge that he himself had constructed, an
infinite number of owls flew down and covered the wall. When Constantine saw this, he
69055 ordered his men to stand to their arms. And the two armies being drawn up opposite to
each other, Constantine sent his cavalry against that of the enemy, whom they charged
with such impetuosity that they threw them into disorder. The signal being given to
the infantry, they likewise marched in good order towards the enemy. A furious battle
having commenced, the Romans themselves, and their foreign allies, were unwilling to
69060 risk their lives, as they wished for deliverance from the bitter tyranny with which
they were burdened; though the other troops were slain in great numbers, being either
trod to death by the horse, or killed by the foot.
As long as the cavalry kept their ground, Maxentius retained some hopes, but when
they gave way, he tied with the rest over the bridge into the city. The beams not
69065 being strong enough to bear so great a weight, they broke; and Maxentius, with the
others, was carried with the stream down the river.
When the news of this victory was reported in the city, none dared to shew any joy
for what had happened, because many thought it was an unfounded report. But when the
head of Maxentius was brought upon a spear, their fear and dejection were changed to
69070 joy and pleasure. On this occasion Constantine punished very few, and they were only
some few of the nearest friends of Maxentius; but he abolished the praetorian troops,
and destroyed the fortresses in which they used to reside. At length, having arranged
all things in the city, he went towards Gallia Celtica; and on his way sent for
Licinius to Milan, and gave him in marriage his sister Constantia, whom he had
69075 formerly promised him, when he wished him to unite with himself against Maxentius.
That solemnity over, Constantine proceeded towards the Celtae. It was not long before
a civil war broke out between Licinius and Maximianus, who had a severe engagement,
in which Licinius at first appeared to have the disadvantage, but he presently
rallied and put Maximianus to flight. This emperor, travelling through the east into
69080 Egypt, in hopes of raising a force to renew the war, died at Tarsus.
The empire being thus devolved on Constantine and Licinius, they soon quarrelled. Not
because Licinius gave any cause for it, but that Constantine, in his usual manner,
was unfaithful to his agreement, by endeavouring to alienate from Licinius some
nations that belonged to his dominions. By this means an open rupture ensued, and
69085 both prepared for war. Licinius |45 took up his head-quarters at Cibalis, a city of
Pannonia, which stands on a hill; the road to which is rugged and narrow. The
greatest part of this road is through a deep morass, and the remainder up a mountain,
on which stands the city. Below it extends a spacious plain, which entertains the
view with a boundless prospect. On this Licinius fixed his camp, and extended the
69090 body of his army under the hill, that his flanks might be protected from the enemy.
Constantine in the meantime drew up his men near the mountain, placing the horse in
front, thinking that to be the best disposition lest the enemy should fall upon the
foot, who moved but slowly, and hinder their advance. Having done this, he
immediately gave the charge, and attacked the enemy. This engagement was one of the
69095 most furious that was ever fought; for when each side had expended their darts, they

fought a long time with spears and javelins; and after the action had continued from morning to night, the right wing, where Constantine himself commanded, began to prevail. The enemy being routed, Licinius's troops, seeing him mounted and ready to fly, dared not stay to eat their portions, but left behind them all their cattle and provisions, taking only as much food as would suffice for one night, and marched with great precipitation along with Licinius to Sirmium, a city of Pannonia, by which runs a river which discharges itself into the Ister. In passing this town he broke down the bridge over the river, and marched on with an intention to levy troops in Thrace. Constantine, having taken Cibalis, and Sirmium, and all the towns that Licinius had abandoned, sent five thousand men in pursuit of him. But as these were ignorant of the course he had taken, they could not overtake him. Constantine however, having rebuilt the bridge over the Saus, which Licinius had broken down, was with his army almost at his heels. Having entered Thrace, he arrived at the plain where Licinius lay encamped. On the night of his arrival there he marshalled his army, and gave orders for his soldiers to be ready for battle by day-break. As soon as it was light, Licinius, perceiving Constantine with his army, drew up his forces also, having been joined by Valens, whom he styled Caesar, after the battle of Cibalis. When the armies engaged, they first fought with bows at a distance; but when their arrows were spent, they began to use their javelins, and poignards. Thus the battle continued very obstinately for a considerable time, until those whom Constantine had sent in pursuit of Licinius descended from an eminence upon the armies while they were engaged. These wheeled round the hill ¹⁴⁶ before they arrived at them, deeming it best to join their own party from the higher ground, and to encompass the enemy. The troops of Licinius, being aware of them, courageously withstood against them all, so that many thousands were slain on both sides, and the advantage was equal, till the signal was given for both to retire. Next day they agreed on a truce, and entered into an alliance with each other, on condition that Constantine should possess Illyricum and all the nations westward, and that Licinius should have Thrace and the east; but that Valens, whom Licinius had made Caesar, should be put to death, because he was said to be the author of all the mischief which had happened. Having done this, and sworn on both sides to observe the conditions, Constantine conferred the rank and title of Caesar on Crispus, his son by a concubine called Minervina, who was as yet but a youth, and on Constantine, who was born but a few days before at Arelatum. At the same time Licinianus, the son of Licinius, who was twenty months of age, was declared Caesar, Thus ended the second war.

Constantine hearing that the Sauromatae, who dwelt near the Palus Maeotis, had passed the Ister in boats, and pillaged his territories, led his army against them, and was met by the barbarians, under their king Rausimodus. The Sauromatae attacked a town which was sufficiently garrisoned, but its wall was built in the lower part of stone, and in the upper part of wood. They therefore thought that they might easily take the town by burning all the wooden part of the wall; and with that view set it on fire, and in the mean time shot at those who stood on the walls. The defenders threw down darts and stones upon the barbarians, and killed many of them; and Constantine then coming up and falling on them from a higher ground, slew a great number, took some alive, and put the rest to flight. Rausimodus, having lost the greater part of his army, took shipping and crossed the Ister, with an intention of once more plundering the Roman dominions. Constantine, hearing of his design, followed them over the Ister, and attacked them in a thick wood upon a hill, to which they had fled, where he killed many of them, amongst whom was Rausimodus. He also took many of them prisoners, giving quarter to those that would submit; and returned to his headquarters with an immense number of captives. These he distributed into the different cities, and then came to Thessalonica, where having constructed a harbour (this city not possessing one before), he made new preparations for war against Licinius. For this purpose, he fitted out two hundred galleys of war; each with thirty oars, ¹⁴⁷ besides two thousand transport vessels, and raised a force of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horsemen and sailors. Licinius, hearing of the great preparations of Constantine, sent messengers to every nation, commanding them to prepare a sufficient number of men for the navy, besides horse and foot soldiers. The Egyptians therefore sent out eighty galleys, the Phoenicians an equal number, the Ionians and Dorians of Asia sixty, the Cyprians thirty, the Carians twenty, the Bithynians thirty, and the Africans fifty. His foot-soldiers amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty thousand, but his horse only to fifteen thousand, which were sent to him from Phrygia and Cappadocia. Constantine's navy lay at Piraeus, that of Licinius in the Hellespont. When they had thus established their naval and military forces, Licinius encamped at Adrianople in Thrace, whilst Constantine sent for his navy from Piraeus, which was built and manned chiefly in Greece. Advancing with his

infantry from Thessalonica, he encamped on the bank of the river Hebrus, which runs to the left of Adrianople. At the same time, Licinius drew up his army in order of battle, extending from a mountain which is above the town two hundred stadia, as far as the junction of another river with the Hebrus; thus the armies continued opposite to each other for several days. Constantine. observing where the river was least broad, concerted this plan. He ordered his men to bring trees from the mountain, and to tie ropes around them, as if he intended to throw a bridge over the river for the passage of his army. By this stratagem he deluded the enemy, and, ascending a hill on which were thick woods sufficient to conceal any that were in them, he planted there five thousand archers and eight hundred horse. Having done this, he crossed the Hebrus at the narrowest place, and so surprised the enemy that many fled with all their speed, while others, who were amazed at his unexpected approach, were struck with wonder at his coming over so suddenly. In the meantime, the rest of his army crossed the river in security, and a great slaughter commenced. Nearly thirty thousand fell; and about sunset Constantine took their camp, while Licinius, with all the forces he could muster, hastened through Thrace to his ships. As soon as day appeared, the whole army of Licinius, or as many of them as had fled to the neighbouring mountains and vallies, together with those that Licinius through haste had left behind him, surrendered themselves to Constantine. Licinius being arrived at Byzantium, Constantine followed and besieged him in that city. His navy, as before related, had now left Piraeus and lay at Macedon. He therefore sent orders to his admirals to bring the ships into the Hellespont. This being effected according to the command of Constantine, the officers of his navy thought it not prudent to engage with more than eighty of their best sailing vessels, which were gallies of thirty oars each, because the place was too narrow for the reception of a greater number. Upon which Abantus, the admiral of Licinius, making use of two hundred ships, despised the smallness of the enemy's fleet, which he thought he could easily surround. But the signals on both sides being given, and the vessels meeting stern to stern, the seamen of Constantine managed their ships so as to engage in good order; but the ships of Abantus, sailing against the enemy without any order, and being confined by the narrowness of the place, became exposed to the enemy, who sunk and otherwise destroyed them. Many were thrown overboard; till at length night put an end to the engagement. The fleets then separated and put in at different places, the one at Eleus in Thrace, and the other at the Aeantian harbour. The following day, the wind blowing hard from the north, Abantus put out from the Aeantian port and prepared for action. But the galleys of fifty oars being come to Eleus by order of the admirals, Abantus was alarmed at the number of vessels, and hesitated whether to sail against the enemy. About noon the north wind subsided; the south wind then blew with such violence, that the ships of Licinius, which lay on the Asiatic coast, were some driven on shore, others broken against the rocks, and others foundered with all on board. In this affair five thousand men perished, together with a hundred and thirty ships filled with men, whom Licinius had sent out of Thrace to Asia accompanied by a part of his army; Byzantium being too small to contain all that were besieged with Licinius. The sea-fight being thus concluded, Abantus effected his escape with only four ships into Asia. The navy of Constantine, having arrived in the Hellespont laden with abundance of provisions and stores for his troops, weighed anchor in order to join in the siege of Byzantium, and to blockade the city by sea. The foot-soldiers of Licinius, being alarmed at the sight of such a navy, procured ships in which they sailed to Eleus.

Meantime Constantine continued intent upon the siege, and raised a mound of equal height, with the wall, on which he placed wooden towers that overlooked the wall, from which his soldiers shot: those who defended it, in order that he might with greater security bring battering rams and other engines of war near it. By these means he thought himself sure to take the city. At which Licinius, being terrified, and not knowing how to act, resolved to leave Byzantium, and the weaker part of his army therein, and to take with him only such men as were fit for active service, and had given proofs of their attachment to himself, and to hasten without delay to Chalcedon in Bithynia. He flattered himself that another army might be raised in Asia, which would enable him again to contend with his adversary. Arriving therefore at Chalcedon, and, having appointed Martinianus to the command of the court guards, whom the Romans call Magister officiorum, his associate in this dangerous enterprize, he declared him Caesar, and sent him with an army to Lampsacus, to hinder the passage of the enemy from Thrace into the Hellespont. He posted his own men on the hills and passes about Chalcedon.

While Licinius was thus occupied, Constantine, who had a great number of transports as well as warlike vessels, and was desirous to make use of them in crossing over and

possessing himself of the opposite shore, fearing that the Bithynian coast might be inaccessible to ships of burden, immediately constructed some small vessels, with
69230 which he sailed to the sacred promontory, which lies at the entrance of the Pontus, two hundred stadia from Chalcedon. He there landed his army, which, having done, he drew them up upon some adjacent hills. Licinius, though he then saw that Bithynia was already in the hands of his enemy, was rendered so desperate by danger, that he sent for Martinianus from Lampsacus, and in order to encourage his men to fight, told them
69235 that he himself would lead them. Having said what he thought necessary to encourage them, he drew them up in order of battle, and marching out of the city, met the enemy, who were prepared for him. A sharp engagement taking place between Chalcedon and the sacred promontory, Constantine had the superiority; for he fell on the enemy with such resolution, that of a hundred and thirty thousand men, scarcely thirty
69240 thousand escaped. When the Byzantines heard of this, they immediately threw open their gates to Constantine, as did the Chalcedonians also. Licinius after this defeat went to Nicomedia with what horse were left him, and a few thousands of foot. At this time a Persian named Hormisdas, of the royal family, came over to Constantine for refuge, under these circumstances. His father had been king of Persia. He was
69245 once celebrating his own birth-day after the Persian manner, when Hormisdas entered the palace, bringing with him a large quantity of venison. But as the guests at the table did not rise, and pay him the respect and honour due to him, he became enraged, and told them he would |50 punish them with the death of Marsyas. This saying most of them did not understand, because it related to a foreign story; but one of them, who
69250 had lived in Phrygia, and had heard the story of Marsyas, explained to them the meaning of Hormisdas's menace, while they sat at table. It was therefore so treasured up in their recollection, that when his father died, they remembered his threat, and chose his younger brother king, though according to law the elder should be preferred above the other children. Not contented with that, they put Hormisdas in chains, and
69255 confined him on a hill which lies before their city. But after some time had elapsed, his wife effected his escape in this manner. She procured a large fish, and put a file in its belly, and, sewing it up again, delivered it to the most trusty of her eunuchs, charging him to tell Hormisdas, that he must eat the fish when no one was present, and use what he should find in its belly for his escape. When she had formed
69260 this contrivance, she sent several camels loaded with wine, and abundance of meat, to entertain her husband's keepers. While they were enjoying the feast she gave them, Hormisdas cut open the fish, and found the file; having with that filed off the shackles from his legs, he put on the robe of the eunuch, and passed through the midst of his keepers, who were by that time perfectly intoxicated. Taking one of the
69265 eunuchs along with him, he fled to the king of Armenia, who was his particular friend. By these means he got safe to Constantine, who shewed him all possible kindness and respect. But Licinius being besieged by Constantine at Nicomedia also, knew not what to do, being sensible that he had not an army equal to engage. Going, therefore, out of the
69270 city, he submitted himself to Constantine, and brought him the purple robe, proclaiming him his emperor and lord, and intreating pardon for what was past. He presumed that he certainly should escape with life, because Constantine had sworn to his wife that he would spare him. But Constantine delivered Martinianus to the guards that they might put him to death, and sent Licinius to Thessalonica, as if he were to live there in security. However, he afterwards broke his oath, |1 which was usual with Constantine, and caused him to be executed. |51
Now that the whole empire had fallen into the hands of Constantine, he no longer concealed his evil disposition and vicious inclinations, but acted as he pleased, without controul. He indeed used the ancient worship of his country 2; though not so
69280 much out of honour or veneration as of necessity. Therefore he believed the soothsayers, who were expert in their art, as men who predicted the truth concerning all the great actions which he ever performed. But when he came to Rome, he was filled with pride and arrogance. He resolved to begin his impious actions at home. For he put to death his son Crispus, stiled (as I mentioned) Caesar, on suspicion of
69285 debauching his mother-in-law Fausta, without any regard to the ties of nature. And when his own mother Helena expressed much sorrow for this atrocity, lamenting the young man's death with great bitterness, Constantine under pretence of comforting her, applied a remedy worse than the disease. For causing a bath to be heated to an extraordinary degree, he shut up Fausta in it, and a short time after took her out
69290 dead. Of which his conscience accusing him, as also of violating his oath, he went to the priests to be purified from his crimes. But they told him, that there was no kind of lustration that was sufficient to clear him of such enormities. A Spaniard, named Aegyptius, very familiar with the court-ladies, being at Rome, happened to fall into

69295 converse with Constantine, and assured him, that the Christian doctrine would teach him how to cleanse himself from all his offences, and that they who received it were immediately absolved from all their sins. Constantine had no sooner heard this than he easily believed what was told him, and forsaking the rites of his country, received those which Aegyptius offered him; and for the first instance of his impiety, suspected the truth of divination. For since many fortunate occurrences had
69300 been thereby predicted to him, and really had happened according to such prediction, he was afraid that others might be told something which should fall out to his misfortune; and for that reason applied himself to the abolishing of the practice. And on a particular festival, when the army was to go up to the Capitol, he very indecently reproached the solemnity, and treading the holy ceremonies, as it
69305 were, under his feet, incurred the hatred of the senate and people 3. Being unable to endure the curses of almost the whole city, he sought for another city as large as Rome, where he might build himself a palace. Having, therefore, discovered a convenient scite between Troas and old Ilium, he there accordingly laid a foundation, and built part of a wall to a considerable height, which may still be
69310 seen by any that sail towards the Hellespont. Afterwards changing his purpose, he left his work unfinished, and went to Byzantium, where he admired the situation of the place, and therefore resolved, when he had considerably enlarged it, to make it a residence worthy of an emperor. The city stands on a rising ground, which is part of the isthmus inclosed on each side by the Ceras and Propontis, two arms of the sea. It
69315 had formerly a gate, at the end of the porticos, which the emperor Sevtrus built after he was reconciled to the Byzantines, who had provoked his resentment by admitting his enemy Niger into their city. At that time the wall reached down from the west side of the hill at the temple of Venus to the sea side, opposite to Chrysopolis. On the north side of the hill it reached to the dock, and beyond that to
69320 the shore, which lies opposite the passage into the Euxine sea. This narrow neck of land, between there and the Pontus, is nearly three hundred stadia in length. This was the extent of the old city. Constantine built a circular market-place where the old gate had stood, and surrounded it with double roofed porticos, erecting two great arches of Praeconnesian marble against each other, through which was a passage into
69325 the porticos of Severus, and out of the old city. Intending to increase the magnitude of the city, he surrounded it. with a wall which was fifteen stadia beyond the former, and inclosed all the isthmus from sea to sea. Having thus enlarged the city, he built a palace little inferior to that of Rome, and very much embellished the hippodrome, or horse-course, taking into it the temple of Castor and Pollux, whose
69330 statues are still standing in the porticos of the hippodrome. He placed on one side of it the tripod that belonged to the Delphian Apollo, on which stood an image of the deity. 153 As there was at Byzantium a very large market-place, consisting of four porticos, at the end of one of them, to which a numerous flight of steps ascends, he erected two temples; in one of which was placed the statue of Rhea, the mother of the
69335 gods, which Jason's companions had formerly fixed on Mount Dindymus, which is near the city of Cyzicus. It is said, that through his contempt of religion he impaired this statue by taking away the lions that were on each side, and, changing the position of the hands. For it formerly rested each hand on a lion, but was now altered into a supplicating posture, looking towards the city, and seeming to observe
69340 what the people were doing. In the other temple he placed the statue of the Fortune of Rome. He afterwards built convenient dwellings for the senators who followed him from Rome. He engaged in no more wars; and even when the Thaifalians, a Scythian tribe, made an incursion into his dominions, he not only neglected to lead his army against them, but after he had lost most of his troops, and saw the enemy plundering
69345 all before them, even to his very intrenchments, was contented to save himself by flight. When he was delivered from the distractions of war, he yielded himself to voluptuousness, and distributed to the people of Byzantium a present of corn, which is continued to this day. As he expended the public treasure in unnecessary and
69350 unprofitable buildings, he likewise built some which in a short time were taken down again, because being erected hastily they could not stand long. He likewise made a great change in the ancient magistracy. Till that time there had been only two prefects of the court, whose authority was equal; not only were the court soldiers under their controul, but those also which guarded the city, and who were stationed
69355 in its neighbourhood. The person who had the office of prefect of the court, which was esteemed the next post of honour to that of emperor, distributed the gifts of corn, and punished all offences against military discipline, as he thought convenient. Constantine altered this good institution, and of one office or magistracy formed four. To one of those prefects he committed all Egypt and

- 69360 Pentapolis in Libya, and all the east as far as Mesopotamia, with Cilicia, Cappadocia, Armenia, and all the coast from Pamphylia to Trapezus and the castles near Phasis; to the same person was given all Thrace and Moesia, as far as the mountains Haemus and Rhodope, and the town of Doberus. He likewise added Cyprus and
- 69365 all the Cyclades, except Lemnos, Imbrus, and Samothracia. To another he assigned Macedon, Thessaly, Crete, and Greece, with the adjacent islands, 154 both the Epiruses, the Illyrians, the Dacians, the Triballi, and the Pannonians as far as Valeria, besides the upper Moesia. To the third prefect he entrusted Italy and Sicily, with the neighbouring islands, and Sardinia and Corsica, together with all Africa westward of the Syrtes. To the fourth he committed all beyond the Alps, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. Having thus divided the power of these prefects, he invented
- 69370 other methods likewise of diminishing their influence. For as there used to be in all places, centurions, tribunes, and generals, he appointed officers called Magistri militum, some over the horse and others over the foot, to whom he gave authority to discipline the soldiers, and punish those that had offended, by which the power of the prefects was diminished. That this innovation was productive of great injury to
- 69375 public affairs both in peace and war I will immediately prove 4. The prefects had hitherto collected the tribute in all places by their officers, and disposed of it in war expences, the soldiers at the same time being subject to their authority, whose offences they punished at discretion. Under these circumstances, the soldiers, considering that the same person who gave them their pay had the infliction of
- 69380 punishments whenever they offended, did not dare to act contrary to their duty, for fear of their stipend being withheld, and of being duly punished. But now since one person is paymaster and another inspector of discipline, they act according to their own inclination.
- 69385 Constantine likewise adopted another measure, which gave the Barbarians free access into the Roman dominions. For the Roman empire, as I have related, was, by the care of Dioclesian, protected on its remote frontiers by towns and fortresses, in which soldiers were placed; it. was consequently impossible for the Barbarians to pass them, there being always a sufficient force to oppose their inroads. But Constantine
- 69390 destroyed that security by removing the greater part of the soldiers from those barriers of 155 the frontiers, and placing them in towns that had no need of defenders; thus depriving those who were exposed to the Barbarians of all defence, and oppressing the towns that were quiet with so great a multitude of soldiers, that many of them were totally forsaken by the inhabitants. He likewise rendered his
- 69395 soldiers effeminate by accustoming them to public spectacles and pleasures. To speak in plain terms, he was the first cause of the affairs of the empire declining to their present miserable state.
- However, I must not omit to relate, that having given to his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, the title of Caesars, he so greatly enlarged the city of
- 69400 Constantinople, that many of the succeeding emperors, who made it their residence, drew to it too great a number of inhabitants, who flocked there from all parts, as soldiers, merchants, and in other occupations. On this account, its walls were rendered more capacious than those which Constantine built, and the buildings were permitted to be placed so near to each other, that the inhabitants are exposed to
- 69405 much inconvenience and danger both in their houses and in the streets. Besides this a considerable portion of the sea was added to the land by driving down piles, thus forming dry ground, on which was built a sufficient number of houses to form of themselves a considerable city.
- I have, indeed, often wondered, since the city of Byzantium is become so great that
- 69410 no other is equal to it either in felicity or magnitude, that our ancestors had not any prophecy concerning its good fortune. Having directed my thoughts some time to this enquiry, I consulted many historians and collections of oracles, and at length, after much difficulty and taking great pains to interpret them, discovered an oracle, which is attributed to Sibylla Erythraea, or Phaello of Epirus. Nicomedes the son of
- 69415 Prusias relying upon this, and interpreting it to his own advantage, by the counsel of Attalus made war upon his father. The oracle I speak of is this:
- Thou among sheep, O King of Thrace, shalt dwell,
But breed a savage lion, fierce and fell,
Who all the product of thy land shall spoil,
And reap thy fruitful harvest without toil.
But thou shalt not enjoy thy honour long,
Torn by wild dogs, which shall about thee throng.
Then a fierce, hungry, sleeping wolf shall thou
Awake, to whom thy conquered neck shall bow.
Next a whole herd of wolves Bithynia's land,
- 69420
- 69425

By Jove's decree shall ravage, and the hand
 To which obedience the Byzantines yield
 Shall in short time her royal sceptre wield. |56
 Bless'd Hellespont! whose buildings by the hand

Of heaven were rais'd, and by its order stand.

Yet shall that cruel wolf my forces fear,
 For all shall know me, who inhabit here.

My sire's designs no longer I'll conceal
 But heaven's intent in oracles reveal.

Thrace shall e're long a monstrous birth produce,
 Baneful to all by course of time and use:

A swelling ulcer by the sea shall grow,

Which when it breaks, with putrid gore shall flow.

This oracle, in an obscure manner, points out all the particular evils that were to befall Bythynia through the heavy impositions laid upon it; and that the government was to devolve on those to whom the Byzantines were then subject, in this distich:

————— and the hand

To which obedience the Byzantines yield

Shall in short time her royal sceptre wield.

And though the events foretold did not occur until many ages afterwards, no one can suppose that the prophecy related to any other place; for all time is short in respect of the deity, who exists through all ages. This conjecture I have formed both from the words of the prophecy and from the event. Should any believe that this prophecy has a different import, they have liberty to enjoy their own opinion.

Constantine, having done this, not only continued to waste the revenue of the empire in useless expences, and in presents to mean and worthless persons, but oppressed those who paid the tributes, and enriched those that were useless to the state. For he mistook prodigality for magnificence 5. He also laid a tax of gold and silver on all merchants and tradesmen, even to the lowest classes, nor did he even spare the poorest prostitute 6. Thus, on the return of every fourth year, when the tax was to be paid, nothing could be heard through the whole city but lamentations and

complaints. When the time arrived |57 nothing but whips and tortures, provided for those who on account of their extreme poverty could not pay the money. Mothers were even forced to part with their children, and fathers to prostitute their daughters, for money to satisfy the collectors of this exaction. Wishing likewise to invent some trouble for the rich, he summoned them all and made them praetors, for which dignity he demanded a sum of money. Upon this account when they who had the management of this affair arrived in any city the people fled into other countries, in the fear of gaining this honour with the loss of all they possessed. He had the schedules of all the best estates, and imposed a tribute on each of them, which he called a purse. With these exactions he exhausted all the towns; for they continued in force so long even after the time of Constantine, that the cities were completely drained of money, and many of them forsaken by their inhabitants.

After Constantine had oppressed and tormented the people in these various modes, he died of a disease, and was succeeded by his three sons, who were not born of Fausta the daughter of Maximianus Herculus, but of another woman, whom he had put to death for adultery. They devoted themselves more to the pleasures of youth than to the service of the state. They began by dividing the nations between them. Constantine the eldest, and Constans the youngest, having for their share all beyond the Alps, together with Italy and Illyricum, the countries bordering on the Euxine sea and all that belonged to Carthage in Africa; Constantius obtained all Asia, the east, and Egypt. There were likewise others who shared in the government; Dalmatius, whom Constantine made Caesar, Constantius his brother, and Anaballianus, who had all worn robes of purple embroidered with gold, and were promoted to the order of

Nobilissimates by Constantine, from respect to their being of his own family. The empire being thus divided, Constantius who appeared to take pains not to fall short of his father in impiety, began by shedding the blood of his nearest relations. He first caused Constantius, his father's brother, to be murdered by the soldiers; next to whom he treated Dalmatius in the same manner, as also Optatus whom

Constantine had raised to the rank of a Nobilissimate. Constantine indeed first introduced that order, and made a law, that every Nobilissimate should have precedence over of the prefects of the court. At that time, Ablabius prefect of the court was also put to death; and fate was just in his punishment, because he had concerted the murder of Sopatrus the philosopher, from envy of his familiarity with Constantine. Being unnatural |58 towards all his relations, he included Anaballianus with the rest, suborning the soldiers to cry out, that they would have no governors

but the children of Constantine. Such were the exploits of Constantius.

In the mean time Constantine and Constans were disputing for that part of Africa which belonged to Carthage, and for Italy. Constans, who wished to surprise, his
69495 brother, concealed his enmity for three years. He took occasion, when he was in a province that was attached to himself, to send soldiers to him, on pretence of assisting him in the war against the Persians, but in reality to assassinate him by surprise. This they accordingly performed. Such was the end of Constantine. Constans, having thus removed his brother, exercised every species of cruelty toward
69500 his subjects, exceeding the most intolerable tyranny. He purchased some well favoured Barbarians, and had others with him as hostages, to whom he gave liberty to harrass his subjects as they pleased, in order to gratify his vicious disposition. In this manner he reduced all the nations that were subject to him to extreme misery. This gave uneasiness to the court guards, who perceiving that he was much addicted to
69505 hunting placed themselves under the conduct of Marcellinus prefect of the treasury, and Magnentius who commanded the Joviani and Herculiani (two legions so termed), and formed a plot against him in the following manner. Marcellinus reported that he meant to keep the birth-day of his sons, and invited many of the superior officers to a feast. Amongst the rest Magnentius rose from table and left the room; he presently
69510 returned, and as it were in a drama stood before thorn clothed in an imperial robe. Upon this all the guests saluted him with the title of king, and the inhabitants of Augustodunum, where it was done, concurred in the same sentiment. This transaction being rumoured abroad, the country people flocked into the city; while at the same time a party of Illyrian cavalry who came to supply the Celtic legions, joined
69515 themselves with those that were concerned in the enterprize. When the officers of the army were met together, and heard the leaders of the conspiracy proclaim their new emperor, they scarcely knew the meaning of it; they all, however, joined in the acclamation, and saluted Magnentius with the appellation of Augustus. When this became known to Constans, he endeavoured to escape to a small town called Helena, which lies near the Pyrenean mountains. He was taken by Gaision, who was sent with
69520 some other select persons for that purpose, and being destitute of all aid, was killed. Magnentius thus gained the empire, and possessed himself all [59] the nations beyond the Alps, and the whole of Italy. Vetrano, general of the Pannonian army, upon hearing of the good fortune of Magnentius, was himself inflamed with the same
69525 desire, and was declared emperor by the legions that were with him, at Mursa, a city of Pannonia. While affairs were thus situated, the Persians plundered the eastern countries, particularly Mesopotamia. But Constantine, though he was defeated by the Persians, yet resolved to subdue the factions of Magnentius and Vetrano. While he was forming these resolutions, and was very intent on warlike preparations,
69530 Magnentius still remaining in Gallia Celtica, Nepotianus, nephew to Constantius, by his sister Eutropia, collected a band of persons addicted to robbery and all kinds of debauchery, with whom he came to Rome, and appeared in an imperial dress. Anicetius, whom Magnentius had made prefect of the court, armed some of the common people, and led them out of the city to engage with Nepotianus. A sharp conflict ensued between
69535 them. The Romans being undisciplined, and observing no order, were easily routed; and when the prefect saw them fly, he shut the gates, for fear the enemy should follow them into the city. The troops of Nepotianus pursued them, and as they had no way of escape, killed every man. In a few days after, Magnentius sent an army under the command of Marcellinus, and Nepotianus was put to death.
69540 Meantime Constantius advanced from the east against Magnentius, but deemed it best first to win over Vetrano to his interest, as it was difficult to oppose two rebels at once. On the other hand, Magnentius used great endeavours to make Vetrano his friend, and thus to put an end to the war against Constantius. Both therefore sent agents to Vetrano, who chose to adopt the friendship of Constantius rather than that
69545 of Magnentius. The ambassadors of Magnentius returned without effecting their purpose. Constantius desired that both armies might join, to undertake the war against Magnentius. To which proposal Vetrano readily assented; and they seated themselves on a throne provided for the occasion. Constantius, speaking first according to his dignity, endeavoured to remind the soldiers of his father's
69550 munificence, and of the oaths they had taken to be true to his children. He then told them, that they ought not to suffer Magnentius to go unpunished, who had murdered the son of Constantine, with whom they had fought many battles, and had been generously remunerated. When the soldiers heard this, having been previously corrupted by valuable presents, they cried out, that they would have no mock emperors, and
69555 immediately began to strip the purple from Vetrano, and pulled him from the throne [60] with the determination to reduce him to a private station. Constantius would not suffer them to injure him, and therefore sent him into Bithynia, where he allowed him

a competency for life. He had not remained there long without employment before he died.

69560 Constantius, having so well succeeded in his design against Vetranio, marched against Magnentius, having first conferred the title of Caesar on Gallus, the son of his uncle, and brother to Julian who was afterwards emperor, and given him in marriage his sister Constantia; either in order that he might oppose the Persians, or as seems more probable, that he might have an opportunity of taking him off. He and his
69565 brothers were the only remaining persons of the family whom Constantius had not put to death, as I have related. When he had clothed Gallus with the Caesarean robe, and appointed Lucilianus general in the Persian war, he marched towards Magnentius with his own troops and those of Vetranio in one body. Magnentius, on the other hand, resolved to meet him with a larger force. He declared his kinsman Caesar, and
69570 appointed him to govern the nations beyond the Alps. The armies meeting in Pannonia, and coming near to each other at a town called Mursa, Magnentius placed an ambuscade in the defiles near to Adrana, and sent a messenger to the officers of the army of Constantine to retard their march, saying, that they might proceed to Siscia, where he intended to give them battle, the fields in that neighbourhood being spacious and
69575 open. When Constantius heard this, he was much pleased that he was to fight in a place where there was room for the cavalry to manoeuvre, being superior to the enemy in that kind of force. He accordingly led his army to Siscia. As they were marching unarmed and without order, not suspecting any thing, the troops that lay in ambush attacked them, and blocked up their passage with stones, which they threw upon them
69580 in such quantities that great part of them were killed. Magnentius, perceiving that many of his enemies were thus slain, was so elated, that being now unwilling to defer the war, he mustered his forces, and immediately marched towards Pannonia. Arriving in the plain before Cius, through the midst of which runs the river Draus, which, passing by Noricum and Pannonia, discharges itself into the
69585 Ister, he led his troops into Pannonia, intending to engage near Sirmium. His mother is said to have enjoined him not to go that way, or over into Illyricum, but he disregarded her injunctions, though on many former occasions he had found her a true prophetess. Meantime he deliberated whether to construct a bridge over the Saus, or to pass over on |61 boats joined together for that purpose. At the same time,
69590 Constantius sent one of the principal persons in his service, named Philip, a man of extraordinary prudence, under pretence of treating for peace and an alliance, but in reality to observe the state and disposition of the army of Magnentius, and to discover their intended movements. Approaching the camp, he met Marcellinus, the principal confidant of Magnentius, and by him was conducted to Magnentius. The army
69595 being drawn up, Philip was desired to explain the cause of his coming. Upon which he directed himself to the soldiers, telling them, that it did not. become them, who were Roman subjects, to make war on Romans, especially as the emperor was the son of Constantine, with whom they had erected many trophies over the Barbarians. That
69600 Magnentius, moreover, ought to remember Constantine, and the kindness he had shewn to him and to his parents. That it was Constantine who had protected him when in imminent danger, and exalted him to the highest dignities. Having made these observations, he requested Magnentius to depart from Italy, and to be content with the government of the nations beyond the Alps. This speech of Philip nearly occasioned a mutiny of the whole army. Magnentius,
69605 therefore, being alarmed, with much difficulty prevailed on the soldiers to attend to him. He said, that he likewise was desirous of concluding a peace, but would then dismiss the assembly, until he had deliberated how to act. Upon which, the assembly being dissolved, Marcellianus entertained Philip as one whom he was desirous of obliging by the laws of hospitality. Meanwhile, Magnentius debated with himself,
69610 whether to dismiss Philip without the purpose of his embassy being effected, or, in violation of the law of nations, detain him. He determined, after much hesitation, to invite all the officers of his army to sup with him, and at table inform them of his opinion. The following day he again convened the army; he reminded them of the injuries they received from Constans when furious and intoxicated. That the soldiers
69615 could not sustain the enormities with which he oppressed the state contrary to all law and justice, but had inclined to what was most for the public advantage; and that after they had freed the cities from so savage a monster, they had compelled him to become their emperor. He had scarcely concluded this address, when they all rose, and displayed their
69620 willingness to continue the war by arming themselves immediately, in order to cross the Saus. The centinels who were on the watch in Siscia, a town that lies on the Saus, perceived their approach, and gave notice of it, to the garrison, who shot some of them as they were landing on the bank of |62 the river, and stopped others who

were coming over; so that many of them were slain, hut more pushed into the river, either by each other or by the enemy. By which means a great slaughter was made amongst them, and while one party fell from the bridge in their haste to escape, the other pursued with the greatest speed: so that Magnentius, who was reduced to his last device, had only one method of avoiding the present danger. He struck a spear into the ground, and beckoned with his right hand to the enemy as if he wished to treat for peace. When he saw that they attended to this, he said he would not pass the Saus without the emperor's permission. As soon as he had said this, Philip told him, that if he would treat for peace, he must leave Italy and Noricum, and go into Illyricum. Constantius, having heard what was said, commanded his soldiers to continue their pursuit no longer, and permitted Magnentius to bring his troops into the plains between Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, and Dacia; having a wish to leave those rugged places, and to contend where his horse would have room to manoeuvre, for in that species of force he had the advantage of the enemy. His design succeeded; and he appointed Cibalis which he thought a convenient place for his purpose; it being the place where Constantine conquered Licinius. In that town, which is situated as I have described in my narrative of those times, he kept part of his army. And having erected a bulwark between the hill on which the town stands, and the plain through which the river Saus flows, he inclosed all that part of it which is not encompassed by the river, with a deep ditch and a strong rampart. He then made a bridge of boats over that part of the river which surrounds the place, which bridge he could disjoin when he pleased, and put together again with the same ease. Here he placed tents for his army, and in the midst of them a royal tent of exceeding magnificence. The emperor then invited his officers to a banquet, at which all except Latinus and Thalassius were present. These were absent, though they were the greatest favourites of the emperor, because they were officiating for Philip, who was detained by Magnentius, notwithstanding his being an ambassador.

While they were consulting about this affair, Titianus, a man of the senatorian order at Rome, came with an insolent message from Magnentius. He employed ninny absurd expressions against Constantine and his children, charging the destruction of the cities on the emperor's negligence, and commanded Constantius to make way for Magnentius by abdicating the empire, and to be contented with his life being granted him. But |63 the emperor only desired the gods and fate to be the avengers of Constans, saying that he would fight with their assistance. He suffered Titianus to return to Magnentius, though Philip still remained in his custody. Magnentius now drew out his army, and taking Siscia on the first assault, razed it to the ground. Having overrun all the country near the Saus, and acquired great plunder, he marched towards Sirmium, which he hoped likewise to take without bloodshed. But failing in his attempt, being repulsed by the inhabitants and the troops that defended the town, he marched with his whole army to Mursa. Finding that those in the town had shut the gates against him and mounted the walls, he was at a loss how to act on the occasion, having no engines nor any other method of getting near the wall. He was assailed with stones and darts by those that stood on the battlements. When Constantius heard that the place was besieged, he marched with all his forces to its relief, having passed by Cibalis and all the country through which the river Draus passes.

Meanwhile Magnentius approached nearer to Mursa, and set fire to the gates, thinking if he could destroy the iron that covered the wood, which would soon yield to the flames, he might make a passage wide enough for the entrance of his army into the city. But this did not succeed to his wishes, the people on the wall extinguishing the flames with water which they poured down in large quantities. When he therefore heard that Constantius was near Mursa, he invented another stratagem to this effect. There was before the city a stadium or place of exercise, formerly used by those that fought for prizes, which was covered over with wood. In this he concealed four companies of Celtae, with orders when Constantius should come up, and they were ready to engage before the city, to attack the enemy by surprise, and to surround them and kill every man. This being discovered by those that were on the walls, Constantius immediately sent thither Scolidoas and Manadus, two of his officers. They first selected the choicest of their men, both heavy armed and archers, and taking them along with themselves, fastened up all the doors of the stadium. Having then possessed themselves of the upper steps leading into the; Stadium, and inclosed the soldiers that were within on all sides, they threw darts at them. And observing some of them with their shields placed over their heads attempting to force open the doors, they fell upon them and did not cease throwing darts or cutting at them with their swords until they had killed them all. This project of Magnentius being thus frustrated, the armies met and engaged in the plain before Mursa; |64 where such a battle was fought as had not occurred before in the course of this war, and great

69690 numbers fell on both sides.
 Constantius, considering that as this was a civil war victory itself would be
 scarcely an advantage to him, now the Romans being so much weakened, as to be totally
 unable to resist the barbarians who attacked them on every side, began to think that
 it would be better to end the war by offering proposals for peace. While he was thus
 69695 deliberating, the armies were still engaged; and that of Magnentius became more
 furious, nor would they cease fighting though night came on, but even their officers
 continued performing what belonged to common soldiers, and encouraging their men to
 oppose the enemy with vigour. On the other side likewise, the officers of Constantius
 called to mind the ancient bravery and renown of the Romans. Thus the battle
 69700 continued until it was completely dark; nor did even darkness cause them to relax;
 but they wounded each other with spears, swords or whatever was in their reach; so
 that neither night nor any other obstacle which usually causes some respite in war,
 could put an end to the slaughter, as if they thought it the greatest felicity that
 could happen to them to perish beside each other. Amongst the officers, that shewed
 69705 great bravery in this battle and fell in it were Arcadius, commander of the legion
 called Abulci, and Menelaus, who commanded the Armenian horse archers. What is said
 of Menelaus is worthy of being related. He could take three darts at once, and with
 one shot hit three men, by which manner of shooting he killed a great, number of the
 enemy, and was himself almost the cause of their flight. He was killed by Romulus,
 69710 who was the first in command in the army of Magnentius, and Romulus himself fell at
 the same time. He was wounded by a dart which Menelaus had thrown at him, yet
 continued fighting after he had received the wound, until he had killed the person
 who had given it to him.
 Constantius now gaining the victory, by the army of Magnentius taking to flight, a
 69715 terrible slaughter ensued. Magnentius, therefore being deprived of all hope, and
 apprehensive lest the remnant of his army should deliver him to Constantius, deemed
 it best to retire from Pannonia, and to enter Italy, in order to raise an army there
 for another attempt. But when he heard that the people of Rome were in favour of
 Constantius, either from hatred to himself, or because they had heard of the event of
 69720 the battle, he resolved to cross the Alps, and .seek for himself a refuge among the
 nations on that side. Hearing however that Constantius had likewise engaged the
 Barbarians near the Rhine against him, and that |65 he could not enter Gaul, as some
 officers had obstructed his passage thither in order to make their court to
 Constantius, nor through Spain into Mauritania, on account of the Roman allies there
 69725 who studied to please Constantius. In these circumstances he preferred a voluntary
 death to a dishonourable life, and chose rather to die by his own hand than by that
 of his enemy.
 Thus died Magnentius, having been emperor three years and six months. He was of
 Barbarian extraction, but lived among the Leti, a people of Gaul. He understood
 69730 Latin, was bold when favoured by fortune, but cowardly in adversity, ingenious in
 concealing his natural evil disposition, and deemed by those who did not know him to
 be a man of candour and goodness. I have thought it just to make these observations
 concerning Magnentius, that the world may be acquainted With his true character,
 since it has been the opinion of some that he performed much good, who never in his
 69735 life did any thing with a good intention.
 Decentius, whom Magnentius had called to his assistance, being now on the road to
 Italy, soon heard of the misfortune, of Magnentius; meeting with some legions and
 troops from which he saw no hope of escaping, slew himself. After these occurrences,
 the whole empire being now in the hands of Constantius, he began to be more arrogant
 69740 than before, and could not conduct himself with any moderation in his prosperity. The
 state-informers, with which such men are usually surrounded, and which are designed
 for the ruin of those that are in prosperity, were augmented. These sycophants, when
 they attempted to effect the downfall of a noble in hopes of sharing his wealth or
 honours, contrived some false accusation against him. This was the practice in the
 69745 time of Constantius. Spies of this description, who made the eunuchs of the court
 their accomplices, flocked about Constantius, and persuaded him that his cousin
 german Gallus, who was a Caesar, was not satisfied with that honour, but wished to be
 emperor. They so far convinced him of the truth of this charge, that they made him
 resolve upon the destruction of Gallus. The contrivers of this design were Dynamius
 69750 and Picentius, men of obscure condition, who endeavoured to raise themselves by such
 evil practises. Lampadius also, the Prefect of the court, was in the conspiracy,
 being a person who wished to engross more of the emperor's favour than any other.
 Constantius listened to those false insinuations, and Gallus was sent for, knowing
 nothing of what was intended against him. Assoon as he arrived, Constantius first
 69755 degraded him from the dignity of Caesar, and, having reduced him to private station,

delivered him to the public |66 executioners to be put to death. This was not the first time that Constantius imbrued his hands in the blood of his relations, but only one other in addition to many former.

69760 [Footnotes moved to end]

1. * If what others say of Constantine, be true, Zosimus has no reason to impute to him the crime of perjury; for he did not seem so much to break an oath or promise, as to punish the violation of it in Licinius, who, after Constantine had gained so many victories, when he was reduced to a very low condition, omitted no opportunity of recovering the empire, of which he had been deprived by the just sentence of victory, but contrived all methods of making ill returns for the kindness of Euergetes; Euseb, Life of Constantine, l. i. c. 43. and Theodor, l. i. c. 7. To which this may likewise be added, that Licinius hated the christians as much as Constantine esteemed them, who consequently could not endure to see those exposed to injury whom he favoured. Nor should any one object, that these authors are not to be credited, because they were partial; since Zosimus himself cannot be excused in that particular, being an inveterate enemy to Christianity, and a violent bigot to the heathenish superstition.

69765 2. * Among the Imperial laws or edicts, is one which Eusebius mentions, l. x. c. 5. "That every one may apply himself to that mode of worship he thinks suitable to his own reason." And therefore, though he did not abolish the old heathen institutions of his country at that: 69775 time, yet he favoured the Christians most, and gave them liberty, of which almost all the former emperors used to deprive them.

3. * It is almost needless to say, that all that is here related of Constantine is the slander of Julian the Apostate, and is totally without any foundation in truth. Crispus was justly executed for an atrocious crime, and Fausta perished by an accidental suffocation by the fault 69780 of the bath keepers.

4. * Zosimus throws the odium of the insensible decay by which the Roman empire fell to ruin upon Constantine; but he ought to have more cautiously weighed his arguments, and have reflected how ready those persons, who have gained the highest office under their sovereign, are to use all their endeavours to acquire the attachment of the soldiers, and from the hope 69785 of becoming emperors themselves, to throw every thing into confusion. Indeed when both the care of military discipline, and the distribution of the public money are committed to the same individual, it is probable that he will take some opportunity of acquiring the empire to himself, having every thing in his power which can influence the soldiers with the hope of reward and dread of punishment. Constantine therefore wisely adopted that political maxim, 69790 Divide and Rule.

5. * We must admit that Constantine was extravagant in his expences, whence Julian took occasion to ridicule him in his book called Caesares, where he introduces Mercury asking Constantine, "What do you think a commendable action?" Constantine replies, "For a man who possesses much to give much away."

6. + See Evagrius Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 39, where he commends Anastasius, in whose reign this tax was taken off. But he inveighs against Zosimus for saying that Constantine was the author of it in these words, "Who would wonder that this should be done in the very infancy of christianity, since his holiness the Pope suffers the same things now it has attained riper 69795 years."

69800

Historical lectures

I – ROMANI, ROMANIA.

69805 The inhabitants of Rome have always called themselves Romani in their own language. This word is formed from the name Roma and the suffix -ano, one of those by which the Latin language derived the name of a country or city from the name of its inhabitants. Long after the subjugation of Italy and the other provinces that made up their empire, the Romani distinguished themselves from the peoples who lived under their domination. The latter retained their original names: they were Sabines, Gauls, Hellenes, Iberians, and did not have the right to call themselves Romans, a name reserved for those who held the right of citizenship by birth or who had received it by special favor. This distinction gradually faded, especially after the famous edict of Caracalla had made Roman citizens of all the inhabitants of the empire: In orbe Romano qui sunt, says Ulpian, ex constitutione imperatoris Antonini cives Romani effecti sunt. The threatening proximity of the Barbarians, who pressed the empire from several sides, soon made the use of the word Romani more general to designate the inhabitants of the empire as opposed to the thousand foreign peoples who bordered it and who were already beginning to cross its borders. The writers of the 4th and 5th centuries speak with pride of this new Roman nationality, of this fusion of races in a single homeland. Quis jam cognoscit, says Saint Augustine, gentes in imperio Romano quæ quid erant, quando omnes Romani facti sunt et omnes Romani dicuntur? It was when speaking of the empire that Apollinaris Sidonius wrote: In qua unica totius orbis civitate soli Barbari et servi peregrinantur. The poets did not fail to celebrate this great work. The verses of Rutilius Namatianus are famous:

Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam;
Urbem fecisti quæ prius orbis erat.

Those of Claudien, no less enthusiastic, seem to place particular emphasis on the name, which has become common, of Romani:

69830 Hæc est (Roma) in gremium victos quæ sola recepit,
 Humanumque genus communi nomine fecit.

Prudence also exclaims:

Deus undique gentes
Inclinare caput docuit sub legibus iisdem,
69835 Romanosque omnes fieri, quos Rhenus et Ister,
 Quos Tagus aurifluus, quos magnus inundat Iberus...
 Jus fecit commune pares et nomine eodem
 Nexuit et domitos fraterna in vincla redegit.

69840 How exaggerated these praises were, how far the entire human race had come from having entered the orbis Romanus, is what the authors of these verses themselves witnessed: the universal city was destroyed at the very moment when its completion was being celebrated, and the distinction between Romans and Barbarians, instead of expressing a relationship of superiority of the former over the latter, soon took on the opposite meaning. This distinction, which predates the establishment of the Germans in the Roman provinces of the West, persisted after this establishment; it was the same in all the countries where it took place. The foreign invaders were designated by the generic name of Barbari; they accepted it themselves[11], and did not find it wrong that the Romans, whom they charged with writing their laws and ordinances in Latin, attributed it to them. However, this name only appears in an exceptional way, and usually when it is a question of designating the whole of the Germanic tribes. These tribes had no common name at that time by which they could express their collective nationality; the word Germani, naturally, is completely unknown at that time; as for the word theodisc, diustisc (formerly French tiedeis, Italian tedesco), it does not appear in the Latin form theotiscus theudiscus until the 9th century; The word Teuto, which seems to be etymologically linked to it, is nowhere to be seen, and the derivative Teutonicus, used by certain Latin writers, is a classical memory which certainly did not rest, at that time, on any real denomination. It is permissible to doubt that the Germans had, at that time, a very clear awareness of their racial unity; in the texts they usually qualify themselves by the special name of their tribe, and we see the Romani successively opposed to the Franci, the Burgundiones, the Gothi, the Langobardi, etc. On the contrary, nowhere do we see the inhabitants of the provinces of the empire having special denominations which connect them to a nationality prior to the Roman conquest. In the whole of the laws and histories of that time there are neither Galli, nor Rhæti, nor Itali, nor Iberi, nor Afri: there are only Romani facing the conquerors spread throughout all the provinces. The Romanus is therefore, at the time of the Germanic invasions and

establishments, the inhabitant, speaking Latin, of any part of the empire. This is how he calls himself, not without retaining for a long time some pride in this great name[12]; but his conquerors do not call him thus: the name Romanus does not seem to have penetrated any of their dialects. The name that they give him and that they gave him probably well before the conquest, it is that of *walah*, later *welch*, *ags. vealh*, *anc. nor. vali* (Swedish mod. *val*), to which are attached the derivatives *walahisc*, later *waelsch* (*welche*) and *wallon*. The use of this word and that of *Romanus* is precisely inverse: the first is never used except by the Barbarians, the second only by the Romans[13]; both persisted face to face, as we will see below, well after the period in question here, in countries where the two races, Germanic and Latin, were in intimate and daily contact and had not managed to merge into a new nationality. The word *welche* has in French a contemptuous nuance which it certainly had, at that time, in the minds of the Germans who pronounced it. The conquerors had a high opinion of themselves and regarded themselves as very superior to the peoples among whom they came to settle. Purely Germanic monuments are unfortunately lacking for these remote periods; but a few Latin texts have preserved the memory of the feelings that the conquering race, still several centuries after the fall of the empire, entertained for the *Walahan*, the sole custodians of Western civilization. The most curious of these texts, because of its naivety, is this sentence which is found in the famous Roman-German glossary of Cassel and which is certainly by a Bavarian of the time of Pepin: *Stulti sunt Romani, sapienti Paioari; modica sapientia est in Romanis; plus habent stultitia quam sapientia*. Here, by a rare piece of luck, we have preserved, alongside the Latin translation, the thought of this excellent *Peigir* in the very form in which it smiled on his mind: *Tole sint Walha, spahe sint Peigira; luzic ist spahi in Walhum; mera hapent tolaheiti denne spahi*. At the same time, we encountered, on the banks of the Rhine, Germans like the one painted by Wandelbert in his account of the miracles of Saint Goar: *Omnes Romanæ nationis ac linguæ homines ita quodam gentilicio odio exsecrabatur ut ne videre quidem eorum aliquem æquanmitem vellet... Tanta enim ejus animum innata ex feritate barbarica stoliditas apprehenderat ut ne in transitu quidem Romanæ linguæ vel gentis homines et ipsos quoque bonos viros ac nobiles libenter adspicere posset*. These feelings were not limited to men without culture: even in the 10th century, Luitprand was indignant at the thought that he could be honored by calling him *Romanus*, and said to the Greeks: *Quos (Romanos) nos, Langobardi scilicet, Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bagoarii, Sueri, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur, ut inimico nostro commoti nil aliud contumeliarum nisi: Romane! dicamus, hoc solo nomine quidquid ignobilitatis, quidquid timiditatis, quidquid avaritiæ, quidquid luxuriæ, quidquid mendacii, imo quidquid vitiorum est comprehendentes*. How can we fail to notice that, after ten centuries, almost similar assessments of "*wælschen Lug und Trug*," "*wælsche Sittenlosigkeit*," and "*the deep moral understanding of the Romanischen Voelker*" are still heard in German? The name *Romani* did not persist beyond Carolingian times. The fusion of the Germanic conquerors with the Romans, their adoption of the language of the vanquished in Spain, France, and Italy, caused such a general distinction to disappear from the former Western Empire, replaced by the special names of the nations that arose from the debris of Charlemagne's empire. Soon there were no longer Romans in opposition to a certain number of conquering tribes, but on the contrary a German nation enclosed within the enlarged limits of ancient Germany, and which, while remaining divided into tribes, became aware of itself under the name of *Tiedesc*, and was called by its neighbors by various names, but also collective ones,—and, alongside it, *Lombards*, *French*, *Provençals*, *Flemings*, etc. The name *Romani* was maintained, however, in two cases, where the peoples who had shared it with the inhabitants of the entire empire did not find themselves included in any new nationality and retained, to distinguish themselves from the Barbarians who surrounded them, the old appellation of which they were proud. The Germans, faithful for their part to the previous tradition, called these peoples by the name of *Walahan*, *Welches*, and this name has remained with them to this day. These two cases occur in countries where the *Romani* population, due to special circumstances, lives in a sort of island among other races. Everyone now knows of the existence of the very interesting language spoken in the canton of *Grisons*, and which is distinct from the Italian with which it is in contact to the south. This language is the only vestige that has persisted to the present day of the language formerly spoken by the *Romani* of *Rhaetia*. It was long believed that the Roman inhabitants of this country had all emigrated to Italy, as *Eugippius* relates in the life of Saint Severin, and had left the place free for the Barbarians. But numerous and interesting documents prove that long after the definitive conquest of the country by the *Alemanni* and the *Bavarians*, a Roman population remained in the country in more or less numerous and substantial groups... There is therefore nothing

surprising in the fact that the non-Germanized inhabitants of the Chur region, the only ones who have resisted the progress of Teutonicism to this day, have kept, at least in part, their name as well as their language. It is true that they currently call themselves not Romaun, which among them means "Roman," but Romaunsch, like their idiom itself; but this derived form necessarily relies on the other, older one.—Just as they called themselves Romaunsch, the Germans now designate them by the derivative of Walah, namely Wælschen, Churwælschen. The other example of the persistence of the name Romani is found in countries that were part of the Eastern Empire. The peoples who, today, in the Danubian provinces, Hungary and European Turkey, speak a Latin idiom designate themselves by the name Romans (Rumën, Rumen, Romăn), which we have recently also given them (Romanians). The designation of Vlachs is applied to them only by the foreigners who surround them... —Like the Romani of the West, those of the East received the name Walahen from the Germans. It is true that at present they are not in contact with the Germans, but we know that these countries were those through which the first Germanic invasions rushed upon the empire: they had moreover been preceded by numerous colonizations. There, as everywhere, the Germans called those who called themselves Romani Walahen, and they transmitted this designation to the various peoples who replaced them in these regions; the Greeks themselves subsequently adopted it (Βλάχοι). Both names, the first in the mouths of foreigners, the second in that of the Romani, designate to this day the singularly scattered descendants of the ancient Romanized populations of these provinces. We know that they have also retained their language, and that, however altered and impregnated with foreign elements it may be, it deserves its place among the modern dialects where the Latin language still lives.

The name Romani, it is understood, did not designate the inhabitants of the empire who spoke Latin solely in opposition to the Germanic barbarians. They also used it to distinguish themselves from their other neighbors: only the corresponding appellation of Walahen is naturally lacking here. In Africa, for example, the Romani, whom we find called by this name at the approach of the Vandals, previously called themselves this in contrast to the natives who remained foreign to Roman domination or the Roman language. Similarly, when Armorica was occupied by Celtic-speaking tribes, the newcomers, no doubt continuing the custom they already had in Great Britain, called their neighbors, the inhabitants of the Romanized Gallic provinces, Romani. It follows from all that has just been said that the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, whatever their original nationality, designated themselves, particularly in contrast to foreigners and especially to the Germans, by the name of Romani. This name remained with them in the various countries where the invaders settled, as long as a distinction remained between the conquerors and the vanquished. In the West, it generally disappeared around the 9th century to make way for the names of the various nationalities that emerged from the dislocation of the empire by the Germanic tribes; It persisted, however, for a longer time, and still exists at least through its derivative in the small country of Chur. In the East, it continued to designate the Romanized inhabitants of the provinces south of the Danube who did not merge with the Illyrian, Greek, Germanic, Slavic, or Mongol populations, and it still designates them to this day. The word Romanus was translated into German as Walah, but the Romani never took this name themselves; it was maintained in German (where Romanus is unknown) to designate the Roman peoples during the Middle Ages, and has not yet completely disappeared: it is particularly attached to the two peoples who have kept the name Romani, the Churwælschen and the Walachen.

From the name of the inhabitants of the empire, a name for the empire itself was made. It was in the popular spirit to substitute a short and concrete designation for the terms imperium Romanum, orbis Romanus. From Romanus came the name Romania, formed by analogy from Gallia, Græcia, Britannia, etc. The advent of this name indicates in a striking way the moment when the fusion was complete between the very diverse peoples subjugated by Rome, and when all, recognizing themselves as members of a single nation, opposed themselves as a whole to the infinite variety of the Barbarians who surrounded them. This name was popular and had no right of entry in the classical style; thus the period in which it appears to us for the first time is obviously much later than that in which it must have been formed; the texts that give it use it solely in opposition to the barbarian world which had become the object of all fears, the threat constantly present in the mind.

Romania had barely become aware of itself that it was going to be ruined, at least in its material existence. This melancholy reflection is naturally suggested by the following passage, where we find the oldest example of the word. It was at the beginning of the 5th century that the following conversation took place, in the cave of Bethlehem where Saint Jerome lived, which focused on the Gothic king Ataulf, who

70000 had become an ally of the empire after having thought of destroying it completely: "Ego ipse, says Paul Orose, virum quemdam Narbonnensem, illustris sub Theodosio militiæ, etiam religiosum prudentemque et gravem, apud Bethlehem oppidum Palæstinæ beatissimo Hieronymo presbytero referentem audivi se familiarissimum Ataulpho apud Narbonam Fuisse, ac de eo sæpe sub testificatione didicisse quod ille, cum esset

70005 animo viribus ingenioque nimius, referre solitus esset se in primis ardentè inhiasse ut, oblitterato Romano nomine, Romanum omne solum Gothorum imperium and faceret et vocaret, essetque, ut vulgariter loquar, Gothia quod Romania fuisset."—At about the same time, we find this word in even sadder circumstances. The other great Christian

70010 doctor of this time, Saint Augustine, besieged in Hippo by the Vandals, receives letters from the bishops of the province asking him for advice on what they should do in the face of common peril and disaster, and he answers them on the conduct to adopt in the face of those whom his biographer Possidius, then imprisoned with him, calls illos Romanæ eversores. Romania does not only mean here, as the Bollandists want, ditio romana in Africa; it no longer even simply has the sense of Romanum imperium

70015 that Du Cange gives it; it has taken on a more general meaning, that of the Roman world, of Roman civilization opposed to the Barbarism that will destroy it. By a singular chance, the examples of the word Romania are older and more numerous in Greek than in Latin. When the capital of the empire was moved to Byzantium, it nevertheless remained the Roman Empire; Constantinople was called New Rome or simply

70020 Rome, and the Latin language remained the official language for a long time[14]. Greek writers seem to have adopted at this time the name Romania to designate the whole empire... Saint Athanasius says expressly: Μητροπόλις ἡ 'Ρώμη τῆς 'Ρωμανίας... Later, when the Eastern Empire was destroyed, the name 'Ρωμανία designated, in Greek writers, the empire of Byzantium, and reappeared under the form Romania (with the

70025 accent on the i), Romania, in Western writers, with this special meaning. It is from there that it came to designate the possessions of the Greeks in Asia, then the provinces which today form European Turkey and Greece, and where it must be recognized under the form Rumelia. I need not dwell here on the history of the Greek word 'Ρωμανία'; it suffices to show that it comes from Latin and that its widespread

70030 use in the East in the fourth century proves that it was popular in the West before that time. In the West, the word Romania, as we have seen, was primarily used to characterize the Roman Empire in opposition to the Barbarians, and later to express the entirety of Roman civilization and society. In this broad sense, it naturally includes

70035 language, and this secondary idea is clearly indicated in the verses in which Fortunatus, addressing the Frank Charibert, says to him:
Hinc cui Barbaries, illinc Romania plaudit.
Diversis linguis laus sonat una viro.

70040 Romania here means the entirety of the Romani, Roman society, the Roman world in opposition to the German or barbarian world.

The expression Romania remained in use until the Carolingian times and even probably took on a new vogue when Charlemagne had restored the Roman Empire. In a capitulary of Louis the Pious and Lothair, we read: "Præcipimus de his fratribus qui in nostris

70045 et Romanæ finibus paternæ seu maternæ succedunt hereditati," and it seems to me probable that Romania here signifies the extent of the empire rather than Italy or that Italian province to which the name ended up being restricted. But when the empire had passed to the kings of Germany, the word Romania seems to have designated specifically that part of their States which was not Germanic, namely Italy...

70050 Finally the name Romania ended up no longer designating anything but the province which still bears the name of Romagna and which corresponds to the ancient exarchate of Ravenna; It comes, according to some, from the famous donation made by Pepin to the Ecclesia Romana, according to others, from the name of the Greek empire, of [Greek: Rhōmania 'Ρῥάνιά], of which this province was the last possession in the

70055 West. In summary, the word Romania, made to embrace under a common name the whole of the possessions of the Romans, served particularly to designate the Western Empire, when it was detached from that of Constantinople (which, for its part, took the name of [Greek: Rhōmania 'Ρῥωμανία]). Since the successive destruction of all the remains of

70060 Roman domination, it has expressed the whole of the countries which were inhabited by the Romani, as well as the group of men still speaking the language of Rome, and consequently Roman civilization itself. In this sense, Romania is a well-chosen word to describe the domain of Romance languages and literatures. Romania, from this point of view of civilization and language, formerly included, at its greatest extent, the

70065 Roman Empire up to the limits where the Hellenic and Oriental world began, that is to

say, present-day Italy, the part of Germany situated south of the Danube, the provinces between this river and Greece, and, on the left bank, Dacia; Gaul up to the Rhine, England up to the wall of Septimius Severus; the whole of Spain, less the Basque provinces, and the northern coast of Africa. Large parts of this vast territory were taken from it, especially by the Germans. It is true that several of the formerly Roman countries where German is now spoken were never completely Romanized. For England, the fact is certain: when the Roman legions had withdrawn, the native Celtic element soon regained the preponderance, and the Romani who, despite everything, were still there in large numbers, were probably absorbed as much by the Bretons as by the Saxons.—The countries situated on the left bank of the Rhine which were Germanized were not all at the same time; they owe their Germanization either to the depopulation caused by the threatening proximity of the Barbarians (Rhine provinces, Alsace-Lorraine), or to the extermination of the Roman inhabitants by the invaders (Flanders). But it is certain, particularly for Alsace, that the Germanic establishment had been preceded by an almost complete Romanization.—The countries on the right bank of the Danube (Rhaetia, Noricum, Pannonia) had received early Germanic colonies established by the emperors themselves; In the face of the invasions, part of the Roman population went to Italy, the rest was absorbed more or less slowly into the conquering people; a small nucleus persisted in some valleys of the Alps.—In the more eastern provinces, the indigenous element had maintained itself as in England; but the Roman population had taken on more consistency there, so that in the midst of the old inhabitants (Albanians) and the masses of successive invaders (Germans, Slavs, Hungarians, Turks), the Romanians succeeded in maintaining themselves, on the one hand as a considerable body of population, on the other hand in small, very numerous scattered groups, and even managed to reoccupy Trajan's Dacia, which Aurelian had evacuated all the Romani from the 3rd century.—In Africa, it was not the Vandals who put an end to Romanism; On the contrary, it seems probable that, there as in Spain and Gaul, the Germans ended up merging with the vanquished, and a particular Romance language would doubtless have formed in the kingdom of Genseric, if the Vandal establishment had not been destroyed by the Greeks, and especially if the disastrous invasion of the Muslims had not torn these beautiful regions from the Christian world. It is likely that when the Arabs arrived, there were still many Romans in the country; However, the indigenous element had never disappeared, even during the time of Roman domination and in the heart of the provinces which it surrounded on all sides: it allied itself closely with the Arabs, and the last vestiges of Romanism disappeared very quickly from Africa. — Spain, on the contrary, where the fusion of the Goths with the Romans was complete, preserved its character, even under Arab domination, and finally succeeded in freeing itself from it entirely. — It was the same in Sicily: there, Romanism not only completely drove out the Arab element, but also caused the disappearance of the Greek element which, without doubt, was still quite abundant there at the beginning of the Middle Ages. — This Greek element also disappeared from the south of Italy, where it had remained since the Hellenic colonization; in the south of Gaul, it had been absorbed very early into Roman civilization. Romania, however, lost in Gaul a province that had certainly belonged to it, the peninsula to which the colonists coming from the other side of the Channel gave the name of Brittany; but there can be no doubt that this province, at the time of their landing, was almost completely depopulated. The losses that Romania suffered fourteen centuries ago are not without compensation. Not only did it absorb all the Germanic tribes that penetrated into the heart of its territory, but it also fell back from either side of the borders that the era of invasions had given it. At almost all the points where it found itself in contact with the German element, in Flanders, Lorraine, Switzerland, Tyrol, Friuli, it made a forward movement which gave it back a more or less large part of its former territory. In England, the Romanized Normans reconquered the country for centuries for the Romance world, and their language only yielded to that of the Saxons by mixing with it in such a proportion that the study of the English language and literature is inseparable from that of the Romance languages and literatures. I have already spoken of the suppression of Greek in Italy, of Dacia reconquered by the Romanians. In the new world, Romania annexed immense territories; it is beginning to regain possession of a part of North Africa. Latin, in its various popular dialects—which are the Romance languages—is spoken today by a much greater number of people than at the time of the empire's greatest splendor... G. Paris, in Romania, Vol. I (1872), passim.

II — THE GALLO-ROMAN VILLA.

It is plausible to conjecture that, in Gaul, before Caesar's conquest, the dominant system was that of large landownership. The Romans did not have to introduce into

this country either the right of property or the system of large estates cultivated by a servile population.

70135 In any case, we find in Gaul during the time of the Empire the same rural customs as in Italy. Tacitus speaks of an estate belonging to the Gaul Cruptorix, and he calls it a villa. Perhaps the most novel thing was that each villa took its own name, following Roman custom. In accordance with this same custom, the names of estates were most often taken from men's names. Ausonius mentions the Villa Pauliacus and the Villa Lucaniacus. Sidonius Apollinaris, in his letters, often has occasion to mention his properties or those of his friends. He owns one called Avitacus. An estate of the Syagria family is called Taionnacus; that of Consentius, a friend of Sidonius, is called ager Octavianus. Later, charters written in Gaul will show us a series of estates which all have a proper name; they are called, for example, Albinicus, 70140 Solemniacensis, Floriacus, Bertiniacus, Latiniacus, Victoriacus, Pauliacus, Juliacus, Atiniacus, Cassiacus, Gaviniacus, Clipiatus; there are several hundred of this kind[15]. These names, which we find in charters of the 7th century, certainly come from an earlier period. It was under Roman domination that the estates received them. They are Latin, and come, for the most part, from family names which are Roman. This does not mean that Italian families came to seize the land. The Gauls, upon becoming 70150 Romans, took Latin names for themselves and applied their new names to their lands. Some retained a Gallic name by Latinizing it; thus, we find a few domain names that have a Gallic root in a Latin form. Subsequently, all these property names became the names of our villages in France. The lineage is easily seen. The original owners were called Albinus, Solemnis, Florus, Bertinus, Latinus or Latinus, Victorious, Paulus, 70155 Julius, Atinius, Cassius, Gabinius, Clipius; and this is why our villages are called Aubigny, Solignac, Fleury, Bertignole, Lagny, Vitry, Pouilly, Juilly, Attigny, Chancy, Gagny, Clichy.

It is difficult to say what the usual extent of a rural domain was in Gaul. We must 70160 first set aside Narbonne, which had been covered with Roman colonies and where the land had been distributed in small lots. We must also set aside some territories in the northeast, close to the frontier and where military colonies of veterans or colonies of Germans were founded; here again it was the small or medium property that was constituted, and there is no appearance that it changed much. It was different in 70165 the rest of Gaul. Here there was no colony, no artificial constitution of property. Either the domains remained in the hands of the old aristocracy that had become Roman, or they passed into the hands of enriched men. In either case, we do not see that the land could have been much divided up. It is very likely that there were a certain number of very small properties; but what prevailed was the large domain. The 70170 small property was spread here and there on Gallic soil, but occupied only a small part of it; The average and large covered almost everything.

Some examples are provided by literature from the 4th and 5th centuries. The poet Ausonius describes a patrimonial property he owns in the region of Bazas. In his 70175 eyes, it is very small; he calls it a villula, a herediolum, and it requires "all the modesty of his tastes" for him to be content with it. We also see that he counts 200 acres of arable land, 100 acres of vineyard, 50 acres of meadows, and 700 acres of woods. This is therefore an estate that is reputed to be small and that comprises 1,050 acres; and if it is reputed to be small, it is because it is so in comparison with many others. One would readily believe that a property of a thousand acres was, 70180 in the eyes of these men, only a small property. The estates that Sidonius Apollinaris describes, without giving their extent, appear to be larger. Taionnacus includes "meadows, vineyards, and plowed land." Octavianus contains "fields, vineyards, olive groves, a plain, and a hill." Avitacus "extends into woods and meadows, and its pastures support many herds." A few years later, we see the Villa 70185 Sparnacus being sold for 5,000 pounds of silver; this enormous sum, especially in a time of crisis and in the circumstances in which we see it sold, implies that this land was very vast.

However, we must beware of exaggeration. Imagining immense latifundia would be a great error. That an entire region or canton belongs to a single owner is something 70190 of which we find no example neither in Gaul, nor in Italy, nor in Spain. Nothing similar is reported by Sidonius, nor by Salvian, nor by our charters. Our general impression, in the absence of affirmation, is that the large estates of the Roman era hardly exceeded the extent that the territory of a village occupies today. Many have only that of our small hamlets. And below these there are still a good number of 70195 smaller properties. There is also a remark that must be made. We know from writers of the 4th century that a class of very rich landowners was formed at this time. This is one of the most important and best-established facts of this part of history. Now, these great fortunes, about which we have some information, were not formed by the

infinite extension of the same domain. They were formed through the acquisition of numerous estates far removed from one another. The most opulent families of this period did not own an entire canton or a province; but they possessed twenty, thirty, or forty estates scattered across several provinces, sometimes throughout all the provinces of the empire. These are the *patrimonia sparsa per orbem* of which Ammianus Marcellinus speaks. Such is the nature of the landed fortunes of the Anicius, Symmachus, Tertullus, and Gregorius in Italy; of the Syagrius, Paulinus, Ecdicius, and Ferreolus in Gaul.

The villa, the rural estate, was a fairly complex organism. It contained, as much as possible, land of every kind: fields, vineyards, meadows, forests. It also included men of all social classes: untenured slaves, tenant slaves, freedmen, colonists, and freemen. The work was done by two very distinct bodies, one being the servile group or *familia*, the other the series of small tenants. The land was also divided into two parts, one which was in the hands of the tenants, the other which the owner kept in his hand. He had this cultivated, either by the servile group, or by the *corvées* of the tenants, or finally by a combination of the one and the other system. There was, in the latter case, a small servile group, to which were added the hands of the tenants at times of the year when a lot of hands were needed. The owner thus drew from his domain a double income, on the one hand the harvests and fruits of the reserved portion, on the other the rents and rents of the tenants. His manager or his steward, procurator, actor or *villicus*, administered and supervised the two portions equally; from the tenures, he received the rents; On the reserved portion, he directed everyone's work.

This domain... was also covered with as many buildings as were necessary for the population and the various needs of a village. It is understandable that no precise description is possible. We see only that three very different types of buildings were distinguished: 1st, the owner's residence; 2nd, the slaves' dwellings, with everything that served the general needs of cultivation; 3rd, the dwellings of the small tenants.

We know very little about the latter; ancient writers never described them. Sometimes these dwellings were isolated from one another, each of them being placed on the plot of land that the man cultivated... Sometimes they were grouped together and formed a small hamlet that the language called a *vicus*. On the largest domains, one could see, as Julius Frontinus says, a series of these *vici* that formed a sort of belt around the master's villa. This villa was always divided into two clearly separated parts, which were distinguished by the expressions *villa urbana* and *villa rustica*. The *villa urbana*, on a rural estate, was the set of buildings that the master reserved for himself, his family, his friends, and all his personal servants. As for the *villa rustica*, it was the set of buildings intended to house the slave farmers; here were also kept the animals and all the objects useful for cultivation.

Varro, Columella, and Vitruvius described this rustic villa. It had to contain a sufficient number of small rooms, *cellae*, for the use of the slaves; and these rooms had to be, as much as possible, "open to the south." For lazy or unruly slaves, there was the *ergastulum*; this was the basement. It had to be lit by enough windows "so that the dwelling was healthy," but narrow enough and high enough above the ground so that the men could not escape. A few steps away were the stables, which, as far as possible, were to be double-glazed, for summer and winter.

Next to the stables were the small bedrooms.

The herdsmen and shepherds' quarters. Then there were the barns for wheat and hay, the wine cellars, the oil cellars, and the granaries for fruit. A kitchen occupied a special building; it had to be high-ceilinged and large enough "to serve as a meeting place at all times for the domestic staff." Not far away was the slave bath, which, moreover, only bathed there on holidays. The estate naturally had its mill, its oven, its wine press, its oil press, and its dovecote. Add to this, if the estate was complete, a forge and a wheelwright's workshop. In the middle of all these buildings stretched a large courtyard; the Latins called it *chors*; we find it again in the Middle Ages with the same, slightly altered name, *curtis*.

Some distance away is the master's villa. This owner is usually wealthy and took pleasure in building. Varro already noted, not without chagrin, that his contemporaries "gave more attention to the urban villa than to the rustic villa." Columella gives a description of this villa. It contains summer apartments and winter apartments; for the master lives there or can live there in all seasons. It therefore has a double dining room and a double series of bedrooms. It contains large bathrooms, where an entire party can bathe at once. There are also long galleries, larger than our living rooms, where friends can walk and chat. Pliny the Younger, who owns about ten beautiful estates, describes two of these dwellings. Everything

70265 imaginable in terms of comfort and luxury is found there. We will probably not assume
that all country houses were similar to those of Pliny; but there were some even more
magnificent than his; and, from top to bottom of the scale, all country houses tended
to resemble the type he describes. He imitated and he was imitated. The luxury of
70270 villas was, in this society of the Roman Empire, the best way to enjoy wealth and
also the most laudable way to display it. Since there were no longer free elections,
the money no longer spent on buying votes was spent on building and decorating
houses. What can also mitigate the disadvantages of a system of large estates is that
the owner enjoys his domain and repays it in improvements or embellishments what he
receives in profits.

70275 If we move from Italy to Gaul, and from the time of Trajan to the 5th century, we
still find vast and magnificent villas there. Sidonius Apollinaris paints a fairly
clear picture, despite the usual vagueness of his style, of the Villa Octaviana,
which belonged to his friend Consentius. "It offers high walls built according to all
the rules of the art." There are "porticoes and baths of admirable grandeur."

70280 Sidonius also describes the Villa Avitacus. It is reached by a wide and long avenue
which is its "vestibule." We first encounter the balneum, that is to say, a group of
buildings which includes baths, a swimming pool, a frigidarium, a perfume room; it is
a whole large building. Leaving there, we enter the house. The women's apartment
presents itself first; it includes a workroom where the cloth is woven. Sidonius then
70285 leads us through long porticoes supported by columns and from where the view extends
over a beautiful lake. Then comes an enclosed gallery where many friends can stroll.
It leads to three dining rooms. From these, one passes into a large relaxation room,
the diversorium, where one can, as one chooses, sleep, chat, or play. The writer does
not bother to describe the bedrooms, nor even to indicate their number. What he says
70290 about the villas of his friends suggests that several were more magnificent than his
own. These beautiful residences, which once covered Gaul, did not perish without
leaving many traces. Remains of them are found in all parts of the country, from the
Mediterranean to the Rhine and as far as the bottom of the British peninsula.
In the description of the Villa Octaviana, we must note a chapel. Indeed, a law of
70295 398 states as "a custom" that large landowners have a church on their property.
The common language of the empire designated the master's house by the word
praetorium. This term is already found, with this meaning, in Suetonius and Statius;
it is found several times in Ulpian and the jurists of the Digest; it becomes
especially frequent among authors of the 4th century, like Palladius and Symmachus.

70300 Now this word, by its very root, indicated the idea of command, precedence,
authority. It had been applied, in a Roman camp, to the general's tent; in the
provinces, to the governor's palace. The history of a word marks the course of ideas.
There is no doubt that, in the thoughts of men, this dwelling of the master was, in
comparison to all the other buildings scattered across the estate, the house that
70305 commanded the most. Calling it a praetorium was like calling it a manor house.
A writer of the time, Palladius, recommended building it halfway up the hill and
always higher than the villa rustica. This rustic villa, with its population, its
series of stables and barns, its mill, its press, its workshops, and all its numerous
staff, was more than what we call a farm: it formed a sort of village, owned by the
70310 master and staffed by his servants. The villa rustica at the bottom of the hill and
the villa urbana halfway up the hill were already the village and castle of later
periods.
It is true that this 4th-century castle did not have the appearance of the 10th-
century castle. The turrets sometimes mentioned were not feudal towers. There were no
70315 moats, no enclosure, no portcullis, no battlements, but rather avenues and porticoes
inviting entry. This was because people lived in an age of peace and believed
themselves safe. Only around the middle of the 5th century do we see a few men like
Pontius Leontius fortifying their villa and surrounding it with a thick wall "that no
battering ram could break down." It was only then, to resist invading looters, that
70320 the idea of transforming the villa into a fortified castle arose. Until then, the
villa had been a castle, but a castle of peaceful and happy times, an elegant,
sumptuous, and open castle.
These great landowners spent most of their lives there, surrounded by their families
and a large retinue of slaves, freedmen, and clients. These men clearly loved castle
70325 life; There can be no doubt about this when one has read the letters of Symmachus or
those of Sidonius Apollinaris. They built, they managed the cultivation, they carried
out irrigation, they lived among their peasants. A Syagrius, in his beautiful estate
of Taionnac, "cut his hay and did his grape harvest." A Consentius, son and grandson
of the highest dignitaries of the empire, is represented by Sidonius "putting his
70330 hand to the plow," as the old legend had represented Cincinnatus. The friends of

Ausonius, those of Symmachus, are for the most part large landowners and they enjoy rural life. Modern historians have said that Roman or Gallo-Roman society only loved city life, and that it was the Germans who taught people to love the countryside... All the writings we have from the 4th and 5th centuries, on the contrary, depict the Roman aristocracy as a rural class as much as an urban one: it is urban in the sense that it exercises magistracies and administers the cities; it is rural in its interests, in the greater part of its existence, in its tastes. This is because, in these beautiful residences, people led the life of a great lord. Paulinus of Pella, recalling in his verses the time of his youth, describes "the large residence where all the delights of life were gathered" and where "the crowd of servants and clients" crowded. This was on the eve of the invasions. "The table was elegantly served, the furniture brilliant, the silverware precious, the stables well-stocked, the carriages comfortable." The pleasures of castle life included conversation, horseback riding or carriage rides, tennis, dice, and above all, hunting. Hunting was always a Roman favorite. Varro already speaks of the vast warrens, filled with deer and roe deer, which the owners reserved for their pleasures. The friends to whom Pliny wrote divided their time "between study and hunting." He himself, a mediocre hunter who carried a book and tablets, nevertheless boasted of having once killed three wild boars. The jurists of the Digest mention, among the objects that are ordinarily an integral part of the estate, the hunting equipage, the huntsmen, and the pack. Later, Symmachus wrote to his friend Protadius and mocked him for his endless hunts and "the genealogy of his dogs." The Gauls were also great hunters. They had been so before Caesar, and they were still so after him. One only has to look at the mosaics which, like that of Lillebonne, represent hunting scenes. Look at the friends of Sidonius: Ecdicius "pursues the beast through the woods, swims across rivers, loves only dogs, horses and bows." It is true that the same man just now, at the head of a few horsemen raised on his lands, will rout a troop of Visigoths. Here is another friend of Sidonius, Potentinus: "he excels at three things, cultivating, building, hunting." Vectius, a great personage and high official, "is second to no one in raising horses, training dogs, carrying falcons." Hunting was one of the rights of the landowner on his land, and he used it willingly. Thus, many things that the Middle Ages will offer to our eyes are older than the Middle Ages.

Fustel de Coulanges, *L'Alleeu and the Rural Estate during the Merovingian Period*, Paris: Hachette, 1889, octavo. Passim.

III — CHRISTIANITY.

PROGRESS OF ORGANIZATION.—THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE.

...The organization of the Church was being completed with surprising rapidity. The great danger of Gnosticism, which was to divide Christianity into countless sects, was averted by the end of the second century. The term Catholic Church burst forth from all sides, like the name of this great body that would henceforth endure through the centuries without breaking up. And we can already clearly see the character of this catholicity. The Montanists were considered sectarians; the Marcionists were convicted of distorting apostolic doctrine; the various Gnostic schools were increasingly rejected from the bosom of the general Church. There is therefore something that is neither Montanism, nor Marcionism, nor Gnosticism, which is non-sectarian Christianity, the Christianity of the majority of bishops, resisting heresies and using them all up, having, if you will, only negative characteristics, but preserved, by these negative characteristics, from pietistic aberrations and the rationalist solvent. Christianity, like all parties that want to live, disciplines itself, cuts off its own excesses... The golden mean triumphs. The pietistic aristocracy of the Phrygian sects and the speculative aristocracy of the Gnostics are equally dismissed from their claims...

It was the episcopate which, without any intervention from the civil power, without any support from the police or the courts, thus established order above liberty in a society founded primarily on individual inspiration. This is why the Ebionites of Syria, who do not have the episcopate, also do not have the idea of catholicity. At first glance, the work of Jesus was not born viable; it was chaos. Founded on a belief in the end of the world, which the passing years would convince of error, the Galilean congregation seemed capable of nothing but dissolving into anarchy... Individual inspiration creates, but immediately destroys what it has created. After freedom, there must be rule. The work of Jesus could be considered saved the day it was admitted that the Church has a direct power, a power representing that of Jesus. The Church from then on dominates the individual, driving him from its midst if necessary. Soon the Church, an unstable and changing body, is personified in the elders; the powers of the Church become the powers of a clergy dispenser of all

graces, intermediary between God and the faithful. Inspiration passes from the individual to the community. The Church has become everything in Christianity; one step further, the bishop becomes everything in the Church. Obedience to the Church, then to the bishop, is considered the first duty; innovation is the mark of falsehood; schism will henceforth be the worst crime for the Christian...

Correspondence between the Churches was early a custom. The circular letters from the heads of the great Churches, read on Sundays at the gathering of the faithful, were a continuation of apostolic literature. The church, like the synagogue and the mosque, is an essentially urban thing. Christianity (the same can be said of Judaism and Islam) will be a religion of cities, not a religion of peasants. The peasant, the pagan, will be the last resistance Christianity will encounter. Rural Christians, very few in number, came to the church in the neighboring town.

The Roman municipality thus became the cradle of the Church. As the countryside and small towns received the Gospel from the large cities, they also received their clergy, always subject to the bishop of the large city. Among cities, the *civitas* alone has a true church, with an *episcopus*; the small town is ecclesiastical dependent on the large one. This primacy of large cities was a crucial fact. Once the large city was converted, the small town and the countryside followed suit. The diocese was thus the original unit of the Christian conglomerate.

As for the ecclesiastical province, implying the precedence of the large Churches over the small ones, it generally corresponded to the Roman province. The founder of the framework of Christianity was Augustus. The divisions of the cult of Rome and Augustus were the secret law that regulated everything. The cities that had a *flamen* or *archiereus* were those that later had an archbishop; the *flamen civitatis* became the bishop. From the 3rd century onwards, the *flamen duumvir* occupied in his city the rank which, a hundred or a hundred and fifty years later, was that of the bishop in the diocese. Julian later tried to oppose the *flamens* to the Christian bishops and to make parish priests out of the *Augustales*. Thus the ecclesiastical geography of a country is, with very little difference, the geography of this same country in the Roman period. The table of bishoprics and archbishoprics is that of the ancient *civitates*, according to their links of subordination. The empire was like the mold where religion as a new system coagulated. The internal framework, the hierarchical divisions, were those of the empire. The ancient roles of the Roman administration and the registers of the Church in the Middle Ages and even today are almost identical.

Rome was the point where this great idea of catholicity was developed. Its Church had an undisputed primacy. It owed this in part to its holiness and its excellent reputation. Everyone recognized that this Church had been founded by the apostles Peter and Paul, that these two apostles had suffered martyrdom in Rome, and that John himself had been plunged into boiling oil there. The places sanctified by these Apostolic Acts, partly true, partly false, were shown. All this surrounded the Church of Rome with an unparalleled aura. Doubtful questions were brought to Rome for arbitration, if not resolution. It was reasoned that since Christ had made Cephas the cornerstone of his Church, this privilege should extend to his successors. The Bishop of Rome became the bishop of bishops, the one who warns others... The work of which the fragment known as the Canon of Muratori was part, written in Rome around 180, already shows us Rome regulating the Canon of the churches, giving the Passion of Peter as the basis for catholicity... The attempts at a symbol of faith also began in the Roman Church around this time. Irenaeus refutes all heresies by the faith of this Church, "the greatest, the most ancient, the most illustrious; which possesses, by continuous succession, the true tradition of the apostles Peter and Paul, to which, because of its primacy, *propter potiore principalem*, the rest of the Church must have recourse." Every Church supposedly founded by an apostle had a privilege; What can be said of the Church believed to have been founded by the two greatest apostles simultaneously?

... We can say that the organization of the Churches has undergone five degrees of advancement. First, the primitive *ecclesia*, where all members are equally inspired by the Spirit. Then the elders or *presbyteri* assume, within the *ecclesia*, considerable police power and absorb the *ecclesia*. Then the president of the elders, the *episcopos*, absorbs more or less the powers of the elders and consequently those of the *ecclesia*. Then the *episcopi* of the different Churches, corresponding with each other, form the Catholic Church. Among the *episcopi*, there is one, that of Rome, which is evidently destined for a great future. The Pope, the Church of Jesus transformed into a monarchy, are seen in the obscure distance... Let us add that this transformation did not have, like the others, a universal character. The Latin Church alone lent itself to this, and even within this Church, the papacy's attempt

ultimately led to revolt and protest.

The Church, in the third century, by monopolizing life, exhausted civil society, bled it dry, and emptied it. Small societies killed the great society. Ancient life, a purely external and virile life, a life of glory, heroism, civic duty, the life of the forum, the theater, the gymnasium, was vanquished by Jewish life, an anti-military life, the life of pale, cloistered people. Politics does not require people too detached from the earth. When man decides to aspire only to heaven, he no longer has a country here below... Christianity improved the morals of the ancient world, but, from a military and patriotic point of view, it destroyed the ancient world. The City and the State would later accommodate Christianity only by subjecting it to the most profound modifications.

"They dwell on earth," says the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, "but, in reality, they have their homeland in heaven." Indeed, when the martyr is asked about his homeland, "I am a Christian," he replies. The homeland and civil laws—this is the mother, this is the father, that the true Gnostic, according to Clement of Alexandria, must despise in order to sit at the right hand of God. The Christian is embarrassed, incapable, when it comes to worldly affairs; the Gospel forms the faithful, not citizens. It was the same for Islamism and Buddhism. The advent of these great universal religions put an end to the old idea of homeland; one was no longer Roman, Athenian: one was Christian, Muslim, Buddhist. From now on, men will be divided according to their religion, not according to their homeland; they will be divided over heresies, not over questions of nationality. This is what Marcus Aurelius saw perfectly, and what made him so unfavorable to Christianity. The Church seemed to him a state within a state. "The camp of piety," this new "system of piety founded on the divine Logos," has nothing to do with the Roman camp, which in no way claims to form subjects for heaven. The Church, in fact, admits to being a complete society, far superior to civil society; the pastor is worth more than the magistrate... The Christian owes nothing to the empire, and the empire owes him everything, for it is the presence of the faithful, scattered throughout the world Roman Empire, which stops the wrath of heaven and saves the State from ruin. The Christian does not rejoice in the victories of the empire; public disasters seem to him a confirmation of the prophecies that condemn the world to perish by barbarians and by fire...

[However] ancient and profound reasons required, despite appearances to the contrary, that the empire should become Christian. The Christian doctrine on the origin of power seemed expressly designed to become the doctrine of the Roman State. Authority loves authority. Men as conservative as the bishops must have been terribly tempted to reconcile themselves with public force. Jesus had laid down the rule. The effigy of the currency was for him the supreme criterion of legitimacy, beyond which there was nothing to seek. In the midst of Nero's reign, Saint Paul wrote: "Let everyone be subject to the ruling powers, for there is no power except from God." The powers that exist are ordained by God, so that whoever opposes the powers resists the order of God." A few years later, Peter, or whoever wrote in his name the epistle known as Prima Petri, expressed himself in an almost identical way. Clement was also a most devoted subject of the Roman Empire. Finally, one of the traits of Saint Luke is his respect for imperial authority and the precautions he took not to offend it.

Certainly, there were exalted Christians who entirely shared Jewish anger and dreamed only of the destruction of the idolatrous city, identified by them with Babylon. Such were the authors of apocalypses and the writers of Sibylline writings. For them, Christ and Caesar were two irreconcilable terms. But the faithful of the great Churches had quite different ideas. In 70, the Church of Jerusalem, with a sentiment more Christian than patriotic, abandoned the revolutionary city and sought peace beyond the Jordan. Saint Justin, in his Apologies, never combats the principle of empire; he wants the empire to examine Christian doctrine, approve it, countersign it in some way, and condemn those who slander it. The leading doctor of the time of Marcus Aurelius, Melito, Bishop of Sardis, was seen to make even more characteristic offers of service and present Christianity as the basis of a hereditary empire by divine right... All apologists flatter the emperors' favorite idea, that of heredity in a direct line, and assure them that the effect of Christian prayers will be that their son will reign after them...

The hatred between Christianity and the empire was the hatred of people who must one day love each other. Under the Severans, the language of the Church remained what it had been under the Antonines: plaintive and tender. Apologists displayed a kind of legitimacy, the claim that the Church had always saluted the emperor first. Saint Paul's principle bore fruit: "All power comes from God; he who holds the sword holds it from God for good." This correct attitude toward power was due to external

70530 necessities as much as to the very principles the Church had received from its
founders. The Church was already a large association; it was essentially
conservative; it needed order and legal guarantees. This is admirably seen in the
actions of Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch under Aurelian. The Bishop of Antioch
70535 could already be considered, at this time, a high-ranking personage; the Church's
assets were in his hands; a multitude of people lived off his favors. Paul was a
brilliant man, hardly mystical, worldly, a great secular lord, seeking to make
Christianity acceptable to the world and to those in authority. The Pietists, as was
to be expected, found him a heretic and had him deposed. Paul resisted and refused to
70540 abandon the episcopal house. This is the problem with the most haughty sects: they
possess; and who can settle a question of property or enjoyment, if not the civil
authority? The question was referred to the emperor, who was at the moment in
Antioch, and we saw this unusual spectacle of an unfaithful and persecuting sovereign
charged with deciding who was the true bishop. Aurelian... had the correspondence of
the two bishops brought to him, noted the one who had relations with Rome and Italy,
70545 and concluded that this one was the bishop of Antioch. ...One fact was becoming
evident: Christianity could no longer survive without the empire, and the empire, on
the other hand, had nothing better to do than adopt Christianity as its religion. The
world wanted a religion of congregations, of churches or synagogues, of chapels, a
religion where the essence of worship was assembly, association, and brotherhood.
70550 Christianity fulfilled all these conditions. Its admirable worship, its pure
morality, its skillfully organized clergy, assured its future.
Several times in the third century, this historical necessity almost came true. This
was especially true during the time of the Syrian emperors, whose status as
foreigners and the baseness of their origins protected them from prejudice, and who,
70555 despite their vices, inaugurated a breadth of ideas and tolerance previously unknown.
The same thing happened again under Philip the Arab, in the East under Zenobia, and,
in general, under the emperors whose origins placed them outside Roman patriotism.
The struggle redoubled in fury when the great reformers, Diocletian and Maximian,
believed they could give the empire new life. The Church triumphed through its
70560 martyrs; Roman pride gave way; Constantine saw the inner strength of the Church, the
populations of Asia Minor, Syria, Thrace, Macedonia—in a word, the eastern part of
the empire—already more than half-Christian. His mother, who had been an innkeeper in
Nicomedia, dangled before his eyes an Eastern empire centered around Nicaea, the
heart of which would be the favor of the bishops and the multitudes of poor people
70565 registered with the Church, who, in the large cities, formed public opinion.
Constantine inaugurated what is called "the peace of the Church," and what was in
reality the domination of the Church...
Julian's reaction was a meaningless whim. After the struggle came intimate union and
love. Theodosius inaugurated the Christian empire, that is, the thing the Church, in
70570 its long life, had loved most, a theocratic empire, of which the Church is the
essential framework, and which, even after being destroyed by the barbarians, remains
the eternal dream of the Christian conscience, at least in the Romance countries.
Many believed, in fact, that with Theodosius the goal of Christianity had been
achieved. The empire and Christianity became so closely identified with each other
70575 that many scholars conceived the end of the empire as the end of the world, and
applied to this event the apocalyptic images of the supreme catastrophe. The Eastern
Church, whose development was not hindered by the barbarians, never detached itself
from this ideal; Constantine and Theodosius remain the two poles; it still clings to
them, at least in Russia... As for the Western Christian empire, although it soon
70580 perished, it was only destroyed in appearance...; its secrets were perpetuated in the
high Roman clergy... A holy empire, with a barbarian Theodosius, holding the sword to
protect the Church of Christ, such was the ideal of the Latin papacy in the Middle
Ages...
E. Renan, Marc-Aurèle, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1882, octavo. Passim.

70585

IV — ROMAN SOCIETY

ACCORDING TO AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, SAINT JEROME, AND SYMMACHOS.
People have often wondered what to think of public morality in the fourth century,
especially among the upper classes of the empire. Generally, we are tempted to judge
70590 it harshly. When we consider that this society was in decline, and that it had only a
few years left to live, we are tempted to explain its misfortunes by its faults and
to believe that it deserved the fate it was about to suffer. This is why we so easily
believe those who speak ill of it. There were two contemporaries in particular,
Ammianus Marcellinus and Saint Jerome, who took pleasure in mistreating it; and,
70595 since they belonged to two opposing factions, it seems natural to us to think that,
since they agreed, they spoke the truth. I admit, however, that their testimony is

suspect to me. Ammianus devoted two long chapters of his history to the senators of Rome; but these chapters have, in his work, a particular character: one realizes, when one reads them carefully, that he wanted to compose pieces with effect, which would strike the reader, and that, in these passages, which do not entirely resemble the rest, he is more satirist and rhetorician than historian... What does he tell us, moreover, that we do not know in advance? He teaches us, which does not surprise us at all, that there are in this great world many very small minds: fools who believe themselves great men because their flatterers have erected statues to them; vain people, who walk on magnificent chariots, wearing silk garments whose thousand colors are stirred in the wind; glorious people, who talk incessantly of their fortune; effeminate people, whom the slightest heat overwhelms, "who, when a fly lands on their golden robes or a small ray of sunshine slips through some crack in their parasol, are sorry they were not born in the Cimmerian Bosphorus"; atheists, who only leave their homes after consulting their astrologers; prodigals, caressing and base when they want to borrow money, insolent when it is necessary to return it, and other characters of this sort, who are found everywhere. Besides these failings, which seem to us on the whole rather minor, he points out more serious vices. Some of them belong more particularly to the Roman race, and the moralists of past centuries have already revealed them; others are from all countries and all times, and since unfortunately no human society escapes them, it is natural that we also find them among the people of the 4th century. But what seems to him more odious than all the rest, what most often excites his bad humor, is that the great Roman lords lack consideration for the learned and the wise. They reserve their favors for those who flatter them basely or who amuse them; as for honest and learned people, they are considered boring and useless, and the head waiter has them unceremoniously shown the door of the dining room. We know these complaints; they are not new to us. One of the serious reasons Juvenal has for scolding his era is that the Roman customer, "who saw the light of day on the Aventine and who was nourished from his childhood on the Sabine olive," does not have as good a place as the Greek parasite at the master's table, that he is not served the same dishes and that he does not drink the same wine. Ammianus no doubt had to suffer some humiliation of this kind. It is likely that when he returned from the army, where he had fought well, and at the time when he was beginning to write the history of his campaigns, he was not received by everyone as he thought he should be. He naturally concluded that a society which did not always give him his place took no account of merit. "Today," he says, "the musician has driven the philosopher from everywhere; the orator is replaced by the one who teaches histrions their trade; libraries are closed and resemble sepulchres." It is difficult to believe that these severe words apply to people like Symmachus and his friends, who loved books so much and held scholars in such great honor. But Ammian seems to recognize elsewhere that one should not give too much importance to his reproaches and make them fall on everyone; He tells us, at the beginning of his violent invectives, that Rome is still great and glorious, but that its splendor is compromised by the criminal frivolity of a few people (*levitate paucorum incondita*) who do not sufficiently consider of which city they have the honor to be citizens. Thus, by his own admission, the guilty are only the exception. The anger of Saint Jerome inspires no more confidence in me than the epigrams of Ammianus. He was a very hot-tempered saint; his best friends, like Rufinus and Saint Augustine, have experienced this. People of this temperament suddenly go from one extreme to the other, and usually hate most what they loved most. This is precisely what made Saint Jerome so hard on Roman society: he had been too charmed by it and could never forgive it for the attraction it had had for him. The delicate pleasures of his literary vanity, his frequent conversations with women of wit, the pleasure they found in listening to him, the applause they gave to his works, all this was part of those "delights of Rome," the poignant memory of which followed him into the desert and troubled his penance. He made them pay with his invectives for the trouble he felt in detaching himself from it. Rome is for him another Babylon, "the courtesan in purple clothes." He generally reproaches it for all sorts of excesses; but it is remarkable that, when he comes to specific accusations, he finds little to criticize in it except the trivialities of worldly life. How do we spend our time in the big city? Seeing and being seen, receiving visits and making them, praising people and speaking ill of them. "Conversation begins, we gossip never stops. We tear apart those who are absent, we tell stories about our neighbors, we bite others and, in turn, we are bitten by them." This picture is pleasant; but what does it prove, if not that society at all times is similar? Let us note that Saint Jerome attacks everyone here, without distinction of religion. It has been sought to use his testimony to establish that pagan society was by far the most corrupt: this is a

wrong, it is even harder for Christians than for it. He shows us that the vices of the old society had passed into the new, almost without changing form, that one could not always distinguish the virgin and the widow who had received the teachings of the Church from those who had remained faithful to the old cult, that there were clerics who were petty masters, monks who were chasing inheritances, and above all parasitic priests who went every day to greet the beautiful ladies: "He gets up in all haste, as soon as the sun begins to show, regulates the order of his visits, chooses the shortest routes, and seizes the ladies he goes to see almost still in bed. If he sees a cushion, an elegant tablecloth or some object of that kind, he praises it, he feels it, he admires it, he complains of having nothing as good at home, and does so well that it is given to him. Wherever you go, he is always the first person you meet; he knows all the news; he runs to tell them before everyone else; if necessary, he invents them, or, in any case, he embellishes them each time with new incidents." Is this not like a first appearance of the 18th-century abbot?

There are therefore reasons to only half-believe Saint Jerome and Ammian; and even if we were to believe them completely, their testimony seems less damning for their century than has been claimed. In any case, the letters of Symmachus[16] give a better opinion of them, and I trust them all the more willingly because he did not claim to judge his time and write a moral treatise, which always leads to adopting a certain attitude. He naively says what he thinks, shows himself to us as he is, and describes people without knowing it. His letters are those of an honest man, who gives everyone the best advice. To those who govern provinces exhausted by taxes and war, he preaches humanity; he recommends charity to the rich, in terms that recall Christian charity. Sometimes he enters resolutely into the private lives of his friends; for example, he dares to ask one of them to renounce the profits of an unjust inheritance. As for him, he is everywhere occupied in doing good; he comes to the aid of his unfortunate friends, takes care of their affairs, implores the help of powerful men for them, marries their daughters, and, after their death, redoubles his care for the children they leave without protection and often without fortune. His correspondence does not make him alone; it sometimes allows us to judge those with whom he was in contact. His children form united households, his friends, for the most part, resemble him, and when one has finished reading his letters, it seems that one has just passed through a society of honest people. I know well that he is inclined to judge with a little too much indulgence; He readily attributes his qualities to others and does not perceive the harm he would not be capable of committing; but, despite this fault, it is impossible not to take great account of his testimony. The impression that remains of this great world of Rome, as we glimpse it in his letters, is, on the whole, favorable to him and recalls the society of Trajan and the Antonines as shown to us in the letters of Pliny.

Here is another piece of information that we owe to the correspondence of Symmachus, and which somewhat contradicts the opinion we have of this period. It seems to us that the people of that generation, which was the last of the empire, must have had some sense of the perils that threatened them, and that it is impossible that by listening a little one could not hear the creaking of this machine that was so close to breaking down. The letters of Symmachus show us that we are mistaken. We see there that the most distinguished people, the statesmen, the politicians, hardly suspected that the end was approaching. On the eve of the catastrophe, everything went on as usual, people were buying, selling, repairing monuments and building houses for eternity. Symmachus is a Roman of ancient times, who believes that the empire is eternal and does not imagine that the world can continue to exist without it. Despite the warnings he has received, his optimism is imperturbable. He would certainly have many reasons to be discontented: the Senate, of which he is so proud to be a member, is almost nothing anymore, and the religion he professes is persecuted. However, he never ceases to praise his teachers and is satisfied with his time. He was one of those candid souls who regard as incontestable truths that civilization always triumphs over barbarism, that the most educated people are inevitably the most honest and the strongest, that letters flourish whenever they are encouraged, etc. Now he sees precisely that schools have never been more numerous, education more widespread, science more honored, that letters lead to everything, that personal merit opens all careers; so he exclaims, in his enthusiasm: "We truly live in a century that is friendly to virtue, where people of talent can only blame themselves if they do not obtain the positions of which they are worthy." And it does not seem possible to him that such an enlightened society, which so highly values literature and places such great value on learning, could be swept away in a day by barbarians!

Yet he does occasionally see and note in passing a few unfortunate incidents, which revealed the evil from which the empire was suffering, and which should have given

him pause for thought. For example, he tells someone who is waiting for him that he cannot leave Rome because the countryside is infested with brigands: so the Roman peace, so vaunted in inscriptions and medals, is over, since, even at the gates of the capital, one is no longer safe! Another time he complains that the emperor, who is short of soldiers, is asking rich people for their slaves to enlist, and this measure does not reveal to him the extremes to which the empire is reduced! But what is even more significant, what indicates more clearly a profound disorder and announces the approaching ruin, is the sad state of public wealth. The evidence of this is everywhere in Symmachus. He shows us that the tax authorities have exhausted everything, that the rich are at the end of their resources, that farmers no longer have money to pay their landlords, and that land, which was a source of income, is now only an occasion for expenditure. These are serious symptoms; and yet Symmachus, who sees them, who points them out, does not seem alarmed by them. This is because the evil was old, that it had increased little by little, and that, since the time that people had suffered from it, they had become accustomed to it. Since Rome persisted in living, despite the reasons it had to die, people had ended up believing that it would always live. Until the last moment, people had entertained this illusion, and the final catastrophe, although it should have been expected, was a surprise. This is what the letters of Symmachus bring to light; They show us to what extent politicians, nourished by the lessons of history and thoroughly familiar with ancient times, can be mistaken about the era in which they live; they show us the spectacle, full of serious lessons, of a society proud of its civilization, glorious of its past, preoccupied with the future, which advances step by step to the edge of the abyss, without realizing that it is about to fall into it.

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Father en son Holwerda, row with van Giffen

5 December 1898 **COMMUNICATIONS OF VARIOUS NATURE.**
 REPORT by Dr. A.E.J. Holwerda,
 concerning the scientific journey to Italy and Greece.
 To His Excellency the Minister of Internal Affairs.

The scientific journey to Italy and Greece, which I was enabled to undertake by the Government, had a multifaceted purpose. In the first place, it was of course in the interest of my education. I have been charged with explaining the history, art, and life of ancient peoples, and if one wants to fulfil such a task properly, then one's own observation of the country of ruins, of the works of art that are still preserved on classical soil, is absolutely indispensable. It is entirely connected with this that all kinds of special research, which had occupied me for a long time, could hardly be continued without study in the excavated areas and the museums of Italy and Greece. Likewise I hoped to be able to expand the material resources for the study of archaeology in our country; the University Fund opened me a considerable credit for this purpose and the director of the National Museum of Antiquities instructed me to try to see whether any gaps in that collection could be filled by suitable purchases in Italy and Greece. Finally I thought I could and should promote another interest of national science. Recently there has been strong pressure from several sides, and rightly so, that our young scholars should be given more opportunity than hitherto to undertake a scientific journey to complete their studies. I had my own opinion about the best way to do this, and I very much desired to be able to test it in practice. Of course Italy and Greece, which are so extensively travelled by scholars, offered ample opportunity for this. If the sending out of young scholars is to bear fruit, it must be done with deliberation and we can mirror ourselves on the examples of others, both in what we leave as well as in what we must do.

What made my journey very easy was an arrangement by the curators of our University, whereby my son, the doctoral candidate in classical literature J.H. Holwerda, was enabled to accompany me through a subsidy from the Vollenhoven fund. With the greatest appreciation I also remember the friendly helpfulness that we experienced in Italy, Greece and Constantinople from our ambassadors and consular agents. No less do I feel deeply obliged to the Kaiserlich-Deutsch Archaeological Institut. The

perfectly unfettered and selfless way in which that institution supports the studies of foreigners as well, is an honour for the German nation, because it springs from that same honest idealism that constitutes the strength of German science. In all kinds of matters our German colleagues in Italy and Greece helped us with their
70800 advice and information; we enjoyed their company, attended their lectures, accompanied them on their travels, and even stayed in Rome in the Institute building, which had some space available there. Thus, among others, the names of Professors E. Petersen, Ch. Hülsen, A. Mau in Rome, W. Dörpfeld and P. Wolters in Athens will
70805 remain in our memory for other reasons than the services these men rendered to science. The narrow-mindedness that characterizes some museum boards in Italy was very striking. Nevertheless, we were kindly granted tickets for free admission to the State Museums; we gratefully remember in particular the truly generous board of the Museum of Naples and the excavations of Pompeii. The way in which the Greek
70810 collections are made available for study is, in a word, exemplary and it is therefore very regrettable that, for example, in Delphi, which was excavated by the école Française, the Greek Museum Board, headed by the well-known general-ephoros P. Kabbadias, cannot yet act with full authority, by virtue of the agreement with France. Understandably, the French stipulated for themselves the right of first
70815 publication of what was found there, but for a very long time, a decade, and with a ban on all foreigners not only from drawing and photographing, but even from making notes. Every visitor is therefore closely followed by a soldier.

We left Leiden on 22 December 1897. From the beginning, the main thing for us was to limit ourselves; we wanted to see what we saw well. That is why we also reserved the longest time for Greece. Italy is relatively easy to reach again. Our visit to
70820 Florence was therefore a preliminary acquaintance; we stayed there for only three days. In Rome, however, we worked for four weeks. Also with a view to our later studies in Greece, a more accurate study of numerous works of art in Roman museums was very desirable. We made certain studies in the Vatican, the Capitoline Museum,
70825 the Conservator's Palace, in the warehouse belonging to the last two institutions and in the so-called Thermenmuseum. The Kircherianum Museum, the palae-ethnological collections and the museum in the villa Papa Giulio were visited more cursorily by us. Of modern art we looked at some of the most famous works by Raphael and
70830 Michelangelo. More deliberately we studied some works of ancient Christian art, among others the St. Clemente and some Catacombs.

One will never learn to understand antiquity without penetrating to some extent into the spirit of later times and in particular that which immediately followed the downfall of ancient civilization is of interest to the antiquarian. Of the Roman
70835 ruins we made a more special study of the Forum, Palatinus and the Colosseum. We visited Tivoli, the villa Hadriana, the via Appia and Latina. Particularly instructive was a journey that we undertook with the German Institute under the leadership of professor Petersen to the Etruscan necropolises of Cervetri (Caere) and Corneto (the ancient Tarquinii). In Cervetri one sees the most remarkable examples of
70840 tomb dwellings hewn in the rocks; the tombs of Corneto are famous for their numerous wall paintings that are still exceptionally well preserved. These fully deserved a careful and complete publication. Etruscan art, as is well known, is to a large extent a reflection of Greek art, and thus the wall paintings of Corneto can give us a good idea of Greek painting techniques in different periods. From Rome we went to
70845 Naples, where we worked for a few days in the great Museum with its sculptures, its vases, its immense collections from Pompeii, especially the wall paintings, which were formerly removed from the walls; nowadays they are more protected on the spot by shelters and wooden sheds. We also stayed for a few days in Pompeii itself. The newly excavated Casanuova attracted our attention in particular. Its wall paintings in
70850 particular are excellently preserved and fortunately heretoo the decorative whole has been left untouched. We especially tried to inform ourselves about the different building methods in the different periods, since this is also one of the things that one can really only learn properly from the monuments themselves. We then travelled
70855 from Pompeii via Castellamare, Sorrento, Capri, Amalfi to Cava through one of the most beautiful regions of Italy. From Cava we visited the temples of Paestum, ancient Hellenic buildings that have been relatively well preserved, so that they are of great importance for our knowledge of Hellenic architecture. On the way it was especially the beautifully situated Amalfi, so important for the history of the
Middle Ages, that attracted our attention.

On February 4, 1898 we went to Brindisi, where we embarked for Greece in the evening.
70860 Stormy weather was the reason that we only arrived in Patras in the evening of the 6th. On the 7th the train took us along the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs to Athens.

That journey in the train that moves very slowly in Greece is already highly interesting.

One immediately gets a deep impression of the peculiar Greek nature with its naked mountains and rocks of different tints and the deep blue sky reflected in the beautiful water surface. From the railway one soon obtains, opposite Lepanto, a view of the terrain of the naval battles of Phormio in the Peloponnesian War and the famous battle of Don Juan of Austria. One passes numerous places well-known from history; especially the location of Megara and its port city of Nisaia can be excellently viewed from the train.

We stayed in Athens for about two months. Almost daily we studied in the National Museum and in that of the Acropolis, simple but excellent facilities. Here are displayed most of the original Greek works of art that the excavations of recent years brought to light. In the Museum of the Acropolis are collected all the objects that were found there, especially during the most recent excavations when it was exposed down to the rocky bottom. The National Museum has, besides its numerous sculptures, an immense collection of funerary reliefs, a collection of vases which is so important for the study because they were almost all found on Greek soil – most of the Greek vases in European museums come from tombs in Italy – and then a completely unique collection of Mycenaean art products. Furthermore, all the important ruins were studied in detail; in several of them we had the opportunity to really to be allowed to listen to the explanations of the architect-archaeologist of the German Institute, Prof. Dörpfeld. At the Parthenon our study was at once facilitated and hampered by a scaffolding that had been erected for necessary repairs on the west facade. This of course spoiled the view of the building on that side, but because the general-ephoros Kabbadias gave us a permit to climb up, the study of the details of the superstructure was greatly facilitated. On the south side of the acropolis we were mainly occupied with the Bacchic theatre that was now completely exposed there. Here it is especially that one can study the great question concerning the arrangement of the ancient Greek theatres and on the basis of what I observed here and later also elsewhere, especially in Epidauros, I do not believe that there can be any reasonable doubt whether Prof. Dörpfeld is completely right with his theory that the Greek theatres had no stage, but that there was playing on the flat floor of the orchestra. On the west side the German excavations in particular attracted our attention. A large water conduit from the time of Pisistratus was discovered there and it can hardly be otherwise than that this must be the famous Enneakrounas, although one cannot agree with all the arguments that Prof. Dörpfeld gives for this. The steep northern slope is now being exposed by the Greek archaeological society. We climbed the narrow paths along the very steep rock face here, where the well-known caves of Pan and Apollo and a covered passage can now be clearly distinguished. That the so-called Temple of Theseus, the city walls and the cemetery of Dipylon, the Pnyx, the Areopagos, the Temple of Zeus east of the Acropolis, the bed of the Ilissos at the place where some (though wrongly) seek the Enneacrounus, the stadium, the monument of Lysicrates, the buildings at the market, such as the stoa of Attalos, – that all this was repeatedly and accurately inspected by us, needs no explanation. We also undertook several trips through the country of Attica. Especially the Piraeus and the bay of Phalero were repeatedly visited. Likewise we went a few times to the beautiful northeastern part of the country, the monastery of Pendeli and the royal pleasure-place Tatoi, the old Dekeleia, known from the Peloponnesian war. Here the fairly high mountains are covered with large forests. The significance that this point at the passage to Boeotia must necessarily have had in a war on Attic territory, is clearly evident here on the spot itself. With a similar purpose we visited Phyle, the citadel to which Thrasybulos retreated in 403; there one still finds the remains of an important Greek fortification and the exceptionally favourable location of this refuge, which even today is not reached without effort along steep mountain paths, makes the entire action of that time completely explicable. In the same way, the terrain of the battle of Salamis was also carefully recorded by us. But we paid special attention to Eleusis. The road from Athens there still runs in approximately the same direction as the old sacred road of the festival-goers, which has been uncovered in one place quite intact. On that road we visited the monastery of Daphni with its remarkable Byzantine painting and further the remains of the old sanctuary of Aphrodite. Once you have passed that, you have come out between the hills and you see the plain with the beautiful Saronic sea in front of you. Eleusis has been completely excavated by the Greek archaeological society under the leadership of the learned ephoros Philios: the objects found have been collected for the most part in a simple museum. With a view to my earlier studies on Eleusis, everything was recorded here repeatedly and as accurately as

possible. I collected important material for further studies.

Outside Attica we visited Olympia for a few days, which, as is known, was excavated by the Germans. Nature here is noticeably different from Attica with its picturesque bareness. The landscape here is extremely lovely. It is a pleasant feeling of calm and peace that takes hold of the mind here in one of the holiest places in the Hellenic world. The entire place is surrounded by beautiful green hills, intersected by the gently rippling Alpheios, in which the clear blue sky is reflected. The casts of the sculptures found there are, as is known, in Leiden; they were therefore very well known to us. Of course, the study of the originals became more fruitful because of this. On the excavated site I now had the good fortune to be able to conduct an investigation into questions that had occupied me for a long time and that can only be determined there. Here too I gathered material for new study.

On April 2nd the Institute trip began under the leadership of Prof. Dörpfeld through the Peloponnese. We were allowed to take part in it. Everywhere the ruins were explained to us by that great connoisseur of ancient architecture. First we visited Corinth. The most important thing that remains of the old city are the ruins of a very old Doric temple; at the moment the American school is trying to bring more to light by excavation. From Corinth we went to the beautifully situated Nauplia to undertake several trips from there. We visited the castle of Tiryns, which was excavated at the time by Dörpfeld himself in collaboration with Schliemann, then Mykenai, where first by Schliemann was excavated later by the Greek archaeological society; We then went to the site of the ancient temple of Hera, not far from Mycenae, where the excavations of the American school have brought a few things to light. The excavations of Epidauros by the Greek archaeological society are of exceptional importance. We also visited them from Nauplia [Nauplia]. The famous theatre there is particularly remarkable, the best preserved Greek theatre that we know of, and one that, like most others, has not undergone reconstructions in Roman times. That is why these ruins are so important for our knowledge of the design of the Greek theatre. There are also remains of the famous temple of Asclepius. Of the other ruins, the enigmatic round building in particular attracted our attention, which was built by a certain Polykleitos and is called thumele in the inscriptions; however, its destination is unknown. The journey then continued via Argos to Tripolitza in Arcadia. From there we visited Mantinea, where the French school has dug successfully and, among other things, almost the entire city wall has come to light; we also paid a short visit to Tegea, which, however, since the famous heads of Skopas were found there, has yielded only things of minor importance from its soil. Both Tegea and Mantinea, however, played an important role in Greek history, so that it is very worthwhile to inform oneself of the peculiarity of their location by one's own observation. From Tripolitza we continued through the beautiful Arcadian alpine country to Megalopolis. The road there leads over steep mountain ridges and along bold rock formations; at a few points a view opens up over the vast green plain below with dark mountains and the shining white snow-capped peaks of Taygetos in the distance. Megalopolis is now a miserable little place, where one is reminded by almost nothing of our European civilization. Five minutes from there lie the rather small remains of the old city. The most interesting here is the theatre excavated by the English school; it was adjoined by a large meeting room, the furnishings of which can still be almost recognized, the so-called Thersileon. Furthermore, Olympia was visited on this journey and I considered it a great advantage to hear these ruins explained by Prof. Dörpfeld; for although the results of the German excavations have been published in an impeccable manner, the personal statements of the man who was present as architect at the greater part of these excavations, always have an extraordinary value, not to mention that Prof. Dörpfeld's lectures are unsurpassed in clarity and vivid presentation.

From Olympia we went to Patras. From there by steamer to the beautiful island of Ithaca, from Ithaca to Itea Delphi's harbour. It is probably situated almost on the site of the old Cirrha. The road to Delphi first leads through a slowly rising plain, covered with olive groves. One sees the Delphic mountain country before one, with the white peak of Parnassos rising above it. On the left one comes along the road that leads to the old Amphissa. Soon, however, one ascends along steep mountain roads; one then passes through the village of Chryso, which probably lies on or near the site of the old Krisa. Then one reaches the village of Kastri, the old Delphi. A village of that name was namely on the site of the old sanctuary. This was demolished by the French school and rebuilt a little further on. The temple area lies on a fairly steep slope, artificially levelled, against the almost vertically rising Phaedriades. It has now been completely excavated. Opposite the large sanctuary lies the temple of Athena Pronoia, of which Aeschylus speaks in the beginning of his Eumenides; when

- 70995 that will be exposed, the French excavations will be at an end. The sun-house of the Castalian spring was quite destroyed at an early date; the water now springs forth elsewhere; yet the spot where it stood, a few paces beyond the great sanctuary, is still very well recognizable.
- 71000 Our company left us very soon; we stayed a few more days. On the site of the excavations one obtains a very clear idea of the entire ground plan of this so extensive sanctuary and as in Olympia the buildings mentioned by Pausanias and others could be found almost. It is a pity that not so much of the upright parts of the buildings has survived. The sculpture that was found and only partly published is of the highest importance for the history of art. Almost intact a charioteer has come to light, of extraordinary artistic value, certainly the most excellently preserved bronze statue from antiquity. In its style of art the work is from around 470 before Christ. Pieces of horses and a chariot and of one or two more human figures have been found with it and a limestone slab with an inscription belonging to a pedestal, which must have been that of this votive offering; the one who dedicated it was, according to the inscription, Polyzalos, brother of the Syracusan tyrant Gelo. This discovery means for the excavations of Delphi what that of the Hermes of Praxiteles meant for those of Olympia. The epigraphic discoveries are also extremely important. It is very much to be desired that all the inscriptions found will soon be published.
- 71005 From Delphi we went to Athens, where we stayed a few more days.
- 71010 From Athens we sailed to Constantinople. There we wanted to study both Museums, especially the new one with its famous Sidonian and Klassomenan sarcophagi. The magnificent Aja Sophia was also carefully inspected. Of course we also tried to form a good idea of the city and its location.
- 71015 We went home via Vienna. On 4 May 1898 we returned to Leiden.
- 71020 With this journey I have more than achieved what I had imagined. I hope and expect that my teaching will prove to have gained much from it and that in general the study of classical antiquity at our university will profit from it. What I brought back in terms of new material for study is not unimportant. I assembled a collection of photographs of about 700 pieces. These carefully arranged and provided with an accompanying description now form an excellent aid for study. Furthermore, I had an important collection of paper prints made of well-known Attic inscriptions; together with the original pieces that the Leiden Museum possesses, these will make it possible from now on to prepare for epigraphic studies in Leiden. It was for this that I used the credit that the Leiden University Fund had the goodness to grant me.
- 71030 For the Leiden Museum of Antiquities I also acquired several remarkable pieces of ancient Greek pottery, through which the important vase collection of that Museum was enriched with specimens of some types that it did not possess until now. As for my further special investigations, I hope to be able to publish the results in professional journals before too long; they concern Eleusis and Olympia in particular. It goes without saying that this is not the place for abstract scientific dissertations. The question of the travels of our future literary men is different. It is of immediate practical importance and I do not hesitate to set out my opinion on it in more detail.
- 71035 Foreign countries have done a great deal for the study of antiquity. The Archaeological Institute, a German State institution since 1874, has existed since 1829. The main administration is now located in Berlin. The oldest department is the Roman one; it probably has the most complete archaeological library in the world. In 1874 an Athenian department was also founded. At the Ecole Française in Rome, archaeological studies recede more into the background. Different from that in Athens, which in April of this year – somewhat late as a result of the Greek-Turkish war – celebrated its 50th anniversary. Founded in 1846, it was not originally an institution deliberately and primarily for archaeological studies, but it became more and more so and now it is the most worthy competitor of the German Institute. The English school in Athens was founded in 1882 from private funds. An association of American universities maintains the American school in Athens and has recently founded one in Rome. At the moment they are just busy founding an Austrian Institute with a main administration in Vienna and branches in Athens, Smyrna and Constantinople.
- 71040 The functioning of these institutions is very different. It is in accordance with the nature of university education in each of these countries. It is for this reason that our young scholars will find it most easy to connect with the German and Austrian Institutes. After all, our university institutions and customs correspond most closely to those of those two countries. The hospitality that those various institutions show to foreigners is very great. The German Institute opens its
- 71055

71060 libraries to students of all nations. Access to the lectures that the secretaries of
the German and Austrian Institutes give in the Museums and among the ruins is
obtained without any significant difficulty. The company that takes part in Prof.
Dörpfeld's famous Institute trips usually consists for a very large part of non-
71065 Germans. The Ecole Française in Athens is also very willing to accept students from
countries that do not have Institutes of their own.

It is a few, not many young French, German, Austrian scholars who are enabled by a
State stipend to study for a considerable period under the guidance of their
Institutes in Italy and Greece. Without exception, they are young men who have
71070 completed a university education and have attracted attention in one way or another.
The German scholarship holders arrange their journey entirely as they wish. Of
course, they usually follow the lectures of the secretaries of the Institute, but
their own independent study is the main thing; however, it goes without saying that
the resources of the Institute and the advice and information of the secretaries also
71075 benefit them in this. In addition to the German Reich scholarships, there are also
those from special states and foundations. Quite a few also travel at their own
expense. In addition to the young graduates, one also encounters several
Gymnasiallehrer on the journey, who have been granted leave for a few months,
sometimes with a scholarship into the bargain. In addition, the scholars associated
71080 with the Institute travel with the Gymnasiallehrer for six weeks through Italy in
museums, ruins and necropolises in order to learn the great main points through their
own observation. Austria also has grants for recently graduated archaeologists and
philologists. Many grants for a shorter period are, however, enjoyed by
Gymnasiallehrer. They also travel under the guidance of one of the Austrian
71085 professors of archaeology; many went with the German Institute through the
Peloponnese. From now on, the new Austrian Institute will have to take care of them.
It is understandable that professional archaeologists have a certain priority in all
these journeys. Yet it is of the utmost importance for every classicist to get to
know Italy and Greece through personal observation. Moreover, where is the boundary
71090 between philology and archaeology? How many archaeological questions are not of the
utmost importance for philological research? It is so understandable that so many
German or French philologists alternate their work in libraries with visits to
museums. Even those journeys that are less aimed at the formation of learned
researchers are of great use. That teachers at grammar schools see much and well
71095 without having a specific subject of study in mind, that their minds are broadened by
a number of powerful impressions, how would it not benefit grammar school education?
Yet it goes without saying that some preparatory archaeological education is
absolutely indispensable even for those who do not travel as a professional. Even
without that, one will be able to follow some of the archaeological lectures, one
71100 loses oneself among the ruins and in the immense museums of Italy and Greece, if one
has not acquired some knowledge of art history and especially if one has not acquired
some practice in viewing antique works of art with judgment and discrimination. It is
therefore a well-known fact that grants are sometimes wasted money and likewise that
Italy and Greece are often visited by so-called students, who hardly benefit from
71105 them as much as a cultured tourist. It is also beyond doubt that travelling with a
false pretence of knowledge can very easily have a pernicious influence. Experience
teaches us how easily such unprepared study leads to imaginary knowledge and
confusion of mind.

It goes without saying that when granting travel grants we should take advantage of
the experience acquired elsewhere. In the first place, one should never send someone
who is not at least somewhat prepared. Furthermore, one should ask oneself what the
purpose of the journey will be. If it is to train a scientific researcher, then a
larger grant should be given than if one wants to enable a good student to enliven
and confirm the knowledge of antiquity that he has acquired at the University by his
71115 own observation. For the latter, a few months, even weeks, are sufficient. Here one
runs the risk to give a grant to one person, from whom several could be helped.
Especially the first, the awarding of a stipend to a future researcher, will give
great difficulties. Well-passed examinations do not give the slightest guarantee of
real study-mindedness and in our system of higher education the examination has
71120 acquired a predominant importance. German stipend holders have often already given
proof of their gifts for independent research by some small writing. It would be best
for our relations if we could do for our preceptors and candidates in literature what
Germany and Austria do for their Gymnasiallehrer. They should be allowed to make
archaeological excursions of a few weeks to Italy under the guidance of a
71125 professional; the British Museum could also be visited in this way. Every good

- student could qualify for such trips. The more highly gifted would receive a powerful stimulus for their own study by such a journey, and by hard work, for instance by a dissertation, they would be able to show who they were. For these, after all always relatively few, the necessary money for a scientific journey in the strict sense
- 71130 could of course be collected without great difficulty. Not only archaeologists and epigraphicists, but also philologists should be sent, but the latter would then be excellently prepared for their archaeological studies. Such travellers would naturally find sufficient help and information at the existing écoles and Institutes. The matter of scientific travel is of the utmost importance, and it is fortunate that
- 71135 this is increasingly being recognised. Just as in our trade, in our science we are all too inclined to sit at home. It would be of the utmost importance for our entire national culture if our higher education came under the influence of men with far-reaching vision, completely beyond a certain circle. Not least in art and science, a country like ours can be great according to the royal word. Our ancient fame in
- 71140 classical studies still supports us vis-à-vis foreign countries; however, we have fallen behind because we did not understand the significance of what was done outside our borders. The tendency is increasing to see our grammar schools as vocational schools and our entire education is considered far too exclusively as a means for the individual to seize one or other more or less profitable position in his own
- 71145 interest. People forget that a healthy idealism is a life force for an entire nation, which also steels it in the struggle for its material interests. Our schools must inspire our people to something good and great, and in our grammar schools those men in particular should be formed who in the whole of society have to set the tone in matters of higher spiritual culture. How much greater power could emanate from our
- 71150 teachers at grammar schools if very many had completed their education through a journey made fruitful with judgment, and if a few had been able to develop themselves carefree as independent scholars for a considerable time. For the elevation of the people, the sciences of aesthetics and the history of civilization have a very high significance.
- 71155 I thank the Government for making it possible for me to fulfill my important life's task more worthy.
With respect and esteem
Leiden, Your Excellency obedient servant,
October 1898. A.E.J. Holwerda.
- 71160 <http://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=mededeelingen+van+verschillenden+aard+verslag+griekenland&coll=ddd&page=3&sortfield=date&identifier=MMKB08%3A000172604%3Ampg21%3Aa0007&resultsidentifier=MMKB08%3A000172604%3Ampg21%3Aa0007>
- 71165 Trip to Italy and Greece
December 22, 1897 departure from Leiden
visit Florence 3 days, Rome 4 weeks
February 4, 1898 Brindisi
- 71170 February 7, 1898 Athens
2 months Athens, visit Attica, Eleusis, Olympia
April 2, 1898 Peloponnese
visit Corinth, Nauplia, Epidaurus
Ithaca, Delphi
- 71175 Athens, Constantinople
May 4 1898 via Vienna, arrival in Leiden
- 4 December 1898 **ARTS AND SCIENCES.**
Scientific journey of Dr. Holwerda.
- 71180 Today's St.-Ct. contains the report of Dr. A.E.J. Holwerda, concerning the scientific journey which he, enabled by the Government, made to Italy and Greece, in the company of his son, the doctorandus in classical literature J.H. Holwerda, who was enabled to accompany him by a subsidy from the Van Vollenhoven fund.
As for the result of his journey, the writer says:
- 71185 With this journey I have more than achieved what I had imagined. I hope and expect that my education will prove to have gained much from it and that in the common the study of classical antiquity at our university will benefit from it. Already what I brought back in new material for study is not unimportant. I assembled a collection of photographs of about 700 pieces. These carefully arranged and provided with an
- 71190 accompanying description, now form an excellent aid for study. Furthermore I had an important collection of paper prints made of well-known Attic inscriptions; together

with the original pieces that the Leiden Museum possesses, these will make it possible from now on to prepare for epigraphic studies in Leiden. It was for this that I used the credit that the Leiden University Fund had the goodness to grant me. For the Leiden Museum of Antiquities I also acquired several remarkable pieces of ancient Greek pottery, through which the important vase collection of the Museum was enriched with specimens of some types that it did not possess until now. As for my further special investigations, I hope to be able to publish the results in professional journals in the not too distant future; they concern Eleusis and Olympia in particular. It goes without saying that this is not the place for abstract scientific dissertations.

October 20, 1885 The Guide Cypriot Art.

The Old Cypriots in Art and Culture. Studies by Dr. A.E.J. Holwerda. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1885.

In a country where, among civilized people, every object adorned with acanthus leaves is still considered Greek in style, but the most unmistakably Attic vases remain Etruscan, where, in matters of archaeology, Schliemann is considered preeminent for the researcher and Overbeck for the scholar, and where the legislative body argues that, since a Limburg brewer has contributed so much to the dissemination of knowledge about the art and customs of antiquity, it is unnecessary for the state to do the most necessary; In a country, in short, that in this respect lags behind neighbors and foreigners, Germans and Austrians, French and English, Russians and Americans, Italians and Greeks, yes, Poles and Turks, by half a century, it is a gratifying phenomenon, a bold act on the part of the author and publisher, even if it is in a foreign language, to send out a booklet exclusively dealing with a remote corner of the vast field of Greek art, which almost every year offers new fields for exploration.

The booklet that prompted this outburst, which I trust the few practitioners of Greek art in our country will not notice, as if it were not aimed at them, is by Dr. A.E.J. Holwerda, equally familiar to the readers of the Gids and those of the Archaeologische Zeitung. Yet, this work is, in a sense, a first, for the treatise in the latter journal, on the games at Olympia, did not, by its very nature, delve into reflections on art, and the articles in the Gids are intended for too broad a readership for the author to claim scholarly significance. Mr. Holwerda addresses complex issues of style and theology in detail, addressing not exclusively colleagues, but nevertheless scholars. Nevertheless, I gladly accept the Gids editors' invitation and venture to draw the reader's attention to the contents of at least part of this research, for the role Cyprus played in the competition between Eastern and Western civilization guarantees us in advance a blend of European and Asian influences in everything it produces, to which the proximity of Egypt can only add even greater significance. From the time of Cinyras, the Phoenician king of Cyprus, who, according to Homer, showed his interest in Agamemnon's expedition to Troy by presenting him with armor, and, according to later tradition, withdrew from promised aid by sending small baked earthen boats and soldiers, a Cypriot commodity still found in tombs; and from the times of Sargon (722-705), Esarhaddon (682-668), and Ashurbanipal (668-626), when Greek princes on Cyprus were already tributary to Assyria, until Alexander opened the entire world to the Greeks, Cyprus has rarely taken a significant part in armed conflict, but has contributed all the more to the spread of religious forms or morality and the arts of peace. And no wonder, a land rich in copper and precious stones, so fertile that it could be compared to Egypt, with such a diversity of riches that it could build and equip a ship from its own materials and products, a land where Greeks and Phoenicians lived side by side for centuries, offered a unique breeding ground for young plants of foreign origin. For although we can unfortunately too rarely prove that the road leads through Cyprus, there are, as Mr. Holwerda's booklet will again demonstrate, phenomena to be observed that leave us no other choice. But the warm air of the greenhouse that develops the seed would cause the tree to wither. Moreover, all the seed sown did not bear equal fruit, no matter how luxuriantly the plant sprouted. Thus, the Cypriot Greeks possessed an alphabet much earlier than their brethren, much like the Japanese, derived from the Chinese, and from Hittite hieroglyphs. But Greece adopted the Phoenician letters and left them in use throughout history. The founder of the Stoic school, Zenon, also grew up in Cyprus. Of Phoenician descent and gifted with Semitic tendencies, he united the lessons of the Greek philosophers into a morality that still exerts its influence, and which lacked only legend and form to become a religion.

Mr. Holwerda's work contains, besides 60 printed pages, 7 lithographic plates based

on other editions and a fairly good photolithograph of two unpublished baked clay figurines from the British Museum, almost all of which serve to illustrate comparison of the second chapter on art, which deserves the lion's share not only in this respect. The first chapter is preceded by a brief description of the two places where the largest number of Cypriot works of art were found, by Hamilton Lang or Louis Palma di Cesnola: Dali (Idalium) and Atheniau (Golgi). Mr. Holwerda believes that these small, walled places, with so many statues, probably dedicated to various gods, were merely sacred gardens, τὸμῶν, in the great τὸμῶς of Aphrodite, where the Christians gathered and buried the useless statues of the pagans. Useless, I add, because if there was any marble, it probably disappeared in the lime kiln, and the bronze, which could not possibly have been missing, was certainly melted. The discovered sculptures are almost without exception made of limestone, a material too easy to work and not sufficiently resistant to the effects of wind and weather. Before we proceed to the discussion of these sculptures, however, it should be noted that in his second chapter, the author first discusses Cypriot vases, places particular emphasis on the makers' adherence to ancient forms and figures, and briefly mentions the crudest terracottas. However, we dare not follow his lead at this point, for since his book was written, the excavation at Naukratis has promised so much new light on precisely these aspects of Cypriot art that, given the brief descriptions published thus far, it would be premature to form a judgment. It is difficult, indeed impossible, to convey in a brief overview both the current view of Cypriot art and that which Mr. Holwerda attempts to introduce, to present his arguments, and, where necessary, to refute them, especially when the difference of opinion, as is often the case, rests on differing appreciations of minor details but stems from differing convictions regarding principles. We will therefore have to confine ourselves to pointing out this difference in conviction and then present our account of the development of Cypriot art, as much as possible using the author's perspective.

Firstly, we believe we should attach more weight than Mr. Holwerda to the history of Cyprus itself in developing that of art. For example, when we encounter a Cypriot ruler in semi-Egyptian attire, it is not indifferent to us to know when Cyprus was conquered by Egypt and how long it remained dependent.

That Mr. Holwerda takes less interest in this can be explained by the second point of contention. We read on pg. 26: "Even the Cypriot kings, for example, have as little of a Shenti as the Phoenicians. All Egyptian robes, crosses, Shentis, and the like are also quite superimposed objects in Cypriot art." We cannot possibly agree with these words, for just as it is natural that Egyptian depictions were imitated with more or less fidelity on Phoenician bronze vessels, perhaps even on Cypriot ones, to supply a sought-after commodity for domestic or foreign trade, it is equally improbable that a ruler would have consecrated his statue of the deity in foreign garments that he did not wear. And these garments are not even purely Egyptian, but, by covering the entire upper body, made suitable for a more northern climate. Does it need further explanation that the Cypriot vassal of the Egyptian was quick to imitate his liege lord's attire, especially when it also indicated his rank and dignity? If we see a king of Holland in a uniform differing only in color from the French, then we can already infer his dependence on the Emperor. If, on the other hand, we find a priest with a Semitic profile, we do not think of an Assyrian style but rather recognize one of those Phoenicians who inhabited a large part of Cyprus.

The third point is no less important. There is something in all art, something called style, that betrays itself to the trained eye at first glance, yet which cannot be expressed in words and can only be made known through images or by comparison with nearly similar art. It is true that small details often influence this impression, and that is precisely the easiest way to name style, but a list of all its peculiarities does not provide style, even if one sometimes makes do. Mr. Holwerda, too, is aware of the difference or similarity in style, but he fears attaching too much importance to it and warns himself and us against general impressions, determining the degree of dependence of an art on others solely by considering minor details.

There are many crudely crafted Cypriot dolls, very long and very narrow, flat at the back, Mr. Holwerda considers them the oldest works of Cypriot sculpture, yet neither free from foreign influence. For some, the possibility of this is undeniable, but it seems likely to me that we are almost always dealing with work no older than the statues we possess, but of the very slightest kind. The resemblance is too great. Of the larger statues, those that appear to be the oldest exhibit some peculiarities that, since their excavation, have led them to be called Assyrian in style. But Mr. Holwerda again clearly demonstrates this: there are only a few points of similarity

here, among which the spirals that imitate the curls of hair and beard occupy a prominent place.

Therefore, however, these beards are not Assyrian beards, and these statues even less so Assyrian statues, but they bear their own unmistakable character, which brings them closer to other ancient Greek art, primarily to Ionian art. Mr. Holwerda attributes these similarities, amidst such great diversity, between Assyrian and Cypriot art to a superficial oversight, and is therefore forced to place these sculptures in the period of Nineveh's heyday. I cannot share this conviction, but prefer to adhere to the assumption that another art served as a mediator.

The author rightly disputes that this art, as one might wish, could be found in Phoenicia, but the vast plains of Syria, which separate Nineveh from Cyprus, have been explored almost as little as the mountains of Cilicia, and we possess almost nothing of the art of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

The peculiar depiction of the folds of the cloaks, for example, most closely resembles that of some Hittite sculptures on the rocks of Cappadocia. The resemblance to the oldest Greek art, which is evident not only in the hair and beard and in the facial features, but especially in the depiction of those features—the narrow, drawn lips, the strong cheekbones, the sharp corners of the eyes, the broken line of the upper eyelid, and the high eyebrows—seems to me to be greater than Mr. Holwerda believes. Nevertheless, it is an interesting observation that this oldest Greek art was learned more by the Cyprians than the other way around. This cannot yet be proven, and the reason the author offers—the similarity in the application of curls on the forehead—seems insufficient to me, as this occurs too frequently in the oldest Greek sculptures and painted vases to owe its origin to anything other than a faithful imitation of nature. He could just as justifiably cite the resemblance in the shape of the beard, which in both cases is a kind of ring beard, as the upper and lower lips are shaven, precisely in that respect they differ from Assyrian custom. While Greek statues dating from the sixth century remain extremely rare, there seems to be no objection to classifying many Cypriot ones at the beginning of that century, perhaps even a little earlier. These wear long beards, while the Greeks' are short. Gradually, the beard also becomes shorter in Cyprus, apparently around the middle of the sixth century, when Cyprus comes under Egyptian rule (560-525) and the Egyptian uniform is worn. Soon, beardless men also appear, who also wear the Egyptian hairdo of the Saite Empire, and who, unlike earlier Assyrian art, recall Egyptian examples more through the general impression of body shape and the position of the head and limbs, than through details of workmanship. It seems that Naukratis also played a role in this. But by the beginning of the fifth century, Greek art had completely outgrown and grown beyond the reach of the Cypriots, and after the Persian Wars, its influence was felt there as well, albeit moderately, for the Cypriot disposition seems not to permit him to take a higher flight, and he remained at the position he had once attained. The new direction is most noticeable in the treatment of robes. It is also noteworthy that the Cyprians, like the Greeks, perhaps both under Persian influence, now grew full beards. Perhaps religious reasons also contributed to the adherence to the forms once adopted, but it is certain that a large portion of the discovered sculptures, which seem old to the untrained observer, are from later periods, even later than Mr. Holwerda assumes, who argues that Cypriot art gave way to Hellenistic art in the fourth century; the last traces, after all, can still be found in a sculpture that clearly dates from Roman times. In the palaces of princes such as Euagoras and Nicocles, no more than later at the court in Alexandria, Greek masterpieces will be found and have been lacking, and remnants of Hellenistic art are also found, but just as in Ptolemaic Egypt, sacred art in Cyprus preserved its indigenous features and produced images very peculiar in appearance, yet a forbidding example for all art that seeks to perpetuate or revive outdated forms.

In the third chapter, Mr. Holwerda discusses a bronze bowl found in Idalium, of Cypriot make, depicting a sacrifice to Aphrodite with song and dance. He connects this depiction with the ancient custom of dedicating statues or entire groups of statues in sacrificial poses as a lasting reminder of the sacrifice, or rather as a perpetual offering.

With no less wealth of examples, the author argues in the following chapter that the statues of the victors in the games, and those of consecrated priests, were also donated to the deity for the same reason. It is only with hesitation that I proceed to mention the final chapter, in which Mr. Holwerda attempts to demonstrate that although the Aphrodite we know is the Semitic Astarte, who came to Greece as Cypris via Cyprus, she was nevertheless identified there with an Indo-European cloud goddess, whom she has so displaced that we only find traces of the ancient tradition here and there. Anyone wishing to see this proposition further elucidated should read

- 71390 Mr. Holwerda's booklet; I readily admit that I do not consider myself capable of judging this point; after all, everything depends on the greater or lesser value one attaches to one tradition or another and on the credence given to the assertions of Philo Byblius, for example, or to the arguments of Kuhn. I cannot resist one observation, however: it seems to me almost as dangerous to use the legends of Thebes, the city of Phoenician tradition par excellence, as a source for Indo-European theology as to attempt to draw folklore from the tragedians.
- 71395 However this may be, and however much the author in the second chapter—the most important, as I said—seems to have failed to prove that in the building, erected by others from existing ruins, the cornice has become the foundation and the column shafts are upside down, he has nevertheless likely here and there reduced a pretended metope to a fragment of the frieze, or assigned what was considered an acroterium its place in the facade, and in any case, raised an important question: THE PROBABLE DEPENDENCE OF THE OLDEST GREEK ART ON CYPRUS. J. SIX
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- 71405 See http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_gid001188601_01/_gid001188601_01_0028.php
Regarding education, see http://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/view?identificatie=3A1714002%3Ampg21%3A0232&query=holwerda&coll=dt&page=1&sortfield=date&facets%5Bperiode%5D%5B%5D=1%7C19e_eeuw%7C1890-1899%7C&maxperpage=50
- 71410 April 4, 1878 The Mayor and Aldermen of Leiden announce a vacancy for the position of teacher of history and geography at the municipal institutions for Higher and Middle School. education recommended: A. E. J. Holwerda, doctoral student in letters, teacher at H. B. school in Schiedam, and this on an annual salary of f2,200.
- 71415 May 3, 1878 Utrecht, May 1. Heden has been promoted to Doctor of Letters Mr A. E. J. Holwerda, from Gorinchem, after defending a dissertation. {Specimen literarum continens disputationem de dispositione verborum in lingua Graeca, in lingua Latina et apud Plutarchum, cui accedunt commentarioli ad libros de Iside et Osiride et de Genio Socratis}
- 71420 see <https://archive.org/details/specimenliterari00holw>
- January 1, 1881 The Guide Olympia.
Ausgrabungen zu Olympia von E. Curtius u.a. I-IV. Berlin, Wasmuth.
Archaeologische Zeitung, Year 1875-80.
- 71425 I.
In Pausanias, a writer from the first half of the second century AD, from whom we possess a travelogue of Greece, we read, among other things, the following story. Timanthes of Kleonae had been a famous champion fighter and victor in the Olympic games in his youth. As he grew older, he no longer competed in the wrestling arena, but, still eager to test his strength, he drew a large bow every day. After some time, he went on a journey, and naturally, these daily exercises were neglected. Returning home, however, he immediately picked up his bow again, but no matter what he did, he could not pull the string. This was too much for him; he built himself a funeral pyre; life no longer held any value for him. Such stories—true or fictional—clearly show us the important place the wrestling arena occupied in the life of the Hellenic people. Wherever Greeks lived, from Sicily to the Black Sea, there were hippodromes and schools for physical exercise, and they were free Hellenes, who, in their fresh zest for life, felt the need to measure their strength against one another, and to strive to prepare for a public contest; the respectable Roman, accustomed to the games of the gladiators, later wondered why such performances were also considered appropriate for a free citizen. For the Greek, however, the race and wrestling were something more than public entertainment. The great games, at least, also called "sacred"—those of Olympia, Nemea, those of the Pythian Apollo, and those of the Isthmus of Corinth—were therefore not so much an addition—a kind of relaxation after the seriousness—to the other ceremonies of the religious festival to which they belonged, but rather a coherent whole, and a part of the worship of God itself. It was under the gaze of the immortal Gods that the Greek strove for the highest goal of life in these contests and sought to unfold the glories of human existence—beauty, wealth, and strength—in their full splendor.
- 71430 He himself, with his deep sense of what distinguished him from the barbarians, was well aware of how much was unique in his public games. He believes he perceives this particularly Hellenic character in two particular instances. When the Persian army had penetrated Thermopylae and the torch of war was drawing ever closer to Greece proper, a few Arcadian deserters came to the Persians—as Herodotus tells us. [This sentence appears to be incomplete and should be omitted.] Brought before the king,
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these men replied, in response to the question: "What were the Hellenes doing at that moment?", that they were holding their contests at Olympia, and in response to a second question: "What was the contest prize?", that they were competing for a crown of olive leaves. Then Tritantaichmes, one of the king's most moderate counselors, said to Mardonius, the principal organizer of the war: "Against whom, Mardonius, have you led us to war? Men who hold a contest not for money but for masculine virtue!"

Here the Greek folktale strikingly puts the appreciation of a characteristic Greek folk custom in the mouth of the Asian. Another peculiarity of Greek folklore is pointed out to us in plain terms by the second great historian of Greece, Thucydides. He tells us that in the early days, the champions at Olympia wore a girdle around their hips, but that after a few years all clothing was abolished during the contest. "There are also," Thucydides continues, "barbarians, especially the Asiatics, who set prizes for boxing and wrestling, and they also use a belt for this." The complete nakedness of the fighters was therefore also something truly Hellenic. Thus, we are already led by the Hellenes themselves to seek the uniqueness of their national character primarily in their national games, and when the same Thucydides follows up the quoted words with this observation that "there are also many other things in which, as one could demonstrate, the way of life of the earlier Hellenes was in harmony with that of the barbarians of his own time," it is also a Hellene who points out to us that here too, the uniquely Hellenic character gradually emerged, as it were, from a background of originally greater similarity with the barbarians, and that, therefore, if we wish to understand it in its true meaning, we can do no better than consult history. The first part of this essay is devoted to following up on this suggestion.

On both sides of the Aegean Sea, in Greece and western Asia Minor, various Indo-Germanic tribes have lived since ancient times, most of whom we can, without being too inaccurate, group under the Greek name of Pelasgians. These Pelasgians could be called the raw material from which the various Hellenic peoples formed, as if by secession, and it was the same barbarians from whom they would later distinguish themselves so much who, at least for most of them, gave the initial impetus. Through intercourse with Eastern peoples, the Asia Minor tribes were the first to be elevated to higher civilization; as we hear mention of very early on Egyptian monuments by Jonians. Subsequently, through that same contact with the East, and to an even greater extent through the colonization of the already more advanced relatives from Asia Minor, the Pelasgians of the islands and Europe were shaken from their slumber. There, too, one hears mention of Ionians, but equally of Aeolians and Achaeans; these are the names of Pelasgian tribes that had risen to a higher civilization. This elevation of Pelasgians to Ionians, Aeolians, or Achaeans will likely have occurred in approximately the following way: a small core of more civilized people—foreign colonists or natives, who, through intercourse with foreigners, had become more highly developed — living in a Pelasgian land, mostly on the coast, gradually expanded in all directions, and more and more Pelasgians, with or without force, were won over to the new situation.

However, the development of true Hellenism did not originate primarily with the Ionians, Achaeans, or Aeolians. It was, to a greater extent, the work of another tribe, the Dorians, who originally lived in the mountains of southern Thessaly and certainly felt the influence of foreign civilization much less in earlier times. Thus, these Dorians provide us with proof that when one speaks of the elevation of a tribe to higher development, in addition to external influences, certain internal forces are also at work, which we cannot explain further than by calling them, for example, "original disposition." One might even argue that the Dorians became the predecessors of the Hellenes precisely because their lesser contact with the East made it easier for them to preserve that original disposition in all its purity. Thucydides' statement that Hellenes and barbarians were homogeneous from ancient times is therefore only true insofar as their dissimilarity only emerged in clear outlines over time.

These Dorians changed their residence several times; Thessaly was in a period of turmoil: the various tribes displaced one another. The Dorians, who first lived in the south of the country, are later found entirely in the north, then again in the south, until finally, driven by a desire for illustrious deeds, they penetrated through the mountains of Thessaly into Central Greece and settled there not far from Mount Parnassus.

Already here they gave great proof of their sense of organization. The various Greek tribes, although constantly warring among themselves in ancient times, could not, in

the long run, close their eyes to what they had in common as tribal brothers. Early on, we see peoples living in each other's neighborhood uniting to care for a common sanctuary: one people, one God. Nevertheless, they continued to fight each other even afterward, but the groundwork for a more peaceful situation had been laid. The Dorians took a major step forward in this direction. It was likely under their influence that three such unions united into one large one, the Amphictiony of Delphi, so that from then on, numerous peoples, from northern Thessaly to the Gulf of Corinth, found their religious and more or less also their political center in the temple of Delphi on Parnassus. But Central Greece ultimately offered the Dorians neither the lands they needed nor a sufficiently large field for their exploits. Their eyes had long been fixed on the Peloponnese, the southern peninsula of Greece. There, on the eastern and northern coasts, lived a fairly large Ionian population, who, long associated with the East, not only practiced agriculture but also traded and had even made some progress in arts and crafts. While on the western coast, Aeolian and Achaean colonies had penetrated only very slightly into the Pelasgian interior. In the Ionian territory, here and there, formidable fortresses were found, with walls as thick as 25 feet, constructed of colossal boulders hewn from the mountains. One of these citadels, the one at Mycenae, had an entrance formed by two parallel walls, 50 feet long, at the end of which was a gate, 15 feet wide, above which were carved stone statues of two lions, facing each other, presumably the heraldic emblem of a renowned heroic family. The Achaean rulers lived in these citadels, for Achaean colonists had settled among the Ionians in the Peloponnese and gradually acquired power there. The rulers of the Peloponnese were called Achaeans, and although some of them were not originally Achaean families, this did not prevent the name from being extended to all. A certain connection existed between the Achaean families—there were also some outside the Peloponnese; How much did the later legend recount of Agamemnon of the Atreidae family, the lord of Mycenae, who led so many Achaeans against mighty Troy? Yet it is understandable that no communal bond was strong enough to ultimately restrain the wild passions of a savage knightly aristocracy. People plundered each other's herds and slaves; numerous feuds divided the various families from generation to generation. No trace of a struggle over anything one might call a political or religious issue! Conditions were not entirely dissimilar to those of Europe in the first century.

In the time of the feudal system; even in Achaean Greece, despite the disagreements between great and small lords, a regular social situation and generally recognized authority were impossible. Very little evidence remains of later Hellenic republicanism. While the princes and prominent Achaeans were exhorted to their duty "with friendly words," the vast mass of the lower ranks, driven by the royal rod, had to endure the scornful rebuke that they were "unfightable and cowardly men, of no account in either war or council, who had only to listen to what others, far more excellent than themselves, had to say." It certainly meant something that they were at least admitted to meetings with the princes. Yet, that vast throng merely formed the dark background against which the heroic figures of the princes could be more clearly defined. What in this Achaean civilization—which we can form a fairly clear picture of through Homer and the ruins of Mycenae—is particularly reminiscent of later times, for example, is that need for splendor, which already testifies to a certain extent to a developed sense of beauty, and also that apparent predilection for holding contests, in which kings and nobles tried to win the prize—a cauldron, a tripod, a horse, an ox, or a slave—not only in horse races, but also by wrestling and throwing discus or javelin. Such were the social conditions in the land where, more than a thousand years before Christ, the Dorians emerged as conquerors. The fame of the Achaean rulers had also penetrated the valleys of Parnassus, and the powerful sons of the mountains, who felt no need of fortresses as a defense, felt drawn to such a camp. Accompanied by many Aetolian warriors, their western neighbors, and led by the descendants of their tribal hero Heracles, the majority—the rest remaining at their old homes—crossed the Gulf of Corinth where it narrows most, carved their way through the still predominantly Pelasgian inland, and, heading straight for their goal, attacked the illustrious descendants of Atreus in their formidable citadels in the south and east of the peninsula. A stubborn struggle ensued. With incredible effort, they succeeded in gaining a foothold at a few points, from which it would later be possible to penetrate further into the country. Ultimately, they acquired a sufficiently dominant position among the Peloponnesian peoples, from which they established a higher order of things and a more ideal view of life among the Achaeans and later far beyond. The question becomes: who were the Dorians to be capable of such a task? And we will

attempt to form as clear a picture as possible of the peculiarities of their
 71590 spiritual life. That these peculiarities were already present in their main features
 when they set foot on Peloponnesian soil is beyond doubt; yet it is utterly
 impossible here to draw even an approximate boundary between what was present earlier
 and what developed later. We must, therefore, more or less step outside the
 71595 historical order and describe and explain the Dorian peculiarities in the fuller
 scope and with the colors of a later period.
 The higher life of a people often begins with conquest. It then feels powerful and
 great, and cannot remain inactive. How could strength and greatness exist without
 others having to bow to it? Base passions can still play a major role in the warrior,
 but above all, he wants to conquer for the sake of conquering. Self-esteem rises to
 71600 astonishing heights, yet one also carries within oneself a world of social,
 political, or religious order, through which one feels that one, as a people,
 matters. Most so-called world empires are, to a greater or lesser extent, new
 organizations, and the conqueror often, even where he does not originally intend it,
 nevertheless ingrains the peculiarities of his national existence in the land of the
 71605 conquered.
 Such conquests were those of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Persians; such were also
 those of the Dorian tribe. Yet, although the general fundamental character is the
 same, it is precisely here that the uniquely Hellenic element begins to reveal
 itself. Egyptians, Assyrians, and Persians exalted themselves in the one ruler who
 71610 had placed himself at their head; they identified themselves with his glory,
 reverently awaiting the wealth and splendor that would descend upon them from his
 hands. It was quite different with the Dorians; there everything is on a much smaller
 scale, but there the individual also comes much more into the picture.
 71615 in the foreground. The elevation of the Dorian tribe was simultaneously an elevation
 for each individual Dorian; the nation's ideal of life, at the same time the ideal of
 life for its members: as a human being, too, the Dorian's highest purpose in life was
 to be strong and to make his strength felt by others; in the consciousness of having
 conquered, he also found his highest satisfaction as a human being. If he called
 71620 himself the man in his imagination—a more ideal conception of life for a woman was
 almost unthinkable here—the man as he truly had to be, then it was the warrior; as
 "nailed to the ground," the Dorian had to remain standing amidst his enemies, "teeth
 clenched on his lips, drilling the mighty spear," "never deviating from the javelins
 of his enemies"; Or else he had to leap upon the enemy with sword in hand, 'placing
 71625 his foot beside the enemy's foot,' 'pushing the shield against the enemy's shield,'
 'the helmet toward the enemy's helmet,' 'chest to chest.' One senses how strongly, in
 this representation of the paragon of humanity, that sense of beauty, the most
 inalienable heritage of the Hellenic race, could assert itself. The warrior, who
 unwaveringly brandishes his spear amidst his enemies, is undeniably a figure that
 71630 appeals to the imagination; he can stand in a pose full of dramatic power, with every
 muscle in his body, as it were, working toward the one great goal. The Dorian went
 even further. "Deformed," he said, "it was that an old man lay before the young men
 among the champions, with a gray head and a white beard, breathing out his brave
 breath, holding his bloodied limbs in his hands, his body bare"; the youth, on the
 71635 other hand, is in good health, "as long as he still enjoys the glorious blossoms of
 youth, he is delightful to look upon for men, lovely to women, both when he is alive
 and when he falls in the midst of his enemies in all his splendor." It becomes
 understandable why the Greek could later tolerate no clothing, however named, in the
 wrestling arena. One senses something of that unspeakable pleasure with which he
 71640 could delight in the sight of beauty and youth. Male virtue was not only something
 excellent, it was also something beautiful; "Beautiful and good" remained the great
 precept of Hellenic morality, even in a time when the concept of moral good had a
 much broader scope than originally held by the Dorian.
 And the reward of victory? One demands for oneself a good field and civil prosperity,
 71645 one dreads being prey to necessity, one desires a respected position, which is
 impossible without a certain degree of prosperity; here too, the influence of the
 principle of beauty manifests itself: misery, which nevertheless manifests itself
 externally, "brings shame to the glorious human form"; but however much one therefore
 did not disdain the material advantage that a victory could bring in many cases,
 71650 greed is by no means the true driving force for the struggle. People desired, first
 and foremost, the bliss of victory for its own sake, and as the highest reward,
 should one fall in battle, the assurance that the fame of the brave would live on for
 posterity, and, should one survive, the honor one acquires from young and old, that
 one "shines among one's fellow citizens," that even "elders make room in gatherings."

71655 Thus, the Dorian, in his quest for glory, remained truly human, and the fear of the
excessive—a characteristic consequence of the Greek sense of beauty—is also evident
here. If, for example, the Egyptian kings readily allow themselves to be called God,
one should not forget that such a conception is quite compatible with the theological
71660 concepts of the Egyptians, yet it nevertheless entails a self-aggrandizement, the
danger of which the Greek could easily demonstrate through numerous examples from his
fable: the gods punish the mortal who seeks to equate himself with them. It is
therefore natural that, where victory is presented as the result of the cooperation
of many, the sense of triumph must be lower than where the efforts of thousands are
71665 absorbed by that of one person. That Ramesses the Great performed miracles of bravery
in the Battle of Kodesh, while many Egyptians, on the other hand, behaved cowardly,
no one doubts; that he achieved victory all by himself—as we are assured on the
pylons of Karnak—and defeated "hundreds of thousands" is something no one will take
literally.

But although the Dorian was a born republican, although his kings were probably
71670 little more than Germanic dukes, although every Dorian warrior demanded a great deal
of respect for himself, yet he felt no danger of falling into the trap of his
Germanic brethren, for whom, as is well known, a love of freedom and respect for
personal independence all too often resulted in a certain impotence in political
organization. How could this also be the case among the Dorians, the people who, more
71675 than 1,100 years before Christ, established the Amphictionia of Delphi? A people
whose legends recounted a king, Aegimidius, who, even in the distant past, gave his
tribe firm orders? A people, ultimately, where, as we have noted, the aspirations of
individual individuals so completely harmonized with those of the entire nation. For
71680 them, the state was a union of harmoniously cooperating members, and the widely
renowned Dorian Eunomia ("good legal regulation")—"the Eunomia, the sister," as the
poet later sang, "of Right, the solid foundation of states, and also the sister of
peace, all three creators of wealth, and glorious children of well-advised Justice"—
this Dorian Eunomia was the guardian of this harmonious cooperation.

Such was the Dorian, or rather, such was his nature increasingly over time. One
71685 senses how much further removed he was from the Asiatics than the Achaeans. True,
instead of the single, unimpeded monarch, the latter had a fairly numerous feudal
nobility, whose heroic figures stood side by side as equals, but even so, he was
still very far removed from the Dorian conception of struggle as the ideal life goal
for every warrior, from Dorian republicanism and Dorian Eunomia. No wonder,
71690 therefore, that the triumph of these principles in the not yet even universally
Achaean Peloponnese was achieved only gradually. Relatively soon, the Dorians founded
several states: Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, Argos in the Ionian eastern half of the
Peloponnese, Laconia in the south, Messenia in the southwest, while in western Elis
the Aetolians settled. After that, another period of relative stagnation followed. In
71695 Messenia, the Dorian seeds were all but suffocated: the Dorians there almost
disappeared beneath the large, still half-and-half Pelasgian, population. In the
eastern Ionian lands, they faced an already relatively highly developed civilization,
which, while lacking the ideal fundamental character of their own, nevertheless found
itself disregarded by the Dorians in its most just demands. The efforts of these
71700 Ionians were focused on trade and industry, their civilization largely the result of
their need for material prosperity. The Dorian, averse to all commerce, was unable to
recognize the right to material development, and therefore also unable to control
that Ionian life. The Eurotas situation was especially dire. There, in Laconia, the
Dorian colony was too strong to be relegated to a more modest position, not strong
71705 enough to dominate. A state of constant conflict between the old and new inhabitants
of the land resulted. A truly regular state did not yet exist.

It seemed that Dorian idealism would perish without a trace; it remained questionable
whether a true Hellenism would ever rise against the barbarian world. It was then
that the great legislator Lycurgus appeared among the Spartans, the Dorians of
71710 Eurotas. Through wise laws, he brought the old and the new population into a peaceful
relationship with each other; he ensured order and tranquility, the Dorian Eunomia.
Strict regulations were established to ensure that the Dorians maintained and
developed their unique characteristics: preparation for war became a lifelong task,
71715 the desire for enrichment was excluded by the ban on trade, each was allocated a
sufficient field, but no more than that; each Dorian was given a position worthy of a
freeman before the kings and other heads of state.

Thus, Laconia became Dorian for good, and they felt called upon to bravely enter the
fray, in order to ensure the Dorian spirit prevailed beyond the borders. Messenia,
the land that had become half-Pelasgian again, was reconquered; Spartan warriors, for
71720 whom there were no fields at home, were given them in Messenia. While the resulting

tremendous tensions deeply shook their own household, the Dorians sought strength in their own principles. As a result of the Messenian War, in which the kings had rendered great service, their authority threatened to expand excessively. The power of the Ephors, however, was then increased to ensure the perpetual exclusive rule of law against the kings. And not only this, they even had the courage to somewhat defy their principles. Terpander from Lesbos had to be shaken by his music, in the soul, by the internal strife that had been exalted and harmonious mood, where a direction toward the higher seemed only possible, and Thaletas was called from Crete to impart a higher inspiration to the young men in their military and gymnastic exercises through his flute playing.

Yet, one thing could not be denied in all this. Without war, the Dorian could not achieve his ideal in life, and the question became how the Dorian Eunomia, a regulated legal state, would ever become the peninsula's heritage. It was therefore necessary to discover a haven of peace, where the pursuit of the glory of male virtue could achieve a similar satisfaction as on the battlefield. It was the allies and kindred spirits of the Dorians, the Aetolians, who deserve the honor of having found such a haven. What a memorable juncture in human history; the first more or less conscious attempt by the human race to rid itself of the demon of war! The Aetolians, as we have already noted, had settled on the west coast in the region of Elis. The Aeolian and Achaean tribes who lived on that west coast—as has already been pointed out—had not yet penetrated equally far into the interior everywhere and had apparently exerted little influence on the original population here and there. In Elis, too, the population was probably still in a state of more or less Pelasgian civilization; they were still largely dispersed throughout the country; centers of communication, cities, were still very few. Especially south of Elis, however, at the mouth of the Alpheios, the civilized coastal strip was particularly narrow; beyond it lay the Pelasgian land, which in all likelihood remained almost entirely free of all Achaean or Aeolian civilization. It is noteworthy that the Aetolians, themselves powerless to do more than they were already doing, summoned several Achaean families, displaced from elsewhere, to lead them to a region where the very foundations for a higher order of things still had to be laid.

The natural route to penetrate from the narrow, more civilized coastal region to the Pelasgians was along the banks of the Alpheios, present-day Rufias, a river approximately 180 feet wide, which, after bursting from the high mountains of the far interior, Arcadia, flows its yellow waters along the northern edge of a much lower mountain range in a very winding bed. As one traveled further inland along the river's flatter northern side, one saw the northern hills, having once approached the river but then retreated again, extend far south again, sending out a low, westward-facing range of hills, as they approached the river, at a bend to the north.

Continuing further over these hills, as soon as one reached a peak, a lovely landscape suddenly spread out before the viewer in tranquil splendor. The northern hill country (later named Olympus in this area) continued here at a relatively short distance from the river, so that between them a fairly narrow plain stretched eastward. However, further east, the northern hills approached the river even closer, extending even a single conical peak right up to the bank. Moreover, since the southern hills, the highest of all, did not deviate from the river at any point, the entire plain was enclosed on all sides. Behind them, on the east and southeast sides, rose in a dim distance the higher mountains of the land lying deeper inland, and everywhere the peaks were covered with a soft green, over which, in various places, groves of graceful pine trees, interspersed with a few solemn oaks, cast their shadow. The plain below was completely covered with an olive grove, interrupted here and there by a larger or smaller extension of the northern hills. The largest of these extensions was a fairly steep, also densely wooded hilltop, which, near the eastern end of the western range of hills overlooking the plain, jutted out quite far into the olive grove; this hill was later called Mount Kronos. Another break formed a small stream in the distance, near the eastern summit of the cone, whose waters could perhaps be seen here and there, glistening through the trees. Close ahead was a much more important stream, already then, or only later, called the Kladeos. Just past the eastern end of the range of hills they had climbed, west of what would later become Mount Kronos, it broke out of the northern hills and, sinking deeply between its rather steep banks, made its way to the Alpheios. The whole scene was one of peace and tranquility, often interrupted, however, by that often turbulent main stream, which, enclosed on the south side by much steeper banks than on the north, drove its mighty waters, often swollen by sudden inflows from the interior, between the trees of the olive groves to the foot of the northern hills.

But then, right at the foot of that jutting hilltop, of that later mountain of

Kronos, immediately beside the watery stream from the north, the eye could perceive yet another break in the olive grove. This one, however, was clearly made by human hands. The forest had been cleared here over a considerable expanse, and perhaps with a little effort one could also make out the tall fire altar, which, rising from the center of that open plain, stood out with greater or lesser clarity against the greenery behind it. Before them stood a sacred grove of Pelasgians. The divine spirit murmured through the olive grove; higher beings hovered over the surrounding mountains. How one breathes here as if in the Indo-Germanic atmosphere! As yet, the Deity had not created a dwelling by human hands, but the smoke rising from the high fire altar climbed upward, to the shining heavens, to the boundless light where the Unknown One had established his seat, to Zeus, the father of all that lives. How the men at the summit of that altar felt, as they gazed more freely into the vast expanse of the world, as if brought into closer communion with the Deity! Below, at the foot, hundreds stood absorbed in silent attention, waiting until the sacrificer would finally descend to reveal to the people the will of the Deity, drawn from the ashes of the sacrificial animal. Here was the place where the Pelasgic tribes, perhaps even from further afield, experienced their most sacred moments; here, too, the place whose solemn silence would be broken centuries later by the joyful cries of supreme earthly bliss. Those who saw the long, wooded plain stretched out before them could little have imagined that there, around that same fire altar, the buildings of Olympia, the most magnificent sanctuary of later generations, would one day rise. It was to this region, situated only a few miles from the coast, that the Achaean allies of the Aetohans advanced. On the promontory that enclosed the plain with the sacred grove on the east side, a fortress or city called Pisa was founded, or an existing one was conquered. Soon, other cities arose. According to the idea that the owner of the land should be the owner of the sanctuaries, it was deemed advisable to secure the sacred grove in particular, and the Achaean fortress of Pisa, there on the hill, served primarily to maintain possession of that property. It would not have taken long for the king and queen of heaven to obtain residences. In a truly conservative spirit, the old Pelasgian fire altar was left in its place, but the establishments of a new civilization were placed alongside it: a temple of Hera on the north side, and one of Zeus himself on the south. They believed they worshipped the same gods as the Pelasgians, and there was no thought of abolishing the old cult. Their only desire was to expand it, and little was there any awareness of how much this, too, would lead to a complete reversal. To a great extent, this religious harmony, this reverence among the Achaeans for the Pelasgian sanctuaries, made the dominion of the land easier. When the Pelasgian people returned to their old sanctuary—and the more they did, the more agreeable it must have been for the Achaeans—they certainly found many new things there, but the old fire altar was still there; indeed, it had remained the center of worship. So, despite all the new things, they gradually began to feel completely at home again in the old place, and, as was natural, they also became increasingly accustomed to that newness. Thus, right in the heart of their former civilization, they were won over to a new order of things. Yet, understandably, all this did not happen without a hard struggle. The later legend, at least, which naturally places the events in a much earlier period, tells how in the land of Pisa in ancient times lived a ferocious king, Oenomaos, who had a beautiful daughter named Hippodameia. He wanted to marry this daughter to the one who would have defeated him in a chariot race. Thirteen tried in vain, thirteen were pierced by the victor, and their skulls, truly cannibalistic, were hung on the temple of Oenomaos' father. Then, across the western sea, comes Pelops, the tribal hero of the Achaeans. With deep reverence, he implores Poseidon for help in the difficult battle. Poseidon provides him a golden chariot and winged horses. The race begins. Hippodameia's wishes are on the young man's side. Myrtilos, Oenomaos' charioteer, thrusts a wax pin into the chariot. It crashes down. Pelops is victorious, kills Oenomaos, and obtains his daughter and his kingdom. This legend, strongly reminiscent of several ancient Germanic stories—several Grimm's fairy tales—was truly popular among the later inhabitants of Pisa. People pointed out not only Oenomaos's tomb and stables, but also the shared grave of the thirteen unfortunate suitors, and even that of one of their horses. Centuries later, in the sacred precincts of Olympia, south of the fire altar, under a small roof, stood an old wooden column, which would have collapsed had it not been enclosed by strong bands. People told each other that Oenomaos's house had been destroyed by Zeus's lightning, and that this column alone remained. The Pelasgian sanctuary became Achaean, but the Aetolians also exerted their influence here. It seems that something resembling an Amphictionian bond existed between the two peoples regarding the sacred area—soon called Olympia, while the northern hills were given the name Olympus. Every five years, a garment was

presented to Hera, made by sixteen women from sixteen cities: eight Elian, eight Pisan. The sanctuary likely gained increasing renown among the surrounding tribes; it is plausible that even then a race of youths was held in honor of Zeus, and one of young girls in honor of Hera.

This remained the case for a few centuries. The population on the west coast of the Peloponnese certainly took a great step forward; Yet it goes without saying that a state of civilization, which could only have been established with the help of the Achaeans, had remained so largely Achaean that even here the Dorian Eunomia had not yet subdued Achaean rule; in Elis, the same question was faced to a greater or lesser extent as in Laconia. There Lycurgus arose, and that powerful Dorian movement was awakened, which was destined, in earlier or later times, to seize upon all related peoples. The Aetolians—or let us rather say Eleans, for although the ruling families in Elis were undoubtedly Aetolian, that name no longer appears here as a national name—the Aetolian Eleans then felt the shock very quickly and cooperated vigorously, albeit in their own way. They broke away from the Pisans and deprived them of their common sanctuary in order to govern the whole according to their own views. Every fourth year, the month in which the summer solstice falls (in our country, it falls on June 21st) was to be a "sacred month." Throughout the Elean region, and subsequently among other peoples—in later times, increasingly numerous—a truce (ekecheria, literally: that one should "keep one's hands to oneself") was proclaimed for that month by "messengers of peace," as if it were a truce decreed by the gods. Almost 1,000 years later, a round disk was displayed in the temple of Hera, along the edge of which King Iphitos, to whom the legends unanimously attribute the introduction of this Olympian peace, had its provisions inscribed. Elis was then sacred territory. Festive embassies from states, as well as private individuals, could attend the sacrificial ceremonies without any danger to any enemy and could participate in or be spectators at the subsequent races. Soldiers who wished to cross the Holy Land at such a time were required to surrender their weapons to one side, only to receive them back from the other upon leaving the country.

What a sublime thought of peace in this! The deity himself intervenes to compel the savage, whose wild fist spared nothing, at least for a moment, to "stay his hands" and elevate his spirit to something higher. Iphitos, or whoever he may have been, certainly had his own people in mind first and foremost in his decree, but isn't this precisely the blessing associated with noble thoughts, that they reach further than the one in whose mind they originated could initially clearly imagine? The peaceful mood of Olympia exerted its purifying influence far beyond the borders of Elis; carried far and wide by the numerous celebrators to all corners of Hellenic land. The ancients themselves also noted that there was a very great reconciling power in gathering together for the same purpose in common sanctuaries. Later, the Olympian god refused to give anyone oracles about a war between Greeks.

But it couldn't be long before people had to arrive at that other great idea, in which Olympia's peace above all the lovable meaning was that one can "just as well in competition as in war, share in glorious fame, the praise of fellow citizens and foreigners, the highest attainable gain"; the thought, in a word, that just as well as the Spartan on the battlefield, one could also fight here for "manly virtue." With what a different eye is the camp site next to the temple buildings of Olympia viewed today. There, too, the Dorian could achieve his highest ideal in life; there, too, the glorious "Victory" (Nike) descended from the hand of Zeus, the formidable one; there, too, the victor's breast flowed with that exalting, cleansing feeling of satisfaction that is the portion of everyone who, through the exertion of all their strength, has achieved what is highest for them. It was 28 years after the new regulations by Iphitos that the custom was introduced at Olympia of rewarding the victors with nothing more than a simple olive wreath. From then on, the competition would be for a higher "gain" than a horse, tripod, or cauldron, or whatever precious objects might previously have been the prize of victory. The competition after the sacrificial ceremonies, which had consisted of only a single type of footrace, now assumed increasing importance. Two new types of footrace were soon added, but even then, the competition remained far below its significance. A major step forward was the introduction of wrestling and boxing, and the so-called pankration; these exercises, with their more martial character, were very appropriate for a camp that was to replace the battlefield. More than a hundred years after the introduction of the wreath, the types of competition at Olympia already showed great diversity.

The fighting on the campfire at Olympia had then become Dorian. Another 28 years after the introduction of the wreath, in the year 720, complete nudity was introduced to the competition. Here, if anywhere, one could enjoy the beauty of male virtue. That entire circle of spectators on those heights, surrounding the fighting site,

71920 "worked" as if "alongside" in the fight, and with breathless effort, they followed every muscular movement of their completely naked bodies. Now, a javelin would suddenly tremble right into the target; then, a discus would arc through the air, far beyond the point where all the discus thrown had landed; the entire surrounding crowd involuntarily became engulfed in a movement that echoed through its ranks. What
 71925 enthusiasm permeated all hearts as that youth, "in the full bloom of youth," "though having done beautiful things," strode freely and proudly past the spectators, and, in the rapture of his victory, made the camp resound with his triumphant cries. For many, there was something else special. While, according to Dorian principles, fame among his fellow citizens was the highest reward for every warrior, conversely, every lineage, every city, prided itself on possessing a victor; it later happened
 71930 that a victor would be bribed to be proclaimed a member of a different lineage, or a citizen of a different city, than the one to which he actually belonged. In this identification of the victor's fame with that of his city and his lineage, however, we also see here the measured manifestation that, as we noted, characterized the Greek in all things, as well as in his consciousness of victory. When, in later
 71935 times, the victor allows a triumphal poet like Pindar to clarify the sentiments that inspire him, then the consciousness in which he feels happy is above all that he has worthily perpetuated the glory of country, city, or family. Here too, the striving of individuals is in harmonious harmony with that of the community, and while people often felt the barbarian awakening within, they were fully aware of this danger and
 71940 quickly recalled this vain attempt to "become God," never forgetting that "only the mortal is in the measure of mortals."
 But if the Olympian victor stood worthy beside a glorious ancestor, he too, in turn, was entitled to the tribute of posterity, to that tribute which, as we have seen, was the greatest consolation even for the Spartan warrior when he fell in battle. A
 71945 victor at Olympia is entitled to a song of triumph, which will convey his glory to distant generations. Just as it is painful for a man that his wealth is not linked to his name if he has no son to succeed him, so too is happiness very short-lived when, after having accomplished noble deeds, one goes to Hades without a song of triumph. A statue of the victor could also be erected in the sacred precincts of Olympia. There,
 71950 often caught in one of the impressions, he would the most exciting moments of combat, to be held up as an example for posterity to imitate.
 Thus Olympia, albeit in a very peculiar way, became Dorian. Here too, the old Achaean period was definitively over; the Dorian-Hellenic era began. The Dorian Heracles appears in the legend alongside the Achaean Pelops and even occupies a much broader
 71955 position. It was Heracles who, in the distant past, established the divine peace and devised the various forms of combat; he had also journeyed to the distant land of the Hyperboreans to fetch the wild olive tree, with whose foliage the heads of victors would henceforth be wreathed. After Heracles, however, this entire institution fell into disuse, until finally Iphitos began to reintroduce it. Later, the Eleans
 71960 repeatedly recalled some kind of contest instituted by Heracles at that time, and naturally, it was immediately reinstated. The courage to introduce the new was found here, as so often, only in the conviction that it was actually the genuine old one. But although almost everything characteristic of Olympia was derived from Heracles, even less so than Oenomaos before, Pelops could now be completely set aside; had he
 71965 not, precisely through his struggle with him, first wrested the sanctuary from utterly barbaric hands? Centuries later, two sanctuaries to Heros were displayed in Olympia's sacred field, one in memory of Pelops, the other in memory of Hippodameia. The later generations that flocked to the famous altar of Zeus at Olympia also walked once more in deep reverence around the sanctuary of Pelops, located just behind it.
 71970 The Elean movement was undoubtedly awakened by the Spartans. The later mythology therefore aptly portrays Lycurgos and Iphitos as allies. On the disk on which Iphitos had the terms of the peace engraved, it was thought that Lycurgos' name could still be recognized later, when the letters had already been more or less erased. It is certainly not entirely impossible that they were contemporaries, but that aside, it
 71975 can hardly be doubted whether the Eleans could count on Sparta's support in their great endeavor. Difficult times had dawned for both countries. Now it is the mighty Pheidon, who, at the head of the Ionian national component in the Peloponnesus, rises up in Argos, seizes sole power, and pushes back all that is Dorian, even marching right through the peninsula to the legitimate city of Elis, where he temporarily
 71980 grants the Pisans possession of their sanctuary. Then again, it is the vanquished Messenians who rise up; all Achaean or Pelasgian sentiments unite, and the Dorian order of things, barely established, threatens to be destroyed forever. Sparta and Elis stood alone in the unequal struggle; but the enthusiasm for the great cause ultimately made them triumph. Messenia was crushed; Pisa, though long spared, was

71985 ultimately so destroyed that a few centuries later one could seriously question
whether there had ever been a Pisa at all. The new could not establish itself here
except on the ruins of the old. But these were by no means the greatest victories
achieved. Far beyond the reach of Spartan weapons, kindred peoples were gripped by
the spirit emanating from Sparta and Elis and inspired to a higher life. Already
71990 during the Second Messenian War, it was the Athenian Tyrtaeus who led the Dorian
warriors to battle with Ionic songs, and the famous poet Alcman, a Lydian by birth,
found his spiritual homeland in Sparta. And as for Olympia's spiritual victories, it
was nothing unusual that in the Nemean Games, when they were reorganized under Dorian
influence at the beginning of the sixth century, a wreath of foliage also became the
71995 victor's reward. The triumph of Elean ideas was more clearly illustrated by the fact
that when, not long before the reorganization of the Nemean Games, Ionian influence
made itself felt in ancient Delphi, the Pythian Games there received a new regulation
modeled on Olympia: initially, contests were still held for prizes of any value, but
later, the reward of an olive wreath was introduced. It was the Ionians who brought
72000 the remaining ancient Doric sanctuary into the Dorian movement. However, the
organization of the Corinthian Games on the Isthmus was clearly an act of hostility
against Olympia. Not only is the Ionian demigod Theseus the patron saint here, but of
all the Greek tribes, the Eleans alone are excluded from participating in the
competition. Yet, even here, the spirit of the times was too strong.

72005 People fought over a wreath of foliage. Olympia was already a common Hellenic
sanctuary in the 7th century. Not only festival-goers from the Peloponnese flocked
there, but also from Thebes, Athens, and even from the most distant colonies.
The Spartan and Elean movements went hand in hand; yet both retained a certain
72010 uniqueness. While Sparta, when it called Terpander and Thaletas to its fold, had
clearly shown that it wanted to strengthen itself through what related peoples
elsewhere were bringing to the fore, the Eleans found their true calling in every
endeavor among the Greek tribes that allowed an ideal conception along the Dorian-
Elean lines to be incorporated, as it were, into general Hellenic life, by giving it
72015 the opportunity to express itself at Olympia. It was largely due to the influence of
Elis that the Dorian current broadened into a more general Hellenic one. Even in the
face of their Achaean past, the Eleans maintained a more lenient mindset and a
sincere desire to always recognize the good wherever it appeared. The brilliant
lifestyle of the ancient Achaean rulers continued to permeate, especially in Ionian-
72020 Aeolian lands. While this contrasted sharply with the austere austerity of the
Spartans, immense wealth and distinguished generosity inevitably made a deep
impression on the Hellenic mind, so open to all human splendor. The Eleans did not
reject this expression of the Hellenic spirit. They came to understand that "wealth
adorned by the pursuit of excellence" is one of man's most glorious possessions: when
72025 the nobleman showers the splendor of his status on his fatherland and friends, when
he adorns the altars of the gods with precious offerings for the glory of his city,
when he delights in receiving friends into his home, [2] when magnificent stud farms
are built at astonishing expense, and swift charioteers drive the beautiful horses
around the racecourse—a magnificent and impressive spectacle for everyone to enjoy.
72030 Thus, wealth is conceived from an ideal perspective, and the sacred field also offers
the opportunity to display its full splendor to the assembled Hellas. Already a
century after the rule of Iphitus, horse and chariot races were introduced at
Olympia. The Eleans were concerned with maintaining a neutral stance as much as
possible. They sought, above all, to unite, not to alienate. When, in the 6th and 7th
72035 centuries, numerous illegitimate rulers emerged in Ionian Greece, who, insofar as
they lived in the Peloponnese, where Dorians had settled among the Ionian
population, pushed Dorian influence into the background—we have already mentioned
Pheidon—the Spartans became the mortal enemies of this more Asiatic than Hellenic
manifestation. Without a doubt, they rendered great service to the further
72040 development of their people; yet the attitude of the Eleans in this matter also
demands appreciation. True to their principle of being as generous as possible, they
did not close the Olympian racecourse to the tyrants, not asking what anyone else
was, provided they only performed worthily as a Hellene at Olympia. More powerful and
grandiose was the Spartan action, but the Eleans' action had the great advantage of
72045 preserving all the sparks of Hellenic life and better enfolding the various members
of the Hellenic people in a common bond.
Yet the Hellenic tribe had not yet borne its noblest fruits. The Athenian had not yet
driven out his tyrants, had not yet felt that higher inspiration that the struggle
for freedom against the Persians would cause to surge through his breast. The Ionian
72050 life on the coasts and islands had much that was brilliant and noble, but its finest

revelation in the Athens of Pericles was still to come. It did come, and the multifaceted work and endeavors of the Ionian were ennobled by a fervor for the ideal that one might call Dorian, had it not originated here as well, and had it not extended infinitely further than in Sparta. In Athens, too, there was a republican desire for freedom, yet the Spartan was content if the government allowed him to live as a free Dorian. The Athenian could not imagine freedom without co-government, nor republican institutions without democracy. In Athens, too, there was a striving for masculine virtue, but here, where life was so much more multifaceted, it was also linked to the pursuit of the realization of so many other ideals of human glory. People worked in every field to elevate themselves and glorify their fatherland. The Dorians' contributions to the development of Greek art are great—one thinks, for example, only of the Doric architectural order—but with Aeschylus, Sophocles, Phidias, only a very few can be mentioned in the same breath. This Hellenic light, too, was intended to shed light on the universal national sanctuary. Phidias, accompanied by a whole staff of artists, was summoned by the Eleans to Olympia to complete major works on the Temple of Zeus. Alkamenes, for example, depicted the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs on the west façade; Paionios, on the east façade, the combat of Pelops and Oenomaos. The great master himself sculpted the statue of Olympian Zeus here, which was erected in the interior of the temple; the most famous work of Phidias's chisel stood in the sacred field at Olympia. Thus, the Eleans acquired a unique place at the center of Hellenic life, but one must beware of equating the Greek tribes' need for communal life and striving too closely with, for example, the German or Italian unification movement of our time. They felt united against the barbarian world, yet simultaneously delighted in the differences of character and gifts they observed in each other, seeing in this a guarantee of versatility. Several distinct dialects and national art forms of individual tribes became universally Hellenic. They were used to express the various feelings and moods that, while most powerfully developed in one Hellenic tribe and another in another, had also first found their appropriate form of expression, yet which, through the inner spiritual affinity of the various tribes, could nevertheless also arise in every Hellenic soul; the choruses of Attic tragedy, for example, usually spoke in a more or less Doric accent; Doric sounded more solemn than Attic. Such a sense of community precluded rather than demanded political unity. How else could it come about than through the rule of one tribe over another, which naturally also had to be accompanied by the suppression of the national idiosyncrasies of the subjugated tribe? It was precisely through the larger states' striving for hegemony, the striving for political unification, that the true sense of a higher Hellenic community among the Greek peoples was forever destroyed. What originally brought the Hellenic tribes together was the purely human need of man for man: people understood each other, considered the same things "beautiful and good," found in each other recognition and appreciation for their deepest inner feelings. Thus, Olympia, which could never later become a Derby or Longchamps, became a center around which the life of a richly gifted people moved in its full significance. We have here before us one of the most remarkable phenomena of historical ethnology. Often, when a higher sense of human calling reveals itself in a people, it carries within itself, as it were, the infinite, strives for the more than human, and extends the meaning of human existence far beyond the grave. We find a similar spiritual direction in antiquity, to a greater or lesser extent, among the various Eastern peoples, and later, developed in all its sublimity, in Catholic Europe during the Middle Ages. The Hellenic world, insofar as it was not yet under the influence of philosophy, offers very little that is akin to it. The Hellene, after all, went no further than the glorification of his earthly existence. Everything noble that manifests itself in the person who lives wholeheartedly for the present was noted and brought to higher perfection; there was no attempt to elevate oneself to a realm of more than human beings; spiritualization of matter is the highest thing known. For very few Greeks, the Deity is the ineffable, entirely exalted above the sphere of all that is human. The Gods, indeed, excel in their full glory far above the human world, yet they are nevertheless united with it. Far from being the glorious consummation for the Greek of what had begun here on earth, it was at most, quite the opposite, the fading twilight of an already extinguished torch. One reached the highest here on earth, and having achieved it, one could lay one's head down in resignation: it was natural, after all, that one should perish, now that one no longer had any reason to exist. When Diagoras, himself victorious at Olympia, saw both his sons triumph in one day, a Lacedaemonian cried out to him: "Die, Diagoras, for you will not ascend to heaven!" It was also the Greek's sense of moderation that compelled him to reach out for nothing higher than the earthly. If one were to feel a more far-reaching

inclination welling up in the soul, the stern warning would soon sound: to try to set foot beyond "the Pillars of Heracles." There is much in the striving of the Greeks that resonates in our souls; yet we constantly feel that a wide gulf of many centuries lies between us and that world.

What Rome is for the Catholic, what Mecca is for the Muslim, that was—if any comparison is still possible among such disparate people—for the Greek Olympia. It was, as it were, an entire Hellenic world in miniature; every Greek tribe had given proof of its existence there through buildings, statues, or other votive offerings. The aforementioned Pausanias devotes approximately two-fifths of his description of Greece to Olympia. In later centuries, however, nothing of the former grandeur could be observed on the beautiful plain south of Kronos Hill. All the buildings had collapsed, the statues broken, and the Alpheios, no longer restrained by waterworks as before, had, through its numerous floods, covered the entire ancient site with a layer of sand and silt several feet thick. Little remained of the ruins; only here and there a single broken column protruded a foot or so above the silted ground. This remained the situation for hundreds of years; no one thought of the abandoned sanctuary. Only when, in the previous century, people began to clearly understand that one could learn to understand the Greek from his works of art, no less than from his literature, did a different era begin to dawn. It was Winckelman, the great spokesman for that movement, who first proposed the plan to excavate the silted ground here. A rich harvest was expected here; after all, the silt from the Alpheios was supposed to have saved many works of art from further destruction. The brilliant German, however, did not live to see his plan realized. Since then, Olympia has been receiving more public attention. It was also visited a few times by Englishmen, and one of these visits was so successful that the exact location where the remains of the Temple of Zeus were buried could be pinpointed. More was accomplished when the French undertook their expedition to Morea in 1828 and 1829; the commission of scholars that followed this expedition, among other things, excavated the ground on the north and south sides of the Temple of Zeus; very important fragments of the temple's metope reliefs were discovered. Nevertheless, Winckelman the German's plan was only implemented in its full scope and true significance by Germans. At the expense of the Imperial Government, under the supervision of the renowned Berlin Professor Ernest Curtius, a complete scientific expedition of German scholars was organized. They planned to excavate as much of the silted soil as possible, in order to salvage what could only be salvaged of the buried treasures. Work on this has been ongoing since 1876. Excavating in all directions from the Temple of Zeus, they have uncovered the ancient soil of virtually the entire Sacred Field and a large portion of the surrounding area. The results met the highest expectations. The remains of virtually all the buildings at Olympia mentioned by Pausanias have been recovered; so numerous, in most cases, that one can form a very good idea of their layout, order of construction, and even minor architectural details. Eighty-seven statues were found, including 44 larger than life-size and 42 heads. Among them, one finds outstanding representatives from almost every period of Greek art. So many remains have been found of façade groups by Alcámenes and Paionius, and of the metope reliefs, that one can form a fairly clear idea of their composition, and even their complete or partial reconstruction is possible. The Nike of Paionius is the first freestanding statue by a master from the school of Phidias that we possess; the Hermes of Praxiteles is the only original work from which we can learn about a later art movement. The host of smaller finds, especially of terracotta, the 5,000 coins, and the nearly 400 inscriptions, including some very important ones, could in themselves constitute a not inconsiderable museum. When the undertaking began, Professor Curtius expressed the opinion that it would lead to good results if, just as in the natural sciences, in history and archaeology too, one sought to expand the number of known facts primarily by systematically searching in places where one could be sure of finding something. That hope, as we have seen, has not been disappointed. The entire undertaking is a great credit to the German government and German scholars. We can count ourselves fortunate that it has not been fruitless for our country either. In an annex building

At the Leiden Museum, casts of some of the most important sculptures found at Olympia, purchased by our government, are being installed. Pausanias's detailed description now takes on greater value for us. With it in hand, we can, as it were, stroll around the sacred field and take stock of the various buildings we pass, and admire many of the famous sculptures he also saw there. Readers are invited to take such a walk in the second part of this essay. Leiden.

A.E.J. HOLWERDA.
(To be continued.)

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Olympia.
(Continued from, Vol. I, p. 86.)

II.

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Most Greeks who wanted to visit Olympia certainly first went to Elis, the capital of the region of the same name. From there, two roads led to the sacred plain further south. The main highway, the so-called "sacred road," ran closer to the sea across the flatter coastal land and was about ten hours' walk long; the other, to the east of this one, was somewhat longer, winding between mountains and hills, thus offering

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the hiker more variety. Both roads, however, ended at the sacred site on the west side. No sooner had one entered the plain, enclosed on all sides by hills, as we recall, than one suddenly saw several buildings and, above them, the battlements of more distant temples. Between the buildings, one could already spot a few higher-placed statues here and there.

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Crossing the bridge over the Kladeos, one found oneself surrounded by numerous buildings. On its left, that is, on the north side, was the so-called Palaestra, a residence and training ground for the warriors during the festival season. However, this could not be entered from the south side; To reach this, one had to walk around to the north, where a stately forecourt (propylaion) provided access at the northeast corner of the building. As was customary in training schools for fighters, here too, an open square area was found inside, where the wrestlers could practice whenever

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they wished; for, like a true virtuoso, a Greek fighter never abandoned his exercises for a single moment; even during his five-day stay at Olympia, he had to ensure he maintained the level he had reached by constantly keeping his limbs supple. While

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some wrestled, others could walk around the square wrestling arena through a colonnade that ran around it on all sides, sometimes talking to each other, sometimes keeping an eye on the wrestlers. On the south side, the colonnade was double; the open side, where the columns stood, faced inward, as one understands. If one had had enough of walking, one could break through one of the doors on the back wall of the colonnade. One then entered either a bathroom, where one could bathe, or a common room where one could speak or listen to a lecture—remains of the beautifully profiled benches along the walls still remain—or a bedroom. On the north side, one had not only an entrance to the forecourt through which one had entered, but also others leading to an outdoor area on the north side, where several small racecourses and areas for jumping and discus throwing were located. A long, two-aisled gallery ran alongside this on the east side, heading north.

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Returning to the bridge over the Kladeos, one found on the right a fairly large, oblong, square building with its front facing east. It is suspected that this was the building in which Pheidias finished his greatest masterpiece, Zeus of Olympia, down

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to the smallest detail. Entering the large front door, one entered a very spacious room, the only one in the building, which likely received its light from the top center. At the front was a marble basin. Parallel to the side walls, not far from them, stood four columns at equal distances on either side, starting from the back wall. These, too, were replaced by a column on either side by a tall, narrow wall,

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which connected to the side wall and thus filled the space left open elsewhere between the columns and the wall. Two more columns followed on either side, reaching the front wall. The building's dimensions—this is one of the reasons why it is considered Pheidias's workshop—were exactly the same as those of the interior of the Temple of Zeus. Just as there, seven columns on either side, running close to the side walls, divided the entire space into two narrow aisles and a wide central nave, so too were the six columns on either side and the narrow walls. Furthermore, the various sides of the workshop faced the same points of the sky as those of the temples turned, so that the same light would have fallen down here through the opening in the roof at all times of the day. These small walls, instead of columns,

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would have served to attach a partition when the master wanted to seclude himself with his artwork in a smaller space, for it could also happen that, while working on it, he needed to see his artwork in a different light than the one in which it would later be erected. Even in modern studios, one finds devices to cast a different light on the objects by firing off a portion of the interior space. Naturally, the artist

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had to have all sorts of tools at his disposal, which were indispensable for creating such a colossal sculpture. Traces still remain that prove that planks were attached to the walls of the building, supported by iron bars that protruded as if from the ground. These would have served to store such tools. Turning from here to the south,

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one saw before them a beautiful and large building, the Gymnasium, which, like the northern Palaestra, served as a residence and training ground for champions. There were no race tracks at this Gymnasium; however, the building itself was more beautiful and larger than the northern one. A beautiful gallery, open to the outside, with Ionic columns, supported by a beautifully ornamented architrave (a crosspiece spanning the columns) and a beautiful geison (cornice), ran around it. Before entering the building, one could walk around it under this gallery, a walk of over three hundred meters. Entering, one entered the building's various rooms, which ran in two rows side by side around the large square courtyard. The ceilings of these rooms rested on Corinthian columns, whose calyx-shaped capitals were now smoother than usual. Undoubtedly, this form of capital was borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians. The Corinthian capital usually depicts an open calyx with numerous petals and delicate stems rising from it. However, since the open calyxes of the Corinthian capitals from the Gymnasium are not as elaborately detailed as capitals of this type usually are, they are more reminiscent of the smoother papyrus or lotus calyxes of Egyptian columns and reveal the origins of the art form all the more clearly. If one now went straight through these two rows of rooms, one entered a gallery supported by Doric columns, which ran around the square courtyard, its open side facing it. This Gymnasium was a building from the fourth century BC.

Let us place ourselves for a moment between the Gymnasium and the wall of the sacred precinct, the Altis. Our view of that area is only obstructed to the extent that one building obscures another. Here we see the rear of the Temple of Zeus with the group of Alcmenes on the facade; we see several other buildings more closely, such as the sanctuaries of Pelops and his wife; we see numerous sculptures—gods, humans, horses, chariots—and several altars. The altis wall didn't even reach as high as the stepped pedestal of the Temple of Zeus and therefore offered little obstruction to the view. It also seemed to exist more to demarcate the sacred area than to prevent access. Along its outer edge, one could see a whole row of troughs for horses and cattle. This western altis wall allowed entry to the sacred area at two points. There was an entrance opposite both the Palaestra and the Gymnasium. However, these were not the main ones. This was situated further to the southeastern corner of the Altis. If one went there and turned the southwestern corner, one suddenly saw the rear of a prominent building, the so-called Leonidaion, named after its founder, the Elean Leonidas.

This building consisted of three parts. Two elongated buildings, both rounded at the rear, were connected by a relatively small, square central building, while a gallery ran in front of all three. As the excavated remains still clearly demonstrate, it had the following history. First, at the end of the sixth century BC, the southern building was constructed. Its base had the shape of a very elongated ellipse, however, only rounded at the rear, while the front was cut off straight. At this front, the two side walls curved slightly into so-called "anten." Between those two ants stood two columns, and the space between the ants and the columns was filled with metal latticework. There were two doors in the latticework between the columns. Under the cornice ran around the the entire building was bordered by so-called triglyphs and metopes (well-known architectural forms, which we will discuss later). These were painted blue, while the frames that typically ran above and below such triglyphs were painted red. Several buildings at Olympia provide evidence that the Greeks used strongly contrasting colors to set off the different parts of an architectural composition. A row of columns ran through the center of the building along its length, and it is not too daring to assume that a roof, probably wooden, sloped upwards on all sides, rested on this. In the rear curve of the building, two rooms were found that could be closed off.

In a few minor details, particularly regarding ornamentation, the northern building differed from the southern one, and moreover, in that the ellipse of the ground plan had merged into a figure consisting of two straight lines, connected on one side by a straight line, and on the other by a semicircle. This building was erected a few years after the first, at the beginning of the fifth century. Later, the two buildings were connected by the smaller building in between, and the gallery for all three was probably built at the same time.

What was the purpose of the Leonidaion? We know nothing about it with certainty. It seems not unlikely, in my opinion, that it was a building to house the theors, the official representatives of the various states for the great festival every four years. Originally, the southern building was donated by the Elean Leonidas to the sanctuary of his state. Now, here as elsewhere, the theors were housed in tents, and the architect of the Leonidaion intended to give the stone building somewhat the appearance of the temporary building, the tent, it replaced: the somewhat oval-round

72315 shape and the sloping roof on all sides naturally bring a kind of tent to mind. When they later wanted to construct a second building, identical to the first one to the north, they no longer knew the underlying motive for the first one, and they thought they were merely removing a minor irregularity by replacing the gently curved side walls of the new building with perfectly straight ones. This, too, is an example of

72320 how dangerous it is to imitate ancient art forms. That the name Leonidaion, originally borne by only one building, was later extended to all three of these buildings when it was connected to the northern one by an intermediate building, is quite understandable. If this building was indeed originally such a lodging for theorists, then we can easily understand why, as Pausanias tells us, the Roman

72325 officials who governed the province of Greece would later stop at this building on their procession through their region. This was still the case here on the south side of the Altis at the time Pausanias visited Olympia (circa 120 AD). Somewhat later, a large gallery was built parallel to the southern Altis wall. It opened to the south and, starting at the south side of

72330 the Leonidaion, extended for a length of some 80 meters. It was very wide, and a second row of columns, running midway between the front row and the closed rear wall, divided it into two aisles. However, before it was erected, this was already a very suitable vantage point from which to survey the Altis grounds. The low wall seemed to separate it, and several buildings were visible here for the first time, or to a

72335 greater extent than before, only partially obscured by a cluster of statues erected here around the Temple of Zeus and opposite it in the southeastern part of the Altis and along the southern wall. Among statues and altars, one could still see the Altis area, but just behind the Leonidaion, "the olive tree of beautiful wreaths," whose branches were cut for the victors' wreaths.

72340 But we didn't linger much longer outside the Altis wall and went through the large southeastern entrance, through which the solemn procession to the Zeus altar took place on the last day of the great festivities, and which was therefore called the "entrance of the processions." Without much difficulty, we now found ourselves right in front of the front of the Temple of Zeus, which stood here in the middle of a

72345 large terrace. Pushing forward between the statues that lined the edge of this terrace, one saw the building, now unobstructed by anything, before one in all its quiet majesty. The building with its Doris rose from the almost two-metre-high pedestal, which narrowed upwards on all four sides with three steps.

72350 The columns rose powerfully and stately. It is known that columns of this type had no base, but rose from the ground itself as if by natural force. The shaft of the columns had, as usual, twenty ascending grooves (flutes), gradually narrowing somewhat upward. The capital, also something very common, consisted of a broadening of the column upwards, convexly expanding on all sides and left completely smooth,

72355 separated from the actual shaft by four annular grooves and covered at the top by a square plate. A cluster of similar annular grooves ran around the shaft a short distance below the capital. The columns on the front and back (six for each front) were slightly thicker than those on either side; They therefore had to support the large, vertically oriented triangular gables, while only the lower edges of the

72360 sloping roof rested above those of the sides (each side had eleven). Immediately across the columns, however, ran the architrave, a smooth block separated at the top by a slightly projecting, narrow frame from the band of triglyphs and metopes that, in turn, ran above it. The triglyphs were elongated squares with grooves upwards, two in the middle, two as if cut in half at the edges (the word means "provided with

72365 three grooves"). They were pushed forward somewhat, so that below the edge of the architrave, they seemed to need to be supported by a narrow frame with small, spaced-apart blocks, called drops, underneath. With the triglyphs, the transverse structure above the columns already extends slightly forward to accommodate the leaning cornice. The metopes were left plain, and squares remained near the triglyphs,

72370 separating them from each other; these, as the name also indicates, represented the former window openings. These triglyphs and metopes now continued further up in a flat band; soon, however, followed the cornice, the geison, which, as we mentioned, overhung slightly and for which a frame with drips was again attached to the band above each triglyph and metope. The geison was a not very wide, vertically oriented

72375 platform bordered by a cornice. Such a geison also ran along the upright sides of the obtuse-angled triangular gable. Above the geisons on both long sides, leaf-shaped decorations (Simen) were placed here and there, below which a lion's head was placed, from whose open mouth the rainwater flowing from the roof flowed down. The walls of the interior temple house could be seen through the columns. For the columns of a

72380 Doric peripteral temple like this one were always spaced some distance from the walls

on all four sides, so that the roof of the entire temple was actually the roof of that internal building, which extended at the sides to the columns, and at the front and back to the facades resting on them.

The building was not particularly high; it is well known how much all things excessive offended the Greek artist. From the terrace floor to the highest point, it measured no more than 20 meters, a height equal to that of many a mansion on the Keizersgracht canal in Amsterdam. Its length was 64 meters, its width 27 meters. Up to the architrave, the building was constructed of Elia shell lime, coated with a layer of fine white that made the temple shine even from afar. The entire superstructure was made of Pentelic marble. The vertical surface of the geison was painted bright red, so that a red border ran around the entire building at the lower end of the sloping roof and around the three sides of the gable triangles; the narrow moldings, which served to support the geison from below, were dark blue; the simen and lion heads also bore colors. Shields were attached to the metopes of the front and the south side, a votive offering from the Roman consul Mummius, the conqueror of Hellas and organizer of that country into a Roman province. Mummius sought to bring himself and his family into closer contact with the Hellenic world by endowing the principal Hellenic sanctuary with numerous votive offerings. The descendants of someone who had first conquered a province often considered themselves connected to that province by some bond and usually represented its interests in Rome, for example, in legal matters. Traces of the edges of Mummius' shields are still visible on several of the recovered metope blocks. At the top of the facade, radiant with the gold with which it was covered, stood the image of the goddess of victory, Nike, the heavenly one, for whose soul-stirring gift nowhere more than here was her head raised in supplication. On both the corners, also covered in gold, were adorned with decorations in the form of Greek cooking vessels: deep basins between three upright bars, allowing them to be placed over the fire. Vases are still sometimes used in the same way as ornaments on buildings today. These decorations, as well as the Nike, were the work of Paionios, one of the masters with whom Pheidias had journeyed to Olympia. The Eleians had held a competition for them; Paionios' designs were victorious. At the foot of the Nike was attached a golden shield of the goddess Athena, on which, as is well known, stood a Medusa's head. It was a votive offering from the Spartans and their allies after the victory over the Athenians at Tanagra. It will come as no surprise that none of these objects, so richly adorned with gold, have been recovered. But what was most striking about this facade was nothing more than the group of larger-than-life statues placed within the triangle of that facade. It was the work of the same Paionios who created the facade decorations, and depicted the contest between Pelops and Oenomaos, which, as we recall, would decide for Pelops whether he would acquire Hippodamia and her father's kingdom, and for the sanctuary and the entire landscape; whether Pelops or Oenomaos would henceforth rule; whether the realm of barbarism would be supplanted by one of gentler morals, yes or no. Nearly all the figures of this group have been recovered, though they are badly damaged. Yet, the way in which they are to be assembled into a whole, at least in the main, remains rather uncertain. The statues are made of marble. Bright colors, applied here and there, made some parts stand out more sharply from others, as in architectural compositions. The artist has chosen the moment that will bring the decision. Zeus, the supreme judge, has emerged in the center of the facade. He has positioned himself directly facing the viewer. His head and arms are still missing. His chlamys, a cloth draped around the shoulders as a cloak—gods and heroes often wear nothing else in sculptures—had fallen completely to his hips. To his right hand, facing the viewer on the left, stands Pelops, a slender, beardless youth, completely naked, and presumably holding a spear in his left hand; both arms, however, are missing. Beside him stands his bride Hippodamia, her right arm pressed against his body under her gently curved bosom, her left raised across her chest to her chin. Her head is tilted slightly to the left, that is, towards the chief judge. She wears a chiton, an undergarment that reaches from the shoulders to the ground, and over it a peplos, an outer garment that reaches no further than the hips. To the god's left hand, facing the viewer's right, stands Oinomaos with a broad, bearded face, a helmet on his head, his right hand at his side, the left presumably on his spear; both arms are missing. He has folded his chlamys and thrown it over his left shoulder. Of his wife Sterope beside him, we have neither the head nor the arms. She seems to have turned her left hand slightly away from her, holding her right close to her side. Her undergarment, a chiton, is held up by a girdle around the middle, which is, however, obscured by the overhanging folds. It falls fairly vertically; she is therefore standing almost completely upright; she has only placed her left leg slightly forward. Over her chiton hung her hip-length outer garment, peplos. Beside her,

mostly turned toward his horses and thus turning his back to her, lay Oenomaos's faithless charioteer, Myrtilos, on his right knee, while his left leg, closest to the wall, was still raised at a sharp angle. Of the arms, only the left hand, which
72450 gripped the reins, has been found; he seems to have held it up toward the horses. At the same time, he presumably looked at Zeus with his head, as much as possible, over his right shoulder. This, however, has been lost. His robe hung over his left shoulder and further over his hips and legs. At Hippodamia's side, naked as his master, Pelops's charioteer, Killas, sat on his right leg. He is turned forward
72455 toward the viewer, though not entirely, as he is somewhat more turned toward Zeus than toward his horses. The head is missing. The left leg is raised. His posture is therefore quite similar to that of Myrtilus. The placement, however, is slightly different. Directly behind the horses of Oenomaus, four in number according to Pausanias, sat, facing Zeus and thus with his left side towards the viewer, a
72460 venerable old man, deeply sunken on his overturned left horse leg, most likely resting on the downward-extended left arm, which then rested with its hand on the ground. The other arm was placed with its elbow on the still-raised right leg; the head rested with its right cheek in the open hand. Pensive and in silent attentiveness, the old man looked at the chief umpire. He was probably a priest or
72465 diviner, at least a man who understood the significance of the moment better than anyone else. His robe was wrapped only around his legs and hips. The arms are missing, but it is still clearly visible on the right cheek that it rested against the hand. A similar figure sat behind Pelops's four horses. He knelt, facing away from Zeus, on the left leg, the one most turned towards the viewer. By bringing his
72470 left arm back a considerable distance, however, he could, resting on it, turn his chest and face towards the umpire; his right hand rested on his still-raised right knee. This figure is badly damaged; here too, the arms are missing. In the two corners of the façade, on either side, one saw two gods of the landscape, for which the matter was naturally also important: Pelops the Alpheus and a nymph, probably the
72475 god of the Pisa spring, which flowed into the Alpheus in the area of Olympia; and Oinimaos the Kladeus with a young river god, not unlikely the god of the tributary (the name is unknown as far as I know), which fell into the Kladeus north of the hills of Olympia. The two main streams lay most prominently in the corner of the façade, their entire lengths on the ground: their faces were turned towards Zeus; the
72480 Alpheus probably leaned on his left arm, while the right, turned backward, rested on his thigh. The Kladeus lay prone on both arms. In both cases, the garment covered only the hips and legs. The head of Alpheios and the arms of both are missing. The nymph sits opposite Alpheios on her left leg. Yet, she turns her head slightly toward Zeus. Her right hand was probably on her right knee; both arms, however, are missing.
72485 She was dressed in a chiton and peplos with a girdle over both. The youth at Kladeos is more drawn away from his river god than she is by interest in what will happen. He, too, sits opposite him, in a very relaxed position: his right leg is tucked under him, so that the foot reaches behind his upright left; his left hand rests against the turned-away side of that leg; the robe hangs only over his left shoulder; he sits
72490 on part of it. However, wanting to know what was happening, he has, supporting himself with his right hand on the ground, turned his entire upper body slightly away from Kladeos, so much so that his legs have more or less followed that movement. His head is still missing. Incidentally, it is one of the best-preserved figures. This is the case with the group on the east facade. The composition is easy to grasp:
72495 the bond connecting all these figures is the greater or lesser attention with which they all direct themselves toward Zeus in the center of the facade; the pendants differ from one another, yet are easily recognized as such. At first glance, one sensed the solemnity of the moment. After the group on the east facade, it was
72500 obvious to take a closer look at the one on the west facade, which one had already seen in passing along the west wall of the Altis. It was the work of Alkamenes, the man who, according to Pausanias, won second prize with Phidias in a competition. Perhaps this can be connected to a tradition concerning both artists, which, although
72505 written by a very late author, undoubtedly stems from an older source and has considerable plausibility. Both artists had created a statue of the goddess Athena, which was to be placed atop a column. Initially, Alkamenes' work far outperformed that of Pheidias. However, no sooner were the two Athenas placed on a column than that opinion changed completely. It is not unlikely that this story contains a memory of that contest, from which Alkamenes emerged as the inferior, yet nevertheless a
72510 worthy rival to the incomparable master. We see him here at Olympia in his entourage, recognizing his superiority and accepting the work that, in the master's opinion, best suited his particular gifts. It was the battle between Lapiths and Centaurs at the wedding of Peirithous that he was commissioned to carve: the sculpture of the

rear facade, the western one. This battle was a very favorite theme for the Attic artists of that time. Similar representations are found on the frieze of the temple of Theseus on the metopes of the Parthenon and on the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia, the latter Attic masters also worked. The ancient legend had acquired a new meaning for these artists: the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs was a struggle between civilization and barbarism, meaningfully and truly Hellenically presented as one of ennobled humanity and self-control versus animal lust and licentiousness.

The same is true here at Olympia. The story of that battle is well known. At his wedding to Deidamia, a hero from the Lapiths, Theseus's usual companion, Peirithous, also invites the wild Centaurs from the mountains, creatures who were horselike beneath and therefore had four legs, but human above and were therefore also endowed with two arms. At first, everything goes quite well, but finally, intoxicated by wine, the Centaurs lose their unusual self-control. The wild Eurytion suddenly rises and seizes the bride. Now all bond is broken. That example proves decisive for the other Centaurs. One steals a virgin or woman, the other another. The Lapiths, however, were not the men to allow such a thing. With tremendous courage, they rush upon the robbers. It is one long assault, one long fight, one wrestling, one wrenching! Finally, the battle is decided: the Lapiths are victorious.

The artist now has that decision brought about by the appearance of Apollo, the patron saint of higher human conditions and an ennobled way of life. It is he who emerges from the middle of the facade amidst the wild spirit of battle. He extends his right arm imperiously to the right, his head also slightly turned in that direction. He is a slender, powerful young man on the verge of manhood, completely beardless. He wears his chlamys over his left forearm and further behind his back, with a long tip draped over his right shoulder. He thus appears almost completely naked. With his left hand, he probably rested on his bow. The figure has now been found in fragments, complete except for the left foot and the right lower leg. Traces of red paint have been found on the chlamys, which further confirms the belief that the ancients often painted their sculptures. We could therefore safely assume that the group on the facade wore some colors. On the right side of the god, towards which he turns his head, in front of the viewer on the left, probably stood Eurytion and Diedamia, the bride. Her chiton, here with sleeves, is of very fine linen and covered the entire body and upper arms, hanging in thin folds. It was held up by a girdle around the middle; she also wears a peplos. The fine chiton identifies her as a bride. The unfortunate woman is grasped between the right foreleg and the left arm of her captor. In mortal fear, she defends herself with both arms. Turning slightly toward him, she gazes up at the broad, coarse, sensuality of her captor, her virginal right hand pressing with all her might against his temples, her left gripping his broad, rough, ring-beard. It is a terrifying moment. Fortunately, however, her savior is near, and without giving the Greek artist too much credit for modern romanticism, we may well assume it was the bridegroom himself, Peirithoos. He is already in a forward stance, taking long strides, with his left leg, placed forward and naturally slightly bent, the one furthest from the viewer, pushing the monster aside. The chlamys has slid from his shoulders under that violent movement; a tip still hangs over his left leg, but on the right, stretched right back, she has sunk completely at his heels. The bride's head is still missing; Of the groom, everything except his right foot and left leg, with a piece of the abdomen, both with parts of the dress. Now, there is still a head available, which was previously assigned to one of the girls in the group, but since a piece of that girl's actual head was found, it must be given to another. Apparently, there is no figure in the group to which it could have belonged, except the groom, and it has been noted, among other things, in Pelops and Apollo, that the Greek could very well imagine youthful strength as beardless, and the beardless Lapith forms a very apt contrast to the shaggy Centaur. Yet, to give the brave groom a head originally intended for a girl, simply because all the girls and the other figures on the facade, one for one reason, another for another, seem to disdain it, is rather bold. It is best to wait and see if a piece of torso or neck is found that could clarify the matter.

To the left of the god, in front of the viewer on the right, one saw a Lapith virgin of noble features and body, dressed in a chiton and peplos and a folded cloth wrapped around her head, secured with a small knot above her forehead. The centaur has grasped her with both arms around the middle and presses his left hand against the virgin's bosom. She turns to the right and tries to wrest herself free from his with both hands. The arms of both figures are missing. Only fragments of the four hands remain. Nothing has been found of her rescuer except the right foot and the right arm, with which he appears to have wielded an axe; at least in the centaur's head, an open axe wound is believed to be visible. Who he was seems not difficult to guess.

Peirithoos on the other side could hardly have been flanked by anyone other than his
72580 friend and companion Theseus; and with this, Pausanias's statement in his description
of the group, that Theseus fought with an axe, is entirely consistent. Right next to
Peirithoos, a fearsome struggle is taking place. A centaur, the front of whose body
72585 emerges directly from the wall—the rest, as it were, remained inside—is being seized
on the left side (the spectator's right) by a Lapith, who had thrown his right arm
around his neck and was now trying to drag him to the ground. The brave youth is seen
more from the side than his opponent, but not entirely. He rests on his left knee,
while his left foot, due to its slightly slanted position, disappears into the wall.
The right leg must have been raised, naturally deeply bent at the knee; we only have
its foot, but this one, whose sole must have fully touched the ground, could not
72590 possibly have belonged to a leg positioned differently. The monster is already
beginning to sink somewhat, especially at the side of his enemy, but still offers
formidable resistance. With his left hand, he grasps the other's right hand to push
away the arm that clamps around his neck and threatens to strangle him. The chlamys
has slipped from his shoulders and sinks between him and the Centaur behind the
72595 raised right leg. Much is missing from both figures; of the Lapith, for example,
nothing remains of the entire torso other than the right arm and right shoulder.
Next to Theseus stood a Centaur, who was stealing a flowering boy; Pausanias mentions
it. The robber emerges diagonally from the facade wall to the right, so that, as with
his counterpart, a large portion of the body remains, as it were, inside. This is
72600 evidenced by the largely recovered half-horse body, which, as far as we can judge,
fitted smoothly against the facade. Of the poor boy, nothing remains but the armless
torso and a piece of the right leg. Behind his back, the Centaur's right arm extended
under his right arm. The monster's finger is visible under the armpit; the rest of
the hand and the arm, along with a piece of the chest to which it was attached, have
72605 also been found. The boy appears to have resisted and, like his counterpart, to have
grabbed the monster around the neck. No body parts of this one have been found,
except for the one mentioned.

Next, on either side of the facade, next to the Lapith, who is trying to strangle his
opponent, and the blooming boy, is a Centaur, who has turned towards his enemy,
72610 towards the corner of the facade, but is also trying to hold his prey. Next to the
Lapith, on the left side of the facade, is a girl, kneeling on her right leg, turned
towards the viewer. The Centaur has attempted to wrap his left paw around her. This
was done very roughly; her chiton was torn from her left shoulder, and now the
horse's hoof is pinching her in her lap. She is afraid the centaur will lift its hoof
72615 to encircle her more tightly, and that it will then come in her face; therefore, she
probably held her left arm, which is lost, between the two. She was not seen
completely from the side, because she had apparently turned slightly forward to push
herself off the centaur with her right arm, which is also lost, in order to escape
the encircling leg. Only very small fragments remain of her head. The same is true of
72620 the centaur's, of whom we otherwise have only a large piece of the horse's body and
small parts of the right foreleg and left hindleg. The Lapith, which is fighting him,
probably Caineus, leans forward quite strongly, following the upright side of the
triangular gable. Only the forward-positioned left leg, a portion of the right, and
both arms are missing. Presumably, he grabbed the Centaur by the hair with one hand
72625 and held a dagger or sword in the other.

The Centaur on the other side, next to the boy's robber, has also moved toward the
corner of the facade.

He has turned his attacker, but he keeps his upper body forward, facing the viewer,
72630 as he still needs both arms to hold the girl he has kidnapped.
She tries with all her might to wriggle free; she has fallen slightly forward onto
her right knee, her back against the centaur; he has grabbed her by the left foot
with his left hand; he has tried to swing the right across the front of her body,
across her waist, but she managed to grab it with both hands before it even reached
72635 that point and is now trying to push it back with all her might. This excessive
effort, however, is no longer necessary. While the centaur was still busy easily
subduing her, so he could then turn on his assailant, the latter had already seized
the girl by the hair with his left hand and, passing under the left arm with which he
had grasped the girl's foot, with his right, plunged a dagger into her chest—the
72640 opening where the dagger was lodged is still visible in the centaur's body. Suddenly,
the monster collapsed, slumped deeply; its hind legs were still raised. The hero who
so decisively came to the girl's aid is missing his head and arms. The centaur is
missing only small pieces; the girl's head, but otherwise not much. She is wearing a
chiton and peplos.

72645 The two ends of the group are causing the most trouble. Right next to the last described centaurs and lapiths, an old woman must have lain on either side, presumably on a couch, such as was always used at banquets. At least a cushion has been found, which appears to have belonged to such a couch, and on which the old woman on the right side of the gable must have rested. We must imagine her lying

72650 prone on this couch, her face turned towards the battle, with both arms resting on it. However, only small fragments of both her head and her body remain. We are more fortunate with her counterpart, the old woman on the other side; only her arms and the lower parts of her legs are missing. She lies prone, still somewhat on her knees, and, like the previous one, probably rested on both arms. She was dressed in a

72655 chiton. This one, too, must have been lying on a couch or something similar, if she were to flank the other. One could then see her standing on the ground below, looking up at her from below, and that is also where the sculpture is best crafted. Both old women were likely nurses of the kidnapped girls, and it will come as no surprise that they watched the struggle with anxious anticipation.

72660 In both corners lie two nymphs prone on the ground. The one on the right is resting on her elbows; the one on the left has removed her left arm slightly from under her head to pull up her chiton, which had slipped over her right shoulder. The main thing missing from this nymph are both arms; of which only the left hand, which pulled up the chiton, has been found. She wore a hood or cap. A similar one also had her

72665 counterpart; however, only a fragment of that remains. It seems that the two ends of the gable group cannot be composed differently, and yet it is almost impossible to assume that this composition is entirely correct. How could an artist, who achieved such variation in his pendants, have allowed his group to develop into two figures on either side, both leaning forward, one slightly higher

72670 than the other, as if in two parallel lines extending in line? This has not been concealed in Berlin either, and experiments are still being conducted with our group in the glyptothèque there. Yet, in its main features, it must be composed as described above, following in the footsteps of Dr. Treu.

72675 One immediately senses that there is a certain correspondence, a so-called parallelism, between this group and that of the facade. Both represent the victory of civilization and gentler morals over barbarism. In both, the case is decided by the appearance of a god; on the front it is Zeus, on the back his son Apollo. In both corners, deities lie watching the spectacle. Behind the horses of Pelops and Oenomaus sits an old man on either side; Like those on the east facade, the two old women on

72680 the west facade are deeply interested in what's happening. Yet, despite all the similarity, there's also a striking difference. As calm and solemn as the front is, the scene on the rear facade is equally powerful and moving. Let us now return in our thoughts to the front of the temple, to walk around the gallery between the columns and the walls of the inner temple building, and then

72685 enter it itself. To do so, we ascend the five-staircase staircase.

The projecting projection at the temple's pedestal, which is located here in the center of the facade, extends over the wider steps of the front. If we pass between the columns, we enter the gallery, walking on the simple pavement of pebbles covered

72690 with a kind of plaster. The gallery had a ceiling, probably of wood, between the back of the geison and the wall of the temple house. Under such a ceiling, a row of triglyphs and metopes was often placed around the walls. This was omitted here, probably for cost reasons. Only at the front and back, following the metopes, were plaques with reliefs depicting the twelve labors of Heracles.

72695 Where were these more appropriate than here, at the sacred place where the Greeks, as his followers, competed for the prize of victory in the contest he instituted? Let us begin our examination with the northernmost relief on the back, for it seems they wanted to maintain a historical order in the sequence of the works, and here the young hero appears completely beardless. He has slain the Neimeian lion and, having

72700 placed his right foot on the monster—this, at least, was most likely his posture—he rests his head on his right hand, while his elbow rests on his raised knee; he turns his face forward thoughtfully. Several pieces of these metopes were already unearthed during the French expedition, and this one is also preserved in the Louvre; the head of Heracles has now been found among them.

72705 In the next relief, Heracles fights the Hydra, the many-headed serpent, each of whose heads immediately regenerated after being severed. The monster curls from the left side of the metope to the right and raises its body along that right side; many heads have already been severed, but others are still rising. Heracles appears from the left. This metope probably also depicted Ioloas, who, according to the story, had set

72710 fire to a forest, using the burning branches to burn out every stump where a head had

been severed, to prevent regrowth. The Hydra, however, occupies the largest space in this relief.

In the adjacent one, Heracles shows his friend Athena, who is seated on the left, a pair of those Stymphalian birds—animals with iron wings and feathers as sharp as arrows, which even ate humans and had made the Valley of Stymphalus in Arcadia unsafe. Heracles, however, chased them away with the sound of an iron rattle and then killed them. Now he shows the goddess one of the birds with his right hand; another seems to have hung down along the body in his left, at the viewer's side. The most important pieces of this relief are in the Louvre. The same applies to the subsequent Cretan bull, which, however, owes its head to German excavations. Heracles had to transport this animal from Crete to Mycenae. The background of our relief is almost entirely occupied by the bull, which moves from the left to the right side, but is diverted by Heracles, who stands in front of it and moves in the opposite direction, from the right to the left, with his left hand by the head. The hero leans slightly forward, so that one can see that he has difficulty in pulling the animal along. The next relief depicted Heracles pursuing the Cerynite stag with golden horns and copper hooves. The moment seems to have been chosen when he came to the side of the animal from behind and grabbed it by the horns; because it still wanted to run, its head is pulled far back. The row at the back of this image was concluded by a depiction of Heracles' battle with the queen of the Amazons, from whom he had to take the belt given to her by Ares. Only the head remains, which, it seems, was dragged down by the hair.

If we walk around to the east side, the first relief on the left presents one of the most beloved depictions of the Greek common prostitute. The story usually has Heracles performing his labors in the service of King Eurystheus. However, Eurystheus actually became king entirely by chance instead of Heracles. Just as our demigod was about to be born, Zeus declared to Hera that he who would first see the light of day from that moment on would be king. The goddess, jealous of her husband's natural son, then temporarily prevents Heracles' birth and brings Eurystheus into the world as quickly as possible, though before the appointed time. In this way, the clumsy seven-month-old child becomes the ruler of Greece's greatest hero; no wonder the lord was never quite at ease with such a servant. Now he ordered Heracles to capture alive the wild boar that was infesting the area around Eurymanthos, a river in Arcadia.

The hero complies with this charge; but his master has reason to regret having given it. No sooner does his servant arrive with the monster on his back than fear overwhelms him so much that he crawls into a copper vessel. Heracles has noticed this and approaches the vessel, and here begins the scene on our metope, as it often appears on vases, objects of everyday use. The hero has placed his left foot on the vessel, grasps the monster with both hands, and threatens to throw it headfirst into it. The king pleads, rising from the vessel up to his chest, his hands extended towards his servant. The servant, however, apparently just wanted a joke. Some fragments of the figures in this relief are in the Louvre, some recently discovered, including the rim of the vessel with Heracles' left foot.

Heracles was to fetch King Diomedes' wild horses. The second metope on the front, according to the remains in the Louvre and those recently discovered, most likely depicted a horse that leaped to the right, but was diverted by the reins by Heracles, who passed in front of the horse to the left. The hero holds the reins with both hands; the horse's head, which is being pulled along, stands further from the background than the rest of the body.

The subject of the third relief is the battle with the giant Geryoneus. Geryoneus had three heads, each wearing a helmet, and three bodies, each covered by a shield. In our relief, Heracles has already defeated Eurytion, the giant's herdsman, and steps over his corpse from the left. The giant himself has also received violent blows from the hero, presumably with the club. He is, at least, on his knees. Heracles, continuing to strike, has placed his left foot on the giant's thigh. One head has already sunk, and the shield has slid off one arm. A large fragment of this metope can be found in the Louvre.

The next metope is the only one that has been preserved almost entirely. Heracles, completely naked and bearded, stands in the center, turned entirely to the right. A cushion rests on his bent neck, on which we can imagine the heavens, which are not visible in the relief; with his palms turned upward, he supports the burden on either side. Only her right arm, however, the one facing the viewer, falls into view. Behind him stands a woman, her body turned forward, her head in profile to the right. Her chiton falls in fairly upright folds; her peplos hangs over it. Her right hand falls

alongside her body, her left raised to support something with her palm; perhaps to lend a helping hand to Heracles. As far as I know, no one has yet been able to determine who she is. In front of Heracles, Atlas approaches him, showing him with his right hand the three apples of the Hesperides, which he had fetched for the hero while he carried the heavens for him. Atlas is also naked and bearded. Of the subsequent metope, which depicted the cleansing of the Augean stables, only Athena remains, wearing a helmet and a drooping chiton, watching her friend's labors. Following this is the hero's final labor; In this order, the Kerberos was brought out of the underworld. Little remains of it. Heracles seems to have dragged the animal forward from the left corner of the metope; so that it only partially appeared. His friend Athena stood beside him again.

With this, we had walked past all the metope reliefs. They, too, were provided with various colors, so that the different parts would stand out clearly; for example, the Cretan bull, judging by a few remaining traces of paint, was reddish-brown on bright blue. Even on the reliefs of the Hydra and the Nemean lion, some traces of earlier colors can still be seen. Now, however, we enter the interior of the temple itself and proceed first to the rear. There, the two side walls are curved into antebellums; between the two antebellums stand two Doric columns. It was probably possible to walk between them, or between one of them and an antebellum, without any obstruction. However, one then only entered the rear section, from where one could not penetrate the actual interior of the temple. It was, in a sense, a continuation of the surrounding gallery; the same pavement continued here. Yet, this rear section was intended for a calmer and more deliberate intercourse among the celebrants than that circuit. It was here, among others, that Herodotus read his stories.

However Now to the front. From there, one could penetrate all the way into the interior of the temple. Here, too, the side walls curved into anterooms; here, too, two Doric columns stood between them, but the three bays between these columns and anterooms were completely closed off by metal grating. The lower section, however, could be opened like a door, and through one of these doors we entered the so-called vestibule. There, all sorts of votive offerings caught the eye, not least the statue of a woman holding a wreath above a man's head. It was King Iphitos, crowned with the ekecheiria (God's peace), here depicted as a person. The pavement in this vestibule consisted of a beautiful mosaic of colored stones. A somewhat subdued light fell through the grating at the front.

Opposite the central entrance to the vestibule was the door leading to the actual interior temple space, the cella. It was opened; A bright light streamed down through a large opening in the roof, and in all its majesty and splendor, mortal eyes beheld the father of gods and men.

The colossal sculpture was composed largely of ivory and gold. The deity sat on a throne, which in turn rested on a pedestal. In large locks, his hair flowed on either side of his broad yet slightly tapering forehead; a rich beard encircled his chin and mouth; from the corners of his nose and eyebrows spoke imperious majesty. Around his head he wore a wreath like olive leaves. The Horen (times), which he rotates, and the Charites (joys of life), which he sends down, floated from the upper arm of his throne, one to one side, the other to the other, around his head. On his right hand stood Victory (Nike), descending from him, a statue entirely of gold; With his left, he held the scepter composed of various metals, with the eagle perched atop it. The golden cloak, which hung from his shoulders, was interwoven with figures, flowers, and animals. His feet, wearing golden shoes, rested on a platform covered in golden reliefs, depicting Theseus's battle against the Amazons.

On the high pedestal of the throne, as if representing Mount Olympus, numerous gods and goddesses, carved in gold, were depicted in various ways. Sculptures were also placed on the throne's legs: Nikes floated around them; the children of Niobe were struck by the arrows of Apollo and Artemis; Theban boys and girls were captured by the Sphinx. On the crossbars between the legs, numerous depictions of contests were depicted. Of the panels filling the open spaces between the legs, the foremost was darkly colored, the other three painted by Panainus, according to tradition a brother of Pheidias; on them, among other things, one could see Greece and Salamis, adorned with prows in their hands.

Thus, the formidable figure must have sat on Olympus when Achilles' mother, Thetis, came to him imploringly, and he granted her plea, as if with his eyebrows, his head only slightly moving in response; a wave spread through the locks on either side of his head: all of Olympus trembled. The artist's legend has Pheidias telling Panainus that the scene from Homer where this is described came to mind while crafting his

sculpture. It will come as no surprise that the artist, wishing to portray the supreme god in all truth, took him to great lengths. Mockingbirds said that if the god rose from his throne, he would necessarily have to take the temple roof with him. The artist had conceived of his task as the fulfillment of a higher mission. Centuries later, the place in the temple was pointed out where, according to the story, he had sunk down in deep reverence and asked the god himself for his judgment. There thunder rolls; lightning strikes right before him: the deity has spoken and set his seal on the work of man. Hellenic idealism had reached its highest point; perhaps no one who wishes to express the divine in the human can rise higher. The statue was lost—how, it is not known exactly—but the impression it had made in kindred spirits, the type the master had created, was perpetuated by subsequent generations, among others in works such as the Zeus of Otricoli. Centuries would still have to pass before Pheidias's great equal, Michelangelo, when he dared to depict the Christian God the Father on canvas, would overtake the Attic artist.

Let us now turn to the more mundane matters of this interior temple. On either side, a little way from the two side walls, ran a row of seven Doric columns, dividing the space into a large central nave and two rather narrow side galleries. The floor of the central nave had three sections. The front was paved with dark blue marble. This was followed by a second section, presumably separated by a threshold, of which no floor covering has been found. From a site by Pausanias, one seems to be able to infer that this section was also dark. The final section, also separated by a threshold, followed this section, which, according to the same site by Pausanias, must have had a light-colored pavement. The middle section was probably just below the opening for the light in the roof. Falling rainwater was then collected there, preventing it from flowing freely through the temple; there must have been drainpipes to the outside.

From the second column on either side, a metal gate, reaching a certain height, ran between all the columns, the same between the two outermost columns behind the statue and on the threshold in front of the statue. Therefore, it could not be approached freely from any side. To reach it, one would enter the gallery between the first and second columns, open a door, and thus enter behind the gates. If one went around, one would exit through a similar door on the other side. Opposite both doors were stairs that led to the upper gallery, which rested on the columns of the gallery below. From there, too, one could likely walk around the statue. If one went even higher, via a spiral staircase, one would reach the roof, from where, above the buildings of Olympia, one had an unobstructed view of the green hills of the landscape and, perhaps, on the western horizon, could also glimpse the distant blue of the Ionian Sea.

We descend and leave the temple. Here we have seen a building from the heyday of Greek art, the age of Pericles. Until now, it was generally assumed that the temple was built much earlier, and that only the sculptures of Paionios and Alkamenes were added to the facades around the middle of the fourth century. This now seems untenable. Around the temple, the footpath, which was used during the heyday of Hellas's greatness, can still be seen. As they dug deeper, they came through a layer of yellow sand and fragments of stone, clearly building rubble, and then first to the black subsoil. Now, most of the statue pedestals here have been placed on top of this layer of sand and building rubble; a few others—one of which is very clear—originally stood on the black earth and, when the new layer was cast over it, remained in place, so that a large section, which had been shaped to be conspicuous, was buried under the earth. These latter pedestals, as the lettering of the inscriptions indicates, were erected before the latter half of the fifth century, the others later. It seems therefore clear that an earlier temple was demolished around the middle of the 5th century or slightly later. Some of the remaining rubble was covered with yellow sand, and the new temple was built on top of it. The pedestals that already stood around the old temple were partially placed under this new foundation, while the later ones were placed on top.

The architect Libon, a man from Elis, was then a contemporary of the Attic masters and collaborated with them. He also seems to have benefited somewhat from his association with them; at least in a few minor architectural details, Attic style is believed to have been observed. However beautiful the building may have been, on the whole, the high nobility of form, such as that seen, for example, in the Parthenon, was not achieved here. And this also applies most eminently to the sculptures of the Attic masters themselves. The treatment of the clothing is broad, that of the hair, for example, of Apollo, rather old-fashioned for that time, while the ingenious conception of the western group and the quiet solemnity exuding from the eastern

group make us feel that we are dealing with works by great masters. This observation about the method of workmanship applies no less to the metopes, which, while seemingly made according to the Attic model, those of the Temple of Theseus, nevertheless possess an unfashionable breadth and sometimes even a somewhat clumsy quality. In their workmanship, they also offer similarities to the facade of Paeonios. But that same master had a statue (a Nike) placed directly opposite the Temple of Zeus, with noble forms and much better treatment of the clothing. The question, therefore, is: why did these masters pay so little attention to the detail in the execution of their beautiful compositions? One might answer that such fine work was unnecessary for statues placed so high. But again one might ask: what about the facade sculptures of the Parthenon? One could answer to this, however, that the Eleians were indeed wealthy landowners, but not if the Athenians had a treasury of allies at their disposal. If one considering the substantial costs incurred for all these works of art, one can understand that, wherever possible, they economized somewhat, and therefore, in the case of higher-ranking statues, where the main concept was more important than elsewhere, less care was given to the elaboration of the details. For example, hadn't reliefs, out of economy, only been applied to the fronts of the temple house, and wasn't the surrounding pavement more neat and clever than beautiful? Perhaps the masters worked out their compositions somewhat hastily, here and there even based on outdated schematics. How recently Pheidias' school had left them behind! Perhaps these works were also produced under their direction, by others, possibly Eleians; But if this were the case, then, especially in the western group, the master often took the chisel from the pupils' hands, or among these, like Van Dyck among those of Rubens, there was probably a genius who remained in the making. Even in its details, for example, in the grips of some of the hands, this western group often possesses striking dramatic power.

Among the votive offerings, just before the temple, stood the Nike of Paionios, already mentioned. From an oblong round slab, the column rose upwards with ten stepped constrictions, on which the goddess was placed, almost six meters above the ground. She seemed to descend with an eagle beneath her; her wings were raised at her shoulders. The thin robe is fastened above the right shoulder, so that the left arm and bosom fell outside. Due to the rising air current caused by her descent, the dress clung closely to the body at the front, and it appears that it blew backward in broad curves on either side. In her left hand, she likely held a wreath aloft, raising her shoulder somewhat. Arms, head, and left lower leg, wings, and a large piece of the dress were initially completely missing. Only smaller fragments were found later. An inscription states that the Messenians from Naupaktos erected it from the spoils they had captured on "enemies" and that Paionios from Mende, "the same who triumphed with his designs for ornaments on the temple facade"—among them, of course, a Nike—had made it. According to a story from the Messenians, which Pausanias heard recount and which is highly likely, these enemies were the Spartans, but their influence was still so strong at Olympia at the time—the Messenians also related this—that they did not dare to inscribe that name on it. Later, they were less hesitant. When, at the behest of the Romans, the Milesians had won a border battle between the Messenians and their long-standing enemy, three large deeds relating to this were engraved on the column.

We leave the terrace of the Temple of Zeus and proceed through a whole row of sculptures to the eastern part of the Altis. There stood two buildings, a smaller one on the southeast side and a very large gallery north of it. Shortly behind these buildings, the eastern Altis wall appears to have run. This area is still little known. This smaller building stood on a pedestal with two staircases. Ascending it, one entered, through a row of columns, a gallery that encircled the building itself on its long front and narrower sides. This gallery consisted of four rooms; the space between the columns of the gallery could be closed off by metal gates. It is not unlikely that this building was the town hall of the Olympic Council.

The large gallery on the north side was the so-called Gallery of Echo, also called the "Multicolored" because its closed back wall was painted with numerous depictions. It rose quite high above the ground floor via four steps of Parian marble; it was 100 meters long and 10 meters wide, so that from here at least 2,000 people could watch the sacrifice ceremony on the large altar opposite, passing between the Ionic columns at the front. The two sides of the Gallery of Echo were also closed. If one turned around the Echo gallery on the north side, one came across a sort of gateway, consisting of two pedestals shaped like half-columns, and between them two actual columns, all Ionic, and indeed of very old design. Between the actual columns was a door; the space between the columns and pedestals was filled to a certain extent by a stone wall. This was the gateway to the tunnel-shaped, so-called "secret" entrance to

- 72975 the camp, the stadium.
From there, if one went somewhat westward, one came across the so-called Zanes, a plural of Zeus, statues of the god, erected from the fines with which they had been burned.
- 72980 Rafts were discovered, those who had offended the Deity during the battle, for example, by bribing the opposing party or accepting bribes. The pedestals of these statues have been found.
Then came a temple called the Metroon, that is, the temple of the Mother of the Gods. It was a Doric peripteral temple, like that of Zeus, but much smaller, barely a third
- 72985 of its size. It also rested on a pedestal with three steps. It was probably built in the fourth century BC, and the remains discovered greatly increase our knowledge, especially of the Hellenic ornamentation of the buildings. The colors blue and red were also used to more clearly highlight certain architectural elements. During the Roman Imperial period, this temple was gruesomely renovated. It was then given a new
- 72990 plaster, one several centimeters thick. Our restorer deemed all sorts of fine ornamental details, such as the drops under the Geison, superfluous and either discarded or plastered over without prior treatment. Then it—the temple of the Mother of the Gods!—was converted into a pantheon for Roman emperors. It was still more appropriate than that of Zeus or Hera (more on which later). The emperors enjoyed
- 72995 divine honors in the provinces, even during their lifetimes, in Rome itself only after their death. It was certainly not indifferent to the Romans that a place of veneration was also reserved for these divine rulers of the world empire at the most important Hellenic sanctuary. Yet, the idea needn't have occurred to the Romans. At that time, the Greeks were sufficiently courteous to the Roman lords, and especially
- 73000 to the emperor. With a certain common enthusiasm, that degenerate race seized upon every conceivable honor to heap upon the head of the mighty, and they even assumed a pose as if they had accomplished something great.
- 73005 Of the statues of the emperors that once stood here, several have been recovered, specifically in the temple itself. One of these statues, which initially lacked a head, was elevated to Zeus because an eagle stood beside it. Dr. Purgold was the first to observe that the marvel strongly resembled a Claudius, recently unearthed at Civita Lavina. When they subsequently attempted to place the head of that emperor, which had been found a considerable distance away, on this torso, it fit perfectly.
- 73010 Similarly, a head of Titus fit on another torso. Both statues are exquisitely carved. Nearby, a statue of a woman was also found, probably of an empress, also headless. A woman in barbaric attire was also unearthed here, kneeling with her hands behind her back, probably the personification of a subjugated province bowing to an emperor. Of this woman, only part of one leg remained standing, but a corresponding torso has now
- 73015 also been found.
North of Zanes and Metroon, Pausanias saw a whole row of small, temple-like buildings, so-called treasuries, houses that various states or rulers had erected there to house their gifts to the God. They lay with their backs flush against Kronos Hill and rested on a raised foundation. Few buildings in the Altis region, however,
- 73020 have been as damaged by the ravages of the elements and humanity—often no more than an element—as this one. Even its foundations have not been completely left untouched, although a large portion of them can still be found. Fortunately, one of these treasuries was only destroyed by a landslide from Kronos Hill, so there are enough remains to allow for some reconstruction. It was a carefully crafted building, not
- 73025 only resting on a pedestal with two smaller and one larger staircase, but also the walls tapered gradually, with very narrow and increasingly narrow steps leading upward. One entered a porch between two Doric columns and two anterooms, and from there into an inner room—the same arrangement, it seems, as in most of the other treasuries. This was the so-called Carthaginian treasury, that is, the treasury that
- 73030 Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, had built at the beginning of the 5th century BC from the spoils taken from the Carthaginians.
The later inhabitants of the Valley of Olympia constructed a large fortified square from fragments of architectural and sculptural pieces. From the western wall, various blocks, fragments of columns, a few capitals, pieces of reliefs, etc., were
- 73035 recovered, which had been piled up inside and appeared to have been broken away from a building. After some investigation, it turned out that this building must have been exactly the width, judging by the foundations found, of one of the treasuries, except for one.
- 73040 The last in the row, according to Pausanias, that of the Megarians. In the facade of

this treasury, he also saw a relief depicting the battle of Gods and Giants, and this was entirely consistent with the fact that among the numerous remains found, there were also relief plaques. When, finally, one was found among the blocks, broken off at the end, right through the fourth letter of the word Megara, or Megarians—a block that also seemed to have belonged above the entrance to the building—the matter was settled.

It was a carefully crafted building. The facade rested on two antae and two columns. Below the geison, a frieze of limestone reliefs ran around the entire building; this was also found in the facade. The spaces between the antae and columns were filled with metal grating, through which one or more doors must have led to the vestibule, which led to an inner room twice as large as this one. The building is a human age older than the Carthaginian treasury; it was certainly built no later than the end of the 6th century BC. How such discoveries complete all the links in the chain of Greek architectural history is understandable.

Dr. Treu has been able to reconstruct the relief on the facade with a degree of probability that allows one to form a fairly accurate assessment of the composition. In the center stands Zeus with a Giant, who has already fallen to his knees. To his right, Athena and Poseidon are fighting, and to his left, Heracles and Ares, each also with a Giant. In the corner, in front of the viewer on the right, a Giant lies flat on the ground, his helmet turned towards the corner. Flanking him is a sea creature, which comes from the left corner to assist Poseidon, the god of the sea. One of the best-preserved pieces depicts the Giant battling Heracles. He has fallen to his left knee, the one facing the viewer; his right leg is still standing; he tries powerlessly to defend himself. Heracles, who is fighting him, has already placed his left leg beyond the Giant's right and will soon have completely defeated him. Here we have before us a very ancient example of the art of grouping; with childish naivety, for example, one thinks it is enough to place a sea creature opposite the prostrate Giant.

According to Pausanias, the first treasury on the left was that of the tyrant Myron of Sicyon. Next came that of the Carthaginians. Now that the foundations of these buildings have been uncovered, there is one fewer than the Greek travelogue; yet, according to the most recent reports, remains of them have also been found. Right next to these treasuries, on the west side, stood a building that was only erected a year or so after Pausanias's visit to Olympia. A wealthy and generous man from Attica, who achieved great respect in Rome, Herodes Atticus also indulged his almost manic passion for building at Olympia. Numerous buildings by him are mentioned. When his wife Regilla later died, he had his house painted black, black carpets and curtains installed, and other parts clad with black marble. He loved his Regilla dearly, and it was through her that he had a large aqueduct, which branched off into the sacred area with various branches—it has been found everywhere during excavations—donated to the sanctuary. This was a great blessing for Olympia, and it was noted, as if living in our age of hygiene, that not only would one now be able to quench one's thirst with proper drinking water in the sacred area, but that Olympia would also suffer less from disease. The elongated main reservoir, into which water flowed from both sides of the hill of Kronos, was connected to an elegant building, a so-called Exedra, a building where one could comfortably indulge in disputing—a very favored pastime at the time. Herodes Atticus himself was also a rhetorician. Next to the reservoir, on either side, were two small, round buildings, probably containing two statues, perhaps those of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius; of the former, the torso and head were found, of the latter, only the head. Slightly higher than the reservoir and behind it, the two round buildings were connected by a semicircular building; here, too, niches were placed for statues of the imperial family, several of which have been recovered in relatively good condition, including one of Faustina, the wife of Antoninus Pius, though the lower portion of her statue has broken off above the knees. All the images of the Exedra prove that if one built as much as Herodes Atticus, one had to compromise considerably on the demands of beauty. In that semicircular building, they had an unobstructed view of the great altar of Zeus. In front of the reservoir stood a rather carelessly carved marble bull, on which an inscription stated that Regilla had donated the aqueduct and the accompanying building to Zeus. Water flowed into the reservoir through the open mouths of two lion heads at the rear.

Close to this Exedra stood the temple of Hera, the Heraion, so closely attached to a small hill next to Mount Kronos that one could not walk around it on the north side. It was, as it were, the counterpart of the temple of Zeus on the other side of the great altar and had already stood there at the same time as the temple, which had been demolished in the latter half of the 5th century; the foundations of the new one

were then brought to the same level as his. Although they belonged together, that of Zeus's wife was somewhat smaller. It also had a less grand appearance from the outside; The pedestal rose by two rather narrow staircases; there was no trace of sculpture in the facade. One did not enter the temple from the eastern front, but on the south side, two separate staircases had been placed in the pedestal at either end, allowing access to the gallery surrounding the temple house; for this, too, was a Doric peripteral temple. If one walked under this gallery to the north side, one could exit the temple there, near the rear front, via a staircase leading to the heights beside Kronos Hill. The Eleans certainly considered replacing this temple with a new one; however, they contented themselves with renovating it whenever the opportunity arose. Whenever one of the old oak columns became unusable, it was replaced by another of stone; however, Pausanias still saw a wooden one at the entrance to the rear of the building. This explains why the stone columns varied considerably in size and design. The fact that columns of wood and stone stood side by side presented no problem, as they were all covered with the same fine plaster. On the emergency side, where the temple could not be accurately measured at the time, it was not even considered necessary to align the columns on the outside, even if they were of different sizes. The Doric column usually has twenty flutes, but sometimes sixteen, and here too, one with sixteen can be found on the north side. Such columns are of the oldest form and very remarkable for art history. The Doric column is also of Egyptian origin. When ancient dwellings were hewn from rock, square pillars were left as supports for the upper vault. Later, they were also used in buildings above ground. However, the corners were often cut off, so that they became octagonal; in the same way, they were then converted from octagonal to sixteen-sided; the flat sides were also soon grooved and made into flutes. The Greeks wanted more flutes, but 32 was too many; they started with a pentagon and thus arrived at twenty. Columns with sixteen flutes, therefore, reveal their origins much more clearly than those with twenty. Traces of votive offerings placed against the columns in the gallery can still be found on the columns, which must have stood on the east and south sides of the temple.

The temple house had no antennæ, meaning the side walls did not curve at the front or back, so that those walls were visible in cross-section. Two columns also stood midway between these ends of the walls, and the spaces at the rear of the house were filled with metal grating, so that only one door provided access. Entering the interior temple space through the front house certainly gave a completely different experience than entering that of the Temple of Zeus. On a throne sat the Goddess of Heaven, presumably with two gods beside her, one of whom was likely Zeus herself, the other possibly Ares. They were looking at a very ancient work, made on the site of Olympia itself; at least the yellowish-white limestone in which it is carved is found near Olympia. It is a product of Greek art, as it first began to become independent of Egyptian art. The hair flows in perfectly even waves on either side of the forehead; this is followed by a band, and atop the head is a round headdress, made up of several elongated pieces, closely fitting together on the long sides. It was precisely under the Saitic dynasty, during the 7th and 6th centuries, when Greece most experienced the influence of Egypt, that a kind of headdress for Isis-Hahor came into use in that country, consisting of a combination of Uraeus serpents, symbols of royal dignity, topped with two horns. also the Leiden Museum has several examples of this. Hera's headdress is clearly derived from it; only the horns have been omitted, unless, which is difficult to judge from a drawing, an unevenness on one of the sides is the remnant of a broken horn.

The interior construction of the temple was also very ancient. Only during the Roman Imperial period were columns added here, which, running parallel to the side walls, divided the temple house into three sections. Before that time, niches had been built on these side walls, traces of which can still be seen. That these belonged to the original design of the temple is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the side walls of these niches, which stood at right angles to the side walls, were completely aligned with the outer columns, but in such a way that one column was omitted each time, and each niche had the width of twice the distance between two columns. The niches were therefore designed at the same time as the exterior structure; Had they been added later, a seemingly unnecessary agreement would not have been so easily arrived at. These niches were probably covered with wood. The numerous votive offerings that stood in this temple were undoubtedly placed in them. The ancients were particularly interested in the so-called chest of Cupselos, the Corinthian tyrant, painted with all sorts of scenes from Greek legends and myths. It was a very old work. According to tradition, the tyrant's mother had hidden him in this chest from the eyes of his attackers shortly after his birth. In

one of these niches also stood the Hermes by Praxiteles. The majority of this work has been recovered. We have already noted that not a single original piece by him, nor by any other representative of the art movement, of which he was one of the greatest coryphaeus, has survived. Imagine, for a moment, that after two thousand years a work by Rembrandt van Rijn was unearthed, after having known him until then only through the stories of his ancestors and imperfect copies.

The gods of Praxiteles are much closer to the ordinary human world than those of Pheidias. When the Greek, especially after the battle against the Persians, felt a noble sense of self-worth, and humanity seemed to him a revelation of dignity and strength, the gods were the most sublime example of that human splendor. In the time of Praxiteles, however, when civil wars had destroyed the states, when their Asian brothers had been delivered to the Persians, when no state in Greece anymore set an example of devotion to higher principles, when freedom itself was soon to perish, to perish through its own fault, how could such a belief in itself have been possible then? Yet all was not yet lost; Youth and sweet beauty still shone in their full splendor, and because of this, the human figure, even though the more powerful striving for higher things had departed from the soul, remained a captivating image for the sculptor. Now, too, the artist's eye was more fully opened to humanity as it presented itself when pain torments or passion drives him onward, and although art had, if you will, descended into lower spheres, this was amply compensated for by greater versatility.

Praxiteles, however, felt drawn above all to that gentle beauty, and his gods reflect it in great perfection. One could call him the artist of blossoming beauty in comfortable tranquility. The famous sculptor Cephisodotus was most likely his father and teacher; It has been strikingly noted that his Eirene (Peace) with the child Pluto (God of the Underworld), of which the glyptothèque in Munich possesses a beautiful copy, offers a certain similarity in composition to this Hermes and the child Dionysus (the God of Wine); indeed, an ancient writer, Pliny, reports that the father also developed this same theme. According to the son's depiction in his sculpture, the young god has thrown his chlamys onto a cut-down tree trunk, which stands upright in the ground, down which it falls in numerous folds, casting all sorts of shades of light and dark over it. He himself stands beside this tree trunk and leans on it with his left arm, thereby slightly bending his right hip outward. On this left arm now sits his divine foster-child, whom he was once supposed to have taken to certain nymphs for rearing. In his hand the god clutched the herald's staff, which had broken off, probably because it was covered in precious metal. The young Dionysus hangs the little Chlamys on his right hip; on his left side it has slid down a little further. With his right foot he rests on the stump of a branch cut from the tree trunk; the left hangs freely. With his right hand he holds the shoulder of his nurse. Now he throws his head back a little, and he turns his head back, slightly bending it toward his left shoulder, so that he can see something in Hermes's face, which he held in his raised right hand, past his head. The god's mouth is drawn into a soft smile. He isn't really occupied with the little boy. He looks straight ahead, tilting his head slightly to the right, and is apparently in that state of comfortable repose we mentioned above, while meanwhile the little god goes about his business quite happily. Therefore, I don't think it's very likely that he, as one might think, held a bunch of grapes in his raised hand for the child. He would have been playing with the little one, as it were. It's better to assume that he had something in his hand, and when he picked it up, he wasn't thinking of the child, but that he happened to find it beautiful. What this was, however, is difficult to determine. Besides the right arm, a large part of both legs is also missing. The foot of the right has also now been found, which wears a sandal but has no wings. Here the artist deviated from the ancient mythological representation. The child is missing both arms; only the hand on Hermes's shoulder is still visible on the right; he must have extended the right arm towards the object in his right hand.

The god's body is sculpted with great mastery. The fluffy transitions of the muscles cast numerous delicate shadows across it, and the skin is soft and lustrous. The hair is cut short and stands out clearly against the clear skin of the face. He appears to have worn a wreath. That this god was quite close to the human world is already evident from the fact that he is only slightly taller than the average human height. Dionysus, on the other hand, is exceptionally small and must, on the other hand, look far too old for his age. The cloak is finely sculpted; the head, it is said, is of very average height. The long hair is held back by a band. The fact that some parts are less carefully worked, including Hermes's hair—but mainly at the back—has led some to claim that the work is not by the great master. Pausanias, however, assures us quite unequivocally, and at Olympia, where he inquired about all such things, they

were well aware of it; the supposition that a namesake of the famous Praxiteles would have created it is highly improbable. But why not Praxiteles himself? Has it never happened before that a great master neglected certain parts of his work to elaborate others with great passion? Praxiteles was an artist who seems to have worked very extensively; isn't it in the character of such a person, once he had satisfied himself with elaborating on what was most important to him in his conception, to find it tedious to continue working on his work? He apparently heard while working that it would be placed in a niche and was working on the back. He then immediately left; the chisel marks are still clearly visible on the back, and professional sculptors assure us that this shows he must have used tools exactly the same as those used today. This placement in a niche, even a wide one, certainly explains the less careful work on the back of the head. Between the left leg and the tree trunk, the statue was supported by a crossbar, which, presumably, only needed to be used during transport, but was accidentally left in place. The statue probably stood on a not very high pedestal, the bottom plate of which has been found. We will never see the work completely as it was. It was painted, according to some traces, and it is impossible to determine how. After taking another look at two tables, which, judging by deep grooves in the stones that formed the floor, must have stood in the temple's porch, we leave it on the south side. Northwest of it lies the Prytaneion, where, among other things, the victors in the games were entertained at the expense of the Eleans. Nearby is the small, elegant, round temple that Philip of Macedonia, after defeating the Greeks at Chaeronea, had built in his honor: the Philipion. But the Temple of Hera was above all an excellent starting point for strolling past the hundreds of sculptures, mostly statues of victors, placed in the open air. One then proceeded from the south side of this temple, behind the aforementioned large altar to Zeus, which, it was said, was formed from the ashes of sacrificial animals. Ashes from this altar are found. Then one passed the sanctuary of Pelops (Pelopion), an unwallled open space dotted with statues and trees. The entrance was on the west side. One continued between this Pelopion and the Temple of Zeus to the western Altis wall. Then one walked around the terrace of the Temple of Zeus, always passing sculptures, until one reached the western wall again. There presumably lay the Hippodamion, also a walled area. Parallel to the southern Altis wall stood another row of statues. If one passed the southeastern main entrance and then walked north to the column of the House of Oenomaos, well known to us, one had passed almost all of them. Many pedestals of all these sculptures have been found, but few of the statues themselves. We have already mentioned the Nike of Paionios, which stood on the terrace in front of the Temple of Zeus. Of the statues of victors, we have the remains of three: a very moderately carved marble head; a head that, in its carving, bears a strong resemblance to the Aeginites and thus dates from the early fifth or late sixth century. A shield with a fragment of an arm was also found, the edge of which, covering the chin, fitted this shield to the head. On the shield, Phrixos is depicted with a ram; it is known that he escaped with his sister Helle on such an animal, but the latter drowned in the Hellespont. Now, near the column of the house of Oinomaos, Pausanias mentions a statue of Eperastos, who, in the inscription he mentions, boasts of being of the lineage of Melampos. Melampos was related to Phrixos. This head is therefore likely that of Eperastos, and a kind of heraldic symbol appeared on his shield. The third find is the head of a pankratiast, or boxer, as indicated by the ears, which in such individuals were fused together by scars. It is beautifully crafted from bronze and striking because of the realism with which the anything but gentle appearance of such a fighter is depicted. This suggests that a Pergamic or Rhodian artist from the last centuries BC made it.

In an area like Olympia, one naturally also saw many beautiful or important smaller objects. I would like to mention a few that have been found. One is a small statue of a female deity, sculpted entirely in the Egyptian style; the arms are held straight along the body, and in each hand she holds a serpent. It is believed to be one of the Erinnyes, goddesses of fate, but a very old one. New evidence of the Semitic influence that must have had on Greek art has also been found at Olympia. The most important is a piece of bronze, which must have belonged to a cauldron or something similar, on which, among other things, stands Artemis, the goddess of the hunt, with wings and two lions beside her, who still bears a strong resemblance to her Asian predecessor, Anaïtis or Anahita; a piece of light 2,400 years old.

Thus Olympia, "the mother of the shining garlands, was the place where merit was truthfully judged, where soothsayers deduced from the smoldering morsels of sacrificial meat whether one would acquire masculine virtue, whether one would find relief from the pressure" through the glorious consciousness of having achieved

- 73305 something noble through the exertion of one's best efforts. "We humans are like those of a day. What is someone, what is someone not?" Today we are this, tomorrow that. "Man is the dream of a shadow. But when the splendor that comes from the hands of Zeus (victory) descends upon him, then a brilliant light shines for him; blessed then is his life." Thus, it was a sacred place here, where one sought solace and comfort,
- 73310 and felt momentarily weak. The long line of illustrious ancestors, past whose statues one walked, was inspired by their example with renewed vigor. When a rhapsode recited the second book of Homer's Iliad, and had reached that section where the various tribes and kings who had participated in the war against Troy are mentioned in great detail, every Greek listened attentively until the name of his people was mentioned
- 73315 and the illustrious heroes were mentioned who, even after so many centuries, still made up the glory of their tribe. So, no Greek entered the region of the Altis without being able to point out at least a few victors among all those statues, whom he could count among his own, to a greater or lesser extent. One might also call Olympia an art museum; if art had not been fully integrated into life here, as
- 73320 everywhere in Greece. Olympia was always important for the Greeks, but at certain times more so than at others. For example, one might find that the sacrificers would ask the god for an oracle; one could be present on that day of the month when the Elian priests performed their oracles.
- 73325 An ancient sacrifice, consisting of incense, flour, and honey, was circulated in a fixed order around all the approximately 70 altars that stood within the sacred area. But whatever it might have been at other times, everything was surpassed by Olympia, as it was during the great festivals every four years, when it showed itself in its most glorious form, far outshining everything of that kind in Greece, "like the sun
- 73330 the other stars."
- We will attend such a celebration in the final section of this essay.
Leiden.
A.E.J. Holwerda.
(Conclusion to follow.)
- 73335 Olympia. (Continued from p. 114.)
- III.
- 73340 The end of the four-year period, which would be concluded by the great festival of the Eleans at Olympia, was approaching. Everyone could easily calculate how far they were from that date; The festival began five days before the arrival of the full moon, which fell closest to the summer solstice every fourth year, ending precisely with that full moon. About a year before that time, various champions in many Greek
- 73345 cities began to deliberately prepare for the Olympic competition. Gymnasts (leaders of the champions), fathers, relatives, and friends consulted whether their son, relative, or friend was truly trained enough to compete at a venue like Olympia. Only later did those who wished to attend the festival only as spectators make their travel plans. Finally, thirty days before the full moon in question, the so-called
- 73350 sacred month began; heralds of peace passed through Elis and subsequently also went to several other states to proclaim the Olympic Peace. This was an old custom that had lost much of its original purpose, but which, like so many similar customs, nevertheless served to add greater solemnity to the entire festival.
- 73355 For some time now, the governments and assemblies of the various cities had also been concerned with the matter. Who would be sent to the principal Hellenic sanctuary as theores—official representatives of the state at one or another religious festival abroad? Only wealthy individuals were eligible. While the states often spent large sums on their theores—embassies of theores—it was up to these theores to add even greater splendor to their appearances in the sacred domain, and many were eager to
- 73360 render service to their country and thus gain prestige among their fellow citizens. Now the state ships, which would transport the theores, also had to be rigged, and the multicolored tents were brought out to house them during the festival. The crowd could now admire the magnificent vessels that would serve for the state's sacrifices at the great altar of Zeus.
- 73365 Meanwhile, in Elis itself, on the first day of the sacred month, the prelude to the approaching festivities had already begun. In one of the halls of the city's large gymnasium, the judges and organizers of the competition, the Hellanodikas, held a meeting that day. From all sides, the champions who wanted to participate in the competition streamed in; anyone who did not arrive on that appointed day knew that
- 73370 unless they had very valid reasons for their absence, they would be excluded. When

registering, they had to be able to prove that they were a free Hellene, not a slave; that they had not been deprived of their civil rights by any sentence, had committed no crime against the gods, and were not stained by bloodguilt. Even those who might wish to claim that another did not meet any of these requirements were admitted to provide evidence. In Elis, the names of those who would participate in the competition were already being announced. They were becoming acquainted with them, or even renewing old acquaintances, as well as with gymnasts, relatives, and friends, for they had undoubtedly come more than once before.

The next morning was very early in Elis. Even before sunrise, the Hellanodiki left their official residence at the Elian market square, crossed it, and entered the large gymnasium through an entrance that led to it. Preliminary exercises for the great competition were about to begin, and these were apparently repeated every day. Things were stricter here than at the gymnasium back home. There was no friendly gymnast here with whom one could more or less arrange the exercises to their satisfaction; As absolute ruler, Hellanodike wielded the scepter, and anyone who refused to submit was excluded from the competition. The champions' own gymnasts were also usually present, but if they should ever interfere too much, a blow with the message from one of Hellanodike's servants quickly informed them that they were no longer on the grounds of their dominion. The exercises usually began early in the morning with the footrace; wrestling, boxing, and the like took place at noon. The sun then blazed brightly in the sky, and the sand from the Arcadian plains, often more undulating than that of Ethiopia, frequently blew into the Elian Gymnasium. Now, heat hardiness was one of the main requirements for the trained champion, but it soon became clear that only the most outstanding among the best could venture into these preliminary exercises at the Elian Gymnasium. The less suitable had, of course, long been eliminated before the actual competition began; at the same time, the various champions had become accustomed to each other.

Meanwhile, the quiet rural town became increasingly lively and bustling. People walk through the streets, through the market, through the Gymnasium: they want to see the men and youths who will soon fight for the greatest victories. It won't be long before the splendidly dressed theoreticians mingle with the bustling crowd. For many, however, Elis is merely a place through which they pass. The two roads to Olympia, situated to the south, are becoming increasingly crowded with pedestrians and chariots. Bustle and movement begin to prevail in the hitherto tranquil valley of Olympus and Mount Kronos. Around the Altis area, tents are being pitched, which they intend to rent to revelers. Peddlers display their wares there. There is also activity around and in the Palaestra and the Gymnasium, which must be prepared to receive the champions, just as the Leonidaion is for those theoreticians who were not allowed to bring their own tents. It is even possible that they could not all be accommodated in that building; In that case, beautiful, multicolored tents had to provide for further needs. For just as other states considered it their duty to send theoria, the Elean state owed it to its dignity to receive them well. And just as wealthy people contributed from their own resources to a splendid theoria, so too wealthy Eleans, not without their own financial sacrifices, undertook the reception of theoria in the name of the state. Amidst all this activity now mingles the increasing movement of the growing crowd of celebrators. As already in Elis, old acquaintances from various corners of the Hellenic world meet here. People walk together in the open air or in one of the many galleries in and around the Altis. What momentous events have occurred in each city since they last spoke! Everything is discussed that the Hellenic tribe from southern Italy to the Black Sea coast has experienced and enjoyed in recent years. But wherever the crowds bustle and swarm, nowhere is it livelier than in the rear of the Temple of Zeus. There, people debate all sorts of weighty and trivial topics; there, among other places, the Sophist Hippias of Elis delivered his speech, known to us from Plato, in which he boasted that everything he wore on his body was his own creation. His sister's grandson erected a statue there for him, the pedestal of which, bearing the inscription, has been recovered. It was also there, in that rear of the building, as we recall, that Herodotus read his world-famous history. Painters seized the opportunity to exhibit a new canvas there, as it were, for the entire Hellas assembled. The man, who had reaped laurels in the harvest here, could be certain that within a few weeks, his name would be carried to the four corners of the world by the returning revellers. It was like a miniature competition here, for male virtue in the arts and sciences. In the evening, however, the moon grows ever fuller in the sky. Finally, the full moon is only six or seven days away, and the festival is about to begin. The preliminary exercises in the Gymnasium of Elis have already concluded. The

Hellandodikes are in the Plethrion, a racecourse of that Gymnasium, to organize the procession of champions from the city to the sanctuary. Those who are the same age or were close equals in the preliminary exercises are placed side by side. Now it is well worth going to see the champions; they are all lined up here in squads. How much one admires these sturdy men with their proud, free bearing, in the full sense of their strength; the chosen ones from among the hundreds of thousands of an entire gymnastic-training tribe. People are also examined with the pleasure of connoisseurs. That powerful man there, particularly developed in chest and hands, but somewhat less so, as the others ones, whose body parts are concerned, is a "lion-athlete"; the other, whose legs are somewhat slender compared to the massive, awe-inspiring torso, is called an "eagle-athlete." Undoubtedly, among all these people there are also "bear-athletes," powerfully built individuals, somewhat stocky, not tall, more or less square; indeed, it is to be expected that among such a select group, one can identify the most striking representatives of each type. Now the procession sets off. Naturally, they follow the main highway, "the holy way." The theorias will also have participated in this official march to the Altiss. Numerous celebrants follow, others follow the road through the mountains. Elis is now completely empty. Finally, the main procession arrives at the sacred festival grounds over the Kladeos Bridge. The theores occupy the buildings and tents designated for them, while the champions are billeted in the Gymnasium and the Palaestra. As will be remembered, there was a wrestling arena and a racetrack at hand; never for a moment was there no opportunity to keep their limbs supple through exercises. The liveliness now reaches its peak. While many a pious offering had undoubtedly already been placed on one of the altars, now that number increases greatly; the champions attempt to win the gods' favor for the approaching contest; many a wealthy theores wants to honor his fatherland by displaying wealth and splendor; from what city is this man who brings such magnificent sacrificial animals to so many altars? What glittering golden vessels for washing hands, what a finely crafted censer! The day, probably after the arrival of the great procession, the actual festivities begin. The High Olympic Council is assembled in the town hall. There also stands the statue of Zeus, the upholder of the oath, as if in anger at the perjurer, drilling lightning into each hand. Before the venerable men, to whose exalted council one could even appeal against the verdicts of the Hellandodices if they had awarded victory, lay the bloody parts of a wild boar cut into pieces. It was at such a sacrifice that solemn oaths were taken. Now the champions, their fathers, brothers, and gymnasts, approached. Taking the pieces of the sacrificial animal in their hands, they had to swear that they would not be guilty of any offense against the Olympic competition—this meant, for example, that they would not commit bribery; they could be cut into pieces like that sacrificial animal if they did not keep their oath. The champions themselves also had to swear under oath that they had prepared for the competition for at least ten months. After them, they were also bound to an oath, which would determine whether the people who registered for the boys' race were not already too mature to participate, and also those who had to determine which horses were adult and which not. In this oath, they had to promise to proceed without deceit. Everything heralds the approaching race. The Hellandodike publish a program for it. Already, the "olive tree of beautiful wreaths," which, as we recall, stood not far from the southeastern main entrance to the Altis, is being cut, the branches which would be woven into wreaths for the victors. This was done with a gold knife by a boy whose parents were both still alive; anything that evoked the idea of imperfection, of something tainted, had to be removed from the race. The prepared wreaths—usually seventeen, for that is how many contests were usually announced on the program—were laid out on a table in the temple of Hera. But before the contest began, the great sacrifice of the Eleans had to take place, the principal religious ceremony of the festival, of which all that followed was originally only an appendage. Hundreds, indeed thousands, began to move toward the open square before the great altar; a bustling crowd jostled in the echoing gallery. Suddenly, however, it fell deathly silent. The sacrificers climbed onto the altar, and the herald's voice resounded through the room: "Beware of false sounds." Everyone remained silent, taking care not to disturb the sacred ceremony with any noise. How easily could some word or sound prove an evil omen! The offerer above utters a prayer that it may please the Father of Gods and men to accept the sacrifice graciously. Thousands mentally join in this request. The swirling column of smoke rising upwards soon reveals that the sacrifice has been lit. The soul rises to the Awe-inspiring One, from whose hands descend the blessings for which one prays here.

This place had gathered with this, the first day of the festival ended. By the

following night, people were already crowding the earthen rampart surrounding the stadium. Before sunrise, most spectators were already in their seats. The boys' competition was to be held on the following day. How many a mother would have loved to be there, to see her son in his greatest strength and glory, perhaps even to see him triumph. However, an unforgiving law closed the games to married women; young girls were apparently admitted, according to Spartan customs, though presumably no use was made of this permission. Legend told of a mother who, disguised as a gymnast, had followed her son into the stadium. The boy was victorious; at that moment, the deception was discovered, but she, however, because father, son, and brothers had been victors at Olympia, was spared. It was a law, namely, that women who crossed Alpheios during the competition, approaching the sacred area, were to be thrown down from a rock in the neighboring mountain—they were pointed out to each other. This law, however, was undoubtedly merely a matter of tradition, not born of any real need to counteract what was considered evil. Tradition added in the same breath that the mother, dressed as a gymnast, was the only one who had attempted to break that law. We need hardly tell you how much the Greek must have enjoyed the sight of those running, wrestling, and boxing boys, the Greek who had such a deep sense of the glory of the blossoming human being. The happiness of a father to see his son crowned was certainly not insignificant, and the victories of boys also increased the fame of a city. Yet, the men's competitions remained the main goal. Only these were said to be institutions of Heracles, which were later recalled; that boys also performed in the camp was entirely a human invention of the Eleans. The boys' competition was a miniature version of that of the men. The pleasure that the exercises as such offered the spectators was therefore greatest for the men.

It began on the third day. Once again, at the early dawn, the spectators were already in their seats. Probably not long after sunrise, there was movement on the side of the "secret entrance." The Hellanodices, in purple festive robes, appeared first; they stepped forward to take their separate seats, probably built into the earthen wall on the side of the hippodrome. Soon, the so-called alytes, led by their alytarch, lined up alongside them. These were a kind of police force, armed with sticks, assigned to the Hellanodikes to maintain order and observe the so-called Olympic laws, the fixed rules for every contest. Opposite the Hellanodikes, on the other wall of the stadium, sat the priestess of Demeter, Chamyne, on an altar of white marble, the only woman permitted to be present at the competition. Now the champions, along with their gymnasts, also appeared, men, primarily theoretically developed—they did not need to be great athletes—to whom the leadership of the gymnastic education of the rising generation had been entrusted. Very often, they had known the champion they were now accompanying from their earliest youth. It was they who had determined the type of competition for which the boy's physique made him most suitable, who had always so regularly regulated the exercises in the gymnasium, and taken such precautions—the boys' actual drill masters were the paidotribes—as each one's particular constitution and possibly a few minor defects seemed to necessitate, and who, through years of careful and loving observation, had come to fully understand the weaknesses and strengths of their pupils, including their moral ones. They were easily distinguishable. Here, unlike the custom at other festivals, they were completely naked—the Eleans recounted that the incident with their mother dressed as a gymnast had prompted them to order it—but as a sign of their dignity, they wore a stlengis, the instrument with which the champion was rubbed off the oil mixed with dust after the competition. How they are engrossed in conversation with the champions! Once again, they recall everything they had to think about, they encourage themselves, and they do so in a way that suits each person's character. What stories circulated about the delicate tact with which gymnasts had urged their competitors to great exertions! They were also the ones who had oiled their bodies, for this too was a task, that it had to be done with deliberation. Overall, they presented the exhilarating spectacle of a more advanced age, sympathetic to the expectations of a younger generation and able to identify with its glory.

The herald loudly announces the start of the competition: "The competition begins, which yields the finest prizes," according to the established formula, "There is no time to delay." Now the champions, who had been seen entering the stadium, step forward. They were participants in the so-called long run, because that was when the competitions began. Once again, the herald's voice rises. The name of the first competitor is called out, along with that of his father and his hometown. He then introduces himself to the assembled crowd. One can still, on the same grounds as a month ago among the Hellanodikes in Elis—if one is not a Helen or a freeman, if one has lost his citizenship rights in his state, or if one has committed an offense

73570 against the Gods—resist their admission to the competition, and the herald loudly invites everyone to do so. If no one rises, a second participant immediately follows, then a third, until finally all are present. A drawing is held. Four by four, they will make the first run; the victors from these four will compete for the prize. The first group of four advances. The gymnasts must remain behind a parapet. These runners were men with not very well-developed legs and strong necks and shoulders.

73575 The Hellanodikes give a signal. A barrier or rope is removed. The runners set off calmly. They hold their arms out in front of them, and to be able to maintain this position for a long time, that strong development of shoulders and neck is necessary. They move at a brisk pace; yet it's clear to them that speed isn't the point. They have to circle the two ends of the three posts, which ran lengthwise across the

73580 center of the stadium, several times—we don't know how many times—and therefore, above all, they must ensure they get into a momentum they can maintain for a long time, rather than slackening off again later, when it really matters, due to excessive speed at the beginning. What self-control was needed not to be swept along, as it were, by a competitor who is charging ahead a bit too quickly. Each time they

73585 approached a post, they often curbed their progress slightly, to be able to make the shortest turn around it. Suddenly, however, one of the runners changed their stance. The arms, which until now had been held straight out in front, now began to move along with the leg; the arm on each side moves forward and backward in tactical coordination with the leg on that side; The flat palms cleave the air. This movement,

73590 however, has nothing violent about it; the muscles are not particularly tense, the forward arm is often slightly bent. It is noticeable that the runner has suddenly accelerated; with wide strides he flies forward; his feet touch the ground only briefly; he holds his upper body upright, thus providing himself with more ample breathing. It is this swinging of the arms that imparts a unique momentum to the

73595 upper limbs and thus prevents them, through their inertia, from countering the movement of the legs. The finish line is already approaching. The runner knew his strength and knew that he could cover the remaining part of the race at greater speed. However, he does not remain alone for long in this altered movement; one of the competitors follows ahead, the other behind. Now the mutual relationship often

73600 changes; whoever was ahead comes behind, whoever was behind comes ahead. The tension of the spectators increases more and more; From all sides, a shout echoes through the stadium: they are being egged on, and the gymnasts, especially behind their parapets, are ready to call out to them, every time they pass by, the word they believe will most invigorate their courage. Their own cries also mingle with the general clamor.

73605 It's as if this gives them new strength. It's getting tough, though, and they threaten to succumb; but persevere, and renew their efforts, victory is not yet lost. There they circle the turning pole for the last time; the goal is already close in sight; the seat of the Hellanodikes is near. The battle is already decided; arms drop, steps shorten, the foot of the first has passed the goal!

73610 Now it's the turn of a second group of four, then a third, a fourth, until finally all participants have had a turn. How the tension among the spectators now mounts: the victors from the groups will fight for the final decision. Who will be the lucky one? Everyone has already seen all the participants run past them once, so you can guess.

73615 They are making moves, but there's not much to say about it; they are, after all, quite evenly matched. Each time during the fight, the relationship changes. For the spectators, it's as if they themselves have completed a difficult task when the last circuit is finally completed.

73620 Who is the victor? This hasn't always been clearly visible from the earthen rampart on which they are seated. Soon, however, all doubt disappears. The victor steps forward, the vanquished disappear through the secret entrance. They are in a sad mood. Their expectation when they return home is "no cheerful laughter from their mother." They seek "unfrequented roads"; the fear creeps over them that "on the

73625 streets" of their hometown they will "encounter the mocking gaze of an enemy." What bliss, on the other hand, flows through the other's breast. A Hellanodike approaches him to crown him. A palm branch is placed in his hand, a woolen band² tied around his head, and the olive wreath placed on top. Already, his gymnast approaches him, almost as happy as he himself; his relatives also seem to detach themselves from the circle

73630 of spectators; they are eager to congratulate him. "Who is he?" they ask from all sides. Many probably know him. Perhaps his name was already being passed around by word of mouth when he distinguished himself during the competition. Not infrequently, it was an old acquaintance, a previous victor either at Olympia or one of the other great games. Perhaps someone had remembered his name when it was called out at the

73635 beginning of the competition. But all uncertainty soon disappears; the herald shows him to the assembled crowd and announces in a loud voice his name, that of his father, and that of the city to whose citizens he belonged, or wished to be counted. Now everyone gives themselves over completely to the joy. He himself walks in a proud, stately posture along the earthen rampart of spectators, uttering cries of

73640 ecstasy. Gymnasts, friends, and relatives have reached him, but also strangers, as far as they were sitting near the front, leap from the heights as he passes, showering him with leaves, flowers, and wreaths. Those sitting further away throw them over the front rows, and many small gifts are mixed in among them, such as belts, hats, and the like. Joy reigns everywhere; people cheer with the cheering, and

73645 in the hearts of many young men, the resolve takes root to exert themselves with all their might to one day share in the same glory. After the victor has gathered as much as possible of what was thrown at him, he disappears from the arena. After this long run, it was the turn of the single track through the stadium. Once again, the champions are called into the arena. They are remarkably quick in their movements and slender of leg. Lots are drawn again, for here too, the race begins in groups of four. How the spectators' intense attention is compressed into a short space of time! The runners begin at the far end of the stadium, on the side furthest from the secret entrance; as soon as they reach the beginning, at the Hellanodike seats, the race is decided. Like a whirlwind, they rush forward, arms and legs moving

73655 simultaneously from the very beginning. It is now simply a battle of speed. After the groups have had their turn, the victors from the groups compete here as well. The victor is proclaimed and crowned. A similar scene takes place as after the first race.

Now the third type of race was in order, the so-called double run, once through the stadium and back around the turning post. This was like a combination of the first two types. The course was too long for one to triumph solely through speed; too short for one to triumph solely through perseverance. One should not adopt one's greatest speed, but the speed at which one knew one could endure until the last moment. Each type of race, therefore, had its own specific speed, and it was very difficult to transition successively from one speed to the other. The victory of Polites of

73660 Keramos, who triumphed in all three types of race in succession, was therefore quite extraordinary.

The victor in the double-battle is crowned. The sun is already high in the sky. The "light" contests have ended; the "heavy" ones—wrestling, boxing, and pankration—begin. It is the wrestlers who are called first into the arena by the herald. Lots must be drawn here as well. Even in the tough competitions, drawing lots was more important than in the race: it naturally made no difference who one would be paired with, and above all, the so-called 'ephedra' was a great advantage. The silver urn is brought out; in it were so many leads.

73675 Little tickets were placed when there were champions. These tickets had letters on them, each letter on two tickets; if the number of champions was an odd number, then there was one letter that appeared on only one ticket. Those who had drawn the same letter would be paired; however, the one who drew the ticket without a match would

73680 this time (the winners from these first pairs were paired again later) be able to "stay put" in the competition for the others; he had the "ephedry," he was the ephedros, "the man who sat there."

The wrestlers are already approaching the urn. The first one puts his hand in. He says a short prayer and withdraws his hand. How he burns with desire to see if he has drawn the letter without a match, but one of the alytes holds his arm and prevents him. There must be order in the matter; He is led by the alyte to a specific spot, where he must initially remain standing with his arm outstretched. Soon he is joined by a second, then a third, until everyone has cast their lots and stands in a circle next to each other. The Hellanodike or the alytarch reads the letters; one now knows

73690 who they will wrestle with, one knows who will be ephedros.

The pairs advance. They are powerful men with beautiful, well-rounded limbs, more broad than tall, yet anything but stocky; though the neck is not particularly long, the head is raised proudly. The shoulders are broad, the chest well-rounded, the belly somewhat heavy, though there is no question of actual corpulence. The wrestler strides towards them with an easy gait; yet one can clearly see from the sturdy legs that they remain steadfast where they were once placed. The spectators' interest is great, because beyond the tension that every match generates, an extraordinary artistic pleasure awaits them here. They were treated in advance to the sight of the various beautiful positions and postures that wrestlers, who understood their art

73700 well, could assume, or achieve spontaneously. They were familiar with the technical

terms used for this purpose in the gymnasiums and expected to see all movements executed with the utmost precision. Yet, deviations were to be feared here, and not only deviations from the strict rules of wrestling, but nowhere was more supervision required to ensure that the Olympic laws were upheld than precisely in this competition. Here, it was possible for one fighter to deliberately kill the other; something that was strictly forbidden. However, the attempt to do so was rare. It was more likely that, in the heat of the battle, one or another would be tempted to kick or punch, or even bite with their teeth. Then, however, he was quickly reminded by the stick of an alyte on his back that wrestling must remain a contest of pushing and wrestling. Three Hellanodikes, commissioned for this purpose, kept a regular eye on things.

But the fight has begun. "In wasp formation," as it was called, the wrestlers from the various pairs stand facing each other. That is, they step forward cautiously, somewhat pressed together, with their upper bodies more or less bent forward, their eyes fixed constantly on their opponent, their hands slightly extended to grab the opponent, but in such a way that they are also clearly prepared to withdraw in time if they are in danger of being grabbed themselves. The various wrestlers stand facing each other like this for a long time. They try to find a spot where they can grab each other effectively. However, if such a position presents itself, one still doesn't know whether the opponent isn't deliberately and seemingly exposing themselves, and in that case, by engaging, one would run a great risk of falling into their hands; in wrestling, cunning also played a very important role. Suddenly, however, a cry went up through all the ranks. One of the wrestlers had quickly bent to the ground, grabbed his opponent by the foot with one hand, and in the blink of an eye brought the arm he still had free under the opponent's leg, pushed the foot down, and thus, with his arm as a support, used that leg as a lever to lift his entire body. Barely had the other leg of the wrestler been lifted off the ground for a moment before his heavy torso bent backward and he himself collapsed into the sand. Soon, however, he stood up again, and the fight began anew. After all, unless one of the parties surrendered, one had to throw one's opponent to the ground three times to win. Continuing the fight on the ground, rolling over each other, was forbidden in a venue as prestigious as the stadium at Olympia.

And this wasn't the only way one could be suddenly overwhelmed by one's opponent. Sometimes, one wrestler would suddenly land in the other's back with a mighty leap. One of the legs in an instant is struck around the stomach, one arm around the neck. The victim threatens to suffocate and, in the anguish, declares that he gives up. Sometimes, a harsh scream suddenly resounds through the stadium. Two of the combatants hadn't noticeably changed their stance, but one had seized the other by the fingertips and broken them with a single, powerful squeeze. The unfortunate fighter is now forced to give up.

Usually, however, one rarely saw such sudden victories at Olympia. Here, the most outstanding fighters from all corners of the Hellenic world gathered, their strength and skill only slightly surpassing each other. After standing face to face for some time, they finally grasp each other by the wrists. Their heads are pressed together "like goats"; one tries to push the other back. They push off forcefully with their feet and push against each other. Then one of them steps back a little. The spectators stir; a decision seems imminent.

But suddenly, the repressed, a rousing word from a father or brother, or from the gymnast behind the parapet, rings in the ears of the one who has been pushed back. He pulls himself together, summons all his strength, and pushes his opponent back. Fortunately, for had he been forced further from his position, he would very easily have lost full control of his limbs and been easily overwhelmed. Now, it is as if a stream of renewed vitality tingles through his veins; the glorious image of victory floats before his eyes in all its splendor. He has thrust himself forward again, as if in a single jerk; indeed, it could happen that the newly gathered strength suddenly gives him the upper hand. His opponent staggers and suffers the fate he had intended for him; pushed further and further back, he is carried powerlessly through the stadium. But wrestling, as we said, was a battle of pushing and wrestling, and often the wrestler certainly didn't win by simply pushing. While pressing against each other in this way, they usually tried to push the hand holding their opponent's arm forward until they reached their neck, or else they tried to wedge the arm they were holding between their fingers, in order to grab them around the thigh or waist. Even now, one is absolutely not safe from a sudden attack; one must be prepared for the opponent to suddenly release the arm they were holding and unexpectedly grab them by the foot, leg, or neck. But even without such sudden turns, after a while one of

the two combatants often finds themselves at a decisive disadvantage. Now, the opponent's hand has reached the neck and is already grasped by a few fingers. With all his might, he pushes himself away from him, but the other pulls him toward him.

73770 His fingers advance; his arm wraps around his neck; he feels his opponent's weight pressing ever more heavily upon him. Courageously straining to remain standing! He tries to raise himself to his full height against the increasing pressure from above. Perhaps the other will expose himself at the last moment, and thus turn the tide. But

73775 gradually the oppressive force becomes too strong for him; his knees buckle; he feels himself sinking: ever faster he approaches the ground; finally, he is on his knees, his head, encircled by his opponent's arm, bent forward against the ground. Another time, one of the opponent's arms has forced its way up to his opponent's thigh. He seizes this opportunity, and the other might seize the opportunity of him bending slightly to throw his arm around his neck, but it's no use; he's lifted off

73780 his feet and has to fall. Or perhaps one of the combatants has already advanced his arm more or less around the other's waist. However much he exposes himself, the fight is still decided. Soon, that arm has advanced so far that it's possible, with a mighty jerk, to lift his opponent's entire body off the ground and send it tumbling backward into the sand.

73785 Yet, even for such solutions, many combatants were too much of a match for each other. The bodies approach each other, one grabs the other, and it's hard to say whether either has the advantage. What an effort of force now to force each other to the ground! The upper bodies, pressed tightly against each other, bend back and forth, forward and backward, or to the side; one tries to make the other feel the

73790 weight of his own weight in an unfavorable position, in order to make him fall more quickly. Not infrequently, one of the parties succeeds with his leg falling from the other to encircle others. This is lifted from the ground. It is impossible for someone thus dislodged from his perpendicular position to resist the weight of his opponent for long. He reaches the ground more quickly or slowly.

73795 These and other similar scenes held the attention of the spectators. Their eyes were drawn alternately from one group of wrestlers to the next. The movement they saw involuntarily stimulated them to move. They jumped or waved their arms or their clothes, jokingly made a wrestling gesture with their neighbor. Finally, all pairs had finished the fight. A new match began between the victors from those pairs and,

73800 if there was one, the ephedros. Lots were drawn again; again, if the number was odd, someone received the ephedros. This second match could have been followed by more. The fight continued until only two remained, battling for the prize. Ephedra, in particular, was a major advantage in this final fight. It was awarded to someone when, after repeated pairings, only three fighters remained. Two of these would first

73805 fight each other, then the victor of the two would fight the third, who would then become Ephedra. All the attention of the audience focused on the final fight. Finally, it was decided. Exhausted, yet momentarily oblivious to his weariness, the victor was crowned and made his journey through the stadium. The wrestling was followed by the boxing. They were entirely different men who now emerged from the secret stadium entrance. While they, too, were solidly built, the beauty of well-endowed and lustrous limbs was lacking. Rather, one saw the sharp lines of a more powerful muscular development, especially in the arms. Yet, even though their legs don't give the most impression of strength, they stride forward with firm, determined steps. Their upper bodies rest powerfully on their robust hips.

73815 Looking at their hands, one can easily believe the stories about some of them, that they could smash stones to pieces with their fists and crush metal objects. The scars, especially on their faces, and no less so the pankratiast ear, completely deformed by that constant wounding and then healing, tell the tale of so many past battles. It is a drama that will soon be witnessed, awe-inspiring in the gravity of its reality.

73820 The names are called. Lots are drawn; here too, if the numbers were odd, an ephedros. Now, each boxer's hands are wrapped in straps—no longer the soft, soft leather ones used, for example, during Elis's preliminary exercises, but with hard, sharp ones that not only protect the hand but also transform it into a formidable weapon. These

73825 straps usually pass between the fingers, fill the palms, and are fastened around the wrists. The pairs proceed to their designated positions. Immediately, a kind of preliminary combat begins, where, just like two opposing armies, each tries to gain the advantage over their opponent, having the sun at their back. Soon, however, they have taken up positions opposite each other. Burning with fighting spirit, they thrust and wave their arms in the air. This was the so-called "shadow fight," a prelude to the actual fight. Suddenly, however, things get serious: the fighters charge at each other,

73830

their left arm raised in front of their head to parry a blow, the right back to deliver one. The onlookers are filled with dismay at the approaching clash.

73835 Soon the blows begin to ring out. The more or less forward-leaning body rests primarily on the forward leg, while the feet, resting almost exclusively on the toes, spring upward each time a blow lands. They thrust further and further, aiming for ever greater impact. Now the blow lands on the head, jaw, or shoulder, then again on the opponent's defensive arm. Not infrequently, the fist even crashes through the air

73840 without striking anything. Indeed, it happened that a sudden dull thud was heard, and one of the fighters, dragged along by his own, unresisting arm, fell to the ground; the swift dodging of blows was the other major factor in this combat. Both fighters kept their eyes constantly on each other's movements. Their necks were held slightly back to allow for timely withdrawal. They were careful not to expose themselves and

73845 lurked where they could best attack the enemy. How careful, however, had they to be in this; any carelessness could only be apparent, and then they would have to find that the enemy was best prepared for that attack. But despite all precautions, many a battle could not be avoided.

73850 One is dizzy, yet one must be careful not to receive an even more violent blow at that very moment. One shrinks away from the pain, yet must swallow it down, because every painful expression on the face can only increase the opponent's courage. Wasn't that why Eurydamas of Cyrene swallowed the teeth that were knocked out of his mouth, and thus achieved victory? The fight grows increasingly fierce. One hears nothing but

73855 the impact of the blows and the deep breaths that accompany the arm's return to each blow. Sweat pours from the fighters' limbs. Rage seizes them, but they must control themselves, for very soon they would be harshly reminded by the Hellanodics that, according to Olympic law, striking out and dodging is not permitted. Therefore, they must keep their feet to themselves; grappling is part of wrestling. Another mighty

73860 blow! The head retreats between the shoulders; the arm is brought back even further, if possible, than before. It is decided: one of the combatants calls out that he surrenders, or raises one hand as a sign to indicate this. Sometimes the fight has lasted a very long time, without either party still considering surrendering. Yet both are very tired, and as if by mutual consent, they

73865 withdraw for a moment's respite. The fight then resumes. Occasionally, however, it might last too long, but then the Hellanodiki intervened and decreed that from then on, dodging would be forbidden. Everyone had to take all the blows. This, of course, brought about a quicker decision.

73870 It was far from the case that the two combatants always rushed at each other violently from the start. Sometimes one of the two would initially focus more on dodging and parrying than on delivering blows, and only after his opponent had exhausted himself from his unsuccessful efforts would he advance forcefully, making him cower under his blows. Naturally, they were only exceptional fighters who could engage in such combat against well-trained opponents. However, in the stadium, one

73875 occasionally saw even stronger pieces. While one fighter suddenly launched into the attack, the other calmly continued with "shadow fighting." Now, everyone present knew that among the boxers who had appeared was an expert in "arm-waving." Everyone knew stories like, for example, that of Melankomas from Caria, who for two consecutive days, by simply waving both arms back and forth in front of him, managed to fend off

73880 all his opponents; he had won numerous victories, yet he showed no scars anywhere. The attacker tries to reach his opponent's head through his arms, or by striking them to the side. If he succeeds several times, the arm-wielder is forced to resort to his usual fighting style. Naturally, in that case, he cuts a rather poor figure. Often, however, he can hold out. His opponent strikes ever deeper and deeper; this powerful

73885 blow, at least, he believes, will be effective. Again, however, the swinging arm collides with the descending fist from the side. The latter falls without having accomplished anything. Rage grips the thus disappointed man. The thought of being defeated by someone who doesn't even consider it worth the effort to strike him back is unbearable. He strains again; strikes again. But the other man swings steadily and

73890 is only rarely hit. Finally, the attacker is completely exhausted from all this effort. He has to raise his hand. The cheers of the bystanders are appalling. Deeply dejected, the defeated fighter slinks away from the arena.

In boxing, too, the contest naturally has to be repeated several times; here too, lots are drawn; here too, an ephedra is used with an odd number of participants. The

73895 final combat has taken place; the victorious boxer leaves the stadium. It is now late afternoon; the time for the so-called "battle with all means," the pankration, has arrived. Just as the double barrel was a kind of connection between the long barrel and the stadium, so in this last of the toughest contests, both the pushing and

wrenching of wrestling and the thrusting of fistfighting were permitted. Indeed, kicking with the foot was even permitted here, and what was not permitted to wrestlers at Olympia—namely, to continue the fight, which they had begun standing, rolling on the ground—could not be forbidden to the pankratiast if they wanted to let him remain who he was.

They were formidable men who now performed. Overall much like boxers, yet the greater roundness of the limbs, which is the consequence of wrestling was clearly visible here as well. It wasn't uncommon for boxers to be both boxers and pankratiasts; the deformed ear, common to both, was named after the latter. It goes without saying that the drawing of lots and the repetition of the fight proceeded exactly as in the first two heavy matches. Straps around the fists were out of the question here; the grappling grips of wrestling would have been impossible. The blows, however, inflicted fewer wounds. Yet this pankration, this squeezing, pushing, wringing, kicking, and thrusting, gave the impression of a life-and-death struggle far more than any other contest.

The fighters stood facing each other, their hands ready for the strike, their fingers tightly closed and only slightly bent. With astonishing speed, they transitioned from one fighting style to the other. The fist has barely landed with irresistible force against the opponent's jaw when, as if in the same instant, it opens and twists his arm, tightens his throat, or he falls backward, lifted by the leg. Two combatants are already firmly clasped, but with terrifying force, one tears himself free and retreats, only to charge at his opponent, as if in the same instant, and, still stunned by the sudden slippage, send him crashing to the ground with a tremendous thud. As they rolled across the ground, one would emerge, then the other: the intertwined bodies each time presented different shapes. Meanwhile, limbs were twisted, stretched, compressed; breath gasped at that powerful pressing against each other. At last, it was decided; One of the fighters shouts that he's giving up, or, as in boxing, raises his hand as a sign.

Here too, several matches follow one another; here too, at last two remaining fighters, or a fighter and an ephedros. Night is already falling; occasionally, the final pankratiast fight is illuminated by the light of the full moon. It even happened that the fight had to be stopped before anyone had won; the fight, which had already begun at sunrise, could no longer be allowed to continue. But usually, it is still daytime when the victorious pankratiast walks around the stadium. Occasionally, it could be quite early. It did happen, however, that at one of the matches, only a single fighter showed up, or that a fighter made such an impression on his opponents that they didn't dare take him on. In both cases, one champion triumphed without being dusted off, as the saying goes, i.e., without a fight, receiving the crown. How dryly it ended when the first incident occurred! What tremendous enthusiasm, on the other hand, he stirred up among all present, who, by his mere appearance, had already made his opponents recoil.

But after the final crowning, people longed for rest, and although the knapsack had undoubtedly been used many times during the day, after the intense interest of more than half a day, they felt a great need for a good meal. The crowd streams away from the stadium walls. They camp in the area around the Altis, in their tents or in front of them. The moon pours its "friendly light"² over the entire plain. People eat and drink. Cheerful banter resounds through the air.

Some time later, however, the Altis itself becomes busier. A joyful cheer and commotion resounded from there to the ears of the revelers camped outside. Many rushed there; they knew what was happening: the victors had also eaten and drunk with their friends, and then proceeded with them in a merry procession to the great altar. The great sacrifice to the giver of victory would only be offered on the last day of the festival. But just as among the Greeks, merry banqueters often rose from their table late in the evening to pay a cheerful visit to an absent friend and, as it were, involve them in the festivities, so now they felt compelled to proceed, also in procession, to the altar of the deity and, if they had the means, to offer her a voluntary sacrifice. With holy reverence in his soul, yet with jubilant joy, the human child stood here as if before the throne of the awesome One, showing him, like a father, the glory he had acquired, and sharing his joy.

The smoke rises and clouds the bright moonlight; it smolders on the altar of Zeus and perhaps on others as well. A confused clamor and hum still lingers, but it seems to be subsiding somewhat; even someone standing far away clearly discerns the notes of the phorminx (a kind of harp) through it, and suddenly a song of heroic voices of men filled the entire Altis. It was the triumphal song and the reverent greeting of Zeus that was being sung there. A poet had been present among the spectators and had quickly composed the short song. Before the great altar stood the singers with their

73965 chorus; the phorminx tuned each line; as if from one voice, the polyphonic recitative sounded; it was the still-fresh, overwhelming feeling of joy and reverent gratitude to "the most exalted Zeus, who propels the mighty thunder" that overflowed the song. It was far from the case, however, that every victor could bear the cost of such a

73970 tribute. Yet, before the great altar, they appeared, and even if they didn't have their own solemn triumphal song, they had to sing it. Indeed, they were least of all in the mood to be depressed by the sense of their poverty, and what others performed solemnly, they could also do improvisedly. As if they were professional singers, the victor and his friends stood in chorus at the altar. They did not have a flute,

73975 zither, or phorminx player at their disposal, but one of them compensated for this by calling out "tenella" (we would say "tsingala") before the beginning of each line, imitating the sound of one of these instruments, and thus half-jokingly setting the tone for each line. It was an old folk melody, in which Heracles was invoked as the model of all victors, that was thus performed. And if they had not possessed the talent of Simonides or Pindar, they consoled themselves with the thought that this

73980 song—and they were firmly convinced of this—had been composed by the ancient Archilochus. The merry commotion continued late into the night. However, barely had anyone rested for a few hours when the sun, with its first rays, called for renewed festivities. Instead of heading to the stadium, they took their seats on the artificial or natural elevations surrounding the Hippodrome, the horse racing track,

73985 south of the stadium, which was naturally much larger. In the center of the Hippodrome, two columns were visible, around which the riders had to ride: one close to the starting point—consisting of a statue of Hippodamia, holding the band she would later tie around Pelops' head, as it were, as a crown—the other not far from the semicircular end of the track. The building in front of the exit, the aphasis,

73990 was also particularly striking. It jutted out like the prow of a ship in the hippodrome, not quite straight, because, since the northern side of the racecourse was somewhat shorter than the southern, the triangle of the aphasis, whose base connected to the ends of these two unequal sides of the racecourse, was oriented slightly more southward. On both sides of this aphasis were several covered rooms,

73995 yet open to the front, where a quadriga could stand. If one rode forward in a straight line from the furthest room on the north side—that is, on the left side of the racecourse, if one stood with one's back to the aphasis—then, due to this skewed position, one would still end up passing the statue of Hippodamia on the southern or right side of the racecourse. All chariots had to move through the racecourse from

74000 left to right, and now, the chariots would only have been able to be positioned on the right side of the course if care had not been taken to ensure that, due to this slanted position, those positioned on the left could automatically reach the right side. Inside, the aphasis was largely uncovered; several altars were located there, among other things. One probably couldn't penetrate it from the hippodrome side, but

74005 the base of the aphasis triangle was bordered by a gallery, called, according to its creator, the Gallery of Agnaptos, and through it, thus at the rear, one could enter. Also noteworthy was the elevation in the form of an altar, which could be seen near the entrance to the Hippodrome, which ran through the southern earthen rampart. This was called Taraxippos, "horse-scare." According to popular belief, as they passed the

74010 altar, a sudden fright seized the passing horses, and various explanations were given, including that this was due to the evil spirit of Oenomaos, who still haunted the place.

It was a magnificent procession that could now be seen entering the Hippodrome through the entrance. Wealthy people from all parts of Greece, including women, had

74015 sent their finest horses and most skilled charioteers for the race. It began with a four-horse chariot race, four horses abreast. The various rooms in the aphasis were drawn by lot. Everyone then went to the room assigned to them. The charioteers jumped on the back of the horse.

74020 Two-wheeled chariots, on which they, or even they alone, can stand; the moment for the race has arrived. With rapt attention, one now looks at the copper dolphin, which stood on a crossbeam above the very tip of the aphasis. Suddenly, it falls off, and from the center of the aphasis rises an eagle, also of copper, with outstretched wings. This eagle had lain there on an altar, and one of the Hellanodices had set a

74025 device in motion, which caused the dolphin to descend and the eagle to rise. The signal for the race to begin had been given. Apparently, by the same device, once set in motion, the ropes for the two rooms on either side, which were closest to the rear of the aphasis, come loose. The two chariots standing there break free. A moment later, just as the horses from the first two rooms have reached the level of the two

74030 following rooms, the ropes for them also come loose; The four-carriage carriages

reached the level of the third two rooms, then the ropes in front of them, and so on. Probably, all the carriages initially had to move forward in a straight line, so that even those placed on the left, as we already indicated, increasingly ended up on the right side of the racetrack due to the skewed position of the aphesis. After the ropes for the two rooms were released at the tip of the aphesis, all the carriages were allowed to take whichever direction they wished, provided they only turned from right to left around the two designated posts. The closer one passed a post, the shorter the route, of course, and the two carriages that emerged from the rooms at the extreme tip of the aphesis had an advantage over the others the first time they departed, as their route to the turning post was somewhat shorter. However, this arrangement of departing gave the others the advantage that by the moment the rope for the two extremes departed, they had already reached a certain speed. All the advantages had been weighed against each other as accurately as possible. Cleoitas was the original inventor of this aphesis; a statue of him stood in Athens, the inscription of which mentioned this.

Now the cries of charioteers and the rattling sound of chariots resound through the air. Clouds of dust rise; the goad repeatedly descends on the horses' backs. All order soon comes to an end. Most chariots—now and then one might lag behind—soon form a single, intertwining swarm, swirling around the two turning posts. Here, two chariots are riding side by side. Now the heads of the horses of one are in front, now those of the other. Elsewhere, one chariot suddenly swerves to the side; one powerful summons to the horses, one powerful blow of the goad, and it has suddenly overtaken or outpaced the competitor who was riding ahead. However, anyone who is now on the move may soon find out for themselves. As one approaches a turning post, the right bridle is more or less released and the left retracted, the closer one gets to the post. This is a particularly difficult moment for those who have the advantage of occupying the position closest to the turning post; they constantly fix their eyes on both the post and the cart, and then calculate the turn they will make. Then the end of the axle scrapes against the post; the turn could not be shorter. Involuntarily, however, one has lost some momentum.

Suddenly, a clear trumpet blast sounds; the horses prick their ears; as if in one jerk, the old momentum is resumed. Sweat pours from the animals' bodies; The foam flakes splash backward on either side. Proudly the driver stands upright in his chariot, tense yet self-controlled, bold yet cautious. Sometimes, however, caution is of no use. One chariot snags against the other; with a tremendous crash, both crash to the ground; the trailing chariots fall over the already fallen ones; it is a tangle of broken chariots; unattended horses gallop through the racecourse. However, a few of the trailing chariots manage to swerve in time and rush past the fallen chariots, chasing the leading one. Another time, the chariots veer around one of the turning posts; the one who has secured the position closest to the post, as always, makes the turn as short as possible. Alas, this time a little too short; the axle hits the post; the chariot plummets to the ground.

The others continue the ride; the racecourse has already been covered several times. Now it's already becoming clear who will be the victor. Perhaps someone who had initially lagged behind has simply saved his strength, and now rides past the others at full speed. Finally, for the twelfth time around the racecourse; they approach the seat of the Hellanodics in the northern rampart, near the aphesis; they have arrived there; the battle is over. After a while, the Hellanodics' decision is announced. The victor is crowned. Second, third, and even fourth prizes were also awarded here. It didn't stop there; they also sought variety in the horseracing. Pairs of horses, four-horse chariots, and two-horse chariots of colts were also used here, but only eight times around the racecourse with them. For a time, teams of mules were also introduced. Horseracing was also very popular; this too was done with both colts and adult horses. Saddles and stirrups were not used. Besides adult men, boys also rode. They were completely naked. It was a delight to be able to observe the blossoming youth in every manifestation of their natural strength, to see them master the mighty steed with the full awareness of their spiritual superiority. One involuntarily thinks of the frieze of the Parthenon. For some time, a certain combination of horse racing and horse racing was also in vogue at Olympia, consisting of the rider leaping from his horse at the last turn and, holding the reins, running alongside it. At the very moment when the decision was approaching, victory was thus made dependent on the speed of his own feet.

It has become afternoon with all these races. Now that they have concluded, the crowd hastens back to the ramparts surrounding the stadium. The pentathlon, the pentathlon, is about to begin, the greatest masterpiece of Hellenic gymnastics, which,

originating on the soil of Olympia, had spread throughout the Hellenic world. Five exercises were combined into one whole: the jump and the race, in which the leg strength was tested in various ways; the discus throw, which tested the arm's strength; the javelin throw, which also, it seems, demonstrated the accuracy of the eye; and finally, wrestling, which placed other demands on the body. Understandably, the pentathlete was usually no match for a specialty in any of these exercises, yet his body was more versatile than that of any of the others. This was what made him the most beautiful of all champions. In the others, it was always a few body parts that particularly caught the eye; the pentathlete displayed strength and agility more in his overall appearance.

It was relatively rare for someone to win in three of the five exercises; very often, they won with two; indeed, it could happen that by the time the final contest, the wrestling, had taken place, there were five victors, each with one victory. These five were then likely allowed to continue wrestling until only one victor remained; similarly, a wrestling match would have been decided if, after the five exercises, there were two participants, each with two victories.

A good wrestler, therefore, had some merit as a pentathlete: yet, someone trained only in wrestling could not compete in the pentathletes, because most likely, those who did not meet certain minimum requirements in any of the five contests were not admitted to the next. The preliminary exercises at Elis would also have made the performance of such mock pentathletes at Olympia impossible. It is plausible that, as soon as the chance of victory had passed for some competitors, they dropped out. For example, if one person had won two victories, and two others one each, those who had not yet achieved a single victory would not participate in the fifth contest, since they could never equal the two-victory winner. If, before reaching the fifth competition, one of the competitors had already achieved three victories, they did not continue. Yet, this was undoubtedly a very rare occurrence. The wrestling, we know for sure, came last; the vault most likely first. This was presumably followed by the discus throw, then the race, and then the javelin throw. The most skilled competitor was often also a good vaulter; the good discus thrower could easily handle the javelin well as well. Had the vault been immediately followed by the race, those competitors who were more skilled in these two related species would have had a good chance of achieving two victories right from the start.

The pentathletes, completely naked, gather for the vault behind a pedestal, which, like our springboards, presumably had some spring. At a considerable distance ahead of them is the hard stadium's floor was loosened with pickaxes over a fairly wide area: the outermost edge of the loosened floor would have been approximately 50 feet from the pedestal for the jump. Jumps that did not exceed the innermost edge-how far from the pedestal it was, we do not know-probably caused the jumper to be immediately eliminated from the competition. Officials, equipped with a measuring rod, had to measure the jumps. Three Hellanodikas were charged with directing this competition. A rousing flute music begins, led by flutists in long, glittering robes, richly embroidered and fringed with wide hems. The pentathletes take their jumping implements, called halters, in their hands. The younger, more common model was entirely similar to our gymnastic implements of the same name: two balls connected by a crossbar as a handle; Sometimes one of these balls was replaced by a heavier weight of a different shape, which then held the pentathlouse most of the way.

Now the first to jump approaches, holding the hands with the dumbbells out in front of them. As they approach, they move forward to the music. They jump onto the pedestal; at the same moment, their arms descend; one powerful thrust with the feet diagonally upward; at the same time, the arms, weighed down by the dumbbells, are flung forward again with a mighty swing. Then, in an extended position, the body flies, as it were, after the arms. Will the jumper fall forward like this? No, as soon as they begin to approach the ground, they swing their arms back again with a mighty jerk, bringing their body back into a perpendicular position, and they land completely upright with their feet on the ground. This, at least, is how it should be, and the Hellanodics approach to examine the impression made by the soles of the feet in the loosened ground to determine whether it is truly perfectly even. Only when this is the case does the jump count and measure itself. After the foot impression is obscured with the pickaxe, the second jumper follows, followed by the third; finally, the competition is over, and the victor is known. The spectators followed every jump with rapt attention. Occasionally, they were treated to an astonishing spectacle: a jumper landed on the hard ground above the loosened ground.

The furthest known jumps are 52 and 55 feet.

The three metal discus, or throwing discus, used in the pentathlon at Olympia are brought out. Such discus were quite heavy and, when held in the hand, reached

approximately to the bend of the elbow. The vaulters have now become discus throwers, and the first to go steps forward. He takes a discus and, holding it against his body with his left hand, walks to the small platform from which he will make the throw. He steps onto it, grasps the discus with his right hand as well, with which he will throw it, and extends both arms straight out in front of him. He now rests entirely on his right leg, so that the left can move freely back and forth. The discus is pressed firmly against the palm of the right hand with the fingers; the left hand is removed. There, the arm with the discus swings back a distance, much further than our bowlers do. The eye must not leave the discus to give the throw the desired direction. Therefore, the upper body bends forward; Along the right side, under the arm, the discus thrower looks up at the discus. With his left hand, he rests on his slightly bent right knee, and his left leg naturally moves slightly backward. The body leans more forward, and the right arm with the discus is higher off the ground than would otherwise be possible, since the platform on which the discus thrower stands—at least, that's how one seems to imagine it—is slightly slanted at the front. All this lasts only a moment. The fighter straightens up; the discus hums straight ahead in arcs through the air. It was a tremendous shock; his free left leg has, as it were, followed the movement; indeed, he is forced to take a single step toward the discus. He watches it tensely in its humming speed. Then it hits the ground with an audible thud. Usually, it landed at a distance of about 90 feet, more or less. A second thrower took up the position. Presumably, the first-thrown disc remained where it was, and he had to throw his own over it, or he would have lost the battle. Then, of the two discs, the one that had been thrown the furthest was probably removed and brought back to the throwers' side. Apparently, three discs were in use, because the third thrower then...

There was no need to wait for the discus, which was being returned, to arrive. Undoubtedly, a minimum requirement had to be met here as well if one wanted to avoid being eliminated from the entire competition. After throwing the discus, the competitors begin the race. First, they run four by four, followed by the victors from those groups of four. It was likely a double run that was being witnessed, a spectacle they had already enjoyed the previous day. By comparison, one might have noticed that this time they were not dealing with specialties. The fourth part of this competition saw another novelty. The competitors now appeared with extremely thin and light javelins, equipped with a very long, fine needle-shaped tip. They took turns. They grasped the javelin in their right hand approximately in the middle; In all likelihood, one grips a handle with one's thumb, little finger, and ring finger, while the other two fingers are extended back and the javelin is held between them. This is brought to head height, with the target firmly in view; one thrust with the arm, one step forward with the right leg, and the javelin flies forward and soon lodges in or next to the target. A keen and practiced eye was required to avoid missing, but the light javelin also had to be propelled forward with great force, as otherwise it could easily veer off course. After the wrestling, the pentathlon ended. As a bonus to what had been seen, and as a conclusion to the series of actual competitions, the so-called "loop in de wapenen" (run in arms) is still held today, i.e., a run, presumably once up and down the stadium, with a shield on the left arm. In ancient times, one also wore a helmet on the head and leggings. This, however, was later abolished. It is clear that this race again required separate practice.

Now the herald announces the end of the competition: "The race, which yields the most beautiful prizes, is finished; remove the oil"—without which, as is well known, there is no competition—"The trumpet calls for the works of Enualios (the god of war)." Indeed, the sound of trumpets seems to have been heard at this point. It is not unlikely that the so-called contest of heralds and trumpeters, which we read about in Pausanias and others, took place, and which could hardly have been part of the actual competitions.

In the evening, people return to the Altar of Zeus. Now, there is an even greater chance of hearing songs composed there for this very occasion than the previous evening, because the wealthy people who have triumphed in the races can easily afford them. The following day, the last of the festival, the Eleans offer a great thanksgiving sacrifice at the altar of Zeus; afterward follows that of the victors, and finally, a splendid procession of theores proceeds through the great southeastern entrance to the Altis, also to the great altar, to thank the god with offerings as representatives of "happy Greece." The conclusion of the entire festival is the meal in the Prytaneion, given by the Eleans to the victors. These now depart for home, certain to be hailed as victorious generals. In the Altis, their statue will rise,

- 74230 none greater than themselves—the Hellanodics would not tolerate such a thing—one of human proportions, not that of the demigods; a poet will now compose a more elaborate song of triumph, not so much to glorify their persons as to make them feel more deeply the value of their happiness and to serve as a monument to it for themselves and their distant descendants.
- 74235 Thus the Greek found an inner satisfaction at Olympia, something certainly not often experienced by our race; but he found it only, as we have already noted, by immediately silencing every inclination toward something higher than seemed attainable. Now, however, the human spirit cannot ultimately be confined within "the pillars of Heracles,"³ and Greek philosophy broke through the circle, although at
- 74240 first it was completely unaware that in doing so it was, as it were, tearing away the very foundation of the Greek people's spiritual existence. It is especially in the period following the demise of Hellenic freedom that it poses this question with increasing emphasis—such an infallible sign that an entire worldview threatens to become obsolete:—what is the highest good for humanity? That question would certainly
- 74245 have sounded foolish to the heroes of Marathon and Salamis, to the Athenian citizen in the time of Pericles, who felt that he too contributed to the greatness of his fatherland, not least in Greece's best days, to the fortunate victor at Olympia. But now things had changed.
- 74250 The spirits strove for higher goods; for example, what was all that former glory for the Stoic compared to what seemed to him the only necessary thing: virtue? At the same time, it also became increasingly clear that the peaceful mission of Olympia, Delphi, and similar places had failed. Hatred and discord, which rage in the human heart like a force of nature, continued to fester in the Hellenic world, and to
- 74255 exorcise them, higher forces than an Olympian peace or a Dorian Eunomia proved necessary. The new temple of Zeus at Olympia was probably not yet fully completed when the Peloponnesian War broke out, and less than 30 years after Pericles' death, the orator Lysias had to remind the Hellenes, in the sacred precinct itself, that Heracles had established peace and freedom and instituted the Olympic Games, but now,
- 74260 solely as a result of internal discord, some of the Hellenes had fallen under the Persians, others under tyrants. Several times during the course of the civil wars, the Altis itself became the scene of self-destructive fratricidal warfare. No "sacred month" was observed in these events; the sanctuary had forever lost the significance it had held for the life of the Hellenic people.
- 74265 For centuries, the Hellenic world labored toward a flourishing period that would last only a few decades. Fortunately, however, the afterglow for our generation was almost as fruitful as the flourishing itself; Consider, for example, Alexandrian scholarship and Pergamum sculpture. Greek life had certainly risen from the cothurn, the stage
- 74270 shoe that had made humans appear demigods, but nevertheless, what the power of a higher inspiration had created responded so completely here to all sorts of truly human inclinations and needs that it could still hold its own quite well on the level ground. So, while people no longer competed in their feelings in the stadium and hippodrom for the highest human goods, the healthy person naturally feels excited to exert their physical strength, and competition dominates us to a greater or lesser
- 74275 extent in all our actions. Thus, it was now only the mysterious power of tradition that made Olympia anything more than Derby or Longchamps today. It's impossible to say how long a state of civilization without a soul, so to speak, can survive, but it's beyond doubt that it can't possibly preserve its finest character traits. It's an old observation, already made by Cornelius Nepos, that lavishness in honors is a
- 74280 sign of decline, and it certainly was so to a high degree among the Greeks, who once, above all, had sought to be measured, serious, and truthful in this respect. However, now—numerous recently discovered inscriptions prove it—people at Olympia, too, very readily concluded that someone had, in some way or another,—not exclusively as a champion—deservedly merited a statue. The Roman Claudius Rufus, a pankratiast, had
- 74285 made himself very agreeable during his stay in Elis in preparation for the contest; Now, according to a discovered inscription,³ he is named an honorary citizen of Elis and allowed to have a statue erected for him, because he had nearly won the contest; night had intervened, rendering the fight indecisive. Furthermore, it was deeply significant that people at Olympia no longer felt as exclusively Hellenic as before.
- 74290 How could that have been possible, at least in the time of the Romans, whose empire encompassed numerous peoples and placed them on almost equal footing? True, people then also strove for the unification of all Hellenes, a Panhellenic union, as it was called, and Panhellenic congresses and festivals were held, but one might call this a vain romantic endeavor if it had not entirely lacked the sincerity, sincerity, and

74295 warmth of modern Romanticism. The Roman emperor was the foremost patron saint of this
Hellenic patriotism! At Olympia, champions from almost the entire Roman Empire now
appear. In common parlance, according to the inscriptions, the term "the inhabited
world" replaced the earlier Hellenism—an expression that also became very popular
74300 elsewhere in Greece. It was this inhabited world that would soon become the field of
activity of the Catholic Church.
The power of the old idealism weakened and left the Greek more exclusively to his
baser inclinations and desires. He, especially the Jonier, had always possessed a
strong sense of outward splendor, and the fresh zest for life that had given him such
deep pleasure in cheerful festivities led him down a slippery path.

74305 From there, he could easily descend into that unenriched sensual pleasure he had
originally considered beneath his dignity as a Greek. This was the weak side that
could most easily lead him to betray himself, and the tyrants who sought to rob the
Greek of his most precious possession, freedom, knew full well that he had to be
74310 seized there. Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, sent an embassy of theoreticians to
Olympia at the end of the 5th century, which was to dazzle the eyes with the
extraordinary splendor of his armor. It was on that occasion that Lysias delivered
his aforementioned speech, and even then the assembled Greeks, stirred by his words,
tore down the tyrant's magnificent tents: Away from me, Satan! Sixty years later,
74315 however, Philip of Macedonia appeared on the sacred ground. He had a temple built for
himself there, as if he were a Hellenic hero, like Pelops or Heracles, and
"scattering many and varied benefits and gifts, he reaped a very abundant reward of
gratitude."
Things did not improve in Roman times. Many of those in whose honor statues were
74320 erected, according to the inscriptions, were prominent ladies and gentlemen from
Rome. The shame of slavery was deeply felt when Emperor Nero conceived the plan to
earn a crown at Olympia as well; - he acquired everything there, 1808. The
celebration had to be postponed for three years because the emperor couldn't come
sooner—that celebration, by which the calendar was established—and then he was not
74325 only crowned as victor in the horse races—he fell, according to the story, while
driving off the chariot—but also in a musical competition, which had to be organized
for his sake, although the ancient tradition of the sanctuary didn't permit it. The
reward was a colossal sum of money. Now, one shouldn't think that the evil was
exclusively monarchical; it manifested itself equally in republican guise. Truly
74330 republican was certainly that "ambition" of the Hellenic citizen in Greece's heyday
to render service to the fatherland and fellow citizens. What a rivalry existed, for
example, among the wealthy citizens of Athens, to provide, partly from their own
resources, for the equipment of a fleet or even for a splendid performance of
choruses! The only reward one could hope for was the gratitude of one's fellow
74335 citizens, at most monumentally expressed in a metal tripod. It was also in this
manner that, in later times, one received the "benefits" most appreciated at the
time. Thus, for example, we read of a Theban citizen from the Roman imperial period,
Epamimondas, who, among other things, during a great festival in his hometown,
"treated all the revelers, including those from other cities, to the theater," and
74340 "prepared large and expensive dishes, so that the expense he incurred caused a fame
in the surrounding cities." It goes without saying that a citizen who had thus
enhanced the fame of his fatherland had to be rewarded. The above description of his
merits is therefore taken from an official document in which he is awarded several
statues and a wreath. It is now undoubtedly often the same kind of "civic virtue" and
74345 "philanthropy" for which so many are praised in the inscriptions now found at
Olympia.
Finally, a new life principle was infused into this human world when Christianity
came to power, but how completely different from the ancient Hellenic religion! The
Christian strove for a glory that was not of this world, and the training
74350 (asceticism) of the athlete for a competition was replaced by that of the monk to
heavenly perfection. The human being who wished to rise above his lower nature no
longer considered that goal attainable through glorification of his earthly
existence, but clung to the deep sense of a higher world order that he carried within
himself, in order to strive to be more than human. With an infinitely deeper sense of
74355 humiliation than the Greek at Olympia or elsewhere had ever known, bowed down by the
guilt of an entire human race, the Christian approached the throne of an almighty
God. It was not Nike who could lift this burden from his soul, but only the divine
Redeemer himself, who had suffered as a human being on earth. How could the
racecourse, when such a spirit breathed new life into the world, seem anything but a
74360 vanity of vanities, serving only to bind the soul, aspiring to heaven, to the dust?

In the fourth century, Christianity triumphed in the Roman Empire; in 394, the Olympic Games were banned forever. The name of an Armenian has been handed down to us as the last victor.

The buildings and statues of the ancient sanctuary have stood for a very long time; a violent earthquake almost completely destroyed it, and a landslide from Kronos Hill covered some of the buildings at its foot. Quite different scenes now behold the sacred precinct. On the foundations of what is called Pheidias's workshop, a Byzantine Christian church arose, largely constructed from ancient building materials. The Olympia area was also very unsafe due to all sorts of wild hordes.

Therefore, the large square fortification wall, already mentioned, was built between the Temple of Zeus and the southern gallery. The fragments of ancient architecture and sculpture were the primary material. From this wall, as we recall, Dr. Tren, among others, retrieved the pieces of the Megarian treasury. Perhaps one of these hordes ultimately triumphed. At least, later on, a rather uncivilized population

settled in the sacred area, living in miserable huts, cobbled together from the same materials, which were available here in such great abundance; statue pedestals, architectural ornaments, and pieces of sculpture were piled on top of each other, usually without any means of connection. The German scholars working at Olympia, with more or less justification, usually call these people Slavs. Many precious pieces of sculpture have emerged from these Slave huts. They lived from agriculture and viticulture; grapes were pressed in the ruins of the Temple of Hera. These ancient remains of buildings and sculptures remained a constant gold mine. Lime kilns were built, to which countless pieces of marble and limestone were hauled. But now it was too much for old Alpheios; what other sights had he witnessed along its banks!

Created, not improbably, by breaches of small mountain lakes in its upper reaches, it spreads its broad waters across the Altis terrain and drives the sacrileges from the midst of their gruesome handiwork. The whole is now covered with a thick layer of sand and silt; the silence of death reigns throughout the entire Olympia Valley. Undisturbed, the damaged witnesses of a lost greatness rest in the protective Mother

Earth, until, centuries later, a reverent and loving hand will bring them back into full daylight.

The old world has passed, and who would wish it back? Yet, as we know, Hellenic civilization nourished later generations with its marrow. From the ruins of Olympia resounds a lesson of exalted humanity: that one must elevate the soul above the pressures of earthly affairs by exerting one's strength with a fresh zest for work to achieve a noble goal. And not only the Renaissance, but also the Middle Ages did more justice to the Hellenic world than it ever suspected. While Olympia became a wasteland, the greatest flowering of Christian civilization unfolded in the West. How differently people thought and felt there than in ancient Greece, and yet, despite

all the differences, they moved within similar circles. The Divine Peace of the eleventh century was a timid attempt to lift the world from the desolation of the law of the fist, no different from the Olympic ekecheiria. Just as the Greeks opposed the barbarians, so the Catholic world, with the belief that one stood for higher ideas, opposed those of the Mohammedans: in struggle against an alien principle, one sought strength for one's own - and just as the Greek patriots aroused their people to forget their internal disputes and jointly liberate their brethren from the Persian yoke, the Popes forbade strife and discord when the land where Christ had suffered had to be saved from the hands of the unbelievers. Catholicism was like a single endeavor to wrest humanity from wild passion and discord, and therefore, although the

Gregorys and Urbanuses were so much grander and more powerful, as a Gothic cathedral towers higher than a Doric temple—although in their endeavors they felt they were bringing a heavenly world order down to earth, which in that sense was entirely alien to a Lycurgos or Iphitos—yet here we see the modest endeavor of the Elian men justified by a posterity that knew nothing of them and was separated from them in spirit and mind by the widest conceivable gulf.

It is a fitting expression that humanity always returns to the same thing, yet in doing so does not proceed in a circle, but along the path of a spiral.

Leiden.

A.E.J. Holwerda.

January 1, 1882 Schliemann's Troy. IIios, Stadt und Land der Trojaner etc. von Heinrich Schliemann. With a Selbstbiographie des Verfassers, a Vorrede von Rudolf Virchow und Beiträgen von P. Ascherson u.a.

Journey in the Troas im Mai 1881 by Dr. Heinrich Schliemann.

Heinrich Schliemann now considers it a beautiful illusion

His childhood dreams come true. When one stands atop the hill of Hissarlik in the former Trojan land and then looks down into the excavated portion of that hill, as if into the crater of a fire-breathing mountain, one sees the ruins of a prehistoric city, which he is firmly convinced must be considered Homer's Troy.

It took a prodigious effort to get to this point. When, more than twelve years ago, he believed he should search for the ancient Homeric Ilios among the ruins of the later New Ilion, the Aeolian colony in the land of the former Trojans, he stumbled upon a veritable archaeological goldmine. Nothing was found beneath the city itself, but the hill of Hissarlik, on which the fortress had stood, consisted largely of the ruins of six settlements (not counting New Ilion itself), six cities, in Schliemann's words, one of which had been built on the ruins of the other. The hill, which originally rose no more than 60 feet above the surrounding plain, thus grew a good 52 feet higher and, as the founders of a new city often cast aside some of the rubble of the old one to level the ground, also increased considerably in size. Schliemann dug a quarry through these masses of ruins from north to south and another from northwest to southeast. In the third city, which had apparently been destroyed by fire, he believed he had rediscovered Homeric Troy. The results of these excavations were made known to the civilized world (in 1874). Since then, in 1878 and especially in 1879, assisted by the renowned Virchow and the French engineer Burnouf, he resumed his task and, as far as the research on his Troy, which was his main concern, completed it. All later settlements, insofar as they extended beyond the third city, were demolished. Since the third city was very small, and the hill, as we noted, also increased in width with each new settlement due to the debris thrown aside by its predecessor, unbroken sections of the rubble pile remained around it, and thus it came to lie as if in a crater. A crater, however, not with intact edges; consider only the two grooves that bisect the entire hill. We gained knowledge of the two lower settlements, those beneath the third city, by excavating the ground somewhat deeper in some places. It was especially significant that during the 1879 excavations, the northernmost part of the north-south groove was excavated down to the bedrock over a considerable distance.

In a voluminous volume, the tireless researcher now shares the results of his efforts. All the finds are described in good order and discussed, using the most important information already available. Not only is the material presented, but a start is also made on its processing: comparisons are made with other finds, and historical and archaeological data are gathered that can serve to clarify the matter. The leading figures of science, Max Müller, Virchow, Brugsch, and others, assisted him in this. Besides this, we receive not only a fairly accurate collection of reports on Troy's history, but Homeric geography also receives a comprehensive treatment with the help of various surveys, primarily conducted by Virchow and Burnouf in the Trojan landscape. In May 1881, Schliemann undertook another journey through Troas in the interest of the same cause. I have written down the titles of the large book and the travelogue, which Schliemann considers a new chapter in it, above. We are now better able than ever to form an opinion about the significance of Schliemann's excavations for the expansion of our archaeological knowledge. I would like to draw attention to these books by briefly outlining their significance.

Who were the peoples who lived in Tròas before the settlement of the Aeolian colonists? We are quite certain that the oldest known inhabitants of Asia Minor and the islands of the Greek Archipelago—Phrygians, Lycians, Mysians, Cypriots, and the like—belonged to the Indo-Germanic tribe, and indeed—some more, some less, but all fairly closely—were related to the tribes of European Greece, among whom Hellenic civilization, classical language, and literature later developed. This is already convincingly demonstrated by the remains of their languages, though often limited to only a few inscriptions. As for the ancient inhabitants of Troas, Dardanians, Teukrians, Trojans, the people who, according to tradition, ruled the land before the Aeolian colonists from European Greece settled there, we lack the necessary material to be able to say anything with certainty about their language. Yet, their Indo-European origin and kinship with the inhabitants of European Greece are also not in doubt. The inscriptions of the Phrygians establish this origin and kinship better than that of most other tribes of Asia Minor, and ancient legends connect the Phrygians and Dardanians very closely: Ilos, for example, founded Ilios on the hill of the Phrygian goddess Ate. Overall, it is noteworthy that in the numerous myths and legends connecting European Greece with Asia Minor, nowhere does the idea arise that the inhabitants of both countries were people of dissimilar passions. This is particularly noteworthy, however, with regard to Troas. The Aeolian and Ionian colonists, among whom the Trojan myth series we know from the poems of Homer

developed, must have had, at the time these myths originated, a fairly clear idea of the nature and character of the peoples among whom they had settled. After all, a people needs centuries before it completely sheds its characteristics in the face of a foreign ruler. Now, when in the Iliad the peoples of Asia Minor are depicted in conflict with the tribes of Europe, there is nowhere to be seen anything that hints at a separation of Greeks and barbarians. On the contrary, the Trojans, Danaans, and Achaeans are considered people of the same race, and it is consistently the same pantheon that concerns itself with the fates of both.

We can form some idea of the civilization of these Asia Minor-Greek peoples, who might also be called prehistoric Greeks. The mighty stone walls in the Argive region, commonly called Kuklopian, belong to them. In the oldest cemeteries of Rhodes, among the graves arranged in the Phoenician style, one finds older ones belonging to unmixed prehistoric Greeks. The island of Santorino (formerly Thera) acquired its present appearance through a volcanic eruption around 1600 BC. First, the island was completely covered by volcanic ash from the crater in its center; then the entire central part sank into the sea, leaving only the edges (the present-day islands of Santorino, Apronissi, and Therasia) standing.

Now, settlements have been excavated beneath the ash that covered that island, which are undoubtedly prehistoric Greek. The most important, however, are the discoveries on Cyprus. In 1852, the scholarly world's attention was first drawn to inscriptions on Cyprus, particularly coins that displayed a non-Phoenician-Greek alphabet. Later, the consuls of England and America, Lang and Cesnola, especially the latter, contributed a great deal of new material, and it was the renowned Assyriologist George Smith who found the key to deciphering these inscriptions. We now know a great deal about the language of the oldest known population of Cyprus, and it was undeniably of Greek-Asia Minor origin. Only after the time of Alexander the Great does the Phoenician-Greek alphabet seem to have supplanted this ancient Cypriot alphabet. Where did this latter origin come from? Cyprus was under Assyrian rule at the end of the 8th century, and Dr. Deecke believed he could demonstrate that it derived from Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions. However, very weighty objections have been raised against this view, although presented with great acumen. The Cypriot alphabet is not even a special property of Cyprus. Several Carian, Lycian, Pamphylian, and Cappadocian inscriptions have a Phoenician-Greek alphabet, but also distinct signs from Cypriot. These inscriptions, like those of Cyprus, are of a later date, yet they support the belief that in ancient times the peoples of Asia Minor and Cyprus shared the same alphabet. In Asia Minor, this was replaced by the new Phoenician-Greek alphabet around the 7th century; nevertheless, some signs from the old alphabet were retained there for sounds that they believed could not be properly represented with the help of the new alphabet. On Cyprus, the old alphabet was retained for a century or so longer.

The excavations, primarily those at Cesnola, also provide a clear picture of the ancient civilization on Cyprus and of the Eastern influences that were particularly felt on that island. One need only continue in this direction, and we will soon enjoy a fairly extensive, precise archaeological knowledge of prehistoric Greece. Moreover, there is another very important tool.

At our service: the Eastern and Egyptian records. Just as Caesar and Tacitus inform us about the barbarian Germans, so too do we learn from the relatively highly civilized Egyptians some important facts about the semi-barbarian prehistoric Greeks of the 18th to the 12th century BC. No less clearly than, for example, the column of Antoninus concerning the Germans, the Egyptian reliefs give us a pictorial representation of those ancient barbarians of the Mediterranean coasts. We know that the Phoenicians were already trading and committing piracy on the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean in ancient times. When, around 1800 BC, the Egyptian conquerors turned against Western Asia, the Phoenician merchants submitted to foreign rule without much resistance. Civilized Egypt held many attractions for them. What valuables could be obtained from there to transport elsewhere or to recreate at home!

In a similar manner, though much later, the Phoenicians became intermediaries for the peoples of the West, for example, for the Assyrian civilization. In those early days, the Phoenician influence did not yet penetrate deeply. It was merely a coming and going. Only centuries later, when several islands, such as Santorino and Rhodes, were definitely colonized by the Phoenicians, could we speak of a Greek civilization developing under Phoenician influence. Then, for example, the ancient Hellenic art industry, that of the oldest painted vases, arose, and Phoenician script was born;

74560 Adopted by the Greeks, in recent times it is believed that another people have been discovered who—though certainly not for such a long period—connected the Greek-Asia Minor tribes with the east. In the 14th century, we see, according to the records on the pylons of Karnak, in the famous poem of Pentaura, Ramesses the Great at war with the Chetas—the Hittites of the Bible—who had allied themselves with the Dardani (Dardanians), Mauona (Maeonians), Masu (Mysians), Leka (Lycians), with Asia Minor

74565 peoples, and among them, the Dardanians from Troas. The war ended with a treaty on equal terms, as it was called, with the Chetas, and, in true modern European fashion, with a marriage of Ramesses with the daughter of the Cheta prince. From that time on, the Chetas came more or less under Egyptian influence. We know a few things about this people with a fair degree of certainty; Babylonian documents speak of them with

74570 a certain awe, as early as the 20th century BC. Hebrew tradition also mentions the Chetas, or Hittites, in Palestine before the Israelite invasion; however, very soon after their arrival, they seem to have withdrawn from those outposts. However powerful the Hittites may have been, in the time of the Egyptian king Thothmes III (c. 1700 BC), it was not they, but another tribe, the Ruthennu, who were the dominant

74575 people in Western Asia; they are not mentioned among the peoples conquered by that king; they paid him tribute. However, for Ramesses I (c. 1450 BC), their king, Sapalel, was by far the most formidable enemy in Western Asia; They completely took the place of the Ruthennu. Under Ramesses II in the 14th century, as we have seen, they led a coalition against that king.

74580 In recent times, we have also come into contact with these Chetas or Hittites (not to be confused with the Aramaic Syrians, who lived south of them) more directly. In the immediate vicinity of their land, especially near former Hamath and Aleppo, and later in their land itself, at the site of their old capital, Carchemish on the Euphrates, inscriptions have been found in a very peculiar hieroglyphic script. Inscriptions in

74585 the same hieroglyphic script have been found in various places in Asia Minor, including Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia; these inscriptions have also been found on very unusual reliefs. A relief found near Birejik in the former Hittite region itself corresponds entirely with this Asia Minor relief in all its peculiarities. These reliefs have something Egyptian, something Assyrian, very much Babylonian; in

74590 any case, they are entirely oriental in style, so that the idea that they were brought from the west to the east is entirely excluded. There seems no doubt that it was the powerful Chetas or Hittites who brought their art forms and inscriptions to the surrounding, relatively insignificant kingdoms such as Hamath and further into Asia Minor. These monuments and inscriptions can be called Hittite with a very high

74595 degree of probability. The extent of this Hittite influence is demonstrated by a discovery by the English orientalist Sayce. Herodotus saw two reliefs carved into the rocks on the road between Sardis and Ephesus, which he considered them portraits of Sesostris. One of these reliefs had been known for some time; the other was

74600 discovered by Sayce, who also determined that they were Hittite-style and provided with Hittite inscriptions. Thus, we see the Chetas, with their inscriptions and reliefs, firmly on their way to those peoples of Asia Minor with whom the Egyptian monuments present them in alliance. Only Herodotus's two Sesostris portraits are found in the eastern part of the Maeonian land; the other reliefs have been found among the peoples of Asia Minor not mentioned on the Egyptian monuments of Ramesses

74605 II, usually those located more inland. We thus get the impression that Hittite rule extended over those inland regions, so that the inhabitants of those lands could not be described as independent fighters against Egypt on the Pylons of Karnak. The lands along the sea coast, on the other hand, would have remained somewhat independent—perhaps they had to tolerate a single Hittite outpost—but were forced, completely or

74610 partially, to join their powerful neighbor in the fight against Egypt.

Be that as it may, we see here, long before the Assyrians appeared in Western Asia, another people connecting east and west, and there is little doubt that these were the Chetas or Hittites. We should therefore expect Hittite influences in the Greco-

74615 Asia Minor civilization. However, the very fact that we should expect them should make us cautious about believing too readily that we will find them in anything. The material from which we can learn about the Hittites is still relatively limited. Sayce, with the aid of a kind of medal bearing bilingual Hittite and Assyrian

74620 cuneiform inscriptions, has made a not very promising start in deciphering their hieroglyphs. The Hittite reliefs, as we have already noted, have something Egyptian, something Assyrian, but above all a great deal of Babylonian charm; one sees, for example, sphinxes, winged sun disks, goddesses standing on animals, and the like. It is no surprise that the Hittites borrowed much from Babylonia; their empire coincides with Babylonia's earliest period of prosperity, while Assyria was then only in its

74625 early stages of development. Therefore, in the Hittites, we most likely see
transmitters primarily of Babylonian civilization. Their artistic creations, despite
all the imitation, still display something peculiar. Not only did they incorporate
what they adopted to some extent independently, but they also made certain aspects
entirely their own, firstly in terms of costume, with the tall hats with turned-up
74630 brims and the shoes with turned-up points found on all the reliefs, and secondly in
the style of workmanship, where, with a certain predilection, the figures were given
a roundedness and compactness unfamiliar to other Eastern reliefs. Or can Hittite-
Babylonian influences also be detected in the oldest works of art of the Greek-Asia
Minor tribes, for example, the lions from the fortress of Mycenae? Sayce believes so.
74635 Yet, this will not be accepted at face value. Another assertion by the same scholar
is more impressive: that the Asia Minor-Cypriot alphabet was derived from Hittite
hieroglyphs. Leaving aside other circumstances that support this view, there is a
remarkable similarity between various signs.

74640 The Chetas and Phoenicians certainly had quick pupils in our prehistoric Greeks. The
Egyptian monuments bear witness to the first manifestations of their historical life.
The feeling of immaturity in relation to the Phoenicians becomes unbearable to them.
They, too, begin building ships and entrust themselves to the endless plain; an
immense field lies open for their deeds. It was not for nothing that they had become
74645 acquainted with ancient Egypt, which had a civilization 2,000 years ahead of them.
Just as the Germans later did in the Roman Empire, these barbarians from ancient
Greece wanted nothing more or less than to settle in the kingdom of the Pharaohs to
share in its glory and riches. Already under Thothmes III (c. 1700 BC), we hear that
the Danaou (Homer's Danaans), allied with Libyan peoples, had stormed Egypt. Under
74650 Ramesses II, we saw an alliance of Asia Minor peoples led by the Chetas take the
field against Egypt. Even under his son Menephtah, numerous Greek-Asia Minor tribes
formed an alliance on their own (among them, for example, the Akaioeas, Homer's
Achaeans); they landed in Libya and advanced again into Egypt. Inhabitants of Troas
were not among them, for the Turisha, whom Bruges refers to as Trojans, are
74655 considered by Ghabas and Maspero is, with very good reason, considered the Lydian
tribe of the Tyrrhenians. - A hundred years later, the Phoenicians have apparently
been largely driven out of the Greek archipelago, and the Chetan empire is powerless
against the overwhelming power of its former vassals. At sea and along all coasts,
Greek-Asia Minor fleets and armies can be seen; a few tribes ally themselves again
74660 with the Lybians, but the vast majority, led by the Tekkri (Teukrians) and Pelesta
(Pelasgians), focuses its attacks on the east. A land army overthrows the Chetan
empire, allied with Egypt, and approaches the borders; a fleet penetrates to the
mouths of the Nile. There, however, Ramesses III (c. 1200) rises; "one rejoices as at
the rising of the sun"; he is "brave as a bull," "powerful as a lion"; He destroys
74665 "the barbarians," "the peoples of the sea," and seeks them out in their own land;
many cities submit; the names we are given are largely from Asia Minor. Whether Ilion
appears among them is still doubtful. On the temple walls of Medinet-Abu, Ramesses's
deeds are recounted and the battles depicted in relief; prisoners from various
nations are depicted in their national costumes, with their names placed alongside
74670 them.

Better days did not arrive for the Chetan Empire. Less than 50 years later, the
Assyrians under Tuklat-habal-asar pushed westward. Until its complete subjugation to
Assyria in the 8th century, the Chetan Empire enjoyed only a semblance of
independence. Major changes also occurred among the Greeks later. Many European
74675 tribes migrated to Asia; the Aeolian colonists arrived in places such as Troas.
Hellenic civilization developed, and the Phoenicians, retreating to a few islands,
remained the intermediaries between East and West. There was no longer any question
of simply adopting anything. The Hellenes created their own world from Eastern raw
materials. The period we spoke of earlier, that of the Phoenician alphabet and the
74680 oldest painted pottery (800 BC), began.

Let us now turn to the six settlements on the hill of Hissarlik beneath Aeolian
Ilion. It is entirely logical to attribute them to the Dardanians, Teukrians, and
Trojans of Greek tradition and the Egyptian monuments, an Indo-Germanic people of
Greek-Asia Minor origin, subject to varying degrees of influence from the Chetas or
74685 Hittites, Phoenicians, and Egyptians. The excavations should clarify this completely.
The various settlements of Hissarlik exhibit a considerable difference in
construction methods. The first two cities were built of rough, entirely or almost
entirely unworked stones, broken from the nearby limestone mountains. The stones of
the first, that is, the lower city, are quitesmall and somewhat bonded together by
74690 earth; however, not enough has been excavated from that first city to form a proper

picture of it. The situation is different with the second, which was undoubtedly one of the largest of all. A wall of large limestone blocks seems to have surrounded that city on all sides; these limestone blocks were stacked on top of each other, and the oversized openings were filled with smaller stones, so that we have here before us exactly the same construction method as can be observed in the so-called Kuklopic walls of Tyrius and Mycenae. The houses were constructed of similar blocks of stone; However, it appears that walls of loam or clay were also used, naturally mixed with straw, as, for example, in the pile formations of Switzerland and Italy; a single house has been excavated that had walls of small stones bonded with loam, similar to the dwellings found beneath the volcanic ash of Santorino. The houses had multiple stories and probably a flat roof of beams. Houses also stood on the city walls, whose walls thus formed an upward continuation of those walls, in the same way, as has been noted, as in Jericho from the Old Testament.¹ The entrance was on the southwest side. A gently rising street had been artificially formed there, also paved with limestone slabs, to allow for a more gradual ascent of the always somewhat steep hill. One entered the city through a gate with three successive doors. Three houses have been found in this second city, destroyed by fire; the further causes of their destruction are unknown. For some time after its fall, according to Schliemann and Burnouf, the hill was uninhabited, as rainwater apparently created cavities in the rubble.

Virchow, however, doubts this. Then the third city was founded; they simply rebuilt on the rubble of their predecessor. Unevenness was leveled, just as it had been during the foundation of the previous city, and later also that of the fourth, by placing so-called clay cakes in the open holes. Over a large area, the walls of the previous city were also used for this new one. On the south side, however, a new wall of smaller stones bonded with clay was built, thereby extending the city slightly on that side. While on the northeast side, several rows of large stones, one above the other in one place only, were laid across the rubble of the second city. Because these rows of stones were to serve as a wall on that side, a significant part of the second city was not included within the perimeter of the third. This was therefore quite small. One of the two longest sides curved, the other fairly straight, and was no more than 150 meters long. However, houses were also situated outside the walls on this northeast side. On the walls of the second city, to the extent that they were adopted, new houses were built above the rubble of the houses of that second city, so that the walls of those houses also formed a continuation of the city wall.

Primarily, it seems, on the walls that the residents themselves had built (that wall on the south side and the rows of stones on the northeast side, which had been laid across the rubble of the second city), brick walls were constructed as a continuation of the limestone walls. First, a few clay cakes were piled on top of these, then the bricks followed. This is undoubtedly the major step the residents of the third city took over from the two previous ones: that they were the first to grasp a kind of masonry; tiles of clay mixed with straw, hardened in the sun or by fire, were bonded with a kind of cement of pounded tiles and water. Just like those walls, the entrance to the city was also adopted from the previous one. However, above the limestone pavement, a red sandstone pavement was laid. Only the lower section of the gates of the second city remained; it was raised higher, following the construction methods of the third city.

The houses of the third city usually consisted of a ground floor constructed of small, only slightly worked, pieces of limestone bound with a cement of ash, earth, or crushed tiles. The floor was made of clay, spread over the rubble of the previous city or over stone slabs. The floor of the upper floor or floors was formed of beams, like the bottom, covered with clay, which also filled the gaps between the beams. The walls of the upper floors were made of fired tiles; a kind of chimney was cut into them. The roofs seem to have been formed in the same way as the bottoms of the floors: they were therefore flat. Sometimes the lower floor had no door, so that, just like in the pile dwellings, one could only enter the house by a staircase. The ground floor was also usually only the storehouse; if it had no door, one descended into it as if it were a cellar. In these lower floors, one often finds large jars, easily capable of holding a man, storage places for liquids or crops; they were thus truly a kind of cellars or storehouses. Near the city entrance stood a large, rather carefully built house, which Schliemann believes to be the palace of the city's chief; he previously called it simply Priam. Virchow's observation is striking that the construction of the houses of Troas today still corresponds entirely with that of the ancient dwellings on the hill of Hissarlik; the latter has become particularly clear to us through the former. It is, however, a phenomenon that is very commonly observed. For example, in Greece and Italy, one can still, to a certain extent, learn about ancient life through one's own observation. About 50 years ago, Stackelberg,

for example, noted that ancient costumes could be explained by those of modern Greece. It is simply impossible to determine how many thousands of years old many of our involuntary customs and habits are.

74760 The inhabitants of the fourth city again entered their fortress at the same location as those of the two preceding ones. Walls of this city have also been excavated; yet we are unable to form a proper picture of their development. The houses were
74765 apparently built similarly to those of the third city. Like the inhabitants of the Italian pile dwellings, those of the fourth city let the waste of their food and other filth fall down, undisturbed, into the space beneath the upper floor they occupied. The pottery of this city is often somewhat cruder in workmanship than that of the third, and the stone tools are also somewhat cruder. Schliemann believes that after the destruction of Troy, according to him, in the fifth city, a portion of the population remained, but was unable to maintain the higher civilization of its
74770 predecessor. This would confirm the tradition that Aeneas established a kingdom on the site of the ruined city. Based on the information available to us, we cannot form a proper picture of the layout of the fifth and sixth cities. Schliemann believes that the houses of the fifth city were made of wood and clay.

74775 The inhabitants of Hissarlik used stone, copper, and bronze objects; iron is completely absent, with the exception of a knife in the sixth city. However, on the whole, these stone objects are of a fairly high quality. Flint tools are found only in the first, lowest settlement, and even then only in a few. The exquisitely
74780 polished axes of Nephrite, found in the five lowest settlements, are particularly noteworthy; they are not inferior to a bronze axe. Some objects made of nephrite were also found in Swiss pile dwellings and in some other places in Europe. However, this type of stone does not occur in Europe. Among the axes of Hissarlik, one is made of white nephrite, which in the ancient world is found only in the heart of Asia, in the Kuen-Luen Mountains. Were there trade connections between Central Asia and Asia Minor
74785 and Europe in those ancient times, or did the Aryan peoples, when they left the interior of Asia, certainly take with them these very valuable objects? It is worth noting that in the fifth city, stone tools are far fewer in number than in the fourth, and that Schliemann reports none at all from the sixth. One can see that on the hill of Hissarlik, the Bronze Age is gradually replacing the Stone Age.

74790 Bronze objects have not yet been found in the two lower cities, but copper ones have. However, the excavations in these two cities are not yet particularly extensive, and it is therefore somewhat premature to conclude, along with Schliemann, that the inhabitants of the first two cities lived in a copper period, and that the hardening of copper into bronze by adding tin only became known in the third city. Furthermore,
74795 in these two cities, several objects made of gold, silver, and electrum (a mixture of the first two) are found, and in the lower city, a copper knife that has been gilded. In the four upper settlements, bronze objects are very common. That the metals were

worked on the hill of Hissarlik itself is demonstrated by the numerous stone molds found, for example, for arrowheads and baked clay objects, which, according to the
74800 metal flakes on the inside, also served as a crucible. The bronze at Hissarlik was probably not forged. When surveying Schliemann's finds, one is particularly struck by the gold, silver, and electrum objects he found in ten locations in the city of the third city. The largest collection, which he previously called Priam's treasure, lay among the rubble on the city wall not far from the so-called royal palace, where

74805 several objects of precious metal were also found. The principal items found among these treasures are head ornaments, hairpins, bracelets, earrings, cups, jars, a shield, and the like. Among these are pieces whose production, in the opinion of an expert consulted by Schliemann, the jeweler Guiliano, required a very high degree of technical skill. Truly, no Etruscan goldsmith of centuries later would have been
74810 ashamed of the extremely fine granulation. Guiliano cannot fathom how this could have been accomplished without a magnifying glass. The style of decoration also bears no resemblance to an original civilization. For example, a hair needle with a knob of rosettes and spirals, and especially one to the knob of which some finely crafted, extremely small vases with two handles were soldered, rather testify to a somewhat
74815 spoiled taste, which delights in charivaris.

Hard stones for grinding grain, often shaped like a ball, or even a kind of mortar with pestle, are common at Hissarlik, as is so often the case in prehistoric
74820 settlements. Hundreds, indeed thousands, of small stones have also been found there, also a fairly common prehistoric household item. Naturally, the amount of pottery excavated is astonishingly large; some of it was wheel-made, some by hand. Even wheel-made pottery is often quite crude. There is no mention of a kiln in which it was fired; It is so undercooked that it must have been fired before the fire. Many

pots and dishes have a few protrusions cut out, which are provided with holes, were a rope was brought through the pot, either to tie a lid on the pot or to hang it up.

74825 Traces of the rope can still be found in some of these holes. Similar pottery with protrusions can also be found in other prehistoric settlements, for example, in the Italian pile dwellings. The large storage jars, in which a man could easily stand, have already been mentioned; in one of them, which lay long before Schliemann's door at Hissarlik, two people sometimes sheltered from the rain. Furthermore, the pottery

74830 has a variety of shapes. Numerous flat dishes are found among them, which are particularly similar to those from Cyprus, but also suggest others, for example, from excavations in Germany and Hungary. Conical vessels, or spherical ones on three legs with an oylinder-shaped extension upwards, are also found among them. Among them, one frequently encounters conical jugs with long spouts, rising straight up from the

74835 center, which end more or less like an upward-pointing bird's beak, a design that immediately brings to mind similar ones from Cyprus and the ash-covered layers of Santorino and Therasia. Also worthy of note are certain small jars resembling our water bottles, which almost every Egyptian and Cypriot collection—including the Leiden one—contains; jugs with two spouts, also Cypriot in shape; two or three small

74840 cups connected together, also something from Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Santorino. Above all, however, attention is drawn to the animal-shaped vases, for example, pigs, which often recall some of our children's money boxes. From all Cypriot collections, including the Leiden one, one can find almost identical examples. Animals, no less humans, were imitated in the pottery. On the upper part or lid of many large vases, a

74845 face is roughly incised or sculpted, while on the belly, the female body is crudely depicted. The mouth is particularly often omitted from the face, which is why Schliemann calls these vases "owl-headed vases." Such vases, depicting the human form, are among the most widespread worldwide; they have been excavated in Cyprus, Egypt, Etruria, Pomerania, and America. Cups with two handles attached to the sides,

74850 in which Schliemann sees Homer's *depa amphicupella*, have been found in all five of the upper cities. In the sixth alone, a certain type of cup with two upright handles, which project upwards above the mouth, is very common. Similar in shape to the Greek *kantharos*, but convex at the bottom, without any foot. Cups of exactly the same model are found in Italy. At the sixth city, there is also a peculiar type of pottery

74855 handle, ending in a cow's head. The color of the pottery is often black, dark brown, or red, sometimes yellow, and occasionally green. The more carefully crafted pieces are polished; the stone tools used for this are still found. The decoration consisted of incised, straight, zigzag, and wavy lines, figures reminiscent of a fishbone, circles with a point, and the

74860 like. Often, the incised figures are filled with chalk, which makes them stand out better against the black or dark brown background. Among these thousands of pottery pieces, only three rather insignificant examples of painting can be discovered; the most prominent is a squid depicted with red earth on a lid. This animal is also found on many vases from Mycenae. The incisions on the Hissarlik vases were generally done

74865 with a very unsteady hand; yet, a certain sensitivity to the requirements of proper artistic decoration cannot be denied. The lines are not applied randomly, but in harmony with those of the vase itself; they rise with the ascending walls, or on the wider examples, they curve around, parallel to the upper rim, often from handle to handle; the more striking upper part of spherical vases often bears the main

74870 decoration; the vase surface is often divided into several decorative fields by straight lines. The paucity of different patterns is remarkable, however. The spindle whorls also bear decoration, and this is infinitely richer than that of similar objects from other prehistoric settlements. In this respect, they are also remarkably superior to the vessels themselves. The variation among the patterns is quite

74875 considerable, and these are often truly tasteful. A rather refined artistic sense is particularly evident in the, in some cases, quite clear attempt to have the figures, as it were, participate in the rotating movement of the spindles: lines or figures, which run like the spindles of a wagon wheel from the rim to the center opening of a spindle whorl, are often all curved in the same direction. Very often, especially on

74880 the spindle whorls, that mysterious mark appears,

The cross with angles, which we find in China, British India, Cyprus, Etruria, and other places, even, according to Schliemann's account, on bronzes brought back by an

74885 this sign *Snastika* (or *Sauvastika*), using a Sanskrit word. It is therefore commonly considered to be of Indian origin. Max Müller sees it as a symbol of the sun; others see something else. Animals and people are also depicted on the spindle whorls, though without anything resembling a plastic representation of forms: the body, legs,

- 74890 arms, and horns are represented by straight lines, the head by a circle. Only in the sixth city does one find a kind of intaglio in ivory, depicting a pair of crawling creatures, which truly demonstrates some plasticity. Also worth mentioning are several ivory objects, including a fragment of a lyre, a few knobs of Egyptian porcelain, cylinders, and seals in the Babylonian style.
- 74895 The inhabitants of Hissarlik were likely an agricultural people; large quantities of grains of various kinds, especially wheat, have been found in the burned city. They also engaged in fishing, both at sea and in the rivers, and consumed a surprising number of mussels and oysters; the remains prove this. Similarly, it is beyond doubt that flocks of sheep, goats, cattle, pigs, and horses were herded in the meadows
- 74900 surrounding the hill even in those ancient times. Hares, deer, antelope, geese, and swans were also hunted.
- Script was also well-known in those ancient times. It was Hang who first discovered letters in some signs on spindle whorls, seals and cylinders, and even on a vase, belonging to the Cypriot alphabet, though apparently older in form. Gompertz's first
- 74905 attempt at deciphering it was unsuccessful, and Sayce, in his appendix to Schliemann's book, has also not yet achieved any conclusive results; it remains to be seen whether that will ever be achieved with the limited material at our disposal. Nevertheless, it is a discovery of great significance. That the Cypriot alphabet was not limited to Cyprus alone, but was the pre-Phoenician alphabet of all of Asia
- 74910 Minor, is strikingly confirmed by the fact that we find it in such ancient Asia Minor settlements as those on Hissarlik.
- Which gods were worshipped on that hill? Noteworthy is the lead idol of a female goddess, very similar to idols of Babylonian origin; Sayce speaks of the Babylonian Nana. Furthermore, a highly crude idol, made of baked clay, marble, or carved from
- 74915 bone and ivory, is found exceptionally frequently. A distinction between head and torso is the most striking feature of its plastic form; a face is incised, sometimes the hair is somewhat indicated, and often the separation of head and torso is also indicated by stripes, a kind of collar. All those depicted by Schliemann, except one from the sixth city, lack a mouth. In a few cases, an eye is also omitted. Schliemann
- 74920 sees in all these, and also in the owl-headed vases, images of the Glaukopis Athenaeum, already familiar to us all from our reading of Homer at grammar school. The word "glaukopis" is usually derived from glaukos, "gray," and a root, which is given the meaning "eye," so that "glaukopis" means "gray-eyed." Schliemann thinks of glaua "owl" and translates: "Athens with the owl's face."
- 74925 There is indeed much to be said for that opinion. Homer certainly did not imagine either goddess with the face of an animal. But just as a rudimentary organ speaks of past life activities, so too would those mechanically repeated epithets preserve an ancient conception, completely foreign to the minds of those who used them. When
- 74930 people later attempted to grasp the meaning of these words, they arrived at those common explanations known to us. Max Müller declared to Schliemann that he was willing to accept his opinion, provided he was also shown the booôpis Hêrê, Hera with the cow's face, not, as had been previously explained, with cow's eyes. Schliemann went to Mycenae and excavated cow heads and cow figurines near the temple of Hera. Has the matter really been settled? Some believe there are etymological objections to
- 74935 Schliemann's explanations. I see, then, that this is so rarely the case that it is precisely the etymology that most recommends Schliemann's opinion. Has anyone ever properly understood what a cow-eyed Hera means? I truly don't believe so, and the root "op" is at least as reminiscent of the face as of the eye. "Aithiops," the Ethiopian, is certainly not the man with the brown eye, but with the tanned face, or,
- 74940 to use a word, while the formation of Homer's names booôpis and glaulcoôpis fully agrees,² the girl's name Rhodoôpis certainly does not mean "rose eye" but "rose face." When Homer has brazen ladies called kunoôpis,³ the translation "dog-eyed"—dogs were considered impudent by the father of the diocese—is highly commendable in terms of meaning, but perhaps just as easily, that brazenness can be found in the animal's
- 74945 entire snout. One must then assume that in ancient times, Athena was sometimes depicted as an owl or with an owl's face, and Hera as a cow or with the face of a cow. Is that conceivable? Why not? The ancient Greeks, like no other people, began with a creation like Praxiteles' Hermes. They, to quote Thucydides, became Hellenes from barbarians, and in that barbaric era, like so many other barbarians, had
- 74950 shapeless objects—the ancient statue of Hera on Samos was a block of wood—and wholly or partially animal-shaped monsters as idols. A few examples of the latter have even been found here and there. The only question is: did people ever imagine Hera with a cow's head, Athena with that of an owl? This is not unlikely regarding Hera. Io, her mythological doppelganger, is known to be transformed into a cow. Furthermore, she

74955 was very easily identified with the Egyptian Isis; for example, the Hera at Olympia
 wore the coiffure or crown of Isis on her head. Now, in an appendix to Schliemann's
 book, Brugsch recalled that, according to an Egyptian myth, after Horos cut off her
 head, Isis received a cow's head from Thoth in its place, and there can be no doubt
 74960 that Argos, preeminently Hera-worshipping, came into contact with Egypt in ancient
 times via Libya. Egyptian monuments, as we have seen, already appear in the time of
 Thothmes III (c. 1700). Libyans and Danaans allied against Egypt, and the Greek
 legend has Danaus, the mythical progenitor of those Danaans, whom she calls the
 brother of Egyptus, settle in Argos from Libya. When Tsis fled from Seth, she
 74965 transformed herself into a cow—the Egyptian myth continues—and thus she arrived in
 the province in the west of the empire, inhabited by Libyans since very ancient
 times. There, as Brugch demonstrates, Isis was especially worshipped as a cow, thus
 in that part of Egypt with which, according to the information on Egyptian monuments
 and the Greek Danaus saga, we must consider the Danaans associated. This is the case
 with the Heres the cow. Regarding the glaukopis Athena, no such evidence has yet been
 74970 found. Yet, how little has been done on the religious history of the Greek people! It
 is clear that the entire question would be completely settled if we possessed a
 statue of Hera with a cow's head and one of Athena with an owl's head. Did Schliemann
 find them? This, I think, must be denied. Neither the owl-headed vases nor the idols
 have anything that gives the impression of an owl, except that they lack a mouth.
 74975 Now, that could simply be a mistake, just as an eye was also omitted from another
 idol. A statuette found on one of the Greek islands, which incidentally stands much
 taller in terms of sculpture than any of Hissarlik's statuettes, even lacks
 everything except its nose. Yet, one might argue, all but one of the Hissarlik's
 74980 statuettes that Schliemann published lack a mouth; so do all the vases with a human
 face, which he depicts in his current work. However, in the photographs of the found
 objects, which he previously published, several appear where the mouth is clearly
 visible, and this, in my opinion, completely negates all evidence for the deliberate
 omission of the mouth. And now regarding the Hera Booôpis, among the gold, silver,
 terracotta cow heads, and terracotta cows that Schliemann published in the German
 74985 edition of his "Mykenae," there is, in my humble opinion, not a single one that one
 has the right to consider idols. That such statuettes are found in or near a temple
 of Hera should come as no surprise. The cow was a favored sacrificial animal for
 Hera, and therefore cows could very well have been given to her as so-called votive
 offerings, small votive gifts. Animals used as votive offerings can be found in all
 74990 museums, for example, doves dedicated to Aphrodite. The only specific idol, as far as
 I know, with a cow's head was found by Cesnola in Cyprus; it has a human torso and
 arms, but the head of a cow. However, there is no reason to consider it a Hera. Thus,
 Schliemann's opinion remains merely a guess, a not implausible guess perhaps, but one
 that is in no way supported by the archaeological discoveries that gave rise to it.
 74995

We can now form an idea of the state of civilization on the hill of Hissarlik before
 the Aeolian colonization naturally returns to the question: were they settlements of
 the Greek-Asia Minor tribe of the Dardanians, Teucrians, or Trojans? And indeed,
 after examining the finds, this can be less doubted than ever. One need only consider
 75000 the Kuklopien architecture of the second city and that of its houses, which were
 built along the lines of those of Santorino, but above all, the Cypriot alphabet. The
 pottery also firmly places the inhabitants of Hissarlik among the prehistoric Greek-
 Asia Minor tribes. Now, it is beyond doubt that more original states of civilization
 very easily exhibit some similarities, and that only in a period of more advanced
 75005 national artistic development can peoples be clearly distinguished by the products of
 their artistic crafts. Hence the similarity of the finds at Hissarlik with that of
 all sorts of finds from all corners of the world. However, no similarity extends
 across so many objects and is so evident in the smallest details of workmanship as
 that with the oldest pottery from Cyprus, Rhodes, Santorin, and Therasia—in other
 75010 words, with the pottery of prehistoric Greeks. That tribes of Asia Minor (Greek)
 lived at Hissarlik is certainly not open to doubt. It is still possible that the
 various settlements, or some of them, were inhabited by different peoples, and since
 this is indeed assumed by Schliemann and Virchow, it is worth pausing for a moment.
 We must begin by defining the point in question more precisely. If one means that
 75015 different peoples of the same tribe succeeded one another on the hill of Hissarlik,
 then that is quite possible. For example, one could assume that the Dardanians,
 Teucrians, and Trojans alternately held sway and inhabited the castle of Hissarlik.
 However, this matter will likely never be resolved from the archaeological findings;
 we would have to imagine the civilization of these tribes to be so similar that
 75020 making a clear distinction would be impossible. However, if one means that peoples of

different origins ruled at Hissarlik, that, for example, a people completely unknown to us, not of Asian Minor Greek descent, would have inhabited the lower settlements, then that is highly unlikely at this stage. We know the two lower settlements, especially the one below, only imperfectly; yet, certainly from the second, but, I see, also from the first, vases with human faces have been unearthed, all of which correspond fairly well in type at Hissarlik. Certainly in the five upper settlements, but probably also in the lower ones, one finds the very same crude idols discussed above. Large storage jars, capable of holding a man, have also been recovered from the second settlement, as well as from the higher ones. Schliemann attaches great importance to the lack of large storage jars in the first city; however, assuming they are not also found there during further excavation, could the inhabitants of the second city have been the inventors of these large jars? The fact that the pottery of the fourth city is somewhat cruder certainly cannot be considered here. Furthermore, Schliemann points out that in the lower settlement, certain large, glossy black bowls shaped like basins are found in large quantities, of which not a single example is found in the second settlement. He refers to an expression by the Etruscologist Dennis, who lived in Eugel, that a people does not simply abandon the style in which they produce their pottery, for example. Firstly, however, what one might call style—a peculiarity of art form, cherished and maintained as an expression of its innermost being—is only present in principle in products of applied art, such as those found on the Hissarlik hill. Secondly, the second town also has its own glossy black pottery, so that, if I understand correctly, the matter boils down to this: certain bowl-shaped dishes appear in the first town, but not in the second. One would hardly want to see a stylistic difference in national art industry in this. Therefore, in all or most of the settlements on Hissarlik, one likely encounters the same phenomenon as in the Italian terramares, the remains of Italian pile-dwelling villages,¹ and on the Dutch terps: multiple settlements of the same people, in different periods of their development, lie one above the other. Pigorini believes that the ancient inhabitants of the Italian pile-dwellings themselves sometimes set fire to their dwellings when they felt the need about new ones. This same is not unlikely for some of the towns of Hissarlik. For the pile dwellings, fire was the simplest means of extermination, not so for the stone towns of Hissarlik. There, a fire is more likely to be attributed to an accident or a foreign enemy. Of the six settlements, only one has now been destroyed by fire (a few houses in the second town). If one does not want to assume that all five of the remaining towns were destroyed by earthquake, then it is certainly a not entirely objectionable assumption that the inhabitants themselves each time tore down one town and built a new one on the rubble, when over time their wretched dwellings, which certainly did not differ much in sturdiness, had become somewhat unusable.

In one respect, Schliemann has indeed demonstrated a rather significant difference between one of the settlements and its predecessors. The sixth city not only ranks somewhat higher than the preceding one in some of its artistic productions, but a large number of those cups with two high-standing handles were also found there, which, as Schlieman rightly observed, bear a striking resemblance to similar objects from Italy, including a large number of those handles ending in a cow's head. However, this can apparently only be a case of a new series of objects blending with the old, not of a completely new civilization. Schliemann explains the matter thus: the Tyrsenians, the ancestors, as is often believed, of the Etruscans in Italy, emigrated from Lydia, according to legend; those cups and cow's heads are therefore not unlikely to be of Lydian origin; the Lydians ruled over Troas; the art forms that the Tyrsenians brought to Italy, the Lydians brought to Troas. I will now leave aside the fact that we know nothing of Lydian rule over Troas before this country was colonized by the Aeolians; only Gyges, in the 7th century, subdued that country. The entire question of Asia Minor influences on Etruscan civilization can also remain undiscussed. Indeed, there is insufficient basis for the assertion that these cups and cow's heads are uniquely Etruscan. It is known that the Etruscans are, in any case, a completely different people than the so-called Italic tribes, to which, among others, the Latins belonged, and now cups resembling the Greek kantharos are found in ancient Italian graves as well as in Etruscan ones. As for the cow's heads, so-called crescent-shaped handles have been excavated in Italy, including in the terramares; Schliemann believes that the cow's head is the older form of these handles, which would then be a simplification in that only the horns (half-moons) would remain. This in itself would certainly not be impossible. But what remains of the entire reasoning when one considers that these half-moon handles are precisely not found in Etruscan settlements, so much so that they are usually seen as the most consistent characteristic by which one can distinguish Italian settlements from all other ones?

Greek influences in Italy are very old, and it is not inconceivable that these cups are truly crude imitations of the Greek kantharos. In that case, it would be obvious to assume similar European-Greek influences in the sixth city, which one could then consider as precursors of the complete Hellenization by Aeolian colonists. However, everything here remains conjecture. The settlements on Hissarlik belong to an Indo-Germanic tribe, and it is obvious to draw a closer comparison with those of other Indo-Germanic tribes, including those with whom the relationship was not as close as with the other Greek-Asia Minor peoples. We have already discussed the Italian pile dwellings; these are usually not situated on the shores of lakes, like the Swiss ones, but rather above ground level. Now, the pile dwellings of the Italian terramares were most likely, and almost certainly many of them, the dwellings of the Indo-Germanic people of those ancient Italians, the ancestors of, among others, the Latins. The similarity between these pile dwellings and the houses on Hissarlik is greater than one might superficially think. Whether one builds one's actual dwelling on stilts or on a foundation wall of stacked stones, dug from the neighboring mountains, makes little difference. The main concept remains the same: a dwelling place elevated above the ground. The pile dwellings had walls of loam or clay, as did the ancient dwellings of the Celts and Germans. Such walls were also in use at Hissarlik, for example, in the second town, and when brick was used, clay or loam was used as a floor covering. The similarity between the residents of Hissarlik and the ancient Italians, in the way they dealt with their waste, have already been pointed out. The ancient Celts, Germans, and Italians lived in a period of transition from the use of stone to bronze objects, as did the inhabitants of Hissarlik. Their stone tools for grinding grain are not noticeably higher. Among their pottery, one also finds very crude examples. The kneading of prongs to thread ropes through them was, as we have seen, also known to the Italians. Like their relatives, the Hissarlik inhabitants did not fire their pots and pans in a kiln. Painting vases is a peculiarity, especially of later Hellenic civilization. Like the ancient Italian tribes, the Celts and Germans, the Hissarlik inhabitants decorated their pottery almost exclusively with incisions. Despite all similarities, however, there are also significant differences. In the third city, brick came into use; The pile dwellings lacked them; Tacitus explicitly states that the ancient Germans were unaware of them. While the inhabitants of Hissarlik were in that period of transition from stone to bronze, like other peoples, their stone objects certainly held a higher status. Among them, common flint was a rarity, not a major commodity. As for the pottery, a large portion of that at Hissarlik was made on the wheel; this tool was unknown to those other peoples. Furthermore, one should also note some objects that demonstrate such a high level of artistry and development of taste that all comparison, even with the other finds at Hissarlik, is completely negated. One need only consider several objects in these so-called treasures. Among such people, one is fully justified in concluding that they were imported from abroad. The cities at Hissarlik, therefore, demonstrate an original Indo-Germanic civilization; However, important principles of higher development are already emerging, although the new still stands alongside the old-like, for example, wheel-thrown pottery alongside hand-made—and thus there can be no question of a new, independent state of civilization. The question now is: to what can this nascent progress be attributed? These objects, undoubtedly imported from outside, already suggest foreign influences. This, however, is more evident in another way.

Can one speak of originally Indo-Germanic art forms? It was Conze who, in 1870 at the Vienna Academy, believed he could answer that question in the affirmative. On the oldest painted Greek vases—the Leiden Museum possessed the most interesting examples at the time, but since then, due to various excavations, especially in Cyprus and Mycenae, that number has greatly increased—one finds all sorts of geometric figures: concentric circles, often several sets next to each other, usually connected by tangents at the bottom of one set and the top of the other, zigzag lines, borders (so-called Greek borders), diamonds like those on a chessboard, and the like, as well as some rough beginnings of depictions of animals and plants. These decorations were applied with a keen sense of the demands of artistic decoration; borders such as borders actually serve as rims; decorations are found primarily from handle to handle and on the most conspicuous parts of the vase. The surface to be decorated is often very regularly divided into fields; in short, there is a correspondence between the lines of the decoration and those of the vase to be decorated. Today, the same patterns can be found, incised, on Germanic and Celtic pottery, and to a greater or lesser extent, with due regard for the same principles of artistic decoration. Just as one now ascends from the community of languages among the Indo-Germanic peoples to a single original Indo-Germanic language, Conze believed that this correspondence in

patterns and style of workmanship could lead to the conclusion that there was a certain number of ancient Indo-Germanic art forms, common to the tribe before its split into different peoples. However, Helbig [2] has since pointed out that in the Italian terramares, of which so many have been excavated, nothing of this decorative style can be found on either the vases or the spindle whorls. Only in the later, oldest Italian pottery do the patterns appear, but applied haphazardly, without regard for the simplest requirements of artistic decoration; a piece of metal, for example, skewed, in the middle of the body. Helbig makes it very likely that these patterns are of oriental origin and were introduced to the Greeks and Italians by the Phoenicians, and indeed, that they also came from that direction to the ancient Celts and Germans. These were still in a very original state, while the peoples at the center of the earth were still in a very original state.

The Phoenicians, and later the Greeks and Romans, were already at a very high level of civilization. Archaeology often astonishes us by the far-reaching influences of trade. But didn't Barth also find pieces of cotton from a Manchester firm among the Negroes of the Niger? The Italian terramares, though they probably haven't remained entirely free, have apparently been subjected to such foreign influences to the slightest degree; they therefore date back to a relatively ancient period. Therefore, they best enable us to become acquainted with the true ancient Indo-Germanic civilization.

And now the settlement at Hissarlik. The lines and figures on the pottery are drawn with a very unsteady hand, but nevertheless, as we have already pointed out, the awakening sense of the demands of artistic decoration, which the ancient Italians completely lacked, is very clearly visible here. Of Conze's Indo-Germanic patterns—and this is certainly quite remarkable—none are found in these Indo-Germanic settlements, except for the zigzag line, certainly one of the most obvious. The patterns on the vases are not significant; however, those on the spindle whorls, though completely different, are in no way inferior to Phoenician ones. We see foreign influences acting on the civilization of Hissarlik in a similar way as the Phoenicians later did on that of Greece and Italy.

Therefore, if the fact that external influences did affect the civilization of Hissarlik is fairly well established, the question naturally arises: what were these? We now recall what was noted above about the Phoenicians. Their more profound influence on Greek civilization (except possibly on some islands like Cyprus and Santorin), that influence most clearly visible in the painting of vases and the adoption of the alphabet, is certainly not much older than the 9th century; it was an influence established through colonization and regular peaceful intercourse. The ancient inhabitants of Hissarlik did not experience such intercourse with the Phoenicians; it coincides with Aeolian Ilion, from which Schliemann has therefore disclosed some shards of that ancient painted pottery. Before that time, the Phoenicians traded with the Greek peoples of Asia Minor as with wild tribes; they occasionally brought something there, but were often more robbers and invaders than merchants. A similar Phoenician influence is, I believe, quite plausible now also at Hissarlik. At that time, we are especially thinking of Egyptian goods transported by the Phoenicians. Just as on Cyprus and other islands, some unique Egyptian pottery forms have been discovered on Hissarlik, such as the combination of several small cups. Consider also Egyptian porcelain and the use of the wheel in pottery production, which was common among the Egyptians in ancient times. We can also imagine the so-called "schatteners" (stoves) being better introduced from no place at that time than from Egypt. All the major Egyptian museums, including the one in Leiden, possess examples of fine Egyptian granulation. Yet, much, and in fact the most important, likely points in another direction: the Babylonian seals and cylinders, that lead idol, and above all the use of bricks. The Babylonians primarily used these for building, and among the Babylonian tiles there are some—for example, only sun-dried—that are not much better crafted than those from Hissarlik. The Babylonian example would then have helped the inhabitants of the third city to bake tiles. The ivory found at Hissarlik is not unlikely to have originated from Egypt, but it could also have been brought there from the Euphrates in those ancient times. Herds of elephants grazed there at that time; according to Egyptian documents, the army of Thothmes III enjoyed hunting these animals there. The question becomes: who were the intermediaries in transmitting this Babylonian civilization? And given the above, one can probably think of no other people than the Chetas or Hittites. If it is confirmed that the patterns on the spindle whorls are at least partly Babylonian in origin, then the Chetas would occupy a position among the Greco-Kinsä-Asiatic peoples of that earlier period, entirely similar to that of the Phoenicians later:

75220 they would owe them an incipient artistic development, manifesting itself in pottery and spindle whorl decoration, and an alphabet. What we know of the Chetas and Asia Minor fullers makes such a steady and peaceful influence of the civilization of one people on that of another quite possible. Centuries before the dominant influence of the Phoenicians, we thus see an attempt among the Asia Minor peoples, under Hittite influence.

75225 Athenian tribes led to what I will call Hellenization. This attempt failed. When, later, with Phoenician help, Hellenic civilization began to develop to its full potential, it overwhelmed those first principles, incapable of any further effort, and spread beyond them: the Aeolian settlement over the ancient Dardanian.

75230 Accurately determining the influence of the Chetas on the hill of Hissarlik is a very important matter. When does it begin? With the third city? Everything is still too uncertain. One thing is certain, however, that we have a good chance of obtaining an excellent means of determining the time. If, according to what we have stated above, the flourishing of the Chetas fell between 15 and 1300, then the beginning of the

75235 Chetas' influence on Hissarlik also occurred during that time. If the excavations make it highly probable that we must imagine the inhabitants of Hissarlik in some degree of contact with the Phoenicians and in fairly close contact with the Chetas, then it becomes all the more likely that I am dealing here with Dardanian, Teucrian, and Trojan settlements. Were the cities of Hissarlik capitals of Troas, or did

75240 Homer's Troy lie beneath them? This is so little a foolish notion that one can safely say that, according to the data available to us, it is the most likely guess. The inhabitants of Aeolian Ilion had no doubt that their city stood on the site of ancient Troy or Ilios. The existence of this belief is demonstrable—Schliemann is undeniably correct—in the fifth century BC. Is it so implausible that the first

75245 founders of New Ilion knew that the ruins on which they built were those of the country's ancient capital, and can't this tradition, whose existence can be proven as early as the fifth century, be considered a reminder of that fact? Only in the Alexandrian period did a learned woman from Alexandria, Troas, named Hestiaeae, and a certain Demetrius of Skepsis, assert that ancient Troy was not located on the site of

75250 later Troy, but further inland, on the site of the then "village of the Ilians." Professor Mahaffy, in an appendix to Schliemann's work, has sharply exposed the insignificance of all the arguments advanced. The argumentation is entirely in the style of the artificial debate of the old schools of rhetoric. One of the arguments, we know from Strabo, is that in the Iliad the statue of Athena is depicted seated,

75255 while it stood in New Ilion; another, that according to Homer, Ilios was destroyed, which would mean that all the city's stones were removed. One sees how little such opponents even realized what they actually had to prove; at most, they prove that Aeolian Ilion was not the Ilios of Homer, an effort they certainly could have spared themselves entirely. The truth is that after Alexander the Great, New Ilion enjoyed

75260 great prestige as the city of Homer's songs; drawing a sharp distinction between Old and New Ilion was not in their minds: Aeolian Ilion was the city of Hector and Priam, just as Athens was that of Codros. The jealous neighbors could not grant her that honor, and, fully confident in the formidable strength of their rhetorical weapons, those writers from Alexandria, Troas, and that writer from Skepsis, turned against

75265 the claims of the much-envied capital of their region to be Ilios, Homer's Troy. Therefore, we should not attach much value to the opinion of these people. In more recent times, many believed that ancient Troy must have been located on the heights of Bunarbaschi, a considerable distance south of Hissarlik. Count Moltke, when he wrote "Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei" (Briefs on Subsistence

75270 and Belongings in Turkey) a good forty years ago, also concurred with this opinion; "his military instinct" told him that the main fortress of the country must have been located on that height. It is a pity that the inhabitants of Hissarlik, when choosing a site for their fortress, were unable to seek the advice of the greatest general of our time; but such arguments are of little use. The main argument of the Bunarbaschi

75275 advocates is that those two springs, one cold and one hot, that Homer speaks of, would actually be found nearby. However, there are no fewer than forty springs there, all cold. However, both Schliemann and Virchow, as well as the Bunarbaschi advocates, attach far too much importance to what Homer reveals about Troy's location. Schliemann argues, for example, that the area surrounding the Bunarbaschi hill is too

75280 steep for Hector and Achilles to have circled it three times, one following the other. We will return later to the fact that Homer in no way offered any representation of the actual ancient Troy and it is certainly not so very difficult to demonstrate that the poet or poets of the Iliad, even if they knew Troas, paid very little attention to topographical accuracy. Of greater significance is that,

75285 although some remains of walls are found at Bunarbaschi, these are certainly of relatively late date. Nor are any traces of an ancient settlement found at the site of that so-called "village of the Ilians." A surprisingly large number, however, as we know, are found at Hissarlik, the place where a very credible tradition sought ancient Troy. Which side is most likely? Schliemann's journey last May also aimed to

75290 locate other prehistoric settlements in Troas. He found none. Regarding, more specifically, the third city, Troy. Considering what was noted above, that it is not improbable that the inhabitants of Hissarlik, like those of other prehistoric settlements in various periods of their history, established one settlement above another, it stands out that several, or perhaps even all six cities,

75295 could have been Troy. However, the third city was burned, and that was certainly done by the Achaeans and Danaans of the Iliad. Quite possible. That the Trojan legend is based on historical truth is not implausible. But how much? This is truly not so easy to determine. That the burning of Troy was a historical fact is not proven in the least. I would like to propose another assertion, namely this: the peoples of Asia Minor, under the hegemony of the Teucrians, attacked Ramesses III; The king enters Asia Minor, subdues many cities—all of this, as we know, is historically highly probable, almost certain—and here the conjecture begins—burns the capital of the ringleaders, the Teucrians. I'm not putting forward this conjecture at all because I attach scientific value to it; I simply ask: is it so much less probable than

75300 Schliemann's? I want to propose a third conjecture, possibly more probable than all the others. Only three skeletons have been found in the entire third city, two of them, evidenced by the fragments of helmets found with them, belonging to soldiers. Couldn't one argue that such a small number doesn't suggest a fortress taken by storm, and that the third city therefore most likely caught fire by accident? When the Homeric songs originated, the third city had long been buried, and Aeolian Ilion had probably already been founded, whose fortress occupied only the hill of Hissarlik, the site of the entire ancient Ilios. Centuries separated the production of the Iliad from the heyday of ancient Troy; the cities of Hissarlik were still largely ancient Indo-Germanic settlements; the poets of the Iliad lived in an

75310 environment that was already, so to speak, Hellenic; the products of arts and crafts, which they saw around them, according to various indications, were already at the highest stage of development achieved by the Phoenician-Greek pottery mentioned above. Need I still bring up the other evidence for the relatively late composition of the Iliad? Truly, one has no right to consider Troy, as Homer imagined it, anything other than an image of poetic fantasy, modeled on the most brilliant the poet knew in his time—and if anything can confirm us in this opinion, it is those small and miserable citadels of loam and clay on Hissarlik, the Troy of reality. Therefore, nothing whatsoever can be deduced from Homer's descriptions regarding the topographical condition of the latter, and when Professor Virchow tasks philologists with carefully examining the extent to which these descriptions, for example, that Achilles and Hector circled the city three times, correspond with the condition of Troy on Hissarlik, then these gentlemen are perfectly justified in replying to the great naturalist that they have better things to do. Schliemann, too, now fully realizes that there is a startling difference between these two Troys, and that Homer could not have known anything about the Troy of reality. Yet, he does not yet draw the natural conclusions from this insight. Nor does he grasp the consequences of this astonishing gulf between the civilization of Hissarlik and that of the Homeric songs. Archaeology can render great services to philology by transporting the philologist to some extent into the material environment in which the writers he wishes to explain lived; these services cannot possibly be proven by the discoveries at Hissarlik to the Homeric interpreter, for the simple reason that Homer did not live in an environment like that of Hissarlik.

75325 One wouldn't want to make the old bard into Walter Scott or Ebers, who, through long study, managed to transport himself to a world that had passed centuries ago. It is entirely in the nature of such folk poets to embellish the past with the utmost naiveté, using what they saw around them. That's why, for example, in Homer's description of Achilles' shield, the archaeologist asks: what was the driving gear the poet had in mind when describing it? Not: what did the shields worn at the time of the Trojan War look like? Attempts to explain Homer's use of finds at Hissarlik have therefore not yielded much. Schliemann himself attaches the highest value to his explanation of the *depas amphicupello*. In Aristotle's time, it was seen as a cup, which was, on the contrary, a lace cup. Schliemann, as we know, considers it a cup with two handles, of which many were found at Hissarlik. However, leaving aside the fact that *kupellon* means cup and *amphi* on both sides, and therefore the explanation from Aristotle's time is truly not so objectionable, leaving aside even the fact that

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double cups have been found, which Homer could very well have envisioned,³ I would point out that there is absolutely no need to speak of an archaeological explanation of the word based on finds at Hissarlik. No museum lacks dozens, even hundreds, of "kantharoi," "skuphoi," and "kulikes," Greek cups with two handles! Such cups were therefore equally well known in the good old Greek period. Therefore, one can very well imagine them among the objects from Homer's circle. Even if we were to admit that Schliemann's explanation of that word is correct, the discoveries at Hissarlik would no more confirm that explanation than a hundred others.

I hope this gives some idea of Schliemann's work on Hissarlik. The diligent researcher has sometimes been compared to an alchemist, and there is undoubtedly much truth in that. His philosopher's stone was Troy, and in his eagerness to find it, he didn't ask first of all, "What is it?", but "Is it Homer's Troy?" Even the defense of a Virchow cannot detract from the fact that the layers situated above the third city, above his Troy, were eroded away somewhat too hastily, so that we could have been much better informed about them than we are now. But let us not forget that the alchemists founded chemistry, and above all, that it is no flattery when Virchow claims that the romantic digger has now become a learned man of great wealth. Even if Schliemann's errors and mistakes were far greater than they actually are, who would dare to hold them too high against him? "He who has loved much, much will be forgiven," and he did love much, the office-goer of the Gentlemen Quien, who did not forget the ideals of his youth, whose holy enthusiasm, the heavenly driving force in our earthly existence, was no more suppressed from his soul by sorrow, hard, mindless labor, or the indifferent treatment of those who did not suspect what a fire burned in the soul of that poor young German—as later by the sweet lure of wealth acquired through his own efforts, which here more than ever seemed to justify a life of peace and ease. The Handelsblad did a good job of bringing Schliemann's account of his own life to the attention of its readers; it certainly deserved a separate publication, which would bring it more consistently within everyone's reach. And I wouldn't want to give it to just aspiring young people: frankly, to our entire student class. Schliemann is (was?) a dilettante. A terrible word; we are far too learned to care about dilettantes. We are armed against dilettantism from head to toe. From cradle to grave, we are accompanied by curricula, exam programs, acts A, B, and C; our universities are entirely geared towards cultivating someone, in the best known way, for one of our many doctorates. We are indeed solid people. But do we have all we need? Are we also sufficiently imbued with that divine breath that set stones in motion and created life in "the valley of the dead"? Oh, when we are once again undergoing or having taken an examination, let us then take up this biography of Schliemann to refresh our souls with that sacred fire, without which no poet or artist, nor indeed any man of science, has ever achieved anything great. Dr. Schliemann may be a dilettante, but he has rendered greater service to the advancement of our knowledge than many a half-dozen bookish scholars. Leiden.

A.E.J. Holwerda.

January 1, 1884 **The Attic People and the Art of Phidias.**
Since Winckelman

At the beginning of the Pompeian excavations, we were living, as it were, in a second Renaissance period, one that, though profoundly influential on the development of art, nevertheless bore a more scientific character. It connected with archaeology and philology; the principle of historical treatment, which plays such a prominent role in the study of the spiritual sciences, especially in our time, was also very strongly felt in it; it is, to put it briefly, archaeology first and foremost. The results of its naturally more deliberate and systematic investigations were astonishing. It managed to bring a number of works of art within its reach, several of which, through their high intrinsic value, eclipsed everything admired by the old Italian masters.

No new acquisition, however, was as significant in itself and in its consequences as that of the remains of the Parthenon. Apparently, shortly after the fall of the pagan world, this most magnificent temple of antiquity was converted into a Christian church. It naturally suffered greatly in the process; nevertheless, it remained in a relatively good condition throughout the entire Middle Ages. Only in recent times did the actual work of destruction begin. In 1687, the city of Athens was besieged by the Venetians. When they learned from a deserter that the Turks were storing a large quantity of gunpowder in the temple, they immediately turned their artillery on it.

And indeed, after some time, a bomb landed right in the gunpowder store. The entire center of the building exploded, so that some marble blocks even fell under the besiegers. Three hundred men, women, and children were buried under the rubble. And since then, the work of destruction, which had begun on such a scale, has continued unabated. The building, now essentially a ruin, became an inexhaustible mine for the lime burners. The opportunity also became too tempting for foreigners visiting the castle to take some of it all home. Some officers of the Venetian army, which had occupied the castle for some time, had already acquired a piece of sculpture as a commemorative piece, and Commander-in-Chief Morosini even wanted to have a pair of horses and the statue of Poseidon removed from the west facade as a token of victory. This was done very clumsily. The heavy marble pieces fell down as soon as they were dislodged, smashing to the ground in a thousand pieces. Later, others also took quite a bit, and this misery naturally didn't diminish when Greece began to be visited more by travelers from various countries. Increasingly, Phidias's works of art would have disappeared, piecemeal, except in lime kilns, from the numerous small collections of art lovers throughout Europe, had Lord Elgin, British ambassador to Constantinople, not acquired them at the beginning of this century. Through a firm, this "faithful friend" of the Porte obtained permission for his deputies to construct scaffolding, to shape, to measure, and to conduct excavations in the fortress of Athens, and "should they wish to remove any blocks with ancient inscriptions or figures, no obstacle should be placed in their way." The wishes of these deputies gradually extended to almost all the sculpture found on or near the Parthenon. The noble Lord spent a significant portion of his fortune, 62,440 pence, to, as the well-known English slogan went, "transplant ancient Greece to England." When the British Museum took over his treasures in 1816, he received back only the larger half, 35,000 pence, of the expenditure incurred, but he enjoyed the satisfaction of having acquired works of art for his country, which soon drew countless artists and scholars from all corners of the continent as if on pilgrimage to England's capital.

Later, during the Greek War of Independence, Athens was again besieged, and a bombardment once again inflicted considerable damage on the temple. Fortunately, so much of the sculpture had been rescued by then. We now know of approximately 10 relatively intact statues of the façade groups, including the few pieces from other collections and those that remained in Athens or were later excavated from the rubble. Of the 92 metopes, several remain, but only 17 are still relatively intact; of the nearly 140-meter-long frieze, only a few relief plates are completely missing, and about half is still very well preserved. The arrangement and explanation of the found and of course, the remains are of great value, the reports and drawings of those who knew the Parthenon in better condition. It was a particularly fortunate coincidence that in 1674, thirteen years before that fateful bomb fell on the temple, the French ambassador to the Porte, the Marquis de Nointel, obtained permission from the commandant of the castle, in exchange for six yards of scarlet cloth and 25 pence for coffee, for the draftsman Jacques Carrey. Carrey acquitted himself of his task, especially considering that he was not allowed to make any statements and had only fourteen days, in an excellent manner in many respects.

A new era in the development of art seemed to have dawned after 1816. With a certain astonishment, one felt suddenly transported into an unknown world of beauty. A Goethe considered himself fortunate to have been able to experience this. People realized the enormous distance between the Greek works of later times, with which they had until now largely had to be satisfied, and these products of Greece's heyday. Perhaps nothing has more contributed to the triumph of the historical principle in archaeology than the discovery of these art treasures.

And even the contemplation of these Elgin marbles should have prompted a more in-depth historical study. One clearly senses that one is confronted here with the remains of a monumental art once destined to meet the noblest needs of the Attic people. In the façade groups and metopes, the mythological folk ideas of the Athenians found their highest expression; in the frieze, it saw itself in its holiest and happiest moments; it was Attic civilization, seen from one of its noblest aspects and as the Athenian himself loved it most, which, in its outward forms and spiritual mood, presented itself here in a grand scene. We too, when we dwell for a time amidst all these mighty creations of the human mind, are somewhat subjected to the same impressions as the Athenian must have received from them. But hand in hand with this goes the need for explanations, and we also want to bring these impressions to light by taking stock of them. We must get to know the Attic people, not only in their external circumstances, but above all in their life and aspirations, in their way of thinking and innermost soul. However, as soon as one attempts to clarify what a people was at a particular point in its history, one is naturally forced onto the

historical path. We too will embark on that path in this essay, following it from the beginning, not starting from the work of art, but returning to it repeatedly, only occasionally setting foot on it; to enter it for its own sake is the immediate goal. The Elgin Marbles provided the initial impetus for the following study, but the author will not concern himself with them for the time being. He will attempt to briefly present a history of the development of the Attic people—and, of course, also to some extent of Hellenism in general, for the two are inseparable—so that it may become clear how national Hellenic and Attic art arose in close connection with the entire development of the people and, as it were, grew up with the people. Our story naturally brings us back to Phidias and his works, where Hellenic art truly first matures.

We should begin with the general Hellenic; Attic is, of course, only a specific form of it.

We will briefly examine how Hellenic religion, and in close connection with it, Hellenic civilization as a whole, developed. The high significance of the religious element for the life of the Hellene in general and for the development of their art in particular, is not usually fully appreciated.

In the deep darkness of so-called prehistoric times, comparative mythology, alongside archaeology and comparative linguistics, sheds some bright rays of light. With its help, we can, for example, also form some idea of the nature-view, indeed the emotional state, of those Indo-European tribes—we will call them Pelasgians for convenience—whose Hellenic language and civilization later developed. Just as little as their kin, at a similar stage of civilization, were these pre-Hellenes masters of the overwhelming mass of impressions that pressed upon their receptive minds from all sides. They lived amidst a world of higher beings—wandering about on their own or dwelling in trees, stones, the wind, the clouds, heaven, and earth—from whom they knew neither what to fear nor what to hope. It was honorable to ascend the high fire altar and send up the sacrificial fragrance to Zeus, the being who sat there in the shining vault of heaven, seeming to encompass the scene of all change and transformation here below with an eternal equality. There, across that vault of heaven, a fiery light moved. To which being is it that one owes this nurturing warmth and bright radiance, which bring joy and confidence to the soul? A host of explanations arises, new or ones one has already given oneself many times, and imagining something and accepting it as true is the same thing, or rather, one does not yet distinguish between true and false. Many believe that it is undoubtedly the son of Zeus to whom one owes all this. But the divine being descends and disappears into the utter darkness of the far west. With what gloom and anxiety one is filled, what a multitude of images assail the mind once again. What has become of the glorious one? Does he sleep an eternal sleep and was he kissed by the moon goddess seen rising there at the transept? Does he no longer live and does he return from that West just as little as the shades of the deceased who have arrived there in the house of Hades? The horrors of death and the afterlife arise before the mind in all their force; has one perhaps also been tainted by bloodguilt, or has one offended one of the hundreds of invisible beings by which one is surrounded, in arrogance or entirely unknowingly? But redemption dawns from the east; streaks of light appear, followed by a rosy glow. What being plays there in the first twilight? Who is the glorious, the rosy-fingered one, whose appearance fills the soul with renewed hope? There rises the great being of light, whose coming one had already thought one might expect. Once again, the soul grasps for this explanation, that explanation. It is a radiant hero (Tithonos), for example, believed to be desired and embraced in love by the rosy-fingered one (Eos) herself as her consort, radiant with beauty and strength, yet one can already predict that, having descended to the west, he will live forever, without eternal youth, shrinking to a shadow of himself. It can also happen, however, that the glorious being of light suddenly disappears while shining high in the heavens. Numerous demonic beings roar and bellow through the heavens, dark figures appear on all sides. Zeus himself seems to have vanished for the moment. It is an attack of the powers of darkness on those of light. They are the Giants sprung from the earth; Hades also propels his terrifying minions upwards; The earth there in the west has split open, and from it rise those beings who have made it their inexorable task to spread despair and terror among mortals. The powers of death reign in the realm of life. There, the black Furies howl, chase, as they drive before them those laden with bloodguilt; is not Demeter, the goddess of the earth, herself an Fury, now mingling with her sisters in black form? They are under the command of the terrifying Persephassa, "the destroyer," who rushes forth with the Gorgon's head before her,

75550 whose gaze causes all who are struck to fall to the ground. But deliverance is near. Already Zeus's thunder resounds through all the shouting and wailing. The deity rises; with lightning in hand, he stands against every enemy. Or suddenly, his daughter Athena leaps, resplendent in armor, chariot and all, from her father's mind. She runs straight through her enemies; no one resists her. There, the Sun God casts his brilliant radiance through the black masses. A nurturing glow spreads throughout the entire sky. The powers of darkness retreat. The realm of life reigns once more. The Gorgon's head adorns Athena's chest like a trophy.

75560 Such were the images amidst which one lived. Their number was countless. Almost no natural phenomenon did not evoke one. They accumulated. Different individuals or tribes, or even the same ones in different times, often saw different events in the same phenomenon. What arose in the soul was not yet usually retained with full consciousness; it possessed only a small amount of fixed, enduring ideas, by which one was constantly, even involuntarily, dominated. The same image could recur incessantly, as an unconscious or semi-conscious memory, with a certain newness.

75565 Imagination still played a major role in these childlike souls. One could hardly conceive of anything but living beings in full activity, at a time when, for example, grammatical gender was used to divide material objects into men and women; and the mythical figures one envisioned were humans or animals, horses, cows, birds, or combinations of various animals or of animal and human. This animal world was that of the old Indo-European homeland, the same one later encounters on the oldest Greek vases, alongside the most easily imitated sea creatures (e.g., octopuses), which one encountered on the coasts or islands of the Greek archipelago, in the new homeland. Similar vases have come to light from all corners of Greece and the islands, on Rhodes, Santorino, Cyprus, etc., but above all through Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae.

75575 Had people already begun to depict the world of the gods? For a long time, that could not have been the case. Yet, from all parts of Greece and the islands, very old carved stones have come to light, undoubtedly representing an artistic practice that must have begun long before the rise of Hellenic civilization proper, and it is on them that one believes¹) to observe those unadulterated Indo-European depictions such as, for example, Erinnyes—horse-headed monsters with the bodies of birds or insects.

75580 A time, however, approached when the spirit gradually began to outgrow this old state of affairs. Peoples developed. By what causes? Primarily by no other means than what turns a seed into a tree, a boy into a man. Unbiased research has not yet progressed much beyond this explanation, which is not really an explanation at all. Geography, too, teaches us nothing more than the external circumstances that exerted a facilitative or counteractive influence on that development. Thus, like so many peoples before and after him, Pelasg, primarily through the inherent power of human nature, about which we know nothing further, transitioned into a new era of spiritual development: imagination is increasingly displaced from the all-pervading position it occupied in the soul; coherent, ordered thought claims ever greater space. Even amidst ancient mythological representations, one detects the influence of this transition. Alongside the Sun God, who died in the west, or slept, or languished in perpetual old age, people imagined an eternally youthful being of light, rising uninterruptedly above the horizon each morning with unchanging benevolence toward the human race. Here, they truly had the fruit of reflection, a kind of fixed theory to explain an incessantly recurring phenomenon. Such a being of light was, or apparently became, Apollo, and herein perhaps lies the beginning of the great significance this deity had for the entire development of the Hellenes: people now had some guarantee that the realm of darkness could never permanently overcome that of light; the ever-returning God of Light also became the regulator of the times. But of greater significance was the fact that the entire old mythological worldview had to recede more and more. People gained a greater understanding of the natural condition of things—of clouds and winds, for example—and thus the myths themselves lost their original natural meaning. Separated from natural phenomena, the mythical figures became entirely independent representations of the mind. They also acquired a more fixed form as, with the development of thought, they increasingly lost the character of momentary impressions.

75590 And something else went hand in hand with all this, which was equally far-reaching. The mass of ancient mythical representations was astonishing, but order was restored, not least in a way that, while by no means exclusive, was nevertheless peculiar to the ancient inhabitants of Greece and Italy. Myths were common representations within a certain circle; some were more so, others less so, and now, over time, within that circle, certain of these representations came to the fore, in a manner similar to how

75615 a language, formed from a mass of sounds that evoked roughly the same image, prefers
some without entirely rejecting others. Thus, here, generations and families chose
particular mythological beings as their gods, without this necessarily implying even
the slightest disdain for the others. Tribes and peoples did the same—undoubtedly
75620 because the ruling families made their gods into those of the people—and in this way,
certain mythical beings acquired the standard that is usually accorded explicit
recognition in certain circles. A somewhat fixed system of national gods was
acquired, to which one knew one had to adhere above all. With the development of the
state, stability was found not only in the conditions of life, but even in the world
of thoughts and feelings. And with this went something that entirely testified to the
75625 same spirit. Whereas in the past people often did not know how to appease a hostile
deity and, in desperation, tried this or that sacrifice or exorcism, a certain kind
of solid science gradually developed in this regard. The aristocratic families who
founded the states and then usually gave them their own gods, whom they had long
known from experience, naturally knew best what had to be done to remain in harmony
75630 with them. They knew the "divine things, were the interpreters of divine law and
sacred ordinances," and on this, often for centuries, much of their rule rested with
their fellow countrymen. But gradually, that ancient separation between the gods of
light and darkness acquired a very special significance among the Pelasgian tribes,
and it is here that the clear development of the specifically Hellenic begins. It was
75635 a period of ferment and development, which, as elsewhere, for example, in Europe
during the time of the Norsemen, preceded the establishment of settled conditions in
Greece as well. Peoples departed to choose new abodes. Tribes and families, guided by
their gods, entrusted themselves to the vast sea, directing their impetuous power now
here, now elsewhere, or permanently establishing themselves as lords and masters in a
75640 given country. Egyptian historical tradition has known these movements since the
fourteenth century, and only in the eleventh century, with the Dorian migration and
the subsequent colonizations, did the end arrive. How could the highly civilized
Egyptian have suspected that among those wild peoples who infested his seas, a
civilization was sprouting that would later become too powerful for him? It was a
75645 thirst for action that drove them from their homes; they no longer felt so passive in
the face of what surrounded them; having gained a firmer footing with the spirit
world around them and having entered into a close relationship with some of them as
their special guides, they were freed from overwhelming external pressure and entered
the world with a newly awakened sense of their own power. Yet, at the same time, the
75650 contrast between the Gods of light and darkness pressed ever more powerfully upon
their minds. On the one hand, they imagined the powers of the underworld, Hades,
where the shades of the dead led a desolate existence, the terrible Persephassa, the
Erinnyes, who in blind rage chase the blood-guilty one before them—onward, onward,
ever onward—to cling to him, to suck his blood, to let him live, but to consume him
75655 alive—beings without reason or human feeling. The thought of all this paralyzed their
powers once again. Fortunately, however, they were countered by the Gods of Light:
Apollo, the glorious God of Light, by whose nurturing radiance one lived with full
soul without disturbing afterthoughts, or Athena, the powerful feminine being of
light, daughter of Zeus, who triumphed over the powers of darkness. Here one gains
75660 insight into the motives that contributed to the choice of Gods. Which one will one
align with? The deepest inclinations of the soul toward the mysterious, the most
intimate sense of moral responsibility for one's actions, speak for the powers of
darkness. But against this rises that tremendously effervescent life force, which
makes the bosom rise with the bliss of existence, which must enjoy and must act,
75665 which is completely captivated by the present. Its urge proves irresistible. "Hades
one wants to forget"; one turns to the Gods of light. With a certain degree of
consciousness, a people here chose a direction in life; the path is taken on which
one will achieve one's entire further development; the dawn of Hellenic civilization
has broken.

75670 Apollo became, first and foremost, the deity who met the needs of the soul that were
now especially felt. He, the God of Light, became the one who wrested their prey from
the powers of darkness, who freed the poor suppliant from the weight of bloodguilt
through purification and atonement, and, as it were, restored him to life. He averted
all destruction and triumphed over disease. While the distressed soul had of old
75675 turned to the divine beings themselves for guidance in the midst of all the
uncertainty that surrounded it, to whose oracle one felt more drawn than to that of
the kindly God of Light, whose delight it was to spread blessings, with whom one knew
one would find a sympathetic heart, whom one could approach with so much more
boldness than the so awesome Zeus? With what rapture of soul did they sing to him
75680 their Paian, the eternally youthful one, through whom all creation seemed to truly

feel the joy of existence for the first time, that profound delight in life, where songs naturally rise from the chest, just as the Deity led the way in song and music, lyre in hand, followed by the Muses. Thus the Sun God became a god of purification and noble joy of life, and he became so to such a degree that his original

75685 significance faded completely into the background. However, there was still enough myth-creating power to establish a new being of light, Helios (the sun), in the vacant place. It was an event significant in its consequences when—this occurred already in distant times—a temple and oracle of Apollo were established at Delphi, probably on the site of an earlier sanctuary. Yet, this new spiritual direction also

75690 holds great appeal for Athena, the exalted daughter of Zeus. In her person, one begins to recognize oneself in his noblest aspirations. It was she to whom the father entrusted his lightning; before her fled the powers of darkness, the Giants, the sons of the Earth; she triumphs through bravery and strength; she, the eternal virgin, unclouded in mind, without desires, keeps her eye fixed unwaveringly on the

75695 fulfillment of her task. There is a zest for work, a self-satisfaction through exertion—that feeling which those warlike tribes and families so abundantly enjoyed when their homeland became too small for their deeds. It was of this bold desire for action that Athena became the divine example, and according to Homer, "war was at the heart of men," "the distaff and the loom to women." [1] Here too, serious effort was

75700 possible; here too, the Deity took precedence (Ergane). But after the arduous endeavor comes the glorious satisfaction of having achieved the goal of the effort, the bliss of the victor. And this too was a gift from the Deity. From her, as from her formidable father, descended Nike, the Goddess of Victory.

75705 What else is it that appears before us here than the Hellene in his peculiar state of mind and striving? New life had been infused into those old mythical figures, which had remained in the soul after the retreat of natural meaning, and indeed that same new life that one felt awakening within oneself. Some gods, such as those mentioned, were, by their original meaning, more suited than others to absorb such a new content; in general, however, the world of the gods increasingly became the epitome

75710 of that of humans, as they perceived it sensually and came to know it through interaction, not least as they experienced their inner soul sensations in their own minds. This is truly not particularly Hellenic. Where is or isn't the Deity presented more or less humanly? Yet perhaps nowhere do we see this to such a degree as here, among the Hellenic peoples. People had turned to the gods of light because they

75715 wished to free themselves from all oppressive feelings of fear and uncertainty. With a calm, free soul, they wanted to approach the Deity, and they succeeded all the more successfully the more they made it conform to themselves. The mixed forms of animal and human, which often came to mind at the mention of a divine name in the past, became increasingly human. The horse-men (centaurs) and certain winged beings (Eros,

75720 etc.) were ultimately the only things left of the old ideas. From ancient times, the mythical figures were both active and passive beings; their sexual intercourse, in particular, often provided the solution to numerous questions concerning the universe and its phenomena. Where does the sun come from, for example? From the mating, for example, of the shining Vault of Heaven (Zeus) and Darkness (Kaluke). These, however,

75725 were more or less mere notions of the moment; several entirely independent explanations could be given for the same phenomenon. Drawing conclusions was not considered. Now, however, was the time for it. The myths are linked together. One is struck by the fact that one and the same divine being now mates with one, then with the other; that he mates with someone, for example, who has also been known as his

75730 mother or sister; that the deity defeated by another is actually his father, etc., etc. The gods are tainted by fornication, incest, and parricide! One thinks one observes a certain reluctance to draw such conclusions in the Vedas. It is undoubted that they were not shunned in the least among the Greeks, that they were even explored with a certain predilection, and that nowhere does the world of the gods

75735 find such a perfect partnership.

The habit of people with human vicissitudes, passions, virtues, and vices became like theirs. In the time of Homer's poems, it was completely so. Without these clearly

75740 defined human divine figures, later Greek art is unthinkable; only a mythology that was so highly a reflection of human life could provide the material for a literature like Greek in its highest development. Yet, the intensity of the worship of God certainly suffered as a result. Moreover, compared to such divine beings, the mysterious and symbolic could only occupy a modest place. Among numerous ancient

75745 peoples, not least among the Bactrians and Indians, so closely related to the Greeks, the veneration of a single supreme being also managed to break through into popular religion. Among the Greeks, only a few faint traces of this remain. How completely

different would the Greek people have developed if, when they envisioned the gods of life and death as two separate groups, they had chosen the latter instead of the former? Not only would the emotional state have remained more suited to conceptions of a more-than-human divine being, but on Greek soil, a form of religion focused on the afterlife would have developed, which would have shared some striking characteristics, for example, with Catholicism. And this rests on more than mere speculation. For we have pointed out that in the choice between mythical figures, which plays such a role in the development of that ancient religion, those who did not come to the fore were not, therefore, entirely abandoned. This is nowhere more evident than here. The gods of light retained great dominance; they primarily governed life. Yet the right to these other religious sentiments was also fully recognized, so much so that certain institutions were created, the Mysteries of Demeter, in which they were cultivated; these, like all other religious rites, were a matter for the state. They were for "initiates"; but not only was it a very common practice to be initiated, but any understanding that one form of religion excluded another was lacking. Different institutions were simply created for the various needs that people felt awakened within them. Thus, the Mysteries became the place for the sense of the incomprehensible and the awareness of moral responsibility for one's actions with a view to the afterlife. The symbolism and mystery of certain sacred displays and of the elaborate ceremonies there brought the mind into a silent, sacred mood; one sank into the holiest sensations: one had beheld the divine itself, and thus one felt more clearly than ever that one could never fully perceive it. By undergoing initiation, one could cherish the hope of finding favor with the gods of the underworld after death. Don't we involuntarily think of those converts from early Christianity who were baptized on their deathbeds when we read of someone who believed they had to be especially careful to be initiated before their death?1) Thus, the mysteries clearly demonstrate that the Greeks also harbored the seeds of another religious development.

However, it wasn't only in a particular form of religious veneration that the gods of darkness were recognized and honored; they also continue to occupy a significant place in general religious tradition. There, they certainly experienced the profound influence of the gods of light. In their regard, too, people wanted to free the soul as much as possible from all fear. With the Erinnye-Demeter, this wasn't difficult; she was the ancient, beneficent goddess of agriculture. In the interior of Arcadia, the land where the new spirit had the hardest time penetrating, people long retained the memory of the "black Erinnye-Demeter" with a horse's head entwined with snakes, but generally speaking, this deity too soon came to be considered entirely human. Her terrifying sisters, the Erinnyes, were eventually also greeted as Eumenides, "the benevolent ones," or altars were erected for them—the unreasonably vengeful ones of old—as the "Semnai," the goddesses of sacred seriousness, the upholders of a moral world order. This was never entirely successful; the Erinnyes remained, alongside Semnai and Eumenides; their figures never assumed a completely fixed form, least of all a friendly and human one; people shuddered at the mention of her name; they feared, in some way or another, even without intending to do so. In the case of blood guilt especially, the oldest offense known to human society, it was as if these were truly ancient horrors from the underworld broken loose.

This fear of the Erinnyes kept alive the idea of a mysterious divine power at work among the gods, who were increasingly descending to the ordinary human level. This fear, however, also persisted in other ways; the human mind, especially then, often harbored the most contradictory ideas without any hesitation. Moira (fate), an inexorable power, which, according to Greek folk belief, was half and half independent of the gods, always had something very supernatural about it. Likewise, atê (ἀτή), the destruction that the gods send to humans, which suddenly clouded the mind, which struck when unexpected, fell completely outside the ordinary human realm. This too, like so many ancient representations, had something of a person, and had it, like other abstract concepts such as persuasion, Peitho, become a clearly defined human figure in the Greek way, then this divine exercise of power would also have come entirely within the sphere of the human, and Atê would have become a messenger or helper of this or that deity, probably of Zeus, just as Peitho, for example, is one of Aphrodite. A principle of such a complete personalization reveals itself in the Homeric hymns; however, this was not pursued further. More generally, numerous ancient folk tales, concerning the unexpected way in which the gods caused human arrogance to fall, concerning people who sought to evade divine decrees but thereby fulfilled them, etc., preserved a fairly lively sense of a divine power whose ways differ from those of humans. Thus, there was still some counterbalance to the complete incarnation of the Deity, and that this exerted an ennobling influence even

on the purest Hellenism, we will see later.

And besides all this, the Deity of worship was undoubtedly not quite the same as that of mythology. The gods of natural phenomena had become mythical figures, but the divine beings could also reside in inanimate objects (fetishes), often blocks of wood, and from there exert their magical power. The oldest Greek idols were such blocks of wood (ξύανα), dwellings of the Deity, half and half the Deity himself. These often acquired a human form to some extent, now more or less, but in the perception of those who venerated them, they never fully became an actual image; one was always primarily impressed by the incomprehensibility of divine miraculous power. The religious acts were prayer and sacrifice; Votive offerings, so common among the Greeks, were originally little more than sacrifices; in connection with these, other forms of worship developed in later times, as we shall see. Among the Indians, the sacrificial fire, the sacrificial drink, and the power of prayer itself were divine powers that, above all, sustained the world; through meticulous observance of an incredibly developed ritual of prayers, sacred incantations, and sacrifices, the Brahmin, as it were, held the universe in order. Among the Greeks and Romans, such immoderate exaggeration is not to be found; yet the philosophy underlying their religious practices is entirely the same; only, as might be expected, prayer and sacrifice here sustain "families and the state" more than the world in general. This high significance of sacrifice is particularly evident, for example, in the sacred fire of Hestia among the Greeks, and even more so in that of Vesta among the Romans. If that were extinguished, then the very existence of the state seemed to be jeopardized. What punishment did the Vestal Virgin deserve, whose negligence was to blame? Among the Greeks, as noted above, it was often the nobility who were expected to know the sacrifices required in all cases (we did not speak of the Romans, but it was not much different there); one now realizes more clearly how great the prestige they owed to this must have been. In Greece, as in Brahmin India, orthodoxy—actually, even that word is inappropriate here—consisted much more in ceremonial strictness, in "offering and praying"¹) than in faithful adherence to religious tenets; although, of course, this whole matter plays an infinitely more modest role for the Greek than for the Indian. It seems undoubted that the Greek, in his sacrifice and prayer, was dominated by ideas which he had already brought in embryo from his homeland common to the Indians and the other Indo-European tribes. Just as the old idols were imbued with those old religious practices, which one still feels attached to, some magical power was attributed to them, the idea of a miraculous deity was alive. Later, many people completely dulled all sense of the significance of these ancient actions. Such ideas of a more or less magical deity were, in themselves, no more sublime than those of simply human deities, but they kept the mind open to the mysterious and allowed for more exalted concepts much more easily.

People were not too attached, especially where the ancient world is concerned, to a distinction between religious and less religious peoples. Nearly all ancient peoples are primarily religious, although the religious ideas of one people are certainly much closer to ours than those of another. This is also very true of the Greeks. Perhaps nowhere did religion dominate life more completely than here. After the birth of a child, many ceremonies and sacrifices; During the annual festival of the Apaturia, the newborns of the past year were also received into the phratry, a community of citizens, through sacrifices; religious festivities, in Athens and elsewhere, marked the end of childhood for boys and girls, with the boy being received among the Ephebi (young men), the girl being dedicated to Artemis; the solemnization of marriage was also primarily a religious ceremony, no less so than the funeral and burial of the deceased. Here, religion, like the Catholic Church, accompanied man from birth to the grave. Yet, even beyond all established customs, the Greek lived, as it were, with his deity. No hope or fear, no joy or sorrow, did not share it. Everywhere, too, she was so close to him. For each of his needs, he found a divine being to whom he could pray for relief; Along the roads of a "pious land"¹), such as Attica, one saw with every step, as it were, a sacred place, an altar, a statue, a temple, where the nearness of the Deity was felt more vividly. And wasn't there still something left of that ancient creative force from the time of unhindered myth-making, when no nascent state yet established specific forms of the gods, when divine beings were heard in the rustling of the trees and the murmur of the streams; when one repeatedly saw the same forms of the gods with a certain surprise of newness, like the gods of Olympus, born from their father's head; when mythical beings, as it were, arose and disappeared simultaneously with the sensations that gave them being? Not only could one still populate the forests with satyrs, the streams and rivers with nymphs and river gods, almost to one's heart's content, outside the more official pantheon, but even that pantheon itself was in no great

danger of fossilizing into figures whose names no longer resonated with the mind. One
 75880 could easily find a satisfactory expression for each of these gods, and if one didn't
 find one, the gods appeared in numerous capacities, outgrowths of their mythical
 origins or oldest moral meaning—for example, Apollo the rejecter, averter of evil,
 soothsayer, etc.—well, what prevented one from continuing in that direction and
 75885 linking the representations for which one sought a mythical personification to one of
 the existing god types, whose character, more or less beautiful, often barely
 warranted a separate epithet? Thus the gods acquire special titles for these legions.
 Thus, to name a few examples from the vast majority, Athens became a champion of the
 city (πόρομαχος), a goddess of the council and popular assembly (βουλαία, ἀγοράία),
 and of knightly games (ἱππία); yet tradition also relates that Diomedes, after a
 75890 violent storm, founded a temple for her at Mothone under the new name of Goddess of
 the Winds (ἀνεμωτίς). She undoubtedly was anything but this originally. The gods
 repeatedly encroach upon each other's domain, and indeed, something of a sense of the
 universal divine asserts itself here. The high significance of religion for political
 life has already been noted. Families, lineages, and subdivisions of the state, like
 75895 the Greeks themselves, had their own gods and cults. When the first major attempt was
 made from Delphi to unite various Greek states into a single entity—when the Delphic
 Amphictyonic League was founded—a system of twelve gods had to be devised, through
 whose union they could join forces. It was utterly impossible for the Greeks to
 75900 imagine a state without religion, and as long as the Greek states existed, no more
 important matters of state were known than the organization of religious festivals
 and the erection of temples, the making of statues and the like. All opposition
 between the spiritual and the secular, by which one particularly understands the
 political, was completely alien to the mind of the Greek.¹⁾ Separation, discord
 75905 between church and state, has only really existed in our civilized world, at least in
 its true sense, since Christianity emerged entirely independently in the Roman Empire
 and only reluctantly conformed to the forms of that empire.
 No wonder that the influence of its religion can be discerned to a high degree in the
 entire development of such a people. We know the spiritual direction associated with
 the worship of the gods of light. The Greek walked about the world with his head held
 75910 high; he was convinced that he had a place to occupy, that he had to be something in
 his own right. His religion also accustomed him least of all to the idea of a power,
 before which he, as it were, sank into insignificance. "Gods, heroes, men"²⁾, was
 this indeed only a difference of degree, not of essence? The Egyptian, Babylonian,
 Assyrian, who could completely efface themselves before their gods, could also do so
 75915 much more easily before their rulers. When the migrations of peoples ceased in
 Greece, when thus the period of formation mentioned above had ended, republics were
 established everywhere. The East was and remained the land of divine kingship. In the
 Egyptian king lived the Godhead. With words of reverent admiration, with which an
 Indo-European people would, for example, glorify the mighty resurrection of the solar
 75920 hero, the king is greeted in Egyptian texts when he rises to fight his enemies¹⁾;
 already at least 1,500 years before Christ, the Babylonian king boasts that the gods
 have "given him dominion over the peoples, that they have placed their heavenly
 weapons in his hands"²⁾. For the Greeks, not the individual's droit divin, but the
 entire community of family or state, as we have seen, bore a divine character. This
 75925 was, indeed, the great force that held them together, alongside which, however,
 developed the so-called aesthetic concept of a harmonious union of free individuals
 through legal organization (εὐνομία). How different among the similarly related
 Germanic peoples, where the same sense of individuality all too severely hampered the
 vigorous development of the state.
 75930 That a noble joy of life permeated the soul of the people of Apollo, that round
 dances, music, song, and poetry became the highest necessities of life there, is only
 natural. Even though the peoples had become calm, something of the old thirst for
 action still remained; exertion demanded the fresh vitality. Racecourses and
 75935 wrestling grounds, gymnasiums, and palaces sprang up everywhere, where people could
 constantly demonstrate their courage and exercise their strength, even outside of
 war. In all their efforts and enjoyments, they felt a profound need for one another.
 What delighted the soul was all the more so when they could share their joy with
 others, and what they knew they were capable of, whether on the gymnasium grounds or
 in string music, song, or poetry, they felt the most lively need to see validated by
 75940 universal recognition, making it, as it were, a possession. Gymnastic and musical
 competitions were the order of the day, and generally, the Greeks surrendered without
 restraint to the truly human urge to distinguish themselves among their fellow human
 beings (φιλονομία). In the powerful self-esteem that flowed through the breast here,
 it was the human being that one respected within himself, but the human being as a

75945 whole, in his noble form, his aspirations, his powers, his inclinations, just as the
 Gods were, after all, his sublime image. There was no room here for disparaging the
 body as a bearer of baser desires. One felt the deepest obligation to maintain and
 develop all that was noble one was conscious of possessing, and this feeling applied
 75950 not least to the body, for which one was highly proud. This, too, gave gymnastics
 such high significance; bathing and anointing were a matter of great importance;
 health and strength were almost nowhere so valued as here. Whatever admiration
 physical beauty inspired; no covering, however slight, could obscure the body of the
 wrestling or running youth in any way. And while one generally felt oneself as a
 75955 human being and in every human inclination in closer connection with the Deity, this
 was especially the case with the passion of love. With a fire and fervor reminiscent
 of a Hebrew poet, Sappho implores the goddess of love, Aphrodite, 'not to bind her
 soul under a yoke to press down suffering'2), but to descend in all glory and 'with a
 smile on the divine face to ask her what she suffers and why she calls upon her.'
 'Whom do you want me to bring to you in love, who, Sappho, has done you harm?'
 75960 Already the poetess feels, as it were, the immediate presence of the Deity; with
 powerful assurances, it promises her its help. - Was it any wonder that this passion
 was admitted without any reservation? How overwhelmingly its power is revealed in
 another song by the same poetess1): 'that man seems to me like the Gods, who sits
 there opposite you and speaks to you sweetly in your presence, enchanting in his
 75965 laughter; my heart races through my bosom; My tongue is speechless, suddenly I glow
 over my body, I see nothing, the sounds whistle past my ears, a shudder comes over
 me,' etc. However, one also knew the deep melancholy of love2), or the lovely and
 sweet, as for example Alcaios3) wants to add something to his 'violet-plaiting, pure,
 sweet-smiling Sappho, but shyness holds him back.' Passion was lived through in all
 75970 its nuances. Undoubtedly the Greeks here made just as good a distinction between the
 permissible and the impermissible as any people who has reached even the slightest
 degree of civilization, but what naturally could not take root here was the idea that
 in the name of religion one had to impose restrictions on the demands and
 inclinations of one's human nature, although undoubtedly the beginnings of asceticism
 75975 are evident in the mysteries during a certain period of Lent. The boundaries of what
 was permissible were drawn rather broadly and vaguely, and they were crossed without
 much qualm. On the other hand, there was a clear sense that, within passion itself,
 one must uphold one's dignity as a human being. Within the realm of what was
 permitted there fell even the most repulsive associations we find today, and yet even
 75980 the most impure passion was often, as it were, entirely interwoven with the most
 exquisite feelings of sympathy and friendship.
 In general, among the Greeks, passion more often than elsewhere arose from
 enthusiastic admiration of truly human beauty, so that spiritual sympathies, feelings
 of tenderness, and sensual inclinations followed rather than preceded it. No wonder,
 75985 then, that feminine beauty was known there in every manifestation and every shade. No
 less, however, was there an open eye for the splendor of the pristine male body, for
 the sweetness that is often inherent in the blossoming boy; One felt oneself
 completely pulsated with enthusiasm as the handsome youth trotted victoriously across
 the racecourse, the sense of triumph seeming to imbue him with every movement. From
 75990 one gymnastics training ground to the next, one enjoyed the sight of these shapely
 boys in a thousand poses and a thousand different groupings; many a beautiful image
 on vases still conveys the feeling with which one was inspired. The allure of
 masculine beauty stood in stark contrast to that of feminine beauty. In the same way
 that the name of a beautiful girl was often written on walls and partitions, the
 75995 artists who painted the vases often let almost no work leave their hands without
 brushing on it the words: "This or that (boy's name) is beautiful"—the most common
 vase inscription. Likewise, Phidias was said to have placed the name of his chosen
 young friend on the finger of one of his gods' statues, using the same formula
 "Pantarkes is beautiful." Among the reliefs on the throne of Olympian Zeus, one found
 76000 the same youth who had won a victory at Olympia—what a stroke of luck for the artist!
 —tying the band that was to support the victory wreath around his head. The
 freestanding statues Phidias created were almost exclusively of immortal gods;
 however, among the very few of humans—it was even believed to be the only one—the
 same Pantarkes also appears as the victor. Compare this, for example, with the
 76005 predilection with which Rubens and Rembrandt depicted their women individually or in
 larger compositions, and similar works. Among the ancients, Elpinike, Kimon's
 beautiful sister, appeared in a painting by Polygnotus, and for Praxiteles, his
 hetary Phryne was a favorite model.
 Sensual charm sharpened the eye for human beauty. It is encouraging to note that
 76010 although the Greek threw himself almost unreservedly into the broadest stream of

sensuality, his noble human nature was not destroyed. All the same, the more one penetrates ancient civilization, the more deeply one realizes the colossal task Christianity later had to fulfill there with its asceticism.

76015 On this general foundation, the unique Hellenic civilization emerged. From which people did this development originate? The principal so-called Hellenic tribes are the Dorians and Ionians, but the beginning of the movement is most likely to be found on the southern islands, especially Crete. The Greeks themselves also had some idea of it. According to tradition, it was Cretans who founded the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi; the mythical origin of art with Daedalus brings us to the same island; even in unnatural passion, the Hellene considered the Cretans his predecessors. In more historical times, however, after the Dorian migration (c. 1100), the development of Greece for centuries rested primarily on the Dorian and Aetolian tribes, who had then settled in the Peloponnese. There existed, to a great extent, the power that could create and maintain states, but there also existed a noble sense of self-worth, which exuded freedom and demanded action. There, one learned to strive for male virtue, not for material gain but for its own sake; the highest national idea, the unity of all Hellenes against the barbarians, was especially cherished there. For centuries, the soul of those who aspired to the higher was directed toward Sparta and Olympia. 2) Otherwise, the Ionian and Aeolian developed on the islands and coasts of Greece and Asia Minor. Here, there was no such dominant ideal aspiration, which gives the soul a definite direction and always confines it, to a greater or lesser extent, within a fixed circle of ideas and feelings. The Aeolian and Ionian were more inclined to surrender themselves unreservedly to every impulse of life. Uninhibitedly, they opened their senses and mind to all impressions and sensations from outside. The most diverse moods took possession of him in turn; he knew the most enthusiastic enjoyment and the deepest melancholy; exuberant joy and exuberant sorrow. Nowhere in Greece were the sounds of song and string music, or the tripping beat of the round dances, heard more frequently; yet nowhere, too, was such a wild outcry of mourning found at the corpses of beloved departed ones: wild cries pierced the air; people beat their chests with violent blows; they tore their clothes or wallowed in the mud. Here passions glowed and seethed; that of love manifested itself here above all in its unbridled natural force. Here, too, a powerful desire for action and a noble striving for masculine virtue prevailed; however, more easily than among the Dorians, people here fell back into the comfortable pleasures of life. They certainly did not shy away from the most strenuous exertion, but gladly surrendered themselves to every inclination of the moment. The carefree continuation of life, without binding oneself or allowing others to bind them, held the greatest appeal here. Naturally, however, the soil here was very suitable for every new endeavor. Directions were taken that could certainly be considered alongside those of Sparta and Olympia. Maritime traffic always exerts a great influence, and this was bound to be especially true here. Especially since, also after the Dorian migration, colonists from the Greek peninsula settled on the islands and the west coast of Asia Minor, much life and activity began to prevail there. Trade developed, and contacts were established with Asian states, especially Lydia. Along this path, Babylonian weights and measures were learned; pre-weighed pieces of precious metal were used as a means of exchange, following the Lydian example; in the Ionian cities on the west coast of Asia Minor, all trade began to rely on the use of actual money, minted by the cities and therefore of completely reliable value. This was one of those innovations that, due to its all too obvious utility, was destined to triumph within a short time. It also made itself felt in the Peloponnese. A global trade arose not only among the Ionians and Aeolians, but also in Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, Argos, and Aegina. It was an invention for social development no less significant than that of steam and electricity in our day. In ancient times, the Greek was primarily agriculturist. Under the authority of the nobility, they lived in the countryside in the same environment, so that no ideas of change arose in them. As already noted, the Greeks felt that state and society rested on divine institution. Naturally, it was easier for the colonist to be freed from the power of old traditions. Moreover, the suddenly established new states on the Asia Minor coast were naturally lighter in structure than those that had gradually emerged on the mainland over the centuries. This republican order was very easily established here.

76075 The weight of the situation, which, as noted above, permeated Greece after the Dorian migration, overshadowed royal authority. However, the once-awakened republican self-esteem could easily go further, and the shocks that the ancient tradition had received ultimately undermined the prestige of the nobility, the upholders of divine

decrees. The sea voyages made the souls of the Ionians and Aeolian more susceptible than ever to new impressions, but what is especially significant is that the new world trade completely reversed social relations. Trade and commerce became sources of wealth more than agriculture; the nobles participated in this, but alongside them also the people of lower classes.

These not only emerged from the circle of patriarchal subservience of rural life, but also placed themselves alongside the ancient lineages with wealth and influence. Revolution after revolution broke out. States like the Ionian and Aeolian were naturally not strong or flexible enough to absorb new principles like these and remain firmly grounded, or even to gain new strength. And indeed, even the mobile, irritable Ionians and Aeolian lacked the self-control and perseverance in one direction that were especially required here. It was as unstable in their own souls as in state and society. People often felt anxiously tossed to and fro; "the waves—to use the image with which the Aeolian poet Alcaios described the situation—rise on either side of the ship, the storm howls; water has penetrated the bottom, the sails are torn"—one might add, however, that the crew was also lacking, who, under such circumstances, are the only ones capable of steering the ship into a safe harbor.

Meanwhile, the Lydians also sought to extend their rule over the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor. It fell to the Aeolian and Ionian to lead the first Hellenic war of liberation against the barbarians. How they lived in grandiose ideas! It was as if one were witnessing once again with one's own eyes the heroic deeds of their semi-divine ancestors, Achilles and Ajax. What a noble enthusiasm that freedom inspired, now that one had to risk one's life for it! Yet, one also readily lent one's ear to the calculating mind. Did it really make such a difference whether one joined the Lydians or remained on one's own? The Lydian, after all, had a strong love for all things Hellenic, he revered the Hellenic gods and consulted their oracles; one might almost say that by allying oneself with them, Hellenism was actually expanded rather than contracted. Now, his strictly monarchical disposition was certainly not entirely in keeping with the Hellenic way of thinking and feeling; but couldn't one be incorporated into the great Lydian empire and still enjoy all the real advantages of urban independence? Indeed, now that one had learned the power of an easy medium of exchange, wasn't there also considerable advantage in establishing close ties with a state that commanded such a supply of precious metal? These grounds truly had a considerable right. However, they were the grounds on which, at all times, material interest and submission to the supposedly inevitable were recommended as opposed to the ideal.

The coastal regions bowed their heads. They lacked the inner harmony and mutual connection that would have been necessary for the success of their endeavors. More and more, however, it became clear that a close identification with the East, even where one was not subject to the Lydian, indeed endangered the Hellene, that the noblest fervor of his soul would be extinguished, and that he would no longer be able to maintain even freedom, the most glorious good he knew. The internal turmoil already made it necessary for a man with unlimited power to occasionally emerge to restore peace and legal certainty to the state. Ambitious noble families set themselves up to assume princely authority, which, after all, they believed, perhaps sincerely and certainly not without reason, was also in the interest of their fatherland. In a Lydian word, it is believed, they called themselves tyrants. Many readily accepted this. Even under such rulers, after all, all that was beautiful and glorious that life offered could be preserved, indeed promoted; even a moderate liberty would undoubtedly be truly possible under their auspices. So, once again, it's all a matter of arguing for the practical against the ideal. Tyrants also appear in the Peloponnese, especially due to the influence of the Ionian population there, subject to the Dorians, who, with the help of such a tyrant, rebelled against the Dorians.

The aristocracies he hoped to assert themselves; namely, in Argos, Megara, Corinth, and Sicyon. Here, however, Dorian idealism emerges in its full force. Sparta becomes the arch-enemy of the tyrants. One owes it to the Dorians that, in this era, the divine spark of idealism in the soul of the Hellene was not extinguished.

In general, the Hellenic disposition develops more broadly in the Ionian and Aeolian than in the Dorian; however, there again, the strength that knows how to establish and sustain was lacking. The people in whom the full Hellenic life would be able to unfold without losing its foundation—one that would also do justice to all the tendencies of human nature, but would know how to ennoble them by controlling them—namely, the people of the Athenians—was still only just emerging. Let us now examine

its development, again beginning from the earliest times.

76145 The Attic peninsula, a region approximately 1,000,000 inhabitants, was already early
on—in that era of maritime expeditions and colonizations—where, however, several
Phoenician, but especially Asian Minor, settlements had established themselves. The
bond of family, as is usual among semi-developed peoples, held particular
76150 significance. Here, too, extended lineages, each, as it were, formed a world unto
itself. A common semi-divine progenitor was venerated, although the original family
bond had probably already very early extended beyond actual relatives. Here, as
elsewhere, the deep sense of mutual responsibility led to the duty of blood revenge
for the murdered member of the family; marriages, births, the reception of boys into
the circle of men, were matters of common concern; those united in life were also
76155 united in death: each family had its own burial place. It has already been noted that
the Greek-Italian tribes, in particular, regarded human unions as based on divine
decrees. This was especially true of the ancient inhabitants of Attica. Nowhere was
that feeling of nameless anguish more acute when, through intentional or involuntary
violation of these decrees, the moral world was, as it were, torn apart and the
76160 Erinnye had broken free; nowhere was a deeper need felt for purification ceremonies
and the world-restorative power of sacrifice. It has also been noted how the Erinnye
exerted themselves especially in cases of bloodguilt, and the ancient regulations
regarding this matter were primarily considered to be among those divine decrees. In
Attica, and undoubtedly elsewhere as well, though very clearly here, this had been
76165 developed into the idea that the divine constitution of society was endangered by
every shedding of blood, even the most innocent. Thus, not only was blood vengeance
here largely a sacred duty to the community to which one belonged, but also that
which wounded or killed without intent or law—probably even the blood avenger
himself, who had indeed fulfilled a sacred duty—had to be rendered harmless to that
76170 community through purification or banishment. The awareness of being bound by a
higher bond in one's family was also very vivid here; the communal sacrificial
ceremonies, in which this feeling was strongly fostered, were considered of great
importance. Just as ancient Germanic families took under their protection less
fortunate people, without considering them to be relatives, the Attic families
76175 similarly had a following of less privileged individuals, connected to the family
through participation in these sacrificial ceremonies, thus through religious ties
(orgeons).

In Attica, too, as so often happens, the actual state developed primarily out of the
76180 need for collective national defense; the plundering, especially of the wild pirates,
necessitated cooperation. Political centers were established in numerous fortresses
established by powerful families, behind which they could take refuge. Soon, the so-
called Erechthids, a family that venerated Athena and had established its fortress
and sanctuary of that deity on a steep rock in the center of the country, acquired a
76185 kind of sovereignty. Later tradition named the mythical Cecrops as its founder.
It was a weak rule that was established as a result, the hegemony of a king over
almost independent dukes. The internal wars, probably not uncommon in the past, did
not cease entirely. The powerful Eumolpids of Eleusis not only refused to submit to
any overlordship, but, eager for supremacy, even attempted to establish themselves on
76190 the rock of Athene

to establish the worship of their god Poseidon. After a tremendous effort, the sons
of Erechtheus were victorious, though apparently some concessions had to be made to
the opponent, and henceforth, alongside the chief goddess Athena, certain honor was
76195 accorded to Poseidon-Erechtheus. In later times, legend recounted a struggle between
Athena and Poseidon over the rule of the Attic land, which ended with the former's
victory. Still—we are still more than a thousand years removed from the beginning of
our era—the Ionian and Carian tyrants, from whom so much suffering had been suffered,
still roamed the eastern seas. They had even occupied the nearest Euboea and were
76200 constantly at hand from there. Even among these wild wanderers, however, a need for
organization arose, which was otherwise more characteristic of the Dorians; Perhaps
connections with the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi aroused this need among the Ionians.
Be that as it may, Delos became a common religious and national center for the
Ionians of the islands and the Asian west coast. Just as in the 10th and 11th
76205 centuries AD many Norsemen felt deeply influenced by the ecclesiastical and chivalric
ideas of that time, so too do we see Ionians today acting as representatives of
higher political and religious principles. How often does it also happen that savage
tribes settle in a land that had hitherto been the target of their attacks and then

defend it against others? Directly opposite Euboea, an entire colony of Ionians
76210 settled in the Attic lands; they founded a state there, the tetracity of Marathon and
Oinu, which maintained constant contact with Delos and Delphi. Just as, for example,
Rollo the Norman defended France against his kinsmen, so these Ionians defended the
Attic lands against the Ionian inhabitants of Chalcis on Euboea.
It is no wonder that he who protected the land ultimately became its ruler, whether
76215 amicably or violently. The legend has Ion, the son of Apollo, or Xuthos, probably a
double of this god, and Creousa, the daughter of the Erechthees, ascending the Attic
royal throne. Under this Ionian rule, the Attic State was first completed. All
independent principalities were abolished; the various parts of the country ceased to
76220 have their own political interests; only in one place, Athens, would the common
affairs of the country henceforth be dealt with. The king would be supreme judge of
all, and those who had previously commanded supreme power in their district would now
be able to make their voices heard in the king's council. This is the so-called
Synoikismos, which the legend attributes to King Theseus, an Ionian tribal hero. But
76225 it didn't stop there. The adjacent families were united thirty by thirty into so-
called phratries; three phratries again into one tribe (phyle); four phyles existed
in this way in all. The phratries and phyles were considered a wider family circle;
newborns and newlyweds were introduced to the phratry; centuries later, they too
considered the murder and manslaughter committed against one of their members as a
76230 matter that, after the closest relatives, concerned them as well: just like the
family, the phratries and phyles were bound by a common cult of gods; they honored
the Ionian Apollo as the paternal god (Patroos), along with the Pelasgian Zeus, the
protector of the family hearth (Zeus Herkeios). It was, after all, an Ionian
institution, extending over a Pelasgian people. Just as the Phylaeans did, the entire
76235 state, now established, naturally acquired its common cults; especially the festival
in honor of Athena, celebrated on the goddess's hill, now became, as the Panathenaia,
a festival of the entire Attic people. Sacred was the ancient bond of the family; the
state also grew up independently alongside the family in Attica, but the Ionians
created a bond around it, through which the entire people acquired something of that
76240 intimate sense of cohesion that characterized the ancient families; outside of these
forms, a close union of people among themselves was still unimaginable. Now that the
entire state had become a sacred family, the family could also relinquish to it what
it considered its most peculiar domain everywhere: blood vengeance and its associated
matters. There were five blood tribunals on Attic territory; The most important
76245 cases, those of premeditated unlawful murder, were tried on the steep hill of Ares
(the Areopagos); opposite the castle itself, close to the sanctuary of the Eumenides,
Semnai, the Erinnyes resided. The relatives, the former blood avengers, became the
accusers, supported by the members of the phratries.
Perhaps even more so than England to its Normans, thanked Attica for its national
76250 unity and political organization to its Ionians. It was a profound change in existing
conditions brought about by the measures described. Nothing more or less happened
than that a civilized, orderly state put an end to a disastrous and degenerating
feudal fragmentation; the memory remained that nowhere in Greece had the right of
76255 fist been so quickly suppressed as in Attica. What a completely different position
the Attic nobility began to occupy under the rule of the new institutions. Those who
had previously led religious ceremonies individually, each within their own lineage,
and seemed to possess the requisite knowledge of divine matters, without which the
community of the lineage could not be maintained, were now, now that the state was
76260 believed to have been built from the union of the lineages, jointly with the king
considered the experts on those divine decrees upon which the state rested. They knew
how-through what ceremonies and sacrifices-those ordinances were to be upheld. They
knew the laws and customs, also divine in origin, by which one had to live; their
knowledge naturally directed them to government. Their dwellings, whether in the
76265 countryside or in the city, were undoubtedly magnificent; magnificent stud farms, a
requirement of their station, testified to their immense wealth; with submissive
gratitude, the farmers of the plains, the poor fishermen of the seacoasts, or the
wretched goatherds of the mountains, received the rich gifts of their noble
76270 generosity; one looked up at them in deep awe as they stood proudly, full of self-
confidence, in their beautiful chariot, with the swift charioteer beside them,
driving the fiery four-in-hand. Yet, however much all this might elevate him in the
eyes of their lesser fellow citizens, those who, as less entitled orgones,
participated in the political sacrifices, revered the nobility primarily for that
indispensable knowledge of the divine. Thus, the latter found its most important task
in promoting the highest interests of the common fatherland; the city was the primary
arena of its activity. Later, after the Dorian migration, the power of this

76275 republican movement was also felt in Athens, which, a natural product of Hellenic
intellectual development, as has already been demonstrated, then made itself felt
throughout Greece. Here, too, monarchical authority gradually collapsed, and that of
the originally co-ruling nobility ultimately took its place. The monarchy, which had
76280 established the unity of the country, fell. For centuries, however, people had been
accustomed to living together within the divine family community of the state, and
even the idea of retreating to their districts in feudal independence no longer
entered the nobility, who stood at the head of that community.
With what reverence did the inhabitants of Attica gaze upon the citadel of Athena,
what a sense of security it gave them to lay eyes on the sacred dwelling place of
76285 that "protector of the city, who gives victory and always protects"¹⁾. Throughout the
Attic countryside, she, the Attic City Goddess, was venerated alongside the other
gods²⁾, but nowhere did they feel more at home in her own territory than on that hill
of her choosing. There she lived—not to mention her small shrine as Goddess of
Victory—in the mighty house of the Athenian tribal hero Erechtheus,³⁾ the double
76290 temple, in the rear of which one found altars to Poseidon, Erechtheus, and Boetes,
the semi-divine progenitor of the highly noble line of priests of the Goddess, the
Boetes. In the main chamber one saw the rather shapeless wooden statue of the
Goddess, adorned with a splendid robe, a helmet on her head, a spear beside her—the
most holy thing that had descended from heaven itself. One gazed at it with
76295 trembling, as if expecting a miracle at any moment; was it not as if it could
instantly come to life and begin to move? How many a persecuted arm had fallen
powerless before it, arms wrapped around it, invoking the protection of the Deity.¹⁾
In an outbuilding stood the same first olive tree, which the goddess had caused to
rise there when she disputed Poseidon over the possession of the land; the spring,
76300 supposedly filled with seawater, which Poseidon had caused to spring from the rock on
that same occasion with a blow of his trident, was also known to have been pointed
out. Athena, however, had triumphed through her far more beautiful gift; Attica had
since become the land of olives par excellence. Never, however, did the fortress
attract all the inhabitants of the land more than on the occasion of the great
76305 festivals. The "festival of ablutions" was especially sacred", the Plunteries; the
crowd stood in silent attention around the house of Erechtheus; one was not allowed
to approach it too closely at this time; ropes were stretched around it to determine
how far one could go. However, the assembly of the highly noble Praxergids²⁾, men and
women, entered the enclosure; they were the only ones permitted to do so. And no
76310 wonder, for the men must remove the helmet and spear from the statue, the women its
garments; not everyone is permitted to behold the unveiled deity. After a while, they
emerged with the statue itself, again hidden from the view of the unconsecrated crowd
by some covering. The procession began to move towards the west; a stream of people
followed to the seashore, where the statue was to undergo its sacred ablution. After
76315 this was completed, it was returned to its original location and again provided with
its garments, helmet, and spear. More genuine enjoyment was experienced at the
Panathenaic festival, especially in the days preceding the actual religious
ceremonies, when, before their appearance, the apobats, charioteers, horsemen, and
Pyrrhicians would compete. These were ancient, venerable displays that one witnessed;
76320 hadn't apobats already been performed by Erechthonios, the semi-divine disciple of the
goddess, during the ancient celebration of the Panathenaic festival? Hadn't Theseus
himself invented the so-called war games¹⁾ involving horsemen or chariots? Wasn't it
as if the times of Homer had returned when one saw the noble warrior, helmeted and
shielded, running past him alongside his charioteer, Diomedes alongside Sthenelos?
76325 And didn't one involuntarily think of the fleet-footed Achilles when one suddenly saw
the warriors, the parabats, with their three-crested helmets, leaping to one side
from the apobat's chariots—which were designed for this purpose—and continuing for a
time alongside the chariot in a race, the contest that had begun in a race? The
charioteers turned their attention now to the runner, then to their horses. When they
76330 had progressed so far in the racetrack that the race had to become a race again, the
charioteer was alert to turn the chariot at the crucial moment so that the apobat
could easily leap onto it without losing the course. All victors in one of the
contests received a substantial reward, consisting of several jars of the finest oil,
obtained from olive trees cut from the sacred tree in the house of Erechtheus. But
76335 once again, they felt themselves placed before the Blessed Sacrament when the sacred
night of the festival had arrived, a moonless summer night, for the Panathenaia were
celebrated in our month of August before the new moon. Torches illuminated the
darkness of the night on the hill of Pallas-Athena. Strong youths, armed with helmets
and shields, performed the ancient war dance, the pyrriche; arranged in a line, they
76340 performed the same movements, leaping up and descending in time. Men's voices sang a

song in honor of the "warlike castle goddess, the feared deity, the destroyer of castles, the warlike one, the tamer of peoples, the bravest maiden"³), but women's voices were also heard, along with the rhythmic footsteps of round dances. Finally, however—at least, that's how it seems to be imagined⁴)—a procession of beautifully dressed women and girls, accompanied by torches, began to move through the castle. Two of the four arrephors, noble girls who had been dedicating themselves to the goddess's service for a time, were led down to the sacred cries of the women (ὀλολυγή) and on to a sanctuary of the Eumenides, Semnai. There they descended into a subterranean cave, where they deposited something they had worn on their heads all this time, something sacred, the true nature of which no one knew. The ancient Erinnyes had, after all, been transformed into Eumenides by the Goddess of Light. After the night, a great feast day followed. The Arrephors had to carry something from that cave back to Erechtheus's house, and besides that, the Goddess also had to bring the beautiful new robe (peplos), which priestesses, Arrephors, and perhaps other women as well had made. The Arrephors and the peplos bearers went first, then followed noble maidens, carrying the baskets in which the sacrificial knives and other sacrificial implements were kept, canephors, and then oxen for the sacrifices; the procession organizers stood aside, apobats, the chariots, and the horsemen of the martial games brought up the rear. Music and song undoubtedly accompanied the whole procession. The Attic people followed this procession as closely as possible. When the peplos and the sacred objects which the arrephoras carried had been laid down in the temple and the sacrificial smoke from the hecatombs of the great altar as the city rose up on the fortress, people felt safer than ever under the protection of the City Goddess, and under that protection, more closely united with each other.

Leiden.

A.E.J. Holwerda.

(To be continued.)

The Attic people and the art of Phidias. II.

Thus the Athenian state developed between the Peloponnese, with Sparta and Olympia, on the one hand, and the Ionian-Aeolian islands and coasts, with their trade and commerce, their vibrant political and social life, on the other. It is understandable that the city around the fortress, as it became the true center of the country, expanded. It also acquired a certain renown, although until then, in every area, it followed rather than preceded. Thus, it was undoubtedly influenced by the great centers of Hellenic civilization: the ideal aspirations of Sparta and Olympia ignited souls here as well. The Athenian singer Tyrtaeus encouraged the Spartan warriors in the war against Messenia. Attica also acquired its hippodromes and wrestling arenas; this country, too, had its Olympians (victors at Olympia). The ancient center of the Ionian tribe, Delos, which naturally also held significance for Athens, was probably almost entirely neglected at the time, but understandably, they maintained contact with their own colonists, who had migrated from Attica to the Asian west coast after the Dorian migration. Furthermore, Athens undoubtedly played a significant role in trade. Yet, even here, the city remained somewhat in the background. From Athena's hill, one could see the island of Aiaceus's descendants, Salamis,¹) lying before them. No movement on the opposite Attic coast was possible—and precisely there lay the country's principal ports, such as Eleusis and Phaleros—unless it was permitted at Salamis. The power of the Salaminian Aeocenes fell, but the situation then became even more untenable for Athens, as powerful Megara, Attica's western neighbor, now asserted itself on the island. Further on, opposite the western coast, lay the other Aeocene island, the powerful Aegina, whose capital was a cosmopolitan city where, although restless seafarers and merchants, who knew no higher principle than their material interests, flocked from far and wide, Dorian Eunomia, order and legal certainty, remained.[1] Their fleets made themselves felt throughout the Mediterranean, soon reaching Egypt and Italy; their pirates instilled fear, not least on the coasts of the Attic lands opposite. Nowhere did gymnastic exercises give more resilience to body and soul than here. No city shone more than this one at the national arena at Olympia. Athens felt unable to withstand such a force. A centuries-old national resentment, the origins of which could only be explained as mythical, separated the two neighbors.

And as one walked along the east coast of Attica, one could almost everywhere see the vast expanse of Euboea before one, where powers also held sway that hindered the development of Pallas's city. Ancient Chalcis may have been excluded from Attica itself since the days of Ionian rule, but in many respects it still dwarfed it. It

exploited Euboea's copper mines; the products of its metalworks dominated Greek and Italian markets; it colonized the coasts of Macedonia and Italy, whose inhabitants, just as the Greeks themselves had previously borrowed their writing from the Phoenicians, had borrowed it from them. Between these western and eastern constraints, Attic trade could not develop vigorously. On land, like Megara on the west side, there was the rather powerful Thebes on the northern border. Until now, we haven't seen art particularly prominent among the Hellenic tribes. However, for some time now, a vigorous new life has also emerged in their region. And for this, too, one shouldn't focus primarily on Attica. Around the 9th or 8th century, that tremendous invasion of Semitic and Egyptian art forms took place, causing the ancient Greek art industry—which worked with original Indo-Germanic types, with plant and animal forms from their own homeland, and with imported patterns from Asia Minor—which, for convenience, can be called Mycenaean¹), underwent a complete transformation. The Phoenicians brought all sorts of wares to Italy and Greece; excavations have brought many of them to light, including several metal vessels. They didn't possess their own stock of art forms; He combined the sacred symbols of Assyria and Egypt by way of decoration on the same bowl or cauldron, even Egyptian hieroglyphs served as such; numerous images were composed, at least partly based on models of the same origin, which sometimes had no meaning, then again had something real, occasionally even representing entire histories. This Phoenician industry was soon also practiced on Cyprus; a few representations from Greek life were mingled with this stock of forms. These Phoenicianized Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian types now penetrated Greek craftsmanship, both in metalwork and in pottery.²)

However, the Greek did not limit himself to adopting all these forms. He immediately transformed them to some extent according to his own sensibilities, and we clearly see that he only gradually began to satisfy himself in the application of ornament; For example, a floral woven fabric might move to the neck of a vase, where it winds itself curiously, after first being applied to the bottom of the vase's rounded belly—a place more suitable for a supporting and uplifting ornament. Therefore, the Greek vase painter very soon favored rays springing from the pedestal, upward-stretching spindles. The actual images that appeared on the Eastern models were often, it seems, recreated in depictions of Greek daily life or mythology. At least, while in the Mycenaean period any depiction of anything resembling a scene was extremely rare, the number of pictorial poems now increased dramatically.

The world of the gods and heroes increasingly took precedence. Like the epic poets, the illustrators drew from the same endless ocean of Greek folk tales. The same gods, feared before the wooden idol as a mysterious, magical force, are spied in the Homeric songs in their most ordinary actions and behavior, and are also seen in the images now sold by the thousands in Greek markets, in all their natural movements like ordinary people before them. We still possess several bronze stripes provided with various designs; these were attached to household goods as decorative elements. People soon began carving these figures, so that they stood out clearly as a bright background against the wood to which they were attached. Some of these carved figures still exist; their design is further refined within the outline by various engravings. Such products of art industry were magnificent when, for example, figures made of gold and ivory were assembled on a background of cedarwood. The ivory often served to depict the bare parts of the body, especially the face and arms. The most famous work in this vein was the so-called Chest of Cypselos at Olympia, a votive offering from the powerful rulers of Corinth, also made of cedar wood, ivory, and gold, depicting a wealth of legends in no way surpassed by those of the Iliad or the Odyssey. We are somewhat familiar with this piece from the very precise description by Pausanias. Naturally, this artistic movement did not remain entirely without influence on Athens either. Although Attica probably did not possess works that could be compared to the Chest of Cypselos, the remarkable Greek vase-making industry, which ensured the widespread dissemination of artistic representations, much like lithography and photography today, ensured that no one remained entirely unaware of what was being produced, particularly in the Peloponnese. Corinthian, Chalkidian, and so-called Cyrenaic vase-making emerged, transferring the images from woodwork with metal fittings to the vases; Black paint usually represents the metal, white probably the ivory; the engravings on the figures are rendered by craters; the yellow or red of the vase's surface provided the base, as did the wood there. Athens did indeed connect other commercial products with the artistic world of the time, and it undoubtedly produced quite a bit itself. Yet, even in this respect, it occupied only a very modest position.

The time was approaching when Attica would offer a very unique spectacle. The inner vitality of the old Attic state and its suitability for further development would be

strikingly revealed. This, too, played a significant role in the political and social turmoil that then, from Ionia and Aeolia²), stirred most of the Hellenic states. Here, too, doubts about the right of the nobility to be custodians of the divine decrees upon which the state rested became increasingly serious. The arbitrariness to which one was exposed, especially in matters of justice, had grown greater since monarchical authority no longer kept the nobility in check³), and was increasingly felt. Here too, the growing trade exerted its influence to a great extent.

The forms of the patriarchal state became too narrow to encompass the broader developing society. Increasingly, legal cases arose regarding which it was easy to see that the old legal tradition of the nobility had established nothing; after all, provisions, such as those concerning blood revenge, were particularly peculiarly at home in this tradition, which still strongly recalled the old family law. The nobility, by virtue of the fundamental principles of the state, simply had jurisdiction, and its rulings, regardless of their nature, had to be accepted by the community (δῆμος) as in accordance with that old legal tradition, regardless of whether they were or were not. This situation eventually became untenable. Moreover, in Attica, as elsewhere, it was now not merely poor farmers or herdsmen who the nobility had at its side; here too, a class of non-noble merchants and industrious people had emerged, who owed everything solely to themselves and, through the sea and the freer, more varied life outside the rural district, had more or less freed themselves from the ban of inherited reverence for the noble landowners. Such people were easily convinced, indeed often already possessed this conviction to some extent, that they, too, deserved a share in the administration of justice and government. And indeed, they had fairly escaped the tutelage of the nobility—though not yet, of course, that of demagogues, who, rightly or wrongly, were attributed selfish aims. But even among these small farmers and herdsmen and the like, something of these democratic ideas penetrated. At least then, they had the least reason to be satisfied with their situation. The developing trade, it seems, did not benefit them; Attic soil produced nothing, except the olive, that could fetch high prices abroad; everything became more expensive, the old barter system disappeared; one could obtain less and less without money, yet money was still nowhere near enough for one's needs—oh, if Lydia would only save the day!—and one was forced to borrow at astonishing interest. [This sentence appears to be incomplete and should be omitted.] People became impoverished, and all too often the end result was that one was sold as a slave and, far from pious Athens, far from the glorious sanctuary of the Patron Goddess, had to forget that one had once lived as a free man under the protection of that deity. Was it any wonder that people resisted such a situation with all their soul? Here too, the equal distribution of goods became the slogan under which one wanted to initiate the so-necessary social reform.

How could the nobility have maintained its privileged position under such circumstances? Yielding was inevitable. Archon Draco (621) also admitted the municipality to the judiciary and issued written laws. The mysterious veil that had enveloped the nobility as custodians of divine right had been torn. In the castle, anyone who wished could read the divine laws by which they were to live. The ancient law had been written down, but even on those points where the greatest irregularity had prevailed, since the old tradition had not established anything about them, written regulations had now been made. Draco was a man of strict principles. He could think of no law except one that, like that old tradition, aimed at upholding the mysterious divine foundation of the state. However, this could be jeopardized even by a minor offense; after all, blood shed even involuntarily had to be atoned for in the interest of society as a whole. Draco knew no other way to fulfill his duty than by demanding the highest possible satisfaction for every offense for which he had to make a legal provision; the theft of crops was punishable by death, as was murder. It is understandable that such legal provisions were just as inadequate as the previous arbitrariness, and the idea developed more clearly that legislation was needed that was not an extension of the old patriarchal right of the nobility, but rather stood alongside it. The unrest in state and society continued unabated. Meanwhile, the nobility itself had also begun to lose some sense of its higher right. The obligation to safeguard the most sacred interests of the state as a community no longer bound the noble lords to each other. Everyone's ambition chose its own path. How much more powerful now was the example of foreign tyrants. The Athenian Kylon, a brilliant victor at Olympia, married to a daughter of Theagenes, the tyrant of Megara, occupied the city's fortress, intending to rule supreme from there. This mobilized both the nobility and the community. People gathered around the fortress; soon, however, they abandoned the siege. The hounds and the regular army overran. Kylon himself escaped. Hunger finally

76540 allowed the besiegers access. The remnants of Kylon's followers are seen sitting, almost dying, beside the great altar of the Goddess, under whose protection they had placed themselves. They were driven from there, lest they defile the sacred place by their death, but were then murdered in a blind frenzy, some even at the Semni altars below the castle, which they had managed to reach.

76545 The main perpetrator was the Archon Megacles, from an ancient noble family. What a state of affairs! The sacred right of protection of their own Castle Goddess had been trampled upon. A terrible bloodguilt rested on the community. Even the Semni altars themselves, in their mad blindness, had not been spared. Like wild Furies, these would rise from the earth, and from the noble court on the hill of Ares (Areopagos), no help seemed to be expected. Where was the nobility now, the upholder of divine decrees?

76550 Under the leadership of the noble regents, the most sacred right had been brutally violated. Megacles and his followers held their ground in the city, defying all calls for a judicial verdict that would purify the land of bloodguilt. "God-fearing" Athens had broken with the Deity.

76555 How utterly lacking was all peace of mind, all noble self-confidence that seeks its support in higher power. They were struck with moral powerlessness. Salamis had been lost to Megara. After several failed attempts, they decided to abandon all thought of recovery. They resigned themselves to the shame of humiliation. Soon they would be ashamed of the name of Athenian. Happy the land that produced sons like Solon, son of Exekestides, sprung from a noble lineage, a man like few capable of reconciling us

76560 with our human nature. He fully knew what it meant to enjoy life. Beautiful horses and hunting dogs were his utmost delight; how he delighted in lively conversations with strangers, guests who came from here and there; both female and male youth enraptured him; "the works of Dionysus and Aphrodite were both dear to his heart, along with those of the Muses"; even excesses, those we most deeply detest, were not

76565 foreign to him. Yet, just as much as the human desire for pleasure, from this truly Hellenic soul welled up a noble enthusiasm for the fatherland, a sincere love for his fellow man, a sacred reverence for the divine. All that was immoderate was foreign to him; he knew no restless pursuit of wealth and power; even his best feelings did not lead him beyond himself. Everywhere in him we encounter the sober, common sense of

76570 humanity. The few remnants of his poems still refresh our souls today, after more than two thousand years. Astonishing was the moral force that resided in this man, yet it never tempted him to any mighty act. Here was the rock upon which a despairing people could place their hope; here the force that could unite the scattered and compel the proud Megacles to bow his head for the common good. He and his followers

76575 must stand before a tribunal; all the guilty go into exile; even the remains of those who have since died are brought across the border. Breathe again. At Solon's call: "Onward to Salamis!"²⁾, the able-bodied Attic men take up arms. The island is recaptured; once again, one can walk among the Greeks with upright heads.

76580 But there was a need for an even more intimate reconciliation with the Deity; State and society had to be, as it were, re-established on divine foundations. Following the advice of the oracle of Delphi, at the request of Solon, his friend, the venerable seer Epimenides from ancient Crete came to Athens. He was a man with profound knowledge of the sacred, profound insight into human nature as well. He knew the sacrifices of expiation, purifications, and sacred edifications that could

76585 restore the bond with the Deity. Didn't a higher peace descend upon all souls when the black and white sheep of the Areopagos, from which, of course, the purifying effect must emanate, were seen descending in all directions, even far into the Attic lands, and an altar was erected at every spot where one of these animals happened to lie down? What sacrifices were kindled; what new religious regulations were

76590 established! That the great altar in the castle and that of the Semni, in particular, required special purifications, goes without saying. The Cretan seer worked towards a complete moral rebirth of the Attic people. He also gave the significant indication that one should be 'more calm in one's mourning, and that one should dedicate one's care for the dead to religious worship.'

76595 "Serious ceremonies must be sanctified, and women must be less offensive in their lamentations."¹⁾

76600 Attica also made its voice heard powerfully in general Hellenic affairs. It acted as one of the principal protectors of the sanctuary of Delphi against the nearby Krisa, from which it had endured much harassment. Solon's influence was entirely predominant. Why should he not, like his wise contemporary on Lesbos, Pittakos, seize the highest authority, or rather have it bestowed upon him? Wasn't this really the only way to provide lasting peace to the state? Solon thought better of his people. Would they only be able to conform to order under the tyrant's scourge? As for himself, his sober mind told him that for him this path would only yield the fleeting

76605 glory "of a day," to be discarded afterwards as a useless object.²⁾ In other ways, he
 "hoped to gain victory over all"³⁾.
 He acted as a legislator (594 BC). First and foremost, it was important to alleviate
 the burden on the poor. Debt repayment was made easier, primarily by changing the
 monetary standard; no citizen was allowed to be sold into slavery for debt. Those
 76610 already sold, as much as possible, returned to their homeland. How that Attic
 nobleman—and it was his job—enjoyed seeing his unfortunate, poor fellow citizens
 return, "who had often forgotten their native dialect, wandering here and there,
 enduring harsh slavery, trembling before their masters, but now had become free
 men"¹⁾. Furthermore, he seems to have made provisions to prevent the formation of
 76615 large plantations²⁾. He fully understood, and legal provisions were also intended to
 instill this idea in his people, that a country as infertile as Attica, if it wanted
 to play a significant role in world trade, would do best to devote itself vigorously
 to industry. Athens later became one of the leading industrial states of the entire
 Hellenic region. Furthermore, his practical intellect did not shy away from doing
 76620 what had become evidently necessary: to separate the old, sacred law from a more
 profane one that met the immediate demands of society. Of the laws of Draco, he
 retained those concerning blood revenge, regulations truly stemming from ancient
 legal tradition, and the council of Areopagos was to constantly monitor their
 enforcement. For the rest, he established a new law according to the new needs, and
 76625 legal cases judged accordingly would be heard by a jury composed of members of the
 community. The most important state interests would be decided by the community in a
 popular assembly, under the supervision of the Areopagos. For the day-to-day
 administration, a council of four hundred members was established, elected from the
 four tribes into which the people had traditionally been divided^[3]; one hundred from
 76630 each tribe. Indeed, Solon had no intention of abolishing the old religious
 organization of the state, and the sacrifices of tribes, phratries, and lineages
 remained, as before, essentially sacrifices of the nobility, to which only the lesser
 citizens were admitted. This was the only prestige the nobility retained as such;
 yet, it acquired greater influence on grounds other than its nobility. Eligibility
 76635 for holding state office would depend on the annual yield of each person's fields,
 and now the nobles were the principal landowners. Those who belonged to the highest
 class, for example, according to that annual yield, were allowed to become archons,
 and the resigned archons of impeccable conduct became members of the Areopagos.
 Something had taken place that Greece, and perhaps the world, had not yet seen:
 76640 democracy had been organized and incorporated into the forms of an ancient state. But
 Solon understood very well that this was dangerous territory, and he demonstrated
 this in ways other than the partial maintenance of the nobility's influence. In the
 Aeolian and Ionian states, it seemed that the autocracy of a tyrant was often
 unavoidable. If the Athenian people wanted to govern themselves, they should not
 76645 become too Ionian or Aeolian. Solon decreed that the popular assembly would be opened
 with prayers and a purification offering; first, those over fifty would be called to
 speak, then the opportunity would be given to others as well. no one was allowed to
 speak who had not properly supported his parents, if necessary, who had thrown away
 his shield in battle, who had squandered his paternal inheritance, etc. The popular
 76650 assembly was not allowed to acquire the character of an Ionian chatting society, in
 which the most boisterous easily prevailed and the ferocity and passion of a few
 easily spread to the whole. One had to feel deeply that they had gathered for a
 highly serious work. Unworthy people and those who could not manage their own affairs
 were also not the proper advisors of their people. Furthermore, however little he
 76655 thought to disapprove of sensual pleasure as such, laws and limits had to be set for
 it too; children, for example, had to be safe from their teachers. Parents who
 profited financially from their offspring's youth were also despicable. A child thus
 abused did not have to support his father in his old age; he owed him only a funeral.
 Deep respect was instilled for the institution of marriage through various
 76660 regulations. Idleness was punished; parents were required to teach their children a
 trade. One was never to say anything bad about the dead, nor about the living in
 shrines, government buildings, or courthouses; The lively Athenian had to learn to
 curb the urge to say whatever bluster or passion prompted him. The legislator, as
 evidenced by these and similar provisions, often strange to our minds, considered
 76665 modesty the most essential virtue for a free citizen. The Ionian's soft life was also
 to be stigmatized, his unbridled luxury kept as much as possible outside the borders
 of the country; the preparation of fragrant ointments was deemed unworthy of the free
 citizen; the flamboyant processions of prominent women with flashy, lavish clothing
 and large entourages were forbidden. It had also been against the Athenian way of
 76670 thinking since ancient times to allow women too much freedom of movement. Apparently

in response to the suggestions of Epimenides, regulations were also established regarding the funeral of the deceased: for example, it was forbidden to bludgeon oneself to death in lamentation and to bury the dead with excessive pomp. In this way, too, he took a stand against Ionia. Thus, in Solon's legislation, and to this it owes its high significance in no small part, the Athenian comes to a powerful consciousness.

Thus, Solon met the most profound needs of the Athenian people. They now had regulations for their political, social, and even personal lives that were more in keeping with their level of development and their spiritual direction, in which they also found themselves, yet in their deepest feelings and inclinations. They freed themselves from the idea that they had to live in all respects according to precepts that in one way or another bore a special divine stamp, and had the courage to enter before the eyes of the immortal gods with a completely new order of life, an order created according to their own human insights. Solon's legislation cannot be explained without a certain freedom of spirit in the religious sphere.

Again, we must turn to the more general Hellenic realm. There comes a time in the life of nations when people no longer simply accept the things around them as they present themselves, but the thinking mind feels itself awakening amidst numerous riddles that attract it and whose solution it considers its task. Among the Greeks, this period of development is first encountered in the colonies, whose youthful societies were less bound by tradition and where the lively traffic on the coasts incessantly aroused the mind—especially in Ionia, where, after all, any restraint on the mind was so largely shunned.

Already in the oldest school of Greek philosophers, the Ionian of Thales and Anaximander, we find a fundamentally genuine scientific endeavor, independent of all tradition and without need for arcane formulas. Alongside this stricter trend, however, a certain practical rationalism revealed itself, which did not seek to create a new system of world explanation, but rather to explain and more deeply grasp all things that occurred, including all traditional concepts, without any connection to each other. On the one hand, this, along with this stricter philosophy, is a weaker offshoot of the same stock; on the other hand, it is quite common that the latter provokes reflection even in circles where it penetrates only slightly, at least not in its true form. Life's events, especially the social and political, human experiences and vicissitudes, indeed, the entire human existence, human character and inclinations, now became a subject of reflection, and thus far only among thinkers of that less strict trend, such as Theognis and Solon. The time had long passed when people simply absorbed and recorded those things as they found them, when they simply listened – and listened with a lively interest down to the smallest details – to the epic story about the deeds and the adventures of gods and men. Then, especially in that time of deep turmoil in state and society, the more lyrical forms of poetry came into vogue; one was stirred to the depths of one's soul by sorrow, joy, or enthusiasm. Ultimately, with the philosophical sentiment just mentioned, one knows how to rise above one's feelings to some extent and, with the calmness of Solon, or the residual bitterness of Theognis, to judge the world from which one has, as it were, withdrawn for a while, from a higher vantage point.

It was not the bright joy of life of the Light deities that primarily filled the souls of such philosophers. Contemplation of human life presented them with more shadows than lights; through misfortune and one's own wrongdoings, humanity was often deeply miserable. In this state of mind, the older folk ideas of Moira Atê, Erinnyes, and the vengeance of the Gods punishing presumptuous arrogance—ideas which, as already noted¹⁾, had always managed to hold their own alongside this more life-loving outlook—suddenly acquired greater significance. Conceived more profoundly and applied more extensively, they somewhat take on the character of a system of poetic-philosophical explanation of human life. Moira (fate) is a dark force in the world that no one can escape; indeed, it was thought that even the Gods were not.²⁾ Arrogance—which today, for example, also manifests itself in the unjust pursuit of wealth; in ancient myths, the moral principle is not so prominent—this arrogance could thrive for a time, but then the first rudiments of Atê manifest themselves; This spreads all around and often even plunges an entire family into disaster; indeed, subsequent generations must suffer for the guilt of their predecessors. One sees a mysterious divine power governing human life, and man is completely unable to escape its dictates.

3) It is the same philosophy of life that later, in a more fully developed form, also comes to us in Attic tragedy; it presents us with incidents from the lives of semi-divine heroes, especially as the Atê and the avenging power of the gods manifest

themselves in them. The tragic mood it evokes in us is, for it, the main point, but this by no means excludes a poetic-philosophical view of human life. It is, therefore, the way of thinking of an entire subsequent period that now appears before us; it developed approximately at the end of the 7th century, reaching its zenith in the 5th. How much more profound did the entire concept of the divine become during these reflections on the world and fate? - it has already been pointed out that those ancient concepts such as Atê and divine vengeance would play a major role. [This sentence appears incomplete and should be omitted.] Infinitely deeper does the true religious sense of dependence become in the face of such a mysterious, higher power; that power, at least later, at times acquires something almost impersonal; one feels the influence of the divine more than of the Deity. [This sentence appears incomplete and should be omitted.] No longer, as in Homer, for example, do the Gods restlessly interfere in human affairs, now here, now there, entirely in the manner of human participants, at one moment fighting alongside their friends, then offering advice, then, for example, handing Odysseus a new mast for his ship, etc. [This sentence appears incomplete and should be omitted.] Calm dignity is now the essence of the Deity. Zeus no longer "suddenly flies up in his wrath like a mortal." Seated on his throne, not every evil deed he witnesses immediately provokes him to revenge; he calmly waits, so that, as soon as he pleases, he can suddenly bring down punishment with crushing force like a storm. 4) The gods command supremely, and the world submits to the will of these formidable beings, who, in the most imperturbable tranquility, quietly survey everything. They see the pious and the impious, and comforting is the thought that the latter can never escape the punishing hand of the Deity. Never? Simultaneously with the profound concept of God, the idea arises here, so eminently suited to drive the pious Israelite or Christian to despair, namely that the God "who knows all minds and emotions, who holds supreme authority over all, nevertheless occasionally grants the good an equal fate with the evil." The Erinnyes, the ancient representatives of the incomprehensible, terrifying, and mysterious nature of the Deity, acquire a very high significance for the inner life. People were on their way to breaking the spell of humanizing the Deity, and for some it came close to this, as with Aeschylus, for whom Zeus was the "unspeakable, incomparable," for whom he is "everything." Yet this was not in the general Hellenic spiritual direction; people were content with pushing the boundaries of the human aspect as much as possible. In Homer, the larger stature of divine beings is not yet a fixed principle. This is now becoming the case; we will return to this shortly. Later in tragedy, as is well known, the actors were given bodices to appear larger than they were, since they were, after all, supposed to represent demigods. The mythical stories about the gods themselves recede into the background or take on more of the character of a sublime world event. For example, in Pindar, heaven and earth tremble with terror when the heavenly maiden Athena first appears in her magnificent majesty. Thus, alongside the stricter philosophy—which stood outside the old tradition and therefore could more easily, and indeed did later, come into conflict with the old religious ideas—also developed alongside this, and indeed to some extent under its influence, an enlightened religious conception. This conception did not consider placing itself outside the old circle, but, without being aware of any deviation from the old way of thinking, infused the old with a new spirit. It was the conception of the aristocracy of the spirit—not in the narrowest sense, so that it encompassed only the strict thinkers—and the old way of imagining the gods continued alongside it as the way of thinking of the general public. This continued to delight particularly in the old myths and incorporated them even into the most common stories. The birth of Athena, for example, is depicted in a flat reality on vase sculptures; A tiny Athena emerges, to the amazement of the gods present, from the head of Zeus. They adhered to the most common humanization of the divine, and the idol nevertheless retained its fetishistic nature quite strongly. The enlightened, however, looked down on the superstition and stupidity of the masses. Evidence of superstitious stupidity was, for example, the fact that the Athenians were led to believe that Athena herself—a wench disguised as such—brought the tyrant Pisistratos back to the city;¹ similarly, when an ancient oracle declared that Athens must be defended behind wooden walls, some actually barricaded themselves behind a wooden plank against the Persians.² The enlightened view was that of Themistocles, according to whom wooden walls meant ships. Naturally, there was little room in the souls of these enlightened people for genuine fetishistic tendencies; They were undoubtedly more indifferent to the ancient idols, unless the mystery surrounding those ancient sacred blocks of wood appealed precisely to their often deeply religious minds. Both perspectives, however, stood on the same foundation. They also gradually merged; something of both could be present in the same human soul; now one, now the other,

could dominate; the lower-minded could easily be temporarily elevated into the higher spheres, just as historically the higher way of thinking had risen from the lower. Therefore, for the time being, there is no sign of a division into two hostile camps between adherents of different opinions.

Precisely at the time when Hellenic society was thus being infused with new life, it also came into direct contact—no longer exclusively through the mediation of the Phoenicians—with the great world monarchies of the East. Assyrian rule had reached the Mediterranean coast; Cyprus was also drawn within the larger circle. 3) An Assyrian cylinder lists ten kings of Cyprus, "which lies in the middle of the sea," who were tributary to Esarhaddon, an Assyrian king from the early 7th century BC. 1) The ancient Pharaonic empire was opened to the Greeks from the mid-7th century onward, and they maintained the most lively relations with it ever since. Later, the Median and Babylonian empires established themselves on the ruins of the Assyrian empire; the Medo-Persian empire finally extended its borders into Greek territory, to the coasts of Asia Minor. Greek mercenaries of an Egyptian king, Psammetichos—probably much earlier, certainly not much later than the year 600—carved their names into the Ramses' colossi at Abu Simbel in Nubia. The distinguished Lesbian Antimenides, brother of Alcaios, enlisted in Nebuchadnezzar's army when his tyrannical homeland no longer offered room for his noble ambition. The mighty palaces and colossuses of those wonderlands made a deep impression on the receptive Hellenic mind. As we have seen, Greece already possessed a fairly developed art industry, which included works like the Kupselos cabinet. Crude bas-reliefs were also available early on. However, the production of freestanding statues—which, the less they are household goods, can more easily become artistic creations for their own sake — was still in its most original state of crude handcraft, devoid of any conscious artistic endeavor. This certainly doesn't entirely apply to wooden idols, though they undeniably still had very little form. Besides these, the Greeks had, until then, talisman-like idols, statuettes of people and animals, dedicated to the dead, found in graves, and similar votive offerings to the gods, including primarily human statuettes; for it was an ancient custom to dedicate one's image to the deity, presumably in place of oneself, just as statues of sacrificial animals were also considered sacrifices. A relic of this custom persisted into much later times in the custom that victors in combat games were allowed to place their statue on the sacred grounds where they had achieved their victory, although by then little was felt of its original significance. None of these had any national style whatsoever; they are primitive products, such as can be found all over the world. They were mostly made of baked clay, very occasionally of marble, and even then extremely rough; in Cyprus, many were also made of native limestone. They were all small. Among the wooden idols, some larger ones appeared. Today, however, the contemplation of Egyptian and Assyrian sculpture makes their influence felt. We know Cyprus best from that period through numerous excavations. The mass of sculptures, especially of native limestone, that we encounter here is astonishing. What Egyptian collars, tunics, and hairstyles! The left foot is depicted countless times in a completely Egyptian manner; the shoulders often have the same high and broad shape. The face and hair, however, are much more predominantly Assyrian, and generally speaking, in the finer art of art, the Assyrians seem to have been more the teachers of the Cyprians than the Egyptians. In Cyprus, one can certainly find one, probably more, fully Assyrian works of art. It is striking, however, to see how immediately the Cypriot Greek breaks the rigid Assyrian stylization; for example, the eyebrows, always joined together by the Assyrians (there is no soft transition such as occurs in nature), are immediately separated. From the very beginning, Greek sculpture has nature before its eyes, just as Greek philosophy, from the very beginning, strives for truth with an unbiased approach. It is also noteworthy that the statues begin to acquire a fairly large size; even enormous colossuses appear among them; for example, General Cesnola found a severed head, so large that it must have belonged to a statue several meters tall; over eight feet high is also a statue of the demigod Heracles, with a pedestal on which a relief is carved depicting the captivity of Geryon's herd. Among all the statues found, there are at most a very small number of actual gods. The overwhelming majority consists of statues of people dedicated to the deity, as mentioned earlier, mostly of priests and priestesses. It is noteworthy that little or no thought seems to have been given here to the deliberate treatment of the nude.

Thus, Cyprus developed a great deal of activity in the realm of sculpture itself, at a time when it was practically unheard of in the rest of Greece. However, it never became fully Hellenic; thus, for example, it always remained monarchical. It is not unlikely that Hellenic sculpture owes its origins largely to the example of Cyprus; it was almost certainly influenced by Cypriots; the Assyrian-Cyprian treatment of

hair, for example, appears quite frequently in the oldest Greek art. Cypriot art, however, developed further in a non-Hellenic direction; She never completely escaped Assyrian and Egyptian forms, but instead incorporated them into her own national artistic style, alongside which, later in the fourth century, the truly Hellenic style was introduced as something entirely foreign. Of great importance for the developing art of the mid-seventh century was the opening of the marble quarries of Paros. Melas of Chios emerged as a marble sculptor at this time; his art passed down as a family legacy to his descendants, his son, grandson, and great-grandsons, and remained so in his lineage for over 100 years. Naturally, the new craft was soon practiced outside of this circle as well. A form of sculpture arose on the islands and coasts of the archipelago, which one might call the Ionian. It is not unlikely that what the Cyprians did in their limestone, they began to imitate in marble. In the art school of Chios, as we have seen, they applied themselves, especially regarding the workmanship of female dress. The principal remains of this Ionian art that we possess are seated statues larger than life, found near Miletus, now in the British Museum, as evidenced by an inscription, statues of people dedicated to Apollo. All this is already reminiscent of Cyprus; even more so is the Assyrian treatment observed here and there, and even the more or less specifically Cypriot character of the dress.

Alongside this marble sculpture, a metal one emerged. Samos produced two famous metal founders, Rhoikos and Theodoros, at the beginning of the 6th century. The most powerful, most ancient, and yet most genuinely Hellenically inspired artistic movement, however, originated, at approximately the same time, at the beginning of the 6th century, from Crete, the island of the Greek art hero and mythical creator, above all, of woodcuts, Daedalus. Especially then, that island, which already in ancient times occupied such a prominent place in the history of Greek civilization, precedes Hellas here. The first Cretan artists, whose names have been handed down to us, are Skyllis and Dipoinos, the so-called disciples or descendants of Daedalus. They felt they had something higher to offer their people. We see them appear everywhere, especially in the Peloponnese. They worked in Sicyon, Argos, Cleonae, and Ambrakia, and founded an entire school, primarily of Spartan artists. This school produced many works for the great national sanctuary at Olympia. More independently, yet undeniably under the influence of the Cretans, Smilis appeared in Aegina, several of whose works were also found at Olympia. The focal points of Hellenic civilization, in particular, exert the greatest attraction. Art here no longer resembles a craft that was the heritage of a family. We hear frequently of groups crafted by these artists, primarily from cedar wood with gold and ivory. These were mythological representations like those found in works like the Kupselos cabinet, and since these were certainly often also made of cedar wood, ivory, and gold, both the representations and the materials of the ancient art industry were used for the new, freestanding statues. It is not unlikely that the ancient art of making wooden idols also exerted some influence. It goes without saying that precious materials like gold and ivory were often omitted. On the other hand, they could take center stage, and the wood itself became the core covered in gold and ivory. This is how the gold and ivory (chryselephantine) art, which later became so famous, came into being. Besides these materials, stone was also used, particularly Parisian marble. A statue that almost certainly belonged to the Cretan school of art was the Hera at Olympia, and, as is known, a large part of its head has now been unearthed in the most recent excavations there.[1] It is made of limestone found in the immediate vicinity of Olympia, is larger than life-size, and has a hairstyle like that of the Egyptian goddess Isis; however, the horns have broken off. According to Pausanias (V. 17), it had another statue alongside it, which is not evident, as the site is corrupt. However, the head found indicates that this other statue must have been very closely related to it, which again suggests an original relief composition. The statue has all the flattened features and broad waves of hair typical of the woodcut style. Woodcarving, therefore, preceded it; its art developed from there, and the forms thus acquired were later simply transferred to stone. Other rediscovered sculptures can be attributed to this school, especially the so-called Apollos of Orchomenos, Thera, and the British Museum; they were originally funerary monuments, probably depicting the deceased as heroes. All are equally imitations of wood in stone (marble), in the Egyptian manner with the left leg advanced, and two (those of Orchomenos and London) with the high Egyptian shoulders. Also remarkable is the complete nudity of these figures and the apparent effort (evident, for example, by comparing the apparently younger London figure with that of Orchomenos) to depict that nudity increasingly in harmony with nature. This new school of art lived and worked primarily in the Peloponnese, in circles where, more than elsewhere, people had developed under the

76935 influence of Olympia. It is well known how much the nudity of the combatants was
 considered one of the most characteristic features of the Greeks compared to the
 barbarians. The very oldest monumental Greek sculpture was already Hellenic in its
 core. All traces of Assyrian or Egyptian stylization had to disappear long before a
 76940 sense of the natural, which had been instilled in her from the very first moment of
 her development. In another respect, too, we very soon see her moving in a fixed
 direction: she increasingly focused—we find information about several of her works in
 ancient writers—on the creation of divine images. The Egyptian-Assyrian colossuses
 had passed into the oldest Greek art; the seated statues from the vicinity of Miletus
 are larger than life-size, as was Hera at Olympia; the former depict humans,
 76945 apparently not deified. This exaggeration did not, in itself, align with the Hellenic
 spirit. It was destined to disappear. Not entirely, anyway. The larger-than-human
 size gave a fitting expression to the divine; it became a fixed requirement for the
 image of gods and heroes. The famous master of Aegina, Smilis, was summoned to Samos
 to replace the old woodblock depicting the goddess Hera with a new statue. This was a
 76950 matter of no small significance, nor an isolated event. The divine statues of the new
 art replace, or even stand alongside, the old idols, and the new statues convey new
 ideas, or rather, are the more or less involuntary expression of existing new ideas.
 They may well become so in the minds of the public, but in the minds of the artist
 who created them—he may have been more or less aware of this—they are not fetishes in
 76955 which the deity itself seems to dwell, but simply representations of it. To a large
 extent, the types of works like the Kupselos cabinet, whose divine figures everyone
 had to consider mere representations, were probably transferred to the temple statue.
 Furthermore, while the colossal size of the statue expressed divinity, it also
 indicated that the artist had no intention of destining it for highly sacred
 76960 ablutions, solemn processions, and similar ceremonies, for which a statue that was
 not too difficult to lift was a prerequisite. The nobler spiritual current, which, as
 we have seen, purified the religious way of thinking of the Hellenic people at that
 time, merged with the new, higher artistic development. The more deeply the artist
 was imbued with this new perspective on the divine, which envisioned the gods in
 76965 exalted majesty, from Olympus, directing the fate of humanity, the further he became
 from the idea that the divine spirit resided more or less in the work of his hands.
 The old statue certainly often retained a higher sanctity, but the new statues of the
 gods expressed a nobler conception of the divine; Let us add, however, that this also
 marked a new step on the path to the humanization of the Deity: the representation of
 76970 the divine being became more sharply defined, and thus the mystical was more
 excluded. Was it perhaps this obscure awareness that later led a man like Aeschylus
 to prefer the old, crude images to the new, more artistic ones?

Athens is no longer far removed from these movements. It has already been pointed out
 76975 how its democracy cannot be explained without a certain freedom in religious thought,
 and now we see that precisely at the time when this was established, a new, more
 unconstrained view of the divine and human broke through, in which the democratic
 legislator Solon himself also strongly led the way. To a certain extent, this must
 already have become common property of the Athenian people when it later became the
 76980 soul of a literary genre that originated on Attic soil and occupied a place in
 popular life similar to that of tragedy. - Furthermore, a few names of Attic
 sculptors have also been handed down to us, who most likely flourished shortly after
 the middle of the sixth century: Endoios and Aristocles; we even have a tomb stele of
 the latter; and although there can be no question of a famous Attic art school, as
 76985 will become clear, the significance of the new monumental art was deeply felt here.
 Solon's last years were most sorrowful. Had it truly been a foolish delusion when he
 considered his people ripe for freedom? Party factions revived, and people once again
 listened to demagogues. The Alcmaionides had returned from exile, but the nobility
 seems to have understood that if they wanted to preserve anything of their former
 76990 selves, they had to keep such comrades at bay. Now the grandson and namesake of the
 bloodstained Megacles sought to gain prominence in another way, and he led the middle
 class, primarily the seafarers, against the noble faction surrounding Lycurgos.
 Alongside both of these, however, a relative of Solon, Pisistratos, rose to the head
 of the smallest of the people, the shepherds and small farmers; they felt disappointed
 76995 because the legislature had not introduced an equal distribution of the land. Such
 people, however, were very easily deceived. With their help, Pisistratos established
 himself as tyrant (560 BC). He was driven from the city twice. But he returned each
 time and, upon his death, left the government to his sons Hippias and Hipparchus.
 The most precious asset, freedom, was lost. Yet, the laws of Solon, insofar as this
 77000 was compatible with a single authority, persisted, and so the Athenians, to some

extent, embraced those numerous small regulations that were intended to teach them self-control and restraint and ennoble their lives. Moreover, the ambitious, action-hungry nobility felt the pressure of such authority much more than the common citizen. Pisistratus also believed that, precisely under a rule like his, the good and great qualities his people possessed could be better preserved and developed, and to a certain extent, his opinion was correct. One should not dwell on overly lofty theories; what mattered was true prestige, prosperity, and happiness. Athens had to exist first and foremost for itself. It had to be respected and revered by the Greeks above all. And truly, under the tyrant, the city's prestige rose. Proud Aegina, for example, experienced that a different authority now held sway on the hill of Athena than had hitherto held sway.

The festival of the City Goddess, during which one felt oneself to be a citizen of Athens above all else, acquired a new, brilliant organization. Shortly before Pisistratus's rise as tyrant, perhaps already under his influence, the prelude to the actual Panathenaic festival, which had previously consisted of horse races, was augmented by the addition of gymnastic competitions, where even those who didn't maintain stud farms could demonstrate their strength. Even the less fortunate wanted to be given the opportunity to participate directly in the great city festival; the entire series of these competitions was adopted from Olympia. And it didn't stop there. The annual city festival – which, we don't know since when, now qualifies as Athena's birthday—was to be celebrated every four years, in the third year of each Olympiad, with a splendor that would shine throughout the entire Hellenic world and capture the hearts and minds of thousands. The festival of the great Panathenaia was instituted alongside the annual smaller one. Just as in the fourth year of each Olympiad, thousands from all corners of the Hellenic world were to descend on Athens in the third; Festive delegations had to gather; foreigners could also participate in several competitions, but the main thing was that one would see the Athenian people celebrate the birth of their God in all their splendor—that one would behold, in that splendid procession, moving in stately procession through numerous streets to the castle, all the splendor of foot soldiers and horsemen and chariots, of youth and virile strength and gray hair, that the city of Athens knew how to display before the eyes of its Goddess at this solemn moment. Without a doubt, under Pisistratus and his sons, the procession became more of a central element of the festival than it had been. His son Hipparchus also ordered a contest of rhapsodes, who recited the poems of Homer; this would again precede the gymnastic games, just as the gymnastic competitions precede the horse races. In later times, the Parthenon of Pericles was the principal temple used for the Panathenaic festival; a single brief note, hidden in the work of a very late grammarian, Hesychius, informs us that this Parthenon replaced another temple burned by the Persians (480 BC). Now, in the northern wall of the fortress, which was hastily constructed after the Persians' departure from whatever could be found, numerous fragments of a Doric temple have been found, evidently damaged by the flames. Furthermore, it has been discovered that the Parthenon rests on an older foundation, which, before it was placed upon it, had to be widened on the north side with new additions. Judging from these fragments and what we know about Doric temple construction in general, the temple, whose fragments have been recovered from this wall, must have fit more or less precisely on this old foundation. That temple could not have stood anywhere else on the castle. We also possess the remains of a Parthenon destroyed by the Persians in 480, the fragments of which naturally provided suitable material for that wall immediately after the retreat of those barbarians. Judging by the style of the building fragments found, that temple hardly predates Pisistratus. It was also not yet finished when it burned, which is the result.

It appears that the discovered building fragments have not yet been completed. In fact, it could not have been built by anyone other than the tyrant or his sons. They gave the entire city a new appearance through numerous new buildings, and the renewed festival of the Panathenaia—we will return to this shortly—demanded a temple other than the old-fashioned house of Erechtheus; how eagerly the tyrants were to carry out works that would enhance the splendor of the worship of the City Goddess. It was probably not finished before they were expelled, and the Athenians, like another building they had begun, the Olympieion, were unwilling to complete it. Both in this new festival and in the founding of that temple, the influence of the new spirit that was then beginning to dominate the religious life of the Greeks was felt. Still, at the festival of Plynterië, one saw the ancient statue of Athena from the house of Erechtheus brought out with deep reverence. There was the least thought of abolishing old, mysterious ceremonies, but introducing new ones was equally

unthinkable. For that to happen, fetishistic tendencies would have had to possess a power completely incompatible with the then-current state of civilization. Now, however, the image of the immortal gods as clearly defined beings was more than ever before before the Greeks; not a god conjuring from a piece of wood, but an Olympian, enthroned in calm majesty high in the ether, filled the souls of the more evolved, especially. The spirit could also rise to such awe-inspiring beings through prayer and sacrifice. The latter, in the mind's eye, had often lost much of its former significance. It had become an outward form; but this had acquired a new content. The enlightened Greek also sacrificed much; he felt the need to do so whenever he wished to express a sacred, deeply serious mood; thereby he maintained the bond with the divine. The ancient custom of giving votive offerings (ἀναθήματα) was particularly in keeping with the conception of human gods. One offered something to the Deity and, as it were, placed it before her eyes, knowing that she would take as much pleasure in it as one took in it oneself. The mysterious found almost no place here; yet it was a religious act, albeit one that very easily degenerated into a most outward display of homage. This custom then spread. Especially beautiful temples and statues, splendid sacrificial implements, and the like were dedicated to the Deity. Even the most exalted Olympian, however, could look down upon all this with pleasure; even the most enlightened were happy to honor the gods with votive offerings. Closely in character with the votive offering was another way of pleasing the gods, which only became more prominent in historical times, namely through the display of splendor and splendor at religious festivals, especially in processions, and through competitions, in all that one personally enjoyed so much. Were not also several gods and demigods,—especially Heracles,—the superior examples of the same exertion one encountered in the contest, and where, indeed, that truly Hellenic sense of life flowed more powerfully than ever through the breast? Alongside many temples, camps arose; the four great contests, like those at Olympia, were even specifically called "sacred." Here one truly had a form of divine worship, though, if possible, one even less mystical than that of votive offerings, and in a sense, not a complete one; For this reason, people were still too conscious of dealing solely with human inventions, no matter how much they tried, for example, at Olympia, to convince themselves that every type of competition they introduced was actually ancient, of semi-divine origin, which was being recalled. The gods they imagined in this context also had to be human and humanly sentient beings, and here the highest conception of that humanity was by no means excluded. Indeed, their majestic seclusion readily permitted a truly sympathetic participation in everything that interested man, albeit a participation full of gracious majesty and heavenly tranquility: not only sympathetic humans, but also sympathetic gods, the Greek had as spectators in all his enjoyments and endeavors. This could put him in a sacred mood; Many times, when he yielded to a noble human impulse for pleasure, when he glowed with enthusiasm at the sight of beauty and strength, when his healthy nature roused him to exertion, he felt himself, as in prayer and sacrifice, brought into a closer communion with the immortals. But nowhere was that feeling aroused more powerfully than by the contests and the display of splendor and power, which were deliberately dedicated to the Deity. And now in Athens — the festival of the Plynterie had to remain as it was, until it fossilized in its old forms; however, at that of the Panathenaia, the number of contests was expanded, and the procession was given a new organization. Even in the time when only the chariots and beautiful horses of the nobility accompanied the peplos and mysterious objects of the arrephores to the castle, the Gods were undoubtedly expected to observe such beauty with the deepest interest. Now, however, the purpose of the procession—to bring the Goddess her own—is fading into the background. The main goal becomes to display all the splendor and beauty in which the city so dearly delights, before the eyes of the immortal Gods, and first and foremost, before the City Goddess herself. The peplos is more than ever a magnificent piece, especially at the great Panathenaia; these too were almost as much to be made to shine in the procession as to be presented to the goddess; we do not know since when, it was spread from the mast of a ship moving through the streets. And in all this, we vividly feel that the old little house of Erechtheus, in which, besides the old idol, through numerous things, partly mentioned above,1), for example, the fountain of Poseidon and Athena's olive tree, the wonder of religion, above all, forced itself upon the spirit, could no longer satisfy. Old festivals, such as the Plynteria, were added to this; the newer religious mood demanded a new place of worship. Now, the unevenness at the highest point on Athena's hill was leveled by inserting limestone, thus forming a foundation for a new Doric temple. Whether the statue for that temple was ever actually made, we do not know; however, it could not have been intended to create anything other than a conscious depiction of the Deity,

in the spirit of modern sculpture. Only now would the glorious procession end in a glorious divine dwelling, one where one would breathe in the new atmosphere of religious sentiment. Curiously enough, the peplos was actually intended for the wooden statue in the Erechtheum, but the offering of that garment had now become so much of a side issue that the procession carrying it would not end there. It would then, apparently, have to be brought later to the Goddess in the Erechtheum. The procession would, as always, have to offer the great sacrifice at the great altar in the castle; however, it went without saying that many sacrifices would also be offered in or near the new temple. Above all, however, the victors in the contests—this is highly likely, though we do not know for certain—would have had to stand in that temple before the statue of the Goddess, the giver of victory, at whose magnificent feast they had acquired their great fortune. Perhaps the awarding of victory was meant to take place there more as a religious ceremony, after the undeniable crowning of the victors had already been conferred on the camp site itself immediately after the decision had been made; indeed, this also occurred here, although the material rewards in the form of several jars of oil were still received.²) Thus, temple was placed beside temple, a renewed form of worship alongside an old one. The re-creative power of that Hellenic paganism was astonishing. In the Christian world, perhaps only the monasticism of the Catholic Church, which also repeatedly managed to rejuvenate itself in new orders, offers a similarity. One religious creation rose alongside the other, without excluding them. In the holy places of Greece, the various religious worldviews of the centuries were seen side by side in various monumental remains.

The Athens of the tyrants was undoubtedly resplendent and magnificent, and yet the Athenian felt all too keenly that this glory was not truly his own. He was deeply wounded in his self-esteem, and half a century of a generally wise and moderate monarchical government was unable to reconcile him to the existing situation. What was the splendor of the Panathenaia for him, where no one held a place except that assigned to him by the tyrant? In the eyes of the Castle Goddess herself, one appeared there as dishonored by slavery. — Hipparchus, one of the two sons and successors of Pisistratus, was led by his particular enmity towards a distinguished young man, Harmodius, to shamefully deny his sister the honor of carrying a basket in the Panathenaia, of being a canephora. Harmodius and his friend Aristogiton plan to kill the two tyrants at the feast. They succeed only halfway. Hipparchus falls, but Hippias, through his swift and courageous action, manages to save his rule and his life (514 BC). Harmodius and Aristogiton, however, "the tyrant-murderers," were still revered by distant posterity as the heroes of freedom.

The bloodstained family of the Alcmaionides still stirred. The years seemed powerless to erase the stain of the murder of Cylon's followers. They had, as we noted, already returned to Athens in Solon's time; but had they really had the right to do so? No family felt more detached from the old, sacred tradition of the nobility than this one; how could those who had so horribly violated the old, sacred right have derived any prestige from it? They often felt abhorred by the people and were well aware, though they might have tried to pretend otherwise, that every intimate bond with the Deity had been broken. What could they rely on but their wealth and boldness? Megacles, the party leader pushed aside by Pisistratus, had later joined the noble party under Lycurgos, his former opponent, to expel the tyrant; then allied with him again to bring him back and share some measure of power. However, soon realizing that, after having made use of his services, one could not maintain close relations with him, the bloodstained one, he had become one of the principal agents of Pisistratus' second expulsion. When he later returned, he was forced to flee the country along with many others. Years have passed, and now his son, from his marriage to the daughter of the tyrant Clisthenes of Sicyon, also named after him, is plotting ways to return to the city and make Pisistratus' son realize that the despised Alcmaionids are still to be feared. The temple of Delphi had been burned down and, thanks to the Alcmaionids' money, had been restored more magnificently than would have been possible without it; that Delphic sanctuary could serve! Through Sparta's influence, the rule of the tyrants had come to an end everywhere in the Peloponnese, undoubtedly including in Sicyon, the city where Clisthenes' grandfather had ruled. The Delphic god then incessantly reminded the Spartans that it was their solemn duty to free the Athenians from their tyrant; it was the influence of the Alcmaionids that had brought this about. It was even believed that they had bribed the priesthood to do so. Hippias was the Spartans' guest, but religious duty prevailed too strongly; he was driven out with the help of a Spartan army. Clisthenes returned to the city after an absence of at least thirty years (510 BC).

Will the despised family now achieve prominence there? Like his father, the old party

of the nobility stood in his way, now under Isagoras, as then under Lycurgos. If his
77200 father had sought support from the middle class, he was able to marshal the popular
force against his enemies even more effectively. The family then evidently felt even
more outgrown by the authority of the nobility than the former; moreover, it was
primarily the nobility itself that was being sidelined by a monarchical regime like
77205 that of the Pisistratidae. Clisthenes understood that one could now take a
significant step further on the path of democracy. He introduced a new division of
the population according to the hamlets (demen) in which people lived, then numbering
one hundred, while ten hamlets were again united into a tribe (phyle), so that there
were ten tribes (phylen); hamlets and tribes received their own sanctuaries and
sacrificial ceremonies, so that even now the state did not deny its religious
77210 character. The old tribes, phratries, and lineages were not abolished; here too, the
new was juxtaposed with the old; but all political significance was transferred to
the new administrative districts; for example, the Council, established by Solon,
would henceforth consist of five hundred members: fifty from each of the ten new
tribes, no longer four hundred, one hundred from each of the four old ones. From then
77215 on, one was considered a citizen when one was registered on the lists of the hamlets,
no longer by being admitted to the ceremonies of the nobility.
Democracy was also confirmed in other ways; among other things, the well-known
ostracism (shard court) was introduced. The bloodstained one had dared what almost no
one else would have dared: he had broken with such an ancient, sacred tradition as
77220 that of the Ionian national division. The nobility was utterly defeated. One could
attend his sacrifices; one could also refrain from attending; in any case, this no
longer held the state together in its constituent parts. One could have one's child
with the phratries indicated; it was of no concern to the state whether they did or
did not do so. The nobility had excluded numerous people, probably precisely the most
77225 turbulent, whose citizenship was questionable, from citizenship by not allowing them
to attend the sacrifices: they now appeared on Clisthenes' lists in the hamlets. From
the people who attended their sacrifices with pious attention, the nobility had
formed its party; the political organization had immediately been an aristocratic
party organization. It was ensured that the new division would never become anything
77230 like that; not ten adjacent hamlets (demen), but often the most distant ones were
united into a single tribe (phyle); the various larger social circles of neighbors,
in which one or another could easily gain a significant following, were divided over
several administrative districts. The Attic people had enthusiastically followed the
bold Alcmaionide, even though he had led the way in something they themselves would
77235 likely have dreaded. Now, for the first time, they felt completely freed from the ban
of the nobility. They breathed freely in the glorious consciousness of their
independence. What task in the world was too heavy for a people so conscious of their
strength?

Old aristocratic Sparta was startled by the tide it had helped unleash. It had once
77240 begun to extend its guardianship beyond the Peloponnese to the Attic lands as well,
and just as it had first driven out the tyrant, it now acts as an upholder of divine
right; understandably, Isagoras had a hand in this. A Spartan herald arrived in
Athens to demand the expulsion of the descendants of those who had murdered Cylon's
followers. Clisthenes and a few others were forced to leave the country; Even after
77245 more than a hundred years, the great-grandson was persecuted by the bloodguilt of his
great-grandfather. A Spartan army entered the city; the rule of the nobility would be
restored, much as it had been before Solon. Seven hundred families, naturally the
most democratic, were expelled from the country.

Was democracy merely a matter of demagogues, and would the people, deprived of their
77250 leaders, willingly submit to an aristocratic order, such as they had not known for
more than eighty years, since Solon's legislation? The Council, established by the
legislature, refused to be dissolved. This signaled a resolution; a center appeared
around which all could rally. The stream of people converged from all sides;
aristocrats and Spartans fled to the castle; they were besieged there and were
77255 quickly forced to surrender. All those who had fled, including Clisthenes, returned
to the city. It was understood that the fight for freedom would now truly begin.
Sparta would return with its aristocratic allies; one felt the eyes of all its old
enemies upon it. How could the noble merchants of Aegina on the west side of the
country remain indifferent to what was happening at Pallas's Hill? How could the
77260 aristocrats of Thebes on the northern border? How could the wealthy nobility of
Chalcis, with its magnificent stud farms, on Euboea, opposite the eastern coast?
Where would they look for support? The Persian Empire had replaced the Lydian. The
Alcmaionids had previously been in contact with the latter. We are not told, but it
was presumably they who advised the Athenians to seek support from the formidable

- 77265 Asiatic empire, which then stretched from the Nile and the Mediterranean Sea to distant India. An embassy departed for Asia Minor. The Persian satrap there was willing to assist the Athenians, provided they sent the king earth and water as a token of submission.
- 77270 This condition was accepted by the envoys; despite such an outward incorporation into the great empire, one could, after all, remain relatively true to oneself. This was perhaps the boldest feat of Alcmaionide policy, or that emulated by the Alcmaionides; the first organized democracy the world had seen would be safe in the shadow of the strictest Eastern despotism. Now, however, even those for whom politics was merely a game of shrewd calculations proved to have been mistaken about the most
- 77275 important factor in their alliances: namely, the people they had summoned to freedom. The significance of such an embassy seemed to become fully clear to the Athenians for the first time: they rejected such an agreement with indignation. Half a century of tyranny had not made people forget what they owed themselves as Greeks. How could they want to give up to the barbarian any of that freedom they were so unspeakably
- 77280 happy to have regained from the tyrant? Shortly afterward, Clisthenes was again into exile.
- 77285 There stood the Attic people alone, alone with their ideal spiritual drive, with the noblest self-esteem that man can cherish, alone, but under the protection of the gods, whose sanctuaries were everywhere to be seen, shining especially conspicuously from the city's fortress, where the Patron Goddess herself had established her seat. From the east approaches the mighty colossus; on the coasts of Asia Minor, on a few islands, tyrants have been appointed, who, like petty kings among the great, bend the necks of the free Hellene; gradually they will advance, and soon the Attic coast must be reached. On the landward side, too, across the Hellespont, its mighty arm extends
- 77290 slowly but surely; numerous places are occupied, Macedonia is encircled, one is knocking at the gates of the European Hellenic land. And in Attica's more immediate surroundings? Peloponnesian, Theban, and Chalkidian aristocrats summon their men to battle; armed Aeginite warships could invade the Attic ports at any moment, and amidst all this, a people of surely no more than twenty thousand fighting men holds aloft the standard of freedom, the standard of man's high right to live free from the
- 77295 oppression of his fellow man.
- 77300 The Peloponnesian army stands on Attic territory in the west; in the north, the Thebans, in the east, the Chalkidians, have crossed the border. The first to act is against the Peloponnesians. Here, however, the power of the principle for which we fought aided them. The Peloponnesians themselves, aristocrats though they were, cherished freedom; relatively recently, several of them had been freed from their tyrants; Now that they were facing the Athenians, their courage failed them, confronting these rulers, whom they had no wish to impose. The Corinthians were the first to leave the army; even one of the two Spartan kings refused to continue; the
- 77305 expedition had to be abandoned. The Athenians then proceeded to chastise Chalkis for its simultaneous invasion. The Boeotians attempted to come to their aid but were repulsed across the border. On the same day, the Athenians crossed the sea and the Chalkidians were also defeated; the landed possessions of the Chalkidian nobility were distributed among Attic colonists (cleruchs).
- 77310 Once again, the Boeotians crossed the border, pressed hard by the Athenians, and called upon the Aeginites, Athens's long-standing enemies, for help. These landed, devastated Athens' principal port, Phaleros, and the coastal regions. At the same time, another attack from Sparta was threatened. Hippias was present. What happened in Chalcis showed all too clearly what one feared from the youthful democratic
- 77315 arrogance. Sparta would so forget itself that it would bring back a tyrant to a Hellenic city. However, this proved impossible. Once again, at the behest of the Corinthians, the undertaking was abandoned, despite Hippias's warning of the danger that unbridled Athens would pose to all of Greece. Some time later, Hippias went to the king of Persia, his natural ally. This time, Athens was saved. They even came to
- 77320 a relatively good understanding with the Peloponnesians. However, relations with Aegina, in particular, remained very tense.
- 77325 With what a different feeling one could now ascend to the city fortress for the festival of the Panathenaeans! Only now had that festival become entirely the Athenians' own festival. No tyrant anymore inquired of a free citizen whether he carried a sword. Harmodius and Aristogiton seem to have hidden theirs among the leaves of a myrtle branch, which, in the hand of the celebrant, would not arouse suspicion. "With the sword in the myrtle branch," they now followed the procession, and a song proclaimed that they did so in imitation of those heroes, "when they slew the tyrant and liberated Athens." "Dear Harmodius," it continued, "you are not dead,
- 77330 you live on the islands of the blessed with fleet-footed Achilles and excellent

Diomedes."1) A detachment of handsome old men, each with a branch in their hand (Thallophores), also participated in the procession. Beforehand, a contest was held among the ten tribes of Clisthenes to determine who could present the most handsome old man (Euandrie). In a similar manner, the honor of participation for other participants no longer depended on the whim of a single individual. Cases like that which had befallen Harmodius' sister were no longer to be feared. Now, for the first time, it was truly an image of the Attic people in their full glory that presented itself in the procession of the Panathenaeans of the goddess.

How vividly, in all this, the consciousness of being Athenian spoke. Unlike the tyrants, they had shown themselves unwilling to relinquish their dignity as a Hellene; in a particularly close bond with one's Ionian kin; yet, one held the conviction that one was, or at least could be, different and better than them, and that one should be so. The Solonian legislation—not abolished under Pisistratus and his sons, especially regarding provisions such as those mentioned here—had instilled in the people for almost a century. Clisthenes had also cast aside the old Phratric tribes because it was an Ionian division; as protective demigods for his ten new tribes, he had deliberately chosen demigods from non-Ionian legends: the Athenian was Pelasgian, was Indigenous, not Ionian. This increasingly became a well-established popular opinion, and there was about as much basis for it as if, for example, an Englishman were to call himself more Anglo-Saxon than Norman. It was a precious awareness for a people to belong to an age-old state, to have, as it were, grown together with the soil of their homeland; this gave a certain stability and steadfastness to customs and ways of thinking; the sense of national unity was strongly confirmed by it.1) The Ionians, whose cities were colonies, lacked all of this. Entirely in the spirit of Solonian law, the Attic men, now or a little later, abolished the custom of wearing long linen garments in the Ionian manner, of rolling their hair into a bun, and of piercing it with elaborate hairpins to keep it together. Such matters had a completely different meaning for a people who so little separated the inner from the outer than for us.

Thus, the Attic people became more and more themselves. Today, too, we encounter an Attic art that had already acquired a very distinct character of its own. Indeed, several ancient Attic painted vases, or fragments thereof, have been found that date to approximately this period. The large mixing vessel, for example,—seventy centimeters high and roughly as wide, made according to the inscription by Clitias and Ergotimos and found in 1845 by François—is the most famous example; eleven scenes are depicted on it in six rows. This Attic vase painting is the successor, above all, to an Ionian one, namely that of Chalcis.1) As on the battlefield, Chalcis was also defeated here. First, Attic artists more completely freed themselves from all vestiges of oriental influence; Chalcis vases, for example, often still have numerous rows of Asiatic animals, while Attic ones omit them more; François's vase has one, along with ten with genuinely Greek mythological scenes. All further situations are generally more clearly perceived and rendered, even today with a certain sharpness, as one wanted to bring clearly to the eyes of others what one was consciously aware of having truly seen for the first time. On one of the most beautiful Chalkidish vases, for example, one sees a couple of cows; don't look too closely for the connection between the tangle of legs and the bodies; that vase painter didn't take that so seriously. An Attic artist, however, wouldn't be satisfied with that. They also have a much more vivid sense of what can and cannot be accomplished with the given resources. Drawing on vases, as we know from what has already been said about it, was a silhouette drawing with some, only minor, further elaboration of the figures by means of crayons. It was therefore highly recommended to use the figures in profile. The Chalkidish vase painter, however, is not sufficiently aware of this. So, to take just one example from many, on one of the most beautiful Chalkidian vases, a warrior is positioned in such a way that his face and face are visible. That in itself is quite manageable, but what about the helmet's crest? How could it be drawn from the front, primarily with a little black paint, so that one could tell what it was? They knew no other way than to give one helmet two crests, both seen from the side. Among Attic artists, however, the desire to compose scenes in such a way that such difficulties could be avoided is very clearly revealed. This may have required effort, but they undeniably learned to master the material better and made greater progress in their art. Through a very simple, yet precisely for that reason so striking, invention, they later also managed to expand the means of their art. The black figures on the red vase surface were still an imitation of the old metal fittings on a wooden base. They did not yet have their own style for vase painting.

The Attic vase painter now simply turns the matter around: instead of painting black figures on the red surface of the vase, he makes the entire vase, or the part

intended for the drawing, black, the figures, retaining the black varnish, these now became red on a black background, just as they had previously been black on a red background. This now makes the figures appear much clearer and more beautiful, and their interiors could be much better developed with a brush and black paint than previously with crayons. One now has much more freedom in one's drawing. Deep perspectives were still out of the question, but the surface of a vase, which in our perception always remains a plane and therefore wants to be decorated as a plane, is not really the place for it.

Athens also apparently came much more to the fore in monumental art at that time. We hear the names of Antenor, Amphicrates, Hegias, Critius, and Nesiotes. The former created a group of the two tyrant-murderers, as did the latter two together. Thus, art was immediately nationally inspired. We can gain some insight into the tyrant-murderers of Critius and Nesiotes from later imitations and depictions on coins; both men charged toward their target with courageous courage. We also have some remains of sculpture from approximately that period, but we lack the data for a comprehensive assessment of the oldest Attic sculpture.

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(To be continued.)

The Attic people and the art of Phidias. III. (Continued from Part II, p. 312.)

Attic democracy was, at its origin, a love of freedom and a sense of self-respect. The community demanded space for itself and displaced the nobility, but this displacement was more a means than an end. No desire for equality was the great passion here, nor did the glory of governing and judging itself shine primarily in the eyes of the Attic citizen. The city's princes were distrusted to the extent that they believed they feared their lust for tyranny, yet they could be seen without envy as the chosen ones of the community at the helm. As always, the Athenian remained sensitive to the grand splendor of the nobles' lives and to the allure of distinguished manners and noble innocence. About eighty years later, the comedian Aristophanes poked fun at a wealthy Athenian citizen who had taken the pleasure of marrying a destitute noblewoman. The grand noble names, such as Xanthippos (yellow horse), Hipponikos (conqueror with horses), long retained a certain appeal. A party of the old nobility continued to cling to its lost rights. No wonder, however, that many others learned to adapt more or less to democracy, which at least offered them more room for their ambition than the rule of tyrants. Nevertheless, it is indicative of the situation that the first statesman who seized the young democracy and led it was a man whose father belonged only to the less distinguished nobles, yet who, above all, had often deeply felt the consequences of his illegitimate birth from a non-Hellenic mother. It was Themistocles, the son of Neocles. The Greeks recounted all sorts of examples of his childish tendency toward self-aggrandizement and a burning, common-sense, yearning to shine and gain prominence. At Olympia, for example, he attempted to outdo Kimon, the son of Miltiades, with pomp and splendor, with beautiful tents and splendid banquets. What the Greeks considered entirely appropriate in the highly noble youth, however, repelled them when it was imitated by a roturier. But the roturier was a man of genius. The qualities by which he made himself felt were an almost unparalleled cunning, a boldness and foresight that consistently managed to achieve what, in the end, proved just as attainable, and an originality that mocked all the calculations of his opponents. No statesman ever possessed—Thucydides¹) already admired him for this—the gift of foresight to a higher degree. He was fully aware of his ability, and all that petty and childishness was the bastard offspring of the statesman's natural ambition. Push a Themistocles off the stage of government; you might as well wrest the chisel from the hands of a Phidias. Was he enthusiastic about democracy and Hellenism? He was not, first and foremost, a nature to be enthusiastic. His circumstances connected him to democracy, but above all, he was one of those statesmen who, without much prior reflection on their desirability and justification, accept the currents of their time as they are, to see what, with good leadership, might be made of them in the interests of their state, and whether therein lies a field for their activity, where they can fully demonstrate who they are and what they are capable of. For von Bismarck, in many ways Themistocles' spiritual twin brother, the German unification movement was the means to the upliftment of the Hohenzollern; the Attic statesman understood how democracy and the struggle against the barbarians could leverage Athens' greatness. The movement against the tyrants in Europe was countered in the Hellenic region of Asia Minor. The tyrant of Miletus, Aristagoras, on hostile terms with the Persian

court, knew no better option than to place himself at the head of the liberation movement; in his own city, he voluntarily relinquished his authority; in numerous other places, he drove out the tyrants appointed by the king of Persia. He counted on the help of Sparta and Athens, and the latter city, in the youthful sense of its newly acquired freedom, actually came to the aid of the Ionian kin. The same applied to the inhabitants of Eretria on Euboeia. Aristagoras's venture, however, failed. The Persians once again confirmed their authority on the coasts and islands of Asia Minor and the European lands beyond the Hellespont. They then continued their advance, this time to subdue Greece and to chastise the Ionian allies. This time (493 BC), it was impossible to penetrate this far. However, everyone could understand that new attempts would follow.

Next to the roadstead of Phaleros, Athens's principal port, a rocky peninsula of irregular shapes jutted out, with two small and one large inlet, all three very narrow at the entrance, but widening further, while being flanked by a higher and lower hilltop. The largest inlet and the entire peninsula bore the name of Peiraeus. There is a story that the ancient Epimenides of Crete, upon noticing the fortress heights of Mounychia, the highest of these two hilltops, pondered for a long time, but then predicted to the bystanders that great evil awaited the Athenians from that place. Similarly, Themistocles foresaw what that hilly peninsula with its three indented bays could become, and there, as it were, the entire Athens of the future rose before his eyes. A well-fortified Peiraias could be the safest harbor and the most impregnable fortress in the world. The sturdy Attic citizenry, as it then was, animated by the fire of freedom, undoubtedly formed a land army that could even be called honorable alongside that of Sparta; but at sea, it could be utterly irresistible. Athens could become a maritime power that would far outshine Aegina, Corinth, and every other Greek maritime state. Their fleets could sail from and return to those inaccessible harbors, from whose narrow entrances any enemy ship could easily be barred. Should they be attacked by their enemies from the land side, the entire population could find a safe refuge within that fortified harbor. Provided the walls were built high enough, it could easily be defended by a few weak men, so that almost the entire able-bodied force would remain available to the fleet, and the enemy would therefore have as much to fear as ever. There was, of that there was no doubt, a major Persian campaign was imminent. The great king could command hundreds of thousands; but a Persian land army would hardly be able to carry out its task without a fleet. A Persian expedition solely by sea was conceivable, one solely by land very difficult. At sea alone could the Persian be permanently defeated, and what future lay in store for Athens if all of Greece had to bear witness that its naval power had, first and foremost, broken the yoke of the barbarians?

And without a doubt, the vision of the seer—for that was what he was, albeit one in a completely different vein than the old venerable Cretan—reached even further. The sea had created democracy; the sea would make it great. The core of the land army was formed by the more affluent as hoplites (heavy-armed troops); the vast majority belonging to the lowest of Solon's classes, those who owned no or a very small piece of land, were excluded from the honor of serving as hoplites. No distinction was seen in naval service; such lesser men, it seemed, were precisely in their place. If the fleet now gained the upper hand, the preservation of Attica, perhaps even of all of Greece, would largely depend on these lesser citizens. Since Solon, Athens had developed greatly as a trading state; undoubtedly, this measure of the soil's yield excluded many well-to-do, even somewhat wealthy, citizens. However, there were fears about the restlessness and the sometimes excessive freedom of thought from tradition, which, as experience had shown, were fostered by maritime traffic; the state had to rely primarily on these sedate citizens, who were more attached to the existing order. Themistocles' policy ultimately triumphed completely, but that victory was still lamented by the ancient Plato more than a century later.[1] This also explains the prediction, rightly or wrongly attributed to Epimenides. During Themistocles' archonship (in 493 BC), work had already begun on fortifying the Peiraias. However, the work was halted again.

Meanwhile, the danger threatening from Persia drew ever closer. The great king's envoys marched through the cities of Greece to demand land and water as a sign of submission. Several granted it. Sparta and Athens refused. Among those who had submitted was Aegina.

What could have motivated the proud island of the Aikides to do so? An ally of Sparta, a nation powerful through its fleets and wealth, excelling almost all others through its heroic deeds at the camp of Olympia, surrendered to the barbarians at the first summons. Was it to be assumed that this state intended to do what the Athenian citizenry had so indignantly rejected shortly before, namely, ally itself with the

mighty Persian Empire against its Hellenic neighbors? The danger threatening them was
 77530 appalling. From Aegina, the barbarian fleet might invade the roadstead of Phaleros.
 The Athenians complained to Sparta, considered the natural head of Hellenism.
 However, the friends they had in that city at that time knew nothing more than to
 hand over some prominent Aeginetans to them. After Aegina had vainly demanded the
 extradition of these people, the Aeginean fleet suddenly attacked the Athenians while
 77535 they were celebrating in southern Attica, and in retaliation, several prominent
 Athenians were taken to Aegina. The danger that constantly threatened from this
 western neighbor was now felt more vividly than ever; one was not safe for a moment
 in one's own country. There was no resting on one's laurels. Aegina had to be
 punished. But how? Their own naval forces were insufficient. However, they managed to
 77540 obtain twenty ships as a gift from the Corinthians, made secret alliances with the
 democrats of the island, and bravely attacked the powerful enemy. War had broken out.

There, however, the long-awaited storm was truly approaching from the east. A mighty
 fleet was carrying a large army. Hippias was with the barbarians. Those who had
 77545 refused water and land would now be subdued by force. The king had given firm orders
 that the Athenians and inhabitants of Eretria on Euboea be taken captive to Persia.
 The enemy fleet approached from island to island. There they landed on Euboea.
 Eretria went up in flames; its wretched population was taken captive. The barbarians
 stood on Attic soil at Marathon (490 BC).
 77550 The Athenians deeply understood the gravity of the moment. They were convinced that
 they had much that was great and noble to defend, along with their national
 existence. However, no one could fully grasp what was then at stake, even for
 posterity. The question was whether the noble Attic people would produce its
 Sophocles, its Phidias, its Socrates, its Plato, or whether, languishing in a
 77555 forgotten corner of the vast Persian empire, it would be no more than, at best—
 preserved from utter ruin by a quirk of fortune—an ethnographic curiosity, a strange
 national relic amidst entirely different tribes.2).
 What high interests, then, were those ten thousand heroes fighting for, who dared to
 face the formidable Persian army? Themistocles was among them, and the noble
 77560 Aristides; but the main leadership was in the hands of Miltiades, the son of Kimon, a
 haughty nobleman of great military experience. He belonged to a family that had
 acquired an independent principality among the Thracians, at a time when the tyrants'
 rule offered the Athenian nobility no sphere of action; there, too, he had ruled and
 fought; there, too, he had come into contact with the barbarians. He could boast that
 77565 perhaps no Greek had been as dangerous to the king as he. The prestige of his highly
 noble house was great; the husband of a Thraian princess felt a considerable distance
 between himself and the circles of the people, but what a new splendor it gave to his
 old nobility to stand as leader of the Greeks against the barbarians!
 The ten thousand were victorious. The immense army fled to the fleet. This fleet,
 77570 however, sailed around Attica to attack it from the west. Onward from the fields of
 Marathon, to obstruct the enemy there as well.

Already the barbarian fleet comes into view, directly opposite the harbor of
 Phaleros. Suddenly, however, it turns away. Did the barbarians lack the courage for a
 77575 second battle when they once again saw the enemy arrayed against them on the coast?
 What a triumph, at what a camp! No long line of victors at Olympia could bring such
 fame to a city. Ancient Sparta, too, was full of recognition for the heroism
 demonstrated.
 And what were the consequences of this victory? The fear that had so long plagued
 77580 them was now completely removed from their souls. Would the barbarians ever dare to
 return? Through the might of the Attic heavy-armed men, it was believed, Athens,
 indeed all of Greece, had been freed forever from the danger that threatened from
 that side.
 Had not Themistocles also been defeated by Marathon? The ever-calculating,
 77585 deliberating, and weighing statesman saw matters quite differently than the people,
 enraptured by victory. The decision that had brought the triumph of Marathon was not
 one the great king would accept. The vast empire had not yet exhausted all its
 resources. The barbarians would return, and they could not be defeated by heavy
 weapons alone. Under the circumstances, however, it was advisable not to discuss
 77590 this. Continuing the construction of Mount Peiraieus was out of the question; but
 perhaps something else could be achieved. War with Aegina was still on the verge of
 collapse. After some initial victories, defeat had been suffered. Would the brave
 Attic people prove powerless against this enemy? Themistocles proposed that the
 surplus produce from the silver mines of Laurion should no longer be divided, as had

77595 been done up to now, but should be used for shipbuilding.
Here, however, Aristides, a man of great influence, stood in his way. That he possessed this undoubtedly reflected honor on the Athenians, as he sought to assert himself through nothing but better insight, a deep sense of justice, and a pure enthusiasm for the beautiful and the good. He was by no means an unruly conservative, but he shuddered at all leaps into the unknown, above all at any less than gradual progress on the path of democracy. Therefore, he opposed Themistocles' plans, which he fully understood would lead his people to an entirely new future. Themistocles, however, was victorious. With all the youthful resilience of a newly awakened sense of self, the Attic citizenry set to work; for wealthy people, it was a point of ambition to contribute large sums from their own resources. Aristides was banished through ostracism. Themistocles thus gained complete control of the people, and understanding that it would be unwise to ask for too much at once, he repeatedly proposed building more ships, thus gradually placing the Athenians in possession of a large fleet.

77600 There, approximately a million Asiatic warriors approached (480 BC); a bridge was built for them across the Hellespont; twelve hundred ships followed this immense army along the coast. How could Greece resist? Hellenes versus barbarians—that was one of the most familiar ideas; but had a united Greece ever actually faced a foreign enemy, except in the ancient period of the Argonaut expedition and the Trojan War? Hellenism was still unorganized. The Spartan alliance in the Peloponnese comprised relatively few states. How many feuds and disputes also divided the various tribes? Would it become apparent, once the barbarians actually approached, that Hellenism did not actually exist? Several Hellenic states had already submitted to the enemy, who had sent envoys ahead for earth and water. The cause of Hellas's freedom seemed hopeless.

77615 It was the great Attic statesman on whose broad shoulders the future of the entire Hellenic homeland now seemed to rest. He, above all, organized the resistance against the enemy. Disputes were settled; Athens reconciled with Aegina. On his advice, the city of the Marathon victors willingly placed itself under Spartan leadership. The Spartan confederacy in the Peloponnese was extended to all those who had the courage to stand up for their dignity as Hellenes, even in that fearful era. Sparta's brave men fell at Thermopylae. The immense host poured down upon Greece and approached Athens. It was the mighty hand of Themistocles that managed to drive an entire population out of their homes. One had to leave one's sanctuaries in the hands of the barbarians; one must risk whether one would even stand under the protection of the Immortals outside one's ancient, sacred territory. The Peiraieus, still unfortified, offers no refuge. Women, children, and old men flee to Salamis, Troyes, and Aegina—who would have thought such a thing possible a few years ago?—the men hide behind the wooden walls of the fleet. From Salamis, the city and the shrines of the fortress are seen going up in flames.

77635 The Persian fleet appears at the roadstead of Phaleros. The Greek fleet has retreated not far from there, between Salamis and the mainland. Great discord reigns on the latter. The Peloponnesians want to leave the place to defend their peninsula alone. Themistocles holds them back with difficulty. News arrives that the Persian fleet is approaching. Very few knew then that the king, through a ruse of Themistocles, had been induced to attack the Greeks there in a narrow strait, terrain so much more suitable for their smaller fleet, and thus force them to unity. What a result his efforts were crowned with: the Persian fleet was defeated. Most of the Greeks had behaved better; above all, the Aeginites wanted to erase the stain they had brought upon themselves by their initial submission. However, no one could reasonably doubt that the victory was primarily due to the city, which ten years earlier had been forced to request twenty ships from the Corinthians to defend itself against a Greek enemy, but which had now deployed a fleet of two hundred ships, more than half of the entire Greek naval force (372 ships). What a reversal in the space of thirty years; the proud Chalcidians of old had fought alongside Athenian ships.

77650 The king left the country, leaving only a portion of the army, three hundred thousand men, under Mardonius; the Persian fleet also withdrew from Greek waters. It was later learned that another ruse by Themistocles had been the cause of all this. However, under his command, the Attic fleet set sail to rule the seas between Asia and Greece; the islands that had joined the Persians were forced to pay a fine. If only the Attic navy would maintain control over this, the route by which the Persian fleet could return to Greece would be blocked.

77655 However, Mardonius and his large army were still in Greece. Athens was once again occupied by the barbarians; the barely returned population had to flee the city once again. The work of destruction was now completed; only a relatively few houses remained standing.

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The king was also determined to vigorously maintain his authority over the Greek coastal cities of Asia Minor. Of all the troops with which he had returned from Greece, the majority had perished from hunger and disease; but there was still a significant reserve army there, capable of holding the Greeks of Asia Minor in check, while a substantial fleet lay off the coast to repel any attack from that side. Mardonius' army, however, was all but destroyed at Plataea; he himself was killed. On the same day, it is said, the Asia Minor reserve army was utterly defeated on the promontory of Mykale, and the Persian fleet, along with its fortified landing place into which it had taken refuge, was burned. At Plataea, the Athenian land forces under Aristides had contributed at least as much to the success as those of the Spartans; that the victory at Mykale was primarily due to the Athenian fleet could not even be doubted. The Persian army consisted of courageous, tactful men, but those vast, shapeless masses of warriors, so to speak, nameless, were no match for men so powerfully developed and of such high moral character as these gymnasium champions, who were never for a moment disoriented by the consciousness of competing, just as they did on the racecourse at Olympia, under the eyes of their fellow Greeks. They undoubtedly owed much to their superior organization and equipment, but how else did they possess these if not by being Greeks? Above all, however, what a sublime character did the fighting here possess! Just as later, during the Crusades, the most diverse peoples, the most hostile armies, stood united as Christians against the Muslims, so too here, for a high principle, all age-old feuds and all petty ambitions had to be set aside. Man does not maintain himself so easily at such a lofty position. Just as in that heroic age of Catholicism, the fire of internal discord flared up again and again. More than once, this even threatened to destroy the great work entirely.

What bitterness and passion, especially over the question of which nation and which individuals would receive the prize of victory after each battle, for the fight had so completely taken on the character of combat in the arena that here too, prizes were awarded to the bravest. Now, however, Panhellenism (the union of all Hellenes) was at its peak. A spirit of peace and reconciliation spread its wings over the united heroic army at Plataea; it was the influence of Aristides, the commander of the Athenians, that made itself felt here. Spartans and Athenians were on the verge of drawing swords over the question of who would receive the prize for bravery in the battle of Plataea. He prevented any outbreak, and when the proposal was made to award it to the small, brave nation of the Plataeans, he was the first to join on behalf of the Athenians. The storm of passions had completely subsided. The moment was solemn and sacred; concern for divine things, noble thoughts of freedom and unity of purpose completely consumed the soul. All fires in the land of the Plataeans were extinguished; they had been defiled by the presence of the barbarians. New fire was brought from the hearth of Delphi; its world-restorative power was certain. An altar of "the Zeus of Freedom" (Eleutherios) was erected. At the suggestion of Aristides, the territory of the Plataeans was declared sacred and inviolable. Festive envoys from all Greek states would travel there annually; every four years a great festival of freedom (that of the Eleutheria) would be celebrated. The small nation of the Plataeans, admired by all for their demonstrated heroism, yet envied by no one, would be responsible for performing the sacrifices for all of Greece. At the suggestion of the same Aristides, it was decided to establish a permanent Hellenic army and navy for the fight against the barbarians. If ever, then the unity of Hellenism had now become a reality.

But what bustle and commotion reign amid the ruins of Athens! The fleeing population has returned and is restoring its homes and sanctuaries. But behold, walls are also being built, and indeed on such an astonishing scale that, in the event of a new invasion, the entire population of Attica might find a place behind them. Athens' old enemies were alarmed: the Attic people, already so powerful at sea, indomitable in their self-esteem, would ensconce themselves behind high walls, from which they could defy all of Greece. It was Themistocles, Neocles' son, who once again led the way here. His strength was the strength of the entire people; the Athens of his designs was about to be realized. He, too, had repeatedly managed to maintain the bond between the Hellenes, but he believed he knew people well enough to know how much one could rely on the durability of their noblest sentiments. Even in the midst of a united Hellenism, Athens had to ensure its safety. And wasn't it, in any case, her right to fortify herself as she saw fit? Couldn't an Athens with walls render greater service to the Hellenic cause than one without? Even a man like Aristides had to fully admit that.

Athens' enemies, however, especially Aegina, were restless. On behalf of the majority of the Hellenic allies, Sparta demanded a halt to fortifications; after all, a fortified Athens could serve as a base for their operations in the event of a possible return of the barbarians. Themistocles, through cunning, managed to delay the Spartans for a considerable time. Meanwhile, men, women, and children had to work tirelessly. All suitable stones found, worked and unworked, gravestones and stones on which acts were chiseled—we still have some that were dug out of that wall—in short, everything that could serve any purpose was piled up into an irregular, yet strong wall. This was finished before anyone could intervene. The fortifications of the Peiraias were now also completed. Athens, on its ancient, hallowed ground, was untouchable.

With what self-satisfaction could Aegina also look back on the heroic struggle it had endured. After the Battle of Salamis, it had won the prize of bravery, and although everyone knew that such decisions were not always made with the strictest justice, it was above all suspicion that the Aeginetans, as so often at the camp at Olympia, had here also proven themselves the worthy people of the Aeacians. These same ancient demigods, Aiaceus, Telamon, Achilles, Ajax, had been called upon by the Hellenes at Salamis in a very special way, and some believed that their figures were to have seen themselves moving through the air. – When approaching the island from Attica, a platform on the seaward side quickly caught the eye, upon which a temple of Athena had been built. Now, as we know, Aegina, since the time of Smilis, had shone with an unsurpassed school of sculptors. Now, after the heroic struggle, when its powers are felt more vividly than ever, two large sculptural groups are being created for the two facades of that temple, a splendid example of what the sculptural art of the Aeginetes was also capable of. The creation of a work of art was here, as so often in Greece, a national act. On the east facade, one saw a battle between Greeks and Trojans for the body of a fallen man, presumably Oicles, with the Aegean Telamon leading the fight; on the west facade, the battle also between the two peoples for the body of Patroos, with Ajax leading the fight. In both chariot battles, the goddess Athena intervenes, as always in favor of the Greeks. Thus, as soon as the foreigner set foot on shore, the ancient glory of the Aeacids shone in his eyes, who had once again been the forerunners in the renewed struggle between Europe and Asia that had now been experienced.

Significant portions of this work of art have been preserved and are now in the glyptothek in Munich.[1] Undoubtedly, it does great credit to the masters who created it. The striking accuracy with which the bodily forms are rendered and the versatility of postures in which the figures were composed are those of an already highly developed art. The Aeginite sculptures undeniably held a very high place among the works of art of their time.

However, the full light of truly Hellenic art had not yet broken through here. The heads, with their good Assyrian hair and old-fashioned smiles, have lagged behind in their development. A more refined art of grouping, in which the rich diversity of the various parts is only briefly, yet just enough, held together by the bond of symmetry, is still absent. The figures of the gods are highly rigid and conventional. All grandeur is completely absent in both her and the fighting heroes. Moreover, especially in the western gable group, the movements of the bodies, though often tremendous, are not intimately and accurately rendered in the smallest details to create a powerful impression of life. There is, in fact, a significant difference between the two gable groups. The eastern group was clearly created by a younger generation of artists²⁾, who, through continued observation of nature, began to outgrow the artistic tradition honored in the western group. Not only are details like veins and tendons rendered much more accurately—something that immediately enhances the impression of life—but the poses and gestures are also taken from life with much greater delicacy. This is especially true of a dying warrior, who has fallen to the ground, but who still holds his upper body somewhat upright with his shield resting upright on his left arm and his right hand weakly pushing off the ground. This figure is truly expressive; even the conventional smile of the west facade is replaced here by a fairly well-rendered expression of sorrow: the pursed lips are slightly parted at the corners.

However, the Aeginetes were not destined to achieve further victories in this field. It is undeniable that a vigorous development of art usually goes hand in hand with the overall national advancement of a people. Yet we are repeatedly reminded that geniuses are primarily by the grace of God, and thus the great artist who contributed most to freeing Hellenic sculpture from all the barbarism that still clung to it, belonged to Rhegion, in a remote corner of the Greek world, a southern Italian colony

far from the battlefields of Marathon and Plataea, with a population whose cowardice would soon become proverbial. That city had already produced one famous sculptor, Klearchos, a pupil of Skyllis and Dipoinus, and Pythagoras—for that was the name of the great Rhegionian master who now appeared—was said to have been a pupil of this Klearchos. While Greek art from the very beginning had an open eye for nature, Pythagoras was the first to make it a rule that, if one wanted to imbue bodily forms with the expression of life, one must follow it down to the smallest detail. He therefore put an end to Assyrian and other ancient hair treatments; he depicted veins and tendons with great clarity; but above all, he felt that it was the so-called rhythm of movements is what gives bodies their full naturalness, and if one did not want to leave it to chance whether the figures one created would appear animated or not, one had to endeavor above all to reproduce that rhythm delicately and accurately. But what did one understand by this?1) The human body is, so to speak, more of a single whole than an amalgamation of several limbs; all movements of any significance are therefore more or less movements of the entire body, even if they originate in a single limb; the movement propagates throughout the body and produces countermovements. Only when this propagation occurs gradually, without jerks or jerks, does one obtain a movement that, at a single specific moment—and only such a movement can visual art depict—dominates the entire body. Such movements were called "good of rhythm," "eurythmic." The lines of these movements, however convoluted, immediately appeared as a single whole, just as one feels that a line of verse forms a single whole, no matter how different the feet from which it was composed. Eurythmic was the springy gait, full of self-control, of the athletically trained, free Hellene; eurythmic were also highly evocative of the dancer's movements, which emanated from the feet and were conveyed to the entire body, which, in its rhythmic undulations, was, as it were, carried by the rhythm of the accompanying music. A no less striking example, though of a completely different nature, is provided by one of Pythagoras's own most famous works, namely his limping Philoctetes, of which we can gain some understanding from imitations on cameos. It was precisely a subject that tempted Pythagoras to test his strength, a difficult, painful gait to which the entire posture of the body was adapted. Yet even the victors of Marathon were not left behind. The delicacy and loveliness of Kalamis, especially his Aphrodite Sosandra, were striking nonetheless—or rather, more or less so because he clung to the old art form. Of greater significance in the consequences, however, was that Myron from Eleuthera, a Boeotian border town that had joined Attica, a pupil of the famous Argive master Ageladas, dared to enter the arena with the genius Pythagoras. While the master, with his pankratiast (a kind of champion), achieved victory this time, there is no doubt that the movement that had begun in distant Rhegion was carried over to Athens and continued there. Myron, like Pythagoras, studied extensively in the gymnasiums and palaces. His animals, especially his cow, also achieved great fame. We know a few of his works from imitations. First, his discus thrower; he is depicted at the precise moment his discus (disc) is about to whizz away; the entire body is at the height of tension, an indivisible moment before it ceases. Furthermore, we have copies of Marsyas, who recoils from Athena just as he was about to seize the flute she has thrown away. Also very famous was his runner Ladas, who died as a result of his exertions in the racecourse at Olympia; "his breath," according to an old poetic description, "floated from the sunken sides onto the edges of his lips." The position of the lips, in conjunction with the sunken sides and, of course, the flat chest, thus indicated the condition of the runner gasping for breath. These examples demonstrate how effectively Myron, like Pythagoras, was able to express life in coherent movements. However, he went further than this. From what we are told—and what we know of his works is entirely consistent with this—he managed to convey the impression of life in his creations more powerfully than he had observed in nature. Furthermore, in relatively minor details, such as the treatment of hair, he must have been less careful in imitating nature than Pythagoras. Myron was clearly more concerned with explaining nature than with following it, and therefore he did not bother with the minor details of execution, insofar as these were not related to what he wanted to clearly visualize through his works. Although he was not yet an idealist in the full sense of the word, he had undoubtedly already set foot on the path that idealism alone could attain. Myron no longer needed to search for the forms of nature, as Pythagoras had done, but he had already mastered them sufficiently to use them as the material for artistic creations, a fantasy that reached beyond nature. However, the man in whose spirit the unique idealism of Athens was already alive and working lived and worked in Athens.

Attic art would mature. Phidias, Charmides' son, had first tried his luck as a painter, but later, realizing his true calling, he apprenticed with the Attic sculptor Hegias; probably not entirely satisfied with what he learned from him, he, like Myron, had sought solace with the Argive master Ageladas. It is believed that in both his and Myron's art, traces of Ageladas' influence can be discerned alongside that of the earlier Attic school of sculpture.[1] Phidias was still a young man at the time of the Battle of Salamis. However, not long afterward, he created a large group of bronze statues to commemorate the Battle of Marathon, using part of the money brought in by the booty taken there. This group was placed in the temple of Delphi; Miltiades stood there between Apollo and Athena. Another work from the early part of his artistic career was a large bronze statue of the goddess Athena, which was placed on the citadel; this too was likely made from part of the proceeds of the spoils taken in the Persian Wars. No Hellenic people were more closely connected to the Athenians than the Plataeans; they were the only ones who had fought on the battlefield of Marathon; without the envy of the other Hellenes, they would have become fully Athenians by having their territory incorporated into Attica. With the money they had earned as a prize for bravery in the battle near their city, they had a temple built for Athena Areia. Phidias sculpted the statue of the goddess for it. Thus, from the beginning, he was the national sculptor of the Athenians and their most loyal friends, then, so to speak, the sculptor of the Persian Wars, just as the sculptors of the aforementioned Aeginean groups were for Aegina. While these adorned the island's east coast, facing Attica, anyone approaching the Attic west coast, facing Aegina, could soon catch sight of Phidias' bronze statue of the Castle Goddess atop the fortress.

What powerful impressions lived under the generation that had waged a gigantic struggle for its national existence and, in the process, had seen the highest national ideal, hitherto of scarcely any practical significance, suddenly become a full reality. In the powerful uplift of soul, which brought the consciousness of having, according to the noblest promptings of one's soul, dared the unequal battle for the best one knew, one breathed as if in the heavenly atmosphere of the Immortals, by whose help, indeed—one was deeply convinced of this—one had, in the first place, crushed the power of the barbarians. It was the sacred atmosphere of the battlefield of Plataea, and while people often imagined these helpful gods, according to popular belief, as fellow warriors, there was also a special place here for those poetic-philosophical conceptions of a higher spiritual development. They had witnessed the denouement of a tremendous world drama. The ancient struggle between Europe and Asia, already begun during the time of the Argonauts' expedition and the Trojan War, had resumed. Old predictions circulated that the Asian army would perish in an attack on Greece. In his blind arrogance, Xerxes had, as it were, equated himself with the gods. It was not a God1) who marched against Greece at the head of such tremendous armies and such a mighty fleet, who, at the Hellespont, to clear a path for himself, threw a "yoke around the neck of the sea"2), who had the promontory of Athos dug through to grant his ships safe passage! The deceit of the gods led the arrogant man ever further down the path of destruction, once he had embarked upon it. Xerxes' blindness caused those ancient prophecies to be fulfilled more quickly than might otherwise have been the case. The Moira and Atê of the gods3) were the cause of the terrible disaster that had befallen the barbarians.

In this spirit, Aeschylus wrote his "Persians." We know that the poet's religious views were more peculiar to him. Yet, as we have seen, the ideas then generated were connected with more exalted conceptions of the Deity than those according to which the world of the gods formed a restlessly tossed, small-scale human society. The events of the time thus brought the Gods more vividly than ever before to mind as the immense beings who sat enthroned there in tranquil majesty and heavenly calm on Olympus and guided humanity in all its ways, even unnoticed by them. Thus, they also undoubtedly imagined the exalted artist, who seemed chosen to be the heroic singer and hymn-writer of his people in metal and marble. He would attempt to recreate them in that full divine majesty.

To present it to his compatriots and contemporaries as if before their eyes, after the visual artist had hitherto depicted it as a motionless lump or in human activity. The form of the colossus was bestowed upon him by the existing artistic tradition, but he would lose the accuracy of the Peloponnesian sculptors in depicting bodily forms, the relative skill in depicting the garment in its various arrangements, in its folds and folds—which one apparently owed to the Ionian school of art, and the eurythmy of Pythagoras and Myron—he would, in short, take everything that his ancestors and contemporary could achieve in their art, so to speak, as a tool in

77925 their hands, to perfect and glorify it, and to create forms such as these, though
entirely in harmony with nature, were never produced by nature. The path by which
nature was surpassed, taken by Myron through the inspiration of his imagination, was
entered by Phidias with the awareness of a higher calling. This Attic idealism, after
77930 all, was no arbitrary play of the imagination. They were truly existing gods and
demigods who had to be depicted, as people truly believed they were, human and yet
more than human. It is sometimes assumed that in Phidias's first works, the influence
of Ageladas was still quite strongly discernible, and of course, the master did not
immediately reach his greatest heights; yet, the basic concept of his religious
77935 creations is apparently already apparent in that bronze statue of Athena. It was not
only very large, but the martial attitude usually given to the goddess—we know
Phidias's image in its main features from Attic coins—was replaced by one of calm
dignity.

Yet, however, Athens was not what it could become. Themistocles experienced the
77940 utmost satisfaction; Salamis, so to speak, conquered Marathon. Was it possible to
continue treating the Attic sea people, to whom Athens, and to whom all of Greece
owed most of its survival, as less entitled fellow citizens, to whom the interests of
the state could not be fully entrusted? At Aristides's own suggestion, most offices
were opened to citizens of all four classes, according to land ownership. It was one
77945 of those reforms that were inevitable, even if the statesman was not entirely
reassured about their consequences.

Already during the Battle of Mykale, the Ionian troops of the king's army had
deserted; for the second time, the Asian Hellenic lands were in full revolt against
the barbarians. The European Greeks understood that they could not abandon their
77950 kinsmen to their vengeance and deliberated on what should be done. The Spartans,
naturally wary of any daring undertaking, believed it best to have them evacuate
their cities and lands and assign them other places of residence in Europe. Such
cowardice, especially after such victories, was utterly incomprehensible to the
Athenians; they had to maintain their Ionian brethren in their own country despite
77955 all the armies and fleets of the barbarians; abandoning Asia Minor to them was
tantamount to giving them free rein on the path to European Greece. Were those Dorian
Spartans really the right people to decide the fate of their Ionian brethren? What
did they feel for them? Wasn't Athens, already united with them in ancient times in
the Delian League, their natural protector? When the Spartans shortly thereafter
77960 concluded their campaign of that spring, the Athenians continued the fight with their
Asia Minor brethren for a while longer. Meanwhile, as we have seen, renewed war
against the barbarians had also been decided upon at Plataea. Consequently, under
Spartan leadership, a Hellenic naval force sailed once again to Asia Minor. Cyprus
was largely captured; from there, any new naval deployments on the opposite
77965 Phoenician coast could be prevented. Byzantium was taken; by conquering the lands
along the Hellespont, the Persian route could also be blocked there. The Spartan
commander, Pausanias, however, adopted a very haughty attitude and permitted himself
all sorts of violence, especially against the Greeks of Asia Minor. All allies except
the Peloponnesians placed themselves under the protection of the Athenians and
77970 assigned them hegemony. Meanwhile, Pausanias was summoned to Sparta, accused of
treason, and only the Athenians and those who had allied with them remained on the
battlefield. The Spartans made only one more feeble attempt to regain control of the
war. When it became clear to them that this would not succeed, they also abandoned
the war in Asia without much resistance to the Athenians and their allies; after all,
77975 from the very beginning, this far-flung undertaking had been very unpopular with
them. The alliance of Plataea was not considered broken, but why should all the
allies go to war, now that it turned out that a portion of them was entirely
sufficient for waging the war?

The old Delian alliance was renewed. Treasurers of the Hellenes (Hellenotamies)
77980 managed the common funds at the temple of Apollo on Delos. Each of the allies paid
according to their ability; it was the just Aristides who had established this for
each. Not a dominant Hellenism, as had more or less been Themistocles' intention, but
a free alliance of states on equal terms would form Hellas's bulwark against the
barbarians. The leadership of the war fell to Kimon, son of Miltiades, a commander of
77985 swift and bold warfare, acting with the same powerful, audacious impulse that then
animated the entire Attic citizenry. The Ionian allies were forced to acknowledge
him, in his private life, as a carefree, rather unsterne nobleman, almost one of their
own; however, when the time came for action, he was entirely self-possession,
courage, and strength of spirit. He always captivated with his engaging, uninhibited
77990 manner. No one did good on a greater scale than he; evidently, his generosity never

cost him a single victory over himself. It is said that he had the fences of his gardens removed so that his poor fellow citizens could freely gather as much fruit as they chose; daily he held an open table, at which he fed a great many poor people. It is understandable that, however much this open-mindedness suited his nature, it nevertheless became a consciously employed means of gaining support. The paternal tradition of fighting the barbarians completely filled this brave warrior, son of the hero of Marathon, and for him, the general Hellenic spirit far exceeded what any state, even his famous hometown, could aspire to be on its own. For Sparta, he possessed the inherited reverence of ancient Panhellenic sentiments, and he intended nothing less with his military exploits than to outdo Sparta by elevating Athens. The Plataean League still held its full strength for him. Fighting resumed in Thrace, on Cyprus, and on the coasts of Asia Minor. The blows inflicted on the great king's power were tremendous; on and along the western coasts of his empire, the Hellenes triumphed and ruled. And yet, the affairs of Panhellenism were already taking a very unfortunate turn. The Ionians began to complain about the Attic yoke, just as they had previously complained about the Spartan yoke of Pausanias. This constant effort was too much against their nature, and the Athenians demanded that they fulfill their obligations with great rigor. They thought that the unwilling could buy their way out of the war; the Athenians used that money to build ships and fight for those who stayed back. These, understandably, became all the more dependent on the leader of the alliance; they became completely weaned from war and soon possessed no ships or military equipment. Kimon also had to repeatedly bring back to submission allies who had defected; naturally, these allies lost even the semblance of independence.

Sparta watched with dismay how much Athens' power was thus consolidated. Could even that ancient fighter of tyrants actually tolerate one Hellenic state depriving another of its liberty? It secretly entered into an agreement with the rebellious Thasos; by invading Attica, it would provide indirect aid to that island. However, as if in a bitter mockery of fate, the Messenians, Sparta's slaves for centuries, took advantage of the turmoil caused by an earthquake to rise up against their oppressors, thus preventing the Spartans from intervening to save Thasos's freedom. Sparta found itself in such dire straits that it was forced to call upon its allies for help, and since the treaty of Plataea was still legally valid, it also turned to Athens. Despite the resistance of the ardent democrat Ephialtes, Kimon managed to persuade the Athenians to send a Spartan army to his aid. For the first time in about fifteen years, the Spartans once again saw an Athenian army on the field beside them. Now that they were once again in close contact with these people, they also suddenly felt more vividly the gulf that actually existed between them. Moreover, those qualities that had always hindered them in these allies.

That ease with which they seemed to overturn existing conditions, that overconfidence in acting on the dictates of the moment, that never flinching from the uncertainty of the outcome—none of this had undoubtedly improved during those years. These men came from numerous victories, in which their boldness had achieved what Spartan prudence had not dared to attempt: the liberation of the Asian Hellenic lands. More than ever, they were full of faith in themselves and their democracy. Like a bolt of lightning, the idea struck the Spartans that such revolutionary liberators might well develop sympathy for the Messenian slaves they were supposed to help bring back under the yoke. It was impossible to retain such people any longer. Under the pretext that they no longer needed their help, they sent them back home, alone among all their allies (461 BC). The anger and bitterness of the haughty Attic people after such a treatment is understandable. They considered the Platonic League completely broken and aligned themselves closely with Argos, Sparta's long-standing enemy in the Peloponnese. At that very time, Megara found itself deeply embroiled in a conflict with Corinth over the boundary. It broke away from Sparta's Peloponnesian League and sought support from the Athenians. They allied with them and occupied their land to protect it from the Corinthians. Meanwhile, the campaigns against Persia had also been expanded: Egypt resigned, and the Athenians of Cyprus came to its aid. It seemed that no effort was too great for this citizenry with its twenty thousand able-bodied men; She challenged the immense Persian dominance of the world, even beyond her Hellenic lands. She held a federal territory hemmed in by reluctant allies, encompassing almost all the coastal regions and islands of the Greek archipelago. She now stood ready to wage war in the Peloponnese as well, now that she considered herself insulted to death by the Peloponnesian leader of the federation. Yet, it was something other than a surge of vengeance that drove her here. At the very moment she was thus attacked in her innermost being, her soul overflowed with a consciousness of strength, and it became increasingly clear to her how much she was

on the path to greatness and dominance. In a sense, this challenge was welcome to her; she eagerly turned in all directions, wherever an opportunity for battle was offered her; the inner urge she felt to assert herself everywhere was powerful. It
78060 seemed to her as if, through every resistance she had to overcome, she felt her strength rising, and she also realized that she could only assume the great position she was consciously capable of by inspiring awe in all around her. She was now playing a high-stakes game and throwing herself into a terrible crisis, but in doing so she undeniably acted on the premonition that, from this scourge of effort and
78065 danger, her national greatness would truly shine forth in all its splendor. Such self-confidence cannot be justified before any tribunal of reasoning; moreover, when driven by such a natural urge to assert oneself and assert oneself, one is, by nature, completely incapable of lending an ear to a moderation that primarily seeks prudence, and a strict justice that never yields to circumstances. Such moderation
78070 and justice were represented in Athens by the venerable Council of the Areopagos. It was impossible for the Athenians to allow themselves to be hindered in their actions by these any longer. What lay in the direction of the developing democracy was also a practical requirement. With the most fervent indignation and deepest turmoil, many protested against the possibility of such an ancient, venerable institution being
78075 undermined. However, the necessity was too great. At the suggestion of Ephialtes, the Areopagos was stripped of all oversight over the decisions of the popular assembly. The Athens of Aristides and Kimon increasingly faded into the background; the time for a completely selfless dedication to the common Hellenic cause gradually passed; a completely different attitude now prevailed. Besides Ephialtes—a passionate but
78080 sincere party man, decisive, full of resilience, and of impeccable character—there were other popular leaders who opposed Kimon's policies, among them Pericles, the son of Xanthippos, who had entered the political arena after Aristides' death and had managed to acquire great influence. He was a man of highly noble descent, also on his mother's side, who belonged to the
78085 famous, though bloodstained, family of the Alkmai Onids; once more later, the Spartans, in his name, demanded the expulsion of all those who by birth were tainted with Kylo's bloodguilt; but then that ancient weapon proved completely blunted. His father, Xanthippos, was apparently one of those nobles who had joined the democracy—he was the leader of the Athenians at Mykale—the son could not imagine Athens as
78090 anything other than democratic. It was especially through his influence that democracy acquired a very peculiar perfection. It was truly beneath the dignity of a free Athenian to be welcomed by prominent people. Didn't the men who did so much for their country also have an indisputable right to the pleasures of life? Not only was the state supposed to ensure that sufficient grain was always available at a
78095 reasonable price, and that all citizens should be able to enjoy the meat of the state sacrifices during the great festivals, but also, through direct payments from the state treasury, the Athenians had to be enabled to celebrate their worthy feasts. It was in this direction that Pericles, in particular, exerted his influence; thus, it was decided that the poorer Athenians would receive money from the state treasury to
78100 pay the admission fee for the theatrical performances of the Dionysus festivals. This approach continued. The free Athenian owed no one for what he received in this way; he gave it, so to speak, to himself. Such measures were a matter of principle, but they were also a powerful weapon against Cimon, whose natural generosity, as we have seen, also became a political tool.
78105 Pericles was first and foremost, one might almost say exclusively, an Athenian; The fatherland could then still—and this would soon change—satisfy all the higher needs of a richly gifted mind. Yet Pericles' Athens was far from one that, like that of the tyrants—he was indeed compared to Pisistratus, and even the elderly were astonished by the similarity in appearance and voice—lacked all higher Hellenic consecration.
78110 Yet, of course, he was also far removed from Panhellenic sentiments like those of Cimon. An Athens that was even remotely absorbed into Hellas was, in his view, a theory completely at odds with the actual state of affairs. Rather, one could say, conversely, that Hellas was nothing but Athens. After all, it had initially been primarily thanks to Athens that the barbarians had been driven back; Afterwards,
78115 after Sparta had withdrawn, the national struggle was only sustained because Athens held the allies together, indeed, increasingly shouldered the burden of war on its own shoulders, merely forcing the unwilling to contribute money. Thus, the struggle with the barbarians themselves led the Athenians to dominance. It was simply a matter of accepting it, and it was the most natural thing in the world that they did so.
78120 However,—this must never be forgotten—they could only possess it despite Sparta and the Peloponnesians, and above all, a powerful Aegina, directly opposite the port of sea-ruling Athens, was utterly intolerable.

Pericles was a man of reason, and thus what stirred the Attic citizenry at that time stirred him to reflection and reason, and therefore, amid the complications that now followed, he was the most suitable leader of his people. Yet, this also implied something else. The rule of reason also means self-control. Pericles was destined to become, so to speak, the Areopagos of his people, but naturally, one who felt and thought accordingly. He understood sooner and better than anyone that the tremendous Attic power was in danger of being destroyed in futile outbursts. Often, in moments of slackness—and these too were to become more frequent the more their strength was wasted—Pericles also called his people to renewed effort. But this Athenian was a true Hellene in this respect as well, in that he considered the enjoyment of life one of life's primary requirements, and he was not one for a restless drive that seemed to forget that the primary goal should not be the acquisition, but the enjoyment of power. Especially through Pericles, the idea increasingly gained traction that just as the Athenian citizen was at the expense of the state treasury—Pericles arrived at the same point here as with his democratic theories—so too was the champion of Greece entitled to a life worthy of him, full of pleasure, a life full of splendor and glory—at the expense of Greece's treasury.

It was not long before Cimon was banished by ostracism. The sheer number of struggles into which they plunged is astonishing. In Europe, in the region of Megara and in Argolis (the land of Argos), they fought with Cimon Rinthians, Epidaurians, and Aeginetes; Aegina was besieged. Occasionally, they were less fortunate; on the whole, however, the powerful onslaught of the Attic forces was utterly irresistible. We still possess a fragment of a tombstone,¹ according to the inscription, erected for people of the Erechthean tribe, who "had fallen in the same year (458 BC) in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, in Halieis (a place in Argolis), near Aegina, near Megara."

Numerous names follow.

In fact, it was the policy of Themistocles that was more fully developed and perfected during this period. Thus, his buildings now also attain a completion that would better meet the designer's intentions. A fortified Athens and a fortified Peiraeus were not satisfactory as long as they each stood alone. Therefore, two parallel walls were built, two hours' walk in length, to connect the adjacent ports of Peiraeus and Phaleros with the city. Work continued restlessly on this amidst all these campaigns. Between these two walls, the city would always be able to maintain communication with the port in the event of a siege, and the space available to accommodate the fleeing population of Attica in that event became astonishing. At that very time, a significant Spartan and Peloponnesian army appeared in central Greece to protect the Dorian mainland there from the neighboring Phocians. When they attempted to return, the Athenian fleet cut off their return route by sea, and the Attic garrison of Megara cut off their return route by land. The long walls were not yet completed, and yet the Attic citizenry confined a powerful hostile army on its exposed northern border, amidst the Boeotians, many of whom deeply hated Athens and yearned for the humiliation of this so dangerous neighbor. In the city itself, the old noble party, which had been completely powerless since the days of Clisthenes, was stirring. This nearby Spartan army emboldened them; they secretly communicated with them. It was no time to delay. The Attic citizenry advanced toward Boeotia. A terrible battle was fought at Tanagra (457).

The situation, it seemed, became even more perilous. The Athenians suffered defeat. Fortunately, however, the Spartans were satisfied if the victory provided them with a free return home. After they had departed, another Attic army marched into Boeotia. That country was conquered; the Phocians also joined Athens; The Locrians submit; Athens rules central Greece.

Meanwhile, after a siege of about two years, proud Aegina bowed its head (456). It was forced to demolish its walls, surrender its ships, and henceforth pay tribute to the Athenians. A period of centuries had ended. All the glory of the glorious Aiaides island was lost forever. From its earliest days, the Attic state had always had to develop despite its western neighbor; now, having reached its highest point of strength, it shattered the obstacle that had taunted it for so long.

During this time, the long walls had also been completed. An Attic fleet immediately spread fear and dismay along the coasts of the Peloponnese. Later, a major expedition was undertaken under the command of Pericles. They landed in Sicyon (in the northern Peloponnese) and defeated the Sicyonians, then allied with Achaia, crossed the Gulf of Corinth, and subdued Akarna. A great goal had been achieved. Athens now stood truly unassailable, with complete freedom of movement to attack anyone else. However, the fact that almost the entire army fighting in Egypt had perished miserably cast a deep shadow over all this success. An expedition to Thessaly was also not successful.

At the same time, Athens' dominance over its naval allies had been confirmed. The confederation was transferred from Delos to Athens. The Hellenotamia would no longer be under the auspices of the Ionian Apollo, but under that of the Athenian Athena. The City Goddess received one-sixtieth of all the tributes that came in. We still possess important remains of the official lists that were drawn up annually of these payments to the Goddess. They begin with the inception of the administration of the confederacy in Athens and cover a period of more than thirty years;1 after all, the Athenians had the custom of having such records chiseled in stone. Allies who believed they were being charged more than they were required to pay could lodge a complaint with the popular court of Attic jurors. Wasn't it fair that these jurors should receive a certain remuneration from the confederacy?

This was soon considered entirely Athenian property.

Not everything that had happened, however, had been in accordance with Pericles's view. He had real reason to be wary of a useless waste of popular energy. Kimon was recalled to his office, and through his mediation, a five-year truce was negotiated with Sparta (454). Kimon resumed the war against the barbarians in Cyprus and Egypt, but died soon after.

It was not long, however, before the Attic citizenry found itself embroiled in new complications. The alliance with the Phoenicians once again placed them on hostile terms with Sparta. Completely against Pericles's advice, a new campaign was undertaken in Boeotia to drive the enemies there from their last refuge. Now, however, Athens appeared to have reached the limits of its power. The army in Boeotia was miserably defeated at Koronea (447). That entire region became independent. Dangers now arose on all sides. Euboea resigned. Pericles crossed over to that island with an army. However, news arrived that Megara had also resigned, that a Peloponnesian army was advancing into Attica, and that almost the entire Attic garrison of Megara had been cut down. Quick as lightning, Pericles turned back. The Peloponnesian army retreated; Pericles had managed to bribe the Spartan commander. The general immediately returned to Euboea. It was again subdued.

How irresistible became the man who had warned of the danger and rescued it! Now the time approached when, according to Thucydides, the Attic state, nominally a democracy, would in fact become the rule of a single ruler. Pericles was a king. His contemporaries recounted that before his birth, his mother had experienced a vision according to which she would give birth to a lion. However, he regained his lofty spirit as an Athenian, during the time of such national exaltation, and the Attic people felt that only then would they be as truly ruling people when Pericles elevated them to his height. With the calm self-confidence of a born ruler, one had to enjoy his greatness: only those who barely considered themselves entitled to possess it were allowed to flaunt and boast of their glory. In the uplifting consciousness of being an Athenian, one had to scorn troubles and dangers and keep one's eyes constantly fixed on the greater good, never allowing one's soul to be depressed by passing adversity. Conversely, those outbursts of arrogance, which, taken outside oneself, overestimated and squandered one's strength, were not only, as had become apparent, highly dangerous, but also hardly in keeping with the self-control and even temper of the true ruler. Only through such a spirit could the Attic people maintain their exalted position, and it seemed that this could only be possessed by Pericles.

It was also as if all of modern Athens was perfected in that man. How much did that city owe to that spirit of enlightenment, which, emerging simultaneously with Hellenic philosophy, had been making its influence felt for almost two centuries. Without these, there would have been no Attic democracy, no Solon, no Clisthenes—without these, there would have been no Themistoclesian policy, no Attic fleet, which had to be established against the old traditions, no abandonment of the old sanctuaries before the Battle of Salamis—without these, there would have been no limitation of the Areopagos' power—without these, there would have been no tragedy or art by Phidias. In Pericles, we see him acting very forcefully and at the same time coming into the closest contact with that stricter philosopher, who, if not his mother, was certainly his nurse. At that time, there lived in Athens a philosopher from Clazomenai, Anaxagoras. The people mockingly called him "Nous" (Reason), because they had heard something about this man, who considered the world to be inspired by a great, thinking mind. Pericles was on very cordial terms with him; He also came into contact with other thinkers of his time, for example, the philosopher Zeno. He warmed himself by their fire without being burned; had he become their follower in the strictest sense, he would no longer have remained confined within a Hellenic or Attic

78255 horizon. However, the very principle of the natural philosophy of that time, that the
phenomena of nature could be explained, gave him a sense of sovereignty of reason,
which was most welcome to him and entirely in keeping with the intellectual direction
of his mind; all those signs, solar eclipses, strangely morphed animals, and the
78260 like, which terrified the crowd with what they seemed to foreshadow, left the
convinced one in quiet possession of himself.
That one saw nothing there but natural consequences of natural causes. In another
respect, too, this philosophy gave man a sense of spiritual prowess. It achieved
results through reasoning, often forcing others to concede defeat even reluctantly.
78265 With a certain naiveté, then and long afterward, logic, which one first became aware
of using, was regarded more or less as a special art, one that one had, as it were,
been fortunate enough to discover all at once. Pericles now wanted to apply this art
practically to the life of the state—for a popular leader, it was of great value—and
he thus became the father of Attic oratory.
That lofty disposition, that lively awareness of spiritual strength, were naturally
78270 paired in this king of democracy with great open-mindedness of character. He was far
above any petty jealousy. The spirit of exclusion of a party man like Ephialtes was
completely foreign to him; his opponent Kimon experienced this on several occasions.
His Highness was also one who embraced goodness and human kindness, being the
complete antithesis of that narrow-minded desire to assert himself through torment.
78275 His sense of order and prudent deliberation, a natural outgrowth of his intellectual
orientation, did, however, sometimes make him appear narrow-minded and petty in his
private affairs. His household was relatively frugal and strictly regular; he shunned
all excessive luxury and pointless waste; Attic self-restraint in pleasure¹⁾ ran deep
in his blood. His children, however, all too unlike the father, complained that they
78280 were not permitted to live in accordance with their high birth. The Attic nobility,
entirely in the style of Kimon, still often saw an extremely luxurious lifestyle and
the carefree enjoyment of their wealth as more or less a characteristic of his
station; in this respect, he was actually still Ionian. Pericles, however, had
completely outgrown such feelings; even in his private life, he was a counterpart to
78285 Kimon. Yet, despite all this, there could be no question of a narrow-minded
attachment to money and possessions in him. Many examples of great benevolence could
be cited from him, even though they had nothing to do with his politics. He stood far
above all base greed than most of his contemporaries and compatriots, the man who
exerted a greater influence on his fellow citizens through nothing than the fact that
78290 everyone knew he was not to be bought for the earth's treasures. How could anyone
blame him for not wanting, at any price, to become dependent on his outward
circumstances through a neglected household?
Pericles would not have been an Athenian, would not have been a Greek, if he had not
attached great value to appearances. In all his behavior, in his entire demeanor and
78295 manner of presenting himself, his disposition and spiritual state were therefore
faithfully reflected. He was far from ever displaying a nervous activity; he never
allowed his speech or actions to be dominated by momentary moods. He moved sparingly
in social life and did not step into the spotlight more than necessary—he considered
this advisable even as a statesman—but when he appeared among his people, it was with
78300 majestic calm and dignity. His gait was stately, his bearing dignified, and he
possessed complete control over his facial features. On his head he wore a helmet,
which was especially fitting, as he was usually chosen as a strategist (army
commander); however, his head was somewhat deformed, as it tapered somewhat, and he
seems to have wanted to prevent the ludicrous appearance of this deformity from
78305 detracting from the impression his person made.¹⁾ Nor was the arrangement of his
clothing left to chance; His left arm, according to the more stately attire, was
wrapped in the upper robe, while the right was entirely sufficient for the moderate
movements he had to make. His mouth opened, his powerful, solemn voice rolled across
the entire square of the popular assembly. This man passionately loved Athens; this
78310 man could be trusted implicitly; no one knew better than he what could promote the
greatness of the fatherland; his argumentation had something quite extraordinary; in
a surprising way, one had to concede defeat again and again. It was a sublime
spectacle: an entire nation, powerfully self-aware, dominated solely by the moral
superiority of a single person, in whom it saw its most exalted and magnificent
78315 qualities and feelings represented in the most perfect way.
Was it any wonder that this man's actions brought the name "Olympian" to the lips of
his fellow countrymen? How did Hellenic religious concepts, even in their highest
form, cling to a humanized deity. Even those withdrawn, heavenly-calm gods of the
more enlightened way of thinking found their counterparts here on earth, and none
78320 were more so than precisely the man in whom, more than in anyone else, that

enlightened spiritual current reached its zenith.

Pericles, as has been noted, lived somewhat secluded; this was also made necessary by his many concerns and activities. Yet he valued the Attic life, which he could enjoy only sparingly, with true patriotic fervor. Undoubtedly, the sociable existence of people in Athens had developed to a very high perfection. People enjoyed together, they admired together, they sacrificed communally at the altars of the gods. However, a very important element was missing here. Respect for an ancient social order, whose dissolution was feared more than anything else to lead to the degeneration of morals, was the reason why, while life developed ever more richly, the Attic woman continued to exist in her secluded state. This was one of the refuges into which the new spirit of enlightenment had not yet penetrated. Yet, even the enlightened, especially, felt deeply what a woman could be in life; Sophocles's magnificent female figures are proof of this. It was also a gap so great that it had to be filled. Foreign, especially Ionian, women lingered in large numbers in the city and lived as hetairs (companions) in free association with Attic men. It was undoubtedly also the need for social interaction with women that made association with these hetairs so appealing. That such free associations carried with them a very great danger goes without saying. However, in assessing this, one should never lose sight of the fact that there was also a relatively easily resolved marriage involved.

Pericles, too, did not live happily with his wife. Socrates says in Xenophon—and he usually reflects the master's sentiments fairly faithfully—to a certain Critobulus that a good wife can contribute no less to the happiness and prosperity of the house than the husband. But what does the Attic wife of the household understand, Socrates continues,? She cannot learn it either, for no one shows her the way to good, least of all her husband. She is married off at a very young age, and to whom does the man speak less than to his wife? But what preparation for marriage would be desirable for Attic girls? The philosopher cannot explain this to Critobulus in detail, but he would like to send Aspasia to him; she is more knowledgeable about all this. Elsewhere, too, Socrates, with a certain fondness, cites a statement by Aspasia regarding marital matters: how wrong it is to bring together young people who are not compatible, since the one who brought them together only reaps hatred from both parties.²)

There is no doubt that the noble philosopher held this woman in high esteem. We even learn that, accompanied by his students, he frequently conversed with her. She was not an Attic, but a native of the Ionian city of Miletus, the daughter of Axiochus; we know nothing whatever of her fortunes before she arrived in Athens. Pericles became very close to this woman. By mutual consent, he separated from his wife. She married again—for the third time, as she had previously been married to Hipponikus—while Aspasia came to live with Pericles and remained his companion until his death. A marriage with her, the non-Attic by birth, was an impossibility; we know nothing about whether they ever regretted it. It was, however, highly gratifying to Pericles that, when both his legitimate sons died, the Attic people granted citizenship to his illegitimate son, whose mother is almost certain to have been Aspasia, thus removing the consequences of his illegitimacy for him. We cannot help but assume that this man and this woman were also bound by a bond of higher sympathy. Without a doubt, Athena's greatness and majesty captivated the Hellenic soul of that Milesian woman, and Pericles found in her a complete understanding of his aspirations, his concerns, his efforts. Rumor had it that she taught Pericles and many others the art of oratory; Pericles also supposedly sought her out for the sake of his political wisdom. However foolish this may have been, it seemed to be realized that she was something different for him than Attic women could usually be for their husbands. Thus, Attic life received a most necessary completion in Pericles. Plato also remembered having heard his master speak of Aspasia. In his *Menexenos*, he has Socrates to mock heartily that talk about her instruction in rhetoric. Attic comedy, in particular, vilified her in a gruesome way; slander, in that time, so naive in so many respects, was perhaps the most naive of all. Aspasia stood at the head of a line along which one was led, through numerous gradual transitions, to the deepest depths of baseness; was it any wonder that the general public drew no boundaries where law and convention did not? After all, she was and remained a hetary. More or less, she shared the fate of her philosophical friend. If only we knew Socrates only from Aristophanes' "Clouds," in which he is mocked as a sophist, although he, in fact, took very decisive action against those corrupters of youth! But wasn't that man, with his artificial reasoning, also in a certain sense a sophist, and therefore that confusion a very understandable superficiality? Aspasia also truly exerted some influence on Attic life. Not only women, who would later live in free intercourse with men, but also Attic female citizens were brought into her environment. Her

insight into what women needed for their development, which Socrates appealed to, had thus been demonstrated in practice. The way in which she taught was undoubtedly that truly Hellenic way of communicating,¹) which Socrates, in turn, also put into

practice. And truly, the time now seemed to have arrived when the enjoyment of life in all its glory would be the main thing. The struggle with the Persians was not resumed after Kimon's death. Yet, one could say that almost everything that spoke Hellenic in Asia was safe from the attacks of the barbarians under Athens' scepter. Pericles concluded a thirty-year peace with the Peloponnesians (445); Boeotia and Phocis, and the conquests in the Peloponnese, were abandoned.

Attic citizenship thus gave great proof of moderation and self-control. No one, however, understood better than Pericles that one day they would have to fight again to preserve what they had gained. He persuaded his fellow citizens to build another long wall between the other two. This measure would connect both the difficult-to-defend Phaleros and the very strong Peiraeus to the city; through the new wall, the latter would also be connected to Athens. Thus, Athens would be almost as unassailable as an island,²) and the Attic citizenry, if it could only refrain from futile undertakings beyond its powers and preserve the true spirit of power exemplified by Pericles, could await with the utmost tranquility any enemy that might appear.

Now, however, there was at least a moment of relief. Such tranquility had not been known since the time of the tyrants. More than thirty years had passed since the barbarians had been fought in Greece itself, and yet they had not yet had time to regroup, so to speak. Numerous sanctuaries, destroyed by the barbarians, still lay in ruins throughout Greece; as long as these were not restored, matters did not seem to be back on solid ground. At Pericles' suggestion, the Athenians decided to send envoys throughout Greece to invite all the Hellenic states to a meeting in Athens, in order to take measures to rebuild all the sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians.

But how could the Peloponnesians, in particular, align themselves, as it were, under the hegemony of Athens in the religious restoration of all Hellenism? Pericles felt compelled to limit his plan to his own homeland. A chosen field of work was opened up for a whole generation of artists: the fatherland, in such a time of national greatness, had to be provided at once with almost all the monumental buildings it needed. The money was available; Athens owed that to its dominion; it freely disposed of the federal treasury.

No buildings, however, were of greater importance than those on the castle of Athens. There lay the center of Athens' existence and greatness. There the plan was made to build the Propylaea, a forecourt leading to the castle; there the House of Erechtheus and the Temple of Athena-Nike had to be renovated; there also—and everything was significant—had to be rebuilt that temple that once stood on the highest point of the castle, the Parthenon of the Pisistratidae.

How could Athens have achieved such a level of greatness and glory without also enhancing the splendor of the Panathenaia? Pericles had a large building erected at the foot of the castle, called the Odeion, in which musical competitions were held, which on his advice were added to the games of the Panathenaea.

The reasons why the house of Erechtheus had previously no longer met the need^[1] were now even more pronounced; a temple was needed that was more in keeping with the more enlightened religious outlook and the heightened splendor of the city festival, a temple where one belonged with the exalting feeling of victory in one's bosom. To all this, new reasons now arose. Athens's Castle Goddess had become, simultaneously with her people, the supreme ruler of a vast Hellenic territory; the sums of money that flowed to her from that region had to find a worthy refuge; no less so the astonishing mass of votive offerings in which such a deity might rejoice. Construction of this temple had to begin.

It was the edifice in which the Attic people, as it were, expressed themselves in all their splendor and power. As if by a primordial impulse of nature, the ancient peoples felt the need for monumental art. An Asian conqueror, returning from his campaigns, imagined his greatness tangible before his eyes in colossuses, temples, and palaces. Here, a people now feels that, after a long, anxious struggle, it has reached the highest point it can, and it now wishes, as it were, to proclaim in a lasting memorial to all succeeding generations: "This is me."

Only after a fierce struggle were Pericles' building plans adopted. Were their opponents wrong when they claimed that Athens would damage its reputation by thus using the funds of its allies to enhance its own splendor and glory? The Attic citizenry, however, demanded these buildings—the necessary completion of its

greatness—almost as a condition of its existence, so that here, too, grounds of justice and honesty could make little impression.

78455 Pericles was the most influential of those entrusted with the construction of that new Parthenon. To whom else could the supreme direction of that work be entrusted but the exalted artist, who, utterly imbued with the lofty ideas of his time, seemed capable alone of giving them worthy expression—to Pericles' friend, Phidias Charmides' son?

78460 While the artist labored, the statesman could not rest. With a firm hand, he had to hold together what alone made the realization of all that splendor possible. A large Attic fleet constantly appeared in the seas between Europe and Asia to show the barbarians that Hellas' guards were still watching—was it not fair that these were paid well from the confederation's treasury?—and at the same time to keep the allies

78465 in awe. These, however, were reluctant to submit to Athens' rule; precisely at the time the Parthenon was being built, Pericles was waging a fierce war against the rebellious Samos. And even more deeply, the foundations of the Athens of that time were threatened by entirely different dangers. While enthusiasm for freedom was originally the soul of democracy, the generations that now grew up increasingly distanced themselves from that first, animated period of struggle for freedom and

78470 existence, and in their actions, found democracy to be a legally existing condition. Democracy was self-government, democracy was equality. It was inevitable that now, governing and judging would truly acquire the greatest appeal in themselves, and people would become increasingly less inclined to acknowledge the majority of others,

78475 even the moral and intellectual ones. - Why should one look up to one's fellow citizens? The community had to judge every proposal made to it as the supreme sovereign. - In a word, democracy, like all earthly matters, was in great danger of losing its original naiveté, and thus the foundation of a rule like that of Pericles was threatened. And while the more old-fashioned religious movement was not

78480 originally hostile to the newer one, indeed, it was not even sharply distinguished from it, [1] now that it has reached its highest peak of development, this cannot remain so. A religious reaction had to develop. The freer life of several Athenian women under the influence of Aspasia was particularly offensive. The reactionary deeply felt the connection between old religious ways of thinking and old social

78485 institutions. Pericles probably did not sense the full extent of this evil: it only revealed itself in his first signs. - The cothurn, the high stage shoe of tragedy, has, as if by a law of nature, the lower footwear of comedy alongside it. When in Attica one had seen the demigods of mythology in ideal majesty in the tragic plays, it satisfied a

78490 certain need to see them in the satirical drama in crude reality, for once of a lower life. For example, the most exalted hero Heracles appeared there as a glutton and drunkard; the genre of Jan Steen lies as deeply rooted in human nature as that of Raphael. Likewise, Attica also had its carnival fun of old, namely at the rural Dionysus festivals, where people, with a certain brutal intent, surrendered

78495 themselves for a while entirely to the lower pleasures of human nature and indulged in crude wit at the expense of everyone within reach: it even had its own genre of folk poetry there in the satirical and satirical songs of comedy. Today, however, when one is faced not only with the world of demigods in tragedy, but with an entire generation of contemporaries in the chorus, even that comic sense of the lowly

78500 naturally acquires the significance of a spiritual direction of the time. - What did all this exaltation mean? Did Athens possess so much more true greatness than in earlier times? Was it more pious, was it more just? Comedy, too, naturally became a higher literary genre with political significance. The first comedy poet in this sense was Cratinus, who was precisely in his prime during Pericles' time. He was very

78505 much one of those natures that adhere with all the more zeal to ordinary reality the more they see others inspired by a lofty aspiration. Cratinus, too, did not escape the danger inherent in this trend; even less than our Jan Steen or Breerloo, he was a model of restraint. With crude, impudent mockery, yet witty precisely because of its roughness and impudence, he mocked, referring to the man's nickname, Pericles,

78510 "onion-headed Zeus"—a quasi-Homeric epithet, referring to his pointed head—and Hera-Aspasia. A man of fundamentally conservative convictions, for example, was in all likelihood another comedian from Pericles' time, Hermippus, and undoubtedly the slightly younger Aristophanes. But already because of what all these comedic poets had in common—namely, that utter disbelief in the higher spiritual direction of their

78515 time, that heartfelt delight with which they tried to show how ordinary, if not commonplace, that so-called highness actually was—they exerted a great deal of influence and certainly contributed significantly to completely undermining the people's respect for intellectual superiority. For several years, the freedom of

these comedic poets was restricted by a law. It was precisely during the construction of the Parthenon that this law was enacted.

The Olympian was still able to completely control the situation. They continued to work on the great project, restlessly, just as the Attic citizenry could work in the glow of the highest national inspiration, and undoubtedly not entirely without the determination to complete it before perhaps entirely different times dawned. The harbors were a hive of activity: precious stones and woods, copper, ivory, gold—in short, the world's treasures—were brought in from all directions. Drivers constantly traveled back and forth between these harbors and the castle; large cargoes were also transported from the Attic region itself, especially from the Pentelic marble quarries. In and around the castle itself, stonemasons, carpenters, coppersmiths, chisellers, ivory workers, metal smelters, sculptors, painters, and the like worked. Even those not directly involved in the work, such as wheelwrights and ropemakers, felt its influence. Like the warriors on the fleet, the workers in the city now also enjoy the benefits of their acquired dominion. The renowned architect Iktinus and the excellent master craftsman Kallikrates worked under Phidias; more specifically, the sculptors had to work from Phidias's drawings and models. The influx of interested people was immense, constantly showing themselves at the castle. With amazement—was Aspasia's influence perhaps discernible here?—one also noticed women among them. A very cheerful atmosphere prevailed throughout. Attention was drawn to a discarded mule, eighty years old, which, although no longer employed, nevertheless accompanied the other draft animals, seemingly to encourage them to greater diligence. Such dedication to public affairs had to be rewarded. The people made a decision—was it half serious, half fleeting?—that this animal would not be chased from its cribs, and would therefore be fed at the state's expense.

After a few years' effort, the new temple was consecrated during the great Panathenaic Mass of 438.

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(Conclusion to follow.)

The Attic people and the art of Phidias. IV. (Conclusion.) The Parthenon.

It was the most glorious temple of the Antiquity, which shone there on the highest point of the castle, offered a votive offering to the heavenly virgin.¹⁾ It was built in the Doric style. From a pedestal, rising in three stages to a height of over 1.5 meters, rose powerful Doric columns—8 on the shorter, 17 on the longer sides of the temple—which supported an impressive superstructure, with a roof that sloped towards both longer sides of the building, while an obtuse-angled facade joined it at the shorter front and rear. The columns were clearly designed for their enormous task: twenty upward-reaching cannonballs demonstrated their strength, and as they narrowed and rose, they did so in a somewhat curved line, so that, especially in the middle, where the pressure between the pedestal and superstructure was strongest, they were somewhat broader (αντάρσις) and thus visually more powerful than they would have been if the narrowing had occurred in a perfectly straight line. Moreover, besides supporting the superstructure, they seemed to have to contribute, at least to some extent, to holding it together; this impression was given by their slightly inward-leaning position, not entirely perpendicular to the base. Freer than the upward-reaching stem of the column. The leaves, which visually formed the capital, spread outward, but with their converging points gathered under the flat surface of the abakos, they were projected outward as a sphere, a result of the relentless force from below and the heavy load from above. The beginning of the superstructure was formed by the smooth beams of the epistyle, which ran across all the column capitals; above these, in continuous alternation, stood the row of triglyphs and metopes, the latter decorated with reliefs. The cornice further above this supported the roof on the longer sides, and the upright moldings of the triangular pediments on the shorter sides, in which groups of Avar sculptures were placed. A large foliate ornament stood on the tops of these triangular pediments, and at each end a golden oil jar, reminiscent of the jars that victors in Athena's contests were accustomed to receive. The temple reached a height of approximately 17 meters, with a width of over 30 meters and a length of almost 70 meters, making it wider in proportion to its length than the other Doric temples, which were undoubtedly somewhat elongated. The entire building shone in soft colors; perhaps not painted in all its parts, the Pentelic marble from which it was constructed also radiated a soft, light-yellow glow. The

78585 superstructure was primarily painted in red and blue, but the marble's luster shone through all the paintings. The leaves of the capitals were indicated by colors; similarly, kumatia with colored leaf ornaments ran along the inside of the façade frame. Two magnificent maeanders encircled the entire superstructure, one below and the other above the row of triglyphs and metopes; just below the topmost maeander, a
78590 delicate string of pearls also ran, also completely circular. The outer edges of the facades were bordered by a beautiful floral and palmette ornament. All these ornaments made it easier to grasp the building's main forms at a glance—something that fully met the truly Attic need for clarity.

And the beautiful appearance was achieved solely through the thorough and meticulous
78595 workmanship of all the building components, including the smallest ones; everything fit and meshed perfectly; no sloppiness needed to be covered up. During the subsequent destruction of the temple, it often happened that marble blocks, assembled without any external connection, broke through without touching at the joints; through such strong cohesion, they had become connected under the great pressure to
78600 which they were subjected, as a result of the precision with which they fitted together. However, several components—metopes, triglyphs, columns—were apparently deliberately not made perfectly identical; moreover, even the spacing between the columns was not always the same. The differences, however, are such that the most trained eye would not notice them, and yet the structure thus acquired a somewhat
78605 looser and freer quality, so to speak, more of a natural product. It has also been noted that all the horizontal lines, both on the superstructure and on the pedestal, had a slight curvature, making them somewhat higher in the middle. Others, however, believe this is primarily due to the consequences of subsidence. In all respects, it can be said that Doric temple architecture found its perfection and refinement here
78610 in Attica, just as the Attic style in general was a perfection and refinement of the Hellenic style.

This superstructure now, with its columns was placed "like a canopy"¹⁾ over the temple proper, so that one could walk—as always with Doric peripteral temples—between the inner temple and the columns. At the top, this gallery between the temple walls
78615 and the surrounding columns was closed off by a magnificent panel-painted ceiling. Below this ceiling, separated only by a kumatization and a beautiful ornamental band, a bas-relief frieze ran around the entire inner temple for a length of approximately 160 meters. From this encircling gallery, one entered the front of the building—that is, on the eastern, narrower side—in the so-called Proneos (ante-temple), also
78620 intended for votive offerings. From there, through a large door, one entered the actual temple space, the so-called Hekatompedos (hundred-footed temple). This was divided into three aisles by two rows of columns. At the end of the wide nave, directly opposite the entrance, one could see the statue of the Goddess in a large niche; in front of this niche, a section of the nave was separated by a not very high
78625 metal latticework, bearing the name Parthenon—"virgin chamber"—a name that was also applied to the entire building. In this Parthenon, in the narrower sense, most likely stood a platform where the victors in the contests could stand opposite the statue of the Goddess, not unlikely for a more solemn awarding of victory; the side aisles and upper galleries could then be occupied by spectators. This partitioned Parthenon was
78630 also intended for votive offerings; so were the others. Hekatompedos. Light entered this inner temple space from above through an opening in the roof (Οναϊον). On the west side of the building, one entered through a small forecourt similar to the Proneos, the Tamieion—a room for the treasurers of the sacred funds—into the spacious rear building (Opisthodomos), the repository of these sacred funds.

78635 Walking outside, around the temple, one saw the metope reliefs pass by one after the other. These, as we saw, were placed in the superstructure, alternating with triglyphs, beneath the cornice. There were 92 of them, 14 on each of the shorter sides, 32 on each of the longer sides. The relief work rose to a height of about a quarter of a meter and stood out brightly against the colored background, while—we can safely assume—itsself being highlighted by color in various sections. Many of these metopes still remain in the ruins of the Parthenon; with a few exceptions, they have become almost entirely unrecognizable. A few others, the best preserved, can be found in museums, primarily in the British one. The reliefs of the middle section of
78640 the temple, which exploded during the gunpowder explosion of 1687, have, of course, been lost; we still have Carrey's drawings of those on the south side.[1] What all these rows of metopes depicted cannot, therefore, be stated with complete certainty. There is little doubt that the front of the building, the eastern side, depicted the battle of Gods and Giants. The rear, the western side, probably depicted the battle
78650 between the Greeks and Amazons. The relatively well-preserved metopes belonged to the

south side; they depict the battle at the wedding of Peirithous, when the Centaurs attempted to abduct the Lapith women. These depictions were interrupted in the middle by several others, not unlikely from the legends surrounding Troy's downfall, just as it is not improbable that the north side primarily depicted scenes from the legends of Troy's downfall, interrupted in the middle by several Centaur battles. These were all combats in which higher morals were believed to triumph over brutality and barbarity, or rather, the mythical precursors of the goddess' own heroic struggle against the barbarians. The national inspiration here is therefore unmistakable. In the Battle of the Giants, depicted on the front of the temple, the goddess herself had played a major role; this was also embroidered on the state robe (peplos) she received annually. The metopes that have been preserved are in sufficient condition to allow us to assess the sculpture. High demands were placed on the artist's imagination here. Each metope could only contain a single, smaller depiction, and what else could that be than a duel between a Centaur and a Lapith—or would one prefer a Hellene—or a Centaur stealing a woman? The same thing therefore had to be depicted differently each time. For example, at one point the Centaur presses the Lapith down, putting an arm around his neck (see Michael), then again the Lapith has jumped behind the Centaur and pushes him back with his left knee and, simultaneously, his left arm, lashing him with great force around his neck (2nd metope). Elsewhere, a Centaur has forced the Lapith against a barrel, several of whom were naturally present at the wedding, and is rolling him backward over it, lifting him by one leg (9th metope). With a violent lunge, a movement in which his entire body participates, as it were, and which also transfers itself to his garment, on another metope (7th metope), a Lapith has seized the Centaur by the throat and forced him so far backward that he can barely stand on his hind legs. Similarly, another Centaur, outnumbered (27 metopes), is to the left, holding his hand over a wound in his back and trying to escape; The Lapith holds him back, his left hand around his neck, and with it he pulls him to the right, pushing himself off the ground with his left foot. The Lapith will not be able to hold his enemy back for long; however, he has already raised his free right arm (this one is lost) for a deadly thrust. Lapith and Centaur, each striving for an opposite side, balance each other for a moment. At the same time, the Lapith's broad cloak falls from his shoulder, straight to the ground, just as swayed back and forth as the two combatants. More fortunate is a Centaur on a metope right next to this last one (the 28th). Joyfully, with a wagging tail, he leaps over the body of his enemy, a handsome youth, who lies back on the ground in a strikingly true pose.

Other metopes are different. The last three described are among the most outstanding examples of Attic sculpture. The chosen moments are highly interesting; everything is full of expression, the postures and bodily forms are very beautiful; the clothing is exquisitely crafted. Most of the others are open to criticism; yet many of these also offer much beauty (e.g., the 1st, 5th, 7th, and 9th). There are also some, however, that are even quite low: the combatants, for example, are touching each other, but there is no hint of a struggle (e.g., the 6th and 32nd); the bodies are gaunt (in the 32nd) and not entirely correctly formed; the composition leaves unsightly gaps in the background (e.g., the 26th); the postures are contorted to the point of impossibility (e.g., that of the Lapith's arm in the 31st). Many metopes, even otherwise beautiful ones, also show the clearest traces of the older artistic style: the bodily forms are sharply defined; it has not yet been possible to accurately depict the bodies in their various curves. The movement is not expressive (e.g., in the 30th metope) and so on. The difference in the heads is also great; from the most nobly formed face (the Centaur in the 4th metope) there is all sorts of diversity to the grotesquely monstrous (the Centaur in the 31st metope). It is also beyond doubt that one of the Centaur heads (the 19th metope) bears a strong resemblance in type to the head of Myron's satyr. Thus, a very significant difference in the hands can be observed in these metopes, and this gives us a clear insight into the nature of Phidias's work. He worked with artists from all sorts of schools, including those of Myron, who were still completely accustomed to other artistic methods. They all had to be brought up to speed on his art, but that suddenly proved impossible. The metopes were the first sculptural work to be delivered—they had to be inserted between the triglyphs before the cornice was placed on top—and even then, the corps of artists was far from fully inspired by the master's spirit. Here, we see, as if before our very eyes, how all of Attic art is being transformed.

This was already practically accomplished when the façade groups, consisting of freestanding statues, were put in place, although not all of these pieces were executed with equal mastery. The group on the eastern façade, that is, at the front

of the temple, depicted the birth of Athena; that on the western façade depicted the struggle between Athena and Poseidon for possession of the Attic lands. Even today, in the old house of Erechtheus, one still finds both the saltwater spring, which
78720 Poseidon had brought forth from the rocks with a blow of the trident, and the first olive tree, which Athena had caused to rise on that occasion. [1] Of the eastern façade group, the largest part, and especially the central one, which is of particular importance, had already been lost by Carrey's time. Fortunately, however, the Madrid museum preserves a raised section above a spring from the Roman period, on
78725 which undoubtedly a copy of the central main figures of the group appears. It is far from the case that Phidias, according to the common folk representation found, for example, in vase drawings, would have had a small Athena emerge from the head of Zeus. His concept is much grander. How is it possible that

The artist leaves the question of where she arrived entirely unclear. She is there, standing in her full size before her father, about to rush away, yet not yet completely turned away from him; she is seen almost entirely from the front. Zeus sits on a throne, seen from the side, but he too is somewhat turned forward. These are the two main figures of the group in the center of the facade. Between these two
78735 hovered Nike (the Goddess of Victory), thus beneath the highest ridge of this temple of victory; she joins Athena, whose usual companion she will become; on whose hand she also hovered at the large statue inside the temple. Next to Zeus stands Hephaestus or Prometheus, one of whom, according to the common mythical story, had his head split open with his axe.

Regarding the rest of the composition, we are also not entirely in the dark; the ends of the group are still in relatively good condition. It was on the "many-peaked" Olympus that this great event took place. In the left corner of the facade, Helios, the sun, rose from the sea; already his four steeds were shaking their heads wildly from the waves, and one could see the head and shoulders of the charioteer, who, with
78745 outstretched arms and evidently not without effort, held the reins with which he drew the heads of his impetuous horses toward him. In the other (right) corner, Selene, the moon, calmly sank into the darkness, her head tilted back to cast one last glance over the earth before leaving it. Soon she would be completely gone. Only the heads of her horses remained.

This was the designation of the heavens across which the sun, moon, and stars moved, which, together with the earth, encircled Olympus, the exalted abode of the gods. At the far end of this (left) sat a beautiful youth, a young god, in a pose of the most calm repose, leaning slightly backward and resting his left forearm on a raised surface of the ground; he was more or less devoting his attention to the rising
78755 Helios. Similarly, at the other corner, a goddess in a reclining position gazed at the setting moon. She leaned in the lap and against the breast of a goddess beside her. Beside this goddess sat a third. Similarly, the reclining god had two goddesses beside him. Judging by the panther skin on which he appears to be resting, he must have been Dionysus, and then his two companions were undoubtedly Demeter and her daughter, Kora. Who the three goddesses on the other side are is actually impossible to determine. A figure has been preserved, standing next to the so-called Demeter and Kora; her enormously fluttering dress reveals her vigorous movement. She is mistaken, perhaps not wrongly, for Iris, the messenger of the Gods; a similar figure must have stood on the other side.

This façade group undoubtedly represented the world of the gods, as they were terrified when the Heavenly Maiden suddenly appeared before their eyes. Hephaestus (or Prometheus) at Zeus's side recedes to one side in the Madrid relief. In a similar pose, a female birth deity, an Ilithyia, probably stood on the other side next to Athena, one or more of the same type usually appearing in depictions of the birth of
78770 the Goddess. It is quite likely that the remaining space was completely or partially occupied by Gods or Goddesses, who in some way or another expressed their dismay. We still possess the torso of a male deity, who must have stood at Athena's side. He recoiled, but—as can still be seen from the torso—he had his arm raised and his head directed toward the center of the façade. This could very well have been an attitude of surprise. That the Goddess had only recently appeared is clear. Yet, all of Olympus has not yet noticed what has taken place. The two outermost deities are still gazing ahead at Helios and Selene. Those who follow, however, are already turning somewhat toward the center; the ones who follow feel even more strongly drawn to it. The postures of these four Goddesses clearly show that they had just before turned
78780 their attention to a completely different direction. They do not yet know what is happening; the two Goddesses on the right are apparently making movements to get a good look; the one closest to the center is even about to stand up to do so; on the

other side, the one furthest toward the center turned her head toward her companion, pointing her hand toward the center, apparently a reminder to also look. In the immediate vicinity of Zeus and Athena, as we noted, the gods likely stood, completely stunned by what they saw.

We are now better able to assess the composition of the western facade group, although almost less of it has been preserved than the other. Carrey saw it in a relatively intact state, and besides his, we have another illustration by a draftsman from the same period. The battle between Poseidon and Athena, the great event that made the latter Attica's national deity, had once taken place on the very hill where she was now depicted. Standing before this group of the castle, looking down, one could see the river Cephisos in the plain on the left; in the left corner of the facade, one now also saw this river god emerge from the water to observe what was happening in the castle. On the other side of the castle flowed the small stream Kallirrhoe, a branch of the Ilissos; this female river deity was seen in the other corner of the facade. Thus, there was a certain connection between the illustration and reality. It was the decisive moment in the battle witnessed in this group of gables. Poseidon had most likely caused a spring to gush forth from the ground with his trident; there, in the center of the gable, Athena's olive tree rises, and the god retreats, sensing that he is now vanquished. Similarly, on the other side, the goddess withdraws somewhat, presumably facing the god in a victorious pose. Just as Nike on the other gable stood between Zeus and Athena, so here too the olive tree stood between her and Poseidon. Behind her was her chariot, which Nike apparently steered, while Hermes stood to the side of the horses, deeper within the gable, partially obscured by them. Behind Poseidon also stood his chariot, driven by his spouse, Amphitrite; a female figure—let her be called a Nereid—stood, like Hermes on the other side, beside the horses. Behind Poseidon came Leucothea with the boy Palaemon Melikertes, Thalassa (the Sea) with the still young Aphrodite on her lap, completely naked and with the infant Eros (God of Love) beside her. These were the deities worshipped on the Isthmus of Corinth alongside Poseidon, who was the chief god there. Had Poseidon been victorious, he would have taken possession of Attica with him. Behind Athena's chariot, one has every right to expect deities who, besides her, are most characteristic of Attica, and it is therefore not unlikely that the two female deities represented there were Demeter and Cora, and the youthful naked god—the counterpart of the naked Aphrodite on the other side of the façade—Iakchos, that is, Dionysus in his youth; these were the deities of the famous mysteries of Eleusis in Attica. On Athena's side, Hygieia (Health), who was closely related to Athena, and her father Asclepius (the god of healing) followed, not surprisingly, and correspondingly, on Poseidon's side, behind his associates in the worship of Corinth, presumably the nymph Euryte and her son by Poseidon, Halirrhothios. Then, on both sides, came the river gods in the corners.¹⁾

Already in the arrangement of the figures, we see the astonishing progress art had made in these two façade groups. In the Aeginite groups, for example,¹⁾, the coherence rested on an almost perfect correspondence between the two halves of each group on either side of the central figure, and where the slope of the façade prevented a figure from being placed upright, they were simply placed on their knees, without there always being any real reason for the person being depicted to kneel. In our facades, however, all the figures have a perfectly understandable pose or movement, yet all have one, allowing them to fit perfectly into the place they are meant to occupy. Here too, the unity of the composition is powerfully preserved. It is entirely connected to the center. The warring factions in the western facade focus their attention on the decision that falls in the center; likewise, the river gods in the corners. In the eastern facade, we see a movement that increases from the corners toward the center. At the outermost ends, Helios rises toward the center, but Selene descends facing away from it; the latter, however, as we noted, turns her head toward the earth, which she leaves—a movement in itself quite understandable—and thus also acquires some direction toward the center. Furthermore, the so-called Iris, as she rushes mightily from the center, may almost strive out of the frame of the composition; she was still so captivated by what is happening in the center that she turns her head quite strongly back toward it. Likewise, unity was also maintained in these groups by a certain degree of agreement in the corresponding components on either side of the center of the facade. However, here the artist managed to push the boundaries of diversity to the limit.*) At the ends of the eastern façade, which we still possess, Helios and Selene are certainly similar, yet very different. Following them, on either side, as we know, are three deities. Of two of these, one leans against the other, but on the right side, these are the two outermost, on the left side, the two innermost. Furthermore, the deity looking at Helios in a reclining

position is male and naked; the one gazing at Selene in a similar, though yet again in various respects different, position is female and clothed. Similarly, in corresponding places in the two halves of the western group, similar, yet again rather dissimilar, components could be identified. The aesthetic need for grouping, inherent in our human nature, first reaches its full development here. Variety appealed to the Athenian, yet nothing resonated less with him—we have already seen this in the architectural ornamentation of the temple—than a confused scene, which did not immediately provide a clear impression of the whole, allowing the mind to easily grasp it.

When, at the beginning of this century, the sculptor Daenecker encountered a cast of Dionysus and Cephissus, he declared that he had never "seen anything like it;" they were "formed, according to his expression, as if from nature, and yet he had never had the good fortune to see such natures"; with these words, the artist provided a characterization of Attic artistic idealism that is not much to dispute. What diversity there was, again, in all these figures. While Dionysus's body was a model of youthful vigor, Cephissus, in his limp and drooping flesh, strikingly displayed the character of an aquatic being. What awe-inspiring forms, however, we are confronted with when we consider the sad remains of Poseidon's back and shoulders! Now, Phidias's treatment of the nude is undoubtedly the highest; yet, in the execution of the garment—although his predecessors likely left more to him—he undeniably raised art to its true height. The uniqueness of every pose and movement is also delicately expressed throughout. Who can fail to see, in the blown-back garment of the so-called Iris, the speed with which she rushes forward? The river god Cephissus has with difficulty pulled himself to the edge of his current; he does not move easily outside his element, after all. Of Poseidon's charioteer, we have only the torso; but who can fail to see from it what she is? Understandably, all this could only be achieved through the highest technical skill. There is also no doubt that colors clarified the parts of the figures, which also stood out more powerfully against a colored facade. How much, too, from these facade groups, the spirit of that broader and more enlightened religious conception, which especially characterized the artist's time, blows towards us!1) What a gulf exists between his birth of Athena and the popular representation depicted on vases!2) Even the conception of the western group, according to which the entire battle is decided by the mere appearance of the olive tree, is certainly more poetic than it testifies to a strict adherence to tradition. It is a similar treatment of mythological material as tragedy permits, and here we clearly see again the spiritual affinity of Phidias' art with this. Ancient myth undoubtedly also knew of a formal combat, and an epic poet would certainly have dwelt with great predilection on all sorts of details, for example, having the various arbitrators appointed by Zeus, whom the popular story also mentions, deliver speeches in a dignified parliamentary assembly. Here everything is summed up in one point; It is the moment when things take a turn: the olive tree rises, everything is decided. Striking, but at the same time the myth has almost become something entirely different.

Likewise, the divine figures on these façade groups testify to a higher spiritual freedom. Phidias undoubtedly characterized his gods by attributes, the usual additions through which everyone could easily recognize them; for example, Hermes by his crozier, Poseidon by his trident. Such attributes have been lost from our façade; only Dionysus would still rest on his panther skin. They were probably mostly made of metal. However, these things were not of such paramount importance to the artist as in older art—which often overwhelmed the figures of the gods with them—or in common folklore. He was much more concerned with portraying the gods in the gestures, postures, and bodily forms that their mythological character demanded—as, for example, Athena was sternly maidenly, Hera matronly—and since his predecessors had taken only a few steps in that direction, his imagination was limited almost entirely by that mythological tradition, which naturally allowed considerable leeway. And even with this, he wasn't too particular. According to mythical tradition, Dionysus, for example, was a bearded man; Phidias recreates him as a vigorous youth. Yet, as has already been noted,1) the free-spirited trend of the time, which asserted itself here, still stood entirely on the foundation of popular religion. These ancient myths were, therefore, for the artist something higher than suitable material for a sculptural group. As soon as the "Elgin Marbles" became known, it attracted attention that these statues, intended to stand on a facade, were carved with as much care at the back, where they would never be seen, as at the front. This sheds a very peculiar light on the character of Phidias' art. We vividly sense how much these groups were more than mere decoration of the facade for the artist. It was a serious, sacred task he had to fulfill in their creation; the most important religious traditions for his

- 78915 people had to receive a sublime expression worthy of their dignity, and that they received this was in itself a supreme necessity for him. He had to place them there as established for all ages in a monumental form, and that they truly possessed this in all its perfection was everything. The work, which would not be conspicuous, was nothing less than superfluous.
- 78920 The nearly 160-meter-long frieze, which, in the surrounding gallery of the temple, completely encompassed the interior of the temple, depicted the procession during the festival of the Panathenaia¹), an image, as we have seen²), of the Attic people as it had developed over the centuries. Already in the distribution of this material over
- 78925 the designated space, that Attic sense for a correct and beautiful arrangement reveals itself in all its subtlety. The artist could not conceive of composing this procession as a circular band without beginning or end, like the hunting and battle scenes, modeled after the Oriental style, that adorned, among other places, ancient vases. A procession had to be depicted, going somewhere, but how? Wherever one wanted
- 78930 to place the end of this procession, the beginning would always have to be adjacent, and it was impossible for both to be composed in such a way that the natural gap between them would not forcefully impose itself on the viewer, which would naturally cause the frieze to lose all character of a band. But where should that end be located—undoubtedly the most important part of the procession? Naturally, on the
- 78935 eastern front of the building. But where? At one of the corners? One immediately senses that this is not possible. The center above the main entrance is actually the only fitting place, but there, undoubtedly, the beginning and end of such a procession would be almost grotesquely juxtaposed. Phidias resolves all such objections at once—the full significance of this solution will become clear to us
- 78940 shortly—by dividing the procession into two parts, two columns, both of which converge above the eastern main entrance. One covered the entire west side, then turned northward and arrived at the east side; the other arrived there after first passing along the south side.
- 78945 A cavalry procession was seen on the West Frisian side. Some riders are already mounted; others still need to adjust their equipment, for example, tying on their sandals; or the horses themselves are not yet complete. It is a selection of Attica's youth, who, on beautiful horses—for which Attica was renowned—follow the procession. That these riders also include victors in the competitions—if not all—is beyond
- 78950 doubt. At the end, in the left corner of this west side, a procession organizer leads the riders. This creates a gradual transition to the north frieze, at the beginning of which some riders are still not fully equipped. Soon, however, we see the cavalry riding forward uninterruptedly, though in uneven ranks and without much regularity, so that they clearly do not have a military cavalry before them. This is also evident
- 78955 in the riders' equipment; there is great diversity, from the naked youth, with only a sort of cloak hanging diagonally across his back, to the even more military-style attire. The movements of the horses and riders also lack anything resembling monotony; For example, now a horse throws its head back wildly, then forward again, or the animal jumps completely off the ground. - If one had passed the group of
- 78960 riders, then one came to the agent of the apobats, a runner beside the charioteer²); then a group of sixteen men on foot, among whom were probably the Thallophores, the handsome old man with a branch in his hand, chosen by some kind of contest³); before these marched musicians—this reminds us of the musical competitions instituted by Pericles⁴), until finally they saw before them the great sacrifice being offered to the goddess. Metoici (foreigners under the protection of the state) carried, as skaphephors or hydriaphores, the heavy containers and water jars containing the wet and dry goods necessary for the sacrifice; before these, with their escorts, went the sacrificial animals themselves, sheep and cows, the sacrifice of the Attic colonies. The north frieze ends with these sacrificial animals, and everyone senses that the
- 78970 procession cannot be concluded with this and will therefore continue on the east frieze. The second column, which also proceeded from the southern frieze to the eastern side, opened with a detachment of regular Attic cavalry, a splendid corps composed of well-to-do men who could properly provide horses and equipment. Here, as at the beginning of the northern frieze and throughout the western frieze, the
- 78975 procession was still in preparation; the first horsemen had not yet formed ranks. Now we see clearly what a great advantage the division of the procession into two columns afforded the artist. The gap between the beginning and end of a procession was utterly unmanageable; that between the beginning of two processions, and likewise, as will shortly become apparent, that between their ends, were made almost imperceptible
- 78980 in the composition to the unintentional observer. Undeniably, this division into two

presented the great danger of creating the impression that two entirely separate scenes were depicted on the frieze, but this was entirely avoidable. Phidias had already made his task easier by not having the two columns begin in the middle of the west side, but by assigning the entire western side to one of the two—that of the northern frieze—so that the separation fell on a corner, which naturally always made it less pronounced. Now, however, as we noted, both at the beginning of the southern frieze and on the entire western frieze, one could see a not-yet-organized cavalry procession, and this very similarity in material made the divide less noticeable. While the general direction on the western frieze was north, the movement of riders just mounting, interspersed with others not yet ready, was not particularly forceful. Moreover, here at the southern corner, the artist could have added something that pointed more specifically southward: a few riders, still busy with their equipment, had turned in that direction, and likewise, a reluctant horse, rearing violently, had turned completely. Thus, one gradually reached the south side of the West Frisian as well. Having passed the horsemen, who were not yet in order, one saw regular ranks of six men in diagonal formation before one. Then, however, one came upon some disorganized horsemen again; the front rank had been forced to break up because it had encountered a line of chariots¹) that had participated in the race. Ahead of these chariots walked pedestrians, among whom, not surprisingly, were Thallophores and musicians, who also appeared on the north frieze. Here too, one saw sacrificial animals extending to the end of the frieze, this time to the great sacrifice of the city itself.

Now, if one positioned oneself in front of the east frieze, at the front of the inner temple building, one saw on either side the heads of the two columns, which had turned the corners, moving toward the center of the frieze. On both sides, there was a procession of stately advancing girls, carrying the supplies for the sacrifice, and that the canephors² were among them, there is no doubt. Further toward the center of the frieze, the two columns had already arrived at their destination; for example, a temple official took a dish from one of the front girls, which she had been carrying, and in front of the girls, on either side, stood a group of middle-aged men in a reclining position, most of them leaning on their staffs, waiting for the entire procession to arrive. They were probably dignitaries of the state, although that cannot be said with certainty. Right in the middle of the frieze, the outermost points of the two columns had arrived, at a place that one should imagine as the interior of the temple, just above the entrance to the actual temple. On one side, the right, one sees a boy wearing the peplos, the beautiful robe brought by the goddess has been handed over to a priest, who arranges it in its folds; on the other side, the left side, two girls wear a kind of tabourets on their heads, which they hold by their legs and on which something is placed; a priestess is in the process of taking them from her; one of the girls carries something else on her arm. These girls were most likely the arrephores, and perhaps they brought the goddess her secrets.¹) Moreover, the spectator was fortunate enough to witness a spectacle in this east frieze that was apparently completely hidden from the eyes of the celebrants themselves. The Immortals had descended from Olympus to see the Attic people perform in all their splendor and glory. They sat there in two groups, on either side of that middle group—from the place one might imagine as the inner temple space—facing away from it, looking ahead at the columns approaching from either side.²) One immediately recognizes Zeus and his wife, Hera, on the right, the Castle Goddess herself with Hephaestus. Poseidon and Aphrodite are also clearly distinguishable with the boy Eros (Cupid). The other gods are less certain to be identified. All sat there in an easy, comfortable pose, apparently completely out of the more formal fold; Zeus, for example, who would later be depicted by Phidias at Olympia sitting upright on his throne, here leans comfortably with his left arm over the back of his chair. The Castle Goddess wears none of her usual regalia; only her spear was at her side. Here, therefore, the artist's primary task was to express the essence of the various gods without relying too much on their usual attributes. It was an entire Olympus of fourteen divine figures, whose magnificent beauty the artist had to reinterpret here for his contemporaries, and in every respect, these groups of gods belong to the most exquisite of Phidias's art we know. How utterly lacking, now, in that eastern frieze, where the two columns meet, is anything that could create a sense of separation. Two similar columns move from either side toward the center, followed on either side by these two groups of resting men, followed by the gods; these resting men wait, as it were, before the temple, while, behind the gods, the two outermost spires have penetrated the interior of the temple. This last one was indicated by nothing other than what occurred within it, yet between these two groups of gods, it was sufficiently separated from the rest of the frieze for the viewer's perception.

Because these groups, despite all their differences, nevertheless offered so much similarity that the eye involuntarily connected them, the idea that any boundary should be sought between them could not occur. Thus, the area where the two spires converged presented itself powerfully as a single whole, and since nothing could evoke the impression that it was not connected to the procession behind them, the two columns were firmly held together at their ends. Moreover, these were naturally so small there that the contrast between the two columns was only weakly continued. The artist composed more freely here by having these ends consist of two girls on one side and one boy on the other, so that there was no separation exactly in the middle. This lay between the priest and priestess, who were facing different directions. However, the fact that this had only recently occurred is evident in the priest's posture, and in the depiction, the two belong completely together again, in the place where we find them.

This frieze was only worked in very low relief; the elevation remained below five centimeters overall. This was necessary because, under the ceiling of the surrounding gallery, it naturally received light only from below, and with a greater elevation, the shadows of the lower sections would obscure the upper ones. Only in the latter case did they go slightly above five centimeters by excavating the background a little deeper there. There was a great risk of confusion in the places where the various riders obscured each other. The artist prevented this by excavating the outlines of the figures a little more sharply here and there. This did, however, result in some loss of the plastic character of the figures, as they no longer emerged so gradually from their background, but it was entirely contrary to the essence of the Attic artist to create compositions whose individual figures did not immediately catch the viewer's eye with complete clarity. 1) Undoubtedly, colours were also applied to this frieze, which also enhanced its clarity.

Here too, the figures stood out against a colored background, and several of their details were highlighted by color. Numerous metal additions were also applied. That pure, unmistakable sense of style and that self-control, capable of satisfying the possibilities of every artistic genre, are also strongly evident here, and these were among the most precious gifts of the Attic spirit. Therefore, there are no attempts here to introduce deep perspectives into the reliefs, to have another representation move further into the background behind one image, to give the figures a more or less longitudinal direction from the viewer to the background, sculpting them in foreshortened form, just as a draftsman in a similar case draws in foreshortened form. The artist of the somewhat later frieze from Phigaleia (a city in Arcadia), for example, was unable to refrain from the latter. A centaur, in particular, lying there with its head turned towards the viewer, provides a striking example. Such a foreshortened sculpture naturally acquires a monstrous quality; a figure drawn in foreshortening appears to possess the true form, a foreshortened sculpture also appears foreshortened. Phidias, however, apparently felt no temptation to such deviations. Strictly speaking, for example, the groups of gods on the eastern frieze should not be in line with the procession and its spires in the middle section of the frieze. However, Phidias was so unconcerned with the idea of either omitting these groups of gods or attempting to bring them more forward, so that the procession could, as it were, actually pass behind them, that he even used them in the composition, as we have seen, to create a separation between the procession and its spires.

This carefree deviation from reality is evident in yet another respect. In such a procession, the horsemen and charioteers naturally towered far above the pedestrians. If this were transferred to the frieze, unsightly gaps would be created, and the frieze would no longer visually form a uniform whole. The Attic artist, therefore, simply placed all the heads approximately in a single line (isocephalism), and although this resulted in a significant disproportion in size between horsemen and foot soldiers, a suitable grouping could ensure that it did not become too conspicuous, and in any case, this was by far the lesser of the two drawbacks. Likewise, Phidias was not bothered that the Panathenaic procession did not actually proceed to the castle in two columns, nor did he feel compelled to depict every element of the procession with meticulous precision. It was entirely different matters that captivated the artist's mind. In that procession, the Attic people appeared in their most select representatives; here, on that temple frieze, an uninterrupted scene of the highest beauty unfolded before the eyes of the beholder! Here, youth, middle age, and old age shone before gods and men, each in its own peculiar splendor. Magnificent sacrificial animals, often with characterful movements, were led to the castle. Only Attica, with its beautiful horses, could

produce such a cavalcade. What diversity it offered! The horse connoisseur could find here the movements for which these animals were usually trained; besides, however, one saw numerous others, in which the nature of the animal was more exclusively expressed; in all, each time changing, an image of magnificent beauty was presented. What a feeling of rapture flowed through them. An Athenian to the heart—like a true Hellene—when he had to confess how glorious the earth truly was, and how unspeakably happy he felt at the thought that all that beauty was truly produced by his homeland.

2) Even among the two or three hundred human figures that appeared there, a great diversity prevailed, yet one single spirit pervaded the entire scene: stately and solemn, the people proceeded toward the castle, the deepest seriousness prevailed everywhere, everything spoke of a sacred act being performed there. And indeed, not only were the most precious offerings made there to the Patron Goddess, but the scene of splendor and beauty that the brilliant procession unfolded in its performance was in itself a tribute to the Immortals,¹⁾ whose presence all deeply felt, even if, like us, they were not fortunate enough to behold it with their own eyes. How could one not have arranged one's attire in a stately manner? With all the freedom of movement one allowed oneself, one could not have observed moderation, full of dignity and self-confidence! In quiet modesty, that select procession of maidens proceeded there; with confidence and proud composure, the heavenly-beautiful youth dominated on his horse; quiet self-possession spoke from the posture and gestures of the men. It was the people of Pericles, shining there before the eyes of the Immortals—a glorious image of majestic beauty—the people of Pericles, as he also led them when he appeared in the assembly; it was, in a word, an Olympian people. Thus, it was primarily in his higher qualities that Phidias portrayed that glorious, ostentatious image of his people, and we vividly sense how much the man, who even in his external compositions acted primarily according to his artistic inspirations, thereby elevates himself above reality. And something else is closely related to this. Despite all the diversity we admire in this frieze, each of those numerous figures exists solely for the sake of the procession; all actions, postures, and gestures can be connected to it. Likewise, anything that even hints at the characterization of specific figures is absent; above all, the facial features reveal nothing individual. Thus, any thought of this or that Panathenaic procession is entirely excluded here, and we see it, so to speak, in its eternal form, elevated above all chance. Not only where he depicted the figures of Olympus, but also where, as in this *Mes*, he had to depict the events of reality that each of his contemporaries could witness with their own eyes, Phidias was an idealistic artist in the strictest sense.

Illuminated by the bright light that fell through the large opening in the roof, one saw before them in the interior of the temple the heavenly maiden Athena in all her stately power and divine beauty; only in the large temple sculptures, where the Deity appeared in all the magnitude of her dignity, could Phidias unfold his full power as an interpreter of the divine. It was already a magnificent sight, that ten-meter-high statue on a two-meter pedestal; the nude parts, face, arms, and feet were made of ivory; the dress and other accoutrements were of hammered gold; the whole thing stood out clearly against the red-colored wall behind it. We can form some idea of the composition not only from the descriptions but also from copies, including two fairly faithful ones, and depictions on reliefs, cameos, and coins. The pedestal depicted the birth of Pandora, the first woman, who was immediately instructed in the art of weaving by Athena. The goddess's attire is also exceptionally richly decorated. A magnificent piece was her helmet with its sphinx between two winged horses; around her sandals, a battle of Lapiths and Centaurs was depicted. On the outside of her shield was a battle of heroes and Amazons, on the inside, that of gods and giants.

How could Phidias display his skill as a chiseler in all this! The Athenians refused to allow him to place his name on this statue. He compensated himself for this by placing his own portrait and that of Pericles among the fighting heroes in the Amazon camp. On a copy of this shield in the British Museum, one can still clearly recognize both Phidias himself, a bald old man, and Pericles, who partially obscures his face with his raised arm—Phidias apparently wanted what he had done to be less conspicuous. It was entirely a deity in the higher religious imagery one saw before us in Phidias's statue. She stood there in silent majesty, calm, without any conspicuous movement. She supported herself primarily on her left foot; her right leg was slightly raised; this only slightly broke the upright shape of her robe. She had placed her shield beside her on her left side, briefly holding it with her hand. Behind it, in the familiar form of a serpent, coiled Erichthonius, the progenitor of the Attic people, himself Athena's foster-child, just as the Attic people were under her care. Her spear rested against her left shoulder. In her right hand, she held

79180 Nike, the goddess of victory, slightly out in front of her. Indeed, the various capacities in which she could appear were here somewhat related to a higher whole. Was the Parthenon a kind of synthesis of the old house of Erechtheus, the temple of Athena as the Guardian Goddess, and the small temple of Athena-Nike1) on the slope of the castle?—in the image of the Goddess in the Parthenon, the essence of the Guardian Goddess and the Goddess of Victory were united, and likewise, the representation on
79185 the pedestal recalled that the same divine being was also the "artistic one," the "Ergane," as such, as she too possessed a sanctuary in the castle. Now, in all this, the artist undoubtedly had portrayed her, above all, as a heavenly maiden (Pallas) Athena had been known (or rather, made known by the name of Athena), then he would have characterized her primarily in her most general nature.

79190 But Athena, in all her sublimity, offered only a weakened image of the lofty qualities of her father, Zeus, and thus seemed destined, as it were, to approach humanity more closely than these. It was given to Phidias to depict that immense being in forms worthy of his majesty, specifically at Olympia, as the "supreme god of
79195 all Hellenism,"[2] which found its principal religious and national center there. Everything surpassed the grand splendor with which the statue itself, also of gold and ivory, and the extensive additional work were executed. Here Zeus sat on his throne in a moment of solemn majesty, a Nike hovering from his right hand. The statue, with its pedestal, was approximately fourteen meters high and seemed even
79200 larger; Parthenos, which stood, reached, as we noted, a height of about twelve meters. Undoubtedly, the grander religious conception was also somewhat rooted in ancient religious tradition, especially with the "father of gods and men"1). In Homer, Zeus was undoubtedly much more reclusive in majesty and quiet in movement than the other gods, and according to the usual story, Phidias himself claimed to have
79205 arrived at his conception of that supreme divine majesty through a passage from that poet. When Thetis asked him for a favor, Zeus consented with benevolent majesty; he waved his eyebrows—according to Homer—so that his hair waved along his head, thereby making the entire Olympus tremble2). That was that divine majesty that held men and gods in awe and caused his will to be carried out without requiring any effort on his
79210 part. It's a pity we don't possess any actual sculpture that can be considered a definitive copy of Phidias's. Even the well-known Zeus of Otricoli is undoubtedly only remotely so; that lion-like type it has, especially in those mane-like locks, is certainly not by Phidias. Such a special individualization as that of a human with an animal type, however authentically drawn from nature, was not yet in the artist's
79215 sphere, and above all—his gods were merely the sublime expression of the universally human. Fortunately, Elian coins have preserved for us not only a depiction of the whole, but also of the head of Zeus. That small work of art still speaks to us, at least to some extent, of that silent, awe-inspiring majesty and heavenly goodness—that true revelation of a supreme majesty, as unmoved as the atmosphere of Olympus—that caused so many to raise their heads in stunned reverence to that temple statue.
79220 It was a significant moment when it stood there, completed for the first time, in the Temple of Zeus: Hellenic idealism had reached the highest point it could reach. A beautiful Elian saga depicts Phidias, kneeling before his statue, asking the god himself for his judgment on it.
79225 There, Zeus's lightning strikes the artist. The god has spoken and affixed his seal to the work.
The master was permitted to place his name on it.

79230 However, Phidias's work at Olympia is of a somewhat later date. After that magnificent temple on the fortress of Athens, the Parthenon with all its sculptures, was completed and dedicated during the great Panathenaia of the year 438, it gradually came into full use. Besides serving at that important annual city festival—celebrated every four years with even greater splendor—it was also, as has been noted1), intended to hold the prodigious treasures that constituted the goddess's
79235 possession: her money—she had a substantial annual income; consider, for example, only the sixtieth of all tributes paid to her by allies2), and the votive offerings she had received over time and in ever-increasing quantities. These latter were almost all brought there from the house of Erechtheus and the small temple of Athena Nike. A prodigious mass of gold and silver vessels, weapons, necklaces set with
79240 precious stones, and numerous other feminine adornments in beautiful caskets, golden statuettes of all kinds, especially magnificent otter tools, and the necessities for the grand procession—all of this and much more adorned the "pre-temple" (Proneos) and the two parts of the inner temple space, the "Hekatompedos" and the "Parthenon" in the narrower sense. Everything concerning the sacred treasures was arranged on a

79245 fixed basis. We still possess the relevant popular decree. 3) Apparently, a great
deal of sacred money had been used before that time—"borrowed" from Athena and the
other gods. This now remained largely be returned, and from then on, the Goddess's
treasurers would manage their affairs in the "Secret House" (Opisthodomos), where the
79250 Goddess's money would also be kept. A board of "Treasurers of the other Gods" was
established, who would also manage their affairs in the Secret House, opposite
Athena's, and would keep their funds. Administrative regulations were established for
both. Thus, we still possess, in relatively good condition, most of the inventories
with which, in accordance with this financial arrangement—which existed until the end
79255 of the Peloponnesian War—the Goddess's valuables were transferred to their successors
by the various boards of treasurers—an annual office—according to a fixed model and
in a specific manner. It was further determined for what purposes and up to what
amount funds from the Goddess's treasury could be spent, understandably for purposes
such as further beautification of the castle and the provision of instruments for
worship. No one was allowed to propose any other use for that money unless they had
79260 first been granted indemnity (ἀδελία) to make such a proposal. The goddess was then
considered to be lending such money to the Athenian state and received interest
(between 1 and 2 percent). We still possess a kind of promissory note for such
loans²⁾ and for accrued interest³⁾. Likewise, her people could count on her valuables
in times of need, even on the gold of her statue, which, on the advice of Pericles,
79265 had been crafted so that it could be taken away. Thus, even with her material
resources, she was Athens' patron goddess. In all this, a naive faith that knew no
doubt still speaks; yet it is quite striking here how weak the boundary between the
sacred and the profane could become in a religion like the Greek, especially in the
later development of more enlightened times. How much did Attica and Greece owe to
79270 the mighty genius of the Attic artist! It may seem surprising that so little is known
about the life of such a man. This, however, is true of all artists of antiquity, and
there is a very natural reason for this. Art was considered a craft, and since all
crafts were held in very low esteem in antiquity, the artist, although the Greeks
owed him the satisfaction of their highest needs, nevertheless enjoyed only limited
79275 social standing. No well-born Greek youth who used his intellect—as we read in two
ancient writers, Plutarch¹⁾ and Lucian²⁾,—felt the desire to become an artist himself
at the sight of Olympian Zeus or the works of Polykleitos. This was a prejudice from
the old chivalric period, which even outlived the glory of the Attic democracy for
centuries. Phidias, through his association with Pericles, came somewhat more to the
79280 fore than other artists; Yet he, too, was still considered one of that vast body of
artisans whose personalities, understandably enough, aroused little interest.
But does the artist, whom we can still get to know so well through his works after
twenty centuries, have any cause for complaint? It is still perfectly clear to us
what Phidias' art was in his time and for his people. It stood at the end of a
79285 thousand-year-old period of popular development, a ripe fruit of the Hellenic and
Attic spirit, nurtured in a period of the highest development of national vitality,
sufficient to meet both the more practical and the higher needs of his people.
Everything seemed to have to cooperate to make it possible at a given moment.
It was, therefore, only in a short space of time that this product of so many
79290 centuries could come into being. A decline soon set in, in which all the conditions
and circumstances that had contributed to it disappeared in a relatively short time.
The. Storms broke out, whose approach had already been announced during the work
itself, and one of the first victims was the artist himself. It was about seven years
after the completion of the Parthenon—Phidias had undoubtedly only recently returned
79295 from Elis—when charges were brought against him for having stolen part of the gold
intended for the statue of Athena Parthenos. At the instigation of Phidias' enemies,
one of his former workmen, Menon—who tells you that the master, like Michelangelo
later, was not a very strict master to his subordinates?—sat down in the marketplace,
begging the people for protection, as he had something to report about Phidias but
79300 did not dare to do so. The people agreed, and so Menon acted against his former
master. However, this accusation of theft was not accepted. The gold could indeed be
taken from the statue, and Pericles invited the accusers to weigh it. Yet, this did
not acquit Phidias. The anger against him was primarily fueled by the fact that he
had depicted himself and Pericles among the demigods fighting the Amazons on the
79305 shield of the Parthenos. Phidias was taken to prison, where he died of illness. Menon
received, as a reward, exemption from all state charges and was placed under the
special protection of the ten strategists (army leaders) by the people. It was in
Elis that the memory of the great artist was honored—his descendants were there
appointed the hereditary honorary office of caring for the maintenance of the great
79310 statue of Zeus (as Phaedruntes).

The attack on Phidias had primarily been a test to determine the popular sentiment toward Pericles. The way Menon was allowed to act was also calculated to arouse the people's jealousy against Pericles. What did the much-vaunted rule of the community mean if they dared not accuse someone who had committed offenses against it, simply because he was Pericles' friend? By having Phidias arrested and rewarding Menon, the Attic people had now clearly demonstrated that they would not relinquish their high authority to anyone, and the terrain now seemed ripe for further attack. The actor Hermippus brought charges against Aspasia, accusing her of impiety and deceiving free Athenian women, whom she—this interpretation was given to mean that she received women and girls for instructional purposes—had shamefully enticed to her side in order to appease Pericles. Thereupon, at the suggestion of Diopeithes, the people passed a decree that atheists and those who supposedly taught about supernatural things would be prosecuted in the strictest manner. This referred to Anaxagoras, and this, in turn, was to refer to Pericles. Finally, a decree was immediately passed against him as well. At the suggestion of Drakontidas—slightly modified by Hagnon—he would have to render an extra account for his management of funds. A significant role in all this undoubtedly played by petty jealousy. This thus exalted workman, Phidias, was quite naturally the object of many's jealousy; he had even dared to equate himself and his friend with demigods; and how could Pericles himself have escaped the envy? Yet those men who acted there in a closed phalanx against Pericles and all that belonged to his party—however much malicious malice they may have displayed—were not primarily motivated by selfish passions. Hermippus, as has been noted, was a man of a truly conservative persuasion, Diopeithes a religious zealot, Drakontidas, it seems, a declared enemy of democracy. It was the entire trend of old Athens that was here vigorously opposing the newer; it was, so to speak, the trend of the old house of Erechtheus against that of the Parthenon. That old Athens did not triumph over the new. Pericles could only save Anaxagoras by expelling him from the city, but Aspasia was acquitted, and undoubtedly—though we are not told—he himself was as well. With all this, however, the time when the Attic people allowed themselves to be led uninhibitedly by the Olympian was over for good, and undoubtedly many had now come to the conviction that this new, higher spiritual direction must lead to a renunciation of the Gods. Meanwhile,—and how could it be otherwise?—the tension between Athens and the Peloponnesians had also increased again. Numerous clashes had arisen, and the situation had become such that, if Athens wanted to maintain its high position, war was inevitable. It was Pericles, above all, who believed that this was the time to let it happen. Athens had never been better equipped to conduct this than then; surprisingly, the resources it could rely on made its position almost unassailable. Only fourteen years of the thirty-year truce had elapsed when war with the Peloponnesians broke out again. Many in Athens believed that Pericles had been driven to war primarily because he hoped to restore his shattered prestige, as the people would then be less able to do without his forceful leadership than ever before. Who can say that such considerations could not have been a contributing factor, although they were undoubtedly not the primary motivation? In any case, during the war, discontent against Pericles increased significantly; people felt oppressed by its burdens and directed all their discontent against the man on whose advice they had begun to seek him. He was fined and, after serving as strategist for several years, removed from supreme command. He was soon recalled, and in the latter part of his life he enjoyed some satisfaction in other respects, but his time was effectively over when a plague, which at that time wreaked havoc in Athens, took him away as well (429 BC). It is a sad spectacle to see how everything that had once defined Pericles's strength or filled the great statesman with hope has faded away. After this period, there is little left of a free citizenry, held together and guided in a fixed direction by awe for spiritual superiority and reverence for what is recognized as higher and better. Democracy, first and foremost, wants to be itself, and everything is striving for unity and drifting back and forth, now that the zeal to assert itself as supreme sovereign completely dominates the community, and everything that seems to be happening at the moment is immediately pursued with passion. One should certainly not blame too much on a few individuals. Couldn't a Kleon or Hyperbolos, whom Avas was capable of, lead the people, now that the scepter had almost fallen from the hands of the Olympian? Pericles had entered the war with the highest hopes; if the Attic people can control itself, if it doesn't shy away from effort, but also doesn't allow itself to be lured into futile undertakings beyond its powers, it will undoubtedly emerge victorious from the battle! However, the Attic people lacked self-control; they grumbled about their efforts, throwing themselves into futile undertakings that

held a certain charm for the imagination. Instead, the best of the people's strengths opted for it, and—with impunity, they could commit numerous errors against the rules prescribed by Pericles, so prodigious were their resources. They committed so many, however, that finally the Peloponnesians entered the city, the long walls were demolished, and their fleet was burned before their eyes, while the Attic alliance had also disintegrated, and the Asia Minor Greeks stood unprotected against the barbarians. Everything that had once filled the soul of the Athenian with such a high sense of self had been destroyed.

It goes without saying that the consequences of the disasters that befell the city were deeply felt, especially in the rear of Athena's temple. As we have seen, we still have numerous debts of debt for borrowed sacred money and accrued interest; they are especially relevant to this period. Already at the beginning of the war, this practice of borrowing began, and later it repeated itself incessantly; naturally, the indemnity to propose such a loan was repeatedly requested and received. Thus, the treasures in the castle gradually melted away. After a while, it seems, the interest rate was demanded. Ultimately, whatever came in was immediately used for loans. Already at the beginning of the war, it had been determined that at least the 1,000 talents would remain untouched; a proposal to borrow even from them was prohibited under penalty of death, except in the event that an enemy fleet approached the city. Similarly, 100 ships were designated, which could only be equipped in that case, and then with that money. Later, even though no enemy fleet was approaching yet, the need became dire. The threat of death was lifted; the ships were used for other purposes; the 1,000 talents were used. Nor could the goddess's treasures be spared in the long run. For a long time, these treasures were kept at bay; indeed, quite a bit was added—the inventories we still possess inform us of this. This is coming to an end; some items disappear; the final entry in the last inventory of the Proneos's treasures under this arrangement states that everything had been transferred to the Hellenotamia, for waging war: "one golden wreath remains, weight as much." What happened to the Proneos's treasures undoubtedly happened—although we lack the inventories of those very last periods—also to those of the Hekatompedos and the Parthenon. Thus, Athens's wealth evaporated, and now that its naval dominance had collapsed, all hope of complete restoration vanished. The material conditions that had once made Phidias's works of art possible had also vanished. Several times later, new financial arrangements were made; inventories were again drawn up—we possess quite a few of these as well—and indeed, at times, quite a few valuables were amassed. However, the Patron Goddess never received a treasure even remotely comparable to the one she had possessed. She, too, was deeply affected by the misfortunes of her people.

But the power of downfall reached infinitely deeper. Not without reason had Pericles' enemies directed their attacks against Anaxagoras. Indeed, the close contact between the more enlightened religious way of thinking and the stricter philosophy was very dangerous for the popular religion. In such matters, conservatism is usually felt to be infinitely more correct than the more liberal approach. One of the philosophical schools of that time, that of the southern Italian city of Elea, was already very clearly in conflict with the popular religion. Its founder, Xenophanes, even railed against the old polytheism with a certain ferocity, and if, it seems, the other Eleatic philosophers expressed themselves less on the subject, it was not unlikely, because they were no longer so passionate about such matters. One of the most prominent of these Eleatic philosophers was Zeno, who also lived in Athens and, as we know, associated with Pericles there. Xenophanes claimed, for example, that if cows, lions, and horses had hands, they would depict the gods as lions, cows, and horses. How this simultaneously destroys the entire foundation of Greek religion and all of Greek art! Philosophy increasingly withdrew the best intellectual forces from the popular religion, and those philosophers who did not break with it nevertheless failed to grasp it in its true character. Was it any wonder that he increasingly yielded to his natural tendency to lower the standard of the divine? Phidias himself did not hesitate to place himself and his friend on the shield of Parthenos among the demigods. One only had to continue on this path to arrive at the vulgar human deification of the Roman Empire. And indeed, the world of the gods now increasingly sank to the level of that of humans, so that ultimately, elevating a human to the status of god became a very common occurrence. The history of the Parthenon and its festival also shows us the Greek folk religion moving in this direction. At the end of the 10th century BC, the Athenian people decreed that Antigonus and his son Demetrius would be honored as gods with sacrifices, games, and a procession, and that their images would appear in the embroidery on the goddess's magnificent robe, the

peplos, alongside her and Zeus himself, as divine participants in the battle against the Giants. At the time, many still found this deeply offensive; it was considered a divine judgment that a gust of wind caused a large gust of wind to tear the magnificent robe during the procession, and a severe sleet was considered a punishment from the gods, causing considerable damage to trees and crops. All such sentiments later faded. Centuries before this had happened, however, relatively shortly after Athens's peak, when the retrograde of popular religion was still only in its infancy, it no longer offered the artist such lofty and austere ideals of the divine as it had once done in the time of Phidias.

Yet, despite all this, the creative power of the Hellenic and Attic spirit was far from exhausted. Greek visual art, in particular, continually unfolds new strength and splendor amidst all the religious, political, and social decline, amidst all the material and moral misery that so largely befell Hellas and Attica after that period of greatest prosperity. Once elevated to a high position by the power of national and religious inspiration, it managed to maintain and develop, so much so that in many respects it only now reached its highest perfection. It also underwent the influence of the changes of the times, in some ways even to its advantage. For Phidias, art was still more a means than an end. He wanted to present the gods of Olympus to his contemporaries as if before their eyes, and he gave them a heavenly, beautiful form because without it, he could not conceive of a deity. This was, without a doubt, the most serious stance an artist could take. Yet, a new path of free development was opened up for his successors, now that they were no longer so captivated by such lofty concepts. In later artists, beauty itself became the primary goal, and where Phidias had indicated with powerful strokes, they developed and refined; the wealth of beautiful forms was astonishing, now that these were sought more for their own sake than for the divine forms they had to depict. Furthermore, if Phidias had attempted to portray the diverse character of the gods in bodily forms, postures, and gestures, his soul was too dominated by the general ideal of reclusive divine majesty to proceed far along that path of specialization. Now now the world of the gods came closer to men and became much more like them in every respect.

When it became uniform, it could also much more easily become the interpretation of the latter in all its colorful diversity, while for a long time there remained enough idealism to make the artist strive for the glorification of the forms that nature produces. Only then did Aphrodite become the truly feminine beauty, full of the radiance of life, which she, according to her nature, should be; Apollo the powerful, proud youth, in whom everything speaks of noble self-esteem and spiritual strength; Dionysus the more effeminate, whose beauty smacks of the feminine, just as Hera shines in her matronly majesty, Athena in stern maidenhood. Only then, in a word, did Greek art in its fullest extent reveal to our generation the glory of human appearance in its inexhaustible wealth of beauty.

But at the beginning of all this stands that mighty Attic hero of art. It was he who first taught the visual arts its true calling: to interpret nature by idealizing it; through him, above all, humanity achieved a new victory over nature, learned to know and spiritually master it; and if Greek art truly revived subsequent generations many times over, it was primarily enabled to do so by the stamp he left upon it. Therefore, because Greek art, as it was through Phidias, has so powerfully moved our modern times, because the master inspired a Michelangelo and Raphael, albeit often only through the most distant shadows of what he was capable of—therefore, even if the remains of his masterpieces were not in the Elgin Room of the British Museum, his spirit would surely live on among us—even if he were for us little more than a vague shadow from the distant past, of whom we could never know in any satisfactory way what he was to us.

Leiden.
A.E.J. HOLWERDA.

December 17, 1886 EDUCATION. In the "Ned. Spectator," Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda champions Greek and says, among other things, about our young students:

"Generally speaking, there's far too much 'studying'; our country, in particular, could certainly do without a few lawyers. It has become clear that examinations are a highly inadequate means of weeding out unsuitable individuals. How many a dimwitted youngster is so polished up by his tutor that the faculty is forced to accept him, whether they like it or not? Even the grammar school can't do everything in this regard, but certainly more than the university. How many complaints of overload are based on the fact that completely unsuitable individuals go to university? Climbing Mount Parnasus is no longer difficult in the Netherlands—there's a cog railway on that mountain too—now all we need is science, and we will become small by the

- 79510 opposite of what made the Greeks great, who, after all, achieved their mastery of art and their relatively high level of development in science through "... through tireless, deeply earnest effort."
- January 15, 1895, Royal Academy of Sciences.
- 79515 The literary department held an ordinary meeting today, chaired by Professor Kern, at the Trippenhuis here. A letter was received from the Minister of Internal Affairs in response to a letter from the Geographical Society, stating that Mr. Van Limburg Stirum had been appointed as the government's representative for the upcoming geographical congress.
- 79520 Furthermore, a letter from Mr. Six was received, stating that, having reached the age of 60, he was becoming a retired member.
- Finally, it was announced that 11 entries had been received for the Latin Poetry competition.
- 79525 Professor Allard Pierson announced that he had traveled abroad due to illness and was therefore unable to attend the meeting. The next item on the agenda was a lecture by Dr. A. E. S. Holwerda of Leiden.
- On the sanctuary and mysteries of Eleusis.
- 79530 The lecture began with a description of the site where the Eleusinian sanctuary was built. It was reachable from Athens in four hours and situated on a small plateau south of the sacred grove with its sacred spring. The temples and other buildings towered above a formidable bulwark of steep rocks, and nowhere did the words seem to be shouted more powerfully to the wanderer: "Keep away, you profane."
- 79535 Virtually nothing remains of the temple's former grandeur, and a few huts and a shabby little church have risen from its ruins. The society of amateurs founded in England in the previous century commissioned some excavations. It was believed that mysterious cellars had been discovered and it was thought that the main building of the Eleusinian sanctuary, with its numerous columns, must have resembled an Egyptian rather than a Greek temple.
- 79540 Only from 1882 to 1893 was the entire sacred site sufficiently excavated at the expense of a Greek archaeological society. The work was conducted under the direction of Philias. Many sculptures and inscriptions were discovered, and the foundations of the numerous buildings have become fully known through these excavations. The Proverb called particular attention to the main building. In its deepest depths, the foundations of the oldest building for initiations, the Telesterion, have been found,
- 79545 founded long before the 6th century BC. These can then be distinguished from the square building with its 25 columns, the temple, which was destroyed by the Persians; then the foundations for a new Telesterion, whose construction began in the period after the Persian Wars, before Pericles, but was not completed. The outline of the large building, erected in Pericles' time, has now been completely exposed, as have the foundations of the stoad, which was later added to the main building. According to Aristides, the Telesterion burned in the 2nd century AD. To create space for the structure, the rock must have been partially excavated. Eight staircases were carved into the rock interior, and two smaller temples must have stood on the north side.
- 79550 Even after the excavations, the Telesterion's interior remained a mystery.
- 79555 The author knew that the main section was the "Anaktoron" (anatomical structure); but they also found references to "Anaktora" (plural), from which mysterious voices sounded, opening and closing, causing it to alternate between darkness and light, and so on. The "anaktora" were simply not imaginable. Even after the excavation, the idea of an Egyptian temple was not abandoned, even though it was known that the ceiling
- 79560 must have been partially open. Space also had to be found for a stage, where the mystical drama was always performed; the stairs were designated as the seats for the spectators. Some have believed they could deduce from Plutarch that the Eleusinian temple had two stories; in short, the excavations have made the matter even murkier than it already was.
- 79565 The Proverbs now set themselves the task of finding a solution according to the information from the writers and the remains of the temple, and arrived at different results. The "anaktoron" must have been the actual stage, whose platform was probably placed approximately 3 meters above the ground floor. And the stairs were not seats but offered standing places, each row 20 cm higher than the previous one, so that the
- 79570 spectators could see clearly over each other's heads onto the stage. That is also why the columns were erected so far apart to obstruct the view of the stage as little as possible. Those who participated in the mystical drama on stage, the priests, emerged from the space below through an opening in the platform, for the stage was also the sacred place of initiation, where the sacred objects were shown to visitors. However,

79575 the following questions remain: why a platform was carved into the rock behind the temple; why one of the stairs leading to it has such a slight incline; how the location of the small temple in the immediate vicinity of that platform should be explained; and still, how one could speak of "anaktoron" in the plural.

79580 The answers to these questions are closely related. From passages in Hesychius, the author demonstrates that "anaktora" referred to small portable temples located within the permanent temple building. When the "anaktoron" was to be used for the performance of the drama, the portable temples were removed from the platform; when they were needed again for the ceremonies, they were carried back there. It now also becomes understandable that one reads how a priest sometimes emerged from an

79585 "Anaktoron"; he was then seated in such a small temple building and emerged when the door was opened. While the priest was seated in the small "Anaktoron," he would sometimes sing or shout something. Lights burned in these small temples, while during the ceremonies inside the temple building it was otherwise completely dark. So, if a door of one of the small temples was opened, the entire building was illuminated.

79590 This also explains many obscure inscriptions today. Secret things were kept in these "Anaktora," and during the Great Mysteries, they were transported in processions on chariots to Athens and from there back to Eleusis. The aforementioned staircase with its gentle slope and the platform were probably used to transport this rather heavy "Anaktora" outside. A movable bridge of 13 meters

79595 in length, between the door and the back wall of the temple and the platform would have made it possible to remove the "Anaktora," even when the stage was intended for dramatic scenes. And the small temple on the edge of the plateau could have served as a storage place for the "Anaktora" on such occasions. Viewed from the outside, the Eleusinian temple must not have presented an impressive sight; it was a low, square

79600 building with blank walls. Only initiates were allowed to cross the threshold. Thus, an old invoice for repairs to the temple, dating from the fourth century BC, lists expenses for the dedication of five workmen. Plutarch's indications suggest that inside the building, the walls surrounding the temple were painted with scenes of the underworld and the islands of the blessed.

79605 Based on the authors and the now-acquired knowledge of the meaning of several previously obscure expressions, the author provides: Now a description of the solemnity of the Eleusinian Mysteries themselves. There were certain degrees of initiation: the highest was the contemplation of the sacred objects in the "Anaktora." These were shown on a specific day to the few who

79610 had reached this degree of initiation. This was preceded by the consecration in the Lesser Mysteries of Agrai; and shortly before, the sacred drink had been consumed in the forecourt; the sacred bread had been taken from the sacred chest, eaten of it, and placed back in the sacred basket, and from that back into the sacred chest. The torch-bearing priest had spread the sheepskin of purification before their feet, and

79615 they had seated themselves on it. They had prepared themselves by fasting and immersion in the sea, and for days on end, the most precious sacrificial animals, some adorned with gold ornaments, had been slaughtered. The goddesses had been carried from Eleusis to Athens and from there, surrounded by dense crowds, returned to Eleusis. The cries and hum of voices

79620 as they ascended to the holy place had echoed from afar until the evening before the momentous day. And that evening, in the sacred grove, dances had been performed; by the light of torches, the search for the lovely Kore had been reenacted. And now the people streamed into the temple; they jostled for a good seat on the steps; they recognized friends from old and chatted most animatedly until the hour of the mysteries approached. The sun was sinking; within the building, the shadows rose

79625 higher and higher, until finally, complete darkness fell. People held their breath. Through the opening in the stage deck, a gleam of torches shot upward; The Eleusinian priesthood, in full regalia, appears, headed by the hierophants, dressed in long, trailing robes, their hair flowing over their shoulders, bound by a diadem. They are

79630 the descendants of the hero who once dared to wage war against even the king of the city, Erechtheus. The instructions of the hierophants are inspired by the Deity himself; they have forever abandoned their civil name. The priests stride slowly and stately across the stage; sacred ceremonies are performed; explanatory words are spoken by the hierophant, the incense fills the

79635 space and continues to float upward in mists, in which the torchlight plays ghostly. Solemn chants resound, and the crowd responds with short forms from two to three thousand mouths. And on the day of the mystical drama, other figures emerge from the opening in the platform. One sees Zeus and Pluto, who steal the lovely Kore. The grieving mother

79640 goes in search of the lost daughter. Heartbreaking lamentations make one share her

pain. One lived the life of the Deity itself and learned the nobility of maternal sorrow.

A mighty blow on a sounding board becomes the signal for the small procession to move to a specific point. Enters Hermes, who brought the girl herself, Kore, back to her

mother. The weight of deepest sorrow is lifted from the soul. And on the day of the highest ceremony, only the few initiated, the chosen ones, take their places on the steps; mysterious voices sound from the "Anaktora"; now and then, burning torches were raised from these temples, briefly shedding light in the darkness; all this, however, for the time being, behind a translucent curtain.

Finally, this was pushed aside, and the hierophant appeared, who, striding past the temples, showed the initiates the sacred things about which no Greek mouth has ever revealed to posterity.

This most intimate ceremony was followed by a final performance, open to all. Then, among other things, a water jar was emptied onto the stage, and the priests muttered prayers.

The sacred mystery of Eleusis was over, and, impressed by the ceremony, they began their return journey.

Heading towards turbulent Athens.

Mr. Holwerda's captivating speech was met with applause, after which Mr. Land noted that even in the Greek church, the ministers always remain standing, so the spectators standing on the steps need not seem unusual.

Mr. Tiele argued that it was not the case that sermons or anything similar were delivered at the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The speaker replied that one should not cling too closely to the modern concept of sermon; however, there are passages showing that sermons did indeed take place. The meeting was then closed after a round of questions.

April 8, 1896 By Royal Decree, Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda, a lecturer at the five-year higher civic school in Leiden, was appointed professor in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy at Leiden State University, to teach archaeology and ancient history.

April 30, 1896 Historical Sciences.

This afternoon at two o'clock, Dr. A. K. J. Holwerda accepted the professorship in the Faculty of Arts at Leiden University, with an address, delivered in the main auditorium of the academy, on: "The Historical Sciences, in particular those of classical antiquity; their independence and significance."

Every era has its dominant intellectual trend; ours may well be called the era of the natural sciences. Yet, therein lies a one-sidedness that has caused the great significance of the historical sciences to be far too little appreciated. The speaker included among these historical sciences all those concerned with religion, language, art, literature, state, and society. The power and scope of these sciences has increased particularly since the middle of the last century; it has been difficult

for historical appreciation to break through. The men who have made a significant contribution in this field are remembered. First and foremost, to him belongs the truly extraordinary man, the first to point the way in this direction, Jakob Perizonius, who discovered a fundamental principle of historical criticism. Niebuhr

is remembered after him, while even before him, Johan Joachim Winckelmann conceived the idea of art history in its full scope. This liberated the mind from the power of rationalism, enabled it to move more freely, and led to the development of the genetic method of explanation and the comparative method.

This character of movement has, remarkably, remained hidden from many scientists. Natural science also sought to impose its method on historical studies, and there

were those, like Comte Buckel, who were struck by this shortsightedness. Du Bois Raymond's ignorabimus was heresy for scientific orthodoxy. Ottokar Lorenz attempted to steer the study of history onto the right track. People have tried to observe and apply laws in the field of history as well, but this preconceived notion naturally causes both the presentation of facts and the entire method to suffer greatly. The

speaker demonstrates that finding laws cannot be the be-all and end-all of science; its goal must be to explain phenomena. There are phenomena whose origin and existence are difficult to fathom, and for which one will not immediately seek laws. There is no chance. But not everything can be brought to light by an algebraic formula. Much can still be brought to light, but until then, it will be ignorable for tens of

thousands of years. The speaker then highlights what the historical sciences owe to classical philology and how historical research developed within its school. Textual

- criticism has proven exceptionally useful in this regard. The antiquities of the ancient philologists were already a history of civilization. Modern historical study is rooted in the study of ancient history. But later studies, especially archival
- 79710 studies, repay the services rendered with usury. Among the leading sciences is the study of antiquity, archaeology. Although one must also guard against one-sidedness in this field, it has managed to develop into a model of an exact historical science in the last thirty years, especially in the
- 79715 initial investigation of the facts, through excavations, knowledge of ancient coins, and the style of ancient works of art, using all sorts of tools. This puts research on solid ground. Archaeology has breathed new life into the entire study of classical antiquity. Inscriptions have proven excellent services in this regard. These, in turn, are explained by knowledge of customs and traditions. Through archaeology, numerous peoples have risen before us, as if from the dead. From the fragments of
- 79720 ancient civilization, a world history is gradually emerging for us, as it were. Because life is gradually coming into everything, we ourselves are living along with it, the harmony around us creates harmony within us. The historical sciences are, at their core, an anthropology. The human is the object of our interest. And that human reveals itself in various domains, which is why people can find material for their
- 79725 spiritual needs in very different areas. Historical science, therefore, stands alongside the study of nature and also derives significance from the pressure of temporal circumstances; the prophets of Israel, the artists of Greece, the jurists of Rome do not belong to a worn-out geological
- 79730 formation for us; they live for us. Moreover, no theory of natural science can be elevated to a general world philosophy. Let us recognize that the spiritual life of man cannot be understood without the help of our historical sciences. In this regard, we should beware of a vulgar rationalism, which we bow to as if it were a new revelation of 19th-century natural science. And then the Rev. warns: Finally, against the rationalist leaven in another respect.
- 79735 Practical utility is not so glorified. It is all utility. But that is not the answer to the question: why science? Rather, it is this: to obey a powerful driving force within us, and the realization that we are in harmony with it satisfies us. Should the numbness of utilitarianism ever affect our civilization, it will revive when it reads of Hellas, what it means to practice art and science for its own sake.
- 79740 With the usual addresses to curators, professors, and students, the speaker concludes his speech.
- 79745 July 7, 1898 At the Kon. Decision: Professor J. van Leeuwen Jr., Professor of Arts and Philosophy at Leiden State University, is relieved from teaching Greek antiquities, and Professor A. E. J. Holwerda, Professor of Arts and Philosophy at that university, is now charged with teaching Greek antiquities.
- March 4, 1899 Married:
Dr. A. E. J. HOLWERDA, Professor at Leiden, Widower of Mrs. N. JONKHEID,
79750 and
C. L. A. JONGKINDT CONINCK, Widow of the Honourable Mr. D. LA GRAPPE DOMINICUS.
Leiden, March 2, 1899 [Married on March 16, 1899.]
- 79755 March 7, 1899 The Board of the Philological Study Fund, established in Utrecht, invites, since the beginning of the last preceding academic year, PhDs or PhD candidates, currently studying or having studied at a Dutch university, who wish to be considered for a posting to Rome, Athens, or another location to be designated by the Board, under the condition of receiving a stipend of an amount to be determined later, to apply to the delegate of their university before April 1. The delegates
- 79760 are: Professor HOLWERDA for Leiden; Professor VALETON for Amsterdam; Professor BOISSEVAIN for Groningen; Professor v. d. VLIET for Utrecht.
Art. Article 16 of the Articles of Association: "Dutch nationals who are or have been students at one of the State universities or the Municipal University of Amsterdam may be sent."
- 79765 "Firstly, Doctors or Doctoral candidates in classical literature are eligible, subsequently also Doctors or Doctoral candidates practicing the subjects mentioned in Article 42, paragraph 5(d) and Article 45, paragraph 5(e) of the Higher Education Act."
- 79770 J. V. D. VLIET, Secretary of the Philological Studies Fund.
- Regarding a lecture at the Teylers Foundation in Haarlem, February 14, 1900, see <http://nha.courant.nu/issue/HA/1900-02-17/edition/0/page/1?query=holwerda>

- 79775 April 17, 1900 [...] the continued meeting of the Historical Society and Archaeology. Dr. J. Berlage from Gorkum spoke on: "A Roman castle in Germania," while Dr. J. H. Holwerda Jr. from Leiden spoke on: "Delphi." Both clarified and illustrated their informative and engaging presentation with drawings and maps.
- 79780 January 4, 1901 The January issue of Tijdspiegel contains: Dr. J. H. Holwerda Jr., Delphi;
- 79785 December 14, 1901 To Prof. Dr. A.E.J. Holwerda.
Your Honorable Sir,
Following your letter in the "Algemeen Handelsblad" dated December 7, I consider it advisable to address just a few more words to you. It seems to me that a further exchange of ideas between you and me about the purpose of museums in general is completely pointless. Our opinions on this matter diverge too much. I also consider a further explanation of my opinion superfluous, since the organization of most museums is already moving in the direction outlined in my letter of November 30th. In almost
- 79790 all natural history museums, the collections are already divided into two sections: one for the general public ("Show Collection" or "Schau-Sammlung") and a second for scientists.
- 79795 The administrators of ethnographic museums also already follow this principle. At least, the director of the National Ethnographic Museum writes in his compelling work: (Dr. Schmeltz, "Ethnographic Museums in Central Europe". Report of a Study Trip. Leiden, E.J. Brill. 1896), speaking about the "Anthropological-Ethnographic Abtheilung des K.K. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseums" (Anthropological-Ethnographic Abtheilung of the Royal National Natural History Museum) in Vienna (l. c. p. 52):
- 79800 "The board has established a separation between objects suitable for public display and those of more special interest to the professional. This measure, which has long been in use in Museums of Natural History, but, as far as I know, here for the first time in an Ethnographic Museum, is certainly worthy of imitation." (I add space.)
- 79805 With a view to the future of the National Ethnographic Museum, I indeed attach great value to this statement by Dr. Schmeltz. Once the division of collections, in the aforementioned spirit, has been accepted in principle by professionals and museum administrators, the choice of the location for the large public national museums—both in the government and parliament—can no longer raise any objections. The one is logically connected to the other; public national museums with "schau Sammlungen" (show collections) for the public should naturally be located in the largest
- 79810 population centers.
- But now for the reason why I consider it advisable to answer you.
In the November issue of "Onze Eeuw" 190, p. 1013, you wrote that we have "cleared out" our ethnographic collection at Artis. In my "Open Letter" to you in "Algemeen Handelsblad" dated November 30th, last year, I emphatically protested this false
- 79815 representation and even attempted to assure you that our Ethnographic Museum is flourishing—thanks to the many interesting and valuable acquisitions. (Ethnographic collection of the Siboga expedition, etc.) Wherever there is talk of "acquisitions," of "enrichment," the concept of "clearance" is already excluded.
- 79820 A further correction on your part would certainly not have been out of place. But see—in your letter, addressed to me in the "Algemeen Handelsblad," I now read the following: "That the Ethnographic collection at Artis was not literally cleared out is entirely correct. Oh no, it has simply been left without its own curator for years, without a professional to manage and organize it. It has been, so to speak,
- 79825 linked to... the Entomological Museum at Artis; an entomologist who is also curator of ethnology."
- What now? — is this serious or short-tempered?
- The replacement of the curator-ethnographer, Mr. C. M. Pleijte Wzn., by the curator-zoologist Dr. J. C. H. de Meijere, is surely not a "clearing-out process."
- 79830 You further say: "I do not believe that the study of insects is the right preparation for those in religion, art, and the art industry." — I do not either, — but equally I do not believe that the study of religions or ancient languages is the right training for those in agriculture and livestock farming, hunting and fishing, costumes and
- 79835 apparel, house construction, vessels, instruments, weapons—in short, all those things and objects that play a much larger role in the lives of so-called "uncivilized" peoples and therefore primarily fill our Ethnographic Museums. So when the skilled ethnographer, Mr. C. M. Pleijte Wzn., left our Museum, we faced a difficult situation. There were plenty of applicants—officers, civil servants, ministers, etc.—

but no "professionals." After careful consideration, the board appointed Dr. J. C. H. de Meijere as curator—not exclusively an "entomologist," as you might think—for nowhere in this country, and as far as I know nowhere else, can one obtain training solely as an "entomologist"—but as a zoologist in general, a student of Professors Dr. Max Weber, Dr. C. A. J. A. Oudemans, and Dr. Hugo de Vries.

Why a zoologist now? Because a zoologist, through the nature of his morphological and comparative studies, has learned to describe the most diverse, largest, as well as microscopic, objects, and through his strict classificatory training, through which he is, as it were, drilled in the art of ordering and arranging, generally feels more at home in a museum than a man of letters or a theologian.

We remain convinced of the correctness of this view—especially where we experience that it is supported by very compelling facts. Although I am, of course, far from capable of tracing the genesis of all ethnographers, it is nevertheless noteworthy that several renowned ethnographers—in relation to their training—are "zoologists." Apart from the fact that Prof. Dr. Max Weber also published ethnographic studies ("Ethnographische Notizen über Flores und Celebes", 1890), the well-known ethnographer Dr. A. B. Meijer, director of the "K. Zoologic Ethnographic-Anthropological Museum" in Dresden, — a zoologist; A. C. Haddon in Cambridge was formerly a professor of zoology in Dublin; Prof. Dr. E. H. Giglioli, a permanent staff member of the "Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie" — published in Leiden — is a professor of zoology in Florence; and Dr. J. D. E. Schmeltz, — director of the National Ethnographic Museum in Leiden and editor of the aforementioned journal — formerly conducted scientific research in the field of zoology. (J. D. E. Schmeltz "Ueber Polynesische Lepidopteren etc.")

The view of the board of our Society regarding the appointment of a "zoologist" as curator at the Ethnographic Museum — was therefore not founded on such shaky ground, but was indeed well-founded.

I am pleased that your letter has given me the opportunity to share this view of the board of I was able to publicly explain our Society.

I now have the honor, with the highest respect, Your Honor,
Your Servant,

Dr. C. KERBERT,
Director of the Royal Zoological Society "Natura Artis Magistra".

August 30, 1922, PROF. HOLWERDA. †

Yesterday, at the age of 77, after an illness lasting only three days, Professor A. E. J. Holwerda, former director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, passed away in Leiden.

Prof. Dr. Holwerda was born in Gorcum on July 21, 1845, and after successfully completing the state examination, enrolled as a theology student at Utrecht University on September 21, 1862. He soon began studying in literature and received his doctorate in ancient literature in Utrecht on May 1, 1868, under the rectorship of Professor N. Beets and with Professor Herwerden as his supervisor. From 1869 to 1870, he was a lecturer at the H.B.S. in Schiedam and from 1878 to 1886 at the H.B.S. in Leiden.

The latter year, he was appointed professor at Leiden University to teach archaeology and ancient history. He accepted this position on April 29 of that year with an inaugural lecture on the historical sciences, in particular classical antiquity, their independence and significance.

In 1905, he was appointed director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, succeeding Dr. Pleyte. In 1915, he resigned as professor upon reaching the age of 70. Numerous works are by him. Published works include "Die alten Kyprier in Kunst und Kultur" (1885), "The Significance of Archaeology for the Study of Antiquity," a speech delivered on the occasion of the Second Dutch Philologists' Congress on April 18, 1900, in Leiden.

During the struggle over higher education under the Kuyper ministry, he published the brochure "Special Universities and Special Professors" in 1903, in which he championed the cause of the special universities.

That same year, he published a brochure on the reform of our grammar school and secondary education, reprinted from the publications of the Association for the Simplification of Examinations and Education. In response to the criticism that followed, his brochure on the special universities was followed in 1905 by a brochure: "Who are we ourselves? A word to his fellow intellectuals," also in response to the educational novella, and secondly: "Can we not become different? A word to his liberal compatriots."

He also wrote several articles. in the Gids, the Spectator, Mnemosyne, Die

79905 Archeologische Zeitung, and the annual journal of the Kaiserlichen Deutschen
Archeologischen Instituts.
In 1893, he was appointed a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam,
where he gave a paper in 1905 on: "New Portrait of Emperor Augustus."
The deceased was also a member of the Society of Dutch Literature and a Knight in the
79910 Order of the Netherlands Lion.
So much for the official announcements.
We briefly considered under which heading we should file this death, under Education
or Art. We chose Art because we had so often observed Professor Holwerda's work on
ancient art, both from afar and up close.
79915 We knew the professor personally for four years and often conversed with this
amiable, jovial, and always friendly-smiling old gentleman. Hearing him talk about
ancient art, excavations, etc., was a delight. How indignant the otherwise jovial and
amiable old man could become when he heard about vandalism in the field of ancient
arts. I once heard him speak with indignation about the demolition of an old pump in
79920 one of our Limburg villages. But it was even more interesting to see the professor at
work in his museum. Unlike other museums in Leiden, Professor Holwerda's was
distinguished by order and regularity. Everything had its p
I've never seen his kind, big eyes sparkle more than when I made a remark he hadn't
suspected: "Do you know, Professor, that Baedeke placed a star for your museum, and
79925 nothing for the other Leiden museums?"
The Leiden museum was his glory. His absent-mindedness was also proverbial. A "joke"
is told about him, which he himself never confirmed, but why those kind, faithful
eyes laughed so often. The professor wanted to visit a colleague but didn't know the
correct house number. He rang the doorbell at number 33 and asked the lady who opened
79930 the door: "Am I with Professor..." No, was the answer, then you should go next door.
He rang the doorbell at "next door" and asked: "Am I with Professor..." When the maid
started laughing and corrected him: "You're with Professor...", Mr. Holwerda realized
he had become the victim of his absent-mindedness. With Mr. Holwerda, one of our most
eminent Dutch scholars descends to the grave.
79935 May his memory be cherished.
OWL.

September 2, 1922 Funeral of Dr. Holwerda.
Amidst many expressions of interest, primarily from scholarly circles in Leiden and
79940 beyond, the burial of the remains of Prof. Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda, former professor at
Leiden University and former director of the Museum of Antiquities, took place
yesterday morning at the cemetery on Groenesteeg in Leiden. Representatives included
the University's Board of Governors, the Senate, and the board of the Faculty of Arts
and Philosophy. In accordance with the deceased's expressed wishes, no speeches were
79945 held at the graveside. After flowers were strewn on the grave, the son thanked Dr. J.
H. Holwerda for the last honors paid to his esteemed father.

van Giffen versus Holwerda jr

79950 [p. 153] IV. DATING AND HISTORY. (fig. 110).

Thus, a Roman castellum, also a naval station, lay here on the present-day Vliet near
Voorburg; the harbor bed, which was rediscovered here in connection with the Vliet,
and the tiles with stamps from the Roman fleet unearthed here, exclude all doubt. I
79955 have often emphasized how the presence of this naval station is one of the strongest
pieces of evidence for the old belief that the Vliet must have been the old
Corbulonis canal, dug around the middle of the 1st century AD. In his essay on the
Fossa Corbulonis, Mr. BEEKMAN (Tijdschrift v. h. Kon. Ned. Aarde. Gen. 1916) last
elaborated on this belief in detail. It seems to me that doubting its correctness is
79960 now virtually impossible. This canal of Corbulo was dug, as Tacitus tells us, "ut
incerta maris vitarentur," that is, to avoid the uncertain sea, so as to be able to
sail as much as possible inland; there seems no doubt as to where.
"There are four places from which one usually crosses to Britain from the mainland:
from the mouths of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. But those who
79965 choose the sea from the Rhine region do not depart from the mouths themselves, but
from the Morini, who live among the Menapii" (that this means the mouth of the
Scheldt is beyond doubt). Thus, STRABO IV, 5, 2, tells us. Here we clearly see the
purpose of both the digging of Corbulo's canal and the construction of our fortress.
Both are clearly aimed at the military communication of the Rhine with England. We
79970 find confirmation of this in many pieces of pottery, which are not of Rhine origin,

but are closely related to forms used specifically in England (cf. in particular II, A 3 and various types under II D). These demonstrate at least a very close connection between our Arentsburg and Roman England in those days.

Regarding the time at which our naval station existed here on this canal, our finds do not leave us in any doubt about that either. From our surveys of the terra sigillata and other pottery, it is clear that this astonishingly rich ceramic material, with a few early exceptions, only begins with the somewhat later Flavian period. Early Frankish pieces, such as the well-known sigillata forms Drag. 29, are not yet found, or are very rare. The coins also speak of the same starting time.

Indeed, Vespasian is the first emperor for whom a large number of coins have been found, and with whom the continuous series of coins begins. Considering that such coins were still in use for some time after their creation, this material also points to a beginning under the same emperor or his successor.

Perhaps even more eloquent are the finds of tile stamps. The first large number in our time are the stamps of Legio X, which, as is well known, first arrived in our country with the Batavian Revolt of 70 and departed again around 105. It was this legion that we rediscovered in Nijmegen on the Hunerberg, and which therefore apparently sent a detachment to this castellum. Our legion stamps, however, allow us an even more precise dating. They seem to prove that the castellum was built before the year 89. Indeed, we read here only the few names of the legion: "X Gemina"; the addition "pia fidelis Domitiana," which it received in the year 89 as a reward for its loyalty during the rebellion of Saturninus, and of which it has retained at least the first two predicates, "p. f.," appears only on one tegula (cf. RITTERLING "de legione X Gemina" and Westdeutsche Zeitschr. XII 20).

Now we hear that it was precisely during these years that the Romans conquered Britain, and that military transports from our region also played a role in this (cf. TACITUS's account of Agricola's expedition, 36). Cohorts of Batavians and Tungri even saved the day for him at one point in the year 84. This considerable force, originating from the banks of our Rhine, must therefore have crossed from here to Britain, and it is therefore logical to assume, after the above, that our naval port of Arentsburg was built for these British expeditions, in which our country also had to play such an active role a good ten years after the Batavian Rebellion.

Yet another fact confirms this. Wherever it was possible to distinguish the oldest construction period of the fortress from the others, it turned out that Batavian pottery (and Tungrian pottery is probably indistinguishable from it) was in common use among the first builders of our fortress.

Already at the beginning of this work, I expressed the opinion that it must have been Batavian cohorts who built our fortress. Now, I think we can safely say that the Batavian cohorts, who performed such important military operations in Britain in 84, probably built their staging port here.

As both coins and, especially, pottery series demonstrate, this staging port served continuously for the military connection of the Rhine with Britain until shortly before the middle of the 3rd century. That it would have been needed occasionally for larger military transports during that period is also evident from written tradition.

According to SPARTIANUS (Vita Hadriani) and FRONTO ("de bello Parthico"), fierce wars must have been waged in Britain during the time when Emperor Hadrian came to power. We know very little about this. We only know of one inscription (cf. Riese Inscr. no. 499) concerning a person who held various posts under Emperor Hadrian, and before that time, "tribunus militum" was "legionis VI victricis cum qua ex Germania in Brittanniam" (translated). So, we have here the transport of an entire legion from Germany to Britain at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, when there was such fierce fighting in that country, and it is obvious that our staging port also served in this context.

However little else we know about British history, we are still frequently mentioned of Batavian and other auxiliary troops from Germany. An exceptionally heavy period of fighting in Britain begins again in the time of ANTONINUS PIUS, whose wall in Scotland testifies to an extensive conquest (cf. MACDONALD, The Roman Wall in Scotland). "Antoninus Pius per legatos plurima bella gessit; nam et Brittones per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum, alio muro summotis barbaris ductor," it says in the

"vita A. Pii" (5, 4). Established by inscriptions in the Pius wall in the north, the name LOLLIUS URBICUS even appears in these inscriptions (C. I. L. VII 1083-1141, especially 1125). Fighting also took place against the Brigantes south of the Antoninus wall. The name of JULIUS VERUS, whose many inscriptions have been found in this part of England (cf. HAVERFELD, "Julius Verus"), is associated with this battle.

According to the inscriptions, this action can be dated to the year 158. Of particular importance to us is an inscription, quoted by MACDONALD 1.1., p. 9, which

mentions units of the 2nd, 6th, and 20th legions, which were detached from both Germania under Julius Verus to Britain for assistance in the battle. We can imagine how our staging port at the Rhine estuary must have been put into action in that year, as troops from Germania apparently rushed to Britain from all sides to assist Britain.

It seems highly likely to me that we are seeing here the events that also left their mark on our remains of Arentsburg. After all, it seems highly likely that repairs and new construction would have been necessary for that large troop transport in the staging port as well. And precisely at this time, shortly after the middle of the 2nd century, we observed new construction at various points within the fortress. For example, the large double gate, built into the long western side wall, dates from this period. The new partition between the harbor and the fortress, which is connected to this gate, also dates from this period. At various points in the barracks, both those of the infantry and the cavalry, we observed repairs around this time.

Such a second construction period is also likely to be discernible in the stone buildings excavated by REUVENS. At least the stamped tiles also speak of significant construction in the second century, although the exact age cannot be determined. First, we must note that, in contrast to the later building materials, the bricks found here from the 10th Legion—that is, those from the early period of the fortress's construction—are exclusively roof tiles. Building materials from foundations or hypocausts are not present here from this legion. It therefore seems likely to me that during this first construction period, at the end of the first century, even the main buildings were constructed exclusively of clay, roofed only with stone tiles.

The oldest hypocaust tiles, therefore, are from legion eleven, those of legion 1 Min and legion XXX Ulpia Victrix. Dating these stamps as precisely as that of legion X is not possible. We do know, however, that both legions arrived in Lower Germany shortly before 120 and that the first remained in these regions until the time of M. AURELIUS, the second until the very last. (Cf. SCHILLING "de leg. Rom. XXX Ulpia", see also Bonn Jahrb. 111/112, 296).

These tiles and stones, which REUVENS found used primarily in his buildings I and III (villa and praetorium), can therefore probably also be attributed to the new construction period, around the year 158, which we assumed above. It seems likely to me, therefore, that the large main buildings were first erected as actual stone buildings at that time.

Thus, we see a very extensive reconstruction of our fortress around that time; the large gate, probably the main buildings, and certainly several barracks were renovated at that time, and it is obvious, as we have already seen, to look for the cause in the extensive transport of troops from three legions, which must have taken place from the Rhine to Britain.

However, based on our tiles, it seems possible to speak of a third construction period for our fortress. By far the largest mass of this is namely, those with the stamps of the Exercitus Germ. inferioris or its Vexillationes. Now we know (cf. Bonn Jahrbuch 111/112, 296) that this stamp was common in the tile factories, which produced the building materials for both Legio 1 and Legio 30, probably somewhere in our country itself, at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century. These stamps cannot be dated precisely, but they generally belong to this late period; the fact that they are the last is, of course, also attributable to the preponderance of their number. And now, it seems highly likely to me that this staging port was also used extensively under Emperor Septimius Severus. After all, even in the latter part of the 2nd century, the period from which finds at Arentsburg are also very abundant, there were continuous wars in England. (Vita M. Aur. in the Hist. Aug. VIII, 7). In 175, we again hear of troop transports from the Danube to England (Dio. XXI, 16), and it seems not unlikely that these took place along the Rhine and through our port. Furthermore, there is constant talk of fighting in northern England over the rampart that Antoninus Pius had built in Scotland (Dio. XXI 8, XXII 9). These wars were particularly fierce under Septimius Severus and even seem to have ended with this emperor withdrawing from northern Britain and building a new stone defensive wall on the site of Trajan's former rampart (cf. Dio. XXVI 12 and 5 Vita Severi, Hist. Aug. 18, 2. See Bonn Jahrb. C X, p. 30).

In this context, another matter seems remarkable to me. We saw above that REUVENS had already been on the section of land that we who may now attribute to the harbor, has excavated one or more stone buildings (II), in which one would naturally prefer to see buildings intended for the fleet, factories or arsenals; REUVENS also points out

the probability that they date from a relatively late period. Now I have previously expressed my opinion about some inscription stones, now preserved at Duivenvoorde Castle in Voorschoten, which earlier writers seem to have found now here, then there. I suspected that they probably originated from the only Roman ruin we know of in South Holland, from Arentsburg (cf. Ber. d. R. G. Komm. IV 8 and CIL XIII suppl.). These inscriptions all belong to the time of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS and his successors and one of them reads: (Riese Inscr. 171): "Imp. Caes. L. Septimius Severus Aug. bet M. Aurelius Antoninus Caes. Coh. XV Vol. armamentarium vetustate collabsum restituerunt sub Val. Pudental leg. Aug. pr. pr. Curante Caecil. "Batone praefecto." Could there be a connection between these relatively late harbor buildings and the arsenal rebuilt by Septimius Severus? If so, then we also have a construction activity in Arentsburg at a time when this harbor would have served a significant purpose as a staging post to England.

Tradition is entirely silent about the subsequent historical periods. We know nothing of these regions or of England. Therefore, we are entirely dependent on the finds for the final period of Arentsburg's existence.

To determine the period until which the fortress existed, the finds are also entirely sufficient. The last types of decorated relief terra sigillata, from the beginning of the 3rd century, certainly still occur at Arentsburg. However, they are no longer as numerous as those that immediately precede them. Likewise, we find quite a bit of other pottery from the first third of that century, although the first 30 to 40 years of the 3rd century are... Arentsburg was still occupied in the 1st century, although not as densely as in the 2nd century. After that, however, the pottery suddenly breaks down. Of the utmost importance for our dating is the fact that the last types of pottery, which we find, for example, in Niederbieber,

The finds, which were after all abandoned around the year 260 (cf. OELMANN Keramik Niederbieber), do not occur here, or only very rarely. It is therefore certain that Arentsburg was abandoned several decades earlier than Niederbieber.

The coin finds also fully agree with this. Up to and including CARACALLA, we see our unbroken series continue regularly, with a nearly even number of coins. Then, the coins from the years in which the pottery only indicated a small occupation begin to become rarer, and with GORDIANUS (238), the continuous series finally breaks off completely. We would certainly not be far off if we consider this year to be the end date of the actual fortification.

Only a very few pottery pieces can be from a slightly later period; there are no compelling data in this regard. However, our coin series does possibly point to a revival, albeit insignificant, around the year 270. We saw above how, according to REUVENS's data, a single cavalry barracks (REUVENS's building IV) was built of stone at one location in our fortress, which was apparently already largely in ruins at that time. This was in contrast to all other barracks buildings from an earlier period, partly using fragments from this rubble. It seems likely to me that we must combine these phenomena and assume that the walls of the already dilapidated fortress once again served as a temporary residence for a Roman cavalry troop around the year 270. The single coin of Emperor CONSTANTINUS is, of course, in itself insignificant. Undoubtedly, under this emperor, our naval fortress in the Germanic lands had long since fallen for good.

However, before this fortress was built at this location, as we have seen, another structure was located here. Even before our excavations began, I had suspected the presence of such a precursor. The single pot from the 16th legion, which was permanently disbanded in the year 70, which prompted this suspicion, has remained such an isolated phenomenon that I dare not now attribute any dating significance to it.

The many traces of soil found beneath our fortress itself, however, leave no doubt about the existence of such a prehistoric period. It was not an actual fortress that stood here at the time; it was probably merely a building surrounded by palisades. We cannot date this building because here, even more so than in the first fortress period, the pottery, which cannot be dated so precisely, predominates. Meanwhile, it seems undeniable that a number of very early pieces among our finds—a few coins, a piece of millefori glass, and pottery fragments sufficiently indicated in the descriptive list—can be attributed to this oldest period. Although their number is too small to allow for any dating with certainty, because with such a small number of specimens one always has to reckon with the possible coincidental survival of a few specific objects, we can nevertheless assume with great probability that the first settlement here already existed in the early years of our era, if not a few years earlier. In any case, it is certain that a Roman settlement must have existed here

80170 well before the Batavian Revolt; the traces of the foundations alone teach us this with complete certainty.
Now a few words about the name. We have previously explained why we believed we might have the Praetorium Agrippinae of the Peutinger map before us (cf. fig. 110). After all, this map depicts two significant places close together in the center of South Holland between the Meuse and the Rhine: Lugdunum Batavorum and, just a few miles inland, Praetorium Agrippinae. It seems impossible to derive any information from the map's drawing or measurements; they are too unreliable. However, when we consider how our Voorburg ruin lies on the extreme eastern edge of the sand of the Dutch coastal region, and that settlements are known in several places to the west, under the dunes, it seems highly likely that we are looking for the eastern of these two places here, near Voorburg, and that Lugdunum must lie somewhere under the Dutch dunes. It also seems significant to me that the small drawing indicating Praetorium Agrippinae on that map—a small square building with a blue box in the center—is the same as what we often encounter on that map for places located on water. This, too, might argue in favor of identifying this Praetorium with our naval port. However, certainty regarding the name is impossible; the expectation that the excavations might reveal it has not been fulfilled. I used to think that Claudius' wife...

80185 Agrippina might have been the namesake here, but the considerable number of objects from an even earlier period found here might now perhaps remind us more of the ancient Agrippina.
80190 One thing is certain in this regard: our fortress is not what people used to believe: the Forum Hadriani of the Peutinger map. After all, firstly, it was not a forum but a naval port, and secondly, it existed long before Emperor Hadrian could have given it his name.

80195 See also <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/view?identifier=MMKB07%3A000885001%3A00121&query=arentsburg+vlootstation&coll=dts&sortfield=date&page=2>

80200 Conclusion. The Roman fortification at Arentsburg was simply a fortified station of the Rhine fleet and had no other significance than the other stations of the Classis Germanica along the Rhine.

80205 List of Roman legions https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Roman_legions

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CASTELLUM AT ARENTSBURG

BY F. KROON

Based on the numerous and important discoveries at the site, Dr. Holwerda, in his publication "Arentsburg" 1), has established a very close connection between the castellum at Voorburg and events in Britain. He believes he recognizes the great significance of the Rhine for Roman war policy towards Britain and, as it were, relates the history of the castellum to events in that country. The presence of ceramics of likely British origin supports his view. A careful study of this matter, however, has led me to a completely different insight and to a differing view regarding the military significance of the aforementioned castellum with its naval station. To explain this view, it is first necessary to briefly outline how Dr. Holwerda classifies and dates the finds:
a. He concludes that the reconstruction in stone of an older settlement and the construction of the naval station took place before the year 89. In another writing, 2) he specifies this further by indicating around 85, the oldest shards being from the time of Domitian.
b. Furthermore, he notes significant new structures at various points in the castellum, which he places shortly after the middle of the 2nd century.
c. He then considers the possibility of a renovation.
80225 1) Arentsburg, a Roman military naval station near Voorburg (1923).
2) The Netherlands' earliest history (second edition, 1925).to be recognized around the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 3rd century.
d. He then raises the possibility of the construction of arsenals around 210.
e. From the finds, he further concludes that the castellum was abandoned around 238, but was temporarily occupied again around 270.
80230 f. A fairly large quantity of ceramics, probably of British origin, finally serves to point out the connection with Britain.
To highlight my objections to Dr. Holwerda's very close connection between the history of the castellum and that of Britain, it is necessary to address the

80235 aforementioned cases one by one:
ad a. Dr. Holwerda connects the reconstruction in stone and the construction of the harbor with Agricola's campaigns in Britain and, in his view, with the changed Roman war policy towards that country during those years. As we have seen, the oldest Roman shards date from the time of Domitian, who came to power in 81. Dr. Holwerda now
80240 dates the period to around 85. If desired, one could place it even earlier, but in my opinion, not before 82. Let us therefore stick with this year and consider the events in Britain.

Since the revolt of Boudicea, four legions had been stationed there. In 67, Nero was able to remove one of them (Leg. XIV), thus reducing the occupying army to three
80245 legions again. In 71, however, another period of aggression began when Cerealis, after suppressing the Batavian revolt, invaded with Leg. II Adiutrix departed for that city. After three years of successful operations, Cerealis was replaced in 74 by Frontinus, who vigorously continued the conquest. When his term of office expired, he was succeeded in 77 by Agricola. He undertook a campaign every year, which led him
80250 further and further north, until in the late summer of 82 he decisively defeated the Caledonians, the northernmost tribes. The conquest of all of Britain seemed to have been accomplished. However, it was Agricola's last campaign; he was recalled in 83. Now, while the image given by Tacitus may be highly exaggerated and highly
80255 subjective, one can certainly assume that Domitian, for whatever reasons, no longer cared for Britain, and that Agricola had to watch with great regret that his magnificent work was not consolidated and what he achieved was jeopardized by the failure to fully pacify Caledonia 2).

In any case, it is certain that after 83, there was no further military action in Britain for a considerable time. On the contrary, around 86, Legion II Adiutrix was
80260 sent to the Danube, reducing the occupying army to three legions. Can we now connect the reconstruction in stone of our castellum at Arentsburg—as we saw, at the earliest in 82—so closely with an action in Britain that had been underway for years, but ended precisely in that year? It seems truly irresponsible to me.

And if one were to speak, with Dr. Holwerda, of a change in Roman war policy towards Britain, then this would have to be in the opposite sense to what he does. Indeed, Domitian turned away from Britain and turned against Germany. For however much this emperor was slandered and ridiculed by ill-disposed authors for his victories over the Germans, the spade ultimately did him justice. 3) His work on the Rhine and
80270 Danube was of great significance. If, as I believe necessary, one excludes the events in Britain, then there are two possibilities for the reconstruction in stone and the construction (possibly renovation) of the port: either they were connected to other military measures, or they were incidental. It seems to me that the events on the Rhine in the first years
80275 of Domitian's reign compel the former view. After all, in 83 the campaign against the Chatti took place, which ended with their subjugation and the occupation of their territory. After this, construction of the first Limes began.

1) Agricola.
80280 2) Collingwood and Myzes, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford, 1936), pages 113 et seq.
3) F. Koepp, *Die Römer in Deutschland* (1926), pages 52 et seq.

Isn't it much more natural to understand the innovations at Arentsburg in the context of those events than to look for a connection, as has been demonstrated, that is very difficult to accept with an action in Britain that was drawing to a close?
80285 It is quite possible that the improvement of the castellum was deemed necessary to deter the Batavians and Caninefates, many of whom had witnessed the uprising in 69, from rash actions during the action against the related Chatti. Aside from this, it
80290 is clear that this action necessitated numerous transports on the Rhine. Securing these transports and generally strengthened military-police surveillance of the waterways must naturally have required greater activity and probably also an expansion of the Rhine fleet. The construction (possibly improvement) of the harbor section is perfectly logical in this context. It is in the nature of things that the
80295 castellum was also renovated and strengthened at that time. If one considers the year 83 too early, then there is also the construction of the Limes and the very dangerous uprising under Ant. Saturninus in 88. No, truly, enough happened on the Rhine itself in those years to explain the improvements at Arentsburg. and. Dr. Holwerda could not define the dating of the following, very important, new constructions as precisely as the previous one. Nevertheless, he believes he can ultimately place it at around 158.
80300 In this, he is actually guided entirely by his assumed close connection with Britain.

Which, however, as we saw above, must be considered highly dubious at the very least. This dating is based on the discovery of hypocaustic tiles bearing the stamps of Legion Minervia and Legion XXX Ulpia Victrix, which tiles primarily belonged to two

large buildings, designated by Dr. Holwerda as a villa and a praetorium. The former legion arrived on the lower Rhine around the year 83, proceeded to the Danube around 100, and returned to its camp in Bonn around 105. In 162, it took part in the campaign against the Dacians, but also returned to its old garrison afterward, where it remained. Regarding the time, the tiles of this legion could therefore date as early as 83, and certainly from 105, when Legion X Gemina, which also had a detachment in Voorburg, permanently departed these countries, and a detachment of Legion I Minervia was likely stationed there. However, we must assume, on the authority of Dr. Holwerda, that the buildings date from a later period.

Leg. XXX Ulpia Victrix arrived on the lower Rhine around the year 119 and remained there until the end of the Roman occupation. The tiles of this legion can therefore be dated from around 120. If we now assume that the new building was intended for detachments of both legions together, we arrive at a possible period from 120 until the date when the Exc. German Inf. stamps were jointly introduced for both legions. This date is not known with precision, but it likely falls in the early second half of the 2nd century. There is therefore a time lag of approximately 40 years.

In addition to the large buildings mentioned above, the following have also been observed: a new, heavy gatehouse in the western wall, a new partition between the fortress and harbor sections, and various renovations to some barracks buildings. Further developing his hypothesis that the origin and subsequent history of the stone castellum with naval station is closely linked to the course of events in Britain and in connection with the well-established fact that fierce fighting took place there during the reign of Antoninus Pius, necessitating the sending of reinforcements from the Rhine overseas, Dr. Holwerda suggests that these buildings also reflect the history of Britain and were connected to those transports.

As a former officer, I find this somewhat unsatisfactory. Even if one were to assume that those transports passed through Arensburg (which is possible, but not certain) and stayed there for a few days to stretch their legs before the start of the sea voyage, one would still expect the construction of a number of temporary barracks rather than palaces with central heating and luxurious bathing facilities. The large gatehouse and the new partition between the fortress and harbor sections are also difficult to explain in this context. The only things that, in my opinion, could fit this picture are the improvements to the existing barracks, if they also represented expansions. But as far as those other buildings are concerned, I really cannot find any basis for it. The praetorium and the villa, in particular, point more to the imminent arrival of a great lord than to passing troops. If one now asks what great lord could be expected after 120, one immediately thinks of Hadrian, who, after inspecting the Rhine border in 121, crossed over to Britain.

One can't help but wonder whether the castellum at Arensburg should be identified with Forum Hadriani of the Tabula Peutingeriana. Dr. Holwerda believes that this is not the case. After all, he says, firstly, it was not a forum (in the sense of marketplace, he means) but a naval port, and secondly, it existed long before Emperor Hadrian could have given it his name.

It should be noted, however, that forum does not exclusively mean marketplace. In my opinion, it is quite possible that Hadrian used his stay there to personally settle various pending matters; this was entirely in his nature. In commemoration of this important event, the castellum may have been renamed.

Returning to the core of our topic, it should be noted that it is known how Hadrian personally gave instructions on his travels for improvements to the fortifications, sometimes even ordering their relocation. There would therefore be a strong case to be made for attributing the other renovations to his efforts. This seems quite acceptable to me for the renovations to various barracks and the new partition between the fortress and harbor sections, but an exception must be made for the large gate.

Dr. Holwerda reports that for the construction of this gate, the existing moat had to be partially filled in, and that shards were found in the material used, which makes it necessary to date the gate's construction to at least around 160. But in Dr. I have found nothing in Holwerda's publications that would necessitate placing these other buildings in the same period, as he does.

It therefore seems advisable to me to divide the buildings, which Dr. Holwerda places in one group around 158, as follows:

- a. The palace and the villa: shortly before Hadrian's arrival, i.e., 120-121.
- b. The improvements to the barracks and the partition between the fortress and harbor sections: after his departure, i.e., 121-122.
- c. The large gate in the Western Wall: ± 160.

Regarding this gate, it should be noted that its connection to events in Britain also seems highly dubious to me. While there was fierce fighting there during Antoninus Pius, and undeniably, around 155 transports departed from the Rhine to Britain, it remains somewhat puzzling why this would have necessitated the construction of a more robust gate at Arentsburg. One would rather think of an incidental improvement. However, if one were to seek a connection with events elsewhere, one would also be better off focusing on this case to the Rhine. Under the recently mentioned emperor, not only was there fighting in Britain, but the entire surveillance system against the Germans was also improved around 160. A renovation of our castellum fits much better into this picture, in my opinion.

ad c. Dr. Holwerda believes he finds the possibility of a subsequent renovation around the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century. This is based on the discovery of pans stamped with the stamp of Exercitus Germ. Inf. As we have already seen, these pans cannot be dated precisely, but they must surely date from after around 160. He also draws on the history of Britain for this possible renovation. He points out that troop transports resumed around 175 and that there was renewed heavy fighting during the reign of Septimus Severus (193-211). This does not seem very convincing. Aside from the fact that tile replacement is sometimes necessary, even without any specific underlying events, if one prefers to consider a more general renewal of the castellum, one might again look much more closely to the Rhine than to Britain. Under Commodus (180-192), numerous changes and improvements to the Germanic Limes took place (e.g., the foundation of the large castellum at Niederbieber). There were also renewed wars against the Chatti and Chauci. It is truly unnecessary to look across the North Sea for an explanation for work on our castellum, regarding Dr. Holwerda points out the significance of some inscription stones, which, in his opinion, originate from Arentsburg. He cites one of the inscriptions, which shows that work on the arsenals was carried out during the reigns of Septimus Severus (193-211) and his successor, Caracalla (198-217). He asks whether there might be a connection between the stone buildings excavated by Revius on the site now recognized as a harbor and the arsenals mentioned in the inscription. He continues: "If so, then we also have a building project here at Arentsburg at a time when this harbor would have served a useful purpose as a staging post to England." As can be seen, he remains trapped until the end by the idea of a connection he sought, the basis of which, however, is difficult to maintain from a military historical perspective. Let us assume that the inscription stones actually come from Arentsburg and that the magazines mentioned on them were indeed the buildings discovered by Revius. Is there then any reason to turn our attention to Britain? Quite a lot happened on the Rhine in those years. Septimus Severus, for example, prepared plans to subdue the Germans. Such plans certainly included the reconstruction or construction of arsenals. Under his successor, Caracalla, wars were waged against the Chauci and the Saxons, that is, near our region. This, too, provides sufficient explanation for the reconstruction of warehouses at Arentsburg. Therefore, I dare say without any hesitation: look closer to home.

ad e. The observed reoccupation of the castellum in 270 is tactically very simple to explain. In that year, the Limes was definitively abandoned, after which the Danube and Rhine would form the border. The work and relocations associated with this reorganization would certainly have necessitated considerable transport on the Rhine. A temporary guard of the Rhine estuary to cover these transports is not only plausible, but tactically essential. The castellum at Arentsburg was perfectly situated for this purpose.

ad f. I am fully aware that discussing ceramics of likely British origin would be treading on very thin ice. And yet, I cannot remain entirely silent on the matter, as it is, in fact, the only point that undeniably points to a connection with England. But this will have to remain a layman's talk.

The remarkable thing about this ceramic is that it was found in a fairly large quantity at Arentsburg, but, as Dr. Holwerda reports, has not been found elsewhere along the Rhine. So it apparently did not reach beyond our castellum. One might think that it was a consignment imported as merchandise, which the importer suffered because it proved unpopular here. But there is another solution, which, at least in my opinion, is more satisfactory. Around the year 150, the Romans very likely transported several British tribes in their entirety from their land to the Limes in Wurttemberg. If this is true, it might explain the presence of this Caramel of British

- 80435 origin in Arentsburg. Anyone who has ever seen, in reality, on a newsreel, or in a photograph, the embarkation of Javanese emigrants destined for the foreign lands, will immediately understand. The caring women naturally brought their pots with them, not only as a precaution, because one could not know what it would be like abroad, but also to have food and drinking water on the way. If such a group of British colonists had to stay in Arentsburg for a while to wait for further transport, then
- 80440 it is conceivable that the women noticed that better or more beautiful pottery was available there. Women are women; they preferred the foreign pottery and left their old pots behind.
- I readily admit that this is a very homely explanation, but for that very reason it is perhaps not so far from the truth.
- 80445
- Summary. From a military historical perspective, it is unacceptable to connect the reconstruction in stone of the castellum at Arentsburg under Domitian with Agricola's war campaign in Britain, which had just ended. More reason to consider this is in connection with the campaign against the Chatti, the continued occupation of their
- 80450 land, and the establishment of the first Limes.
- The construction of a praetorium and villa is difficult to connect with the passage of troop transports destined for England, but rather points to the imminent arrival of a prominent figure, which could point to Hadrian.
- 80455 Some of the other renovations to the castellum could be attributed to Hadrian's wishes.
- The others can be more easily linked to events on the Rhine and in our region than to those in Britain, insofar as they were not incidental.
- 80460
- Conclusion: The Roman fortification at Arentsburg was a simple fortified station of the Rhine fleet and had no other significance than the other stations of the Classis Germanica along the Rhine.
- Correspondence regarding van Giffen's accusations against his son Holwerda.**
- 80465
- [113] CURATORS OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN.
No. 422 Leiden, June 2, 1904
Subject: Pension Basis of Dr. J. H. Holwerda
Appendix 1
- 80470 We have the honor to submit to you for your perusal a copy of the decree of the Minister of the Interior, dated May 28, No. 1428, Department of KW.
Curators of the State University of Leiden
Fock? President
J.E. Boddart Secretary
- 80475 The Professor and Director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.
- Appendix to the letter from the Curators of the State University of Leiden, dated June 2, 1904, No. 422.
Copy. May 28, 1904, No. 1420, Department of KW.
- 80480 The Minister of the Interior has approved:
with amendment to his decision of March 18, 1904, no. 737, department of Public Works, to determine that the pension contribution base for Dr. J. H. Holwerda, curator at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, remains fixed at two thousand one hundred guilders (2,100 guilders). [...]
- 80485
- [113] Dutch Antiquities [in Rotterdamsche Courant, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1904.]
(Submitted by) Dr. J. H. Holwerda,
- [635, p. 6] Giesen, August 12, 1912
- 80490 567a
Dear Sir,
- As I suspected, we—both you and I—have been the victims of fraud. There is no urn field at the location indicated to me, but there is a small area where some urns once stood. However, they have been removed; by whom is easy to guess. Probably, in your
- 80495 municipality, there are still urns, just not in the designated location. Incidentally, there are no specific mounds at that location, as I believed there were. I consider it undesirable to continue further investigation in your municipality and have therefore had the work stopped. The extent to which we are dealing with fraudsters is evident from the fact that the workers actually forced my

80500 amanuensis to pay them their 2 guilders as a daily wage, claiming that I had promised it. In the meantime, I thank you politely for your kind intentions; my visit is now also unnecessary.

Sincerely, Yours sincerely, Dr. J. H. Holwerda, Deputy Director of the National Museum of Antiquities

80505 To the Honorable Mayor of Luijksgestel.

[635, p. 7] Valkenswaard, August 14, 1912

[380] Groningen, October 5, 1912

[...] J.W. Moll

80510

[380] ? October 7, 1912

Dear colleague,

Permit me to add a brief written word to the letter that Van Giffen was supposed to send you today, and of which I took note.

80515 I now have a sufficient overview of the matter, also through perusal of the exchanged documents, to be able to express the opinion that there has been more misunderstanding than actual misconduct. And furthermore—and this is the main point—Van Giffen is unjustly distrusted. I can certainly understand that distrust, considering the letter he wrote to you. But now that he has made a full amendment to
80520 that letter, this point, which was the reason for your action, can no longer carry the weight to hit this young man as seriously as you initially intended. I have also thoroughly checked that in all sincerity, no thought of collusion with anyone has ever entered his mind.

80525 However, I have not considered myself entitled to form an independent opinion regarding van Giffen's person and therefore request this two mentors, Moll and van Bemmelen, under whom he worked for many years, to send me their opinions. I hereby submit this testimony to you. I believe it speaks volumes in van Giffen's favor. Since this is the case, since it is a matter of gaining significant strength for your science and keeping alive such a rare and genuine interest in science—I have complete
80530 confidence that your sense of justice and the memory of the cordial relationship that, as evidenced by the letters exchanged, existed between you, your son, and van Giffen, will be able to lead you to the decision to grant him the permanent position he so ardently desires. I remain, yours sincerely and kindly,
H. Krabbe

80535

[277] [October 11, 1912?] Since the faculty issued its previous recommendation, objections to Dr. Holwerda have come to its attention, both through documents His Excellency sent to it for information purposes and through communications provided by some of its members.

80540 These objections are of two kinds:

1. The events concerning Arentsburg challenge Dr. Holwerda's scientific seriousness and sense of propriety.

80545 2. The second objection raised against Dr. Holwerda is even more serious in the faculty's view. It amounts to the claim that Dr. Holwerda would make independent scientific work, and thus the continuation of the work, impossible for young scholars appointed to the Museum as officials, as soon as it becomes apparent that they do not fully share and support his opinions and views. The faculty is of the opinion that, should a serious investigation reveal the validity of these objections, the appointment of Dr. Holwerda as director of the Museum of Antiquities should be
80550 strongly discouraged.

However, the faculty lacks the information to form an opinion on this validity and must therefore declare itself incompetent to issue further advice.

[380] ?? 10 Oct. 2012

80555 Dear colleague,

I owe an explanation for my visit to your son. I asked him whether he was seeking cooperation with v. Giffen and, in that case, considering his likely future position at the museum as his successor, whether he would accept the responsibility of a permanent appointment, which might lead you to grant v. G.'s request.

80560 I had to receive a negative answer to that question.

Sincerely, I remain, Anne L.
H. Krabbe

[380] ?? 11 Oct. 12

80565 Dear colleague,

Should there now be a misunderstanding between us? I hope not. The fact is that the deputy director recommended Mr. v. Giffen to you for a permanent position, after what happened last summer. Since your son had now demonstrated such a benevolent attitude and will in all likelihood be responsible for the museum's affairs, there was every

80570 reason to ask him the question, which, if answered affirmatively, would have made it easier for you, in my opinion, to grant Mr. v.G.'s request. Your son appears to have changed his mind.

My efforts, which I initiated at the request of my friend Moll, with the museum authorities have now come to an end.

80575 Convinced of your good intentions, I remain yours sincerely and with pleasure.
Yours sincerely. H. Krabbe

[277] Draft response (Unification of the professorship of archaeology with that of director of the

80580 Museum of Antiquities).

Response of the Faculty to the letter from the Curators of October 11, 1912, (sent October 21, 1912) regarding the unification of the positions of Professor of Archaeology and Director of the National Museum of Antiquities.

We hasten to respond to your letter of October 11, 1912, No. 793.

80585 Your committee poses two questions:

1. Whether the unification of the professorship currently held by Professor Holwerda with that of Director of the Museum should be permanent?

2. Who should be considered as Professor Holwerda's successor as Director? Regarding the first question, we would like to point out what our faculty already noted in its

80590 1903 advisory report to your college, when the question of combining the two positions was raised. The faculty was of the opinion at the time that it would be desirable in many cases for the Professor to be the directing head of the institution where his study material is kept; that "however, no hard and fast rule can be

80595 established in this regard, as various circumstances may arise that make a different arrangement preferable."

The reason why the faculty, back in 1903, recommended the association was that "at that time, the museum needed strong leadership; it truly wanted to serve the interests of the public as well as those of the academic community in the future, and one could expect that the then-incumbent, Professor Holwerda, was the man to provide

80600 that leadership."

The association was therefore advocated solely because of the circumstances and the personality of the then-professor.

That the association, while highly desirable in certain cases, nevertheless had its drawbacks, was always recognized by the faculty, and Professor Holwerda, in

80605 particular, stated, according to the minutes of the faculty meeting held on this matter, that he found the combination extremely difficult, but that he accepted it for the sake of the future. The faculty believes that there are cases in which the combination of the two positions need not be objectionable to either party, but that even in cases like this one, where it was objectionable, it could still happen that a

80610 Professor will have to make a sacrifice, like Professor Holwerda did in 1903.

However, as far as the National Museum of Antiquities is concerned, it is now effectively organized and in the interest of the public and the academic community. We should advise against the combination of the two positions just as strongly now as we advised against it in 1903.

80615 Your board rightly notes that the appointment of a new director does not imply a commitment that he or she will later succeed Professor Holwerda as Professor. Rather, insofar as this expresses the principle of separation, it is the opposite. We would therefore consider a temporary appointment highly inappropriate.

In 1903, the question of personalities also weighed heavily, and this naturally leads us to an answer to the second question. Undoubtedly, we are now in much more

80620 favorable circumstances in this respect than in 1903. Indeed, it is safe to say that Prof. Holwerda could not have carried out such an extensive reorganization effort without the effective assistance of Deputy Director Dr. J.H. Holwerda Jr.

Most of the new museum design was carried out directly by the Deputy Director after prior discussion, often also based on his insights. The current highly effective

80625 organization of the national supervision of finds entrusted to the museum and of the systematic research of our soil is thanks to his energy and insight. He is a practical and forceful leader who will never lose sight of the importance of studies at our University.

80630 We therefore consider him the most suitable person for this position.

Should your council wish us to appoint more than one person, we would secondly

mention Deputy Director Dr. P.A.A. Boeser, who worked at the museum for several years. However, we can hardly seriously recommend him over the former. A final remark. It happens that an official affiliated with a library, museum, observatory, or similar institution as an extraordinary professor or lecturer is assigned to teach in their specialty. In our opinion, this is highly desirable. However, the issue here is different. The question is whether to attach a directorship to an ordinary professorship; but conversely, to assign a director or museum official the additional position of lecturing in a limited area.

[267] Correspondence with the president curator, Jhr. Mr. W. H. de Savornin Lohman, regarding the Giffen case

1 The Hague, 24 Oct. 1912

2 Leiden, October 22, 1912

2 After the conversation with the President Curator

3 I have now taken the whole matter into my own hands

4 He wants an independent position in the museum and wants that

5 him, that we have been for a very long time

6 that attempt with us

7 consider. If you, after their collection of the documents

8 his time for his natural history dissertation.

9 who is working on excavations in the museum

10. In the last five years

11 had the daily management,

12 disagreement came where I in the memorandum

13

14 Mr. van Giffen during his visit

15 I have the promised information, to further discuss the matter

16 Reply to the letter of October 31

17 whether or not to come to this conclusion

18 reporter: a young person is for a year

19 temporary recommendation

20 know, with honest, unbiased.

21 Your letter from yesterday

22 instruction itself,

23 I think that how the natural way out is to

24 has turned, I would certainly not want him

25 Leiden's feeling would not be in vain

26 Leiden, 8 Nov. 1912

27 made it difficult?

28 the president-curator would have given the decisive verdict.

29 was of secondary importance

30 consider this still. To call in mediation after

31 With all due respect

32 You point out to public opinion

33 how my advice as favorable as possible

[173] Leiden, November 26, 1912

My dear colleague

The interest you have shown, for which I am very grateful, means that I would like to share with you in a few words my decision.

I have no control over all these slanders and disparages, as they are done secretly. Therefore, I cannot speak to the minister about them except in the vaguest terms.

The honesty of myself and my son, and also the scientific merit of the latter, are far too high for me to justify ourselves in these respects without an accusation being publicly made.

Very soon after your departure, this insight dawned on me.

I consider any action by the least of my own selves far beneath me. I will certainly leave the field open for Mr. Lohman. So be it. Aderenne qui pourra.

I had to speak to Mr. R. again, as usual, and I also asked him briefly about this. He agreed with me completely. However, I had already made up my mind when I asked him. Thanking you again, with kind regards, also to Madam, as always.

?? A.E.J. Holwerda

[173] Leiden, 28 Nov. 1912

My dear colleague,

Although I am convinced I cannot go to the Minister with it, I still owe you my

thanks for your information. Indeed, I do not know at the moment how it would be advisable to use it in any other way. Now, I believe I understood that I was not allowed to mention your name. That must have been a misunderstanding. What objection could you possibly have to that? May I then, if I deem it appropriate, say, colleague Blok told me that someone (me, that is), a friend of Mr. van Giffen, heard and informed him of this and that.

And then, the person who brought it to you is a good man. However, the action was considered otherwise? To accuse him of forgery without that person having any right to do so is not good.

And then, surely there can be no objection on your part to informing that informant that you are preventing me from pursuing the matter. It would then be sent to them in a sealed letter.

With this, he is even more obliged than you already are to me.

P.S. My son will be back in town this evening. I will, of course, inform him.

[173] Leiden, November 28, 1912

Your Honor,

I learned from my colleague Blok that someone has made very serious accusations to him against me and the deputy director, Dr. Holwerda.

I summon you to repeat these openly to us. The Professor and Director of the National Museum of Antiquities

A. E. J. Holwerda

[268] Leiden, December 23, 1912

Your Highness,

A new, enormous fact in the Van Giffen case has come to light. We have a prospective draftsman, Mr. H. Martin, who can perform his services as a draftsman, and we wanted to see if he could also learn something more. He and Mr. van Giffen accompanied us to Arentsburg. Neither of them yet knows anything of any significance about Roman archaeology, but the deputy director could then let them participate in the work to see how far they had learned about excavation. Mr. Martin proved unsuitable for it, Mr. van Giffen not.

I nominated Mr. Martin as an assistant for a year, during which he can do work for which he is well-suited. I considered him a respectable young man.

I had to advise Mr. van Giffen very decisively because of his character traits and opinions.

Now the deputy director of the Arentsburgh Association receives a report containing a complaint from Mr. van Giffen—the student, N.B.—that Dr. Holwerda, his mentor, is not doing the work properly.

In that document, Mr. van Giffen also mentions that he had discussed the same matter with Mr. Martin in a memorandum addressed to the President-Curator, which also complains about "unspeakable circumstances."

I have now provided Mr. Lohman with a detailed dossier concerning Mr. van Giffen. In the discussion about the matter, Mr. Lohman raised virtually no points from that dossier. I heard nothing, then or later, of the charges brought against us. Thus, the President-Curator accepted a complaint against my museum management from a probationary museum official without informing me and thus allowing me to justify myself. The probationary official was someone I declared it would be irresponsible to appoint permanently, an opinion I had clarified with a series of facts.

One understands the intention: Mr. van Giffen, who still has to learn his trade, must obtain a permanent position in the museum against us.

For us, it is becoming a matter of defending our own honor and dignity.

I urgently request you to inform His Excellency of this.

How is it possible to keep Mr. van Giffen in the Museum any longer?

I hope and trust in the Government's justice.

Sincerely,

dn A.E.J. Holwerda

Right Honourable Sir J. B. Kan

Secretary General at the Ministry of the Interior.

Not exactly as provided to Mr. Kan

[268] letters from Professor Holwerda to Minister Kan regarding Van Giffen
Leiden, 13 January 1913

Your Excellency,

It has come to my attention that a meeting of the Curators recently took place, at

80765 which, among other things, the existing difficulties concerning the Museum of Antiquities were discussed.
To my regret, I was not summoned to that meeting. I deeply regret this, as the matter could probably have been clarified through joint discussions. Now, there is no doubt that, in connection with this entire matter, accusations against me as museum director were also brought before the Curators. Therefore, should anything
80770 unexpectedly come to Your Excellency after this meeting that directly or indirectly points to an unfavorable assessment of my museum management, I believe I can trust that no decision will be made by Her even remotely based on such an unfavorable assessment without first hearing me.
With respectful regard.
80775 Your Excellency, obedient servant A. E. J. Holwerda, Professor-Director of the National Museum of Antiquities
To His Excellency the Minister of the Interior

[268] 23 1 Mr. J. B. Kan
80780 Right Honourable Sir
His Excellency was indeed kind enough to speak with me briefly this morning. I also spoke about the Giffen case. May I be so bold as to clarify this for you once again?
Because Mr. van Giffen, the probationary curator, is distrustful and unreliable, yet
80785 doesn't interfere with any authority under the rules, doesn't understand that working in the museum's interest requires collaboration with others, I strongly advised against continuing the experiment with him.
A complete dossier submitted to the Curators supported this assertion. It's not my fault that the gentlemen apparently ignored this.
80790 Now comes the Arentsburgh case: Mr. Martin. The snakes of Mr. van Buiten Uelleb. Mr. van Giffen and his friends have sent two officials, whom I, as director, sent to Arentsburgh to assist the deputy director.
The choice of Giffen and Martin, so that the most? menadhelmerk hv
80795 on the ?? did the following. That evening, using Dr. Holwerda's drafts, which had been entrusted to Mr. Martin in his official capacity as a draftsman, the well-known indictment was drafted. This was handed over to a private committee entirely without my knowledge. In my opinion, this is a very flagrant violation of official duty. Mr. Martin acknowledged this on behalf of me and Dr. Boezer, but had done so "on the orders of Mr. van Giffen," "his superior," as he added on another occasion.
80800 The Arentsburgh committee was clearly very favorable to the Lord. Both gentlemen, he also briefly and casually indicated that at least 14 of the 15 accusations were either unproven or refuted, i.e., that they were false accusations.
As evidenced by a letter from the Curators to the deputy director dated January 27th. Last year, Mr. van Giffen also used two unsolicited statements to the President
80805 Curator, making unsolicited representations.
In the document addressed to the Arentsburgh committee, Mr. van Giffen stated that he could not cooperate with the head of his department (see page 7).
Such a person who, behind the backs of his superiors, tells at least 16 untruths about outsiders, even the simplest rules of conduct, and who, moreover, claims to be
80810 unable to cooperate, should be banned from the museum. This is not a matter of "expulsion," as he is not yet in. The consequences then.
The minister still attached great importance to the Proposal unfounded.
The idea that this is a "sprinkle" with the museum is definitely incorrect. A person is on probation, and the question is: should that probation be continued?
80815 The minister still considered less favorable treatment on the part of the deputy director.
This seemed to me to be the crucial point.
I must respect that. That His Excellency
I respect that this must be taken into consideration, understanding is self-evident.
80820 What the Minister may be assured about this rests beyond doubt that that secret dossier, about which we are not opposed, is further raised.
However, he primarily agrees with an assurance from Mr. van Giffen himself, just as the scientific impropriety of the Arentsburgh committee was also mentioned.
This was because
80825 the Arentsburgh committee only accepted Mr. van Giffen, the man who, according to that committee itself, had numerous 14 unproven or refuted accusations.
I understand the minister's difficulties. How can he...
However, it strikes me who should be held accountable?
Are the charges of...? Is this necessarily...?

80830 Clear counter-evidence cannot be found in my document to His Excellency, in the memorandum that Professor Nieuwenhuis sent to the SD?
This is something else, which he informed me he sent to the Minister.
I could also submit a letter from Professor Goossens from Rolduc, who heard about the matter and now writes about the humane way in which Dr. Holwerda treats young people.

80835 Assuring such a man a position in the museum, which he does not yet hold, seems impossible to me.
It is another matter to give him a period of transition, even if it is in the museum's interest that it be short. Mr. van Giffen has actually already had several requests for transition. How would it be possible to keep him on longer? What the

80840 minister might want to do to ease this transition is another matter. In the absolute interest of the museum, in the interest of order and authority, it is important that this transition be as short as possible.
I do not understand how it is possible, after all this, to keep such a person in the museum, even though I am...

80845 With all the compassion I can feel for the young man, I am reluctant to resign myself, but I must point out that his stay in the museum is detrimental in many ways. Your Excellency

This morning...

80850 May I just inform you that I had a conversation with His Excellency the minister. Respectfully but very firmly, I said that I might soon find myself in the very sad necessity of openly defending our honor and good name as well. F The name of the high-ranking person F I? One name in particular. I cannot tell you how much I hope I will be able to remain silent.

80855 His Excellency seemed not unwilling, not entirely unwilling, to continue Mr. van Giffen.
He has only been appointed temporarily to continue, whom he has not been appointed to provide a position in the museum.
I have previously pointed out that this gentleman is distrustful and even unreliable,

80860 that he cares for no order, no rules, no authority, and does not realize that he and the museum's interests have the interest of working and collaborating with others. I have insisted on this with numerous documents.
Later, this gentleman, violating all the rules of the art, quietly, with the help of officials entrusted to his position, filed a complaint against me, to be submitted to

80865 the Arentsburgh committee. This committee issued the following statements, which were strongly supported in his favor.
I have, without hesitation, refuted the 15 points of accusation by the delegated party as unproven. Mr. v. G. himself states in this document that they are not just able to cooperate.

80870 Although the curators indicate in a letter dated January 27th that Mr. van Giffen also has "real advantages to offer" compared to Mr. President Curator, they apparently remain willing to have them/him retained in two respects. He has spoken. It seems to me that he really still supports the museum.
He is apparently still willing to grant a position in the museum that he does not yet

80875 have.
I had to point out to His Excellency the Minister that this would be an insult to me that I cannot allow myself to be subjected to.
Here, Your Excellency, is a brief account of what I have endured in a matter in which you too are of some interest, although you are, of course, completely outside the

80880 scope of this matter.
I have the most pleasant memories of the conversation I had with you, should you be so kind as to grant me permission, and I ask that my kind regards also be extended to Miss your daughter. Sincerely, I have the honor to
Thank you for your kindness.

80885 Sincerely,
Although Your Excellency fully respects the advice, after the kind reception I received, I nevertheless felt compelled to keep you somewhat informed.
P.S. Already for a few days
When I noticed that even a stranger was willing to treat the institution we created

80890 as it is, I asked the Minister to consider my application for resignation as withdrawn.

[277] [early 1913] Very confidential 1
To avoid having to write the same thing over and over again, I would like to inform

80895 my friends in this way of the almost unbelievable intrigues of which I have been the

victim.

In September, my father wanted to request his resignation as director of the museum (not as a professor, because both positions are ultimately incompatible), and I applied to be his successor. My colleague Boeser himself did not want to and supported me and the Literary Faculty brought a proposal for me. The advice was favorable.

Meanwhile, we had a temporary curator at the museum, a young man [van Giffen] with a doctorate in Natural History, but with great ambition for my profession, which he would learn from me. He also accompanied me on a few excavations. This young man was determined to be appointed, and when that initially seemed to be possible, he came up with all sorts of demands: the most important of which was that I withdraw almost entirely from the indigenous section of the museum. Everyone knows that this section is essentially entirely my creation, and so I understand that I was not interested. Yet, I had already come a long way towards accommodating him when, through various dubious actions on his part, it became clear that continuing the experiment with him was undesirable. My father, as director, made this decision entirely independently and informed him of it. This was the signal for him to launch a smear campaign against me, who, as I dare say, has always been equally lenient towards him. His father, an orthodox minister, appeared on the scene, and Mr. Krabbe, a law professor, through Groningen connections of this young man from Groningen, tried to work for them. Mr. K. also came to me and asked me, "because I had always been so kind to the young man and yet was my father's designated successor," to put in a good word for him with my father. I had to refuse, of course, and a month later Mr. K. went around telling me it would be a disgrace if I succeeded my father, as well as all sorts of slander regarding my scientific work; I had actually accomplished nothing. He oppressed junior officials, etc., etc. I only learned of the slander much later. Meanwhile, the "Christian" action also began. The president summoned my father and threatened him that if he maintained his unfavorable advice regarding the young man, he would have to face the consequences. Of course, my father could not, for his conscience's sake, be forced by threats. So the consequences were bound to come. The young man in question collected all sorts of written accusations against my father and me, and these were used as a secret dossier against us. Neither of us was ever questioned about any of the accusations, despite our repeated requests. And even then, we were completely unaware of the nature of these accusations. They remained secret in the hands of the President, Curator Mr. de Savornin Lohman. Based on these secret accusations, a very unfavorable proposal was made in December, and it almost became reality. I would have been virtually prevented from working at the museum I had actually founded, and I would have been forced out of the study I myself had introduced in our country. All because of a combination of slander and so-called Christian justice. The exact nature of the accusations was still kept secret from us. I would have been sentenced without being able to defend myself.

By chance, or should I say, the honest believers among my friends of a board, the evidence of the slander came into my hands a few days before the verdict. The young man, assisted by a draftsman who was also leaving our museum, had also attempted to harm my work by bringing his slander to the chairman of the Arentsburg Association. He had confided in me that I wasn't on very good terms with Mr. Gratama, a colleague of Mr. Lohman in the Supreme Court. Instead of chasing the young man out, he took the accusations seriously and called me [2] to account. Suddenly, a few days before the decision, I received the entire slander file concerning my work. I had it printed with my defense. From the enclosed booklet, especially from page 23 onward, everyone can see how these young men had acted against me. The department was indignant and completely on my side. I personally circulated my booklet among the Curators, and I know from a reliable source that from that time on, the other Curators no longer participated. Against the advice of the faculty against the department, only the personal influence of Mr. Gratama remained. Lohman on his coalition partner. To strengthen himself, the Arentsburg Association now had to serve. After six weeks, I was asked to come and provide some further information, and to my indignation, I found both young men there. Mr. Gratama, along with two others who, of course, had no idea of my profession either, then went to court with those two young men as prosecutors and experts. You can imagine how insulting. If I hadn't left it at Arentsburg for the work, I would have walked away. There was nothing to be found, of course, and so the work was assigned to me again. * To spare those boys further, I...

In their article, the gentlemen indulged in certain expressions regarding my scientific activities and conclusions, such as only those completely ignorant of the field can make, and I was even vehemently reproached for informing curators and other

authorities of the accusations. As what gradually became known about the secret dossier became increasingly concerned, these people naturally became more and more concerned, and it gradually became a matter of saving his reputation. The acquittal was that Arentsburg had to be disguised as darkly as possible. If it weren't such a serious matter, it would be ridiculous how three complete laymen—Judge Gratama, archivist Kraemer, and engineer Welcker—speak of my archaeological work as if I were any ordinary rascal. With that judgment, they then brought it to the minister, who simply didn't dare follow his department's advice against Lohman. Meanwhile, we heard that he had been searching for a rival candidate in Berlin. He had also been told there that I was the right person. Now the Arentsburg document was sent to the faculty, asking them to reconsider their favorable recommendation. Mr. Krabbe and his friends were once again vigorously prodding faculty members against me, but I found some very ardent friends and defenders in it, so the faculty stuck to its previous recommendation. We understood, however, that Lohman would not give up, and therefore, on the advice of some friends, my father withdrew his request for resignation. This puts an end to the intrigue. We hope that the elections will free us from political influence in this matter. Meanwhile, Lohman has persevered to the extent that his protégé, despite making himself virtually impossible with everything he did, will remain in office, at least for this year.

The danger to my work has now passed, however, and we can gradually begin to speak. In response to the grievous treatment by authorities who have not the slightest idea of my work, I have asked some of the foremost in my field abroad to express their opinion of me and my work, and I believe the most worthy response on my part would be to send those authorities only that response. I am also attaching it here. For the rest, we must await better times.

* Meanwhile, to wait and see, Mr. Gratama, who hoped that someone else would become director, has postponed the work.

[277] [March 1913] At the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy of the State University of Leiden. (March 1913)

Confidential

At the faculty meeting of March 4, Mr. van Leeuwen asked why no appointment of director of the National Museum of Antiquities had yet been made. I could only provide some preliminary information at the time, but the matter apparently attracted considerable attention, as it does even outside our faculty circles. Some further explanation, even if not intended for publicity, therefore seems desirable.

[in the margin] The dean understood that he should not read this letter addressed to the faculty because of the word "confidential."

Last year, a doctoral candidate in natural history was appointed as a probationary curator. As such, he needed archaeological training from us if he wanted to actually act as a curator. Gradually, however, I began to have increasingly serious doubts, due to his character traits, whether it was advisable to continue the trial with him, and I felt it necessary to give him a very precise description of his position and relationship at the museum. I did so (October 22) in a document that I offered to discuss with him; which he declined. I demanded that he answer a few questions about this matter and another before November 1st.

Meanwhile, the father of that young man, a minister in Friesland, had already tried to pressure me and had separated from me with the words: "So you don't want to, then I know where to go." Furthermore, Professor Krabbe had tried the same here, not only with me but also with the deputy director, Dr. Holwerda, whom he appealed to as my "presumptive successor."

As you know, I requested my resignation [p. 2] as director last September, after having informed the Curators of my intention to do so in the preceding February, so now over a year ago, in order to give them all time to become aware. A somewhat peculiar objection was raised by the Curators at our faculty at the time (early October), as if appointing a director would obligate them to later appoint the same person as my successor as professor. They invoked this objectio on the correspondence of 1903, as if the faculty had advocated a permanent link between professorship and directorship, although in that very correspondence the faculty had argued the opposite: linking the two positions could only be desirable in certain cases. Apparently, there was a certain fear of nepotism among the Curators. However, the faculty knows how much I, especially now that the museum had expanded so much, considered such a link highly undesirable, and how the person wishing to be considered for director feels the same way.

On October 26, I was summoned by the president-curator, who said he wanted to speak with me about "difficulties that had arisen" between the deputy director and the

temporary official in question. In this way, two completely unrelated matters were linked for the Curators: my dismissal and the question of whether the official's character traits prohibited them from continuing the trial with him. It turned out that the official had gone to the president-curator with the document concerning his position in the museum, which he had refused to discuss with me, and, for understandable reasons, had presented this matter as one between him and his director, as one between him and the deputy director.

[p. 3] The president-curator not only accepted these complaints but, as I later learned, also released him from the obligation to answer my questions to his superior at the appointed time. When the deadline expired, I received a request from the president-curator not to hold him to that deadline. Even after that, I received no response to my questions.

That questionable situations had arisen in the museum, the likes of which we had never previously encountered, is understandable and will become even more understandable from the facts to be reported shortly. It goes without saying that I am not responsible for this.

Meanwhile, the president-curator wrote to me that the temporary official in question had gathered "written information" for him. On November 9th, I had a meeting with the presiding curator, whose character is best understood from a portion of a letter I addressed to him immediately afterward.

"I would like to repeat to you that I do not know the Lord ... and cannot recommend him, not even for a renewal of the examination."

"I know how you judge this, but a human judgment, from anyone, cannot prevail over that of conscience. If you should wish to question the sincerity of my convictions, I must let it pass."

"You speak of certain consequences that the pronouncement of my judgment could have. I don't know what you mean by that, but it doesn't matter to me. The consequences may come. I have no choice."

I never received a reply to that letter.

[p. 4] So I had to await the consequences of a recommendation issued according to my conscience. Not long after, a colleague from our faculty warned me that a smear campaign had been launched against us. A colleague from another faculty—he didn't mention his name—had come to him to see if it would be possible to persuade the Faculty of Arts to reconsider its very favorable recommendation regarding Dr. Holwerda. Dr. Holwerda, he assured me, was highly incompetent. All sorts of nasty things were said about him and me; the most important, however, was that Dr. Holwerda had falsified scientific data. If that colleague from our faculty showed even the slightest inclination to cooperate, he would receive a visit from the president of the board regarding this matter. As I understand it, that same professor had also approached other members of the faculty for the same purpose.

I began to suspect that the professor's slander and the "information" the president of the board had received were identical, and I also sensed the consequences of my advice. A work to which we had devoted 10 years of our lives would be jeopardized; the man whose tireless work first and foremost made the museum the flourishing institution it is today would be pushed aside, the man who also elevated the archaeological soil research commissioned to that museum to such great heights. For health reasons, I have had to withdraw more and more in recent years. As a result, the management of the internal museum operations has fallen entirely into his hands, and everything is now going excellently [p. 5] because the officials feel the support of his good judgment and firm hand; these officials cannot imagine working under any other manager. This successful course of events would be brought to an end. All this as a consequence of not advising against my conscience.

It later turned out that I was right. However, I didn't know at the time what had been decided at the curators' meeting of December 4th. Moreover, the slanderous gossip had come to us in such an indeterminate form that we had no control over it. Suddenly, however, we received more light. Through a document sent to him by the Arentsburgh Association—a document that had originated with the help of another official—the deputy director obtained a complete dossier of slanderous allegations. He had this printed with his response and allowed me to send you a copy, although not intended for publication.

Then we also learned what the main accusation was, that of forgery, which had been brought to the curators and spread by that professor. It concerns Dr. Holwerda's maps of the excavations at Arentsburgh from 1910 and 1911, of which tracings had been submitted to prove that they did not match and had been assembled through tampering. This accusation, however, was only possible because the accusers had omitted the words "provisional map" from the first map and had failed to mention that Dr.

81095 Holwerda had deliberately added this because he had deemed a further inspection of his map necessary in 1911, which he had carried out at that time.
[p. 6] The nature of the accusations will be further clarified in the printed material sent to you.

81100 I then spoke with His Excellency the Minister of Internal Affairs. Based on his instructions, I declared my willingness to temporarily remain in charge of the directorship in order to save the institution and give His Excellency the opportunity to investigate.

81105 At the beginning of January, the deputy director visited each of the curators individually with the printed document. It has now also been established that my suspicions regarding the Curators' conduct in this matter were entirely correct. That the "information" provided to the Curators was, at least in part, actually identical to the slanderous gossip was evident not only from the document sent to Arentsburgh, but also from a letter the Curators addressed to the deputy director on January 27th. It is also certain that this "information," particularly the two maps, constituted a point of consideration for the Curators. Likewise, decisions were made against the faculty's advice, and, as regards the temporary official, against my advice, even though this was supported by a comprehensive array of documentary evidence. I must note here that

81110 1. the president of the curator did not inform me of the content of this "information" in the aforementioned conversation.
2. I never heard any appointment policy from the curators.
3. Dr. Holwerda was never heard about the accusations made against him.

81120 On January 8, the Curatorial Board held another meeting [p. 7]. Professor Blok, the only professor in our faculty who had a public disagreement with Dr. Holwerda (I do not, of course, mean to say anything unfavorable to our colleague), was invited to provide information. Again, I was not heard. The fact that the deputy director is my son seems to me to disqualify the institution I mentioned above from giving advice and to place the deputy director himself outside any official legal relationship. The latter submitted a document requesting a hearing if any doubt remained about his guilt. I understand that a decision is currently awaited from the Arentsburgh Association, which has appointed a committee for this purpose (*). I do not know on what grounds such a committee can be granted any jurisdiction in University affairs. It can hardly be considered an expert committee in archaeological matters. Better experts could certainly be found in our faculty, although no one will present

81125 themselves as an excavation technician. Moreover, this is not a scientific judgment, but a judgment of honesty and good faith, which anyone who wishes to consider the accusation and defense can form.

81130 [p. 8] From the above, it will have become clear to you on which matters the interests of the institution, which you also care about, have been made dependent. Allow me to ask whether it would not be incumbent on the faculty to champion those interests. An institution that is of great significance to our University and is increasingly known with great honor has been placed in grave danger.

81135 Leiden March 1913 A. E. J. Holwerda

81140 [p. 7] (*) It is less relevant here that this committee, which only addressed the matter six weeks after receiving the printed material, was extremely angry because Mr Curators had been informed of the matter in this manner, but nevertheless, in a very condescending and unpleasantly worded document, which would lead one to expect the opposite, ruled out all questions of falsification and once again entrusted the

81145 further management of the excavations to Dr. Holwerda.

81150 [277] [April 1, 1913] Note from the Professor-Director of the National Museum of Antiquities regarding a letter from the Curators to the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy.

81155 His Excellency the Minister of the Interior felt compelled to request a new opinion from the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy last March regarding the person of one of the deputy directors of the National Museum of Antiquities. The Faculty then requested the submission of the dossier of documents that had assisted the Curators in forming an opinion on that person. This was refused in the following letter.

Curators of the State University of Leiden.
Both April 1, 1913.
No. 309.
Message in writing dated:

81160 March 17, 1913.
Subject: Directorate of the Museum of Antiquities.
In response to your letter mentioned above, and authorized by A. E. the Minister to do so, we have the honor to inform you of the following.
The Minister was under the impression that your faculty was not unaware that
81165 objections had been raised against Dr. Holwerda regarding the museum's management since its advice of October 21, 1912.
Now, it was not the Minister's intention to obtain your opinion regarding the facts that had become known during the investigation of the objections raised, which would encounter various difficulties. However, he believed that what your faculty or its
81170 members might know about Dr. Whether Holwerda was already known, or has become known since her aforementioned advice, could have prompted your faculty to further consider her advice regarding the provision of the Directorate of the Museum of Antiquities, given the circumstances.
Although, as your faculty rightly notes, the documents now sent to it specifically
81175 concern the Arentsburch case, the Minister appreciated bringing them to your attention, not with the intention that your faculty should investigate the soundness of the judgments expressed therein, but merely for information purposes.
Curators of Leiden University. Signed by the President and Secretary.
To the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy of Leiden University.
81180
This document gives rise to the following comments:
It is known that a probationary official, Mr. A.E. Van Giffen, whom I do not recommend for further appointment, sought all sorts of accusations concerning my
81185 museum management and the work and person of one of my deputy directors, which were widely circulated. These accusations were also brought to the Curators in the form of written "information," as the President Curator wrote to me. However, when, in January 1913, the deputy director's defense against accusations by Mr. Van Giffen also became known to the Arentsburch committee (accusations partly corresponding to those contained in that "information"), the Curators wrote on January 27, No. 18 sent
81190 a letter to that Deputy Director in which they noted that "insofar as it is up to them to make a decision regarding what allegedly happened at Arentsburch, that decision will not be made until after an on-site investigation where appropriate." The matter was made dependent on the ruling of the Arentsburch Commission.
After that ruling was issued in February, the letter of April 1st, mentioned above,
81195 indicated that, according to the conclusion, the Arentsburch case was of secondary importance. What was needed now was an investigation, outside of the now-demonstrated slanderous Arentsburch accusations, an investigation into objections raised against that Deputy Director "in connection with the museum management," which allegedly revealed "facts."
81200 The faculty could not disclose what those facts were. They were only referred to what the "faculty or its members may have learned about the person of that Deputy Director," that is, to what Mr. van Giffen had reported everywhere. scattered accusations.
Now, the only thing to be noted here is that:
81205 Either no investigation took place, in which case the communication addressed to the Faculty contains an inaccuracy that must have given this body, which was asked for advice, a completely incorrect and unjustifiably unfavorable impression. Or, such an investigation did take place, in which case, however, an investigation would have been conducted into facts concerning my Museum management and the conduct of one of
81210 my deputy directors, without either myself or that deputy director being consulted, and without any of the other permanent officials present.
The testimony of the other deputy director was requested, even without our knowledge, and so secretly that even an official body appointed by the government to advise, the Faculty of Arts, could not be informed of the results, the facts that had become
81215 known.
It goes without saying that in both cases, both my museum management, that is, myself, and one of my officials have been compromised, and moreover, in an official document addressed to a faculty by a board of curators with authorization from the Minister of the Interior.
81220 Leiden, October 1913, Signature

[277] Leiden, April 21, 1913
To His Excellency the Minister of the Interior
Following the understandable wishes of his colleagues, the undersigned did not attend
81225 the Meeting of Arts and Philosophy in which your question regarding Dr. Holwerda was

discussed. However, he was able to take note of the Faculty's response to Your Excellency.

From that response, he now learns, for the first time in so many months, somewhat officially what objections are being raised against Dr. Holwerda himself.

81230 Regarding the comments on Dr. Holwerda's scientific work at Arentsburg, the undersigned will not comment on them. It is so obvious to the expert that only laypeople are speaking in the document concerning that work that this seems entirely superfluous to him.

81235 The other objection, that Dr. H. hinders the work of young scholars at the museum, also directly affects the museum management of the undersigned himself as Director. During Dr. Holwerda's time in office, only three younger scientific staff members were associated with the museum. None of these three were trained in the direction their museum work should take. So, if one wishes to call them "younger scholars," so be it. However, it should not be forgotten that they came to us as students. The 81240 issues of the Antiquity Reports and the catalogs clearly demonstrate how these young men, who collaborated with Dr. Holwerda as students, were immediately recognized as his collaborators in his publications by co-signing them. But above all, they demonstrate how Dr. Holwerda, as far as they were even remotely capable of their own work, himself helped these young men along, remaining in the background.

81245 The three young men, the only ones we can mention, were: Firstly, N. J. Krom, a gifted young man whom the undersigned, however, had considerable difficulty in guiding and keeping on track as director due to certain personal qualities. The Antiquity Reports now demonstrate how he collaborated with Dr. Holwerda and Professor Goossens in this area. He left us to be trained for a much 81250 more important position than he could ever have obtained at the museum. Was his stay too short for him to have achieved much independently?

Mr. M. A. Evelein, to be mentioned secondly, as is again evident from the Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen, first collaborated with Dr. Holwerda for a few years and co-signed his publications of that work. The excavations of Riethoven and 81255 Valkenswaard, where Dr. Holwerda was present for a time to help him achieve his goal, were further carried out independently by him and even published entirely as his own work at his instigation.

When Dr. Holwerda, through great effort, acquired the famous golden helmet of Deurne, he, because the publication of such a work is of great value to a young man, gave 81260 this publication, to which he naturally had the right through that acquisition, to his younger colleague, as can be seen again from the Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen. However, this was not the only reason. When Dr. Holwerda was personally asked by a foreign journal to publish this helmet, he also referred that foreigner to Dr. Evelein. I dare say that very few scholars would have so selflessly passed on such an 81265 important discovery to young people. When Dr. Evelein applied for his current position, he assured us that he naturally wanted it, but that if that didn't work out, he would be very happy to remain at our museum.

Thirdly, Mr. van Giffen might be mentioned, although from his arrival in 1912 onward, he has done almost nothing at the museum other than work on his natural history 81270 dissertation for months at a time, receiving considerable assistance from museum officials. Since I was unable to provide much funding for excavations last summer, Dr. Holwerda himself managed to secure private funding for them. About half of that money was now used to enable the Lord of Giffen to build a peat bridge in Drenthe to excavate. An excavation was also reserved for him in North Brabant, but Dr. Holwerda 81275 was kind enough to carry it out for him, at his request, to enable him to work undisturbed on his dissertation for two months, so that it would be ready. Then, in October 1912, when both months had passed—nine months after the initial appointment—the archaeological studies and the actual scientific work finally had to begin.

However, by then his attitude toward us had become such that even he himself realized that studying under our guidance and joint museum work were out of the question. 81280 These "young scholars" were not affiliated with the museum during Dr. H.'s time. Your Excellency will be aware of the accuracy of my words addressed to Your Excellency last December, stating that a shameful smear campaign against us had been launched. It is likely that the file mentioned in the correspondence with the Faculty of Arts 81285 also contains accusations of the same nature. However, neither the undersigned nor the deputy director has ever been heard on any of the accusations.

In order to prevent this possible damage to the institution, to which he selflessly devoted his care for 10 years and which is dear to him, to finally put an end to the state of uncertainty that undermines that institution, and to obtain the freedom to 81290 address the above defense to Your Excellency without his relationship with the deputy director invalidating his words, the undersigned has made his decision.

He has the honor to request Your Excellency to consider his application for resignation, submitted last September, as undone.
The conviction that he cannot act otherwise will give him the strength to continue fulfilling his duties.
W.g. A. E. J. Holwerda

[277] appointments of A.E. van Giffen and other decisions
March 12, 1912: regret...

November 14, 1912: provisional order without prejudgment
December 9, 1912: The trustees note some dissatisfaction with the manner in which your application for dismissal has been handled. [...]
December 30, 1912: January 1 to 31, 1913

January 2, 1913: provisional order without prejudgment

January 27, 1913: February 1 to 31, 1913

January 27, 1913. No. 18. Letter dated January 7, 1913.

January 27, 1913: The trustees received your letter of the 7th of this month, as well as a printed invoice handed to each of them. [...]

January 30, 1913; Provisional order without prejudgment

March 20, 1913: April 1 to April 30, 1913

April 26, 1913: May 1 to December 31, 1913

April 26, 1913: Application for discharge will be considered null and void

April 30, 1913: Appointment of Curator

[146] The Hague, May 26, 1913.

Assuming that the documents recently received from you, containing judgments by German scholars on your person and your work, have not been sent to the Association [?] in confidence, thus under the seal of confidentiality, I inform you that I will act accordingly if I do not receive a counter-notification from you by Wednesday, May 28, at noon.

On behalf of ARENTSBURGH Association for Excavations in the Netherlands
Seerp Gratama, Chair.

[271] National Museum of Antiquities Leiden.

Leiden, November 4, 1913.

The long delay in appointing the curator compelled me, at the audience of November 1, to respectfully request His Excellency, the Minister of the Interior, to expedite the process. I then learned from His Excellency that he intended to retain Mr. van Giffen.

However, he would also hear me first.

It is clear that such a decision by the Minister would be highly questionable. I feel obligated to draw your attention to this.

1. Mr. van Giffen was on probation. He had the right to say that he did not like it, and he also indicated several times that he had not yet decided to apply for an appointment. Of course, I was equally entitled not to wish to continue working with him. He was entirely free not to apply for an appointment; I was entirely free not to nominate him. It seems to me that people sometimes forget that Mr. van Giffen has no position at the Museum, that the question isn't whether to oust him, but rather whether it's advisable to bring him in.

2.? Mr. van Giffen is a natural historian, out of place in an archaeological museum unless he also started working in archaeology. I drew up a study plan with him that he would follow as soon as he finished his dissertation. He was increasingly given free time for this. After the summer holidays of 1912, the archaeological program was supposed to begin, as agreed. However, he simply didn't keep his word. When he broke that word, I was eager to continue the experiment with him. It goes without saying that later, when he became so fiercely hostile to us, there was no question of providing training.

How could I use such a person in an archaeological museum?

3. That evening, without my knowledge, he and Mr. Martin, who was morally dependent on him, quietly compiled the notorious false accusation against Dr. Holwerda to the Arentsburg commission, using Dr. Holwerda's rough sketches, which he had entrusted to Mr. Martin in his official capacity. When Dr. Boeser and I asked Mr. Martin if he was aware that he had used such papers entrusted to him in his official capacity in such a way, he said, "Yes, but I did it on the orders of Mr. van Giffen." He was also his superior, he assured me later. Thus, a commission outside the museum was charged with such a gross violation of official duty against its own heads.

- What remains of the principle of authority when such individuals are supported?
- 81360 4. It is certain that Mr. van Giffen did not originally have these criticisms of Dr. Holwerda's work at Arentsburg. Only when I refused to nominate him did he feel obligated to warn the Arentsburg Association against Dr. Holwerda's so-called fraud.
- 81365 5. The Arentsburg commission lists numerous accusations by Mr. van Giffen, either unproven by him or refuted by Dr. Holwerda; these are therefore qualified as libel. Anyone who takes the time to familiarize themselves with the matter will have to see that this assessment is correct.
- 81370 6. Mr. van Giffen himself declares (see the well-known brochure, p. 7) that he cannot work with Dr. Holwerda. So now, as Director, I would like to appoint Dr. Dr. Holwerda must be ordered to cooperate with someone who himself says he cannot cooperate with him and who Dr. Holwerda is certain will slander him if it suits his agenda.
- 81375 7. Irrefutable facts prove that Dr. Holwerda has done everything he can to help Mr. van Giffen advance. The contrary assertion is a gross untruth, even if it has been believed.
- I hope that your board will find the means to avert the danger that threatens our institution.
- The Professor, Director
To the Curators of the State University of Leiden.
- 81380 [424] Letters to and from H. Martin and the museum regarding his return to work, notice of dismissal, leave, illness of his mother-in-law, drawings, museum property, etc.
- November 19, 1909: From M.: discovery of urn near Arnhem
November 21, 1909: From M.: thanksgiving
June 29, 1911: From M.: vacancy for assistant
August 10, 1911: Appointment of M. as assistant from September 1 to December 31, 1911
- 81385 December 4, 1911: Appointment of M. as assistant for 1912
January 27, 1912: From M.: telegram
January 31, 1912: From M.: telegram
February 1, 1912: From M.: telegram
February 1, 1912: From M.: telegram
- 81390 February 2, 1912: From M.: telegram
February 3, 1912: From M.: telegram
June 30, 1912: From M.: regarding the excavations in Heerlen
July 13, 1912: father H.
July 28, 1912: father H.
- 81395 August 6, 1912: father H.
September 25, 1912: M. provisionally terminated work
December 14, 1912: M. appointed assistant for 1913
January 4, 1913: M. pottery kilns in Heerlen
January 23, 1913: M. drawing pottery
- 81400 January 29, 1913: M. leave for job application
February 6, 1913: M. illness
February 22, 1913: M. nervous tension
February 22, 1913: M. short leave
May 5, 1913: M. return to work
- 81405 May 16, 1913: father H. disputes arising
May 17, 1913: father H.
June 17, 1913: M. bibliography
August 12, 1913: M. sick leave and summer leave
August 23, 1913: M. drawing board
- 81410 August 28, 1913: M. job application in the Indies
September 3, 1913: M. morning leave
September 11, 1913: M. extension of leave? September 20, 1913, from M. advance payment of salary
September 20, 1913: from M. promise of honorable discharge
- 81415 September 20, 1913: from M. regarding appointment in Leeuwarden
September 26, 1913: from M. "shaken health"
October 10, 1913: from M. association leave
October 10, 1913: from father H.
October 15, 1913: from M. illness of mother-in-law
- 81420 October 19, 1913: from M.
October 22, 1913: from M. honorable discharge
October 24, 1913: from M. keys, etc.
October 24, 1913: from father H.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- October 27, 1913: from M.
81425 October 29, 1913: from father H.
May 6, 1914: from M.
May 15, 1914: from M.
May 23, 1914, from father H.
July 13? From Father H.
81430 September 14? From Father H.
- [277] Returned with thanks. The document has not been seen by anyone but mine and will continue to be considered "confidential."
Prof. J. Verdam
81435 Leiden
- [146] Leiden, March 9, 14
Dear Sir
Although it is very unpleasant for me to discuss with you personally what others felt
81440 compelled to do to me last year, for whatever reason, and nothing would please me more than to do so without rancor, as I can happily be entirely honest with you, I am struck by the remark in your letter that the method followed thus far has led to misunderstandings and difficulties, and I believe I must permit myself to remark that the burden of proof for this assertion still rests with those who communicated it to
81445 you. [...]
The Highness J. P. Koolemans Beynen
- [273] MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR.
No. 2661 Department of Physicians
81450 September 25, 1914.
Regarding Curator Dr. Van Giffen
Following your telegram of September 23, I interviewed the Amanuenses Bytel and Koene.
81455 From their testimony, it has become clear to me that recently, when Dr. Van Giffen was in the room occupied by the former amanuensis, you entered and ordered Dr. Van Giffen to leave. Your telegram therefore contradicts the aforementioned testimony. I further consider the manner in which you denied a Museum official access to the building highly offensive and certainly indefensible on the grounds, I believe, that Dr. Van Giffen was on vacation.
81460 In connection with the above, I have the honor to request that you offer Dr. Van Giffen your apology for the treatment he received and also send me a draft instruction properly regulating Dr. Van Giffen's scientific work. I look forward to receiving this draft, along with the confirmation that you have offered the aforementioned apology, within eight days.
81465 Coll.: W. v.d.L. THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR Cort vd Linden
To Prof. Dr. A.E.J. Holwerda, Professor-Director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden
- [...] Not long after, a colleague from our faculty warned me that a smear campaign
81470 had been launched against us. A colleague from another faculty—he did not mention his name—had come to him to see if it would be possible [to get?] the Faculty of Arts to reconsider its very favorable recommendation regarding Dr. Holwerda. He and I were told all sorts of nasty things, the most important of which was that Dr. Holwerda had falsified scientific data. If this colleague from our faculty showed even the
81475 slightest inclination to cooperate, he would receive a visit from the President of the Curator regarding this matter. As I understand it, this same Professor also approached other members of the faculty with the same objective.
- [...] Then we also learned what the main accusation was, that of falsification, which
81480 had been brought to the Curators and spread by that Professor. It concerns Dr. Holwerda's maps of the excavation at Arentsburch from 1910 and 1911, of which copies had been submitted to prove that they did not match and had been put together by fraudsters. This accusation, however, was only possible because the accusers had omitted the words "provisional map" under the first map and had failed to mention
81485 that Dr. Holwerda had deliberately added this because he had deemed a further check of his map necessary in 1911, and that he had indeed carried out both of these.

[541] Mr. Dr. Z W. Sneller 23 Apr 17
Dear Sir

81490 I would like to discuss the matter frankly. In fact, your Encyclopedia was virtually
unknown beforehand. However, in our conversation, you mentioned a few names that made
me think I should investigate the matter more closely, and now it appears even less
so that I did not actually find a message that was not entirely correct. Indeed, they
81495 wanted to include my subjects from the beginning. Under the list of permanent
collaborators, I see the name of Dr. van Giffen. This young man, formerly my
assistant, has, in recent years, after I had to honestly admit I couldn't work with
him, been incredibly active in my work and intrigue, supported by several patrons.
Another of his friends is your co-editor, Mr. Niermeier. I understand just as well
81500 that I was passed over in compiling the list of collaborators as that, like both of
you, they couldn't get any work done from him. The question you presented to me
should therefore have been: the editors passed you over earlier, but they were fooled
by it. Do you now want to take that other person's place? I am convinced that neither
you, nor even Mr. Pulle, nor the publisher himself knew exactly what was going on. I
81505 don't think I'm easily offended, but you'll understand by now that I have no choice
but to refuse, especially since I'm convinced that if I were to take that position, I
would once again expose myself to all sorts of insinuations.
I deeply regret that you've gone to so much trouble for nothing.
Sincerely,
Yours sincerely,
81510 JH Holwerda

[541] 24/4 17

Dear Sir [Mr. Dr. Z W. Sneller]

81515 After our conversation, I felt the need ?? by mentioning it as a z? ? in our
conversation, the remarks that have arisen, and it appears to me through light
research, that the question posed in the past was not entirely correct.
My subjects were not classified under History in your Encyclopedia, but had an
independent editor from the very beginning. On the list of contributors, I read,
to my pleasure, the name of Dr. v. Giffen † who, supported by a few protectors, has
81520 since intrigued against me and my work in all sorts of ways.
Given the name of your co-editor, Niermeier, it is not at all surprising that further
investigation was conducted in the selection of his contributors.
If you now say, as and, that you cannot obtain any work in that field from the
aforementioned young man. Now, however... you will understand that it is not my place
81525 to fill that vacancy, although I am convinced that neither you nor anyone else on the
editorial staff knew exactly what was going on.
However, if you knew which of the most worthy gentlemen they and my personalities,
which ones have blindly... I also have no desire to go through that place... perhaps
as far as you... to expose the gentlemen who think they still have more material to
81530 offer...
I deeply regret that you did not make much effort.
Regards,

September 19, 1922, NETHERLANDS SCHOOL OF COMMERCE, ROTTERDAM.

81535 The outgoing Rector Magnificus, Professor F. de Vries, has submitted a report on the
University's events during the past academic year, pointed out that this year was not
characterized by expansion or significant changes in the organization of the
University [...] Polak, head of the State Audit Service in Rotterdam. Mr. Dr. G. M.
Verriijn Stuart, secretary of the board of the Rotterdam Bank Association, was
81540 appointed extraordinary professor of economics, particularly monetary, credit, and
banking. To fill the Posthumus vacancy, Dr. Z. W. Sneller, deputy director of the
Bureau of State Historical Publications, was appointed full professor of economic
history, particularly modern history. Dr. A. O. Holwerda, lecturer in statistics and
insurance science since 1917, was appointed extraordinary professor in these
81545 subjects. [...]

[420] January 11, 1922

81550 [...] Was there even more information about his written writing, but I don't wonder.
Finally, it is clear that Prof. v. B., since we have shown ourselves Schwiegersohn,
the man knows the intrigue and the revelation that he has for years, even if Zweifel
in his opinion will act and defend his innocence, so he is able to stand up for it.
[...]

[471] Dedemsvaart, June 21 '23

81555 [concerns coin of CONSTANTINUS (IMP?) ; BEATA TRAN-QUILLITAS]

F. O. Peters Kalkwijk 32 Dedemsvaart (O.)

[1971] J.E. Bogaers

VOORBURG-ARENTSBURG: FORUM HADRIANI

81560 Architectural Communications, Part LII

See

https://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/26485/26485_.PDF?sequence=1

81565 Reuvens himself believed in 1829 that his excavation at Arentsburg probably related to Forum Hadriani, but notes he made in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden from 1832 show that he hesitated to interpret his finds "either as a Roman permanent camp, or as a Roman city center, or as an old Batavian city later decorated by the Romans." At the beginning of his excavation campaigns, Holwerda posed the problem of explaining Reuvens's finds very clearly, provided one disregards his notion that the

81570 Roman settlement of Arentsburg must have been called either Praetorium Agrippinae (and as such must have been a fortress) or Lugdunum (in case the place had been a town). If one is familiar with the many articles and contributions Holwerda wrote about Arentsburg, and is not content with simply reading his book, published in 1923, entirely devoted to Arentsburg, one has embarked on a fascinating, yet disappointing

81575 journey, led by the man who began his research in 1909 in "A Roman City near The Hague" and who in 1923 subtitled his book on Arentsburg: "A Roman Military Naval Station near Voorburg." Much, if not all, of what Holwerda wrote to explain the findings by Reuvens and himself is now unreliable or unacceptable.

81580 It is impossible to do justice to Holwerda's theories about "Arentsburg" in a short space, nor to discuss and refute them in detail. Therefore, it seems preferable to briefly summarize the main arguments that support identifying Roman Arentsburg with the civilian settlement of Forum Hadriani.

81585 a) In Holwerda's opinion, the Roman settlement at Voorburg-Arentsburg had a militaristic character.

It was a rectangular, elongated structure, extending from northwest to southeast, measuring approximately 400 by 200 meters. It was surrounded on three sides by a wall and two moats, and bordered on the fourth, the southern side, by the Fossa Corbulonis-Vliet.

81590 The complex consisted of two parts. The southern half was the harbor with the harbor quarter, while the northern half was believed to have been a castellum of a cohors quingenaria equitata. The floor plan of this castellum is quite peculiar. The space seems far too large for a cohors quingenaria equitata. Regarding the barracks for

81595 pedites and equites, which Holwerda would have found in the northwest, Part of the castellum, one must conclude that his explanations in this regard are far from convincing and that his floor plans of barracks are very difficult to compare with well-known Roman military buildings of this kind. The same applies to Holwerda's explanation of the buildings excavated by Reuvens, such as the praetorium (principia), the commander's villa (praetorium), etc.

81600 On the one hand, it is clear that different periods must be distinguished in the plan of Arentsburg; on the other hand, it is very strange that Reuvens—in the eastern part of the settlement—only found remains of stone buildings, while Holwerda, in contrast, only uncovered traces of wooden buildings. One gets the unmistakable impression that no traces of wooden buildings were seen in the section investigated by Reuvens, and

81605 that the plan of Holwerda's excavation results lacks any remains of stone buildings. One of the greatest mysteries this plan presents is the so-called separation between the castellum and the harbor area. This would have been a dry ditch (or moat) running from west to east, bordered on either side by a fence. This double fence would also have connected to the center of a double stone gate on the western side of the

81610 rampart, one of which would have provided access to the harbor, the other to the castellum. It is regrettable that the plan will remain a mystery in many respects. According to Holwerda, the main reason why Roman Arentsburg must have had a military character was the military roof-tile temples among the finds, the rampart wall, and the two moats. According to Holwerda, the idea that Arentsburg was a military naval

81615 station was based primarily on the discovered roof-tile stamps of the Classis Germanica Pia Fidelis, as well as on an old channel—within the surrounding walls, which on the south side would have served as a kind of harbor head—in which, moreover, traces of south-to-north channels or canals had been discovered, through which ships would have had access to the naval station located at Fossa Corbulonis.

81620 The old channel and the traces of canals were allegedly demonstrated by means of borings. These latter were conducted in 1911 by A. E. van Giffen, who, however,

rightly raised serious objections to Holwerda's interpretation of certain phenomena revealed by the borings. On this basis, Holwerda's view regarding the harbor and the canals cannot be maintained. [... on C.G.P.F. stamps]

81625 b) The "Roman military naval station," aside from the military tile stamps, has yielded remarkably few finds of a military nature. In this regard, one can only point to two altars, both consecrated by a centurion of the Legio I Minervia (P.F.), a fired clay cannonball, and some more or less questionable iron weapon fragments: a pilum, two pila fragments, some sword fragments, a spearhead, and two spearhead

81630 fragments.
c) Voorburg-Arentsburg is so far the only place in the area between the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse where monumental civil inscriptions have been found, at least if one disregards the milestones of Monster/Naaldwijk and Rijswijk, which both must refer to the same "caput viae." These civil inscriptions contain, respectively, a

81635 dedication to Diana by a sevir Augustalis from Colonia Ulpia Traiana, and a dedication "genio collegi peregrinorum," i.e., by individuals who were not "cives" of Roman Voorburg, but as "incolae" only had "domicilium" there.
We also know of several limestone fragments from Arentsburg bearing one or more inscriptional letters. However, it is remarkable that one fragment of a monumental civil inscription, preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, was

81640 found during Holwerda's 1910 excavation campaign at Arentsburg and included without commentary in the report for the previous year in 1911 and without commentary in 1919, published in the report for the previous year, is not included in Holwerda's book on Arentsburg, nor in any corpus of inscriptions. Only two-line fragments of the

81645 original text remain. These read ---DEC·MVN---/---ANI·I (ofL)---. The inscription refers to a decurio municipii, in all likelihood [FORI HADRI]ANI. This city is then called Municipium Forum Hadriani here, rather than Municipium A. Cananefat(i)um, as its official name was.
d) According to Holwerda, all of Roman Arentsburg would have had an area of

81650 approximately 8 hectares. If, on the one hand, one does not believe in a military naval station at Arentsburg, then, on the other hand, it is difficult to assume that Forum Hadriani, the main town of the civitas of the Cananefates and also a municipium, would have been only 8 hectares in size. A weak point in Holwerda's

81655 argument is, among other things, his opinion regarding the course of the walls and moats on the eastern side of Arentsburg. Holwerda has not only changed his mind on this matter, but his most recent statements on the subject are more or less contradictory and therefore entirely unconvincing. Doubts regarding the correctness of Holwerda's view of the boundaries on the eastern side are entirely justified. East of the actual Arentsburg grounds lie, on the south side, a plot of land with allotments and on the north side, a meadow. Roman finds have repeatedly been made on

81660 the allotment grounds, and the most striking aspect of the meadow is that it lies approximately 1.25 meters lower than the level of the adjacent Arentsburg grounds. East of this former estate, the surface was apparently lowered in the post-Roman period, presumably due to sand extraction from the subsoil. This also applies to the

81665 grounds of the Deaconesses' Institution, which borders the allotments and the meadow to the east. In 1965, it was discovered that numerous traces of Roman habitation still exist on the latter site, albeit at a relatively low level; among other things, the lower remains of a wooden well in the shape of a barrel were found there. The conclusion may be that it is by no means certain that Holwerda correctly

81670 indicated the eastern boundary of Roman Arentsburg, and that there is every reason to assume that the Roman settlement, i.e., Forum Hadriani, extended even further east. The total area of this town could certainly have been 400 x 280 meters or more.

81675 e) When examining Holwerda's map of Arentsburg, it is striking that the stone buildings excavated by Reuvers are almost all situated in practically the same direction as the traces of wooden buildings found by Holwerda, dating from the time of his castellum. In this regard, however, it is a strange phenomenon that the enclosure wall (on the western and northern sides) not only forms a somewhat acute angle, but that none of its sides run parallel to any of the main directions of the buildings within it. Aside from the reason for this deviation (which, as far as the

81680 enclosure is concerned, may be due to local terrain conditions), it seems that the enclosure wall, the moats, and other outer defenses were constructed relatively late, and that for some reason they deviated from the normal course of the main directions of the existing buildings.

81685 f) The way in which Holwerda attempted to connect his "military naval station" as a port for shipping to Britain with military events in Roman England is unacceptable. This was rightly objected to many years ago by the retired Dutch general F. Kroon in an article that, by its very nature, is highly curious. The intensive occupation of

- Arentsburg undoubtedly began only after 70 AD and continued until 260/270 AD. However, finds from the pre-Flavian period and the 4th century are also known.
- 81690 Regarding the dating of the smaller finds, Holwerda can generally continue to follow his lead. However, an important exception must be made for his dating of the roof-tile stamps of Legio I Minervia discovered at Arentsburg; these all belong to the Antoniniana types and therefore date from 212-222 AD, and not from the 2nd century AD, as Holwerda believed.
- 81695 Interesting, but equally unacceptable, is Holwerda's explanation for the considerable quantity of indigenous Roman, so-called Frisian-Batavian, sherds that seem to have been found primarily in the oldest "military barracks" of the "castellum." In order to support his theories regarding the character of Roman Arentsburg, Holwerda even went so far as to attribute these shards to Batavian cohorts. These
- 81700 Auxiliary troops "who performed such important military actions in Britain in 84" are said (after the Batavian revolt!) to have built the naval station at Arentsburg as a staging post for the voyage to Britain.
- The facts from the excavations at Arentsburg are by far best explained by assuming that an indigenous settlement of Cananefates existed there as early as the first half
- 81705 of the 1st century, just west of a tidal creek of the Rhine estuary, which became part of the Fossa Corbulonis in 47 or shortly thereafter. This settlement expanded considerably after the Batavian revolt and grew into the center of Cananefates' land, which Hadrian granted market rights in 120 or 121 and, as Forum Hadriani, was also elevated to the status of municipium shortly thereafter, at the latest in 162. Some
- 81710 of the stone buildings excavated by Reuvens may have been constructed as early as between 120 and 162, using, among other things, military bricks from the Exercitus Germanicus Inferior or its vexillarii, the Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix, and the Classis Germanica Pia Fidelis.
- 81715 Due to a lack of data, it is impossible to say when the walls and moats were built, but one might think of the end of the 3rd century or the first decades of the 3rd century, around the time of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus. The last datable roof-tile stamps are those already mentioned from the Legio I Minervia Antoniniana from 212-222.
- 81720 See also <http://dare.ubvu.vu.nl/bitstream/handle/1871/15659/Derks%202008%20Naaldwijk.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>
- [455] 462 [A. W. Nieuwenhuis, Rector]
December 3, 1923
My dear friend!
- I would like to return briefly to our conversation yesterday, the subject of which concerns me more. I would not like you and other members of the faculty, whose friendly feelings I value, to view the matter differently than it is.
- 81730 We spoke about the many intrigues to which I have been exposed in the past, and in which many professors also diligently participated at the time, denigrating me and my work in the ugliest manner, in order to achieve a specific goal. Those attempts failed, the tide has turned, but I feel very well that that history has left a mark on the minds of quite a few, especially in Leiden circles, which makes dealing with
- 81735 it unpleasant for me, and which has also caused my private life to take a certain turn, one in which, ultimately, I feel quite comfortable.
- We also discussed the difficult position of a museum director in general—as evidenced by all my predecessors, not least the eminent Reuvens—in Leiden's professorial
- 81740 circle, most of whom were actually unaware of the value of a museum as a cultural institution in itself and therefore of the significance of the work of good museum management.
- You told me that, regarding the former, I should let those old stories rest, that new people had arrived with better ideas in the latter respect as well. You told me that I should not, by stubbornly clinging to the past, stand in the way of a good
- 81745 relationship, a collegial collaboration between education and museums, such as that which your faculty would now demand.
- I can refer you to a letter from me dated October 28, 1920, addressed to the faculty, in which I took a first step towards better cooperation for the benefit of academic education. I received a haughty reply to this letter, which cut off further
- 81750 deliberation.
- Since then, a young colleague in archaeology has taken action; I have shared with you some examples of what he has previously done against me and my work. His written actions against me, the much older colleague who also believes he is entitled to some

81755 distinction because of what I have achieved in the scientific field, have attracted-
to use no other word-general attention throughout the country and already demonstrate
very little desire for collaboration. Even before he had delivered his inaugural
address, he attempted, in a letter to the curators, in which he acknowledged that he
had been helpfully met by me. He attempted, through this college, to intervene in the
81760 museum's management, over the director's head. At the same time, the incomprehensible
demonstration of another of your colleagues occurred, who fled from the "unusable"
lecture hall, the use of which your faculty now so fervently desires, only to return
there of his own accord after a few weeks. Naturally, such an attempt was bound to
come to nothing. Since then, complaints against me have been filed repeatedly with
the curators, which, by their very nature, are equally unsuccessful, but nevertheless
81765 raise the question of whether this is the way forward.
to achieve amicable cooperation.

You now tell me that the aforementioned younger colleague himself also realizes that
he went too far, that his attitude was not the right one. After everything that has
happened, I would surely expect to hear this from him himself, that he himself
81770 declared that he wanted to abandon the aggressive attitude he adopted immediately
upon taking office and, where he sets certain requirements for himself and his
teaching, that he also wants to respect the museum board and its views, its rights
and obligations.

And if the purpose of your mission was not to push a specific wish on me, against my
81775 honest and established convictions, but to establish a lasting, good, and preferably
amicable cooperation between lecturers at the State University on the one hand and
the management of the Rijksmuseum on the other, then I refer you once again to my
aforementioned letter to the faculty. I hereby repeat my question posed therein, and
the faculty then only has to retract its answer given at that time. If anyone asks me
81780 how I envision such a collaboration, I believe I can provide an answer. After the
past has truly been buried, personal contact will be established first and foremost
in all matters pertaining to archaeological interests, between the museum management
on the one hand and the faculty-not just a single one of its members-on the other.
Perhaps it was the unconscious need for this, which manifested itself in the, in my
81785 opinion, highly unfortunate combination of a professorship and directorship, both
positions requiring a complete person and, in many respects, very different
aptitudes. With a genuine desire for improvement, a different, better approach can
certainly be found. Once such lasting, regular, personal contact is established, it
will soon become apparent that the devil is not as black as he is portrayed; that
81790 various things that seem unnecessary or incorrect from the outside actually have very
sound reasons; that within numerous theoretical concepts, a voice from the field can
sometimes truly open up entirely different insights; and most certainly, that the
Museum's usefulness for academic education need not be an empty pretense.

I thought it wise to explain my views in writing again before you discuss this matter
81795 with your colleagues.

Whatever you may have against letters, scripta manent.

Sincerely,

The High Honourable Professor Dr. A.W. Nieuwenhuis

LEIDEN.

81800

June 2, 1973 Roman Canals in Nijmegen

"ARCHAEOLOGISTS are puzzlers," says Prof. Dr. J. E. Bogaers of the Institute for
Ancient History and Archaeology, Department of Provincial Roman Archaeology at
Nijmegen University. Together with Dr. J. K. Haalebos, he has been conducting
81805 excavations since April 2nd on the sites of two villas slated for demolition on Berg
en Dalseweg in the eastern part of Nijmegen. M. P. M. Daniëls dug in the same area in
1916.

The renowned archaeologist J. H. Holwerda conducted excavations between 1917 and
1921, which led him to claim that he had determined the perimeter of the camp of the
81810 Tenth Roman Legion Gemina - a total of 29 hectares. The Legio X Gemina, a double
legion, was stationed at the investigated site from approximately 70 AD to 104 AD.
After the last World War, knowledge about the castra's terrain expanded considerably,
thanks to extensive research conducted by Professor H. Brunsting until 1967.

During the most recent investigation, in addition to two ditches from the Flavian
81815 period, traces of two wooden barracks dating from the early Flavian period were also
discovered. The most important discovery is that the late Flavian ditch appears to
have been filled in during the Roman period, and that a rectangular stone building
measuring at least 12 x 18 meters was built over it. From this, and from other
previously known data, the conclusion can be drawn that the castra from the period

- 81820 after 70 AD underwent a unique change of direction. Initially, the front most likely faced (north)west, towards Batavodurum-Ulpia Noviomagus. In the first half of the 2nd century—presumably under Hadrian, when the Legio IX Hispana was stationed in Nijmegen—the fortress was rotated 90 degrees, and the front was directed north(east) towards the steep slope of the Hunerberg, towards the Waal and Rhine rivers.
- 81825 During the final phase of the fortifications, the eastern part of the former castra was extended south(west) to the other side of the Berg en Dalseweg.
See <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=bogaers+holwerda&coll=ddd&sortfield=date&page=2&resultsidentifiser=KBNRC01%3A000027820%3Ampg21%3Aa0153&identifiser=KBNRC01%3A000027820%3Ampg21%3Aa0153>
- 81830 The origin of the 'own'. The Dutch Early Past, Archaeology and National Socialism by M. Eickhoff, 2003 https://pure.eersteuva.nl/ws/files/3449320/30381_UBA002000974_06.pdf
- 81835 Where are the Norsemen <https://www.elsloo.info/historie-maaskant/2501-waar-zijn-de-noormannen>
- 81840 Ascloa is not Asselt, but Hasnon. <http://www.noviomagus.info/ascloa.htm>
Statements by J.H. Holwerda <http://noviomagus.info/voetnoot/holwerda.htm>
Archaeological finds at the Tichelakker <http://www.tiggelen.net/nl/artikelen/artikelen/familie/archeologische-vondsten-op-de-tichelakker/all-pages>
The Castle in Wassenaar http://www.oudleiden.nl/pdf1/1918_07.pdf
From the RAMS depot <http://vobow.be/Data/WAK/PDF's/WAK%2095.pdf>
- 81845 Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulpia_Noviomagus_Batavorum
Holwerda, Jan Hendrik (1873-1951) <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn/BWN/lemmata/bwn1/holwerda>
DON'T FALL FOR IT! <https://skepsis.nl/mainsite/inhoud/uploads/2015/09/sn11-12.pdf>
- 81850 VOORBURG-ARENTSBURG: FORUM HADRIANI https://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/26485/26485_.PDF
Vicus van Ockenburgh https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vicus_van_Ockenburgh
Hunneschans Uddel <https://www.absolutefacts.nl/kastelen/data/hunneschans-uddel.htm>
The Rijen Cemetery of Wageningen <https://rjh.ub.rug.nl/Palaeohistoria/article/viewFile/25043/22503>
- 81855 NORTH BRABANT IN THE ROMAN PERIOD <http://cultuurtijdschriften.nl/download?type=document&docid=460687>
Roman period in Limburg https://www.limburg.nl/publish/pages/1061/romeinse_tijd_in_limburg.pdf
- 81860 A bronze burial urn was discovered in Oss 25 years ago. http://www.stadsarchiefoss.nl/OssData/documents/Doorlopendleerlijn_Archeologie_bron1_inOsswerd25jaargeledeneenbronzengrafurngevonden.pdf
Leidsch Yearbook <https://www.oudleiden.nl/pdf/1914.PDF>
ARCHAEOLOGY VERSUS HISTORY https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/oudheidkundig_jaarboek1921/0200/image
- 81865 A thousand years of building in the Netherlands https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/fock001duiz01_01/fock001duiz01_01_0017.php
Forgotten Banded Pottery <https://www.scribd.com/document/245830968/9789088902246-Van-Wijk-Et-Al-2014-Vergeten-Bandkeramiek-eBook>
- 81870 The Valkhof and Old Nijmegen https://archive.org/stream/HetValkhofEnOudNijmegenThKuijper/het%20valkhof%20en%20oud-nijmegen%20th%20kuijper_djvu.txt
Old Valkenburg Association http://www.oudvalkenburgzh.nl/vov_J35/index.php/mensen-en-hun-verhaal/92-professor-van-giffen
- 81875 The Origin of the Principality of Flanders https://www.persee.fr/doc/rbph_0035-0818_1941_num_20_3_1622
The Roman helmet of Peel <https://www.bureaupubliciteit.nl/Peelhelm.htm>

Correspondence regarding the Peelhelm

- 81880 [240] Berlin 3. October 1909.
Hochgeehrter Herr Direktor!
More recent experiences Thank you for the letter from 28/9. and the siestruktion Zeichnung. - I must not be a leader nor are I happy, because we have the same misunderstandings about the requirements and spans.
- 81885

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 81890 I could not work with the Einsatz, which is your 2 Spange and a single effort of the work journeys since, who I am mute, - it is also 4 Einsätze da sein - sich innen berrühren (with the Rändern) or with still a Zwischenraum best, so that man also could the mittleren Teil von der Hinterseite der Spange sehen. Die Frage ist für die Entwicklung des Typus von grosser Bedeutung. -
- 81895 Although it is not possible, if the Photographie is still available, you will be able to take a look at the photo in the future. I was very grateful to the Director for a detailed report of the Abbildungen for the best results.
Ihr hochachtungsvoll Sehrerraket Dr. Ebert
- [310] Helenaveen June 17, 1910.
B.de Jong Herv. pred.
- 81900 [163] Telegram Received in Roermond, June 20, 1910, at 8 am. 12 m.
- [163] Report on the discovery in the peat at Meijel.-
Following exchanged telegrams, I decided to go to Meijel on Monday, June 20th. Mayor Truijen accompanied me to the house of Smolenaars, a peat worker, in Meijel. He had found some objects at work in the peat approximately 1.75 meters below the ground surface, roughly where gray or top peat and black or bottom peat were separated: The following objects are better described by drawings than by description. The helmet and the plates were on leather, which is now in the possession of the director of the Helenaveen Company (Forest in Helenaveen). Because the finder and others pulled this off, the helmet has suffered and lies in the pieces from which it appears to have originally been assembled. The plates are thin, e.g., 3/4 millimeter. The comb is thicker; at the edges, they have been bent around the leather. The spur was still attached to a kind of heavy shoe, which is still with the leatherwork. The cloth from a veil is also still with that leatherwork. The helmet and jewelry are still in Meyel with Smolenaars, and the leather with Mr. Bos.
- 81915 Later, I was told that another worker had found a side plate.
One, another a pin. The mayor of Deurne immediately had a guard posted at the site to prevent further digging.
Mr. Truyen, former member of the First Chamber, the mayor of Meijel, Mr. Bos, and the director of Helenaveen are happy to provide information. I pointed out to the owner that if anyone from the lords of Leyden were to arrive, they would be required to show everything, but not to others for the time being. It was found where a sand ridge runs through the peat. Mr. Bos also found a spearhead and a bow, all between Helenaveen and Meijel in the Deurne Peel. ?? -----
- 81925 I believe I've done everything in this brief report to provide a good overview. I didn't answer the question of its value, which the uninitiated naturally exaggerate. The distance from Roermond to Meijel is four hours, from Stat. Griendtsveen to Meijel 2 1/2 hours. I would like the drawings back after copying, as I don't have any.
Roermond, June 20, 1910
- 81930 AF van Beurden
1st Secretary "Limburg"
Surveyor of the Land Registry
- 81935 If the necessary expenses incurred during the trip can be reimbursed, I would be grateful. If not, I will pay them myself out of interest.
Telegram 0.58 guilders
Postage 0.12 ½ guilders
Travel expenses 2.-
2.80 ½ guilders
- 81940 [631, p. 411] 331 ???
Thank you very much for your "first" information. The find seems to me to have considerable value (also financially). Gratama? I will come and take a look when I have the opportunity. Would you be most helpful in showing me the various items for the helmet? I would like to send them to the National Museum of Antiquities (? to my personal address). I will then examine them and send the value to the finder. You would be very obliging. In any case, the shipping costs are also at our expense. After examining them, I will let you know what I think of the matter.
Sincerely (?) JHHp;werda
- 81950 B. de Jong, Pastor, Helenaveen

[310] Helenaveen, June 21, 1910

Dear Sir!

81955 I thank you kindly for your letter, which I received this morning. Unfortunately, I cannot send you the objects.

81960 Some items were found on the border between the upper peat, which was sold to a company for excavation, and the black peat, which belongs to the Municipality of Deurne. The company and the Municipality of Deurne both now claim rights to the objects. As a result, items considered of inferior quality are now in Helenaveen, while the coins, the so-called helmet, etc., are in Meyel, about an hour from here. The finder entrusted them to the Mayor of Meyel, who will certainly be happy to show them to you on the spot if you announce your arrival. I wouldn't dare say how long they will remain there, however, as I fear the dispute over ownership might lead to a lawsuit.

81965 You can make the journey from Helenaveen station to the village of Helenaveen, near which the discovery was made. From there, the objects can be viewed by bicycle or carriage to Meyel.

Because the objects have been in unskilled hands until now, they have not improved. I felt I should share this with you.

81970 Sincerely,

Yours sincerely,

B. de Jong.

[631, p. 415] June 23, 1910, [...] the Mayor of the Municipality of Meijel.

[631, p. 417] June 23, 1910, [...] the Mayor of the Municipality of Deurne

81975 [631, p. 419] June 23, 1910, [...] Mr. A.F. van Beurden, Roermond

[631, p. 420] June 23, 1910 [...] the Reverend Mr. B. de Jong in [Helenaveen]

[631, p. 427] June 28, 1910 [...] Mr. A.F. van Beurden, Roermond

[631, p. 429] June 29, 1910 [...] Mr. Gabriel Smolenaars, Meijel.

81980 [631, p. 431] 359. June 29, 1910

June 28, 1910 No. 1794; K and W.

Discoveries near Deurne

Notice from the Mayor

81985 Long before the Mayor of Deurne informed the Government of the discovery in his municipality, we had already been informed of it by our agents. We possess images of these objects; there is no danger of them crossing the border, and we hope, in due course, to bring the matter to a successful conclusion in consultation with the Director of the Royal Print Room. Should I require the Government's assistance in this regard, I will contact them; otherwise, I will handle this matter as I always

81990 handle such matters, in accordance with the Government's view. I trust that the Government agrees with this.

81995 It is certainly commendable that the aforementioned Mayor has contacted the Government. Apparently, he was unaware of the Ministerial Order of May 2, 1887, No. 878; Dept. K W, otherwise he would have addressed that communication to me. Following the reports from our agents, we also requested information from that Mayor a few days ago.

The Professor and Director of the National Museum of Antiquities

A. E. J. Holwerda.

82000

His Excellency the Minister of Internal Affairs

Dutch Affairs

82005 [283] Rolduc, July 4, 1910

[...] You have certainly heard of the interesting discovery at Meyel. At first, I thought it was a fabrication, but later I learned from a reliable source that it was indeed an important archaeological event. I hope you will be successful in purchasing the pieces.

82010 [...] W. Goossens

[229] DEURNE, July 7, 1910

Your Honor!

82015 In response to your letter yesterday, I inform you that the Roman objects found by a certain Smolenaars in Meijel—in the peat belonging to the municipality, the top layer of which (the gray) is leased to the firm Terwindt and Arntz and exploited by the firm Steegh and Esser—are still located at the Smolenaars' house. I will now try to

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 82020 get the objects, which are in a glass cabinet, here next Saturday, so that your Deputy Director doesn't have to make the trip to Meyel (a three-hour journey), unless HE would like to make the trip anyway, considering some objects (mostly leather footwear and other items) that are in the possession of Mr. A. Bos, Director of the Helenaveen Mine.
- 82025 As long as the issue of co-ownership between Steegh and the Municipality remains, the finder will not release the objects. Apparently, antique dealers have already offered money. A sum of 1000 guilders has already been mentioned for the helmet alone.
- 82030 The finder cannot or will not yet sell. I believe Mr. van Beurden, Surveyor of the Land Registry in Roermond, has provided you with the information you requested in your letter dated June 23rd, no. 339.
- Sincerely, Yours sincerely, ??? Burg
- 82035 [573] Helden July 1910
Very dear Sir
A very beautiful discovery was made here, two hours from Helden: 43 coins from the year 512-521 and a Roman plech armor of silver gilt or gold. The goods were found in the Peel with peat pits 2.5 meters deep. It seems this may have belonged to a knight.
- 82040 I don't know if it's still for sale from the worker. I'll come and see them as soon as possible, so I can discuss them with you and after them.
Sincerely,
Lou Ueberbach
Here's another message from the Courant.
- 82045 [631, p. 458] July 14, 1910
389 Letter to the Min. v. B Z
Secret Cabinet Secret
not copied for the time being
- 82050 [229] DEURNE, 27 Aug 1910
Dear Sir!
In response to your letter, I inform you that it has always been Smolenaars' plan to transfer the helmet to the Rijksmuseum in September. The Municipality would also prefer to see the museum acquire the find.
- 82055 S., however, would like to know before then how much the museum could spend. I doubt that, knowing the price, he would abuse it by selling everything to a Franck or Gildemeester, at least if the State values the find.
Since S. does not wish to go to L. alone, I will probably accompany him.
- 82060 Sincerely, Yours sincerely, Dr. ??? Burg
- [229] DEURNE, 25 Oct 1910
The Director of the Museum of Antiquities Leiden.
Received your inquiry by telegram with a paid reply this morning. I will keep the latter in my possession so that I can communicate it as soon as a decision is made.
- 82065 The purpose of my last letter was to inquire whether a request of 1,000 guilders, plus any legal costs, would be well received by you or the State. After all, if the Council requests such an amount, and the State offers the amount of 800 guilders you first mentioned, we will have to hold another council meeting later. Council meetings
- 82070 are not held here often because some council members live two and a half hours from the Town Hall. If you could quickly inform me whether the B. and W.'s proposal is accepted by you, I will hold a meeting for that purpose as soon as possible. The meeting would have already been held if we had not postponed it in view of the discussion of the budget, accounts, municipal bylaws, and other matters.
- 82075 Sincerely, The Mayor of Deurne ???
- [229] 8/11/1910 [telegram]
DEURNE 9 29 8/11 12:34 =
- 82080 IN VIEW OF THE BUDGET DEALING THIS DAY, DECISION. THEN AUTHORIZATION FOR SALE OF STATES. NO CONCERNS, MUNICIPALITY NEGOTIATES OR SELLS OTHERS. ALLEGED OFFER IS BEING APPROVED = MAYOR +

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 82085 [229] DEURNE, November 25, 1910
No. 4B
Dear Sir!
In response to your letter of yesterday, no. 599, I have the honor to inform you that the Council's decision will be submitted for approval within a few days.
- 82090 It is very regrettable that part of the helmet (cheek piece) is missing. I very much doubt that piece was stolen. Several people searched for and found objects after Smolenaars. I don't know whether all the finds are still together. At the time, someone also owned a piece (probably a cheek piece).
82095 I'll inquire whether he added it to the finds Smolenaars made. If not, I'll try to sell it for less than what's required, at a fairly high price.
- to purchase. For the time being, I would not make any announcement with a promise of reward.
Sincerely, always at your service
82100 Yours truly, ??? Burg
- [363] December 10, 1910
Increase in the annual salary of J. Koene, amanuensis; L. van der Meer and F. van der Meer, clerks; H.S. Groen, clerk
- 82105 [229] DEURNE, December 13, 1910
Dear Sir!
I hereby have the honor to send you the decision of the Council of this Municipality to sell the Roman objects found by millers in the Peel region. Since approval from
82110 the Provincial Council, according to their letter, is not necessary, the transfer can be effected by contract.
When and where would this be most suitable?
Sincerely,
The Mayor of Deurne ca. ???
- 82115 [229] DEURNE, December 18, 1910
To the Administrator of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden
Herewith your draft contract, to which we agree. We will be pleased if everything can be completed before January 1st, especially since the current Secretary, Janssens,
82120 was honorably discharged as such on the 15th of this month at his own request, effective January 1, 1911, and will therefore still have to appear in court according to this draft.
Sincerely,
The Mayor of Deurne, ca. ???
- 82125 [229] DEURNE, December 21, 1910
With your letter of the 20th of this month, we received a banknote for 1000 guilders (BD10), as well as the purchase agreement in duplicate for the antiquities found here in the peat bog, the latter document being returned here after being signed by us.
82130 The Mayor and Aldermen of Deurne ca.
??? The Secretary J.L. Janssens
To the Administrator of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden
- [553] Correspondence from Gabriel Smolenaars in Meijel
82135 August 23, 1910
November 24, 1910
November 30, 1910
September 17, 1911
September 26, 1912
82140 March 12, 1914 Reply 1 Apr. 14
March 26, 1914 k1914/5 1 and 2; May 1911 k1911 5.1
April 3, 1914
February 27, 1917
March 5, 1917
- 82145 [278 and 288] Correspondence from Mr. GOUDSMIT & COSMAN. Lawyers and Attorneys
Leiden, September 12, 191[0] regarding the purchase of a helmet
September 22, 1910
October 7, 1910

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 82150 December 2, 1910 Mr. J.F. van den Broek in Nijmegen
December 16, 1910
[278] September 25, 1912

[279] November 4, 1910
- 82155 Well, Ed Heer,
I am in possession of a beautiful, intact Roman helmet. The reason I haven't informed you about it yet is that Mr. Kam is interested in purchasing it. If he buys it, it will remain in our country. Although it is still little known that I have this helmet, even the Gildemeester doesn't know about it yet. I'm surprised that you
- 82160 already know this. Although I already received an offer from Germany last week, if you come to Nijmegen one of these days, you can see it.
November 4, 1910 Sincerely, Yours sincerely. GrandJean(?)
Placing the collar over the helmet is for breaking the sword blow on the helmet this helmet is hammered from heavy bronze and weighs approximately 3½ pounds
- 82165 Completely intact, beautiful Bronze Helmet
A bronze semicircle of 0. ½ Ned placed over the helmet from the front. centimeters in thickness and 0.2 centimeters in width
B ring for hanging the helmet
- 82170 [240] Praehistorische Zeitschrift 7/12.10
Sehr geehrter Herr Director!
They were so generous about the Spätrömischen Fund in Holland ein Referat ende September in Aussicht. Would we be able to find out what to do next in order to find out what to do? With the best care possible Dr. Ebert
- 82175 [240] GENERAL-VERWALTUNG OF THE KÖNIGLICHEN MUSEEN
KGL. MUSEUM OF VÖLKERKUNDE
BERLIN S.W. 11, Königgrätzer Str. 120
the 12.VIII.1910
- 82180 Sehr geehrter Herr Director!
I would like to receive a copy of the news about a spatial fund in a Torfmoore near Deurne to receive information about the information about the historical newspaper and event. zu erweitern. With best wishes
Hochachtungsvoll erzeberste Dr. Max Ebert
- 82185 595 23 November 1910
22 November 1910
N3134 K.W.
Letter from His Majesty the German Emperor regarding the discovery in Deurne.
- 82190 3. I would very much have liked to reply immediately to Your Excellency's letter of 20 October 1910, No. 2791, Dept. K.W.
However, I was completely unsure. Just about this, however, I received a telegram from which it appears to me that the Deurne finds have become State property. The helmet, however, is broken into pieces, and other objects are in a completely
- 82195 dilapidated condition. Proper restoration will take a long time. It would be an honor for us to have everything prepared for His Majesty the Emperor of Germany as soon as it is at all possible. The documents sent to me by Your Excellency are returned herewith. The Professor and Director of the National Museum of Antiquities (signed) A. E. J. Holwerda
- 82200 His Excellency the Minister of the Interior, The Hague

[163] Roermond, 30 November 1910.
Higgel. Sir,
I am very pleased that the helmet, etc., has been found. I was very worried at the
- 82205 time. It is an interesting piece, do you know the shrill?/Uz?? Now, what the inscription means? That interests me very much. Hereby the stone knife [...] [van Beurden]
- 82210 [163] Roermond, December 4, 1910.
Wlzig Heer,
I am very pleased that the find from the Peel region is in the Museum. I was otherwise afraid that it wouldn't end up there. Could you tell me what it says? I am very curious about it? Is the find being restored? [van Beurden]
- 82215 [163] Well? G. Heer,

May I politely inquire if you have managed to read the inscription on the back plate of the helmet found in Meijel? What does it mean? [...]
Roermond, December 13 [van Beurden]

82220 [202] Appointment as assistant from January 1 to December 31, 1911 J. Briedé

[632] January 30 11

Verehrter Herr Professor,

82225 In the Leiden Museum you will find a Roman helmet in Constantinischer Zeit, with the Nackenschirm an inscription is a single one? tat, there is only one photographic photograph here that can be found. Although the man cannot be entziffern. We asked ourselves in connection with Herrn Prof. Dragendorf, we can turn to you. Also, I can write my inscription with the bits that I would like to read and read in writing.

82230 In addition, you can read about Helmrande in Kapitalschrift Stablesia ♥ VI ♥, which you can see on the Equites Stablesiani, which you can see in the Not. Dign. More than one thing was reported and also, so they fell, with two inscriptions forkommen (C.I.L. V, 4376, VIII, 8990). Vielleicht kann dieses Stablesia Ihnen bei der Lesung der nicht entzifferten Inschrift nützlich seien.

82235 Even though they were not known, they were not a problem when they were published. If they were useful, they would not be welded, but they would also be required to do so. Ihren Ergebenen M.A. Evelein Curator.

- Herrn Prof. Dr. O. Bohn

Berlin-Steglitz

Kurfürstenstr. 3.

82240 [632] Feb 7 11

Verehrter Herr Professor,

Thank you very much for your help, which I really responded to, although the desired photography was not helpful.

82245 The Helmet was founded in Summer 1910 in Deurne (N. Brabant). There is a napkin, cheek claps and a nackenschirm. There were demands with a source of reward for Silberblech. Der Überzug is now erhalten; of the claimants are happy with their own small claims. Also, I can take care of the weight of the heavy loads, and also take care of the diet, so I can have it with the silver restauriert. Der restaurierte Überzug wiegt ohne Wangenkloppen und Nackenschirm 282.50 Gr. For the restoration we will spend 45.- Gr. Silver. The initial weight of the excess weight and also was more than 282.50-45.-=237.50 Gr. signal.

82250 The nails have a weight of 32.50 Gr., the cheek claps of 2x17.10 Gr., and now the links are there. Since you are a Helmet, you will be able to enjoy the benefits of rewarded Silberblech. They are visible on the leather bands that celebrate those cheek slaps on the helmet rim, ihren Platz. The cribs are 0.70 Gr.

82255 For the time being, let the inspection take place, also -L. Here are the photos of Stablesia VI, and the attention to detail of the photographs, which is not the only retouch with negative or positive effects. They are the ones who are born in the Netherlands and who are the first photographers.

82260 With kind regards,

Hochachtungsvoll Your Excellency M.A. Evelein

- Prof. Dr. O. Bohn

Steglitz-Berlin

82265 Kurfürst.str. 3

[632, p. 336] 92 14 February 11 301/447
from Deurne

82270 The helmet found near Deurne in June 1910, about which I wrote to Your Excellency in my letter of July 14, 1910, No. 389, is currently on display in the Museum. It is the property of Mr. C. H. Krantz, a manufacturer in Leiden.

82275 After much effort, Deputy Director Dr. J. H. Holwerda succeeded in obtaining this piece. For a time, there was a danger that it would be lost to our country. It is undoubtedly the most beautiful antique piece ever found in our soil. It was purchased for 3,000 guilders. Mr. Krantz made it possible to acquire the helmet so we could purchase it at his expense.

His sole intention, however, was to facilitate the acquisition of this art treasure for the State. He is returning the helmet to the State for exactly what it cost him, 3,000 guilders.

82280 This amount of 3,000 guilders is precisely what Your Excellency, in a letter dated July 19, 1910, No. 1965, Department of Commerce, W.W., made available for that

purpose.

82285 I would appreciate receiving your reply with further details of the budget item to which the invoice should be charged to Mr. Krantz. The attempts to acquire the piece for less, no matter how strenuously they were tried, were bound to fail. The value, if it were purchased, for example, in a market where foreign museums could bid, would be at least double. Professor and Director of the National Museum of Antiquities, A. E. J. Holwerda

82290 Your Excellency, Minister
van [...]enlandsche Zaken te 's Gravenhaage.

[632] February 17, 11

Dear Professor,

82295 I consider your reading of the inscription to be correct, even though the symbols ? for ? and ? for ? remain confusing. Regarding the interpretation, however, I have the following to offer. If I had to choose between your two interpretations, I would vote for the first... Tit(ii) Valon(is) Urs(i). For surely the owner of our golden helmet was not himself a captain? But is a third interpretation not possible? The weight refers to the covering, but how could the wearer of the helmet know the weight of the covering? It was impossible to know without removing the covering from the iron cap. In my opinion, the weight of the covering could only have been determined at the factory and set there on the neck guard. One could therefore think of a manufacturer. Since our helmets, as correctly assumed, were manufactured in imperial arms factories, I would like to consider a verifier who requested the weight of the gold.

82305 His name would therefore be Titus Valonius Ursus. The first symbol, which I also do not consider to be the question mark, could then perhaps be a symbol for auctoritate (C. XIII, 2, 100 30 00) or something similar. Your opinion on this interpretation would be very valuable to me, and I hope you would share your judgment with me again.

82310 I completely agree with your addition (vexillatio) Stablesia(na), all the more so because the equites Stablesiani are considered to be among the Vexillationes Comitatus Africae und Britanniorum in the Not. Dign. (Oce VI, 34, 82. VII, 180, 182203. Ed. Seech).

82315 I will be happy to send you the supplements for the corpus.
Thank you very much for your detailed explanations.

Sincerely

Your devotee

M.A. Evelein

82320 - Prof. Dr. O. Bean
Steglitz Berlin
Kurfürstenstr. 3

[573] Helden (L.) 8 Feb 1911

82325 Sir,
For more than 30 years there is a man in the Peel at Helenaveen with turf graven in the inliggende area, can this be seen from the Museum? I can't wait for it, but it's wild first and there's a lot of latency. I hoop that uedel my zoo speedig mogelijk terug zult zenden indien het niets voor Museum is.

82330 Hoogachtend u. then. Louis Ueberbach

[633, p. 44] ?? 1911

helmet

G Smolenaars Meijel B b/Deurne

82335 Keep the addresses from Dr Evelein:

Burgemeester van Deurne Deurne

Ds B. de Jong (Wolk?ker) Helenaveen

A. F. van Beurden Landmeter Roermond

company Steegh Venlo

82340 L Verkuil Leiden

W.v. Rossum du Chattel id [=Leiden]

Dr H. W. de Visser Plantsoen id

[240] Berlin July 24, 1911 Gold discoveries from Velp

82345 [240] Berlin 25/9.11.

[240] Berlin September 7, 1911. Golden Ring

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

August 21, 1911 As assistant in the Nederlandsche afdeeling of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden is benoemd Mr Hermann Martin aldaar.

82350

[176] Helenaveen 9 Dec. 1911 [...] letter from A. Bos
[See elsewhere]

February 2, 1912 Belangrijke vondsten.

82355

Op een stuk land, toebehoorende aan den Heer A. Honigman en situated on the Lindeweg te Heerlen, heeft men naar de "Nieuwe Limb. Koerier" mededeelt, naast various other concerns zaken a gedeelte uitgegraven van een Romeinschen pottenbakkersoven, die volgens een oppervlakkige Beschouwing afkomstig moet zijn uit het midden the first eeuw tot het begin der tweede eeuw na Christus.

82360

This is the first Romeinsche oven in Limburg, the zoo is absolutely something. The large area in the area is considered to be cut from the Romans and the men are hoopted and have several concerns from the most important ones.

82365

Door de arbeiders, who were on the ground werkzaam, zijn volgens hun zeggen four van dergelijke ovens ontgraven. In a daarvan vond men still heel wat Romeinsch aardewerk en wel op de plaats, what was baked in the oven. The aardewerk has the gemeente a gedeelte overgenomen, terwijl de rest is aangekocht door the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden.

82370

Door the army H. Martin, assistant at the genoemd museum, was de verdere werkzaamheden geleid.

The wall direction recorded in 1910 was incorrect in relation to the points where the ground traces of the buildings were recorded.

82375

In Fig. ..., the building traces belonging to the same buildings as those measured in 1910 and 1911 are drawn, and it appears from this that on the Provisional Map of 1910, the wall was drawn in the direction AAA, while the control measurement in 1911 established that this direction should have been drawn according to the direction BBB.

82380

The subsequent measurements left no doubt and were therefore drawn in their correct context.

KN [?]

[635, p. 133] 697 11 November 12

Dear Sir!

82385

On behalf of the Management of the National Museum of Antiquities, I have the pleasure of presenting you with a replica of the golden helmet for the Museum. The box will be sent to your museum today. Sincerely, Yours sincerely, J.H. Holwerda
The Most Honorable Sir Mr. J.P.W.A. Smit. Ververstraat 23, 's-Hertogenbosch

82390

[635, p. 151] November 21, 1912. [...]
Roman helmet from the time of Emperor Constantine, found in the Peel region (after the original in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden). [...]

[303] Leiden, April 28, 1913

82395

[...] Excavations at Arentsburg will probably not take place this year. Lack of funds, but especially the slander and gossip that have been trying to make my life miserable lately, are the cause of this. [...]

The Reverend Mr. Rev. Heldring Nijbroek near Deventer

82400

[550] Venray, January 30, 1914

April 8, 1916 Frisian Museum

82405

The board of the "Frisian Society" has appointed Mr. H. Martin, a lecturer in art history and drawing here, as director of the Frisian Museum. Mr. Martin worked for two years as an assistant at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden and, as such, participated in the well-known excavations of the Roman fortress at Arentsburg.

[280] Helden L., July 28, 1916

82410

Esteemed, Highly Learned Sir,

On the advice of Mr. Verzondert (Dr. in Classics), who was present at the time during excavations conducted under your direction, I take the liberty of contacting you with a request. A collection that will soon be auctioned includes several objects that may be of some value to an archaeological museum.

I have therefore taken the liberty of attaching a list of these objects compiled by

Dr. Verzondert.

82415 Perhaps you would be interested in purchasing them, or if not, we would be very obliged if you would state their value.

Thanking you in advance.

Sincerely, M. Haffmans Wibaut

- 82420 1. Two Roman earthenware jars, 2nd or 3rd century
2. Large Roman earthenware jar, 3rd or 4th century?
3 .Terra sigillata bowl (red earthenware, 2nd-3rd century)
4. Urns & gray earthenware
a. on three legs
b. without legs
82425 c. with a curved edge-of-town urn
d. small speckled earthen urn, 2nd century
e. large roughly fired urn (much later)
5. Various stone chisels and hammer
6. Three bronze chisels
82430 7. Three Saxon jugs.
a. Stone jug only with mark [?]
b. two bearded men (glaze)
8. a. fossilized tree branch
b fossilized bark
82435 9 Earthen lamp.

[279] The Hague, March 22, 1918

Your Honorable Director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

Your Honorable Sir,

82440 Mr. G. Smolenaars of Meyel has contacted me with the complaint that in 1910 he found a gilded He unearthed a silver helmet, which was donated to your museum, but for which he would not have received half the value due to him as the finder, but only 1200 guilders. While the municipality of Deurne, as landowner, had received 1/4 1000 guilders from the Steegh company, as tenant, also 1000 guilders for its quarter.
82445 Smolenaars was reportedly offered 300 guilders for the coins and other additional finds, which he, however, did not receive.

Could I ask you to inform me somewhat about this history? I thank you in advance for the effort you have made.

Sincerely,

82450 Your Honor, Henri van Groenendael
Member of the Second Chamber of Meyel

[279] March 26, 1918

The Most Honorable Mr. Dr. H.A.G. van Groenendael The Hague

82455 Your Honorable Sir,

I am happy to provide you with the requested information.

82460 In June 1910, during a dig in the Helenaveen, the pieces of a gilded silver helmet were found by the worker G. Smolenaars. Smolenaars took the pieces to his house. They were safe because the Mayor of Deurne fully understood that this piece, found on our soil, could not be moved to a foreign museum. The municipality of Deurne, as owner of the Helenaveen, was co-owner of the find.

Suddenly, however, a third claimant appeared, the firm Steeg & van Essen of Nijmegen, under which the excavation work had been carried out. They initiated legal action, served a writ on their former worker, Smolenaars, and hoped to obtain the pieces in
82465 this way.

That was a difficult position for the man.

How could one hold their own against such a firm?

82470 The deputy director, who had gone to Meyel in this matter, then, at his own risk, bought Smolenaars' right to the found documents for 1200 guilders and awaited the outcome of the lawsuit. Smolenaars was then able to refer the gentlemen to the other rightful claimant. This other claimant actually obtained the firm's lawyer. The lawyers he consulted did not consider the firm's chances of winning the lawsuit high, but the legal basis for initiating legal proceedings was available. We considered it fortunate that the worker was not involved in the case.

82475 The firm's lawyer was also not entirely sure of himself, and so, to avoid a lawsuit, a settlement was reached, whereby the deputy director acquired the firm's true or alleged rights for 800 guilders and the municipality of Deurne's for 1000 guilders. He was therefore the owner of the helmet, i.e., the State became the owner for the 3000 guilders the government had allocated for it.

- 82480 Regarding the 300 guilders, I am sending you a copy of part of a letter from Smolenaars himself. As any visitor to the museum can see, it was not possible to restore the leather found in its entirety. Therefore, there is no question of Smolenaars still claiming that money.
- 82485 So, Smolenaars has not been wronged. He has been helped out of his predicament. Now the poor man has been talked out of it. The piece is supposedly worth half a million. That is absurd. He submitted a request to Her Majesty the Queen in the spring of 1917 and is now turning to you.
- With this, I consider the matter sufficiently cleared up.
- Sincerely,
- 82490 For signed. A.E.J. Holwerda
- Sittard, March 20, 1918
- The Most Learned Mr. A.E.J. Holwerda, Professor at Leiden. Esteemed Sir,
- 82495 I hereby have the honor to kindly thank you for your detailed letter of the 26th of this month regarding the discovery of G. Smolenaars in Meyel. I advised him to let the matter rest for now and to be satisfied with what I received. - Please accept my sincere thanks for your efforts.
- Sincerely, Yours sincerely, HenrivanGroenendael, Member of the Second Chamber.
- 82500 [374] Leiden 27/7 18
- [381] 21 November 1922
- Esteemed Sir!
- 82505 The enclosed postcard, still addressed to my father, was sent to me. And my father has ever told me that you helped German scientific institutions in their difficulties and that he acted as a mediator in this regard, but I don't know exactly what he did in this regard, nor how far you intend to go. If you wish to continue this and I can be of assistance, please do so.
- 82510 Therefore, I am sending you this postcard for your perusal. - I am also enclosing a circular letter I recently received for distribution from the well-known magazine "Bonner Jahrbücher." It would, of course, be a great pity if this magazine were to cease operations.
- Yours faithfully,
- The Honourable Mr. C.H. Krantz
- 82515 WARMOND. [and some other letters from 1922 and 1923]
- June 15, 1907 Dutch State Gazette
- SOUTH HOLLAND. (Approved by decree of the Provincial Executive of that province of May 28, 1907, no. 3.)
- 82520 Year 1907. The population of the province is 1,144,401. The number of highly taxed persons is 762.
332. Krantz, Cornelis Hendrik, of Warmond, born in Leiden, December 20, 1853.
- 82525 December 27, 1915. By deed executed on December 21, 1915, before the undersigned notary, a general partnership was established between Mr. Cornelis Hendrik Krantz, manufacturer, residing in Warmond, Mr. Boudewijn Franciscus Krantz, manufacturer, residing in Leiden, and Mr. Leonard Pieter Krantz, manufacturer, residing in Warmond, to continue the business conducted by the former under the name J. J. Krantz & Zoon, consisting of the manufacture and trading of sheets and other woolen fabrics. The
- 82530 partnership is operated under the name J. J. Krantz & Zoon and is located in Leiden. It was entered into for an indefinite period and commenced on January 1, 1915. The partners are all authorized to sign the partnership agreement and are generally authorized to act in the name of the partnership, to issue and receive funds, and to bind the partnership to third parties and third parties to the partnership, provided,
- 82535 however, that the cooperation of all partners is required: a. to buy, sell, exchange, rent, lease, lend, mortgage, or encumber with other real rights the partnership's real estate; b. to enter into all obligations in general whose subject exceeds the value of ten thousand guilders; c. to lend funds or property to the partnership, to borrow funds or provide security for borrowed funds, or otherwise commit themselves
- 82540 to obligations of third parties; d. to enter into settlements, to conduct proceedings, both as plaintiff and defendant, and to assign disputes to s
- umpires. However, Mr. Cornelis Hendrik Krantz is authorized to perform all the acts mentioned in this article alone and therefore without the cooperation of one or both other partners. (6100) H. M. A. COEBERGH, Notary.
- 82545

December 15, 1923 C. H. Krantz †.

After a short illness, Mr. C. H. Krantz, the oldest partner of the well-known firm J. J. Krantz and Sons in Leiden, passed away at his country estate in Warmond, aged 70. This cloth factory, founded in Leiden during the reign of Louis Napoleon, had a worldwide reputation. Although he was most interested in the technology of his business, so that he continued to perfect cloth manufacturing, he also contributed significantly to the advancement of the people. He co-founded the first school for manual labor in The Hague and, as early as 1897, established a public bathhouse in Leiden, one of the first in the Netherlands. Furthermore, various social institutions had his support and cooperation.

December 11, 1922 Prof. Dr. O. Bohn Berlin-Steglitz, Kurfürstsenstrasse 3

[303] Helmond, July 10, 1918.

Your Honor,

I have intended several times to draw your attention to a remarkable piece of land located in Deurne, which, as a lover of history and archaeology, continues to fascinate me every time I pass it.

It is a piece of arable land in the middle of the heath, close to the former Germanic cemetery (all the burial mounds of which are still clearly visible), rising about one to two meters above the surrounding area. Traces of a ditch or canal can be discovered around it. This piece of land, consisting of raised sand, is popularly known as "de Braok." I've found larger and smaller potsherds there several times, but never paid much attention to them, because I attributed their presence to the thrown manure [?], in which they had been lost.

Recently, however, when a local farmer was digging to take some sand home, he came across several objects, which he tried to keep as intact as possible. But because none of them were still intact, he thought they were "no good." So much was smashed. Four, however, have been preserved, but none of them complete.

I saw them myself, at the home of the farmer who found them.

They are:

1. A beautiful, large bearded man, approximately 40 cm high, made of very hard material, brown on the outside, gray on the inside.
 2. A small jug, approximately 12 to 15 cm high, with three medieval Christ figures around them, the instruments of torture, also made of very hard material.
 3. A soft cloth bowl, glazed on the inside.
 4. A stone plate decorated with yellow lines according to the accompanying sketch.
- At the site where these objects were found, hundreds of shards, green, yellow, and brown, still lie.

I took some of them with me. I also found a piece of woollen cloth there, which had also been excavated. I took that along as well. Should these finds be important enough to warrant a trip to North Brabant, I would be happy to give you all the information and accompany you to the excavation sites. I have said that the finder will under no circumstances part with the objects before I have spoken to him about them again.

I hope to receive an answer from you.

Sincerely, J. Heerens

Reply 24/16 19

[460] June 7, 1920

MUSEUM OF GERMANY, ETHIOPIAN AND MARITIME MUSEUM "PRINCE HENDRIK" ROTTERDAM.

The Director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

Your Honorable Sir:

From your letter of June 5, I learned to my relief that you have received my letter addressed to Professor E.E.J. Holwerda, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, would like to consider this as addressed to you, and also offer you my sincere apologies for the mistake I made. - This mistake would not have occurred if I had received your personal message at the time regarding my letter addressed to you - sentence of the family name - dated March 2nd. - If you [...]

[283] November 1, 1920

[...] I would also like to inform you of the following:

You are aware that Mr. Kam has given his museum in Nijmegen to the State and that a contract was drawn up entirely without my knowledge. I now hear that they also want to appoint a museum director and offer him a full salary, and that the candidate for this position is [crossed out and typed over]?. vrooi nr/m eioesiu?e?

played at our museum is known to you. On the one hand, I want to try to prevent the Kammuseum in Nijmegen from simply becoming a second Rijksmuseum, competing with ours. Furthermore, it's being presented as if the municipal museum in Nijmegen will simply

82615 be absorbed into the Kammuseum, thus bypassing the gentlemen in Nijmegen. I don't think this will ever happen, as the Minister is led to believe. The best, and indeed the only, good solution seems to me to be the following:
I think it would be foolish to appoint a highly paid special official solely for that Kam collection; it seems to me that this would be just the job for our friend Daniëls

82620 to perform in addition to his archivist duties. Of course, a settlement would have to be reached with the municipal museum, and he would need a few additional assistants, but I think he is absolutely the right person for this matter. We will undoubtedly have good cooperation.

82625 In this spirit, I have now arranged for His Excellency to issue a recommendation. This goes against the wishes of the departmental authorities, who have apparently been encouraged by Evelein's friends. However, I have written a piece to counter this. In that piece, I also stated that I was certain I was not alone in my conviction, and I cited you as an authority from whom, in my opinion, one would certainly obtain such advice. I don't know, of course, whether the Minister will do

82630 it, but if you are actually asked, you now know what I have written, and I am convinced you will guess the same. After all, there is no one as well-informed as Daniëls. So I have no doubt that you will want to support my advice in this matter. Sincerely,

82635 October 29, 1928 So-called new Drenthe falsifications.

Dr. A. E. van Giffen of Groningen writes to us.

In response to the article in the evening paper A, page 2, of October 12, of the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, under the heading "Rijksmuseum van Oudheden" (National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden, about a lecture by Dr. J. H. Holwerda on Glozel.

82640 Spiennes in Drenthe thirty years ago and the accompanying announced small exhibition of old and new Drenthe falsifications, I would like to make the following

observations. That in the past, that is, in the nineties and thereabouts of the last century, urns, stone chisels, and the like were produced or imitated and sold on a large scale in Drenthe, especially in the area around Odoorn, is a well-known fact.

82645 The warehouse collections in Assen (especially earlier) and Leiden can, or could, bear all too striking testimony to this. In older newspaper editions, including those of the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant and elsewhere, articles on this subject have been written by, among others, the late Mr. Sij. Gratama, Mr. J. C. van Kempen, the late Jhr. Mr. J. A. Feith, and Mr. J. G. C. Joosting. Objects made and sold at that time

82650 are also still in the possession of private individuals here and there.

However, I very definitely doubt that falsifications like the one mentioned here have continued to be produced in recent years. Over the past 15 years, I have come across several more, and twice in the last 12 years I have even been offered a similar, clumsy, and immediately recognizable forgery in Assen. But as far as I could tell,

82655 they were always remnants from earlier, aforementioned periods. It is a fact, however, that the announcement in question seems to have caused some concern, at least in some circles in Drenthe. Therefore, it seems highly desirable to me that, if my assumption is correct, this be removed as soon as possible. This is especially true since, as I have heard, Dr. Holwerda recently considered a stone chisel he

82660 purchased from Drenthe and found in the municipality of Emmen to be a forgery. Dr. J. H. Holwerda informed us of the following in response to Dr. van Giffen's letter: "In response to this letter, I can inform you that I am convinced there is no reason for any concern that may have arisen in Drenthe. The forged objects, which have

82665 apparently recently been offered specifically to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, were probably not made in recent years.

May 6, 1929 INSTITUTION OF DR. J. H. HOLWERDA

On April 2, Dr. J. H. Holwerda, director of the museum, was honored in one of the galleries of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. He had been associated

82670 with the institution for 25 years on Easter Monday. This tribute took place in the intimate circle of friends of the celebrant and was attended not only by the members of the honoring committee but also by the president-curator of Leiden University. Mr. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen; the secretary of the curators, Mr. Idenburg; the former president-curator, Mr. De Gyselaar; the former secretary of the curators, Mr.

82675 Boddaert; the rector magnificus, Professor Van Eysinga; the secretary of the academic senate, Professor Van Wijk, and several professors. On behalf of the commemoration committee, Mr. W. A. Beelaerts van Blokland, clerk of the Senate, spoke. The speaker

pointed out that, thanks to Dr. Holwerda's care, the museum, through the numerous acquisitions, has not degenerated into a warehouse. He noted how much better the collection in the current museum building is given more prominence than they were in the building on Breestraat. The speaker declined to name those who had assisted the director; however, he makes an exception for the late Dr. Remouchamps, sorely missed. Despite Dr. Holwerda's great merits, criticism of his work was inevitable. This was a natural consequence of his work on the road. Criticism, however, also has many positive effects, and among the grateful attendees at this tribute, Dr. Holwerda would have found many critics. The speaker expressed the expectation that the jubilarian would continue to work with courage and enthusiasm for a long time to come, in the interests of the museum and of science, to the gratitude of the critics as well. Regarding the tribute he offered on behalf of the committee, the speaker shared: Including that Dr. Holwerda had expressed the wish to receive for the museum, as a memento of this day, a small Roman cup of exceptional value, executed in the millefiori technique and made in the first century BC. The curator, Miss Bruts, recently purchased the cup at a public auction in Berlin. Along with the cup, Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland offered an album compiled by the museum staff, listing the names of the donors. Furthermore, since Dr. Holwerda had indicated that he would appreciate some financial support for his excavations, the committee—not insignificantly supported by a significant donation received specifically for this purpose from someone deeply committed to the museum—decided to present the remaining funds raised in envelopes to the jubilee recipient, under the motto "Excavation Fund." "Please accept this sum with the assurance that we await its expenditure with great interest, in the hope that you may thereby obtain the results for further solving the problem of the Netherlands' earliest civilization." Finally, as a representative of the Government, I have a particularly honorable task," Mr. Beelaerts continued. "The Government also felt it necessary to pay tribute to you today for all that you have done on behalf of the Museum entrusted to your care. For it went beyond the performance of duty. The Government considered a special token of gratitude appropriate in this case, and it believed it could best express this appreciation by awarding the medal, which is reserved exclusively for those who have made a very special contribution to the country's museums." It has pleased Her Majesty the Queen, by Her Highness's decree of March 27, 1929, to decree that you be awarded the Museum Medal in gold, and I hereby request you to accept it from me on behalf of the Government as the highest tribute on this day. (Prolonged applause.) Mr. H.J. Scharp spoke on behalf of the Royal Antiquarian Society, which, especially recently, has had excellent cooperation with the Leiden Museum and with Dr. Holwerda in particular, as the speaker noted. For placement in the museum, the speaker offered a 3rd-century Gnathia vase from southern Italy and a terracotta statue from the same period. The society's statutes do not permit gifts, and therefore the objects were loaned, which makes little difference, according to the speaker. Holwerda, touched by the great warmth he had experienced from many quarters during these days, then expressed gratitude for the tribute paid to him. The speaker especially thanked the government and Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland, who had shared the museum's joys and sorrows for over 25 years, for his heartfelt words. The speaker also devoted a few words to the memory of his colleague, Dr. Remouchamps, who passed away too early and whom he sorely missed on this day.

Response from A.E.J. Holwerda regarding metal thickness

See regarding De Stuers https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor_de_Stuers

July 11, 1904 [...] After completing some housekeeping duties, Prof. Dr. E.A.J. Holwerda gave a lecture on Dutch antiquities in connection with the reorganization plans for the Museum of Antiquities, which he directs. The speaker then addressed the relationship between local and provincial museums and the Leiden Museum. His view is that local museums should contain the best of their region. The Leiden Museum should not be the sole source of information, but should provide specimens of everything found on our soil and also provide comparative material from abroad. All mayors in the country have already been contacted to provide information, but museum boards and private individuals should also exercise supervision. Here too, a permanent organization would be highly desirable. The speaker hoped that one day a scholar would emerge, equipped with extensive knowledge, who would devote himself exclusively to the study of Dutch antiquities; but in the meantime, everyone should do what they find appropriate.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES.

82745 Leiden, November 28, 1910
No. 604.

Please address your reply to the "Management of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden," not to specific individuals.

Esteemed Sir,

82750 May I express my sincere thanks for your letter and the two promised statuettes, which are invaluable to us in themselves, but also as proof of our interest. Our subsidy has indeed been significantly increased; ensuring that nothing worthwhile leaves our country requires considerable effort. The museum is now completely finished, including the gallery of plaster casts, and I dare say with pride that one
82755 would have to travel quite a distance outside our country to find something like it. Many a Leiden luminary from around 1860 would turn in their graves if they knew. Arentsburch will yield magnificent results; however, determining everything is a formidable task. Ultimately, a publication will be forthcoming that will enhance our reputation abroad and shed new light on our oldest history.

82760 Please accept my sincere thanks again and believe
my?? Sincerely, yours truly,
A. E. J. Holwerda

To the Right Honourable Sir Jhr Victor de Stuers

Member of the House of Representatives of the States General in The Hague

82765 See <https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1x4P3FFhHdg-XUCFjOS5Rctdi5Hkcmgfg> [letter P1112310]

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTICIPALITIES

Leiden, 11 May 1911

82770 Please address your reply to the "Management of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden", not to specific individuals.

Esteemed Sir

Thank you for your letter,

82775 I fully understand your doubts; 0.06 mm is not much. However, we had the thickness of the plate measured a meter later by a skilled goldsmith using a so-called plate, and he arrived at this result. After your letter, we called the man again. Same thing again. He said such coverings can be so thin because the remark [??] gives them some consistency. It's almost like paper. One must also be very careful with them. The two young men responsible for the care of that piece also considered a sash strap
82780 applied in the manner you suggest. They could have mentioned this as well. In the description of the piece itself, Dr. Evelein followed a different conjecture, as you know, and that seems somewhat plausible, although certainty is impossible. The main argument against a leather sash strap fitting seems to be that holes are only on one side of the strips, even though they are a little too long rather than too short.

82785 (This, however, is of less significance.

The three holes actually only appear on one side of the helmet. I have examined it again carefully with Dr. Evelein. A fitting over the entire length is certainly not necessary, but as I already noted, the strips are at least long enough for that. The storm straps, however, will probably not have been attached to the interior.

82790 We are very pleased that this helmet did not cross the border or end up in a private collection. My son had a tremendous effort to prevent that. It would have been unimaginable if such a piece were now in a foreign museum.

Believe me, in the meantime, yours sincerely,

Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda

82795 To the Right Honourable Mr. Jhr. Mr. Victor de Stuers in The Hague [letter P1112312]

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES.

Leiden, May 16, 1911

82800 Please address your reply to the "Management of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden," not to specific individuals.

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter.

82805 I can fully understand your doubts; 0.06 mm is not much. However, we have the thickness of the plate through a skilled goldsmith with a so-called plate and he came up with this [=with] this result. After your letter, we called the man again. The same thing again. He said such coverings can be so thin because the remark [??] gives them some consistency. It's almost like paper. One must also be very careful with it. The two young men responsible for the care of that piece also considered a chin strap applied in the manner you suggest. They could have mentioned this as well. In the

82810 description of the piece itself, Dr. Evelein followed a different conjecture, as you know, and that seems somewhat plausible, although certainty is impossible. The fact that holes are only on one side of the strips seems particularly telling against the fitting of leather chin straps, even without them being a little too long rather than too short, seems to be the main argument. (This, however, is of less significance.

82815 The three holes actually only appear on one side of the helmet. I have examined it again carefully with Dr. Evelein. A fitting over the entire length is certainly not necessary, but as I already noted, the strips are at least long enough for that. The storm straps, however, will probably not have been attached to the interior.

82820 We are very pleased that this helmet did not cross the border or end up in a private collection. My son had a tremendous effort to prevent that. It would have been unbearable if such a piece were now in a foreign museum.

Believe me, sincerely,

Yours sincerely,

Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda

82825 To the Right Honourable Sir Jhr. Mr. Victor de Stuers in The Hague

See <https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1x4P3FFhHdg-XUCFjOS5Rctdi5Hkcmgfg> [letter P1112311 and P1112312]

82830 [Information obtained from Hans van de Laatschot.
Available at the National Archives under folder numbers 158_0, 1006_0, and 1015_0]

J.H. Holwerda

82835 Abstract: The name Holwerda is associated in the Netherlands with the Dutch archeology. In fact it refers mainly to son Jan Hendrik, known from the popularization of the excavations in the Dutch soil during about 40 years. His father, Antonie Ewoud Jan, was professor in Greek and Greek antiquities and later

82840 director of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. At a very young age Jan Hendrik enrolled at the museum of his father and became afterwards the new director. No real modern biographies of both are known, this article contains new and critical information about the role of both in some specific cases.

82845 A report of a visit to Italy and Greece of both father and son is given in the Dutch Staatscourant, the official newspaper of the Dutch government. Here we encounter the close relation between both with respect to their scientific work. Though it is impossible to prove directly faux pas of both - they date from more than a century ago! - the evidence of a cooperation in writing a thesis is sufficient to treat this here in detail.

82850 Later, in 1910, son Holwerda falsified an inscription on the just excavated Peelhelm, an extremely fine decorated Roman helmet found in Helenaveen, Deurne. This inscription STABLESIA VI was NOT present on the date that the helmet was found. In a scientific report of the Museum of April 1911 it is mentioned officially for the first time. This inscription has given rise to a whole range of theories, as can be

82855 found when searching the term with computer search engines. With the helmet nearly 40 small coins, folles or nummi, with Constantine the Great were found. They date the date that the helmet disappeared in the peat at circa 325.

And just this date makes the helmet extremely important for history, because it seems to have a direct link with the Emperor Constantine and his family that resided in Trier. We can derive from this link the idea that the helmet and the other belongings of a high-ranked Roman cavalry-officer belonged to a near kin of Constantine. His son Crispus is a candidate. Just as Constantine's wife Fausta, he was ordered to the death penalty in 326.

When there is a connection between the helmet and Crispus, an explanation can be that Constantine himself - after the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Vicennalia in 326 - was uncertain about the future of the developing Christendom when he should die. He did not trust his son Crispus and his wife Fausta to continue his religion politics to christianize the whole Roman Empire as it developed from 324 when he defeated his last rival of the tetrarchs.

82870 This kind of thoughts should emerge in real scientific persons, they should try to find an explanation of why a Roman helmet was hidden in a not habited area. But the Holwerda's and dr. M.A. Evelein (the author of the scientific report) of the museum did not think scientifically, or they felt that it was dangerous to pay attention to the new falsified inscription.

82875

In my view Evelein is not guilty for the inscription: both his bosses backed each other and he was obliged to mention the new inscription. A few weeks after the release of the scientific report he left the museum...

82880 Almost all texts are in Dutch, and this article is written in Dutch accordingly. Father Holwerda was a member of the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.

Subject:

82885 Antonie Ewoud Jan Holwerda (Gorichem, July 21, 1845 - Leiden, August 29, 1922)
Jan Hendrik Holwerda (Schiedam, December 3, 1873 - Nijmegen, March 3, 1951)

Holwerda and Dutch archaeology

82890 The name Holwerda is inextricably linked to Dutch archaeology, although his father had no formal training in it, and his son learned it primarily through daily practice through excavations. However, it is said of Jan Hendrik that he himself never held a shovel.

82895 Holwerda's father was clearly a scholar who earned his doctorate with a (probably) sound but very unremarkable dissertation entitled DISPUTATIO DE Dipositione verborum in lingua Graeca, in lingua Latina ET APUD PLUTARCHUM.

ACCEDUNT COMMENTARIOLO AD LIBROS DE ISIDE ET OSIRIDE ET DE GENIO SOCRATIS.

Incidentally, his name is ANTONIUS EWALDUS JANUS HOLWERDA.

82900 The date given is "Scribebam Schiedam anno MDCCCLXXVIII mense Aprili."
The dissertation is divided into a large section as described above and has two commentaries on the book of Isis and Osiris, and on Socrates. It comprises 156 pages, including the 24 propositions in Latin.

82905 Note that these are not inscriptions or anything similar, but grammatical peculiarities in classical writings. It is amusing that sometimes a Dutch sentence can be seen in the text as an example, such as on p. 57:
today/red // tomorrow/death.

ein alter Mann/ein junges Weib // gewisse Kinder;
better/half an egg than an empty shell.

82910 Plutarch's Moralia apparently forms the basis of a large number of paragraphs, indicated by \$. 92 paragraphs on exactly 100 pages.

82915 Clearly a dissertation for specialists, but in my opinion, few will have read the dissertation on the grammatical peculiarities discussed. It was practically very difficult to find a copy online, and the copy found is from Toronto.
In short: Father Holwerda was clearly a scholar with an excellent knowledge of Greek and Latin.

82920 When the series of excavations in Greece by teams from various countries began, Father followed the results closely. In De Gids, we find very long treatises on Olympia in 1881, Schliemann's Troy in 1882, The Attic People and the Art of Phidias in 1884, and Pre-Hellenic Royal Castles in 1887. From the history of classical philology in 1888, 1889, and 1890, and Bibliography in 1901. After 1901, articles on, among other things, intellectual life, the visual arts, and the education of our academic youth. In 1885, he wrote a book on Cypriot art.

82925 All the articles contain a wealth of information, so much so that the reader feels lost and stops reading. The description of Olympia is supposed to make you believe you are walking through ancient Olympia and witnessing fantastic events. But the author himself has not been to Olympia and apparently fabricates the events from the available scholarly literature on the excavations and from classical literature. As an example, a paragraph from this:

82930 In the evening, however, the moon grows ever fuller in the sky. Finally, the full moon is only six or seven days away, and the festival is about to begin. The preliminary exercises in the Gymnasium of Elis have already concluded. The Hellanodikes are in the Plethrion, a racecourse of that Gymnasium, to organize the procession of champions from the city to the sanctuary. Those who are the same age or were close equals in the preliminary exercises are placed next to each other. Now it is well worth going to see the champions; they are all lined up here in squads. How much one admires these sturdy men with their proud, free bearing, fully aware of their strength. One examines the people with connoisseur's delight. That powerful man over there, exceptionally developed in the chest and hands, but somewhat less so in

the other parts of the body, is a "lion-athlete"; the other, whose legs are somewhat slender compared to his mighty, awe-inspiring torso, is called an "eagle-athlete." Undoubtedly, among all these people there are also "bear-athletes," powerfully built individuals, somewhat stocky, not tall, more or less square; indeed, it is to be expected that among such a select group, one can identify the most striking representatives of each type. Now the procession sets off. Naturally, they are following the great highway, "the holy way." The theorias will also have participated in this official march to the Altiss. Numerous partygoers follow, others continue along the road through the mountains. Elis is now completely exhausted.

What do we learn from this? An absent-minded armchair scholar, with a fair amount of imagination, who enjoys using his intellect for magazine articles, but has no practical knowledge of excavations, neither in the Netherlands nor in the ancient world.

Many years later, on December 5, 1898, we read a very extensive and this time very readable article in the Staatscourant (State Gazette) entitled: REPORT by Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda, concerning the scientific journey to Italy and Greece.

This concerns a journey made by father and son together. We will return to this.

Around April 8, 1896, Father H. was appointed professor in Leiden to teach archaeology:

April 8, 1896, At Kon. By decree, Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda, a teacher at the five-year higher civic school in Leiden, was appointed professor in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy at Leiden State University to teach archaeology and ancient history.

The following announcement is therefore noteworthy:

July 7, 1898 By royal decree: Professor J. van Leeuwen Jr., professor in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy at Leiden State University, is relieved from teaching Greek antiquities, and Professor A. E. J. Holwerda, professor in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy at that university, is now charged with teaching Greek antiquities.

The trip to Greece is clearly related to this appointment, but why J. van Leeuwen was suspended is unknown. However, on April 11, 1884, it was reported that J. van Leeuwen had presented himself as the poet of the Adolescentis meditatio:

The secretary further reports that Mr. J. Van Leeuwen, of Amsterdam, has presented himself as the poet of the Adolescentis meditatio, and that the retired member, Holwerda, has submitted a short annotatio critica to Philonis librum de posteritate Caini, which, according to the editorial committee's recommendation, will be included in a subsequent issue of the Reports and Communications.

Very confusingly, the aforementioned Holwerda is actually a different person. This concerns the Royal Academy of Sciences, of which a Jan Hendrik Holwerda is a dormant member. This man had the exact same name as his son H., who himself was never a member of the Academy.

Furthermore, this member is mentioned on June 24, 1885:

The reports include two contributions that were not presented at any meeting. One, written in Latin, contains critical notes by Mr. Holwerda, a retired member of the department, on the Greek text of Philo's work on Cain's descendants (Reports and Communications, 3rd series, part I, pp. 274-284); The other, written in French, is the work of Dr. H. F. C. Ten Kate Jr. It discusses the names used by the Native Americans in North America to identify themselves and other tribes (Reports and Communications, 3rd series, part I, pp. 353-363).

There is thus a third member named J.H. Holwerda, who died on April 15, 1886, in Oegstgeest. He belonged to the LITERATURE SECTION, as we can read in the Dutch State Gazette of May 15, 1886. Also, some more information is provided in the "Het nieuws van den dag" (The News of the Day) of December 14, 1886.

Father Holwerda was also interested in education, as evidenced by an article in the Soerabaijasch Handelsblad of March 7, 1888:

March 7, 1888 Dr. Holwerda discusses in the Ned. Spectator the Unfavorable results in the secondary education exams, especially in history. Of the 40 candidates who took the exam this year, only five passed. Yet, they weren't lacking in diligence; on the contrary, Mr. Holwerda himself admits that they often risk their health to meet the requirements. But it's the method of preparation that's flawed. People practically memorize books, and one book after another is devoured by those preparing for the exam, but most don't take in history. They have to know a lot, because the exams demand a lot, and it's impossible to predict in advance what questions they will be

asked.

83010 Mr. Holwerda now wants a different method of preparation; he wants to transfer the academic act exams to one of our universities. A simple preparatory exam, for which the author sets the requirements, should precede it, followed by two years of lectures, or, if there's no opportunity for that, a study program could be developed with the professors.

83015 Mr. Holwerda will certainly have given this method considerable thought; to us, and certainly to many who are less familiar with the matter, the idea seems very appealing; for it would put an end to the absurd system of examinations currently in use in secondary education, which the author so rightly condemns. The exams are the cancer of education.

83020 Father H. became a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences on May 8, 1893: May 9, 1893 May 8. At the meeting of the Royal Academy of Sciences held today, it was announced that the Minister of the Interior had confirmed the appointment of Messrs. A.E.J. Holwerda, P.A. van der Lith, and H.T. Karsten as Dutch members, and G. Maspers of Paris, Ed. Lieven of Halle, and J. Legge of Oxford as foreign members.

83025 And Father H. gave a lecture at the Academy on Eleusis: January 12, 1895. At the meeting of the Department of Language and Literature, to be held on Monday of this coming week, Dr. A.E.J. Holwerda will deliver a paper on The Sacred and the Mysteries of Eleusis.

83030 And on April 30, 1896, father H. became professor with the title of Historical Sciences, in particular those of classical antiquity; its independence and significance.

The following cryptic message can be found on October 17, 1896:
83035 The successors of Doyer, Treub, and Land were remembered and greeted, and the establishment of the chair of archaeology, held by Dr. Holwerda, was mentioned, although malicious gossip claims that a trap or a net, through whose meshes he had only accidentally slipped, was still prepared for him in the House of Representatives; Meanwhile, fellow citizens!"

83040 Son H. passed his doctoral examination in classics on October 1, 1897: LEIDEN. Second part of the candidate's examination in theology with A. C. de Regt and H. van Assendelft; second part of the candidate's examination in law with A. B. van der Laan; second part of the physics examination with J. P. Gogarn and J. A. Audier; doctoral examination in classics with J. H. Holwerda.

83045 Son H. was then 23 years old; we would consider this a fairly normal age for current studies, five years after turning 18. Clearly not a truly brilliant student, but undoubtedly intelligent.

Father and son. Only a few months after completing his studies, son H. was allowed to go on a study trip with his father to Italy, Greece, and Turkey.

83050 The aforementioned report in the Staatscourant (Government Gazette) describes the trip between December 22, 1897, and May 4, 1898, made by father Holwerda, who was allowed to take his son along. At the expense of Vollenhoven's Leiden Fund. Father and son traveled together. They spent almost two months in Greece, in Attica, from February 7th to April 2nd. From April 2nd, they visited sights in the Peloponnese for several weeks, finally reaching Constantinople/Istanbul, and then took the train (the Stamboul Express described by Graham Greene?) via Vienna to Leiden, where they arrived again on May 4th, 1898.

83055 The report reveals that several paper prints of well-known Attic inscriptions were made, as well as 700 photographs of the entire journey. These documents likely formed the basis of son Holwerda's dissertation.

83060 Regarding the Vollenhoven Fund, we find the following on November 19th, 1890:
As is known, the late Mr. H. Vollenhoven, who died in The Hague in 1889, bequeathed a fund to Leiden University, the interest from which will be used to award grants to
83065 outstanding students of that university, enabling them to further develop themselves through domestic or international travel.

The curators of Leiden University therefore call on students who wish to be considered for such a grant—regardless of their faculty—to apply by submitting a sealed petition to the secretary of the curators before January 1, 1891.

83070 The amount of the grant, as it depends on the nature of the trip, will be determined later.

83075 Sixteen months after his return, on September 25, 1899, his son Holwerda received his doctorate with his dissertation "Quaestiones de re sepulcrali apud Atticon" [or Atticos, atticos]. This Latin version does not deserve or receive much further attention; no reference at all has been found. The German (trade?) edition is occasionally mentioned, but more as a sales object.

83080 Project for private individuals. The title is then THE ATTIC GRAVES. Studies on the Attic Graves Reliefs.
And so something peculiar presents itself: the graduation date is very shortly after the visit to Greece, more than 16 months after returning home. That seems a very short time for writing a dissertation, the German version of which comprises well
83085 over 200 pages. After all, resting from a grueling journey, describing the photographs, and printing the dissertation limit the effective working time to 12 months, and that for the Latin and German versions. Moreover, the doctoral candidate is only 25 years old.

83090 It seems improbable that such a thorough dissertation—concluded here with honors — could have been written alone in such a short time by such a young person. Moreover, there is no evidence that he had already been studying this subject for years before the trip. But his father did possess the knowledge to write a dissertation — in full or in part—in a short time.

83095 Note, by the way, that son H. was never admitted to the Royal Academy of Sciences; an older person with the exact same name as his son was an active member of the Academy until around 1880.

Events during the restoration process of the Peel helmet, part 1

83100 The Peel helmet was purchased by the National Museum of Antiquities before the ownership disputes were resolved and collected on August 31, 1910. What exactly happened to the helmet afterward is virtually unknown. The only information we can read in the newspaper is that on Tuesday, December 20, the helmet was put on display in all its glory in the museum's so-called Excavation Room. And at the end of April
83105 1911, a Dutch-language scientific report by the museum's employee, Evelein, was published, which in the 1970s was described as "outdated and inadequate" in the scientific community.

Although it was known from several newspaper and magazine articles that the right cheek flap had been taken by another peat worker, this was only discovered later in
83110 Leiden. Half-hearted attempts were made afterward to purchase this part of the helmet from the unknown owner, but the mayors of Deurne and Meijel were clearly uncooperative. Therefore, a mirror image of the left cheek plate was made by a goldsmith's workshop in Leiden. Evelein's report mentions the goldsmith-worker by name, but little else is known about the owner and employee.

83115 Although Van Beurden's article does mention an inscription—the text is included as an illustration—no mention is made of the very legible Stablesia.

We can assume that the months of September, October, and November 1910 were used for the restoration. Perhaps due to the lack of clear ownership on the sales side, the restoration took quite a while, and scientific research naturally had to be conducted
83120 simultaneously.

External scholars were contacted for this purpose. Initially, Professor Hans Dragendorff from Berlin was approached, who in turn referred to Professor Oscar Bohn, also in Berlin.

The registrar of the National Museum of Antiquities writes about this:
83125 As far as I can tell, the Stablesia inscription was first mentioned in Evelein's letter to Prof. Oscar Bohn, dated January 30, 1911, was asked for his interpretation of the second inscription—written in Greek letters—on the neck protector (STABLESIA VI itself was clearly legible and found in other Roman text sources). Apparently, they had already (several weeks?) previously requested this from Prof. Hans
83130 Dragendorff of Berlin—an authority on Roman pottery and name stamps on terra sigillata. Based on Dragendorff's suggestion, Bohn was called in.

Thus, we have proof that approximately five weeks after the exhibition in the Excavation Room, there was still no explanation of the original inscription.
83135 STABLESIA apparently required no explanation...
Incidentally, this unspoken explanation is completely incorrect. Some cavalry units or commanders with "stablesiani" were known, but these bore a further designation such as iuniores or "from Africa." An army unit with serial number six never existed!

83140 **Events during the restoration process, part 2**

Nothing more is known about the restoration process than the invoice for 123 guilders, without further details of the work. The invoice is dated November 24th, so we conclude that the entire process took over two and a half months.

83145 A new cheek brace was made that still needed to be gilded. Today, it looks much smoother and more contemporary than the left cheek brace.

The helmet was therefore left in pieces on the goldsmith's worktable. The construction was studied, and photographs were taken of the pieces and other finds, which are also included in Evelein's article.

83150 Besides the new inscription "STABLESIA VI," there is another uncertainty: did the goldsmith regild the helmet at the museum's request? According to the museum's registrar, the inside of the helmet is not gilded, so we can assume that not all parts were dipped in a gold bath, because then all sides would have been evenly gilded. Unfortunately, no image or detailed description of the first two and a half months in the Peel region is known that shows any of the gilding. It is only

83155 mentioned that the helmet disintegrated during excavation, not that any gilding, for example, was knocked off. However, the helmet was wrinkled.

We can assume that the Peel helmet looked as we know it today when it was placed in the Excavation Chamber, so the work was completed a few days before Christmas.

83160 **The events during the restoration process, part 3**

The author of this article made an inscription on silver paper, which is actually 10 µm-thick aluminum foil, using various markers. This was very easy, so we can conclude that applying STABLESIA VI can be done in a few tens of seconds.

But what about the gilding?

83165 If the inscription was applied to the original surface, a trace of the underlying silver should be visible. If the groove is V-shaped and deep enough, the transition from gold to silver may be clearly visible depending on the light.

83170 If the inscription is applied and then gilded with a brush, the groove will be completely gilded.

If we look at the current situation in a photograph, we notice that the inscription "STABLESIA" replaces a decorative border that is interrupted for the length of the inscription. In April 1911, Evelein calls this decorative border "relief bands," and we read about it:

83175 The helmet rim is decorated with two parallel, convex, relief bands, between which is a border decoration similar to the outer edges of pieces a, b, and c. This runs, just as we saw from the holes for the rivets, along the entire helmet rim, including

83180 behind the nose guard; Only on the right side, at the level of the central section b, is it interrupted by an incised inscription, STABLESIA o VI o, which we will discuss later. Fig. 62 clearly shows how this interruption of the rim ornament was already made during the helmet's construction, in order to allow for the insertion of an inscription either immediately or later. Here we see that the ornament is not

83185 arbitrarily broken off, but finds its specific termination at the relevant points.

As a second inscription on our helmet, we saw, on the right side of the rim, that of Stablesia VI. It designates a division of the equites Stablesiani, a cavalry corps, which, as appears from the Notitia Dignitatum, [...]

83190 This interruption of the relief band was made by the goldsmith by beating it flat! And then the inscription could be applied. Also note that there are holes in the helmet at several points along the interruption, and that the silver base is also visible in several places. The flattening of the relief bands has seriously weakened the metal there.

83195 **Events during the restoration process, part 4, conclusions**

The inscription "STABLESIA VI" is highly suspicious; it was almost certainly applied by deputy director Holwerda Jr., after it had been replaced on a decorative edge above the renovated cheek pad. Gold paint was then most likely applied with a brush.

83200 The helmet shows numerous areas of damage on this part of the Peel helmet.

In my view—though this will likely no longer be definitively proven—son Holwerda is the main suspect, with his father and Evelein as accomplices.

Note that immediately after Evelein's report was published, he left the museum to work in The Hague. Many years later, Evelein and Holwerda Jr. switched positions in an opaque manner at the management of the Kam Museum in Nijmegen. The museum's

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correspondent in Roermond, Van Beurden, also later knew of the forgery but played along because, in his daily life as an antiquarian, he was no better than his client. For example, Van Beurden and Holwerda later jointly conducted research on the Church of Asselt, the results of which are now disputed.

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HOLWERDA, Jan Hendrik (1873-1951)

Holwerda, Jan Hendrik, archaeologist (Schiedam, December 3, 1873 - Nijmegen, March 4, 1951). Son of Antonie Ewoud Jan Holwerda, director of the National Museum of Antiquities, and Neeltje Jonkheid. Married Petronella Nicolette Jentink on December 21, 1901. No children were born from this marriage.

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His father was a teacher of classical languages at the grammar school in Schiedam, professor of archaeology and ancient history in Leiden from 1896, and director of the National Museum of Antiquities there from 1905 to 1918. His son would follow a roughly similar career. After completing his grammar school education in Schiedam,

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Holwerda enrolled in Leiden as a student of classical languages in 1892. He received his doctorate there in 1899 with a thesis entitled "Quaestiones de re sepulcrali apud Atticos." Between 1900 and 1904, he taught at the grammar schools in Alkmaar and Schiedam. From this period date a textbook entitled "Hellas en Rome. Griekse en Romeinsche archeologie" (1900) and his adaptation of A. Zeehe's "Leedboek der oude

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geschiedenis" (1903). In 1904, he was appointed curator at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, in 1910 deputy director, and in 1919 succeeded his father as director. This directorship lasted until 1939. He was also director of the

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Rijksmuseum Kam in Nijmegen from 1935 to 1948. In 1910, he was appointed lecturer in prehistoric and Roman archaeology at Leiden University. His students would eventually

include W.C. Braat, F.C. Bursch, and A.E. Remouchamps. A short internship in 1905 during the excavation of a Roman castellum at Haltern on the Lippe River would prove to be a major turning point in his life. Here, for the first time in the history of archaeology, a systematic search was made for specific soil discolorations.

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ings, which were interpreted as traces of stakes placed in the ground, allowing the reconstruction of completely lost building remains. Holwerda brought knowledge of the 'post hole' and the significance of soil discoloration in general to the Netherlands and applied this modern excavation method to the study of burial mounds. The first excavations took place between 1906 and 1911 in the Crown Estates near Hoog Soeren in

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the Veluwe region at the request of Queen Wilhelmina, who had become interested in one of the burial mounds. Although Holwerda must undoubtedly be credited with introducing the knowledge of the 'post hole', all his publications demonstrate that he was not a true fieldworker. Thus, during the excavation at Arentsburg near The

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Hague, a difference of opinion arose between him and his assistant, A.E. van Giffen, who was more talented in this regard, regarding the documentation and interpretation of the soil traces. This ultimately led to an irreparable conflict between the two researchers around 1915. Van Giffen went to Groningen, where he founded the

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Biological Archaeological Institute and improved field methods. Holwerda lacked the ability for objective, unbiased observation of facts and tended to find only confirmation of what he had already anticipated before the research. Field drawings, insofar as they were preserved, are not reinterpretable. Early in his career, in 1906, he had written an unpleasant and inaccurate piece against Boeles in Bulletin 7 (1906) 130-132, concerning Frisian terp research, in which he presented himself as

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the representative of Dutch archaeology, somewhat surprising for someone who had been working there for only two or three years. These conflicts led to Holwerda's alienation from mainstream scholarship. Among his work are the first systematic investigation of a dolmen in 1912 and the excavations at Dorestad between 1925 and 1930. In his publication on Dorestad and the Early Middle Ages, he developed the

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curtis/curticula concept, which, following the large-scale excavations since 1967, led by W.A. van Es, must be considered incorrect. Among other things, his method of examining large objects through trenches played tricks on him here. Besides this excavation work and the resulting reports, Holwerda devoted his entire life to Roman

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Nijmegen and its surroundings (e.g., De Holdeurn). He also settled there after the death of his wife (1932), who had been a great support to him during the excavations and as an illustrator of his work. It is impossible here to list or analyze all the research and the publications that appeared quickly after the research (the latter being a great achievement). Only the "Architectural Map of the Netherlands" (1924) and "An Early Gallic Princely Grave near Oss" (1934) are mentioned here. The

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publications from the many urn fields in the south of the country (Riethoven, De Hamert) are still valuable for modern research. The same applies to the material publications from Arentsburg and Nijmegen, in which the systematic museum curator is

evident.

One of his most popular ideas, disseminated through textbooks, is that of the domed grave. This idea was developed during research in the Veluwe region at the beginning of his career. It was challenged in 1930 by Van Giffen, whose ideas are still considered correct today. In 1907 and 1918, Holwerda argued that there had been no Bronze Age in the Netherlands. Boeles warned in *De Gids* as early as 1920 that archaeological activities in the Netherlands were still too recently underway to allow such a conclusion; He provided a short list of bronze objects datable to the Bronze Age, a list that has only grown longer in recent times, thus demonstrating the inaccuracy of Holwerda's ideas on this subject. He himself held firm to his views. He offered a summary of his theoretical convictions four times (1907, 1918, 1925, and 1935). They remained essentially the same each time, thus demonstrating a certain rigidity on the author's part.

In summary, we get the picture of a man who, especially in the beginning, was unjustifiably overly aggressive. After the conflict with Van Giffen, he became scientifically isolated; he compensated for this with his museum and educational work, which earned him exceptional popularity, especially among laypeople, which was not entirely in keeping with his true scientific significance.

A: Collection - M.H.P. den Boesterd in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. P: Bibliography of Dr. J.H. Holwerda. Rev. by W. Mank. Published by the National Service for Archaeological Heritage in Amersfoort (Amersfoort, 1977). Reprints of ROB no. 90.

L: In addition to the obituaries mentioned in the above-mentioned bibliography, A.E. van

Giffen, Note in response to the letter from the Curators of the State University of Leiden, dated September 3, 1915 (*Oegstgeest*, 1915); P.C.J.A. Boeles, 'The Bronze Age in Gelderland and Friesland', in *De Gids* 84 (1920) IV, 282-306; J.D. van der Waals, 'By order of Her Majesty', in *Archeology and History* (Bussum, 1973) 509-520; J.A. Bakker, 'The Western Group of the Funnel Beaker Culture' (Amsterdam, 1973) 10-11. Published as a stencil, available at the Library of the State Service for Archaeological Heritage; J.D. van der Waals, 'Albert Egges van Giffen. His work in Drenthe', in *Nieuwe Drentse Volksalmanak* 91 (1974) 9-19. J.A. Brongers

Comments on the biography of J.H. Holwerda

Jan Hendrik Holwerda had a namesake with the exact same name who, as a biblical exegete, was admitted as a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. His father had already been admitted as a member. Although his father had no experience with excavations, he was nevertheless appointed professor in this field at Leiden University. His trip to excavations in Italy, Greece, and Turkey in 1898—together with his son on a kind of scholarship—was therefore more of an orientation trip. A detailed account of the trip was published in the *Staatscourant* (State Gazette). See also elsewhere on the website for The Power and the Glory of Emperor Constantine. At the age of 25, son H. published a slim dissertation in Latin, and simultaneously a trade publication in German. He must have received some assistance with this dissertation and its translation... The time between the orientation trip and the doctorate was extremely short; the fact that he received his doctorate with honors is even more remarkable. The dissertation is a list of texts on epitaphs and the like, certainly not in-depth research with entirely new insights; quite the opposite. It is unforgivable that there are practically no illustrations included, so there are constant references to publications that are not readily available. It appears that father H. made an agreement with the supervisors (De Leeuw and Hartman??) regarding the evaluation of his son's dissertation. The author of this article is also almost certain that father H. actively collaborated on his son's dissertation. This pattern repeats itself later: Father H. appoints son H. as curator, then—practically simultaneously with the discovery of the Peel helmet—as deputy director, and even later, son H. succeeds his father. It's practically certain that any other applicants didn't stand a chance. Inquiries revealed that the papers relating to these three applications haven't yet been digitized (meaning scanned), so any irregularities cannot (yet) be proven.

Indeed, there were serious clashes with other scientists even before 1910, with some complaining that colleague H. was very rigid in his ideas and actions. The inscription "STABLESIA VI" on the Peel helmet is almost certainly (literally) by him, and his father and the scientist Evelein were unable to object. This leads us to

the conclusion that son H. was a forger. It was probably more of a prank, with unexpected (at least for him) consequences: it took on a life of its own.

Incidentally, the number VI was probably intended to indicate the Sixth Legion in Nijmegen, but the outside world didn't understand this. The word only appears in correspondence from late January 1911 (six months after the discovery in the Peel region). Linguistically speaking, "STABLESIA" is a very peculiar word, and even in military history, a sixth division of the Equites stablesiani never existed. If three divisions (iuniores, seniores, italianici, or similar) existed, a fourth and fifth are unknown.

Evelein left the museum immediately after the publication of his report on the Peel helmet and was appointed elsewhere. Later curators were not always successful: Bursch went to extremes by conducting excavations as an SS officer in Ukraine, without much success. He fell from grace immediately after the war.

The marriage was childless. Immediately after his wife's death, Holwerda adopted a "foster daughter," Maria den Boesterd, a museum employee, who lived with him at his home in Oegstgeest and would be his companion until his death in 1951. In 1936, they both stayed in a hotel in Berg en Dal, and when H., retired from Nijmegen, took over as director of the G.M. Kam Museum, she moved with him from the Leiden museum to the Nijmegen one. Like his wife, she worked for H., but Maria den Boesterd also wrote several scholarly articles under her own name. After her "foster father" died, she inherited the house at Eversweg 9 in Nijmegen. She herself died at the end of 1973 at the age of 61.

The author is unaware of the papers left by his son H. could shed light on the controversies H. stirred up. He wasn't taken seriously scientifically in the early years, and many of his theories were never accepted. Like his companion Van Beurden from Roermond, he was a big shot, which led to some rather strange theories. Unfortunately, we must conclude that his ideas and writings are still consulted and cited.

Son H., however, didn't develop any theory at all regarding the Peel helmet, even though it was an open goal: the coins found with the helmet and its accessories could have led him and Evelein to an important discovery from the very first report of the find, as the pastor of Helenaveen provides an accurate description of the images on the coins. The lack of investigation and the failure to respond to the letter from A. Bos, director of the N.V. Maatschappij Helenaveen, cannot be explained with certainty, but it is certain that if A. Bos had seen the helmet with the inscription, he would have immediately noticed the new inscription, and he was not the man to let it go unmentioned.

The museum in Leiden apparently has a den Boesterd collection. This collection primarily concerns the bronze objects about which Maria den Boesterd published. Whether it also contains information about her "foster father" is unknown.

In summary, we can say that Jan Hendrik Holwerda was a forger of an inscription, that his theories on all kinds of archaeological matters were often erroneous, and that his dissertation would probably not have been accepted by today's standards. Furthermore, the three appointments at the National Museum of Antiquities are also tainted. The fact that he never became a professor proves that the scientific community of the time did not entrust him with this position; they had already had enough trouble with him.

There are ample reasons to distrust any publication by son H.!

Eindhoven, September 23, 2017
Paul Theelen

Antiquary Van Giffen at the Groninger Museum
The Groningen Ur
by Koen Kleijn
February 10, 2006

Under the title "Professor Van Giffen and the Secret of the Terps," the Groninger Museum presents its antiquarian collection as if it were a northern thriller about a headstrong professor on a steam bicycle, who achieved world fame as the founding father of Dutch antiquity.

"The Secret of the Terps" begins with Gaius Pliny the Elder (c. 23-79 AD). He described the salt marshes of Groningen and Friesland firsthand. The local population, the Chauci, he wrote, lived "on high mounds or dams which they have built with their own hands to the highest water level they have ever experienced." The Chauci had no livestock, could not grow crops, and there was nothing to hunt, except for the fish left behind at low tide. It was poor and inhospitable: "They gather mud

by hand, which they let dry more by the wind than by the sun, and with this peat they
83405 warm their food and their bodies, chilled by the north wind. They drink only
rainwater, which they keep in holes at the entrance to their houses. (...) That is
indeed how it goes: fate allows many people to live to punish them." Pliny's
observations would define the (self-)image of the north for many hundreds of years as
83410 a barren outpost, a mud pit, where Christianity had barely taken root and which was
only safely diked in during the eleventh century. Until the early modern period, the
sparse accounts of the Netherlands by Pliny and Tacitus provided the only reflection
of the local population: the Batavians and the Canineefates, the Frisians and the
Chauci, with their semi-legendary rulers Claudius Civilis, Brinio, Friso, and Gruno.
83415 These sources persisted until the eighteenth century, and with them the sense that
the history of our region truly began only with the arrival of Roman civilization.
The actual history of our habitation remained unknown for a long time. After the
eighteenth century, regional phenomena such as dolmens and terps became the subject
of research. Initially, this was done by amateur folklorists such as Daniël Riga,
83420 headmaster in Westerwijrtwerd, Arend Folmer, general practitioner in Eenrum, Rev.
Wilbrand Koppius from Den Ham, and the poet Ubel Wierda from Winsum, who also
invented the plywood skate, which he patented in February 1891 and which allowed for
both speed skating and figure skating. They carefully mapped local history and
naturally became interested in those remarkable mounds, which were rapidly excavated
83425 in the second half of the nineteenth century. The mound soil, the result of twenty
centuries of accumulated organic matter, was sought after as fertilizer, and the
impoverished region desperately needed the income.
The archaeologists observed the loss of this heritage with concern. In 1877,
attention was first paid to the issue of terps and wierden (terps) was addressed at
the Great Historical Exhibition in Leeuwarden, but without any scientific context:
83430 "The public benefits very little from it, as they don't even receive the first clue
to their question, 'What is a terp?'" wrote Groningen professor Pleyte testily. Such
scientific substantiation was lacking. Archaeology only developed at the university
level in the twentieth century. There was a chair in Archaeology and Ancient History
and Roman Antiquities in Leiden, but the discipline only flourished somewhat with the
83435 appointment, in 1904, of Dr. A.E.L. Holwerda as director of the National Museum of
Antiquities.
Holwerda had little regard for local archaeology. He considered the chairman of the
Frisian Society, the jurist Boeles, a dilettante. He had appointed his own son, Jan
Hendrik, as curator of Dutch archaeology. Together, they advised their minister not
83440 to subsidize small-scale local research. The Frisians and Groningers felt insulted.
The issue was brought to a head by Leiden Professor of Chemistry J.M. van Bemmelen
Sr. (1830-1911) in his 1907 "Consideration of the Current Position of Our Knowledge
of the Dutch Terps." He advocated a scientific approach to the excavations, under
expert supervision. Attention should be paid to geological and biological aspects, to
83445 various layers, the remains of hearths, and the remains of building materials. This
approach was a far cry from the practice of the old Holwerda, who was still one of
those archaeologists who cheerfully tackled Egyptian tombs with spade and pickaxe. He
knew nothing about archaeozoology, paleobotany, soil science, plant sociology, pollen
analysis, or the three-dimensional organization of an excavation. Time for a new
83450 generation, then: behold the student Albert (Ab) Egges van Giffen (1884-1973).
The pastor's son, Van Giffen's archaeological career began in 1908 when, as a biology
student, he joined the excavation of the Dorkwerd mound. He was an enterprising young
man, a keen observer, well-versed in biology, soil science, geology, and anatomy. And
he was diligent. With the support of Van Bemmelen, Boeles, and the Frisian Society,
83455 he bought a motorcycle—a "steam bicycle," as he himself called it—obtained his
driver's license on March 1, 1909, and subsequently visited all the excavations in
the region. He distributed cigars, pencils, and labels to the excavators to encourage
them to keep their finds and record where they were made.
His patrons soon discovered that the energetic student could also be a troublemaker.
83460 Van Giffen coolly offered 750 objects found in Friesland for sale, to the dismay of
Boeles, who had assumed his Society would receive the finds in return for the
subsidy, but this wasn't written down. Boeles had no choice and paid. Similarly, Van
Giffen "mediated" in the Groninger Museum's purchase of twelfth-century bronze
apostle heads from St. Walburg's Church in Groningen, which he himself had acquired
83465 from the diggers for a small price.

Soon the Holwerdas also caught Van Giffen's eye, and they lured him to Leiden with
the promise of a permanent position. They later regretted this decision. While Van
Giffen emerged as a promising archaeologist, he also emerged as a "short-tempered,

83470 headstrong, hot-tempered, and moody personality," who quickly found himself in bitter conflict with the bureaucratic world. The episode is recounted with taste in the exceptionally beautiful catalog ("Botsende Noorderlingen"). It is a conflict of Bordewijkian allure. The Holwerdas deny ever promising Van Giffen a permanent position. Van Giffen takes the Holwerdas to the university curators. He accuses the

83475 Holwerdas of managing the Rijksmuseum—and thus Dutch archaeology—as a private institution. He stumbles over the sale of finds; as a civil servant, Van Giffen is formally prohibited from doing so and engages an intermediary, a friendly coffee roaster from Meppel. The Holwerdas don't fall for it, much to Van Giffen's anger. He accuses Holwerda Jr. of falsifying data during the Arentsburg excavations. He

83480 slanders, schemes, and insinuates. The case eventually landed on the desk of Prime Minister Cort van der Linden, who, in the midst of war, had to personally intervene. The solution came from the north. Van Giffen's job was transferred to the Zoological Laboratory in Groningen—far from Leiden. In 1916, Van Giffen was put in charge of the excavation of the De Wierhuizen mound near Appingedam, and there began Van Giffen's Groningen victory. In no time, he became the linchpin of northern archaeology. He was the leader of the

The Association of Terp Research, inspector of the pre- and early history department of the Groninger Museum, and curator of the Drents Museum. In 1920, he founded his

83490 own Biological-Archaeological Institute. In 1939, he became a professor. The highlight is Ezingen. The excavation of the terp there was spurred by the 1929 crisis; Van Giffen arranged for the employment of unemployed people as excavators. What he uncovered was sensational. Complete farms, with poles and wattle walls still partially standing, were uncovered. Stables for fifty cattle. Wagon wheels with

83495 spokes. Roman pottery from Tunisia. Van Giffen demonstrated that the terp had been continuously inhabited since 600 BC, making it as old as Rome. Ezingen is the Pompeii of the North, Groningen's Ur, and the muddy salt marshes between Hunze and Fivel are a new "Two Rivers Land." The results are causing a stir throughout Europe. In Ezingen, the new multidisciplinary archaeology triumphs, and the Plinian image of

83500 the Netherlands is definitively overturned. The terps had been substantial and prosperous. They were not a muddy outpost of the Roman Empire, but an integral part of a civilizational area that stretched from the British Isles to the Baltic Sea, with trade, military, and cultural exchanges. That zone already existed when the Romans arrived, and when they left, it continued. With "Ezingen," Van Giffen gave the

83505 northerners their own history and cultural profile. During the occupation, the work continued unabated. After all, it was not Van Giffen's fault that the German authorities wholeheartedly supported the research into the national identity, and that those valiant mudflat inhabitants fit so well with the ideas about an ancient pan-Germanic civilization. Thanks to the Germans, the

83510 remaining mounds were designated protected archaeological heritage in 1942. In 1947, Van Giffen became the first director of the National Service for Archaeological Heritage; shortly thereafter, he was given his own chair at the University of Amsterdam and an institute that still bears his name.

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In Praise of the Emperor Constantine

Introduction

I COME not forward prepared with a fictitious narrative, nor with elegance of language to captivate the ear, desiring to charm my hearers as it were, with a siren's voice; nor shall I present the draught of pleasure in cups of gold decorated with lorry flowers (I mean the graces of style) to those who are pleased with such things. Rather would I follow the precepts of the wise, and admonish all to avoid and turn aside from the beaten road, and keep themselves from contact with the vulgar crowd. I come, then, prepared to celebrate our emperor's praises in a newer strain; and, though the number be infinite of those who desire to be my companions in my present task, I am resolved to shun the common track of men, and to pursue that untrodden path which it is unlawful to enter on with unwashed feet. Let those who admire a vulgar style, abounding in puerile subtleties, and who court a pleasing and popular muse, essay, since pleasure is the object they have in view, to charm the ears of men by a narrative of merely human merits. Those, however who are initiated into the universal science, and have attained to Divine as well as human knowledge, and account the choice of the latter as the real excellence, will prefer those virtues of the emperor which Heaven itself approves, and his pious actions, to his merely human accomplishments; and will leave to inferior encomiasts the task of celebrating his lesser merits. For since our emperor is gifted as well with that sacred wisdom which has immediate reference to God, as with the knowledge which concerns the interests of men; let those who are competent to such a task describe his secular acquirements, great and transcendent as they are, and fraught with advantage to mankind (for all that characterizes the emperor is great and noble), yet still inferior to his diviner qualities, to those who stand without the sacred precincts. Let those, however, who are within the sanctuary, and have access to its inmost and untrodden recesses, close the doors against every profane ear, and unfold, as it were, the secret mysteries of our emperors character to the initiated alone. And let those who have purified their ears in the streams of piety, and raised their thoughts on the soaring wing of the mind itself, join the company which surrounds the

Sovereign Lord of all, and learn in silence the divine mysteries. Meanwhile let the sacred oracles, given, not by the spirit of divination (or rather let me say of madness and folly), but by the inspiration of Divine truth, be our instructors in these mysteries; speaking to us of sovereignty, generally: the heavenly array which surrounds the Lord of all; of that exemplar of imperial power which is before us, and that counterfeit coin: and, lastly, of the consequences which result from both. With these oracles, then, to initiate us in the knowledge of the sacred rites, let us essay, as follows, the commencement of our divine mysteries.

The Oration

CHAPTER I.

TO-DAY is the festival of our great emperor: and we his children rejoice therein, feeling the inspiration of our sacred theme. He who presides over our solemnity is the Great Sovereign himself; he, I mean, who is truly great; of whom I affirm (nor will the sovereign who hears me be offended, but will rather aprepels the gaze of every eye from his Divine majesty. His ministers are the heavenly hosts; his armies the supernal powers, angels, the companies of archangels, the chorus of holy spirits, draw from and reflect his radiance as from the fountains of everlasting light. Yea every light, and specially those divine and incorporeal intelligences whose place is beyond the heavenly sphere, celebrate this august Sovereign with lofty and sacred strains of praise. The vast expanse of heaven, like an azure veil is interposed between those without, and those who inhabit his royal mansions: while round this expanse the sun and moon, with the rest of the heavenly luminaries (like torch-bearers around the entrance of the imperial palace), perform, in honor of their sovereign, their appointed courses; holding forth, at the word of his command, an ever-burning light to those whose lot is cast in the darker regions without the pale of heaven. And surely when I remember that our own victorious emperor renders praises to this Mighty Sovereign, I do well to follow him, knowing as I do that to him alone we owe that imperial power under which we live. The pious Caesars, instructed by their father's wisdom, acknowledge him as the source of every blessing: the soldiery, the entire body of the people, both in the country and in the cities of the empire, with the governors of the several provinces, assembling together in accordance with the precept of their great Saviour and Teacher, worship him. In short, the whole family of mankind, of every nation, tribe, and tongue, both collectively and severally, however diverse their opinions on other subjects, are unanimous in this one confession; and, in obedience to the reason implanted in them, and the spontaneous and uninstructed impulse of their own minds, unite in calling on the One and only God. Nay, does not the universal frame of earth acknowledge him her Lord, and declare, by the vegetable and animal life which she produces her subjection to the will of a superior Power? The rivers, flowing with abundant stream, and the perennial fountains, springing from hidden and exhaust-less depths, ascribe to him the cause of their marvellous source. The mighty waters of the sea, enclosed in chambers of unfathomable ing currents of the winds, and the airy courses of the clouds, all reveal his presence to those to whom his Person is invisible. The all-radiant sun, who holds his constant career through the lapse of ages, owns him Lord alone, and obedient to his will, dares not depart from his appointed path. The inferior splendor of the moon, alternatively diminished and increased at stated periods, is subject to his Divine command. The beauteous mechanism of the heavens, glittering with the hosts of stars, moving in harmonious order, and preserving the measure of each several orbit, proclaims him the giver of all light: yea, all the heavenly luminaries maintaining at his will and word a grand and perfect unity of motion, pursue the track of their ethereal career, and complete in the lapse of revolving ages their distant course. The alternate recurrence of day and night, the changing seasons, the order and proportion of the universe, all declare the manifold wisdom of [his boundless power]. To him the unseen agencies which hold their course throughout the expanse of space, render the due tribute of praise. To him this terrestrial globe itself, to him the heavens above, and the choirs beyond the vault of heaven, give honor as to their mighty Sovereign: the angelic hosts greet him with ineffable songs of Praise; and the spirits which draw their being from incorporeal light, adore him as their Creator. The everlasting ages which were before this heaven and earth, with other periods beside them, infinite, and antecedent to all visible creation acknowledge him the sole and supreme Sovereign and Lord. Lastly, he who is in all, before, and after all, his only begotten, pre-existent Word, the great High Priest of the mighty God, elder than all time and every age, devoted to his Father's glory, first and alone makes intercession with him for the salvation of mankind. Supreme and pre-eminent Ruler of the universe, he shares the glory of his Father's

kingdom: for he is that Light, which, transcendent above the universe, encircles the Father's Person, interposing and dividing between the eternal and uncreated Essence and all derived existence: that Light which, streaming from on high, proceeds from that Deity who knows not origin or end, and illumines the super-celestial regions, and all that heaven itself contains, with the radiance of wisdom bright beyond the splendor of the sun. This is he who holds a supreme dominion over this whole world, who is over and in all things, and pervades all things visible and invisible; the Word of God. From whom and by whom our divinely favored emperor, receiving, as it were a transcript of the Divine sovereignty, directs, in imitation of God himself, the administration of this world's affairs.

CHAPTER II.

THIS only begotten Word of God reigns, from ages which had no beginning, to infinite and endless ages, the partner of his Father's kingdom. And [our emperor] ever beloved by him, who derives the source of imperial authority from above, and is strong in the power of his sacred title, has controlled the empire of the world for a long period of years. Again, that Preserver of the universe orders these heavens and earth, and the celestial kingdom, consistently with his Father's will. Even so our emperor whom he loves, by bringing those whom he rules on earth to the only begotten Word and Saviour renders them fit subjects of his kingdom. And as he who is the common Saviour of mankind, by his invisible and Divine power as the good shepherd, drives far away from his flock, like savage beasts, those apostate spirits which once flew through the airy tracts above this earth, and fastened on the souls of men; so this his friend, graced by his heavenly favor with victory over all his foes, subdues and chastens the open adversaries of the truth in accordance with the usages of war. He who is the pre-existent Word, the Preserver of all things, imparts to his disciples the seeds of true wisdom and salvation, and at once enlightens and gives them understanding in the knowledge of his Father's kingdom. Our emperor, his friend, acting as interpreter to the Word of God, aims at recalling the whole human race to the knowledge of God; proclaiming clearly in the ears of all, and declaring with powerful voice the laws of truth and godliness to all who dwell on the earth. Once more, the universal Saviour opens the heavenly gates of his Father's kingdom to those whose course is thitherward from this world. Our emperor, emulous of his Divine example, having purged his earthly dominion from every stain of impious error, invites each holy and pious worshiper within his imperial mansions, earnestly desiring to save with all its crew that mighty vessel of which he is the appointed pilot. And he alone of all who have wielded the imperial power of Rome, being honored by the Supreme Sovereign with a reign of three decennial periods, now celebrates this festival, not, his ancestors might have done, in honor of infernal demons, or the apparitions of seducing spirits, or of the fraud and deceitful arts of impious men; but as an act of thanksgiving to him by whom he has thus been honored, and in acknowledgment of the blessings he has received at his hands. He does not, in imitation of ancient usage, defile his imperial mansions with blood and gore, nor propitiate the infernal deities with fire and smoke, and sacrificial offerings; but dedicates to the universal Sovereign a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice, even his own imperial soul, and a mind truly fitted for the service of God. For this sacrifice alone is grateful to him: and this sacrifice our emperor has learned, with purified mind and thoughts, to present as an offering without the intervention of fire and blood, while his own piety, strengthened by the truthful doctrines with which his soul is stored, he sets forth in magnificent language the praises of God, and imitates his Divine philanthropy by his own imperial acts. Wholly devoted to him, he dedicates himself as a noble offering, a first-fruit of that world, the government of which is intrusted to his charge. This first and greatest sacrifice our emperor first dedicates to God; and then, as a faithful shepherd, he offers, not "famous hecatombs of firstling lambs," but the souls of that flock which is the object of his care, those rational beings whom he leads to the knowledge and pious worship of God.

CHAPTER III.

AND gladly does he accept and welcome this sacrifice, and commend the presenter of so august and noble an offering, by protracting his reign to a lengthened period of years, giving larger proofs of his beneficence in proportion to the emperor's holy services to himself. Accordingly he permits him to celebrate each successive festival during great and general prosperity throughout the empire, advancing one of his sons, at the recurrence of each decennial period, to a share of his own imperial power. The eldest, who bears his father's name, he received as his partner in the empire about the close of the first decade of his reign: the second, next in point of age, at the

second; and the third in like manner at the third decennial period, the occasion of
83735 this our present festival. And now that the fourth period has commenced, and the time
of his reign is still further prolonged, he desires to extend his imperial authority
by calling still more of his kindred to partake his power; and, by the appointment of
the Caesars, fulfills the predictions of the holy prophets, according to what they
83740 uttered ages before: "And the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom." And
thus the Almighty Sovereign himself accords an increase both of years and of children
to our most pious emperor, and renders his sway over the nations of the world still
fresh and flourishing, as though it were even now springing up in its earliest vigor.
He it is who appoints him this present festival, in that he has made him victorious
over every enemy that disturbed his peace: he it is who displays him as an example of
83745 true godliness to the human race. And thus our emperor, like the radiant sun,
illuminates the most distant subjects of his empire through the presence of the
Caesars, as with the far piercing rays of his own brightness. To us who occupy the
eastern regions he has given a son worthy of himself; a second and a third
respectively to other departments of his empire, to be, as it were, brilliant
83750 reflectors of the light which proceeds from himself. Once more, having harnessed, as
it were, under the self-same yoke the four most noble Caesars as horses in the
imperial chariot, he sits on high and directs their course by the reins of holy
harmony and concord; and, himself every where present, and observant of every event,
thus traverses every region of the world. Lastly, invested as he is with a semblance
83755 of heavenly sovereignty, he directs his gaze above, and frames his earthly government
according to the pattern of that Divine original, feeling strength in its conformity
to the monarchy of God. And this conformity is granted by the universal Sovereign to
man alone of the creatures of this earth: for he only is the author of sovereign
power, who decrees that all should be subject to the rule of one. And surely monarchy
83760 far transcends every other constitution and form of government: for that democratic
equality of power, which is its opposite, may rather be described as anarchy and
disorder. Hence there is one God, and not two, or three, or more: for to assert a
plurality of gods is plainly to deny the being of God at all. There is one Sovereign;
and his Word and royal Law is one: a Law not expressed in syllables and words, not
83765 written or engraved on tablets, and therefore subject to the ravages of time; but the
living and self-subsisting Word, who himself is God, and who administers his Father's
kingdom on behalf of all who are after him and subject to his power. His attendants
are the heavenly hosts; the myriads of God's angelic ministers; the super-terrestrial
armies, of unnumbered multitude; and those unseen spirits within heaven itself, whose
83770 agency is employed in regulating the order of this world. Ruler and chief of all
these is the royal Word, acting as Regent of the Supreme Sovereign. To him the names
of Captain, and great High Priest, Prophet of the Father, Angel of mighty counsel,
Brightness of the Father's light, Only begotten Son, with a thousand other titles,
are ascribed in the oracles of the sacred writers. And the Father, having constituted
83775 him the living Word, and Law and Wisdom the fullness of all blessing, has presented
this best and greatest gift to all who are the subjects of his sovereignty. And he
himself, who pervades all things, and is every where present, unfolding his Father's
bounties to all with unsparing hand, has accorded a specimen of his sovereign power
even to his rational creatures of this earth, in that he has provided the mind of
83780 man, who is formed after his own image, with Divine faculties, whence it is capable
of other virtues also, which flow from the same heavenly source. For he only is wise,
who is the only God: he only is essentially good: he only is of mighty power, the
Parent of justice, the Father of reason and wisdom, the Fountain of light and life,
the Dispenser of truth and virtue: in a word, the Author of empire itself, and of all
83785 dominion and power.

CHAPTER IV.

BUT whence has man this knowledge, and who has ministered these truths to mortal
ears? Or whence has a tongue of flesh the power to speak of things so utterly
83790 distinct from fleshly or material substance? Who has gazed on the invisible King, and
beheld these perfections in him? The bodily sense may comprehend elements and their
combinations, of a nature kindred to its own: but no one yet has boasted to have
scanned with corporeal eye that unseen kingdom which governs all things nor has
mortal nature yet discerned the beauty of perfect wisdom. Who has beheld the face of
83795 righteousness through the medium of flesh? And whence came the idea of legitimate
sovereignty and imperial power to man? Whence the thought of absolute dominion to a
being composed of flesh and blood? Who declared those ideas which are invisible and
undefined, and that incorporeal essence which has no external form, to the mortals of
this earth? Surely there was but one interpreter of these things; the all-pervading

83800 Word of God. For he is the author of that rational and intelligent being which exists
in man; and, being himself one with his Father's Divine nature, he sheds upon his
offspring the out-flowings of his Father's bounty. Hence the natural and untaught
powers of thought, which all men, Greeks or Barbarians, alike possess: hence the
83805 perception of reason and wisdom, the seeds of integrity and righteousness, the
understanding of the arts of life, the knowledge of virtue, the precious name of
wisdom, and the noble love of philosophic learning. Hence the knowledge of all that
is great and good: hence apprehension of God himself, and a life worthy of his
worship: hence the royal authority of man, and his invincible lordship over the
83810 creatures of this world. And when that Word, who is the Parent of rational beings,
had impressed a character on the mind of man according to the image and likeness of
God, and had made him a royal creature, in that he gave him alone of all earthly
creatures capacity to rule and to obey (as well as forethought and foreknowledge even
here, concerning the promised hope of his heavenly kingdom, because of which he
himself came, and, as the Parent of his children, disdained not to hold converse with
83815 mortal men); he continued to cherish the seeds which himself had sown, and renewed
his gracious favors from above; holding forth to all the promise of sharing his
heavenly kingdom. Accordingly he called men, and exhorted them to be ready for their
heavenward journey, and to provide themselves with the garment which became their
calling. And by an indescribable power he filled the world in every part with his
83820 doctrine, expressing by the similitude of an earthly kingdom that heavenly one to
which he earnestly invites all mankind, and presents it to them as a worthy object of
their hope.

CHAPTER V.

83825 AND in this hope our divinely-favored emperor partakes even in this present life,
gifted as he is by God with native virtues, and having received into his soul the
out-flowings of his favor. His reason he derives from the great Source of all reason:
he is wise, and good, and just, as having fellowship with perfect Wisdom, Goodness,
and Righteousness: virtuous, as following the pattern of perfect virtue: valiant, as
83830 partaking of heavenly strength. And truly may he deserve the imperial title, who has
formed his soul to royal virtues, according to the standard of that celestial
kingdom. But he who is a stranger to these blessings, who denies the Sovereign of the
universe, and owns no allegiance to the heavenly Father of spirits; who invests not
himself with the virtues which become, an emperor, but overlays his soul with moral
83835 deformity and baseness; who for royal clemency substitutes the fury of a savage
beast; for a generous temper, the incurable venom of malicious wickedness; for
prudence, folly; for reason and wisdom, that recklessness which is the most odious of
all vices, for from it, as from a spring of bitterness, proceed the most pernicious
fruits; such as inveterate profligacy of life, covetousness, murder, impiety and
83840 defiance of God; surely one abandoned to; such vices as these, however he may be
deemed powerful through despotic violence, has no true title to the name of Emperor.
For how should he whose soul is impressed with a thousand absurd images of false
deities, be able to exhibit a counterpart of the true and heavenly sovereignty? Or
how can he be absolute lord of others, who has subjected himself to the dominion of a
83845 thousand cruel masters? a slave of low delights and un-governed lust, a slave of
wrongfully-extorted wealth, of rage and passion, as well as of cowardice and terror;
a slave of ruthless demons, and soul-destroying spirits? Let then, our emperor, on
the testimony of truth itself, be declared alone worthy of the title; who is dear to
the Supreme Sovereign himself; who alone is free, nay, who is truly lord: above the
83850 thirst of wealth, superior to sexual desire; victorious even over natural pleasures;
controlling, not controlled by, anger and passion. He is indeed an emperor, and bears
a title corresponding to his deeds; a VICTOR in truth, who has gained the victory
over those passions which overmaster the rest of men: whose character is formed after
the Divine original a of the Supreme Sovereign, and whose mind reflects, as in a
83855 mirror, the radiance of his virtues. Hence is our emperor perfect in discretion, in
goodness, in justice, in courage, in piety, in devotion to God: he truly and only is
a philosopher, since he knows himself, and is fully aware that supplies of every
blessing are showered on him from a source quite external to himself, even from
heaven itself. Declaring the august title of supreme authority by the splendor of his
83860 vesture, he alone worthily wears that imperial purple which so well becomes him. He
is indeed an emperor, who calls on and implores in prayer the favor of his heavenly
Father night and day, and whose ardent desires are fixed on his celestial kingdom.
For he knows that present things, subject as they are to decay and death, flowing on
and disappearing like a river's stream, are not worthy to be compared with him who is
83865 sovereign of all; therefore it is that he longs for the incorruptible and incorporeal

kingdom of God. And this kingdom he trusts he shall obtain, elevating his mind as he does in sublimity of thought above the vault of heaven, and filled with inexpressible longing for the glories which shine there, in comparison with which he deems the precious things of this present world but darkness. For he sees earthly sovereignty to be but a petty and fleeting dominion over a mortal and temporary life, and rates it not much higher than the goatherd's, or shepherd's, or herdsman's power: nay, as more burdensome than theirs, and exercised over more stubborn subjects. The acclamations of the people, and the voice of flattery, he reckons rather troublesome than pleasing, because of the steady constancy of his character, and genuine discipline of his mind. Again, when he beholds the military service of his subjects, the vast array of his armies, the multitudes of horse and foot, entirely devoted to his command, he feels no astonishment, no pride at the possession of such mighty power; but turns his thoughts inward on himself, and recognizes the same common nature there. He smiles at his vesture, embroidered with gold and flowers, and at the imperial purple and diadem itself, when he sees the multitude gaze in wonder, like children at a bugbear, on the splendid spectacle. Himself superior to such feelings, he clothes his soul with the knowledge of God, that vesture, the broidery of which is temperance, righteousness, piety, and all other virtues; a vesture such as truly becomes a sovereign. The wealth which others so much desire, as gold, silver, or precious gems, he regards to be, as they really are, in themselves mere stones and worthless matter, of no avail to preserve or defend from evil. For what power have these things to free from disease, or repel the approach of death? And knowing as he does this truth by personal experience in the use of these things, he regards the splendid attire of his subjects with calm indifference, and smiles at the childishness of those to whom they prove attractive. Lastly, he abstains from all excess in food and wine, and leaves superfluous dainties to gluttons, judging that such indulgences, I however suitable to others, are not so to him, and deeply convinced of their pernicious tendency, and their effect in darkening the intellectual powers of the soul. For all these reasons, our divinely taught and noble-minded emperor, aspiring to higher objects than this life affords, calls upon his heavenly Father as one who longs for his kingdom; exhibits a pious spirit in each action of his life; and finally, as a wise and good instructor, imparts to his subjects the knowledge of him who is the Sovereign Lord of all.

CHAPTER VI.

AND God himself, as an earnest of future reward, assigns to him now as it were tricennial crowns composed of prosperous periods of time; and now, after the revolution of three circles of ten years, he grants permission to all mankind to celebrate this general, nay rather, this universal festival. And while those on earth thus rejoice, crowned as it were with the flowers of divine knowledge, surely, we may not unduly suppose that the heavenly choirs, attracted by a natural sympathy, unite their joy with the joy of those on earth: nay, that the Supreme Sovereign himself, as a gracious father, delights in the worship of duteous children, and for this reason is pleased to honor the author and cause of their obedience through a lengthened period of time; and, far from limiting his reign to three decennial circles of years, he extends it to the remotest period, even to far distant eternity. Now eternity in its whole extent is beyond the power of decline or death: its beginning and extent alike incapable of being scanned by mortal thoughts. Nor will it suffer its central point to be perceived, nor that which is termed its present duration to be grasped by the inquiring mind. Far less, then, the future, or the past: for the one is not, but is already gone; while the future has not yet arrived, and therefore is not. As regards what is termed the present time, it vanishes even as we think or speak, more swiftly than the word itself is uttered. Nor is it possible in any sense to apprehend this time as present; for we must either expect the future, or contemplate the past; the present slips from us, and is gone, even in the act of thought. Eternity, then, in its whole extent, resists and refuses subjection to mortal reason. But it does not refuse to acknowledge its own Sovereign and Lord, and bears him as it were mounted on itself, rejoicing in the fair trappings which he bestows. And he himself, not binding it, as the poet imagined, with a golden chain, but as it were controlling its movements by the reins of ineffable wisdom, has adjusted its months and seasons, its times and years, and the alterations of day and night, with perfect harmony, and has thus attached to it limits and measures of various kinds. For eternity, being in its nature direct, and stretching onward into infinity, and receiving its name, eternity, as having an everlasting existence, and beings similar in all its parts, or rather having no division or distance, progresses only in a line of direct extension. But God, who has distributed it by intermediate sections, and has divided it, like a far

extended line, in many points, has included in it a vast number of portions; and though it is in its nature one, and resembles unity itself, he has attached to it a multiplicity of numbers, and has given it, though formless in itself, an endless variety of forms For first of all he framed in it formless matter, as a substance capable of receiving all forms. He next, by the power of the number two, imparted quality to matter, and gave beauty to that which before was void of all grace. Again, by means of the number three, he framed a body compounded of matter and form, and presenting the three dimensions of breadth, and length, and depth. Then, from the doubling of the number two, he devised the quaternion of the elements, earth, water, air, and fire, and ordained them to be everlasting sources for the supply of this universe. Again, the number four produces the number ten. For the aggregate of one, and two, and three, and four, is ten. And three multiplied with ten discovers the period of a month: and twelve successive months complete the course of the sun. Hence the revolutions of years, and changes of the seasons, which give grace, like variety of color in painting, to that eternity which before was formless and devoid of beauty, for the refreshment and delight of those whose lot it is to traverse therein the course of life. For as the ground is defined by stated distances for those who run in hope of obtaining the prize; and as the road of those who travel on a distant journey is marked by resting-places and measured intervals, that the traveler's courage may not fail at the interminable prospect; even so the Sovereign of the universe, controlling eternity itself within the restraining power of his own wisdom, directs and turns its course as he judges best. The same God, I say, who thus clothes the once undefined eternity as with fair colors and blooming flowers, gladdens the day with the solar rays; and, while he overspreads the night with a covering of darkness, yet causes the glittering stars, as golden spangles, to shine therein. It is he who lights up the brilliancy of the morning stab the changing splendor of the moon, and the glorious companies of the starry host, and has arrayed the expanse of heaven, like some vast mantle, in colors of varied beauty. Again, having created the lofty and profound expanse of air, and caused the world in its length and breadth to feel its cooling influence, he decreed that the air itself should be graced with birds of every kind, and left open this vast ocean of space to be traversed by every creature, visible or invisible, whose course is through the tracts of heaven. In the midst of this atmosphere he poised the earth, as it were its center, and encompassed it with the ocean as with a beautiful azure vesture. Having ordained this earth to be at once the home, the nurse, and the mother of all the creatures it contains, and watered it both with rain and water-springs, he caused it to abound in plants and flowers of every species, for the enjoyment of life. And when he had formed man in his own likeness, the noblest of earthly creatures, and dearest to himself, a creature gifted with intellect and knowledge, the child of reason and wisdom, he gave him dominion over all other animals which move and live upon the earth. For man was in truth of all earthly creatures the dearest to God: man, I say, to whom, as an indulgent Father, he has subjected the brute creation; for whom he has made the ocean navigable, and crowned the earth with a profusion of plants of every kind; to whom he has granted reasoning faculties for acquiring all science; under whose control he has placed even the creatures of the deep, and the winged inhabitants of the air; to whom he has permitted the contemplation of celestial objects, and revealed the course and changes of the sun and moon, and the periods of the planets and fixed stars. In short, to man alone of earthly beings has he given commandment to acknowledge him as his heavenly Father, and to celebrate his praises as the Supreme Sovereign of eternity itself. But the unchangeable course of eternity the Creator has limited by the four seasons of the year, terminating the winter by the approach of spring, and regulating as with an equal balance that season which commences the annual period. Having thus graced the eternal course of time with the varied productions of spring, he added the summer's heat; and then granted as it were a relief of toil by the interval of autumn: and lastly, refreshing and cleansing the season by the showers of winter, he brings it, rendered sleek land glossy, like a noble steed, by these abundant rains, once more to the gates of spring. As soon, then, as the Supreme Sovereign had thus connected his own eternity by these cords of wisdom with the annual circle, he committed it to the guidance of a mighty Governor, even his only begotten Word, to whom, as the Preserver of all creation, he yielded the reins of universal power. And he, receiving this inheritance as from a beneficent Father, and uniting all things both above and beneath the circumference of heaven in one harmonious whole, directs their uniform course; providing with perfect justice whatever is expedient for his rational creatures on the earth, appointing its allotted limits to human life, and granting to all alike permission to anticipate even here the commencement of a future existence. For he has taught them that beyond

this present world there is a divine and blessed state of being, reserved for those
 who have been supported here by the hope of heavenly blessings; and that those who
 84000 have lived a virtuous and godly life will remove hence to a far better habitation;
 while he adjudges to those who have been guilty and wicked here a place of punishment
 according to their crimes. Again, as in the distribution of prizes at the public
 games, he proclaims various crowns to the victors, and invests each with the rewards
 of different virtues: but for our good emperor, who is clothed in the very robe of
 84005 piety, he declares that a higher recompense of his toils is prepared; and, as a
 prelude to this recompense, permits us now to assemble at this festival, which is
 composed of perfect numbers, of decades thrice, and triads ten times repeated. The
 first of these, the triad, is the offspring of the unit, while the unit is the mother
 of number itself, and presides over all months, and seasons, and years, and every
 84010 period of time. It may, indeed, be justly termed the origin, foundation, and
 principle of all number, and derives its name from its abiding character. For, while
 every other number is diminished or increased according to the subtraction or
 addition of others, the unit alone continues fixed and steadfast, abstracted from all
 multitude and the numbers which are formed from it, and resembling that indivisible
 84015 essence which is distinct from all things beside, but by virtue of participation in
 which the nature of all things else subsists. For the unit is the originator of every
 number, since all multitude is made up by the composition and addition of units; nor
 is it possible without the unit to conceive the existence of number at all. But the
 unit itself is independent of multitude, apart from and superior to all number;
 84020 forming, indeed, and making all, but receiving no increase from any. Kindred to this
 is the triad; equally indivisible and perfect, the first of those sums which are
 formed of even and uneven numbers. For the perfect number two, receiving the addition
 of the unit, forms the triad, the first perfect compound number. And the triad, by
 explaining what equality is, first taught men justice, having itself an equal
 84025 beginning, and middle, and end. And it is also an image of the mysterious, most holy,
 and royal Trinity, which, though itself without beginning or origin, yet contains the
 germs, the reasons, and causes of the existence of all created things. Thus the power
 of the triad may justly be regarded as the first cause of all things. Again, the
 number ten, which contains the end of all numbers, and terminates them in itself, may
 84030 truly be called a full and perfect number, as comprehending every species and every
 measure of numbers, proportions, concords, and harmonies. For example, the units by
 addition form and are terminated by the number ten; and, having this number as their
 parent, and as it were the limit of their course they round this as the goal of their
 career. Then they perform a second circuit, and again a third, and a fourth, until
 84035 the tenth and thus by ten decades they complete the hundredth number. Returning
 thence to the first starting point, they again proceed to the number ten, and having
 ten times completed the hundredth number, again they recede, and perform round the
 same barriers their protracted course, proceeding from themselves back to themselves
 again, with revolving motion. For the unit is the tenth of ten, and ten units make up
 84040 a decade, which is itself the limit, the settled goal and boundary of units: it is
 that which terminates the infinity of number; the term and end of units. Again, the
 triad combined with the decade, and performing a threefold circuit of tens, produces
 that most natural number, thirty. For as the triad is in respect to units, so is the
 number thirty in respect to tens. It is also the constant limit to the course of that
 84045 luminary which is second to the sun in brightness. For the course of the moon from
 one conjunction with the sun to the next, completes the period of a month; after
 which, receiving as it were a second birth, it recommences a new light, and other
 days, being adorned and honored with thirty units, three decades, and ten triads. In
 the same manner is the universal reign of our victorious emperor distinguished by the
 84050 giver of all good, and now enters on a new sphere of blessing, accomplishing, at
 present, this tricennialian festival, but reaching forward beyond this to far more
 distant intervals of time, and cherishing the hope of future blessings in the
 celestial kingdom; where, not a single sun, but infinite hosts of light surround the
 Almighty Sovereign, each surpassing the splendor of the sun, glorious and resplendent
 84055 with rays derived from the everlasting source of light. There the soul enjoys its
 existence, surrounded by fair and unfading blessings; there is a life beyond the
 reach of sorrow; there the enjoyment of pure and holy pleasures, and a time of
 unmeasured and endless duration, extending into illimitable space; not defined by
 intervals of days and months, the revolutions of years, or the recurrence of times
 84060 and seasons, but commensurate with a life which knows no end. And this life needs not
 the light of the sun, nor the lustre of the moon or the starry host, since it has the
 great Luminary himself, even God the Word, the only begotten Son of the Almighty
 Sovereign. Hence it is that the mystic and sacred oracles reveal him to be the Sun of

righteousness, and the Light which far transcends all light. We believe that he
 84065 illumines also the thrice-blessed powers of heaven with the rays of righteousness,
 and the brightness of wisdom, and that he receives truly pious souls, not within the
 sphere of heaven alone, but into his own bosom, and confirms indeed the assurances
 which he himself has given. No mortal eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor can the mind
 84070 in its vesture of flesh understand what things are prepared for those who have been
 here adorned with the graces of godliness; blessings which await thee too, most pious
 emperor, to whom alone since the world began has the Almighty Sovereign of the
 universe granted power to purify the course of human life: to whom also he has
 revealed his own symbol of salvation, whereby he overcame the power of death, and
 triumphed over every enemy. And this victorious trophy, the scourge of evil spirits,
 84075 thou hast arrayed against the errors of idol worship, and hast obtained the victory
 not only over all thy impious and savage foes, but over equally barbarous
 adversaries, the evil spirits themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

84080 FOR whereas we are composed of two distinct natures, I mean of body and spirit, of
 which the one is visible to all, the other i invisible, against both these natures
 two kinds of barbarous and savage enemies, the one invisibly, the other openly, are
 constantly arrayed. The one oppose our bodies with bodily force the other with
 incorporeal assaults besiege the naked soul itself. Again, the visible barbarians,
 84085 like the wild nomad tribes, no better than savage beasts, assail the nations of
 civilized men, ravage their country, and enslave their cities, rushing on those who
 inhabit them like ruthless wolves of the desert, and destroying all who fall under
 their power. But those unseen foes, more cruel far than barbarians, I mean the soul-
 destroying demons whose course is through the regions of the air, had succeeded,
 84090 through the snares of vile polytheism, in enslaving the entire human race, insomuch
 that they no longer recognized the true God, but wandered in the mazes of atheistic
 error. For they procured, I know not whence, gods who never anywhere existed, and set
 him aside who is the only and the true God, as though he were not. Accordingly the
 generation of bodies was esteemed by them a deity, and so the opposite principle to
 84095 this, their dissolution and destruction, was also deified. The first, as the author
 of generative power, was honored with rites under the name of Venus: the second, as
 rich, and mighty in dominion over the human race, received the names of Pluto, and
 Death. For men in those ages, knowing no other than naturally generated life,
 declared the cause and origin of that life to be divine: and again, believing in no
 84100 existence after death, they proclaimed Death himself a universal conqueror and a
 mighty god. Hence, unconscious of responsibility, as destined to be annihilated by
 death, they lived a life unworthy of the name, in the practice of actions deserving a
 thousand deaths. No thought of God could enter their minds, no expectation of Divine
 judgment, no recollection of, no reflection on, their spiritual existence:
 84105 acknowledging one dread superior, Death, and persuaded that the dissolution of their
 bodies by his power was final annihilation, they bestowed on Death the title of a
 mighty, a wealthy god, and hence the name of Pluto. Thus, then, Death became to them
 a god; nor only so, but whatever else they accounted precious in comparison with
 death, whatever contributed to the luxuries of life. Hence animal pleasure became to
 84110 them a god; nutrition, and its production, a god; the fruit of trees, a god; drunken
 riot, a god; carnal desire and pleasure, a god. Hence the mysteries of Ceres and
 Proserpine, the rape of the latter, and her subsequent restoration, by Pluto: hence
 the orgies of Bacchus, and Hercules overcome by drunkenness as by a mightier god:
 hence the adulterous rites of Cupid and of Venus: hence Jupiter himself infatuated
 84115 with the love of women, and of Ganymede: hence the licentious legends of deities
 abandoned to effeminacy and pleasure. Such were the weapons of superstition whereby
 these cruel barbarians and enemies of the Supreme God afflicted, and indeed entirely
 subdued, the human race; erecting everywhere the monuments of impiety, and rearing in
 every corner the shrines and temples of their false religion. Nay, so far were the
 84120 ruling powers of those times enslaved by the force of error, as to appease their gods
 with the blood of their own countrymen and kindred; to whet their swords against
 those who stood forward to defend the truth; to maintain a ruthless war and raise
 unholy hands, not against foreign or barbarian foes, but against men l bound to them
 by the ties of family and affection, against brethren, and kinsmen, and dearest
 84125 friends, who had resolved, in the practice of virtue and true piety, to honor and
 worship God. Such was the spirit of madness with which these princes sacrificed to
 their demon deities men consecrated to the service of the King of kings. On the other
 hand their victims, as noble martyrs in the cause of true godliness, resolved to
 welcome a glorious death in preference to life itself, and utterly despised these

84130 cruelties. Strengthened, as soldiers of God, with patient fortitude, they mocked at death in all its forms; at fire, and sword, and the torment of crucifixion; at exposure to savage beasts, and drowning in the depths of the sea; at the cutting off and searing of limbs, the digging out of eyes, the mutilation of the whole body; 84135 they counted better than any earthly good or pleasure, for the love they bore their heavenly King. In like manner women also evinced a spirit of constancy and courage not inferior to that of men. Some endured the same conflicts with them, and obtained a like reward of their virtue: others, forcibly carried off to be the victims of violence and pollution, welcomed death rather than dishonor; while many, very many 84140 more, endured not even to hear the same threats wherewith they were assailed by the provincial governors, but boldly sustained every variety of torture, and sentence of death in every form? Thus did these valiant soldiers of the Almighty Sovereign maintain the conflict with steadfast fortitude of soul against the hostile forces of polytheism: and thus did these enemies of God and adversaries of man's salvation, 84145 more cruel far their ministers drain as it were the cup of un-righteous slaughter in honor of the demons whom they served, and prepare for them this dread and impious banquet, to the ruin of the human race. In these sad circumstances, what course should the God and King of these afflicted ones pursue? Could he be careless of the safety of his dearest friends or abandon his servants in this great extremity? Surely 84150 none could deem him a wary pilot, who, without an effort to save his fellow-mariners should suffer his vessel to sink with all her crew: surely no general could be found so reckless as to yield his own allies, without resistance, to the mercy of the foe: nor can a faithful shepherd regard with unconcern the straying of a single sheep from his flock, but will rather leave the rest in safety, and dare all things for the 84155 wanderer's sake, even, if need be, to contend with savage beasts. The zeal, however, of the great Sovereign of all was for no unconscious sheep: his care was exercised for his own faithful host, for those who sustained the battle for his sake: whose conflicts in the cause of godliness he himself approved, and honored those who had returned to his presence with the prize of victory which he only can bestow, uniting 84160 them to the angelic choirs. Others he still preserved on earth, to communicate the living seeds of piety to future generations; to be at once eye-witnesses of his vengeance on the ungodly, and narrators of the events. After this he outstretched his arm in judgment on the adversaries, and utterly destroyed them with the stroke of Divine wrath, compelling them, how reluctant soever to confess with their own lips 84165 and recant their wickedness, but raising from the ground and exalting gloriously those who had long been oppressed and disclaimed by all. Such were the dealings of the Supreme Sovereign, who ordained an invincible champion to be the minister of his heaven-sent vengeance (for our emperor's surpassing piety delights in the title of Servant of God), and him he has, proved victorious over all that opposed him, having 84170 raised him up, an individual against many foes. For they were indeed numberless, being the friends of many evil spirits (though in reality they were nothing, and hence are now no more); but our emperor is one, appointed by, and the representative of, the one Almighty Sovereign. And they, in the very spirit of impiety, destroyed the righteous with cruel slaughter: but he, in imitation of his Saviour, and knowing 84175 only how to save men's lives, has spared and instructed in godliness the impious themselves. And so, as truly worthy the name of VICTOR, he has subdued the twofold race of barbarians; soothing the savage tribes of men by prudent embassies, compelling them to know and acknowledge their superiors, and reclaiming them from a lawless and brutal life to the governance of reason and humanity; at the same time 84180 that he proved by the facts themselves that the fierce and ruthless race of unseen spirits had long ago been vanquished by a higher power. For he who is the preserver of the universe had punished these invisible spirits by an invisible judgment: and our emperor, as the delegate of the Supreme Sovereign, has followed up the victory, bearing away the spoils of those who have long since died and mouldered into dust, 84185 and distributing the plunder with lavish hand among the soldiers of his victorious Lord.

CHAPTER VIII.

84190 FOR as soon as he understood that the ignorant multitudes were inspired with a vain and childish dread of these bugbears of error, wrought in gold and silver, he judged it right to remove these also, like stumbling-stones thrown in the path of men walking in the dark, and henceforward to open a royal road, plain and unobstructed, to all. Having formed this resolution, he considered that no soldiers or military force of any sort was needed for the repression of the evil: a few of his own friends 84195 sufficed for this service, and these he sent by a simple expression of his will to

visit each several province. Accordingly, sustained by confidence in the emperor's piety and their own personal devotion to God, they passed through the midst of numberless tribes and nations, abolishing this ancient system of error in every city and country. They ordered the priests themselves, in the midst of general laughter and scorn, to bring their gods from their dark recesses to the light of day. They then stripped them of their ornaments, and exhibited to the gaze of all the unsightly reality which had been hidden beneath a painted exterior: and lastly, whatever part of the material appeared to be of value they scraped off and melted in the fire to prove its worth, after which they secured and set apart whatever they judged needful for their purposes, leaving to the superstitious worshipers what was altogether useless, as a memorial of their shame. Meanwhile our admirable prince was himself engaged in a work similar to that we have described. For at the same time that these costly images of the dead were stripped, as we have said, of their precious materials, he also attacked those composed of brass; causing those to be dragged from their places with ropes, and, as it were, carried away captive, whom the dotage of mythology had esteemed as gods. The next care of our august emperor was to kindle, as it were, a brilliant torch, by the light of which he directed his imperial gaze around, to see if any hidden vestiges of error might yet exist. And as the keen-sighted eagle in its heavenward flight is able to descry from its lofty height the most distant objects on the earth: so did he whilst residing in the imperial palace of his own fair city, discover, as from a watch-tower, a hidden and fatal snare of souls in the province of Phoenicia. This was a grove and temple, not situated in the midst of any city, or in any public place, as for splendor of effect is generally the case, but apart from the beaten and frequented road, on part of the summit of Mount Lebanon, and dedicated to the foul demon known by the name of Venus. It was a school of wickedness for all the abandoned rotaries of impurity and such as destroyed their bodies with effeminacy. Here men undeserving the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the demon by their effeminate conduct: here too unlawful commerce of women, and adulterous intercourse, with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple as in a place beyond the scope and restraint of law. Meantime these evils remained unchecked by the presence of any observer, since no one of fair character ventured to visit such scenes. These proceedings, however, could not escape the vigilance of our august emperor, who, having himself inspected them with characteristic forethought, and judging that such a temple was unfit for the light of heaven, gave orders that the building with its offerings should be utterly destroyed. Accordingly, in obedience to the imperial edict, these engines of an impure superstition were immediately abolished, and the hand of military force was made instrumental in purging the place. And now those who had heretofore lived without restraint, learned, through the imperial threat of punishment, to practice self-control. Thus did our emperor tear the mask from this system of delusive wickedness, and expose it to the public gaze, at the same time proclaiming openly his Saviour's name to all. No advocate appeared; neither god nor demon, prophet nor diviner, could lend his aid to the detected authors of the imposture. For the souls of men were no longer enveloped in thick darkness: but enlightened by the rays of true godliness, they deplored the ignorance and pitied the blindness of their forefathers, rejoicing at the same time in their own deliverance from such fatal error. Thus speedily, according to the counsel of the mighty God, and through our emperor's agency, was every enemy, whether visible or unseen, utterly removed: and henceforward peace, the happy nurse of youth, extended her reign throughout the world. Wars were no more, for the gods were not: no more did warfare in country or town, no more did the effusion of human blood, distress mankind, as heretofore, when demon-worship and the madness of idolatry prevailed.

CHAPTER IX.

AND now we may well compare the present with former things, and review these happy changes in contrast with the evils that are past, and mark the elaborate care with which in ancient times porches and sacred precincts, groves and temples, were prepared in every city for these false deities, and how their shrines were enriched with abundant offerings. The sovereign rulers of those days had indeed a high regard for the worship of the gods. The nations also and people subject to their power honored them with images both in the country and in every city, nay, even in their houses and secret chambers, according to the religious practice of their fathers. The fruit, however, of this devotion, far different from the peaceful concord which now meets our view, appeared in war, in battles, and seditions, which harassed them throughout their lives, and deluged their countries with blood and civil slaughter. Again, the objects of their worship could hold out to these sovereigns with artful

flattery the promise of prophecies, and oracles, and the knowledge of futurity: yet could they not predict their own destruction, nor forewarn themselves of the coming ruin: and surely this was the greatest and most convincing proof of their imposture.

84265 Not one of those whose words once were heard with awe and wonder, had announced the glorious advent of the Saviour of mankind, or that new revelation of divine knowledge which he came to give. Not Pythius himself, nor any of those mighty gods, could apprehend the prospect of their approaching desolation; nor could their oracles point at him who was to be their conqueror and destroyer. What prophet or diviner could

84270 foretell that their rites would vanish at the presence of a new Deity in the world, and that the knowledge and worship of the Almighty Sovereign should be freely given to all mankind? Which of them foreknew the august and pious reign of our victorious emperor, or his triumphant conquests everywhere over the false demons, or the overthrow of their high places? Which of the heroes has announced the melting down

84275 and conversion of the lifeless statues from their useless forms to the necessary uses of men? Which of the gods have yet had power to speak of their own images thus melted and contemptuously reduced to fragments? Where were the protecting powers, that they should not interpose to save their sacred memorials, thus destroyed by man? Where, I ask, are those who once maintained the strife of war, yet now behold their conquerors abiding securely in the profoundest peace? And where are they who upheld themselves

84280 in a blind and foolish confidence, and trusted in these vanities as gods; but who, in the very height of their superstitious error, and while maintaining an implacable war with the champions of the truth, perished by a fate proportioned to their crimes? Where is the giant race whose arms were turned against heaven itself; the hissings of those serpents whose tongues were pointed with impious words against the Almighty

84285 King? These adversaries of the Lord of all, confident in the aid of a multitude of gods, advanced to the attack with a powerful array of military force, preceded by certain images of the dead, and lifeless statues, as their defense. On the other, side our emperor, secure in the armor of godliness, opposed to the numbers of the

84290 enemy the salutary and life-giving Sign, as at the same time a terror to the foe, and a protection against every harm; and returned victorious at once over the enemy and the demons whom they served? And then, with thanksgiving and praise, the tokens of a grateful spirit, to the Author of his victory, he proclaimed this triumphant Sign, by monuments as well as words, to all mankind, erecting it as a mighty trophy against

84295 every enemy in the midst of the imperial city, and expressly enjoining on all to acknowledge this imperishable symbol of salvation as the safeguard of the power of Rome and of the empire of the world. Such were the instructions which he gave to his subjects generally; but especially to his soldiers, whom he admonished to repose their confidence, not in their weapons, or armor, or bodily strength, but to

84300 acknowledge the Supreme God as the giver of every good, and of victory itself. Thus did the emperor himself, strange and incredible as the fact may seem, become the instructor of his army in their religious exercises, and teach them to offer pious prayers in accordance with the divine ordinances, uplifting their hands towards heaven, and raising their mental vision higher still to the King of heaven, on whom

84305 they should call as the Author of victory, their preserver, guardian, and helper. He commanded too, that one day should be regarded as a special occasion for religious worship; I mean that which is truly the first and chief of all, the day of our Lord and Saviour; that day the name of which is connected with light, and life, and immortality, and every good. Prescribing the same pious conduct to himself, he

84310 honored his Saviour in the chambers of his palace, performing his devotions according to the Divine commands, and storing his mind with instruction through the hearing of the sacred word. The entire care of his household was intrusted to ministers devoted to the service of God, and distinguished by gravity of life and every other virtue; while his trusty body-guards, strong in affection and fidelity to his person, found

84315 in their emperor an instructor in the practice of a godly life. Again, the honor with which he regards the victorious Sign is founded on his actual experience of its divine efficacy. Before this the hosts of his enemies have disappeared: by this the powers of the unseen spirits have been turned to flight: through this the proud

84320 boastings of God's adversaries have come to nought, and the tongues of the profane and blasphemous been put to silence. By this Sign the Barbarian tribes were vanquished: through his the rites of superstitious fraud received a just rebuke: by this our emperor, discharging as it were a sacred debt, has performed the crowning good of all, by erecting triumphant memorials of its value in all parts of the world, raising temples and churches on a scale of royal costliness, and commanding all to

84325 unite in constructing the sacred houses of prayer. Accordingly these signal proofs of our emperor's magnificence forthwith appeared in the provinces and cities of the empire, and soon shone conspicuously in every country; convincing memorials of the

rebuke and overthrow of those impious tyrants who but a little while before had madly dared to fight against God, and, raging like savage dogs, had vented on unconscious buildings that fury which they were unable to level against him; had thrown to the ground and Upturned the very foundations of the houses of prayer, causing them to present the appearance of a city captured and abandoned to the enemy. Such was the exhibition of that wicked spirit whereby they sought as it were to assail God himself, but soon experienced the result of their own madness and folly. But a little time elapsed, when a single blast of the storm of Heaven's displeasure them utterly away, leaving neither kindred, nor offspring, nor memorial of their existence among men: for all, numerous as they were, disappeared as in a moment beneath the stroke of Divine vengeance. Such, then, was the fate which awaited these furious adversaries of God: but he who, armed with the salutary Trophy, had alone opposed them (nay rather, not alone, but aided by the presence and the power of him who is the only Sovereign), has replaced the ruined edifices on a greater scale, and made the second far superior to the first. For example, besides erecting various churches to the honor of God in the city which bears his name, and adorning the Bithynian capital with another on the greatest and most splendid scale, he has distinguished the principal cities of the other provinces by structures of a similar kind. Above all, he has selected two places in the eastern division of the empire, the one in Palestine (since from thence the life-giving stream has flowed as from a fountain for the blessing of all nations), the other in that metropolis of the East which derives its name from that of Antiochus; in which, as the head of that portion of the empire, he has consecrated to the service of God a church of unparalleled size and beauty. The entire building is encompassed by an enclosure of great extent, within which the church itself rises to a vast elevation, of an octagonal form, surrounded by many chambers and courts on every side, and decorated with ornaments of the richest kind. Such was his work here. Again, in the province of Palestine, in that city which was once the seat of Hebrew sovereignty, on the very site of the Lord's sepulchre, he has raised a church of noble dimensions, and adorned a temple sacred to the salutary Cross with rich and lavish magnificence, honoring that everlasting monument, and the trophies of the Saviour's victory over the power of death, with a splendor which no language can describe. In the same country he discovered three places venerable as the localities of three sacred caves: and these also he adorned with costly structures, paying a fitting tribute of reverence to the scene of the first manifestation of the Saviour's presence; while at the second cavern he hallowed the remembrance of his final ascension from the mountain top; and celebrated his mighty conflict, and the victory which crowned it, at the third. All these places our emperor thus adorned in the hope of proclaiming the symbol of redemption to all mankind; that Cross which has indeed repaid his pious zeal; through which his house and throne alike have prospered, his reign has been confirmed for a lengthened series of years, and the rewards of virtue bestowed on his noble sons, his kindred, and their descendants.

And surely it is a mighty evidence of the power of that God whom he serves, that he has held the balances of justice with an equal hand, and has apportioned to each party their due reward. With regard to the destroyers of the houses of prayer, the penalty of their impious conduct followed hard upon them: forthwith were they swept away, and left neither race, nor house, nor family behind. On the other hand, he whose pious devotion to his Lord is conspicuous in his every act, who raises royal temples to his honor, and proclaims his name to his subjects by sacred offerings throughout the world, he, I say, has deservedly experienced him to be the preserver and defender of his imperial house and race. Thus clearly have the dealings of God been manifested, and this through the sacred efficacy of the salutary Sign.

CHAPTER X.

MUCH might indeed be said of this salutary Sign, by those who are skilled in the mysteries of our Divine religion. For it is in very truth the symbol of salvation, wondrous to speak of, more wondrous still to conceive; the appearance of which on earth has thrown the fictions of all false religion from the beginning into the deepest shade, has buried superstitious error in darkness and oblivion, and has revealed to all that spiritual light which enlightens the souls of men, even the knowledge of the only true God. Hence the universal change for the better, which leads men to spurn their lifeless idols, to trample under foot the lawless rites of their demon deities, and laugh to scorn the time-honored follies of their fathers. Hence, too, the establishment in every place of those schools of sacred learning, wherein men are taught the precepts of saving truth, and dread no more those objects of creation which are seen by the natural eye, nor direct a gaze of wonder at the sun, the moon, or stars; but acknowledge him who is above all these, that invisible

84395 Being who is the Creator of them all, and learn to worship him alone. Such are the blessings resulting to mankind from this great and wondrous Sign, by virtue of which the evils which once existed are now no more, and virtues heretofore unknown shine everywhere resplendent with the light of true godliness. Discourses, and precepts, and exhortations to a virtuous and holy life, are proclaimed in the ears of all nations. Nay, the emperor himself proclaims them: and it is indeed a marvel that this 84400 mighty prince, raising his voice in the hearing of all the world, like an interpreter of the Almighty Sovereign's will, invites his subjects in every country to the knowledge of the true God. No more, as in former times, is the babbling of impious men heard in the imperial palace; but priests and pious worshipers of God together celebrate his majesty with royal hymns of praise. The name of the one Supreme Ruler 84405 of the universe is proclaimed to all: the gospel of glad tidings connects the human race with its Almighty King, declaring the grace and love of the heavenly Father to his children on the earth. His praise is everywhere sung in triumphant strains: the voice of mortal man is blended with the harmony of the angelic choirs in heaven; and the reasoning soul employs the body which invests it as an instrument for sounding 84410 forth a fitting tribute of praise and adoration to his name. The nations of the East and the West are instructed at the same moment in his precepts: the people of the Northern and Southern regions unite with one accord, under the influence of the same principles and laws, in the pursuit of a godly life, in praising the one Supreme God, in acknowledging his only begotten Son their Saviour as the source of every blessing, 84415 and our emperor as the one ruler on the earth, together with his pious sons. He himself, as a skillful pilot, sits on high at the helm of state, and directs the vessel with unerring course, conducting his people as it were with favoring breeze to a secure and tranquil haven. Meanwhile God himself, the great Sovereign, extends the right hand of his power from above for his protection, giving him victory over every 84420 foe, and establishing his empire by a lengthened period of years: and he will bestow on him yet higher blessings, and confirm in every deed the truth of his own promises. But on these we may not at present dwell; but must await the change to a better world: for it is not given to mortal eyes or ears of flesh, fully to apprehend the things of God.

84425 CHAPTER XI.
AND now, victorious and mighty Constantine, in this discourse, whose noble argument is the glory of the Almighty King, let me lay before thee some of the mysteries of his sacred truth: not as presuming to instruct thee, who art thyself taught of God; 84430 nor to disclose to thee those secret wonders which he himself, not through the agency of man, but through our common Saviour, and the frequent light of his Divine presence has long since revealed and unfolded to thy view: but in the hope of leading the unlearned to the light, and displaying before those who know them not the causes and motives of thy pious deeds. True it is that thy noble efforts for the daily worship 84435 and honor of the Supreme God throughout the habitable world, are the theme of universal praise. But those records of gratitude to thy Saviour and Preserver which thou hast dedicated in our own province of Palestine, and in that city from which as from a fountain-head the Saviour Word has issued forth to all mankind; and again, the hallowed edifices and consecrated temples which thou hast raised as trophies of his 84440 victory over death; and those lofty and noble structures, imperial monuments of an imperial spirit, which thou hast erected in honor of the everlasting memory of the Saviour's tomb the cause, I say, of these things is not equally obvious to all. Those, indeed, who are enlightened in heavenly knowledge by the power of the Divine Spirit, well understand the cause, and justly admire and bless thee for that counsel 84445 and resolution which Heaven itself inspired. On the other hand the ignorant and spiritually blind regard these designs with open mockery and scorn, and deem it a strange and unworthy thing indeed that so mighty a prince should waste his zeal on the graves and monuments of the dead. "Were it not better," such a one might say, "to cherish those rites which are hallowed by ancient usage to seek the favor of those 84450 gods and heroes whose worship is observed in every province; instead of rejecting and disclaiming them, because subject to the calamities incident to man? Surely they may claim equal honors with him who himself has suffered: or, if they are to be rejected, as not exempt from the sorrows of humanity, the same award would justly be pronounced respecting him." Thus, with important and contracted brow, might he give utterance in pompous language to his self -imagined wisdom. Filled with compassion for this 84455 ignorance, the gracious Word of our most beneficent Father freely invites, not such a one alone, but all who are in the path of error, to receive instruction in Divine knowledge; and has ordained the means of such instruction throughout the world, in every country and village, in cultivated and desert lands alike, and in every city:

84460 and, as a gracious Saviour and Physician of the soul, calls on the Greek and the
 Barbarian, the wise and the unlearned, the rich and the poor, the servant and his
 master, the subject and his lord, the ungodly, the profane, the ignorant, the evil-
 doer, the blasphemer, alike to draw near, and hasten to receive his heavenly cure.
 And thus in time past had he clearly announced to all the pardon of former
 84465 transgressions, saying, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I
 will give you rest." And again, "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners, to
 repentance." And he adds the reason, saying, "For they that are whole need not a
 physician, but they that are sick." And again, "I desire not the death of a sinner,
 but rather that he should repent." Hence it is only for those who are themselves
 84470 instructed in Divine things and understand the motives of that zeal of which these
 works are the result, to appreciate the more than human impulse by which our emperor
 was guided, to admire his piety toward God, and to believe his care for the memorial
 of our Saviour's resurrection to be a desire imparted from above, and truly inspired
 by that Sovereign, to be whose faithful servant and minister for good is his proudest
 84475 boast. In full persuasion, then, of thy approval, most mighty emperor, I desire at
 this present time to proclaim to all the reasons and motives of thy pious works. I
 desire to stand as the interpreter of thy designs, to explain the counsels of a soul
 devoted to the love of God. I propose to teach all men, what all should know who care
 to understand the principles on which our Saviour God employs his power, the reasons
 84480 for which he who was the pre-existent Controller of all things at length descended to
 us from heaven: the reasons for which he assumed our nature, and submitted even to
 the power of death. I shall declare the causes of that immortal life which followed,
 and of his resurrection from the dead. Once more, I shall adduce convincing proofs
 and arguments, for the sake of those who yet need such testimony: and now let me
 84485 commence my appointed task. Those who transfer the worship due to that God who formed
 and rules the world to the works of his hand; who hold the sun and moon, or other
 parts of this material system, nay, the elements themselves, earth, water, air, and
 fire, in equal honor with the Creator of them all; who give the name of gods to
 things which never would have had existence, or even name, except as obedient to that
 84490 Word of God who made the world: such persons in my judgment resemble those who
 overlook the master hand which gives its magnificence to a royal palace; and, while
 lost in wonder at its roofs and walls, the paintings of varied beauty and coloring
 which adorn them, and its gilded ceilings and sculptures, ascribe to them the praise
 of that skill which belongs to the artist whose work they are: whereas they should
 84495 assign the cause of their wonder, not to these visible objects, but to the architect
 himself, and confess that the proofs of skill are indeed manifest, but that he alone
 is the possessor of that skill who has made them what they are. Again, well might we
 liken those to children, who should admire the seven-stringed lyre, and disregard him
 who invented or has power to use it: or those who forget the valiant warrior, and
 84500 adorn his spear and shield with the chaplet of victory: or, lastly, those who hold
 the squares and streets, the public buildings, temples, and gymnasia of a great and
 royal city in equal honor with its founder; forgetting that their admiration is due,
 not to lifeless stones, but to him whose wisdom planned and executed these mighty
 works. Not less absurd is it for those who regard this universe with the natural eye
 84505 to ascribe its origin to the sun, or moon, or any other heavenly body. Rather let
 them confess that these are themselves the works of a higher wisdom, remember the
 Maker and Framer of them all, and render to him the praise and honor above all
 created objects. Nay rather, inspired by the sight of these very objects, let them
 address themselves with full purpose of heart to glorify and worship him who is now
 84510 invisible to mortal eye, but perceived by the clear and unclouded vision of the soul,
 the supremely sovereign Word of God. To take the instance of the human body: no one
 has yet conferred the attribute of wisdom on the eyes, or head, the hands, or feet,
 or other members, far less on the outward clothing, of a wise and learned man: no one
 terms the philosopher's household furniture and utensils, wise: but every rational
 84515 person admires that invisible and secret power, the mind of the man himself. How much
 more, then, is our admiration due, not to the visible mechanism of the universe,
 material as it is, and formed of the selfsame elements; but to that invisible Word
 who has moulded and arranged it all, who is the only begotten Son of God, and whom
 the Maker of all things, who far transcends all being, has begotten of himself, and
 84520 appointed Lord and Governor of this universe? For since it was impossible that
 perishable bodies, or the rational spirits which he had created, should approach the
 Supreme God, by reason of their immeasurable distance from his perfections, for he is
 unbegotten, above and beyond all creation, ineffable, inaccessible, unapproachable,
 dwelling, as his holy word assures us, in the light which none can enter; but they
 84525 were created from nothing, and are infinitely far removed from his unbegotten

Essence; well has the all-gracious and Almighty God interposed as it were an intermediate Power between himself and them, even the Divine omnipotence of his only begotten Word. And this Power, which is in perfect nearness and intimacy of union, with the Father which abides in him, and shares his secret counsels, has yet
 84530 condescended, in fullness of grace, as it were to conform itself to those who are so far removed from the supreme majesty of God. How else, consistently with his own holiness could he who is far above and beyond all things unite himself to corruptible and corporeal matter? Accordingly the Divine Word, thus connecting himself with this universe, and receiving into his hands the reins, as it were, of the world, turns and
 84535 directs it as a skillful charioteer according to his own will and pleasure, The proof of these assertions is evident. For supposing that those component parts of the world which we call elements, as earth, water, air, and fire, the nature of which is manifestly without intelligence, are self-existent; and if they have one common essence, which they who are skilled in natural science call the great receptacle, mother, and nurse of all things; and if this itself be utterly devoid of shape and figure, of soul and reason; whence shall we say it has obtained its present form and beauty? To what shall we ascribe the distinction of the elements, or the union of things contrary in their very nature? Who has commanded the liquid water to sustain the heavy element of earth? Who has turned back the waters from their downward
 84545 course, and carried them aloft in clouds? Who has bound the force of fire, and caused it to lie latent in wood, and to combine with substances most contrary to itself? Who has mingled the cold air with heat, and thus reconciled the enmity of opposing principles? Who has devised the continuous succession of the human race, and given it as it were an endless term of duration? Who has moulded the male and female form, adapted their mutual relations with perfect harmony, and given one
 84550 common principle of production to every living creature? Who changes the character of the fluid and corruptible seed, which in itself is void of reason, and gives it its prolific power? Who is at this moment working these and ten thousand effects more wonderful than these, nay, surpassing all wonder, and with invisible influence is daily and hourly perpetuating the production of them all? Surely the wonder-working and truly omnipotent Word of God may well be deemed the efficient cause of all these things: that Word who, diffusing himself through all creation, pervading height and depth with incorporeal energy, and embracing the length and breadth of the universe within his mighty grasp, has compacted and reduced to order this entire system, from
 84560 whose unreasoned and formless matter he has framed for himself an instrument of perfect harmony, the nicely balanced chords and notes of which he touches with all-wise and unerring skill. He it is who governs the sun, and moon, and the other luminaries of heaven by inexplicable laws, and directs their motions for the service of the universal whole. It is this Word of God who has stooped to the earth on which
 84565 we live, and created the manifold species of animals, and the fair varieties of the vegetable world. It is this same Word who has penetrated the recesses of the deep, has given their being to the finny race, and produced the countless forms of life which there exist. It is he who fashions the burden of the womb, and informs it in nature's laboratory with the principle of life. By him the fluid and heavy moisture is raised on high, and then, sweetened by a purifying change, descends in measured quantities to the earth, and at stated seasons in more profuse supply. Like a
 84570 skillful husbandman, he fully irrigates the land, tempers the moist and dry in just proportion, diversifying the whole with brilliant flowers, with aspects of varied beauty, with pleasant fragrance, with alternating varieties of fruits, and countless gratifications for the taste of men. But why do I dare essay a hopeless task, to recount the mighty works of the Word of God, and describe an energy which surpasses mortal thought? By some, indeed, he has been termed the Nature of the universe, by others, the World-Soul, by others, Fate. Others again have declared him to be the
 84575 most High God himself, strangely confounding things most widely different; bringing down to this earth, uniting to a corruptible and material body, and assigning to that supreme and unbegotten Power who is Lord of all an intermediate place between irrational animals and rational mortals on the one hand, and immortal beings on the other.
 84580
 CHAPTER XII.
 ON the other hand, the sacred doctrine teaches that he who is the supreme Source of good, and Cause of all things, is beyond all comprehension, and therefore inexpressible by word, or speech, or name; surpassing the power, not of language only, but of thought itself. Un-circumscribed by place, or body; neither in heaven,
 84590 nor in ethereal space, nor in any other part of the universe; but entirely independent of all things else, he pervades the depths of unexplored and secret

wisdom. The sacred oracles teach us to acknowledge him as the only true God, apart from all corporeal essence, distinct from all subordinate ministration. Hence it is said that all things are from him, but not through him. And he himself dwelling as Sovereign in secret and undiscovered regions of unapproachable light, ordains and disposes all things by the single power of his own will. At his will whatever is, exists; without that will, it cannot be. And his will is in every case for good, since he is essentially Goodness itself. But he through whom are all things, even God the Word, proceeding in an ineffable manner from the Father above, as from an everlasting and exhaustless fountain, flows onward like a river with a full and abundant stream of power for the preservation of the universal whole. And now let us select an illustration from our own experience. The invisible and undiscovered mind within us, the essential nature of which no one has ever known, sits as a monarch in the seclusion of his secret chambers, and alone resolves on our course of action. From this proceeds the only begotten word from its father's bosom, begotten in a manner and by a power inexplicable to us; and is the first messenger of its father's thoughts, declares his secret counsels, and, conveying itself to the ears of others, accomplishes his designs. And thus the advantage of this faculty is enjoyed by all: yet no one has ever yet beheld that invisible and hidden mind, which is the I parent of the word itself. In the same manner, or rather in a manner which far surpasses all likeness or comparison, the perfect Word of the Supreme God, as the only begotten Son of the Father (not consisting in the power of utterance, nor comprehended in syllables and notes of speech, nor conveyed by a voice which vibrates on the air; but being himself the living and effectual Word of the most High, and subsisting personally as the Power and Wisdom of God), proceeds from his Father's Deity and kingdom. Thus, being the perfect Offspring of a perfect Father, and the common Preserver of all things, he diffuses himself with living power throughout creation, and pours from his own fullness abundant supplies of reason, wisdom, light, and every other blessing, not only on objects nearest to himself, but on those most remote, whether in earth, or sea, or any other sphere of being. To all these he appoints with perfect equity their limits, places, laws, and inheritance, allotting to each their suited portion according to his sovereign will. To some he assigns the super-terrestrial regions, to others heaven itself as their habitation: others he places in ethereal space, others in air, and others still on earth. He it is who transfers mankind from hence to another sphere, impartially reviews their conduct here, and bestows a recompense according to the life and habits of each. By him provision is made for the life and food, not of rational creatures only, but also of the brute creation, for the service of men; and while to the latter he grants the enjoyment of a perishable and fleeting term of existence, the former he invites to a share in the possession of immortal life. Thus universal is the agency of the Word of God: everywhere present, and pervading all things by the power of his intelligence, he looks upward to his Father, and governs this lower creation, inferior to and consequent upon himself, in accordance with his will, as the common Preserver of all things. Intermediate, as it were, and attracting the created to the uncreated Essence, this Word of God exists as an unbroken bond between the two, uniting things most widely different by an inseparable tie. He is the Providence which rules the universe; the guardian and director of the whole: he is the Power and Wisdom of God the only begotten God, the Word begotten of God himself. For "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him and without him was not any. thing made that hath been made"; as we learn from the words of the sacred writer? Through his vivifying power all nature grows and flourishes, refreshed by his continual showers, and invested with a vigor and beauty ever new. Guiding the reigns of the universe, he holds its onward course in conformity to the Father's will and moves, as it were, the helm of this mighty ship. This glorious Agent, the only begotten Son of the Supreme God, begotten by the Father as his perfect Offspring, the Father has given to this world as the highest of all goods infusing his word, as spirit into a lifeless body, into unconscious nature; imparting light and energy to that which in itself was a rude, inanimate, and formless mass, through the Divine power. Him therefore it is ours to acknowledge and regard as everywhere present, and giving life to matter and the elements of nature: in him we see Light, even the spiritual offspring of inexpressible Light: one indeed in essence, as being the Son of one Father; but possessing in himself many and varied powers. The world is indeed divided into many parts; yet let us not therefore suppose that there are many independent Agents nor, though creation's works be manifold, let us thence assume the existence of many gods. How grievous the error of those childish and infatuated advocates of polytheistic worship, who deify the constituent parts of the universe, and divide into many that system which is only one! Such conduct

resembles theirs who should abstract the eyes of an individual man, and term them the man himself, and the ears, another man, and so the head: or again, by an effort of thought should separate the neck, the breast and shoulders, the feet and hands, : or other members, nay, the very powers of sense, and thus pronounce an individual to be a multitude of men. Such folly must surely be rewarded with contempt by men of sense. Yet such is he who from the component parts of a single world can devise for himself a multitude of gods, or even deem that world which is the work of a Creator, and consists of many parts, to be itself a god: not knowing that the Divine Nature can in no sense be divisible into parts; since, if compounded, it must be so through the agency of another power; and that which is so compounded can never be Divine. How indeed could it be so, if composed of unequal and dissimilar, and hence of worse and better elements? Simple, indivisible, uncompounded, the Divine Nature exists at an infinite elevation above the visible constitution of this world. And hence we are assured by the clear testimony of the sacred Herald, that the Word of God, who is before all things, must be the sole Preserver of all intelligent beings: while God, who is above all, and the Author of the generation of the Word, being himself the Cause of all things, is rightly called the Father of the Word, as of his only begotten Son, himself acknowledging no superior Cause. God, therefore, himself is One, and from him proceeds the one only begotten Word, the omnipresent Preserver of all things. And as the many-stringed lyre is composed of different chords, both sharp and flat, some slightly, others tensely strained, and others intermediate between-the two extremes, yet all attuned according to the rules of harmonic art; even so this material world, compounded as it is of many elements, containing opposite and antagonist principles, as moisture and dryness, cold and heat, yet blended into one harmonious whole, may justly be termed a mighty instrument framed by the hand of God: an instrument on which the Divine Word, himself not composed of parts or opposing principles, but indivisible and uncompounded, performs with perfect skill, and produces a melody at once accordant with the will of his Father the Supreme Lord of all, and glorious to himself. Again, as there are manifold external and internal parts and members comprised in a single body, yet one invisible soul, one undivided and incorporeal mind pervades the whole; so is it in this creation, which, consisting of many parts, yet is but one: and so the One mighty, yea, Almighty Word of God, pervading all things, and diffusing himself with undeviating energy throughout this universe, is the Cause of all things that exist therein. Survey the compass of this visible world. Seest thou not how the same heaven contains within itself the countless courses and companies of the stars? Again, the sun is one, and yet eclipses many, nay all other luminaries, by the surpassing glory of his rays. Even so, as the Father himself is One, his Word is also One, the perfect Son of that perfect Father. Should any one object because they are not more, as well might he complain that there are not many suns, or moons, or worlds, and a thousand things beside; like the madman, who would fain subvert the fair and perfect course of Nature herself. As in the visible, so also in the spiritual world: in the one the same sun diffuses his light throughout this material earth; in the other the One Almighty Word of God illumines all things with invisible and secret power. Again, there is in man one spirit, and one faculty of reason, which yet is the active cause of numberless effects. The same mind, instructed in many things, will essay to cultivate the earth, to build and guide a ship, and construct houses: nay, the one mind and reason of man is capable of acquiring knowledge in a thousand forms: the same mind shall understand geometry and astronomy, and discourse on the rules of grammar, and rhetoric, and the healing art. Nor will it excel in science only, but in practice too: and yet no one has ever supposed the existence of many minds in one human form, nor expressed his wonder at a plurality of being in man, because he is thus capable of varied knowledge. Suppose one were to find a shapeless mass of clay, to mould it with his hands, and give it the form of a living creature; the head in one figure, the hands and feet in another, the eyes and cheeks in a third, and so to fashion the ears, the mouth and nose, the breast and shoulders, according to the rules of the plastic art. The result, indeed, is a variety of figure, of parts and members in the one body; yet must we not suppose it the work of many hands, but ascribe it entirely to the skill of a single artist, and yield the tribute of our praise to him who by the energy of a single mind has framed it all. The same is true of the universe itself, which is one, though consisting of many parts: yet surely we need not suppose many creative powers, nor invent a plurality of gods. Our duty is to adore the all-wise and all-perfect agency of him who is indeed the Power and the Wisdom of God, whose undivided force and energy pervades and penetrates the universe, creating and giving life to all things, and furnishing to all, collectively and severally, those manifold supplies of which he is himself the source. Even so one and

84725 the same impression of the solar rays illumines the air at once, gives light to the
 eyes, warmth to the touch, fertility to the earth, and growth to plants. The same
 luminary constitutes the course of time, governs the motions of the stars, performs
 the circuit of the heavens, imparts beauty to the earth, and displays the power of
 84730 God to all: and all this he performs by the sole and unaided force of his own nature.
 In like manner fire has the property of refining gold, and fusing lead, of dissolving
 wax, of parching clay, and consuming wood; producing these varied effects by one and
 the same burning power. So also the Supreme Word of God, pervading all things,
 everywhere existent, everywhere present in heaven and earth, governs and directs the
 84735 visible and invisible creation, the sun, the heaven, and the universe itself, with an
 energy inexplicable in its nature, irresistible in its effects. From him, as from an
 everlasting fountain, the sun, the moon, and stars receive their light: and he
 forever rules that heaven which he has framed as the fitting emblem of his own
 greatness. The angelic and spiritual powers, the incorporeal and intelligent beings
 which exist beyond the sphere of heaven and earth, are filled by him with light and
 life, with wisdom and virtue, with all that is great and good, from Iris own peculiar
 84740 treasures. Once more, with one and the same creative skill, he ceases not to furnish
 the elements with substance, to regulate the union and combinations, the forms and
 figures, and the innumerable qualities of organized bodies; preserving the varied
 distinctions of animal and vegetable life, of the rational and the brute creation;
 and supplying all things to all with equal power: thus proving himself the Author,
 84745 not indeed of the seven-stringed lyre, but of that system of perfect harmony which is
 the workmanship of the One world-creating Word.

CHAPTER XIII.

84750 AND now let us proceed to explain the reasons for which this mighty Word of God
 descended to dwell with men. Our ignorant and foolish race, incapable of
 comprehending him who is the Lord of heaven and earth, proceeding from his Father's
 Deity as from the supreme fountain, ever present throughout the world, and evincing
 by the clearest proofs his providential care for the interests of man; have ascribed
 the adorable title of Deity to the sun, and moon, the heaven and the stars of heaven.
 84755 Nor did they stop here, but deified the earth itself, its products, and the various
 substances by which animal life is sustained, and devised images of Ceres, of
 Proserpine, of Bacchus, and many such as these. Nay, they shrank not from giving the
 name of gods to the very conceptions of their own minds, and the speech by which
 those conceptions are expressed; calling the mind itself Minerva, and language
 84760 Mercury, and affixing the names of Mnemosyne and the Muses to those faculties by
 means of which science is acquired. Nor was even this enough: advancing still more
 rapidly in the career of impiety and folly, they deified their own evil passions,
 which it behooved them to regard with aversion, or restrain by the principles of
 self-control. Their very lust and passion and impure disease of soul, the members of
 84765 the body which tempt to obscenity, and even the very uncontrol in shameful pleasure,
 they described under the titles of Cupid, Priapus, Venus, and other kindred terms.
 Nor did they stop even here. Degrading their thoughts of God to this corporeal and
 mortal life, they deified their fellow-men, conferring the names of gods and heroes
 on those who had experienced the common lot of all, and vainly imagining that the
 84770 Divine and imperishable Essence could frequent the tombs and monuments of the dead.
 Nay, more than this: they paid divine honors to animals of various species, and to
 the most noxious reptiles: they felled trees, and excavated rocks; they provided
 themselves with brass, and iron, and other metals, of which they fashioned
 resemblances of the male and female human form, of beasts, and creeping things; and
 84775 these they made the objects of their worship. Nor did this suffice. To the evil
 spirits themselves which lurked within their statues, or lay concealed in secret and
 dark recesses, eager to drink their libations, and inhale the odor of their
 sacrifices, they ascribed the same divine honors. Once more, they endeavored to
 secure the familiar aid of these spirits, and the unseen powers which move through
 84780 the tracts of air, by charms of forbidden magic, and the compulsion of unhallowed
 songs and incantations. Again, different nations have adopted different persons as
 objects of their worship. The Greeks have rendered to Bacchus, Hercules, AEsculapius,
 Apollo, and others who were mortal men, the titles of gods and heroes. The Egyptians
 have deified Horus and Isis, Osiris, and other mortals such as these. And thus they
 84785 who boast of the wondrous skill whereby they have discovered geometry, astronomy, and
 the science of number, know not, wise as they are in their own conceit, nor
 understand how to estimate the measure of the power of God, or calculate his
 exceeding greatness above the nature of irrational and mortal beings. Hence they
 shrank not from applying the name of gods to the most hideous of the brute creation,

84790 to venomous reptiles and savage beasts. The Phoenicians deified Melcatharus, Usorus, and others; mere mortals, and with little claim to honor: the Arabians, Dularis and Obodas: the Getae, Zamolxis: the Cicilians, Mopsus: and the Thebans, Amphiaraus: in short, each nation has adopted its own peculiar deities, differing in no respect from their fellow-mortals, being simply and truly men. Again, the Egyptians with one consent, the Phoenicians, the Greeks, nay, every nation beneath the sun, have united in worshipping the very parts and elements of the world, and even the produce of the ground itself. And, which is most surprising, though acknowledging the adulterous, unnatural, and licentious crimes of their deities, they have not only filled every city, and village, and district with temples, shrines, and statues in their honor, 84795 but have followed their evil example to the ruin of their own souls. We hear of gods and the sons of gods described by them as heroes and good genii, titles entirely opposed to truth, honors utterly at variance with the qualities they are intended to exalt. It is as if one who desired to point out the sun and the luminaries of heaven, instead of directing his gaze thitherward, should grope with his hands on the ground, and search for the celestial powers in the mud and mire. Even so mankind, deceived by their own folly and the craft of evil spirits, have believed that the Divine and spiritual Essence which is far above heaven and earth could be compatible with the birth, the affections, and death, of mortal bodies here below. To such a pitch of madness did they proceed, as to sacrifice the dearest objects of their affection to their gods, regardless of all natural ties, and urged by frenzied feeling to slay their only and best beloved children. For what can be a greater proof of madness, 84800 than to offer human sacrifice, to pollute every city, and even their own houses, with kindred blood? Do not the Greeks themselves attest this, and is not all history filled with records of the same impiety? The Phoenicians devoted their best beloved and only children as an annual sacrifice to Saturn. The Rhodians, on the sixth day of the month Metageitnion, offered human victims to the same god. At Salamis, a man was pursued in the temple of Minerva Agraulis and Diomede, compelled to run thrice round the altar, afterwards pierced with a lance by the priest, and consumed as a burnt offering on the blazing pile. In Egypt, human sacrifice was most abundant. At 84805 Heliopolis three victims were daily offered to Juno, for whom king Amoses, impressed with the atrocity of the practice, commanded the substitution of an equal number of waxen figures. In Chios, and again in Tenedos, a man was slain and offered up to Omadian Bacchus. At Sparta they immolated human beings to Mars. In Crete they did likewise, offering human sacrifices to Saturn. In Laodicea of Syria a virgin was yearly slain in honor of Minerva, for whom a hart is now the substitute. The Libyans and Carthaginians appeased their gods with human victims. The Dumateni of Arabia buried a boy annually beneath the altar. History informs us that the Greeks without exception, the Thracians also, and Scythians, were accustomed to human sacrifice before they marched forth to battle. The Athenians record the immolation of the 84830 virgin children of Leus, and the daughter of Erechtheus. Who knows not that at this day a human victim is offered in Rome itself at the festival of Jupiter Latiaris? And these facts are confirmed by the testimony of the most approved philosophers. Diodorus, the epitomizer of libraries, affirms that two hundred of the noblest youths were sacrificed to Saturn by the Libyan people, and that three hundred more were voluntarily offered by their own parents. Dionysius, the compiler of Roman history, expressly says that Jupiter and Apollo demanded human sacrifices of the so-called Aborigines, in Italy. He relates that on this demand they offered a proportion of all their produce to the gods; but that, because of their refusal to slay human victims, they became involved in manifold calamities, from which they could obtain no release 84835 until they had decimated themselves, a sacrifice of life which proved the desolation of their country. Such and so great were the evils which of old afflicted the whole human race. Nor was this the full extent of their misery: they groaned beneath the pressure of other evils equally numerous and irremediable. All nations, whether civilized or barbarous, throughout the world, as if actuated by a demoniac frenzy, were infected with sedition as with some fierce and terrible disease: insomuch that the human family was irreconcilably divided against itself; the great system of society was distracted and torn asunder; and in every corner of the earth men stood opposed to each other, and strove with fierce contention on questions of law and government. Nay, more than this: with passions aroused to fury, they engaged in 84845 mutual conflicts, so frequent that their lives were passed as it were in uninterrupted warfare. None could undertake a journey except as prepared to encounter an enemy in the very country and villages the rustics girded on the sword, provided themselves with armor rather than with the implements of rural labor, and deemed it noble exploit to plunder and enslave any who belonged to a neighboring state. Nay, 84850 more than this: from the fables they had themselves devised respecting their own

deities, they deduced occasions for a vile and abandoned life, and wrought the ruin of body and soul by licentiousness of every kind. Not content with this, they even overstepped the bounds which nature had defined, and together committed incredible and nameless crimes, "men with men (in the words of the sacred writer) working un-

84860 seemliness, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was due." Nor did they stop even here; but perverted their natural thoughts of God, and denied that the course of this world was directed by his providential care, ascribing the existence and constitution of all things to the blind operation of chance, or the necessity of fate. Once more: believing that soul and body were alike dissolved by

84865 death, they led a brutish life, unworthy of the name: careless of the nature or existence of the soul, they dreaded not the tribunal of Divine justice, expected no reward of virtue, nor thought of chastisement as the penalty of an evil life. Hence it was that whole nations, a prey to wickedness in all its forms, were wasted by the effects of their own brutality: some living in the practice of most vile and lawless

84870 incest with mothers, others with sisters, and others again corrupting their own daughters. Some were found who slew their confiding guests; others who fed on human flesh; some strangled, and then feasted on, their aged men; others threw them alive to dogs. The time would fail me were I to attempt to describe the multifarious symptoms of the inveterate malady which had asserted its dominion over the whole

84875 human race. Such, and numberless others like these, were the prevailing evils, on account of which the gracious Word of God, full of compassion for his human flock, had long since, by the ministry of his prophets, and earlier still, as well as later, by that of men distinguished by pious devotion to God, invited those thus desperately afflicted to their own cure; and had, by means of laws, exhortations, and doctrines

84880 of every kind, proclaimed to man the principles and elements of true godliness. But when for mankind, distracted and torn as I have said, not indeed by wolves and savage beasts, but by ruthless and soul-destroying spirits of evil, human power no longer sufficed, but a help was needed superior to that of man; then it was that the Word of God, obedient to his all-gracious Father's will, at length himself appeared, and most

84885 willingly made his abode amongst us. The causes of his advent I have already described, induced by which he condescended to the society of man; not in his wonted form and manner, for he is incorporeal, and present everywhere throughout the world, proving by his agency both in heaven and earth the greatness of his almighty power, but in a character new and hitherto unknown. Assuming a mortal body, he deigned to

84890 associate and converse with men; desiring, through the medium of their own likeness, to save our mortal race.

CHAPTER XIV.

AND now let us explain the cause for which the incorporeal Word of God assumed this

84895 mortal body as a medium of intercourse with man. How, indeed, else than in human form could that Divine and impalpable, that immaterial and invisible Essence manifest itself to those who sought for God in created and earthly objects, unable or

84900 unwilling otherwise to discern the Author and Maker of all things? As a fitting means, therefore, of communication with mankind, he assumed a mortal body, as that with which they were themselves familiar; for like, it is proverbially said, loves

84905 its like. To those, then, whose affections were engaged by visible objects, who looked for gods in statues and lifeless images, who imagined the Deity to consist in material and corporeal substance, nay, who conferred on men the title of divinity, the Word of God presented himself in this form. Hence he procured for himself this

84910 body as a thrice-hallowed temple, a sensible habitation of an intellectual power; a noble and most holy form, of far higher worth than any lifeless statue. The material and senseless image, fashioned by base mechanic hands, of brass or iron, of gold or ivory, wood or stone, may be a fitting abode for evil spirits: but that Divine form, wrought by the power of heavenly wisdom, was possessed of life and spiritual being; a

84915 form animated by every excellence, the dwelling-place of the Word of God, a holy temple of the holy God. Thus the indwelling Word conversed with and was known to men, as kindred with themselves; yet yielded not to passions such as theirs, nor owned, as the natural soul, subjection to the body. He parted not with aught of his intrinsic

84920 greatness, nor changed his proper Deity. For as the all-pervading radiance of the sun receives no stain from contact with dead and impure bodies; much less can the incorporeal power of the Word of God be injured in its essential purity, or part with any of its greatness, from spiritual contact with a human body. Thus, I say, did our common Saviour prove himself the benefactor and preserver of all, displaying his wisdom through the instrumentality of his human nature, even as a musician uses the

84925 lyre to evince his skill. The Grecian myth tells us that Orpheus had power to charm ferocious beasts, and tame their savage spirit, by striking the chords of his

instrument with a master hand: and this story is celebrated by the Greeks, and generally believed, that an unconscious instrument could subdue the untamed brute, and draw the trees from their places, in obedience to its melodious power. But he who

84925 is the author of perfect harmony, the all-wise Word of God, desiring to apply every remedy to the manifold diseases of the souls of men, employed that human nature which is the workmanship of his own wisdom, as an instrument by the melodious strains of which he soothed, not indeed the brute creation, but savages endued with reason; healing each furious temper, each fierce and angry passion of the soul, both in

84930 civilized and barbarous nations, by the remedial power of his Divine doctrine. Like a physician of perfect skill, he met the diseases of their souls who sought for God in nature and in bodies, by a fitting and kindred remedy, and showed them God in human form. And then, with no less care for the body than the soul, he presented before the eyes of men wonders and signs, as proofs of his Divine power, at the same time

84935 instilling into their ears of flesh the doctrines which he himself uttered with a corporeal tongue. In short, he performed all his works through the medium of that body which he had assumed for the sake of those who else were incapable of apprehending his Divine nature. In all this he was the servant of his Father's will, himself remaining still the same as when with the Father; unchanged in essence, unimpaired in nature, unfettered by the trammels of mortal flesh, nor hindered by his

84940 abode in a human body from being elsewhere present. Nay, at the very time of his intercourse with men, he was pervading all things, was with and in the Father, and even then was caring for all things both in heaven and earth. Nor was he precluded, as we are, from being present everywhere, or from the continued exercise of his

84945 Divine power. He gave of his own to man, but received nothing in return: he imparted of his Divine power to mortality, but derived no accession from mortality itself. Hence his human birth to him brought no defilement; nor could his impassible Essence suffer at the dissolution of his mortal body. For let us suppose a lyre to receive an accidental injury, or its chord to be broken; it does not follow that the performer

84950 on it suffers: nor, if a wise man's body undergo punishment, can we fairly assert that his wisdom, or the soul within him, are maimed or burned. Far less can we affirm that the inherent power of the Word sustained any detriment from his bodily passion, any more than, as in the instance we have already used, the solar rays which are shot from heaven to earth contract defilement, though in contact with mire and pollution

84955 of every kind. We may, indeed, assert that these things partake of the radiance of the light, but not that the light is contaminated, or the sun defiled, by this contact with other bodies. And indeed these things are themselves not contrary to nature; but the Saviour, the incorporeal Word of God, being Life and spiritual Light itself, whatever he touches with Divine and incorporeal power must of necessity

84960 become endued with the intelligence of light and life. Thus, if he touch a body, it becomes enlightened and sanctified, is at once delivered from all disease, infirmity, and suffering, and that which before was lacking is supplied by a portion of his fullness. And such was the tenor of his life on earth; now proving the sympathies of his human nature with our own, and now revealing himself as the Word of God: wondrous

84965 and mighty in his works as God; foretelling the events of the far distant future; declaring in every act, by signs, and wonders, and supernatural powers, that Word whose presence was so little known; and finally, by his Divine teaching, inviting the souls of men to prepare for those mansions which are above the heavens.

84970 CHAPTER XV.

WHAT now remains, but to account for those which are the crowning facts of all; I mean his death, so far and widely known, the manner of his passion, and the mighty miracle of his resurrection after death: and then to establish the truth of these events by the clearest testimonies? For the reasons detailed above he used the

84975 instrumentality of a mortal body, as a figure becoming his Divine majesty, and like a mighty sovereign employed it as his interpreter in his intercourse with men, performing all things consistently with his own Divine power. Supposing, then, at the end of his sojourn among men, he had by any other means suddenly withdrawn himself from their sight, and, secretly removing that interpreter of himself, the form which

84980 he had assumed, had hastened to flee from death, and afterwards by his own act had consigned his mortal body to corruption and dissolution: doubtless in such a case he would have been deemed a mere phantom by all. Nor would he have acted in a manner worthy of himself, had he who is Life, the Word, and the Power of God, abandoned this interpreter of himself to corruption and death. Nor, again, would his warfare with

84985 the spirits of evil have received its consummation by conflict. with the power of death. The place of his retirement must have remained unknown; nor would his existence have been believed by those who had not seen him for themselves. No proof

would have been given that he was superior to death nor would he have delivered mortality from the law of its natural infirmity. His name had never been heard throughout the world nor could he have inspired his disciples with contempt of death, or encouraged those who. embraced his doctrine to hope for the enjoyment of a future life with God. Nor would he have fulfilled the assurances of his own promise, nor have accomplished the predictions of the prophets concerning himself. Nor would he have undergone the last conflict of all; for this was to be the struggle with the power of death. For all these reasons, then, and inasmuch as it was necessary that the mortal body which had rendered such service to the Divine Word should meet with an end worthy its sacred occupant, the manner of his death was ordained accordingly. For since but two alternatives remained: either to consign his body entirely to corruption, and so to bring the scene of life to a dishonored close, or else to prove himself victorious over death, and render mortality immortal by the act of Divine power; the former of these alternatives would have contravened his own promise. For as it is not the property of fire to cool, nor of light to darken, no more is it compatible with life, to deprive of life, or with Divine intelligence, to act in a manner contrary to reason. For how would it be consistent, with reason, that he who had promised life to others, should permit his own body, the form which he had chosen, to perish beneath the power of corruption? That he who had inspired his disciples with hopes of immortality, should yield this exponent of his Divine counsels to be destroyed by death? The second alternative was therefore needful I mean, that he should assert his dominion over the power of death. But how? should this be a furtive and secret act, or openly performed and in the sight of all? So mighty an achievement, had it remained unknown and unrevealed, must have failed of its effect as regards the interests of men; whereas the same event, if openly declared and understood, would, from its wondrous character, redound to the common benefit of all. With reason, therefore, since it was needful to prove his body victorious over death, and that not secretly but before the eyes of men, he shrank not from the trial, for this indeed would have argued fear, and a sense of inferiority to the power of death, but maintained that conflict with the enemy which has rendered mortality immortal; a conflict undertaken for the life, the immortality, the salvation of all. Suppose one desired to show us that a vessel could resist the force of fire; how could he better prove the fact than by casting it into the furnace and thence withdrawing it entire and unconsumed? Even thus the Word of God who is the source of life to all, desiring to prove the triumph of that body over death which he had assumed for man's salvation, and to make this body partake his own life and immortality, pursued a course consistent with this object. Leaving his body for a little while, and delivering it up to death in proof of its mortal nature, he soon redeemed it from death, in vindication of that Divine power whereby he has manifested the immortality which he has promised to be utterly beyond the sphere of death. The reason of this is clear. It was needful that 1 his disciples should receive ocular proof of the certainty of that resurrection on which he had taught them to rest their hopes as a motive for rising superior to the fear of death. It was indeed most needful that they who purposed to pursue a life of godliness should receive a clear impression of this essential truth: more needful still for those who were destined to declare his name in all the world, and to communicate to mankind that knowledge of God which he had before ordained for all nations. For such the strongest conviction of a future life was necessary, that they might be able with fearless and unshrinking zeal to maintain the conflict with Gentile and polytheistic error: a conflict the dangers of which they would never, have been prepared to meet, except as habituated to the contempt of death. Accordingly, in arming his disciples against the power of this last enemy, he delivered not his doctrines in mere verbal precepts, nor attempted to prove the soul's immortality, by persuasive and probable arguments; but displayed to them in his own person a real victory over death. Such was the first and greatest reason of our Saviour's conflict with the power of death, whereby he proved to his disciples the nothingness of that which is the terror of all mankind, and afforded a visible evidence of the reality of that life which he had promised; presenting as it were a first-fruit of our common hope, of future life and immortality in the presence of God. The second cause of his resurrection was, that the Divine power might be manifested which dwelt in his mortal body. Mankind had heretofore conferred Divine honors on men who had yielded to the power of death, and had given the titles of gods and heroes to mortals like themselves. For this reason, therefore, the Word of God evinced his gracious character, and proved to man his own superiority over death, recalling his mortal body to a second life, displaying an immortal triumph over death in the eyes of all, and teaching them to acknowledge the Author of such a victory to be the only true God, even in death itself. I may allege

yet a third cause of the Saviour's death. He was the victim offered to the Supreme Sovereign of the universe for the whole human race: a victim consecrated for the need of the human race, and for the overthrow of the errors of demon worship. For as soon as the one holy and mighty sacrifice, the sacred body of our Saviour, had been slain for man, to be as a ransom for all nations, heretofore involved in the guilt of impious superstition, thenceforward the power of impure and unholy spirits was utterly abolished, and every earth-born and delusive error was at once weakened and destroyed. Thus, then, this salutary victim taken from among themselves, I mean the mortal body of the Word, was offered on behalf of the common race of men. This was that sacrifice delivered up to death, of which the sacred oracles speak: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." And again, as follows: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb." They declare also the cause, saying: "He bears our sins, and is pained for us: yet we accounted him to be in trouble, and in suffering, and in affliction. But he was wounded on account of our sins, and bruised because of our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and by his bruises we were healed. All we as sheep have gone astray; every one has gone astray in this way; and the Lord gave him up for our sins.'" Such were the causes which led to the offering of the human body of the Word of God. But forasmuch as he was the great high priest, consecrated to the Supreme Lord and King, and therefore more than a victim, the Word, the Power, and the Wisdom of God; he soon recalled his body from the grasp of death, presented it to his Father as the first-fruit of our common salvation, and raised this trophy, a proof at once of his victory over death and Satan, and of the abolition of human sacrifices, for the blessing of all mankind.

CHAPTER XVI.

AND now the time is come for us to proceed to the demonstration of these things; if indeed such truths require demonstration, and if the aid of testimony be needful to confirm the certainty of palpable facts. Such testimony, however, shall be here given; and let it be received with an attentive and gracious ear. Of old the nations of the earth, the entire human race, were variously distributed into provincial, national, and local governments, subject to kingdoms and principalities of many kinds. The consequences of this variety were war and strife, depopulation and captivity, which raged in country and city with unceasing fury. Hence, too, the countless subjects of history, adulteries, and rapes of women; hence the woes of Troy, and the ancient tragedies, so known among all peoples. The origin of these may justly be ascribed to the delusion of polytheistic error. But when that instrument of our redemption, the thrice holy body of Christ, which proved itself superior to all Satanic fraud, and free from evil both in word and deed, was raised, at once for the abolition of ancient evils, and in token of his victory over the powers of darkness; the energy of these evil spirits was at once destroyed. The manifold forms of government, the tyrannies and republics, the siege of cities, and devastation of countries caused thereby, were now no more, and one God was proclaimed to all mankind. At the same time one universal power, the Roman empire, arose and flourished, while the enduring and implacable hatred of nation against nation was now removed: and as the knowledge of one God, and one way of religion and salvation, even the doctrine of Christ, was made known to all mankind; so at the self-same period, the entire dominion of the Roman empire being vested in a single sovereign, profound peace reigned throughout the world. And thus, by the express appointment of the same God, two roots of blessing, the Roman empire, and the doctrine of Christian piety, sprang up together for the benefit of men. For before this time the various countries of the world, as Syria, Asia, Macedonia, Egypt, and Arabia, had been severally subject to different rulers. The Jewish people, again, had established their dominion in the land of Palestine. And these nations, in every village, city, and district, actuated by some insane spirit, were engaged in incessant and murderous war and conflict. But two mighty powers, starting from the same point, the Roman empire, which henceforth was swayed by a single sovereign, and the Christian religion, subdued and reconciled these contending elements. Our Saviour's mighty power destroyed at once the many governments and the many gods of the powers of darkness, and proclaimed to all men, both rude and civilized, to the extremities of the earth, the sole sovereignty of God himself. Meantime the Roman empire, the causes of multiplied governments being thus removed, effected an easy conquest of those which yet remained; its object being to unite all nations in one harmonious whole; an object in great measure already secured, and destined to be still more perfectly attained, even to the final conquest of the ends of the habitable world, by means of the salutary doctrine, and through the aid of that Divine power which facilitates and

85120 smooths its way. And surely this must appear a wondrous fact to those who will
examine the question in the love of truth, and desire not to cavil at these
blessings. The falsehood of demon superstition was convicted: the inveterate strife
and mutual hatred of the nations was removed: at the same time One God, and the
85125 knowledge of that God, were proclaimed to all: one universal empire prevailed; and
the whole human race, subdued by the controlling power of peace and concord, received
one another as brethren, and responded to the feelings of their common nature. Hence,
as children of one God and Father, and owning true religion as their common mother,
they saluted and welcomed each other with words of peace. Thus the whole world
85130 appeared like one well-ordered and united family: each one might journey unhindered
as far as and whithersoever he pleased: men might securely travel from West to East,
and from East to West, as to their own native country: in short, the ancient oracles
and predictions of the prophets were fulfilled, more numerous than we can at present
cite, and those especially which speak as follows concerning the saving Word. "He
85135 shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth."
And again, "In his days shall righteousness spring up; and abundance of peace." "And
they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into sickles: and
nation shall not take up sword against nation, neither shall they learn to war any
more.'" These words, predicted ages before in the Hebrew tongue, have received in our
85140 own day a visible fulfillment, by which the testimonies of the ancient oracles are
clearly confirmed. And now, if thou still desire more ample proof, receive it, not in
words, but from the facts themselves. Open the eyes of thine understanding expand the
gates of thought; pause awhile, and consider; inquire of thyself as though thou wert
another, and thus diligently examine the nature of the case. What king or prince in
85145 any age of the world, what philosopher, legislator, or prophet, in civilized or
barbarous lands, has attained so great a height of excellence, I say not after death,
but while living still, and full of mighty power, as to fill the ears and tongues of
all mankind with the praises of his name? Surely none save our only Saviour has done
this, when, after his victory over death, he spoke the word to his followers, and
85150 fulfilled it by the event, saying to them, "Go ye, and make disciples of all nations
in my name.'" He it was who gave the distinct assurance, that his gospel must be
preached in all the world for a true testimony to all nations, and immediately
verified his word: for within a little time the world itself was filled with his
doctrine. How, then, will those who caviled at the commencement of my speech be able
85155 to reply to this? For surely the force of ocular testimony is superior to any verbal
argument. Who else than he, with an invisible and yet potent hand, has driven from
human society like savage beasts that ever noxious and destructive tribe of evil
spirits who of old had made all nations their prey, and by the motions of their
images had practiced many a delusion among men? Who else, beside our Saviour, by the
85160 invocation of his name, and by unfeigned prayer addressed through him to the Supreme
God, has given power to banish from the world the remnant of those wicked spirits to
those who with genuine and sincere obedience pursue the course of life and conduct
which he has himself prescribed? Who else but our Saviour has taught his followers to
offer those bloodless and reasonable sacrifices which are performed by prayer and the
85165 secret worship of God? Hence is it that throughout the habitable world altars are
erected, and churches dedicated, wherein these spiritual and rational sacrifices are
offered as a sacred service by every nation to the One Supreme God. Once more, who
but he, with invisible and secret power, has suppressed and utterly abolished those
bloody sacrifices which were offered with fire and smoke, as well as the cruel and
senseless immolation of human victims; a fact which is attested by the heathen
85170 historians themselves? For it was not till after the publication of the Saviour's
Divine doctrine, about the time of Hadrian's reign, that the practice of human
sacrifice was universally abandoned. Such and so manifest are the proofs of our
Saviour's power and energy after death. Who then can be found of spirit so obdurate
as to withhold his assent to the truth, and refuse to acknowledge his life to be
85175 Divine? Such deeds as I have described are done by the living, not the dead; and
visible acts are to us as evidence of those which we cannot see. It is as it were an
event of yesterday that an impious and godless race disturbed and confounded the
peace of human society, and possessed mighty power. But these, as soon as life
departed, lay prostrate on the earth, worthless as dung, breathless, motionless,
85180 bereft of speech, and have left neither fame nor memorial behind. For such is the
condition of the dead; and he who no longer lives is nothing: and how can he who is
nothing be capable of any act? But how shall his existence be called in question,
whose active power and energy are greater than in those who are still alive? And
though he be invisible to the natural eye, yet the discerning faculty is not in
85185 outward sense. We do not comprehend the rules of art, or the theories of science, by

bodily sensation; nor has any eye yet discerned the mind of man. Far less, then, the power of God: and in such cases our judgment is formed from apparent results. Even thus are we bound to judge of our Saviour's invisible power, and decide by its manifest effects whether we shall acknowledge the mighty operations which he is even now carrying on to be the works of a living agent; or whether they shall be ascribed to one who has no existence; or, lastly, whether the inquiry be not absurd and inconsistent in itself. For with what reason can we assert the existence of one who is not? Since all allow that that which has no existence is devoid of that power, and energy, and action, for these are characteristics of the living, but the contrary is characteristic of the dead.

CHAPTER XVII.

AND now the time is come for us to consider the works of our Saviour in our own age, and to contemplate the living operations of the living God. For how shall we describe these mighty works save as living proofs of the power of a living agent, who truly enjoys the life of God? If any one inquire the nature of these works, let him now attend. But recently a class of persons, impelled by furious zeal, and backed by equal power and military force, evinced their enmity against God, by destroying his churches, and overthrowing from their foundations the buildings dedicated to his worship. In short, in every way they directed their attacks against the unseen God, and assailed him with a thousand shafts of impious words. But he who is invisible avenged himself with an invisible hand. By the single fiat of his will his enemies were utterly destroyed, they who a little while before had been flourishing in great prosperity, exalted by their fellow men as worthy of divine honor, and blessed with a continued period of power and glory, so long as they had maintained peace and amity with him whom they afterwards opposed. As soon, however, as they dared openly to resist his will, and to set their gods in array against him whom we adore; immediately, according to the will and power of that God against whom their arms were raised, they all received the judgment due to their audacious deeds. Constrained to yield and flee before his power, together they acknowledged his Divine nature, and hastened to reverse the measures which they had before essayed. Our Saviour, therefore, without delay erected trophies of this victory everywhere, and once more adorned the world with holy temples and consecrated houses of prayer; in every city and village, nay, throughout all countries, and even in barbaric wilds, ordaining the erection of churches and sacred buildings to the honor of the Supreme God and Lord of all. Hence it is that these hallowed edifices are deemed worthy to bear his name, and receive not their appellation from men, but from the Lord himself, from which circumstances they are called churches (or houses of the Lord). And now let him who will stand forth and tell us who, after so complete a desolation, has restored these sacred buildings from foundation to roof? Who, when all hope appeared extinct, has caused them to rise on a nobler scale than heretofore? And well may it claim our wonder, that this renovation was not subsequent to the death of those adversaries of God, but whilst the destroyers of these edifices were still alive; so that the recantation of their evil deeds came in their own words and edicts. And this they did, not in the sunshine of prosperity and ease (for then we might suppose that benevolence or clemency might be the cause), but at the very time that they were suffering under the stroke of Divine vengeance. Who, again, has been able to retain in obedience to his heavenly precepts, after so many successive storms of persecution, nay, in the very crisis of danger, so many persons throughout the world devoted to philosophy, and the service of God and those holy choirs of virgins who had dedicated themselves to a life of perpetual chastity and purity? Who taught them cheerfully to persevere in the exercise of protracted fasting, and to embrace a life of severe and consistent self-denial? Who has persuaded multitudes of either sex to devote themselves to the study of sacred things, and prefer to bodily nutriment that intellectual food which is suited to the wants of a rational soul? Who has instructed barbarians and peasants, yea, feeble women, slaves, and children, in short, unnumbered multitudes of all nations, to live in the contempt of death; persuaded of the immortality of their souls, conscious that human actions are observed by the unerring eye of justice, expecting God's award to the righteous and the wicked, and therefore true to the practice of a just and virtuous life? For they could not otherwise have persevered in the course of godliness. Surely these are the acts which our Saviour, and he alone, even now performs. And now let us pass from these topics, and endeavor by inquiries such as these that follow to convince the objector's obdurate understanding. Come forward, then, whoever thou art, and speak the words of reason: utter, not the thoughts of a senseless heart, but those of an intelligent and enlightened mind: speak, I say, after deep solemn converse with thyself. Who of the

sages whose names have yet been known to fame, has ever been fore-known and proclaimed from the remotest ages, as our Saviour was by the prophetic oracles to the once divinely-favored Hebrew nation? But his very birth-place, the period of his advent the manner of his life, his miracles, and words and mighty acts, were anticipated and recorded in the sacred volumes of these prophets. Again, who so present an avenger of crimes against himself; so that, as the immediate consequence of their impiety, the entire Jewish people were scattered by an unseen power, their royal seat utterly removed, and their very temple with its holy things levelled with the ground? Who, like our Saviour, has uttered predictions at once concerning that impious nation and the establishment of his church throughout the world, and has equally verified both by the event? Respecting the temple of these wicked men, our Saviour said: "Your house is left unto you desolate": and, "There shall not be left one stone upon another in this place, that shall not be thrown down." And again, of his church he says: "I will build my church upon a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." How wondrous, too, must that power be deemed which summoned obscure and unlettered men from their fisher's trade, and made them the legislators and instructors of the human race! And how clear a demonstration of his deity do we find in the promise so well performed, that he would make them fishers of men: in the power and energy which he bestowed, so that they composed and published writings of such authority that they were translated into every civilized and barbarous language, were read and pondered by all nations, and the doctrines contained in them accredited as the oracles of God! How marvelous his predictions of the future, and the testimony whereby his disciples were forewarned that they should be brought before kings and rulers, and should endure the severest punishments, not indeed as criminals, but simply for their confession of his name! Or who shall adequately describe the power with which he prepared them thus to suffer with a willing mind, and enabled them, strong in the armor of godliness, to maintain a constancy of spirit indomitable in the midst of conflict? Or how shall we enough admire that steadfast firmness of soul which strengthened, not merely his immediate followers, but their successors also, even to our present age, in the joyful endurance of every infliction, and every form of torture, in proof of their devotion to the Supreme God? Again, what monarch has prolonged his government through so vast a series of ages? Who else has power to make war after death, to triumph over every enemy, to subjugate each barbarous and civilized nation and city, and to subdue his adversaries with an invisible and secret hand? Lastly, and chief of all, what slanderous lip shall dare to question that universal peace to which we have already referred; established by his power throughout the world For thus the mutual concord and harmony of all nations coincided in point of time with the extension of our Saviour's doctrine and preaching in all the world: a concurrence of events predicted in long ages past by the prophets of God. The day itself would fail me, gracious emperor, should I attempt to exhibit in a single view those cogent proofs of our Saviour's Divine power which even now are visible in their effects; for no human being, in civilized or barbarous nations, has ever yet exhibited such power of Divine virtue as our Saviour. But why do I speak of men, since of the beings whom all nations have deemed divine, none has appeared on earth with power like to his? If there has, let the fact now be proved. Come forward, ye philosophers, and tell us what god or hero has yet been known to fame, who has delivered the doctrines of eternal life and a heavenly kingdom as he has done who is our Saviour? Who, like him, has persuaded multitudes throughout the world to pursue the principles of Divine wisdom, to fix their hope on heaven itself, and look forward to the mansions there reserved for them that love God? What god or hero in human form has ever held his course from the rising to the setting sun, a course co-extensive as it were with the solar light, and irradiated mankind with the bright and glorious beams of his doctrine, causing each nation of the earth to render united worship to the One true God? What god or hero yet, as he has done, has set aside all gods and heroes among civilized or barbarous nations has ordained that divine honors should be withheld from all, and chimed obedience to that command: and then, though singly conflicting with the power of all, has utterly destroyed the opposing hosts; victorious over the gods and heroes of every age, and causing himself alone, in every region of the habitable world, to be acknowledged by all people as the only Son of God? Who else has commanded the nations inhabiting the continents and islands of this mighty globe to assemble weekly on the Lord's day, and to observe it as a festival, not indeed for the pampering of the body, but for the invigoration of the soul by instruction in Divine truth? What god or hero, exposed, as our Saviour was, to so sore a conflict, has raised the trophy of victory over every foe? For they indeed, from first to last, unceasingly assailed his doctrine and his people: but he who is invisible, by the exercise of a secret power, has raised his servants and the sacred

houses of their worship to the height of glory. But why should we still vainly aim at detailing those Divine proofs of our Saviour's power which no language can worthily express; which need indeed no words of ours, but themselves appeal in loudest tones to those whose mental ears are open to the truth? Surely it is a strange, a wondrous fact, unparalleled in the annals of human life; that the blessings we have described should be accorded to our mortal race, and that he who is in truth the only, the eternal Son of God, should thus be visible on earth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THESE words of ours, however, [gracious] Sovereign, may well appear superfluous in your ears, convinced as you are, by frequent and personal experience, of our Saviour's Deity; yourself also, in actions still more than words, a her-aid of the truth to all mankind. Yourself, it may be, will vouchsafe at a time of leisure to relate to us the abundant manifestations which your Saviour has accorded you of his presence, and the oft-repeated visions of himself which have attended you in the hours of sleep. I speak not of those secret suggestions which to us are un-revealed: but of those principles which he has instilled into your own mind, and which are fraught with general interest and benefit to the human race. You will yourself relate in worthy terms the visible protection which your Divine shield and guardian has extended in the hour of battle; the ruin of your open and secret foes; and his ready aid in time of peril. To him you will ascribe relief in the midst of perplexity; defence in solitude; expedients in extremity; foreknowledge of events yet future; your fore thought for the general weal; your power to investigate uncertain questions; your conduct of most important enterprises; your administration of civil affairs; your military arrangements, and correction of abuses in all departments; your ordinances respecting public right; and, lastly, your legislation for the common benefit of all. You will, it may be, also detail to us those particulars of his favor which are secret to us, but known to you alone, and treasured in your royal memory as in secret storehouses. Such, doubtless, are the reasons, and such the convincing proofs of your Saviour's power, which caused you to raise that sacred edifice which presents to all, believers and unbelievers alike, a trophy of his victory over death, a holy temple of the holy God: to consecrate those noble and splendid monuments of immortal life and his heavenly kingdom: to offer memorials of our Almighty Saviour's conquest which well become the imperial dignity of him by whom they are bestowed. With such memorials have you adorned that edifice which witnesses of eternal life: thus, as it were in imperial characters, ascribing victory and triumph to the heavenly Word of God: thus proclaiming to all nations, with clear and unmistakable voice, in deed and word, your own devout and pious confession of his name.

See <https://people.ucalgary.ca/~vandersp/Courses/texts/eusebius/eusepraf.html>

Inventories of the temples at Delos

[For the scholarly articles, see <http://www.persee.fr/collection/bch>]

June 30, 1770 [...] Delos, most notable for the Oracle of Apollo and highly renowned: the remains of the Pillar of Apollo can still be seen here, as well as several large fragments and pieces of his renovated Temple, as well as the once so important City of Delos.

July 19, 1873 Reports arrive from Greece that are very important for both antiquarians and industrialists. The King has recently had excavations carried out on one of his estates near Athens, and several inscribed stones have now been discovered there, indicating that the well-known town of Dekelia once stood on that site. A French society has made highly important discoveries on the island of Delos; Among other things, the ruins of a temple have been uncovered, probably that of the famous building dedicated to Apollo.

Furthermore, it is reported that the renowned Trojan excavator, Dr. Schliemann, recently returned to Athens with a treasure of important and very valuable objects (gold and silver), which he found at a depth of 18 m at the site where he believes he has discovered Priam's palace.

September 3, 1873: Two archaeological discoveries. On the island of Delos, Mr. Burnouf, director of the French school in Athens, and one of his students discovered an ancient temple, probably of Apollo, as well as the ruins of a city.

85385 Mr. Schliemann, who has been engaged in excavations for several years on the site where Troy once stood, has returned to Athens. He made several important discoveries, not only vases and the like, but also precious gold and silver ornaments, at a depth of 18 to 19 m in the ruins of what he believes to be King Priam's palace.

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85400 July 6, 1880. Divers searching for sponges near the island of Delos found a life-size copper horse at a depth of 45 m. As evidence of their discovery, they first unearthed a hoof and later one of the animal's legs. There must also have been a rider on the horse.

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85410 http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1881_num_5_1_4288

85415 August 14, 1882 Excavations are currently underway on Delos under the direction of Mr. Kavadias, which are yielding surprising results, especially since only a very small area has been excavated thus far. A well-preserved statue of Venus was discovered, the head of which is identical to that of Venus de Medicis. On the other hand, the body is reminiscent of the Venus of Praxiteles. A female head of great beauty was also found. Its torso has not been recovered. It is certain that this statue was damaged by barbarians or Christians. The head still bears traces of color. Other beautiful sculptures (including a small Venus statue, of which only the right hand is missing) of ancient Hellenic origin and of great originality were discovered. 85420 The Greek government intends to continue the work with greater vigor.

85425 September 1, 1882 During the excavations at the sacred lake at Dilos (or Delos), according to reports received by the Greek Ministry, interesting works have again been unearthed; Firstly, a magnificent mosaic of an unknown hand; then a colossal statue of the goddess Rome, of Melanos the Athenian; and finally, a larger-than-life statue of a kneeling warrior (not Greek, but Barbarian) of Agasius the Ephesian. In the theater, which is also being excavated, large marble tripods were found, seats used in the orchestra; and two straps, which served to support the floor of some 85430 small building on the stage. From what has been found so far, it appears that the orchestra used the same seats as those found in the Athenian Odeon of Herod the Athenian.

85435 October 6, 1882. Under the direction of the commissioner Kavadias, excavations are taking place on the island of Delos, which surprisingly yields promising results, especially considering that only a very small area has been excavated thus far. A well-preserved statue of Venus was discovered, the head of which is entirely similar to that of the Venus de Medicis. However, the body, in its entire composition, is reminiscent of the Venus of Praxiteles. Furthermore, a magnificent female head of 85440 truly classical beauty was found, though its torso has not been found. It is certain that this statue was damaged by barbarians or Christians. The head still bears traces of its color. Other beautiful sculptures (including a small statue of Venus, from which only the right hand is missing) of ancient Hellenic origin and of great originality were discovered. The Greek government intends to continue the work with 85445 greater vigor.

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85450 http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1882_num_6_1_4228

June 1, 1883 The sea, which over the centuries has swallowed up so much – including art treasures – has now returned a most remarkable art treasure from ancient times. From the Greek Parnassus, it appears that fishermen from Aegina, sailing to Delos to dive for sponges, found a bronze horse of larger than life-size, overgrown with mussels on all sides, at the bottom of the sea, at a depth of about 5 cubits. With great effort, they managed to break off a leg of the horse. When the leg was put up for sale in Argina, the matter came to the attention of antiquarians, and since the leg was of excellent workmanship, and it is therefore likely that the entire statue was so exquisitely crafted, efforts are now being made to have the entire horse brought to light. It is believed that the horse was originally located in Delos. It is the first large bronze horse to survive from Greek antiquity. Bronze horse statues are generally not numerous, and a Greek origin has not yet been proven.

85465 August 22, 1883 – Interesting excavations have been conducted on the Greek island of Delos.

A private house, probably dating from the Alexandrian period, has been discovered near the Apollo Theater. So far, a courtyard and twelve rooms have been unearthed. The courtyard's floor is beautifully inlaid.

85470 The gate and part of the road leading to it have also been excavated, and there is hope that, with continued investigation, an entire district of the ancient city may be discovered.

September 26, 1883 – An interesting discovery is reported from Athens. On the island of Delos, where excavations are being conducted under the direction of the French School of Athens, the remains of a private house from the time of Alexander have been discovered near the Apollo Theater. A courtyard surrounded by columns and twelve rooms have already been uncovered. The floor is inlaid with beautiful mosaics featuring flowers, fish, and other ornaments, and has a reservoir full of water in the center. The excavations are continuing diligently.

October 31, 1883 – As is known, a French company is conducting archaeological excavations in Delos, Greece, but these have been halted for some time due to a lack of labor. The reason for this must lie in the fact that the Nomasch (governor) is doing everything he can to prevent the company from excavating, as he cannot bring himself to allow others to remove the treasures of his ancestors;—a spirit that is manifesting itself throughout Greece today.

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July 11, 1889 The popular games of the Greeks.
II.

We borrow another scene from the Odyssey, where Homer, in his depiction of the Phaeacians, presents us with a charming image of Ionic folk life. We see with

85515

pleasure the Princess Nausicaa on the seashore, as she dances there with her maidens, after having cleansed the linen and veils for her future bridal attire, to relax, play ball, and sing joyful songs. As gloriously as Artemis passed over the heights of Taygetus, so charming did the exalted maiden appear to the maidens. There she threw the ball at one of the maidens, but missed. Then a loud cheer arose, which awakened Odysseus, who had been washed ashore on Scheria and lay slumbering in the nearby forest. At this strange apparition, the maidens were seized with fright and fled, but Nausicaa remained standing and took pity on the unfortunate stranger, who, from a respectful distance, begged her help and wished that the gods would grant her all her heart desired: "a husband and a house, and peace and concord". "What you rightly desire," she spoke kindly to him, "you shall not lack. I will show you the city we live in, where my father Alcinus rules". After bathing and dressing properly, he was already a completely different man. He was further refreshed with food and drink before they set off together into the city. Towards sunset they reached the lovely grove of poplars dedicated to Pallas Athena. There the stranger had to wait until the others had returned home and presented him to the King. In the meantime, he prayed that he might receive love and mercy from the Phaeacians.

Admitted to the royal palace, where the country's nobles were assembled, he begged Queen Arete to be allowed to return to his homeland. The King invited him to the banquet, after which popular games would be held, so that the stranger could proclaim to his people how far the Phaeacians excelled as boxers, wrestlers, and in jumping and racing. At the appointed hour, they proceeded to the market square, where the popular festival was to take place. Many distinguished young men had arrived, eager for the contest. Among them were the three distinguished sons of Alcinus. They would test their agility against each other. From the starting point, the raceway stretched out before them. Everyone rushed towards it simultaneously. But it wasn't long before the brave hero Clytoneus was far ahead of them all, and the others, despite their exertions, lagged far behind. Then followed the difficult wrestling match, in which Euryalus excelled, triumphing over the bravest. Next, Amphialos far surpassed the others in the leaping. Elatreus triumphed in the throwing of the discus, and finally, in the fist fight, Laodamas was victorious. He then invited his friends to investigate whether the stranger was also experienced in the sport. Considering his stature and age, he had high hopes for it, but the misfortune of the shipwreck might have broken his spirit. Nevertheless, they ventured to address him through Laodamas.

"Well, O stranger, if you know how to compete, try it and cast your cares aside". But he couldn't be persuaded. Then Euryalus began to sneer and scold. "No, indeed, you don't seem to me a man skilled in the sport, but someone who constantly sails a ship, perhaps a captain of skippers who also act as merchants". This didn't make a favorable impression. Looking at him darkly, Odysseus began: "Stranger, your words are not pleasant; you are an overconfident youth. By your unseemly language you have greatly offended me. I am no stranger to the contest, as you babble. However deeply distress has bowed me, I accept the contest, for you have forced me to it". Thus speaking, he stood up and seized the discus, which was even larger, thicker, and heavier than the other discus the Phaeacians were practicing with each other. After swinging the disc around, he threw it with great force. With a loud whoosh, it flew far over the mark. "Imitate me, you young men. Anyone who dares, come and test their strength, whether with your fist, in wrestling, or in the race. I refuse no one except my host: who would gladly wrestle with their guest? I know how to strike with the bow and the javelin too. Only in the race do I fear that anyone will prevail against me, since that storm at sea has robbed my limbs of strength". But everyone around him was hushed and silent. Only Alkinos replied, "We are not particularly good at boxing or wrestling, but we are at racing and sailing. We also always love meals, singing, and dancing. Come then, masters of the dance, play for us, and let the singer Demodocus accompany you on the harp". Soon, space was cleared and the dancing area decorated. The singer took his place in the center, and around him gathered young men, in the prime of their years and skilled in the dance; how gracefully and swiftly they moved in regular steps! Odysseus was amazed. Then the blind singer rustled the strings and, to everyone's delight, began the joyful song of the love of Ares and the charming Aphrodite, and of how Hephaestus had held them captive in the cleverly wrought net. Then Laodamas was invited to dance separately with Halios. Immediately they took the elegant ball in their hands. Lo and behold, one threw it toward the shadowy clouds, leaning backward, and the other, springing from the ground, caught it deftly before he could stand again. After they had tried to throw the ball straight up, they danced there with swift steps, frequently changing places. Other youths standing nearby clapped their hands, and a loud cheer arose. Odysseus was deeply moved. "See," he addressed the King, "you boasted of having the most

excellent dancers, and you maintained your fame".

Following the example of Alcinus, the guest was now showered with rich gifts.

85585 Euryalus, too, had to try to appease him, both by word and deed. He gladly complied with the King's request and handed the stranger the metal sword, with its silver hilt and polished ivory sheath, with the winged words: "Joy to you, father and guest! If an offensive word was spoken, may the storms quickly dispel it. The gods also grant you to see your homeland and your wife again, since, far from your own, you have experienced so much suffering". "Joy to you too," replied Odysseus, "and health and blessing from the gods! May you never in the future need this sword, which you have now given me with conciliatory words".

85590 That evening, returning to the royal palace, they heard that blind singer again at dinner. Now he sang of the Trojan Horse and the fall of Troy, and of him who so courageously participated in that terrible struggle, until, strengthened by the exalted Athena, he finally triumphed. Hearing these words, Odysseus was deeply moved. He then gave his name and recounted his subsequent adventures. After bidding a hearty farewell, he boarded a spacious ship, which brought him back safe and sound to his homeland.

85600 While the Ionian Greeks had previously come from East and West, from their ancient settlements, to the Isthmus to offer communal sacrifice to the land- and sea-moving Poseidon, since their settlements on the islands of the Aegean Sea and on the nearby coasts, little Delos, surrounded as if by a circle by the Cyclopes, became the center of their worship of Apollo and gradually the common sacrificial hearth of all the Ionians. Homer knew the slender palm tree that rose there, beside the altar of the god of light.

85605 According to legend, Poseidon had caused this island to rise from the sea with a blow of his trident. Here Leto, pursued everywhere by the jealous Hera, finally found a resting place to give birth to her offspring. When she entered the island, Pindar sang in his festive song, four pillars rose from the depths of the sea to support and secure the sacred rock, which had hitherto drifted, for her and her children, Apollo and Artemis. The great lights of heaven could only have come from Zeus, the god of heaven.

85615 If light broke through from the darkness, from the twilight, then the mother of Apollo and Artemis must be this twilight, this darkness itself. The name Apollo means the warding off, and Phoebus the giving of light. From the silver bow with which he is armed, he sends his arrows, the sun's rays. With them he dispels the darkness of the night. Even the turbulent sea must obey him. When the sun pierces the dark clouds, its rays falling upon the sea and illuminating the gray waves, the spirits of darkness are banished; the sailor breathes freely again and thanks the god of light, who has saved him with his arrows. Once the dark winter is over and the glorious spring has arrived, all Ionians together celebrate the festival of the reborn light, the birth of Apollo, the god of the ever-new, ever-bright, ever-youthful light.

85620 Amidst an ever-shimmering sea, brightly illuminated by the sun's rays and sheltered from storms by the islands of Mykonos and Eheneia, the rock of Delos was dedicated to Phoebus Apollo.

85625 When Theseus landed there after his victory in Crete, where, with the help of the princess Ariadne, he had slain the Minotaur in the Labyrinth, he, at the head of the fortunately rescued youths and maidens of Athens, performed the first sacrifice to thank the god for their deliverance. He then performed with them the first round dance around the altar, "the artful play of winding arms, tripping light feet," the meandering chorus, the Geranos, which was meant to represent the many twists and turns of the labyrinth in which they had nearly perished. A branch of the sacred palm tree, under which Apollo was born, Theseus awarded as a trophy to the one who had most excelled in this game. This was roughly how the Delian Games were founded. From then on, the Ionians went there annually to celebrate in honor of Apollo and Artemis.

85635 Following the example of the chief hero of their tribe, they celebrated this festival with sacrifices and competitions. When spring had arrived, when the swallows returned, when the birdsong in the mountains and forests sang its joyful song, "in the dense, green plane trees the nightingales hid, singing love," then they prepared to be illuminated by the glorious light that radiated from Delos, which shone like a brilliant star even to the gods on Olympus from the dark earth. Then the festive embassy set sail from Athens, in the sacred Delian ship in which Theseus, the founder of their state, the father of wrestling, had first sailed to Delos. Towards the end of the ninth century BC, in the first days of May, all the Ionians from far and wide, from the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece, from Caria and Lydia, from Euboea and Attica, from the Sporades and Cyclopes, flocked in their galleys and boats to the holy land of Delos, to offer sacrifice at their common hearth on the 6th and 7th of

that month and to hold competitions in song and dance, in music and gymnastics. At one of these festivals, around the middle of the eighth century, the blind singer of Chios sang the beautiful hymn to Apollo: "O Phoebus, though many temples, shady forests, high mountain peaks, and rivers flowing into the sea are dedicated to you, yet your heart rejoices most in Delos. There the Ionians gather in long robes, with their children and their noble women. Remembering you, they delight in song and dance and contest. Whoever comes there might believe that the Ionians were free from old age and death. He will rejoice at the sight of the men and beautifully girded women and the fleet ships with their rich cargo. At the same time, the virgins of Delos, the handmaidens of the far-reaching god, praise Apollo and Leto and Artemis in song and sing the hymns of men and women of old and bring the generations of men into "delight"... With a word to the virgins who performed the dance around the altar, he concludes his hymn.

"Joy to you! Remember me also in the days to come, and when one of the inhabitants of the earth comes here, having suffered much, and asks you: who brings you the sweetest songs and who brings you the most joy? then answer immediately, with a kind word: the blind man, who inhabits rocky Chios".

The dances around the sacrificial altar consisted of simple, solemn, continuous movements and rhythmic turns, with some mimicry of the choruses or choirs that performed at the festivals. In his Greek idyll, Vosmaer, in the round dance, at the head of the maidens, has Nanno appear thus:

"Head held high, fingertips on the pleated robe.
While the toes of the feet made the supple, swaying body
float, and the narrowness of the wild flower gave a wrinkle,
Thus the beautiful maiden soared slenderly before them all".

Not only physical strength and agility, but also excellence of mind were given the opportunity on Delos to win the palm branch of victory. We have already heard the hymn to Apollo. Under the influence of the great master, who delights the gods on Olympus with his song at the phorminx, as the singers sing at the banquet of the kings of the earth, the mind became increasingly enlightened and refined. Was he not the master of all the fine arts and the leader of the Muses?

How solemnly the song sounded! With the earnestness of the highest art,
Which melts the strictly sublime into the all-enchancing beauty,
The Ionian beauty, full of refinement and eternal youth,
That indeed uplifts and moves, but does not disturb or shock,
Thus sounded the poet's words, carried and supported,
Not dominated, by the finely colored string sound.
(Vosmaer.)

For the oldest contest, the footrace, a spacious field was set aside and arranged in such a way that other physical exercises could also be held. For this purpose, two parallel heights were enclosed on one side in an arc. On the other side, at the place where the footrace began, a straight line was drawn through those heights, or a wall erected. This encampment acquired the name stadium. The Delian games would have been not unlike the contests described by Homer. Over time, however, everything became better organized and regulated. The established rules, in which the distinctive Hellenic element took shape, first emerged in the Dorian states, especially in Sparta.

A few years before the outbreak of the Persian Wars, the population of Delos was reinforced by Attic colonists. Upon the enemy's approach, they fled to Tenos, but the Persian generals invited them to return to the sacred island without fear. When their fleet was anchored there, Datis burned 300 centenars of incense in honor of Apollo, whom he took for the sun god Mithra, whose powerful protection would ensure his victory on his further voyages. The unfortunate outcome of this is well known. At the Battle of Marathon, where they were defeated by Miltiades, Theseus was seen rising from the ground to break the enemy battle lines.

For a time, the celebration of the Delian festival seems to have fallen into disrepair, until the Athenians attempted to restore it at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War in 426 BC. After the island's purification, a smaller annual festival was celebrated, and a larger one, which lasted for five years, was celebrated, and both festivals were attended by delegations from Athens, and certainly also from the other Ionian states. The magnificent Temple of Apollo at the harbor, with its rich treasures, came under the supervision and management of the Amphictyones (associations for the mutual celebration of a religious festival, etc.),

- 85715 presided over by the Athenians, of course, and to which one of their citizens was delegated annually. Recently, since 1873, the French School of Athens has conducted excavations on Delos, which will undoubtedly reveal more about this remarkable island. The ruins of the oldest temple have been discovered. Eight female statues, dating from the eighth to the fifth century BC, have been discovered and partially restored. A large number of manuscripts and a wealth of bas-reliefs and bronze
- 85720 objects from all periods of Greek art have been unearthed and transferred to the museum in Athens.
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http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1891_num_15_1_3820 [mentioning possessions and Crateros]
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- 85735 October 15, 1894 Excavations undertaken by the French Archaeological School in Athens on the island of Delos have uncovered several walls of private residences and two marble statues of Apollo. These walls are completely covered with ancient frescoes, which date back to a very old age, yet still retain their original freshness. They depict scenes from everyday life and mythology and constitute very important documents for the art history of ancient Greece.
- 85740 October 15, 1894 Excavations on the island of Delos, where, according to myth, Latona gave birth to Apollo and Diana, will be halted due to the bad weather. During the latest excavations, two marble statues of Apollo and several walls of private houses have been uncovered, which are richly decorated with frescoes depicting scenes from
- 85745 domestic life and mythology. The frescoes are exceptionally well preserved and of great importance for the history of ancient Greek art.
- 85750 January 3, 1895 From Delos, Greece, it is reported that students of the technical school in Athens have conducted excavations there, which have unearthed magnificent ancient sculptures. Among other things, a statue of a woman is said to have been unearthed, praised as a priceless masterpiece of antiquity.
- 85755 January 19, 1895 In a vast hemisphere, walled by high and rugged rocks, in the foothills of Parnassus, on the right bank of the Kephalo-Vrysi, which rises from the source of Oastalis and, forming numerous waterfalls, winds its way through a forest of olives and laurels until it falls into the dried-up bed of the Xero-Potamo, stand three or four white houses: this is the village of Castri, which, by a miraculous twist of fate, arose on the site of Delphi, the opulent holy city, the great religious center of ancient civilization.
- 85760 For a long time, scholars have wondered whether such a renowned city could have truly vanished so completely, leaving nothing behind but a few fragments of marble scattered across the ground and a few mutilated sculptures set aside under the shade of the olive trees in the gardens; whether the Phocidian plunderers, the centurions of Sulla and Nero, the Gauls under Brennus, and the warriors of Constantinople could
- 85765 thus have reduced to nothing that immense city, consisting entirely of temples and sanctuaries, populated by thousands of statues. At the beginning of 1891, when the French Minister of Education posed that age-old question to Mr. Homolle, the current director of the Ecole française d'Athènes, he did not hesitate to reply that he was convinced that the soil of the village of Castri contained the most precious
- 85770 monuments, and he supported his opinion by mentioning the efforts made by Ottfried Müller, Wescher, Foucart, Haussoulrier, and Pomtow, and by the observations he himself had been able to make in the Delphic Valley region.
 It is to the last parliament's unfading honor that it accepted his assurance and authorized a considerable sum for this selfless undertaking, for none of the
- 85775 excavated works will leave Greece.
 An entire year was spent expropriating the farmers' houses, which had been built on the very site where the main buildings formerly stood. around the sanctuary of Apollo.
 This was accompanied by many difficulties: although 280,000 francs, intended to

85780 compensate the farmers, had immediately been deposited in the Bank of Athens, they would not allow work to begin until they had the money in hand. "Here is my field, here is my hand," said an old woman to the director; "lay drachmas on that hand, and I will give you this land". These poor people refused to believe that a signature

85785 could have any monetary value and, in their simplicity, imagined that, after turning the land upside down, they would dispute the extent of the properties they had bought off. Several times, Mr. Homolle tried to press on, but the farmers demolished the sheds in a stampede, and a bloody clash nearly broke out: patience was necessary. In October 1892, the first ditches were dug and the narrow-gauge railway, which

85790 transported the excavated soil, was laid. The initial results of the investigations were not very satisfactory. At the site of the Temple of Apollo, where it was thought they would find precious sculptures, nothing or almost nothing was found, as if—in Mr. Homolle's words—the removal of the statues had taken place according to a specific plan and prescription. In 1893, at the highest point of the sacred road, which bisected the entire city, admirable remains were suddenly uncovered, the first

85795 reparations of two years of fruitless labor: pedestals of votive offerings, marble horses, female figures, male torsos, and also terracottas, bronzes, and inscriptions, including fragments of the sanctuary's accounts, dating from the 4th century BCE. Then came the discovery of the Hymn to Apollo, which enabled Mr. Salomon Reinach to revive a musical poem that had been lost for 2,000 years. And finally, the results of

85800 the campaign of the last year, the sacrifices made by our budget were gloriously rewarded, as well as the diligence of Mr. Homolle and his collaborators, Messrs. Convert, Bourguet, Perdrizet, Millet, Conve, Jonguet-Blot, and Tournaire. The workers excavated a crossroads, where four buildings were situated: one of which

85805 formerly housed the treasure of the sacrifices offered to the Delphic god by the people of Athens; another the treasure of the Syphnians; a third the treasure of the Beotians. While they were unable to recover the talents, the gold drinking vessels, or the precious stones that had once been inside, and which had once aroused the greed of the invaders, masterpieces have been recovered that have a completely different value for the knowledge of antiquity. These include, in the Athenian

85810 treasury, a series of column decorations of astonishing art, depicting the story of Theseus; and not far from there, a Archaic Apollo, the work of an Archaic master, corresponding in every respect to another figure discovered last year; in the Syphnian treasury, the building of which has been completely restored, bas-reliefs depict sacred events.

85815 And, besides fighting warriors, horses that have the same noble and impressive bearing, the same fiery and agile movements, as those famous horses of Phidias, which adorned the Parthenon (now among the so-called Elgin Marbles, preserved in the British Museum): yet they were carved a century before those of the Athenian master

85820 and differ only in the frizzy hair of their tails and manes, a remnant of ancient tradition. Side by side, moreover, are works of art, some bearing the stamp of that ideal grace which, for us, is the highest revelation of art, and others whose unaffected stiffness, though not devoid of greatness, seems to date from more distant centuries.

85825 Yet, there is no doubt that they were all created at the same time, but the old masters, attached to the ancient traditions, worked simultaneously with the younger ones, whose conception was broader and more recent. This holds an important lesson for criticism, which is all too eager to assign each school its own narrowly defined time period.

85830 Among the very latest discoveries, noteworthy is a torso, outstanding for its grace and strength, probably the remains of a statue erected for an athlete victorious in the Pythian Games, and above all, an Antinous in marble, lacking only the arms and of particularly noble and sober execution. The casts and photograms of most of these beautiful objects were recently exhibited at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Later, they will be transferred to the Louvre, where they will form a separate collection, which

85835 will be expanded as the discoveries progress. The excavations are continuing, and Mr. Homolle is about to return to Greece to resume their direction. Convinced that he has not been indiscriminate since the excavation of the principal sanctuaries, whose names he has been able to ascertain from the clues provided by Pausanias, he is fully convinced that he will soon be able

85840 to offer a new and abundant harvest of monuments to antiquity and art. Will he rediscover one of those wondrous statues whose azure hue aroused the admiration of the Roman emperors? That would be a more precious discovery than even that of the fabulous offerings, destined by their wealth to fall prey to the greed of the people and piled up in that city of treasures: the golden masonry stones dedicated by

85845 Croesus, the drinking cups of King Gyges, the throne of Midas, the silver dish that

fell to Homer in a poet's contest, the golden statue of the beautiful Phryne. Little can be said in advance, but the French Ecole d'Athènes, some of whose members are even making the rarest discoveries on the island of Delos, has every right to be proud of the work it has accomplished at Delphi: it has once again given France the very true and very noble glory of enriching the entire world.
(ANDRÉ SAGLIO.)

March 19, 1895 Mixed reports.

During the excavations at Delphi, a second hymn to Apollo with musical notes was discovered, 28 lines long, which are perfectly legible. Professor Weil in Paris has restored the mutilated fragments after thorough examination. It is carved in two columns on a marble slab measuring 0.8 m by 0.61 m. It celebrates the birth of Apollo and the city of Delos, the god's arrival at Delphi, and his victory over the dragon, and concludes with a prayer for Greece and the Romans. Besides this hymn, fragments containing notes from a famous Greek war hymn, or Pään, have been discovered. However, parts of these are illegible. Reinach and Weil are attempting to reconstruct these fragments as likely as possible. Both pieces will soon be performed in Paris with orchestra and choir.

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October 27, 1904 – The excavations undertaken by the French School of Athens on the island of Delos have again resulted in some very remarkable discoveries. Two statues of Silenus dating from the third century BC have been found wreathed with ivy leaves, each carries an amphora on their left shoulder, the mouth of which they hold shut with their right hand. But a group of Pan and Aphrodite, dating from the second century BC, is particularly praised. Eros, seated on Aphrodite's left shoulder, attempts to push Pan back, having seized him by one of his horns.

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June 17, 1905 Excavations. During the archaeological research being conducted on the Greek island of Aegina by the "Basserman-Jordan Foundation" of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, another important discovery has been made. Below the volcanic cone of Oros, the island's highest mountain, on whose summit a prehistoric city is said to have stood, a sanctuary has now been excavated, reminiscent of the famous ancient cave sanctuary of Mount Cynthos on the island of Delos. However, only its beautiful walls remain. The sanctuary on Delos was previously considered unique. A second one now exists, on Aegina. Remains of a village – 150 dwellings – dating from the Bronze Age have been excavated near Bleslau. Near the village, 400 graves were found.

August 1, 1905: Coin discovery on Delos.

During excavations on the island of Delos, the French have recently discovered four hundred silver tetradrachmas from the time of Alexander the Great, but they are exceptionally well preserved; the modeling of the heads is described as excellent. A number of drachmas were found in a house excavated at the same time. All the coins will be transferred to the Museum in Athens.

December 14, 1905 Excavations at Delos.

The director of the French school in Athens has reported on the results of the latest excavations conducted by Mr. Loubat at Delos.

The portico of Philipp has been uncovered, as well as a new section of the theater. Two documents found among the ruins are of the utmost importance. One contains the

dedication of a monument erected by Antigone Doson, King of Macedonia. The other is the text of a law regulating the sale of wood and charcoal at Delos.

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- 85925 February 2, 1907 – During the latest excavations at Delos, a large rock terrace with five colossal marble lions from the 17th century BC was discovered, as well as a large Mycenaean tomb with rich contents. ("Chronicle".)

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- 85935 January 10, 1908, The Gazette des Beaux-Arts contains an article about excavations under the heading "A Greek Pompeii" on Delos, which were primarily executed by the French "Ecole d'Athènes" and largely at the expense of a French antiquity enthusiast, the Duke de Loubat.

- The author, A. Jarde, repeatedly notes the similarity between the architectural order and decorative motifs found on Delos and in Pompeii, without being able to determine which served as a model for the other. Images of important works of art found on
85940 Delos are included with the piece, including an Aphrodite with Pan and Eros and a Mosaic fragment.

- http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1908_num_32_1_3228
85945 http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1908_num_32_1_3229
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- 85950 August 21, 1909, Review of Ancient and Modern Art.
It must have been a very peculiar sensation. For the antiquarian Gabriel Leroux, during excavations on Delos over a period of two years, a very important Greek statue gradually emerged in fragments, not in one place, but at various points between the harbor and the theater; the pieces were probably deliberately scattered, Leroux
85955 writes in the Bevue de l'Art ancien et moderne. It is a statue of Apollo, depicting the god as the conqueror of the Galatians, his left foot resting on a small stack of shields belonging to these barbarians. This representation of Apollo, with an arm raised above the head, is quite common, but it is particularly beautifully executed in this statue. Apollo is not an athlete here; he has rather something weak, almost
85960 feminine, but the flesh is beautifully rendered. The image shows that the statue is not entirely complete; some limbs are missing, and the face is also damaged.

- http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1909_num_33_1_3221
85965 http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1909_num_33_1_3224

- July 11, 1910: The very important results of the French excavations on Delos are reported. For example, it has been discovered that in the second century BC, parallel moles had been cast into the sea from the island, forming true docks. But even more remarkable are the discoveries of the remains of a sanctuary dedicated to foreign
85970 gods. It must have been situated on a number of high terraces, to which a large open staircase led, with houses of several stories alongside, where foreigners would have lived.

- http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1910_num_34_1_3189
85975 http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1910_num_34_1_3191
http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1910_num_34_1_3199
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85980

September 4, 1911 The Victim of the Gioconda.

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French newspapers recall the merits of Homolle, the director of the Louvre who was dismissed after the theft of the Gioconda. They note his significant contributions to art history, particularly regarding the excavations at Delos and Delphi, for which he received Greek and French honors.

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September 6, 1911 – The Gioconda.

85995

The first victim of the disciplinary measures resulting from the theft of the Gioconda was the director of the Louvre Museum, Theophile Homolle. It is understandable that the lack of vigilance is primarily attributed to the man who should actually be in charge. Yet, it is regrettable that such a respectable art scholar as Homolle should have ended his career in such a humiliating manner. Homolle made great contributions to art history, particularly as the leader of the excavations at Delos and Delphi (Greece). He spent thirty years there, and rightly, people in various circles are questioning the propriety of entrusting this museum security service to someone so outside the national social fabric. Therefore, it seems the intention is to no longer make the director, who must be an art scholar and be able to continue his studies, responsible for security, but rather to appoint a police officer assigned to him. For Homolle, whose merits were recognized with high honors by both France and Greece—whose appointment as director was undoubtedly intended as a distinction and as a care for old age—it remains a sad event to lose his honorary position at the age of 63, although one can agree that such a responsible post should neither be granted nor accepted as a sinecure.

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86005

December 11, 1911 The French excavations on Delos have recently been crowned with brilliant results. A deposit of no fewer than two hundred vases, dating from the seventh and sixth centuries BC, and of very diverse origins, was discovered beneath the Temple of Hera. Also of interest is the discovery of a number of blue earthenware dishes, decorated with blue, of a previously unknown type. A whole series of terracotta statues, apparently depicting Hera, also came to light.

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http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1911_num_35_1_3175

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86020

February 28, 1912: The excavations at Delos in 1911.

These excavations were the richest of all, especially with regard to inscriptions. Holleaux notes in particular the discovery of previously unknown blue dishes decorated with figures of exceptional fineness; an admirable series of terracotta busts (probably the goddess Hera); trapdoors and canals of the waters of Ipnos; Finally, a council resolution translated into Greek, probably from 160 or 165 BC, a valuable document for the history of the Athenian occupation. Valbis has discovered a temple of Dionysius or Apollo and a road with monuments leading to it.

86025

November 27, 1912 Excavations.

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The French excavations on the island of Delos are now almost complete. The most interesting result after the previous report is the discovery of a building with pews along the walls, which is believed to be a synagogue. If this hypothesis is accepted, then, alongside the Egyptian and Syrian sanctuaries, the meeting place of the Jews on Delos has been discovered, thus completing the image of the sacred island where, in the last centuries before Christ, all the religions of the ancient world coexisted. ("Hbld".=Handelsblad)

86035

A victory predicted.

86040

Homolle, the director of the Louvre, who resigned due to the disappearance of the Mona Lisa, has now returned, as before his directorship, to Greece, where he previously conducted important excavations and is now director of the French School in Athens. He reports that an archaic statue of Nike has been found at Delphi on the site of the temple of Athena Prenaea, which the Greeks, because the war with Turkey had just broken out, considered a favorable omen. And weren't they right?

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86050 http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1914_num_38_1_3124
http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1915_num_39_1_3112
http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1916_num_40_1_1473
http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1916_num_40_1_1477
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http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1921_num_45_1_3048
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http://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1921_num_45_1_3056

November 24, 1923 From the Spade school.
CXXXVIII.

86065 (Private correspondence.)
Rome, Nov.

Delos from the practical side. I.

86070 The sanctity of the place. Its myths. Pindar's celebratory song. Divine origin. The purification of the soil. Very ancient festivals. Changes in Delos's fortunes. A rich harvest of inscriptions. Financial affairs before and after. Xenophon's little capital. The exploitation of pilgrims and tourists. Restaurants and hotels kept by the priests.

86075 The Greeks considered the small, barren island, situated in the middle of the other, larger Cyclades, highly sacred. Even their first poet, Homer, has Odysseus compare the slender beauty of Nausicaa to the palm branch he once admired at the temple of the Delian Apollo.

86080 That place of worship, already known so early, later became the center of a league of nations, which had the same significance for the Greek maritime states as Delphi had for the continental powers. Tradition spun a golden web of fantastic myths around the god's birthplace. One of Homer's followers composed a "legenda aurea" for the island. Pindar, in his language, glittering and glowing like Parisian marble, hewed an unforgettable celebratory hymn in honor of the barren strip of land exalted above all other places on earth by Leto's labor pains. The beauty of this song can only be

86085 judged by its original, the content of which is roughly as follows: "Hail to you, place captivated by the power of the gods, lovely origin of the children of Leto, the shining-haired one, you, daughter of the sea, unwavering wonder on the broad bosom of the earth; mortals call you Delos, but the blessed of Olympus call you the radiant star on the dark earth... For Delos used to drift on the rocking waves, tossed by the pressure of the winds, but when Leto entered it, swept along by the pains of the approaching birth, then from the trunk of the seabed sprang upright four diamond-footed columns and supported the rocky ground with their capitals; there she beheld her lovely offspring". In plain human language, ancient mythology textbooks tell us that Hera, in her jealousy, forbade the Earth to grant Leto a place to bear her children—Zeus was their father!—and that then the will of the supreme god created a new piece of land for his beloved by fastening the formerly floating Delos to the seabed.

86095 How this legend arose, and why she chose Delos in particular, we do not know. There have been those who claim that Delos could be called floating because it appears in a different place each time a voyage through the Cyclades takes place, but you will agree with me that such down-to-earth people—the ancients called them Euhemerists—should keep their hands off myths about the gods.

86100 In short, Delos was once and for all hallowed. The barren, relatively flat patch of land was considered a territory reserved only for the gods, therefore no suffering was allowed, no war was allowed to exist on that spot, it was solely intended for the inhabitants of all the cities belonging to the "Delian" alliance. Then followed competitions in music and physical exercises, where the victors were crowned with branches of the palm tree, whose praises Homer had already sung, dances and songs by young Delian women, who imitated the accents of all Greek peoples and proclaimed the praises of the three gods: Leto, Apollo, and Artemis. Primitive customs such as a

86110 "crane dance," performed in a gallery decorated with bulls' heads, and self-mortification with rods prove that these festivals are very ancient. When the Athenians took over management of the "Delia" in 426 BC and a plague broke out in their city shortly thereafter, they feared that the jewel, whose desecration through birth and death was carefully avoided, still suffered from a stain of the

86115 past. To erase these, they dug up the small amount of humus that had accumulated on the limestone and in its crevices, and removed the bodies of former inhabitants for whom the city had apparently not yet been so sacred. Furthermore, they were no longer satisfied with one large festival every four years, but enlivened the quiet solitude, also at other times with smaller ones. Thus, the priests of the temple were given the

86120 opportunity to engage in permanent occupation. This consisted, as we shall see, not only of preparing for the reception of the numerous revelers and visitors to the associated annual fair, but also of other "administrative" activities. We know quite a bit about this latter, because more than six hundred fragments of inscriptions have been found on the island, containing the sanctuary's accounts for

86125 several centuries. Those stone-engraved accounts, when leafing through them in the Bulletin de correspondance hellénique and the Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, look quite forbidding, but fortunately, some scholars—first the Frenchman Homolle, last the German Schock—have been kind enough to make them more accessible. I will now recount what they found in them, but first I want to summarize the further

86130 fortunes of the holy island, because they explain how we managed to find so much. Delos was under the direct rule of the Athenians from 426 to 316, then remained independent until 166. In the latter year, the Romans, who already had a considerable say in Greek affairs, transferred the administration back to Athens. After the

86135 destruction of Corinth in 146 BC, the will of the now all-powerful city of the Tiber turned it into a major trading center and the center of the slave trade. Of this type of human, greatly devalued by the incessant wars of that time, sometimes ten thousand copies were sold a day. In 87 BC, the growing prosperity of Delos came to a sudden end. A general of King Mithradates of Pontus plundered the temple and ravaged the city with fire and sword. Delos never recovered from this blow: by the time of

86140 Emperor Hadrian, it was desolate. The art treasures were, of course, successively transported to Rome and Constantinople, but there was no interest in inscriptions at the time. That is why the French, who had been conducting archaeological research on the island since 1873, found the hundreds of stone fragments covered in letters and numbers that I mentioned to you. We also know much about the temple, the priests, and

86145 everything related to it during the period of independence (the Athenians recorded their earnings in their own city) that we would not have expected after the profound piety of the Homeric hymn in honor of Apollo of Delos and the ardent adoration of Pindar. These documents, after all, only provide the financial side of the religious coinage. That, then, is what I will show you. Homol calculates the "god's fortune" in the year 279 BC at 5.5 million drachmas. Of this, approximately 5,300,000 represent the value of the temple, the buildings for

86150 worship, and the votive offerings. In a narrower commercial sense, one could call this large sum unproductive; in fact, it was the basis of the entire subsequent business, as I hope to demonstrate shortly. Yet, only approximately 200,000 drachmas can be called "mobile". What did the administrators do with it? How did they allocate that sum?

I beg you not to be surprised by the matter-of-factness of my language; we are

86160 dealing with... bankers. After all, temples always functioned as banks in ancient Greece. This is evident not only on the Holy Island, but I can also prove it to you from your grammar school reading. Just think again of Xenophon's Anabasis. In it, the author recounts that before the expedition of the pretender Cyrus to the interior began, he entrusted his savings to Mr. Megabuzos, official of the famous Temple of Artemis at Ephesus on the occasion of the celebration of the gods in peace.

86165 It was agreed upon that if Xenophon did not return, Megabuzos would use the money for a votive offering in his name. As we know, the leader of the Ten Thousand did escape with his life and could thus tell us how Megabuzos took advantage of the opportunity they both attended the festivals at Olympia to return the depositor's money—plus the accrued interest, ça va sans dire, although Xenophon doesn't mention it. That single

86170 sentence in the simply written booklet characterizes the economic significance of the temples and the great international festivals. In a few harsh but true words: the temples were centers of monetary trade, the festivals served as periods of settlement. These transactions were particularly favored by the religious peace,

86175 which was so absolutely respected that cashiers like Megabuzos did not hesitate to

undertake long journeys with very significant sums of money in their pockets. The financial developments of such a "temple bank" now reveal the Delian inscriptions down to the smallest detail. I have already mentioned that the largest portion of the capital consisted of the temple, its outbuildings, and the votive offerings placed or deposited everywhere. This seemingly inert investment actually bore very lively fruit. The larger and richer a temple area, the longer pilgrims needed to view it in its entirety. As more works of art can be admired in a "temonos," the number of "tourists" increases, seeking more enjoyment of art than edification. Now, everyone knows that nothing makes you as hungry as visiting a museum. Visitors to the quadrennial "panegyreis"—besides pious souls and tourists, also wealthy merchants and bankers, far from averse to life's pleasures—needed... restaurants. It was therefore the duty of the priestly authorities to ensure the taming of what Homer already called the "disrespectful stomach". A duty that could easily lead to the creation of a source of income. Travelers are usually generous, especially commercial travelers. No wonder, then, that we find these in the accounts of three temple-run hestiatoria (that's what eating houses in Athens are still called!). Globetrotters seem to have been attached to decorum even then. We find it recorded that before each festival, the eating houses were meticulously inspected, the walls were whitewashed, and the doors and windows were repaired. This periodic renovation proves that in ordinary times, such a large dining space was not needed. A similar phenomenon can be observed with regard to lodging. In the year 364, we find mention of 150 beds in the temple depots. Anyone who has ever stayed in a festive city knows that this means restless nights in bathrooms, salon floors full of sleeping arrangements, and so on. Nevertheless, the administration naturally took the best possible care of the "pilgrims". The better earthly needs were met, the richer the gifts collected after the festivals from the "offering blocks" dug in the ground next to the temple doors, the richer the donations in the form of cash or land. After each successful panegyric, the treasury felt fuller. And the priests were not the men to let this wealth go to waste. let it devour!

December 8, 1923 From the School of the Spade.
CXXXIX.
(Private correspondence.)
Rome, December.

Delos from the Practical Side. II.

Safest Investment. Land and Houses. How the Temple Came to Exploit the latter. Rapidly Changing Tenants. Industrialists and Schoolmasters. Tenements. Banking. Relations between the Secular and Spiritual Lords of Delos. The Fertilization of the Money of "Foundations". The Need for Sacrificial Animals. The Temple Menagerie and its Doves. The Manifold Uses of the latter. The Lack of Swans. How Busy the Priests Were.

According to experts, there is no more solid capital investment than that in real estate. Even more secure investments are distinguished according to the order of reliability, yet again, land from houses.

The administrators of the Delian House of God seem to have already accepted this gospel as their own; At least they began to apply it logically. Initially, outside the Temple, we only hear of "sacred domains," which the god likely received as gifts. The first "foundation" we know of, in any case, is that of the famous Athenian general Nieias. In 417 or 416 BC, he transferred a piece of land worth ten thousand drachmas (the drachma was then equivalent to the pre-World War I franc) to the administrators of the sanctuary. This "Domain" appears repeatedly in the accounts; it yielded between three and six percent interest annually. So, a safe, but not a very profitable investment, especially not in that time, one percent per month was considered normal.

The leasing of this and other landed property took place every ten years. Each time, an inventory was made of buildings, stables, herds, and, remarkably, also... doors. Was the climate of Delos so exceptionally mild? Or did no one dare steal there? The temple administration was always very strict with its farmers: it imposed heavy fines for the slightest delay in payment.

This was the first extremely cautious practice of rent cultivation, but soon the administration seems to have become less solid and began to focus on acquiring

cultivated land. The reason for this was religious. In 376, some inhabitants of Delos seem to have violated the Amphictyones, an originally sacred, later politicized association, of which we know little. The Amphictyones' helpers punished the criminals with the confiscation of their houses, which were donated to the temple. Later, other "sacred" dwellings came into his possession because debtors defaulted on their loans. Sometimes, homeowners also experienced a burst of generosity and transferred their property to the god. It is to be hoped that these were not all in the condition of the one donated by Stesileos in 378, which left the administrators with no choice but to sell to the public for demolition. An unexplained phenomenon, apparently unflattering to both parties, is that the houses changed tenants so frequently. The contract was concluded for five years and, after that period, was almost always transferred to a different name. During the independence of Delos (315-166 BC), the tenants were almost exclusively Delian; foreigners had to provide a local surety. During the preceding period, when Delos was under the control of Athens, we almost always find Athenians; After 166, when the Athenians ruled solely by the grace of the Romans, more and more Italians arrived. This is related to the Roman trade policy, which made Delos a free port to prevent a renewed flourishing of Corinth and to compete with Rhodes.

We can trace the history of twenty-six "holy houses": eight served exclusively as residences, while in the others some kind of trade was practiced. For example, we hear of a potter, a locksmith, a wool dyer, and a fish smoker. Moreover, the temple possessed two palaestras, in which, of course, gymnastics was not exclusively taught, just as in our grammar schools. One of these schools was run by the same "master" for twelve years. To encourage the zeal of the youth, the temple administration set aside from fifty to one hundred drachmas annually for "prizes". The increasingly vibrant trade increased the value of the houses and the land on which they stood. Therefore, as early as the end of the fourth century, the temple administration began adding upper floors to the workshops and shops, renting them out separately, and undertook the construction of tenements.

Increasingly, the temple took on the character of a veritable bank, making its floating capital productive in all sorts of ways. Delos became a center of monetary exchange. The secular community, which had apparently existed alongside the clergy for a long time, gratefully seized the opportunity of such a substantial savings pot in its immediate vicinity. A popular decree of 279 BC stipulated that 24,000 (later even 35,000) drachmas must always be available in the temples for the needs of the civil community. The latter seem to have frequently taken advantage of this opportunity to borrow. But the clergy did not surrender defenselessly. When the state withdrew an advance, it demanded a guarantee. Sometimes, Delos had to pledge its taxes, which in that case were deposited directly into the temple treasury. flowed; usually, the bank was satisfied with the moderate interest of ten percent.

Most private "foundations" intended to establish a capital, the interest from which was to be used to offer sacrifices to the god at specific times. The priests would not have been good financiers if they had not tried to generate more income from the sums deposited in this way. The only concession they made to the testamentary dispositions was to administer each "foundation" separately. Incidentally, this would usually have been the case with the three thousand drachmas that Echenike, daughter of Stesileos, bequeathed in her last will in 250 for an offering to Apollo and Aphrodite. We see this sum lent first to the city of Delos—the security was the "public revenues"—then to private individuals. Because these funds or their interest could not always be collected precisely on the date of the offering, the "hieropeioi" were sometimes required.

It was necessary to draw on the general temple treasury to fulfill its obligations. The temple naturally benefited most when state administrators attempted to gain its favor. They were always very generous, both in terms of "foundations" and in instituting festivals. Yet, we need not assume that these advances changed the political balance of power. Delos was and remained a neutral state. Perhaps that is precisely why the potentates, always at odds with each other and therefore usually struggling for money, were so attached to the bank, which could profit from all dynamics on the political chessboard and whose deposits were nevertheless respected by all.

But we find no traces of these "higher" financial transactions in the temple's books. They do, however, demonstrate that the priests, as befits good capitalists, were

- interested in all kinds of industrial enterprises. Thus, they levied tolls and harbor fees, operated a ferry service to Mykonos—one of the larger islands in the area—drew income, albeit very fluctuating, from searching for purple snails, and collected a fixed fee from fishermen in the "sacred pool".
- We, who are completely unaccustomed to bloody sacrifices, usually forget that a whole mass of animals must always have been available around each temple to satisfy the suddenly arising desire of the pious public to allow the celestials to enjoy the fat vapors, the only thing that rose to them from the altar. Whatever wasn't burned, as you know from Homer, ended up in human stomachs. In "more civilized" times, butchers probably intervened in this matter. I believe I once read that the people of Ephesus were actually only angry with Paul because he wanted to abolish sacrifices and thus harmed both the cattle breeders and the butchers.
- But to return to Delos. The barren island itself, of course, could not produce the animals needed for the sacrifices. So the priests were also entrusted with that care. Their records demonstrate that they handled the matter decisively. Apparently, a rich menagerie was associated with the shrine, which consisted mainly of gifts. The inhabitants of this zoo—which may have been one of the attractions—were partly sacrificed and partly sold. The latter, of course, only occurred when there was abundance or certain circumstances prevented their use as sacrifice. For example, we find that the body of a pig drowned in the sacred pool was sold for a mere penny. Birds, in particular, lived near the temple. The peacocks, gathered among them, were probably one of the attractions before they were slaughtered. There were also geese from Egypt, partridges, and especially pigeons. Not only were the eggs of the latter highly prized, but also... the guano they produced. A little sidetrack. The dove is the sacred bird of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. Now, Aphrodite enjoyed absolutely no special veneration on Delos. Yet, it was teeming with doves. Can we therefore assume that all the temples had "tilts"? They are indeed very charming creatures, especially beloved by tourists. Who doesn't remember the first fluttering flocks of doves in St. Mark's Square in Venice and the tame individuals perched on the hands of strangers, who were oh so eager to be photographed? In antiquity, beautiful statues stood in the open air at and in front of the temples. Doesn't it suddenly become clear to you why they wore a round metal plate—meniskos in Greek—on top of their heads? Wouldn't those meniskoi have served a double purpose: primarily to prevent the defilement of beauty, but also to serve as a receptacle for the highly prized waste? Incidentally, the priests would have ensured the cleaning of the temple peaks and gables before and after each festival.
- Now I can leave aside the zoo that so unexpectedly appeared before us, but not before mentioning that the accounts allocate a monthly sum for food and expressing my surprise that among all those hairy and feathered guests, not a single swan appears, even though the swan is the sacred bird of Apollo.
- Yes, the administrators of Delos' temenos certainly had plenty of work in the good old days, even outside the official festival season. They were involved in land leasing, slum landlordism, purplefishing, operated a ferry and a zoo, lent money to everyone, kings, the municipal government, and private individuals, traded in guano, etc.
- December 22, 1923 From the School of the Spade.
CXL.
(Private correspondence.)
Rome, December.
Delos from the Prosaic Side. III.
- Workers. The enviable fate of Greek slaves. The uniform wages of the fifth century. Numerous holidays and long labor contracts. Poorly paid temple officials. Appreciation of architectural talent. Stingy Delos and generous Delphi. Varying payments for inscription carvers. Foodstuffs and freight. Monopoly prices. Ivory and papyrus. The political price of resin.
- In the accounts of large enterprises, labor wages always occupy a prominent place. We may therefore hope to learn something from the accounts of the Delian temple about what so many consider the core of the social question. This will strike us as more ordinary than you might at first think, because you believe that slavery gave ancient society a very unique structure, making comparison with modern conditions impossible. I am putting it very formally, because in the realm of labor, we must always be completely serious, preferably tragic; Otherwise...
Let's take a sober look at the phenomenon of the "classical Greek slave". Whoever

bought a prisoner of war invested capital. Aside from all humanity—which was
86375 certainly not foreign to the Greeks—self-interest dictated maximizing the interest on
that investment, preferably so that amortization became possible before too many
years passed and the slave thus became unproductive. Now, a person can undoubtedly
work best (at that time, this didn't mean watching a machine create, but producing it
86380 themselves) when they are sufficiently fed. Therefore, the master had to give their
slave enough to eat. But even if they could work hard, that doesn't necessarily mean
they did. After all, they knew very well that their master wouldn't kill them,
because that would mean losing their capital, nor would they mistreat them severely,
because that would definitely reduce their productivity. Because the slave had to
earn more than the free laborer—remember the redemption of the purchase price—and
86385 didn't fear starvation, the latter actually came just as cheaply. Aristotle was
therefore entirely right when he called the "free" craftsmen a horde, performing
slave services for everyone, not just one.
But let me quickly leave the dangerous terrain of theoretical considerations behind
me. In the fifth century—as we learn from inscriptions from mainland Greece—
86390 construction workers earned one drachma per day: a standard wage that applied to both
the free overseer and the slaves under him.
After the fierce wars between the Greeks had caused the value of currency to decline,
craftsmen naturally had to earn more to at least somewhat approach the standard of
living before those wars. Therefore, we find that masons and carpenters at Eleusis in
86395 329 BC earned two and a half drachmas per day. I don't know why Delos could produce
more cheaply than Attica, but it's a fact that the maximum wage for skilled labor
there was two drachmas, and casual workers had to settle for much less: we even see
their wages drop by 16 percent in those years, despite the triple price of grain.
86400 Despite this high cost, it seems to have been possible to live on about one and a
half drachmas a day, but only if one could count on that amount every day.
Unfortunately, however, there were frequent feasts on the holy island. Since the free
workers also wanted to eat on those days, they insisted on monthly or annual
contracts, which at least guaranteed them against starvation.
Incidentally, the temple administration wasn't generous with its own permanent staff
86405 either! It had divided them into two classes. The lowest, which included, for
example, the flute players and the sextons, received an income of 120 drachmas per
year, which is two obols, or about fifteen cents in Dutch currency per day. The
sextons also received free clothing. Those on the second, higher scale received 180
drachmas per year, less than twenty-five cents per day. And this while the state
86410 slaves in Eleusis were allocated not only the same wages for food, but an additional
44 drachmas for clothes and shoes. The overseer of these slaves even received 280
drachmas per year, but he had to pay for his own clothes. So, the profession of slave
in the Athenian commonwealth wasn't so bad after all. The higher official class on
Delos earned 37 percent less, the lower even 47 percent less than they did. Did tips
86415 perhaps make up for the shortfall? One man on Delos, however, was better off in terms
of a fixed salary: the "architectoon," the chief architect of the temple. He received
no less than 720 drachmas annually and was therefore as financially strong as his
colleague at Eleusis. The appreciation of the intellect seems to have risen
considerably since the time of Pericles. We know from Athenian inscriptions that the
86420 architect of the Erechtheum, who was indeed one of the greatest artists the world has
ever known, had to settle for one drachma a day, exactly the same as his most foolish
slave!
In 340 BC, the chief architect of the temple area at Delphi received an unheard-of
amount: four drachmas a day. This almost unbelievably high payment for a state
86425 official coincided with a period of significant construction. The priests seem to
have understood the importance of such a position. Even stingy Delos, in such cases,
gives its architects three drachmas a day instead of two! Yet, Delphi lagged far
behind. Delphi, after all, used Aeginite currency, which was one and a half times
higher than Attic, so the four drachmas from there would have been worth six on
86430 Delos.
After 300 BC, a rapid and continuous decline in wages can be observed on Delos. A
typical example, relevant to the very material from which we draw all this
information, is that of the stonemason who created the temple inscriptions. For a
long time, this certainly not entirely foolish workman stipulated, and received, one
86435 drachma per hundred letters. This price was still paid in 302 to ascertain
Hermodikos, but later, he began to be increasingly cut back. In the same year of 302,
the same Hermodikos had to deliver 130 letters, five years later even 300! Around
250, we reach the lowest wage level. Then, the temple lords pay for an inscription—
354 lines with 42,000 letters—the sum of 120 drachmas, that is, one drachma per 350

86440 letters. But by now, the bow was apparently already too much. The inscriptions were so shamefully rushed that the commissioners became ashamed of them. They were apparently mindful of their good name with posterity and therefore, perhaps with a heavy heart, made the bold decision to return to the previous payment system. Less fortunate than the stonemason was the roofer—the man who kept the roofs of the

86445 various temple buildings in order—his wages decreased by 73 percent in half a century, and we hear of no improvement whatsoever. During the same period, food prices in Greece did fall, but ship freight increased, and intermediaries took on a higher percentage. The workers on Delos must have been in dire straits!

86450 Yes, those high freight rates would often have infuriated the islanders. The price of wine on the mainland, for example, was less than half of what the Delians were paying for it. And then there were the bricks! In 280 BC, they cost three drachmas per two hundred pieces at the factory ("they now write, I believe, "ex works"), while Delos added 7.5 drachmas freight! Other manufactured products, on the other hand, also

86455 became much more "reasonable" at their destination. For example, the fine linen robe given to the goddess Hera each year cost 40 drachmas in 306, but only 25 in 250. Sometimes, political events had a significant impact on prices. When Alexander the Great's conquests "opened" the East and Egypt to Greek trade, ivory, often used for statues, suddenly became four times cheaper. This already low price dropped by a

86460 third between 269 and 250. We do not know the cause of this remarkable phenomenon; it is assumed that the Seleucids—the rulers of Syria and its hinterland—then succeeded in ending the monopoly established by the Egyptian Ptolemies. These Ptolemies were generally very supportive of the system of "sole trade". Among other things, they reserved the production of papyrus at one point. This meant that a sheet of paper,

86465 which in 296 BC cost one obol on Delos, seventeen years later had to be paid for with one and a half to two drachmas: an increase of nine hundred to twelve hundred percent. It is no wonder that the rulers of Pergamon in Asia Minor began to focus on producing a different writing material, parchment, not yet unknown even to us. The "price fluctuation" of resin is quite remarkable. From 310 to 296 BC, the average

86470 per meter ($\frac{1}{2}$ H.L.) was 18 to 19 drachmas, whereas from 292 to 286 it was 27; the curve reached a peak of 40 in 279. Then, between 250 and 169, there was another significant decline to an average of 14.5; resin was particularly cheap in the last years before 169.

86475 These sharp fluctuations can be quite plausibly explained by political circumstances. Delos received this product exclusively from Macedonia. Macedonia, in antiquity, exhibited much the same peculiarities as in the past half century. There was never really any peace—the history of the kings before Philip and after Alexander the Great resembles a horror film played too fast. The country's production apparently suffered almost nothing. However, in 280, it suffered a formidable blow with the invasion of

86480 Gallic tribes. This crisis caused the price of resin to suddenly skyrocket. However, it soon fell back to normal. Only after 179 did the priests receive the apparently indispensable raw material for their business—it served, among other things, to make black dye and probably also for lighting—below its normal market value. This favoritism remarkably coincided with an exceptionally generous act by King Philip V.

86485 In the aforementioned year, he presented Apollo with no less than four gold wreaths worth a total of two thousand drachmas. Was he so exceptionally fond of Apollo or of the capital that was under his high protection? I venture to believe the latter, because the Macedonian king had been resting for ten years for a final battle against Rome and, of course, knew as well as other quarrelsome people that fighting requires

86490 money first, second, and third place. Whether the temple lords were swayed by the "most favored nation" clause in the export tariff on Macedonian resin and invested their good money in a very unpromising venture, I don't know. Perhaps they truly compromised and—as early as 166 BC—therefore returned Delos to Athens, which didn't hesitate for a moment to expel the Delians from their island and take over the

86495 temple's administration itself. This marks the end of the on-site recording of income and expenditure on stone, and thus of our economic reflections on the fate of this "sacred" money.

February 4, 1925 Excavations on Delos.

86500 As in previous years, the management of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden organized a series of archaeological lectures this winter. Last night, Brussels Professor Mayence, curator at the Musée du Cinquantenaire, opened the series of lectures. He spoke about the excavations on Delos, and in particular the temple buildings. Professor Mayence, who himself participated in these excavations for four

86505 years, began by providing an overview of the location and history of this small Greek

island, which is only about 5 km long and a few km wide. He demonstrated that the great prosperity that Delos experienced is a result of the religion that played an important role here from very early on. After all, Homer already sang the praises of this island as the mythological birthplace of Apollo and his sister Artemis. However, we lack virtually all literary information about ancient Delos. Pausanias, who left behind so many important references for other Greek centers, did not visit Delos. And the works of other Greek writers who did relate to the island have been lost. Therefore, systematic excavations were necessary. These studies were undertaken around 1880, under the direction of the Ecole française d'Athènes, and have continued with tireless zeal and extraordinary success to this day. Professor Mayence demonstrated how it is now possible, based on these investigations, to distinguish four periods in the development of Delos, ranging from approximately the 8th to the 1st century BC, during which the island alternated between prosperity, stagnation, and renewed prosperity, ultimately succumbing to violent destruction under Roman rule.

After providing an overview of the numerous temple buildings, the most important of which was dedicated to Apollo, the professor showed several striking examples of sculpture discovered during the work. He also pointed out the particular importance of the inscriptions found in the Temple of Apollo, which provide a detailed account of the temple's possessions and administration. Excellent slides enhanced this lecture, which was well-attended. Prof. Professor Mayence will give a second lecture on Friday, the 6th of this month (8:00 PM) in the lecture hall of the aforementioned Museum, on: "Les fouilles de Délos; la ville antique" (The Searches of Delos; the Ancient City).

February 8, 1925 Excavations on Delos. Professor Mayence gave his second lecture on Friday in the lecture hall of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, on the excavations on the island of Delos. While his first lecture had focused primarily on the temple buildings, he now discussed the city as it gradually developed around the quarter dedicated to the cult. After emphasizing that the excavations of the city section have only revealed houses from the third, second, and first centuries BC, and nothing is known of the houses that may have stood there during the Greek period of prosperity, the speaker pointed out the irregularity of the street layout and the arrangement of the houses. This was particularly evident in the plan of the section between the temple buildings and the theater were located there. Using several examples, the professor also showed what the main street, where numerous shops were located, must have looked like, how a well-maintained sewer system was constructed beneath the heavy paving stones, and how a water supply already existed.

Finally, Professor Mayence dwelt a little longer on some of the larger houses that were excavated, such as Cleopatra's, so named after a discovered inscription, and Dionysus's, so named because this god is depicted in a magnificent mosaic that was unearthed. He briefly pointed out how the excavations at Priene and those at Delos have given us a completely different view of the Greek house as depicted by Vitruvius. Delos is particularly important for the transitional period between Greek and Roman house types. This transition from Greek to Roman is also evident in the sculptures and the wall decorations of the houses. Indeed, the decorative art of Pompeii, commonly referred to as the first style, can be found on Delos. In summary, the speaker examined the results of the immense excavation work and concluded that, although the booty of artworks remains relatively small, Delos has nevertheless significantly enriched our knowledge of civilization and the way of life in the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods.

May 30, 1928 DELOS. The French excavation work. On Delos, the small island in the center of the Cyclades, the French have been conducting excavations since 1876. The Ecole française d'Athènes has now completed its research on the small island, which, viewed from the summit of Mount Cynthus, which is only one hundred and twelve m high, yet dominates the surface of a land five km long and several hundred km wide, gives the impression of a barren and infertile terrain. Legend has it that Delos was initially adrift, but was bound by Zeus with diamond chains so that Latona, who wanted to escape the jealousy of Hera, Zeus's wife, would have the opportunity to give birth to Apollo and Artemis. Consequently, the island became sacred ground for the Greeks. People traveled there from far and wide to offer sacrifices to Apollo and Artemis. Apollo's temple served for a time as the treasury of the Attic maritime confederation, until the treasure was transferred to Athens in

454 BCE.

In later times, Delos again held a special position. After Rome destroyed Corinth in 146 BC, it made Delos a free port to destroy Rhodes' trade. Italian merchants came there to collect all kinds of goods brought there from various countries, especially slaves. It is said that sometimes as many as twenty thousand slaves were sold in a single day. The prosperity thus created on Delos led to the construction of a population, abundant and wealthy for the small island, that built houses. Half a century later, wealthy Delos was plundered by Mithradates, the king of Pontus, Rome's enemy, and again in 88 BC by the pirate Athenodorus. Delos fell into complete disrepair and was abandoned, and the dust of the centuries accumulated in the narrow, sloping streets and in the houses. During the French excavations, the peristyle—the inner courtyard surrounded by a colonnade—was discovered for the first time, which was also found in Pompeii, for example. Among the beautiful residences from the prosperous period must have been this, the remains of which are depicted on the photo page: the home of a certain Cleopatra and her husband Dioscorides. The forecourt is surrounded by columns of Parian marble. Further in the background, one can see the damaged statues representing their owners.

On one side of Mount Cynthus, one descends to the sacred lake, on whose western shore some primitive sculptures on pedestals—see the photo page—representing lions can be seen.

August 17, 1928 THE LOST ANCIENT WORLD DELOS

The story of prosperity and decline.

When Odysseus wanted to express his admiration for the princess who so kindly approached him, the naked shipwrecked sailor, he compared her to the slender palm tree of Delos, rising beside the altar of Apollo. Such is the age-old fame of Delos, the only island willing to offer hospitality to Leto when she was about to give birth to her son Apollo, and rewarded for this with the construction of temples and the fumes of endless sacrifices. Delos was the center of religious life, and also of the political unification of Ionian Greece. Later, under the Romans, it became for a time the center of world trade. But like the Ionians "with trailing hems" and their beautifully girdled women, the Romans also passed by, and Delos once again became a barren, barely inhabited islet, now low and insignificant. The harbor has silted up, the quays have disappeared. Where they must have been, rushes grow: large, thorny forests. Further on, it seems like a field of stones and marble blocks, from which here and there a column or base rises.

The French Archaeological Institute in Athens excavated here at the end of the last century and uncovered much that the earth hid. Unfortunately, these were not countless works of art in marble and bronze, nor famous votive offerings or temple statues. Many generations of people had already worked to destroy what earlier generations had created with love and a deep sense of art. But the foundations of buildings were exposed, and the bases of many statues, and from the inscriptions found, a part of Delian history suddenly became clear again.

As we step ashore, a delightful scent of flowers greets us: the only thing Apollo can still offer in his birthplace. Within his sacred temple precincts, directly opposite the main harbor, where Leto and Artemis also had their places of worship, nothing but the lowest rows of stones remain standing. A few centuries ago, the gigantic statue of Apollo, dedicated by the Naxians, lay stretched out on the ground here; anyone whose fate led them to Delos could pick up their ruler and later tell stories of miracles back home. But when the French began, only a hand, a piece of thigh, and the upper part of the chest and back, bearing the outline of Apollo's archaic long locks, remained. The temples can be found, but the famous altar, built from the horns of sacrificed cattle, has been permanently obliterated. It is a tangle of foundations, foundations of temples, treasuries, and colonnades. Wall lizards and larger, yellow-headed reptiles crawl over the stones, their scaled bodies rustling dryly, and the ground is strewn with a soft purple gypsophyllum. Rebuilding antiquity above these stone blocks and floral splendor is impossible; there's too little left. There, for example, lies the round base of the bronze palm tree that the Athenian Nicias once consecrated. But what did the palm look like? It has gone the way of all bronze: melted down, perhaps repurposed into kitchen utensils.

But there are places more suggestive than Apollo's ruined temenos, where there's more material left for the imagination, which longs to see, if only for a moment, the afterglow of the ancient world. Delos, always a trading port, has, like no other place of such limited size, experienced an era of material prosperity. That was when Corinth was destroyed by the Romans, and Delos became a free port, connecting trade

between East and West. Then, thousands of Italian merchants came to live there, and the Easterners—Jews and Zyrrians—moved there in droves. The large market squares are still clearly visible, where once the most important business was discussed and conducted in the shadow of the colonnades that surrounded them.

So there lies the great Roman market before us, purple with flowers: a gigantic square, outlined by poros blocks—for the columns have long since disappeared. On one side, something remains of the shops and warehouses that formed the back of the colonnades.

Here and there, a colorful patch of mosaic still shines, perhaps once the pride of the owner.

The foreign merchants also had their large meeting buildings on Delos: clubhouse and temple closely combined, for each meeting was under the protection of some deity.

Their place has been rediscovered; Of one of them, that of the merchants from Beyrout, two intact columns, topped by a piece of architrave, could still be raised: the reflection of the water, which once lay beneath the now-collapsed mosaic floor of the colonnade, ripples gently across the white marble. What a history—and what desolation!

There stands another reminder of even earlier times, when there was no Roman world power, when there was not even that wonder, the classical art of Greece. It is the row of lions, which the Naxians, following the Egyptian example, erected along the former temple path. They are ugly in shape, with their overly elongated bodies; they are broken, weathered, and worn; some have acquired the smooth heads of seals, as time has worn away everything that gave them form. Yet that incomplete, broken row is still impressive: how many centuries have passed over them, and yet they still stand there with open mouths, as if watching over Apollo's sacred lake, which lay across the road.

Alas, no one bothered the old guardians, for the lake has been desecrated: filled with malaria mosquitoes. Within the enclosure, a rusty chicken cart stands amidst freshly dumped earth and stones. And the slender palm tree has also disappeared.

"Everything flows; nothing remains," said the old philosopher.

To the left of the museum, which the French built for the found artifacts and inscriptions, we now turn into Stadionstraat: the stadium was on the other side of the island. Soon the paved road turns into a narrow footpath that winds across the fields; we open a wooden gate and climb a little further over a stone dividing wall. On top of the low ridge of the island stood the gymnasium, with a magnificent view of the sea on two sides. Along the walls, the low benches where the boys sat to rest, and where the others sat to watch, still stand. The stadium, a little further on, is clearly visible, but little remains of the seating. Only the houses that stood behind it, even further towards the sea, stand: the walls there, several m high, still stand, and we can walk through the narrow streets and look at the street altars where the father of the house offered sacrifices when returning home, so that his arrival would be blessed. They were often vividly painted with sacrificial scenes, but alas: the colors, which defied centuries, can no longer withstand full daylight after the long darkness: soon, nothing will remain of all the wall paintings except the images created during the excavations.

Near the stadium district, by the sea, stands a building that also provides evidence of Delos's international significance around 100 BC. It is a synagogue. On the excavated floor, a few votive altars of a peculiar shape, dedicated in Greek to the Most High, still stand. This monument to Jewish faith is moving amidst all that polytheism. Polytheism indeed, although this island was pre-eminently Apollo's property, for the sun god shared the worship here with many other gods; he seems not to have been jealous.

Anyone who takes the path to the summit of Delphi's (Delos's) only mountain, Cynthia, which rises just over a hundred m above the sea, will see the facade of a small temple from afar. It is a facade without a roof or side walls, but amidst so many scattered broken stones, it is nevertheless impressive. In the temple hall, a fragment of the statue of a heavily robed woman still stands. This woman, who in no way resembles an Egyptian, represented Isis; this upward path is the district of the foreign gods, who arrived with merchants from afar. Serapis, whose worship became so popular during the Roman Empire, was also worshipped there, and the mysterious Habira had a large sanctuary there. There is a small theater here, where mysteries were likely performed for a private circle of initiates; there are also banquet halls with mosaic floors, where cults gathered around the table. All foreign gods were initially tolerated by the government, and then the followers themselves took care of the maintenance of their sanctuary. Often, the capitals of the columns still bear the

- name of the donor. But after some time, the government took charge of the foreign cult. Beneath the statue of Iris, it is stated that the Athenians—rulers of Delos in that wholesale period—erected it in her honor. Thus, we see the state adopting new deities without much hesitation. The stones speak for themselves.
- A small temple of the truly Greek goddess Hera also stood here, since ancient times. To that small temple, we owe a treasure trove of vases from all periods. For damaged or very old temple vessels were never thrown on the rubbish heap: they remained dedicated to the deity, and as such, inalienable. To dispose of them, they were buried in the ground in or near the temple. Thus, beneath the floor of the Heraeum, the ancient temple inventory was discovered, which later generations no longer valued, having been replaced by more valuable items. Reminders of the religious veneration of Delos's countless inhabitants lie all the way up to the top of Cynthia: alas, nothing stands there anymore. It is a mosaic floor, or a piece of foundation, from which one must deduce what once was here.
- The summit of the mountain offers a magnificent view. Surrounding it lie the Cyclades, which form the circle around sacred Delos. Nearby is Rhenea, now almost uninhabited, where the Delians once went to die, for since the 5th century BC, no one was allowed to die, nor to be born, on this sacred ground. Over there lies Mykonos with its un-Dutch windmills, and Tinos. Further away, very hazy, for even here the view is rarely clear, lie Paros and Naxos. All are almost bare rocks, rising from the bright blue sea.
- At the foot of the mountain lay the quarters of the wealthiest merchants, the best-preserved part of the city. The walls and column shafts still stand m high: we can still walk in and out of the rooms and admire the mosaic floors. The streets along which they lay are incredibly narrow, but what did that really matter to the ancient houses, which were open inward to allow sun, wind, and street noise to enter.
- To keep away from the nuisance. Riding was out of the question on those steep slopes. And below lay Delos's principal port. In ancient times, hundreds of elegant ships arrived there for the annual ceremonies, carrying festive envoys, stately sacrificial bulls, and precious votive offerings. There also entered the wreathed triumvirate, whose return Socrates had to await before he could drink the poisoned cup. Merchandise, handicrafts from all regions came there—how we wished we had the contents of just one such ship! Much misery must have been endured there in that silted-up bay, where now a single barque lies resting in the fierce midday sun. For the Romans, in need of slaves, turned a blind eye to the pirates of the coasts of Asia Minor coming here to market their plunder. There were days when thousands of slaves were brought here and immediately sold off to an unknown future, far from home and family. Then, during the Mithridatic War, came the battle that ended it all: one of Mithridates' generals ravaged the island and killed 20,000 inhabitants. That was in 88 BC. Twenty years later, the pirates did the same thing again. After that, trade sought other avenues and abandoned the rocky island of Apollo. When the foreigners had departed and the harbors became empty, the native population gradually disappeared. And now, after all the unspeakable beauty and all the boundless misery of the ancient world, Delos lies barren and lonely again, as before the dawn of history, amidst the deep blue waters.
- A. Roes.
- January 31, 1931 THE CIVILIZATION OF DELOS. The latest bulletin of the "Association for the Promotion of Knowledge of Ancient Civilization," as we have already mentioned, contains a contribution by Emilie Haspels about the excavations on the remarkable, smallest of the Cyclades islands, Delos; remarkable because it contains the remains of the largest and most important number of ancient houses known in Greece. She visited these houses, accompanied by the excavation leaders, Messrs. Roussel, director of the Ecole Française d'Athènes, and J. Chamonard (Exploration archéologique de Delos).
- These houses are remarkable for life in a city populated by merchants from the Levant, Greece, and Italy during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The houses of this trading city date mainly from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. In 166 BC, Rome made Delos a free port, and the island's great economic prosperity began. And the inscriptions teach that the flourishing of trade was accompanied by an increase in population, as evidenced by the rise in rents. This heyday lasted less than a century. The city was repeatedly plundered, and a poor population then lived amid the ruins of the merchants' palaces.
- The author then recounts the renewed excavation in July and August of last year,

86770 after many years of inactivity. She describes the quadrangular block (insula) of
houses excavated last summer, near the previously excavated "House with the
Dolphins". This insula consists of four houses, one large, the other medium-sized.
86775 The large house, "the house with the masks," has a courtyard leading to four rooms
with mosaic floors. Numerous fragments of delicate mosaic have also been unearthed
from the upper floor, as well as pieces of wall paintings, lotus borders, and floral
festoons. The large hall has a regular mosaic pattern of bands folded back and forth;
On both sides, a row of tragic masks is decorated in bright colors: black, white, and
red. On each side, five masks are spaced evenly, with ivy tendrils between them; one
mask with a beard and one without, alternating.

86780 The other rooms also feature mosaics depicting birds, dolphins, and stylized leaves.
One room depicts Dionysus riding a panther, holding a thyrsus with a bandelette in
his right hand and a tambourine in his left. The description of this composition
reveals that this Dionysus has the highest decorative and aesthetic value of all the
mosaics excavated on Delos thus far.

86785 These rooms, with their beautiful mosaic floors, were naturally furnished with equal
care and artistry. But not a trace of this furniture remains, not even a fragment. It
was removed and used in the poorer period, when the remaining population lived on
Delos. Only a few smaller objects were found: fragments of marble statues, a sundial,
many shards of glass, pottery, and some children's toys. And then a mass of pottery
86790 lamps. Each room must have had these on all sides, in niches, on the walls, and on
the tables.

Besides other statues, the most important find is a standing male portrait, found in
pieces here and there, as if the later inhabitants of Delos had already been dragging
this statue around.

86795 Not so.

The least interesting aspect of Miss Haspel's description is her attempted
reconstruction of the town of Delos, where, due to the many temples and sanctuaries,
there is hardly any room for the houses crowded together. Streets are sparse, as they
slip between the houses, like irregular channels, "which the houses were kind enough
86800 to leave open to traffic".

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Inscriptions and translations

86835 **IG XI.2 154 (296 BC) and IG XI.2 154 AB (296 BC) (non-stoichedon)**
<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/62616>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160419062608/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translations/154translation.htm>

This is the first (apparently) complete Independence inventory; it begins toward the bottom of side A and is preceded by a list of expenses, unlike other inventories which are either on a side separate from accounts or on a separate stone. The absence of a list of receipts or of a year-end balance suggests that there was at least one other stele of accounts. The absence of the Artemision treasure is surprising, and it may have been on another stele; the Temple of the Delians has been renamed the Temple of Apollo. The inventory is dominated by the silver cups stored in the Hieropoion until completion of the Apollo Temple; these are described in considerable detail and weighed, in contrast to the groupings (unweighed!) of established treasures of the Temple of the Athenians (pointedly renamed the Temple of the Seven Statues) and of the Apollo Temple. There are more than twice as many named dedicants as in 104; most have no ethnic, some undoubtedly because they are Delians. The proportion of female dedicants is somewhat lower than in 104 (21% vs 29%).

face A {²initio vss. 2-3 deleti}²

[— — — — — — — — — —] ΟΙΟΥΚΑ[— — — — —] ΗΣ[— —]

[□□□] ΔΔΔ□· πίσης [μετρηταὶ παρὰ] Διακρίτου [— — — — —c. {²dim. vs.}² — — —]

[□□□] μισθωτοῖς· Η· Κόμα[ιθο]ς ἐξέλαβεν ἐξαλειψαί — — —c.20 — — τῶν]

[ιε]ρῶν? καὶ τῶν ἐστιατο[ρίω]ν τὰς θύρας καὶ τὰς θυρίδ[ας — —c.15 — —]

5 δραχμῶν· ΔΔ· εἰς τὴν [πα]λαίστραν τὴν κάτω δοκὸν ἐπ[ιθέντι —c.12—]

ὡς δραχμῶν· □□· ταύτην [ἐξ]έλαβεν ὑποθεῖναι Ἀγλῶστρατος δραχμ[ῶν □□□□□□]

τῆς δ' ὑφαίρεθείσης δοκο[ῦ τὸ] χρήσιμον ὑπὸ τὸ πρόδομον τῆς κάτω [παλαίστρας]

86860 ὑπέθηκεν· μισθωτοῖ[ς πρὶ]σσι τὴν δοκὸν· □□□· κήλων εἰς παλαίστρα[ν □□□□□]·

τὸ τειχίον τοῦ [ιε]ροῦ Σω[σίου]ς ἐξέλαβεν ἀνοικοδομήσαι δραχμ[ῶν □□□□□□]

10 □□□· ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον [κ]έρα[μον] ἐπιθέντι καὶ διακεσαμένῳ τὸλ λοιπὸν[ν □□□□□]

Δ□□□· μηνὸς Ἀ[η]λυναιῶ[νος ἱερο]μηνίαι ἀρῆν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι· □□□□□· εἰς [ιε]ρισμὸν?

86865 □□□□□· ὑπηρέτει [Μ]ενε[κλεῖ? μ]ηνῶν τεττάρων μισθός· ΔΔΔΔ· τοῦ [λοι]-

ποῦ χρόνον Μί[κ]λων [Η□□□□]· γραμματεῖ Τεράρχῳ· □ΔΔΔ· κήρυκι Φιλωνύ[μω]

Δ· ἰνωποφύλακι Δη[μάκω]ι ΔΔΔΔ· νεακόρῳ εἰς τὸν θεδόν· Δ· ἐλαίου εἰς [ιε]ρο-

15 πόιον χόρος· □□□□· τιμὴ [· εἰς ἰ]ερισμὸν οἴνου μετρητῆς· Δ· ξύλων τὰ(λαντα)· ΔΔΔ□□□□□·

vac. μισθωτοῖς ἀνακομίσασιν· □□· τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Θεοδοφορίῳ τὸ τειχίον.

86870 ἀνοικοδομήσαντι Τιμοκρίτῳ· Δ□□· σκαφεῖον παρ' Εὐκλέους· □□□□□· μηνὸς Ἰε-

ροῦ εἰς τὸν χορὸν δαῖδες· □□· ξύλα, ῥυμός· □□· ὀβελίσκοι [— — —] παρ' Ἡρακλείδ[ου]

καὶ Ὀδοιτέλους· Δ□· ἡμίτειαν ἐπισκευάσαντι Ἡρακλείδ[ῳ] □□· Κρίτωνι τοῦ [Διός?]

20 τὸν βωμὸν ὁμαλίσαντι· □□□□· τοῖς κοσμηταῖς ἀνά[λ]ωμα· Δ□□□□· σκαφεῖ[ον]

86875 Ἡρακλείδῃ κατασκευάσαντι· □□□· ταῖς ἱερέαις εἰς τὴν κόσμησ[ιν] τῆς Ἡ-

ρας· Δ□□□□□· ὀθόνιον παρ' Ἑρμαίου τῆς Ἡραι· ΔΔΔΔ· εἰς τὸ[ν] χορὸν τοῖς Ἀ[ρ]τε[μι]-

σίοις δαῖδες □□ ξύλα καὶ vac. ῥυμός· □□□□· τῇ ὀγδόῃ δαῖδες· : ξύλα καὶ ῥυμὸς[ς]·

τὸ Λευκόθιον ἀνοικοδομήσαντι Φιλοκράτει· □□□□· χάριτος· □□□□□ Καί[κ]ωι? θύ-

25 ρας ἐπισκευάσαντι τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Προπύλου· □□□□□· Ἀρτίμαι [— c.10 — — —]

86880 τὶ τὰ θύρια καὶ ἐνοικοδομήσαντι· □□□· ταῖς ἱερέαις· □□□□· πτ[ῶμα] ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πουλ[υ]-

δάμαντος Τιμοκρίτου παιδί ἀνοικοδομήσαντι· □□· [χοῦν? ἀνακαθ]άρασι [πε]-

ρὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος· □□□□□□· Ἀριστοκρίτῳ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τ[ῷ]

Θεοδοφορίῳ καὶ τὸν τοῖχον καὶ τὰς κρηπίδας ἐξαλείψαντι· □□· τὸ τειχί[ον τῆς]

86885 30 παλαίστρας Ἀριστοκρίτῳ καταλείψαντι· Δ□· τὸ τέγος τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἐπ' Ὀ[ρτυ]-

γία καὶ τὸ τῆς κρήνης Εὐβίῃ καταλείψαντι· Δ□· Φιλοκράτῃ πτῶμα ἐν τ[ῷ]

τοῦ Πουλιδάμαντος ἀνοικοδομήσαντι· □□□□· χαλκία ἐπισκευάσαντι Δ[ια]-

δήλῳ· □□□□□□· Ἀριστοκρίτῳ τὸ φρέαρ τὸ ἐν παλαίστραι περικονιάσαντι· □·

86890 Ἡρακλείδῃ τὸν κρατῆρα καὶ τὸ οὔς τοῦ κῶθνος ἐπισκευάσαντι· □□□□□· [β]ιβλία· □·

35 Λεωφῶντι τὰ πτώματα τὰ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου ἀνοικοδομήσαντι· ΔΔ□□· τὸν

πανιώνιον στεγνώσαντι καὶ κλύσαντι Ἡρακλείδῃ· □□□□· κηρὸς παρὰ Λύδου· □·

{²vac.}² πίσσα· □□□· Ἡρακλείδῃ οἶνοχορὸν ἐπισκευῇ· □□□· τοῖς τὸ Διοσκούριον [κα]-

θηραμένοις· Δ□□· τοῦ οἰκῆματος τοῦ ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστολογίῳ τὸ τέγος Παρ-

86895 μένοντι κατασκευάσαντι· □□□□□· τὸν ἐν τῷ Λητώϊω φοῖνικα περικαθάραντι

40 Τιμησιέργῳ· □□· μισθωτοῖς τὸ τειχίον τὸ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν πεσὸν ἀνελοῦσ[ιν]

□□□· τὸν καπρῶνα ἐπισκευάσαντι· □· τότε Βάλαγρος ἦλθεν, δαῖδες εἰς τὸν χ[ο]-

ρὸν· □□□□□· ξύλα καὶ ῥυμός· □□□· τοῖς Ἀντιγονεῖοις δαῖδες εἰς τὸν χορὸν· □□[□□]·

86900 ῥυμός καὶ ξύλα· □· τοῖς τὴν σκηνὴν κατενέγκασιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν· □□□□· ξύλον εἰς τὸν φα[λ]-

λὸν παρὰ Ἀντιγόνου· ΔΔΔ· τοῖς παραγαγοῦσι τὸ ξύλον· □□· ποιήσαντι Καί[κ]ωι· □□□·

45 Σωστράτῳ γράψαντι· □□□□· εἰς τὰλλα· □□□□□□□□· τὸ χαλκίον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς[ς]

τοῦ Κυνθίου ἐπισκευάσαντι· · πέτευρον τῷ λόγῳ· □□□· δέλτος τῷ λόγῳ· □□□□·

Σωστράτῳ λευκώσαντι· □□□· ἀετὸν εἰς τὴν θυρίδα τοῦ ἐπ' Ὀ[ρτυγία] οἴκου ποιή-

86905 σαντι· □□□□□· πίσης κεράμια τέσσαρα παρ' Ἡροδώρου Χίου ἀνὰ· Δ□□□□· vac.

{²c. 3 vss. vacant}²

49 ἐπὶ Φίλλιδος ἄρχοντος τάδε παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Διακρίτου, Δεξι-

50 [κράτους], Φίλλιδος· ἐν τῷ {²versus consulto erasus}²

[νεῖδι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· στεφάνου]ς χρυσοῦς ἐπ[τὰ κ]αὶ δέκα· στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν
[Δάτιδος? ἀνάθημα· στέφαν?]ον χρυσοῦν Ἀρισταίχμου ἀνάθημα· φιάλας τρεῖς
[ἄς Σησιλέως ἀνέθηκ]ε· ῥόδον ἀργυροῦν Δεξικράτους ἀνάθημα· στέφανον
[χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς κόμης? ὁ]ν Τιμοκράτης ἀνέθηκεν· ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν· κρα-
55 [τῆρα — — — — — δακτι]υλ[ί]ους ὑπαργύρους διακοσίους εἴκοσιν, ὑποχρύσους
[σιδηροῦς ἐννέα? κηρύ]κε[ι]ον ἀργυροῦν· χαλκοῦν· κληῖδας τρεῖς τοῦ νεῶ οὗ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ
ἀγάλματα· ἐγ κιβωτίῳ χρυσίον σταθμῷ παντοδαπὸν παρελάβομεν ὀλκὴν δρα-
χμὰς ἑβδομήκοντα τέτταρας τρεῖς ὀβολοῦς· ἀπὸ τοῦτου ἀφείλομεν εἰς στεφά-
νην τῇ Λητοίᾳ κατὰ ψήφισμα δήμου ὀλκὴν δραχμὰς· ΔΔ· ἀργυροῖο τοῦ παντοδαποῦ
60 σὺν τῷ γαλκιδικῷ καὶ τοῖς μνησίοις ὀλκὴν δραχμὰς πενήτηκοντα ὀκτώ. vac.

In the archonship of Phillis we took over the following from the hieropoioi Diakritos, Dexi[krates], (50) Phillis

[In the Temple of Apollo.] seventeen gold [crow]ns; gold collar [...]; gold [crow]n, dedication of Aristaichmos; three phialai [which Stesileos dedicate]d; silver rose, dedication of Dexikrates; crown [...w]hich Timokrates dedicated; silver cup; kra[ter][...]ings (55) silvered two hundred twenty; gilded [...st]aff silver. Bronze: three keys of the Temple of the Seven Statues. In a chest we received by weight various gold, weight seventy four drachmas, three obols; from this we subtracted (gold) for the crown for Leto voted by the demos, weight 20 drachmas. Weight of various silver (60) with the Chalcidian (coin) and the little moons, fifty-eight drachmas.

ἐν τῷ νεῷ οὗ τὰ ἑπτὰ ἀγάλματα· φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς τριάκοντα· ποτήρια τέτταρα
ἀργυρᾶ· στεφάνους χρυσοῦς ἡρτημένους πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ εἴκοσι ἕνα καὶ συντε-
θλασμένους ἐγ κιβωτίῳ δύο· ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ· φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν Καλλικλέους ἀνά-
θημα· φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς τρεῖς Ταυρομενιτῶν ἀνάθημα· φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν Εὐθυδίκου
65 ἀνάθημα· στεφάνους δύο χρυσοῦς ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν. καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἐν τῷ νεω-
[κ]ορίῳ· ὀβελίσκου· □ΔΔ□III· καὶ εἷς κατεαγὼς· δέλτου τρεῖς· ἀρυστήρας τρεῖς· λεκάνη
[α]κῆ· ἐπιχύτας τέτταρας· τούτων δύο διαπεπτωκότας· ἡμιτείας δύο· ἀρυστῆ
[ρας τρ]εῖς· κρατήρας ἕξ· τούτων εἷς διαπεπτωκὼς· ὑπόστατα τρία· δῖνον· βομβυλιόν·
[□□□ γα?]στρεῖς τρεῖς· ψυκτήρας τέτταρας· πέλεκυν· χοῦν χαλκοῦν· τυροκνηστ[ιν]· κληί-
70 [δας δύο? τ]οῦ τε Διοσκουρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ὀρυγίας· κυάθους τρεῖς· κύλικας χαλκᾶς
[-c.8-9- ὁ]κτώ, τὰ δύο πεπτωκότα· ἡμὸν χαλκοῦν· χυτρογαύλους τρεῖς σα-
[κνοῦς καὶ ἄλλ]α χυτρογαύλια σαπρὰ τρία· οἶνοχόαι παλαιαὶ δέκα πέντε· ἄλλα τρεῖς
[οἶνοχόαι ὑγί]εις. vac.

In the Temple of the Seven Statues. Thirty silver phialai; four silver cups; twenty-one gold crowns fastened to the wall and two crushed (crowns) in a chest. **In the Prodomos:** silver phiale, dedication of Kallikles; three silver phialai, dedication of the Tauromenitans; silver phiale, dedication of Euthydikos (65); two gold crowns over the doors.

And the following others **in the Neokorion**. 78 skewers and one broken one; three tablets; three ladles; lekanis [...]; four beakers, two of these fallen apart; two hemiteiai; three ladles; six kraters, one of these fallen apart; three stands; dinos; bombulion; three [...] STREIS; four coolers; ax; bronze chous; cheese grater; [...] keys, of the (70) Dioskourion and of (the shrine) of Ortygia; three kyathoi; bronze kylixes; 8 [...]. two fallen; bronze strainer; three leaky buckets and another three rotten; fifteen old oinochoai, another three sound. [space]

face B {²initio vss. 3-4 deleti}²

1 [- - - - - λ]υχνεῖα τέτταρα I[- - - - -]
[- - - - -] τήρια τρία· τούτων ἐν [διαπε]-
[πτωκός? - - - - -] τούτων αἱ τέτταρες διαπε[πτώ]-
[κασιν]· προσ[κεφάλαια και?]νὰ δύο· κλίνας ἐν τῷ ἱεροποιῶι τρεῖς· ἅ[λ]-
5 [λας? δέ]κα ἕξ, [τὰς μὲν] δέκα [έ]ξερρωγύας, τὰς δὲ κατεαγύας· τράπεζα[ν].
[ποτ]ήρια ἀργυρᾶ τάδε παρελάβομεν σταθμῶι ἐν τῷ ἱεροποιῶι· κ[ύλι]-
[κας] χελιδονεῖας ἐννέα σὺν ἡῖ Αὐτῷ ἀνέθηκεν, ὀκτὴ πεντακόσι[αι]
[πεν]τήκοντα· φιάλας δύο ἂν ἑμπεδος τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀνέθηκεν, ὀκτ[ῆ]
[έκατ]ὸν ἑβδομήκοντα μία, ὀβολός· φιάλας δύο, Πολεμίδος ἀνάθημα,

[...]amps four [...]ers, three, one of these [...] three small kraters, one of these brok[en[...]cof these the four have fall[en| apart]; two [ne]w pillows; three couches **in the Hieropoion**; ot[hers, s]ixteen, (5) ten broken apart, the others collapsed; table. The following silver cups we took over by weight **in the Hieropoion**: nine swallow kylixes with the one Ado dedicated, weight five hundred fifty; two phialai which Empedos dedicated to the Dioskouroi, weight one hundred seventy one (and) an obol; two phialai, dedication of Polemis, [weight] one hundred

10 [ὀλκῇ ἐ]κατὸν τετταράκοντα ὀκτώ· φιάλη Κλέωνος καὶ Ξενοκράτους
[ἀνάθη]μα, ὀλκῇ ἐνενηήκοντα ἑξ· [κ]υμ[β]ία τέτταρα, ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἄλλα
[ἐγ Δῆλο]υ, ὀλκῇ ἑκατὸν τετταράκοντα· [κυ]μβίον ὑπὲρ Κριτόλης, ὀλκῇ εἴκοσι
[τέτταρ]ες· κύλιξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα ἑπτά·
βατιάκη Ἐπαρχίδου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑβδ[ομή]κοντα ὀκτώ· κύλιξ Τηρόως ἀ[νάθη]-

- 86980 15 [θ]ημα, ὀλκῇ ἐβδομήκοντα ἕξ· κυμβίον Ἐλπίνου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τριάκοντα ἑπτὰ· κύλιξ Θηρίκλειος Δημοσ[ῶντος ὑ]πὲρ [Ἐπαρχ]ίδου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατὸν τέττα[ρες – –c.10– –]ΚΥΔΟ[– –c.9– –] ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τριάκοντα ἕξ· βατιάκη Νικίδος [ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ] ἑ[κατόν]· κυμβίον Ἐπινφίδα ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τετ-
ταράκοντα [– – –c.24– –]ου Μυκονίου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκα-
(10) forty eight; phiale dedication of Kleon and Xenokrates, weight ninety-six; four kymbia inscribed "prizes [from Del]os", weight one hundred forty; kymbion, on behalf of Kritole, weight twenty four; kylix, dedication of Alexander, weight a hundred thirty seven; batiake, dedication of Eparchides, weight seventy eight; kylix, dedication of Tereus,
- 86985 (15) weight seventy six; kymbion, dedication of Elpines, weight thirty seven; Therakleian kylix, dedication of Demoson on behalf of [Epar]chides, weight one hundred four [...] dedication, weight thirty six; batiake [dedication] of Nikis we[ight one hund]red; kymbion, dedication of Epinoidas, weight forty [...] dedication of [...] dikos from Mykonos, weight one hundred
- 86990 20 τὸν ἐξήκοντα τέτταρε[ς· – –c.12– –]ς Δημοσῶντος ἀνάθημα ὑπὲρ Δη-
μέου, ὀλκῇ ἑκατὸν πέντε[ς? – –c.10– –] Φε[ιδ]ιάννακτος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ πεντή-
86995 κοντα τέτταρες· φιάλαι [δύο □□□□□]ος ἀνάθημα Διοσκοῦροις, ἡ μὲν διαπε-
πτωκῆα, ἡ δὲ σακνή, ὀλκῇ [□□□□□]κοντα ὀκτώ· κύλιξ μεγάλη, τῶμ Πολυάρχου
ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τριακό[σιν] τριάκοντα ὀκτώ· βοὸς προτομή Ἀμύντα ἀνά-
25 θημα, ὀλκῇ τριακόσιν ὁ[γδοή]κοντα· φιάλη Ἀμύντα ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκα-
τὸν πεντήκοντα τρεῖς· κλεψύδρα <ῥ>ς ὀλκῇ τετταράκοντα πέντε· κυμβί[ον]
87000 Μενύλλου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τριάκοντα μία· κυμβίον Εὐμήδους ἀνάθη-
μα, ὀλκῇ τριάκοντα τέττα[ρ]ες· κυμβία δύο Μενύλλου ἀναθήματα, ὀλκῇ πεντή-
κοντα ἕξ· κυμβία [ὀρθ]ηλὰ δύο Φιλίσκου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ πεντήκοντα δύο· κυμβί-
(20) sixty four; [...] Therakl]eian dedication of Demoson on behalf of Demeas, weight one hundred fi[ve [...]] dedication of Pheidianax, weight fifty four; phialai [...] dedication of [...] to the Dioskouroi, the one fallen apart, the other saknê, weight [...]]ty eight; large kylix, dedication of Polyarchos' (children), weight three hundred thirty eight; (phiale with) ox head, dedication of Amyntas, (25) weight three hundred eighty; phiale, dedication of Amyntas, weight one hundred fifty three; weight of waterclock forty five; kymbio(n), dedication of Menyllos, weight thirty one; kymbion, dedication of Eumedes, weight thirty four; two kymbia, dedications of Menyllos, weight fifty six; two straight-sided kymbia, dedication of Philiskos, weight fifty two; kymbion,
- 87010 30 ὃν Δημητρίας Μυκονίας ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ δέκα ἑπτὰ· ποτήριον ᾧτα ἔχον Νικί-
δος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἐνενήκοντα· φιάλη ἔκτυπος Ἀντικράτους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ
87015 ἑκατόν· φιάλη Ἑρε[σί]ων ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατὸν τετταράκοντα τέτταρες· οἰνοχοί-
διον Δημοτίμου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τετταράκοντα δύο· φιάλαι δύο Κεβαλίνου ἀνά-
θημα, ὀλκῇ διακόσιν· βατιάκη Δαδάμα ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἐξήκοντα ἕξ· φιάλαι
35 δύο ἄς Ἀδῶ Μακέστα ἀνέθηκεν, ὀλκῇ διακόσιν· κυμβίον Φιλάγρου ἀνάθημα, ὀλ-
κῇ ἑκατὸν ἕξ· φιάλη ἣν Ἀδῶ ἀνέθηκεν, ὀλκῇ ἐνενήκοντα ὀκτώ· φιάλη Νικά-
87020 νορος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα ἕξ· φιάλη Κρατεροῦ ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ
ἑκατὸν δέκα ἕξ· φιάλη Λεωδίκης Ναξίας ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ὀγδοήκοντα τέτ-
ταρες· κυμβίον Ἀθηναγόρου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τετταράκοντα τέτταρες· βοὸς
(30) dedication of Demetria of Mykonos, weight seventeen; cup with handles, dedication of Nikis, weight ninety; figured phiale, dedication of Antikrates, weight one hundred; phiale, dedication of the Eresions, weight one hundred forty four; small oinochoe, dedication of Demotimos, weight forty two; two phialai, dedication of Kebabalos, weight two hundred; batiake, dedication of Dadamas, weight sixty six; two phialai (35) which Ado daughter of Maketias dedicated, weight two hundred; kymbion, dedication of Philagros, weight one hundred six; phiale which Ado dedicated, weight ninety eight; phiale, dedication of Nikanor, weight one hundred seventy six; phiale, dedication of Krateros, weight one hundred sixteen; phiale, dedication of Leodike of Naxos, weight eighty four; kymbion, dedication of Athenagoras, weight forty four; (phiale with)
- 87025 40 προτομή Σίμου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τριάκοντα ἕξ· ῥόδον Ἐπαρχίδου ἀνάθημα,
ὀλκῇ εἴκοσι δύο· φιάλη Ξένωνος καὶ Γερύλλου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατὸν
εἴκοσι ἕξ ὀβολοῖ δύο· φιάλη Ἀνδρομένους ὑπὲρ Γλαυκυρίου ἀνάθημα,
ὀλκῇ ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ· φιάλη Μίδα ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατὸν τετταράκ[ον]-
87040 τα ὀκτώ τέτταρες· [κυ]μβίον Ἀριστόλης Μυκονίας ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τρι-
45 ἄκοντα ἕξ· [βατιάκη] Ἰππ[ο]κράτους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τετταράκοντα τ[ρεῖς]·
φιάλιον [– –c.12– –] ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ τριάκοντα ὀκτώ· κυλίκιον Χαρέωνος
ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ [□□□□]κοντα· τὴν δημοσίαν σφραγίδα· βατιάκη Ἰπποκλέους
ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ [□□□□□] δύο· κύλιξ Θηρίκλειος Π[υ]θείου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἐνε-
87045 νήκοντα ἕξ· [φιάλη] Πυθείου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατόν· φιάλη ἐτέρα Πυθείου
(40) ox head, dedication of Simos, weight thirty six; rose, dedication of Eparchides, weight twenty two; phiale, dedication of Xenon and Geryllos, weight one hundred twenty six and two obols; phiale, dedication of Andromenes for Glaukurios, weight ninety six; phiale, dedication of Midas, weight one hundred forty eight and four

(obols); kymbion, dedication of Aristole of Mykonos, weight thirty (45) six; [batia]ke dedication of Hippokrates, weight forty t[hree]; small phiale, dedication of Tereus, weight thirty eight; small kylix, dedication of Chareon, weight sixty; the public seal; batiake, dedication of Hippokles, weight [...] two; Therikleian kylix, dedication of Pytheas, weight ninety six; phiale dedication of Pytheas, weight one hundred; another phiale, dedication of Pytheas, [weigh]t

50 ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατόν· κύλιξ ἡδυλεία Πυθείου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῇ ἑκατόν·

87055 δ[ι]κέφαλα [α] [Μυρ]τῶλ[η]ς? ἀνάθημα, ὀ[λκῇ] πεντήκοντι[α] τ[έ]τ[ταρες· κύλικα κο]-

ρινθίαν Δεξιάνδρου ἀν[άθημα, ὀλκῇ - - - - -]

ρος ἀνέθηκε, [ὀλκῇ - - - - -]

καὶ τὰδε σα[κνά· - - - - -]

55 ΛΔΑ· κώθων[α - - - - - . - - -]

87060 ξυλώματι α[- - - - - ἐν τῷ]

Ἀρτεμισίῳ στεφάνω - - - - -]

(50) one hundred; Hedylean kylix, dedication of Pytheas, weight one hundred; two-

headed [...] dedication of Myrtale, w[eight] fifty tw[o[...Co]]rinthian [kylix,

ded]ication of Dexandros, weight [...]ros dedicated [...] and the following

87065 unweighed: [...]ada; (55) kothon [...]in] wood; **in the Hieropo[ion [...in the]]**

Artemision, crown[...] dedication of Xenophantos [space]

IG XI,2 161 (279/278 BC) and IG XI.2 161B (279 BC)

<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/62623>

87070 <https://web.archive.org/web/20160419062609/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translati ons/161%20translation.htm>

This is the first 'complete' Independence inventory, showing the pattern followed thereafter. It is also the first confined to one side; since the inventory is dated to Galaxion, the third month of the year, it seems likely that this side (though labelled side B) was carved before the accounts on the other side (which presumably cover the full year). Hereafter inventories hardly ever run over onto another stele as seems to have been the case with 154, though the accounts often de and though inclusion of the Chalkotheke treasure required use of the edge (side C) otherwise unparalleled. Finally, it is the first inventory to contain the treaure of the new Apollo Temple, now finally completed after almost two centuries. Interestingly, all the dedications appear to be in the Prodromos whereas none is in Prodromos of the Artemision and only the named dedications are in the Prodromos of the Temple of the Seven Statues.

87085 Aside from the long-standing rhymoi of the Artemision, objects are listed individually and described in unparalleled detail, including discrepancies noted between inscribed and "actual" weight. The treasure of the new Apollo Temple has an impressive array of dedications, including many by or in honor of the famous Delian choral society, the Deliades, often in connection with an official sacred visitation (theoria) by a foreign group and often sponsored by dynasts such as Ptolemy, 87090 Antigonos and Demetrios. Some of the "new" dedications, however, may go back to the 4th C., and one wonders where they were kept until now. [For changes **in the Artemision** treasure since the Amphictyonic period see p.??.]

face A

87095 θ[ε]ο[ί].

1 [λόγ]ος ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ὑψοκλέους, Ἀριστοθέου τοῦ Τιμοθάλους,

Ξενοκλέους τοῦ Φιλαρχίδου. παρελάβο[μεν]

[π]αρὰ ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Χάρμου, Ἡγία τοῦ Φωκαίως, Ἀνασχέτου τοῦ

87100 Θεοξένου, παρόντων βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμμ[α]-

τέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Τιμησιδήμου τοῦ Ἀντικράτους, τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Λυσιμαχίδου τοῦ Λύσου,

ἀργυρίου νομίσματος δραχμὰς ·ΜΧ

XX□ΗΔΔΔ□□□□· καὶ χρυσοῦς ·ΔΙ· καὶ τεττίγια πτολεμαϊκὰ χρυσᾶ δύο· καὶ φωκαῖδα· καὶ παντοδαποῦ

ἀργυρίου εἰς ὀλεξανδρείου λόγ[ον]

87105 5 δραχμὰς ·□□□· καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Φίλωνος ·Η· καὶ παρὰ Φιλαίθου καὶ Εὐκλείδου τῶν

ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Γλαυκιάδου ·□Η·

οἶδε τῶν ἱερῶν τεμενῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἐνηρόσια τεθήκασιν· τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Πορθμῷ

Ἀπολλόδωρος Ξενομήδους δρα-

χμὰς ·ΧΗΗΗΔΔ· τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐμ Πύργοις Δόρκων δραχμὰς ·ΧΗΗΔΔ□□□/· τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐν Λίμναις

Ἀριστέου Ἀμφοτεροῦ δραχμὰς ·ΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ□[□]

87110 □□/· τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐν Πάμνοις Ἀντίγονος Ἀνέκτου δραχμὰς ·ΗΗΗΗΔΔ□□□□· τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐν Διονυσίῳ

Παρμενίων Χοιρύλου δραχμὰς ·ΗΔΔ:

τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐν Νικοῦ χώρῳ Διονύσιος Αὐτοκλέους δραχμὰς ·ΗΗ□ΔΔ□· τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐμ Πανόρμῳ

Τηκλῆς δραχμὰς ·□ΗΗ□□□· τῆς γῆς τῆς

87115 10 Σκιτωνείας Δίδυμος Καλλιδίκου δραχμὰς ·□ΔΔΔ· τῆς γῆς τῆς Χαρητείας Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Χαριλέοντος

δραχμὰς ·Χ□ΗΗΗ· τῆς γῆς τῆς Χαρω-

νείας Μελησιππος Πηναιεὺς δραχμὰς ·ΗΗΗ· τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου καὶ τῆς Ἀφέσεως Ἀριστείδης Ἀριστέου

- 87120 δραχμὰς ·□□· Λειμῶνος Φερεκλείδης
Εὐκλείδου δραχμὰς ·ΗΗΗΔΔΔ· τοῦ Κεραμείου Τερόμβροτος Τερεοκλείδου δραχμὰς ·ΗΔΔΔΔ· τῆς γῆς τῆς
ἐν Σολόῃ καὶ Κορακίαϊς Τελέσων Αὐ-
τοκλέους δραχμὰς ·ΗΗΗΗΔ· τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀκραι Δήλῳ Ζώπυρος Αὐτομέδοντος δραχμὰς ·□□· τῆς γῆς
τῆς ἐμ Φοῖνιξι Θεωρύλος ·□ΗΗΔ·
τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἐπισθενείας Χοιρύλος Τελέσωνος δραχμὰς ·□□ΔΔΔΔ· τῶν ἐμ Φυταλιᾷ Καλλισθένης
Διακρίτου δραχμὰς ·□Δ· τοῦ Λυκωνείου
- 87125 15 Ἀριστείδης Ἀριστείου δραχμὰς ·Η□□□□□· τῶν Σωσιμαχείω Γέρυλλος Πιστοξένου δραχμὰς ·ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ·
vac.
καὶ τὰδε τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκιῶν ἐνοίκια εἰσῆκει· τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐν οἷς Ἐφεσος καπηλεύει παρὰ Ἐφέσου
δραχμαὶ ·□□· τῆς Χαρτείας οἰκίας τῆς ἀν-
δρωνίτιδος παρὰ Ἰσου δραχμαὶ ·□Δ□· τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος παρὰ Ἀναψυκτίδου δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔΔΔ□· τῆς
ἀνδρωνίτιδος παρὰ Σωτέ-
λ[ου]ς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ ·· τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος τοῦ ἐχομένου τούτων παρὰ τῶν
Διοφάντου παίδων ·Δ□□□· τῆς οἰκίας ἡ ἦν
τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου παρ' Αὐτοσθένους ·ΔΔΔ□□□□□ΙΙΙΙ□· τῶν οἰκιῶν τῶν πρὸς τῷ σιδηρεῖω
αἱ ἦσαν Κλεοκρίτου παρὰ Πρωτομάχου
- 87135 20 ΔΔΔΔ□□· τῆς οἰκίας ἡ ἦν Ὀρθοκλέους παρὰ Γερύλλου τοῦ Πύθωνος ·ΔΔΔΔΙ· τῆς Σωσιλείας οἰκίας
πρὸς ἧι ἡ κρηπὶς παρὰ Κτησικλέους ΗΔΔΔ□□·
τῶν οἰκημάτων τῶν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὲρ Διονυσοδώρου παρὰ Μνησίλεω
·□ΔΔΔΔ□· τῶν ἐχομένων τούτων οἰκη-
μάτων παρὰ Ἀγαθάρχου ·□Δ· τῆς οἰκίας ἡ ἦν Ἐπισθένης, ἣν ἐμεμίσθωτο Ἀπῆμαντος Λεωφῶντος
δραχμῶν ·□□· παρὰ Πρωτόλε[ω]
τοῦ ἐγγυητοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἡμυσ ·ΔΔ□ΙΙΙ· τῆς οἰκίας ἡ ἦν Ἀρκέοντος παρὰ Ἀρκέοντος ·ΔΔ□· τῆς οἰκίας
ἡ ἦν Πυθαγόρου παρὰ Φίλτου ·ΔΔ□· τῆ[ς]
οἰκίας ἐν ἧι Ἀντίγονος οἰκεῖ παρὰ Ἀρχεπόλιος ·□Δ· τῆς οἰκίας ἡ ἦν Ἐπισθένης ὑπὲρ Τολμίδου οἱ
ἐγγυοὶ Τεισικλῆς Λύσου, Ἀντίγονος Κυδι[θάλου] □Δ.
25 καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα εἰσῆλθεν· εἰς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ ἀργυρίου οὗ ἡ πόλις ὀφείλει τῷ θεῷ, παρὰ
βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ὑποκλέους,
ἐκ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς σὺν τοῖς ἐπωνόις ·ΜΧΧΧΧ□ΗΗΗΗΔ· τῶν ἐνοικίων τῆς δεκάτης ὑπὲρ Τεισικλέο<υ>ς
·□Η· τοῦ ὑποτροπίου ὑπὲρ Φίλλιος
- 87150 □ΔΔΔ· τῆς δεκάτης τοῦ σίτου ὑπὲρ Γνωσιδίκου ·ΗΔΔ· ἐπώνια τούτων δραχμὰς ·□Δ□ΙΙΙ· καὶ τὸ
χορηγικὸν ἀργύριον ·ΧΧ□□□ΙΙΙΙ·
οἶδε τόκους τεθήκασιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· Γέρυλλος Πιστοξένου δραχμὰς ·Η· Ἀθηνίς
Εὐρυμάνθους ὑπὲρ τῶν χωρίων τῶν ἐμ Πασ-
σίρῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρους δραχμὰς ·□Δ· Μνήσαλκος Τελεσαρχίδου ὑπὲρ τῶν χωρίων τῶν ἐμ Πασσίρῳ, ἃ
ἦν πρότερον Σωσιπόλιδο[ς],
- 87155 30 δραχμὰς ·□Δ· Ἀνδρομένης Ξένωνος ·ΔΔΙΙΙΙΙ· Ἀλεξικράτεια ὑπὲρ Ἀριγνώτου ·ΔΔΙΙΙΙΙ· Φωκαιεὺς
Πιστοξένου ·Δ· Κλεινόδικος καὶ Δεζικράτης
Στησίλεω ·ΔΔ· Ἀνδρομένης Δημόνου καὶ Ἐρασίνος Τλησιμένους ·ΔΔ· Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου
Κυζικηνὸς ·Δ· Ποργῶ καὶ ὁ κύριος Εὐκλεί-
δης ὑπὲρ Χάρητος ·Δ· Φαναγόρας Φαναγόρου ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκήματος ὃ ἦν πρότερον Νεωκόρου δραχμὰς
·Δ□· Τελέσων Χοιρύλου ·□□□· Φίλτης
καὶ Ἀντιχάρης Τληπολέμου ·□□□· Παρμενίων Χοιρύλου ·□□□· Τερόμβροτος Μνησικλέους ·□· Πύρραιθος
Νησιώτου ·ΔΔΔ· Ὀλυμπιάδης Θή-
ριδος ·Δ□□ΙΙΙ· Ναυτέλης καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀμφιτίμου ·□□· Ἐρμόδοτος Ἀριστείου ·ΗΔΔ· Σωσισθένης
Φιλοσόφου ·ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙ· Ἀντίπατρος ·□□ΙΙΙ·
35 Ζώστρατος Στράτωνος ·□□□□ΙΙ· Πόλυβος Διοδότου ·□□□□· Τελέσων Αὐτο<κλέους> ὑπὲρ Ξένωνος
Ἐρμιονέως ·□□ΙΙ· vac.
- 87170 καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα εἰσῆκει· τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ παρὰ Καλοδίκου ·□Δ· ἐκ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων τὸ
περιγενόμενον ·ΗΗ□ΔΔ□□· vac.
ἐκ θησαυρῶν· τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ·Δ□□□□□ΙΙΙΙ· αἰγίναϊα ·□· ρόδιον ·ΙΙ· ἐπιδαύριον ·ΙΙΙ· τοῦ ἐν
Ἀσκληπιείῳ ·ΔΔ□□ΙΙ□· ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ἀφροδισίῳ ·ΙΙΙΙ□/·
καὶ χρυσοῦς· χηνὸς ἀποθανόντος ·□ΙΙΙ· χηνάλωπεκος καὶ χηνὸς ὠίων ·□ΙΙ· πέρδικος ·Ι· ἀπὸ τοῦ
Προπύλου ξύλων πραθέντων ·□□□□ΙΙΙ·
- 87175 παρὰ βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Χάρμου τοῦ χορηγικοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ·ΧΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□□ΙΙΙ· ἄλλας
παρὰ βουλευτῶν καὶ ἱεροποιῶν
- 87180 40 τῶν ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Χάρμου δραχμὰς ·ΗΗ· ἃς ἐξέτεισεν Ὑποκλῆς Ἀρχεστράτου ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐγγύης ἧς
ἡγγύητο Ἀμφίστρατον Ὑποκλέους· ἄλ-
λας παρὰ βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ὑποκλέο<υ>ς ·Η□ΔΔ□· ἃς ἐξέτεισε Ἀρίγνωντος Ἀντιπάτρου ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἐγγύης ἧς ἡγγύητο Δίαϊτον Ἀπολλοδώρου
τῆς τοῦ θεάτρου περιοικοδομίας τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος· καὶ παρ' Ἀντικράτους τοῦ Τιμησιδήμου ἀντὶ
τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ·Η· τοῦ
φοίνικος τοῦ περιγενομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ παραδείγματος, παρὰ Φανέου ·□□· τῶν περιστερῶν τῆς κόπρου
·□□· τῆς πορφύρας ·Δ□□· συκαμίνο[ν □]·
τὰδε ἔργα ἐξεδώκαμεν κατὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν οὗς
εἴλετο ὁ δῆμος καὶ {καὶ} κατὰ συγ-
45 γραφάς· τοῦ νεῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ περιστύλου τοῦ κατάπροσθεν τῆς ὀροφῆς ποιῆσαι φάτνας δέκα
πέντε ἡργολάβησεν Φανέας
- 87190 Καΐκου καὶ Πεισίβουλος Πάριος, τὴν φάτνην ἐκάστην δραχμῶν ·ΗΗΗ· ὥστε παρέχειν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς
πάντα ὅσων ἀν δεῖ εἰς τὰ ἔργα

- πλὴν ξύλων· τούτοις ἐδώκαμεν κελευόντων ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος τῇμ πρώτην δόσιν δραχμὰς
·ΧΧΗΗ· ποιήσασι δὲ τὰ
87195 ἡμίση τῶν ἔργων κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐδώκαμεν δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμὰς ·ΧΗΗΗ· συντελέσασι δὲ τὸ
ἔργον καὶ ἀποδοῦσι [— —] δόκιμον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἀπεδώκαμεν ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν κελευόντων
δραχμὰς ·ΗΗΗΗ· τὸν θράνον τοῦ
- 50 νεῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπικόψαντι Νίκωνι μισθὸς δραχμαὶ ·□· Δεινοκράτει τὴν ταινίαν ἐπὶ τὸν
87200 θράνον τοῦ νεῶ ἐπιθέντι δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔ□□□·
τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ παρίνου τὴν ὑπαροφίαν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι παρέχοντας αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ
ἔργα πάντα ὅσων ἂν δεῖ πλὴν ξύλων
καὶ κεράμου ἡργολάβησαν Δεινοκράτης Λεωφάντου, Ξενοφάνης Σύριος, Θεόφαντος Καρύστιος δραχμῶν
87205 ·ΧΗΗΗ· [— —] τούτοις ἐδώκαμεν
ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν κελευόντων τῇμ πρώτην δόσιν δραχμὰς ·□Η□· ποιήσασι δὲ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν
ἔργων, ὥς ἡ συγγραφὴ λέγει,
τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν ἐδώκαμεν δραχμὰς ·□ΔΔ· συντελέσασι δὲ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀποδοῦσι δόκιμον κατὰ
συγγραφὴν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον
55 ἀπεδώκαμεν ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν κελευόντων δραχμὰς ·ΗΔΔΔ· [— —] τοῦ Παρίνου τὰς
87210 παραετίδας ἄραι καὶ τὰς δοκοθήκας ἐπι-
τρήσαι καὶ πάλιν καθαρμόσαι ἀρχιτέκτονος ἐγδόντος ἡργολάβησαν Νίκων καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς δραχμῶν
·ΔΔ□□□· τὸ περιιοκοδόμημα τὸ πλίν-
θινον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παρίνῳ καθελοῦσι καὶ τοὺς πάρους καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐξενέγκασι καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος
87215 ὀμαλίσασι Θεοφάντῳ καὶ Ξενοφάνει δρα-
χμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ· τῆς ὑποδομῆς τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ ἱερᾷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀνοικοδομήσαι καὶ συγχῶσαι
ὄργυας πεντήκοντα ἡργολάβ[η]-
σαν Νίκων Σύριος, Ἀλεξικλῆς Σερίφιος, Δημόφιλος δραχμῶν ·□· τοῦ{του}τοις {τούτοις} ἐδώκαμεν
τὴν πρώτην δόσιν δραχμὰς ·ΗΗ□· ἀρχιτέ{κ}-
- 60 κτονος {ἀρχιτέκτονος} καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ κελεύοντος· ποιήσασι δὲ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἔργων κατὰ τὴν
87220 συγγραφὴν δευτέραν δόσιν ἐδώκαμεν δραχμὰς [— —]
ΗΗ· συντελέσασι δὲ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀποδοῦσι δόκιμον τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἀπεδώκαμεν ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ
ἐπιμελητοῦ κελεύοντος δραχμὰς [— —]
□· τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ὑποδομῆς ἀνοικοδομήσαι καὶ συγχῶσαι ἡργολάβησαν Μολπίων Ῥηναίευσ, Ἀλεξικλῆς,
87225 Δημόφιλος ὄργυας [— —] <πεντήκοντα> δρ[α]-
χμῶν ·□· τούτοις ἐδώκαμεν ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ κελευόντων τῇμ πρώτην δόσιν δραχμὰς
·ΗΗ□· ποιήσασι δὲ τὰ ἡμί[ση]
τῶν ἔργων δευτέραν δόσιν ἐδώκαμεν δραχμὰς ·ΗΗ· συντελέσασι δὲ τὸ ἔργον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τὸ
ἐπιδέκατον ἀπεδώκαμεν ·<□>·
- 65 [τ]ορνίσκον εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐργασαμένῳ Ἀντιγόνῳ Καΐκου παρέχοντι αὐτῷ πάντα εἰς τὸ ἔργον
87230 πλὴν ξύλων μισθὸς δραχμαὶ
□ΔΔ· τοῦ Προπύλου τὰς θύρας τὰς συντριβεῖσας κατασκευάσασι καὶ ἐπιστήσασι τὰ θύρετρα
Ἀμεινονίκῳ Θηβαίῳ καὶ Θεοδήμῳ δρα-
[χ]μαὶ ·ΗΔΔΔ· καὶ τὰς πυλίδας τὰς καινὰς τοῦ Προπύλου ποιήσασι καὶ ἐπιθεῖσι [— —] Θεοδήμῳ καὶ
87235 Ἀμεινονίκῳ μισθὸς δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔ· ἤλων πα-
[ρά] Δεξίου εἰς τὰς πυλίδας μναὶ πέντε· ἡ μναὶ □□· τὸν κίονα τοῦ Προπύλου τὸμ πεσόντα, πρὸς ὧ
τὰ θύρετρα ἔστηκεν, ὥστε στήσαι μισθ[ω]-
[τοῖς] τῇμ μηχανῇ ἐξενέγκασι καὶ στήσασι μισθὸς ·□□□□· Θεοδήμῳ τέκτονι τῇμ μηχανῇ
ἐπισκευάζοντι ἡμέρας δύο μισθὸς ·□□□□· ἤλων [— —]
- 70 μνα [— —] παρὰ Πρωτόλεω ·□□· εἰς τὸν ἄξονα τῆς μηχανῆς ξύλον ἀρείνον ·□□□· ξύλον εἰς τὰς
87240 ἀψίδας τοῖς σφονδύλοις τοῦ κίονος ·□□□· Νίκω-
νι καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ἐργασαμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ κίονος ἡμέρας δύο μισθὸς δραχμαὶ ·□□□□· μισθωτοῖς
συνάρασι τὸν κίονα ·□□□□· Καίρῳ ὑπηρετοῦντι πρὸς
87245 τῇ μηχανῇ ·□□□□· μισθωτοῖς τῇμ μηχανῇ καθελοῦσι καὶ ἀπενέγκασι ·□□□□· τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ
Ἀσκληπιοῦ τῆς ὀροφῆς τὰ κρίνα λευκῶ///σαντι κα[ὶ]
τὰς κάλχας χρυσώσαντι Ἀντιδότῳ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν ἐγδόντων ἐδώκαμεν δραχμὰς
·ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶ τὸμ πώρινον κε-
ράμου ζεύγη ·Η□ΔΔ□· ἐξύρου, τιμῇ τοῦ ζεύγους ·□□□□· ἢ πᾶσα τιμῇ δραχμαὶ ·ΗΔΔΔΔ□· τέλος ἐν
87250 Σύρῳ τοῦ κεράμου ·□□□□□□□□· ναῦλλον τοῦ ζεύγους ·□□□□·
75 Νικοκλεῖ vac. τὸ πᾶν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔ□□□· ἀνακομίσασι τὸν κέραμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μισθὸς ·□□□□·
εἰς τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ Προπύλου πίνακα ἡγοράσαμεν παρὰ
Χρησίμου ·Δ□□· ἐπισκευάσαντι τὸμ πίνακα Θεοδήμῳ ·□□· λευκώσαντι τὸμ πίνακα ἀμφοτέρωθεν ·□□□·
καὶ τὰδε τῶμ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἔργων
87255 ἐγδεδομένων ἐδώκαμεν ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν κελευόντων· Κροίσῳ ἐργώνῃ τῶν λίθων τῶν εἰς
τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διδὸς τοῦ Κυνο[ί]τι-
ου ἀπαγαγόντι καὶ ἀπομετρήσαντι τοὺς προσοφειλομένους λίθους εἰς τοὺς χιλίους καὶ τέτταρας
πόδας τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν ἐδώκα-
μεν δραχμὰς ·ΧΗΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□□□□□/· τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν συντελέσαντι Δεινοκράτει τὸ
87260 ἐπιδέκατον ἀπεδώκαμεν
- 80 δραχμὰς ·□□· ὑπὲρ Θεοφίλου τοῦ ἐργολαβήσαντος τὰς παραετίδας ἐργάσασθαι τῷ νεῶ τῆς
87265 Ἀρτέμιδος τοῖς ἐγγυηταῖς αὐτοῦ Σωσιμέ<ν>ει
καὶ Τιμησιδῇμῳ συντελέσασι τὸ ἔργον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἀπεδώκαμεν δραχμὰς
·ΗΔΔΔ□· τοῦ θεάτρου τὴν ὀρχή-

στραν καὶ τοὺς θάκους ἀνακαθάρασι καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐξενέγκασι μισθωτοῖς ἀρχιτέκτονος ἐγδόντος
 μισθός ·□□□· καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα ἐδώκαμεν·
 ἀρχιτέκτονι μισθός ·□ΗΗΔΔ· τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ·ΗΔΔ· τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ Δώρῳι ·Η□□□·
 87270 Λεπτίνῃ καὶ Βακχίῳ τοῖς λιθουργοῖς
 εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ·ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ· καὶ εἰς ἱματισμὸν ·ΔΔΔ□□□□· γραμματεῖ μισθός ·□ΔΔΔ· κήρυκι ·□Δ·
 νεωκόρῳ εἰς Ἀσκληπιεῖον
 85 Η□ΔΔΔ· νεωκόρῳ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ·□Δ· κρηνοφύλακι ·□ΔΔΔΔ· τῇ αὐλητρίδι τῇ αὐλούσῃ τῷ χορῶι
 τῶν γυναικῶν μισθός ·ΗΔΔ· χορῶι τῷ γε-
 87275 νομένῳ τοῖς κωμικοῖς καὶ τῷ τραγωιδῶι Δράκοντι τοῖς ἐπιδειξαμένοις τῷ θεῶι δαῖδες παρὰ
 Ἐργοτέλους ·□□□□· ῥυμοὶ καὶ
 ξύλα ·ΙΙΙΙ· εἰς τὸν σίδηρον τῶν λιθουργῶν στόμωμα παρὰ Πολύβου ·□□□ΙΙΙ· Δεξίῳ στομώσαντι
 τύχους δύο καὶ γλαρίδα καὶ σφήνας καὶ
 παρασφήνια ποιήσαντι μισθός ·□□□ΙΙΙ· ἱερίσταῖς εἰς σπονδὰς ·Δ· εἰς τὸν χορὸν τὸν γενόμενον
 87280 το[ί]ς Ἀπολλωνίοις δαῖδες παρὰ Ἐργοτέλ<ους>
 □□□□ΙΙΙ· ῥυμός ·ΙΙ· τοῖς κατὰ μῆνα λόγοις ἐκτιθεμένοις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν λεύκωμα ·ΙΙΙ· στάμνον
 εἰς Ἀρτεμίσιον ·ΙΙΙ· εἰς τὸ ἀγαλμα τῷ Διονύ-
 90 σῳι κεραία παρὰ Ἐλπίνου ·ΔΔ□□□□· ἐργασαμένῳ τὸ ἀγαλμα Ἀριστοθάλει ·□· γράψαντι Δεινομένει
 ·□· εἰς κόσμησιν τοῦ ἀγάλμα-
 87285 τος ·□□□ΙΙΙ· τὴν ἄμαξαν ἣν ἄγεται τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου Θεοφάντι ἐπισκευάσαντι ·□· ἥλοι
 ·ΙΙΙ· τοῦ οἴκου οὗ Στρατονίκη κληῖδα ποιή-
 σαντι Δεξίῳ ·□□· τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου εἰς κόσμησιν νίτρον ·ΙΙΙΙ· σφόγγοι ·□□· ἔλαιον χοῦς ἡμίχουν
 ·□□□ΙΙΙ· λίνον καὶ κηρὸς ·ΙΙΙΙ· μύρον ῥόδιον[ν]
 87290 παρὰ Κωμωιδίας ·□· εἰς τοὺς χοροὺς τοὺς γενομένους τοῖς Λητ<ώ>ιοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀρτεμισίοις καὶ
 τὸν τῇ ὀγδόῃ δαῖδες παρὰ Λυσίου[ν]
 καὶ Ἐργοτέλους ·□□□□· ῥυμοὶ παρὰ Μνησικλέους ·ΙΙΙΙ□· Δεξίῳ κληῖδα ποιήσαντι ἀνάπαιστον
 ·□ΙΙΙ· λαβὴ τῇ κληιδί ·ΙΙ· Θεοδήμῳ
 95 τὸν τρύφακτον τὸν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῆς Ἐκάτης ἐπισκευάσαντι ·□□· ἥλοι ·ΙΙΙΙ· νίτρον ·Ι□· τὴν
 87295 θυμέλην τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ
 κονιάσαντι Φιλοκράτει ·□· σανίδες φιλύριναι ἐννέα παρὰ Δεινοκράτους ἀρχιτέκτονος κελεύοντος,
 τιμὴ ·□ΔΔ□□ΙΙΙ· μισθωτοῖς
 τὰς σανίδας ἀπενέγκασιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ·ΙΙΙ· τὸν τρύφακτον τὸν ἐν τῷ Διοσκουρίῳ καὶ τοῦ
 ἐστιατορίου τὰς θύρας ἐπισκευάσαν-
 87300 τι Θεοδήμῳ ·□· ἥλοι ·ΙΙΙΙ· Διοσκούροις ἐπίκрасις ·Δ· Δεξίῳ παρασφήνια ποιήσαντι ·□□·
 τροχιλεῖας εἰς παλαιστραν ·□· σχοινίον παρὰ
 Διακοσίῳ ·□· σκαφεῖον εἰς παλαιστραν παρὰ Ἀλεξιδήμου ·□ΙΙΙ· χαλκίον ἐπισκευάσαντι Δεξίῳ
 ·□ΙΙΙ· κηρύκειον ἡγοράσαμεν ·□□·
 100 εἰς τὸν χορὸν τὸν γενόμενον Τιμοστράτῳ τῷ αὐλητῇ, ὅτε ἐπεδείξατο τῷ θεῶι, δαῖδες παρὰ
 87305 Ἀρχικλέους ·□□□ΙΙ· ῥυμός ·ΙΙ· πίττης με-
 τρηταὶ τρεῖς τὸν Κερατῶνα ἀλεῖψαι, τιμὴ τοῦ μετρητοῦ δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ· τὸ πᾶν ·ΗΔΔ· ἀλείψαντι τὸν
 Κερατῶνα Ἑρμῶνι ·ΔΙΙΙ· τοῦ κρατῆ-
 87310 ρος τοῦ ἀργυροῦ τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀποπесόντος κολλήσαντι Ἀριστάρχῳι ·□□· ἀνθρακες ·ΙΙΙ· εἰς τὴν
 κόσμησιν τῆς Ἡρας σφόγγοι ·□· μύρον ·□□□ΙΙΙ·
 ταῖς ἱερεῖαις εἰς τάλλα ·□□Ι· τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορίῳ ἐξαλείψαντι καὶ γῆν
 ἐνέγκαντι καὶ λευκώσαντι καὶ ἀνακα-
 θάραντι τὸ Θεσμοφόριον καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐξενέγκαντι Διονυσίῳ μισθός ·Δ□□· γῆ λευκὴ ·□· κρανείας
 τάλαντον παρὰ Μνησικλέους ·□□□□·
 87315 105 Θεοδήμῳ τορνίσκον ποιήσαντι ·□□ΙΙΙ· τὸν λίθον τὸν ὑπὸ τὸ μέλαθρον ὑποκείμενον τοῦ Παρίνου
 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου παραγαγοῦσι καὶ ἀ-
 νακομίσασιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ συνάρασι μισθωτοῖς ·□□□□ΙΙΙ· τὰς πλίνθους ἐκ τοῦ Παρίνου
 ἐξενέγκασι μισθωτοῖς εἰς τὸν ξυλῶνα ·□□· μό-
 87320 λυβδος ·ΙΙΙΙ□· ποτήρια ἐπισκευάσαντι Ἀριστάρχῳι ·□Ι□· ξύλον διαπρίσαντι Θεοδήμῳ ·ΙΙΙΙΙ·
 Δεξίῳ ὀξύνην τὰ σιδήρια τοῖς λιθουργοῖς εἰ[ς]
 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ·ΔΔΔΔ· ἐλαίου εἰς ἱεροπόιον μετρητῆς, τιμὴ ·ΔΔ□□□□· ξύλων εἰς Πύθιον τάλαντα
 ·□ΔΔΔ□· τὸ τάλαντον ·□ΙΙ· ἢ πᾶσα τιμὴ ·Η□□□
 □ΙΙ· ἀνακομίσασι τὰ ξύλα ·□· ἀνθράκων κάλαθοι δύο καὶ ἡμικαλάθιον, τιμὴ ·ΔΔ· τῆς οἰκίας τῆς
 Σωσιλείας πρὸς ἣν ἡ κρηπὶς τοῖχον οἰκοδομήσαντι
 87325 110 Θεοδήμῳ ·□□□· τῆς οἰκίας ἐν ἣν Τέρακος οἰκεῖ τὰ τέγη ἐπισκευάσαντι καὶ δοκὸν ὑποθέντι τῷ
 θαλάμῳ Θεοδήμῳ ·Δ□□· τράπεζα εἰς ἱερο-
 πόιον ·□□□□ΙΙΙ· τοῦ κῶθωνος τοῦ χαλκοῦ τοῦ πυθμένος ἀποπесόντος κολλήσαντι Ἀριστάρχῳι ·□·
 ἀνθρακες ·□· κηρὸς ·□· κληῖς εἰς Κύνθο[ν □]·
 87330 ξοῖδος Δεξίῳ ·□□ΙΙΙ· χαρτία δύο ·□□□□· χορῶι τῷ γενομένῳ τοῖς Ῥοδίων θεωροῖς δαῖδες παρ’
 Ἐργοτέλους ·□□□· ῥυμός Ι□· σανὶς πετελεῖνη εἰς
 τὴν ταινίαγ καὶ τὰ καταζεύγματα τῆς ὀροφῆς τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ Τερομβρότου ·Δ□· ταῖς
 συγγραφαῖς καὶ τῷ λόγῳ λευκώματα λευκώ-
 87335 σαντι ·□□□· — καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα ἀναλώσαμεν κατὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου· τοῦ ἐστιατορίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ
 Νήσῳ τὸ τέγος στεγνώσαντι Ἑρμῶνι[ι]
 115 Δ□□· τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ τέγος καταλείψαντι Ἑρμῶνι ·Δ□□· τῶν οἰκημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποβάσει τὰ
 τέγη στεγνώσαντι Διονυσίῳ ·Δ□□· εἰς
 {εἰς} τὰ Θεσμοφόρια προσαναλώσαμεν πρὸς ᾧ παρὰ ταμίῳ ἐλάβομεν δραχμὰς ·□ΔΔ□· εἰς τὴν θυσίαν
 τῇ Εἰλειθῇ ·ΔΔ□· πρὸς τὸ ἐκ φιά-
 λης εἰσελθὼν κατὰ μῆνα ὥστε τὸ ἱερὸν καθαίρεσθαι προσαναλώσαμεν δραχμὰς ·Δ□□□□Ι□· Δώρῳι

- 87340 ὑπὲρ ἐτι ἱμάτιον ·ΔΔ□□□· στήλη
παρὰ Φιλωνίδου ·ΔΔ□· παραγαγοῦσι τὴν στήλην ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνακομίσασιν
·□III· γράψαντι τὴν στήλην Δεινομέν<ει>
τῆς δραχμῆς γράμματα τριακόσια, τὰ πάντα γράμματα τρισμῦρια, μισθὸς δραχμαὶ ·Η· μόλυβδος ·□·
ξύλα ·□· τοῖς στήσασι τὴν στήλην ·□□III·
- 87345 120 τῆς οἰκίας ἐν ἧι Ἀντίγονος ὁ Τιμοκράτους οἰκεῖ πτόμα οἰκοδομήσαντι ·Δ· σανὶς πελεΐνη εἰς
τὴν ταινίαν τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῇ
ὀροφῇ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ Δεινοκράτους ·Δ□· ἄλες ·□□III· ξύλον εἰς τύλους ·IIII·
πίτιης ἡμιαμφορίου παρ' Ἀμφιθάλους ·ΔΔ.
{²vac.}²
- 87350 122 κεφάλαιον οὗ τε παρελάβομεν ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς εἰσελθόντος δραχμαὶ
·□XXXXH□Δ□□· ἀργυρίου παντοδα-
ποῦ εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείου λόγον δραχμᾶς ·Δ□· καὶ χρυσοῦς ·ΔII· καὶ τεττίγια χρυσᾶ δύο καὶ φωκαῖδα.
κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος δραχμ[αῖ]
MXH□HHΔΔ. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρεδῶκαμεν ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Μενεκράτους Δημόνῳ τῷ
- 87355 Νίκωνος, Πίστηι τῷ Ξένωνος, πα-
125 ρόντων βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμματέων, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ τοῦ τῶν
ἱεροποιῶν Κλεινοδί[κου τ]οῦ Κλεινο-
δίκου, ἀργυρίου νομίσματος δραχμᾶς ·MMMMXHHHHΔΔΔΔ□□□□/. σὺν ταῖς ·MMXXXX□HHΔΔΔ· αἷς ὁ δῆμος
ἐψηφίσατο [ἐν παραδ]όσει παρα-
87360 λαμβάνειν αἰ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὄντας vac. καὶ τεττίγια ·II· καὶ φωκαῖδα· καὶ
ἀργυρίου παντοδ[αποῦ] ·Δ□· καὶ χρυσ[οῦς] ΔI[I].
- face B.1
- 87365 [ἀρχοντ]ος Ὑψοκλέους μηνὸς Γαλαξιῶνος τάδε παρελάβομεν παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπ'
ἀρχοντος Χάρμου, Ἀνασχέτου τοῦ
Θεοξένου, Ἡγία τοῦ Φωκαϊέως, παρόντων βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμματέων, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Τιμησιδήμου τοῦ
Ἀντικράτους καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν
Λυσιμαχίδου τοῦ Λύσου. [—] ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· φιαλῶν ὁ πρῶτος ρυμός, ὀλκὴν τρία ἡμιτάλαντα,
ἀριθμὸς φιαλῶν ·HIIII· ὁ δεῦτερος ρυμός, τρία ἡμιτάλαν-
87370 τα, ἀριθμὸς φιαλῶν ·HIII· ὁ τρίτος ρυμός, ὀλκὴν τρία ἡμιτάλαντα, ἀριθμὸς φιαλῶν ·HIIII· ὁ
τέταρτος ρυμός, ὀλκὴν τρία ἡμιτάλαντα, ἀριθμὸς φιαλῶν
5 HII· ὁ πέμπτος ρυμός, ὀλκὴν τρία ἡμιτάλαντα, ἀριθμὸς φιαλῶν ·HIIII· ὁ ἕκτος ρυμός, ὀλκὴν
τρία ἡμιτάλαντα, ἀριθμὸς φιαλῶν ·HΔΔI· ὁ ἑβδομος ρυ-
μὸς, ποτηρίων παντοδαπῶν, ὀλκὴν τάλαντον, ἀριθμὸς ποτηρίων ·HΔ· ὁ ὀγδοὸς ρυμός, vac. c.12 ὀλκὴ
87375 τάλαντον μναῖ δέκα, ἀριθμὸς
□ΔΔΔ□IIII· ὁ ἕνατος ρυμός, ποτηρίων παντοδαπῶν, σταθμὸν τάλαντον, ἀριθμὸς ·□Δ□II· ὁ δέκατος
ρυμός, πυθμένων καὶ ὀτῶν καὶ τῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς γεράνου, ὀλκὴν μναῖ εἴκοσι δύο· ὁ ἐνδέκατος ρυμός, φιαλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀργυρωμάτων ἃ
καθηρρέθη προσηλωμένα, ὀλκὴν
87380 τάλαντον μναῖ δύο, ἀριθμὸς πάντων ·□ΔΔΔ□III· σὺν τοῖς ἀλαβάστοις τοῖς ·□· καὶ τῇ οἰνοχόῃ
τῇ παλαιᾷ· ὁ δωδέκατος ρυμός, αἱ προτομαὶ καὶ
(1) In the archonship of Hypsokles in the month Galaxion we took over the following
from the hieropoioi who served in the archonship of Charmos, Anaschetos the son of
Theoxenos, Hegias the son of Phokaios, with the members of the Council present and
87385 the secretary of the city, Timesidemus the son of Antikrates, and of the hieropoioi,
Lysimachides the son of Lysos.
In the Artemision: the first rhymos of phialai, weight three half-talents, number of
phialai 104; the second rhymos, weight three half-talents, number of phialai 103; the
third rhymos, weight three half-talents, number of phialai 104; the fourth rhymos,
87390 weight three half-talents, number of phialai (5) 102; the fifth rhymos, weight three
half-talents, number of phialai 104; the sixth rhymos, weight three half-talents,
number of phialai 121; the seventh rhymos of various cups, weight a talent number of
cups 110; the eighth rhymos, weight one talent, ten mnai, number 89; the ninth rhymos
of various cups, weight a talent, number 67; the tenth rhymos of bases and handles
87395 and the material from the Crane, weight twenty two mnai; the eleventh rhymos of
phialai and other silver objects which were taken down after having been nailed to
the wall, weight one talent two mnai, number of all 88 with the 5 alabaster boxes and
the old oinochoe; the twelfth rhymos, the protomai and
10 αἱ οἰνοχόαι καὶ τὰ λεοντόποδα, ὀλκὴ πάντων μναῖ τριάκοντα· τρεῖσκαιδέκατος ρυμός, οἰνοχόαι
87400 δέκα δύο, ὀλκὴ πασῶν μναῖ ·ΔΔIIII· vac.
καὶ τάδε ἄστατα ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· θυμιατήριον ὑπόχαλκον λεπίδα ἀργυρᾶν ἔχον συντετριμμένον·
ζώδια ἀργυρᾶ δύο, Κλεινοῦς
ἀνάθημα· αἰετὸς ἀργυροῦς τῶν ἀρχαίων διαπεπτωκώς· φιάλαι ἕξ ἐμ πλινθεῖσις, Τκαρίου ἀνάθημα·
φιάλη, Βάκχωνος ἐπιδόντος Δηλιάσιν
87405 χορεῖα· φιάλη χρυσόκλυστος, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων χορεῖα· φιάλη, Δηλιάδων ἀνάθημα χορεῖα ἐπὶ
ἀρχεθεώρου Ῥοδίων Θρασυμάχου· φιάλη, [Φι]λῶ-
[τ]α [Σι]κωνίου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη, Φυλάκου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη, Λεοντίνων ἀνάθημα· φιάλη, Κώϊων
ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Σίμου· φιάλαι δύο ἐμ πλ[ιν]θεῖ-
15 ο[ις], Ἀπολλοδώρου ἀνάθημα· φιάλαι δύο, Στρατονίκης βασιλίσσης ἀνάθημα· φιάλαι δύο, Κώϊων
87410 ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Πολυκλείτου· φιάλη, Ῥοδί-
ων [ἀνάθ]ημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀγησάνδρου· φιάλη, Θεοτίμης ἀνάθημα· φιάλη ἔκτυπον ἔχουσα Ἥλιου

- πρόσωπον, ανάθημα Δηλιάδων χορεῖα ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώ-
 ρου Πολυχάρμου· κρατὴρ ἀργυροῦς, ὃν ἀνέθηκε Παρμίσκος, ὀλκὴν ·XXXXX□□ΔΔ□□· ἀργύριον παντοδαπὸν
 καὶ ἀνδριαντίσκος καὶ ἡλακά-
 87415 ται καὶ ἀμφιδαῖ καὶ δελφίς καὶ προχοῖδιον καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά, ὀλκὴ πάντων δραχμαὶ
 ·HHHHΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἄλλο παντοδαπὸν ἀργύριον, ὀλκὴ
 XHHΔΔΔ· ψίλῖα ἀργυρᾶ δύο καὶ ἀμφιδῆ ἀποκεκλασμένη, ὀλκὴν ·ΔΔ· πεντόροβος χαλκοῦς ἐπίχρυσος·
 ὀρχομένιοι ὀβολοὶ ·HHHH[Δ]·
 (10) the oinochoai and the lions' feet, total weight thirty mnai; thirteenth rhymos,
 87420 twelve oinochoai, total weight 24 mnai. [space] And the following unweighed objects
in the Artemision: bronze censer with silver detail, crushed; two silver figures,
 dedication of Kleino; silver eagle fallen off the old (?treasure); six phialai in
 plinths, dedication of Ikarios; phiale, gift of Bakchon, choreia for the Deliades;
 87425 gilded phiale, dedication of the Deliades, choreia; phiale dedication of the
 Deliades, choreia with Thrasymachos chief theoros of the Rhodians; phiale, dedication
 of Philotas of Sikyon; phiale, dedication of Phylakos; phiale, dedication of the
 Leontini; phiale, dedication of the Koans, with Simos chief theoros; two phialai in
 plinths, (15) dedication of Apollodoros; two phialai, dedication of queen Stratonike;
 two phialai, dedication of the Koans, with Polykleitos chief theoros; phiale,
 87430 dedication of the Rhodians with Agesandros chief theoros; phiale, dedication of
 Theotime; figured phiale with head of Helios, dedication of the Deliades with
 Polycharmos chief theoros; silver krater, which Parmiskos dedicated, weight 9572;
 various silver, statuette and spindles and bracelets and dolphin and small pitcher
 and various other objects, total weight 444 drachmas; various other silver, weight
 87435 1289; two silver armlets and bracelet fragment, weight 74; gilded bronze peony; 400+
 Orchomenian obols;
 20 ἀργυρίου ἄττικοῦ καὶ ἀλεξανδρείου δοκίμου καὶ χαλκοῦ ἐπιχωρίου [— —] δραχμὰς ·□ΔΔ□III·
 αἰγίναῖοι καὶ κρητικοὶ στατῆρες ἑνδεκα καὶ κο-
 87440 ρίνθιοι στατῆρες δύο καὶ μαυσώλεια τετράδραχμα ἑννέα· νάξια τετράδραχμα δύο καὶ φωκαῖδα καὶ
 ὀβολὸν φωκαϊκόν· νομίσματος πα[ν]-
 τοδαποῦ ὀλκὴν ·ΔΔ□□· vac. c.15 καὶ τάδε χρυσᾶ ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ὄρμος ὁ πρὸς τῷ θρόνῳ
 ἡρτημένος, οὗ οἱ γρῦπες οἱ πέντε καὶ ὁ
 ἑξὼν ὁ τὸν ταῦρογ κατέχων, ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ ·HHΔ□□· ὄρμος λογχωτός, ὃν ἀνέθηκε Σιμίχη Μυκονία,
 ἄστατος· ἀριθμὸς λογχίων ·□ΔΔΔII· {ὄρμος λογ}
 87445 ὄρμος λογχωτός, ὃν ἀνέθηκε Δημοστράτη, ἄστατος· ἀριθμὸς λογχίων ·□ΔΔIIII· τραγίσκοι χρυσοῖ
 <II> ἄστατοι· δακτύλιος περίχρυσος, ὃν ἀνέθηκε
 25 Στράτων Αἰτωλός, ἄστατος· ἀσπιδίσκη χρυσῇ, Αἰσχυλῖος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ ·□□□· φιάλη ῥαβδωτὴ
 χρυσῇ τετυρημένη, ὀλκὴν ·ΔΔ[]·
 ψίλιον στρεπτόν, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□□□□IIII· ἐπιχύτης χρυσοῦς, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·HΔ□□· ἐνώτια
 87450 χρυσᾶ δύο, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□IIII· θηρίκλειο[ς]
 κύλιξ, ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκὴ ·HHΔΔΔ□□· φιάλιον Δημοσῶντος Μυκονίου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ
 ·ΔΔ□□□· φιάλαι χρυσαῖ λεῖαι
 ἑπτὰ, ὀλκὴ τῆς πρώτης δραχμαὶ ·HΔΔΔΔ□□· τῆς δευτέρας ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ ·HΔΔΔΔ□□· τῆς τρίτης ὀλκὴ
 δραχμαὶ ·HΔΔΔΔ□□· τῆς τετάρτης ὀλκ[ῆ] <δραχμαῖ>
 87455 HΔΔΔΔ· τῆς πέμπτης ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ ·HΔΔΔΔ□□□□· τῆς ἑκτῆς ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ ·HΔΔΔΔ□□□□· τῆς ἑβδόμης
 ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ ·HΔΔΔ□□□□· φιάλαι
 (20) Attic silver and genuine Alexandrian and local bronze (coin), drachmas 76 3 ob;
 eleven Aeginetan and Cretan staters and two Corinthian staters and nine Maussolean
 87460 tetradrachms, two Naxian tetradrachms and a Phocian and a Phocian obol; various coin,
 weight 27 [space] And the following gold (objects) **in the Artemision:** necklace
 fastened to the throne with the five griffins and the lion holding bull, weight
 drachmas 213; lanceolate necklace which Simiche of Mykonos dedicated, unweighed,
 number of spearheads 82; {lanc necklace} lanceolate necklace, which Demostre
 87465 dedicated, unweighed, number of spearheads 74; small gold goats unweighed; gilded
 ring which (25) Straton of Aetolia dedicated unweighed; gold disk, dedication of
 Aischylis, weight drachmas 4; gold rayed phiale pierced, weight 70+; twisted armlet,
 weight drachmas 9 5 ob; gold beaker, weight drachmas 112; two gold earrings, weight
 drachmas 5 5 ob; Therikleian kylix, dedication of Ptolemy, weight 236; phialion,
 87470 dedication of Demoson of Mykonos, weight drachmas 28; seven smooth gold phialai,
 weight of the first drachmas 146; weight of the second drachmas 142; weight of the
 third drachmas 142; weight of the fourth 140; weight of the fifth drachmas 139;
 weight of the sixth drachmas 144; weight of the seventh drachmas 148; six
 30 καρυωταὶ ἔξ, ὀλκὴν ἡ πρώτη δραχμὰς ·HH□□· ἡ δευτέρα ὀλκὴν ·HH□□□□· ἡ τρίτη ὀλκὴν ·H□ΔΔΔΔ□·
 ἡ τετάρτη ὀλκὴν ·H□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· ἡ πέμ-
 87475 πτη ὀλκὴν ·HH□· ἡ ἕκτη ὀλκὴν ·H□ΔΔΔΔ□□· φιάλη χρυσῇ καρυωτῇ, Ναξίων ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·HH□·
 φιάλιον χρυσοῦν λεῖον τετυρημένον, ὀλ-
 κὴ ·ΔΔ□□□□· ἀνεπίγραφον· φιάλιον χρυσοῦν ῥαβδωτὸν τετυρημένον, ὀλκὴν ·□Δ□· λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ
 φιάλιον ῥαβδωτόν, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□·
 οἰνοχόαι δύο χρυσαῖ, ὀλκὴ τῆς πρώτης δραχμαὶ ·□H□ΔΔΔΔ□□□II· τῆς δευτέρας ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ
 87480 ·□H□ΔΔΔ□· πέταλα χρυσᾶ πεντήκοντα καὶ {ο}
 ὀκτὼ καὶ ἀσπιδίσκης κλασμάτιον καὶ σιλεγγίς, ὀλκὴν πάντων δραχμαὶ ·HHHΔ□□□□□· κανοῦγ χρυσοῦν

- λεῖον ὦτα καὶ πυθμένα ἀργυρᾶ ἔχον, ἐπ[ι]-
 35 γέγραπται ὁλκὴ τοῦ χρυσοῦ δραχμαὶ ·ΧΗΔΔΔΔ□□· τοῦ ἀργυρίου ὁλκὴν ·ΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□· κλιμάκιον
 87485 ξύλινομ περίχρυσον ὄφρσιν ἀργυροῖς δ[ιεζ]ω-
 μένον, ἀστατον· θυμιατήριον φιαλωτὸν μέγα περίχρυσον, ὧ ἐπιγέγραπται ὁλκὴ τοῦ χρυσοῦ δραχμαὶ
 ·ΗΗΗΔΔΔΙΙ· τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστάθη· ἄλλο θυμιατή-
 ριον ἔλαττον φιαλωτὸν ἐπίχρυσον ἀνεπίγραφον· τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστάθη· κανοῦν ὀρθηλὸν ἐπίχρυσον,
 ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον σταθμὸν δραχμᾶς
 87490 ΧΗΗΔΔΔ□□ΙΙ□· χρυσίον [λ]ευκόν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ στατήρες κυζικηνοὶ δύο καὶ φωκαῖς, ὁλκὴ τούτων
 πάντων δραχμαὶ ·ΗΗΗΔΔ□□□· ὁμος ἀμφορέ-
 ων, ὁλκὴν σὺν [τ]οῖς λίνοις δραχμαὶ ·Δ□□□· ἀριθμὸς ἀμφορέων ·□□ΙΙΙ· στλεγγίς καὶ στεφάνωγ
 κλάσματα χρυσᾶ, ὁλκὴν ·ΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ· πεντόροβο[ς]
 (30) knobbed phialai, the first weight drachmas 202; the second weight 204; the third
 87495 weight 195; the fourth weight 193; the fifth weight 201; the sixth weight 196;
 knobbed gold phiale, dedication of the Naxians, weight 201; smooth gold phialion
 pierced weight 28, uninscribed; rayed gold phialion pierced weight 65; rayed phialion
 of white gold, weight drachmas 50; two gold oinochoai, weight of the first drachmas
 697.2; weight of the second drachmas 685; fifty eight gold leaves and part of a disk
 and a ribbon, total weight drachmas 319; smooth gold basket with silver handles and
 87500 base, the (35) weight of the gold is inscribed drachmas 1193, weight of the silver
 836; gilded wooden ladder girt with silver snakes, unweighed; large gilded censer
 with phiale, on which the weight of the gold is inscribed 820 dr 2 ob, this was not
 weighed; another smaller gilded censer with phiale, uninscribed, this was not
 weighed; gilded straight-sided basket with inscription weight drachmas 1232 dr 2 1/2
 87505 ob; white gold including two Kyzikene and Phocian stater, total weight drachmas 328;
 necklace of amphoras, weight with the strings drachmas 18, number of amphoras 58;
 ribbon and pieces of gold crowns, weight 24 dr 3 ob; gold peony,
 40 χρυσοῦς, ὁλκὴν ·□· στεφάνωγ κλάσματα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀσπιδίσκαι καὶ στλεγγίδωγ κλάσματα καὶ ἄλλα
 παντοδαπὰ χρυσία, ὁλκὴ πάντων δρα-
 87510 χμαὶ ·ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□□□· μῆλα χρυσᾶ, ἐνια πλήρη γῆς, ἀριθμὸν ·ΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ· καὶ ἀνθεμίου ὑπαργύρου
 κλάσμα, ὁλκὴ τούτων ·ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ· περόνια χρυσαὶ καὶ
 τούτωγ κλάσματα, ἀριθμὸν ·ΔΔΙΙΙ· ἀστατοὶ· ὁμος ὁ Ἐριφύλης χρυσοῦς, ὁλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·Η□□□·
 ἀσπιδίσκη καὶ φυκία δύο καὶ περιδεδιρίδια χρυσᾶ, ὁλκὴν
 πάντων σὺν τοῖς λίνοις δραχμαὶ ·Δ□□□□ΙΙΙ· δακτύλιοι χρυσοῖ ἕξ, ὁλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□□□□· σφραγίδια διάλιε
 87515 δύο ἀστατα· δαρεικοὶ χρυσοῖ ὀκτώ· χρυσζίου>
 ὁλκὴ ·□ΙΙΙ· ῥοαὶ χρυσαὶ πέντε ἀστατοὶ καὶ μῆλον καὶ πέταλα χρυσᾶ ἀστατα· ἀμπελος χρυσεῖ
 ἀστατος· σφραγίς μαράγδου δεδεμένη σειρᾷ χρυ-
 45 σῆι, Ἀπολλοδώρου ἀνάθημα, ἀστατος· ὁμος ἀμφορέων ἐφ' οὗ ὁ Τριπτόλεμος καὶ ἀνθεμα καὶ
 ἀσπιδίσκη καὶ ἐνώτια καὶ στλεγγίς χρυσᾶ, ὁλκὴ
 87520 δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης ὁ παρ' Ἀμεινώνδα ἀπελθών, ὁλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔ·
 δακτύλιος χρυσοῦ[ς] Ἀρτεμίσιον ἔχων
 ἐπίσημον, ὁλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΙΙΙ· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς λεῖτος, ὁλκὴν ·□□□□ΙΙΙ· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς,
 ὁλκὴν ·□□· ἐπίσημον ἔχων Ἐρωτα· δακτύλιος σιδη-
 87525 ροῦς χρυσίῳ ἐνδεδεμένος ἀστατος· σφραγίς χρυσίῳ [ἐνδ]εδεμένη ἀστατος σημεῖον ἔχουσα
 τραγέλαφον· κυλινδρίσκος χρυσένδετος ἀστα-
 τος· σφραγίς χρυσένδετος ἀστατος<ς>· λυγγούριον κίρκον ἔχο[ν χ]ρυσοῦν ἀστατον· σφραγίδιον
 χρυσένδετον ἀστατον· σφραγίδιον κίρκον ἔχον χρυσοῦν
 (40) weight 1; pieces of gold crowns and disks and pieces of ribbons and various
 87530 other gold objects, total weight drachmas 344; gold apples, some filled with
 ointment, number 34, and piece of a gilded silver flower, weight of these 40 dr 3 ob;
 gold pins and pieces of these, number 23, unweighed; the gold necklace of Eriphyle,
 weight drachmas 156; gold disk and two rouge jars and necklaces, total weight with
 their strings drachmas 14 dr 3 ob; six gold rings, weight drachmas 8; two stone
 sealrings, unweighed; eight gold darics, weight of go(ld) 5 dr 3 ob; five gold
 87535 pomegranates unweighed and an apple and gold leaves unweighed; gold grapevine
 unweighed; emerald seal bound with gold cord, (45) dedication of Apollodoros,
 unweighed; necklace of amphoras with Triptolemos on it and flowers and disk and
 earrings and gold ribbon, weight drachmas 43; gold laurel crown coming from
 Ameinondas, weight drachmas 70; gold ring with image of Artemis, weight drachmas 5 dr
 87540 3 ob; smooth gold ring, weight 4 dr 3 ob; gold ring, weight 2, with image of Eros;
 iron ring bound in gold, unweighed; seal bound in gold unweighed with image of goat-
 stag; small cylinder bound in gold, unweighed; seal bound in gold unweigh(ed); amber
 with gold circle unweighed; small seal bound in gold unweighed; small seal with gold
 circle
 87545 50 ἀστατον· σφραγίδιον ἀργυρίῳ ἐνδεδεμένον· σφραγίδιον ὑάλινον χρυσένδετον· ἀνθέμια καὶ
 ὀφίδιον καὶ κίρκος καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά, ὁλκὴν ·ΔΙ·
 δακτύλιος χρυ<σ>οῦς ἐν ταινιδίῳ ἐνδεδεμένος ξυλίνῳι, Καλλικρίτης ἀνάθημα· στεφανίσκοι χρυσοῖ
 δύο, ὁλκὴ δραχμαὶ ·□□□□· στέφανος
 87550 χρυσοῦς μυρρίνης, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ὁλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·Η□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς
 μυρρίνης, Βερενίκης ὑπὲρ Πτολεμαίου
 ἀνάθημα, ὁλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔ□· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἀνέθηκε Πευκέστης, ὁλκὴν δραχμαὶ

- Δ□· στέφανος μυρρίνης χρυσοῦς, Δηλιάδων ἀνάθημα, χορεῖα Νικοκρέοντος ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, Καλλικράτους ἀνάθημα[α], 55 ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔ· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔ□□· Τωμίλκου ἀνάθημα· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, χο- 87555 ρεῖα Φιλοκλέους ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ□· στέφανος κιττοῦ χρυσοῦς, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΗΔΔΔΔ· στέ- φανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, Δημητρίου βασιλέως [— —] ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□Δ□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, 87560 Δηλιάδων ἀνάθημα, χορεῖα Μήτρωνος ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔ□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, Δηλιάδων ἀνάθημα, χορεῖα Κλείτου ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ □ΔΔΔΔ· στέφανος μυρρίνης χρυσοῦς, Λυσάνδρου Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□□□□□· σὺν τῷ ρόδῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης {π}, 87565 (50) unweighed; small seal bound in silver; small glass seal bound in gold; flowers and small snake and hawk and various other objects, weight 10 dr 1 ob; gold ring bound in wood on string, dedication of Kallikrite; two small gold crowns, weight drachmas 8; gold myrtle crown, dedication of king Ptolemy, weight drachmas 193; gold myrtle crown, dedication of Berenike on behalf of Ptolemy, weight drachmas 71; gold 87570 laurel crown which Peukestes dedicated, weight drachmas 65; gold myrtle crown, dedication of the Deliades, with Nikokreon giving the choreia, weight drachmas 44; gold laurel crown dedication of Kallikrates, (55) weight drachmas 20; gold laurel crown, weight drachmas 22, dedication of Iomilkos; gold laurel crown, dedication of 87575 the Deliades, with Philokles giving the choreia, weight drachmas 41; gold ivy crown, dedication of king Ptolemy, weight drachmas 140; gold laurel crown, dedication of king Demetrios, weight drachmas 67; gold crown, dedication of the Deliades, with Metron giving the choreia, weight drachmas 72; gold laurel crown, dedication of the 87580 Deliades, with Kleitos giving the choreia, weight drachmas 90; gold myrtle crown, dedication of Lysander of Sparta, weight drachmas 58, with the rose; gold laurel crown, 60 Κρατεροῦ ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, Φιλοκλέους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔΔΔ· ἀνδριαντίσκος χρυσοῦς 87585 σχέλος οὐδὲ χεῖρα ἔχων, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□□III· χρυσοῦς ἀσήμου ὀλκὴν ·□□□· δακτύλιοι καὶ ἐνώτια ἀργυρᾶ ἀνειρμένα· ἡ καλουμένη γέρανος καὶ ὁ ὄρ- μος ὁ ὑποτείνων ὑπὸ τῇ γέρανον, ἀστατα· ὁ κόσμος ὁ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ τὴν ἐρεῖαν ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντος, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔΔ□□□· περόνη ἀργυρᾶ ἐπὶ- χρυσοῦς, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·Δ□· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς, Πολυαράτου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□□□· φιάλη 87590 ἀργυρᾶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Χοροιθίδος ἀνάθημα, ἀστατον· φιάλη, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ξυνειδῶν ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·Η· ἀντὶ τῆς θηρικλείου τῆς ἀποβληθείσης τῆς ἀνέθηκε Πύθειος, φιάλη ὀλκὴν 65 δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□· {²vac.}² 87595 ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ τοῦ νεῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἀστατα· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ. τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κώων ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀρά- του· φιάλη ἔκτυπον ἔχουσα ἄρμα καὶ Νίκην καὶ ζώδια δύο, Ἡρακλείδου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη λεία 87600 ὀμφαλὸν ἐπίχρυσον ἔχουσα, Ῥοδίων ἀνάθημα ὀμφαλὸν ἐπίχρυσος Πολυαράτου· φιάλη ἐπίχρυσος ῥάβδωτή, Τιμάνθους Ῥοδίου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη λεία ὀμφαλὸν ἐπίχρυσον ἔχουσα, Ῥοδίων [ἀν]άθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Φρασίλα· φιάλη ἔκτυπος διάχρυσος, Διοκλέους Κώιου ἀνάθημα· φιάλιον 87605 Πυρρίου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη λεία ὀμφαλῶ[ν] (60) dedication of Krateros, weight drachmas 58; gold crown, dedication of Philokles, weight drachmas 90; gold statuette with neither leg nor hand, weight drachmas 6 dr 3 ob; unstamped gold weight 3; rings and linked silver earrings; the so-called Crane and the necklace stretched under the Crane, unweighed; the ornament of the statue 87610 with the wool cloths, weight drachmas 87; gilded silver pin, weight drachmas 15; gold ring, dedication of Polyaratos, weight drachmas 3; silver phiale in plinth, dedication of Choroithis, unweighed; phiale dedication of the Thyestadai and Okyneidai, weight drachmas 100; the phiale replacing the discarded Therikleian which Pytheios dedicated, weight (65) drachmas 96. [space] 87615 **In the prodomos of the Temple of Apollo**, unweighed: silver phiale in plinth, dedication of the city of the Koans with Aratos chief theoros; phiale with image of chariot, Nike and two figures, dedication of Herakleides; smooth phiale with gilded boss, dedication of the Rhodians with Polyaratos chief theoros; gilded rayed phiale, dedication of Timanthes of Rhodes; smooth phiale with gilded boss, dedication of the Rhodians with Phrasilas chief theoros; gilded figured phiale, dedication of Diokles of Cos; phialion dedication of Pyrrias; smooth phiale with 87620 70 [ἐπίχ]ρυσον ἔχουσα, ἀρχεθεώρου Τηπαγόρα καὶ Θεωρῶν ἀνάθημα· φιάλη, Ῥοδίων Θεωρῶν ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀκεστία· φιάλη λογχωτὴ [τῆς Κα]λυμνίων πόλεως ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ Πολυμήδους ἄρχοντος· φιάλη ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Ἀρχία Καλυμνίου ἀνάθημα· φιάλαι τρεῖς, Σησίλεω ἀνάθημα· [φιάλη] λεία, Νικίππου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη καρυωτὴ ἔκτυπος, Ἀρταπάτου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη λεία, Δηλιάδων ἀνάθημα, χορεῖα Ῥοδίων Θεωρῶν ἐπιδόντων

- [ἐπὶ ἀρχ]εθεώρου Ἀγησιδάμου· φιάλαι καρυωταὶ δύο ἔκτυπα ζῶια ἔχουσαι, τῶγ Χαρμίδου θυγατέρων ἀνάθημα· φιάλη λεία ὀμφαλὸν ἐπίχρυσον ἔχουσα, [Ροδίω]ν θεωρῶν ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Φίλωνος· φιάλη καρυωτὴ ἔκτυπον ἔχουσα ζώιδιον, τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κώων ἀνάθημα, τῶι Απόλλωνι ἀ- 75 [παρχ]ήν· φιάλη λεία, Ἀμμωνίου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη λογχωτὴ κεχρυσωμένη, Ἀριστοφίλου Ροδίου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη ἐν ἐλάφου προτομῇ, Ἐτεάρχου ἀνάθημα[α]· [φιάλη] ἐπάργυρος ἔκτυπα ζῶια ἔχουσα προσηλωμένα, Ἀρχεστράτου ἀνάθημα· κύρβη ἀργυρᾶ ἐν σανιδίῳ προσηλωμένη, Κοσκάλου ἀνάθημα· ῥόδο[ν] [ἀργυρ]οῦν, Δεξικράτους ἀνάθημα· τύπος ἀργυροῦς, Ὀνητορίδου ἀνάθημα· περικεφαλαία σιδηρᾶ περιηργυρωμένη, Λεωνίδου ἀνάθημα· κρατῆρε[ς] [ἀργ]υροὶ μεγάλοι δύο ῥαβδωτοί, βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης ἀνάθημα, ἄστατοι· τριήρης ἀργυρᾶ, βασιλέως Σελεύκου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΧΔΔΔ [Δ]Δ[Δ]□□□· θυμιατήριον ἐν [ναΐ]σκῳ ἀργυροῦν, Στιλπύριος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□□□· 87635 κύλικες τηιουργεῖς ἀργυρένδετοι δύο, Κτήσωνος ἀνά- (70) gilded boss, dedication of Hippagoras chief theoros and the theoroi; phiale dedication of the Rhodian theoroi with Akestias chief theoros; lanceolate phiale, dedication of the city of the Kalymnians with Polymedes archon; phiale in plinth dedication of Archias of Kalymnos; three phialai, dedication of Stesileos; smooth [phiale] dedication of Nikippos; knobbed figured phiale, dedication of Artapatos; smooth phiale dedication of the Deliades, with the Rhodian theoroi giving the choreia with Agesidamos chief theoros; two knobbed phialai with relief figures, dedication of the daughters of Charmides; smooth phiale with gilded boss, dedication of the [Rhodia]n theoroi with Philon chief theoros; knobbed phiale with relief figure, 87645 dedication of the city of the Koans, aparche to Apollo; (75) smooth phiale, dedication of Ammonios; gilded lanceolate phiale, dedication of Aristophilos of Rhodes; phiale with deer head, dedication of Etearchos; silvered [phiale] with relief figures riveted on, dedication of Arcestratos; silver kyrbe riveted to board, dedication of Koskalos; silver rose, dedication of Dexikrates; silver image, 87650 dedication of Onetorides; silvered iron helmet, dedication of Leonidas; two large rayed silver kraters, dedication of queen Stratonike, unweighed; silver trireme, dedication of king Seleukos, weight drachmas 1534+; silver censer in little shrine, dedication of Stilpurios, weight drachmas 8; two silvered Tean kylixes, dedication of Kteson, 87655 80 [θ]ῆμα, ἄστατοι· πτολεμαϊκὰ τετράδραχμα δύο καὶ ἀρβυλικούς ὀβολοὺς δύο· ἀργυρίου παντοδαποῦ ἐπισήμου, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□· δακτύλιοι σιδηρ[οῖ] [ὑ]πάργυροι ·ΗΗ□□· δακτύλιοι ὑπόχρυσοι σιδηροῖ ·□□□□· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἀπείρων Ὀνασικράτους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·□□□· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς [σ]υντεθλασμένος, ὀλκὴν ·□□□□□□· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἀνθράκιον ἔχων, Σαπφοῦς ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν 87660 ·□□□· χρυσοῖ ἀσήμου παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·Η□· σὺν τῶι κλάσματι τῶι τοῦ θυμιατηρίου· χρυσοῦς, Νικολάου ἀνάθημα· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἀνέθηκε Πευκέστης, ὀλκὴν σὺν τῶι [λίν]ωι δραχμαὶ ·□Δ□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς κιττοῦ, βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΗΔΔΔΔ□□□· σὺν τῶι λίνωι· στέφαν[ος] 87665 85 {στέφανος} δάφνης χρυσοῦς, βασιλέως Δημητρίου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, Ἀντιπάτρου ἀνάθημα. ὀλ[κὴν] [δρ]αχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, βασιλέως Σιδωνίων Φιλοκλέους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, Πολυκλείτου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, Φάρακος Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνάθημα, 87670 ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□· σὺν τῶι ξύλῳ [καὶ] τῶι λίνωι· στέφανος χρυσοῦς κιττοῦ, τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Δηλίων ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος μυρρίνης χρυσοῦς, Πνυταγόρου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔ□□· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, Ξενοφάντου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□Δ□□□· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, Καλλικρ[ά]- 87675 (80) unweighed; two Ptolemaic tetradrachms and two arbylic obols; various stamped silver, weight drachmas 50; silvered iron rings 207; gilded iron rings 9; gold apeiron ring, dedication of Onasikrates, weight 1 dr 3 ob; crushed gold ring, weight 3 dr 5 ob; gold ring with garnet, dedication of Sappho, weight 3; various unstamped gold, weight drachmas 105; gold (coin) with the piece of the censer, dedication of Nikolaos; gold crown which Peukestes dedicated, weight with the string drachmas 69; 87680 gold ivy crown, dedication of king Ptolemy, weight drachmas 140 3 ob with the string; gold laurel crown (85) {crown}, dedication of king Demetrios, weight drachmas 88; gold laurel crown, dedication of Antipater, weight drachmas 47; gold crown, dedication of Philokles king of the Sidonians, weight drachmas 97; gold laurel crown, 87685 dedication of Polykleitos, weight drachmas 90 3 ob; gold crown dedication of Pharax of Sparta, weight drachmas 50 with the wood and string; gold ivy crown, dedication of the Delian demos, weight drachmas 98; gold myrtle crown dedication of Pnytagoras, weight drachmas 32; gold laurel crown, dedication of Xenophantos, weight drachmas 64; gold laurel crown, dedication of Kallikrates, 87690 90 [τ]οὺς ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς μυρρίνης, Νικοκρέοντος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□Δ□□□· στέφανοι χρυσοῖ δύο ἐπὶ <τοῦ>

- αὐτοῦ ξύλου ἀνεπίγραφοι, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, Τωμίλκου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν
δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔ□□□□· στέφανος ἀμπέλου χρυ-
87695 σοῦς, Λυσάνδρου Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□Δ□□□□· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς,
Λυσάνδρου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔ□□□□·
στέφανος χρυσοῦς, [Κ]άρπου καὶ Ἀδράστου ἀνάθημα, ὀλ[κ]ὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔ□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς
μυρρίνης, Ἀνδροκλέους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν
δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔ□· σὺν τῷ λίνωι· στέφανος μυρρίνης, Τιμασιπόλιος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·Δ□□□□·
87700 στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπερθύρου
95 προσηλωμένος, ἄστατος, Τιμοκράτους ἀνάθημα· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ὧι τὸ ἀγαλμα
ἔστεφάνωται, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΗΔΔΔΔ□□· στρεπτόν
χρυσοῦν vac. πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ, Δάτιδος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔ□□· στέφανοι δάφνης χρυσοῖ δύο
πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ, ὀλκὴν τοῦ πρώτου δραχ-
87705 μαὶ ·□Δ□□□III· τοῦ ἑτέρου στεφάνου ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· χρυσοῦ παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ
·□□□· [σ]ὺν τῇ σφραγίδι τῇ ἀργυρᾷ· [— —]·
κηρύκειον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ [— —]· κηρύκειον ἀργυροῦν· φοίνικα, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ· vac.
στλεγγίς χρυσῇ, Γλαύκου ἀνάθημα, ἄστατος·
μάχαιρα ἵππικῇ, Θυμῳίδου ἀνάθημα· κολεὸν μαχαίρας ἵππικῆς, Τιμέου ἀνάθημα· θυμιατήριον
χαλκοῦν· κανοῦμ μέγα χαλκοῦν·
87710 (90) weight drachmas 49; gold myrtle crown, dedication of Nikokreon, weight drachmas
67; two gold crowns on the same wood, uninscribed, weight drachmas 48; gold crown,
dedication of Iomilkos, weight drachmas 24; gold grapevine crown, dedication of
Lysander of Sparta, weight drachmas 69; gold laurel crown, dedication of Lysander,
weight drachmas 26+; gold crown, dedication of Karpos and Adrastos, weight drachmas
87715 33; gold myrtle crown, dedication of Androkles, weight drachmas 21+ with the string;
myrtle crown, dedication of Timasipolis, weight drachmas 18; gold crown nailed to the
lintel, (95) unweighed, dedication of Timokrates; gold laurel crown with which the
statue is crowned, weight drachmas 146; gold collar [space] on the wall, dedication
of Datis, weight drachmas 36; two gold laurel crowns on the wall, weight of the first
87720 drachmas 63 3 ob, weight of the second crown drachmas 48; various gold weight
drachmas 7 with the silver seal; silver staff, weight drachmas [erased]; silver
staff; palm, weight drachmas [space]; gold ribbon, dedication of Glaukos, unweighed;
equestrian sword, dedication of Thymoides; scabbard for the equestrian sword,
dedication of Timeos; bronze censer; large bronze basket;
87725 100 τόξα κρητικὰ δύο καὶ φαρέτραι ζωιωταί· ὀβελίσκους ·□III· χαλκοῦ ἐπισήμου παντοδαποῦ ἐν
ὑδρίαι καὶ στάμνῳι χαλκ[οῖ]ς, ὀλκὴν σὺν τοῖς ἀγγεῖ-
ο[ις] μναὶ ·II· φυκίον χρυσοῦν πρὸς τῷ στυλίσ[σ]κῳι, ὀλκὴν σὺν τῷ ἱμάντι ·□· δακτύλιος
Φωκαΐδος λόγχην ἔχων σημεῖον· σφραγίδα ἐπίχρυσον·
[κ]υλίκιον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκὴν ·III· ἔσχαρις ἀργυρᾷ, Βουλομάγας ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν σὺν τῷ ἐμπύρῳι
87730 δραχμαὶ ·□H· vac.
[ἐν] τῷ νεῷ οὗ τὰ ἐπτά· ἐν τῷ προδόμῳι· φιάλη λεία ἐμ πλινθείῳι, Καλλικλέους ἀνάθημα·
φιάλαι τρεῖς ἐμ πλινθείῳι ἔκτυποι, Ταυρομενι-
[τῶν ἀν]άθημα· φιάλη λεία ἐμ πλινθείῳι, Εὐθυδικίου ἀνάθημα· στέφανος χρυσοῦς προσηλωμένος,
Αὐτοκλέους ἀνάθημα, ἔχων φύλλα ·ΔΔII,
87735 107 [κόκκου]ς ·□III· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, Νικίου ἀνάθημα, ἀριθμὸς φύλλων ·ΔΔΔΔII· κόκκοι
·ΔIIII· ἐν τῷ νεῷ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς συντεθλα-
[σμένος] ἐν κιβωτίῳι, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς συντεθλασμένος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
κιβωτίῳι, ὀλκὴν δραχμαὶ ·□ΔΔ□· φιάλ[αι]
[ΔΔΔ, ὀ]λκὴν πᾶσαι ·XX□Δ□□□□· κυμβία τέτταρα, ὀλκὴν ·H□□□□· τῶν κρεμαμένων στεφάνω[ν] ὁ
87740 πρῶτος, ὀλκὴν δραχμὰς ·H□□· ὁ δεῦτερος, ὀλ-
[κὴν] ·ΔΔΔIII· ὁ τρίτος, ὀλκὴν ·ΔIIIII· ὁ τέταρτος, ὀλκὴν ·ΔIIIII· ὁ πέμπτος ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχεν
·ΗΔ□□III· σταθεὶς δὲ εἰλκυσεν
[H]ΔΔ□□· ὁ ἕκτος ἐπιγραφὴν μὲν εἶχεν ·□Δ□□□· σταθεὶς δ' εἰλκυσεν ·□Δ□· ὁ ἑβδομος, ὀλκὴν
·□Δ□□□□III· ὁ ὀγδοος, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔ□□· ὁ ἑνατος, ὀλκὴν
87745 (100) two Cretan bows and figured quivers; 8 skewers; various stamped bronze in
bronze hydria and stamnos, weight with the containers 2 mnai; gold rouge jar on the
peg weight with the cord 1; ring with Phocian spearhead as stamp; gilded seal; small
silver kylix, weight 3 ob; silver brazier, dedication of Boulomagas, weight with the
rack 600 [space]
87750 **In the Temple of the Seven. In the prodomos.** smooth phiale in plinth, dedication of
Kallikles; three figured phialai in plinth, dedication of the Tauromenitans; smooth
phiale in plinth, dedication of Euthydikos; nailed gold crown, dedication of
Autokles, with 22 leaves, 8 (105) [berries]; gold laurel crown, dedication of Nikias,
number of leaves 42, berries 14. **In the temple.** crushed gold crown in chest, weight
87755 97; another crushed gold crown in the same chest, weight drachmas 71; [...] phialai,
total weight 2519; four kymbia, weight 158; of the hanging crowns the first, weight
drachmas 100 3/4 ob; the second, weight 83 dr 3 ob; the third, weight 68 dr 5 ob; the
fourth, weight 67 dr 4 ob; the fifth had the inscription 113 dr 3 ob but when weighed
it displaced 22+; the sixth had the inscription 63, but when weighed it displaced 65;
87760 the seventh, weight 69 dr 3 ob; the eighth, weight 72; the ninth, weight
110 [□]Δ□□□□· ὁ δέκατος ἐπιγραφὴν μὲν εἶχεν ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□III· σταθεὶς δ' εἰ<λ>κυσεν δραχμὰς

- ΔΔΔΔ□□· ὁ ἐνδέκατος ἐπιγραφὴν μὲν εἶχεν ·□Δ□□□□□□· σταθε<ις>
 87765 δ' εἰλκυσεν ·□Δ□□□□· ὁ δωδέκατος, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔΔ□□□· ὁ τρίτος καὶ δέκατος εἶχε μὲν ἐπιγραφὴν
 ·□ΔΔΔ□□□□□□· σταθεῖς δ' εἰλκυσεν ·□ΔΔΔ□□□□□□· ὁ τέταρτος
 {τος} καὶ δέκατος, ὀλκὴν ·ΗΔΔ□□□□□□□□· ὁ πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος εἶχε μὲν ἐπιγραφὴν ·□ΔΔΔ□□□□□·
 εἰλκυσεν δὲ σταθεῖς ·□ΔΔΔ□□□□□□□□· ὁ ἑκκαίδέκατος, ὀλ-
 [κ]ὴν ·ΗΔΔ□□□□· ὁ ἐπτακαίδέκατος, ὀλκὴν ·Η□□□· ὁ ὀκτωκαίδέκατος, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ὁ ἑνατος
 καὶ δέκατος εἶχε μὲν ἐπιγραφὴν ·□ΔΔΔ□□□□· σταθεῖς
 87770 [δ'] εἶλκεν ·□ΔΔΔ□□□□□□· ὁ εἰκοστὸς ἐπεγέγραπτο μὲν ὀλκὴν ·Η· σταθεῖς δ' εἰλκυσεν ·Η□□□□· ὁ εἷς
 καὶ εἰκοστὸς, ὀλκὴν ·Η□□□□· [—] ἐν τῷ Εἰλειθυιαίῳ· βατιά-
 115 κη ἐμ πλινθειῳ, ἣν ἀνέθηκε Κλεαρχίς· φιάλη ἐκτυπα ἔχουσα Περσῶν πρόσωπα, Κτησουλίου
 ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔ□□· ἀμφιδαῖ καὶ τύποι καὶ
 [δ]φεις καὶ δακτύλιοι καὶ κριθαὶ ἀργυρᾶ, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔΔΔ□· πυρήνια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐνδεσμίδες καὶ τύποι
 87775 καὶ κάρδια καὶ ἄλλα χρυσία, ὀλκὴν πάντων ·Δ□□□·
 ἄλλα ζωιδάρια τέτταρα, ἐν αὐτῶν ξύλινον ἐπίχρυσον, καὶ δακτύλιοι δύο, ὁ εἷς λιθάριον ἔχων, καὶ
 ἐνώτι<α>, ὀλκὴν ·□□□□· μῆλα ἐννέα ἐπάργυρα ἐπί<χρυ>-
 σα, ὀλκὴν ·□□□□· ἐρωτίωγ καὶ βουβαλίων ζευγὸς πρὸς ξύλῳ, Θεσσαλίας ἀνάθημα. καὶ τάδε ἀντιέθη
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τὸ Εἰλειθυιαῖον·
 87780 δακτυλίδιον χρυσοῦν, ἀνδριάντιον, τύπιον χρυσᾶ, ὀλκὴ πάντων ·□□· τύπιον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκὴν ·□□·
 δακτυλίδιον διάλιθον ἐν ταινιδίῳ, Κερκίδος ἅ-
 (110) 18+; the tenth had the inscription 92 dr 3 ob but when weighed it displaced
 drachmas 96; the eleventh had the inscription 66.4 but when weighed it displaced 68;
 the twelfth, weight 80 dr 2 1/2 ob; the thirteenth had the inscription 82 dr 5 ob but
 when weighed it displaced 83 dr 3 ob; the fourteenth, weight 128 dr 5 ob; the
 87785 fifteenth had the inscription 82 dr 3 ob but when weighed it displaced 84 dr 3 ob;
 the sixteenth, weight 124; the seventeenth, weight 101 dr 2 ob; the eighteenth,
 weight 98; the nineteenth had the inscription 82 dr 2 ob but when weighed it
 displaced 82 dr 3 ob; the twentieth was inscribed weight 100 but when weighed it
 displaced 101 dr 3 ob; the twenty first, weight 101dr 3 ob.
 87790 **In the Eileithyiaion:** batiake (115) in plinth, which Klearchis dedicated; phiale with
 Persian faces in relief, dedication of Ktesylis, weight 72; silver bracelets and
 relief plaques and snakes and rings and barleycorns, weight 91; gold beads and
 endesmidēs and relief plaques and kardia and other gold objects, total weight 15 dr 2
 ob; four other statuettes, one of them gilded wood, and two rings, one with stone,
 87795 and earrings, weight 8; nine (gil)ded silver apples, weight 7 dr 1 ob; pair of cupids
 and bracelets on wood, dedication of Thessalia. And the following were dedicated in
 our year of office **in the Eileithyiaion:** small gold ring, gold statuette, gold relief
 plaque, total weight 2; silver image, weight 2; small ring with stone on string,
 dedication of Kerkis.
 87800 120 νάθημα. [—] ἐν τῇ Χαλκοθήκῃ τάδε χαλκᾶ· ὑδρίας ·Δ□· ἄλλη πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα· ὑδρίαί
 δύο, ἑκατέρα ἐν οὓς ἔχουσα· ὑδρία ἐν οὓς ἔχου-
 σα· ὑδρία ἐν οὓς ἔχουσα, πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα· ἄλλη πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα, οὓς ἔχουσα ἐν· ὑδρία ὧτα
 οὐκ ἔχουσα δύο· στάμνος μέγας ἐν οὓς [ς]
 87805 ἔχων· στάμνος βοιωτικὸς ἐν οὓς ἔχων· στάμνος ἐλαϊηρός· κρατῆρες τυρρηνικοὶ τρεῖς ὑπόστατα
 ἔχοντες· κρατήριον τυρρηνικὸν
 οὓς οὐκ ἔχον· κρατήριον λακωνικὸν τὸμ πυθμένα ἔχον ἀπο<πε>πτωκότα· κρατῆρες λακωνικοὶ τρεῖς·
 κανᾶ ὀρθηλᾶ δύο· κανοῦμ μέγα πυθμέ-
 να οὐκ ἔχον· κανᾶ τρία· κάδοι λεῖτοι δύο, ὁ εἷς πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχων· κάδοι στρεπτοὶ δύο· ἐσχάραι
 87810 πυρκαῖοι τρεῖς· λεβήτια ἐννέα ἀχρεῖα· χαλκία [με]-
 125 γάλα τρία ἀχρεῖα· χαλκία δύο μικρὰ ἀχρεῖα· χαλκία ἑπτὰ μικρὰ ἀχρεῖα· κρατῆρ στρογγύλος
 ὑπόστατον ἔχων· ἐχίνη στρατιωτικὴ· ἐξάλειπτο[ν]·
 δύο μικρὰ πέντε· πινακίσκοι τέτταρες· περιρραντήριον ὑπόστατον ἔχον καὶ ἐπιγραφὴν· χερνιβεῖα
 καὶ τετρουπημένα, τὸ ἐν οὓς οὐκ ἔχο[ν]·
 87815 χερνιβεῖα ὀκτὼ τετρουπημένα· ποδανιπτήρες δύο οὐχ ὑγιεῖς, οὓς ἔχοντες ἐν ἑκάτερος· ψυκτῆρες
 τρεῖς ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντες· λυχνεῖα
 σιδηρᾶ δύο ἐπὶ τοῖς μέσοις φιάλ[ας] οὐκ ἔχοντα· ὀβελίσκοι μικροὶ· ·ΔΔΔ□· κλάσματα δύο· ἐσχάρα
 σιδηρᾶ· γαστροπτῖς διαπεπτωκυῖα· σκαφεῖω[ν]
 κλάσματα ·□· δίσκοι χαλκοῖ δύο· [ἐσχά]ρίου μικροῦ ἡμυσυ κατεαγὸς ὑπόστατον ἔχον· ψυκτῆριον ὧτα
 καὶ πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχον· χεῖρ σιδηρᾶ· οἶνοχόη.
 87820 (120) **In the Chalkotheke** the following bronze. 15 hydrias; another without base; two
 hydriai, each with one handle; hydria with one handle; hydria with one handle,
 without base; another without base, with one handle; hydria without two handles;
 large stamnos with one handle; Boeotian stamnos with one handle; olive oil stamnos;
 three Etruscan kraters with stands; small Etruscan krater without handle; small
 87825 Spartan krater with the base fallen off; three Spartan kraters; two straight-sided
 baskets; large basket without base; three baskets; two smooth jars, one without base;
 two twisted jars; three sacrificial braziers; nine useless lebetia; three (125)
 useless large bronze (lebetia); two small useless bronze (lebetia); seven useless
 small bronze (lebetia); round krater with stand; military echine; unguent box; five
 87830 small baskets; four small tablets; sprinkler with stand and inscription; two pierced
 hand basins, one without handle; eight pierced hand basins; two unsound foot basins,

with one handle each; three coolers without handles; two iron lampstands without phialai in their centers; 35 small skewers; two pieces (of skewers?); iron brazier; broken casserole; 5 pieces of dishes; two bronze disks; broken half of small brazier with stand; cooler without handle or base; iron hand; oinochoe.

(side C)

{²initio vss. 5 omnino oblitterati}²

6 καὶ τὰδε ἐν τῇ Χαλκοθήκῃ παρελάβομεν· οἶνοχό[ην] χαλκῇ[ν]
10 οὔς οὐκ ἔχουσιν· οἶνοχό[ας]·ΔΔ□□· πυθμ[έ]- νας οὐκ ἔχού[σας]· οἶνοχό[ας] δύο· οὔς [οὐκ
15 ἔχου]σ[ας]·
15 [ἀλλὰ]ς δύο [οὔτε οὔς] [οὔτ]ε πυθμένα [έ]- [χού]σας, σα[κ]νά[ς]· [ἀλλας] δ[ύο] σακνά[ς]
[πυθμένας οὐκ ἔχου]-
20 [σας - - -]

{²c. vss. 12 e quibus ne una quidem littera conspicua est}²

32 [τ]ὸν [τράχηλον ἀπο]- κεκλα[σμένην· ἀλ]- [λὴν σ]υντεθλα[σμέ]-
35 [ν]ην πυθμένα οὐκ [ἔχουσιν· ἀλλας] [δύο] τοὺς πυθμέ- νας ἐκκεκομμέ- [νας]· ἀλλας ὅκτω
40 ὅτα οὐκ ἔχουσας οὐδὲ πυθμένας ἔχουσας· δύο [ο]ὔ[τ]ε [π]όδα [οὔτε] πυθμένας οὐκ ἔ-
45 χούσ[ας], σακνάς· [χόας ἐλαϊν]- ροὺς [τ]ρεῖ[ς]· τοῦ- των εἷς οὔς οὐκ ἔχ[ει]· σπονδο[χόα]ι
·II·
50 προχοῖ[δι]α·IIII· ἐν τούτων [- - -] τὸν πυθμένα οὐ[κ] ἔχον·
53a ἀλλας·οἶνοχόας·δύο σακνά[ς]·
54 οἶνοχόης τράχη-

55 λον· προχοῖδιον λε- οντόπουν· κύαθοι μεγάλοι·IIII· μικρ[οῖ] δύο διαπεπτωκό- τες· ἄνθεμα
{²vac. vss. 3}²

{nihil unquam ibi exaratum fuisse videtur propter vitium lapidis}²

60 [κ]οτταβείων δύο· θυμιατήριον πόδα οὐκ ἔχον· Νίκη ἐπὶ ἰκτίνου· ἄρυσ- τῆρας μεγάλου[ς]
65 □II· μικροὺς·ΔΔ□I· λυχνίαν χαλκῇ συντετριμμένην· στυλὶς μεγάλη λυ- χνίας χαλκῆς· ἐ-
70 ξαύς[τ]ρι[ον]· ξυσ[τῆ]- ρα σιδηροῦν· ἡμ[ὸν] ἀπὸ κρατῆρος [συν]- τετριμμένον· [ἀλ]- λον ἐγ
ξύλῳ [έν]-
75 δεδεμένον· [σαυ?]- νιοθήκαι [σι]δ[ηραῖ] δύο· λυχνεῖου [κλάσ]- ματα δύο· λα[μπτή]- ρα ὅτα
οὐκ ἔ[χοντα]·

80 σκαφίδιον χαλκοῦ[ν] τετραπημένον[ν]· [φι]άλαι·IIII· τούτω[ν] μία ἀπὸ λυχνεῖο[υ]
τετρ[υ]π[η]μένη·

85 χέρνιβ[ον]· ψυκτῆ- ριον σακνὸν πυθ[μέ]- να οὐκ ἔχον· ποτ[η]- [ρ]ίδια δύο· λεβήτιον μικρόν·
κάδων

90 κλάσματα· χυτρί- διον καὶ ψυκτῆρι- ον μικρὰ [ὅτα] οὐκ [ἔ]χοντα· πυθμένας □II· ἐπιστάτου
95 κλάσματα· ζ[ώι]- δια καὶ ὅτα καὶ πό- δες καὶ κλάσμα- [τ]α παντοδαπά· ἅ[ν]- θεμα λυχνεῖου
δύ[ο]·

100 τριποδίσκος πό- δα οὐκ ἔχων· κε[ρα]- [μ]ύλλιον· ὀλκεῖον· [λ]επίδας χαλκᾶς [ἀπὸ τριπόδων
καὶ

105 {καὶ} ἀσπίδων λόγ- χας·□III· ἀσπίδας ἐ- πιχάλκους·ΔΔ□II[II]· πέλιτην ἐπίχαλ[κον]·

[5 lines obliterated] (5) And the following we received **in the Chalkotheke**. bronze oinochoe (10) without handle; [...] oinochoai without bases; [...] oinochoai [witho]ut handle; (15) two oth[ers...n]or base, broken; t[wo...12 lines obliterated] th[e...br]oken [off...] crushed, (35) base not [...] the bases knocked off; eight others (40) without handles or bases; two with neither feet [...] bases, (45) broken; [...oliv]eoil three; one of these without handle [...chal]ice[...]; (50) 4 small pitchers, one of these [...] without the base; two other oinochoas, broken; neck of an oinochoe; (55) small lionfooted pitcher; 4 large kyathoi; two small (ones), broken; flowers [3 line space] (60) of two kottabos stands; censer without foot; Nike on bird (iktinos); 7 large ladles; (65) 26 small; crushed bronze lampstand; large pole from bronze lampstand; (70) small meat hook; iron scraper; broken strainer from a krater; another bound in wood (75); two iron [...]niothekai; two pieces of lampstand; grate without handles; (80) small broken bronze dish; 4 phialai, one these from lampstand, broken; (85) hand basin; broken cooler without base; two small cups; small lebes; pieces of jars; (90) small pot and cooler without handles; 7 bases; pieces of stand; (95) figures and handles and feet and various pieces; two flowers of lampstand; (100) small tripod without foot; small jar; basin; bronze pieces from tripods and (105) {and} 8 spearheads of shields; 27 bronzed shields; bronzed helmet.

τάδε τεμένη

110 ἀνεμισθώσα- μεν· Πάνορμον, [καὶ] ἐμισθώσατο Σωτάδας Κρής· ἔγγυος Αντίγον-

115 ος Αν[δρομένους?]. Νικοῦ ἡῶρον, Ἥγη- σαγόρας·HH□Δ Δ□· ἔγγυοι Ξενο- κλείδης, Ξενο-

120 κλείδης· Χαρώ- νειαν, Μελήσιπ- πος Ῥηναίεϋς κ- αὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι Τερόμ- βροτος, Σωσισθέ-

125 νης· αὐτοὶ παρέ- λαβον τὰ τε φυτ- ἅ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ γε- γραμμένα ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἣ ἐστῆσα-

130 ν Ἥγίας καὶ Ανά- σχετος. vac.

face D left.1

καὶ τόδε ἄλλο ἄ[ρ]- γύριον εἰσῆκει· παρὰ Ἀριστοβού- λου τοῦ Λυσιξέ-

5 νου τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τῶν ἱερείων τῶν θυθέντων τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ

10 τῶν δερμάτων τιμὴ δραχμαὶ·□ ΔΔ□III· vac. παρὰ Ἀμεινίου το[ῦ] Εὐθυπόλιδος Δ□·

15 παρὰ []δου τοῦ Κρ[ι]τὸ [- - -] ΔΔΔ· παρὰ Χάρη- τος τοῦ Εὐκλείδου? ΔΔ καὶ [- - -]
20 ΓΕΙΣ ·Δ[- - -] ΛΟΝ[]Τ[- - -] ΛΤΕ[- - - ἄρ]- γυρο[- - - -] ΝΕ[- - - -]
25 ΑΥΡ[- - - -] ΤΑΣΑΜ[- - -] []ΟΛ[- - - -] Σ[- - - -] ΛΙ[- - - -]
30 ΤΛ[- - - -] ΑΡΑ[- - - -] ΓΩΔ[- - - -] ΛΥΜΩ[- - - -] ΕΑ[- - - -]
35 ΙΙ[- - - -] Ν[- - - -] ΝΗ[- - - -] ΑΝΑ[- - - -] ΔΔΙ[- - - -]
40 []ΤΟΚ[- - -] []ΙΙΙ[- - -] ΕΠΙ[- - -] ΙΑΛΛΣ[- - -] Καλλισθέ[ν - - -]
45 ΔΟΥΑ[- - -] ΠΛΕΙΣ[- - -] []ΒΛ[]Σ[- - -] ΟΤ[- - - -]
{²vss. 8 consulto erasi}²
57 οἶδε ἐνοίκια οὐ [τε]- θήκασιν [ἐπὶ] τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆ[ς],
60 ἀλλὰ ὀφεί[λουσι] τῷ θεῷ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταί· Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀμύνου δραχμὰς
65 ΔΔΔ· εἰ[γγυ]- οἱ Ἥγησαγόρας Μ[η]- τροδώρου, Μητ[ρό]- δωρος Ἀμύνου· Ἀπῆμαντος Λε[ω]-
70 [φι]ώντος ·ΔΔΙΙΙ· [ἐγ]- γυος <Σ>φόγγος? Α[πη]- μάντου· Τέρακος[ς] Θεοκύδους ·ΔΔΔ : ἐγγυοὶ
Διον[ι]-
75 σόδωρος Μα[ρ]α[θω]- νίου, Τιμοκράτης Ἐπιγένους. vac. {²vac. = vss. 2}²
78 οἶδε τόκους οὐ τε- θήκασιν [ἐπὶ τῆς ἡ]-
80 μετέρας ἀρχῆς· [Π]ολύξενος Φω[καί]- ἔως δρα[χμ]ὰ[ς] ·Η· Δ[ίαι]- τος Ἀπολλ[οδ]ώρου ·Δ[]·
[Θ]εὸν[ω]τος []
85 ΔΔΙΙΙ· Ξένων Ἐρμιονεὺς ·ΔΔΙΙ· [Φ]ερεκλείδης ὑπὲρ [α]ὐτοῦ καὶ Προξένου ΔΔ[ΙΙΙ? καὶ ὕ]-
90 πὲρ Χάρητος ·ΔΔ· ὑπὲρ Νεωκόρου ·Δ· ξύλα κέδρινα πα- ρελάβομεν ΔΔΔ· τούτων κατεχρή-
95 σθη εἰς τὴν [όρο?]- φῆν τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Α- πόλλωνος ΙΙ[] []ΙΙΙ· εἰς[τὴν ὀροφῆν? τοῦ]
Πωρίνου []
100 ξύλα ΔΔΔ[εἰς] τὰς θυρίδας [τοῦ Προ]- πύ[λου - - -]. περιεγ[ένετο ξύ]- λα δύο· [ταῦτα
πα]-
105 ρεδ[ῶ]καμεν ἱερο[- ποιοί[ς] Δ]ημόνωι Νίκω[νος, Πίστιη] Ξένω[νος] ΝΗΞΕ[- - -]
110 ΧΛΝ[- - - -] καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ξύλα κατεχρήσθη· [εἰς] τὴν ὀ[ροφῆ]ν τοῦ [Πω]- ρίνου ξύλα
[ἀπὸ]
115 τῶν παλαιῶν ξύ- λων τῶν [πα]- ρὰ Νικομήδου ἀ[γορασ]- θέντων· εἰς τὸ[ν ἔμ]- βολον τῷ
μελάρῳι
120 δοκὸν ἐκκαϊδεκά- πηχυν καὶ ἄλλην [δο]- κὸν δεκάπηχυν <κ>α[ῖ] τόμους τετραπή- χεις
ποδιαίους ·ΙΙΙΙ·
125 ἄλλην δοκὸν ἑνδε- κάπηχυν εἰς τὸ λο- [γ]εῖον τῆς σκηνῆς· τόμον τετράπη- χυν εἰς τὰς θύρας
130 τοῦ Προπύλου· τόμον τετράπηχυν· σανί- δας πτελεΐνας ·ΙΙ·

IG XI,2 199 (273 BC) and IG XI.2 199B (274)

<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/62661>
[https://web.archive.org/web/20160419062610/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translati
ons/199%20translation.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20160419062610/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translati ons/199%20translation.htm)

[λόγος ἱεροποιῶν τῶν] ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπ' ἀρχοντας Αντιγόνοϋ
δντρε[σκαϊδεκαμή]νου το[υ] ένιαυτοϋ, Αντικράτους τοϋ []
#7#7[- - - - - τάδε παρελάβομεν παρ' ἱεροποιῶν]
[τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπ' ἀ]ρχοντος Φίλλιδος Στησίλεω καὶ Φίλιτου παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέων
τοϋ τῆς πόλεως Μνησάλκου καὶ τοϋ τῶν ἱεροπο[ιων] - - - - -]
[- -c.13- - καὶ χρυ]σοϋς ΔΙΙ καὶ τεττίγι[α] δύο καὶ φωκαΐδα καὶ ἀργυρίου παντοδαποϋ εἰς
ἀλεξανδρείου λόγον Δ□□. καὶ [οἷ]δε τῶν γεωργούν[των τὰ ἱερὰ τεμένη ἐνηρόσια τεθήκασιν.
Απολλόδωρος Ξενομήδους?]
[τοϋ ἐπὶ Πορθμῳ ΧΗΗ]ΗΔΔ· Κλεινίας τοϋ ἐμ Πύργοις ΧΗΗΔΔ□· Αντίγονος τοϋ {ς} ἐν Εἰμίνοις ΗΗΗΗΔΔ□□
Τελέσανδρος τῆς ἐν Διονυσίῳ ΗΔΔΙΙ· Σωτάδ[ας Κρής τῆς ἐμ Πανόρωμι ΗΗ· - -c.24- -]
5 [- -c.15- -· Τιμησιδη]μος καὶ Αριστόδικος τῆς γῆς ἐγ Χαρωνείας □ΗΗΗ· τῆς ἐν Λίμναις Αριστέας
ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ· Ἠγησαγόρας τῆς ἐν Νικοϋ χώρω[ι ΗΗΔΔ· Αριστείδου τοϋ Τηποδόρου καὶ τῆς
[Αφέσεως □Η□]· οἱ Φερεκλείδου παῖδες Λειμῶνος ΗΗΗΔΔΔ· Τε<λέ>ων τῆς ἐν Σολόη καὶ Κορακιάς
ΗΗΗΗΔ· Ζώπυρος τῆς ἐν Ἀκραὶ Δήλῳ □□· Θεωρύλος τῆς [ἐμ Φοίνιξι □ΗΗΔ· Χοιρύλος] τῆς Ἐπισθενείας
□□ΔΔ[ΔΔ· □]ΟΛΟ□□□□ - c.17 - Τερόμβροτος τοϋ Κεραμείου ΗΔΔΔΔ· Καλλιस्थένης τῶν ἐμ Φυταλίᾳ □[Δ].
vac. [καὶ οἶδε τῶν τὰς ἱερὰς οἰκίας μεμ]ισ[θωμένων ἐνοίκια τεθήκασιν].
[- c.15 -α]ρχίδης [- -] ΗΔΙΙΙΙ· τῆς ἐχομένης Μνησιλέως □Δ· τῶν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκημάτων καὶ
τῶν ἐπὶ τοὔτοις Αριστέας □Δ□□· τῆς Χαρητείας - - - - -
□□□□□□□□□□ασ□□□□ΙΙ· τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος Ἑχεκρατίδης [□]ΔΔΔ· τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος Μνήσις ΔΔΔ· τῶν
πρὸς τ[ῶ] σιδηρείῳ □□□□□□ΔΔ]ΔΔ· τῆς Πυθαῖ Διονύσιος □□□T - - - - -

10
□□□□□□□
ΙΑ. παρὰ
Λύδου ΔΔ: τῆς οἰκίας ἣ ἦν τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου παίδων Χάρμος ΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ· τῆς Ὁρθοκλέους
Βουλευκράτης ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙ□. vac. οἱ[δε τόκους τεθήκασιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς].
[Εὐ]ρυμ
άνθης ΔΔΔΔΙΙ: Μένυλλος ΗΙ· Πίστης ΔΔ· Γοργῷ Δ· Φωκαεὺς Δ· Τερόμβροτος ΔΔ· Αρίγνωτος
ΔΔΙΙ· Ανδρομένης ΔΔΙΙ: Φίλᾱτης : Πολύξενος Η· Π[ό]λυβρος ·. Μνήσαλ[κος α]νδρο — — — —
— —
[Θή]ρις ὑπὲρ Ὀλυμπιάδου ΔΙΙΙ· ἡ τριττὺς ἡ Μαψιχιδῶν ὑπὲρ τῶγ χωρίων τῶν Θεογ[νώ]του
ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙ. καὶ οἶδε δανεισάμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· Τελέσω[ν Δ]Δ[ΔΔ — — — — —
— — — — — —]
[ἐπὶ] δραχμ[αῖς] ΗΗ ὀκταμήνου Δ□□□ΙΙ· Τελέσων καὶ Κόνων δρα. ΗΗΗΗ διμήνου □□<ΙΙ>ΙΙ {□□□□ΙΙ}□·
Αριστ— c.30— των □□□□ντων ἐκ τῆς οἰκ□□□□□□Δ— — — — — — — — — —

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

[κ]αὶ τότε ἄλλα ὤνθηθη ψηφισαμένου [τοῦ δήμου· ξ]ύλα παρὰ Μένωνος μακεδονικὰ μετὰ βουλῆς [□]· παρὰ Μένωνος [ἄ]λ[λ]α ξύ[λ]α – c.25 – –]ου, Φίλιτου, Α[νδ]ρομένους εἰς τ[ὰς] σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν παλαιστραν ἑκκαίδ[εκαπήχη] μὲν ἑνδεκα ἀνὰ δραχμὰς ἑκαστον τὸ ξύλον· □ΔΔ· τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαπήχη [ἤχη – – – – – – – –] τριάκοντα πήχεων [κατεχρήσ]- [□] θη εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς· σφηνίσκοι δέκα ἑξ [εἰς τοὺς] κανόνας· ἑκκαίδεκαπήχη τρία· τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαπήχη ἑξ [– – – – – – – –] καὶ παρὰ –]οκλέους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαπήχη τέτιττα.

60 ἄλλα ξύλα ἐπριάμεθα εἰς τὴν παλαίστραν μ[ετ]ὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν·
 τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαπήχη πέντε ·Δ· AP [- -12-13- - κατεχρησάμ]εθα εἰς τὴν παλαίστραν μετὰ
 τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος
 δύο τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαπήχη, τὸ μὲν ·ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ· [τ]ὸ δὲ ·□· καὶ ὁ Μένυλλος ἐπρίατο παρελάβομεν τοῦ
 ἴσου ·ΗΔΔΔΙΙΙ· καὶ παρὰ [Μέν]ω[νος? - -c.16- - μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτ]έκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ Μενύλλου
 ἀνὰ ΔΔ□□·

[illegible]

65 IIνα εἰς τὴν παλαιότητα παρὰ [Δημη]τρίου τὸ μὲν ·ΔΔ, τὸ δὲ ·ΔΔΔΔ· vac. καὶ ἡλιαία
μισθὸς καὶ δικαστηρίῳ τῶν ἐπιτιμημάτων . — — . vac. [καὶ] τάδε ἄλλα ἀνηλώθη κατὰ ψή[φισ]μα τοῦ [δ]ήμου· Ἀντίκωι τῶι ἐγλαβόντι κατασκευάσαι τὰ
ἀγάλματα τό τε τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος — — — — — οὐς — — — — — ΟΞΔΟΚ□□□□
κηρύκειον ἀργυροῦν Εἰρηνίωνι πο[ιή]σαντι ὁλκήν ·ΔΔ□□III· ἀπέδομεν τὰς τ[ε] ΔΔ□□III· καὶ τὸμ
μισθὸν δραχμὰς ·□□□□· χελώνην □ε — — — — — — — — — Διονυσίῳι τῶι ἐγλ[α]-
[β]όντι κατασκευάσαι τῆς Χαρητείας οἰκίας τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος τοῦ ἐπὶ θαλάσσει τὰς ΣΕΛΕΑΣ
τὰς πεπτωκυίας ·Δ· <ψ>ιάθους : ΘΙΑΝΕ— — c.22 — — γ δέκα ἐξ ἀνὰ Δ.ἐ[κασ]τ— — c.16— —
θεοδῆ—

[μ]ωι τῶι ἐγλαβόντι διακέσασ[θαι τῇ]ν ὀροφὴν τῆς οἰκίας τῆς Σωσιλείας καὶ [τῶι?] πλ[ινθ]οβολήσαντι? καὶ θύ[ρα]ν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιίστρας □□□□□□□□□□ερα τὰ ἀπενεγχθέν[τα – – c.20– – ἀναλῶ]–

70 [σ]αμεν εἰς τὰς ἐχθυσίας καὶ εἰς σ[πονδὰς? κ]αὶ εἰς πρεσβείας· XXXXHΓIII·
 λογισταῖς μισθοῦς ·ΗΔΔ[: ἐφόδιον Φάνωι Δ· Ἡρύαι Δ· Ἀ[ρκ]ιλέωι Δ· Σωσισθένηι Δ·
 ψηφισαμένου τ[οῦ] δήμου καθάρασθαι τὸ ἱερόν, ἐπριάμεθα ταῦ-
 ρον παρὰ Προξένου ·· κριδὸν παρὰ Ἐ[ρμά]κου [Δ]: κάπρον παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου Δ· ξύλων
 τάλαντα ἑπτὰ ·[ΔΙ]II· Καλλ<ί>αι? καὶ Στρομβίχωι καὶ Ἀπολλωνίωι τοῖς [τοῦ ἔργ]ου
 συλλαβομέ[νοις – –c.18– –]ος δε

090ν ἐπριάμεθα ·□□□III· Κτήσωνι καὶ [Γ]αδάται τοῖς ἐξαγαγοῦσι τὸν τελευτήσαντα ἐδόθη □□· εἰς
 ταῦτα ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν Πρῶναξ ·□· — καὶ τάδε [ἐ]ργ[α ἐ]ξέδομεν <μετά> τοῦ [ἀρ]χιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν
 ἐπιμελητῶν κατὰ τὸν
 νόμον· [εἰς] τὰ μεταστύλια τοῦ Π[ωρίνου?] τρυφάκτους· Νικοκλῆι Νίκωνος τρύφακτον □[□ΔΔ]·
 Αντίκωι Καίκου τρυφάκτον ·□□ΔΔ· Ἀγλωσθένηι [Ναξί]ωι τρύφακτον □□ΔΔ· Ὀνησιφῶντι τρύ[φακτο]ν
 □[□ΔΔ· □□]λλ□□ίαι τρύφακτο[ν]

□□ΔΔ· τούτων ἀπέδομεν ἑκάστ{τ}ῳι {ἐκάστῳι}, κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ Φίλλιδος·
 Νικοκλεῖ ὑπερελόντες τὸ ἐπιτιμηθὲν δραχμᾶς ·Δ□□· τὸ γινόμενον □[□□□□· Ἀντί]κῳι ὑπερελόντες τὸ
 ἐπιτιμηθὲν Δ, τὸ [γι]-
 75 νόμενον ·□□Δ· Ἀγλασθῆ[νη]ι ὑπερελόντες τὸ ἐπιτιμηθὲν □□□, τὸ γινόμενον □□Δ□□□· Ὀνησιφῶντι
 ὑπερελόντες τὸ ἐπιτιμηθὲν □□, τὸ γινόμενον ·□□Δ□□□□· [□□λλ□□□[αί ὑπ]ερελόντες τὸ ἐπιτιμηθὲν
 δραχμᾶς
 ΔΔΔΔ, τὸ λοιπὸν ·□ΔΔΔ· Ἀ[ντ]ίκῳι καὶ Νικοκ[λεῖ] τοῖς συντελέσασιν ἑκατέρῳι θύρετρον κατὰ τὴν

- 88120 αὐτὴν συγγραφὴν μισθὸς ἀμφοτέροις □□ΔΔ· Νικοκλῆι τῷ ἐ[γλαβ]όντι καταγλύψαι τὰ κυμάτια τοῦ
 τρυφά-
 κτου τοῦ ἡργάσατο Βάκχιος καὶ ἐγκα[ύσαντι] δραχμαὶ · κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν συντελέσαντι ἀπέδομεν
 τὸ γινόμενον· Ἀριστοκλῆι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Κεσ]τρείου εἰς τὸ Πύθιον λίθους ὀκτώ,
 88125 τὸμ πόδα ·□□□□, ἀπομετρησάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ πόδας πεντήκοντα ἕξ,
 ἀπέδομεν τὸ συλλογισθὲν ·ΗΗΔΔ□□[□□] κελεύοντος ἀρχιτ[έκτο]νος καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ· ναῦλλον Στ[ρά?]–
 [τ]ωνι τῶν λίθων [ἀπο]μετρήσαντι πόδας ὀκτάδων κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τριάκοντα πέντε τοῦ ποδὸς τὸ
 γινόμενον · — Εὐφράνορι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι ποιῆσαι τοοΟΙΟΥ δραχμῶν ΗΗ·συντελέσα[ν]–
- 88130 80 τι τὸ ἔργον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν ἀπέδομεν τὸ γινόμενον κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ
 ἐπιμελητοῦ· Νευγένει τῷ ἐγλαβόντι ἐγκαῦσαι τὰ κυμάτια τὰ [ἐπὶ τοῦ] θ[αλ]άμου οὗ ὁ φοῖνιξ τὸμ
 πόδα Ι□, ἀ[πο]–
 μετρήσαντι πόδας τετταράκοντα τὸ γινόμενον ·Δ· Ἀριστοκλῆι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι στῶσαι τὴν στοὰν τὴν
 ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ δραχμῶν ·ΔΔΔ□□, ὑπερελόντες τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ὁ ἐπετίμησεν ἀρχιτέ–
 88135 κτων τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέδομ[εν] ·ΔΔΔ]: [Φ]ιλῶται τῷ ἐγλαβόντι τὴμ τράπεζαν τὴν ξυλίνην
 δραχμῶν ·□Δ□□□□, συντελέσαντι τὸ ἔργον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν ἀπέδομεν τὸ γινόμενον
 κελεύοντος
 ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν Μενύλλου, Ἀριστοβούλου, Ἀριστοθέου· Δαιδάλῳ τῷ ἐγλαβόντι
 περιαργυρῶσαι τὴν τράπεζαν μισθὸς τὴμ [μνᾶν □□]ΔΔ, ἀποστησάμενοι κατὰ τὴν συγγρα–
 [φῇ] καθ’ ἕκαστον· μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ συλλογισθέντος τοῦ ἀργυρίου
 88140 οὗ ἔχει ἡ τράπεζα δραχμῶν ·ΧΧΧΔ· ὑπερελόντες τ[ῆ]ς.[μνᾶ]ς.ὁ ἐπετίμησεν ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων δρα[χμὰς]
 85 ΔΔ□□, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέδομεν □□□□□□· Μνησιβούλῳ Μυκονίῳ τῷ ἐγλαβόντι τὸ Διοσκοῦριον ἐδαφίσαι
 καὶ τὰς πέτρας ἐγλιθεῦσαι δραχμῶν ·ΗΔ· ὑπερελόντες τὸ ἐπιδ[έκ]ατον ὁ ἐπετίμησεν ὁ ἀρχιτέκ[των]
 [καὶ οἱ] ἐπιτιμηταί, τὸ λο[ιπὸν ἀπ]έδομεν ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· Δεξίῳ ἐγλαβόντι στομῶσαι τὰ
 88145 σιδήρια καὶ κολαπτήρας καὶ τορογλυφεῖς καινοὺς ποιήσαντι τὴμ [μν]ᾶν [□□□]ΙΙΙΙΙ[□],
 ἀποστησάμενοι μετὰ [τοῦ]
 ἀρχιτέκτονος μνᾶς [δέκα] τρεῖς ἡμιμναῖον, τὸ συλλογισθὲν ·ΙῖΙΙ· καὶ τῶν ὀξυνομένων
 σιδηρῶν ἐγλαβόντι τὸ στόμα ὀξύνειν τύχου καὶ ξοῖδος·: τὸ σ[υλλ]ογισθὲν εἰς τὸν
 ἐνιαυτὸν ·: Λ — —
 [κ]ρίτῳ τὴν θεμελίωσι[ν ἐγλ]αβόντι τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος δραχμῶν ·□· συντελέσαντι τὸ ἔργον
 88150 ἀπέδομεν κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος· Ῥόδωνι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι[ι τὴν περι]βολίαν τοῦ Πουλυδάμαν[τος]
 κα]–
 τὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δραχμ[ὰς] ΔΔΔΔ□·Ἀριστογείτῳ Κορινθίῳ ἐγλαβόντι τὴν πρισμὴν τῶν ξ[ύλ]ων τῶν
 εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς τὸμ πῆχυ[ν]]δα χαλκῶν [ὀκτ]ῶ ἀπε[λογισά]μεθα μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος
- 88155 90 [κ]αὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν Ἀρησιμβρότου καὶ Ἀνδρομένους πῆ[χρεις] χιλίους ἑκατὸν δέκα· Ἡρακλείδῃ
 ἐργολαβήσαντι γόμφους καὶ δεσμοὺς εἰς τὸ Κύνθιον π[οιῆσαι τὴμ μνᾶν ΙΙΙΙ], ἀποστησάμενοι μετὰ
 τοῦ ἀρχιτέκ[το]–
 νος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν Τελέωνος, Νίκωνος, Ἀντιπάτρου τάλαντα ΙΙΙΙ· τὸ γινόμενον ἀπέδομεν
 88160 δραχμὰς ΗΗΗΗ· Κτήσωνι τῷ τοὺς ἡλούς ἐγλαβόντι εἰς τὰς σκ[η]νὰς καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια ποιῆσαι
 τῇ[μ]
 μνᾶν □□, ἀπεσστησάμεθα κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν μνᾶς τριάκοντα ἑπτὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν
 ἐπιμελητῶν· καὶ Δεξίῳ ἐγλαβόντι κατὰ τῇ[ν αὐτῇ]ν συγγραφὴν ποιῆσαι ἡλούς εἰς τὰ παρασκή–
 νια τὴμ μνᾶν δραχμῶν ·□□· ἀπεσστησάμεθα μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν μνᾶς ὀκτώ·
 88165 Θεοδῆμῳ τῷ ἐγλαβόντι ἐργάσασθαι τὴν [σκηνῇ]ν τὴν μέσην καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια τὰ κάτω δραχμῶ[ν]
 ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· συντελέσαντι τὸ ἔργον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν ἀπέδομεν τὸ γινόμενον κελεύοντος
 ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· Ἐπικράτῃ τῷ ἐγλα[β]όντι τὰς σκηνὰς τὰς παλαιὰς ξῦσαι καὶ
 ἐπισκευάσαι
 95 καὶ τὰς ἐπάνω σκηνὰς καινὰς ποιῆσαι δύο καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια τὰ ἄνω καινὰ ποιῆσαι δύο καὶ τοῖς
 παλαιοῖς πῖναξι τῶν παρασκηνίων κύκλῳ περιφ[ρά]ξαι καὶ τὰ ἔξωστρα καὶ τὴν κλίμακα καὶ τοὺς
 88170 βω–
 μοὺς ἐπισκευάσαι ·□ΔΔΔ□□□· κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν συγγραφὴν καθ’ ἣν καὶ Θεόδημος ἐξέλαβεν,
 συντελέσαντι ἀπέδομεν τὸ γινόμενον κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν· Γονεῖ καὶ
 Ἀσκληπι–
 [ά]δῃ τοῖς ἐγλαβοῦσι γράψαι τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια τὰ τε ἐπάνω καὶ τὰ ὑποκάτω δραχμῶν
 88175 ΧΧ□· τοῦτοις ἔδομεν τὴμ πρώτην δόσιν δραχμὰς Χ· καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ ἡ[μί]ση ἔγραψαν, τὴν δευτέραν
 δόσιν δ[ρά]–
 χμὰς Χ· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς ἐργολαβίας δραχμὰς ·□· ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔργον συνετέλεσαν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν
 ἀπέδομεν κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν Δημόνου, Σιτησίλεω, Ἀριστοθέου, Τερομβρότου,
 Ἥγησαγόρου, Κοιράνου· τῷ ἐγλαβόντι] ποιῆσαι τὸ παρασκήνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ δραχμῶν
 88180 ·ΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ· ἔδομεν τὴν πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν ·ΗΗΗ□· κελεύοντος
 ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· ἐγκα–
- 100 ταλιπόντος δὲ τὸ ἔργο[ν] ἡμιτελὲς καὶ συντι]ελέσαντος τοῦ ἐγγυητοῦ, κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν
 88185 ἀπέδομεν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἀρχιτέκτονος κελεύοντος· Θρασύλ<λ>ωι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι ἐργάσασθαι τὸ
 ἐπιστύ[λιον τοῦ Βακ?]χίου κατ[ά]
 τὴν αὐτὴν συγγραφὴν καθ’ ἣ[ν καὶ Θεόδημ]ος ἐξέλαβεν, ἀπέδομεν κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν
 ἐπιμελητῶν δραχμὰς ·□· Ἀρχέλαι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν γῆν ἐκ Πανόρμου τ<ῆς> Μυ[κόνου]
 88190 δραχμ[ῶν] ·Η□□□□
 καὶ καταχρίσαντι τὸ τρεῖχος τῆς σκηνῆς κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἀπέδομεν τὸ γινόμενον ἀρχιτέκτονος
 κελεύοντος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν· Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἐγλαβόντι οἰκοδομῆσαι δραχμῶν — — — — —
 καὶ τοῦ Πλι[ν]θίνου [κα]ὶ το[ῦ] ἐσ[χα]ρῶνος [καὶ τ]οῦ Θεορρήτου τὰ ἐκπεπτωκότεα διακεσαμένῳι,
 καὶ τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου δύο πτώματα οἰκοδομήσαντι καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ τὸμ βόρειον τοῖχον καὶ τὴν

88195 στοὰν κ[αὶ τὸν ναὸν τ]ῆς Κόρης] ἐξαλείψαντι καὶ τὴν γωνίαν τοῦ ναοῦ [δι.]ακεσαμένῳι κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν ἀπέδομεν τὸ γινόμενον ἀρχιτέκτονος κελεύοντος. Θεοφάντῳι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι τῆς παλαίστρας ὁροφῶσαι [ι] τ[ὸν λουτρῶν]α κα[ὶ] τὸ π[αῖ]-
105 δαγωγεῖον καὶ τὸ ἀλειπτῆριον καὶ τὴν ἐξέδραν καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν κατὰ βορρὸν καὶ τὰς ἀστέγους στοὰς δύο δραχμῶν ·ΧΗΗΗ□· ἔδομεν τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγ[ραφήν] κ]ελεύοντι[ος]

88200 [ἀ]ρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν δραχμὰς ·ΧΗΗΔ□□· οὐ συντελοῦντος δὲ Θεοφάντου τὰ ἔργα, ἐπιμισθωσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν συνετελέσαμεν τὴν ὁρόφωσιν τῆς ἐ[ξέ]-δρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιδεκάτου· Νικοκλῆι τῷ τὰ λίθινα ἔργα τῆς παλαίστρας ἐγλαβόντι δραχμῶν ·ΗΗΗΗ· κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν συγγραφὴν, καθ' ἣν καὶ Θεόφαντος ἐργολάβησεν, συνετέλεσαντι τὰ ἔργα ἀπέδομεν κελεύοντος τοῦ [ἀρ]-

88205 χιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν· Κ[αλ]λικράτηι τῷ ἐγλαβόντι κονιάσαι τοὺς κίονας καὶ χρῖσαι τὸ περιστύλιον γῆι δραχμῶν ·□Η□ΔΔΔ· συνετέλεσαντι τὰ ἔργα κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν ἀπέδομεν τὸ γινόμενον [κε]-

λεῦοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν· Ἀναψυκτίδῃ τῷ ἐγλαβόντι τὸν κέραμον ἐπὶ τῇ παλαίστρᾳ ζεύγη □, τὸ ζεύγος □Ι□□, ἀπαγαγόντι τὸν κέραμον καὶ παραριθμήσαντι ὑγιᾶ κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν π[αρόν]-

88210

[illegible]

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160419062610/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translations/199%20translation.htm>

face B.1
[ἐπὶ Ἀητιγόνου ἀρχοντος μηνὸς Ἀθηναίωνος]. vac.
88235 1 τὰδε [παρελ]άβομεν [παρὰ [ε]ροποιῶν Σησίλῳ τοῦ Σκύμνο[υ], Φίλ[τ]ου τοῦ — — —
[ἀστατα· φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ τοῦ νεῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλ]λωνος· ἣν ἀνέθεσαν Κῶ[ιοι] ἐπ’
ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀράτου· ἄλλην ἄρμα ἔχουσιν Ἡρακλείδου· <ἄλλην> ὀμφαλὸν [ἐπίχρυ]-
[σον ἔχουσιν, ἀνάθημα Ῥοδίων ἐπ’ ἀρχεθεώρου Πολυαράτου· ἄλλην Ῥοδίων, ὀμφαλὸν ἔχουσιν
ἐπίχρυσον, ἐπ’ ἀρχεθεώρου Φρασίλα· ἄλλη Ῥοδίων τὸν αὐτὸν
88240 [ἔχουσα ῥυθμόν, ἐπ’ ἀρχεθεώρου □□□□□□□□· ἄ]λλη Ῥοδίων, ἐπ’ ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀκεστία· ἄλλη Ῥοδίων
ἐπιδόντων χορεῖα ἐπ’ ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀγησιδάμου· ἄλλη Ῥοδίων
5 [ἐπ’ ἀρχεθεώρου □□□□□□□□· ἄλλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ’] ἀρχεθεώρου Μένωνος· λογχωτὴ φιάλη, ἀνάθημα
Ἀριστοφύλου Ῥοδίου, ἐπίχρυσος· ῥαβδωτὴ, ἀνάθημα Τιμάν[θ]ους·
[φιάλη ἐκτυπος διάχρυσος, ἀνάθημα] Διοκλέους Κώιου· φιάλιον λεῖον, ἀνάθημα Πυρρίου· καὶ ἄς
88245 ἀνέθηκε Σησίλῳ τρεῖς· Καλυμνίων λογχωτὴ· ἄλλη ἐπ’ ἀρχε-
[θεώρου — c.17 — ἀ]νάθημα, λεία· καὶ καρυωτὴ ἐκτυπος, ἀνάθημα Ἀρταπάτου· καὶ ἄλλαι ἐκτυπωταὶ
δύο τῶν Χαρμίδου θυγατέρων· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ, ἀπαρχὴ Κώιν
[ἀνάθημα ἐπ’ ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀλεξιβίου· Ἀμμωνίων ἀνάθημα, λεία· καὶ ἀστερωτὴ, Δαμασίου ἀνάθημα· ἐμ
προτομῇ Ἑτεάρχου ἀνάθημα] φιάλη vac. βατιακίον, ἀνάθημα Σελεύκου·
88250 [φιάλιον λογχωτόν], ἀνάθημα Σωθάλους· καρυωτὴ φιάλη καὶ φιάλια ἐπὶ ταινίας, ἀνάθημα Ἀγία·
κρατῆρας ἀργυροῦς δύο, οὓς ἀνέθηκεν βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη· τριήρης ἣν ἀνέθηκε
[...] [space] (1) The following we received from the hieropoioi Stesileos son of
Skymnos, Phltos the son of [... Temple of Apol]lo. (phiale) which the Koans dedicated
with Aratos chief theoros; another with chariot, of Herakleides; (another) with a
88255 boss [...chief theor]os Polyaratos; another from the Rhodians, with a gilded boss,
with Phrasilas chief theoros; another of the Rhodians, with the same [...a]nother of
the Rhodians, with Akestias chief theoros; another with the Rhodians giving the
choreia with Agesidamos chief theoros; another of the Rhodians [...] (5) Menon chief
theoros; gilded lanceolate phiale, dedication of Aristophylos of Rhodes; rayed
88260 (phiale), dedication of Timanthes [... dedicati]on of Diokles of Kos; smooth
phialion, dedication of Pyrrhios; and three which Stesileos dedicated; lanceolate
(phiale) of the Kalyrnians; another with chief theoros [... d]edication, smooth; and
figured, knobbed (phiale), dedication of Artapatatos; and two other figured (phialai)
from the daughters of Charmides; another, knobbed, aparche of the Koans [... chief

- 88265 theodoros Alexibios; dedication of Ammonios, smooth; and starred, dedication of
Damasios; phiale in protome, dedicat(ion) of Etearchos; batiakion, dedication of
Seleukos; [...] dedication of Sothales; knobbed phiale and phialia on ribbons,
dedication of Agias; two silver kraters which queen Stratonike dedicated; trireme
which [...] dedicated;

88270 10 [Σέλευκος]· κύβη, ἀνάθημα Κοσκάλου· ῥόδον, ἀνάθημα Δεξικράτους· τύπος προσηλωμένος
ἀργυροῦς· κηρύκειον ἀργυροῦν· φοῖνιξ· μάχαιραν ἱππικήν, ἀνάθημα
[Θυμῶιδου· κο]λεὸν μαχαίρας, Τιμέου ἀνάθημα· περικεφαλαίαν περιηργυρωμένην, ἀνάθημα Λεωνίδου·
θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν· κανοῦν χαλκοῦν. σιλεγγίδα χρυσοῦν Γλ[αύ]-
[κου ἀνάθημα]· δακτύλιον λογχωτὸν Φωκαίδος· σφραγίδιον ἐν δακτυλίῳ ἐπιχρῶσι· ταινίαν

88275 ἐπάργυρον· κύλικας ἀργυρενδέτους δύο, ἀνάθημα Κτήσωνος· δακτυλίους
[σιδηροῦς] ὑπαργύρους ΗΗ□□ΙΙ· ὑποχρύσους δακτυλίους □ΙΙΙΙ· φιάλην ἐμ πλινθείῳ καρυωτὴν
ἐκτυπον, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντων τῶν θεωρῶν τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώρου □□νακ-
[τος?· φι]άλῃ λεία τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχουσα ῥυθμόν, ἐπιδόντων θεωρῶν τῶν ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει ὧν
ἀρχεθέωρος Αφθόνητος· ἄλλην χορεῖα ἐκτυπον ἐπιδόντων θεωρῶν Κασίων ὧν ἀρχεθέωρος Ἀλεξίς·
φιάλας

88280 15 □□ΝΑΣΚΙΣ□□□ΑΣ, ἀνάθημα Ἀντιπάτρου Ἡπειρώτου. καὶ τὰδε σταθμῶι· κηρύκειον λεῖον, ἔλκον □·
ἄλλο μικρόν, ὀλκὴν □□□ΙΙΙ· χρυσοῦ κλάσματα σὺν σφραγίδι ἀργυρᾶι, ὀλκὴν □□· φυκίον χρυσοῦν
περὶ τ[ῶι]
[σ]τυλίσκῳ ἔλκον □· σιλεγγίδα συνπεφλασμένην, ὀλκὴν □□□ΙΙΙ· ἐσχαρίδα ἀργυρᾶν, ἣν ἀνέθηκε
88285 Βουλομάγα, ὀλκὴν σὺν τῷ ἐπιπύρῳ δρα(χμᾶς) □□ΔΔ· κυλ<ι>κίον, ὀλκὴ □· χρυσοῦ λεπίδα ἀπὸ τοῦ
[ἀ]νδριάντος· vac. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου ὀλκὴ □· θυμιατήριον, ἀνάθημα Στυλπύριος,
ὀλκὴ : δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν, ἀνάθημα Μνασικράτους, ὀλκὴ ΙΙΙ· ἄλλον δακτύλιον
συντεθαμένον
χρυσοῦν ἔλκοντα □□□ΙΙΙ[ΙΙ]· ἄλλον δακτύλιον ἔχοντα ἀνθράκιον Σαφροῦς, ὀλκὴν □□· τετράδραχμον
88290 ἐμ πλινθείῳ· χρυσοῦν ἐν ταινιδίῳ, Νικολάου ἀνάθημα· τετράδραχμα πτολεμαϊκὰ δύο καὶ ὀβολοὺς
ἀγρολικοὺς δύο καὶ ἀργυρίου παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴ □· χρυσοῦ παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴ Η□□□ΙΙΙ· νομίματος
χαλκοῦ παντοδαποῦ ἐν ἀγγείοις χαλκοῖς τρισί, ὀλκὴ σὺν τοῖς ἀγγείοις μνᾶς ΙΙ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς
(10) kyrbe, dedication of Koskalos; rose, dedication of Dexikrates; nailed silver
image; silver staff; palm; equestrian sword, dedication [... sc]abbard for sword,
88295 dedication of Timeos; silvered helmet, dedication of Leonidas; bronze censer; bronze
basket; gold fillet Gl[aukos...]; lanceolae ring of Phokais; seal in gilded ring;
silvered ribbon; two silvered kylixes, dedication of Kteson; 267 silvered [...]rings;
9 gilded rings; knobbed, figured phiale in plinth, choreia given by the theoroi from
king Ptolemy with chief theoros [... phil]ale smooth with the same pattern, given by
88300 the theoroi of Megalopolis whose chief theoros (was) Aphthonetos; another figured,
choreia given by the Kasians whose chief theoros (was) Alexis; phialas [...] (15)
dedication of Antipater from Epirus. And the following weighed: smooth staff weighing
50; another small, weight 3.3; pieces of gold with silver seal, weight 7; gold rouge
jar on a peg weighing 1; crushed fillet, weight 2.3; silver brazier which Boulomagas
88305 dedicated, weight with the grate dra. 580; small kylix, weight 1; piece of gold from
the statue [space] and from the Asclepieion, weight 1; censer, dedication of
Stilpurios, weight 8; gold ring, dedication of Mnasikrates, weight 1.3; another gold
ring, crushed, weighing 3.3+; another ring with garnet, Sappho's, weight 2;
tetradrachm in plinth; gold on ribbon, dedication of Nikolaos; two Ptolemaic
88310 tetradrachms and two agrolis (Argolis?) obols and various silver, weight 50; various
gold, weight 107.3; various bronze coin in three bronze containers, weight with the
containers, 2 mnas; gold crown
20 ὃν ἀνέθηκε Πευκέστας, ὀλκὴν δραχμὰς □Δ□□□□· καὶ ὃμ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος, ὀλκὴν δραχμὰς
88315 ΗΔΔΔ□□· καὶ ὃμ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος, ὀλκὴν □ΔΔΔ□□· καὶ ὃν Ἀντίπατρος, ὀλκὴν ΔΔΔΔ□□·
καὶ ὃμ βασιλεὺς Φιλοκλῆς, □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙ· καὶ ὃμ Πολύκλειτος, ὀλκὴν □ΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙ· καὶ ὃμ Φάραξ,
ὀλκὴν ΔΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙ· καὶ ὃμ Πνυταγόρας, ὀλκὴν ΔΔΔ· καὶ ὃν Ξενόφαντος, ὀλκὴν □Δ□ΙΙ· ὃν
Κτησικλῆς, ὀλκὴν
[Δ]ΔΔΔΙΙΙ· καὶ ὃν Νικοκρέων ἀνέθηκεν, ὀλκὴν ΔΙΙΙΙ· ὃν Τώμιλκος, ὀλκὴν ΔΔ· καὶ ὃν
Λύσανδρος τῆς ἀμπέλου, ὀλκὴν □Δ□□· καὶ ἄλλον Λυσάνδρου, ὀλκὴν ΔΔ□· ὃν Ἀνδροκλῆς,
88320 τῆς μυρσί]-
νης, ὀλκὴν ΔΔΔ· καὶ ὃν Τιμασίπολις, ὀλκὴν ΔΙΙΙ· ὃν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων ἀνέθηκε
στεφανωθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ναξίων, ὀλκὴν □ΔΔΔ□□· ἀνεπιγράφους στεφάνους δύο,
ὀλκὴν ἀμφοτέρων □□□□·
στεφάνους πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ δύο, ὀλκὴν τοῦ μὲν □Δ□□, τοῦ δὲ ΔΔΔΔ□□· καὶ ὃν Κάρπος καὶ Ἀδραστος
88325 ἀνέθεσαν, ὀλκὴν ΔΔΔ□· στρεπτόν χρυσοῦν, ἀνέθηκε Δάτις, ἔλκον ΔΔΔ□· στέφανος
25 [ῶι] τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστεφάνωται, ὀλκὴν ΗΔΔΔ□□· στεφάνιον ἐπὶ τῆς κόμης, ἀνάθημα
Τιμοκράτου, ἄστατον· σιλεγγίδιον χρυσοῦν, ὃ ἀνέθηκαν οἱ Βύβλιοι. vac.
vac.
26 [ἐ]ν τῷ ναῶι οὗ τὰ ἐπτὰ ἀγάλματα· φιάλην ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθημα Καλλικλέους, ἄστατον· ἄλλας
88330 τρεῖς ἄστατους, ἀνάθημα Ταυρομενιτῶν· ἄλλο φιάλιον ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθημα
[Εὐ]θυδίκου· στέφανος χρυσοῦς προσηλωμένος, ἀνάθημα Αὐτοκλέους· ἄλλος στέφανος, ἀνάθημα
Νικίου· καὶ ἐν κιβωτίῳ στεφάνους δύο, ὀλκὴν τοῦ μὲν □ΔΔΔ□□, τοῦ δὲ □Δ□ΙΙΙ· φιάλας
[τ]ριακοντα, ὀλκὴν ΧΧ□Δ□□□□· κυμβία τέτταρα, ὀλκὴν Η□□□□· φιάλην λείαν, τὸν ὀμφαλὸν
ἐπιχρῶσον, ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθημα θεωρῶν τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώρου Σιμίωνος· στεφάνους πρὸς

- 88335 τῶι τοίχῳ, χρυσοῦς εἴκοσι ἔνα, ὀλκὴν [τ]οῦ πρώτου ΔΔΔΔ· τοῦ δευτέρου ΔΔΔΙΙΙ· τοῦ τρίτου □Δ□□□· τοῦ τετάρτου □Δ□□· τοῦ πέμπτου ΗΔ□□□ΙΙΙ· τοῦ ἑκτοῦ □Δ□□· τοῦ ἑβδόμου □<Δ>□□□Ι· τοῦ ὀγδόου <□ΔΔ□□>·
- 88340 (20) which Peukestas dedicated, weight drachmas 69; and (crown) which king Ptolemy (dedicated), weight drachmas 137; and which king Demetrios, weight 87; and which Antipater, weight 47; and which king Philokles 99.3; and which Polykleitos, weight 88.3; and which Pharaoh, weight 49.3; and which Pnytagoras, weight 31; and which Xenophantes, weight 61.2; which Ktesikles, weight 38.3+; and which Nikokreon dedicated, weight 66.4; which Iomilkos, weight 24; and which Lysandros, of grapevine, weight 67; and another of Lysander, weight 26; which Androkles, of myrtle, weight 38;
- 88345 and which Timasipolis, weight 17.3; which the Delian demos dedicated, crowned by the Naxian demos, weight 86; two uninscribed crowns, weight of both 57; two crowns on the wall, weight of the one 67, of the other 47; and which Karpos and Adrastos dedicated, weight 32; gold collar, Datis dedicated, weighing 36; crown [with which] (25) the statue of Apollo is crowned, weight 146; small crown on the hair, dedication of Timokrates, unweighed; small gold fillet, which the Byblioi dedicated [space]
- 88350 **In the Temple of the Seven Statues:** phiale in plinth, dedication of Kallikles, unweighed; three others unweighed, dedication of the Tauromenites; another phialion in plinth, dedication of Euthydikos; nailed gold crown, dedication of Autokles; another crown, dedication of Nikias; and two crowns in a chest, weight of the one 97, of the other 65.3; thirty phialai, weight 2519; four kymbia, weight 158; smooth phiale, boss gilded, in plinth, dedication of the theoroi from Rhodes with Simion chief theoros; twenty one crowns on the wall; weight of the first 99; of the second 80.3; of the third 68; of the fourth 67; of the fifth 118.3; of the sixth 63; of the seventh 57.1; of the eighth;
- 88355 30 [τ]οῦ ἐνάτου □<Δ>□□□· τοῦ δεκάτο[u □]ΔΔΔΔ□□□· τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου □Δ□□ΙΙΙΙ· τοῦ δωδεκάτου □ΔΔΔΙΙ□· τοῦ τρίτου □ΔΔΔ□· τοῦ τετάρτου ΗΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙΙΙ· τοῦ πέμπτου □ΔΔΔ□□ΙΙΙΙΙ· τοῦ ἑκτοῦ ΗΔΔ□□· τοῦ ἑβδόμου □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□·
- 88360 [τ]οῦ ὀγδόου □ΔΔΔΔ□□ΙΙΙ· τοῦ ἐνάτου □ΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙ· τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ Η· τοῦ ἐπόντος Η. καὶ ἐν τῷ Παρίνῳ· καρυωτὴ φιάλῃ ἑκτύπος θεωρῶν τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώρου Θευφίλου.
- 88365 ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· φιαλῶν τὸν πρῶτον ῥυμόν, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἐνενηκοντα, φιαλῶν ἀριθμὸν ΗΙΙΙ[Ι]· τὸν δεύτερον, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἐνενηκοντα, ἀριθμὸν ΗΙΙΙ· τὸν τρίτον, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἐνήκοντα, ἀριθμὸν[ν]
- 88370 [Η]ΙΙΙΙ· τὸν τέταρτον, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἐνήκοντα, ἀριθμὸν ΗΙΙ· τὸν πέμπτον, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἐνήκοντα, ἀριθμὸς ΗΙΙΙΙ· τὸν ἑκτον, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἐνήκοντα, ἀριθμὸν ΗΔΔΙ· τὸν ἑβδομον ῥυμόν, ποτηρίων παν-
- 88375 [το]δαπῶν, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἐξήκοντα, ἀριθμὸν ΗΔ· [κ]υά[θ]ους? καὶ ὀξύβαφον καὶ τὸ συμπεφυσημένον ἀργύριον· τὸν ὀγδοον ῥυμόν, φιαλῶν καὶ ποτηρίων παντοδαπῶν, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἑβδομήκοντα, ἀριθμὸν[ν]
- 35 [ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ· τὸν ἐνατον ῥυμόν, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ἐξήκοντα σὺν λεβητίῳ καὶ κανῶι καὶ ἡρίσκοις τέτταρσιν καὶ τῷ κέρατι καὶ τῷ συμπεφυσημένῳ ἀργυρίῳ, ἀριθμὸς πάντων □Δ□ΙΙ· δέκατος ῥυμός, ὠτῶν
- 88380 [κ]αὶ πυθμένων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γεράνου, ὀλκὴν μνᾶς εἴκοσι δύο· ἐνδέκατον ῥυμόν, φιαλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ποτηρίων παντοδαπῶν, σταθμὸν μνᾶς □ΔΙΙ, ἀριθμὸς πάντων σὺν τοῖς ἀλαβά- στ<ρ>οις πέντε καὶ οἰνοχόῃ καὶ ἐπιχύτῃ □ΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙ· δωδέκατον ῥυμόν, σταθμὸν μνᾶς ΔΔΔ· εἰσὶ δὲ προτομαὶ τρεῖς· οἰνοχόαι τέτταρες· λεοντόποδα τρία· λεοντίου κεφαλὴ· τρεῖσκαιδέκατον ῥυμόν, οἰνοχόας δέκα δύο, ὀλκὴν μνᾶς ·ΔΔΙΙΙΙ· καὶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ ΙΙ φιάλας ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀστάτους, ἃς ἀνέθηκεν Τκάριος Γοργίου Μυκόνιος· ἕξ, χορεῖα Βάκχωνος ἐπιδόντος· δύο Ῥοδίων ἐπιδόντων χορεῖα· φιάλῃ χρυσόκλυστος ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώρου Πολυαράτου· ἄλλῃ φιάλῃ Ῥοδίων ἐπιδόντων χορεῖα ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώρου Θρασυμάχου· ἄλλῃ Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀγρσάνδρου· ἄλλῃ ἐκ[τ]υ-
- 88385 (30) of the ninth 58; of the tenth 44+; of the eleventh 66.4; of the twelfth 80.2 1/2; of the third 82; of the fourth 128.5; of the fifth 82.5; of the sixth 122; of the seventh 99; of the eighth 96.3; of the ninth 83.2; of the twentieth 100; of the following 100.
- 88390 And **in the Porinos:** knobbed phiale of the theoroi from king Ptolemy with Theuphilos chief theoros.
- 88395 **In the Artemision:** the first row of phialai, weight ninety mnas, number of phialai 103; the second, weight ninety mnas, number of phialai 103; the third, weight ninety mnas, number of phialai 104; the fourth, weight ninety mnas, number of phialai 102; the fifth, weight ninety mnas, number of phialai 104; the sixth, weight ninety mnas, number of phialai 121; the seventh row, of various cups, weight sixty mnas, number 110, plus kyathoi and the crushed silver; the eighth row, of phialai and various cups, weight seventy mnas, number 39+; (35) the ninth row, weight sixty mnas with a small lebes and basket and four eriskoi and the horn and the crushed silver, number of all 67; tenth rumos, of handles and bases and pieces from the Crane, weight twenty
- 88400 two mnas; eleventh row, of phialai and various other cups, weight 62 mnas, number of all with the five alabastoi and oinochoe and beaker 88; twelfth row, weight 30 mnas, there are three heads, four oinochoai, three lionsfeet, small lion head; thirteenth row, twelve oinochoai, weight 24 mnas. And unweighed **in the Artemision** 2 phialai in

	plinth, which Ikarios son of Gorgios from Mykonos dedicated; six withBakchon giving the choreia; two with the Rhodians giving the choreia; gilded phiale with Polyaratos chief theoros; another phiale with the Rhodians giving the choreia, with Thrasymachos chief theoros; another of the Rhodians with Agesander chief theoros; another figured
88405	40 πος ἐπ' ἄρχεθεώρου Πο{υ}δίων {Ροδίων} φιλοδάμου· φιάλαι δύο χορεῖα ἐπιδοῦσης βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης· φιάλη Κώϊων ἐπ' ἄρχεθεώρου Σίμου· ἀλλαι Κώϊων δύο ἐπ' ἄρχεθεώρου Πολυκλείτου καὶ
88410	τῶν ἐξ Ἀλεξα[ν]- δρείας θεωρῶν· φιάλη ἐπ' ἄρχεθεώρου Λυσίου· φιάλη, ἀνάθημα Φιλῶτα Σικυνίου· καὶ ἄλλη, ἀνάθημα Φυλάκου· καὶ ἄλλη, Λεοντίων ἀνάθημα· ἀλλαι δύο, ἀνάθημα Απολλοδώρου· ἄλλη, ἀνάθημα Θεοτί[μης] [Σαλ]αμινίας· ἄλλη ἀστερωτή, ἀνάθημα Φιλωτίδος, ἔλκουσα ·Η· καὶ ἄλλη, Χοιροίθιδος ἀνάθημα· κρατήρ ἀργυροῦς, ἀνάθημα Παρμίσκου· ζῶδια ἀργυρᾷ δύο, Κλεινοῦς ἀνάθημα· θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν
88415	ἐπάργυρον, συντετριμμένον· αἰτὸν ἀργυροῦν διαπεπτωκότα· ἀργυρίου παντοδαποῦ καὶ κλασμάτων ἀπὸ φιαλῶν ἀργυρῶν καὶ ποτηρίων, ὀλκήν πάντων δραχμάς ·ΧΧ□ΗΗΗΗ· καὶ ἄλλον ἀργυρίου δοκίμου καὶ δηλί[ων] [χαλ]κῶν δραχμαὶ ·ΔΔΙΙΙ· καὶ ὀρχομενίους ὀβολοὺς ·ΗΗΗΗ· αἰγινάιους καὶ κρητικούς στατήρας ἑνδεκα καὶ κορινθίους δύο· τέτραγμα νάξια δύο καὶ μαυσώλλα ἐ[ν]νέα καὶ φωκαῖδα καὶ ὀβολὸν
88420	φωκαῖκ[όν]· 45 [καὶ] ἄλλον νομίσματος παντοδαποῦ, ὀλκήν ·ΔΔ□· πέταλα χρυσᾷ πεντήκοντα ὀκτώ, καὶ ἀπὸ στεφάνων κλάσματα καὶ ἀπὸ σιλεγγίδων, καὶ περόναι καὶ πεντόροβος, ὀλκήν πάντων δραχμάς> ·□ΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□· [καὶ] χρυσίου λευκοῦ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ στατήρων ὄντων κυζικηνῶν δύο καὶ φωκαΐδος ·ΗΗΗΔΔ□□· μῆλα χρυσᾷ ἔχοντα εἴσω γῆν καὶ ἀνθεμίου υπαργύρου κλάσμα, ὀλκή ·ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ· ἐνώδια χρυσᾷ θάσια, ὀλκή ·□ΙΙΙΙ· δακτυλί[ο]υς]
88425	χρυσοῦς ἕξ, τούτων διάλιθος εἷς, ὀλκή ·□□□· σφραγ<ίδ>ια δύο ἄστατα· δαρεικοὺς ὀκτώ· δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ἐπίσημον ἔχοντα Ἀρτεμίσιον, ὀλκήν ·□ΙΙΙ· ἄλλον λείον, ὀλκήν ·□□□ΙΙ· ἄλλον δακτύλιον ἔχοντα ἐπίσημον Ἑρωτα, ὀλκή[ν] ·□□]·
88430	ἄλλον χρυσένδετον σιδηροῦν, ὀλκήν ·□□□· σφραγίδα ἐγ χρυσίῳ σημείον ἔχουσαν τραγέλαφον, ὀλκή ·□□Ι· κυλινδρίσκος, ὀλκήν ·□□□· σφραγίδα χρυσένδετον, ὀλκήν ·□ΙΙΙ· λυγγούριον κίρκον ἔχον χρυσοῦν, ὀλκήν ·□Ι[ΙΙ]· [- - - - -] ἄλλο σφραγίδιον χρυσένδετον, ὀλκήν □· ἄλλο σφραγίδιον κίρκον ἔχογ χρυσοῦν, ὀλκήν ·□□· ἄλλο ἀργυρένδετον, ὀλκήν ·□ΙΙΙ· ὑάλινον χρυσένδετον, ὀλκήν ·□□·
88435	ἀνθέμια καὶ κίρκος καὶ [κλάσ]- (40) with Philodamos chief theoros of the Rhodians; two phialai with queen Stratonike giving the choreia; phiale of the Koans with Simos chief theoros; two others of the Koans with Polykleitos chief theoros and the theoroi from Alexandria; phiale with Lysias chief theoros; phiale, dedication of Philotas from Sikyon; and another dedication of Phylakos; and another dedication of Theoti[me] of Salamis; another starred, dedication of Philotis, weighing 100; and another dedication of Choirithis; silver krater, dedication of Parmiskos; two silver animals, dedication of Kleino; silvered bronze censer, crushed; silver eagle fallen apart; various silver and pieces from silver phialai and cups, total weight drachmas 2900; and other assayed silver and Delian bronze drachmai 78.3; and 400 Orchomenean obols; eleven Aeginetan and Cretan staters and two Corinthian; two Naxian tetradrachms and nine Mausolean and Phocean (drachma) and Phocean obol [and] (45) various other coins, weight 26; fifty eight gold petals and pieces from crowns and fillets and pins and peony, total weight drachma(s) 881; [and] white gold including 2 Kyzikenian staters and Phocean, 326; gold apples with ointment inside and piece of silver flower, weight 40.3; gold Thasian earrings, weight 5.4; six gold rings, one of these with stones, weight 8; two unweighed seals; eight darics; gold ring with image of Artemis, weight 5.3; another smooth, weight 4.2; another ring with image of Eros, weigh[t...]; another iron (ring) bound in gold, weight 3; seal in gold with image of stag-goat, weight 2.1; small cylinder, weight 2; gold bound ring, weight 1.3; amber with gold ring, weight 1.1+; another gold bound small seal, weight 1; another seal with gold circle, weight 2; another silver bound, weight 1.3; gold bound glass, weight 2; flowers and circle and various [pieces],
88440	50 [μ]ατα παντοδαπά, ὀλκή ·ΔΙΙΙΙ· δακτύλιος ἐν ταινιδίῳ Καλλικρίτης ἀνάθημα, ὀλκή □ΙΙΙ· ἄλλος Αθηνᾶς πρόσπο<ν>, ὀλκήν ·□□□· ἄλλον ἐπίχρυσον, ἀνάθημα Σιράτωνος, ὀλκήν ·□· ἄλλον δακ[τύ]- λιον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκήν ·□□□· [- - - - -] τύποι χρυσοῦν ἐγ ξυλματίῳ ἄστατον· περιδέρια τὰ Δημητρίου καὶ φιάλια καὶ περισκελίδα ἀνέθηκε Στρατονίκη, ἄστατα· θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν]
88445	ἐπίχρυσον ὧ ἐπιγέγραπται ὀλκή ·□ΗΗΗΔΔ□□□· ἄλλο θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν ἐπίχρυσο{υ}ν {ἐπίχρυσον} ἑλατιον, φιάλην ἔχον χαλκῇν, ἀνεπίγραφον· κανοῦγ χαλκοῦν ἐπίχρυσον ἐφ' ὧ ἐπιγέγραπται ὀλκή ·X[ΗΗΔΔΔ□] □ΙΙ□· κανοῦν χρυσοῦν λείον τὰ ὧτα ἔχογ καὶ τὸν πυθμένα ἀργυρᾷ, ἐφ' ὧ ἐπιγέγραπται· χρυσίου ·XH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· ἀργυρίου ·□ΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□· οἶνοχόη χρυσῇ, ἐφ' ἣ ἐπιγραφῇ ·□H□ΔΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙ· ἄλλη οἶνοχόη, ἐφ' ἣ ἐπι-
88450	γέγραπται ὀλκή ·□H□ΔΔΔ□Ι· φιάλας χρυσᾶς λείας ἐπτά, ὀλκή πασῶν ·□ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· καὶ καρνωτᾶς φιάλας χρυσᾶς ἕξ, ὀλκήν πασῶν XH□ΔΔΔ□□□· κύλικα θηρίκλειον, ἣν ἀνέθηκε Πτολεμαῖος, ὀλκ[ή]ν]
88455	55 [H]ΗΔΔΔ□· φιάλην χρυσῇν, ἀ<ν>άθημα Ναξίων, ὀλκήν ·H□ΔΔΔΔ□□ΙΙΙ· ἄλλην φιάλην ράβδωτὴν χρυσῇν, ὀλκήν □ΔΔΔ□□· φιάλιον χρυσοῦν λείον, ὀλκήν ·ΔΔ□□□□· φιάλην ράβδωτὴν χρυσῇν, ὀλκήν ·□□□□□·

- 88475 ἐπιχύτην χρυσοῦν, ὀλκὴν ·ΗΔ{Δ}□□· φιάλιον ὃ καλεῖται χρυσίς, ὀλκὴν ·□□· ὄρμον χρυσοῦν ἀνέθηκε Δημοστράτη, ἄστατον, ἀριθμὸν λογχίων ·□ΔΔ{Δ}IIII· ὄρμον τὸμ πρὸς τῷ κλισμῷ ἡρτημένον, ὀλκὴ ·Η{ΗΔ□□}·
 ἄλλον ὄρμον λογχωτόν, ἀνάθημα Σιμίχης, ἄστατον, ἀριθμὸν λογχίων ·□ΔΔΔII· τραγίσκους ἀστάτους δύο· ἀσπιδίσκην, Αἰσχυλῖος ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν □□□· ψίλιον στρεπτόν, ὀλκὴν ·□□□□· κλιμάκιον
- 88480 [ξύλι]-
 [ν]ον ἐπίχρυσον, ὄφεις ἔχον ἀργυροῦς· ὄρμον ἀμφορέων ἔλκοντα ·Δ□□□□· ὄρμον τὸν τῆς Ἐρι[φύλ]ης, ἀριθμὸν χρυσίων ·ΗΔΔ□II· ἀμπελον χρυσὴν ἄστατον· ῥοὰς ἐπιχρύσους πέντε καὶ μῆλον καὶ προσ□□□□□
 □α χρυσᾶ ἄστατα· σφραγίδα μαράγδου ἄστατον· ἀνδριαντίσκον ὑπὸ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ σκέλος οὐκ ἔχοντα, ὀλκὴν ·□□· ἀσπιδίσκην καὶ περιδέραια καὶ φυκίον, ὀλκὴν Δ□□□□III· ὄρμον ἀμφορέων καὶ ἀνθέμ[ια καὶ □□□□]
- 88485 (50) weight 10.4; ring on ribbon, dedication of Kallikrites, weight 1.3; another with face of Athena, weight 3; another gilded, dedication of Straton, weight 5; another silver ring, weight 3; gold image on wood, unweighed; the perideraia of Demetrios and phialia and anklets Stratonike dedicated, unweighed; gilded bronze censer, on which the weight is inscribed 827; another smaller gilded bronze censer with bronze phiale, unweighed; gilded bronze basket on which is inscribed the weight 1001.2 1/2 +; smooth gold basket with silver handles and base, on which is inscribed (weight) of gold 1193, of silver 836; gold oinochoe, on which the inscription 697.2; another
- 88490 oinochoe, on which is inscribed the weight 681.1; seven smooth gold phialai, total weight 998; and six knobbed gold phialai, total weight 1183; Therikleian kylix, which Ptolemy dedicated, wei[ght] 135+; (55) gold phiale, dedication of the Naxians, weight 196.3; another gold rayed phiale, weight 86; small smooth gold phiale, weight 28; rayed gold phiale, weight 50+; gold beaker, weight 112; small phiale, which is called
- 88495 a chrysis, weight 55; gold necklace Demostate dedicated, unweighed, number of spearheads 74; the necklace fastened to the couch, weight 100+; another lanceolate necklace, dedication of Simiche, unweighed, number of spearheads 92; two unweighed small goats; disk, dedication of Aischylis, weight 4; twisted armlet, weight 9; gilded wood ladder with silver snakes; necklace of spearheads weighing 18; the
- 88500 necklace of Eriphyle, number of gold pieces 128; unweighed gold grapevine; five gilded pomegranates and apple and [...] gold unweighed; unweighed seal of emerald; statuette under the grapevine without leg, weight 6; disk and perideraia and rouge jar, weight 14.3; necklace of amphorae and flowe[rs...]
- 88505 60 □□, ὀλκὴν ·ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· φιάλιον ἐμ πλινθεῖῳ ἄστατον, Δημοσ[ι]ῶντος {Δημοσῶντος} ἀνάθημα· στεφάνους χρυσοῦς ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ δύο, ὀλκὴ ·□□□□· καὶ ὃν ἀνέθηκε βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος τῆς μυρσίνης, ὀλκὴν ·Η□Δ{ΔΔ}Δ□{□□}·
 [καὶ] ὅμ Βερενίκη ἀνέθηκεν, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔ· ὅμ Πευκέστης ἀνέθηκεν, ὀλκὴ ·□Δ□□□□· χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Νικοκρέοντος, ὀλκὴ ·ΔΔΔΔ□□□· καὶ ἄλλον Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Κλείτου, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔΔ□□□□□· καὶ [ἄλ]λον
- 88510 χορεῖα Μήτρωνος ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔ□III· Καλλικράτους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·Δ□□□□□III· ἄλλος Τωμίλκου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·ΔΔ[· Φ]ιλοκλέους ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·ΔΔΔΔIII· καὶ ἄλλος Φιλοκλέους ὁ.[τῆς]
- 88515 μυρρίν[ης],
 ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔΔ{Δ}□□□□□· στέφανον ἄλλον ἀνέθηκε βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος κιττοῦ, ὀλκὴ ·ΗΔΔΔΔ· καὶ ὃν ἀνέθηκε βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος, ὀλκὴν ·□Δ□□□· στέφανον καὶ ῥόδον, ἀνάθημα Λυσάνδρου, ὀλκὴ σὺν τῷ
- 88520 □□□τωι τοῦ ῥόδου ·□□□□· καὶ ἄλλον, Κρατεροῦ ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴν ·□□□□· καὶ τὸν ἀπελθόντα στέφανον παρ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα, ὀλκὴ ·□Δ□□□□· καὶ τὰδε ἐν τῷ Ε<ί>λειθυαίῳ· φιάλην, ἀνάθημα Κλεαρχίδος, ἄστ[ατον· φιά]-
- 88525 65 λην ἀργυρᾶν, ἄστατον, ἀνάθημα Κτησυλίδος, ὀλκὴν ·ΔΔ· ἀ<μ>φιδᾶς ἀργυρᾶς καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά, ὀλκὴν ·□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· πυρήνια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐνδεσμίδες καὶ τύποι καὶ ἀνδριαντίσκοι τέτταρες, τούτων [ξύλι]νος [εῖς],
 καὶ δακτύλιον δύο, ὃ εἷς ἔχων λίθον, καὶ ἐνώιδιον καὶ ἄλλα χρυσία παντοδαπά καὶ ἄλλον δακτύλιον καὶ τύπιον καὶ ἐρώτιον, ὀλκὴν πάντων ·ΔΔ□□□· μῆλα ξύλινα ἐπάργυρα καὶ ἐπίχρυσα ἄστατα ἐννέα· δακτυλίδιον [ἐν ταινι]-
- 88530 δίῳ [λίθ]ον ἔχον, ἀνάθημα Καλλιφάντης· δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ἐν ταινιδίῳ, ἀνάθημα Κερκίδος· ὄρμον χρυσοῦν, ἀνάθημα Φρυνοῦς, ὀλκὴν ·□□□· ἀλύσια διάλιθα δύο, ἃ ἀνέθηκεν Ἀριστόνικος τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ὀλκὴ τοῦ ἐνὸς □, τοῦ δὲ □.
 καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα παρέδομεν ἄ[να]τεθέντα ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· [φι]άλην λεῖαν, ἀνάθημα Ὡκυν<ε>ιδῶν καὶ Θυεσταδῶν, ἐφ' ἣ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἄρχων Κλεόστρατος· καὶ ἄλλην Ὡκυνειδῶν καὶ Θυεσταδῶν, ἐφ' ἣς ἐπιγέ-
- 88535 [γραπτ]αι· ἄρχων Σωσίμαχος· καὶ ἄλλην λεῖαν Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Φίλλιδος· καὶ ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνου ἀρχοντος, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου· vac. φιάλην ἐμ
- 88540 (60) weight 44; unweighed small phiale in plinth, dedication of Demos{i}on; two gold crowns **in the Artemision**, weight 8; and (the one) which king Ptolemy dedicated, of myrtle, weight 171+; which Berenike dedicated, weight 70; which Peukestes dedicated, weight 64; with Nikokreon giving the choreia, weight 43; and another of the Deliades with Kleitos giving the choreia, weight 89; and another with Metron giving the choreia, weight 71.3; dedication of Kallikrates, weight 19.3; another dedication of Iomilkos, weight 21+; [Ph]ilokles' dedication, weight 40.3; and another of Philokles, the myrtle one, weight 89; another crown king Ptolemy dedicated, ivy, weight 140; and
- 88545

which king Demetrios dedicated, weight 67; crown and rose, dedication of Lysander, weight with the [...] of the rose, 57; and another, dedication of Krateros, weight 57; and the crown coming from Epameinondas, weight 68.

And the following **in the Eileithyiaion**: phiale dedication of Klearchis, unweighed; silver [phia]le (65) unweighed dedication of Ktesylis, weight 75; silver bracelets [...] and various other objects, weight 93; gold beads and endesmides and various other gold objects and another ring and image and cupid, total weight 27; nine gilded and silvered apples unweighed; small ring with stone on ribbon, dedication of Kalliphantes; gold ring on ribbon, dedication of Kerkis; gold necklace, dedication of Phryno, weight 7; two chains with stones which Aristonikos dedicated to Aphrodite, weight of the one [...], of the other [...].

And the following other objects we gave over in our year of office: smooth phiale, dedication of the Okyneidai and Thyestadai, on which is the inscription Kleostratos archon; and another of the Okyneidai and Thyestadai, on which is inscribed archon Sosimachos; and another smooth (one) of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia [space]; phiale in plinth,

70 [πλιν]υθε[ι]ωι Κώϊων θεωροὶ ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώρου Τεισίου· βασίλισσα Ἀρσινόη τρίποδα [ἀργ]υροῦν· [— — — — — — — — — —] φιάλην ἐμ πλινθείωι πρό[σω]πον ἔχουσαν, χορεῖα Δηλιάδων ἐπιδούσης Τερροκλείας. [ἐν τῷ]

[Πω]ρίνωι φιάλας ἐμ πλινθείωι τρεῖς, ἀνάθημα Στρατονίκης Μακέτας· καὶ ἄλλην ἐμ πλινθείωι, ἀνάθημα θεωρῶν τῶν ἐν Ῥόδου ἐπ' ἀρχεθεώρου Δαμονίκου· ἄλλην ἐμ πλινθείωι, ἀνάθημα [Πασι]κράτους Ῥοδίου· δακτυλίους ἀργυροῦς □III καὶ σιδηροῦς ὑπαργύρους· vac. δεσμοὺς τῶν εἰς τὸ Κύνθιον vac. καὶ γόμφους· vac. τὰ χαλκᾶ τοῦ ἐνὸς θυρέτρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Πύθιον. παρέδομεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν ἀ[ργυρ]ᾶν καὶ κηρύκειον [ἀ] ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατεσκευάσθη, ὀλκὴν τῆς τραπεζῆς ἀργυρίου δρα(χμᾶς) ·XXX□□Δ□□, τοῦ κηρυκείου ·ΔΔ□□III. vac. καὶ τάδε ἐν τῇ [Χαλ]κοθήκῃ· ὑδρίας Δ□· ἄλλη πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα· ἄλλαι δύο, ἑκατέρω ἐν οὔς ἔχουσα· ἄλλη ἐν οὔς ἔχουσα· ἄλλη ἐν οὔς ἔχουσα, πυθμένα δὲ οὐ· ἄλλη πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα, οὔς δὲ ἐν· ἄλλη vac. ὧτα οὐκ ἔχουσα· στάμ<ν>ος μέγα[ς ο]ὔς ἐν ἔχων·

75 [ἄλλο]ς στάμνος τῶν βοιωτιακῶν οὔς ἐν ἔχων· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐλαιηρός· κρατῆρες τυρρηνικοὶ II ὑπόστατα ἔχοντες· ἄλλο κρατήριον τυρρηνικὸν οὔς οὐκ ἔχον· κρατήριον λακωνικόν, πυθμένα ἔχον ἀποπεπωκότα· ἄλλοι κρατῆρες [λακ]ωνικοὶ III· κανὰ ὀρθηλὰ II· κανοῦμ μέγα πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχον· ἄλλα κανὰ III· κάδοι στρεπτοὶ II· κάδοι λεῖτοι II, ὁ εἷς πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχων· ἐσχάραι πυρκαῖοι III· λεβήτια ἀχρεῖα □IIII· χαλκία μεγάλα III ἀχρεῖα·

[χαλκ]ία II ἐλάτιω ἀχρεῖα· ἄλλα χαλκία μικρὰ □II ἀχρεῖα· κρατῆρ στρογγύλος ὑπόστατον ἔχων· ἐχίνη στρατιωτικὴ· ἐξάλειπτρον· κανὰ μικρὰ □· πινακίσκοι IIII· περιρραντήριον ὑπόστατον ἔχον καὶ ἐπιγραφὴν· χερνιβεῖα II· τούτων τὸ [ἐν] τετρυπημένον, τὸ δὲ ἐν οὔς ἔχον· ἄλλα χερνιβεῖα □III τετρυπημένα· ποδανιπτήρες II· ὁ θ' ἕτερος ὑγιής, οὔς ἐν ἑκάτερος ἔχων· ψυκτῆρες III ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντες· λυχνεῖα σιδηρὰ II ἐπὶ τοῖς μέσοις φιάλας οὐκ ἔχοντα· ὀβελίσκοι μικρ[οῖ] ΔΔΔ□· κλάσματα II· ἐσχάραι σιδηρὰ· γαστροποτῖς διαπεπωκυῖα· σκαφείων τρίμματα □· δίσκοι χαλκοὶ II· ἐσχαρίου μικροῦ ἡμισυ κατ<ε>αγός, ὑπόστατον ἔχον· ψυκτῆριον ὧτα οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲ πυθμένα· [χεῖρ] σιδηρὰ· οἶνοχόη [σακ]ν[ῆ]? (70) Koan theoroi with Teisias chief theoros; queen Arsinoe, silver tripod; phiale in

plinth with face, Hierokleas giving the choreia of the Deliades.

[In the Po]rinos: three phialai in plinths, dedication of Macedonian Stratonike; and another in plinth, dedication of the Rhodian theoroi with Damonikos chief theoros; another in plinth, dedication of Pasikrates of Rhodes; 8 silver rings and silvered iron; bonds of the (doors?) for the Kynthion; and pegs; the bronze of the one door to the Pythion.

We gave over also the silver table and staff made in our year of office, weight of the silver of the table dra 3566, of the staff 22.3.

And the following in the [Chal]kotheke: 15 hydrias; another without base; two others, one with one handle; another with one handle; another with one handle but no base; another with no base but one handle; another [space] without handle; large stam(n)os with one handle; [anoth]er (75) stamnos of the Boeotian (type) with one handle; another olive oil stamnos; 2 Etruscan kraters with stands; another small Etruscan krater with no handle; small Spartan krater with the base fallen off; 3 other Spartan kraters; 2 straight baskets; large basket without base; 3 other baskets; 2 twisted jars; 2 smooth jars, one without base; 3 sacrificial braziers; 9 broken lebetia; 3 large broken bronzes; 2 smaller broken bronzes; 7 other small broken bronzes; round krater with stand; military echine; unguent box; 5 small baskets; 4 small tablets; sprinkler with stand and inscription; 2 hand basins, one of these punctured, the other with one handle; 8 other punctured hand basins; 2 foot basins, one sound, the other with one handle; 3 coolers without handles; 2 iron lampstands without phialai in the middle; 35 small skewers; 2 broken pieces; iron brazier; broken casserole; 5 pieces of dishes; 2 bronze disks; broken half of a small brazier with stand; cooler without handles or base; iron [...]; broken oinochoe

80 οὔς οὐκ ἔχουσα· ἄλλαι οἶνοχόαι Δ πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσαι· οἶνοχόαι II μεγάλαι, σακναί· ἄλλαι

88615	δύο οὔτε ὄτα οὔτε πυθμένα ἔχουσαι, σακναί· ἄλλα II σακναί, πυθμένας οὐκ ἔχουσαι· ἡμίχα II, τὸ ἐν οὐς οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲ πυθμένας· προχ[οί]- διον λεοντόπου· χοῦς ἐλαηρὸς ἐν ἐλύτ<ρ>ωι τὸμ πυθμένα ἔχων καὶ ἄλλος οὔτε πυθμένα οὔτε οὐς ἔχων· οἶνοχόη οὔτε οὐς οὔτε πυθμένα ἔχουσα· ἄλλη τὸν τράχηλον ἀποκεκλασμένη· ἄλλη συντεθλασμένη, πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα·
88620	ἄλλα I III, τοὺς πυθμένας ἐκκεκομμένοι· ἄλλα I III ὄτα οὐκ ἔχουσαι· τούτων δύο ἔχουσιμ πυθμένας· ἄλλα I III πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσαι, σακναί· ἐπιχύται ἐλαιηροί, εἷς οὐς οὐκ ἔχων· σπονδοχό<α>ι II· προχοῖδια I III· τού[των ἐν τὸν] πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχει· ἄλλα I οἶνοχόαι II, σακναί· οἶνοχόης τράχηλος· προχοῖδιον λεοντόπου· κύαθοι μεγάλοι I III· ἄλλοι μικροί II, διαπεπτωκότες· ἄνθεμα κοιταβείων II· θυμιατήριον πόδας οὐκ
88625	ἔχον· Νίκη ἐπ' ἰκτίνου· [ἀρυστήρες] μεγάλοι I II· μικροί Δ I III· λυχνία χαλκῇ συντετριμμένη· λυχνίας χαλκῆς [στυλῖς] μεγάλη· ἐ[ξ]αύστριον· ξυστήρ σιδηροῦς· ἡμόρ ἀπὸ κρατήρος συντετριμμένος· ἄλλος ἐν ξύλῳ δεδεμένος· <σ>αννιοθήκαι? σιδηραί II· λυχνεῖ[ου κλάσματα δύο]· 85 λαμπτήρ ὄτα οὐκ ἔχων· σκαφίδιον χαλκοῦν τετρυπημένον· φιάλαι III· τούτωμ μία τετρυπημένη
88630	ἀπὸ λυχνεῖου· χέρνιβον· ψυκτήριον σακνὸμ πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχον· ποτηρίδια II· λεβήτιον μικρόν· κάδων κλάσματα II· χυτρίδιον καὶ [ψυκτήριον] μικρά, ὄτα οὐκ ἔχοντα· πυθμένες I II· κλάσματα ἐπιστάτου καὶ ζώδια καὶ ὄτα καὶ πόδες· κλάσματα ἄνθεμα λυχνεῖου II· τριποδίσκος πόδα οὐκ ἔχων· [κεραμ]ύλλ[ι]ον· ὀλκεῖον· λεπίδες χαλκαὶ ἀπὸ τριπόδων καὶ ἀσπίδων· λόγχαι I III· ἀσπίδες ἐπίχαλ]- 88635 κοι Δ I III· πέλιτη ἐπίχαλκος· ἐμβόλους χαλκοῦς I II· λύχνον τετράρινον· στήλην χαλκῇ Νικοκρέοντος προξενίαν· κάδων πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχοντα· θυμιατήρια χαλκᾶ III· κανοῦν, ἀνάθημα Θρασυλέο[ντος? - - c.25 - -]· κρατήρα Μάνδρου ἀνάθημα καὶ Φοίνικος, καὶ Ἀμυνίχου ἄλλον· καὶ ἄλλον ἀνεπίγραφον· κρατήρων ὑπόστατα δύο· χέρνιβον δύο· φιάλην· λυχνεῖα III· χαλκία I· καὶ ἄλλο χαλκίον μέγα καὶ λέβητα·
88640	τὸν κώθωνα το[...] [κ]αὶ ὑπόστατον· ἐσχάρας πυρκαϊοῦς III· κύαθος· λιβανωτίδα· φιάλιον· ψυκτήριον· χοᾶ ἐλαηρόν· κηρύκειον· ἡμίτειον· σιδηροῦς μοχλοῦς III· ἐπικόπανον· γόμφοις III· ΠΟΓΕΙΟΝ· σφήνας σιδηροῦς III· σφῦραν σιδηρᾶν· πέλεκυς ΛΕΙ κλίνας Δ I· (80) without handle; 10 other oinochoai without base; 2 large oinochoai, broken; two 88645 others with neither handles nor base, broken; 2 others broken, without bases; 2 hemicha, one without handle or bases; small lionfooted pitcher; olive oil chous with base, in case; and another without handle or base; oinochoe without handle or base; another with neck broken; another smashed, without base; 8 others, bases broken off; 8 others without handles, two of these have bases; 13 others without bases, broken; 88650 olive oil beakers, one without handle; 2 chalices; 4 small pitchers, of th[ese one] without base; 2 other oinochoai, broken; neck of oinochoe; small lionfooted pitcher; 4 large kyathoi; 2 other small, fallen apart; 2 kottabos flowers; censer without feet; Nike on iktinos; 7 large [...]; 28 small; crushed bronze lampstand; large [...] of bronze lampstand; small meat hook; iron scraper; crushed strainer from krater; 88655 another bound in wood; 2 iron auniothekai; lamp[...]; (85) grate without handles; small crushed bronze dish; 3 phialai from lampstand, one of these punctured; hand basin; broken cooler without base; 2 small cups; small lebes; 2 pieces of jars; small pot and [...] small, without handles; 7 bases; pieces of stand and animals and handles and feet; 2 flowers, pieces of lampstand; small tripod without foot; small 88660 jar; basin; bronze pieces from tripods and spears; spearhea[ds...bronz]ed 19; bronzed helmet; 7 bronze rams; four-skin lamp; bronze stele proxenia of Nikokreon; jar without base; 3 bronze censers; basket, dedication of Thrasyleo[n...]; krater, dedication of Mandros and Phoinix; and another of Amynichos; and another uninscribed; two krater stands; two hand basins; phiale; 3 lampstands; 5 bronzes; and another 88665 large bronze and lebes; the kothon [...] and stand; 3 sacrificial braziers; kyathos; incense dish; small phiale; cooler; olive oil chous; staff; hemiteian; 3 iron bolts; chopping block; 3 rivets; [pogeion] gogeion [gorgeion?]; 3 iron wedges; iron hammer; ax [...] couches 11; pair of scales; and another smaller; 90 [τ]ρυτάνην καὶ ἐλάτιω ἄλλην· παραδείγματα τοῦ Κυν[θίου], τῆς θυμέλης, τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ναοῦ· 88670 κλίνας σὺν ταῖς ἐμ πρυτανείῳι καὶ ταῖς ἐνεργωγίαις I Δ· ννννν ἡμίκλινον· ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ τῆς Ἐκάτης· χαλκίον· κρατὴρ χαλκοῦς· κανοῦν μικρὸν τῷ[ν] ἐκ τῆς Χαλκοθήκ[ης] καὶ ὀβελίσκους Δ II· ο<ι>νοχόην· λυχνεῖα σιδηρᾶ II· ἐν τῷ ἱεροποίῳι· βατιάκην· λιβανωτίδα· φιάλας Χερσονησιτῶν ἀνάθημα III· ὤκυνειδῶν καὶ θυεσταδῶν II· χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως 88675 Πτολεμαίου I III· ποτήριον, ἀνάθημα Καλλίου· vac. models of the Kynthion -- altar, doors, shrine; couches including those in the Prytaneion and those broken 60 [space]; half-couch. In the Island of Hekate: bronze; krater from the Chalkotheke and 12 skewers; oinochoe; 2 iron lampstands. 88680 In the Hieropoion: incense dish batiake; 4 phialai of the Chersonites from Ptolemy; cup, dedication of Kallias.

καὶ οἶδε τῶν μεμι[σθω]μένων τὰς οἰκίας μισθώματα οὐκ ἀποδόντες ὀφείλουσι τῷ θεῷ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταί· τῆς Χαρατείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν Μνησις ΔΔ□· τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος τοῦ παρὰ θαλάσ[ση]

- 88685 [Μνη?]σί
 λεως Πυρρί(δου) ΔΔ[?]· Α]ρκέων Σωτά(δου) ΔΔΔ· τῆς οἰκίας οὗ ὤκει Αντίγονος, Μνησίλεως Δ· τῆς
 Σωσίλειας Τελεσαρχίδης □ΔΔ□□ΙΙΙΙ· [τῶμ πρός τῶι σιδηρεΐωι Δ□·] τῆς Ἐπειθένους
 95 [-c.8-ο]υ καὶ ἃ εὗρε ΧΗ· τούτου εἰσεπράχθη □ΗΗ□Δ· ἀπό τούτου εἰς Ποσίδεα □Η· εἰς Θεσμοφόρια
 88690 [οἶδε τῶν τέλη] πριαμένων οὐκ ἀποδόντες ὀφείλουσιν· τοῦ πορθμείου τοῦ εἰς Ῥήνειαν, Νικόδρομος
 Τεύ(κρου) καὶ ἔγγυοι Ἀριστόλοχος, Φίλλις Δι(αίτου) ΗΔ· τῶν ἡμιωβελίων Εὐμήδης καὶ ἐγ[γυος? - -
 - - - - -]
 [- - c.12 - - το]ῦ εἰς Μύκονον πορθμείου, Ἀριστέας Ἐρμο(δότου) καὶ ἔγγυος Ἥγίας Δ□· τοῦ
 λιμένος Θερόδ[?]ωρος {Θερόδωρος} καὶ ἔγγυος Σώσιλος Π[άχ]η(τος) ΔΔΔΔ· vac.
 88695 [σύμπαγ κεφάλαιον οὗ π]αρέδομεν ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ Καλοδίκου ἀρχοντος Ναύτιι, Καλλίαι,
 Ἀπατουρίωι, Εὐβούλ[ωι], παρόντων βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ξένωνος, τοῦ [τῶν
 ἱεροποιῶν - - - - - ἀργυρίου νομίσ]-
 [ματος δραχμὰς .]ΗΔΔ καὶ χρυσοῦς ΔΙΙΙΙ· καὶ τεττίγ[ια δύο καὶ φωκα]ῖδα καὶ ἀργυρίου παντοδαποῦ
 ἄλεξανδρείου Δ· ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐξαιρεθὲν Η□ΔΔ□□ΙΙΙΙΙ· ἐκ τῶν τόκων καὶ ἐνοικίω[ν
 88700 - - - - - - - - - -]
 100 - - - - - - - - - ἐπιμελητῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐπίπεμπτον vac. τὸ δὲ κηρύκειον ὃ ἐποι[η]σάμεθα
 ἔδομεν πρε[σβευτῇι τῶι αἰ]ρεθέντι Ἐμπεδοκλῇι Σωσι· vac.
 [- - - - - - - - - ἀρχ]ιτέκτων· vac.
 88705 1 .ΔΙΙ- - - - - .εἰς τ- - - - - ΜΗΝ ΙΑ- - - - - [χ]αλκᾶ? [- γόμφους?]
 5 καὶ δεσμ[οὺς - -] .δραχ[μῶν - -]· ἀπο[σ]τησά[μ]ενοι με[τὰ τοῦ] ἀρχιτέκ[τονος]
 10 μνᾶς δέ[κα, ἀπέ]- [δ]ομεν τὸ γι[ν]ό[μ]ενον δραχμ[ὰς] ΔΔΔ· Αντίκωι [ἐ]γλαβόντι ποῆ-
 15 [σ]αι τὰς θύρας [τ]ὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Πύθι- ον δραχμῶν ΧΗ□ΔΔΔ□□□□ [ἐ]δομεν τὴν πρῶ-
 20 τὴν καὶ δευτέ- ραν δόσιγ κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν κελεύοντος ἀρ- [χ]ιτέκτονος κα[ὶ]
 88710 25 τοῦ ἐπιμελητο[ῦ] [ΧΗ]□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· Ἀναψυκτίδῃι τῶι ἐγλαβόντι τὴν ἀνακομι-
 30 δὴν τῶν λίθων εἰς τὸ Κύνθιον ἀνα- κομίσαντι δια- τοίχων πόδας ἐβδομήκοντα
 35 ἀπέδομεν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τοῦ ποδὸς ·ΙΙΙΙΙ· κ- ελεύοντος ἀρχι- τέκτονος καὶ ἐπι-
 40 μελητῶν· vac. [ὑ]πηρέταις· Φανέ- αι ἀρχιτέκτονι τρεῖς καὶ δέκα μῆ- νας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
 45 □ΗΗ□ΔΔΔ· vac. γραμματῇι □ΔΔ Δ□□ΙΙΙΙ· κήρυκι □ Δ□· ἰνωποφύλακι [□]ΔΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ· vac.
 88715 50 [ν]εωκόρῳι ἐν [τ]ῶι Ἀσκληπιδεῶι [Η]ΔΔΔΔ vac. καὶ ἐν τῇ Νήσῳι [Η]ΔΔΔ· καὶ εἰς
 55 [τ]ὸν Θεὸν □Δ□· [α]ὔλητριδι τῇι αὐ- [λ]ούσῃι τῶι χορῶι [Η]ΔΔΔ· Βακχίῳι [Η]Η□Δ· καὶ εἰς [ἰ]-
 60 [μ]άτιον? ΔΔ[?] Ω ΙΚΑ ΙΚΤΛ ΕΚΗΝ [ὑ]πηρέ- τει Δῶρῳι? [ΗΔ]· .τῆς τετρ[α]-
 65 [μ]ήνου ΔΔΔ· [σ]τήλῃ δραχ[μῶν] [Δ]Δ· βατήρ [τῇι] [σ]τήλῃι - - - - -
 70 [μό]λ[υβ]δ[ος]? - -]· [τ]ῶι γράψαντι τῆς [σ]τήλῃς γράμμα- τα μιᾶς δραχμῆς ΗΗΗ· ὁ πᾶς μισθὸς
 88720 75 γραμμάτων ΜΜΜ□XXX δραχμαὶ ΗΔΔ□[□ΙΙΙΙ]· μισθωτοῖς τὴν σι[τή]- [λ]ην ἀπενέγκασι □·
 80 τοῖς στή[σαςι .]· [δα]ῖδ[ες καὶ ῥυμο]ῖ [το]ῖς χοροῖς □□· [οἶ]δε τόκους οὐκ ἀπ[ο]- [δ]όντες
 ὀφείλουσι τ[ῶι]
 85 Θεῶι· Δίαιτος - - - - - - - - - - - α □□□□ vac. Ἀπολλόδωρος Δ· vss. 4 consulto erasi
 93 Κλεινόνδικος Δ· Δε[ξικρ]- ἄτης Δ· [Φερεκλεί]-
 88725 95 δον κληρονόμοι ΗΔΔ· καὶ ὑπὲρ Προξένου ΔΔ· καὶ ὑπὲρ Χάρητος ΔΔ· καὶ Τελέσων vss. 3
 consulto erasi
 102 [- - - - -] Εὐρυμάν- [θ]ῆς ΔΔ· Τελέσων καὶ οἱ ἐγγυητᾶι .ΔΔ·
 105 2 vss. vac. 4 vss. deleti
 108 [Νίκω]ν Νικοδ[ρόμ]- [ου] καὶ ἔγγυοι [Νίκ]-
 88730 110 ωνος Φιλ- - - Δ□□· vac. [- - - - - Πίσ]- [τ]ῆς? καὶ Γέρυλλ[ος] [ἐγγυησ?]άμενοι Λ -
 115 - - - - - το- -ου· - - - - - ην- -ν κα[ὶ] - - - - -
 vacat
 face D right
 88735 init. deletum
 1 εἰς- - - - - . . .ου Ἀρισ- - - - - - - - - - .κ- - - - -
 5 .ντ- - - - - - - - - - - [μ]ετὰ? τὸ ε- - - - - ενος καὶ - - - - -
 4 vss. deleti
 13 σεν καὶ - - - - - 13 vss. deleti
 88740 27 [- - - α]κοσίω[ν] .το - - - - - [ἐ]ξήκοντα τοῦ μ[η]-
 30 [νδς?] ἐμ παντὶ καὶ- [ρῶι - - - - -] - - - - - ΣΩΣ παρα ΣΤΑΝΤΟΣ τὸ
 35 ἡμισυ - - - - - .τ - - - - - κομισάμενοι ἐκ [τ]οῦ ἐργαστηρίου? χαλκοῦ μνᾶς Δ
 40 ἐφ' ᾧ ἐν ἐφη· καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνεμισθώσαμεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὑ- πὸ κήρυκος με-
 45 τὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτο- νος ΙΙΙ· καὶ τού<του> ἐξέλαβε Δ[εἰ]- νοκράτης Λε[ω]- [φά]ντιου τὸ ἡμ[υ]-
 88745 50 [σ]υ? α κατὰ τῇ [ν] - - - - - , ἐν [ηνο]χότῳν δὲ ἡ- [μῶν] τὸν λόγον πρὸς τῇ [ν]
 [βουλ]ὴν παρεγένετο
 55 [αὐτὸς] πρὸ τῆς ἀγωγ[ῆς] [τοῦ ἐγγύ]ου μη· ΗΠΑΛΤΗΜ· ΔΔ - - - - - Τ- -
 vac.
 88750 IG XI,2 203 (269 BC) and IG XI.2 203B
<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/62665>
<https://web.archive.org/web/20090408151731/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translati>
<ons/203translation.htm>
 Side B begins with building expenses continued from side A and then the year's total
 88755 income and outlay before the inventory begins.
 Θεοί.

- λόγος ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος Χαρίλα Ἀπημάντου τοῦ Ἀρκέοντος, Χαρίλα τοῦ
 88760 Ἀντιγόνου. τάδε παρελάβομεν παρ’ ἱεροποιοῦ τοῦ ἱεροποιήσαντος ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος Μειλιχίδου
 Πλεισταινέτου
 τοῦ Τελέωνος καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Πελάγωνος Λάμπωνος, παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέων τοῦ τῆς
 πόλεως Φιλαίθου τοῦ Νησιώτου, τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Σωστράτου τοῦ Στράτωνος· ἐκ τοῦ θησαυρο[ῦ]
 [τοῦ] ἐν τῷ <Ι>ερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς Η_ χαλκοῦ [], ῥοδίας δραχμὰς []ΙΙΙΙΕ. κώ ιαν :
 88765 :ΙΙ: ἐν Ἀρι[ε]-
 5 μισῶ ι ἀργυρίου νομίσματος XXX_ καὶ ἄλλο ἀργύριον παρελάβομεν παρὰ Πλεισταινέτου καὶ Λάμπωνος
 δραχμὰς. [:]XXXXHΔΔΔΙΙΙ: καὶ ἄλλο ἀργύριον εἰσῆκει ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας
 ἀρχῆς· παρὰ Πίστου τοῦ Ξένωνος τὸ δάνειον ὃ ἔφη ὀφείλειν τῷ ι Θεῷ ι δραχμὰς Η_ΗΗΔΔ. παρ’
 88770 ἐπιμελητῶν τοῦ θεάτρου Τιμησιδήμου τοῦ Ἀντικράτους, Ἀνδρομένου τοῦ Ξένωνος,
 Εὐδήμου τοῦ Ἄμνου ὃ ἔφασαν εἰσ[ελθ]εῖν? _____ Φάγρου Δ_ Ἀντίοχος Νέωνος [] Δ_ Κυδ[ι]-
 θάλης Ἀντιγόνου _____ :Η:
 παρὰ βουλῆς ὃ ἔφασαν κατα-
 88775 βαλεῖν Τιμόθεμιν Τ. _____
 _____ Ἀντιπάτρου. καὶ τόδε εἰσῆκει·
 10 δορκαδίου ὃ ἐπρίατο Ἀγ[τίο]χ[ος? _____]
 88780 ἀργυρίῳ ῥι ἐδανείσα- _____
 μεν τοῖς ἐ[πι]μεληταῖς τῆς στοᾶς δραχμὰς [] ΧΗΗΔ _____ Καλοδίκου δραχμαὶ
 :Δ□□...
 88785 παρὰ □□□□κου τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος _____
 _____ παρὰ ταμίου Η_ΗΗΔΔ ΙΙΙ: παρὰ Φιλί[τ]-
 [ο]υ ὃ κατα□□Τ Λ- _____
 _____ τῷ ι ἀργυρίῳ ῥι ἐδανείσαμ[εν]
 δ[ρ]αχμὰς []ΚΙΔΙΜΗ. _____
 88790 _____ δραχμὰς :ΧΧΗΗΗΗΔ□ΙΙ: Ἀμ...
 15 δραχμὰς _____
 _____ του, Ξενοκλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου □□ _____
 _____ ὁμένους τῶν ἡμιωβελίων :ΔΔΔ□□ΙΙΙ:
 παρὰ Πυρ[ρί]ου [— — — — —] _____ vac.
 88795 [τ]άδε εἰσῆκει μισθώματα παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ : παρὰ Κλεινίου τοῦ Ὀρθίου
 Πύργων :ΧΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□□□Χ: παρὰ Τερομβρότου τοῦ Ἐτεοκλείδου
 [τ]οῦ Κεραμείου Η_ [π]αρὰ Ἀπολλοδ[ώ]ρου τοῦ Ξενομήδους Πορθμοῦ ΧΗΗΗΗ: παρ’ Ἐνπεδοκλέους τοῦ
 Χαριλέον[τος] Χαρητείας :Χ□ΗΗΗ: παρὰ Διδύμου τοῦ Καλλιδίκου Σκιτωνεῖ-
 88800 20 ας Δ_ παρὰ Τελέωνος τοῦ Αὐτοκλέους Σολόης καὶ Κορακῶν [] Η_ΗΗΔΔ [:] παρὰ Τιμησιδήμου καὶ
 Ἀριστοδίκου τῶν Ἀντικράτους Χαρωνείας :ΧΗ[:] παρὰ Ὀδοιτέλου[ς]
 Λεμῶνος :Η_ΗΗΙ, [παρὰ] Ξένωνος τοῦ Τελέωνος Ἐπισθενείας Η_Δ_ ἡ παρὰ Χαρίλα τοῦ Τιμησιδήμου Ἀκρας
 Δήλου [:]ΔΙΕ. παρὰ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Ἀνέκτου κληρονό-
 88805 μων Ῥάμνων [:] Η_ΗΗΗΔΔΙΙ/: παρὰ Ἀρησιμβρότου τοῦ Πολυξένου Πανόρμου Η_ΗΗΔΔΔ[] παρὰ Χορύλου τοῦ
 Τελέωνος Λιμνῶν □□ΔΔ□□□: παρὰ Διακρίτου τοῦ Καλλιισθένους
 Φυταλῆς Δ[Δ]: παρὰ Κ[α]λ[λ]ισθέ[ν]ου[ς] τοῦ Διακρίτου Φοινίκων Η_Η[ΔΔ] παρὰ Τηππάρχου τοῦ Δηλίκου
 τοῦ Λυκωνείου :Η_ΙΙ, [παρὰ] [ο]υ[?] το[ῦ] Θαρσυδίκου Νικοῦ χώρου Η_ΗΗ vac. παρὰ Τε-
 88810 λεσάνδρου τοῦ Παρμενῶνος Διονυσίου Η_ παρὰ Πολύβου τοῦ Διοδότου τοῦ Σω[σι]μαχείου Η_ παρὰ
 Ἀντικράτους τοῦ Τιμησιδήμου τοῦ Τηποδρόμου καὶ τῆς
 25 Ἀφείσας [:]Η[ΗΔ]ΔΔΧ. ἐξ ἐνοικῶν· παρὰ Ἀνδρόλα τοῦ Ξωσιλείας Η_ΔΔΔΔ: παρὰ Μάχωνος τῆς
 Χαρητείας τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος [:]Δ[ΔΔ]□: παρὰ Ἐτεοκλείδου τῆς Ἐφεσος
 Η_ΔΔΔΔ: [παρὰ — —]κου τῆς οἰκίας τῆς Ἐπισθενείας? ΔΔΔΔ[παρὰ Διονυσίου τῆς Πυθῆς ΔΔ παρὰ
 Φιλοχάρους τῆς γυναικῶν ἰδὸς ΔΔΔ [παρὰ] [Δημέ]ου τῶν οἰκημάτων τῶν πρὸς τοῖς σιδηρείοις ΔΔΔΔ
 88815 τῆς Ὀρθοκλέους πα-
 ρὰ Βοήθου [:] παρ’ Ἀπολλοδώρου τῆς Ἐπισθενείας [Δ_ ἡ παρ’ Ἀριστοβούλου] τῆς Ἀριστοβούλου ΔΔ: παρὰ
 Σ[ω]τ[ί]α τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος τοῦ κάτω τῆς Χαρητείας ΔΔ□□□□: τῶν οἰκημάτων τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Χαρητεία[ι]
 παρὰ Ἀριστοδήμου [.] τοῦ Ξυ[λ]ῶνος παρὰ Δεξικράτους ΔΔ τοῦ ἐτέρου Ξυλῶνος παρὰ Ἀριστοδήμου ΔΔ·
 88820 τῶν οἰκημάτων τῶν πρὸς τεῖ θαλάττει καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις παρὰ Φίλτου □ΔΔ·
 [τ]ῆς Ἐπισθενείας τ[ῆς] ἐτέρας παρ’ Ἀπολλωνίου Δ_ vac. ἐξ ἐγκυκλίων· τοῦ Λιμένους παρὰ Σκύμνου
 ΔΔΔ□: παρὰ Τηλεμνήστου τοῦ πορθμείου τοῦ εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον □□: παρὰ Κλεοκρίτου
 30 τοῦ Ὀλκοῦ τοῦ ἐν Νήσω[ι □□:] παρὰ Ἀνδρομένου τοῦ πορθμείου τοῦ εἰς Ῥήνειαν :Η_Η: παρὰ Θήριος
 στροφῶν .: παρὰ Προκλέους ἡμιωβελίων : παρὰ Προκλέους [αἰ]ρεσίων ΔΔ παρὰ Κράτ[ω]-
 88825 νος τοῦ πεντηκοστολογίου Η_Δ· παρὰ κλέους τῆς πορφύρας ΙΙ. τάδε εἰσῆκει ἐκ τῆς φάλης·
 Ληναῖωνος :□□□ΙΙΙ: Τεροῦ :□□Ι: Γαλαξιῶνος :□□□Ι: Ἀρτεμισιδῶνος :□ΙΙΙ: Ταργηλιῶνος :□□Ι: Πανήμου
 :□□Ι: Ἐκατομ]-
 βαῶνος ΙΙΙΙ: Μεταγειτνῶνος ΙΙΙΙ: Βουφονῶνος : Ἀπατουρῶνος ΙΙΙ Ἀρησιῶνος ΙΙΙΙ: Ποσιδῶνος Ι
 88830 τάδε ἀνάλω[τ]αι· Ληναῖωνος· χοῖρος παρὰ Νίκωνος τὸ ἱερόν καθάρασθαι □□: λαμπάς :□□ Ἀριστοκλεῖ
 τοῦς [θη]-
 σαυροὺς δύο ἀνοίξαντι : [εἰ]ς τὰ φῶτα Παρμένοντι τὴν ἡμίτεαν ἐπισκευάσαντι καὶ κωνήσαντι :
 μισθωτοῖς τοῦς ὄχους ἀνακαθάρασι τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ :□□□: Θεοδήμῳ ἐσχάραν ξυλῶσαντι □ΙΙΙ□

- ἱερισταῖς εἰς σπον-
 δὰς Ἰεροῦ· χοῖρος παρὰ Πυρραίου τοῦ ἱερὸς καθάρασθαι ἸΙΙΙ· λαμπὰς Ἰ. λεύκωμα κατα[λευ]κώσαντι
 Ἰ. Ἐχεμάντι κλεῖδιον ἐπὶ τῇ Χαλκοθήκῃ· Ἰ. σιβάδας ἐγβαλοῦσι· Ἐπικράτει λευκώματος· παρ’
 88835 Ἐχεμάντιος μολύβδου μ[ναῖ]
 35 ἐπὶ ὥστε. ΕΞΕΧΕΩΧΛΟΥ τιμὴ [Ἰ]· τὸν κῶθωνα ἐπισκευάσαντι· τῆς Χαρητείας τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος τὴν
 θύραν ἐπισκευάσαντι Δεινομένει· [] τῆς ἀργυρίδος καὶ τοῦ κρατηρίσκου ὧτα ἐπιθέντι [Πο]-
 σειδωνίῳ· ΙΙΙ· εἰς ἄλλα· []· Θεοδήμῳ τὴν θύραν ἐπισκευάσαντι τοῦ Νεωκορίου· [] Γαλαξιδῶνος·
 88840 χοῖρος παρὰ Λάμπωνος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι· []· λαμπὰς· [] ξύλον εἰς τὸ ἀγαλμα
 τοῦ Διονύσου· ΔΔΔ· Ἀριστοθάλει τὸ ἀγαλμα τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐργασαμένῳ· [] Νουμάκῳ γράψαντι
 · []· Ῥόδωνι ὁδοποίησαντι· [] Φιλοκράτει τὸν ποταμὸν vac.
 τοῦ Λευκοθίου ἀνακαθάραντι καὶ τὸ Λευκόθιον· []· εἰς κόσμησιν τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διονύσου· Δ []
 τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀνακαθάρασι· []· κόπρον ἐγβαλόντι ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ· ΙΙ· σφό[γ]-
 88845 γοι εἰς τὴν κόσμησιν· ἐλαίου λευκοῦ χοεῖς δύο Ἰ νίτρον· ΙΙΙ μύρου ῥοδίνου παρὰ Κομβάριος τρία
 ἡμικοτύλια· ἦρον ὠνουμένων ἔδωκεν Φιλανδρῖδος Ἐχθεσθένους Πάριος· .
 40 [τ]ῷ θεῷ ἀνηλώσαμεν· vac. τὸν ἦρον ἐνδήσαντι· []· τέλος ἐν Πάρῳ τοῦ ἦρου· []
 κατακο{κο}μίσας {κατακομίσας}· [] ΙΙΙ· συνεξελομένοις ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ ἀνακομίσας μισθωτοῖς
 · []· σχοινίον παρὰ Πύρ-
 88850 [ρ]ου εἰς τὴν παλαίστραν· []· Ἀρτεμισιδῶνος· χοῖρος παρὰ Σαγγαρίου τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι· [] ΙΙΙ·
 λαμπὰς· [] Νικοτέλει Σεριφίῳ τοῦ Βρέμης τὸ καταπεσὸν ἀνοικοδομήσαντι καὶ ἀποστρώσαν-
 τι· Δ· Βριτομαρτίοις τῷ χορῷ τῷ γυναικῶν ῥυμὸς· Ι· λαμπάδες· [] ΙΙΙ· χοῖρος τὴν Νῆσον τὴν
 ἱερὰν καθάρασθαι· [] ΙΙΙ· Ἐχεμάντι σκαφεῖον κατασκευάσαντι εἰς τὴν παλαίστραν· [] ΙΙ·
 88855 ες· []· παρὰ Τέλλωνος στρωτήρες δύο ὥστε κλίμα<κε>ς εἰς τὸ θέατρον· [] Θεοδήμῳ
 κλιμακτῆρας παρασχόντι καὶ κατασκευάσαντι· [] ΙΙΙ· μισθωτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐν Νῆσῳ ἀνακαθά-
 [ρ]ασι []· Ἐχεμάντι κάδον τὸν ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ ἐπισκευάσαντι· []· Ἀργηλιδῶνος· χοῖρος παρὰ
 Σωνίκου τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι· [] ΙΙΙ· λαμπὰς· [] μισθωτοῖς ἀνενέγκασι τὰς κεραμίδας καὶ τοὺς
 45 καλυπτῆρας εἰς τὰ δώδεκα· []· ἐπὶ κρᾶσις Διοσκοῦροις· [] Πανήμου· χοῖρος παρὰ Σωνίκου τὸ
 ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι· [] ΙΙΙ· λαμπὰς· [] Θεοδήμῳ ἐργασαμένῳ ἀντίθη<μ>α· ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας
 88860 τὰς κατὰ Κουροτρόφον· [] ΙΙΙ· Κλε[<ιν>ο]πόλιδι Θηραίῳ τοὺς τοίχους παροικοδομήσαντι ἐπὶ τῆς
 γεφύρας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου· Δ· Ἐκατομβαιδῶνος· χοῖρος παρὰ Νίκωνος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι
 []· λαμπὰς· [] Θεοτιμίδει τὸν Κερατῶνα καὶ τὸ ξύλῳ καὶ τὰς θύρας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα ἤλειψε
 μισθὸς· ΔΔ· πίσης παρὰ Ἀντιγένους Κλαζομενίου μετρηταὶ ἐννέα ἡμιαμφορίον, ὁ μ[ε]-
 88865 τρητῆς· ΔΔ ΙΙΙ· ὥστε χρῖσαι τὸν Κερατῶνα καὶ τὰλλα, ἡ πᾶσα τιμὴ· ΗΗΔΔ []· Μεταγεινιδῶνος·
 χοῖρος παρὰ Λάμπωνος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι· [] ΙΙΙ· λαμπὰς· [] ἱεραῖας εἰς κόσ-
 μισιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἡρας· ἰ{ι}εραῖας {ιεραῖας} ἐπὶ Δήμητρα εἰς ἱερὰ· εἰς ἐλαίον· ΙΙΙ·
 Φιλοκράτει τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορίῳ ἐξαλείψαντι καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα ἔδει πῆσαντι μισθὸς
 50 []· ὀβελίσκοι δρύϊνοι δύο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος, τιμὴ· Δ []· Θεοτιμίδει τὰ χαλκία
 ἐπισκευάσαντι· []· χοῖρος καθάρασθαι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος· []· Ἐπικράτει τὰς
 88870 θύρας ἐπισκευάσαντι τῆς στοᾶς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Δήμητρος· [] ΙΙΙ· εἰς τὴν θυσίαν τῇ Δήμητρὶ
 προσαναλώσαμεν· ΔΔ· ξύλα καὶ κληματίδες καὶ ῥυμοὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐψησάι ἸΙ· λ[ι]-
 [κ]ναι?· []· Βουφονιδῶνος· χοῖρος παρὰ Τιμησιδήμου τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι· [] Ι· λαμπὰς· [] παρὰ
 88875 Ἀκριδῶνος μολύβδος ὥστε εἰς τὸ Κύνθιον τάλαντον μναῖ τρεῖς, τιμὴ [] ΙΙΙΙ· Δεινομένει τὸ[γ]
 [γ]αυλὸν ξυλῶσαντι τὸν ἐκ τῆς παλαίστρας· [] ΙΙ· Φιλοκράτει τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνακαθάραντι τὸν ἐν τῷ
 Λευκοθίῳ καὶ τὸ Λευκόθιον· [] Ἀπατουριδῶνος· χοῖρος παρὰ Ἀριστοδίκου τὸ ἱερὸν
 [κ]αθάρασθαι· []· λαμπὰς· []· Διονυσίῳ τέγῃ καταχρίσαντι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀρχηγέτου· [] ΙΙ
 Σωσθένει τὰς θύρας ἐπισκευάσαντι τοῦ πεντηκοστολογίου· []· Ἐπιτέλει τῆς Χαρῆ-
 88880 55 τείας οἰκίας τοῖχον ἐνακεσαμένῳ· Δ []· Ἐρμῶνι τέγῃ ἐπισκευάσαντι τοῦ πεντηκοστολογίου· Δ·
 Ἀρησιδῶνος· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι· []· λαμπὰς· [] στήλῃ ὥστε λόγον ἀναγράψαι
 [Δ]· βατῆρ τῇ στήλῃ· []· τοῖς ἀπενέγκασι· [] Κλεινοπόλῳ ἀνακεσαμένῳ τοῖχον ἐν τῇ
 οἰκίᾳ ἢ ἦν Ὀρθοκλέους δραχμαὶ· Δ· χαρτία πέντε ἀνὰ· [] Ι· ἡ πᾶσα τιμὴ· ΔΙΙΙΙ· Ποσιδεῶ-
 88885 νος· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι· [] ΙΙΙ· λαμπὰς· []· εἰς Ποσίδεια· Η [] Δεινομένει Λεωφάντου
 διαπρίσαντι καὶ κολλήσαντι καὶ λευκῶσαντι λευκώματα· []· — — [] καὶ τότε
 ἄλλο ἀργύριον ἀνήλωται· τῶν Βακχίου σιδηρίων Παρμένοντι ὀξυντρα· [] ξύλων εἰς Πύθιον καὶ
 ἐφ’ ἱεροπόιον τάλαντα πεντήκοντα δύο, τὸ τάλαντον· [] Ι· ἡ πᾶσα τιμὴ
 ΔΙΙΙ· ἐλαίου εἰς ἱεροπόιον μετρητῆς, τιμὴ· ΔΙ· vac. ἀνθράκων ἐπὶ βωμοὺς κάλαθοι τρεῖς
 ἡμικαλάθιον ὀγδοήμορον, ὁ κάλαθος· [] ΙΙΙ· ἡ πᾶσα τιμὴ· ΔΔΔ [] ΙΙ· Ἐχεμάντι
 60 χαλκίον ἐπισκευάσαντι· Φανέα ἱερὰ ἱερόν· ἀρχιτέκτονι μισθὸς ΗΗΔΔ· Βακχίῳ· ΗΗΔΔΔ· εἰς ἱμάτιον· ΔΔ Πόρω
 ὑπηρέτει· Η []· νεωκόρῳ τῷ ἐν Ἀσκληπιεῖ Ἀντιγόνῳ· Η []· ἰνωποφύ-
 88890 λακί Κλεοστράτῳ· ΔΔΔ αὐλητρίδῳ τοῦ χοροῦ Πει[]· ΔΔ γράμματεῖ Σωστράτῳ· ΔΔ κήρυκι Ἀριστολόχῳ
 · []· τῷ εἰς Νῆσον νεωκόρῳ Τέρωνι· ΗΔΔ· τῷ εἰς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην
 νεωκόρῳ Φιλοκράτει· []· δικαστηρίῳ μισθὸς τοῖς ἐπιτιμήμασιν· Δ [] ΙΙΙΙ· ἡλιαῖαι μισθὸς τῆς γραφῆς
 88895 ἐγράφητο Σωσμένης Εὐβουλὸν δραχμαὶ· [ΔΔΔ]· ἐπιτιμηταῖς ἐφόδιον Μν[η]-
 σικλείδει· ΔΔΔ· Θεωρύλῳ· ΔΔΔ· Κράτῳ· ΔΔΔ· λογισταῖς ἐφόδιον Ἀντικράτει Τιμησιδήμου· [Δ]·
 Φάνῳ Διοδότῳ· [Δ]· Ξενοκλείδει Ἀριστοβούλῳ· [Δ]· Ξενοκλείδει Αφθονήτῳ· [Δ]·
 εἰς ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς λαμπαδιστὰς ἐλάβομεν παρὰ ταμίῳν δραχμὰς· Η· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔδομεν ἐκ τῆς βύρσης
 τοῦ βόδς τοῦ εἰς τὰ Ἀπολλώνια, τιμὴ· ΔΔΙΙ· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐλαίου παρὰ Π.
 88900 65 μου μετρηταὶ τρεῖς, ὁ μετρητῆς· Δ· Ἐρμῶνι σκάψαντι ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ· ΙΙ σφόγγοι παρὰ Θουδᾶ·
 ταινία παρὰ Κωμωιδίας· [] Ι· λαμπαδάρχοις παίδων· []· ἀνδρῶν· Δ· Αὐτοκλεῖ δ[ολί]-
 [χ]ου· []· Θεοδότῳ Διδύμου ἀγενείων στάδιον· [] ΙΙΙ· Θεοδωρίδῳ ἀνδρῶν στάδιον· [] Ἀρχεστράτῳ
 Σίμου παῖδας στάδιον· [] ΙΙΙ· Ἀριστοτέλει δολίχου· [] Ἀριστοδίκῳ παῖδας στάδιον
 [] ΙΙΙ· Θεοδωρίδῳ ἵππιον· []· Δημοσῶντι Φίλωνος παῖδας πυγμὴν· [] ΙΙΙ· Στράτιος πυγμὴν· []
 88905 Μάνδρης πυγμὴν· []· Θεοδοτος πυγμὴν· []· Δημέας παῖδας πυγμὴν [] ΙΙΙ·

[Φ]ίλαρχος παῖδας πυγμῇν : □□III: Τιμοκράτης Βύβλιος ἀγενεῖων πυγμῇν : □ □ Ἀντίπατρος ἀγενεῖων
 πυγμῇν : □□III: Δίαιτος ἀγενεῖων πυγμῇν : □□III: Σίλλις Σιδώνιος ἀγενεῖων πυγ-
 μῇν : □ : Ἀρτέμων ἀνδρας πυγμῇν : □ : Τίμαι[ος] Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀνδρας πυγμῇν : □ □ Τίμαιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς
 ἀνδρας πάλην : □ : Ἑρμακος Τήνιος ἀγενεῖων πάλην : <□> □ Θεοδωρίδης]

70 [ό]πλίτην :□: Θεοδωρίδης πένταθλον :□: — — □ [κ]αὶ τάδε ἀνῆλθαι κατὰ ψήφισμα· τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς το[ῦ] Θεάτρου Τιμησιδῆμωι, Εὐδήμωι, Ανδρομένει, ἐφοδῖον εἰς Πάρον :□Δ· ἐλάφαντος ὀδόντες δύο παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου †Βασιλεύκου {²⁷Βασίλ<εῖδου Σελ>εύκου?}²⁷ Τυρίου, τάλαντον ἑνὶ τριακοντα δύο ἡμιμναῖον ὀγδοήμορον, τὸ τάλαντον δραχμῶν :□: ἢ πᾶσα τιμὴ :□ΗΗ□ΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙΙ□ μόλυβδ[ος]

ὥστε εἰς τὸ Κύνθιον παρὰ Κυδιθάλους τάλαντον δραχμῶν : □□□ : Μάχωνι χερνίβου : □□□III □ Μάχωνι
κηρυκείων : τριῶν : ΔΔΔΔ□ : φοινικίς εἰς Ἀρτεμίσιον παρὰ Δημέου : ΔΔΔΔ : Φάνωι ἀπ[έ]-
[δ]ομεν ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου : □□□□III : παρὰ Ἀγάθωνος πορφύρας εἰς ἱμάτιον τῇ Λητοῦ μναῖ δύο,
δραχμαὶ ἩἩ ἑρίου Τημνίου ᾤ καὶ ἰόδε ἀργύριον ἔδανε ἰσαμεν κατὰ ψήφισμα

[τ]οῦ δήμου καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον <καί> κατὰ συγγραφὰς τῇ πόλει καὶ προδανεισταῖς Πίστηι
Ξένωνος, Πολύβωι Διοδότου : □ΗΗ: κατὰ συγγραφὴν τὴν κειμένην παρὰ Ἀντιγόνωι τῷ Χαρίλα·
75 Γαλαξιῶνος Δημέαι καὶ Θεωρύλωι καὶ ἀναδόχοις Δημέου Καλλισθένει Θεωρύλου, Ξενοκλείδει
Ἀφθονήτου : ΧΧΗΗΗΗ: κατὰ συγγραφὴν τὴν κειμένην παρὰ Ἀντιγόνωι τῷ Χα-
[ρ]ίλα· τοῦτου ἀποδόδεωκε Θεωρύλος τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρους : Χ: Ἐκατομβαιῶνος τῇ πόλει καὶ
προδανεισταῖς Στησιλέωι Σκύμνωι, Ἀντιγόνωι Ἀνδρομένωι, Τερομβρότωι Εὐδήμω[υ]
[κ]αὶ ἀναδόχοις Σκύμνωι Φανοδίκωι, Δημόνωι Νίκωνος, Εὐδήμωι Ἄμνου : ΧΧΧ: κατὰ συγγραφὴν τὴν
παρ' Ἀνπικίδει Κριτοβούλου κειμένην· τῇ πόλει καὶ προδανεισταῖς Μνησάλκωι Τ[ε]-
[λ]εσαρχίδωι, Πολύβωι Διοδότου, Δημέαι Αὐτοκλέους : ΧΧ: κατὰ συγγραφὴν τὴν κειμένην παρὰ Πίστηι
τῷ Ξένωνος· ἄρχει τοῦ τόκου μεις Ληναίων ὁ ἐπὶ Καλλίμου : — : καὶ τάδε ἔργ[α]
ἐξέδομεν κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατὰ συγγραφὰς μετὰ το[ῦ] ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν·
Διονυσίωι ἐγλαβόντι τὴν ὀρχήστραν τοῦ θεάτρου καταχρίσαι τὴν πρώτην δόσιν

100 ἔδομεν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δραχμὰς :ΔΔ□□□□Ι□: συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἔργων ἔδομεν
 τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμὰς :Δ□□□□: συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὸ ἔργον κατὰ τὴν []
 συγγραφὴν ἀπέδομεν τὸ λοιπὸν :Δ□□□□: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος· Σωσιμένει Ἀντιγόνου τῶν λίθων
 τῶν εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἔδομεν τὴν πρώτην δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν []
 κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος ἐκ ποδῶν τριάκοντα ἐνὸς τὰ δύο μέρη δραχμὰς :ΗΔΔΔΙΙ. Ἀντίκω ι τῆς διόδου
 τῆς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν πρώτην δόσιν ἔδομεν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν []
 δραχμὰς :□□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙ: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν Τιμησιδῆμου τοῦ Ἀντικράτους,
 Ἀνδρομένους τοῦ Ξένωνος, Εὐδήμου τοῦ Ἄνου· συντελεσαμέ- []
 νῳ δὲ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἔργων ἔδομεν τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμὰς :ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙ□: κελεύοντος
 ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδομεν τὸ []
 85 ἐπιδέκατον δραχμὰς :ΗΔ□□□□ΙΙΙΙ□: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· Ἀντίκω Καΐκου
 ἐγλαβόντι ἀνακαθῆραι τὸν τόπον τῇ διόδῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ πάντα
 κύκλῳ ἔδομεν τὴν πρώτην δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δραχμὰς :□ΔΔΔΔ<□>: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος
 καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἔργων []
 ἔδομεν τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμὰς :□ΔΔ□□: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· []
 συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδομεν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον δραχμὰς []
 Δ□□□□: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· Ἀριστοκλεῖ καὶ Καλλιγένει τῆς λιθείας τῆς εἰς
 τὸ παρασκήνιον ἐκ ποδῶν [πε]ντακοσίῳ ἔδομεν τὴν πρώτην []
 δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δραχμὰς :ΧΗ□Δ□□ΙΙΙ: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν Πολύβου
 τοῦ Διοδότου, Ἠγία τοῦ Φωκαέως· ἀπαγαγοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἡ- []

90 μίσεις τῶν λίθων πόδας διακοσίους πεντήκοντα ὑπερελόντες τὸ ἐπιδέκατον παντὸς τοῦ ἀργυρίου
ἔδομεν τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμὰς :□HHHH [redacted]
ΔΔΔ□□□III: [κ]ελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· ἀπαγαγοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους τῶν λίθων
ἀπέδομεν Καλλιγένει καὶ Ἀριστοκλεῖ τὸ ἐπι- [redacted]
δέκατον δραχμὰς HHΔΔΔ□□□II: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν Πολύβου, Ἡγίου· Ἀρπάλι τοῦ
στωιδίου τοῦ ἐπὶ Κουροτρόφον ἔδομεν τὴν
πρῶτην δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δραχμὰς :H□Δ□□□: συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἔργων
ὑπερελόντες τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τοῦ παντὸς ἀρ- [redacted]
γυρίου ἔδομεν τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμὰς :HΔΔΔ□□□□II□: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν·
συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδομεν [redacted]
95 τὸ ἐπιδέκατον δραχμὰς :ΔΔΔ□□□III□: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· Φιλανδρίδαι
Παρίῳ τῆς λιθείας τῆς εἰς τὰς κρηπιδὰς τὰς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ [redacted]
ἐγλαβόντι πόδας χιλίους ἔδομεν τὴν πρῶτην δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δραχμὰς :XXX□: κελεύοντος
ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν Ἀνδρομ[έ]- [redacted]
νους τοῦ Ξένωνος, Τιμησιδήμου τοῦ Ἀντικράτους, Εὐδήμου τοῦ Ἀμνου [—] vac.

face B.1

1 [- - - - - ἔδομεν τὴν πρώτη]τὴν δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν
:ΔΔΔ□□III: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος· συντελεσαμέν[ωι]
[δὲ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἐργων ἔδομεν τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμᾶς :ΔΔ□□IIII□: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκ]τονος·
συντελεσαμένωι δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἀπέδομεν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον :□□IIII□: κελεύοντος
[ἀρχιτέκτονος - - - - - κεραμίδας? - - - - -] α, τὸ ζεῦχος :□ □ καὶ
καταστήσαντι ζεύγη διακόσια ἔδομεν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν
[δραχμᾶς HH - - - - - - - - -] τῷ στωιδίωι τῷ ἐπὶ Κουροτρόφον ἔδομεν
τὴν πρῶτην δόσιν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δ[ρα]-
5 [χμας :□Δ□□III: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· συντελεσαμένωι δὲ] τὰ ἡμίση τῶν

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

88980 ἔργων ὑπερελόντες τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τοῦ παντὶς ἀργυρίου ἔδομεν τῇ[ν]
[δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμὰς :□□□□□ κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν]· συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὸ
ἔργον ἀπέδομεν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον :Δ□□□III: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέ-
[κτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν - - - - -] κρήτου· Ἐχεμάντι ἐργολαβήσαντι
88985 δεσμοὺς καὶ γόμφους ὥστε εἰς τὸ Κύνθιον χαλκοῦ τά-
[λαντον - - - - -] δραχμὰς :□ΔΔΔ□: κελεύοντος
ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· Ἀγνίαι τὴν παλαί-
[στραν - - - - -] ἔδομεν τὴν πρώτην] δόσιν δραχμὰς :ΔΔΔΔ□□[:
κ]ελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος· συντελεσαμένῳ δὲ τὰ ἡμίση

88990 10 [τῶν ἔργων ἔδομεν τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν δραχμὰς :ΔΔΔIII: κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος]: τὸ δὲ
ἐπιδέκατον ἐπέβα[λλ]εν ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων· λίθων τῶν εἰς τὸ θέατρον
[- - - - -] ἀπαγαγόντι πόδας θεατρικ[ο]ύς? τετταράκοντα δύο ἔδομεν
ναῦλον τοῦ ποδὸς :[IIIIII]: τὸ πᾶν ἄΔ.. [- -] κελεύον-
[τος ἀρχιτέκτονος - - - - -] ἀπαγαγόντι πόδας - - κοντ]α. δύο ἔδομεν ναῦλον τοῦ
88995 ποδὸς :□□IIII: τὸ πᾶν :ΔΔΔΔII: Διοσκουρίδει ἀπαγαγόντι πό-
[δας - - - - -] ἀπαγαγ[όντ]ι[ι] πόδας θεατρικοὺς πεντήκοντα
ὀκτώ· ἔδομεν ναῦλον τοῦ ποδὸς :□IIIIII: τὸ πᾶν
[HIE κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν - - - - -] κω[ι]. ἀνακομίσαντι εἰς τὸ θέατρον
λίθους :□ΔΔIII: τὸν λίθον ἕκαστον :IIII□: τὸ
89000 15 [πᾶν :ΔΔΔΔ□□IIII□: - - - - -] IIIII□: ἔδομεν τὸ πᾶν :□.:
κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν Δημέ-
[ου καὶ τοῦ δαΐνος - - - - -] τετ]ρακοσίους ὑπερελόντες ὁ
ἐπετί[μη]σεν ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων δραχμὰς :□□ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέ-
[δομεν - - - - -] δραχμὰς - - - - - κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν] Νίκωνος καὶ
89005 Τελέσωνος ΝΕΛΑ. δύο οἷς πλείους ἡργάσατο κελευούσης
[τῆς βουλῆς - - - - -] ν. δραχμὰς :ΔΔΔΔ[]III: κελεύοντος
ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· Ἀντίκωι τὰς?
[- - - - -] κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ Φίλλιος τοῦ
Δαΐτου Ἡ. τοῖς. τῇ γ. κονίαν ἀναμετρησα-

89010 20 [μένοις - - - - -] τῷ ν. ἐγγ[ύω] ν. : μόλυβδος τὴν στήλην.
[σ]τῇ[σαι]? : ξύλα :IIIIII μολυβδοχοήσαντι.: vac.
[κεφάλαιον οὗ παρελάβομεν ἀργυρίου· - - - - -] κεφά]λαιον τοῦ εἰσεληλυθότος ἐπὶ τῆς
ἡμε[τ]έρας ἀρχῆς. MMMMXXXX, vac. [- - - - -]
89015 [κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος - - - - -] ΔΔΔIIII: καὶ χρυσοῦς Ἄ. δίδραχμον σελεύκειον·
κώ]ις δραχμὰς IIIII· κώ]ιαν · χαλκιδικὴν : vac.
[τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρέδομεν ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς· ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς :MM□XXH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□: καὶ] χρυ-
σολόχον αἰγίναϊον· διώβολον πά[ρι]ον(?). vac.

89020 Side B begins with building expenses continued from side A and then the year's total income
and outlay before the inventory begins.
[https://web.archive.org/web/20090408151731/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translations/203tr
anslation.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20090408151731/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translations/203translation.htm)

89025 [τάδε παρελάβομεν παρ' ἱεροποιοῦ τοῦ ἱεροποιήσαντος ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Μειλιχί]δου Πλεισταινέτου τοῦ
Τελέσωνος καὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τοῦ Πελάγοντος Λάμπωνος·
25 [ἐν τῷ ἱεροποίῳ? φιάλην Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ωκυνειδῶν, ὀλκή :H: φιάλην] Δηλιάδων, Πτολεμαίου
ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκή :H: φιάλην Δηλιάδων, Πτολεμαίου ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκή :□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□: φιάλην Δηλιά-
[δων, ἐπιδόντος Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκή :H: φιάλην Χερσονησιτῶν, ὀλκή :H: ἄλλην Χερσονησιτῶν], ὀλκή
89030 :H: ἄλλην Χερσονησιτῶν, ὀλκή :H: φιάλην Δηλιάδων, Πτολεμαίου ἐπιδόντο[ς], ὀλκή :HIII: φιάλην
Ωκυνειδῶν κα[ὶ]
[Θυεσταδῶν, ὀλκή : - - - - -] φιάλην Ωκυνει]δῶν καὶ Θυεσταδῶν, ὀλκή :□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□II:
φιάλην Ωκ[υν]ειδῶν καὶ Θυεσταδῶν, ὀλκή H: φιάλην Δηλιάδων, Πτολεμαίου ἐπιδόντος,
[ὀλκή : - - - - -] φιάλην Δηλιάδων, Πτολεμαίου ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκή :HIII: φιάλην
Ωκυνειδῶν καὶ Θυεσταδῶν, ὀλκή :H: κύλιξ Δημοσῶντος, ὀλκή :□ΔΔ: ἄλλη κύλιξ
89035 - - - - - ἀντὶ τῆς χελιδονείου, ὀλκή I ροδιακῇ. ἀντὶ
τῆς χελιδονείου, ὀλκή :ΔΔΔΔ□□□□III: ἡδυποτίδιον Θεμι-
...archonship of Meilichildos, Pleistainetos son of Teleson and Lampon, the heir of
Pelagon. [... phiale (25) of the Deliades, Ptolemy donor, weight 100; phiale of the
Deliades, Ptolemy donor, weight 99; phiale Delia[des...] weight 100; another of the
89040 Chersonites, weight 100; phiale of the Deliades, Ptolemy donor, weight 100.3; phiale
of the Okyneidai and [...Okyneid]dai and Thyestadai, weight 98.2; phiale of the
Okyneidai and Thyestadai, weight 100; phiale of the Deliades, Ptolemy donor [...
Deliad]es, Ptolemy donor, weight 100.3; phiale of the Okyneidai and Thyestadai,
weight 100; kylix of Demoson, weight 70; another kylix [...] instead of the swallow,
89045 weight 53.1; Rhodian instead of the swallow, weight 44.3; small hedypotis of
Themi[...]
30 - - - - - ς, ὀλκή :ΔΔΔ: κύαθος, ὀλκή :ΔΔΔ: κυμβίον Ἐπινοῖδα,
ὀλκή :ΔΔΔΔ□□□: χελιδόνειος, ὀλκή :□□□III: ἄλλη χελιδόνειος,
- - - - - κονδύλιον ἀργυροῦν· κυλίκιον Θυμοχάρους, ὀλκή
89050 :ΔΔ□□□III: κῶθων Πυθέου, ὀλκή :□ΔΔΔΔ□: - - ἐν Ἀσκλη[πι]-
[ε]ώι - - - - -] ὀλκή Δ. ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· φιάλας
τρεῖς Σιτησίλω· φιάλας δύο [Α]ντιπάτρου· φιάλην Ἀγία

- φιάλην τῆς πόλεως τ[ῆς] Καλυμνίων· φιάλην Ἀρχία·
φιάλην ἐπ' ἀρχιθεώρου ἐγ' Ῥόδου Μέ[νω]νος· φιάλην Κώϊων ἐπ' ἀρχι-
89055 [θεώρου — — — — —] φιάλην Κ[ώϊων ἐπ'] ἀρχιθεώρου Ἀναξιβίου, ἐπὶ ταινιδίου·
φιάλια δύο Φίλωνος· φιάλην Διοκλείους· φ[ι]άλην ἐπίχρυσον Ἀριστοφύλου
35 [Ῥοδίου· — — — — —] φιάλην ἐν προτομῇ? Ἐτεάρχου· φιάλην Ἱεροκλέους· φιάλην
Φιλοκλείδου· φιάλην τῆς Καλυμνίων πόλεως· φιάλην Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀ[ρ]-
89060 [χιθεώρου — — — — —] φιάλας ἐκτύπους] δύο Χαρμίδου· φιάλιον Δεξικράτους· φιάλιον
Ἀρταπάτου· φιάλην Ἀμμωνίου· φιάλην Πυρρίου· φιάλην Τη-
[— — — — —] φιάλην καρσιωτῆν] Φιλῶτα? προσ— c.11— φιάλην ἐπίχρυσον Τιμάνθους· φιάλιον
ἀργυροῦν ἐπὶ Διοφάνους· φιάλην ἐπ' ἀρχιθεώρου Πολυαρά-
[του· φιάλην Κώϊων] ἐπ' ἀρχιθεώρου Ἀράτου· φιάλην Ἡρακλείτου· φ[ι]άλην Δηλιάδων, ἐπιδόντων
89065 Κασίων· φιάλην Δηλιάδων, ἐπιδόντων θεωρῶν τῶν ἐγ' Μεγάλης πόλεως· φιάλην Ῥοδίων
[ἐπ' ἀρχιθεώρου — — — — —] φιάλην] Κώϊων ἐπ' ἀρχιθεώρου <Ζ>ωπυρίωνος· φιάλην Σιμίφου· ταινία
περιηργυρωμένη Ἀρχεστράτου· κολεᾷ δύο ἐλεφάντινα, τὸ μὲν θυμῶϊδα, τὸ δὲ Τιμέ-
(30) weight 35; kyathos, weight 33; kymbion of Epinoidas, weight 47; swallow, weight
56.3; another swallow [...] silver kondylion; small kylix of Thymochares, weight
27.3; kothon of Pytheas, weight 95.
89070 **In the Ascle[pieion...]** weight 10+.
In the prodomos of the Temple of Apollo: three phialai of Stesileos; two phialai of
Antipater; phiale of Agias [...city of the Kalymnians; phiale of Archias; phiale
with the Menon of Rhodes chief theoros; phiale of the Koans with chief[theoros... phiale
of the Koans with Anaxibios chief theoros, on a ribbon; two small phialai of Philon;
89075 phiale of Diokleios; gilded phiale of Aristophylos [...] (35) of Etearchos; phiale of
Hierokles; phiale of Philokleides; phiale of the city of the Kalymnians; phiale of the
Rhodians with [...two of Charmides; small phiale of Dexikrates; small phiale of
Artapatos; phiale of Ammonios; phiale of Pyrrhios; phiale of Te[...of Philotas to
[...]; gilded phiale of Timanthes; small silver phiale in the year of Diophanes;
89080 phiale with Polyarato[s...] with Aratos chief theoros; phiale of Herakleitos; phi[ale
of the Deliad]es, with the Kasians donors; phiale of the Deliad]es, with the theoroi
of Megalopolis donors; phiale of the Rhodians [...] of the Koans with Zopyrion chief
archon; phiale of Simios; silvered ribbon of Archestratos; two ivory scabbards, the
one of Thymoidas, the other of Time[os]
89085 40 [ου] ΔΗΛΟΥ· ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁδοῦ θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἔχων λιθάριον Δεξιλάου·
χρυσοῦς Νικολάου· τέτραχμον ἀντιόχειον· δραχμὴν Ῥοδία ἐπὶ ταινιδίου· vac.
□□□□□□ στέφανος ἐπὶ προκομίου Τιμοκράτους ἐ[παθ]λο[ν]? τοῦ Α[γ]λ[α]φ[ω]ῶ[ν]ι[ος]? κρατῆρας
ἀργυροῦς δύο Στρατονίκης· τριήρης ἀργυρᾷ Σελεύκου· τράπεζαν ἀργυρᾶν· τρίποδα ἀργυροῦν Ἀρσινόης
89090 [βασιλίσσης]· φιάλην ἐπιδόντων θεωρῶν τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρέων· κρατῆρα ἀργυροῦν· θυμιατήρια χρυσᾷ
δύο· οἶνοχόην χρυσῇν, ὀλκή : □ Η [] Δ Δ Δ Δ Ι Ι Ε ἄλλην οἶνοχόην χρυσῇν, ὀλκή Η Δ Δ Δ Ι · φ ἄλας χρυ-
[σ]ᾶς [Λε]ίας ἐπτά, ὀλκή Η Η Η Η Δ Δ Δ Δ] : καρσιωτὰς ἕξ, ὀλκή [Χ Η Δ Δ Δ] : κανοῦν χαλκοῦν· χρυσίου παντοδαποῦ
ὀλκή : Η [] Ι Ι Ι : ἄλλο χρυσίον παντοδαπὸν σὺν σφραγίδι ἀργυρᾷ, ὀλκή : □ □ Ι Ι : ἄλλο χρυσίον, ὀλκή
: □ ·
[φ]ιάλιον[ν] ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκή Ι Ι Ι · σιλεγγίς χρυσῇ, ὀλκή : □ □ □ : δρακόντι[ο]ν[ν] [ἀργυροῦν], ὀλκή □ □ □
89095 ἄλλο χρυσίον, ὀλκή : □ □ : θυμιατήριον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκή : □ □ □ Ι Ι Ι □ θυμιατήριον ἀργυροῦν Βουλομάγα σὺν
τῷ ἐπιπύρῳ, ὀλκή : □ □ Δ :
45 [π]ε[ρ] [ρ]ίπυρον χαλκοῦν· περικεφαλαί[α]ν ὑπάργυρον Λαωνίδου· δακτύλιος ὑπαργύρους Η<Η>ΙΕ
ἀργυροῦς : Δ Ι Ι : σιδηροῦς : □ : δακτυλίους ὑποχρύσους : Δ □ κύλικας δύο ἀργυρενδέτους τηιουργεῖς
Κτήσωνος· δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν λόγχην ἔχοντα ἐπίσημον· τέτραχμον ἀντιόχειον· κυλίκιον ἀργυροῦν,
89100 ὀλκή : □ : δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν συνπεφλασμένον, ὀλκήν : □ □ □ □ δακτύλιος ἐπίχρυσος[ς]
ἀνθράκιον ἔχων· δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν Μνασικράτους· πτολεμαϊκὰ τέτραχμα δύο· ὀβολοὺς ἀρβυλικούς
δύο· ἀργυρίου νομίσματος παντοδαποῦ ὀλκή □ □ □ : σὺν τῷ φιαλίῳ· χαλκοῦ νομίσ-
ματος ἐν ἀγγείοις χαλκοῖς δύο, ὀλκή μυαί : □ □ ταινιδίον χρυσοῦν Βυβλίων· ταινιδίον χρυσοῦν
89105 Μαύκου· στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκε Λύσανδρος ἀνέλου, ὀλκή : □ Δ Δ Δ □ : στέφανος ὃν πτολε-
μαῖος ἀνέθηκε, ὀλκή : Η □ : στέφανος δάφνης ὃν Δημήτριος ἀνέθηκεν, ὀλκή : □ Δ Δ Δ □ □ □ : σὺν τῷ λίνῳ·
στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀντίπατρος, ὀλκή : Δ Δ Δ Δ □ □ Ι Ι Ι : στέφανος
(40) of Delos; bronze censer on the road (?); gold ring with stone of Dexilaos; gold
of Nikolaos; Antiochene tetradrachm; Rhodian drachma on ribbon [space] [...]crown for
the head prize of Timokrates son of Aglophon; two silver kraters of Stratonike;
89110 silver trireme of Seleukos; silver table; silver tripod of Arsinoe [...]; phiale with
the theoroi from the Alexandrians donors; silver krater; two gold censers; gold
oinochoe, weight 147.3+; another gold oinochoe, weight 681.1; gold phialas [...]; six
knobbed, weight [...] bronze basket; of various gold, weight 100.3+; other various
gold with silver seal, weight 7.2; silver censer, weight 7.3; silver censer of
89115 Boulomagas with the grate, weight 560; (45) bronze grate; silvered helmet of
Leonidas; 152 silvered rings; 16 silver; 5 iron; 10 gilded rings; two silverbound
Teian-worked kylixes of Kteson; gold ring with spearhead seal; Antiochean
tetradrachm; small silver kylix, weight 1; crushed gold ring, weight 4; gilded ring
with garnet; gold ring of Mnasikrates; two Ptolemaic tetradrachms; two arbylic obols;
89120 of various silver coin, weight 56, with the small phiale; of various bronze coin in
two bronze containers, weight 5 mnai; gold ribbon of the Byblioi; gold ribbon of
Glaukos; grapevine crown which Lysander dedicated, weight 68; crown which Ptolemy

- dedicated, weight 150; laurel crown which Demetrios dedicated, weight 87 with the string; laurel crown which Antipater dedicated, weight 46.3; laurel crown
- 89125 50 δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκε Φίλοκλῆς, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῇ □□ΔΔΔ□□□ στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκε Πολύκλειτος, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῇ □□ΔΔΔ□□□□□ στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκε Φάραξ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Κτησικλῆς, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῇ □ΔΔΔ□□□□□□□□ στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Νικοκρέων μυρσίνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ στέφανοι δύο οὗς ἀνέθηκεν Ἀνδροκλῆς, ὀλκῇ σὺν <τ>ῷ λίνῳ □□□□□□□□ σ[τ]έφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ξενοφάντος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□ στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Τώμικλος {²⁷Τώμικλος}²⁷, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῇ ἸΔΔ□□□ στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Λύσανδρος, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῇ ἸΔΔ□□□ στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Πνυταγόρας μυρσίνης, σὺν τῷ κηρῷ ὀλκῇ ἸΔΔΔ□□□□□□ στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων δάφνης, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῇ □□ΔΔΔ□□□□□□□ στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Πευκέστας οὐ παρελάβομεν σταθμῷ, ἀλλὰ ἄστατον· στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀνδροκλῆς μυρσίνης, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῇ □□ΔΔ□□□□□□□□ στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν
- 89130 55 [κ]εν Καλλικράτης μυρσίνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□ στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὁ πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ, ὀλκῇ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ □□ΔΔΔ□□□□□ στρεπτόν περίχρυσον, ὀλκῇ □□ΔΔ□□□□ στέφανος [— —]
- 89135 [ῶι] τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐστεφανώται, ὀλκῇ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ □□□□□□□□ ἐλέφαντος ὁ<δ>όντας δύο. οὗ τὰ ἐπὶ ἄν τῷ προδόμῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς Νικίου· φιάλαι ἐν πλινθείοις ἀργυραὶ πέντε· στέφανος χρυσοῦς Αὐτο-
- 89140 κλέους □ ἐν τῷ ναῷ· φιαλῶν ἀργυρῶν ὁ πρῶτος ῥυμός, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ φιάλαι ὀκτώ· ὁ δεῦτερος ῥυμός, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ φιάλαι ὀκτώ· ὁ τρίτος ῥυμός, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ φιάλαι ἐπτά· ὁ τέταρτος ῥυμός, ὀλκῇ· □□□□□□□□ φιάλαι ἐπτά· κυμβία τέτταρα, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ στέφανοι χρυσοῖ δάφνης δύο, ὀλκῇ σὺν τοῖς κλάσμασιν □[Η]□□□□□□ στέφανοι χρυσοῖ πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ εἴκοσι εἷς· ὁ πρῶτος μυρσίνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ὁ δεύ-
- 89145 τερος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ τρίτος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□ τέταρτος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ σὺν <τῷ> σπαρτίῳ □□□□□□□□□□ πέμπτος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἕκτος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἑβδομος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□
- 89150 (50) which Philokles dedicated with the string, weight 93; laurel crown which Polykleitos dedicated, with the string weight 87.3; crown which Pharax dedicated, with the string weight 50.3; crown which Ktesikles dedicated, with the string weight 48.3; myrtle crown which Nikokreon dedicated, weight 65; two crowns which Androkles dedicated, weight with (t)he string 59; laurel crown which Xenophantes dedicated, weight 63.3; crown which Iomilkos dedicated, with the string weight 25; laurel crown which Lysander dedicated, with the thread weight 26; myrtle crown which Pnytagoras dedicated, with the wax weight 31.3; laurel crown which the Delian demos dedicated, with the string weight 96.3; laurel crown which Peukestas dedicated, which we received by weight but unweighed; myrtle crown which Androkles dedicated, with the string weight 37.3; myrtle crown which (55) Kallikrates dedicated, weight 19; the gold crown on the wall, weight 62; another gold crown on the wall, weight with the string 47; gilded collar, weight 35.2; crown [with which] the statue is crowned, weight with the string 134; two elephant teeth.
- 89155 (Temple) of the Seven. In the prodomos: gold crown of Nikias; five silver phialai in plinths; gold crown of Autokles. In the naos: of silver phialai the first row, weight 642.3, phialai eight; the second row, weight 658.3, phialai eight; the third row, weight 662.3, phialai seven; the fourth row, weight 555.3, phialai seven; four kymbia, weight 157.3; two gold laurel crowns, weight with the pieces 62+; twenty one gold crowns on the wall; the first myrtle, weight 100.3+; the second laurel, weight 83; third laurel, weight 71; fourth laurel, weight with the thread 68.3; fifth laurel weight 120.3; sixth laurel, weight 6.2 1/4; seventh laurel, weight 69;
- 89160 60 ὀγδοος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἐνατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□ δέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἐνδέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ δωδέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ □□□□□□□□□□ τρίτος ἐπὶ δέκα
- 89175 δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ σὺν τῷ σπαρτίῳ □□□□□□ πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἑκκαίδεκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ □□□□□□□□□□ ὀκτωκαίδεκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□□□ ἐνατος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□□□. εἰκοστὸς δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□ εἷς καὶ εἰκοστὸς δάφνης, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἐν τῷ Πω-
- 89180 ρίνῳ· φιάλας ἐν πλινθείοις ἑνδεκα. ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ· μῆλα χρυσᾶ □□□□□□ ἔχοντα γῆν, καὶ γυπὸς κεφαλὴν καὶ ἄλλα χρυσίδα, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□ πέταλα χρυσᾶ ἐν κιβωτίῳ □□□□□□ ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἐν κιβωτίῳ κλάσματα ἀπὸ στεφάνων καὶ περόνων καὶ σιλεγγίδων κλάσματα καὶ πεντόροβος χρυσᾶ, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ χρυσίου παντοδαποῦ λευκοῦ ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἐνεστιν ἐν τούτῳ vac. μῆ<λα>
- 89185 65 [γ]ῆν ἔχοντα· χρυσοῖ □□□□□□ φωκαῖς· τεττίγια δύο· ἐν κιβωτίῳ χρυσίου παντοδαποῦ ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἐν κιβωτίῳ χρυσίου παντοδαποῦ ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἐν τούτοις ἐνὶ μῆλα γῆν ἔχοντα· δακτύλιοι χρυσοῖ □□□□□□ τούτ[ων]
- 89190 εἷς διάλιθος ἐν κιβωταρίῳ μικρῷ, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ δακτύλιος εἷς Ἀρτεμίσιον ἔχων, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἄλλος δακτύλιος λεῖος χρυσοῦς Ι, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□ ἄλλο<ς> ἐπίσημον ἐρώτιον ἔχων, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἄλλος σφραγίδα ἐν ὀλκῇ []· κύλινδρος, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ σφραγὶς χρυσένδετος, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἄλλη σφραγὶς χρυσένδετος, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἄλλη σφραγὶς χρυσένδετος, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ λυγγούριον χρυσένδετον, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□ ἄλλη σφραγὶς χρυσένδετος, ὀλκῇ □□□□□□□□□□.

- 89195 [ἀλ]λη σφραγίς ἀργυρένδετος, ὀλκὴ δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἐν ταινιδίῳ, Καλλικρίτης ἀνάθημα, ἄστατος· ἄλλος δακτύλιος σιδηροῦς περίχρυσος, ὀλκὴ □□□ ἄλλος δακτύλιος σιδηροῦς περίχρυσος, ὀλκὴ □□□□ ἐνώτια χρυσᾶ σεισῖα ἐγὼ κιβωτίῳ, ὀλκὴ □□□□□□ δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς Ἀθηνᾶς κράνος ἐχὼς ὀλκὴ .Δημητρίου περιδέραια χρυσᾶ σὺν τοῖς φιαλίοις ΔΔΔΙ ἄστατα· περισκελίδες ΙΙΙ φυκ<ί>α δύο (60) eighth laurel, weight 71; ninth laurel, weight 68.1; tenth laurel, weight 95.4; eleventh laurel, weight 68.2; twelfth laurel, weight with the string 81.3; third after ten laurel, weight 93.3; fourteenth laurel, weight with the thread, 131; fifteenth laurel, weight 83.3; sixteenth laurel, weight 123.3; seventeenth laurel, weight with the string 100; eighteenth laurel, weight 97.4; nineteenth laurel, weight 53.2+; twentieth laurel, weight 103.1; twenty first laurel, weight 101.
- 89200 **In the Porinos:** eleven phialai in plinths.
- 89205 **In the Artemision:** 40 gold apples, with ointment and head of vulture and other gold objects, weight 40.3; 63 gold petals in chest, weight 298.2; in chest pieces from crowns and pins and pieces of fillets and gold peony, weight 39; of various white gold weight 340, there is in this [space] 12 gold ap[ples] (65) with earth; Phocian (drachma); two grasshoppers; in chest various gold weight 3; in chest various gold weight 327, among these there are apples with earth; 6 gold rings, one of these with stones in a small box, weight 9; one ring with Artemis, weight 5.3; another 1 smooth gold ring, weight 4.3; anothe(r) with image of cupid; another with seal, weight 5+; cylinder, weight 4; goldbound seal, weight 2; another seal goldbound, weight 1.3; another seal goldbound, weight 1; goldbound amber, weight 1.3; another seal goldbound, weight 2.1+; another seal silverbound, weight 1; gold ring on ribbon, dedication of Kallikrite, unweighed; another ring gilded iron, weight 5; another ring gilded iron weight 3; linked gold earrings in chest, weight 5.5; gold ring with head of Athena, weight 3; 36 gold perideraia of Demetrios with the small phialai, unweighed; 3 anklets; two rouge jars unweighed;
- 89210 70 [ἄστ]ατα· ἀργύριον δόκιμον καὶ χαλκοῖ δῆλιοι ἐγὼ κιβωτίῳ □ □ΔΔ□□□□ ΙΙΙ τύπος χρυσοῦς ἐν πλινθείῳ ἄστατος· ὀβολοὶ ὀρχομένιοι □ΗΗΗΗΔ□ αἰγίναῖοι καὶ κρητικοὶ στατήρες □ΔΙ□ κορίνθιοι στατήρες δύο· μαυσῶλ[εῖ]-
- 89215 [α τ]έτραγμα ΙΙΙΙ νάξια τέτραγμα δύο καὶ φωκαῖς·καὶ ὀβολὸς φωκαϊκός· ἀργυρίου παντοδαποῦ νομίσματος ὀλκὴ □ΔΔ□□□ δαρ<ε>ικοὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ ἄλλο χρυσίον παντοδαπὸν καὶ λιθάριον χρυσένδετον [καὶ] δακτύλιος: κύλινδρος χρυσοῦς, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΙΙΙ ἐγὼ κιβωτίῳ ἐλεφαντίνῳ χρυσᾶ ὀφίδια καὶ ἀνθέμιον ἀργυροῦν καὶ φιάλιον ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσίον παντοδαπὸν, ὀλκὴ πάντων □Δ□□ ἀργυρίου παντοδαποῦ ἀσῆμου ὁ πρῶτος ρύμος
- 89220 .ὁ δεῦτερος ΗΗ ὁ τρίτος ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ ὁ τέταρτος ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ ὁ πέμπτος ΗΔΔ ὁ ἕκτος ΗΗΔ ὁ ἑβδομος ΔΔΔΔ ὁ ὀγδοὺς □□ΗΔΔΔ□□ ὁ ἔνατος □ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ□ ὁ δέκατος] □ΗΗΗ□□ καὶ δακτύ- [λ]ιον ἀργυροῦν φωσφόριον ἔχοντα· ἀργυρίου νομίσματος παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴ □Δ□□ στέφανος χρυσοῦς κισσοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκὴ □ΗΔΔΔΔ□ στέφανος χρυσοῦς μυρσίνης βασιλέως Σιδῶ- 75 [νί]ων Φιλοκλέους, ὀλκὴ □□ΔΔΔ□□□□□ ΙΙΙΙΙΙ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Κλείτου ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκὴ □□ΔΔΔ□□□ στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης Πευκέστα, ὀλκὴ □□Δ□□□ ΙΙΙΙ σὺν [τῷ] λίνῳ· ἡδυποτὶς ἀργυρᾶ Αρχίππης· ξυστάλλιον ἐν κιβωτίῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, 89235 Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Φιλοκλείους ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκὴ □ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς μυρσίνης [βα]σιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴ □Η□ΔΔΔΔ□□ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς μυρσίνης Βερενίκης ὑπὲρ Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκὴ □□ΔΔ□□ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς μυρσίνης Καλ[λι]-
- 89240 [κρ]άτους Μακεδόνος, ὀλκὴ □Δ□□□□□□ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης Δημητρίου, ὀλκὴ □□Δ□□□ ΙΙΙΙ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς μυρσίνης Τωμίλκου, vac. ὀλκὴ □ΔΔ□□ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς
- 89245 μυρσίνης, Δηλιάδες χορεῖα, στεφανῶσαντος Νικοκρέοντος, ὀλκὴ □ΔΔΔ□□□□□□ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ πλινθείου· Κρατερὸς Ἀρτέμιδι, ὀλκὴ □□□□□ ΙΙΙΙ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ·
- (70) assayed silver and Delian bronzes in chest, 77.3; gold image in plinth, unweighed; 410 Orchomenian obols; 11 Aeginetan and Cretan staters; two Corinthian staters; 9 Mausolean tetradrachms; two Naxian tetradrachms and Phocian and Phocian obol; of various silver coin weight 27; eight darics and other various gold and goldbound stone [and] ring; gold cylinder, weight 22.3; in ivory chest gold snakes and silver flower and small silver phiale and various gold, total weight 12; of various unstamped silver the first row 56; the second 252; the third 497; the fourth 431; the fifth 173; the sixth 761; the seventh 598; the eighth 632; the ninth 440; the te[nth] 301; and silver ring with torchbearer; of various silver coin weight 12; 89255 gold ivy crown of king Ptolemy, weight 140; gold myrtle crown of the Sidonian king (75) Philokles, weight 88.5 with the string; gold laurel crown, Deliades, Kleitos giving the choreia, weight 86; gold laurel crown of Peukestes, weight 63.3 with [the] string; silver hedypotis of Archippe; scraper in chest; gold laurel crown, Deliades, Philokles giving the choreia, weight 40.3 with the string; gold myrtle crown, 89260 dedication of king Ptolemy, weight 192 with the string and wax; gold myrtle crown of Berenike for Ptolemy, weight 72 with the string; gold myrtle crown of Kallikrates of Macedon, weight 19 with the string; gold laurel crown of Demetrios, weight 64.3 with

- the string; gold myrtle crown of Iomilkos [space] weight 21 with the string; gold myrtle crown, Deliades choreia, with Nikokreon having crowned, weight 29 with the string; gold laurel crown with inscription on the plinth "Krateros to Artemis", weight 57.3 with the string;
- 89265 80 στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ πλινθείου· ἱερὸς Ἀρτέμιδος Δηλίας Ἀπόλλωνος, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΙΙΙΙΙΙ σὺν τῷ λίνωι· στεφάνια χρυσᾶ δύο, ὀλκὴ ΙΙ κύλιξ θηρίκλειος Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκὴ ΗΗΔΔΔ[ΙΙΙ]·
- 89270 [ρό]δον καὶ στέφανος χρυσᾶ Λυσάνδρου, ὀλκὴ σὺν τῷ ξύλῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ ρόδον καὶ σὺν ταινιδίοις καὶ λίνωι ΔΙΨΙ φιάλιον χρυσοῦν, ὀλκὴ ἐπιχύτης χρυσοῦς, ὀλκὴ ΗΔΨΙΙΙΙ τ[ρα]γίσκοι χρυσοῖ δύο ἄστατοι· ἄσπ[ι]–
- 89275 [δί]σκῃ χρυσῇ, ὀλκὴ □□□□ σὺν τῷ λίνωι· φιάλη χρυσῇ καρσῳτῇ Ναξίων, ὀλκὴ □Η□ΔΔΔ□□ φιάλιον χρυσοῦν λεῖον, ὀλκὴ □ΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ□ ψίλιον χρυσοῦν στρεπτόν, ὀλκὴ □□□□□ΙΙΙ□ στλεγγίδιον χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ ταινιδίῳ
- 89280 ἄστατον Δόνακος· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς ἀμφορέων, ὀλκὴ □Δ□□□□ΙΙ□ σὺν τῷ λίνωι· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς λογχίων Δημοστράτης ἄστατος, ἀριθμὸς λογχίων □□ΔΔΙΙ□ ἀμπελος χρυσῇ ἄστατος· πρόσεστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπότυπ[ον]
- 89285 ἀργυροῦν ἐπίχρυσον· ὄφις ἀργυροῦς· αἰετὸς ἐπίχρυσος καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ ἐπίχρυσα ἄστατα· ῥοαὶ ἐπίχρυσοι ἐπὶ τᾷ ἱππάριον ἐπίχρυσον· ρόδον καὶ ἄλλα χρυσᾶ παντοδαπά, ἄστατα· ἀνδριαντίσκος χρυσοῦς
- 89285 85 τὴν μίαν κνήμην οὐκ ἔχων, ὀλκὴ □□□□ πυρήνια καὶ μηνίσκοι καὶ βοὸς κεφαλὴ καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ χρυσία ἀνειρμένα ἐπὶ λίνου, ὀλκὴ □□□□□ΙΙΙ□ στλεγγίδιον ἐπὶ ναίσκῳ ὑπόχαλκον, ἄστατον· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς ἀμφο–
- 89290 ρέων χρυσᾶ, τὰ πάντα ΔΙΨΙΙ ὀλκὴ ΔΔ κλιμάκιον [ξ]ύλινον ἐπίχρυσον ὄφεις δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῦς· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς λογχῳτὸς Σιμίχης, ἄστατος· ἀριθμὸς λογχίων □□ΔΔΔΔΙΙ□ ὄρμος ὁ τῆς Ἐριφύλης ἄστατος· στέφανος
- 89295 χρυσοῦς δάφνης ἀνευ πλινθείου, ὀλκὴ □□Δ□□□□ σφρ[α]γὶς σμαράγδου, ἄστατο<ς>· φιάλιον χρυσοῦν ἐν πλινθείῳ ἄστατον Δημοσῶντος· ἀσπιδίσκη χρυσῇ καὶ περιδέραια καὶ ἐνώτια καὶ φυκίον, ὀλκὴ □Δ□□ΙΙ□ σὺν κη–
- 89300 [ρ]ῶι καὶ λίνωι· ὄρμος ὁ πρὸς τῷ κλισμῷ χρυσοῦς, ὀλκὴ σὺν [ἀ]σπιδίσκῃ χρυσῇ ΗΙΨΙ σὺν τῷ λίνωι· ἐν Εἰλυθαίῳ· φιάλη ἀργυρᾷ Κλεαρχίδος ἐν πλινθείῳ· φιάλη ἀργυρᾷ Κτησουλίδος, ὀλκὴ □□ΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ□ ἀμφιδαῖ ἀργυ–
- 89305 [ρ]αῖ καὶ τύποι καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά, ὀλκὴ □Η□□[□] □ΙΙΙ□ ὄρμος χρυσοῦς λογχίων, ὀλκὴ □□□□ τύποι χρυσοῖ καὶ τύπος Κλεινοῦς καὶ πυρήνια καὶ ἀνδριάντια καὶ ἀνδριάντιον ξύλινον ἐπίχρυσον καὶ ἐρώτιον ἐν
- 89310 (80) gold laurel crown with inscription on the plinth "sacred to Delian Artemis, Apollo", weight 71.5 with the string; two small gold crowns, weight 18.2; Therikleian kylix of Ptolemy, weight 233+; rose and gold crown of Lysander, weight with the wood for the rose and with the ribbons and string, 68.3; small gold phiale, weight 55; gold beaker, weight 112.4; two gold goats, unweighed; gold disk, weight 3 with the string; knobbed gold phiale of the Naxians, weight 196; small smooth gold phiale, weight 28.3; twisted gold armlet, weight 8.3; gold strigil on ribbon unweighed, from Donax; gold necklace of amphorae, weight 18.2 with the thread; gold lanceolate
- 89315 necklace of Demostate, unweighed, number of spearheads 72; gold grapevine, unweighed; there is in addition a gilded silver image of Apollo; silver snake; gilded eagle and various other gilded, unweighed; seven gilded pomegranates; gilded pony; goose and various other gold, unweighed; gold statuette (85) without one knee, weight 6; beads and little moons and ox head and various other gold linked on string, weight 8.3; gilded bronze fillet in shrine, unweighed; gold necklace of amphorae gold 19
- 89320 total, weight 26; gilded wood ladder with two silver snakes; gold lanceolate necklace of Simiche, unweighed, number of spearheads 92; the necklace of Eriphyle, unweighed; gold laurel crown without plinth, weight 67; emerald seal, unweighed; small gold phiale in plinth, unweighed, from Demoson; gold disk and perideraia and earrings and rouge jar, weight 16.2 with wax and string; gold necklace on the couch, weight with gold disk, 153.3 with the string.
- 89325 **In the Eileithyiaion:** silver phiale of Klearchis in plinth; silver phiale of Ktesylis, weight 74.3; silver bracelets and images and various other, weight 107.3+; gold lanceolate necklace, weight 7; gold images and image of Kleino and beads and
- 89330 90 [κ]αὶ δακτύλιος καὶ ἐνώτιον ἐν καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά, ὀλκὴ πάντων ΔΔΔΙΙΙ μῆλα χρυσᾶ ἄστατα γῆν ἔχοντα ἐννέα· ἀλύσιον διάλιθον, ὀλκὴ □□ΙΙΙ□ ἄλλο ἀλύσιον διάλιθον, ὀλκὴ □□□ vac. [ἐ]νώτια δύο ἐπὶ ταινιδίῳ ἄστατα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐκκλαστρίδια δύο Λαμιδίου· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ ταινιδί[ωι] Κερκίδος· δακτύλιος διάλιθος χρυσένδετος ἐπὶ ταινιδίου Καλλιφάντης· δακτύλιο[ς]
- 89335 [λ]υγγούριον χρυσένδετος ἄστατος· δακτύλιος κονδύλιον χρυσοῦς, ὀλκὴ □ΙΙΙΙΙ□ καὶ τάδε ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἀνετέθη καὶ παρέδομεν τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς Φίλλι καὶ Θαρσύνοντι· ζώδια δύο ἀργυρᾶ ἐφ' ἧ–
- 89340 μικυκλίου ἀργυροῦ, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΔΔ ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπολλόδωρος Κυμαῖος· φιάλη ἐν πλινθείῳ Σώσιος καὶ Πραξιδήμου καὶ Σ[ω]κλέους· φιάλη Ωκυνηιδῶν καὶ Θυεσταδῶν, ὀλκὴ □ Η. vac.
- 89345 καὶ τάδε παρελάβομεν ἐν τῷ Ἀνδρίων οἴκῳ· δεσμοὺς χαλκοῦς μεγάλους □ΙΙΙΙ□ τούτων ἕνα κατεχρησάμεθα εἰς τὸν γαυλὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ παλαιστραῖ· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς παρέδομεν τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς
- 89350 Θαρ–
- 89355 95 σύνοντι Φίλλι· ὀβελίσκους χαλκοῦς □Δ□ΙΙΙ□ παρέδομεν· ἀσφαλιον παρέδομεν· κληῖθρα σιδηρᾶ δύο

- 89335 παρέδομεν· κρατήρων ὧτα δύο, πυθμένα παρέδομεν· παράδειγμα τοῦ Κυνηθίου παρέδομεν· ὑσπληγα λαμπαδίειον παρέδομεν· δοκὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μενί<π>πης οἰκίας παρέδομεν· κλάσμα δοκοῦ παρέδομεν· παράδειγμα θυρῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος παρέδομεν· ξύλα κέδρινα □Δ□□ παρέδομεν· σωλῆνας Δ τούτων κατεχρησάμεθα δέκα, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς παρέδομεν· ἐσχάραν λιθηγὸν παρέδομεν· ἐλέφαντος μνᾶς δέκα πέντε παρέδομεν· κόλλης πέταλα δύο παρέδομεν· τύχον, ἐπικόπα-
89340 νον, χοᾶ χαλκοῦν, ψυκτῆρα χαλκοῦν, ζυγὰ δύο παρέδομεν· σανίδα πτελεΐνην δεκάπηχυν παρέδομεν· ἄμαξαν τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διονύσου παρέδομεν· σταθμὰ τάλαντον ἡμιτάλαντον χαλκοῦν, δεκάμνων λίθινον παρέδομεν· ἱμάτιον, παραπέτασμα, ὄπλον στύππινον παρέδομεν· ἄκμονα σιδηροῦν, ἐνβολὸν παριουργοῦς χαλκοῦν, σφῦραν σιδηρᾶν παρέδομεν· ἐν τῷ Δηλίων οἰκῷ· ξύλα·δρύϊνα δωδεκα-
89345 (90) ring and one earring and various other, total weight 31.3; nine unweighed gold apples with ointment; chain with stones, weight 1.3; another chain with stones, weight 5 [space]; two gold earrings on ribbon and two ekklastridia of Lamidion; gold ring on ribbon of Kerkis; goldbound ring with stones on ring of Kalliphante; goldbound amber ring, unweighed; goldbell ring, weight .5.
89350 And the following were dedicated in our year of office and we gave them over to the hieropoioi Phillis and Tharsynon: two silver animals on silver semi-circle, weight 40, Apollodoros of Kyme dedicated; phiale in plinth of Sosis and Praxidemios and Sokles; phiale of the Okyneidai and Thyestadai, weight 100 [space]
89355 And we received the following **in the House of the Andrians**: 4 large bronze bonds, one of these we used for the bucket in the palestra and the rest we gave over to the hieropoioi Tharsynon and (95) Phillis; 18 bronze skewers we gave over; asphalt we gave over; two iron keys we gave over; two krater handles, base we gave over; model of the Kyntheion we gave over; starting machine for torchrace we gave over; beam from the house of Menippe we gave over; part of the beam we gave over; model of doors of Apollo we gave over; 15 cedar boards we gave over; 60 solenas, ten of which we used,
89360 the rest we gave over; stone-carrying brazier we gave over; fifteen mnas of ivory we gave over; two petals of glue we gave over; stone pick; chopping block; bronze chous; bronze cooler; two yokes we gave over; ten cubit board of elm we gave over; wagon for the statue of Dionysus we gave over; weights talent, half-talent bronze, ten-mnai stone we gave over; rope, sail, hemp cable we gave over; iron anvil; Parian bronze
89365 ram; iron hammer we gave over.
In the House of the Delians: twelve cubit pieces of oak wood,
100 πήχη· τούτων ἐν κατεχρησάμεθα εἰς τὸ στοῖδιον τὸ ἐπὶ Κουροτρόφῳ· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον παρέδομεν· ἐν τῷ πλινθίνῳ· ξύλον ἐλάτινον ὀκτωκαδεκάπηχυν παρέδομεν· ἐν τῇ γραφῇ· σανίδας καρυίνας
89370 δύο παρέδομεν· σφραγίδα δημοσίαν παρέδομεν· θύραν ἀπὸ τῆς Μενίππης οἰκίας παρέδομεν· κονίαν μεδίμνους ΔΔΔΔ π(έντε) μ(εδίμνους) μ(έδιδμνον) ἡ(μιμέδιμνον) {⁸46 1/2 med.}⁸. vac. Κεραμίδων ἡγοράσαμεν ζεύγη □ διακόσια □ τούτων κατεχρη-
89375 σάμεθα εἰς τὸ στοῖδιον τὸ ἐπὶ Κουροτρόφῳ ζεύγη □ΔΔ□ ἐπὶ τὸ περιοικοδόμημα τὸ περὶ τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατεχρησάμεθα κεραμίδων ζεύγη □ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ□ τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ζεύγη □ΔΔ□□ παρέδομεν τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς ὁρασύνοντι Φίλλι.
(100) one of which we used for the small stoa for Kourotrophos, the other we gave over.
In the Plinthinon: eighteen cubit piece of fir we gave over.
In the Graphe: two cornel wood tablets; public seal we gave over; door from Menippe's
89380 house we gave over; 40+ medimnoi of dust/cement [space] 200 yokes of pottery we bought, 70 yokes of which we used for the small stoa for Kourotrophos, 44 yokes of pottery we used for the the building around the Artemision; the remaining 76 yokes we gave over to the hieropoioi Tharsynon Phillis. [space]
89385 1 Φίλλι Ποσειδῖκο<υ> λογιστεῖ ἐφόδι- ον □Δ. vac. {²vac. 3 vss.}²
4 [κ]α[ι] οἶδε ἐνοίκια οὐκ ἐ-
5 [θ]εσαν, ἀλλὰ ὀφείλο[υ]- σιν· τῆς Ἀρκέοντος Πυρρεγγ αμας.[Α]μειν[ι]ου? Φίλλακος εἰων
10 □ τοῦ μισθώ- ατος τῆς οἰκίας [Δ]ΔΔ□□ [— — —] rasura 5 vss. vacat in inferiore
parte
— — — — —
89390 13 πήχη {χη} τρία· τα[ῦ]- τα κατεχρησάμ[ε]-
15 θα εἰς τὸ στωῖδιον [τ]ὸ ἐ[π]ὶ Κουροτρόφῳ· ἐλάτινα δύο δω- δεκαπήχη.
89395 1 καὶ οἶδε τ[ό]κους οὐ[κ] [ἐ]θεσαν ἐ[π]ὶ τῆς [ῆ]- μετέρας [ᾶ]ρχῆς· Πόλυβος ὑπὲρ Με-
5 νύλλου Η.— — — Υψοκλέης[ς]· Τε[λ]έ- [σ]ων? ὑπὲρ Ἀριγν[ώ]- [τ]ου ΔΔΔ[Δ] — — — c. 35
vss. deleti
44 □ΔΔ[ΔΔ]□□□□
45 Εὐθ?— — — — ΣΤΕΝΕΡΜ — — Δ· Ξενοκ[ρά]- τῆς Τερομβρό- [τ]ου τὸ ἐπιβάλλ[ο]-
50 ν αὐτῷ ΔΙΙΙ[Ι]. vac.
89400 51 [ὀ]φείλουσιν οἱ Τε- ρομβρότου ὑοῖ Ἀντίγονος Μνησ[ικ]λείδης
55 Μνησι[κ]λέης? ΔΔΔ□ΙΙ· Ἀνδρομένου δ[ὲ] [ο]ὐ καταβαλόντος τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ πορ- θμείου τοῦ εἰς
Τῆ-
60 νειαν, ἐνεγράψα- μεν τὸν ἐγγυον Φίλιον Χαρίλα δραχμὰς ΗΗΔΔΔ· παρὰ Θῆριος ὑ-
65 πὲρ Ὀλυμπιά- δου Δ□□ΙΙΙ. vac. {²rasura 2 vss.}²

- 67 καὶ οἶδε τόκους οὐκ [ἐ]- θεσαν ἀλλ' ὀφείλου- σι τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῖ
 89405 70 καὶ ἐγγυοί· [— — —]~ζ {²rasura 15 vss.}²
 71 [— — —] οἱ Φερεκλεί- [δ]ου κληρονόμοι [Δ?]III; καὶ ὑπὲρ Π- [ρο]ξένου ΔΔΙ· καὶ
 75 [ὑπ]ὲρ Χάρητος ΔΔ· Νκυτέλης · Στ- ρατὸς ΔΔΔΔΙ Δίαι- τος Ἀπολλοδῶ- ρου ΔΙΙΙ·
 [— — —]
 {²rasura 3 vss.}²
 89410 80 [— —] Ξένων Ἐρμ[ιο]ν[εῦ]ς.III· Τελέωνος τοῦ Χοιρύλου κληρο- νόμοι .
 vestigia litterarum?
- IG XI,2 287 (250 BC)**
<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/62754>
 89415 [https://web.archive.org/web/20090408151735/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translati-
 ons/287translation.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20090408151735/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translati- ons/287translation.htm)
 Our only totally intact Independence inventory. The order of objects has changed
 radically from 161 and there have been major changes in the placement and description
 of phialai: the hundreds of phialai in rhymoi and most individual phialai have
 89420 disappeared from the Artemision, as have all the phialai in H/A along with the group
 of 30 phialai (and 4 kymbia) in the Temple of the Seven Statues; the inventory ends
 with long lists of endowment phialai in the Apollo Temple, without weights but with
 sum totals.
- 89425 face A.1
 θεοί.
 λόγος ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Σωσισθένους, Ἐπιτροφῶντος τοῦ Κινέου, Καίβωνος
 τοῦ Λυσανίου.
 παρελάβομεν παρὰ Τηλεμνήστου τοῦ Φιλίου τοῦ ἱεροποιήσαντος ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀρτυσίλεω παρούσης
 89430 βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέων Μνησικλέους
 τοῦ Μνησικλέους, Θεοπρώτου τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου· ἐχ' θησαυρῶν· τοῦ ἐν ἱερῷ δραχμὰς ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἐκ τοῦ
 ἐν Νήσῳ □ΙΙΙ□· ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ἀσκληπιεῖῳ ΔΔ□□□□· ἐκ τοῦ
 5 ἐν Ἀφροδισίῳ □□/. καὶ τόδε παρελάβομεν ἀργύριον παρὰ Τηλεμνήστου· μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος δραχμὰς
 □X· καὶ ἄλλας μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος
 89435 □XXΔ□· καὶ ἄλλας μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος XXX· καὶ ἄλλας μηνὸς Γαλαξιῶνος MXXX□HH□ΔΔΔΔ□· καὶ ἄλλας
 Ἀρτεμισιῶνος XXX· καὶ ἄλλας
 Ἐκατομβαιῶνος X· καὶ ἄλλας Ἀπατουριῶνος □XXXXH· κεφαλὴ σὺν τῷ ἐχ' θησαυρῶν
 MMMMXXX□HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙ□/. καὶ παρὰ Ξε-
 89440 νοκράτους τοῦ Τερουμβρότου τοῦ ἱεροποιήσαντος ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Φάνου δραχμὰς □· καὶ παρὰ βουλῆς τῆς
 ἐπὶ Σωσισθένους καὶ ταμίου
 Πιστοῦ· πεντηκοστῆς τῆς ἀστίας δραχμαὶ □HH□· ἰχθύων δεκάτης δραχμαὶ X□HH□· ἐνοικίων δεκάτη[ς]
 X□H□ΔΔΔΔ· σίτου δεκά-
- 10 τῆς ΗΔ· καὶ τὸ ἐπώνιον τούτων δραχμαὶ HHHHΔΔΔΔ□· καὶ ἐξ ἐκ<κ>λησιῶν δραχμαὶ XHH· καὶ παρὰ
 89445 ταμίου Πιστοῦ εἰς ἄλλα Η· καὶ ὅρων ΔΔΔΔ·
 καὶ τραπεζῶν HH· καὶ εἰς Θεσμοφόρια □· καὶ ἡ βύρσα ἐπράθη δραχμῶν Δ□□□□· παρὰ Δημοχάρους τοῦ
 Κύδρωνος δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔ, ἃς ἔφη ἐγγύ-
 αν ἀποτίνειν ὑπὲρ Ἀρπάλιος τοῦ Σίμου, ὃ ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἣν ἔστησαν Τιμοκλῆς καὶ
 89450 Ξενοκλείδης. καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
 τῆς ἐπ' Ἀρτυσίλεω δραχμαὶ Η, ἃς ἔφασαν ἀποδοῦναι φίλλιν τὸμ φίλωνος. καὶ παρ' Αὐτοσθένους τοῦ
 Ἐμμενίδου πρυτανικὸν □·
 καὶ παρὰ Διοκλέους τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρου πρυτανικὸν HH· καὶ παρὰ Σωσιδῆμου τοῦ ταμίου
 H□ΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙ□□/. παρ' Ἀμφικρίτης καὶ τοῦ κυρίου Δημό-
 89455 15 νου, τόκος ὃν ἔφη ἀποδιδόναι ὑπὲρ τῶν χωρίων ἃ ἦν Φερεκλείδου □HHHΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙ□· παρὰ Χοιρύλου
 τοῦ Τελέωνος ΔΔΔ□□□, ἃς ἔφη ἐγγεγράφθαι ἐν τῇ
 στήλῃ ἣν ἔστησαν Θῆρις καὶ Λάμπων. παρὰ Καλλίου ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀριστοδήμου Η καὶ τόκος ὃν
 ἔφη προσοφείλειν H□ΙΙΙ□· παρὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ
 Ἀφθονήτου τόκος ὃν ἔφη ἀποδιδόναι ὑπὲρ τῆς συνοικίας ἣ ἦν Φερεκλείδου □HΔ□□ΙΙΙ□· παρὰ Ξένωνος
 89460 <κι>α<- —>. καὶ τάδε εἰσῆκει· μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □□□□· χηναλωπέκων δύο ΙΙΙΙ□·
 περιστερῶν Ι□· Τερου· ἐκ φιάλης □ΙΙΙ□· χηναλωπέκων δύο ΙΙΙ□· Γαλαξι-
 ῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □□· αἰγίσκου □□□□ΙΙΙ□· περιστερῶν ΙΙ□· Ἀρτεμισιῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □ΙΙ□·
 περιστερῶν Ι□□/· αἰγίσκου □□□ΙΙΙ□· Θαργηλιῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □Ι□□· ὠίων ΙΙΙ·
- 20 περιστερῶν □□□□ΙΙΙ□· Πανήμου· ἐκ φιάλης □ΙΙ· περιστερῶν ΙΙΙ□· κόπρου περιστερῶν □□□□· τὰς □□ΙΙ□□
 89465 ΙΙΙ· Ἐκατομβαιῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης ΙΙ· περιστερῶν ΙΙΙ/· Μετὰ-
 γεινιῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □ΙΙ□· περιστερῶν ΙΙΙ· Βουφονιῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □Ι□· περιστερῶν Ι□·
 Ἀπατουριῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □Ι□· παρὰ Ἀρησιμβρότου λίθων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου
 89470 □□□□ΙΙΙ□· χηναλωπέκος ΙΙΙ· τῶν ξύλων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοτίνου παρ' Ἀτινᾶ □□· καὶ παρὰ Τηλείου
 □ΙΙ· Ἀρησιῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □ΙΙ□· περιστερῶν □Ι□□/· κεραμίδων κλασμάτων τῶν κα-
 θαιρεθέντων ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκῶν ΔΔΔΙΙΙ· τῶν τορνευμάτων ἀπὸ τῶν χοινικίδων παρὰ Ξένωνος □□□□ΙΙ□·
 Ποσιδῶνος· ἐκ φιάλης □ΙΙ□· χηναλωπέκος ΙΙΙ□· κόπρου π[ερι]-
 89475 στερῶν ΙΙΙ□· τοῦ βόδς τοῦ θυθέντος τοῖς Ποσιδεῖσις ἡ βύρσα ἐπράθη δραχμῶν □□□□· καὶ κώδιον
 δραχμῶν □□□· δοκίδος συντετριμμένης τῆς καθαιρεθείσης
 25 ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος □ΙΙΙ□· καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεμισθωμένων τὰ ἱερὰ τεμένη εἰσῆκει· Πορθμοῦ παρὰ

- 89480 Πυθοκλέους □ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ□· Ῥάμνων παρ' Αὐτοκλείους □□ΔΔΔ□□□·
 Λιμνῶν παρὰ Κυνθιάδου ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ· Νικοῦ χώρου παρὰ Πυθοκλέους ΗΗΗΔΔ□· Διονυσίου παρὰ Κερκίωνος □□Δ·
 Σκιτωνείας παρὰ Καλλισθένους ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΙΪΪΙ//· καὶ παρὰ
 Ἐρμῶνος τοῦ ἐγγύου τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐγδείας ΔΔ□□□□· Χαρωνείας παρὰ Τιμησιδήμου ΗΗΗ□ΔΔΙ·
 καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐγγύων καθ' ὃ ἐγένετο ἐκάστωι τῆς ἐγδείας· παρὰ
 Πολυξένου τοῦ Ἀλκιμάχου ΔΔ□□□□ΙΙ□□/· παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου τοῦ Θεοτίμου Δ□□ΙΙΙΙ//· παρὰ Κλεομό
 τοῦ Πελάγοντος ΪΙΙ//· παρ' Εὐκλείδου τοῦ Πυρ(οῖδου)? ΪΙΙ[ΙΙ?]
 παρὰ Πολυστράτου τοῦ Τιμο(θέμιδος)? □□ΙΙΙ□· παρὰ Θεοκύδου τοῦ vac. □ΙΙΙ//· παρ' Ἀριστοφίλου
 τοῦ Μνη(-) □□□□/· παρὰ Τιμοκράτους τοῦ Λυσ(ανίου)? ΙΙΙΙ□□/· Χαρωνείας παρὰ Βούλωνος ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ
- 89485 30 □□□· Πανόρμου παρὰ Πολυξένου □ΗΗΔΔΔ□· Χαρητείας παρὰ Διογένους □ΗΗ· vac. Χαρητείας παρὰ
 Ξενοκράτους ΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□· Πύργων παρὰ Κλεινίου ΧΔ□□□/·
 Φοινίκων παρὰ Διακτορίδου □Η· τῶν Σωσιμαχείων παρ' Απολλωνίου ΗΗ□· Ἄκρας Δήλου παρ' Ἐμπέδου
 ΗΗΗΗ· Σολῆς καὶ Κορακίων παρὰ Τιμοξένου ΗΗΗΗ· Ἐπισ-
- 89490 θενείας παρὰ Περιάνδρου □Η□Δ· Λειμῶνος παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου ΗΗΗ· Ἱπποδρόμου παρ' Τερομβρότου
 ΗΗΗ□Δ□□□ΙΙΙΙ□□/· καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐγγύων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτοῖς τῆς
 ἐγδείας· παρὰ Καλλαγόρα □□ΙΙΙΙΙ· παρὰ Φίλωνος τοῦ Δημοσῶντος □ΔΔΔ□□ΙΙ//· τοῦ Κεραμείου παρὰ
 Νεοκροντίδου Η□ΔΔ□· τοῦ Λυκωνείου παρ' Ἀκριδίωνος ΗΔ□· τῆς
- 89495 Λίμνης παρὰ ταμίου Πιστοῦ κατὰ ψήφισμα ΔΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙΙ/· Φυταλιᾶς παρ' Εὐβίου ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· καὶ παρὰ
 τῶν μεμισθωμένων τὰς ἱερὰς οἰκίας· παρὰ Μένητος τῆς Χαρητείας □Δ· παρ' Αν-
 35 τιπάππου τῶν ἀνδρῶνων ΔΔΔΔ· παρὰ Τληπολέμου τῆς Χαρητείας ΔΔΙΪ· παρ' Ἀνδρία τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος
 ΔΔΙΙΙΪ· παρὰ Νικάνδρου τῶν ἀνδρῶνων ΔΔΔ· παρ' Ἀριστοβούλου
- 89500 τῆς Σωσιλείας □□· παρ' Ἀμφία τῆς Σωσιλείας πρὸς ἥι ἡ κρηπὶς Η□· τοῦ Ξυλῶνος παρ' Ἀμφία Δ□· καὶ
 τοῦ ἐτέρου παρὰ Φίλωνος ΔΔ· παρ' Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ Λυσιξένου τὰ τρία
 μέρη τοῦ ἐνοικίου □ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙ□□· παρὰ Δημέα τῶν οἰκημάτων τῶν πρὸς τῷ σιδηρείῳ □□□□· παρὰ
 Πυθαγόρα τῆς οἰκίας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Τνωπῷ ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· παρὰ Διακτορίδου
 οὗ χαλκεύει Παρμενῶν· παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου τῆς οἰκίας ἡ ἥν Ἀρκεῖοντος ΔΔΔΔ· παρὰ
 Ποσειδίκου τῆς Ἐπισθενείας □Δ· παρὰ Καλλισθένου τῆς ἐτέρας □Δ□□□·
- 89505 παρὰ Βοήθου τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐγ Κολωνῷ ΔΔΔΔ· τῶν ἐγκυκλίων· παρὰ Φίλωνος τοῦ λιμένος ΔΔΔΔ· παρὰ
 Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ πορθμείου τοῦ εἰς Μύκονον Δ· παρὰ Χαρίλα τ[οῦ]
- 40 ὀλκοῦ τοῦ ἐν Νήσῳ ΔΔΔΔ□□· παρὰ Δεξικλέους τοῦ πορθμείου τοῦ εἰς Ῥήνειαν ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ· παρὰ
 Διογένους τῶν στροφείων ΔΔ□□□□· παρ' Εἰρηναίου τῶν ἡμιωβελίων ΔΔΔ□□□□· τῶν αἰ-
- 89510 ρεσίων παρὰ Λυσοῦ □ΔΔΔ□· παρ' Ἐξηκέστου τῆς πορφύρας Δ□□□□· παρὰ Διακτορίδου καὶ Καλλισθένου
 τῶν ἐγγύων ὑπὲρ Λυσοῦ Η· τάδε ἀνήλwται· μηνὸς Ἀθηναίωνος· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασ-
 θαι □ΙΙΙΙΙ· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη εἰς θυσίαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ νουμηνία Δ· ἀνθρακες
 ἐπὶ βωμοῦς καὶ εἰς ἱεροπόιον □□□· ξύλα □□□□ΙΙΙΙ□· λευκώματα εἰς διεγγυ[ήσεις]
 □Ι· θησαυροὺς ἀνοίξαντι Νικίαι □□□□· στάμνοι ὥστε τῷ ἀργυρίῳ □Ι· ἐλαίου χοεῖς δύο □□ΙΙΙΙ·
- 89515 σφυρίδες ταῖς φιάλαις ΙΙ□· λιβανωτοῦ ταρτήμορον □ΙΙΙΙ· ἐργάταις τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνακαθάρασιν
 Δ□ΙΙΙ· τὸ Διοσκοῦριον ἀνακαθάρασιν □□ΙΙΙΙ· ἐγκαυστήρια □ΙΙ· ἄλες ΙΙ□· Βίωνι τὸν οὐδὸν
 κατασκευάσαντι τὸμ πρὸς τῷ Νεωκορίῳ □□□□ΙΙΙ· καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰς θύρας ἐπισκευ-
- 89520 45 ἄσαντι καὶ ἐπιθέντι □□□□ΙΙ· μόλυβδος ΙΙΙ· παρὰ Καίβωνος τοῦ Σωτίωνος κριθῶν μέδιμνοι τρεῖς
 ὥστε τοῖς χρυσίν δραχμῶν Δ· ξύλων τάλαντα ἑικοσι, τὸ τάλαντον □Ι· ἀνενεῖγ-
 κασιν ΙΙ· εἰς ἱερισμὸν Δ· σκευὴ εἰς τὸν θεὸν □□□· τὸ θεάτρον ἀνακαθάρασιν □ΙΙΙ· σχοινίον εἰς
 παλαίστραν □□· καὶ εἰς τὸν θεὸν □□· κλείς καὶ χελώνιον ἐπὶ τὸν Τνωπὸν □□ΙΙΙ· καὶ ἐ-
- 89525 πὶ τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον □□ΙΙΙ· ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν □□ΙΙΙ· ἐπὶ Διοσκοῦριον □□ΙΙΙ· vac. Τεροῦ· χοῖρος τὸ
 ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □ΙΙΙ· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη ΙΙ· στεφανώματα ΙΙ· ἐλαίου χοεῖς δύο □□ΙΙΙΙ· λαμπά-
 δες Ἀπολλωνίοις τῷ χορῷ □□□· ῥυμοὶ ΙΙ· κληματίδες ΙΙ· κόρακας θηρεύσαντι □Ι· τὸ
 περιραντήριον ἐπισκευάσαντι Ι□· λαμπάδες Ἀντιγονεῖοις εἰς τὸν χορὸν □□· καὶ ῥυμοὶ καὶ κλη-
- 89525 ματίδες ΙΙΙΙ· μισθωτῷ τὸ ἱεροπόιον συνακαθάραντι ΙΙ□· τῷ τὸ ἀνδριάντιον καθαρὸν ποιήσαντι
 τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Χάρισιν ΙΙΙ· Κόνωνι κιβωτὸν ἐπισκευάσαντι ὥστε τῶ[μι]-
- 50 εἶον τοῖς χορευταῖς □□□□· Παρμένοντι ἀνακαθάραντι τὴν ἐξαγωγίδα τὴν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ □□·
 ξύλων τάλαντα δέκα, τὸ τάλαντον □□· χάρτης □ΙΙΙΙ· ἀνθρακες □□□□· Γαλαξιῶνος· χοῖρος
- 89530 τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □□· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη ΙΙ· παρὰ Σαρπηδόνης ἄγαλμα τῷ Διονύσῳ ΔΔ□□· ξύλα □·
 Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Πατροκλεῖ ἐργασαμένοις καὶ ἀμαγοῦσιν ΙΙΙΙ· ἤλοι εἰς ζε[υ]-
 γίον ΙΙΙΙΙ· πρίαντι ξύλον ὥστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμαξαν □ΙΙΙΙ· γράψαντι □□□· εἰς κόσμησιν τοῦ ἀγάλματος
 Δ□□□□· ξύλων τάλαντα πέντε, τὸ τάλαντον ΙΙΙΙ· χάρτης □ΙΙΙΙΙ· Εὐμένει τὸ περιραντή-
- 89535 ριον ἀγαγόντι τὸ πρὸς τεῖ Γραφῇ □ΙΙ· Θεοδήμῳ ἐπισκευάσαντι τὰ ἐν Ἀφροδισίῳ καὶ ἐν
 Ἀσκληπιείῳ ὧν προσέδει □□□□· Φανέαι τριχάπτου ὥστε εἰς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον Δ□□· ἐλαίου
 δύο χοεῖς, τιμὴ □□ΙΙΙΙ· τοῖς χρυσίν εἰς τροφὴν □ΙΙΙΙ· εἰς κόσμησιν, μύρου τριημικοτύλια δραχμῶν
 □□ΙΙΙΙ□, κηρὸς ΙΙΙ, σπόγγοι ΙΙΙΙ□, λίνον □· ἐλαίου χοεῖς εἰς κόσμησιν τρεῖς □□□□· Ἐμ-
- 89540 55 πέδωι αἰγίδιον λαβόντι □· ἀνθρακες □□□· Ἀρτεμισίωνος· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □ΙΙΙΙΙ·
 ξύλα καὶ πεύκη ΙΙ· ἀνθρακες □□· ξύλων τάλαντα ἑπτὰ, τὸ τάλαντον ΙΙΙΙΙ· χοῖ[ρος]
 τὴν Νῆσον καθάρασθαι □□Ι□· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη ΙΙ· Πατροκλεῖ ἀνάβασιν ποιήσαντι ἐν Νήσῳ<ι> □□□□·
 καὶ κλειδὸς καὶ χελωνίου ἐπὶ τὸν τρύφακτον □□· Ἀρτεμισίοις λαμπάδες εἰς τὸν
- 89545 χορὸν □□□, καὶ ῥυμὸς Ι, κληματίδες Ι· καὶ Φιλοκλείοις □□□ καὶ ῥυμὸς καὶ κληματίδες ΙΙ·
 Ἡρακλείδει χαλκίον ἐπισκευάσαντι □□□□· ἄλες ΙΙΙ· ψίαθοι εἰς ἱεροπόιον τέτταρες □□ΙΙΙΙ·
 αἰγίδιον λαβ[όν]-
 τι· Νουίῳ συνεγκαῦσαντι τὰ κτήνη ΪΪ· εἰς ἀνάλωμα Ι· κόφινος ΙΙΙΙ· ἐλαίου χοῦς
 ἡμίχουν □□· Ταργηλιῶνος· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □□· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη ΙΙ· ἐλαίου
 χοῦς ἡμίχουν [□□]·
 Κεφαλίωνι καὶ Βίωνι ἐπικοσμήσασιν τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διοσκοῦρου □□□· Νικίαι ἐπισκευάσαντι τὰ ἐν

- 89550 Ηραΐωι καὶ ἐν Ὅρι[υ]γίαι ὧν προσέδει □□□□IIII· Πεισικράτει κριθῶν μεδίμνων τριῶν [ὥς]-
60 τε τοῖς χησὶν □□□□IIII· εἰς ἐπικρασιν τοῖς Διοσκοῦροις □□□□IIII· καὶ ἀνακαθάρασι τὸ
Διοσκοῦριον IIII· ἀνθρακες □□□□IIII· Ἀρπάλι τὸν [β]ωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορίῳ ὑποικοδομήσαντι
□□· Παρμέ-
89555 νοντι τὴν Μινοίαν ὑποικοδομήσαντι □□IIII· Θεοδήμῳ ἐπισκευάσαντι τὰς θύρας τὰς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ
Θεσμοφορίου □□□· ξύλων τάλαντα ἕξ, τὸ τάλαντον IIII· Πανήμου· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθά-
ρασθαι □□IIII· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη II· Τίθωνι κρατῆρα ἐπισκευάσαντι □□· κηρὸς καὶ μίλτος □· Νικίαι
καὶ τοῖς μετὰ Νικία κατακαλλύνουσι τὴν κόπρον τῶν περιστερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπωροφίδος Δ□□□IIII· καὶ
τὴν κόπρον ἐξενεῖγκασιν εἰς ἀγορὰν III· καὶ τὸν χοῦν τὸν πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνακαθάρασιν II· καὶ
89560 τὸν Θεορρήτου οἶκον II· ξύλων τάλαντα δύο □II· ἐλαίου χοῦς ἡμιχό<υ>ν □□· Θεοδήμῳ θύραν
ἐπισκευάσαντι □□□·
παρ' Ἀντιγόνου κριθῶν μεδίμνοι τρεῖς τοῖς χησὶν □□□□· Τίθωνι ἐκ τῶν καδίων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
κάδον ποιήσαντι εἰς παλαίστραν μισθὸς Δ□□· καὶ Νικίαι ξυλῶσαντι IIIII· καὶ σχοινίον
89565 65 □□□· ξύλων τάλαντα εἴκοσι δύο, τὸ τάλαντον IIIII· καὶ ἐνέγκασιν I□□· Ἐκατομβαιῶνος· χοῖρος
τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □IIIIII· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη II· στεφανώματα I□· Λιβανωτὸς □· ἐλαίου χοεῖς δύο
□□IIII· ἀνθρα-
89570 κες □□□· Λεωστρατίδῃ κριθῶν μεδίμνων τριῶν ὥστε τοῖς χησὶν □□□□· πίσης μετρηταὶ δέκα εἷς, ὁ
μετρητὴς Δ□□□□, ὥστε ἀλεῖψαι τὸν Κερατῶνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· καὶ Λεωφάκοι ἀλεῖψαντι Δ□□□IIII·
ὀρκωμόσιον ὑπὲρ τῶν περιστερῶν □□· καὶ τὰλλα III· ἄλεις III· Μεταγειντιῶνος· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν
καθάρασθαι □□· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη II· ξύλων τάλαντα ἕξ □□□□· Λειωστρατί[δῃ] κριθῶν μεδίμνων
89575 τριῶν □□□· ἐλαίου χοῦς ἡμίχουν □□· εἰς κόσμησιν τῆς Ἡρας καὶ ταῖς κοσμοῦσαις □□□□· Εὐπορίωνι
τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορίῳ ἐξαλείψαντι □□□□IIII· χοῖρος τὸ Θεσμοφόριον καθά-
ρασθαι □□II· ὕς ἐγκύμων εἰς θυσίαν τῇ Δήμητρι Δ□· καὶ ὥστε τῇ Κόρῃ ἱερεῖον ΔΔ□□□□· καὶ Διὶ
Εὐβουλεῖ ἱερεῖον Δ□□· καὶ εἰς τροφήν □□□□□· καὶ μαγείρῳ □· καὶ ταῖς ἱερεΐαις εἰς ἱερεῖα □·
ξύλα □IIII· ῥυμοὶ III[□□]·
89575 70 σπονδῇ IIII· μισθωτοῖς IIIII· Νικοστράτῳ κλίνας ἐντείναντι καὶ διακεσαμένῳ Δ· ξύλων
τάλαντα πέντε, τὸ τάλαντον IIIII□· ἀνθρακες □□□· Βουφονιῶνος· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □IIII·
ξύλα καὶ πεύκη II·
Ἀντιγόνῳ κριθῶν μεδίμνων τριῶν τοῖς χησὶν □□· Ἀνδροκράτει λευκ<ω>μάτων δύο ὥστε ταῖς
89580 συγγραφαῖς II· Νουμάκῳ λευκῶσαντι IIIII· μισθωτοῖς κεραμίδας κατενεῖγκασιν : κλεῖς
ἐ[πι]
τὰ δώδεκα □· Πατροκλεῖ καὶ Ἐπικράτῃ τοῦ Ἀμφιστρόφου διακεσαμένοις τῆς ὀροφῆς τὰ προσκρήζοντα
καὶ ἀνακεραμῶσασιν Δ□· ὅτε ὁ χορὸς ἐγένετο τοῖς Κώϊων θεωροῖς λαμπάδες □□□□□· καὶ
89585 ῥυμὸς καὶ κληματίδες IIIII□· ἀνθρακες □□□IIII· ξύλων τάλαντα εἴκοσιν, τὸ τάλαντον IIIII□·
Λιβανωτοῦ ἡμίμναιον □□IIII· ὅτε ὁ χορὸς ἐγένετο τοῖς Καρυστιῶν θεωροῖς λαμπάδες □□ καὶ ῥυμὸς
καὶ
κληματίδες III· ἐλαίου χοῦς □II· Νικίαι ἐπισκευάσαντι θύραν ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ καὶ ὅσων
προσέδει □□□· σχοινίον εἰς παλαίστραν □□· Ἀπατουριῶνος χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □IIIIII· ξύλα
89590 κ[αὶ]
75 πεύκη II· κήρυκι IIIII· ὀβελίσκοι ὥστε εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πέντε, μναῖ τέτταρες καὶ ἡμίμναιον, ἡ
μνα □· ἐργάταις τὸν ἡμὸν ἐκκαθάρασιν τοῦ Ἵνωποῦ □□□IIII· ἀνθρακες □□□□· λαμπάδες ὅτε ὁ χορὸς
τοῖς Σιφνίων θε[ω]-
89595 ροῖς ἐγένετο □□□I□· καὶ ῥυμοὶ καὶ κληματίδες IIIII· ἐλαίου χοεῖς δύο □□□· στάμνοι ὥστε τῷ
ἀργυρίῳ □· Ἀρησιῶνος· χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □□IIII· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη II· ἐργάταις τὸν
Ἑσχαρῶνα ἀνακάθαρασι I□·
τὸ θύρετρον διελοῦσι τὸ πρὸς τῷ ἱεροῖ IIIII· τῶν κεραμίδων ἐνεῖγκασιν τὰ κλάσματα εἰς ἀγορὰν
□IIII· κήρυκι I· κραναίας ἡμιτάλαντον εἰς τὸ θύρωμα □□· ἀνθρακες □□□□IIII· Σωπάτρῳ καθελόντι
89600 τὰς φιάλας δι[ε]
τὸ θύρωμα κατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἐπισκευάσαντι τὰς θύρας οὗ τὰ ἐπτὰ □□□□· τοῖς ἄρασιν ἐκ τοῦ
ἵπποδρόμου τὴν νεωκόρον τοῦ Καρυστιῶν οἴκου □· Ψμανεῖ καὶ τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὸ Νυμφαῖον
ἐκκαθάρασιν
89605 Δ□□□IIII· ἥλοι ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου IIIII□· καὶ κλειδὸς καὶ σιδηρίου ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπτὰ IIIII□·
ἐλαίου χοῦς □IIII· Ψφελίωνι τοὺς κρουνοὺς διακαθάραντι τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ □· τῷ τὸν κύκνον τὸν
ἐπὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ
80 διακαθάραντι □· ἄλεις III· τοῖς νυκτοφυλαξίοις ξύλων τάλαντον IIIII· ἐργάταις τὰς θύρας
89610 ἄρασιν εἰς τὸν οἶκον □· Νεογένει ἐπιγράψαντι ἐπὶ τὸ προσκῆνιον □· καὶ ἀναγράψαντι εἰς στήλην
τὸ δόγ[μα]
τὸ Αἰτωλῶν □□IIII· Νουμάκῳ πέτευρα λευκῶσαντι □IIIIII· ξύλων τά[λ]αντα πέντε □□□II· δικαστηρίῳ
μισθὸς τῶν ἐπιτιμημάτων Δ□□IIIIII· καὶ ἐργάταις ἐδωλιάσασιν □· σχοινίον εἰς παλαίστραν □□·
89615 Ποσιδέ[ωνος]·
χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι □□· ξύλα καὶ πεύκη II· ἀνθρακες □□· ξύλων τάλαντα πέντε, τὸ
τάλαντον IIIII□· ἐλαίου χοεῖς δύο □□IIIIII· ἐργάταις τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι ὅτε ἀνήχθη ὁ στόλος
□□□□· κόφινος IIIII· καὶ
89620 εἰς τὸν θεὸν IIIII· ἐργάταις ξύλα ἀπενέγκασιν τὰ περιγενόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ θυρώματος □I· Πατροκλεῖ
καὶ Ἐπικράτῃ τὰ ἀναθήματα τὰ καθαιρεθέντα ὅτε κατεσκευάζετο τὸ θύρωμα ἀποκαταστή-
σασιν □□□I□· εἰς ἱερὰ τεῖ Εἰλειθυαῖα τὰ γενόμενα ἐν τεῖ παλαίστρῃ ΔΔ□· ξύλον εἰς τὸ πρόδομον
τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος διέρεισμα □□□□· χάρτον □IIII· σφόγγοι περιψῆσαι τὰ ἀναθήματα IIIII·
85 κεραμῖς εἰς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον IIIII· ἥλους πῶσαντι ὥστε τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν □· τοῦ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν
89620 κεφαλῇ □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· vac. καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἀνήλῳται· Βρομιάδι αὐλητρίδι
H□ΔΔΔ· Ἀρκέτῳ ἰνωποφύλακι □ΔΔΔΔ· Τυννάδῃ εἰς Νῆσον νεωκώρῳ HΔΔ· Πύθωνι εἰς τὸν θεὸν
νεωκώρῳ □Δ· Ξενοκλεῖ εἰς Ἀσκληπιεῖον νεωκώρῳ HΔΔ· Ἀπολλωνίῳ ὑπη-

- 89625 ρέτηι ΗΔΔ· καὶ ἐπωμῖς Δ□□□□· καὶ <χ>ιτῶνος Δ· Θεοπρώτῳ γραμματεῖ □ΔΔΔ· Μένητι κήρυκι □Δ·
 Αντιγόνῳ ἀρχιτέκτονι □ΔΔΔΔ. ἐπιτιμηταῖς· Μνησικλεῖ Τερομβρό-
 του ΔΔΔΔ, Ἀμνῳ Τλησιμένῳ ΔΔΔΔ, Εὐκράτει Ἀριστοκράτου ΔΔΔΔ. λογισταῖς· Ἀρκιλῶι Δεινίῳνος □Δ,
 Ἀντιπάρῳι Καλλίου □Δ, Ἀντιχάρει Κτησικλέους □Δ, Ξενοκρά-
 τει Τερομβρότου □Δ, Παντέλει Στρατονίκου □Δ. εἰς Ποσίδεα □Η. καὶ τάδε ἔργα ἐξέδομεν. τὴν
 λιθείαν τὴν εἰς τὴν στοὰν ἣν ἀνέθε<ε>σαν Νάξιοι πόδας ὀκτακο-
- 89630 90 σίους τεσσαράκοντα, τὸμ πόδα δραχμῶν □□□□· ἡργῶνῃσε Σῶπατρος, καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν τοὺς λίθους καὶ
 ἀπομετρήσας τῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι ἔλαβε δραχμὰς ΧΧΧΧ□ΗΔΔ
 κελευόντων ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος· καὶ Εὐτύχῳ ἔργολαβῆσαντι ἀναγαγεῖν τοὺς λίθους εἰς τὸ
 ἱερὸν τοὺς εἰς τὴν στοὰν, τὸμ πόδα Ι, καὶ ἀναγαγόντι
 ἐδομεν δραχμὰς ΗΔΔΔΔ. τῆς λιθείας τῆς εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐξέδομεν πόδας διακοσίους, τὸμ πόδα
 89635 δραχμῶν · ἡργῶνῃσε Σῶπατρος καὶ ἔλαβε δραχμὰς ΧΗΗΗΗ.κελευόν-
 των ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ἀπαγαγὼν τοὺς λίθους καὶ ἀπομετρήσας. Παρμένοντι
 ἔργολαβῆσαντι κατασκευάσαι τὴν ἐξαγωγίδα τοῦ Τνωποῦ □□□□□□□□. Στράτωνι περιραντή-
 ριον ποῆσαντι Δ□□· καὶ Εὐβίῳ τὸν ἰχθὺν χρυσῶσαντι □□□□. Καλλιγένοι ἐγολαβῆσαντι οἰκοδομήσαι
 89640 ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἣ ἦν Ἀριστοβούλου μισθὸς □□□□□. τῆς ἐργασίας τοῦ ἐπιθεάτρου ἐξέδομεν πόδας δια-
 95 κοσίους, τὸμ πόδα δραχμῶν □□□□□□□□□· ἡργῶνῃσεν Εὐκλείδης, καὶ ἀπομετρήσας πόδας ἑκατὸν
 ἐνενήκοντα ὅκτω παλαστὰς τρεῖς ἔλαβε δραχμὰς □ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□□□/ κελευόντων ἐπιμελητῶν
 καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος. τὸν κοιλόσταθμον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ποιῆσαι ἡργῶνῃσε Κτησίᾳς δραχμῶν
 □ΗΗ□□□□· τοῦτ' ἔλαβε κελευόντων ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος συντελέσας τὸ ἔργον.
 89645 τὸν οἶκον ἐπισκευάσαι τὸν ἐν Νήσῳ καὶ κλίμακα ποιῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖ οἰκῶι ὧν προσέδει
 ἡργολάβῃσε Πατροκλῆς δραχμῶν ΔΔΔΔ· τοῦτ' ἔλαβε συντελέσας τὰ ἔργα κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος.
 τὰς θύρας τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ποιῆσαι ἡργῶνῃσε Κτησίᾳς δραχμῶν ΧΔΔΔ□□□□, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔλαβε
 κελευόντων ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος συντελέσας τὸ ἔργον. πλίν-
 θους ποιῆσαι καὶ οἰκοδομήσαι τὸν περίβολον τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου <ἡ>ργολάβῃσε Βλεψίας καὶ Βότρυς, τὰς
 89650 ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν □□□□, καὶ ἀπαριθμήσαντες πλίνθους ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ χιλίας τετρακοσίας πεν-
- 100 τήκοντα ἔλαβον δραχμὰς □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□□ κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος συντελέσαντες τὰ ἔργα.
 Ἐπικράτει τὸ θύρετρον καθελόντι καὶ θύρας ἐπιθέντι τὰς πρὸς τεῖ Γραφεῖ δραχμαὶ : καὶ
 Βίῳνι
 τὸν οὐδὸμ ποιήσαντι □□. ὀβελίσκους ποιῆσαι εἰς τὸν τρύφακτον τὸν ἐν Νήσῳ τριάκοντα
 89655 ἡργῶνῃσεν Ἡρακλείδης, τὴν μνᾶν □□, καὶ εἰλκυσεν τάλαντα δύο μνᾶν ταρτήμορον, καὶ
 ἔλαβεν
 δραχμὰς ΗΔΔΔΔ□□ κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος. χοινικίδας ποιῆσαι εἰς τὸ στρόφωμα τῶν θυρῶν
 τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὀγδοήκοντα ὅκτω ἡργολάβῃσεν Αἰθῶν τὴν μνᾶν □□□□□, ἡλκυσαν
 σταθμὸν
 89660 τάλαντον μνᾶς τριάκοντα ἡμίμναιον, καὶ ἔλαβε δραχμὰς ΗΗΔΔ□□□□ κελευόντων ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ
 ἀρχιτέκτονος. τὸ ἀνάλημμα τὸ ἐν τῷ Νυμφαίῳ οἰκοδομήσαι ἡργῶνῃσεν Τσόδικος
 δραχμῶν ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□□□□, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαβε κελευόντων ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος συντελέσας τὰ
 ἔργα. οἰκοδομήσαι τὸν τοῖχον τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ ἡργῶνῃσε Λάχης τὴν ὀργυὰν
 89665 105 δραχμῶν □□□□□□□□□, καὶ ἀπομετρήσας ὀργυὰς δέκα τρεῖς ἔλαβεν δραχμὰς ΗΔΔ□□□□□□□□
 κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος. μέλαθρον καὶ δοκοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ
 [κ]λίνα[ς]
 κατασκευάσαι καὶ τὸ ξύλῳμα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὧν προσέδει ἡργῶνῃσε Θέτων δραχμῶν ΗΗΔ□□□□, καὶ τοῦτο
 ἔλαβε κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος συντελέσας τὰ ἔργα. τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ
 89670 Ἀσκληπιείῳ τὸ πτώμα οἰκοδομήσαι ἡργῶνῃσε Παρμένων, τὴν ὀργυὰν δραχμῶν □□□□□□□□□, καὶ ἔλαβεν
 ἀπομετρήσας ὀργυὰς δέκα τρεῖς □□□□□ κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος. τὰ ἐν το[ῖς]
 οἰκοῖς τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου ἐπισκευάσαι καθ' ἃ ἐξηγεῖτο ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων ἡργῶνῃσε Νικίας δραχμῶν ΔΔΔΔ,
 καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαβε κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος συντελέσας τὰ ἔργα. ἐξέλαβε δὲ καὶ μέλα-
 θρον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπισκευάσαι
 89675 δραχμῶν ΔΔ□□□□□· τοῦτ' ἔλαβε συντελέσας τὰ ἔργα κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέ[κ]τονος· καὶ Εὐπ[ο]-
- 110 ρίῳνι τὰ τέγη κατασκευάσαντι Δ□□□□□□□. τὸμ βῳμὸν κατασκευάσαι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸν ἐν
 Δελάτρει ἡργῶνῃσε Βίῳν δραχμῶν ΗΔΔΔ□□, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαβε κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος συντελέσας τὸ
 ἔργον. ἐπισκευάσαι τοῦ Κερατῶνος τὰ προσχρῆζοντα καθ' ἃ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων ἐξηγεῖτο, ἡργῶνῃσε
 89680 Πατροκλῆς δραχμῶν Η□ΔΔΔΔ, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαβε συντελέσας τὰ ἔργα κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος. τῶν
 ναῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκῶν καὶ τοῦ γυμνασίου διακέσασθαι τὸν κέραμον τὸν κατειαγότα καὶ τὸν
 καθηλημκότα ἄραι ἡργῶνῃσεν Ἀντίγονος, τὸ ζεῦγος //, καὶ ἔλαβε ΔΔ□□□□, καὶ ἀνακεραμῶσαι ἐγ.
 τῇ παλαίστρᾳ κεραμίδας τετταράκοντα πέντε, ἔλαβε δραχμὰς □. καὶ κεραμίδων ζεύγη ἡγοράσθη
 παρὰ τοῦ Χίου ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα, τὸ ζεῦγος □□□□, καὶ παρὰ Περιάνδρου ζεύγη ἐξήκοντα πέντε,
 89685 τὸ ζεῦγος □□□□· τιμὴ τῶν κεραμίδων Η□ΔΔΔ□□□□□. φιάλη εἰς Νῆσον τῇ Ἐκάτῃ δραχμῶν □□. καὶ
 πέταλα παρ' Ἐχεστράτου δέκα ἐννέα, τὸ πέταλον □□□□· καὶ παρ' Ἀνδρωνος τέτταρα, □□□□□.
 Ωφελίῳνι χρυσῶ-
 89690 115 σαντι καὶ ἐπικοσμήσαντι τὸ ἀγαλμα Δ□□. κλίνας ποιῆσαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἐπὶ Κυνθίῳ δέκα
 τέτταρας ἡργῶνῃσε Πατροκλῆς ΗΗ□ΔΔ□. ταῖς θύραις τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κυλίνδρους πέν[τε]
 καὶ ΤΡΙΠΕΣ καὶ ὑποδοχεῖα ἡργῶνῃσεν Ἐχέμαντις,
 τὴν μνᾶν □□□□□□□· σταθ(μὸς) ἐγένετο τάλαντα δύο μναῖ εἴκοσι μία ἡμίμναιον ταρτήμορον·
 τούτω[ν] ἔλαβε ΗΗΗΗ□□□□. τὴν ἑπαρσιν τοῦ θυρέτρου τοῦ ἐν τῷ να-
 ῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλ<λ>ωνος
 ἡργῶνῃσεν Μειδίας □Η□□□□□, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαβε κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν
 συντελέσας τὰ ἔργα. Θεοδήμῳ τὸ περίφραγμα ποιήσαντι τοῦ ἡλιοτρο[π]ίου μισθὸς Δ·
 ὧνι τρήσαντι τὰς βάσεις μισθὸς

89695 000III· καὶ Ἀζαράτῳ ἦλθον χαλκῶν 00· καὶ Καίβωνι ξύλου δρυΐνων 000III· καὶ
Ἀνδρῷ ι
. ἐλέφαντος εἰς τὸ θ[ύρ]ωμα ἐπρώμεθα μνάς δέκα, τὴν μυ[ᾱ]ν [III, τι]μὴ ΔΔΔ,
Λεωφάκῳ τοὺς φαλλοὺς μεταθέντι 00IIIII. τὴν στήλην τὴν περὶ τῶν γερῶν ἐργολαβήσαντι Ἀριστέαι
γράφαι 0000IIII· Παρμένοντι ἐργολαβήσαντι οἰκοδομήσαι τὸ τεῖχιν [τ]ὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Εἰλειθυαίῳ καὶ

89700
120 τὸ Νεωκόριον ἐξαλείψαντι 000. Εὐκλείδει ἐργολαβήσαντι τὸν ὀρθοστάτην καὶ τὸν καταληπτῆρα
θεῖναι καὶ ἐργάσασθαι ἐν τῷ ἐπιθεάτρει ΔΔΔΔ000. ὁθόνιον ὥστε τεῖ Ἡραι παρ' Ἀν-
δρίκου ΔΔ0. εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα τὸν πρὸς τεῖ θαλάσσει παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρου δοκοὶ δύο Δ00· καὶ
Επικράτει ἐμβαλόντι 0000· καὶ ἐργάταις ἀποσκάψας καὶ δωρῶσας 00. Μένητι τῆς στήλης
89705 καὶ βατήρος τιμὴ ΔΔΔΔ0· καὶ Βίωνι ἐργασαμένῳ τὴν στήλην καὶ τὸν βατήρα ΔΔ000. καὶ τότε
ἀργύριον ἐδανείσαμεν· μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος κατὰ ψήφισμα τῇ πόλει καὶ προδανεισταῖς τοῖς βο[υ]-
λευταῖς δραχμὰς XXX ἅς ἀνέθηκεν Ἐχενίκη Στησίλεω εἰς θυσίαν τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ,
ἐπὶ ὑποθήκει ταῖς προσόδοις ταῖς δημοσίαις· ἡ συγγραφή παρὰ Πάχητι. καὶ εἰς τὴν σι[τω]-
νήαν ἐδανείσαμεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου κατὰ ψήφισμα τῇ πόλει καὶ προδανεισταῖς

89710 Ξενοκράτει Τερουμβρότου, Πολυξένῳ Ἄρησιμβρότου, Σωσιδήμῳ Νίκωνος δραχμὰς M. ἐπὶ
ὑποθήκει τα[ῖς]
125 προσόδοις ταῖς δημοσίαις. καὶ ἄλλας ἐδανείσαμεν τῇ πόλει καὶ προδανεισταῖς τοῖς
βουλευταῖς κατὰ ψήφισμα εἰς τὸ ἀποδοθὲν Κύνωνι δραχμὰς X0HH. καὶ τότε ἄλλο ἀργύριον ἐδα[νεί]-
σαμεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Αὐτοκλεῖ Τελέωνος μηνὸς Ἀρησιῶνος δραχμὰς HHHH ἐπὶ ὑποθήκει τεῖ οἰκίαι τῇ
89715 ἐν Θώκῳ ἣ ἦν Τερουμβρότου ἥι γειτονεύει ἡ οἰκία ἣ Σατυριῶνος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁλ[λοισι]
τοῖς υπάρχουσιν Αὐτοκλεῖ πάσιν καὶ ἀναδόχοις Ἀντιγόνῳ Δημείῳ, Τηλεμνήστῳ Ἀντιγόνου· ἡ
συγγραφή παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Ἀγοράλλῳ. καὶ ἄλλας Αὐτοκλεῖ Τελ[έ]-
ωνος μηνὸς Ἀρησιῶνος δραχμὰς HH ἐ[π]ὶ ὑ[πο]θήκει τῇ οἰκίαι ἣν ἐπρίατο Νικάνωρ παρὰ
Θεοδωρίδου ἥι γειτονεύει ἡ οἰκία ἣ Ξενοκλείδου καὶ ἡ [- - - -] Ἀμνου, ἐπιχωρήσα[ν]-
89720 τος Ξένωνος τοῦ Νικάνωρος, καὶ ἀναδόχοις Ἀν[τι]γόνῳ Δημέῳ, Τηλεμνήστῳ Ἀντιγόνου· ἡ συγγραφή
παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Ἀγοράλλῳ. καὶ Διακτορίδῃ Θεωρύλῳ μηνὸς Ἀπατου[ρι]-

130 ὧνος δραχμὰς HHHH ἐπὶ ὑποθήκει τῷ χωρίῳ ᾧ γειτονεύει τὸ χωρίον ὃ ἦν Φερεκλείδου καὶ ὃ
καλεῖται Φυταλιὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς υπάρχουσιν Διακτορίδῃ πάσιν καὶ ἀναδό-
89725 χοῖς Καλλισθένῃ Θεωρύλῳ, Ἀντιγόνῳ Διδύμῳ· ἡ συγγραφή παρ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ Θεοπρώτου. τῶν εἰς
ἄθλα· ἔλαιον εἰς παλαίστραν μετρηταὶ τέτταρες καὶ ἡμισφόριον· ὃ μετρητὴς
Δ0000· τιμὴ 0ΔΔΔ0· καὶ ἄθλα λαμπαδάρχους παίδων· Λευκίνῳ Σωσιστράτου 0, Τελεσάνδρῳ
Τελεσάνδρου· νεανίσκων· Ἀναξιθέμιδι Πάχητος , Πραξιμένῃ Καλλιδικίου Δ:
ταινίαι 00000IIIII· σκάψαντι ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ 0· βάθρα ἐνεῖγκας II· ἔλαιον 0II· σπογγιαί 0. τὸ
89730 δὲ λοιπὸν ἐδομέν δραχμὰς ΔΔΔΔ0000III μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἄθλα τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις.
καὶ τότε παρέδομεν ἀργύριον ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀρ[χί]α Κριτοβούλοι καὶ Μενύλλοι ἐν
ιερωῖ μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος δραχμὰς M0ΔΔΔΔ0· καὶ ἄλλας M0XXXHHH00IIII00· καὶ ἁλ[λας]
135 διὰ τραπέζης XX· ἄλλας διεγράψαμεν XX. κεφαλὴ οὗ παρέδομεν MMMXX0HHHHIIII00. vac.
ἀνεμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὃ καλεῖται Ῥάμνοι, οὗ καθιστάντος Ξενομήδους τοὺς ἐγγύους κατὰ
89735 τὴν ἱερὰν συγγραφὴν ὅτε ἦσαν αἱ διεγγυήσεις, καὶ ἐμισθώσατο
Αὐτοκλῆς Τελέωνος δραχμῶν 00ΔΔΔ. ἀνεμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὃ καλεῖται Σκιτώνεια, οὗ
καθιστάντος Πολυβούλου τοὺς ἐγγύους, καὶ ἐμισθώσατο Καλλισθ[έ]-
νης Διακρίτου δραχμῶν HHHH0ΔΔΔ000. ἀνεμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ Χαρωνείας τὸ ἤμυσσ, ὃ μέρος ἐγειώργει
ποτὲ Ἀριστόδικος, οὗ καθιστάντος Τιμησιδήμου τοὺς ἐγγύους, καὶ ἐμισ-
89740 θώσατο Βούλῳ Τύννωνος δραχμῶν HHHHAΔΔΔ00. ἀνεμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς Χαρητείας τὸ μέρος ὃ
ἐμεμίσθητο Μνησίμαχος, οὗ καθιστάντος τοὺς ἐγγύους Μνησιμάχου, κα[ὶ]

140 ἐμισθώσατο Ξενοκράτης Τερουμβρότου δραχμῶν HH0ΔΔΔ0· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὅσωι ἔλαττον ἠὔρεν ἢ γῆ
ἀναμισθωθείσα ὀφείλει Μνησίμαχος Αὐτοκράτους καὶ οἱ ἐγγυοὶ Τεροκλῆς
89745 καὶ Φρασίλας Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Φᾶνος Διοδότου δραχμὰς HHHHA00000III· ἐγγυος πρὸς τὸ ἤμυσσ Φᾶνος,
πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἤμυσσ Τεροκλῆς καὶ Φρασίλας· ὀφείλουσι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἡμιόλι-
ον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν δραχμὰς HH00000IIII0. [- - - - -]
ἐμισθῶσα-
89750 μέν δὲ καὶ τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἔτη δέκα κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν συγγραφὴν καὶ ἐμισθώσαντο οἶδε·
τὸν Ἱππόδρομον Ἀντίγονος Τηλεμνήστου δραχμῶν 0H0Δ0·
ἐγγυοὶ Τηλέμνηστος Φιλίου, Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀρκέοντος· καὶ παρέλαβεν κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θάλαμον
ἄθυρον, βούστασιν ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, ἱπνῶνα ἄθυ-
145 ρον, θύραν αὐλείαν. τὸ Κεραμεῖον Λυσῆς Σίμιος HH0· οὗ καθιστάντος δὲ τοὺς ἐγγύους,
ἀνεμισθώσαμεν καὶ ἐμισθώσατο Εὐδικὸς Φιλιστίδου δραχμῶν HH0· ἐγγυοὶ Ἀναξίθεμις,
89755 Κραταίβιος Ἐρητυμένου· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύραν αὐλείαν, κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον καὶ θάλαμον ἔχον
τεθυρωμένον, κλίμακα φοινικίνην, ὑπερώϊδιον τεθυρωμένον, μυλῶνα τεθυ[ρω]-
μένον, ἀνδρώνιον τεθυρωμένον — ἐπὶ τοῦ κήπου θύρα —, ἱπνῶνα ἄθυρον ἐγ κήπῳ, ἀνδρώνιον
ἄθυρον, συκὰς τέτταρας, ροάν. τὴν Λίμνην Γλαύκος Γλαύκου δραχμῶν ΔΔ0· ἐγγυο[ς]
Ξένων Νικάνωρος. Λειμῶνα Διονυσόδωρος δραχμῶν HHΔΔ0· ἐγ<γ>υοὶ Θεαίοτος καὶ Συνώνυμος οἱ Θεαίου·
89760 καὶ παρέλαβεν κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, βούστασιν τεθυρωμένον, θάλα-
μνον ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, ἄλλο οἶκημα τεθυρωμένον, θύραν αὐλείαν. Κορακιάς καὶ Σολόην
Φίλαρχος Θεωρύλου δραχμῶν HHHHAΔ· ἐγ<γ>υοὶ Πυθαγόρας Ἀβρωνος, Χέρ-

150 σις Ἑλπίνου· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύραν αὐλείαν, κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θαλάμους δύο ἄθύρους,
89765 βούστασιν ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, ὑπερώϊδιον ἄθυρον, θάλαμον τεθυ-
ρωμένον· Φοινίκας Ἀντίγονος Διδύμου δραχμῶν 0H00· ἐγ<γ>υοὶ Σωσίδημος Νίκωνος, Ἀναξος
Τελέωνος· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύρας αὐλείας δύο, κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θάλα-

- μον ἄθυρον, βούστασιν ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα διπλοῦν ἄθυρον, ἀχυρῶνα ἄθυρον, ὑπερῶιον τεθυρωμένον
89770 θάλαμον ἔχον ἄθυρον, ἰπνῶνα ἄθυρον, ἀμπέλους □□ΔΔΔΔ□Ι, συ-
κᾶς ΔΔΔΔ, ἐρίνοὺς □. Ῥάμνους ἐμισθώσατο Κυνθιάδης δραχμῶν □□□□, οὐ καθιστάντος δὲ τοῦς
ἐγγύους, ἀνεμισθώσαμεν καὶ ἐμισθώσατο Παρμίσκος Διοδότου δρα-
89775 χμῶν □□□□· ἐγ<γ>υοι Αντίρρητος Αντιγόνου, Θυμίας Ἐχεκρατίδου· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύραν αὐλείαν,
προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, πυργίον τεθυρωμένον, ἀνδρῶνιον τεθυρω-
155 μένον, κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, βούστασιν ἄθυρον, θαλάμους ἄθύρους, ἀμπέλους Χ□ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□ΙΙΙ,
89775 συκᾶς □ΔΔΔΔΙ, ρόην. Νικοῦ χῶρον Πυθοκλῆς Φερεκλείδου δρα-
χμῶν ΗΗ□Δ· ἐγγυοι Τηλέμνηστος Αντιγόνου, Ῥάδις Σκύδρου· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύραν αὐλείαν, κλείσιον
τεθυρωμένον, θάλαμον ἄθυρον, μυλῶνα ἄθυρον, ἀχυρῶνα ἄθυ-
ρον, βούστασιν ἄθυρον, ἀνδρῶνιον ἄθυρον, ὑπερώϊδιον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, ἰπνῶνα ἄθυρον, ἀμπέλους
89780 □ΗΗ, συκᾶς Δ□. Λίμνας Αὐτοκλῆς Τελέσωνος δραχμῶν
ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□□· ἐγγυοι Αντιγόνος Δημέου, Τηλέμνηστος Αντιγόνου· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύρας αὐλείας δύο,
κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θάλαμον τεθυρωμένον, ἀλ<λ>ον ἄθυρον,
ἀχυρῶνα ἄθυρον, μυλῶνα ἄθυρον, βούστασιν τεθυρωμένην, ὑπερώϊδιον τεθυρωμένον, ἀνδρῶνιον
ἄθυρον, ἀμπέλους Χ□ΔΙΙΙΙ, συκᾶς ΔΔΔΙΙ, ἐρίνοὺς ΙΙΙ. Διονύσιον Ἡρακλείδ[ης]
- 89785 160 Ῥηναίεὺς δραχμῶν □ΗΗΗ□□□□· ἐγγυοι Πόλυβος Διοδότου, Σώσιλος Νησιώτου· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύραν
αὐλείαν, κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θάλαμον τεθυρωμένον, ἀχυρῶνα ἄθυρον,
μυλῶνα τεθυρωμένον, ἰπνῶνα ἄθυρον, ὑπερώϊδιον τεθυρωμένον, ἀνδρῶνιον ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον,
89790 ἀνδρῶνιον ἄθυρον, ἀμπέλους Χ□□Ι, συκᾶς ΔΔΔ□Ι. Σκιτών[ει]-
αν Ἀρχεδάμας Κτησικλείους δραχμῶν ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□□□· ἐγγυοι Ἀχαιὸς Ἀριστείδου, Ἀριστόβουλος
Μενεκράτου· καὶ παρέλαβεν κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θαλάμους δ[ύο]
ἄθύρους, τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρόσβορρον πεπτωκότα, βούστασιν ἄθυρον, ὑπερῶιον τεθυρωμένον, ἀλλὰ
οἰκήματα τρία ἄθυρα, θύραν αὐλείαν, ἀμπέλους □ΗΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙ[-], συκῇ[ν]·
89795 Χαρώνειαν Εὐκτῆμων καὶ Δεξικράτης Ἀχαιοῦ δραχμῶν ΧΗ· ἐγγυοι Παντέλης Οἰκωνος, Χάρμος
Κτησιβούλου· καὶ παρέλαβον κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θαλάμους δύο τὸν ἐν[α]
165 τεθυρωμένον, βούστασιν ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, οἶκημα ὀροφῇ οὐκ ἔχον, πύργον
τεθυρωμένον, θύραν αὐλείαν, ἀλλην οἰκίαν ἔχουσιν θύραν αὐλείαν, κλείσιον τεθυρωμέν[ον],
θάλαμον τεθυρωμένον, ἄλλον θάλαμον, ἀνδρῶνιον τεθυρωμένον, ἰπνῶνα{ν} ἐστυλωμένο<ν> τὴν δοκόν,
βούστασιν ἄθυρον, ἀχυρῶνα ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, συκᾶς
89800 ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙ, ἀμπέλους ΧΧΗ□ΔΔΔ□ΙΙ. Πάνορμον Στήσαρχος δραχμ[ν]ῶν {δραχμῶν} □Η□□· ἐγγυοι Φίλλις
Διαίτου, Πολυξένους Ἀρησιμβρότου· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύραν αὐλείαν, κλείσιον τεθυρωμέ-
νον, θάλαμον τεθυρωμένον, ἀχυρῶνα ἄθυρον, βούστασιν ἄθυρον, ἰπνῶνα ἄθυρον, πιθῶνα τεθυρωμένον,
ὑπερώϊδιον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, ἀνδρῶνιον τεθυρωμένον,
ἀμπέλους ΧΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙ, συκᾶς ΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙ, ἐρίνόν. Χαρῆτειαν Φιλόνικος Φερεκλείδου δραχμῶν ΧΗΔ□□□·
89805 ἐγγυοι Πραξιμένης Καλλιδίκου Ξένων Πιστοῦ· καὶ παρέλαβε[ν]
- 170 θύραν αὐλείαν, κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θαλάμους δύο τεθυρωμένους, ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ δοκὸν
ἐστυλωμένην, βούστασιν ἐστυλωμένην ἄθυρον, σιτοβολῶνα ἄθυρον, ἀχυρῶνα [ᾶ]-
89810 θυρον, ὑπερώϊδια δύο τεθυρωμένα, ἀνδρῶνιον θάλαμον ἔχον ἄθυρον, ἀνδρῶνιον ἄθυρον,
ἰπνῶνα ἄθυρον, μυλῶνα ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα ἐστυλωμένον ἄθυρ[ο]ν?, ἀμπέλους [Δ?],
συκᾶς □ΔΔΙΙ. Πύργ[ου]ς Ε[ὔ]θέας? Ι□□□□ου δραχμῶν Χ· ἐγγυοι Αντικράτης Ἀριστοδίκου, Χαρίλας
Αντιγόνου· καὶ παρέλαβεν θύραν αὐλείαν, κλείσιον τεθυρωμένον, θαλά-
μους δύο τεθυρωμένους, ἀχυρῶνα ἄθυρον, βούστασιν ἄθυρον, ἀνδρῶνια δύο τεθυρωμένα, ὑπερώϊδιον
τεθυρωμένον, ἰπνῶνα ἄθυρον, προβατῶνα ἄθυρον, ἀμπέλους ΧΧΗΗ□,
89815 συκᾶς □ΔΔΙΙΙ, ἐρίνοὺς δύο. καὶ οἶδε τῶν μεμισ[θω]μένον ἐπέβαλον τὰ ἐπιδέκατα κατὰ τὴν
175 γράαδην· Πορθμῶι Πυθοκλῆς Φερεκλείδου ἐπὶ □ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ□ ἐπέβαλεν
συκᾶς □ΔΔΔ□[□□□/] καὶ μεμίσθωται σὺν τῷ ἐπιδεκάτῳ ΧΔΔ□□□□/· ἐγγυοι Κριτόβουλος Ἀμπυκίδου,
Φίλαρχος Φιλίου. τῷ ἐν Ἀκραὶ Δήλῳ Ἐμπεδος Ξένωνος ἐπὶ ΗΗΗΗ ἐπέβαλεν ΔΔΔΔ, κα[ί]
μεμίσθωται σὺν τῷ ἐπιδεκάτῳ ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ· ἐγγυοι Τελέσων Ξένωνος, Ἐπίχαρμος Βουληκράτου. τοῖς
89820 Σωσιμαχείοις Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπὶ ΗΗ□ ἐπέβαλεν ΔΔ□ καὶ μεμίσθωται σὺν
τῷ ἐπιδεκάτῳ ΗΗ□ΔΔ□· ἐγγυοι Μένυλλος Μενύλλου, Τσόδικος Σωσίλου. Φυταλιᾶι Εὐβίος Θεοδότου
ἐπὶ ΔΔΔΔ□□□□] ἐπέβαλεν □□□□ΙΙ□// καὶ μεμίσθωται ΔΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙ□//· ἐγγυοι Ἀνεκτος Εὐ-
δίκου, Χαρικλείδης Ἀριστοκρίτου. Ἐπισθενεῖαι Περίανδρος Ἡγησαγόρου ἐπὶ □Η□Δ ἐπέβαλεν □Δ□□ καὶ
μεμίσθωται σὺν τῷ ἐπιδεκάτῳ □ΗΗΔΔ□□· ἐγγυοι Κράτων Μνη-
89825 σιάδου, Βούλων Τύννωνος. τῷ Λυκωνεῖω Ἀκριδίων Διονυσσοδώρου ἐπὶ ΗΔ□ ἐπέβαλεν Δ□□/ καὶ μεμίσθωται
σὺν τῷ ἐπιδεκάτῳ ΗΔΔ/· ἐγγυοι {η} Ἡρακλείδης Ἐπαρχίδ[ου],
- 180 Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀριστείδου. καὶ οἶδε τόκους ἀπέδοσαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου· Καλλίας Ἀντιπάτρου
ὑπὲρ Μνησιμάχου τῆς ἐγγύης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ δραχμὰς ΔΔΔΔ· Ἀνδρομένης
89830 [-] Χαρικλείδης Ἀριστοκρίτου Δ· Αστίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἐρασίνου □ΔΔ· Μένυλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν χωρίων ᾧ
ἦν Ὑφοκλέους Η· Λυσῆς ὑπὲρ Δεξικράτους Δ· Ἀριστοδίκου{ου} {Ἀριστοδίκου} κληρο-
νόμοι □□□ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκήματος ὃ ἦν Ἀριγνώτου ΔΙΙ□· Ἀμφικρίτη καὶ ὁ κύριος Δημόνους ὑπὲρ τῶν
χωρίων ᾧ ἦν Φερεκλείδου □□□□□ΙΙΙΙ□· καὶ Μαντίθεος Αφθονήτου ὑπὲρ τῆς
συνοικίας □□□□□ΙΙΙΙ□ ὃν ἔφερε Φερεκλείδης ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Χάρητος καὶ Προξένου· Ἡρακλείδης
89835 Γνωσιδίκου ΔΔ· Μνησίας ὑπὲρ τῶν χωρίων ᾧ ἦν Παρμενίωνος Η· Γοργίας Σωσίλου
ὑπὲρ τῶν {χων} χωρίων ᾧ ἦν Εὐρυμάνθους □Δ· Πόλυβος Διοδότου □□□□· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδίων τῶν
Τελεσάνδρου /· Ἀνακρέων ΔΔΔ· παρὰ τῶν κληρονό[μων] ὑπὲρ Ἀημάντου
185 τοῦ Φίλωνος □Δ· Ξενοκράτης Τερομβρότου □, ὑπὲρ Σωσισθένου ΔΔΙΙΙΙΙ, ὑπὲρ Χαρίλου ΔΔΙΙΙΙΙ·
Δημόλυτος Νικομάχου □□□□□ΙΙ· Κράτων Μνησιάδου Δ· Χοιρύλος Τελέσωνος ΔΔΔΔ·
Τηλέμνηστος Αντιγόνου ΔΔΔΔ· Μαντίθεος Αφθονήτου ὃν ἔφερε Δημάρης □□ΙΙΙΙ, καὶ ὑπὲρ Γοργοῦς Δ·
89840 Φιλτῆς Τληπολέμου □□□□· οἱ κληρονόμοι Φίλλιος ΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ□· Φωκαίεὺς
Ἀπολλοδώρου ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκήματος ΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙ· Τηλέμνηστος Ἀριστείδου Δ□· Γλαυκύδ[ης] Ξένωνος ΔΔΔΔ·

Πιστῆς Εὐνῶνος ΗΔΔ· ἄλλας ΔΔ· Τέλεσις ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκλέους Δ·
 Διακτορίδης Θε(ωρύλου) Δ□□□II· Μαψιχίδαι ΔΔΔΔ□IIII· Δίδυμος Αντιγόνου □· Θέμων Λυσαγό[ρου]
 ΔΔ□I· Φωκαιεὺς Ἡγίου □Δ. vac.
 89845 καὶ οἶδε τόκους ὀφείλουσι καὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι· Πολύξενος Φωκάεως □Δ□□IIII· Ἐρμοδότου κληρονό. Δ□□□·
 Ναυτέλης Ἀμφιτίμου □□· Διαίτου κληρονόμοι Δ□□III· Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Δεξιπόλι-

190 ος κληρονό. ΔΔΔΔ· Φωκάεως τοῦ Πιστοξένου κληρονόμοι Δ· Κλεινόδικος Σιτησίλεω Δ· Πάδιος τοῦ
 Διδύμου κληρονόμοι ΔΔΔ□· Φιλτῆς Τληπόλεμου Η□· Γέρυλλος Πιστο(ξένου) <Δ>·
 89850 Εὐνῶν Ἐρμιονεὺς II· Μελιχίδης Ποσείδιος ΔΔ· Προστάτης Τελέσιος ΔΔΔΔ· Μοιραγένης
 Καλλισθένους ΔΔΔ· Μνησίμαχος Αὐτοκράτους □Δ· Απολλόδωρος
 Κυζικηνὸς Δ· Μνήσαλκος Μνησάλκου □Δ· Ἀπημάντου τοῦ Ἡροδίκου κληρονό. ΔΔ· Θεύγνωτος
 Μνησικλείους ΔII□· Ἀρκεφῶν Ἀρκεφῶντος □□IIII· Ἀναψυκτίδου καὶ Κλε-
 89855 οβούλου κληρονό. ΔΔ· Ναύτης Ναύτου ΔΔ· Ἐλπίνης Ξενοχάριος ΔΔΔ□. vac. καὶ οἶδε τόκους ἀπέδοσαν
 τοῦ ἀργυρίου οὗ ἀνέθηκε Νησιάδης· Ἄμνος Τιμοξέ-
 νου ΔΔΔ· Τεράρχη ὑπὲρ Λυσίλεω τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς ἐγγύης τῆς Γλαύκου ΔΔ□· Δημοκράτης Θαρσυδίκου ΔΔ·
 Χαρίλας Ἀριστείδου □· Ἀκριδίων Ἐλπίνου ΔΔΔ□□II□□
 195 καὶ οἶδε ὀφείλουσι καὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι αὐτῶν· Γλαῦκος Σωσιβίου ΔΔ□· Μνήσαλκος Μνησάλκου □·
 Διόδοτος Φάνου □· Γοργίας Ἰκαρίου □· Σωκράτης Ἀνδροτέλους □.
 89860 — — — — — — — — vac. καὶ οἶδε ὀφείλουσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι τῷ Θεῳ· Μοιραγένης
 Καλλισθένους ἐγδειαν Λιμνῶν Η· καὶ Ἐκέφυλος καὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι Χαρητείας I.
 Νεογένει γράψαντι τὴν στήλην ΗΔΔ· δέλιτον ποήσαντι □□□· τῷ εἰς τὴν δέλιτον γράψαντι τὰ ἐκ τῆς
 στήλης □□□□· τοῖς τὴν στήλην ἀγαγοῦσι □·
 89865 μόλυβδος καὶ ξύλα □□□□IIII□□· τῷ περιχέαντι □. vac. κεφαλὴ εἰσόδου σὺν ᾧ παρελάβομεν
 □MM□XXXXHHHH□□□IIIX. vac.
 κεφαλὴ ἐξόδου σὺν ᾧ παρέδομεν □MM□XXXXHHHH□□□IIIX. καὶ τὸ ἐχ θησαυρῶν εἰσελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς παρέδομεν τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερο-
 200 ποιοῖς δραχμὰς □ΔΔΔΔIIII/. vac.

89870 face C left
 haec ad sinistram vs. 64A exarata sunt:
 1 χάρτη<ς> □IIII□.
 Face D right
 {²ad dextram vss. 12-13;}²

89875 1 ΛΕΟ [...]ΙΚΟ[....?]
 2a {²ad dextram vss. 33-81;}²
 3 ΕΓ.Υ ΛΗΙ#7.
 5 ΔΙΩΝΙΕΙΑ Η Γ ΥΑ Α
 9a {²vac. ad dextr. vss. 82-119;}² {²vestigia litt. ad dextr. vs. 120;}² {²vac. ad dextr. vss.
 89880 120-134;}² {²deinde ad dextr. vss. 135-148;}²
 10 [...] Θεο]πρώτοι καὶ Διακτορίδης πα-ρέδομεν δ' ἀ τρα-πέζης δραχ[μ]ῶν ΗΗ· ἄλλας
 15 [ἐπὶ] Εἰδοκ[ρί]- του Ἡγέαι καὶ [...]θεοὶ τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς παρ[έ]- δομεν διὰ τρα-
 20 πέζης ΧΗΗΗ.
 20a {²vac.? ad dextr. vss. 150-179;}² {²ad dextr. vss. 180-185;}²
 89885 21 [...] Δημόνους □Δ ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκημά- των ἃ ἦν Ἀνδρομέου· ἄλλας ΔΔ□III ὑπὲρ[ρ]
 25 τῶν οἰκημάτων [ἃ] [ἦν Φερεκλείδ]ο[υ]?
 26a {²vss. 3 deleti;}² {²ad dextr. vss. 190-196;}²
 27 Πολύβουλος Παρ- μενίωνος Δ [- -]ΙΕ[- - - -]
 30 [- - - - -]ΤΟΥ. [πα]ρὰ ταμίου Λεῦ[- - - -]Λ[- - - -]
 89890 {²vac. ad finem;}²

face B.1
 1 τάδε παρελάβομεν παρ' ἱεροποιοῦ Τηλεμνήστου τοῦ Φιλίου καὶ παρέδομεν ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς μεθ'
 ἡμῶς Κριτοβούλοι καὶ
 89895 Μενύλλοι μηνὸς Γαλαξιῶνος· ἐξ Ἀρτεμισίου σταθμῶι καὶ ἀριθμῶι· στέφανο{υ}ς {στέφανος} χρυσοῦς
 βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκή
 δραχμαὶ ΗΔΔΔΔ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς μυρσίνης βασιλέως Σιδωνίων Φιλοκλέους, ὀλκή σὺν τῷ λίνωι
 □ΔΔΔ□□□IIII· στέφανος δάφνης,
 89900 Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Κλείτου ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκή δραχμαὶ □ΔΔ□· στέφανος δάφνης, Πευκέστα ἐπιδόντος,
 ὀλκή σὺν λίνωι □Δ□□□III· στέφα-
 5 νος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Φιλοκλέους ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκή σὺν τῷ λίνωι ΔΔΔΔ· στέφανος
 μυρσίνης, Πτολεμαίου ἐπιδόν-
 τος, ὀλκή σὺν λίνωι καὶ κηρῶι Η□ΔΔΔΔ□□· στέφανος δάφνης, Βερενίκης ὑπὲρ Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκή σὺν
 λίνωι καὶ κηρῶι □ΔΔ□□· στέφανος
 89905 μυρσίνης, Καλλικράτου ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκή σὺν λίνωι Δ□□□□III· Ἀρχίππης Μυκονίας ἐρωτίδια ἐπὶ
 ταινιδίου· στέφανος δάφνης, Δημητρίου
 ἀνάθημα, ὀλκή σὺν λίνωι καὶ κηρῶι □Δ□□□□III· στέφανος, Τωμίλκου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκή σὺν λίνωι καὶ
 κηρῶι ΔΔ, ἔλκει δὲ ΔΔΔ□□□□· στέφανος μυρσίνης,
 89910 Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Νικοκρείοντος ἐπιδόντος, ὀλκή σὺν λίνωι καὶ κηρῶι Δ□□□□· στέφανος δάφνης
 ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ πλινθείου· Κρατε-

(1) The following we received from the hieropoios Telemnestos son of Philis and we gave over to the hieropoioi after us Kritoboulos and Menyllos in the month Galaxion. From the Artemision by weight and number: gold crown{s} of king Ptolemy, weight drachmai 140; gold myrtle crown of Philokles king of the Sidonians, weight with the

- 89915 string 88.5; laurel crown, Deliades, with Kleitos giving the choreia, weight drachmai 76; laurel crown with Peukestes donor, weight with string 63.3; gold (5) laurel crown, Deliades, with Philokles giving the choreia, weight with string 40; myrtle crown, with Ptolemy donor, weight with string and wax 192; laurel crown of Berenike for Ptolemy, weight with string and wax 72; myrtle crown with Kallikrates donor, weight with string 18.3; cupids on ribbon from Archippe of Mykonos; laurel crown dedication of Demetrios, weight with string and wax 19.3; crown, dedication of Iomilkos, weight with string and wax 20, but it weighs 38; myrtle crown, Deliades, with Nikokreon giving the choreia, weight with string and wax 19; laurel crown with inscription on the plinth, from Krateros,
- 89920 10 ροῦ, ὀλκὴ σὺν λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ □□□□II· στέφανος δάφνης ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ πλινθείου· ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ὀλκὴ σὺν λίνῳ □ΔΔ□IIII· στεφάνια δύο, ὀλκὴ σὺν λίνῳ □□□□· θηρίκλειος χρυσῇ, Πτολεμαίου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴ ΗΗΔΔΔI· ῥόδον καὶ στέφανος, ὀλκὴ σὺν λίνῳ καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ □Δ□□□III· φιάλιον χρυσοῦν, ὀλκὴ □· ἐπιχύτης χρυσοῦς ΗΔ□□·
- 89930 τραγίσκοι δύο ἄστατοι· ἀσπιδίσκη χρυσῇ, ὀλκὴ □□· φιάλη χρυσῇ, Ναξίων ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴ Η□ΔΔΔΔ□□· φιάλιον χρυσοῦν λεῖον, ὀλκὴ ΔΔ□□□III· σιλεγγίδιον χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ ταινιδίου ἄστατον, ἀνέ- θηκε Δόναξ· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς ἀμφορέων, ὀλκὴ Δ□□□□· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς λογχίων ἄστατος, Δημοστράτης ἀνάθημα, ἀριθμὸν λογχίων □ΔIIII·
- 89935 15 ἀμπελος χρυσῇ ἄστατος· πρόσεστιν Ἀπόλλων χρυσοῦς κνήμην οὐκ ἔχων, ὀλκὴ □□· καὶ ἱππάριον ἐπίχρυσον· καὶ τύπος χρυσοῦς ἄστατος· ῥοαὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀργυροῦς ἀπότυπος· πυρήνια καὶ μηνίσκοι καὶ βοὸς κεφαλὴ· καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ ἀνε<i>ρ</i>μένα ἐπὶ λίνου, ὀλκὴ III· σιλεγγίδιον ἐπὶ ναΐσκου χρυσοῦν· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς ἀμφορέων, ὀλκὴ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ΔΔ· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε Σιμίχη ἄστατος, ἀριθμὸς λογχίων □ΔΔΔII· ὄρμος τῆς Ἐριφύλης ἄστατος· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, ὀλκὴ σὺν λίνῳ □Δ□□□· σφραγὶς σμαράγδου ἄστατος· φιάλιον χρυσοῦν Δημοσῶντος ἐμ πλινθείῳ ἄστατον· περιδέραια καὶ ἀσπιδίσκη καὶ ἐνωτίδια καὶ φυκίον, ὀλκὴ σὺν λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ Δ□□III· ὄρμος
- 89945 (10) weight with string and wax 57.2; laurel crown with inscription on the plinth, sacred to Apollo and Artemis, weight with string 71.4; 2 small crowns, weight with string 8; gold Therikleian, dedication of Ptolemy, weight 238.3; rose and crown, weight with the string and the wood, 68.3; small gold phiale, weight 50; gold beaker 112; two goats unweighed; gold disk, weight 2; gold phiale, dedication of the Naxians, weight 196; small smooth gold phiale, weight 28.3; small gold fillet on ribbon unweighed, dedicated Donax; gold necklace of amphorae, weight 18; gold lanceolate necklace unweighed, dedication of Demostate, number of spearheads 74; (15) gold grapevine unweighed; there is in addition gold Apollo without leg, weight 6; and gilded hipparion; and gold image, unweighed; pomegranates and silver Apollo image; beads and little moons and ox head; and various others linked on string, weight 8.3; small gold fillet in naiskos; gold necklace of amphorae, weight with the string 26; gold necklace which Simiche dedicated, unweighed, number of spearheads 92; necklace of Eriphyle, unweighed; gold laurel necklace, weight with string 67; emerald seal, unweighed; small gold phiale from Demoson in plinth, unweighed; perideraia and disk and earrings and rouge jar, weigh with string and wax 16.3; the necklace
- 89960 20 ὁ πρὸς τῷ κλισίῳ, ὀλκὴ σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ΗΗΔ□□□III· ξυστάλλιον ἐγ κιβωτίῳ, ἀνάθημα <- ->· ἡδυποτίδιον ἀργυροῦν Ἀρχίππης ἀνάθημα· Δημητρίου βασιλέως περιδέραια χρυσᾷ καὶ περισκελίδες δύο καὶ ψί<λ>ιον· καὶ φυκία δύο ἄστατα, Στρατονίκης βασιλίδος ἀνάθημα· καθετήρ,
- 89965 ὀλκὴ ΗΔ□□□· δακτύλιος ἀμέθυστον, ὀλκὴ ΔΔ□, ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ· μῆλα ἐπίχρυσα ΔΔΔΔ· καὶ γυπὸς κεφαλὴ· πέταλα χρυσᾷ ἐγ κιβωτίῳ, ὀλκὴ ΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□□□□· ἐγ κιβωτίῳ χρυσοῦ κλάσματα ἀπὸ στεφάνων, καὶ πεντόροβοι καὶ περόναι, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΔ□□□□· χρυσοῦ παντοδαποῦ λευκοῦ ὀλκὴ ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ· χρυσοῖ ΔIII· χρυσοῦ παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴ □□□· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς Ἀρτεμίσιον ἔχων,
- 89970 ὀλκὴ □III· χρυσοῦ παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴ ΗΗΗΔΔ 25 □□· δακτύλιοι ἑξ· τοῦτων χαλκοὶ δύο καὶ διάλιθος εἷς, ὀλκὴν □□□III· ἄλλος λεῖος, ὀλκὴ □□□□III· ἄλλος ἐρώτιον ἔχων, ὀλκὴ □□· ἄλλος σφραγίδα ἔχων, ὀλκὴ □□· κύλινδρος, ὀλκὴ □□□□· σφραγὶς χρυσένδετος, ὀλκὴ □□· ἄλλη σφραγὶς χρυσένδετος, ὀλκὴ □· ἄλλη σφραγὶς χρυσένδετος, ὀλκὴ □II· λυγγούριον χρυσένδετος, ὀλκὴ □III· ἄλλη σφραγὶς χρυσένδετος, ὀλκὴ □□· ἄλλη σφραγὶς ἀργυρένδετος, ὀλκὴ □· δακτύλιος Καλλικρ<i>τ</i>ης ἐν ταινιδίῳ ἄστατος· δακτύλιος σιδηροῦς ὑπόχρυσος, ὀλκὴ □· ἄλλος σιδηροῦς ὑπόχρυσος, ὀλκὴ □□□· ἐνώτια χρυσᾷ σειστά, ὀλκὴ □IIII· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς, Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπίση- μον ἔχων, ὀλκὴ □□□· ἀργύριον δόκιμον σὺν χαλκοῖ □ΔΔ□· ὀβολοὶ ὀρχομένιοι ΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ□III· δαρεικοὶ □III· καὶ ἄλλο χρυσίον παντοδαπὸν· καὶ λιθάριον χρυ-
- 89980 (20) on the couch, weight with the string 213.3; small scraper in chest, dedication; silver hedypotidion, dedication of Archippe; gold peridereaia of king Demetrios and 2 sets of leggings and armlet; and two rouge jars, unweighed, dedication of queen Stratonike; collar necklace, weight 117; amethyst ring, weight 21 from the chest; 40

- 89985 gilded apples; and vulture head; gold leaves in chest, weight 340; gold(?) 13; of various gold weight 3; gold ring with Artemis, weight 5.3; of various gold weight 3206; (25) six rings, two of these bronze and one with stones, weight 7.3; another smooth, weight 4.3; another with cupid, weight 2; another with seal, weight 6; cylinder, weight 4; goldbound seal, weight 2; another goldbound seal, weight 1;
- 89990 another goldbound seal, weight 1.2; goldbound amber, weight 1.3; another goldbound seal, weight 2; another goldbound seal, weight 1; ring of Kallikrate on ribbon unweighed; gilded iron ring, weight 5; another gilded iron, weight 3; linked gold earrings, weight 5.5.; gold ring with image of Athena, weight 3; assayed silver with bronze 71; 398 Orchomenian obols; 8 darics and various other gold and goldbound stone
- 89995 30 σένδετον καὶ δακτύλιος, ὀλκὴ συν τοῖς δαρεικοῖς ΔΔ□□ΙΙΙ, ἐν λιθίνῃ λιβανωτίδι· χρυσίου παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴ πάντων Δ□□· τοῦτο ἐγ κιβωτίῳ ἔλεφαν-
τίνῳ· δακτύλιος ἀργυροῦς φωσφόριον ἐπίσημον ἔχων· νομίσματος παντοδαποῦ ὀλκὴ Δ□□· χρυσοῦς ἄλεξανδρείου ΔΙΙ· οὗτοι ἐν ἀλίαι· vac.
- 90000 ἀργυρίου παντοδαποῦ ἀσήμου ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ XXXX□□ΔΔΔ□□□□· καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· φιάλη ἔκτυπος ἀργυρᾶ, Ἐχενίκης ἀνάθημα, ὀλκὴ ΗΔΔ.
δεξιᾶς ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· Ῥοδίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Πολυαράτου· φιάλαι τρεῖς Σιτησίλῳ ἀνάθημα· Ἀντιπάτρου Ἡπειρώτου φιά-
λαι δύο· Ἀγίου φιάλη καὶ ὀφείδια ἐπὶ ταινίας χρυσᾶ δύο· Δαμασίου φιάλη· Ἐτειάρχου προτομὴ καὶ φιάλη· Ῥοδίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀκεστία· Φιλοξένου σκάφι-
- 90005 35 ον· Ἀρχίου φιάλη Καλυμνίου· Ἀρταπάτου φιάλη ἔκτυπος· Δεξικράτους φιάλιον· Ῥοδίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Μένωνος· Σωθάλου φιάλιον· Κώων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκι-
θεώρου Τεισίου· Σελεύκου φιάλιον· Κόσκαλος Κλεάνδρου πῖλον· Κασίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀλέξιος· <φιάλη> Χαρμύλου <τοῦ> Πολυχάρμου Ῥοδίου· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀρκιθε-
ώρου Ἰππαγόρου· φιάλη ἐγ Ῥόδου ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Τιμοστράτου· Ῥοδίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου
- 90010 Ἀγησιδάμου· Καλυμνίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Πο-
λυμήδους· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Διοκλείδα· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Κράντορος·
Χαρμίδου φιάλαι δύο ἔκτυποι· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀρκι-
θεώρου εἰς Δελφοῦς Λυσιστράτου· Ἀριστοφύλου φιάλη Ῥοδίου· Ἀπολλοφάνου[ς] φ[ι]άλιον· Κώων ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Φίλωνος φιάλη· Ἡρακλείτου φιά-
- 90015 (30) and ring, weight with the darics 22.3; in stone incense burner various gold total weight 121; this in ivory chest: silver ring with image of torchracer; of various coin weight 12; 12 gold Alexandrians, these in salt cellar(?) [space] of various unstamped silver weight drachmai 4688. And in our year of office: figured silver phiale, dedication of Echenike, weight 120.
- 90020 **From the right in the prodomos of Apollo:** phiale of the Rhodians with Polyaratos chief theoros; three phialai, dedication of Stesileos; two phialai of Antipater of Epirus; phiale of Agios and two small gold snakes on ribbon; phiale of Damasios; head and phiale of Eteiarchos; phiale of the Rhodians with Akestias chief theoros; small tray of Philoxenos; (35) phiale of Kalumnian Archias; figured phiale of Artapatos;
- 90025 small phiale of Dexikrates; phiale of the Rhodians with Menon chief theoros; small phiale of Sothales; phiale of the Koans with Teisias chief theoros; small phiale of Seleukos; Koskalos son of Kleandros pilos; phiale of the Kasians with Alexis chief theoros; of Charmylos son of Polycharmos of Rhodes; phiale of the Rhodians with Hippagoras chief theoros; phiale from Rhodes with Timostratos chief theoros; phiale
- 90030 of the Rhodians with Agesidamos chief theoros; phiale of the Kalymnians with Polymedes chief theoros; phiale of the Rhodians with Diokleides chief theoros; phiale of the Rhodians with Krantor chief theoros; two figured phiale of Charmides; phiale of the Rhodians with Lysistratos chief theoros to Delphi; phiale of Aristophylos of Rhodes; small phiale of Apollopheanos; phiale of the Koans with Philon chief theoros;
- 90035 figured phiale of Herakleitos; 40 λη ἔκτυπος· Φιλῶτα φιάλη καρυωτή· Τιμάνθους φιάλη Ῥοδίου· Νικίππου φιάλη λεία· Πυρρίου φιάλη· Δημητρίου, Ἡρακλείτου, Αἰσχρίωνος φιάλη· Σῶσι[ς]
καὶ Πραξίδημος καὶ Σωκλῆς φιάλην· Κώων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀναξιβίου· Ἀμμωνίου φιάλη· Καλυμνίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Διοφάνους· Φιλοκλε[ί]-
δου φιάλη· Τεροκλέους φιάλη· Σιμία φιάλη· Κώων φιάλη, Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπαρχάν· Διοκλέους φιάλη Κώου· ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀέρτα φιάλη· Κώων φιάλη ἐ-
π' ἀρκιθεώρου Ζωπυρίωνος· Κώων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Ἀράτου· Ἡρακλείδου φιάλη ἔκτυπος· Κώων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Διδυμάρχου· Μεγαλοπο-
λιτῶν <φιάλη> ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Αφθονήτου· Ῥοδίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Φρασίλα· Ῥοδίων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Φίλωνος· Κώων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Εὐκλε[ί]-
- 90040 45 δα· καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· Κώων τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἰσθμιατῶν φιάλη ἀρκιθεώρου Τελευσία <τοῦ> Θρασυκρίτου· Κώων φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Ἰππάρχου· αἱ πᾶσαι φιάλαι □□ΙΙΙΙ συν τῷ πῖλῳ· Κολεᾶ δύο ἑλεφάντινα, τὸ μὲν Τιμέου, τὸ δὲ Θυμῳίδου· θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν Δεξιλάου· δακτύλιος λιθάριον ἔχων Νικολάου· χρυσοῦς λυ-
σιμάχεος· Τιμοκράτους στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ προκομίου· Παμφίλης τέτραχμον ἐφέσιον καὶ δραχμὴ Ῥοδία· ἐν τῷ ναυί εἰσω· Ἀρκεστράτου ται-
νία περιηργυρωμένη· κρατῆρες ἀργυροῖ δύο, Στρατονίκης ἀνάθημα· τράπεζα ἀργυρᾶ· τρίπους ἀργυροῦς, Ἀρσινόης ἀνάθημα· τριήρης ἀργυρᾶ, Σελεύκου ἀν[ά]-
θημα· φιάλη ἐμ πλινθείῳ, θεωρῶν ἐπιδόντων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου· θυμιατήρια χρυσᾶ δύο·

- 90055 κρατῆρ ἀργυροῦς, Παρμίσκου ἀνάθημα· χρυσοῦ παντοδα-
(40) knobbed phiale of Philotas; phiale of Rhodian Timanthes; smooth phiale of Nikippos; phiale of Pyrrias; phiale of Demetrios, Herakleitos, Aischron; Sosis and Praxidemos and Sokles phiale; phiale of the Koans with Anaxibios chief theoros; phiale of Ammonios; phiale of the Kalymnians with Diophanes chief theoros; phiale of
- 90060 Philokleides; phiale of Hierokles; phiale of Simias; phiale of the Koans, aparche to Apollo; phiale of Diokles of Kos; phiale with Aertas chief theoros; phiale of the Koans with Xopyrion chief theoros; phiale of the Koans with Aratos chief theoros; figured phiale of Herakleides; phiale of the Koans with Didymarchos chief theoros; of the Megalopolitans with Aphthonetos chief theoros; phiale of the Rhodians with
- 90065 Phrasilas chief theoros; phiale of the Rhodians with Philon chief theoros; phiale of the Koans with Eukleides chief theoros. (45) And in our year of office: phiale of the Koan demos of the Isthmiatai with Teleutias son of Thrasykritos chief theoros; phiale of the Koans with Hipparchos chief theoros. Total phialai 59, with the pilos. Two ivory scabbards, the one of Timeos the other of Thymoides; bronze censer of Dexilaos; ring with stone of Nikolaos; gold Lysimachean; gold crown of Timokrates for the head; Ephesian tetradrachm and Rhodian drachma of Pamphile.
- In the temple within.** silvered ribbon of Archestratos; two silver kraters, dedication of Stratonike; silver table; silver tripod, dedication of Arsinoe; silver trireme, dedication of Seleukos; phiale in plinth, gift of the theoroi from king Ptolemy;
- 90075 tnsers; silver krater, dedication of Parmiskos; of various unstamped gold 50 ποῦ ἀσήμου ὀλκή ΗΠ· χρυσοῦ ἄλλου ὀλκή ΠΠ· σφραγὶς ἀργυρᾶ, ὀλκή ΠΙΠΙ· ἄλλου χρυσοῦ ὀλκή Π ἐνεστιν ἐμ πισγίδι σχοινίνει· φιάλιον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκή ΠΠ· σπλεγγὶς χ[ρυσ]- σῆ συντεθλασμένη, ὀλκή ΠΠΠ· δρακόντιον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκή ΠΠ· ἄλλο χρυσίον, ὀλκή ΠΠΠΙ· θυμιατήριον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκή ΠΠΠ, Βουλομάγας ἀνάθημα, τὸ θυμιατήριον
- 90080 ὀλκή ΠΠΔ· δακτύλιοι ὑπάργυροι ΗΠΠΔ· ἄλλοι ἀργυροὶ ΔΠΠΠΙ· ὑπόχρυσοι Δ· κύλικες δύο τηιουργεῖς ἀργυρένδετοι ἐν οἰκίσκῳ, Κτήσωνος ἀνάθημα· δακτύλιος λόγχην ἔχων χρυσοῦς· κυλύχνιον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκή Π· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς συντεθλασμένος, ὀλκή ΠΠΠΠ· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς, Μνασικράτους ἀνάθημα· τετράραγμα πτολεμαϊκὰ δύο· νομίσματος παντοδαποῦ ὀλκή ΠΔΠΠΠΠ· ταῦτα ἐνι ἐμ πισγίδι ξυλίνει·
- 90085 55 ἄλλο χρυσίον, ὀλκή ΠΠΠΠ· ταινιδιον χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ ταινιδίου, Βυβλίων ἀνάθημα· ἄλλο χρυσίον, ὀλκή ΠΠ· ταινιδιον, Γλαύκου ἀνάθημα· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, Λυσάνδρου ἀνάθημα, ὀλκή ΠΔΠΠΠ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς κισσοῦ ὁμ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνέθηκε, ὀλκή ΗΔΔΔΔ· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς, Δημητρίου
- 90090 ἀνάθημα, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ ΠΔΔΔΠΠΠ· στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Αντίπατρος Βαλάγρου, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ ΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠΙ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε Φιλοκλῆς, σὺν λίνῳ ὀλκή ΠΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκε Πολύκλειτος, σὺν λίνῳ ὀλκή ΠΔΔΔΠΠΠΠΠΠΙ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δά- φνης ὃν ἀνέθηκε Φάραξ, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ καὶ ἱμάντι ΠΠΠΠ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκε
- 90095 Κτησικλῆς, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠΠΠΙ· στέφανοι δύο χρυσοὶ μυρρίνης οὖς (50) weight 150; of other gold weight 6; silver seal, weight 1.3; of other gold weight 1, (which) is in reed basket; small silver phiale, weight .3; gold fillet crushed, weight 3; small silver snake, weight 2; other gold, weight 5.3; silver censer weight 7; dedication of Boulomagas, the censer, weight 560; 260 silvered rings; other silver 18; gilded 10; two Teian-style silver gound kylixes in shrine, dedication of Kteson; gold ring with spearhead; small silver kylichnion, weight 1; gold ring crushed, weight 4; gilded ring with garnet; gold ring, dedication of Mnasikrates; two Ptolemaic tetradrachms; of various coin weight 64, these are in a wood basket; (55) other gold, weight 8; gold ribbon on ribbon, dedication of the Byblioi; other gold, weight 6; ribbon, dedication of Glaukos; gold crown dedication of Lysander, weight 67; gold ivy crown which Ptolemy dedicated, weight 140; gold laurel crown, dedication of Demetrios, weight with string and wax 87; laurel crown which Antipater son of Balagros dedicated, weight with string and wax 46.3; gold crown which Philokles dedicated, weight with string 93; gold laurel crown which Polykleitos dedicated, weight with string 87.3; gold laurel crown which Phrax dedicated, weight with string and cord 53; gold laurel crown which Ktesikles dedicated, with the string 48.3; two gold myrtle crowns which
- 90100 60 ἀνέθηκε Νικοκρέων, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ ΠΔΠ· στέφανος δάφνης χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε Ξενόφαντος, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ ΠΔΠΠΠΠΠΠΙ· στέφανος μυρρίνης χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε Τώμιλκος, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ ΔΔΠ· ἔχει ἡ ὑφίερεία· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε Λύσανδρος, ὀλκή σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ΔΔΠΠ· στέφανος μυρρίνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Πνυ- ταγόρας, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ ΔΔΔΠΠΠΠΙ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων, ὀλκή ΠΔΔΔΔΠΠΠ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε Πευκέστας, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ ΠΔΔ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε Καλλικράτης, ὀλκή σὺν κηρῷ καὶ λίνῳ ΔΠΠΠΠΠΠΙ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν
- 90110 ἀνέθηκε Αντίγονος, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ ΔΔΔΠΠΠΠ· στέφανοι δύο οὖς ἀνέθηκε Ανδροκλῆς, ὀλκή σὺν λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ· ἄλλος στέφανος ἀνεπίγραφος χρυσοῦς, ὀλκή ΔΔΔΠΠΠΠ· ἄλλος στέφανος ἀνεπίγραφος, ὀλκή ΔΔΠΠΠΠ· οἱ πάντες στέφανοι ἐν τ[ῷ]
- 90120 65 ναδί τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ΔΔΠΠ χωρὶς τῶν πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ. στέφανος χρυσοῦς πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ, ὀλκή ΠΔΠΠ· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου, ὀλκή ΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠ· στρεπτὸν

- 90125 χρυσοῦν· στέφανος ὧι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐστεφάνωται, ὁλκὴ σὺν τῷ λίνῳι ΗΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὧι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐστεφάνωται, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν βασιλίσ-
σα Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου θυγάτηρ, χρυσοῖ ὁλκὴ □Η□□□□□· ἄλλοι στέφανοι χρυσοῖ τρεῖς οἷς αἱ Χάριτες ἐστεφάνωνται, οὓς ἀνέθηκε βασιλίσσα Στρα-
τονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου θυγάτηρ, ὁλκὴ χρυσοῖ ΔΔΔ□· καθεστῆρ χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε βασιλίσσα
- 90130 Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου θυγάτηρ τῇι Λητοῖ ἐχ θυ-
ρεῶν ΔΔΔΔ□□□□, ὁλκὴ Η□□□□□□□□· καὶ δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἀνέθηκε τῇι Λητοῖ, ἐχων σάρδιον ἐφ' οὗ Ἀπόλλων ἐπίσημον, ὁλκὴ ΔΙΙ· καὶ φιάλας χρυσοῦς δύο διαλίθους,
- (60) Nikokreon dedicated, weight with string and wax 65; gold laurel crown which Xenophantes dedicated, weight with string 63.3; gold myrtle crown which Iomilkos
90135 dedicated, weight with string and wax 25, (which) the assistant priestess has; gold crown which Lysander dedicated, weight with the string 26; gold myrtle crown which Pnytagoras dedicated, weight with string and wax 31.3; gold crown which the Delian demos dedicated, weight 96; gold crown which Peukestas dedicated, weight with string 70; gold crown which Kallikrates dedicated, weight with wax and string 16.3; gold
90140 crown which Antigonos dedicated, weight with string 37; two crowns which Androkles dedicated, weight with string and wax 59; another gold crown uninscribed, weight 37; another uninscribed crown, weight 23. Total crowns in the (65) Temple of Apollo 22, apart from those on the wall. Gold crown on the wall, weight 62; another gold crown from the wall, weight 47; gold collar; crown with which the statue is crowned, weight
90145 with the string 144; another gold crown with which the statue is crowned, which queen Stratonike daughter of king Demerios dedicated, gold weight 609; three other gold crowns with which the Graces are crowned, which queen Stratonike daughter of king Demetrios dedicated, weight gold 31; gold katheter which queen Stratonike daughter of king Demetrios dedicated to Leto from the 48 doors weight 109.4; and gold ring which
90150 she dedicated to Leto, with sardion with Apollo image, weight 10.2; and two gold phialai with stones,
- 70 ὁλκὴ □ΔΔΔ□□□· καὶ δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ἐχοντα σάρδιον ἐφ' οἷ ἐπίσημον Νίκη, ὃν ἐχει ὁ θεός, σὺν τῷ κίρκῳι ΔΔΔ□□□· καὶ ἀσπίδίσκας ὀνυχίνας ΔΔ, πρὸς αἷς ἀλύ[σι]-
90155 ὀν χρυσοῦν, σὺν κίρκοις ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΙΙ· καὶ φαρέτρα ἡρακλεωτικὴ χρυσοποίκιλτος τόξον ἐχουσα καὶ ταινίδιον χρυσοῦν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιγραφὴ· καὶ μυσοῖσαι τρεῖς] λαβὰς ἐχουσαι, μία μὲν ἐλεφαντίνη, ἄλλη χρυσοποίκιλτος, ἄλλη ὀνυχα· καὶ ῥιπίδα τετράγωνον λαβὴν ἐχουσαν ἐλεφαντίνην· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ, Ἀριστοκρά-
τους τοῦ Δάμωνος ἀνάθημα, ΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□□· ἄλλη φιάλη Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ Δάμωνος, ὁλκὴ ΗΗ□ΔΔ□□· ζώδια ἀργυρᾶ δύο ἐφ' ἡμικυκλίου, Ἀπολλοδώρου ἀνάθη-
90160 μα, ὁλκὴ ΔΔΔΔ□□· ὁδόντες ἐλέφαντος δύο καὶ ὃν ἡμεῖς ἡγοράσαμεν, ὁλκὴ μναῖ δέκα, ἐξω παραδόσεως· τέτραχμα πέντε· χελιδονεῖους δύο· φιάλι[α] 75 τρία· κυμβία δύο· κυλύχνια δύο· χρυσίου ἀσῆμου ὁλκὴ Δ□· καὶ δακτύλιοι δύο ἀργυροῖ. καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· κύλιξ χρυσεῖ, Ἐχενίκης ἀνάθημα, ὁλκὴ □·
90165 οὗ τὰ ἐπτά ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε Νικίας· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς, Αὐτοκλέους ἀνάθημα· φιάλαι ἐμ πλινθείοις πέντε· ἄλλη φιάλη Νικοκλέους ἀνά-
θημα· στέφανοι δάφνης συντεθλασμένοι, ὁλκὴ Η□□□□· οὗτοι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ εἰσω· στέφανοι χρυσοῖ ΔΔΙ· ὁ πρῶτος μυρρίνης οὗ τὸ ἄλφα, ὁλκὴ Η· ὁ δεῦτερος δά-
φνης, ὁλκὴ ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ· ὁ τρίτος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ ΔΔ· ὁ τέταρτος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ σὺν τῷ σπάρτῳι ΔΔ· ὁ πέμπτος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ ΗΔΔΙΙΙ· ὁ ἕκτος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ □Δ□□□□□□□· ὁ ἑβδόμος δά-
90170 φνης, ὁλκὴ □Δ□□□□□· ὁ ὀγδοὺς δάφνης, ὁλκὴ □Δ□□□□□· ὁ ἑνατὸς δάφνης, ὁλκὴ □Δ□□□□□· ὁ δέκατος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ὁ ἐνδέκατος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ □Δ□□□□□□□· ὁ δωδέκατος δά-
(70) weight 537; and gold ring with sardion with Nike image, which the god has, with the circle, 33; and 20 onyx disks with gold chain, with circles 430.2; and gold
90175 ornamented Heraklean quiver with bow and gold ribbon, on which inscription; and three flyswatters/fans with handles, one ivory, another gold ornamented, another onyx; and square fan with ivory handle; silver phiale dedication of Aristokrates son of Damon, 282; another phiale of Aristokrates son of Damon, weight 276; two silver animals on semi-circle, dedication of Apollodoros, weight 42; two elephant tusks and the one which we bought, weight ten mnai, not part of the transferral; five tetradrachmas;
90180 two swallows; three small phialai; (75) two kymbia; two small kylixes; of unstamped gold weight 11; and two silver rings. And in our year of office: gold kylix, dedication of Echenike, weight 50.
(Temple) of the Seven. In the prodomos: gold crown which Nikias dedicated; another gold crown, dedication of Autokles; five phialai in plinths; another phiale,
90185 dedication of Nikokles; crushed laurel crowns, weight 167. These in the Temple of Apollo on the wall within: 21 gold crowns. The first myrtle where the alpha, weight 100; the second laurel, weight 90.3; the third laurel, weight 71; the fourth laurel, weight with the thread 79; the fifth laurel, weight 120.3; the sixth laurel, weight 64.4; the seventh laurel, weight 69; the eighth laurel, weight 69; the ninth laurel, weight 69; the tenth laurel, weight 95.3; the eleventh laurel, weight 68.3; the
90190 twelfth laurel,
80 φνης, ὁλκὴ σὺν τῷ λίνῳι □ΔΔΔ□□□□□· ὁ τρίτος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ □ΔΔΔ□□□□□· ὁ τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος, ὁλκὴ σὺν τῷ σπάρτῳι ΗΔΔΔ□· ὁ πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ □ΔΔ□□□□□□□· ὁ ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ ΗΔΔ□□□□□□□· ὁ ἑβδόμος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὁλκὴ σὺν

- 90195 τῶι λίνῳι Η· ὁ ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκὴ □ΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙΙ· ὁ ἑνατος καὶ δέκατος δάφνης, ὀλκὴ □ΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ· ὁ εἰκοστὸς δάφνης, ὀλκὴ Η□□□Ι· ὁ εἷς καὶ εἰκοστὸς δάφνης, ὀλκὴ Η□□□· τούτους παρελάβομεν οὐ σταθμῶι, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν σταθμῶι παραλαβεῖν. ἐν τῶι Πωρίνῳι· φιάλαι ΔΙΙΙ· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντων Κνιδίων· φιάλη, Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Πατρόκλου· φιάλια τρία, Στρατονίκης
- 90200 ἀνάθημα· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Δαμονίκου· φιάλη παρὰ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Φιλόκ<τ>α· φιάλη παρὰ βασιλέ- 85 ὡς Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Ποσειδίππου· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Πεισιστράτου· φιάλη τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλε- 90205 ὡς ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Θεοφίλου· φιάλη Πασικράτους Ῥοδίου ἀνάθημα· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Εὐκλέος· φιάλη παρὰ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐπ' ἀρκιθεώρου Στράτωνος. ἐν τῶι οἴκῳ ὃν ἀνέθεσαν Ἄνδριοι· χρυσίου ἀσήμου σὺν τῶι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου, ὀλκὴ ΔΔ□ΙΙΙ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς συνήχθη σὺν δακτυλίοις δύο τῶι τε ἐχ' θησαυροῦ τοῦ ἐν Νήσῳι καὶ τοῦ <ε>ὕρεθέντος ἐν ἱερῶι ὀλκὴ Δ□□□□ΙΙΙ. καὶ τάδε ἀργυρώματα·
- 90210 λιβανωτίς· ἀργυρίς· καβάσας· κύαθος· φιάλιον ἀντὶ τῆς θηρικλείου τῆς ἀποβληθείσης Δημοσῶντος· κύλικες δύο, ἡ μία πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχει, (80) weight with the string 81.3; the thirteenth laurel, weight 83.3; the fourteenth, weight with the thread 131; the fifteenth laurel, weight 73.3; the sixteenth laurel, weight 123.3; the seventeenth laurel, weight with the thread 100; the eighteenth 90215 laurel, weight 97.4; the nineteenth laurel, weight 83.3; the twentieth laurel, weight 103.1; the twenty-first laurel, weight 104. These we received not by weight for they said they themselves did not receive them by weight. **In the Porinos:** 13 phialai; phiale of the Deliades, with Knidians giving the choreia; phiale Deliades, with Patroklos giving the choreia; three small phialai, dedication 90220 of Stratonike; phiale of the Rhodians with Damonikos chief theoros; phiale from king Ptolemy and the city of the Alexandrians with Philok(t)as chief theoros; phiale from king (85) Ptolemy and the city of the Alexandrians with Poseidippos chief theoros; phiale of the Rhodians with Peisistratos chief theoros; phiale of the city of the Alexandrians with Theophilos chief theoros; phiale dedication of Pasikrates of 90225 Rhodes; phiale of the Rhodians with Eukles chief theoros; phiale from king Ptolemy and the city of the Alexandrians with Straton chief theoros. **In the Oikos which the Andrians dedicated:** unstamped gold with that from the censer, weight 25.3 and in our year of office it was collected with two rings, the one from the treasure on the Island and the one found in the sanctuary, weight 19.3. And the 90230 following silver objects: incense dish; argyris; kabasas; kyathos; small phiale replacing the discarded Therikleian of Demoson; two kylixes, the one without base, from 90 Πυθέου· μάνης Πυθέου· καπηλική· κυλύχνιον ἀντὶ κριοῦ ὃν ἀνέθηκε Δημήτριος· ῥοδιακὴ κύλιξ ὑποπυθμένιον οὐκ ἔχουσα, θυμοχάρους· κυμβίον· ἡθμ[ός]· 90235 ἡδυποτίδιον ἀντὶ τῶν αἰγίσκων ὧν ἀνέθηκεν Ἡγήμων· ἡδυποτίδιον ὃ ἀποκατέστησαν οἱ ἐπὶ Καλοδίκου ἱεροποιήσαντες. ἀριθμὸς Δ□. καὶ φιάλας παρέδω- κεν ἡμῖν □ΔΔ□ΙΙΙ καὶ ἄλλ<α>ς ἐν τῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος □ΔΙ. τούτων ἦσαν Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ωκυνειδῶν ἀνάθημα· ἐπὶ Φιλίου φιάλη· ἐπ' Ἀριστοκρίτου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Ποσειδ[ί]- 90240 κου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Κλεοστράτου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Γλαυκιάδου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Χάρμου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Ὑποκλέους φιάλη· ἐπὶ Μενεκράτου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Σωσιμάχου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Φίλλι- δος φιάλη· ἐπὶ Τηλεμνήστου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Μελιχίδου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Χαρίλα φιάλη· ἐπὶ Καλλίμου φιάλη· ἐπὶ Μελιχίδου τοῦ Ἐχέσθενος φιάλαι δύο· [— — —] 90245 95 ἐπὶ Προκλέους φιάλη· ἐπὶ Πολύβου φιάλη· ἐπ' Ἀρχεδάμα φιάλη· ἐπὶ Ἐλπίνου φιάλαι δύο· ἐπὶ Φίλλιος φιάλη· ἐπὶ Θεοπρώτου φιάλη· ἐπ' Ἀντιχάρου φιάλη· ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνου φιάλη· ἐπ' Ἀναξιθέμιδος φιάλη· ἐπ' Ἀρτυσίλεω φιάλη· φιάλη Ωκυνειδῶν καὶ 90250 Θυεσταδῶν, τρικτυαρχησάντων Αὐτοσθέ- νους, Μενεκράτους· φιάλη Ωκυνειδῶν καὶ Θυεσταδῶν, τρικτυαρχησάντων Γλαύκου, Αρχεδάμα· φιάλη Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ωκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχή- σαντος Ἀριστοκλέους κα<τὰ> τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος. κεφαλὴ ΔΔ□ΙΙΙ. ὧν Πτολεμαῖος· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, 90255 χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ταμίου Ξένωνος· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπιστατοῦντος Τηλεμνήστου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαί- (90) Pytheas; manes of Pytheas; kapelike; small kylix in place of the ram that Demetrios dedicated; Rhodian kylix without stand; kymbion from Thymochares; strainer; 90255 hedypotidion for the goats that Hegemon dedicated; hedypotidion which the hieropoioi during Kalodikos' archonship dedicated. (Number 15?) And he gave over to us 78 phialai and 61 others **in the Temple of Apollo.** Of those (the following) were dedication of Thyestadai and Okyneidai: phiale in Philios' archonship; phiale in Aristokritos'; phiale in Poseidikos'; phiale in 90260 Kleostratos'; phiale in Glaukiades'; phiale in Charmos'; phiale in Kallimos'; two phialai in Mellichides son of Echesthenos'; (95) phiale in Prokles'; phiale in Polybos'; phiale in Archedamas'; two phialai in Elpinos'; phiale in Phillis'; phiale in Theoprotos'; phiale in Antichares'; phiale in Antigonos'; phiale in Anaxithemis'; phiale in Artysileos'; phiale of Okyneidai and Thyestadai, with Autosthenes

- 90265 Menekrates trittys-chiefs; phiale of Okyneidai and Thyestadai, with Glaukos Archedamas trittys-chiefs; phiale of Okyneidai and Thyestadai, with Aristokles trittys-chief in the same spot. Sum 28.
Of those (the following were dedicated by) Ptolemy: phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, Xenon steward; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, with Telemnestos overseer; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, 100 ου, ταμία Μενύλλου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπιστατοῦντος Μνησιμάχου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασι-
90270 λέως Πτολεμαίου, ταμίου Σκύμνου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ταμίου Τερουμβρότου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Σωσιμάχου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόν-
90275 τος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Τηλεμνήστου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Χαρίλα· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπι-
90280 δόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Καλλίμου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Μειλιχίδου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, 105 χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Πολύβου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπ' Ἀρχεδάμου· φιάλη Δηλιά-
90285 δων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐφ' Ἐλπίνου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Θαρσύνοντος· φιάλη Δηλι-
90290 άδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπ' Ἀμφικλέους· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Φίλλιδος· φιάλη Δη-
90295 λιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Τυννάδου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Θεοπρώτου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπ' Ἀντιχάρου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνου.
(100) with Menylas steward; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, with Mnesimachos overseer; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, with Skymnos steward; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, with Hierombrotos steward; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Sosimachos' archonship; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Telemnestos'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Charilas'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Kallimos'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Meilichides'; phiale of the Deliades, (105) with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Polybos'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Archidamas'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Elpinos'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Tharsynon's; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Amphikles'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Phillis's; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Tynnades'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Theoprotos'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Antichares'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Antigonos';
90300 110 φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Πάχητος· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπ' Ἀναξιθέμι-
90305 δος· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπὶ Φάνου· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ἐπ' Ἀρτυσί-
90310 λεω· φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου. κεφαλή ΔΔΠΙ. ὦν Ἑρμίας· ἐπὶ Μειλιχίδου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπ' Ἐ-
90315 χερμάντιδος φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπὶ Προκλέους φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπὶ Πολύβου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χο-
90320 ρεΐα ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπ' Α<ρ>χεδάμα φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐφ' Ἐλπίνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπὶ Θαρσύ-
90325 115 νοντος φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπ' Ἀμφικλείους φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπὶ Φίλλιδος φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορε[Ι]-
90330 α· ἐπὶ Τυννάδου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπὶ Θεοπρώτου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπ' Ἀντιχάρου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπι-
90335 δόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπὶ Πάχητος φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπὶ Ἀναξιθέμιδος φιάλη, Δηλιάδες, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπὶ Φάνου φιάλη, Δηλιάδες, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου· ἐπ' Ἀρτυσίλεω φιάλη, Δηλιάδες, χορεία ἐπι-
90340 δόντος Ἑρμίου. κεφαλή ΔΠΙΙ. ὦν Φιλέταιρος· ἐφ' Ἐλπίνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπὶ Θαρσύνοντος φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεία
(110) phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Pachys'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Anaxithemis'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Phanes'; phiale of the

- 90335 Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia, in Artysileos'; phiale of the Deliades, with king Ptolemy giving the choreia. Sum 27.
Of those (the following were dedicated by) Hermias: in Meilichides' archonship phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Echemantis' phiale of the
- 90340 Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Prokles', phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in A(r)chedamas', phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Elpinos', phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Tharsynon's, (115) phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Amphikles', phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Phillis's, phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Tynnades',
- 90345 phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Antichares', phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Antigonos', phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Pachys's, phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Anaxithemis', phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in Phanes's, phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia; in
- 90350 Artysileos', phiale of the Deliades, with Hermias giving the choreia. Sum 17.
Of those (the following were dedicated by) Philetairos: in Elpinos's archonship, phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Tharsynon's, phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia;
- 90355 120 ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπ' Ἀμφικλέους φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπὶ Φίλλιδος φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπὶ Θεοπρώτου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπ' Ἀντιχάρου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπὶ Πάχρητος φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπ[ὶ] Ἀναξιθέμιδος φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα
- 90360 ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπὶ Φάνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· ἐπ' Ἀρτυσίλεω φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου· κεφαλὴ ΔΙ. ἐπὶ Φάνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης· ἐπ' Ἀρτυσίλεω φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης
- 90365 125 Στρατονίκης· ἐπὶ Φάνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου· ἐπ' Ἀρτυσίλεω φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου. κεφαλὴ ΙΙΙΙ. φιάλη, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Παιρισάδου· φιάλη, ἀνάθημα Ἀκεσίμου Κρητός· ἐπ' Ἀρτυσίλεω φιάλη, ἀνάθημα Νικολάου. κεφαλὴ ΙΙΙ. καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φιάλαι ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙ. καὶ τάδε ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· φιάλην Νικόλαος Ἀγίου Αἰτωλὸς ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλ<λ>ωνι Ἀρ-
- 90370 τέμιδι Λητοῖ, ὀλκὴ Η· φιάλην Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, ὀλκὴ Η· φιάλην Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Ἐρμίου, ὀλκὴ Η· φιάλην Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου, ὀλκὴ Η. καὶ τάδε ποτήρια ὧν ἀνέθηκε Στησίλεως· ἐπὶ Λυσιγένου Θηρίκλειος καὶ κυμ-
- 90375 (120) in Amphikles', phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Phillis's, phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Theoprotos', phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Antichares', phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Antigonos', phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Pachys's, phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Anaxithemis', phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Phanes's, phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia; in Artysileos', phiale of the Deliades, with Philetairos giving the choreia. Sum 11.
- 90380 In Phanes' archonship, phiale of the Deliades, choreia for queen Stratonike; in Artysileos', phiale of the Deliades, choreia for queen (125) Stratonike; in Phanes' phiale of the Deliades, with king Antigonos giving the choreia; in Artysileos' phiale of the Deliades, with king Antigonos giving the choreia. Sum 4.
- 90385 Phiale, dedication of king Pairisades; phiale dedication of Akestimos of Crete; in Artysileos' archonship phiale, dedication of Nikolaos. Sum 3.
And of the old, 49 phialai.
- 90390 And the following in the year of our office: Nikolaos son of Hagios from Aetolia dedicated a phiale to Apollo Artemis Leto, weight 100; phiale of the Deliades, king Ptolemy giving the choreia, weight 100; phiale of the Deliades, Hermios giving the choreia, weight 100; phiale of the Deliades, king Antigonos giving the choreia, weight 100.
- 90395 And the following cups from what Stesileos dedicated: in Lysixenos' archonship, Therikleian and kymbion;
- 90400 130 βίον· ἐπὶ Κτησικλέου<υ>ς μάνης καὶ φιάλη καρυω<τ>· ἐπὶ Δημόνακτος μάνης καὶ ἄλλος μάνης· ἐπὶ Κλεοκρίτου τηιουργῆς καὶ ῥοδιακῆ· ἐπὶ Πυρρίδου καρχῆσιον καὶ κυμβίον καὶ ἡδυποτίδιον· ἐπὶ Φίλλιδος φιάλη καρυωτὴ καὶ ἡδυποτίδιον· ἐπὶ Διοδότου φιάλαι δύο· ἐπὶ Ξένωνος Θηρίκλειος πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα καὶ κυμβίον· ἐπὶ Δημοκρίτου ῥοδιακὸν ἔμβλημα οὐκ ἔχον· ἐπ' Ἀνδροθάλου χειουργῆς· ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδου ῥοδιακὸν ἔμβλημα οὐκ ἔχον καὶ κυμβίον· ἐπὶ Κώκωνος ῥοδιακὸν πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχον καὶ βατιάκη· ἐπὶ Θεοδότου τηιουργῆς ἔμβλημα οὐκ

- 90405 ἔχουσα καὶ κόνδυ· ἐπ’ Ἀφθονήτου κονω-
νεΐα· ἐπὶ Τιμοθέμιδος χιουργῆς πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα καὶ κόνδυ· ἐπὶ Δημέου προτομή καὶ
ἡδυποτίδιον· ἐπὶ Φιλίου θηρίκλειος ἐμβλημα οὐκ ἔχουσα·
135 ἐπ’ Ἀριστοκρίτου θηρίκλειος· ἐπὶ Ποσειδίκου μάνης καὶ μιλησιουργῆς· ἐπὶ Κλεοστρ<ά>του
ἡδυποτίς, ἄλλη ἡδυποτίς· ἐπὶ Γλαυκιάδου βατιάκη καὶ ἄλ-
90410 λη βατιάκη· ἐπὶ Χάρμου βατιάκιον· ἐφ’ Ὑφοκλέους κυμβίον· ἐπὶ Δημέου φιάλη καὶ ἄλλη φιάλη· ἐπὶ
Φίλλιος ροδιακῇ ἐμβλημα οὐκ ἔχουσα καὶ βατιάκη· ἐπ’ Α[ν]-
τιγόνου βατιάκη· ἐπὶ Καλοδίκου ροδιακῇ ἐμβλημα οὐκ ἔχουσα οὐδὲ οὔς· ἐπὶ Κυρβηλίωνος φιάλη καὶ
ἄλλη φιάλη· ἐπὶ Μελιχίδου ροδιακῇ ἐμβλημα οὐκ ἔ-
χουσα καὶ φιάλιον· ἐπὶ Χαρίλα ροδιακὸν πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχον καὶ μάνιον οὔς οὐκ ἔχον· ἐπὶ
90415 Καλ<λ>ίμου ροδιακῇ πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα καὶ μάνιον οὔς οὐκ ἔ-
χον· ἐπὶ Μελιχίδου φιάλη· ἐπ’ Ἐχεμάντιος ροδιακῇ· ἐπὶ Προκλέους ροδιακῇ· ἐπ’ Ἀρχεδάμα βατιάκη
καὶ ἄλλη βατιάκη· ἐφ’ Ἐλπίνου φιάλιον, ἄλ<λ>ο φιάλιον·
(130) in Ktesikles’, manes and knobbed phiale; in Demonax’s, manes and another manes;
in Kleokritos’, Thean-crafted and Rhodian; in Pyrriades, karchesion and kymbion and
hedypotidion; in Phillis’s, knobbed phiale and hedypotidion; in Diodotos’ two
90420 phialai; in Xenon’s Therikleian without base and kymbion; in Demokritos’, Rhodian
without figured boss; in Androthales’, Chian crafted; in Olympiades’, Rhodian without
figured boss and kymbion; in Kokon’s, Rhodian without base and batiake; in
Theodotos’, Thean-crafted without figured boss and kondy; in Aphthonetos’ Cononian
(kylix); in Tiimothemis’, Chian crafted without base and kondy; in Demeas’s head and
90425 hedypotidion; in Philios’s Therikleian without figured boss; (135) in Aristokritos’,
Therikleian; in Poseidikos’, manes and Milesian-crafted; in Kleostr(a)tos’,
hedypotis, another hedypotis; in Glaukiades’, batiake and another batiake; in
Charmos’s, small batiake; in Hypsokles’, kymbion; in Demeas’s, phiale and another
phiale; in Phillis’s Rhodian without figured boss and batiake; in Antigonos’,
90430 batiake; in Kalodikos’, Rhodian without figured boss or handle; in Kyrbelion’s,
phiale and another phiale; in Meilichides’, Rhodian without figured boss and small
phiale; in Charilas’ Rhodian without base and manion without handle; in Kalimos’,
Rhodian without base and manion without handle; in Meilichides’ phiale; in
Echemantis’, Rhodian; in Prokles’, Rhodian; in Archedamas’, batiake and another
90435 batiake; in Elpinos’, small phiale and another small phiale;
140 ἐπὶ Θαρσύνοντος βατιάκη καὶ φιάλη· ἐπ’ Ἀμφικλείους ροδιακῇ τὸ οὔς ἀπεαγῆ· ἐπὶ Φίλλιος τοῦ
Ποσειδίκου ροδιακῇ πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχουσα καὶ μάνιον· ἐπὶ Τυννάδ[ου]
ροδιακῇ καὶ μάνιον· ἐπὶ Πάχητος ροδιακῇ, ἄλλη ροδιακῇ ἐμβλημα οὐκ ἔχουσα, ἄλλη ροδιακῇ ἐμβλημα
οὐκ ἔχουσα καὶ σκάφιον· ἐπὶ Φάνου ροδιακῇ καὶ σκάφιον·
90440 καὶ Μελιτοῦς ἀνάθημα φιάλη· καὶ Τηποδάμα ἀνάθημα κόνδυ καὶ ἄλλο κόνδυ· ἀριθμὸς □ΔΔ□Ι· ταῦτα
ἐστήσαμεν ἐν τῷ ζυγῷ τῷ ἐλάττονι τῷ ἐν ἀγορανο-
μίῳ πρὸς ἀργύριον ἀτ<τ>ικὸν ὁλοσχερές, καὶ ἡλκυσεν σὺν τοῖς πυθμέσι καὶ τοῖς ὥσιν τοῖς
ἀποπεπτωκόσιν δραχμὰς □ΗΗΗΔΔ□□□□· ταῦτα παρέδομεν
τοῖς μεθ’ ἡμᾶς ἱεροποιοῖς· καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς· σκάφιον, ὀλκῇ ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· καὶ κύλιξ
90445 ἡδυποτίς, ὀλκῇ ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□□· καὶ ξύλα ἦν· κέδρινα ΔΙΙΙΙ· πετελείνα □ΙΙ·
145 φάλαγγες πύξιναι ΔΔ· καὶ οὗ αἱ Γραφαί· κυπαρίσσιναι ξύλα ΙΙ καὶ δρυῖνων παράτομα ΙΙ· τὰ
δρυῖνα κατεχρήσθη εἰς τὸ ἡλιοτρόπιον· Κτησίαι τῷ ἐργωνήσαντι
ποιῆσαι τὸ κοιλόσταθμον καὶ τὰς θύρας ἔδομεν μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν· ξύλα τῶν
κεδρίνων ΙΙΙ· πετελείνα ΙΙΙΙ· φάλαγγας πυξίνας ΔΙ·
90450 καὶ τὰ κυπαρίσσιναι ΙΙ· ἀπὸ τῶν δοθέντων περιεγένετο παρατετιμημένα· κέδρινα ΙΙΙΙ, μῆκος πήχεων
ἑκάστον δέκα δύο· σανίδες τῶν εἰς τὰς
θύρας τηθεισῶν πέντε δεκαπήχεις· πετελείνου παράτομον μῆκος πήχεων δέκα· στροφεῖς οἱ
ἀποδοκιμασθέντες δύο· πετελείνον δεκάπη-
χυ· ἄλλο πετελείνον πήχεων ἕξ· ἄλλο πετελείνον· vac. ἄλλο πετελείνον· vac. τῶν στροφῶν ἀπότομον
90455 μῆκος πήχεων πέντε· παράτομα τῶν
(140) in Tharsynon’s, batiake and phiale; in Amphikleias’, Rhodian with handle broken
off; in Phillis son of Poseidikos’, Rhodian without base and manion; in Pynnades’,
Rhodian and manion; in Paches’s, Rhodian, another Rhodian without figured boss,
another Rhodian without figured boss and skaphion; in Phanes’ Rhodian and skaphion;
90460 and phiale, dedication of Melito; and kondy and another kondy, dedication of
Hippodamas. Number 76. These we put in the smaller scales in the Market Supervisor’s
Office against Attic coin altogether and they weighed with the fallen off bases and
ears drachmas 5329. These we gave over to the hieropoioi after us.
And the following in our year of office: skaphion, weight 48; and hedypotis kylix,
90465 weight 42.4.
And the wood was: cedar 14; elm 7; (145) 20 boxwood beams; and where the Graphai:
cypress wood 2 and pieces of oak 2; the oak was used for the sundial; to make the
coffered ceiling and the doors with (the approval) of the architect and the overseers
we gave to Ktesias the carpenter: 8 pieces of cedar; 4 elm; 11 boxwood beams; and the
90470 2 cypress pieces. From what was given planks with rebates were left: 4 cedar, each 12
cubits in length; five ten cubit planks cut for the doors; elm plank with rebate, ten
cubits in length; 2 tested/trued door sockets; ten cubit elm board; another elm 6
cubits; another elm [space] another elm; length cut from the sockets, 5 cubits in

- 90545 γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ διαταχ[θέν]τος εἰς τὰ ξένια τοῖς τεχνίταις ΔΔ□□· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφ[ῆ]ν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρας καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Ἀπατουρίου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Πραξιμένης κα[ὶ] Τε[λ]εσαρχίδης, ἐν ᾧ λοιπὸν ΗΔ□□□□//· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρας καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Τελεσαρχίδου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἐ-
- 90550 20 θεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμεν[ί]ων κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου τὰ δάνεια ἃ ἀπέδωκαν κ[αὶ] τοὺς τόκους Ὅστακος καὶ Βόηθος καὶ Καίβων καὶ Θεόδωρος, τὸ πᾶν ΧΧ□ΔΔΔ□□II· ἁ- ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρας καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ληναίων[ος], ἔθεσαν ταμίαι οἱ ἐπὶ Τελεσαρχίδου Παρμενίων καὶ Μνησίς τὸ περιγεγόμενον ἁ- πὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν □□□□IIII· ἄλλος στάμνος <ἐ>πιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Τ[ε]λ[ε]σαρχίδου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Παρμενίων καὶ Μνησίς ὄρων ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Νικίου Ποσιδεῶνος, [ἐ]θεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Λεοντιάδης καὶ Δημήτριος ἱεροποιοὶ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου[ς], ὁ οὐκ ἐδανείσαντο οἱ ἐγκεκτημένοι ἐν Ῥηνεῖαι, ἐν ᾧ λοιπὸν ΔΔ□□IIII· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ
- 90555 25 ἱερὸν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τῷ θεῷ οὗ προεχρήσατο ἡ πόλις εἰς τ[οῦ]ς στεφάνους τὸν τε βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖ Εὐμένει καὶ τὸν εἰς Ῥόδον ΧΗΗΗ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊεύς [Π]οσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὰ ὀφειλόμενα δάνεια παρὰ τεῖ πόλει ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποδόσεων ᾧ πρότερον ἐψ[η]φίσατο ὁ δήμος Χ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐ- πὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης τῶν τ[ρα]πεζῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ΗΗ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι [—] Καίβων καὶ Μνησ[ικ]λείδης ὄρων ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρας καὶ Ἡρα-
- 90570 30 κλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαί[ε]ως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Κρίτις καὶ Συνώνυμος τὸ [πε]σὸν παρ' Ἀριστοφάνου δάνειον ὃ ἐδάνεισαν αὐτῷ ἱεροποιοὶ Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμενίων, ἐν ᾧ λοιπὸν ΗΗ□□[Ι]II□//· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδῶ[ρ]ου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ἀπατουριῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Τελεσαρχίδου
- 90575 Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμενίων τὸ περιὸν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου □□ΔΔII□//· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ χορηγικὸν □ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□IIII· ἄλλος στάμν[ο]ς ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ [τ]ῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ἀρησιῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Πραξιμένης καὶ Τελεσαρχίδης ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀπατουρίου, ἐν ᾧ λοιπὸν
- 90580 ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ/· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐ- 35 πὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ἀρησιῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Πραξιμένης καὶ Τελεσαρχίδης ο[ὶ] ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀπατουρίου τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ περιόντος ἐκ τῆς στήλης ΗΗΔIIII· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρας καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊεύς Ἀρησιῶνος, ἔθεσαν [—] ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀπατουρίου Πραξιμένης καὶ Τελεσαρχίδης οὗ ἀναφέρε- ται ἐν τῇ στήλῃ τὸ περιὸν □ΧΧΧΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□□□II/· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγ[ρ]αφὴν ἔχων· □ΗΗ□□□II□/. κεφαλῇ οὗ παρελάβομεν ἐν τεῖ ἱερᾷ κιβωτῷ □Μ□ΗΗΗΗΔΔ□□□□IIII□□/. καὶ τότε ἄλλο ἀργύριον ἐτέθη ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν κιβωτόν, παρόντος ἀρχοντος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ τῶν πρυτάνεων τῶν κατὰ μῆ- να· ἐν στάμνῳ ᾧ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημ[ά]ρου Ἀρησιῶνος, ἔθεσαν
- 90590 ἱεροποιοὶ Πολύξενος, Φίλιππος, Ἀμφοτερὸς, Σίληνος τὸ δάνειον ὃ κατέβαλε Ἑρ- 40 μων Σόλωνος □Η□II□ καὶ τόκον ὃν ἐφη ὀφείλειν ΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□I· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀπατουριῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Φωκαϊεύς Κρίτις Νικάρχου, Συν[ώ]νυμος Τερομβρότου τὸ περιὸν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ΗΗΔΔIIII□· ἄλλον στάμνον, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μένυλλος [κα]ὶ Φωκαιεὺς κατὰ [—] τὴν διάταξιν εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανείων τῶν ὀφειλομένων τῷ θεῷ παρὰ τεῖ πόλει Χ, καὶ εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ προχρησθέντος εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους τῶν βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Μ[α]σ[α]ννάσαι καὶ εἰς τὸ προσοφειλόμενον εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς ἐπ' ἄρ- χοντος Τελεσαρχίδου □ΧΗΗΗ□· ἄλλον στάμνον, [ἀ]πὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶ[νο]ς, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς τῆς ἀγορᾶς □ΧΗΗΗ□□IIII□/. 45 ἄλλον στάμνον, ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δ[η]μάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος κ[αὶ] Φωκαιεὺς τῶν ὄρων □ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλον στάμνον, ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σι- λήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν [τα]μίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς τὸ χορηγικὸν □Η[Η]ΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□IIII· ἄλλον στάμνον, ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶν[—]ος {Ποσιδεῶνος}, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλο[ς] καὶ Φωκαιεὺς τραπεζῶν ΗΗ· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρας καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶ- νος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Τ[ε]λ[ε]σαρχίδου Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμενίων τὸ πραχθὲν ἐνηροσίων, ἐνοικίω[ν], τελῶν, τόκων □Χ□ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□IIII□□//· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Φί[λω]νος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ
- 90610 ἰ<ε>ρὸν ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Τελεσαρχίδου Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμενίων τὸ 50 λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς στήλης οὗ ἐπραξαν ἐνηροσίων, ἐνοικίων, τελῶν, τόκων Χ□Η· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρας καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, {ε} ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Πολύξενος, Σίληνος, Ἀμφοτερὸς, Φίλιππος τὸ δάνειον ὃ ἀπέδωκεν Πάχης ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς Διογένηος ὃ ἐδανείσατο παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν Εὐβοέως καὶ Παρμενίωνος □, καὶ ὃν ἀπέδωκεν τόκον, φάμενος ὀφείλειν, ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ μηνῶν δύο □Δ· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶ-

- 90620 νος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς τὸ περιὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν Δ□Ι. κεφαλῇ τοῦ τεθέντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς □MXXX□HΔΔ□□□□I□. κεφα-
 λῇ τοῦ παραδοθέντος ἡμῖν καὶ τεθέντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς □MM□□□□□/· vac. καὶ χαλκοῦ τοῦ παραδοθέντος ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ταμιῶν Μενύλλου καὶ Φωκαι-
 55 ἕως XXX□HΔΔΔ□□□□II. μηνὸς Ἰερουῦ ἐξείλομεν εἰς τὰ ἔργα παρόντος ἄρχοντος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ τῶν πρυτάνεων τῶν κατὰ μῆνα· στά-
- 90625 μνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Τελεσαρχίδου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμενίων κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δή-
 μου τὸ δάνειον ὃ ἀπέδωκεν [— —] Ὑστακος Κτησικλέους □, καὶ τόκον ὃν ἔφη προσοφείλειν ΔΔ□, καὶ τὸ δάνειον ὃ ἀπέδωκεν Βόηθος Ὀρθοκλέους □, καὶ τόκον ὃν ἔφη προσ-
- 90630 οφείλειν ΔΔ□, καὶ τὸ δάνειον ὃ ἀπέδωκεν Καίβων Καίβωνος □, καὶ τόκον ὃν ἔφη προσοφείλειν ΔΔ□, καὶ τὸ δάνειον ὃ ἀπέδωκεν Θεόδωρος Σωσιβίου □, καὶ τόκον ὃν
 ἔφη προσοφείλειν ΔΔ□· τὸ πᾶν ΧΧ□ΔΔΔ□□□□II. μηνὸς Γαλαξιῶνος εἰκάδι προείλομεν ἀπὸ στάμνου οὗ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ἀρη-
- 90635 60 σιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Ἀπατουρίου Πραξιμένης καὶ Τελεσαρχίδης οὗ ἀναφέρεται<i>α</i> ἐν τῇ στήλῃ τὸ περιὸν □XXXXHHHΔΔΔ□□□□□II· ἀπὸ τούτ[ο]υ ἀφείλο-
 μεν εἰς τὸν στέφανον τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ ΧΗΗΗ□· λοιπὸν ἔνεστιν □ΧΧ□HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□□□□II· ἀπὸ τούτου μηνὸς Θαρρηλιῶνος πέμπτῃ ἱσταμένου προείλο-
- 90640 μεν εἰς τὰ ἔργα □ΧΧ· λοιπὸν ἔνεστιν □HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□□□□II. μηνὸς Βουφονιῶνος τρίτῃ ἀπιόντος τοῦτο ἐξείλομεν τὸ περιὸν ἐν τῷ στάμνῳ εἰς τὰ ἔργα τὰς □HHHH
 □ΔΔΔ□□□□□II. καὶ τότε ἄλλο ἀργύριον ἐξείλομεν μηνὸς Βουφονιῶνος εἰς τὰ ἔργα· στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶ-
- 90645 νος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης {I} εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τῷ θεῷ οὗ προεχρήσατο ἡ πόλις εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους τὸν τε βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖ Εὐ-
 65 μένει καὶ τὸν εἰς Ῥόδον □ΧΗΗΗ. μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος ἐξείλομεν ἀπὸ στάμνου οὗ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς κατὰ τὴν διατάξιν εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανείων τῶν ὀφειλομένων τῷ θεῷ παρὰ τεῖ πόλει □X, καὶ εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ προχρησθέντος εἰς τὸν
- 90650 στέφανον τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Μασαννάσαι καὶ εἰς τὸ προσοφειλόμενον εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Τελεσαρχίδου ΧΗΗΗ□· ἀπὸ τούτου
 ἀφείλομ<en> ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Δημάρου εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου ΧΧΗΗ· λοιπὸν ἔνει Η□. μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος ἐξείλο-
- 90655 μεν ἀπὸ στάμνου οὗ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Τελεσαρχίδου Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμενίων
- 90660 70 τὸ πραχθὲν ἐνηροσίων, ἐνοικίων, τελῶν, τόκων □□X□HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□□□□IIII□□//· ἀπὸ τούτου ἀφείλομεν μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος ἱεροποιοὶ Πολύξενος, Ἀμφοτερός, Φίλιππος,
 Σίληνος εἰς τὰ ἔργα □ΧΗΔΔ<IIII>· λοιπὸν ἔνεστιν □HHHH□ΔΔ□□□□□//. μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος ἐξείλομεν εἰς τὸ δάνειον τὸ Εὐβοεῖ □ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ στάμνου
- 90665 οὗ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρησιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Πολύξενος, Φίλιππος, Σίληνος, Ἀμφοτερός τὸ δάνειον ὃ κατέβαλεν Ἑρμῶν Σόλω-
 νος □Η□I□, καὶ τόκον ὃν ἔφη ὀφείλειν ΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□I· λοιπὸν ἔνει ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□□II□. κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἐξαίρεθέντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ΜΧ□□□□□II. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρεδώκαμε<n>
- 90670 τοῖς μεθ’ αὐτοὺς ἱεροποιοῖς Δημητρίῳ καὶ Μελιχιίδῃ □□MXXX□HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□□□□IIII/. παρεδώκαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸν χαλκὸν ὃν παρελάβομεν παρὰ ταμιῶν Μενύλλου καὶ
 75 Φωκαιέως τοῖς μεθ’ αὐτοὺς ἱεροποιοῖς ΧΧΧ□HHHΔΔΔ□□□II. καὶ τότε ἄλλο ἀργύριον παρελάβομεν παρ’ ἱεροποιῶν Σ[υ]νωμύνου {²⁷Συνωνύμου}>²⁷ καὶ Κρίττιος ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ κιβωτῷ
- 90675 παρόντος ἄρχοντος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ γραμματέων καὶ πρυτάνεων τῶν κατὰ μῆνα· στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴ[n ἔχ]οντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ
 Τελεσαρχίδου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Αλκιμαχος καὶ Διογένης τραπεζῶν καὶ ὄρων ΗΗΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλον
- 90680 στάμνον ᾧ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Τελεσαρχίδου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Παρμενίων καὶ Μνησις τραπεζῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ΗΗ· ἄλλον
- 90685 στάμνον ᾧ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Διοκλέους Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Τηλέμνηστος καὶ Ὀρθοκλῆς εἰς τὸ χῶμα □, ἐν ᾧ λοιπὸν ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαν-
- 90690 80 τινέως, ἐπὶ Ἀπατουρίου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ὀρθοκλῆς καὶ Πολύξενος τὸ διαγραφὲν παρὰ βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Ἀπατουρίου, ὃ κατέβαλον ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον Πολυ-
 βούλῳ οἱ ἐγγυηταὶ οἱ Κλεοπάτρας Απατούριος, Χοιρύλος, Αριστόβουλος ΗΗΗ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Τελεσαρχίδου Ποσιδε-
- 90695 ῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Παρμενίων καὶ Μνησις τὸ εἰς τὸ χῶμα, ἐν ᾧ λοιπὸν Η□ΔI□//· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ
 Δημητρίου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Φω[κί]ων Κλεοκρίτου ταμίας καὶ Παρμενίων ὁ Πολυβούλου κληρονόμος ᾧ ἔλαττον ἔλαβεν ὁ ἱατρὸς ΗΗ□, καὶ τοῦ ἐνοικίου
- 90695 ὠσαύτως ΔΔ□· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως[ς, ἐ]πὶ Διοκλέους Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Τηλέμνηστος καὶ Ὀρθοκλῆς
 85 τραπεζῶν ΗΗ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλε[ίδ]ου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μνησικλείδης καὶ Καίβων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
- 90695 μισθὸν τοῖς αὐληταῖς ΧΧΧ, καὶ τὸ σιτηρέσιον καὶ τὰ χορηγήματα καὶ τὸ νικητήριον ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέ-
- 90695 ῶς Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἀποταγὲν εἰς τὰς εἰκόνας, οὗ προεχρήσατο ἡ πόλις τῆς δοθείσης δωρεᾶς τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς κατὰ τὸ
- 90695 ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου ΗΗΗΗ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ

- 90695 Φωκα[ι]έως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλεί-
δης εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ χώματος □· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ
Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μνησι-
- 90700 90 κλείδης καὶ Καίβων εἰς τὸ {α} ἀποταγὲν εἰς τὸ χῶμα, οὗ προεχρήσατο ἡ πόλις τῆς δοθείσης
δωρεᾶς τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου Η□□□· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγρα-
φὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □Μ· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔ-
χων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι
Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν Χ□· ἄλλος στάμνος
ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ
90705 ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μνησικλείδης καὶ Καίβων εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □XXX□Δ· ἄλλος
στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθε[σ]αν
ταμίαι Μνησικλείδης καὶ {καί} Καίβων εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □XXXX· ἄλλος στάμνος
95 ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμία[ι]
Μνησικλείδης καὶ Καίβων ἐκ τῶν ἀδιατάκτων ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□Ι□/. ἄλλος στάμνος
ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ
90710 Μνησικλείδης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, τῶν ἀκατατάκτων ΧΧΧΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□· ἄλλος στάμνος
ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης ἐκ τῶν ἀκατατάκτων □ΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙ· ἄλλος στά-
μνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι
Μνησικλείδης καὶ Καίβων τὸ περιὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ΔΔΔ□□ΙΙΙΙ. κεφαλὴ οὗ παρελά-
90715 βομεν ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ κιβωτῷ ΜΜ□ΧΧΧΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□ΙΙΙ□. καὶ τόδε ἄλλο ἀ[ρ]γύρι[ον] ἐτέθη ἐπὶ τῆς
ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν κιβωτόν, παρόντος ἀρχοντος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως
- 90720 100 καὶ γραμματέων καὶ πρυτάνεων τῶν κατὰ μῆνα· στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ
Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀθηναίων, ἔθεσαν σιτῶναι Ἀμνος, Φᾶνος, Φίλλα-
κος καὶ ὁ πρεσβευτῆς Ροδ[ί]ων σίτου μεδί[—]μνων {μεδίμνων} χιλίων τετρακοσίων ὀγδοήκοντα
τεσσάρων ἡμιέκτων ἑννέα τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Μασαννάσα □ΧΧΧΧΗΗΗΗ□
Ι· ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντιν[έ]ως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρτεμισιδῶνος,
ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἑρμῶν Σόλωνος, Σῆμος Κοσμιάδου, Σόλων Μετωνύμου ἀπὸ
90725 τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ σίτου τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Μασαννάσα κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου [—] ΧΧ□ΔΔΔ· ἄλλος
στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρ-
τεμι[—]σιδῶνος, {Ἀρτεμισιδῶνος} ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἑρμῶν, Σόλων, Σῆμος ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ σίτου
τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Μασαννάσα κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου ΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγρα-
90730 φὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρτεμισιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν Ἑρμῶν,
Σόλων, Σῆμος τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ σίτου μεδίμνων χιλίων τριακοσίων δέκα ἐνὸς
ἡμιέκτων ἑννέα, τοῦ μεδίμνου ἀνὰ τέσσαρας, τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Μασαννάσα □ΧΧ□□ΔΙΙΙ□□ κατὰ τὸ
ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ
Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρτεμισιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν
σιτωνίαν κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν □Χ□□Δ· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀ-
90735 πὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρτεμισιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ
Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □Χ· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλω-
νος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρτεμισιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς
εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □Χ· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου,
- 90740 110 ἐπὶ Δημάρου Μεταγεινιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □· ἄλλον
στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς ΕΛ[—]ληνος {Ἑλληνος} καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Μετα-
γεινιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Φωκαιεὺς καὶ Μένυλλος εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν κατὰ τὴν
διάταξιν □· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ
Δημάρου Μεταγεινιδῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν
90745 □ΧΧΧΧ□Η□ΔΔ□□□□ΙΙ□/. ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου,
ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς τὸ τοῖς αὐληταῖς ΧΧΧΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔ· ἄλλον
στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δη-
μάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὰς εἰκόνας □ΗΗΗΗ·
ἄλλος στάμνος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου
90750 115 Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὸ χῶμα Η□□□Ι□/. ἄλλον στάμνον
ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου ἔθεσαν ταμίαι, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσι-
δεῶνος, Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □□Δ· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς
Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Μένυλ-
λος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □ΧΧ· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ
90755 Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαι-
εὺς εἰς τὸ χῶμα κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν □· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ
Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς
[εἰς] τὴν σιτωνίαν κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν □Χ□· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ
Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ
- 90760 120 [Φ]ωκαιεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀκατατάκτων ΧΧ□· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ
Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς
ἐκ τῶν ἀκατατάκτων ΧΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙ/. κεφαλὴ τοῦ τεθέντος εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν κιβωτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς
ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς □ΜΜ□Δ□□□/. κεφαλὴ τοῦ παραδοθέντος καὶ τεθέντος ἐπὶ
90765 τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς □ΜΜΜ□ΧΧΧΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ□/. καὶ τόδε [— — —] ἀργύριον ἐξείλομεν· μηνὸς
Ἀθηναίων, παρόντος ἀρχοντος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ γραμματέων καὶ πρυτάνε-
[ων] τῶν κατὰ μῆνα· στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαιέως

- Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μνησικλείδης καὶ Καίβων εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν XXXΔ· ἄλ-
 λον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔ[-]χοντα {ἐχοντα}· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊέως
 Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μνησικλείδης καὶ Καίβων εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □XXXX· ἄλλον στά-
 90770 125 μνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι
 εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □Μ· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπι-
 γραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
 ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν Χ□. τὸ πᾶν
 Μ□XXX□Δ· τοῦτο ἔδομεν τοῖς σιτώναις Ἀμνωί, Φιλλάκωι, Φάνωι. ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα·
 90775 ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθε-
 σαν ταμίαι Μνησικλείδης καὶ Κα[ίβ]ων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, τοῖς αὐληταῖς XXX καὶ τὸ σιτηρέσιον καὶ τὰ
 χορηγήματα καὶ τὸ νικητήριον HHHH□ΔΔ· τοῦτο παρεδῶκαμεν τοῖς ταμίαις Με[-]-
 νύλλωι {Μενύλλωι} καὶ Φωκαιεῖ. μὴνὸς Θαρρηλιῶνος δευτέραι, ἐξείλομε[ν στ]άμνον ἐπιγραφὴν
 ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος κ[α]ὶ Μαντινέως, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρτεμισιῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμί-
 90780 130 αι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν κατὰ τὴν διάταξι[ν □]X□Δ· ἄλλον στάμνον
 ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρτεμισιῶνος, ἔθε-
 σαν ταμίαι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □X· ἄλλον στ[ά]μνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ
 τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Ἀρτεμισιῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμί-
 90785 αι Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν [σ]ιτωνίαν □X. τὸ πᾶν □M□XX[X]□□Δ· τοῦτο ἔδῶκαμεν τοῖς
 σιτώναις Ἀμνωί, Φιλλάκωι, Φάνωι. μὴνὸς Βουφονιῶνος, ἐξείλομεν στάμνον ἐπι-
 γραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Μεταγεινιῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι
 Μένυλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν XXXX□H□ΔΔ□□□□II□//· ἄλλον στά-
 90790 μνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μαντινέως, Μεταγεινιῶνος, ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
 ταμί[αι Μέν]υλλος καὶ Φωκαιεὺς εἰς τῇ[ν σ]ιτωνίαν κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν □· ἄλλον
 135 στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Δημάρου Μεταγεινιῶνος, ἔθεσαν
 ταμίαι Μένυλλος Πολύβου καὶ Φωκαιεὺς Φωκαϊέως εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν □□· ἄλλον
 στάμνον, ἀπὸ τῆς Φίλωνος καὶ Σιλήνου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Καίβων καὶ
 Μνησικλείδης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, τῶν ἀκατατάκτων XXXHHH□ΔΔ□· ἄλλον στάμνον ἐπι-
 90795 γραφὴν [- - -] ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Νυμφοδώρου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊέ[□] ὡς {Φωκαϊέως}
 Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν ταμίαι Μνησικλείδης καὶ Καίβων, ἐκ τῶν ἀδιατάκτων HHHHΔΔ□□II□//· ἄλλον
 στάμνον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνος καὶ Μα[ντ]ινέως, ἐπὶ Φωκαϊέως Ποσιδεῶνος, ἔθεσαν
 ταμίαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Καίβων καὶ Μνησικλείδης, ἐκ τῶν ἀκατατάκτων □ΔΔΔ□□□II. τὸ πᾶν □M□
 [X]XX□□Δ· τοῦτο ἔδομεν τοῖς [σ]ιτώναις [Α]μ[ν]ωί, Φάνωι, Φιλλάκωι. κεφαλὴ οὗ ἐξείλομεν ἐπὶ
 90800 τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς □□XXXXH□· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρέδομεν τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοὺς ἱεροποιοῖς
- 140 Δημητρίωι καὶ Μελιχιίδηι □MMM□XXXXHH□ΔΔΔ□□□III/. καὶ τότε ἄλλο ἀργύριον εἰσῆκει τῷ θεῷ·
 ἐνοικίων· παρὰ Τηλεμνήστου τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, τῆς ἐξῆς τῆς Ἐπισθενείου οἰκίας, □ΔΔ· τῆς Α-
 [ρι]στοβούλου, παρὰ Σωνίκου □ΔΔ□□II· τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρὰ Τηπωνος τοῦ Ἀντιφάνου ΗΔ· τῆς Σωσιλείου,
 90805 παρὰ Κτησικλείους τοῦ Κτησικλέους Η□Δ□□□· τῆς Ἀρκέοντος, παρὰ Δεξιθέου τοῦ Κλει-
 [τ]άρχου □· τῆς ἐξῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Βρέμητος, παρὰ Στράτωνος □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· τῆς Πυθᾶ, παρὰ Δώρου
 □Δ□□□□· τῆς ἐξῆς τῆς Σωσιλείου, παρὰ Διονυσίου □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· τῆς ἐξῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶνων, παρὰ
 <Ἀπολλωνίου □Δ□>·
 [- -] τοῦ Ξυλῶνος, παρὰ Διοφάντου ΔΔΔΔ□· τῆς ἐξῆς ἣν εἶχε Σώφρων, παρὰ Κραταιβίου □Δ· τῆς ἐπὶ
 90810 τοῦ Βρέμητος, παρὰ Νουμηνίου □ΔΔ□□· τῆς συνοικίας τῆς γενομένης Ἀρχίου, παρὰ Τατρο-
 κλέους HHHΔΔΔΔ· τῶν ἀνδρῶνων, παρὰ Δημητρίου ΗΔ□□□· τῆς ἐξῆς, παρὰ Σωτίωνος □ΔΔ□□□· τῆς
 Ὀρθοκλέους, παρὰ Ἀντιγόνου Η□□□□□· τῆς πρὸς τῷ σιδηρεῖωι, παρὰ Ἀριστοβούλου □□□□□III· τῆς
 Ἐπι-
 145 σθενείου, παρὰ Εὐφράνορος ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· κεφαλὴ [ἐνο]ικίων X□HHΔ<Δ?>□□· vac. καὶ τότε ἄλλο
 ἀργύριον εἰσῆκει τῷ θεῷ· ἐνηροσίων· Φ[ο]ινίκων, παρὰ Παρμικοῦ τοῦ Ἐπικύδου HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□·
 Ἀκ[ρα]ς Δήλου, παρὰ Πιστοῦ τοῦ Φερεκλείδου H· Ἐπισθενείας, παρὰ Μενεστράτου τοῦ Τιμοστράτου
 HHHHΔ□· Σολῆς καὶ Κορακιῶν, παρὰ Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ Φέλυος HHΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· Τηποδρόμου,
 παρὰ Διαίτου τοῦ Διαίτου □H□□III· Λειμῶν[ο]ς, παρὰ Ἀρησιμβρότου τοῦ Νικάνδρου HH□ΔΔΔ□□□□□·
 Φυταλῆς, παρὰ Σιλήνου τοῦ Σιλήνου ΔΔΔ· Σωσιμαχείας, παρὰ Γερύλλου τοῦ Καρυστίου Η□Δ
 90820 Δ□□□□· Ῥάμων, παρὰ Εὐέλεοντος τοῦ Νικίου HHH□□· Λιμνῶν, παρὰ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ
 Τηλεμνή[σ]του HH□ΔΔΔ· Διονυσίου, παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Κτήσωνος HHHΔΔΔΔ□· Σκιτωνείας,
 παρὰ Δημοστράτου τοῦ Διογένους HHHΔΔΔ· Χαίρωνείας, παρὰ Κασάνδρου τοῦ Κατωνάνδρου HHHH·
 Πύργων, παρὰ Ἀφροδισίου τοῦ Σωπάτρου HHHH□ΔΔ□□· Πανόρμου, παρὰ Φέλυος
- 150 τοῦ Φέλυος HHHΔΔΔ□□· Λυκωνείου, παρὰ Νέωνος τοῦ Δημητρίου Η□ΔΔ□III□//· τοῦ Κεραμείου, παρὰ
 Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Νεοκροντίδου HHH□□III· Νικοῦ χώρου, παρὰ Ἀχαιοῦ τοῦ Ζηλομένου □
 ΔΔΔΔ□□III□□□//· Χαρητείας, παρὰ Φανοδίκου τοῦ Φανοδίκου □HH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□III□□□//· Πορθμοῦ, παρὰ
 Τληπολέμου τοῦ Κρίττιος □□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□//· τῆς Λίμνης, παρὰ Τιμοξένου τοῦ Τιμοξέ-
 90830 νου ΔΙ· κεφαλὴ ἐνηροσίων □X□HHHH□ΔΔΔI<I>· καὶ τότε ἄλλο ἀργύριον εἰσῆκει τῷ θεῷ· τελῶν· παρὰ
 Τελεσα[ρ]χίδου τοῦ Νικόδεω, τῆς πορφύρας Δ· παρὰ Μνήσιος τοῦ Φωκαϊέως, τῶν αἰρε-
 σίων ΗΔ□□□· παρὰ Ὑποκλέους τοῦ Ἑλπίνου, τοῦ ὀλκοῦ τοῦ ἐ[-]ν {έν} Ἀπολλωνίωι □Δ□□· τοῦ εἰς
 Ῥήνειαν πορθμείου, παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου τοῦ Μαραθωνίου ΗΔΔ· τοῦ πορθμείου τοῦ εἰς Ἀπολ-
 λῶνιον, παρὰ Τιμέου τοῦ Ἀθήνιος □□□□· τοῦ ὀλκοῦ τοῦ ἐν Νήσῳ, παρὰ Δημονίκου τοῦ Ἀριστείδου
 □□· παρ' Ὀρθοκλέους τοῦ Ἀριστοθάλου, στροφῶνος ΔΔ□□□· καὶ τοῦ ἐννομίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἰσθμῳι □· τοῦ
 90835 155 λιμένος, παρὰ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Χαριστίου Δ□· κεφαλὴ τελῶν· HHH□Δ□□· vac. καὶ τότε ἄλλο
 ἀργύριον εἰσῆκει τῷ θεῷ· ἐχ θη-
 σαυρῶν·
 ἐκ τοῦ ἐν ἱερῳι· ΔΔ□· καὶ τοῦ ἐπ' Ἀσκληπιῳι □□□II· καὶ τοῦ ἐν Νήσῳ □II· [κα]ὶ τοῦ ἐν Σαραπιεῳι Δ□·
 νύλλου καὶ Φωκαϊέως εἰς Θεσμοφόρια □· ξύλων τῶν ἀποπραθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυνθίου Δ□□□□· καὶ θύρας
 90840 □Δ□· ἄλλων ξύλων τῶν ἀποτηθέντων ἀπὸ τῶν κουρῶν τῶν δοκῶν τῶν ἐπὶ

90845

90850

90855

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90905

90910

[ρὸν καθ᾿ᾱραι —· πεύκη, κληματὶς — —· στεφανώματα — —· ξ]ύλα ἐπὶ βωμούς, Πύθιον, ἱεροπόιον, ΤΔ□,

[illegible]

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

90990 τὸν ἀλφειτισμὸν οἴνου Κνίδια ΔΙΙ, [redacted]· τοῖς μὴ πορ[ε]υομέ- [redacted]· ἀλφειτῶν Δ[redacted]· εἰς
 [νοις - - - -] εἰς ἀπόμοιραν [redacted]
 [redacted]· μα]γείρωι ΔΔ·
 ἐργάταις Δ[redacted]· ἀνθρακ[ε]ς Δ[redacted]· ξύλων ΤΔ, [redacted]· ῥυμοί, κλη-
 90995 [ματίδες - - - - -]ΙΟΟΙΣ· κάρσα Δ[redacted]· ἰσχάδ[ε]ς [redacted]
 [redacted]·]ους εἰς τὸ
 περίκομμα ΔΔ· εἰσίτημα δὲ δερμάτων Δ· κεραμίων . [redacted]
 [καὶ τάδε ἀνήλ]ωτα[ι] εἰς Εἰλ[ε]ιθύαια [redacted]
 91000 [redacted]· ΙΙ·
 ἀρτοκόπωι [redacted]· στεφανώματα ΙΙΙΙ· οἶνος [redacted]· τάριχος [redacted]· ὄψον [redacted]· κάρσα [redacted]· [redacted]
 [τὸ δὲ ἐνείρ]όσιον τὸ γινόμενον [Θαλ]έ[ο]υ Η, ἐδο[με]ν πράξαντες εἰς τὰ κατὰ μῆνα καὶ τῆς
 φιάλης τοῖς πρ[ο]υτάνεσιν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῶι ἐπιστάτῃ παρέδομεν. παρέδομεν δὲ καὶ [redacted]
 225 [ἀρχο]ντι Ξενοτίμωι φιάλην [γοργ]ίε[ο]ν [redacted]
 ΔΙ[- [redacted]· καὶ παρέδομεν ἱεροποιοῖς Μειλιχίδῃ καὶ]
 91005 Δημητρίωι φιάλας ΙΙ, εὐτύχειον καὶ φιλαδέλφειον, ὀλ. ἀγούσας [redacted]
 [παρελ]άβομεν δὲ καὶ παρ' ἱεροποίων Συνω[ν]ύμου καὶ Κρίττιος ξύλα [redacted]
 [redacted]· ξύλον στρογγύλον πήχων Δ[redacted]· καὶ ἄλλα τετράγωνα [redacted]· καὶ παράρους κεραμίδας ΔΙ· καὶ
 [καλυ]πτῆρας ΗΔ καὶ ἐπιβλήτας ΧΧΔΔΔ καὶ [- [redacted]
 [redacted]· παρὰ ἱεροπο]ίων Συνωνύμου καὶ Κρίττιος καὶ ὧν ἐπριάμεθα τετραγώνων ξύ- [redacted]
 91010 [λων -] παρὰ Ἑρμω[ν]ος· ἀπὸ τούτων κατεχρήσθ[η] [redacted]
 [redacted]· εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν] στοῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου Δ[redacted]· εἰς ταῦτα τῶν παρὰ Ἑρμῶνος
 [redacted]· εἰς τοὺς ὑποτόνους τοὺς συγγωνίους τ[- [redacted]· εἰς
 τὴν κατασκευὴν τ]ῶν στοῶν καὶ εἰς τ[ὸ] παρακάλυμμα τὸ παρὰ ταῖς κουραῖς τῶν [redacted]
 91015 230 [δοκῶν, τῶν] Πτῶν παρ[ὰ] Ἑρ]μῶνος[ς] καὶ ἀπὸ [redacted]
 τῶν στρ[ογγύλων? [redacted]· ἐπριάμεθα αὐτοῖ
 [τῶν ἐπὶ τ]ὸ Ἡρακλεῖον καὶ ΔΙΠ ΔΝΤΕΣΑΣΙΚΥ. [redacted]
 [redacted]· ς Δ[redacted]·
 91020 παλαιὰς κερα[μ]ίδας ἃς παρελάβομ[ε]ν, ἐπεθήκαμεν εἰς [redacted]
 [τὸν κέρα]μον τῶν στοῶν [τ]ῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρα[κ]λείου [redacted]
 [redacted]· εἰς] τὴν κατασκε[υ]ὴν τῶν πινάκων τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον, ἀφ'
 ὧν [redacted]
 [redacted]· κατεχ[ρ]ήσθησ[αν]
 91025 [redacted]
 [redacted]· ΙΙΙΙΜΗΤ[- [redacted]
 [redacted]
 235 [redacted]· ΡΩΣΤΥΛ [redacted]
 91030 [redacted]· συ εἰς τὸ
 [- [redacted]· ἰ]μάντων [redacted]· καὶ εἰς τὸ Σαραπιεῖον
 ἰμάντες Γ [redacted]
 91035 ου εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν πλησίον τοῦ Τσιεῖου κατεχρη- [redacted]
 [σάμεθα [redacted]· παρέδομεν
 τοῖς μεθ'] αὐτοὺς Δημητρίωι καὶ Μειλιχίδῃ ξύλον τετρ[άγω]- [redacted]
 [νον [redacted]· πτ]ελέεινον Ι καὶ ἡμ[υ]σ[υ]·
 καὶ κεραμίδας, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπριάμ[εθα]
 91040 240 [- [redacted]· καὶ οἶδε τόκους ὀφείλουσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου αὐτοῖ
 καὶ οἱ ἐγγυοι· [redacted]· υτάδο[υ]? κληρονόμοι [redacted]· Ἀπημάντου κληρονόμοι [redacted]
 [Δ· [redacted]·]ν Η· Ξενοκράτου
 κληρονόμοι ΔΙ: Ἀркеφῶντος τοῦ Ἀρ- [redacted]
 [κεφῶντος κληρονόμοι [redacted]· {²⁷[redacted]?}²⁷· [redacted]
 91045 [redacted]·]ου [redacted]· Παρμενίωνος τοῦ Διοδότου κληρο[ν]ό- [redacted]
 [μοι Δ· [redacted]
 91050 Κόνων]ος τοῦ Φωκαϊέως κληρονόμοι Δ· ἄλλας Δ· ἄλ- [redacted]
 [λας [redacted]· ἄλλας ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλας ΔΔ· [redacted]
 Εὐκτῆ]μονος κληρονόμοι Δ· Φιλάρχου τοῦ Θεωρύ- [redacted]
 245 [λου κληρονόμοι Δ[redacted]· - [redacted]
 91055 Δη]μοκράτου Δ· Κλειτάρχου κληρονόμοι Δ[redacted]· [redacted]
 [- [redacted]
 [redacted]· κληρον]όμον κατὰ τὸ ἥμυσσ Δ· Τιμέας Δ· Ἀριστόδι- [redacted]
 [κος Η· [redacted]
 91060 [redacted]· ἄλ]λας [redacted]· Σωσιδήμου κληρονόμοι ΔΔ· Σω- [redacted]
 [σίλου τοῦ Θεαίου κληρονόμοι ΗΔΔ[redacted]· [redacted]
 [redacted]· Κλειτ]άρχου κληρονόμοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμυσσ Δ[redacted]· [redacted]

- 91065 [- - - - - Κοσμι]άδου τοῦ Σήμου κληρονόμοι Δ□· Ἐβδο-
250 [μίσκος □ΔΔΔ□□□□II· {²Ἐβδο| [μίσκου κληρονό. Η□□□□II?} ²Ἐ·
- - - - - εἰ δέ τινας μὴ
ἐγγεγραφήκαμεν ὀφείλοντας τῷ θεῷ, ἐγ]γράφομεν ὀφείλοντας τῷ θεῷ α[ὑτοῦς]
91070 [καὶ τοὺς ἐγγύους αὐτῶν - - - - - ὀφείλουσιν αὐτ]οὶ καὶ οἱ ἐγγυοὶ αὐτῶν Ἀπατούριος Α[πα]-
[τουρίου - - - - -] Εὐβούλην θεο-
[δώρου - - - - - τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρέδομεν ἱεροποιοῖς Ἀ]μνωι, Χαρίλαι, Χαρικλείδῃ, Ἀγοράλ-
91075 [λωι] - vac.
255 [κεφαλὴ πάσης εἰσόδου - - - - - □ΧΗΗΗΗΔ□□□//. κεφαλὴ πάσης ἐξόδου - - -]□ΧΗΗΗΗΔ□□□//. vac.
vac.
<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/62921>
91080 face B
θεοί.
1 τὰδε παρελάβομεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ ἱεροποίων Κρίττιος τοῦ Νικάρχου, Συνωνύμου
τοῦ Τερρομβρότου, παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ποσειδί-
91085 κου τοῦ Σωτέλου, καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποίων Νεοκροντίδου τοῦ Νεοκροντίδου, καὶ παρέδομεν τοῖς μεθ'
ἑαυτοῦς ἱεροποιοῖς Δημητρίω Τιμοξένου, Μειλιχίδει Κριτοβούλου, παρούσης
βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Τηλεμνήστου τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου, καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποίων
Τιμοξένου τοῦ Τιμοξένου· δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν, σάρδιον ἔχοντα ἐπίσημον Ἀ-
91090 πόλλωνα, ὃν ἀνέθηκε τῇ Λητοῖ Στρατονίκη, ὄλ. □Δ· καθετῆρα χρυσοῦν διάλιθον, ὃν ἀνέθηκε τῇ
Λητοῖ Στρατονίκη, ἐχ' θυρεῶν ΔΔΔΔ□□□□, καὶ ἡμίση II, καὶ ἐμ μέσωι εἰς ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ σειστὰ
5 ΗΔΔΔΔΙ, ὄλ. □Η□□· δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν, ὃν ἀνέθηκε Στρατονίκη Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι, ἔχοντα
ἐπίσημον Νίκην, ὄλ. σὺν τῷ κίρκωι □ΔΔΔ□□□□□□· στεφάνια χρυσᾶ III, ἃ ἀνέθηκε ταῖς Χάρισι Στρα-
91095 τονίκη, τὸ ἐν οὐκ ἔχον κίρκους οὐδὲ τοὺς δεσμούς, διαλελυμένα, ὄλ. □□ΔIII· χύμα χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ
τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ὄλ. □□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□□□□· ἄλλο χρυσοῦν χύμα ἀπὸ τῶν
τριῶν, ὄλ. ΔΔIII· χρυσοῖ φιλίππειοι III· ἀλεξάνδρειος I· νόμισμα παντοδαπόν, ὄλ. Δ· ἡδυποτὶς
91100 χρυσῇ, Ἐχενίκης ἀνάθεμα, ὄλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□□□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δρυός, Λυσάν-
δρου ἀνάθεμα, ὄλ. □Δ□□□□□□□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς κισσοῦ, ἀνάθεμα βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου,
διαλελυμένος, καὶ κόρυμβοι □, ὄλ. □Η□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ἀνάθεμα βασιλέως Δημητρίου,
ὄλ. □□ΔΔ□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ἀνάθεμα Πολυκλείτου, ὄλ. □□Δ□□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς
91110 δάφνης, ἀνάθεμα Φιλοκλέους, ὄλ. □□ΔΔ□□□□□□· στέφανον χρυσοῦν κισσοῦ, ἀνάθεμα Δη-
Gods,
We received the following in the Temple of Apollo from the hieropoioi Krittis son of
Nikarchos, Synonymous the son of Hierombrotos in the presence of the Council and the
city scribe Poseidikos son of Soteles and the scribe of the hieropoioi Neokrontides
91105 son of Neokrontides, and we gave it over to the hieropoioi after us Demetrios son of
Timoxenos, Meilichides son of Kritoboulos in the presence of the Council and the
scribe of the city Telemnestos son of Antigonos and the scribe of the hieropoioi
Timoxenos son of Timoxenos: gold ring with sardion Apollo image which Stratonike
dedicated to Leto, wgt d.10; gold collar set with stones, which Stratonike dedicated
91110 to Leto with 48 shields and 2 half-shields and one on either side in the middle, with
(5) 141 pendants, wgt d.106; gold ring which Stratonike dedicated to Apollo, Artemis,
with Nike image, wgt with the circle d.36.4; 3 small gold crowns which Stratonike
dedicated to the Graces, one without circles or bonds, disassembled, wgt d.60.3; gold
ingot from the statue of Apollo, wgt d.98.3; another gold ingot from the three
91115 (crowns), wgt d.27.3; 3 gold Philipics; 1 Alexandreian; various coin wgt d.68; gold
hedypotis, dedication of Echenike, wgt d.49.3; gold oak crown, dedication of
Lysander, wgt 63.3; gold ivy crown, dedication of king Ptolemy, disassembled, and 5
clusters, wgt d.107; gold laurel crown, dedication of king Demetrios, wgt d.71.3;
gold laurel crown, dedication of Polykleitos, wgt d.65.3; gold laurel crown,
dedication of Philokles, wgt d.77.3; gold ivy crown, dedication of the Deliades,
91120 10 λιάδων, κόρυμβοι III κατεαγότες, ὄλ. □□ΔΔ□□· στέφανον χρυσοῦν μυρσίνης, Τωμίλκου ἀνάθεμα,
ὄλ. □ΔΔ□□□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ἀνάθεμα βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου, ὄλ. □□Δ□·
λειμώνιον χρυσοῦν, Σόλωνος ἀνάθεμα Ἀσκληπιῶι, ὄλ. □□ΔΔΔ□□□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ἀνάθεμα
91125 βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου, ὄλ. □ΔΔ□· στέφανον χρυσοῦν δάφνης, Ἀντιπάτρου ἀ-
νάθεμα, ὄλ. □ΔΔΔ□□□□□□□□□□· στέφανον χρυσοῦν δάφνης, ἀνεπίγραφον, ὄλ. □ΔΔΔ□□□□· στέφανον χρυσοῦν
δάφνης, Φάρακος ἀνάθεμα, ὄλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· στέφανον χρυσοῦν δάφνης, Πνυταγόρα ἀ-
νάθεμα, ὄλ. □□Δ□□· στέφανον χρυσοῦν δάφνης καινόν, ὄλ. □□Δ□· σφαῖραν χρυσῇ ἐν ἐλύτρῳι,
91130 ἀνάθεμα Φίλας τῆς Θεοδώρας, ὄλ. □□□□□□· στεφάνη χρυσῇ μυρσίνης, Ξενοφάντου ἀνάθεμα,
ὄλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□□□□· τέτραρχα II· ἐν ὑπόχαλκον λυσιμάχειον, ἐν ἀντιόχειον· δραχμὴ ἀλεξανδρεία·
δακτύλιοι ἀργυροῖ Δ□□□□□ καὶ κυλίκιον καὶ ὠτάριον, δύο λίθους ἔχοντες, εἰς σιδηροῦς, ὄλ. □Δ
15 ΔΔΔ□□□□□· δακτύλιοι σιδηροῖ ὑποκεχρυσωμένοι ΔΙ· τέτραρχον λυσιμάχειον ὑπόχαλκον· φιάλας ἐκ
πλινθείων ἐξειρημένas □, ἀνάθεματa μία Δηλιάδων, ἐπιδόντων θεωρῶν καὶ ἀρχι-
91130 θεώρου Κλεάνακτος· ἄλλη, ἀνάθεμα Χερσονησιτῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου· ἄλλη, ἀνάθεμα Χερσονησιτῶν
τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου· ἄλλη, ἀνάθεμα Βακχίου Κολοφωνίου· ἄλλη, ἀνάθεμα Χερσο-
νησιτῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ὄλ. □ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ· ἡλεκάται ἀργυραῖ □□□□, ὄλ. □□□□· τέτραρχον

- 91135 λυσιμάχειον· φιάλαι αἱ ἀνατεθεῖσαι ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος Τηλεμνήστου, ἐφ’ ὧν ἐπιγραφὴ· ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος Ἀμνου, ταμειυόντων Νίκωνος τοῦ Ἀντιρήτου καὶ Νικομάχου τοῦ Νικομάχου, φιάλαι Δ□III· ἄλλαι, Νικάρχου καὶ Τληπολέμου ταμιῶν, φιάλαι Δ□· ἄλλαι IIII, ἐφ’ ὧν ἐπιγραφὴ· ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος Ἀμνου, ἱεροποιῶν Φερεκλείδου καὶ Ποσειδίκου· εὐτύχειος I· ἄλλη, ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος Φίλλιος, Θυεσιάδαι καὶ Ὠκυνεῖδαι ἀπὸ τῶν γερῶν, τρικτυαρχοῦντος Κοσμιάδου τοῦ Σήμου τὸ ἐπιβάλλον Σή-
- 91140 (10) 3 broken clusters, wgt d.76; gold myrtle crown, dedication of Iomilkos, wgt d.21.3; gold laurel crown, dedication of king Antigonos, wgt d.61; gold sea lavender, dedication of Solon to Asklepios, wgt d.88; gold laurel crown, dedication of king Antigonos, wgt d.25; gold laurel crown, dedication of Antipater, wgt d.39.3; gold laurel crown, uninscribed, wgt d.37; gold laurel crown, dedication of Pharax, wgt d.43; gold laurel crown, dedication of Pnytagoras, wgt d.62; new gold laurel crown, wgt d.61; gold ball in case, dedication of Phila, wife of Theodoros, wgt d.58; gold myrtle diadem, dedication of Xenophantes, wgt d.48.3; 2 tetradrachms, one gilded bronze Lysimachean, one Antiochean; Alexandrian drachma; 18 silver rings and small kylix and earring with two stones, one iron, wgt d.34; (15) 11 gilded iron rings; gilded bronze Lysimachean tetradrachm; 5 phialai taken from their plinths, one dedication of the Deliades, with the theoroi and chief theoros Kleanax donors, another dedication of the Chersonites from Pontos, another dedication of the Chersonites from Pontos, another dedication of Bakchios from Kolophon, another dedication of the Chersonites, wgt d.480; 7 silver distaffs, wgt d.12; Lysimachean tetradrachm; phialai dedicated in the archonship of Telemnestos, on which the inscription in the archonship of Amnos, with Nikon son of Antiretos and Nikomachos son of Nikomachos stewards, phialai 18; others, with Nikarchos and Tlepoemos stewards, phialai 15; 4 others on which the inscription in the archonship of Amnos with Pherekleides and Poseidikos hieropoioi; 1 Eutychean; another in the archonship of Phillis, Thyestadai and Okyneidai from the awards, with Kosmiades son of Semos trittys-chief (paying) Semos’ share;
- 91150 20 μωι· ἄλλη, ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος Καλλίου, ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου, ἐπιστατοῦντος Μειλιχίδου· ἄλλη, ἀνάθεμα Μαψιχιδῶν, ταμειεύοντος τῶν προσόδων Ἀφθονήτου. αἱ πᾶσαι ἐν τῷ πρώ-
91165 τῷ ῥυμῷ φιάλαι ΔΔΔ□III, ὁλ. μν. ΔΔΔ□II,□□. δεῦτερος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔIIII, ὁλ. T,□H□ΔΔ. τρίτος ῥυμός, φιάλαι Δ□II, ὧν μία ἢ ἐπ’ Ἀντιγόνου μόλυβδον ἔχουσα ἐν τῷ πυθμένι, ὁλ. μν. Δ□I. τέταρ-
τος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔIIII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔΔΔ. πέμπτος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔΔΔ. ἕκτος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔ. ἑβδομος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔ. ὀγδοος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔIII, ὁλ. T. ἑ-
91170 νατος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔIII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔΔ. δέκατος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔIII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔΔ. ἐνδέκατος ῥυμός, □ΔIII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔΔ. δωδέκατος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔIII, ὁλ. T,□□Δ. τρεῖσκαδέκατος ῥυ-
μός, φιάλαι □ΔIII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔ. τεσσαρεσκαδέκατος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔII, ὁλ. T,□ΔΔ. πεντεκαίδεκάτος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □Δ□II, ὁλ. T, μν. □,□□. τὰ συνσταθέντα μετὰ τῶν χυμάτων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
- 91175 25 τρίποδος, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□. ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου ῥυμοῦ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ φιάλη I ἢ περιγενομένη ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τοῦ παραδοθέντος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁλ. □□Δ· ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου ῥυμοῦ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς κι-
βωτοῦ φιάλη I καὶ ποτήρια III τὰ περιγεγόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τοῦ παραδοθέντος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁλ. □HHΔΔΔ· ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου ῥυμοῦ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ φιάλαι III, χελιδόνειοι II, ποτήρια παντοδαπὰ τεθραυμένα ΔI· ὠταρίων κλάσματα καὶ πυθμένων, ὁλ. μν. □III,□ΔΔΔ□□□□· ῥυτόν, οὗ ὁλ. ἐν τῷ μικρῷ ζυγῷ μν. □,□□□□□□· ἄλλα ποτήρια □ τῶν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ καὶ ἡθμός, ὁλ. □H□ ΔΔΔ□· σκάφια II τῶν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῶν ἐν Νήσου, τὸ μὲν Τιμοκράτου ἀνάθεμα Δηλίου, τὸ δὲ Νικάνδρου ἀνάθεμα Ῥιθυμνίου, ὁλ. □□ΔΔΔ□· κηρύκειον καὶ θυμιατήριον καὶ ἡλεκτάται, ὧν ὁλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□. ἀστατα· ταινία περιηργυρωμένη, Ἀρχεστράτου ἀνάθεμα· κρατῆρες ἀργυροῖ II, βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης ἀνάθεμα· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὧι τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐστεφάνω-
- 91185 (20) another, in the archonship of Kallias, with king Antigonos donor, Meilichides overseer; another, dedication of the Mapsichidai, with Aphthonetos steward of the revenues.
In the first row total phialai 38, wgt mn.37 d.50; second row phialai 63, wgt T, d.170; third row, 17 phialai of which the one in Antigonos’ archonship had lead in the base, wgt. mn.16; fourth row, 64 phialai, wgt T, d.40; fifth row, 62 phialai, wgt T, d.40; sixth row, 62 phialai, wgt T, d.20; seventh row, 62 phialai, wgt T, d.20; eighth row, 63 phialai, wgt T; ninth row, 63 phialai, wgt T, d.30; tenth row, 63 phialai, wgt T, d.30; eleventh row 63, wgt T, d.30; twelfth row, 63 phialai, wgt T, 60; thirteenth row, 63 phialai, wgt T, d.20; fourteenth row, 62 phialai, wgt T, d.20; fift(een)th row, 62 phialai, wgt T, mn 5, d.50; The part weighed with the ingots from the (25) tripod, wgt d.41; from the first row from the chest, 1 phiale left over from the row transferred to the officers, wgt d.60; from the second row from the chest, 1 phiale and 3 cups left over from the row transferred to the officers, wgt d.230; from the third row from the chest 3 phialai, 2 swallows, 11 various shattered cups, bits of earrings and bases, wgt mn.8, d.38; rhyton, with wgt in the small scales mn.5, d.9; 5 other cups from the chest and a strainer, wgt d.181; 2 skaphia from what came out of the chest from the Nesos, the one dedication of Timokrates of Delos, the other dedication of Nikander from Rethymnon, wgt d.90; staff and censer and distaffs, wgt
- 91190
- 91195
- 91200

d.42.

91205 Unweighed: silvered fillet, dedication of Archestratos; 2 silver kraters, dedications of queen Stratonike; gold crown with which the statue is crowned,

30 ται, ἐμ μέσῳ σάρδιον ἔχων· φιάλαι χρυσαῖ II, βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης ἀναθήματα, λίθους ἔχουσαι· θυμιατήριον ἀργυροῦν, Βουλομάγας ἀνάθεμα· σκύφοι II ἀπότυποι, Δηλίων ἀναθήματα·

91210 ζωιδάρια ἀργυρᾶ II ἐν οἰκίσκῳ ξυλίνῳ καὶ ἡμικύκλιον ἀργυροῦν, Ἀπολλοδώρου ἀνάθεμα· τριήρης ἀργυρᾶ, Σελεύκου ἀνάθεμα· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Κώϊων ἀνάθεμα, ἀρχιθεώ-
ρου Εὐέλθοντος· ἀσπίδισκαι ὀνύχιναι ΔΔ, βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης ἀναθήματα, ἐν χρυσίῳ

ἐνδεδεμένα· τούτων αἱ δύο ἄλυσιν ἔχουσιν· φαρέτρα ἡρακλεωτικὴ χρυσοποίκιλτος τόξον ἔχουσα· ταινία χρυσῇ, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφῇ· βασιλίσσα Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Φίλας Ἀπόλλωνι Δηλίῳ· μυσοόβαι II ὀνυχίνας λαβὰς ἔχουσαι· ποτήριον ὀνύχι-

91215 νον, ἀνάθεμα Κοίντου Ῥωμαίου· στέφανος χρυσοῦς καὶ στρεπτόν, κρεμάμενα πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Ἀριστοκράτου ἀνάθεμα· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Κώι-
35 ῶν ἀνάθεμα, ἀρχιθεώρου Μακαρέως· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Θεοδότου ἀρχιθεώρου Ῥοδίου· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Ἀριστοκράτου ἀνάθεμα· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Θεωρῶν

91220 ἀνάθεμα ἀρ[—]χιθεώρου {ἀρχιθεώρου} Ἀλέξιος. δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸν νεὼ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ἐμ πλινθείοις □, ὧν μία ἐν τῷ ναμί· ἐστίν· καὶ πῖλος ἀργυροῦς· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ προκομίου καὶ ἡ ἀνατεθεῖσα φιάλη ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Τηλεμνήστου ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κώϊων, ἀρχιθεώρου

Ἀλθαιμένου, καὶ ἡ ἀνατεθεῖσα φιάλη ἐφ' ἱεροποιῶν Ὀρθοκλέους καὶ Πολυβού-
λου, ἀνάθεμα Μενεστράτου Ἀθηναίου· ἄλλη φιάλη, δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸν νεώ, Ἱπποκρίτου Κώϊου· ἄλλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Τελεσαρχίδου, ἀνάθεμα Κώϊων, ἀρχιθεώρου Νικαγόρα τοῦ Θεοδώρου·

91225 τριπόδιον δελφικόν, ἀνάθεμα Ἀριστάρχου. ἀριστερᾶς εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸν νεὼ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ἐμ πλινθείοις ΔΔΔ□· σκάφια II καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐμ πινακίῳ, Νικολάου ἀνάθεμα Ῥοδί-
(30) with sardion in the middle; 2 gold phialai, dedications of queen Stratonike,

with stones; silver censer, dedication of Boulomagas; 2 figured skyphoi, dedications of the Delians; 2 silver animals in small wood house and silver half circle, dedication of Apollodoros; silver trireme, dedication of Seleukos; silver phiale in

91230 plinth, dedication of the Koans with Euelthon chief theoros; 20 onyx disks, dedications of queen Stratonike, bound in gold, two with chain; gold ornamented Heraclean quiver with bow; gold fillet with inscription: queen Stratonike daughter of king Demetrios and queen Phila to Delian Apollo; 2 flyswatters/fans with onyx

91235 handles; onyx cup, dedication of Quintus of Rome; gold crown and collar, hanging on the wall; silver phiale in plinth, dedication of Aristokrates; silver phiale in plinth, dedication of the Koans (35) with Makareus chief theoros; silver phiale in plinth from Theodotos Rhodian chief theoros; silver phiale in plinth, dedication of Aristokrates; silver phiale in plinth dedication of the theoroi with Alexis chief

91240 theoros.
Entering the Temple of Apollo from the right: 50 silver phialai in plinths, one of which is in the temple; and a silver pilos; gold crown for the head; and the phiale dedicated in the archonship of Telemnestos by the city of the Koans with Althaimenos chief theoros; and the phiale dedicated with Orthokles and Polyboulos hieropoioi,

91245 dedication of Menestratos of Athens; another phiale, from the right going into the temple, from Hippokritos of Kos; another in the archonship of Telesarchides, dedication of the Koans with Nikagoras son of Theodoros chief theoros; small Delphic tripod, dedication of Aristarchos.

Entering the Temple of Apollo from the left: 35 silver phialai in plinths; 2 skaphia and gold on plaque, dedication of Nikolaos of Rhodes;

91250 40 ου· δραχμῇ καὶ τέτραχμον ἐφέσιον, ἃ ἔφασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι Μνησικ[—]λῆς {Μνησικλῆς} καὶ Διογένης παρ' ἰδιωτῶν· φιάλην καρυωτήν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφῇ· Νικάνωρ Ἀπόλλωνι Δηλίῳ, ἱεροποιοῦντων Ἀφθο-

91255 νήτου καὶ Θεοξένου· κυμβίον, οὗ ἐπιγραφῇ· Ἰστιαεὺς μ' ἀνέθηκεν Κάλλωνος ὑπὲρ, φίλ' Ἀπολλον, τήνδε· συναμφοτέροις ευτυχίην ὅπασον· κυλίκιον μόνωτον· Ἐπιάνναξ Μυτιληναῖος Ἀπόλλωνι· φιάλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πανταίνου, βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου ἀνάθεμα, ἐπιστατοῦντος Ωκυνείδου· φιάλη καρυωτή, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφῇ· Νικήρατος Πολύβου Δῆλιος καὶ παῖδες Ἀπόλλωνι Δηλίῳ· σκά-
φιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πανταίνου, ἱεράζοντος δὲ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῳ Ξενοκράτου· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Μειλιχίδου, ἱεράζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Καρυστίου· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Σωτέλου, στη-

91260 σίλειον, ἐπιστατοῦντος Σατύρου τοῦ Πυρρίδου· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου, ἱεράζοντος τῷ Ἀσκληπιῳ Λυσανίου· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀγκιθείδου, στησίλειον· μαστός, ἐπ' ἀρ-
45 χοντος Τλησιμένου, ἱεράζοντος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Σωτέλου· φιάλιον, Δηλιάδων χορεῖα, Φιλίππου ἐπιδόντος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου· ἄλλο φιάλιον· Ἐπίκτητος Ἀμόργιος Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐκάτει· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Σωτίωνος, ἱεροποιῶν δὲ Λυσάνδρου καὶ Ἐλπίνου, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ τῶν ἄρκων·

91265 σκάφιον, ἐφ' ἱερέως Πολύβου, Θεανδριδῶν· ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Λυκάδου, κυμβίον, Ἡρῇ Θῆρις τήνδε ἀνέθηκεν παῖς Ἀμιάντου· κυμβίον· Πρόξενος καὶ παῖδες δεκάτην τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Χαρίλα, στησίλειον, ἐπιστατοῦντος Ἐλικάνδρου· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Φιλοξένου, ἱεράζοντος τῷ Ἀσκληπιῳ Ξένωνος τοῦ Πιστοῦ· φιάλην, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πολυστράτου· βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Πανί, ἐπιστατοῦντος Τελεσάνδρου· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Σωτίωνος, ἱερο-

91270 ποιῶν Ἐλπίνου καὶ Λυσάνδρου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ τῶν τράγων ὧν ἀνέθηκεν Τιμόξενος καὶ Παρμενίων· φιάλιον, Μύνδιος Ἀρτεμῆς Θεοκρίτου Ἀπόλλωνι Δηλίῳ· μάνης, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ξε-
(40) drachma and Ephesian tetradrachm which they say was offered by Mnesikles and Diogenes as private individuals; knobbed phiale with inscription Nikanor to Delian Apollo, with Aphthonetos and Theoxenos hieropoioi; kymbion with inscription Istiaieus

- 91275 dedicated me for Kallo, dear Apollo, as follows, give both good fortune; small one handled kylix, Epianax of Mytilene to Apollo; phiale in the archonship of Pantainos, dedication of king Antigonos, with Okyneidos overseer; knobbed phiale, with inscription Nikaratos son of Polybos of Delos and his children to Delian Apollo; skaphion in the archonship of Pantainos, with Xenokrates priest to Asklepios;
- 91280 skaphion in the archonship of Meilichides, with Karystios priest of Asklepios; Stesileion skaphion in the archonship of Soteles with Satyros son of Pyrrides overseer; skaphion in the archonship of Apollodoros, with Lysanios priest to Asklepios; Stesileion skaphion in the archonship of Agkitheides; mastos in the archonship (45) of Tlesimenes, with Soteles priest of Asklepios; small phiale, choreia of the Deliades, donor Philip son of Ptolemy; another small phiale, Epiktetos of Amorgos to Artemis Hekate; skaphion in the archonship of Sotion, with Lysander and Elpinos hieropoioi, from the goats and bears; skaphion in the priesthood of Polybos, from the Theandridai, with Lykas archon; kymbion Theris child of Amias dedicated this to Hera; kymbion Proxenos and children a tithe to Apollo; Sesileion skaphion in the archonship of Charilas with Helikandros overseer; skaphion in the archonship of Philoxenos, with Xenon son of Pistos priest to Asklepios; phiale in the archonship of Polystratos: king Antigonos to Pan, with Telesandros overseer; skaphion in the archonship of Sotion, with Elpinos and Lysander hieropoioi from the goats and billies that Timoxenos and Parmenion dedicated; small phiale: Myndian Artemes son of
- 91295 Theokritos to Delian Apollo; manes in the archonship of Xeno{no}medes
50 νο{νο}μήδου {Ξενομήδου}, ἱεροποιῶν δὲ Αστία καὶ Τερομβρότου, ἱερὸν Απόλλωνι· φιάλη καρυωτή· Κτησυλὶς Ἀριστολόχου θυγάτηρ, Πυθέου δὲ γυνή, Εἰλειθυίει· ψυκτήριον, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου, ἰε-
ροποιοὶ Σῆμος καὶ Πυθοκλῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλάφου καὶ τῶν τράγων· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀμφοτεροῦ, στησίλειον, ἐπιστατοῦντος Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἐχεκράτου· φιάλη, Ἀμφικλεῖδαι Νάξιοι ἐξίκε-
91300 λίας Απόλλωνι· τὰ πάντα ΔΔΠΙ, ὁλ. μν. ΔΠΙΙΙ, ΠΠΔΔ· ἀργύριον τὸ περιγενόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθύρων, χύμα καὶ ἄλλα λεπτά, ὁλ. ΠΔΔΔ· ἀργυροὶ κίρκοι ΙΙ, ὁλ. Π· ποτήριον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Σωσίβι-
ος Γλαύκου ἀπὸ τῶν γερῶν· ἄλλο, Σωκρίτου ἱερητεύσαντος ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Φίλλιος· φιάλη, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφή· Δᾶζος Δαζίσκου Ἀζαντίνος ἀφ' ᾧ εἰργάσατο Απόλλωνι· ὁλ. τῶν τριῶν ΠΗΗΔ
91305 ΠΠ· φιάλας ΙΙΙΙ, ἃς ἔφασαν παραδοθῆναι ὑπὸ ταμιῶν Τληπολέμου καὶ Νικάρχου Θεουργεσίων, Φιλειταιρείων, Σωπατρείων, Παταικείων, ὁλ. ΠΗΗΗ· φιάλαι ΙΙ Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ωκυνειδῶν, 55 τρικτυαρχούντων Ἀλκιμάχου τοῦ Τιμοκράτου, Ἀριστείδου τοῦ Τελέσωνος, Τληπολέμου <τοῦ> Διοδότου, ὁλ. ΠΗΗ· ἄλλαι φιάλαι ΙΙ, ἱεροποίων Μνησικλέους, Διογένους, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. ΠΗΗ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ κώνου δάφνης, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Περσεὺς βασιλέως Φιλίππου Απόλλωνι
91310 Δηλίῳ· φιάλαι ΔΠΙ, ἃς παρέδοσαν ταμίαι Καλλίας καὶ Τελε[-]σαρχίδης {Τελεσαρχίδης}, ὁλ. μν. ΔΠΙ· ἄλ-
λαι φιάλαι ΙΙΙΙ, ταμιῶν Καλλίου καὶ Τελεσαρχίδου, ὁλ. ΠΗΗΗ· ἄλλη φιάλη, τρικτυάρχων Πολύβου καὶ Μνησικλέους, ὁλ. ΠΗ· ἄλλη φιάλη, ἣν ἔφασαν παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τρικτυάρχων Χαρίλα καὶ Τελεσαρχίδου, ὁλ. ΠΗ· ἄλλαι φιάλαι ΙΙ, ἃς ἔφασαν παραλαβεῖν παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν Σωκρίτου καὶ
91315 Πολυξένου, ὁλ. ΠΗΗ· ἄλλαι φιάλαι ΔΠΙ, ταμιῶν Ἄμνου καὶ Μνησιάδου, ὁλ. μν. ΔΠΙ· ἄλλαι φιάλαι ΙΙΙΙ, τα-
μιῶν Ἄμνου καὶ Μνησιάδου, ὁλ. ΠΗΗΗ· χρυσοῦς ἀλεξάνδρειος Ι· ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν Ι· φιάλαι ΔΠΙ, ἃς ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς παραδοῦναι ταμίας Πόλυβον καὶ Ἀντίγονον, ὁλ. μν. ΔΠΙ· ἄλλαι ΙΙΙΙ, ταμιῶν Πολύ-
(50) with Astias and Hierombrotos hieropoioi, sacred to Apollo; knobbed phiale,
91320 Ktesylis daughter of Aristolochos wife of Pytheas to Eileithyia; small cooler in the archonship of Apollodoros, with Semos and Pythokles hieropoioi from the deer and the billy goats; Stesileion skaphion in the archonship of Amphoteros, with Herakleides son of Echekrates overseer; phiale the Naxian Amphikleidai exikelias? to Apollo. Sum 27, wgt mn.18, d.70. Silver left from the doors, ingots and other small pieces, wgt
91325 d.31; 2 silver circles, wgt 1; cup with inscription Sosibios son of Glaukos from the awards, another with Sokritos priest in the archonship of Phillis, phiale with the inscription Azantinian Dazos son of Daziskos to Apollo from his produce, wgt of the three, d.217; 4 phialai which they said were given over by the stewards Tlepoemos and Nikarchos, from the Theuergesia, Philetaireia, Sopatreia, Pataikeia, wgt d.400; 2
91330 phialai from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai (55) with Alkimachos son of Timokrates, Aristides son of Teleson Tlepoemos son of Diodotos trittys-chiefs, wgt d.200; 2 other phialai, with Mnesikles, Diogenes hieropoioi, from the Eutycheia, Philadelphieia, wgt d.200; gold laurel crown on pinecone, which Perseus son of king Philip dedicated to Delian Apollo; 16 phialai which the stewards Kallias and
91335 Telesarchides gave over, wgt mn.16; another 4 phialai from the stewards Kallias and Telesarchides, wgt d.400; another phiale, with Polybos and Mnesikles trittys-chiefs, wgt d.100; another phiale, which they said they received from the trittys-chiefs Charilas and Telesarchides, wgt d.100; 2 other phialai which they said they received from the hieropoioi Sokritos and Polyxenos, wgt d.200; 16 other phialai from the
91340 stewards Amnos and Mnesiades, wgt mn.16; another 4 phialai from the stewards Amnos and Mnesiades, wgt d.400; 1 gold Alexandreian; 1 gold earring; 16 phialai which they said the stewards Polybos and Antigonos gave over to them, wgt mn.16; another 4 from the stewards Polybos

- 91345 60 βου καὶ Ἀντιγόνου, ὁλ. □HHHH· ἄλλαι φιάλαι II, Εὐξενίδου καὶ Ἀντιγόνου, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □HH· ἄλλα ἀργυρᾶ παντοδαπὰ ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων καὶ δακτύλιοι καὶ κίρκοι καὶ ἱστιαϊκὰ III, ὁλ. □Δ· δακτύλιοι ὑπάργυροι IIIII καὶ κονδύλιον ὑπόχρυσον· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης βασιλέως Αἰτάλου, ὁλ. □H· ἀριστερῶς εἰσιόντων εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος φιάλη ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Ποπλίου ἀνάθεμα· καὶ Σατύρου αὐλός· φιάλαι Δ□I, ταμιῶν Εὐφράνορος καὶ Ἀλκιμίδου, ὁλ. μν. Δ□I·
- 91350 ἄλλαι IIII, ταμιῶν Ἀλκιμίδου καὶ Εὐφράνορος, ὁλ. □HHHH· ἄλλαι φιάλαι II, Κοσμιάδου καὶ Θαρσαγό-
ρου, ἀνεπίγραφοι, ὁλ. □HH· ἄλλαι φιάλαι II, ἱεροποιῶν Δημόνου καὶ Τηλεμνήστου, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □HH· ἄλλαι φιάλαι II, τρικτυάρχων Ξενοκράτου καὶ Νίκωνος, ἀπὸ τῶν γερῶν, ὁλ. □H· σκά-
φιον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Λευκίνου, ὁλ. □□Δ· σκάφιον στησίλειον, ἐπιστατοῦντος Διοδότου ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἡρακλείτου, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Ἐπικτήμονος, ὁλ. □□Δ· σκάφιον στησίλειον, βου-
91355 65 λῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Σωσιστράτου, ὁλ. □□Δ· σκάφιον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Ἐμπέδου, ὁλ. □□Δ· σκάφιον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείτου, ὁλ. □□Δ· σκάφιον στησίλειον, ὁ ἔφασαν ἀνενεχθῆ-
91360 ναι βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Τηλεμνήστου, ὁλ. □□Δ· σκάφιον στησίλειον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Παρμενίωνος, ἀστατον· φιάλαι II, ἱεροποιῶν Ὀρθοκλέους καὶ Πολυβούλου, εὐτύχειος, φιλαδέλφειος, ὁλ. □HH· ἄλλαι φιά-
λαι Δ□I, ταμιῶν Ξενοκλείδου καὶ Γερύλλου, ὁλ. μν. Δ□I· ἄλλαι φιάλαι IIII, ταμιῶν Ξενοκλείδου καὶ Γερύλλου, ὁλ. □HHHH· ἄλλη φιάλη, βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου, ὁλ. □HHHH· φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ὑπὲρ τὸ
91365 ὑπέρθυ-
ρον, ἣν ἀνέθηκαν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν Θεόξενος· φιάλην, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἡρακλείτου, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ὤκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχούντων Τηλεμνήστου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος, ὁλ. □H· ἄλλας φιάλας Δ□I, τα-
μιῶν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Φανοδίκου, ὁλ. μν. Δ□I· ἄλλαι IIII, ταμιῶν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Φανοδίκου, ὁλ. □HHHH· φιάλ[—]ην {φιάλην}, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Κοσμιάδου, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ὤκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχούντος Πάχρητος
- 91370 (60) and Antigonos, wgt d.400; another 2 phialai from Euxenides and Antigonos, from the Eutycheia, Philadelphia, wgt d.200; various other silver from the statues and rings and circles and 3 Histiakia, wgt d.10; 5 silvered ring and gilded kondylion; gold laurel crown of king Attalos, wgt d.100.
- Entering the Temple of Apollo from the left:** phiale in plinth, dedication of Publius; and pipes of Satyros; 16 phialai from the stewards Euphranor and Alkimides, wgt
- 91375 mn.16; another 4, from the stewards Alkimides and Euphranor, wgt d.400; 2 other phialai, from Kosmiades and Tharsagoros, uninscribed, wgt d.200; 2 other phialai, hieropoioi Demonos and Telemnestos from the Eutycheia, Philadelphia, wgt d.200; 2 other phialai, from the trittys-chiefs Xenokrates and Nikon, from the awards, wgt
- 91380 d.100; Sesileion skaphion, from the Council of Leukinos's year, wgt d.60; Stesileion skaphion, with Diodotos overseer in the archonship of Herakleitos, from the Council of Epiktemon's year, wgt d.60; Stesileion skaphion from the Council (65) in Sosistratos' year, wgt d.60; Stesileion skaphion from the Council in Empedos' year, wgt d.60; Stesileion skaphion from the Council in Herakleitos' year, wgt d.60;
- 91385 Stesileion skaphion which they said was offered by the Council in Telemnestos' year, wgt d.60; Stesileion skaphion in the archonship of Parmenion, unweighed; 2 phialai, with Orthokles and Polyboulos hieropoioi, Eutycheian, Philadelphia, wgt d.200; another 16 phialai, from the stewards Xenokleides and Geryllos, wgt mn.16; another 4 phialai, from the stewards Xenokleides and Geryllos, wgt d.400; another phiale from
- 91390 king Antiochos, wgt d.400; silver phiale over the lintel which the Achaians and their leader Thoexenos dedicated; phiale in the archonship of Herakleitos, from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai, with Telemnestos and Aristophon trittys-chiefs, wgt d.100; 16 other phialai from the stewards Polykritos and Phanodikos, wgt mn.16; 4 others, from the stewards Polykritos and Phanodikos, wgt d.400; phiale in the archonship of
- 91395 Kosmiades, from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai, with Paches
- 70 τοῦ Ἀναξιθέμιδος, ὁλ. □H· καὶ ἦν παρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Ὀρθοκλῆς καὶ Ἀλκιμίδης· φιάλην ἐμ πλινθείῳ ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑπέρθυρον, ἀνάθεμα Κώϊων· φιάλην, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ὤκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχούντων Ξενοκράτου καὶ Πυθέου, ὁλ. □H· φιάλην, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Διογέ-
91400 νου, ἱεροποιῶν δὲ Ἀπολλοδώρου, Ἀντιγόνου, ἐπιδόντος Ἑρμίου τοῦ νησιάρχου, ὁλ. □H· [—] ἄλλην, ἐπ' ἀρχοντι<ος>
- Διογέ-
91405 νου, ἱεροποιῶν δὲ Ἀπολλοδώρου, Ἀντιγόνου· Εὐτυχος Φιλώτου Χῖος Ἀπόλλωνι, ὁλ. □H· φιάλας Δ□I, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου, ταμιῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Ἥγέου, ὁλ. μν. Δ□I· ἄλλας φιάλας IIII, ταμιῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Ἥγέου, ὁλ. □HHHH· ἄλλας φιάλας, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου, II, ἱεροποιῶν δὲ Τηλησιμένου, Τελέσωνος, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □HH· ἄλλας φιάλας II, ἱερο-
91410 75 ποιῶν δὲ Ὀρθοκλέους καὶ Ἀλκιμίδου, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □HH· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Τίμων Νυμφοδώρου Συρακόσιος, ἀστατος· φιάλαι χρυσαῖ II ἐμ πλινθείοις, ἃς ἀνέ-
θηκεν Θέων Στράτωνος Χῖος, ἀστατοι· ἄλλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Χαίρε-
91410 ου, Θυεσταδῶν, ἐπιστατοῦντος Ἐβδομίσκου καὶ Ἀπατουρίου, ὁλ. □H· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ κώνου, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Δημήτριος βα-
σιλέως Φιλίππου Ἀπόλλωνι Δηλίῳ· δακτύλιον ἀργυροῦν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ, ὁλ. III· ἄλλον δακτύλιον ὑπάργυρον· φιάλας Δ□I, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ὀλυμπεδώρου, ταμιῶν Ἐμπέδου, Ἀπατουρίου, ὁλ. μν. Δ□I· ἄλλαι IIII, ταμιῶν Ἐμπέδου καὶ Ἀπατουρίου, ὁλ. □HHHH· φιάλαι, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ὀλυμπεδώρου, II, ἱεροποιῶν Ξενοκλείδου, Παρμενίωνος, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □HH· φιάλαι, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 91415 Χαίρεον, ΔΠΙ, ταμιῶν Διακρίτου, Νίκωνος, ὁλ. μν. ΔΠΙ· ἄλλαι ΙΙΙΙ, ταμιῶν Διακρίτου, Νίκωνος, ὁλ. □HHHH· φιάλη λεία χρυσή ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα· Απόλλωνος Δηλίου, Ἀρτέμιδος Δηλίας, ὁλ. □HΔΔΔ□□□□· ἄλλη φιάλη χρυσή λεία, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □HΔΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλη φιάλη λεία χρυσή, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □HΔΔΔΔ□□□□· [—] ἄλλη φιάλη χρυσή λεία, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □HΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλη φιάλη χρυσή λεία, ἐπι-

91420 (70) son of Anaxithemis trittys-chief, wgt d.100; and the one which the hieropoioi Orthokles and Alkimides gave over; phiale in plinth over the lintel, dedication of the Koans; phiale in the archonship of Apollodoros, from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai, with Xenokrates and Pytheas trittys-chiefs, wgt d.100; phiale in the

91425 archonship of Diogenes, with Apollodoros, Antigonos hieropoioi, Hermias the island chief donor, wgt d.100; another in the archo(ship) of Diogenes, with Apollodoros, Antigonos hieropoioi: Eutychos son of Philotas from Chios to Apollo, wgt d.100; 16 phialai in the archonship of Apollodoros with Apollodoros and Hegeas stewards, wgt mn.16; another 4 phialai with Apollodoros and Hegias stewards, wgt d.400; 2 other

91430 phialai in the archonship of Apollodoros with Tlesimenes, Teleson hieropoioi, from the Eutycheia, Philadelphieia, wgt d.200; 2 other phialai with Orthokles and Alkimides hieropoioi, from the Eutycheia, Philadelphieia, wgt d.200; gold crown which Timon son of Nymphadoros from Syracuse dedicated, unweighed; 2 gold phialai inplinths which

91435 (75) Theon son of Straton from Chios dedicated, unweighed; another in the archonship of Chaireas, from the Thyestadai, with Ebdomiskos and Apatourios overseer(s), wgt d.100; gold crown on pinecone, which Demetrios son of king Philip dedicated to Delian Apollo; silver ring from the treasure, wgt .3; another silvered ring; 16 phialai in

91440 the archonship of Olympiodoros, with Empedos, Apatourios stewards, wgt mn.16; another 4, with Empedos and Apatourios stewards, wgt d.400; 2 phialai in the archonship of Olympiodoros, with Xenokleides, Parmenion hieropoioi from the Eutycheia, Philadelphieia, wft d.200; 16 phialai in the archonship of Chaireas, with Diakritos, Nikon stewards, wgt mn.16; another 4, with Diakritos, Nikon stewards, wgt d.400;

91445 smooth gold phiale with inscription: of Delian Apollo, Delian Artemis, wgt d.139; another smooth gold phiale, the same inscription, wgt d.143; another smooth gold phiale, inscription the same, wgt d.139; another smooth gold phiale, inscription the same, wgt d.140; another smooth gold phiale, inscription

91450 80 γραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □HΔΔΔ□□· ἄλλη φιάλη χρυσή λεία, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □HΔΔΔ□· ἄλλη φιάλη χρυσή λεία, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □HΔΔΔ□□· φιάλη χρυσή καρυωτὴ, ἐπιγραφὴ· Απόλλωνος Δηλίου, ὁλ. □H□HΔΔΔΔ□□□□IIII· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ χρυσή, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □H□HΔΔΔΔ□□□□IIII· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ χρυσή, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □H□HΔΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ χρυσή, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □H□HΔΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ χρυσή, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □H□HΔΔΔΔ□□□□IIII· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ χρυσή, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □H□HΔΔΔΔ□· οἰνοχόη χρυσή ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα· Απόλλωνος Δηλίου, ὁλ. □□H□HΔΔΔ□· ἄλλη οἰνο- χόη χρυσή, ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ αὐτή, ὁλ. □□H□HΔΔΔ□□□□□· φιάλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πολυξένου, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ξκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχοῦντων Αντιγόνου καὶ Αντιγόνου, ὁλ. □H· φιάλαι ΔΠΙ, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πο- λυξένου, ταμιῶν Περιάνδρου καὶ Εὐξενίδου, ὁλ. μν. ΔΠΙ· ἄλλαι ΙΙΙΙ, ταμιῶν Περιάνδρου καὶ Εὐξενίδου, ὁλ. □HHHH· φιάλαι ΔΠΙ, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Εὐξένου, ταμιῶν Φερεκλείδου καὶ Πολυξένου, ὁλ. μν. Δ

91455 85 □I· ἄλλαι φιάλαι ΙΙΙΙ, ὁλ. □HHHH· φιάλαι ΙΙ, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Εὐξένου, ἱεροποιῶν δὲ Φωκαϊέως, Μενύλλου, Φιλαδελφείων, Εὐτυχείων, ὁλ. □HH· πόρπη χρυσή, Λευκίου ἀνάθημα Ρωμαίου, ὁλ. □ □□· στέφανος

91460 χρυσοῦς, Τίτου ἀνάθημα Ρωμαίου, ὁλ. □HΔ· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, Αὔλου ἀνάθημα Ρωμαίου, ὁλ. □H· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, Γαίου Λιβίου Ρωμαίου ἀνάθημα, ὁλ. □H· φιάλαι ΔΠΙ, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Μενεκράτου, ταμιῶν Δημοστράτου καὶ Πάχητος, ὁλ. μν. ΔΠΙ· φιάλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Εὐξένου, ἣν ἀνέθηκαν Θυεστάδαι, τρικτυαρχοῦντων Χαρίλα τοῦ Ἀριστοθάλου, Ακριδίωνος τοῦ

91465 Ελπίνου, ὁλ. □H· φιάλαι ΔΔ, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου, ταμιῶν Φιλόνικου καὶ Διακτορίδου, ὁλ. μν. ΔΔ· φιάλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Μενεκράτου, ἣν ἀνέθηκαν Θυεστάδαι καὶ Ξκυνεῖδαι, τρικτυαρχοῦντων Δη- μαρήτου τοῦ Ἀνδρία, Δημονίκου τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, ὁλ. □H· τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ψήγματα ἀργυρᾶ, ὁλ. □□□□· στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Τίτος Ρωμαῖος, ὁλ. ὀβολοὶ ΙΙ· ἄλλος

91470 (80) the same, wgt d.136; another smooth gold phiale, inscription the same, wgt d.135; another smooth gold phiale, inscription the same, wgt d.136; gold knobbed phiale, inscription of Delian Apollo, wgt d.198.3; another gold knobbed, inscription the same wgt d.196.3; another gold knobbed, inscription the same wgt d.192; another gold knobbed, inscription the same wgt d.196; another gold knobbed, inscription the same wgt d.190.4; another gold knobbed, inscription the same wgt d.190; gold oinochoe with inscription of Delian Apollo, wgt d.685; another gold oinochoe, inscription the same wgt d.679; phiale in the archonship of Polyxenos, from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai with Antigonos and Antigonos trittys-chiefs, wgt d.100; 16 phialai in the

91475 archonship of Polyxenos with Periander and Euxenides stewards, wgt mn.16; another 4, with Periander and Euxenides stewards, wgt d.400; 16 phialai in the archonship of Xenon, with Pherekleides and Polyxenos stewards, wgt mn.16; (85) 4 other phialai, wgt 400; 2 other phialai in the archonship of Xenon, with Phokaieus, Menyllos hieropoioi, from the Phiadelphieia, Eutycheia, wgt d.200; gold pin, dedication of Luke of Rome,

91480

- 91485 wgt d.2; gold crown, dedication of Titus of Rome wgt d.110; another gold laurel crown, dedication of Aulus of Rome, wgt d.100; another gold laurel crown, dedication of Gaius Livius of Rome, wgt d.100; 16 phialai in the archonship of Menekrates, with Demostratos and Pachys stewards, wgt mn.16; phiale in the archonship of Xenon, which the Thyestadai dedicated with Charilas son of Aristothales, Akridion son of Elpinos trittys-chiefs, wgt d.100; 20 phialai in the archonship of Aristarchos, with
- 91490 Philonikos and Diaktorides stewards, wgt mn.20; phiale in the archonship of Menekrates, which the Thyestadai and Okyneidai dedicated with Demaratos son of Andrias, Demonikos son of Aristides trittys-chiefs, wgt d.100; silver fragments from the tripod and the table, wgt d.56; gold crown which Titus of Rome dedicated, wgt 2 obols; another gold crown
- 91495 90 φανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων, ὁλ. πρὸς ἀργύριον □Η· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἐλαίας, ὃν ἀνέθηκαν Δηλιάδες χορεῖα, στεφανωθείσαι ὑπὸ Λευκίου Κορνηλίου Σκιπίωνος στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ὁλ. πρὸς ἀργύριον □ΔΔΔ□□· φιάλαι II, ἃς παρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Περίανδρος καὶ Ἀπατούριος, Φιλαδελφείων, Εὐτυχείων, ὁλ. □ΗΗ· φιάλη, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ὠκυνειδῶν, τρικτυάρχων Μνησιμάχου, Θεοδώρου, ὁλ. □Η· ἄλλαι φιάλαι II, ἱεροποιῶν Νεωθάλου, Τελεσικράτου, Φιλαδελφείων, Εὐτυχείων, ὁλ. □ΗΗ· νομίσματα ἀργυρᾶ Δ□III· τέτραχμον λυσιμάχειον· στατόν· κάδον· μαστοὶ ΔII· χυτρίδες IIII· κύαθοι IIII· οἶνοχοοὶ II· λιβανωτὶς I· θυμιατήριον I· κανοῦν I· φιάλην, ἣν ἔφασαν ἀνατεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Χαίρε-
- 91505 ἃς καὶ Τελεστόκριτος, Νικάρχου Ῥοδίου ἀνάθεμα· φιάλαι ἑμ πλινθείοις II, ὑπὲρ τὸ θύρετρον, ἃς ἔφασαν ἀνατεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Χαίρεας καὶ Τελεστόκριτος, μίαν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου ἀνάθεμα, ἄλλη Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἐπιγόνου· ἄλλην, Κώιον ἀνάθεμα, ἀρχιθεώρου Χαιρεστράτου τοῦ Ἑκατοδώρου· ψήγματα ἀργυρᾶ, ἃ παρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Χαίρεας καὶ Τελεστόκριτος, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔ□□· κονδύλιον σιδηροῦν ὑποκεχυρωμένον· χύματα ἀργυρᾶ Δ□I· δοκιμεῖα □IIII· ἄλλα ξύσματα παντοδαπὰ τὰ περιγενόμενα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρωμάτων τῶν ἐκ πρυτανείου· κύαθος, Φίλλιος καὶ Πυθέου ἀνάθεμα, ὁλ. □ΔΔ□□□· θυμιατήριον· σκάφια II, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Σωσίκου, Μαψιχιδῶν ἀναθήματα· ἀρυσὸς κατεαγὼς, Μητροδώρου Κλαζομενίου ἀνάθεμα· ψήγματα ἀργυρᾶ ἐν τῷ ἀρυσᾷ, ὧν ὁλ. □Δ□□□· φιάλαι IIII, ἃς παρέδωκαν ταμίαι Δημόστρατος καὶ οἱ κληρονόμοι οἱ Πάχητος, ὁλ. □ΗΗΗΗ· καὶ παρὰ Διοδότου σκάφιον στησίλειον, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Εὐτέλου· ἄλλο σκάφιον φιλωνί-
- 91515 δειον, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ξενομήδου, Φιλωνὶς Ἥγησαγόρου· ἄλλο σκάφιον στησίλειον, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Εὐτέλου, ἐμβόλιον ἔχον· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ἀνάθεμα βασιλέως Εὐμένους, ὁλ. □Η· ἄλλος (90) which Lucius Cornelius Scipio Roman general dedicated, wgt against coin d.100; another gold olive crown, which the Deliades dedicated as choreia, crowned by Lucius Cornelius Scipio Roman general, wgt against coin d.42; 2 phialai which Periander and Apatourios hieropoioi gave over from the Philadelpheia, Eutycheia, wgt d.200; phiale in the archonship of Aristarchos from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai, with Mnesimachos, Theodoros trittys-chiefs, wgt d.100; 2 other phialai, with Neothales, Telesikrates hieropoioi, from the Philadelpheia, Eutycheia, wgt d.200; 19 silver coins; Lysimachean tetradrachm; large bowl; jar; 12 mastoi; 4 little pots; 4 kyathoi; 2
- 91525 oinochoai; 1 incense dish; 1 censer; 1 basket; phiale which Chaireas and Telestokritos said was dedicated in their year of office, dedication of Nikarchos of Rhodes; 2 phialai in plinths, over the lintel which Chaireas and Telestokritos said was dedicated in their year of office, one dedication of Ptolemy son of Lysimachos, (95) another of Antipater son of Epigonos; another dedication of the Koans, with
- 91530 Chairestratos son of Hekatodoros chief theoros; silver fragments which the hieropoioi Chaireas and Telestokritos gave over, wgt d.36; gilded iron kondylion; 16 silver ingots; 9 assayed pieces; various other pieces from the silver from the Prytaneion; kyathos, dedication of Phillis and Pytheas, wgt d.28; censer; 2 skaphia, in the archonship of Sosikos, dedications of the Mapsichidai; broken ladle, dedication of Metrodoros of Clazomenae; silver pieces in the ladle, wgt d.14; 4 phialai which the stewards Demetrios and Pachys' heirs gave over, wgt d.400; and from Diodotos Stesileian skaphion, in the archonship of Euteles; another Philonideion skaphion in the archonship of Xenomedes, Philonis son of Hegesander; another Stesileian skaphion in the archonship of Euteles, with boss; gold laurel crown, dedication of king
- 91540 Eumenes, wgt d.100; another 100 στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ἀνάθεμα Γναίου Μαελλίου στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ὁλ. □Η· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς δρυός, ἀνάθεμα Λευκίου Κορνηλίου Σκιπίωνος στρατηγοῦ ὑπάτου Ῥωμαίων· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, βασιλέως Εὐμένους ἀνάθεμα, ὁλ. □Η· καὶ ὃν ἔφασαν ἀποκατασταθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Μνησικλείδης καὶ Πολύβουλος, ὃν παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς
- 91545 Σωσίστρατος Ἀμφίου, στέφανον χρυσοῦν δάφνης ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· Πόπλιος Ποπλίου Κορνήλιος στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος Ῥωμαίων, ὁλ. □Η· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ὃν παρέδωκεν Πόλυβος Μενύλλου, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· Κοίντος Φάβιος Κοίντου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων, ὁλ. □Η· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, ὃν παρέδωκαν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ Τληπόλεμος καὶ Ξενοκλείδης, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· Λεύκιος Αἰμύλιος στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων, ὁλ. □Η· φιάλας, ἃς ἔφασαν παρε[-]ληφέναι {παρειληφέναι} παρὰ ταμιῶν τῶν ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Τελεσαρχίδου, Διογένου καὶ Ἀλκιμάχου, ΔΔ, ὁλ. μν.
- 91550 105 ΔΔ· στέφανον χρυσοῦν δάφνης, ὃν παρέδωκαν ἐπιμεληταὶ Περίανδρος καὶ Τλησιμένης καὶ Ξένων, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· βασιλε[ὺς Ε]ὐμένης βασιλέως Αἰτάλου Απόλλωνι· φιάλας ΔΔ, ἃς

- 91555 παρέδωκαν ταμίαι Ὀρθοκλῆς καὶ Τηλέμνηστος, ὁλ. μν. ΔΔ· ἄλλας φιάλας II, ἃς παρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Ἐμπεδος καὶ Ἀπατούριος, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων· ἄλλας φιάλας II, ἃς παρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Χαίρεας καὶ Τελεστόκριτος, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □ΗΗ· στέφανον χρυσοῦν, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπολλόδοτος Νικογένου Ρόδιος, ὁλ. □□□□· φιάλη, ἣν παρέδωκαν ἐπιμεληταὶ Περίαν-
91560 δρος καὶ Τληπόλεμος, ὁλ. □□□· ἄλλην φιάλην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν· ἀρχοντος Διοκλέους Θυεστάδαι ἀπὸ τῶν γερῶν, τρικτυαρχοῦντος Σήμου τοῦ Κοσμιάδου, ὁλ. □□· λέοντος προτομὴ ἐμ πλιν-
91565 θείῳ, Ὑσασίνου Μιθροάξου Βακτριανοῦ ἀνάθεμα. καὶ ἀριστερᾶς εἰσιόντων εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· φιάλη ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθεμα Κώϊων, ἀρχιθεώρου Διομέδοντος τοῦ Ζμένδ<ρ>ωνος· φιά-
(100) gold laurel crown, dedication of Gnaeus Maellius, Roman general, wgt d.100; another gold oak crown, dedication of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Roman consul; another
91570 gold laurel crown, dedication of king Eumenes, wgt d.100; and the one Mnesikleides and Polyboulos said was removed in their archonship, which Sosistratos son of Amphios gave to them, a gold laurel crown with the inscription Publius Cornelius son of
91575 Publius Roman consul, wgt d.100; another gold laurel crown which Polybos son of Menyllos gave over, with the inscription Quintus Fabius son of Quintus Roman general, wgt d.100; another gold laurel crown which the overseers Tlepolemos and Xenokleides gave over, with the inscription Lucius Aemulius Roman general, wgt d.100; 20 phialai
91580 which they said they received from the stewards in the archonship of Telesarchides, Diogenes and Alkimachos, wgt mn.(105) 20; gold laurel crown which the overseers Periander and Tlesimenes and Xenon gave over, with the inscription king Eumenes son of king Attalos to Apollo; 20 phialai which the stewards Orthokles and Telemnestos gave over, wgt mn.20; 2 other phialai which the hieropoioi Empedos and Apatourios gave over from the Eutycheia, Philadelphieia; 2 other phialai which the hieropoioi Chaireas and Telestokritos gave over from the Eutycheia, Philadelphieia, wgt d.200; gold crown which Apollodotos son of Nikogenes of Rhodes dedicated, wgt d.3; phiale which the overseers Periander and Tlepolemos gave over, wgt d.55; another phiale with the inscription with Diokles archon the Thyestadai from the awards with Semos son of Kosmiades trittys-chief, wgt d.50; lion head in plinth, dedication of Baktrian
91585 Mithroaxes. **Entering the Temple of Apollo from the left:** phiale in plinth, dedication of the Koans, with Diomedon son of Zmend(r)on chief theoros; 26
91590 110 λας γοργιεῖους ΔΔ□Ι· λιβανωτίδα ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν· ἀρχοντος Τελεσαρχίδου Τιμοκλῆς Τελεσίππου ἱερητεύσας Ἀσκληπιῳ, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλην λιβαν[-]ωτίδα {λιβανωτίδα} ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν· Πάτρων Ἀμ-
91595 μωνίου, τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ἐλάφου ἧς ἀνέθηκεν, ὁλ. □□· φιάλας II, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πολυξένου, ἱεροποι[ῶ]ν Χαρίλα καὶ Ἀριστοφώντος, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □ΗΗ· σκάφιον στησίλειον, ὃ ἔφασαν ἐ-
91600 κτὸς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ εὐρεῖν Μνησικλείδης καὶ Πολύβουλος, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Δεξικλέους Στησίλεως Διοδότου, ἐπιστατοῦντος Κινέου· φιάλας ΔΔ, ἃς παρελάβοσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης ἐν τεῖ ἡλιαίαι παρὰ ταμιῶν Ποσειδίκου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῶν παιδίων τῶν Μνησιμάχου Οἰνέως, ἀνεπίγραφοι, ὁλ. μν. ΔΔ· φιάλην, ἣν ἔφασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς
91605 Λε-
91610 οντιάδης καὶ Δημήτριος, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν· ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Καλλίου, ταμιεύοντος τῶν προσόδων Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Μαντιθέου, Μαψιχίδαι ἀπαρχὴν Ἀπόλλωνι, ὁλ. □Η· χρυσίον ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων, ὃ ἐ-
91615 115 φασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἱεροποιοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης, ὁλ. □□□□· φιάλην ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑπέρθυρον, ἣν ἐφ[α]σαν ἀνατεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἱεροποιοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ
91620 Λε-
91625 οντιάδης ὑπὸ Δαμοκράτου Μεσσηνίου· ἄλλας φιάλας II, ἃς ἔφασαν παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἱεροποιοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν Μνησικλείδου καὶ Πολυβούλου, Εὐ-
91630 τυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □ΗΗ· ἄλλην φιάλην, ἣν ἔφασαν παραδοῦναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἱεροποιοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ψκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχοῦντων Ἀφθο-
91635 νήτου καὶ Ἐρμῶνος, ὁλ. □Η· ψήγματα χρυσᾶ, ὁλ. □□□□· ἄλλα ψήγματα ἀργυρᾶ ἐπίχρυσα, ἃ ἔφασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἱεροποιοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔ□□· καὶ ἐκ τῶν ψη-
91640 γμάτων τῶν χρυσῶν καὶ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν διαλελυμένων, ὧν παρέδωκαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὥστε συγχωνεῦσαι ἐν τεῖ ἐκκλησίαι ἃ παρέ-
91645 (110) gorgieian phialai; incense dish with inscription with Telesarchides archon
91650 Timokles son of Telesippos priest to Asklepios, wgt d.40; another incense dish with inscription Patron son of Ammonios, for the price of the deer which he dedicated, wgt d.50; 2 phialai, in the archonship of Polyxenos, with Charilas and Aristophon
91655 hieropoioi, from the Eutycheia, Philadelphieia, wgt d.200; Stesileian skaphion which Mnesikleides and Polyboulos said they found outside the count, with the inscription
91660 in the archonship of Dexikles, from Stesileos son of Diodotos, with Kineas overseer; 20 phialai which the hieropoioi Demetrios and Leontiades received in court from the
91665 stewards Poseidikos and the guardian of the children of Mnesimachos son of Oineus, uninscribed, wgt mn.20; phiale which Leontiades and Demetrios said (115) was offered
91670 in their year of office, with the inscription in the archonship of Kallias with
91675 Apollodoros son of Mantitheos steward of revenue, the Mapsichidai aparche to Apollo, wgt d.100; gold from the statue which the hieropoioi Demetrios and Leontiades said
91680 was offered in their year of office wgt d.53; phiale over the lintel which they said was dedicated in their year of office by Damokrates of Messene; 2 other phialai which

- the hieropoioi Demetrios and Leontiades said they received in their year of office from the hieropoioi Mnesikleides and Polyboulos from the Eutycheia, Philadelphiea, wgt d.200; another phiale which the hieropoioi Demetrios and Leontiades said they gave over in their year of office from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai, with Aphthonetos and Hermon trittys-chiefs, wgt d.100; gold pieces, wgt d.7; other gilded silver pieces, which the hieropoioi Demetrios and Leontiades said were offered in their year of office, wgt d.36; gold ingots from the gold pieces and disassembled crowns which they handed over to the men chosen by the demos by decree to remelt what they received in the assembly:
- 120 λαβον χύματα χρυσᾶ· τὸ πρῶτον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυσοῖ □ΔΔΔ καὶ □· δεῦτερον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □Δ□ΙΙΙΙ#□□□· τρίτον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □□ καὶ □ΙΙΙ· τέταρτον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □ΔΙΙ#□□□· πέμπτον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □ΔΙΙΙΙ#□□□· ἕκτον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □ καὶ □· ἑβδομον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □ΔΔ□ΙΙΙ· ὄγδοον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □ΔΔΔ καὶ □· ἔνατον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. ΔΔΔ□ΙΙ καὶ □· δέκατον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □ΙΙ καὶ □· ἐνδέκατον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □, ὀβολοὶ □ΙΙΙ·
- καὶ τοῦ χειρόνος χρυσίου, πρῶτον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. ΔΔΔ□ΙΙ καὶ □· δεῦτερον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. ΔΔΔΔΙ· καὶ ὁ παρελάβον ἱεροποιοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης ἐν τεῖ ἐκκλησίαι παρὰ τῶν
- ἀνδρῶν Ξενοκλείδου καὶ Γερύλλου, πρῶτον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. ΔΔΔΙΙ#□□□· δεῦτερον χύμα, ὁλ. χρυ. □ καὶ □· καὶ ἐκ τῶν ψηγμάτων τῶν ὑπαργύρων, ὧν παρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Λεοντιάδης καὶ Δημήτριος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὥστε συγχωνεῦσαι ὁ παρελάβωσαν ἱεροποιοὶ Ἀλκίμαχος καὶ Στησίλεως ἐν τεῖ ἐκκλησίαι [χύ]ματα ἀργυρᾶ· πρῶτον χύμα, ὁλ. □□ΔΔ 125 ΔΔ□□· δεῦτερον χύμα, ὁλ. □ΗΔΔΔΔΙΙ· τρίτον χύμα, ὁλ. □□ΔΔ· τέταρτον χύμα, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔΔ· πέμπτον χύμα, ὁλ. □□□□ΙΙΙ· καὶ ὥς ἔφασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Στησίλεως καὶ Ἀλκίμαχος φιάλας
- Δ□Ι, ταμιῶν Πραξιμένου καὶ Τελεσαρχίδου, ὁλ. μν. Δ□Ι· ποτήριον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Τελεσαρχίδου, ἐμβόλιον ἔχον Πανίσκον, ὁ ἀνήνεγκεν Ἀμφοτερὸς Ἀριστέου· φιάλην, θυεσταδῶν
- καὶ Ὤκυνειδῶν, τρικτυάρχων δὲ τῆς φυλῆς Στησίλεω καὶ Λυκομήδου, ὁλ. □Η· ποτήριον στησίλειον, ὁ παρέδωκεν βουλή ἡ ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Διοκλέους, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφῇ· {Σ} Στησίλεως Διοδότου Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀφροδίτῃ, ὁλ. □□ΔΔΔ□□□□· φιάλην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν· ἀρχοντος Δημητρίου, Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητοῖ ἐπιδόντος Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Διοφάντου, ὁλ. □Η· φιάλαι ΙΙ, ὥς [πα]ρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης, Εὐτυχεῖων, Φιλαδελεφείων, ὁλ. □ΗΗ· ἄλλας φιάλας ΙΙΙΙ, ταμιῶν Πραξιμένου καὶ Τελεσαρχίδου, ὁλ. □ΗΗΗΗ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης, βασι-
- (120) first ingot, wgt of gold 90 and 1; second ingot, weight gld 65.4 1/2; third ingot, wgt gld 55 and 1.3; fourth ingot wgt gld 60.2 1/2; fifth ingot wgt gld 60.4 1/2; sixth ingot wgt gld 50 and 1; seventh ingot, wgt gld 75.3; eighth ingot, wgt gld 90 and 1; ninth ingot, wgt gld 35.2 and 1; tenth ingot, wgt gld 50.2 and 1; eleventh ingot, wgt gld 5, obols 8; and of the lesser gold first ingot, wgt gld 35.2 and 1, second ingot wgt gld 40.1; and what the hieropoioi Demetrios and Leontiades received in their year of office in the assembly from the men Xenokleides and Geryllos, first ingot, wgt gld 30.2 1/2; second ingot, wgt gld 5 and 1; and from the gilded silver pieces that the hieropoioi Leontiades and Demetrios gave over to the men chosen by the demos by decree to remelt what the hieropoioi Alkimachos and Stesileos had received in the assembly silver ingots: first ingot, wgt d.92; (125) second ingot wgt d.140.2; third ingot wgt d.70; fourth ingot wgt d.40; fifth ingot wgt d.4.3; and 16 phialai that Stesileos and Alkimachos said had been offered in their year of office with Praximenes and Telesarchides stewards, wgt mn.16; Stesileion cup, during the Council in the archonship of Telesarchides, with small Pan as boss, which Amphoteros son of Aristeus offered; phiale of Thyestadai and Okyneidai with Stesileos and Lykomedes trittys-chiefs of the tribe, wgt d.100; Stesileian cup which the Council gave over in the archonship of Diokles with the inscription {S} Stesileos son of Diodotos to Apollo, Aphrodite, wgt d.89; phiale with inscription with Demetrios archon Deliades with Apollonides son of Diophantes giving choreia to Apollo Artemis Leto, wgt d.100; 2 phialai which the hieropoioi Demetrios and Leontiades gave over from the Eutycheia, Philadelphiea, wgt d.200; 4 other phialai, with Praximenes and Telesarchides stewards, wgt d.400; gold laurel crown dedication of king
- 130 λ[έ]ως Εὐμένους ἀνάθεμα, ὁλ. □Η· χρυσίον ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων, ὁ ἔφασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Στησίλεως καὶ Ἀλκίμαχος, ὁλ. □Δ· Ἀπόλλωνα ἀργυροῦν, ἀνάθεμα Βιβίου Ῥωμαίου· ποτήριον στησίλειον, ὁ παρέδωκεν βουλή ἡ ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Νικίου, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· βουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Νικίου, Στησίλεως Διοδότου Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀφροδίτῃ, ὁλ. □□ΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλο ποτήριον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Διογένου· ἄλλο ποτήριον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Δημητρίου· φιάλην, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Δημητρίου, θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ὤκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχοῦντος Ῥῥῳδίου τοῦ Διδύμου, Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Ἄμνου· φιάλη, {ε} ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Διογένου, θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ὤκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχοῦντων Ὀρθοκλέους τοῦ Ἀριστοθάλου, Τελέσωνος τοῦ Λευκίππου· φιάλας ΙΙ, ὥς παρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Στησίλεως καὶ Ἀλκίμαχος, Εὐτυχεῖων, Φιλαδελεφείων· καὶ τὸ ἀνενεχθὲν ὑπὸ ἱεροποίων Νικομάχου καὶ Βοήθου χρυσίον ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων, οὗ ὁλ. □□□□· λιβανωτίδα 135 ἀργυρᾶν τὴν ἀγορασθεῖσαν κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου, ὁλ. □□ΗΗΔΔ· φιάλας ΔΔ, ὥς παρελάβωσαν παρὰ ταμίου Φωκίωνος τοῦ Κλεοκρίτου καὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τοῦ Πολυβούλου Παρμενί-ωνος, ὁλ. μν. ΔΔ· ἄλλας φιάλας Δ□Ι, ταμιῶν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Ἀλεξικοῦ, ὁλ. μν. Δ□Ι· ἄλλαι ΙΙΙΙ,

- 91695 ὁλ. □HHHH· χρυσίον ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων, οὗ ὁλ. □HΔΔ□□· σκάφιον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Απατουρίου·
φιάλη Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ὤκυνειδῶν, τρικτυάρχων Κτησωνίδου τοῦ Ἀμφιθάλου, Τελέσωνος τοῦ Κοσμιάδου· καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ὁ ἔφασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμενίων χρυσίον ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων, ὁλ. □□□□□□· φιάλαι II, ἱεροποιῶν Νικομάχου καὶ Βοήθου, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □HH· ὑδρίας ἀργυρᾶς II, ὧν ὁλ. μν. ΔΔΔII· πέταλα χρυσίῳ ἐπίτηκτα, ὁλ. □HΔΔ·
- 91700 ἀρυσᾶς ἐμ πλινθείῳ ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιγεγραμμένους· φιάλη ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα· Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητοῖ ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπά-
(130) Eumenes, wgt d.100; gold from the statue which Stesileos and Alkimachos said was offered in their year of office, wgt d.10; silver Apollo, dedication of Bibios of Rome; Stesileian cup which the Council gave over in the archonship of Nikias, with inscription from the Council in the archonship of Nikias, Stesileos son of Diodotos, to Apollo Aphrodite, wgt d.87; another Stesileian cup from the Council in the archonship of Diogenes; another Stesileian cup from the Council in the archonship of Demetrios; phiale in the archonship of Demetrios from the Thyestadaí and Okyneidai with Radeus son of Didymos, Apollodoros son of Amnos trittys-chief; phiale {i} in the archonship of Diogenes, from the Thyestadaí and Okyneidai, with Orthokles son of Aristothales, Teleson son of Leukippos trittys-chiefs; 2 phialai which the hieropoioi Stesileos and Alkimachos gave over from the Eutycheia, Philadelpheia; and the gold from the statue offered by the hieropoioi Nikomachos and Boethos, wgt d.17; silver incense dish (135) bought by decree of the demos, wgt d.720; 20 phialai which they received from the steward Phokion son of Kleokritos and the heir of Polyboulos son of Parmenion, wgt mn.20; 16 other phialai with Antigonos and Alexikos stewards, wgt mn.16; 4 others, wgt d.400; gold from the statues, wgt d.126; Stesileian skaphion from the Council in the archonship of Apatourios; phiale from the Thyestadaí and Okyneidai, with Ktesonides son of Amphithales, Teleson son of Kosmiades trittys-chiefs; and gold from the statues which Euboeus and Parmenion said was offered in their year of office, wgt d.9; 2 phialai with Nikomachos and Boethos hieropoioi from the Eutycheia, Philadelpheia, wgt d.200; 2 silver hydriai, wgt mn.32; gilded leaves, wgt d.120; ladle in plinth inscribed with Roman letters; phiale with inscription
- 91715 Deliades, with king Ptolemy and queen Kleopatra giving the choreia to Apollo, Artemis, Leto;
140 τρας· φιάλαι II, ἱεροποιῶν Πραξιμένου καὶ Τελεσαρχίδου· φιάλας ΔΔ, ἃς παρελάβοσαν Συνώνυμος καὶ Κρίτις παρὰ ταμιῶν Ὀρθοκλέους καὶ Πολυξένου, ὁλ. μν. ΔΔ· φιάλας, ἃς παρελάβοσαν παρὰ ταμιῶν Μνήσιος καὶ Παρμενίωνος, Δ□I, ὁλ. μν. Δ□I· [— — — —] σκάφιον, βουλῆς τῆς {ε} ἐπ' Ἀρίστωνος, στησίλειον· καὶ φιάλη Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ὤκυνειδῶν, τρικτυάρχων Τληπολέμου καὶ Λάμπρωνος· καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχοντος Τελεσαρχίδου παραδοθέντα ὑπὸ ἱεροποιῶν Συνωνύμου καὶ Κρίτιτος παρελάβομεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἀργυρίδα μικύθειον· λιβανωτίδα, ἥς ἐπιγραφὴ· ὁ ἱερεὺς Πύθεος καὶ ὁ ἀρχὼν Φίλλις Ἑστία· φιάλας γοργιείους Δ□· ποτήρια, ἐπὶ Διογένου, Ἀπολλοδώρου, Χαίρεος, Ὀλυμπιοδώρου, Πολυξένου, Ξένωνος, Μενεκράτου, Ἀριστάρχου, Τελεσαρχίδου, Ἐμπεδου, Ἐμπεδου, Νικίου, Δημητρίου, Ἀρίστωνος, Απατουρίου· σκάφια φιλωνίδεια Δ□, ἐπὶ Διογένου, Ἀπολλοδώρου, Ὀλυμπιοδώρου, Πολυξένου, Ξένωνος, Μενεκράτου, Ἀρισ-
91730 145 τάρχου, Τελεσαρχίδου, Διοκλέους, Διοκλέους, Ἐμπεδου, Δημητρίου, Ἀρίστωνος, Ἀρίστωνος, Τελεσαρχίδου· σκάφια μικύθεια □IIII, ἐπὶ Κοσμιάδου, Ὀλυμπιοδώρου, Πολυξένου, Ξένωνος, Μενεκράτου, Ἀριστάρχου, Δημητρίου· ἄλλο, ἐπιστατοῦντος Τεισικλέους· ἄλλο, ἐπὶ Τελεσαρχίδου· κύλικας μικυθείους IIII, ἐπὶ Διοκλέους, Νικίου, Δημητρίου, Ἀρίστωνος· καὶ ῥοπάλια II ἀπὸ κύλικος·
ῶταρίων κλάσματα II· καὶ ὁ ἔφασαν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἀνατεθῆναι Συνώνυμος καὶ Κρίτις· στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα· Μίνατος Μινάτου Τῆιος Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ Κύμης ἀ-
91745 νέθηκεν· ἄλλο στεφάνιον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· Λεύκιος Ὀππιος Ῥωμαῖος Ἀπόλλωνι χαριστήριον· ἄλλο στεφάνιον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· Κ<ο>ίντος Πλίνιος Ἀπόλλωνι εὐχὴν· τρίποδα ἀργυροῦν, ὃν παρέδωκαν ἱεροποιοὶ Εὐβοεὺς καὶ Παρμενίων, ἄστατον· καὶ τὸ περιγεγόμενον χύμα καὶ δοκιμεῖα III, ὁλ. □□ΔΔΔ□□□II· χρυσίον ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων, [— — — —] ὁ ἔφασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι Συνώνυμος κα[ί]
(140) 2 phialai, with Praximenes and Telesarchides hieropoioi; 20 phialai which Synonymous and Krittis received from the stewards Orthokles and Polyxenos, wgt mn.20; 16 phialai which they received from the stewards Mneseus and Parmenion, wgt mn.16; Stesileian skaphion from the Council in the archonship of Ariston; and phiale from the Thyestadaí and Okyneidai with Tlepolemos and Lampron trittys-chiefs.
And the objects from the archon Telesarchides given over by the hieropoioi Synonymos and Krittis we received **in the Temple of Apollo**: Mikytheian silver (dish?); incense
91755 dish with inscription the priest Pytheas and the archon Phillis to Hestia; 15 gorgieian phialai; cups in the archonships of Diogenes, Apollodoros, Chaireas, Olympiodoros, Polyxenos, Xenon, Menekrates, Aristarchos, Telesarchides, Empedos, Empedos, Nikias, Demetrios, Ariston, Apatourios; 15 Philonideian skaphia in the archonship of Diogenes, Apollodoros, Olympiodoros, Polyxenos, Xenon, Menekrates, Aristarchos, (145) Telesarchides, Diokles, Diokles, Empedos, Demetrios, Ariston, Ariston, Telesarchides; 9 Mikytheian skaphia in the archonship of Kosmiades, Olympiodoros, Polyxenos, Xenon, Menekrates, Aristarchos, Demetrios; another with
- 91760

- Teisikles overseer; another in the archonship of Telesarchides; 4 Mikytheian kylixes, in the archonship of Diokles, Nikias, Demetrios, Ariston; and 2 clubs from a kylix; 2 earring pieces; and a gold crown which Synonymous and Krittis said was dedicated in their year of office with the inscription Minatos son of Minatos of Teos a Roman from Kyme dedicated; another small crown with inscription Quintus Plinius to Apollo vow; silver tripod which the hieropoioi Euboeus and Parmenion gave over, unweighed; and the remaining ingot and 3 assayed pieces, wgt 87.2; gold from the statues which Symonymous and
- 150 Κρίτις ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔ□□□□· ἄλλας φιάλας, ἃς παρέδωκαν ταμίαι Μνησικλείδης Καλλίου, Καίβων Καίβωνος, Δ□Ι, ὁλ. μν. Δ□Ι· σκάφιον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Τελε-
 91765
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- σαρχίδου τοῦ Εὐδίκου· καὶ φιάλας, ἃς παρελάβομεν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Ἀμφοτερός, Σί[—]ληνος {Σίληνος}, Πολύξενος, Φίλιππος, παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν Εὐβοέως καὶ Παρμενίωνος, Εὐτυχείων καὶ Φιλαδ<ελφείων>, ὁλ. □ΗΗ· καὶ ποτήριον στησίλειον, βουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Φωκαίεως· καὶ φιάλην, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Τε{λε}λεσαρχίδου {Τελεσαρχίδου}, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ωκυνειδῶν, τρικτυαρχούντων Ἄμνου τοῦ Τερομβρότου, Νουμηνίου τοῦ Σόλωνος· καὶ φιάλας, παρὰ ταμιῶν Μνησικλείδου τοῦ Καλλίου, Καίβωνος τοῦ Καίβωνος, ΙΙΙΙ, ὁλ. μν. ΙΙΙΙ· καὶ ὁ ἔφασαν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἀνενεχθῆναι χρυσίον ἀπ' ἀνδριά[ν]-
 τῶν, ὁλ. □□□□· καὶ φιάλας ΙΙ, ἃς παρελάβομεν παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν Συνωνύμου καὶ Κρίτις, Εὐτυχείων, Φιλαδελφείων, ὁλ. □ΗΗ· φιάλας, ἃς παρελάβομεν παρὰ ταμιῶν Μνήσιος καὶ Παρμενίωνο[ς] 155 ΙΙΙΙ, ὁλ. μν. ΙΙΙΙ· [— —] ἄλλας φιάλας, παρὰ ταμιῶν Μενύλλου τοῦ Πολύβου, Φωκαίεως τοῦ Φωκαίεως, Δ□Ι, ὁλ. μν. Δ□Ι· καὶ τάδε παρελάβομεν ἐν τῷ Ἀνδρίων οἴκῳ· θυμιατήριον, Εὐμαρίδα ἀνάθεμα[α]·
 λιβανωτίδος κλάσματα ΙΙ· στατόν· σκύφον, Εὐκράτου ἀνάθεμα· κρατῆρα ἀργυροῦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὧτος ἑκατέρου χη[—]νίσκον {χηνίσκον} οὐκ ἔχοντα, καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὧτος τὸν κόσμον οὐκ ἔχοντα, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ὧτος τὸ ἐν μέρος τὸν κόσμον οὐκ ἔχοντα· τράπεζαν περιηργυρωμένην· τρίποδα περιηργυρωμένην· δίσκου κλάσματα ΙΙΙ· περόνας χαλκᾶς ΙΙ· ἀρυσᾶν, Παταίκο[υ] ἀνάθεμα· φιάλαι ΙΙ, Ἀσκληπιάδου Χίου ἀναθήματα· ἀρυσᾶς, ἀνάθεμα Δημητρίου Σεριφίου· φιάλην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν· ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Καλλίου, ἐπιστατοῦντος Ἀμφιθάλου τοῦ Φιλωνύμου· ἄλλην φιάλην, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Σωκλείδου, Θυεσταδῶν καὶ Ωκυνειδῶν· κυμβίον, ἐφ' ἱερέως Πολύβου, Θεανδριδῶν· χηνίσκους ΙΙ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατῆρος καὶ κλάσματα ΙΙ ἀπὸ το[ῦ]
 (150) Krittis said was offered in their year of office, wgt d.49; 16 other phialai which the stewards Mensikleides son of Kallias, Kaibon son of Kaibon gave over, wgt mn.16; Stesileion skaphion from the Council in the archonship of Telesarchides son of Eudikos; and phialai which we received in our archonship, Amphoteros, Silenos, Polyxenos, Phillipos from the hieropoioi Euboeus and Parmenion, from the Eutycheia and Philad(elpheia) wgt d.200; and Stesileian cup, from the Council in the archonship of Phokaieus; and a phiale in the archonship of Te{le}lesarchides, from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai, with Amnos son of Hierombrotos, Noumenios son of Solon trittys-chiefs; and 4 phialai from the stewards Mnesikleides son of Kallias, Kaibon son of Kaibon, wgt mn.4; and the gold from the statues which they said was offered in their year of office, wgt d.8; and 2 phialai which we received from the hieropoioi Synonymous and Krittis, from the Eutycheia, Philadelphieia, wgt d.200; 4 phialai which we received from the stewards Mneseus and Parmenion, (155) wgt mn.4; 16 other phialai from the stewards Menyllos son of Polybos, Phokaieus son of Phokaieus, wgt mn.16. And the following we received **in the Oikos of the Andrians**: censer, dedication of Eumarides; 2 pieces of incense dish; large bowl; skyphos, dedication of Eukrates; silver krater, missing a goose from either handle, and missing the ornament of one handle and missing part of the ornament of the other handle; silvered table; silvered tripod; 3 pieces of a disk; 2 bronze pins; ladle, dedication of Pataikos; 2 phialai, dedications of Asklepiades of Chios; ladle, dedication of Demetrios of Seriphos; phiale with inscription in the archonship of Kallias with Amphithales son of Philonymos overseer; another phiale, in the archonship of Sokleides, from the Thyestadai and Okyneidai; kymbion in the priesthood of Polybos, from the Theandridai; 2 geese from the krater and 2 pieces from the
 160 ὧτος τοῦ κρατῆρος· σκάφιον, ἐφ' ἱερέως Πολύβου, Θεανδριδῶν· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀκριδίωνος, στησίλειον· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Δωριέως, Παταίκο ἀνάθεμα· ἀρυσᾶς, Παταίκο[υ] ἀνάθεμα· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Δωριέως, Παταίκο ἀνάθεμα· φιάλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀριστοβούλου, βασιλέως Στρατονίκης ἀνάθεμα· φιάλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Καλλίου, βασιλέως Αντιγόνο[υ] ἀνάθεμα· φιάλη ἐμ πλινθεῖῳ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα· ἃ πόλις ἃ Κώϊων, ἀρχιθεώρου Πόμ<πι>ος καὶ συνθεώρων· κηρύκειον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· Απόλλωνος Δηλίου, Ἀρτέμιδος· κύαθος ἀπὸ τῆ[ς] ἐλάφου, ἐπιγραφὴ· θεοῦ· φιάλη, Πανίος ἀνάθεμα· καὶ ὁ ἔφασαν ἱεροποιοὶ Πολύξενος καὶ Σώκριτος εὐρεθῆναι τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κρατῆρος, κλάσματα ΙΙ· σκάφιον, Μηδείου ἀνάθεμα, τῶν ἐγ Νήσου, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πολύβου· φιάλη, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Καλλισθένου, Μαψιχιδῶν· φιάλη, ἀνάθεμα Ἀντιπάτρου Κυρηναίου ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Σωτίωνος· σκάφιον στησίλειον, 165 βουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Κοσμιάδου· σκάφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Λευκίνου, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· Ξενότιμος Φάνου ἀπὸ τῶν γεράων· ἐβένου ὁλ. μν. ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙ· κρατῆρ χαλκοῦς ὧτα οὐκ ἔχων· ἐλέφαν-
 τος μν. ΔΔΔΙΙ· χαλκοῦ κλάσματα παντοδαπά, ὁλ. ΤΔΔ□Ι, μν. Δ· λέβης συντετριμμένος· χαλκίον τετρυπημένον· ἄλλο χαλκίον τετρυπημένον· λέβης συντετριμμένος· ἄλλος

- λέβης συντετριμμένος· νεὼς ἔμβολον· λαμπὰς χαλκῇ ἐπὶ βάσεως· κέρας κριοῦ χαλκοῦν· σκέλος χαλκοῦν· ἀνδριαντίδιον χέρα οὐκ ἔχον· λεβήτηιον κατεαγός· περόναι [χαλ]-
91835 κῆ, ὧν ὁλ. ΤΔΙ, μν. ΔΔΔΔ· [— — — —] λαβίδες σιδηραῖ καὶ ἄλλα κλάσματα παντοδαπά, ὁλ. ΤΠΙ· ἄκμων· ἄγκυρα σιδηρὰ καὶ λίθος μολυβδοῦς, ὁλ. Τ, μν. ΔΔΠΙ· ἐπαέτιον ξύλινον [με]- μολυβδωμένον· ἄλλου σιδήρου παντοδαποῦ, ὁλ. ΤΙΙ, μν. ΔΔ· τρίπους σιδηροῦς διαλελυμένος· κλάσματα χαλκᾶ παντοδαπά, ὁλ. Τ, μν. ΔΔΔΠ· σιδήρια παντοδαπά, ἐν οἷς [λα]-
91840 (160) krater handle; skaphion in the priesthood of Polybos, from the Theandridai; Stesileian skaphion in the archonship of Akridion; skaphion in the archonship of Dorieus, dedication of Pataikos; ladle, dedication of Pataikos; skaphion in the archonship of Dorieus, dedication of Pataikos; phiale in the archonship of Aristoboulos, dedication of queen Stratonike; phiale in the archonship of Kallias, dedication of king Antigonos; phiale in plinth with inscription the city of the Koans with Pom(pi)os chief theoros and his fellow theoroi staff with inscription of Delian Apollo, Artemis; kyathos from the deer, inscription the god's; phiale, dedication of Rhanios; and 2 pieces from the krater ornament which the hieropoioi Polyxenos and Sokritos said was found; skaphion, dedication of Medeias, from those on the Nesos, in the archonship of Polybos; phiale in the archonship of Kallisthenes, from the
91845 Mapsichidai; phiale dedication of Antipater of Cyrene in the archonship of Sotion; Stesileian skaphion (165) from the Council in the archonship of Kosmiades; skaphion in the archonship of Leukinos with inscription Xenotimos son of Phanes from the awards weight of ebony, mn.48; bronze krater without handles; ivory mn.32; various pieces of bronze, wgt T 26, mn.10; crushed lebes; leaky bronze; another leaky bronze; crushed lebes; another crushed lebes; ship beak; bronze lamp on stand; bronze ram
91850 horn; bronze leg; small statue without hand; broken small lebes; [ir]on pins, wgt T 11, mn.45; iron clamps and various other pieces, wgt T 6; anvil; iron anchor and lead stone, wgt T, mn.26; leaded wood epaetion; various other iron, 170 βίδες, ὁλ. ΤΙΙ, μν. Δ· περόναι χαλκαῖ, ὁλ. ΤΠΙ, μν. ΔΔΔ· λέβης χαλκοῦς κατεαγός· δίσκων κλάσματα καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά, ὁλ. Τ, μν. Δ· ἐλέφαντος σκυτάλαι ΔΠΙΙ· κασιτέρου σκυ[τάλαι] ΙΙΙ, ὁλ. μν. ΔΔΙΙΙ· ἀνδριάντων κλάσματα ΠΔΔ· ἄγκυρα σιδηρὰ λίθον οὐκ ἔχουσα· δόρυ σιδηροῦν· ἀνδριαντίδια χαλκᾶ ΠΙΙΙ· σιδηροῦν Ι· ἐρείσματα σιδηρὰ ΙΙ· κύαθος χαλκοῦς· βουπ[ά]-
91855 λινά ΙΙΙΙ· κανᾶ ΙΙ· ἐσχάραι ΙΙΙ· χαλκίον, ὃ ἡγόρασαν ἱεροποιοὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης, ὑγιές· τύπον ξύλινον κεραμίδων τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα· κύλικα μικύθειον, ἐφ' ἧς ἐ[πιγρα]-
91860 φῇ· ἄρχοντος Ἐμπέδου Μίκυθος <τ>ῇ Δῆλῳ, ἐπιστατοῦντος Ἀρησιμβρότου. καὶ ἄφασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Δημήτριος καὶ Λεοντιάδης· ποτήριον στ[ησίλειον], ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀριστοβούλου· ἄλλο ποτήριον στησίλειον, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ὀρθοκλέους· ἄλλο ποτήριον στησίλειον, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Σωτέλου· ἄλλο ποτήριον στησίλειον, ἐ[π' ἄρχοντος] 175 Σωκλείδου· ἄλλο ποτήριον στησίλειον, ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀνέκτου· ἄλλο ποτήριον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον·
91870 Μαντίθεος Μαντιθέου ἱερητεύσας ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Μενεθάλου· ἄλλο ποτήριον, ὃ ἔφα]-
91875 σαν ἀνενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς Στησίλειος καὶ Ἀλκίμαχος, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Πολύβου, Τιμοκράτης Αντιγόνου Αρτέμιδι Ἐκᾶτει. [ἄλλο ποτήριον] στησίλειον τὸ εὐρεθὲν ἐν τῷ νεωκωρίῳ, τεθλασμένον. καὶ τάδε παρελάβομεν ἐν τῷ ναῶι οὗ τὰ ἐπτά· στέφανον χρυσοῦν, Νικίου ἀνάθεμα· ἄλλον στέφανον χρυσοῦν, Αὐτοκλέους ἁ]-
91880 νάθεμα, ἐπὶ πῖνακος· στεφάνην ἐπίχρυσον· φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς ἐμ πλινθείοις ΠΙΙΙ· ἄλλην φιάλην ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀθηναίου ἀνάθεμα· ἀσπίς ἀργυρᾶ, Τίτου Ρωμ[αίου] ἀνάθεμα. ἐν τῷ Πωρίνῳ οἴκῳ· φιάλας ἐμ πλινθείοις ΔΙΙΙΙ· κεραμύλλιον ἀργυροῦν χίον, Νουμηνίου ἀνάθεμα· κόγχον ἀργυροῦν. καὶ τάδε παρελάβομεν ἐν τῷ ναῶι τῆς Ἀρτέ[μιδος] παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν]
91885 (170) weight T 2, mn.20; collapsed iron tripod; various bronze pieces, wgt T, mn.35; various iron including clamps, wgt T 2, mn.10; bronze pins, wgt T 6, mn.30; broken bronze lebes; pieces of disks and various others, wgt T, mn.10; 17 ivory rods; 3 tin rods, wgt mn.23; statue pieces 70; iron anchor without stone; iron spear; 8 small bronze statues; 1 iron; 2 iron pieces; bronze kyathos; 4 bracelets; 2 baskets; 3 braziers; sound bronze pot which the hieropoioi Demetrios and Leontiades bought; wood
91890 mould for the ceramics **in the Keraton**; Mikytheion kylix with inscription Empedos archon Mikythos to Delos, with Aresimbrotos overseer; and what Demetrios and Leontiades said was offered in the year of their office: St(esileian) cup in the archonship of Aristoboulos; another Stesileian cup in the archonship of Orthokles; another Stesileian cup in the archonship of Soteles; another Stesileian cup i[n the archonship] of (175) Sokleides; another [Stesileian cu]lp in the archonship of Anektos; another cup with the inscription Mantitheos son of Mantitheos priest in the archonship of Menethales; another [cup which] Stesileos and Alkimachos said was offered in the year of their archonship with the inscription in the archonship of Polybos, Timokrates son of Antigonos to Artemis, Hekate; [another cup] Stesileion
91895 found **in the Neokorion** shattered. And we received the following **in the Temple of the Seven**: gold crown, dedication of Nikias; another gold crown de[dicat]ion of Autokles] on pinax; gilded diadem; 8 silver phialai in plinths; another phiale in plinth, dedication of Antipater of Athens; silver shield [dedication of Ro]man Titus.
91900 **[In the] Porinos Oikos**: 14 phialai in plinths; small silver Chian pot, dedication of Noumenios; silver conch.

And the following we received **in the Temple of Arte[*mis* from the hieropoioi]**

180 Συνωνύμου καὶ Κρίτιτιος, μηνὸς Γαλαξιῶνος, ὅτε ἦσαν οἱ κοσμηταί, παρούσης βουλῆς καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Ποσειδίκου τοῦ Σωτέλου, καὶ [τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Νεο]-

91905 κροντίδου τοῦ Νεοκροντίδου· θηρίκλεον χρυσὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν· Πτολεμαῖος Λάγου Μακεδῶν Ἀφροδίτει· ὀλκὴ □□□□□· φιάλῃ χρυσῇ καρυωτῇ, ἐπ[ιγραφῇ· Νάξιοι Α]-
 πόλλωνι, θεο<Ϝ>, ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· φιάλῃ ῥαβδωτῇ ἀνεπίγραφος, ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· ἐπιχύτης, ἐπιγραφῇ· Ἀρτέμιδος Δηλίας, ὁλ. □□□□□□· φιάλῃ ῥαβδωτῇ, ἐπιγραφῇ· θεο<Ϝ>, ὁλ. □□□□□□
 {²⁷□□□□□□□□}²⁷· φιάλιον ῥα]-

91910 βδωτὸν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· Ἀπόλλωνο[ς] Δηλίου, ὁλ. □□□· φιάλῃ ἀπότυπος, ἐπιγραφῇ· βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλος Ἀπόλλωνι Δηλίῳ, χαριστήρια Δηλιάδων χορε[ῖα ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀντικράτου],
 ὁλ. □□□□□□· φιάλῃ ὀμφαλὸν οὐκ ἔχουσα, ἀνεπίγραφος, ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· ποτήριον λεῖον διάλιθον, ἐπιγραφῇ· Ἀρτέμιδι Φίλα βασιλῆως Θεοδώρου, ὁλ. □□□· τρ[αγίσκοι II ἀνεπίγραφοι, ὁλ. Δ□□· δα]-

91915 185 κτύλιον χρυσοῦν λίθον ἔχοντα, ἐπιγραφῇ· βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη βασιλῆως Δημητρίου Ἀρτέμιδι Δηλία[ι, ὁλ. Δ□□· κανοῦν [χ]ρυσοῦν ὧτα ἔχον ἀργυρ[ῶν καὶ πυθμένα καὶ ἀστραγαλίσ]-
 κους, ἐπιγραφῇ· Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου, ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· κανοῦν ὀρθὸν ἐπίχρυσον ἀστατον, ἐπιγραφῇ· Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου, σ[ταθ]μὸν χρυσίου □□□□□□□□□□· ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ· πέταλα χρυ]-
 σᾶ ἐγ κιβωτίῳ, ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· ἄλλα πέταλα χρυσᾶ, ὁλ. □□· χρυσίον ἐγ κιβωτίῳ παντοδ[α]πόν,

91920 ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· ἐν οἷς χύματα III· χρυσίον λευκόν, ὁλ. □□· δακτύλιοι χρυσοὶ καὶ] ψήγματα παντοδαπά, ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· ψήγματα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἐπίτηκτα παντοδαπά, ὁλ. □□□□·
 δακτύλιοι σιδηροῖ χρυσίῳ ἐπ[ίτηκτοι III· δακτύλιοι ἐγ κιβωτίῳ ἐνδεδε]-
 μένοι, ἐν οἷς χρυσοὺς I καὶ ἐξάγνος, ὧν ὁλ. Δ□· χρυσοὶ ἄλεξάνδρειοι ΔΔIII· φιλίππειοι □·
 ἀντιόχε[ιοι I]· καρυστῆ □ χρυσῇ· πτολεμαϊκὰ τέτ[αρτα II· φωκαῖς· χρυσοὶ δαρεῖκοι -].

(180) Synonymous and Krittis in the month Galaxion when the wardrobe attendants were
 91925 in the presence of the Council and the scribe of the city Poseidikos son of Soteles and [of the hieropoioi Neo]krontides son of Neokrontides: gold Therikleian with
 inscription Ptolemy son of Lagos of Macedon to Aphrodite, weight d.199; rayed phiale
 uninscribed, wft d.64.3; beaker, inscription of Delian Artemis, wgt d.111.3; rayed
 phiale, inscription of the go[d...ra]yed with the inscription of Delian Apollo, wgt
 91930 d.55; figured phiale, inscription king Attalos to Delian Apollo thanks choreia of the
 Deliades [...] wgt d.111.3; phiale without boss, uninscribed wgt d.28.3; smooth cup
 with stones, inscription to Artemis Phila daughter of king Theodoros, wgt d.115;
 go[ats...r]ing (185) gold with stone, inscription queen Stratonike daughter of king
 Demetrios to Delian Artemis, wgt d.21; gold basket with silver handl[es...]

91935 inscription of Delian Apollo, wgt d.2029; gilded straight basket, unweighed,
 inscription of Delian Apollo weight of gold d.1200+[...go]ld in chest, wgt d.263.3;
 other gold petals, wgt d.50; various gold in chest, wgt d.233 including 3 ingots;
 gol[d...] various pieces, wgt d.92; gold pieces and silver and various gilded, wgt
 d.250; gilded iron rings [...] including 1 gold and hexagon, wgt 15; gold

91940 Alexandrians 23; 5 Phillipics; [...] Antiochean; gold Karystian 1; Ptolemaic
 tetr[adrachms...]

190 Φωκαῖδος νόμισμα I· ἀργυρίου ἀττικοῦ □□□· ἄλεξάνδρειου □□□· πτολεμαϊκὸς στατήρ· ἐφέσι[ος
 στα]τήρ· δραχμὴ δηλία· νομίσματα [□□□□□· χίαι □□· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἐπίσημον ἐ]-
 91945 χων Ἀρτεμίσιον, ὁλ. □□□□· λίθος χρυσίῳ ἐνδε<δε>μ<ε>ν<ο>ς, ἐπίσημον ἔχων τραγέλαφον, ἀστατος·
 ἀετοῦ κε[φαλή ἀργυρᾶ ἐπίχρυσος, ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· χρυσίου ψήγματα ἀπὸ στεφάνων, ὁλ.]
 ΗΔΔΔ□· στεφάνων χρυσῶν κλάσματα καὶ ῥοαὶ IIII καὶ ἀνδριαντίδιον καὶ δακτύλιος, ὧν ὁλ. □□□□□·
 ἀνδριαντίδια II ἐπὶ βάσεως[ς ξυλίνης, ἐπιγραφῇ· Κλεινὴ Ἀδμήτου Ἀπόλλωνι]
 Ἀρτέμιδι εὐχὴν· ὀβολοὶ ὀρχομένιοι ΗΗ□□[III]· βοιωτῶν III· καὶ δηλίου χαλκοῦ □□□□□□□□·
 φιάλιον χρυσοῦν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον· Δημοσ[ῶν Μυκόνιος ὑπὲρ Λυσι?θάλου Ἀρτέμιδι δεκάτην],

91950 ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· στεφάνου κισσίνου κλάσματα, [ὁλ. ΗΗΔΔ□□· στέφανον χρυσοῦν δάφνης, ὁλ.
 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□· ἄλλον στέφανον χ[ρυσοῦν δάφνης, ὁλ. □□□□· ἄλλον χρυσοῦν μυρσίνης κατεαγότα],
 195 ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· ἄλλον μυρσίνης κατεαγότα, ὁλ. □□□□□· ἄλλον δάφνης, ὁλ. □□□□· ἄλλον δάφνης
 κατεαγότα, ὁλ. □□□□· ἕτερον δάφνης, ὁλ. □□□□· ἄλλον δάφνης κατεαγότα, ὁλ. □□□□□□□□□□·
 στεφάνων δάφνης περιεαγότα καὶ κλάσματα παντοδαπά, ὁλ. □□· στεφάνων κλάσματα παντοδαπά, ὁλ.

91955 □□□□· ταῦτ[α ἐπὶκειται ἐπὶ τοῦ κάδου? τοῦ ἐλεφαντίνου - - - - ὁλ. - - - - σὺν? τῶι]
 τρίποδι τῶι ἐπίχρῳσι· στεφάνων κλάσματα καὶ ἄλλα χρυσία παντοδαπά ἐγ κιβωτίῳ, ὁλ. □□□□□□·
 ὄρμος οὗ ὁ λέων [καὶ ὁ ταῦρος καὶ γρῦπες □ σὺν κόσμῳ, χρυσᾶ, ὁλ. □□□□· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς]
 διάλιθος, διαλε<λ>υμένος, ἐπιγραφῇ· βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη βασιλῆως Δημητρίου καὶ βασιλίσσης
 Φίλας Ἀρτέμιδι Δηλία, [ὁλ. □□□□□□□□· μηνίσκοι διάλιθοι καὶ ἀνθεμον, ὁλ. Δ□□□· πόρπη ἀργυ]-

91960 ρᾶ ἐπίχρυσος, ὁλ. Δ□□· ὄρμοι II καὶ περισκελῆς, ὁλ. □□□□· βουκεφάλια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀμφορεῖς καὶ
 σφίγγες καὶ ἄλλα χρ[υσία παντοδαπά, ὁλ. □□□· ταινία κατεαγεῖται II χρυσᾶ προσ]-

(190) Phoecean coin 1; Attic silver d.16; Alexandrian d.21; Ptolemaic stater; Ephesian
 stater; Delian drachma; coins [...]with Artemis wgt d.5.2; stone bound in gold, with
 goat-stag image, unweighed; gilded silver head of eagle wgt d.40+[...] 131; pieces of
 91965 gold crowns and 4 pomegranates and small statue and ring, wgt d.180; 2 small statues
 on bas[e...] to Artemis vow; 355+ Orchomenian obols; 3 Boeotian; and Delian bronze
 4.3 3/4; small gold phiale with inscription Demos[on...] wgt d.27.3; pieces of ivy
 crown, wgt d.126; gold laurel crown, wgt d.49.3; another gold crown [...] (195) wgt
 d.43; another broken myrtle wgt d.8; another laurel, wgt d.70; another broken laurel,
 91970 wgt 25; another laur[el...] broken laurel crown and various pieces, wgt d.100;
 various pieces of crowns wgt.d151; these [...] on the gilded tripod; pieces of crowns
 and various other gold in chest, wgt d.217; necklace with lion [...] with stones,

disassembled, inscription queen Stratonike daughter of king Demetrios and queen Phila
to Delian Artemis [...sil]ver gilded wgt d.15; 2 necklaces and anklet, wgt d.35; gold
ox heads and amphorae and sphinxes and other go[ld...n]ailed,

200 ηλωμένοι, ὁλ. □ΔΔ□□□· κόσμος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ φοινικιδίου Ἐριφύλης, ὁλ. □Η□□□□· ἄστατα· βασιλέως Δημητρίου [περιδέραια χρυσᾶ ἐπὶ ταινιδίου· ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς σει]-
 ρᾶς κρεμαμένων τῶν μειζόνων ΔΔΙΙΙ, τῶν ἐλασσόνων □ΔΙΙ· περισκελίδες ΙΙ καὶ ψέλιον, ἄστατα· χρυσοῖ [ΙΙΙ ἐπὶ ταινιδίῳ ξυλίνῳ, Κοίντου Ἑωμαίου ἀνάθεμα· ταινίδια]

προσηλωμένα III· ὄρμος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ ταινιδίου, ἄστατος· χρυσοῦς τύπος μητρικὸς πρὸς ξύλῳ.

γέραν[ος ἀργυρᾶ, ὀλ. □ΔΔΔ□□□□· μῆλα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γεράνου, εἰλκυσεν □ΗΗ□]·
δακτύλιοι χρυσοῖ καὶ χύματα ΙΙ καὶ ἄλλα χρυσία παντοδαπά, ὀλ. □ΔΔ· χαλκᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἐπίτηκτα,
ὀλ. □□[Δ· νόμισμα· φακαίς· λυσιμάχειον τέτραχμον· διδραχμον· αἰ]-

γυναῖα □. ροδιαί □□□□. σικυωνία □. πρῶτος ῥυμός, ἐν ᾧ οἶνοχοαί □III, χελιδόνειοι ΔΔΔΔ□II, κέρατα II, ἀλά[βαστρα II, τὰ πάντα □Δ, πεπονηκότα, ὅλ. Τ. δεῦτερος ῥυμός, οἶνοχοαί] □□□□ 205 □II, παλιμπότα □, κανοῦν I, καὶ II Πύρρου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά □, τὰ πάντα □Δ□. τοῦτων ὁ δὲ Τ. πεπονηκότα τοῖς ῥυμοῖς ἐνθάδε □ΔIII καὶ ποτὶς αὖ παντοδαπὰ □□□□

□ΔΔ□, τοῦ[των] ὁ[δ]ν. I, πεπονηκῶτα. τρίτος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔΔIII, καὶ ποτήρια παντοσάντα] □II, καὶ σπονδοχοῦδιν I, τὰ πάντα □ΔΔΔI, ὁ[δ]ν. T. τέταρτος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □Δ□III, κυμβία IIII, τὰ πάντα □ΔΔIII, ὁ[δ]ν. T, πεπονηκῶτα. πέμπτος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □Δ□III πεπονηκεῖαι],

ὁλ. T. ἔκτος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔΔII, πεπονηκεῖται, ὁλ. T. ἑβδομος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □ΔI, καὶ λάγιον I, τὰ πάντα [□ΔII, πεπονηκότα, ὁλ. T. ὄγδοος ῥυμός, φιάλαι □Δ□II, καὶ κυμβίον]

Ι, τὰ πάντα □Δ□ΙΙΙΙ, πεπονηκότα, ὁλ. Τ. ἑνατος ρυμός, φιάλαι □Δ□ΙΙΙΙ, ὁλ. Τ. δέκατος ρυμός, φιάλαι □Δ□Ι, ὁλ. Τ. ἑνδέκατος ρυμός, φιάλαι — — —, ὁλ. Τ. δωδέκατος ρυμός, φιάλαι] ποτηροδοπαί ΑΑΑΑ□ΙΙΙΙ καὶ δόξασι ΙΙ ῥυμακοποτάσι Ι κυμβίσι ΙΙΙ λάβας καὶ ἄλλα ποτηροδοπαί

παντοδαπαῖα ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙΙ, χεκτισσενετοι ΙΙ, αναγκατοποτις Ι, κυματα ΙΙΙΙ, κερεις και αλλα παντοδαπα, [τὰ πάντα □□Ι, ὅλ. Τ. τρεισκαιδέκατος ῥυμός, ἐν ᾧ φιάλαι — — — — —]

(200) wgt d.24; gold ornament on palm from Eriphyle, wgt d.157. Unweighed: from king Demetrios [...c]ord hanging larger 23, smaller 62; 2 anklets and armlet, unweighed; gold [...] nailed 3; gold necklace on ribbon, unweighed; gold image of mother on wood; Crane [...]; gold rings and ingots and various the gold wgt d.20; gilded bronze and silver wgt d.7; Sicyonian dr.; first row with 9 oinochoai, 47 swallows, 2 horns, ala[bastra...] 7, (205) 5 reversible cups, 1 basket and 2 from Pyrrhos and Alexander, and 50 various other, 65 total; of the[se...] 7 and 1 small libation oinochoe, 81 total, wgt T; fourth row, 69 phialai, 4 kymbia, total [...] wgt T; sixth row, 72

phialai, used, wgt T; seventh row, 61 phialai and 1 lagion, total [...]1, total 68, used, wgt T; ninth row, 69 phialai, wgt T; tenth row, phial[ai...] various 49,

swallows 2, anagkaiopotes 1, 3 kymbia, lebes and various others [...] (210) pieces
and 8 pieces of other phialai, 6 twisted, 60+ various cups [...la]rge lebes used; 10

pieces of various others, wgt mn.55. These are in [... From the right e]ntering: 12
phialai in plinths. From the left entering: phialai in pli[nths...an]other in plinth,

dedication of Phila daughter of Theodoros; another in plinth, from Aristokyde daughter of Xe[nokleides...a]re in the reed chest 21 phialai, distaffs, wgt mn.14,

d.24; Alexandrian tetradra[chm...th]ese we gave over to the hieropoioi after us

Demetrius and Mellichsides in the [...].

210 του κλάσματα καὶ ἄλλων φιαλῶν κλάσματα □III, ἐλικτὰ □I, ποτήρια παντοδαπὰ □Δ[□· ἐν τούτοις
 ἐν φιάλαις II ῥεῖθρα II ῥεῖθρα II καὶ III κύθος ἀναμειγνύς ἄλλος μέ-

[illegible]

πορευομένων· φιάλαι ἐμ πλινθείοις ΔΙΙ. ἀριστεράς εἰσπορευομένων· φιάλαι ἐμ πλινθε[ίοις ΔΙΙΙ. ἐν τῇ ὀροφῇ φιάλαι ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλη ἐμ πλινθείῳ, Γλαύκωνος ἀνάθεμα· ἄλ]-

λη ἐμ πλινθεῖωι, φίλας τῆς Θεοδώρας ἀνάθεμα· ἄλλη ἐμ πλινθεῖωι, Ἀριστοκύδης τῆς Ξε[νοκλείδου] ἀνάθεμα· ἄλλη, βασιλίσσης Θεφίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁροφῆς ἐνέει]-

οὐκ ἐν τῇ παροτρύνει κίρῳται φάλαξ ΔΔΙ· ἡλεκαίται, ὡν ὁλ. μν. ΔΙΙΙΙ, □ΔΔΔΙΙΙ. φάλαξ ἐμ
π[λινθεῖωι, ἐπίγραφῃν ἔχουσα· Φίλων Δεξιὺν ὑπὲρ Δηλιάδων χορεῖα Ἀρτέμιδι]·
215 τετρανόμοα ΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙ· ὀνόμοα ΔΙ· νόμοι Δ· ἰστιαῖκοι □ΔΔ□□□· ἄλεξάνδρεον τέτραχμ[ον

τα παρέδομεν τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοὺς ἱεροποιοῖς Δημητρίῳ καὶ Μειλιχίδει ἐν τοῖς [καθήκουσι χρόνοις.

μου, καὶ τὰς δόσεις ἔδομεν κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος· Ἀπολλοδώρῳ Ἀπολλ[λ] — ἐργολαβήσαντι —

καλῇ Ἀριστοθάλου ἔδομεν πρώτην δόσιν ΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΘ· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν κελεύοντος ἀρχιτ[έκτονος] —. τῷ
δεῖνι ἐξονοαβήσαντι — — — — — τῷ ἐκκλησι[α]στιστῶ[ι] — — — — — οὐ[τ]

— τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ ἐπισκευάσαντι κλειῖθρον τῆς ὑπολαμπάδος οὗ τὰ τρία □□II· Σωσαν[δρίδης? — — — — — κε]λεύοντος [ἀρχιτέκτονος — — — — —] .

220 Πύρρῳ ἐργολάβησαντι ἐπισκευάσαι τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείῳ κατὰ [συγγραφὴν τὴν

[illegible]

πρώτην δόσιν —· και] κατὰ συγγραφὴν τὴν κεταμένην παρὰ Ευστοχίῃ Ἀριστοδοξοῦ εὐρεθεὶς
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδομεν κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος □□□. Ἀριστοδόμῳ ἐργολαβ[ήσαντι — — — — —

— — — — — κατὰ συγγραφὴν τὴν] κειμένην παρὰ [Ὁρθοκλῆ Ἀριστοθάλου? ἔδομεν]
πρώτην δόσιν Η· καὶ τὴν δευτέραν δόσιν κελεύοντος ἀρχιτέκτονος [— —· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν

[illegible]

<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/62921>

face C left
traces of letters?

92115 1 παρὰ Χαρί[σ]τί[ου] τοῦ Ἀντιγό[νου?] ὑ- πὲρ τοῦ πάππου Νικομάχου τόκον
5 ὃν ἔφη ὀφείλειν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου τὸν πάππον Νικό- μαχον τοῦ δανεί- ου οὗ ἔδανείσατο
10 παρ' ἱεροποιῶν Πρα- ξιμένου καὶ Τελε- σαρχίδου τὸν ἐπὶ Δημάρου Η· καὶ ὑ(π)- πὲρ {ὑπὲρ}

Εὐθυτίμης

- 92120 15 τῆς Διοδότου τό- κον ὃν ἔφη ὀφείλειν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρί- ου τὸν ἐπὶ Δημά- ρου ΔΔΔ□□□□Ι/. πα-
20 ρ' Ἀριστοβούλου το[ῦ] Ἀριστοβούλου ὑπὲρ Ὁρθοκλέους τοῦ Ὁρθοκλέους τόκον τῆς ἐγγύης τοῦ ἱε-
25 ροῦ ἀργυρίου ὃν ἔ- φη αὐτῷ ἐπιβάλ- λειν □ΔΔΔ· παρὰ Τληπολέμου τοῦ Ἀμνου τόκον τοῦ
30 ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου ὃν ἔφη ὀφείλειν Η□ΙΙΙ· παρὰ Δημοχάρου τοῦ Σωτίωνος ὕ- πὲρ Ἀντιχάρ<ου>
35 τοῦ Αὐτοσθένου ὃ ἔφη ἐγγραφῆν[αι] αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἱερο- ποιῶν τῶν ἐπ' [ἄρ]- χοντος Ἀρίστ[ω]-
40 νος τοῦ τέλοϋ[ς?] τῶν αἰρεσίων — —· παρὰ Διακτο[ρί]- δου τοῦ Ἀριστο[θέ]- ου τόκον τοῦ ἱε-
92125 45 ροῦ ἀργυρίου ὃν ἔ- φη ὀφείλ<ε>ιν ΔΙΙΙΙ· παρὰ Γλαυκυρί[ου] τοῦ Θαρσαγόρα [ύ]- πὲρ Κτησυλί[ος
τό]-
50 κον τὸν ἐπὶ Δημ[ά]- ρου τῆς ἐγγύης τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρ[ί]- ου ὃν ἔφη ὀφεί- λειν Κτησυλὶν Δ.
55 □□□□· παρὰ Δημο- κρίτου τοῦ Πα[ρ]- μενίωνος ὃ ἔφ[η] ἐγγράψαι αὐτὸ[ν] τὸν πατέρα ἱερο-
60 ποιούς Κινέαν κ[αί] Καλλίαν τὸν ἐπι- ὠβολον □· παρὰ Φωκαϊέως τοῦ Λευκίνου ὑπὲρ
92130 65 τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρισ- [τ]ακοῦς τόκον [τ]ὸν ἐπ' ἄρχοντο[ς] [Δ]ημάρου τοῦ [ἱε]- [ρ]οῦ ἀργυρίου. MH
70 [H]HΔ[— — — X] !ΔΔΔΙΙ, vac.? vac.?

face D right

- 1 Ἀπολλωνίου □Δ□. vac. 3 lines
92135 2 ἐγγράφομεν δὲ. καὶ Εὐφράνορα καὶ τὸν ἔγγυον
5 αὐτοῦ Ἀριστεί- δην Ἀριστείδου ὃ οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν τοῦ ἐνοικίου τῆς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας τῆς
10 Ἐπισθενείου [—] ΔΔ□□□□//· καὶ Διο- νυσόδωρον Μα- ραθωνίου καὶ τὸν ἔγγυον Δημέ-
15 αν Φωκρίτου ὃ οὐ- κ ἀπέδωκεν τοῦ τέλους τῆς πορ- [θ]μίδος τῆς εἰς Ῥή- νειαν □Δ□□· καὶ
92140 20 Ἀντίγονον Χαρι- στίου καὶ τοὺς ἐγ- γύους ᾧ ἔλασ- σον ἀπέδωκεν τοῦ τέλους τοῦ
25 λιμένους Δ· [Ο]ρθοκλῆν Ὁρθο- [κ]λέους τόκον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρί- ου κατὰ τὸ ἡμυσ
30 □ΔΔΔ. εἰ δέ τις μὴ ἐγγεγρα- φήκαμεν ὀφεί- λοντας τῷ θεῷ, ἐγγράφομεν αὐ-
35 τοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐγ- γύους ὀφείλοντας τῷ θεῷ.

ID 1417 (155/154 BC) and ID 3. 1417

- 92145 <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/63852>
[https://web.archive.org/web/20151019042847/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/inscripti-
ons/id31417.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20151019042847/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/inscripti- ons/id31417.htm)

Athenian Inventories

- From the formal standpoint, the Athenian inventories are frustrating: we have no
92150 complete examples; the fragments rarely overlap; few weights are preserved. On the
other hand, they include much more than the earlier inventories, which were largely
confined to precious objects, and so we learn a lot more about the contents of
sanctuaries. Also there are many more temples, partly the result of new cults gaining
footing but partly of the new inclusive approach to inventories since some of the
92155 newly listed treasures are clearly quite old (Thesmophorion, Heraion, Letoion,
Gymnasium, Samothrakion). Most of the precious items are housed in the Temples of
Apollo and Artemis (for safety?). The order is fixed; there is no reweighing. We find
hints of melting down of dedications and replacement of lost. Topographic listing of
442 has been abandoned for the old listing by metal (gold before silver in Artemis
92160 and Athenian temples; silver before gold in Apollo temple).

—μου. ξύλα ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς

- ον ἡχρεωμένον ἔχοντα πλαί-
92165 [σιον — — — — — — — — — —]θεις. καὶ λεπτὰς σανίδας ἐπτά· ἀγαλ-
[μα — — — — — — — — — — οὐκ] ἔχον τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα, ἀνάθεμα
5 — — — — — — — — — — κίου. καὶ τάδε προσπαρελάβομεν· χαλ-
[κᾶ· — — — — — — — — — — ἐν πλαισίῳ, ἀνάθεμα Ποσειδωνίου Ἀλεξανδρέ-
[ως — — — — — — — — — —]ην· χιτῶνα λευκὸν ἀνεπίγραφον· μαχαίριον
— — — — — — — — — — ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ πρὸς τῷ ἐκκλησιαστηρίῳ· εἰ-
92170 [κόνᾳ χαλκῇ] βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου· ἀγαλμα λί-
...]mos; wood from the skene... with a ehcremeonon frame... and seven thin panels;
stat[ue...not] having the right leg, dedication [...]kios. And the following we took
over in addition: bronz[e... in f]rame, dedication of Poseidonios of Alexandr[ia...];
white chiton uninscribed; knife [...].
92175 **In the Oikos near the Ekklesiasterion.** [Bronze im]age of Queen Arsione, dedication of
Ptolemy; stone statue in frame,
10 [θινον ἐμ πλιν]θρίῳ, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου·
[πίνακα ἐπὶ β]άσεως τεθυρωμένον, ἀνάθεμα Ἀφρονήτου καὶ Ἀριστέου·
92180 [ἄλλον ἐπὶ] βάσεως ἀθύρωτον ἔχοντα γραφήν, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαί-
[ου τοῦ βα]σιλέως Λυσιμάχου· ἄλλον ἐλάττωτον ἀθύρωτον, ἔχοντα
[γραφὴν] βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου· ἄλλον ἡρτημένον ἀθύρωτον,
15 [ἔχοντα γ]ραφήν, ἀνάθεμα Μνησικλέους· ἄλλον ἀθύρωτον ἔ-
[χοντα γρα]φήν, ἀνάθεμα Σωσισθένου· ἄλλον ἐλάττωτον ἡρτημέ-
[νον, ἔχον]τα γραφήν, ἀνάθεμα Μνησικλέους· ἄλλα πινάκια εἰ-
92185 [κονι]κὰ καὶ ἀναθηματικὰ ὀκτώ· ἀσπίδα χαλκῇν ἐμ πλαισίῳ
[ἀνά]θεμ<α>? Ἀμφικλέους Ἀθηναίου· θυρεὸν πεζικὸν ἐμ πλαισίῳ[—]ι {πλαισίῳ}
dedication of Ptolemy son of King Lysimachos; another smaller undoorred, with
[painting] of King Lysimachos; another suspended undoorred [with painting, dedication

92190 smaller one suspend[ed wit]h painting, dedication of Mnesikles; eight other plaques
with images and dedications; bronze shield in frame, [dedi]cat(ion) of Amphikles of
Athens;

92195 πεζικὸν ἐμ πλαισίῳ, ἔχοντα ἔγκαυμα, οὗ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὐ-
κ ἦν συνιδεῖν· ἄλλον πεζικόν, ἔχοντα ἔγκαυμα, ἀνάθεμα
Μενελάου Ἡπειρώτου· ἄλλον ἵππικὸν ἐπίχρυσον, ἔχοντα ἐγ-
25 καυμα, ἀνάθεμα βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσιμάχου· ἄλλον
πεζικὸν ἐπίχρυσον, ἔχοντα κεραυνὸν ἐπίχρυσον, ἀνάθε-
92200 μα Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου· ἀσπίδα ἐμ πλαισίῳ, ἀνε-
πίγραφον, ἔχουσαν ἔγκαυμα· χιτῶνα λευκόν, ἀνάθεμα Κλεο-
δάμα· ἄλλον ἐμ πλαισίῳ μεσόλευκον, ἀνάθεμα Πτολεμαίου

92205 frame, with encaustic where the inscription was illegible; another pezikon, with encaustic, dedication of Menelaus of Epirus; another gilded hippikon, with encaustic, dedication of King Ptolemy son of Lysimachos; another gilded pezikon, with gilded lightningbolt, dedication of Ptolemy son of King Ptolemy; shield in frame, uninscribed, with encaustic; white chiton, dedication of Kleodamas; another half
92210 white in frame, dedication of Ptolemy son of Lysimachos;

92215 ροῦν, ἀνάθεμ[α] Τσιδῶρου· π[αράδ]ειγμα ναΐσκου ξυλίνου· ἄλλο
 παράδειγμα τῆ[ς] τετρα εϋ. ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ
 35 [λ]ον Τησίου Θηβ[α]ίου(?)· — — — — ἐμ] πλαισίωι δύο καὶ λόγχα
 δύο καὶ — — — — — κ[], ἀν[άθεμα Μάρκου Αἰ-
 μυλίου ἐπίλε[— — — — — θυμιατήριον? πομ]πικόν περιχρυσον ἐμ
 92220 πλαισίωι ἔχον [— — — — — τοῦτου τῆν ἐπιγρα]φὴν οὐκ ἦν συνι-
 δεῖν· θυρ[εδόν(?) — — — — — — — — — —] σὺν τεῖ

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model of the four[...].
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92225 Tesias of Theb[es...in] frame two and two spearpoints and [...e]dication of Marcus Amelius [...] gilded process[ional censer] in frame with [...the inscrip]tion was not legible; doo[red... plaques] with images 23 on the al[tar...] bronze processional censer, this br[oken...] two bronze; five iron tridents...

χαλκοῦν· τοῦτο περιε[ρρωγός? - - - -] χαλκᾶ δύο· τρίαῖναι σ<ι>δη-
ραῖ πέντε - - - - - μέγαι. ἐν τῷ Δωδεκαθέῳ·
ἀγάλματα λίθινα τ[ῶν θεῶν] - - - - - ς.ΔΓ· καὶ ἄλλο ξύλινον
45 ἐπίχρυσον ῶι - - - - - Σ[] οὐ[κ] ἔχον τοὺς ἵππους οὐ-
δὲ τοὺς παραστάτας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας οὐδὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς
92235 ῶια. vacat ἐν τῷ [Ποσιδεῖ?]ωι· τὸ ἀγαλμα λίθινον· τρύφακτον ἐν-
τελῇ ἔχοντα κ[λε]ῖδ[α](?) - - - - - δέκα δύο· τραπέζια ὑπ
σπαστα ἕξ· θύρας κατ[α]γείας[?]. ἐν [τῷ] Θεοδοφῶρι· vacat

animals under them.

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two; six fold-away tables; doors [...].
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92250 κότα ἐνδύματ[α] □□□□ πορφυρα καὶ ἡμφιεσμένα λίνοις· εἰ-
 κόνες ἕκ[τ]ιποι □□□□ ἄργυρᾶ· περίχειρα στρεπτὰ ἐπὶ χυ-
 σα τέτταρα, ὧν ὀλκῇ [Δ]ΔΔΔ[Ι]ΙΙ; σκύφιον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Δηλιάδες
 55 Ἀήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι, ὀλκῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν □□□□ τύπι-
 ον ἐνδέξια τοῦ[] καὶ ἐπὶ ταινιδίου, ἀνάθεμα Πολέας· vac.
 χαλκᾶ· [ὑδρί]δ[ι]α χαλκᾶ ἕξ τ □ ἔχοντα ῥα δύο καὶ
 βάσιν· — — — — πεπιτωκὸς ἔχον ῥα δύο· μέτρον σι-
 τηρόν· λύχνον μικρὸν μογ[ό]μ[υ]ξ[ον]· ἀνδριαντίδιον γυναικεῖον ἐ-

images... Silver: four gilded bracelets; whose weight (is) 30.2+; small skyphos with the inscription Deliades to Demeter and Kore, weight according to the inscription 96; relief on the right of [.. and on a ribbon, dedication Poleas. Bronze: six bronze

hydria... with two handles and base... collapsed with two handles; grain measure;
small single-spout lamp;
60 πὶ βάσεως ἔχον δαίδα ξ[υ]λίνην, [ἀνάθεμα] Δημανάσσης· ἐπίπυρον
ῥάτριάριον ἔχον [σιδηρὰ — — — — —]κ λεῖψτριον(?).
α .οντοπιυ — — — — — τρίαينان· [μαχ]αίρι-
ον ιματι — — — — — δρια παντοδα-
πά — — — — — λιβανω-
65 τίδας πέντε — — — — — ν νιτριδα
οἰνοχόη — — — — — υν
ηρον ἐλεφάντινον — — — — — πίνακας εἰκονικοὺς
□Ι· ἀλλοὺς ἀναθηματικoὺς πλείους· ἄλλον μ]εῖζονα, ἀνάθεμα Βοσ-
πόρου· καλαθίσκοις ΙΙ ἱξείνοις — — — — — ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐπὶ
small female statue on base with wood torch, [dedication[of Demanasse; brazier with
handles [...]] trident; knife; [...] various [...] five incense boxes [...] oinochoe
[...] ivory [. / . .] 6 plaques with images; other dedicat[ory...] larger, dedication of
Bosporos; 2 small willow baskets [...].
70 τῷ ἐμ — — — — — καρδόπιον λίθινον ἐπὶ
βάσεως τετραγώνου· λύχν[ους — — — — —] οὺς κεκολοβωμέ-
νους τριμύζους δύο· ἄλλους [μον]ο[μ]ύξους δύο· ἀγαλμάτιον
ξύλινον ἀρχαϊκόν· σανίδας ἐπὶ διατοναιῶν ξυλίνων ΙΙΙ· θύρας
παλαιάς δύο· [ἀ]λ[λ]ην πεπιτωμένην φαῖαν· κοφίνια ὀκτώ.
75 ἐν τῷ <i>οἴκῃ</i> αἰκία[τι] ἀπέναντι εἰσιόντων· ὠρολόγιον λίθινον ἐπὶ
βάσεως· κλιμάκιον πεντάβαμον· βωμὸν ξύλινον· πίνακα παλαιόν,
[ἀ]νάθεμα Ἀρπάγης· ἐν τεῖ στοᾷ τεῖ ἐναρίστερα· βάθρα ξύλινα
δύο· σκαφήν κύρκον ἔχουσιν χαλκοῦν· τράπεζαν ἐξ σανίδων
πόδας ἔχουσιν· ἄλλην πόδας οὐκ ἔχουσιν· θύρας τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ

In the House at The [...] small square stone kneading trough on square base; two broken three-spout lamps; two other single-spout; old small wood statue; 3 boards on wood diatonaiia; another grey covered with pitch; eight small baskets.

In the Oikos Facing the Entrance: small stone clock on base; small five-rung ladder; wood altar; old plaque, dedication of Harpage.

In the Stoa on the Left. two wood benches; tray with bronze circle; table from planks with feet; another without feet; all the doors of the temple

80 πάσας ἐντελεῖς κλειδας ἔχούσας. χρυσᾶ· δαίδιον χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ
βάσεως, οὗ ὀλκή. Ι: δαίδιον καὶ τύπια ΔΙΙ καὶ πλείονα ὧν ὀλκή δρα.
ΔΔ□□ΙΙΙΙ· κύρκον {□□} ἐπίχρυσον οὗ ὀλκή □□ΙΙΙΙ· [δ]αίδιον ἐπὶ βάσεως,
ὀλκή □□. καὶ τάδε ἄστατα· φιάλιον λεῖον ἐκ<μ> πλινθεῖωι ὡς δακτύ-
λων τριῶν, ἀνάθημα Ἑστίας· δαίδια μεῖζον[α] περιηγυρωμένα
85 ὡς ἐπτὰ παλαστιῶν τέ[τταρα]· ἄλλα ἐλάττωνα ἐπὶ βάσεων
ξύλινων ἐνδεκα· φιάλην ζώδιον ἔχουσιν ὀκτώ, ἣς ὀλκή δραχμαὶ
Η· ἄλλην λείαν, ἣς ὀλκή δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλην λείαν, ἣς ὀλκή
δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔΙΙ· ἄλλην λείαν, ἣς ὀλκή δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔΙ· ἄλλην λείαν,
ἣς ὀλκή ΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλην λείαν, ἣς ὀλκή δραχμαὶ Η· ἄλλην λείαν,

complete with keys. Gold: small gold torch on base, whose weight (is) .1; torch and 12 reliefs and more (?), whose weight (is) 23.3 dr; gilded circle, whose weight (is) 2.4; torch on base, weight 2. And the following unweighed: smooth phialion in plinth about three fingers (high), dedication of Hestiiia; large(r) four silvered torches about seven palms (high); eleven other smaller on wooden bases; phiale with eight figures, whose weight (is) 100 drachmai; another smooth, whose weight (is) 40.4 drachmai; another smooth whose weight (is) 40.2; another smooth whose weight (is) 45.1; another smooth whose weight (is) 39.5; another smooth whose weight (is) 100 drachmai; another smooth whose weight (is)

90 ἣς ὀλκή δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔΙΙ· θυμιατήριον· βωμίσκον, οὗ ὀλκή : σκύ-
φιον, οὗ ὀλκή □ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙ· vac. λιβανωτίδα ἔχουσιν πόδας τρεῖς καὶ
πρόσωπον Δήμητρος, ὀλκή δραχμαὶ □□· ὑδρίαν μικράν, ἣς ὀλ-
κή Δ□□□ΙΙ· ἄλλην μικράν, ἣς ὀλκή Δ□□□ΙΙΙ· δαίδα μεῖζω, ἣς ὀλκή κα-
τὰ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν Η□□□ΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλην ἐλάττω, ἣς ὀλκή κατὰ τὴν ἐ-
95 πιγραφὴν ΗΔΔΔΔΙ, ἄστατον· σκάφιον λεῖον, οὗ ὀλκή δραχ.
ΔΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ· τύπια καὶ δαίδια πλείονα, ὧν ὀλκή δραχμαὶ ΔΔΙΙ·
ἅλλ<a> δαίδια ὧν ὀλκή δρα. Δ□□□ΙΙΙΙ· δαίτας δύο ὡς παλαστῶν πέντ[ε καὶ]
δαίδια ἐπτὰ, ἃ παρέλαβεν ἡ ἱέρεια Φιλόκληια παρὰ τῆς πρότερον ἱερεΐ-
ας, ὧν ὀλκή δραχμαὶ Δ□□□ΙΙΙ· περισκ[ελί]διον λεῖον περικεχυρωμένον,
40.2 drachmai; censer; little altar, whose weight 3; skyphion whose weight 91.5;
incense box with three feet and face of Demeter weight drachmai 51; small hydria,
whose weight 14.2; another small whose weight 13.3; larger torch, whose weight according to the inscription 152.5; another smaller whose weight according to the inscription 145.1. Unweighed: smooth skaphion, whose weight drach.48.3; reliefs and larger torches whose weight drachmai 20.2; other torches, whose weight dra. 18.4; two torches about five palms and seven torches which the preiestess Philokleia took from the earlier priestess, whose weight 18.3; smooth gilded
100 ὀλκή □ ἀκριβεῖς. ἐν τῷ Λητώει· τὸ ἀγάλμα τῆς θεοῦ ξύλινον,

- 92330 δεδυκὸς χιτῶνα λινοῦν καὶ ἡμφιεσμένον λίνωι· ὑποδημάτων
κοίλων ζεύγος· θρόνον ἐφ' οὗ κάθεται ξύλινον· χελωνίδα ἔχου-
σαν ἐμπαίσματα ἐλεφάντινα· τράπεζαν ξυλίνην· κιβωτά-
ριον κατεαγός, ἐπίθεμα οὐκ ἔχον, ἐν ᾧ χαλκωμάτια δέκα ἄστα-
105 τα vacat ἐλεφάντινα· θυμιατήριον πομπικὸν ἐ[χον ἐπίπυ]ρον χαλ-
92335 κοῦν· λιβανωτίδα· ῥιπίδα λαβὴν ἔχουσιν· κιβωτᾶριον τραπεζή(?)
μενὸν ξύλινον ἐν ᾧ τύπιον ἀργυροῦν ἄστατον· ἄλλο τύπιον
ἐνδέξια τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄστατον· ἄλλο τύπιον μικ[ρὸν] ἐνδέξια τοῦ ἀγάλ-
ματος· ἄστατα ἑξ· θρόνον τῆς ἱερείας καὶ χελωνίδα μικράν· πίναν-
anklet, weight 5 exactly.
- 92340 **In the Letoion:** the wooden statue of the goddess wearing a linen chiton and cloaked
in linen; pair of hollow sandals; throne on which the wooden (statue) sits; lyre with
ivory embossing; wooden table; small broken box without lid in which ten unweighed
bronze (statues?); ivory; processional censer with bronze brazier; fan with handle;
small box; wooden traphemon in which a small silver relief, unweighed; another small
92345 relief to the right of the statue; six unweighed (reliefs?); throne of the priestess
and small lyre;
110 κα χαλκοῦν, ἀνάθεμα Παρμίσκου· κέστρων ζεύγος ξυστῶν· ἐπὶ τῶν
ἐνδον θυρῶν ἐπίσαστρα χαλκᾶ δύο· ἀσπιδίσκας χαλκᾶς τέτ-
ταρας· ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξω θυρῶν ἐπίσπα<σ>τρον χαλκοῦν· ἀσπιδίσκας
92350 χαλκᾶς δύο· ἐπίπυρον ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ σιδηροῦν ἔχον παραστάδα
χαλκῆν καὶ ὑπερτόναιον καὶ ἀνθήμια δύο· ἀνδριάντια γυναικεῖ-
115 ον ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Τελείας τῆς Κρίτου· τράπεζαν λιθίνην·
κλεῖν ἀνάπαιστον τῶν ἐνδον θυρῶν· ἄλλην ὀλοσίδηρον τῶν ἐ-
ξω θυρῶν· ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀνίου· ἀπολλωνίσκον χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ βάσεως ἀρ-
92355 {αρ}χαϊκόν {ἀρχαϊκόν}· θύρας ἐντελεῖς· κ[λε]ῖν τοῦ ἱεροῦ· ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ· χαλ-
κᾶ· δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντων εἰς τὸ περιτόμιον· Ἐρωτα ἐπὶ κιονίου ὡς δι-
bronze plaque, dedication of Parmiskos; pair of polished kestra; two bronze door
latches on the inner doors; four small bronze shields/disks; iron brazier on the
altar with bronze post and lintel and two flowers; female statue on base, dedication
92360 of Teleia (wife) of Kritos; stone table; draw-key of the inner doors; another pure
iron (key) of the outer doors.
In the (Temple) of Anios: old bronze Apollo statue on base; whole doors; key of
temple.
In the Gymnasium. Bronze. On the right going into the peristyle: Eros on small
92365 column,
120 πουν, λεοντήν ἔχοντα καὶ ῥόπαλον, ἀνάθεμα Τληπολέμου καὶ Ἡγέου·
λαμπάδα ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ, ἀνάθεμα Εὐκλείδου Ἀθηναίου· κορυθήκην
ἀρχαϊκὴν ἔχουσαν χάλκωμα, ἀνεπίγραφον· ἐν τεῖ ἔχομένει
στοᾷ· ἀνδριάντια τέλειον γυμνόν· πρὸς τῷ ἀποδυτηρίῳ· δεξι-
92370 ᾶς· λαμπάδα, ἀνάθεμα Δημοκράτου Ἀθηναίου· Ἡρακλῆν ἐπὶ βάσε-
125 ως ὡς δίπουν, ἀνάθεμα Ἀφθονήτου· ἐναρίστερα <τ>οῦ ἀποδυτηρίου·
Ἐρωτα ὡς δίπουν καὶ ὕδρια ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης, ἀνάθεμα Οἰνέ-
ως· ἐνδέξια τοῦ Ἐρωτος λαμπάδα ἐν τοῖ τοίχῳ, ἀνάθεμα Πρωτο-
γένου Ἀλεξανδρέως· ἄλλο ἀνδριαντίδιον ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ, ἀνάθε-
92375 μα Ἐρασίνου καὶ Πάχητος· Ἡρακλῆν ὡς ποδιαῖον καθήμενον,
about two feet, with lionskin and club, dedication of Tlepolemos and Hegeas; torch in
the wall, dedication of Eukleides of Athens; old helmet rack with bronze (statue),
uninscribed. **In the enclosed Stoa:** full-sized naked statue. Near the (un)dressing
room on the right: torch dedication of Demokrates of Athens; Herakles on base about
92380 two feet dedication of Aphthonetos. On the left of the (un)dressing room: Eros about
two feet and hydria on stone base dedication of Oineus. On the right of the Eros:
torch in the wall dedication of Protogenes of Alexandria; another small statue in
[the wall] dedication of Erasinus and Paches; seated Herakles about a foot
130 ἀνάθεμα Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Τληπολέμου· ἀπολλωνίσκον ὡς ποδιαῖ-
ον καθήμενον ἔχοντα κιθάραν, ἀνάθεμα<α> Μαντιθέου καὶ Ἀριστέα·
ἄλλο ἀνδριαντίδιον ὡς πεντασπίθαμον, ἀνάθεμα Αὐτοκλέ-
92385 ους· ἐν τεῖ ἔχομένει στοᾷ· ἀνδριάντια τέλειον γυμνόν ἐν τῷ ἐξε-
δρίῳ ἔχοντα ῥαβδόν, ἀνάθεμα Δηλίων· ἄλλο ἐν τῷ ἐξεδρίῳ ἀνδρι-
135 αντίδιον ὡς δίπουν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ ἀναβαλλόμενον, ἀνεπίγραφον·
92390 Ἡρακλῆν ὡς δίπουν λεοντήν ἀναβολὴν ἔχοντα, ἀνεπίγραφον·
παλλάδιον ὡς δίπουν ἐν θυρίδι, ἀνάθεμα Σατύρου Κηφισιέως· καὶ
λαμπάδας δύο καὶ ἄλλα· ζώδια ὡς ποδῶν δυεῖν ἐν θυρίδι, ἀνεπί-
92395 γραφα· λαμπάδας μικρὰς δύο, ἀνάθεμα ἡ μὲν Διοτίμου τοῦ Βερενικίδου,
dedication of Apollodoros and Tlepolemos; small Apollo about a foot, seated with lyre
dedication of Mantitheos and Aristetas; another small statue about five spans,
dedication of Autokles. **In the enclosed Stoa:** whole naked statue in the exedrion with
a staff, dedication of the Delians; another in the exedrion, small statue about two
feet suspended on the wall, uninscribed; Herakles about two feet with lion skin
mantle; statue of Pallas (Athena) about two feet in a niche, dedication of Satyros of

- 92400 Kephisios; and two torches and other figures about two feet in a niche, uninscribed; two small torches, the one a dedication of Diotimos son of Berenikides, 140 ἡ δὲ [Εὐμέν]ους· ἐν τῇ σφαιριστρῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὥρολογίου· τριτωνίσκο<ν> μικρὸν καὶ πρὸς τῷ<ι> ἀποδυτηρίω<ι> ἀνδριάντα γυναικεῖον ἐν ταῖς χειρ-
92405 σιν ἔχοντα, ἐκπῶμα, ἀνάθεμα Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ Θεοδώρου· ἀσπίδας χαλκᾶς δέκα· ἐν τῷ ἐπιστασίῳ. ἀστατα· ὑδρίας δύο ὧν τὴν μὲν μί-
145 [βρωμένον]· ῥαντήριον ἐντελές· ἀσκούς δύο ἀνεπιγράφους· κάδον ἱμητήρα· τοῦτου τὰ ὦτα ἡ ὑδρία ἔχει. λίθινα· ἔρμαϊ ΔΑΔΔΙ· ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι· ληνῶς μετέρους τρεῖς· αἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους
92410 δέκα· ἡμικύκλιον· κασκοφῆ(?) ἐν τοῖς ἐξεδρίοις καὶ συγγωνίοις· ὥρολόγιον ἐπὶ κιονίου· ἀσπίδας ἐπιχρυσούς γραφὰς ἐχούσας ἐξήκοντα· the other of Eumenes. **In the ball court at the clock:** small triton and next to the (un)dressing room female statue with a cup in her hands, dedication of Aristion son of Theodoros; ten bronze shields **in the Epistation** (Superintendent's Office?).
92415 Unweighed: two hydriai, one complete, the other with no handle and broken neck; complete sprinkler; two uninscribed askoi; himetera jar, whose handles the hydria holds. Stone: 41 herms. In the Washroom: three suspended troughs; the ten on the base; semi-circular (statue base)... **In the Exedrai and Corners:** small clock on small column; sixty disks with gilded letters;
92420 150 ἄλλας [] περιχρυσούς · ἄλλας γραφὰς ἐχούσας ἀχρυσώτους ΔΙΙΙ· πίνακας ἀναθηματικούς πλείους· ἄλλας περιχρυσούς ἀσπίδας δέκα· ἀμφορεῖς δύο, [Εὐαγ]ίωνος Ἀθηναίου· λαμπάδας χαλκᾶς, μίαν Θαρσέου Ἀθηναίου, ἄλλη [Ν]ικία Ἀθηναίου, ἄλλη Χαρίου Ἀθηναίου, ἄλλη Διοκλέους Ἀθηναίου, πέμπτη λαμπάς, ἀνάθεμα Μητροδώρου Σαμίου. vac.
92425 155 ἐν τῷ Σαμοθρακίῳ· Ἡρακλῆ χαλκοῦν· ἄλλο ἀνδριαντίδιον, τὸ ἀριστερὸν σκέλος κατεαγὸς καὶ τὴν ἀριστεράν· κανοῦν πόδα ἕνα ἔχον καὶ ὧς ἐν· στέφανον ἀργυροῦν ὃν <ἐ>χει ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ἀνάθεμα Μάρκου, ὀλκή []· πῖλοι ἀργυροῖ δύο, ἀνάθεμα Μάρκου Ῥωμαίου, ὧν ὀλκή : ναΐδιον ξύλ<ι>νον <ἐν> ᾧ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα ξύλινα ἐφ' ἱππων. ἐν τῷ προστώῳ· ἀν-
92430 5 others gilded; 13 others with ungilded letters; more dedicatory plaques; ten other gilded disks; two amphorai, of Euagion of Athens; 5 bronze torches, one of Tharseos of Athens, another of Nikias of Athens, another of Charios of Athens, another of Diokles of Athens, the fifth, dedication of Metrodoros of Samos. **In the Samothrakion:** bronze Herakles; another small statue, the left leg broken and the right (arm); basket with one foot and one handle; silver crown which the Herakles wears, dedication of Marcus, weight 2; two silver piloi, dedication of Marcus of Rome, whose weight (is) 2; small wood shrine (in) which (are) the wood statues of the gods on horses. **In the Prostoa:**
92435 160 δριαντίδιον λίθινον ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης, ἀνάθεμα Ἀντιδότου Τυρίου· τράπεζα λιθίνη ἐφ' ἧς πῖλοι λίθινοι δύο. ἐν τεῖ αὐλεῖ· ἀνδριαντίδιον χαλκοῦν· Ἡρακλῆ ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης. ἐν τῷ προστώῳ· κλῖναι ξύλιναι [] κατ' ἄλλα<ι> κατεαγέται τέτταρες· ἀγκυρά ξυλίνη δίβολος· σκυτάλιον ἐβένινον, ἀλυσιν ἔχον σιδηρᾶν. καὶ τάδε· τρίαῖναν ἐντελῆ· πελέ-
92445 165 κιον καὶ ἀπ' ἀγκύρας σιδήριον κίρκον ἔχον καὶ ἀγκυραν ξυλίνην τοῦ μολύβδου ἀποκεκομμένην· λύχρον χαλκοῦν τὸ ἀνωθεν οὐκ ἔχοντα· ἀγκυραν σιδηρᾶν ἐντελῆ. vac. small stone statue on stone base, dedication of Antidotot of Tyre; stone table on which (are) two stone piloi. **In the Court:** small bronze statue, Herakles on stone base. **In the Prostoa:** 5 wood chairs and four other broken ones; two-pronged wood anchor; small ebony club with iron chain. And the following: complete trident; small ax and iron from anchor with ring and wood anchor cut off from the lead; bronze torch lacking the upper part; complete iron anchor.
92450 ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ· τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ λίθινον, vac. ἔχον φιάλην ἐν τεῖ δεξιᾷ ξυλί[νην] ἐπίχρυσον· ἐνώδρια χρυσᾶ ἃ ἔχει ἡ θεός, ὧν ὀλκή [], ἀνάθεμα Δημητρίας· τράπεζα λιθίνη· θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν· ἀφροδίσιον λίθινον ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης, ἀνάθε-
92460 5 μα Ἐχενίκη· ἄλλο ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης, ἀνάθεμα Κτησωνίδου· ἄλλο ἐπὶ κιονίου, ἀνάθεμα Προμαθίωνος· ἄλλο ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Πραξιμέ-
νου· ἄλλο μικρόν, ἀνάθεμα Στησικράτης· ἄλλα ἐλάττινα τρία, ὧν τὰ δύο κολοβά· πίνακας ἀναθηματικούς δύο· θύραι τοῦ ναοῦ ἔχουσαι ἀσπιδίσκας δύο χαλκᾶς καὶ ἡλούς χαλκοῦς ὧν ἐλλείπουσιν πέντε· **In the Aphrodision:** the stone statue of the goddess with gilded wood phiale in right hand; gold earrings which the statue wears, weight of which (is) 2, dedication of Demetria; stone table; bronze censer; small stone Aphrodite on stone base, dedication of Echenike; another on stone base, dedication of Ktesonides; another on a small column, dedication of Promathion; another on base, dedication of Praximenes; another small, dedication of Stesikrates; another three smaller, two of them undersized; two dedicatory plaques; doors of the temple with two bronze disks and bronze nails, five

- 92470 10 κάτοπτρον χαλκοῦν· ἐπίσπαστρον χαλκοῦν ἀσπιδίσκιον ἔχον· κιν-
κλίδας ξυλίνας δύο καὶ χελώνιον. ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ· βάθρα λίθινα
δύο· Ἐρωτα χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ βάσεως· ἐξάλειπτρον, τὸ πλινθεῖον
μόνον ἦν, ὑάλινον ἐν πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθεμα Ἐχενίκης· πίνακας
92475 15 ἐικονικοὺς τρεῖς· ἄλλους ἀναθηματικούς □· λευκώματα τρία· ἄλλα
ἀσπιδί]σκακας {ἀσπιδίσκακας} δύο· κλεῖν ἀνάπαιστον ὁλοσίδηρον· πίνακας ὀροφικοὺς
ἐννέα. τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ναοῦ· ἀνδριάντα ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Σιη-
σίλεω· ἄλλοι γυναικεῖον, ἀνάθεμα Σιη[σί]λεω· οἷκοι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τεθυρωμένοι κερα-
92480 of which are missing; bronze mirror; bronze curtain? with small disk; two wooden
lattice gates and lock. **In the Prodomos:** two stone pedestals; bronze Eros on base;
ointment box, the plintheion was alone, glass in the plintheion, dedication of
Echenike; three plaques with images; another 5 dedicatory; three white boards;
another two smaller; wood plaque, dedication of Stesileos; the outer doors of the
92485 temple with draw-bolt; bronze for shield; two small shields; solid iron draw-key;
nine roof plaques. The part **outside the Temple:** statue on base, dedication of
Stesileos; another of female, dedication of Stesileos; ceramic shrines
20 μῶτοι κλεῖς οὐκ ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύραι κλε<ι>ν οὐκ ἔχο[υσαι].
χιτῶνα ἔρεον λευκόν, ἀνάθεμα ἱερείας Εὐδώρας. ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ·
92490 ἀγάλματα δύο ἡμφιεσμένα λίνοις· τράπεζαι λίθιναι δύο· θυμ[ια]-
τήριον χαλκοῦν· ἀγάλματα λίθινα δύο· θύρωμα ἔχον ἡλούς χαλ-
κοῦς, ὧν εἷς ἐλλείπει· ἐπίσπαστρον ἐν· ἀσπιδίσκακας τρεῖς.
25 ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ· κιγκλίδας ξυλίνας δύο· πινάκια ἀναθηματι[κὰ]
δέκα. vac. ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης· ἀγαλμα λίθινον Ἀγα[θῆς]
92495 Τύχης, ἔχον Ἀμαθείας κέρας περιεχρυσωμένον· στέφανον [ὄν]
ἡ θεὸς ἔχει χαλκοῦν διάλιθον περιεχρυσωμένον καὶ ἐν τῇ δε-
ξιᾷ<ι> σκῆπτρον ξύλινον· ζῶια λίθινα δέκα· τούτων τὸ ἐν [κα]νοῦν
with doors in the precinct without keys; nor (do) the doors from the sanctuary have a
key; white wool chiton, dedication of the priestess Eudora.
92500 **In the Heraion:** two statues half clothed in linen; two stone tables; bronze censer;
two stone statues; door with bronze nails, one of which is missing; one draw(bolt);
three small shields. **In the Prodomos:** two wooden lattice gates; ten dedicatory
plaques.
In the Temple of Good Fortune: stone statue of Good Fortune with gilded horn of
92505 Amaltheia; gilded bronze crown with stones which the goddess wears and wood scepter
in the right hand; ten stone figures, the one of these holding
30 ἔχον ξύλινον· τράπεζαν λιθίνην καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης φιάλας λιθίνας ΙΙΙΙ
καὶ πινακίσκον λίθινον· κόγχους δύο θαλαττίους ἐν θήκαις, τὰ ἄκρα
ἔχοντας ξύλινα περιεχρυσωμένα· κέρας ἀληθινὸν πρόσθετον ἔ-
92510 χον τὸ κάτω μέρος ξύλινον ἐπίχρυσον κα<ι> χεῖλος ἀργυροῦν πρόσθετον,
ὡς δακτύλων τετάρων τὸ πλάτος, ἐφ' οὗ πλόκιον χρυσοῦν διάλι-
35 θον οὐκ ἐντελές, ἔχον ἀθύρματα λίθινα ΔΙΙ. καὶ κόσμον ξύλινον
ἐπίχρυσον· ὀστρεῖα δύο ἐπὶ κιονίων ξυλίνων· πίνακας ἐμβλήτους
γραφὰς ἔχοντας δύο, τὸν μὲν ἐνδέξια, τὸν δὲ ἐναρίστερα· χελώ-
92515 νην ὑπὸ τετ[ρ]απέζει· τρύφακτον ξύλινον ἔχοντα ἡλούς ΔΙΙΙΙ· καὶ
ὀβελίσκους σιδηροῦς ἐξ καὶ κινκλίδα Ι· πῖλους λιθίνους ἐμ πίναξι [λι]-
a wood basket; stone table and on this 4 stone phialai and small stone plaque; two
seashells in cases, with gilded wooden tips; ornamented true horn with the bottom
part gilded wood and an added silver lip, the width about four fingers, on which
92520 (was) a gold wig, not complete, with stones and with 17 stone trinkets and gilded
wood ornament; two oysters on wood columns; two embossed plaques with writing, one on
the right, one on the left; lock/footstool under the table; wooden railing with 14
nails; and six iron spits and 1 lattice gate; two stone piloi on stone plaques,
40 θίνοις δύο, χαλκοῦς ἔχοντα<ς> ἀστερίσκους {ἀστερίσκους} περιηργυρω-
92525 μένους· κριοῦ κεφαλὴν λιθίνην ἐν πίνακι λιθίνῳ καὶ φύλακα [χαλ]-
κοῦν περιηργυρωμένον· θυμιατήριον λίθινον κατεαγός· ἐπὶ τῶν
εἰσω θυρῶν· ἀσπιδίσκακας χαλκᾶς δύο. ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ· τραπέζι-
ον λίθινον κατεαγός· βάθρα λίθινα· στήλας λιθίνας δύο, τύπους
45 ἐκτυπωτοὺς ἐχούσας χαλκοῦς δύο καὶ πίνακας χαλκοῦς [δύο <ἐπι>γρα]-
92530 φὰς ἔχοντας· ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξω θυρῶν· ἀσπιδίσκην χαλκῆν· κλεῖν
ἀνάπαιστον λαβὴν ἔχουσαν ξυλίνην. ἐν τ[ῷ] Κ]υνθίῳ·
ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐν ᾧ ὁ θεός· τὸ ἀγαλμα χαλκοῦν ὡς τριῶν ἡμιποδίων
ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης· θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν πομπικόν· κρατῆ-
92535 with small silvered bronze stars; stone ram's head on stone plaque and silvered
bronze guard; broken stone censer. On the inner doors: two small bronze shields. **In**
the Prodomos: small broken stone table; stone pedestals; two stone stelai with two
bronze relief plaques and [two] bronze plaques with inscriptions. On the inner doors:
small bronze shield, draw-key with wood handle.
In the Kyntheion. In the Oikos in which the god (is): the bronze statue about three

- 92540 half-feet, on stone base; bronze processional censer; Corinthian-made krater; stone kneading trough?;
50 ρα κορινθιουργῆ· κάρδοπον λιθίνην· κλίνας σαν<ι>δωτὰς δέκα δύο
ἐχούσας τραπέζια ἐξ αὐτῶν· πίνακας εἰκονικοὺς δέκα καὶ ἄλ-
92545 ἄλλον ἔχοντα χειρογραφίαν ἀθύρωτον, ἀνάθεμα Θεμίσωνος τοῦ Αὐτο-
κλέους· θύρωμα ἔχον ἥλους χαλκοῦς, ἐλλείποντα ἓνα· κλεῖν ἀνάπαισ-
55 τον σιδηρᾶν. ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ οἰκῶι· κλίνας σανιδωτὰς ΔΙΙ ἐχούσας τραπέ-
ζια ὑπόσπαστα ἐξ αὐτῶν· θύρωμα ἐντελὲς ἔχον ἥλους χαλκοῦς·
ἐσχάριον χαλκοῦν παλαιόν, πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχον· τριαίνας δύο ὧμ μ[ί]-
92550 α ὁδόντα ἓνα οὐκ ἔχει· θερμάστριον σιδηροῦν παλαιόν. vac.
καὶ τάδε ἐκ τοῦ Σαραπιείου ἃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ναῶι·
ten planked chairs two with small tables fastened to them; ten iconic plaques and
another larger without door, dedication of Demeas son of Autokles; another with
undoorred handpainting, dedication of Themison son of Autokles; door with bronze
92555 nails, one missing; iron draw-key; old bronze brazier, without base; two tridents,
one lacking one tooth; old iron tongs.
And from the Sarapieion the following which are in the Temple of Artemis.
60 χρυσᾶ· στέφανον ἐν κιβωτίῳ θαλλοῦ, λίθον ἔχοντα, ὃν ἀνέθη-
καν οἱ συμβαλόμενοι ἐφ' ἱερῶς Ἀριστονόμου, φύλλα ἔχοντα σὺν τοῖς
92560 ἀποπεπτωκόσιν ΔΔΔΔΙ καὶ ἡμίση δύο καὶ ἐλαίας δύο, οὗ ὀλκὴ σὺν
τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τοῖς λιναρίοις δραχμαὶ Δ□□□· ἄλλον ἐν κιβωτίῳ μυρρί-
νης, λίθον ἔχοντα καὶ φύλλα ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ καὶ μύρτα ΔΙΙΙΙ, ἀνεπίγραφον, οὗ
65 ὀλκὴ Δ□□□. καὶ τάδε ἀργυρᾶ· ποτήριον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Καίβων
Καίβωνος καὶ Ξεναινῶ, ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ <□>Δ□□ΙΙΙΙ· ἀπάγει □□ΙΙΙΙ·
92565 ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερῶς Ἀρκέ<ο>-
τος, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΔΔ□□□□, ἀπάγει ΙΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Σιμάκων, ὀλκὴ
ΔΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερῶ-
Gold: branch crown in chest with stone, which the contributors dedicated with
Aristonomos priest, with 41 leaves including those fallen off and two halves and two
92570 olives, whose weight with the stone and the strings drachmai 14; another of myrtle in
chest with stone and 44 leaves and 14 myrtle berries, uninscribed, whose weight 14.
And the following silver: cup on which is the inscription: Kaibon son of Kaibon and
Xenaino, weight drachmai 12.4+, minus 2.4; another on which (is) the inscription: the
group of doctors with Arkeon priest, weight 49, minus .3; another on which (is) the
92575 inscription: Simakon, weight 48.4; another on which (is) the inscription: the group
of the doctors
70 ὡς Σατύρου, ὀλκὴ δὲ δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔ□ΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοι-
νὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερῶς Τέλλιδος, ὀλκὴ δὲ □□□· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ
ἐπιγραφή· Φονοτέλης Κεῖτος, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΔΔ□□□□, ἀπάγει ΙΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ
92580 ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερῶς Οἰκωνος, ὀλκὴ δὲ □□□
ἀκριβῶς· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἀρίστων Καλλικράτου Καρπασεώτης,
75 ὀλκὴ δὲ δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θερα-
πευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερῶς Σωτίωνος τοῦ Σωτίωνος, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙ· ἄλ-
λο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἀρτέμων ὑπὲρ Σωφίλου, ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ □□□□ΙΙΙΙ·
92585 ἀπάγει □· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἀρχίδαμος, ὀλκὴ □□, ἀπάγει vac· ἄλλο
ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Θεοξενίδης Τήνιος, □ΔΙΙΙΙ□· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή·
with Satyros priest and weight drachmai 45.4; another on which (is) the inscription:
the group of the doctors with Tellis priest, and the weight 52; another on which (is)
the inscription: the group of the doctors with Oikon priest, and the weight precisely
92590 52; another on which (is) the inscription: Ariston son of Kallikrates of Karpaseon,
and the weight 40 drachmai; another on which (is) the inscription: the group of the
doctors with Sotion son of Sotion priest, weight 48.3; another on which (is) the
inscription: Artemon on behalf of Sophilos, weight drachmai 54.4, short 1; another on
which (is) the inscription: Archidamos, weight 55, short; another on which (is) the
92595 inscription: Theoxenides of Tenos, 60.4 1/2; another on which (is) the inscription:
80 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερῶς Ἀριστοβούλου, ὀλκὴ □□□, ἀπά-
γει ΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Σεύθης ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργασίας, ὀλκὴ δραχ. □□ΙΙΙΙ,
ἀπάγει ΙΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Χάρης Ἀδραίου Τήνιος, □ΙΙΙΙ· τοῦτο
ἀγει ἐλαττον ὀβολοὺς πέντε· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπ[ιγρα]φή· Σιράτων Πρωτέου
92600 Πάριος, Φιλώτας Πρωτέου, ὀλκὴ ΔΔ□Ι, ἀπάγ[ει] □□□· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή·
85 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερῶς Ἀριστονόμου, ὀλκὴ □Δ□□, ἀπά-
γει □· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ποσίδεος Ἡρακλεώτης ἐφ' ἱερῶς Οἰκωνος
τοῦ Διδύμου, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙ, ἀπάγει ΙΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Βάχχι-
ος Δεγκίου, ΔΔΔΔΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Σαραπιασ[τα]ί οὗς σ[υ]ν[ή]-
92605 γαγεν Μεννέας, ὀλκὴ □ΔΔ, ἀπάγει ΙΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγ[ρα]φή· ἐ[π'] ἄρ-
the group of the doctors with Aristoboulos priest, weight 52, short .4; another on
which (is) the inscription: Seuthes from the work, weight drach. 55.4, short .3;
another on which (is) the inscription: Chares son of Adraios of Tenos, 50.4, this
weighs 5 obols less; another on which (is) the inscription: Straton son of Proteus of

- 92610 Paros, Philotas son of Proteus, weight 25.1, short [...]; another on which (is) the inscription: the group of the doctors with Aristonomos priest, weight 62, short 1; another on which (is) the inscription: Posideos the Herakleite with Oikon son of Didymos priest, weight 47.3, short .3; another on which (is) the inscription: Bacchius son of Decius, 95.2; another on which (is) the inscription: Sarapiastai [whom] Menneas gathered, weight 70, short .3; another on which (is) the inscription: 90 χοντος Τλησιμένου Σωτέλης Σωτέλου ιερατεύσας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν γερῶν ΔΔΔ□□III· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἄξιος Ἀντιγόνου Μακεδῶν, ὀλκή δραχμαὶ , ἀπάγει III· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὀλκή ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· τοῦτο ἀπάγει ἐλαττον 95 □· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν <ἐφ' ἱερέως> Ἀρχία τοῦ Ἐμμενίδου, ὀλκή δὲ δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔ□□□III· ἄλλο τὸ πλεον ἐν τεῖ παραδόσει ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἀπολλώνιος μελανηφόρος, ὀλκή ΔΔΙ· σκάφιον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Μεννέας Κλέωνος, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ 92625 πρόσωπα Σαράπιδος καὶ Τσιδος, ὀλκή δὲ σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ with Tlesimenes archon Soteles son of Soteles priest of Apollo and Asklepios from the awards 36.3; another on which (is) the inscription: Axios son of Antigonos of Macedonia, weight drachmai 55, short .3; another on which (is) the inscription: the group of the doctors with Aristoboulos son of Aristoboulos priest, weight 49, this 92630 weighs 1 less; another on which (is) the inscription: the group of the doctors Archias son of Emmenides (priest), and the weight (is) 48.3; another, the greater in the paradosis, on which (is) the inscription: Apollonios, wearer of black, weight 20.1; small tray on which (is) the inscription: Menneas son of Kleon, with faces of Sarapis and Isis on it, and the weight with the tin 49; 92635 100 ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Δάμων Μενεκλέους, λεῖον, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πρόσωπον Σαράπιδος καὶ Τσιδος, ὀλκή δὲ σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ □Δ□□· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Κρίτων καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργασίας δεκάτην, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πρόσωπον Σαράπιδος, ὀλκή δὲ σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ □Δ□□□III· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Σώπατρος Ἑρμωνος Βαργυ- 92640 105 λιήτης, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πρόσωπον Σαράπιδος καὶ Τσιδος, ὀλκή δὲ σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ □ΔΔ□□· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἀριστόδημος, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πρόσωπον Σαράπιδος, ὀλκή δὲ σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ □□□· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Μέντωρ, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πρόσωπον Σαράπιδος καὶ Τσιδος, ὀλκή δὲ σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ □□□, ἀπάγει III· ἄλλο λεῖον, ἐπιγραφή· Φίλων 92645 another on which (is) the inscription: Kriton and Apollonios a tithe from the work, with the face of Sarapis on it and the weight with the tin 67.3; another on which (is) the inscription: Sopatros son of Hermon of Baryulia, with faces of Sarapis and Isis on it and the weight with the tin 73; another on which (is) the inscription: Aristodemos, with the face of Sarapis on it and the weight with the tin 52; another 92650 on which (is) the inscription: Mentor, with the faces of Saraphis and Isis on it and weight with tin 52, short .3; another smooth, inscription: Philon son of 110 Μητροδῶρου Μασσαλιήτης ἐφ' ἱερέως Κτησικλέους τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου, ὀλκή δὲ δραχμαὶ ΔΔ□□□III· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Μεννέας Κλέωνος καὶ Ἀρίστων Καλλικράτου Καρπασεῶται, ὀλκή δὲ σὺν τῷ μολύβδῳ □□□III· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Θεόξενος Αἰσχύρωνος Κασσανδρεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργασίας, ὀλκή 92655 δραχ. <- ->· ἄλλο κατεαγὸς λεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἀλύπης Συρακόσιος, ὀλκή 115 δραχ. vac· ἄλλο λεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· οἱ συμβαλόμενοι εἰς τὸν βωμόν, ὀλκή δραχ. ΔΔ· ἄλλο λεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Μέλας Μενάνδρου τὴν δεκάτην, σὺν τῷ μολύβδῳ vac?· ἄλλο τεθλασμένον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· 92660 Πολύφιλος καὶ Καλλικράτεια καὶ Ἀγησίδικος, ὀλκή σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ - ->· ἄλλο λεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Μίνατος Μινάτου ἰατρεῖα <α> □□□· φιάλην κα- Metrodoros of Massalia with Ktesikles son of Antigonos priest and weight drachmai 28.3; another on which (is) the inscription: Menneas son of Kleon and Ariston son of Kallikrates of Karpasea and weight with the lead 56.3; another on which (is) the 92665 inscription: Theoxenos son of Aischrion of Kassandrea from the work, weight drach; another smooth broken on which (is) the inscription: Alupes of Syracuse, weight drach; another smooth on which (is) the inscription: the contributors to the altar, weight drach. 20; another smooth on which (is) the inscription: Melas son of Menander, the tithe, with the lead; another shattered on which (is) the inscription: 92670 Polyphilos and Kallikrateia and Hagesidikos, weight with the tin; another smooth on which (is) the inscription: Minatos son of Minatos, medicine; 120 ρωτὴν ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἔχουσιν πρόσωπον Σαράπιδος, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφή· οἱ συμβαλόμενοι εἰς τὸν βωμόν, ὀλκή σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ καὶ κηρῷ <- ->· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπι[γραφή]· Χαρ[ι]γνώ· φιάλι- 92675 α τέτταρα, ἐφ' ᾧ τ[ῷ] πρώτ[ῳ] ἐπιγραφή· Αἰσχύρων Ἀριστοκράτου χαρσιτήριον, ὀλκή <- ->· τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐπιγραφή· Δημότιλος Σαράπι- 125 δι, ὀλκή δὲ δραχμαὶ <- ->· τὸ δὲ τρίτον κατεαγὸς, ἀνεπίγραφον, ὀλκή <- ->· τὸ τέταρτον καταβεβρωμένον, ἀνεπίγραφον, ὀλκή δραχμαὶ <- ->· σκῦφον οὗ ἐ[λλεί]- πει [□□□ κ]αὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου τὸ ροπάλιον ἀποπεπτωκός, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπι-

- 92680 γραφή· Πάμπαινος Σολεύς, ὀλκή σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ· λιβανωτίδα ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφή· Παρμῶ Δεξίου, ὀλκή δραχμαὶ <— —>· στρόφιον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἀρισ-
knobby phiale about three palms, with face of Sarapis on which (is) the inscription: the contributors to the altar, weight with the tin and wax; another smooth about a foot (long) on which (is) the inscription: Charigno; four phialia on the first of
- 92685 which (is) the inscription: Aischron son of Aristokrates thanks, weight; inscription on the second: Demotilos to Sarapis and the weight drachmai; and the third broken uninscribed, weight; the fourth corroded uninscribed, weight drachmai; skyphos lacking [...] and the club has fallen from the other, on which (is) the inscription: Pampainos of Soli, weight with the tin; incense box on which (is) the inscription:
- 92690 Parmo son of Dexios, weight drachmai; sash on which (is) the inscription: 130 τόδημος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλάφου, ὀλκή δραχμαὶ vac.· οἶνοχοῖδιον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπι-
γραφῇ· οἱ συμβαλόμενοι θεραπευταί· λιβανωτίδιον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἡρώιδης Σαράπιδι Ἰσιδι, ἄστατον διὰ τὸν ρύπον· ἄλλο τεθλασμένον καὶ διακεκομμένον, ἔχον{τα} Σαράπιδος πρόσωπον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Νύμ-
92695 φων, ὀλκή <— —>· καδίσκον σαραπιακὸν ἔχοντα ἐν ᾧς, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἡρώι-
135 δης, ὀλκή <— —>· ἀρυσθῆς ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἀρίσταρχος ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικός, ὀλκή δὲ δραχμαὶ <— —>· ἐφηβὸν ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Νικάνωρ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἱππωνος, ὀλκή δὲ δραχμαὶ <— —>· κύαθον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Ἐπι-
γένης, ὀλκή Η· ἄλ<λ>ον ἐφ' οὗ Ἐπιγένης, ὀλκή δὲ σὺν τῷ καττιτέρῳ δραχ. <— —>·
92700 κάδιον παλαιὸν ἡχρεωμένον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Βάχχιος Δεκκίου Τῆ-
Aristodemos from the deer, weight drachmai; small oinochoe on which (is) the inscription: the contributing doctors; small incense box on which (is) the inscription: Herodes to Sarapis Isis, unweighed on account of the dirt; another shattered and broken apart, with face of Sarapis on which (is) the inscription:
- 92705 Nymphon, weight; small Sarapean jar with one handle on which (is) the inscription: Herodes, weight; ladle another on which (is) the inscription: Aristarchos on behalf of his wife, and the weight drachmai; ephebos on which (is) the inscription: Nikanor per orders with Hippon priest and the weight drachmai; kyathos on which (is) the inscription: Epigenes, weight 100; another on which Epigenes and the weight with the tin drach.; old unusable small jar on which (is) the inscription: Bacchius son of
- 92710 Cecius of Tenos 140 νιος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργασίας, ἔχον κηρὸν καὶ καττίτερον· ὠιοῦ ἡμισυ ἔχον ἐπι-
γραφῇ· Βάχχιος Δεκκίου Τήνιος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργασίας, ὀλκή <— —>· φύλακα ἐπ' ὁ[μ]-
φαλοῦ, τὸν ἐπικείμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείῳ, ἄστατον·
92715 θυμιατήριον· βωμίσκον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· Διόφαντος, ὀλκή δὲ ὡς ἡ ἐπι-
γραφῇ ἄστατον □□· κανοῦν μόνωτον ἀστραγαλίσκους ἔχον τρε[ῖς]
145 ἐφ' οὗ ὀλκή ὡς ἡ ἐπιγραφή δραχ. ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ· χρυσᾶ· vac. δακτύλιον εἰκόνα σιδηρᾶν ἔχοντα καὶ προσηλωμένον ἐφ' [ῦ]-
δρίας ξυλίνης, ἀνάθεμα Ἀθηνίῳ[ος] Ζακυνθίου, ἄστατον. vac.
92720 ἀργυρᾶ· Ἀνούβιδ[ος] δύο, ὧν ὀλκή τοῦ μὲν ἐνὸς δραχ. ΔΔΔΔ□□□□, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου □□□· καὶ τὰδε ἄστατα· ὀφθαλμοὺς δύο ἐν πινακίῳ, ἀνεπιγράφους·
from the work, with wax and in; half an egg with the inscription: Bacchius son of Decius of Tenos from the work, weight.
Guard on the omphalos, lying on the treasure **in the Sarapieion**, unweighed; censer;
92725 small altar on which (is) the inscription: Diophantes and the weight as the inscription 55 unweighed; one-handled kanoun with three knucklebones on which the weight as the inscription drach. 444.3. From that **in the Temple**. Gold: image wearing iron ring and nailed to a wood hypria, dedication of Athenion of Zakynthos, unweighed. Silver: two Anubises, the weight of the one of which (is) drach. 49, of
- 92730 the other 7. And the following unweighed: two eyes on plaque, uninscribed; 150 φιάλιον λεῖον ἐμ πλινθείῳ ὡς διπάλαστον, ἀνάθεμα Τρεβίου καὶ Ἀθη-
ναΐδος· βωμίσκον ἐπὶ τριποδίου ξυλίνου καθήμενον, ἀνάθεμα Αὐ-
τοκλέους τοῦ Σιλήνου· κάδον ἐπὶ τριποδίσκου <ξ>λίνου καθηλωμένον, ἀνάθε-
μα Ἀττίνου τοῦ Σωσίκου· ἄλλον ἐπὶ τριποδαβακίου ξυλίνου καθηλω-
92735 μένον, ἀνάθεμα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν θεραπευτῶν συμβαλομένων· ἄλλο[ν] ἐ-
155 ἐπὶ κιονίου ξυλίνου καθηλωμένον, ἀνάθεμα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν θερα-
πευτῶν συμβαλομένων εἰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς· ἄλλ[ο]ν ἐ-
πὶ τραπεζίου ξυλίνου καθηλωμένον, ἀνάθεμα Ἀπολλοδώρου· χαλκᾶ·
τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς Ἰσιδος, τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος· Μητέρας θεῶν δύο·
92740 τράπεζαν· Δία ἐπὶ βάσεως· ἄλλο ζωῖδᾶριον. ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἰσιδος να-
smooth phialion on plinth about two-palms, dedication of Trebios and Athenais; small altar seated on small wood tripod, dedication of Autokles son of Silenos; jar nailed to small wood tripod, dedication of Attinos son of Sosikos; another nailed to a small wood three-footed stand, dedication of the group of the contributing doctors; another
92745 nailed to a small wooden column, dedication of the doctors contributing to the sacrifices and libations; another nailed to a small wooden table, dedication of Apollodoros. Bronze: the statue of the god, Isis, Anubis, two Mothers of the Gods; table. Zeus on base; another figure.
In the Temple of Isis.

- 92750 160 ὦι· χρυσᾶ· στεφάνιον στάχυς ἔχον δύο καὶ σπλεγγίδιον μικρόν, ὧν ὁλ-
κῆ □IIII· ἀσπιδίσκην πρὸς πινακίῳ ἄστατον, ἀνάθεμα Νεφελίου.
ἀργυρᾶ· πορπίον ἀσπιδίσκην ἔχον περιτετραυμένην, οὗ ὁλκῆ δραχ.
□. καὶ τὰδε ἄστατα· φιάλην καρυωτὴν ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθεμα
Μενεκράτου κατὰ πρόσταγμα· φιάλην καρυωτὴν ἐμ πλινθείῳ
- 92755 165 ὥς διπάλαστον, ἔχουσιν ζωιδάρια τρία, ἀνάθεμα Αἰθωνος. vac.
Gold: small crown with two wheat sheaves and a small fillet, whose weight (is) 1.4;
disk on plaque, unweighed, dedication of Nephelios. Silver: brooch with crushed disk,
whose weight (is) drach. 5. And the following unweighed: knobby phiale in plinth,
dedication of Menekrates in accord with the order; knobby phiale in plinth about two
- 92760 palms, with three figures, dedication of Aithon;
- 1 ἄλλην λείαν ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθεμα Τιμοκράτου τοῦ Ἀλκ[ιμά]χου· φιάλι[ον]
λεῖον ἐμ πλινθείῳ ὥς δακτύλων ἕξ, ἀνάθεμα Ποσιδέου Ἡρακλεώτου· τ[ύ]-
πια μικρὰ τρία ἐπὶ σανιδίου, ἀνάθεμα Ἀμμωνίας. χαλκᾶ· ἱερακίδιον σκέ[λος]
92765 οὐκ ἔχον. ἐπὶ τῶν κινκλίδων· κυνάριον· βοΐδιον. ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁδοῦ· θυμιατήρι[ον ἐπὶ]
5 κιονίου ξυλίνου ἐντε[λές] ἔχον ἐπίπυρον καὶ ὠτάρια δύο καὶ πόδας τρεῖς· Βού-
[β]λαστ[ι]ν ἔχουσιν ζωιδάριον ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν, ἀνάθεμα Κλεοπάτρας.
ξύλινα· τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ ἐπίχρυσον ἐν ναιδίῳ ξυλίνῳ· ἄλλ[ο ἀγαλ]-
μάτιον κολοβάφινον(?) [ἐν ναι]δίῳ ξυλίνῳ. ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀνουβιδος ναῶι· ἀργυρᾶ
92770 ἄστατα· φιάλιον λεῖον ἐμ πλινθείῳ δακτύλων ἕξ, ἀνάθεμα Δάμ[ωνος]
another smooth in a plinth, dedication of Timokrates son of Alkimachos; smooth
phialion in a plinth about six fingers, dedication of Posideon from Herakleon; three
small reliefs on plank, dedication of Ammonia. Bronze: small hawk without a leg. **On**
the lattice gates: puppy, calf. **On the road:** censer on small wooden column, complete
92775 with grate and two handles and three feet; Boubastis with figure on his knees,
dedication of Kleopatra. Wood: the gilded statue of the goddess in a small wooden
shrine; another small kolobaphine statue in a small wooden shrine.
In the Temple of Anubis. Unweighed silver: smooth phialion in plinth six fingers,
dedication of Damon
- 92780 10 τοῦ Πάτρωνος· Ἡλίου πρόσωπον πρὸς ταινιδίῳ, ἀνάθεμα Δαμίννου Θεττα-
λοῦ. χαλκᾶ· θυμιατήριον· ἐσχάραν λεοντόβασιν ἐπίπυρον ἔχουσιν π[υ]ρφόρον.
σιδηρᾶ· λυχνία<ν>· θερμαστρίν. λίθινα· τὸν θεὸν Ἑρωτα· ἄλλον Ἀνουβίδα ἐ[λ]άτιο[να].
ἀφροδίσιον ἐν ναιδίῳ ἀπηρεισμένον ἐπὶ πηδαλίου· τράπεζαν· θυμια-
τήριον. ξύλινα· βοΐδιον κολοβάφινον(?)· Ἡρακλῆν. λίθινα ἐν τῷ προνάῳ·
92785 15 ζωιδάριον ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Αἰσχύλου Ἀθηναίου· ἄλλα ζωιδάρια παιδικὰ δύο
ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Κτησίππου Χίου· ἄλλο εἰκονικὸν ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθε-
μα Κτησίππου Χίου μελανηφόρου. ἐν τῷ παστοφορίῳ· κλίνην πυ-
ξινόποδα ἔχουσιν ζωίδια ἐν τοῖς ποσίν, ἀνάθεμα Πύρρου τοῦ Με-
νάνδρου. ἐν τεῖ στοᾷ τεῖ κάτω· ζωιδάριον μικρόν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ
- 92790 son of Patron; face of Helios on ribbon, dedication of Daminnos of Thessaly. Bronze:
censer; lionfooted brazier with fire-bearing grate. Iron: lampstand; tongs. Wood:
kolobaphic calf; Herakles. Stone **in the Pronaos:** figure on base, dedication of
Aischylos of Athens; two other figures of children on base, dedication of Ktesippos
of Chiois; another image on basse, dedication of Ktesippos of Chios, wearer of black.
- 92795 **In the Pastophorion:** boxwood couch with figures on the feet, dedication of Pyrros son
of Menander. **In the Stoa below:** small figure in the wall
20 ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Σωγένου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑοῦ· ζωίδια λίθινα δέκα
ἐπτά. ἐν τεῖ ἐξέδραι· ἀπολλωνίσκον λίθινον ἐν τοίχῳ, [ἀ]νά[θε]-
μα Πρώτου. καὶ τὰδε ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ· χαλκᾶ· ἀνδριάντα ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθε-
92800 μα Διονυσίου τοῦ Ζωίττα· ἄλλα ἀνδριαντίδια δύο μικρὰ, ἀνάθεμα Ἐλ-
πίνου τοῦ Κλεοδήμου· βοΐδιον μικρόν· δελφίνα ἐπὶ κιονίου ἀνεπίγραφον.
25 ἀπολλωνίσκον ἐπὶ βάσεως ἔχοντα ἱέρακα ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς· θυμιατήριον
ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Κτησίππου Χίου· τριποδίσκους δελφικοὺς δύο ὧν ὁ εἷς οὐ-
κ ἔχων τὸν κόσμον, ἀνάθεμα Ἑλλήνου· ἄλλον ἀπολλωνίσκον ἐπὶ βάσεως κιθά-
92805 [ρα]ν ἔχοντα καὶ θυμιατήριον ἐπὶ βάσεως, <ἀνάθεμα> τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν θεραπευτῶν.
[ἄλλ]ο ἀνδριαντίδιον ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Χοιρύλου· θυμιατήριον ἐπὶ βάσε-
on a base, dedication of Sogenes on behalf of his son; seventeen stone figures. **In**
the Exedra: small stone Apollo in the wall, dedication of Protos. And the following
in the Dromos. Bronze: statue on base, dedication of Dionysios son of Zoittas; two
92810 other small statues, dedication of Elpinos son of Kleodamos; small calf; dolphin on a
small column, uninscribed; small Apollo on a base with hawk in his right hand; censer
on base, dedication of Ktesippos of Chios; two Delphic tripods one of which lacks its
ornament, dedication of Hellen; another small Apollo holding a lyre and a censer on a
base, from the group of the doctors; another small statue on a base, dedication of
92815 Choirylos; censer on stone base,
30 ὥς λιθίνης, ἀνάθεμα Κάλου Σελγέως· παλλαδίον ἐπὶ βάσεως καὶ θυμιατήριον,
ἀνάθεμα Ἀρίστιδος καὶ Ἀρκούσης· κρατῆρα μέγαν ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Ἐ[λλη]-
νος· κῶνον πρὸς τῷ τῆς Ἰσιδος ναῶι, ἀνάθεμα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν θεραπευ-
τῶν. καὶ τὰδε [λί]θινα ἐκτὸς τοῦ δρόμου· ζωιδάρια δύο πρὸς τῷ Μητρώῳ,

- 92820 ἀνεπίγραφα· ἄλλο παιδικὸν δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντων, ἀνάθεμα Σώτ[α]· τύπ[ον ἄρισ]-
35 τεράς εἰσιόντων ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ καὶ θυμιατήριον χαλκοῦν, ἀνάθεμα Αἰσχύλου
Ἀθηναίου. καὶ τάδε ἐκ τοῦ δρόμου χαλκᾶ· χαλκίον κατωικ[οδο]μη[μέ]-
νον ἐν τῷ ἐσχαρῶνι· λυχνουργέοντες ΔΙ· χαλκωμάτων [θραύματα] ἐν
χαλκίῳ παλαιῷ καὶ ἡχρειωμένα ἄστατα. ξύλινα· κλίνη σφιγγόπους
- 92825 ἀνέντατος· πίνακας ἀναθεματικούς παντοδαπούς οὐ[ς] διὰ τὸ πλῆθος [οὐκ ἐγρ]αψ[ά]-
dedication of Kalos of Selge; small Pallas on base and a censor, dedication of
Aristis and Arkoussa; large krater on base, dedication of Hellen; pinecone on the
temple of Isis, dedication of the doctors. And the following stone outside the
Dromos: two figures near the Metroon, uninscribed; another small child on the right
- 92830 going in, dedication of Sotas; relief in the wall on the left going in and bronze
censor, dedication of Aischylos of Athens. And the following from the Dromos. Bronze:
bronze (figure) built into the hearth?; 11 torchholders? [pieces] of bronze in an old
bronze (pot) and useless (bronze), unweighed. Wood: unstretched couch with sphinx
feet; various dedicatory plaques which we did not record because of their number.
- 92835 40 μεθα. καὶ τάδε ἀργυρᾶ· καρχήσιον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· ἐφ' ἱεροποιῶν Τιμη-
σιδήμου καὶ Τερουμβρότου ἐκ τῶν αἰρεσίῳν, Διὸς Κυνθίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Κυν-
θείας, οὗ ὀλκή δραχ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□□· τοῦτο σταθὲν ἡγάγεν □ΔΔΔΔ□III·
φύλακα οὗ ὀλκή □· δαίδια δύο ἄστατα· φιάλην λείαν ὀμφαλὸν ἔχουσαν,
ἀνάθεμα βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, ὀλκή δρα. ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἄλλην [λείαν ἐφ' ἧς] ἐπιγρα-
- 92840 45 φή· ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ἧς ὀλκή δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔ□□IIII· τ[ύπιον χρυσοῦν]
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχον ἐπὶ σ[ε]πισ[ανιδίου] {σανιδίου}, ἀνάθεμα Χάρητος· τύπιον ἀργυ-
ροῦν ἐπὶ σανιδίου, ἀνάθεμα Ὀνησακοῦς· δαίδιον ὡς ποδιαῖον περιηργυ-
ρωμένον ἄστατον καὶ ἀνεπίγραφον· τύπια ἀργυρᾶ ὧν ὀλκή [δραχμαὶ]
□□□□. καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ Τσιδεῖῳ· τύπιον ἐπὶ σανιδίου, ἀνάθεμα [Ἀγγελί]-
- 92845 And the following silver: karchesion on which (is) the inscription: with Timesidemōs
and Hierombrotos hieropoioi from the cargo duties, of Zeus Kynthios and Athena
Kynthia, whose weight drach. 97, this when weighed was 95.3; guard whose weight (is)
1; two torches unweighed; smooth phiale with omphalos, dedication of Council and
Demos, weight dra. 48; another smooth on which the inscription: the Council and
- 92850 Demos. whose weight drachmai 46.5; gold relief with eyes on small board, dedication
of Chares; silver relief on board, dedication of Onesakes; small silvered torch about
a foot, unweighed and uninscribed; silver reliefs weight [drachmai] 8.
And the following in the Isideion: relief on board, dedication of Angelis;
50 δος· ἄλλο ἐπὶ σανιδίου, ἀνάθεμα Εὐπορίας· ἄλλο ἐπὶ σανιδίου, [ἀνά]-
- 92855 θεμα Εὐτέρπης· δαίδιον περιηργυρωμένον ἐπὶ βάσεως ξυλίνης, [ἀνά]-
θεμα Εὐκλείας· φιάλιον λεῖον ἐμ πλαίσιῳ ὡς δακτύλων [ἔξ, ἀνάθεμα]
Θερμουθρίδος ἄστατον. χαλκᾶ πρὸς τ[ᾶ]ς [ἐξέδρας· πανίσκον ὡς τριῶν]
ἡμιποδίων, ἀνάθεμα Πολιάνθου Ἀθηναίου· κάδον κ[αὶ οἶνοχόην?]
- 92860 55 vac. ὀφ<θ>αλμοὶ χρυσοῖ ἐπὶ σανιδίου, ἐπιγρ[αφή] Γαίου Μεσσίου· πρόσω]-
πα δύο ἐμ πλινθεῖῳ Σαραπίδος, Τσιδος, ἀνάθεμα [Φιλέου Ἀλεξανδρέ]-
ως· στέφανοι περικεχυρωμένοι τρεῖς, ἀνάθεμα [Καλλικλέους τοῦ Ἀπολ]-
λωνίου. χρυσᾶ· στεγγίδια τρία ἄστατα, ἀ[νάθεμα] Γαίου· τύπια τέττα-
[ρα] ὧν ὀλκή □· ἄλλο τύπιον ἐπὶ πίνακίῳ· στε[φάνιον] χρ[υσοῦν] τετράφυλ]-
- 92865 another on board, dedication of Euporia; another on board, dedication of Euterpe;
silvered torch on wooden base, dedication of Eukleia; smooth phialion in frame about
[six] fingers, [dedication] of Thermouthris, unweighed. Bronze near the [Exedra:
small Pan about three] half-feet, dedication of Polianthes of Athens; jar and [...];
gold eyes on board, inscript[ion, of Gaius Messius; fa]lces two in plinth of Sarapis,
Isis, dedication [of Phileas of Alexandr]ia; three gilded crowns, dedication [of
- 92870 Kallikles son of Apol]lonios. Gold: three fillets, uninscribed, d[edication of
Gaius]; four reliefs, whose weight 1; another relief on small plaque; gold cro[wn
four leav]ed,
- 60 [λ]ον ἄστατον· σαγγαϊκὸν βεβαμμένον κ[όκ]κιν[ον ἐν] κ[ι]β[ω]τ[ί]ῳ, [ἀνάθεμα]
Ἡρακλείου· στεφάνιον ἐν τῷ Ἀνουβιδεῖῳ φύ[λλα] ἔχον δέκα· ἄστατα. ἐν]
- 92875 τῷ Τσιδεῖῳ· πίναξ ἐπίχρυσος, ἀνάθεμα Δημέου τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτου·
Ἀθηνᾶ χαλκῇ [ἐπὶ στηλ]υδρίου, ἀνάθεμα Ἑρμογ[ένου] Ἀλεξ[ανδρ]έως·
ἄλλο ἀνδριαντίδιον ἐν τῷ ἐξεδρίῳ ὡς δακτύλων [- , ἀνάθεμα]
- 92880 65 Ποπλίου Αἰμυλίου· ἀργυρᾶ· ποτήριον ῥοδιακὸν [ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοι]-
νὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν, ὀλκή δραχμαὶ ΔΔΔΔ· φιάλην [λείαν ὀμφαλὸν ἔχου]-
σαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν [ἐφ' ἱερέως Κτησίππου]
Ἀνακα<ι>έως, ὀλκή δραχμα[ὶ] ΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλην λεί[αν ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφή· τὸ κοι]-
νὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν, ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀμμωνίου, ὀλκή [δρα]χ[μαὶ] ΔΔΔ□□□III].
- unweighed; sangaikon dyed red in small chest [dedication] of Herakleios; small crown
in the Anoubideion with [ten leaves, unweighed. **In] the Isideion:** gilded plaque,
dedication of Demeas son of Aristokrates; bronze Athena on [small st]ele, dedication
of Hermog[enes of Alexandria]; another small statue **in the Exedrion** about fingers
[...] of Poplius Aemulius. Silver: Rhodian cup [...gr]oup of the doctors, weight
drachmai 40; phiale with [...], in which the inscription the doctors' group [with
Ktesippos priest] son of Anakaïos, weight drachmai [3]7; another smooth [...gr]oup of

- 92890 the doctors with Ammonios priest, weight [drachmai 37.3].
70 καὶ τὰδε προσπαρελάβομεν· ποτήριον ῥοδια[κὸν] ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφὴ· Σω-
τήριχος οὗ ὀλκῆ δραχμαὶ □Δ, ἐφ' ἱερέως Φιλοκράτου· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγρα-
φὴ· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν ἐφ' ἱερέως Φιλοκράτου, ὀλκῆ [δραχμαὶ — —]. And the following we
92895 κηρύκειον οὗ ὀλκῆ □□□III· σπάθιον ἐπὶ ταινιδίου ἄστατον· τύπια τρία
[κ]αὶ π[ο]δάρια δύο. ἐν τῷ Τσιδεῖωι· ἀργυρᾶ ἄστατα· φιάλην λεῖαν [ὀμ]-
75 φαλὸν ἔχουσιν ἐμ πλινθείωι, ἀνάθεμα Ὀλύμπου Καρυστίου, ὀλκῆ [ὥς ἡ]
ἐπιγραφὴ ΔΔ ἄστατον, ἐφ' ἱερέως Φιλοκράτου· [ἄλλην] ἐμ πλινθείωι, πρῶσωπα
ἔχουσιν τρία, ἀνάθεμα Δαφνίδος, ἐπὶ σανιδίου· δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς [ἐπὶ]
92900 σανιδίου λίθον ἔχων, ὀλκῆ ὥς ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ □III· φιάλιον ἀργυροῦν [ὥς δακτύ]-
λων [ἐξ], ἐπιγραφὴ· Εὐτυχ[ος Δά]ζου Τερ[...]τινος ἄστατον· λαμπάδα,
took over in addition: Rhodian cup on which (is) the inscription Soerichos, whose
weight drachmai 60 with Philokrates priest; another on which (ois) the inscription
the doctors' group with Philokrates priest, weight [...]; staff whose weight 3.3;
sword on ribbon, unweighed; three reliefs and two small feet. In the Isideion.
92905 Unweighed silver: smooth phiale with boss in plinth, dedication of Olympos of
Karystos, weight [as the] inscription 20, unweighed with Philokrates priest;
[another] in plinth with three faces, dedication of Daphnis on board; gold ring on
board with stone, weight as the inscription 1.3; silver phialion [about six] fingers,
inscription Eutychos son of Dazos Ter[...]tinis unweighed; torch,
92910 80 ἀνάθεμα vac. Βερενίκης, ἄστατον· τύπια ἐπὶ σανιδίου ἀργυρᾶ δέκα· στέφ[ανον χρυ]-
σοῦν, ἀνάθεμα Νικομένους Ἐλεάτου ἄστατον, ὀλκῆ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν
I, ἐφ' ἱερέως Σαραπίωνος· καὶ ἐπὶ σανιδίου ὀφθαλμοὶ δύο. ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀνοῦ-
[βι]δος· φιάλιον ἐν πλινθείωι ὥς ποδιαῖον, ἀνάθεμα Θεοφραστίδ[ου], ὀλκῆ ὥς ἡ ἐπιγρα-
[φ]ῆ Δ, ἄστατον, ἐφ' ἱερέως Λέοντο[ς?]] ιφυ: φιάλιον λεῖον ὥς δακτύλων ἐξ],
92915 85 ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφὴ· ἐφ' ἱερέως H: ζώδια λίθιν[α τρία, ἀνάθεμα Ἀρίστωνος],
ἐφ' ἱερέως Φιλοκράτου. ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείωι· πρὸς τῷ ναῶι· Ἑρμῆς χαλ[κοῦς ἔχων]
κηρύκειον, ἀνάθεμα Ἀριστο[φάνους]. ἐν τῷ προν[ά]ωι· ἔρωτε[ς] χαλκοὶ δύο. ἐν τῷ]
ναῶι· φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἐν π[λινθ]είωι ὥς δακτύλων ὀκτώ, [ἀνάθεμα Γνα]-
ίου Πετενναίου, [ἄστατον. ἐν τῷ] πρυτανείωι· χαλκᾶ· Ἑστίαν ὥς δί[πουν]
92920 dedication of Berenike, unweighed; ten silver reliefs on board; gold crown,
dedication of Nikomenes of Elea, unweighed, weight according to the inscription 1.1
with Sarapion priest; and on a board two eyes. **In the Temple of Anoubis:** phialion in
plinth about a good, dedication of Theophrastides [weight as the inscript]ion 10,
unweighed, with Leon priest [...]; smooth phialion about six fingers on which the
92925 inscription with priest [...] 100; stone figures [three, dedication of Aristo] with
Philokrates priest. **In the Sarapieion, near the Temple:** bronze Hermes with staff,
dedication of Aristo[phanes]. **In the Pronaos:** [two bronze] Erotes **[In the] Temple:**
silver phiale in plinth about eight fingers [dedication of Gna]eus Petennaius
[unweighed].
92930 **[In t]he Prytaneion.** Bronze: Hestia about two [feet]
90 [ἐ]πὶ βωμίσκο[υ λιθίνου καθη]μένην κα<ι> ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης· ἀπ[ο]λλωνίσκ[ον]
ἀρχαῖκὸν ὥς π[ο]διαῖον καὶ] θυμιατήριον πομπικὸν ὥς τριημιποδι[αῖον· Ἑρ]-
μᾶς ἐπὶ βάσ[εων λιθίν]ων πέντε· σατυρίσκον ὥς τριπάλ[ασ]τον [φέρον]-
τα κρατηρί[σκον ἐπὶ] βάσεως λιθίνης· ὀμφαλὸν καὶ φύλακα περὶ αὐτόν.
92935 τράχηλ[ον?· ἀπολ]λωνίσκον ἐν θυρίδι καθήμενον ἐπ' ὀμφαλοῦ
95 ὥς δίπου[ν· ἄλλον? — ἐν θυρίδ<ι> ἐπιβεβηκότα ἐπ' ὀμφαλοῦ λιθίνου· στέφα-
νον ν.— — — ἐν τῷ προδόμωι· Ἑρμῆν ὥς δίπουν ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης
ἐχ[οντα] ιον καὶ προσανακεκλιμένον πρὸς δενδρυφίωι
[...] περι[ραν]τήριον ἔχον ὥς ἐν ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφὴ· [ἱε]ρὸν Ἀπ[ό]λλω-
92940 [νος. ἐν τεῖ αὐ]λεῖ· Ἑρμῆς τέτταρας ἐπὶ βάσεων λιθίνων. [ἐν τῷ ἀρχείωι].
seated on small [stone] altar and on stone base; old small Apollo about a f[oot and]
processional censer about three half-fe[et; Her]mes on stone bases five; small satyr
about three palms [carry]ing a small krat[er on] a stone base; omphalos and guard-
chain around its nec[k? small Apol]lo in a window seated on an omphalos about two
92945 feet (high) [...] in a window mounted on a stone omphalos; crown [...]. **In the**
Prodemos: Hermes about two feet (high) on stone base with [...] and leaning on a
small tree [...sp]rinkler with one handle on which (is) the inscription: sacred to
Ap[ollo]. **In the Cojurt:** four Hermes' on stone bases. **[In the Archeion]**
100 Ἑστ[ί]αν ὥς δίπουν ἐπ' ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενην καὶ ἐπὶ β[ά]σεως λιθίνης].
92950 [ἐν τῷ] προδόμωι· Ἑρμᾶς δύο ἐπὶ βάσεων λιθίνων· ἄλλον ὥς
π[ο]διαῖ[ο]ν βάσιν οὐκ ἔχον· λεπίδ<α>ς ἀσπίδων· λημνίσκους. [ἐν τῷ Ἀσ]-
κ[λ]ηπ[ι]είωι· χρυσᾶ ἄστατα· δακτύλ[ι]ον ἐπὶ ταινιδίου λίθο[ν] ἔχοντα, ἀνά-
θεμα Λυσιδίκης τῆς Ἀπημάντου. ἀργυρᾶ ἄστατα· φιάλην φ[ο]λιδωτὴν
105 ὥς ποδιαῖαν ἐμ πλινθείωι· σκάφιον λεῖον ὥς δακτύλων ἐξ, ἀνάθε-
92955 μα vac· φιάλιον μικρὸν ὥς παλαστῶν δύο ἐμ πλινθείωι, ἀνάθεμα
Ἀριστοθάλου· ἄλλο φολιδωτὸν ὥς δακτύλων δέκα ἀ[νε]πίγραφον·
[ἄλλ]ο λεῖον ὥς δακτύλων δέκα ἀνεπίγραφον· [φιά]λην [ὥς πα]λαστῶν
τριῶν ἀνεπίγραφον· σκάφιον ὥς δακτύλων ὀκτὼ ἐμ πλινθείωι, ἀνάθεμα
Hestia about two feet (high) seated on an omphalos and on a [stone base. **In the]**

92960
92965
92970
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92995
93000
93005
93010
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93025

- 93030 τα δάιδια ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης, ἀνάθεμα Γερύλλου· πυξίδα ἐλεφαντίνην
ὁ θεός· ἄλλα θηλυκὰ ζῶια τέτταρα· ζῶια τρία παιδικὰ ὧν ὀλκή Η·
145 πίνακας εἰκονικοὺς □ΔΔΔ□II· τὸ θύρωμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἔχον ἡλούς χαλκοῦς·
[κλεῖ]ν ἀνάπαιστον λαβὴν ἔχουσαν ξυλίνην. ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀριστερᾶς εἰσι-
[όντι]ων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· τράπεζαν λιθίνην κατεαγείαν· ἀσκληπιοὺς λιθίνους τρεῖς
93035 [ὧν τὸν] ἓνα ἐλάττινα· ἀπόλλωνα λίθινον. καὶ ἐν τῷ ν[α]ῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου· φιά[λην]
ιδὸς ἀνάθεμα Πασιτίμου. καὶ προσπαρεδῶκαμεν· φιάλην ὡς [δακτύ]-
[... Apol]lo with quiver and bow and phialion leaning [on column of br]onze,
dedication of Geryllos; calf on stone base [dedication of Ouio of Rome] processional
censer with one ear; grill; cupping gourd; horse-cent[aur...] the god; four other
93040 female figures; three child figures whose weight (is) 100; 97 plaques with images;
the door of the temple with bronze nails; draw-key with wood handle. **In the Oikos on
the left** going into the sanctuary: broken stone table; three stone Asclepius's, one
smaller. And **in the Temple of Asklepios**: phia[le...]is dedication of Pasitimos. And
we gave over in addition: phiale
93045 150 λων δέκα πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν, ἀνάθεμα Μόλωνος τοῦ Παρμένοντος
□□□□□ ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῷ ἐν νήσῳ· ἀργυρᾶ· φιάλην ἐπίχρυσον
ἔχουσαν [ζώι]δια Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἀρτεμιν, ἀνάθεμα Θεοτίμου τοῦ — — —,
τὴν διαμέτρον ὡς ποδιαίαν· ἄλλο φιάλιον ἐπίχρυσον ἔχον τὸ ἔδαφος
ὡς δακτύλων ἕξ, ἀνάθεμα Τέρωνος· ἄλλην φιάλην ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἔχουσαν
93050 155 Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἀρτεμιν, ἀνάθεμα Πιστοξένου· ἄλλην καρυωτὴν πρόσω-
πον ἔχουσαν Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀνάθεμα Ἀθηνίωνος, ὡς παλαστῶν τριῶν·
ἄλλην καρυωτὴν ὡς δακτύλων δέκα δύο, ἀνάθεμα Καλλιφάνου Ἀμορ-
γίου, διαπεπτωκό[ς] ἐστι ΘΡΑΚΑ. Μεγαρέως ΔΔΔ· ἀσπιδίσκιον, ἀνάθεμα Ἀριστακοῦς
τῆς Φίλωνος, ὡς δακτύλων τριῶν· φιάλιον μικρὸν πρόσωπον ἔχον Διονύσου,
93055 about ten fingers with face, dedication of Molon son of Parmenon [...].
In the Artemision on the Island. Silver: gilded phiale with figures, Apollo and
Artemis, dedication of Theotimos son of [...] the diameter about a foot; another
gilded phialion with the base about six fingers, dedication of Hieron; another phiale
93060 in plinth with Apollo and Artemis, dedication of Pistoxenos; another knobby with face
of Artemis, dedication of Athenion, about three palms; another knobby about twelve
fingers, dedication of Kalliphanes of Amorgos, fallen apart it is Thraka of Megara
30; small disk dedication of Aristoko, daughter of Philon, about three fingers; small
phialion with face of Dionysos
160 ὡς δακτύλων τριῶν, ἀνεπίγραφον· ἄλλο μικρὸν πρόσωπον ἔχον Γοργόνος,
93065 ὡς δακτύλων τεττάρων, ἀνάθεμα Εὐβαίωνος· ἄλλ[ο] ὡς δακτύλων ἕξ, ἀνά-
θεμα Νυμφοδώρου· ἄλλο λείον, ἀνάθεμα Ἀριστοβούλης ἔχον πρόσω-
πον Παλλαδίου, ὡς δακτύλων τριῶν vac.
about three fingers, uninscribed; another small with face of Gorgon about four
fingers, dedication of Eubaion; another about six fingers, dedication of Nymphodoros;
93070 another smooth, dedication of Aristoboule with face of Pallas about three fingers;

col. II.1
1 ἄλλην [καρ]υωτὴν —
τριῶν ἐμ πλινθείῳ —
93075 ἡ μήτηρ Διονυσίου καὶ Καλλιφρονίδος· φιά[λην] —
ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθεμα [Δ]ίωνος τοῦ Στράτωνος —
5 πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθεμα Λυσάκοῦ· φιάλην λείαν π.—
δακτύλων δέκα {ὡς δακτύλων δέκα} αὐτῆς —
ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ η[] III· σκάφιον ἔχον —
93080 πρόσφρον· ἀνέθηκεν Π Αστυπάλαιοφ· σ
α περίχυτα ὀκτώ, ἀνάθεμα Ἀν[]ωνος Κ —
another knobby [...] in plinth [...] the mother of Dionysios and Kalliphrontides;
phia[le...] about a foot, dedication of Dion son of Straton [...] plinth, dedication
of Lysakos; smooth phiale [...] ten fingers {about ten fingers} of it [...] from the
93085 hand and the [...] 5.3; small tray with [...] face dedicated P[...] of Astypalaia
[...] eight perichyta, dedication of Annon [...]
10 — — 8 — — ἀργυρ[] βαί ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης —
□□□□II· καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τρυφάκτου· φιάλην φολιδωτὴν —
πλν τ[] π[] Αστυπάλαιο, τὴν διαμ[]τρον ἔχουσαν? ὡς πο]-
93090 διαίαν· ἄλλην καρυωτὴν ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθε[]μα — — — — — π[]-
λαστον· ἄλλην λείαν ἐμ πλινθείῳ, ἀνάθεμα Φ[] — — — — —
15 [] τοῦ [] δίκρουνον ἔχοντα ἐλαφίου κεφαλὴν — — — — —
φιάλην λείαν, ἀνάθεμα Σατύρου τοῦ Τερηκλέους [— — · ἄλλην? — —]
— — — ἀνάθεμα Μνασέα Ἡλείου ὡς διπάλαστο[ν — — — — — οὐκ ἦν συνι]-
93095 δεῖν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν, ὡς δακτύλων ἕξ· ἄλλην λείαν [— — — — — ὡς]
δακτύλων ἕξ· <ᾗ> ἄλλη ἔχουσ<α> ἐν αὐτῇ στέφανον ἐπ[]χ[ρυσον· οὐκ ἦν συν]-
on the table [...] 8.2; and outside the railing: pholidote phiale [...] ptoios of
Astypalaia, with the diameter about a foot; another knobby in plinth, dedication
[...] palm; another smooth in plinth, dedication of Phi[...] with deer head with two
93100 antlers [...] smooth phiale, dedication of Satyros son of Terhkles [...] dedication

of Mnaseas of Elis about two palms [...not under]stand the inscription, about six fingers; another smooth [...about] six fingers; another with a gilded crown in it...

20 ἰδεῖν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν, ὡς διπάλαστον· ἄλλη λεία — — — — —, ἀνάθημα — — — — —
 Αἰηνίου Χίου, ὡς δακτύλων ἑξ· ἄλλη [πρόσω]πον ἔχουσ[α — — — ἀνέθηκεν?]
 93105 Παπᾶς Φιλεταίου Παφλαγῶν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἑκάτει — — — — —· ἄλλη]
 λεία ὡς διπάλαστος, ἀνάθημα Ἀφθονήτου· ἄλλη λεία, <ἀ>νάθημα — — — — —
 καὶ Μικ[—————]ΠΙ· ἄλλη [λεί]α, ἀνάθημα Φίλης Κώιας — — — — —
 25 [ὡς δακ]τύ[λων] τρι[ών]· ἄλλο λεῖον ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀνάθημα — — — — —
 [—————] πρόσωπον ἔχον Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα Φίλωνος· ἄλλην λ[εῖαν ὡς]
 93110 δακτύλων τετάρων· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀνάθημα Αὐτο — — — — —
 — — — — — ὡς παλασίων δύο, ἀνάθημα — — — — —
 — — — — — ὡς διπάλαστον, Ἀρτέμιδι εὐχὴν· ἄλλο λεῖον οὐτε — — — — —

under]stand the inscription, about two palms; another smooth [...] of Atenios of Chios, about six fingers; another with face [...] Papas son of Philetairos of Paphlagon, to Artemis Hekate [...] smooth about two palms, dedication of Aphthonetos; another smooth, dedication [...]; another smooth dedication of Phile of Kos about three fintgers; another smooth about three palms, dedication [...] with face of Apollo, dedication of Philon; another smooth about four fingers; another smooth about three palms, dedication of Auto[...] about two falms, dedication [...] about two palms, vow to Artemis; another smooth neither

30 [— — — — — τ]ᾶ προ[σανα]τεθέντα ἐπ' Ἀχαιοῦ ἀρχοντος ὑπὸ [—————]
 — — — — — τύπια τῶν προὔπαρχόντων ἀπὸ το[—————]
 ἑξ· ταῦτα ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὔρεν σὺν τοῖς ἀποβε[β]λη[μένοις]
 93125 δραχ. [—]· ἀπάγει ΙΙΙ· ἀσπίδισκίον ἐπὶ — — — 12-15 — — — ἀπὸν ἀστατον· φιᾶλην κα[ρ]υω]-
 τὴν ἔχουσ[αν] πρόσωπον, ἀνάθημα Δηλι[ἀδ]ων?, ἥς ὀλκή δραχ. ΔΔΔ· τύπιον
 35 — — — — — Ἀρτεμιν· φιαλ[— — —, ἀν]άθημα Κλει-
 — — — — — ἀνάθημα [Πει]σι[κρα]τείας τῆς
 — — — — — οὗ ὀλ<κῇ> [ΔΔΔ]· ἀρτεμίσιον οὗ ὀλκή δραχ. ΗΔΔ[—————]
 τύπια ΔΠ· ἀστατα καὶ [—————] ὀφθαλμοὶ τέ<τ>αρες — — — — —
 93130 καὶ τὰδε χρυσᾶ· στέφ[ανον ὃν ἡ θ]εὸς ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς νίκας ἔχοντα
 [...] the additional dedications with Achaios archon by [...] reliefs of the proconsuls from [...] six; these were weighed in the same and found with the discarded drachmai 2, short .3; small disk on [...] unweighed; knobby phiale with face, dedication of the Deliades, whose weight drach. 82; small relief [...] Artemis; phiale [...] de]dication of Klei[...] weight 72+; small Artemis statue whose weight drach 129; 12 reliefs unweighed and [...]; four eyes [...]. And the following gold: crown which the goddess wears on her head with ten boxwood Victories

40 πτελεῖνας δέκα [σ]ὺν [τοῖς ἀποθρα]ύμασιν καὶ λίνωι δραχ. ΔΔΔ[—————] ἄλλον δρύϊ-
 νον ὑπ[ἀργυρον? — — — — —] σὺν τῷ λίνωι καὶ τοῖς ἱμανταρίοις οὗ ὀλκή
 93140 — — — — — δραχ. ΔΠΙΙ· νίκας ἃς ἔχει ἡ θεὸς ὧν ὀλκή
 [—————] δα]κτύλιος ἔχων τὴν σφενδόνην διαβεβρωμένην καὶ — — — — —
 — — — — — γυναικεῖον ζῶιδιον οὗ ὀλκή σὺν τῷ [λίθ]ωι [—————]
 45 — — — — — ὀλκή σὺν τοῖς λιναρίοις δραχ. [—————] ἀμφιδέξια δύο καὶ
 [— — — — — ὀλκή ΙΙΙ· περιχειρίδιον ἐν καὶ ἄλυσίδιον ὧν ὀλκή σὺν τοῖς
 93145 [— — — — — διαπε]π[τω]κός καὶ τύπιον καὶ κίρ[κο]ι δύο καὶ ἐνώι-
 [δια στρογγύλα δυο — — — — —]νου ἑξ, ὧν ὀλκή [—————] σιλεγγίδιον <διαπ>επτωκός
 — — — — — λιλιιοὶ ἀστατον· περιχειρον οὗ ὀλκή δραχ. [—————] ἀκρι-

with the broken pieces and string drach 34; another oak [...] with the string and the reins, whose weight [...] drach 17.1; Victories which the goddess holds whose weight [...r]ing with the bezel corroded and [...] small female figure whose weight with the string 3.4 1/2 [...] weight with the strings drach 3. 1/2; two bracelets and [...w]eight .3 3/4; one small bracelet and one small chain whose weight with the [...fal]len apart and relief and two circles and earr[ings two twisted...] six, whose weight 2.2 1/2; fillet fallen apart [...] unweighed; bracelet whose weight drach 3 pre[cisely...]

50 [βεῖς — — — — —]α δύο ὧν ὀλκή [—], ἀπάγει ΙΙ. καὶ τὰδε χαλκᾶ·
 [ἀρτεμίσιον] ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης καὶ κυνάριον παρεστηκός· ἄλλο ἀρτε-
 [μίσιον — — — — —]· ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπὶ βάσεως χαλκῆς· κυνάριον
 93160 [παρεστηκός· λιβανωτῖδα ἔχουσιν νίκη]ν ἐπὶ τοῦ πώματος θωρακαίαν· θυμια-
 [τήριον — — — — —] ἀετός· κυνάριον μελιταῖον· ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπὶ
 55 [βάσεως λιθίνης, ἀνάθε]μα Ὀνομακρίτης· μικρὸν ἄλεκτρύονα καὶ ἄλλα χαλκῶ-
 [ματα· ταῦτα ἐν] τῷ κρατῆρι· ἀετός ἐπὶ ταινιδίου· ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυφάκιου·
 θυμιατήριον [πομπικόν]· ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης
 93165 [ἔχον ἐν ἑκατέραι δα]ιδά καὶ παρέστηκεν κυνάρια δύο, ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφθόνη-
 [τος· ἀρτεμίσιον] τ[ὸ μετ]ενεχθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ, ἀνάθημα Ἀσκληπιάδου·
 two whose weight 1, short .2. And the following Bronze: [small Artemis] on stone base and puppy standing by; another small Art[emis...]; small Artemis on bronze base, puppy [standing by; censer with Vict]ory on the lid in armor; cens[er...] eagle; Mollosan puppy; small Artemis on [stone base, dedic]ation of Onomakrite; small cock
 93170 and other bron[ze, these in] the krater; eagle on ribbon. **At the railing:**

[processional] censer. **At the Table:** small Artemis on stone base [holding in either hand a torch and two puppies stand by, Aphthonetos dedicated; [small Artemis moved from the altar, dedication of Ask two whose weight 1, short .2. And the following Bronze: [small Artemis] on stone base and puppy standing by; another small Art[emis...]; small Artemis on bronze base, puppy [standing by; censer with Victory on the lid in armor; cens[er...] eagle; Mollosan puppy; small Artemis on [stone base, dedic]ation of Onomakrite; small cock and other bron[ze, these in] the krater; eagle on ribbon. **At the railing:** [processional] censer. **At the Table:** small Artemis on stone base [holding in either hand a torch and two puppies stand by, Aphthonetos dedicated; [small Artemis moved from the altar, dedication of Asklepiades

60 [- - - - -]λασμα λαμπάδος σιδηρᾶς, ἀνάθεμα Τεισάνδρου· κάτροπτον τ[ετραγ]ωνον· λύχνοι μονόμυθοι δύο· νίκη πτέρυγα μίαν ἔχουσα· λιβανωτίδι[ον· κυνάρ]ιον, ἀνάθεμα Λεύκιου· λύχνοι τρίμυθοι δύο καὶ δίμυ-
θοι · πινακίσκος ἐμβλη<το>ς· θυμιατήριον ἀρτεμίσιον διεζωμένον [ἔχον]
[καὶ α[] , ἀνάθημα Εὐ?]κράτου· ἀπολλωνίσκος, ἀνάθεμα Περιάν-
65 δρου, ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης· ἐλάφιον καὶ κυνάριον ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης, ἀνάθε-
μα Ἀγάθ[ωνος· ἀνδ]ριαντίδιον ἔχον ἐν τεῖ χειρὶ πήχυν σιδηρὰν καὶ
χελώνην, ἀνάθεμα Νικομάχου· ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης δαΐδας
[ἔχον ἐν ἑκα]τέραι [τῶν χειρῶν]· τὸ ἀγάλμα τῆς θεοῦ καὶ κύων φύλαξ παρεστη-
κώς εχ ξίων· καὶ ἄλλα ζώδια ὑγιῇ ἑννέα καὶ ἄλλα κολοβά δέκα ἕξ·
[...]older of iron torch, dedication of Teisander; square mirror; two single spot
lamps; Victory with one wing; censer; puppy, dedication of Lucius; two three spout
lamps and [...] two spout; small embossed plaque; censer [with] seated small Artemis
and [...]of Eu]krates; small Apollo, dedication of Periander on stone base; fawn and
puppy on stone base, dedication of Agath[on; small st]atue with iron plectrum and
lyre in his hand, dedication of Nikomachos; small Artemis on stond base [with]
torches in either [of her hands]; the statue of the goddess and a dog standing guard
[...] and nine other complete figures

70 ----- χλιδῶνα ὕαλινον. καὶ τάδε ἐκτὸς τοῦ
----- λου λιθίνου· ἄλλη ἐπὶ βάσεως, ἀνάθεμα Γερύ[λ]-
[λου·]εις ἀργυροῖ δέκα πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ· ἐλαφοὶ δύο πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ ἐπι-
----- ερρον καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷ παρὰ θάλατταν· καθίσκοι(?)
[- - - - - ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τ[ῷ] ἐναρίστερα τοῦ ναοῦ· κλῖναι ἑννέα· τράπε-
75 ζαν λιθίνην. ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ΛΙΞΡΟΥΣ· κλί{κλι}νη {κλίνη} μία· ἐν τῷ Ξενοκράτου οἴκῳ·
κλῖναι δύο καιναί· παλαιαὶ □· τριόδοντες τέτταρες ὧν ὁ εἰς ἄνευ ὀδόν-
[των -----]· διφρία ὑάλινα δύο· δίφρος εἷς· λυχνία σιδηρᾶ·
κλεῖδες τοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἀρχοντος Σκιροφοριῶνος, τάδε ἐμίσθωσαν οἱ κε-
χειροτονημένοι ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰς ἄλ-
and sixteen other docked [...] glass ornament. And the following outside the [...] stone;
another on base, dedication of Gery[llos...] ten silver **at the altar;** two deer
at the altar [...]. And in the Oikos by the sea: jars [...] In the Oikos on the left
of the temple: nine couches; stone table. **In the Oikos [...]:** one couch. **In the Oikos
of Xenokrates:** two new couches; 5 old; four tridents one of which is without teeth
[...] two wooden chairs; one chair; iron lamps; keys of the temple.

80 λας προσόδους [Καλλίας Θρα]σίππου Παργήτιος καὶ Ἐφιάτης Ἀσκληπιάδου Συβρίδης
[κα]λ[ι? ἀνέρ?]αψαν κατὰ τὴν υπογεγραμμένην συγγραφὴν ὧν τε ἐξήκουσιν
οἱ [χρονοί? καὶ τῶν τετελευτη]κότων καὶ τῶν ἀπεληλυθότων ἐκ τῆς νήσου.
χωρίον τὸ [- - - - - ὃ] ἐμεμίσθωτο Διοσκουρίδης ἐ<γ> Μυρρινούτιης, διὰ τὸ
ἐξεληλ[υθέναι τὸν χρόνον, ἐμισ]θώσατο εἰς ἔτη πέντε τὰ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον
85 [ἀρχοντα - - - - -] ἐγ Μυρρινούτιης δραχ. □□ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον· ἐγγυητ[ῆς]
- - - - - ἐγ Μυρρινούτιης. χωρίον τὸ καλούμενον πωρήνην
ὃ ἐμεμίσθωτο Α πων Ἐπι[κ]οῦρου Πάριος, διὰ τὸ ἐξεληλυθέσαι τὸν χρόνον, ἐμι-
θώσατο εἰς ἔτη πέντε τὰ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον ἀρχοντα Κτησωνίδης Ἀπολλωνί-
[δου - - - - - δραχ. - - - - -] τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον· ἐγγυητῆς Νίκανδρος Ἀρ[η]-

90 [σιμβρότου Ἀχαρνεύς. χωρίον ἐν Ῥην]εῖαι τὸ καλούμενον Πάνορμον, ὃ ἐμεμίσθω-
το Διονύ[σιος - - -], διὰ τὸ ἐξ[ελη]λυθέσαι τὸν χρόνον, ἐμισθώσατο εἰς ἔτη πέ[ν]-
τε τὰ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον ἀρχοντα ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐπισκεῦται τὸμ πύργον καὶ οἰκοδομ[ῆ]-
[σαι - - - - -] τι[- - - - -] Ἑρμαιεύς δραχμῶν ΗΗ□□ τὸν ἐνιαυ-
τὸν ἕκαστον· ἐγγυητῆς Ἡραῖος Ἀπολλοδώρου Σουνιεύς· χωρίον ἐν Ῥηνεῖα<i>-
95 μενον Διονύσιοι ὃ ἐμεμίσθωτο Νίκανδρος Ἀρησιμβρότου Ἀχαρνεύς, διὰ
τὸ δὲ ἐξ[εληλυθέ]ναι τὸν χρόνον {διὰ τὸ ἐξεληλυθέσαι τὸν χρόνον} ἐμισθώσατο
[εἰς ἔτη πέντε τὰ μετὰ] Καλλίστρατον ἀρχοντα Εὐκλῆς Ἡρακλείδου Ταραντίνος
ΗΗΗΗ.τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον· ἐγγυ. Νικανδρος Ἀρησιμβρότου Ἀχαρνεύς·
κῆπον τὸν καλούμενον Λυκώνειον ἐμεμίσθωτο Ἀπολλα μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου,

100 ἥς κύριος Ἐχέδημος Σουνιεύς· διὰ τὸ ἐξεληλυθέσαι τὸν χρόνον, [ἐμισθώσα]-
το εἰς ἔτη πέντε τὰ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον ἀρχοντα Ἑρμαῖος []
ν[] Σιδῆτο[s?] δραχμῶνΔΔ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον· ἐγγ[υητῆς]
δ η . ανφυ Σιδῆτης· κῆπον τὸν καλούμενον Θεανδριδῶν, [ὃν ἐμεμίσθω]-
το Ὀνάνιμος, οὗ κύριος ἦν Ο . αρεύς, διὰ τὸ ἐξεληλυθέσαι τὸν χρόνον, [ἐμισθώσατο]

15 τὸ ἐγδοχ[εῖον] τὸ ἐν — — — — ΩΝΩΙ ὁ ἐμεμίς-θωτο Σάτ[υρος?] διὰ δὲ τὸ [ἐξελ]-
 20 θεῖν ἐκ τῆ[ς νή]- σου Σάτυ[ρον, ἐμίσ]- θώσατο εἰς τ[ὸν κα]- τάλοιπον χ[ρόνον] Ἀπέλλης
 Κ[άλου]
 25 Κοθωκίδης [τὸν] ἐνιαυτὸν [ἐκασ]- τον δραχ. Η□Δ· ἐγγυ. vac. ἐμισθώσαμεν
 93320 30 δὲ καὶ τὸν [τόπον?] τὸν πρὸς τῷ [ἐργασ?]- τηρίῳ τῷ Καί- βωνος διὰ τ[ὸ ἅ]- μίσθωτον
 [τοῦ]-
 35 τὸν εἶναι □□□□ δημόσιον εἰς ἐ- τη δέκα τὰ [με]- τὰ Καλλίστρατον ἄρχοντα [ἐφ' ὧι ὁ]
 40 [με]μισθω[ι]μένους? {μεμισθωμένος} οἰκοδομήσει· καὶ στεγάσει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρξάμε- νος ἀπὸ τῆς
 γω-
 93325 45 νίας τοῦ προθυ- ρίου ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον τὸ ἐ- πὶ τῆς τριόδου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτε-
 50 μίσίου ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν γωνίαν τοῦ προοικοδομήμα- τος τῆς <σ>υνοικί- ας τῆς Καίβωνο[ς].
 55 διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πα- ραδώσει τοῖς ἐ- πὶ τὰ ἱερὰ γερά καὶ στεγνά· μισ-
 60 θωτῆς Γλαῦκος Γλαύκου Κορίν- θιος τὸν ἐνιαυ- τὸν ἐκαστον δραχ. Η□· ἐγγυ-
 65 ητῆς Κράτ- της Εὐκράτου Λακιάδης. ἐμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον
 93330 70 τὸν πρὸς τῷ πυ- λῶνι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἐγγώνιον τὸν εἰς τὸ δῦ- σμα βλέπον[τα]
 75 2 lines vacant τὸν ὁμότοιχον τοῖς Θεανδρι- [δ]ῶν ἐργαστηρίοις ἰς ἔτη δέκα τὰ μετὰ
 Καλλίστρα-
 80 τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐ- φ' ὧι τε ὁ μισθωσά- μενος φράξει καὶ στέγασαι καὶ θυρῶσαι ἐκ τῶν
 85 ἰδίων καὶ τοῖν(?) [ἐ]πιθυ[ρίοι?]ν μὴ κω- θερ. καὶ
 93335 παραδ[ώ]- σει τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα γερά καὶ
 90 στεγνά καὶ τεθυ- ρωμένα· μισθω- τῆς Πρωτέας Α- πολλωνίδου Μιλή- σιος τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
 95 ἐκαστον Η□Δ· ἐγγυ. Δράκων Δράκοντος Φλυε- ὕς. vacat

93340 ID 1450 (140/139 BC) and ID3.1450

<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/63885>

[https://web.archive.org/web/20120603171137/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translati
 ons/1450eng2.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20120603171137/http://www.brynmawr.edu/classics/translati ons/1450eng2.htm)

93345 ἀγαθεῖ τύχει.
 [λόγος τῶν κεχιροτονημένων ἀνδρῶν] ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας εἰσόδους
 εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Ἀγνοθέου ἄρχοντος, ἐπιμελητοῦ δὲ [τῆς νήσου — — c.17 — —]
 [— — —, κεχιροτονημένων δὲ καὶ] ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ vac. Μνήσιδος τοῦ Κτήσωνος Ποταμίου καὶ Σωσιγένου
 τοῦ Σωσιγένου Σημαχίδου vac. καὶ δημοσίου τοῦ κεχιροτονη[μένου — — — — —]
 93350 [— — —. τάδε παρελάβομεν παρ]ὰ τῶν πρότερον κεχιροτονημένων ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν
 Εὐθυδήμου Ἀθμονέως καὶ Εὐκτήμονος Μελιτέως, καὶ ἀ[πέδομεν — — — — — τοῖς μεθ']
 5 [ἡμᾶς κεχιροτονημένοις ἀνδράσι]ν ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων. vacat
 [τάδε παρελάβομεν? σὺν τοῖς? — —] ἐροῖς τοῖς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναῷ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ λογαίῳ τῷ
 πρότερον κοπέντι [τ]οῦ στεφανηφόρου ὁ παρελάβομεν ἐν τῷ το[ῦ] Ἀπόλλωνος ναῷ? — — — — —]
 93355 — — — — — ἀττικοῖς τριωβόλοις δυσίν. vac. ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ τοῦ ναοῦ vac.
 δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντων· ἀργυρᾶ ἄστατα· φιάλαι πρὸς [τῷ τοίχῳ ἐμ πλινθείοις· ἀρχει]
 [ὁ πρῶτος στίχος κάτωθεν· φιάλη λεία] ὡς ποδιαία, ἡ ἐπιγραφή· ὁ δῆμος ὁ Κώϊων Ἀπόλλωνι· ἄλλη
 λεία ὡς τριπάλαστος, ἀνάθημα Μικίωνος Κηφισιέως· ἄλλη λεία ὡς ποδ[ιαία, ἀνάθημα Κώϊων· ἄλλη]
 [λεία ὡς δακτύλων δέκα τεττάρων, ἀνάθημα] Κώϊων· ἄλλη λεία ὡς δακτύλων δέκα, ἀνάθημα
 93360 Ἀπολλωνίου. ὁ δεῦτερος στίχος· φιάλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα Κώϊων· ἄλλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία,
 ἀνάθη]-
 With Good Fortune
 Account of the men elected for the guarding of the sacred monies and the other
 revenues for the year of Hagnotheos' archonship, with [...] overseer [of the
 93365 Island... elected] for the sacred objects: Mnesides son of Kteson son of Potamios and
 Sosigenes son of Sosigenes son of Semachides and the elected public (scribe) [... The
 following we took over fro]m those men elected previously for the same office,
 Euthydemos of Athmonea and Euktemon of Melite and we g[ave over... to those men
 elected after us] for (5) the guarding of the sacred monies.
 93370 [...]eroi those in the temple of Apollo and the stamped silver of the crown-bearer
 collected earlier which we took over in the [...] with two Attic triobols.
 In the Prodomos of the Temple. On the right going in. Unweighed silver: phialai on
 [the wall in plinths. The first row from below: smooth phiale] about a foot, the
 inscription: the demos of the Koans to Apollo; another smooth about three palms,
 93375 dedication of Mikion of Kephisis; another smooth about a fo[ot, dedication of the
 Koans; another smooth about fourteen fingers, dedication] of the Koans; another
 smooth about ten fingers, dedication of Apollonios. The second row: smooth phiale
 about a foot, dedication of the Koans; anoth[er smooth about a foot dedication of the
 Koans and theoroi; another smooth about finger]s
 93380 10 [μα Κώϊων καὶ θεωρῶν· ἄλλη λεία ὡς δακτύλῳ]ν εἴκοσι, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον ἐπιδόντων
 θεωρῶν τῶν ἐκ Κῶ· ἄλλη φοιιδωτῇ ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα Παταίκου· ἄλλη λεί[α ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα
 Ζωίλου]
 [Λοκροῦ· ἄλλη ὡς πενταπάλαστος, ἀνάθη]μα Καλυμνίων· ἄλλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία, πρόσωπον ἔχουσα
 Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον ἐπιδ[όντος] Σιράτωνος Ἀραδίου· ἄλλη
 93385 λεία]
 [ὡς ποδιαία, ἀπερρωγεῖα μέρος τι, ἐχο]υσα ἐκτύπωμα τρίποδα δελφικόν, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον

- ἐπιδόντων θεωρῶν τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ ὡς ποδια[ία, ἀνάθεμα Κλεομέδοντος].
[ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ στίχῳ· φιάλη ὡς τριπάλαστος, ἔχουσα ἐκτύπωμα ζωιδάριον ἐπὶ δελφίνος, ἀνάθημα
93390 Ταραντίνων· ἄλλη ποδιαία, ἔχουσα πρόσωπον Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνά[θημα Ἱππάκου· περικεφαλαία]
[περιηγγυρωμένη τις, τὰς δὲ παραγναθί]δας ἔχουσα σκυτίνας, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφὴ· εὐχή· φιάλιον λίον
ὡς δακτύλων δέκα, ἀνάθημα Μηνοφίλου· ἄλλο λεῖον ὡς τρι[πάλαστον, ἀνάθημα Σωπάτρου Συ]-
15 [ρακοσίου· ἄλλο λεῖον ὡς τριπάλαστον], ἀνάθημα Μενεστράτου Ἀθηναίου· ἄλλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία,
ἀνάθημα Κώων· ἄλλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, χ[ορεῖον ἐπιδόντων θεωρῶν τῶν ἐκ Κῶ].
93395 [ἄλλη καρυωτὴ ὡς τριπάλαστος, ἀνάθημα Φιλώτου· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ, πρόσωπον ἔχουσα Ἀπόλλωνος,
ἀνάθημα Ἡρακλίου. ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ στίχῳ· φιάλιον φ[ολιδωτὸν ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀνά]-
[θημα Πάτρωνος· ἄλλο λεῖον ὡς δακτύλων] δέκα, πρόσωπον ἔχον, ἀνάθημα ἀρχιθεώρου Φίλωνος· ἄλλη
[ἀκι]δωτὴ ὡς παλαστῶν πέντε, ἀνάθημα Ἀριστοφίλου· ἄλλη λε[ία ὡς ποδιαία, πρόσωπον ἔχουσα,
ἀνά]-
93400 [θημα Λυσιστράτου. ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ στίχῳ· ἄλλ]η λεία, πρόσωπον ἔχουσα Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα
Κώων· ἄλλη λεία ὡς τριπάλαστος, ἀνάθημα Σελεύκου· φιάλιον μι[κρὸν ὡς δακτύλων τεττάρων,
ἀνάθημα]
[Ἀπολλοφάνους. <ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ στίχῳ>· φιάλιον ἀκιδωτὸν ὡς τριπάλαστον, πρόσωπον ἔχον, ἀνάθημα
[Σ]ωθάλου· φιάλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα θεωρῶν τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ· περικεφαλάδ[ιον πίλιον, ἀνάθημα
Κοσκάλου].
93405 (10) twenty, dedication of the Deliades, with the theoroi from Kos donor of the
choreion; another pholiolate about a foot, dedication of Pataikos; another smoot[h
about a foot, dedication of Zoilos of Lokri; another about five palms ded]ication of
the Kalumnians; another smooth about a foot, with face of Delian Apollo and Artemis,
dedication of the Delaides, donor of the choreion [Straton son of Aradios; another
93410 smooth about a foot with a part broken off, wit]h a Delphic tripod image, dedication
of the Deliades, the theoroi from Rhodes donors of the choreion; another knobby about
a foo[t, dedication of Kleomedon. In the third row: phiale about three pal]lms with an
image of a figure on a dolphin, dedication of the Tarantines; another a foot with
face of Apollo, ded[ication of Hippakos; a silvered helmet with cheek flaps] of
93415 leather, with the inscription: vow; smooth phialion about ten fingers, dedication of
Menophilos; another smooth about three [palms, dedication of Sopater of Syracuse;
another smooth about three palms] (15) dedication of Menestratos of Athens; another
smooth about a foot, dedication of the Koans; another smooth about a foot, dedication
of the Deliades, [donors of the choreion the theoroi from Cos; another knobby about
93420 three palms ded]ication of Philetos; another knobby, with face of Apollo, dedication
of Heraklitos. In the fourth row: phialion ph[oliolate, about three palms dedication of
Patron; another smooth about fingers] ten with face, dedication of the chief theoros
Philon; another [ra]yed about five palms, dedication of Aristophilos; another smoo[th
about a foot, with a face, dedication of Lysistratos. In the fifth row: ano]ther
93425 smooth with face of Apollo, dedication of the Koans; another smooth about three
palms, dedication of Seleukos; phialion sm[all about four fingers, dedication of
Apollophanes. In the sixth row: rayed phialion about thr]ee palms, with face,
dedication of [S]othales; smooth phiale about a foot, dedication of the theoroi from
Rhodes; small helme[t of felt, dedication of Koskalos; knobby phialion about three
93430 palms with]
20 [φιάλιον καρυωτὸν ὡς τριπάλαστον ἔχον ζωι]δάρια δύο, ἀνάθημα Χαρμίδου Μακεδόνης· ἄλλο
καρυωτὸν ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἔχον ζωιδάρια δύο, ἀνάθημα Χαρμίδου· τρι[ποδίσκον δελφικόν, ἀνάθη]-
[μα Ἀριστάρχου· φιάλιον ὡς ποδιαῖον ἔχον] πρόσωπον Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα θεωρῶν τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ·
93435 φιάλιον κάλχην ὡς δακτύλων ἕξ, ἀνεπίγραφον· ἄλλη ἀκιδωτὴ ὡς [ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα Καλυμνίων].
[φιάλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα Ῥοδίων]. ἄλλη καρυωτὴ ὡς τριπάλαστος, ἔχουσα ζωιδάρια δύο,
ἀνάθεμα Ἀρταπιδου· ἄλλη ἀκιδωτὴ ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθεμα Ἀρχ[ίου· ἄλλη - - - - - ἀνάθημα]
[Φιλοξένου· φιάλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα] θεωρῶν τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ· ἄλλη λεία ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα
θεωρῶν τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ· φιάλη ἀκιδωτὴ ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα Δα[μασίου· φιάλη καρυωτὴ]
[- - -· ἄλλη ὡς παλαστῶν πέντε, ἀνάθημα] Ἐτεάρχου· ἄλλη λεία ὡς τριπάλαστος, ἀνάθεμα Κώων·
93440 ἄλλη καρυωτὴ ὡς τριπάλαστος, ἀνάθεμα Ἀγίου· ἄλλη λεία ὡς ποδια[ία, ἀνάθεμα Ἀκυ - - -· ἄλλη?]
25 [- - - - - ἀνάθημα Χαρμύλου· ἄλλη λ]εία ὡς ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα Ἀγησιδήμου Ῥοδίου· ἄλλη λεία ὡς
ποδιαία, ἀνάθημα Τιμοστράτου· φιάλας λείας δύο [ὡς] πηχυαίας, ὧ[ν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὐκ ἦν]
[συνιδεῖν· φιάλας τρεῖς? ὡς ποδιαίας, ἀν]άθημα Σι[η]σίλεω· ἄλλας τρεῖς ὡς τριπάλαστους,
ἀνάθημα χορεῖον Δηλιάδων ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Σελεύκου· ἄλλη λεία [ὡς ποδιαία ἧς τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν
93445 οὐκ ἦν]
[συνιδεῖν. καὶ τὰς φιάλας τὰς - - -]αν τοῦ ἐντὸς θυρώματος· φιάλη λεία ὡς δακτύλων δέκα,
ἀνάθεμα Δαμοκρίτου· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα [Δηλιάδων ἐπιδόντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ]
[Λυσισμάχου· αὕτη διὰ τὸ πεπτωκέν]αι ἦν ἐν τῷ ναῶι καὶ ἔχει ὑπογεγραμμένην τὴν αἰτίαν· ἄλλην
λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν οὐκ ἔχουσα<ν> πλινθεῖον, ἧς ἡ ἐπιγρ[αφή οὐκ ἦν συνιδεῖν? καὶ αὕτη πέπτω]-
93450 [κεν καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῶι· ἄλλην λείαν, ἀνάθημα] Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον ἐπιδόντων Κώων· αὕτη
ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑπέρθυρον· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς δακτύλων δέκα, ἀνάθημα [Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον] ἐπιδόντων
Κ[ῶι]-
(20) two figures, dedication of Charmides of Macedon; another knobby about three
palms with two figures, dedication of Charmides; [small Delphic tripod, dedication of
93455 Aristarchos; phialion about a foot with] face of Apollo, dedication of the theoroi
from Rhodes; bronze phialion about six fingers, uninscribed; another rayed about [a

- foot, dedication of the Kalymnians; smooth phiale about a foot, dedication of the Rhodians;] another knobby about three palms with two figures, dedication of Artapatos; another rayed about a foot, dedication of Arch[ias... dedication of Philoxenos; smooth phiale about a foot, dedic[ation of the theoroï from Rhodes; 93460 another smooth about a foot, dedication of the theoroï from Rhodes; rayed phiale about a foot, dedication of Da[masias; knobby phiale... another about five palms, dedication] of Etearchos; another smooth about three palms, dedication of the Koans; another knobby about three palms, dedication of Agias; another smooth about a foo[t 93465 dedication of Aku... dedication of Charmylos; another s]mooth (25) about a foot, dedication of Agesidamos of Rhodes; another smooth about a foot, dedication of Timostratos; two smooth phialai about a cubit, who[se inscription was not legible; three phialai about a foot de]dication of Stesileos; another three about three palms, dedication of the Deliades with king Seleukos donor of the choreion; another smooth 93470 [about a foot, whose inscription was not legible. And the phialai...] the inner door: smooth phiale about ten fingers, dedication of Damokritos; another smooth about a foot, dedication [of the Deliades, with Ptolemy son of Lysimachos donor; this because it had fallen was in the temple and has the reason inscribed; another smooth about a foot without plinth, whose inscription [was not legible?, this too fell and is in the 93475 temple; another smooth, dedication] of the Deliades with the Koans donors of the choreion, this is over the lintel; another smooth about ten fingers, dedication [of the Deliades] donors [of the choreion] K[oans. **On the left going in.** From above]
- 30 [ων. ἀριστερᾶς εἰσιδόντων· ἄνωθεν] ἀπὸ τῆς φλιαῆς τοῦ ναοῦ· φιάλην καρυωτὴν ὡς τριπάλαστον ἐμ 93480 π<λ>αίσιωι, ἀνάθημα Περιγένου Χίου· αὕτη πέπτωκεν [καί ἐστιν ἐ]ν τῷ ναῷ· ἄλλην ἀκ- [τινωτὴν ὡς ποδιαίαν, πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν], ἀνάθημα Αῠηνίδος· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς τριπάλαστον ἐπάνω τοῦ πίνακος τοῦ Ωκυνίδου, ἀνεπίγραφος· ἄλλην λείαν [ἐπὶ π]λαισίου· ἄλλην λείαν [ἐμ πλαισίωι — — —, ἀνάθημα Δημητρίου] Λοκ[ρ]οῦ· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀνάθημα 93485 Ἀν[τ]ιαίου· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα Καλυμνίων· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀνάθη- [μα — — — — —, ἄλλην λείαν ὡς τριπ]άλαστον, ἀνάθημα Τεροκλέους, ἀποτεθραυμένην· ἄλλην κάλχην ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀνάθημα Τεροκλέους, περιτεθρα[υμένην]· ἄλλη κάλχη ὡς ποδι- [αία, ἀνάθημα Σιμμία τοῦ — — — —, φιάλιον καρυωτὸν ὡς τριπάλαστον ἔχον ζωιδάριον ἐπὶ χηνός, ἀνάθημα Κώων· ἄλλο λείον ὡς τριπάλαστον, πρόσωπον ἔχον, ἀν]άθημα Εὐκλέους IS· 93490 35 [κάλχην ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα Διοκλέους], περιτεθραυμένην· σκάφιον ὡς δακτύλων ἑξ, ἔχον πρόσωπα δύο, ἀνάθημα Κώων· ἄλλο δακτύλων ἑξ, ἀνάθημα Δαμοτί[μο]υ· φιάλην καρυωτὴν [ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἔχουσαν ἄρμάτιον] καὶ ζωιδάρια, ἀνάθημα Ἡρακλείδου· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς τριπάλαστον, πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα Κώων· ἄλλην λ[είαν] ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀν[ά]- [θημα Κώων· τέτραχμον κιστοφόρον, ἀ]νάθημα Κλέωνος· φιά[λην] λείαν ὡς δακτύλων δέκα, ἀνάθημα Κώων· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς τριπάλαστον, πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν, ἀνάθημα [α Τ]ίμωνος· ἄλλην καρ[υ]- [ωτὴν ὡς ποδιαίαν, διαβεβρωμένην], πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα Ῥησισθένου· ἄλλην λείαν 93495 ὡς πο<δι>αίαν, πρόσωπον ἔχ<ουσα>ν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδ[ων] χορεῖον καὶ θεωρῶν [τῶν ἐκ Κῶ· ἄλλην καρυωτὴν ὡς τριπάλ]αστον, ἔχουσαν κιττωὺ φύλλα, ἀνάθημα Ὑπερβάσσης· ἄλλην καρυωτὴν ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον ἐπιδόντω[ν] Μεγαλοπολιτῶν· ἃ[λ]-
- (30) the doorpost of the Temple: knobby phiale about three palms in frame, dedication of Perigenes of Chios; this has fallen [and is i]n the Temple; another ra[yed about a 93500 foot, with face] dedication of Athenis; another smooth about three palms above the plaque of Okynides, uninscribed; another smooth [in f]rame; another smooth [in frame... dedication of Demetri]os of Lok[r]is; another smooth about three palms, dedication of An[t]iaios; another smooth about a foot, dedication of the Kalymnians; another smo[oth about] three palms dedi[cation...another smooth about three] palms 93505 dedication of Hierokles, broken off; another bronze about three palms dedication of Hierokles, crushed; another bronze about a fo[ot, dedication of Simmias... philal]ion knobby about three palms with figure on goose, dedication of Koans; another smooth about three palms with face dedication of Eukles IS [bronze about a foot, dedication of Diokle]s (35) crushed; bowl about six fingers with two faces, dedication of the 93510 Koans; another six fingers, dedication of Damotimos; knobby phiale [about three palms with small chariot] and figures, dedication of Herakleides; another smooth about three palms, with face of Apollo, dedication of the Koans; another s[moo]th about three palms de[dication of the Koans; kistophoric tetradrachm d]edication of Kleon; smooth phia[le] about ten fingers, dedication of the Koans; another smooth about 93515 three palms, with face, dedicatio[n of T]imon; another knob[by about a foot, leaky] with face of Apollo, dedication of Rhesisthenes; another smooth about a foot, w. face of Apollo, dedication of the Deliad[es], choreion and the theoroï [from Cos; another knobby about three p]alms, with ivy leaves, dedication of Hyperbassa; another knobby about three palms, dedication of the Deliades with the Megalopolitai givin[g] the 93520 choreion; a[nother smooth about a foot, dedication of the th]eoroï 40 [λην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα θε]ωρῶν τῶν ἐγ Ῥόδου· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα Κώων· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδω[ν], χ[ο]ρ[ε]ῖον ἐπιδόντων [θεωρῶν τῶν ἐκ Κῶ· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς π]οδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον ἐπιδόντων Ισθμιατῶν θεωρῶν· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς δακτύλων δέκα, πρόσωπον ἔχουσα<ν>, ἀν[ε]πίγραφον· ἄλλην λείαν] 93525 [ὡς ποδιαίαν ἀνάθημα Κώων· ἃλ]λην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα Κώων, πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν

Ἀπόλλωνος· φιάλην λείαν ὡς δακτύλων δέκα, ἀνάθημα Ποπλίου· [ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν],
[πρόσωπον ἔχουσιν Ἀπόλλωνος, δια]βεβρωμένην, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, ἐκ Κῶ· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς
τριπάλαστον, ἀνάθημα Πausανίου· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα Κώ[ιων καὶ θεωρῶν· ἄλλην
λείαν]

- 93530 [ὡς τριπάλαστον, ἀνάθημα Κώιων]· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, πρόσωπον ἔχουσιν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα
Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον ἐπιδόντων θεωρῶν τῶν ἐκ Κῶ· ἄλλην [λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα]
45 [Δηλιάδων, χορεῖον ἐπιδόντων] θεωρῶν τῶν ἐκ Κῶ· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς ποδιαίαν, ἀνάθημα Κώιων],
[οὐκ ἔχουσιν — — — — —· φιάλας τέτταρας ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ τοίχῳ, ἀνάθημα Ἀγνωνίδου· ἄλλας
93535 τρεῖς, ἃς ἀνέθηκαν Λυσίθεος καὶ Ἥγίας· ἄλλας τρεῖς, αἷς ἐπιγραφῇ· ὁ [δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἄρ]-
[χοντος Ἀριστόλα· μάχαιραν ἱππικὴν ἐ]λεφαντίνην, ἀνάθημα Θυμώϊδα· [θ]ύρωμα ἔχον ἡλούς
περιηργυρωμένους ἀκανθῶτους ἐξήκοντα, ὧν κολοβοῦ[ς τέτταρας καὶ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῇ]-
[ρι ἐπτά· ἐπίσπαστρα ἔχοντα δύο] ἀνθεμιά, ὧν τὸ ἐν ἀποκατεαγός, τὸ δὲ κάταγμα ἐν τῷ ναδί·
ἀσπιδίσκας δύο ἔχουσας πρόσωπα Γοργόν[ων]· τεῖ μιᾷ πρόσσεισιν πτέρυγες [δύο καὶ ὄφρων κεφαλαὶ
93540 τέτ]-
[ταρες καὶ οὐραὶ συμπεπλεγμένα] δύο· τεῖ δ' ἑτέραι πρόσσεισιν πτέρυξ μία καὶ ὄφρων κεφαλαὶ
δύο· αἶδε νῦν ἀποπέπτωκαν καὶ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ναδί καὶ οὐραὶ συμπεπλεγμέ[ναι δύο αἱ ἐπὶ τῆς
Γοργό]-

- (40) from Rhodes; another smooth about a foot, dedication of the Koans; another
93545 smooth about a foot, with face, dedication of the Deliade[s], with the [theoroi from
Kos giving the choreion; another smooth about a f]oot, dedication of the Deliades,
with the Isthmian theoroi giving the choreion; another smooth about ten fingers,
wit[h] face, un[inscribed; another smooth about a foot, dedication of the Koans;
an]other smooth about a foot, dedication [of the Koans, with face of Apollo; smooth
93550 phiale about ten fingers, dedication of Publius; [another smooth about a foot, with
face of Apollo l]eaky, dedication of the Deliades, from Cos; another smooth about
three palms, dedication of Pausanias; another smooth about a foot, dedication of the
Co[ans and theoroi; another smooth about three palms, dedication of the Koans]
another smooth about a foot, with face of Apollo, dedication of the Deliades, with
93555 the theoroi from Kos donors of the choreion; another [smooth about a foot, dedication
of the Deliades, donors of the choreion] (45) the theoroi from Cos; another smooth
about a foot, of the Deliades, with Lamedon giving the choreion on behalf of king
Seleukos; another smoot[h about a foot, dedication of the Koans, without... ph]ialai
four on the right wall, dedication of Agnonides; another three, which Lysitheos and
93560 Hegias dedicated; another three on which is the inscription the [demos of the
Athenians with Aristolas archon; cavalry sword] of ivory, dedication of Thymoidas;
[d]oor with sixty silvered acanthus nails, [four] sheare[d and seven **in the krypter**;
with two epispastra] flowered, one broken off and the piece in the temple; two disks
with Gorgon faces, on the one there are also wings [two and four heads of snakes and
93565 intertwined tails] two, and on the other there is one wing and two heads of snakes;
these have now fallen off and are in the Temple and the intertwined tails [two of the
Gorgon are on the posts of the door];

- 50 [νος πρὸς ταῖς φλιαῖς τοῦ θυρώμα]τος· ἀστέρες ἀργυροὶ ἐπικεχρυσωμένοι ὧν τῆς< > μὲν ἐνδέξια
93570 φλιαῖς ἐνλίπουσ<ι>ν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου εἴκοσι ἐννέα, τῆς δὲ ἐναρίστερα τριάκοντα [τρεῖς. καὶ ἐν τῷ]
[ἐναρίστερα τοίχῳ φιάλας τρεῖς, ἃ ἀνέθηκεν Μενεθάλης καὶ Φιλωνίδης· ἄλλας τρεῖς, ἃς ἀνέθηκεν
Τιμάνθης καὶ Λυκόφρων· πτερὸν ἀνεπίγραφον, ὀλκή □□· φιάλας τρεῖς? ἐμ πλαισίῳ, ἃς ἀνέθηκεν
Ἑστιαῖος]
[καὶ Ἀρχικλῆς ὑπὲρ Νικίου τ]οῦ Νικηράτου Ἀθηναίου· στεφάνια χρυσᾶ τέτταρα μύρρινα, ἀνάθημα
93575 Χαρμίδου, ὀλ. ΔΙΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλο χρυσοῦν μύρρινον, ἀνάθημα Χαρμίδου, ὀλ. □□[ΙΙΙ□· ἄλλα χρυσᾶ
μύρρινα]
[τρία, ἀνέθηκαν ἐμπορίου] ἐπιμεληταί, φύλλα ἔχοντα ὀγδοήκοντα ἐν, ἄστατα· σκύφους ὑαλίνους ἐν
κιβωτίῳ δύο, ἀνάθημα Λευκίου Ἐρυκίου· στεφάνιον χρυσοῦν ἄστατ[ον ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ],
[ἀνάθημα Θεοδώρου· δακτ]υλίδιον ἐπὶ ταινιδίῳ ὑπόχρυσον σιδηροῦν, λιθάριον ἔχον καὶ ἀ[λ]ύσιον
ἀργυροῦν, ἀνάθημα Σέκτου Ῥωμαίου· στεφάνιον χρυσοῦν, ἀνάθη[μα Διονυσίου Παιανιέως],
93580 55 [ὀλκή □ΙΙΙΙΙ□· καθετῆρ]α διάλιθον, ἄστατον, κηρίαν ἔχοντα ὑπεραμμένην καὶ θυρεοῦς
τετραράκοντα ὀκτ[ῶ] καὶ ἡμίση δύο, καὶ ἐμ μέσῳ μύρτα καὶ ἀθύρμα[τα, ὧν ὀλκή σὺν τοῖς
ἀποπεπτωκόσιν]
[ἀθύρμασιν δυσὶν καὶ μύρτοις] τρισὶν vac. δακτύλιον σάρδιον ἔχοντα γλύμμα Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα
Στρατονίκης, ὀλ. Δ· ἄλλον δακτύλιον ἔχοντα σάρδιον ἐν τῷ γλύμματι[ι Νίκης?, ἀνάθημα Στρατο]-
93585 [νίκης, ὀλ. σὺν τῷ κίρκῳ ΔΔΔ]□□· ἄλλος δακτύλιος πλατὺς λίθον ἔχων, ἀνάθημα Τίμωνος, ὀλ. □□□ΙΙΙΙ·
ἄλλο δακτυλίδιον Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔχον ἀνθράκιον γεγλυμμένον, ὀλ. ΙΙΙ, ἐν[τῷ γλωττιοτόμῳ· πορ]-
[πίον ἐπὶ κιονίου ξυλίνου, ἀν]άθημα βασιλίσσης Φίλας, ὀλκή σὺν λιθαρίοις □□□ΙΙΙ· σφαῖραν ἐν
ἐ<λ>ύτρῳ καὶ σιραῖς ἄλυσιν ἔχουσιν, ἀνάθημα Φίλας, ὀλ. □□□□ΙΙ· πετάλια ἀπ' ἀνδ[ριάντων καὶ
ψηγ]-
93590 [μάτια, ὧν ὀλκή τῶν μὲν χρυσ]ῶν □□Ι, τῶν δὲ ἀργυρῶν ΙΙΙΙ· μετ' αὐτῶν καττιτέρινον ἱστιαϊκόν,
μακεδονικὰ δύο, δινάριον, στεφάνιον ἐπὶ δαδίου καὶ δερματίου φοιν[ι]κοῦ ἔχο[ν τρίφυλλα ΔΔ□ΙΙΙ,
ὀλ. □□□]·

- (50) gilded silver stars of which twenty-nine from the whole are missing from the
right doorpost and from the left thirty [three. And **in the Left Wall**: three phialai]
93595 which Menethales and Philonides dedicated; another three, which Timanthes and
Lykophron dedicated; uninscribed wing, weight 6; phialai th[ree? in frame which

- Hestiaios and Archikles dedicated on behalf of Nikias] son of Nikeratos of Athens; four gold myrtle crowns, dedication of Charmides, wt 10.5; another gold myrtle, dedication of Charmides wt 3 [.3 1/2; three other small gold crowns dedicated by the market] overseers, with eighty-one leaves, unweighed; two glass skyphoi in a small chest, dedication of Lucius of Eryx; unweighed small gold crown unweigh[ed in the Prodomos, dedication of Theodoros; small ri]ng on ribbon gilded iron, with stone and si[l]ver chain, dedication of Sextus of Rome; small gold crown, dedicati[on of Dionysius of Paiania, weight 5.5 1/2; collar] (55) with stones, unweighed with wax wrapped underneath and forty-eigh[t] windows and two halves, and in the middle myrtle and toys [the weight of which with the two fallen off toys and myrtles] three; ring with sardian carving of Apollo, dedication of Stratonike, wt 10; another ring with sardion in the carving [Victory?, dedication of Stratonike, wt with the circle 3]6; another ring flat with stone, dediction of Timon, wt 7.4; another small ring with carved Roman flower, wt 4.3 in [the carving; pin on small wood column, ded]ication of queen Phila, weight with the stones 3.3; ball in case and in cords with chain, dedication of Phila, wt 58.2; leaves from st[atues and scrapings the weight of the go]ld 6.1 of the silver .4; with them a tin Istian, two Macedonians, a dinarius, small crown on torch and leather p[a]lm with 28 trefoils, wt 4; 3 small gold crowns which Stratonike dedicated],
- 60 [στεφάνια χρυσᾶ IIII, ἃ ἀνέθηκε Στρατο]νίκη, τὸ ἐν οὐκ ἔχει τοὺς κίρκους οὐδὲ τοὺς δεσμούς, ὁλ. □ΔIIII· στέφανον δρύινον, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Λύσανδρος, ὁλ. □Δ□□□· ἄλλον κίττινον, ἀνάθημα Πτολ[εμαίου βασιλέως, ἔχοντα] [κορύμβους πέντε διαλελυμένους, ὁλ. Η]□□· ἄλλον δάφνης, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος, ὁλ. □ΔΔ□□· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Πολυκλείτου, ὁλ. □Δ□□□IIII· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Φιλοκλ[έους, ὁλ. □ΔΔ□□□IIII· ἄλλον] [κιττιοῦ, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, ἔ]χοντα κορύμβους τρεῖς κατεαγότας, ὁλ. □ΔΔ□· ἄλλον μυρρίνης, ἀνάθημα Εἰμιλίκου Καρχηδονίου, ὁλ. ΔΔ□IIII· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα βασιλέω[ς Αντιγόνου, ὁλ. □Δ□· ἄλλον] [δάφνης, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Αντιγό]νου, ὁλ. □Δ· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Αντιπάτρου, ὁλ. ΔΔΔ□□□□II· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνεπίγραφον, ὁλ. ΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Πν[υταγόρου, ὁλ. □Δ□□· ἄλλον] [δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Φάρακος, ὁλ. ΔΔ]ΔΔ□□□· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Αττάλου, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□IIII· ἄλλον δάφνης καινὸν ἀνεπίγραφον, ὁλ. Η· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθη[μα Γαίου Ὀκταίου, ὁλ.]
- 65 [□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἄλλον μυρρίνης, ἀνάθη]μα Τίμωνος Συρακοσίου, ὁλ. Δ□□□· ἄλλους δάφνης τέτταρας, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Εὐμένους, ὧν ὀλκή σὺν τοῖς ἀποπεπτωκόσι φύλλοις, τοῦ π[ρώτου □ΔΔΔ□□□□□, τοῦ δευ]- [τέρου Η, τοῦ τρίτου □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□, τοῦ] τετάρτου □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Κοίντου Φαβίου ὑπάτου Η· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Αὔλου Αττιλίου, ὁλ. ΔΔΔΔ[· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα] [Τίτου Κοινκτίου, ὀλκή □ΔΔΔ]Δ□□□□□· ἄλλον δρύινον, ἀνάθημα Λευκίου Κορνηλίου, ὀλκή σὺν τοῖς ἱμανταρίοις □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Γναίου Μαελλί[ου, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□IIII]· [ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα] Ποπλίου Κορνηλίου, ὁλ. Η· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδων, ἐπιδόντος Λευκίου Κορνηλίου, ὁλ. [□]ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· ἄλλος δάφνης καινὸς ἀνεπίγραφος, ὁλ. [□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνά]-
- [θημα Γαίου Λιβίου ὀλκή σὺ]ν τοῖς ἱμανταρίοις Η· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα Κοίντου Μααρκίου, ὀλκή σὺν τῷ λιναρίῳ □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□II· ἄλλον δάφνης, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Αντιγόνου, ὁλ. [ΔΔ□· ἄλλον] (60) the one lacks its circles and bonds, wt 60.3; oak crown which Lysander dedicated wt 64; another ivy, dedication of Ptol[emy king with five separated clusters wt 10]6; another of laurel, which king Demetrios dedicated wt 72; another of laurel, dedication of Polykleitos wt 67.3; another of laurel, dedication of Philokl[es wt 77.3; another of ivy, dedication of the Deliades w]ith three broken clusters, wt 75; another of myrtle dedication of Eimilikos of Carthage, wt 21.3; another of laurel dedication of kin[g Antigonos, wt 61; another of laurel, dedication of king Antigo]nos, wt 60; another of laurel, dedicaiton of Antipater, wt 38.2; another of laurel, uninscribed, wt 37; another of laurel, dedication of Pn[yttagoras, wt 62; another of laurel, dedication of Pharax, wt 4]3; another of laurel, dedication of king Attalos, wt 98.3; another of laurel new uninscribed wt 100; another of laurel dedica[tion of Gaius Octavius, wt 97; another of myrtle dedicatio]n (65) of Timon of Syracuse, wt 13; four others of laurel, dedication of king Eumenes, whose weight with the dropped leaves, the fi[rst 89, the second 100, the third 94, the] fourth 98; another of laurel, dedication of Quiintus Fabius consul, wt 100; another of laurel, dedication of Aulus Atilius, wt 9[9; another of laurel, dedication of Titus Quinctius, weight 9]9; another oak, dedication of Lucius Cornelius, weight with the straps 99; another of laurel, dedication of Gnaeus Maelli[us wt 98.3; another of laurel, dedication] of Publius Cornelius, wt 100; another of laurel, dedication of the Deliades, Lucius Cornelius donor, wt [4]4; another of laurel new uninscribed wt [99; another of laurel, dedication of Gaius Livius weight wi]th the straps 100; another of laurel, dedication of Quintus Marcius, weight with the thread 99.2; another of laurel, dedication of king Antigonos, wt [25; another of laurel new unin]scribed

- (80) 101, of the seventh 157, of the eighth 170.2, of the ninth 76.1/2 of the tenth 150, of the eleventh 11.2; four ingots of the worse gold [the weight of which...of the second 81, of the third] 64.3; of the fourth 11; another ingot whose inscription is wt 99; another from the statues wt 28.3; four gold pieces of which one alex[andrian and three philippics; scrapings...] wt 452.3; shattered pieces of foil in cloth wt 12; these in box have gilded silver and gilded bronze foil [...] of these the bronze weigh 13; other gold pieces among which is also a gold coin, weight of which apart from the gold coin 2.4 1/2; these are in b[ox..iadem which the god wears] with sardion; crown of laurel hanging on the wall; collar hanging on the wall; crown of laurel on [silver pinecone, dedication of Perseus; another of laurel on a silver pine]cone (85) dedication of Demetrius; another in a ribbon, with forty two leaves with the bindings in a tablet, dedication of Min[atos; small crown on ribbon, dedication of Mikio]n, with 22 leaves; this is in a casket; another small gold oak crown dedication of Pherekles with 20 leaves; another on a rib[bon, dedication of Theromachos of Probalisis wt ... another] wrapped with a ribbon, dedication of Quintus of Rome, with 26 leaves; knobby phiale with complete stones, dedication of queen Stratonike [...two phial]ai in frames knobby, faces in each, the one of Apollo, the other of Artemis, dedication of Theon of Chios; processional censer [gilded bronze, some peeled] another smaller processional (censer) gilded bronze, some peeled at the edges; Delphic basket gilded gold[??] [dedication of queen Stratonike wt of which 100; oak crown, dedicat]ion of
- 93740 90 [στέφανον δρύινον, ἀνάθημα] Λευκίου Κορνηλίου, ὁλ. Η· ἄλλον στέφανον, Λευκίου Ἀντωνίου ἀνάθημα, οὗ ὁλ. Η· ἄλλο<ν>, ἀνάθημα Μαάρκου <Σ>αβινίου, οὗ ὁλ. Η· ἄλλ[ους δύο, ἀνάθημα Φα ατου Φιλα]-[ίδου· ἄλλο δάφνινον, πρόσωπ]ον ἔχον Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα Μαάρκου Κοιντίου, ὁλκή σὺν τῷ[ι] δερματίωι □□□□IIII· ἄλλο στεφάνιον μικρόν, οὗ ὁλκή σὺν τοῖς ἰ[μμανταρίοις IIII]· δακτυλίδιον ῥωμαϊκόν]
- 93760 [σιδηροῦν περίχρυσον] ἔχον χαρακτῆρα· βωμίσκον ὑάλινον περιεχρυσωμένον, βάσιν ἔχοντα ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ θύας· καλιάδιον ἐλεφάντινον [- - - -, ἀνάθημα Ἀνωνος Καλχηδο]-[νίου· σιλεγγίδιον, ἀνάθημα Αἰγλ]άνορος Κυρηναίου, ὁλ. Δ□□· πέταλα χρυσᾶ ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων, ὁλ. □□□II· στεφάνια δύο χρυσᾶ ἐν θήκει, ἀνάθ[η]μα Ἡγησίου Θυ[μαϊτάδου· - - - - -] [- - -, ἀνάθημα Φιλοκλέους ἐκ] Κοίλης· ἄλλο Βότρυος Ἡρακλεώτου, ὁλ. □· τύπιον χρυσοῦν, ἀνάθεμα Στράτωνος, ἄστατον. ἀργυρᾶ· φιάλην ἐν πλαισί[ωι, ἀνάθημα Ἀλεξάνδρου τραγωιδού]·
- 93770 95 [ἄλλην πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν, ἀνάθ]ημα Ἀρχίου. πρὸς τῇ φιλιᾷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς· πετάλιον χρυσοῦν ἀπ' ἀνδριάντος, οὗ ὁλ. □□□□· φιάλας λείας δύο, ἀνάθημα Κώιω[ν· ἄλλας τρεῖς, ἀνάθημα Ξενοκλέους] [ΟΠΠΔΗΠ· λεπίδια ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων] χρυσᾶ, ὧν ὁλ. □ΔΔΔ□□□□. καὶ τάδε ἐξαίρεθέντα ἐκ τῶν θη[σ]αυρῶν· στεφανηφόρου Δ□□· προυσιακόν τέτραχμον· δίδραχμον [φιλίππειον· τέτραχμον Ἀλεξάνδρειον]·
- 93775 [δραχμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· ἐφεσίας] τρεῖς· δινάρια ἕξ· δίνομα δύο· τροπαιοφόρα [- - δραχμ]ᾶς πλιν<θ>οφόρους ΔΔ, ἡμιρόδια ΔΔΔΔ· ταῦτα ἐν σταμνίωι οὗ τ[ὸ Α· στεφάνιον χρυσοῦν μύρρινον] [καρδίαν ἔχον χαλκὴν καὶ φύλ]λα □ΔΔ□II· λεπίδα χρυσεὴν ἀπ' ἀνδ[ριάντος], ἥς ὁλ. ΔΔ□□· ἄλλα πέταλα ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων καὶ φύλλα ἀπὸ στεφάν[ων - - - - -· πέταλα χρυσᾶ] [ἀπ' ἀνδριάντων, ὁλ. ΔΔ□III· τέ]τραχμον ἀντιόχειον καὶ δραχμὴν τριποδηφόρον καὶ κερκίον
- 93780 ἀργυροῦν καὶ πετάλια καὶ χαλκοῦ νομίσμα[τος παντοδαποῦ καὶ ΝΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΟΝ τὰ πάντα □· στεφάνου χρυσοῦ ἄστατου]
- (90) Lucius Cornelius wt 100; another crown Lucius Antonius dedication wt of which 100; another, dedication of Marcus Sabinus, wt of which 100; two oth[ers, dedication of Ph...atos son of Philaides; another laurel] with face of Apollo, dedication of Marcus Quintius, weight with the leather 4.4; another small crown weight of which with the st[raps .4 1/2; Roman ring gilded iron] with impress; small gilded glass altar, with base of ivory and citronwood; small ivory hut model [... dedication of Hanno of Carthage; fillet, dedication of Aigl]anor of Cyrene wt 13; gold leaves from statues, wt 3.2; two gold crowns in a box, dedication of Hegesias son of
- 93785 Thy[maitades... dedication of Philokles from] Koile; another of Botrys of Herakleon wt 5; gold relief dedication of Straton, unweighed. Silver: phiale in fram[e dedication of Alexander the tragic actor; another with face, dedic]ation (95) of Archias. On the left doorpost: gold leaf from statue wt of which 4; two smooth phialai, dedication of the Koan[s; another three, dedication of Xenokles... pieces of foil from statues] gold wt of which 84. And the following taken fr[om the treas]ures: 16 stephanephorics; prusian tetradrachm; didrachm [philippic; alexandrian tetradrachm; alexandrian drachm; ephesians] three; six dinarii; two dinummi; triumphorics [...] 20 plinthophoric drachmas; 40 half-rhodiums; these in jar with the [A; small gold myrtle crown with bronze heart and lea]ves 77; gold foil from the
- 93795 stat[ue] wt of which 26; other leaves from statues and leaves from crow[ns...gold leaves from statues wt 21.3; te]tradrachm antiochean and tripodaphoric drachma and silver circle and leaves and bronze coin[s various and ... in all 50; of unweighed gold crown 10 trefoils in ...; small crown] wound
- 93800 100 [τρίφυλλα Δ ἐν - - - -τωι· στεφάνιον π]εριεπιλιγμένον ἐν λημνίσκωι, ἀνάθημα Διονυσίας· ἄλλο ἐπὶ ταινιδίου, ἀνάθημα Ξενοφίλου, ἄστατον· λεπίδας [χρυσᾶς, ὁλ. ΔΔΔ□□□, παρὰ τοῦ ἐλόντος]
- 93805

[illegible]

- because it has a bronze heart, with the [... dedication of Popillius...] silver scrapings including the foot of a censer and boss of a phiale wt of which 40; prusian tetradrachm... of Anaxileos...] two, dedication of Lucius Petronius. And that taken out of the treasures: 12 dinarii; persic drachma; ephesian trophy[bearer...] wt of which 2.3; phiale about a foot, dedication of Sokrates of Taras; another about three palms dedication of Diogenes of Hieropol[is...] wt 230. And that taken out of the treasures: 15 stephanephoric tetradrachms; phillipic didrachm; eight dinarii [...] (115) gilded silver and silver pieces wt of which 54; and useless bronze in a tablet; and these are in the jar with the D; cro[wn... wrap]ped around with ribbon, with eight trefoils around the ribbon, dedication of Aulus Postumius; smooth phialion with Roman in[scription... br]onze gilded from the table; smooth phiale, dedication of Diogenes chief theoros of the Koans; small crown on base palm [...] on base with ten leaves, unweighed; gold crown on ribbon with ten leaves with the inscription Gaius Uratius(?), unweigh[ed... dedicati]on of Temallatus son of Gerraaios; small beaker in case, dedication of the same, unweighed; the silver crown of Rome, weight with ti[n... And the following silver: twenty phialai with the A, wt 303; another seven with the B wt]
- 120 [ἐπιτά, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Β, ὀλ.] □ΗΗ· ἄλλη λεία, ἐφ' ἥ τὸ Γ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλη λεία, ἐφ' ἥ τὸ Δ, ὀλ. Η ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Ε, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Ζ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Η, [ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Θ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ□Ι, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Ι], [ὀλ. XX□Η· ἄλλας ΔΔ], ἐφ' ὦν τὸ Κ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Λ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας τέτταρας, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Μ, ὀλ. ΗΗΗΗ· σκάφια δύο, ἐφ' ὦν τὸ Ν, ὀλ. □ΔΔΔ□□· φιάλας [Δ□Ι, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Ξ, ὀλ. X□Η· σκάφιον, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ο, ὀλ. □· ἄλλο]
- [πρόσωπον ἔχον Π]ανός, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Π, ὀλ. □□□□· φιάλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Ρ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Σ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ποτήριον, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Τ, ὀλ. ΔΔΔΔ□□· φιάλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὸ [Υ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὸ Φ, ὀλ. ΔΔΔΔΙ· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὸ Χ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὸ Ψ, ὀλ. Η· σκάφιον], [ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ω, ὀλ. ΔΔ]ΔΔ· φιάλαι δύο, ἐφ' ὦν τὰ ΑΑ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλαι δύο, ἐφ' ὦν τὰ ΒΒ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΓΓ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΔΔ, ὀλ. Η· σκάφιον, ἐφ' οὗ τ[ὰ ΕΕ, ὀλ. ΔΔΔΔ□Ι· φιάλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΖΖ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ]
- [ΗΗ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλας δύο], ἐφ' ὦν τὰ ΘΘ· ἄλλη μία, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΙΙ, [ὀλ. Η· τὰ Ι[Ι] {δύο} κάππα {=KK} οὐ παρεδόθη· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΛΛ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΜΜ, ὀλ. □□□□· ἄλλας [ΔΔ, ἐφ' ὦν τὰ ΝΝ, ὀλ. ΧΧΔΔΔΔ□· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' ὦν τὰ ΕΕ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλην, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΟΟ, ὀλ. ΗΔΔ]· 125 [ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' ὦν τὰ] ΠΠ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΡΡ, ὀλ. Η· σκάφιον, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΣΣ, ὀλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΤΤ, ὀλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□· φιάλας δ[ύο, ἐφ' ὦν τὰ ΥΥ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλην, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΦΦ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλην, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΧΧ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλην, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΨΨ], [ὀλ. Η· σκάφιον? ἐφ' οὗ τὰ] ΩΩ, ὀλ. □ΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΑΑΑ, ὀλ. □· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΒΒΒ, ὀλ. □· φιάλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΓΓΓ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ, [ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΔΔΔ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΕΕΕ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΖΖΖ, ὀλ. ΗΗ]·
- [ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΗΗΗ], ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλην, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΘΘΘ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΙΙΙ, ὀλ. XX· σκάφιον, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΚΚΚ, [ὀλ. — —· φιάλας Δ□, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΛΛΛ, [ὀλ. ΧΧΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΜΜΜ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλην ἐφ' ἥς] [τὰ ΝΝΝ, ὀλ. — —· σκάφιον ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΞΞΞ, ὀλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□· φιάλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΟΟΟ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' [αἷς] τὰ ΠΠΠ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΡΡΡ, ὀλ. XX· [ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΣΣΣ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΤΤΤ, ὀλ. ΗΗ]·
- [ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΥΥΥ], ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλην κολοβήν, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΦΦΦ, ὀλ. Η· ἄλλην, ἐφ' ἥς τὰ ΧΧΧ, ὀλ. Η· [ἄλλ]ας τρεῖς, ἐφ' ὦν τὰ ΨΨΨ, ὀλ. ΗΗΗ· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' ὦν τὰ [ΩΩΩ, ὀλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΑΑΑΑ, ὀλ. XX· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ]
- (120) 700; another smooth with the G, wt 100; another smooth with the D, wt 100; two others with the E wt 200; 20 others with the Z wt 2000; 20 others with the H [wt 2000; 20 others with the Y wt 2000; 26 others with the I wt 2600; 20 others] with the K wt 2000; 20 others with the L wt 2000; four others with the M wt 400; two bowls with the N wt 87; phialai [16 with the J wt 1600; bowl with the O wt 50; another with face of P]an with the P wt 58; two phialai with the R wt 200; two others with the S wt 200; cup with the T wt 46; phiale with the [U wt 100; another with the F wt 40.1; another with the X wt 100; another with the C wt 100; bowl with the V wt 4]0; two phialai with the AA wt 200; another two with the BB wt 200; another with the GG wt 100; another with the DD wt 100; bowl with [the EE wt 45.1; two phialai with the ZZ wt 200; another two with HH wt 200; another two] with YY; another one with the II wt 100; the KK was not handed over; another with the LL wt 100; another with the MM wt 54; [20 others with the NN wt 2041; 20 others with the JJ wt 2000; another with the OO wt 120; two others with] (125) the PP wt 200; another with the RR wt 100; bowl with the SS wt 91; another with the TT wt 96; two phialai [with the UU wt 200; another with the FF wt 100; another with the XX wt 100; another with the CC wt 100; ...with] the VV wt 83; another with the AAA wt 50; another with the BBB wt 50; 20 phialai with the GGG wt 2000; 20 others [with the DDD wt 2000; 20 others with the EEE wt 2000; two others with the ZZZ wt 200; two others with the HHH] wt 200; another with the YYY wt 100; 20 others with the III wt 2000; bowl with the KKK [wt...] 15 phialai with the LLL [wt 2384; two others with the MMM wt 200; another with the NNN wt...bow]l with the JJJ wt 91; 20 phialai with the OOO wt 2000; 20 others with the

- PPP wt 2000; 20 others with the RRR wt 2000 [two others with the SSS, wt 200; two others with the TTT wt 200 two others with the UUU] wt 200; another docked with the FFF wt 100; another with the XXX wt 100; three others with the CCC wt 300; two others with the [VVV wt 200; 20 others with the AAAA wt 2000; two others with the BBB(B) wt 200; two others]
- 93950 130 [BBB, ὁλ. HH· ἄλλας δύο], ἐφ' ὧν τὰ ΓΓΓΓ, ὁλ. HH· ἄλλας ΔΔΙΙΙ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΔΔΔΔ, ὁλ. [XXHHH?· ἄλλ]ας δύο, ἐφ' ὧν τὰ EEEE, ὁλ. HH· ἄλλας ΔΔΙΙ, ἐφ' ὧν τὰ ZZZZ, [ὁλ. XX□H· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ HHHH, ὁλ. HH?· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ ΘΘΘΘ, ὁλ. H]· [ἄλλην, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ ΙΙΙΙ, ὁλ. H· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ KKKK, ὁλ. H· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ Λ[ΛΛΛ, ὁλ. H]· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ MMMM, ὁλ. XX· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ NNNN, ὁλ. HH· [ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ EEEE, ὁλ. HH· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ OOOO, ὁλ. XX· ἄλλη, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ ΠΠΠΠ, ὁλ.] [H· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ PPPP, ὁλ.] XX· ἄλλ[ας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΣΣΣΣ, ὁλ. HH]· ἄλλας δύο· ἐφ' αἷς τὰ TTTT, ὁλ. HH· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ YYY, ὁλ. HH· ἄλλας δύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ Φ[ΦΦΦ, ὁλ. HH?· σκάφιον, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ XXXX, ὁλ. □□□□□· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΨΨΨ, ὁλ. □] [□□□□· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΩΩΩΩ, ὁλ.] □□□□ΙΙΙ· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ AAAAA, ὁλ. □□□□□· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ BBBB, ὁλ. □□□□□· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ΓΓΓΓΓ, ὁλ. ΔΔΔΔ□□· ἄλλ[ας φιάλ]ας [ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΔΔΔΔΔ, ὁλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ EEEEE, ὁλ. XX· ἄλλας ΔΔΙΙΙ, ἐφ' αἷς] [τὰ ZZZZZ, ὁλ. ΧΗΗΗΗ· ἄλλας δ]ύο, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΗΗΗΗΗ, ὁλ. HH· ἄλλας ΔΔΙΙ, ἐφ' αἷς τὰ ΘΘΘΘΘ, ὁλ. ΧΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ□□□□· σκάφια τέτταρα καὶ κυλίκιον μόνωτον, [ἐφ' οἷς τὰ KKKKK, ὁλ. HH□ΔΔΔΔ□□· καὶ τὰδε ἄστατα· φιάλη ἐν πλασίῳ],
- 93955 135 [ὡς δακτύλων ΔΔ, ἀνάθεμα ὑ[πὲρ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου· ἄλλην ἐν πλασίῳ ὡς δακτύλων ΔΔ, ἀνάθημα Κῶιον· ἄλλην λείαν ὡς δακτύλων δέκα ἐπιτά, [ἀνάθεμα Εὐέλθοντος· ἄλλην ἐμ πλασίῳ, ὡς δακτύλων δέκα, ἀνά]- [θημα — — — — —]· ἡμὸς ἐν πλασίῳ, ἀνάθημα Γαίου Ποστομίου· ἐκτύπωμα ἐν πλασίῳ ὕρκανοῦ κυνός· φιάλας ὀκτώ, ἐφ' αἷς τὸ Α, [ὧν ὀκτὴ □ΗΗΗ· σκάφια ἕξ καὶ κιβώτιον ἐφ' ὧν τὸ Β, ὀκτὴ ΗΗΗ□ΔΔΔ]· [κλάσματα καὶ φιάλια δύο, κα]ὶ χελιδόνια δύο καὶ ἀρυσᾶν καὶ ἡδυποτίδια δύο καὶ θηρικλείδιον οὐκ ἔχον οὔτε ὧτα οὔτε πυθμένα καὶ σκύφιον ἐν ὧς ἔχ[ον, ἐφ' ὧν τὸ Γ, ὀκτὴ — — — —· λιβανωτίδα ἐκ]
- 93970 [τετάρτων ἐκτυπωμένην ἐφ'] ἧς τὸ Δ, ὁλ. ΗΗΗ· λιβανωτίδιον τὴν βάσιν κεκολωμένον, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ε, ὁλ. □· φιάλια τέτταρα, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ Ζ, ὁλ. Η□ΔΔΔΔ[□· φιάλιον? ἐμβλημα ἔχον Ἀπόλλωνος ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Η — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — κα]τεαγότος κλάσματα <λ>επτά καὶ κηρύκειον ἐν σανδαλοθήκει, ἐφ' ὧν τὸ Κ, ὁλ. ΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□ΙΙΙ· χύμα, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Α, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□· ἄ[λλο χύμα, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Β, ὁλ. ΗΔΔΔΔ□□· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Γ, ὁλ. □ΔΙΙ· ἄλλο ἐφ' οὗ]
- 93975 (130) with the GGGG wt 200; 23 others with the DDDD wt [2300?] two others with the EEEE wt 200; 26 others with the ZZZZ [wt 2600; two others with the HHHH wt 200?; another with the YYYY wt 100; another with the ΙΙΙΙ wt 100; another with the KKKK wt 100; another with the L[LLL wt 100] 20 others wiht the MMMM wt 2000; two others with the NNNN wt 200 [two others with the JJJJ wt 200; 20 others with the OOOO wt 2000; another with the PPPP wt 100; 20 others with the RRRR wt] 2000; two others [with the SSSS wt 200] two others with the TTTT wt 200; two others with the UUUU wt 200; two others with the F[FFF wt 200?; bowl with the XXXX wt 59; another with the CCCC wt 58; another with the VVVV wt] 57.3; another with the AAAAA wt 58; another with the BBBB wt 58; another with the GGGGG wt 42; oth[er phial]ai [20 with the DDDDD wt 2000; 20 others with the EEEEE wt 2000; 14 others with the ZZZZZ wt 1400; two other]s with the HHHHH wt 200; 26 others with the YYYYY wt 2388; four bowls and one handled kylikion [with the KKKKK wt 292. And the following unweighed: phiale in frame, about 20 fingers, dedication on] behalf of (135) king Antiochos; another in frame about 20 fingers, dedication of the Koans; another smooth about seventeen fingers [dedication of Euclthos; another in frame about ten fingers dedication...] strainer in frame, dedication of Gaius Postumius; relief of Hyrkanian [? in frame; eight phialai with the A [weight of which 800; six bowls and small chest with the B wt 380; pieces and two phialia and] two swallows and ladle and two hedypotidia and small theraclean
- 93980 without either handles or base and a skyphion with one ear [with the G wt ... incense box worked in relief on four (sides) with] the D wt 300; small incense box with base docked, with the E wt 50; four phialia with the Z wt 19[1; phialion? with image of Apollo with the H... broken, small pieces and small staff in sandalwood case with the K wt 332.3; ingot with the A wt 92; a[nother ingot with the B wt 142; another with the G wt 60.2; another with the D wt 89.2; another with the E]
- 93985 140 [τὸ Δ, ὁλ. □ΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙ· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ε, ὁλ. □□□□ΙΙ· ἄλλο, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ζ, ὁλ. Η□ΔΔΔΔ□□ {²⁷H<□> Tod}²⁷· ἄλλο {E I} καμπύλον, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Η, ὁλ. ΔΔΔ· ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐν κιβώτιῳ ι. καὶ τὰδε. [— — — — —· κανοῦν ἐντελὲς κατεαγός, ὁλ. ΗΔΔ□□□, παρακα]-
- 94000 [τεαγεῖαν? — — — — —]ν [— — — — —] παρακατεαγεῖαν, [— — — — —] ἀνάθημα Στησίλεω, ὁλ. X□H· ἄλλην ἐντελῇ παρακατεαγεῖαν, ἀνά[θημα τοῦ αὐτοῦ· κάδον οὐκ ἔχοντα ὧτα. [— — — — — — — — — — ἐλλείπει?] τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τι, ὁλ. ὡς ἡ ἐπιγραφή ΧΗΗΗΔΔΔ· στατὸν κατεαγότα, ἀνάθημα Μικύθου Συρίου, οὗ ὀκτὴ [X□H· κρατῆρα τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὠτῶν χενίσκους οὐδὲ τὸ] [ἀνθέμιον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠτός ἐχ]οντα, ἀνάθημα Παρμίσκου, ὀκτὴ σὺν τῷ κηρῷ ΤΧΧ□X· οἰνοχόη, ἧς ὀκτὴ σὺν τῷ κηρῷ καὶ παλινπίττει ΓΠΙ[— — — — —, ἀνάθημα Μικύθου — — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — —, ὁλ. — — — — —]ΗΔ□□· ἄλλη, ἧς ὀκτὴ σὺν παλινπίττει ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□· ἄλλην ἐντελῇ,
- 94010
- 94015

[ἐχούσαν σιδηρὰν ἀγκυραν, ἀνάθημα Ἡ[λίου]δωρου, ὀλκὴ συν τῷ κηρῶ καὶ τεῖ παλινπίττει ΗΗΗΗΔΔ — —
—]
145 [ἀλλην — — — ἐχουσαν] ἀνκυραν, ἀνάθημα Ἥλιοδώρου, ὁλ. ΗΗ· σελευκίδας δύο
ἐχοῦσας ἐπίσημον ἀγκυραν, ὁλ. ΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ· φιάλα[ς τέτταρας ἐχοῦσας ἐπίσημον ἀνκυραν,
ἀνάθημα Ἥλιοδώρου], □□□□□□□□□□
[ὁλ. ΗΗ□ΔΔΔΔ· θυμιατήρι]ον· βωμίσκον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον{τα}· θεοῦ, ὁλ. ΔΔΔΔ□· λιβανωτίδα
σφιγγόπου, ἐπιγραφή· ιερὰ Απόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἐχουσα[ν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιθέματος σατυρίσκον □□
καὶ ἐκτι — — —]
—— — —— — — — δα· ταύτης ἀποπέπτωκεν ἡ γρυθὸς καὶ ἔστιν· λιβανωτίδιον λεῖτον τεθλασμένον,
ἀνάθημα Πυθέου, ὁλ. □□□□□II· ἀλ[λο λείτον οὗ ὀλκή συν τῷ ρύπω ΔΔΔ□, ἀνάθεμα Πατρωνός?]
[σκύφια πέντε ᾧν τὸ ἐν] ᾧς οὐκ ἔχον, τοῦ θ' ἐνόδες τὸ ᾧς ἀποπεπτώκος, καὶ ἔστιν, ἀνάθημα Μικύθου
Συρίου, ὁλ. ΗΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□· χυτρίδιον, οὗ ὁλ[κὴ ΔΔΔΔ□□□□, ἀνάθημα βουλῆς ἐπ' ἀρχόντος Τελεσσαρχίδου].
[σκάφια σύμμικτα δέκα; ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Α, ὁλ. □ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□· ἀλλα σύμμικτα ἐνδεκα, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Β, ὁλ. ΧΠ
στάτιον μικρόν τετροπημένον, ὅλα οὐκ ἔχον, ἀλλά σκυτά[λια ᾧν ἐν ἀποπέπτωκεν, ὁλ. σύν
καλλιτέρῳ □ΔΔ□□· ὑποψίαλια δύο οἷς]
(140) wt 4.2; another with the Z wt 193; another bent with the H wt 30; these are in
a chest. And the following [...basket complete broken wt 124...]... part broken.
dedication of Stesileos wt 1600; another complete part broken ded[ication of the
same; jar without handles...] some part of the third, wt as the inscription 1836,
broken large bowl, dedication of Mikythos of Syria weight of which [2600; krater with
neither the geese on the handles nor the flower on the handle] deduction of
Parmiskos weight with the wax T,3600; oinochoe weight of which with the wax and the
dry pitch [...] deduction of Mikythos...] 112; another weight of which with the dry
pitch 442; another complete with iron anchor, dedication of He[liodoros, weight with
the wax and the dry pitch 420...with] (145) anchor, dedication of Heliodoros, wt 253;
two seleucids with anchor sign wt 290; phialai [four with anchor sign, dedication of
Heliodoros wt 290; cense]r; small altar with inscription of the god wt 41; sphinx-
footed incense box inscription sacred to Apollo and Artemis with [small satyr on the
lid and...] the grus has fallen from this and is extant; smooth small incense box
smashed, dedication of Pytheas, wt 64.2; an[o]ther smooth weight of which with the
sealing wax 35, dedication of Patron? five skyphoi one of which] lacks the handle, of
one the handle has fallen off and is extant, dedication of Mikythos of Syria wt 475;
small pot weight of which [44, dedication of the Council with Telesarchides archon;
ten? mixed bowls with the] A wt 932; eleven other mixed with the B, wt 1050; small
large bowl leaky without handle but small sta[ffs one of which has fallen off, wt
with tin 72; two phiale mounts on which
150 [ἐπιγραφή· Απόλλωνος Δηλί]ου, ὁλ. □ΔΔ□□· ἀρυσάξ, ᾧς οὐκ ἔχων, ἀλλὰ ἀποπέπτωκε, ὃ καὶ
συνεστάνη, ὁλ. ΔΔΔΔ□□· κύαθον κατεργάτο καὶ συν[βεβ]λημή(ενον), ὁλ. ΔΔΔ□□· ἄλλον κατεργάτο,
ἐπιγραφή· Θεοῦ Απόλλωνος]
[ὀλκή· ΔΔ· φι]άλας ΔΔIII, <ᾧν> τὸ Γ, ὁλ. XXHHH□□□□· ἄλλας ΔΔ□IIII, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Δ, ὁλ. XX□HHH□Δ□□
ΔΔII, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Ε, ὁλ. XHN· ἄλλα[ς ΔΔII ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Ζ, ὁλ. XXNH· ἄλλην μίαν ἐφ' ἣς τὸ Η, ὁλ. Η]·
[ἄλλας συμεϊκτου]ς.ΔΔΔIIII σύν τῷ προσευρεθέντι ψαλίῳ, οὗ τὸ Α, ᾧν ὁλ. XXXHHHΔΔ· ἄλλας
□ΔIIII, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Β, ᾧν ὁλ. THNN· ἄλλας [Δ□II ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Γ, ᾧν μία καρτωτὴ, ὁλ. ΧΠΗ· ἄλλας
□ΔIIII, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Δ],
[ᾧν μία ἐκτυρωτὴ, ὁλ. T]HH□· ἄλλας □□I, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ E, καὶ καρτωται δύο, ᾧν μία πρόσωπον ἔχουσα,
ὁλ. □□· ἄλλας □□II, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Ζ, ἐν αἵς καρτωται III, ὁλ. TH□□□· ἄλλας □ΔII, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ [H, ὁλ.
TH□□□· ἄλλας □□I, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Θ, ὁλ. □□ΔΔΔ· ἄλλας □ΔIII],
[ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ I, ἐν αἵς καρτωται] δύο, ἢ μία κεκομμένη, ὁλ. THΔ· ἄλλας □ΔII, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ K, ἐν αἵς
καρτωται δύο, ᾧν ἢ μία πρόσωπον ἔχουσα, ὁλ. T□Δ□□□· ἄλλας □□□, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Λ, ἐν αἵς [καρτωτὴ
μία, ὁλ. □□ΔΔ· ἄλλας ΔΔ]
155 [ΔΔIII, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ M, ἐν αἵς καρτω]ται τρεῖς, ᾧν ὁλ. XXXXHHHΔΔΔ· ἄλλαι ἐξηκόνητα δύο, ἐφ' ᾧν
τὸ N, ᾧν ὁλ. TΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· ἄλλαι □ΔIIII, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ Ξ, ὁλ. TH□Δ□□· [ἄλλαι □Δ□II, ἐφ' ᾧν τὸ O, ὁλ.
T□HHΔΔΔ· σκύφοις δύο ἐκτι] -
[πατούς, ᾧν τοῦ ἐνόδες ὁ καθήμε]νος οὐκ ἔχι τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα οὔτε τὴν μάχειραν, τὸν δὲ μηρὸν
τὸν δεξιὸν διαβεβρωμένον καὶ τὸν ἀριστερὸν ᾤμων ἀπ[οπεπτώκ]οτα καὶ συνίσταται καὶ τοῦ ταῷ ἠ
κεφαλῇ καὶ τραχήλος οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ]
[τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ κεφαλῇ οὐκ ἔστιν κα]ὶ τοῦ σκυταλίου ἀποπέπτωκεν ἡ χειρολάβη, ὀλκή συν καλλιτέρῳ καὶ
κηρῶ □HHHΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλον, οὗ ὁ καθήμενος [οὐκ ἔχει τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὥμου οὐδὲ ὁ]
[κατακέειμένος τὴν χεῖρα τή]ν ἀριστερὰν οὐδὲ ὁ Ἐρως τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα οὐδὲ τὰ πterygia [οὕ]δὲ ὁ
κύων τὸν δεξιὸν σκέλος καὶ τοῦ ὠτός τὸ ῥόπαλον οὐκ [ἔστιν οὐδὲ τὸ φύλλον, τὸ δὲ ἐμβόλιον
διαβέβληται],
[οὗ ὀλκή συν κηρῶ καὶ καλλιτέρῳ □HHHH□□□□· τρίποδα περιηγγυρωμένον λεοντόβασιν <ἐχοντα>, ἀνάθημα Στησίλει, ᾧν τινα ἀποπεπτώκ]οτα ἀπὸ τοῦ τ[ριποδίου καὶ τῶν ποδῶν, ᾧν καὶ τινὰ ἔστιν ἐν
τῷ ἱερῶι].

- one of them knobby wt 1600; 64 others with the D, one of them relief wt T,]250; 56 others with the E and two knobby, one of which has face wt 5500; 57 others with the Z among which 3 knobby wt T,152; 62 others with the [H wt T,150..; 56 others, with the
- 94090 Y wt 5530; 63 others [with the I among which two knobby] one beaten wt T,110; 62 others with the K among which two knobby one with a face wt T,67; 56 others with the L among which [one knobby wt 5070; 43 others with the M among which knob]by (155) three wt of which 4284; sixty two others with the N wt of which T,49; 64 others with the J wt T,162 [67 others with the O wt T,630; two relief skyphoi, the seated figure
- 94095 of the one] does not have his right arm or sword and his right thigh is corroded and his left shoulder fell [off and has been reattached and the head of the peacock and throat is missing and the head of Hermes is missing and]d the handle of the small staff has fallen off, weight with the tin and wax 833; (the) other whose seated figure [does not have the right arm from the shoulder nor does the reclining (figure)
- 94100 have the right hand nor the Eros his right leg nor wings n]or the dog its right leg and the club is not on the shoulder [nor the leaf and the attachment has been discarded, weight of which with wax and tin 803; silvered tripod with lion base dedication of Stesileos, some parts of which have fallen from the t[ripod and the feet, some of which is in the sanctuary; complete silvered wood table]
- 94105 160 [τράπεζαν ξυλίνην ἐντελῇ περιηργυρωμένην, ὀλκὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν XXXX□HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ· ἐλλείπουσιν ἥλοι δέκα δύο καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ποδὸς [τῆς ἀκροβάσεως λεπίδιον ἐλλείπει μῆκος] [δακτύλων τριῶν, πλάτος δακτύλου] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποτύψεως λεπίδιον δακτύλου· τρίποδα παλαιὸν περιηργυρωμένον οὐχ ὅλον καὶ τὴν ἀκρόβασιν τ[οῦ ἐνὸς ποδὸς οὐκ ἔχοντα· Ἀπόλλωνα ὡς ποδιαῖον] [ἔχοντα φιάλην καὶ κιθάραν κ]αὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τὸ μέσον οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἀνάθημα Βιβίου ἐπὶ βάσεως λιθίνης· θυμιατήριον πομπικὸν περιηργυρωμένον, ἀνάθημα Φιλωνίδος τῆς Ἥγησαγόρου, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπὶ]-
- 94110 [γραφή· ΧΗΔΔ□□, ἀστατον· τοῦτου π]οδάρια τὰ δύο ἀποπεπωκότα καὶ τῶν φυλλαρίων τινὰ περιτεθραυσμένα καὶ τῶν πτερυγίων· λεπίδια παντοδαπὰ ἀ[π' ἀνδριάντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκύφου]
- 94115 [καὶ ὠτάριον ἀργυροῦν καὶ λυσ]ιμάχεια τέτραχμα δύο, ὧν ὀλκὴ πάντων ΔΔΔΔ□□□· ποτήρια ῥοδιακὰ τέτταρα δικότυλα, ὧν ὀλ. ΗΉΗΔ, ἀνάθ[ημα Φιλωνίδος τῆς Ἥγησαγόρου· ἄλλα δύο δικότυ]-
- 165 [λα, ὧν ἐπιγραφὴ τοῦ ἐνὸς Η□Δ]□□□□, ἀνάθημα Φιλωνίδος, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου, ὁ ἀποκατέστησεν ὁ ἱερεὺς Φίλων, Η□Δ□□□, ἀνάθημα τῆς αὐτῆς· ἄλλα τε[τρακότυλα δύο, ὧν ὀλκὴ ΗΗΗ□ΔΔ□□, ἀνάθημα τῆς]
- 94120 [αὐτῆς· κυάθους τρεῖς, ὧν ὀλ. ΗΔΙΙΙ], ὧν ὁ εἷς συνβεβλημένος ἐγ μέσου· ῥοδιακὸν τρικότυλον, ἀνάθημα Μικύθου, ὀλ. Η□Δ· ἄλλο πεντακότυλα δύ[ο, ὧν ὀλ. ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□ΙΙΙ, ἀνάθημα τοῦ αὐτοῦ· χυτρίδια]
- [τέτταρα, ὧν ὀλ. ΗΗΔΔΔΔ□Ι· σκάφ]ια δύο, ὧν ὀλ. Η□[□□], ἀνάθημα Σιτησίλεω· ἄλλο, οὗ ὀλ. □ΔΔΔ□, ἀνάθημα Θεανδριδῶν· ἄλλο, οὗ ὀλ. ΔΔΔΔ□□□, ἀνάθημα Ξε[νοτίμου· ἄλλο, οὗ ὀλ. ΔΔΔ□□□□, ἀνάθημα Παταί]-
- 94125 [κου· σκύφιον, οὗ ὀλ. □ΔΔΔ□□, ἀνάθ]ημα Εὐκράτου· φιάλας δύο, ὧν ὀλ. □Δ[Δ□], ἀνάθημα Ἀσκληπιάδου· κύαθον συνβεβλημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ κεφαλίου, [ἀνάθημα Φίλλιδος, ὀλκὴ Δ□· φιάλας δύο] [ἐμ πλαισίοις ἀνάθημα Ἀθην]αίου τοῦ Ἀττάλου, ἀστάτους· κυμάτια ἐν κιβωταρίῳ ἀργυρᾷ καὶ ψήγματα ΔΔΔΔ· φωκαϊκὰ ἐν ὑαλίνῳι ποτηρί[ῳι, ὧν ὀλ. Δ□□□· φιάλην καρυωτὴν ὀμφαλὸν οὐκ ἔχουσιν]
- 94130 (160) weight according to the inscription 4990, twelve nails are lacking and from the one foot foil [of the akrobasis is missing three fingers in length, a finger in width] and from the moulding a finger of foil; old silvered tripod not complete, lacking the akrobasis [of the one foot; Apollo about a foot with phiale and cithara
- 94135 and] gold crown lacking its middle, dedication of Vibius on a stone base; silvered processional censer [dedication of Philonis daughter of Hegesagoras, with the inscription 1122, unweighed; the] two feet of this have fallen off and some of the small leaves and wings are crushed; various pieces f[rom statues including the hand from the skyphos and a silver handle and] two lysimachean tetradrachms, the weight of
- 94140 all 47; four two-kotyle rhodian cups wt of which 368, dedicat[ion of Philonis daughter of Hegesagoras; two other two-kotyle the inscription of the one 16]9, (165) dedication of Philonis, of the other, which the priest Philon removed 164, dedication of the same; [two other four-kotyle weight of which 375. . dedication of the same; three kyathoi wt of which 110.3] one of which is collapsed in the middle; three-kotyle rhodian, dedication of Mikythos wt 160; two other five kotyle [wt of which 433.3, dedication of the same; four small pots wt of which 245.1] two bowls wt of which 10[7], dedication of Stesileos; another wt of which 85, dedication of the Theandridai; another wt of which 47, dedication of Xe[notimos; another wt of which 34, dedication of Pataikos; skyphion wt of which 86, dedi]cation of Eukrates; two
- 94150 phialai wt of which 7[5], dedication of Asclepiades; kyathos collapsed from the top [dedication of Phillis, weight 15; two phialai in frames, dedication of Athen]aeus son of Attalos, unweighed; silver kymatia in a small chest and scraps 40; phoceans in a glass cup [wt of which 17; knobby phiale without boss and three bowls wt of which 230];
- 94155 170 [καὶ σκάφια τρία, ὧν ὀλ. ΗΗΔΔΔ]· ἡδυπότια δύο καὶ φιάλια τρία καὶ ὠταρί[ων] κλάσματα καὶ

πυθμένους καὶ ἄλλα ἀργυρῳμάτα παντοδαπά καὶ [ἀλλ[α ἀργυρῳμάτια παντοδαπα?] καὶ χηνίσκους δύο τοὺς ἀπό] [τοῦ κρατήρος, ὧν ὅλ. σὺν τῷ κατιτιτέρω]ι □□□□· ταυτὰ ἐστὶν ἐν κιβωτ[ίωι· κα]ὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά καὶ κηρύκειον καὶ ἐλαγμάτιον καὶ χηνίσκος ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ κ[ρατήρος, ὧν ὀλκῇ πάντων ΗΔΔΙ]. [ῥυτὸν δίκρουνον, παρακατεαγός] ἀπὸ τοῦ χίλους, ὀλκῇ σὺν κατιτιτέρωι □· ταινίαν περιηγρυμμένην, ἀνάθημα Ἀρχεστράτου· κρατήρες δύο [μεγάλοι ἐντελεῖς ἐπὶ βάσεως Λιθίνης, ἀνάθη]- [μα Στρατονίκης· θυμιατήριον] ἔχον ὑάτια δύο καὶ ἐρωτάρια δύο, οὗ ὀλκῇ σὺν τῷ ἀποπεπωκότι ἐπιπύρῳ καὶ κατεαγότι σὺν τῷ ξυλίῳι τῷ ἐνόον[τι ἐν αὐτῷι, χωρὶς τοῦ χαλκοῦ ἐπιπύρου, □ΗΔΔΔ], [ἀνάθημα Βουλομάγας· ζωιδ]άρια δύο Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἀρτεμις ἐπὶ ἡμικυκλίου καὶ φύλαξ, ὅλ. ΔΔΔ□□□□III· τετρήρη, ἣς ὀλκῇ σὺν τοῖς προσοὔσιν χαλκοῖς [καλυδoriois Χ□ΗΗ, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Σε]- 175 [λεύκου· φιάλη ὡς πενταπάλαστο]ς, πρόσωπον ἔχουσα Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀνάθημα Κώϊων· ἄλλην ἐν πλινθείῳι ὡς ποδιαῖαν καρυωτὴν, ἀνάθημα Ἀριστοκράτ[ου· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ ἐν πλινθείῳι, ἔχουσα] [Ἀπόλλωνα κιθαρίζοντα, ἀνάθ]ημα τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἄλλην ἐν πλινθείῳι ὡς παλαστῶν τριῶν, ἀνάθημα Κώϊων· ἄλλη λεία ἐν πλιν[θ]είῳι, ἀνάθημα Κώϊων· ἄλλην [καρυωτὴν ἐν πλινθείῳι], [ἀνάθημα Ἀλέξιδος· ἀλλ]η καρυωτὴ, ἀνάθημα Νικάν[ορο]ς, ὅλ. Η□ΔΔ□· ἄλλη καρυωτὴ, ἀνάθημα Νικηράτου, ὅλ. ΗΔ□□□· ἄλλας λείας δύο, ἀνάθημα βασιλ[έως Αντιγόνου, ὅλ. Η□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· φιάλην Κτησυλ]- [λίδος· κυμβίων Ἀμιάντου]· σκύφιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ξενο[μή]δου· ψυκτηρίδιον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Απολλοδώρου· κυμβίων Ἀρτέμωνος Μυνδίου· ἄλλο Προξέ[νου καὶ παιδίων· ἄλλο Ἑστιαιεύς· φιάλιον], [ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Φωκαέως· ἄλλο, ἐ]π' ἀρχοντος Φιλοξένου· κ[υμβίων Στησ]ίλειω· ἄλλο, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Μιλιχίδου· ἄλλο, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Καλλιᾶ· ἄλλο, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Σωτίων[ος· ἄλλο, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πανταίνου· ἄλλο, ἐπ' ἀρχον]- (170) two hedypotia and three phialia and pieces of handles and base and various other silver and ot[her... and two small geese from the krater wt of which with the tin] 850; these are in a che[st an]d various others and a staff and elagmation and the small goose from the k[rater weight of all 171.1; two-spout rhyton broken off] from the lip weight with tin 500; silvered ribbon dedication of Archestratos; two kraters [large complete on stone base, dedication of Stratonike; censer] with two handles and two little Eroles weight of which with the fallen off and broken grate with the wood [in it, apart from the bronze grate 640, dedication of Boulomagas] two figures, Apollo and Artemis, on half-circle with guard, wt 44.3; tetrareme weight of which with the added bronze [cables 1700, dedication of king Seleukos; phiale about five palm]s (175) with face of Apollo dedication of the Koans; another in plinth about a foot knobby, dedication of Aristokrat[es; another knobby in plinth with Apollo playing the cithara, dedi]cation of the same; another in plinth about three palms, dedication of the Koans; another smooth in plin[th], dedication of the Koans; another [knobby in plinth, dedication of Alexis; an]other knobby dedication of Nikan[or], wt 175; another knobby, dedication of Nikeratos wt 113; two others smooth, dedication of kin[g Antigonos wt 197; phiale of Ktesyllis; kymbion of Amiantos] skyphion with Xeno[m]des archon; small cooler with Apollodoros archon; kymbion of Artemon of Mende; another of Proxe[nos and his children; another of Hestiaiæus; phialion with Phokaeus archon; another] with Philoxenos archon; k[ymbion of Stes]ileos; another with Milichides archon; another with Kallias archon; another with Sotion archon [another with Pantainos archon; another with 180 [τος Σωτέλου· ὧν ὀλκῇ πάντων] □□□□□□□· ἀργυρῳμά[τια] ἐν γλωττιστομί[οι]ς, ὅλ. □Δ□□· φιάλας λείας δύο, ὧν ὅλ. Η□ΔΔΔΔ□□□, ἀνάθημα Χαίρεα καὶ Τε[λεστοκρίτου· ἄλλας λείας τέτταρας, ὧν ὅλ. ΗΗΗΗ, ἀνάθημα] [Τηλοπόλεμον καὶ Νικάρχου]· ἄλλας λείας δύο, ἀνάθημα Μησηκυλείους καὶ Διογένου, ὅλ. [Η]Η· ἄλλας λείας ἐννεά, ὅλ. Χ□□· ἄλλας λείας τέτ<τ>αρας, ἀνάθημα Δη[λιάδων, χορεῖα, ἐπὶ ταμιῶν Πολύβου καὶ Αντιγόνου, ὧν ὅλ. ΗΗΗΗ· ἄλλας δύο], [ἀνάθημα Εὐξενίδου καὶ Αντιγόνου], ἐν αἷς ἐνεστι ἀργυρᾶ παντοδαπά καὶ ἱστιαικὰ τρία, ὅλ. ΗΗ□□□□III· ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐπὶ ταμιῶν Καλλίου καὶ Τελεσσαρχίδου, ὅλ. XX· ἄλλας [ΔΔ, ἐπὶ ταμιῶν Περιάνδρου καὶ Εὐξενίδου, ὅλ. ΧΧ· ἄλλας ΔΔ ἐπὶ ταμιῶν] [Διακρίτου καὶ Τίμωνος?]. [- - - - -] ἄλλας ΔΔ, ἐπὶ ταμιῶν Ἐνπέδου καὶ Ἀπατουρίου, [ὅλ.] ΧΗΗΗΗΔΔ· vac. ἄλλας λείας επ. - - - - - - - - - - νι ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ· ἠλακάτας καὶ τὰ μετὰ τούτων, ὅλ. Δ· νόμισμα παντοδαπόν, ὅλ. Η□ΔΔ□□· φιάλας γοργ<i>είους ἐνδεκα, ἐν [αἷς καρυωτὴ μία, ὅλ. ΧΗ· σκάφια Στησίλειω ἐξ], 185 [καὶ ῥοδιακὰ δύο, ὀλκῇ □□Δ]□□□· ἄλλα Φιλωνίδος δέκα δύο, ἐφ' ὧν τὸ Π, καὶ Στησίλειω δύο καὶ Μικύθου ἐν καὶ Μαντιθέου ἐν vac. καὶ Δημοτρίου [ἐ]ν καὶ Μικύθου [ἐν?, ὧν ὀλκῇ ΧΗ□Δ□□· - - - - -] [- - - - - ρο]διακόν, οὗ ἐπιγραφῇ· ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος· καὶ ἄλλα ῥοδιακὰ δύο, ὧν τὸ ἐν τετρ[υ]μένον καὶ σφαίριον Φιλωνίδος, τὰ σκυτάλια οὐ[κ ἔχον - - - - -] [- - - - - ἄλλην καρ]υωτὴν ἔχουσα[ν] πρόσωπον καὶ ἐμ μέσῳι κεραύνια, ὅλ. Η· ἄλλην λείαν, ἀνάθημα Ἐρμίου, ὅλ. ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλην, ἀνάθημα [Εὐτύχου, ὅλ. ΔΔΔΔ· ἄλλας τέτταρας, ἃς ἀποκατέστησεν Εὐβοεύς], [ὅλ. ΗΗ· ἄλλην λείαν, ἀνάθημα Γο]ργίου, □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□III· ἄλλην λείαν, ἀνάθημα Θυσισταδών, ὅλ. □ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἄλλας λείας δύο, ὧν ἡ μία <μ>ίζων, ἀνάθημα τ[ῶν αὐτῶν, ὅλ. Η□· φιάλας τέτταρας τάς] [εὐρεθείσας ἐν τῷι Ἀρτεμισίῳι, ὧ]ν ὅλ. ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□□· ἄλλο λεῖον, ἀνάθημα Φιλοκράτου καὶ παίδων,

[ὁ]λ. ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· [φι]άλην Λεοντίνων, ὁλ. ΗΔΔΔΔ□□□· ὅλλ[ην καρυωτήν, πρόσωπον ἔχουσαν Ἡρακλέους],

(180) Soteles archon, weight of all] 904; silver in tongue-cuttings wt 62; two smooth phialai wt of which 197, dedication of Chaireas and Te[lestokritos; four other smooth wt of which 400, dedication of Tlepolemos and Nikarchos;] two other smooth, dedication of Mnesikles and Diogenes wt [2]00; nine other smooth wt 1501; four other smooth dedication of the De[liades choreia with Polybos and Antigonos stewards wt of which 400; two others dedication of Euxenides and Antigonos] in which is various silver and three Istiaians wt 208.3; 20 others with Kallias and Telesarchides stewards wt 2000; others [20 with Periander and Euxenides stewards wt 2000; 20 others with Diakritos and Timon stewards...] 20 others with Empedos and Apatourios stewards [wt] 1976; others smooth... 486; spindles and their accoutrements wt 19; various coin wt 176; eleven gorgieian phialai among [which one knobby, wt 1100; six bowls of Stesileos and two rhodians weight 56]3; (185) twelve others of Philonis with the G and two of Stesileos and one of Mikythos and [one of] Mantitheos; and [one] of Demetrios and of Mikythos [one? weight of which 1662... rho]dian with the inscription sacred to Apollo; and two other rhodians one with holes and a small ball of Philonis without the leather [... another kn]obby [w]ith face and lightning bolts in the middle wt 100; another smooth dedication of Hermias wt 98; another dedication [of Eutychos wt 94; four others which Euboeus removed wt 200; another smooth dedication of Go]rgias 99.3; another smooth dedication of the Thyestadai wt 99; two other smooth one larger, dedication of [the same wt 150; the four phialai found **in the Artemision**] wt of which 434; another smooth, dedication of Philokrates and his children [w]t 49; [phi]ale from the Leontini, wt 147; another [knobby with face of Herakles, dedication of the Mapsichidai]

190 [ἀνάθημα Μαψιχιδῶν, ἤς] ὁλ. □□□□□□□□IIIII· ἀλλην ἀκτινωτήν, ἀνάθημα Θυεσταδῶν καὶ
Ωκυινιδῶν, ὁλ. □□□□[Δ□]□□□□· ἀλλην, ἐφ' ἣς ἐπιγραφή· Δηλίων· vac. χ[ύμα ἀργυροῦν τὸ
περιενόμενον]

[ἀπό τῶν ἡλων· φύλλα χρυ]σᾶ ἀπό στεφάνων τρία καὶ πέταλα ἀργυρᾶ κεχρυσωμένα καὶ δ[α]κτύλιον
χαλκοῦν π[ε]ρικεχρυσωμένον καὶ λιθάριον χυτ[τὸν ἔχον — — — — —· χρυσᾶ ἄστατα· ἐν
προχωι]—

[δίδωι τὸν τόκον? τὸν εἰσπ]ραχθέντα ὑπὸ Φερεκλέους
καὶ Θηρομάχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρί[ου] παίδας?

[— — — — —, ἀνάθημα Προυσίου, ἔχ]ουσαν ἐν μέσῳ πρόσωπον, ἄστατον· φιάλια τέτταρα [ῶν ὁ]λ, ΗΗ·
 φαρέτρα χρυσοποίκιλτος ἔχουσα τόξον σκυθικ[ὸν καὶ ταινίδιον, ἀνάθημα Στρατονίκης — — — — —
 — — — — —· ἄλλην]

[ἀργυρῶν ἑλληνικῇν διὰ] χρυσον ἐπὶ κιονίου· νόμισμα χαλκοῦ παντοδαποῦ ἁδοκίμου, [ὁ]ς οὐκ ἠριθμήθη· ὕδριαν παλαιὰν χαλκῇν πυθμένα οὐκ ἔ[χουσαν οὔτε οὔς ἐν· ἐπιχυσίδιον χαλκοῦν ἐν ᾧ δακτύλιος]

195 [σιδηροῖ καὶ ὑπόχρυσοι ἐ]ν.οῖς καὶ ὑπάργυροι· ἀρτύτιναν χαλκῇ παλαιὰν πυθμένα οὐκ
ἐχουσιν, μόνωντον· [Λ]ίθους ὀνυχίνους ΔΔ, ὧν οἱ πέντε ἐρρωγότε[ες – –, ἐνδεδεμένους κύκλῳ ἐν
χρυσίῳ – – – – – ὧν]

[οἱ δύο ἄλυσιν ἔχοντες χρυσὴν π]οδῶν δὲ εἶν κα[ὶ ἡμιποδίου]· μυσόβας δύο λαβὰς ἐχούσας
ὄνυχινας καὶ ποτηρίδιον ὄνυχινον κατεαγός, ἀνάθημα Κοίντο[υ Ὑωμαίου — — — — —· φιάλην? —
— — — — — κρυσταλλίνην]

[έν καλιάρδι ξυλίνηι, ἀνάθεμ]α βασιλέως Ἀν[τιόχ]ου· τρίποδα λίθινον πόδας ἔχοντα πυξίνους, λεοντόβασιν· ἡδυποτίδεια δύο ἐξ ὠιοῦ στρουθείου περιηρ[γυρωμένα· ἄστατα· σκυτάλια — — — — —
— — — — —]

[— — — — — χαρακτιῆρας σιδηροῦς] δέκα ὀκτώ· ἄκμο[νας πέντε]· Ἀπόλλωνα χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ βάσεως στρογγύλης ὡς τριπλάστον· τραπέζας δρυΐνας δύο, ὧν ἡ μία ἀ[νάθεμα Ἰέρωνος, ἡ δὲ μία κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ]·

[ἀπόλλωνας ἀρχαϊκοῦ]ς ξυλίνους ΔΔΙΙΙ: [άρτεμ]ίσινα ξύλινα Δ· Διοσκούρους ἐφ' ἵππων δύο καὶ ἵππον· κιβωτοὺς παλαιὰς κλεῖς οὐκ ἐχούσας, ὧν ἡ μί[α — — — — —]

(190) wt of which 98.4; another rayed dedication of the Thyestadai and Okynidai wt 9[9]; another with the inscription from the Delians. in[got silver left over from the nails; leaves gold from the crowns three and gilded silver leaves and gilded bronze ring and ingot with stone [... unweighed gold in pitcher ...]exacted by Pherekles and Theromachos for the sacred silver [...] 195 and histiaikon which comes into the Att[ic account 130.3; phiale ... dedication of Prousias, with face in the middle, unweighed; four phialia wt 200; gold ornamented quiver with Scythian bow [and ribbon, dedication of Stratonike ... other gilded Hellenic silver (coin?)] on pedestal; various unstamped bronze coins not counted; old bronze hydria without base [or one handle; bronze pitcher containing iron rings including gilded] (195) and silvered ones; old bronze ladle without base, one handled; 20 onyx [s]tones, five broken, [bound in a gold circle ... two of which have a two and a half foot gold chain]; two flyswatters with onyx handles and small broken onyx cup, dedication of Quintus [of Rome ... crystal in wood basket, dedication] of king An[tioch]os; stone tripod with boxwood feet, lion-footed; two hedypotidia from ostrich egg silv[ered, unweighed; staffs ... iron stamps] eighteen; [five] anvils; bronze Apollo on round base about

silver censer | (25) which Kleostrate dedicated (daughter) of Nikeratos, with bronze fittings, weight of this 1300; gold apyron weight | [of this] (.3 1/2); [2] smooth gold bracelets, Polyippe (daughter) of Meleteon of | [Achar]nai dedicated, weight of the two 1.4; gilded silver | collar, weight of this 58.4; gold crown | aristeia

(30) of the goddess, weight of this 272.3 1/2; 3 silver oinochoai, | weight of these 1382.2; gold crown | which Lysander son of Aristokritos of Sparta dedicated, | weight of this 66.5; gold olive crown which Gelon | son of Tlesonides of Pellene dedicated, weight of this 17.3; | gold olive crown (35) which Hierokles of Phaselite dedicated, weight | of this (59); gold olive crown which the city dedicated | (as) victory prize for the citharode, weight of this 85; | gold olive crown which Aristomache (daughter) of Aristokles dedicated, | weight of this 26.3; gold apeiron ring which Platthis | of Aegina

(40) dedicated, weight of this .1 1/2; gold crown | which the Nike in the hand of the | gold statue has on her head, unweighed; 2 Phocian staters; [12] Phocian sixths; | 11 silver Medici sigloi; gold stand, unweighed; | gilded silver krater, unweighed; [one] Phocian sixth; |[two] stone (45) seals, (the one) with the gold ring, the | other silver; 100 bronze trays; (12) bronze stathmia; knife with |[ivory] scabbard, this the Boule dedicated |[in Antigenes' archonship (407 BC); silver karchesi]on of Zeus Polieus [weight of this, 199]; of Brauronian Artemis [3 chrysid|es phialai] weight

(50) [of these 503.1+]; 3 chrysidai [and one bell|ed, Stephanos] son of Thallos of La[mphri] dedicated, weight of these 649; tablet s[ilver, weight of this 109|3.3; hand basin sil|ver [weight of this 1050; of Brauronian Artemis | gold thrip]e[distos with gold chain which | Kallion (55) wife of Aris]t[okles] dedicated, weight of this 2.1 |...silver hydriai: | first, weight 9[98; second, weight 991; th]ird weight 982; fourth weight 98|9 [fifth weight 1003.3; sixth weight 98|7.3; (60) seven[th weight 993; ei]ghth, weight 9|90[.5; ninth, weight 1001.3; tenth weight 981;] elev[enth weight 995.3; tw]elfth weight 9|9[0; thirteenth weight 992.3; fourteenth weight 990.|4; (65) fif]teen[th weight 993; six]teenth weight [999.3; seven]teenth weight 9|9[1...[gap of 13 lines]...weight of th[is...silver oinochoe weight 9|79; [silver kylix weight of this 105; kylix go]ld, weight of th[is ... curse]ld gold (85) mi|xed weight of this; cursed gol]ld mixed [unstamped weight 614.3; gilded silver weigh]t 6; from the [Anakion; 7 large silver phialai; 2 small; | karchesi]on silv[er 1 weight 368+; of Brau]ronian Artem[is phiale [small silver; small kylix...weight 136;

(90) ph[iale silver which Kallisatratos son of Kalliades of Ach|arn]ai dedicat[ed weight of this 100+; silver phiale wh]ich Ari]stola ded[icated weight of this; gold ring | which Do]rkas in[Peiraeus living dedicated weight of this |...]gild[ed silver 2...

94410 GODS

The following silver they gave over and unweighed [epeteia: gorgoneion  gilded] | silver from the shield from the [temple; the counterfeit silver] | from Eleusis 25; ivory cal[f; silver phiale which Leokr]ates son of Aischron of Phaleron dedicated weight of this 110; phiale silve|r (5) which Lysimache mother of Telemachos

(dedicated), in which the [gorgoneion (was), weight] | 3+; gold ring on tablet which Kl[einomache] dedicated to Artem[is] of Brauron; gold ring and go[lden apyron with silve]r bound which Phrynichos Thessalian dedi[cated weight of these] | 2+; 2 gold earrings of Brauronian Artemis [...]os (10) dedicated weight .4 1/2; counterfeit staters [in chest sea]lled by those with Lakon; large onyx of priapic goat-deer weight 32; gold with mixed stones and earr[ing weight 100] |.

The following epeteia we gave over: the gold from the base of the statue which Aristokles | brought away from [...] weight 100+ [...]oth]er (15) gold which was found with the goldsmith weight .3 1/2; gold crown, | aristeia of the goddess, weight 245.1 1/2; gilded ivory palladion | and the gilded shield which Archias living in Peiraeus | dedicated; Andron of Elaiousia gave aparchai of gold 2; Thrasyllus of Euolymous gold . 1/2; 2 Aeginetan staters of Brauronian Artemis; go[ld] (20) ring which Axiothea wife of Sokles dedicated, weight 1.3; | mixed unstamped silver weight 8.3; unstamped gold weight 3.

The following in the Opisthodomos: from the Brauronian chest: | equine bridle, reins,

Xenotimos son of Karkinos dedicated; in another chest: gilded ivory pipes-case; in chest: 2 pendant necklaces, | (25) beaded necklace, two pairs of diopai, these gilded wood; | physeton; 2 gilded wood apples; eight iron rings, | one with gold apyron; [glass seal; | five tin earrings, these Thaumarete wif[e of Timonides]| dedicated; in chest: ivory lyre and plectrum [...] on (30) wooden; in painted chest which Kleito wife of Aristo[krates of Ol]ia dedicated; in the chest there is in a kyl[ichnis: se]al with gold ring, Dexilla dedicated; ochthoibos | with twelve gold; another ochthoibos with 12 gold; ochthoibos with 7 gold; | chlidon with 10 gold with the apyron; painted glass seals | 2; gilded alyses with gold; onyx [seal]| with gold ring; | jasper seal [with] gold ring; | gold-encased jasper seal; gold-encased glass seal | with gold ring; 2 seals with silver rings; | 7 painted gold-encased glass seals, | (35) gold-encased seal, beaded necklace on thread with [...] | gold apyron in the middle and bracelets...

Treasurers of Athena Inventory IG II2 1424a (369 BC)

<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/3641?&bookid=5&location=7>

1
- - - - - σ - - - - -
- - - - - κλ[.]ο...ο...νοσι[.]χ- - - - -
- - - - - παραλ[α]β[ό]ντες παρὰ τ[αμιῶν - - - - -
- - - - -
- - - - - ἐπὶ Δ[υσ]νικ[ή]το ἄ[ρ]χοντ[ος] {370/69} Κοροΐ[βο
- - - - -]

... having taken over from the t[reasurers...] in the archonship of Dysniketos (370 BC) son of Koroi[bos...]

col. I.

5 20.....του[.]ρυ[.]λου [πρῶτος ῥυμός· κεφαλῇ], στεφά[ν]η, ὄρμος,
[ἐνώιδια, ὑποδερίς, ἤ]λοι χρυσοῖ, χ[εῖρ] [ἄριστερὰ, ἀμφιδέα], χρυσία μικρά,
[στα]θμὸν [XXΔΔΔΔ□□□□II]·

10 [δεύτερος ῥυμός· θώραξ, στ]ρόφιον, περι- [τραχηλίδιον, στ]ολί[δε] δύο, μικρὰ χρυσία, vac.

[σταθμὸν Χ₀ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ□□□□] · [τρίτος ῥυθμός· ἀπόπτυγμα], περόναι δύο, vac.
[πόδε δύο, χρυσία μικρά],

15 [σταθμὸν ΧΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ□□□□ΙΙΙ]· [τέταρτος ῥυθμός· χεῖρ]
δεξιὰ, ἀμφιδεὰ, [κατωριδε δύο, στέφα]νο[ς], χρυσία μι[κ]ρά, [σταθμὸν] ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔ
[πέμπτος ῥυθμός]· ἀκρωτήριον, ὀπίσθιον,

20 [σκέλη δύο, χ]ρ[υσία μικ]ρά, vac. [στ]αθμὸν [XXXX□□III]· [κρ]ατήρ [χρυ]σοῦς ὁ
ἐλάτιων, [στ]αθμὸν Δ□— — [ὑδρί]α [χρυσῇ], σταθμὸν ΧΗ□ΔΔ□□□□III·
25 [ὑδρία χρυσῇ], σταθμὸν ΧΗΗ□· [οἶνοχό]η χρυσῇ, σταθμὸν □Δ□□□III· 13.....ου...
8.....ε vac. 18.....ΗΗ□Δ· vac. [φιάλαι πιλωταί] ἕξ, σταθμὸν ΧΔΔΔ□□·

30 [φιάλαι] Αἱ[θι]οπίδες τέτταρες, [σταθμὸν □□□□]ΙΙΙ· [φιά]λη [χρυσή, ἥν Στ]έφανος
 θάλλο [ἀνέ]θη[κεν, στα]θμὸν ΗΔΔΔΔ· [στ]έφανος χ[ρ]υσοῦς τῆς θεοῦ ἀριστεῖον
 35 [ἐκ] Παναθ[η]ν[αίων] τῶν ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκο [ἄρ]χοντος {378/7}, σ[τα]θμὸν Η□ΔΔΔΔ□□□ΙΙΙΙΙ·
 [κυ]μβίον [χρυσόν], σταθμὸν ΔΔΙ· [χρ]υσί[ον] ἐγ κιβωτίῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κανοῦ, ἵνα
 [τὰ] ἐλεφάντινα ζῶια, σταθμὸν ΔΔΔΔ·

40 [δο]κιμε[ῖα] λε[ῖα]ι χρυσαῖ τετταράκοντα [ἔξ], σταθμὸν □ΔΔΔ□□□□□III·
[χρυ]σίον, ὃ παρὰ Ἀριστάρχει [ηῦ]ρέθη, σταθμὸν I· [εἰ]λικτεῖρες Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας
45 [χρ]υσοῖ, [στα]θμὸν □□□IIII· [φύ]λλον ἀπὸ [τῆ]ς θύρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑκατο[μ]πέδο
[χρ]υσοῦν ἀπὸ [τοῦ] ἡ[λ]ο ἁστανος· [στ]έφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἡ Νίκη ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς
[κε]φαλῆς ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγάλματος.

50 [τῆ]ς Νίκης τῆς ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδῳ ἄρχοντος {374/3}· [πρ]ῶτος ῥυμός· κεφαλὴ, στεφάνη, στέφανος [ὁ ἐ]πὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἐνώδεια, ὑποδερὶς, [ὄρ]μος, χεῖρες ἀμφοτέραι, ἀμφιδέαι δῦο, [στ]αθμὸν XXX□ΔΔ□□IIII·

55 [δε]ύτερος ρυμός· θώραξ, περόνα, ζώνιον, [χρυσ]ίον όπίσθιον, [στ]αθμόν
 XXXHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□III· [τρ]ίτος ρυμός· σκέλη άμφοτέρα καί [κα]τω[ρ]ίδε δύο· σταθμόν
 XXXHH□ΔΔΔ□□□□·

60 [τέ]ταρτος ῥυμός· ἀπόπτυγμα, πόδε δύο, [πε]ρονίδες, μία κατακλείεται,
[σι]αθμὸν XXΗΔΔΔ□III· [ὕδ]ρία χρυσή, σταθμὸν ΧΗΗ□□□·
[σι]έφανος χρυσοῦς, ἀριστεῖον τῆς θεοῦ 65 [ἐκ] Παναθηναίων τῶν ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδου

ἀρ]χοντος {374/3}, σταθμὸν Η□ΔΔΔ□□II.

vacat vacat vacat

- 94500 (Column One) [... first rhymos: head], diadem, necklace {earrings, hypoderis, n]ails of gold, h[and l]eft, bracelet], small pieces of gold, weight [2045.2; second rhymos: breastplate, b]ra, peri[trachelidion st]oli[des] two, small pieces of gold [weight 1938; third rhymos: apoptygma], two pins [two feet, small pieces of gold weight 1939.3; fourth rhymos: hand] right, bracelet [two karorides, crow]n small pieces of
- 94505 gold [weight] 1294+; [fifth rhymos:] akroterion, opisthion [two legs, small pieces of gold weight [4002.3]; the smaller gold krater weight 15+; [gold hydria] weight 1174.4; [gold hydria] weight 1201; [gold oinochoe] weight 67.3...260; [feathered phialai] six, wt 1036; four Ethiopian [phialai weight 805].3; [gold phia]lle [which St]ephanos son of Thallos dedicat[ed wei]ght 198; gold crown aristeion of the goddess
- 94510 from the Panathenaia in the archonship of Nausinikos (378 BC), weight 197.6; [gold ky]mbion weight 27.1 1/2; gold in chest from the basket where the ivory figures (are), weight 40; smooth testers, forty [six] weight 89.3; gold which was found with Aristarchos, weight 2.1; gold heilikters of Brauronian Artemis, weight 3.5; gold leaf from the door from the Hekatompedon from the nail, unweighed; gold crown which the
- 94515 Nike in the hand of the statue wears on her head; first rhymos of the Nike in Sokratides' archonship (374): head, diadem, the crown on the head, both hands, two bracelets, weight 3077.4; second rhymos: breastplate, perona, girdle, gold opisthion, weight 3391.3; third rhymos: both legs and two katorides, weight 3288; fourth rhymos: apoptygma, two feet, pins, one is broken, weight 2141.3; gold hydria weight 1200.3; gold crown, aristeion of the goddess from the Panathenaia in Sokratides' archonship
- 94520 (374 BC), weight 182.2. (3 blank lines)

70 [τά]δε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐπίτηκτα [κα]ὶ ὑπόχαλκα

ἄστατα· [κρ]ατήρ ἐπίτηκτος ἐπίχρυσος ὑπάργυρος, [ὑ]όστατον κρατήρος ὑπόχαλκον

- 94525 [ἐ]πίχρυσον γοργόνειον χρυσοῦν

75 [ὑ]πάργυρον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος [τῆ]ς ἀπὸ τοῦ νεῶ ἀσπίδίσκαι ἐπίχρυσοι [ὑ]πάργυροι τέτταρες ἀκινάκης [σι]δηροῦς τὴν λαβὴν χρυσὴν ἔχων, [τὸ] δὲ κολεὸν ἐλεφάντινον περίχρυσον,

80 [τὸ] δὲ πυγαῖον χρυσοῦν ἀσπίδες [ἐ]πίχρυσο λεῖται δύο τρίτη ἀσπίς ἐπί- [χρ]υσος γοργόνειον ἔχουσα ἀνθέμιον [χα]λκοῦν ἐπιτήκτιω περικεχρυσωμένον· [ὑ]ποδερίδιον ξύλινον ἐπίχρυσον·

- 94530 85 [κα]νοῦν κατάχρυσον ὑπόχαλκον [χα]λκᾶ διερείσματα ἔχον. vacat vacat

The following gold and gilded and (gilded) bronze unweighed gilded silver krater; gilded bronze krater stand; gilded silver gorgoneion from the shield from the temple;

94535 four small gilded silver shields; iron akinakes with gold hilt and gilded ivory scabbard and gold pyglaion; two smooth gilded shields; a third gilded shield with gorgoneion; gilded bronze flower; gilded wood necklace; gilded bronze basket with bronze fixtures. (2 blank lines)

94540 [τά]δε σταθμῶι παρελάβομεν χρυσᾶ

90 [κα]ὶ ἐπίτηκτα καὶ ὑπόχαλκα· [κα]νοῦν χρυσοῦν ὑπόχαλκον, ἵνα [ὁ Α]πόλλων, σταθμὸν XXXΔΔΔΔ· [ἐ]τερον κανοῦν χρυσοῦν ὑπόχαλκον, [ἵ]να ὁ Ζεὺς, σταθμὸν XXXHΔΔΔΔ·

95 [φι]άλλη χαλκοκράς βαρβαρική, ἣν Κλέων [ἀνέ]θηκεν, σταθμὸν Η□Δ□□IIIIII·

[φι]άλλη ὑπάργυρος ἀκυλωτή, σταθμὸν Η†IIII·

- 94545 [θυ]μιατήριον ἐπίχρυσον ὑπόχαλκον, ἵνα [τὸ] ἄλφα παρασεσήμανται, σταθμὸν

100 [σὺ]<ν> τοῖς ἡλοῖς τοῖς χαλκοῖς XXXHH□□· [θυ]μιατήριον ἐπίχρυσον ὑπόχαλκον, ἵνα [τὸ] βῆτα παρασεσήμανται, [στ]αθμὸν XXXH□□□· [χρ]υσίον ἐπίτηκτον

105 [ὑ]πάργυρον, σταθμὸν IIII· [χρ]υσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων [τοῦ] νεῶ τῆς Νίκης, σταθμὸν □□III· [χρ]υσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος [τῆ]ς πρὸς τῶι νεῶι,

- 94550 σταθμὸν □□IIIIII·

110 [ἐ]τερον χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον [ἀπὸ] τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων, σταθμὸν Δ□□□· [σφ]ραγίδιον ἀργυροῦν δακτύλιον ἔχον. vacat vacat

The following we took over by weight, gold and gilded and (gilded) bronze gilded bronze basket where the Apollo (is), weight 3596; another gilded bronze basket where the Zeus (is), weight 3690; bronze-headed barbaric phiale which Kleon dedicated, weight 167.5; silvered akylote phiale weight 101.5; gilded bronze censer where the alpha is marked, weight with the bronze nails 3202; gilded bronze censer where the beta is marked, weight 3160.2; gilded silver, weight 4.4; gilded gold from the acroteria of the Nike temple, weight 6.3; gilded gold from the shield at the temple, weight 3.5; other gilded gold from the acroteria, weight 13; seal with silver ring.

94560 (2 blank lines)

col. II.

- 161 τάδε ἀργυρᾶ [ὑ]πόχαλκα· θυμιατήριον χαλκᾶ διερείσματα ἔχον, ὁ Ἀριστόκριτος
 94565 ἀνέθηκ[εν], σταθμὸν XXHH[H]ΔΔ[Δ]·
 165 θυμιατήριον χαλκᾶ δι[ερ]είσματα ἔχον, σταθμὸν XXHH[HHΔΔ]□□□· θυμιατήριον χαλκᾶ
 διερείσματα ἔχον, ὁ Κλεοστράτη ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν XHHH[Δ]Δ.
 169a vacat vacat
 (Column Two)
- 94570 The following silvered bronze silver censer with bronze fixtures which Aristokritos
 dedicated, weight (2330); censer with bronze fixtures, weight (2428); censer with
 bronze fixtures which Kleostrate dedicated, weight (1320). (2 blank lines)
- 170 τάδε ἀργυρᾶ· [πί]ναξ μέγας, σταθμ[ὸν] XX]ΔΔIII· [πί]ναξ] ἕτερο[ς], σταθμὸν XΔΔII·
 94575 [πί]ναξ] ἑ[τ]ερος, σταθμὸν [HH]Δ[III]· [χε]ρν[ι]βε[ί]ον, σταθμὸν X·
 175 [χε]ρν[ι]βε[ί]ον, σταθμὸν [HH]HHΔΔΔΔ· Ἀμμωνος φι[ά]λη, σταθμὸν HHH·
 [οῖνοχ]όαι τρεῖς, σταθμὸν XHHH□ΔΔΔ□□II· φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ δύο, σταθμὸν τῆς ἐτέρας H·
 180 οῖνοχόη ἀργυρᾶ, σταθμὸν □H□□□.
 180a vacat vacat vacat vacat vacat
- 94580 The following silver large tablet, weight (2027.3); another tablet, weight 1028.2;
 another tablet, weight [718.3]; hand basin, weight 1050; hand basin, weight (940);
 phiale of Ammon, weight 802; three oinochoai, weight 1382.2; two silver phialai,
 weight of the one 100; silver oinochoe, weight 652. (5 blank lines)
- 94585 181 τῶ[ν πι]ν[άκ]ων [πε]ριτμήματα, σταθμὸν ΔΔΔIII· [ξε]νικοῦ ἀργυρίου σὺν τοῖν
 ἀμφιδειδίοιν, σταθμὸν· [□]ΔΔΔ□□□III·
 185 νῆττα ἀ[ρ]γυρᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου [τοῖ]ν θεοῖν, σταθμὸν Δ□[III]· [ὀμφα]λοὶ
 φιαλίων δύο, σταθμὸν □□· θυμιατήρια τρία πα[ρὰ τ]ὴν τράπεζαν [ἄσ]τατα ἐπισκευῆς
 [δεόμ]ενα·
 94590 190 [καν]οῦν, ἵνα τὰ ἐλεφάντινα [ζῶ]ια, ἄστατον.
 191a vacat vacat
 cuttings of the tablets, weight 44.3; foreign silver with the two bracelets, weight
 (83.3); silver duck from the censer of the Twain, weight 11.3; bosses of two phialai,
 weight 6; three censers from the table, unweighed, lacking gear; basket where the
 94595 ivory figures (are), unweighed. (2 blank lines)
- 192 ὑδρίαὶ ἀργυραῖ Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος[ς]· πρώτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· δευτέρα □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□·
 195 τρίτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□· τετάρτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□□□□· πέμπτη X□□□III· ἕκτη
 □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□[I]II· ἑβδόμη □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□·
 94600 200 ὀγδόη HHHHΔΔΔΔIII· ἐνάτη XIII· δεκάτη HHHHΔΔΔΔ· ἐνδεκάτη HHHHΔΔ[ΔΔ]III· δωδεκάτη
 □HHHH□ΔΔΔ[Δ]·
 205 τρίτη καὶ δεκάτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□· τετάρτη καὶ δεκάτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔIII· πέμπτη καὶ
 δεκάτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· ἕκτη καὶ δεκάτη □HHHH[□]ΔΔΔΔ□□□□□III· ἑβδόμη καὶ δεκάτη
 □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□·
 94605 210 ὀγδόη καὶ δεκάτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□· ἐνάτη καὶ δεκάτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□□III· εἰκοστή
 □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□· μία καὶ εἰκοστή X□□□□I· δευτέρα καὶ εἰκοστή [□H]HHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□[II]II·
 215 τρίτη καὶ εἰκοστή X□[.]I· τετάρτη καὶ εἰκοστή □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□· πέμπτη καὶ εἰκοστή X·
 ἕκτη καὶ εἰκοστή X□□□□□III· ἑβδόμη καὶ εἰκοστή X[I]II.
 219a vacat vacat
- 94610 Silver hydriai of Athena Polias
 first 998; second 991; third 982; fourth 989; fifth 1003.3; sixth (998.2); seventh
 993; eighth 995.3; ninth 1001.3; tenth 991+; eleventh (995.3); twelfth (990);
 thirteenth 992.4; fourteenth 990.4; fifteenth 993; sixteenth 949.3; seventeenth 991;
 eighteenth 994; nineteenth 994.3; twentieth 992; twenty-first 1004.1; twenty-second
 94615 (992.4); twenty-third 1001.1+; twenty-fourth 991; twenty-fifth 1000; twenty-sixth
 1009.4; twenty-seventh (1000.3). (2 blank lines)
- 220 ὑδρίαὶ ἀργυραῖ καιναί· πρώτη □HHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□□· δευτέρα □HHHH□□□· τρίτη □HHHHIII·
 223a vacat
- 94620 224 Ἀθηνᾶς Νίκης ὑδρίαὶ·
 225 πρώτη □HHHH□Δ· δευτέρα □HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□· τρίτη X□· τετάρτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□·
 228a vacat
 229 Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας ὑδρίαὶ ἀργυραῖ
 230 πρώτη □HHHH□ΔΔ□□□□□· δευτέρα □HHH□ΔΔΔ□□· τρίτη □HHHH□ΔΔΔ□□□· τετάρτη
 94625 □HHHH□ΔΔΔΔ□□· πέμπτη □HHHHΔΔ□□·
 235 ἕκτη □HHHHΔΔ□□· ἑβδόμη □HHHH□□□□□□□·
 236a vacat
 237 Ἀνάκοιν ὑδρίαὶ ἀργυραῖ· πρώτη □HHH□ΔΔΔ□□□· δευτέρα □HHH□ΔΔΔΔ□III· 240 τρίτη
 □HHHHΔΔΔ□□·

- 94630 240a *vacat vacat*
 241 Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὑδρίαὶ ἀργυραῖ· πρώτη □HHHHΔΔ□□□III· δευτέρα □HHHHΔΔΔ□□□□·
 τρίτη □HHHHΔΔ□□□III·
 245 τετάρτη □HHHHΔΔΔ□□□□·
 245bis πέμπτη □HHHH□□□□□□·
- 94635 245a *vacat*
 246 Ἀφροδίτης ὑδρία ἀργυρᾶ μία □HHHH□.
 246a *vacat*
 New silver hydriai
 first 893; second 907; third 900.3 (1 blank line)
- 94640 Hydriai of Athena Nike
 first 960; second 982; third 1001; fourth 992 (1 blank line)
 Silver hydriai of Brauronian Artemis
 first 979; second 882; third 987; fourth 992; fifth 922; sixth 922; seventh 959.
 (1 blank line)
- 94645 Silver hydriai of the Anakes
 first 883; second 895.3; third 932. (2 blank lines)
 Silver hydriai of Demeter and Kore
 first 924.3; second 938; third 928.3; fourth 938; fifth 959. (1 blank line)
 One silver hydria of Aphrodite, 950.
- 94650 (1 blank line)
 247 σταθμία χαλκᾶ ΔII·
 μάχαιρα σιδηρᾶ ἐλεφάντινον κολεὸν
 ἔχουσα, ἣν ἡ βουλὴ ἀνέθηκεν <ῆ>
 250 ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένους ἀρχοντος {407/6} βοῖδιον
 ἐλεφάντινον, ὃ Σμικύθη ἀνέθηκεν·
 παλλᾶδιον ἐλεφάντινον ἐπίχρυσον
 καὶ ἀσπίδισκη ἐπίχρυσος, ὃ Ἀρχίας ἀνέθηκε·
 χρυσῖτις λίθος ἐπὶ κίονος ξυλίνω.
- 94660 254a *vacat vacat vacat vacat vacat vacat vacat*
 12 bronze stathmia; iron knife with ivory hilt which the Boule dedicated with
 Antigenes' archon (407 BC); ivory calf which Smikythe dedicated; gilded ivory
 palladion and gilded shield which Archias dedicated; chrysite stone on wood column.
 (7 blank lines)
- 94665 col. III.
 290 κυνῇ χαλκῇ ἐ[πίχρ]υσος μία· [γραμματε~]ο[ν]
 παρὰ τῆς βου[λῆς] τῆς [ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου σεσημασμένον]·
 θρόνοι μεγάλοι τρεῖς οὐχ ὑγιεῖς ἀνα[κλίσσεις]
 94670 ἔχοντες ἠλεφαντωμένας ἑτερος [θρόνος]
 ἀνάκλισιν οὐκ ἔχων ὄνουξ μέγας [κατεαγῶς]·
 295 φιάλη χαλκῇ, ἣν Καλλίας Πλωθειεὺς [ἀνέθηκεν]·
 θρόνος Θετταλικός συβήνη ἐλε[φ]αν[τίνη]
 ἡ παρὰ Μηθυμναίων ἐπίχρυσος δίφ[ρος κ]ατ[εαγῶς],
 94675 ὑγιεῖς δύο. θρόνοι τέτταρες, τούτων κ[α]τ[εαγῶς] εἴς·
 κλῖναι Μιλησιουργεῖς δέκα ἐπισκευῆς [δεόμεναι]·
 300 ὀκλαδία δέκα τράπεζα ἠλεφαν[τωμένη]·
 ἀσπίδες ἐπίχρυσοι ὑπόξυλοι Δ[Δ] ἐπίσημοι,
 τούτων μία οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐπίσημον [ὄνουξ ἐγ κυλιχνίδι]
 94680 χαλκῇ ἀνευ δακτυλίου ξυστίς, ἣ[ν] Φ[α]ρ[ν]αβ— —
 ἀνέθηκεν υ..6... λ[ύρ]ιον ἐλεφάντ[ινον]
 305 ἔχον τὸ σκ[ῦ]τος [.]ο...ε...ον ἐπίχρ[υσον]·
 ἀσπίδες ἐπίχαλκοι — — — — — — — — — —
 ἄστατος ...8....οα...7...μ— — — — — — — — — —
- 94685 τονε[.]αρισ[.]ω[.] σφρα[γί]διον ἐλεφάντ[ινον]
 δακτύλιον ἔχον σφραγιδίω λιθίνω δύο, [τὸ μὲν]
 310 χρυσοῦν ἔχον [δ]α[κ]τύλιον, τὸ δὲ ἀργυροῦν·
 στατήρες [κ]ίβδηλοι [ἐγ κι]βωτίω παρὰ Λ[ά]κω[νος]
 σεσημασμένοι τῇ δημοσίαι σφραγίδι·
- 94690 δοκιμεῖον τῆς οἶνο[χ]όης τοῖν θεοῖν, σταθμὸν
 χρυσίον II ἐγ κιβωτίω δοκιμεῖον τῆς οἰ[νοχόης]
 315 τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς χρυσοῦν, σταθμὸν [I□□] ἐγ κιβωτίω·
 δοκι[μ]εῖον τοῦ [χρυσ]ίου τοῦ εἰς τὰς φιάλας]
 ἐ[γ] κιβωτίω, σταθμὸν I□ δοκιμεῖον τοῦ χρυ[σίου]
 94695 τοῦ εἰς τὰ θυμιατήρια ἐγ κιβωτίω, [σταθμὸν I□□]·

δοκιμεῖον ἕτερον, σταθμὸν Ι□ κρανίδιον μ[ικρὸν]
 320 περίχρυσον παρειὰς [χρυσ]ᾶς ἔχον, τ[ὸν δὲ λόφ]ον
 ἐλεφάντινον κύαθος μυρηρὸς ἀργυροῦς ἄστα[τος].
 θήραια ΙΙΙΙ φιάλιον χαλκοῦν.

94700 322a vacat vacat vacat

(Column Three) one gilded bronze helmet; grammateion [sealed] by the Boule [of the Areopagus]; three large thrones not sound with ivoried anaklises; another throne without anaklisis; bronze large onyx; bronze phiale which Kallias of Plotheia dedicated; Thessalian throne; the gilded ivory pipe-case from the Methymnians; broken chair; two sound; four thrones, [one of these broken]; ten Milesian-made couches [lacking] gear; ten okladiiai; ivoried table; (25) gilded wood shields, one of these does not have the balzon; [onyx in a box] of bronze without ring; scraper which Pharnab- dedicated; ivory lyre with skytos... gilded... bronzed shields... unweighed... small ivory seal with ring; two stone seals [the one] with a gold ring, the other with a silver one; counterfeit staters in a chest from Lakon, sealed with the public seal; tester of the oinochoe of the Twain, weight of gold .2, in a chest; gold tester of the oinochoe of Athena, weight [.1 3/4] in a chest; tester of the gold for the phialai in a chest, weight .1 1/2; tester of the gold for the censters in a chest [weight .1 3/4]; another tester, weight .1 1/2; small gilded helmet with gold cheekpieces and the crest ivory; silver myrrh kyathos unweighed; 4 Theraia; bronze phialion. (3 blank lines)

323 ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος.
 γοργόνειον· κάμπη [κατάχρυσα ἰ]ππος· γρύψ·
 94720 325 γρυπὸς προτομή [γρύψ μέγας] λέοντος προτομή·
 δράκων ἐπίχρυσος κλῖναι Χι]οργεῖς □ΙΙ· vac.
 ξιφομάχαιραι □[.. ἐγχειρ]ίδιον ξίφη □· vac.
 θώρακες Δ□Ι πέ[λτη χαλκῇ] λύρα κατάχρυσος·
 λύραι ἐλεφάντινα[ι ΙΙΙΙ Λ]ύραι ξύλιναι ΙΙΙΙ· vac.
 94725 330 κράνη χαλκᾶ ΙΙΙ ἀ[σπί]δες ὑπόξυλοι ἐπίχαλκοι — —·
 κράνος Τλλυρικόν· ἀσπίς ἐγ Λέσβου ἐπίσημος [Νίκη]·
 ἀσπίδες ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐπίχαλκοι Δ· vac.
 λείον στάχυες ΔΙΙ περίχρυσοι ἀλαβαστοθήκ[η]
 ἄλυσιν ἀργυρᾶν ἔχουσα μάχαιρα χαλκῇ ἐν ἐλύτρ[ωι]
 94730 335 ἐλεφαντίνωι χαλινὸς κεχρυσωμένος· vac.
 ἀκινάκης κεχρυσωμένος κιβωτίω δύο· vac.
 ὀπισθοκρηπίδες συβήνη Μηδική ἀλαβαστοθήκ[η]
 [ξ]υλίνη κοίτη ὑπόξυλος κατάχρυσος ἀσπίδες
 [ἐπί]σημοι ΔΔΔΙΙΙ τοῦτων τρεῖς γε<γ>ραμμέναι·
 94735 340 [ἀσ]πίδες ἐπίχαλκοι Δ□ΙΙ κολεδὸν μαχαίρας
 [ἰατρ]ικῆς ἐλεφάντινον κλῖναι Μιλησιουργεῖς [□ΙΙ]·
 [κ]λινίδες δύο κνημίδων ζεύγη □Ι
 [κυ]ναῖ χαλκαῖ ὄνω ΔΔ□Ι κανᾶ χα[λκᾶ] ΙΙΙ·
 [στύ]ρακες ΗΔ σώρακοι □ΙΙΙ κα[ὶ ἡ]μισωράκιον
 94740 345 τ[οξ]ευμάτων σαπρῶν ἀχρήστων δίφ[ρο]ι ΙΙ.
 345a vacat vacat

From the Parthenon

gorgoneion; gilded kampe; horse; vulture; head of a vulture; [large vulture]; head of a lion; gilded snake; Chian couches; 5+ sword-knives; dagger; 5 swords; 16
 94745 breastplates; bronze helmet; gilded lyre; [4] ivory lyres; 4 wood lyres; 3 bronze helmets; bronzed wood shields; Illyrian helmet; decorated shield from Lesbos; 10 bronzed shields from the Panathenaia; 12 gilded stalks of wheat; alabastotheke with silver chain; bronze knife in ivory elytron; gilded bridle; gilded akinakes; 2 chests; opisthokrepides; Medic pipe case; wood alabastotheke; gilded wood koite; 33 decorated shields, 3 inscribed/painted; 17 bronzed shields; ivory scabbard for doctor's knife; Milesian couches; 2 small couches; 6 pairs of greaves; 26 bronze helmets, up; 3 bronze helmets; 110 spear shafts; 8 boxes and a half box of useless rotten arrows; 2 chairs. (2 blank lines)

94755 346 ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίωι νεώι·
 στ[έφ]ανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν Κόνων ἀνέθηκεν, ἄστατος·
 στ[έφ]ανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν οἱ ταμίαι ἀνέθεσαν οἱ
 ἐπ' Εὐβολίδο ἀρχοντος {394/3}, ἄστατος στέφανος χρυσοῦς],
 350 ὃν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀνέθεσαν οἱ μετὰ Δίωνος· vac.
 94760 στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἄστατος, ὃν οἱ ταμίαι ἀνέθεσαν
 οἱ ἐπὶ Δημοστράτου ἀρχοντος {393/2} στέφανος χρυσοῦς]

ἄστατος, ὃν Τιμαγόρας ἀνέθηκεν στεφάνῳ ὑποξύ[λω]
 δύο φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἄστατος ἐγ καλιᾶδι, ἣν Εὐκολί[νῃ]
 355 ἀνέθηκεν φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἄστατος, ἣν Γλαύκωνος
 94765 γυνὴ ἀνέθηκεν φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἄστατος, ἣν Δημῶ
 Ἀκουμενοῦ γυνὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἀσπίδι δύο ἀργυρῶ
 καὶ κρανιδίῳ δύο καὶ δοράτιον ἀργυρᾶ· ἄστατα·
 φι[ά]λη ὑπόξυλος ἐπίχρυσος χρυσίον ἄπυρον,
 360 ὃ ἀνέθηκε Φιλτῷ, ἄστατον δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς
 94770 ἄστατος, ὃν Ἀρχεδίκη ἀνέθηκεν ἀποραντήριον {ἀπορραντήριον}
 χρυσοῦν ἄστατον, ὃ ἀνδριάς ἔχει στεφάνῃ, ἣν ἡ θεὸς
 ἔχει· πλάστρα, ἃ ἡ θεὸς ἔχει· ὀχθοιβος, ὃν ἔχει ἐπὶ τῷ
 τραχήλῳ· ὄρμοι πέντε· γλαῦξ χρυσῇ· αἰγίς χρυσῇ·
 365 γοργόνειον χρυσοῦν· φιάλη χρυσῇ, ἣν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ
 94775 ἔχει στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἄστατος, ὃν ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ
 Χαρισάνδρου {376/5} ἀνέθηκεν στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν
 Τιμόθεος ἀνέθηκεν στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν
 Φίλιππος ἀνέθηκεν στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν
 370 Καλλίκλεια ἀνέθηκεν στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν
 94780 ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐφ' Ἱπποδάμαντος {376/5} ἀνέθηκεν· φιάλη ἀργυρ[ᾶ],
 ἣν Ἀριστοβούλῃ ἀνέθηκεν ξιφομάχαιρα χαλκῇ
 πρὸς τῇ παραστάδι ξίφη δύο πρὸς τῇ παστιάδι {παραστιάδι}. vacat

In the Old Temple

gold crown which Konon dedicated, unweighed; gold creown which the treasurers
 94785 dedicated with Euboulides archon (394 BC), unweighed; gold crown which the
 ambassadors with Dion dedicated; unweighed gold crown, which the treasurers dedicated
 with Demostratos archon (393 BC); unweighed gold crown, which Timagora dedicated; two
 gilded wood crowns; unweighed silver phiale in a basket which Eukoline dedicated;
 unweighed silver phiale which the wife of Glaukon dedicated; unweighed silver phiale
 94790 which Demo wife of Akoumenos dedicated; two silver shields and two helmets and a
 spear, silver, unweighed; gilded wood phiale; gold apyron which Philto dedicated,
 unweighed; unweighed gold ring which Archedike dedicated; unweighed gold sprinkler
 which the statue holds; diadem which the goddess wears; plastra which the goddess
 wears; ochthoibos which she wears on her throat; five necklaces; gold owl; gold
 94795 aegis; gold gorgoneion; gold phiale which she has in her hand; unweighed gold crown
 which the Boule dedicated with Charisander archon (376 BC); gold crown which
 Timotheos dedicated; gold crown which Philippos dedicated; gold crown which
 Kallikleia dedicated; gold crown which the Boule dedicated with Hippodamas archon
 (375 BC); silver phiale which Aristoboule dedicated; bronze sword-knife near the
 94800 prastas; two swords near the pastas. (36 blank lines)

col. I.

115 [ἐν] τῷ Ὀπισθοδόμῳ· [ζ]ώδια ἀπὸ τῶν θρόνων· [χ]εῖρε ἐλεφαντίνῃ δύο· [ὀ]φρεὺς
 ἀργυροῦ ἤμισυ· [ἀ]κμονες σιδηροῖ ΙΙΙΙ σφῦραι ΙΙΙ·
 94805 120 [χ]αρακτῆρες ΔΔΙΙ⁶ κιβωτός· [σώρα]κοι το[ξ]ευμάτων ΗΗΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ· [ἐ]πετείο ΔΔ.
 vac. 122a vacat vacat

In the Opisthodomos

ivory figures from the thrones; half a silver snake; 4 iron anvils; 2 hammers; 22
 stamps; chest; 299 arrow boxes, 20 this year's. (2 blank lines)

125 [ἐν] τῇ χαλκοθήκῃ· [ἀ]σπίδες ἐπὶ [χ]αλκοὶ ..6...ΤΗΛ[.]Χ[.]Ο ΗΗΗΔΔ· [ἀ]σπίδες
 ἐπὶ χαλκοὶ [τῶν] παρὰ Πασίωνος ΗΗΗΙΙΙ·
 130 ἀσπίδες ἐπὶ χαλκοὶ ἐκ Παναθηναίων ΔΙΙ· ἀσπίδες ἐπὶ χαλκοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοίχων ΔΔ·
 [δὲ]ρατα ΔΔΔΙΙΙ· κυναῖ χαλκαῖ ΧΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΙΙΙ· κρανιδία ΔΔΙΙ· κνημίδες ΗΗΔΔΙΙ·
 94815 135 χαλινοὶ Μηδικοὶ ΔΔΔΔΙΙ· [κ]άδοι χαλκοῖ ΙΙΙΙ· κυνῇ σιδηρᾶ· κυν[α]ῖ ὑπόξυλοι ΙΙΙΙ·
 κράν[η] ὑπόξυλα ἀσπίδες λευκαῖ ΧΗΗΗ· ἀσπίδες ἐπὶ χαλκοὶ τῶν Πασίωνος
 140 [ἀν]εὺ πορπάκων ΔΔΙΙΙΙ· [σ]κάφαι πομπικαὶ Η· κοῖται χαλκαῖ καὶ ἐπίθημα κοίτης·
 κανᾶ καὶ πίνακες ΗΙΙΙ· κανοῦν μέγα· κανὰ νυμφικὰ ΙΙΙ·
 145 κανᾶ ἀρχαῖα ΔΔ σφαγεῖα καὶ φιάλια καὶ πα[ν]αγρίδες καὶ σκάφια ΗΔΔ· λεβητίσκοι
 94820 γαμικοὶ ΔΔΙΙΙΙ· [ὕ]δρῃαι ΗΗΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ οἶνοχόαι καὶ κρημοφόροι ΔΔΔ·
 150 κρατῆρες Ἀργολικοὶ ΙΙ· ὑπόστατα χαλκᾶ ΙΙ· κρατῆρες Λακωνικοὶ ΔΔ· ὑπόστατα ΙΙ·
 ἡθμοὶ ΙΙΙ κρατῆρ τριηριτικός· καὶ ἕτερος μικρός κάδοι δύο·
 155 ἀμφορεῦς χαλκοῦς ἐλαιηρός· καθετῆρες καὶ καδίσκοι ΔΔ· ἀμφορίσκος ὀλκεῖα μεγάλα
 ΙΙ· ἐλάτιω ὀλκεῖα ΔΔΙΙ χαλκία κοῖλα ΙΙΙ γραμματεῖα ΗΗΗ·
 94825 160 θυμιατηρίο κλάσματα· λεκανοψυκτήρ·
 160a vacat

In the Chalkotheke

bronzed shields from... 365; bronzed shields from Pasion 754; bronzed shields from the Panathenaia 12; bronzed shields from the walls 55; spears 38; bronze helmets 1433; small helmets 17; greaves 626; Medic bridles 86; bronze jugs 4; iron helmet; wood-underneath helmets 4; wood-underneath helmet; white shields 1300; bronzed shields of Pasion without straps 24; processional trays 100; bronze beds 500 and bed-cover; baskets and tablets 103; large basket; bridal baskets 58; sphageia and phialia and panagrides and trays 120; small lebetes gamikoi 19; hydriai 238; oinochoai and kremaphoroi 30; Argive kraters 2; bronze stands 2; Laconian kraters 6; stands 2; strainers 3; trieretic krater and another small; two jugs; bronze olive oil amphora; 6 collars (? katheteres) and small jugs; amphoriskos; large troughs 2; smaller troughs 7; hollow bronze 3; tablets 750; pieces of a censer; lekanopsykter. (1 blank line)

94840 col. II.

255 λυχνεῖον τὸ μέγα τὸ [ε]ῖς θεοξένια· σκάφη χαλκῇ· λεοντόβασις· σκάφη στρογγύλη· κύλιξ μεγάλη ποδανιπτήρ· λεκάνη κρατήρ μέγας·

260 ἐσχάροι μεγάλοι χαλκαῖ II· χοῦς χαλκοῦς λέβητες μεγάλοι· vac.

94845 265 ἑτέροι ἐλάττιος· vac. λεβήτια ἐχῖνος· καρχήσια ἡθμοὶ III ποτήρια II κύλιξ·

270 μικρὰ II λυχνεῖον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνδριαντίσκος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· καρ[κ]ίνος λιθάριος·

ὑπόστατον, λοτήριον [χ]αλκοῦν·

ὑδρίδιον μικρόν χει[ρ]οπέδαι·

94850 275 ἀσπίδων ἐπίσημα III, δελφίς, αἰετός, ἵππος· κρηστήριον σίδηρος ἀπὸ τροχοῦ·

κώθωνες χαλκοῖ· κόραι ἀπὸ τῶν κανῶν ΔI·

280 χαρακτήρες □ δίσκος· κυναῖ ἀπὸ ἀνδριάντων II· κτεῖς σιδηροῦς· χαλκίον τροχὸν

ἐχ<ο>ν· τροχὸς χαλκοῦς λόφοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδριάντων IIII γοργόνειον·

285 παραβολίσκοι τῆς τετρακύκλου· χάλικες σιδηραῖ IIII· θερμαύστεις II, ἡ ἐτ[έ]ρα

94855 ἄλυσιν ἐχει· τάλαντον σταθμόν ζωμήρσις vac. ζώδια χαλκᾶ μικὰ IIII

289a vacat vacat

(Chalkotheke continued) the great lampstand for the Theoxenia; bronze tgrays[?]; lion

base; round trays; large kylix; foot basin; lekane; large krater 2 large bronze

94860 braziers; bronze chous; large lebetes; others small; lebetia; echinos; karchesia; 3

strainers; 2 cups; kylix; kothon; kissyphion; coller; large and small kyathos; large

censer; another small; 18 spits; stand; large silver lampstand; bronze lampstand and

statue from it; stone-fastened crab; stand; bronze lotharion; small hydria;

handcuffs; 3 shield blazons: dolphin, eagle, horse; kesterion; iron from wheel;

bronze kothons; 11 korai from the baskets; 5 stamps; discus; 2 helmets from statues;

94865 iron comb; bronze with wheel; bronze wheel; 4 crests from the statues; gorgoneion;

paraboliskoi for the tetracycle; 4 iron calyxs; 2 thermastes, one with chain; talent

weight; zomerysis; 4 small bronze figures. (2 blank lines)

col. III.

94870 374 ὧτα ὑδριῶν ΔIIII λεοντοβάσεις ΔIII·

375 πυθμένες ὑδριῶν I— —· ἑτέροι μικροὶ □I ξίφη· μάχαιραι, ἀκινάκαι ΗΗΗΔΔΔ□·

διερείσματ<α> τῶν Νικῶν □II· μηνίσκοι χαλκοῖ III δεσμοὶ

380 σιδηροῖ τετρακύκλων ΔΔΔΔ· ἥλοι κοῖλοι μεγάλοι ΔII· ἑτέροι ἐλάττιους ΔΔ δεσμοὶ

94875 λίθων ΔΔΔII Κρητικαὶ ἀκίδες □Η□· στυράκια ΗΗ□ κρατευταὶ μεγάλοι □,

385 ἐνὸς πῆχους μικροὶ IIII· ἀσπίδες ἐπίσημοι II κτεῖς τοῦ Ἑκατομπέδο πνιγεύς·

σίλφειον· ἡθμοὶ III κρεάγραι σ[ιδ]ηραῖ II σιλεγγίς ὧτα λέβητος·

390 κύαθοι δύο σειρά· κλ[ε]ῖδες □II Λακωνικαὶ σκαλῖς· πε[λ]έκιον· στέφανος χαλκοῦς·

ἵπ[π]ος μικρός κτεῖς ἀνάπαιστος· ἐτέρα κατεαγῦα {κατεαγυῖα} ἐτέρα τῆς στοᾶς·

395 ἀσπίδια πομπικὰ II παλλάδιον χαλκοῦν ἄμπρα ΔΔΔ· ὑφάμματα □Δ□III τοπεῖα IIII·

94880 ὑπό<ζ>ωμα· λύχνοι χαλκοῖ III· πτερύγια κρανῶν IIII.

400 vacat

(Chalkotheke continued) 19 hydria handles; 13 lionbases; 1+ hydria bases; 6 others

small; 355 swords, knives, akinakes; 7 diereismata of the Victories; 3 bronze

meniskoi; 40 iron bonds from the four-spoked (wheels); 12 large hollow nails; 20

94885 other smaller (ones); 32 bonds of stones; 650 Cretan akides; 250 styrakia; 5 large

krateutai; elbow of one; 4 small; 2 decorated shields; key of Hekatompedon; choker;

silpheion; 3 sieves; 2 iron meat hooks; scraper; lebes handle; 2 kyathoi; seira; 7

Laconian keys; ladder (skalis); ax; bronze crown; small horse; draw key; another

broken; another of the stoa; 2 processional shields; bronze palladion; 30 ampra; 68

94890 weavings; 4 topeia; belt; 3 bronze lamps; 4 helmet wings. (1 blank line)

94895 **ACCOUNTS AND INVENTORIES OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO ON DELOS**
I. Délos 442

94900 The temple of Apollo on Delos was one of the greatest of the panhellenic shrines, and as such it was the recipient of dedications made by kings, cities, commanders, and private individuals from all over the Mediterranean world. It was at the same time an active financial center. Loans at interest (generally 100%) were regularly made from the great wealth of the sanctuary, houses and agricultural land owned by the temple (these often representing property confiscated from religious offenders) were rented out, and the temple itself housed not only the treasure chest of the god but the public chest of the city of Delos as well. The annually appointed officials of the sanctuary, the hieropoioi, supervised both the more standard operations of the sanctuary (e.g., sacrifices) and were responsible besides for the accumulated dedications and the various financial transactions. Each year they published their accounts on stone. These contained the records of income and expenditure, first for the god's chest and then for the public chest, and complete inventories of the dedications located in all the temples of the sanctuary. The accounts for 179 are among the best preserved and begin with the statement "Gods. [Account] of the hieropoioi who held that office for the year of the archonship of Demares, Amphoteros son of Aristetas (and) Polyxenos son of Parmenion (and) Silenos son of Silenos (and) Philippos son of Akasimbrotos". The selections presented here are as follows. A: the list of the jars of money deposited in the sacred chest during the year (I. Delos 442A.38-55; this follows the list of what these hieropoioi took over from their predecessors); B: list of monies expended from the sacred chest (442A.55-75; this is followed by the analogous accounting for the public chest); C: from the inventory of dedications in the temple of Apollo (442B.1-17); D: additions to the lists of monies received (442C - these represent late payments); E: final additions to the list of outstanding debts (442D).

94920 See <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/classics/bagnall/3995/readings/b-d2-9.htm>

A

94925 The following money also was deposited in the sacred chest during our tenure of office: a jar, on which the inscription "from the (bank) of Philon and Silenos, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Aresion, the hieropoioi Polyxenos, Philippos, Amphoteros, Silenos deposited the capital of the loan which Hermon son of Solon paid back, 605 drs. I V2 ob., and the interest he said he owed, 242 drs. I ob".; another jar, with the inscription "from the (bank) of Philon and Silenos, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Apatourion, the hieropoioi in the archonship of Phokaieus, Krittis, Nikarchos, Synonymos, Hierombrotos deposited in the temple the surplus from the account, 220 drs. 4 1/4 ob".; another jar, (with the inscription) "from the (bank) of Hellen and Mantineus, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the treasurers" Menyllos and Phokaieus deposited in the temple, in accordance with the budget, 1000 drs. toward repayment of the city's outstanding loans from the god, and 1350 drs. toward repayment of the amount advanced for the crown for King Philip" and King Massinissa I" and toward the amount still owing on the crowns in the archonship of Telesarchides"; another jar, (with the inscription) "from the (bank) of Philon and Silenos, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the treasurers Menyllos and Phokaieus deposited 1303 drs. 3Y, ob., proceeds of the market place rents"; another jar, (with the inscription) "from the (bank) of Philon and Silenos, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the treasurers Menyllos and Phokaieus deposited 40 drs., from the tax on boundary markers"; another jar, (with the inscription) "from the bank of Philon and Silenos, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the treasurers Menyllos and Phokaieus deposited 486 drs. 4 ob., the choregic fund"; another jar, (with the inscription) "from the (bank) of Philon and Silenos, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the treasurers Menyllos and Phokaieus deposited 200 drs., from the tax on banks"; another jar, with the inscription "from the (bank) of Nymphodoros and Herakleides in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the hieropoioi in the archonship of Telesarchides, Euboeus and Parmenion, deposited 6998 drs. 4ly, ob., the proceeds from farm rents, house rents, taxes, and interest"; another jar with the inscription "from the (bank) of Philon and Silenus, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the hieropoioi in the archonship of Telesarchides, Euboeus and Parmenion, deposited in the temple the remaining sum which according to the stele they collected from farm rents, house rents, taxes and interest, 1600 drs".; another jar, with the inscription "from the (bank) of Nymphodoros and Herakleides, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the hieropoioi

- 94960 Polyxenos, Silenos, Amphoterios, Philippos deposited 500 drs., the capital of the loan which Paches paid back on behalf of his father Diogenes and which the latter had borrowed from the hieropoioi Euboeus and Parmenion, and 60 drs., the interest he paid, saying that he owed it, for one year and two months"; another jar, with the inscription "in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, Menyllos and
- 94965 Phokaieus deposited in the temple 15 drs. I ob., the surplus from the (amount allocated for the Dionysiac) artists". Total of what was deposited during our tenure of office: 14,623 drs., 1 1/4 ob. Total of what was handed over to us and deposited during our tenure of office, 75,553 drs. 1/12 ob. And (total) of the copper handed over to us by the treasurers Menyllos and Phokaieus, 3733 drs. 2 ob.
- 94970 B
- In the holy month we withdrew for (expenditure on) works, in the presence of the archon of the city and the secretaries and the monthly prytaneis, (the following): a jar, with the inscription "from the (bank) of Nymphodoros and Herakleides, in (the archonship) of Telesarchides, (the month) Posideon, the hieropoioi Euboeus and
- 94975 Parmenion deposited, in accordance with the decree of the demos, the capital of the loan which Ostakos son of Ktesikles paid back, 500 drs., and the interest he said was outstanding, 20 drs. 5 ob., and the capital of the loan which Boethos son of Orthokles paid back, 500 drs., and the interest he said was outstanding, 20 drs. 5 ob., and the capital of the loan which Kaibon son of Kaibon paid back, 500 drs., and
- 94980 the interest he said was outstanding, 20 drs. 5 ob., and the capital of the loan which Theodoros son of Sosibios paid back, 500 drs., and the interest he said was outstanding, 20 drs. 5 ob". - the whole amount, 2083 drs. 2 ob.
- On the twentieth of the month Galaxion we withdrew from a jar with the inscription "from the (bank) of Nymphodoros and Herakleides, the hieropoioi in the archonship of
- 94985 Apatourios, Praximenes and Telesarchides, deposited the surplus referred to in the stele, 4349 drs. 2 ob".: from this we withdrew 1350 drs. for the crown for King Philip; the remainder in (the jar) is 2999 drs. 2 ob.; from this we withdrew for works on the fifth of the month Thargelion 2000 drs.; the remainder in the jar is 999 drs. 2 ob. And the following money also we withdrew for works in the month
- 94990 Bouphonion: a jar with the inscription "from the (bank) of Philon and Silenos, in (the archonship) of Phokaieus, (the month) Posideon, the treasurers Kaibon and Mnesikleides deposited in the temple in repayment to the god of what the city borrowed for the crown for King Philip and that for King Eumenes "I and the one (sent) to Rhodes, 1300 drs". In the month Posideon we withdrew from a jar with the
- 94995 inscription "from the (bank) of Hellen and Mantineus, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon, the treasurers Menyllos and Phokaieus deposited in the temple, in accordance with the budget, 1000 drs. toward repayment of the city's outstanding loans from the god, and 1350 drs. toward repayment of the amount advanced for the crown for King Philip and King Massinissa and toward the amount still owing on the
- 95000 crowns in the archonship of Telesarchides"; from this we, the hieropoioi in the archonship of Demares, withdrew 2200 drs. for work on the temple of Artemis, according to the decree of the demos; the remainder in the jar is 150 drs. In the month Posideon we withdrew from a jar with the inscription "from the (bank) of Nymphodoros and Herakleides, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Posideon,
- 95005 the hieropoioi in the archonship of Telesarchides, Euboeus and Parmenion, deposited 6998 drs. 4 Y,, ob., the proceeds from farm-rents, house-rents, taxes, and interest": from this we the hieropoioi, Polyxenos, Amphoterios, Philippos, Silenos withdrew for works in the month Posideon 1120 drs. (4 ob.); the remainder in the jar is 5878 drs. ' Y, ob. In the month Posideon we withdrew 500 drs. for the loan to Euboeus,
- 95010 according to the decree of the demos, from a jar with the inscription "from the (bank) of Philon and Silenos, in (the archonship) of Demares, (the month) Aresion, the hieropoioi Polyxenos, Philippos, Silenos, Amphoterios deposited the capital of the loan which Hermon son of Solon paid back, 605 drs. I Y, ob., and the interest he said he owed, 242 drs. I ob".; the remainder in the jar is 347 drs. 2Y, ob. Total of what
- 95015 was withdrawn during our tenure of office: 11,553 drs., (2) ob. The rest we turned over to the hieropoioi after ourselves, Demetrios and Meilichides, 63,999 drs. 4 1/2 ob. We turned over also to the hieropoioi after ourselves the copper which we received from the treasurers Menyllos and Phokaieus, 3733 drs. 2 ob.
- C
- 95020 We received the following items **in the temple of Apollo** from the hieropoioi Krittis son of Nikarchos (and) Synonymos of Hierombrotos, in the presence of the boule and the secretary of the city Poseidikos son of Soteles, and the (secretary) of the hieropoioi Neokrontides son of Neokrontides, and we turned (these items) over to the hieropoioi after ourselves, Demetrios son of Timoxenos (and) Meilichides son of
- 95025 Kritoboulos, in the presence of the boule and the secretary of the city Telemnestos

son of Antigonos, and the (secretary) of the hieropoioi Timoxenos son of Timoxenos: a gold signet, with an image of Apollo in carnelian, which Stratonike 'll dedicated to Leto: weight 10 drs.; a gold necklace set with precious stones, which Stratonike dedicated to Leto, comprising 48 shield-shaped disks, and one (such disk) in two halves, and (two more) one on either side of the central piece, and 141 pendants: weight 106 drs.; a gold signet, which Stratonike dedicated to Apollo (and) Artemis, with an image of Nike; weight with the ring, 36 drs. 4 ob.; 3 miniature gold crowns, which Stratonike dedicated to the Graces, one without rings or fastenings, in pieces: weight 60 drs. 3 ob.; a gold ingot from the statue of Apollo: weight 98 drs. 3 ob.; another gold ingot from (the statues of) the three (Graces): weight 27 drs. 3 ob.; 3 gold coins of Philip; 1 of Alexander; coin from various places: weight 68 drs.; a gold drinking cup, dedication of Echenike: 3 64 weight 49 drs. 3 ob.; a gold crown of oak leaves, dedication of Lysander: 365 weight 63 drs. 3 ob.; a gold crown of ivy leaves, dedication of King Ptolemy, 366 in pieces, and five clusters: weight 107 drs.; a gold crown of bay leaves, dedication of King Demetrius: 367 weight 71 drs. 3 ob.; a gold crown of bay leaves, dedication of Polykleitos :361 weight 65 drs. 3 ob.; a gold crown of bay leaves, dedication of Philokles: 369 weight 77 drs. 3 ob.; a gold crown of ivy leaves, dedication of the Delians, three broken clusters: weight 76 drs.; a gold crown of myrtle, dedication of Lomilkos: 111 weight 21 drs. 3 ob.; a gold crown of bay leaves, dedication of King Antigonos: weight 26 drs.; golden snakeweed, dedication of Solon to Asklepios: weight 88 drs.; a gold crown of bay leaves, dedication of King Antigonos; a gold crown of bay leaves, dedication of Antipatros: weight 39 drs. 3 ob.; a gold crown of bay leaves, uninscribed: weight 37 drs.; a gold crown of bay leaves, dedication of Pharax: weight 43 drs.; a gold crown of bay leaves, dedication of Pnytagoras[?]: 3 7 1 weight 62 drs.; a new gold crown of bay leaves: weight 61 drs.; a gold ball in a case, dedication of Phila 17 1 daughter of Theodoros: weight 58 drs.; a gold crown of myrtle, dedication of Xenophantos: 171 weight 48 drs. 3 ob.; 2 tetradrachmas; one part-copper coin of Lysimachus; one coin of Antiochus; a drachma of Alexander; 18 silver signets and a small cup and handle, two with stones, one of iron: weight 34 drs.; 1 I gilt iron signets; a partly copper tetradrachm of Lysimachus; 5 phialai removed from cases: one a dedication of the Deliades, presented by the theoroi and the chief theoros Kleanax: another a dedication of the Pontic Chersonnetai, another a dedication of the Pontic Chersonnetai, another a dedication of Bacchios of Kolophon, another a dedication of the Pontic Chersonnetai - weight 480 drs.; 7 gold distaffs: weight 12 drs.; a tetradrachm of Lysimachus. (The inventory of the temple of Apollo continues for another 150 lines.)

D

From Charistias son of Antigonos (?), on behalf of his grandfather Nikomachos, the interest on the sacred money which he said his grandfather Nikomachos owed, on the loan he received from the hieropoioi Praximenes and Telesarchides, for the year of Demares, 100 drs.; and on behalf of Euthytime daughter of Diodotos, the interest he said he owed on the sacred money for the year of Demares, 39 drs. I Y, ob. From Aristoboulos son of Aristoboulos, on behalf of Orthokles son of Orthokles, the interest, arising from the guarantee made for the sacred money, which he said was his share, 80 drs. From Tlepolemos son of Amnes, the interest he said he owed on the sacred money, 101 drs. 3 ob. From Demochares son of Sotion, on behalf of Antichares son of Authosthenes, the amount (for which) he said his name had been entered by the hieropoioi in the archonship of Ariston for the cargo-discharge tax... From Diaktorides son of Aristotheos, the interest he said he owed on the sacred money, I I drs. 4 ob. From Glaukyrios son of Tharsagoras, on behalf of Ktesylis, the interest for the year of Demares, arising from the guarantee made for the sacred money, which he said Ktesylis owed, 9 drs. From Demokritos son of Parmenion, the amount (for which) he said the hieropoioi Kineas and Kallias entered his name for interest at one-sixth, 50 drs. From Phokaieus son of Leukinos, on behalf of his mother Aristako, the interest on the sacred money owing in the archonship of Demares...

E

We enter (the names of these debtors) also: Euphranor and his guarantor Aristeides son of Aristeides, (for) the amount he did not pay for rent on the sacred 'Episthenes' house,... and 24 drs. 2/3 ob.; and Dionysodoros son of Marathonios and his guarantor Demeas son of Phokritos, (for) the amount he did not pay for the ferry-toll to Rheneia, 62 drs.; and Antigonos son of Charistias, (for) the amount he did not pay for the harbor-tax, 19 drs.; and Orthokles son of Orthokles, for interest on the sacred money, one half the principal sum, 80 drs. If we have not entered any who are in debt to the god, we enter them and their guarantors as being in debt to the god.

TREASURE MAP: A GUIDE TO THE DELIAN INVENTORIES BY RICHARD HAMILTON

95095 Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2015. Pp. xiii, 479, 3 pls.
Hamilton's *TREASURE MAP*, published in 2015, is a paperback reprint of his 2000 study of the Delian and Athenian inscribed inventory lists of the classical and hellenistic periods.

95100 The bulk of the book deals with the little-studied, vast, and difficult Delian material that was mainly excavated on the island by the French School in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite the turmoil of two world wars, the corpus was published in an exemplary manner by legendary epigraphers F. Dürrbach, P. Roussel, and J. Coupry in the *Inscriptiones Graecae* XI,2 and *Inscriptions de Délos* volumes. It has been further studied by J. Tréheux and more recently by G. Reger and C. Prêtre among others. Translations of some texts have been provided by Prêtre et al. (in French) in *Nouveau choix d'Inscriptions de Délos: Lois, comptes et inventaires* (Athens and Paris 2002) and Hamilton (in English for the first time) in the volume under review here. Current work underway by L. Migeotte and the author of this review, among others, has aimed at improving some of the texts and providing commentaries on the objects listed.

95110 In the late 1990s Hamilton undertook the Herculean task of making some sense out of the Delian inventories. The book under review provided a much-needed "treasure map" for scholars wishing to navigate through this enormous and complex material. The introduction offers a brief overview of the history of Delos from the sixth century until its final devastation in 69 BC by pirates. It also poses the difficult question of the purpose of the inscribed annual inventories that were set up in the sanctuary from roughly 364 to shortly after 145 BC. These long and tedious texts meticulously recording dedications of varying values by dedicants from all walks of life, including rulers, the elite, and common worshippers, may appear at first glance to be a comprehensive record. A close reading of the documents suggests, however, that this was not the case, but rather, as T. Linders once put it, the texts seem to be "a symbol more than a record that the *hieropoioi* had fulfilled their duties." ¹
95115 Although I cannot pretend to have solved issues that have puzzled scholars for at least 100 years, I tend to agree with Linders and Hamilton, especially in light of the fact that my own research of the Delian texts and of excavation reports indicates that the treasures seem to have housed even more objects than the ones mentioned in the lists, and that further reorganizations of their holdings took place at later dates. The future publication of the buildings themselves by the French School will undoubtedly shed more light on this matter.

95120 Chapter One provides a discussion of the three major phases of the Delian inventories. The earliest inscribed lists were modeled after the Athenian inventories and date to the so-called Amphictyonic period, which ended in 314 BC. This was followed by the Delian independence (314-166) and eventually by the era of Athenian domination of the island that started in 166 and ended with the destruction of Apollo's sanctuary, first by Mithridates in 88 and eventually by pirates in 69. Six treasures are associated with the Amphictyonic period (Artemision, Temple of the Athenians, Temple of the Delians, bronze/iron/wood, Trireme, and Naxians). The texts that date to the period of Delian independence are much longer, significantly more detailed, and include more treasures (Artemision, Temple of Apollo, Temple of the Seven Statues, Poros Temple, Andrians, Hieropoion, Eileithyiaion, Chalkotheke, Neokorion, Temple of Hekate, Asklepieion, Temple of Aphrodite, and Graphe). Finally, the inscriptions of the Athenian period are laconic; only the fluctuating weights and not the materials of which the dedications were made are mentioned. These texts are
95140 associated with several more treasures (Andrians, Anios, Aphrodision, Apollo, Artemis on the Island, Artemision, Asklepieion, Egyptians, Eileithyiaion, Ekklesiasterion, Good Fortune, Great Gos/Samothrakeion, Gymnasium,

95150 ¹ T. Linders, "The Purpose of the Inventories", in D. Knoepfler (ed.), *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque* (Neuchâtel 1988) 37-48, at 41.

95155 Heraion, Karystians, Kynthion, Letoon, Neorion, Oikos near the Diadoumenos, Oikos Near Ekklesiasterion, Poros Temple, Posideion, Prytaneion, Sarap[i]eion to Artemision, Temple of Seven Statues, Thesmophorion, and Twelve Gods). The rest of the chapter offers valuable observations on the contents, descriptions of weight, order of treasures, and shifts in the treatment of various dedications. It also offers comparisons among the phases of the treasuries and addresses questions on the completeness of the lists on the basis of Hamilton's close reading of the texts.

Chapter Two discusses in detail the five "core" treasures that Hamilton has identified as the most important, i.e., the Artemision, Athenian temple, Apollo, Hiropoion/Andrians, and Poros temple. These five housed the largest collections of precious votives, and also remained consistently used as treasures in all surviving inventory lists and presumably until the end of the sanctuary's life. Hamilton's research has shown that several reorganizations of the treasures took place within individual phases, each represented by a "master inventory", on which the rest relied, and that there was no formula for arranging the holdings of each depot. Chapter Three treats the minor Delian treasures. Chapters Two and Three together, the core of Hamilton's book, consist of a valuable catalogue of votives of the major and minor treasures based on the most important and better preserved inventories. Highlights of the catalogue include lists of objects and their life in the treasures, as deduced from the most important and better preserved inventories, as well as short commentaries and some corrections of the texts that appear in footnotes. The second part of Hamilton's book involves a similar and much-needed discussion of the treasures of the Athenian acropolis. The first chapter presents a history and short commentary on the Athenian inventories of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. and distinguishes several phases in the texts. It is followed by a lengthy catalogue of the objects in the Pronaos, Hekatompedon, the Parthenon, the Athena Treasure, the Treasure of the Other Gods, and the Old Temple. A conclusion presents a comparative study of the Delian and Athenian materials and offers important remarks: the inventory lists were not systematic and are only a reflection of the real fiscal transaction that was conducted elsewhere. Indeed, it would be a mistake to project our modern requirements for an inventory on the ancient world. Last, but not least, the lack of system did not affect the administration of the sanctuary, even though epigraphical evidence suggests that Delian audits could be confusing. On the other hand, the Athenian texts strongly suggest that they were part of a large and complex organization since their fiscal function required them to be accurate. Eight valuable appendices cover, among other things: discussions of terms and terminology; the translation of some terms, especially involving the description of precious materials, which has always been a challenge to scholars; a number of Tréheux's improved texts (ID 135, 137, 145, 147, 150, 154, and inv. 765); commentaries on the Hieropoion/Oikos of Andrians and of other non-precious Delian inventories; observations on the weighed and unweighed objects; topographic labels in major Delian inventories; an analysis of the Athenian Treasurers of the Other Gods; a list of phialae endowments; a list of the Acropolis Inventories after 341 BC.; and finally indices of objects in the Acropolis and the Delian Treasures. Hamilton's work on ancient inventories is and will remain one of the fundamental studies of these complex and difficult texts. The author should be congratulated for providing historians and art historians with an important and timely tool that allows for a more nuanced reading of these documents, a better understanding of sanctuary administration, bureaucracy, and religion, and a reference work for those studying luxury arts.

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https://www.academia.edu/27113106/Treasure_Map_A_Guide_to_the_Delian_Inventories. By Richard Hamilton. Ann Arbor University of Michigan Press. 2015. Pp. xiii 479 3 pls. I n Phoenix 2016

- 95210 [549] ITINERARIUM A BURDIGALA HIERSALEM VSQVE ET AB HERACLEA PER AVLONAM ET PER
VRBEM ROMAM MEDIOLANVM VSQVE SIC:
 ciuitas burdigala, ubi est fluuius garonna, per quem facit mare oceanum accessa et
 recessa per leugas plus minus centum.
- 95215 [550] Mutatio stomatas leugae vii
 mutatio sirione leugae viiii
 ciuitas vasatas leugae viiii
 mutatio tres arbores leugae v
 mutatio oscineio leugae viii
- 95220 mutatio scittio leugae viii
 ciuitates elusa leugae viii
 mutatio vanesia leugae xii
 ciuitas auscius leugae viii
 mutatio ad sextum leugae vi
- 95225 mutatio hungunuerro leugae vii
 mutatio buconis leugae vii
 [551] mutatio ad iouem leugae vii
 ciuitas tholosa leugae vii
 mutatio ad nonum milia viiii
- 95230 mutatio ad vicesimum milia xi
 mansio elusione milia viiii
 mutatio sostomago milia viiii
 uicus hebromago milia x
 mutatio cedros milia vi
- 95235 castellum carcassone milia viii
 mutatio tricensimum milia viii
 [552] mutatio hosuerbas milia xv
 ciuitas narbone milia xv
 ciuitas beterris milia xvi
- 95240 mansio cessarone milia xii
 mutatio foro domiti milia xviii
 mutatio sostantione milia xv
 mutatio ambrosi milia xv
 ciuitas nemauso milia xv
- 95245 mutatio ponte aerarium milia xii
 ciuitas arelate milia viii.
- [553] Fit a burdigala arelate usque milia ccclxxii, mutationes xxx, mansiones xi.
 Mutatio arnagine milia viii
- 95250 mutatio bellinto milia x
 ciuitas auenione milia v
 mutatio cypresseta milia v
 ciuitas arausione milia xv
 mutatio ad letoce milia xiii
- 95255 mutatio nouem craris milia x
 mansio acuno milia x
 [554] mutatio bantianis milia xii
 mutatio vmbenno milia xii
 ciuitas valentia milia viiii
- 95260 mutatio cerebelliaca milia xii
 mansio augusta milia x
 mutatio darentiaca milia xii
 ciuitas dea vocontiorum milia xvi
 mansio luco milia xii
- 95265 mutatio vologatis milia viiii.
- [555] Inde ascenditur gaura mons.
 Mutatio cambono milia viii
 mansio monte seleuci milia viii
- 95270 mutatio dauiano milia viii
 mutatio ad finem milia xii
 mansio vappinco milia xi
 mansio catorigas milia xii
 mansio ebreduno milia xvi.
- 95275

Inde incipiunt alpes cottiae.

Mutatio ramae milia xvii
mansio byrigante milia xvii.

95280

[556] Inde ascendis matronam.
Mutatio gesdaone milia x
mansio ad marte milia viiii
ciuitas segussione milia xvi.

95285

Inde incipit italia.

Mutatio ad duodecimum milia xii
mansio ad fines milia xii
mutatio ad octauum milia viiii
ciuitas taurinis milia viiii
mutatio ad decimum milia x
[557] mansio quadratis milia xii

95290

mutatio ceste milia xi

95295

mansio rigomago milia viiii
mutatio ad medias milia x
mutatio ad cottias milia xiii
mansio laumello milia xii
mutatio duriis milia viiii
ciuitas ticino milia xii
mutatio ad decimum milia x
ciuitas mediolanum milia x
[mansio fluuio frigido milia xii].

95300

95305

[558] Fit ab arelate mediolanum usque milia cccclxxv, mutationes lxiii, mansiones xxii.

Mutatio argentea milia x
mutatio ponte aureoli milia x
ciuitas bergamo milia xiii
mutatio tellegate milia xii
mutatio tetellus milia x
ciuitas brixa milia x
mansio ad flexum milia xi
mutatio beneuentum milia x

95310

95315

ciuitas verona milia x
mutatio cadiano milia x
mutatio aureos milia x
[559] ciuitas vincentia milia xi
mutatio ad finem milia xi

95320

ciuitas pataui milia x
mutatio ad duodecimum milia xii
mutatio ad nonum milia xi
ciuitas altino milia viiii
mutatio sanos milia x
ciuitas concordia milia viiii
mutatio apicilia milia viiii
mutatio ad vndecimum milia xi
ciuitas aquileia milia xi.

95325

95330

Fit a mediolano aquileia usque milia ccli, mutationes xxiiii, mansiones viiii.
Mutatio ad vndecimum milia xi
[560] mutatio ad fornolus milia xii
mutatio castra milia xii.

95335

Inde surgunt alpes iuliae.

Ad pirum summas alpes milia viiii
mansio longatico milia x
mutatio ad nonum milia viiii
ciuitas emona milia xiiii
mutatio ad quartodecimo milia x

95340

mansio hadrante milia xiii.

Fines italiae et norci.

95345

Mutatio ad medias milia xiii
 ciuitas celeia milia xiii
 [561] mutatio lotodos milia xii
 mansio ragindone milia xii
 95350 mutatio pultouia milia xii
 ciuitas poetouione milia xii.

Transis pontem, intras pannoniam inferiorem.

95355

Mutatio ramista milia viiii
 mansio aqua viua milia viiii
 mutatio populis milia x
 ciuitas iouia milia viiii
 mutatio sunista milia viiii
 95360 [562] mutatio peritur milia xii
 mansio lentolis milia xii
 mutatio cardono milia x
 mutatio cocconis milia xii
 mansio serota milia x
 95365 mutatio bolentia milia x
 mansio maurianis milia viiii.

Intras pannoniam superiorem.

Mutatio serena milia viii

95370

mansio vereis milia x
 mansio vereis milia x
 mutatio ioualia milia viii
 mutatio mersella milia viii
 ciuitas mursa milia x
 95375 [563] mutatio leutuoano milia xii
 ciuitas cibalis milia xii
 mutatio caelena milia xi
 mansio vlmo milia xi
 mutatio spaneta milia x
 95380 mutatio vedulia milia viii
 ciuitas sirmium milia viii.

Fit ab aquileia, sirmium usque milia cccxii, mansiones xvii, mutationes xxxviii.

95385

Mutatio fossis milia viiii
 ciuitas bassianis milia x
 mutatio nouiciani milia xii
 mutatio altina milia xi
 ciuitas singiduno milia viii.

95390

[564] Fines pannoniae et misiae.
 Mutatio ad sextum milia vi
 mutatio tricornia castra milia vi
 mutatio ad sextum miliarem milia vii
 95395 ciuitas aureo monte milia vi
 mutatio vingeio milia vi
 ciuitas margo milia viiii
 ciuitas viminacio milia x.

95400

Ubi diocletianus occidit carinum.

Mutatio ad nonum milia viiii
 [565] mansio munecipio milia viiii
 mutatio iouis pago milia x
 95405 mutatio bao milia vii
 mansio idomo milia viiii
 mutatio ad octauum milia viiii

mansio oromago milia viii.

95410 Finis myssiae et asiae.

Mutatio sarmatorum milia xii
mutatio caminitas milia xi
[566] mansio ipompeis milia viiii

95415 mutatio rampiana milia xii
ciuitas naisso milia xii
mutatio redicibus milia xii
mutatio vlmo milia vii
mansio romansiana milia viiii

95420 mutatio latina milia viiii
mansio turribus milia viiii
mutatio translitis milia xii
mutatio ballanstra milia x
mansio meldia milia viiii

95425 mutatio scretisca milia xii
[567] ciuitas serdica milia xi.

Fit a sirmium serdica usque milia cccxiiii, mutationes xxiiii, mansiones xiii.

95430 Mutatio extuomne milia viii
mansio buragara milia viiii
mutatio sparata milia viiii
mansio hilica milia x
mutatio soneio milia viiii.

95435 Fines daciae et traciae.

Mutatio ponte vcas milia vi
mansio bona mansio milia vi
[568] mutatio alusore milia viiii

95440 mansio basapare milia xii
mutatio tugugero milia viiii
ciuitas filopopuli milia xii
mutatio sernota milia x
mutatio paramuole milia viii

95445 mansio cillio milia xii
mutatio carassura milia viiii
mansio arzo milia xi
mutatio palae milia vii
mansio castozobra milia xi

95450 mutatio rhamis milia vii
[569] mansio burdista milia xi
mutatio daphabae milia xi
mansio nicae milia viiii
mutatio tarpodizo milia x

95455 mutatio vrisio milia vii
mansio virgoles milia vii
mutatio narco milia viii
mansio drizupara milia viiii
mutatio tipso milia viii

95460 mansio tunorullo milia viii
[570] mutatio beodizo milia viii
ciuitas heraclea milia viiii
mutatio baunne milia xii
mansio salambria milia x

95465 mutatio callum milia x
mansio atyra milia x
mansio regio milia xii.

Ciuitas constantinopoli milia xii.

95470 [571] Fit a serdica constantinopoli milia cccxiiii, mutationes xii, mansiones xx.
Fit omnis summa a burdigala constantinopolim uicies bis centena uiginti unum milia,
mutationes ccxxx, mansiones cxii.

- 95475 Item ambulauimus dalmatico et zenophilo cons- iii kal- iun- a calcedonia et reuersi sumus constantinopolim vii kal- ian- cons- suprascripto.
- A constantinopoli transis pontum, uenis calcedoniam, ambulas prouinciam bithyniam.
- 95480 Mutatio nassete milia vii s<emis>
[572] mansio pandicia milia vii s<emis>.
- Mutatio pontamus milia xiii
mansio libissa milia viiii.
- 95485 Ibi positus est rex annibalianus, qui fuit afrorum.
- Mutatio brunga milia xii
ciuitas nicomedia milia viiii.
- 95490 Fit a constantinopoli nicomedia usque mil- lviii, mutationes vii, mansiones iii.
- [573] Mutatio hyribolum milia x
mansio libum milia xi
- 95495 mutatio liada milia xii
ciuitas nicia milia viiii
mutatio schinae milia viiii
mansio mido milia vii
mutatio chogeae milia vi
- 95500 mutatio thateso milia x
mansio tutaio milia viiii
mutatio protunica milia xi
mutatio artemis milia xii
[574] mansio dablae milia vi
- 95505 mansio ceratae milia vi.
Fines bithiniae et galatiae.
- Mutatio fines milia x
mansio dadastano milia vi
- 95510 mutatio trans monte milia vi
mutatio milia milia xi
ciuitas iuliopolis milia viiii
mutatio hicronpotamum milia xiii
mansio agannia milia xi
- 95515 mutatio petrobrogen milia vi
[575] mansio mnizos milia x
mutatio prasmon milia xii
mansio malogordis milia viiii
mutatio cenaxem palidem milia xiii
- 95520 ciuitas anchira galatia milia xiii.
- Fit a nicomedia anchira galatia usque milia cclviii, mutationes xxvi, mansiones xii.
- Mutatio delemna milia x
mansio curueunta milia xi
- 95525 mutatio rosolodiaco milia xii
mutatio aliassum milia xiii
ciuitas aspona milia xviii
[576] mutatio galea milia xiii
mutatio andrapa milia viiii.
- 95530 Fines galatiae et cappadociae.
- Mansio parnasso milia xiii
mansio iogola milia xvi
- 95535 mansio nitalis milia xviii
mutatio argustana milia xiii
ciuitas colonia milia xv
[577] mutatio momoasson milia xii
mansio anathiangio milia xiii

- 95540 mutatio chusa milia xii
mansio sasima milia xii
mansio andauillis milia xvi.
- Ibi est uilla pammati, unde ueniunt equi curules.
- 95545 Ciuitas thyana milia xviii.
- [578] Inde fuit apollonius magus.
Ciuitas faustinopoli milia xii
- 95550 mutatio caena milia xiii
mansio opodando milia xii
mutatio pilas milia xiiii.
- [579] Fines cappadociae et ciliciae.
- 95555 Mansio mansucrinae milia xii
ciuitas tarso milia xii.
- Inde fuit apostolus paulus.
- 95560 Fit ad anchira galatia tarso usque milia cccxliii, [580] mutationes xxv, mansiones xviii.
- Mutatio pargais milia xiii
95565 ciuitas adana milia xiiii
ciuitas mansista milia xviii
mutatio tardequeia milia xv
mansio catauolo milia xvi
mansio baiae milia xvii
- 95570 mansio alexandria scabiosa milia xvi
[581] mutatio pictanus milia viiii.
- Fines cilciae et syriae.
- 95575 Mansio pagrios milia viii
ciuitas antiochia milia xvi.
- Fit a tarso ciliciae antiochia usque milia cxli, mutationes x, mansiones vii.
- 95580 Ad palatium dafne milia v
[582] mutatio hysdata milia xi
mansio platanus milia viii
mutatio baccaias milia viii
mansio catelas milia xvi
- 95585 ciuitas ladica milia xvi
ciuitas gabala milia xiiii
ciuitas balaneas milia xiii
Fines syriae coelis et foenicis.
- 95590 Mutatio maraccas milia x
mansio antaradus milia xvi.
- Est ciuitas in mare a ripa milia ii.
- 95595 Mutatio spiclin milia xii
[583] mutatio basiliscum milia xii
mansio arcas milia viii
mutatio bruttus milia iiii
ciuitas tripoli milia xii
- 95600 mutatio triclis milia xii
mutatio bruttos alia milia xii
mutatio alcobile milia xii
mutatio heldua milia xii
ciuitas biritio milia xii
- 95605 mutatio parphirion milia viii

ciuitas sidona milia viii
inde sarepta milia viiii.

95610 Ibi helias ad uiduam ascendit et petiit sibi cibum.

Mutatio ad nonum milia iiii
[584] ciuitas tyro milia xii.

95615 Fit ab antiochia tyro usque milia clxxiiii, mutationes xx, mansiones xi.

Mutatio alexandroschene milia xii
mutatio ecdeppa milia xii
ciuitas ptolomaida milia viii
mutatio calamon milia xii
95620 mansio sicaminos milia iii.

[585] Ibi est mons carmelus, ibi helias sacrificium faciebat.
Mutatio certha milia viii.

95625 Fines syriae finices et palestinae.

Ciuitas caesarea palestina id est iudaea milia viii.

95630 Fit a tyro caesarea palestina milia lxxiii, mutationes ii, mansiones iii.

Ibi est balneus cornelii centurionis, qui multas elymosynas faciebat.

Inde est tertio miliario [586] mons syna, ubi fons est, in quem mulier est lauerit,
grauida fit.

95635 Ciuitas maximianopoli milia xviii
ciuitas isdradela milia x.

95640 Ibi sedit achab rex et helias prophetauit; ibi est campus, ubi dauid goliath occidit.

Ciuitas scithopoli milia xii
[587] aser, ubi fuit uilla iob milia xvi
civitas Neapoli milia xv.

95645 Ibi est mons agazaren: ibi dicunt samaritani abraham sacrificium obtulisse, et
ascenduntur usque ad summum montem gradi numero mccc.

Inde ad pedem montis ipsius locus est, cui nomen est sechim.

95650 Ibi est monumentum, ubi positus est [588] ioseph in uilla, quam dedit ei iacob pater
eius.
Inde rapta est et dina filia iacob a filiis amorreorum.

95655 Inde passus mille locus est cui nomen sechar, unde descendit mulier samaritana ad
eundem locum, ubi iacob puteum fodit, ut de eo aquam impleret, et dominus noster
iesus christus cum ea locutus est; ubi sunt et arbores platani, quas plantauit iacob,
et balneus, qui de eo puteo lauatur.

95660 Inde milia xxviii euntibus hierusalem in parte sinistra est uilla, quae dicitur
bethar.

Inde passus mille est locus, ubi iacob, cum iret in mesopotamiam, addormiuit, et ibi
est arbor amigdala, et uidit uisum et angelus cum eo luctatus est.

95665 Ibi fuit rex hieroboam, ad quem missus propheta, ut conuerteretur ad deum [589]
excelsum; et iussum fuerat prophetae, ne cum pseudopropheta, quem se cum rex
habebat, manducaret, et quia seductus est a pseudopropheta et cum eo manducauit
rediens, occurrit prophetae leo in uia et occidit eum.

95670 Inde hierusalem milia xii.

Fit a caesarea palestina hierusalem usque milia cxvi, mansiones iiii, mutationes iiii.

95675 Sunt in hierusalem piscinae magnae duae ad latus templi, id est una ad dexteram, alia ad sinistram, quas salomon fecit, interius uero ciuitati sunt piscinae gemellares quinque porticus habentes, quae appellantur behtsaida.

Ibi aegri multorum annorum sanabantur.

95680 Aquam autem habent hae piscinae in modum coccini turbatam.

Est ibi et cripta, ubi salomon daemones torquebat.

95685 Ibi est anglus [590] turris excelsissimae, ubi dominus ascendit et dixit ei is, qui temptabat eum, et ait ei dominus: non temptabis dominum deum tuum, sed illi soli seruias.

Ibi est et lapis angularis mangus, de quo dictum est: lapidem, quem reprobauerunt aedificantes, hic factus est ad caput anguli.

95690 Et sub pinna turris ipsius sunt cubacula plurima, ubi salomon palatium habebat.

Ibi etiam constat cubiculus, in quo sedit et sapientiam descripsit; ipse uero cubiculus uno lapide est tectus.

95695 Sunt ibi et excepturia magna aquae subterraneae et piscinae magno opere aedificatae.

Et [591] in aede ipsa, ubi templum fuit, quem salomon aedificauit, in marmore ante aram sanguinem zachariae ibi dicas hodie fusum; etiam parent uestigia clauorum militum, qui eum occiderunt, per totam aream, ut putes in cera fixum esse.

95700 Sunt ibi et statuae duae hadriani; est et non longe de statuas lapis pertusus, ad quem ueniunt iudaei singulis annis et unguent eum et lamentant se cum gemitu et uestimenta sua scindunt et sic recedunt.

95705 Est ibi et domus ezechiae regis iudae.

Item exeuntibus hierusalem, ut ascendas sion, in parte sinistra [592] et deorsum in ualle iuxta murum est piscina, quae dicitur siloa; habet quadriporticum; et alia piscina grandis foras.

95710 Haec fons sex diebus atque noctibus currit, septima uero die est sabbatum: in totum nec nocte nec die currit.

95715 In eadem ascenditur sion et paret ubi fuit domus caifae sacerdotis, et columna adhuc ibi est, in qua christum flagellis ceciderunt.

Intus autem intra murum sion paret locus, ubi palatium habuit dauid.

95720 Et septem synagogae, quae illic fuerunt, una tantum remansit, reliquae autem arantur et seminantur, sicut isaias propheta [593] dixit.

Inde ut eas foris murum de sion, euntibus ad portam neapolitanam ad partem dextram deorsum in ualle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit siue praetorium pontii pilati; ibi dominus auditus est, antequam pateretur.

95725 A sinistra autem parte est monticulus golgotha, ubi dominus crucifixus est.

[594] Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta, ubi corpus eius positum fuit et tertia die resurrexit; ibidem modo iussu constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est dominicum, mirae pulchritudinis habens ad latus excepturia, unde aqua leuatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lauantur.

95735 Item ad hierusalem euntibus ad portam, quae est contra orientem, ut ascendatur in monte oliueti, uallis, quae dicitur iosafath, ad partem sinistram, ubi sunt uineae, est et petra ubi iudas scarioth christum tradidit: a parte uero [595] dextra est arbor palmae, de qua infantes ramos tulerunt et ueniente christo substrauerunt.

- Inde non longe quasi ad lapidis missum sunt monumenta duo monubiles mirae pulchritudinis facta: in unum positus est isaias propheta, qui est uere monolitus, et
95740 in alio ezechias rex iudaeorum.
Inde ascendis in montem oliueti, ubi dominus ante passionem apostolos docuit: ibi facta est basilica iussu constantini.
- Inde non longe est monticulus, ubi dominus ascendit orare et apparuit illic moyses et
95745 helias, quando petrum [596] et iohannem se cum duxit.
- Inde ad orientem passus mille quingentos est uilla, quae appellatur bethania; est ibi cripta, ubi lazarus positus fuit, quem dominus suscitauit.
- 95750 Item ad hierusalem in hiericho milia xviii.
- Descendentibus montem in parte dextra retro monumentum est arbor sicomori, in qua zachaeus ascendit, ut christum uideret.
- 95755 A ciuitate, passus mille quingentos est ibi fons helisei prophetae.
- Antea si qua mulier ex ipsa aqua bibebat, non faciebat natos.
- Adlatum est uas fictile heliseo, misit in eo sales et uenit et stetit super fontem et
95760 dixit: haec dicit dominus: sanauit aquas has.
- Ex eo si qua mulier inde biberit, filios faciet.
- 95765 Supra eundem uero fontem [597] est domus rachab fornicariae, ad quam exploratores introierunt et occultauit eos, quando hiericho euersa est, et sola euasit.
- Ibi fuit ciuitas hiericho, cuius muros gyrauerunt cum arca testamenti filii israel et ceciderunt muri.
- Ex eo non paret nisi locus, ubi fuit arca testamenti et lapides xii, quos filii
95770 israel de iordane leuauerunt.
- Ibidem iesus filius naue circumcidit filios israel.
- Et circumcisiones eorum sepeliuit.
- 95775 Item ad hiericho ad mare mortuum milia nouem.
- Est aqua ipsius ualde amarissima, ubi in totum nullius generis piscis est nec aliqua nauis, et si qui hominum miserit se, ut natet, ipsa aqua eum uersat.
- 95780 [598] Inde ad iordane, ubi dominus a iohanne baptizatus est, milia quinque.
- Ibi est locus super flumen, monticulus in illa ripa, ubi raptus est helias in caelum.
- 95785 Item ab hierusalem euntibus behtleem milia quattuor super strata in parte dextra est monumentum, ubi rachel posita est, uxor iacob.
- Inde milia duo a parte sinistra est bethleem, ubi natus est dominus iesus christus; ibi basilica facta est iussu constantini.
- 95790 Inde non longe est monumentum ezechiel.
- Asaph, iob et iesse, dauid, salomon, et habet in ipsa cripta ad latus deorsum descendentibus hebraeis litteris scriptum nomina supra scripta.
- 95795 [599] Inde bethasora milia xiiii, ubi est fons, in quo philippus eunuchum baptizauit.
- Inde terebinto milia viiii, ubi abraham habitauit et puteum fodit sub arbore terebintho et cum angelis locutus est et cibum sumpsit; ibi basilica facta est iussu
95800 constantini mirae pulchritudinis.
- Inde terebinto cebron milia ii, ubi est memoria per quadrum ex lapidibus mirae pulchritudinis, in qua positi sunt abraham, isaac, iacob, sarra, rebecca et lia.

- 95805 [600] Item ab hierusolyma, sic:
 ciuitas nicopoli milia xxii
 ciuitas lidda milia x
 mutatio antipatrida milia x
 mutatio betthar milia x
- 95810 ciuitas caesarea milia xvi.
- [601] Fit omnis summa a constantinopoli usque hierusalem milia undecies centena
 lxiiii milia mutationes lxviii, mansiones lviii.
- 95815 Item per nicopoli caesarea milia lxxiii s<emis> mutationes v, mansiones iii.
- Item ab heraclea per machedonio:
- 95820 Mutatio aerea milia xvi
 mansio registo milia xii
 mutatio bedizo milia xii
 ciuitas apris milia xii
 [602] mutatio zesutera milia xii.
- 95825 Finis europae et rhodopeae.
- Mansio sirogellis milia x
 mutatio drippa milia xiiii
 mansio gipsila milia xii
- 95830 mutatio demas milia xii
 ciuitas traianopoli milia xiii
 mutatio ad vnimpara milia viii
 mutatio salei milia vii s<emis>
 mutatio melalico milia viii
- 95835 mansio berozicha milia xv
 [603] mutatio breierophara milia x
 ciuitas maximianopoli milia x
 mutatio ad stabulodio milia xii
 mutatio rumbodona milia x
- 95840 ciuitas epyrum milia x
 mutatio purdis milia viii.
- Fine rhodopeae et macedoniae.
- 95845 Mansio hercontroma milia viiii
 mutatio neapolim milia viiii
 ciuitas philippis milia x, [604] ubi paulus et sileas in carcere fuerunt.
 Mutatio ad duodecimum milia xii
 mutatio domeros milia vii
- 95850 ciuitas amphipholim milia xiii
 mutatio pennana milia x
 mutatio peripidis milia x.
- Ibi positus est euripidis poeta.
- 95855 [605] Mansio appollonia milia xi
 mutatio heracleustibus milia xi
 mutatio duo dea milia xiiii
 ciuitas thessalonica milia xiii
- 95860 mutatio ad decimum milia x
 mutatio gephira milia x
 [606] ciuitas polli, unde fuit alexander, magnus macedo milia x.
- 95865 Mutatio scurio milia xv
 ciuitas edissa milia xv
 mutatio ad duodecimum milia xii
 mansio cellis milia xvi
 mutatio grande milia xiiii
 mutatio melitonius milia xiiii

- 95870 ciuitas heraclea milia xiii
[607] mutatio parambole milia xii
mutatio brucida milia xviii.

Finis macedoniae et ephyri.
- 95875 Ciuitas cledo milia xiii
mutatio patras milia xii
mansio claudanon milia iiii
mutatio in tabernas milia viiii
95880 mansio grandauia milia viiii
[608] mutatio treiecto milia viiii
mansio hiscampis milia viiii
mutatio ad quintum - milia vi
mansio coladiana milia xv
95885 mansio marusio milia xiii
mansio absos milia xiiii
mutatio stefanaphana milia xii
ciuitas appollonia milia xviii
mutatio stefana milia xii
95890 mansio aulona treiectum milia xii.

[609] Fit omnis summa ab heraclea per machedoniam aulona usque milia dclxxxviii,
mutationes lviii, mansiones, xxv.
Trans mare stadia mille, quod facit milia centum, et uenis odronto mansio mille
95895 passus:

Mutatio ad duodecimum milia xiii
mansio clipeas milia xii
mutatio valentia milia xiii
95900 ciuitas brindisi milia xi
mansio spilenaees milia xiiii
mutatio ad decimum milia xi
ciuitas leonatieae milia x
mutatio turre aurilianas milia xv
95905 mutatio turre iuliana milia viiii
ciuitas beroes milia xi
mutatio butontones milia xi
[610] ciuitas rubos milia xi
mutatio ad quintumdecimum milia xv
95910 ciuitas canusio milia xv
mutatio vndecimum milia xi
ciuitas serdonis milia xv
ciuitas aecas milia xviii
mutatio aquilonis milia x.
95915

Finis apuliae et campaniae.

Mansio ad equum magnum milia viii
mutatio uicus forno nouo milia xii
95920 ciuitas beneuento milia x
ciuitas et mansio claudiis milia xii
mutatio nouas milia viiii
ciuitas capua milia xii.

95925 [611] Fit summa ab aulona usque capua milia cclxxxviii, mutationes xxv, mansiones
xiii.
Mutatio ad octauum milia viii
mutatio ponte campano milia viiii
ciuitas sonuessa milia viiii
95930 ciuitas menturnas milia viiii
ciuitas formis milia viiii
ciuitas fundis milia xii
ciuitas tarracina milia xiii
mutatio ad medias milia x
95935 mutatio appi foro milia viiii

[612] mutatio sponsas milia vii
ciuitas aricia et albona milia xiiii
mutatio ad nono milia vii
in urbe roma milia viiii.

95940

Fit a capua usque ad urbem romam milia cxxxvi, mutationes xiiii, mansiones viiii.

Fit ab heraclea per aulona in urbe roma usque milia undecies centena xiii, mutationes cxvii, mansiones xlvi.

95945

Ab urbe mediolanum:

Mutatio rubras milia viiii
[613] mutatio ad vicensimum milia xi

95950

mutatio aqua viua milia xii
ciuitas vcriculo milia xii
ciuitas narniae milia xii
ciuitas interamna milia viiii
mutatio tribus tabernis milia iii

95955

mutatio fani fugitiui milia x
ciuitas spolitio milia vii
mutatio sacraria milia viii
ciuitas treuis milia iiii
ciuitas fulginis milia v

95960

[614] ciuitas foro flamini milia iii
ciuitas noceria milia xii
ciuitas ptanias milia viii
mansio herbelloni milia vii
mutatio ad hesis milia x

95965

mutatio ad cale milia xiiii
mutatio intercisa milia viiii
[615] ciuitas foro semproni milia viiii
mutatio ad octauo milia viiii
ciuitas fano fortunae milia viii
ciuitas pisauro <milia viii
ciuitas ariminum> milia xxiiii.

95970

<Fit a roma> usque ariminum <milia ccxxiiii, mutationes xxiiii, mansiones xiiii>.

95975

Mutatio conpetu milia xii
ciuitas cesena milia vi
[616] ciuitas foro populi milia vi
ciuitas foro liui milia vi
ciuitas fauentia milia v
ciuitas foro corneli milia x

95980

ciuitas claterno milia xiii
ciuitas bononia milia x
mutatio ad medias milia xv
mutatio victoriolas milia x
ciuitas mutena milia iii

95985

mutatio ponte secies milia v
ciuitas regio milia viii
mutatio canneto milia x
ciuitas parme milia viii
mutatio ad tarum milia vii

95990

mansio fidentiae milia viii
mutatio ad fonteclos milia viii
ciuitas placentia milia xiii

[617] mutatio ad rota milia xi
mutatio tribus tabernis milia v
ciuitas laude milia viii
mutatio ad nonum milia vii
ciuitas mediolanum milia vii.

95995

Fit omnis summa ab urbe roma mediolanum usque milia ccccvi, mutationes xliiii, mansiones xxiiii.
Explicit itinerarium.

96000

AN ITINERARY

[549] An itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and from Heraclea (Eregli) through Aulon (Valona), and through the city of Rome to Milan. As follows:

The city of Bordigala (Bordeaux), where is the river Garonne, in which the ocean ebbs and flows for one hundred leagues, more or less.

[550] Change at Stomatae (Castres) - leagues vii.

Change at Senone (Sirio, Pont de Ciron) - leagues ix.

City of Vasates (Cossio, Bazas) - leagues viii.

Change at Three Trees - leagues v.

Change at Oscineium (Houeilles ?) - leagues viii.

Change at Scotium (Sotium, Sos) - leagues viii.

Town of Elusa (Eauze) - leagues viii.

Change at Vanesia - leagues xii.

City of Auscius (Climberrum, Augusta Auscorum, Auch) - leagues viii.

Change at the sixth league - leagues vi.

Change at Hungunverrum - leagues vii.

Change at Buccones (L'Isle en Jourdain ?) - leagues vii.

[551] Change at the Temple of Jupiter - leagues vii.

City of Tolosa (Toulouse) - leagues vii.

Change at the ninth milestone - miles ix.

Change at the twentieth milestone - miles xi.

Halt at Elusio - miles ix.

Change at Sostomagus (Castelnaudary ?) - miles ix.

Town of Hebromagus (Bram) - miles x.

Change at Caedri - miles vi.

Fortress of Carcasso (Carcassonne) - miles viii.

Change at the three-hundredth milestone - miles viii.

[552] Change at Hosuerbas - miles xv.

City of Narbo (Narbonne) - miles xv.

City of Beterrae (Baeterrae, Béziers) - miles xvi.

Halt at Cessaro (Cessero, Araura, St. Thibéry) - miles xii.

Change at Forum Domiti - miles xviii.

Change at Sustantio (Sextantio, Soustantion) - miles xv.

Change at Ambrosius (Ambrussum) - miles xv.

City of Nemausus (Nîmes) - miles xv.

Change at Pons Herarus (Aerarius, Bellegarde) - miles xvi.

City of Arelate (Arles) - miles viii.

[553] Total from Bordeaux to Arles 372 miles, 30 changes, 11 halting-places.

Change at Arnago (Ernaginum, St. Gabriel) - miles viii.

Change at Bellintum - miles x.

City of Avinio (Avenio, Avignon) - miles v.

Change at Cephessata - miles v.

City of Arausio (Orange) - miles xv.

Change at Letoce - miles xiii.

Change at Novem Craris - miles x.

Halt at Acunum (Anconne) - miles xv.

Change at Vancianis (Bancs) - miles xii.

[554] Change at Umbennum - miles xii.

City of Valentia (Valence) - miles ix.

Change at Cerebelliaca - miles xii.

Halt at Augusta (Aoust) - miles x

Change at Darentiaca - miles xii.

City of Dea Vocontiorum (Die) - miles xvi.

Halt at Lucus (Luc) - miles xii.

Change at Vologatis (Vaugielas ?) - miles ix.

[555] Here begins the Gaura Mountain.

Change at Cambonum (La Combe ?) - miles viii.

Halt at the Hill of Seleucus (Mont-Saléon) - miles viii.

Change at Davianum (Veynes) - miles viii.

Change at the frontier - miles xii.

Halt at Vapincum (Gap) - miles xi.

Halt at Catoricae (Caturigae, Chorges) - miles xii.

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Halt at Ebrodunum (Embrun) - miles xvi.

96070 Here begin the Cottian Alps.

Change at Rame (Rame) - miles xvii.

Halt at Byrigantum (Brigantium, Briançon) - miles xvii.

96075 [556] Here you ascend the Matrona (Mont Genèvre).

Change at Gesdaona (Gesdao, Sesanne) - miles x.

Halt at Temple of Mars - miles ix.

City of Segussio (Segusio, Susa) - miles xvi.

96080

Here begins Italy.

Change at the twelfth milestone - miles xii.

Halt at the frontier - miles xii.

Change at the eighth milestone - miles viii.

96085 City of Taurini (Turin) - miles viii.

Change at the tenth milestone - miles x.

[557] Halt at Quadratae - miles xii.

Change at Ceste - miles xi.

Halt at Regomagus (Rigomagus, Rinco) - miles viii.

96090

Change at Mediae - miles x.

Change at Cottiae (Cozzo) - miles xiii.

Halt at Laumellum (Lomello) - miles xii.

Change at Duni (Duriae, Dorno) - miles ix.

City of Ticinum (Pavia) - miles xii.

96095

Change at the tenth milestone - miles x.

City of Mediolanum (Milan) - miles x.

Halt at Cold Rivers - miles xii.

City of Mediolanum (Milan) miles x.

96100

Halt at Cold Rivers - miles xii.

[558] Total from Arles to Milan 475 miles, 63 changes, 22 halting-places.

Change at Argentia (Gorgonzola) - miles x.

Change at Pons Aureolus (Pontirolo) - miles x.

96105

City of Bergamum (Bergomum, Bergamo) - miles xii.

Change at Tellegate (Telgate) - miles xii.

Change at Tetellus - miles x.

City of Brixa (Brixia, Brescia) - miles x.

Halt at Flexus (Ponte S. Marco) - miles xi.

96110

Change at Beneventum - miles x.

City of Verona (Verona) - miles x.

Change at Cadianum (Caldiero) - miles x.

Change at Aurei - miles x.

[559] City of Vincentia (Vicentia, Vicenza) - miles xi.

96115

Change at the frontier - miles xi.

City of Patavium (Padova) - miles x.

Change at the twelfth milestone - miles xii.

Change at the ninth milestone - miles xi.

City of Altinum (Altino) - miles ix.

96120

Change at Sanus - miles x.

City of Concordia (Concordia) - miles ix.

Change at Picilia - miles ix.

Change at the eleventh milestone - miles x.

City of Aquileia (Aquileia) - miles xi.

96125

Total from Milan to Aquileia 251 miles, 24 changes, 9 halting-places.

Change at the eleventh milestone - miles xi.

[560] Change at Fornolus - miles xii.

96130

Change at the Camp - miles xii.

Here rise the Julian Alps.

To Pirus upon the summit of the Alps - miles ix.

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- 96135 Halt at Longaticum (Logatec) - miles x.
Change at the ninth milestone - miles ix.
City of Emona (Aemona, Ljubljana) - miles xvi.
Change at the fourteenth milestone - miles x.
Halt at Hadrante (Adrans, St. Oswald) - miles xiii.
- 96140 Frontier of Italy.
Change at Mediae - miles xiii.
City of Caelia (Celeia, Celje) - miles xiii.
[561] Change at Lotodos - miles xii.
Halt at Ragendo (Ragando) - miles xii.
- 96145 Change at Pultovia - miles xii.
City of Petovio (Ptuj) - miles xii.
- You cross the bridge (on the river Drava), and enter Lower Pannonia.
- 96150 Change at Ramista - miles ix.
Halt at Aqua viva - miles ix.
Change at Populi - miles x.
City of Jovia - miles ix.
Change at Sunista - miles ix.
- 96155 [562] Change at Peritur - miles xii.
Halt at Lentolae (Lentulae, Berzentze) - miles xii.
Change at Cardonum - miles x.
Change at Cocconi - miles xii.
Halt at Serota (Veröcze) - miles x.
- 96160 Change at Bolentia - miles x.
Halt at Mauriana (Mariniana) - miles ix.
- You enter Upper Pannonia.
Change at Serena - miles vii.
- 96165 Halt at Verei - miles x.
Change at Jovalia (Valpovo) - miles viii.
Change at Mersella (Petrojevci) - miles viii.
City of Mursa (Osijek) - miles x.
[563] Change at Leutuanum - miles xii.
- 96170 City of Cibalae (Vinkovci) - miles xii.
Change at Celena - miles xi.
Halt at Ulmus - miles xi.
Change at Spaneta - miles x.
Change at Bedulia - miles viii.
- 96175 City of Sirmium (Mitrovica) - miles viii.
- City of Sirmium (Mitrovitca) - miles viii
Total from Aquileia to Sirmium 412 miles, 77 halting-places, 39 changes.
- 96180 Change at Fossi - miles ix.
City of Bassiani - miles x.
Change at Noviciani - miles xii.
Change at Altina - miles xi.
City of Singidunum (Belgrad) - miles viii.
- 96185 [564] Frontier of Pannonia and Mysia (Moesia).
- Change at the sixth milestone - miles vi.
Change at Tricornia Castra (Ritopek) - miles vi.
- 96190 Change at the sixth milestone - miles vii.
City of Aureus Mons - miles vi.
Change at Vingeium (Vinceia, Semendria) - miles vi.
City of Margus - miles ix.
City of Viminatium - miles x.
- 96195 Where Diocletian killed Carinus.
Change at the ninth milestone - miles ix.
[565] Halt at Municipium - miles ix.
Change at Jovis Pagus (Glapowaz ?) - miles x.

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- 96200 Change at Bao - miles vii.
Halt at Idomum (Idimus) - miles ix.
Change at the eighth milestone - miles ix.
Halt at Oromagus (Horreum Margi, Tjuprija ?) - miles viii.
- 96205 Frontier of Mysia (Moesia) and Dacia.

Change at Sarmatae (Paratjin) - miles xi.
Change at Cametae - miles xi.
[566] Halt at Ipompei (Pompeii) - miles ix.
- 96210 Change at Rappiana (Alexinatz) - miles xii.
City of Naissus (Nisch) - miles xii.
Change at Redices (Banja) - miles xii.
Change at Ulmus - miles vii.
Halt at Romansiana (Remesiana, Ak Palanka) - miles ix.
- 96215 Change at Latina - miles ix.
Halt at Turre (Piro) - miles ix.
Change at Translites - miles xii.
Change at Ballanstra - miles x.
Halt at Meldia - miles ix.
- 96220 Change at Screttesca - miles xii.
[567] City of Serdica (Sophia) - miles xi.
Total from Sirmium to Sophia 3 14 miles, 24 changes, 13 halts.
Change at Extuomnes - miles viii.
Halt at Buracara (Bagaraca) - miles viii.
- 96225 Change at Sparata - miles viii.
Halt at Hilica (Ichtiman) - miles x.
Change at Soneium - miles ix.
- 96230 Frontier of Dacia and Thracia.

Change at Pons Ucasii - miles vi.
Halt at Bona Mansio - miles vi.
[568] Change at Alusor - miles ix.
Halt at Bassapara (Tatar Bazarjik) - miles xii.
- 96235 Change at Tugugerum - miles ix.
City of Philippopolis (Philippopoli) - miles xii.
Change at Sernota - miles x.
Change at Paramvole - miles viii.
Halt at Cillium - miles xii.
- 96240 Change at Carassura - miles ix.
Halt at Arzus (Arsus, Chaskeui) - miles xi.
Change at Palae - miles vii.
Halt at Castozobra (Subzopara, Castra Iarba, Harmanly) - miles xi.
Change at Rammes - miles vii.
- 96245 [569] Halt at Burdista (Burdipia, Mustafa Pasha Kenpri) - miles xi.
Change at Daphne - miles xi.
Halt at Nice - miles ix.
Change at Tarpodizus (Buyuk Derbend) - miles x.
Change at Urisium - miles vii.
- 96250 Halt at Virgoli (Bergule, Lule Bergas) - miles vii.
Change at Narium - miles viii.
Halt at Drizupara - miles ix.
Change at Tipsus - miles x.
Halt at Tunorullum (Izirallum, Chorlu) - miles xi.
- 96255 [570] Change at Beodizum - miles viii.
City of Heraclea (Eregli) - miles ix.
Change at Braunne - miles xii.
Halt at Salamembria (Silivri) - miles x.
Change at Eallum (Lalos) - miles x.
- 96260 Halt at Atyral (Buyuk Chelmeje) - miles x.
Halt at Regio (Regium, Kutchuk Ckeimeje) - miles xii.
City of Constantinople - miles xii.
- [571] Total from Sophia to Constantinople 413 miles, 12 changes, 20 halts.
- 96265

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Grand total from Bordeaux to Constantinople 2,221 miles, 230 changes, 112 halts.

We also travelled (ambulavimus) in the consulate of Dalmatius and Zenophilus, leaving Chalcedonia on the 30th of May, and returned to Constantinople on the 25th of

96270 December in the same consulate.

From Constantinople you cross the strait [Bosphorus], come to Chalcedonia, and travel through the province of Bithynia.

Change at Narses - miles vii.

96275 [572] Halt at Pandicia (Pandik) - miles vii.

Change at Pontamus - miles xiii.

Halt at Libyssa - miles ix.

Here lies King Annibalianus (Hannibal), who was once King of the Africans.

96280

Change at Brunga - miles xii.

City of Nicomedia (Ismid) - miles xiii.

Total from Constantinople to Nicomedia 50 miles, 7 changes, 3 halts.

96285

[573] Change at Egribolum - miles x.

Halt at Libum - miles xi.

Change at Liada - miles xii.

City of Nicia (Nicaea, Isnik) - miles ix.

96290

Change at Schine - miles viii.

Halt at Midus (Moedos) - miles vii.

Change at Chogea - miles vi.

Change at Thatesus - miles x.

Change at Tutadus (Tottaion, near Geiveh) - miles ix.

96295

Change at Protoniaca - miles xi.

Change at Artemis - miles xii.

[574] Halt at Dable (Dablis, near Tereklu) - miles vi.

Halt at Cerate - miles vi.

Frontier of Bithynia and Galatia.

96300

Change at the frontier - miles x.

Halt at Dadartanum (Dadastanum) - miles vi.

Change at Trans Montem - miles vi.

Change at Milia - miles xi.

96305

City of Juliopolis (near Nalli Khan) - miles viii.

Change at the river Hycron (River Siberis, Ala Dagħ Su) - miles xiii.

Halt at Agannia (Lagania) - miles xi.

Change at Petrobroge (Petobroge, Bei Bazar) - miles vi.

[575] Halt at Mnizos - miles x.

96310

Change at Prasmon - miles xii.

Halt at Malogardis (Manegordus) - miles ix.

Change at Lake Cenaxis - miles xiii.

City of Anchira (Ancyra, Ankara) - miles xiii.

Total from Nicomedia to Ancyra in Galatia 258 miles, 16 changes, 112 halts.

96315

Change at Delemnna (Delemnna) - miles x.

Halt at Curveunta (Gorbeous) - miles xi.

Change at Rosolodiacum (Rosolatiacum, Orosologia) - miles xii.

96320

Change at Aliassus - miles xiii.

City of Aspona - miles xviii.

[576] Change at Galea - miles xiii.

Change at Andrapa - miles ix.

Frontier of Galatia and Cappadocia.

96325

Halt at Parnassus - miles xiii.

Halt at Iogola (Ozizala) - miles xvi.

Halt at Nitalis - miles xviii.

Change at Argustana - miles xiii.

96330

City of Colonia (Archelais, Ak Serai ?) - miles xvi.

[577] Change at Momoasson (Mammasun) - miles xii.

1355	Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator
	Halt at Anathiangō (Nazianzus, Nenizi) - miles xii. Change at Chusa - miles xii. Halt at Sasima (Hassa Keui) - miles xii.
96335	Halt at Andavilis (Andaval) - miles xvi. Here is the villa of Pampatus, from which come the curule horses. City of Thyana (Tyana, Kiz Hissan) - miles xviii. [578] Here was born Appollonius the magician. City of Faustinopolis (Pashmakchi) - miles xii. Change at Caena - miles xiii. Halt at Opodandum (Podandus, Bozanti) - miles xii.
96345	Change at Pylae (Ghulek Boghaz, Cilician Gates) - miles xiv. [579] Frontier of Cappadocia and Cilicia. Halt at Mansucrine (Mopsucrene) - miles xii.
96350	City of Tarsus in Cilicia - miles xii. Here was born the Apostle Paul (Acts 21:39). Total from Ancyra in Galatia to Tarsus 343 miles, 25 changes, 18 halts.
96355	City of Tarsus in Cilicia - miles xii. Here was born the Apostle Paul (Acts 21:39). Total from Angora in Galatia to Tarsus 343 miles, [580] 25 changes, 18 halts.
96360	Change at Pargais - miles xiii. City of Adana (Adana) - miles xiv. City of Mansista (Mopsuestia, Missis) - miles xviii. Change at Tardequeia (Kurt Kdiak) - miles xv.
96365	Halt at Catavolum (Castabala) - miles xvi. Halt at Baie (Baiae, Piyas) - miles xvii. Halt at Alexandria Scabiosa (Iskanderun, Alexandretta) - miles xvi [581] Change at Pictanus (Beilan) - miles ix.
96370	Frontier of Cilicia and Syria. Halt at Pagrius (Pagrae, Begras) - miles viii. City of Antiochia (Antioch, Antakia) - miles xvi.
96375	Total from Tarsus in Cilicia to Antioch 141 miles, 10 changes, 7 halts. To the palace of Daphne (Beit el Ma) - miles v. [582] Change at Hysdata - miles xi. Halt at Platanus - miles viii.
96380	Change at Bacchaiae - miles viii. Halt at Catelae - miles xvi. City of Ladica (Laodicea, Latakiah) - miles xvi. City of Gabala (Jebelah) - miles xiv. City of Balaneas (Banias) - miles xiii.
96385	Frontier of Coele Syria and Phoenicia. Change at Maraccae - miles x. Halt at Antaradus (Tartus) - miles xvi.
96390	Here is a city in the sea, two miles from the shore. Change at Spiclis - miles xii. [583] Change at Basiliscum - miles xii.
96395	Halt at Arcae (Area, Caesarea, Arka) - miles viii. Change at Bruttus - miles iv. City of Tripolis (Tarabulus) - miles xii.

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- Change at Triclis - miles xii.
Change at Bruttus alius - miles xii.
96400 Change at Alcobilis - miles xii.
City of Berytus (Beirut) - miles xii.
Change at Heldua (Khan Khulda) - miles xii.
Change at Porphyriion (Porphyreon) - miles viii.
City of Sidon (Saida) - miles viii.
96405 Thence to Sarepta - miles ix.
- Here Helias went up to the widow and begged food for himself (1Kings 17:1-16; Luke 4:23-30).
- 96410 Change at 'ad Nonum' (at the ninth milestone?) - miles iv.
[584] City of Tyre (Sur) - miles xii.
- Total from Antioch to Tyre 174 miles, 20 changes, 11 halts.
- 96415 Change at Alexandroschene - miles xii.
Change at Ecdeppa (Achzib, ez-Zib) - miles xii.
City of Ptolemais (Accho, Akka, St. Jean d 'Acre) - miles ix.
Change at Calamon - miles xii.
Halt at Sycaminos (Haifa) - miles iii.
- 96420 [585] Here is the Mount Carmel, where Helias offered sacrifice (1Kings 18:19-40).
- Change at Certa - miles viii.
- 96425 Frontier of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.
- City of Caesarea Palaestinae (Kaisarieh), that is, Judaea - miles viii.
Total from Tyre to Caesarea Palaestina 73 miles, 2 changes, 3 halts.
- 96430 Here is the bath (balneus) of Cornelius the centurion who gave many alms (Acts 10:2; 47-48).
- At the third milestone from thence is the [586] mountain Syna, where there is a fountain, in which, if a woman bathes, she becomes pregnant.
- 96435 City of Maximianopolis - miles xviii.
City of Stradela (Jezreel, Zerin) - miles x.
- 96440 Here reigned King Achab (Ahab), and here Helias prophesied (1 Kings 17,1ff). Here is the field in which David slew Goliath (Ayn Jalud ?) (1 Sam 17:49-51).
- City of Scythopolis (Bethshean, Beisan) - miles xii.
[587] Aser (Teyasir), where was the house of Job - miles vi.
City of Neapolis (Nablus) - miles xv.
- 96445 Here is the Mount Gerizim. Here the Samaritans say that Abraham offered sacrifice (Mount Moriah), and one reaches the top of the mountain by steps, three hundred in number. Beyond this, at the foot of the mountain itself, is a place called Sichem. Here is a tomb in which [588] Joseph is laid, in the 'parcel of ground' (villa) which Jacob his father gave to him (Jos 24:32). From thence Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, was carried off by the children of the Amorites (Gen 34:1-31). A mile from thence is a place named Sichar, from which the woman of Samaria came down to the same place in which Jacob dug the well, to draw water from it, and our Lord Jesus Christ talked with her (John 4:1-42); in which place are plane-trees, which Jacob planted, and a bath (balneus - baptistry) which is supplied with water from the well.
- 96455 Twenty-eight miles from thence on the left hand, as one goes towards Jerusalem, is a village (villa) named Bethar (Bethel, Beitin). A mile from thence is the place where Jacob slept when he was journeying into Mesopotamia (Gen 28:10-22), and here is the almond tree; here Jacob saw the vision and the angel wrestled with him (Gen 32:22-32). Here was King Jeroboam when the prophet was sent to him, that he should turn himself to the [589] Most High God; and the prophet was ordered not to eat bread with the false prophet whom the king had with him, and because he was beguiled by the false prophet and ate bread with him, as he was returning a lion fell upon the prophet on the way and slew him (1Kings 13:1-34).
- 96460

Thence to Jerusalem - miles xii.

96465

Total from Caesarea Palaestina to Jerusalem 116 miles, 4 halts, 4 changes.

Thence to Jerusalem - miles xii.

96470

Total from Caesarea Palaestina to Jerusalem 116 miles, 4 halts, 4 changes.

There are in Jerusalem two large pools (piscinae) at the side of the temple (ad latus templi), that is, one upon the right hand, and one upon the left, which were made by Solomon; and further in the city are twin pools (piscinae gemellares), with five porticoes, which are called Bethsaida (John 5:2-18). There persons who have been sick for many years are cured; the pools contain water which is red when it is disturbed. There is also here a crypt, in which Solomon used to torture devils.

96475

Here is also the corner of [590] an exceeding high tower, where our Lord ascended and the tempter said to Him, 'If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence.' And the Lord answered, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only shalt thou serve.' (Matt 4:1-11). There is a great corner-stone, of which it was said, 'The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner.' (Matt 21:42; cfr. Ps 118:22). Under the pinnacle (pinna) of the tower are many rooms, and here was Solomon's palace. There also is the chamber in which he sate and wrote the (Book of) Wisdom; this chamber is covered with a single stone. There are also large subterranean reservoirs for water and pools constructed with great labour. And [591] in the building (in aede) itself, where stood the temple which Solomon built, they say that the blood of Zacharias (Matt 23:35; cfr. Luke 11:51) which was shed upon the stone pavement before the altar remains to this day. There are also to be seen the marks of the nails in the shoes of the soldiers who slew him, throughout the whole enclosure, so plain that you would think they were impressed upon wax. There are two statues of Hadrian, and not far from the statues there is a perforated stone, to which the Jews come every year and anoint it, bewail themselves with groans, rend their garments, and so depart. There also is the house of Hezekiah King of Judah.

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Also as you come out of Jerusalem to go up Mount Sion, on the left hand, [592] below in the valley, beside the wall, is a pool which is called Siloe (John 9:1-11) and has four porticoes; and there is another large pool outside it. This spring runs for six days and nights, but on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, it does not run at all, either by day or by night. On this side one goes up Sion, and sees where the house of Caiaphas the priest was (Mt 26:57-68), and there still stands a column against which Christ was beaten with rods. Within, however, inside the wall of Sion, is seen the place where was David's palace. Of seven synagogues which once were there, one alone remains; the rest are ploughed over and sown upon, as said [593] Isaiah the prophet (Is 1:2.4-8; Michah 3:9-12).

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From thence as you go out of the wall of Sion, as you walk towards the gate of Neapolis, towards the right, below in the valley, are walls, where was the house or praetorium of Pontius Pilate (Matt 27:11-31). Here our Lord was tried before His passion. On the left hand is the little hill of Golgotha where the Lord was crucified (Matt 27:33-37). [594] About a stone's throw from thence is a vault (crypta) wherein His body was laid, and rose again on the third day (Matt 27:57-60; 28:1-10). There, at present, by the command of the Emperor Constantine (iussu Constantini), has been built a basilica, that is to say, a church (dominicum) of wondrous beauty, having at the side reservoirs (excepturia) from which water is raised, and a bath behind in which infants are washed (baptized).

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Also as one goes from Jerusalem to the gate which is to the eastward, in order to ascend the Mount of Olives, is the valley called that of Josaphat. Towards the left, where are vineyards, is a stone at the place where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ (Matt 26,36-50); on the [595] right is a palm-tree, branches of which the children carried off and strewed in the way when Christ came (Matt 31:8). Not far from thence, about a stone's-throw, are two notable tombs of wondrous beauty; in the one, which is a true monolith, lies Isaiah the prophet, and in the other Hezekiah, King of the Jews.

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From thence you ascend to the Mount of Olives, where before the Passion, the Lord taught His disciples (Matt 24-25). There by the orders of Constantine a basilica of wondrous beauty has been built. Not far from thence is the little hill which the Lord ascended to pray, when he took Peter [596] and John with Him, and Moses and Elias

- 96530 were beheld.
- A mile and a half to the eastward is the village (villa) called Bethany. There is a vault (crypta) in which Lazarus, whom the Lord raised, was laid (John 11:1-44).
- 96535 From Jerusalem to Jericho (Ariha) - miles xviii.
- On the right hand side, as one descends from the mount, behind a tomb, is the sycamore tree into which Zacchaeus climbed that he might see Christ (Luke 19:1-10). A mile-and-a-half from the town is the fountain of Elisha. Formerly if any woman drank of it she did not bear children. Beside it lies an earthenware vessel. Elisha threw salt into it, and came and stood over the fountain and said, 'Thus saith the Lord, I have cleansed these waters, and if any woman drink of this fountain she shall bear children.' (2 Kings 2,1-22).
- 96540
- Above the same fountain [597] is the house of the harlot Rahab, to whom the spies came, and she hid them (Jos 2:1-21; Heb 11:17-40), and alone was saved when Jericho was destroyed. Here stood the city of Jericho, round whose walls the children of Israel circled with the Ark of the Covenant, and the walls fell down (Jos 6:1-25). Nothing is to be seen of it except the place where the Ark of the Covenant stood, and the twelve stones which the children of Israel brought out of Jordan (Jos 4:1-24).
- 96550 There Jesus, the son of Nave (Joshua the son of Nun), circumcised the children of Israel and buried their foreskins (Jos 5:2-9).
- From Jericho (Ariha) to the Dead sea- miles ix.
- 96555 The water of it is very bitter, and in it there is no kind of fish whatever, nor any vessel; and if a man casts himself into it in order to swim, the water turns him over.
- 96560 [598] From thence to the Jordan, where the Lord was baptized by John (Matt 3:13-17) - miles v.
- There is a place by the river, a little hill upon the further (left) bank, from which Elijah was caught up into heaven (2 Kings 2:1-15).
- 96565 From Jerusalem going to Bethlehem (Beit Lahm) - miles vi.
- On the road, on the right hand, is a tomb, in which lies Rachel, the wife of Jacob (Gen 35:16-20; Matt 2:16-18). Two miles from thence, on the left hand, is Bethlehem, where our Lord Jesus Christ was born (Matt 2:18-25; Luke 2:1-7). A basilica has been built there by the orders of Constantine. Not far from thence is the tomb of Ezekiel, Asaph, Job, Jesse, David, and Solomon, whose names are inscribed in Hebrew letters upon the wall as you go down into the vault itself.
- 96570
- [599] From thence to Bethasora (Bethzur, Beit Sur) - miles xiv.
- 96575 There is the fountain in which Philip baptized the eunuch (Acts 8:26-40).
- Thence to Terebinthus (Mamre, Ramet el-Khalil) - miles viii.
- 96580 Here Abraham dwelt, and dug a well under a terebinth tree, and spoke with angels, and ate food with them (Gen 18:1-14). Here a basilica of wondrous beauty has been built by the command of Constantine.
- From Terebinthus (Ramet el-Khalil) to Hebron (el-Khalil) - miles ii.
- 96585 Here is a monument (memoria) of square form built of stone of wondrous beauty, in which lie Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sara, Rebecca, and Leah (Gen 23:1-19; 25:7-10; 49:29-43).
- 96590 [600] From Jerusalem as follows:
- City of Nicopolis (Amwas) - miles xxii.
City of Lydda (Ludd) - miles x.
Change at Antipatris (Ras el-Ain) - miles x.
- 96595 Change at Betthar (Tireh) - miles x.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

City of Caesarea (Kaisarieh) - miles xvi.

[601] Total from Constantinople to Jerusalem 1,159 miles, 69 changes, 58 halts.

96600 Also through Nicopolis (Amwas) to Caesarea (Kaisarieh) 73 miles, 5 changes, 3 halts.

Also from Heraclea (Eregli) through Macedonia.

Change at Erea (Heraeum) - miles xvi.

Halt at Registus (Resistus, Bisanthe, Rodosto) - miles xii.

96605 Change at Bedizum (Beodizum) - miles xii.

City of Apri (Ainajik) - miles xii.

[602] Change at Zesutera - miles xii.

Frontier of Europe and Rhodope.

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Halt at Sirogelli (Syracellae, Malgara) - miles x.

Change at Drippa - miles xiv.

Halt at Gypsela (Cypsela, Ipsala) - miles xii.

Change at Demas (Dymae, Kaladerkos) - miles xii.

96615 City of Trajanopolis - miles xiii.

Change at Unimpara (Tempyra) - miles viii.

Change at Salei - miles vii.

Change at Melalicum (Milolitum) - miles viii.

Halt at Berozicha (Brendice, Brizice) - miles xv.

96620 [603] Change at Breierophara - miles x.

City of Maximianopolis (Porsulae, Pyrsoalis, Impara, near Gumuljina) - miles x.

Change at Dio(medes's) stables (Buru Kaleh) - miles xii.

Change at Rumbodona (Kurusu Yenijeh) - miles x.

City of Epirus (Topiris, Karaguz) - miles x.

96625 Change at Purdi (Sarichoban) - miles viii.

Frontier of Rhodope and Macedonia

Halt at Hercontroma (Acontisma) - miles ix.

Change at Neapolis (Kavala) - miles ix.

96630 City of Philippi (Crenides, Filibeh) - miles x.

[604] Here Paul and Silas were imprisoned (Acts 16:23).

Change at the twelfth milestone - miles xii.

96635 Halt at Domeros (Pervista) - miles vii.

City of Amphipolis (Yeni Keui) - miles xiii.

Change at Pennana - miles x.

Change at Euripides (Arethusa, Vrastra) - miles x.

96640 Here is buried the poet Euripides.

[605] Halt at Appollonia (Polina) - miles xi.

Change at Heracleustibus (Heracleus Stibos) - miles xi.

Change at Duodea - miles xiv.

96645 City of Thessalonica (Saloniki) - miles xiii.

Change at the tenth milestone - miles x.

Change at the Bridge (over the Axius, Wardar Su) - miles x.

[606] City of Pella (Ala Kilisseh, Yenikeui), whence came Alexander the Great of Macedonia - miles x.

96650 Change at Scurio (Cyrius, Cyrrhus, Palaeo Kastro ?) - miles xv.

City of Edessa (Vodena) - miles xv.

Change at the twelfth milestone (Ostrovo) - miles xii.

Halt at Cellis - miles xvi.

Change at Grande (Florina) - miles xiv.

96655 Change at Melitonius (Dragosch) - miles xiv.

City of Heraclea (Heraclea Lyncestis, Toli Monastir) - miles xiii.

[607] Change at Parambole (Caste, Nicia) - miles xii.

Change at Brucida (Brucias, Brygias) - miles xix.

96660 Frontier of Macedonia and Epirus.

City of Cleto (Lychnidus, Ochrida) - miles xiii.

- Change at Patrae - miles xii.
Halt at Claudanum (Claudanum, Kükëseh) - miles iv.
Change at Tabernae (Tres Tabernae, Juru) - miles ix.
- 96665 Halt at Grandavia (Diana Candavia) - miles ix.
[608] Change at the crossing (of the Genusus, Sakumbi Su) - miles ix.
Halt at Hiscampis (Scampae, El Bassan) - miles ix.
Change at the fifth milestone - miles vi.
Halt at Coladiana (Clodiana, on the Devol Su) - miles xv.
- 96670 Halt at Marusium - miles xv.
Halt at Absos (on the Apous, Usumi Su) - miles xiv.
Change at Stephanaphana (Dukanasi) - miles xii.
City of Apollonia (Polina) - miles xviii.
Change at Stephana (Goritza) - miles xii.
- 96675 Halt at Aulon (Valona). Sea passage - miles x.
Halt at Aulon (Valona). Sea passage - miles x.
[609] Total from Heraclea (Eregli) through Macedonia to Aulon (Valona) 688 miles, 58 changes, 25 halts.
- 96680 Crossing the sea, a thousand stadia, which makes a hundred miles, you come to Hydrontum (Hydruntum, Otranto), and halt a mile farther.
- 96685 Change at the twelfth milestone Halt at Clipeae (Lupiae, Lecce) - miles xiii.
Change at Valentia (Baletium, Baleso) - miles xiii.
City of Brindisium (Brundisium, Brindisi) - miles xi.
Halt at Spilenees (Speluncae) - miles xiv.
Change at the tenth milestone (Pto. Villa Nova) - miles xi.
City of Leonatia (Gnatia, Egnatia, Agnazzo) - miles x.
- 96690 Change at Turres Auriliana (San Vito) - miles xv.
Change at Turres Julianae - miles ix.
City of Beroes (Barium, Bari) - miles xi.
Change at Butontones (Butuntum, Bitonto) - miles xi.
[610] City of Rubi (Ruvo) - miles xi.
- 96695 Change at the fifteenth milestone - miles xv.
City of Canusium (Canosa) - miles xv.
Change at the eleventh milestone - miles xi.
City of Serdonis (Herdonea, Ordonia) - miles xv.
City of Aecae (Troja) - miles xviii.
- 96700 Change at Aquilo - miles x.
Frontier of Apulia and Campania.
- 96705 Halt at Equus Magnus (Equus Tuticus, S. Eleuterio) - miles viii.
Change at the village of Fornum Novum (Forum Novum, Buon Albergo) - miles xii.
City of Beneventum (Benevento) - miles x.
City and halt at Claudii (Caudium, Casta Cauda) - miles xii.
Change at Novae - miles ix.
City of Capua (Capua) - miles xii.
- 96710 [611] Total from Aulon (Valona) to Capua 289 miles, 25 changes, 13 halts.
- 96715 Change at the eighth milestone - miles viii.
Change at Pons Campanus (over the Savone River) - miles ix.
City of Sonuessa (Sinuessa, Mondragone) - miles ix.
City of Menturnae (Minturnae, on the Liris) - miles ix.
City of Formi (Mola di Gaeta) - miles ix.
City of Fundi (Fondi) - miles xii.
City of Tarracina (Terracina) - miles xiii.
- 96720 Change at Mediae (Posta di Mesa) - miles x.
Change at Forum Appi (Foro Appio) - miles ix.
[612] Change at Sponsae - miles vii.
City of Aricia (Ariccia) and Albana (Albanum, Albano) - miles xvi
- 96725 Change at the ninth milestone - miles vii.
To the city of Rome - miles ix.
- Total from Capua to the city of Rome 136 miles, 14 changes, 9 halts.

96730 Total from Heraclea (Eregli) through Aulon (Valona) to the city of Rome 1,113 miles, 117 changes, 46 halts.

To the City of Mediolanum (Milan).
 Change at Rubrae (Saxa Rubra, Prima Porta) - miles ix.
 [613] Change at the twentieth milestone - miles xiv.
 96735 Change at Aqua Viva - miles xii.
 City of Utriculo, halt (Ocriculum, Otricoli) - miles xii.
 City of Narnia (Narni) - miles xii.
 City of Interamna (Terni) - miles viii.
 Change at Tres Tabernae - miles iii.
 96740 Change at Fanum Fugitivi (La Somma) - miles x.
 City of Spolitio (Spoletium, Spoleto) - miles vii.
 Change at Sacraria (Clitumnus, Le Vene) - miles viii.
 City of Trevi (Trebis, Trevi) - miles iv.
 City of Fulgini (Fulginium, Foligno) - miles v.
 96745 [614] City of Forum Flamini (S. Giovanni pro Fiamma) - miles iii.
 City of Nocerina (Nuceria, Nocera) - miles xii.
 City of Pitanis (Tadinum, Gualdo Tadino) - miles viii.
 Halt at Herbellum (Helvillum Sigillo) - miles vii.
 Change at Hesis (Aesis, Scheggia) - miles x.
 96750 Change at Cale (Cales, Cagli) - miles xiv.
 Change at Intercisa (Petra Pertusa, Passo del Furlo) - miles ix.
 [615] City of Forum Semproni (Fossombrone) - miles ix.
 Change at the eighth milestone - miles ix.
 City of Fanum Fortunae (Fano) - miles viii.
 96755 City of Pisaurum (Pesaro) - miles xxiv.

... to Riminum (Ariminum, Rimini)
 Change at Conpetus (Ad Confluentes, Savignano) - miles xii.
 City of Cesena (Caesena, Cesena) - miles vi.
 96760 [616] City of Forum Populi (Forum Popilii, Forlì) - miles vi.
 City of Forum Livi (F. Livii, Forlì) - miles vi.
 City of Faventia (Faenza) - miles v.
 City of Forum Corneli (F. Corneli, Imola) - miles x.
 City of Claternum (Claterna, S. Nicolo') - miles xiii.
 96765 City of Bononia (Bologna) - miles x.
 Change at Mediae - miles xv.
 Change at Victoriolae - miles x.
 City of Mutina (Mutina, Modena) - miles iii.
 Change at the bridge over the Secia (Tresinaro) - miles v.
 96770 City of Regio (Regium Lepidum, Reggio) - miles viii.
 Change at Canneto (Tannetum, Tanneto) - miles x.
 City of Parma (Parma) - miles viii.
 Change at the river Tarus (Taro) - miles vii.
 Halt at Fidentia (Borgo San Donnino) - miles viii.
 96775 Change at Fonticuli (Alla Fontana) - miles viii.
 City of Placentia (Piacenza) - miles xiii.
 [617] Change at Rota (Quadrata) - miles xi.
 Change at Tres Tabernae - miles v.
 City of Laude (Laus Pompeia, Lodi Vecchio) - miles ix.
 96780 Change at the ninth milestone - miles vii.
 City of Mediolanum (Milan) - miles vii.

Sum total from the city of Rome to Mediolanum (Milan) 416 miles, 42 changes, 24 halts.

96785 See <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord01Bordeaux.html>
<http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/pilgr/bord/10Bord01Lat.html>

96790 **ITINERARY FROM BORDEAUX TO JERUSALEM (in 333)**

INTRODUCTION.

The name of the author of the 'Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem' is unknown; he

96795 was possibly a native of Guienne, perhaps of Bordeaux itself; and he was in all probability a Christian, for, until the Holy Land is reached, the 'Itinerary' differs little from the bare official tables of the 'Antonine Itinerary'. The journey was made in 333 AD, when Flavius Valerius Dalmatius (brother of the Emperor Constantine) and Marcus Aurelius Zenophilus were joint Consuls. The 'Itinerary' is the earliest record of a pilgrimage extant, and that part of it which relates to the Holy Places 96800 is highly interesting and instructive from the marked absence of those minor traditions that collected round every sacred site during the fifth and sixth centuries. We hear nothing, for instance, of the cross and its adoration; of the lance; of the crown of thorns; or of other relics. With the single exception of the Column of the Flagellation, places made memorable by some event in sacred history are 96805 alone mentioned; and the legendary sites noticed, such as the crypt in which Solomon tortured the devils, and the chamber in which he wrote the Book of Wisdom, are connected with Jewish, not Christian history, and cluster round the Temple of the Jews, rather than round the Tomb of Christ.

The Pilgrim seems to have gone to the Holy Land like Origen, 'to search after the footsteps of Jesus, and His disciples, and the prophets'; or, perhaps, in the spirit of Constantine's mother, 'to seek knowledge of a land so worthy of veneration', and to 'render thanksgivings with prayers' on ground hallowed by the Saviour's feet, in accordance with the words of the Psalmist, 'Let us worship at the place whereon His feet have stood'. Such, at any rate, appear to have been the guiding motives of the 96815 earliest pilgrims, who were as much earnest seekers after knowledge as devotees. Alexander, the first pilgrim of whom there is any record, is stated to have gone to Palestine 'for the sake of prayer, and of obtaining knowledge of the (holy) places by inquiry'; and even as late as 386 AD we find the same view expressed more fully by Jerome, in the Epistle of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella. 'It would be tedious now 96820 to run through every age from the ascension of the Lord to the present day, and enumerate the bishops, the martyrs, the men eloquent in ecclesiastical learning, who have come to Jerusalem because they thought that they had less religion, less knowledge, and had not, as the phrase is, received the finishing stroke of their virtues, unless they had adored Christ in those places whence the Gospel had first 96825 shone forth from the Cross'. The feeling which prompted these early pilgrims to visit the Holy Land, and especially Jerusalem, has been happily caught by Keble, and faithfully expressed in the beautiful words:

'There is a spot within this sacred dale
That felt Thee kneeling — touch'd Thy prostrate brow:
One angel knows it. O might prayer avail
To win that knowledge! sure such holy vow
Less quickly from th' unstable soul would fade,
Offer'd where CHRIST in agony was laid.'

96835 Towards the close of the fourth century a change took place; pilgrimages became the fashion; and the men and women who, following the example of Paula, flocked to Jerusalem, appear, in the spirit of St. Thomas, to have required some visible and tangible evidence of our Lord's Passion to confirm their faith. For such persons the necessary aids to faith were provided in gradually increasing numbers, until, in the 96840 sixth century, we find not only the true cross, but the crown of thorns, the reed, the sponge, the lance, the cup used at the Last Supper, the stone that was rolled away from the sepulchre, and other relics of minor importance, such as the 'charger' in which John the Baptist's head was carried.

After leaving Bordeaux, the Pilgrim followed a road, which lay to the south of the Garonne to Toulouse; and it is interesting to notice that in this section of the 96845 journey the distances are given in leagues, from which it may perhaps be inferred that the Gallic league was still in common use in those parts of Gaul which lay beyond the limits of the old Roman province. At Narbonne he reached the great line of communication between Spain and Italy, and followed it thence to the first station 96850 out of Aries, where he turned aside, up the valley of the Rhone, to Valence, on the road from Vienne, over the Cottian Alps, to Milan. From Milan to Constantinople the 'Itinerary' agrees, except for a short distance, with the route laid down in the Antonine Itinerary (pp. 127-138 Wesseling). This route passed through Padua, Laybach, Pettau, Esseg, Belgrad, Nisch, Sophia, Philippopoli, Adrianople, and Eregli. The 96855 difference alluded to is in the section between Burdista (Mustafa Pasha Keupri) and Virgoli (Lule Bergas); the Pilgrim omits Adrianople, and appears to have made an excursion northwards, from Burdista, to visit some unknown point of interest, but the text is in any case defective. (Note 2, p. 10.)

The route through Asia Minor, on which Professor Ramsay has kindly contributed a

96860 valuable memoir (App. I.), coincides generally 'with the military road, which was
commonly used by the Byzantine armies in marching from Constantinople to Syria'. It
passed through Ismid, Angora, Kiz Hissar, and the famed Cilician Gates to Tarsus,
where 'the Apostle Paul was born'; and was thence continued through Adana,
96865 Alexandretta, and over the Beilan Pass to Antioch. From Antioch the 'Itinerary'
crosses the mountains to Latakieh, and thence follows the regular coast road through
Tartús, Tripoli, Beirút, Tyre, and Acre, to Caesarea Palaestina. (Comp. 'Ant. Itin.',
pp. 147-150, Wess.) At the last-named place the Pilgrim notices 'the bath of
Cornelius', which was, perhaps, a public building given to the city by Cornelius, who
appears to have been a wealthy man; that such gifts were occasionally made may be
96870 inferred from the case of the synagogue which was built by the centurion at
Capernaum.

Instead of following the direct road from Caesarea Palaestina to Jerusalem, the
Pilgrim proceeded to Jezreel, and thence by Scythopolis (Bethshean) to Neapolis
(Shechem). The object of this divergence is not explained, but it was, possibly, to
96875 complete the tour of places connected with the history of Elijah, whose remarkable
character and whose reappearance with Moses on the Mount of Transfiguration seem to
have made such a deep impression on the minds of the early Christians. In making this
détour the Pilgrim passed within a day's journey of Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee,
and it is very remarkable to find that a man who had made the long journey from
96880 Bordeaux should omit all notice of, and apparently not care to visit, places so
intimately connected with our Lord's early life and ministry. Perhaps the explanation
must be sought in the fact that men, at that time, cared more about the resurrection
and all that it implied, than they did about the localities in which Christ had
passed His life on earth; and that general interest in places like Nazareth and
96885 Capernaum was not aroused until Constantine had attracted attention to the Manger and
the Tomb by erecting magnificent churches at Bethlehem and Jerusalem.
At Neapolis the Pilgrim visited Joseph's Tomb and Jacob's Well, which appear to have
occupied then the positions now assigned to them; and, like Eusebius, he makes a
distinction between Neapolis, Sichem, and Sichar. From Neapolis he travelled along
96890 the well-known road by Bethel, where he dwells on the incidents connected with
Jacob's vision, and the fate of the prophet who was beguiled by the false prophet, to
Jerusalem.

The description of Jerusalem, though wanting in fulness, is of great interest.

96895 The writer commences with the northern end of the eastern hill, and then, in the most
methodical manner, proceeds southwards; crosses the valley, above Siloam, to the
western hill; returns north-wards; and finally passes out of the city by the east
gate to visit the Mount of Olives and Bethany. The narrative is clear and connected;
and it is hardly possible, for anyone who knows the ground, to read it without
96900 feeling that the Pilgrim from Bordeaux actually saw Constantine's buildings standing
on the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This is not the place
to discuss the theory respecting Constantine's churches, which was for many years so
ably advocated by the late Mr. James Fergusson; but it is quite impossible, as
pointed out in Appendix V., to maintain the farced construction which he placed on
96905 the passage relating to them. Jerusalem in 333 AD could not have differed greatly
from the Aelia of Hadrian; and it is not unlikely that in several essential
particulars, such as the direction of the main streets and the course of a large
section of the city wall, modern Jerusalem represents the lines upon which Aelia was
founded on the ruins of the old city destroyed by Titus. The two streets, running
96910 respectively south from the Damascus Gate, and east from the Jaffa Gate, which divide
Jerusalem into four parts, evidently follow the lines of ancient streets; and the
same may be said of the street El Wad, and of the street leading from it to St.
Stephen's Gate. If we suppose that the Pilgrim, on leaving Sion, passed along the
street east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre towards the Damascus Gate, his
96915 narrative becomes quite clear.

The reasons for supposing that the Pool of Bethesda was situated near the north-west
angle of the Haram area, and that it is now represented by the 'souterrains'
connected with the Convent of the Sisters of Sion, are given in Appendix III; and
some notes on the site assigned to Sion in the fourth century will be found in
96920 Appendix IV. The absence of any allusion in the narrative to what may be called the
accessories of the Passion, excepting the Column of the Flagellation, has already
been noticed (p. iii.); and attention may further be drawn to the small number of
holy places connected with New Testament history which are mentioned. The list
includes Bethesda; the pinnacle of the Temple with its 'great corner-stone', rejected
96925 of the builders; Siloam; the house of Caiaphas with the Column of the Flagellation;

the Praetorium of Pilate; the place of the Crucifixion; and the Tomb; and it omits places such as the Coenaculum; the scene of St. Stephen's martyrdom; and the birthplace of the Virgin, which afterwards became widely celebrated. Beyond the limits of the city, to the east, the Pilgrim mentions the place of the betrayal (Gethsemane); the palm-tree from which branches were taken to spread in the way of Jesus (Matt. xxi. 8); the Mount of Olives on which Christ taught His disciples; the scene of the Transfiguration; and the Tomb of Lazarus at Bethany; but he makes no allusion to the Tomb of the Virgin, or to the connection of the Mount of Olives with the Ascension.

From Jerusalem the Pilgrim made two excursions; one to Jericho, the Dead Sea, and the spot where the Lord was baptized in Jordan; the other to Bethlehem, where Constantine's basilica had already been erected, and Hebron. He then proceeded by Nicopolis, Lydda, and Antipatris, to Caesarea Palaestina. At Caesarea there is a break in the 'Itinerary', which is taken up again at Heraclea (Eregli) and we are left in doubt whether the Pilgrim retraced his steps through Asia Minor, or went by sea to Constantinople. The home journey from Heraclea calls for no remark; it was made through the provinces of Rhodope, Macedonia, and Epirus to Aulon (Avlona) on the Adriatic; thence by water to Otranto, and afterwards through Brindisi, Bari, Capua, Rome, Trevi, Rimini, Bologna, Parma, and Piacenza, to Milan. At Milan, where the homeward route joins that which had been described on the outward journey, the 'Itinerary' ends.

The known MSS. [manuscripts] of the 'Itinerary' are: one of the eighth century in the library at Verona, distinguished as V.; one of the ninth century in the library at St. Gallen; and one of the tenth century in the National Library at Paris, distinguished as P. The earliest printed edition was published in 1589, and there have been eleven subsequent editions; the best critical edition is that published, with notes in German, by Dr. Tobler in 'Palaestinse Descriptiones, ex saec. iv., v., et vi'. It has not been considered advisable to add critical notes, in the English edition, to those portions of the 'Itinerary' which refer to countries beyond the limits of the Holy Land; but the names of the 'stations' are often corrupt, and the forms generally used by classical writers have therefore been given with, in some cases, the modern names. The variations in the readings of the MSS. have been noted on each page.

[...] = The perforated stone (lapis pertusus) is only mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim; it has been suggested that this stone may have been the 'stone of foundation', aven sheteyah, and identical with the sakhrāh in the Dome of the Rock; but there is no clue to its position except that it was near the statues of adrian, and probably, therefore, within the limits of the Jewish Temple. After the suppression of the revolt, during the reign of Hadrian, the Jews were forbidden all approach to Jerusalem, and this prohibition remained in force until the reign of Constantine; for Eusebius states (Theoph.) that they were not allowed to set foot in the city, or view it even from a distance. The law must have been revoked soon after Constantine's accession as sole Emperor in 324 AD, for the Pilgrim (333 AD) mentions the visit of the Jews as an annual custom. The Jews now wail every Friday at the well-known Jews' wailing-place, outside the Temple enclosure. [...]

About a stone's throw from thence is avault (crypta) wherein His body was laid, and rose again on the third day. There, at present, by the command of the Emperor Constantine, has been built a basilica, that is to say, a church of wondrous beauty, having at the side reservoirs (exceptoria) from which water is raised, and a bath behind in which infants are washed (baptized).

Also as one goes from Jerusalem to the gate which is to the eastward, in order to ascend the Mount of Olives, is the valley called that of Josaphat. Towards the left, where are vineyards, is a stone at the place where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ; on the right is a palm-tree, branches of which the children carried off and strewed in the way when Christ came. Not far from thence, about a stone's-throw, are two notable (monubiles) tombs of wondrous beauty; in the one, which is a true monolith, lies Isaiah the prophet, and in the other Hezekiah, King of the Jews.

From thence you ascend to the Mount of Olives, where before the Passion, the Lord taught His disciples. There by the orders of Constantine a basilica of wondrous beauty has been built. Not far from thence is the little hill which the Lord ascended to pray, when he took Peter and John with Him, and Moses and Elias were beheld. A mile and a half to the eastward is the village (villa) called Bethany. There is a vault (crypta) in which Lazarus, whom the Lord raised, was laid.

The full text of the passage relating to Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre is as follows: - 'Inde ut eas foras murum de Sion, eunti ad portam Neapolitanam ad partem dextram, deorsum in valle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive pretorium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est, antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidis missum est crypta, ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertio die surrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est, dominicum mire pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria, unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur.'

Some twenty years ago the correct interpretation of this passage, and the exact force of the words 'foras murum', were the subject of heated controversy. On the one hand, it was maintained that foras murum simply expresses the act of going outside the wall; that the 'Porta Neapolitana' was so named from its being the gate by which the road to Neapolis left Jerusalem, and that it occupied the position of the present Damascus Gate; and that the buildings in course of erection by Constantine occupied the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. On the other hand, the late Mr. Fergusson contended that the Pilgrim meant 'that, passing outwards from the Sion Gate, a person going to the Neapolitan Gate, outside the wall, "foris murum", has the house of Pilate down in the valley on the right...'; and he identified the 'Porta Neapolitana' with the gate (Golden Gate) of the New Jerusalem of Eusebius; and Constantine's church with the Dome of the Rock. In his latest work, however, Mr. Fergusson, whilst maintaining his identification of Constantine's church, did not insist on the forced meaning of foras murum; and identified the 'Porta Neapolitana' with the 'Porta Speciosa' of the Middle Ages in the west wall of the Haram Area.

There can be no doubt that foras murum has not the meaning attributed to it by Mr. Fergusson, and the interpretation of Porta Neapolitana as Gate of the New City seems also somewhat strained. It must be remembered that the Holy Sepulchre was discovered in 325 AD, that the buildings of Constantine were commenced in 326 and dedicated in 335 AD, and that the Pilgrim visited Jerusalem in 333 AD, two years before the buildings were finished. It is unlikely that a town large enough to be called Neapolis had sprung up round Constantine's unfinished churches at the time of the Pilgrim's visit; and it may be remarked that though the group of buildings at the Sepulchre is often called New Jerusalem in early Christian writings, in contradistinction to the old centre of worship on Mount Moriah, it is never once called Neapolis or the New City. It seems more natural to suppose that, according to a very prevalent custom in all countries, the gate derived its name from the first important town on the road which passed out through it from the city. In this case the town would be Neapolis, whence the Pilgrim had just arrived; and I believe the text can only be explained by supposing the Porta Neapolitana to have been a gate in the north wall of the city occupying a position at, or not far from, the modern Damascus Gate. It follows from this identification that the buildings of Constantine, mentioned by the Pilgrim, occupied the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and it may be remarked that the principal points of interest in Jerusalem are described in the most methodical manner. The Pilgrim commences with the two large pools, and the Pool of Bethesda at the northern end of the Temple hill; he then proceeds southwards, and, after making a complete tour through the city, passes out by the Eastern Gate to the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Mount of Olives. All the places are mentioned in their proper order, first from north to south, and then from south to north; the sites connected with the Temple, Siloam, the house of Caiaphas, David's palace, Golgotha and the Tomb, and the gate in the north wall (see map, p. 58). Some difficulty exists in identifying the ruins which the Pilgrim believed to be those of the Praetorium, from the fact that he places them in the valley. Several writers have supposed that he referred to the ruins of the tower Antonia at the north-west angle of the Haram Area, where modern tradition places the Praetorium. This place, however, lies so high that any ruins near it could not possibly be described as lying in a valley; and the narrative seems to demand a site not far from the western entrance of the old Cotton Bazaar (Suk el Kattanin.) For the different sites assigned to the Praetorium see Tobler (Topog. von Jerusalem, 220-229); and the English edition of Antoninus's Itinerary (note to p. 19). The view held by some recent writers is that the Praetorium, at the date of the Crucifixion, was the palace of Herod, near the Jaffa Gate, which was certainly occupied by Gessius Florus, and probably also by Pontius Pilate.

<https://archive.org/details/cu31924028534158/page/n11/mode/2up>

Verantwoording

- 97060 In het onderstaande bestand wordt ingegaan op details betreffende de vondst van de Peelhelm. De auteur vermoedt dat de Peelhelm een deel is van een **volledige uitrusting van een Romeinse cavalerie-officier**, omdat de kleding en wapenen van een persoon en het tuig van een paard zijn gevonden. Resten van een persoon of van een paard zijn niet gevonden. Daaruit kunnen we slechts concluderen dat de officier zelf tijdens zijn leven of dat zijn nabestaanden alle voorwerpen verstoopt hebben in het veen.
- 97065 Zodanig verstoopt dat de weinige voorbijgangers die er geweest zullen zijn, de zaken niet direct zagen liggen. Waarschijnlijk was men er zich destijds ook van bewust dat venen groeien en dat de voorwerpen in de loop der tijd onder een steeds groter veen-pakket zouden komen te liggen.
- 97070 Verrassend voor de auteur was de enorme waarde van zilveren voorwerpen, zeker als die door een zilversmid zijn bewerkt. Er waren maar weinig personen die een dergelijk fijn gedreven helm konden maken, en als zodanig was de helm extra kostbaar. Waarschijnlijk was de helm een zilver-product dat vanwege de waarde door meerdere personen is doorgegeven en gebruikt, zeker omdat de gemiddelde levensduur van een Romein destijds niet zo groot was.
- 97075 Er zijn in het gebied van Germania Inferior maar zeer weinig van dit soort voorwerpen gevonden. Veel is ongetwijfeld door de tand des tijds vernietigd en zijn de edele metalen omgesmolten.
- 97080 Enkele maanden na de vondst van de helm en de andere voorwerpen wordt het in de kranten genoemde deel van de voorwerpen door het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden aangekocht. De verantwoordelijke functionarissen hebben de vindplaats zelf nooit bezocht of wat uitgebreider met andere personen dan de vinder zelf gesproken. Daarom is veel 'circumstantial evidence' verloren gegaan. Toch vinden we in de kranten en tijdschriften verschillende details. Tevens was er enige correspondentie naar het museum betreffende de vondst. Het meest interessant daarin is de brief die Adrianus Bos, directeur van de N.V. Maatschappij Helenaveen, anderhalf jaar na de vondst naar het museum stuurt. Daarin geeft hij een precieze beschrijving van de vondsten, we mogen aannemen van die vondsten van de eerste paar dagen. Opvallend is dat de functionarissen van het museum niet reageren in de zin van: zeer interessant, weet u waar deze voorwerpen zich nu bevinden? Men laat alles op zijn beloop: na de verwerving door aankoop lijkt de feitelijke interesse verdwenen, ongetwijfeld omdat het niet een eigen opgraving betreft.
- 97085 Een wetenschappelijke studie wordt geschreven waarin duidelijk uiteengezet wordt hoe de helm in elkaar zit, de bijvondsten worden echter summier beschreven.
- 97090
- 97095 Als zilver zo kostbaar was, en gegeven het feit dat het bezit van een paard ook maar weinigen gegeven was, is het verleidelijk te onderzoeken welke andere waardevolle voorwerpen nog meer in de ruime omgeving van de vindplaats tevoorschijn zijn gekomen. Bekend was al dat in het veen van de Peel praktisch geen oude voorwerpen zijn gevonden. In de venen in het noorden van het land en ook bijvoorbeeld in de aangrenzende venen in Duitsland zijn vanaf circa 1800 wel degelijk oude voorwerpen gevonden, zelfs een kilometers-lange houten brug over het veen, maar deze stamt al van voor de Romeinse tijd. Verder zogenaamde veen-lijken, overblijfselen van een walvis en van een paard; een bewijs dat een lichaam bewaard kan blijven als het direct na de dood in geschikte zuurstof-loze grond begraven is.
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- 97105 Als ander kostbaar voorwerp komt direct de zogenaamde **kantharos van Stevenweert** in zicht; wellicht het enige andere voorwerp van zilver uit de Romeinse tijd in de Nederlanden dat kan wedijveren met de Peelhelm. Alle Nederlandse juristen kennen de term kantharos van Stevensweert als voorbeeld van 'dwaling'; hierover is elders zeer veel te vinden. Voordat de werkelijke waarde van deze drinkbeker bekend was, hebben zich andere duistere zaken voorgedaan, die de auteur nog eens met een kritische blik heeft bekeken.
- 97110 Als de wetenschappelijke wereld rond 1950 de drinkbeker onder ogen krijgt, wordt onderzocht waar en wanneer deze gevonden is. Aangewezen worden door de zogenaamde vinder Borgers drie verschillende jaren voor de vondst en wel 1939, 1942 of 1943 en drie verschillende vindplaatsen in Stevensweert. Bij gebrek aan betere informatie is de drinkbeker toen de kantharos van Stevensweert genoemd, hoewel het volstrekt niet zeker is dat Stevensweert de echte vindplaats is.
- 97115 Naar de mening van de auteur is dit juist zeer ongeloofwaardig, want als we duiken in de kranten met de beschrijving hoe in de Maas het grind gewonnen werd rond 1940, dan komen we al snel tot de conclusie dat door de zeef- en sorteer-proces in grootte van de stenen de drinkbeker er gehavend uit zou moeten hebben gezien, wellicht al veel eerder in zijn samenstellende delen zijn uiteengevallen en nooit meer als een geheel te tonen zijn geweest. Bovendien is er geen melding gemaakt door een bemanningslid
- 97120

van het baggerschip van Bongers dat hij het voorwerp ook heeft gezien. Tevens moet
97125 men weten dat er een controleur van Rijkswaterstaat meevoer, en deze zou een
dergelijke vondst zeer zeker gemeld hebben.
In 2006 is van de hand van mevrouw Witteveen van het museum de Valkhof een boekje
geschreven over de drinkbeker. Daarin noemt ze ook wel de tegenstrijdigheden en
97130 onduidelijkheden, maar kan verder geen andere versie benoemen dan die door Bongers is
gegeven.

Zou er een verband kunnen zijn tussen de kantharos van Stevensweert en de vondst van een volledige officier-uitrusting in Helenaveen?

Uit de gegevens verstrekt door een dienstbode bij A. Bos in Helenaveen weten we dat
97135 er een geheime bergplaats was in diens woning, waarin hij door hem verworven delen
van de vondsten bewaarde. Ze heeft niet alles in detail gezien, maar heeft vooral
gesproken over leren stukken, die hij inderdaad vlak na de vondst heeft verzameld,
omdat de lokale schatzoekers daarvoor geen interesse toonden. Ook wordt elders
vermeld dat er een wijnvaatje met een kraantje en een mooi versierde drinkbeker, met
97140 een haak om aan het paardentuig te hangen, was gevonden en in bezit was van A. Bos.
Deze voorwerpen hoorden ook bij de uitrusting van een Romeins soldaat en werden op
reis door de soldaat meegevoerd.

Als we de verdwenen zilveren oren van de drinkbeker als haak zien, dan heeft de
zoektocht hiernaar wel degelijk zin.

97145 Over de drinkbeker wordt geschreven dat die bij een belangrijk persoon van de
Maatschappij Helenaveen in Loosdrecht op een jachtslot terecht gekomen zou zijn.
Naspeuringen hiernaar geven geen duidelijke aanwijzing dienaangaande, maar we komen
hieronder hier nog uitgebreid op terug. Het wijnvaatje met zilveren kraantje
overigens zou al eerder verloren gegaan zijn.

De nalatenschap van Adrianus Bos

Waarschijnlijk wordt eind 1930 directeur Bos ernstig ziek, in ieder geval zodanig dat
hij zijn dagelijkse werkzaamheden niet kan uitvoeren. In maart 1931 overlijdt hij,
tamelijk onverwacht. Hij had al een groot stuk grond gekocht op de Belgenhoek in de
97155 provincie Limburg (direct ten zuiden van de autoweg A67), waar hij later een eigen
huis hoopte te kunnen bouwen. Zie ook <http://www.belgenhoek.nl/> en
<http://www.belgenhoek.nl/page2.html>. Enkele broers, verre familie via de tak van
Gilse van der Pals, hebben dit 19 ha grote natuurgebied nu in bezit.

Want als A. Bos sterft, leeft alleen zijn schoonzus Bos-van Gilse-van der Pals nog.
97160 Zij maakt volgens overlevering het huis leeg en moet daarbij veel papieren verbrand
hebben. Ze zal bij dit werk wel zijn bijgestaan door haar dochter Annie en haar man
en haar ongetrouwde zoon Cor.

Op foto's van het interieur van de woning in Den Haag van mevrouw Bos-van Gilse van
der Pals laten geen Romeinse voorwerpen zien, wat wel niet zo verwonderlijk is. Toch
97165 mogen we aannemen dat het gehele interieur van de GENA-villa in Helenaveen bij de
schoonzus en/of de neef en nicht (met haar man) van A. Bos is terecht gekomen.
Zoon Cor komt op zijn beurt in het huis in Den Haag wonen als zijn moeder overlijdt
in 1936. Neef Cor Bos was al zeer snel na het overlijden van zijn oom benoemd tot
commissaris van de vennootschap.

97170 Dochter Annie was dus getrouwd met Rutger W.C. Baron van Boetzelaer, en mocht zich
dus Baronesse noemen. Het huwelijk was niet gelukkig, de baron zou meer interesse
hebben in het geld dan in de persoon Annie Bos.

Al snel na het overlijden van haar moeder in 1936 scheidt Annie Bos van de baron.
Deze hertrouwt al in 1938 met een Jordens en later trouwt Annie met een Groote; zij
97175 woonde nog lange tijd in Hilversum onder de naam J. Groote-Bos. Zij was intussen
grootaandeelhouder van de Maatschappij Helenaveen en bleef dat haar gehele leven, met
meer dan de helft van het aantal aandelen.

De erfenis kwam dus vrij tijdens het huwelijk van Annie Bos met R.W.C. van Boetzelaer
die later in Laren woonde. Het is verleidelijk te denken dat het merendeel van de
97180 spullen van A. Bos in het huis van de baron en baronesse is terecht gekomen, dus ook
de Romeinse voorwerpen uit de geheime kast. Als de drinkbeker zich daar bevond dan
was het duidelijk afkomstig van de vondsten rondom de Peelhelm, en alleen daarom al
uiterst waardevol. Daartegenover stond dan dat deze voorwerpen eigenlijk in een
museum thuis horen en niet in een privé-verzameling, van wie praktisch niemand wist
97185 dat die bestond.

De dienstbode die ook in de Gena-villa woonde, schrijft zich eind juli 1931 uit de
gemeente Deurne en verhuist naar Wassenaar. Daar werkt ze enige tijd als dienstbode,
maar ze komt later terug naar Helenaveen. Daar wordt ook een onechte zoon geboren,
waarbij het woord onecht later is doorgestreept.

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De voorwerpen kunnen dus het meest waarschijnlijk op drie plaatsen terecht zijn gekomen: bij de schoonzus Cornelia E.A. Bos-van Gilse van der Pals, haar zoon Cor Bos en bij haar dochter Johanna van Boetzelaer-Bos met echtgenoot Rutger W.C. van Boetzelaer.

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Waarschijnlijk had de moeder minder interesse in Romeinse antiquiteiten, de beide mannen hadden er wellicht wel belangstelling voor. Later wordt schoonzoon van Boetzelaer adjunct-conservator van het Gooisch Museum, en had dus zeker belangstelling voor kunstvoorwerpen. Na zijn scheiding van Johanna (=Annie) Bos, rond 1937, kunnen de voorwerpen ook op een vierde plaats terecht zijn gekomen. Als de schoonzus in 1936 sterft, verhuist zoon Cor naar haar woning in Den Haag, en in 1938 als van Boetzelaer hertrouwd is, hebben we weer drie mogelijke vindplaatsen.

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Tezelfdertijd was een medewerker van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden dr. F.C. Bursch assistent van de directeur Holwerda.

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De arrogantie van het museum blijkt wederom uit een stukje over opgravingen in de buurt van Vlodrop. Dat artikel van 28 oktober 1933 eindigt als volgt:

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Toen vóór een paar jaren op mijn herhaald verzoek Dr. Holwerda uit Leiden zijn assistent, den Heer Bursch, met eenige gravers naar hier zond om een gedeelte der Knippeheide te ontgraven waarin ondergeteekende vóór dien tijd reeds tal van urnen aan de oppervlakte had gebracht, en waar nu ook door den Heer Bursch weer 18 urnen werden gevonden, plus een stuk zwaard bij een Germaansche cultusplek, en ik later weer meer vindplaatsen ontdekte, heette het, dat men op deze exploitatie zou terugkomen.

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Dit heele gebeuren werd in een verslag in de Publications jaarg. 1932 met de volgende paar woorden vermeld "Er werd daar (d.i. Vlodrop) een merkwaardig urnenveld ontgraven, op een terrein, waarvoor verlof was verkregen (d.w.z. van den eigenaar uit België) door de welwillendheid der H.H. van Cruchten en Linssen te Roermond"

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(Van het feit, dat dit merkwaardig veld door ondergeteekende na veel zoeken was ontdekt, en dat het graven eerst geschiedde na mijn herhaalde correspond. met het Museum van Oudheden, werd met geen woord gerept.) Dit alles nu resumeerende, doet het wel een beetje vreemd, pijnlijk zelfs aan, achteraf te moeten vernemen, dat er eens door een bevoegd persoon zou gezegd zijn: "in de omgeving van Vl. valt niets te leeren". De lezer voelt hier zelf wel, hoe klinkklaar deze onwaarheid is.

97225

GERH. KR.

14 Dagen na het begin van de oorlog wordt deze Bursch benoemd tot hoofd van een commissie voor oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek. Er wordt direct gerept over Germaansche cultuur en men wil een inventarisatie maken per gemeente van vondsten die zich bij particulieren bevinden. En bovendien:

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Betreft het daarenboven unieke vondsten van waarlijk nationale beteekenis, dan zullen wij vanzelfsprekend moeite doen om deze voorwerpen een plaats te geven in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, eventueel door ruiling met andere museumstukken, maar de hoofdoorzaak waarom het ons te doen is, is een volledig overzicht te hebben van hetgeen de Nederlandsche bodem aan archaeologica heeft opgeleverd en nog zal opleveren.

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Hoewel het met deze zaak niets te maken had, had het museum in Leiden in conservator Bursch wel een meeloper voor de Duitse zaak in huis gehaald. In februari 1941 werd hij al op de "zwarte lijst van de universiteitswereld" geplaatst en na de oorlog werd hij als hoogleraar geschorst. Hij was nl. tot hoogleraar benoemd van de universiteit van Amsterdam en had o.a. in Oekraïne in 1943 opgravingen verricht.

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Bij de erven van Adrianus Bos moet het bovenstaande over het melden voor inventarisatie van antieke voorwerpen bekend zijn geweest. Waarschijnlijk was dat de reden om zich te 'ontdoen' van de voorwerpen. Zij konden weten, zij wisten praktisch zeker dat de voorwerpen afkomstig waren van de uitrusting die gevonden was in 1910 in Helenaveen en dus behoorde tot de *unieke vondsten van waarlijk nationale beteekenis*.

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In de grote rivieren werden nu en dan antieke voorwerpen gevonden en blijkbaar heeft de eigenaar van de drinkbeker, waarschijnlijk R.W.C. van Boetzelaer, gemeend te doen voorkomen alsof de beker zo ook in de Maas is gevonden, bij de grindwinning, bijvoorbeeld in Stevensweert. Daarbij werd echter voorbij gegaan aan een nauwkeurige bestudering van de werkwijze bij de grindwinning: er kwam zoveel kracht vrij bij het baggeren en het sorteren naar grootte in draaiende trommels dat een teer voorwerp als de kantharos er nooit ongeschonden uitgekomen kon zijn.

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De auteur meent te kunnen concluderen dat op een of andere manier de eigenaar in contact is gekomen met Jaak Bongers die de drinkbeker na vele jaren zou moeten

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presenteren als een vondst uit de Maas. Dit natuurlijk tegen een fikse vergoeding en plicht tot strikte geheimhouding. Daarmee was ook de eer van de familie gered, in die zin dat de naam van Boetzelaer en Bos nooit in het nieuws zou komen als 'heler' van de drinkbeker.

97260 Het vervolg van deze zogenaamde vondst van de kantharos, nl. het ingewikkelde spel van overdracht van de beker in een familie en in het bijzonder de jarenlange rechtspraak over het eigendomsrecht ervan, hadden de erfgenaam van Bos en de nieuwe eigenaar Bongers nooit zelf kunnen bedenken. Voor hen was de waarde vanaf het allereerste begin wel duidelijk.

97265 **Resumerend:**

- De zogenaamde Peelhelm was maar een deel van een officier-uitrusting van een cavalerie-officier uit het Romeinse leger in het begin van de vierde eeuw.

97270 - Na een kort onderzoek na de vondst werd de grote waarde ervan ingezien en met financieel power-play van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden aangekocht. Evelein schrijft over de helm en de aanwezige vondsten een wetenschappelijk verslag dat een half jaar na verwerving door het museum uitkomt. Al direct is het een van de topstukken van het museum.

97275 - Dat er aanmerkelijk meer vondsten zijn gedaan dan die welke na enkele maanden in het museum terecht zijn gekomen, is zeker. Het museum koopt nog enkele voorwerpen aan, de directeur Bos van de N.V. Maatschappij Helenaveen meldt dit nog uitdrukkelijk in een lange brief. Ook de allereerste schriftelijke melding van dominee de Jong, twee dagen na de eerste vondst, geeft een omschrijving die niet overeenkomt met de voorwerpen die nu in het museum te vinden zijn.

97280 - Blijkbaar waren de functionarissen onmachtig en ook ongeïnteresseerd om serieus op zoek te gaan naar bijvoorbeeld de ontbrekende wangklep. Zij probeerden dat wel via de burgemeester van Deurne, maar een dergelijke voorzichtige en halfslachtige aanpak had geen succes.

97285 - Als directeur Bos in 1931 overlijdt gaan zijn bezittingen naar zijn nog levende schoonzus en/of haar kinderen. Als de schoonzus zelf overlijdt in 1936 dan komen de die bezittingen definitief in handen van haar vrijgezellen zoon en/of haar dochter en haar man.

97290 - Deze laatste scheiden dan al zeer snel. De zoon trekt in het huis van zijn moeder. De Romeinse voorwerpen zouden best bij de nu ex-schoonzoon van Boetzelaer terecht zijn gekomen.

- Hoe dan ook, direct na het begin van de bezetting komt er druk om antiquiteiten aan te melden en te laten registreren en fotograferen. Topstukken horen eigenlijk in een museum. Hierbij wordt uitdrukkelijk gewezen op het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden; dat is de meest geschikte plaats daarvoor.

97295 - Niet iedereen was gediend van de bemoeizucht van "Leiden". Wellicht is dat de reden dat de eigenaar van de kantharos van Stevensweert - toen nog gewoon een mooi bewerkte zilveren drinkbeker - af wilde.

97300 - Op welke manier dat dan moest gebeuren? Waarschijnlijk heeft men zich laten inspireren door soortgelijke gebeurtenissen in het recente verleden. Waarschijnlijk heeft men de zogenaamde vinder Bongers zover gekregen dat hij - tegen betaling - voordeed alsof hij de vinder was op een baggermolen bij Stevensweert. Stevensweert was als vindplaats van fossielen, menselijke resten, aardewerk en wapenen al eerder in het nieuws geweest.

97305 - Een vriendelijkere uitleg kan zijn dat de bezitter van de drinkbeker beducht was dat die door de bezetter kon worden geconfisqueerd en dat hij dat wilde verhinderen door de beker af te staan aan een niet-te-verdenken persoon. Hiertegen spreekt dat hij na de oorlog de drinkbeker niet heeft terug gevraagd.

- Het is in het geheel niet zeker dat in de vierde eeuw de Maas stroomde waar nu Stevensweert ligt. Meer oostelijk ligt de Oude Maas.

97310 - Ondanks de vele onduidelijkheden en de hele nasleep van het juridisch eigendom, heeft men met Bongers' verhaal genoeg genomen, en kon veel later het Museum Kam in Nijmegen zich eigenaar noemen van de kantharos 'van Stevensweert'.

97315 - Beide voorwerpen zijn van verguld zilver, fijn versierd. Een materiaal-vergelijking zou zeer misschien iets meer duidelijkheid kunnen verschaffen over eventuele 'verwantschap'. De kantharos heeft een dergelijk onderzoek al meegemaakt. Overigens kunnen de uiterlijke kenmerken ook goed zonder veel moeite vergeleken worden.

Is de kantharos van Stevensweert een deel van de officier-uitrusting?

97320 Deze vraag lijkt waarschijnlijk dwaas, maar de auteur heeft redenen te geloven dat dat wel eens het geval zou kunnen zijn.

De kantharos is in het geheel niet in Stevensweert gevonden, want er zijn genoeg aanwijzingen dat over de exacte vindplaats en zelfs het vind-jaar door de zogenaamde vinder elke keer gelogen is. Wat daarvoor de reden zou kunnen zijn, lijkt

97325 onduidelijk.

De auteur meent dat de drinkbeker aan de zogenaamde vinder is overhandigd, met het verzoek over enige tijd het bestaan van de beker te openbaren, met een daarbij gefingeerde vindplaats en vind-jaar.

97330 De zogenaamde vinder kon dit verhaal echter niet consequent volhouden, bijvoorbeeld omdat de gehele zaak niet goed genoeg was doorgesproken. Daarbij heeft men vergeten - of is juist de gebeurtenis de aanleiding geweest tot deze cover-up - dat de talloze overstromingen van de Maas de beker erg beschadigd zouden moeten hebben. Juist in januari en februari 1926 was geheel West-Europa in de ban van hoogwater van de rivieren. Ook Stevensweert was daarvan slachtoffer: er wordt gemeld dat de Maas daar

97335 tussen 4 en 5 km breed was geworden! Onder deze omstandigheden zou een tere constructie als de drinkbeker tenminste in stukken zijn gevallen, en waarschijnlijk meegevoerd naar zee, waardoor de kantharos definitief verloren was gegaan. Neen, als de drinkbeker netjes in het veen was opgeborgen dan zou hij na vele eeuwen in praktisch onbeschadigde toestand zijn teruggevonden.

97340

Vindplaats van de kantharos van Stevensweert

Om maar met de deur in huis te vallen:

Over de vindplaats en de omstandigheden van de kantharos zijn veel twijfels. A.M. Gerhartl-Witteveen schrijft in haar publicatie van 2006:

97345 p. 48 [...] vervaardiging en levensloop van de beker.

Wat dit laatste betreft is het opvallend dat zowel op de binnen- als de buitenbeker geen beschadigingen zijn aangetroffen die het gevolg zouden kunnen zijn van verplaatsingen in stromend water, waarbij onvermijdelijk deuken en krassen zouden zijn ontstaan door het stoten tegen grind en dergelijke. Het is daarom naar onze mening weinig aannemelijk dat de vinder, J. Bongers, de kantharos tussen stenen langs de Maas heeft aangetroffen, zoals hij later heeft beweerd. Het verhaal van zijn zwager, dat Bongers de kantharos op de baggermolen heeft gevonden in enkele kluiten klei, is aannemelijker omdat de kleilaag waarin de kantharos zich op de rivierbodem bevond deze eeuwenlang heeft beschermd, totdat de baggermolen de rust verstoorte.

97355

[p. 19] *En het jaar 1939 is in 1966 uit de mond van Bongers opgetekend, toen de kantharos tijdelijk naar Stevensweert was teruggekeerd ter gelegenheid van het 700-jarig bestaan van de parochie Stevensweert. Bongers heeft toen bovendien verteld dat hij de beker niet op de baggermolen had gevonden, maar bij het jagen had zien liggen op een strook kiezel langs de Maas. Op een kaart had hij een vindplaats aangewezen op de westelijke over van de rivier, tegenover Stevensweert, op Belgisch grondgebied dus! Bongers overleed in 1969 en nam de waarheid mee in 't graf.*

97360

97365 16 oktober 1951 [...] *De kantharos in kwestie werd in 1942, dus tijdens de bezetting, gevonden te Stevensweert op ongeveer achttien kilometer van Roermond in de diepe grindbanken van de Maas. De vinder zag in het met leem overdekte en grauw roestige voorwerp niet veel bijzonders. Hij schonk het aan een particulier liefhebber van oudheden, die het onopgemerkt, dus veilig bewaarde zonder precies te vermoeden, wat het was. In 1949 liet hij de stof, waaruit de beker gemaakt was, deskundig toetsen.*

97370

24 oktober 1952 *De beker werd in 1942 door de Stevensweertenaar J. Bongers gevonden op een hoop grind gelegen op een terrein op de Koeweide te Stevensweert het waren twee in elkaar passende delen die geheel overklonterd waren door klei. Deze had zich als een huls op de buitenwand vastgezet. Hier en daar was deze huls afgebrokkeld en werd de blinkende ondergrond zichtbaar. Hij nam de beker mee naar huis, maakte hem schoon en zette hem op een commode in de huiskamer.*

97375

De zogenaamde vinder Jaak Bongers noemt maar liefst 3 verschillende vindplaatsen. Op een kaartje staat aangegeven op de Nederlandse oever, recht tegenover de plek waar de Belgisch-Nederlandse grens haaks op de Maas staat, vlakbij grenspaal 126. Deze grenspaal was trouwens al lang verdwenen. De tweede is ergens op de Belgische oever. De derde op de Koeweide, die destijds noordelijker lag op de noordelijke (westelijke) oever richting Maasbracht.

97380

97385 In coördinaten: [5,8570 en 51,1440], onbekend, [5,8740 en 51,1490].

Wellicht is de Koeweide hier op de kaart niet het bedoelde, want er zou ook nog een Stevensweertekoeweide of Stevenweertsche koeweide bestaan, maar dat maakt de zaak

niet wezenlijk anders.

Op 14 mei 1966 heeft de directeur van het Rijksmuseum Kam onder toezicht van burgemeester J. Kelleners, een gesprek gehad met de vermeende vinder. Waarschijnlijk is er geen proces-verbaal gemaakt van dit gesprek. Maar duidelijkheid heeft het niet gebracht over omstandigheden, plaats en tijd van de vondst.

Het museum het Valkhof houdt dus maar vast aan de lezing van de baggermachine. Wat dat betreft stuiten we dan op een eigenaardigheid: aannemende dat er meerdere personen op een baggervaartuig werken, zouden deze achteraf het verhaal van Bongers hebben kunnen ondersteunen, maar hiernaar is klaarblijkelijk nooit gevraagd.

De zogenaamde vinder Bongers

Al vermeld is het feit dat de zogenaamde vinder verschillende versies van de vondst heeft gedaan.

Als we de baggerindustrie bestuderen, dan werd in 1939 bijna zeker nog niet veel grind in Stevensweert opgehaald, waarschijnlijk pas vanaf de tweede helft van 1941. De bemanning bestaat vooral uit Sliedrechtse, aangevuld met lokaal personeel die er werkten als dekknecht, bakkers en wijknechts. Als Bongers de drinkbeker bij die werkzaamheden gevonden zou hebben, en direct schoongemaakt zou hebben, dan hebben anderen dat ongetwijfeld gezien. Hij zal ook niet een schoongemaakte beker in zijn jas stoppen; het is juist een voorwerp om mee te pronken. Indien er anderen op de een of andere manier bij betrokken waren dan hadden deze personen zich ongetwijfeld gemeld in de jaren vijftig toen er zoveel ophef was over de beker die toen de kantharos van Stevensweert werd genoemd! Collega's of ex-collega's zouden in die periode Bongers en waarschijnlijk ook de pers benaderd hebben om hun werkzaamheden uit te leggen en de rol van Bongers te benoemen. Dat alles is niet gebeurd.

De baggermachine haalt met emmers zand en grind uit de bodem. Deze emmers hebben een volume van tot wel een halve kubieke meter. Dan wordt de last uitgestort en komt in een reeks trommels en zeven terecht en zo wordt het grind in vier soorten gescheiden. Het zand wordt ook verzameld en het water teruggevoerd in de rivier.

De massa van het grind in de draaiende molen moet vele honderden kg zijn. Een teer, zilveren voorwerp wordt hierin vermorzeld. De delen komen zeker los van elkaar en dan is niet te verwachten dat een drinkbeker uit één stuk eruit gehaald kan worden. Als de drinkbeker met klei en zand in de molens en zeven terecht is gekomen dan kan de beker nooit zo ongeschonden tevoorschijn zijn gekomen.

Waarschijnlijk zou de drinkbeker in zijn geheel niet door de zeven komen, want de grootste zeef heeft gaten van 10 cm, maar de losse delen zouden verspreid zijn over de gesorteerde keien.

Bovendien was er voortdurend controle door een controleur van Rijkswaterstaat, zoals we lezen in de krant van 21 april 1933:

In de ruimten onder het dek, aan weerkanten van de geul voor den emmerketting, bevinden zich ruime verblijven voor machinist, molenbaas en dekpersoneel, en voor den controleur van rijkswaterstaat, die steeds aan boord moet zijn ter controle van de opgehaalde hoeveelheid specie.

Het bovenstaande en de minstens drie verschillende versies die Bongers heeft gegeven kan maar tot een enkele conclusie leiden: de drinkbeker is NIET in de Maas gevonden. Het is ook zeer merkwaardig dat hij de beker zonder tegenprestatie aan een zwager geeft en niet tijdens de ophef zich erin mengt. Hij is de aangewezen persoon om de precieze uitleg te kunnen geven, maar hij heeft dat uitdrukkelijk niet gedaan. Bij een soort ondervraging in 1966 levert hij weer een andere versie als daarvoor. Als vind-jaar wordt opgegeven 1939, 1942 of 1943. Als je de datum dan niet ergens noteert, dan weet je wel of het voor of na het begin van de inval van de Duitsers was geweest.

Elders wordt gemeld dat de kiezels in de grindwinninggebieden zo dicht op elkaar gedrukt is dat de drinkbeker volledig verpletterd zou zijn geweest.

Het waarom van zijn leugens en stilzwijgen kan niet anders zijn dat hij op de een of andere manier is omgekocht om een valse verklaring over de vondst van de beker te doen en deze zo uit te dragen.

De voorganger van Museum het Valkhof

Het museum G.M. Kam in Nijmegen heeft geen goede hand gehad bij de verwerving van topstukken. Enkele topstukken zijn op wel zeer discutabele gronden na de Tweede Wereldoorlog verworven:

Begin april 1956 was er veel te doen over de exacte vindplaats van het Trajanusbeeldje. Een jaar later had het museum het beeld nog in bezit.

Baggeraars in Xanten zouden de Kop van Trajanus verdonkeremaand hebben en daarna naar

Nijmegen gesmokkeld en verkocht hebben aan een antiquair.

97455 Ook de Phrygische Ganymedes (puer pileatus) is op twijfelachtige gronden aangekocht.

Oudheidkundig onderzoek tijdens de bezetting

Op 31 juli 1940 verschijnt de volgende mededeling in de kranten:

31 juli 1940 **MEDEWERKING VAN HET PUBLIEK GEVRAAGD.**

97460 Bij beschikking van den secretaris-generaal, waarnemend hoofd van het departement van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen is d.d. 24 Mei j.l. ingesteld een commissie voor het oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek in Nederland, terwijl tegelijkertijd werd ingesteld een rijksbureau voor het oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek, tot welks directeur werd benoemd dr. F. C. Bursch, conservator aan het rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden, als
97465 voorzitter der commissie voornoemd treedt op prof. dr. N. J. Krom, hoogleeraar aan de Leidsche Universiteit.

In tegenwoordigheid van dr. W. D. van Wijngaarden, directeur van het museum van oudheden en lid der commissie, hebben wij dezer dagen een onderhoud met deze heeren gehad, waarin zij ons doel en werkwijze der commissie en van het bureau nader hebben
97470 uiteengezet. Het gelijktijdig afgekondigde wetje, aldus dr. Bursch, bedoelt in de eerste plaats een verbod te zijn voor onbevoegden om opgravingen te verrichten en heeft ongeveer dezelfde strekking als de wet voor de monumentenzorg. De voorwerpen, welke in Nederlandschen bodem worden gevonden, zijn voor de bestudeering van de
97475 oudste geschiedenis van ons land van evenveel belang als de archiefstukken uit den lateren tijd en hebben derhalve recht op dezelfde behandeling. De eerste taak, welke de commissie zich ten doel stelde, was om na te gaan welke instellingen in ons land bevoegd zijn tot het verrichten van wetenschappelijk bodemonderzoek om vervolgens te komen tot coördinatie op dit gebied. Weliswaar werd tot dusverre in die richting ook wel gewerkt door de gewestelijke en plaatselijke musea, maar zonder samenhang.

97480 Momenteel zijn daartoe gerechtigd het rijksmuseum te Leiden en 't biologisch-archaeologisch instituut te Groningen voor het geheele land en het rijksmuseum G. M. Kam te Nijmegen voor die omgeving, althans zoolang dit museum onder leiding staat van dr. J. H. Holwerda, den vroegeren directeur van het Leidsche museum. Alle locale musea en provinciale genootschappen zullen erkenning moeten aanvragen voor het
97485 verrichten van opgravingen, welke erkenning alleen wordt verleend nadat de rijkscommissie daarover haar advies heeft uitgebracht.

Het rijksbureau is thans bezig een lijst samen te stellen van alle terreinen in ons land, welke in oudheidkundig opzicht van belang zijn, opdat bijtijds maatregelen kunnen worden genomen, wanneer het incultuur brengen van deze gronden de daarin
97490 verborgen archiefstukken dreigt verloren te doen gaan. Met behulp van deze lijst zal het in de toekomst mogelijk zijn dergelijke terreinen te beschermen. Blijkt dit niet mogelijk, dan streeft het bureau ernaar de bij ontginning te vinden resten met alle zorgen te omringen en voor het nageslacht te bewaren. Voorts ligt het in de bedoeling ook eventueele vroegere vondsten te inventariseeren, welke zich in de locale musea
97495 bevinden of waarover in de litteratuur van de laatste decennia is geschreven, zoodat het bureau te allen tijde kan nagaan, waar zich een bepaalde oudheidkundige vondst bevindt.

Daarnaast geven typische, oude namen van grondstukken vaak aanwijzingen, dat er overblijfselen uit het verleden te vinden zijn zoodat het aanbeveling verdient ook
97500 daarvan een lijst aan te leggen.

Tenslotte zijn er in bijna elke plaats wel enkele voorwerpen in particulier bezit, zooals steenen bijlen, pijlspitsen, e.d., die eveneens in teekening en foto
vastgelegd dienen te worden.

Deze omvangrijke inventarisatie, aldus dr. Bursch, kan niet tot stand komen zonder de
97505 medewerking van het groote publiek. Wij moeten overal over het geheele land verspreid onze vrijwillige medewerkers hebben, die ons van het bestaan der hierboven bedoelde terreinen in kennis stellen en ons inlichten over de in hun omgeving zich bevindende oudheidkundige vondsten. Het liefst hadden wij in elke gemeente zoo'n medewerker, het is best mogelijk, dat ons dan de vondst van de zooveel-duizendste Germaansche urne
97510 wordt gerapporteerd, maar per slot van rekening kan ook die weer aanwijzingen geven over de verbreiding der Germaansche cultuur, enz.

Binnenkort zal hiervoor de medewerking van alle burgemeesters in Nederland worden ingeroepen.

Maar daarmee zijn wij er niet, al kunnen zij ons grootelijks van dienst zijn. Wat
97515 wij noodig hebben, zijn medewerkers uit het volk zelf, die ons regelmatig op de hoogte houden, wanneer zich in hun gemeente iets bijzonders op oudheidkundig gebied voordoet. Begrijpt u mij goed: het is allermintst onze bedoeling om eventueele vondsten voor ons museum te winnen; integendeel de verspreiding van materiaal over de bestaande oudheidkamers, gewestelijke en locale musea kan de aantrekkelijkheid

- 97520 [verbeterd!] ervan slechts verhoog en evenmin willen wij, dat de rechtmatige eigenares ons hun bezit afstaan. Natuurlijk, het liefst zien wij deze voorwerpen geplaatst in een museum, omdat wij daar de grootste waarborgen hebben, dat de deskundig bewaard zullen blijven, maar deze overname zal alleen mogelijk zijn met volledige instemming van den eigenaar en
- 97525 tegen een billijke vergoeding. Betreft het daarenboven unieke vondsten van waarlijk nationale beteekenis, dan zullen wij vanzelfsprekend moeite doen om deze voorwerpen een plaats te geven in het rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden, eventueel door ruiling met andere museumstukken, maar de hoofdzaak waarom het ons te doen is, is een volledig overzicht te hebben van
- 97530 hetgeen de Nederlandsche bodem aan archaeologica heeft opgeleverd en nog zal opleveren. Het is de bedoeling dat vondstmeldingen in de drie noordelijke provinciën worden gericht tot prof. dr. A. E. van Giffen te Groningen en voor de rest van het land tot dr. F. C. Bursch, directeur van het rijksbureau voor het oudheidkundig
- 97535 bodemonderzoek, Rapenburg, 28, Leiden. Deze brief legt een grote druk op personen die archeologische vondsten in huis hebben en al zeker als *het unieke vondsten van waarlijk nationale beteekenis* zijn. De kantharos van Stevensweert hoort hier zeker toe!
- 97540 **Hoe past de drinkbeker in het geheel van de vondst?** De helm was zó kostbaar dat het verlies ervan voor de eigenaar een enorme strop zou zijn. Als je de sierhelm met andere voorwerpen verstoopt dan doe je dat opzettelijk. De waarde van de karanthos was - gegeven de hoeveelheid zilver - nog veel hoger. Dus gezien vanuit het gezichtspunt van degene die alle voorwerpen in het veen verstoopt,
- 97545 is het verlies wel groter, maar kon hij dat verlies gemakkelijk dragen. Ieder ander zou bij onopzettelijk verlies van een dergelijk voorwerp alle moeite doen het terug te krijgen. Je zou een vergelijking kunnen maken met een graf dat naast het lijk wordt gevuld met attributen die betrekking hebben op de overledene, en levensmiddelen voor in het
- 97550 hiernamaals. Je doet dat in de hoop dat het graf niet geplunderd wordt. Daartegen probeer je dan maatregelen te nemen. Met dergelijke gedachten zou de kantharos wel degelijk een deel van de Man en paard-uitrusting die in het veen bij Helenaveen terecht is gekomen.
- 97555 Kluijtmans schrijft: Een zilveren beker is ook nog gevonden, voorzien van een haakje om hem aan het getuig te hangen. De kantharos voldoet overduidelijk aan de beschrijving van de eerste woorden, met het haakje kan één van de oren zijn bedoeld. Deze zijn niet teruggevonden, terwijl ze volgens de geleerden wel degelijk aan de beker hoorden. Kluijtmans schijnt te
- 97560 suggereren dat de drinkbeker, net als het door hem vermelde mooi klein wijnvaasje, met een paar liter inhoud, in 1911 gevonden zijn. Al met al voldoende aanleiding om het vermoeden uit te spreken dat directeur Bos van de N.V. Maatschappij deze voorwerpen in 1911 in bezit had. Op de conferentie van 23 juni 1910 is tussen de belanghebbenden een zeer duidelijke afspraak gemaakt over de nog-niet beschreven en nog te vinden voorwerpen.
- 97565 Adrianus Bos was de aangewezen persoon om deze voorwerpen te verwerven. De Maatschappij Helenaveen voerde een nauwkeurige boekhouding, maar directeur Bos kocht de voorwerpen persoonlijk op en hield die dus uit de boeken van de vennootschap. Deze voorwerpen werden zodoende in de directeurswoning bewaard, maar zo dat slechts
- 97570 weinigen het te zien kregen, en dan nog alleen getoond door de directeur zelf. Een inventarisatie van personen die tijdens het leven van de directeur de Romeinse voorwerpen gezien kunnen hebben, heb ik ook gemaakt. Het betreft hier natuurlijk vooral de dienstboden. Jootje, of Johanna, van de Bovenkamp kwam uit Helenaveen en was in de nadagen van Bos (vanaf circa 1925) dienstbode. Van haar is het verhaal,
- 97575 overgeleverd door Kluijtmans, dat de directeur haar op een gegeven moment de inhoud van de kast heeft laten zien. Vooral de grote leren voorwerpen zijn haar toen opgevallen. Ze zal wel niet in de gelegenheid zijn geweest alles goed te bekijken, laat staan alles op te schrijven, als ze er al interesse in zou hebben. Anderen die de vondst wellicht gezien hebben zijn de commissarissen van de
- 97580 vennootschap, en dat gedurende bijna 25 jaar. Deze personen waren in het algemeen maatschappelijk gezien zeer geslaagde figuren, zoals de directeur van de Staatsspoorwegen. Zij kwamen minstens één maal per jaar naar Helenaveen voor een vergadering, die anders meestal elders gehouden werd. Op 1 juli 1910 was er een dergelijke vergadering in de villa van de directeur, dit was dus ruim 2 weken na de
- 97585 vondst, maar in de notulen van de bijeenkomst wordt er geen melding van gemaakt,

terwijl de vondst al duidelijk in de kranten was beschreven en maar op ongeveer 2 km afstand was gedaan.

Twijfels over de herkomst van de kantharos

- 97590 Rijksmuseum Kam heeft vanaf het allereerste begin getwijfeld aan het verhaal van de vermeende vinder Bongers. Hierboven is dat al verschillende malen geschreven. Dat betreft dan de oorlogsjaren en die tot circa 1950. De juridische nasleep levert nog meer informatie.
Zo lezen we in
- 97595 [1998] Het geheim van de smid door mr. W.M.J. Bekkers: [...]
Niet alleen bestaan over de herkomst en de leeftijd van de Kantharos verschillende theorieën. Dat geldt ook voor het jaar, de plaats en de omstandigheden waaronder de beker is gevonden. In de juridische literatuur en de jurisprudentie worden genoemd 1942 en 1943, terwijl Swinkels uitgaat van 1939. Hij weet dat op verzoek van drs.
- 97600 A.V.M. Hubrecht, directeur van het (toen nog) Rijksmuseum Kam van 1964 tot 1978, de burgemeester en pastoor van Stevensweert in november 1966 hebben gesproken met de vinder van de Kantharos, J. Bongers te Echt. Bongers vertelde toen dat hij de Kantharos had gevonden in januari of februari 1939 tijdens het jagen. Op een kaart gaf hij aan waar hij de beker had gevonden. Dat zou op Belgisch grondgebied zijn geweest, aan de westzijde van de Maas. Eerder had Bongers, volgens Swinkels, andere vindplaatsen opgegeven. De burgemeester heeft over dit gesprek aan Hubrecht op 14 november 1966 onder meer geschreven: '... ik geloof de heer Bongers niet of beter gezegd: hij liegt. Hij heeft reeds drie verschillende vindplaatsen van de Kantharos opgegeven. Welke is de juiste? Ik weet het niet' (7).
- 97610 7. De door Bongers in 1966 opgegeven vindplaats heeft Hubrecht niet gepubliceerd, wel het jaar 1939 als datum van de vondst (A.V.M. Hubrecht, De Kantharos van Stevensweert, in *Numaga* 13 (1966) 243-251, met foto van de heer Bongers op p. 250).
- 97615 Museum Kam en de opvolger Museum Het Valkhof hebben ook getwijfeld aan de herkomst van de drinkbeker, maar net als de juridische kant was voor het museum het bezit van belang, niet de herkomst. Toch vinden we in publicaties van het museum hierover verschillende opmerkingen.
[2006] Als Bongers de kantharos inderdaad in 1943 op de baggermolen heeft opgeraapt, heeft hij die vervolgens mee naar huis genomen en niet aangegeven. Volgens de baggervergunning moesten namelijk oudheidkundige vondsten worden gemeld en afgestaan aan het rijk. Dan ligt het ook voor de hand dat Bongers al snel heeft geprobeerd zijn vondst te gelde te maken.
- 97620 [elders 2006] Bij de voorbereiding van dit artikel hebben we de kantharos meermaals intensief bestudeerd en daarbij bijzonder gelet op aanwijzingen voor de vervaardiging en levensloop van de beker.
Wat dit laatste betreft is het opvallend dat zowel op de binnen- als de buitenbeker geen beschadigingen werden aangetroffen die het gevolg zouden kunnen zijn van verplaatsingen in stromend water, waarbij onvermijdelijk deuken en krassen zouden zijn ontstaan door het stoten tegen grind en dergelijke. Het is daarom naar onze mening weinig aannemelijk dat de vinder, J. Bongers, de kantharos tussen stenen langs de Maas heeft aangetroffen, zoals hij later heeft beweerd. Het verhaal van zijn zwager, dat Bongers de kantharos op de baggermolen heeft gevonden in enkele kluiten klei, is aannemelijker omdat de kleilaag waarin de kantharos zich op de rivierbodem bevond deze eeuwenlang heeft beschermd, totdat de baggermolen de rust verstoorde (zie p.18).
- 97630 [1972] De vondst bleef destijds vrijwel onopgemerkt: door J. Bongers werd de beker - in twee delen - tussen de stenen aan de Maas gevonden, de klei werd er afgewassen en hij werd mee naar huis genomen.
- 97635

Documenten over de familie Bongers en over het baggerbedrijf

19 december 1934 **DROEVIG ONGELUK OP DE MAAS TE STEVENSWEERT**

Vier personen te water geraakt. Eén dezer verdronk.

- 97645 Dinsdagvoormiddag tegen tien uur heeft op de Maas onder de gemeente STEVENSWEERT een droevig ongeluk plaats gevonden.
Aldaar oefent de firma van Hasselt uit Nijmegen reeds enkele jaren het baggerbedrijf uit. Zondag was er een sleepboot aangekomen om de baggermachine, welke herstellingen moest ondergaan, weg te sleepen.
Dinsdag zou zulks plaats vinden en tegen tien uur hadden een viertal opvarenden van de boot in een roeiboortje plaats genomen en voeren vanaf de baggermachine naar den oever om de tros los te maken. Zij gleden langs de kabel. Daarbij hebben ze wellicht
- 97650

op een bepaald oogenblik aan één zijde in het bootje gestaan, met het gevolg, dat dit water schepte en omsloeg, zoodat alle vier in het water vielen.

97655 De sleepboot, die bij de baggermachine lag, voer snel naar de plaats van het ongeluk, halverwege den oever, en wist twee hunner te redden; de derde had door te zwemmen den oever weten te bereiken. De vierde is jammerlijk verdronken, ondanks nog getracht werd hem te redden. Zijn lijk is nog niet gevonden.

Het slachtoffer is gehuwd en 37 jaar oud, en heet H. Peperkamp uit Doornenburg, gemeente Bemmelen in Gelderland.

97660

4 augustus 1945 **De grintbaggeraars**

DE VRIJE STEM, het orgaan van de G.O.I.W., bevat een gedegen artikel over de samenwerking in de oorlogsjaren van de Grintbaggeraars ten bate van het bouwen van de Atlanticwal.

97665 Uit dit artikel nemen wij enige cijfers over om onze lezers de kwestie duidelijk te maken.

De fa. Paes te Nijmegen produceerde in 1939 209.349 ton ... in 8 maanden van 1944 537.960 ton.

De fa. van Hasselt te Lent produceerde in 1939 270.634 ton en in 1943: 915.212 ton.

97670 De N.V. Grint Mij te Arnhem steeg van 184.291 ton in 1939 tot 483.938 ton in 1943.

Voor de N.V. van Roosmalen Transp. en Handelsmij te Maastricht waren deze cijfers: 108.905 ton en 210.851 ton.

De fa. Hovestad en Dekker te Roermond begon er in de oorlogsjaren mee en produceerde in 1943 reeds 211.421 ton.

97675 De Ballastmij de Merwede te Rotterdam produceerde in 1940 225.526 ton en in 1943: 235.205 ton.

Over al deze firma's zijn bij de Mil. Commissaris de officiële klachten ingediend.

En nu vervolgt de Vrije Stem:

Alle in Nederland geproduceerde grint werd doorverkocht door de N. V.

97680 grintverkoopkantoor te Nijmegen. Directeur dezer N.V. was de Hr. Mr. Zuidema. Genoemd kantoor heeft de distributie van grint gedurende dit tijdperk geleverd en heeft o.a. in een schrijven aan de aangesloten producenten aangemaand de productie op te voeren. Wij verzochten sluiting van dit verkoopkantoor en inbeslagname van de administratie. Dit is geschied.

97685 De Duitse firma "Niba" voerde haar productie op van 350.685 ton in 1938 tot 1.522.949 ton 1943. Deze firma heeft echter twee Nederlandse directeuren n.l. de heren Müller en van Sprang. Ook dit is zelfs nog met een grote dosis lankmoedigheid te verdragen. **Dat de Heer Müller echter benoemd is tot lid van het tribunaal te Nijmegen doet ons "enigszins vreemd aan".**

97690 Dat de heer Wagemaker als Directeur van het Grint Verkoop Kantoor meende de Duitse Wehrmacht hulp te moeten bieden kan liggen aan zijn wel zeer "zakelijke" opvattingen. Dat hij echter benoemd werd tot beheerder over Nat. Soc. vermogen doet ons alweer "enigszins vreemd aan".

97695 En de heer van Roosmalen, die zijn productie ongeveer verdubbelde, werd belast met het lichten van de door de Duitsers tot zinken gebrachte schepen in de haven van Maasbracht. Tot grote ergernis van de honderden schippers.

16 juni 1964 Aanleg gegund [...]

Van Hasselt Gendt (Gld.) 5, 5, 2, en 1 cent

97700 Niet geaccepteerd werden de inschrijvingen van {...] en van de Niba

3 april 2013 Jacobus Antonius Bongers was getrouwd met Hubertina Cornelia van der Riet (gehucht Diepstraat?). Het echtpaar woonde te Echt op de Maasbrachterweg 100. Enkele dagen voor 1 februari 1937 werd Theodorus Lucienne geboren. Deze Theo is overleden.

97705 Enkele dagen voor 8 maart 1943 werd Helena Henrica Johanna geboren.

Een (andere) zoon (van 77 of 78 jaar)

Een zoon en een dochter zouden nu in Zuid-Afrika wonen. Jan Bongers zou in Roermond wonen. Informatie verkregen via een neef van Jaak Bongers uit Stevensweert, Bernard Bongers.

97710 Jaak Bongers werd in de familie een fantast genoemd.

3 april 2013 De baggermolen waarop Jaak Bongers werkte was niet (meer) van Dekker maar van de firma van Hasselt uit Nijmegen (of Lent of Gendt). Deze firma van Hasselt had de baggermolen gekocht van Dekker. Waarschijnlijk was het een eenvoudige baggermolen, met stilstaande zeef of zeven.

97715

In het bovenstaande zijn argumenten gegeven die twijfel doen ontstaan dat de

kantharos ook werkelijk gevonden is in de gemeente Stevensweert. Hieronder worden de argumenten nog eens herhaald.

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- Het is in het geheel niet zeker dat in de vierde eeuw de Maas stroomde waar nu Stevensweert ligt. Meer oostelijk ligt de Oude Maas.
 - De talloze overstromingen van de Maas zouden de beker erg beschadigd moeten hebben. Juist in januari en februari 1926 was geheel West-Europa in de ban van hoogwater van de rivieren. Ook Stevensweert was daarvan slachtoffer: er wordt gemeld dat de Maas daar tussen 4 en 5 km breed was geworden! Onder deze omstandigheden zou een tere constructie als de drinkbeker tenminste in stukken zijn gevallen, en waarschijnlijk meegevoerd naar zee, waardoor de kantharos definitief verloren was gegaan.
 - Er zijn drie varianten op de omstandigheden, de vindplaats en het jaar van de vondst:

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En het jaar 1939 is in 1966 uit de mond van Bongers opgetekend, toen de kantharos tijdelijk naar Stevensweert was teruggekeerd ter gelegenheid van het 700-jarig bestaan van de parochie Stevensweert. Bongers heeft toen bovendien verteld dat hij de beker niet op de baggermolen had gevonden, maar bij het jagen had zien liggen op een strook kiezel langs de Maas. Op een kaart had hij een vindplaats aangewezen op de westelijke over van de rivier, tegenover Stevensweert, op Belgisch grondgebied dus!

97735

De kantharos in kwestie werd in 1942, dus tijdens de bezetting, gevonden te Stevensweert op ongeveer achttien kilometer van Roermond in de diepe grindbanken van de Maas. De vinder zag in het met leem overdekte en grauw roestige voorwerp niet veel bijzonders. Hij schonk het aan een particulier liefhebber van oudheden, die het onopgemerkt, dus veilig bewaarde zonder precies te vermoeden, wat het was. In 1949 liet hij de stof, waaruit de beker gemaakt was, deskundig toetsen.

97740

De beker werd in 1942 door de Stevensweertenaar J. Bongers gevonden op een hoop grind gelegen op een terrein op de Koeweide te Stevensweert het waren twee in elkaar passende delen die geheel overklonterd waren door klei. Deze had zich als een huls op de buitenwand vastgezet. Hier en daar was deze huls afgebrokkeld en werd de blinkende ondergrond zichtbaar. Hij nam de er mee naar huis, maakte hem schoon en zette hem op een commode in de huiskamer.

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97750

De zogenaamde vinder Jaak Bongers noemt dus maar liefst 3 verschillende vindplaatsen. Op een kaartje staat aangegeven op de Nederlandse oever, recht tegenover de plek waar de Belgisch-Nederlandse grens haaks op de Maas staat, vlakbij grenspaal 126. De tweede is ergens op de Belgische oever. De derde op de Koeweide, die destijds noordelijker lag op de noordelijke (westelijke) oever richting Maasbracht. In coördinaten: [5,8570 en 51,1440], onbekend, [5,8740 en 51,1490].

97755

Wellicht is de Koeweide hier op de kaart niet het bedoelde, want er zou ook nog een Stevensweeterkoeweide of Stevenweertsche koeweide bestaan, maar dat maakt de zaak niet wezenlijk anders.

97760

- Het jaar 1942 heeft Brom menen te kunnen opmaken uit een gesprek dat hij met Bongers in april 1950 heeft gevoerd, waarin die suggereerde dat de beker al een tijd bij hem op de kast had gestaan voordat hij hem aan Schoonenberg had laten zien. [...]
 - Op 14 mei 1966 heeft de directeur van het Rijksmuseum Kam onder toezicht oog van burgemeester J. Kelleners, een gesprek gehad met de vermeende vinder. Waarschijnlijk is er geen proces-verbaal gemaakt van dit gesprek. Maar duidelijkheid heeft het niet gebracht over omstandigheden, plaats en tijd van de vondst.

97765

Niet alleen bestaan over de herkomst en de leeftijd van de Kantharos verschillende theorieën. Dat geldt ook voor het jaar, de plaats en de omstandigheden waaronder de beker is gevonden. In de juridische literatuur en de jurisprudentie worden genoemd 1942 en 1943, terwijl Swinkels uitgaat van 1939. Hij weet dat op verzoek van drs. A.V.M. Hubrecht, directeur van het (toen nog) Rijksmuseum Kam van 1964 tot 1978, de burgemeester en pastoor van Stevensweert in november 1966 hebben gesproken met de vinder van de Kantharos, J. Bongers te Echt. Bongers vertelde toen dat hij de Kantharos had gevonden in januari of februari 1939 tijdens het jagen. Op een kaart gaf hij aan waar hij de beker had gevonden. Dat zou op Belgisch grondgebied zijn geweest, aan de westzijde van de Maas. Eerder had Bongers, volgens Swinkels, andere vindplaatsen opgegeven. De burgemeester heeft over dit gesprek aan Hubrecht op 14 november 1966 onder meer geschreven: '... ik geloof de heer Bongers niet of beter gezegd: hij liegt. Hij heeft reeds drie verschillende vindplaatsen van de Kantharos opgegeven. Welke is de juiste? Ik weet het niet'.

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97780

- 31 oktober 1941 [...] Te Linne en ook te Roermond vindt men onder een dekking van enkele meters klei en zand, de kiezel soms tot een diepte van 15 à 16 M. Af en toe treft men voorhistorische vondsten aan in deze kiezellagen, o.a.

mammouthtanden en hertegeweien enz., die uit wetenschappelijk oogpunt waarde hebben.

Behalve te Roermond is ook te Stevensweert een particuliere maatschappij begonnen met de kiezelwinning. Al deze werken geven vele handen werk.

- 28 augustus 1951 *Voormelde beker heeft mijn zwager de Heer J. Bongers (...) mij voor het eerst in het najaar van negentienhonderd drie en veertig vertoond. Mijn zwager Bongers was destijds werkzaam op de baggermolen "de Dekker" welke grind baggerde in de uiterwaarden van de Maas genaamd "de Sleyen", nabij Stevensweert. Bij het vertonen van de beker deelde mijn zwager mij mede, dat enkele dagen daarvoor, toen de baggermolen was ingesteld op een graafdiepte van zestien meter beneden de waterspiegel, hij het voorwerp in twee afzonderlijke delen had opgevangen uit de afvoergoot van de molen waarin de emmers hun inhoud overstorten. Daarna had Bongers de beide delen thuis van klei en slik gereinigd en toe bleek [...]*

- Als we de baggerindustrie bestuderen, dan werd in 1939 bijna zeker nog niet veel grind in Stevensweert opgehaald, waarschijnlijk pas vanaf de tweede helft van 1941. De bemanning bestaat vooral uit Sliedrechtenaren, aangevuld met lokaal personeel die er werkten als dekknecht, bakkenschippers en walknechts. Als Bongers de drinkbeker bij die werkzaamheden gevonden zou hebben, en direct schoongemaakt zou hebben, dan hebben anderen dat ongetwijfeld gezien. Hij zal ook niet een schoongemaakte beker in zijn jas stoppen; het is juist een voorwerp om mee te pronken. Indien er anderen op de een of andere manier bij betrokken waren dan hadden deze personen zich ongetwijfeld gemeld in de jaren vijftig toen er zoveel ophef was over de beker die toen de kantharos van Stevensweert werd genoemd! Collega's of ex-collega's zouden in die periode Bongers en waarschijnlijk ook de pers benaderd hebben om hun werkzaamheden uit te leggen en de rol van Bongers te benoemen. Dat alles is niet gebeurd.

De baggermachine haalt met emmers zand en grind uit de bodem. Deze emmers hebben een volume van tot wel een halve kubieke meter. Dan wordt de last uitgestort en komt in een reeks trommels en zeven terecht en zo wordt het grind in vier soorten gescheiden. Het zand wordt ook verzameld en het water teruggevoerd in de rivier.

De massa van het grind in de draaiende molen moet vele honderden kg zijn. Een teer, zilveren voorwerp wordt hierin vermorzeld. De delen komen zeker los van elkaar en dan is niet te verwachten dat een drinkbeker uit één stuk eruit gehaald kan worden. Als de drinkbeker met klei en zand in de molens en zeven terecht is gekomen dan kan de beker nooit zo ongeschonden tevoorschijn zijn gekomen.

Waarschijnlijk zou de drinkbeker in zijn geheel niet door de zeven komen, want de grootste zeef heeft gaten van 10 cm, maar de losse delen zouden verspreid zijn over de gesorteerde keien.

Bovendien was er voortdurend controle door een controleur van Rijkswaterstaat, zoals we lezen in de krant van 21 april 1933:

In de ruimten onder het dek, aan weerkanten van de geul voor den emmerketting, bevinden zich ruime verblijven voor machinist, molenbaas en dekpersoneel, en voor den controleur van rijkswaterstaat, die steeds aan boord moet zijn ter controle van de opgehaalde hoeveelheid specie.

- Elders wordt gemeld dat de kiezels in de grind-winninggebieden zo dicht op elkaar gedrukt is dat de drinkbeker volledig verpletterd zou zijn geweest.

- Museum Kam en de opvolger Museum Het Valkhof hebben ook getwijfeld aan de herkomst van de drinkbeker, maar net als de juridische kant was voor het museum het bezit van belang, niet de herkomst.

Toch vinden we in publicaties van het museum hierover verschillende opmerkingen.

[2006] Als Bongers de kantharos inderdaad in 1943 op de baggermolen heeft opgeraapt, heeft hij die vervolgens mee naar huis genomen en niet aangegeven. Volgens de baggervergunning moesten namelijk oudheidkundige vondsten worden gemeld en afgestaan aan het rijk. Dan ligt het ook voor de hand dat Bongers al snel heeft geprobeerd zijn vondst te gelde te maken.

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Wat dit laatste betreft is het opvallend dat zowel op de binnen- als de buitenbeker geen beschadigingen werden aangetroffen die het gevolg zouden kunnen zijn van verplaatsingen in stromend water, waarbij onvermijdelijk deuken en krassen zouden zijn ontstaan door het stoten tegen grind en dergelijke. Het is daarom naar onze mening weinig aannemelijk dat de vinder, J. Bongers, de kantharos tussen stenen langs de Maas heeft aangetroffen, zoals hij later heeft beweerd. Het verhaal van zijn zwager, dat Bongers de kantharos op de baggermolen heeft gevonden in enkele

- 97850 kluiten klei, is aannemelijker omdat de kleilaag waarin de kantharos zich op de rivierbodem bevond deze eeuwenlang heeft beschermd, totdat de baggermolen de rust verstoort (zie p.18).
[1972] De vondst bleef destijds vrijwel onopgemerkt: door J. Bongers werd de beker - in twee delen - tussen de stenen aan de Maas gevonden, de klei werd er afgewassen
- 97855 en hij werd mee naar huis genomen.
- De verwerving door Museum Kam
Het museum G.M. Kam in Nijmegen heeft geen goede hand gehad bij de verwerving van topstukken. Enkele topstukken zijn op wel zeer discutabele gronden na de Tweede Wereldoorlog verworven:
- 97860 Begin april 1956 was er veel te doen over de exacte vindplaats van het Trajanusbeeldje. Een jaar later had het museum het beeld nog in bezit. Baggers in Xanten zouden de Kop van Trajanus verdonkeremaand hebben en daarna naar Nijmegen gesmokkeld en verkocht hebben aan een antiquair.
Ook de Phrygische Ganymedes (puer pileatus) is op twijfelachtige gronden aangekocht.
- 97865 - Niet alleen zijn er geen mede-arbeiders op de baggermolen naar voren getreden die zeggen dat Bongers het voorwerp heeft gevonden, maar er zijn ook geen getuigenissen bekend van familieleden die kunnen getuigen over de kantharos ten huize Bongers.
- Noch Jaak Bongers noch familieleden e.d. zijn ooit gehoord over het voorwerp. Tenminste de auteur heeft hierover niets kunnen vinden.
- 97870 Een neef noemt Jaak Bongers anno 2013 een fantast, zo werd hij in de familie tenminste benoemd.
- De kantharos is zo broos dat hij alleen door enkele personen aangepakt mag worden. In 60 jaren kan de toestand van de drinkbeker toch niet zoveel verslechterd zijn dat hij destijds uit een baggermolen o.i.d. kwam en nu niet meer aan.
- 97875

Beesel

- 21 april 1922 **TE HUUR. "Klerkenhof" te Beesel, groot 27,80 H.A.;**
97880 te aanvaarden Paschen 1923. Inlichtingen te vragen bij P. HENDRIKS, Heijthuijsen, (Dorp 9,) op iederen Maandag. 1045
- 22 april 1922 **Weer een Limburgsche Missie-bisschop.**
Noord-Limburg mag wel trotsch zijn op de Bisschoppen, die het aan Gods Kerk schenkt.
- 97885 Behalve Mgr. Schrijnen, den Herder van het eigen Diocees, behalve Mgr. Abels van Weert (Mongolië) en Mgr. Theelen van Beesel (Bulgarije,), zijn in de laatste twee jaar niet minder dan vier zonen van Noord-Limburg tot de Bisschoppelijke waardigheid verheven: Mgr. Frederix van Afferden (China), Mgr. Schraven van Lottum (China), Mgr. Aerts van Swolgen (Ned. Nieuw Guinea) en nu Mgr. Verstraelen van Sevenum (Kleine Soenda-eilanden).
- 97890 In het pasopgerichte Ap. Vicariaat van Flores en Timor zal Mgr. Verstraelen de eerste bisschop zijn. Hij wordt dus de opvolger van den zoo tragisch overleden Mgr. Noyen, die, wel niet formeel maar toch officieus als Bisschop aangewezen, stierf op denzelfden dag, welke voor de Bisschopswijding was uitgekozen.
- 97895 Na zijn studies in het Missiehuis te Steyl voleindigd te hebben, werd Mgr. Verstraelen in St. Gabriel bij Weenen priester gewijd en in hetzelfde jaar 1907 als Missionaris naar Togo op de westkust van Afrika gezonden.
Met buitengewoon succes hebben de Steyler Paters in die voormalige Duitsche kolonie gewerkt, in de hoofdstad bouwden de negers naar het model der Steyler kerk een
- 97900 prachtige H. Hart-kerk, eender mooiste van Afrika. Jammer dat de oorlog die rustige ontwikkeling kwam verstoren; Togo werd door de Engelsche troepen bezet en de Duitsche priesters moesten de wijk nemen. Hun bisschop, Mgr. Wolf, leeft nu al acht jaar in ballingschap te Steyl.
- 97905 Ondertusschen was de E. P. Verstraelen overgeplaatst naar Ned. Oost-Indië, waar de Holl. provincie der Steyler Congregatie de Kleine Soenda-eilanden ter Evangelizeering had overgenomen. Laatstelijk bekleedde hij daar de functie van deken op het eiland Timor, terwijl de Superior generaal er op visitatie-reis, was, kwam het bericht van zijn benoeming tot Vic. Ap.
Moge het den nieuwen Bisschop mede door onze gebeden gegeven zijn, lang te arbeiden
- 97910 op den akker, die door het lijden en den dood van Mgr. Noyen en zijn heldhaftige metgezellen is vruchtbaar gemaakt.
Bisschoppelijk Missie-Comité.
- 97915 3 mei 1922 - **Naar wij vernemen zal de fanfare van Beesel haar medewerking** verleen, aan het door onze Harmonie georganiseerd concert, ten bate van de

noodlijddenden in Rusland.

4 mei 1922 DE NOOD IN RUSLAND. Eene te Beesel door den R. K. Vrouwenbond gehouden liefdadigheidsuitvoering voor hongerend Rusland heeft f250 opgebracht.

- 97920 BEESEL. — Zondag 30 April gaf de R. K. Vrouwenbond met welwillende medewerking der Fanfare alhier een liefdadigheidsuitvoering ten bate der noodlijdende bevolking in Rusland. De zaai was flink bezet. De totale opbrengst was ruim f250. Voorwaar een flinke som voor Beesel. Voordracht en muziek die het programma completeerden werden op schitterende wijze uitgevoerd. Vooral het nummer "Boertig", Congoleesch lied, opgevoerd door 'n 10-tal jonge dames, lokte een daverend applaus uit. Door de
- 97925 presidente, mej. 's Landsweers werd een kort overzicht gegeven over den heerschenden hongersnood in Rusland. Er werd een schrijven voorgelezen, van de moeders der arme streek, hetwelk bevatte, eene dringende bede tot de bevolking en vooral tot de moeders van andere lauden om opneming en ondersteuning hunner arme kleinen. Daarna dankte de presidente Bestuur, Directeur en leden der Fanfare, de dames voor hunne
- 97930 medewerking en steun. Een hartelijk woord van dank komt zeer zeker toe aan de presidente, de secretaresse en de Besturen der beide vereenigingen, voor de moeite die ze zich hebben getroost om dit schoone werk van naastenliefde tot stand te brengen en zoo goed te doen.

- 97935 24 mei 1922 [...] **Debat over rapporten en conclusies.** Dhr. Thijssen (Beesel) heeft bezwaar er tegen, dat in eene conclusie staat, dat de candidaat in wiens voordeel onregelmatigheden gepleegd zijn, van de lijst moet verdwijnen. Dhr. Willems (Nuth) komt er tegen op, dat dhr. Cremers te Roermond gezegd heeft, dat Spr. eene eigenaardige rol gespeeld heeft en deelt mede, dat dhr. Cremers
- 97940 tegen het ophangen van het politiek advies in het stemlokaal te; Nuth geprotesteerd heeft. [...]

20 januari 1923 **Colleges van Zetters.**

- Bij besluit van dhr. Commissaris der Koningin
- 97945 In Limburg zijn voor den tijd van vier jaren ?r benoemd tot leden van de Colleges van Zetters voor Rijksdirecte belastingen in:
- [...] Beesel: G. J. Theelen en F. H. H. Helden; [...]

9 februari 1923 **BEESEL-REUVER.**

- 97950 Veeverzekering. — Door de Onderlinge Veeverzekering van de afd. Beesel van den Limb. Land- en Tuinbouwbond werd op j.l. Vrijdag haar jaarlijksche algemeene vergadering gehouden. Door den voorzitter, de heer P. J. Timmermans, werd gewezen op den slechten tijd, die vooral de landbouwers en veehouders beleven en de hoop uitgesproken dat het jaar 1923 toch eindelijk eens een verbetering in den toestand mag brengen. Uit het
- 97955 door den secr.-penningmeester uitgebrachte jaarverslag bleek, dat de vereeniging in het afgelopen jaar nog al veel uitkeeringen heeft moeten doen.
- Schutterij en Fanfare.** — Door de schutterij St. Georgius & St. Sebastianus te Beesel, werd Zondag een vergadering gehouden, teneinde zich te scheiden van het fanfaregezelschap, welke vereenigingen tot dusverre gecombineerd waren. Deze
- 97960 scheiding werd door eenige leden, die van meening waren dat de fanfare op kosten der schutterij leefde, gevraagd. Uit de verschillende discussies, die gevoerd werden, bleek dat de meeste leden hiertegen waren, niettegenstaande sommige leden ook al trachtten aan te toonen, dat de beide vereenigingen goed op eigen beenen konden staan. Het bestuur, dat gedacht had een schikking in der minne te treffen zag hiertoe
- 97965 geen kans en kondigde een nieuwe vergadering aan over 14 dagen, waarin men hoopte tot een bevredigende oplossing te komen.

10 februari 1923 **RIJKSVOORJAARSKEURING VAN HENGSTEN.**

- Bij de vanwege de Provinciale Regelingscommissie voor de Paardenfokkerij in Limburg gehouden voorjaarskeuringen van hengsten, werden goedgekeurd:
- 97970 te Maastricht: Idégène van Cartils, eigenaar M. Schijns, Wittem; deze werd opgenomen in stamboek B; Pol, eigenaar Gebrs. Hollands, Gulpen. Max, eig. J. Diederens, Sittard, opgenomen in stamboek B; Albert de Velden, eig. J. Diederens, Sittard; Thomas, eig. J. Douwen Schinnen; Indien d'Emptinne, eig. Wed. J. Vroemen, Sittard en J. Vaessen, Voerendaal; Sergent de Herstal, eig. Wed. W. Nols, Eygelshoven; Garson de Wielerhof, eig. L. Heuts, Heerlen; Radical, eig. A. Bremers, Schinnen; Certain d'Enghien, eig. H. Castermans en J. Niesten, Maastricht; Finand du gros Buisson, eig. Gebrs. Rutten, Voerendaal, opgenomen in stamboek B; Mouton, eig. F. Lebouille, Hoensbroek. Afgekeurd door de Stamboekcommissie en goedgekeurd door de Rijkscommissie werden: Bill van
- 97980 Overstenhof, eig. J. Quaedvlieg, Schaesberg; Moustic de Schalven, eig. Gebrs. Theelen, Oud-Valkenburg;

te Roermond: Monteur, eig. J. van Melick, Neer; Milord, eig. Josef Reinders, Beesel; Duc van Melenborg, eig. M. Boonen, Buggenum; César van Melenborg, eig. dezelfde; Domixianus, eig. P. Geelen, Broekhuijsen; Roméo, eig. P. Nabben, Sevenum; Chris, eig. J. Obers, Sevenum; Espoir II de Griebben, eig. Mevr. P. Berger, Velp en H. Christman, Arnhem. Uitgesteld door de Stamboekcommissie werd Indigine de Kwei, eig. dezelfde.

17 februari 1923 **BEESEL-REUVER.**

De classificatie. — Burgemeester en Wethouders dezer gemeente verzochten den Minister van Financiën het dorp Reuver in een hogere klasse als bedoeld bij art. 5 der wet op de Personeele belasting te rangschikken, op grond, dat, hoofdzakelijk ten gevolge van de toename der kleiwarenindustrie, de huren te Reuver in de laatste jaren aanzienlijk zijn gestegen en ook overigens de levensstandaard in de meeste opzichten zoo hoog of hooger is dan in andere door B. en W. in hun schrijven genoemde gemeenten, die in een veel hogere klasse zijn gerangschikt. B. en W. waren van meening, dat het uit een oogpunt van billijkheid, vooral ten opzichte der arbeidersklasse, noodzakelijk was dat aan hun verzoek gunstig gevolg werd gegeven. Genoemde Minister heeft thans hierop medegedeeld dat er geen termen zijn gevonden om incidenteel in de classificatie eener gemeente wijziging te brengen doch dat bij eene eventueele algemeene herziening het verzoek in nadere overweging zal worden genomen.

24 februari 1923 **BROEDERSCHAP-SCHUTTERIJ "ST. GEORGIUS" EN "SEBASTIANUS" TE BEESEL.**

Voor buitenstaanders mag het volgende van ondergeschikt, zelfs van weinig belang zijn, maar voor de plaats zelf en zeker voor hen, die er het nauwst bij betrokken zijn, van des te meer en grooter belang.

Zoover men weet, dateert de Broederschap-Schutterij "St. Georgius" en "Sebastianus" alhier, uit de dertiende eeuw.

Aan het Koningszilver bevinden zich dan ook heden nog verschillende sierlijke massief zilveren platen uit de zestiende eeuw. Veel oudere van datum, zijn de laatste zeventig jaar door onachtzaamheid verdwenen, zoek geraakt, of verkwanzeld, zooals men beweert.

Het van ouds hier in de omstreken bekend "Drakenfeest" het z.g. "Draaksteken" is een historisch feit, dat van oudsher aan deze broederschap eigen, en sedert heugelijke jaren de hoge roem en waardevolle beteekenis voor deze schutterij is geweest, die van onze voorvaderen op kinderen en kindskinderen, overgeërfd en haar historische waarde op zeer waardige wijze heet weten te bewaren.

Het ligt ongetwijfeld nog in ieders geheugen, dat ten jare 1919, toen te Arnhem het grootsch Vaderlands Historisch Volksfeest op touw was gezet en zoo prachtig geslaagd mag heeten, er toen alom in deze gewesten, een heele roep is opgegaan, dat de Beeselsche Draakstekers met den Draak, met St. Joris en zijn gevolg bestaande uit een zestigtal leden uit onze broederschap, juichend en jubelend optogen naar Arnhem, om met hun historisch Draakstekers-vertoon, aan dat grootsche feest aldaar nog meer luister en belangstelling bij te zetten en aldaar vereeuwigd is geworden in het prachtig geïllustreerde boek, eenigen tijd daarna te Arnhem uitgegeven, welks boek een kostbaarheid is, voor wie zulk een exemplaar bezit.

Maar nog veel groter was het gejuich en gejubel, wanneer de Draakstekers aldaar na drie dagen feest te hebben gevierd, met een prachtige medaille als 1e prijs voor hoogste historische beteekenis en waarde bekroond, op Vrijdag 5 September 1919 huiswaarts keerden waarbij hier nog aan mag worden toegevoegd een som van f800 voor vrije reis, vracht- en verblijfkosten te Arnhem, [...]

2 maart 1923 **BEESEL-REUVER.**

Verkiezing Gemeenteraad. — Door Burgemeester en Wethouders is bepaald dat de verkiezing voor de leden van den Raad dezer gemeente zal plaats hebben op 22 Mei e.k. **Gemeenteraadsvergadering van 27 Febr. 1923.** — De voorzitter sprak bij deze eerste vergadering in 1923 zijn beste wenschen uit voor de leden en hoopte dat het hun gegeven mag zijn in dit jaar veel goeds tot stand te brengen, tot welzijn der gemeente. Vervolgens werden B. en W. gemachtigd de landerijen, waarvan de pacht in 1924 eindigt, opnieuw voor den tijd van 6 jaar te verpachten, mits tegen geen lagere prijs dan f20 per H.A.

De stembureaux en het hoofdstembureau voor de gemeenteraadsverkiezingen werden als volgt samengesteld: Stembureau I, de Burgemeester, Voorzitter, L. van der Velden en J. Steeghs, leden; G. Goossens, F. Rutten en H. Vossen, plaatsvervangende leden. Stembureau 2, J. Laumans, voorzitter, Jos. Korsten en P. Thijssen leden, H. Bors, H. Cremers en Jos. Thijsen pl.v. leden. Stembureau 3. F. Heldens Wz. voorzitter. F. Heldens Hz. en J. Claessen, leden; H Rutten, H. Timmermans en F. Meuter pl. v. leden. Hoofdstembureau de Burgemeester, voorzitter, J. Laumans, L. van der Velden, P.

- Thijssen, F. Heidens Wz. leden; J. Korsten J. Steeghs en F. Heldens Hz. pl. v. leden
Voortaan zal aan de stembureaux van gemeentewege geen wijn meer worden verstrekt.
- 98050 Tot leden in 't Bestuur der Teekenschool werden benoemd de heeren L. van der Velden en C. Lennaerts te Reuver.
- Het voorschot op de gemeentelijke vergoeding ex art. 101 der L. O. wet voor de bijz. lagere meisjesschool te Reuver (228 leerlingen) wordt vastgesteld op f1461.02. De gemiddelde kosten per leerling der openbare lagere scholen bedragen volgens de laatst
- 98055 vastgestelde gemeenterekening f8.01.
- Het vervolgonderwijs te Beesel zal ondanks de intrekking der Rijksvergoeding niet worden opgeheven indien de onderwijzers genegen zijn het onderwijs te geven tegen een verminderde vergoeding en de ouders een gedeelte der kosten willen dragen.
- Burgemeester en Wethouders worden gemachtigd met de Eerw. Zusters Dominicanessen te
- 98060 Reuver te onderhandelen inzake de overdracht der erfstelling Meuter. De gemeente wil alle tot de erfstelling behorende goederen met uitzondering van 't langs den tuin van den heer Van der Velden gelegen perceel bouwland hetwelk de gemeente zal behouden als vergoeding voor de door haar in 1910 betaalde successierechten en de verdere to
- 98065 dezer zake gemaakte onkosten, aan de Eerw. Zusters overdragen onder den last en de verplichting om daarop binnen een jaar na het overlijden van de laatste vruchtgebruikster een inrichting voor ouden van dagen en weeskinderen te stichten en in gebruik te nemen en ten eeuwigen dage te exploiteeren. De inrichting zal in de eerste plaats bestemd zijn voor personen uit deze gemeente. Armlastigen moeten tegen
- 98070 den kostenden prijs worden verpleegd, andere personen tegen een tarief als in soortgelijke inrichtingen in overeenkomstige gemeenten als Beesel.
- Een voorstel van den heer Steeghs om de raadszaal te Beesel beschikbaar te stellen tot het houden van bestuursvergaderingen voor de plaatselijke vereenigingen kwam niet in behandeling omreden het slechts door den heer Heldens Hz., werd ondersteund. Tegen
- 98075 beschikbaarstelling van de oude secretarie had de voorzitter bezwaar daar deze in gebruik is bij de burgerwacht, die daarop ook de geweren heeft geplaatst.
- B. en W. werden verzocht een oproeping te doen voor personen uit Beesel en Reuver die genegen en geschikt zijn om de reparatiën aan het electrisch net te verrichten. De bedoeling is voor elk dorp een aldaar wonende persoon aan te stellen.
- Een verzoek van den Ned. R. K. Tabaksbewerkersbond tot het treffen eener
- 98080 steunregeling voor werklooze leden werd, aangezien er alhier momenteel geen werkloozen in dat bedrijf zijn, aangehouden tot een volgende vergadering.
- Op een door de Markiezin de Villers te Waterloo, Beesel ingediend bezwaarschrift tegen de haar door B. en W. gestelde voorwaarden i.z. de aansluiting aan het electrisch net werd afwijzend beschikt en besloten tot handhaving der door B. en W.
- 98085 gestelde voorwaarden die hoofdzakelijk hierop neerkomen, dat alle kosten van uitbreiding en onderhoud door reclamante gedragen moeten worden.
- Den concessionarissen van de tramlijn door Offenbeek werd vergunning verleend voortaan ook van motor-tractie gebruik te maken. [...]
- 98090 6 maart 1923 **Kasteel Waterloo**
Het nieuwe kasteel Waterloo gelegen aan den Rijksweg Maastricht- Nijmegen en toebehoorende aan de Hooggeboren Vrouwe Douairiere Markiezin de Villers Grignoncourt-Van Nispen tot Sevenaer nadert zijn voltooiing. Het architectonisch fraai gebouw is een sieraad voor de streek.
- 98095 10 maart 1923 **Verboden Invoer. - BEESEL-REUVER.**
Wegens verboden invoer een een heele partij eau de Cologne van hot bekende merk 4711, werd door de militaire politie alhier aangehouden en opgebracht een zekere A. van Elberfeld (D.).
- 98100 12 mei 1923 **Aangehouden. - BEESEL-REUVER. Door de militaire politie**
alhier werden aangehouden, wegens het niet hebben van voldoende papieren, twee Duitschers uit Vorst (Pruisen) die tevens in het bezit waren van verscheidene millioenen marken, wat de politie verdacht voorkwam en aanleiding gaf om de
- 98105 Duitschers eenige dagen in verzekerde bewaring te stellen, totdat van gene zijde der grenzen bericht kwam, dat ze rechtmatig in het bezit der marken waren gekomen. Eenige dagen tevoren werden twee Duitschers uit Lobberich aangehouden wegens het frauduleus invoeren van eenige zuigers voor motorrijwielen. Ze waren niet in het bezit van geldige papieren en werden opgebracht. Procesverbaal, werd tegen hen
- 98110 opgemaakt.
- Verduistering rijwiel. - BEESEL-REUVER.** Het rijwiel waarvan dezer dagen bericht werd dat het ten nadeele van zekere D. alhier verduisterd was, is volgens ingesteld onderzoek in bewaring gegeven in een rijwielbergplaats te Roermond, alwaar D. het zal

kunnen terugbekomen.

98115 **Visserij.** — BEESEL-REUVER. Door de gemeente en rijkspolitie werden de laatste dagen eenige personen bekeurd wegens het vangen van visschen in gesloten tijd. Er wordt tevens streng gelet op het schade aanrichten aan het gras. Men zij dus gewaarschuwd.

23 mei 1923 **Koeien invoer BEESEL**

98120 De landbouwers Th. J. de V. uit Bracht (D.) en G.P. de V. van hier waren in den nacht van 18 November van het vorige jaar onder deze gemeente bekeurd wegens den invoer van 4 koeien en deswege door den Kantonrechter veroordeeld ieder tot 100 gulden boete of 50 dagen hechtenis en wat nog erger was met verbeurdverklaring der 4 in beslaggenomen koeien. Beiden waren in hooger beroep gegaan en thans stonden zij voor de Rechtbank terecht. Beiden ontkenden den invoer van koeien, zij vertelden de dieren aan de grens te hebben afgehaald en de dieren pas in ontvangst te hebben genomen toen zij ongeveer 10 Meter op Nederlandsch grondgebied waren, tot staving van die bewering hadden zij een drietal getuigen a decharge, waarvan twee verschenen gedagvaard. Als eerste getuigen werden gehoord de twee kommiezen, die in tegenstelling met de bewering de beide beklaagden pertinent verklaarden gezien te hebben, dat zij en niet de Duitschers het vee over de grens brachten. Tusschen het tijdstip dat het vee over de grens kwam en het tijdstip dat zij beiden verdachten aanhielden was het vee niet van geleiders veranderd. Als twee laatste getuigen werden gehoord twee Duitschers de verkoopers der koeien, die verklaarden dat zij en niet de koopers V. de dieren over de grens hadden geleid. Zij hadden met de koopers afgesproken dat zij 't vee op stal zouden leveren, doch door de bekeuring der ambtenaren was zulks verhinderd.

98130 Het O.M. meende zich te moeten houden aan de verklaring der beide ambtenaren en eischte bevestiging van het vonnis in eerste instantie gewezen. Beklaagdes verdediger Mr. Tripels te Roermond, achtte geen enkel motief aanwezig om de twee getuigen a décharge niet te gelooven, daar het in den bewusten nacht zeer duister was en de verbaliseerende ambtenaren zich ook konden vergissen. Pleiter was dan ook van oordeel dat hier vrijspraak moest volgen. Over 8 dagen zal de Rechtbank haar vonnis vellen.

98135

1 juni 1923 **ONDERGRAVEN.**

98145 De Duitscher, die door de politie te Beesel als verdacht van diefstal in bed arrestantenlokaal was opgesloten is uit de cel ontvlucht door den vloer op te breken en zich onder de deur door den grond een uitweg te banen. 's Morgens toen zij hem het ontbijt wilde brengen kwam de politie tot deze ontdekking en uit een daarna ingesteld onderzoek bleek dat hij al weder vrij in Duitschland rondloopt.

98150 4 augustus 1923 **BEESEL. Jubileumfeesten.**

— Ook hier zullen evenals elders ter gelegenheid van het 25-jarig Regeeringsjubileum van H.M. de Koningin feestelijkheden gehouden worden. In een tot dat doel op jl. Zondag gehouden vergadering van alle besturen der pl. vereenigingen werd een regelings-commissie benoemd, die voor een en ander moet zorg dragen. Als datum der te houden feestelijkheden werd Kermis-Woensdag 29 Augustus a.s. bepaald.

98155 **Mazelen.** — Deze zoo ernstig heerschende kinderziekte eischte in den loop dezer week niet minder dan 4 slachtoffers. Het zijn allen kinderen van nog geen twee jaar.

98160 2 januari 1924 **Priesterjubilea in 1924.**

SECULIEREN BISDOM ROERMOND.

50 jaar priester op 21 Maart. — J. P. H. Franssen, rustend pastoor van Rimborg, woont te Kerkrade; E. U. Haenen kanunnik van het kathedraal kapittel, pastoor en deken te Weert; A. F. H. Reighard, oud-directeur der Biss. Kweekschool te Echt, woont te Roermond; H. A. van de Laar, pastoor te Stevensweert.

98165 40 jaar priester op 23 Maart. — dr. G. A. H. Baunuin, kanunnik, professor aan het Groot Seminarie te Roermond; P. J. H. Beelen, pastoor te Geysteren; F. A. J. H. Bloemen, pastoor te Maasbree; J. W. Hendrix, pastoor te Beesel; J. J. H. Janssen, oud-kapelaan woont te Heerlen; A. F. Litjens, pastoor te Neer; H. R. Munnecom, pastoor te Kessel (L.); J. L. Röselaers, pastoor te Hoensbroek; P. R. H. van Boven, pastoor te Houthem-St. Gerlach; M. M. J. Verbeek, pastoor te Broeksittard. [...]

98170

6 februari 1924 — **BEESEL. Verleden Zondag hield de onderlinge Veeverzekering**

98175 van de plaatselijke afdeeling van den Limb. Land- en Tuinbouwbond alhier haar jaarvergadering. Door den secretaris-penningmeester werd het jaarverslag met rekening en verantwoording uitgebracht. Vooral in het afgelopen jaar hadden veel noodslachtingen plaats, waarvoor moest worden bijgedragen. Toen in 1922 18 noodslachtingen voorkwamen, meende men, dat dit cijfer niet gauw meer bereikt zou worden. In het afgelopen jaar kwamen echter niet minder dan 22 noodslachtingen voor,

- 98180 waarvoor ruim f5000.— werd uitgekeerd. Het groote nut der onderlinge verzekering is daarbij wel afdoende gebleken. Door den voorzitter, dhr. P. J. Timmermans, werd een terugblik op het afgelopen jaar geworpen en de leden aangespoord trouw en goed lid der vereeniging te blijven.
- 98185 Ingestort. — BEESEL. In den afgelopen nacht stortte alhier tengevolge van den storm de schuur van F. Peeters in. Ongelukken kwamen gelukkig niet voor.
- 28 februari 1924 **BEESEL. Politie. — Bij Besluit van den Minister van Justitie** zijn ingetrokken de aanstellingen van Onbezoldigd Rijksveldwachter destijds verleend aan M. Weyers en G. Niemans alhier.
- 98190 19 maart 1924 **BEESEL. Zaterdag 29 Maart hoopt de Z.Eerw. Heer J. W. Hendriks,** pastoor te Beesel zijn 40-jarig priesterfeest te vieren. De parochianen zullen dezen dag zeker niet ongemerkt voorbij laten gaan.
- 98195 22 maart 1924 — **BEESEL. Maandag hield de R. K. Vrouwenbond alhier** ter gelegenheid van den feestdag van haar patrones de H. Gertrudis haar jaarlijksche algemeene vergadering in de zaal van mej. wed. Reijnders. De vergadering was goed bezocht. Door eenige meisjes werden een paar aardige tooneelstukken uitgevoerd, die zeer in den smaak der aanwezigen vielen. De zeereerw. heer pastoor wees de vrouwen op hunne verplichtingen ten opzichte van kerk, huisgezin en maatschappij.
- 98200 28 maart 1924 **Diefstal. — BEESEL — De 42-jarige mandenmaker H. S. van hier,** thans gedetineerd, werd aangeklaagd van diefstal van twee kippen uit het hok van den landbouwer J. Niessen, alhier in den nacht, van 23 op 24 September van het vorige
- 98205 jaar gepleegd. Al spoedig was de verdenking op dezen bekl. gevallen, die met nietsdoen aan den kost trachtte te komen. En, deze verdenking was niet ongegrond, want niet alleen bleek bij onderzoek dat de ter plaatse gevonden voetsporen volkomen overeenkwamen met de klompen van beklagde; maar in zijn kippenhok liepen onder de witten ook een paar bonte kippen, volkomen gelijk aan de onvreemde. Beklaagde
- 98210 ontkende echter halsstarrig; de kippen had hij van een onbekenden Duitscher (!) gekocht vertelde hij terwijl hij in den nacht van den diefstal steeds te bed was geweest.
- De Officier van Justitie eischte zes maanden gevangenisstraf met aftrek der prevenieve hechtenis. Mr. P. Tripols te Roermond pleitte vrijspraak.
- 98215 10 april 1924 **Kiesvereeniging — BEESEL — Op een gehouden vergadering** dezer vereeniging in de zaal van Mej. Wed. Reijnders, hield het Tweede Kamerlid Hermans uit Maastricht een interessante spreekbeurt. Hij schetste in duidelijke bewoordingen hetgeen den laatsten tijd in het parlement betreffende bezuiniging, Vlootwet, kolonien en Zomertijd is behandeld en zette dienaangaande zijn standpunt uiteen. Zijn rede werd aandachtig gevolgd en mocht hij dan ook na afloop een dankbaar aplaus oogsten. Verder werden eenige huishoudelijke zaken behandeld.
- 98220 **Vee Fokkerij — BEESEL. — Door de Stierhouderij alhier werd verleden Zondag** een vergadering van veehouders belegd teneinde te geraken tot oprichting eener controle-vereeniging. De totstandkoming hiervan is in zooverre verzekerd dat zich reeds een voldoende aantal leden opgaven die in een binnenkort te houden vergadering, waarin o.m. een bestuur zal worden gekozen en ook de Rijksveeteeltconsulent Timmermans uit Roermond aanwezig zal zijn een en ander nader zullen regelen.
- 98225 6 juni 1924 **Fanfare. — BEESEL. — Toen Zondag tegen den avond bekend werd** dat onze fanfare op het concours voor Harmoniën en Fanfares te Linne, in de tweede afdeeling een len prijs had behaald was oud en jong in een ommezien op de been en werden de handen aan het werk geslagen om de bekroonde fanfare een feestelijke ontvangst te bereiden. Daverende salutschoten weerklonken en van de huizen wapperde
- 98235 de nationale driekleur. De straten werden met groen en bloemen gesierd, Aan de school werd de fanfare door een eerewacht te paard, de schutterij en een groep bruidjes verwelkomd. In optocht werd naar het Marktplaatsje getrokken. De directeur was omringd door een schaar van bruidjes, die hem zoodra hij onder luide toejuichingen de kiosk besteeg, onder het uitspreken van toepasselijke versjes bloemen aanbeden. De
- 98240 concoursstukken werden nogmaals ten gehoor gebracht, waarna dhr. Heldens-Vallen, president der Fanfare, dankte voor de hartelijke ontvangst en belangstelling die allen voor de fanfare toonden. Hij bracht hulde aan den geachten directeur, dhr. Felten uit Venlo, onder wiens bekwame leiding thans door de fanfare wederom een zoo groot succes werd behaald. Hij memoreerde de onderscheiding die verleden jaar op het
- 98245 concours te Thorn haar deel was en wees op de beteekenis van het feit om thans, in

een hoogere afdeeling, wederom een eersten prijs te behalen. Hierna werd naar het fanfare-lokaal getrokken, alwaar de Eerw. Heer Pastoor aanwezig was om de fanfare te feliciteeren. Aan den Directeur werden nog van verschillende zijden bloemen aangeboden. Tot laat werd feestgevierd om 's Maandags weer te beginnen. Na den middag werd een muzikale wandeling door het dorp gemaakt en op het Markt plein geconcentreerd. Tegen den avond bracht de fanfare "Maasoever" van Kessel een serenade en bracht hulde aan dhr. Felten, die ook van hare vereeniging Directeur is. Er heerschte tot laat in den avond een feestelijke stemming, die getuigde dat allen meeleefden met het behaald succes der fanfare.

21 juni 1924 **(Zijne Bergen en hunne oudste bewoners.)** —

Bij 't dorp Roggel ligt de Krekelberg, Ook dáár in liet het volk in oude tijden de kaboutermannekens huizen. En ook de naam Kerkelsberg houdt verband met de Sagenwereld. Immers het hiemke, kriekje of het huis- of schoorsteenkrekelkje wordt bij onze oostelijke naburen onder de dwergen genoemd, die geluk aanbrengen. Zij mochten niet gedood, en hun nachtgezing moet lijdelijk worden aangehoord. Maar vaak vertelden daar de menschen ook, dat het hiemke of het krekelkje, als dwerg, met zijn gezang een voorteken van den dood was. Daarom lezen wij ook nog in een oud Duitsch werk over folklore:

Das Heimchen zirpte klaglich
Das lange nicht gezirpt,
Gelt sagten alle Bauern,
Gelt, unser Pfarrer stirbt."

Ook zegt men in Deutschland nog van iemand, die er slecht uitziet, dat hij een hiemke heeft gegeten. In ons land en ook in onze provincie van iemand die knorrig uitziet. Welnu, volgens ouden van dagen zou er eens de jager Hoebe tusschen Asbroek en Dekeibloem in de aldaar liggende Heide op jacht zijnde, een kabouterman op eenigen afstand hebben zien gaan, die over de Asbroekerheide de richting nam van den Krekelberg, door velen ook Kerkelsberg genoemd. Deze jager zou de afkeurenswaardige wreedheid begaan hebben op het niets kwaads vermoedende ventje een gewerschot te lossen. Dodelijk getroffen stortte het neder, doch had nog de macht naar den Kerkels (Krekelberg) te loopen, waar eene menigte kabouters, die ook daar in de buurt 's nachts overal potten, pannen en ketels schuurden, hun vast verblijf hielden. Nieuwsgierig volgde de jager 't manneke, naderde den berg, waar hij eenige kabouters mistroostig hoorde lamenteeën: "O wee, onze Kyrië is dood." Deze was ook daar de overste of het hoofd, die, midden in den berg aangekomen zijnde, onmiddellijk overleed.

Sedert dien tijd heeft niemand in de omgeving van Roggel meer aard- of kaboutermannekens gezien. Het schijnt, dat ze na dit geval daar voor goed hun verblijf verlaten hebben.

De landbouwer Opheij had aan 't Nijken bij Roggel een stuk land, vol onkruid, (in Limburg "puinen" geheeten). Hij kon de wortels van dit lastige goedje maar met geen mogelijkheid er uit krijgen. De "puinen" bleven er tot groote schade der andere gewassen voortwoekeren. Op zekeren avond ging hij naar den Krekelberg om daar hard te roepen en te smeeën dat de kabouters hem toch hiermede zouden helpen. Hij had er voldoende boterhammen en pijpen met tabak bij het stuk land neergelegd, en ook de ploeg had hij er heen gebracht. En zie, 's anderendaags was 't land volkomen omgeploegd en alle daarin schuilend onkruid lag zorgvuldig op hoopjes aan 't eind van 't perceel.

Tusschen Haelen en Roggel, in de Nunhemer heide lag eens de vermaarde Gravenberg, waarover eene bijzonder interessante sage in de oude Limburgsche historie gaat en welke wij later zullen mededeelen. Welnu in dezen Gravenberg woonden een langen tijd verschillende Kabouters, die niet hooger waren dan anderhalven voet. Het waren erg gediensstige ventjes, die vooral in de nabij gelegen boerenhuizen allerlei arbeid verrichten, maar nooit iets gapten. Soms droegen zij wel de rogge, die zij in de schuur gedorschen en gezuiverd hadden op den zolder van een anderen eigenaar. Een huis, eenige minuten van dezen berg in het gehucht Mortel gelegen, moet lange jaren daarna nog aangeduid zijn als eene werkplaats dezer kaboutermannekens, die bij den arbeid welken zij in den nacht verrichtten, soms wel gehoord, doch niet gezien werden. Er zijn inwoners van Roggel, die ons voor eenige jaren meenden te kunnen verzekeren, van hunne voorouders te hebben gehoord, dat de laatste kabouters op zekeren dag genoodzaakt werden op bevel van den Paus, in woonwagens te vertrekken. Zij waren toen ten getale van twintig. Daarna heeft nooit meer iemand een kabouter gezien.

In de omstreken van Beesel, Reuver en Kessel moeten voorheen hebben gelegen de Lomberg, de Wals- en de Kruisberg *) allen bewoond door alver- of kaboutermannekens.

Van deze ventjes, die in de heide en de heuvelen in die streken hebben gewoond, waar ook eertijds grafheuvelen en andere oude voorwerpen zijn gevonden, mochten de dorpelingen langen tijd menigvuldige diensten genieten. Wanneer de boerengezinnen die

98315 diensten verlangden, kwamen doorgaans twee kabouters die verrichten. Op eene kast of tafel vonden ze een stuiver of een ander geldstuk, dat de huisgenooten daar opzettelijk voor hen neergelegd hadden. Wilden de boeren geboterd of gekarnd hebben, dan legden zij dat geld op de boterkarn. Daar bij dat werk warm water behoorde, stookte de eene kabouter het ouderwetsche haardvuur, terwijl de andere karnde. Zoo

98320 vaak de menschen de kabouters verwachtten, bereidden zij een of andere spijs vooraleer ze slapen gingen. Dit eten nuttigden de dwergen eerst, waarna zij den noodigen arbeid sprakeloos en zonder het minste gedruisch deden. Eens hadden de huisbewoners leder, in kleine stukjes gesneden, voor de kabouters op het vuur gezet, terwijl een der huisgenooten, in plaats van naar bed te gaan, op den zolder ging

98325 liggen om te zien, hoe hun die vreemde kost zou bevallen. Een der mannekens zei: "Dat is taaie fikkefak". Zij aten het evenwel op en verrichtten hun werk als gewoonlijk. Op een anderen nacht bespiedde de landbouwer Gommans het karnen der kabouters door eene spleet van de zoldering. Een der mannekens zag dat en zei tegen den andere: "Blaas die nieuwsgierige piepinus even een oog uit!" En aldus geschiedde. Toen begon

98330 eerst het karnen voor goed. Behalve dit werk kwamen zij dikwijls den vloer schuren, brood bakken, vlas zwingen en graan dorschen, dit laatste meestal in den bakoven, dien iedere boer op het land zich achter de huizing heeft gebouwd. Een boer van de Haelerhei, Giezen genaamd, wonende in een huiske, waar thans de Spiekerhof ligt, kwam eens van de St. Luciamarkt te

98335 Neeritter waar hij een trekos had gekocht, langs de heuvelen in de hei, toen hij daar een kabouter hoorde jammeren, en hem naroeven: "Ties, zeg tegen Kobus, dat Kyrië dood is." De boer ontstelde, maar zag niemand. Thuis gekomen, vertelde hij het geval, waarop een onder de tafel zittend kabouterke treurig uitriep: "Is Kyrië dood?" Verschrikt keken de huisgenooten naar de plaats vanwaar de stem kwam, doch de

98340 kabouter was verdwenen.
Vlodrop. GERH. KR.
*) Zij liggen er nog.

28 juni 1924 [...] **Zóó vertrouwelĳk zelfs stond de mensch tegenover**

98345 bovennatuurlijke wezens, dat hij ze op zijn volksfeesten uitbeeldde in een of andere figuratie, bijv. als "Pinksterbruid" of "Meikoning", ja zelfs in de gedaante van "reuzen", zooals we die heden ten dage nog in VENLO en in de Vlaamsche steden kennen of in een "draak", die bijv. in het dorpje BEESEL als een dorpsalladium bewaard wordt. In blijde zorgeloosheid en met innig vertrouwen in zijn Heiligen aanvaardde

98350 men het nog niet zoo gecompliceerde leven blijmoedig en vierde men feest, wanneer het leven op den buiten op zijn allerschoonst was, dus in de Meimaand en in den vollen midzomertijd. [...]

19 juli 1924 **De schoolgeldvermindering voor meerdere kinderen uit eenzelfde gezin.**

98355 Naar aanleiding van ons artikeltje: "Een kans die niet verzuimd worde" – waarin we erop wezen, dat Ged. Staten door den Minister van Onderwijs in de gelegenheid gesteld worden voorstellen te doen omtrent wijziging in de thans geldende schoolgeldheffing – maakt men ons opmerkzaam op een verzoekschrift, d.d. 14 dezer door B. en W. van

98360 BEESEL tot Ged. Staten dezer provincie gericht. Het adres is merkwaardig genoeg, om het hier in zijn geheel af te drukken: "Hierdoor deelen wij Uw College mede dat wij het gewenscht achten, dat de op de heffing van schoolgeld betrekking hebbende bepalingen der Lager Onderwijswet 1920 wederom worden gewijzigd in dien zin dat het toelaatbaar wordt eert gezinsreductie te

98365 verleenē. Daartoe zouden wij echter liever niet meer zien ingevoerd de in de praktijk tot veel moeilijkheden aanleiding gegeven hebbende regeling van het voormalige tweede lid van art. 62 der wet, doch de in de toepassing meer eenvoudige bepaling, dat, indien meer dan een leerling uit hetzelfde gezin gelĳktĳdig een school van dezelfde soort bezoekt, het schoolgeld slechts bedraagt: bij twee

98370 leerlingen 90, bij 3 leerlingen 80, bij 4 leerlingen 70, bij 5 leerlingen 60 en bij 6 leerlingen 50 ten honderd per leerling van hetgeen verschuldigd zou zĳn indien slechts ēēn leerling uit dat gezin de school bezoekt; terwijl, indien meer dan 6 leerlingen als bovenbedoeld een school bezoeken, slechts voor de zes oudste leerlingen schoolgeld verschuldigd is. Onder de vroegere wet moest het

98375 Gemeentebestuur, wanneer kinderen uit hetzelfde gezin verschillende scholen bezochten, doen nagaan welk kind voor een aftrek van 20, welk voor een aftrek van 40% enz. in aanmerking kwam, hetgeen zeer tijdroovend was. Bij de door ons aanbevolen regeling is bedoeld werk niet meer noodig terwijl de berekening op zich zelf ook veel

eenvoudiger is.

98380 Oppervlakkig beschouwd zou men tegen de aangegeven regeling kunnen aanvoeren, dat bij meer dan 5 schoolgaande kinderen reeds voor het zesde en volgende kind geen schoolgeld meer verschuldigd behoeft te zijn omreden het voor alle kinderen gezamenlijk verschuldigde schoolgeld bij 5 kinderen hetzelfde bedrag uitmaakt als bij 6 n.l. 300 % (5 x 60 en 6 x 50). Wij meenen echter dat het aanbeveling verdient, met 98385 het oog op de verdeeling van de opbrengst van het schoolgeld over de verschillende scholen, een zoo groot mogelijk aantal kinderen in de schoolgeldheffing te betrekken. Ook is het, omreden in de meeste gemeenten voor iedere school een apart kohier wordt opgemaakt, gewenscht dat geregeld wordt voor welke kinderen bij een grooter getal schoolgaande kinderen dan 6, het schoolgeld verschuldigd is. Wij zouden hiervoor 98390 nemen de zes oudste kinderen. Opneming in de wet van bovenstaande regeling zou door de gemeentebesturen zeer worden toegejuicht, waarom wij U beleefd verzoeken wetswijziging te bovenbedoelden zin te willen bevorderen.

98395 25 juli 1924 **Grenstekens. BEESEL—REUVER. Door de zorgen van het Gemeentebestuur** zijn op de beginpunten der verschillende wegen borden geplaatst, die het eindpunt der aangrenzende gemeente en het begin dezer gemeente aangeven. Vooral vreemde toeristen kunnen zich hierdoor gemakkelijk oriënteren. Moge in hét belang en ter bevordering van het vreemdelingenverkeer dit voorbeeld, waar noodig, 98400 navolging vinden.

26 juli 1924 **Tragisch — BEESEL. Toen de vrouw van den molenaar Theelen** Zaterdagmorgen ontwaakte vond zij haren man, die 's avonds nog gezond en wel naar bed was gegaan, stervende en was deze een uur later reeds een lijk. De overledene 98405 bereikte slechts den leeftijd van 34 jaar en laat een jonge weduwe met 2 kleine kinderen achter.

9 augustus 1924 [...] **De lucht was zwaar en zwart van onweer en terwijl** Robert zijn ros van over de Swalm voortjoeg in razende vaart, braken de elementen in al heur klacht los. Bij het felle licht, dat het zwarte zwerk verscheurde, zag hij, 98410 aan den voet van den Donderberg tusschen Kloosterhof en Rijkel bij Beesel, plotseling naast zich den jongen ridder, den geliefde zijner dochter. — Ha, brulde hij, de fortuin is mij gunstig, gij zult van Uw voornemen afzien of hier sterven! 98415 — Ik vrees Uw zwaard niet, heer Robert, antwoordde de vrome jongeling, maar vechten zal ik niet. De Hemel is mijn getuige, en zal U dwingen. — Noch hemel, noch hel vrees ik, of kunnen mij bedwingen, bulderde Robert. Sterf dan hier als een hond! [...]

98420 23 augustus 1924 **Onbewaakte Spoorweg. — BEESEL. — Naar wij vernemen** zal binnenkort de bewaking van den spoorweg-overweg te Bussereind nabij Ickenroth worden opgeheven. Er zullen waarschuwborden met rode reflectors geplaatst worden.

3 september 1924 **Ongeval — BEESEL. Zondagavond vonden de alhier** patrouilleerende Marechaussee een man op den berm van den weg "Hoogstraat" liggen. Bij onderzoek bleek het te zijn de 20-jarigen G. Meerts wiens paard kort te voren op hol was geslagen en hij van den wagen was gesprongen en een der wielen hem over de beenen was gegaan. De ontboden Geneesheer. Dr. Crasborn uit Swalmen constateerde een breuk van het linkerdijbeen en achtte overbrenging naar het Gasthuis te Venlo 98430 noodzakelijk.

6 september 1924 **Ongeluk. — BEESEL. De zoon van den landbouwer G. Meerts** alhier had Zondagavond toen hij met kar en paard eenige kermisgasten naar het station had gebracht, het ongeluk onder de kar te geraken waarbij hij een been brak. Door Dr. 98435 Crasborn van Swalmen werd onmiddellijk geneeskundige hulp verleend en werd M. 's anderendaags in het Gasthuis te Venlo opgenomen

6 september 1924 **Diefstal rijwielplaatje — BEESEL Een zekere O. van hier** die verleden Maandag zijn rijwiel eenige oogenhlikken onbeheerd liet staan kwam, toen 98440 hij zijn rijwiel weer wilde meenemen tot de mindere aangename ontdekking dat zijn rijwielbelasting-plaatje was ontvreemd.

Concert Fanfare — BEESEL Kermis-Zondag werd door de Fanfare alhier een concert met tooneeluitvoering gegeven met medewerking van de bekende humoristen, de heeren Leijendeckers uit Thorn en Giesberts uit Echt. Er werden eenige mooie

- 98445 muziekstukken uitgevoerd en door het humoristisch duo werden verschillende voordrachten en coupletten uitgevoerd, die zeer in den smaak der aanwezigen vielen. Door den president der Fanfare, dhr. F. Heldens-Vallon werd in zijn welkomswoord den verjaardag van H. M. de koningin herdacht en werd een spontaan driewerf hoera op H. M. uitgebracht. Het concert was niettegenstaande het slechte weer druk bezocht.
- 98450 Kruisverbond – BEESEL Verleden Zondag werd door den W. E Z G Heer Dr. Krijn, aalmoezenier van sociale werken, te Venlo, in een vergadering van het Kruisverbond alhier een spreekbeurt gehouden over het alcoholvraagstuk in dezen tijd. Zijn zeer interessante lezing werd door de vele aanwezigen met aandacht gevolgd en getuigde het daverende applaus dat men ten eerste voldaan was. Verschillende nieuwe leden gaven
- 98455 zich op.
- 24 september 1924 **BEESEL Alhier doen zich bij het vee van de landbouwers**
H. Evers en P. Heidens eenige gevallen van mond- en klauwzeer voor. De ziekte doet zich gelukkig nogal niet kwaadaardig voor. Op verschillende plaatsen heerscht onder
- 98460 de varkens ook de z.g. vlekziekte en zijn er reeds verscheidene afgemaakt moeten worden.
- Noodslachting BEESEL Bij den landbouwer R. moest verleden Maandag een koe worden afgemaakt. Het vleesch werd door den Keuringsdienst voor de consumptie goedgekeurd.
- 98465 26 september 1924 **Zilveren priesterfeest van Mgr. Theelen.**
Men schrijft aan de Msb.: Op 23 en 24 September herdenkt Mgr. D. Theelen, bisschop van Nicopolis in de Missie van Noord Bulgarije, het zilveren jubelfeest van zijn Priesterwijding en eerste H. Mis. Of deze dagen plechtig gevierd worden, weet ik niet; maar herdacht zullen ze ongetwijfeld worden zoowel door den jubilaris zelf als
- 98470 door zijn vele vrienden en weldoeners.
- Voor Z. D. H. zal het een verkwikking zijn in den harden werkdag des levens. Zoo vele en zoo zoete herinneringen zijn voor hem aan beide dagen verbonden! Sedert 25 jaren reeds mocht hij nu iederen morgen "opgaan tot het altaar des Heeren, tot den God, die zijn jeugd verblijdt".
- 98475 Van deze 25 jaren heeft hij er ruim 15 in het klooster doorgebracht. In het begin en wellicht ten gevolge van den oorlog werd hij geroepen om een deel van Christus' kudde te weiden in een der moeilijkste missielanden. God weet, hoe zwaar sindsdien zijn dagen zijn geweest, niet alleen tijdens den oorlog zelf met zijn gedurige verdachtmakingen, maar ook daarna en thans nog immer in een land, waar de beruchte
- 98480 Balkantoestanden hoogtij vierten. Lijden en strijden was zijn brood haast iederen dag. Toch mag hij met stille vreugde op de afgeloopen jaren terugzien. Veel goed heeft hij kunnen stichten, en niet weinig kwaad verhinderen. Dank aan den steun, die hem uit het vaderland gewerd heeft hij meerdere kerken en kapellen kunnen herstellen, vergrooten of opbouwen; zusterscholen heeft hij kunnen stichten; het kleine seminarie
- 98485 voor inlandsche geestelijken heeft hij weer in het leven geroepen; en nu onlangs mocht hij het geluk hebben dat de banden tusschen de Bulgaarsche Missie en de Hollandsche afdeeling der Passionistencongregatie nader werden aangehaald.
- Aan het heilig altaar zocht en vond hij de kracht om immer voort te gaan op den doornigen weg, waar de plicht hem riep. Bij zijn zilveren priesterfeest kunnen zijn
- 98490 vrienden hem dan ook geen beter geschenk aanbieden dan den Heer te smeeken, dat zijn dagelijksche H. Mis steeds meer en meer voor hem wordt: zijn levensbrood en levenskracht, het middel ook om zichzelf en anderen te heiligen. Moge dit feest de voorbode zijn van zijn zilveren jubelfeest als Bisschop. Het is een zware wensch, dien wij hiermee uitspreken; het is een verlenging vragen van zijn lijden en
- 98495 strijden; maar 't is ook een vermeerdering vragen van verdiensten voor den hemel. En dit is en blijft toch het voornaamste in 's menschen leven. In ieder geval: "Dominus conservet eum et vivificet eum!"
- Ziehier ten slotte een kort "curriculum vitae van Mgr. Theelen. Z. D. H. werd geboren te Beesel bij Roermond op 4 April 1877. Hij begon zijn studies op het Bisschoppelijk
- 98500 College te Weert en trad reeds vroegtijdig in bij de Passionisten; in 1893 legde hij de kloostergelofte af. Op 23 September 1899 werd hij te Bordeaux priester gewijd. Geheel onverwacht werd hij den 21en Mei 1915 benoemd tot bisschop van Nicopolis en op 15 Augustus d.a.v. te Rome gewijd. Sindsdien is hij in de Bulgaarsche missie werkzaam gebleven.
- 98505 10 oktober 1924 **De Peelvelden.**
De steenkoolvelden in de Kempen zijn belangrijk groter en liggen ook wat minder diep dan in de Peel, aldus vervolgt de Msb. zijn beschouwing over de Peelschatten. Het Kempische kolenveld beslaat 160.000 H.A., waarvan ongeveer 32.500 H. A. in concessie
- 98510 zijn, terwijl zich de Belgische Staat een drietal reserven ter grootte van een 20.000

H. A. voorbehouden heeft. De rijkdom van dit gebied wordt geschat op 8 à 10 miliard ton; de diepte der lagen varieert tusschen de 600 en 850 M. Op 1200 à 1500 M. diepte bevinden zich evenwel ook nog exploiteerbare kolenlagen.

- 98515 Ons Peelmijnveld vormt ongeveer een rechthoek gelegen tusschen de gemeenten Swalmen, Belfeld, Liessel en America, een gebied pl.m. 25 K.M lang en 10 K.M. breed. Het bestaat uit een Westelijke en een Oostelijke carboonhorst, waar tusschen een centrale slenk. Voor exploitatie komen het eerst in aanmerking de Westelijke horst (4 K.M. breed) en de centrale slenk (3 K.M. breed), over een lengte van 20 en een breedte van 7 K.M., omvattende een 14.000 tal hectaren. Het geheele kolengebied
- 98520 beslaat een oppervlakte van ongeveer 19.000 H.A. en bevat 1.766.100.000 ton steenkool, met een reserve van 799.000.000 ton op meer dan 1200 Meter diepte. Ter vergelijking zij hierbij eraan herinnerd, dat de rijkdom van het Zuid-Limburgsche kolengebied bestaat uit plus minus 3.165.000.000 ton, met een dergelijke reserve van
- 98525 600 millioen. Boringen in de omgeving van Winterswijk hebben nog aangetoond de aanwezigheid van 324.800.000 ton op groote diepte. De reserves erbij rekenende, beschikt ons land dus nog over een voorraad van een kleine 7 milliard ton. De ligging der kolenlagen in de Peel is nogal diep. Bij Swalmen werden er op 659 M. aangeboord, verder onder de volgende plaatsen op de erachter vermelde diepten: Baarlo 657, Beesel 672, Kessel 687, Kesseleyck 795, Helden 730, Beeringen 745, Maasbree 807,
- 98530 Meyel 821, Maris 837, Sevenum 840, Griendtsveen 872, America 904, Helenaveen 913. Dan beginnen de schatten van de Peel weg te zinken, bij Liessel reeds op 1316 Meter diepte en verder naar onbereikbare afgronden, 3 à 4 K.M. diep, in lagen onder Nederland doorgaande, die in Engeland weer voor menschenhanden bereikbaar worden. Ter vergelijking zij aan deze cijfers toegevoegd, dat in Zuid-Limburg de kolenlagen
- 98535 slechts 200 Meter diep liggen; de mijn Maurits heeft schachten van 330 M., terwijl in de Belgische Kempen de deklaag van kolenhoudend gesteente reeds op 400 à 600 Meter is gevonden. De diepe ligging der Peelkolen is zeer zeker een bezwaar, doch geen onoverkomelijk. De boringen, die van Rijkswegen in den lande zijn geschied tusschen 1903 en 1916 hebben gekost 2½ millioen gulden, die grootendeels zijn besteed aan de
- 98540 exploratie van de Peel. Onder Maasbree, Helden, Kessel en Reuver is de aanwezigheid aangetoond van rijke vetkolen, cokeskolen; onder Helenaveen, Meyel en Swalmen werden gaskolen gevonden. De ontginbare lagen varieeren in gezamenlijke dikte tusschen 5 en 10 Meter, al komt er ook eene voor van 12.32 M. Van Rijkswegen werden een veertigtal diepboringen verricht, waaruit de aanwezigheid
- 98545 bleek van 40 ontginbare lagen, in dikten van 40 tot 120 centimer, een enkele kwam er zelfs voor van 1.90 M. Dit lijkt al zeer bevredigend, al biedt Belgisch Limburg er nog wel dikkere, als die van Limbourg-Meuse van 2.20 M. en vooral de beroemde "belle fille" van Beeringen, een ader gelegen op een diepte van 789 M., die niet minder dan 3.20 M. dikte heeft. En hoever blijft die nog niet achter bij de nog beroemdere Ten
- 98550 Yards van midden Engeland nu uitgeput! Binnen Westelijke Horst en centrale slenk zouden 434 millioen ton gas- en vetkolen van meer dan 25% gasgehalte en 712 millioen vetkolen van 20 tot 25% aanwezig zijn, benevens 230 millioen ton beneden 20%. Het spreekt vanzelf, dat het reeds aangegeven gebied der rijke vetkolen onder de
- 98555 gemeenten Helden en Kessel wel het eerst een mijn zal zien verrijzen. Ruim 1½ jaar geleden werd dan ook een concessie daar ter plaatse bij de regeering aangevraagd. De aanwezigheid van turfkrijt, drijfzand en zoutwater in den bodem, zal de moeilijkheden bij het aanleggen der schachten niet verminderen. Onoverkomelijk zijn deze bezwaren ook niet; de ervaringen opgedaan bij de Kempische mijnen bewijzen dit
- 98560 wel. Het aantal moderne groote mijnen, gelijk nu reeds in de Kempen functionneeren, waarvoor de Peel plaats biedt, wordt berekend op 6 à 9, met een maximum productie van 1½ millioen ton per mijn en per jaar. Binnen 150 à 200 jaar zou dit kolenbekken dan uitgeput wezen.
- 98565 Aangezien de mijnschachten, gezien de gesteldheid van den bodem, die, zooals gezegd, turfkrijt, drijfzand en zoutwater bevat, volgens het veel tijd en kosten vergende bevries-systeem zullen moeten worden aangelegd, wordt de tijd, noodig voor den aanleg eener mijn, geschat op niet minder dan 10 à 15 jaren. De groote Kempische mijnen vorderden 9 tot 14 jaren, doch behalve Helchteren-Zolderen vielen voor de 5 andere de
- 98570 oorlogsjaren ertusschen gedurende welken tijd er nagenoeg niet gebouwd doch soms wel afgebroken werd. Daar was de tijd gemoeid met den aanleg der mijnen dus 5 tot 9 jaren. De schachten der Peelmijnen zouden evenwel dieper moeten wezen, hetgeen dus ook meer tijd, geld en moeite vergt.

- 98575 27 oktober 1924 **Erfstelling Meuter. — BEESEL-REUVER. Naar wij vernemen** hebben Eerwaarde Zusters Dominicanessen alhier, zich althans bereid verklaard om de

erfstelling Meuter onder de raadsbesluit van 4 Juli j.l. gestelde voorwaarden van da gemeente over te nemen, zoodat indien de overdracht door Heeren Ged. Staten wordt goedgekeurd, in het voorjaar van 1925 met de stichting van een tehuis voor ouden van dagen en weeskinderen zal worden begonnen.

8 november 1924 **BEESEL. Reeds lang werd er geklaagd, dat er veel hout** zou worden gestolen voornamelijk op Duitsch grondgebied liggend en aan inwoners dezer gemeente toebehoorend brandhout. De 37 jarige H. J. H. en de 56-jarige G. H. S. waren deswege voor den Rechter geroepen doch had alleen H. hier aan gevolg gegeven. Hij bekende het feit, maar meende dat het niet zoo erg was de waarde was niet groot, zoo luidde zijn verdediging. De eisch van den Officier van Justitie luidde tegen ieder acht dagen gevangenisstraf, de rechter evenwel legde H. een week en den niet verschenen S. twee weken gevangenisstraf op.

8 november 1924 **Hoog water — BEESEL-REUVER Tengevolge van den** buitengewonen hoogen waterstand der Maas zijn hier, evenals elders, vrij plotseling verschillende landerijen overstroomd, waardoor aan de nog niet geoogste veldvruchten veel schade is aangebracht. De bewoners der Maashuizen moesten reeds verleden Maandag hun woning verlaten en het vee elders in veiligheid brengen. Gelukkig is thans val ingetreden.

6 januari 1926 **DE OVERSTROOMING VAN BEESEL.**

HET SNELWASSEDE WATER DRONG VAN ALLE ZIJDEN OP.

Oudejaarsavond om circa 10 uur werd onder leiding van wethouder Heidens een dijk gelegd vanaf het kerkhof naar den molen der Gebr. Cuijpers, teneinde het gehucht Oud-dorp, hetwelk voor eenige jaren geteisterd werd door een grooten brand, zoo mogelijk te vrijwaren voor overstrooming. Enkele laag gelegen huizen stonden reeds onder water. Tot 4 uur in den morgen werd hard gewerkt door een vijftigtal, uit het dorp door den veldwachter opgeroepen mannen. Het water steeg echter zienderoogen en stond weldra hooger dan 1 meter tegen den dijk... De dijk mocht echter niet baten, daar het water van de noordzijde kwam opzetten en Oud-dorp weldra geheel zou overstroomen en daardoor van alle verbinding geïsoleerd zou zijn. Menschen vluchten op de zolders der hooggelegen huizen en brachten huisraad, levensmiddelen en klein-vee aldaar in veiligheid. Groote kudden rundvee en varkens werden ijlings door het opkomende water heen naar het hooger gelegen dorp gedreven.

Weldra echter steeg het water zoo hoog, dat geen verkeer meer mogelijk was en Oud-dorp een eiland vormde, waar bijna alle huizen onder water stonden. Het loeien en brullen van het angstige vee klonk huiveringwekkend over de stijgende watermassa. Heel den Nieuwjaarsdag bleef het water opzetten. Bang ging men den eersten nacht van het nieuwe jaar in. Veel vee reeds eenmaal op hooger gelegen stallen gedreven waar men het veilig waande, moest verder het dorp ingevoerd worden.

Van de groote hofsteden Enderhof, Klerkenhof en Hoosterhof, onder het gehucht Rijkel, moest het vee eveneens haastig in veiligheid gebracht worden, terwijl de bewoners op de zolders vluchtten. Doch ook dezen moesten weldra weg, daar het water met kracht door vensters en deuren naar binnen stroomde. Een vrouw schrok hierbij zoo hevig, dat men voor haar leven vreesde en de ontboden geneesheer het raadzaam oordeelde haar van de laatste H.H. Sacramenten te doen voorzien, hetgeen onmiddellijk geschiedde.

In den nacht kwam het water door de huilbeek opzetten tot midden in het dorp, de menschen moesten daar niet alleen hun vee, maar ook dat van Oud-dorp, hetgeen overal ondergebracht was, naar hooger gelegen plaatsen drijven. Om twee uur klonken noodkreten en signalen vanaf de huizen van Oud-dorp, dat van alle verbinding verstoken was; er was zelfs geen bootje voor de bewoners, om aan land te komen.

Van de overzijde der Maas kwamen schippers met hun bootjes te hulp, hetgeen tengevolge van de snelle drift van het water met groot gevaar gepaard ging. Allereerst poogde men nog vee over te zetten. Dit ging echter tengevolge van de duisternis en de snelle strooming van het water, niet. Een bootje waarachter men vee had vastgebonden sloeg om en de opvarenden geraakten te water. Daar zij zich juist boven een boomgaard bevonden, kwamen zij in een appelboom terecht en werden door een ander bootje daar vandaan gehaald. Het nog achtergebleven vee werd naar het hooger gelegen en ommuurde kerkhof gedreven, waar het vee later in een noodstal is ondergebracht.

Tegen den morgen werden de ouden van dagen met moeite door de schippers overgezet. Nog werden twee vrouwen door het dak uit een oud huis, waarvan reeds een gedeelte was ingestort, met veel moeite gered. De schippers verdienen een hartelijk woord van dank voor de door hen bewezen diensten. De grintweg door het dorp stond ruim 30 c.M. onder water. Aanhoudend werden nog kudden vee naar Bussereind, Wittenberg, Reuver en hoog gelegen plaatsen vervoerd. Zelfs het kasteel Nieuwenbroeck

liep onder. De boerderij aldaar moest ijlings ontruimd worden; het water stroomde weldra over de stallen. Het landschap levert een treurigen aanblik; groote koren- en
 98645 haverlijmen drijven op het water; voorraden bieten en koolraap drijven weg. De ingezaaide rogge spoelt van de akkers. De schade is groot. Gelukkig zijn geen menschenlevens te betreuren. Deze treurige intrede van het jaar 1926 zal den menschen nog lang heugen.

Teneinde Zondags het kerkgaan mogelijk te maken, moest een noodbrug geslagen worden
 98650 over een lengte van 20 a 30 M. Gisteren, Dinsdag had een begrafenis per boot plaats, hetgeen hier nimmer geschiedde.

6 januari 1926 **BEESEL-REUVER. — Electricisch licht. — Tengevolge van**
 98655 den hoogen waterstand is deze gemeente 3 dagen van electrischen stroom voor licht en kracht verstoken geweest, tot groot ongemak der aangeslotenen.

14 januari 1926 **BEESEL. — Na den Watersnood. — Thans kan men**
 zich eenigszins een idee vormen van de groote schade door den watersnood aangericht. De huizen kunnen wellicht grootendeels bewoond worden doch zien er treurig uit.
 98660 Meubels en kleederen werden meestal drijvende in de woningen aangetroffen. Vooral voor de landbouwers is aan akkers en velden voor duizenden guldens schade toegebracht. Hierbij nog buiten beschouwing gelaten de enorme schade toegebracht aan de in de schuren en in mijten geborgen rogge en haver. De inzet van 1926 is voorwaar voor velen diep treurig.

98665 **BEESEL-REUVER. — Electriciteitsbedrijf.** Gedurende het jaar 1925 bedroeg het aantal nieuwe aansluitingen aan het gemeentelijk electrisch net 37. Het aantal lichtaansluitingen vermeerderde te Reuver met 17, te Beesel met 2, totaal 19; het aantal krachtaansluitingen vermeerderde te Reu ver met 12 en te Beesel met 6. totaal 18, zoodat het getal aansluitingen thans bedraagt te Reuver voor licht 349, te Beesel
 98670 voor licht 133, totaal voor licht 482; te Reuver voor kracht 40, te Beesel voor kracht 30, totaal 75. Totaal voor licht en kracht 557.

15 januari 1926 **Watersnoods-comite 1926.**
 In een verleden Woensdag ten raadhuize gehouden vergadering van het plaatselijk
 98675 watersnoods-comité alhier, bestaande uit de Heeren Wethouders en voorzitters der pl. landbouwbonden, onder voorzitterschap van den heer Burgemeester, werd o.m. besloten aan de getroffen formuleren uit te reiken, waarop dezen den naar hun oordeel geleden schade kunnen opgeven zulks teneinde een voorloopig overzicht te krijgen van het totaal der schade. Deze gecontroleerde gegevens kunnen dan bij eventuele
 98680 uitkeering tot basis dienen. De formulieren zijn te Reuver verkrijgbaar ten raadhuize, vanaf a. s. Maandag, en te Beesel ten huize van den heer Schoenmakers, ambtenaar ter secretarie, op Zondag 17 dezer. De ingevulde kaarten kunnen aldaar wederom voor 26 dezer worden ingeleverd. Verder werd in principe besloten de E.E. H.H. Pastoors der parochiën te verzoeken om te willen toestaan, dat in de kerken een
 98685 algemene collecte gehouden wordt. Vooral zij, die vrij zijn gebleven van schade en last van het water, worden dringend verzocht door milde bijdragen den nood hunner medemenschen te willen lenigen.

BEESEL-REUVER. — Electriciteitsbedrijf. — Op 1 Januari 1926 waren aan het electrisch
 98690 krachtstroomnet dezer gemeente aangesloten 41 landbouwbedrijven, 9 bakkerijen, 5 meubel- en timmermanswerkplaatsen, 1 meubel- en timmerfabriek, 4 smederijen, 5 motoren voor watervoorziening, 2 schoenmakerijen, 1 slagerij, 1 wasscherij, 1 grèsbuisenfabriek, 1 drukkerij, 1 dakpannenfabriek, 1 verfwarenfabriek, 1 kt ekën beschuitfabriek en 1 roltabaksfabriek. Totaal 75 krachtaansluitingen. Bovendien was
 98695 men op dien datum bezig met de aansluiting van 1 pottenfabriek, 1 slagerij en 2 landbouwbedrijven.

BEESEL-REUVER, — Aangespoeld. — Ten raadhuize en bij den brigade-commandant der Koninklijke Marechaussee's zijn inlichtingen verkrijgbaar omtrent de navolgende
 98700 aangespoelde goederen:
 1 onderstel van een wagen, een planken varkenshok, 1 kruitwagen, 3 schuttingen van karren, waarvan 2 aan elkander bevestigd, 1 canadaboom stam van pl.m. 5 M. lengte, 1 idem van pl.m. 4 M.

98705 23 januari 1926 **BEESEL-REUVER. Aangespoeld. Alsnog is aangifte gedaan**
 van aanspoeling van een gierton van plm. 400 L. inhoud en een kruitwagen, waarvan de rechterpoot stuk is. Inlichtingen ten raadhuize en bij den Brigade-commandant der Koninklijke Marechaussee.

- 98710 26 januari 1926 **BEESEL REUVER. — Hondenbelasting. Het zal niet ondienstig** zijn er op te wijzen, dat de uitgereikte formulieren voor hondenbelasting vóór 15 Februari e.k. bij den gemeente-ontvanger, c.q. met betaling der verschuldigde belasting.
- 98715 28 januari 1926 **BEESEL. De 25-jarige G. A. L. C. van hier was** op 16 November j.l. naar Venlo geweest en had daar in strijd met zijn gewoonte, flink in het glaasje gekeken. Er was gedanst en gejoeld en hij keerde laat in den nacht, waggelend huiswaarts. Bang voor zijn ouders, had hij ook aanranding gefingeerd. Bij de brigade-commandant der Kon. Marechaussee ging hij hiervan aangifte doen; hij was
- 98720 van zijn fiets afgeslagen en deze laatste was weg. Zulks was langs den weg gebeurd. Zijn aangifte had zelfs tot gevolg, dat als vermoedelijken dader iemand uit Geldrop werd gearresteerd en gevankelijk naar Reuver gevoerd. Nu werd het toch te erg en hij kwam terug op zijn aangifte, die van a tot z gelogen was. Ook deze stond stond wegens doen van een valsche aangifte terecht. Niettegenstaande de hardhoorigheid van bekl.
- 98725 wisten en President en Officier van Justitie hem met een flinke stem aan het verstand te brengen, dat zulks alle perken te buiten ging en de Officier voegde erbij, er niet aan te denken een voorwaardelijke straf te eischen, doch hij requireerde drie maanden gevangenisstraf. Beklaagde zelf had liever drie maanden of een jaar gevangenisstraf voorwaardelijk. Uitspraak over veertien dagen.
- 98730 BEESEL-REUVER. — Ter navolging — Deze week zijn bij het watersnood-comité alhier de navolgende giften ingekomen: Markiezin de Villers Beesel f300.—; Fam. Rutten Reuver f300.—; Douariere v. Splinter Beesel f208.—; Wethouder Laumans Reuver f150. —; Burgemeester Meuter Reuver f100.—; Wethouder Heidens Beesel f100.—; J. Packbier, pastoor Reuver f100.—. Behalve bij de a.s. Zondag in de kerken te houden collecte
- 98735 kunnen ook den comité-leden tot en niet 31 Januari e.k. giften ter hand worden gesteld.
BEESEL. — Mond- en klauwzeer. — Bij den landbouwer J. Bongers, Riekkel, alhier heeft zich een geval van mond- en klauwzeer voorgedaan.
BEESEL. — Jonge Boeren. — Door de vereeniging van Jonge Boeren alhier werd in de
- 98740 algemeene jaarvergadering het jaarverslag over 1923 uitgebracht met rekening en verantwoording. Verder werden nog eenig huishoudelijke zaken behandeld.
- 1 februari 1926 **BEESEL. — Diefstal. Ten huize van de landbouwers B.** werd diefstal gepleegd. Uit een kistje waar in zien nogal heel wat geld bevond was
- 98745 f112.— ontvreemd. De aandacht der onderzoekende politie viel op den knecht S. die al spoedig door de mand zakte. Een gedeelte van het geld werd teruggevonden. De 17-jarige S. is ter beschikking der Justitie naar het Huis van Bewaring te Roermond overgebracht.
- 98750 27 februari 1926 **BEESEL-REUVER. — Rupsenverdelging, in de boomen** langs den Rijksweg is men druk bezig met het verwijderen der talrijke rupsennesten daaruit. In een algemeene bekendmaking hebben B. en W. dezer gemeente de eigenaren en gebruikers van heggen en hagen van struiken en opgaand geboomte aan hunne verplichting herinnerd om uiterlijk in de maand Maart a.s. te zorgen voor verdelging
- 98755 van rupsennesten. Wellicht ten overvloede wijzen zij er op, dat vooral de laatste jaren door rupsen enorme schade is aangericht aan veld-, tuin- en ooftgewassen en het dus van groot belang is, dat de rupsennesten tijdig en afdoende worden verdelgd. Tegen nalatigen zal strafvervolgning worden ingesteld.
- 98760 5 maart 1926 **De overstromingen in ons land.**
Een overzicht van de schade.
1300 NIEUWE HUIZEN NOODIG.
Oudejaarsavond 1925! Wanneer over eenige weken het thans nog overstroomde land zal zijn drooggemalen en wanneer na maanden — wellicht jaren — noesten arbeid de gevolgen
- 98765 van de overstromingsramp zullen zijn verdwenen, dan zullen wij toch nog verhalen van dien bangen Oudejaarsdag 1925 en van de angstige nachten en dagen, die daarop volgden. En later zal dezen dag — telkens wanneer wij, en vooral zij, die er het meest bij betrokken waren, zich gereedmaken het oude jaar uit te luiden — in de herinnering teruggebracht worden bij de Oudejaarsavondgesprekken zal hij bij nieuwe
- 98770 overstromingsrampen, wanneer deze weer eens over ons land zouden komen, worden aangehaald in krantenartikelen en misschien in herinnering gebracht door ouden van dagen, die thans als jongeren de ramp mede maakten.
Tenzij in dezen tijd zulke afdoende maatregelen genomen zijn, welke herhalingen kunnen voorkomen!

- 98775 Nu, ruim twee maanden na den doorbraak in den rechter Maasdijk bij Nederasselt, welke – naast de minder ernstige doorbraken in Zuid- en Noord-Limburg, de oorzaak is geworden van schrikkelijk veel ellende en enorme materiele schade, nu nog staat hier en daar het water in de huizen der laagst gelegen streken van het overstromingsgebied en – waar het water verdwenen is – zien wij de ernstige gevolgen
- 98780 van de ramp.
Het Persbureau Vaz Dias te Amsterdam heeft getracht een overzicht te krijgen van de schade, zooals deze thans kon worden geconstateerd, zonder overdrijving als gevolg van zenuwachtigheid en haast en gebaseerd op officieele gegevens.
Ongeveer 175 gemeenten lagen in of grenzen aan het overstromingsgebied. In het
- 98785 grootste gedeelte dezer gemeenten is geen of zeer onbelangrijke schade aangericht. Zelfs plaatsen, die midden in het water hebben gestaan, behooren hiertoe, voornamelijk in Limburg, waar 41 zoogenaamde watergemeenten zijn te weten: Arcen en Velden, Beegden, Beesel, Belfeld, Bergen, Borgharen, Broekhuizen, Buggenum, Echt, Eijsden, Elsloo, Gennep, Geulle, Grevenbicht, Gronsveld, Grubbenvorst, Herten, Horn, Itteren, Kessel, Linne, Maasbracht, Maasbree, Maasniel, Maastricht, Meerlo, Mook, Neer, Obbicht en Papenhoven, Ohé en Laak, Ottersum, Roermond, Roosteren, Stein, Stevensweert, Swalmen, Tegelen, Urmond, Venlo, Wanssum en Wessem. Het grootste
- 98790 gedeelte dezer 41 gemeenten heeft bij hoogen stand van de Maas steeds last van het water. De buitengewoon hooge waterstand en vooral de snelle was in de laatste dagen van het vorige jaar, zijn oorzaak geweest, dat ook in verscheidene Limburgsch watergemeenten belangrijke schade aangericht, zooals uit nader te noemen cijfers zal blijken.
- De cijfers omtrent de schade hebben betrekking op 63 gemeenten, omvattende 129
- 98800 steden, dorpen en gehuchten. Slechts van enkele gemeenten, waar schade werd ondervonden, ontbreken de gegevens nog, doch de eindcijfers zullen daardoor niet belangrijk worden verhoogd.
In deze 63 gemeenten bedraagt de schade aan gemeentelijke openbare wegen, werken en gebouwen f590.880,— en aan particuliere eigendom men volgens de bij de
- 98805 gemeentebesturen ingekomen aanvragen om steun f3.776.092.
Geheel vernield werden 454 huizen, terwijl 831 huizen als gedeeltelijk vernield werden opgegeven. Ongeveer 1300 huizen zullen dus door nieuwe moeten worden vervangen.
De veestapel heeft – althans wat verloren vee betreft – niet zooveel schade geleden.
- 98810 Voor zoover valt na te gaan, zijn omgekomen 172 runderen, 456 varkens en biggen, 94 geiten, 12 paarden en ongeveer 15000 stuks pluimvee.
Veel gered vee is evenwel door de geleden koude en ontberingen in waarde achteruit gegaan. De schade aan de dijken is zeer belangrijk. Het herstel van den Maasdijk nabij Nederasselt kost ongeveer f100.000.—. Met de versterking van verschillende
- 98815 dijkvakken in het Rijk van Nijmegen is omstreeks f150.000.— gemoeid, terwijl het dichten der gaten, die de genie heeft gemaakt in den Maasdijk tusschen Dreumel en Alphen ongeveer f25.000.— kost. In het land van Maas en Waal is bovendien nog ongeveer f10.000,— noodig voor het herstel der "afgeslagen" dijken.
In de provincie Limburg moet ongeveer f200,000 ten koste worden gelegd aan het
- 98820 herstel der dijken en der provinciale wegen.
De belangrijkste schade schijnt wed toegebracht te zijn aan den land- en tuinbouw. Hoe groot bijvoorbeeld de schade is, welke in het land van Maas en Waal aan den landbouw en de fruitteelt is toegebracht, kan nog niet bij benadering worden gezegd. Evenmin kan thans reeds worden vastgesteld de schade in het Rijk van Nijmegen, waar
- 98825 groote vruchtbare gebieden onder rivierzand zijn bedolven.
In 39 gemeenten, alle buiten het Land van Maas en Waal en het Rijk van Nijmegen, bedraagt de schade aan land- en tuinbouw naar schatting ongeveer f1.289.745. In de overige gemeenten kon nog geen raming worden gedaan.
Deze globale cijfers geven behalve het laatste punt een vrij juist beeld van den
- 98830 omvang der directe materiele schade, die de jongste overstroming heeft veroorzaakt. Onder de genoemde bedragen zijn nog niet inbegrepen da kosten van het vervoer en de huisvesting der bijna veertien duizend vluchtelingen, die moesten worden verzorgd, noch de verzorgingskosten voor het vee uit het overstroomde gebied, noch de schade, die de steenenindustrie heeft geleden. In een volgend artikel zullen nog nadere
- 98835 bijzonderheden omtrent de geleden schade worden medegedeeld.

22 mei 1926 **MAASBREE.** — Voor de keuring op 7 Mei 1926, werden aangegeven 23 stieren, waarvan er 20 verschenen. Afgekeurd werden 5 stieren, aangehouden geen. Goedgekeurd werden de stieren van de volgende eigenaren: 1. J. J. Bongers te Rijkel-Beesel; 2. Stierhouderij "Helden-Dorp" te Helden; 3. Stierhouderij

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"Panningen" te Helden-Panningen; 4. L. Smits te Maasbree; 5. dezelfde; [...] 10. A. Boonen te Neer;

98845 12 juni 1926 **BEESEL. — Not. v. Koolwijk, 15 Juni om 4.30 uur,**
bij Mej. Wed. Leon Reijnders: voornagras van 't Weerdje, Rijkelsche bemden, wegen aan de Maas.

98850 17 juni 1926 **Ernstig ongeval.**
ROERMOND. Dinsdagmorgen is de 24-jarige Jan Gielen uit Beesel op den Venlosche weg tusschen twee karren geraakt. Het slachtoffer bekwam ernstige inwendige kneuzingen en overleed spoedig na het ongeval.

98855 14 oktober 1926 **Vlekziekte. — De laatste dagen komen alhier**
verschillende gevallen van vlekziekte bij de varkens voor. Reeds zijn eenige dikke krulstaarten aan de gevreesde ziekte ten offer gevallen. Van deskundige zijde wordt beweerd, dat men over 't algemeen veel te weinig gebruik maakt van het inspuiten met serum, dat toch gedurende een bepaalden tijd een vaste waarborg is, dat de dieren gespaard blijven.

98860 8 oktober 1926 **BEESEL. Mond- en Klauwzeer.**
— Alhier heeft zich onder het vee van den landbouwer Jac. Rutten op Horsterhof een geval van mond- en klauwzeer voorgedaan.

98865 20 januari 1927 **NED. OOGSTFILM IN LIMBURG TE BEESEL.**
Zondag 30 en Maandag 31 Januari beloven voor het kleine Draakstekersdorpje Beesel belangrijke dagen te worden! Dan toch zal voor Limburg de première plaats hebben van het groote nationale en folkloristische filmwerk: "Neerland's Volksleven in den Oogsttijd" dat overal in den lande zooveel belangstelling trekt en in wetenschappelijke kringen zoo zeer wordt gewaardeerd om zijn hooge volks-cultureele beteekenis.

98870 Dhr. D. J. van der Ven, de samensteller van deze film wil door deze voorstelling de bevolking aan te bieden een bewijs van erkentelijkheid geven voor de door hem dezen zomer ondervonden medewerking en tevens hoopt hij door deze buitengewone vertooning bij de Beeselaars het bewustzijn te versterken, dat zij in het zevenjaarlijksch spel van Sint Joris met den Draak een der kostelijke gebruiken op Limburg's grondgebied hebben te behouden en te behoeden voor de vaderlandsche folklore.

98875 De belangstelling voor deze voorstelling is thans zóó groot dat het bestuur van de Schutterij Sint Joris in overleg met dhr. v. d. Ven besloten heeft twee voorstellingen te geven en wel een op Zondag 30 Januari beginnende te 6 uur en een op Maandag 31 Januari beginnende - te 7.30. Dij deze voorstellingen zal dhr. v. d. Ven persoonlijk in populaireren trant de verklarende folkloristische voordracht geven, terwijl de bekende Arnhemsche pianist dhr. Gerard Dekker, leerling van Willem Andriessen de prachtige muziek, welke prof. Julius Röntgen heeft gecomponeerd op deze nationale film ten gehoor zal brengen. Voor Limburgers zal het oud-Maastrichtsche lied: "D. haon dee weurd geslago!" zeker de aandacht trekken, terwijl ook de schoone pastorale bewerking van het Limburgsche volkslied door muzikliefhebbers zeer zal worden gewaardeerd. Meer in het bijzonder zij hier ook de aandacht gevestigd op de prachtige Drakenmarsch, welke Röntgen heeft gecomponeerd op het oude Drakenliedje en op de composities van den Limburgschen Cramignon.

98880 Waar dezen zomer meer dan 10.000 personen uit de omliggende dorpen van Roermond en Venlo naar Beesel kwamen kijken, is het niet twijfelachtig of de groote harmoniezaal, plaats biedend aan ruim 600 toeschouwers zal te klein blijken om alle belangstellenden een plaats te bieden. Door kaartenvoorverkoop aan bekende adressen in Reuver, Swalmen, Tegelen, Roermond en Venlo heeft men bereids de noodige maatregelen genomen om belangstellenden, die er vlug bij zijn de zekerheid te verschaffen van een goed plaats. Extra autobussen zullen na afloop der voorstellingen rijden naar Roermond. Venlo en tusschenliggende plaatsen.

98895 De geheele Nederlandsche pers is uitbundig in haar lof over dit filmwerk, waarin Limburg or zoo bijzonder treffende wijze vertegenwoordigd is. Niet minder dan twee van de zes afdeelingen zijn gewijd aan Limburgsche folklore. De tweede afdeeling laat het Draaksteken zien en de vijfde verplaatst ons naar Schinnen, waar we het feest van Martelgaus medemaken. Ook bekende Limburgsche personen als dhr. Hubert Jansen, Lid van Prov. Staten uit Venray burgemeester Henri Pyls uit Schinnen e.a. autoriteiten verschijnen op deze historische film.

98900 De "Tijd" schreef: "Film en muziek vormen een gave eenheid, een folkloristisch werk van den eersten rang waarvoor ieder rechtgeaard Nederlander zich laat interesseeren".
98905 Niet minder enthousiast getuigde de dichter Rernard Verhoeven in het R. K. Dagblad

voor Arnhem: "Van opzet en uitbeelding en technische uitvoering (dit laatste door de filmfabriek Orion) is de oogstfilm superieur. Een boeiend en bloeiend werk, dat den ontwerper eert."

98910 Overall trekt deze film stampvolle zalen en een enthousiast publiek. Uit een verslag in het Vaderland over de eerste voorstelling te 's-Gravenhage voor een publiek, dat het groote gebouw voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen geheel vulde, nemen wij hier alleen het zinnetje over [...]

98915 Het is voorzeker een aardig denkbeeld om de Limburgsche première te geven in het Draakstekersdorpje, waar dhr. Schoenmakers als secretaris van het St. Jorisgilde zeker aan belangstellenden alle gewenschte inlichtingen zal verschaffen.

[...] DERDE AFDEELING.

HET ZEVENJAARLIJKSCHE DRAKENFEEST TE BEESEL AAN DE MAAS.

98920 Als de oogst binnen is, worden overall op ons boerenland de oogst- of najaarskermessen gehouden. In de Hummelosche kennisviering zagen wij reeds hoe tal van handelingen nauw verband hielden met oogst-riten en ook de tafereelen van de Laag-Keppelsche en Beeselsche najaarskermessen, die aangevuld zouden kunnen worden met vele andere uit landbouw-streken, bevestigen, dat er een zeer innige samenhang bestaat tusschen najaarskermis en oogstdankfeest. Tot de vertooningen nu, die aan deze kermessen in de

98925 middeleeuwen grooten luister bijzetten, behoorde van ouds het mythologisch en folkloristisch zoo merkwaardige "Steekspel van Sint Jorus met den Draak". Op Pieter Breughel's "Sint Joriskermis" is het afgebeeld en Albrecht Dürer zag in Antwerpen den groenen draak aan een rood snoer geleid door Sint Margriet. Bergen-op-Zoom, Axel en verschillende andere Zuid-Nederlandsche plaatsen kenden hun draken-omgangen, maar

98930 thans moet men er een reis naar het landelijke dorpje Beesel aan de Maas voor over hebben om eens om de zeven jaar op Kermismaandag getuige te zijn van "De Kamp van Sint Joris tegen den Draak" of "De Redding van de Conincks-Dochter", Daar in 1919 de draak gestoken was, zou dit – der traditie getrouw – nu ook weer plaats hebben op Kermismaandag 30 Augustus 1926. Duizenden vreemdelingen – men heeft de

98935 menschenmenigte langs de hooge Maasoevers op 11–12.000 personen geschat – waren samengestroomd in het oude "Bieslo aen die Maese", waar het Draaksteken als een dramatisch gebeuren heel de bevolking in actie brengt. Veertien dagen te voren – op Zondagmiddag van "Maria Kruidwijn" (Maria Kruiden-Wijding – Maria Hemelvaart), dus op den dag, waarop men in de Maria Hemelvaartprocessie den kroedwisch als een gewijde

98940 oogstmei ronddraagt, werd door het bestuur van de St. Joris-schutterij de draak uit zijn zevenjarige bewaarplaats te voorschijn gehaald. De film heeft het moment vereeuwigd, waarop de schutterskoning, de president, secretaris en penningmeester moeizaam en met een zekere plechtstatigheid het houten krat, waarin het teenen

98945 geraamte van den draak besloten is, naar buiten dragen. De oude heer Heidens staat er als de man, die zeven jaren lang den draak in zijn schuur bewaakt heeft, vriendelijk glimlachend bij te kijken. Nu schieten ook spoedig de prinses en haar hofdames toe om met lange lappen stof het skelet te bekleeden en dan is het de taak van den schilder Henri Thijssen uit Linne – een Beeselaar van geboorte – om evenals in 1919 het nog

98950 maagdelijk-blanke drakenlichaam te beschilderen met angst-wekkende zwart-witte schubben. Als dan de zeer venijnig-groen geschilderde draken-kop opgezet is, zien we op de film den drakendrager zich steken in zijn geklauwde fel-beschilderde drakenbroek, om daarna met behulp van vele helpende handen in het draken-lichaam te kruipen, dat nu het ontvangen leven demonstreerend in een sulfer- en vlammenspuwenden adem, onheildreigend zijn scherpgepunte vlerken uitspreidt om met "op-gespannen

98955 kaeke" op buit belust te loopen naar een boschje aan de Maas. [...]

Zie [Neerland's volksleven in den oogst-tijd » Ven, D.J. van der » \[1926\] - Pag. 31 | Delpher](#)

98960 11 februari 1927 **BEESEL. – Teruggevonden. – De landbouwer M. A. alhier** vond verleden Maandag in de nabijheid van zijn huis, onder een struik een doos welke sokken en andere gebreide goederen bleek te bevatten. Hij waarschuwde de politie en toen bleek alles afkomstig van den in den nacht van Zondag op Maandag bij den winkelier Cr. te Reuver gepleegden inbraak.

98965 16 februari 1927 **BEESEL. – Stierhouderij. – De Stierhouderij "Volharding"** hield in de zaal van Mej. Reijnders alhier een vergadering, waarin o.m. besloten werd terug te komen op het in de vorige vergadering genomen besluit om een nieuwen stier aan te koopen. Met den stier, waarover de vereeniging thans beschikt, en over de resultaten waarover men algemeen zeer tevreden was kan men zich nog best een jaar behelpen. Bovendien was er overeenstemming bereikt met den tegenwoordigen

98970 stierhouder. Deze was genegen den stier wederom te houden op een voor de vereeniging

veel voordeeliger voorwaarde dan voorheen. Dhr. G. H. Hendrix verklaarde vanaf 1 Maart a.s. de functie van secretaris neer te leggen. In zijn plaats werd gekozen dhr. H. Slabbers als bestuurslid, en dhr. G. Meerts als secretaris.

98975 23 april 1927 **St. Laurentiushoeve te Reuver. Notaris Tijssen**
te St. Odiliënberg,

zal op Donderdag 28 April 1927, des nam. 2 ure, in het café A. H. Cremers te Reuver, publiek verkoopen: Gemeente Beesel. De flinke Boerderij genaamd "St. Laurentiushoeve", bewoond door G. Veltman, hoogst gunstig gelegen nabij het station Reuver, bestaande in goed onderhouden huizing, groote stallen, schuur, tuin, bouw en weiland, samen groot 1.30,90 H.A. kad. D. 1806 en 1&07. Aanvaarding 1 Mei 1927, betaling 1 Aug. 1927. Meerdere inlichtingen bij den notaris. 4841 BEESEL. — Raadslid vervallen verklaard.

98985 Ged. Staten van Limburg hebben het lid van den Raad der gemeente Beesel, dhr. H. J. H. Litjens, van zijn lidmaatschap vervallen verklaard wegens middellijke deelneming aan eene aanneming ten behoeve dier gemeente en wegens levering van materialen, waardoor dat raadslid in strijd heeft gehandeld met de bepalingen der Gemeentewet.

98990 23 mei 1927 **BEESEL. — Diefstallen. — In verband met de alhier begin**
van het vorige jaar gepleegde winkeldiefstallen is thans te GENNEP aangehouden en na gedaan onderzoek op last der justitie in het Huis van Bewaring te ROERMOND opgesloten, de woonwagenbewoonster M. T. hvr. W. LINNE.

98995 2 juni 1927 **(LANGS MAAS, ROER, SWALM EN PEEL).**

Sporen der eerste volkeren tot de Ve eeuw.

We tellen eenige duizend jaren vóór Christus geboorte: de ijstijd was voorbij. Als ook het ijs ons Limburgsche land noch van uit 't Noorden noch uit 't Zuiden was binnengedreven dan was zijne werking toch ook hier te bespeuren geweest. Vooral de

99000 Zuidelijke gletschers hadden vanaf de Ardennen machtige waterstroomen naar 't Noorden gezonden, en deze hadden diepe dalgraven geboord, die tegenwoordig nog door onze gewestelijke wateren, als Maas, Roer en Swalm doorgeloopt worden. Ook groote rotsblokken moeten wel in dien tijd in ons gebied zijn aangeland. Of nu ijs-stroomen deze op hunne ruggen verder droegen, of watervloeden ze verder deden tuimelen, dat alles is een moeilijk te beslissen vraag. Zulke blokken bevinden zich langs de

99005 grenzen tusschen Sittard, Roermond, Meynweg, Venlo.

Den ijstijd met zijn guur en streng klimaat hadden slechts weinig dieren en planten getrotseerd. Maar nu ontsproot onder de inmiddels warmere zonnestralen nieuw leven. De moerassige lage vlakten waren met rietstengels van manshoogte begroeid, waarin

99010 ontelbare zwermen van watergevogelte nestelden en broedden. De stroomen zelf waren overrijck aan visschen, op hooger gelegen plaatsen wies veelsoortig en lang gras, en de heuvelen waren met dicht woudgewas bezet.

De eerste mensen.

99015 Een voorjaarsdag was aangebroken. Purper vlamde het over de oostelijke heuvels aan den hemel op. Allengs golfde een vloed van gouden licht over het dal, en als schitterende lansen drongen de lichtstralen door den dichten nevel, die over de laagvlakten hing.

De buffel-os, die met zijn vrouwelijk dier en een kalf onder een boomgroep lag aan den rand van het moeras, verhief zich en trappelde met zijn kleine kudde weg om in het dauw-vochtige gras te grazen.

99020 Doch plotseling hief de oer-os al speurend den machtigen kop in de hoogte, zoog de lucht door de vochtige neusgaten en sloeg den scherpen blik de bosschages in. Wat was 't, dat 't kalm grazende wild zoo onrustig maakte? Was 't de beer, de bruine kasuaris of de wolf, die listige grijze hond? Neen, het was een geheel onbekende, vreemde reuk, dien de oostwind aandroeg, niet van beer en wolf, noch van vos of wilde kat. Verdrietig stampte de buffel-os met zijne machtige hoeven op den weeken weide-grond en gromde een paar malen met dreigend gebaar. Daar schalde plots een veelstemmige schreeuw: achter alle bosschen en boomen steeg hij op, en toen sprongen rondom

99030 bruingele tweebeenige gestalten naar voren. Zij zwaaiden houten speren en slingerden steenen naar den os en zijn kleine kudde. En met grimmig gebrul nam hij de vlucht. Doch meer van deze wezens met hun vreemden reuk sprongen te voorschijn en schreeuwden en zwaaiden hunne speren. Slechts aan één kant was een open piek. Daarheen begaf zich de stier, gevolgd door zijn kleine kudde. Maar terwijl hij nog met geweldige sprongen voortholde, stortte hij opeens in een diepen kuil, waarover een bedriegelijke dekking van rijzen, graszoden en mos de opening verborgen hield. En na hem tuimelde moeder en kalf hals over kop in de groeve.

- Nu sprongen allen toe, de eerste mensen, die in Roer- en Maasland kwamen. En zij omringden met woest en begeerlijk geschreeuw den val-kuil en doodden de gevangen
 99040 dieren na lange marteling, doordat zij met hunne houten speren hen van alle kanten bepiekten.
 Toen het proces eindelijk voltooid was, lieten zich ettelijke mannen naar beneden, trokken hunne steenen messen en begonnen den buit te verdeelen. En vrouwen en kinderen namen de stukken vleesch en droegen ze verder het woud in, waar onder het
 99045 beschermend getak der machtige boomreuzen hun woonstede was. Daar laaide het vuur, gevoed door hars-rijk hout van grenen en dennen. En zij braadden 't vleesch en verslonden het met begeerige beten. Ook de beenderen sloegen zij stuk en slurpten het merg eruit.
 Ja, wilde jagers waren het, die de sporen van het wild volgend, het land afstroopten.
 99050 Buffel en beer, wolf en vos sloegen zij neder, stroopten ze de vellen af en kleedden zich ermee. Uit de beenderen-splinters maakten zij pijlspitsen en naalden, om hun armzalige kleeding saam te houden. Metalen waren hun nog onbekend. Knodsen [knotsen], speren, bogen en pijlen sneden zij uit hout. Aksens, bijlen en messen, zelfs zagen maakten zij uit harden vuursteen, die zij in de stroombedden vonden. Zij sloegen de
 99055 steenen stuk en zochten uit de schreven de geschikte stukken. Deze slepen zij dan met groote moeite op andere steenen, tot zij een bijl of mes met scherpe snede hadden. De bijl klemde zij in de opening of spleet van een houten staaf, en omwikkelden dit met een dierenpees. Met eene dusdanige strijdaks vermochten zij boomen te vellen en te bewerken, ja ze zelfs tot booten uit te hollen. Dien tijd, waarin de menschen hun gereedschap uit steen plachten te maken, noemt men "het Steenen Tijdperk".
 Zeer armoedig waren ook de woningen dezer menschen. In heuvelachtige streken woonden zij in holen. Prof. Stroobant in België beweert, dat in de heidestrekken (Kempen en Nederl. Midden-Limburg) holbewoners hebben geleefd. Het waren veelal ook woongroeven,
 99065 bosschages. Ook sloegen zij uit het gesteente met groote moeite lichtende vonken, en wanneer na vele pogingen het vuur eindelijk oplaaide, dan voorzagen zij 't rijkelijk met het in groote massa aanwezige dorre hout. En hoe rijk achtten zich deze menschen al met het bezit van vuur! Zij dankten daarvoor hunne goden en eerden hen met bijzondere brandstapels op hooge heuvelen, den Aasterberg bij Echt, den Bolenberg bij
 99070 Beesel, den Donderberg bij Belfeld, den Drususberg bij Herten, den Gravenberg bij Neer, den Heesberg bij Sevenum, den Hemelsberg bij Lierop, den Lichtenberg bij Horst, de Muisberg bij Hunsel, den Reutsberg bij Beegden, den Woerenberg bij Baexem. Als echter de zon in de lente hoog steeg en hare stralen verwarmend de aarde beschenen, dan vielen zij dronken van geluk ter neder en dankten en prezen "Alvader",
 99075 die hen nooit vergat.
 Uit oude tijden verhalen ons wel half vergane en vergeelde boeken in varkensleder gebonden, oorkonden op perkament met dikke waszegels. Maar van een steentijd vermeldt noch boek noch oorkonde iets. Getuigen uit die periode zijn slechts oude steenen gereedschappen, die ook in Midden-Limburg, als te Susteren, Echt, Montfort,
 99080 Posterholt, Vlodrop, Herkenbosh, Melick, Lerop, Linne, Odiliënberg, Maasbracht, Maasniel, Swalmen en op de vorengenoemde heuvelen door graven, ploegen en beakkeren aan de oppervlakte kwamen.
 Gerh. Kr.
- 99085 21 juli 1927 **Verdronken.**
 BEESEL. Het 12-jarig zoontje van dhr. H. is bij het visschen in een sloot gevallen en verdronken.
- 99090 9 augustus 1927 **Brand door bliksem.**
 BEESEL. Zaterdag middag sloeg de bliksem in de woning van dhr. J. K. Teure. Spoedig stond de geheele boerderij in brand, die een prooi der vlammen werd.
- 99095 2 januari 1928 **BEESEL. — Verkeersstremming.**
 Wegens bouwvalligheid der brug over de beek in het dorp, moet deze plotseling vernieuwd worden. Vrijdag bleek dat een groot gedeelte van het gemetseld boog-gewelf was ingestort. De brug werd toen voor het verkeer met rij- en voertuigen afgesloten. Voor het doorgaand verkeer vanuit de richtingen Roermond en Venlo over Beesel, veroorzaakt zulks groot ongemak. De autobussen van de Nedam-garage rijden over den Rijksweg tot Bussereind tot in het dorp aan de Noordzijde der brug. Automobilisten
 99100 uit de richting Roermond, die verder dan Beesel moeten, doen goed den Rijksweg te volgen, terwijl zij, die uit de richting Venlo komen tot in het dorp kunnen komen om vervolgens over Bussereind den Rijksweg te volgen.
 25 jaar pastoor: 3 Maart: Zeereerw. heer J. W. Hendriks, geb. te Meijel,

- achtereenvolgens pastoor te Griendtsveen en te Beesel.
- 99105 Paters Passionisten. Z. D. H. Mgr. D. J. Theelen, geb. te BEESEL, herdenkt op 15 Februari het 12½-jarig feest zijner wijding tot bisschop. Mgr. resideert te Roustchouk in Bulgarije.
- 25-jarig kloosterfeest: 22 November: Zeereerw. Paters Th. C. Kempkens, geb. te MONTFORT (L.), professor Theol. te Ophem, Brussel; F. J. Thijssen, geb. te BEESEL
- 99110 (L.), assistent te Haastrecht; [...]
- 7 januari 1928 **BEESEL-REUVER. — Dienstplicht. — Tot het doen van aangifte** voor inschrijving van dienstplichtigen der lichting 1929 uit deze gemeente, waartoe in het algemeen de in 1909 geboren mannen behooren, zal extra zitting gehouden worden
- 99115 ten raadhuize te Beesel, op Maandag 9 dezer, des nam. van half zeven tot zeven uur, en ten raadhuize te Reuver op Dinsdag 10 dezer, des nam. van zes tot zeven uur. De aangifte moet geschieden door den dienstplichtigen zelve of door hunne wettige vertegenwoordigers.
- 99120 17 januari 1928 **Een heel dorp gedupeerd.** OPHEFFING AUTOBUSDIENST. BEESEL. — Met groote teleurstelling vernamen de inwoners, dat de autobusdienst der Nedam heden Maandag zal worden stopgezet. Ondanks de pogingen van het
- 99125 gemeentebestuur, van plaatselijke vereenigingen en protestvergaderingen om het dreigende gevaar in dat Beesel weer tot zijn vroeger isolement zal worden teruggebracht, af te wenden zal het gevreesde dus reeds een feit zijn. Onbegrijpelijk is het dat men zich van die klachten en wenschen niets aantrekt en men een heel dorp
- 99130 durft dupeeren omdat de Ned. spoorwegen meenen dat de autobusdienst haar concurrentie aandoet. Vanaf a.s. Maandag kunnen onze mensen, die op reis moeten, dus weer beginnen met drie kwartier te voet naar het station te Reuver of te Swalmen te
- 99135 lopen. Meent men in den Haag dat dit in overeenstemming is met de begrippen, die er in den tegenwoordigen tijd over het verkeer of de verkeersmiddelen heerschen. Moeten wij ook hier maar weer in berusten?
- 99140 BEESEL-REUVER. — Hoogtezon. Naar wij vernemen bestaan er plannen om in Reuver en ook in Beesel een hoogtezon-installatie te krijgen, een in het belang van de volksgezondheid zeer nuttig instrument en waarover men reeds lang in onze gemeente de beschikking had moeten hebben. Het is te hopen dat deze inrichting waarvan het nut door de meeste menschen nog veel te weinig wordt gekend of gewaardeerd er zeer
- 99145 spoedig zal komen. Voor de tuberculosebestrijding en ter bestrijding van vele andere ziekten en kwalen alsmede voor de bestrijding der kindersterfte is een hoogtezon-installatie van het allergrootste belang en zal het daarin belegde geld ook voor de
- gemeenschap, in den vorm van minder kosten van armenbedeeling in de toekomst honderdvoudig zijne rente opbrengen.
- 99145 BEESEL-REUVER. — Burgerwachten. — De sterkte der burgerwachten in deze gemeente bedroeg op 1 Januari jl. te Beesel 79 gewapende en 12 ongewapende leden en te Reuver 77 gewapende leden.
- 17 januari 1928 **Wegens sterfgeval boerenknecht gevraagd, zoo spoedig mogelijk,** liefst die melken kan en met paard kan omgaan. Adres Jos. Ackermans, Kuileneindestraat n. 106 Meerssen. 1977
- 27 januari 1928 **Gevraagd een KNECHT die met paarden kan omgaan,** en met alle boerenwerk op de hoogte is. Jos. Akkermans, Beesel, Klerkehof. 3007
- 99150 1 februari 1928 **L. H., 58 jaar, landbouwer te Nieuwstadt, die op 6 Juli 1927** als bestuurder van een vierwielig motorrijtuig op den openbaren weg onder Kessel, C. Vossen, caféhouder te Beesel, had aangereden waardoor deze zwaar lichamelijk letsel
- 99155 bekam en overleden is, werd door de Rechtbank vrijgesproken, van het hem primair ten laste gelegde en de Rechtbank verklaarde zich onbevoegd om van het hem secundair ten laste gelegde kennis te nemen.
- De eisch luidde dertig gulden, subsidiair dertig dagen hechtenis. Raadsman mr. Janssense advocaat te Roermond.
- 4 februari 1928 **BEESEL-REUVER, — Rupsennesten.**
- 99160 — In een algemeene bekendmaking vestigt de burgemeester dezer gemeente de aandacht van eigenaren en gebruikers van tuinen, erven en boomgaarden op hunne verplichting om, ingevolge het hieromtrent bepaalde in de algemeene politieverordening dezer gemeente, jaarlijks, vóór 1 Maart, alle rupsennesten in daarop, daarin of daarlangs
- 99165 staande heggen, struiken of boomen weg te nemen, te verzamelen en onmiddellijk te verbranden. Het is dus niet alleen genoeg als men de rupsennesten uitknipt, doch

dienen onmiddellijk verzameld en verbrand te worden. Gezien het groote belang dat hieraan verbonden is, wordt verondersteld, dat allen aan hunne verplichting zullen voldoen. Der politie is opdracht gegeven op behoorlijke naleving toe te zien.

99170 BEESEL-REUVER. — Kadaster. — Teneinde teleurstelling te voorkomen wordt bekend gemaakt, dat de ten raadhuize berustende kadastrale kaarten en leggers vanaf Vrijdag ter bijwerking naar Roermond zijn opgezonden.

13 februari 1928 **DE AUTOBUSDIENST ROERMOND-VENLO.**

Een demonstratie voor Gedep. Staten.

99175 Midden-Limburg kan maar noode, neen in het geheel niet berusten in da eenzijdig georiënteerde beslissing van den Raad van State, die tot gevolg had dat de Maasdorpen tusschen Roermond en Venlo van een welvaartsmiddel werden beroofd in den vorm van de opheffing van den autobusdienst tusschen beide genoemde steden.

99180 Geen middel laat de betrokken streek onbeproefd, om te behouden wat haar rechtens dient gelaten te worden.

De gemeentebesturen hebben geadresseerd, geprotesteerd. Beleefde brieven hielpen niet.

99185 De bevolking ging op haar achterste beenen en teekenend is de verontwaardiging van het anders zoo rustige Beesel, die zich demonstreerde in de vergadering van de burgerwacht, waar een verbolgen toon heerschte. [...]

24 maart 1928 **BEESEL REUVER. — Raadsvergadering. — De burgemeester**

99190 dezer gemeente heeft de leden van den gemeenteraad opgeroepen tot het houden eener openbare vergadering op Maandag 26 dezer, des n.m. 4 ure. ten raadhuize te Beesel. De agenda vermeldt o.m. verpachting landerijen, waarvan de pacht in 1920 vervalst, aangaan geldleenipg ad f20.000, wegverbetering op div. plaatsen, toekenning voorschotten aan de bijz. lagere scholen, en toekenning van bouwcredieten. [...]

14 april 1928 **BEESEL-REUVER. — Landverpachting. Bij de j.l. vanwege**

99195 de gemeente gehouden publieke verpachting van 34 perceelen bouwland, gelegen in het Meerlebroek, werd geen der perceelen toegewezen omdat de pachtprizen niet hoog genoeg geoordeeld werden.

20 april 1928 **DE ZALMRIJKE MAAS.**

99200 LINNE. — Deze week is nabij de stuw alhier wederom een begin gemaakt met de zalmvangst. De eerste dagen was de vangst bijzonder goed. Reeds werd een 100-tal dezer edele vischsoort buit gemaakt, te zamen een gewicht van ruim 2000 pond en een directe verkoopwaarde van ruim 3000 gulden vertegenwoordigend. Deze zalmvangst geschiedt door de familie Melis uit Beesel, in dienst van dhr. Wijnbelt uit

99205 Woudrinchem, die mede de eerste vangsten bijwoonde.

5 mei 1928 **Door een stier aangevallen.**

99210 BEESEL. Bij de Donderdag alhier plaats gehad hebbende hoofd- en premiekeuring van springstieren, heeft zich een ernstig ongeval voorgedaan. Toen namelijk de zoon van den landbouwer B. uit Heythuysen-Maxet, een stier uit den veewagen wilde halen, raakte de veer los, waarmee het leidsel verbonden was aan den neusring, dien de stier droeg om hem in bedwang te kunnen houden. De stier maakte van de hierdoor bekomen vrijheid in zijn bewegingen gebruik om den geleider onverwachts met de horens tegen den schouder te stooten, dat hij ineens in een hoek van den wagen neerviel, waar de stier hem met de horens bleef bewerken, totdat de getroffene zich met een hand vastgrijpende aan eender zijwanden van den wagen, oprichtte, waarna de stier hem op zijn horens nam en uit den wagen wierp. Hevig bloedend werd hij door de omstaanders opgenomen en in het café J. Boonen, aan het spoorwegstation alhier, waar de keuring plaats had, binnengedragen. Onmiddellijk werd de heer J. D. Smits, arts te Heijthuijsen,

99220 telefonisch ontboden, die spoedig ter plaatse verscheen. Na een langdurig onderzoek van den getroffene constateerde hij, dat deze het sleutelbeen gebroken had, terwijl 3 ribben waren ingedeukt en het benedenlijf vrij ernstig opengescheurd was. Nadat de wonden door den geneesheer dichtgemaakt en verbonden waren, werd de ongelukkige naar de ouderlijke woning overgebracht.

99225 15 februari 1929 **BEESEL. — De 25-jarige melkrijder V. van de Coöp.**

99230 Stoomzuivelfabriek uit Swalmen, wonende alhier bij zijn ouders, had Aschwoensdag het ongeluk van de melkkar af te vallen, waarbij hij blijkbaar met het hoofd op den grond is terecht gekomen. Toen hij eenigen tijd later thuis kwam oordeelden de ouders geestelijke en geneeskundige hulp noodzakelijk. Hij werd dan ook onmiddellijk van de laatste H. Sacramenten voorzien. Geneeskundige hulp mocht niet meer baten, want even

na den middag gaf hij zijn geest. Men kan zich de ontstel, «nis der geschokte ouders voorstellen.

- 99235 28 februari 1929 **WEER DE LICHTBAK. Strooper contra wachtmeester.**
In den nacht van 6 op 7 December jl. heeft de fabrieksarbeider A. V. uit Offenbeek, onder Beesel-Reuver in de heide Reuverbroek met de lichtbak gestroopt. De wachtmeester M. Erasmus had den strooper aangehouden en het stroopersgeweer in beslag willen nemen; de strooper V. had zich daartegen verzet en den maréchaussée gestompt.
- 99240 De strooper verklaarde thans voor de Rechtbank, dat de maréchaussée opeens zonder eenige voorafgaande waarschuwing, het geweer had vastgepakt onder het uiten van bedreigingen. De zaak werd uitgesteld tot 12 Maart om de maréchaussée te hooren. Intusschen kreeg de strooper een scherpe vermaning van den president mr. Coenegracht om 't stroopen met den lichtbak te laten, de grootste ongelukken kunnen er uit voortvloeien.
- 99245 9 maart 1929 **BEESEL. — Jonge Boeren. Voor de vereeniging van "Jonge Boeren"**
alhier hield dhr. Dr. Droesen uit Roermond jl. Donderdag alhier, in de zaal van Mej. Wed. Reijnders, een interessante spreekbeurt over het onderwerp: "De Taak en organisatie van de "Jonge Boeren." Spreker ving zijn rede aan met een schets van de toestanden welke vóór een goede dertig jaar terug voor den boer bestonden op het gebied van credietwezen, zuivelbereiding, voorlichting en ontwikkeling. Op dit gebied is dank zij de organisatie en wetenschap veel ten gunste der boeren bereikt. Spreker zette dan ook het groote belang der wetenschap voor den landbouw en de bestudeering daarvan door de jonge boeren uiteen. Eveneens den eisch van het zich organiseren in den tegenwoordigen tijd maakte spreker met eenige voorbeelden duidelijk. Ook op zedelijk en maatschappelijk gebied valt er veel te doen ook voor de jonge boeren. 't Gezegde van den spr. werd met aandacht gevolgd en bewees met luid applaus de instemming der aanwezigen. 't Dankwoord van den voorzitter was dan ook welverdiend.
- 99250 Er werden nog eenige vragen gesteld o.a. voor aardappelteelt, aanleg kunstweiden, bietenverbouw, etc. waarover nog van gedachten werd gewisseld. Ook werd nog gewezen op het nut van bescherming van nuttige vogels ter bestrijding der rupsenlaag, tot welke einde vanwege de vereeniging nestkastjes verkrijgbaar zullen worden gesteld. Hierna sloot de voorzitter deze leerrijke vergadering.
- 99255 28 maart 1929 **DE NEDAM-DIENST OPGEHEVEN.**
Kleine oorzaken hebben groote gevolgen.
DE ZIEKTE VAN EEN HOOFD-AMBTENAAR.
Dezer dagen is gemeld, dat de Nedam-autobussendienst Roermond-Venlo, vice versa langs beide Maasoevers, gedwongen is voorloopig zijn werkzaamheid te staken.
- 99270 Herhaaldelijk is met nadruk door ons gewezen op het gevaar van opheffing dezer verkeerslijn der Maasdorpen tusschen Roermond en Venlo.
De moeielijkheden zijn bekend: de Ned. Spoorwegen hadden beroep aangeteekend tegen de door Ged. Staten van Limburg verleende nieuwe concessie voor den autobussen-dienst Roermond-Venlo, door de Nedam-garage te Roermond.
- 99275 Gedurende negen maanden was dus het voortbestaan van den autobussen-dienst al niet geheel zeker meer, zoolang geen uitspraak was gevallen in deze.
Op 31 October 1.1. is het beroep voor den Raad van State behandeld: gemeentebesturen, volksgroepeerings (landbouwbond e.d.), de Kamers van Koophandel te Roermond en Venlo pleitten met klem van redenen voor het behoud van den bussendienst als een verkeersbelang voor de geheele streek tusschen Roermond en Venlo.
- 99280 Na de behandeling van het beroep voor den Raad van State hoorde men niets meer van het geheele geval. De autobussen-dienst bleef voortsukkelen in zijn onzeker bestaan, dat geen aanschaffing van nieuw materiaal gedoogde.
- 99285 Thans, bijna vijf maanden later, ziet de exploitant van den Nedam-dienst zich gedwongen stop te zetten: in dien tijd zijn groote sommen gelds uitgegeven aan het onderhoud der versleten bussen: iederen dag waren het aanzienlijke bedragen. Een paar chauffeurs en controleurs komen zonder werk over een paar dagen en dat alleen, omdat van uit den Haag nog steeds geen beslissing komt.
- 99290 Waarom? !... Het advies van den Raad van State gaat via het Departement van Waterstaat naar de Kroon, welke de uitspraak doet. En van het Ministerie komt de kwestie blijkbaar niet weg.
Want toen tusschen 8 en 11 Maart 1.1. door den bond van bedrijfsautohouders werd geïnformeerd hoe het zat met de beslissing kreeg men ten antwoord, dat de betrokken hoofdamtenaar der afd. vervoer en mijnwezen van het Departement van Waterstaat ziek was, en er dus geen uitsluitsel was te geven.
- 99295 Veertien dagen zijn sindsdien verlopen en vanuit den Haag zwijgt men nog steeds: de

betrokken hoofdamttenaar is blijkbaar nog altijd ziek.

Nu, na vijf maanden is men nog even ver.

99300 De Nedam-dienst kan het niet langer bolwerken en heft de autobus-verbinding op. Een 17-tal Maasdorpen raken een gemakkelijke verbinding kwijt; daarvan zijn er tien, die geen behoorlijke trein-verbinding hebben, n.l. Maasniel, Beesel, Steyl, Horn, Buggenum, Haalen, Neer, Kesseleick en Kessel. De gemeente Horn alleen is per L. T. M. gemakkelijk bereikbaar.

99305 Dat de dienst in een behoefte voorzag, blijkt wel hieruit, dat in de normale jaren met de Nedam ongeveer 400 personen per dag werden vervoerd. Moeten al deze belangen nu maar eenvoudig worden opgeofferd: kan de geheele behoud-actie van officieele personen en lichamen, van organisaties maar gewoon genegeerd worden ?...

99310 Vijf maanden lang is dat nu gebeurd! Misschien kan de ziekte van den betrokken hoofdamttenaar voor de laatste halve maand als excuus dienen. Maar het werkloos-zijn tijdens de andere vier maanden niet! Wanneer de hoofdamttenaar nu eens per ongeluk dood ging? Bleef het beroep dan in portefeuille?...

Alhoewel de heillooze, mogelijke gevolgen van het talmen in den Haag tot een feit zijn geworden, n.l. opheffing van den dienst, is de zaak niet afgeloopen.

99315 Dan zou het Departement de blaam op zich laden door zijn houding aan de beschuldiging, dat men de zaak wil laten doodbloeden, meer vasten grond te hebben gegeven.

99320 Ten respecte van de meening en de vaste overtuiging der bij deze autobuskwestie betrokken en belanghebbende bevolking, moet open en klaar de beslissing komen! En spoedig!...

Wellicht dat dan de mogelijkheid nog bestaat, dat de autobusdienst hervat kan worden.

19 april 1929 [...] **Er wordt met algemeene stemmen besloten een gedeelte**

99325 van het gemeentebosch in 't Meerlebroek groot ca. 7 H.A. te verkoopen. Zoo mogelijk de helft in het najaar 1930. Er zal overwogen worden op den vrijkomenden ondergrond weiland aan te leggen voor een gemeenteweide. Exploitatie door de gemeente wordt evenwel om verschillende redenen afgeraden en in overweging gegeven den grond aan den Boerenbond of aan de Stierhouderij te dien einde te verpachten. B. en W. zullen terzake met een voorstel tot den Raad komen.

99330 Van de pl.m. 20 H.A. bouw- en weiland in de vorige vergadering a f45.- per H.A. aan den heer Felix Bongers te Beesel verpacht wordt met goedvinden van dezen circa 5½ H.A. verpacht aan den Heer G. Veldman te Reuver en het vorig raad besluit in verband hiermede gewijzigd.

Het gras aan de losplaats te Beesel zal publiek worden verpacht.

99335 Het gemeente-verslag over 1928 wordt aangeboden. [...]

20 april 1929 **SCHADE DOOR OPSTUWING. Eigenaren van landerijen**

99340 in de gemeenten BELFELD, BEESEL, SWALMEN, MAASNIEL, ROERMOND, KESSEL, NEER EN BUGGENUM, die meenen schade te hebben geleden aan hunne gronden door opstuwing van de Maas, worden verzocht daarvan schriftelijk opgave te doen aan den Hoofdingenieur van den Rijkswaterstaat te Roermond, Willem II Singel 4.

Formulieren voor opgaven zijn kosteloos te bekomen op de gemeente-secretarieën en op het kantoor der Maaskanalisatie.

99345 24 april 1929 **VOETBAL-GENOT? 'n Punt of de knooke!**

De Rechtbank te Roermond had Dinsdag haar oordeel te vellen over voetbal-aangelegenheden in het land van BEESEL-REUVER; dit naar aanleg ding van een vervolging terzake mishandeling, zwaar lichamelijk letsel ten gevolge hebbende, tegen den voetballer P. L. Sch. uit KESSEL, die op een voetbalveld te Beesel een 99350 tegenstander zoodanig zou getrapt hebben, dat kuit- en scheenbeen beide gebroken werden en de jongeman in kwestie, zekere T. uit Kessel er ruim vier weken mooi mee was geweest.

Voor de politie waren na het gebeurde door verschillende voetballers, die op het veld aanwezig waren, verklaringen afgelegd, waaruit duidelijk bleek, dat de verdachte Sch. 99355 op zijn tegenpartij inlopende, deze had getrapt, toen de bal reeds was doorgegeven. En verder was door verschillenden bij de politie getuigd, dat vanuit het publiek rondom het Beeselsche voetbalveld de thuisspelende club herhaaldelijk op eigenaardige wijze was aangemoedigd om den 1--0 achterstand in te halen; dat even voordat het bovenvermelde incident plaats vond, was geroepen: "Peerke, laat dig neet kiste! punt of de knooke", welke hartelijke aanmoediging dan voor den verdachte Sch. bleek 99360 bestemd te zijn geweest.

De rechters konden blijkbaar zich niet voldoende verplaatsen in de mentaliteit van voetballers, zooals er tegenwoordig helaas maar al te vaak op de "sport"velden

- 99365 rondwaren: want hun verbazing was ongeveinsd, toen zij vernamen, dat de sportieve lust bij den gewonden T. door de beenbreuk geenszins gebroken was. En evenmin schenen de heeren achter de groene tafel te kunnen begrijpen, dat de getuigen allen – behalve de scheidsrechter!! – van oordeel waren, dat er slechts "forsch" gespeeld wordt.
- 99370 Wij noemen dat ruw, merkte een der rechters op, hetgeen de aanwezige sportslui in een veelbeteekend stilzwijgen deden terugtrekken. Dat de verd. Sch. tevoren reeds twee spelers der tegenpartij tegen den grond had geloopt, bleek iets onbeteekenends: dat had men in het vuur van den sportieven strijd blijkbaar niet opgemerkt; de scheidsrechter herinnerde zich niet of hij gefloten had, en de spelers hadden niets gehoord! "Nee, dat begrijp ik, dat merk je zoo niet, hè?!... ironiseerde de Officier
- 99375 van Justitie, welke spotternij den kwieken sporthelden blijkbaar ontging. De getuigenis van den scheidsrechter E. uit Venlo, die dezen wedstrijd had geleid, was intusschen merkwaardig. Op de vraag, of er ruw gespeeld was, en of hij geen termen aanwezig achtte om het spel te staken, antwoordde deze voetbal-referer, dat de wedstrijd gewoon forsch was: op die dorpen gaat het altijd zoo, 't zijn allemaal forsch luid.
- 99380 De belangstellende opmerking, van mr. Ritter dat deze scheidsrechter misschien bang was voor een zelfde pak rammel, waarop eenigen tijd te voren een college van hem was onthaald te Beesel, werd door den scheidsrechter-getuige handig omzeild. Waar intusschen door getuigenverklaringen ter terechtzitting in tegenstelling met het
- 99385 proces-verbaal niet was komen vast te staan, dat de voetballer Sch. naar zijn tegenstander had geschopt in den historischen voetbalwedstrijd Beesel-Kessel (nog niet eens een kampioenswedstrijd) vroeg het O.M. vrijspraak, echter niet voordat mr. Rieter hartgrondig zijn meening over deze voetbal geschiedenissen had gelucht: spr. kon zich met recht niet begrijpen wat voor geweldigbelangrijks er achter zou zitten, of Beesel of Kessel gewonnen had, en of de maatschappij veel belang zou hebben gehad
- 99390 bij het verloop van zulk een wedstrijd! Over veertien dagen zal de Rechtbank, waarin thans mr. Marres voor het eerst zitting had, vonnis vellen.
- 99395 30 april 1929 **BEESEL-REUVER. – Veerpontverpachting.**
– Het Gemeentebestuur heeft zich nogmaals met een adres tot den Minister van Waterstaat gewend om zoo spoedig mogelijk voorzieningen te willen treffen, op de verkeersstremming bij het veer te Kessel, tengevolge van de opstuwung dar Maas, opgeheven wordt. Voor alle rij- en voertuigen die op het oogenblik het bedoelde veer
- 99400 moeten passeeren is de toestand meer dan treurig.
- 12 september 1929 **SCHADEVERGOEDING**
De Eerste Nederl. Onderl. Paarden en Veeverz.-Maatschappij van 1900 te Den Haag Dir. Folkerts Laurens Reaelstraat 1 vergoedde op spoedige en coulante wijze de schade van
- 99405 mijn onteigend paard door tusschenkomst van haren H. Vertegenw. den Heer M. Queis, Molenweg 5 te Leijenbroek. Over deze afwikkeling ben ik uiterst tevreden. Ieder Paarden en Veehouder raad ik sterk aan dit zware risico aan deze solide Maatij. over te dragen.
- 99410 Beesel, 7 September 1929 J. Akkermans, Landbouwer
Hemelvuur in 't openveld is gratis inbegrepen.
- 14 september 1929 **BEESEL – Not. v. Koolwijk 16 Sept. 2 uur ten huize van**
dhr. J. Akkermans, landbouwgereedschappen, paardentuig, maaaimachine, enz.
- 28 november 1929 **Aspergeplanten.**
- 99415 Te koop circa 7000 extra zware aspergeplanten (Roem van Brunswijk). Te bevragen H. Thijssen-Akkermans, Beesel. 2457
- 4 oktober 1930 **Gevraagd een knecht voor dadelijk.**
Zich te melden: Reinders, Beesel Klerkenhof. 5499
- 99420 5 maart 1935 [...] **3e Nellie van Klerkenhof, 711105, geb. 1 Juli;**
M. Nella de Roobeek K 11946; eig. J. Reinders, Klerkenhof, Rijkel 43, Beesel.
- 99425 30 november 1935 **Te koop bij inschrijving: ca. 178 Canadaboomen omtrek**
tot 1.70 Meter te wassen staande op het Broekske Heijthuijsen. 11 CANADABOOMEN omtrek tot 2.80 Meter te wassen staande op Klerkenhof Beesel. Inschrijving te sturen voor 6 December bij Peeters, St. Elisabeth Nunhem alwaar verdere inlichtingen zijn te bekomen. 4231

99430 12 november 1940 **GEMEENTE BEESEL: weiland, Rijkelsebergen, G no. 1160,**
gr. 44.05 aren; in pacht bij Jos. Reijnders, Klerkenhof. Betaling: 15 Januari 1941.

Krantenartikelen over Vilgert, Schandelo en Velden van 1900 tot 1955

99435 29 juni 1878 **Op Dinsdag den 2 Juli 1878, ten verzoeke van Gerard Nelissen**
te Velden op Klein Hovens:
6 perceelen a 32 aren Rogge.
2 id. id. Haver.

99440 Vergadering aan het huis 's morgens ten 8 ure.

1 juni 1895 **Uit de hand te pachten: eene Bouwhoeve genaamd Kerkehof**
gelegen te Velden op de Velgert, groot 4 hect. 24 aren bouwen weiland, desverkiezend
meer. Te aanvaarden: de gebouwen half Mei, het weiland 1. Januari, tuin en voorland
99445 1. Maart, de bouwlanden stoppelbloot na den oogst, alles in 1896. Te bevragen bij het
Kerkbestuur van Velden.

21 mei 1904 **Es wird zur allgemeinen Kenntniss gebracht, dass:**
1. der Königliche Major im Königlichen Bayerischen II. Ulanenregiment "König", Hanns
99450 Philipp Albrecht Hubert Freiherr von Gumpenberg, wohnhaft in *Ansbach*, Kreis
Mittelfranken, Königreich Bayern, Sohn des Königlichen Bayerischen Generalleutnants
z. d. Max Freiherrn von Gumpenberg und dessen Ehefrau Therese geborenen Freiin von
Brandt, beide wohnhaft in München, Kreis Oberbayern, Eönigreich Bayern;
2. die Hedwig Wilhelmina Maria Huberta Gräfin Wolff-Metternich, ohne Beruf, wohnhaft
99455 in *Arcen-Velden*, niederländische Provinz Limburg, Tochter des Niederländischen
Kammerherrn und Gutsbesitzers Max Paul Maria Hubert Graf Wolff-Metterich und dessen
Ehefrau Mathilde Juliette Maria Antoniette geborenen Gräfin Marchant d'Ansembourg,
beide wohnhaft in Arcen-Velden, niederl. Provinz Limburg, die Ehe mit einander
eingehen wollen.
99460 Die Bekanntmachung des Aufgebots hat in den Gemeinden Ansbach und Arcen-Velden in
Holland zu geschehen.
Ansbach, am 17. Mai 1904.
Der Standesbeamte,
ANAN,

99465 i. V.
28 juli 1904 **Arcen. Dinsdag werd hier het huwelijk voltrokken**
tusschen de rijksgravin Hedwig Wolff Metternich zur Gracht en den majoor en kamerheer
in Beierschen dienst rijksvrijheer Hanns von Gumpenberg-Pöttmes-Oberbrennberg. De
bruid is de dochter van den alhier wonenden graaf Wolff Metternich zur Grach; de
99470 bruidegom is de zoon van den Beierischen luit.-generaal op non-activiteit
Rijksvrijheer Max von Gumpenberg-Pöttmes-Oberbrennberg.
Arcen was weer in feestdos, groen en bloemen, prachtige eerebogen langs den geheelen
weg, dien de stoet moest passeeren; van elk huis wapperde de driekleur. Talrijke
toeschouwers waren er heen gestroomd. Klokslag elven klonken de eerste tonen der
99475 muziek. Voorafgegaan door het gilde en de schutterij, daarna de Harmonie van Arcen,
traden de bruijom en een schitterende stoet van ongeveer vijftig paren de slotpoort
uit om zich kerkwaarts te begeven; prachtige toiletten, schitterende Deutsche
uniformen, en ten slotte de bruid, voorafgegaan door bruidjes. De nieuwbenoemde
pastoor, de weleerw. heer Schram, sprak het bruidspaar en de gasten in eene keurige
99480 Deutsche rede toe. Precies te twaalf uur was de kerkelijke plechtigheid afgelopen,
wat door een schot aangekondigd werd. De stoet zette zich in dezelfde orde weer in
beweging, maar nu volgde het bruidspaar onmiddellijk achter de muziek. Van alle
kanten klonken de vreugdeschoten. Op het binnenplein van het kasteel stond nu een
gedeelte van de stafmuziek van het 2e reg. huzaren opgesteld, die bij het
99485 binnentreden van den stoet jubeltonen deed hooren.

[Zie ook [De Marchant et d'Ansembourg - Wikipedia](#)]

3 augustus 1907 **Publieke Verpachting voor den termijn van 6 jaren**
99490 van de Landerijen, toebehoorende aan de *R. C. Kerkfabriek* van den H. Andreas te
VELDEN, op den 16. Augustus des namiddags ten 3 ure, in de café van den heer Ger.
Verbeek in het dorp.
Onmiddellijk daarna: Publieke Verpachting, eveneens voor den termijn v. 6 jaren, van
den zoogenaamden Kerkenhof, bestaande uit een huis, stal en schuur, tuin, boomgaard,

- 99495 bouwland, weiland en hakhout, groot drie hectaren, een en zeventig aren, zes en dertig centiaren, alsmede een hectare, zes aren en vier en tachtig centiaren bouwland.
Voorwaarden worden nader bekend gemaakt bij de verpachting.
Het R. C. parochiaal Kerkbestuur. VELDEN.
- 99500 Publieke Verpachting voor den termijn van 6 jaren, van de Landerijen, toebehoorende aan de R. C. *parochiale* Armfabriek van den O. Andreas te VELDEN, op denzelfden dag als bovenvermelde verpachting.
- 99505 31 juli 1913 **Te koop een goed Maalkalf, zwartbont, bij M. GEELLEN,**
2180 Velden, Velgert
- 99510 23 mei 1914 **Griendtsveen. Op Hemelvaartsdag bracht het zangkoor**
van 't Missiehuis van Steijl ons dorp een bezoek. Door onzen Z. E. heer Pastoor Joosten werden zij op de gulste wijze ontvangen. Onder het Lof voerde het de gewijde zangen op artistieke wijze uit. Verder werd de dag genoegelijk doorgebracht en gelooven wij wel, dat de zangers hoogst voldaan huiswaarts keerden.
- 99515 8 december 1924 **Venlo Deurwaarder RENKIEN te Venlo zal**
op Dinsdag den 9 December 1924 des nam. te 2 uur ten huize van den heer W. Derix te Velden-Velgert in het openbaar à contant verkoopen: Een mooi zoo goed als nieuw slaapkamer-ameublement bestaande uit: 2-persoonsledikant, dubbele kleerkast met laden en spiegels waschcommode met opstand en spiegel, nachtkastje. Een idem keukenameublement best. uit tafel, 6 stoelen, kast met opstand; rieten vloerkleed. Verder: een heerenrij wiel en damesrij wiel, in goeden staat; Gramaphoon met kast en 45 Gramaphoonplaten.
- 99520 Keukengerief en huishoudelijke artikelen als: complete koffie- en theeserviezen, fornuis, prachtige lamp met leuchters, specerijenstel, azijnstel, bier- en likeurkaraffen met glaasjes, ketels, potten, pannen, pendule's, vazen, schoorsteenfurnituren, beelden, schilderijen, porcelein- en aardewerk enz. Alles te
- 99525 zien ½ uur vóór den verkoop. Geen opgeld.
- 99530 4 januari 1926 [...] **Eens zelfs was dit zóó erg, dat,**
ondanks de bekwame commando's en de stevige knuisten der roeiers, het niet kon voorkomen worden, dat de Kon. sloep en de boot, waarin de beide H. H. Wethouders en wij hadden plaats genomen, op vrij stevige wijze met elkander in botsing kwamen. Door het kordate werk der mariniers liep alles goed af. H. M. toonde bij de botsing geen oogenblik angst, doch lachte toen alles weer op z'n pootjes terecht was gekomen. Men vermeedt voortaan echter de gevaarlijke plaats, vooral die, waar gevaar bestond,
- 99535 dat men door den stroom naar de rivier zou worden gedreven, wat natuurlijk buitengewoon gevaarlijk zou zijn geweest. Geroeid werd tot de Mariastraat, waarin ook een bezoek werd gebracht. Vervolgens terug naar de Molenstraat, doch de stroom was zoo sterk, dat men besloot maar weer terug te keeren. Toen werd nog geroeid door de Groote Beekstraat, waarna weer aan den Steiger werd aangelegd. In auto's werd vervolgens de tocht voortgezet. Een kijkje werd genomen op de Parade, Gasplein,
- 99540 Villapark en omliggende straten, waarna even een uitvlucht werd gemaakt naar het dorp Velden.
- Te Velden.**
- 99545 Te Velden is de toestand buitengewoon ernstig. Even voorbij het dorp is de groote rijksweg geheel overstroomd evenals al de omringende landerijen. Talrijke boerderijen, waarin veel vee staat opgeborgen, staan rondom en bijna tot het dak toe in 't water. En het is bijna onmogelijk het vee te bereiken. De bekende hengst "Landman" stond Zaterdagmiddag tot den hals in het water, doch is — naar wij vernemen — des nachts met veel moeite uit zijn netelige positie gered. Het kan wel moeilijk
- 99550 anders, of hier is veel vee omgekomen. Zekerheid is echter nog niet te krijgen. Een der booten der firma Janssen, heeft met een pont pogingen gedaan om vee te redden en heeft — naar wij hoorden — verdienstelijk werk gedaan. Te 10½ uur was men weer aan het station te Venlo terug. Direct daarna vertrok het Kon. Echtpaar naar Roermond.
- 99555 11 januari 1926 **UIT ARCEN.**
Het water is gelukkig weer grootendeels verdwenen. Zaterdagmorgen kwamen de hoeren Commissaris der Koningin, de Hoofd-ingenieur van den Waterstaat en enkele andere autoriteiten den toestand in oogenschouw nemen. Bij het opruimingswerk komt heel wat kijken. Overal zijn goederen aangedreven. Bijden Schanstoren is een houten keet met
- 99560 asfaltdak en 4 luchtkokers aangespoeld, waarschijnlijk afkomstig uit Grubbenvorst;

in de Genelsen werden een wanmolen en eene houten landrol gevonden.

Opmerkelijk was het dat de op het kerkhof in de openlucht gelegde varkens van verschillende boeren bij het slapen gaan, van iederen eigenaar, koppelsgewijze bij elkander bleven.

99565 Melk, brood, drinkwater en petroleum werden van uit het kerkhof verscheept, hetgeen, dank zij het groote aantal booten (13 stuks plus enkele platboomde booten en vlotten) waarover men hier kon beschikken, vrij geregeld ging. De tram rijdt weer, de post en de kranten worden weer geregeld besteld, zoodat het leven langzaam weer zijn gewonen gang gaat nemen.

99570 Het verkeer door de Maasstraat is op het oogenblik nog niet mogelijk, zodat auto's en andere voertuigen door de Kerkstraat en over den Boerenweg moeten rijden, daar ook in het Groene Wegske een groot gat is gedreven. Naar verluidt is er in den Rijksweg nabij kilometerpaal 90 een groot gat gespoeld, zoodat Wellerlooi niet meer te bereiken is.

99575 Van Gemeentewege zijn publicaties aangeplakt met raadgevingen voor de bevolking, in acht te nemen bij het schoonmaken der huizen.

10 februari 1928 **ZILVEREN JUBILEUM DER BOERENLEENBANK TE VELDEN.**

De president geridderd.

99580 Woensdag vierde de Boerenleenbank haar 25-jarig jubilé. Heel het dorp had zich opge+maakt om dien dag dezen gewichtigen mijlpaal in het bestaan der instelling mee te vieren. Van bijna ieder huis in het dorp wapperde de nationale driekleur en al deed 's middags het regenweer ook eenige afbreuk aan het feest in de feestzaal bleef de stemming den geheelen dag best.

99585 De dag begon als vroeg: 's Morgens om half acht had in de parochiekerk eene H. Mis voor de afgestorvenen van de Boerenleenbank plaats. Daarna werd om half tien een plechtige Hoogmis voor bestuur en leden der feestvierende vereeniging opgedragen door pastoor Joosten, den geestelijk adviseur der instelling. [...]

99590 25 februari 1928 **VELDEN. Coöp. Stoomzuivelfabriek.**

— Op de Dinsdag j.l. gehouden propagandavergadering, opgeroepen door het bestuur der Coöp. Stoomzuivelfabriek "St. Isidorus", was veel belangstelling. Na een inleidend woord van den voorzitter, nam de heer Oijen, inspecteur Z. N. Z. het woord, die het den aanwezigen duidelijk maakte, dat samenwerking noodig is, daar de tegenwoordige toestand onhoudbaar is, en hun op de gevolgen wees, indien niet tot den bouw van een nieuwe fabriek werd overgegaan. Na stemming bleek dat ruim 90 pct. der aanwezigen voorstanders waren. Voorts werd een commissie benoemd, die tot taak heeft te Velden, Lomm en Arcen nieuwe leden aan te werven, en verdere plannen voor te bereiden. Hierna sloot de voorzitter de vergadering met den christelijken groet.

99600 17 april 1928 **Plechtige eerste H. Mis te Velden.**

DE EERW. HEER F. PEETERS. Zondag droeg een van Velden's zonen, de eerw. heer F. Peeters, in de parochiekerk zijn eerste H Mis op. Was aanvankelijk de plechtigheid op Paschen bepaald, door familieomstandigheden werd deze tot Beloken Paschen uitgesteld.

99605 Het zonnetje scheen evenwel niet te willen medewerken om de feestvreugde te verhoogen, maar bleef gedurende den geheelen dag achter 'n triestige kille sneeuwvlucht verscholen. Maar niettegenstaan dit, had de buurt zich niet onbetuigd gelaten en had de Kerkstraat een feestelijk aanzien gegeven. Voor het ouderlijk huis van den nieuw gewijden Priester en voor de kerk prijken een paar mooie eerebogen. De

99610 geheele straat was keurig afgezet met groen, bloemen en guirlandes. Van alle huizen in de Kerkstraat wapperden de vlaggen. Te circa 10 uur werd te neomist aan zijn woning afgehaald en onder de vroolijke tonen der fanfare kerkwaarts geleid. Door het zangkoor werd op verdienstelijke wijze de Alissa St. Caroli Borromei gezongen. Als diaken en subdiaken fung. de zeereerw. heer Pastoor Joosten en de wel.eerw. heer

99615 kapelaan Vervoort. Door den eerw. heer Pastoor werd de neomist toegesproken en dé geloovigen gewezen op de groote eer welke een priester toekwam, als bemiddelaar tusschen God en de parochianen. Na beëindiging van den H. Dienst werd hij weer door de Fanfare huiswaarts gevoerd. Des avonds toen de Kerkstraat sierlijk met lampions verlicht was werd hem nog een serenade gebracht door de fanfare waarbij een der

99620 bestuursleden een toespraak hield. De eerw. heer Peeters dankte allen voor hun belangstelling op deze voor hem onvergetelijken dag getoond.

19 september 1928 **ARCEN. Bouwvergunningen.**

— Door B. en W. dezer gemeente werd aan den heer W. Derix te Velden vergunning verleend tot het bouwen van een woonhuis op de Velgart en aan den heer K. Nuchelmans te Thorn tot het bouwen van eene woning met café, stalling en werkplaats te Arcen

nabij den Boerenweg aldaar.

13 november 1928 **ELECTRIFICATIE VAN VELDEN**

99630 PLANNEN VOOR BOUW EN AANLEG.

Het voordeel. Gelegenheid tot inschrijving.

Vrijdagavond had in zaal Janssen te Velden de goed bezochte vergadering plaats van de Stroomverkoopmaatschappij met de ingezetenen teneinde de electrificatie van Velden nader te bespreken. De Ed. Achtb. heer Burgemeester Gubbels opende de vergadering te circa 7 uur en heette allen welkom. Hierna gaf hij het woord aan dhr. van Venetiën, die namens de Stroomverkoop Mij. de ingezetenen van Velden zou inlichten, omtrent het doel en de wijze, waarop Velden zou worden geëlectrificeerd en de kosten hieraan verbonden. Spreker begon zijn goed opgezette rede met een uitvoerig overzicht te geven van de voorbereidende werkzaamheden die noodig waren om 't electrisch net bedrijfsklaar te maken. Het eerste werk was de aanleg van een hoogspanningskabel, die via Blerick-Grubbenvorst door de Maas naar Velden gelegd zou worden. Dan dient er in de kom van het dorp een transformatorhuisje gebouwd te worden, waar de stroom, van hoge stroom in lage stroom omgezet wordt en door een laagspanningsnet of verdeelnet naar de diverse perceelen zal gevoerd worden, die van het electrisch licht gebruik wenschen te maken. Het laagspanningsnet gereed zijnde, gaat men over tot de aanleg van huisaansluitingen of dienstleidingen. Krachtens de gesloten overeenkomst der Stroomverkoopmaatschappij met de gemeente Arcen en Velden, zal door de Mij. in ieder perceel dat aangesloten wenscht te worden een gratis huisinstallatie met 2 lichtpunten en stopcontact aangelegd worden, mits de afstand van 't verdeelnet tot aan het perceel niet meer dan 20 Meter bedraagt en de leiding in 't perceel niet meer dan 8 Meter bedraagt. Bij overschrijding van dit maximum moeten de aangeslotenen de meerdere kosten zelf bekostigen.

Volgens overeenkomst zou de K. W. op 35 ct. gesteld worden en de meterhuur op 40 ct. per maand; dit laatste bij een maximum van 20 lampen. Vervolgens ging spreker over tot het bespreken van het nut en het gebruik van de electriciteit en electrische kracht in het landbouwbedrijf op het gebied van electromotoren door deze te drijven met krachtstroom. In landbouwbedrijven, waarbij men met een electromotor van max. 5 P.K. werkte, werd door de Mij. voor krachtstroom 18 cent per K. W. gerekend; bij afname van 100, 200, 300 K. W. per jaar zou de prijs respectievelijk bedragen 15, 11 en 8 cent. Ingezetenen, die derhalve dan ook van krachtstroom gebruik wenschen te maken, dienen dan echter 2 meters aan te leggen, n.l. 1 voor licht, en 1 voor kracht. Voor de laatste zou dan evenwel 80 cent per maand meterhuur berekend worden.

Verder deelde spr. mede, dat personen, die reeds voor eigen rekening een huisinstallatie aangelegd hebben, hiervoor van de Stroomverkoopmaatschappij een vergoeding ontvangen, indien de installatie althans aan de voorschriften voldoet en deugdelijk is. Spreker behandelde daarna hoe het electrische net gebouwd werd en deelde mede, dat in Schandelo ook een transformatorhuisje zou gebouwd worden, van waaruit een apart verdeelnet door dit gehucht werd aangelegd. Spr. hoopte dan ook, dat alle ingezetenen zouden inschrijven, waarvoor hun op Maandag 12 en Dinsdag 13 November van 2 tot 5 uur bij tramhalte Coppers gelegenheid zou worden gegeven, daar een beambte der Mij. hiervoor zitting zou houden. Bovendien werd aan de ingezetenen tot Zaterdag 24 November de tijd gelaten in te schrijven. Na dien datum heeft men geen recht meer op een gratis huisinstallatie met 2 lichtpunten en stopcontact. Daarna stelde spreker de gelegenheid tot het stellen van vragen, waarvan door de aanwezigen goed gebruik werd gemaakt en door spr. kort en zakelijk werden beantwoord. Hierna nam Burgemeester Gubbels het woord en dankte dhr. van Venetiën voor zijn leerzame en interessante rede en de aanwezigen voor hun groote opkomst en hoopte, dat alle inwoners van Velden de gelegenheid niet zullen laten voorbij gaan om in te schrijven. Hierna werd de vergadering gesloten.

99680 3 december 1928 **Verpachting te Velden**

Deurwaarder Renkien te Venlo zal op Woensdag 5 Dec. 1928 des voorm. 11 uur verzoeken van den Heer J. A. Rieter ten koffiehuis te Ant. v. d. Hombergh, bakker bij de Kerk aldaar, in openbaar verpachten voor 6 of 12 jaar drie perceelen bouwland gelegen "Op de pa" en "Velgerd" en in het Dorp, in pacht bij J. Clabbers en H. Lommen.

15 december 1928 **BOERDERIJTJE TE SCHANDELO ONDER VELDEN.**

99690 NOTARIS JOOSTEN TE VENLO, zal op Donderdag 3 Januari 1929, nam. 3 uur, in het Café Nelissen te Schandelo, ten verzoeken van den Heer Jac. Janssen, publiek verkoopen: Gemeente ARZEN en VELDEN:

Koop 1. Een goed onderhouden en geriefelijk ingericht huis met tuin en bouwland in Bunnerveld, sectie C no. 7297, groot 43 aren 50 c.a., thans in huur bij H. Beurskens.

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Koop 2. Bouwland, Bunnerveld, sectie C no. 3319, groot 18 a. 50 c. a., naast Fr. Geelen.

99695 Koop 3. Bouwland op de Hoef, sectie C no. 5528 groot 18 a., naast P. Theelen en H. v. Wylick.

Koop 4. Bouwland en hakhout, Hulschekampen, sectie C no 3231 groot 37 a. 20 c.a., naast H. v. Wylick.

Koop 5. Massa groot 1 H.A. 17 aren 20 c.a.

99700 Aanvaarding: het huis en de helft van het bouwland bij het huis dadelijk en al het overige stoppelbloot 1929 Betaaldag der koopenningen 15 Maart 1928.

17 mei 1929 **Bouwvergunning.**

99705 – Door Burg. en Weths. dezer gemeente werden overeenkomstig hun verzoek de volgende vergunningen verleend:

1. aan Jean Verspay te Velden tot het bouwen van een woonhuis met stalling in de Hasselderheide aldaar.

99710 2. aan J. Clabbers te Velden in opdracht van het R. K. Kerkbestuur St. Andreas tot het bouwen van een 4e classeschool aan de Bijz. L. Jongensschool en eene bewaarschool aldaar.

3. aan W. Hendrikx uit Venlo tot het bijbouwen van varkensstallen bij de boerderij Stepkenshof in Genooi.

99715 Drankwet. – Aan den Heer A. P. Coenders alhier werd door Burg. en Weths. dezer gemeente in hunne gisteren gehouden vergadering verlof verleend tot verkoop van alcoholhoudende drank anderen dan sterken drank, voor gebruik ter plaatse, voor het perceel gelegen te Arcen, Klein-Vink, wijk A. no. 172.

Advertenties m.b.t. Vilgert, Schandelo, etc. 1930-1939

99720 18 januari 1930 Voor terstond of Paschen gevr. een boerenknecht, goed met paarden kunnende omgaan. J. Theelen-Verhaegh, Velden Schandelo. 6322

Te koop 100 kg. prima rood klaverzaad en een partij bastlooze haver. Wed. Engels, Velden, Schandelo. 7143

Te koop circa 2000 kg. rogge- en haverstroo. 1775 A. Appeldoorn, Schandelo, Velden.

99725 Te koop twee guste weikoeien; een gev. 15 Liter melk. 2163 Aerdts "Maashof", Velden, Schandelo.

Te koop twee beste roodb. maalkalveren bij P. Aerdts-Theelen, Schandelo, Velden. 3141
Voor terstond gevraagd een paardenknecht. H. Lenders-Theelen, Rieterhof, Schandelo, Velden.

99730 – Aan den landbouwer F. Engels te Velden-Schandelo werd vergunning tot verbouw zijner boerderij en varkensstallen en aan den slager A. P. Groetelaers te Arcen, tot aanbouw zijner woning aan de Kerkstraat aldaar verleend.

Gevraagd voor Paschen een knecht, goed met paarden kunn. omgaan. Tevens te k. gevraagd goed werkpaard, 4-10 jaar oud, middelzw. C. Nelissen, Velden, Schandelo.

99735 Te koop jonge guste koe. Wed. Leupers, Velden, Schandelo.

Te koop best roodb. maalkalf bij J. Theelen-Lenders, Velden, Schandelo. Aan h. z. adr. gevr. werklui om hakhout uit te rooien.

Te koop dragende varkens, 14 en 15 wek. dracht. Adr. Wed. Roefs, Schandelo, 9953 Velden.

99740 Gevraagd wegens z. d. t. een dienstmeisje op kleine boerderij. Adres H. G. Keltjens, Velden, Schandelo C 208. [=Herman Keltjens]

ONDERTROUWD: Henriëtte Coppes en Henri Geurts. Rijksweg Velden, Schandelo.

Huwelijksvoltrekking 10 Juni a.s. te Velden.

99745 ARCEN. Miltvuur. – Bij den landbouwer [G.] Koopmans, te Velden-Schandelo, werd bij een stuk vee in zijn weide een geval van miltvuur geconstateerd. Het kadaver werd onder politietoezicht verbrand.

Roodbont maalkalf te koop bij Kinderen de Loeij, Velden, Schandelo.

Gevraagd een jongen van 15-16 jaar, voor boerenwerk, ook kunnende melken. 6107 Henri Geurts, Velden, Schandelo C 229a.

99750 Gevraagd voor Paschen een paardenknecht, van 16 tot 20 jaar; ook genegen om te melken. Jos. Peeters, Velden.

Te koop circa 1000 kg. prima vroeg gerooide eerstelingen pootaardappelen; ook per 100 kg. bij H. van Wijlick-Theelen, Velden, 6928 Schandelo.

99755 Mond- en klauwzeer. – Bij het vee van den landbouwer L. R. in Schandelo werd een geval van monden klauwzeer geconstateerd. De wettelijke waarschuwingsborden werden aan de boerderij aangebracht.

Gevraagd zoo spoedig mogelijk een boerenknecht, v. 16 tot 20 jr. H. Roefs Velden, Schandelo.

23 januari 1932 In Schandelo zal een telefoon-aansluiting voor het publiek worden

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- aangelegd met doorverbinding.
- 99760 Gevraagd voor Paschen boerendienstknecht, leeftijd boven 18 jaar. "Rieterhof" C 221 Velden Schandelo.
Te koop 2 guste koeien, 18 en 12 Lit. melk; ook te ruilen tegen drag. koeien, P. Aerds-Theelen, Schandelo Velden.
- 99765 Te koop hoogdragende vaarzen; ook te ruilen voor weibeesten of koeien. Adr. Maashof Velden, Schandelo.
Te koop een best WERKPAARD. Adres Wed. A. Roefs Velden, Schandelo.
Gevraagd boerenjongen, 15 tot 18 jaar, eenigsz. met paarden kunn. omgaan. Bern. Geurts, Velden, Schandelo
Gevraagd een boerendienstmeid of een jongen, 14 tot 17 jaar, genegen om te melken. H. Lenders-Theelen, Rieterhof Schandelo Velden
- 99770 Te koop een groote partij Industrie en Roode Staf eetaardappelen en een partij kroonerwten a 10 ct. p. k.g. J. Theelen, Raaierhof [Raaierhoeve], Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop Roode Star aardappelen; tevens Keulsche spekboonen á 30 ct. p. kg. F. Thiesen, Schandelo Velden.
- 99775 Te koop een 1e klas prachtig voshengstveulen, oud 3 maanden. H. Geelen, Velden, Schandelo.
Vertrokken personen: J. G. Geurts, landbouwer, Kruisstraat 3, naar Arcen en Velden, Schandelo, C. 221;
Wegens ziekte voor terst. gevraagd boerendienstmeid of jongen, goed kunnende melken
- 99780 bij Frans Engels, Velden, Schandelo. 3816
Te koop gevraagd een KEUKENPOMP. Adres C. Nillesen, Velden Schandelo.
Te koop een partij Belle de Boscoop en sterappelen Tevens een roodb. maalkalf. Jac. Theelen, Velden, Schandelo, Raaierhof.
Te koop 5 beste runderen; ook te ruilen tegen dragend vee. Wed. L. Leupers, Velden, Schandelo.
- 99785 Te koop zwaar voshengstveulen met papieren, 1 jaar oud. H. Geelen, Schandelo, no. 207, Velden.
Te koop een partij eerstelingen pootaardappelen. Klasse B, bij J. Geurts, Velden, Schandelo no. 216.
- 99790 Te koop 2 beste weirunderen, een van 2 jaar, gestierd en een van 1 jaar, roodbont, bij H. van Wijlick, Velden, Schandelo.
Gevraagd een jongen, van 15-18 jaar, voor boerenwerk, zoo spoedig mogelijk. H. Lommen Velden Schandelo.
Gevraagd circa 100 zesweeksche pullen W.L., prijsopgaaf aan J. v. Lipzig, Velden, Schandelo.
- 99795 Gevraagd JONGEN van 14 tot 16 jaar, tevens te koop tonneau-wagen met getuig. G. Koopmans, Velden, Schandelo.
Te koop een roodbont MAALKALF. A. de Jong, Vilgert, Velden. 2401
Te koop pl.m. 15000 kg. stalrest; desgew. aan huis bez. W. Muijres, Vilgert C 254 Velden.
- 99800 Te koop een Belg. paard en een dorschmachine m. staande benzinemotor, 3 p.k. J. Heldens Vilgert 248, Velden.
Te koop een dragend VARKEN, 2e worp, 15 weken dracht. P. Jansen [ook: Janssen], Vilgert 244, Velden.
- 99805 Biedt zich aan R. K. TUINIERSDAGLOONER voor terstond. Te bevragen bij J. Jeucken, Vilgert C 243 Velden.
KOFFER GRAMOFOON te k. 33 pl. Prijs f 8.—. Adr. J. Heldens, Vilgert C 256, Velden. 4129
- 99810 Geregeld te koop beste zware koeien, versch en voldragen bij F. v. d. Haghen, Velgert, Velden. 5836 [op C 247]
Te koop 2000 K.G. prima hooi, tevens tarwestroo. Jacq. Beeker, Velden, Vilgert.
Te koop een roodbont MAALKALF, bij Kinderen de Loeij, Velden, Schandelo.
Te koop gevraagd een meisjesfiets en een pathéfoon met platen. A. van Rens Schandelo, Velden.
- 99815 Gevr. boerendienstmeisje, van 15-20 jaar, goed kunnende melken. H. Geurts, Velden, Schandelo C 229a.
Te koop 3 bijna voldragen varkens, keuze uit vijf; ook te ruil op weirunderen bij H. v. Wijlick, Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop een partij tarwestroo a f5 per 1000 kg. G. Koopmans, Schandelo, Velden.
- 99820 Bouwvergunning. — Aan den heer J. Thelen alhier is vergunning verleend tot het bouwen van een woonhuis met stalling op het perceel sectie C. no. 5381 dezer gemeente, gelegen aan den weg van Hasselt-Velden naar Schandelo.
Te koop een hengstveulen, 10 mnd. oud, een best r. b. maalkalf en 15 Kg. spekboonen. H. Geelen, Schandelo 207, Velden.

- 99825 Gevraagd een boerenknecht bekwaam in alle werk; te koop een 2-jr. vosruinpaard P. Geurts, Velden. Schandelo Dieperhof.
Te koop mangelwortelen en klaverzaad, tevens een 6-cyl. g. onderh. 6-pers. luxe auto aan spotprijs. J. Geurts, winkelier, Velden, Schandelo no. 216.
Te koop twee roodbonte weirunderen, 7-15 mnd. oud. G. Nielissen, Velden, Rijksweg C 109.
- 99830 Gevraagd een paar werkers voor rogge en haver te maaien. A. Verheyen, Velden, Schandelo.
Gevraagd een JONGEN, 15 tot 20 jaar, om met paarden om te gaan; tev. kunn. melken. Bern. Geurts, Schandelo, Velden.
- 99835 B. z. a. een R.K. jongen van 18 j. voor alle boerenwerk, genegen te melken en met paard om te gaan. Te bevr. H. Roefs, Schandelo, Velden
Veehouders van Velden en Omstreken! Vanaf heden zal geregeld een in het stamboek ingeschreven stier ter dekking beschikbaar worden gesteld. De stamboekstier Juul 3996 S bekroond op de premiekeuring met ruim 83 punten, dekt a één gulden voor eerste en herdekking 50 cent. Meerdere stieren beschikbaar. H. Soberjé, Schandelo, Velden. Doss. 3209. Gebr. Geurts, Velden, Gem. Arcen en Velden, Schandelo C 229, Dorp C 80. Melkslijterij. Vennooten: H. H. en H. H. Geurts.
Voor den verkoop van eerelids-kaarten worden benoemd voor 't dorp de heeren Zeelen en Duijf, voor Schandelo P. Steegh en Thiesen.
- 99845 Jachtovertreding. — Door den rijksveldwachter Houtermans en de jachtopziener Mulders van het Kasteel te Arcen, werd onder de gemeente Arcen en Velden "Schandelo", op jachtovertreding bekeurd een zekere V. te Schandelo. V. die op de vlucht ging, werd na enkele honderden meters geloopt te hebben, ingehaald en ontdaan van een mooi tweeloops jachtgeweer en een door hem geschoten fazant.
- 99850 Kerkmeester. — Door Z. H. Exc. Mgr. dr. Lemmens is alhier benoemd tot kerkmeester de heer Fr. Engels te Schandelo.
Ten verzoeken van den heer Antoon van Wylick: 21 roodwilgen, wassende in de weide vóór het huis van den heer P. Geurts te Schandelo. Betaling: 1 Mei 1936.
VELDEN Ernstig ongeval. — Eenige dagen geleden had de heer A. S. te Schandelo het ongeluk, bij het houtkappen, een houtspaander tegen zijn oog te krijgen. Ofschoon men er in den beginne geen acht op sloeg, verërgerde de pijn dermate, dat hij op dokters advies, onmiddellijk in het ziekenhuis te Venlo moest worden opgenomen. Naar we vernemen is de toestand nog zorgwekkend.
- 99855 Ploegwedstrijd Jonge Boeren. — Deze strijd, waarvoor een groote belangstelling bestaat, zal gehouden worden op Donderdagmorgen a.s. om 9 uur op het perceel van den heer Fr. Thiesen te Schandelo. Hieraan zal deelgenomen worden door de Jonge Boeren uit Arcen, Lomm en Velden. Als leiders zullen optreden de heeren Ir. Bles en Ir. Dewez uit Roermond.
- 99860 — Door het Gemeentebestuur werd aan dhr. M. Keyzers, bouwkundige te Horst, vergunning verleend tot het doen verbouwen der boerderij "Rieterhof" te Velden-Schandelo.
Overtreding.
— Door de ambtenaren van den opsporingsdienst der Landbouwcrisiswet, werd bij den landbouwer J. V. te Velden-Schandelo het vleesch van een pas geslacht varken opgespoord, waarvoor belanghebbende geene vergunning om te slachten kon vertoonen.
- 99870 Daar hij genegen was het verschuldigde heffingsgeld te betalen, werd het vleesch alsnog, aanzegging van proces-verbaal vrijgegeven.
Biedt zich aan R. K. meisje, oud 18 jaar voor halve dagen of enkele dagen in de week H. Deenen, Velden, Schandelo. 5671
Te koop een best roodbont MAALKALF H. Roefs, Schandelo, Velden
- 99875 Te koop 2 dragende zeugen, 6 November aan telling en 7 ongemerkte biggen. Joh. Nijs, Hasselt, Velden.
[...] aan M. Keyzers, bouwkundige te Horst, tot het bouwen van een bidkapelletje nabij de boerderij Rieterhof te Velden-Schandelo;
Te koop een best roodbont MAALKALF bij C. Nellissen, Schandelo, Velden.
- 99880 Strooper gevat. — Vrijdagmorgen werd door den Gemeenteveldwachter van de Ven en den Rijksveldwachter Eijkelenberg gestationneerd te Lottum na eene sensationele achtervolging, waarbij ook een auto te pas kwam, in Schandelen op heeterdaad bij het stroopen gesnapt de bekende P.G. uit Velden-Schandelo 'n jachtgeweer en een aantal patronen werden op hem bevonden en in beslag genomen.
- 99885 Aardappeldiefstal. — Een dezer dagen kwam de heer B. uit Schandelo tot de onaangename ontdekking, dat ongewenschte bezoekers getracht hadden, zich een partij aardappelen die gekuild waren nabij "De Drie Dennen" toe te eigenen. Hierbij schijnt men echter te zijn gestoord, daar op eenigen afstand vier zakken werden gevonden, en in een naburige beek nog een zak met schop was neergeworpen. Ondanks het teruggevondene
- 99890 worden nog ongeveer 500 pond vermist.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- Op veler verzoek zal het volgende jaar het proefveld in Schandelo worden aangelegd. B. z. a. voor Paschen een R.K. bekwaam boerenknecht bekend met alle werkzaamh. Te bevr. H. Haegens, Dieperhof, Schandelo, Velden. 9245
- 99895 Prima eetaardappelen te kp. Bintjes, Roode Star, Industr. Tev. goedgek. poters van Bintjes, R. Star en Industr. H. Soberjé, Schandelo Tel. no. 20, Velden.
Te koop een beste jonge weikoe en een partij consumptie- en voederaardappelen. Gebr. Luijpers, Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop een partij STAL- en KIPPENMEST. H. Beurskens-Leyssen, Schandelo, Velden.
Gevraagd een BOERENKNECHT, voor alle werkzaamheden; voor Duitschl.; Pont bij Geldern.
- 99900 Zich t. m. bij P. Geurts, Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop een partij Industrie aardappelen, zeer geschikt voor consumptie. Wed. Theelen, Schandelo, Velden.
Boschbrand te Velden Donderdagmiddag omstreeks één uur werd een begin van brand gemeld nabij de bosschen achter den Ossenbergh te Velden. Met vereende krachten, daarbij krachtig geassisteerd door de brandweer van Schandelo, slaagde men er in, door een tegenvuur, uitbreiding te voorkomen en had men omstreeks acht uur des avonds den brand geblusht. Ondanks dit spoedig ingrijpen zijn echter nog 5 tot 6 H.A. een prooi der vlammen geworden.
- 99905 Te koop een vos-ruinpaard een zeug met biggen en ongemerkte biggen. J. In 't Zandt-Geurts, Schandelo, Velden
Te koop een partij ongemerkte BIGGEN. Adres G. Koopmans, Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop zware ongemerkte biggen; ook te ruilen tegen dragende koe. Joh. Nijs, Hasselt, Velden.
Te koop negen zware gemerkte BIGGEN. Stallen vrij van mond- en klauwzeer bij P. Theelen, Schandelo 200 Velden (bij Venlo.) 6195
- 99915 Te koop een Deutsche Herder 10 maanden oud, prima waker; inbraak onmogelijk. H. Gielen, Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop een best roodbont MAALKALF. C. Nelissen, Schandelo, Velden.
- 99920 Afgekeurd vleesch Door het hoofd van den vleeschkeuringsdienst werden voor de consumptie afgekeurd: 1 paard, 1 stier en 2 kalveren, resp. van Venlo, Blerick Boekend en Velden-Schandelo. Deze dieren werden vervoerd ter destructie naar den destructor te Son.
Deze week werd door den plaatsvervangenden inspecteur van de volksgezondheid bij een paard van den landbouwer M. A. te Schandelo miltvuur geconstateerd. Het cadaver werd onder toezicht van den Veeartsenijkundigen Dienst eveneens naar den destructor te Son vervoerd en aldaar geheel vernietigd.
- 99925 Te koop een groote partij Industrie consumptie- en voederaardappelen. Adres Jac. Theelen, Schandelo, Raaierhoeve 215, Velden. 51
Te koop een GEIT met veel melk en een partij (Vlaamsche reuzen) konijnen. Adres J. Geurts, Schandelo 216, Velden.
Gevraagd voor Paschen of Mei een knecht om met paard om te gaan en kunn. melken. F. Theelen, Schandelo 213, Velden.
Te koop een best roodbont maalkalf, 3 scheutelingen, compl. paardentuig en een partij koemest. J. Theelen-Lenders, Schandelo 230, Velden.
- 99935 Te kp. 30000 kg. gezonde knolraap, een partij consumptie-aardappelen & f2.50 per 100 kg. en een paar goud-, zilver-, lady- en boschfazanten. J. Geurts, Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop een partij STALMEST. F. Steegh, Schandelo, Velden.
Bij inschrijving te koop een onteigende beste 6-j. stamboekmerrie, staande bij Jacob Theelen, Velden, Schandelo. Biljetten inzenden 21 Maart bij den heer P. Engels,
- 99940 Velden. 9549
13 maart 1939 De aanbesteding der melkritten St. Martinus, had den volgenden uitslag: Vilgert, W. Geelen; Vorst-dorp, G. Hagens; Hanick, J. Kusters; Lottum, J. H. Hovens Genooi-Vilgert-Hasselt, M. H. Peters; Schandelo-Lomm-Arcen, L. Coenders.
- 99945 Heden overleed tot onze diepe droefheid, zacht en kalm, na voorzien te zijn van de genademiddelen van onze Moeder de H. Kerk, onze inniggeliefde vader, behuwdvader, grootvader en oom, de heer PETER AERDTS Weduwnaar van CORNELIA HANSEN in den gezegenden ouderdom van 86 jaar.
De diepbedroefde familie
- 99950 De lijkdienst en begrafenis zal plaats hebben op Woensdag 7 Juni te 9 uur in de St. Andreas kerk te Velden. SCHANDELO, 5 Juni 1939.
Bij inschrijving te koop een slachtpaard, staande bij H. Lommen, Velden, Schandelo. Biljetten inleveren voor Donderdag 29 Juni, nam. 6 uur, bij den secretaris der Onderl. Paardenverzekering te Velden. 2535
- 99955 Bliksemschade. — Tijdens het onweer dat hier Zondagavond boven ons dorp heerschte, werd in de weide van dhr. J. B. te Schandelo een koe door den bliksem getroffen en op

slag gedood. Verzekering dekt de schade.

Plukkers (sters) gevr., liefst uit Velden-Lomm of omgev. v. te plukken in Schandelo. Goed loon. Aanm. a.s. Zondag v. 11-12 uur bij Aarts "Maassenhof", Schandelo of

99960 Stalberg 129, Venlo, 3223

Te koop een vette KOE, een vet KALF en een vette zeug. Frans Thiesen, Schandelo no. 233, Velden.

Te koop een ZEUG met 8 biggen, eerste worp. Adres: In 't Zandt-Geurts, Schandelo Velden. 4516

99965 Weg. omstandigheden gevr. voor 1 Nov. een boerendienst meid, zelfst. k. werken en koken; a. hetz. adr. Wilobo zaai tarwe te koop. Adres P. v. d. Haeghen, Schandelo C 211, Velden.

Te koop twee beste roodbonte MAALKALVEREN. Wed. Theelen, Schandelo 218 Velden.

Te koop CAFE met mooien tuin in schitterende omgev., gelegen te Arcen, Lingsfort 146

99970 A. Te bez.: elken dag. 3875

Gevraagd een JONGEN van 15 tot 17 jaar, voor boeren- en tuinierswerk. Zich te melden bij A. Basten, Arcen, Lingsfort.

Grensverkeer. — Ten behoeve der paarden, welke in voortdurend grensverkeer worden gebezigd, zal door den Duitschen veearts eene herkeuring worden gehouden op Maandag den 27 September [1937] a.s. nabij het grenskantoor Lingsfort om 10 uur (Duitsche tijd) v.m. De hiervoor benodigde bescheiden zijn ter gemeentesecretarie verkrijgbaar.

Voorradij: 1e nab. Zaaihaver, Gouden Regen, 1e nab. Gerst Kenia, 1e nab. Zomerrogge, Zoete Lupinen en Pootmais. Maken verder bekend, dat wij met de stroopers nog komen te Broekhuizen, op de Hamert en bij Apeldoorn op de Lingsfort, te Arcen. Zijn ook geneg. bij flinke partij elders te persen. Aanb. G. H. Wijnhoven, Tienray. Tel. 7.

99980 Gevraagd voor 1 Nov. een MEISJE of JONGEN, van 15-18 jaar, kunn. melken; op klein bedrijf. Adr. J. Geelen, Hasselderheide, Velden.

— Not. Holtus zal Donderdag 4 Juli nam. 3 uur, ten verzoeken en ten huize van den heer 99985 H. J. Soberjé-Roefs, te Velden Schandelo, publiek verkoopen: Een partij dragende stamboekzeugen. Zie advertentie.

7 maart 1930 **Burgerlijke Stand Velden.**

— Geboorten: Theelen-Lenders P. H., vr.; Lenders-Theelen J. P. H. A., m.; Willemsen-Fitten M. H., vr.; Dirkx-Keder K. G. T., m.; Holthuyzen-Simons W. M. m. Overleden: Nielissen Th. J. m. oud 6 mnd.; Homberg v. d. A., m., oud 84 j.; Theelen J. M. huisvr. Nielissen, oud 67 j.

16 april 1930 **ARCEN.**

Burgerlijke Stand. — Geboren: G. Hussmann-Cleven, zoon; Th. Lichtevelde-Reynders, zoon; P. J. Kerkhof-Simons, zoon; J. S. Keltjens-Coenders, dochter.

99995 Gehuwd: W. Nielissen en A. P. Steegh.

Overleden: F. J. Hendrix, wed. van Sibilla Darns, oud 83 j.; J. Schraets, m. oud 15 j.; J. H. Voormans, echtg. van J. G. Schreven, oud 39 j.

13 maart 1931 **VELDEN.**

Burgerlijke Stand. — GEBOORTEN: H. A. H. d. van G. Nielissen; W. M. z. A. Th. Lommen; M. H. J. d. van P. H. Janssen.

OVERLEDEN; M. C. Loeber, echtg. van J. A. Rieter, oud 52 j. — L. L. J. Brueren, oud 7 jaar.

6 april 1932 **Velden.**

Burgerlijke Stand. — Geboren: Ger. H. z. van J. Achterbergh-Schmidt, Nijmegen; Aug. A. P. Schokker-v. der Zander, Velden; Ger. J. z. van J. H. Nielissen-Akkermans; Gertra. J. A. d. van F. Flinsenberg-Aghten; Johs. H. z. van G. A. Schreurs-Buskens. Overleden: W. H. Thijssen, landbouwer oud 56 jaren geh.

100010 13 januari 1930 **Drankwet. — Door Burgemeesters en Wethouders**

dezer gemeente werd op zijn desbetreffend verzoek, met ingang van heden, ingetrokken het verlof tot verkoop van niet sterken drank, staande ten name van den heer C. Nielissen te Velden-Schandelo.

100015 19 maart 1930 **Pastoor Joosten's bescheiden figuur.**

Evenals het rustieke dorpje.

—\$— Het Noord-Limburgsche dorpje Velden, dat onder den rook der stad Venlo ligt heeft nog niets van z'n oorspronkelijk karakter verloren. Het is eenvoudig gebleven, klein dorpje, zooals het honderd jaar geleden ook al was. Het boerenbedrijf, dat er allerwege uitgeoefend wordt, leent er zich trouwens ook niet voor om een meer stedelijk aspect te scheppen — en daarom zijnde menschen au fond zoo gebleven als ze waren. Daar heeft geen tram, geen auto, geen moderne landbouwmachine, zelfs geen

100020

radio iets aan kunnen doen. Ze zijn de eenvoudige, geloovige dorpsbewoners gebleven, die eerbied hebben voor oude traditie, voor alles, wat hun voorouders hun nalieten.

100025 In wier huizen de portretten van grootouders de beste plaats hebben gekregen in de "goeie kamer", waar zelden iemand komt – waar de oude slingerklok haar eentonig "tak-tak tak-tak" dag in dag uit voortzet – een erfstuk van de grootouders, die in hetzelfde huis, dezelfde kamer hebben gewoond met dezelfde stoelen, deze de schilderijen en dezelfde beelden van heiligen. Ook de stemming, de sfeer is dus

100030 hetzelfde gebleven; ze hangt er nog rond de muffige meubels met gedraaide pooten en den hoogen schouw met de blauwe borden in het rek. Hier pasten de mensen van honderd jaar geleden bij: de propere knipmuts en de hoepelrok zouden hier als kind in huis zijn. Toch is Velden sinds eenige weken veranderd. De hooge Amerikaansche olmen, die langs den Rijksweg stonden, zijn alle onder de bijl gevallen – een onherstelbaar

100035 verlies voor de tegenwoordige generatie. De aanblik van het dorp dat zich meer en meer langs den chaussee uitbreidde, is daardoor totaal veranderd. Niet meer die vriendelijke, statige boomen, die een dak spanden over den weg en 's zomers de heerlijke schaduw erover wierpen; niet meer het bosch van groen tegen de blauwe luchten van de lente en de zang van de vink tusschen de bladeren; ook niet meer het

100040 bonte verscheiden in den herfst of het grillige sneeuwdak in den winter. Unheimisch leeg, kaal, geplukt en... materialistisch, doet het uiterlijk nu aan. De metselaar, die aan den zijwand der oude dorpskerk, welke hooggelegen is, bezig was het voetstuk te metselen, waarop het H. Hartbeeld komt te staan, was zeker ook een vreemde in Jerusalem. Den koster wist hij niet te wonen, wèl den pastoor en dien behoeften we

100045 niet meer te zoeken. Tóch maar even naar den jubileerenden herder toe gaan om hem te zeggen, welke booze plannen we hadden. – Of we den pastoor even konden spreken? vroegen we aan de huishoudster, die een deurraampje open deed. Toen ze hoorde dat we van de "pers" waren en dat er bovendien nog een fotograaf achter me stond, schrok ze wel even. We wisten al genoeg, want pastoor Joosten houdt er niet van om lang en

100050 breed in de krant komen te staan – en dan die fotografen Binnen mochten we wel. Even wachten, dan zal ik meneer pastoor gaan roepen. In de sobere kamer viel een plak zon, een helgele kanarievogel, die in een koperen kooitje voor het raam in de zon zat, begroette de eerste lentestralen met trillend keeltje. Buiten stonden vruchtboomen in de tuinen, in afwachting van de lente, die door de Maartsche buien slechts even

100055 heenlichtte. Een deur ging open en pastoor kwam binnen. Op z'n grijze haren stond stemmig de baret. Hij rookte de pijp – een groote oliekop, misschien ook wel veertig jaren in dienst. We zijn gekomen om een foto van U te maken, zeiden we. Een poosje van zwijgen. – Neen, zeide hij toen, dat heb ik liever niet. We trachten hem z'n bescheidenheid een oogenblikje te laten varen door sterker aan te dringen. Hij trok

100060 eens aan z'n pijp. – Neen, toch niet; als er wat gebeurt, allons, dan is dat in handen van den kapelaan en het Kerkbestuur. We namen dus afscheid van den nog krassen herder en stonden spoedig weer buiten in het grillige weer van Maart. Eenzelfde figuur als het rustieke dorp, dat eenvoudig en onopgesmukt wil blijven al de jaren door...

100065 25 maart 1930 **40-jarig priesterfeest pastoor Joosten.**

Aanbieding H. Hart-monument.

VELDEN. – Het 40-jarig priesterfeest van pastoor Joosten is Maandag – zooals we reeds meldten – op passende wijze gevierd. Vele inwoners hadden de vlag uitgehangen; eveneens woei de driekleur van den toren van het stemmige kerkske. Om tien uur 's

100070 morgens werd in de fraai versierde kerk een plechtige H Mis tot dankzegging opgedragen. Hier bleek weer welk een beminde figuur de herder is; in het kerkgebouw was bijna geen plaats meer te krijgen. 's Middags, toen de dreigende luchten even vaneen braken en de regen ophield, had na het plechtig Lof de onthulling en

100075 intronisatie plaats van het prachtig H. Hartbeeld, hetwelk aan den zijkant der kerk is geplaatst. Dit kostbaar beeld is op een breed voetstuk geplaatst, dat stemming geeft aan het stille pleintje. Een geschenk van de parochianen aan hun jubileerenden herder. Toen de stoet uit de kerk zich om het beeld geplaatst had, trad kapelaan

100080 Vervoort – "die vandaag pastoor is", merkte de jubilaris geestig op – naar voren om allen gevers dank te zeggen voor hun bijdrage, waardoor den jubilaris het prachtig geschenk kon worden aangeboden. Na hem was het de jubilaris, pastoor Joosten. die het woord tot de rondom hem geschaarde parochianen richtte. Het was spr. een vreugde uit het geschenk, dat hem aangeboden werd, te kunnen opmaken, dat Velden zijn herder eert niet alleen, maar vooral dait dit getuigenis ervan aflegt, dat er een diepe

100085 godsdienstzin in hen leeft dat het geloof van hun voorouders prachtig is bewaard gebleven. "Op deze plaats", aldus spr., "werd 600 jaar na Christus de eerste kapel gebouwd". Later werd tot den bouw eener kerk overgegaan. Spr. brengt dan nog in herinnering zijn voorgangers en zegt dank aan de parochianen voor hun geschenk.

Daarna had de plechtige intronisatie plaats en zongen de kinderen onder begeleiding
100090 va fanfare eenige passende liederen.

25 maart 1930 **40-JARIG PRIESTERFEEST.**

Pastoor P. Joosten te Velden.

PLECHTIGE ONTHULLING VAN HET H. HART STANDBEELD.

100095 Velden was Maandag in feestdos gestoken. D Z.E. Heer Pastoor Joosten herdacht n.l. de dag, waarop hij voor 40 jaar tot priester werd gewijd. Van verschillende huizen wapperde vroolijk de nationale driekleur, overal viel een feestelijke stemming te bespeuren. Te circa half tien werd de jubilaris door de W.E. Heer Kapelaan Vervoort uit Velden, de E.H. Geestelijken uit Velden geboortig, verschil lende heeren

100100 geestelijken uit den omtrek, alsmede door den E.A. Heer Burgemeester, wethouder en raadsleden der gemeente Arcen en Velden aan de pastorie afgehaald en langs met de kleurige vlaggetjes versierde weg naar de parochiekerk vergezeld. Aan de met guirlandes en palmen versierde kerkingang prijkte een toepasselijk opschrift. Het kerkinterieur maar vooral het hoofd altaar, waren kwistig met palmen en bloemen

100105 versierd. Door de kinderen der Bijzondere jongens- en meisjesschool werden de jubilaris twee Engelen aangeboden, ter plaatsing op de Communiebank. De kerk was inmiddels vol gestroomd zoodat velen zich met een staanplaatsje moesten tevreden stellen. De plechtige Hoogmis werd door de jubilaris tot dankzegging opgedragen daarbij geassisteerd door de W.E. Heer Rector Janssen uit Venlo als diaken, de W-E.

100110 Heer Kapelaan Rieter uit Arcen als subdiaken en de W.E Heer Kapelaan van Velden als ceremoniarus. Het zangkoor voerde de 3-stemmige Mis van Perosi uit. Na de Hoogmis zong het zangkoor nog een Priestercantate. Te half 12 had de receptie plaats, waarvan verschillende parochianen gebruik maakten, om hun beminden herder te komen

100115 complimenteeren Gedurende de geheele dag kwamen talvan telegrammen en gelukwensen binnen. Het geschenk der Mariacongregatie bestond uit een prachtige bidstoel, die voor het Lof door een der Congreganisten werd aangeboden. Het plecht'g Lof werd door de jubilaris gecelebreerd daarbij geassisteerd door de W.E. Heer Kapelaan Kessels uit Sevenum en de W.E. Heer Kapelaan Peeters uit Mook. Door bemiddeling van Mgr J

100120 Willemsen, een priester uit Velden, te Rome verblijvend, was er des morgens een telegram uit de Vaticaanse Stad binnengekomen, onder teekend door Mgr. Kardinaal Pacelli, secretaris van Z.H. den Paus, waarbij de Z.E. Heer Pastoor Joosten gemachtigd werd, de Pauselijken Zegen te geven en hieraan een volle aflat te verbinden. Na het Lof trok men in processie naar het H. Hartbeeld, het geschenk der

100125 parochianen voor hun herder. Het weer, dat de geheele morgen een dreigende houding had aangenomen, was vlak voor de middag in een druilerige bui overgegaan maar toen de onthulling plaats vond, sijpelde de regen nog traag uit de loodgrijze regenlucht. Onder begeleiding der fanfare werd het: Aan U, o Koning der Eeuwen gezongen. De W-E.

100130 H. Kapelaan Vervoort hield vervolgens eene toespraak en verzocht Pastoor Joosten, het H. Hart monument plechtig te willen inzegenen. Nadat het doek, waarmede het beeld omhuld was, gevallen was, zegende de Z-E. Heer Pastoor het beeld plechtig en dankte allen voor het prachtige geschenk op deze, voor hem onvergetelijken dag. Nadat nog "Voor Jezus Harte zingen" en "Roomsche Blijdschap" door allen meegezongen was, was de plechtigheid afgelopen. Des avonds werd het H. Hartbeeld door een schijnwerper

100135 prachtig verlicht. Aan het voetstuk zijn twee mooie reliëfs angebracht en ter weers zijden van het beeld branden twee lantaarns dag en nacht uit devootheid voor Jezus H. Hart.

31 oktober 1930 **Smokkel-geschiedenis. — Toen een dezer avonden een Duitse**

100140 Zollbeamte een smokkelaar, welke per motorfiets uit de richting Lingsfort naderde, nabij Walbeek wilde aanhouden, en daartoe midden op den rijweg sprong, werd hij door den motorrijder, die een flinke vaart had, en waarschijnlijk niet meer voldoende heeft kunnen remmen, omver gereden, waardoor beiden ernstige verwondingen aan armen en beenen bekwamen, zoodat zij naar het ziekenhuis moesten worden vervoerd. De motorrijder had een partijtje koffie bij zich, welke in beslag genomen werd.

11 november 1930 **RAAD VAN ARCEN. Besprekingen over electriciteits-uitbreiding.**

100150 Onder voorzitterschap van den heer Gubbels, burgemeester der gemeente Arcen, vergaderde de Raad voltallig. Na de opening werden de notulen voorgelezen van de vergadering van 18 Sept. j.l. welke onveranderd werden goedgekeurd. Voor kennisgeving werden aangenomen goedkeuringsbesluiten van Ged. Staten op twee ?ningsbesluiten voor de uitbreidingen van het electrisch net te Arcen en Velden. Daarna werden voor kennisgeving aangenomen een aantal koninklijk goedgekeurde belastingverordeningen voor het volgende jaar in verband met de wijziging van de financieele verhoudingen tusschen Rijk en de gemeenten. In beginsel werd besloten medewerking te verleen aan

- 100155 den Limburgschen Land- en Tuinbouwbond om te komen tot zelfstandige destructie van afgekeurd vee en vleesch. In verband met de zeer hoge kosten werd afwijzend beschikt op het verzoek van een aantal inwoners in Genooi om electrificatie daarvan. De aanlegkosten werden geraamd op f16.500; de bijdrage in de verliezen voor deze
- 100160 aanlegkosten zouden nog hoger zijn. Aan de Stroomverkoop Maatschappij te Roermond zal alsnog worden verzocht een perceel te Schandelo aan te sluiten voor het bedrag, dat de Stroomverkoop Maatschappij daarvoor heeft opgegeven. Voor kennisgeving wordt daarna aangenomen de dankbetuiging van den heer Linssen voor de benoeming tot hoofd der O. L. school te Lomm. Besloten wordt de schoolwoning te Lomm aan den heer Linssen onderhandsch te verhuren met ingang van 1 December a.s. voor ten hoogste vijf jaar,
- 100165 onder de voorwaarden in het pachtcontract vermeld. Aan het R. K. Kerkbestuur St. Andreas te Velden, wordt voor de nieuwe schoolpomp en aanschaffing van een nieuwe kachel voor de jongensschool aldaar een crediet toegestaan van f53. Het Kohier Boomenbelasting voor het jaar 1930 wordt met algemeene stemmen vastgesteld ten bedrage van f9.65 voor de afdeeling Arcen en f1.10 voor de afdeeling Velden. De
- 100170 heeren Mulders en Boonen informeerde daarbij of een aantal boomen welke op Gemeentegronden staan en niet op het kohier zijn vermeld, eigendom der gemeente zijn. Dit zal nader worden onderzocht. Met algemeene stemmen wordt aan het Limburgsche Groene Kruis te Sittard eene subsidie tot wederopzegging verleend van f20 per jaar, ingaande met 1931 De voorzitter deelt mede, dat in het pachtcontract van den grond op
- 100175 de Horsten is opgenomen de voorwaarde dat grond welke het derde jaar voor het einde der pacht als weiland ligt niet meer gescheurd mag worden. Dit wordt met algemeene stemmen goedgekeurd. Besloten wordt tot openbare verpachting van twee perceelen bouwland te Lomm aan den Rijksweg voor den tijd van 6 jaar. Onder voorbehoud dat van het Staatsboschbeheer toestemming wordt verkregen voor het vellen van het dennenbosch
- 100180 zoover dit staat op perceel sectie C. 6995, zal worden verkocht het hout op de perceelen sectie nos. 4832, 6995 en 6460 op nader door burgemeester en wethouders te palen datum. De rekening van het Burgerlijk Armbestuur te Arcen over het jaar 1929 wordt in handen gesteld eener commissie van drie leden waarvoor de voorzitter aanwijst de heeren Mulders, Clabbers en Boonen. Ter nadere afpaling wordt aangehouden
- 100185 verkoop van het perceel struikhout aan den Rijksweg sectie C. no. 6221. Bij de Boerenleenbank te Velden zal eens geldleening worden aangegaan groot f1000 tegen ten hoogste 5 pct. per jaar af te lossen in tien jaar; voor de verbetering van den weg in het Hanik. Aan Burgemeester en Wethouders wordt machtiging verleend tot aanbesteding van den bijbouw van een derde schoollokaal te Lomm. Aan Burg. en Weth. wordt het
- 100190 noodige crediet verleend om een houten noodwoning te doen herstellen. Na de gehouden bespreking oordeelt de Raad het noodig, dat de buizen in de waterlossing in de Rietweiden te doen opruimen. De heer van Lipzig wijst erop, dat de z.g. Kolkbrug te Lomm stuk is en hersteld moet worden. Tegen het ontwerp-staatsverdrag toegezonden door den voorzitter der Straelener Veengenossenschaft, heeft de Raad geen bezwaren.
- 100195 Hieromtrent zal het advies gevraagd worden van den heer Dir. van het Rijksbureau voor Ontwatering. De heer Boonen vraagt nogmaals verbetering van verschillende veldwegen te Velden, hij is van meening, dat daaraan thans niets gebeurt. De voorzitter zegt namens Burg. en Weth. toe, in het voorjaar de Zanterdweg te doen verbeteren. De heer Clabbers vraagt naar de uitbreiding van het electrisch net ten Zuiden van Velden. De
- 100200 voorzitter deelt hem mede, dat de aangeplante bosschen de voorloopers zullen moeten verwijderd worden. Burg. en Weth. zullen hiervoor zorg dragen. Daarna gaat de vergadering in geheime zitting over.
- 27 maart 1931 **VELDEN. Landbouwcursus.**
- 100205 – Verleden Dinsdag had alhier de sluiting plaats van de tweejarige landbouwcursus. De voorzitter van den Boerenbond de heer L. Sanders, heette de aanwezigen hartelijk welkom, in het bijzonder den heer Kuypers uit Roermond, die namens den landbouwconsulent de sluiting verrichtte, den Zeer Eerw. Heer pastoor Joosten, adviseur van den Boerenbond en de heeren landbouwonderwijzers. [...]
- 100210 28 april 1931 **Auto-ongeluk te Hasselt-Velden.**
EEN ERNSTIGE BOTSING DIE NOG GOED AFLIEP.
Op den Rijksweg te Hasselt, Velden, heeft Zondagavond te circa 11 uur een auto-ongeluk plaats gehad, dat nog betrekkelijk goed is afgelopen. Op het kruispunt
- 100215 Hasselt-Schandelo-Rijksweg, kwam de luxe auto van den heer S. uit Horst, waarin tevens de heer P. R. uit Horst gezeten was, in botsing met een luxe auto komende uit de richting Venlo. In deze laatste auto zat een gezelschap uit Gennep en Cuyk. De heer S. die uit Schandelo kwam, had de auto vanaf Venlo [...]

- 100220 21 mei 1931 **VELDEN. Gouden bruiloft.**
 – Onder groote belangstelling vierde het echtpaar Janssen-Reutelingsperger alhier verleden Dinsdag haar gouden huwelijksfeest. Reeds vroeg in den morgen weerklonken vreugdeschoten over de Hasselderheide. Te 8 uur werd het jubelpaar onder de vroolijke tonen van de fanfare kerkwaarts geleid, alwaar een Hoogmis tot dankzegging werd opgedragen. Gedurende den geheelen dag kwamen de gelukwensen van heinde en verre, zoowel schriftelijk als mondeling binnen. Des avonds werd door de Fanfare nog een serenade gebracht, waarbij de president het gouden paar namens de geheele fanfare complimenteerde. Tot laat in den avond duurde de feestpret en de joeks voort.
- 100230 3 oktober 1931 **Opening café-restaurant "Hollandia".**
 – Ons dorp is thans een fraai café-restaurant rijker geworden. In de mooie boschrijke omgeving op de grens Arcen-Walbeek aan de Lingsfort is het bekende café "Hollandia" door verbouw in een ruim en schitterend café-restaurant herschapen. Geen kosten zijn er gespaard om het den bezoekers zoo aangenaam mogelijk te maken, en zeker zal deze
- 100235 uitspanning spoedig bekendheid verwerven onder de vele vreemdelingen die de mooie omstreken bezoeken. Zondag 4 October zal de feestelijke opening van het nieuw gebouwde gedeelte plaats vinden. Het schilderwerk van zaal en café, dat verzorgd is door de bekende Venlosche decorateurs Verkoelen & Holla, biedt een schitterenden aanblik. De electricische inrichting en verlichting werd geleverd door den heer H. v.
- 100240 d. Kronenberg te Arcen, terwijl de heer Verschuieren uit Venlo de sanitaire inrichting aanlegde. Wij wenschen den ondernemer J. Peters, met deze moderne en fraai aangelegde inrichting veel succes.
- 5 maart 1932 **ARCEN. Mond- en klauwzeer.**
 – Naar wij vernemen, werd wederom een geval van deze gevreesde besmettelijke veeziekte geconstateerd in deze gemeente; thans bij het vee van den landbouwer W. Geelen te Velden, Velgart.
- 5 maart 1932 **EIKENBOOMEN TE VELDEN.**
 Notaris Joosten te Venlo, zal op Dinsdag 8 Maart 1932, nam. 4 uur, in het café van den Heer G. Verbeek te Velden, ten verzoeken van het R.K. Kerkbestuur te Velden, publiek verkoopen: 37 zware en gave eikenboomen, staande: in de weide aan den Kuilsenberg, bij den Kerkenhof en op den Smitselt aan den weg naar Genooi. Aanwijzing doet de heer Jac. Nielissen, Kerkenhof, Velden.
- 100255 11 maart 1932 **DE SMOKKEL-OORLOG.**
 De centrale eenere groote smokkelorganisatie ontdekt.
 DE GEPANTSERDE AUTO WEER OP DEN WEG.
 Meende men aanvankelijk, dat de gepantserde smokkelauto, welke herhaaldelijk bij Goch de grens gepasseerd was en verleden week te Calcar in beslag werd genomen, dezelfde was die eveneens enkele malen in Walbeck gezien werd, zoo is men thans tot de conclusie gekomen, dat men hier met een tweeden pantserauto te doen heeft, waarvan de smokkelaars zich bedienen om groote hoeveelheden smokkelwaren over de Duitsche grens te voeren.
- 100260 In den nacht van Dinsdag op Woensdag is de auto bij Waldeck weder de grens gepasseerd en ondanks het hevige geweervuur, dat door de Duitsche douanebeambten op den auto werd geopend, reed deze ongestoord verder.
 Het corps der douanebeambten in het commissariaat Straelen is met ca. 25 personen uitgebreid, en er worden krachtige pogingen in het werk gesteld om deze smokkelbende op het spoor te komen.
- 100270 Deze onderzoekingen schijnen al zeer spoedig een gunstig resultaat te hebben gehad. Naar men ons mededeelde, behoort de pantserauto toe aan eene groote smokkelbende, die haar operatiebasis te Arcen nabij Venlo heeft. Ook de pantserauto heeft daar zijn garage. De auto is gepantserd met dubbele staalplaten. Tusschen deze staalplaten is een ruimte van 3 tot 4 centimeter gelaten, zoodat zelfs eene beschieting met zware karabijn-geweren doelloos is.
- 100275 De smokkelbende, die uit circa 30 personen moet bestaan, staat onder leiding van een bekend smokkelaar, zekeren K. afkomstig uit het Roergebied.
 De Duitsche justitie treedt buitengewoon streng op bij de verschillende smokkelprocessen.
- 100280 De geldboeten, welke worden opgelegd, bedragen gewoonlijk het viervoud van de waarde der in beslag genomen goederen, terwijl bovendien nog eenige weken tuchthuisstraf erbij komen.
- 100285 Wanneer het vaststaat, dat de delinquent die wegens smokkelen voor den rechter verschijnt, ook nog deel uitmaakt van eene smokkelbende, dan wordt de straf wegens

z.g. "Bandenschmuggeln" met één maand verhoogd.

26 maart 1932 **Weer een pantserauto aangehouden.**

Door zestien karabijnschoten tot stilstand gebracht. De inzittenden ontvlucht.

100290 In de omgeving van het grensdorp Walbeck bij Arcen hadden de Duitsche douanebeambten Woensdag een goede vangst.

Het schijnt, dat de douane verwittigd was van de komst van een smokkelauto, want toen een pantserauto de grens bij Walbeck in razende vaart wilde passeeren, werd plotseling van het struikgewas langs den weg uit het haltesignaal der douane gegeven.

100295 Onmiddellijk daarop werden van alle kanten schoten gelost uit karabijnen en revolvers.

De auto was in een hinderlaag gevallen.

Door de geweldige vaart van den grooten wagen wist deze echter door het cordon heen te breken. Daar de wagen door vele schoten zwaar getroffen was, werd de poging tot

100300 ontvluchting opgegeven. De inzittenden wisten in het donker in het struikgewas te ontkomen met achterlating van den wagen en rijke buit. Een lading koffie en tabak. De beambten namen een en ander in beslag.

Nog een smokkel-auto aangehouden.

Een der inzittenden gearresteerd.

100305 Onder Twisteden bij Kevelaer is Woensdag door Duitsche commiezen, die alle toegangswegen tot de Nederl. grens hadden versperd, een gepantserde auto aangehouden, waarin 1000 pond tabak was geborgen.

Op den wagen waren 40 schoten gelost, die geen doel troffen.

100310 De auto reed in een sloot, toen ze niet over de versperring kon geraken. Een der inzittenden werd gearresteerd. De chauffeur wist te ontsnappen op Nederlandsch gebied.

2 april 1932 **Slachtoffer begraven.**

100315 – Gisteren had onder zeer groote belangstelling de begrafenis plaats van den dezer dagen door een ambtenaar nabij de grens alhier doodgeschoten H. Husmann, uit Wesel, op het R. K. kerkhof te Straelen. Een muziekkapelle uit Geldern speelde treurmarschen. Na afloop der plechtigheid begaf dit gezelschap zich naar de plaats van aanhouding in Holt, waar eveneens een treurmarsch ten gehoor werd gebracht.

100320 20 april 1932 **DE SMOKKELAARS LANGS DE GRENZEN**

Nieuwe maatregelen van de douane. – Een nieuwe pantserauto.

100325 Zondag j.l. hebben de douanebeambten van het grensdistrict Dusseldorf een vergadering belegd te Dusseldorf, om de gebeurtenissen van de laatste weken te bespreken en de mogelijkheid van nieuwe maatregelen tegen de smokkelaars ter sprake te brengen. Voor het district Dusseldorf moeten er bizondere maatregelen getroffen worden, daar de smokkelhandel hier weliger bloeit dan op andere plaatsen. Versterking van manschappen bij de douane werd dan ook dringend noodzakelijk geacht.

100330 Dat deze nieuwe beambten aanstonds de handen uit de mouwen hebben gestoken, blijkt uit het feit, dat zij den eersten dag reeds een smokkelbende verrasten, die daar op in het geheel niet voorbereid scheen. De smokkelaars gingen aan den haal met achterlating van den buit. De beambten voorden op de vluchtelingen, zoodat een smokkelaar zwaar getroffen neerstortte.

100335 Er schijnt ook weer een nieuwe pantserwagen in gebruik te komen bij een smokkelbende, die haar centrum heeft in Arcen. De wagen is dubbel gepantserd.

23 april 1932 **MODERNE SMOKKELAARS.**

Men schrijft van de Zuid-Oostelijke landsgrens aan "De Tijd":

100340 De streek van Arcen en omgeving, nabij er Venlo, vormt meer dan ooit te voren thans an het middelpunt van een zeldzaam levendigen "smokkeloorlog". Aan de overzijde der grens is de Duitsche douane de laatste tijden aanzienlijk versterkt, zulks in verband met de krasse maatregelen, die genomen worden om den steeds driesteren smokkelhandel te kunnen beteugelen.

100345 Intusschen zijn de smokkelaars, grootendeels Duitschers, naar 't schijnt, niet voornemens voor de verdubbelde activiteit der rijksambtenaren uit den weg te gaan.

Men mag zeggen, dat nimmer de smokkelstrijd met zulke moderne middelen werd gevoerd als thans.

De nieuwste aller methoden is die, welke culmineert in

Pantserkolossen A en B.

100350 Deze wagens zijn voorzien van kogelvrije stalen omhulsels en er inderdaad op berekend den smokkelstrijd op energieke wijze voort te zetten. Een hunner ontwikkelt een snelheid tot, naar verzekerd wordt, 140 kilometer per uur. En deze snelheid is zoo

maar niet een kwestie van een cijfer, doch zij wordt in werkelijkheid ook gereden, als 't er op los gaat. Handgranaten hebben op deze smokkelduivels al evenmin vat als geweer- of revolverkogels. Weg- en draadversperringen moeten zij in staat zijn zijn op de meest elegante wijze "te nemen."

Naast deze smokkelauto-tractie heet het in den volksmond, dat ook

Vliegmachines

in dienst der smokkelarij zijn gesteld. In hoeverre dit juist is, valt niet precies na te gaan. Op het oogenblik is de toestand in de grensstreek zóó, dat geheel de volksfantasie op het smokkelbedrijf is ingesteld. En aangezien het van de pantserwagens naar de vliegmachines slechts een stap is, kan het zeer goed zijn, dat deze stap door de op avontuur beluste fantasie is gezet. Of het voor de volle waarheid kan worden aanvaard, blijve dus in het midden, maar men kan in stadjes en dorpen thans hooren verluiden, dat per vliegmachine de smokkel-artikelen in het land onzer Oosterburen worden binnengebracht. Dit gaat dan zóó, dat op vrij grooten afstand der grens de smokkelwaar eenvoudig naar beneden wordt geworpen om door groepen handlangers in veilige haven te worden gebracht.

De smokkelartikelen

zijn in hoofdzaak koffie, tabak, cacao, sigarettenpapier, enz. Deze smokkelhandel is op breede leest geschoeid en honderden personen, meestal werklozen, houden zich ermede bezig. Naar de regelen der smokkelwetenschap worden allerlei listen verzonnen om te trachten de Duitsche ambtenaren te overschatten. Soms organiseert men schijnbewegingen, die dienen om de douane af te leiden. Lukt de truc en wijden de ambtenaren volle aandacht aan deze quasi-smokkelgroep, dan gaat elders een echte dito met waardenvollen buit de grens over.

Zooals bij elken grenssmokkel op eenigszins uitgebreide schaal steeds het geval is geweest beteekent deze "handel" een levensgevaarlijkwerk. De ambtenaren schromen niet van de vuurwapenen gebruik te maken en nog dezer dagen is bij een vuurgevecht een smokkelaar aangeschoten en gewond neergestort.

25 juni 1932 **DE WITTE BERG, Een prachtig stukje natuur.**

Vele Venlonars zullen niet weten, waar ze dit plekje natuurschoon moeten zoeken. Op de kaart vindt men 't niet. De aanwijzingen, die men ontvangt, zijn meestal wat vaag. Ergens in de bosschen ten N. van Schandelo ligt een berg; je kunt er de torens van Venlo, Straelen, Lottum en andere plaatsen zien.

Met deze weinige gegevens gewapend, trok ik er op een Juninamiddag op uit. Een echt zomersche dag, bijna tropisch heet, drukkend van on weerswarmte. Op zulke dagen is flinke lichamelijke inspanning het beste middel om zich gezond te gevoelen.

Voorbij Velden volgde ik met de fiets een smal paadje langs den rand van het koren.

Een eenzame boerenjongen wist mij de richting te wijzen, waarin ik verder door de bosschen moest gaan; de berg was nog niet te zien. Het pad werd slechter.

Bij een ven, verscholen achter riet en struikgewas, kwamen twee boerenvrouwen in zomersche werkkleeding uit het zonnige veld terug.

Zij waren op de fiets; de jongste droeg "luchtkousen".

— Of ze mij ook konden zeggen, waar de Witte Berg was?

— Nog een eindje verder aan genen kant, jong. 't Is warm, jong'è tusschen de bosschen!

Waarlijk "verjongd" door deze ontmoeting — ik ben de vijftig reeds lang gepasseerd — zette ik mijn nasporingen voort.

Mijn moeite zou weldra beloond worden. Tusschen de stammen vertoonde zich een glinsterende watervlakte met een rijke flora. Waterlelies, waar het eerste ven vol van was, waren hier niet. Aan den anderen oever verhief zich een hoogte met gelen, zandigen top. Dat moest dus de Witte Berg zijn. Langs een omweg kon ik de gezochte plek bereiken.

Toen plotseling, op eenigen afstand, joelende mannen- en vrouwenstemmen. Zoowaar een geïmproviseerd gemengd bad in de open lucht. Menschen uit Straelen of uit Venlo? 't Was te ver af, en niet het doel van mijn tocht, om me hieromtrent zekerheid te verschaffen.

Maar de Witte Berg bleek een openbaring. Een schitterend uitzicht naar alle kanten.

Aan twee zijden uitgestrekte vennen met waterplassen en krijschende vogels; overal rondom dennen. Hier was weer een van die door de natuur gevormde plekken van ongerepte schoonheid, vermoedelijk evenals de vennen in de Peel en bij Oisterwijk in den diluvialen tijd ontstaan door slechte afwatering in een verlaten rivierbedding. Wilt gij er eens gaan kijken? Volg dan den grooten weg naar Lomm, en buig daar af in Oostelijke richting naar de Ravenvennen. De hooge zandstuiving, die ge zult zien, is de Witte Berg. R. I.

* Mag en kan dat zoo maar? (Red.)

4 juli 1932 **Auto in een waranda gereden**

OM EEN BOTSING TE VOORKOMEN.

Zaterdagavond te ca. half 10 heeft op het gevaarlijke kruispunt bij tramhalte Coppes te Velden weer een auto-ongeval plaats gehad. Uit de richting Schandelo kwam de bestelauto van dhr. A. v. d. Hombergh uit Velden. Uit de richting Nijmegen kwam met groote vaart een luxe Fiatauto, waarin twee heeren uit Amsterdam zaten. De auto van den heer Hombergh stak den Rijksweg over. De chauffeur van den Amsterdamschen auto zag het gevaar, waarin hij verkeerde, indien hij zijn gewonen weg behouden had, op het laatste moment in en gooide met kracht het stuur naar links om. Door deze manoeuvre ontweek hij wel den Veldenschen auto maar kon toch niet voorkomen, dat hij met kracht tegen de waranda van café Coppes botste, die letterlijk in puin stortte. De botsing was zoo hevig, dat de steenbrokken in de café terecht kwamen. Persoonlijke ongelukken hadden niet plaats. De auto was slechts licht beschadigd. Door de marechaussee uit Venlo werd een onderzoek ingesteld.

29 september 1932 **"Koning der smokkelaars" gepakt**

Na een hevig vuurgevecht met de Duitsche douane

Een goede vangst

De arrestant verdiende grof geld met het smokkelen van wapens

In de borst geschoten

Venlo, — Woensdag.

Het was den beampten van de Zollfahndungstelle Düsseldorf reeds lang bekend, dat een der voornaamste smokkelgroothandelaars een zekere Frits Szymanski was, die aan het smokkelfront langs de Limburg-Duitsche grens "de koning der smokkelaars" werd genoemd.

Enkele maanden geleden was deze smokkelaar berucht geworden door de onversaagdheid, waarmee hij bijna iederen dag tabak met honderden kilo's tegelijk in pantserauto's over de grens bracht, zonder dat het de douane ook maar een enkele maal gelukte den smokkelaar zelf te arresteeren. Wel werd verschillende malen de pantserauto in beslag genomen, doch even gauw verscheen "Der Frits" weer met een nieuwen auto in het veld. Ongeveer een maand geleden hoorde de douane van spionnen, dat de voormalige tabaksmokkelaar thans dit product verloochend had en nu met vernieuwde energie zich op den wapen-smokkel had geworpen, waarmee volgens zijn zeggen veel meer geld te verdienen viel.

De douane was ervan verwittigd, dat Szymanski gisteren een volle lading wapenen over de grens zou brengen. De beampten hadden overall langs de grenswegen wachtposten opgesteld, die niet van plan waren hem door te laten.

Szymanski beproefde gistermiddag den doortocht, doch hij was wel zoo slim in te zien, dat hij ditmaal niet ongehinderd de grens zou kunnen passeeren. Hij keerde met zijn auto terug naar Arcen, waar een metgezel, de Hollander Kamps uit Arcen, zich bij hem aansloot.

Gisteravond om tien uur probeerden beiden nogmaals er door te komen, hetgeen gelukte. Zij slaagden er in de grens te passeeren en stevenden naar de herberg Landsknecht in Büderich.

De beampten hadden echter spoedig lucht van de zaak gekregen en stelden derhalve alles in het werk om dezen tocht te verhinderen. Zij achtervolgden den smokkelauto en slaagden er in hem met twee andere auto's in te sluiten.

1 oktober 1932 **Twee vrouwen krijgen het met elkaar aan den stok**

Venlo, — Vrijdag.

Hedenmorgen bracht de vrouw van den smokkelaar Camps uit de smokkel-Bude aan de grens bij Arcen een bezoek aan de vrouw van den smokkelaar Szymanski. "Celli", zoo wordt de vrouw van Szymanski genoemd, verweet bij dit bezoek de vrouw van Camps, dat haar man alles verraden had. Over en weer werden beschuldigingen gedaan. Van woordenwisseling kwam het tot handtastelijkheden, totdat de vrouw van Camps ten slotte buiten de deur werd gezet. Deze uitte meerdere bedreigingen van verraad, doch ging ten slotte weg.

9 november 1932 **De broeder van den koning der smokkelaars gearresteerd.**

Theodor Szymanski, broeder van Fritz Szymanski, "den koning der [der] smokkelaars", is te Dusseldorp in hechtenis genomen. De douane-autoriteiten dezer stad hadden vernomen, dat een door Theodor Szymanski bestuurde auto de Nederlandsche grens had overschreden. [...]

24 november 1932 **Szymanski's laatste grensavontuur.**

De Poolse smokkelaar voor den rechter.

Spaansche revolvers voor een Duitsche terreur?

Wij schrijven het laatste hoofdstuk van Szymanski's avontuurlijk leven. Jammer! Want [Fritz] Szymanski was een dankbaar onderwerp. Zijn naam alleen reeds bleek in staat inspiraties op te wekken voor een middeleeuwsche avonturenroman van roofridders, in geheimzinnige schuilplaatsen, op donkere boschwegen en onbekende sluippaden. Geen enkele smokkelaffaire der laatste jaren heeft wel sterker de fantasie geprikkeld, dan zijn wapenzaakje.

"Der Fall Szymanski".

Om den persoon van dezen groot-smokkelaar is een haast onontwarbaar net geweven van fantasie en werkelijkheid. De juiste toedracht der feiten is er eenigszins door op den achtergrond geraakt.

Ondertusschen, Szymanski's rijk heeft afgedaan.

Zijn smokkel-organisatie – wellicht een der best geoutilleerden die de grensgeschiedenis gekend heeft – wist langen tijd de "klein-krieg" langs de oostelijke barrière met succes te voeren, totdat de douane het spel doorzien had en hem schaakmat zette. Enkele kopstukken die steeds in één adem met den Poolschen avonturier genoemd werden, vielen de grenspolitie in handen – Was dat de hoofdgroep? Wie zal 't zeggen? Szymanski zelf zwijgt.

Men spreekt van verraad.

Dat behoeft absoluut geen verwondering te wekken. Elke organisatie welk doel zij ook nastreeft, heeft haar spionnen, die met betaald Judaswerk den basis sloopen en zich zelf veilig weten als de instorting volgt. Zou een organisatie als een smokkelbende dan geen verraders kennen? Verraad is niets nieuws in de grenszaakjes. Men rekent zelfs met verraad aan weerszijden, zoowel bij de grensbewaking als bij de smokkelaars zelf, maar de groote vraag is telkens: Wie? Wie was 't? Men kan 't immers honderde keeren lezen. De gevallen zijn legio: 'n met kennis van menschen en zaken – het eerste nog meer noodzakelijk dan 't tweede – opgerichte smokkeltroep, loopt plotseling vast, wordt op 't meest onverwachte moment overrompeld. "Hoe was dat mogelijk?" vragen de smokkelaars zich later af. De een verdenkt de ander en het wantrouwen en de onzekerheid jaagt de troep uit elkaar. Óók Szymanski werd verraden, is er beweerd. Maar wie zal 't bewijzen? Szymanski zwijgt, de douane zwijgt; de een zal 't gissen, de ander weten. – Hedenmorgen komt bij het Sondergericht te Düsseldorf 't wapenzaakje ter tafel. Of uit verhooren en getuigenverklaringen meer vaststaande feiten naar voren zullen komen? – 't Valt te betwijfelen. De Duitsche douane schijnt op 't punt van verklaringen voor de rechtbank over meer vrijheid te beschikken dan de Nederlandsche. Men zal zich in dit opzicht nog wel 't verloop van Szymanski's laatste strafzaak (op 4 Nov. j.l.) voor de rechtbank te Elberfeld herinneren.

VENLO WERD TE "ENG".

Al werd S. hier geduld, de politie hield hem goed in het oog, doch kon tegen zijn hier te lande niet strafbaren smokkelhandel niet optreden. Meermalen werd hij gecontroleerd en nagegaan, doch nimmer kon tegen hem worden opgetreden, omdat geen strafbaar feit werd ontdekt. Ondanks deze omstandigheid achtte men den vreemdeling hier natuurlijk toch ongewenscht en werd hem begin Juli van dit jaar door den grenscommissaris het verblijf in de grens-zone ontzegd. Hierop begaf S. zich naar Luik, teneinde zich aldaar aan te melden, waartoe hij de hulp in riep van een caféhouder te Bresseau, die dit zaakje voor hem zou opknappen en daarvoor 100 francs als belooning ontving.

De poging om zich officieel in Luik te vestigen, gelukte echter niet. Hij meldde zich daarna te Blerick, alwaar hij, om te voldoen aan de benodigde formaliteiten, een kamer huurde. Op zijn aanvraag werd hem ook door het hoofd der politie aldaar een jachtacte verstrekt. S. meldde zich aan het Bevolkingsregister te Venlo af, als zijnde vertrokken naar Luik, terwijl hij clandestien op de bovenkamers aan den Kaldenkerkerweg verblijf bleef houden, om in de onmiddellijke nabijheid der grens zijn uitgebreiden koffiesmokkelhandel te kunnen blijven voortzetten.

WIE WAS SZYMANSKI?

Deze "koning der smokkelaars" werd in 1890 te Elberfeld geboren uit een Poolsch gezin, waarvan de vader een handel dreef in oud ijzer. Op jeugdige leeftijd werd de avonturier taxichauffeur en had tegelijkertijd een kleinhandel in kolen. Toen hij een jaar of vier geleden in aanraking kwam met groot-smokkelaars en van de fabelachtige winsten hoorde, die met den frauduleuze grenshandel te behalen waren, was hij spoedig besloten het pad der avontuur te gaan bewandelen. Szymanski's ondernemingsgeest had slechts een korte scholing nodig. Na enkele jaren zelf kleinere zaakjes te hebben

- 100550 opgeknapt, kon hij zijn detailsmokkelhandel spoedig uitbreiden tot een onderneming met een grootschere opzet. Na twee jaren snorden zijn eigen auto over de grenswegen en al gauw zou de Duitse douane ervaren, dat met hem een avonturier op 't pad gekomen was, die met groote geslepenheid de hinderpalen hem door de grensbewaking in den weg gelegd, wist te vermijden. De fortuin is echter nukkig. Ondanks de breed
- 100555 vertakte smokkelorganisatie met een goed geoutilleerde inlichtingendienst, die Szymanski spoedig om zijn persoon vereenigd zag, bleven hem de tegenslagen niet gespaard. De eerste buit van beteekenis, die de Duitse douanebeambten in handen viel, bestond uit 40 mille sigaretten en 50 balen koffie.
- 100560 **NAAR HOLLAND UITGEWEKEN.**
Szymanski wist telkens te ontsnappen, totdat men zijn verblijfplaats, die oorspronkelijk in Vohwinckel en naderhand in Mettmann gevestigd was, ontdekt had. Op 5 September 1931 was de politie uit Elberfeld op zijn spoor gekomen en deed 's nachts een inval in café "Schönblick" te Wuppertal, waar Szymanski overnachtte. In zijn
- 100565 slaap verrast, zag de avonturier geen uitweg meer. Zonder zich te bedenken sprong hij in nachtgewaad uit 't venster op straat en zocht in de duisternis een goed heenkomen. Na zich een nacht in de naburige bosschen te hebben schuil gehouden, wist hij naar Holland uit te wijken. Zijn compagnon en chauffeur Kurt Ritz werd bij deze gelegenheid gearresteerd. Niet minder dan 66.000 sigaretten vielen de douane in
- 100570 handen. Uit de papieren die er bij behoorden, bleek echter dat de partij reeds in eigendom was overgegaan aan den smokkelaar Sahn uit Elberfeld. Tot de arrestanten van dien nacht behoorde ook de waardin uit café "Schönblick", die Szymanski had helpen ontvluchten en zijn chauffeur Wülfig. Ruim één jaar, tot 27 September 1932, wist Szymanski nu uit de handen der douane te blijven. Dit was gedurende den tijd dat hij
- 100575 in Venlo verblijf hield. Hier vond hij oorspronkelijk compagnon-schap in een collega-smokkelaar, die eveneens uitgeweken was. Naderhand heeft hij zich van deze afgescheiden. Zijn eerste operatiebasis werd de grensstreek in de omgeving van Roermond.
- 100580 **HET SPEL MET DEN DOOD.**
De laatste periode van Szymanski's avontuurlijk leven was hiermede aangebroken. De laatste weken vóór zijn arrestatie op 27 Sept., hielden de voorspelling in. Enkele smokkeltochten — hoe goed voorbereid ook — liepen op een fiasco uit. Ofschoon de te volgen smokkelwegen, volgens informaties vrij waren, werden toch enkele belangrijke
- 100585 aanhoudingen te zijnen nadeele gedaan, zoodat de smokkelkoning aanzienlijke verliezen leed. Een grenswinkelier uit een der naburige dorpen wist Szymanski toen voor de wapensmokkel te interesseeren, waardoor met minder omslag, meer geld te verdienen viel. De Duitse relatie, in den persoon van Schankweiler zou voor het afzetgebied zorgen. — Szymanski stond in het begin afwijzend ten opzichte van de nieuwe
- 100590 smokkelplannen. Hij begreep heel goed, dat hij thans onmiddellijk ook in botsing met de Hollandsche politie zou komen en het risico van een eventueel echec dubbel zoo groot werd. Tenslotte bezweek hij voor den aandrang zijner vrienden, kocht wapens in Luik en smokkelde ze via Eijsden Limburg binnen. Het wachten was nu nog op een gunstige gelegenheid. Naar men beweert, moet Szymanski de hulp van een douane-beambte
- 100595 gehad hebben, bij 't overbrengen der wapens. In den morgen van 27 September werd de baan veilig gemaakt. Daags te voren had het plan niet kunnen uitgevoerd worden, omdat de grenswegen toen niet vrij waren.
- 100600 **DE NOODLOTTIGE DINSDAG.**
Dinsdagmorgen om half negen zou het transport beginnen. Om dit den schijn te geven van een onschuldige plezierreis, had Szymanski nog twee auto's gerequireerd. De een zou voorop rijden, de andere volgen. De verkenningsauto startte een half uur voor het eigenlijke transport. De smokkelauto, de Oakland P 16707 werd bestuurd door den 22-jarige Kurt Ritz uit Barmen. Men had in deze wagen een dubbele bodem laten
- 100605 aanbrengen, waarin de revolvers verborgen lagen. Om alle verdacht zooveel mogelijk te vermijden, hadden in deze auto de schoonmoeder, een dochtertje en een zuster van Szymanski plaats genomen.
Als dekking in den rug reed ten slotte de derde auto, waarin Schankweiler, de bestuurder en de vrouw van Szymanski gezeten waren. Alles liep vlot van stapel. Het
- 100610 passeeren der grens te Lingsfort bij Arcen bracht totaal geen moeilijkheden mee en om 10 uur had men veilig en wel Neuss bereikt. Op de afgesproken plaats stapten Szymanski met Schankweiler en Ritz in den Oakland, één auto keerde terug naar Venlo en de andere vervoerde Szymanski's familie naar Elberfeld.

IN DE VAL.

In het restaurant L. te Büderich – 10 minuten van het scheidingspunt verwijderd – zouden de wapens worden afgehaald. Bij aankomst aldaar bleek echter dat de afnemer nog niet aanwezig was. Of de smokkelaars toen reeds kwade vermoedens hadden? 't Is best mogelijk, want men besloot den wagen op een binnenweg te rijden en op een stille plek de wapens uit den dubbelen bodem in een koffer over te pakken. Nadat dit was geschied, reed men opnieuw naar genoemd café, doch op hetzelfde oogenblik naderde van de tegenovergestelde zijde een auto van het Zollfahndungsamt, welke zich dwars over den weg voor den smokkelauto posteerde.

'N LAATSTE WANHOPIGE POGING

De smokkelaars zagen onmiddellijk den ernst van den toestand in en begreep, dat ze in de val waren gelopen. Ritz poogde nog door achteruitrijden en daarna te keeren te ontkomen. Dit gelukte echter niet, want de beambten sprongen van hun wagen en zetten den smokkelauto achterna, waarbij een der beambten op de treeplank van den smokkelauto sprong. Ritz greep den beambte bij den keel, terwijl Szymanski hem het wapen, hetwelk in ruststand bleek te zijn gesteld, uit de hand sloeg. Inmiddels losten de andere beambten schoten. De smokkelaars ziende, dat hunne vrijheid nog slechts een kwestie van enkele minuten was, sprongen toen uit den auto. C. en ook Schankweiler staken al dadelijk hun handen omhoog, terwijl ook Ritz weldra was overmand. Alleen Szymanski vluchtte, doch werd door een schot getroffen. Nadat assistentie was aangerukt, werd de omgeving afgezocht en vond men den gewonden smokkelkoning. Hij werd in het burgerziekenhuis te Büderich opgenomen. Men herkende den smokkelkoning onmiddellijk en was er van overtuigd een goede vangst gedaan te hebben.

DE DUITSCHE JUSTITIE REKENT AF.

De twee maanden, die Szymanski nu in hechtenis doorbrengt, werden door de Duitse justitie druk besteed aan het voor-onderzoek en het afhandelen van andere smokkelzaakjes, waarin de avontuurlijke Pool gefaald had. Voor 14 dagen terug stond hij te Elberfeld terecht voor het nachtelijk avontuur te Wuppertal en zijn romantische vlucht uit café "Schönblick". Ofschoon toen duidelijk kwam vast te staan, dat Szymanski niets meer met de gesmokkelde 66 mille sigaretten te maken had – hij had ze diezelfde avond verkocht – moest hij zijn onbewezen aandeel in deze affaire boeten met 1 millioen mark en anderhalf jaar gevangenisstraf. Op welke gronden men dit vonnis baseerde, kwam niet aan 't licht. De als getuigen gehoorde douane-beambten verklaarden, dat zij niet gerechtigd waren mede te deelen, wie hun op de hoogte had gebracht van Szymanski's smokkelpraktijken. Men had toen een zeer sterk vermoeden, dat zijn chauffeur Kurt Ritz hem verraden had. Dit vond een eenigszins vage bevestiging, toen Ritz voor de rechtbank verklaarde, dat men hem, toen hij in voorarrest zat, beloofd had geheel vrij te laten, als hij alles opbiechtte wat hij wist. Of Ritz dit inderdaad gedaan heeft en in de verwachtingen op zijn invrijheidstelling bedrogen werd, en daarom deze verklaring aflegde, kwam niet vast te staan. 'n Feit is echter wel, dat niemand der gedagvaarde getuigen tegen deze verklaring opkwam, of zelfs protesteerde. Dat ook toen, evenals nu bij de wapensmokkel, verraad in 't spel moet zijn geweest, is zoo goed als zeker. Wanneer het Sondergericht te Düsseldorf heden echter met evenveel geheimzinnigheid als in Elberfeld onzegde verklaringen in de weegschaal werpt, dan zal er op dit punt evenmin eenige officieele helderheid komen. Alleen de vermoedens, dat een van Szymanski's vertrouwden Judaswerk verrichtte, worden er door versterkt.

6 maart 1933 Jacht op een pantserauto.

De auto met 500 kilo tabak en koffie in beslag genomen.

DE SMOKKELAARS ONTKOMEN. Zondagmiddag werd te Wetten een pantserauto gesignaleerd, die zeer waarschijnlijk bij Twisteden de grens gepasseerd was. Onmiddellijk werd vanuit het douane-kantoor Geldern de vervolging in twee richtingen met auto's en motorrijwielen opgenomen. Bij Hörtgen gelukte het een der motorrijders eenige schoten op de pantserauto te lossen, waardoor er een lek in de benzinetank ontstond. Blijkbaar van een reservetank voorzien reed de wagen door tot Lingsfort, waar de smokkelaars tenslotte door de inmiddels door het grenscommissariaat Geldern gewaarschuwde politie, genoodzaakt werden te stoppen.

De inzittenden konden ontkomen. De naam van de bestuurder is bekend zoodat zijn arrestatie wel spoedig zal volgen. De wagen was met dubbele 3-4 millimeter dikke ijzeren platen gepantserd en wel de waterkoeler en de chauffeurscabine. De auto bevatte 500 kilo tabak en koffie.

Als in oorlogstijd...

Fel vuurgevecht tusschen een pantser-smokkel-auto en de douane
Auto werd buitgemaakt

100685 Venlo, — Maandag. In den afgeloopen nacht is te Lingsfort een gepantserde smokkel-
auto aangehouden, die 1000 KG. koffie en een groote partij tabak bevatte. De wagen
werd het eerst gezien op den straatweg van de Hollandsche grensplaats Arcen naar de
Duitsche grensplaats Gelderen. Onmiddellijk werd de naburige Zohlfahndungsstelle
gealarmeerd, die met dienstauto's en motoren op onderzoek uitging. De dienstauto's
100690 der douane waren voor de eerste maal voorzien van mitrailleurs. Even voorbij
Twisteden werd de auto door een wachtpost der douanebeambten onder schot genomen. De
smokkelauto bleek goed tegen de kogels bestand te zijn. De auto suiste in volle vaart
tusschen de beambten door en sloeg de richting van Gelderen in. Hier kwam hij echter
de motor-brigade der Zohlfahndungsstelle tegen. De chauffeur van den smokkelauto
100695 gooide onmiddellijk het stuur om en trachtte langs denzelfden weg, waarlangs hij
gekomen was, te ontvluchten. Hij werd bij deze poging echter zeer gehinderd door de
scherpe salvo's uit de mitrailleurs, die op de dienstauto's der douane-beambten
gemonteerd waren.
De smokkelauto hield echter stand. Evenwel bleek het stalen pantser op den duur niet
bestand tegen de onophoudelijk afgevuurde salvo's uit de mitrailleurs. De benzinetank
100700 werd totaal stuk geschoten. Hierin hadden de smokkelaars echter voorzien.
Onmiddellijk werd een reservetank ingeschakeld, zoodat de smokkelaars opnieuw kans
kregen om te ontsnappen. Nu ontspan zich een waanzinnige race op den straatweg
Gelderen-Lingsfort, waarheen de smokkelauto trachtte te ontkomen.
Onophoudelijk losten de beambten schoten. Een der motorrijders van de
100705 Zohlfahndungsstelle slaagde er in met zijn motor langs zij den smokkelauto te komen.
Hier werden echter ook op hem vanuit den smokkelautoschoten gelost, zoodat de twee
beambten, die op den motor hadden plaats genomen, haastig uit zelfbehoud dekking
moesten zoeken.

Tot staan gebracht

100710 Reeds had de smokkelauto de grensplaats Lingsfort bereikt, nog enkele honderden
meters scheidden hem van de Hollandsche grens. De douane-beambten van Lingsfort waren
echter gewaarschuwd. Zij hadden haastig versperringen op den weg gegooid, terwijl
100715 tevens alle zijwegen met spijkerplanken gelegd waren. De smokkelauto kwam in razende
vaart op de versperringen inrijden. Een felle knal... de banden sprongen en de auto
had zich zelf vastgereden. De twee inzittende smokkelaars wisten zich al schietende
in de nabije bosschen terug te trekken, waar zij spoedig het Hollandsche grensgebied
bereikten. De gepantserde wagen, die geladen bleek met ruim 1000 K.G. koffie en
100720 tabak, is eigendom van een bekenden groot-smokkelaar uit de Hollandsche grensplaats
Arcen.

1 april 1933 **NIEUWE KERK TE VELDEN.**

Velden is een der vele zoo schilderachtig gelegen plaatsjes langs de Maas. Gekroond
wordt het door het oude kerkje, dat daar hoog troont te midden van het dorpje aan het
100725 oude, mooie marktplein. Hoe pittoresk ook gelegen, daardoor is het kerkje nog niet
goed. Het gaat hier als met veel oude huisjes: mooi om te zien, doch niet om er in te
wonen: te klein en ongeriefelijk. Zoo is het ook met de St. Andreas-kerk te Velden.
Heel Velden is een mooi plaatsje, met prachtige oude boerenhuizen en tradities.
Zoo is er nog een eeuwenoud St. Sebastiaansgilde. Er staat in de kerk een rococo-
100730 altaar van den beschermheilige der schutters. Een heel typisch gebruik is b.v., dat
de herbergiers van Kevelaer elk jaar naar St. Andreas te Velden ter beevaart komen.
Ze worden hier gul en gastvrij onthaald: logies, eten, muziek en alles vrij. Hoe oud
dit gebruik is, weet men niet. De historie van Velden — welks naam al de eeuwen door
zoo geschreven werd — is zeer zeker de moeite waard meer ontgonnen te worden: het
100735 archief der kerk bevat een schat van historische documenten en gegevens, die elke
geschiedvorschier en vriend van het oude in verrukking brengen. Wij kregen o.m. de
volgende brief in de suete suevere oude tale onder de oogen:

100740 VOLLEN AFLAET Onsen Alderheylichsten Vader Innocentius den II. vergunt Vollen Aflaet
ende vergiffenisse van alle hunne sonden, aen alle g-elooovige Christenen, die gebicht
ende gecommuniceert hebbende, sullen besoecken de Parochiale kereke van Velden (in de
welcke schoone reliquien des H.H. Apostels Andreas ende Iacobus sijn) ende aldaer
devotelijck sullen bidden voor de verheffinge van onse Moeder de H. Kercke,
eendraghtigheyt der Christene Princen, ende uytroeynge der ketterijen. Desen Aflaet
100745 sal beginnen op den avondt van S. Andreas (Patroon van de voorsz. plaats Velden,
eenen besonderen voorbidder tegen Hen hoest, kortborstigheyt ende andere sieckten)

ende sal duyren tot den somne onderganck des volgende Feestdagh: op den welcken den Goddelijcken dienst seer solemnelijck sal geschieden met de Predicatie, ende naer den middagh de Vesperen, sluytende den Aflaet met de Benedictie des Hooghw: H. Sacrament.

100750 Als men nu weet, dat Innocentius II Paus was van 1130 tot 1143, begrijpt men dat de stichting van de kerk van Velden wel zeer ver in het grijze verleden ligt.

Op de plek waar nu de kerk verrijst, moet in den heidenschen tijd een afgodstempel gestaan hebben. In de eerste Christentijden is daar toen een bedehuis opgericht

100755 geworden. De H. Apostel Andreas, die aan twee schuin gekruiste balken de marteldood stierf – de kerk heeft er 'n heel mooi beeld van – is steeds de hoofdpatroon van kerk en parochie geweest. St. Jacobus was de tweede patroon. De acte der kerkvisitatie in 1400 spreekt van een "capelle". In 1558 wordt er voor het eerst van "ecclesia" of kerk gesproken Het tegenwoordige priesterkoor is reeds aan de bestaande kapel gebouwd

100760 in 1509. In de steunbeeren van dit priesterkoor vindt men aan de buitenzijde nog een kop, overblijfsel van een antiek middeleeuwsch groot doopvont. Wanneer de toren gebouwd is, staat niet vermeld. De oudste luiklok – Maria vocor: Ik word Maria genoemd – draagt het jaartal 1419. Is de toren nog vroeger gebouwd? Het is zeer waarschijnlijk. De oorspronkelijke is n.l. een Byzantijsche, de binnenmuren gemaakt van met kalk ineengegoten keien, van buiten Limburgsche mergel. Langs de breede stroom der Maas kwamen de geloofsverkondigers naar hét Noorden, en ook de bouwmaterialen en bouwstijlen voor de eerste kerken. De oude kerk, die wel 1000 jaren oud geweest kan zijn, werd in 1857 grootendeels afgebroken: ze was te klein geworden. De muren waren van mergel en zware ijzerstaven gemetseld. De kerk werd verbreed: het

100770 priesterkoor bleef en de toren werd ingebouwd. Tot aan de galmgaten is deze blijven staan, doch helaas met een muur van buiten omkleed. Van het oude is niets meer te zien. De spits, die men van alle kanten rank ziet oprijzen – hij sluit de lange weg van Venlo naar Velden zoo mooi af – is toen verhoogd. Op 13 October 1858 werd de vergrootte en bijna geheel vernieuwe kerk in gebruik genomen, nadat ze daags te voren door Mgr. J. A. Paredis, Bisschop van Roermond, werd geconsacreerd. De bevolking is intusschen weer zoo sterk gegroeid, dat de kerk beslist te klein geworden is. De ZeerEerw. Heer Pastoor J. G. W. Joosten nam het uitstekende initiatief om tot den bouw van een grooter bedehuis over te gaan. De liefde tot het oude is echter zoo groot in hem, dat hij en Priesterkoor en toren wilde behouden. Het eerste moet echter

100780 geslachtetofferd worden, wil men een flinke, ruime kerk krijgen. Is de tegenwoordige 23 bij 14½ meter, de nieuwe wordt 45 bij 20 meter. De toren blijft staan, doch komt aan den linker-zijgevel. De nieuwe kerk zal n.l. niet meer georiënteerd gebouwd worden, doch dwars op de as der tegenwoordige. In de toren komt een zij-ingang, waarheen een trap voert op dezelfde plaats als nu. Met het oog op de restauratie van den toren

100785 wordt de vorm gewijzigd, zoodat het exterieur overeenstemt met de nieuwe kerk, zoowel wat de architectuur als grijze steenkleur betreft. Na afgekapte te zijn komt er dus nieuwe steen om en wordt het torenlichaam hooger, zoodat de spits korter wordt, in betere proportie tot het geheel. De top blijft 37 meter hoog. De hoofdingang der kerk komt aan het intieme marktplaatsje. Het H. Hartbeeld, dat zoo pieus bij het

100790 veertigjarig Priesterschap van den beminden Pastoor Joosten werd opgericht, zal voor dien ingang komen, in de as der kerk. Het moet daarom verplaatst worden. Men grijpt deze gelegenheid natuurlijk aan om het een passende architectonische omgeving' te geven. Aan ir. Jules Kaiser, onder wiens architectuur de kerk wordt gebouwd, is dit zeer goed toevertrouwd. Zoowel de perspectieffteekening hierbij, als de plattegrond –

100795 waarbij in den hoek een kleine situatie-schets staat in 't 2e blad, doen zien hoe monumentaal het daar zal staan temidden van dien breeden oprit. Men houde alles frisch en flink. Struiken en bloemen aan weerszijden op de kleine helling zullen een mooie natuurlijke omsiering geven. De oprit zelf zal ook reeds het front mooier en rijker doen worden. Men vreeze niet, dat deze oprit te steil zal zijn: de vloer der

100800 nieuwe kerk komt 80 cm. lager te liggen dan nu. Het interieur der kerk zal grootsch en ruim zijn. Alleen in de breede middenbeuk zullen de geloovigen hun plaatsen vinden. De zijbeuken zijn smal gehouden en dienen slechts als processiegangen. Allen zullen dus op het altaar de H. Handeling kunnen zien en meeleven, zooals dat toch moet. Moge een zuiver liturgisch altaar deze nog beter doen uitkomen en alie

100805 kerkmeubelen passen bij karakter en stijl dezer moderne kerk in vrij-gothischen stijl gebouwd, al behoeven daarom de oude rococo-zijaltaartjes niet verwijderd te worden: die domineeren niet. De middenbeuk krijgt haar karakteristieke vorm door de in verhouding lage en massale pijlers, waarop zich hoog de slanke kruisgewelven verheffen. Het interieur wordt uitgevoerd in een zachte gele steen, van het mooie

100810 smalle Vechtformaat, met een plint van zandsteen en een lambrizeering van geel verglaasden steen. Van Priesterkoor en doopkapel, de twee zoo voorname gedeelten der kerk, worden de wanden rijker uitgevoerd: een heel hooge plint van gele natuursteen,

de verdere muren en gewelven in blauw verglaasden steen. Het exterieur wordt gebouwd in grijze steen van hetzelfde slanke Vechtformaat, die het bij het Venlosche ziekenhuis zoo mooi doet. De kleur dezer kerk zal zich, evenals den vorm ervan, harmonieus bij het landschap aanpassen, en zoo zal ze een waardige bekroning zijn van het mooie, goede katholieke Velden.

7 april 1933 **Nazi's koopen wapenen**

(Van onzen correspondent te Venlo).

De Deutsche Zollfahndung (douane-spionage-centrale) heeft talrijke spionnen ontslagen, omdat zij deze menschen niet meer voor haar dienst gebruiken kan. Nu zwerven deze menschen in het grensgebied rond en trachten op alle mogelijke wijze hun kost te verdienen. Er zijn er ook die verraad plegen tegen hun vroegere meesters en niets komt den nazi's meer van pas dan juist dat.

Voor ons zit een vroegere spion van de Zollfahndungsstelle Düsseldorf. Hij heeft enkele jaren met succes gewerkt. Heeft meegewerkt Szymanski en Schommer ten val te brengen. Hij zocht uit, op welke dagen beide grootsmokkelaars gewoonlijk met hun auto's de grens passeerden. Achtervolgde hen vaak. Maakte hun reizen mee naar Luik en andere Belgische plaatsen, waar zij de wapenen kochten, die zij aan hun opdrachtgevers, de nazi's in Duitschland, moesten afleveren. De spion meldde Düsseldorf de komst der auto's en haar gevaarlijke lading. Gewoonlijk werd in denzelfden nacht de smokkelaar gearresteerd.

"Mit Szymanski war es damals schwierig", vertelt de spion. Even glijdt een fijne lach over zijn vermoeid en afgemat gelaat. "Vijfmaal hadden we gemeld, dat hij kwam. Vijfmaal gelukte het hem met een partij wapenen over de grens te komen. Toen zetten wij er alles op om hem te arresteren. Wij hadden ons in verbinding gesteld met een naziafdeeling nabij Düsseldorf. Van een der "Führer"—die lui zijn dillettanten op gebied van spionage—kwamen we den dag te weten, waarop een nieuwe partij zou aangevoerd worden. Wij waren actief. Het geluk was met ons en Szymanski liep in de val. Jammer was het dat slechts zoo'n kleine partij in beslag genomen werd!"

De spion vertelt nog van andere wapensmokkelaars, welke door het toedoen van spionnen gearresteerd zijn. De man blijkt een goed geheugen te hebben. Bij controle stelden we vast, dat alle namen, alle hoeveelheden en alle bijzonderheden juist overeenkwamen met hetgeen wij telkens over deze arrestaties gemeld hebben—en dit op mededeelingen van het officieele douanebureau.

Hij doet nog meer onthullingen. In den nacht van 5 op 6 Maart, den dag der rijksdagverkiezingen, werd te Lingsfort een gepantserde smokkelauto aangehouden. De wagen was het eerst signaleerd in de Deutsche grensplaats Geldern. Spionnen hadden onmiddellijk de Zollfahndungsstelle Düsseldorf met de komst van den auto op de hoogte gebracht. Men wist, dat in den wagen minstens 500 revolvers met munitie verborgen waren. Ook de Zollfahndungsstelle Düsseldorf wist dat. Zij rustte daarom voor het eerst haar dienstauto's uit met machinegeweren om tegen de smokkelaars met succes te kunnen optreden. Hoewel men zich hevig moest inspannen had men inderdaad succes. De gepantserde smokkelauto werd tot stilstand gebracht of beter: hij werd in mekaar geschoten in de buurt van Lingsfort.

Nu komt het merkwaardige. In plaats dat de Zollfahndungsstelle in haar persbericht melding maakte van deze zeldzame vangst, werd gemeld, dat een gewapende pantserauto was aangehouden, die—stereotiep als altijd—bleek te bevatten 1000 kg. koffie en tabak...! Wanneer iemand een kleine voorstelling heeft wat 1000 kg. tabak beteekenen, dan behoef ik verder niets te zeggen.

Hoe kwam de Zollfahndungsstelle erbij zoo'n prachtige aanhouding dermate te camoufleren? Dit raadsel was spoedig opgelost. De leverancier wist van de douanebeambten gedaan te krijgen, dat hij even van de telefoon mocht gebruik maken. Hij belde een bekende persoonlijkheid uit de nazikringen in Düsseldorf op, die op de Zollfahndungsstelle alles voor mekaar gebracht heeft.

"Waren deze wapenen voor de nazi's?"

"Das ist ja klar! Zij hadden deze wapenen noodig om hun gezag te handhaven, dat zij pas gekregen hadden. Nu stond de Zollfahndung onder nazi-bewind. Zij moest dus gehoorzamen. Vandaar is die fabel van de 1000 kg. tabak in de wereld gekomen!"

"Worden thans nog wapenen over de grens gebracht."

"Ik weet pertinent zeker dat in den nacht van 28 Februari op 1 Maart 1000 stuks wapenen Duitschland zijn binnengevoerd. Deze zijn bij Roermond over de grens gebracht en waren bestemd voor de gouw Düsseldorf der N.S.D.A.P."

"Koopt de nazipartij deze wapenen zelf?"

"Neen, zoo slim is de partij ook wel. Zij zelf koopt niet. Zij laat dit doen door middel van een der partijleiders. Deze partijleider stelt zich in verbinding met een bemiddelaar, een "Mittelsmann" die weer tracht in verbinding te komen met een

Belgischen of Hollandschen leverancier. Gewoonlijk wordt verbinding gezocht met een Hollandschen leverancier, omdat de Duitschers, vooral de nazi's, er niet veel voor voelen om rechtstreeks in verbinding te treden met een vroegeren vijand. En dan nog wel met wapenen! Zij zijn veel te bang, dat zij voor landverraders uitgescholden worden, wanneer zooiets uitlekt. U moet denken "Deutschland hoch!"

Deze "Mittelsmann" koopt de wapenen. Bij hem worden ze afgeleverd en hij draagt ze ten slotte over aan de partij, die ze gratis onder haar leden verdeelt. Thans hangt alles af van de Hollandsche douane. Is deze actief, dan zal het den nazi's niet gauw gelukken, groote partijen wapenen over de grens te brengen. Zijn de wapenen éénmaal op Duitsch grondgebied, dan wordt den vervoerder geen haar meer op het hoofd gekrenkt.

8 april 1933 **Autobotsing.**

— Donderdagmiddag heeft op de Rijksweg weer een autobotsing plaats gevonden. De heer D., slager uit Venlo, komende uit de richting Venlo met zijn luxe auto en de heer v. D. uit Gennep, komende uit de richting Schandelo met zijn luxe auto, botsten op het kruispunt bij tramhalte Coppes, doordat zij elkanders signalen te laat gehoord hadden en het uitzicht ter plaatse zeer belemmerd wordt, tegen elkaar op. Beide auto's liepen aanzienlijke materiele schade op. Persoonlijke ongevallen kwamen wonder boven wonder niet voor.

27 april 1933 **VELDEN. Gouden huwelijksfeest.**

— Onder groote blijken van belangstelling herdacht het echtpaar Coppes-Schreurs op de Velgert Dinsdag j.l. den dag van hun 50-jarige echtvereniging. De buurt had voor de woning van het gouden paar een eereboog opgericht en de omgeving van het huis verder kwistig met jong groen versierd. In den vroegen morgen weerklonken reeds de saluutschoten, het feestpaar ter eere. Te circa half negen werden de jubilarissen onder de vroolijke tonen der Fanfare kerkwaarts gebracht, waar door den Z.Eerw. Hr. Pastoor een plechtige H. Mis tot dankzegging werd opgedragen.

Des avonds te half zeven bracht de Fanfare nog een serenade, waarbij de President der Vereeniging het gouden echtpaar in hartelijke bewoordingen feliciteerde en de hoop uitsprak, dat over tien jaar een diamanten kroontje hun hoofd zou sieren. Een familielid dankte namens 't gouden echtpaar voor de bewezen hulde op dezen voor hen beiden onvergetelijken dag. Gedurende den ganschen dag waren tal van schriftelijke gelukwenschen binnengekomen en hadden velen van de gelegenheid gebruik gemaakt, het feestpaar mondeling te komen feliciteeren.

6 mei 1933 **De vlag, die de lading niet dekte.**

EEN HITLER-SMOKKELAUTO IN DE VAL GELOOPEN.

Aan de Duitse grens nabij het Limburgsche plaatsje Arcen, wilde Vrijdagmiddag een met hakenkruis-vlaggetjes versierde auto Deutschland binnenrijden. De Duitse grensbeambten waren echter ingelicht, dat dien middag daar een smokkelauto zou pogen binnen te dringen. Het gevolg was, dat de populaire vlaggetjes ditmaal de lading niet dekten. De auto werd aan een grondig onderzoek onderworpen, met het resultaat dat meer dan 100 k.g. voor den smokkelhandel bestemde koffie erin gevonden werden. De auto en de koffie werden in beslag genomen De smokkelaar, een Duitser, werd gearresteerd.

Een oude smokkel-rot neergeschoten.

75-JARIGE GRIJSAARD SNEUVELT AAN HET SMOKKELFRONT.

In de grensstreek tusschen Arcen en Walbeck, zagen surveilleerende douane-beambten Vrijdagmiddag een oude man door het struikgewas sluipen. Onmiddellijk riepen zij hem toe halt te houden. De oude man hield zich echter doof en vervolgde ongestoord zijn weg. Toen losten de grensbeambten een schot, waarbij ze den grijsaard in de borst troffen. Hij werd onmiddellijk naar het ziekenhuis te Geldern overgebracht, waar hij tegen den avond aan de opgelopen verwonding is overleden. Op hem werden twee pond koffie gevonden. De oude man, zekere S., was ongeveer 75 jaar en woonachtig in het Duitse plaatsje Schaephuizen.

8 mei 1933 **Verboden terugkeer in bewakingsgebied.**

Door de marechaussee alhier werden Zaterdag op de markt aangehouden een zekere J. en V., beiden uit Boxmeer afkomstig. Beide aangehouden werden enkele maanden geleden in de omgeving van Arcen bekeurd in verband met een smokkelarij van een twaalfstal automatische pistolen. In verband met deze smokkelarij is hen destijds het verblijf in het bewakingsgebied ontzegd. Wegens verboden terugkeer daarin werden zij thans door de politiemannen aangehouden en worden zij heden naar de strafgevangenis te Roermond overgebracht.

100945

19 juli 1933 **RUITER-TOURNOOI TE VELDEN.**

Deelname der verschillende Noord-Limburgsche Ruitersclubs.

VOOR VENLO DE EERSTE PRIJS BIJ DE LANDELIJKE PARADE.

100950

Zondag had onder buitengewone belangstelling van het publiek en talrijke deelname van de zijde van paardensportliefhebbers te Velden Schandelo het aangekondigde jaarlijksche ruitersfeest plaats georganiseerd door de Ruitervereeniging "Zeldenrust". Te circa drie uur trok een kleurige stoet van ruim 80 paarden, bereden door sierlijk uitgedoste ruiters vanaf de tramhalte naar het feestterrein te Schandelo om aldaar aan een vreedzame kamp deel te nemen.

100955

Verschillende zusterverenigingen uit den omtrek o.m. die uit Venlo, Blerick, America, Sevenum, Castenray, Grubbenvorst, Melderslo enz. namen aan de feesten deel. Er heerschte te 4 uur een opgewekte feeststemming toen de Fanfare met enkele flinke muziekschmieren de feestelijkheden opende.

100960

Het terrein was bij den aanvang der wedstrijden in vrij goeden staat, alhoewel het wegens de hevige regenbuien der laatste dagen eenigszins drassig was. Vooral op de bochten ondervonden de ruiters hiervan wel eenige hinder.

De toekenning der prijzen geschiedde als volgt:

Dogcar of tonneau rijden lichte paarden: 1e prijs Litjens, Horst; 2e prijs Sonnemans, Sevenum; 3e prijs Jacobs, Venlo.

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Dogcar rijden zware paarden: 1e prijs Wienen, Sevenum; 2e prijs Boonen, Velden; 3e prijs Wed. Leupers, Velden.

Landelijke parade: 1e prijs Ruitersclub, Venlo; 2e prijs Ruitersclub, Sevenum.

Draven zware paarden: 1e prijs Vullings, Horst; 2e prijs Wienen, Sevenum; 3e prijs Friesen, Castenray.

100970

Draven lichte paarden: 1e prijs Rambaghs, Castenray; 2e prijs Joosten, Blerick, 3e prijs Hendriks, Venlo.

Rennen zware, paarden: 1e prijs Vullings, Horst; 2e prijs Cox Grubbenvorst; 3e prijs A. Seelen, Venlo.

Rennen lichte paarden: 1e prijs Sonnemans, Sevenum; 2e prijs Strijbosch, Castenray;

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3e prijs A. Faessen, Venlo.

Bij de landelijke parade kon men constateeren, wat door training bereikt kon worden. De winnaars van dit nummer verwierven een dankbaar applaus van het publiek. Speciaal de Venlosche Ruitersclub dwong door haar keurig rijden ieders bewondering af. Het was echter wel bepaald jammer, dat te circa 7 uur een hevige stortregen zich ontlastte,

100980

die de renbaan in een modderplas herschiep, zoodat het laatste gedeelte van het programma tot aller teleurstelling werd afgelast. Ter opluistering was de heer Gabriëls uit Arcen met enkele renpaarden uit zijn stallen op het terrein aanwezig, maar wij konden de prestaties hiervan niet bewonderen wegens de stortregen, die als spelbreker optrad. Ook het hindernisrennen, hoogspringen enz. konden geen doorgang vinden. Ondanks deze teleurstellingen kan de ruitervereeniging "Zeldenrust" met voldoening op deze feestdag terugzien.

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7 oktober 1933 **VELDKRUIS BIJ KLEIN VINK OPGERICHT.**

PLECHTIGE INZEGENING DOOR Z. HOOGW. EXC. EMANUEL HAENESCH.

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Te Klein-Vink bij Arcen, aan den Rijksweg Venlo-Nijmegen, heeft de plechtige inzegening plaats gehad van het nieuwe veld- of wegkruis. In processie trokken de Eerw. Paters, Fraters en Broeders van het Missiehuis St. Paul, de Z. E. Rector en Broeders van het klooster Mater Dolorosa, met de scholieren van het Juvenaat St.

100995

Jozef naar het kruis. In hun midden Z. Hoogw. Exc. Mgr. Emanuel Haenesch, Vicaris van Ambaba Zuid-Afrika, die de inzegening verrichten zou. Bij het met bloemen versierde kruis gekomen, werden eenige liederen gezongen door de eerw. Paters-seminaristen.

Monseigneur had inmiddels op den verhoogden sokkel van den kruissteen plaats genomen en sprak allereerst over de beteekenis van het kruis. Hij preeke het Limburgsche volk om zijn diepen godsdienstzin, uit wier midden een vereniging gevormd is, met het

101000

doel veldkruizen te planten. Hij dankte de initiatiefnemers en medewerkers voor dit grootsche werk. De plek waar dit statige kruis zich verheft, is met Goddelijke Voorzienigheid gekozen. Nabij het groote Missiehuis waar tal van jonge krachten

worden opgeleid om straks in het groote uitgestrekte vicariaat van Mgr. nieuwe veld- en missiekruizen te planten. Onder het kruis op Golgotha stonden drie groepen van

101005

mensen. Deze groepen van mensen zijn tot op heden blijven voortbestaan: zij die het kruis liefhebben, dragen en volgen; zij die het kruis wel erkennen, doch wier wereldsche beslommingen hen steeds verder en verder van het kruis verwijderen; en zij die het kruis haten en vervolgen. Terug tot Christus en het kruis, geeft den mensch nieuwen levensmoed en hulp in deze moeilijke tijd. Hierna verrichtte

101010

Monsieur de heilige inwijding. Ondertusschen werd door de Fraters het lied "Das

Kreuz" gezongen, waarna de scholieren van het Juvenaat hunne gezangen aansloten. In processie trokken allen daarna terug. 's Anderen daags is Mgr. E. Haenesch met nog eenige broeders naar Rotterdam vertrokken om per s.s. Nyasza der Hamburg-Afrika-lijn naar zijn Heimat in het zwarte werelddeel Umbaba, zooals Mgr. dat noemde, terug te keeren.

3 november 1933 **De smokkeloorlog in N.-Limburg.**
Duitschland werkt de botersmokkelarij in de hand.
DE GRENSBEWAKING ONVOLDOENDE.

Bij het in werking treden der crisiszuivelwet, waardoor de boterprijs hier te lande aanzienlijk is gestegen, hebben de smokkelaars in de Limburgsche grensgemeenten een nieuwe bron voor den smokkelhandel gevonden.
Het is een feit, dat de margarinesmokkelarij op het oogenblik weliger tiert dan ooit te voren. De Deutsche regeering, die al het mogelijke doet, wanneer het de bevordering der eigen industrie geldt, heeft namelijk op den margarineuitvoer een premie gesteld in den vorm van nagenoeg vrijwel geheele kwijtschelding der hooge belasting op de Deutsche margarine, waardoor deze hooge belasting, voor die partijen, welke naar Holland worden geëxporteerd vrijwel is komen te vervallen. Hierdoor is de margarineprijs in Duitschland abnormaal laag.

Een ruime verdienste.

Terwijl wij hier onder den druk der crisiszuivelwet nog een slordige 120 centen voor een K.G. margarine moeten neertellen, betrekken de margarine-smokkelaars de margarine aan de overzijde van de grens voor 28 a 30 cent per K.G.. Ofschoon de gesmokkelde margarine, die niet voldoet aan de eischen der crisiszuivelwet en waarvan het vervoeren, zoowel als het voorhanden hebben een fiscale overtreding is, wordt deze door de smokkelaars voor ongeveer 70 ct. per K.G. aan de grootafnemers hier te lande afgeleverd, zoodat deze laatsten ook nog een aardig duitje op deze wijze in den zak houden. Hieruit blijkt dus dat de margarine-grootsmokkelaars ongeveer 40 cents per K.G. verdienen, zoodat het intusschen toch nog een aardig winst gevend bedrijf is om een vrachtwagen beladen met Deutsche margarine vaak slechts over enkele kilometers te vervoeren. Waar in deze crisistijd met zulk een margarinetransport en slechts matig risico een f1000,- a f1500,- kan worden verdiend, dan is het alleszins begrijpelijk, dat vrijwel het geheele smokkelaarsleger der Limburgsch-Deutsche grens, zich momenteel met dit winstgevend "margarine-vervoer" bezig houdt.

Onvoldoende grensbewaking.

De maatregelen, welke door ons kleine komiezenkorps, kunnen worden genomen, zijn ten eenenmale onvoldoende om den tegenwoordigen smokkelhandel afdoende te keeren. En indien, zooals gedurende de laatste dagen gebeurde in de omgeving van Arcen kort achter elkander een tweetal zwaar beladen vrachtauto's met margarine werden aangehouden, dan is dit succes der beambten meer aan het toeval en aan verraad, dan aan onze grensbewaking te danken. Zoowel aan uitrusting als bewapening van ons komiezenkorps, dat nog steeds met een revolver van ouderwetsch model is uitgerust ontbreekt veel — zoo niet alles — om ook maar eenigen vat van beteekenis op deze uitgebreide smokkelarij te krijgen.
Zoowel de dracht als de trefkans dezer wapenen zijn onvoldoende om tegen een smokkelauto met succes op te treden. Versnelde middelen van vervoer, welke ter bestrijding der moderne smokkelarij, die hoofdzakelijk per auto geschiedt, haagst noodzakelijk zijn ontbreken. Zij maken nog steeds van het goedkoopste vervoermiddel — den beenenwagen — gebruik, terwijl zonder toestemming zelfs het medenemen van een rijwiel op surveillance verboden is.
Waar de fiscus door deze omvangrijke margarinesmokkelarij dagelijks voor duizenden guldens aan accijns delft is de vraag gewettigd mede in verband met de bescherming onzer eigen industrie of het niet hoog tijd wordt dat de grensbewaking met een tijdelijk beambtenkorps wordt uitgebreid.

Smokkelaars op het oorlogspad.

Een feit is, dat gedurende de laatste nachten belangrijke hoeveelheden Deutsche margarine over onze Noord-Limburgsche grens het land zijn binnen gevoerd.
Enkele dagen geleden zat in een der nabije Limburgsche grensplaatsen een marechausseepatrouille in een houten keet in de nabijheid der Deutsche grens verdeckt opgesteld, om een smokkelauto, die naar was uitgelekt met Deutsche margarine de grens zou overschrijden, aan te houden. Toen de politiemannen eenigen tijd hadden post gevat naderde uit de richting der grens een man, die wel als smokkelaar bekend stond, doch waarvan men niet verwachtte, dat hij tot het ondernemen van een smokkeltransport

van eenige beteekenis in staat was.

Door de openingen der houten keet sloegen de politiemannen den verkenner gade. Zij zagen hoe de man zorgvuldig het terrein doorzocht of er ergens onraad te bespeuren viel. Eindelijk was de smokkelaar de houten keet, waarin de politiemannen zich nog

steeds schuil hadden gehouden, genaderd. Toen ook deze door den "voorlooper" aan een inspectie werd onderworpen, openden de politiemannen de deur, grepen haastig den verkenner bij zijn kraag en trokken hem bij zich in het houten huisje.

De verkenner werd gefouilleerd. Niet gering was de verwondering der politiemannen, toen zij in een notitieboekje, hetwelk de aangehoudene bij zich droeg aantekeningen vonden, dat deze oogenschijnlijk onbeduidende smokkelaar *in een week tijds ruim 20.000 K.G.* Deutsche margarine met succes het land had binnen gesmokkeld.

Korten tijd later naderde een tweede verkenner. Ook hij werd ingerekend. Het margarine-transport bleef dien nacht echter op Duitschen bodem. De auto-bestuurder, die tevergeefs op het sein "veilig" wachtte heeft kans gezien op een andere plaats ons land binnen te dringen.

Het is nog slechts kort geleden, dat in een onzer grensplaatsen het geheele kommiezen- en politiekorps werd gealarmeerd, omdat volgens zoogenaamde ingekomen betrouwbare berichten een belangrijk margarine-transport over de grens zou worden gebracht. Zoowel de kommiezen als marechaussee's en overige politiedienaren kennen de margarine-grootsmokkelaars, ongeacht of deze uit Arcen, Bergen, Siebengewald of Venlo afkomstig zijn, dan wel onder den rook van Well zijn gehuisvest. En inderdaad bewogen zich op dien belangrijken avond ook enkele van deze "kopstukken" uit de margarine-smokkelaarswereld in bedoelde plaats.

Er gebeurde echter niets. Terwijl het geheele politie- en ambtenarencorps zijn aandacht op een centraal punt had gevestigd stoven op slechts een uur gaans van deze plaats twee zware vrachtauto's, voorafgegaan door een luxe auto, ongehinderd over de grens.

101105 **Het vuurgevecht te Arcen.**

Bij deze gelegenheid slaagden de beambten er in een auto beladen met 2500 kg. Deutsche margarine in beslag te nemen. De smokkelauto was, zooals wij reeds meldden, onder valsche voorspiegelingen door de smokkelaars gehuurd in Venlo. De eigenaar, die van de heele smokkelaffaire onkundig was heeft onmiddellijk van dit feit aangifte gedaan bij de marechaussee's. Onder deze omstandigheden zal er voor den rechter waarschijnlijk niets anders op zitten, dan den auto wederom te doen teruggeven aan den rechtmatigen eigenaar.

Rest voor de smokkelaars nog het verlies der 2500 kg. margarine. Deze vertegenwoordigde een waarde van f700. Toen de beambten den in beslag genomen buit overbrachten, heeft de bestuurder van den tweeden smokkelauto kans gezien met zijn margarinetransport, hetwelk uit 3500 kg. bestond over de grens terug te vluchten. Deze zending heeft tenslotte goed de plaats van bestemming bereikt. Hier maakten de smokkelaars dus eene winst van ongeveer f1300. Wat beteekent onder deze omstandigheden – zooals op dien voor de smokkelaars noodlottigen Octobermorgen – een verlies van f700?

Voor het besturen der smokkelauto's zijn onverschrokken bestuurders zeer gezocht. Zij worden dan ook goed betaald en zijn niet zelden zelf bij het transport geïnteresseerd.

Autoverhuurders, die hun wagen voor een smokkeltransport beschikbaar stellen ontvangen hiervoor tegenwoordig als regel ongeveer f30 per rit. Meermalen wordt ook eene waarborgsom voor den auto gedeponneerd. Teneinde bij de aanhouding het verlies tot een minimum te beperken worden voor de margarine-smokkelarij hoofdzakelijk oude vrachtwagens gebezigd welke meestal slechts een waarde van f200–300 vertegenwoordigen.

Niet zelden koopen de smokkelaars hunne vroeger in beslag genomen auto's tijdens openbare verkooping van in beslag genomen goederen terug om hiermede opnieuw den strijd tegen de beambten aan te binden.

Intusschen hebben de smokkelaars gedurende de laatste weken op verscheidene plaatsen ondervonden, dat zoowel de grens- als politiebeambten strenger tegen de roekeloze smokkelchauffeurs gaan optreden en spoediger van hunne vuurwapens gebruik maken als voorheen het geval was. Vorige week nog werd op den Veldenschen weg door beambten geschoten op een taxi, die naar den zin der beambten niet spoedig genoeg voldeed aan het bevel om te stoppen. De chauffeur had, naar hij verklaarde niet tijdig het vlaggetje der ambtenaren opgemerkt. Alhoewel zich in den wagen een smokkelaarsgroepje bevond, dat waarschijnlijk eene verkenning had verricht, werd geen smokkelwaar in den wagen aangetroffen.

12 december 1933 **REISMARKEN SMOKKEL.**

Circa 50 tot 60 Venlonaren in de gevangenis te Krefeld.

- 101145 Ondanks alle verscherpte maatregelen van het Duitse grenstoezicht is het smokkelen van reismarken blijven voortgaan, zeer tot schade der waaghalzen, die bij bosjes tegelijk door de Duitse S.A.-mannen worden aangehouden en gearresteerd, wanneer ze slechts een gulden of mark uit Duitschland trachten te vervoeren boven 't toegelaten aantal.
- 101150 De laatste week zijn weer enkele Venlosche dames en heeren in Duitse grensplaatsen gearresteerd onder verdenking van devizensmokkelarij. Bij hun terugkeer uit Duitschland vonden de douanebeambten op hen een reischeque van 100 M., die geïnd was en in den pas stond aangegeven. In strijd met den opzet, dat bedragen van Duitse reismarken ook in Duitschland moeten verteerd worden, hadden de dames en heeren een kansje gewaagd om het geld over de grens te brengen. Ze werden gearresteerd en naar de strafgevangenis te Krefeld overgebracht. Naar men meedeelt, vertoeven in deze strafgevangenis meer dan 50 Venlosche ingezetenen, allen verdacht van het smokkelen van reismarken. Na een voorarrest van in doorsnee twee tot drie maanden moeten de gevangenen zich verantwoorden voor den rechter, die hun lang niet malsche straffen toedeelt. Ongeveer drie maanden geleden werd het echtpaar J. uit Venlo gearresteerd. Tot vandaag zit dit echtpaar reeds gevangen en het is nog niet voor den rechter geweest, waar het nog altijd een straf toebedeeld kan krijgen, die grooter is dan het voorarrest.
- 101165 14 mei 1934 **ERNSTIG AUTO-ONGELUK.**
Moeder en drie kinderen gewond. In den afgeloopen nacht te circa half een heeft op de Rijksweg juist bij de grensscheiding Venlo-Velden een ernstig auto-ongeluk plaats gehad. Dhr. Geurts uit Schandelo kwam met zijn luxe-auto uit de richting Venlo, toen uit de tegenovergestelde richting een andere luxe-auto naderde. Vermoedelijk doordat 101170 de auto, die uit de richting Velden naderde, de lichten niet genoeg gedempt heeft, werd dhr. Geurts verblind en reed hij tegen een langs den weg staande boom. In de auto zat behalve dhr. Geurts de echtgenoot van dhr. van den Berg uit Velden met zeven harer kinderen. Drie der kinderen, alsmede de "moeder, kregen arm- en beenverwondingen. Een der kinderen liep een hersenschudding op. De chauffeur en de 101175 andere kinderen kwamen met den schrik vrij. Dr. Paulussen en later dr. Thielen verleenden de eerste geneeskundige hulp. De auto van dhr. Geurts werd zwaar beschadigd.
- 24 juli 1934 **Eerste H. Mis van Pater Leo Steegh.**
- 101180 Tevens de Eerste H. Mis in de nieuwe Parochiekerk van den H. Andreas te Velden. Reeds vroeg in den morgen wapperde de vaderlandsche driekleur van den slanken toren der nieuwe St. Andreaskerk, ten teken, dat Velden haar reeks van Juli-feesten zou voortzetten. Pater Leo Steegh van de Congregatie der Paters van 't H. Hart, verleden 101185 Zondag door Mgr. Bux tot priester gewijd, droeg zijn eerste plechtige Hoogmis op in de nieuwe parochiekerk van zijn geboortedorp, een eer te meer, nu de pas gewijde Pater de eerste H. Mis mocht opdragen in genoemde kerk, een voorrecht dat weinig neomisten te beurt valt. Tegen half tien had zich een drom van kijklustigen verzameld op 't kruispunt aan de tramhalte, bij den prachtig versierden boog, waar door de neomist spoedig zijn joyeuse entrée zou houden in 't sierlijk getooide dorp. Het 101190 fanfarekorps in haar schitterende nieuwe uniformen stelde zich reeds op, om haar steeds gewaardeerde medewerking te verleenen.
- Uit de richting Schandelo naderden over den stoffigen weg langzaam de auto's met neomist, familie en genoodigden. De beierende klokken jubelden haar vreugdetonen over de verzamelde menigte ten teken dat de plechtigheid zou beginnen. Inmiddels 101195 arriveerden de eerw. heeren geestelijken, voorafgegaan door 'n aantal sierlijk uitgedoste misdienaars, die den nieuwgewijden Pater naar de nieuwe kerk zouden vergezellen. Nadat genoemde groep den neomist had verwelkomd, zette de zich inmiddels geformeerde stoet onder de blijde tonen der fanfare in beweging. Begunstigd door het prachtige zomerweer ging het door den met witte en gele bloemen versierden eereboog 101200 over de aan weerszijden pepavoiseerde straat de kom van 't dorp binnen, waar van alle huizen de vlaggen wapperden in den zonnigen morgen. Voor den ingang der kerk werd door een bruidje een toepasselijk gedicht voorgedragen waarna de stoet de feestelijk versierde kerk binnentrad. 't merkkelijk Zangkoor stond hier reeds opgesteld en machtig klonk 't vierstemmige: Dit is de dag, die de Heer gemaakt heeft. Hierna 101205 beklom de zeereerw. heer Pastoor Joosten 't spreekgestoelte en sprak enkele hartelijke woorden van gelukwensch tot den neomist, familie en parochianen. Hij noemde het een uitzonderlijke eer en buitengewoon voorrecht om als pasgewijd priester, de eerste H. Mis in deze nieuwe kerk te mogen opdragen. De nieuwe Pater

werd vervolgens gekleed met de kerkelijke gewaden en 'n teeken met 't nieuwe
 101210 koorklokje was 't sein, dat de groote plechtigheid een aanvang ging nemen. Pater
 Steegh werd geassisteerd door een tweetal Congregatie-genooten, terwijl de zeer eerw.
 heer Pastoor fungeerde als presbyterassistent. De weleerw. heer kapelaan Meys, leidde
 buitengewoon keurig 't achttal speciaal voor deze plechtigheid opgeleide koorknapen.
 't Zangkoor voerde verdienstelijk de veranderlijke gezangen van den 9en Zondag na
 101215 Pinksteren uit alsmede de klankvolle Missa Frederici van Gruber. Na 't Evangelie werd
 door een der Congregatie-genooten van den neomist de feestpredicatie gehouden. In
 goedgekozen woorden schetste de gewijde redenaar de hooge waarde van 't
 Priesterschap. Hierna werd het H. Misoffer weer voortgezet en volgden allen weer met
 groote aandacht de stichtende plechtigheid in de stemmige kerk. Tot slot zong het
 101220 koor na de Hoogmis een 3-stemmige Priester-Cantate. Klokslag 12 uur zette de auto's
 zich weer in beweging, toegejuicht door 'n dubbele haag van kijklustigen ging de file
 van auto's Schandelo-waarts. In den namiddag werd er door de fanfare nog een serenade
 gebracht aan Pater Steegh. De heer Linssen, voorzitter der vereeniging sprak enkele
 woorden van hulde namens het korps, waarna de toegesprokene het woord nam en heel de
 101225 parochie Velden dankte voor de eer hem bewezen en de moeiten die allen zich getroost
 hadden om dezen dag te maken tot den schoonsten van zijn leven. En thans maakt Velden
 zich weer op om a.s. Zondag voor de 2e maal in 1934 een van zijn zonen nl. Jozef
 Kroonenberghs van de orde der Paters Augustijnen zoo feestelijk mogelijk ten altare
 te begeleiden.

101230 28 juli 1934 **Wordt gevraagd voor terstond een meisje van 14-17 jaar**
 voor alle boerenwerk. J. Nilissen, Kerkenhof, Velden, Velgert 260. 3249

31 augustus 1934 **Smokkel-auto met bouillon-extracten aangehouden te Swalmen.**
 101235 Toen de alhier geplaatste ambtenaren der invoerrechten Donderdagmorgen in de vroege
 in dienst waren op den weg van Swalmen naar Bruggen, zagen zij twee auto's met
 scherpe lichten vanaf de grens komen. Op de gebruikelijke sommatie met het bekende
 douanevlaggetje gaf we bestuurder van de vrachtauto, welke gevolgd werd door een luxe
 auto, vol gas en reed weldra over de voor de smokkelaars zoo gevreesde spijkerplank.
 101240 Met een paar lekke voorbanden verdween de vrachtauto in de richting Swalmen. De
 ambtenaren volgden het spoor en troffen de vrachtauto op het gehucht Rijkel, onder de
 gemeente Beesel, onbeheerd aan.
 De wagen bleek 'n groote partij bouillon-extracten kisten en flesschen te bevatten.
 De auto, waarop als eigenaar stond vermeld Sijben, expeditie te Kessel, werd door
 101245 een takelwagen van de Nedam naar Roermond gesleept, terwijl de smokkelwaar bij den
 Rijksontvanger te Roermond werd gedeponneerd.

19 oktober 1934 [...] **Afgewezen worden, met het oog op de financiën**
 101250 dezer gemeente, de subsidies gevraagd door de Stichting het Limburgsche Landschap en
 de Stierhouderij "De Toekomst" te Velden; ook de door de N.V. Maasbuurtspoorweg
 gevraagde extra-subsidie van f500 wordt afgewezen. [...]

Bij de rondvraag wordt gewezen op noodzakelijke vernieuwing der deuren van het
 brandspuithuisje te Schandelo en verbetering van drinkwatervoorziening in de
 veldwachterswoning te Velden. [...]

101255 VELDEN. Landbouwcursus. — Dinsdagavond j.l. werd alhier de landbouwcursus der Jonge
 Boeren geopend. Aanwezig waren de zeer eerw. heer Pastoor, alsmede de besturen, 't
 Aantal cursisten bedraagt 23, terwijl de lessen worden gegeven door 't hoofd der
 school den heer J. Kroonenberg alhier.
 Ziekenfonds opgericht.

101260 — De zoo lang besproken plannen voor een op te richten Ziekenfonds zijn Woensdagavond
 in vervulling gegaan. Omstreeks 7 uur opent de weleerw heer Kapelaan de vergadering,
 welke zeer druk is bezocht, met den chr. groet en heet allen welkom. In 't kort wordt
 dan even reglement gezien, waarmede de meerderheid zich kon vereenigen, terwijl
 diverse verbeteringen in 't vooruitzicht worden gesteld, wanneer de zaak eenigen tijd

101265 heeft gefunctionneerd. Na nog even 't doel en 't nut van dit fonds te hebben
 gememoreerd, treden velen naar voren om zich als lid op te geven, zoo dat de weleerw.
 heer Kapelaan handen tekort komt en hulp moet ingeroepen worden. Na telling blijken
 al direct 196 leden te zijn ingeschreven, terwijl heden nog een 10-tal zich hebben
 aangemeld, zoodat dit fonds begint met ruim 200 leden, voorwaar een prachtig succes.

101270 Vooral zeer vele gegoede burgers zijn ingeschreven, zodoende begrijpende, dat
 hoofdmotief van dit fonds: "daadkrachtige naastenliefde" voorop is gesteld. Wegens 't
 vergevorderde uur wordt de bestuursverkiezing uitgesteld tot de volgende vergadering
 op Dinsdag 30 Oct. a.s. Tot 1 Nov. bestaat nog gelegenheid zich als lid te doen
 inschrijven tegen inleggeld van 10 cent, na dien tijd a 50 cent, bij den weleerw.

101275 heer Kapelaan, alhier.

27 oktober 1934 **Schouder gebroken.**

101280 – Terwijl de knecht van den heer G. uit Schandelo met paard en wagen bezig was, trok het paard ineens aan, zoodat hij tegen een zwaren balk werd geslingerd. Op dokters advies werd hij naar het ziekenhuis overgebracht, waar een ernstige schouderbreuk werd geconstateerd.

24 december 1934 **Wilde zwijnen.**

101285 – Door eenige bewoners uit Schandelo werden gisteren een paar wilde zwijnen ontdekt. Ofschoon eenige jagers er direct op uit trokken en somwijlen ook de dieren in 't oog kregen, mocht 't hun echter niet gelukken de zwijnen onder schot te krijgen, zoodat men zich hiermede nog enkele dagen kan amuseeren.

7 januari 1935 **Overgeplaatst.**

101290 – Met ingang van 1 Febr. a.s. is naar de standplaats Roosendaal overgeplaatst dhr. S. Pietersersma [Pietersma], Ontvanger van het Grenskantoor Lingsfort alhier, welke vele jaren hier deze betrekking heeft vervuld.

30 maart 1935 **VALSCHE 5 MARKSTUKKEN Een arrestatie te Venlo.**

101295 Gistermiddag werd door de marechaussee te Venlo de 25-jarige A. G. te Schandelo gearresteerd, terwijl deze bij een bankinstelling een 26-tal valsche muntstukken van 5 Mark trachtte in te wisselen. De man werd in de marechausseekazerne ingesloten. Vermoed wordt dat de aangehoudene deel uitmaakt van een reeds lang gezochte valsche muntersbende. In samenwerking met de Deutsche politieautoriteiten wordt thans een uitgebreid onderzoek ingesteld.

30 maart 1935 **Valsche marken in Limburg.**

101300 Man bij wisselen aangehouden.
Vrijdagmiddag vervoegde zich aan het wisselkantoor van een reisbureau de ongeveer 25-jarige A. G. uit het gehucht Schandelo onder de gemeente Arcen en Velden, die zes en twintig valsche vijfmarkstukken ter inwisseling aanbood.

101305 De kassier had spoedig ontdekt, dat de markstukken, die opvallend slecht waren nagmaakt, valsch waren. Hij stelde onmiddellijk de politie van het voorgevallene in kennis en weldra waren enkele rechercheurs op het kantoor, waar de man intusschen was opgehouden, aanwezig. G. werd hierna gearresteerd, terwijl het valsche Deutsche geld in beslag werd genomen. Bij zijn verhoor verklaarde G., in wiens ouderlijke woning te Schandelo een handel in koloniale waren wordt gedreven, dat hij het inbeslaggenomen geld moest omwisselen voor een broer, die het thuis in zijn winkel van Duitschers, die koffie hadden gekocht, in betaling zou hebben aangenomen. Hij beweerde niet te weten, dat het geld valsch was.

101315 Ondanks deze verklaring is de man voorloopig in de marechaussee-kazerne te Venlo in verzekerde bewaring gesteld. Het Deutsche bureau voor falsificaties is van een en ander op de hoogte gesteld, zoodat overkomst van een Duitschen expert wordt verwacht, ten einde naar de herkomst van het valsche geld een onderzoek in te stellen.

101320 In dit verband herinneren we er aan, dat sedert jaren in de Deutsche grensstreek bij herhaling valsche markstukken in omloop worden gebracht. Ruim een jaar geleden werd een zeer goed geoutilleerde munterswerkplaats ontdekt nabij de Deutsche grens, op Limburgsch grondgebied onder Arcen in een grenswoning, welke door een Pool was bewoond, terwijl destijds ook op Duitsch grondgebied in de nabijheid der grens een valsche munterswerkplaats werd ontdekt in een kippenhok. Alhoewel de personen, die zich met deze laatste valschmunterij onledig hielden werden gearresteerd, houdt de circulatie van valsch Duitsch geld in de grensstreek nog steeds aan en komen bij de politie herhaaldelijk klachten binnen van personen, die valsch geld in betaling hebben genomen, zoodat het vermoeden is gewettigd, dat in de grensstreek nog geheime plaatsen, alwaar valsch Duitsch geld wordt vervaardigd, aanwezig moeten zijn. De marechaussee's der Brigade alhier onder wier bewakingskring de gemeente Arcen en Velden ressorteert stellen aan deze zijde der grens een uitgebreid onderzoek in.

31 maart 1935 **OP ZOEK NAAR DE DADERS**

101335 Bij het onderzoek inzake het geval van het in omloop brengen van valsche Deutsche vijfmark-stukken, waarvan reeds melding werd gemaakt, is gebleken, dat de verklaring van den verdachten 25-jarigen jongeman uit Schandelo op waarheid berust. Twee Duitschers hebben nl. in den winkel in koloniale waren te zijnen huize 150 kg koffie besteld. Den volgenden morgen is deze partij aan de grens afgeleverd en de jongeman werd toen betaald met 26 valsche Deutsche vijf-markstukken. Men is thans op zoek naar de koopers van de koffie. De verdachte jongeman is in vrijheid gesteld.

101340

25 mei 1935 **HAUS ENTE - ARCEN (Lingsfort)**

Hiermede brengt ondergeteekende ter kennis, dat hij het mooie buitenverblijf "Haus Ente", weer heeft overgenomen. Geheel gemoderniseerd wordt het op Zondag 26 Mei opnieuw geopend. Beleefd aanbevelend G. MATTISSEN - ARCEN

2 juli 1935 **Bekanntmachung.**

Die Ehe wollen miteinander eingehen: der Handlungsgehilfe Josef Gerhard Petry, wohnhaft in Straelen Mühlenstrasse 5, und die berufslose Anna Christine Roosen, wohnhaft in Arcen, Lingsforterweg 152. Der Standesbeamte Straelen den 28 Juni 1935.

In Vertretung Panhuysen
STRAELEN, den 28 Juni 1935

8 juli 1935 **Ernstig motorongeluk onder Velden**

TWEE DOODEN EN EEN ZWAAR GEWONDE.

Zaterdagavond heeft op den rijksweg Nijmegen-Venlo onder de gemeente Arcen en Velden, ter hoogte van het postkantoor te Velden, een ernstig motorongeluk plaats gehad. Bij het oversteken van den Rijksweg is de 72-jarige timmerman J. Clabbers uit Velden door een motorrijtuig, bestuurd door den 27-jarigen mijnwerker R. Glaser uit Brunssum aangereden. De bejaarde man liep ernstige inwendige kneuzingen op en is op weg naar het ziekenhuis overleden. De mijnwerker Glaser bekam een ernstige schedelfractuur en werd in zorgwekkenden toestand naar het St. Josephziekenhuis te Venlo vervoerd, alwaar hij Zondagmiddag aan de bekomen verwondingen is bezweken. De 20-jarige Mej. A. Jüritsch, eveneens uit Brunssum afkomstig, die op de duo was gezeten, liep een dubbele beenfractuur en gapende hoofdwonde op. In bewusteloozen toestand is ook deze dame naar het ziekenhuis vervoerd. Haar toestand was Zondagavond nog ernstig. Omstreeks 9 uur Zaterdagavond bevond de bejaarde timmerman zich op weg naar zijn zoon, die een aan genoemden Rijksweg gelegen winkelhuis bewoont. Tegenover de woning van zijn zoon stak de grijsaard, die bovendien doof is, zonder achtte slaan op het verkeer, den drukken verkeersweg over. Op hetzelfde oogenblik naderde uit de richting Nijmegen met een snelheid van ongeveer 70 K.M. de motorrijder Glaser met een zware Norton motor, terwijl Mej. A. Jüritsch op de duo zat. Op het laatste oogenblik zag de oude man het gevaar in, hij aarzelde een oogenblik en liep toen door. In volle vaart reed de motorrijder den ouden man aan. Deze werd tegen den grond gesmakt, terwijl de motorrijder ongeveer 10 meter verder tegen een boom terzijde van den weg werd geslingerd. De duorijdster kwam nog iets verder tegen den muur van een huis terecht. Onmiddellijk snelden omwonenden toe. Het bleek, dat de gewonden, die allen hevig bloeddeip er ernstig aan toe waren. Het bejaarde slachtoffer werd inde woning van zijn zoon binnengedragen. Onmiddellijk werden geneeskundige en geestelijke hulp ontboden. Pastoor Joosten en Kapelaan Meijs uit Velden waren spoedig ter plaatse en verleenden geestelijken bijstand, terwijl ook de doktoren Thielen uit Arcen en Poulussen uit Venlo weldra op de plaats van het noodlottig, ongeval arriveerden. Na voorloopig verbonden te zijn, zijnde drie slachtoffers in bewusteloozen toestand naar het St. Josephziekenhuis te Venlo overgebracht. Bij aankomst aldaar bleek de timmerman Clabbers reeds te zijn overleden. In zorgwekkenden toestand werden de heide andere slachtoffers het ziekenhuis binnengedragen. Zonder tot bewustzijn te zijn gekomen is ook de mijnwerker Glaser Zondagmiddag omstreeks 1 uur overleden. Naar wij bij informatie in het ziekenhuis vernamen was de toestand van Mej. Jüritsch Zondagavond nog zeer zorgwekkend. De gemeentepolitie uit Velden en de marechaussee's uit Venlo hebben van het ongeval proces-verbaal opgemaakt. Het noodlottig ongeval bracht in het anders zoo rustige Maasdorpje een groote opschudding. Op de plek van het ongeval stonden de dorpsbewoners Zondagmorgen het gebeurde, waarbij een hunner oudste ingezetenen het leven verloor, nog drukte bespreken. Het motorrijwiel, waarmede het ongeval plaats vond, werd slechts licht beschadigd.

6 augustus 1935 **VELDEN. Plechtige Eerste H. Mis Pater Elias Theelen O.C.**

- Nog is het jubelend gebeier niet uit de lucht, of Velden ziet zich weer voor de groote eer geplaatst, een harer nieuwe priesterzonen naar 't altaar Gods te mogen geleiden, ditmaal den W. Eerw. Pater Elias Theelen van de Orde der Carmelieten, die 't aantal priesters, die het kleine Velden reeds geschonken heeft, tot negen doet stijgen. Reeds weken en weken is men bezig geweest, dit feest voor den Neomist tot een onvergetelijk te maken, waarin men dan ook wondervol is gaslaagd, want door een dergelijke versiering, met elf eerebogen, des avonds feerijk verlicht, aan te brengen, had men ongetwijfeld den jongen priester geen groter eer en vreugde kunnen verschaffen, en de gevoelens der buurtbewoners niet beter kunnen vertolken. Om kwart voor tien werd de neomist, vergezeld van zijn grijze vader en familie, aan huis afgehaald door Geestelijkheid, bruidjes, buurtbewoners en fanfare, en werd hij reeds

terstond verwelkomd door twee maagden, waarop de jonge priester zijn priesterlijken zegen schonk. Aan de kerk werd hij nogmaals verwelkomd door twee bruidjes, terwijl in de kerk door het Zangkoor een machtig driestemmig "Tu es sacerdos" van v. Schaik den jongen priester werd toegezongen. Vervolgens sprak de Z.Eerw. Heer Pastoor een gelukwensch tot den Neomist en familie. Dan werd een aanvang gemaakt met de H. Diensten. Als presbyter-assistens fungeerde Pastoor Joosten, als diaken de W. Eerw. Pater J. Linssen S.S.S., als sub-diaken de W.E. Pater J. Kronenberghs O.E.S.A., en als ceremoniarius de W.E. Frater L. Linssen S.C.J., alle 3 dorpsgenooten van den Neomist. Door het knapen- en mannenkoor werd de plechtige tweestemmige "Missae St. Antonii de Padua" van Janssen gezongen. De feestpredicatie werd gehouden door den W.Eerw. Pater Herman Joseph Denteneer O.C., die op indrukwekkende wijze de heiligheid en waardigheid van het H. Priesterschap deed uitkomen. Na de H. Mis werd door het koor een jubelend vierstemmig "Hic est sacerdos" van M. Mosmans uitgevoerd en was deze plechtigheid mede door de prachtige versiering in de kerk, alsook door de op zeer verdienstelijke wijze uitgevoerde zang, voor allen een onvergetelijke geworden. Vervolgens toog men huiswaarts, alwaar weer door meerdere bruidjes verzen werden gedeclameerd en bloemen aangeboden. Namens de buurtbewoners vertolkte dhr. J. Clabbers in een kort, doch hartelijk woord de gevoelens der omwonenden. Spr. dankte voor het geluk, dat ook zij een priester in hun midden hebben. Ten zeerste geroerd sprak dan de jonge priester, na op de eerste plaats God te hebben bedankt alsmede zijn grijze vader, vooral de Z.Eerw. Heer Pastoor, voor de vele moeite en offers, voor hem gebracht. Des avonds werd de Neomist door de Fanfare een serenade gebracht. Bij monde van wethouder van den Hombergh werd hij dan geccomplimenteerd. De jonge priester dankte voor dit eerbewijs en beloofde de Fanfare in zijn gebed niet te vergeten. Nog lang in den avond heerschte er groote vreugde in het dorp. Velden heeft weer op ondubbelzinnige wijze getoond, zijn priesters te kunnen eeren.

21 augustus 1935 **Verkeerstelling.**

— Op den van provinciaal belang verklaarden weg, loopende vanaf het dorp Arcen naar de Rijksgrens aan den Lingsfort wordt momenteel eene verkeerstelling gehouden, welke echter geen verband houdt met de plannen tot verbetering hiervan. De verbetering met asphalt-beton, waartoe bereids door den Raad werd besloten, zal afgezien van den uitslag der telling, binnenkort ter hand worden genomen. Op Zaterdag j.1. bedroeg de uitslag der gehouden telling tusschen 6 uur v.m. en 8 uur nam. Bespannen voertuigen voor vrachtvervoer 22; personenauto's 38, op Zondag 36; autobus 1; vrachtauto's 28; motorrijwielen 12, op Zondag 10; rijwielen 498, op Zondag 692; handkruiwagens, hondenkarren, enz 38, op Zondag 19; voetgangers 274, op Zondag 331.

26 augustus 1935 **FEL WOEDT NOG HET VUUR IN HET VEEN.**

De brand in de Noord-Limburgsch Duitsche grensstreek verwoestte reeds 40 H.A. (Van onzen correspondent). VENLO, 24 Aug.

— De veenbrand, die reeds enkele dagen in de Noord-Limburgsch-Duitsche grensstreek woedt, is nog steeds niet bedwongen. Vóór de bekenverbetering in deze streken waren de veengronden veel drassiger dan tegenwoordig, en daardoor ook minder brandbaar. Na de langdurige droogteperiode zijn deze beken zoo goed als uitgedroogd, waardoor groote uitgestrekte veengronden droogliggen. De veenlaag is hier op sommige plaatsen tamelijk diep, zoodat de brand hier en daar zelfs meer dan een meter diep onder den grond woekert. Aan blusschen valt onder deze omstandigheden dan ook niet te denken. Dag en nacht bewaken rijks- en gemeentepolitie de brandende terreinen en de omgeving, om onmiddellijk als de vlammen aan de oppervlakte komen en dan over de dorre gras- en heidevelden voortjagen, te kunnen ingrijpen. Ook de vrijwillige brandweercorpsen uit de Duitsche grensstreek en de arbeiders uit de werkverschaffing der Noord-Limburgsche dorpjes Velden en Arcen zijn dag en nacht in de weer om den vuurwolf te bedwingen. Vooral in het gehucht Schandelloo in de onmiddellijke nabijheid der Duitsche grens, woedt het vuur hevig. Ook op het aangrenzende Duitsche grondgebied gaat de vuurwolf hevig te keer. Uitgestrekte perceelen heidegrond zijn reeds zwart geroosterd. Vooral langs de spoorlijn naar Krefeld kent het alles vernielende vuur geen grenzen. Hier is de veenbrand op het oogenblik wel het ergst. Op grooten afstand is de scherpe brandlucht merkbaar.

19 oktober 1935 **Oefening Luchtbescherming.**

— Voor de in de namiddag van Zaterdag 26 October a.s. boven Limburg te houden oefeningen van den Luchtbeschermingsdienst zullen in deze gemeente de volgende maatregelen worden genomen. De straatverlichting in de dorp Arcen, Lomm, Schandelo en Velden, zal niet ontstoken worden dan na afloop der oefening te omstreeks half zeven. [...]

24 oktober 1935 **LANDELIJKE IDYLLE.**

Het matte licht van een vroegen wintermorgen lag over het zaaltje – over de daken lag de witte rijp en overal waren teekenen van het seizoen te bekennen, zoodat het binnen in het zaaltje, waar de hoge kachel van de warmte glom, reeds genoegelijk verwijlen was. In deze vroeg-wintersche sfeer trad een clan Veldenaren aan, of juist gezegd, ze kwamen uit het gehucht Schandelo, en nu wilden we allen wel eens weten wat deze heeren, wier gehucht reeds een verwijt aan boosheid beteekent, gedaan of mogelijk niét gedaan hadden.

Men zal niet te snel oordeelen, wanneer men een aantal lieden uit één buurt voor de kadi aantreft. Want heel achteraf blijkt met zelden, dat de schuldige van den dag niet meer schuld draagt dan de heeren. die hun genoeg hebben gevonden in het spelen van getuige. Alleen zijn zij misschien wat slimmer geweest, of hebben zij dankbaar gebruik gemaakt van "het juiste moment", een omstandigheid, waarnaar het slachtoffer wellicht tevergeefs uitkeek

Lieden van 't land knauwen soms op iets verschrikkelijks; zij zijn in staat om plannen, te smeden, ten einde één hunner gemeenschappelijk aan de galg te helpen, en zij vergeten daarbij, dat de vrede een onmisbaar element is in de samenleving. De stad stelt zich gemeenlijk die verhouding wat al te gekleurd of al te vredelievend voor – wanneer de stad naar buiten trekt en zich in de vrije natuur tusschen wiegende graanakkers en dennebosschen ophoudt, dan ziet zij in den naderenden landman, die omgeven door den vrede van de natuur, over een smal paadje gaat, het beeld van den hemel. En, wanneer dezelfde stadsmensch zoo nu en dan eens naar dit zaaltje kwam luisteren, zou hij voor goed twijfelen aan de waarde van den Volkenbond, want een heele stam kan zóó hopeloos met elkaar overhoop liggen, dat men zich een rustend kanon niet kan voorstellen

Ik wil niet zeggen, dat deze idylle uit Schandelo geheel volgens bovenstaand recept is, maar er bleek dan toch oneenigheid te bestaan – en een oneenigheid, die niet tot het object, een fazant, beperkt bleef. Het werd er niet bij verteld, doch in de zaal zweefde het ontzettende woord "veete" en dit maakte de stemming eenigszins gereserveerd. Een Schandeloër dan zou in het veld een fazant geschoten hebben, gedood en bemachtigd, luidde de verdenking, en wel op 30 September van dit jaar, toen de jacht op dit gevogelte reeds taboe was verklaard.

Hoe het nu precies in elkaar zat, bleef in de verte zweven, maar de rijksveldwachter werd in den arm genomen en die moest den dader maar eens op de bon slingeren.

En zoo geschiedde het dat Schandelo dezen morgen naar het zaaltje afgevaardigd werd. Langzaam ontknoopte zich het geval, d.w.z. we kregen te hooren, dat er méér achter zat, al konden we met ons getraind combinatievermogen de landelijke legplaatjes niet geheel aan elkaar leggen.

Als poging om den vroegtijdigen dood van de fazant voor het slachtoffer te bezwaren, steeg van voor de balie het verwijt op, dat er ook wel eens een kraai was geschoten, maar de twist raakte als in een kluwen, toen verteld werd, dat in de buurt een dochter was getrouwd en dat er menschen op die bruiloft geweest waren.

De vraag, die tenslotte van meer interesse was dan de rest, was voor ons: wat heeft een doode fazant te maken met een gezellige bruiloft in Schandelo? Er werd in dit verband wel zoo men dat noemt op den korf gestooten, maar verder bleef het geheim van het land bestaan.

Toen kwam de politiemann die zich in deze idylle gewaagd had, en hij trachtte zijn eenmaal begonnen werk tot een goed einde te brengen.

Of er ook gestroopt wordt, vroeg de rechter.

– Heel Schandelo stroomt, sprak de politiemann en daarmee maakte hij den verdediger om zoo te zeggen wakker, die op deze uitlating dan wel eens wou vernemen of deze man, zijn cliënt, ook als een strooper bekend stond...

Feitelijk was deze vraag overbodig, want waar de politiemann geen Schandeloër vrij van de zonde van stroopen genoemd had, daar behoefde men niet meer over de onschuld van één hunner te twisten.

Maar de veldwachter schrok misschien een beetje voor zijn eigen moed om de heele bevolking over één kam te scheren.

– Nee, zei hij toen, dat nou niet. Toen was de verdediger weer gerust. De balie noemde het gansche geval niet sympathiek – er zaten te veel haken en oogen aan, terwijl men niet met absolute zekerheid te weten kon komen óf de delinquent de fazant – want daar ging het nog altijd om – geschoten had. Wel was er een schot gevallen, maar zeg maar eens wie schoot, als de heele buurt, volgens den politiemann, ervoor in staat is. Zoo kwam het, dat de ambtenaar, die prikkelende gevoeligheden wilde ontwijken en die inderdaad ook zorgen blijkt te hebben voor het behoud of het herstel van den vrede ten plattelande, vrijspraak eischte. De rechter hield de gunning nog

veertien dagen vast, maar dat is slechts eerbiedwaardige traditie. Want de Schandeloër gaat niet naar de galg!

19 november 1935 **ZWARE BOERDERIJBRAND TE VELDEN.**

Hoeve door het vuur vernietigd.

TWEE KINDEREN MET MOEITE GERED.

Geld en geldswaardige papieren verbrand.

Maandagavond te ongeveer 6 uur werd de buurtschap Hasselt, gelegen onder de gemeente Velden, plotseling opgeschrikt door een uitslaande brand in de groote boerderij van J. Willemsen. In allerijl snelden de buurtbewoners naar de bedreigde hoeve.

Het bleek dat de brand was uitgebroken in de stallen welke aan de woning der boerderij zijn vastgebouwd. In de aanwezige voorraad hooi en andere voedingsartikelen vond het vuur gretig voedsel. De vlammen sloegen van alle kanten uit het gebouw.

In het gedeelte van het woonhuis, dat boven de stallingen gebouwd was, sliepen een tweetal kinderen van den eigenaar. Een bewijs voor de groote snelheid, waarmede het vuur zich uitbreidde, is wel het feit, dat men de kleinen slechts met moeite uit de vlammenzee kon redden. Het bedje van een der kinderen was reeds aan 't branden. Ondertusschen was men er ook in geslaagd het vee los te maken en uit de stallingen te drijven. Het vuur dat in zijn groote hevigheid niet te temperen was, tastte weldra het geheele woonhuis aan. Met vereende krachten sleepte men zooveel mogelijk de inboedel naar buiten.

Hoewel de brandweren van Velden, Schandelo en Arcen met alle kracht werkte, kon men het woonhuis niet behouden. Wel gelukte het hun, mede door de gunstige windrichting, een van de brandende hoeve losstaande schuur aan het vernietigende vuur te ontrukken.

Men deelde ons nog mede, dat een portefeuille, die een bedrag van ruim f200 bevatte, in het vuur gebleven was. Dit geld was de opbrengst van den verkoop van eenig vee, dat de eigenaar 's morgens nog ontvangen had. Ook de bezittingen van een inwonende broer van dhr. Willemsen, konden niet meer uit het vuur gered worden. Zijn kleeren, geld en papieren bleven in de vlammen. De heer Willemsen zelf was verzekerd, zijn broer echter niet.

De huiskapel van Mgr. Willemsen, een familielid van den eigenaar der hoeve, die een uitbouw vormde van de hoeve, wist men eveneens nog te behouden. Deze kapel was tijdens het verblijf van Mgr. Willemsen in Velden, gedurende den oorlog, toen hij niet meer naar Rome terug kon keeren, aan de hoeve vastgebouwd. Op het terrein van den brand merkten wij o.m. op wethouder van den Hombergh uit Velden.

Te ongeveer 8 uur had men het vuur zoodanig bedwongen, dat men geen verdere uitbreiding meer behoefde te vreezen.

17 maart 1936 **TWEE DUIZEND KILO KOFFIE GESMOKKELD.**

Door Deutsche douane achterhaald.

In den smokkelhandel langs de Deutsche grens valt in de laatste weken wederom een kleine opleving te bespeuren. De naar Duitschland gesmokkelde artikelen bestaan hoofdzakelijk uit koffie, tabak en sigaretten, terwijl uit Duitschland daarentegen in hoofdzaak geld, alcoholhoudende dranken en vooral Maggi frauduleus worden ingevoerd. Door een toevallige samenloop van omstandigheden zijn de Deutsche douanebeambten thans in Noord Limburg een belangrijke koffie-smokkelarij op het spoor gekomen, meldt de "N. Venl. Crt."

Enkele smokkelaars uit Venlo waren er in geslaagd met een gehuurde vrachtauto, beladen met 2000 K.G. ongebrande koffie, onder de grensgemeenten Arcen en Velden de Deutsche grens te overschrijden. Alle voorzorgsmaatregelen waren tevoren reeds genomen, zoodat het passeeren der Deutsche grens met de zwaarbeladen auto een vlot verloop had. De koffie was bestemd voor een koffiebranderij gelegen in de nabijheid van Munchen-Gladbach. De smokkelaars waren met den wagen ongeveer 25 K.M. de Deutsche grens overschreden toen zij in de nabijheid van het stadje Viersen auto-pech kregen. Bij onderzoek bleek dat het defect aan den wagen niet dadelijk te herstellen was, zoodat de chauffeur van de smokkelwagen er op uit toog om een vrachtauto op te zoeken, die de lading zou overnemen. Het gelukte den smokkelaar weldra een Duitscher te vinden, die zich bereid verklaarde tegen vergoeding de vracht naar de plaats van bestemming te brengen. Op de vraag van den Duitscher wat zich eigenlijk in de zakken bevond, antwoordden de smokkelaars, dat daarin zaadboonen waren verpakt.

Onmiddellijk na het overladen, dat geheel ongestoord kon plaats vinden, werd de wagen naar de plaats van bestemming te Munchen-Gladbach gereden.

Toen de lading aan het bestemde adres was afgeleverd keerde de Duitscher naar Viersen terug, terwijl de smokkelaars zich eveneens huiswaarts begaven. Toen echter de Deutsche chauffeur de vrachtauto waarmede hijden avond tevoren de vracht had vervoerd, den volgenden morgen wederom wilde gebruiken, bemerkte hij, dat in den

- 101605 laadbak een kleine hoeveelheid ongebrande koffieboonen lag. Hij vermoedde toen dat deze afkomstig waren van de vracht, welke hij voor de hem onbekende Hollanders vervoerd had, zoodat hij onbewust zijn medewerking had verleend aan deze belangrijke smokkel-affaire. Hij stelde de Duitsche douane-beambten van een en ander in kennis. Deze hebben zich toen onmiddellijk naar de plaats begeven, al waar de koffie was
- 101610 afgeleverd, en de geheele partij in beslag genomen, aangezien de eigenaar niet in het bezit was van de vereischte vergunning zulk een groote hoeveelheid koffie voorhanden te hebben.
- 18 maart 1936 **Velden. Sluiting 2-jarige Landbouwcursus.**
- 101615 Dhr. Sanders, voorzitter Boerenbond, opende, heette Geestelijk Adviseur, Ir. Dewez, rijkslandbouwconsulent en Ir. Bles, directeur Landbouwschool, welkom. Tevens waren besturen Boerenbond en Jonge Boeren aanwezig. De landbouwonderwijzer dhr. Kroonenberghs en Ir. Dewez stelden enkele praktische vragen, waarna de laatste nog enkele opwekkende woorden tot de cursisten sprak. Voorzitter Jonge Boeren, dhr.
- 101620 Geurts, reikte een toepasselijk woord aan de volgende heeren de diploma's uit, G. en P. Steegh, M. en K. Lommen, J. en Th. van den Haghen, G. Verbong, Jac. Lommen, H. Keltjens, J. Tiesen, H. Heldens, G. Koopmans, Jac. Leupers, Jac. van Hees, C. Verheyen, Jac. Geurts, Jac. Driessen, H. Vermeulen, M. Becker, H. Bouten, Jac. Jansen, M. Simons, H. van der Haghen en J. Theelen.
- 101625 De geestelijke adviseur, pastoor Joosten, richt ook enkele woorden tot de geslaagden, welke zij vooral vooreerst ter harte zullen nemen. Namens de cursisten dankte dhr. G. Steegh, waarna de onderwijzers aan de aangename samenwerking herinnerde en hiervoor dan ook speciaal dankte.
- 30 maart 1936 **Ploegdemonstratie Jonge Boeren.**
- 101630 – Onder een zeer groote belangstelling werd alhier door de kring van Jonge Boeren, Arcen, Lomm en Velden, ploegwedstrijden georganiseerd, waarvan ook van de zijde der deelnemers, veel animo bestond. Het perceel, waarop de wedstrijden zouden plaats hebben, was welwillend door den heer Fr. Thiessen, Schandelo, afgestaan. De wedstrijd
- 101635 had plaats in twee groepen van zes deelnemers. Voor den aanvang der wedstrijden, sprak de kring voorzitter de heer J. Geurts, een hartelijk welkomstwoord, speciaal tot de juryleden de heeren Ir. Bles en Dings, Roermond, Jac. Beeker en Fr. Theelen, Velden, alsmede de heer W. Nijskens Arcen en wees de deelnemers op het nut en doel van deze strijd, welke in de toekomst goede vruchten zal afwerpen. De directeur der
- 101640 Landbouwwinterschool dankte het Kringbestuur voor hun groote activiteit hierin betoond en gaf vervolgens een korte uiteenzetting over de grondbewerking. Alvorens een aanvang te nemen, werd de deelnemers bekend gemaakt dat ten hoogste 100 punten kunnen behaald worden, waarvan 70 punten voldoende is om een diploma te verkrijgen. Na drie uren ploegen was de strijd beëindigd en werd overgegaan tot het uitdeelen der
- 101645 prijzen. Alvorens hiertoe over te gaan, maakte de jury bekend dat in verband met de losse grond en de korte opstand het minimum te behalen punten voor een diploma was gesteld op 65. De uitslag is als volgt:
1. Geelen, Velden met 77 pnt;
 2. G. Hegger, Arcen met 75½ pnt.;
 3. J. Tax, Velden 74¾ pnt.;
 4. M. Rieter, Velden 72¾ pnt.;
 5. J. Schreven, Arcen 69½ pnt.;
 6. H. Heidens, Velden 69¼ pnt.;
 7. H. Arts, Arcen, 69 pnt.;
 8. H. Thiessen, Velden 66¾ pnt.;
 9. L. Engels, Velden 66½ pnt.;
 10. P. Steegh, Velden 66½ pnt.;
 11. W. Muijres, Velden 65¾ pnt.
- 101655 De eerste twee prijswinnaars ontvingen bovendien nog een extra souvenir. De punten zelf werden niet alleen gegeven voor de beste ploeger, maar ook werd aandacht geschonken aan het best in orde zijn van tuig en ploeg, waarop meerdere deelnemers niet ernstig hadden gelet en zich hierdoor schade berokkenden. Tot slot dankte de voorzitter J. Geurts allen voor hun bereidwilligheid en dankte vooral de jury, waarmede deze zeer leerzame dag was beëindigd.
- 101665 19 april 1936 **DUITSCHER DOUANE HOUDT AUTO MET BOLLEN AAN.**
Winstgevende smokkelarij... als het ten minste gelukt.
(Van onzen correspondent).
- 101670 VELDEN, 15 April. – Duitsche kommiezen hebben aan de grens onder Walbeck, na eerst eenige schoten te hebben gelost, een vrachtauto uit Limburg aangehouden, waarop 3000

K.G. bloembollen waren geladen, welke frauduleus Duitschland waren binnengevoerd. De auto met lading is in beslag genomen.
De bestuurder wist te ontkomen. De bollen, afkomstig uit de omgeving van Haarlem, waren bestemd voor een der groote Duitse steden. De bestuurder van den zwaarbeladen
101675 auto was onder de Limburgsche grens gemeente Arcen over de Duitse grens gereden. Nauwelijks was hij echter enkele honderden meters gevorderd of van achter een langs den weg staande woning kwamen twee gewapende kommiezen te voorschijn. Zij sommeerden den bestuurder te stoppen waaraan deze aanvankelijk geen gevolg gaf. Toen de beambten hierop het vuur op den vermoedelijke smokkelauto openden bracht de chauffeur in de
101680 nabijheid van een bosch zijn wagen tot stilstand. In allerijl sprong hij uit zijn wagen en vluchtte het struikgewas in. Weldra was hij uit het gezicht verdwenen. Behoedzaam heeft de vluchteling door het bedekte terrein de Limburgsche grens wederom opgezocht. De beambten, die dachten in den wagen een partij koffie of tabak aan te treffen, bemerkten tot hun niet geringe
101685 verbazing, dat de auto de niet onbelangrijke partij tulpen bevatte. Ten gevolge van de groote vraag naar bloembollen in Duitschland worden er in den laatsten tijd herhaaldelijk belangrijke partijen bloembollen zonder de vereischte vergunning Duitschland binnengesmokkeld. Naar wij van welingelichte zijde vernemen levert een geslaagde tocht met een dergelijk transport bloembollen die vaak van honderd tot
101690 zelfs driehonderd kilometer ver naar de groote steden in Duitschland worden vervoerd, een winst van ongeveer f1000 op. Het onderzoek naar den voortvluchtigen smokkelaar heeft geen resultaat opgeleverd.

11 mei 1936 **Gouden Echtvereeniging.**

101695 – Morgen, Dinsdag, hoopt het echtpaar P. Aerts-Hansen te Schandelo alhier hun gouden echtvereeniging te herdenken. Om 10 uur zal een plechtige H. Dienst van dankzegging worden opgedragen. De buurtbewoners zijn reeds weken in de weer, om deze heugelijke dag voor de beide oudjes tot een onvergetelijke maken.

15 mei 1936 **VELDEN. Gouden echtvereeniging.**

101700 – Door de echtelieden Aerdt-Hansen te Schandelo alhier werd Dinsdag j.l. 't feest hunner gouden echtvereeniging gevierd. Reeds weken lang was de geheele buurt in de weer geweest om dezen dag voor de beide sympathieke en geachte oudjes tot een onvergetelijke te maken, waarin men dan ook volkomen is geslaagd. De geheele voorhof was in een bloementuin herschapen, terwijl de beide eerebogen, welke 's avonds
101705 feeëriek waren geillumineerd, het geheel een schitterend effect gaven. Een hartelijk woord van dank past dan ook aan de buurt, alsmede aan het inwonend personeel, welke voor dit gebeuren kosten noch moeite gespaard hadden. Des morgens om 9 uur werden de beide oudjes, afgehaald door de fanfare en de Landelijke Rijvereeniging "Zeldenrust" – beiden in groot tenue –, ter kerke geleid,
101710 alwaar de Z. E. heer Pastoor een plechtige H. Mis van dankzegging opdroeg. Na afloop hiervan toog men weder huiswaarts, alwaar bij aankomst de traditioneele kanonschoten bulderden, om den volke kond te doen van deze blijde gebeurtenis. Bij den ingang der woning werd door twee lieve bruidjes onder opzegging van een toepasselijk gedicht, het cadeau der buurtbewoners aangeboden, 't geen op allen een
101715 diepen indruk maakte. Van de receptie maakten velen gebruik om de beminde oudjes hun gelukwensen aan te bieden, o.m. de eerw. geestelijkheid, burgemeester en wethouders en vele anderen. Des avonds om 7 uur werd door de Fanfare een serenade gebracht en werd bij monde van den president den jubilarissen een nog lang leven toegewenscht. De oudste zoon der familie dankte allen voor de groote eer, hun ouders bewezen.

101720 [Zie ook [Mooi Limburg » 16 mei 1936 - Art. 8 | Delpher](#)]

6 juni 1936 **DANKBETUIGING Aan allen, in 't bijzonder de buurtbewoners,**
onzen hartelijken dank, voor het welslagen van onzen gouden huwelijksdag.
Fam. P. AERDTS HANSEN Schandelo-Velden

101725 8 augustus 1936 **Groot concours-hippique te Velden.**
"ZELDENRUST" ALS GASTHEER.

Morgen zal het groote concours-hippique op de bekende renbaan te Schandelo-Velden plaatsvinden. Weken lang zijn reeds de noo dige voorbereidingen getroffen, zoodat,
101730 mits 't zonnetje wenscht mede te werken, een groote strijd te wachten is en talrijke vereenigingen zich in draven, rennen en springen zullen bekampen om den eereprijs. Het programma is als volgt samengesteld 1. Demonstratie viertallen; 2. Openingsrede door den voorzitter dhr. Jos. Leuptrs; 3. Rennen voor beide klassen; 4. Harddraven in twee klassen; 5. Eenspannen B. T.- 6. Eenspannene luxe; 7. Sprinconcours.

101735 Als juryleden fungeeren de heeren E. Kallen, Broekhuizen, H. Deckers, Beesel en G. Nas, Meerlo.

Het feest zal worden opgeluisterd door een prima Waldorpreproductor radio-

luidspreker, welke de bezoekers trouw op de hoogte zal houden van de diverse gebeurtenissen.

Voor al aan 't springconcours is bijzondere aandacht geschonken en bevat dit parcours een achttal deskundig geplaatste hindernissen, zoodat ook hierin een heftige strijd te verwachten is.

Rest nog te vermelden dat het aanvangsuur is gesteld op half drie, terwijl door een spoedige afwerking om zes uur de wedstrijden zullen geëindigd zijn.

26 januari 1937 **GECOMPLICEERD AUTO-ONGEVAL TE VELDEN**

Eén zwaar, en één lichtgewonde

ERNSTIGE MATERIEELE SCHADE

Maandagmorgen omstreeks half zeven heeft op den Rijksweg nabij de tramhalte Hasselt-Velden, een ernstig auto-ongeluk plaats gevonden. Omstreeks dien tijd bevond zich op den weg voor het dagelijksch vervoer naar de stad de melkkar van den heer H., geheel geladen met melkbussen. Uit de richting Arcen kwam in kalme vaart aangereden de zware trailer van de firma Kuipers uit Amsterdam. Deze, waarschijnlijk door de hevige storm en regen, welke op dit moment nedersloeg, alsmede, volgens ds verklaringen van den chauffeur, door de verblindende lichten van een tegenligger, zag de melkkar niet alvorens nog enkele meters hiervan verwijderd te zijn, zoodat hij, ondanks hevig remmen en naar links uitwijkende, de melkkar opzij aanreed, met het gevolg, dat het rad onder den wagen werd uitgereden. Kar en paard kantelde en kwamen in de tramrails terecht, zoodat de geheele kostbare lading melk, bestaande uit vele honderden liters, over den weg stroomde. De tegenligger t.w. een Ford-bestelwagen, die waarschijnlijk noch de melkkar noch de trailer gezien had, doch natuurlijk geen onheil vermoedende, gewoon z'n gang reed en de rechterzijde van den weg hield, was juist de melkkar genaderd, toen de trailer deze aanreed. Op 't oogenblik echter dat hij naar links uitzwenkte, stond ook de bestelwagen voor hem, zoodat deze in volle vaart tegen den trailer opbotste. Op dit donderend gekraak van deze wagens kwam al spoedig hulp opdagen. Het ergste was de zoon van den heer L. er aan toe, welke uit de wagen was geslingerd en buiten bewustzijn was. Na eerst naar de woning van den heer D. te zijn vervoerd, werd hij later naar het ouderlijk huis te Venlo overgebracht. Een spoedig ontboden geneesheer constateerde ernstige hersenschudding, alsmede eenige gebroken ribben en een diepe hoofdwonde. De bestelwagen zelve was geheel in elkaar gedrukt en totaal vernield. De chauffeur van de trailer kwam met den schrik vrij en had geen letsel opgelopen. De tractor echter was ook totaal vernield en geheel onbruikbaar. De voerman van de melkkar kreeg een hevige stoot van een der boomen van de kar en liep ook ernstige kneuzingen op. Ook het paard had eenige diepe schaafwonden. Omtrent de schuldvraag valt nog niets te zeggen daar de heer L. nog niet gehoord kon worden. De melkkar draagt, zooals voorgeschreven, steeds drie lichten, doch deze schijnen door den hevigen storm en regen te zijn uitgewaaid, reden waarom de chauffeur van den trailer deze kar niet heeft gezien. De heer L. draagt aan de aanrijding geen schuld, daar hij steeds de rechter zijde van den weg heeft gehouden. Wel is gebleken, dat L. pas 17 jaar oud is en derhalve nog niet in bezit van een rijbewijs. Veldwachter v. d. Ven was terstond ter plaatse, even later geassisteerd door de motor-brigade der marechaussees uit Venlo, welke proces-verbaal hebben opgemaakt en deze zaak nader zullen onderzoeken.

25 februari 1937 **VELDEN.**

Jaarvergadering Jonge Boeren. — Deze drukbezochte jaarvergadering, Dinsdag j.l. in lokaal Mooren gehouden, werd door den voorzitter met een hartelijk welkomstwoord geopend. De notulen der vorige vergadering werden onveranderd goedgekeurd. Dan volgde het uitgebreid jaarverslag van den secretaris. Het ledental is gestegen tot 63. In 't bijzonder wordt gememoreerd de uitstekend geslaagde landbouwcursus, waarbij alle leden het diploma mochten behalen, de ploegwedstrijd, de diverse excursies, en last not least het schitterend geslaagde vaandelwijdingsfeest, welks blijde dag allen steeds met vreugde zullen herdenken. Het financieel verslag is als volgt: Aan inkomsten f3026,44, aan uitgaven f2773,14. Blijft een batig saldo van f253,30. Nog te vorderen van zaad- en pootgoed de somma van f33,47, zoodat het geheele batig saldo over 't afgelopen jaar bedroeg f286,77. De handel in zaad- en pootgoed stemt ten volle tot tevredenheid en is zeer goed te noemen. Aan 't einde van zijn laatste jaarverslag, wegens zijn benoeming tot secretaris van den R. K. Boerenbond, dankte genoemde functionaris voor de hartelijke en prettige samenwerking met bestuur en leden, verklaarde ook in de toekomst op zijn hulp en medewerking te kunnen rekenen. De voorzitter thans 't woord nemende, dankte den heer Clabbers voor al hetgeen in deze negenjarige periode door hem tot stand is gebracht, wenscht hem namens alle leden ten volle geluk met deze promotie, en meent, dat juist door zijn benoeming tot

secretaris van den R. K. Boerenbond, hij de volle belooning gekregen heeft ten aanzien van de onschatbare diensten, door hem aan de Jonge Boerenvereniging bewezen. Bij monde van den heer J. Flensenbergh werden namens de kascommissie de boeken en bescheiden goedgekeurd. Gezien 't steeds toenemende ledental werd het bestuur uitgebreid met twee nieuwe leden. Gekozen werden de heeren J. Leupers en A. Korsten. Als secretaris werd door het bestuur benoemd de heer J. Bouten, Hasselt, zoodat het bestuur thans als volgt is samengesteld: J. Geurts, voorzitter, J. Bouten, secretaris-penningmeester, J. Clabbers, G. Steegh, A. Korsten en J. Leupers, terwijl als adviseerend bestuurslid van de plaatselijke afdeling van L.L.T.B. is toegevoegd de heer L. Sanders. Dan volgen de mededeelingen. Allereerst werden de prijzen voor de proefvelden van 't afgelopen jaar toegekend aan de Gebr. Geurts, Heidens, Tax en Korsten. Ook voor dit jaar werd wederom aller medewerking verzocht en tot opzichter benoemd de heer J. Bouten. Op veler verzoek zal het volgende jaar het proefveld in Schandelo worden aangelegd. Besloten werd ook dit jaar wederom excursies te organiseeren in overleg met de leden. Eveneens wordt goedgevonden met algemeene stemmen aan de nieuwe kerk alhier een gift van f7.50 te schenken. De kringtentoonstelling zal dit jaar niet doorgaan, omdat de kring Horst in Helden een zelfde organiseert. Als leden der commissie van comptabiliteit werden benoemd de heeren J. Flinsenbergh, P. Vermeulen en H. Lucassen. Degenen, welke van de bibliotheek wenschen gebruik te maken, werd bekend gemaakt, dat deze ten huize van den secretaris zal worden geplaatst. Beleefd werd verzocht de achterstallige boeken terug te brengen. Als vaandrig werd voor den tijd van één jaar benoemd de heer P. Steegh. Tot slot deelde de voorzitter mede, dat op initiatief van 't Groene Kruis een cursus voor Eerste Hulp bij Ongelukken zal worden gehouden. Hiervoor gaven zich terstond 35 deelnemers op. Men melde zich hiervoor ten spoedigste bij den heer H. Geurts.

31 maart 1937 **KIPPENHOK AFGEBRAND**

Dinsdagmorgen om vijf uur werd de melkhandelaar P. S. [=Steegh] aan den Rijksweg te Velden door buurtbewoners gewaarschuwd, dat in zijn kippenhok, staande in zijn tuin, brand was uitgebroken. Aan hulp of redding viel niet meer te denken, daar het vuur reeds een groote omvang had aangenomen. Het geheele hok brandde totaal af, waarbij de geheele inhoud met een 500 éénweeksche kuikens zijn verloren gegaan.

22 september 1937 **Drama te Velden**

Twee lijken gevonden
Gisterenmorgen heeft een landbouwer [doorgestreept] onder Velden de lijken gevonden een naar schatting ongeveer 25-jarigen jongen en meisje.
In hun nabijheid werd eveneens een geladen pistool aangetroffen.
Uit het onderzoek, dat door de marechaussees der brigade Venlo werd ingesteld, is gebleken, dat het hier een liefdesdrama betreft.
Bij onderzoek bleken het te zijn de 25 jarige J. Stein uit Brunssum, zijnde van Duitsche nationaliteit en de 22-jarige H. K. Oscheja uit Geleen-Luterade.
In het taschje van het meisje werden nog een 12 tal scherpe patronen gevonden. De lijken zijn naar het lijkenhuisje te Arcen vervoerd.
Men meldt ons nader uit Velden:
Dinsdagmorgen omstreeks 10 uur deed de landbouwer H. L. alhier een ontzettende ontdekking. Toen hij op genoemd tijdstip even wilde gaan schaften en zich daarvoor 'n rustplaats zocht achter een strooierm, gelegen op circa 200 meter van den Rijksweg, zag hij daar tot zijn grootste ontsteltenis het lichaam van een manspersoon liggen, het gelaat met bloed bevlekt.
L., welke aan misdaad dacht, stelde terstond een buurtbewoner hiervan in kennis, waarop men samen terugging, en behalve het lijk van een man, daarbij nog het ontzielde lichaam van een vrouw vond.
Veldwachter v. d. Ven, en even later de marechaussees uit Venlo, waren zeer spoedig ter plaatse. Eveneens werden terstond de burgemeester en dr. Thielen uit Arcen gewaarschuwd, welke ook beiden weldra aanwezig waren.
Bij fouilleering vond men in een portefeuille een fijn dichtgesloten enveloppe waarin een afscheidsbrief, welke gedateerd was op Maandag 20 September des namiddags klokslag half drie, zooals de brief aangaf en welke door de man was geschreven. Ook vond men een recu van een storting van 20 gld. aan hun beider kind van, zooals een foto aangaf, ongeveer één jaar, hetwelk in Zuid-Limburg in een gesticht vertoeft.
De revolver was een parabellum, van groot kaliber, hetwelk nog met zes patronen was geladen, zoodat twee patronen waren verschoten, hetgeen ook met de feiten klopte. In het handtaschje van de vrouw werd nog een patroontaschje gevonden waarin zich nog 17 patronen bevonden.

De beide lijken zijn naar het lijkenhuisje te Arcen overgebracht in afwachting van de beslissing van den Officier van Justitie inzake een eventueel sectie-onderzoek.

24 september 1937 **Het drama te Velden.**

— Nadat de beide lijken van de slachtoffers van het drama te Velden gisterenmiddag door de familieleden van beide waren herkend en toestemming tot begraven was verkregen, zijn de stoffelijke overblijfselen gisteravond ter aarde besteld op de gemeentelijke algemeene begraafplaats te Arcen.

11 oktober 1937 **Ernstig ongeval met goeden afloop.**

— Zaterdagmorgen omstreeks negen uur had nabij het kruispunt aan den Hakkesberg een ernstig ongeval plaats, hetwelk nog bijzonder goed afgelopen mag genoemd worden. Vanuit de richting Velden naderde de melkboer J. D., uit Velden, met zijn motor-driewieler, beladen met melkwaren, welke op genoemd kruispunt door een handsignaal te kennen gaf, den weg rechts naar Genooi in te slaan. In volle vaart naderde eveneens uit de richting Velden een luxe wagen met een snelheid van ongeveer 90 K.M., die op onbegrijpelijke redenen rechts trachtte te passeeren, maar daardoor den driewieler, welke juist naar rechts zwenkte, recht van voor aanreed, met het gevolg, dat de melkwagen werd opgenomen en over den weg gesmeten. Door de snelle vaart vloog de auto nog een eind door, op gelukkige wijze eenige palen passeerende en bleef dan stilstaan. De melkboer bleef op wonderbare wijze ongedeerd, zij het dan met eenige schrammen, de motor liep eenige averij op, terwijl echter een vijftig liter melk alsmede vele eieren over den weg stroomden. Ook de chauffeur met zijn wagen bekwam geen letsel. Wel meende deze galant te zijn door den melkboer, welke natuurlijk een groot schadepostje had, voor schadeloosstelling één gulden aan te bieden!

21 mei 1938 **Zilveren jubilé van den Maasbuurtspoorweg.**

Oprichting haalde talrijke Maasdorpen uit hun isolement.

Den laatsten Meimaanddag wordt het feit feestelijk herdacht.

OP 31 Mei a.s. zal het vijf en twintig jaar geleden zijn, dat de tramlijn Venlo-Nijmegen, verbindende de dorpen aan de rechterzijde van de Maas, op luisterrijke wijze in gebruik werd genomen. De toenmalige gebeurtenis was van 'n niet te onderschatten belang, omdat daarmede de Oostelijk van de Maas gelegen dorpen eensklaps uit hun isolement werden gerukt.

De oude diligence had nog tot 1880 het verkeer tusschen Venlo en Nijmegen gaande gehouden, maar nadien waren de dorpen Velden, Lomm, Arcen, Wellerlooi, Well,

Afferden, Siebengewald, Bergen en Heyen moeilijk anders te bereiken dan per stoomboot, die er een dienst van tweemaal per week op nahield. De oprichting van een dergelijke tramlijn was toentertijd werkelijk geen sinecure. Een poging in 1907 tot stichting van een Geldersch-Limburgschen spoorweg liep op een mislukking uit. Enkele jaren later werd opnieuw concessie gevraagd en verkregen tot aanleg van een tramlijn Venlo-Nijmegen. Plannen en begrotingen werden opgemaakt en het was voornamelijk de toenmalige burgemeester van Venlo, J. B. H. van Rijn, die niets ongemoeid liet om de plannen ten uitvoer te brengen. Het benodigde kapitaal, ongeveer f750.000, zou gedeeltelijk door het Rijk, gedeeltelijk door provincie en gemeenten en voor een derde deel door de bevolking der streek moeten worden opgebracht. Met heel veel moeite kreeg men echter vanuit de bevolking slechts f100.000 bij elkaar, waardoor de aanleg van de lijn voor jaren werd vertraagd, totdat eensklaps "de N.-Brabant-Duitsche Spoorweg Maatschappij zich voor de zaak begon te interesseeren en eveneens een bedrag van f100.000 in de onderneming investeerde. Hiermede waren weliswaar niet alle moeilijkheden overwonnen, doch men was toen toch zoover, dat met den bouw der lijn kon begonnen worden, nadat de N.V. Maasbuurtspoorweg definitief was gesticht.

Op 31 Mei 1913 werd de tramlijn Venlo-Nijmegen door den toenmaligen minister van Waterstaat officieel geopend en sindsdien heeft de onderneming — ondanks de minder gunstige crisisjaren — kans gezien geheel Noord-Limburg en het Zuidelijk deel van Gelderland voor zich te winnen en een uitgebreid net van tram- en autobuslijnen te exploiteeren.

Begonnen met 46 man personeel is dit in den loop van vijf en twintig jaar uitgebreid tot 160 man. Gedurende de jaren 1932 tot 1936 bleef de opbrengst beneden de kosten en werkte de onderneming met verliezen. Toen besloot de directie het roer om te gooien. Men begon een regelmatig verkeer in het leven te roepen. Ook de aard der tractie werd gewijzigd. Naast de tram kwam de autobusdienst, die spoedig een dusdanigen omvang nam, dat thans slechts 36 pct. van de geheele ontvangst voor rekening van de tram en 64 pct. voor rekening van het autobedrijf komt. De stoomtram werd gelijktijdig door Dieseltractie vervangen.

En thans, na vijf en twintig jaren kan de maatschappij met trots terugzien op de door

- 101935 haar bereikte resultaten. In den loop der jaren werd het net uitgebreid van 63 K.M. tot 180 K.M., waaronder 84 K.M. railvervoer. Het autopark der maatschappij telt momenteel 44 autobussen en 23 vrachtauto's.
- 101940 De directie van den Maasbuurtspoorweg zal 't zilveren jubileum der onderneming niet onopgemerkt laten voorbijgaan. Op 31 Mei a.s. zal er gefeest worden. Alsdan zal directeur Schaffers, tezamen met het college van commissarissen bestaande uit de heeren mr. B. Berger, burgemeester van Venlo, president-commissaris, dr. H. van Manen, directeur der Ned. Spoorwegen, Th. Rutten, Horst lid van Ged. Staten van Limburg, dr. G. van der Meulen, secretaris-generaal van Waterstaat en L. G. Wolff, oud-directeur en gedelegeerd commissaris op het hoofdbureau der maatschappij te
- 101945 Gennep recipieeren. Vele autoriteiten, die bij de opening van de tram voor 25 jaar tegenwoordig waren, zijn ook thans weer als gasten genoodigd.
- 101950 Tot een der voornaamste attracties dezer feestviering behoort de opvoering eener revue, handelende over 't wel en wee van den Maasbuurtspoorweg. Deze revue zal 31 Mei voor genoodigden en personeel der Mij. worden opgevoerd. De directie stelt verder een ieder in de gelegenheid deze revue gratis te komen zien.
- 101955 Zoo is na een kwart eeuw het simpele, zwart-rookende en roet-spuwende stoomtrammetje aanleiding geworden tot het ontstaan van een bloeiende verkeersonderneming met Dieseltractie en luxe-autobus-comfort, en is de smalle strook van Noord-Limburg benoorden Venlo en ten Oosten van de Maas opgewekt uit den slaap der vergetelheid, waarin het stukje land toenmaals dreigde te verzinken.
- 5 augustus 1938 **VELDEN. Burgerwacht schietwedstrijden.**
- Door onze burgerwacht werden schietwedstrijden gehouden, welke over vier Zondagen liepen en waarbij de drie hoogste serie's geteld werden.
- 101960 De uitslagen zijn als volgt:
- klasse A: 1. L. Engels 131 punten, 2. K. Krienen 129 punten, 3. A. de Jong 127 punten, 4. Jac. Geelen 125 punten, 5. J. Clabbers 125 punten, 6. H. In 't Zandt 124 punten, 7. J. Roefs 122 punten, 8. H. Geurts 120 punten, 9. Jean Bouten 120 punten, 10. Jacq. Clabbers 118 punten, 11. Hub. Vosbeek 101 punten, 12. G. Kronenbergh 98
- 101965 punten.
- Klasse B: 1. Herm. Heidens 131 punten, 2. G. Vosbeek 126 punten, 3. H. Martens 125 punten, 4. A. Geelen 114 punten, 5. P. in 't Zandt 113 punten, 6. P. de Jong 112 punten, J. Billekens 109 punten, 8. H. Heidens 104 punten, 9. G. Gerrits 104 punten, 10. G. in 't Zandt 97 punten, 11. H. Holthuijzen 96 punten, 12. J. Heldens 93 punten.
- 101970 Klasse C: 1. H. Clabbers 125 punten, 2. Jac. Theelen 121 punten, 3. J. Crommentuijn J.05 punten, 4. P. Lommen 96 punten, 5. Jan Geurts Hzn. 92 punten, 6. G. Vermeulen 90 punten, 7. J. Holthuijzen 57 punten, 8. H. Heidens 50 punten.
- 101975 Bij de prijsuitreiking, welke geschiedde in het clublokaal, dankte de voorzitter allen voor de prettige samenwerking, feliciteerde met het behaalde succes en reikte onder een toepasselijk woord vervolgens de prijzen uit.
- Ernstige boschbrand.**
- Door onbekende oorzaak ontstond Woensdagmiddag aan de Vosheuvel bij de grens alhier een ernstige heidebrand, welke zich aanvankelijk hevig liet aanzien. Dank zij het krachtige verweer der brandweer uit Schandelo wist men ten slotte na moeizamen arbeid het vuur te stuiten, ofschoon inmiddels toch reeds 5 H.A. bosschen waren afgebrand.
- 101980
- 9 augustus 1938 **HEMELVUUR VERNIELT EEN OOGSTKAR.**
- Voerman bewusteloos geslagen.
- 101985 Zaterdag en Zondag heeft een hevig onweer op verschillende plaatsen in Noord-Limburg ernstige ongelukken veroorzaakt. Zoo werd in Lomm een rund in de weide doodgeslagen. In Arcen ging het onweer vergezeld met een hevige regenval en hagelslag zooals men in jaren niet meer gekend heeft. De bliksem trof hier de elektrische leiding, waardoor een gedeelte van de straatverlichting defect raakte. Ook het Duitsche douanekantoor Lingsfort werd door het hemelvuur getroffen. In Siebengewald vernielde de bliksem
- 101990 verschillende radiotoestellen en enkele telefoonleidingen. In het gehucht de Belt sloeg het hemelvuur in een kar geladen met koren. Het paard was op slag dood, terwijl de kar met lading totaal verbrandde. De voerman werd eveneens getroffen en bleef een tijdlang bewusteloos langs de kar liggen.
- 101995 24 september 1938 **GRUBBENVORST.**
- Landbouwcursus. — Bij voldoende deelname zal wederom in October een landbouwcursus aanvangen. Met het oog op eventueelen dienstplicht worden ouders aangespoord hun jongens reeds van 15 tot 16 jaar te sturen; minimum leeftijd is 15 jaar. Speedige aanmelding is derhalve zeer gewenscht.
- 102000

12 oktober 1938 **Toezicht op vreemdelingen.**

— De bewaking der grenzen, hetgeen voornamelijk geschiedde door marechaussees en hulpkommiezen is thans in verband met de gebeurtenissen in het buitenland nog weer versterkt. Zoo zijn te Arcen thans een 12-tal militairen ondergebracht, en te Velden een 3-tal marechaussees en 3 militairen. De bedoeling hiervan schijnt te zijn het weren van ongewenschte vreemdelingen.

7 juli 1939 **Boerderij en aangrenzend woonhuis afgebrand.**

Totale schade ongeveer zeventuizend gulden.

Een door onbekende oorzaak ontstane brand heeft gistermiddag te Arcen een boerderij en een woonhuis in de asch gelegd. Het vuur brak omstreeks half drie uit in de schuur van den landbouwer M. van Megen. Weldra hadden de vlammen, aangewakkerd door een krachtigen wind, de boerderij bereikt. Naar alle kanten greep het vuur om zich heen, zoodat na eenigen tijd ook het aangrenzende woonhuis van de familie J. Siderius werd aangetast. De inmiddels verschenen plaatselijke brandweer restte nog slechts de taak, zich te belasten met het beschermen van de aan de andere zijde der boerderij gelegen arbeiderswoning van het gezin Reutelingsperger. De inboedel van de boerderij ging grootendeels verloren; die uit de woning van Siderius kon voor een voornaam deel zijn veiligheid worden gebracht. Zoowel de boerderij van den landbouwer van Megen als de woning van de familie Siderius brandden tot den grond toe af. In de woning, welke de brandweer onder haar bescherming had genomen, werd slechts waterschade aangericht. De totale schade zou omstreeks zeventuizend gulden bedragen. Zij wordt door verzekering gedekt.

12 december 1939 **Feest in "Sint Paul" te Arcen**

Zilveren priesterfeest Pater Herman

Op het feest van Onze Lieve Vrouw Onbevleete Ontvangenis vierde het Missiehuis St. Paul te Arcen, het 25-jarig Priesterfeest van zijn magister, den hoogerwaarden pater Herman C.M.M., oud-algemeen Overste van de Congregatie van de Missionarissen van Mariannhill. In het begin van de vorige groote oorlog werd pater Herman op 35-jarigen leeftijd priester gewijd in het moederklooster Mariannhill in Natal (Z.-A.), waar hij zijn geheele studie gemaakt had — als late roeping: hij was in de wereld als meester-timmerman — en tevens Engelsch en meerdere inheemsche talen leerde. Zoo voorbereid, kon hij onmiddellijk een zeer actief en buitengewoon succesvol missionarisleven aanvaarden, op verschillende zware posten, totdat hem, veel te vroeg een blijvende keelaandoening dwong voor de eerste maal naar Europa terug te keeren. Dit zware offer maakte hem rijp voor de verantwoordelijke taak van magister, welk ambt hij vervulde tot in 1926 het generaal kapittel hem koos tot algemeen overste van de Congregatie. Hij keerde naar zijn geliefd missieland terug, maar in 1930 eischte de sterke groei van de Congregatie het verplaatsen van het generaalat naar Europa. Na afloop van zijn ambtstijd werd hem weer de zorg voor de Mariannhiller novicen toevertrouwd in het oudste Europeesche huis St. Paul, te Arcen. Daar oefent hij door zijn voortdurende werkzaamheid, zijn opbeurende jeugdig ideale missieijver, zijn zich overal aanpassende natuurlijke eenvoud, steeds opgeruimd en hulpvaardig, voorbeeldig kloosterling en priester, een betekenissenvolle invloed uit op den geest van de Congregatie. Daarom trachtten geprofesten en novicen door een plechtige viering in kapel en refter de dag onvergetelijk te maken voor den jubilaris. De studenten zetten met hun tooneelavond de dominante in het jubelaccoord van den feestdag. Het voortreffelijk geslaagde stuk van pater Boon "Zwarte Hostieën" riep in den jubilaris weer het heimwee wakker naar zijn onvergetelijk Afrika en deed zijn missievuur vlammen in zijn dankwoorden, zoodat hij ze eindigde met den wensch: het gouden feest te mogen vieren te midden van zijn negers, aan wier zieleredding hij heel zijn leven gewijd heeft.

24 april 1940 **GOUDEN PRIESTERFEEST TE VELDEN**

Door parochie en gemeente gehuldigd.

VELDEN. — Bij stralende voorjaarszon, festijnen van jong groen en bloeiende boomen, vlaggen, slingers met geelwitte kleuren en eerepoorten heeft het Noord-Limburgsche dorpje Velden Dinsdag het gouden priesterfeest van pastoor Joosten gevierd. Heel het dorp had zich opgemaakt om zijn herder te eeren en men moet een feest als dlt meegemaakt hebben om te ervaren wat het voor de bewoners beteekent. Hier weet men nog waardeering, kleur en leven te geven aan gebeurtenissen, die voor het dorp van belang zijn. En bovenal: iedereen stelt zich erop in. Het is niet maar eventjes een gang naar de kerk in den morgen met misschien een handdruk of andere felicitatie, doch men viert hier over de geheele linie heel den dagfeest.

Tegen tien uur stelde zich aan den ingang van de pastorie een kleurige stoet op,

waarin geheel Velden vertegenwoordigd was. Schoolkinderen, bruidjes, jeugdverenigingen, de verschillende standsorganisaties, de fanfare Velden waren hierin sterk vertegenwoordigd of zoo goed als compleet. Temidden van den gouden jubilaris schreden talrijke geestelijken in den imposanten stoet kerkwaarts, o.m. deken Jul. van Oppen te Venlo, prof. Janssen van het Groot Seminarie te Roermond, een Veldenaar, pater Boots te Venlo, pastoor G. Vervoort te Sweijkuizen, verschillende Veldensche geestelijken of zij, die eenigen tijd de zielzorg in het dorp hadden waargenomen, burgemeester Gubbels te Arcen enz. Te voet ging het naar de kerk, aan welke ingang burgemeester Gubbels namens de gemeente hartelijke woorden van gelukwensch sprak. Een verrassing leverde een der schoolkinderen, een zoontje van dhr. Lenssen, die den gouden jubilaris, die zichtbaar onder den indruk was, een geestelijken ruiker namens de parochianen aanbood. Een jongetje uit de familie van pastoor Joosten bood nog een Misboek aan. De gouden jubilaris dankte, getroffen door deze attentie, met eenige hartelijke woorden. De plechtige H. Mis van dankzegging werd opgedragen door pastoor Joosten met assistentie van pater Haenen en kapelaan Rieter te Neer. Tijdens de predicatie sprak pastoor Joosten een dankwoord tot zijn parochianen. Na afloop van den kerkdienst ging de stoet weer in dezelfde volgorde naar het woonhuis van den gouden jubilaris terug. De fanfare speelde een opwekkend nummertje. Vóór het binnentreden van zijn woning ontving pastoor Joosten nog een prachtige bloemenmand uit handen van twee bruidjes. Tegen half zes hadden de schoolkinderen zich weer verzameld voor de woning van pastoor Joosten, waar zij hem een zanghulde brachten. Drie kinderen reciteerden daarna een aardig versje. Bij het plechtig lof, dat daarna in de parochiekerk werd opgedragen, toonde wederom heel het dorp zijn belangstelling. Het slot van de feestelijkheid was een serenade, welke gebracht werd door de fanfare.

27 april 1940 **TE VELDEN vierde de ZeerEerw. Heer Pastoor Joosten**

onder groote belangstelling zijn gouden priesterfeest. Hierboven links: de jubilaris op weg naar de kerk, waar een plechtige Hoogmis van dankzegging werd opgedragen. Links van hem ziet men de Zeer Geleerde Heer Prof. Janssen van het Groot-Seminarie te Roermond; rechts de Hoog Eerw. Heer Deken v. Oppen uit Venlo. Hierboven: Velden's burgemeester spreekt de jubilaris toe. Bij deze plechtige feestviering waren niet minder dan tien Veldensche geestelijken tegenwoordig, die wij vereeuwigen met de jubilaris in hun midden (Foto links) Hierna, volgen de namen dezer Veldensche priesterzonen: de Z. E. Heer pastoor Joosten, Pater Haenen O.F.M., Prof. Janssen, Kap. Rieter, Kap. Peeters, Pater Kronenberg Q.E.S.A., Pater J. Linssen S.S.S., Pater Theelen Q. Carm., Pater L. Linssen S.C.J., Kap. v. d. Haghen en Kap. J. Hofmans.

24 juni 1940 **"HIER ZIJN WE GEBOREN EN GETOGEN"**

Een gouden bruiloft in de bosschen te Arcen. - Herinneringen aan een "gouden tijd". ARCEN. - Het kan misschien alleen maar in Arcen gebeuren, dat een gouden echtpaar, zoowel man als vrouw in hetzelfde dorp, in dezelfde buurt en aan denzelfden weg geboren en getogen zijn en dat ze er na vijftig jaren huwelijk zelfs niet vandaan zijn geweest. - Hier op deze plaats, waar dit huis staat, ben ik geboren, zegt de gouden jubilaresse, mejuffrouw Johanna Clabbers, die op Zaterdag 22 Juni 1890 met Willem Toonen in het huwelijksbootje stapte.

De interviewer zegt voor zichzelf weg, dat dat sterk is: van al de gouden jubilarissen, die hij in zijn leven verslagen heeft, is er niet één, die in dat opzicht aan dit gelijk is.

Het huis, waarin het gouden paar woont, is een ruim woonhuis met café - een gezellig cafétje met een helder buffet en met vele dingen in het rond, die de gezelligheid verhoogen. - Dan moste zeker ok miene man hubbe, zegt ze vervolgens. Ja maar dan komt ge ongelegen, want die is op het veld in de boonen aan het schoefelen. - Daar gaan we dan ook maar even naar toe, zegt de man van de krant, die zich speurder begint te gevoelen. Eerst nog maar even praten... We bevinden ons dan op den Lingsforterweg, een boschweg, die naar de grens loopt. Hooge dennen wuiven hun paraplu-dak in den zomerwind tot over den weg. Er staan hooge beuken, Amerikaansche eiken en er is eikenhakhout langs den kant overal — een weelde van hout en groen, zooals alleen déze gezegende stukjes natuur in Noord-Limburg kunnen bieden. Het woonhuis van de gouden jubilarissen gaat schuil onder het zwaar geboomte. Het is hier als in een sprookje. In het dichte bosch, dat over heuvelen deint, konden de kabouters wonen - en men denkt misschien even gauw aan Roodkapje, aan het legendarische peperkoekenhuisje en aan alle schoone jeugdvertelsels meer, liefst zonder den wolf...

Er is zon, die witte plekken licht tusschen de stammen door op den bemosten grond werpt, er is net zooveel schaduw als men gaarne wenscht. Een koekoek roept dichtbij, een vink zit op een tak te zingen alsof er nu reeds feest gevierd wordt en het zoemt

en het tinkt en pinkt, van welken kant men ook luistert. Zonder einde.
 Als we aan het praten zijn, zegt de vrouw, dat we geen onbekenden zijn. We waren
 102135 immers dezen winter met het worstophalen van de schutterij ook hier... En waar is die
 andere heer, die toen bij u was? vraagt Mia, de schoondochter, die het glas vult.
 – Had hij vergeten te betalen? vragen we lachend.
 Neen, dat niet, maar die had toch dat ander feest ook meegemaakt. Toen schudde het
 huis op z'n grondvesten vanwege de uitgelaten ceremoniën van de jonge gildebroeders.
 102140 Maar koud...
 Het gouden echtpaar Toonen-Clabbers is steeds een gelukkig echtpaar geweest. Ziektes?
 Feitelijk nooit van gehoord, ik niet en mijn man ook niet. We hebben negen kinderen
 gehad, waarvan er één dood is. We zijn nog met vijf meisjes en drie jongens. De
 meisjes zijn allen getrouwd; van de jongens is de oudste het huwelijk ontlopen en de
 102145 jongste is het vorig jaar getrouwd met Mia.
 – Dat schreef d'r maar bie, zegt Mia lachend, terwijl ze een versch glas bier tapt.
 – Kunt ge nogal goed opschieten met uw schoondochter?
 – Ja, héél goed, zegt vrouw Toonen beslist.
 Dan gaan we weer verder. De op een na oudste zoon is getrouwd en die woont in
 102150 Waubach. Ja, die komt...
 De dochters zitten ver uit elkaar. De een woont in Utrecht, de oudste in
 Blitterswijk, een in Arcen (op den dijk), een in Waalwijk en de laatste woont op den
 Lingsforterweg. Allemaal zijn ze getrouwd.
 – Hoeveel kleinkinderen?
 102155 – Laat me 'ns tellen. Acht..., veertien..., twintig... vier- en twintig..., zes en
 twintig..., acht en twintig..., dertig. Ja, samen dertig kleinkinderen en allen goed
 gezond.
 De dokter heeft er slechte klanten aan. "Ikzelf heb ook nooit iets met den dokter te
 doen gehad en miene man is ook zoo hel, nooit krank geweest".
 102160 – Al ge zoo door gaat, kunt ge met gemak de diamanten bruiloft vieren!
 – Dat zei de pastoor ook al.
 Op het veld tusschen de boonen treffen we Willem Toonen den gouden jubilaris aan. Een
 energieke, opgewekte baas, die kwinkslagen opvangt en retourneert. Om ons heen
 ruischt het woud, de dennen, de eiken. Ginder tusschen het hooge hout rijst de slanke
 102165 Arcensche toren op.
 – Ik ben feitelijk begonnen als schoenmaker, zegt Willem Toonen. Dat heb ik vijf en
 twintig jaar na mienen trouw vol gehouden en toen ben ik aan den groentenhandel
 geslagen. Als hij het woord "handel" uitsprekt, lichten zijn schrandere oogen weer
 op. Ja – toen was er geld te verdienen. Er waren toen goede zaken over de grens te
 102170 maken. Er zijn jaren geweest, waarop ik meer dan driehonderd wagons petatten naar
 Duitsland bracht.
 De gouden jubilaris heeft opgehouden met schoffelen en geniet zichtbaar van de
 gedachte aan den "gouden tijd". Maar daarna werd het slechter en zoo begon hij dan
 maar met het tuinieren. Dat doet hij nu nog – een gezond vak, een mooi vak tevens,
 102175 vooral hier tusschen de ruischende bosschen.
 – Ja, ik ben hier gebooren en getrouwd, zegt hij bij wijze van bevestiging". Een
 schoone streek hier...
 We krijgen ook den gouden jubilaris in de lens.
 – Wat gebeurt er Zaterdag?
 102180 – Ja, we doen het z'n bietje onder ós. Om half negen in de Arcensche kerk een Mis van
 dankzegging en hoe het dan zal gaan weten we ook niet precies. We zijn in den tijd
 van de broodkaarten...
 Langs een fraaie laan van fijne dennen, waar arbeiders het pad bewerken, gaan we
 terug. Een vriendelijke hand wijst ons den weg. Daarheen en dan ziet ge weer in het
 102185 dorp...
 De koekoek roept in de verte als we tusschen het groen verdwijnen.

7 september 1940 **Feest in het missiehuis St. Paul te Arcen**

De kippenbroeder in het zilver en een tachtigjarige
 102190 Zondag 8 Sept. a.s. herdenkt de eerw. Br. Fulgentius C.M.M. van het Missiehuis St.
 Paul te Arcen den dag, waarop hij vóór 25 jaar geleden in het klooster trad. Toen Br.
 Fulgentius het kloosterkleed ontving, stond St. Paul nog in de kinderschoenen. Het
 was nog maar 3 jaar geleden, dat de congregatie der Missionarissen van Mariannahill
 een zelfstandige missiecongregatie werd, waarvan St. Paul in Arcen de eerste
 102195 Europeesche stichting was. Langs de toen nog bijna onbegaanbare veldweg, die vanaf de
 Rijksweg naar de Deutsche grens leidt, stond toen een hoeve die zoo goed en zoo kwaad
 als het ging tot klooster was ingericht. In dit primitieve kloostertje nu trad Er.
 Fulgentius in.

102200 Toen men er later in St. Paul over nadacht om op het gebied van het klooster een hoenderpark in te richten, was Br. Fulgentius de aangewezen man om dit werk ten uitvoer te brengen. Bijna dagelijks kan men den "kippenbroeder" in zijn bestelauto door onze stad zien rijden om de eieren bij de diverse adressen af te gaan leveren. Door zijn herhaaldelijk contact dat Br. Fulgentius met de inwoners van Venlo heeft, heeft hij zich vooral door zijn bescheiden en hartelijke manier van optreden, velen tot vriend gemaakt. Daarom meenen wij, dat het Br. Fulgentius bij zijn zilveren kloosterjubileum niet aan belangstelling uit Venlo en omgeving zal ontbreken. Naast dit kloosterjubileum viert St. Paul Zondag a.s. tevens de 80ste verjaardag van den oudsten inwoner van het Missiehuis, Br. Feliciaan. Deze stille en eenvoudige kloosterling kan met vreugde terugzien op een vruchtbaar leven in den dienst van God en het missiewerk. Zijn leven was steeds een zwoegen voor de uitbreiding van het Rijk Gods op aarde. In Nov. '91 scheepste hij zich te Vlissingen in om zich naar Zuid-Afrika te begeven, waar hij in het moederhuis van de Congregatie intrad. Na zijn noviciaat in Mariannhil voltooid te hebben, mocht Br. Feliciaan reeds aanstonds aan het directe missiewerk medewerken door bij den bouw van verschillende grootere missiekerken te helpen. Als bekwaam beeldhouwer droeg Br. Feliciaan niet weinig tot de verfraaiing van de kerken bij. Na gedurende 15 jaar op verschillende missiestaties werkzaam geweest te zijn, werd de broeder tot boekhouder van een Europeesche missieprocurer benoemd. Tot voor twee jaar heeft Br. Feliciaan dit verantwoordelijke ambt uitgeoefend. Thans leidt deze veteraan een teruggetrokken leven van innig verkeer met God en is door zijn stipte plichtsbetrachting een voorbeeld voor zijn jongere medebroeders, die eveneens in de voetsporen van dezen pionier willen treden. Br. Fulgentius zoowel als Br. Feliciaan wenschen wij beiden een hartelijk "Ad multos annos" toe.

102225 7 september 1940 **Duitsche tuinbouw nabij de Nederlandsche grens**

Naar het voorbeeld van Straelen

Uit Keulen wordt aan het Nederlandsche Perskantoor gemeld:

In het gebied van den Beneden-Rijn breidt zich de tuinbouw, met name die onder glas, voortdurend uit. In een aantal dorpen, onmiddellijk nabij de Nederlandsche grens gelegen, waant men zich in een tweede Westland. Een middelpunt van den glastuinbouw te Straelen.

— Straelen was het eerste Duitsche plaatsje, waar men met de kasteelt begon. Het plan hiertoe is uitgegaan van den eigenaar van een houtzaagmolen. De molenaar ergerde zich aan den steeds omvangrijker wordenden invoer van groenten uit Nederland. Hij spoorde eenige Nederlandsche tuinders aan, naar Straelen te komen om den boeren de groententeelt, met name den glastuinbouw, te leeren. Te Straelen werd toen de groenteteelt en de verkoop geheel naar Nederlandsch voorbeeld ingericht. Zelfs het Nederlandsche veilingstelsel met de bekende veilingklok werd overgenomen. Andere plaatsen in het gebied van den Beneden-Rijn volgden spoedig het voorbeeld van Straelen en de groenteteelt in deze gebieden is thans inderdaad aanzienlijk, ook al heeft men nog niet het bedrijf tot het peil van het Westland opgevoerd.

Men moet niet meenen, dat deze wedijver in het nadeel van Nederland is geweest. Tengevolge van den toenemende tuinbouw in het gebied van den Neder-Rijn leerde de bevolking der Duitsche steden nog meer de groenten waardeeren. Dit heeft ertoe geleid, dat de hoeveelheid groenten, die West-Duitschland thans afneemt, een veelvoud is van die van 30 jaar geleden en Nederland, ondanks de toenemende Duitsche voortbrenging, nog veel meer kan leveren dan vroeger.

102250 23 oktober 1940 **Nederlandsche Unie.**

— De propaganda en aanwervingsactie voor de Nederlandsche Unie wordt hier met kracht voortgezet. In de eerste actieweken konden reeds ruim 300 leden worden ingeschreven, waarvan alleen in Schandelo 120. Zelfs waren hier gezinnen met 8 en 9 leden, wat voor zich zelf spreekt. Dezer dagen komen ook de andere buurtschappen aan de beurt. Gezien de reeds behaalde resultaten, mag ook hier eenzelfde succes verwacht worden.

102255 6 mei 2021 De Nederlandsche Unie was een Nederlandse politieke beweging tijdens de Duitse bezetting van Nederland in de Tweede Wereldoorlog, opgericht door een driemanschap bestaande uit Louis Einthoven (hoofdcommissaris van politie in Rotterdam), Johannes Linthorst Homan (commissaris der provincie van Groningen) en Jan de Quay (regeringscommissaris van de arbeid). De Nederlandsche Unie werd in juli 1940 opgericht, en in december 1941 door de Duitse bezetter ontbonden. [...]

102260 Op haar hoogtepunt had de Nederlandsche Unie ongeveer 1 miljoen sympathisanten. Hiervan waren ongeveer 600.000 personen lid. De Nederlandsche Unie gaf het weekblad De Unie uit met een oplage van 314.000 exemplaren.

- 102265 25 oktober 1940 **Geen processie.**
— Naar werd medegedeeld zal Zondag a.s. de jaarlijksche processie naar O. L. Vrouw van Altijddurende Bijstand te Schandelo niet plaats kunnen hebben. Hiervoor zal Zaterdag om half acht ter eere van O. L. Vrouw een plechtige Hoogmis worden opgedragen.
- 102270 16 november 1940 **Hoe de storm huishield**
Nog voortdurend kwamen berichten binnen van de ernstige schade, die de storm van j.1. Donderdag in Noord-Limburg en Oost-Brabant heeft aangericht. De meeste van deze berichten maken melding van zware verliezen aan oogstmijten, van verwoestingen aan schuren en daken. Op tal van plaatsen zijn de bosschen zwaar gehavend en werden de boomgaarden geteisterd.
- PATER ONDER INSTORTENDE SACRISTIE BEDOLVEN.**
De storm heeft ook te Sambeek een slachtoffer geëischt. Toen de zeereerw. p. Redemptus zich gereed maakte om in de kapel van de zusters Redemptoristinnen het H. Misoffer op te dragen, rukte de storm een stuk van den gevel van de kapel af, viel door het dak van de sacristie, waaronder de pater als 't ware bedolven werd. Ijlings toegeschoten kerkbezoekers vonden pater Redemptus, hevig bloedend, onder het puin. Dr. Anderegg die spoedig ter plaatse was verleende geneeskundige hulp. De zeereerw. heer pastoor diende de pater de laatste H. Sacramenten toe. In zorgwekkende toestand werd de ongelukkige naar het ziekenhuis in Boxmeer overgebracht. We vernemen, dat de toestand van pater Redemptus nog zeer ernstig is. Verder heeft de storm te Sambeek vrij aanzienlijke materiele schade veroorzaakt. Een gedeelte van de woning van Th. H. stortte in. Van bijna alle huizen werden pannen afgerukt, verschillende huizen vertoonen groote gaten. Vele boomen werden ontworteld, terwijl ook de leiding van de radiocentrale het danig heeft moeten ontgelden.
- ZWARE SCHADE AAN BOSSCHEN**
In Arcen hadden wel het meeste de huizen langs den Rijksweg ten Noorden van het dorp te lijden, waar dezen zomer de 400 zware canadaboomen werden gerooid, waardoor de huizen aan dien weg zonder verdere beschutting aan den Westenwind kwamen bloot te liggen. Van velen huizen waren dan ook honderden pannen verdwenen. In het veld grenzende aan de Maas hield de storm ook groote opruiming. Alle stroo en korenrijten werden ofwel omvergeworpen of de schoven vlogen her en derwaarts over het veld en zelfs over den Rijksweg heen. Ook in de kom van het dorp moesten vele daken het geducht ontgelden, al was de schade hier betrekkelijk gering. De meeste schade leed hier echter het Jongenspatronaat. Omstreeks half acht werd hier het dak van de aangrenzende beugelbaan door een windhoos gegrepen. Het geheele dak werd van de pijlers gelicht de gevel werd omver geworpen en daarna kwam deze gevolgd door het dak op den wal terecht. Een geluk mag het wel heeten dat hier geen persoonlijke ongelukken hebben plaats gevonden, daar juist een groot aantal kinderen op weg naar de kerk even tevoren alhier een schuilplaats tegen den feilen wind hadden gezocht. Dit beteekent echter een flinke schadepost voor den eerw. heer kapelaan daar het gebouw niet tegen stormschade verzekerd was. Bij de boerderij van dhr. G. Nijskens werd een zeer hooge peereboom door den storm neer gesmaakt op de wagenbergplaats achter het huis. Deze werd geheel vernield, terwijl ook het dak van de schuur nogal schade bekam.
- Het ergst was wel de verwoesting in de verschillende bosschen rondom Arcen. Vooral het gemeentebosch aan den Rooden weg kreeg ernstige schade. Hierin zijn naar schatting meer dan 500 boomen ontworteld. Sommigen zijn op een meter boven den grond gewoon afgedraaid door wervelwinden.
- Ook de zware bosschen rondom het kasteel werden door den storm niet gespaard en menige tientallen jaren oude eik of den werd neergesmaakt, in zijn val andere boomen meesleurende. Het bosch biedt op sommige plaatsen een troostelooze aanblik. Vooral het bosch nabij het voetbalterrein aan den Lingsforterweg kreeg zware schade. Ongeveer een-derde der boomen ligt voor den grond. Arcen werd zwaar gehavend. De zware kastanjeboomen op den driesprong bij de brug over de Lingsforterbeek werden wel zwaar getroffen. Een tweetal eeuwenoude reuzen werden tegen de aarde neergeworpen daarbij de rustbank, welke alhier door de zorg van de V.V.V. Arcen werd geplaatst, meesleurende.
- Van een dezer boomen werd voorts een zware tak afgescheurd. Dit mooie plekje nabij het Kasteel, bij vele toeristen welbekend, zal er dan ook na de opruiming wel jammerlijk gehavend komen uit te zien. Met dat al bracht de storm aan heel wat handen werk en reeds in den vroegen morgen kon men verschillende aannemers bestormd zien met allerlei wagens om pannen in diverse soorten, terwijl gisteravond de dakdekkers nog

in het maanlicht bezig waren om vóór den dreigenden regen tenminste de grootste gaten in het dak te dichten.

HONDERDEN BOOMEN ONTWORTELD

De hevige storm heeft ook te Beesel heel wat schade aangericht. Verschillende wegen waren versperd van de omgevallen boomen. Op het Marktpllein viel een der statige kastanjes ten offer van den windreus. In parken, lanen en bosschen werden honderden boomen ontworteld. Bij een huis langs den Bussereindschen weg vielen vier reuze populieren waarvan twee op het dak, zoodat de takken door de slaapkamermuur drongen. Van meer dan honderd huizen werden de daken vernield. [...]

11 december 1940 **E.H.B.O.-dienst.**

— Maandagavond werd alhier voor de leden van den E.H.B.O.-dienst de laatste les gegeven door dr. Thielen van den verkorten E.H.B.O.-cursus. Een der cursisten dankte dr. Thielen voor zijn bereidwilligheid dezen cursus te hebben willen geven, waarvoor steeds een groot animo bestond. Door de luchtbeschermingsdienst te Velden zijn thans vier E.H.B.O.-posten gevestigd en wel voor Hasselt en de Voort ten huize van dhr. J. Bouten Hasselt, voor Schandelo, ten huize van dhr. J. Boonen, voor Krosselt-Genooi, ten huize van dhr. G. Holthuizen, voor het dorp bij dhr. Schlooz, Markt.

Op iedere plaats bevindt zich een complete verbandtrommel met brancard en verder toebehooren, waarin men voor aanschaffing in de gelegenheid werd gesteld, dank zij de loyale medewerking van diverse vereenigingen en de gemeente. In 't bijzonder moge hier echter dank worden gebracht aan 't plaatselijke Groene Kruis, dat zeer veel heeft bijgedragen tot het instandkomen van deze E.H.B O.-posten, waardoor eindelijk in een groote behoefte is voorzien.

13 januari 1941 **ARCEN. Loop der bevolking.**

-- Naar wij vernemen bedroeg het aantal inwoners dezer gemeente op 1 Januari dezes jaars 3822 zielen.

Hiervan woonden te Arcen: 899 mannen, 717 vrouwen, totaal 1616;
te Lomm 218 mannen, 193 vrouwen, totaal 411;
te Velden 954 mannen, 841 vrouwen, totaal 1795.
In de gemeente woonden 2071 mannen, 1751 vrouwen, totaal 3822.

Advertenties m.b.t. Vilgert, Schandelo, etc. 1940-1949

Te koop een best roodbont RUND, oud 18 mnd. en een best zwaar werkpaard B. T., mak in en bij alles. Adres Joh. Geurts, Velden, Schandelo C 221. 4128
Te koop 20 stuks W L. PULLEN, bijna aan den leg; tevens een middelzware wendelploeg. H. Geelen, Schandelo 212, 289 Velden.

Te koop een best roodbont MAALKALF Gebrs. Leupers, Schandelo, Velden. 324
Te koop ROGGE- en TARWESTROO. Adres: In 't Zandt, Velden, Schandelo. 4520
Te koop HAVER- en TARWESTROO Frans Steegh, Schandelo, 720 Velden.
Te koop circa 20 á 25000 kg. prima jonge consumptie KNOLRAAP. Jac. Boonen, Schandelo Velden. 834

Gevraagd een boerenknecht kunnende melken en een jongen om melk te venten. H. Geurts-Coppes, Schandelo 235, Velden. 1303

Gevraagd voor 1 Mei een flinke BOERENKNECHT m. alle werkz.hed. op de hoogte; liefst kunn. melken. Wed. P. Theelen, Schandelo C 208, 1962 Velden. [P. Theelen-Vosbeek]
Te koop een gladstroo DORSCHMACHINE. H. v. Wylick-Theelen, Velden Schandelo.

Te koop circa 10.000 kg. KOOLRAAP. Adres F. Thiesen, Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop 15000 kg. MANGELWORTELEN (Groenkraag). Adres H. Lenders, Rieterhof, Schandelo, 2259 Velden.

Te koop een best roodbont MAALKALF. Adres F. Theelen-Jacobs, 2258 Schandelo, Velden.
Te koop 30.000 kg. MANGELWORTELEN. Adres P. Aerdt's-Theelen, Schandelo, Velden.

Te koop een dekrijpe PREMIEBEER Adres H. Soberjé, Schandelo Velden. Tel. 236.
Gevraagd voor 1 Mei een BOEREN DIENSTKNECHT met paarden kunn. omgaan. Adres Frans Engels, Velden, Schandelo. 0281

Te koop enkele honderden nieuwe, aangespitste BOONENSTAKEN en enkele honderden boonenpalen. Jac. Boonen, Velden, Schandelo C 219. 421

Voor terstond gevraagd een BOERENKNECHT om met paard om te gaan en genegen te melken. Adres F. Theelen Schandelo 218, Velden. 497

Te ruil een best aftandsch WERKPAARD op hengstveulen of 1-jarige ruin. Adres H. Geelen, Velden 212, Schandelo.

Te koop 1-jarig roodbont WEIRUND; of WEIDE gevraagd. Adres: H. Lommen, Velden, Schandelo.

Te koop een SCHAAP met jong schaapje. Adres H. Keldjens, Velden, Schandelo 213. 1604

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- Te koop een in goeden staat zijnde, middelzware WENDELPLOEG. A. Verheijen, Schandelo, 1206 Velden.
- 102400 B. z. a. een R.K. jongen, oud 25 jaar, liefst in omgev. van Venlo, voor boerenbedrijf; kan alle boerenwerk. Inl. bij Wed. P. Theelen, Velden, Schandelo C 208 of bij L. Willems, Siebengewald 2741 Koekoek.
Gevraagd een boerendienstmeid van 16-20 jaar. H. Geurts-Coppus, Schandelo 235. Velden. 1624
- 102405 Te koop een roodbont rund, 7 mnd. oud. Adres H. Deenen, Schandelo, Velden.
Gevraagd voor 1 Mei een boerendienstknecht, goed met paarden kunn. omgaan. Adres. L. Engels, Schandelo C 232, Velden.
Gevr. een jongen of meisje, van 14-17 jaar op kleine boerderij. Adres H. Lommen, Velden Schandelo. 7062
- 102410 Te ruil een in g. st. z. middelzware lange kar tegen een slagkar; tev. te koop gevraagd 8 á 10 ramen platglas. H. van Wijlick, Schandelo 224, Velden. 4068
Te koop een heerenfiets met banden. Adres Chr. Luijpers, Krosselt C 281. Velden. 4302
Te koop een partij veldwortelen. Adres: P. Thiesen, Schandelo, Velden. 4304
Gevraagd voor Paschen of Mei een jongen, goed met paard k. omgaan. Adres J. In 't Zandt, Schandelo, Velden. 7726
- 102415 Te k. blauw Weener konijn met 6 jongen en 2 zware Vl. reuzen (gedekt). H. Gielen, Schandelo no. 212, Velden.
Te ruilen teg. een leveringskoe een jonge drag. koe, 24 Mei aan telling. H. Keltjens, Velden, Schandelo C 215.
- 102420 Te k. een best roodb. maalkalf. J. Theelen-Lenders, Schandelo, Velden.
Gevr. liefst zoo spoedig mogel., boerendienstmeid of jongen v. 15-18 j. H. Lommen, Schandelo Velden.
Voor terst. gevr. boerendienstbode, bov. 16 j., kunn. melken of gen. het melken te leeren. J. Renkens, Lingsforterweg Arcen
- 102425 Te kp. een drag. vaars, begin Oct. aan telling;; ook te ruil op leveringskoe. H. Roefs, Schandelo, Velden. 2029
Voor terstond gevr. een bekw. paardenknecht. H. Lenders-Theelen, Rietherhof, Schandelo, Velden. 2097
Te k. vaars of jonge koe, bijna volldr. Fr. Theelen, Schandelo.
- 102430 Te k. 2 hoogdr. vaarzen of ruil voor leveringsvee. Maashof Velden. Schandelo. 6741
Te k. bok met getuig. Velden. Schandelo 210 8109 [H. Keltjens]
Teg. Paschen gevr. boerendienst knecht. M. Aerdt, Maashof, Schandelo, Velden.
Te r. of te k. een rund, tegen drag. vaars of koe. L. Heldens, Velden, Schandelo 238, Gevr. per 1 Sept. [1944] een dienstbode of jongen van 15 tot 18 jaar. op boerenbedr., geneg. te melken. J. v. Lipzich. Velden. Schandelo 237.
- 102435 Te koop 10 W. L. pullen, aan den leg (met haan). Adr. Wed. P. Vosbeek, Vilgert 258, Velden. 3934
Gevr. voor terst. of 't voorjaar een tuiniersknecht of paardenknecht. P. Geurts, Vilgert 266, Velden.
- 102440 Wie kan 2 runderen op de wei gebruiken? Tev. te k. gevr. 10 à 25 een-ruiters. H. Lommen, Vilgert 253, Velden.
Tabaksplanten. Bestel nu al uw tabaksplanten, Slits 25; ook verkrijgbaar in potjes. P. Geurts-v. Wijlick, Vilgert, Velden
Te ruil een koe gev. 12 L. m., op Jongvee of dr. varken. J. Appeldoorn, Arcen, Lingsfort 136.
- 102445 Voor terst. gevr. flinke slagersleerling, 18-20 J. J. Timmermans, Lingsfort, Arcen.
Terst. gevr. paardenknecht. J. Roosen, Lingsfort Arcen.
Te koop gevraagd twee gebruikte KIPPENHOKKEN. Br. m. omschrijving en opg. van prijs aan A. Erdman, Lingsfort, Arcen. 1537
Gevraagd voor Straelen (D.) een boeren- en tuindersknecht en een tuindersknecht.
- 102450 Bevr. bij P. J. van Lin, Lingsfort no. 151. Arcen. 1927
Wordt gevraagd voor terst. of later een flinke tuiniersknecht hoog loon, voor Straelen (D.) Te bevr. Café h. Basten, Arcen, Lingsfort. 1960
ARCEN. — Not. Haffmans Woensdag 2 Oct., 4.30 uur, in het te veilen pand aan de Lingsfort: huis met café-restaurant "Haus Ente" met tuin en groot terrein.
- 102455 Coöp. Melkinrichting en Zuivelfabriek St. Martinus te Venlo. AANBESTEDING DER MELKRITTEN Hanik Lomm, Het Ven Venlo, Hasselt, Dorp, Vorst, Genooi, Velgert, Heide, Velden. Inschrijvingbiljetten in te leveren uiterlijk Dinsdag 25 Febr. 1941. des namiddags 3 uur ten kantore der fabriek.
Plukkers of pluksters gevraagd. H. Buskes, De Krosselt. Velden.
- 102460 Te k. vette slachtkonijnen. H. Buskes, "De Krosselt". Velden. Tel. 293.
Suiker-, Pof- en Farkirchin Maisplanten te koop J. van den Hombergh, Krosselt, Velden
Te koop texels stamboekschaap, ook gen. te ruilen tegen dragend varken. J. A. v. d.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Hombergh, Krosselt, Velden.

Te k. of te r. voetbalsch. m. 43 z.g.a.n., teg. fototoestel 6x9 of zware windbuks. R. v. d. Hombergh. Krosselt. Velden.

Te k. een slacht-, dragende en 4 Jonge konijnen. Dijks, De Krosselt. Velden.

Te k. Belg. Herder en een lief klein kamerhondje. W. Luypers C.280. Krosselt, Velden.

Te k. Belg. merrieveulen m. papieren van premiëmerrie. F. v. d. Haghen, Krosselt C.282 Velden.

Te ruil gekl. pop, kan ook sl. teg. geim. inmaakketel. Peeters, Krosselt, Velden.

Te k. 2e hands fornuis f50. Schattefor, Krosselt, Velden.

Wie r. voetbalsch. m. 44 in g. st, teg. m. 43. R. v. d. Hombergh, Krosselt Velden.

Te k. best zwaar r. b. maalkalf. A. Vosbeek, Krosselt, Velden.

Te k. gevr. een kippenhok, 3x4 M. of grooter. Th. van Hael, Krosselt 286, Velden.

Te kp. prima eiken tafel f30. Dijks, De Krosselt, Velden.

Te kp. of te ruil op lichte, een nieuwe overdekte 5-tons wagen op prima banden (32x6). Adres "De Krosselt", Velden. Tel. 293.

Te k. een Russisch biljart, eenige stellen beugelballen; een naaimach. en een waschwing. Jac. Keltjens, Krosselt 286 Velden.

Te k. Texelsche schapen; St. Bernhardhond en een 1. g. st. z. kano. G. A. v. d.

Hombergh, C 294, Krosselt, Velden. 8056

Te koop een heerenfiets met banden. Adres Chr. Luijpers, Krosselt C 281, Velden. 4302

Te koop twee dragende GEITEN tev. een mooie Deutsche Herder, 10 weken oud. J. Peters, Rijksweg C 291, Velden. 5321

HOUTVERKOOP TE VELDEN. Notaris M. A. Joosten te Venlo, zal op Woensdag 8 April 1942, des nam. te 4 uur, in café Litjens te Velden-Dorp, publiek verkoopen: 1. Ten verzoeken van de familie Verbeek: circa 60 slagen dennentophout, gelegen in hun bosch Kleikoel, Schandelen. 2. Ten verzoeken van Mej. W. Koopmans te Velden: circa 10 slagen dennendunsel, staken en boonenstaken en 3 slagen dennendunsel, staken en weipalen,

gelegen in haar bosch op den Bong te Schandelen. 3. Den heer G. Grubben te Maasbree: 4 slagen verbrande dennen op den Bong te Schandelen, dienstig voor boonenstaken en brandhout. 4. De R. K. Kerk te Velden: 1 lindeboom, gekapt liggend bij A. Rieter, te Velden.

Te koop Zaterdag 25 Sept. te Arcen, Lingsforterweg 126: 2 broedmachines voor 500 eieren, petroleumverwarm. [...]

11 september 1941 **Veulenkeuring te Velden**

Onder groote belangstelling had bij gunstige weersgesteldheid op "Wilshof" de eerste Veldensche veulenkeuring plaats. De aangevoerde veulens waren van goede kwaliteit en de jury bestaande uit de heer P. Diederens en Hub. Kallen, alsmede de beide arbiters E. Kallen en G. Nab vervulden hun taak met kennis van zaken en tot ieders tevredenheid. De keuring mag dan ook in alle opzichten geslaagd heeten. De prijzen werden als volgt toegekend:

Categorie 1. Merrieveulens geb. in 1941. Belg. T. [=Belgisch trekpaard] 1e prijs Irma van Wils, eig. P. v. d. Ven, Velden; 2e prijs Nelli van Schandelo, eig. G. Koopmans, Velden; 3e prijs Astrid van Sintelberg eig. J. Tax, Aijen-Bergen; 4e prijs Corrie van Hovershof, eig. Th. Peeters, Velden; 5e prijs Lucie, eig. G. Hegger, Arcen; 6e prijs Irma van de Erf, eig. H. Th. Sanders, Grubbenvorst; 7e prijs Marie van Spiekerhof, eig. G. F. Muyres, Lomm. Arcen.

Categorie 2. Merrieveulens geb. in 1940. Belg. T. 1a prijs Jeanny van Ooyen, eig. E. Kallen, Broekhuizenvorst; 1b prijs Marie van Ender, eig. H. Soberjé, Velden; 2a prijs Mia van Hoek, eig. Chr. Gielen Broekhuizen; 2b prijs Irène van Ender eig. H. Soberjé Velden; 2c prijs Nicoline van Vorst, eig. Th. Peeters, Velden; 3a prijs Irène, eig. W. Berden, Blerick; 3b prijs Cantora van Hegelsom, eig. H. de Ruyter, Meerlo; 3c prijs Corrie van Hoek, eig. Chr. Gielen, Broekhuizen; 4a prijs Gerda, eig. Alb. Achten, Leunen; 4b prijs Irène van Kupershof, eig. Wed. Rieter, Velden; 4c prijs Liza van Bekenhof eig. J. P. Pellen, Meerlo; 4d prijs Martha van Sintelberg, eig. J. Jenneskens, Meerlo.

Categorie 3. Merrieveulens geb. in 1939. Belg. T. 1e prijs Madam, eig. Fr. Steegh, Velden; 2a prijs Mimie van Claironszoon, eig. P. Geurts, Velden; 2b prijs Emma, eig. Jacq. Boonen Velden; 3a prijs Corry, eig. Jacq. Willemsen, Velden; 3b prijs Truusje van Ender, eig. G. Koopmans, Velden. Kampioene van bovengenoemde drie categorieën en hiermee winnaar van den beker werd Irma van Wils, eig. P. v. de Ven, Velden.

Categorie 4. Geen prijzen toegekend.

Categorie 5. Handelsveulens geb. in 1939. Belg. T. **1e prijs Max, ruin, eig. A. Geurts, Velden;** 2e prijs Herseur van Vorst, ruin, eig. Th. Peeters, Velden; 3e prijs Pol ruin, eig. G. Verhaegh, Velden; 4e prijs Herseur, ruin, eig. H. Geelen, Velden. Categorie 6. Merrieveulens geb. in 1941. Warmbl. 1e prijs Fientje, eig. M. Peters,

Velden

- 102530 Categorie 7. Merrieveulens geb. in 1940. Warmbl. 1e prijs Elraïne, Gron. T., eig. M. Peters, Velden; 1e prijs Ertania, Geld. T. eig. J. Evers. Velden.
Categorie 8. Merrieveulens geb. in 1939. Warmbl. 1e prijs Dodetta, Gron. T., eig. J. Hendrix, Lottum; 1e prijs Dubilia, Geld. T., eig. H. van Wylick, Velden; 2e prijs Darbota, Geld. T., eig. R. Breukers Lottum.
- 102535 Kampioene der warmbloeds der categorieën 6, 7 en 8 en hiermee winnaar der verguld zilveren medaille werd Elzaïne, eig. M. Peters, Velden.
Categorie 10 Handelsveulens geb. in 1939. Warmbl. 1e prijs Firmant, eig. M. Peters, Velden; 2e prijs Max, eig. J. Evers, Velden.
Categorie 10. Handelsveulens geb. in 1939. Warmbl. 1e prijs Rally, ruin, eig. Joh. Geurts, Velden; 2e prijs Danseur, ruin, eig. Gebr. Leupers, Velden; 3e prijs Frits, ruin, eig. G. Zeelen, Velden.
Ter opluistering waren aanwezig de hengsten Blok v. d. Louisa, eig. M. Simons, Grubbenvorst; Cantor, eig. P. W. Berden Blerick.
- 102545 30 september 1941 **Processie.**
— Zondag a.s. zal onze parochie de jaarlijksche processie houden naar het kapelleke van O. L. Vr. van Altijddurende Bijstand te Schandelo.
- 13 december 1941 **VRUCHTBARE BOERDERIJ te Velden-Schandelo.**
- 102550 H. M. J. VERHEGGEN, NOTARIS TE VENLO, zal te Velden, op Maandag 22 December 1941, nam. 2½ uur, in café Jansen aan de Tramhalte voor de kinderen P. J. Gommans-Peeters, publiek veilen en verkoopen: [...]
- 8 januari 1942 **RUILVERKAVELING WINT VELD**
- 102555 Ook Limburg heeft een groot aantal objecten.
(Van onzen redacteur.)
Met betrekking tot de ruilverkaveling is wel eens het beeld gebruik van de olievlek, die zich over het water-oppervlak verspreidt. Als we op het oogenblik eens nagaan hoeveel de ruilverkaveling in de laatste jaren aan populariteit heeft gewonnen, dan gelooven we te kunnen zeggen, dat de beeldspraak niet misplaatst was. Het is met enkele in de provincie verspreide complexen begonnen meestal niet dan nadat bergen van conservatieve tegenmotieven waren overwonnen. Maar waar men begon, daar zagen de boeren zoo spoedig de groote voordeelen, die aan een meer economische indeeling van 't grondbezit zijn verbonden, dat de voorbeelden aanstekelijk gingen werken. En mede dank zij de voortdurende activiteit van den Cultuurtechnischen Dienst, die een reeks van jaren in de weer is om de ruilverkaveling te populariseeren, is het gaandeweg aanvragen om plannen gaan regenen. Veelal gingen die aanvragen uit van den voormaigen N.C.B., in andere gevallen van de ingelanden der betrokken gebieden zelf, van particuliere eigenaren of van gemeentebesturen.
- 102560 In ons land zijn thans 137 blokken met 156.000 HA. voor ruilverkaveling in behandeling, waarvan 36.000 H.A. in directe uitvoering. Daarvan levert Limburg 14 objecten met in totaal ongeveer 10.000 H.A., die voor het meerendeel reeds in uitvoering zijn. Noord-brabant slaat met 25 plannen voor 25.000 H.A. een bijzonder goed figuur.
- 102575 Het grootste object in Limburg is de Ospelsche Peel, waar een oppervlakte van 4500 H.A. in de verkaveling betrokken is. Voorts zijn in uitvoering de ruilverkavelingen te NUTH, POSTERHOLT. VLODROP (Aan het Broek), WEERTERBOSCH, Baxhoeve-SWALMEN. MEERLO, Heesbeemden SEVENUM, Egheler en Geuper veld, Bezels Broek en de Elsbemden. Daarenboven loopen nog aanvragen uit Waubach, Roggel-Neer en Susteren-Nieuwstadt.
- 102580 Over het geheel echter is de belangstelling voor de ruilverkaveling zoo groot, dat men van hoogerhand moet gaan overwegen het aantal aanvragen te remmen.

DE NIEUWE RUILVERKAVELINGSWET

- 102585 Het besluit van 19 Juli van het vorig jaar tot wijziging van de wet op de ruilverkaveling heeft de uitvoering van vele plannen zeer veel eenvoudiger gemaakt. Voor wie wel eens kennis heeft genomen van d3 zeer ingewikkelde procedure, die gevolgd moet worden vooraleer een verkavelingsplan op de helling staat, zal dat geen verrassing zijn. In zoo'n plan moet nu eenmaal met honderd-en-een belangen en belangetjes worden rekening gehouden. Op de speciale "wensch-zittingen", die hiervoor ten behoeve van de belanghebbenden worden gehouden, pleegt men de meest veelsoortige verlangens op te vangen. De wijziging heeft o.m. het bezwaar ondervangen dat een plan kan worden in de war gestuurd door verschillende volmaakt onbeteekenende eigendommen, meestal verkregen door erfrecht en niet door den eigenaar in gebruik genomen. In zulke gevallen kan voortaan de eigendom in contanten uit de
- 102590

102595 ruilverkavelingskas worden teruggegeven. Ook de techniek van de schatting der perceelen is gewijzigd. Was het vroeger verboden in een plan gronden op te nemen die binnen een uitbreidingsplan of binnen een bebouwde kom vallen, thans mogen ook deze gronden worden opgenomen. De vroegere toestand bracht veel bezwaren met zich, vooral daar, waar een belangrijke waterloop buiten de plannen zou vallen. De mogelijkheid tot automatische royeering van vervallen hypotheeken en tot verstrekking van voorschotten voor ontginningen, geeft nieuwe voordeelen voor de grondeigenaren. Van belang voor de spoedige uitvoering der met een ruilverkaveling gepaard gaande kunstwerken is de thans geschapen mogelijkheid om hangende diverse detailkwesties reeds bij voorbaat met de werken te beginnen. Vooral waar het complexen woesten grond

102600 betreft kan van deze mogelijkheid ten volle worden geprofiteerd. Van het grootste belang is intusschen echter de mogelijkheid om de werken in vrüij bedrijf uit te voeren. Hierdoor wordt de mogelijkheid geschapen om bij bijvoorbeeld kleine boeren in den tijd, dien zij beschikbaar hebben, werk te geven, altijd natuurlijk op zoodanige wijze, dat hun eigen bedrijfje er geen schade van ondervindt.

102610 De ervaring in deze is nog niet groot, maar men heeft de goede verwachting, dat hierdoor het gebrek aan werkkrachten, dat soms een vlotte uitvoering der werken in den weg stond, zal worden ondervangen. Aan den Cultuurtechnischen Dienst is voor dit doel een crediet toegestaan van 10 millioen.

102615 **GEEN SCHADE AAN LANDSCHAPSSCHOON**

Tenslotte nog een bijzonder aspect, dat in den laatsten tyd weer eens naar voren is gebracht. Er is betoogd, dat de mannen van den Cultuurtechnischen Dienst in hun plannen te weinig rekening houden met de eischen van het landschapsuiterlijk. Zij zijn voorgesteld als gevoellooze lieden, die het landschap als een koek in stukken verdeelen en er de lineaal hoogtij laten vieren. Voor wie eenigszins ingewijd is in de procedure der ruilverkaveling klinkt dit nog al onwaarschijnlijk. Een ruilverkaveling komt niet in uitvoering vooraleer overleg is gepleegd met of goedkeuring is verkregen van ettelijke instanties. Daarbij zijn niet alleen gemeentebesturen, waterschappen, streekplandiensten. provinciale en rijkswaterstaat, inspectie der volksgezondheid, maar ook het Staatsboschbeheer. Dit laatste heeft de bijzondere opdracht een oogje te houden op de landschapsaankleeding, als we het zoo eens noemen mogen. Zelfs al zou de Cultuurtechnische Dienst er op uit zijn om het landschap te vervlakken, dan nog zou hij daartoe dus niet gemakkelijk de gelegenheid hebben. Maar dat zulk een opzet in het geheel niet voorzit, moge o.m. blijken uit het

102620 plan voor Molenbroek (Wessem en Middelbeers), waar een breede strook langs de beek is uitgespaard, waar de beplanting ongerept blijft en waar wandelpaden zuilen worden aangelegd. Deze strook wordt dan aan de gemeente overgedragen. Veelal spaart men ook bij wegkruisingen hoekjes uit, waarop beplantingen kunnen worden aangebracht, die het landschap breken. De zorg voor het behoud van natuurschoon gaat zelfs nog verder. In

102635 de centrale ruilverkavelingscommissie zit ook een vertegenwoordiger van de commissie-Weevers, die naarstig toeziet, dat geen dingen van natuur-wetenschappelijke waarde verloren gaan. Zoo ligt in het nieuwe plan Spoordonk de fraaie "Campina" met vele in particulier bezit zijnde enclaves. Er komen boschanemonen, oeverzwaluwen en roerdompen voor en dit heele gebied wordt gaspaard en straks in handen gegeven van de

102640 Ver. tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten. Dit alles brengt vele zorgen voor de ontwerpers mede, want zulk een flora en fauna is afhankelijk van den waterstand en daaraan mag dus niet getornd worden. Niettemin, de waarborgen zijn er dat dit inderdaad niet gebeuren zal. Dat er met dat al steeds tegenstellingen kunnen blijven tusschen wat mooi en wat doelmatig is, valt niet te bestrijden. In zulke gevallen zal de harde wet der noodzaak wel eens naar den economischen kant doorslaan. Zoo werd nog pas van

102645 hoogerhand een ruilverkaveling opgelegd voor het Scheeke onder Best, in dit geval om een soort kolonisatie van dit gebied te bevorderen. Hier waren het de wenschen der grondeigenaren, die moesten wijken voor het zwaarder wegende algemeen belang.

102650 5 mei 1942 **Biljartclub "De Poedelhaters"**.

— De einduitslag van de gehouden wedstrijden in het af geloopte seizoen om het kampioenschap der vereeniging is als volgt:

Klasse A I: G. v. d. Hombergh kampioen, gem. 4,640; 2. J. Dirkx 4,325; 3. Frans v. d. Hombergh 3,545; 4. Leo v. d. Homberg 3.520; 5. H. Kessels 3,385; 6. G Hegger 2,930;

102655 7. M. Brueren 2,655; 8 G. Zeelen 2,495; 9. Ger. Geurts 2.205.

Klasse B I: J. Hegger 2,385; 2. G. Duijf 2,105; 3. P. Theelen 2,050; 4. J. Clabbers 1,955; 5. P. Brueren 1,890; 6. H. Geurts 1,805; 7. P. Beeker 1,730; 8. J. Geurts 1,295; 9. P. in 't Zandt 1,285.

102660 **Poststation. — Vanaf 6 Mei is het hulppostkantoor alhier gewijzigd**

in een poststation. De openstellirg is vanaf dien datum van 9-11, en van 2-3 uur.

Rijwielfiefstallen. — Zondagmorgen onder de eerste H. Mis, werden alhier
een 2 tal damesrijwielen gestolen. Tot op heden van de daders geen spoor.

17 augustus 1942 **GROOT ZOMERFEEST TE ARCEN**

De Nederl. Arbeidsdienst en de jeugd
Sedert eenigen tijd is Arcen een kamp rijk van den Nederlandschen Arbeidsdienst. De groene arbeidsmannen vormen in dit Maasdorp reeds een veel en ook graag geziene verschijning. Er begint al zooiets van een bond te ontstaan tusschen de nieuwe en de oude bewoners, een band, die dezer dagen bijzonder werd versterkt, doordat de arbeidsmannen de beteekenis blijken te begrijpen van het spreekwoord "Wie snel helpt, helpt dubbel". Bij een ramp, die enkele bewoners van het dorp had getroffen, hebben de mannen zich van hun besten kant laten kennen en zooiets laat nu eenmaal niet na de verhouding hartelijker te maken. Thans staat er iets anders te gebeuren, waardoor de bevolking van Arcen en Velden en vooral de jeugd in de gelegenheid zal zijn de arbeidsmannen nog beter te leeren kennen. Op 21, 22 en 23 Augustus a.s. organiseeren de arbeidsmannen tezamen met de burgerij een zomerfeest.

HET RIJKE PROGRAM

Vrijdagavond, 21 Augustus 1942 te 19.30 wordt het feest geopend met den voetbalwedstrijd D.E.V.—N.A.D. In de rust een grootsche sportdemonstratie. Na afloop diverse wedstrijden in het hardloopen, verspringen, hoogspringen, enz., enz. De groote dag wordt echter Zaterdag, den 22sten Augustus. Na de feestelijke vlaggenparade om 8 uur in het kamp, waarbij de officieele personen van de gemeente Arcen-Velden zijn uitgenoodigd, zal om 10 uur de intocht van den Zomerkoning te Arcen plaats vinden. Om 14 uur parademarsch door het dorp. Na het inrukken op het dorpsplein, gezamenlijk optrekken naar het voetbalveld aan de Lingsforterweg alwaar omstreeks 15 uur de kinderspelen aanvangen. Dat wordt wat voor de kleintjes. Ze gaan zingen, touwtrekken, paalklimmen lierloopen, hardloopen en nog veel meer. Er zijn leuke prijsjes voor de winnaars. De dag zal besloten worden met een kampvuur op het dorpsplein. De muziek en de zanglustigen zullen hier kunnen toonen wat zij waard zijn, terwijl het programma wordt afgewisseld met declamatie, zwaarddans en samenspraken. Zondagmiddag wordt in de cantine van het Arbeidskamp te 15.00 de film "Doornroosje" gedraaid, waarbij iedereen vrij toegang heeft. Hieraan kan tevens een bezichtiging van het kamp worden vastgeknoopt, hetgeen trouwens gedurende den geheelen loop der feestelijkheden mogelijk is. Het behoeft geen betoog dat tijdens deze dagen voor de burgerij op het kamp geen grenzen bestaan. Zoowel de burgemeester als de burgerlijke vereenigingen hebben hun volledige medewerking toegezegd en samen met het initiatief van de arbeidsmannen moet dit een waarborg zijn voor het slagen van het Zomerfeest.

11 september 1942 **Veulenkeuring te Velden**

Onder zeer groote belangstelling had op "Wilshof" de 2e Veldensche veulenkeuring plaats. Er was een groote collectie veulens van goede kwaliteit aanwezig. De jury, bestaande uit de heeren Urding en Hub. Kallen, alsmede de arbiters Chr. Bertjens en E. Kallen, vervulden hun taak met kennis van zaken en kenden de prijzen als volgt toe:

Categorie 1 Merrieveulens geb. in 1941 Belg. T. 1e pr. Rietje v. d. Speulhof, eig. M. Smits, Well; 2e pr. Jeanne v. d. Elzahoeve, eig. F. Obers, Grubbenvorst; 2e pr. Irma van 't Hóltje, eig. P. Bouten, Ven; 3e pr. Cato van Aast, eig. J. W. Hendrix, Lottum; 3e pr. Louisa v. d. Erf, eig. H. Zanders, Grubbenvorst; 3e pr. Lena van Ender, eig. H. Soberjé, Velden; 4e pr. Flora v. d. Annahoeve, eig. G. van Wylick, Ven; 4e pr. Truusje v. d. Slangert, eig. J. van Lipzig, Velden; 4e pr. Ellie van Brandenmolen, G. Hegger, Arcen. Eerv. verm. Roza v. h. Hoekeinde, eig. J. v. d. Hombergh, Lomm; Eerv. verm. Bertha van Engelenhof, eig. Th. Berden, Blerick.

Categorie 2. Merrieveulens geb. in 1941, Belg. T. 1e pr. Cora van Boerlo, eig. Wed. J. Lenders, Blerick; 2e pr. Alda van Aldengoor, eig. J. Neelen, Neer; 2e pr. Comtesse van Boost, eig. W. Berden, Blerick; 3e pr. Corrie van Hoverhof, eig. Th. Peeters, Velden; 3e pr. Mina van Abeele, eig. Th. Peeters, Velden; 3e pr. Lucie, eig. L. Aerds, Lomm; 3e pr. Astrid van Sintelberg, eig. J. Tax, Aijen; 4e pr. Ire van Solinger, eig. A. Geurts, Velden; 4e pr. Irma v. d. Erf, eig. H. Zanders, Grubbenvorst; 4e pr. Marie van Spiekerhof, eig. G. Muyres, Lomm; 4e pr. Nellie, eig. Gebr. Leupers, Velden.

Categorie 3. Merrieveulens geb. in 1940, Belg. T. 1e pr. Jeanny van Oijen, eig. E. Kallen, Broekh'vorst; 1e pr. Alice van Aldengoor, eig. J. Nellen, Neer; 2e pr. Nicoline van Vorst, eig. Th. Peeters, Velden; 2e pr. Irene van Kupershof, eig. Weduwe

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- Rieter, Velden; 2e pr. Irene, eig. Berden, Blerick; 2e pr. Mia van Hoek, eig. Chr. Gielen, Broekhuizen; 3e pr. Liza van Bekerhof, eig. J. Theelen, Meerlo; 3e pr. Irene van Ender, eig. H. Soberjé, Velden; 3e pr. Martha van Sintelberg, eig. J. Jenneskens, Meerlo; 3e pr. Corrie van Hoek, eig. Chr. Gielen, Broekhuizen.
- 102730 Categorie 4. Hengstveulens geb. in 1942, Belg. T. 1e pr. Blok van Hegelsom, eig. A. Keijzers, Horst; 2e pr. Blok v. d. Wilhelminahoeve, eig. Corn. Willems, Griendtsveen; 3e pr. Bren v. h. Slot, eig. J. Hutten, Grubbenvorst; 3e pr. Cantor van Ender, eig. H. Soberjé, Velden; Eerv. verm. Cantorzoon, eig. A. Geurts, Velden; Eerv. verm.
- 102735 Cantor van Schandelo, eig. J. Theelen, Velden; Eerv. verm. Max van Molenhuls, eig. P. Soberjé, Horst.
- Categorie 5. Hengstveulens geb. in 1941, Belg. T. 1e pr. Nico van Helpeny, eig. Leyser, Grubbenvorst; 2e pr. Frits van Klein Raay, eig. W. Leyser, Grubbenvorst.
- 102740 Categorie 6. Hengstveulens geb. in 1940, Belg. T. 1e pr. Bayaard van Kanaalmond, eig. W. Leyser, Grubbenvorst; Eerv. verm. Cantor van Lutjeshof, eig. van Ryswijck, Meerlo; Eerv. verm. Max, eig. W. Leysen, Grubbenvorst.
- Categorie 7. Merries met afst. '43, '41 en '40, Belg. T. 1e pr. Mozette de Vorst, eig. Th. Peeters, Velden; 2e pr. Liza van Hoek, eig. Chr. Gielen, Broekh'vorst; 3e pr. Jo van Ender, eig. H. Soberjé, Velden; 3e pr. Lien, eig. G. Hegger, Arcen.
- 102745 Categorie 8. Hengsten met afst. 1942 Belg. T, 1e pr. Blok v. d. Louisa K 1669, eig. M. Simons, Grubbenvorst
- Categorie 9. Hengsten met afst. '40 en '41, Belg. T. 1e pr. met lof der jury: Cantor K 1854, eig. H. Lenders, Blerick.
- 102750 Categorie 10. Handelsveulens '42, Belg. T. 1e pr. Fridi van Heggerhof, eig. L. Engels, Velden; 2e pr. Annie van Drabben, eig. Henri Keltjens, Velden; 3e pr. Leentje van Drabben, eig. Henri Keltjens, Velden; 4e pr. Irma van Heggerhof, eig. L. Engels, Velden.
- Categorie 11. Warmbloeds geb. 1942. 1e pr. Gonny, eig. H. van Wylick, Velden; 2e pr. Frans, eig. A. Verhaegh, Lomm; 3e pr. Rinus, eig. C. Bos, Grubbenvorst; 4e pr. Benno. eig. G. Verhaegh, Velden; Eerv. verm. Nico, eig. A. Verhaegh, Lomm.
- 102755 Mede ter opluistering was aanwezig de hengst Colosse van Brandehoeve K 1971, eig. H. Lenders, Blerick.
- Winnaar van den verzilverden wisselbeker werd E. Kallen, Broekhuizenvorst, met de kampioene der keuring: Jeanny v. Oijen.
- 102760 17 oktober 1942 **ANNIE BUSKES en PIET HOLTHUIJZEN** hebben de eer U kennis te geven van hun voorgenomen huwelijk waarvan de voltrekking zal plaats hebben op Dinsdag 10 November om half elf uur in de Parochiekerk van den H. Andreas te Velden. Velden, 17 Oct. 1942 Velden. "De Krosselt". Velden, Rijksweg C
- 102765 304. Geen Receptie.
- 14 januari 1945 **66139 BERG, Peter Hubertus Jacobus van den, 7 April 1919**, Arcen en Velden. Won. Arcen en Velden. 14 Jan. 1945, de omgeving van Velden.
- 8 maart 1945 Fam. P. J. Maas-Nelissen, Stationsstr. 10, SCHAESBERG vr. inl. o.: FAM. J. NELISSEN v. ENCEVORT en FAM. J. JACOBS-LORMANS Rijksweg B 42 Lomm. FAM. J. HEZEN-NELISSEN. Kranestraat B 32. Horst. FAM. P. NELISSEN-LORMANS. Venloseweg A 191, Grubbenvorst, FAM. A. NELISSEN en v. d. STERREN. Hegelsom Horst.
- 102770 24 februari 1945 Wie kan mij inlichten omtrent de verblijfplaats van mijn zoon JOH. DIJKS? In afw. J. Dijks, v.h. de Krosselt Velden, thans AEkade 9, Veendam
- 102775 P. J. W. Holthuizen, p/a K. Maring, D 159 Oudeschip Roodeschool (Gr.), betr. fam. G. Holthuizen-Geelen H. Beek-Holthuizen en verd. fam., Krosselt, Velden (L.)
- 16 januari 1945 **Schandelijke evacuatie.**
- 102780 De bevolking van Venlo, Roermond en het overige deel van bezet Limburg is op schandelijke wijze door de D. weggesleept. De "Evacuatie", die werd uitgevoerd door de Grüne Polizei, begon te Venlo op 17 Januari en te Roermond op 21 Januari. In Roermond meldden zich 2.800 mannen, bedreigd met doodstraf en gelokt met Ausweisen; ze werden allen weggevoerd. De evacuatie der overige inwoners volgde daarna. De bevolking van Schandelo kreeg midden in den nacht van 20 op 21 Jan. plotseling bevel
- 102785 naar Duitschland te vertrekken. Dit bevel kwam op 2 uur 's nachts en het dorp diende om 4 uur ontruimd te zijn. Een stoet van mannen, vrouwen, kinderen en zuigelingen trok in het holst van den ijzigen sneeuwnacht oostwaarts met achterlating van alles. De bevolking van Venlo kreeg, nadat verschillende wijken waren afgezet, een half uur om wat bezittingen bijeen te pakken. De Grüne zocht de huizen na! Nog dagelijks
- 102790 trekken uit deze streek droeve colonnes naar het Oosten. Ieder krijgt één brood voor de heele marsch mee en achter de colonne rijdt een Roode-Kruiswagentje met waterpap voor de kinderen. Niemand weet het ware over de plaats van hun bestemming.

17 maart 1945 **DE EVACUATIE VAN VENLO**

Pater Herraets sprak voor de radio-omroep Herrijzend Nederland over de evacuatie van Venlo

Venlo bevrijd! Donderdag in de late middag rolden tien Amerikaanse tanks de Kalderkerkerweg af. Vrijwel zonder schot werd de vesting Venlo overgegeven. Enkele Duitsers ontkwamen achter het stuur van kinderwagentjes waarin ze nog wat gestolen goed en hun ransels meevoerden. Het merendeel gaf zich over. Vrijdagmorgen waren de straten vol tanks, bemand met negersoldaten. Een blijde rij mensen stond langs de wegen. Geen geweldig enthousiasme; de bevolking had te veel meegemaakt. Alleen de kinderen waren enthousiast. Ze snapten niet waar Sinter-Klaas bleef. Er bleven al maar zwarte Pieten komen met lekkernij: koekjes en chocolade. Een gehavende stad en een gedecimeerde bevolking vierde toen het feest van de bevrijding. Na 13 bombardementen, waarbij de hele binnenstad verwoest was en 450 burgers gedood – na 3 maanden granaatvuur, dag in dag uit – na een maandenlange zorg: waarmee zullen we ons kleden, wat zullen we eten, hoe zullen we de kou verdrijven – na maandenlange onrust over evacuatiedreiging een werkelijke evacuatie, nadat 1200 Venlonaars gedood waren door oorlogsgeweld.

Uit Venlo werden ongeveer tienduizend personen door de Duitsers geëvacueerd. Een transport te voet van 172 personen en 6 treinen werden weggevoerd. Op last van de kerkelijke overheid moest met ieder transport een geestelijke mee gaan. Het voettransport op 14 Januari heb ik zelf als geestelijke meegemaakt. Het was bitter koud, er lag sneeuw en de wegen waren onbegaanbaar omdat het gedood had en weer was gaan vriezen. Om 8 u. moesten we aan de Pope-fabriek zijn. Men vertelde dat er zich voor het transport enkele honderden vrijwilligers hadden opgegeven; om 10 u. waren er 11 mensen die meewilden.

Maar de "Grüne Polizei" zou wel zorgen dat er vrijwilligers kwamen. Er werden bij de Maas enkele straten afgezet en een schuilkelder in de buurt, waar gedurende de winter een 5 à 600-tal mensen in gruwelijke ellende geleefd hadden, werd leeggehaald en met geweld mannen, vrouwen en kinderen op straat gedreven. Ze konden op 'n sleetje of karretje wat lijfgoed meenemen. Maar het merendeel kon dat niet, want ze hadden het niet. Het was de armste wijk van Venlo: de Rummerstraat, Schatwederstraat en Postelstraat. Tegen 11 u. stonden een troep huilende vrouwen en kinderen voor de fabriek. Onder geleide van de Grüne, met geweren gewapend, gingen we naar Straelen. Er liepen kinderen zonder kousen, zonder ondergoed, met kapotte klompen en lorren van schoenen. We kwamen maar moeilijk vooruit over de weg. Er waren vrouwen bij van over de 70 jaar, moeders met borst-kinderen van vier en zes maanden. De ober-luitenant bekende dat dit geen mannen-werk was en dat hij liever aan het front vocht dan dit beulenwerk te doen.

In Straelen pauzeerde de evacuatie van Velden, die van Noord naar Zuid gedreven werden. In Pont kwam 'n wagen van Venlo ons achterop en kregen we warme soep. Aan de baby was niet gedacht. Tegen de avond bereikten we Geldern, een dode stad onder sneeuw met verse wonden van bombardementen; huilende kinderen, moeizaam voortsjokkende mensen intens triest en droevig.

We werden in een kazerne gestopt en kregen soep en brood. Mijn vriend Hein Veger, medisch student, die in Venlo op het ziekenhuis als assistent werkte, had zich vrijwillig aangemeld als dokter de mensen bij te staan en maakte de ronde: een bloedvergiftiging, een zware breuk, 'n klein kind met zware bronchitis en natuurlijk overal stukgelopen voeten. Veel totaal uitgeputte kinderen. We moesten een wagen zien te vinden. De nacht bracht raad. Tegen 4 u. werden we wakker; op de gangen drukte, heen en weer geloop en de volgende morgen bleek al gauw waar die nachtelijke drukte voor nodig was geweest: in 't geëvacueerde Geldern was door onze mensen "georganiseerd". Ze hadden wagentjes en sleeën geleend.

Om 9 u. trokken we verder zonder dat er enig eten of drinken was verstrekt. Een van de vrouwen zei in haar sappig Venlo's: "dat ze ons er uit gesmeten hebben, allah; dat we de kou in gestuurd worden, allah; maar dat we vanmorgen geen kopje koffie hebben gekregen, dat is onmenselijk. Het is me nog nooit in mijn leven overkomen." Echt Venlose humor!

In Sonsbeek wist ik het klaar te spelen dat een katholieke instelling voor warm eten zorgde. Maar voor de "Grüne" deden ze het niet en die gaven ze niets, zeiden ze. Ik kreeg er ondergoed, schoeisel, kousen en kleren. De bevolking van het Rijnland was erg behulpzaam en goed. Morgen zijn wij aan de beurt, meenden ze.

Na een tocht van 10 à 11 uur bereikten we in 't duister Xanten. De mensen kwamen in verschillende kwartieren en werden overal uitstekend geholpen. Onze medicus-Veger speelde tegen de Nazi-instanties stevig op zijn poot en wist te bereiken dat we voor de volgende dag een boerenkar kregen voor de zieken en ouden van dagen. Een kind met

longontsteking en een met zware bronchitis bleef met de moeder in het ziekenhuis te Xanten achter.

De mensen waren doodop. Volgende morgen om 9 u. weer verder. Enkele der „Grüne Polizei“ waren uitgevallen omdat ze niet in staat waren verder te lopen, maar onze vrouwen en kinderen moesten. Onderweg liepen ze telkens uit de rij en vroegen en bedelden om eten en drinken.

We waren dien dag (Dinsdag) tegen 4 u. in Rees. We werden met 'n veerpont over de Rijn gezet. Een benauwd kwartiertje, want enkele Engelse jagers hadden dien middag kennelijk interesse voor onze colonne.

We stonden nu over de Rijn. In 'n oude zaal met smerig stroo konden onze mensen in Rees overnachten. Daar de hygiëne en zindelijkheid onder de mensen nog wel wat te wensen overliet – ze hadden maandenlang in schuilkelders opgehoopt gezeten – besloten de dokter en ik in de stad te gaan slapen. We gingen de mensen nog eens af; ze hadden vreselijk veel last van doorgelopen voeten. We vroegen en kregen melk en pap voor de kinderen.

In de stad was de ontvangst, ook bij katholieke instanties, beneden peil. Nergens plaats. De mensen waren er kennelijk bang, maar dan ook ontzettend bang. Ik moest mij overal legitimeren als priester. Vriendelijke mensen hebben wij er niet ontmoet. Ik was de dokter kwijt geraakt, zocht in ziekenhuis, maar daar was hij niet. Misschien in het Holländische lager in de Neustrasse. In de Neustrasse kende niemand het Holländische lager. Ik liep toen een gebouw binnen waarop Rode Kruis stond. Onder

militairen. Ik werd brutaal, liep een trap op naar boven en stond... voor een Nederl. uniform. Het bleek de ziekenafdeling van 'n kamp te zijn. Enkele duizenden Nederlandse jongens, in een grote West-Nederl. stad domweg op straat opgepikt, zijn in Rees in een kamp; slapen in 'n open dakpannenfabriek. Als ze opstonden zat het ijs dik op de deken. Met slaag werden ze gewekt. Wie bleef liggen was ziek, iederen dag 5 doden wegens dysenterie. Slecht voedsel, slaag. In de Neustrasse lagen er 'n honderd doodziek. Dyphterie, dysenterie, longontsteking etc. Op de vloeren een beetje stroo. Geen hoofdkussen; in hun gewone kleren, d.w.z. lompen met smerige deken. De helft ervan was katholiek. Ik hoorde biecht, reikte de H. Communie uit en sprak allen toe. Ze waren ontzettend blij en gelukkig, ze hadden tranen in de ogen. Geen

hard woord hoorde ik van hen. Ze beschuldigden zich van haat voor de vijand. Ze wilden niet haten zeiden ze. Ze wilden het dragen voor een nieuw, beter en vrij Nederland. Jongens, die avond bij jullie zal ik m'n hele leven niet vergeten. Als ik spreek en lees over martelaren denk ik voortaan aan jullie, zie ik jullie holle gezichten, smerig, met vuile baard, maar zie ik jullie ogen die zuiver, rein en sterk waren. Dat de Heer der martelaren jullie moge sterken en beschermen.

Over de stad Rees hing als het ware 'n vloek van hardheid, wreedheid. In Gelderland hoorde ik van bevoegde personen dat evacuë's uit Gennep wat water vroegen in Rees voor een vrouw die flauw viel. "In de Rijn is water genoeg, haal 't daar maar" werd hun gezegd. Het transport uit Gennep kwam er enkele maanden voor ons des nachts in stromende regen aan. Men werd in openbare schuilkelders geduwd en in portieken konden we slapen. Maar de mensen namen ze niet in huizen op. Een vrouw is er in de schuilkelder gevallen.

's Avonds ben ik naar de Venlonaars teruggegaan om de H. Mis te lezen. Ik verzekerde hun dat 't kapelleke van Genooi niet te evacueren was en een Moeder altijd bleef waken over wie daar ooit kwam en bleef wachten op een spoedige terugkeer van allen. 's Avonds ging ik nog eens naar 't Holländische lager en bleef er nog lang met de jongens praten. De volgende dag, onze laatste dag, zouden we over de grens gaan. Vanuit Gendringen kwamen boerenkarren. Zwakke kinderen en de bagage gingen daarop.

Het was nog bitter koud. We waren blij dat we Rees konden verlaten en nog blijer dat we weer in Nederland zouden zijn. Luidkeels werd 't Wilhelmus gezongen toen we de grens overtrokken, maar de "Grüne" verbood het. In Gendringen was een comité dat zich voor onze mensen uitsloofde. Een warme zaal, uitstekend eten. Enkele dagen zouden ze blijven rusten en dan per wagen en tram doorgaan naar Borculo. Men vroeg indertijd vaak en vraagt het nog: waarvoor diende die evacuatie? Er is maar één antwoord: Een demon drijft het Duitse volk naar de ondergang. De evacuatie van Limburg is duivelsspel. Ik weet er geen ander antwoord op.

En als iemand van mijn mensen mij zou kunnen horen dan had ik hem willen zeggen: De groeten uit Venlo en van Genooi, de groeten uit 'n vrije, blijde Nederlandse stad.

4 april 1945 **Mej. Fr. Rouleaux-Meurs, p.a. Groote Dijlakker 24, Bolsward,**
betr. haar vader, Weeshuis, Venlo, wonende Vilgert Velden.

14 juli 1945 **De noodtoestand in Limburg**

"Daar is mijn vaderland, Limburgs dierbaar oord," zo zingen de duizenden Limburgers,

- 102925 welke weer naar hun geboorteplaats terugkeren, na 4 maanden in het noorden van ons land te hebben doorgebracht. Elk dorp en iedere stad welke zij op de terugreis passeren, is voor hen aanleiding hun volkslied opnieuw in te zetten, daarmee hun vreugde te kennen gevend over het feit, dat voor hen het moment is aangebroken, waarnaar ze zo lang met een kinderlijk verlangen hebben uitgezien. En wanneer zij dan
- 102930 bij het passeren van de Limburgse grens bij de spoorwegtunnel te Mook de woorden "welkom Limburger" te lezen krijgen, dan wordt nog eens het volkslied ingezet, uitbundiger dan te voren, en menige boer welke uiterlijk ruw en onverschillig lijkt, veeft met zijn mouw enkele tranen van blijdschap van zijn gezicht. Dan wordt het stiller en de feestvreugde moet plaats maken voor een gespannen en zwijgend
- 102935 afwachten, een gevoel van teleurstelling, een gevoel van bange hoop. Ieder verwoest dorp wakkert deze gevoelens aan. Ottersum zwaar geteisterd, Middelaar geen huis dat hersteld kan worden. Gennep één monument van verwoeste huizen. Afferden en Heyen vrijwel geheel verwoest. Arcen en Velden bieden een troosteloze blik, Venlo, dat zestien bombardementen te verduren had, en eens zo beroemd was door haar gezelligheid
- 102940 en vrolijkheid, overtreft iedere voorstelling welke men er zich van maken kan aan de hand van de beschrijvingen welke pers en radio er over gegeven hebben. Roermond doet wat de verwoestingen betreft niet voor Venlo onder, Susteren is totaal verwoest... Doch niet alleen de Oostkant van de Maas tussen Mook en Sittard is getuige van de meedogenloosheid waarmee twee grote wereldmachten elkaar hier bestreden, ook de
- 102945 Westkant kent de methoden der moderne oorlogsvoering. Blerick telt slechts weinig te herstellen huizen, Lottum, Broekhuizen, Horst, Venray alsmede vele andere grotere en kleinere dorpen in Noorden midden-Limburg doen iedere vreemde bezoeker stil worden hoeveel te meer dan hij die dit zijn dierbaar oord noemt.
- 102950 Meer dan welk deel van ons land heeft dit gebied, en meer dan welk deel van ons volk heeft dit volk de verschrikkingen van de oorlog moeten doorstaan vanaf de eerste dag dat het Rijn- en Roergebied de doelen vormden voor de aanvallen der R.A.F. hebben zij bombardementen meegemaakt, doordat luchtgevechten tussen Engelse bommenwerpers en Duitse jagers boven hun hoofden werden uitgevochten. Meer dan 2 maanden hebben zij onder het hevigste granaatvuur gelegen, waarvan velen ten slachtoffer zijn gevallen.
- 102955 Gedurende diezelfde tijd dwong de veiligheid hen in kelders te wonen. "De Groenen" zorgden er met hun razia's wel voor dat deze mensen geen al te grote rust genoten.
- In begin Januari van dit jaar trof hen de grootste ramp doordat zij ondanks sneeuw en koude, gedwongen werden alles te verlaten, om naar het Noorden van ons land te worden
- 102960 geëvacueerd, alwaar zij aan de goede, doch helaas ook aan de slechte gastvrijheid van hun landgenoten werden overgeleverd. De Deventenaren zijn getuigen geweest van de ellende welke deze mensen op hun tochten vergezeld.
- Thans zijn velen van hun weer in hun dierbaar oord aangekomen, doch dit betekent voor hen niet het einde van alle ellende, want zij staan nu voor de puinhopen van wat eens
- 102965 hun bezit was. Meer dan 25.000 stuks rundvee werden naar Duitsland gebracht, het zelfde lot ondergingen ruim 10.000 paarden.
- Alle varkens en kippen zijn verdwenen, matrassen, serviezen, keukengerei, meubels linnengoed enz. enz. eveneens weggeroofd of in onbruikbare toestand achtergelaten. In ruil hiervoor hebben de Duitsers duizende mijnen achtergelaten welke iedere dag
- 102970 slachtoffers eisen. Gezinnen werden gedood doordat mijnen in hun huizen verborgen waren. Duizende H A goede landen tuinbouwgrond moet hier braak blijven liggen aangezien van overheidswege geen pogingen zijn aangewend de hierin verborgen mijnen op te ruimen.
- De toewijzingen van materialen, grondstoffen, transportmiddelen, huisraden enz. welke
- 102975 van Overheidswege worden verstrekt zijn niet alleen geheel onvoldoende om aan de minimum behoeften te voldoen, doch hebben bij de bevolking het idee doen postvatten, dat de Overheid zelfs niet doordrongen is van de betreurenswaardige toestanden welke hier heersen.
- Is het dan te verwonderen dat er grote onrust en ontevredenheid heerst onder dit van
- 102980 nature zo tevreden volk van Noord- en Midden Limburg, een ontevredenheid die gevoed wordt door de wetenschap dat enige kilometers Oostwaarts de Duitse boer met hun paarden de grond, welke vrij is van mijnen, kan bewerken, en zich bovendien tegoed kunnen doen aan de eieren van hun kippen, het spek eten van de door hun met zorg groot gebrachte varkens, de linnenkasten met de gestolen goederen hebben aangevuld,
- 102985 om nog maar te zwijgen van de vele "Liebesgaben" welke de soldaten uit Holland voor hun familie hebben meegebracht. Ongetwijfeld zullen deze mensen met vreugde kennis genomen hebben van de grote actie door de Zeer Eerw. Heer H. de Greeve aangekondigd in zijn onlangs gehouden bijzondere lichtbaken waarin deze de Limburgers met name noemde. Doch dit kan niet voldoende zijn. Het is de plicht van de Overheid alles in
- 102990 het werk te stellen om hier zo spoedig mogelijk te hulp te komen, het liefst door hun

eigen goederen trachten op te sporen en terug te halen, waarbij zij op volledige steun van de belanghebbenden kunnen rekenen.

Laten wij van onze kant die mensen, waarmee wij zoveel medelijden hadden toen zij door onze stad trokken, niet vergeten wanneer offers voor getroffen landgenoten van ons gevraagd worden. En, ja laten we eerlijk zijn, we kunnen nog heel wat missen, zonder dat we het gemis hier van merken. En hoe is dat verhaal ook weer van Sint Martinus met zijn mantel, waarover onlangs ook in een herderlijk schrijven van enige onzer Bisschoppen gesproken werd?

20 juli 1945 **Begin Sept. hervatten wij het onderwijs**
Leerlingen voor het eerste leerjaar kunnen zich aanmelden bij den Zeereerw. Pater Rector, die ook elke gewenste inlichting verstrekt. De Missionarissen van MARIANNHILL, ST. PAUL, ARCEN L.

12 december 1945 **"DE SCHRIK VAN VENLO" ZAL ALS MOORDENAAR TERECHT STAAN**
Half Januari zal, zooals reeds in het kort gemeld werd, de zaak-Berendsen voor het Bijzonder Gerechtshof terecht worden. Dit gerechtshof zal hiertoe een speciale zitting houden te Venlo. Venlo heeft immers het twijfelachtige voorrecht gehad Berendsen als commandant van de Arbeitseinsatzkontrollkommission domicilie te

verleenen. Gedurende ruim twee jaren kon de naam Berendsen in geheel Noord-Limburg bijna iedereen een nachtmerrie bezorgen. Vergezeld van een luguber groepje "politie mannen uit Ommen", trok Berendsen geregeld den boer op, op jacht naar onderduikers, radio's en verborgen piloten. Hij zoowel als zijn trawanten voerden een waar schrikbewind onder de bevolking. Als een stelletje revolverbandieten voor wie geen wet bestond en niets heilig was pleegden zij overvallen in dorpen en op afgelegen boerde rijen. Nooit wist men precies met welk doel en welke opdracht de bende op de baan was.

Berendsen zelf droeg, behalve aan zijn koppel, ook nog een revolver in elk van zijn laarzen. Zoo nu en dan had hij een holster onder zijn linker oksel bevestigd en nog een schietwapen in den borstzak. Dat hij al deze onwaarschijnlijke maatregelen nam ter eigen beveiliging, verwonderde tenslotte niemand. Zelf ging hij trotsch op zijn reputatie "de schrik van Venlo" te zijn. Zijn optreden herinnerde af en toe sterk aan de dolzinnigste scènes uit de Wild-West.

De dagvaardiging van Berendsen moet wel zoo ongeveer het midden houden tusschen een struikrooversverhaal uit den bokkenrijderstijd en de geschiedenis van een fantastischen cowboy-schurk met veel revolverknallen en opwindende jachten. Het groote verschil zal dan echter zijn, dat de historie om Berendsen droeve werkelijkheid is, of beter gezegd "was".

Zooals de P.O.D. ons mededeelde, had men nog geen juist beeld over den inhoud van de aanklacht. De voornaamste beschuldigingen zullen echter om. zijn: drie politieke moorden met voorbedachten rade. Zijn slachtoffers in deze gevallen waren: het Israëlitische echtpaar Maisonpierre-Compris, afkomstig uit Sittard en J. Kohlen uit Venlo.

Het echtpaar M. was door Berendsen en zijn bende opgespoord in Sevenum, waar het ondergedoken was. Hij hield beiden een tijdlang in arrest in het politiebureau te Venlo. Op een zekeren avond noodigde hij het echtpaar uit voor een ritje. Hij bracht hen buiten Venlo in de buurt van het z.g. Zwarte Water en schoot hen bij een boschrand zonder vorm van proces neer. Nadat hij aanvankelijk de lijken ter plaatse had laten liggen, koerde hij naderhand terug en wierp ze in de veenplas.

Het derde slachtoffer K. had Berendsen overgenomen van een Duitsch officier, die K. ten onrechte van plundering verdacht. Berendsen nam K. mee naar den Kaldenkerkerweg te Venlo, waar hij hem ter hoogte van de tramloodsen van den Maasbuurtspoorweg neerschoot. Dat hij de dader was van deze afgrijselijke moorden, heeft Berendsen reeds bekend. Voorts zullen in zijn dagvaardiging verscheidene gevallen gesignaleerd worden van arrestaties van personen, die hij voor en in het belang van den vijand verrichtte. Diverse van deze personen zijn in Nederlandsche en Deutsche concentratiekampen terecht gekomen, waarvan er verschillende niet zijn teruggekeerd. Johan Berendsen, de schrik van Venlo, is geboortig uit Avereest. Tijdens den oorlog had hij een dienstverband met de Militaire Politie. Na uit Duitsche krijgsgevangenschap te zijn ontslagen, was hij achtereenvolgens in dienst bij de Rijksveldwacht, bij de Deutsche Polizei in de Nederlanden en bekleedde hij het bandietenbaantje van commandant bij de Arbeitseinsatzkontrollkommission.

2 juli 1946 **Hij wijst een massagraf op de Hamertsche heide aan**
Vermoedelijk het graf van de zeven Limburgsche slachtoffers van de Mei-staking 1943
Oproep van den Burgemeester van Bergen tot de familieleden

Gestatten Sie, Herr Commissar, zegt Richard Nitsche met dat mengsel van slaafsheid en brutaliteit, dat men alleen van 'n Duitscher verwachten kan: gestatten Sie, zegt hij, wanneer hij verhoord wordt in een luchtig vertrek van het Venlosche politiebureau en hij pikt de peukjes uit den aschbak en vraagt een lucifer.

Het verhoor is een verstandelijk duel tusschen den ervaren Ned. commissaris en den sluwen S.D.-er, die zelf honderden Limburgers aan 'n kruisverhoor on[der]wierp, koele nuchtere Nederlanders en vertwijfelde murw gebeukte gevangenen.

Het zijn twee oude bekenden, die hier tegenover elkaar staan: hoofdinspecteur Wieriks en Hauptscharführer Nitsche destijds de eenige S.D.-er in Limburg die de Gestaposchool geheel doorloopen heeft. Die met alle praal van 't Duitse superras tijdens de bezetting in ditzelfde politiebureau zijn intrede deed.

Die, tenslotte den dood en mishandeling van tientallen Limburgers op zijn geweten heeft. Maar het is niet meer dezelfde "Herr Nitsche", deze schrale kruiperige figuur, die bedelt om de peukjes van den hoofdinspecteur...

Dat moet hij toegeven: deze behandeling is toch veel anders dan die de Duitschers hun gevangenen gaven, maar Herr Commissar begrijpt toch den nolitieman, wel...

Of hij ooit iemand geslagen had? Welneen! En, deze getuige dan? Had hij dien nooit een stomp met de kolf van het geweer gegeven? Neen, d.w.z.: alleen maar met de hand. Zeker hij wil niets voor de politie verbergen, niets tenminste wat zijn vroegere kameraden van den S.D. te Maastricht verdacht kan maken.

Op Strobl, zijn chef, die het sinistere gezelschap in den steek liet, toen zij op den dag der capitulatie naar IJmuiden vluchtten, is hij woest. "Planmäszig" waren zij daarop door de Canadeezen in een krijgsgevangenenkamp opgeborgen, waaruit hij thans door de bemoeiingen van "Herr Commissar" te voorschijn is gehaald.

Richard Nitsche schrijft een ellenlang raport in zijn cel. Als de zware grendels verschoven worden ten gerieve van den fotograaf valt het felle zonlicht naar binnen. Nitsche staat op van de schrijftafel en doet een stap naar voren als wilde hij zeggen: kan ik de heeren ergens mee van dienst zijn? En als het fototoestel uit het foudraal te voorschijn komt, heeft hij de opmerking: "Das geht ja nicht mit Leika!" Hou jij je maar aan je schrijverij, wordt hem gezegd en hij gaat weer zitten in zijn verschoten pakje van de Luftwaffe met de strakke, iets te korte broekspijpen.

Een foto voor de krant.

Hij had bij den "Herr Commissar" een dagblad gezien met zijn naam erin. Hij had om de krant gevraagd, maar het werd hem geweigerd. Hij hoefde niet alles te weten, wat van hem bekend was. Dan deden de Canadeezen het anders...

NITSCHÉ WIJST GRAVEN AAN.

Zondag trok Richard Nitsche geboeid en vergezeld van een klein aantal politiemannen door N.-Limburg waar hij "nur auf Befehl" zijn terreur heeft uitgeoefend.

Hij wist het graf van een onderduiker in Helden, het graf van een onderduiker die onder zijn commando verdacht van spionage en ondergronds werk door de Duitschers gefusilleerd en op een verborgen plek begraven was.

Dit gebeurde in Oct. 1944 toen de bevrijdingslegers reeds in Meyel stonden.

Nu zegt de gestapo-agent herhaaldelijk "Das letzte Schusz hätte in 1944 fallen müssen". Hij wist zich de plaats nauwkeurig te herinneren en gewillig grijpt hij de schop, toen men hem de boeien afnam en hij het graf zou blootleggen. Maar Nitsche kon de schop niet hanteeren, speelden zijn zenuwen hem parten? Of was het magere mannetje met sluike haren en nietszeggend gezicht te zeer verzacht in het Canadeesche krijgsgevangenenkamp, waarin hij tot voor zeer kort was ondergebracht?

Verder ging de tocht langs den O. Maasoever naar het Noorden. En waar het gezelschap stopte, tusschen Arcen en Well, lag de Hamersche heide in den stillen zomeravond.

Hier zegt men, oefenden de Duitse vliegtuigen met proefbommen; hier fusilleerden Nazi's hun ongehoorzame wehrmachtsleden. Verderop langs den randweg ligt een verbleekt schildje op het pad, waarop in afblatterende Gothische letters "Eichenweg" geschreven staat.

MASSAGRAF GEVONDEN.

Hier, in de schaduw van de eiken heeft Richard Nitsche de plaats gewezen, waar zeven Limburgers werden vermoord en begraven. Zeven onschuldigen, die over ditzelfde pad geloopt hadden, toen het bordje "Eichenweg" nog tegen den boom preikte [prijkte] en de Duitschers heer en meester meenden te zijn in Nederland.

Zonder droevige verwachtingen te willen wekken kunnen we aannemen, dat het hier de begraafplaats betreft van zeven Limburgers, die tijdens de Meistaking van 1943 door de Duitschers na een schijnproces te Maastricht, waarbij Nitsche als aanklager is opgetreden, "standrechtelijk" zijn vermoord.

103125 Nitsche wees de plaats, waar het 15 man sterke vuurpeloton der Grüne Polizei heeft gestaan.

Er werden hulzen gevonden, maar hier is de grond bezaaid met hulzen, de heide overal eender, maar een gestapo-agent heeft een getraind geheugen en tot op enkele tientallen meters nauwkeurig wist hij, waar de lichamen begraven waren.

103130 Na twee peilingen, heeft men gisterennamiddag onder leiding van burgemeester Douven de lichamen blootgelegd. Zij waren geheel gekleed. Voorts werd een bamboe wandelstok in het graf gevonden. Zoo mogelijk zullen de lichamen nog heden geïdentificeerd worden.

103135 RICHARD NITSCHKE de meest gevreesde S.D.-man uit Limburg schrijft in de Venlosche politiecel zijn lugubere memoires.

103140 De burgemeester der gemeente Bergen, waaronder Well ressorteert, richt dan ook een dringend verzoek aan de naaste familieleden van de toen terecht gestelde Limburgers zich zoo mogelijk nog heden te melden bij de marechaussee te Well.

3 juli 1946 **Het massagraf der zeven Limburgsche helden**

103145 En zoo staan er nog vier andere bekendmakingen in de dagbladen van den 3den Mei 1943, ambtenaren, mijnwerkers en arbeiders uit het Noorden, het Oosten en het Zuiden, maar Limburg heeft de langste eerelijst. In de tenlastelegging stond dat zij den arbeid, ondanks aanmaning, niet hebben hervat. Kan men in minder woorden hun nagedachtenis eeren?

103150 Het vermoeden, dat het door den Gestapo-agent Richard Nitsche op de Wellsche heide aangewezen massagraf de begraafplaats is van deze zeven Limburgsche mannen is Dinsdag bij de identificatie bevestigd. Tegen den middag arriveerde op de Wellsche heide een politiewagen, die een der hoofdschuldigen naar de plaats van den moord bracht: Richard Nitsche.

103155 De plaats ligt enkele tientallen meters van de plek, die eerder door Nitsche werd aangewezen. Ja, nu kan hij het zich nauwkeurig herinneren, ganz genau! Die berk, waar de kogelgaten nog zichtbaar zijn, is de plaats, vanwaar de veroordeelden in de Duitse geweerlopen zagen. Maar zijn woorden breken af als men besluit, hem allereerst naar het open graf to brengen, waar de zeven slachtoffers nog onaangeroerd liggen, zooals zo eens door de Grüne Polizei "begraven" werden, de gezichten naar den grond.

103160 Nitsche beklimt den rand van opgeworpen aarde en als hij naar beneden ziet, slikt hij even in neemt met zijn eene vrije hand zijn pet af. Hij doet nog een stap naar voren en wijst: Ja, dat is de stok van Bouman, Bouman vooral heeft indruk gemaakt op dezen eevoelloozen sadist. Bouman, de oud-Indisch officier die zelf steunend on zijn stok, voor zijn lotgenooten een krachtige moreele steun moet zijn geweest. Die herhaaldelijk zei: "Als we sneuvelen, vallen we op Het veld van eer". Die den

103165 blinddoek weigerde, evenals nog een van zijn medeveroordeelden, maar diens naam kan de man, die destijds als aanklager bij het Polizeistandgericht fungeerde, zich niet meer herinneren.

103170 Dan vertelt Nitsche, hoe de zaak zich heeft toegedragen. Hij wijst en gesticuleerd. Hier stelde zich op dien Zondagmiddag in Mei het 15 man sterke vuurpeleton op. Bouman die te zwak was om te staan zat op een verhooging voor den berkenboom. Naast hem stonden drie andere veroordeelden. De overigen wachtten ginds in een autobus "Ze hebben vijf minuten mogen bidden", zegt Nitsche "Da sagte der Hauptmann: es ist vorbei, und die Vier reichten einander die hand". Waar hij zelf stond, toen de schoten vielen?" Och, ik heb zooiets nog nooit gezien en ik wilde er ook niet bij zijn. Ik draaide me om en wandelde den zandweg op".

103175 Nitsche wordt weer geboeid en zet zijn pet weer op. Maar voor men hem weg brengt, wordt de gebeurtenis nogmaals in scène gezet. 15 man staan op de plaats van het vuurpeleton Nitsche waar de Hauptmann stond en voor den berkenboom stelt zich met drie anderen Dr. Hartman uit Roermond op, die samen met Bouman en de zijnen was gearresteerd. Dr. Hartman, de eenige, dio door het grillige Nazi-recht werd vrijgelaten.

103180

103185 NITSCHKE AANSCHOUWT ZIJN SLACHTOFFERS: van links naar rechts: Dr Hartman, hoofd-inspecteur Wieriks, die het onderzoek leidt en aan wiens optreden de arrestatie van Nitsche te danken is, de Gestapo-agent, inspecteur Pollaert en insp. Helsen uit Heerlen.

BEKANTMACHUNG

's-Gravenhage, 2 Mei 1943.

Der Hoehere S.S.- und Polizeifuehrer deelt mede: Het Polizeistandgericht te

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 103190 Maastricht heeft den 2en Mei 1943 de hierna genoemde Nederlandsche onderdanen ter dood veroordeeld: 1 den hoofd-controleur van den CCD Martinus Bouman uit Roermond, 53 jaar, 2 den adj hoofdcontroleur van den CCD Bernard Ruyters uit Heer, 51 jaar, 3 den districtsleider van den CCD Leo Brouwer uit Maastricht, 35 jaar, 4 den chemicus Johannes Bougerd uit Roermond. 30 jaar, 5 den mijnwerker Meinhardus Tempelaars uit
- 103195 Heerlerheide, 38 jaar 6 den electro-monteur Renier Savelsberg uit Heerlerheide, 48 jaar, 7 den houwer Salvatius Hendrikus Toussaint uit Amstenrade, 29 jaar. De 7 vonnissen werden door den kogel voltrokken.
- 10 juli 1946 **Oproep**
- 103200 Al wie inlichtingen kan verstrekken omtrent het optreden gedurende de Duitsche bezetting van den Hauptbeharrführer der Sicherheits Polizei Maastricht, later in Venlo: Richard Nitsche, waaruit kan blijken, dat deze zich heeft schuldig gemaakt aan eenig oorlogsmisdrijf, wordt verzocht hiervan ten spoedigste schriftelijk mededeeling te doen aan onderstaande instantie.
- 103205 Men wordt verzocht te volstaan met een korte vermelding van het misdrijf, b.v. moord, mishandeling, roof, ernstige vernieling, van den naam of de namen der slachtoffers van hun woonplaats en zoo nauwkeurig mogelijk van de plaats, waar en het tijdstip waarop dit werd gepleegd. De mededeeling dient te worden voorzien van den naam, de voornamen en de woonplaats van den aangever in blokletters. Ook indien reeds aangifte is gedaan, ingevolge een door den burgemeester gedane algemeene oproep, wordt een korte mededeeling wenschelijk geacht.
- De voorzitter der Sub-Commissie Limburg van het Bur. voor Opsporing van Oorlogsmisdadigers, de Hoofdinspecteur van Politie,
J. P. L. HELSEN
- 103215 Papenstraat 11, Maastricht
- 10 juli 1946 **Gestapo-beul Nitsch onthult moord op twee Eindhovenaren**
- Enkele dagen geleden meldden de bladen van de Limburgia-pers de ontdekking en de aanhouding in een gevangenenkamp in Duitschland van den beruchten Gestapo-beul
- 103220 Nitsche, die in de laatste bezettingsjaren vanuit zijn standplaats Venlo het Noord-Limburgsche land onveilig maakte en wien menige vreeselijke misdaad, moorden en gruwelijke mishandelingen, ten laste werden gelegd. Onmiddellijk na zijn uitlevering en overbrenging naar Venlo, begon men met een diepgaand onderzoek, dat reeds belangrijke resultaten heeft opgeleverd.
- 103225 Zoo wees hij, na enkele dagen te zijn ondervraagd, de graven aan van een zevental van zijn slachtoffers, Limburgsche illegale werkers, die na een lange gevangenschap, waarin zij op menschonteerende wijze werden gemarteld, naar een eenzame plek nabij de Duitse grens werden gevoerd en die daar door Nitsche en zijn helpers op beestachtige wijze werden afgemaakt.
- 103230 Het voortgezette onderzoek brengt nog immer nieuwe feiten aan het licht. Zoo meldt de Limburgia Pers thans, dat Nitsche de moorden op vier andere illegale werkers heeft bekend, waaronder op twee Eindhovenaren, de heeren ir. Reuchlin en de machinist der Staatsspoorwegen Jonker. De andere slachtoffers zijn een onderduiker uit Meyel, Heckman, afkomstig uit Heino (Gld.) en de employé der Electr. Mij. Roosjen uit
- 103235 Roermond. Hun graf werd op aanwijzingen van Nitsche gevonden in een kuil en een bomtrechter aan de grens bij Heruner. De heer Heckman belastte zich, onmiddellijk na de bevrijding van Meyel met het inwinnen van informaties voor de geallieerden in de Duitse linies. Acht maal ging het goed, den negenden maal werd hij gegrepen en naar Venlo gebracht, waar hij in handen van Nitsche viel. De heer Roosjen was werkzaam aan de geheime P.L.E.M.-telefoonlijn, waarmede men in verbinding stond met de bevrijde gebieden. Hij viel door verraad in de handen van den Venloschen Sicherheitsdienst. Over het droeve lot der beide Eindhovenaren geeft de Limburgia-pers de volgende aangrijpende bijzonderheden.
- 103245 Ir. Reuchlin, ingenieur der Philipsfabrieken, belastte zich vrijwel onmiddellijk na de bevrijding van onze stad met de opsporing van de trein, die, volgeladen met geroofde machines en producten van het Philipsconcern, zeer kort voor den bevrijdingsdag in de richting van Venlo was weggereden. Niet zonder grond vermoedde men, dat deze trein niet verder dan Blerick was gekomen. Tezamen met den machinist Jonker, bracht hij het, via de Engelsche linies, tot Horst, dat echter nog in
- 103250 Duitse handen was. Even over de gevaarlijke lijn achterhaalde hen reeds het noodlot; zij vielen in Duitse handen en werden naar Venlo gebracht, waar zij in de gevangenis werden opgesloten, om het verhoor van de S.D., onder commando van Nitsche te ondergaan. Tijdens het verhoor echter, wist ir. Reuchlin te ontsnappen! De Duitschers hadden n.l. vergeten de deuren te sluiten en het geluk wilde, dat zich
- 103255 juist op dat uur Britsche bommenwerpers boven de stad vertoonden, die voor de

zooveelste maal een aanval deden op de Maasbrug. In de verwarring wist ir. Reuchlin weg te glijpen. Hij zocht onmiddellijk zijn toevlucht tot de "Pope"-fabrieken, het Venlosche zusterbedrijf van de Eindhovensche Philipsfabrieken. Daar kwam hij gelukkig in contact met illegale werkers, die hem, onder den schuilnaam Maarten verborgen in het hoofdkwartier, voor de razzia's der Grünen. Onmiddellijk nam hij wederom deel aan het illegale werk, niettegenstaande hij slechts één arm had. Om herkenning zooveel mogelijk te bemoeilijken maakte men een kunstarm voor hem, waaronder hij een actetasch kon dragen. Niettegenstaande dat viel hij in November weer in de handen van de S.D., ditmaal voor goed. De Duitschers pasten nu beter op hun tellen, zoodat ontsnappen onmogelijk was geworden. Ir. Reuchlin trof in de cel wederom den heer Jonker aan.

17 November was voor de vier bovengenoemde heldhaftige vaderlanders de fatale dag. Uit de groep gevangenen, die de S.D. toen vasthield, in Venlo, zes mannen en zes vrouwen, werden zij gekozen en weggevoerd. Langen tijd daarna vond men een kunstarm terug in een der cellen en toen Venlo bevrijd was, verscheen er een oproep aan het raam van het politiebureau; men vroeg inlichtingen over een Eindhovenaar, ir. Reuchlin geheeten; hij miste een arm en was vermoedelijk op transport naar Berlijn. "Aan de Herunger grens", zoo schrijft de reporter, die tegenwoordig was bij de confrontatie van den S.D.-man met het stoffelijke overschot van zijn slachtoffers, "wees Richard Nitsch een graf aan in een dichtgegooiden bomtrechter, waarop kinderen speelden. In den bomtrechter lagen de lijken van een spoorwegman en een invalide. Nitsch stond er bij, onbewogen en mager in zijn voddige pakje..." God hebbe de ziel van deze Eindhovensche helden; moge hun offer 'n voorbeeld voor ons blijven en de moed en de overtuiging waarmede zij het brachten een troost voor hun nabestaanden.

1 april 1947 **Secretaris bisdom Roermond verraden**
MAASTRICHT, 31 Maart. — Tijdens de bezetting is de secretaris van het bisdom Roermond, drs. L. Moonen, door de Duitsers gearresteerd en daarna onder zeer tragische omstandigheden in een concentratie-kamp overleden. Deze arrestatie geschiedde door den Nederlander G. H. Holla (geb. te Arcen). Hij zal terecht staan op Maandag 21 April in Roermond, waar hij zich bovendien heeft te verantwoorden voor zijn medewerking aan het opsporen van onderduikers in Beegden, Wessem en Heel. Verder gaf hij leiding bij een razzia op onderduikers te Baexem. Ook leidde hij huiszoekingen met de Duitsers te Maasniel en te Roermond. Verschillende der gearresteerden zijn later in Duitse gevangenschap omgekomen. In deze zaak zullen 24 getuigen worden gehoord.

23 augustus 1947 **Grenscorrectie in het geding**
Met slechts 24 uren tussenruimte sprak ik twee persoonlijkeden in het Westen van Duitsland, van wie de eerste zelfs een ver buiten de grenzen van zijn land overbekend persoon was en is. Ik bedoel Dr. Konrad Adenauer, van 1917–1933 Oberbürgermeister van Keulen, die onmiddellijk door de nazi's van zijn post werd verjaagd, driemaal werd gevangen genomen, van het ene concentratiekamp naar het andere werd gesleept, ten slotte tot November 1944 door de Gestapo gevangen gehouden. Thans is hij leider van de C.D.U., de Christlich Demokratischer Union, dat is de grote christelijke partij, van conservatieven zowel als van meer vooruitstrevenden, van katholieken, zowel als van protestanten.
De andere: Max Hildebrand, Freiherr von Gumppenberg, geboren op het kasteel Arcen bij Venlo, jodenvriend en hevige anti-nazist, die niet minder geleden heeft dan de eerstgenoemde en vooral ondergronds heeft gestreden. Hij is thans perschef van de Landesregierung van Nord Rhein Westfalen, een gebied met 12 millioen inwoners. Hij is een van de oprichters van de C.D.U.-groep te Bochum en toont mij de door hem bij die oprichting gehouden rede.
Beiden zijn katholiek, beiden zijn nu eens werkelijk prettige Duitsers, en ik kan in geen van beiden de onderdaan van een ons vijandige staat zien. Zij zijn mijn medemens en ik eer hen in stilte om hun moedig gedrag tegen Hitler. Zij zijn aan mij verwant, doordat de Nederrijn nu eenmaal Nederland na stond, zoals nu nog Nederland sympathiek wordt beoordeeld door zeer velen in dit land. Beiden geneerden zich diep om wat is gebeurd en nemen geen blad voor de mond: "het was een gemene streek van de bovenste plank, dat Duitsland in Nederland binnenrukte," zegt Adenauer met een onverbiddelijke trek om zijn energieke mond. "Dat moet natuurlijk worden goedgeemaakt". "Het spreekt vanzelf, dat Nederland ons haat en het is verkeerd om te vragen, dat de Hollanders dat vergeten en vergeven moeten, want dat kan niet", zegt von Gumppenberg, die, veel jonger, de geboren edelman niet slechts in de fijnheid zijner gelaatstrekken, doch ook in de subtielheid zijner uitgesproken gedachten

verraadt.

Tot zover kunnen wij volledig samengaan: wij zijn beiden mensen, de geïnterviewde en ik. Maar dan komt opeens de afgrond: gapend en onoverbrugbaar. Een kloof wordt, als door een aardbeving, in de aarde tussen ons gereten. Die aardbeving werd veroorzaakt door een enkel woord: grenscorrectie. Bij beiden had dit woord precies dezelfde uitwerking: "Nooit kan herstel van het aangedane leed door gebiedsafstand plaats vinden. Die methode heeft tot dusver steeds weer nieuwe oorlogen gebracht. Zij smeedt het overwonnen volk aaneen en maakt het chauvinistisch. Sedert 1920 is het zelfbestemmingsrecht van ieder volk algemeen erkend. Men kan toch de mensen niet dwingen zich bij Nederland aan te sluiten. Het afgestane gebied is bovendien het enige (!) met een overschot aan landbouwproducten. Zij en de tegenwoordige leiders van het Duitse volk voelden zich zo schuldig en dat is straf genoeg."

Ik wijs er op, dat het woord "recht" vreemd klinkt uit de mond van een onderdaan van een staat, die nog 8 jaren geleden niet naar recht vroeg en half Europa aan zijn willekeur wilde onderwerpen. Ik herinner er aan, dat, waar zij de plicht tot herstel erkennen, grenscorrecties de enige manier zijn om althans iets terug te krijgen. Dan heet het: "Ja, maar nu mag er geen onrecht meer plaats vinden. Want het aan Holland aangedane leed is immers juist het gevolg van onrecht. Voortzetten van het onrecht zou de ondergrondse propaganda bevorderen en tot nieuwe uitbarstingen leiden."

29 oktober 1947 **Merkwaardige verkiezingen te Arcen en Velden**

Politieke delinquenten stemden mee

Alles wat stemgerechtigd was, is gisteren in de gemeenten Arcen en Velden in Limburg, "de gemeenten zonder raad", in beweging gekomen, om nieuwe gemeenteraadsverkiezingen te houden. Zelfs hebben politieke delinquenten gestemd, die van de kiesrechten waren uitgesloten. Hier deden zich de volgende feiten voor: Van hogerhand waren richtlijnen gegeven, dat de delinquenten niet van stemming konden worden weerhouden, maar dat ze, zodra zij hun stem uitbrachten, een strafbare handeling pleegden met alle gevolgen van dien. Zo geschiedde hier het merkwaardige, dat men een strafbare handeling kon plegen en er toch een bepaalde wettelijke sanctie op kon krijgen, want de stemmen telden wel mee. Het gaat in de gemeenten Arcen en Velden om de beslissende éne zetel, die de doorslag kan geven bij de bepaling van de plaats, waarin het nieuwe raadhuis zal worden gebouwd. In 1946 bleef Velden in de meerderheid met 971 tegen 970 stemmen. Velden had toen een grote propagandacampagne op touw gezet, maar na de verkiezingen begonnen de Arcenaren het offensief te openen. Bij de Raad van State werd bereikt, dat de verkiezingen ongeldig werden verklaard en nieuwe verkiezingen werden uitgeschreven. Gisteren heeft Arcen revanche genomen. Met taxi's en ziekenauto's uit Venlo gerequireerd, werden zieken en hulpbehoevende naar de stembokjes en daarna weer thuis gebracht. Over het gehele land verspreide Arcenaren werden opgehaald – voorzover hun naam op de kiezerslijst stond – om hun stem uit te kunnen brengen. Het resultaat van de stemming is geweest dat Arcen met 1010 stemmen tegen 996 voor Velden in de meerderheid bleef. Toen het nieuws in de Patronaatszaal waar honderden Arcenaren waren vergaderd, bekend werd, ging er een gejuich op, als bij een doelpunt in een interlandwedstrijd. In Velden is grote verslagenheid, ofschoon de leiders in het verzet tegen Arcen met verbeten aangezichten de mening uitspreken, dat een of andere dag de glorie van Velden zal terugkeren. Dreigementen worden geuit als: "Zij zullen met rotte eieren worden bekogeld, de Arcenaren, die zich in Velden vertonen! Weg met Arcen! Annexatie bij Venlo, daar moet het heen!" Inmiddels laat het zich aanzien, dat Arcen's overwinning inderdaad een Pyrrusoverwinning zal zijn. Immers, wat wil het geval? Het gehucht Lom, welks bewoners op de Arcense kiezerslijst vermeld stonden, heeft één afgevaardigde in de Raad zitten. Dit raadslid neemt de elfde plaats in. Arcen en Velden hebben elk 5 raadsleden. Het Lomse lid van de Raad zit dus op de wip. Bij staking der overige 10 stemmen, kan hij naar eigen verkiezing de beslissing forceren. En naar thans vernomen wordt, voelt het Lomse lid alleen maar voor Lom. De raadhuis kwestie interesseert hem minder. Misschien doet zich hier dus nog een oplossing voor, die zelfs Salomo in al zijn wijsheid nog tot eer zou hebben gestrekt.

31 oktober 1947 **STRIJD OM HET RAADHUIS**

Arcen en Velden opnieuw ter stembus

De strijd om de zetels in de gemeenteraden is indertijd met kracht gevoerd. Maar zo fel en spannend als in de gemeente Arcen en Velden nabij Venlo is het nergens toegegaan en, hoe vreemd het ook moge klinken, het was geen strijd tussen rechts en links. Het ging namelijk om niet meer of minder dan de plaats waar het nieuwe gemeentehuis zou verrijzen en de politieke tegenstellingen vielen in het niet bij dit belangrijk probleem. De Arcenaren stemden op de kandidaten uit eigen dorp en de

Veldenaren lieten zich al evenmin onbetuigd.

Velden won met 1 stem verschil, maar die ene stem was te laat binnengekomen en de Raad van State verklaarde de gehele verkiezing ongeldig.

Maandag togen de gemeentenaren opnieuw ter stembus. En wie niet lopen of fietsen kon, werd per auto naar de stemlokalen vervoerd als hij nog in staat was een hokje rood te maken. Heel Arcen was dol van vreugde toen bekend werd, dat Arcen 14 stemmen méér had behaald dan Velden. De vreugde was voorbarig. Nog is het pleit niet beslist. Er blijken namelijk 5 Arcenaren en 5 Veldenaren gekozen te zijn, terwijl het elfde raadslid uit het gehuchtje Lomm en dus uit neutraal gebied komt. Hij is thans een belangrijk man in de gemeente,

11 augustus 1948 **Slagers protesteren tegen aankoop Argentijns vlees**

De slagers te Venlo, Blerick, Tegelen, Arcen en Velden hebben besloten om deze week de winkels te sluiten als protest tegen het ter beschikking stellen van Argentijns bevroren vlees. Ruim zestienduizend kilo vlees is niet geaccepteerd en naar het vrieshuis te Boxmeer teruggestuurd.

9 november 1948 **Portier-telefonist werd N.S.B.burgemeester**

SCHULDIG AAN DE DOOD VAN VIJF GOEDE NEDERLANDERS.

MAASTRICHT, 8 Nov. (Eigen red.) – Voor het bijzonder gerechtshof werd Maandag bij verstek de zaak behandeld tegen de fanatieke partijman W. J. Beckers. Twaalf getuigen werden hierin gehoord en onder dezen waren drie weduwen van mannen, die niet meer uit het concentratiekamp Neuengamme waren teruggekeerd, n.l. mevr. H. P. Schillings, mevr. Veldhoven en mevr. Tersteeg. Verder was er mevr. J. P. Schillings bij, de moeder van een der slachtoffers. Een vierde weduwe, eveneens in de rechtszaal aanwezig, werd niet als getuige gehoord, ofschoon juist deze na de zitting beweerde, dat zij belangrijke dingen te zeggen had. In haar plaats was haar moeder als getuige opgeroepen, die niet veel van het geval afwist. De andere getuigen waren mr. H. Boyens, burgemeester van Eygelshoven en verder politiemannen.

De advocaat-fiscaal, mr. baron van Voorst tot Voorst, schetste Beckers als een fanatiek partijman. B. was portier-telefonist op de Domaniale Mij, daarna bij de politie, vervolgens werd hij burgemeester van Eygelshoven en later waarnemend burgemeester van Arcen en Velden. Hij was het type burgemeester, die met felheid maatregelen tegen zijn tegenstanders nam, en veel omgang met de S.D. had. Hij diende een aanklacht in tegen burgemeester mr. H. Boyens van Eygelshoven. Deze werd als burgemeester ontslagen en kreeg 5½ maand gevangenisstraf. Beckers is verantwoordelijk voor de arrestatie van een aantal lezers van het communistische verzetsblaadje "De Vonk". Hij liet vijf studenten arresteren, omdat zij een Oranje-cocarde droegen en 18 jongens, die met kalk propagandaleuzen op straat hadden geschilderd. Hij ontzag zich niet burgers te dwingen tot werk voor de Duitse militairen, en heeft ook personen overgehaald tot de arbeidsdienst. In Helden-Panningen liet hij een aantal radio's in beslag nemen, en hij liet zich tevens waarnemend burgemeester van Arcen en Velden maken, om dit salaris nog te kunnen innen. De dagvaarding noemt met name zes personen, wier arrestatie voor rekening van Beckers komt, namelijk: J. Helsman, G. Rombouts, H. A. Schillings, J. J. Schillings, J. Th. Veldhoven en Tersteeg. Van deze zes is alleen Hulsman teruggekeerd uit Duitsland. De anderen zijn alle vijf omgekomen, naar men aanneemt in Neuengamme. De advocaat-fiscaal deelde mede, dat vermoedelijk Beckers onder een andere naam in Essen verblijft. Men is met de opsporing nog bezig. De eis luidde: twintig jaar gevangenisstraf. Uitspraak over 14 dagen.

12 februari 1949 **Politiek om wille van een schoolklas**

(Van onze correspondent)

ARCEN EN VELDEN, 19 Febr. – Nu het weer pais en vree is in de Noordlimburgse Maasdorpen Arcen, Velden en Lomm, die vorig jaar hun geruchtmakende verkiezingsstrijd hebben gestreden, speelt de dorpspolitiek weer een rol. Maar nu een vredige. In de school van Lomm zitten 70 jongens en meisjes gewrongen in twee kleine schoollokalen. Om er een derde leerkracht aan te stellen in een apart lokaal, moeten er echter officieel 78 leerlingen zijn. En die zullen er komen, als het opgezette plan gelukt. Van het dozijn woningen, dat de gehele gemeente kreeg toegewezen, zullen er vier in Lomm worden gebouwd, op voorwaarde, dat zij zullen worden betrokken door twee uit Velden en twee uit Arcen [...]

4 mei 1949 – **Toen hij na een half uur spitten een nest met zes jonge vossen**

had uitgegraven slaakte de landbouwer P. A. uit Schandelo (gem. Velden), 'n blijde juichkreet. De moedervos had de laatste tijd terwille van haar jongen 's mans

kippenhok vrijwel uitgemoord. – Over moorden gesproken!

103455 – Te Arcen is een begin gemaakt met het overbrengen van het stoffelijk overschot van 52 Duitse militairen, welke in deze Noord-Limburgse gemeente nog begraven lagen. Zij worden vervoerd naar het oorlogskerkhof voor Duitsers, dat te IJsselstein, bij Venray werd aangelegd.

103460 10 mei 1949 **Venlo ziet geen voordelen in aansluiting van Velden**

Arcen heeft beste verkiezingskansen

VENLO, 8 Mei – De actie van Velden bij Gedeputeerde Staten van Limburg om aansluiting bij de gemeente Venlo te verkrijgen, heeft weinig kans van slagen. De gemeente Venlo ziet namelijk geen voordelen in een annexatie van Velden. Wel heeft Venlo

103465 belangstelling voor grenscorrecties met de gemeente Arcen en Velden. Dit is de mening van verschillende Venlose bestuurders.

De strijd tussen Arcen en Velden is bekend. De dorpsvete is acuut geworden door de actie van de Veldenaren om het verwoeste raadhuis van Arcen in Velden te herbouwen. Beide dorpen, die met Lomm één gemeente vormen, liggen namelijk zeven kilometer van elkaar verwijderd. Voor gemeentezaken moesten de Veldenaren dus steeds naar het "verre" Arcen. Dit laatste dorp kreeg echter de meerderheid in de raad der dubbele-gemeente Velden-Arcen in de tussentijdse verkiezingen voor de gemeenteraad, die wegens fraude moesten worden gehouden. Vandaag is het nieuw te bouwen raadhuis in Arcen aanbesteed.

103475 – De laagste inschrijver was de firma J. Coenders te Arcen met een bedrag van f96.930. De hoogste was T. van den Acker te Venray met een bedrag van f131.512. De gunning is aangehouden. Een kleine troost voor Velden is nog, dat er binnenkort een nood-secretarie zal verrijzen. Maar dit was de opzet van Velden natuurlijk niet. En óók dit kon de meerderheid van de raad (Arcen dus) beslissen. Ongetwijfeld zal Velden

103480 nog aan de nieuwe gemeenteraadsverkiezingen deelnemen. Van annexatie zal voorlopig wel geen sprake zijn. Met een meerderheid van 27 stemgerechtigden heeft Arcen de beste papieren voor Juni. Kan Velden bij een overwinning in de nieuwe gemeenteraad het reeds aanbestede raadhuis nog ongedaan maken? Een moeilijk probleem, waaraan door de Veldense dorpspolitici ijverig wordt gedokterd. Mogelijk is het een begin voor een

103485 nieuwe sneeuwbal, die in de komende maanden met donderend geweld langs de vredige Maasoevers zal rollen. Alleen Velden heeft voordelen bij annexatie door Venlo. De liefde kan echter niet van één kant komen. Een belangrijke factor is bijvoorbeeld, dat de nieuwe industrieterreinen voor Venlo niet in de richting Velden zijn

103490 geprojecteerd. Intussen heeft de overgrote meerderheid van de Veldenaren zich uitgesproken voor annexatie door Venlo.

4 juli 1949 **Geen sterke drank aan minderjarigen in danszalen**

De vroede vaders van de gemeente Arcen namen dezer dagen een besluit, waarbij het verboden zal zijn aan minderjarigen in danszalen en tot de 'aanhorigheden' van een

103495 zaal, waarin gedanst wordt, sterke drank te verstrekken, nadat men tot overeenstemming was gekomen, dat bier niet tot de "sterke" dranken gerekend diende te worden. Een voorstel om de jeugd beneden 18 jaar de toegang tot de danszalen te

103500 verbieden, werd echter tot een volgende vergadering aangehouden. In principe was men er wel voor doch men vreesde, dat de jeugd dan en masse naar danszalen buiten Arcen en Velden zou trekken.

24 september 1949 **Huis met bouwland en dennenbos te Velden**

H. M. J. VERHEGGEN, NOTARIS TE VENLO zal op Donderdag 6 October 1949 nam. 5 uur in café Jac. Litjens bij de kerkte Velden, publiek veilen en verkopen de navolgende

103505 onroerende goederen gelegen onder Velden, gemeente Arcen en Velden in sectie C:

A. voor de kinderen P. Beurskens-van Meegen,

Koop 1. Huis met stal, schuur, erf, boomgaard en bouwland te Velden Velgert,

plaatselijk gemerkt C 265 kadaster nos. 7113 en 3840, samen groot 47 aren 40 c.a.;

Koop 2. Bouwland aldaar, kadaster nos. 7232, groot 59 aren 20 c.a.;

103510 Koop 3. Bouwland in de Genooierheide, kadaster no. 7106, groot 20 aren 60 c.a.

B. voor mevrouw wed. A. P. Louwers-v. Erp en kinderen;

Koop 4. Dennenbos in Genooierheide, geschikt voor speeltuin, kadaster nos. 6918 en

6076, samen groot 99 aren 70 c.a.

Nadere inlichtingen bij de Notaris.

103515 4 maart 1950 **Duits grondbezit voor Nederlandse boeren**

In Limburg omvat dit verschillende honderden hectaren

VENLO, 3 Maart. – (Limb. pers.) – Reeds enige jaren leeft de boerenbevolking in de Noord-Limburgse grensstreek, die als overal elders gebrek aan land heeft, in hoop en

- 103520 vrees aangaande het op Nederlands gebied liggende Duitse grondbezit. Deze grond werd na de oorlog door de Nederlandse regering als vijandelijk vermogen beschouwd en aan het Nederlandse Beheersinstituut toevertrouwd, dat de landerijen aan gegadigden onder de Limburgse grensbevolking verpachtte.
- 103525 De grond werd in cultuur gebracht. Maar veel risico aan het op peil houden van de landerijen besteedde men niet, omdat de verpachtingen telkens slechts voor één jaar geschieden en de onzekerheid bleef bestaan, wat de uiteindelijke bestemming van de grond zou zijn. Aan deze onzekerheid is thans een einde gekomen. De verwachtingen die allengs meer zekerheid kregen, zijn thans bewaarheid: de grond zal in definitief eigendom aan de Limburgse boeren overgaan. Dat het hier om een zaak gaat, die van
- 103530 grote heilzame betekenis is voor deze streek, moge hieruit blijken, dat op deze wijze in de gemeente Bergen circa 1000 hectaren, in de gemeente Ottersum circa 50 hectaren, in Arcen en Velden circa 175 hectaren en bovendien in enige gemeenten in Midden- en Zuid-Limburg nog enige honderden hectaren van Duitse in Nederlandse handen zullen overgaan. Waar deze gronden voor driekwart niet alleen Duits eigendom, maar ook nog
- 103535 bij Duitsers in gebruik waren, zal hierdoor een aanzienlijke verruiming van bestaansmogelijkheden voor de boerenbevolking ontstaan.
- 10 mei 1950 **Limburg zonder tram**
Einde ener lijdensgeschiedenis
(Van onze correspondent)
- 103540 Maastricht, Mei
NOG enige dagen, bij het intreden der nieuwe dienstregeling van de Spoorwegen, en de laatste tram heeft in Limburg gereden. De Limburgse Tramweg-Maatschappij onttrekt dan de laatste tram, de elektrische van Heerlen naar Kerkrade, aan het verkeer en wordt
- 103545 uitsluitend exploitante van autobussen. De naam der maatschappij lijkt dan een anachronisme.
Aannemende, dat de L.T.M., waarin de Spoorwegen zoveel invloed hebben, ook wel aankan wat particulieren klaar spelen: een autobusdienst rendabel te maken, is dan een lange lijdensgeschiedenis ten einde, behoudens dan de naweeën ervan, waarmee verscheidene
- 103550 gemeenten zitten opgescheept. Volledigheidshalve herinneren wij eraan, dat niet alleen de L.T.M. tramlijnen in Limburg exploiteerde, ook de Maasbuurtspoorweg deed dit, doch het stopzetten van haar lijnen in Noord-Limburg is meer aan oorlogsgeweld te wijten geweest.
- 103555 De eerste trams op Limburgs gebied komen, in 1890, eigenlijk van Belgische zijde; het was de lijn Glons-Maastricht-Maeseyck, die maar over enige kilometers Nederlands gebied liep. Ook deze overleefde de oorlog niet. Omstreeks 1911 was er sprake van, dat de Duitse A.E.G. een elektrische tram Maastricht-Aken zou gaan exploiteren. Er kwam niets van, doch bij Maastricht ligt, verzonken in de weg naar Heer, een brede betonnen verkeersbrug als relict. In 1912 komt de eerste C.L.S.M.-lijn Venlo-Maasbree
- 103560 – Helden tot stand, smalspoor, evenals in 1915 Roermond-Kessenich; 1915–1916 Roermond – St. Odiliënberg-Vlodrop; 1918–1919 Roermond-Roggel-Meyel, later doorgetrokken tot Deurne.
- De mijnstreek begon ook actief te worden; daar werd een voor Zuid-Limburg bedoelde Tramwegmaatschappij opgericht, die echter terstond overging in de L.T.M., welke alle
- 103565 bestaande trams (een stel degelijke stroppen) overnam, die haar de bijnaam van Leeg Tot Meyel bezorgden. In 1922 startte de L.T.M. met Wijlré-Vaals, later gecombineerd met Maastricht-Gulpen, waarin het fameuze viaduct ontstond in 1925. Veertien jaar later behoorde dit technisch meesterstukje plus de lijn alweer tot het verleden: 1923 loopt de elektrische tram Sittard-Heerlen; 1924 gevolgd door lijn Emma-Brunssum
- 103570 (bijgenaamd "de moordenaar"); 1929 komt Heerlen-Kerkrade tot stand, in 1928 uitgebreid met de Locht. Tot 1931 wordt het stroomnet nog wat gecombineerd, doch dan begint de débacle.
- Dit laatste woord is niet te sterk, behalve voor de elektrische trams, die tot deze tijd rendabel waren, doch, lopende door de dichtbebouwde mijnstreek, te hinderlijk
- 103575 werden voor het gewone verkeer. Ze zijn vervangen door autobussen. Spoedig zullen de rails uit het stadsbeeld van Heerlen en Kerkrade zijn verdwenen.
- Inmiddels heeft het nu ter ziele gaande trambedrijf aan de openbare kassen miljoenen en miljoenen gekost, niet alleen door exploitatie-verliezen, doch evenzeer door
- 103580 waardeloos geworden terreinen, materialen, locomotieven, spoorwagens, enz. Bij de opening dier lijnen zal men zich wel geen illusie van te behalen winsten hebben gemaakt – de lijnen bedoelden in de eerste plaats streekbelangen te dienen –, doch dat zij zo spoedig uit de tijd zouden wezen, na 20–35 jaar, en dat ze zo formidabele stroppen zouden opleveren, kon wel niemand vermoeden. Toegegeven, de uiterst fatale tijdsomstandigheden, crisis en oorlog, zijn aan de débacle in ruime mate debet.
- 103585 Nog een paar dagen en de laatste tram heeft in Limburg gereden, doch wij zouden niet

in het vrolijke Zuiden leven, wanneer deze laatste rit niet enigermate in de Carnavalssfeer raakte. Alreeds zijn, door de treurende overlevenden, spotschriften in de vorm van rouwbrieven verspreid en naar het heet, zal de laatste tram uitgeleide worden gedaan door "Büttenredner", sprekers zoals wij die met Vastenavond wel zien opduiken in tonnen en op houten paarden. Maar de aandeelhouders zullen wél lachen als de boer die kiespijn heeft.

13 mei 1950 **VELDEN (L.)**

Wilt U in een rustige omgeving uw vakantie doorbrengen? Schrijft dan nog heden aan: V.V.V. Secretariaat Markt C 74 Velden (L.), Gemeente Arcen en Velden en wij geven U alle gewenste inlichtingen.

30 oktober 1951 **Zulke gasten kunnen we gebruiken**

Een jonge Nederlandse boer, die in een Amerikaans boerengezin is ondergebracht, is zo bij zijn gastheer en gastvrouw in de smaak gevallen, dat deze een schrijven aan het Amerikaanse ministerie van Landbouw gericht hebben, met het verzoek hem een verblijfsvergunning te verlenen opdat hij bij hen kan blijven, daar hij geknipt is voor bedrijfsleider.

Jacques van den Hombergh, Krosselt C 294, Velden bij Venlo, arriveerde 26 Maart in de Ver. Staten in het kader van het programma voor technische bijstand van de ECA. Tot 5 December blijft hij in de Ver. Staten om zich daar vertrouwd te maken met allerlei nieuwe landbouwmethoden en wat méér aan de weet te komen omtrent het Amerikaanse gemeenschapsleven.

De heer en mevrouw Lewis Howlett, uit Hartford in Michigan, bij wie Hombergh werd ondergebracht, schreven het volgende aan het ministerie van Landbouw: "Het bezoek van onze gast is voor beider partijen bijzonder goed uitgevallen. Wij proberen Jacques met kanten van de Amerikaanse samenleving te laten kennis maken en hij van zijn kant brengt ons dagelijks allerlei dingen bij, waar we geen flauwe notie van hadden. Hij is werkelijk geknipt als bedrijfsleider en wij zouden daarom graag zien, dat hij bij ons kon blijven. In dat deel van Michigan, waar wij wonen, zijn heel wat Amerikanen van Nederlandse afkomst, en het zijn allen eersterangs burgers. Wij kunnen op onze boerderijen méér van dergelijke jonge, ambitieuze, zuinige en ijverige Hollanders gebruiken."

7 november 1950 **Zekere G. H. uit Venlo is een dezer avonden op stap geweest**, met een hem onbekende jongedame. Bij zijn thuiskomst miste H. zijn portemonnaie die nog 47 gulden zou moeten bevatten. De politie is er in geslaagd de jonge dame, mej. N. H. uit Velden, op te sporen. Voor een gedeelte van het geld uit de portemonnaie had het meisje inmiddels allerlei dingen gekocht.

29 januari 1952 **VOORPROEFJE VAN CARNAVAL**

"Kieskup" van Velden vierden hun "gekke Maandag" Schiedammer tegen kippenvel

(Van onze correspondent) VELDEN, 28 Jan. — Onder het leutig opper-commando van prins Tonny d'n Ierste hebben de "kieskup" van Velden vandaag met een complete "carnavalsoptocht", een raad van elf en gemaskerd bal hun "gekke Maandag" gevierd. Met dit uitbundig voorproefje voor carnaval houden de Veldense wuillussen een eeuwenoude traditie in ere. Volgens de dorpswijzen dateert de "gekke Maandag" van Velden al van de vijftiende eeuw.

Op "gekke Maandag" zijn alle Noordlimburgse vastenavondsgekken zo'n beetje in Velden verzameld. Voorafgegaan door de luidbellende ceremonie-meester Harry Hermkens trok de "gekke Maandag"-optocht vanmiddag door de dik besneeuwde straten van het vredige Maasdorpje. Wie heeft er niet gelachen om de wagen met de bokken, rijders, die, allerzotst uitgedost, een serie hobbelpaarden op een boerenkar gespijkerd hadden. Achter de vrolijk blazende harmonie met gele mutsen en feestneuzen trok een Tiroler wuillussen bar. Een mooi stuk werk was ook de Vliegende Hollander, een grote schuit gebouwd op een vrachtwagen, met de doodskopvlag in top. Zelfs drie graden vorst kon de goede stemming in Velden niet bederven. Met onvervalste Schiedammer slaagde de raad van elf er in op de hoge wagen het kippenvel te bestrijden.

Goede sul

Het grote symbool van "gekke Maandag" is de kaas, die 40 plus en volvet op elke wagen staat geschilderd. Een Veldenaar is namelijk een kieskup; dat is een gemoedelijke bijnaam. Wat wuillus betekent is zelfs de meeste Veldenaren onbekend. Waarschijnlijk noemen ze hun kerkpatroon Sint Andreas een wuillus. Opmerkelijk is dat hetzelfde woord in Venlo de betekenis van een goede sul heeft.

Het meeste succes in de "gekke Maandagoptocht" oogstte echter de kasteelwagen "Ha ho nee", een groot kasteel dat een miezerig belastingkarretje met als opschrift "f1500?" droeg. Dat "Ha ho nee" is een dorpspolitieke grap van de Veldenaren, die het niet zo best op hun Arcense gemeentebroeders hebben voorzien. Vorig jaar had Arcen een groot festijn: "De Ha ho ja" (dat betekent harmonie Arcen 100 jaar) georganiseerd. Om onder de f1500 aan belastingschuld uit te komen, heeft de gemeenteraad van Velden en Arcen (met één Arcense stem meer in de raad) zomaar vrijdom van belasting verleend. Daar zijn Gedeputeerde Staten van Limburg echter niet mee accoord gegaan. En daar hebben ze in Velden een beetje leedvermaak over.

6 maart 1952 **Grote brand in Velden**

VENLO, 5 Maart (Limb. pers). — In de nacht van Dinsdag op Woensdag werd de landbouwer Verspay in Schandelo (Velden) gewekt door een hevig geknetter. Er bleek in de stallingen van zijn boerderij een hevige brand te woeden. De brandweren van Venlo en Velden stonden voor een bijna wanhopige taak. Ze slaagden erin het woonhuis te behouden. De schuren en stallingen gingen echter geheel in vlammen op. Zes varkens kwamen om en de hele oogst van 1951 ging verloren evenals veel materiaal. De boer was veel te laag verzekerd.

18 augustus 1952 **Brandweer werd teruggestuurd**

WETHOUDER VAN VELDEN WEIGERDE HULP UIT VENLO

Vrijdagavond heeft zich een ongewoon incident voorgedaan te Velden (L.). Nadat de commandant van de plaatselijke brandweer en een raadslid uit Velden de Venlose brandweer hadden ontboden om assistentie te verlenen bij het blussen van een brand in een landbouwschuur te Schandelo, waarin de bliksem was geslagen, rukte de Venlose brandweer terstond uit. Op de plaats van de brand aangekomen kreeg het Venlose corps echter, zo verneemt ANP van Venlose zijde, een verbod van de loco-burgemeester van Arcen en Velden, wethouder Van de Venne, om het blussingswerk mede ter hand te nemen. De wethouder was van oordeel, dat de plaatselijke brandweer het karwei alleen wel aankon. De Venlose brandweer kon onverrichterzake huiswaarts keren. Op dat moment was het Veldense corps, aldus de Venlose zijde, nog steeds niet met de blussing begonnen. De schuur, waarin een grote hoeveelheid hooi en stro opgetast lag, is uitgebrand. Naar ANP nog vernam, zal de burgemeester van Arcen en Velden een onderzoek naar de toedracht van deze gebeurtenis instellen.

22 augustus 1952 **Velden geeft zijn visie op het "brandweerincident"**

Onbevoegde riep hulp van Venlo in

Zoals gemeld heeft zich vorige week te Velden een ongewoon incident voorgedaan, toen bij een brand in een landbouwschuur de ontboden Venlose brandweer door loco-burgemeester weth. v. d. Venne onverrichterzake werd weggezonden en de blussing werd overgelaten aan de plaatselijke brandweer. Dit geval is in de gemeenteraadsvergadering van Arcen en Velden ter sprake gekomen.

Burgemeester Gubbels verklaarde, dat de wethouder in zijn recht stond toen hij de Venlose brandweer wegzond. Uit een door hem ingesteld onderzoek was gebleken, dat de Venlose brandweer was ontboden door iemand, die voorgaf namens "de brandweercommandant en een raadslid" te spreken. Spreker verklaarde, dat de gemeente de door de Venlose brandweer gemaakte kosten zal voldoen maar zal trachten die — zo nodig met gerechtelijke dwang — op de onbevoegde die de brandweer van Venlo heeft gewaarschuwd, te verhalen. Aan de landbouwschuur viel niets meer te redden, terwijl er geen gevaar voor belendende percelen bestond.

Wethouder v. d. Venne oefende critiek uit op de Veldense brandweercommandant, die zich na het brandalarm terstond naar de brand begeven had, terwijl de brandweerlieden kampten met moeilijkheden om aan een vervoermiddel voor de spuit te komen, daar de anders ter beschikking staande (particuliere) auto's toevallig niet aanwezig waren. Ook laakte hij het onoordeelkundig gebruik van het slangenmateriaal. In het midden van de brandslangenleiding had men een slecht gedeelte slang aangekoppeld, terwijl men goede stukken slang overhield, zodat later de leiding opnieuw overgeschakeld moest worden.

Een voorstel van de voorzitter om zo mogelijk met de Venlose brandweer een regeling te treffen voor de gehele brandbestrijding in de gemeente, werd door de raad met instemming begroet.

20 november 1952 **Jacht op smokkelaars had succes**

(Van onze correspondent)

Venlo, 20 November

Ambtenaren der invoerrechten en accijnzen hebben in de afgelopen nacht in samenwerking met marechaussée en rijkspolitie in het Noordlimburgse grensdorpje Arcen

een groep smokkelaars verrast. Toen de smokkelaars zich ontdekt zagen wierpen zij hun zakken met smokkelwaar, die koffie en thee bleken te bevatten, weg en kozen het hazenpad, waarna met behulp van een tweetal politiehonden een intensieve achtervolging werd ingezet. Niet minder dan zeven personen afkomstig uit Helmond en omgeving, waarvan de meesten al eerder wegens smokkelarij werden veroordeeld, werden gearresteerd en ingesloten. De smokkelwaar is in beslag genomen.

26 maart 1954 **HOEPHAPS**

De gemeenteraadsleden van Arcen en Velden keken vreemd op, toen in de raadsvergadering een mededeling van Gedeputeerde Staten van Limburg werd bekend gemaakt, dat bij de voorgenomen ontginning van het Arcens en Lommerbroek twee tot drie hectare zouden moeten worden gespaard ter bescherming van de hop. "De hop is een zeldzame vogel", verklaarde de burgemeester en dat klopte dan ook wel want verscheidene raadsleden verklaarden nog nimmer iets van een hop gehoord of gezien te hebben.

Een der raadsleden haalde echter een encyclopaedie te voorschijn, waarin inderdaad een afbeelding van de hop voorkwam. Hij las voor, dat de hop een hier te lande zeldzaam voorkomende vogel is, die zijn broedgebied vooral heeft in Zuid en Oost-Europa en in Zuid-Rusland.

Het was echter de gemeentesecretaris, die het overtuigende woord sprak: "Ze noemen de hop hier hoephaps". Toen vond de raad het in orde. (ANP).

19 maart 1965 **Weer botersmokkel aan Duitse grens - zeven arrestaties**

(Van een onzer verslaggevers)

In Kamp-Lintfort, een Duits plaatsje vlak over de Noordlimburgse grens, heeft de douane vier Nederlanders en drie Duitsers aangehouden. De mannen zouden zich al geruime tijd hebben beziggehouden met het smokkelen van boter.

Bij hun aanhouding werden acht ton boter en twee vrachtwagens in beslag genomen. De Duitse politie wenst de initialen van de gearresteerden niet bekend te maken. Zij hoopt nog meerdere arrestaties te kunnen verrichten en ook de adressen van de afnemers in Duitsland te kunnen achterhalen.

De Nederlandse boter werd illegaal naar Duitsland gebracht via een binnenweg ter hoogte Van het Limburgse plaatsje Arcen. Er is daar geen doorlaatpost. De Duitse douane noemt het wederom een bewijs, dat de bewering niet steekhoudend is als zou de smokkelarij via de zogenaamde "groene grens" weinig Of geen betekenis hebben.

Diversen

26 juli 1930 Verloren van Gasthuis naar Velden een lage schoen. Terug te bezorgen bij H. Lenders, Rieterhof, Velden, Schandelo. 3874

30 september 1941 Ontloopen een herdershond, tijgerkleur, band om den hals; luistert naar - de naam Cuno. Teg. bet. ter. te bez. bij J. In 't Zandt, Schandelo C 227, Velden.

4 december 1943 Ontloopen in de richt. Castanjeborg, Schandelo, Velden een wit-zwart ruwh. foksterr. (teef) luist. n. naam Dolly. Teg. bel. ter. te bez. A. Basten, Lingsfort no. 150, Arcen.

21 maart 1975 DE LAATSTEN DER MAASZALMVISSERS

24 november 1925 ARCEN. HUWELIJKEN: - P. G. Steegh en M. A. Ph. Akkermans -

7 juli 1926 BEESEL. Draaksteken. ~ Naar wij vernemen zal naar alle waarschijnlijkheid dit jaar op Kermismaandag, 30 Augustus e.k. het historisch draaksteken plaats hebben. Was het eerst de bedoeling zulks, met het oog op de slechte tijdsomstandigheden, een jaar uit te stellen zoo zal de uitvoering thans op verzoek- en met medewerking van den bekenden folklorist, den heer v. d. Venne te Arnhem, nog dit jaar plaats hebben. Het licht [ligt] in de bedoeling het draaksteken in zijn geheel te laten filmen, waarna het deel zal uitmaken van een groote wetenschappelijk-historische film, waarvoor o.a. door de Nederlandsche Maatschappij voor Letterkunde bijdragen werden toegekend.

14 januari 1931 L. P. Steegh-Akkermans, z.;

9 februari 1932 J. L. F. Steegh-Akkermans, z.;

12 oktober 1942 Petronella M. P., dr. van P. G. Steegh-Akkermans;

17 maart 1928 **DE ONDERWIJSWET.**

OVERGANG TOT DEN 7-JARIGEN LEERPLICHT.

HERZIENING VAN 'T LEERLINGENAANTAL.

Het initiatief-voorstel van den heer Zijlstra, vond bij de Kamer steun en het werd

aangenomen.

103785 Voordat de heer Zijlstra zijn voorstel nader mocht toelichten, waren er echter, volgens de meening van den heer Ketelaar z.g. "knabbelaars", die, hoewel dit misschien niet hun rechtstreeksch doel was, werkelijk aan het knabbelen gingen aan de pas aangenomen zevenjarige leerplicht.

103790 Zoo bracht de heer Van den Heuvel met zijn amendementje om den leerplicht niet te laten eindigen voor het kind de 12½-jarige leeftijd had bereikt heel wat beroering. De heer Van den Heuvel dacht hier aan kinderen, die op een leeftijd van 5½ jaar reeds de Lagere School bezoeken.

Zeker, komt wel voor, laten we echter liever zeggen "komt wel eens voor".

103795 Als de heer Van den Heuvel werkelijk zoo bevreesd is, dat zulke leerlingen weer te vroeg de school verlaten, zou hij misschien meer gebaat zijn met hetgeen de heer Suring hem ook aanraadde n.l. dring er bij den minister op aan de L. O.-wet zoodanig te wijzigen, dat de kinderen den zesjarige leeftijd moeten bereikt hebben, voor zij op de Lagere School worden toegelaten. Laten wij toch niet gebonden worden aan de leeftijd van 12½ jaar. De kloof, tusschen onderwijs- en arbeidswet, die men reeds overbrugd waande, wordt er weer een half jaar door vergroot. Dit hiaat blijft nu ook al groot genoeg n.l. van den 13- tot 14-jarige leeftijd. Wanneer doet zich een geval voor dat een kind vroeger de school verlaten kan?

103800 Slechts wanneer de leerling op 5½-jarigen leeftijd op school komt, de leerling daarbij zeven klassen doorloopt zonder doubleeren, en daarbij nog, slechts wanneer 103805 het na de Lagere school geen ander onderwijs meer volgt.

Deze drie "wanneers", zegt de heer Suring dan ook, zijn noodzakelijk voor zoo'n uitzonderingsgeval. Trouwens het zal de kinderen heusch geen kwaad doen, maar hun eerder van groot nut zijn, als ze op 12½-jarigen leeftijd nog een klein jaartje moeten schoolloopen.

103810 Minister Waszink moest ook nog even den heer Zadelhoff gerust stellen, die bang was dat de nieuwe leerplichtwet niet zou worden nageleefd, vooral op het platte land. Onze Limburgsche minister had echter reeds geconfereerd met zijn collega's van Justitie en Arbeid, zoodat aan de wet wel de hand zal worden gehouden.

De heer Bijleveld had echter nog een juiste opmerking.

103815 Bij de invoering der zevenjarige leerplicht had men geen rekening gehouden met het feit dat kinderen die reeds met 1 April a.s. niet meer leerplichtig zijn, maar toch nog vrijwillig op de school blijven, op 1 Juli weer plotseling wel leerplichtig worden. Dit zal het geval zijn met scholen die in April overgang van klassen hebben. De heer Bijleveld wees hier werkelijk een lacune aan, en hij hoopte dan ook dat de

103820 heer Ketelaar zou merken dat hij niet bezig was met knabbelen, maar met oplossen. Zonder eenige verdere overgangsbepaling kunnen zich dan ook drie gevallen voordoen, n.l.: een kind dat in April van school gaat en leegloopt, is geheel vrij; een kind dat vrijwillig op school blijft valt op 1 Juli weer onder leerverplichting; een kind dat op een of andere manier aan het werk is gezet, zou teruggehaald moeten worden. Na 103825 nog nadere toelichting van de heer Bijleveld en Gerhard nam de regeering over het amendement-Bijleveld om een nieuw artikel in te voegen luidende:

"Indien ten aanzien van een kind op 30 Juni 1928 volgens de op dien datum geldende regelen de in artikel 1 der Leerplichtwet opgelegde verplichting is geeindigd, wordt ook na dien datum te zijnen aanzien die verplichting als geeindigd beschouwd".

103830 De leerlingenschaal

Het voorstel van wet van den heer Zijlstra over het aantal leerlingen in verband met de leerkrachten kwam dan in behandeling. Dat het 48-stelsel bij wet van 30 Juni 1924 aangenomen, als een bezuinigingsmaatregel funest heeft gewerkt op het onderwijs, mag 103835 men onderhand wel als bekend veronderstellen. Deze 48-schaal zou feitelijk geldend zijn tot 1 Januari 1930 op welke datum de schaal van artikel 28 der onderwijswet in werking treedt. De heer Rutten verklaarde zich ook voor het amendement-Zijlstra. In zijn rede wees hij vooral op het belang dat de dorpen hierbij zouden hebben. De heer Zijlstra had met zijn voorstel een soort van geleidelijken overgang op het oog naar 103840 den toestand van 1 Januari 1930. [...]

31 januari 1933 **DE ACHTJARIGE LEERPlicht VOORGESTELD.**

Sterke aandrang op schoolvoeding en -kleding.

GEEN LANDBOUWVERLOF MEER.

103845 De heer K. ter Laan, c.s., lid Van de Tweede Kamer, heeft een wetsvoorstel ingediend tot wijziging van de Leerplichtwet. De bedoeling is, dat vastgesteld worde:

"De verplichting, (n.l. die tot het volgen van onderwijs) eindigt, zoodra het kind acht jaren leerling is geweest van een lagereschool of twee aaneensluitende lagere scholen, waarvan de klassen een leertijd van acht jaar omvatten, en het alle klassen

103850 doorloopen heeft; of, indien het onderwijs aan die school of scholen gegeven wordt in klassen, die samen een langeren leertijd dan acht jaren innemen, zoodra het zoovele klassen doorloopen heeft, als samen een leertijd van acht jaren omvatten. "De verplichting eindigt in ieder geval bij het bereiken van den leeftijd van vijftien jaren. "Ten aanzien van een kind, waaraan vóór of sinds het bereiken van het zesde levensjaar huisonderwijs in den zin dezer wet wordt verstrekt, eindigt deze

103855 verplichting bij het bereiken van den leeftijd van veertien jaren, indien het kind alsdan acht achtereenvolgende jaren onderwijs heeft genoten. "Ten aanzien van het kind, dat op een later tijdstip aanvangt huisonderwijs te genieten, eindigt de verplichting bij het bereiken van den leeftijd van vijftien jaren."

103860 In de memorie van toelichting — die mede onderteeekend is door ir. J. W. Albarda, mej. S. Groeneweg, G. van der Houven en J. H. F. van Zadelhoff, allen sociaal-democratische leden der Tweede Kamer — lezen wij:

De in 1921 ingevoerde uitbreiding van den leerplicht met het zevende leerjaar heeft heilzame gevolgen gehad. Maar het voornaamste, de achtjarige leerplicht, is nog

103865 altijd niet bereikt, en daartoe achten de voorstellers nu meer dan ooit den tijd gekomen. Zij vinden in hun opvatting steun bij de geheele moderne arbeidersbeweging. Het invoeren van het achtste leerjaar behoeft niet aanstonds groot verandering te brengen in de organisatie van de volksschool. Voorstellers bepalen zich uitdrukkelijk tot het geen nu mogelijk en naar hun overtuiging dringend noodzakelijk is: inperking van den kinderarbeid en tegelijk, en mede daardoor, aanmerkelijke verbetering van het volksonderwijs en van de volksopvoeding. Tevens maken zij van de gelegenheid gebruik, om opnieuw een voorstel te doen, om te komen tot het verplicht stellen van de gelegenheid voor voeding en kleeding voor alle leerplichtige kinderen, die daaraan behoefte hebben.

103875 **Leerplicht tot veertien jaar.**

De ontwikkeling van het bedrijfsleven is in de laatste jaren buitengewoon snel gegaan; de maatschappij van heden en nog meer die van morgen eischt voor letterlijk iederen bedrijfstak jongelieden, die althans het lager onderwijs in zijn vollen

103880 omvang genoten hebben. De eisch van leerplicht tot en met het veertiende jaar klemmt te meer, omdat dit nog volstrekt niet beteekent, dat alle kinderen de acht klassen der lagere school zullen doorloopen. Immers is het aantal zeer groot der leerlingen, die in den loop der acht jaren athans wel éénmaal blijven zitten. Zeer velen zullen ook dan nog niet verder komen dan de zesde of de zevende klasse. Maar zij komen bij aanneming van dit voorstel dan toch in ieder geval één jaar verder dan nu het geval is, en ook voor hen komt het beste jaar er bij. De voorstellers geven een schematisch overzicht van den duur van den leerplicht in verschillende landen. Uit dit overzicht blijkt, dat wij in Nederland ten achter zijn bij België, Duitschland, Denemarken, Engeland en Ierland, Luxemburg, Noorwegen, Oostenrijk, Tsjecho-Slowakije, Zweden en

103890 Zwitserland.

De kosten.

Welk bedrag er noodig zijn zal voor de invoering van het achtste leerjaar is moeilijk met nauwkeurigheid te ramen. Het dichtst bij de waarheid komt men, door het aantal

103895 kinderen boven dertien jaar, die niet schoolgaan, te ramen, en dat aantal te vermenigvuldigen met het gemiddelde bedrag, dat een leerling van het lager onderwijs kost per jaar. Indien het achtste leerjaar wordt ingevoerd, is het niet te gewaagd, om aan te nemen, dat niet meer dan ongeveer 50 pct. van de kinderen in de hoogste klasse plaats zullen vinden; dat is bij benadering 62.500 leerlingen. En het is wederom niet al te gewaagd, te onderstellen, dat de helft van deze leerlingen plaats vinden kan, zonder dat er aanstonds gezorgd behoeft te worden voor nieuwe lokalen.

Het landbouwverlof.

Ten aanzien van het landbouwverlof deden de voorstellers boven reeds opmerken, dat het van zes weken ingeperkt is tot veertien dagen, en dat een leerplichtig kind gedurende de schooltijden niet meer in loondienst werken mag. De tijd is nu gekomen, om aan het geheele landbouwverlof een einde te maken.

De wegneming van het landbouwverlof is dubbel noodig bij het voorstel, dat bij dezen wordt gedaan. Het is te verwachten, dat juist de leerlingen van dertien jaar en

103910 daarboven er verre weg het meest van te lijden zullen hebben. Dit is ook in het belang van land- en tuinbouw zelf niet langer toe te laten.

Schoolvoeding en -kleeding.

Een meer dan dertigjarige practijk heeft geleerd, dat zonder verplichtstelling geen

103915 zekerheid te verkrijgen is, dat alle kinderen, die schoolvoeding en kleeding noodig

hebben, die ook zullen genieten. En dat is gebiedend noodzakelijk tot bevordering van het schoolbezoek, om het onderwijs voor die kinderen beter tot zijn recht te doen komen. Het particuliere werk op dit gebied verdient grooten dank, maar vooral is het te kort geschoten en moest de overheid bijspringen. En ook dan nog bleven op vele

103920 plaatsen de kinderen er van verstoken.

Bovendien klemt een ander bezwaar. Particuliere zorg, hoe prijzenswaardig ook, drukt op kindervoeding en kleeding het stempel van liefdadigheid, soms zelfs van armenzorg. Dit ontnemen en dit kan niet anders geschieden dan door aanvaarding van de verplichting der overheid, om er voor te zorgen.

103925 De kosten daarvan zullen niet zóó hoog zijn dat daarin eenig bezwaar gelegen wezen kan. Toch is het bedrag wel van zooveel belang, dat de helft er van voor rekening van het Rijk behoort te worden gebracht, te meer omdat in het stelsel der Lager-

103930 onderwijswet de kosten van den bouw, de inrichting en het onderhoud van de noodige nieuwe schoollokalen voor rekening van de gemeente komen. Als eenmaal vast staat, dat er alom in het land schoolruimte zijn moet voor acht leerjaren, dan is er eenige tijd noodig om daarin te voorzien, overal waar de tegenwoordig gebruikte of leegstaande

103935 lokalen de leerlingen niet allen kunnen opnemen, die voortaan een jaar langer moeten blijven. Die tijd behoeft niet overmatig lang te zijn, maar is nu toch niet op een maand na te ramen. Daarom stellen voorstellers voor, dat deze wet in werking zal treden op een nader te bepalen dag. De regeering kan dan nagaan, welke tijd vereischt wordt, om de gemeenten en de schoolbesturen in staat te stellen de nieuwe voorschriften behoorlijk uit te voeren en zij kan waken tegen onnoodige vertraging.

Reconstructie van wijk A, B en C van Velden

- 103940 "Maashof", Schandelo;
 "Ons Buiten", Genooi;
 "Rieterhof", C 221 Schandelo;
 [...] Lingsforterweg A 128, tel. 276;
 [2 kostgangers] Rijksweg C 302, Krosselt;
- 103945 [cafe] Lingsfort A 146;
 [dienstbode] Lingsforterweg A 106a;
 [drogist/laborant,] Lingsforterweg A 132a;
 [hondenfokker] Lingsforterweg A 123;
 [kachel en piano] Rijksweg C 49;
- 103950 [maalkalf] Rijksweg 291;
 [ontloopen: Tommy] Rijksweg C 297;
 [overcompleet] Rijksweg C 86c;
 Aarts, "Maassenhof", Schandelo;
 Aarts, Schandelo; J.
- 103955 AERDTS Weduwnaar van CORNELIA HANSSSEN, Schandelo; PETER
 Aerdt-Theelen, Schandelo C 225; P.
 Aerdt, "Maashof", Schandelo; M.
 Akkermans-Genders; J.
 Te koop een bijna voldragen KOE, zwartbont, een guste KOE, en een 4 jarig bruin
 MERRIEPAARD, bij J. Akkermans Beesel, Rijkel, [Klerkenhof](#). (11/18 januari 1924/4
 februari 1927)
 14 september 1929 BEESEL. - Not. v. Koolwijk 16 Sept. 2 uur ten huize
 van dhr. J. Akkermans, landbouwgereedschappen, paardentuig, maaimachines, enz.
- 103960 Apeldoorn, Bong C 148; W.
- 103965 Appeldoorn-Bouten, Bong; A.
 Appeldoorn, Bong C 199; A.
 Appeldoorn, Lingsfort A 135; J.
 Appeldoorn, Schandelo; A.
 Ardt, Maashof, Schandelo; Gebr.
- 103970 Arts, Lingsforterweg; J.
 Backes, Lingsfort; G. J.
 Backes, Lingsfort; J.
 Basten, driesprong Lingsfort; Erven P. A.
 Basten, Lingsfort; Antoon
- 103975 Basten, Lingsfort; Café H.
 Basten, Lingsforterweg A 150; A.
 Beeker, Vilgert C 204; Jac.
 Beeker-Driessen, Rijksweg; P. [tel. 10]
 Berden-Keltjes, Velden; G.
- 103980 Berg, Rijksweg C 78; Anna vd.
 Beurskens en Agnes van Megen, Vilgert C 265; Peter
 Beurskens-Leyssen, Schandelo; H.
 Beurskens, Genooi;
 Boonen, Schandelo C 168; J.
- 103985 Boonen, Schandelo C 214; L.
 Boonen, Schandelo C 219; Jac.
 Bouten, Hasselt C 136; J.
 Bouten, Voort B 25; Alf.
 BUSKES en PIET HOLIHUIJZEN "De Krosselt", Rijksweg C 304; ANNIE
- 103990 Buskes, De Krosselt, tel. 293; H.
 Caris, Rijksweg; [kapper] J.
 Ceron, Bong; weduwe
 Ceron, Hasselt; W.
 Clabbers, Rijksweg 91; Jantje
- 103995 Coppes en Henri Geurts, Lingsfort; Henriëtte
 Coppel/Coppes, Rijksweg; W.
 Cox, Lingsfort Leeremarksche heide; Gerard Hendrik, timmerman
 Cox, Lingsfort; G. H.
 Cox, Rijksweg 57; H. J. [dienstbode]
- 104000 Decker, Lingsfort; H.
 Deenen, Schandelo; H.
 Denissen, Lingsfort; Mina
 Derix te Velden-Velgart; W.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- Dijks, Krosselt; J.
- 104005 Dinnissen, Lingsfort; L.
Driessen, Genooi C 8; G.
Dubbeld, Lingsforderweg A 122; mevr.
Enckevort, Boschweg 307, Genooi; v.
- 104010 Engels, Schandelo C 180; weduwe S.
Engels, Schandelo C 227; Fr.
Engels, Schandelo C 232; L.
Erdman/Erdmann, Lingsfort; A.
Evers, Hasselt; J.
Fischermann, Lingsfort;
- 104015 Flinsenbergh/Flinzenberg, Voort; J./weduwe
Flinsenbergh, C 166; H.
Gaemers, Lingsforterweg A 122b; P. ["Huize Kamerdel"]
Geelen-Aarts, Bong; G.
Geelen-Thiesen/Jac. Gielen-Thiesen, Bong; J.
- 104020 Geelen, Bong C 197; G.
Geelen, Hasselderheide; Adr. J.
Geelen, Schandelo C 207; H.
Geelen, Schandelo C 212; H./A.
Geelen, Schandelo C 216 ; H.
- 104025 Geelen, Vilgert; W.
Geelen, Velgert C 252; J.
Geerlings, Bong C 201; Th.
Gerits, Genooi C 5; L.
Geurts (-Aan de Brug), Schandelo C 175; Bern.
- 104030 Wegens teleurstelling gevraagd een zweitzer, R. K. voor tien koeien, zonder
g. g. s. onnoodig zich aan te melden.
Geurts-Coppes, Schandelo C 235; H.
Geurts-v. Wijlick, Vilgert; P.
Geurts, C 264; A.
- 104035 Geurts, Schandelo C 216; J.
Geurts, Schandelo C 229, Dorp C 80 H. H. en H. H. Geurts; Gebr. [melkslijterij]
Geurts, Schandelo C 229a; Henri
Geurts, Schandelo, C 221; Joh. G.
Geurts, Schandelo, Dieperhof; P.
- 104040 Geurts, Vilgert C 266; P.
Geurts, Vilgert; Andries
Geurts, winkelier, Schandelo C 216; J.
Gielen, Bong C 198; J.
Gielen, Schandelo C 212; H.
- 104045 Gielen, Schandelo; H.
Gockel, Lingsfort; Herman
Gommans-Peeters, Schandelo-Bong C 201; kinderen P. J.
Gommans, Schandelo C 208; Y.
Goot, Lingsforterweg A 90a; Elizabeth T. v. d.
- 104050 Haanen, Vorst C 18; Herm.
Haef, Krosselt; weduwe van
Haegens, Dieperhof, Schandelo; H.
Haeghen, Schandelo C 211; P. v. d.
Hael, Krosselt C 286; Th. van
- 104055 Haenen, Donk 273; C. M.
Haghen, Krosselt C 282; F. v. d.
Haghen, Velgart C 247; F. v. d.
Hees, Lingsfort; weduwe L. van
Hees, Lingsfort; weduwe van
- 104060 Heldens, Schandelo C 238; L.
Heldens, Vilgert C 248; J.
Heldens, Vilgert C 256; J.
Hendrixx-Croymans, C 7a Genooi; H.
Hermkens, Rijksweg C 50; J.
- 104065 Hinten, Lingsforterweg; P.
Hoedemakers, Rijksweg C 61; J.
Hoesen, Lingsforterweg; L.J.H.
Hoeymakers; Th. [Chinese wolhandkrab]
Holla/Fr. Holla-Toonen, A 124; café F.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 104070 Holthuijsen, Rijksweg 170; M. E. W. [dienstbode]
Holthuijsen-Geelen H. Beek-Holthuizen en verd. fam., Krosselt; fam. G.
Holthuizen, C 107; P.
Hombergh, C 294, Krosselt; G. A. v. d.
Hombergh, Krosselt C 287; J. A. v. d. Verhuur grond aan J. A. v. d. Hombergh,
104075 Velden. [21 augustus 1939]
Hombergh, Krosselt C 294; Jacques van den
Hombergh, Rijksweg C 106; Antoon van den [kruidenierswaren]
Hombergh, Rijksweg C 263; kinderen v. d.
Hombergh. Krosselt; R. v. d.
104080 Hombergh; H. van den. VENLO, 4 Sept. [1940] De heer H. van den Hombergh
te Velden (bij Venlo) vierde zijn zilveren jubileum als lid van den gemeenteraad
van Arcen en Velden. Van deze kwarteeuw was de zilveren jubilaris 24 jaar
onafgebroken werkzaam als wethouder.
Houben, Genooi C 4; P.
104085 Hovens, Lingsforterweg A 82; P.
Hüssmann, A 104; H. [café]
Hussmann/Hüssmann, Lingsforterweg A 149; Heinrich
Jacobs, C 63; [kleermaker] K.
Jansen, Bong C 205; J.
104090 Jansen, Tramhalte Rijksweg C 175; M.
Jansen/Janssen, Vilgert C 244; P.
Jeucken, Vilgert C 243; J.
Jong, Vilgert; A. de
K., Lingsfort A 98a; heer uit Blerick [verlof]
104095 Kamp, A 126; Fr. van de
Kamps, Lingsforterweg A 158; A. [Winterhulp]
Kamps, Rijksweg 170; W. [dienstbode]
Keeken Jr., Laarberg C 10, Genooi; W. v.
Keldjens, Velden, Schandelo C 213; H.
104100 Keltjens, Krosselt C 286; Jac.
Keltjens, Schandelo C 208; H. G.
Keltjens, Velden, Schandelo C 215; H.
Keltjens?, Schandelo C 210; H.
Kemper, Lingsforterweg; Ed
104105 Knelissen, Lingsfort; A.
Koopmans, Schandelo; G.
Koopmans, Genooi; J.
Kuijpers, Rijksweg C 288; H.
Kuipers, Rijksweg C 278; H.
104110 Laarakkers, Rijksweg C 285; J.
Lang Evertsen, Lingsforterweg; L. [F. J.] de
Leenen, Lingsfort; Herman [café]
Lehnen/Leenen, Lingsfort; café
Leipzig/H. v. Leipzigh, Genooi; Th. v.
104115 Lenders-Theelen, Rieterhof/Rietherhof, Schandelo; H.
Lenders, Rieterhof, Schandelo C 221; H.
Lenssen, Rijksweg C 49; M.
Leupers, Schandelo C 210; Gebrs.
Leupers, Schandelo; weduwe L.
104120 Lichtevelde, Lingsforterweg A 135; A.
Lin, Lingsfort A 146; P. J. van
Lin, Lingsfort A 151; P. J. van
Lipzich/Lipzig, Schandelo C 237; J. v.
Litjens, kleermakerij, Rijksweg C 111; A.
104125 Litjens, Velden C 83; gebroeders metselaars-aannemers, handel in bouwmaterialen
Loeij, Schandelo; Kinderen de
Lommen, Bong 200; H.
Lommen, Schandelo; H.
Lommen, Vilgert C 253; H.
104130 Lucassen, Rijksweg C 51; G.
Luijpers, C 158; Jos.
Luijpers, Krosselt C 281; Chr.
Luypers C 280, Krosselt; W.
Martens, Lingsforterweg A 134; H.
104135 Mattissen, Lingsfort; G./Fr. "Huize Ente"

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- Melick, Genooi; J. v.
Minten, Lingsforterweg A 82; P.
Mölders, Lingsforterweg; Heinrich
Muijres, Vilgert C 254; W.
- 104140 Nagels, Lingsforterweg;
Nelissen, Schandelo; C.
Nellissen, Schandelo; C.
Nielissen, Jacobus Hendrikus en Akkermans, Maria Catharina, C 267;
Nielissen en A. P. Steegh, Schandelo; W.
- 104145 Nielissen, naar Genooi 60; L., arbeider
Nielissen, Rijksweg C 109; G.
Nielissen, Velden C 185; C. [café, dossier 1827]
Nijs, Hasselt; Joh.
Nillesen, Schandelo; C.
- 104150 Nilissen, Kerkenhof, Velgert C 260; J.
Wordt gevraagd voor terstond een meisje van 14-17 jaar voor alle boerenwerk.
J. Nilissen, Kerkenhof, Velden, Velgert 260. [28 juli 1934]
Nielissen, Kerkenhof; Jac. [aanwijzing eikenbomen]
Nielissen, Cornelius, 28 j., landbouwer te Belfeld,
104155 en Joanna Maria Theelen, 36 j., z. b., te Velden [6 mei 1899]
Peeters, Bomshof/Boomshof, Genooi, tel. 2671; L.
Peeters, Hovershof, Vorst C 14; Th.
Peeters, Krosselt;
Peeters, Genooierweg; J. H.
- 104160 Peeters, Lingsforterweg A 131; Pension
Peeters, Rijksweg C 281; L.
Peters/Peeters, Rijksweg C 291; L./Leonard
Peeters, Vorst C 28; Jac.
Peeters/M. H. Peters, Conenhof, Hasselt; M.
- 104165 Peters, Hasselt; Hein
Peters, Lingsfort; G.
Peters, Rijksweg C 291; J.
Pietersma, Lingsfort; S.
Reijnders, Rijksweg C 163; P.
- 104170 Reijnders, Rijksweg C 169; P.
Renkens, Lingsforterweg; J.
Renkens/J. Renkens, Lingsforterweg A 107; Gerrit
Rens, Lomm B 52; J. van
Rens, Schandelo; A. van
- 104175 Reutelingsperger-Steegh; J.
Reutelingsperger, Rijksweg C 162; P. J.
Roefs-Meijs, Schandelo; weduwe A. M.
Roefs, Schandelo; A.
Roefs, Schandelo; H.
- 104180 Roefs, Schandelo; weduwe
Roefs, Velden, tel. 291; G.
Roefs (achter Enderhof), Schandelo; Antoon/A. M.
Rohe/Röhe/Rohé, Lingsforterweg A 126; [kippenbroederij] B.
Roosen, Lingsfort; J.
- 104185 Roosen, Lingsforterweg A 152; (Anna Christine)
Rothof, Bong; J.
Rouleaux-Meurs, betr. haar vader, Weeshuis, Venlo, wonende Vilgert Velden; Mej. Fr.
Sanders; L.; [armbestuur]
Schattefor, Krosselt;
- 104190 Schattefor, Lingsfort A 105; H. J. [dienstknecht]
Scholten, Lingsfort A 96; A.
Schoof, Lingsfort A 102; weduwe Joh.
Schoofs, Lingsfort; J.
Schoofs/Schoofs-Beeker, De Kamp, Vorst; G.
- 104195 Schraven, Lingsforterweg;
Schreurs, Rijksweg 86, Lomm; weduwe H.
Seuwen, Lingsforterweg/Grensweg/Walbeckerweg 135; L.
Smits, Rijksweg C 108; W.
Soberjé-Roefs, Schandeloo; H. J.
- 104200 Soberjé, Schandelo, [Enderhof] [tel. 236.]; H.
Steegh en Thiesen, Schandelo; P.

- Steeagh, Schandelo C 228; Frans
Sternheim, "Haus Ente", Lingsfort; O.
Tax, Genooi C 9 [Carissenhoeve]; weduwe A.
- 104205 Theelen-Jacobs, Schandelo; F.
Theelen-Lenders, Schandelo C 230; J.
Theelen-Linders, Schandelo; J.
Theelen-Verhaegh, Schandelo; J.
Theelen-Vosbeek, Schandelo C 208; weduwe P.
- 104210 Theelen, Raaierhof [Raaierhoeve], Schandelo C 215; Jac.
Theelen, Schandelo C 200; P.
Theelen, Schandelo C 213; F.
Theelen, Schandelo C 218; F.
Theelen, Schandelo C 218; weduwe ,
- 104215 Theelen, Schandelo C 231; Fr.
Theelen, Schandelo; Jacob
Theelen, Schandeloo C 169; Jac
Theelen, Velden C 98; meisje van 14 jaar
Thelen, aan den weg van Hasselt-Velden naar Schandelo; J.
- 104220 Thiesen, Lingsforterweg A 132; Jacob
Thiesen, Schandelo C 233; Frans
Thissen, Rijksweg C 99; J. L. [Winterhulp]
Thyssen, Lingsforterweg A 142; Th.
Tiesen, C 228; F.
- 104225 Timmermans, Lingsfort; J.
Toonen-Clabbers, Lingsforterweg; weduwe W.
Toren, Lingsforterweg; H.
Venne, Velgert; P. v.d.
Verbeek, Vorst; J. L./Jac.
- 104230 Verhaegh, Genooi 7; G.
Verhees, Lingsfort;
Verheyen/Verheijen, Schandelo; A.
Verkoeijen, Rijksweg C 302; J.
Vermazeren, C 95; Nellie
- 104235 Verpraet, Lingsforterweg A 122;
Verspay woonhuis met stalling in de Hasselderheide; Jean
Verspay, Schandelo;
Vis, Lingsfort A 131a; T.
Vosbeek, Hasselt; A.
- 104240 Vosbeek, Vilgert C 258; weduwe P.
Vosbeek, Vilgert; J.
Vosbeek, Vorst; Piet
Wanroy, Bong C 201; J. v.
Wijlick-Theelen, Schandelo C 140?; H. van
- 104245 Wijlick, Rijksweg, Lomm; H. van
Wijlick, Schandelo C 224; H. van
Wijlick/Wylick, Bong; H. van
Willemsen, Hasselt C 179; Jos.
Wylick Theelen, Schandelo C 224; H. v.
- 104250 Zandt-Geurts, Schandelo; J. In 't
Zandt, Schandelo C 222; J. In 't
Zandt, Schandelo C 227; J. In 't
Zeelen, Genooi C 2; H.
Zeelen, Rijksweg C 112; G.
- 104255

[The name Meuse has been changed into Maas.]

3.3 Area 3. The Maas line

104260

Geologically, the Lower Maas has much in common with the Lower Rhine, as both are part of the same river delta. Further up-stream in Limburg, however, it cuts into harder Quaternary sediments composed of coarse gravel and sand.

104265

Local subsidence means that the Maas does not erode or deposit large quantities of sediment and avulsions or lateral migration are thus far less common in the Maas delta than in the Rhine delta. Furthermore, the Rhine depends on both rain water and meltwater, whereas the Maas is only fed by rain water.

104270

This means that the discharge of water can fluctuate strongly between seasons, which surely will have affected the Maas's usability for transport.

104275

Fortifications along the Maas are a new phenomenon in the Late Roman period, and are generally taken as an indication of defence-in-depth. However, the majority of the identified sites here is located along its east-west axis, such as Cuijk, Kessel-Lith and Wijchen-Tienakker. What makes the Maas even more interesting is that at least two bridges over it are known at Cuijk and Maastricht (a third has been suggested at Kessel-Lith), a unique feature in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, however, the Maas is, like the Rhine, a volatile meandering river, and many sites are completely or partially eroded away and can only be identified by dredge finds.

104280

Again, like the Rhine, the military sites along the Maas have traditionally been identified based on written sources. Notably this concerns the comment by Ammianus Marcellinus that Emperor Julian rebuilt three forts situated on a line along the Maas in AD 358, that were destroyed by invading Franks. Several sites have been proposed in the past, including Cuijk, Blerick-Venlo, Grubbenvorst-Lottum, Heel and Kessel-Lith, several of which also appear on the Tabula Peutingeriana.

104285

3.3.1 Sites

Far fewer sites are known from the Maas relative to the Rhine, but generally speaking the evidence they have yielded seems to have been better preserved. The amount of excavations carried out on some has also helped to establish better chronologies and material culture studies.

104290

There are still some sites that are a little doubtful, however. These are the sites for which the interpretation as a military site was predominantly based on written evidence imposed upon scant archaeological evidence, such as Blerick, Grubbenvorst and Heel.

104295

Blerick has yielded some Late Roman finds in the form of a relatively high amount of stray coins from the first half of the 4th century, but no other evidence seems to exist. Its interpretation as a road fort is rooted in its location but in the absence of more concrete archaeological evidence this seems circumstantial. No Late Roman remains seem to have been found at all in Grubbenvorst-Lottum. From Heel, we only have a large Middle Roman cemetery with several stray finds of later coins and pottery from the top soil.

104300

Even though Ammianus Marcellinus is very specific in his description of the location of the supposed repaired forts, it seems that the archaeological evidence for such a string of connected forts along the Maas area is lacking, and his comments should not be taken too literally.

104305

For all the other sites, plenty of archaeological evidence is available, although in varying degrees. Kessel-Lith is the only site on the Maas based on dredge finds, although remains of walls and building materials were recovered more or less in situ. Its foundation date remains obscure, but the coin series and ceramics suggest somewhere around the middle of the 4th century and continuous activity into the early 5th century. It is generally assumed in the literature that the building remains found at Kessel represent a small fort or castellum with perhaps a bridge nearby, but the site's exact function is unclear.

104310

The three remaining sites, Cuijk, Maastricht and Wijchen-Tienakker, have all been excavated to some extent. The burgus or watchtower of Wijchen was built on the grounds of a villa complex and the ceramics from its surrounding ditch suggest a foundation date somewhere in the late 3rd or early 4th century.

104315

An unusually large amount of coin planchets from around AD 400 make it difficult to establish the end of Roman occupation here, but given the other material culture the end date would be at the end of the 4th century at the earliest. Wijchen is one of the rare sites in this thesis which was recently excavated and published in full. The castellum at Cuijk was partially excavated in the 1960's, and was never published,

104320

and Maastricht has seen numerous excavations pretty much throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries, many of which were also never published.

At Cuijk, the complex stratigraphy prevents a concrete interpretation of the site's chronology. Based on the finds, it has been suggested that the castellum may already have been founded in the late 3rd century.

Traditionally, the two building phases that have so far been recognised have been attributed to Constantine I and Valentinian I.

The bridge at Cuijk was seemingly built and rebuilt in three successive phases: AD 347/349, AD 368/9 and AD 388-398.

The dock which was part of the castellum complex has been dated to around AD 320, with subsequent continuous repairs from AD 342 to at least AD 373.

As none of the excavations at Maastricht were comprehensively published, it is difficult to establish a concise chronology for the whole site. Most authors seem to agree that the castellum was founded around AD 325, on a previously empty terrain. Its end date is a little harder to place, as the location was continuously inhabited from the 4th to the 6th century.

The inner buildings of the castellum are still poorly understood, although it does include a stone horreum.

For the bridge at Maastricht, three construction periods have been recognised: AD 334-357, AD 368-369 and AD 387-398.

3.3.2 Discussion

All in all, it seems there are four confirmed military sites in the Maas area: Kessel-Lith, Cuijk and Wijchen on its east-west axis and Maastricht way down south. Purely looking at location and the spread of these sites, no single line of defence along the Maas can be identified. Rather, it seems that its sites interlock with those along the Rhine. Wijchen and Cuijk are located within the influence sphere of Nijmegen, and Kessel-Lith forms a chain with Waal sites such as Rossum and Ewijk.

The question of course is whether these sites are all contemporary, and some overlap could be argued for. A foundation date as early as the late 3rd century has been suggested for both Wijchen and Cuijk (Kessel seems to begin much later, around the middle of the 4th century), so some correlation between the sites of the Rhine and Maas could be suggested.

The first research question of this thesis was whether traditional end dates for Middle Roman sites could be extended into the later 3rd and 4th century. This does not apply to the Maas, as all sites are newly built in this period. As said before, construction could have begun on sites such as Cuijk or Wijchen as early as the late 3rd century, but Maastricht and especially Kessel-Lith appear to have been founded in the first half of the 4th century.

Compared to the evidence from the Rhine area, the quality of archaeological evidence is rather good on the Maas. The partially eroded site of Cuijk can still be studied relatively well, and even Kessel-Lith has offered some context. Besides this geological aspect, the Maas fortifications have practically all been excavated extensively, giving us good ground plans of fortifications and defences (although not so much of the inner buildings). The only downside is that apart from Wijchen, none of these have been published in full detail, but this is a common problem elsewhere too. Stratigraphy is still often problematic (Maastricht, Cuijk) and extensive material culture studies are seriously lacking.

The small selection of material culture discussed in the appendix is already informative. From every established site in the Maas area, we have significant numbers of crossbow brooches, whereas the more doubtful sites have yielded none. Naturally, a certain amount of bias is in play here, but it also suggests that a clear relationship exists in this sub-area between fortified sites and the presence of crossbow brooches.

The coin graph of all the Maas sites combined (see below fig 7.), shows that the large influx of coins to this area starts much later than in the Rhine delta, and results in much lower numbers per site. It is interesting that the large peak around AD 270 observed from the Rhine area is largely absent here (in absolute numbers at least), and relatively few coins struck by Gallic Emperors have been found (except of course for the coin hoard in Maastricht). The relative lower numbers of circulating coins may reflect the general population decline in the MDS-area. Heeren has shown that the area became almost entirely depopulated in the later 3rd century, and that there is very little evidence to suggest inhabitation in the early or mid-4th century.

New settlements only began to appear in the area around the late 4th or early 5th century, which would correspond well with the sharp increase in coins we see at

Maastricht and to a lesser extent Wijchen.

The graph is slightly problematic, however, as it contains very few sites, with widely varying numbers of coins. Maastricht dominates the spectrum, and its extreme peak around AD 400 is not representative for other sites. Likewise, the late 4th century peak at Wijchen is a deviation. The general pattern seems that most sites show a slight peak in coins struck between AD 360-370, and show a steady influx of coins into the 390's. I have already stated above that the often-observed spike in coin issues under the House of Constantine should perhaps be interpreted rather as a general development rather than an indication for a Constantinian construction phase. The AD 360-370 peak has similarly been interpreted for various sites as a sign of a Valentinian building programme. As I have already argued in appendix 3, this could very well reflect a general increase in coin emissions, rather than signal heightened activity at individual sites.

The problem of stratigraphy and the chronology of individual sites has been highlighted already, and it appears that this is equally the case for both excavated and non-excavated sites. There is definite proof in Cuijk for at least two building phases, although it cannot be stated how much of the castellum was overhauled for the second phase. The common assumption that its first phase was constructed of wood can also not be proven, as no actual remains of wooden buildings could be found in the excavation's documentation. For Maastricht, two successive phases have also been proposed, based on peaks under certain emperors (Constantine I and Valentinian I) in the coin evidence. As long as no comprehensive study of the excavated defences and stratigraphy have been published, I am sceptical as to the validity of this argument. Coins of the House of Constantine are numerous across the Dutch river area, and may thus reflect a general increase in official emissions in the study area rather than an increased influx in one particular site. For Kessel-Lith, the evidence is insufficient to establish any detailed chronology. The relatively short and steady influx of coins during the second half of the 4th century suggests that there was only one major construction phase. The ground plan of Wijchen similarly shows a single construction phase.

None of the Maas sites are built on previous military terrains, but they do show a relation with already established activity: the burgus of Wijchen was built on a villa complex, Cuijk and Maastricht on or near thriving central settlements and Kessel-Lith was constructed of spolia from a nearby Gallo-Roman temple.

When we look at the coin series of the four identified sites in the Maas area (fig. 7), it is immediately clear that they start much later: coins pre-AD 260 are almost completely absent, and the AD 260/270 peak is fairly small. Evidence for the 4th century is consistent, however, and the drop in coin emissions from AD 378 onwards seems less pronounced. The extreme peaks in the late 4th -early 5th century at Wijchen and Maastricht are probably related to an increase in coins circulating in the Maas area generally.

At Wijchen, a large hoard of blank planchettes was found that was dated to the late 4th early 5th century. As already said above, the coin series at Maastricht seems to show continued occupation in the 5th century.

The Maas fortifications seem to pick up around the beginning of the 4th century, so slightly later than their Rhine and Waal counterparts. It is interesting to speculate as to the underlying cause for this. Did the Rhine gradually go out of use, due to climatological changes? We have far fewer sites on the Maas, which may suggest that it was not meant as a complete replacement, but rather as an extension.

Of course, it could be that Maas sites have not been preserved as well, so we should be careful in this. It is noteworthy, however, that two bridges and a port were found in this area, suggesting that the Maas was very important in this period for transport purposes. It should also be noted that two previous studies into the distribution of Late Roman belt buckles and gold coin hoards both showed an increased archaeological activity in the Maas delta as opposed to the Rhine delta, especially in the 5th century.

As such, these studies fall outside of this thesis's parameters, but it is interesting to see that that development, in which the Maas seemingly becomes more important to the Roman authorities, can perhaps already be traced back to the 4th century.

All four sites have yielded crossbow brooches, be it in varying numbers. Cuijk, Wijchen and Maastricht have all yielded four (those from Kessel-Lith could not be quantified). The fibulae from Cuijk date from the late 3rd to the second half of the 4th century, those from Wijchen to the entire 4th century, while those from Maastricht date much later, from the second half of the 4th to the second half of the 5th century.

See [\(67\) The Late Roman limes revisited. The changing function of the Roman army in the Dutch river/coastal area \(AD 260-406/7\)](#)

"The Latin Civilization"

April 24, 1936 THE LATIN CIVILIZATION I
ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR OUR REGION A PIECE OF HISTORY

As the years go by, one becomes accustomed to being surprised by nothing and to honoring the wisdom of the old Horace Flacius, who, about 1900 years ago, wrote to his friend Numicius:

"Nil admirari prope res est una Numici,
"Solaque quae potest facere et servare beatos."

Yet even the elder, who sees the ordinary "??? Those who do not usually smile indulgently at the influence of spiritual trends and parties, sometimes find their peaceful patience put to a severe test in our turbulent times when they are forced to witness the values of life, which they have learned to value highly from childhood, being dragged into the mud with ruthless audacity.

This naturally applies primarily to the transcendental goods, whose sacred protection has long been entrusted to Mother Church, which we Catholics, in these gloomy times, must defend more than ever against the partly open, partly sneaky attacks of their undisguised, or worse, cunningly crafty enemies.

But this also applies to the highest natural cultural assets of humanity, and particularly of Latin civilization. For centuries and centuries, no educated person has doubted the value of that civilization. And from its first appearance in Rome to this day, the Holy Church has considered it its duty to educate the youth, who were preparing for the holy priesthood under its care, in the language and literature of ancient Latium. But behold, nineteen centuries after Christ's death, a new "Movement" has emerged. It has trampled upon everything that had previously been held in high regard and venerable. With the loyalty to the Pope and the Bishop, which the Southern Netherlands has been able to claim for sixteen centuries, it also rejects Latin as "alien" and "contrary to the nature of the Germanic race," a group it very wrongly considers us Southerners to belong to. Therefore, it seems useful to us to examine, using established historical sources, with an unbiased and impartial eye, what Limburg was like before the arrival of the Romans and what it is now, with God's help, under the influence of Latin civilization.

What we know of prehistoric Limburg is thanks to the investigative skills of both earlier and later archaeologists, especially in recent years to that of Dr. Beckers, a physician in Beek. Their work essentially confirms what we already knew from similar research both domestically and abroad: the Limburgers of prehistoric times stood on a low level of culture; they lived in wooden and clay huts, wore very primitive jewelry, possessed few practical tools, and practiced pottery as their only known craft. 1) Only with the arrival of the Romans did higher forms of civilization enter these regions, which for over a hundred years experienced the beneficial influence of Latin colonization to a large extent. While the Rhine (even then!) served as the boundary against barbarism, the Meuse, the river in the peaceful land, was the natural conductor of higher culture. The second century AD, in particular, was a completely peaceful and safe era for the regions: unprotected country houses and farms here and there, especially in the charming hilly landscape along the Geul River, and a prosperous population lived carefree and well-protected from the threat of war. One of the centers of this Roman agricultural colony in South Limburg has already been discovered, discovered some time ago on the plateau of the present-day Ravensbosch Monastery. A large number of farmsteads, scattered throughout a wide area, were located there, with a mausoleum or burial temple at their center, where the cremated remains of the deceased were placed in stone coffins. That, under the protection of the Roman eagles, alongside a relatively high culture, great prosperity also prevailed in these regions is evident from various excavations carried out in the first quarter of this century by the late Dr. Goossens in collaboration with Professor Dr. Holwerda. Near Bocholtz, a luxurious country house ("villa") was excavated, built entirely on masonry foundations, and featuring a bathing facility as well: central heating! No, don't shake your head in disbelief, modern again. Here's what Professor Holwerda's book, page 153, literally states: Some rooms (of the excavated villa) were heated according to the well-known hypocaustal system: a double masonry floor, the upper layer of which rested on stone columns, received the warm air from a fireplace outside against the building wall, and stone pipes carried it

further up the walls. The bathing rooms were also heated this way, and even the masonry washbasin has its foundation in the ground. Thus writes the highly learned researcher, who concludes with the following: That a highly civilized Roman population inhabited our South Limburg needs no further explanation: alongside the simpler farmer, the great Roman gentleman farmer lived here, in his luxurious country house, on the same footing as he was accustomed to in classical countries. It is, in fact, virtually the same farm that is still found today as the typical Limburg farmhouse in these regions. (Editor's note: Ours in bold.) We would have nothing more to add to this—the quotes speak loud and clear!—were it not for the fact that the highly learned author had specifically drawn attention to the significance of Heerlen in this earliest period of Limburg's history. "Objects from almost the entire Roman period," he writes on page 154, "have been found in Heerlen: even from the earliest period, that of Emperor Augustus, several finds seem to have been made. And the first decades of the fourth century AD (so, more than three hundred years after Caesar Augustus, Ed.) are certainly represented by a number of objects." He then continues literally: "We believe we can deduce that Heerlen was a kind of rural town, a hub for the farming population, from the discovery of a number of pottery kilns at various points in the municipality, workshops where various types of Roman pottery were produced." "We now find this same pottery in the remains of Roman farms in Limburg: these Heerlen potters seem to have primarily worked for the farming population. Apparently, Heerlen was the place where this population went to market for its household needs." One can see that there's nothing new under the sun. For 1,800 years later, the farming population of the surrounding area still goes to market in Heerlen. If one wants to know exactly how Latin civilization in these regions came to an end, one need only read what Professor Holwerda writes at the end of his chapter on Roman land colonization: "As if a scorching breath had passed over the land, we see all that Latin life, those prosperous country houses, that truly Roman luxury in South Limburg suddenly destroyed at the beginning of the third century AD; and the same phenomenon is also observed in neighboring Belgium. Many remains still show traces of fire and brutal violence, other farms are simply abandoned: the pottery suddenly breaks off everywhere, and the coins also speak of an abandonment around the beginning of the third century. There's no doubt that a Germanic invasion here at that time suddenly destroyed Roman life, which had been able to develop undisturbed for over a hundred years, razing the country houses and driving out the population. From then on, the prosperous Limburg of the past has been an almost deserted region, repeatedly exposed to barbarian raids. No sooner had the Rhine border succumbed to a swarm of Germanic people than the first incursion of those plundering barbarian bands was enough to destroy that peaceful culture and make it disappear forever. (The boldfaced text is the author's). Tomorrow we hope to continue this instructive story and draw a number of conclusions from it. But we would like to note this now: let the N.S.B. boast of its Germanic ancestors: we feel much safer on the civilized side of the barricade! And thank God! Catholic Limburg belongs on that side, as we will demonstrate further tomorrow.

1) We have borrowed these and the following details from the excellent work of Prof. Dr. J. H. Wolwerda {Holwerda}: "Dutch Earliest History" (S. L. van Looy – Amsterdam).

April 25, 1936 In our previous article, we saw how South Limburg, after being opened to Latin civilization around the beginning of our era, experienced its beneficial influence for over two centuries, until, at the beginning of the third century AD, a furious invasion by arsonist and plundering Germanic bands violently drove the high culture of Rome from our region. But that culture certainly did not disappear completely. After all, while the countryside had been made uninhabitable for the Gallo-Roman population, in the fortified settlements they found a safe refuge from the plunder and fury of the barbarians. The rulers of the world empire, incidentally, had a paramount interest in defending the remote corner now known as South Limburg. After all, the wide highway ran straight through our region from Tongeren to Cologne, which at the time held the same strategic significance as today's bullet-straight highways. This road traversed our current province from west to east: Maastricht served as a fortified bridgehead, where the river was initially crossed by ferry and later by bridge. From there, it flowed via Meerssen through the Geuldal to Valkenburg and then most likely via Ransdaal to Heerlen, after which it led via Jülich to Cologne, where it ended at the border of barbarian land. Cologne was known to be one of the oldest and most famous Roman settlements on the Rhine: as one may recall, the fortified city was founded 20 years before Christ by Marcus Vispanius Agrippa, who gave it his name: Colonia Agrippina. For over 400 years, it remained one of the

cornerstones of the Empire! No wonder the Romans placed such great value on an uninterrupted connection between Tongeren and Cologne. Therefore, under Emperor Diocletian, they built a whole series of "casemates" – nothing new under the sun!—to protect their highway from the attacks of the warlike Germans. Only in our time have three of these casemates, which the Romans called "burgi," been discovered in these regions: the first on the Hussenberg near Geulle, the second on Rondenbosch north of Sint Gerlach, and the third on the Goudsberg between Valkenburg and Ransdaal. This last "burgus" was excavated under the care of Professor Holwerda. According to the pottery found, this small fort, measuring over twelve by nine meters, was still under military occupation in the first half of the fourth century. The discovery of coins bearing the image of Emperor Constantine also irrefutably demonstrates the maintenance of this defensive belt well into the fourth century for Rondenbosch. Thus, by following the line of irrefutable stone and metal evidence from long-gone centuries, we arrive at the era of the conversion of the Limburg population by the missionaries of Rome, particularly by Saint Sarbatus or Servatius. Rarely, if ever, is the life story of a saint so distorted over time as that of Limburg's oldest preacher of the faith. What legend tells of him is known to almost every Limburger: but what history reveals is quite different! Sarbatus was an Armenian disciple of the Church of Jerusalem: he journeyed from the holy city, where he had been ordained a priest, to the far northern border of the Empire, there to win souls for Christ. But in these regions, he did not encounter Germanic barbarians in animal skins, as is customarily portrayed in religious processions at the septennial holy festivals, but rather well-civilized Gallo-Romans, who, nevertheless, in this remote corner had mostly remained pagans even after the capital had been largely won over to Christianity. Throughout his life, he stood as a courageous soldier of Christ against the enemies who at that time besieged Mother Church: the barbarians on the other side of the imperial border, who constantly threatened invasions, the Arians, who denied the Divinity of the Redeemer, and his pagan compatriots, who were still very numerous, especially in the army. That, despite the quarrels between commanders that broke out almost every time a succession took place, order and tranquility still prevailed in the vast world empire is proven by the repeated, very long journeys the bishop-missionary undertook. During his forty-year episcopate (from 342-383), he traveled alternately to Sardica in Thrace (now Sofia in Bulgaria) and to Rimini in Italy, where he defended orthodox Church doctrine at councils; He proceeded to Antioch in Asia Minor, where he attempted in vain to bring about a reconciliation between Emperor Constantius in the East and the pretender to the throne, Magnentius, in the West, who had been proclaimed Caesar by his soldiers. He undertook the long journey "ad limina" at least three times to seek advice and assistance from the Vicar of Christ.

II (End).

But he could not prevent the Gaul Magnentius from massing his legions in the south of France to deliver a decisive blow to his rival (which he lost), from the Germans immediately seizing the favorable opportunity to attack the severely depleted garrisons of the northern cities. In the disastrous year of 354, the entire northeastern border of the Empire, from Strasbourg (Argentoratum) to Tongeren (Aduatica Tungrorum), collapsed. The casemate line was overrun and razed to the ground. And after a months-long siege, besieged Cologne was forced to surrender in the year 355. Of course, the Germans did what Germans typically did: whether one reads Ammianus Marcellimis 1) or consults the "Overvuleling van België" (The Surviving of Belgium) by the journalist Mokveld 2), it amounts to exactly the same thing: murder, arson, pillage, and virginity toute la lyre! But then Emperor Constantius appointed his nephew Julian Caesar of Gaul. The very next year, the young general (he was not yet 25!) managed to defeat the Germans in a battle on the Meuse and advanced, along the military road through Limburg and the Rhineland, to recapture the border fortress of Cologne. Then he marched south with his legions across the Rhine, and in the summer of 357, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Allemanni at Strasbourg. He turned north again, and in 358 we find him at Tongeren, where, according to his historian, he received the submission of "the Franks, whom we call Salians," but who were never Germanic! Thus, the "pax romana" was re-established in the bishopric of Saint Servatius by one of the most stubborn and dangerous enemies of Christianity. For it was this Caesar Julian, who became Emperor two years later, who was and remained notorious to both contemporaries and posterity as "Julian the Apostate"! Perhaps an echo of the inevitable spiritual conflict between the Catholic bishop and the apostate "Führer" has come down to us in the tradition that Sarbatus moved his episcopal see to Maastricht under pressure

from malicious elements in his original residence. But be that as it may, the fact remains that the conversion of Limburg, four centuries before the rest of the Netherlands, was only possible through the influence of Latin civilization, which had already thoroughly permeated these regions when, north of the then-imperial border, our "Germanic ancestors" were still pure-bred savages.

We may recall how in the year 406 the Wandilians descended upon Gaul like an unstoppable torrent, chanting "Wandalia über alles" (Wandalia above everything) as they trampled upon the centuries-old culture of Imperial Rome. But although their Germanic trail was marked by ruins, blood, and tears, they were unable to wrest the holy faith from the hearts of the cruelly oppressed people. Limburg remained Catholic, and Limburg continued to bask in the sun of Latin civilization. For centuries, it knew no other written language than Latin. And it is under the dual and inseparable influence of Rome's religion and Rome's superior culture that the mixture of peoples and races, fused on our soil in the melting pot of centuries, has become a strong unity, loyal to sovereign and fatherland, but above all inseparably bound to its spiritual cradle: the Church of Christ, whose Vicar resides in Rome. Let our popular press then safely misuse the holy feast of Pentecost to celebrate their racial solidarity with their Germanic ancestors on the "faded old days" and to immerse themselves once again in the "old traditions"—God forbid! — of their lineage: we Catholic Southerners, who, thank God, were never Germanic, remain faithful to the Eternal City "Rome aeterna," the Mother of Latin civilization throughout the centuries!

1) Ammianus Marcellinus (330-390) is a historian of the Roman Empire in the later Imperial period. His work comprises 31 books, of which the last eighteen have been preserved. In the fourteenth book, he outlines Julian's campaign against the Germans in numerous interesting details. But his harsh, soldierly language is not easy to read, and we cannot recommend his books as entertainment.

2) "The Surrender of Belgium" was written by L. Mokveld, war correspondent for "De Tijd." The collection, "Experiences as a Dutch journalist gained during a four-month stay with the German troops in Belgium," was published in 1916 by Brusses Uitgeversmaatschappij in Rotterdam. It is a life-like account, hot off the press, without fuss, and truthful. And it is much easier to read than Ammianus Marcellinus.

April 29, 1936 THE FAITHFULNESS OF CATHOLIC LIMBURG IN PREVIOUS CENTURIES AND IN OUR DAYS

Regarding our double article on Latin civilization, we have received two esteemed comments. The first concerns the time period between the conversion of Limburg and that of the rest of the Netherlands, a time period which, according to our informant, we would have set somewhat broadly. After all, Saint Servatius became Bishop of Tongeren around 342, and Saint Willebrord was consecrated Bishop of Utrecht by Pope Sergius in the year 695. This therefore makes a difference of 353 years, not "four centuries," as we wrote. The comment is entirely correct regarding the annual figures. It should be remembered, however, that St. Servatius likely had several unknown predecessors in the episcopal see of Tongeren—after all, freedom to preach the Catholic faith was officially permitted in the Roman Empire as early as 313 by the Edict of Milan—while, on the other hand, it is certain that St. Willibrord was the first bishop of Utrecht. Moreover, the north of our country remained pagan for well over half a century after St. Willibrord's consecration, as the Frisians, who at that time occupied a large part of present-day Utrecht.

Those who ruled Holland, showed themselves so hostile to Christianity that, as late as 754, they cruelly murdered Saint Boniface, the Apostle of the Germanic people, near Dokkum. When one considers these facts, one sees that our estimate of the time between the conversion of the Southern and Northern Netherlands is not as unfounded as it might seem at first glance. The second observation from the esteemed quarter speaks of Limburg's faith. Is our region still as inseparably linked to its spiritual cradle, Rome, in our time, as it used to be during the nearly sixteen centuries that have elapsed since the arrival of Saint Servatius? Doesn't the Catholic Church in these regions also suffer from the common disease of our time: an overestimation of the material and the passive alongside an underestimation of the spiritual and eternal values of life? And hasn't Limburg's unwavering religious unity, especially in the mining region, been eroded by the influx of a multitude of dissenters, both from within and from abroad?

These are three questions we will attempt to answer to the best of our ability, based on the figures and facts known to us. Regarding the problem of religious laxity, we believe that the current generation need not fear a rational comparison with previous generations. Halfhearted and fainthearted Catholics have always existed everywhere in

all parts of the world, including in Limburg. Especially in the sixteenth century, the moral and religious situation, both here and elsewhere, was much less favorable than it is today. At that time, the moral decline among Catholics was not only more extensive, but it was also concealed and covered up to a much greater extent than it is now, including by the clergy, who themselves were affected to a regrettable degree by the moral laxity. We do not intend to go on a scandal-hunting spree in the chronicles and memoirs of that unfortunate time: which, moreover, would not cost us the least effort. But when one knows that even in well-meaning and faithful circles, sentiment was stirred against priestly celibacy, because it was not being maintained, then one will understand how far the corruption of morals had come, even among "the salt of the earth." The fact that Catholic Limburg overcame this cruellest of trials without lasting damage to the Holy Faith, which was wholly or largely lost in so many other regions, may rightly be considered convincing proof of the unwavering attachment of the inhabitants of this region to the religion and teachings of Rome. Afterward, the faithfulness of the Limburgers was repeatedly tested, by Joseph II, by the French Directory, by Napoleon, and last but not least, by King William I of the Netherlands. But neither in the eighteenth nor in the nineteenth century was there any sign of moral decay or relaxation among the clergy! And where the priests lead the faithful people in unwavering steadfastness and purity of morals, the preservation of the highest values of life is assured. Although for each of us, "suffering, struggling, and overcoming remains the daily fate."

Now a few words about the influx of dissidents to our region. As you know, there are accurate statistics on this, dating from 1930, the year of the eleventh general census. The data are therefore already more than five years old: but since then, the situation has improved rather than worsened due to the return of a large number of foreigners to their native region or homeland. We can therefore safely consider the number of dissidents, which at the time amounted to over six and a half percent (exactly 6.55 percent), as a maximum; from which it follows that Limburg is currently approximately 94 percent Catholic! This will surprise many who tend to focus only on the mining region: after all, the relationship between fellow believers and dissidents there is much less favorable! On December 31, 1930, Heerlen had over 20, Hoensbroek Nearly 24 percent of non-Catholics live in Brunssum, while Geleen-Lutterade recorded only 14 percent dissidents. All other municipalities remain below this percentage: Kerkrade has less than ten percent, and Maastricht no more than six percent, including all "non-churchgoers." It goes without saying that the rest of the province exhibits a picture of religious cohesion unlike any other region in the Netherlands. Thus, there are 52 municipalities with no more than ten dissidents. And north of Maasbracht, there are eighteen adjacent municipalities on the left bank of the Meuse with a total of 31,386 inhabitants, of whom 31,337 are Catholic! The two most populous of the twelve municipalities, where all residents are Catholic without exception, are Limbricht with 2,088, and Schimmert—the birthplace of Bishop Lemmens—with 1,766 inhabitants. Anyone who calmly and impartially examines these series of figures, which we could supplement with numerous others if desired, will come to the conclusion that the invasion of dissidents poses no significant threat to the Catholic Church in Limburg. This danger is even less, however, because the religious bond that binds them together is exceptionally weak, and the confessional divide among Protestants has also reached alarming proportions in our region. The Dutch Reformed Church, the heir to the formerly infamous State Church, which caused our ancestors so much suffering, currently comprises only 2.91 percent of the population. And this small group lives almost exclusively under the smoke of the chimneys of the State Mines. Everywhere else, their numbers are completely insignificant. Therefore, the danger for Catholic Limburg most certainly does not lie there! Where it does lie, we have already demonstrated so often that this time we will not repeat ourselves. But the danger is well known: and we are working hard to avert it.

With God's help, Limburg will also overcome National Socialism!

May 22, 1936 It is our firm principle to provide an opportunity for unhindered discussion in our columns on all open issues. Indeed, just as it is our duty to exclude false teachings on religious and moral matters from our publication, we consider it equally useful and necessary to accommodate orthodox fellow believers in the presentation of their opinions, even when they differ from ours in many respects. Therefore, we now gladly give the floor to two young foster children of our Nijmegen Alma Mater—vulgo: to two students of the Catholic University—to enable them to share

their ideas about Latin civilization and its significance for our region widely. Here is what they have to say on the matter: By analogy with "virtue in the middle," one could also say "truth in the middle," in the sense that untruth usually originates in some exaggeration or one-sidedness. This was regrettable in the follow-up articles "Latin Civilization" in the Limburgsch Dagblad of April 24th and 25th. The author saw classical culture in Limburg in danger. He took on the role of its defender, but in his impetuous zeal he killed not only its enemies, but also its allies and its entire foundation, leaving his protégé herself bare and uneasy in a plain devoid of lifeblood. The classical cultural treasure is a great asset, and dangers may loom over it, but this is no reason to distort the truth. This serves no purpose, and certainly not Limburg. The impression given by the aforementioned article is not that we should be wary of discarding cultural gifts handed down to us through the centuries, but that in past centuries the Romans were the sole bearers of culture and civilization, far superior to the murderous, burning, plundering, and virgin-desecrating barbarians, also known as Germans. That these, in a murderous rampage, eradicated that entire civilization root and branch from our region, yet left so much of it that the author can claim that we Limburgers have preserved Gallo-Roman civilization intact and were never Germans. That we must therefore stand firm against the Germanic hordes—in this case, the Germans, who, as evidenced by the World War, have remained just as murderous and uncivilized—hand in hand with our southern neighboring states. This representation is absolutely one-sided and incorrect. If we confine ourselves for the moment to the present, it is undeniable that we Limburgers, like the people of Brabant and the Dutch, are Germanic. The migration certainly had the consequence that the Germanic people advanced from the Rhine border to the coal forest, which roughly coincides with the present-day border between Flanders and Wallonia. Even the most superficial observer must be struck by the physical differences between the average Limburger and the average Walloon, and surely no one would want to claim that general civilized Dutch or the Limburgish dialect are Romance linguistic forms. And although many may still harbor a distrust of anything beyond the Moerdijk, and although many Limburgers may not feel entirely at home when walking around Delft or Zwolle, they will certainly feel like strangers in France. The Limburg people's background is core Germanic, just as the background of the entire Dutch people, the English, the German, and the Scandinavian peoples, is Germanic. However, we must take into account the fact that, due to its geographical location in (South) Limburg, of all Dutch regions, the clash of these two elements, Gallo-Roman and Germanic, has personally experienced. It borders directly to the south on the Romance-Germanic language border, which is the ultimate exponent of this friction between Gallo-Romans and Germanic peoples. The area on either side of this language border, which in Belgium roughly covers the course of the Roman road from Boulogne to Cologne, was once the major friction point on which Gallo-Romans and Germanic peoples moved in motley intermingling. The further north one moved from this line, the more numerous the Germanic peoples became and the fewer the Gallo-Romans. Towards the south, however, the Gallo-Romans became increasingly numerous, and in a corresponding measure the number of Germanic peoples diminished. Which is also self-evident: after all, the Gallo-Romans advanced from the south, while the Germanic peoples in the fourth century AD... began to descend from the North. The lines of the two centers of radiation not only touched but also slid over and through each other, resulting in the colorful amalgam we mentioned, between which, over the centuries, the language border was to emerge. This border is nothing other than the expression of the ultimate, still relative, stabilization in the opposition of these two forces. In other words, both Gallo-Roman and Germanic influences, to the extent they could advance, pushed against each other. This push and counter-push was long associated with a fluctuation of forces, but ultimately, a state of equilibrium emerged: the two opposites remained firmly pressed against each other, but each retained its own territory. South of this tangent, the Gallo-Roman element gained dominance and absorbed all that was available of Germanic; North of it, Germanic finally gained the upper hand and absorbed everything Gallo-Roman. Therefore, we find neither a purely Gallo-Roman population south of the line, nor a purely Germanic one north of it. Nevertheless, we call the population south Gallo-Roman, because that is essentially what it is, and likewise that north Germanic, because that is essentially and originally what it is.

I.

This by no means denies that both adopted much from each other and therefore have much in common. And regarding the exchange of cultural goods, it is undoubtedly true that here the Gallo-Romans, precisely because they possessed a higher culture, were

the givers par excellence, and the Germans primarily the receivers. But that did not mean all Germans became Gallo-Romans. This did, as it were, happen with the Germans who lived south of the current language border; They were absorbed into the Gallo-Roman dominance. North of the language border, however, the exact opposite happened: the Gallo-Romans who were once there were dissolved into the Germanic dominance. The population of Walloon Belgium and Northern France thus absorbed Germanic blood from the invading Franks, who perished there as such, that is, as Germans—for that is what they were; yet, they would not have left behind their name tag: France, i.e., the Empire of France, owes its name to them. Conversely, among the Limburgers and Rhinelanders, blood mixing occurred with the Gallo-Romans who were already present there, which greatly favored their national character. Moreover, they benefited most from Gallo-Roman civilization. Yet, they remained Germans nonetheless. Peoples form in an inscrutable way, but at a certain point they exist, and this existence can no longer be denied. Race, language, psychological characteristics, historical and economic ties—all work together to form a single collectivity that feels united and desires to remain so. However, cultures, guided by reason, which is fundamentally the same in all people, thus being without boundaries, expand across different peoples or segments of the population without regard to national boundaries. Not that a culture undergoes no changes on its journey of conquest. For the non-intellectual elements in humans—character, mentality, taste, and so many other factors—also contribute to the construction of a culture. And these factors are connected to the soul of people. The Romans, who carried the light of civilization into the darkness of the North, were themselves rough and hard farmers when they adopted Greek civilization in the second and third centuries BC and imprinted upon it the stamp of their own sense of justice and their own striving for practical utility. Thus, this civilization acquired a Gallic influence in France and all the lands up to the Rhine, even to Cologne, so that it is rightly called Gallo-Roman. On the other side of the Rhine lived the Germanic peoples with their very special national character and their own, albeit still low-level, culture, which we still know primarily from the Germanic law that has come down to us. In the period of the Migration of Peoples, now an exchange of Roman and Germanic cultural elements took place, in which the much superior Roman civilization had the lion's share, but was transformed into the Germanic national character. Limburg, too, preserved the Latin cultural treasure, transformed into the Germanic national character and blended with Germanic cultural elements. Classical civilization also penetrated the Northern Netherlands, but the Germanic factor remained much more dominant here than, particularly, in Limburg. In Limburg, two civilizations interpenetrated, and the classical one was preserved there the most strongly of all the regions in our country. The same thing happened in the Rhineland, which is contrasted with the land on the right bank of this river, whose civilization has remained much more purely Germanic. Instead of orienting our region one-sidedly towards the South and raising it in contempt and aversion for anything non-classical, it would be better to emphasize that the Netherlands, but Limburg and the Rhineland in particular, constitute the area where two cultures, upon which our Western civilization rests, reconciled and united. These are very elementary concepts that are assumed to be familiar to anyone who studies Latin civilization, and particularly its influence in Limburg. However, when, instead of considering the issue purely objectively, one conflates politics, sentiment, religion, and science and sacrifices them to a political standpoint, one ends up with such a one-sided view of things, as we pointed out in the aforementioned articles. Let us not follow the example of some and regard history as a piece of modeling clay, which anyone can shape and mold according to their current political or other thinking. Science exists for the sake of truth, not for the N.S.B., the Roman Catholic Church. To provide St. P. or any other parties with propaganda material. Had the author considered the matter more calmly, he certainly would not have been able to claim that the Franks were never Germanic. If he could provide even a little evidence for this, he would undoubtedly have made one of the greatest historical discoveries of the last centuries. The discovery of the foundations of several Roman villas certainly points to a highly developed civilization of the Roman colonists in these regions, but says nothing about the cultural status of the original population, who likely stood at a much lower level of development. As for the destructive effect of the Migration of Nations, the author would do well to read the book by the French author F. Lot, *La Fin du Monde Antique*, or the report of the speech delivered by Professor Gosses at the sixteenth Dutch philologists' congress, in which he states, among other things, that a peaceful infiltration of Germans had already taken place before four hundred, and that the Roman Empire, with Germanic soldiers, fought against the Germans of the Migration of Nations. We quote:

"A clear national antagonism between the inhabitants of the Empire and the Germanic people is rarely expressed, though there is, of course, a sense of hostility toward those who plundered the borderlands and toward those who arbitrarily and violently sought to establish themselves within the Empire. Yet, once such invaders had established themselves there, a passable relationship soon developed between native and foreign invaders. A few aristocratic literati might have been justified in a certain haughty contempt; the lower classes apparently felt more comfortable in a state of simple structure under a barbaric king and his followers than in the Empire, which no longer offered security, had become top-heavy due to its bureaucratic apparatus, and where people enjoyed little freedom. Moreover, only smaller Germanic bands took possession of the Empire—which they did not want to destroy; Charlemagne was the first to assume the imperial crown. Therefore, there was no question of a migration of peoples; entire tribes did not cross the Rhine. There are many more errors that could be listed in this emotionally inspired article. However, the intention is not so much to denounce errors as to present the truth without bias and without politicizing science. Limburg is Germanic with a strong Latin influence; no region in our country has preserved this as strongly as Limburg, which represents a tremendous cultural treasure for our province. This influence gives the Limburger that special nuance in their civilization that the average Dutchman, for example, so often misses. However, this should not make us close our eyes to the cultural heritage we have received from the Germanic side, nor should it cause us, because of a political form of government, to harbor a one-sided hatred against a people with whom we have so much in common. At the end of these reflections, we ask the reader to suspend his judgment until he has read our response in the next issues of our magazine.

May 23, 1936 It is easy to forgive young people for not yet devoting the meticulous care to the definition of their ideas that people usually acquire only later in life. Therefore, we are only mildly surprised that the reader is already presented with a completely incorrect representation of our train of thought in the first paragraph of the voluminous work of our Nijmegen friends, which we published in its entirety in our previous issue. Indeed, the notion that we consider "classical culture in Limburg" to be threatened is a pure fabrication. In our nearly four-column double article, we didn't mention a single word about classical Rome! And rightly so! After all, when Latin civilization penetrated our regions, the classical period in Rome was already well and truly over. True, the inhabitants of these lands had experienced a military occupation with Roman garrisons since Caesar's triumphal march through Gaul, but peaceful land colonization only began in the last years of the first century AD, reaching its peak of prosperity towards the end of the second century. However, Tacitus, the Roman historian with whom the line of classical authors ends, died in the year 119; and one can easily surmise that the influence of his works on the respectable farmers in the far north of the Empire must have been very limited in scope and very limited in its penetration. No, Limburg only became permanently acquainted with classical culture during the Renaissance, which was indeed a movement "foreign" to our region, although its influence on the more highly developed part of the nation should not be underestimated. It was not classical culture, but Gallo-Roman civilization, that prevailed in Limburg for over a hundred years. And how widely it was spread across our hills and valleys, how towering it towered above the barbarity on the other side of the Rhine, is proven far better by its remains in the soil of our region than by long and learned arguments. That this civilization was violently eradicated is firmly established by the fire marks revealed in almost all excavations, which have left their indelible mark in the marlstone time and again. And that, ultimately, after the fall of the Empire, the Christianized civilization of Rome continued to prevail in these regions, surely we do not need to teach these young people!

And therefore we repeat our final conclusion, which has remained completely untouched by the arguments of the young writers about "classical culture," and which we formulated in our April 25th issue. as follows: Limburg remained Catholic, and Limburg continued to bask in the sun of Latin civilization. For centuries, it knew no other written language than Latin. And it is under the dual and inseparable influence of Rome's religion and Rome's superior culture that the mixture of peoples and races, fused on our soil in the melting pot of centuries, has become a solid unity, loyal to sovereign and fatherland, but above all inextricably linked to its spiritual cradle: the Church of Christ, whose Vicar resides in Rome.

Against the completely distorted image that the young authors attempt to foist upon us at the beginning of their piece, they then present their own, in which they have

104985 mixed "Wahrheit und Dichtung" in a rather deft, yet by no means opaque, manner. Their argument essentially boils down to this: that the current language border also constitutes the racial border, and that we are therefore Germanic. Moreover, The Franks, who from the beginning of the fifth to the end of the ninth century—for almost five hundred years—set the tone in Gaul, and who dominated at least the north and center of the country to such an extent that it still bears the name France, were, according to the authors, without the slightest doubt, purebred Germans! And they are so convinced of this "truth" that they signal its denial in advance as "one of the greatest historical discoveries of recent centuries." On the other hand, they downplay the migration of peoples, with its devastating and destructive consequences, as a kind of peaceful penetration, which at least the lower classes were not unwelcome: besides—as they present it—"only smaller Germanic bands have taken possession of the (Roman) Empire." And then follows their final conclusion: "Limburg is Germanic with a strong Latin influence," accompanied by the sincere warning against popular hatred "because the political form of government" in the Third Reich. History is certainly not solely a sequence of facts and dates. But although, especially when writing the history of civilization and peoples, the spirit that speaks from historical data and that animates and enlivens actual events, are never neglected. Yet, facts, not fantasies, constitute the only correct and sound foundation upon which the historian must build. And now, our readers will undoubtedly have been struck by the fact that the voluminous document by our two young Nijmegen natives overflows with assertions and observations, but is completely devoid of any factual material. The current dialect of Limburg is the only fact they invoke to support their Germanophilic theses. We continue to search in vain for any positive fact or any date! Therefore, allow us to refresh the memory of the esteemed contributors and present them with the history of these regions at the time of the migration. We therefore resume the thread of our story where we left it off at the end of our article of April 25th: with the invasion of the Vandals or Wandalians in the year 406 of Our Lord. And then we see that this "small Germanic band," originating from the Oder River basin, not only razed the Roman fortresses of Coriovallum, Maastricht, and Tongeren to the ground in our region, but also ravaged Gaul with fire and sword, and, continually destroying and plundering, penetrated all the way to Spain! Here, eight years later, they were stopped in their tracks, defeated by the Romans with the support of the Visigoths, and finally pushed back into Galicia. But in 428, the Vandals undertook a second plundering raid in the increasingly decaying Roman Empire. Once again, they traveled through Pannonia (present-day Hungary), Rhetia, and Gaul to Spain, after which they crossed over to Africa two years later, from where they made all the coastal regions of the Mediterranean unsafe with their raids and plunder. What happened to them afterward, and how their national existence came to a bloody end a century later, lies beyond the scope of this article. But that the idea of a peaceful penetration by "smaller bands of Germans" pales in comparison to such brutal events, perhaps our young Germanophiles will now understand for themselves. What remained of the original population in Limburg and North Brabant after the passage of these wild hordes is easier to surmise than to describe. For to describe it truthfully, either reliable historical sources or relics in the soil were required. And both are so completely lacking that Professor Holwerda, on page 171 of his standard work on "Dutch Early History," can rightly say that "a state of desolation must have set in here." Indeed, for the entire fifth century, there exists nothing but popular tradition that names a series of successors of Saint Servatius, or perhaps invented their names later to fill the painful gap in the Episcopate of Limburg. 1) This latter supposition gains in plausibility when we consider how the devastating raid of the Vandals was followed, less than half a century later, by the even more formidable storm of the Huns under their chieftain Hetzel or Attila. This "small band," however, was not of Germanic origin, but, according to the unanimous testimony of contemporaries, of Mongolian origin, which shows that it was virtually indifferent to the Christian peoples of those days whether they were bitten by the Germanic or the Mongolian tomcat. It is known that through the collaboration of Franks and Romans, whose general Aetius was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied troops, these precursors of the Bolsheviks were decisively defeated in the Marne Valley near Chaloras in the year 451 AD. How many original "natives" remained after this double hurricane of fire and steel in this formerly so captivating region, where not only a few villas but entire villages with farmhouses, some opulently built of stone, some simple ones of wood and clay, testified to Latin culture, and where St. Servaes stood at the head of a devout Christian people, is now impossible to determine. But that despite everything, a number of Gallo-Romans must have lost their lives is evident

from the efforts the Franks made at the end of the fifth century to reclaim these regions for Latin civilization. And here we come to the crux of our argument: the origins of the Franks, about which we hope to provide a number of interesting details in the next issue.

1) The "Acta Sanctorum" names St. Agricola, St. Ursinicus, St. Designatus, St. Renatus, St. Supplicius, St. Quirillus, St. Eucherus, and St. Falco as successors of St. Servaes. But since further details of his life are either entirely or purely legendary, this nomenclature doesn't get us much further.

May 25, 1936 In our previous article, we saw that the invasions of the Vandals and Huns wiped out Latin civilization in this region, and that the areas through which the "Gccsci of God" had made its way were left behind as virtually deserted places, as is also evident from the absence of remains in the soil. Finally, we saw that this desolation ended when, in the year 491, the Franks reached and occupied Limburg from the south. The author who tells us this is St. Gregory of Tours, who wrote the history of the Franks in Latin in the second half of the following century. This Holy Bishop was born in the year 540 and in 573 was invested with the episcopal dignity, which he held until 594, the year of his death. Besides his twelve-book "Historia Francorum," we possess several other works by him, among which "De Gloria Confessorum" stands out, which, like the first, is of paramount importance for the history of these regions in the sixth century AD. And now, it is quite remarkable that this authoritative writer locates the origins of his compatriots not in the North, but rather in the Southeast. According to "the opinion of many," he writes, "the Franks originated from Pannonia" (i.e., the Hungarian plains). Now, this opinion might not have been given much weight if it were not fully supported by the "silent witnesses" found in abundance in the graves of this tribe. And here we once again encounter the tireless researcher of "early Dutch history," Professor Dr. J. H. Holwerda. It must be due to the lightheartedness of their youth that our two Nijmegen natives did not consult this work before taking up their pens to establish the Germanic origins of the Franks as an indisputable fact. After all, we had already referred with due insistence to this eminent scholar of antiquity in our first article on Latin civilization. Had the young contributors heeded this urge, they would have made the "discovery" in this work, published eighteen years ago, that, given the undeniable evidentiary value of the numerous discoveries from this period, virtually nothing remains of the alleged Germanicity of the Franks.

Professor Holwerda begins the eighteenth chapter of his source study with an explanation of the prevailing view regarding the origins of the Franks, as it can be found in all history books and booklets, both major and minor. The Franks are said to have lived north and northeast of the Lower Rhine and formed a confederacy there, which expanded more and more until all the Germanic tribes living in this region were absorbed into it. Two main groups are distinguished in this Frankish confederacy: the Ripuarians, inhabitants of the right bank of the Rhine, and the Salians, who are said to have played an important role in our country and originated from Salland in Overijssel, from where they increasingly pushed south, lured by the wealth of the Gallo-Roman regions. From our region, therefore, the Frankish influence that destroyed Roman power in Gaul would have originated. "The presentation given here," the author continues, "certainly contains nothing new for anyone, but does it also contain the truth? — When we look around in our quintessentially Frankish regions, in North Brabant or the Betuwe, for the remains of Frankish culture, we find NOTHING!" But elsewhere the antiquarians of the Ie have found more! After all, it was more than two centuries ago that that remarkable royal tomb was unearthed in Tournai, with its wealth of gifts—gold, precious stones, weapons, jewelry, and whatnot—in which a gold finger ring bearing the seal "Childerici regis" proved it was the resting place of that Frankish prince who died in the year 481. And those same characteristic objects—weapons, ornaments, pottery, and glass—all equally peculiar and undeniably recognizable, have since been recovered in almost overwhelming quantities in the vast cemeteries of northern France and Belgium, or along the Middle Rhine (p. 164). And then, using various historical sources, the scholar carefully examines what ancient writers say about the Franks. The author then refers both to the German Brenner, whom he calls "the best expert on Frankish culture," and to the ???.

Frenchman Fustel de Coulanges then concludes briefly and powerfully: "After our acquaintance with the texts of the Latin writers, we preferred to illustrate, in the words of a well-known historian, how our historical ideas regarding the Franks, however much they may have been accepted as dogma, are completely at odds with how those conquests had taken place."

"The invasion of Gaul by a Frankish people, how the formation of a Frankish confederation in our regions and the settlement of those Franks in our homeland—how all of this is nothing but a product of modern historical fantasy" (p. 109). And now, on p. 170, follows a quotation that we especially recommend to the attention of our Nijmegen friends: "That a dialect is spoken here in these regions, which our linguists are accustomed to calling Frankish, means nothing in this respect, as long as it has not been proven that this name is rightly given to this linguistic phenomenon and that the population who first spoke this language did not come to these regions either long before the fifth century or long afterward." May the esteemed contributors learn from this that linguistics is a very fine science, but that it has only relative significance for history. Whoever clearly envisions this truth is already well on the way!

But when the Franks were not "Nordic people", where did they, with their peculiar cultural forms, come from? Professor Holwerda also provides a clear and straightforward answer to this: they came from Southeast Europe, and specifically from the shores of the Black Sea. "There, in southern Russia and further in the lands north of the Balkans, in the plains of Hungary, ancient Pannonia, lies the cradle of what is so characteristic of Frankish civilization" (p. 185). We cannot possibly reproduce in detail the argument of the Leiden professor, who devoted twenty pages of his book to the description and comparison of numerous cultural remains discovered before and afterward along the long and distant path the Franks followed in their migration from the shores of the Black Sea to the banks of the Seine and Loire. We refer those interested to the interesting work, illustrated with numerous photographs, which can be found in any good library. But our younger opponents will surely already have understood that a quiet and well-considered historical perspective must lead the astute researcher to recognize that the Franks, although they were certainly not purebred Scythians (Southern Russia was then called Scythia) or Hungarians, should certainly not be called Germans. This is further confirmed by the examination of skulls from a Frankish burial ground near Katwijk, which, according to the remains, is undeniably Frankish. The anthropologist Dr. Sasse, who conducted this research with scientific rigor, expressed his disappointment at the time in the Antiquity Reports of the National Museum of Antiquities (Volume V) that "the skull types found displayed such a mixture of races." No wonder! says Professor Holwerda: "After all, history had taught him to see in the Franks purebred Germans from the North!" But he concluded that little or nothing of the typical characteristics "of Nordic people" could be found in the Franks. We will conclude for this time with a heartfelt Advice to our Nijmegen friends. It is a rather unpleasant habit these days for young people to think and speak disparagingly of the knowledge of their elders. One senses this disparagement in the way they all too often try to break the staff of the work of the elderly. But when they themselves begin to work, it usually soon becomes apparent that the youthful shortcomings of frivolity, thoughtlessness, and lack of serious study play their ugly tricks. And therefore, this is our free advice to the young people of Nijmegen: begin with a scholarly study of Limburg's history. Don't limit yourself to the cursory knowledge that a superficial reading of magazines and journals like "De Dietsche Gedachte" and similar trend-setting periodicals can provide. But consult serious and reputable authors and antiquarians; and don't try to turn your study into a kind of entertainment. Then you will be able to form a calm, thoughtful, and well-documented judgment of Latin civilization in Limburg. And then the author will It is an honor and a pleasure to exchange thoughts with you once again.

May 26, 1936 We apologize for the excessive length of our reply to the young contributors from Nijmegen, who wrongly attempted to diminish Limburg's Latin civilization and ascribe a Germanic origin to Frankish culture. However, we consider the correct knowledge of Limburg's past too important for the current generation to allow it to be buried under the delusions of a historical system distorted by "alien science." Therefore, in this final article of our new series, we are permitted to provide a brief overview of the history of these regions during the Frankish rule.

The kings.

The first to regain a foothold here after the devastating storms of the Vandals and Huns was the famous King Clovis, whose baptism on Christmas Day in 493 opened a new era in the development of Gallic Christianity. We know how this king succeeded his father, Clovis, in 481, whose famous royal tomb in Tournai we mentioned in our previous article, and how, a year later—even before his convert—he established

Frankish rule in the land of Tongeren. The low level of culture at which the few natives who survived the horrors of the Germanic and Mongolian invasions led their miserable lives in these regions is evident not only from the almost complete absence of remains from this period, but no less from a famous passage in the work "De Gloria confessorum" by St. Gregory of Tours (540-594). Here is what we read in this work about the state of decay in which the tomb of Limburg's saint, Bishop Servatius, was found by his successor in the sixth century, Saint Monulfus: "The faithful had repeatedly built a chapel from wooden beams and planks, which, however, was always destroyed by storms or collapsed of its own accord. But when, in due course, Monulfus became bishop of this city (Maastricht), he built a large temple in honor of his illustrious predecessor, which he richly decorated, and into which he had the saint's remains transferred with great pomp and splendor." (Gapul LXXII) 1) This remarkable quotation, which dates from the end of the sixth century, reveals many things: first, that approximately sixty years after the arrival of the Franks "in the land of Tongeren," on the site of Maastricht, which had been twice destroyed, a settlement had already arisen that, with a little good will, could be called a "city"; Secondly, that despite the devastating storms of migration, the memory of the first Bishop of Tricht was by no means lost; thirdly, that therefore, despite everything, "Limburg continued to bask in the sun of Latin civilization," as we rightly wrote in our April 25th issue; fourthly, that by the middle of the sixth century, this civilization had already made such progress among the relatively recently converted Franks that the son of one of their nobles could be consecrated bishop and attain the crown of sainthood; and fifthly, that simultaneously with the rise of Rome's influence, culture also rose to such an extent that the construction of a large and richly decorated temple on the tomb of St. Servatius once again bore witness to the life-giving power of the inseparable twin sisters: the Catholic Church and religious art!

Outside the influence of devastating Germanic rule, Latin civilization was able to flourish over the next three centuries amid a population undoubtedly composed of numerous disparate elements, in which the descendants of the Eburones had intermingled with Roman colonists, with a few remaining immigrants, and with the far-from-purebred Franks. But these descendants reappeared like a flower after a thunderstorm as soon as they were once again nurtured by the spiritual warmth of Roman religion and culture. Once more in Limburg's history, this culture was threatened with destruction. And once again it was the Germans who brought fire and plunder, death and destruction to these peaceful lands. "Furo Normannorum, libera nos Domine"2) sang the pious crowds as they marched in the Procession of the Cross, making the hymns of all the Saints resound through streets and squares, fields and meadows, just as they do today.

How this new and expanded edition of the old furor Teutonicus ravaged these regions is demonstrated by the telling fact that not a single monument remains from the Frankish Christian period, which lasted over three centuries in this region, although the example of St. Monulfus undoubtedly found widespread imitation. Like the Vandals or the Huns, the Normans spared not a single church or farmstead on their destructive path. And when Count Arnolf finally averted the storm at the Dyle in 951, Latin civilization could begin to rebuild what the Germanic destructiveness had burned down. Look, when one examines this series of established key facts from Limburg's past through history, one has every right to be astonished by the unreasoned parroting of the palpable fable from the Third Reich about a "Nordic race" with its own "national character," which supposedly made not only Prussia or Pomerania, but also the North and South of the Netherlands happy with the benefits of a noble character and a high-quality culture. That the NSB parrots such follies is easy to understand, and dubious.

It's easy to forgive. She is, after all, the mouthpiece of "purebred" National Socialism. But that young Catholics from good families allow themselves to be so deceived by the false illusion of German science that they retell such Germanic nursery tales with faithful faces—well, that's what we call a most ominous sign of the times. Of course, we must not "conceive hatred" for our kindred spirits in the Rhineland, who are currently paying for their attachment to the religion and civilization of Rome with the persecution and torture of the best of their priests and leaders. But we may and must detest with all the strength of our soul the "political system" that currently prevails in the Third Reich. For this system is inextricably linked to a worldview that propagates the most dangerous heresy the Church of God has ever faced in its centuries-old existence. Let our young friends

from Nijmegen, therefore, reflect deeply on this question and diligently research the historical sources. Undoubtedly, science exists for the sake of truth, not to provide some party with propaganda material. But truth resides in the chair of St. Peter in Rome, from where first Gallo-Roman civilization, and later Christianized civilization, originated on its salutary path to this region. Therefore, let us Catholics not be blinded by racial delusions and pseudo-scholarship, but exert all our strength for the untainted preservation of this civilization, which is now once again threatened by a Germanic horde of "Nordic people." And let us unreservedly follow our bishops on the path they have once again pointed out to us, which leads not to Germanism, but to "Roma aeterna," the eternal abode of Latin civilization and the seat of true and indestructible Christianity.

1) This quotation can be found, among other places, in the interesting work of Mgr. Fr. Bock, Canon of Aachen and Chaplain Willemsen, treasurer of St. Servatius in Maastricht, in which they extensively described and richly illustrated the history of the "Antiquités sacrées" in the two old collegiate churches (St. Servatius and Our Lady) (Jos. Bussel, 1873).
2) Translation: "From the wrath of the Normans, deliver us, Lord."

June 17, 1936 We received the following letter from the two Nijmegen students who had previously appeared in our newspaper:

It should be noted in advance that the following defense to the three editorial articles published in this newspaper on May 23, 25, and 26, 1936, is extremely brief, as the editors limited our space.

To the point: When our article of May 22nd spoke of "classical culture" and the editorial of May 23rd speaks of the "classical period in Rome," every high school student knows that "classical" in the second expression means something different than in the first. By ignoring this distinction in meaning, our opponent could be guilty of misleading word-juggling. We reiterate our objection to the author for presenting the complex phenomena of migration and the fall of the Western Roman Empire one-sidedly and simplistically, thereby giving a false impression to readers who are incapable of independent judgment in this case. We refer to Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis issue 1, 1936, pp. 5-42. In addition to his own opinion, Prof. Gosses (especially on pages 7-13) includes statements by, among others, the French Fustel de Coulanges and F. Lot, the great Belgian historian Pirenne, and Bishop Salvianus. Who will accuse them of "Germanophilia"? Romantic but scientifically untenable are the views of, among others, the Germanic peoples outside the borders of the Roman Empire as "purebred savages," his idea that the Germanic invasions began only to fuel a Germanic urge for destruction. The opponent is guilty of a particularly dangerous kind of cultural Bolshevism, by having cultures or peoples "violently" "exterminated" in more than one place, only to later include them as reality in his argument.

History is not that simple, and few cultures and peoples have died a purely violent death. Even the Western Roman Empire "est mort de maladie interne," as the Frenchman F. Lot puts it. The opponent wrongly believes that our proof that the Limburgers are Germanic by origin rests on the argument "that the current language border also constitutes the racial border." We never argued this, but we did argue that the Romance-Germanic language border constitutes the border between Romance and Germanic; and this is something different. One can only surmise which unscientific conception of "race" and "Germanic" the author must be harboring. We fear that he equates Germanic with Germans or perhaps even with Nazis. The opponent brings up the Normans unnecessarily, but again one-sidedly from the perspective of an unhistorical point of view.

A single statement by a professional historian might give him pause for thought: "Our West India Company in the 17th century still clearly displays the dual aspect of a trading company and a privateering company" (Prof. Gosses). That a different historical representation of Germanic peoples, Norsemen, etc., is also possible in journalism, is demonstrated by an article "German and Roman" in the Nieuwe Eeuw of May 12th, by Sapiens. The Frankish Question: According to Caesar "de Bello Gallico" 11:4, most "Belgae" descended from the Germanic peoples on the other side of the Rhine. They had driven out the Gauls who had previously inhabited this country. Present-day Belgium was therefore inhabited by any remaining Gauls and by the invading Germanic peoples who had arrived from the north and the east. A few lines further on, Caesar mentions the Germanic tribes: Condrun, Eburones, Caerosi, and Paemoni, who, according to further reports from him and others, must have inhabited roughly the area of Belgian Limburg, Dutch Limburg, and the region between the Meuse and the Rhine. And Tacitus speaks of the Germanic Tungri, who had their center in present-day Tongeren. Along with the Betuwe and South Holland, South Limburg is the only part of the Netherlands that experienced Roman colonization. This lasted from 100 BC to approximately 200 AD, when the flourishing of Roman culture

ended. Germanic troops then repeatedly flooded Limburg, and the peace before colonization was over. Only south of the Maastricht-Heerlen line does Roman influence remain. By approximately 300 AD, the Romans had definitively abandoned everything north of this line. What happened to Limburg during the fourth century and the migration of peoples is unknown. What is certain, in any case, is that after the disappearance of the Roman colonists, only Germanic elements were added to the population of Limburg, as all the classical writers of the time (Ammianus Marcellinus, the Panegyrici, Zosimus, etc.) show that the Germans, and especially the Franks, overran the area north of the Cologne-Boulogne road. In 358, the Salians appear to have been living in Toxandria (roughly present-day North Brabant) for quite some time. The quotations cited by the opponent from the work of Professor Holwerda do not prove that the Franks were not Germanic, only that many cultural elements in Frankish civilization were borrowed from Eastern peoples such as the Scythians and Sarmatians. "People" and "culture" are not geographically coherent concepts. The Franks achieved a relatively high level of culture, enabling them to "adopt" a large part of Roman civilization, namely in Wallonia, but also in Western Flanders and Northern France. At the same time, they absorbed cultural elements from the aforementioned Eastern peoples, specifically through the mediation of the Goths. A powerful cultural current, in fact, flowed from East to West in the 4th century. This is also how the appearance of St. Servatius (an Armenian!) in Limburg can be explained (cf. Prof. van Ginniken: "Onverwachte oud-Nederlandsche aansluitingen" (Unexpected Old Dutch Connections), in *Onze Taaltuin* 1933, pp. 1-18). The opponent makes it seem as if we hadn't paid sufficient attention to the work of Prof. Holwerda, published in 1918. We can only reply that a second edition of this work appeared in 1925, which, according to the preface, became virtually a completely new book. In it, Prof. Holwerda mentions on p. 248, the Franks are explicitly called Germans, which invalidates the opponent's entire argument. The Germanic origin of the Franks is, incidentally, not doubted by any serious historian, least of all by the French (F. Lot, G. Kurth, Fustel de Coulanges). The troops of King Clovis, who occupied Limburg from the south in 491, encountered a Germanic population there; the Franks themselves under Clovis had certainly not yet been transformed into Gallo-Romans. But apart from that, Clovis's troops were small, and migrations did not occur under him. Therefore, if Gallo-Romans or Romanized Franks did come and stay, they would have been absorbed into the Germans due to their small numbers (the reverse process south of the language border). However, they brought with them the adopted Roman civilization mixed with Frankish elements, and this was precisely what developed for various reasons (the Meuse as a road, Tongeren, later Maastricht, the episcopal see, the foundation of the Roman colonization had a very significant influence in South Limburg. This succinctly demonstrates 1) that the opponent wrongly disputed the Germanic origins of the Franks and even more so of the Limburgers, and 2) the proper place that Latin civilization occupies in our region. It is regrettable that the opponent, in his article of May 26th, again raises irrelevant issues. This includes digressions about the Third Reich, the NSB, expressions such as "Nordic race," and "Germanic nursery tales," "foreign science" (sic) and the phrase about "Catholic youth, etc." All this serves to arouse suspicions in the reader, which are simply absurd. The passage about the ecclesiastical teaching authority, since this authority never ruled on the Germanic origins of Franks or Limburgers, can only foster more irresponsible associations. We cannot have any respect for this journalistic method. Nor does it demonstrate particular sensitivity that the opponent feels he should give us good advice for our scientific education, when he should know that this should be better entrusted to the University of Nijmegen than to a newspaper editorial team. Only, let us remember that "science" does not suffer from Germanophobia.

Postscript from the Editor-in-Chief.

We did not want to deny the young Nijmegen residents the opportunity for a rejoinder, even though their argument barely touches on the issues at stake, let alone resolves them. Therefore, after reading and rereading their concluding remarks, we need not alter a single word in our initial proposition:

"It is under the dual and inseparable influence of Rome's religion and Rome's superior culture that the mixture of peoples and races that have melted together on our soil in the melting pot of centuries has become a solid unity, loyal to Queen and Fatherland, but above all inseparably connected to its spiritual cradle: the Church of Christ, whose Vicar resides in Rome.

Has this main proposition been shaken by our Nijmegen friends? Or has it remained clear, distinct, and unassailable, both before and after? Have the esteemed

contributors even offered a shred of evidence that Limburg's population, whether in earlier or later centuries, was even approximately racially pure and Germanic?
 105385 Indeed, no! At most, one can differ in opinion about the extent to which the various elements in the Over time, they have been intermingled, and how large a percentage of each of the constituent parts must have been!
 The same applies to the Franks. Let the young people now go and see for themselves the artistic products of Franco-Gallic culture, and in particular the rich finds
 105390 brought to light as early as 1653 with the discovery of Childeric's royal tomb in Tournai. Then they will see that this culture bears the clearest traces of both Latin civilization—e.g., in the inscriptions—and of Eastern decorative art, but that no trace or shadow of Germanic influence can be detected in it.
 Meanwhile, these Franks were also undeniably of mixed race: their skulls prove it!
 105395 Most likely, during their long journeys, they were mixed with numerous foreign, also Germanic, elements, but certainly, through art and culture, they originally belonged to a people from the Southeast, where Germans have never lived! Professor Holwerda has demonstrated this with the evidence. Irrefutably demonstrated in the hand: and this conclusion can also be found in the second revised edition of his book! Indeed,
 105400 "a mighty cultural current moved from East to West in the fourth century," but this brought us anything but Germanic, but thoroughly Gracco-Roman civilization: Saint Servatius, called "Sarbatios" by his colleague Athanasios, is a living example of this! And the Franks, who, a hundred years after his death, revived the old, despite everything, still living tradition, provide us with a second, equally striking
 105405 example.
 Finally, the esteemed contributors are absolutely right in their assertion that it was not only a thirst for destruction that drove the Vandals and Normans on their raids: for it was also land hunger, in its most brutal form.
 And again, they are right in their assertion that the Roman Empire collapsed from
 105410 internal decay, just as, for example, the Republic of the United Provinces did on the end of the eighteenth century.
 But this seems to us the least an apology for the mischief of the barbarians during the migration, nor for that of the Sans-culottes in their invasion of our fatherland.
 105415 All this may perhaps seem "simplistic" to the esteemed contributor. But we are simply so simple-minded that we reject robbery and plunder as detestable acts of violence, regardless of by whom or when they were committed.
 And if this is to be called "misleading word-juggling," then we accept this qualification without a hint of ill humor, with an indulgent smile for the well-known
 105420 tendency to use strong words among our modern youth.
 Could the students perhaps have become a little displeased with our friendly encouragement to study?
 That would not be as surprising as it seems at first glance. For studying has traditionally been something different from being a student.
 105425 Be that as it may, we now conclude the discussion and hope to welcome the gentlemen again when they have successfully completed their studies.

LATIN PANEGYRICS USED FOR IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA AS EXEMPLIFIED BY CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

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105435 Abstract
 This paper is a brief review of the development of Latin prose panegyrics in the fourth century AD. It focuses on the value of panegyrics, which were one of the most important instruments of emperor's propaganda. I analyzed two panegyrics from 310 and 311, of Constantine the Great, delivered in Trier. With the two examples I showed
 105440 whether and to what extent the official imperial policy influenced the writing of panegyrics.

INTRODUCTION
 105445 In the era of the late Empire, a festive oratory was developed as a special kind of the classical Greek oratory, whose aim was to present the achievements and the emperor himself in the best possible light in front of his subjects to whom a speech was read out. Eleven panegyrics were saved in Latin, modeled on Pliny's speech to emperor Trajan, which were used to praise Roman emperors in the period from 289 to

389 AD (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994). The emperor used encomiasts as a means of his political propaganda, so the panegyrists wrote them with the intention to be read publicly, usually during the commemorations of imperial jubilees (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994, p. 334, sq. IV) or after the emperor's victory over the enemy (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994, p. 289, sq. IX). Late Roman panegyrics were created seriously and were slowly becoming outdated. They were directed to the contemporaries, specifically to that group of residents who were able to hear them (Mac Cormack, 1976, p. 55). If historians should try to use panegyrics as a source of historical events, they would find themselves facing serious problems. Namely, panegyrists would often omit names of the enemies, avoid stating names of the cities, or follow chronology, since the aim of a panegyric was rather to praise the emperor than to describe events and present certain evidence. That is the difference between the late Roman and Pliny's panegyrics, which were meaningful, considerably more neutral, and impartial when presenting facts. In the late Roman panegyrics, events were often not shown in detail; a panegyrist would sometimes not specify them, which left room for the description of the emperor's achievements. The events were presented in a manner in which the monarch wanted them to be seen (Liebeschuetz, 1979, pp. 237-238). A panegyric was one of the instruments of propaganda which was considered to be an accurate reflection of the state policy and the emperor to whom it was dedicated. Constantine was dedicated five sermons that are an integral part of the proceedings "Latin panegyrics" (Panegyrici Latini) created during the fourth century (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994, p. 178, sq. VII; p. 212, sq. V; p. 289, sq. XII). This paper will discuss two panegyrics addressed to Constantine and given in Trier. The first sermon carrying the number VI was held in the summer of 310 AD and contains a special message expressed through the report on Constantine's vision in the Temple of Apollo (Rodgers, 1980, pp. 371-384; Warmington, 1974, pp. 371-384). The other panegyric was created in 313 AD, and it is interesting because a panegyrist was met with a new situation that had to be included - the emperor had radically changed his religious orientation. The problem lay in how to present the emperor's Christian conversion and not disappoint the audience, which also consisted of pagans (Odahl, 1990, pp. 45-63).

THE AGE OF TETRARCHS

In the years preceding the creation of the panegyrics (310 and 313 AD), the Tetrarchic system was in crisis. The territories of the Roman Empire were divided among the four rulers: Galerius controlling Illyria, Maximinus Daia controlling Asia Minor and Egypt, Maxentius holding Italy and Africa, while Constantine controlled provinces in Gaul and Germania (Mirković, 2014, pp. 152-153). Although the meeting in Carnuntum held on November 11, 308 AD was supposed to resolve the issues about the division of power, none of the actors were satisfied with the decisions of the meeting.

It was agreed that the East would still remain in control of Augustus Galerius and Caesar Maximinus Daia. In the West, Constantine was to gain the title of Caesar instead of the position of Augustus. Licinianus Licinius was proclaimed Augustus instead of Flavius Severus. Both Maximinus Daia and Constantine were dissatisfied with the titles of Caesars (SAN XII, 2008, pp. 91-93; Barnes, 1981, pp. 34-35; Leadbetter, 2009, pp. 200-205). Although Maximinus, Constantine's father-in-law, who swore an oath to be faithful to his son-in-law, he soon turned against Constantine (Pan. Lat. VI 15,6).

The Rhine limes was threatened by the Franks, so Constantine had to go to war against the barbarians. Lactantius stated that Maximinus managed to convince his son-in-law to march with a smaller number of troops, while, with the help of the remaining army, he would try to take power (Lact. De mort. pers. 29,4.). This data is confirmed by the panegyrist from 310 AD, who stated that Constantine surrendered part of his army to Maximinus (Pan. Lat. VI 14,6). However, Constantine did not do that because he trusted his father-in-law but because there was a threat from Maxentius. It was necessary to defend the southern areas of Gaul from possible attacks from Italy, which forced Maximinus to have the army under his command (Barnes, 1981, p. 34). Yet, Maximinus used this situation to proclaim himself the emperor for the third time in Arles (Pan. Lat. VI, 14-20). The panegyrist stated that the troops remained loyal to Constantine, but since the part of the army remained under the command of Maximinus, he probably managed to gain upon those who wavered presenting them with rich gifts (Pan. Lat. VI 16,2 to 17,4). As soon as Constantine learned of his father-in-law's proclamation, he rushed to Arelate. The army was partly moving on land, in order to come down the river Arar (now the Saône) by ships to its confluence into the Rhodanus (now the Rhône) in Lugdunum.

105515 Lactantius and a panegyrist from 310 AD wrote about the great speed with which Constantine and the army were moving towards Arelate. The army was so eager to deal with Maximinus that they themselves were rowing down the slow river of Arar (Lact. De mort. pers. 29,6; Pan. Lat. VI 18).

105520 Maximinus transferred from Arelate to Massilia (present Marseille), since there he could defend himself easier because the city was better fortified. Constantine's attempt to take over Massilia ended without success. The panegyrist even here tried to justify Constantine, pointing out that the emperor could have taken over Massilia, but that he wanted to prevent his soldiers, eager to get revenge, to ransack the city (Pan. Lat. VI 19, 1-20,1).

105525 The panegyrist's partiality, lack of objectivity, and attempt to present the emperor's weakness and failure as his gentleness and good intention to spare his enemies were obvious. The emperor's failure had to be covered in every way and the panegyrist did it by offering misleading information. The truth was that Constantine could not take the town with an onslaught, and he wanted to avoid the long siege of the city at all costs, so he entered into negotiations with his father-in-law. The negotiations were unsuccessful, but in the meantime, the army in the town turned against Maximinus and handed him over to Constantine, who spared his life (Lact. De mort. pers. 29,6; Pan. Lat. VI 20, 2-3). However, it must have been clear to

105530 Constantine that as long as Maximinus was alive, he would pose a threat to his power in the western provinces. This was likely the reason why he decided to put him to death. The sources tried to justify Constantine's decision and Lactantius stated that Maximinus conspired against Constantine and persuaded his daughter Fausta to kill her husband. Having caught Maximinus in the conspiracy, Constantine allowed him to choose how to die, and the former chose to be hanged (Lact. De mort. pers. 30).

105540 After his death, Maximinus was sentenced to damnatio memoriae as well, and erasure of the memory of him was conducted both in the western and eastern provinces. Since the founder of Maximinus's family was Hercules, whom Constantine also accepted after becoming related to Maximinus, after his father-in-law's execution the ties with the lineage of Hercules were severed. That was why a new origin was to be found for

105545 Constantine. It was the emperor's visit to the Temple of Apollo in today's Grand in the Vosges that the panegyrist used to associate Constantine to the new patron - god Apollo, but also to the 'new' emperor's ancestor - Claudius II Gothic. In an anonymous panegyric given in the summer of 310 in the city of Trier, Constantine's vision of Apollo was described. In modern historical science there was a controversy over two issues: whether Constantine really had a vision and, if so, what he saw or what he thought he saw (Ferj ančić, 2014, pp. 415-423 with earlier literature). Therefore, at this point we will not deal with these issues, but focus on the question: in what way was Constantine's vision presented in the panegyric supposed to

105550 serve the purpose of propaganda of the emperor's politics? The vision of Apollo had to come from Constantine himself, because it was the only way for it to be learned, and that is why it is assumed that it was the emperor himself who ordered the panegyric in which the vision should be described and introduced to the audience in Gaul. The anonymous panegyrist said at the beginning that after Maximinus' defeat and death, Constantine was on his way to Trier when he learned that the Franks, in the

105555 absence of the emperor, became restless. After learning that the barbarians calmed down, Constantine decided to turn off the road and visit the temple of Apollo in Grand in order to make a sacrifice as a sign of gratitude for the victory over Maximinus and the becalming of the Franks. The orator further alleged that in the temple Constantine saw Apollo in the company of the Goddess of Victory and then got laurel wreaths, which carried a prediction about the long rule and lifetime longer than the one the fabulous Nestor enjoyed (Pan. Lat. VI 21, 4-7).

105560 Presenting emperors as being closely associated with some of the deities was nothing out of the ordinary in the fourth century, because they were prominent figures believed (or also popularly believed) to be able to have direct contact with the deity (Bremmer, 2006, pp. 57-79). Such performance of the emperor was supposed to strengthen his position even more and provoke admiration among his subjects. Bearing in mind that it was not common for the orator to contrive such details, it is therefore assumed that Constantine himself requested to be presented in a close

105565 encounter with Apollo, a deity often identified with the Unconquered Sun (Sol Invictus), to which the emperor would turn after 310 AD, and, as evidenced by the emission of money with a presentation of this deity and the legend of the Unconquered Sun, a companion (Soli Invicto comiti) (Sutherland, 1967, pp. 102-116).

THE LATIN PANEGRIC FROM 310 AD

105580 In modern historical science there are researchers who state that the panegyric from

310 AD was actually created with the aim to win the favor of Gallic aristocracy (Bremmer, 2006, p. 16). However, if we bear in mind that Apollo revealed to Constantine that he was the emperor predestined to rule the whole world and who was solely meant to rule (teque in illius specie recognovisti, cui totius mundi regna deberi vatum carmina divina cecinerunt) (Pan. Lat. VI 21, 5-6), it is clear that the panegyric was also to be used to spread the reigning ideology. The first time the orator spoke of Constantine as the new God created for the people, he linked him to gods Bacchus and Mercury (Di boni, quid hoc est quod semper ex aliquo supremo fine mundi nova deum numina universo orbi colenda descendunt? Sic Mercurius a Nilo, cuius fluminis origo nescitur, sic Liber ab Indis prope cosciis solis orientis deos se gentibus ostendere praesentes) (Pan. Lat. VI 9.4). When introducing Apollo, who appeared to Constantine, into the panegyric, he did not equate them and used the possessive pronoun 'tuus' (your) Apollo, not 'tu, Apollo' (Vidisti enim, credo, Constantine, Apollinem tuum....) (Pan. Lat. VI 21.4).

This is precisely the reason why Barbara Saylor Rodgers made the assumption that in the temple of Apollo Constantine did not see himself in the image of the divinity itself, but in the image of the first Roman emperor Octavian Augustus (Rodgers, 1980, p. 270). Constantine was represented as young, cheerful, and handsome, and health-bringing, and he was foretold to rule the entire world, which could also apply to Octavian Augustus.

Constantine was foretold by the gods in his vision that he would rule the whole world, while in the case of Octavian the foretelling was delivered by poets, first and foremost the poet Virgil, who, in his poem "Aeneid", announced Augustus' reign as the beginning of the Golden Age. It is less important whether Constantine saw himself in the image of Apollo or Octavian Augustus. It is the moment in which the panegyric was created that is important (after Maximinus' execution) as well as the emperor's turn towards Apollo, often identified with the Unconquered Sun, which would become the new protector of the emperor.

The orator had two tasks before him - first, to justify Maximinus' execution and then to associate Constantine with some prominent emperor because he broke up the relation to the Herculian family. It was hard to prove the facts of Constantine's non-involvement with Maximinus' death, hence the orator only presented the story of Maximinus' conspiracy and spoke of his death in a direct way (Pan. Lat. VII 20, 3-4). In 307 AD, Constantine was Maximinus' son-in-law, associating himself with the Herculians, which was supposed to strengthen and secure his position in the empire and to ensure his authority in the provinces that he inherited from his father (Jones, 1964, p. 38; Barnes, 1981, p. 11). At first, father- and son-in-law acted in unity as imperatores semper Herculi (Pan. Lat. VII 2,5), but after Constantine discovered Maximinus' alleged plot and after which Maximinus killed himself, Constantine rejected protectors of the Tetrarchy, Hercules and Mars, so it became necessary for him to establish a 'relationship' with a former real emperor. Constantine decided that this should be Claudius II Gothic (268-270), a ruler who gained great fame and reputation by his victory over the Goths near Naissus. Emperor Claudius II Gothic was close enough to Constantine, speaking in terms of time, and the kinship between them could have had a real basis, but at the same time the emperor was far enough from Constantine's contemporaries in order for them to know the details of this kinship (Krsmanović-Radošević, 2004, p. 73). The anonymous panegyrist was the first to introduce this piece of information into the history and point out to the right of Constantine to rule due to his origin (Pan. Lat. VI 2-3, 2). The panegyrist said that when the emperor entered the court in Trier, destined to rule, there "ancestral lares" had already been waiting for him (Sacrum istud palatium non candidatus imperii sed designatus intrasti, confestimque te illi paterni lares successorem uidere legitimum) (Pan. Lat. VI 4,1).

By introducing Claudius II Gothic, as a descendent ruler, Constantine established the principle of dynastic succession of power, thus rejecting the tetrarchic rule of adoption of the heir to the throne. It is clear that, since Constantine wanted to secure the throne for his sons, he had to get rid of his co-rulers and independently rule the empire. Another step towards this goal was the introduction of a new patron god, and the decision was made for it to be Apollo, most often identified with the Unconquered Sun (Alföldi, 1948, 5-6). In the second half of the third century, it was believed that the Sun was the supreme deity above all others. Since the Unconquered Sun was the protector both of Claudius Gothic and Constantius, Constantine's father, it is no surprise that this deity was chosen. It is possible that the Emperor had a deep commitment to the Unconquered Sun with whom he was born and raised, so the deity was the most acceptable from the whole pantheon of the Roman gods (Ljubomirović, Stamenković-Šaranac, 2014, p. 542). Standing close to the cult of this deity which

had strong monotheistic elements, Constantine sought to openly express his aspiration for an independent ruling.

The panegyric from 310 AD was created in Gaul where the Emperor lived, with short interruptions, from 307 AD and the wedding to Fausta up to 316 AD (Barnes, 1982, pp. 67-73). The panegyrist was the court orator, spending time at the court of the emperor, and had contact with court officials. His most important role was to compose a speech that would promote imperial policy. One of the most common themes of panegyrics written in the first half of the fourth century was the imperial success in the war, that it was the emperor of practice and his military power (Mac Cormack, 1976, p. 64). Historical background of panegyrics in the age of Tetrarchy was militant and pagan and therefore panegyrics stressed precisely this side of the emperor's personality. Personal religion of the emperor at the beginning of Constantine's reign had not yet been the subject of panegyrics. Not until many years later would Eusebius make the religious orientation of the emperor officially relevant, since the emperor's religion affected the whole empire: it was no longer only his personal matter, but a means of his victory over all opponents. Eusebius pointed to a strong connection between the emperor and God, and that his attitudes had to be a part of the official cult of the emperor is also confirmed by the iconography of the official imperial art (Radošević, 1994, p. 10). Nevertheless, Constantine's biographer wrote many years later, when Constantine had already sufficiently declared himself as a Christian. At the same time, Eusebius himself was a Christian. From Eusebius' panegyrics it is clear that he was aware of the importance of the emperor's religious policies, but he included it into his work only after it had become a part of the official imperial cult. Therefore, panegyrists from the beginning of Constantine's reign, when paganism was still the official religion of the empire, believed that Constantine's conversion to Christianity was still only his personal matter and was therefore not suitable to enter into the official panegyric. The fact is that the main issue in the panegyrics was still Constantine's defense of the Rhine border and his victory over the Germans. Panegyrists believed that the defense of the Rhine was vital and Constantine was given all the credit for maintaining stability along the Rhine border (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994, pp. 30-35).

THE PANEGYRIC FROM 313 AD - AN EXPRESSION OF NEW RELIGION ORIENTATION OF EMPEROR CONSTANTINE

Another panegyric, carrying the number XII, was apparently ordered in August, in the summer of 313 in Trier (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994, p. 289, sq. XII). After the victory Constantine took over Maxentius in the battle of the Milvian Bridge on October 28, 312 AD, the emperor entered Rome, where he was welcomed as a liberator. Constantine behaved as such, repealing all the exiled usurper's opponents to return to Rome, while he showed great mercy to the supporters of his opponent (Pan. IX 5.6; 12.1). The victory over Maxentius brought Constantine control over Italy and Africa, thus these provinces were returned to the legitimate imperial ruler. Constantine's position was additionally secured thanks to the honors received from the Senate, which declared him the first Augustus (Lact. De mort. pers. 44.11). The ruler spent about two months in Rome, after which he headed towards Mediolanum, where, in the beginning of February, he met with Licinius. The meeting of the two co-rulers resulted in a politics of religious tolerance - the issuing of the Edict of Milan (Lact. De mort. pers. 48; Euseb. Hist. Eccl. X 5.1-14).

The document provided religious tolerance and freedom of creed for all religions as well as for the thus far prohibited Christianity. All gods, including the Christian God, were supposed to protect the emperor and his subjects in order to establish peace and prosperity in the empire. By the policy of religious tolerance, the two rulers, Constantine and Licinius, secured support of the ever increasing number of Christian communities, which greatly strengthened their power (Barnes, 1981, pp. 64-68). After the meeting in Mediolanum, Constantine had to face the danger that threatened the empire from the Germanic tribes on the Rhine. Namely, the Franks and the Alemanni, who lived in the area between the Rhine and the Elbe, attacked the Roman territory in Lower Germania. Constantine went straight from Mediolanum to the Rhine limes where he attacked the Alemanni and the Franks, and not only did he drive them away from the Lower Germania but he also razed the area in which they lived (Pan. Lat. IX 21, 5-23; Barnes, 1982, p. 71).

After the victory over the barbarians, the emperor went to Trier, where he was met with ceremonies celebrating all his successes, while the subjects enjoyed the emperor's arrival (adventus) (Pan. Lat. IX 18.3-20; Mac Cormack, 1981, pp. 17-89). He was honored a triumphal procession, and circuses and gladiatorial shows were held for

several days as well as games during which the beasts fought against barbarians captured during the previous battles along the Rhine (Pan. Lat. IX 23). On such an occasion only a panegyric was missing, to be publicly read and unite everyone in expressing strong praise of the emperor, which would draw the ceremony to its climax (Liebeschuetz, 1979, p. 237). Given that the panegyric was to be created as soon as possible, the task was entrusted to the experienced and famous panegyrist who celebrated Constantine in one or more previous speeches (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994, p. 288). He was probably trained in one of the famous rhetorical schools in Oton or Trier, using the style of Cicero, quoting Virgil's poetry and bringing occasional comparisons with generally known rulers and officials from the classical period, glorifying their virtues (bravery, power) and res gestae (heroic deeds) (Mac Cormack, 1976, p. 61). It is possible that the members of the imperial court advised the orator, kept him informed about the emperor's acts, and guided him towards topics that needed to be emphasized. The common motifs in all the panegyrics were propagation and praise of all the emperor's deeds and successes achieved in the previous period (Mac Cormack, 1981, pp. 1-14). Since the orator had previously written praises to Constantine, he gained some experience and practice in presenting events from the emperor's past. Yet, this time the panegyrist was met with a big problem - the emperor had radically changed his religious orientation and converted into a Christian (Mullen, 1968, pp. 81-96).

Although the first reports of Christian writers Eusebius and Lactantius on Constantine's conversion were written a few years later, the panegyrist must have heard at the court about the emperor's new protector - Christ (Odahl, 1990, p. 47). The news that Constantine used the cross as a Christian symbol on the weapons of his soldiers in the battle against Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge strongly echoed in the East, so it must have reached the West as well (Odahl, 1981, pp. 15-28). At the same time, the panegyrist also took into consideration the fact that in the Edict of Milan, which Constantine and Licinius issued in February 313, the protector of Christians was called by the general term summa Divinitas (Lact. De Mort. Pers. 44). Spending time at the court, the panegyrist had to be well informed about all the important events from the emperor's life. Although the emperor's Christian orientation during those years was not part of the official imperial cult yet, the orator might not have been allowed to completely ignore the fact of the Christian God as the emperor's patron without previously receiving the approval of the emperor himself. Sources do not mention a direct meeting between the panegyrist and the emperor, but the monarch could have suggested to the orator through court officials how he was to handle specific topics.

Description and praise of the emperor's courage during military actions could have comprised the major part of the panegyric, but even in this case the orator faced a difficult and delicate task - how to describe the divine inspiration and power that helped Constantine plan and wage the victorious wars. The panegyrist could show the new emperor's religious orientation, which would please the Christians at the court, but it would betray his longtime personal beliefs and would betray the expectations of the pagans. And while in the panegyrics written in the period of Tetrarchic policy the emperor's deeds always had a religious background, inclusion of religion in imperial politics after Constantine's conversion became impossible (Mac Cormack, 1976, p. 62). Analysis of the panegyric from 313 AD might shed some light on whether the panegyrist managed to respond to the difficult task that was set before him. The speech was divided into five parts: in the introductory section (exordium), the orator stated his observations of the emperor (Pan. Lat. IX 1); several chapters were dedicated to his previous military campaigns in Italy (Pan. Lat. IX 2-5.3); then followed the central part of the speech in which Constantine's victory in Italy and his brief stay in Rome were described (Pan. Lat. IX 5.4-21.4); several chapters were dedicated to his return to Gaul and conflict with barbarians on the Rhine (Pan. Lat. IX 21.5-23); finally, in the epilogue (peroratio), the importance of Constantine's victory and the importance of the prayer dedicated to "the highest deity" were highlighted (Pan. Lat. IX 24-26). Aware of the difficult task set before him, already in the introductory part of the speech the orator distanced himself, expressing his fear that he might not be able to properly praise the emperor's great deeds, but that he was still taking on this task because even that was better than not to speak about them at all (Pan. Lat. IX 1.1-3).

In the second part, the orator associated Constantine's name to the adjective constantia, which reflected the emperor's persistence and perseverance during the Italian expedition (Ac primum illud adripiam quod credo adhuc neminem ausum fuisse, ut ante de constantia expeditionis tuae dicam quam de laude uictoriae) (Pan. Lat. IX

2.1). Constantine marched against the enemy whose army was larger and decided to attack first because he followed the "divine command" (*divina praecepta*), while Maxentius remained faithful to the "dangerous superstition" (*superstitiosa maleficia*) (Pan. Lat. IX 4.4). Constantine entered the fight expecting a "divine promise of victory" (*promissam divinitus victoriam*) (Pan. Lat. IX 3.3). Supported by his own courage and great promise by God, the emperor dared to start a war bigger than the one waged by Alexander the Great (Pan. Lat. IX 4.4). Constantine's conquest of fortified cities in northern Italy was shown in detail, as well as the march on Rome and the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, after which the victor triumphantly entered Rome; the panegyric then showed the celebrations held in honor of Constantine. Describing Constantine's military exploits in detail, the orator skillfully avoided sensitive religious topics. Constantine's ability and skills in commanding the army, attacking a dangerous enemy while outnumbered, and treating the defeated soldiers humanely were all praised in a school-like manner (Pan. Lat. IX 6. 1-2; 15.3-6; 20.3-4).

When describing the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, the panegyrist indicated that Maxentius could have stayed in Rome within Aurelius' walls providing resistance, as he had done a few years before against Severus and Galerius (Pan. Lat. IX 16.2; Lact. De mort. pers. 26- 27). But "the great God" (*Deus summus*) and "divine thought" (*mens divina*) gave Constantine "divine advice" (*divinum consilium*) and "divine stimulus" (*divinus instinctus*), and at the same time took them away from Maxentius (Sandys, 1974, p. 127). The orator ended the central part of speech with a brief description of Constantine's triumphal entry into Rome, his speech in front of the Senate and the pardoning of the surviving enemy soldiers (Pan. Lat. IX 19.1-21.4).

The panegyrist showed a scene in which the emperor was giving gifts to Roman citizens in front of the pillars that the Senate raised in 303 AD in honor of vicennalia of Diocletian and Maximinus and decennalia of Constantius and Galerius (Pan. Lat. IX 7,6). The choice of the location was supposed to represent Constantine as the real successor of the Tetrarchy.

In the fourth part of the panegyric, preceding the conclusion, the orator briefly, without any details, described the return of Constantine to Gaul and his fight against rebellious barbarians on the Rhine (Pan. Lat. IX 21.5-23). The speech was to be ended with a sublime tone, which the speaker did. He compared the victory of Constantine over Maxentius' Romans and warlike Franks with Alexander's victories over the timid Greeks and weak Easterners and pointed out that the emperor was the most responsible for the spread of the famous achievements of his father, Constantius, in the western part of the empire (Pan. Lat. IX 24.1-3; Pan. Lat. IX 24.4-25.3).

Constantine's power and his piety were the main reasons to erect a number of statues, shields, and crowns that the people of Rome and the Senate dedicated to the emperor (Pan. Lat. IX 25.4). However, in the conclusion of the final chapter the orator had a duty to make a plea to a "supreme deity", thus facing a difficult dilemma. He decided it was the least painful not to name the deity and to address it as "the greatest creator of the Universe" (*summe rerum sator*), so he addressed him as follows: "... Your reliable power and divine thought that inspired the entire world and mingled with all the elements" (*tutem quadem vis mensque divina...quae toto infusa mundo*), or he referred to him as "a force above all the heavens, which looks down from above from a higher natural refuge" (*aliqua supra caelum potestas...quae...ex altiore naturae arce despicias*) (Pan. Lat. IX 26.1). Therefore, the panegyrist addressed the deity to whom both himself and the audience were speaking and made him a plea that concerned Constantine. Constantine was the best of all the rulers and the greatest blessing that the deity has ever bestowed upon the human race. The deity, which possessed the greatest kindness and power in itself (*summa bonitas et potestas*), enabled Constantine to perform all these good deeds (Pan. Lat. IX 26.2-5).

The panegyric from 313 AD did not mention the name of the traditional pagan gods or give any information about Constantine dedicating war trophies to pagan temples (Jones, 1949, pp. 82-83; Barnes, 1981, pp. 44-46). In the previous panegyrics dedicated to Constantine (from 307, 310, and 311) Jupiter, Hercules, Apollo, and Sol were mentioned, while their omission in the panegyric from 313 could mean that the emperor had already completely separated himself from pagan gods. However, the speaker did not mention the name of Christ anywhere, or indicate that the emperor's conversion occurred and that Constantine had used Christian symbols on the weapons and victory statues, which Christian writers would later write about. The panegyrist decided to adopt a neutral stance and rely neither on traditional paganism nor Christianity. He himself was a pagan, as were many in the audience, so his terminology had to be as vague as possible in order not to offend the Christian emperor (Barnes, 1981, pp. 44-46). With a neutral position, he still managed to

present Constantine's imperial position as divinely founded by associating the emperor with the supreme God, whom he referred to using vague terminology – the "supreme creator of the universe", "the divine thought that inspires the world", "leader and supreme power in the sky above" and "source of ultimate goodness and strength" (MacMullen, 1968, pp. 110–112; Liebeschuetz, 1979, pp. 252–291). The Triumphal arch built to honor Constantine was also raised with "God's inspiration" (Instinctu Divinitatis), which, even though it had a monotheistic connotation, once more expressed a neutral attitude in terms of the emperor's divine patron. Constantine favorably viewed the manner in which the orator presented the deity. Even though Constantine could have already sided with the Christian God, he was still ruling all of his subjects, among whom there were a large number of pagans, so he had a duty to publicly protect all religious cults (Ullmann, 1976, p. 2). In the Edict of Milan, Constantine and Licinius referred to the deity with a vague and general term *summa Divinitas*. In the letters from the period from 312 to 315, which Constantine sent to provincial regents or Christian bishops, he used phrases such as "the highest God" or "the highest deity" (*Deus summus* or *summa Divinitas*) (Odahl, 1990, p. 52). Constantine's inclination towards Christianity was confirmed by a number of laws that he passed after the publication of the Edict of Milan in 313 AD. Among other things, the emperor issued legislation that Christian clergy was dispensed from all duties of public service and all individual and property taxes and duties (CTh 16.2.2; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 10.7.1–2). All confiscated property was to be returned to the Church. Still, the monarch retained the title *Pontifex Maximus* and allowed the pagans to worship in the temples of Roman gods, but he had most of these imageries removed from the money. He allowed only the God of the Sun, *Sol*, to remain on the coins a few years longer as a kind of syncretic bridge between his Christian and pagan subjects (Alföldi, 1948, pp. 54–59). The Church, for its part, has long used the comparison of Christ with the Sun as "the Sun of Truth", "the resurrected Sun", or "the Sun of deliverance", by which it has tacitly acknowledged the influence of the cult of the Sun. Constantine's sympathy towards the God of the Sun can be interpreted as the emperor's profound commitment to the deity with which he was born and raised, but he also showed respect and consideration to the Sun because of his pagan subjects. The ruler needed the support of the pagans, because after the victory over Maxentius it was necessary to secure the favor of the Senate, which at that moment was the only body that could recognize Constantine as the first Augustus. Bearing in mind that the Senate and the Roman aristocracy did not renounce paganism, it was not in the emperor's interest to immediately sever ties with all the pagan cults (Ljubomirović, 2013, pp. 862–863).

In the years that followed, the emperor would move further away from the Unconquered Sun and openly express his allegiance to the Christian God. However, from everything stated above, it is clear that immediately after his conversion Constantine allowed the remnants of paganism to be mixed with elements of the new faith. We saw that in public letters and edicts he used neutral and ambiguous terminology to refer to God, thus not offending either pagan or Christian subjects. Since Constantine himself used such terminology, it is likely that he allowed and encouraged orators to do so as well, especially when the speeches were to be read at public ceremonies attended by both religious groups (Odahl, 1990, p. 53). The experienced orator was up to the task. Although he used the words and images of the pagan poetry and philosophy, they were sufficiently general and ambiguous to allow a Christian interpretation (Pan. Lat. IX 26.1). The speech was written in the spirit of the emperor's official announcements, while the emperor apparently liked the idea that the deity was addressed as *summa Divinitas* or *Deus summus*, for which the speaker said was ruling the whole world from the heavenly fortress. In the "Letter to Catholic Bishops in Arles" from 314 AD, Constantine addressed the deity precisely in this way, so it is believed that he was satisfied with the orator's religious notices and public performance of the panegyric from 313.

CONCLUSION

From all of the above, it can be concluded that the imperial speeches of the fourth century were a kind of political manifesto of the time in which they were written. The idea of different forms of imperial ideology were expressed through panegyrics, precisely in the panegyrics dedicated to Constantine, where the ruler was to be presented as the God's chosen, foretold to rule on Earth as his representative. Given the fact that, at the time these panegyrics were created, Constantine was still not an independent ruler and there were occasional clashes with the co-rulers, the panegyrics that belonged primarily to the propaganda genre were supposed to justify these actions and present them in a special manner. In the panegyric from 310 AD, the

anonymous orator accomplished his goal: Constantine was not associated with Maximinus' death, so he spoke only of his conspiracy, while his death occurred under unclear circumstances (Pan. Lat. VII 20.3-4). The emperor's vision in the temple of Apollo brought him closer to the cult of the Unconquered Sun most often equated with Apollo. In this way, Constantine was not separated from the pagan cults, which showed support for the pagans, but which was also an acceptable solution for the Christians because of the monotheistic properties of the cult of the Sun. With the death of Maximinus, Constantine severed his ties with the Hercules, and for the first time he derived his lineage from Claudius II Gothic in the panegyric from 310 AD and chose the Unconquered Sun to be his protector, a deity with the most monotheistic qualities. Thus, the emperor revealed the dynastic principle of heritage to the throne and for the first time publicly expressed his aspiration towards monotheistic rule.

The panegyric from 313 AD given in Trier was to celebrate Constantine's victory over Maxentius, whom the orator presented as a usurper. Constantine was to be praised and his successes were to be celebrated, because not only did he free Rome from Maxentius' oppression, but he also defended the Roman border on the Rhine. Hence, there were enough reasons for the creation of a panegyric. Using ambiguous terminology to refer to the deity, the orator was able to satisfy both the pagans and the Christians, but also the emperor himself, whose personal religious beliefs at the time could not be the subject of a publicly read panegyric. Constantine also agreed with this, because otherwise the orator could not deliver such a speech. The orators wrote for the emperor currently in power and read their panegyrics before him. Therefore, they were writing them with propagandist aims, celebrating and praising the emperor, highlighting his positive qualities and good deeds, and withholding anything that was negative.

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"The Augusti and Caesars Say":

Imperial Communication in a Collegiate Monarchy

1. Introduction: the typology of the texts and the sources Roman emperors wrote or had written in their names a great many letters. An examination of imperial epistolography, however, faces a number of problems. First, emperors issued a range of pronouncements whose format and function cannot always be neatly demarcated. In particular, in the period I wish to discuss, the era of Diocletian and Constantine (284-337), the distinction between letters and edicts tends to become blurred and remains so throughout the late empire. It is not necessarily helpful, therefore, to consider only texts narrowly defined as epistolary. However, in a purely formal sense, letters are distinguished by containing a greeting to the recipient and a closing farewell, the latter usually in the emperor's own hand. Further, letters, when addressed to office-holders, often contain within them instructions regarding the dissemination of their contents, where appropriate. Edicts are general pronouncements directed at all under the authority of an office-holder (whether emperor or governor) and have an opening formula of the type, "the emperor says" (imperator dicit). Finally, private rescripts, that is replies to petitions from ordinary subjects (in contrast to replies to letters from office-holders), although addressed to the petitioner, lack formal greeting or farewell, and the emperor simply signs under it "I have replied" (rescripti). Approaches to the emperor on similar subjects might in different circumstances generate replies in different formats, since most citizens would be lucky to get a rescript (in Latin, even if they had petitioned in Greek), whereas cities or those of high rank would get a letter (in Greek, if they had written in Greek). Further, even on a single matter, the emperor might issue or there might be subsequently disseminated a range of interrelated documents of overlapping content in different formats.

The second key feature is the question of how texts are preserved. Much of the earlier Near Eastern material examined in this volume survives as original documents or even in original archives. From the Roman imperial period, letters and copy-books of lower administrators sometimes survive, as with the well-known Panopolis papyri from the reign of Diocletian, which represent archival copy-books of outgoing (September 298) and incoming (January-February 300) correspondence of the strategos of the Panopolite nome.

But we have no equivalent sources for the Roman emperors. Only one original imperial letter, with the emperor's hand-written valediction (of Theodosius II), survives from antiquity.

106040 Thus, although there exists a mass of imperial letters and pronouncements of the tetrarchic and Constantinian periods, this is at several removes from the originals, since the emperors' words have been repeatedly recycled and re-edited through legal collections and the manuscript tradition. Even so, such collections are undoubtedly still of the greatest importance, the two most significant being the Codex Theodosianus (437) and Codex Iustinianus (534). Both these provide versions, edited to greater or lesser degrees, of numerous letters to officials (Dossier no. 2), while the latter contains in addition a great many private rescripts, also variously redacted, that are addressed to petitioners (Dossier no. 4). Other important material

106050 survives because collected for use as part of Christian debate and polemic (Dossier
no. 3), often by contemporaries, as for instance by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea (d.
339) in his Ecclesiastical History and Life of Constantine.
As a result, in these types of Christian works a great deal of such material, where
106055 it was originally in Latin, survives generally only in Greek translation. However,
the closest to imperial originals that we have are probably contemporary copies of
imperial letters and other texts surviving on inscriptions (Dossier no. 1), more
rarely on papyrus. These can often be seen as part of a process of promulgation,
although that does not necessarily mean that such texts are unmediated, and the
106060 epigraphic format and content are likely to reflect agendas other than, or in
addition to, that of the emperor. Nonetheless, although not numerous, these
inscriptions are of the highest importance for examining one of the most complex
aspects of the epistolography of the tetrarchic period: namely imperial collegiality,
where documents, in practice emanating from one ruler, are formally issued in the
joint names of several.
106065 When we consider the nature of the exercise of government by the emperors of the
tetrarchic period we must recognize the key features of the Roman emperor's position
that were already well established, but continued to be relevant from Principate to
Dominate. Of the first importance is the fact that the emperor's power was absolute.
Almost anything the emperor said or wrote in any context or manner had come to be
106070 regarded as having the force of law. Other forms of primary legislation fell into
desuetude during the course of the Principate: first formal laws (leges) passed by
the popular assemblies, which cannot be traced beyond the reign of Nerva (AD 96-98);
then the Praetor's Edict, which ossified into a fixed form under Hadrian
(traditionally AD 131); finally decrees of the Senate (senatus consulta), which
106075 ceased to be legally significant from the time of the Severans.
The emperor's overriding power made them all redundant. As enunciated by the
classical jurists, this meant that authoritative imperial constitutions came in a
wide variety of formats.
There were edicts, which were general declarations aimed not at specific persons but
106080 at provinces or even the whole empire. There were speeches to the Senate, which had
in essence replaced leges and senatus consulta. Then there were mandata issued to
governors as standing instructions. There were letters of many types, most often
addressed to office-holders or cities, but also to individuals of high rank, usually
in response to other letters or embassies received from them. There were decrees and
106085 judgements issued for various types of hearings or public occasions. Finally, there
were subscripts or private rescripts, issued in response to petitions from
individuals, often people of no particular rank or status.

2. The responsive ruler and his rescripts

106090 This brief summary highlights a second key feature. The most formal of the above
types, those closest to deliberate acts of primary legislation, such as edicts and
orations to the senate, seem to have been relatively rare. Instead, the manner of
government can to a very great extent be characterized as one of "petition and
response." Emperors most often issued pronouncements because they were asked to do
106095 so. Thus there were officials charged with processing the incoming material and
creating the outgoing replies, namely the Masters of Letters, of Greek Letters, and
of Petitions (magistri epistularum, epistularum Graecarum, libellorum). There is no
official known to have been specifically in charge of edicts, unless perhaps it was
the Master of Memory (magister memoriae).
106100 This responsive style of government had both virtues and vices. An ideology of
beneficence meant that petitioners expected favours to be granted and victory in
legal cases to be assured. Certainly our typical epigraphic evidence from cities
under the Principate is one of favour bestowed and continually renewed. However,
emperors do indeed turn people down, though the disappointed are unlikely to
106105 advertise the fact.
Yet too often the emperor granted an exceptional favour. Of course, any legal system
needs a certain degree of flexibility, allowing for occasional derogation or
dispensation from the law.
But this was where the emperor's enormous constitutional power became a problem,
106110 threatening to undermine legal stability by creating permanent, if unintended,
modifications. Once the emperor's words were out there, they turned into a loose
cannon. It is important to remember that the citizens of a state should not be
regarded as simply passive consumers of law, people upon whom law is imposed. For
many people, a legal text was an opportunity, and a text with the emperor's authority
106115 behind it was best of all.

Private rescripts were not sent to individual petitioners, but were usually posted in batches outside the emperor's residence. The recipient or someone on their behalf would take an authenticated copy and then make what use of it they could. The most famous example is that of the villagers of Scaptopara in Thrace, who set up a monument to their legal struggle against improper exactions, a prominent feature of which was the rescript addressed to them by Gordian III dating to December 238. This bland document said little, and that little was somewhat unhelpful: Imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) uikanis per Pyrrum mil(item) conpossessore[m]. Id genus qu[a]erellae praecibus intentum an ue[rum sit deb]et iustitia praesidis potius super his quae adlegabuntur instructa discingere quam rescripto principali certam formam reportare debeas.

The emperor Marcus Antonius Gordianus, dutiful, fortunate, Augustus to the villagers through Pyrrhus, soldier and fellow-owner: With this kind of complaint submitted in a petition, the governor's sense of justice, being informed about what will be alleged, should decide whether it is true, rather than that you should take home a specific decision embodied in an imperial rescript.

However, the simple fact that their Praetorian fellow villager had successfully impetrated the rescript from the emperor on their behalf was enough for them (or even him) to wish to emphasize it. Thus they not only erected a monument, but utilized the physical layout of the inscription upon it, so that the details of the rescript and its authenticated text were in larger Latin script at the top and bottom, framing the intervening Greek.

3. Recycling rescripts

However, it was not only the intended recipient who could copy a rescript. Anyone interested might do so. For this reason, it is this type of imperial pronouncement which caused the most worry to jurists and emperors. Although favours were being continually granted, and the pressure to do so was very great, the view taken was that a rescript was intended to apply only in the case for which it was issued. It was not supposed to provide a precedent.

This, however, was difficult to control. Diocletian even ruled that rescripts containing exceptional derogations needed to be accompanied by a second imperial document, an adnotatio, certifying the grant (Cod. Iust. 8, 47, 5). Yet the case for which he made this ruling, in which he allowed a woman as solace for losing her own children to adopt her step-son, which was supposed to be legally impossible (as the rescript itself stated), did in fact set a precedent.

The text was included in subsequent legal collections, and, although it still required an imperial grant, this became accepted procedure.

A single documented exception thus allowed the creation of a precedent, albeit somewhat bounded. Emperors, in wishing to exercise beneficence, were caught between the need to ensure the stability and predictability of legal rules on the one hand and their unlimited constitutional power with its potential for law-distorting flexibility on the other. There were continual attempts, therefore, to make sure both that rescripts and adnotationes were not corruptly issued and that they applied only for the individual case in question. Yet rescripts were imaginatively recycled, and not necessarily for the purposes for which they had been granted. A famous example is Constantine's rescript on prescription of long time (praescriptio longi temporis), issued to a decurion called Agrippinus in the late 320s or early 330s, although it is only known in a Greek translation quoted in later court proceedings:

Our masters Constantine Augustus and Constantine and Constantius most noble Caesars to the decurion Agrippinus: It is our pleasure that consideration be taken also of the length of the possession to the extent that, if it is established by inquiry from them that the property(?) with which the investigation is concerned has been held for forty years, not even the grounds of the possession be investigated. It is our pleasure moreover that, since legal grounds of possession are necessary(?) only for prescription after ten or twenty years, the present holder be awarded the protection of the court (...)

This enunciates the rule that possession of property would be unchallengeably secure after forty years.

Although we do not know the details of the case or whether Agrippinus was the property holder in question, it seems to have been intended to protect possession. But in 339 it was used in a court hearing to force two long-time possessors to keep some land and its associated tax burdens. Thus it acted to the possessors' detriment. What is perhaps surprising is that no-one in the court challenges the authenticity of

the rescript. It is accepted without demur.

In the third century, at least, rescripts remained highly desirable and indeed collectable.

They tended to be short and to the point, and so served to clarify and reinforce what the legal rules were supposed to be or what exceptions were possible.

One never knew when an imperial rescript might come in handy.

All the more so as Caracalla's universal grant of citizenship in 212 had made almost all free persons in the empire into Roman citizens, subject in theory to Roman law, about which most will have been largely ignorant. However, they were perhaps willing to be informed, especially if it might be to their advantage.

Thus the desire for rescripts reached its apogee under Diocletian in the 290s with the compilation of the Gregorian and Hermogenian Codes. Neither work survives today and only recently have even fragments of a manuscript of the Gregorian Code been identified.

Assumptions about them are thus based mainly on their reuse in later legal works. As far as we can tell, both codes consisted primarily of imperial rescripts arranged under thematic titles. Hermogenian was Diocletian's Master of Petitions and, later, praetorian prefect, and his code seems to have consisted almost entirely of private rescripts which he had him-self composed for Diocletian in the years 293 and 294. It was published in a single book in 295 or not long thereafter.

Despite Hermogenian's closeness to the imperial court, it is far from clear that his code was in any formal sense official. After all, it is named after himself as a jurist, even though containing nothing but rescripts of the emperors. It is even less clear with the Gregorian Code, published also in the mid-to-late 290s. The scope of the Gregorian Code was much greater than that of the Hermogenian, as it contained material from Hadrian down to the 290s and was arranged over at least thirteen books, perhaps fifteen. Its shadowy author may have been operating outside the court and so perhaps had to rely to a considerable extent, at least for his contemporary material, upon rescripts and occasionally letters and edicts that had been publicly posted and copied. However, it has been proposed that he too served as Master of Petitions and even enjoyed access to older archives in Rome.

What is remarkable is that texts originally issued by emperors to individuals at their own request and for their use alone ended up having the equivalent of a mass (re)promulgation, and without this apparently being formal imperial policy.

4. Imperial collegiality under the First Tetrarchy

The timing of the Hermogenian Code, however, is fortuitous, if not suspicious.

Consisting as it did solely of rescripts of the emperors in the newly formed imperial college of the First Tetrarchy (inaugurated on 1st March 293), it furnished a legal collection that was, as I have noted on previous occasions, "wall-to-wall" tetrarchs. This brings us to another key feature of the tetrarchic period and the manner in which imperial texts were communicated: namely imperial collegiality. There was already a long tradition of emperors sharing some or all of their powers and titles.

Augustus had shared the tribunician power, and full co-emperors went back as far as Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169). When Diocletian established himself as sole emperor in 285, he appointed a close companion, Maximian, as first Caesar, then Augustus. Later, in the face of military overstretch, two Caesars were appointed in 293, forming what we call the First Tetrarchy. The immediate purpose was to allow the imperial presence in four places at once, and the 290s saw simultaneous military crises being managed concurrently and successfully. The imperial succession was also assured. Since neither Augustus had an adult son, it was their sons-in-law who were the new Caesars, thereby designated as successors in advance, ready to be promoted from Caesar to Augustus when circumstances dictated.

The effects of such collegiality on imperial communication are in one sense absolutely clear. Formal pronouncements were made in the names of all members of the imperial college.

This was already standard practice and continued to be so throughout later Roman and indeed Byzantine history.

One of the best physical manifestations of this under the First Tetrarchy is the heading to the Egyptian copy of the Prices Edict of 301, which, despite being incomplete, lists all four members of the imperial college with their full titles.

(1) [Imp(erator) Caesar C. Aurel(ius) Val(erius) Diocletianus p(ius) f(elix) inu(ictus) Aug(ustus) po]nt(ifex) max(imus)

Germ(anicus) max. VI Sarm(aticus) max. IIII Persic(us) max. II Britt(annicus) max. Carp(icus) max. Armen(icus) max. Med-ic(us) max. Adiabenic(us) max. trib(unicia) p(otestate) XVIII co(n)ss(ul) VII imp.

XVIII p(ater) p(atriae) proco(n)ss(ul). ♦ et
 Imp. Caesa[r] M. Aurel. Val. Maximianus p.f. inu. Aug. pont. max. Germ. max. V Sarm.
 106250 [max. IIIII Persic. max. II]
 (2) [Britt. max. Carpic. max. Armen. max. Medic. max. Adiabenic. max. tri]b. p. XVII
 coss. VI imp. XVII p.p. procoss. ♦ et
 Fla(uius) Val. Constantius Germ. max. II Sarm. max. II Persic. max. II Britt. max.
 Armenic. max. Medic. max. Adiabenic.
 106255 max. trib. p. VIIII coss. III nobil(issimus) Caes(ar) ♦ et G(alerius) Val. Maximianus
 Germ. max. II Sarm. [max. II Persic. max. II]
 (3) [Britt. max. Carpic. max. Armenic. max. Medic. max. Adia]b. max. trib. p. VIIII
 coss. III nobil. Caes. DICVNT Fortunam rei publicae (...)

106260 The complete lines would have been very long (300 letters) and there is a large
 lacuna before the edictal DICVNT, with another somewhat less large lacuna after it.
 In particular, victory titles are shared between the princes. A victory won by any
 member of the college added to the titulature of each of his colleagues.

106265 This feature appears to have reached its highpoint at precisely this moment, since
 such complete collegiality of titulature does not seem to have lasted beyond 305.
 Not all documents were necessarily prefaced by such extensive titles, but
 collegiality was always maintained. References in the papyri and even martyr acts
 refer routinely to the orders of the Augusti and Caesars.

106270 Governors and other officials seem to have been fairly scrupulous in observing these
 formalities. Thus, since in theory official acts and pronouncements were not those of
 one ruler, but of four acting in harmonious concert, the manner in which they were
 issued, circulated, and displayed consistently reflects this collegiality. Indeed,
 even the physical display of sets of milestones or groups of statues, for instance as
 incorporated into monumental tetrapyla, could be used to emphasize the nature of

106275 fourfold rulership.
 The constitutional details behind this façade are more difficult to reconstruct. It
 is not clear that each member of the college had the same authority to issue
 pronouncements on behalf of the entire college.

106280 Of course, like any governor, they should have been able to issue edicts, write
 letters, and reply to petitions. Indeed, there was little point in having four
 rulers, if each could not provide a focus wherever he happened to be in residence.
 But whether each document issued was imperially authoritative and always bore the
 names of the four tetrarchs is uncertain. An Augustus probably could and did issue
 all types of pronouncement. There is some rather limited evidence for Caesars issuing

106285 rescripts and writing letters.
 Tim Barnes has argued, although he is not the first to do so, that Caesars could not
 issue collegiate edicts, and he has suggested that the famous Damascus incest edict
 of May 295, which on logistical grounds ought to have been issued by Galerius as
 Caesar, was in fact issued by Diocletian from Demessus near the Danube frontier.

106290 A further point is that Caesars did not at this time have praetorian prefects, the
 most important officials after the members of the imperial college, but what
 practical effect this had on a Caesar's administration is unknown.
 Yet the prefects mirrored the emperors and themselves acted as a college, something
 which continued down even to the sixth century.

106295 What is clear is that Diocletian, as the senior member of the college, had an
 overriding authority and issued measures designed to apply empire-wide. Further he
 did on occasion deal with governors or petitioners from areas under the immediate
 supervision of Maximian, suggesting that people in these territories did not always
 approach Maximian automatically.

106300 Thus most famously Diocletian issued a letter from Alexandria in reply to a query
 from the proconsul of Africa about the Manichees, in 297 or 302.
 But to say that the senior emperor had an overriding authority does not clarify what
 authority his colleagues had, at least in their immediate areas. It is notable that
 both the Gregorian and Hermogenian Codes contained some limited material which must

106305 have emanated from courts other than that of Diocletian.
 Before the abdication in 305, Diocletian's prestige enabled him to exercise
 considerable control over his new tetrarchic creation. Even here, however, it is not
 obvious that the measures he promulgated as senior ruler were consistently enforced.
 The effects of the first persecution edict against the Christians, issued at

106310 Nicomedia in February 303, can be seen rippling out to Palestine and then Africa.
 Yet it seems to have been applied only minimally in the territory of the Caesar
 Constantius in Gaul.
 The fourth edict (304) does not appear to have been enforced in the west at all,

as may also have been the case with the earlier Prices Edict (301).

5. Collegiality after Diocletian

Since this was the case even under Diocletian, the position after his abdication was much more fluid. I have myself recently argued, on the basis of a new interpretation of complex epigraphic evidence, that Galerius issued a series of important measures to rein in fiscal and other abuses in the summer of 305 shortly after his accession as Augustus, even though he was not the senior member of the college.

It seems clear that Galerius himself hoped to manage the college and the empire as had Diocletian and was anticipating that situation. Yet after the death of Constantius, the theoretical senior, in July 306, Galerius quickly lost control of events. Thus different rulers in different parts of the empire took rather different views of who were their colleagues and what were their relative ranks. This is most elegantly expressed in an inscription from Heraclea Sintica in Macedonia first published in 2002:

Imp. Caes. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Pius Felix Augustos (sic) pont. max. Germ. m. VI Sarm. m. V Pers. m. II Brt. m. Carp. m. V Arm. m. Med. m. Adiab. m. trib. p. XVII imp. III p.p. proc. et Galerius Valerius Maximinus Sarmaticus nobilissimus Caesar. salutem dicunt IIIIuiris et decc(urionibus) Heracleotarum.

In this letter, datable to the first months of 308, Galerius as Augustus and Maximinus as Caesar address the town council, granting the community proper city status. The caesar heading, which lists Galerius's full titles, with something more attenuated for Maximinus, shows that at this point, as a result of usurpation (Maxentius and Maximian), defection (Constantine) and death (Severus), Galerius no longer recognized any rulers from the western portion of the empire as legitimate members of the imperial college.

Such collegiate tensions continued until Constantine's victory over Licinius in 324, and can be further illustrated by the fate of Licinius's letter on military privilege in the copy known from Brigetio, issued in June 311.

This bronze copy was originally prefaced only with the phrase Exempl(um) Sacra(rum) Litterarum, as in the Durostorum copy, which latter carries just the abbreviation E S L and otherwise lacks all other diplomatic elements.

The Brigetio letter carries a greeting to Dalmatius, the commander or other official to whom the original of this copy had been addressed: Haue Dalmati, carissime nobis. The letter concludes with the imperial signature, marked in the epigraphic text thus: Et manu diuina:

Vale Dalmati, carissime nobis.

This is followed by the date: Diuo Maximiano VIII et [[et d(omino) n(ostro) Maximino Aug. II.]] coss.

IIII Idus Iunias Serdica [10th June, 311, at Sofia].

In theory, Licinius, the issuer of the letter, whose "divine hand" wrote the farewell, would have been third in the collegiate line-up after Maximinus and Constantine. Following the death of Galerius in late April or early May 311, Maximinus, who had been in the imperial college the longest (since 1st May 305), should have become the new senior emperor.

Licinius himself, who had been appointed by Galerius straight to the rank of Augustus in November 308, when Maximinus was still only Caesar, had been at that time second in the college. Subsequently, the elevation of all members of the college to the full rank of Augustus in 310 (Lactant. De mort. pers. 32) meant that Licinius, being the newest arrival, was after a short delay demoted to last place.

However, the Brigetio tablet carries no titulature to reveal the collegiate line-up or to demonstrate Licinius's view of himself and his colleagues at that precise point in June 311. The letter was widely circulated to officials both military and civil only in Licinius's Balkan territories, with orders for public display, the two copies which survive coming from Danube fortresses. After the defeat and death of Maximinus in 313, his name was erased from the consular date (indicated by the double brackets above). A heading showing the new imperial college of Constantine and Licinius was added thus:

Imp. Caes. Fla. Val. Constantinus p. f. in. Aug. p. m. tri. p. VII imp. VI cos. p.p. pcoss. et Imp. Caes. Val. [[Lici. Licinius]] p. f. in. Aug. p. m. tri. p. IIII imp. III cos. p.p. pcoss.

After Licinius's fall, his name too was erased. Despite the annulment of his acts by Constantine, this text remained valid and on display.

After all, it was still prefaced with the name of Constantine, even if he had not in fact issued it. Collegiality and conflict had some strange consequences.

6. Collegiality viewed from below

How did this affect practical administration and what did those in receipt of collegiate missives make of them? First, if documents were issued in the names of all co-rulers, was it obvious who had actually issued them? Emperors had traditionally used the first person singular of themselves, as had their Republican predecessors as holders of imperium, which contrasts with the practice of Hellenistic kings. Although there is some sign of the majestic plural in the earlier third century, it seems to have been the almost continuous existence of imperial colleges thereafter which made the plural normal, so that there was no reversion to the singular even in sole reigns, and the majestic plural became standard.

However, occasionally an emperor with colleagues will slip into the singular to emphasize his personal involvement, perhaps to indicate that it is his court to which matters must be referred.

The most remarkable case of this personal emphasis is in the letter of toleration for Christians and others issued by Licinius and posted up at Nicomedia in June 313. This opens not only with the standard talk of the emperors claiming to exercise their providentia for the advantage and safety of their subjects, but with the emperors naming themselves quite explicitly:

Cum feliciter tam ego Constantinus Augustus quam etiam ego Licinius Augustus apud Mediolanum conuenissemus atque uniuersa quae ad commoda et securitatem publicam pertinerent, in tractatu haberemus (...)

When with good fortune both I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, met at Milan, and gave consideration to all affairs that pertained to the public benefit and security (...)

This statement is of course very pointed, for Licinius' letter was issued precisely for the territories he had seized from the defeated but not yet dead Maximinus. At the time of the Milan meeting (February 313), Maximinus was at best barely a legitimate colleague, nor was he of course present. Further, his previous claim to senior status in the college had been voided, as the Senate, in probably its last constitutionally significant act, had voted the first place to Constantine shortly after the defeat of Maxentius in October 312.

Indeed, if any letters or edicts were issued at Milan, it is hard to imagine Maximinus' name being included in their headings at all. The Nicomedia letter thus emphasises both the facts of the past meeting and the present constitutional order.

Of course, someone who petitioned or wrote to the emperor will have known with which ruler he was dealing, even though any documents presented should have been addressed to the entire college, at least as the petitioner understood it to be constituted. Similarly, any reply will have come in the names of all in the college as currently recognized by the individual prince who had been approached. However, the recipient need not, other than in a purely formal sense, attribute it to the college as a whole. Ammon of Panopolis talks optimistically of the power of a letter of Diocletian to trump all other claims in a dispute over a priesthood.

No colleagues are mentioned. Everyone in Panopolis will have remembered Diocletian's visit in 298, since an imperial visit was extremely rare, and that of Diocletian may have been the last.

No-one could have been in any doubt that it was Diocletian who had been petitioned by the conflicting interested parties and who had issued the letter in reply during his stay.

7. Proactive pronouncements

I have talked about "petition and response," a pattern still clear in the tetrarchic evidence. Yet the period seems to show a more proactive side to government, with fairly aggressive promulgation of imperial initiatives. There are several features of this which can be briefly delineated.

First, long Latin texts are circulated around Greek-speaking areas, probably a sign of Latin-speaking courts permanently resident in the Greek east for the first time, and of the fact that Roman law was now the law of everyone.

In fact previously emperors had tended to correspond with eastern cities in Greek and such aggressive Latin promulgation is a relatively short-lived phenomenon.

Even during this period, however, governors might publish an imperial Latin text with an explanatory edict of their own in Greek, or even commission a translation.

In the longer term, of course, Greek percolated into the higher echelons of the administration and eventually superseded Latin, although that is quite another story. Secondly, a highly rhetorical and moralizing style becomes prominent in edicts and letters. The style of imperial texts had always varied with both format and the

personal idiosyncrasies of the officials writing them, so that even private rescripts, the most spare in nature, could be tinged with a particular official's rhetoric.

But, especially outside private rescripts, floridity now becomes the order of the day, as witness the Prices Edict preamble, the Damascus/Demessus incest edict (Collatio 6, 4), and indeed the rescript on the Manichees (Collatio 15, 3). Thirdly, the distinction of format between edicts and letters becomes blurred.

An imperial enactment could generate dozens of interrelated documents in both edictal and epistolary formats, often with overlapping or even identical content.

Unfortunately, we seldom have an imperial text in more than one form to test this, even if we know that it must have existed in others. One example is the dossier on the civic status of Orcistus.

Of the four items carved on their monument by the Orcistans, three interrelated items (petition, imperial adnotatio, imperial letter) date to 324/6. We can see how Constantine's letter to Ablabius as vicar of Asiana essentially marries the adnotatio to the Orcistans with details mirrored from the Orcistans' own petition. Another more complex example is my proposed Caesariani dossier, issued by Galerius in the summer of 305.

There were three distinct texts. First there was a letter (the 1st Caesariani decree) directing officials how to act both now and in the future.

Copies of this, presumably largely identical, were sent to the praetorian prefects (that is of each Augustus, at least in theory), the financial officials (apparently just of the issuing Augustus, in this case Galerius) and the provincial governors. Then there were also issued at the same time two edicts, one restoring confiscated goods (the 2nd Caesariani decree) and one repressing accusations (the edictum de accusationibus).

This last edict is quite clear about the documents produced and their interrelationship as described in its concluding passage:

Super his itaque omnibus tam ad praefectos nostros quam etiam ad praesides et rationalem et magistrum privatae scripta direximus, quorum exempla alio edicto nostro subdita cuiusmodi legem statutumque contineat plenissime declaratur.

And therefore on all these matters we have sent letters (sc. the 1st Caesariani decree) both to our prefects as also to the governors, rationalis, and magister privatae, copies of which subjoined to our other edict (sc. the 2nd Caesariani decree) give the fullest exposition of what sort of law and statute it contains.

The inscribed copies of these various texts all come from territory under the control of Galerius (Achaëa, Asia, Crete, Epirus, Lycia, Paphlagonia). However, these cannot be narrowly interpreted as defining the only places where promulgation actually took place, as opposed to where governors or cities were motivated, perhaps out of self interest, to erect permanent copies. The Prices Edict, of course, is famous for being the imperial text known from the most epigraphic copies, more than forty.

However, here also the spread of find-spots shows that only a small number of provinces inscribed the text (Achaëa, Crete/Cyrene and Phrygia/Caria account for all but four fragments), and even then they did not always finish it (as was the case at Stratonicea, which expires in the middle of chapter 23).

Thus we may be seeing the limits of aggressive promulgation. After all, the uneven persecution of the Christians shows how much depended not on the senior emperor's will, but on the variable enthusiasms of his colleagues, of the local authorities, and even of would-be martyrs.

Yet we also know that census decrees issued from the top to provincial governors could be enforced down to village level, as witness the work of the Syrian boundary commissioners (censitores), most of whose inscriptions are set up acknowledging the orders of the Augusti and the Caesars.

8. Epilogue

Thus the tetrarchic period shows four important features of communication: first, the pattern of petition and response, which is crucial in the generation of imperial letters and other documents; second, the overlapping form and function of documents, which cannot always be neatly demarcated, as is especially true of intertwined dossiers; third, the limitations of proactive legislation and promulgation; and finally, the complexity and ambiguity caused by texts issued jointly by multiple co-rulers. This is perhaps the most notable feature in this period of ever-shifting patterns of cooperation and conflict between emperors.

I should like to end, therefore, with a strange, even whimsical, tale of collegiality reflected in the heading to yet another epigraphic letter.

E(xemplum) S(acri) R(escripti)

Imp. Caes. Fl. Constantinus
 max. Germ. Sarm. Got. uictor
 triumph. Aug. et Fl. Constantinus
 106515 et Fl. Iul. Constantius et Fl.
 Constans.

This is from the rescript issued to the city of Hispellum, allowing the Umbrians the right to celebrate their own festival without trekking to the regional capital, Volsinii, every year and also permitting the establishment of a temple to the Flavian gens. The rescript is most often dated to 333-335, and attributed to Constantine, 106520 with his three sons as colleagues. However, this is not the only possible dating of the rescript and its heading. An alternative, although not entirely new, interpretation has recently been advocated with typical forcefulness by Tim Barnes. According to Eusebius, there was a hiatus after Constantine's death on 22nd May 337, 106525 when the government carried on as if he were still alive, while the Caesars, with no Augustus left in the imperial college to promote them, yet not trusting each other's ambitions, waited and plotted. A massacre carried out in Constantinople before the end of June removed Constantine's half-brothers and most of their male relatives, including the Caesar Dalmatius. The three sons of Constantine finally met in 106530 Pannonia, where they were jointly proclaimed Augusti on 9th September. Thus the rescript can be viewed as issued by Constans, who names the city Flavia Constans after himself, while the text studiously avoids giving the three sons any title, so that they are neither Caesar nor Augustus. The only Augustus is Constantine, apparently writing a letter some weeks or even months after he was dead. 106535 I am not certain that this interpretation is correct. However, should it be so, then this is surely one of the more bizarre epistolographic consequences of imperial collegiality.

9. Dossier of documents

106540 This dossier is designed to illustrate with full texts and English translations something of the nature of imperial communication in the third and fourth centuries. I provide examples of each of the four principal formats of pronouncement: a private letter, an official letter, an edict, and a private rescript. Further, each 106545 illustrates different aspects of the source material. Document 1 is from a contemporary inscription (not tetrarchic, but dating only a quarter of a century before Diocletian), in a partial Latin and a complete Greek version. Document 3, relating to the persecution of the Christians, is preserved in two contemporary Christian writers, one giving the original Latin, the other a Greek translation. Documents 2 and 4 are taken from the law codes, each having been first edited into an 106550 earlier code (the Theodosian and Gregorian respectively), before ending up re-edited into the Justinian Code more than two hundred years after their original issue. Documents 1 and 4, although technically different in format, are in fact very similar in subject matter and content, both reflecting individuals' attempts to avoid the heavy burdens or duties demanded of citizens. The edict, by contrast, reflects not 106555 only the rhetorical style typical of late antiquity, and the tendency to apologia surrounding confessional matters, but also the ambiguities in format that were eliding the distinctions of edict and letter.

106560 1 An epigraphic letter: the rescript of Valerian to Apellas (May 258) [Feissel 2004a = AE 2004, 1402; this replaces older editions such as Petzl 1987:no. 604.]

I Latin text

[- - -] CAOON [- - -] KA [- - -]
 [Pr]op{p}<t>er quod magistratus harum ciuitatum
 in quibus te suggeris possidere agere curam
 106565 [deben]t u<t> quod optime placuisse perspicitur perpetua
 obseruatione teneatur. Vale Apel<l>a carissime nobis.
 Data V Kal. Iun. Antiochi(ae).

II Greek text

...

Translation (composite):

Good fortune!

The emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Valerianus dutiful fortunate Augustus and the emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus dutiful fortunate Augustus and Licinius 106575 Cornelius Valerianus most noble Caesar to their Julius Apellas, greeting!

It is not in doubt that established rules are also in this matter to be observed, in that there is to be no compulsion upon the houses of senators to be troubled by the

need to provide billets. Therefore the magistrates of those cities, in which you say you have property, are to see to it that what is known to be a very fine decision is kept with continual observance. Farewell, Apellas, most dear to us!

Given at Antioch, on the fifth day before the Kalends of June (28th May 258).

This text from Smyrna is typical in both form and substance, but reflects also the needs of the recipient. Apellas is a senator seeking to affirm his immunity from compulsory billeting. A famous rescript of Severus and Caracalla on this matter dating to 204 is known from numerous epigraphic copies in Greek and Latin.

Here likewise, the original letter was most likely in Latin, with Apellas inscribing it also in Greek to make sure the message was clear in the predominant literate language of his home territory.

However, it appears that the penultimate line of the Greek with its brief lacuna does not have enough space to convey the full sense of the Latin original.

Someone of lesser rank than Apellas, like the Scaptopareni villagers mentioned earlier (or Neo in example 4 below), would petition and, if fortunate, get a private rescript in reply, posted in the city where the emperor happened to be in residence. But Apellas, as a senator, can write directly to the emperors and receive a rescript that is epistolary. Whether he personally visited the imperial court at Antioch, or was able to use official channels (e.g. via the proconsul of Asia) is unknown. The reply is fully collegiate, being in the names of all members of the imperial college (Valerian, Gallienus, and Valerian junior), even though in fact it represents the decision of Valerian alone. It is brief and to the point.

2 An official letter from the codes: Constantine to Eusebius, governor of Lycia and Pamphylia (June 313 [311 or 312]) [Cod. Theod. 13, 10, 2 = Cod. Iust. 11, 49, 1] Idem (Imp. Constantinus, in Cod. Iust.)

A. ad Eusebium u(irim) p(erfectissimum), praesidem Lyciae et Pamfyliae. Plebs urbana, sicut in Orientalibus quoque prouinciis obseruatur, minime in censibus pro capitatione sua conueniatur, sed iuxta hanc iussionem nostram immunis habeatur (Cod. Iust. ends here), sicuti etiam sub domino et parente nostro Diocletiano seniore A(ugusto) eadem plebs urbana immunis fuerat. Dat. Kal. Iun. Constantino A. III et Licinio III Conss.

The same Augustus to Eusebius, vir perfectissimus, governor of Lycia and Pamphylia. The urban plebs, as is also the rule in the provinces of Oriens, is not to be liable for its poll-tax in the census, but is to be considered exempt in accordance with this our command, just as the same urban plebs was also exempt under our lord and parent Diocletian, the retired Augustus. Given on the Kalends of June, in the consulship of Constantine Augustus for the third time and Licinius for the third time (1 June 313).

No text in the Theodosian Code records Constantine with a fellow Augustus as a colleague, and few mention his sons as Caesars, even though Constantine always had at least one colleague throughout his reign. Even as consul Licinius loses his title of Augustus, as in the subscript here. The Constantinian texts effectively conceal not just collegiality, but on occasion also the fact that a ruler other than Constantine was responsible for a measure. Several code constitutions were in reality issued by Licinius.

This measure, too, might appear to be Licinian, as an early act of beneficence after his occupation of Asia Minor following the defeat of Maximinus. However, the reference to Oriens and the fact that Diocletian is mentioned as still alive (he died c. December 312), makes Maximinus a far more probable issuer, either in June 311 (beneficence on occupying Asia Minor after the death of Galerius, to coincide with that year's census) or June 312 (a reward for petitions presented against the Christians).

The Justinian Code version is almost identical to the Theodosian version, but with the unnecessary clause about Diocletian removed.

3 An edict from Christian literary sources: Galerius' "palinode" (April 311) [Lactant. De mort. pers. 34, 1-35, 1 (Latin original); Euseb. Hist. eccl. 8, 17, 3-10 (Greek translation); cf. Rufinus, Historia ecclesiastica 8, 17, 3-10 (Latin retrotranslation from Eusebius' Greek). The Latin heading (omitted by Lactantius) is here recreated on the basis of Eusebius's Greek, with my own restoration of the missing Maximinus.]

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Galerius Valerius Maximianus <pius felix> inuictus Augustus, pont(ifex) max(imus), Germanicus max. <VII>, Aegyptiacus max., Thebaicus max., Sarmaticus max. V, Persicus max. <III, Britannicus max.> II, Carpicus max. VI, Armenicus max., Medicus max., Adiabenicus max., trib(unicia) pot(estate) XX,

imp(erator) XVIIIII, consul VIII, p(ater) p(atriae), proc(onsul) <et Imp. Caes. Galerius Valerius Maximinus pius felix inuictus Augustus, pont. max., trib. pot. VII, imp. VI, consul, p. p., proc.> et Imp. Caes. Flavius Valerius Constantinus pius felix inuictus Augustus, pont. max., trib. pot. <VI>, imp. V, consul, p. p., proc. et Imp. Caes. Valerius Licinianus Licinius pius felix inuictus Augustus, pont. max., trib. pot. IV, imp. III, consul, p. p., proc. {provincialibus suis salutem} dicunt: Inter cetera quae pro rei publicae semper commodis atque utilitate disponimus, nos quidem uolueramus antehac iuxta leges ueteres et publicam disciplinam Romanorum cuncta corrigere atque id prouidere, ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent, siquidem quadam ratione tanta eosdem Christianos uoluntas inuasisset et tanta stultitia occupasset, ut non illa ueterum instituta sequerentur, quae forsitan primum parentes eorundem constituerant, sed pro arbitrio suo atque ut isdem erat libitum, ita sibimet leges facerent quas obseruarent, et per diuersa uarios populos congregarent. denique cum eiusmodi nostra iussio extitisset, ut ad ueterum se instituta conferrent, multi periculo subiugati, multi etiam deturbati sunt <et uariis mortibus affecti> (added from Eusebius). atque cum plurimi in proposito perseuerarent ac uideremus nec diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere nec Christianorum deum obseruare, contemplatione mitissimae nostrae clementiae intuentes et consuetudinem sempiternam, qua solemus cunctis hominibus ueniam indulgere, promptissimam in his quoque indulgentiam nostram credidimus porrigendam, ut denuo sint Christiani et conuenticula sua componant, ita ut ne quid contra disciplinam agant. per aliam autem epistolam iudicibus significaturi sumus quid debeant obseruare. unde iuxta hanc indulgentiam nostram debebunt deum suum orare pro salute nostra et rei publicae ac sua, ut undique uersum res publica praestetur incolumis et securi uiuere in sedibus suis possint. Hoc edictum proponitur Nicomediae pridie kalendas Maias ipso (sc. Maximiano) octies et Maximino iterum consulibus.

The emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximianus, dutiful, fortunate, unconquered Augustus, Chief Priest, mightiest German victor 7 times, mightiest Egyptian victor, mightiest Thebaic victor, mightiest Sarmatian victor 5 times, mightiest Persian victor thrice, mightiest British victor twice, mightiest Carpien victor 6 times, mightiest Armenian victor, mightiest Median victor, mightiest Adiabenican victor, holding the tribunician power for the 20th time, emperor for the 19th time, consul for the 8th time, Father of his Country, proconsul; and the emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximinus, dutiful, fortunate, unconquered, Augustus, Chief Priest, holding the tribunician power for the 7th time, emperor for the 6th time, consul, Father of his Country, proconsul; and the emperor Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantinus, dutiful, fortunate, unconquered, Augustus, Chief Priest, holding the tribunician power for the 6th time, emperor for the 5th time, consul, Father of his Country, proconsul; and the emperor Caesar Valerius Licinianus Licinius, dutiful, fortunate, unconquered, Augustus, Chief Priest, holding the tribunician power for the 4th time, emperor for the 3rd time, consul, Father of his Country, proconsul

DECLARE:

Among all the other arrangements which we are always making for the advantage and benefit of the state, we had earlier sought to set everything right in accordance with the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans and to ensure that the Christians too, who had abandoned the way of life of their ancestors, should return to a sound frame of mind; for in some way such self-will had come upon these same Christians, such folly had taken hold of them, that they no longer followed those usages of the ancients which their own ancestors perhaps had first instituted, but, simply following their own judgement and pleasure, they were making up for themselves the laws which they were to observe and were gathering various groups of people together in different places. When finally our order was published that they should betake themselves to the practices of the ancients, many were subjected to danger, many too were struck down. Very many, however, persisted in their determination and we saw that these same people were neither offering worship and due religious observance to the gods nor practising the worship of the god of the Christians. Bearing in mind therefore our own most gentle clemency and our perpetual habit of showing indulgent pardon to all men, we have taken the view that in the case of these people too we should extend our speediest indulgence, so that once more they may be Christians and put together their meeting-places, provided they do nothing to disturb good order. We are moreover about to indicate in another letter to governors what conditions they ought to observe. Consequently, in accordance with this indulgence of ours, it will be their duty to pray to their god for our safety and for that of the state and themselves, so that from every side the state may be kept unharmed and they may be able to live free of care in their own homes.

(Lactantius' comment) This edict was published at Nicomedia on the day before the Kalends of May, during his (sc. Galerius's) eighth consulship and the second consulship of Maximinus (30 April 311])

This text shows several features typical of edicts of this period, especially the moralizing rhetoric and the need for imperial self-justification, the latter a particular feature of texts relating to the persecution and other Christian matters. It is, however, rather shorter than other examples, such as the Prices Edict preamble or the longer letters sent by Constantine. The imperial titulature, however, is given in full form, although as preserved by Eusebius it suffers from both deliberate omission and error in transmission. The most serious loss is the absence of Maximinus, who will have been damned by the time Eusebius wrote. It is notable that only four manuscripts include Licinius, as he too was damned and later editions of the Ecclesiastical History reflect his diminished status.

Unlike the Prices Edict heading quoted earlier, victory titles are only attributed to the senior emperor (Galerius). The Lactantian text should have derived from the original edict posted up at Nicomedia. However, Maximinus did not promulgate the edict in Oriens.

Therefore, unlike Licinius's letter ending the persecution in the East, which was initially promulgated at Nicomedia with another version later displayed at Caesarea, Eusebius's text of the edict must have been obtained by some other route.

Although the text appears to be an edict, the heading in Eusebius, unless it represents mistranslation of the Latin, suggests an epistolary form greeting the provincials, typical also of Constantinian missives, and indeed the text itself refers to "another letter." This shows the confusing convergence of format at this period between edicts and letters.

A rescript from the Gregorian(?) and Justinian Codes: The tetrarchs to Neo (undated, but probably 293 or 294) [Cod. Iust. 7, 62, 7 with overlap in bold from the Fragmenta Londiniensia Anteiustiniana (Cod. Greg. 10, 11, 7?)]

Idem (sc. Imp. Diocletianus et Maximianus) AA. et CC. Neon. <Hi> qui ad ciuilia munera {uel decurionatum uel honores} deuocantur, licet uacationem a principibus acceperint, si appellationis auxilio non utantur, consensu suo nominationem confirmant. Cum igitur ad munus uocatus appellaueris, apud praesidem prouinciae iuste appellationem ostende. [The subscript with the dating clause is lost]

The same Augusti and Caesars to Neo. Those who are summoned to civic obligations or to the decurionate or to magistracies confirm their nomination by acquiescence, if they do not invoke the assistance of an appeal, even though they have been granted exemption by the emperors. Since, therefore, you have been called to an obligation and you have appealed, show before the provincial governor that your appeal is well-grounded.

This is a typical private rescript on a typical topic. It both states the law and indicates how this relates to the petitioner's circumstances. The petitioner's next step is suggested, but the rescript does not decide the issue one way or the other. The rescript survives principally through the version in the second edition (534) of the Justinian Code, and so is at least three removes from the original. The imperial titles of the First Tetrarchy are attenuated in the code format. A subscript date would have been present, but has been lost in transmission, nor is there any trace of it in the surviving London fragments. If the London fragments indeed derive from a copy of the Gregorian Code, this shows that the text was, in an earlier incarnation, present in that Code rather than the Hermogenian Code, which, comprising solely rescripts of 293 and 294, would otherwise have been the default option as the source for this rescript.

Comparing the overlapping text between the Justinian Code and the London fragments, the gap between the various fragments does not seem long enough to include the phrase "uel decurionatum uel honores," which most probably, therefore, is a Justinianic interpolation into the first edition of 529. It would have been designed to make the rescript more general and apply to a wider range of positions and duties than the ciuilia munera, which must have been the focus of the original petition and rescript.

See [\(PDF\) "The Augusti and Caesars say": Imperial communication in a collegiate monarchy](#)

The Value of the Stability of the Law.

A Perspective on the Role of the Emperor in Political Crises

1 Emperors and Usurpers in Conflict in Late Antiquity

The great Church father Augustine, speaking from the pulpit of the Tricilarum Basilica around 413, offered a comment on the Apostle Paul's passage Non regnet peccatum in vestro mortali corpore.□ The bishop of Hippo urged the people not to be overcome by the lust of the flesh, describing this situation as a civil war of the fifth century. Christians faced the conflict between flesh and spirit just as citizens of the empire faced the choice between a usurper, or tyrannus, and an emperor:

Languor iste tyrannus est. Si vis te tyranni esse victorem, Christum invoca imperatorem.

This disease is like a tyrant. If you want to defeat this tyrant, you shall invoke Christ the real emperor.

Augustine's speech, in its imagery, had a direct connection with the daily life of Christian believers. The bishop's audience had experienced such a clash between a usurper and the emperor; for in that very same year, Heraclianus, comes Africae, had been declared hostis publicus.

Usurpation was very frequent in the Late Empire, as depicted by the historical sources. Beside the list of triginta tyranni in the Historia Augusta,① Orosius mentions a catalogus tyrannorum in his Historiae adversus paganos when describing the usurpers Constans, Maximus, and Jovinus in the year 409. Furthermore, in Polemius Silvius' annotated Julian calendar in honor of Eucherius (Bishop of Lyon) of December 448, we find a copy of an enumeratio principum cum tyrannis, a list of Roman emperors and usurpers from Julius Caesar to Theodosius II and Valentinian III.

Usurpation in Late Antiquity took diverse forms, ranging from emperors being declared enemies of the state to rebellious generals. Nonetheless, usurpation constituted a political problem, not only a military one, because the claimant wanted to be recognized as a legitimate ruler and acted as such.

The opposition between an emperor and his rival for the title of Augustus had been a political matter since its genesis. Once such usurpers were suppressed, the legitimate emperors continued a propaganda war against their defeated opponents.□ Late imperial coinage celebrated the successes over the usurpers through depictions of the goddess Victoria promoting the triumph of the emperor.□ Monuments were another medium of representation for a legitimate ruler. The Senate built an arch at the foot of the Palatine to commemorate Constantine's victory against Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge; Theodosius I decided to erect an obelisk on the central spina of the hippodrome at Constantinople in order to celebrate his victory against the usurper Magnus Maximus.□ Finally, public ceremonies indicated the return of peace after the usurper's defeat.□ A triumph of Honorius in Rome in 416, for instance, symbolically ended the political crises caused by attempted usurpations in Gaul.

In view of these various "imperial" manifestations, sharing an intent to reaffirm the emperor's legitimacy, a question arises: what did the law say? The war of a legitimate emperor against a usurper continued on an administrative and legal level. A usurper used the same legal forms as a legitimate ruler, because he usurparet imperium.□ For example, Eugenius appointed consuls and sent his officials to Africa, and he provided grain supplies as well.□ Usurpers typically also enacted a number of statutes and/or grants of beneficia and privilegia.

Consequently, usurpation created a fracture in the legal order because emperors, after defeating their rivals, removed the effects that the usurpations had produced. The condemnation of a usurpation to oblivion was carried out with legal instruments. For the period that runs from Constantine to Theodosius II, imperial constitutions are the most vital witnesses of the actions taken by the emperors. On the one side, in public law, emperors professed to be restoring the status quo ante; in particular, they tended to order that enactments issued under the usurper should be nullified (rescissio actorum).□ On the other side, they tended to confirm all private legal acts which had been enacted during the time of "tyranny", because the danger of collapse in social and economic relationships had to be avoided.

Even if different points of view emerge from public and from private law, imperial statutes show a consistent image of what constituted a legitimate ruler. As words of the emperor himself, constitutions are part of the ideological system centred on the figure of the emperor and made up of many different elements, for example rhetorical texts as Panegyrics or images on coins. All these objects and texts played a role in the representation and promotion of imperial power to the population of the Roman empire. By examining several constitutions from the Theodosian Code, I argue in this paper that the imperial statutes promote the emperor who has vanquished a usurper as the person who re-established order and protected the stability of the law.

2 Annulling a Usurper's Legislation: Between Commands and Political Communication
Removal of a rival generally forced emperors and their administration to review the enactments that the usurper had issued. The question is not simple, as in some cases a usurper may have exercised power for a long period and over an extensive area. Constantine, to use an important example, had to solve such a situation after defeating Licinius, who had been Augustus for more than fifteen years. Constantine branded him a tyrannus—a term which defines a political enemy but also a usurper—in order to recast his own conquest of the East as a restoration of liberty and the rule of law. Constantine addressed an epistula to the praetorian prefect Constantius, ordering that all inhabitants should obey only his constitutions and the *vetus ius* because the constitutions and the *leges* of Licinius had been declared void, probably by an edictum previously issued:

Imp. Constantinus a. ad Constantium praefectum praetorio. Remotis Licini tyranni constitutionibus et legibus omnes sciant veteris iuris et statutorum nostrorum observari debere sanctionem. Proposita XVII kal. iun. Crispo III et Constantino III caess. conss.

Emperor Constantine Augustus to Constantius, Praetorian Prefect. All men shall know that the constitutions and laws of the tyrant Licinius are abolished and that the sanctions of ancient law and of Our statutes must be observed. Posted on the seventeenth day before the kalends of June in the year of the third consulship of Crispus and Constantine Caesars – May (December) 16, 324

The words used in the constitution are extremely clear. They communicate the point of view of the winner, who wants to show strength and authority.

The existing body of law from then on included ancient law followed by the enactments of Constantine, while the constitutions of the usurper completely lost their power. The vacuum that was potentially created by the deletion of Licinius' laws was filled by the constitutions of Constantine, who connected his own legislation to the ancient law (*ius vetus*), thus creating a continuation of the legal order. The constitution, however, was less effective in practice, since the historical record has preserved many traces of Licinius the legislator. Moreover, coeval Christian sources confirm that Constantine abrogated only the enactments against the church. The proclaimed complete annulment of Licinius' legislation seems rather part of the political message of the Constantinian regime, absorbed in manipulating the past and celebrating a new vision of government.

The link between the emperor and ancient law (*vetus ius*), stressed in CTh. 15.14.1, was already expressed in an earlier constitution that Constantine issued in an analogous situation in 313, namely the overthrow of Maxentius. The arrival of Constantine in Rome was followed by a widespread promotion of his person, which had to counteract the city's preference for his rival. Constantine characterized his opponent as a tyrant, providing, at the same time, a revealing self-portrait in the role of liberator urbis. In this context of vilifying Maxentius, Constantine dealt with his enactments:

Idem a. Antiocho praefecto vigilum. Quae tyrannus contra ius rescripsit non valere praecipimus, legitimis eius rescriptis minime impugnandis.

Dat. VIII id. iul. Romae Constantino a. VII et Constantio caes. conss.

The same Augustus to Antiochus, Prefect of the City Guard. We direct that if the tyrant issued any rescripts contrary to law, they shall have no validity, but his lawful rescripts shall not be impugned. Given on the eighth day before the ides of July at Rome in the year of the seventh consulship of Constantine Augustus and the consulship of Constantius Caesar. – July 8, 326; January 6, 313.

In CTh. 15.14.1, Constantine referred to the "tyrant" Licinius's enactments, *leges* and *constitutiones*. In the statute about Maxentius, the same oblivion was imposed on the imperial rescripts, i.e. the answers to petitions, that the usurper had pronounced "against the law" (*contra ius*).

However, the acts of Maxentius were not abolished in their entirety, for Constantine ordered that the lawful rescripts were not to be challenged. It is important to focus on this decision, because the lawful rescripts received their validity not only because they complied with the *ius vetus*, but also because Constantine forbade opposition against them. The constitution thus points to an implied evaluation of what valid law is. Even if the usurper as illegitimate legislator has no competence to make law, and his acts must therefore be abolished, some of his rescripts may be granted existence because the legitimate emperor gives them a new life in the world of the law. The criterion that allows these rescripts to retain their validity is their adherence to the *ius vetus*. In other words, the non-existence of the usurper's acts can be overcome by the connection between the *ius vetus* and the legitimate emperor; the former exists independently, the latter is the guarantor of the body of

law in its entirety.

The sources show that the discourse linking the emperor and the *ius* found expression in various ways, even though in terms of semantics and ideology the range was quite narrow. The virtue of justice in the legitimate ruler is more intensely denoted as opposed to the iniquity of the usurper. For instance, in October 388, Theodosius I condemned every law and verdict that Magnus Maximus❖ had conceived during his usurpation:

[Imp. Valentinianus et Theodosius et Arcadius] aaa. Trifolio praefecto praetorio. Omne iudicium, quod vafra mente conceptum iniuriam, non iura reddendo Maximus infandissimus tyrannorum credidit promulgandum, damnabimus. Nullus igitur sibi lege eius, nullus iudicio blandiatur. Dat. VI Id. Octob. Mediolano Theodosio a. II et Cynegio cons. s.

Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius Augustuses to Trifolius, Praetorian Prefect. We condemn every decision which Maximus, the most nefarious of tyrants, conceived in his crafty mind and supposed that he should promulgate, thus rendering injustice instead of justice. Therefore, no man shall boast about any law or decision of the tyrant. Given on the sixth day before the ides of October at Milan in the year of the second consulship of Theodosius Augustus and the consulship of Cynegius – October 10, 388.

Maximus was described as the most nefarious and the most monstrous of the usurpers.❖ He devised laws and judgments with a wily mind, and he supposed that he should promulgate them. In reality, according to Theodosius, he was not a legitimate lawgiver, he was a source of injustice: he did wrong, rather than making law (non iura reddendo). The strong language of the constitution made the abstract idea of justice appear in the figure of Theodosius. The emperor was the personification of this principle, and his authority took away all the effects of the usurper's legal actions, in order that no-one could take advantage of any law or decision of Maximus. We can thus say that the usurper is the living sign of iniuria, i.e. the absence of the law, while the emperor is the source of the justice. The same characterization is adopted by the rhetor Pacatus. His panegyric dedicated to Theodosius has the usurper's suppression as its major theme and shows a shared back-ground with the text of the constitution. While the usurper Magnus Maximus carries with him perfidia, nefas, and iniuria, the legitimate emperor is the one who gives fides, fas and ius: Tecum fidem, secum perfidiam; tecum fas, secum nefas; tecum ius, secum iniuriam; tecum clementiam pudicitiam religionem, secum impietatem libidinem crudelitatem et omnium scelerum potremorumque vitiorum.

On your side there was loyalty, on his, treachery; you had right on your side; he, wrong; you had justice, he injustice; you had clemency, modesty, religious scruple, he impiety, lust, cruelty and a whole company of the worst crimes and vices.

Despite the technical legal contents of the laws, the style of the constitutions emulates the panegyrics and their persuasive purpose; the broad circulation of the edicts allowed the emperors to build a common and loyal consent to imperial authority among the population of the empire.□ The need for approval became more pressing when emperors had to support their legitimacy at the end of a political crisis, and the emphatic formulation of the enactments conveyed the idea of reinstating justice: Omnia penitus amputentur, quae tyrannicum tempus poterat habere tristissima; universos ergo praecipimus esse securos.

All the most unhappy circumstances which the time of the tyrant could afford shall be abolished entirely. Therefore We command that everyone shall be secure.

3 Safeguarding the Daily Life of the Empire's Inhabitants Erasing the usurper's actions in terms of public law, such as by abolishing constitutions or rescripts and removing officials who had collaborated with the tyrant, was bound to have severe repercussions. At the same time, however, emperors chose to confirm the validity of transactions by private citizens during the period of usurpation. During the reign of a usurper, people evidently concluded contracts, manumitted slaves, and litigated in the courts. In order to avoid the chaos resulting from cancelling all legal actions, emperors tried to mitigate the consequences of the *damnatio memoriae* by preserving the stability of the law.

In November 352, Constantius II issued an edict to the population of the Roman provinces and to the people of Rome, after defeating Magnentius with his troops in the Battle of Mursa Major and forcing him to retreat back to Gaul. Even though the usurper was still alive at this time, the emperor wanted to reassure the inhabitants of the empire:

Imp. Constantius A. et Constans C. ad universos provinciales et populum. Quae tyrannus vel eius iudices contra ius statuerunt, infirmari iubemus reddita

possessione expulsis, ut qui vult ab initio agat. Emancipationes autem et
 106975 manumissiones et pacta sub eo facta et transactiones valere oportet. Dat. III non.
 Nov. Mediolano Constantio A. V et Constante cons.

Emperor Constantius Augustus and Constans Caesar to all the Provincials and the
 People. We order that all the regulations established by the tyrant and his judges
 106980 contrary to law shall be invalidated. Possession shall be restored to those persons
 who were evicted, so that any person who wishes may litigate as from the beginning.
 But emancipations, manumissions, pacts, and compromises made under the tyrant, must
 remain valid.

Given on the third day before the nones of November at Milan in the year of the fifth
 consulship of Constantius Augustus and the consulship of Constans – November 3, 352.
 106985 At the opening of the constitution, the emperor ordered the invalidation of the
 regulations that Magnentius and his judges had established contrary to the law
 (contra ius). The emperor also decreed that possessions should be restored to the
 people who had been evicted. Next, however, he ordered that emancipations,
 manumissions, pacts and compromises that were made under the tyrannus were to remain
 106990 valid.

Valentinian decided to preserve the effects of the same legal acts, after commanding
 that any declaration of law and any decisions taken by judges appointed by the
 usurper Magnus Maximus should be cancelled:

[Imppp. Valentinianus, Theodosius et Arcadius] aaa. Constantiano praefecto praetorio
 106995 Galliarum ... Exceptis his tantum negotiis adque in sui integra firmitate mansuris,
 quae conventionibus pactisque finita sunt, si dolo metuve caruerunt: his quoque
 pariter exceptis, quae donatio transtulit, emancipatio liberavit, contulit manumissio
 praemia merita servitutis, quia in his omnibus voluisse sat iuris est. Dat. XVIII kal.
 feb. Mediolano Timasio et Promoto vv. cc. cons.

Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius Augustuses to Constantianus,
 Praetorian Prefect of Gaul ... Only those suits shall be excepted and remain in their
 complete effectiveness which were terminated by agreements and pacts, provided that
 fraud and fear were absent. Those legal acts are likewise excepted whereby a gift was
 transferred, freedom was conferred by emancipation, or the reward of manumission was
 107005 bestowed upon meritorious slaves, because in all such matters the intention is a
 sufficient law. Given on the nineteenth day before the kalends of February at Milan
 in the year of the consulship of the Most Noble Timasius and Promotus. – January 14,
 389.

Pacts and agreements, such as gifts, emancipations, and manumissions, were to be
 107010 excepted from the sanction of invalidation, unless all these private agreements were
 the consequence of fraud and fear.□ Valentinian considered that these acts were
 effective because they were based on the will of the person he had concluded them.
 Sat iuris esse means that, even in a period where there had been no law because of
 the illegality of the usurper's reign, the citizens of the empire had preserved the
 107015 respect for the rules, which were now protected by the emperor. The emperor, in this
 way, recognized that the people had continued to be free in regulating on their own
 their economic and domestic affairs.

The opposite decision was taken when a usurper participated directly in the legal
 acts. Honorius, after suppressing the usurpation of Heraclianus and commanding his
 107020 damnatio memoriae,✧ ordered that grants of freedom were revoked and had to be redone
 because the usurper had influenced directly the will of the masters:

Impp. Honorius et Theodosius aa. Hadriano praefecto praetorio ... Libertates quoque,
 quoniam certum est scelere eius sollemnitatem consulatus esse pollutam, in melius
 revocamus, sciatque dominorum voluntas iterandum esse, quod illo auctore advertit
 107025 stare non posse; semel tamen mutatae condicionis beneficium implendum esse
 praecipimus et ita repeti manumissionum consuetudines nunc iubemus, ut nullus sub hac
 occasione incipiat nolle quod voluit. Dat. III non. aug. Ravennae post cons. Honorii
 VIII et Theodosii v. aa.

Emperors Honorius and Theodosius Augustuses to Hadrianus, pretorian prefect, we also
 107030 revoke for the better all grants of freedom, since it is certain that the legal
 formalities of the consulship were polluted by his criminality, and masters shall
 know that they must repeat their action, expressing their will, which they observe
 cannot be valid under his sponsorship. We direct, however, that the benefit of the
 changed condition of slaves must be fulfilled when the change is once made, and We
 107035 now order that the customary rites of manumission shall be so repeated that no man
 under such pretext shall begin to unwill that which he once willed. Given on the
 third day before the nones of August at Ravenna in the year after the ninth
 consulship of Honorius Augustus and the fifth consulship of Theodosius Augustus. –
 August 3, 413.

- 107040 The manumissions that Heraclianus promoted personally or that were celebrated solemnly in front of him as consul were not the free and independent desire of the masters of the freed slaves, but were polluted by the criminality of the usurper. Heraclianus' presence during the ceremony undoubtedly affected the masters' behaviour. The usurper might also have leveraged the masters' fear to induce them to
- 107045 manumit their slaves, perhaps in order to conscribe them for his own troops. Honorius renewed the decision of his predecessor Valentinian (CTh. 15.14.8), and accepted that the intention of releasing someone from slavery was legally sufficient if it was independent from the negative and illegal authority of a tyrannus. When, on the contrary, manumissions were affected by the pernicious influence of the usurper, he
- 107050 ordered that the masters had to repeat the acts. The respect of people's liberty in performing legal acts comes to light in another constitution of Honorius, dated about eighteen years before CTh. 15.14.13 to 21 April 395:
- 107055 Impp. Arcadius et Honorius aa. Andromacho praefecto Urbi. Valeat omnis emancipatio tyrannicis facta temporibus; valeat a dominis concessa libertas; valeat celebrata et actis quibuslibet inserta donatio; valeat deficientium omne iudicium; valeat universa venditio; valeant sententiae iudicum privatorum—convelli enim iudicium non oportet—quos partium elegit adsensus et compromissi poena constituit; valeant conceptae sollemniter pactiones; valeant scripturae, quibus aut fides rerum aut ratio probatur aut debitum; valeant apud quemlibet habitae spontaneae professiones; valeat deposita super instituenda lite testatio; valeat impetratio iuris communium liberorum; valeat procuratio scaevis mandata temporibus; datus tutor vel curator optineat firmitatem; valeat in sponsam perfecta largitio; doli ac vis et metus inchoata actio in tempus legitimum perseveret; bonorum admissa possessio et adfectus adeundae hereditatis obtineat et interdicti beneficium non amittat; valeat in integrum restitutionis petitum auxilium; valeat vindicatio ... identidem desiderata tribuatur; locatio et conductio inviolabilem obtineant firmitatem; interdicti beneficia tempora infausta non mutilent; postulata inofficiosi actio et inmodicarum donationum rescissio petita servetur; beneficia transacta non titubent; sacramento terminata permaneant; pignoris adque fiduciae obligatio perseveret. Stent denique omnia, quae in placitum sunt deducta privatum, nisi aut circumscriptio subveniet aut vis aut terror ostenditur. Funestorum tantum consulum nomina iubemus aboleri, ita ut his reverentia in lectione recitantium tribuatur, qui tunc in Oriente annuos magistratus victuris perpetuo sunt fascibus auspicati; tempus vero ipsum, ac si non fuerit, aestimetur, si quidem tunc
- 107070 temporis omissa aliqua praescriptio taciturnitatis etiam de illis, quae confirmavimus, non possit obponi. Dat. XI kal. mai. Mediolano Olybrio et Probino conss.
- 107080 Emperors Arcadius and Honorius Augustuses to Andromachus, Prefect of the City. Every emancipation made in the times of the tyrant shall remain valid; all grants of freedom by masters shall remain valid; all gifts made and registered in any records shall remain valid; every will of deceased persons shall remain valid; every sale shall remain valid; the decisions of private judges, chosen by the assent of the parties and appointed under penalty of a mutual promise to abide by the award, shall
- 107085 remain valid, since judgments once rendered must not be disturbed; pacts that were formally made shall remain valid; written documents by which the trustworthiness of transactions or the reason there for or debts are proved shall remain valid; declarations voluntarily made before any person shall remain valid; attestations filed for the institution of suits shall remain valid; impetrations of special
- 107090 privileges that accrue to parents on account of their common children shall remain valid; procurator ships entrusted during the untoward times shall remain valid; the appointments of tutors and curators shall retain their validity; a completed gift to a betrothed woman shall remain valid; an action for fraud or one on account of violence and intimidation, when once instituted, shall remain effective during the statutory time limits; a grant of the possession of the goods of an inheritance and the expressed will to enter on an inheritance shall prevail, and shall not lose the benefit of the interdict; the aid sought for restoration to the original condition shall remain valid; vindications shall remain valid, and any such action often
- 107095 requested shall be granted; letting and hiring shall retain inviolable effectiveness; the inauspicious times shall not mutilate the benefits of an interdict; requested actions against inofficiosity and the petitioned rescission of immoderate gifts shall be preserved; completed benefits shall not waver; transactions terminated by an oath shall remain valid; the obligation of a pledge or a trust shall persist. Finally, every transaction shall stand firm which was embodied in a private pact, unless
- 107100 either circumvention entered therein or duress or intimidation is shown. We order
- 107105

that the names of the calamitous consuls only shall be abolished, but reverence shall be paid in the public recital of readers to those persons who at that time in the Orient administered the annual magistracies under Our ever victorious fasces. The very time of the tyranny shall be considered as though it had not been, since any prescription of silence omitted at that time cannot be brought, even in regard to those matters which We have confirmed. Given on the eleventh day before the kalends of May at Milan in the year of the consulship of Olybrius and Probinus. – April 21, 395.

Addressed to Andromachus, praefectus urbis, this imperial enactment concerns the usurper Eugenius. Honorius preserved the effects of the legal acts performed by citizens during the usurpation. The emperor tried to cover all private law, and the constitution implied a very good knowledge of the praetorian edict, as the references of many of its institutions show. For contracts, both formal and informal, he listed e.g. sale, hire, agency, pledge and fiducia; for the law of succession, he cited the acquisitions of inheritance, the bonorum possessio, as well as the remedies of the heir; for the law of procedure, he remembered the litis contestatio and the in integrum restitutio; he did not forget the law of family, quoting emancipation, guardianship and gifts for marriage. The long list of legal acts ends with a general provision. The emperor recognized the validity of all acts that had not been indicated in the list and that were embodied in a private agreement (omnia, quae in placitum sunt deducta privatum), provided that they had not been concluded dolo or vi.

The constitution then resolved the problem of the formality of the acts that was the result of deleting in the documents the names of the consuls appointed by the tyrannus. The nomen consulis was a necessary requirement for an act to be legally valid, and its importance is clearly evoked by John Chrysostom.® Yet, in the present case, the emperor decreed that the omission of the consuls' names did not invalidate the contracts and all the other private regulations. Using a fictio, he denied that the praescriptio was able to invalidate these agreements, which the authority of the legislator confirmed.

From a political and ideological point of view, the constitution clearly states that there was a time of the usurper (tyrannicis temporibus / scaevius temporibus / tempora infausta), but that now the time of justice is back. Honorius wanted to erase the time of usurpation, tempus vero ipsum, ac si non fuerit, aestimetur:

the time of usurpation must be considered as having never existed, as if no usurpation had ever occurred. However, asserting that the time of the usurpation had never existed threatened the certainty and the stability of relations between the individuals. For this, the emperor gave effect to all private acts, and he based this solution on his power, which was legitimately exercised. The emperor presents himself as the only one able to guarantee the existence and effectiveness of all the actions taken by the citizens during the time of usurpation. The repetition of the verb valeat stresses that the emperor assures the serenity and the prosperity of the empire and safeguards peace among the citizens.

The idea that power is now legitimately exercised after the usurper's fall also emerges in the decision to ensure reverentiam in lectione recitantium only for legitimate consuls. In the courts of the empire, only the emperor's time would resound, while oblivion fell on the usurper's period. The same emperor emphasized this thought in CTh. 9.38.12, in which he released an act of grace for those awaiting trial and for the convicted. By celebrating the defeat of the usurper Priscus Attalus in 410, he affirmed that the state had been freed from tyrannidis iniuria, i.e. a period of no law (in-ius).

Honorius' validation of private acts answers to the need to secure the trust of his subjects in imperial power and to strengthen the period of peace after the conflict with the usurper. By doing this, he protects the principle of legal certainty, because the law is certain when the subjects can predict the consequences of their conduct and see the effects of their legal action maintained over time. This principle of law, adopted in the Roman legal system, is a constant in the political programme of all the emperors. For example, Marcianus, in a lex of 4 April 454, stated that he wanted to remove obscuritas and bring certainty to the laws:

Si quid vero in iisdem legibus latum fortassis obscurius fuerit, oportet id imperatoria interpretatione patefieri, ut omnis sanctionis removeatur ambiguum et in suam partem iuris dubia derivare litigatorum contentio alterna non possit.

If any regulation issued in the aforesaid laws should perhaps be rather obscure, it must be clarified by the interpretation of the Emperor. Thus the ambiguity of every sanction shall be removed, and the alternate contention of litigants cannot divert doubtful points of law to their own advantage.

4 The Emperor is also νόμος ἐμψυχός during Political Crises

This brief survey of texts has demonstrated how constitutions function as vehicles for the public advertisement of emperors' legitimacy after political crises caused by usurpation. Constantine and Theodosius emphasized that they restored the law, while the usurper was turned into the personification of the absence of any kind of order and justice. In addition, Valentinian and Honorius claimed that they were guardians of the stability of the rules by recognizing the validity of the legal acts of private citizens while they were subject to the power of the tyrannus.

This account traced the connection between emperors and law, which characterized all legal experience in Late Antiquity. The power of issuing enactments was not simply a prerogative of the emperor, but became one of the essential features of his persona. In Late Antique imperial ideology the emperor was not only the source of the law but the law itself.® Libanius defines the emperor as master of the law, an expression which evokes the phrase τοῦ κόσμου κύριος, used by Antoninus Pius in answering the petition of Eudemone. Themistius, in his encomium, displays Theodosius as living law and superior to all the written rules.

The ideological system that the emperors manipulated to obtain the subjects' consensus survived also during usurpations, a period where rival claims of succession in the imperial power shook the routine of the empire's life. After the removal of the defeated enemy, the language of power, through imperial constitutions, aimed to convince all inhabitants of the empire that the triumph of the emperor restored the rule of law, which had been lost under the "tyranny" of the opponent. Legislation, connected to the communicative framework of the imperial regime, promoted in a very effective way the image of an emperor as legum dominus Romanorum, iustitiae aequitatis rector.

See [\(PDF\) The Value of the Stability of the Law. A Perspective on the Role of the Emperor in Political Crises](#), in O. HEKSTER-K. VERBOVEN, *The Impact of Justice on the Roman Empire*, Brill 2019, pp. 68-85

The Limburgish national character, like the Limburgish language itself, is a fiction.

Those who have written about the nature of Limburgers up to now have always had only the inhabitants of a specific part of our southernmost province in mind.1) Prof. Dr. Jos. Schrijnen, who – as evidenced by his numerous folkloristic and dialectological studies and publications – may be considered the best expert on the character of the Limburgish land and people, believes "that Limburg, as regards farmsteads, customs, and language, is divided into a southern, central, and northern part. The South, he writes, "stands virtually alone (or is connected to southern Belgium, France, and southern Germany), the center indicates more contact with Brabant and Flanders, and the North – north of the line connecting Arcen, Sevenum, and Meijel – with the Betuwe and Saxony... The national character conforms to this division."2)

Indeed, the linguistic and folklore geographic studies of the Limburg region conducted thus far, broadly speaking, repeatedly arrive at this division as suggested by Professor Schrijnen.3)

Since our personal research into the nature of the inhabitants of the most recent Dutch region is still in full swing, we can only briefly point out differences between the aforementioned regions. We will primarily highlight those characteristics that are essential to the people of South and Central Limburg (and often also to those of North Limburg), in the hope that many who are called, in whatever capacity, to come into contact with the inhabitants of our native region will better understand the spirit of the Limburg people for the good of the region and the fatherland. Although it cannot be our intention to strive for completeness in this study, a certain depth should not be lacking, despite the intention that it must be "universally understood."

When Byvanck says that "a nation is as much a product of race as of culture and history,"4 he mentions three factors that determine not only the typology of the population of a country, but also that of a region. And if we add that the soil exerts a strong influence on race, history, and culture, then we have exposed the roots that supply the vital juices of the national character. What Bruneau observes for the Ardennes region: "The relief is based on the significance of the

determination, the origins, the history of the settlement and the colonization; The conditions for the impossibilities of nature due to the different nature of the matter for exercising their influence on the race and the language'5) also apply to

Limburg with regard to the national character.

107240 Anyone who looks at the latest geological map of this region in our 'Wortund Sachgeographie Südostniederlands und der umliegenden Gebiete'6), will immediately notice an area division that corresponds quite closely to that of Prof. Schrijnen indicated above.

107245 The fertile loess [löss] formation found in the hilly landscape south of the Sittard-Grevenbicht line, an area encompassing the present-day mining region, is associated with the period of ice formation. These water-rich, virtually treeless loess plains were eminently suitable for very early habitation due to the presence of materials (including flint) from an older period— which served to make the tools of the primitive inhabitants — as well as the loess walls.

107250 The formation of sand, gravel, and peat soils from Central and North Limburg, as well as East Brabant, up to and including Etten-Leur, is generally considered to be the deposits of the "old" Rhine and Meuse rivers, where conditions for habitation were also favorable from the outset, although the soil here — except for the river clay regions — was much more infertile than in southern Limburg. In the center and north 107255 of our region, the predominance of low terraces and river clay between Sittard-Papenhoven; Stamproy-Helden-Maasbree; Sevenum-Horst-Tienraai-Haps, as well as the middle terrace and the poor peatlands in the northwestern part, is striking.

Without a doubt, a thorough investigation of land use, toponymy, and land use will yield a classification and orientation that largely corresponds to the geological, 107260 dialectological, and folklore situation outlined. It is certain that, just as over time the inhabitants of the fertile riverside area of the Meierij founded villages closer to the Peel — including Uden, Volkel, Boekel, Handel, Gemert, Mortel, Bakel, Deurne, Liessel, Maarheeze, and Budel — a series of new villages also arose from the oldest settlements along the Meuse in North Limburg—including Maasbree, Sevenum,

107265 Horst, Venray, etc. — and that only in more recent times, with the construction of better roads, did settlements — with a highly diverse population—penetrate the Peel, including Helenaveen (1853), Griendtsveen (1860), Terraveen, IJsselstein, and Rips. Before 1820, Venray could only be reached from Deurne via winding heathland roads through the marshes. The old maps show us difficult roads, which in summer could only 107270 be used by those well-versed in the terrain, while in winter they were completely impassable.

All this points not only to a cohesiveness of the North Limburg Maas and Peel villages, but also to a strongly individual character of the Peel villages and many 107275 other places in the western part of Central and North Limburg, as well as to a more difficult existence for the inhabitants of these sandy, gravel, and peat regions. Although racial theory has often been treated so strangely in the last two decades that it significantly detracts from its scientific merit, it cannot, as the sober prehistorian Menghin has demonstrated8), be ignored when studying national character.

If, on the one hand, this scholar is of the opinion that: 'the Fundamente more ererer 107280 Wissenschaften erschüttern (müssen wird), wenn man there will be, that principle Berechtigung of Annahme zu combattreiten, that sich Race, Sprache und Kultur are simply covered', on the other hand, according to him, it is still 'a untouchable Tatsache, that is in the Jetztzeit kein Volkstum gibt, that racially pure truth'; that is why he considers 'that the Entscheidende in den Beziehungen zwischen Volkstum und Rasse, that your People are a specific Mix of Races entspricht'.9)

We have to seriously take these facts into account for the Limburg area. Studies by Bolk, Holwerda, and van Giffen, as the brunette line on the Isethne map in 107290 Schrijnen's "Nederlandsche Volkskunde" (Dutch Folklore)10) demonstrates, have proven that Homo alpinus is strongly represented in Limburg (37-41% brunettes).

The hyperbrachycephalic skull found in 1923 in the Neolithic flint workshop near Rijckholt definitely points southward regarding the origin of the South Limburg inhabitants of that period. It bears a strong resemblance to that of the Grenelleman and thus to French and Belgian finds. An invasion from the south can safely be 107295 assumed.11)

The dark type in our region cannot have originated from pure Celts, since, according to ancient authors, these had, among other things, blond or red hair and blue or gray eyes; Moreover, they "represented, as is generally accepted today, only a warlike superstructure, which has rapidly emerged in the mass of the pre-population."

Moreover, according to the exceptionally broad and instructive research of Dr. F. 107300 Petri, it is questionable whether long-dorsal people ever lived in the western areas inhabited by the Celts. According to Bijvanck, the Linear Pottery race (thus, in any case, a southern race), into which the Celts, Romans, and Germans are said to have merged, is likely responsible for the dark complexion of the South Limburg

population.

As late as the early Middle Ages, the ruling Germans in the Southern Netherlands spoke of the dark-skinned population as something inferior, which proves nothing more than that the dark type in these regions was then considered either conquered or non-indigenous.

It remains difficult to determine whether the influence of the Celts' character was significant; The same applies to the character of the Romans. The great extent of the Romans' cultural influence is beyond doubt.

That Celtic tribes from southern Germany and France invaded our country and inhabited the area south of the major rivers is proven, among other things, by the Gallic princely grave from around 500 BC near Oss. Perhaps, however, only Celticized Germans lived in South Limburg, as in Belgium. Towards the end of the second century, we find in eastern Belgium, as in South Limburg, exclusively pure Germans: the Germani Cisrhenani, to which the Eburones and the Ubii belonged, so that Homo nordicus, the so-called Norse or Teutonic race, had a considerable influence.

The Romans did not add any significant new ethnic groups to the predominantly Germanic population of South Limburg and the Kempen region. The Franks, who in the 4th century AD—advancing westward from the Peel marshes, according to Bolk—conquered the south of our country, likely absorbed the other inhabitants of those regions. The division of the Franks into Salians and Ripuarians offers no specific criteria for the Limburg national character: some claim that the former, crossing the Meuse from the west, occupied parts of the Rhine Province, while others, based on legal sources, assume the opposite. For the time being, neither the Lex Ribuarica nor toponymy studies allow for a decisive conclusion.

How far the Saxons penetrated Limburg is difficult to say. The cultural influence of this tribe, which, like the Ripuarii and Salii, did not form an ethnic unity, was felt in the north of the province, reaching as far as Venlo.

This has been demonstrated, among other things, by folkloric research by Prof. Jos. Schrijnen.¹²⁾

If we consider the archaeological finds, we observe the same trends and general territorial demarcations that we distinguished above based on anthropological and ethnological data.

The South Limburg culture from the Neolithic (3rd millennium and the first quarter of the second millennium BC) originates from the south. The finds of Banded Pottery in the Meuse Valley from Caberg to Sittard point to connections with both the south and the southeast.

The north of our region may have been influenced by the more complex cultural trends of the central part of our country, where rope, bell, collared, and Tiefschich ceramics coexist, indicating contact with Saxony, Thuringia, southern Germany, England, and the English Channel region. We come to know this part of the Netherlands during this period as a typical transit area for both population and culture.

It is striking that products of the La Tène culture, found in South Limburg, near Wychen, and in West Brabant, which point to a connection with the pottery of the Celtic tribes in Gaul, are absent from the rest of Limburg and North Brabant. In these latter areas, however, urns are found, which indicate contact with Germanic tribes in the southeast of the Lower Rhine.

Roman culture was particularly prevalent south of the major rivers, more specifically in South Limburg and near Nijmegen. Here, one can speak of a Romanization of the population.

Briefly summarizing the preceding anthropological, ethnic, and archaeological influences, we can conclude that in Limburg—apart perhaps from the Celtic element—there was no unity of orientation up to and including the time of the migrations. While we may assume southern influence throughout the entire region during the Roman period, except perhaps in the northwest, it was strongest in the south and the far north. Incidentally, the south, up to Sittard, seems to have been predominantly oriented toward Southern Europe, while the central and northern regions were most strongly oriented toward the north and east.

Limburg has been a unit since approximately 1000, even less so than in prehistoric and early history. Just as the Limburg mentality, according to Knuvelde, is largely explained by the country's geographical position, the territorial division (i.e., fragmentation) since the Middle Ages is also evident in the region's geographical situation. Here, however, the location relative to the core areas of the French, German, and later Dutch-Republican empires also exerted its influence.¹³⁾

That all the currents and factors discussed thus far have contributed to the

107370 formation of the Limburg national character goes without saying. The nature and scope
of the diachronistic data make it impossible to examine the effect of each of these
influences on our national character. Nor do we consider the time to fully analyze
and substantiate the character of the inhabitants of all parts of our region.
The characteristics we will discuss apply, as mentioned, to South and Central
107375 Limburg, unless we emphasize the special presence in a specific part of our region.
Moreover, space is limited, and therefore we will focus primarily on the
characteristics we consider most important in relation to the purpose of this work.
The Limburger, at least the South and Central Limburger, can certainly be considered
one of the primal, emotional natures. He is a man of temperament.
107380 This southern temperament is demonstrated, among other things, in the liveliness and
cheerfulness with which he conducts his high-pitched conversations, accompanying them
with more or less appropriate, vigorous gestures. The calm, thoughtful Dutchman
thinks it will end in a brawl; thus, arms wave in various directions at every
opportunity and voices run through the most "ominous" tones, but soon it turns out to
107385 be nothing more than a... lively conversation. One day, during field service, the
leader of a training class of militiamen gave the same assignment to a Limburger and
a Dutchman. When both had to explain how to proceed, the latter told his story while
staring almost impassively at the map, while the former, on the other hand, turned
from right to left and described the route to be followed with many gestures in the
107390 air. And the officer said: "Here's the Limburger."
Every "foreigner" is struck by the musicality of our fellow Limburgers, who continue
to demonstrate their dialect even after years of absence from Limburg. The ever-fiery
General Hoefer, who spent most of his life outside his native province, can no more
conceal it than the politician Jhr. Ch. Ruys de Beerenbrouck could. The Limburger is
107395 musical and loves music: in every village, every hamlet the festivities are enhanced
by a brass band. When a Limburg regiment receives its refresher marches, it marches
out after two days with music, and I assure you, there's plenty of blowing! But
hamlets and villages aren't satisfied with a brass band, so they each have a singing
club. Indeed, often the same club has both an instrumental and a vocal section.
107400 Limburgers sing just like Rhinelanders, and the further south they live, the more
they sing. During the summer evenings, not only did people "joy" (14), as in Geleen,
for example, but after work, they also gathered at some farm or home, sat on a bench
or on the ground in front of the house, and sang songs, often polyphonic, which the
whole neighborhood enjoyed. During the mobilization, the Limburg soldier would sing
107405 "to keep up the courage and to wash away the fatigue" during the day, and in the
evening, he and his comrades would give a free concert at his second home in Brabant.
When a Limburger celebrates, it's loud and exuberant. Grand festivities begin with
the firing of "kameren" (thunderbusses) and the ringing (not: ringing) of bells. He
usually finds the Dutchmen's celebrations stiff and dry, and the Northerner happily
107410 joins in the Southerner's relaxed, exuberant revelry.
It's no small feat to get a Limburger excited about something. He easily catches fire
and tackles a cause with enthusiasm,¹⁵ but, like the ancient Gauls, he also quickly
becomes depressed. If he encounters unexpected setbacks, he's quick to say: "That's
it, I'm going out of the sjutterie," or in plain Dutch: "I refuse to continue." But
107415 his attitude is completely different when his honor or justice is at stake; then he
can persevere and persevere with the stubbornness of a Frisian, and he won't yield to
anyone or anything. His temperament makes the Limburger more aggressive than
defensive, and in this, feeling and enthusiasm play such a significant role that, in
the face of unexpected disappointment, he forgets not only aggression but even
107420 defense!
His southern love of colorful display makes him a fan of shooting clubs, parades—
serious as well as comical—and processions, where he has the opportunity to
demonstrate his talents as an organizer and leader. His cheerfulness and geniality,
his élan, his quick wit, and his wit make him a qualified leader. In his external
107425 leadership, he owes much to his interactions with people from different countries and
nationalities: the location and history of his region endow him with great
adaptability. It wasn't only in ordinary village, city, or provincial life that the
Limburger demonstrated his innate organizational and leadership talents. Wasn't Dr.
Nolens a political organizer of extraordinary stature and international renown? Isn't
107430 Dr. Poels recognized as an unsurpassable, indeed irreplaceable, social leader, not
only of the famous Rolduc study weeks, but especially of the large labor movement in
Limburg, which in many respects can be considered a model for the rest of the
Netherlands as well as for other countries—especially for the mining regions?
The Limburger's intuition often plays tricks on him. It's often easier to convince
107435 him through intuition than through reason. A kind man, who impresses with his good

nature and joviality, stands a chance of garnering more votes from the council members when applying for a job than a more robust fellow who is less adept at touching the heartstrings.

It's not those who command, but those who appeal to the emotions, who have the best chance of achieving the desired effect with the Limburger. While in the North, only women are allowed to shed tears in times of joy or sorrow, in Limburg it's not at all unusual for a man to express his joy or sorrow through tears.

Limburgers excel in music and painting. In the latter, they are more poetic and romantic than the Dutch, and as language artists, they are not novelists but poets.¹⁶) They have a keen sense of touch, which, in addition to their innate tendency to imitate, makes them particularly suited to acting: every village, every hamlet, every association has a theater club. This tendency to imitate and their cheerful spirit explain their penchant for comic or caricatural imitation in language, music, and dress: carnival parades are flourishing in Limburg as well as in the Rhineland. And who doesn't know that humorous prose triumphs over seriousness?¹⁷) I would also like to connect the typical Limburgish "vreigele," which originally meant nothing more than criticizing—sometimes against one's better judgment—and gradually acquired the meaning of obstruction and political sabotage, with emotionality.

Every Dutchman knows the candor of Limburg, or at least the candor of South and Central Limburg.

If you're on the train with a Limburger for the first time and you don't give him a sour, surly impression, there's a good chance he'll tell you his entire story and that of his family in no time. The extreme of this characteristic was once shared with me by someone who, in connection with a job interview, was asked for information about a subordinate. The boss in question gave the inquirer the simple advice: "Let him come to you and talk, and I guarantee that within half an hour—perhaps unasked—you'll know everything." This is the downside: the Central and South Limburger is often inappropriately confidential, doesn't pay enough attention to whom he confides, and can hardly limit the extent of his trust. The North Limburger is more cautious in this regard; indeed, he himself gives a somewhat stern impression. This candor leads the Limburger to readily express his opinion about people and often leads to gossip of the worst kind. For a long time, in the provinces, one could not express one's opinion about people and matters in public, but only "among us": back then, criticism was "gevreigeld," meaning criticism with a fist in one's pocket, which never had any favorable effect. This was known, and yet the "vreigeleers" (literally, "fear-mongers") repeatedly gathered. Is it any wonder that they still exist in Limburg today and that people now also "vreigelt" in public?

Although this constant criticism points towards individualism, this—Waterink considers it a characteristic of the Dutch character—is not part of the Limburger's essence. The village layout, especially on the fertile soil of the south, does not indicate a self-reliance. We don't know the lonely farmsteads here, such as we find in the less fertile Saxon regions and in North Limburg. Don't think that the Limburger doesn't have his own opinions—their squabbling suggests the opposite—but... he doesn't express them easily. How could it be otherwise? For several centuries, he was politically and socially immature. As a resident of the province, he didn't have to think; others thought for him, and the results of those thoughts were communicated to him by decree.

So, even if the Limburger has defended his opinions ever so vehemently, privately or in the neighborhood club (while squabbling!), he often abandons them very easily in a public meeting when an authority, i.e., another, has stated theirs. The unconscious inferiority complex (see below) and the responsibility—which he never learned to bear, after all!—sometimes even the idea of solidarity quickly make him change his position, especially when emotional arguments are also presented.

Yet, the Limburger is exceptionally fond of freedom, a possession that neither Celt nor German wanted to forgo.¹⁹) The numerous small states of the NE, which remind us of ancient Greece, are like symbols of the desire for independence in every region of our province. However attached to authority, in Limburg, people want nothing to do with dictators; one shouldn't approach them with the "you sollst" (you so). The Limburger has had to fight too hard to preserve his inner freedom, his own nature. With a request steeped in humor or feeling, however, you can get anything from him. Major Evenwel rightly says of the soldier: "It is very easy for the commander, for example, at the start of an exercise, to rouse his Limburgers with a short speech and appeal to their abilities. Especially if a little humor is introduced into that speech, it resonates with the men, and they give their all."²⁰) A despotically decreeing mayor or priest turns the whole village against them; the administrator who

cleverly asks gets more done than he expects. The mine foreman who makes requests literally moves mountains in a short time, but he who haughtily commands and chases breeds resentment in the naturally industrious miner.

This attitude is not without its good nature. The Limburger must be able to address the mayor, the priest, or any other superior without requesting an audience a day in advance: if necessary, he must be allowed to 'bother' him in the street. I knew a mine inspector who, for goodness sake, wasn't a pushover, but considered himself a comrade of the workers and called most of them by their first names. It was precisely this good-naturedness that ensured the "inspectorate" (as he was called by the workers) had exemplary discipline and maximum work output, plus... a good atmosphere. And it certainly wouldn't be easy to replace such a supervisor with someone from the North, unless they could adapt to that friendly atmosphere. There are still plenty of mayors in Limburg who call their council members by their first names.

I am not shy about speaking their dialect, if necessary. It is well known that not so long ago, the Domaniale Mine organized a festival several times a year, in which the entire "Belegschaft" (Legship) participated, and where the management and senior officials mingled freely among the workers, chatted with them, and enjoyed a beer. The Celts and Germans are often praised for their hospitality, which, according to Schayes, is a characteristic of all primitive peoples. No matter when you enter a Limburg family home, you are welcomed; you are, as it were, briefly incorporated into the family. However, they don't offer you "a cup of coffee," as in Brabant, but a glass of beer, a shot of liquor, or a glass of wine. If it happens to be mealtime, and you happen to meet a Limburg acquaintance (and that happens quite often, because people, especially in a southern village, prefer to eat five times a day!), you have to join them at the table. And if you happen to be too far from the acquaintance's house, you absolutely have to go along to the café (there are plenty!) to be entertained. There's no region where you're so easily invited to dinner and to stay the night as in Limburg. I remember a maneuver in the south where a group of soldiers couldn't find shelter in time. In no time, there were about ten enthusiasts: "Come on, boys, you'll have a child with me to eat and sleep." Hospitality certainly explains the well-known Limburg round-giving—with all its consequences! —: when a couple enters a café, it's as if they all suddenly feel like hosts; one treats, the other returns, and often the entire "hospitality" wavers.

The urge for conviviality—a primitive trait that characterizes the southerner in particular—is very striking among Limburgers. Neither the sense of community nor the convivial atmosphere is found in the North to the extent that it is found in Limburg—except perhaps in the North. All Limburg towns have their own brass band, singing club, neighborhood and youth association, their shooting club, etc. Each of these associations has its own annual festival. Then one thinks of the ubiquitously celebrated fairs, the exuberant and sometimes extravagant carnivals; the silver, golden, and... diamond weddings, which everywhere develop into neighborhood parties; the coffee tables at baptisms, deaths, etc., where the "street residents" also sit, and one understands that there is plenty of opportunity to "make it cozy."²¹ It is striking that even the most serious, even sad, ceremonies often end "cozily." Here, too, the Limburger has retained something of the more primitive medieval person, who couldn't immediately go home after a serious game: the ending had to be happy, and therefore a clute or sotternie followed. Everything and anything is made into a party, and then one truly feels united. Especially during the fair and carnival, the porte-brisé divisions of class disappear: they are swept aside as if by the leveling mood. That the otherwise prevailing boundaries are sometimes seriously overstepped on these occasions is understandable but not defensible. Not only in the consumption of beer does the Limburger then overstep the mark, but also in their sense of duty. "If there's a fair in the Limburg soldier's village, it seems like quite a feat to get home on time. He doesn't hesitate to extend his leave by, say, a day, on his own authority. He doesn't seem to consider this a serious offense," Major Evenwel believes.

That all this encourages out-of-home behavior goes without saying. But in most of the cases cited here, we're dealing with out-of-home behavior of a certain kind. The entire neighborhood is considered one big family. In one of the houses, the young men and women gather to discuss, tell stories, play cards, sing, play tricks, and... drink a beer. And because "true" hospitality would become too expensive here, the most popular—that is, the most visited—neighbor is proclaimed the pub owner; whether the pub has a sign or not is irrelevant! This is how the many "heilige huuskes" (holy houses) in Limburg came into being. We see how a flaw can develop into a good quality, which, incidentally, is more common among Limburgers!

Sincerity, loyalty, and dedication are qualities that adorn Limburgers.

Wasn't it the sincerity that was praised on all sides in the statesman Jhr. Ch. Ruys de Beerenbrouck? Isn't Dr. Poels the personification of frank Limburg sincerity when, as a spiritual social leader at the Rolduc study week, he stands before his workers and speaks off the cuff. When he claims to simply say what he has to tell his comrades, he does nothing but give free rein to this sincerity.

But why did the great Dr. Nolens remain so silent? Was it perhaps because he had more of a northerner on his father's side? Or did he know himself so well that he knew that if he began to speak, he would likely become too frank? Was the silent one really the true Nolens? And would it apply to him, as an exception, what, according to Waterink, generally does not apply to the Limburger: "What you don't see on display, you will find inside"?22)

Just as Ruys saved our Royal House in 1918 through his Limburg loyalty, so Poels, through his loyalty to the workers—despite all the vilification—defended the social and spiritual existence of the miners with lionlike courage. And was it a coincidence that Nolens carried the motto "Utrique fidelis" in his coat of arms?

Major Evenwel says of the soldier: "Dedication to military service and the associated loyalty to his superiors is a typical characteristic of the Limburg soldier." I have never encountered this characteristic to such a strong degree in any other nationality of our population.' This officer also praises 'the unaffected honesty and simplicity', which struck him repeatedly.

When Waterink judges that the social feeling is still the strongest in the Saxon regions, that seems one-sided to me.

In my opinion, this is not the least weaker in the Limburger either. Even in our southernmost province, 'people share in days of joy and sorrow, of birth and death, of illness and need.' The women from the neighborhood not only come 'for coffee' on the day of the baptism ceremony, but they also consider it their duty to assist at the birth if necessary and, if necessary, to act as godmother or to baptize the child.23)

If someone is seriously ill, the young daughters from the neighborhood make a pilgrimage to the church or the chapel of Our Lady for nine days. When someone dies, the entire "neighborhood" goes to pray in the evening at the house of the deceased or in the church, as long as the body is "in the yard." The girls make wreaths, and the men's "neighbor duties," from the ringing of the bells to the burial of the neighbor, are determined by customary law. The entire neighborhood ('de put') or street—both men and women—attends to the funeral. Neighbors often take children who have lost their mothers into their homes for a longer or shorter period—and sometimes even permanently.24) If there is a neomist, the entire street is decorated by the young men and young women, a collection is taken in the neighborhood for a "lasting memory," and the youth are invited to the coffee table where the neomist sits.

In the event of serious offenses in the neighborhood, the entire population "administers justice." If a man abused his wife, at the end of the last century, a cart carrying a riverbank would be driven past the offender's house at night, making a tremendous racket. The so-called "kettle music" that expressed general disapproval for certain offenses still exists in many places.

This idea of neighborliness, however, also has its drawbacks. It fosters a kind of separatism. For example, in elementary school, every street "had" its own corner (the area where the boys from a particular street played). And woe betide anyone who dared to trespass on "another man's" territory: that was considered a desire for

annexation, and then... you often saw general "pushing matches," which after school often degenerated into formal youth battles, usually involving clogs and stones. If a young man from one hamlet gets into a fight with someone from another at the fair, it usually becomes a battle of hamlet against hamlet; Such a type of fighting also occurs in many places during the "torch stake" on St. Martin's Day.25)

This particularism results in council members and aldermen being appointed by hamlet in many places, which is not always in the municipality's best interest.

The Limburger is strongly attached not only to the people but also to the land around him. It may be true that, as Fons Tuinstra says, one encounters the Limburger everywhere and that he has a wandering nature—for my part, I would prefer to speak here of forced wandering or relocation due to a lack of suitable means of subsistence—yet, especially with regard to his region, he is generally a stickler for his own interests. What Blink says about the East Brabanter also applies to him: "Attachment to the land where he grew up, where he played as a boy, to the village where he goes to church... is almost nowhere as strong as here."26) If the Central Limburger works in the mine, he would rather travel by train or bicycle for a few hours every day than live in the mining region. This rigidity in his hometown doesn't seem to me to

be specifically Limburgish, nor does the extreme conservatism. It's more a typical trait of the farmer in general, which the Limburger is, after all, by nature. "The farmer sits at his school firmly".

Don't let them be discouraged, they feel close to each other, they love each other. ' says Menghin.²⁷) And this also explains the homesickness for Limburg and the Limburgish dialect. If a Limburger meets a fellow-provincial 'abroad', he greets him cheerfully in... his dialect, without thinking of social differences. 'Love for one's native region', says Major Evenwel, 'is also found in great measure in the Limburger, just as it applies to the Zeelander and the Frisian. I would say that the attachment to their native soil is even stronger among Limburgers from Roermond southward than among North Limburgers. Living in border regions, where much fighting took place and which belonged now to one prince, then to another, and finally became part of the Netherlands as a colony, has given the Limburger a sense of insecurity and inferiority. Certainly, the sense of solidarity reinforced this in him—except perhaps for the inhabitants of the area north of Arcen—but for too long he lacked the feeling of belonging to a larger entity, which gave him a greater sense of self-worth and self-confidence. Other factors contributed to the development of this inferiority complex. Until recently, the civil servants, "the gentlemen," were almost exclusively "Dutchmen," who impressed the Limburger with their "posh" language, which he didn't always understand, or at least only had a weak command of. He also felt that, due to a lack of educational opportunities, the "Dutch" were superior to him in terms of development. Not only universities and grammar schools, but even junior high and trade schools often had to be attended abroad. Generally, the "Dutch" and those who had been abroad "set the tone," despite the fact that Limburgers are born leaders! The result of all this is that, after a prolonged stay in Holland, where they had to shake off their feelings of inferiority, Limburgers react by becoming authoritarian in order to rise above them. Woe betide anyone who thinks they have to treat Limburgers condescendingly: they are a bare-bones "Dutchman" and... are out for good. Well, yes: "The Limburger is backward!" "The South is dark!" Does it surprise you that the son of a farmer, a miner, or even a minor civil servant, who has no other prospect than to plow as quickly as possible, chop coal, or perform miserable crutch work, shows little or no concern for intellectual development? Don't you understand that children who had to help their parents earn a living from an early age, who didn't go to school in the winter because of the bad roads, etc., and who in the summer—if they cared for education at all—were taught in the meadow, with a black-painted plank nailed to a tree serving as a "board," weren't very well-informed? Certainly, that's no longer the case, but that's how it was in the second half of the last century. And isn't there such a thing as an unconscious aftereffect for a few generations? And are they—despite the exceptionally good educational conditions, thanks in particular to a Dr. Moller and Dr. van Gils—weren't the prospects often such that they don't strongly stimulate educational ambitions? Does it surprise you that Limburg didn't produce many intellectuals, considering that the pressure on the population was high, property was limited, and study opportunities in our eccentric region were meager? The geographical location and the political situation were to blame! The Limburger is not to blame! It cannot be a disgrace to him! In my opinion, the publications published thus far on intelligence relations in the Netherlands do not do Limburg justice: neither Groenewegen's in the "Militaire Spectator" of 1926 nor Stuiveling's in 1935. The psychological significance of the geographical, historical, and social factors is not sufficiently addressed. Major Evenwel says: "In this respect (in intelligence), the Limburg soldier is definitely inferior to several of our compatriots... This, of course, does not in any way mean that he is inferior to his fellow soldiers in terms of academic aptitude. I have always noticed that the Limburger generally possesses a great innate inner refinement, which manifests itself, without the individual even realizing it, as soon as he comes into contact with those in his superior ranks." Ask the professors at our universities what they think of the intelligence of the Limburg student. Does the Limburger, as a result of the notoriously poor relations of previous centuries, now harbor a so-called "hatred of the north"? No, on the contrary! It goes without saying that one cannot expect him to welcome with open arms and shower them with kindnesses newcomers who do not wish to adapt to the Limburg spirit in their attitude and conduct. But he who shows that anyone who understands Limburger will find a friend in this regard—even if they fail to master the Limburgish language, the ultimate instrument for complete understanding and empathy—because of the hospitality, the accommodating attitude, and the candor of the Southerners.

Those who fail to respect them will be ostracized, and those who, in absolute

107700 conflict with Dutch interests, seek to Dutchify them will incur lasting antipathy, and sometimes even hostility. Standardization based on the Dutch model is impossible and entirely undesirable. For the Limburger is a good Dutchman and patriot, which, after Charles Thewissen's brochure,²⁸) no longer needs further argument. With a few exceptions—which, however, occur in every border region, and certainly in a region

107705 that has been a border region throughout its history—they have a great devotion to their sovereign and fatherland. And didn't the statesman, the soldier, and the ordinary citizen demonstrate this in 1918? The Limburg Prime Minister vetoed those who wanted to overthrow the Orange throne, the Limburg soldier threatened any attackers with annihilation, and the citizen sang: "Limburg and Holland remain one."

107710 I may quote the opinion of the non-Limburg Major Evenwel about the soldier here: "This (patriotism, R.) is strongly developed among the Limburgers and expresses itself in a great love for the Royal House. They are proud to be Dutch, although they do not feel at home in Holland." Respect for authority in general stems from the obedience innate to the Catholic Limburger. Obedience to God and therefore to his

107715 representatives: bishops and parents, clergy and secular leaders, is something self-evident. Major Evenwel says of the soldier that he definitely has a sense of discipline. "I would like to make an exception for the so-called politically contaminated from the mining region and the factory workers of Maastricht.... Under good leadership, especially with prolonged periods of service under arms, excellent

107720 soldiers can be made of the latter. It seems that then the foreign influences have lost much of their power and the true Limburg national character gradually resurfaces." Precisely because the Limburger is constantly reminded of the duty to obey from his youth, it is easy for any tactful superior, whoever and wherever he may be, to lead him.

107725 Although there is no scientific reason to consider Catholicism a racial condition — a possibility suggested by J.P. Kruijt²⁹) — it is a fact that Catholicism, just as it was on the Rhineland, has left its mark on the Limburg national character. "Where you have kruuts hungt woont neemes" is a typical Limburgish saying. Customs and language, which so clearly illustrate the essential nature of a people, prove the truth of this

107730 saying for our southernmost region. It was not so long ago that the miners of the Domaniale Mine, before entering the lift, would say a prayer together. When the Limburg housewife cuts a loaf of bread, she first makes the sign of the cross on it with a knife or finger. The marksmen open and close the annual shooting competition with a church service, while prayers are

107735 said under the "voeëjelsjtang" (football tongs) before firing the first shot.³⁰) To protect the harvest from the cruel forces of nature, the farmer places a consecrated palm branch or a piece of herbage in the ground at the corners of the field.³¹) In the event of a serious illness, a relative of the sick person calls the doctor, but the young women from the neighborhood simultaneously make a pilgrimage to the church or a nearby chapel of Our Lady. The Limburger doesn't celebrate their birthday, but

107740 "der nametsdaag" (the day of the saint after whom they are named). Yes, I know that the members of a neutral first-class football club insisted that a certain anniversary be marked by the attendance of a Holy Mass. The religious element is evident in thousands of expressions in the language. I'll

107745 quote a few. In the North, the servant moves; in Limburg, "maakt er Sintermeis" (= St. Remigius). In Holland, someone comes to the table when dinner is almost over; in South Limburg, when "'t bóch umjedrare" (the feast is over). If the angry father, lacking self-control, gives his naughty son a beating, then "kriet e ze jekristeliert" (screams and screams). If a young lady passes by in Kerkrade, whose

107750 petticoat happens to peek out from under her dress, one hears: "That girl has come to her vespers."³²) The fact that such expressions apply to the most diverse areas of life is evidence of the Limburger's deep connection to his faith. Although this religiosity does not always express a persistent, deep consciousness—

107755 which, in my opinion, is impossible—and although religious life—as with all our daily activities—is often routine. It's clear to a Limburger when someone deliberately tries to offend his faith; then he even becomes aggressive: consider the "Daagseraad" action a few years ago. This shows that faith is a strong binding cement that unites Limburgers. Even the most

107760 brutal miner won't tolerate an attack on his faith, though he might occasionally launch his defense with a "curse." With the acceptance of faith, the most important things are taken care of for the Limburger. Our Lord and the Saints will take care of the rest. His trust in the Highest Guidance is exceptionally strong. Besides the southern bias in his character, this explains not only his often exuberant

107765 cheerfulness and boisterous cheerfulness, but also his frequent lightheartedness and

carefreeness, as well as the resulting frivolousness, which is incomprehensible to the Northerner. From their daily intimate contact with God and the Saints often arises-unintentional-irreverence in religiosity and-especially among the South Limburgers-the so frequent occurrence of "cursing," which we also notice in France, Italy, and Spain. People invoke God and their Saints so often where special help is needed that they also use Their names as an invocation where it is inadmissible. And it is precisely this inadmissibility that the less educated and cruder are unaware of, because through frequent daily use they do not fully sense the sublimity, and the form of the words, under the influence of strong affect, usually deviates from the "ecclesiastical" soundscape. But I do not mean to justify this evil: it is a serious weakness-even if we understand the mitigating circumstances-that increasingly disappears with increasing education. And don't think that the Limburger, so steeped in Catholicism, is intolerant! I've never heard of anyone being treated unfairly or thwarted because they held different views. Nowhere are institutions of dissidents, such as schools, so readily supported as in Limburg. Relations between Catholic and Protestant clergy, as well as between Catholics and Protestants, are generally very good. But no one dares to bother a Limburger about their faith, no one should openly try to attack their faith in their own "country"... then the Limburg temperament kicks in, and its spontaneously effervescent ferocity knows no bounds, as De Dageraad (The Daily News) was shocked to discover! The Limburger also, as Tuinstra aptly puts it, "has life here at its best"; he hates hypocrisy, which he fiercely denounces with the words: "has God of the cross and shit in the temple." He respects every honest conviction, but demands the same for his own. I have already pointed out some weak traits in the Limburger's national character. Ouwerling, in his book entitled "Uit donker gewesten" (From Dark Regions), knows even more and observes, among other things, "a very high level of alcohol abuse, especially during Carnival and during the shameful Bacchante festivals, which were called fairs, but also on Sundays; a very high level of criminality..." During the mobilization-to begin with the last weak point-the Limburg soldiers, especially those of the 13th Reg., were called by the epithets ornantia: knifemen, goat riders, and Russians. The actions of the "goat riders" in South Limburg during the 18th century are notorious. The crimes committed by these gangs were truly of the worst kind. But the complex set of events raises so many questions that only a new investigation, which takes ethnological, historical, social, and psychological factors into account to a greater extent than has been done thus far, can provide a satisfactory scientific explanation of this criminological problem. Only then can one assess the role played by the Limburg national character in these terroristic, sometimes inhumane, atrocities.³³) I myself knew a few individuals in South Limburg around 1915 who were constantly looking for a fight, drank so they could start a fight, and took pleasure in stabbings. But... these were absolute exceptions and decidedly inferior types, some of whom later became respectable family men. That doesn't change the fact that a certain class of people, at least during the last century, had fighting-usually after digesting the necessary beer-in their blood. Jos. Russell tells us that around 1850, fighting was popular "between residents of neighboring municipalities... to whom the inhabitants of Geleen were well known by name and deed as courageous and bloody participants." Revenge battles ensured that the idea of war remained alive!³⁴) It can be noted, however, that these "battles" were almost exclusively attended by the lowest classes of the population. The fighting spirit was certainly present in the South Limburgers. But here, besides temperament, much must be attributed to location, history, and development.

In the south of Limburg, one war followed another; robberies and plunder were not unusual occurrences, in which mercenaries from all over the world participated. The population was completely impoverished. Given the limited development of the provinces, such facts and conditions must have had repercussions for several generations.

That Limburg was traditionally notorious for the high frequency of the crime of assault certainly finds a very important explanation in this and says something positive only about its outward civilization, but not yet about its inner civilization or intellectual nobility.

All this aligns with the important data I received from the Criminological Institute at Utrecht State University.³⁵) Statistics for the years 1901-1931 show that the three most uncomplicated crimes are more frequent in our region than in the national empire, which would then be explained by the more primitive forms of society, which must be a necessary consequence of the historical development of the country and its people. If the editor of the statistics for the Criminological Institute believes "that the high frequency of abuse in Limburg is based not only on increased alcohol

abuse, but also on differences in national character," then I believe we are dealing with a general Celtic and Germanic primitive characteristic, which, among a certain segment of the Limburg population, could not be sufficiently mitigated by the aforementioned factors. For a proper assessment, one should also compare the "refined" criminality, which is almost unknown to the Limburger. Alcohol abuse is an undeniable weakness of the Limburger. I do not wish to dismiss or excuse this either.

It is said of the Germanic people: "on buvait partout et à toute oute, en l'honneur des dieux, aux public assemblies, comme aux naissances, aux mariages et aux décès" (they could digest "mead" in considerable quantities). And the Celts? "They don't remind their life of a glass of wine." The conservative Limburger retains a fair amount of both, as evidenced, for example, by the "hero" of "De Zoondag vaan 'ne mestrechteneer" (The Sunday of the Manure Rights Honor). The Limburger doesn't serve cups of coffee outside the official coffee table, and he doesn't use them in the café either. What wine is for the Frenchman and Italian, beer is for him, which he often enjoys with his sandwich. He prefers a glass of beer to wine, and he serves it on every occasion, and often drinks both large and small beer. It seems to have happened in South Limburg that godfathers, godmothers, and midwives visited so many alehouses after a baptism that they... came home without the baptized child. In previous centuries, the rewards and fines of various associations, especially the shooting clubs, consisted of beer. For example, in the Geleen militia, founded in 1639, a member who swore during the meeting had to immediately pay "four vanes (6 liters) of beer." Expressions in Limburg dialects for overindulging in alcohol are legion. However, how little the Limburger appreciates alcohol abuse and its potentially serious consequences—not least of which stems from hospitality, temperament, social circumstances, and history—is evident from the frivolousness with which they associate religious terms with the drinking world. They go to the "heilige huuskes" (holy houses) or "kapellekes" (chapels), where they drink themselves "a spiritual rush" upon arriving at the café "Zum Himmel".

But I dare not assert whether alcohol abuse is worse in Limburg than elsewhere. In 1901, the percentage of convicted drinkers throughout the country was certainly higher than in Limburg. And let's not forget that the average Limburger is more likely to drink than the "Dutchman." And that alcohol abuse in the southernmost province is perhaps less acute than in other regions is evident not only from the aforementioned statistics but also from the assessment of Major Evenwel, who says: "In general, the Limburg soldiers I observed for many years behaved more disciplinedly off duty, even somewhat under the influence of alcoholic beverages, than, for example, their counterparts from Zeeland, North Holland, and North Brabant."

I had to base the above characterization on repeatedly observed special cases, which understandably often pertain to specific social groups that were not always named. Except in a few obvious cases, I have adhered to the nature of the masses, the less educated or more or less alogical; and even there, I have mostly chosen prominent figures (favorably or unfavorably) as my motivation. I often made the inaccuracy—and it has always been made, as far as I know—of not sharing the form in which the various characteristics mentioned become evident in other social groups. I think.

Well, that I have characterized the Limburg people, despite this forgivable one-sidedness, in this brief sketch with their favorable and unfavorable qualities, the latter of which are increasingly losing their weaknesses due to increasing national development.

May the "Dutchman" learn to appreciate the good of his southern compatriot and understand the weaknesses; may the Limburger, feeling his responsibility towards his region and the state community, cultivate the good qualities and refine the weak ones for the good of the entire Dutch people and the Dutch tribe, to which he not only gave much in the past but also, precisely because of his country and southern orientation, has much more to give today.

1) among others: Fons Tuinstra, De ziel van Limburg (Maastricht, 1931); M. Kemp, De geest in Limburg (Sittard, 1925); J. Jacobs M.S.C., On religious conditions in the mining region (Roeping, vol. 5 (1926); Jan Hul, De Zoondag vaan 'ne Mestrechteneer (Maastricht, 1933); Gerard Lemmens, Miners' folklore in Limburg (Maastricht, 1936). This booklet—despite the author's laudable diligence and good intentions—should never have been published, not only because of its unscientific nature.

2) Personal communication.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 3) See, among others, Jos. Schrijnen: De isoglossen van Ramisch in Nederland (Bussum, 1920); Win. Roukens, Wort- und Sachgeographie Südostniederlands und der surliegenden Gebiete (Nijmegen, 1937).
- 4) A.W. Byvanck, The Origin of the Dutch People and the Archaeology of the Netherlands (Yearbook of the Society of Dutch Literature in Leiden, 1935-36, p. 51). I have borrowed extensively from this important summary article, as well as from the highly commendable essay by A.E. van Giffen, "On the Oldest Population Elements of Our Country" (Mensch en Maatschappij, vol. 1 (1925), p. 257 ff.).
- 5) Ch. Bruneau, "The Limitation of Walloon, Chapenois, and Lorraine Dialects" (Paris, 1913).
- 6) Part I B. Atlas, Section I.
- 7) I borrow this term from Prof. Jan de Vries (See Tijdschr. voor Nederl. Taal- en Letterkunde, vol. 56 (1937), p. 276). We provided indications for a toponymic division in our 'Wort- und Sachgeographie'. We hope to address this issue in detail soon.
- 8) Oswald Menghin, Geist und Blut (Wien, 1934).
- 9) a.a.O., S. 134 and 135.
- 10) vol. 2, p. 381.
- 11) See also the works of J.H. Holwerda, including Prehistory and ancient history (History of the Netherlands, Amsterdam, 1935).
- 12) including Nederlandsche Volkskunde, vol. 2, p. 381.
- 13) See, among others, J.J. de Wit and A.J.A. Flament, The Formation of Dominions on the Territory of Limburg (Publications de la Société hist. et arch. dans le Limbourg, 47th year); Gerard Knuvelde, Vanaf Wingewesten (Hilversum, 1930), p. 330 ff.; Win. Roukens, Wort- und Sachgeographie usw., Part I B. Atlas: Abt. I.
- 14) i.e., the utterance of long, drawn-out cries, which were adopted by other groups.
- 15) This is less true for the people of North Limburg.
- 16) The artistry of the people of North Limburg is less highly regarded.
- 17) Cf. the works of Olterdissen and the content of the magazine 'Veldeke'.
- 18) See Jan de Vries, Volk van Nederland; II. Het Nederlandsche Volkskarakter (Dutch National Character).
- 19) For the characteristic of the Celts, see: A.G.B. Schayes, La Belgique et les Pays-Bas avant et pendant la domination romaine (Bruxelles, 1877) p. 41-56; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Les Celtes jusqu'en l'an 100 devant notre ère (Paris, 1904) p. 1-17; Camille Jullian, Histoire de la Gaule (Paris, 1909) II p. 415-448 and Ethnographie der germ. Stämme von Otto Bremer (in: Grundriss der germ. Philologie III p. 768 ff.).
- 20) According to personal communications.
- 21) See, among others, J. Huijsmans, Morals, Customs, and Practices in Roermond (Civitas Ruraemundensis, Roermond, 1932).
- 22) Jan de Vries, People of the Netherlands, p. 34.
- 23) See, among others, H.H.J. Maas, Outcast (Amersfoort, 1907), p. 29. Incidentally, the Limburg spirit is often lacking in this book. Also: Wort-u. Sachgeographie, pp. 306-323.
- 24) Em. Seipgens, Toen Leneke dood was (Uit Limburg, Arnhem, 1881).
- 25) Win. Roukens, Wort- und Sachgeographie, etc., p. 231.
- 26) H. Blink, Studies on Settlements in the Netherlands - North Brabant. (Journal of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society, 21 (1904), p. 25 ff.).
- 27) a.a.O., p. 110.
- 28) Charles Thewissen, Limburg and Orange (Maastricht, 1937).
- 29) J.P. Kruijt, De onkerkelikheid in Nederland (Groningen-Batavia, 1933). Chapter XI. For the Rhineland, see, among others, Justus Hashagen, Rheinischer Volkskarakter und rheinische Geistesentwicklung (Bonn-Leipzig, 1922).
- 30) See, among others, J.A. Jolles, De Schuttersgilden en Schuttererijen in Limburg (Publications, 1936), p. 29.
- 31) Win. Roukens, Wort- und Sachgeographie usw., Part I A, p. 213 vgg.
- 32) 't bóch is umjedrare = the book has been turned over; then the Mass is almost over; kristeliere = to teach catechism; that meedje etc. means: that girl has finished high mass during vespers.
- 33) See, among others, J.J. Michel, Die Bockreiter von Herzogenrath, Valkenburg and its surroundings. (Aachen, 1905).
- 34) J. Russel, De Heerlijkheid Geleen (Sittard, 1861).
- 35) I sincerely thank Prof. Pompe and his colleagues for the information they provided. I also sincerely thank Major Evenwel from Venlo, Chaplain F. Schleiden from Heerlen, Mr. Müller from Venlo, and the painter René Smeets from Gennep for their support.
- 36) Schayes, l.c., p. 144.

[p. *37] illustration MAN FROM MELIK (LIMBURG)
 [p. *38] illustration FARM GIRL FROM ST. ODILIËNBERG (LIMBURG)

See The Limburgers by Dr. Win. Roukens, De Nederlandse volkskarakters, P.J. Meertens, Anne de Vries - DBNL

301	T. Flavius Postumius Titianus II	Virius Nepotianus
302	M. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar IV	C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Caesar IV

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

303	C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus VIII	M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Augustus VII
304	C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus IX	M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Augustus VIII
305	M. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar V	C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Caesar V
306	M. Flavius Valerius Constantius Augustus VI	C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus VI
307 [19 7]	(a) Flavius Valerius Severus Augustus (<i>until Sept.</i>)	Galerius Valerius Maximinus Caesar
	(b) M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Augustus IX (<i>Italy</i>)	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Caesar
	(c) C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus VII (<i>until Apr.</i>)	Galerius Valerius Maximinus Caesar (<i>until Apr.</i>)
308	(a) C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus X	C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus VII
	(b) M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Augustus X	
	(c) M. Aurelius Valerius Maxentius Augustus (<i>from Apr.</i>)	(M. Aurelius Valerius) Romulus (<i>from Apr.</i>)
309	East: Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Caesar
	Italy: M. Aurelius Valerius Maxentius Augustus II	M. Aurelius Valerius Romulus II
	East: Tattius Andronicus	Pompeius Probus
310	Italy: M. Aurelius Valerius Maxentius Augustus III	
311	C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus VIII	Galerius Valerius Maximinus Augustus II
	Italy: C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus (<i>from Sep.</i>)	Rufinus (<i>from Sep.</i>)
312	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus II	Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus II
	Italy: M. Aurelius Valerius Maxentius Augustus IV	
313		Galerius Valerius Maximinus Augustus III (<i>until July</i>)
suf f.	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus III	Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus III
314	C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus (II)	Petronius Annianus
315	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus IV	Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus IV
316	Antonius Caecina Sabinus	C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus
317	Ovinus Gallicanus	Caesonius Bassus
318	Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus V	Flavius Julius Crispus Caesar
319	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus V	Valerius Licinianus Licinius Caesar
320	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus VI	Flavius Claudius Constantinus Caesar
321	West: Flavius Julius Crispus Caesar II	Flavius Claudius Constantinus Caesar II
	East: Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus VI	Valerius Licinianus Licinius Caesar II
322	West: Petronius Probianus	Amnius Anicius Julianus
323	West: Acilius Severus	Vettius Rufinus

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

324	Flavius Julius Crispus Caesar III	Flavius Claudius Constantinus Caesar III
325	Valerius Proculus (January-May)	Sex. Anicius Paulinus
suf f.	Julius Julianus (May-December)	
326	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus VII	Flavius Julius Constantius Caesar
327	Flavius Constantius[203]	Valerius Maximus
328	Flavius Januarinus[203]	Vettius Justus
329	Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus VIII	Flavius Claudius Constantinus Caesar IV
330	Gallicanus	Aurelius Valerius Symmachus Tullianus
331	Junius Bassus	Ablabius
332	L. Papius Pacatianus	Mecilius Hilarianus
333	Flavius Dalmatius	Domitius Zenofilus
334	Optatus	Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus
335	Julius Constantius	Ceionius Rufius Albinus
336	Nepotianus	Tettius Facundus
337	Felicianus	Fabius Titianus
338	Ursus	Polemius
339	Flavius Julius Constantius Augustus II	Flavius Julius Constans Augustus
340	Septimius Acindynus	L. Aradius Valerius Proculus
341	Antonius Marcellinus	Petronius Probinus
342	Flavius Julius Constantius Augustus III	Flavius Julius Constans Augustus II
343	M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus	Romulus
344	Domitius Leontius	(a) Bonosus (b) Julius Sallustius
345	Amantius	M. Nummius Albinus
346	Flavius Julius Constantius Augustus IV	Flavius Julius Constans Augustus III
347	Vulcacius Rufinus	Eusebius
348	Philippus	Salia
349	Ulpianus Limenius	Aconius Catullinus
350	Sergius	Nigrinianus

325 (until c. May): V[alerius?] Proculus et Anicius Paulinus

The evidence of an Egyptian papyrus and one uncorrected dating in the Theodosian Code combine to demonstrate that Proculus and Paulinus were the original consular pairing in January 325. Proculus' incomplete nomen, preserved in P.Oxy. VI 889, is convincingly restored as Valerius and the consul prior has been identified with Proculus, proconsul of Africa in 319-320.

If so, then this ordinary consulship is likely to have been a second, following an earlier suffect consulship. Alternatively, if the Valerius was borne by Proculus as the dynastic nomen of the Tetrarchs, then the consul may have been a former military commander or imperial official of Constantine's sometime ally and rival Licinius and his designation as consul prior for 325 part of the peace and abdication settlement of September 324 (cf. Diocletian's retention of Aristobulus, praetorian prefect of Carinus and cos. 285).

In either case, Proculus' removal and replacement as consul suggests that he was caught up in the political manoeuvrings that led to the execution of Licinius. On present evidence it is not possible to decide definitively between these two

- 107985 possibilities. Anicius Paulinus the consul posterior is generally presumed another member of the noble and patrician Anicii, probably a brother of Iulianus (cos. 322), and identified with Sex. Anicius Paulinus whose public career up to his prefecture of the city in 331-333 is presented in abbreviated form on a dedication from Rome (CIL VI 1680 + pp. 3173, 4732), which reads: Sex(to) Anicio Paulino procons(uli) /
- 107990 Africae, bis co(n)s(uli), praef(ecto) urb(i).
- 107995 Regard to parallels in the epigraphic Latin of Rome demonstrates that, as in the inscription honouring Rufius Albinus (discussed above) and in contrast to first-century usage, in texts of the second century and later bis almost invariably modifies the noun or phrase following it (i.e., here, consul), not that preceding it (proconsul Africae).
- Given that Paulinus did not enjoy a second ordinary consulship, this inscription is explicit evidence that his ordinary consulship of 325 was a second term by classical reckoning, having been preceded by a suffect consulship.
- 108000 **325 (from c. May): Anicius Paulinus et Ionius Iulianus**
- The peculiar nomen of Iulianus, the substitute consul posterior, as it is transmitted in the papyrus documents has aroused suspicion but little consensus as to its interpretation.
- 108005 It has generally been considered corrupt. The once fashionable identification with M. Ceionius Iulianus signo Kamenius, a future proconsul of Africa and praefectus urbi of 333,
- has been superseded by strong support for identifying the consul with Iulius Iulianus, grandfather of the emperor Julian, an equestrian official who rose to become praetorian prefect of Licinius.
- 108010 Identification with an otherwise unknown Iunius Iulianus has also been advocated. If we accept the testimony of the papyri, it is not impossible that Iulianus belongs to an otherwise unknown senatorial gens Ionia but a more elegant solution is to understand Ionius as a signum used in the papyrological formulae in place of several nomina, as attested for Populonium Proculus (= L. Aradius Valerius Proculus signo
- 108015 Populonium) for his consulship in 340.
- If Ionius Iulianus was of senatorial background, it is not possible to decide whether his ordinary consulship came as a second tenure, as with his colleague Paulinus, or as a genuine first consulship at an early stage in his career. If Iulianus was promoted from the ranks of those designated as suffects, the latter is more likely.
- 108020 See (54) ['Redefining the Roman imperial élite in the fourth century AD' in D. Okoń \(ed.\), Elites in the Ancient World \(Szczecińskie Studia nad Starożytnością, vol. II, Szczecin: Minerva, 2015\), 189-220 | Benet Salway - Academia.edu](#)
- 108025

MANICHEISM v. MISSIONARY ACTIVITY AND TECHNIQUE

The main primary sources on the beginning of Manichean missionary work are the Cologne Mani Codex (henceforth CMC), especially pp. 107-91, ed. Koenen and Römer, pp. 76-119, and Kephalaia 1 and 76, ed. Polotsky and Böhlig, pp. 9-16, 183-88; tr. Gardner, pp. 15-22, 193-97. More information may be expected from the still unpublished Dublin Kephalaia.

The Manichean Missionary History, strictly speaking, consists of Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, and Old Turkish fragments of a hagiographic description of the beginnings of the missionary journeys of Mani and his first disciples (published or indicated by Sundermann 1981, pp. 17-28, 34-49, 55-57 under nos. 1, 2.2-7, 3.1-4, 4a.1). These texts are parts of a comprehensive hagiographic and homiletic description of Mani's life and the beginnings of the Manichean church preserved in Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, and Old Turkish and also in the Third Coptic Homily (ed. Polotsky, 1934, pp. 42-85; cf. Sundermann 1986a, 1986b, 1987). Some additional texts add more information on the Manichean missionary activities, such as MP. 5.1, 5.2 (Sundermann, 1981, pp. 93-95); these belong to Mani's Šābuhragān. Original Manichean traditions are also faithfully rendered in Ebn al-Nadīm's (d. ca. 995) Fehrest (ed. Flügel, pp. 51-52, 84-85; Ebn al-Nadīm, tr. Dodge, pp. 774-75). An exhaustive collection of source material on the spread of Manicheism in the Roman empire was compiled by Lieu (1988, pp. 383-99).

The beginning of Manichean missionary activities. Hardly any other religion has undertaken its missionary activities with a view to winning the world for the truth of its faith in a better designed and more systematic way than the Manichean church. According to its hagiographical tradition, as attested in the CMC (pp. 17-19, 73; ed. Koenen and Römer, pp. 10-13, 50-51; Cameron and Dewey, pp. 18-21, 56-57) and in Ebn al-Nadīm's Fehrest (ed. Flügel, pp. 50.15-51.7, 84; tr. Dodge, p. 775), the missionary work is based on a command given to Mani by his Sysygos (spiritual Twin) when he had completed his 24th year of life. According to the CMC, the command was: "You have not only been sent to this religion [of the Baptists], but to every people, every school, every town and place; for [by you this] hope will be explained and proclaimed in all [zones] and regions [of the world]. [Men] in great numbers will accept your word. So step forth and walk about; for I shall be with you as your helper and protector at every place where you are proclaiming all that has been revealed to you. So do not worry and do not be distressed" (CMC, pp. 104-05; ed. Koenen and Römer, pp. 74-75). Therefore, the worldwide mission is inseparably tied with the separation of Mani and his followers from their paternal, Elkhasaite community and with the foundation of the Manichean church. What really happened is that Mani himself came to be the first missionary of his community.

The time of Mani's first public appearance was connected by the Manichean tradition with one of the coronations of the Sasanian king Šābuhr [Šāpur] I (r. 241-272) which is dated, on the strength of the Manichean dates, to 18 or 19 April 240 (on these two dates, see with further literature Sundermann, 1990, pp. 295-2001a, pp. 103-4). This synchronism may reflect more or less exactly the actual time of the beginning of the Manichean world mission.

Manicheism in Byzantium.

We simply do not know by whom, when, and by which route Mani's gospel was taken to Asia Minor and to Byzantium, which from 330 AD was the capital of the Roman empire. We can only state that by that time Manicheism was already present there, more or less tolerated until the end of the 4th century and even supported by adherents and sympathizers in the ruling class, such as the dux, comes, and magister peditum Sebastianus (d. 378) who was supposed to be a Manichean auditor (which was, however, sheer calumny, according to Tardieu, 1988, pp. 494-500); the pagan rhetor and literate Libanius (d. 393?), who intervened in favor of the Manicheans (de Stoop, 1909, p. 70); and also the liberal Christian comes, proconsul, and praefectus praetorio Strategius Musonius (d. 371) who informed and advised the emperor Constantine the Great (r. 305-337, sole ruler from 324) on Manichean affairs. All these personalities have a Syriac background (Brown, 1969, pp. 96-97), and that points to Syria as the immediate starting point of the Manichean mission to Byzantium. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/manicheism-iv-missionary-activity-and-technique->

While in exile in Cappadocia, the Arsacid Tiridates received a Roman education and acquired a good knowledge of Greek and Latin (Life of St. Gregory, Gk. version 159, 183=Ar. version 145, 176=G. Garitte, Documents pour l'étude du Livre d'Agathange,

Vatican, 1946, pp. 97, 110). His restoration appears to have been the result of a compromise agreed by Vahram II and Diocletian at some uncertain date around 286-287. Under its terms the Persians must have kept possession of the greater part of Greater Armenia, because in 293 the Sasanian Narseh was still in residence in Armenia as its "king" (Humbach and Skjærvø, op. cit., and W. B. Henning, BSOAS 14, 1952, pp. 517f.). It was only after the defeat of Narseh, now the king of kings, by the Caesar Galerius at Osxa (Oskik' in the canton of Całkotn) in Armenia that the whole of the territory passed out of Persian control and the Arsacid dynasty was definitely reinstated in Armenia under Roman suzerainty. Under another clause of the treaty signed at Nisibis in 297, the five old "Provinces" or districts of southern Armenia – Sophene, Ingilene, Arzanene, Gordyene, and Zabdicene – were ceded to the Romans (Petrus Patricius, fragment 14=Dindorf, Hist. Gr. Min. I, p. 434; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 25.7.9; see below).

The Christian Arsacids

Tiridates III and his successors until the partition.

The reign of Tiridates II was marked by an event of far-reaching importance for Armenia's future, namely this king's adoption of Christianity as the state religion at the urging of St. Gregory the Illuminator (i.e. Baptist). The latter was probably a Greek from Cappadocia (Life, Gk. version 40=G. Garitte, Documents, p. 37) rather than a nobleman of the stock of the Suren family, as Armenian tradition maintains. At the king's behest, Gregory went to Cappadocia with an escort of naxarars to receive consecration as bishop. (The Armenian church remained dependent on the see of Caesarea until the reign of King Pap). The chronology of Armenia's conversion presents a problem. The event used to be dated about 300, but more recent scholars (notably P. Ananian "La data e le circostanze della consecrazione di S. Gregorio Illuminatore," Le Muséon 84, 1961, pp. 43-73, 317-60) tend to change the date to 314/315 – a surmise which seems probable but cannot be proved. B. MacDermot's arguments for 294 (in Revue des études arméniennes, N.S., 1971, pp. 281-358) are ingenious but not convincing. The war of Maximinus Daia in 311-312 (Eusebius, Historia ecclesiastica 9.66.3) might provide a terminus ante quem if it could be proved that "the Armenians allied to the Romans" were subjects of King Tiridates.

Nisibis

Considerable improvement must therefore have been made to its fortification under Diocletian and Constantine. Ammianus (XXV.9.1) mentions a citadel (arx) from which flew the Persian flag after the disgraceful surrender of the city in 363. Malalas (XII, p. 336.14-15) calls it "one of the towers" implying that there were several. Ammianus who knew the city well echoes the views of many in remarking that "the entire Orient might have passed into the control of Persia, had not this city with its advantageous situation and mighty walls resisted him (i.e. Šāpur II)" and the city was undoubtedly "the strongest bulwark of the Orient" (XXV.8.14). Besides the strengthening of her defenses, the morale of Nisibis' citizens was greatly raised by the growth of Christianity in this region after the conversion of Constantine. Jacob, one of the city's first bishops, was active in raising the morale of the garrison in the first siege. As Christians in Persia came to be suspected as a pro-Roman fifth-column and openly persecuted, the war between Rome and Persia acquired a new religious dimension; it was no longer a conflict of Romans versus "barbarians," but of the faithful against persecuting "heathens".

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nisibis-city-in-northern-mesopotamia>

When Hormizd II died in 309, he was succeeded by his son Adur Narseh, who, after a brief reign which lasted few months, was killed by some of the nobles of the empire. They then blinded the second, and imprisoned the third (Hormizd, who afterwards escaped to the Roman Empire). The throne was reserved for the unborn child of Hormizd II's Jewish wife Ifra Hormizd, which was Shapur II. It is said that Shapur II may have been the only king in history to be crowned in utero, as the legend claims that the crown was placed upon his mother's womb while she was pregnant.

However, according to Alireza Shapour Shahbazi, it is unlikely that Shapur was crowned as king while still in his mother's womb, since the nobles could not have known of his sex at that time. He further states that Shapur was born forty days after his father's death, and that the nobles killed Adur Narseh and crowned Shapur II in order to gain greater control of the empire, which they were able to do until Shapur II reached his majority at the age of 16.

In 337, just before the death of Constantine the Great (324-337), Shapur II, provoked by the Roman rulers' backing of Roman Armenia, broke the peace concluded in 297

between emperors Narseh (293-302) and Diocletian (284-305), which had been observed for forty years. This was the beginning of two long drawn-out wars (337-350 and 358-363) which were inadequately recorded.

After crushing a rebellion in the south, Shapur II invaded Roman Mesopotamia and captured Armenia. Apparently, nine major battles were fought. The most renowned was the inconclusive Battle of Singara (modern Sinjar, Iraq) in which Constantius II was at first successful, capturing the Persian camp, only to be driven out by a surprise night attack after Shapur had rallied his troops (344-or 348?). The most notable feature of this war was the consistently successful defence of the Roman fortress of Nisibis in Mesopotamia. Shapur besieged the fortress three times (in 338, 346, 350), and was repulsed each time.

Although victorious in battle, Shapur II could make no further progress with Nisibis un-taken. At the same time he was attacked in the east by Scythian Massagetae and other Central Asia. He had to break off the war with the Romans and arrange a hasty truce in order to pay attention to the east (350). Roughly around this time the Hunnic tribes, most likely the [...]

In any case, Christian communities had unquestionably existed in Armenia before the official conversion. In a passage in the church history of Sozomenus (*Historia ecclesiastica* 2.8.2) it is stated that the Persians began to become Christian as a result of their contacts with the Armenians and the Osrohenians; but as far as the Armenians are concerned, this is not wholly true, because the first penetration of Christianity into Iran was definitely not by way of Armenia (see M. L. Chaumont, *La diffusion du christianisme en Iran au IIIe siècle*, in Temporini and Haase, op. cit., II, forthcoming). Christianization tended to strengthen Armenia's links with the Roman empire and to set back the Iranian cultural influence.

Tiridates III, the St. Tiridates of the Armenians, worked closely with St. Gregory to spread Christianity through his kingdom and to suppress the pagan cults (described below), which nevertheless did not disappear altogether. While remaining a loyal ally of the Roman emperor, Tiridates did not break off all links with the Sasanians. Presumably he was on good terms with the prince Hormizd, who after the death of his father Hormizd II in 309 had been excluded from the throne and kept in prison until he escaped to the Armenian court (Zosimus, *Historia nova*, [ed. Mendelssohn, 1887] 2.27; see P. Peeters, in *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 17, 1931, p. 37). Tiridates is said to have been killed in a plot hatched by his adversaries (text published by Alishan=Langlois, pp. 193-94; Movsēs Xorenac'i 2.92=Langlois, I, p. 131). From the sources, his death would appear to have occurred not later than 320 (see Peeters, op. cit., pp. 17, 37), but some (Markwart, *Untersuchungen* I, p. 220; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1947, p. 120; Ananian, op. cit., p. 353) hold that his reign lasted until 330 or even later (Asdourian, op. cit., p. 143, places his death in 337). The view of H. Manandian reiterated by K. Toumanoff (in *Revue des études arméniennes*, 1969, pp. 263f.) that Tiridates III was succeeded by another king of the same name, Tiridates IV, seems unfounded.

Information about the successors of Tiridates, namely his son Khosrov Kotak (Kosrow the Lesser) and his grandson Tiran, is available only from the Armenian sources. Khosrov chose a site north of Artaxata on which to build a new capital, Dvin, and an aparank' (Parthian apadān) or royal palace (P'awstos 3.8=Langlois, I, pp. 216-18; Movsēs Xorenac'i 3.8=Langlois, II, pp. 136-37). The statement of Movsēs Xorenac'i that dvin was a Persian word meaning "hill" was generally doubted until V. Minorsky ("Transcaucasica," JA, 1930, pp. 41f.) drew attention to the use of dovīn with the sense of "hill" in Persian place names. Khosrov Kotak had to contend with an invasion by the Massagetae of Balāsagān, whose king, named Sanesan or Sanatruk is said to have been related to him (P'awstos 3.7=Langlois, I, pp. 215-16; Movsēs Xorenac'i, 3.9=Langlois, II, pp. 137-38). Another problem is said to have been the defection of the vitaxes (bdeašx) of Arzanene, who sought to become a vassal of the Persian king (P'awstos 3.9=Langlois, p. 216; Movsēs Xorenac'i 3.4=Langlois, II, p. 135); but this defection, the date of which is unclear, cannot really have affected the king of Armenia because Arzanene had not been Armenian for many years, having been annexed to the Roman empire under the treaty of Nisibis. King Tiran (incorrectly called Tigranes VII) seems to have had serious conflicts with the Christian clergy and is said to have put St. Gregory's successor, the catholicos Yusik, to death. In his foreign policy he was mainly concerned to placate Šāpūr II of Iran. The latter made no secret of his designs on Armenia (Libanius, *Orationes* 59.71-72; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.56), where he could count on support from some of the naxarars. Probably ca.

334/335 or perhaps a little later, Šāpūr succeeded in capturing King Tiran, his queen, and the crown prince Aršak (according to the rather picturesque account given by P'awstos 3.20=Langlois, I, pp. 229f.). Tiran is said to have been betrayed by his chamberlain (senekapet) Phisak, who delivered him to the satrap of Arzanene, Šāpūr-Varāz (on the chronology of these events, see N. H. Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," English Historical Review 25, 1910, pp. 627-28; E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire I, Paris, 1959, p. 130). In 338, however, Šāpūr after his first reverse outside Nisibis agreed to the release of the royal family of Armenia and to the enthronement of Aršak, apparently at the special request of the emperor Constantius II; the matter is the subject of oracular comments by Julian (Orationes 1.20d; ed. J. Bidez, p. 34 in which the personal name of the king of Armenia is not mentioned).

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/armenia-ii>

The trilingual inscription of Šābuhr at "Kaaba i Zardušt"
Res Gestae divi Saporis

Kidarites, whose king was Grumbates, make an appearance as an encroaching threat upon Sasanian territory as well as a menace to the Gupta Empire (320-500). After a prolonged struggle (353-358) they were forced to conclude a peace, and Grumbates agreed to enlist his light cavalymen into the Persian army and accompany Shapur II in renewed war against the Romans, particularly participating in the Siege of Amida in 359.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shapur_II

Manichaeism's views on Jesus are described by historians:
Jesus in Manichaeism possessed three separate identities:

(1) Jesus the Luminous, (2) Jesus the Messiah and (3) Jesus patibilis (the suffering Jesus).

(1) As Jesus the Luminous... his primary role was as supreme revealer and guide and it was he who woke Adam from his slumber and revealed to him the divine origins of his soul and its painful captivity by the body and mixture with matter. Jesus the Messiah was a historical being who was the prophet of the Jews and the forerunner of Mani. However, the Manichaeans believed he was wholly divine. He never experienced human birth as notions of physical conception and birth filled the Manichaeans with horror and the Christian doctrine of virgin birth was regarded as equally obscene. Since he was the light of the world, where was this light, they asked, when he was in the womb of the Virgin?

(2) Jesus the Messiah was truly born at his baptism as it was on that occasion that the Father openly acknowledged his sonship. The suffering, death and resurrection of this Jesus were in appearance only as they had no salvific value but were an exemplum of the suffering and eventual deliverance of the human soul and a prefiguration of Mani's own martyrdom.

(3) The pain suffered by the imprisoned Light-Particles in the whole of the visible universe, on the other hand, was real and immanent. This was symbolized by the mystic placing of the Cross whereby the wounds of the passion of our souls are set forth. On this mystical Cross of Light was suspended the Suffering Jesus (Jesus patibilis) who was the life and salvation of Man. This mystica cruxifacio was present in every tree, herb, fruit, vegetable and even stones and the soil. This constant and universal suffering of the captive soul is exquisitely expressed in one of the Coptic Manichaean psalms.

Diocletian Emperor 284-305 and Maximian 286-305

St. Marcellinus Pope 296-304

250-350? Solinus.

The shores of the coast of Gaul were the end of the world but that the island Brittania of not inconsiderable size, might deserve the name of another world; for it stretches 800 and more miles, if we measure to the angle of Calidonia. In this fastness an altar inscribed with greek letters proves that Ulysses was driven to Calidonia.

It is surrounded by many not insignificant islands, of which Hibernia approaches it in size, inhuman in the savage practices of its inhabitants but otherwise so rich in fodder that if they were not kept off the pastures the herds would gorge themselves to the point of danger. There are no snakes there, few birds, and people who are unfreindly and warlike. When they have drained the blood of the slain the

victors smear their faces with it. They make no distinction between right and wrong. There are no bees, and if anyone sprinkles dust or pebbles from there among the hives, the swarms will leave the honeycombs... The sea which flows between the island and Brittania is rough and stormy all the year, except for a few days when it is navigable, and those who have investigated the matter estimate that it is 120 miles wide.

A rough strait also separates the island of Silura from the shore which the Brittana tribe of the Dumnonii occupy. The inhabitants of this island preserve the ancient customs; they refuse money, give and accept things, obtain their necessities by exchange rather than by purchase, are zealous in their worship of the gods, and both men and women display a knowledge of the future.

The island of Tanatus is washed by the Fretum Gallicum and is separated from the mainland of Brittania by a narrow estuary. It rejoices in fertile plains and a rich soil which is beneficial not only to itself but to other places too: for whereas it is crawled over by no snakes, earth brought from it to any other place kills snakes. there are many other islands around Brittania, of which the most distant is Thyle, where the summer solstice, when the sun is passing through the sign of cancer, there is no night, and likewise at the winter solstice no day. We hear that beyond Thyle the sea is sluggish and frozen.

The circumference of Brittania is 4,875 miles, within which there are many great rivers and hot springs (fontes calidi) richly adorned for the use of men. Over these springs the divinity of Minerva presides and in her temple the perpetual fires never whiten into ash, but when the flame declines it turns into rocky lumps.

Further to pass over in silence the large and varied wealth of mines with rich veins in which the land of Brittania abounds, there is especially the stone jet (gagates): if you ask its appearance, it is like a black gem (nigrogemmeus), if its properties, it burns with water and is quenched with oil, if its powers, when it is warmed by rubbing it attracts things set by it, like amber.

The region is partly occupied by barbarians who, even from boyhood, have pictures representing various animals put on their bodies by tattoo artists, and the marks grow on their flesh thus inscribed as they grow up.

The Cassiterides look towards the side of Celtiberia, being rich in lead. (Plumbi means lead, but plumbi albi means white lead, or tin).

SBG St. Augulus, martyred Bishop of London. The Orthodox Community of St. Constantine The Great in York keep 7 February as the feast day of the Holy Martyr Augulus (Aule) of London who died in 303.

SBG St. Ursula. Before 355. Possibly in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, i.e. in 300-304, certain virgins, few apparently in number, suffered martyrdom at Cologne. Their names are not recorded. The Clematian inscription makes it certain that there was a martyrdom over their bodies which had been wrecked in 355 and which he rebuilt 355-375. They may have been refugees from the persecutions in Britain who came to Batavia and then Cologne. Among them it was reported that there was a king's daughter, named Vinnosa, whom the people of Cologne called Pinnosa. A Litany in the Cathedral Library at Cologne, of the end of the ninth century, names Martha, Saula, Sambatia, Saturnina, Gregoria, and Pinnosa.

SBG St. Lleuci or Leiki or Lucia. Of this Lucia we have no information beyond that she is stated to have suffered martyrdom, with the famous British virgin and martyr, St. Ursula, with her Eleven Thousand Virgins, at Cologne.

Galerius Emperor 305-311 in association with Constantius I Chlorus & Severus II & Licinius & Constantine I & Maximinus Daza. 305-306. Eutropius.

These emperors, then, having retired from the government of the state, Constantius and Galerius were made emperors; and the Roman world was divided between them in such a manner, that Constantius had Gaul, Italy, and Africa; Galerius Illyricum, Asia, and the East; two Caesars being joined with them. Constantius, however, content with the dignity of emperor, declined the care of governing Africa. He was an excellent man, of extreme benevolence, who studied to increase the resources of the provinces and of private persons, cared but little for the improvement of the public treasury, and used to say that "it was better for the national wealth to be in the hands of individuals than to be laid up in one place of confinement." So moderate was the furniture of his house, too, that if, on holidays, he had to entertain a greater number of friends than ordinary, his dining-rooms were set out with the plate of private persons, borrowed from their several houses. By the Gauls he was not only beloved but venerated, especially because, under his government, they had escaped the suspicious prudence of Diocletian, and the sanguinary rashness of Maximian. He died

in Britain, at York, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and was enrolled among the gods.

SBG St. Coel. Coel Hen, or Coel Godebog son of Guotepauc, the son of Tecmant Godebog being his father's name, and not his epithet, which was Hen. According to these genealogies he was the father of Garbaniaun and Ceneu. King of Ayreshire. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who styles him Earl of Gloucester, says that he had only one child, Elen Luyddog, or Helen, the wife of Constantius, and the mother of Constantine the Great. However, the old Welsh saga, the Dream of Maxen Wledig, makes Elen Luyddog the daughter of Eudaf, son of Caradog, and the wife of Maxen, Emperor Maximus.

SBG St. Elen. Helen, or as in Welsh, is generally known in Welsh tradition as Elen Luyddog, or Elen of the Hosts. Elen, the British Princess, was the daughter, variously, of Eudaf ab Caradog, Octavius dux Wisseorum, Eudaf jarll Ergig ac Euas, who was ruler of either Herefordshire, Essex, Carnarvon, or Gloucester.

She was the wife of Maximus who established himself at Treves [Trier] as the capital of his portion of the Empire, and doubtless Helen was there with him. The tradition at Treves [Trier] is that the present Cathedral was the palace of the Empress Helena, which she gave up to the Church. To this day it bears evidence of having been adapted from a domestic purpose to sacred usages. The atrium, open to the sky, was only domed over comparatively late in Mediaeval times. At Treves [Trier], however, Helen the British Princess, wife of Maximus, has been confounded with Helena the mother of Constantine.

306. Eutropius.

Galerius, a man of excellent moral character, and skilful in military affairs, finding that Italy, by Constantius's permission, was put under his government, created two Caesars, Maximin, whom he appointed over the east, and Severus, to whom he committed Italy. He himself resided in Illyricum. But after the death of Constantius, Constantine, his son by a wife of obscure birth, was made emperor in Britain, and succeeded his father as a most desirable ruler. In the meantime the praetorian guards at Rome, having risen in insurrection, declared Maxentius, the son of Maximian Herculus, who lived in the *Villa Publica* not far from the city, emperor. At the news of this proceeding, Maximian, filled with hopes of regaining the imperial dignity, which he had not willingly resigned, hurried to Rome from Lucania, (which, on retiring into private life, he had chosen for his place of residence, spending his old age in a most delightful country), and stimulated Diocletian by letters to resume the authority that he had laid down, letters which Diocletian utterly disregarded. Severus Caesar, being despatched to Rome by Galerius to suppress the rising of the guards and Maxentius, arrived there with his army, but, as he was laying siege to the city, was deserted through the treachery of his soldiers.

The power of Maxentius was thus increased, and his government established. Severus, taking to flight, was killed at Ravenna. Maximian Herculus, attempting afterwards, in an assembly of the army, to divest his son Maxentius of his power, met with nothing but mutiny and reproaches from the soldiery. He then set out for Gaul, on a planned stratagem, as if he had been driven away by his son, that he might join his son-in-law Constantine, designing, however, if he could find an opportunity, to cut off Constantine, who was ruling in Gaul with great approbation both of the soldiers and the people of the province, having overthrown the Franks and Alemanni with great slaughter, and captured their kings, whom, on exhibiting a magnificent show of games, he exposed to wild beasts. But the plot being made known by Maximian's daughter Fausta, who communicated the design to her husband, Maximian was cut off at Marseilles, whence he was preparing to sail to join his son, and died a well-deserved death; for he was a man inclined to every kind of cruelty and severity, faithless, perverse, and utterly void of consideration for others.

307. Liber Britannicus. Constanst, king of Britain, was the father of Constantine, son of Eiline (*Helena*), the concubine of Constantin. Etrobus wrote that it was in the island of Britain that Constantin took sovereignty at first; for his father had exercised dominion over France and Spain in the life-time of Dioclistan.

Nennius. The fifth was Constantius the father of Constantine the Great. He died in Britain; his sepulchre, as it appears by the inscription on his tomb, is still seen near the city named Cair segont (near Carnarvon). Upon the pavement of the above-mentioned city he sowed three seeds of gold, silver and brass, that no poor person might ever be found in it. It is also called Minmanton.

307. Socrates Scholasticus. Chapter II. – *By what Means the Emperor Constantine became a Christian.*

When Diocletian and Maximian, surnamed Herculus, had by mutual consent laid aside

the imperial dignity, and retired into private life, Maximian, surnamed Galerius, who had been a sharer with them in the government, came into Italy and appointed two Cæsars, Maximin in the eastern division of the empire, and Severus in the Italian. In Britain, however, Constantine was proclaimed emperor, instead of his father Constantius, who died in the first year of the two hundred and seventy-first Olympiad, on the 25th of July. And at Rome Maxentius, the son of Maximian Herculus, was raised by the prætorian soldiers to be a tyrant rather than an emperor. In this state of things Herculus, impelled by a desire to regain the sovereignty, attempted to destroy his son Maxentius; but this he was prevented by the soldiery from effecting, and he soon afterwards died at Tarsus in Cilicia. At the same time Severus Cæsar being sent to Rome by Galerius Maximian, in order to seize Maxentius, was slain, his own soldiers having betrayed him. At length Galerius Maximian, who had exercised the chief authority, also died, having previously appointed as his successor, his old friend and companion in arms, Licinius, a Dacian by birth. Meanwhile, Maxentius sorely oppressed the Roman people, treating them as a tyrant rather than as a king, shamelessly violating the wives of the nobles, putting many innocent persons to death, and perpetrating other similar atrocities. The emperor Constantine being informed of this, exerted himself to free the Romans from the slavery under him (i.e. Maxentius), and began immediately to consider by what means he might overthrow the tyrant. Now while his mind was occupied with this great subject, he debated as to what divinity's aid he should invoke in the conduct of the war. He began to realize that Diocletian's party had not profited at all by the pagan deities, whom they had sought to propitiate; but that his own father Constantius, who had renounced the various religions of the Greeks, had passed through life far more prosperously. In this state of uncertainty, as he was marching at the head of his troops, a preternatural vision, which transcends all description, appeared to him. In fact, about that part of the day when the sun after posing the meridian begins to decline towards the west, he saw a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, on which were inscribed these words, BY THIS CONQUER.

The appearance of this sign struck the emperor with amazement and scarcely believing his own eyes, he asked those around him if they beheld the same spectacle; and as they unanimously declared that they did, the emperor's mind was strengthened by this divine and marvellous apparition. On the following night in his slumbers he saw Christ who directed him to prepare a standard according to the pattern of that which had been seen; and to use it against his enemies as an assured trophy of victory. In obedience to this divine oracle, he caused a standard in the form of a cross to be prepared, which is preserved in the palace even to the present time: and proceeding in his measures with greater earnestness, he attacked the enemy and vanquished him before the gates of Rome, near the Mulvian bridge, Maxentius himself being drowned in the river. This victory was achieved in the seventh year of the conqueror's reign.

After this, while Licinius, who shared the government with him, and was his brother-in-law, having married his sister Constantia, was residing in the East, the emperor Constantine, in view of the great blessing he had received, offered grateful thanksgivings to God as his benefactor; these consisted in his relieving the Christians from persecution, recalling those who were in exile, liberating such as were imprisoned, and causing the confiscated property of the prescribed to be restored to them; he moreover rebuilt the churches, and performed all these things with the greatest ardor. About this time Diocletian, who had abdicated the imperial authority, died at Salona in Dalmatia.

Eusebius. Life of Constantine

CHAPTER VIII: That he conquered nearly the Whole World.

But our emperor began his reign at the time of life at which the Macedonian died, yet doubled the length of his life, and trebled the length of his reign. And instructing his army in the mild and sober precepts of godliness, he carried his arms as far as the Britons, and the nations that dwell in the very bosom of the Western ocean. He subdued likewise all Scythia, though situated in the remotest North, and divided into numberless diverse and barbarous tribes. He even pushed his conquests to the Blemmyans and Ethiopians, on the very confines of the South nor did he think the acquisition of the Eastern nations unworthy his care. In short, diffusing the effulgence of his holy light to the ends of the whole world, even to the most distant Indians, the nations dwelling on the extreme circumference of the inhabited earth, he received the submission of all the rulers, governors, and satraps of barbarous nations, who cheerfully welcomed and saluted him, sending embassies and presents, and setting the highest value on his acquaintance and friendship; insomuch that they honoured him with pictures and statues in their respective countries, and Constantine

alone of all emperors was acknowledged and celebrated by all. Notwithstanding, even among these distant nations, he proclaimed the name of his God in his royal edicts with all boldness.

Excerpta Valesiana. The Lineage of the Emperor Constantine
Diocletian ruled with Herculus Maximianus for twenty years.

Constantius, grandson of the brother of that best of emperors Claudius, was first one of the emperor's bodyguard, then a tribune, and later, governor of Dalmatia. With Galerius he was appointed Caesar by Diocletian; for he put away his former wife Helena and married Theodora, daughter of Maximianus, by whom he afterwards had six children, brothers of Constantine. But by his former wife Helena he already had a son Constantine, who was later the mightiest of emperors.

This Constantine, then, born of Helena, a mother of very common origin, and brought up in the town of Naissus, which he afterwards splendidly adorned, had but slight training in letters. He was held as a hostage by Diocletian and Galerius, and did valiant service under those emperors in Asia. After the abdication of Diocletian and Herculus, Constantius sked Galerius to return his son; but Galerius first exposed him to many dangers. For when Constantine, then a young man, was serving in the cavalry against the Sarmatians, he seized by the hair and carried off a fierce savage, and threw him at the feet of the emperor Galerius. Then sent by Galerius through a swamp, he entered it on his horse and made a way for the rest to the Sarmatians, of whom he slew many and won the victory for Galerius. Then at last Galerius sent him back to his father. But in order to avoid meeting Severus as he passed through Italy, Constantine crossed the Alps with the greatest haste, ordering the post-horses to be killed as he went on; and he came up with his father Constantius at Bononia, which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum. But his father Constantius, after winning a victory over the Picts, died at York, and Constantine was unanimously hailed as Caesar by all the troops.

In the meantime, two other Caesars had been appointed, Severus and Maximinus; to Maximinus was given the rule of the Orient; Galerius retained Illyricum for himself, as well as the Thracian provinces and Bithynia; Severus received Italy and whatever Herculus had formerly governed. But after Constantius died in Britain, and his son Constantine succeeded him, Maxentius, the son of Herculus, was suddenly hailed as emperor by the praetorian soldiers in the city of Rome. By order of Galerius, Severus took the field against Maxentius, but he was suddenly deserted by all his followers and fled to Ravenna. Thereupon Galerius, with a great army, came against Rome, threatening the destruction of the city, and encamped at Interamna near the Tiber. Then he sent Licinius and Probus to the city as envoys, asking that the son-in-law, that is Maxentius, should attain his desires from the father-in-law, that is Galerius, at the price of requests rather than of arms. Galerius' proposal was scorned, and having learned that through Maxentius' promises many of his own men had been led to desert his cause, he was distressed and turned back; and in order to furnish his men with whatever booty he could, he gave orders that the Flaminian Road should be plundered. Maximianus took refuge with Constantine. Then Galerius made Licinius a Caesar in Illyricum, and after that, leaving him in Pannonia, returned himself to Serdica, where he was attacked by a violent disease and wasted away so completely, that he died with the inner parts of his body exposed and in a state of corruption – a punishment for a most unjust persecution, which recoiled as a well-merited penalty upon the author of the iniquitous order. He ruled for nineteen years.

308. Zosimus.

Three years after Dioclesian died, and the reigning emperors, Constantius and Maximianus Gallerius declared Severus and Maximinus (who was nephew to Gallerius), the Caesars, giving all Italy to Severus, and the eastern provinces to Maximinus. Affairs being all regulated and the barbarians quiet, since the Romans had been so successful against them, Constantine, who was the son of Constantius by a concubine, and had previously an ambition of being emperor (but was more inflamed with that desire, since Severus and Maximinus had acquired the name and honour of Caesars), was now resolved to leave the place where he had resided, and to go to his father Constantius, who was beyond the Alps, and generally in Britain. But being apprehensive of seizure by the way, many persons being well acquainted of his anxiety for dominion, he maimed all the horses that were kept for public service, whenever he came to any stable where they were kept, except what he took for his own use. He continued to do this throughout his journey, by which means he prevented those that pursued him from going further, while he himself proceeded toward the country where his father was.

It happened that Constantius died at that time; the guards, therefore, who thought none of his legitimate children to be fit for the imperial dignity, considered that Constantine was a person capable of sustaining it, and conferred the honour upon him, in hopes of being remunerated with handsome presents. When his effigy according to custom was exhibited at Rome, Maxentius, the son of Maximianus Herculus, could not endure the sight of Constantine's good fortune, who was the son of a harlot, while himself, who was the son of so great an emperor, remained at home in indolence, and his father's empire was enjoyed by others. He therefore associated with himself in the enterprise Marcellianus and Marcellus, two military tribunes, and Lucianus, who distributed the swine's flesh, with which the people of Rome were provided by the treasury, and the court-guards called Praetoriani. By them he was promoted to the imperial throne, having promised liberally to reward all that assisted him in it. For this purpose they first murdered Abellius, because he, being prefect of the city, opposed their enterprise.

30?. Zosimus.

Maximianus Gallerius, when he had learned this, sent Severus Caesar against Maxentius with an army. But while he advanced from Milan with several legions of Moors, Maxentius corrupted his troops with money, and even the prefect of the court, Anullinus, and thereby conquered him with great ease. On which Severus fled to Ravenna, which is a strong and populous city, provided with necessaries sufficient for himself and soldiers. When Maximianus Herculus knew this, he was doubtless greatly concerned for his son Maxentius, and therefore, leaving Lucania where he then was, he went to Ravenna. Finding that Severus could not by any means be forced out of this city, it being well fortified, and stored with provisions, he deluded him with false oaths, and persuaded him to go to Rome. But on his way thither, coming to a place called the Three Tabernae, he was taken by a stratagem of Maxentius and immediately executed. Maximianus Gallerius could not patiently endure these injuries done to Severus, and therefore resolved to go from the east to Rome, and to punish, Maxentius as he deserved. On his arrival in Italy, he found the soldiers about him so treacherous, that he returned into the east without fighting a battle.

At this period Maximianus Herculus, who lamented the tumults which disturbed the public peace, came to Dioclesian who then lived at Carnutum, a town of Gallia Celtica, and endeavoured to persuade him to resume the empire, and not to suffer the government which they had preserved so long and with so much difficulty to be exposed to the madness and folly of those who had possessed themselves of it, and who had already brought it near to ruin. But Dioclesian refused to listen to him; for he wisely preferred his own quiet, and perhaps foresaw the troubles that would ensue, being a man well versed in matters of religion. Herculus therefore, perceiving that he could not prevail with him, came to Ravenna, and so returned to the Alps to meet Constantine, who lay there. And being naturally a busy faithless man, he promised his daughter Fausta to Constantine, which he performed, but persuaded him to pursue Maximianus Gallerius, who was then leaving Italy, and to lay wait for Maxentius. To all which Constantine agreed. He then left him, designing if possible to recover the empire, as he hoped to create a quarrel between Constantine and his son Maxentius. But while he attempted these things, Maximianus Gallerius assumed Licinius, as his colleague in the empire, with whose assistance he hoped to cope with Maxentius. But while Gallerius deliberated on these affairs, he died of an incurable wound, and Licinius then also claimed the sole dominion. Maximianus Herculus endeavoured, as I have said, to recover the empire by alienating the soldiers from Maxentius. For which purpose, by gifts and insinuating addresses, having brought them over to him, he endeavoured to form a conspiracy against Constantine, in which his soldiers were to join. But Fausta revealed it to Constantine, and Herculus, who was now overborne by so many disappointments, died of a distemper at Tarsus.

Maxentius, having escaped this danger, and being of opinion that he was now well enough established in the empire, sent persons into Africa, and in particular to Carthage, to carry his image about that country. But the soldiers in that country forbade it, out of regard to Maximianus Gallerius, and the respect they had for his memory, until they heard that Maxentius was coming to make war on them on the plea of an insurrection. They then went to Alexandria, but meeting with a great army with which they were not able to contend, they returned to Carthage. Maxentius, being disturbed at this, resolved to sail for Africa, and to punish the authors of the commotion. But the soothsayers having sacrificed and given him ill omens, he was afraid to go, not only because the entrails had that appearance, but also lest Alexander, who was prefect of the court in Africa, should be his enemy. To secure his passage thither from all doubt, he sent to Alexander, desiring him to send his son as

an hostage. But he, suspecting that Maxentius did not desire his son for the mere purpose of an hostage, but to deceive him, denied the request. After this, Maxentius sending other agents to him to take him off by treachery and stratagem, the plot was discovered; and the soldiers, having then got a favourable opportunity to rebel, conferred the purple robe on Alexander, though he was by birth not only a Phrygian, but a timid cowardly man, and unlit for any difficult undertaking, and was, moreover, of an advanced age.

At that time a fire happened at Rome; whether it came out of the air or earth is uncertain. It broke out in the temple of Fortune; and while the people ran to extinguish it, a soldier, speaking blasphemy against the goddess, was killed by the mob out of zeal, by which a mutiny was occasioned among the soldiers. They would have destroyed the whole city, had not Maxentius soon appeased their rage. Maxentius after this sought every occasion to make war on Constantine, and pretending grief for his father's death, of which Constantine was the cause, he designed to go towards Rhaetia, which is contiguous both to Gaul and Illyricum. For he imagined that he should subdue Dalmatia and Illyricum, by the assistance of the generals in those parts, and of the army of Licinius. But thinking it better first to arrange affairs in Africa, he raised an army, bestowing the command of it on Rufius Volusianus, prefect of the court, and sent them into Africa. He sent Zeno also along with Rufius, who was a person not only expert in military affairs, but esteemed for his courtesy and affability. On the first charge, Alexander's troops retired on a body of men in the rear, nor was the other party left unconquered by the enemy. Alexander himself was taken and strangled.

The war being thus at an end, a good opportunity was afforded to sycophants and informers of impeaching all the persons in Africa, who had good estates, as friends to Alexander: nor were any of the accused spared, but some of them put to death, and others deprived of all their possessions. After this he triumphed at Rome for the mischief done at Carthage. Such was the state of the affairs of Maxentius, who conducted himself with cruelty and licentiousness towards all the inhabitants of Italy, and even to Rome itself. Meantime Constantine, who had long been jealous of him, was then much more disposed to contention. Having therefore raised an army amongst the Barbarians, Germans, and Celts, whom he had conquered, and likewise drawn a force out of Britain, amounting in the whole to ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse, he marched from the Alps into Italy, passing those towns that surrendered without doing them any damage, but taking by storm those which resisted. While he was making this progress, Maxentius had collected a much stronger army; consisting of eighty thousand Romans and Italians, all the Tuscans on the sea coast, forty thousand men from Carthage, besides what the Sicilians sent him; his whole force amounting to a hundred and seventy thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse.

St. Eusebius Pope 309 or 310
St. Miltiades Pope 311-314

312. Zosimus.

Both being thus prepared, Maxentius threw a bridge over the Tiber, which was not of one entire piece, but divided into two parts, the centre of the bridge being made to fasten with irons, which might be drawn out upon occasion. He gave orders to the workmen, that as soon as they saw the army of Constantine upon the juncture of the bridge, they should draw out the iron fastenings, that the enemy who stood upon it might fall into the river.

Constantine, advancing with his army to Rome, encamped in a field before the city, which was broad and therefore convenient for cavalry. Maxentius in the mean time shut himself up within the walls, and sacrificed to the gods, and, moreover, consulted the Sibylline oracles concerning the event of the war. Finding a prediction, that whoever designed any harm to the Romans should die a miserable death, he applied it to himself, because he withstood those that came against Rome, and wished to take it. His application indeed proved just. For when Maxentius drew out his army before the city, and was marching over the bridge that he himself had constructed, an infinite number of owls flew down and covered the wall. When Constantine saw this, he ordered his men to stand to their arms. And the two armies being drawn up opposite to each other, Constantine sent his cavalry against that of the enemy, whom they charged with such impetuosity that they threw them into disorder. The signal being given to the infantry, they likewise marched in good order towards the enemy. A furious battle having commenced, the Romans themselves, and their foreign allies, were unwilling to risk their lives, as they wished for deliverance from the bitter tyranny with which they were burdened; though the other troops were slain in great numbers, being either

trod to death by the horse, or killed by the foot.

As long as the cavalry kept their ground, Maxentius retained some hopes, but when they gave way, he tied with the rest over the bridge into the city. The beams not being strong enough to bear so great a weight, they broke; and Maxentius, with the others, was carried with the stream down the river.

When the news of this victory was reported in the city, none dared to shew any joy for what had happened, because many thought it was an unfounded report. But when the head of Maxentius was brought upon a spear, their fear and dejection were changed to joy and pleasure. On this occasion Constantine punished very few, and they were only some few of the nearest friends of Maxentius; but he abolished the praetorian troops, and destroyed the fortresses in which they used to reside. At length, having arranged all things in the city, he went towards Gallia Celtica; and on his way sent for Licinius to Milan, and gave him in marriage his sister Constantia, whom he had formerly promised him, when he wished him to unite with himself against Maxentius. That solemnity over, Constantine proceeded towards the Celtae. It was not long before a civil war broke out between Licinius and Maximianus, who had a severe engagement, in which Licinius at first appeared to have the disadvantage, but he presently rallied and put Maximianus to flight. This emperor, travelling through the east into Egypt, in hopes of raising a force to renew the war, died at Tarsus.

Constantine I Emperor 311-337. In association with Licinius 311-324

312. Eusebius. Life of Constantine. CHAPTER XXIV: It was by the Will of God that Constantine became possessed of the Empire.

Thus then the God of all, the Supreme Governor of the whole universe, by his own will appointed Constantine, the descendant of so renowned a parent, to be prince and sovereign: so that, while others have been raised to this distinction by the election of their fellow-men, he is the only one to whose elevation no mortal may boast of having contributed.

CHAPTER XXV: Victories of Constantine over the **Britons**.

As soon then as he was established on the throne, he began to care for the interests of his paternal inheritance, and visited with much considerate kindness all those provinces which had previously been under his father's government. Some tribes of the barbarians who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, and the shores of the Western ocean, having ventured to revolt, he reduced them all to obedience, and brought them from their savage state to one of gentleness. He contented himself with checking the inroads of others, and drove from his dominions, like untamed and savage beasts, those whom he perceived to be altogether incapable of the settled order of civilized life. (1) Having disposed of these affairs to his satisfaction, he directed his attention to other quarters of the world, and first passed over to the **British** nations, (2) which lie in the very bosom of the ocean. These he reduced to submission, and then proceeded to consider the state of the remaining portions of the empire, that he might be ready to tender his aid wherever circumstances might require it.

312. Sozomenus. Extracts from the Ecclesiastical History

Under the government of Constantine the churches flourished and increased in numbers daily, since they were honoured by the good deeds of a benevolent and well-disposed emperor, and otherwise God preserved them from the persecutions and harassments which they had previously encountered. When the churches were suffering from persecution in other parts of the world, Constantius alone, the father of Constantine, accorded the Christians the right of worshipping God without fear. I know of an extraordinary thing done by him, which is worthy of being recorded. He wished to test the fidelity of certain Christians, excellent and good men, who were attached to his palaces. He called them all together, and told them that if they would sacrifice to idols as well as serve God, they should remain in his service and retain their appointments; but that if they refused compliance with his wishes, they should be sent from the palaces, and should scarcely escape his vengeance. When difference of judgement had divided them into two parties, separating those who consented to abandon their religion from those who preferred the honour of God to their present welfare, the emperor determined upon retaining those who had adhered to their faith as his friends and counsellors; but he turned away from the others, whom he regarded as unmanly and impostors, and sent them from his presence, judging that they who had so readily betrayed their God could never be true to their king. Hence it is probable that while Constantius was alive, it did not seem contrary to the laws for the inhabitants of the countries beyond Italy to profess Christianity, that is to say, in Gaul, in Britain, or in the region of the Pyrenean mountains as far as the Western Ocean. When Constantine succeeded to the same government, the affairs of the churches became still more brilliant...

As soon as the sole government of the Roman empire was vested in Constantine, he issued a public decree commanding all his subjects in the East to honour the Christian religion, carefully to worship the Divine Being, and to recognize that only as Divine which is also essentially so, and which has the power that endures for ever and ever: for he delights to give all good things ungrudgingly to those who zealously embrace the truth; he meets their undertakings with the best hopes, while misfortunes, whether in peace or in war, whether in public or in private life, befall transgressors. Constantine then added, but without vain boasting, that, God having accounted him as a fitting servant, worthy to reign, he had been led from the **British** sea to the Eastern provinces in order that the Christian religion might be extended, and that those who, on account of the worship of God had remained steadfast in confessions or martyrdoms, might be advanced to public honours. After making these statements, he entered upon a myriad other details by which he thought his subjects might be drawn to religion. He decreed that all acts and judgements passed by the persecutors of the church against Christianity should be revoked; and commanded that all those who, on account of their confession of Christ, had been sent to banishment - either to the isles or elsewhere, contrary to their own inclination - and all those who had been condemned to labour in the mines, the public works, the harems, the linen factories, or had been enrolled as public functionaries, should be restored to liberty. He removed the stigma of dishonour from those upon whom it had been cast, and permitted those who had been deprived of high appointments in the army, either to re assume their former place, or with an honourable discharge, to enjoy a liberal ease according to their own choice; and when he had recalled all to the enjoyment of their former liberties and customary honours, he likewise restored their possessions. In the case of those who had been slain, and whose property had been confiscated, he enacted that the inheritance should be transferred to the next of kin, or, in default of heirs, to the church belonging to the locality where the estate was situated; and when the inheritance had passed into other hands, and had become either private or national property, he commanded it to be restored. He likewise promised to resort to the fittest and best possible arrangements when the property had been purchased by the exchequer, or had been received there from by gift. These measures, as it had been said, having been enacted by the emperor, and ratified by law, were forthwith carried into execution. Christians were thus placed in almost all the principal posts of the Roman government; the worship of false gods was universally prohibited; and the arts of divination, the dedication of statues, and the celebration of pagan festivals were interdicted.

The church having been in this manner spread throughout the whole Roman world, religion was introduced even among the barbarians themselves. The tribes on both sides of the Rhine were Christianized, as likewise the **Celts** and the **Gauls** who dwelt upon the most distant shores of the ocean; the Goths, too, and such tribes as were contiguous to them, who formerly dwelt on either of the high shores of the Danube, had long shared in the Christian faith, and had changed into a gentler and more rational observance. Almost all the barbarians had professed to hold the Christian doctrine in honour, from the time of the wars between the Romans and foreign tribes, under the government of Gallienus and the emperors who succeeded him. For when an unspeakable multitude of mixed nations passed over from Thrace into Asia and overran it, and when other barbarians from the various regions did the same things to the adjacent Romans, many priests of Christ who had been taken captive, dwelt among these tribes; and during their residence among them, healed the sick, and cleansed those who were possessed of demons, by the name of Christ only, and by calling on the Son of God; moreover they led a blameless life, and excited envy by their virtues. The barbarians, amazed at the conduct and wonderful works of these men, thought that it would be prudent on their part, and pleasing to the Deity, if they should imitate those whom they saw were better; and, like them, would render homage to God. When teachers as to what should be done, had been proposed to them, the people were taught and baptised, and subsequently were gathered into churches.

c 313. Nomina Provinciarum Omnium (Laterculus Veronensis.)

The diocese of the Britanniae includes provinces to the number of six: Prima, Secunda, Maxima Caesariensis, Flavia Caesariensis. Barbarian nations which have emerged under the emperors: Scoti, Picti, Caledonii

St. Sylvester 1 Pope 314-335

After 312. Zosimus.

When he was delivered from the distractions of war, he yielded himself to

voluptuousness, and distributed to the people of Byzantium a present of corn, which is continued to this day. As he expended the public treasure in unnecessary and unprofitable buildings, he likewise built some which in a short time were taken down again, because being erected hastily they could not stand long. He likewise made a great change in the ancient magistracy. Till that time there had been only two prefects of the court, whose authority was equal; not only were the court soldiers under their controul, but those also which guarded the city, and who were stationed in its neighbourhood. The person who had the office of prefect of the court, which was esteemed the next post of honour to that of emperor, distributed the gifts of corn, and punished all offences against military discipline, as he thought convenient. Constantine altered this good institution, and of one office or magistracy formed four. To one of those prefects he committed all Egypt and Pentapolis in Libya, and all the east as far as Mesopotamia, with Cilicia, Cappadocia, Armenia, and all the coast from Pamphylia to Trapezus and the castles near Phasis; to the same person was given all Thrace and Moesia, as far as the mountains Haemus and Rhodope, and the town of Doberus. He likewise added Cyprus and all the Cyclades, except Lemnos, Imbrus, and Samothracia. To another he assigned Macedon, Thessaly, Crete, and Greece, with the adjacent islands, 154 both the Epiruses, the Illyrians, the Dacians, the Triballi, and the Pannonians as far as Valeria, besides the upper Moesia. To the third prefect he entrusted Italy and Sicily, with the neighbouring islands, and Sardinia and Corsica, together with all Africa westward of the Syrtes. To the fourth he committed all beyond the Alps, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. Having thus divided the power of these prefects, he invented other methods likewise of diminishing their influence. For as there used to be in all places, centurions, tribunes, and generals, he appointed officers called *Magistri militum*, some over the horse and others over the foot, to whom he gave authority to discipline the soldiers, and punish those that had offended, by which the power of the prefects was diminished. That this innovation was productive of great injury to public affairs both in peace and war I will immediately prove. The prefects had hitherto collected the tribute in all places by their officers, and disposed of it in war expences, the soldiers at the same time being subject to their authority, whose offences they punished at discretion. Under these circumstances, the soldiers, considering that the same person who gave them their pay had the infliction of punishments whenever they offended, did not dare to act contrary to their duty, for fear of their stipend being withheld, and of being duly punished. But now since one person is paymaster and another inspector of discipline, they act according to their own inclination.

Constantine likewise adopted another measure, which gave the Barbarians free access into the Roman dominions. For the Roman empire, as I have related, was, by the care of Dioclesian, protected on its remote frontiers by towns and fortresses, in which soldiers were placed; it was consequently impossible for the Barbarians to pass them, there being always a sufficient force to oppose their inroads. But Constantine destroyed that security by removing the greater part of the soldiers from those barriers of the frontiers, and placing them in towns that had no need of defenders; thus depriving those who were exposed to the Barbarians of all defence, and oppressing the towns that were quiet with so great a multitude of soldiers, that many of them were totally forsaken by the inhabitants. He likewise rendered his soldiers effeminate by accustoming them to public spectacles and pleasures. To speak in plain terms, he was the first cause of the affairs of the empire declining to their present miserable state.

SBG ST Cadfrawd was the same as Adelfius, who is recorded to have been present at the Council of Arles in 314, the names being "almost a translation of each other." Caerleon may have been the seat of a bishopric, as Giraldus Cambrensis maintained, and Adelfius may have been bishop of the see, but there is no clear evidence that he came from this town or district. He is called in the entry "episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium." There is evidently some error here. Haddan and Stubbs and others have suggested Legionensium for Londinensium, making it refer to Caerleon.

SBG St. Ifor. Bishop of York, present at the Council of Arles, 314.

314. Acta Concilii Arelatensis.

Eborius episcopus de civitate Eboricensi Provincia Britannia.

Restitutus episcopus de civitate Londenensis Provincia qua supra.

Adelfius episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium, exinde Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus.

(Ed, There are Variant Latin spellings).

Ex provincia Britannia civitas Tobracentium Aerburius episcopus.

Civitas Londinientium Restitutus episcopus.

Civitas Londinientium Adelfius.

(Variant).

Ex provincia Britannia Tububiacensium Eburus episcopus.

Ex civitate Londiniensium Restitutus episcopus.

Ex civitate Colonia Londiniensis Adelfius episcopus et Menius diaconus.

(Variant).

Ex provincia Britania civitas Tubeuriacensium Eburius episcopus.

Civitas Londinensium Restitutus episcopus.

Colonia ... Adelfius episcopus Sacer episcopus Arminius diaconus.

(Variant).

Ex provincia Brittinia civitas Tubiricensium Evortius episcopus.

Civitas Coloniae Lonininsium Adelfus episcopus.

322. Annals of the Four Masters.

Fiacha Sraibhtine, after having been thirty seven years as king over Ireland, was slain by the Collas, in the battle of Dubhchomar, in Crioich Rois, in Breagh.

323. The first year of Colla Uais, son of Eochaidh Doimhlen, as king over Ireland.

324. GENNADIUS of MASSILIA

Chapter XIV. – *Letter written by the Emperor Constantine respecting the building of Churches*

"Constantinus Augustus, the great and the victorious, to Eusebius.

"I am well aware, and am thoroughly convinced, my beloved brother, that as the servants of our Saviour Christ have been suffering up to the present time from nefarious machinations and tyrannical persecutions, the fabrics of all the churches must have either fallen into utter ruin from neglect, or, through apprehension of the impending iniquity, have been reduced below their proper dignity. But now that freedom is restored, and that dragon, through the providence of God, and by our instrumentality, thrust out from the government of the Empire, I think that the divine power has become known to all, and that those who hitherto, from fear or from incredulity or from depravity, have lived in error, will now, upon becoming acquainted with Him who truly is, be led into the true and correct manner of life. Exert yourself, therefore, diligently in the reparation of the churches under your own jurisdiction, and admonish the principal bishops, priests, and deacons of other places to engage zealously in the same work; in order that all the churches which still exist may be repaired or enlarged, and that new ones may be built wherever they are required. You, and others through your intervention, can apply to magistrates and to provincial governments for all that may be necessary for this purpose; for they have received written injunctions to render zealous obedience to whatever your holiness may command. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

Thus the emperor wrote to the bishops in each province respecting the building of churches.

Chapter XX. – *Of the destruction of the temples all over the Empire.*

Now the right faithful emperor diverted his energies to resisting paganism, and published edicts in which he ordered the shrines of the idols to be destroyed. Constantine the Great, most worthy of all eulogy, was indeed the first to grace his empire with true religion; and when he saw the world still given over to foolishness he issued a general prohibition against the offering of sacrifices to the idols. He had not, however, destroyed the temples, though he ordered them to be kept shut. His sons followed in their father's footsteps. Julian restored the false faith and rekindled the flame of the ancient fraud. On the accession of Jovian he once more placed an interdict on the worship of idols, and Valentinian the Great governed Europe with like laws. Valens, however, allowed every one else to worship any way they would and to honour their various objects of adoration. Against the champions of the Apostolic decrees alone he persisted in waging war. Accordingly during the whole period of his reign the altar fire was lit, libations and sacrifices were offered to idols, public feasts were celebrated in the forum, and votaries initiated in the orgies of Dionysus ran about in goat-skins, mangling hounds in Bacchic frenzy, and generally behaving in such a way as to show the iniquity of their master. When the right faithful Theodosius found all these evils he pulled them up by the roots, and consigned them to oblivion

The Epistle of the Emperor Constantine, (extract) Quoted by Theodoretus of Cyprus.

That this impropriety should be rectified, and that all these diversities of commemoration should be resolved into one form, is the will of divine Providence, as

I am convinced you will all perceive. Therefore, this irregularity must be corrected, in order that we may no more have any thing in common with those parricides and the murderers of our Lord. An orderly and excellent form of commemoration is observed in all the churches of the western, of the southern, and of the northern parts of the world, and by some of the eastern; this form being universally commended, I engaged that you would be ready to adopt it likewise, and thus gladly accept the rule unanimously adopted in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, in all Africa, in Egypt, the Spains, the Gauls, the Britains, Libya, Greece, in the dioceses of Asia, and of Pontus, and in Cilicia, taking into your consideration not only that the churches of the places above-mentioned are greater in point of number, but also that it is most pious that all should unanimously agree in that course which accurate reasoning seems to demand, and which has no single point in common with the perjury of the Jews.

BEDE

CHAP. VIII. How, when the persecution ceased, the Church in Britain enjoyed peace till the time of the Arian heresy.

When the storm of persecution ceased, the faithful Christians, who, during the time of danger, had hidden themselves in woods and deserts and secret caves, came forth and rebuilt the churches which had been levelled to the ground; founded, erected, and finished the cathedrals raised in honour of the holy martyrs, and, as if displaying their conquering standards in all places, celebrated festivals and performed their sacred rites with pure hearts and lips. This peace continued in the Christian churches of Britain until the time of the Arian madness, which, having corrupted the whole world, infected this island also, so far removed from the rest of the world, with the poison of its error; and when once a way was opened across the sea for that plague, straightway all the taint of every heresy fell upon the island, ever desirous to hear some new thing, and never holding firm to any sure belief.

At this time Constantius, who, whilst Diocletian was alive, governed Gaul and Spain, a man of great clemency and urbanity, died in Britain. This man left his son Constantine born of Helena, his concubine, emperor of the Gauls. Eutropius writes that Constantine, being created emperor in Britain, succeeded his father in the sovereignty. In his time the Arian heresy broke out, and although it was exposed and condemned in the Council of Nicaea, nevertheless, the deadly poison of its evil spread, as has been said, to the Churches in the islands, as well as to those of the rest of the world.

325. Eusebius. Life of Constantine

CHAPTER XIX: Exhortation to follow the Example of the Greater Part of the World.

"Since, therefore, it was needful that this matter should be rectified, so that we might have nothing in common with that nation of parricides who slew their Lord: and since that arrangement is consistent with propriety which is observed by all the churches of the western, southern, and northern parts of the world, and by some of the eastern also: for these reasons all are unanimous on this present occasion in thinking it worthy of adoption. And I myself have undertaken that this decision should meet with the approval of your Sagacities, in the hope that your Wisdoms will gladly admit that practice which is observed at once in the city of Rome, and in Africa; throughout Italy, and in Egypt, in Spain, the Gauls, Britain, Libya, and the whole of Greece; in the dioceses of Asia and Pontus, and in Cilicia, with entire unity of judgement. And you will consider not only that the number of churches is far greater in the regions I have enumerated than in any other, but also that it is most fitting that all should unite in desiring that which sound reason appears to demand, and in avoiding all participation in the perjured conduct of the Jews. In fine, that I may express my meaning in as few words as possible, it has been determined by the common judgement of all, that the most holy feast of Easter should be kept on one and the same day. For on the one hand a discrepancy of opinion on so sacred a question is unbecoming, and on the other it is surely best to act on a decision which is free from strange folly and error.

CHAPTER L: Embassy and Presents from the Indians.

ABOUT this time ambassadors from the Indians, who inhabit the distant regions of the East, arrived with presents consisting of many varieties of brilliant precious stones, and animals differing in species from those known to us. These offerings they presented to the emperor, thus allowing that his sovereignty extended even to the Indian Ocean, and that the princes of their country, who rendered homage to him both by paintings and statues, acknowledged his imperial and paramount authority. Thus the Eastern Indians now submitted to his sway, as the Britons of the Western Ocean had done at the commencement of his reign.

326. Annals of the Four Masters.

The fourth year of Colla Uais, in the sovereignty of Ireland, when Muireadhach Tireach expelled him and his brothers into Alba Scotland with three hundred along with them.

327. The first year of Muireadhach Tireach in the sovereignty of Ireland.

At the end of this year the three Collas came to Ireland; and there lived not of their forces but thrice nine persons only. They then went to Muireadhach, having been instructed by a druid. And they scolded at him, and expressed evil words, that he might kill them, and that it might be on him the curse of the finghal should alight. As he did not oppose them, they tarried with him, and were faithful to him.

331. The fifth year of Muireadhach.

The battle of Achadh Leithdheirg, in Fearnmhagh, was fought by the three Collas against the Ulstermen, in which fell Fearghus Fogha, son of Fraechar Foirtriun, the last king of Ulster, who resided at Eamhain. They afterwards burned Eamhain, and the Ulstermen did not dwell therein since. They also took from the Ulstermen that part of the province extending from the Righe and Loch nEathach westwards. Colla Meann fell in this battle.

St. Marcus Pope 336**Jordanes**

This Visimar was of the stock of the Asdingi, which is eminent among them and indicates a most warlike descent, as Dexippus the historian relates. He states furthermore that by reason of the great extent of their country they could scarcely come from Ocean to our frontier in a year's time. At that time they dwelt in the land where the Gepidae now live, near the rivers Marisia, Miliare, Gilpil and the Grisia, which exceeds in size all previously mentioned. They then had on the east the Goths, on the west the Marcomanni, on the north the Hermunduli and on the south the Hister, which is also called the Danube. At the time when the Vandals were dwelling in this region, war was begun against them by Geberich, king of the Goths, on the shore of the river Marisia which I have mentioned. Here the battle raged for a little while on equal terms. But soon Visimar himself, the king of the Vandals, was overthrown, together with the greater part of his people. When Geberich, the famous leader of the Goths, had conquered and spoiled Vandals, he returned to his own place whence he had come. Then the remnant of the Vandals who had escaped, collecting a band of their unwarlike folk, left their ill-fated country and asked the Emperor Constantine for Pannonia. Here they made their home for about sixty years and obeyed the commands of the emperors like subjects. A long time afterward they were summoned thence by Stilicho, Master of the Soldiery, Ex-Consul and Patrician, and took possession of Gaul. Here they plundered their neighbors and had no settled place of abode.

St. Julius 1 Pope 337-352**Constantine II Emperor 337-340 in association with Constantius II & Constans**

337. Liber Britannicus. Constantinus, son of Constantine the Great, son of Helena, took the island of Britain, and died, and was buried at Caersegeint, i. e. Minantia, another name for that city; and letters on the gravestone point out his name, and he left three seeds in the green of that city, so that there is not a poor man in that city.

337. Zosimus.

CONSTANTIUS, after having acted towards Gallus Caesar in the manner I have related, left Pannonia to proceed into Italy. But perceiving all the Roman territories to be infested by the incursions of the Barbarians, and that the Franks, the Alemanni, and the Saxons had not only possessed themselves of forty cities near the Rhine, but had likewise ruined and destroyed them, by carrying off an immense number of the inhabitants, and a proportionate quantity of spoils; and that the Sarmatians and the Quadi ravaged without opposition Pannonia and the upper Moesia; besides which that the Persians were perpetually harassing the eastern provinces, though they had previously been tranquil in the fear of an attack from Gallus Caesar; considering these circumstances, and being in doubt what to attempt, he scarcely thought himself capable of managing affairs at this critical period. He was unwilling, however, to associate any one with himself in the government, because he so much desired to rule alone, and could esteem no man his friend. Under these circumstances he was at a loss how to act. It happened, however, that when the empire was in the greatest danger, Eusebia, the wife of Constantius, who was a woman of

extraordinary learning, and of greater wisdom than her sex is usually endowed with, advised him to confer the government of the nations beyond the Alps on Julianus Caesar, who was brother to Gallus, and grandson to Constantius. As she knew that the emperor was suspicious of all his kindred, she thus circumvented him. She observed to him, that Julian was a young man unacquainted with the intrigues of state, having devoted himself totally to his studies; and that he was wholly inexperienced in worldly business. That on this account he would be more fit for his purpose than any other person. That either he would be fortunate, and his success would be attributed to the emperor's conduct, or that he would fail and perish; and that thus Constantius would have none of the imperial family to succeed to him.

337-340.

Having done this, and restored as many captives as it was probable had been taken out of the forty cities which they had sacked, Caesar was at a loss what course to adopt, perceiving the cities to be completely ruined, and that the land had remained long without cultivation, which occasioned great scarcity of provisions among those who were delivered up by the Barbarians. For the neighbouring cities could not supply them, having themselves felt the violence of the Barbarians, and consequently having no great abundance for their own use. Having therefore deliberated on what course to pursue he formed this plan. As the Rhine discharges itself at the extremity of Germany into the Atlantic ocean, and the 170 island of **Britain** is about nine hundred stadia from its mouths, he cut timber from the woods on the banks of the river, and built eight hundred small vessels, which he sent into **Britain** for a supply of corn, and brought it up the Rhine. This was so often repeated, the voyage being short, that he abundantly supplied those who were restored to their cities with sufficiency for their sustenance, so likewise for the sowing season, and what they needed until harvest. These actions he performed when he had scarcely attained the twenty-fifth year of his age.

Constantius, perceiving that Julian was beloved by the army, for his frugality in pence and courage in war, and for the self-command he possessed in regard to riches, and the other virtues in which he excelled all persons of the age in which he lived, became envious of his great merit, and concluded that Sallustius, one of the counsellors that had been allotted to him, was the author of the policy that had acquired Julian so much honour both in military and in civil affairs. He, therefore, sent for Sallustius, as if he intended to confer the government of the eastern provinces upon him. Julian readily dismissed him, resolving to obey the emperor in all respects. Though Sallustius was removed, Julian still advanced in whatever was committed to his care; the soldiers improved in discipline as well as augmented in number, and the towns enjoyed the blessings of peace.

The Barbarians in that quarter now began almost all to despair, and expected little short of the complete destruction of all that remained alive. The **Saxons**, who exceed all the barbarians in those regions, in courage, strength and hardiness, sent out the Quadi, a part of their own body, against the Roman dominions. Being obstructed by the Franks who resided near them, and who were afraid of giving Caesar a just occasion of making another attack on them, they shortly built themselves a number of boats, in which they sailed along the Rhine beyond the territory of the Franks, and entered the Roman empire. On their arrival at Batavia, which is an island, so formed by the branches of the Rhine, much larger than any other river island, they drove out the Salii, a people descended from the Franks, who had been expelled from their own country by the Saxons. This island, though formerly subject to the Romans alone, was now in the possession of the Salii. Caesar, upon learning this, endeavoured to counteract the designs of the Quadi; and first commanded his army to attack them briskly; but not: to kill any of the Salii, or prevent them from entering the Roman territories, because they came not as enemies, but were forced there by the Quadi.

As soon as the Salii heard of the kindness of Caesar, some of them went with their king into the Roman territory, and others fled to the extremity of their country, but all humbly committed their lives and fortunes to Caesar's gracious protection. Caesar by this time perceiving that the Barbarians dared not again engage him, but were intent on secret excursions, and rapine, by which they did great damage to the country, scarcely knew how to act, until at length he invented a stratagem to confound the Barbarians. There was a man of extraordinary stature, and of courage proportioned to his size. Being by nation a Barbarian, and accustomed to plunder with the others, he had thought proper to leave his own country and go into Gallia Celtica, which was subject to the Romans.

While he was residing at Treves [Trier], which is the largest city in all the nations beyond the Alps, and saw the barbarians from beyond the Rhine, ravaging the

cities on this side of the river, and committing depredations every where without opposition, (which was before Julian was made Caesar), he resolved in himself to defend those towns. As he dared not attempt this without being supported by the law, he at first went alone into the thickest part of the woods, and waited there till the Barbarians made their incursions. In the night, when they lay intoxicated and asleep, he fell on them and slew them in great numbers, bringing their heads and shewing them to the people of the town. This he practised continually to such an extent, that he abated the keenness of the Barbarians, who though unable to guess at the cause, yet were sensible of the losses they sustained, the army diminishing daily. Some other robbers having joined this man, and their number having increased to a considerable body, Charietto, (which was the name of the man who first used (his kind of ambuscade against the Barbarians) came to Caesar, and told him the whole circumstances, which few persons knew before that time. Caesar, was at this time unable to restrain their nocturnal and clandestine incursions of the Barbarians, as they robbed in small parties, straggling from each other, and when day appeared, not one of them was visible, all hiding themselves in the woods, and subsisting on what they gained by robbery. Considering therefore the difficulty of subduing such an enemy, he determined to oppose these robbers, not with an army of soldiers, but with men of similar description.

For this reason, he sent Charietto and his band, adding to them many of the Salii, against the plundering Quadi, who though they lived on what they stole, yet were probably less expert in the art of robbing, than these men who had studied it. In the day he guarded the open fields, and killed all that escaped his robbers. He did this for a long time, until the Quadi were reduced to such extremities, and to so small a number, that they and their general surrendered themselves to Caesar, who had taken a great number of prisoners in the former excursions and engagements, and among the rest the son of their king, who was taken by Charietto. From this cause, when they so lamentably petitioned for peace, and Caesar demanded some of their chiefs as hostages, and required the king's son to be one of them; the general, or king, broke out into a most pathetic complaint, and declared with tears in his eyes that his son was one that had been lost. Caesar perceiving this compassionated his sorrow, and shewed him his son who had been nobly entertained; but told him that he would retain the youth as a hostage as well as other of the chiefs whom he had in possession. He condescended, however, to make peace with them on condition that they would never again take arms against the Romans.

Constantius II Emperor 340-361 in association with Constans 340-350

343. Anglo-saxon chronicle. This year died St. Nicolaus.

The Medusa head of Blerick

15 november 2016 **Minerva and Medusa**

Olim Medusa, puella pulchra, in terra obscura habitabat ubi neque sol neque luna apparebat. Terra obscura puellae grata non erat. Medusa igitur Minervam adoravit. "Dea sapientiae, audi me," puella misera oravit. "Juva me! Terra obscura, ubi habito, mihi grata non est. Pulchra sum; pulchram comam atque faciem pulchram habeo. Nemo autem in terra obscura me videre potest. Desidero in terra clara habitare." Dea autem Medusam juvare recusavit. Tum puella irata Minervae dixit, "Invidiosa es quod tam pulchra sum! Populum me videre non desideras!" Tum dea irata pulchram comam puellae mutavit. "Tu fuisti superba propter comam pulchram atque faciem pulchram. Ego comam tuam in serpentes mutavi," dea dixit irata. "Non jam tua coma erit pulchra. Tua facies erit pulchra, sed nemo te spectare poterit. In saxa tua facies viros mutabit."

Minerva and Medusa (Translation)

Once upon a time Medusa, a beautiful girl, was living on dark land where neither the sun nor the moon appeared. The dark land was not pleasing to the girl. Therefore Medusa adored Minerva.

"Goddess of wisdom, hear me," the miserable girl begged. "Help me! The dark land, in which I have lived, is not pleasing to me. I am beautiful; I have beautiful hair and a beautiful face. No one however is able to see me on the dark land. I want to live on bright land."

However the goddess refused to help Medusa. Then the angry girl said to Minerva, "You are jealous because I am so pretty! The people do not want you to see me!"

Then the angry goddess changed the beautiful hair of the girl.

"You were arrogant because of beautiful hair and a beautiful face. I changed your hair into serpents," said the angry goddess. Your hair will no longer be beautiful. You will be made beautiful, but no one will be able to see you. You will make men change into stone."

Commentary

Throughout this passage, the genitive case is used quite often. For example, the genitive of description is shown in the phrase, "dea sapientiae" meaning the goddess of wisdom. In addition, the imperative is utilized as well when Medusa addressed Minerva. This is an instance where the imperative is present: "Juva me!" Starting from line five to line six, a form of repetition - parallel structure is shown by the recurrence of the adjective "pulchra" and the accusative case. This line proves to be significant because of the way Medusa praises her own beauty, causing Minerva to become irritated.

Zie <https://imythology.wikispaces.com/Minerva>

25 oktober 2016 Plutarchus:

Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ὁρμῇ καὶ παρασκευῇ διανοίας τὸν Ἑλλησποντιον διεπέρασεν. ἀναβὰς δ' εἰς Ἴλιον, ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἡρώσιν ἔσπεισε. τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων συναναδραμὼν γυμνὸς ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἔστεφάνωσε, μακαρίσας αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ζῶν φίλου πιστοῦ καὶ τελευτήσας μεγάλου κήρυκος ἔτυχεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιϋέναι καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτόν, εἰ βούλεται τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου λύραν ἰδεῖν, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζειν ἐκείνης ἔφη, τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως ζητεῖν, ἣ τὰ κλέα καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὕμνει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνος.

With such vigorous resolutions, and his mind thus disposed, he passed the Hellespont, and at Troy sacrificed to Minerva, and honoured the memory of the heroes who were buried there, with solemn libations; especially Achilles, whose gravestone he anointed, and with his friends, as the ancient custom is, ran naked about his sepulchre, and crowned it with garlands, declaring how happy he esteemed him, in having while he lived so faithful a friend, and when he was dead, so famous a poet to proclaim his actions. While he was viewing the rest of the antiquities and curiosities of the place, being told he might see Paris's harp, if he pleased, he said he thought it not worth looking on, but he should be glad to see that of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glories and great actions of brave men.

August 19, 1880. Venlo seems to be the place where the Maas River prefers to return its swallowed-up treasures. For example, in 1858 we purchased an exceptionally heavy and long sword with an ornately crafted handle, retrieved from the Maas with a fishing net between Blerick and Venlo. A few years later, no fewer than five Gothic gold agrafes, set with diamonds, sapphires, and rubies, were found in the Maas near Venlo. They were sold to various goldsmiths, from whom they came into the possession of the late Mr. Hugo Garthe, an art collector in Cologne. These valuables, publicly auctioned in May 1877, fetched astonishing prices. - Even today, Mr. Lienders, a goldsmith in Venlo, has a precious object, probably washed away by the Maas into a nearby ditch. It is a gilded plaque with a Medusa's head and other ornaments, carved in exceptionally high copper. According to a brochure by R. Gaedechens, a professor in Jena, this work of art, dating from the first century AD, would have served as a magnificent or parade shield.

April 4, 1885 [...] You have heard of the objects found and excavations on or near Venlo's territory by Messrs. Hub, Michels, Colonel Rudolph, Lieutenant Ort (currently rhythm), and foreman Frans Deserièrre, of Mr. Dr. Boetzkes (at Wambach), and of the Medusa shield owned by the Lienders family. While these gentlemen had, until now, mostly been, so to speak, "practical" practitioners, the memory naturally comes to mind of our fellow citizen, Mr. Martin Jansen, who unfortunately passed away so early, who possessed so much knowledge in the field of archaeology and, as a "theoretical" collaborator in the research, could have contributed so much. [...]

September 26, 1885 In 1872, a bronze shield was unearthed in Blerick and four objects resembling small horseshoes. The shield, a Medusa head, came into the possession of the late Mr. G. Lienders, a goldsmith from here. From the September issue of the Bulletin mensuel de numismatique et d'archéologie, by Raym. Serrure, we learn that this shield has left the country. We can state with certainty that the shield has

109280 actually been in the hands of Mr. Frans Merkins of Cologne, a lover of antiquities, for about a year now, and who will preserve it in his museum for the rest of his life.

October 6, 1934: Antiquity discoveries in Hout-Blerick in the 19th century.

109285 The small hamlet of Hout-Blerick, located fifteen minutes south of Blerick, opposite Tegelen, deserves the attention of antiquities, wrote the learned national archivist Jos. Habets in his day, specifically because of the following two discoveries: First, it is in Hout-Blerick that traces of a Belgo-Roman settlement can be found. Twenty minutes from the Maas River in the direction of Maasbree, not far from the last houses, called "Doovend," lies a field, situated higher than the rest, called Veldenkamp. This name was given in memory of one of the last owners, named Van Velden. Over an area of twelve to fifteen acres, one finds Roman antiquities, fragments of pottery and pans, building blocks, red cement, wood ash, and iron fragments. At the side of this field flows the small river called "de Breebeek," where the famous head of Medusa, which will be discussed shortly, was found. According to Greek and Roman mythology, Medusa is one of the three so-called Gorgons. These were three sisters named Sthenyo, Euryale, and Medusa.

109295 They were hideous creatures, surrounded by a belt of hissing serpents; on their heads they had dragon scales; their large, sharp teeth protruded far; their claws and wings were made of copper. So terrifying were they that their mere sight could turn a human to stone. They lived at the very edge of the Western Ocean. The hero Perseus, who led the charge against these monsters, cut off the head of Medusa, the only mortal of the three, while she lay deep in sleep. From Medusa's torso sprang the winged horse, Pegasus.

109305 Swift as the wind, Perseus, who had leaped onto the Pegasus, sped through the air and flew over Africa. Blood still dripped from Medusa's head, and the drops that fell to the earth there turned into serpents.

When Perseus wanted to rest a while with the giant Atlas, who, at the point where the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean meet, carried the pillars of heaven on his shoulders and was not received hospitably, he was annoyed. He held up Medusa's head to him, and Atlas was immediately transformed into a massive rock, its crown rising into the clouds. So a Medusa head was not an out-of-place symbol on a warrior's shield.

However, after this digression, let us return to the Veldenkamp and the Breebeek.

109315 Around 1861, the owner of the site was cleared of the tiles and masonry from that field and thrown into the stream. This event attracted the attention of several antiquities enthusiasts, who began perusing the ruins. In 1879, Messrs. Pleijten, curator at the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, and J. A. Ort, lieutenant in the 4th Hussar Regiment, formerly garrisoned in Venlo, conducted some excavations at that site, the results of which are unknown.

The second discovery made in the vicinity of Hout-Blerick was that of a precious Medusa head and horse harness decorations in bronze.

This discovery occurred around the autumn of 1872 in the Breebeek stream, a few meters from the Beldenkamp substructures. A worker digging in the stream discovered this treasure at a depth of 9 to 10 feet underground. He sold it to the goldsmith J. G. Lienders in Venlo, who still owned it in 1879.

109325 This treasure contains the following objects: A very beautiful "umbo," or navel from a Roman shield. It is a copper plate, fire-gilded in the shape of a discus and richly sculpted in round molding. Its diameter is 26 centimeters. The rim of the "umbo" consists of a wreath of oak leaves interspersed with acorns. The center of the navel consists of a Gorgon head in raised sculpture, exquisitely carved. It is of majestic beauty, with a terrifying appearance like all the Medusa heads. The eyes are wide open. The beautiful proportions of the face recall the beautiful Greek style. The curls of long hair encircle the head. She wears a short beard below the chin. Snakes are coiled in her hair, forming an elegant knot beneath the child. Two serpent heads emerge from beneath two small wings that adorn the hair; a third slants over the center of the forehead. On top of the head, the artist has placed a flower bud. This richly adorned head is surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves, from which hang acorns; it is similar to the one that forms the edge of the navel. Below the sculpture is a garland of leaves and small petals.

109340 The Medusa head is one of the most common representations on ancient shields. Homer places a Gorgon on the shield of Agamemnon.

Phidias appears to have decorated the shield of Minerva with the same symbol. This representation can also be seen on the shields of Mars, Achilles, Victory, the Amazons, etc., which adorn Roman and Greek vases. Several holes are found in the rim

109345

of the navel, which appear to have been made either by an arrow or by the nails that served to attach it to the shield.
 The depiction of our Medusa head is nothing unusual. The only thing worth mentioning is that it wears a short beard around the chin. But even that fact is not without antecedents. This Medusa head must date from the first century AD.
 Seven other bronze objects were found alongside the aforementioned shield navel, which were part of a horse harness. These are primarily a decoration of the collar with two rings through which the reins pass; then another set of rings for the reins. All these objects have small holes to allow the nails to pass through and show genuine traces of gilding.

Eindhoven, November 5, 2015

Dear Mr. Timmermans,

I assume that I will receive a file shortly showing details of the Medusa head. Fittings were also reportedly found, which Habets writes about, in accordance with the Golden Helmet or Peel Helmet in Helenaveen:

"Seven studded fittings from a yoke for two draft animals." From this combination of objects, pastor and national archivist Jos Habets concluded a few years after the discovery that a Roman officer, traveling with his chariot and carrying his parade shield, had driven into the stream and possibly drowned.
 Furthermore, other objects were found in Blerick and moved to Brussels. Do you know more about these, and in which Brussels museum might the urns have ended up? See article:

Hidden Treasures under Blerick [May 29, 1883]

In the Publications de la Société d'archéologie dans le duché de Limbourg, volume XVIII, Mr. Jos. Habets spoke of the search for hidden treasures near Blerick, "in which even officers from Venloo are said to have participated." Captain J.A. Ort, currently employed at the Royal Military Academy, now recounts in a short work published in Roermond under the title: "Places in Blerick where prehistoric Germanic and Roman objects have been found," what remains of this search for hidden treasure and who participated. His writing reveals that it was not officers but Mr. Franssen, pastor of Ittervoort, who searched in vain for the Roman settlement.
 The priest, who had been searching in Blerick, told the farmers that a treasure was hidden on the Römerheide there in a beautiful red earthenware pot with a lid. People began searching and digging for it, and the priest hoped to find the settlement without any expense or effort. That's why he had given the farmers the description of a Roman pot made of terra sigillata! Mr. Ort further reports that the priest had damaged funerary urns smashed and that, although a correspondent for the former Board of National Advisors for Monuments of Dutch History and Art, he sold the proceeds of his excavations to the museum in Brussels.

For some time now, I have been working on the inventory of archaeological objects (primarily Roman) in the Peel region and along the banks of the Maas in the Netherlands. Do you have the work by J.A. Ort? Paul Theelen 040-2814621

l.theelen@on.nl

November 10, 2015 Dear Mr. Theelen,

Mr. Timmermans forwarded your questions to me.

For information about the shield boss with Medusa's head and the yoke fittings found with it, I refer you to the following publications:

L. Swinkels, Medallion with Medusa's Head, in: A.A.J.J. van Pinxteren et al. (eds.), Showpieces. Venlo 650 Years as a City, Venlo 1993, 25-28

L. Swinkels, The Shield Boss of Blerick, in: M. Schrover (ed.), From Trajan to Tajiri. Collection of the Valkhof Museum, Nijmegen 2009, 58-59.

The shield boss is included in the permanent display of the Valkhof Museum. The fittings are currently on display there (until January 24) in the exhibition "High Tech Romans." Last year, Maarten Dolmans and Xavier van Dijk published articles on Roman Wood-Blerick and the shield boss in Venlo's "Katernen" no. 20 (see: http://www.academia.edu/12250706/Romeins_Hout_Blerick_Roman_Hout_Blerick_Venlo-Blerick_NL).

I am not aware of any finds from Blerick in Brussels.

Sincerely,

Louis Swinkels

Curator of Archaeology

12 november 1937

HET OUDE STADJE MEERSSEN

L. Spruyt schrijft in „Reizen en Trekken”.

Een van de oudste plaatsen van ons land is Meerssen bij Maastricht. De Romeinen hadden hier naar alle waarschijnlijkheid al een nederzetting. Maar in onze vaderlandsche geschiedenis is Meerssen de plaats van de drie en opeenvolgende verdragen, gesloten in 847, 851 en 870 tusschen de koningen van Lotharingen, Franken en Germanenland. Zij vormden een front tegen de opdringende Noormannen, die in de 9de eeuw op hun rooftochten verder Zuidwaarts kwamen en aan alle kanten het groote rijk bedreigden, dat Karel de Groote had nagelaten. Tijdens diens leven was het nooit tot een inval gekomen maar zijn opvolgers waren minder gelukkig en ook heel wat minder krachtig. In Meerssen was een palatium, een koninklijk landgoed, dat we ons gerust als vrij groot kunnen voorstellen, daar het drie vorsten met hun gevolg een tijd lang moest kunnen herbergen. In onze geschiedenis staat de bijeenkomst van 870 bekend als "het" verdrag van Meerssen, terwijl dit derde verdrag strikt genomen niet te Meerssen werd gesloten, maar ergens aan de Maas tusschen Meeren en Herstal. Acht jaar later is er nog eens een groote vorstenvergadering gehouden en hieruit mogen we wel besluiten, dat het koninklijk palatium te "Marsna" iets méér geweest is dan een primitieve burcht. In elk geval ligt hier het belangrijke punt, waar de machthebbers van het toenmalige West-Europa elkander hulp en bijstand beloofden tegen de woeste Noormannen die in de 9e eeuw een even groot gevaar voor alle beschaving waren als de Turken zeven of acht eeuwen later. Het is trouwene in deze streek geweest, niet eens zoo heel ver van Meerssen, n.l. te Asselt bij Roermond, dat de Noormannen in den winter van 881 op 886 hun kamp opsloegen, Ascloa, de basis van hun groote roof- en plundertochten in die jaren, waarbij Keulen en Aken en de Maassteden in vlammen opgingen.

Nog voor 1000 werd het Meerssensche vorstengoed paleis met omliggende landerijen, door de erfgename aan de abdij van St. Rémy te Reims geschonken. Meerssens kapel wordt kloosterkerk en op de plaats van het oude palatium verrijst een proostdij van Benedictijnen afhankelijk van de abdij te Reims. Waar de Benedictijnen zich vestigen, gaat de beschaving bloeien: zoo ook hier. Rond het klooster vormt zich een stad; de vergroote kerk, in 1250 door de monniken in Gothischen stijl herbouwd, wordt parochiekerk. In de volgende eeuwen worden vergrootingen noodzakelijk. Plunderingen, brand en verwoesting zijn over de kerk heengegaan. In de 17e eeuw, toen de Staten-Generaal poogden om in het katholieke Zuiden den officieelen godsdienst van het Noorden in te voeren, raakten de Benedictijnen hun zeggenschap over kerk en Proostdij kwijt. Toch bleef het klooster: Fransche Augustijnen namen er hun intrek en het feit dat Meerssen Fransch grondgebied, was, heeft in dien tijd althans, de verwoesting van de gebouwen verhinderd. In 1649 stortte de toren in die aan de Westzijde stond en richtte schade aan in het middenschip. Men heeft het beschadigde deel eenvoudig afgebroken en het verkorte langschip door een blindemuur afgesloten. Ook bij de groote restauraties door dr Cuypers, tusschen 1882 en 1912, is dit zo gebleven. Op 't oogenblik echter is de Meerssensche kerk vergroot en is de oorspronkelijke toestand zooveel mogelijk hersteld.

De jaren, dat Lodewijk XIV Maastricht in handen had en den Katholieken hun vrijheid van godsdienst hergaf, waren voor Meerssen een verademing. Na de vrede van Nijmegen - 1678 - werd het z.g. simultaneum ingevoerd en moesten de katholieken hun kerk met de protestanten deelen. Dit is zoo gebleven tot ongeveer 1835 toe; toen heeft de (protestantsche) koning van België, Leopold I, de kerk van Meerssen aan haar oorspronkelijke bestemming teruggegeven. De monniken waren verdwenen, de proostdij, hun oude woning, gebouwd op de fundamente van het koninklijke palatium en misschien zelfs op de resten van een Romeinsche burcht, werd in 1797 door de sansculotten gesloopt; op één stuk na lang niet het oudste deel. Dit gedeelte werd tot een landhuis vervormd, en is als "Villa Proostdij" tot op den huidigen dag te Meerssen bekend.

In 968 bestemde vrouwe Gerberga het koninklijk goed te Meerssen voor vrome doeleinden, ter herinnering aan de nagedachtenis van haar gestorven gemaal. L'histoire se répète: een paar jaar geleden stierf de laatste bewoonster van villa Proostdij en liet de bezitting na aan de Kleine Zusters van St. Joseph. Nu is er de centrale van de K. J. V. voor Limburg gevestigd en voor de tweede maal is het gebouw van wereldlijke in geestelijke handen overgegaan. Bij het restaureeren en uitbreiden van kerk en proostdij is er veel graafwerk verricht, jammer genoeg heeft men van de oude fundamente weinig teruggevonden en ook de bronzen klok, die in 1797 bij de komst der sansculotten in den tuin werd begraven, is onvindbaar gebleken.

Meerssen's kerk, aan St. Bartholomaeus gewijd, is in meer dan één opzicht merkwaardig. Over het simultaneum spraken we al. Dan bezit Meerssen aan den noordkant

een portaal, dat op een heel ongewone wijze met engelen en heiligen is versierd, ongewoon voor ons land dan altijd: alleen de St. Servaas kent een dergelijke versiering, maar aan de Fransche kerken komt ze veel voor. Aan de linkerzijde naast
109480 het hoofdaltaar bevindt zich het sacramentshuisje, in 1520 in Gothischen stijl uit hout vervaardigd en een van de merkwaardigste voorbeelden van kerkelijke kunst, die ons land rijk is. Meerssen is in heel Limburg bekend als bedevaartplaats naar het H. Sacrament. Gedurende het octaaf van Sacramentsdag trekken hier nog steeds de
109485 bedevaarten heen. Twee wonderen staan er geboekt: één van 1222, dat lang in het vergeetboek is geweest, en één van 1465, waarbij een boer op wonderbare wijze de ciborie met geconsacreerde hosties uit de brandende kerk redde. Het is met het oog op dit tweede Sacramentsmirakel, dat het sierlijke huisje gebouwd is, waarin men het H. Sacrament kon bewaren.
109490 Eens – zelfs nog in de 18de eeuw – bezat de proost van Meerssen het recht van pastoorsbenoeming, niet alleen in Meerssen zelf, maar ook in de op Staten-gebied liggende dorpen Klimmen, Schimmert, Hulsberg, Houthem, Amby en Bunde, en de vrije rijksheerlijkheid Schin-op-Geul. Niets is er meer over van de kloostergebouwen, op dat kleine gedeelte na dan. Meermalen werd de kerk gesloten, door Staatsche troepen
109495 door sansculotten. Plundering en verval, brand en zwaar weer hebben de kerk geteisterd; in de 18de eeuw bezat ze nauwelijks een dak meer. En toch: al is ons in den loop van die woelige eeuwen niets nagelaten van de boekerij der geleerde kloosterlingen, al weten we niets van hun werk voor wetenschap en kunst, één ding is gebleven; het Gothische juweel dat Meerssens kerk is. En nu men de St. Bartholomaeus
109500 weer zal kunnen zien in haar oorspronkelijke grootte, ontdaan van het overbodige en door kundige hand gerestaureerd, mag de aandacht werkelijk wel eens worden gevestigd op dit prachtige bedehuis, dat we in eigen land bezitten en dat zoo weinige toeristen, die het nabije Maastricht bezoeken, blijken te kennen.

109505 [Limburger koerier : provinciaal dagblad » 12 nov 1937 - Art. 327 | Delpher](#)

November 12, 1937 THE OLD TOWN OF MEERSSEN

L. Spruyt writes in "Reizen en Trekken".

One of the oldest places in our country is Meerssen near Maastricht. The Romans
109510 probably already had a settlement here. But in our national history, Meerssen is the place of the three successive treaties, concluded in 847, 851 and 870 between the kings of Lotharingia, Frankenland and Germania. They formed a front against the advancing Norsemen, who in the 9th century came further south on their raids and threatened on all sides the great empire that Charlemagne had left behind. During his
109515 lifetime it never came to an invasion, but his successors were less fortunate and also a lot less powerful.

In Meerssen there was a palatium, a royal estate, which we can safely imagine as quite large, since it had to be able to accommodate three princes and their entourage for a while. In our history the meeting of 870 is known as "the" treaty of Meerssen, while this third treaty was strictly speaking not concluded in Meerssen, but
109520 somewhere on the Maas between Meeren and Herstal. Eight years later there was another great meeting of princes and from this we may conclude that the royal palatium at "Marsna" was something more than a primitive castle. In any case, here lies the important point, where the rulers of the then Western Europe promised each other help
109525 and assistance against the wild Norsemen who in the 9th century were as great a danger to all civilization as the Turks seven or eight centuries later. It was certainly in this region, not even that far from Meerssen, i.e. at Asselt near Roermond, that the Normans set up camp in the winter of 881 to 886, Ascloa, the base of their great plundering and pillaging raids in those years, during which Cologne
109530 and Aachen and the Maas cities went up in flames.

Before 1000, the Meerssen princely estate was donated to the abbey of St. Rémy in Reims by the heiress. Meerssen's chapel became a monastery church and on the site of the old palatium a provostship of Benedictines dependent on the abbey in Reims rose. Where the Benedictines settled, civilization flourished: so too here. A town formed
109535 around the monastery; the enlarged church, rebuilt by the monks in Gothic style in 1250, became a parish church. In the following centuries, enlargements became necessary.

Plunder, fire and destruction passed over the church. In the 17th century, when the States General attempted to introduce the official religion of the North in the
109540 Catholic South, the Benedictines lost their authority over the church and the Provost's office. Nevertheless, the monastery remained: French Augustinians took up residence there and the fact that Meerssen was French territory, at least at that time, prevented the destruction of the buildings. In 1649, the tower on the west side

collapsed and caused damage to the nave. The damaged part was simply demolished and the shortened nave was closed off by a blind wall. This also remained the case during the major restorations by Dr Cuypers between 1882 and 1912. At the moment, however, the Meerssen church has been enlarged and the original condition has been restored as much as possible. The years that Louis XIV had Maastricht in his hands and restored the Catholics their freedom of religion were a relief for Meerssen. After the peace of Nijmegen - 1678 - the so-called simultaneum was introduced and the Catholics had to share their church with the Protestants. This continued until about 1835; then the (Protestant) king of Belgium, Leopold I, returned the church of Meerssen to its original purpose. The monks had disappeared, the provost's house, their old home, built on the foundations of the royal palatinate and perhaps even on the remains of a Roman castle, was demolished by the sans-culottes in 1797; except for one part, it was far from the oldest part. This part was transformed into a country house, and is known as "Villa Proostdij" to this day in Meerssen.

In 968, Lady Gerberga designated the royal property in Meerssen for pious purposes, in memory of the memory of her deceased husband. History repeats itself: a few years ago the last resident of villa Proostdij died and left the property to the Little Sisters of St. Joseph. Now the central office of the K. J. V. for Limburg is located there and for the second time the building has passed from secular to religious hands.

During the restoration and expansion of the church and provostry a lot of digging was done, unfortunately little of the old foundations was found and the bronze bell, which was buried in the garden in 1797 when the sans-culottes arrived, has also proven to be untraceable.

Meerssen's church, dedicated to St. Bartholomaeus, is in more than one respect remarkable. We already spoke about the simultaneum. Then Meerssen has a portal on the north side, which is decorated in a very unusual way with angels and saints, unusual for our country then always: only the St. Servaas has such decoration, but it is common in French churches. On the left side next to the main altar is the sacrament house, made of wood in 1520 in Gothic style and one of the most remarkable examples of ecclesiastical art that our country has to offer. Meerssen is known throughout Limburg as a place of pilgrimage to the Holy Sacrament. During the octave of Corpus Christi, pilgrimages still go here. Two miracles are recorded: one from 1222, which was long forgotten, and one from 1465, when a farmer miraculously saved the ciborium with consecrated hosts from the burning church. It is with this second miracle of the Sacrament in mind that the elegant little house was built, in which the Holy Sacrament could be preserved.

Once - even in the 18th century - the provost of Meerssen had the right to appoint a pastor, not only in Meerssen itself, but also in the villages of Klimmen, Schimmert, Hulsberg, Houthem, Amby and Bunde, and the free imperial lordship of Schin-op-Geul, which were situated on the States' territory. Nothing remains of the monastery buildings, except for that small part. The church was closed several times, by States troops and sans-culottes. Plunder and decay, fire and bad weather have ravaged the church; in the 18th century it hardly had a roof anymore. And yet: although nothing has been left to us of the library of the learned monks in the course of those turbulent centuries, although we know nothing of their work for science and art, one thing has remained; the Gothic jewel that is Meerssen's church. And now that St. Bartholomaeus will be able to be seen again in its original size, stripped of the superfluous and restored by a skilled hand, attention may well be drawn to this beautiful house of worship, which we have in our own country and which so few tourists who visit nearby Maastricht seem to know.

The Memorial of the Apostle and the Constantinian Basilica

by Jose Ruyschaert

The history of the tomb of the Apostle Peter at the Vatican has been enriched during the last thirty-five years since Pius XII, who at the very beginning of his pontificate, decided to extend archaeological investigations throughout the entire lower sections of the Vatican crypts and also under the papal altar. These investigations had been begun by chance at the site chosen for the burial of his predecessor, Pius XI.

Little by little, as the encrusted legends and learned theories were stripped away, the Memoria of Peter began to reappear in a more exact light, thus making possible a comparison of the monuments with ancient texts. This is the history we would like to relate, starting with the present Basilica and going back through the course of the centuries to the Basilica of Constantine, to the ancient 2nd-century necropolis and the small burial monument marking the site of Peter's tomb, and finally to the archaeological setting of the 1st century which offers a starting point.

The paradoxical character of this history stems from the fact that the small burial monument which, since the middle of the 2nd century, has never ceased to be the evidence on which this history is based, has stayed in place, despite successive raisings of the level of the ground, both in the first Basilica, built during the pontificate of Sylvester and the reign of Constantine, probably between 320 and 333, and in the present Basilica as well, built under eighteen popes from Julius II to Paul V, from 1506 to 1615. But, as is often the case, the contradiction is only an apparent one, as we shall see. The presence of the tomb has never ceased throughout the centuries to be the center of this history and its only justification.

This presence is that of a small burial monument built in the 2nd-century necropolis. It is made up of two superimposed niches forming part of a wall seven m long. The niches were made in the middle of the wall at the time of its construction, about the year 150. Originally a marble plaque supported by two small columns separated the two niches. In front of this small monument there was an enclosure measuring seven m by four. Some family monuments of the necropolis bordered part of it. That was how Peter's tomb appeared in the middle of the second century. It is easy enough to locate this modest set of constructions in the present Basilica. In fact, at the side of the small chapel called the Niche of the Palliums, under the papal altar, the small monument with niches and small columns has been discovered substantially intact, while some remains of the enclosure were discovered during excavations directly underneath the open area called the Confession which, protected by a balustrade, gives access to the Niche of the Palliums.

The tomb's first architectural setting, moreover, is now right before the eyes of visitors who descend from the Basilica into the crypts and pass through the archaeological area below those just mentioned. Thus taken suddenly from the present era into the 2nd century, the visitor walks along narrow paths hemmed in by the high family burial chambers of an ancient Roman necropolis. Having recovered from the surprise, the visitor realizes that he is walking on what was the slope of a hill. After a short climb to the north, he finds himself on the narrow main path which rises gradually towards the west in the direction of the papal altar, following the principal axis of the Basilica. As he moves on, the visitor gradually realizes that the family monuments he is passing have been demolished, more and more extensively, so that where the path ends, immediately under the papal altar, the last of the monuments consists only of a pavement and part of a wall.

Such a visit enables the visitor to form a good idea of the problems facing the architects of Constantine's time who were given the task of constructing the first Vatican Basilica. On the side of a hill where an important necropolis was located and which at that time was still being used, they managed to create an artificial plateau, by building imposing walls of substructure and by filling in the area with earth. The plateau was extended considerably beyond the site of the future Basilica. The level of the plateau was planned in such a way as to keep the small monument with niches intact and isolated at the focal point of the new structure, located directly in front of the apse. A simple burial monument in a necropolis, now closed by imperial authority, thus became the reason for the construction of a Basilica and the transformation of an entire area of what was then open country. Placed in the contemporary context of the martyria-basilicas, the way in which the Vatican Basilica was constructed is explained solely by the fact that the monument with niches was considered by the Christian community of Rome to be Peter's tomb. And without a doubt the most important result of the Vatican excavations is that it has been possible to recognize even in terms of the construction of the first Vatican Basilica the

archaeological and historical proof for a community belief which was beyond dispute: if it is a palaeo-Christian Basilica built ad corpus, that is, to serve as a martyr's tomb, then it is clearly the one built at the Vatican according to Constantine's wishes.

THE REMAINS OF PETER

One of the surprises of the excavations carried out between 1940 and 1949 under the Confession of the Vatican Basilica was the discovery - beneath the papal altar - of the site of Peter's original tomb empty and in disarray.

The Apostle's remains were strangely missing.

After his martyrdom in Nero's Circus (autumn of 64), Peter was buried a short distance away, beyond the road (Via Cornelia?) which bordered the Circus, in a place where tombs already existed. That place corresponds to the area which archaeologists today call Area P. In the course of the centuries, various monuments were placed over the modest grave of the Apostle: the so-called "Trophy of Gaius" (about the middle of the 2nd century), the monument of Constantine (after 313), the altar of Gregory the Great (590-604), the altar of Calixtus II (1119-1124), and the altar of Clement VIII (1592-1605), which is the present altar. All these monuments were built (or so it seemed at first) over an empty tomb.

At the western edge of Area P there were found remains of human bones, remains to which some people attributed a certain importance. It was subsequently shown that in fact these remains had nothing to do with Peter, differing as they did with regard to both age and sex.

But the excavations inside Constantine's monument had also revealed a characteristic loculus which had been deliberately hollowed out of an already existing wall (the wall which archaeologists today call "Wall G"), included within the Constantinian construction. Wall G is built against the back wall of the Trophy of Gaius, that is the wall which - on account of the vivid red colour of its plaster - came to be called the "Red Wall". Wall G, therefore, is later than the Red Wall, but earlier than the monument of Constantine in which it was enclosed. On the whole, Wall G can be dated to about the mid-3rd century. Inside this wall, as I have said, a secret hiding-place (the loculus) was discovered. It measured 0.77 m long by 0.29 m wide and 0.315 m high, and was lined with slabs of Greek marble.

Wall G and its hiding-place are at the center of extraordinary events, due in part to the somewhat abnormal situation in which the 1940-1949 excavations took place. The first opening made in the northern side of the Constantinian monument brought to light the north section of Wall G, covered with Christian graffiti, and, below it, the opening of the famous loculus. No detailed study of these graffiti was made either then or during the entire period of the excavations. They were deciphered and commented upon at a later time by myself, and in fact they proved to be a wonderful page of Christian spirituality in which the names of Christ, Mary and Peter are particularly prominent and their victory is acclaimed. As for the loculus, the excavators had immediately noticed that it was about half filled with plaster rubble which had fallen from above, that is from the inside of Wall G itself, and from the side, that is from a section of the adjacent Red Wall. For various reasons a systematic emptying of the loculus was not carried out immediately. However, it happened that a certain moment someone noticed that there were bone fragments mixed in with the plaster rubble inside the hiding-place, and arranged for these bones to be gathered up, put in a wooden box and placed in a nearby spot in the Vatican Grottoes, where they remained forgotten for a long time.

In the meantime, the scholars working on the excavations returned to the loculus of Wall G and naturally found it empty, except for "some remains of organic material and bone fragments mixed with earth" (these are their own words) which had remained at the bottom. It was easily perceived that the hiding-place had been made during the building of the Constantinian monument, and from this perception there sprang the theory that it had been intended for the bones of Peter. This theory was admitted, in fact, by various scholars: Father Antonio Ferrua (1952), Jerome Carcopino (1953), Father Engelbert Kirschbaum (1957) and Pasquale Testini (1957). But for the moment the theory remained only a theory. The essential element of proof was missing: the box which had been placed in the nearby spot in the Vatican Grottoes and forgotten. Since the excavators were unaware of the existence of the box, and on the other hand wished to give some explanation for the riddle of Wall G, the idea was put forward and gained increasing credence that the hiding-place had been opened during the Middle Ages on the eastern side, and that through this opening the remains of the Apostle had been taken away.

Significant in the construction of the Basilica, the small monument is no less

unusual in the 2nd century necropolis. In the first place, it is an individual building constructed in the middle of a large number of family monuments. Furthermore, it also interrupts the straight line which the others follow. In fact, the closest monuments are built around the enclosure with the small building in the center, as if it were an obstacle. Moreover, among these buildings two contemporary staircases were put in to provide access to the revered enclosure. Finally, the soil of the enclosure seems to be partly a built-up mound resting against the family monuments. The height of the mound is dictated by the height of the small monument built at a particularly steep point on the slope.

In the midst of these family monuments, therefore, the enclosure and the small building seem to answer to the desire that an already existing tomb should be preserved and integrated within the new necropolis then being developed. During the second half of the 3rd century, other plans attest to an identical wish. Two marble decorations and small walls were added to the small building, flanking it on each side. At the same time, the earth of the enclosure where, in the meantime, numerous ground burials had taken place, was covered over with a mosaic pavement. In addition, the paths to the two stairways were closed by gates.

An archaeological continuity is thus attested to, from the middle of the 2nd century when the small building was constructed up to the beginning of the 4th century which marks the start of the Basilica's construction: the Petrine identity of the small building at the beginning of the 4th century can thus be traced back historically to the middle of the 2nd century. The Vatican excavations have once again placed before our eyes the tomb as it was marked by the small building with niches before the construction of the Basilica.

These excavations have also allowed us to have a more precise idea of what visitors to the first Basilica saw, for they clarify and confirm the descriptions given by ancient texts and by a reliquary of the 5th century found at Samagher and now preserved in Venice. Isolated from the razed monuments and walls of the necropolis, the small Petrine building was located in front of the apse, in the center of the transept.

After the sides had been altered to correct irregularities in shape inherited from the 3rd century modifications, it was covered with marble decorations similar to those covering the apse. Its façade was divided into two parts. A golden cross bearing the names of Constantine and his mother Helena was placed in the upper part, and the lower section was closed with a double door. This door opened into a small area where, at least by the end of the 4th century, an opening in the floor was made, enabling visitors to lower objects on to the earth inside the small cavity below. This design, which still exists in the present Niche of the Palliums and is typical of the veneration practiced at the tombs of martyrs, is an extremely significant element of the tradition intimately linking the small monument to the site, immediately below, of Peter's tomb.

Gregory of Tours gives us a picture of a pilgrim lowering into the small shaft a cloth which would touch the Apostle's tomb and thus become a relic of it. The mediaeval liturgy placed a censer there for the whole year from 29 June to 29 June. The temporary placing of the Palliums in the niche, a custom still observed, is a further indication of the respect in which this spot was held.

Around the monument of Peter, four spiraling columns of sculpted marble connected with the balustrades, likewise of marble, formed the supports for a baldacchino crowned by architraves and arches. Two other spiraling columns at the angle of the apse were connected to the other four by two architraves. But the six columns of the baldacchino were not alone in stressing the importance of the monument of Peter in the Basilica. The plan of the Basilica itself also marks its importance. The architectural works just described are not only in front of the apse but also at the center of the transept.

This architectural fact is in itself unusual. Churches with transepts "in the form of a cross" may be familiar to us, but the historian notes that, among all the martyria-basilicas of the Near East and of Rome in Constantine's time, the Vatican is the only Basilica which has this design, a design later to be spread by the Carolingian renaissance. In the Vatican Basilica the transept was, in fact, the martyrium, the structure centered above the martyr's tomb and reserved for liturgical functions, as opposed to the five aisles reserved for the assembly of the faithful. The martyrium was a huge rectangle, 87 m by 18, separated from the aisles at the time by a large central triumphal arch decorated with a mosaic showing Constantine offering the building to the Saviour, and by four arch-shaped openings on the sides. Taken together, the naves were 91 m long and 64 m wide. Besides the six columns of the baldacchino, 100 simpler columns taken from a variety of ancient monuments (as was

- 109795 much other material for the Basilica), in groups of 22, separated the aisles, or were placed at the lateral arch-shaped openings to the transept and at both ends of the transept. The entrance of the Basilica, a portico 12 m wide, was preceded by a quadriportico 62 m by 46, reached by 35 steps.
- 109800 The wooden box containing the material removed from the hiding-place was found by me only in 1953. Besides bones, it also contained earth, flakes of red plaster, small pieces of rich fabric and two marble fragments. A note, written by a Sampietrino who took part in the first excavations and read by me clearly and in its entirety, stated that the material had been taken from the loculus of Wall G. The flakes of red
- 109805 plaster belonged to the adjacent section of the Red Wall (as can be easily understood). The fragments of marble were shown by a chemical analysis to originate from the front slab of the lining of the loculus. Both the plaster and the marble fragments clearly confirmed the statement in the note.
- 109810 The idea accredited by the excavators and then generally accepted that the loculus had been broken into during the Middle Ages meant that at that time I myself did not attribute to these remains the importance due to them. But the elementary duty of serious scientific inquiry led me to transfer them to a dry place and to the making of provisions for their systematic examination by a qualified specialist. The specialist chosen was Prof. Venerando Correnti, who then held the chair of
- 109815 anthropology at the University of Palermo and today holds the same chair at the University of Rome.
- Prof. Correnti was therefore asked in 1956 to begin his work. But before anything else he had to make a long and careful study of the skeletal remains, found in the earth on the western edge of Area P, to which (as I have stated above) a certain
- 109820 importance had hitherto been attributed. The anthropological examination showed in fact that the bones belonged to four different individuals, none of whom could be taken into consideration in connection with the problem of Peter's remains. Only in October 1962 was Prof. Correnti able to devote himself to the examination of the bones found in the loculus of Wall G. This work lasted until the end of June
- 109825 1963. Briefly, the result was the following: bones of a single individual, of male sex, sturdy build and advanced age (between 60 and 70 years old), encrusted with earth.
- This result corresponded with the historical and archaeological data. In the only loculus of Peter's monument-tomb there was in fact to be expected the presence of
- 109830 bones with these characteristics. And this precisely is what had happened. Furthermore, it had to be kept in mind that among the remains from the loculus were small fragments of rich fabric. These indicated that these bones really were the mortal remains of Peter.
- There remained a single doubt in my mind: that of the alleged opening of the loculus from the east during the Middle Ages. But it quickly vanished when a minute
- 109835 examination of the interior of the loculus, carried out at my request by the best specialists in Roman wall-construction, proved that the loculus had never been broken into from the time of Constantine until the moment when the excavators of the 1940-49 period had made the first breach of the Constantinian wall.
- 109840 Experimental analyses of the remains of fabric and of earth were also carried out. All of these tests yielded positive results. The gold was genuine; the cloth was dyed with purple made from murex; the earth matched that of the area.
- At this point it seemed reasonable to draw the following conclusions: at the time of Constantine, after the peace of the Church (313), when it was decided to arrange
- 109845 definitively the site of Peter's tomb, the bones lying in the earth under the Trophy of Gaius were collected, wrapped in a precious cloth of purple interwoven with gold and placed in a loculus specially made inside a wall (Wall G) already existing beside the Trophy. In front of this wall, enriched by the precious material inserted, another wall was built which was to be partially broken down only by the excavations
- 109850 begun in 1940. It can be added that the reason for the transfer of Peter's relics from the earth tomb to the loculus in Wall G was probably the well-founded fear that the dampness of the earth, which is notoriously very considerable in the Vatican area, would rapidly damage the venerable remains which had once been entrusted to it.
- 109855 We have roughly sketched out what was by the will of Constantine the new architectural setting for the tomb of Peter. The Basilica, demolished by the Renaissance on the pretext that it was in danger of collapse, and precisely on the spot where it rested on the highest substructures, had certainly been damaged, but just as certainly it had been improved. Canons of the Vatican, architects and artists
- 109860 have fortunately left numerous testimonies which opportunely complete the information

furnished by the recent excavations. We hesitate to stop here: certain stages of these changes, the first ones and the last, are essential to our subject matter. The solution which Constantine's architects decided upon was the best - if not the simplest - which could have been chosen for a cemetery-basilica ad corpus, which was both a grandiose burial monument built around a tomb and a cemetery set aside to receive the bodies of the dead who wished to be placed near a saint's tomb, as was done in the catacombs. This burial characteristic is certainly a primary one for the Vatican Basilica. The solution of Constantine's architects nevertheless presented a serious inconvenience, since even then the influx of pilgrims made evident the need for regular liturgical functions. The monument and its baldacchino took up too much space in the middle of the transept. To his credit, Gregory the Great solved this problem with an architectural device which respected the monument as ingeniously as had that of Constantine's architects.

The problem was to establish a permanent altar at the center of the transept, easily accessible and perfectly visible, without touching the monument. The area immediately surrounding the Petrine monument, apse included, was raised about one and a half m, while the top of the monument was transformed into an altar, without doubt the first permanent altar of the Petrine tomb. Four small columns placed on the altar allowed for the construction of a baldacchino. Nevertheless, the monument of Peter remained accessible, as before. Not only was it still completely visible from the central nave, separated from it only by the six columns of the ancient baldacchino now placed in a single row and crowned by an architrave, but also two stairways permitted direct descent from the new presbyterium. In addition, under the presbyterium an original architectural contrivance had been built. Extending along the interior of the apse wall, an almost circular corridor, reached from the transept by two doors, led to a chapel, likewise underground, built directly behind the small monument and for that reason called ad corpus in some mediaeval texts. About two m high (thus it was a little lower than the height of Constantine's construction), the new design, properly called the "Confession", gave a completely new appearance to the Memoria Petri. The ancient Basilica underwent only secondary changes. Under Gregory III, a second row of six spiraling columns of sculpted marble in the same style as the others was placed parallel to them. Under Calixtus II a new altar was constructed above that of Gregory the Great.

We noted above that the design of the Basilica with transept created at the Vatican by Constantine's architects spread throughout religious architecture from the Carolingian renaissance onwards. The architectural contrivance of Gregory, consisting of an altar-tomb and a presbyterium-crypt, imposed on the Vatican by liturgical needs and the requirements of a burial monument which was not intended to be touched, became almost instantaneously the model for builders of churches where the body of a saint was venerated, even if they did not have the problem of a pre-existing tomb in the edifice under construction. We may add that, from its time of construction onwards, the "uncovered Confession" which was to be built under Clement VIII and Paul V would become a prototype for similar constructions, imposed, and most often wrongly, on some altars in Roman Basilicas, including in the 19th century the altar of the Basilica of St. Paul-Outside-the-Walls. But it seems to be beyond our purpose to stress the different manifestations of the attraction which Peter's place of pilgrimage has had on religious architecture.

What we have hitherto described of the history of Peter's tomb at the Vatican shows that this history was dominated architecturally by a desire to keep the tomb intact. It is very tempting to state that this concern was equally dominant in the most delicate phase of this history - the construction of the present Basilica. The first measure taken at that time was dramatically of a preservative nature. In 1507, temporary walls joined to the apse wall permitted the setting up of a small construction which protected the papal altar until 1592. It was only under the pontificate of Clement VIII that the first part of the present architectural contrivance was constructed. The floor of the new Basilica, raised 3.20 m above the previous floor level, required a corresponding raising of the 13th century papal altar. A new altar, the present one, was superimposed over the altar of Callixtus II. At the same time, the "uncovered Confession" with stairways maintaining direct access to the Niche of the Palliums was also constructed. Paul V added little to its present appearance. But Clement VIII did not limit himself to external modifications of the Petrine Memoria.

At this point, it would seem appropriate to sum up, for the sake of clarity, the chief elements which have permitted the present writer to proceed to the identification of the bones in the loculus of Wall G as those of the Apostle:

1. The Constantinian monument was considered, in Constantine's day, to be the tomb of the martyr.
 2. Inside the monument-sepulchre there exists a loculus, and one only: the loculus of Wall G.
 3. This loculus was carved out of Wall G and lined with marble at the time of Constantine
 4. The loculus was never broken into from the age of Constantine until the time of the excavations (about 1941).
 5. From this loculus come the bones which were removed at the beginning of the excavations, kept without interruption in a nearby spot in the Vatican Grottoes and recovered from this spot in 1953.
 6. These bones, therefore, are the ones which were verified at the time of Constantine as the bones of Peter and place in the loculus of Wall G, inside the monument-sepulchre.
 7. The cloth of purple interwoven with gold-thread in which the bones were wrapped at that time confirms the highest dignity then attributed to the remains. The royal purple harmonizes perfectly in fact with the royal porphyry which decorates the outside of the monument.
 8. The anthropological examination of the bones - belonging to a single individual - showed that they conform perfectly to what, by tradition, we can imagine was Peter's physical appearance at the time of his martyrdom. Apart from the obvious fact that they belong to a male, the bones indicate a sturdy build and an age somewhere between 60 and 70.
 9. The earth encrusted on the bones indicates that the bones themselves originally lay in an earth-grave, and we know that Peter's first burial was in the earth.
 10. The characteristics of the earth, shown by the scientific examination, match those of the place where the original tomb was dug (marly sand), while in other parts of the Vatican area the earth is different (blue clay or yellow sand).
 11. The place of the earth-burial under the Trophy was found empty. This is in harmony with the presence of the bones, transferred about two metres higher up, in the loculus in the monument of Constantine.
- From this concise exposition it can be seen that the above elements constitute the links of a chain, joined to one another, and that chain leads to a conclusion: the bones of Peter have been identified.

Guide to Saint Peter's Basilica (stpetersbasilica.info)

Preserving the underground contrivance of Gregory the Great, he adapted it. On the outside of the almost circular corridor of Gregory, parallel to it and bordering the outside of the wall of Constantine's apse, a new circular corridor was built. Access was still assured from the crypts previously added according to the plans of Michelangelo between the floors of the two Basilicas. This new corridor, an essential element of what is called the new crypts, preserved access to the chapel ad corpus of Gregory which, since his time, had been enlarged a little and given the name "Clementine Chapel". It is in this small chapel, at the end of which still stands the small 7th century altar ad caput, as it is called, and in the two adjacent areas that the small burial building of the middle of the 2nd century presents for our reflection and devotion the first architectural testimonies preserved for us by a history which, until the recent excavations, had been concealed, as well as preserved, by the Niche of the Palliums.

Following the changes made by Clement VIII, a final architectural note needs to be made so that we can place in the new and prestigious setting of the present Basilica the ancient Memoria, which is somewhat lost in the immense space of the new edifice even while remaining its center.

Urban VIII's authority and Bernini's art carried out this final stage, through the construction of the bronze baldacchino of the altar which bids the onlooker to unite inseparably in his vision Michelangelo's dome with Peter's tomb. Eight spiraling columns which surrounded that same tomb in the ancient Basilica are included in the four pillars which support the dome and these columns, surrounding the baldacchino of bronze which was inspired by them, remain a witness to the continuity which we are striving to bring out.

It has been described above how the history of the Vatican Memoria of Peter is dominated by the constant desire to keep it intact. No less abiding is the wish to keep it visible and to ensure direct access to it. These aims seemed particularly evident in the Constantinian Basilica, both at the time of construction and during the changes of Gregory, but these desires were already asserted, as we have seen, in the middle of the 2nd century when the small burial monument with niches and columns

was built. Let us now add that these same imperatives were, at the price of a whole series of projects and plans, the final determining elements for the construction of the present Basilica.

An architectural tradition thus permits us to go back as far as the middle of the 2nd century; it is centered on a burial monument considered without interruption to be the one built above Peter's tomb. Yet our aim would remain unachieved if we did not present, in the light of the excavations made under and near the Basilica, the essential points of the record which could be described as the archaeological setting of the site of Peter's tomb in the first two centuries.

To begin with, it should be observed that, in giving a strict explanation, it would be better to talk here about the location of the tomb rather than about the tomb itself. In fact, the excavations did not discover the remains of Peter's body as it was buried after his martyrdom. Moreover, no archaeological element retrieved from the small cavity next to and below the Niche of the Palliums can be considered as belonging to a burial monument, however modest, of the 1st century. Yet it would be wrong to conclude that the recent archaeological investigations have added nothing to the history of the first decades of the tomb.

First of all, the investigations established that the 2nd century necropolis had been built beside a secondary road running directly along the northern border of the Circus of Caligula and Nero. It is equally clear that the family monuments which were part of it were built in an area already in use as a burial place. In the immediate surroundings of the Petrine monument there have been found piles of bones taken from previous tombs. These remains had been gathered together by the 2nd century masons, who did not take great pains to respect the material arrangements of the tombs in question. They seemed to be acting according to the customs prescribed by law. But this fact, hitherto hardly noticed, throws some light on what may have happened to the Petrine tomb at the moment of the construction of the small monument with niches. Under that monument only the remains of the body of the Apostle-martyr would have been collected. Did they remain there until the time of the construction of Constantine's Basilica? Had they already been moved in the middle of the 3rd century, when the monument underwent important changes? Our present purpose does not include answers to these questions.

On the other hand, it is important to stress that although this Vatican area was imperial property in the 1st century, it was then lined with roads beside which other burial grounds have been discovered. In particular, a small part of the most important one was unearthed in Vatican City at the time of the construction of a garage. It remained in use during the first four centuries and was located beside the ancient Triumphal Way. It included, in particular, two tombs which according to their inscriptions date from the reign of Nero. Further excavations have led to the discovery of some burial monuments of the Flavian age on the south side of the Circus.

But in Rome it is without doubt along the Ostian Way that the true archaeological and architectural parallel to the history we have been tracing is found: the tomb of the Apostle Paul and his two Basilicas. Concerning the second Basilica, built at the end of the 4th century and destroyed by fire at the beginning of the 19th, the reconstruction which respected the essence of its design gives us a precise enough picture. Concerning the first, built by Constantine, the excavations carried out at the time of the reconstruction tell us that it was of modest proportions. There, too, Gregory the Great raised the presbyterium and designed a crypt, limited this time to a chapel ad corpus located behind the altar and reached through a door. And, as at the Vatican, the tomb is situated in the middle of a pagan necropolis, but this time it is inside a family monument. We are obliged to end these pages dedicated to Peter's tomb by a visit to Paul's, since the true Roman pilgrimage ad limina has never consisted of anything other than a visit to the two tombs of the Apostles, "at the Vatican" and "along the Ostian Way". This was expressed at the end of the 2nd century by the priest Gaius, and at the beginning of the 5th century by the Spanish poet Prudentius - Gaius to justify a point of Roman ecclesiastical discipline and Prudentius to present the two Apostles as the guarantors of the faith of Rome. Thus the history of the two tombs has been, through nineteen centuries, a matter of parallel faithfulness to those who, by their common presence, their common preaching and their common martyrdom, "laid the foundations" of the Roman Church in the faith of Christ.

On the vault of the Constantinian apse, did not the mosaic erected by Pope Liberius exalt the divinity of Christ, as the bordering inscription indicates, and are not Peter and Paul standing together on either side of Christ in order to be the first ones in Rome to proclaim his divinity?

- 110060 Guide to Saint Peter's Basilica (stpetersbasilica.info)
- Now let us go down, step by step, to see what is under the altar. And as we go down, it is easy to see that we are also going back through the centuries.
- 110065 Under the present altar, which belongs to the time of Clement VIII (1592-1605), is the altar of Callistus II (1119-1124); lower still, that of Gregory the Great (590-604). Next we find the monument built in honor of St. Peter by the Emperor
- 110070 Constantine after his victory near the Milvian Bridge (October 28, 312) and the establishment of peace with the Church by the Edict of Milan (313 AD.). The date of this monument cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, but there are good reasons to think that it preceded the construction of the basilica (begun about 322) and perhaps it is no later than 315; that is, the year in which great holiday were held in Rome to exalt Constantine and his victory; the year in which Rome dedicated the famous Arch of Triumph which still rises majestically from its soil.
- 110075 Constantine's monument to Peter contained within its rich marble construction an earlier chapel (or, more literally, shrine) which has been brought to light by excavations. This chapel indicates, evidently, the place sacred to the Apostle, the place that Constantine considered so important and worthy of honor that he did not hesitate to build on it first his precious monument and later - at the cost of
- 110080 incalculable expense and enormous labor - the great basilica. The characteristic chapel rises from the level of the ancient necropolis already described. It stands in a little open area, a sort of small square in the middle of various tombs. (See Plate III.) This little area which, in relation to the modern basilica, is directly under the Confession, was called "Field P" by the excavators.
- 110085 It is rectangular in form (about seven meters from north to south, about four from east to west), and it lies in a place where the terrain rises quite rapidly from the south to the north, i.e. toward the Apostolic Palaces, and more gradually from the east to the west, i.e., toward the Vatican Gardens.
- 110090 Field P is bounded on the west by a wall called "Red" because of the red color of the plaster (now largely fallen off) which was used to cover it; on the south by a tomb which the excavators call S; on the east, but only in the southern half of the east section, by another tomb called O (this tomb was owned by the Matuccii and is sometimes called by their name). The northern boundary of the eastern side and all the northern boundary of the eastern side and all the northern boundary cannot be
- 110095 traced today, but there are good reasons for believing that there were once structures there which have been mostly destroyed. Behind the Red Wall ran a small street (the so-called clivus) which slopes up from the south to north and includes some sets of stairs (Fig. 24). On the other side of this clivus are the remains of two other tombs, called R and R1 by the excavators.
- 110100 The clivus gave access to the Tomb R1 and to a tomb called Q which lies behind the Red Wall with the Red Wall itself used for its eastern wall. Under the clivus runs a little gutter used for drainage and covered with a line of tiles, five of which, fortunately, bear a mark by which they can be dated. The mark mentions Aurelius Caesar (the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius) and his wife Faustina as proprietors of the furnace in which the tiles were made.¹ The tiles can therefore be dated between about 146 and 161 A.D. It was about 146 when Faustina, wife of the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius, received the title of Augusta, and in 161 Aurelius Caesar, having succeeded Antonius Pius, abandoned the name of Aurelius Caesar and took that of Marcus Aurelius.
- 110110 The essential purpose of the Red Wall seems to have been to fix the boundaries of the various burial places in the area. From this fact, it can be considered contemporary with the gutter I have mentioned, and therefore it can be dated between about 146 and 161 A.D. In round numbers, and wishing to take the latest possible date, we can say that it was built by about 160 AD.
- 110115 The most ancient of the tombs surrounding Field P is certainly Tomb O, which, as can be seen from the marble tablet over the entrance, belonged to the Matuccii family. This tomb, in which the rite of cremation was practiced, can be dated about 130, and is certainly later than 123, since a brick was found in one of its walls with a seal dating from that year.
- 110120 The Tomb S, which bounds all the southern flank of Field P, contains traces of cremation urns and of repositories for inhumation. Later than Tomb O, Tomb S is still earlier than the Red Wall, since the wall leans on it, thus barring access to Field P from the south. Therefore Tomb S can be assigned a date somewhere between 130 and 150.
- 110125

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

The Tomb of St. Peter by Margherita Guarducci (stpetersbasilica.info)

The family Theelen in Neer, Asselt and Swalmen

See fot the originals <https://loegiesen.nl>
[De Sint Dionysiuskerk te Asselt](#)

[17 augustus 1275 ASSELT - Gegevens inzake de vaststelling van de grensscheiding tussen Roermond, Asselt, Swalmen en Beesel enerzijds, en Wessem, Beegden, Haelen, Horn, Buggenum en Neer anderzijds, met toestemming van graaf Reinoud [I] van Gelder.]

"In the name of the Lord, amen, the judge and sheriff of Roermond, and the entire community of Assel, Swalemen and Beesel on the one hand, and the judge and sheriff of Wessem, Beegde, Halen, Horne, Buggenum and Nere, on the other hand, to all and sundry, to whom this letter shall reach, greetings, and to know the truth: since the state of man is fragile, and the human mind is labile, it has been prudent, so that what is to be pronounced later, may be strengthened by written testimony, and may be known both by present and future generations, that we, our people, with the more ancient men of both the aforementioned lands, generally through the will, justice and consent of the illustrious prince, magnificent and powerful lord, Lord Reynold, Count of Gelderland and Zutphen, and the noble man Lord William of Horne, our dearest lords, and their officers, were moved and gathered by the precept upon one demonstration, archonship, palace and limitation which is commonly the said bewijsinge [proves], beleijdinge, selinge ende neijninge, of the boundary or road near the Mosam [Maas] de Assel, called den lijnpade [line path] of the Maas, which boundary or road said, lord Rutgerus de Assel, knight, holds in fee from the noble man lord de Horne, with all rights pertaining and dependent, namely all supreme dominion, with judgment land and Maas on both sides, and on the banks of the Maas within the boundary or road called den lijnpad, with fishing in the Maas, on both sides and banks, on this and that side of the Maas, and also with fields and accretions in the place called den Tolle, as all these things already recited together from ancient times lying and situated between the place or terminus, called der Schalen or der Lingen, above Assel, and between half an ampnim {?} in Haenssem, below below the stakes and division below, which boundary or road called die Lijnpade or feudal goods mentioned above, with all supreme dominion and judgment in the land and the Maas, with the theloric, and also with the fishing, ancient custom, adventione, palatione {?} and distinction of the aforesaid limits or fees with all their pertinents attached, as they are partly declared above, and as will be sufficiently specified below, and will be distinguished in order, with the entire and general concordance of the servants of both the aforesaid lands, theirs and ours, with the unanimous assent and consent, and they have been circumscribed and pertestified, and also by their, who are the ones who swear, with sacred touches, demonstratively distinguished, specified, perpalata, palem en notoriae divided and segregated, and the aforesaid lord Rutger, and his parents and ancestors of the same have always successively obtained and possessed the aforesaid limit, or the way already said, good feudalism from old age to old age, without being disturbed by anyone, but peacefully and quietly in every way and form of law, if..ti pns letter below expresses, explains and testifies: the first palus and the aforesaid distintis of the boundary or fee, begins above Assel at the place called der Scalero or des Lingen palat, specifies and distinguishes the boundary or way called den Lijnpad or fee on both sides and right from the Maas, and wide for a space of sixty feet, on the land, or as far as one man standing with one foot on the shore/of the Maas, and with a plough from the right throws it down on the ground, and so descending on both sides and banks of the aforesaid Maas, up to half an acre in Haensem on the above, it is to be known, whatever less just and excessive in this boundary or fee stakes and distinctions aforesaid, on the ground and the Maas, has been done, of homicides, theft, or of any excesses, causes, cases unjust, malicious and would be made by the supreme lords to infinity pertaining or relating to this same lord Rutger will judge the ten lords in the stakes and distinctions of the aforesaid boundary, or fee, before his faithful or The men who are the homage of the lord of Horne, specially summoned and requested for this purpose, will discuss and settle: because we have seen the same lord Rutger erect a gallows in the lower part of Vuthoven, on the border above the Maas itself, and hang a thief who was caught there on the stakes and distinctions of the aforesaid boundary. Furthermore, it is stated that internal or external, to the vessels, vendors, traders, or boatmen, from where they go, or from where they come to this boundary or on the stakes and distinctions of the aforesaid Maas, one person putting a guarantee can arrest the body or goods of another, aggravate, slander, claim and collect the right, but the other person putting a guarantee or surety immediately and without delay, if he approves, will be able to

110195 release himself from arrest with just causes and to resist the slanders and slanders
brought against him, to pay just and right debts, to swear against unjust, unfair and
cunning slanders, with two fingers touched, sacred, as is the law, unlike the
thieves, and customary: since/the same Lord Rutger in this limit has his own saints
from his dominion, which he is to extend to all those in need and who ask for them
110200 from the law: we also saw in this limit a standing argastus the ship with the rack in
which they were placed, bound and preserved were those who did not have the caution
or guarantors, with whom they could have federated or reconciled their causes,
complaints, excesses and their forefacts. Furthermore, all goods which are carried or
moved through this limit or the said terminus posts, in or out of ships, ascending or
110205 descending through the Maas ravine, as is the law and custom, or has been from
ancient times, are tolled and if they are to be prevented from being tolled, all
goods are to be forfeited, and in this limit some ships are to be sailed, to be
unloaded, or some goods are to be carried, or if... ships are to be filled and to be
loaded or some goods are to be loaded, first a license must be sought from the toll
110210 collector, giving him a license for loading, said eijnen Lichtveerlinc, but for
loading said eijnen Ladeveerlinc, but if he does it illegally from what... mark... he
falls into excess. Moreover, if within the limits of this limit any goods are sailed
on or off ships and are tossed about on the waves and in the waves by a strong and
impetuous wind, or by a turbulent and untempered breeze, and the sailors are
110215 thundering, or are in despair of being shipwrecked, they can and will cry out with
loud voices to the toll collector, hold the quarter by placing it on the prow of the
ship or by going out on the deck, and disembark, go out, sail and defend themselves
as much as they can and will be able to without any excess, or by being captured, but
by remaining silent, not crying out and emptying, or by unpredictably sinking by
110220 misfortune, they will fall into the excess of five marks. It should further be known
that fishing on the Maas on both shores and banks, both on this side and on that
side, begins, proceeds and ends within the aforementioned stakes, boundaries and
circumscriptions of the limits of his fee, in which Lord Rutgeus, his heirs, or the
conservator of these limits or fees, or his family, or another named person, with all
110225 the instruments of fishing, nets or nets, by means of which fish can be caught, will
be able to catch, at the required place and times, at his convenience, on those sides
and banks of the Maas, towards Assel, or towards the land of Horne, on the plain, on
both shores of the same Maas, with his nets and nets, from or by sending them in,
leading and pulling them out as often as they may indicate, and it shall seem
110230 expedient to them, even if within the stakes, boundaries and distinctions aforesaid
on that side, on the Maas side above the shore itself, on the land towards Assel or
towards the land of Horne, some aureescences have grown, were and would arise beyond
measure, the fishermen Those who inject or inject, attract or attract their nets and
nets, inside or outside the Maas, for preventing fish from escaping, may pluck and
110235 cut off in such great numbers and quantities as they, or they themselves, may need
for this purpose, and work, notwithstanding any contradictions, moreover all the
medioampnes or accretions which have accrued input, or which have arrived by way of
aurescence in the future below the gurgit/Maas, these and these, the same lord
Rutger, and his heirs, or the conservator of the aforesaid fee or their family, may
110240 pervade, distinguish and specify, pervade with trees, fortify, perstipulate and
persecute for all their convenience, good pleasure and desire, possessing them
equally in fee aforesaid, as their own property. Even if the said aurescuntiae below
the aforesaid gurgle have already been planted and sprouted integrally and
undividedly and have fallen sideways on that side of the Maas, towards Assel or
110245 towards the land of Horne, these and whatever has occurred and annexed them towards
the Maas and by the inclined aurement, all Rutger the lord or his heirs will possess
as the aforesaid fee, and will obtain. Furthermore, all aurements, which or which
have accrued in the past, or which will come to by way of accretion in the future,
arable land, lying in the place said den Toll on that side of the Maas towards the
110250 land of Horne, or from that side of the Maas towards Assel, these and this same lord
Rutger his heirs or the conservator of the said fee or their family, will be able to
pervade, pervade with trees, fortify and ixersepere, for all their convenience and
will, those than those equally possessing the fee as their own property. Moreover, it
is to be known that if any excesses, cases or forefacts are committed, or if they
110255 have been committed in those limits or fee stakes and distinctions aforesaid, which
or which the same Lord Rutger cannot judge or execute, then the Lord of Horne, as his
feudatory, will be his assistant, judge and executor in judging those excesses, cases
and forefacts, and if he is unable, from then on Earl Lossen, as his feudatory, will
be his assistant, judge and executor in judging those excesses, cases and forefacts,
110260 and if he is unable, from then Earl Lossen, as his chief feudatory, will be his

assistant, judge and executor in executing and judging those excesses, cases and forefacts. These are the demonstrations, circumscriptions, palaces, limitations, discussions, distinctions, and also proofs proven from ancient times up to now, of clarified, manifested, individually distinct and specified, and also the right of this boundary and the aforesaid fee, which and what we have always seen and heard from our predecessors, and we have understood with our oaths, sacred texts, this truly and for the truth protesting, that the aforesaid lord Rutger, and his predecessors, successively from age to age this oft-mentioned boundary called den Lijnpat, or fee, obtained and possessed, in all ways and forms preordained and authorized. In testimony of the truth of all the foregoing, by order, assent, and consent of the two most eminent men aforesaid, and the same officers, we the judges and sheriffs of Roermond and Wessem, have affixed our seals for the ninth, and to these present letters, and we William, lord of Horne and of Altena, for greater certainty and caution of all and each of the foregoing, have requested and do request the illustrious first lord Arnold, count of Los and of Ceijneij, our supreme fiefdom of the aforesaid limit and fee, and the magnificent and powerful noble man lord Reijnold, count of Gelderland, our beloved lords, that they themselves may give consent to all the circumscriptions/palations, limitations, conditions and demonstrations clearly expressed above, and nevertheless bear witness to the truth, in all and each of the foregoing, and not only by their own pendent letters to strengthen and confer that the foregoing may remain valid and unshaken, and to have the memory of the event, we have communicated the present writing with the affixation of our seal together with the seals of the aforementioned scabines, given and executed in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, the sixteenth day of the calends of September. Herewith are attached two instruments pierced with pendent seals, the first of which is as follows.

You who will inspect the present letters, Arnold Earl of Lossie and Cynal, may you know in your lordship's safety that we have all the demonstrations, circumductions, palaces, specifications and conditions in the present letters, to which our present letters are affixed, contained, made and ordered, ratified and firm, and we give them our assent, and we confirm them as duly made, by our pierced seal for us and ours, in perpetuity in which the evident strength of all the foregoing, and our seal as a witness, given in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, the sixteenth day of the calends of September.

The other one is transfixes in these words.

We, Count Reynold of Gerle, greetings and all the conundrums that please us and proceed from our consent, will and assent, that all demonstrations, circumductions, distinctions, specifications and conditions of the present letter, to which our present letter is appended, may remain perpetually in all their strength, unharmed, and with the vigor, as it is therein specified, and they are declared and confirmed, and they are confirmed as true, as far as is in us, by our transfixes for us and ours, in testimony of which we have caused the present letter to be strengthened with the strength of our seal, given in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the sixteenth kalend of September.

The present is a copy of the demonstration, circumscription, distinction, specification and condition, copied from its original and collated with the same, which agrees verbatim with both the main instrument itself and the transfixes mentioned therein, to which five seals are affixed on each side, two of green color, two of mixed color, and another rubric, which I, the undersigned, attest with my own hand, this fifth of January, the twenty-second of the sixteenth century.

Below was

Thus, witness

signed Jo. Oliverius in Richello and undeserving pastor, notary applied by the copy below was Franciscus Sirout, notary admitted by the council of Brabant, the prescribed copy. repeated collated. witness as preferred to agree with the original seals which are protected, on the same day, month and year."

[14 maart 1521

"Gegeven op onsen huysse to Eelssen in den jaer onss lieffe heren duysent vijffhondert ind eynentwintich op donredach nae halffasten"

ELSLOO/NEER/ASSELT - Johan van Vlodrop en Adriana van Merode verpachten de Boxweerd bij Maaswijnaarden ('Wienerte') gelegen met ingang van 1 april voor een periode van twee jaar aan Jan van den Bergh, wonend te Neer, voor jaarlijks 20 Hornse gulden.

Tevens is afgesproken dat oorkonders gedurende deze pachttermijn geen rente zullen geven wegens de lening van 210 Hornse guldens die zij van Van den Bergh hebben

opgenomen wegens een vordering door de kinderen van wijlen Seger Tessers. Na afloop van de termijn zal deze schuld alsnog worden afgelost.]

March 14, 1521

"Given at our house in Eelssen in the year of our dear lords one thousand five hundred and twenty-one on Thursday after half-fast"

ELSLOO/NEER/ASSELT - Johan van Vlodrop and Adriana van Meroide leased the Boxweerd near Maaswijnaarden ('Wienerte'), located in Neer, effective April 1st, for a period of two years to Jan van den Bergh, resident of Neer, for 20 Horn guilders annually. It was also agreed that during this lease term, no interest would accrue on the charters due to the loan of 210 Horn guilders they had taken from Van den Bergh for a claim by the children of the late Seger Tessers. This debt would be repaid at the end of the term.

[“Ich Johan van Vlodorp ind Ariaen van Meroide, eluyde, bekennen oevermytz desen apenen briefff dat wye uitgegeven hebben te pacht onsen weyrt off grient gelegen tot Wynerden aen den breyen vleyck geheyten Bocksweyrt twee jaer lanck ind ten halven tij aeff te staen weem des niet [met?] en genuechden ende malckanderen dat ther gueder tijt eyn halff jaer te vorrens op te seggen Jan van den Bergh wonende tot Neer ind Jan sall onss alle jair geven ind waell betailen tot Pinxten twintich besceiden Haersch gulden off twelff besceyden Burgonisse Brabantze stuver vur den gulden off bennen veerteen daighen dair nae onbevangen bennen der stat van Ruremunde dair onss dat believen sall, ind Jan van den Bergh vurss. heeft onss geleent twe hondert besceiden Haersche postulaetz gulden ind theen dy in onsen groten noeden ende merer schaiden te verhueden gekeert sijn aen Segher Tessers zelegghen kinderen nae vermoegen syegell ind brieve van onsen alderen sij op onss sprakende hebben ind zo ysset vurwert ind bededinght dat wye Jannen van den Bergh vursch. van den twee hondert Haerschen gulden egeyn lopend rent van geven en sullen ther tijt toe ind all zo lange sijnen tijt de pechtingen omme is, het were dan then halven off den ganssen tij als vursch. steyt. Ouch zo ysset mit vurwert ende bededinght als Jans van den Bergh vursch. tijt uit is under pechtinghe, dat ich dan Johan van Vlodorp ind Ariaen van Meroede eluide vursch. off onse even dan gehalden sullen sijn Johan van den Bergh of sijnen erven van stonden aen haem sijn twe hondert Haersch gulden ind theen dy hee onss zo in onsen noeden geleent heeft haem wederomme leggen ind betailen sullen tot haeren benoigen tue. Ind in gevall dat off Got wyll nyt geschien en sall dair inne gebreecklicken gevonden worden ende Jannen van den Bergh vursch. off sijnen erven haer penninghen niet en betailden in maeten als vursch. steyt, soe sall ind maich dan Jan offte sijne erven dennen Bocksweert vursch. in sijnen handen halden, dennen nutten ind gebruycken ende van der jairlick pechtinghen der twintich Haersch gulden inhalden in aeffslaegghen der geleender penninghen der twe hondert Haersch gulden ind theen vursch. ind onss niet dair van te geven bis dy geleende penninghen geheellick betailt ind gegeven sijn. Ind der tijt van der pechtinghen sall aengaen den yersten daegh van den apryll. All argelist, loese vunde hyr inne genslicken uitgescheiden, in orkonde dis ind der waerheyt soe hebben weyr Johan van Vlodorp ind Ariaen van Meroede eluyde vursch. vur onss ind vur onsen erven elck onsen siegell hyr aen gehanghen, ind hyr synt ouch oever ind aen geweyst dair dese mytscap ind pechtinge geschiet is dy eerbaren Tyll Porttens, Jan Ruytzen ind Katheryn op den Vrythoff. Gegeven op onsen huyse to Eelssen in den jaer onss lieffe heren duysent vijffhondert ind eynentwintich op donredach nae halffasten.]

[Origineel op perkament met zegels van de oorkonders.

Tilman Portgens en Jan Ruitzen komen in andere akten voor als schepenen van Swalmen en Asselt en treden hier mogelijk op als laten van de laatbank van Asselt, waarvan Johan van Vlodrop eigenaar was.]

"I Johan van Vlodorp and Ariaen van Meroide, acknowledge in this open letter that we have given out to lease our weyrt off grient situated in Wynerden at the wide flat called Bocksweyrt [Boxweerd] for two years long and a half, we are pleased and mutually agreed that every year a half year in advance to stop Jan van den Bergh residing in Neer and Jan will give us every year in the weyrt amounting to twenty separate Haersch guilders or twelve separate Burgundian Brabantine stivers [dimes] for the guilder or for fourteen days that are unconditional to the town of Ruremunde there. Let us believe that Jan van den Bergh, in advance, has lent us two hundred modest postulates of Haersche guilders, which, in our great need and to cover more damages, were returned to Segher Tesser's seven children according to our wishes, as stated in the letter from us, when they spoketo us, and so we agreed that we would give Jan van den Bergh, in advance, of the two hundred Haersche guilders a regular

rent and will continue to do so from time to time, as long as the tribute is around, which would then be half of the entire period as before. Also so we agree with the
110395 tribute and the agreement if Jan van den Bergh is in debt for some time, then Johan van Vlodorp and Ariaen van Meroede, who are in debt to us, will be given to them immediately. Johan van den Bergh or his heirs will immediately owe him two hundred Haersch guilders, and the amount you lent us in our need will be returned to them and paid to their satisfaction. In the event that this does not happen, it will be found
110400 to be in short supply and Jan van den Bergh or his heirs do not receive their money in the same measure as in debt, then maybe Jan or his heirs will receive the Bocksweert in debt. The use of the annual tax of twenty Haersh guilders, with the borrowed money of two hundred Haersh guilders in the foregoing. We are not to give any of it until the borrowed money has been fully paid and given. The time of the tax
110405 will be the first day of April. All the guilders, if they found him in private, in an ordinance, this in truth, we have, Johan van Vlodorp and Ariaen van Meroede, each of us, and for our inheritance, our seals are attached to him, as he is also on the bank of the to the fact that this mystery and punishment occurred, the honorable Tyll Porttens, Jan Ruytzen and Katheryn op de Vrythoff were informed. Given at our house
110410 in Eelssen in the year of our dear lords one thousand five hundred and twenty-eight on Thursday after half-fast.

October 2, 1612 RIJKEL - Hendrick van Cruchten declares that on August 30, 1612, the superintendent of the Court of Audit and others leased him an accretion ('grindt')
110415 located opposite his farm at Rickel [=Rijkel] under Bezel [Beesel], as it is located there or may accrete in the future. For this, he will pay the Court of Audit (on behalf of the Duke of Guelders) 45 Brabant stuivers annually for each acre of 'holtgewasende' (wooded crops, green or pastureland). On October 26, 1611, Van Cruchten reported to the Court of Audit that he had taken over the lease from Andries Driessen, pastor of Neer, of "two gravels or middle sands located in the Maas River near Bezel, one against the Kessel Haege below the Handtsommerbeek stream, the other situated somewhat higher, opposite Deursdael's woods or his farmstead of Rickel." These accretions had been leased to the aforementioned pastor approximately four years earlier for 30 Brabant stuivers [dimes] for a period of six years. The
110420 accretions opposite the Kessel Haege [probably the Mussenberg] have since been completely washed away; the other was also "extensively washed away and scoured by the high waters two years ago, and also severely damaged by the most recent high waters," especially on the Horn side. This accretion is also threatened with complete erosion by high water and ice formation, but this can be prevented by revetment (bank
110425 revetment). Because Van Cruchten's farm lies opposite this accretion, he is willing to have it revetment and sanded at his own expense, provided he can lease it for a reasonable fee. The Court of Audit, following the advice of Engel van Offenbeeck, Montfort's steward, inspected the accretion and determined that the accretion, including the stones and sand, is less than a hectare {?} in size, and that it will
110430 cost 300 pounds Arthois or more to revet it and refill the pits and sewers created during the last high water. Starting on August 30, 1612, Van Cruchten was granted free use of the accretion for a period of 10 years, in exchange for the revetment costs. After this period expires, namely on August 30, 1622, the accretion will be measured at the joint expense by a sworn surveyor using the "measure or rod of Bezel." For each acre usable as "hollow crops, greenery, or barley, dug out stone and sand," he will pay the aforementioned 45 Brabant stuivers, "in the end measure, in the end money," for as long as the accretion exists. Every five years, a new survey will be conducted at the joint expense, and the rent will be increased or decreased. Van Cruchten will not be able
110435 to recover from the Duke any costs, damages, or labor costs incurred to maintain the accretion. Finally, on August 30, 1612, it was determined that Van Cruchten must issue a reversal letter to the Court of Audit, which is hereby done. [Andreas Driesen was pastor in Neer from 1598 to 1621 (Jan Hanssen, December 31, 2000). The place name "Ne..er" is not legible in the deed.]
110440

August 1, 1668, SWALMEN - Declaration regarding the levying of tithes and concerning the (lost) round tower of Hillenraad.
Johan de Verwer, inspector of His Royal Highness Licenses on the Maas, as the late scholtis of the court and lordship of Asselt, assisted by the licentiate Thomas
110455 Bordels on behalf of the Marquise de Wagniers, Peter Spee and Johan Obers, both late aldermen, and the secretary Suiverich, as well as the late messenger Tiel of Assel, certified that they had attended the presence of Geurt Quijten, tenant of the aforementioned court, regarding the Hillenraet house, where Gootsen Gerardts, aged 70

110460 and half-man on the Graetshoff, and Corst Stockmans, aged 50, declared that they had leased the tithe of the Asselterhof some 40 years ago ' ... and further designated these following limits of the same tithe, namely, the round horn of the Hillenraet house, which has now been demolished and the new hall on the site was built, standing on a thick old oak tree near the end of Cleutiens Straat, pointing from there to the thorn of the Count's House of Hoorn up to the Grip, situated in two plots together

110465 measuring 3 quarters of a square, currently belonging to Johan Henskens and Ruth Silkens 'as nieces and nephews'. 'And from there, along the lands to the Hillenraet house and Beeckerhoff lands of the Carthusians to Ruermondt, from where the thient [=one-tenth] in the field on the left-hand side belongs to the court of 't Asselt and thus continuing between the property of the aforementioned Carthusian lords on one

110470 side, along the Meulenwegh, shooting off with a pointed point at the Hillenraederwegh, and on the other side the Gasthuis and the lands of the reverend lords of the Capitulaeren, where the reverend Cartusian fathers have the tithe on their lands, on the right side, and on the Gasthuis and the lands of the reverend lords of the Capitulaeren on the left-hand side the aforementioned court of Asselt.

110475 Idem on the other side of the Hillenraederweg on the left-hand side, the reverend Carthuyser Fathers have a small plot of land separated from their other lands by the road, together measuring about seven morgen, on which property of the Carthuyser Fathers the tithe belongs to the pastor of Swalmen, called the Schoollaster's Tithe, and the remainder of the lands lying on the left-hand side, thief, the aforementioned

110480 Assel farm of the Carthuyser Fathers land on the right-hand side, then further on one and on the other sides of the aforementioned Gasthuis land, heard the thief of the Gasthuis land at the Assel farm, and from there going further to Goetsen Graets land, which is located at the the late pastor of Swalmen and the lords of Carthusiasm, and the other land belonging to the lords of the Capitulars, thief the court of Asselt up

110485 to the Leijtgraeff, from the Leijtgraeff going up along the Tigelerije to the Spurck Hegge on the other corner of the Laethwegh standing on the land of the Carthage Fathers, and from there on the left hand side along the bush belonging to the heirs of Bijl to Venlo up to the Carthage's small camp, which camp also the aforementioned heft thief to the lady Dursdal Spickter, from there on the oak stock at Wittengraeff

110490 up to the oak tree on the grave of the reverend lords of the Cappitulars farmyard at Graeterstraet standing and so further to the edge of the gap from the orchard to the thorn bush on Graterwegh against the aforementioned oak stake on the Wittengraeff tenth t'Cappittel and the other lands the aforementioned orchard.

110495 September 24, 1669 SWALMEN AND ASSELT - Declaration by several mayors associated with the Lordship of Asselt concerning the walking and taking possession of an influx into the Maas River near the Biesweerd.

"We Johan de Verver, scholtis, Johan Obers, Nelis Janssen, Corst Peckx, Corst

110500 Stockmans and Peter Raemaekers, leave the court and lordship of Assel, do hereby state and certify that we, along with the judge, have offered our services on behalf of the most noble and honorable young man. Irmgardt van Holthuysen, widow of Dursdal, and her son-in-law Franciscus Arnoldus van Dursdal, Marie Quyten, widow of Van Holt, the widow of Pueyn, Matthijs Stoffers, both for himself and for Leonard Tessers, and Hendrick Heijnen in the name of his mother Dirixken Bastiani, widow of Heijnen, all

110505 of us together on the 24th of September 1669, have transported and joined Assel past the Biesserweert on a certain run-on stone, where we also went on the 2nd of this current month, containing a deed thereof, against which run-on stone in the Biessen Baendt we found squire Baexen on the Baeckxhooff belonging to Aretz, half-man of the reverend Jesuit fathers Speck, Herman Spoerens, Jan Beeck, Jan Ruytzen, Sill

110510 Paulssen, Herman Heeskens, squire Baexen's aforementioned servant, and Johan Haewinkel of the aforementioned squire Baexen's half-man, who, seeing that someone was approaching the aforementioned run-on stone, quietly departed from there, and having arrived at the stone, found that the sieve had been set there on the 2nd of this month opposite Joncker Baexens Biesenbaendt had been pulled out, and a stock

110515 from there and so further army fire covered with other risers, which by order of the Lord scholts and judges on behalf of the applicants were pulled out and thrown into the water, the same place being again covered with other risers by Tiel Tielen's court messenger, and further had Corst Stockmans step down and found that the Maas had deviated from the same stone another fifty steps, so that the same stone that had

110520 been run down from the place from which the stone had first been stepped down, was found to be in total one hundred and twenty-nine steps long, and noted that the aforementioned applicants requested from all of them the aforementioned as their similar act with to be shared, for eventual justice, which one could not refuse, so that we have signed the minutes of this document with our own hands, in true

- 110525 knowledge, reserving the right of every lord, all without error, actum Asselt on 24 September 1669 and was signed J. de Verver, this signed [signature] Jan Obers, this signed [deviating signature] Nelis Janssen, this signed [signature] Corst Specx, this signed [signature] Corst Stockmans, Peter Ramekers, ...drich secretary."
- 110530 May 13, 1697 SWALMEN - Guardianship proceedings.
"Guardianship held in Swalmen under the haystacks on May 13, 1697.
Alderman Jan Janssen awards the order that the neighbors of Asselt make a footpath across his property to the Meelenbroeck, to the Slack, up to the Maas, where there has never been a footpath. He requests reparation.
- 110535 Senior Johannes Rutsen, on behalf of the Reverend P.P. Carthuijsers, complains that the neighbors make a footpath to their property, namely from Beeckerhoff right through the Broecxken, and through the Kempken to the Asselsche Straete, where there has never been a footpath before this. He requests reparation.
Is the Reverend P.P. Carthuijsers charged with having the case heard in court? Some
- 110540 elderly persons, regarding any knowledge they might have of the footpath in question, in order to be disposed of accordingly, in Swalmen, May 14, 1697.
The sworn here, on behalf of the neighbors, complain that they are being overburdened with services and request that everyone with horses, as he would with field, also serve.
- 110545 The petitioners will first submit this request to this court and, in response, provide further and substantive reasons, in order to then make further arrangements accordingly, in Swalmen, May 14, 1697.
The sworn, on behalf of the community, declare that this will not be withheld from them, for springhaingst [?], isere eight, as the owners of the large tithe are
- 110550 required to do, which is not observed, request that it may be provided for.
The large tithe holders are charged to maintain the vahere, bair, springhaingst, isere eight for the benefit of this community, unless they have any reason to the contrary, for which they will have to strengthen the judgment within 14 days, as of Swalmen, May 14, 1697.
- 110555 The neighbors of the Bouckoul complain that, next to Ruth's property in the Bonten Os, a common footpath runs straight to the Leijgraef at the Horstbrugge, which bridge is currently not constructed, nor is there any, that by the Captain Everard is being obstructed, preventing the passage of the thief carts. They request a remedy.
The neighbors of the Bouckoul are charged with locating the Horst bridge mentioned
- 110560 above and maintaining it in the future, and Captain Everard is requested to tolerate the footpath here, according to ancient custom, if he has reasons to the contrary, for which he will uphold the judgment within 14 days, effective Swalmen, May 14, 1697.
Fr. Johannes Rutsen, on behalf of the reverend Carthusians, requests that suitable
- 110565 thief routes be indicated to them, both on the Leucker and at the Boeckesstap to Asselt, as well as at the Heijcamp on the Luierken.
The Reverend P.P. Carthuijsers is charged with properly documenting this matter, so that certain senior citizens with knowledge of it can be questioned about it, in order to then make a decision on it, as of Swalmen, May 14, 1697.
- 110570 The sworn complain that no sworn tithe has been established, causing the community to suffer great harm, and request that it be made good.
These claim that the sheep of the Tichelereije are grazing in the Bouckoulder field without being authorized to do so, as they do not yield any livestock tribute, and request that it be made good.
- 110575 The heirs of the late Governor Bitot are charged with the sheep of the Tichelereije. Not to allow any further grazing or grazing except on their property located within this lordship, on a path that will be fenced off each way, according to Swalmen, May 14, 1697.
Jacob Spee complains that the neighbors are creating a footpath behind his house, for which they have not been held accountable and are requesting a remedy.
- 110580 The neighbors say that a trespass was previously attached to the Asselerhoff, pursuant to the guardianship proceedings of 1588, where none is present, for which they are requesting redress.
The half-owner of the hof in Asselt is charged with repairing the trespass above the
- 110585 field and along Linghe Straat. According to custom, within a fortnight, in Swalmen, May 14, 1697.
The reverend pastor complains that no pedestrian path can be used because there are no foundations over the stream, which prevents proper passage to Asselt, requesting a solution.
- 110590 Is ... [blank]

- The same pastor complains that the church bridges have not been properly repaired and requests a remedy.
The same pastor complains that the churchyard is starting to deteriorate, requesting that it be repaired.
- 110595 He requests that reflection be included in the church's plan.
Also, because it has been encroached upon in many places.
The sworn complain that some hollow vegetation once stood on the common in the stream behind Beeckerhoff, which was freed by public scourge, but was nevertheless removed by some neighbors without consent. They request that it be released.
- 110600 The sworn request that the fish caught in the common waters here be declared before they are brought for sale, and that a location be designated for this purpose, so that everyone may have access to it to their own advantage. The neighbors of Boutenstraat complain that the footpath along the Swalm to the Noenhoff is obstructed from their access and request a remedy.
- 110605 The neighbors of Bouckoul complain that Theel Theelen is not currently seeking to continue paying the cowgard's wages during his lease, as he previously did in his half-wine, and request reparation. Theel Theelen is charged with regulating him according to the old custom, as per Swalmen, May 14, 1697.
- 110610 February 16, 1701 SWALMEN - List of war damages suffered.
"List of those who had to provide Swalmen, in addition to food and drink, to the two companies and staff of the regiment of Lord Lutsbourg, Bavarian, lodged according to the orders of Lord Count van Horn, dated February 7, 1701, and lodged on the 14th. Firstly, to consider the regimental quartermaster's furious reprimand as good order and threatening not to advance before noon the following day, three pistols at eleven pounds each were to be issued. Two shillings, February 11, 0
The item had to give the halfman at the Aermenhof twelve shillings in addition to food and drink. April 1, 0
The item had to give Henderich in the Carthusian forest one shilling. January 0, 0
- 110620 The item Jan and Paulus Slabbers as given above. February 0, 0
Peter Obers as given above. January 4, 0
Hend. Hocx March 0
Jacob Gerardts January 0
Jan van Haelen given to a fender February 1
- 110625 Theel Theelen April 0
Sibert Naus had to give half a verckenskop to a sergeant.
Nelis Clumpkens and Corst Beeren July 0
Geutts Pecx half a verckenskop May 0
Lambert Fredericx June 0
- 110630 Krijn Krijnnen June 0
Jan Pecx January 0
Henderick Pecx March 0
Janis Janissen March 0
Geret Severs February 0
- 110635 Willem Kermans March 0
Willem Beeck a shilling and 2-0-0 to a fender.
Areth Neermans February 0
Henderick Coenen January 0
Heijn Krijnen a shilling and February 0
- 110640 Jacob Louwij January 0
Lendert Theunissen a shilling April 0
Willem Cromptvoets January 0
Willem Janssen op gen Heij January 0
Jan Lemmen March 0
- 110645 Gerard Bongarts March 0
Thijs Theunissen March 0
Dries Janssen to give a shilling to a captain
Areth Smeets to the lieutenant commander a shilling
Nelis Wijnen March 0
- 110650 Lijsbet Janssen May 0
Peter Everts January 0
Geurt Willems February 0
Areth Heijnen March 0
Henderick Bullers to give a shilling to a fourier February 0
- 110655 Jacobus Crijnen February 0
Hans Henderick January 0

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Geurt Coenen June 0

Lucia Writers 1-0-0

Peter van Ool 0 April 0

110660 Henderick Slabbers the young 0 April 0

Derick Zillen 0 January 0

Niclaes Gerardts 0 January 4

At Jan Frederickx's, a pair of new fine shirts and a new shirt, a chalice, and half a feather of bacon, as if they had driven him out of his house with a blow, all together calculated on 2-0-0

110665 Geret Emets, a chalice to the regimental quartermaster

Willem Hendrick, two chalices to a sergeant

Geurt Timmermans 0 June 0

Jan Vermeulen 1-0-0

110670 At Willem Coenen's, as if they had driven him out of his house with his wife, and had his chest taken by force He was to be brought up and taken from there all his small linen, a bedsheet, and a new pair of trousers.

Jacob Meuwissen had to give to the captain 5-0-0

110675 Henderick Slabbers had to give to a lieutenant a shilling and half a pig's head and February 2, 0

Henderick Spee had to give to a lieutenant 6 reixdaelder and two shillings 6-0-0 adding up to February 4, 47

In addition, various persons had to give 13 uncooked shillings and 4 half pig's heads with several large pieces of beef.

110680 That this above specification has been confirmed in person by the aldermen and sworn by the aforementioned persons in lieu of an oath. requested, is hereby testified, actum Swalmen, 16 February 1701.

By order [signed] G. Lubbers, secretary"

110685 Is the Reverend PP Carthuijsers is charged with exhibiting proper documentation on this matter, in order to have certain senior individuals with knowledge of it questioned, in order to subsequently render a verdict, according to Swalmen, May 14, 1697.

The sworn defendants complain that no sworn tithe had been established, causing the community to suffer great harm, and request that it be rendered void.

110690 They also acknowledge that the sheep of the Tichelereije are grazing in the Bouckoulder field without being authorized to do so, as they yield no livestock tribute, and request redemption. The heirs of the late Governor Bitot are charged not to allow their sheep from the Tichelereije to be herded or grazed any further than on their property located within this lordship, provided they are safe during each journey, as per Swalmen, May 14, 1697.

110695 Jacob Spee complains that the neighbors have created a footpath behind his house, for which they have not been held accountable and are requesting a remedy.

110700 The neighbors say that a trespass was previously attached to the Asselerhoff, pursuant to the guardianship proceedings of 1588, where none is present, for which they are requesting redress. The half-man of the court in Asselt is charged with repairing the damages above the field and along Linghe Straat within 14 days, according to customary practice, as of Swalmen, May 14, 1697.

110705 The reverend pastor complains that no footpath can be used because there are no foundations over the stream, which prevents proper access to Asselt, requesting that a solution be found.

Is ... [blank]

The same pastor complains that the church bridges have not been properly repaired and requests a remedy.

110710 The same pastor complains that the churchyard is starting to deteriorate and requests that it be repaired. He requests that reflection be included in the church brook, as it has been encroached upon in many places.

The sworn complain that some hollow vegetation once stood on the common ground in the brook behind Beeckerhoff, which was freed by the public church gates. Nevertheless, 110715 it was removed by some neighbors without consent. They request that it be removed.

The sworn request that fish be caught in the common waters here, indicated, before and before they are brought up for sale, and a place has been designated for this purpose, so that everyone may have their own use of it.

110720 The neighbors of Boutenstraat complain that the footpath along the Swalm to the Noenhoff is obstructed for them and request a remedy.

The neighbors of Bouckoul complain that TheelTheelen is not currently seeking to continue paying the coygard's wages during his lease years, as he previously did in

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his half-winning, and request reparation in this regard.

Theel Theelen is charged with regulating him according to the old custom, as per Swalmen, May 14, 1697.

February 16, 1701 SWALMEN - List of war damages suffered.

"List of those who had to provide Swalmen, in addition to food and drink, to the two companies and staff of the regiment of Lord Lutsbourg, Bavarian, lodged according to the orders of Lord Count van Horn, dated February 7, 1701, and lodged on the 14th. Firstly, to consider the regimental quartermaster's furious reprimand as good order and threatening not to advance before noon the following day, three pistols at eleven pounds each were to be issued. Two shillings, February 11, 0

The item had to give the halfman at the Aermenhof twelve shillings in addition to food and drink. April 1, 0

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Peter van Ool 0 April 0

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At Jan Fredericx's, a pair of new fine shirts and a new shirt, a chalice, and half a feather of bacon, as if they had driven him out of his house with a blow, all together calculated on 2-0-0

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linen, a bedsheet, and a new pair of trousers.

110790 Jacob Meuwissen had to give to the captain 5-0-0

Henderick Slabbers had to give to a lieutenant a shilling and half a pig's head and February 2, 0

Henderick Spee had to give to a lieutenant 6 reixdaelder and two shillings

6-0-0 adding up to February 4, 47

110795 In addition, various persons had to give 13 uncooked shillings and 4 half pig's heads with several large pieces of beef.

That this above specification has been confirmed in person by the aldermen and sworn by the aforementioned persons in lieu of an oath. requested, is hereby testified, act Swalmen, February 16, 1701.

110800 By order [signed] G. Lubbers, secretary

June 14, 1729 SWALMEN - Guardianship proceedings: among other things, concerning peat cutting, sheep, ringing the bell, rabbits.

110805 "Guardianship proceedings held in Swalmen on June 14, 1729, at the market there.

The sworn witnesses have stated in court that they are not entitled to any boar, ver, squirrel, and ice harrow, which must be kept by the large tithe holders, requesting that they be provided for.

The court incorporates the ordinances issued on the previous guardianship proceedings, act ut supra.

110810 These sworn complained that the shippers and their sheep are driving along the small and narrow roads, causing great damage to the produce. They request that the military be instructed to keep a close eye on this and to pledge the shippers driving along the narrow roads with their sheep.

110815 The shippers are instructed not to drive their sheep on narrow roads and to graze them on a penny of half a guilder, except for the damage they will have caused, ordering the field guards to be carefully monitored and the shippers to be imprisoned, as stated above.

110820 These sworn officers have also stated that the neighbors of the church here are negligent and careless in the sounding and passing of the bells during times of thunder and storms, requesting that provision be made for this. The neighboring church is charged to promptly ring and toll the bells during thunder and storms, on the penalty of a quintal of beer, to be forfeited by each neighbor not attending and to be spent jointly by the attending neighbors, as stated above.

110825 The neighbors have complained that the rabbits are completely spoiling the fruits, requesting necessary provisions.

The court orders the mayors here to speak to the Lord of this Lordship about this matter and to devise necessary provisions in this regard. Actum ut supr

110830 November 12, 1739 SWALMEN - Buried: Petrus op den Camp [widower of Theodora Theelen, married in Swalmen on October 26, 1700, buried there on July 8, 1725; husband of Maria Heijnen, married in Swalmen on June 7, 1736].

110835 During the guardianship proceedings of 1588, Zill Kromvoets, the oldest alderman, declared "that there is no freedom of hoofage in this court, except the Hoppenrae, which is granted and worthy of the Beijswaard, except for what is demonstrably free." Two deeds from September 1669 make it clear that accrual was still taking place at that time. At the request of several land owners in the Biesweerd, several landowners

110840 moved from the Asselt court to the Maas, where we all went downstream the Maas, along the high and empty Biesenweert, where we noticed a certain stone that had run up, shooting off at an angle into the aforementioned Maas, along the high and empty Biessenweert and further along the estate of Jonker Hans Willem van Baexen, the Biessenweert Baendt, next to which we can no longer see, and besides the

110845 aforementioned run-up stone there is still a water channel, the same stone extending along Jonker Baexen's estate up to seventy-nine steps into the Maas, each step of about four feet, stepped down by the aforementioned Corst Stockmans, whose stone, situated between the ditch and the Maas River, the aforementioned applicants, as heirs of the high and empty Biessenweert, presented before us, the sole judge, in accordance with the aforementioned, according to which each of them inherited and was judged therein, namely, in the old inheritance, in actual and current possession, according to all observances and customs of rights required thereto, having adorned the same stone with willow wickerwork and subsequently enjoyed wine and wine there. Three weeks later, this ritual was more or less repeated. It was also found that the

110850

- stones set there on the 2nd of July had been pulled out opposite Joncker Baexens Biesenbaendt, and a stock had been laid from there, and a similar stock had been laid out with other stones, which, by order of the Lord scholts and magistrates, were pulled out and thrown into the water on behalf of the appellants. The court messenger of Tiel Tielen had the same place again laid out with other stones, and furthermore, Corst Stockmans had it stepped down and found that the Maas had deviated from the same stone by another fifty steps, so that the stone that had been run up from the place from which the stone had first been stepped down, was found to be in total one hundred and twenty-nine steps long. The fact that the Asselterhof estates were summoned for this occasion is closely related to a deed from 1275.
- In 1774, surveyor Smabers designated the Hooghen Biesweerth as parcel 1 on map 8, meaning the southernmost part of the weerd. For the surveyor, who drew up the maps of Swalmen on behalf of the collective tithe collectors, the Biesweerd was an exception. This addition had been made since for a long time, the land had been divided into nine so-called lots, which were sometimes combined through sale and inheritance, but sometimes further divided. For unclear reasons, it had been agreed in the past that the actual location of the land would change annually based on this division of ownership, making it impossible for Smabers to determine who actually owned which part of the large parcel. Ownership was clear for the adjacent parcels, owned by Baxhof and Hillenraad respectively, but Smabers also encountered the same problem with parcel 4, the Kleijn Biesweerth.
- In 1826, part of the Biestert was sold to Paulus Schiffers, "grutte mulder" (major miller) and citizen of Roermond.
- October 30, 1772 De Maasgouw, January 15, 1903
- The inheritance of Frans Arnold, Margrave of Hoensbroeck, and his wife, Maria Anna Sophia van Schönborn.
- Communicated by P. Doppler. When Frans Arnold dos H. R. Ryks, Count and Margrave of Hoensbroeck, hereditary marshal of the principality of Gelder and county of Zutphen, lord of the guardianships of the Lower District of Gelder, of Swalmen, Asselt, Hillenraedt, Grubbenvorst, Blyenbeeck, Afferden and Ruynen, bailiff of the city of Gelder, etc. (1) and his wife Maria Anna Sophia, née Countess of Schönborn, Buchheim and Wolfsthal (2), died, their surviving assets were not divided among themselves by their children. However, "not so much concerned with the preservation and, more importantly, the enhancement of our name and lineage, and also the luster of our van Hoensbroeck family," they "also with the intention and at the high command" of their parents and ancestors devised certain "pacta familiae sive gentiletien" and concluded it on October 30, 1772, whereby the entire estate of their parents was made a "fixed fidie commis." We found this agreement, recorded in the bailiff's register of the Lordship of Grubbenvorst for the years 1772-1797, November 18, no. 30.
- Article 2 of this agreement stipulates that these "fidie commissaire" goods will be owned and enjoyed by the eldest margrave or lord of the manor of their family and by his legal male successors, excluding all female heirs, with the stipulation that certain annual payments from the proceeds thereof be made to the other family members, as stipulated in a few subsequent articles.
- Presenting all fifteen of these articles here in their entirety would go too far; we will only mention the first article, which lists all the goods and is extremely important for the history of our province, and the second in their entirety.
- The confederates were: L. F. M. de Hoensbroeck, hereditary marshal of the Duchy of Gelderland and the County of Zutphen; Sophia Charlotta, Margravine of Hoensbroeck, born Countess von der Leyen Hohengerolseck; P. (1) of and at Hoensbroek, cathedral chapter lord of Speyer, provost of Emmerich, Archdeacon of Utrecht, privy councilor and government president of the Elector of Spires; Leopold, Margrave of Hoensbroeck, canon of the cathedral church of Spires; J. F. M. D. Hoensbroeck, canon of the cathedral chapter of Münster; Joseph, Margrave of Hoensbroeck, canon of the metropolitan church of Trier; Charles, Margrave of Hoensbroeck, canon of the metropolitan church of Trier and chamberlain of the Elector of Cologne. "... the castle and marquisate of Hoensbroeck with its high, middle, and low jurisdiction, hunting, fishing, forests, money and grain rents, tins, charters, liberties, pledges, and road tax, along with the corresponding building yards, banal brewhouse, and water gardens, as well as the other corresponding hunting yards, namely: the Schwemmgruggen court, the Nauenhof, the Aldenhof, the Lootbroeck court, half of the Eysden court, the Linderen court, the ter Weyer court, the Eyck court, the Weijhof, with all the respective corresponding lands, meadows, and pastures, hollow crops, hunting, fishing, rights, and justices;
- item the castle and lordship of Hillenraedt, Swalmen, and Asselt with Applicable

high, middle, and low jurisdiction, hunting, fishing, wardens, money and grain rents, tins, charters, liberties, and all rights and justifications, including applicable leaseholds such as Asselderhof, the Bockweilsdries farm, the Syperhof, the Noenhof, the small farm, with a parcel of land purchased in addition, furthermore all the lands, meadows, pastures, fisheries, tins, and leaseholds, bannal, grain, and oil mills, the Blanckwater fishery, the Boschheijde, and the Lothariebosch, items the Bochhulder and Raayerthiende, the Boxweerd estate located near Neer, the properties of the Jacquefort farm near Buggenum, the free noble House of Welten with the respective Annexed lands under Nieuwstad in the Montfort area,

110925 item the lordship of Grubbenvorst with its associated courts, named Grubben Castle and Court with a mill, the noble house of Baersdonck, and the Kleijnraeij, all with its associated lands, meadows and pastures, hollow crops, appurtenances and dependencies, furthermore the tins, bonds, leaseholds and fiefs belonging to Grubben and Baersdonck, as well as the tithe there at Grubbenvorst; Item: Blyenbeek Castle

110930 and the lordships of Afferden and Heukelom, with their associated jurisdiction, rights and justices, hunting and fishing, services, money and grain rents, tins, tithes, and liberties, with their associated courtyards and farms, namely Aldenhof, Bosserhof, Linderhof, Flammert, Bulshees, Vogelheck, Niefers, Neudorp, Freyenhof, with their associated lands, meadows, pastures, hollow crops, fisheries, and other

110935 appurtenances and dependencies;

110940 Item: Gelder Overampt, consisting of the following lordships and villages: Nieuwkerck, Aldekerck, Sevelen, Taeten, Stenden, Schaephuysen, St. Anthonyberg, and Reurt; item the Nederampt Gelder consisting of the following lordships and villages: Pont, Veerten, Capellen, Witten, Groot Kevelaer, Klein Kevelaer;

110945 the castle and knight's seat The Hague near Gelderland, and its respective noble estates, knight's seats, and courts, such as Ravenshof and Schuijrenhof, the Egelsom or Kynster, the large and small Bartel, the Voort, the Geysberg, Broekmanshof, Brouwenshof, Hoenslaer, Gesselen with the seventeen morgens purchased therewith, the Sloet, the Bremershorst, Knegtenhof, Weyschenhof, the Horst aan de Niers, the

110950 Weiherst, the Badenbergh, Steenolens, and the mills so-called "maybe" belonging to it, the Rijntzenhof, Hubenhof, Hornhof, Gijzenhof, the Heycamp with all the respective high, middle, and low jurisdictions, rights and justices, hunting grounds, Fisheries, services, fiefs, tins, corn and money tents, leaseholds, right of way, liberties and associated lands, forests, hollows, meadows, and pastures;

110955 The castle and knight's seat of Bellinghoven and the lordship of Haffer and Meer with their associated rights and rights, jurisdiction, tins, leaseholds, liberties, hunting and fishing, money and grain rents, and also farmyards, namely: Coepenhol, Hillemanshof, Obbergshof and their associated lands, meadows, meadows, hollows, and

110960 grain mills, Duysborger tithe, and furthermore the farm called Byvanck with its lands, meadows, meadows, meadows, and hollows;

Item: the farm called "den Grind" near Zanten, located with its associated lands, meadows, and pastures;

Item: the Oosterschen, Grubbenschen, and Asselder tol [customs] on the Maas River;

110965 Item: the free estate and knight's seat of Yversheim with its associated lands, meadows, pastures, hollow crops, rights and liens, hunting and fishing rights, liens, grain and gold rents, tithes, and so on;

Item: the Wiltinger vineyard, with its associated lands, tithes, rights and liens;

Item: the Vienna Fideicommiss, capital of one hundred thousand Rhine guilders;

110970 Item: a similar capital of one thousand Rhine guilders, payable by the Austrian land authorities;

Item: the bond payable by the Bohemian Landstätt of three thousand nine hundred and sixty-five Rhine guilders;

Another Austrian Landstätte bond of one thousand eight hundred and eighty Rhine

110975 guilders, all originating from the Countess of Straetman;

A similar capital of eighteen thousand Rhine guilders bequeathed by the aforementioned Her Excellency to the late His Highness, the Marquis of Hoensbroek, during his lifetime, Provost of Trier; item a ditto capital of eight thousand Rhine

110980 guilders at the hilt in Vienna, and through her Excellenz the Countess of Hodion bequeaths, to our joint counterparts, the usufructum of the last congregation Capital sum of eight thousand Rhine guilders reserved for our respective benefit ad dies vitae;

the High Office as Hereditary Marshal of the Principality of Gelderland and the

110985 County of Zutphen, with all the corresponding emoluments, prerogatives, rights and entitlements, and finally all the vassals, jewels, trinkets, and all other ready-

made goods and securities bequeathed by the late our highly esteemed parents and passed on to us in the other direction, as far as located or findable in the Netherlands, are made and constituted into a fidei-commissaire, and that it shall take effect as often and as long as the respective land rights under which the aforementioned fidei-commissaire goods fall are permitted, that those goods located in the Kingdom shall be and remain perpetually subject to the bond of fidei-commissaire, such that none of the aforementioned so loan as allodiaele goods, rents, pledges and so on by the respective possessors, or priors thereof and may be alienated, transferred or encumbered on whatever foundation or pretext it may be, then for us jointly signed contracts all and with the exception of our successors, reserving the faculty to negotiate on the aforementioned goods such sums as we deem necessary for the deposit of other capital and principal of those standing for higher interests. "Secondly, that the aforementioned fideicommissary goods will be possessed and defrauded by the eldest Marquis or ancestral lord of our Hoensbroeck family and thus successively by his lawful male heirs having the right to succeed, both with regard to the aforementioned fideicommissary goods and in the high office of Hereditary Marshal of the Duchy of Gelderland and the County of Zutphen, with the exclusion of the Marquises or female lineage, as long as any of us or our descendants are lawful male descendants alive, then nevertheless, thirdly, that the same will be held respectively to each of his brothers and uncles Marquises of Hoensbroeck ad dies vitae from the proceeds of the aforementioned fideicommissary to return three hundred patacons of specie annually and to contribute as much as possible to spiritual or secular employment or service and to bear the costs thereof."

(1) According to Eg. Hanghen, Het margraafschap Hoensbroek, p. 160, he died on 22 August 1760.
(2) Died 5 November 1760, idem p. 161.
(1) He called himself Philip Damien; he was solemnly inaugurated as Bishop of Roermond on 30 October 1775.

January 1, 1897 NEER OR "NÈRE."
The winter sun pierces the morning mist with dull rays. Every ray reflects in the millions of droplets from the frost-covered grasses of the meadow.
The trees pay their annual tribute to the winter frost, and from the branches a continuous rain of withered oak leaves descends, falling with a peculiar rustle onto the hard ground.
After a few days, the landscape is as bare as the field, where the green now offers little variety.
A white-gray mist drifts over the water, and the damp, sharp cold paints noses and ears black and blue.
The monotony of the landscape before Buggenum disappears as one approaches the village, whose long row of houses seems deserted on the winter morning. Above the oak chimney, a blue, upright cloud of smoke floats, proving how well they manage to ward off the cold inside.
Behind Buggenum, the view expands. We are standing on a high plain, crisscrossed by many roads, most of which lead to Neer.
On the left, we see Haelen and Nunhem, with their churches and castles leaning against the hills.
Green pine forests break straight lines.
To the right, far away, we see the old church of Asselt, with the houses of the village, which was once so prosperous when shipping on the Maas was still flourishing and Hanssum, near Neer, was a large and well-known ferry.
Before us lies Neer, with the church on a hill that displays simple yet proportionate shapes.
The houses of Neer are situated in the depression created by the small river from which it takes its name.
Whichever side you look at the village from, it is surrounded by a high plain. From the north, too, one has a beautiful view of the higher land toward Neer.
If one turns toward the Maas, which flows along a high ridge or steep bank on the side of Hanssum and Neer, one sees the village of Beesel, its houses reflected in the blue expanse of the Maas.
Behind, through the woods, where the towers of Swalmen and Reuver rise their dotted peaks, one sees the white plume of smoke from the locomotive and can follow its course along the line. If you pay close attention, the still winter air will carry the wail of the steam whistle long after you have seen the smoke plume move again.
The sun now breaks more powerfully through the mists, between which it has long tried to cast a doubtful light like a milky-white disk.
Although it does not dispel the cold, it does bring more inspiration and life around

us. Neer lies just before us, and the watermills on the stream rattle and clang with a delight.

Such a watermill has something appealing; it's a nice addition to the landscape. The watermill used to yield a considerable profit for its owners. The lord of the village, here the Keizersbosch monastery, held the monopoly on milling on the streams. Therefore, this privilege brought in money, while the millers took care of themselves and weren't lazy about shoveling flour sacks. Some millers, however, had wide sleeves, as legend has it, and shoveled with both their hands and sleeves. Whether this story, so often told in Limburg, is true, we'll let "God and the miller part ways."

The village of Neer is very old. Its name may derive from its location. We would like to remind you here, however, that the winding, deep river has many whirlpools (called "neer" in Limburgish), and the river also bears that name. In 870, it formed the border between the upper and lower Maasgouw regions.

The Salic Laws mention a place called Nara or Nare, which Wendelinus calls present-day Neer. The renowned minter Stiels, pastor of Neer, (1) also recounts in his work that gold and silver coins from the Merovingian period were found in Neer, including some minted in Wijk-bij-Duurstede, Wijk bij Maastricht, and Utrecht. This is a peculiarity that confirms the aforementioned conjecture. Mr. Stiels further wrote about the village, recording the following details, which we reproduce here:

Although the lords of Horne, who became Counts of the Empire in 1450, had their special residence at the castle near Weert, and Horne Castle, on the Maas, was considered the supreme head of this region, Neer has always excelled above other places. This is true for its antiquity, the number of its inhabitants, its privileges and advantages, and the excellence of its church (dedicated to Saint Martin), in which, as an immemorial, not only a pastor was appointed, but also a parish with four or five benefices. Since it is impossible to discover the foundations of these benefices, and it is certain that in 1203 the pastor was already mentioned, persona in Neer, as can be seen in Miraeus, and in several others, where it is said that Imaina, Countess of Loon and Abbess of Munsterbilsen, widow of Duke Godfried III of Brabant, ordered the

From the personate of Neer to the Lord Prelate of Averbode Abbey, etc., one can conclude that this parish must have already been established in the year 1000 or 1100, and that this community must have been very populous at that time; moreover, Neer was at that time a city with walls and gates, enjoying all the privileges customarily enjoyed by citizens. Although the author makes no mention of this, and over time, due to wars and other unfortunate circumstances, not a single remnant of this city remains, there are nevertheless enough examples to make this quite plausible. For all those familiar with the situation of the place, the following examples will also be noted:

Neer was first a personate, and that long before 1200; Five beneficiaries were established in our church, with such good revenues that their beneficiaries, residing in Neer, frequented the choir on Sundays and high holidays, as in chapter churches, singing vespers, matins, etc.

Moreover, in Neer there are three excellent brotherhoods or militias, whose antiquity and origins are impossible to determine; indeed, it is certain that these were enriched by the princes of Horn and also by subsequent counts with excellent privileges, with various lands and income, to come and recreate themselves honestly on certain appointed days, est in festo sancti Sebastiani and others, and also to take up arms for their counts in times of war and to protect their fellow citizens from violence and plunder in times of unforeseen unrest. There were other brotherhoods in the past, such as that of St. Anthony and Our Lady, whose income, after the cessation of this congregation, for unknown reasons, went to the poor table of this community.

The blacksmiths, weavers, and shoemakers also have their brotherhoods and patrons, on whose feast days they gather and a high mass is sung for them.

Thirdly, residents whose houses are located within the canals or city moats have a special privilege: on the day of their funeral, as is done in cities, the body, complete with cross and priest, must be collected from the deceased's house. But what most clearly indicates that Neer was a city before this are the remaining city ditches, which, having not yet been demolished at the beginning of this century, were gradually converted into farmland, but with such a privilege that the tithe on these ditches always belongs to the pastor, as a noval decimator, a right he has always enjoyed without any contest. These ditches (canals) begin at Bergerstraat, running along Zuiderhak, from there behind the Groote onto the Baent, and from the Baent to

the house of alderman Peter Windelmolen, and thus through Pasveld to the Keizer, being in some places only 16 feet wide, but in others much wider. The names of the gates, such as Bergepoort, Veerpoort, etc., can still be found in old documents. Over time, Neer has lost much; Whether this occurred due to the rise of other villages, such as Roggel, Heijthuijzen, etc., which were still unknown, or due to the ravages of war or fire, which destroyed our village several times, is uncertain. After all, this land, bordering the city of Roermond, also suffered greatly during the period of the iconoclasm, though never more so than during the life of the pastor-dean Leo van der Meer, between 1630 and 1650. After the plundering of the city of Thienen in 1635, Dutch and other troops were crushed here in the county, burning and destroying everything. This was followed by the plague, which not only decimated an infinite number of soldiers but also the country's inhabitants, leaving houses empty and lands uncultivated. But never has a more tragic misfortune befallen our municipality than in 1645, when the Hessian troops, after occupying the village for many days, finally set fire to all four corners of the village on August 11th, probably because they could not raise the demanded ransom. This resulted in not only the entire village, with a few exceptions, but also the parish house, with all its paperwork and records, both of church and poorhouse, of pastoral reasons and municipal affairs, being reduced to ashes. Pastor Leo van der Meer was then taken prisoner by the Hessians and held in custody for eight weeks in Nuijs.

So much for Pastor Stiels. His evidence of Neer's elevation to the status of city is quite remarkable. It certainly proves that Neer was a significant village at an early stage. In our opinion, it was surrounded by ditches to protect it from enemy attacks, as this provided easy access to water, and a redoubt was also built, the remains of which still exist.

Nothing is known about its actual elevation to city status. It is also possible that Neer was put in a state of resistance during the Guelderian War in the early 1500s. In 1504, when Echt was completely destroyed, Jacob III van Horne and his troops were stationed in Neer. Those from Roermond attacked him there, captured him along with "other people of the Prince's people, who were holding the night watch at the time," and "with greater joy" took him captive to Ruremonde. The civic guards still exist and possess fine silver, which is kept at the "port" or guildhall. One civic guard still possesses beautiful stone drinking jugs. The village of Neer is prosperous, although the circumstances of the times have not improved it. However, if one wishes to return to the past and see a striking image of the insignificance of the noblest and most dignified things of this world, one should walk towards the heath and behold the monotonous, tasteless, yet large and solid buildings that remain of the widely renowned and centuries-old Keizersbosch Abbey. 700 years ago, a possession of Averbode Abbey near Sichein, a monastery for women was founded here, following the generous donations of Count Engelbert van Horne in 1200. In 1226, a church was founded here, in 1232 there was a provost, and in 1350, a descendant of the powerful Horne family was prioress. In the church building, renovated in 1472, the high Hornes were buried, and for over five centuries, Keizersbosch was the meeting place of the pious and powerful. In 1786, the monastery was built; the foundations of the old farmhouses were still found. Some of these buildings still exist. During the French Republic, the nuns of this convent fled to the Meijerij and settled in Deurne, in the abandoned house of the minister. They also moved some of their furniture and archives there. An abbey cartulary, rediscovered there in 1885, was purchased by the archivist in Limburg for his repository. An old hymnal, containing the regulations to be followed when recording a religious service and during the choir service, was found by me in Neer and also donated to the National Archives in Maastricht. Keizersbosch, with all its possessions, was sold by the French Republicans on July 16, 1793 (poster 57), along with all its dependencies and dependencies, and purchased by Arnold Jan Baptista De Raedt of Roermond for the sum of 145,000 livres, largely payable in assignats, which were almost worthless. De Raedt soon had the church demolished, as well as part of the buildings renovated 82 years earlier. The De Raedt family sold this estate on August 8, 1876, comprising 7 hectares and 84 ares, including stables, barns, sheds, arable land, and pastureland, to the current owner, Alexander Steegh, married to Margaretha Antoinetta van Hegelsom. As mentioned above, the church contained the graves of most of the Counts of Horn. A few years ago, when excavating the grounds behind the building, the burial places were rediscovered. But the bones of the high rulers could not be distinguished from the lowly nun. The house now consists of about ten rooms with a hall, kitchens,

cellars, and stables, the exterior of which bears little resemblance to its former grandeur.

Besides the house Ghoor, Neer also includes the fortified farms of Aldenghoor, Kuikhoven, Brumholt, Gerheggen, Waay, Wijngaarden, and the hamlet of Hanssum, situated on the Maas River, where the ferry house is located.

A few hundred years ago, considerable controversy arose over this ferry. In 1700, the Bishop of Liège ordered a toll to be levied there, which displeased the States-General and, armed with weapons, prevented the levy.

In 1718, the game began again, this time with the Liège tax collector being arrested and thrown into prison in Roermond. The Bishop was not discouraged, and the skippers paid their dues until 1731, when the King of Prussia requested the Emperor to abolish it.

It is worth noting that the northern border of the municipality of Neer is formed by the Zuidwillemsvaart drainage canal to the Maas. The canal's drop into the Maas is considerable. This may well explain why the connection between the Maas and the Scheldt was not established here.

Before concluding this sketch of Neer, we must point out the peculiar dialect, quite different from that of the surrounding region. There, one hears letter variations, which almost turn "kerk" into "krek," from "verkes" into something like "vrèkes." For a hundred years, people spoke this way, for they faithfully adhered to old customs and traditions, and fortunately, Neer is still characterized by old-fashioned good faith, which radiates from everything.

(1) Publ. etc. du Limb., Part XIX, p. 465.

History

To formulate archaeological expectations, the relationship between the location of archaeological sites and the landscape, or even specific landscape elements, is frequently used. This relationship (location selection factors) varies by archaeological period and complex type. Because location selection is strongly linked to the landscape, the Netherlands is divided into so-called archaeoregions in the National Research Agenda for Archaeology. The plan area is included in the Brabant sandy area. However, it lies on the outermost edge of this region, on the border with the Limburg sandy soils. Knowledge of the occupation history of both the Brabant sandy area and the Limburg sandy area is therefore essential for developing a sound expectation model and determining the location selection factors for each period.

The landscape of the Maas terraces consists of remnants of Pleistocene and Holocene riverbeds that have been incised into the Pleistocene river terraces. Some of the ancient riverbeds were drained by streams originating in the western cover sand landscapes, causing them to function as stream valleys (for example, the Neerbeek). This interplay of different landscape forms within close proximity of each other created an attractive area for hunter-gatherers during the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods. The boundary zones between high and low, wet and dry, offered the greatest opportunities for a varied and reliable food supply. During the 200,000 years preceding the Neolithic, habitation opportunities were determined by climatic conditions. These were more limited during colder periods than during warmer ones. After the last ice age, approximately 11,000 years ago, a warm period began, leading to an increasingly rich and varied food supply. Areas like the Maas terraces, due to their diversity, offered sufficient opportunities for permanent habitation.

Mesolithic sites are primarily found on ridges and terrace edges with well-draining cover sand subsoils near a water source (fen, river, or cut-off meander). The slightly higher areas around streams, fens, and ponds were therefore likely the most favorable landscape locations for settlement. When choosing locations near open water, there appears to have been a preference for the (south)eastern flank of cover sand ridges, likely due to the prevailing (north)westerly winds. Settlements likely also existed in and near river and stream valleys that were later eroded or covered with sediments.

The Neolithic began around 5300 BC with the introduction of agriculture on the upstream loess soils. Agriculture on the light clay soils of the Maas terraces began approximately 1000 years later. The consequences for the landscape were drastic, primarily due to the clearing of forests to create fields, but also due to other activities aimed at shaping the landscape to better suit the new sedentary way of life. Agriculture also led to population growth, amplifying the effects of the transition from hunting and gathering to agriculture. The new sedentary way of life placed different demands on settlements, which were more often located on or near higher elevations, particularly where the soil was more fertile. However, fertilizing

agricultural land was not yet known, so yields were low, and fields had to be regularly moved to maintain fertility. Depending on the natural soil fertility, this could happen after just a few years. Most farms likely had a lifespan of several decades due to the perishability of the building materials. This system of habitation is described as the wandering farmstead system. This process of transformation from a natural to a cultivated landscape continued during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. The settlement will have been permanent, but still not fixed in place.

In the Roman period, the Maas Valley was incorporated into a larger whole for the first time. A road was built on both banks of the river, connecting the towns and larger settlements in the Maas Valley with each other, with the military forts on the Limes, and with other parts of the Roman Empire. The military occupation of the Rhine and Maas delta at the beginning of the Common Era quickly led to a process of Romanization among the local population, with the adoption of a wide range of new products and techniques. One of the most important changes was the integration into a monetary economy. The ability to produce for a distant market led to a further expansion of the agricultural land, but also to the production of raw materials and consumer goods on a scale that exceeded local needs.

The opposite of this production for sale elsewhere was the supply of goods for personal use. This process was most visible in the new construction methods, which utilized Roman building techniques and materials. In the loess regions, but also along the Maas, villas—farms—were built with at least a coarse ceramic roof. But they often also featured other, luxurious amenities, such as underfloor heating and baths. Stone roofs were also found on ordinary farmsteads in settlements (Helden Schrames). Based on the 1991 picture of the settlement system in the Southern Netherlands, Slofstra draws a sharp contrast between the settlement and agricultural systems of the Late Iron Age and the Roman period. In the former period, Celtic fields and "wandering farms" are present. According to Slofstra, these changes are related to agricultural intensification, partly caused by Roman taxation. The "kinship" mode of production transformed into a "tributary" one. The settlement hierarchy has small rural settlements at its base and further includes enclosed rural settlements, rural centers or vici, and the proto-urban centers that developed into true towns over the course of the Roman period. Within the group of enclosed rural settlements, indications of elite residences can already be found in the pre-Flavian period, which in some cases developed into true villas but elsewhere often did not extend "beyond" what Slofstra calls proto-villas. The settlement system, as it were, reflects the hierarchical patronage system. This system already existed in late prehistory and was given additional levels in the Roman period, namely those of the (Gallo)Roman elite and the imperial family. The residents of the elite residences in the Southern Netherlands constituted the intermediaries with the highest levels, as they also functioned as decuriones of the civitates. The dependent population lived in the houses and small settlements surrounding the residences of elites.

The decline of the Roman Empire, a process that began as early as the 3rd century and continued into the 5th century, led to a decline that, among other things, resulted in a shrinking population and, consequently, agricultural land. This process appears to have been less drastic in the Maas Valley than elsewhere. The survival of place names from the Roman period (Heel, Blerick, Melick, and possibly Kessel) indicates a continuity of habitation. However, the population composition did change. Franks, sometimes as mercenaries defending the border, settled within the Empire, including in the abandoned villa complexes. The erosion of Roman authority led to the rise of local rulers, often from the Frankish elite, whose power was based on land ownership. This political autonomy coincided with economic autarky, in which trade virtually ground to a halt and production was limited to domestic consumption. Under the Merovingians (6th–7th centuries), a recovery began, not only of central authority, but also, and especially, of the economy. Agricultural land expanded again, and new settlements were founded. However, the Maas Valley remained on the periphery of the new kingdom, centered around Reims. The power base of the Carolingians (7th to 10th centuries), who took over from the Merovingians, lay further north, between Verdun and Herstal, thus placing the Maas Valley more centrally. The Carolingian Empire disintegrated into numerous smaller units in the 9th and 10th centuries. Local and regional rulers gained a high degree of independence.

In the Early Middle Ages, power was based on land ownership. This land ownership was exploited through the dominiale, or manorial system, in which unfree people—serfs—

worked the land. This system was based on payment in kind. In part, these domains may be related to older settlements, while in part they arose as new reclamations. A shift occurred toward growing more grain, resulting in the development of the three-field system. This system alternated two years of growing spring and winter wheat with a fallow year. Due to the lack of fertilizers to maintain soil fertility, this was the only way to prevent soil depletion. However, it did require additional land. The increasing emphasis on grain cultivation likely led to the development of the open fields surrounding many of the villages on the banks of the Maas. The three-field system also functions best in large, connected complexes. These fields were partly created by the confluence of smaller individual farms, probably as early as the 9th or 10th century. However, it cannot be ruled out that on the loamy soils

The Maas terraces, whose soil structure and natural fertility make them ideal for arable farming, have maintained a continuity since the Roman period, when these lands were already intensively used.

Inhabitation during the Roman period took place in indigenous settlements, which were Romanized to varying degrees, and in settlements that derived their origins from specific political and/or economic functions. In addition, there were individual villas, such as those at Maasbracht or Neer. In the Early Middle Ages, after an initial decline, habitation shifted to settlements along the streams, often in the form of villages, and, particularly in the cover sand landscape, to individual or collective reclamations. In these latter areas, farms likely remained for a considerable time, moving over time, while these were already fixed in place in the villages. The extent to which habitation still existed within the open fields (such as between Neer and Buggenum) during this period is unknown. Farmsteads situated amidst their fields were still common in the early Middle Ages, but gradually, habitation concentrated in settlement centers, although isolated farmsteads still exist today, as evidenced by the Wijnardenhof, for example. This farmstead consists partly of buildings already present before 1800 and partly of buildings built after 1800, replacing the De Beukel farmstead, which lay slightly further north in the Zwaarveld and was reportedly destroyed by flooding around 1800. Many of these isolated farmsteads are first mentioned in the late Middle Ages and were often owned by the nobility or monastic orders. Their current form dates from the 17th century and later. However, assuming that these fertile lands were very attractive for agriculture, it can be assumed that the concentration of habitation outside the arable areas began fairly early in the Middle Ages. The decline of the Roman Empire, the abandonment of villas, and the shrinking population will have resulted only in the partial abandonment of these lands. Other, less suitable lands for agriculture were more likely to have been abandoned to nature. This also seems to be confirmed by the reclamation of new arable lands in the Late Middle Ages and Modern Period, which primarily took place in the cover sand areas west of the terraced landscape along the Maas. The habitation pattern outlined above underlies the current landscape structure, in which a virtually undeveloped landscape remains between Buggenum and Neer. The oldest mentions of settlements date from the 13th and 14th centuries, but the settlements themselves appear to be older. Buggenum, for example, is first mentioned in 1230, but the church must date back to the early 11th century. Moreover, Buggenum (1230: Bugnem) is a local name, which often dates from the Early Middle Ages.

Arable farming would have been dominant on the terraces, while grasslands would have existed in the lower stream valleys and the active Maas river belt. Presumably, all land suitable for arable farming on the Maas terraces was put into use quite early on. Later expansion of arable land occurred primarily on the cover sands west of the Maas valley. Therefore, the landscape structure on the Maas terraces has been largely established since the Late Middle Ages. This can be seen in the cadastral map from 1811-32. All parcels within Sub-area West were then used as arable land. In Sub-area South, the higher northern section was also used as such, while the lower sections were used as pasture and hay meadows.

The easternmost section is formed by a cut-off channel of the Maas. The silting up of this arm can be clearly followed on the topographic maps of 1894 and 1938. These maps also show that during the century they cover, the land use remained unchanged: arable land remained arable (white) and grassland remained grassland (green). Major interventions only occurred in the last quarter of the 20th century, when the Maas River was straightened in 1967 and the area between Neer and Buggenum was re-parcelled in the 1970s. During those years, part of the arable land was also converted into grassland. Finally, in 1996, a dike and overflow channel were

constructed to protect Neer during high water.

Expectation Model

Based on the information acquired in the above steps regarding the current situation, the geoscientific and historical circumstances, and known archaeological values, a detailed forecast can be formulated. To arrive at a correct choice of the research method for the inventory field study, the following characteristics have been indicated as far as possible:

- Dating; at least in main periods (such as Paleolithicum, Mesolithic, etc.);
- Complex type (such as settlement, burial ground, field layer, etc.);
- Size;
- Depth (also visible/invisible);
- Location (with an indication of the sub-area, if applicable);
- External characteristics (artifacts and type indicators);

For all periods, in addition to the formative processes by the Maas that have given the landscape its current shape, the extent to which erosion resulting from the washing away of soil from fields can also be a determining factor in the loss of (parts of) the soil archive. The extent to which such erosion has occurred within the plan area is unclear. Only after the borehole survey has been conducted will this become clearer, and can this question potentially be answered. Therefore, the impact of erosion resulting from runoff from fields is not taken into account in the forecast model below. Specifically for the low-lying part of the Southern Sub-area, habitation has likely never occurred. Other activities will also have been limited in this part of the plan area. However, there is a good chance of finding special datasets from all periods, such as ritual deposits, waste dumps, or fishing- or shipping-related artifacts. Therefore, the expectation for this area is low in terms of habitation, but high for special datasets. However, these often concern point locations, which are difficult to detect using current inventory and mapping research methods.

Late Paleolithic-Mesolithic: Given the geomorphology of the plan area, there is a possibility that archaeological features from the early Prehistory (particularly the Mesolithic) may be present in the plan area. These features could consist of small settlement sites, so-called extraction camps of small size (approximately 5 to 10 m²), and base camps of larger size. Sites from this period are characterized by a scattering of flint. It is also possible that soil traces (hearths) may be found. The value of flint sites (artifacts) is largely determined by their intactness. To obtain as much information as possible from a flint site, it is therefore important that the internal structure of the site (the vertical and horizontal distribution) has been disturbed as little as possible. The value of a flint site is therefore largely determined by the degree of intactness of the soil profile. Even minor tillage can have led to disturbance of the site. It is therefore important to determine the degree of disturbance to the soil profile. If sites occur on or near the surface and the area is used as arable land, they are likely to be significantly disturbed. Paleolithic sites are particularly likely to be found on the terraces from the Allerød and Late Dryas (see Figure 2). The current Maas floodplain was formed in the final phase of the Paleolithic and later, so there is a high probability that any remains have been washed away. Given the age of the terraces, only remains from the Late Paleolithic are expected within the plan area. Mesolithic sites may occur throughout the plan area, with the caveat that, again, there is little chance that no erosion has occurred within the current Holocene floodplain. However, the chance that any sites will remain undisturbed is slim, as primarily erosive processes have taken place within the plan area. No cover sand has been deposited (the terraces are too young for that), nor has river sedimentation occurred. Therefore, any sites have always been directly on the surface, making them highly vulnerable to disturbance. Because the plan area lies in a zone highly suitable for agriculture, and will therefore have been used as such more or less continuously for a long time, the likelihood of intact sites within the plan area is very slim. Given the landscape of the plan area, on the edges of the terraces and near the river, the probability of encountering sites from the Late Paleolithic and Mesolithic is estimated to be medium to high. However, the probability of encountering intact sites is estimated to be low.

Table 6 categorizes the artifacts found by material category and time period. The approximate dating of the Archaeological Basic Register (ABR) is followed for the

latter. These dating ranges are sometimes very broad, as they are based on the fact that certain materials do not have a period-specific shape or application and therefore may have been used over a longer period. A good example of this is burnt clay, also known - incorrectly - as huts.

Loam. Loam has been used as a building material from the Neolithic period into the sub-recent past. Chunks of burnt loam can therefore date from this entire time span. The context in which it is found is therefore the only way to date it. The same applies to flint, in broad terms, except that it was used as a tool, resulting in a large number of period-specific shapes, but also a great deal of waste, the result of tool production, which is difficult to date. Furthermore, flint has been used into the sub-recent period (for example, as a fire striker), which also generated waste through use. The dating in the ABR is therefore Paleolithic (PALEO) to present (NTC), although the majority of use will be in the Paleolithic to Neolithic period. The dating of the recovered material must be considered with this in mind. The artifacts found generally fall into three periods and/or three material categories, some of which coincide. The material outside these clusters often consists of objects so unspecific that further identification is impossible. The majority likely dates from the Modern Period. Iron, with 54 objects, constitutes by far the largest group within this category. Many of the pieces consist of amorphous rust lumps, some of which can certainly be classified as shrapnel. Forged nails, which have been used since the Roman period, are also found. The other materials outside the three main clusters are always represented by one or two fragments and include bone, bronze (heavily worn coin), copper, mud brick, and charcoal. The three clusters mentioned above include flint, which dates primarily from the Prehistoric Period, pottery and coarse ceramics from the Roman Period, and glass, pottery, and coarse ceramics from the Late Middle Ages and/or Modern Period.

Flint

A total of 455 flint fragments and 6 fragments of other stone types fall within this cluster. In addition, two fragments of hand-formed pottery were found, but unfortunately, these cannot be further identified. The flint was identified by Huub Schmitz of the Roerstreek Local History Association. The vast majority of the flint - 335 fragments, see Table 7 - consists of debris and chunks that are difficult to identify. This material can therefore only be dated very broadly as Paleolithic to recent. The remaining material - 119 pieces - consists of (parts of) tools and materials created during tool making or working. This material, too, with the exception of a few objects, cannot be dated more precisely than Paleolithic to Iron Age. Only five objects can be dated as Mesolithic to Late Neolithic (transverse pointed), Middle Neolithic (pointed blade fragment), or Late Neolithic to Bronze Age (retouched axe flake from Lousberg flint; ground axe flakes from Valkenburg, Belgian Grey, and Rijkholt flint). The type of flint used for 162 objects could be determined. Certain types of flint were used primarily or exclusively in specific periods of prehistory, making it possible to establish a more precise dating. Table 8 lists the objects for which the flint type could be determined, as well as the approximate dating of their use. Flint from Rijckholt and Maasschotter constitutes more than two-thirds of the material. These types were used from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic. It should be noted, however, that the flint from Rijckholt was used extensively primarily in the Neolithic. Of the remaining flint types, the majority were used between the (Late) Paleolithic and Neolithic (32 fragments: Vetschau, Obourg, and Belgian Grey), and only a small portion exclusively in the Mesolithic and/or Neolithic (15 fragments: Wommersom Quartzite, Lousberg, Sijpeld, and Valkenburg). Therefore, it is virtually impossible to differentiate temporally based on the type of flint. With the exception of five fragments, the flint was found almost exclusively in the West Sub-area. No clear concentrations are visible within the plan area (see Figure 12). When examining often resemble each other. In general, Roman wares are somewhat more compact than those from later periods, but regional differences can be very small, especially when the same clay sources were apparently used. The material from Neer, which is well dated, could not be definitively identified as Roman, but it does strongly resemble the material that could be definitively identified as Roman. More than half of the Roman coarse ceramics could be attributed to a specific type. Roofing material predominates, with 159 fragments of tegulae and 117 fragments of imbrices. Furthermore, four fragments of tubules were found, rectangular or square hollow tubes used in heating systems. What is missing are laters, flat, square or rectangular stones used as masonry or, in the case of the large sizes, as floor

slabs. These floor slabs are part of a hypocaust heating system, in which the heat source was located outside the actual space and hot air circulated under the floor and through the walls - tubules. Heated spaces occur in both living and bathing areas and, given the presence of these types of coarse ceramics on Roman sites, must have been quite common.

With the exception of one fragment, the material was found exclusively in Sub-area West (Figure 15). The distribution across the sub-area is not even, but is concentrated in the northern and southeastern parts of this area. Within this distribution, two clear concentrations can be identified, both in the southeastern corner. Both sites are already known in ARCHIS: 17526 and 51303. In the northern part, slightly more material appears to have been found in the northwestern corner. This aligns with the known site at the corner of Hagendoorn and Eiland (AMK site 11196, ARCHIS numbers 15248 and 15360). However, in this northern part, a concentration can also be seen in the central section of the site. Its location generally corresponds to the concentration of ceramics in this part of the plan area. A similar clustering of ceramics and coarse ceramics is also observed at the two locations in the southeastern corner of Sub-area West, but is absent from the concentration in the northwestern corner. This could therefore be a new site.

Figure 16 compares the distribution of Roman ceramics and coarse ceramics found within the plan area with the known sites within the broader study area. It should be noted that the vast majority of observations within this study area are observations, usually field surveys and/or detector finds. Only the small excavation on Arixweg, the supervision of the construction of the Maas quays and overflow channel,¹⁸ and an observation during excavation work on the monument, all relate to excavation work, to a greater or lesser extent. The field survey finds were found in fields, but only the center coordinates of these fields are recorded in ARCHIS, preventing a more precise placement. Dredged finds from the Maas River form a separate category. While they can be roughly placed, they do provide a cross-section of the landscape and, moreover, represent the lowest-lying area. Regardless, it is clear that the area along the Maas between Buggenum and Neer was densely populated during the Roman period.

Early Middle Ages: A medium probability of finding the finds applies to Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, based on the geomorphology and soil composition of the plan area and the historical data. Potential sites may consist of settlement traces and ditches. Settlements are characterized by a distribution of pottery remains and the presence of soil traces (postholes, waste pits, ditches, wells, and foundations). Ditches can indicate land division patterns (farm boundaries and parcel separations), water management (drainage ditches), or reclamation and soil improvement activities. The size of medieval sites varies greatly and depends on the nature of the site. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn regarding this matter. Sites from this period will also likely be located in and/or just below the current tillage, with the deeper traces, in particular, remaining intact.

The expectation for finding sites from the Early Middle Ages is estimated to be medium. The expectation that these sites will still be intact is estimated to be high.

Late Middle Ages and Modern Period: Based on historical data, the expectation for finding archaeological sites in the plan area is low to medium. During this period, habitation was already largely concentrated in the settlement cores on the edges of the field, the contiguous arable land between Neer and Buggenum. Only in the full mi the distribution of the flint artifacts (Table 7, excluding flakes, fragments, cores, and debris), a somewhat stronger concentration of finds appears in the northern part of the West Sub-area. However, no clear locations emerge that could be interpreted as zones of habitation and/or activity. How this material should be interpreted, however, remains to be seen. The obvious approach is based on the degradation of sites due to later activities, in which agriculture played a particularly important role.

This is not only due to tillage itself, but also due to the movement of material through soil erosion resulting from denudation. The fact that no clear indications of erosion were observed in the core logs argues against this. Nor is there a concentration of material visible in the lower-lying eastern part of Sub-area West, where washed-out material, along with the soil, should have concentrated if erosive processes had moved material. Another explanation could be that only a very small portion of the material present within Sub-area West was collected. Only what was visible was included. However, the area was only walked on once; if this had happened

more often, undoubtedly more material would have been collected, especially if the area had been reworked (and rained out) between the various collection sessions. A larger amount of material might have revealed concentrations, but this is by no means certain. Finally, we may have to accept that the recovered material reflects several thousand years of primarily short-term activities at a location that was apparently attractive enough to attract regular visitors.

Late Prehistory and Roman Period: a high probability of detection based on the soil and geomorphology of the plan area. The area will have been among the most attractive for habitation in the Late Prehistory and Roman periods. Therefore, traces of habitation and activity can be found throughout the entire plan area, with the exception of the low-lying part of the Southern Sub-area. These will include settlements of various types, including stone buildings, graves and burial fields, traces of craft activities, and traces related to land development and communication in the Middle and Late Roman period. Here too, these activities will have taken place on and in the current ground level and will therefore have been disturbed by later activities. However, a significant portion of these traces will lie deeper or extend beyond the building layer and will therefore still be present. These include graves, (post)holes, foundations, wells, ditches, etc. In addition, it is expected that some of the material culture will still be present, albeit partially scattered within the building layer. For the terraces (Western Sub-area and the higher part of Southern Sub-area), the expectation of finding sites from the late Prehistory and Roman periods is therefore high. The expectation that these sites will still be intact is also estimated to be high.

Roman Ceramics and Coarse Ceramics

Roman Ceramics (Lieke van Diepen)

During the field survey in Neer, 55 sherds of Roman pottery were recovered. The best represented are the jugs/amphorae and the rough-walled pottery, with 13 and 16 fragments respectively. This is not surprising, as these categories often occupy the largest position within the Roman pottery spectrum. Table 9 provides an overview of the pottery categories found.

The appearance of the sherds clearly showed that they were material that had been on the surface. The fragments are relatively small, weathered, strongly rounded, and some specimens show stains. The covering layer of the terra sigillata and the painted ware is usually completely absent. That this concerns the average weight per sherd, which is only 8.9 grams, is also evident in the surface finds.

The find material is predominantly second-century, with the period 120-200 AD being particularly well represented. Only the cooking pot Niederbieber 89 is a third-century find. Pure first-century material is absent. It is noteworthy that the terra sigillata consists exclusively of East Gaulish material. Among the smooth-walled material and the jars/amphorae are likely some Heerlen products.

Coarse ceramics is the correct term for building materials made of clay. This term distinguishes it from fine ceramics - earthenware - which is not only made from the same raw material but also using the same process.

A total of 689 fragments of coarse ceramics were collected within the plan area. Of these, 131 fragments can be attributed to the Late Middle Ages or Modern Period, and 59 fragments cannot be further identified as Roman to Modern Period. The majority therefore dates from the Roman period.

Of the material that has been broadly dated (ROMM-NTB), a significant portion is likely Roman as well. These are fragments without diagnostic surfaces, but whose firing (particularly the matrix structure) indicates non-machine production and must therefore have been made before the mid-19th century. The shaping and firing of coarse ceramics remained essentially unchanged until the advent of industrial production, making Roman, medieval, and early modern products comparable in firing style.

In the early Middle Ages, there may have been more habitation within the plan area. In the Modern Era, habitation was limited to a few isolated farmsteads, one of which is located just northeast of the Southern Sub-area.

The size of medieval sites varies greatly and depends on the nature of the site. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn regarding this. Sites from this period will also be located in and/or just below the current building layer, with the deeper traces, in particular, still intact.

The expectation for finding sites from the Late Middle Ages and Modern Era is estimated to be medium. The expectation that these sites will still be intact is estimated to be high.

- 111650 Glass, Ceramics, and Coarse Ceramics from the Late Middle Ages and Modern Era. The third find category consists of pottery, glass, and coarse ceramics from the Late Middle Ages and Modern Era. The largest find category is pottery, of which a total of 755 fragments were collected. Of these, 609 fragments have been identified. The coarse ceramics are represented by 131 fragments, and the glass by 45 fragments.
- 111655 The vast majority of the recovered ceramics date from the Late Middle Ages and/or the Modern Period. A third consists of material, primarily red-fired pottery, dating from the Late Middle Ages to the sub-recent past, while almost half consists of material dating exclusively to the Modern Period. This trend is even more pronounced in the glass and coarse ceramics, with only one fragment of coarse ceramics that is
- 111660 exclusively medieval and a number of fragments that could be medieval or Modern. These material categories almost certainly came onto the land during manuring. As waste from the house, stable, and/or yard, they were deposited on the manure heap along with the manure and then spread across the fields. This also explains the distribution of the material within the plan area. It is regular, but becomes thinner
- 111665 as the distance from Neer increases. This can be explained by the fact that the fields closest to the village were fertilized most intensively. The thinnest distribution is visible in the field in the Southern Sub-area. A possible explanation for this is that this plot was likely used alternately as arable land and pasture. Only two pieces date from the Early Middle Ages or the beginning of the Late Middle
- 111670 Ages, and twenty pieces from the High Middle Ages. Material from this period could be related to habitation at the site, but the small quantity found makes this unlikely. <https://archisarchief.cultureelerfgoed.nl/Archis2/Archeorapporten/37/AR32653/GAR%201044%20Neer%20-%20Hanssum%20%20%2040815.pdf>
- 111675 September 9, 1899: The St. Lambert Chapel in Reuver. Towards the end of the 7th century, the Maastricht bishop Lambert, whom history has honored with the title of apostle of Peel and Kempenland, disembarked opposite, and probably under the protection of, the former Roman, then Frankish Castellum (Kessel), in order to convert the inhabitants of our sandy region, the last remaining pagans of our region,
- 111680 to Christianity. On the right bank of the Maas stood a small hill, and there, built of river pebbles, stood a small building dating from the period of Roman rule. When his word had borne some fruit, the Holy Evangelist consecrated this building as a house of worship for the benefit of his new converts.
- 111685 Over time, as the number of believers continued to grow, it was enlarged and gradually transformed into a small church, later dedicated to Saint Lambert himself. Until the 14th century, the village of Beesel was elevated to a parish, and St. Lambert's Chapel continued to exist as an auxiliary church for the hamlets of Leeuwen and Offenbeek, which now belong to Reuver.
- 111690 Habets mentions Bezel and the Chapel of St. Lamberti in the year 1400. On April 2, 1661, the goods, gradually donated to the venerable shrine, were transferred to the Beesel church for the maintenance of the chaplain, who also served St. Lambert's Chapel.
- 111695 Habets mentions in the year 1669: Below Bezel, opposite Kessel, lies the chapel of St. Lambert, which provides pastoral care. Petrus Jacobs is the rector. On July 16, 1689, Charles II, King of Spain and Duke of Gelderland, granted the then chaplain-rector Joêls Beurskens "a patent for a free year and a horse-mark" for the maintenance of the chapel "afflicted and ruined by old age and war troubles," which "according to common tradition, was most likely built at a time when these lands were still in
- 111700 their natural state, and after the conversion in them, the first Christian and Catholic worship began."
- On May 19, 1787, the St. Lambertus Church was built.
- 111705 When in 1830 the chapel, which had already withstood so many days and storms, proved dilapidated, a new temple building soon arose on the site where a considerable basin had formed between the aforementioned hamlets. On St. Lambert's Hill, a smaller chapel was built in 1845—Reuver had become an independent parish in 1834—from the cobblestones of the ancient chapel, which kept the memory of the glorious past alive for posterity.
- 111710 Since the jubilee of the great Lambert's martyrdom was celebrated in 1896, the influx to that holy place became so great that it was decided to connect a more spacious place of worship to it, while preserving the existing building. This new chapel, now built according to a design by Mr. J. Gielen in Kessel, will be consecrated on Sunday, the 17th of this month, with the permission of His Eminence

the Bishop of Roermond.
During the excavation, the foundations of the ancient chapel were exposed. Like the building itself, the masonry of the foundations consisted of heavy stones, cemented together with flour and lime mortar into a virtually indivisible whole.
We also found a large quantity of fragments of Roman roof tiles, tegulae, and imbrices, as well as, in several places, bones, almost completely decayed, yet still clearly recognizable as belonging to bodies buried there a very long time ago. This confirms the ancient tradition recorded in the charters that in ancient times a Roman building stood there, and that "the Chapel of St. Lambert—as one of us modestly testifies—was a parish church."
Near the Lambert Hill, now planted with birch bushes, lies the Roman army camp mentioned in the 1864 Publications.
Although the burial mounds, or tumuli, located there had previously been searched by archaeologists, and a multitude of burial urns had been excavated from them, this year we were fortunate enough to unearth six, including three of Roman construction, filled with ash and bones.
This undeniably proves a relatively long Roman presence on Reuversein soil. Reuver is therefore privileged to possess a spot in his St. Lambertsheuvel, hallowed by the evangelical work of the great Maastricht native, who brought an entire nation to the benefits of Christianity and civilization.
J. VRANCKEN.

June 5, 1888 ASSELT AND SWALMEN

Through the flat meadow behind Leeuwen, along the path overgrown with dense, short grass, our walk leads us to Asselt, the old Asselon. It is delightful outside. The warm breath of a gentle breeze carries the balsamic scents of birch leaves. The daisies and buttercups sparkle like stars in the greenery, and on each leaf a dewdrop sparkles like a diamond in the morning sun. Before us, in the fresh meadows, numerous sheep graze under the care of the blue-collared shepherd and his restless dog. On the right, a birch forest, surrounded by slender poplar trees, closes off the view. Where the ground rises, the spacious buildings of the Zijperhof, the residence of the Mayor of Swalmen, stand against the black background. Through the lush trees, the gray-red tower of Swalmen and the old Hillenrade Castle gleam in their wooded surroundings; if we turn left, we see the sparkling waters of the Maas, and the modest tower of the Chapel of Asselt rises above the oaks. And above the entire colorful landscape arches the bright blue, transparent spring sky, in which not a speck can be seen but the lark, soaring upwards with song. Never before have we received such a soothing and favorable impression of the village than now.

Asselt, where the path leads us, is a small Maas village. Therefore, the history of Asselt speaks of a constant struggle for existence against the waves, of an uninterrupted struggle. While the Maas River brought Asselt many blessings in earlier days, when it was the depot for the Maas trade with the Rhine province, its waters often threatened churches and homes with destruction, and many a night of fear was spent by the inhabitants of Asselt, as the high waves crashed with all their might against the gray walls of their church.

The Maas, with its turbulent waters, has been quite unsteady in its course here. It has frequently shifted its course; in the past, it washed over the foot of the church. At that time, the opposite bank lay where the Asselt bank now lies. A few deep snails, overgrown with reed and aquatic plants, still mark the spot where ships with their cargo once anchored at the unloading dock. Later, the strong current near the church carved a different path, closer to Buggenum, leaving its old course. According to an old map, present at the town hall in Swalmen, a large flood plain, the Buggenum, formed between the old and new arm

Mer Tolwaard. Opposite the houses of Asselt, further along, at the so-called Gebrouwhuis (Brewery House), which we will pass shortly, the Maas pressed against the houses, gnawing away at the bank that supported them with an irresistible, slow-moving force. The ground, over a width of more than sixty meters, and three houses disappeared into the waters of the Maas, and only now, when the municipality has constructed a colossal stone revetment to preserve the other houses, has the greatest force of the waves been broken.

The low meadows and the heavy clay soils we just passed through, and the so-called Voelbeemden (Feel Meadows), also arose centuries ago from the fluctuating bed of the Maas.

The chapel of Asselt lies on a walled hill; it is a very old building with a cellar.

Its location on the Maas River, and the material of its walls, consisting of a mixture of rough field stones and Roman tiles, cemented together with lime, strongly support the assumption that it is of Roman origin. Tradition also holds that it was an old Roman tollhouse; the name "Tolwaard" (Toll Ward), which the meadow near the church bears, supports this assumption. It was later converted into a small church. The door, which is smaller than the original, faces north in the middle of the side wall.

The building consists of two parts: a square rear section, the eastern half of which protrudes slightly, and the tower, which is of a later date and made of brick. The rear of the building bears traces of restoration.

The church, however small, appears clean. "Small, but clean," one might say. One thing must not be forgotten. The Asselt church possesses an art treasure, well-known and highly prized by Limburg art lovers. It depicts the dying Christ on the cross, a painting so poignantly beautiful that one immediately recognizes it as the work of a master. The physical suffering of the God-man, the anguish of the Redeemer, are so masterfully rendered on the beautiful face and in the noble forms of the body that the sight is moving and touching. In its humble setting and old frame, the painter's masterpiece speaks to the heart, and the impression it makes is deeply imprinted on the viewer's mind.

The painting, we believe, must be a gift from the former lords of Hillenrade. How else could the humble church have acquired such a gem?

At the foot of the gray walls of the chapel, the deceased of the village find their final resting place. This elevated spot appears to have served as a burial ground early on, for we find a bluestone set into the tower's front wall, on which the inscription "Beet russe mit hare kyderen" (Be free with her children) is chiseled in Gothic letters. Judging by the form of the script, the stone may well date from the late 15th century. According to tradition, this stone was placed there in memory of a mother who, through an unfortunate accident, died in a fire with her children. That this family, "Russe of Ruesen," was native to the area is proven by another cross opposite, bearing the date 1558 and the inscription "Jan Ruesen." The other stone crosses inform us that, among them, Willem Quiten in 1615, Geurdt Quiten in 1629, members of an Asselt family, and Geurdt Lomen in 1616, were ordered to eternal sleep. From the cemetery, we descend again to the sandy village road, and we pass between hedges of flowering hawthorn on one side and along the elevated farmland on the other, to the white houses along the Maas, where we can rest for a moment. At the top of the hill, high and dry, yet somewhat airy, lies the rector's residence, a new building. Such a beautiful rectorate naturally also required a more beautiful church, for the building is rather small and old for Asselt, and yet we would hate to miss the old church with its stubby tower and rough walls in its picturesque setting.

Asselt with a new church would no longer be the unique Asselt it is. From the windows of Mother Theelen's neat common room, we have a wide view of the surrounding area.

Behind the large floodplains on the other side of the Maas, the towers of Horn, Buggenum, Haelen, Nunhem, and Neer lie in a row against the wooded backdrop. We don't want to luxuriate in the view for long, but instead continue through the Gebrouwhuis-Veld, towards Genaenhof.

Through the corn-rich field, we pass Genaenhof (old courtyard) on the left and Genoehof (new courtyard) on the right, and see before us the ruins we so often observed from the heights of the railway line that runs nearby. This is the Ouborg, formerly the seat of the noble family of Swalmen. Perhaps this is also the ancestral home of the 6th abbess of the noble convent in Roermond, Elisabeth de Swalmen, who lived around 1293. Later, the house belonged to the f

The Van Oest family, and later passed to the Schenck family of Nijdeggen and de Hoensbroeck. It already belonged to Hillenrade in 1381.

From the archival documents, we must conclude that the Ouborg was a knightly house or castle, albeit small in size. A small, thick tower forms the front of a pentagonal enclosure with thick walls, formerly completely surrounded by the Swalm River. The tower, now deprived of its roof, is accessible through a broken opening and could formerly be climbed by means of a stone spiral staircase, the remains of which can still be seen. As early as the 16th century, the Ouborg, or the house of Rothem, as it is also sometimes called, was destroyed. Few documents concerning the destruction of the fortress have come down to us. Today, the murmuring Swalm River with its ripples only washes one side of the beautiful ruin. A few pollarded oaks and canadas, a small bridge, and a beautiful background adorn the landscape, where painters usually choose the ruins as their focal point. Through the viaduct, along the stream,

our path turns towards Swalmen and brings us to the Market Square.

The Market Square, where the Town Hall and the church are situated, is not the most attractive part of Swalmen. Only a linden tree raises its tall, solemn trunk in the square, the appearance of which offers little indication of the prosperity that prevails in the village. The linden has been pruned in a strange way, and its lower crown has curved and grown together into a sort of flat surface. As a curiosity, we were told that the Fanfare, during the time it was under the now-renowned direction of Mr. Sagers, once had a strange idea. Standing on that crown, it gave a concert that must have been very well received by both the performers and the audience. In former times, the same fanfare band gave a concert on May 1st in the beautiful Bosch van Hillenrade; however, this custom seems to have disappeared.

We now step through the arch of the secretariat to take a look at the church.

The church of Swalmen is an old building. By 1452, the church was already dilapidated; even then, Duke Arnold permitted the municipality to sell 25 acres of communal land, using the proceeds to rebuild the church. In 1493, the church was restored by a citizen of Roermond, Michiel van der Sterren, for 28 Rhenish guilders. The Asselt church appears to be the mother church of that of Swalmen. In 1293, Mathias, pastor of Asselt and Swalmen, already appears.

June 12, 1888: The church of Swalmen was transformed into a Gothic church by the removal of Gothic windows and arches. Because of the additions, the basic form has not even been preserved. The interior is rather poor. The altar is not kept very clean; at least, we are walking over a finger-thick layer of sand and dust.

The three altars are built in Renaissance style. The central altar boasts a fairly good painting depicting the Holy Communion and the coats of arms of the altar's donors, the Schenck van Nijdeggen and the Hoensbroecks.

The side altar, dedicated to St. George, the patron saint of knights, features an altarpiece depicting St. George battling the dragon. The painter certainly never bothered to properly study the form of a horse; otherwise, he would not have sent St. George, who looks more like a common Landsknecht than a proud knight, on such a horse to the dragon battle. Under the tower used to hang a wicker or rush dragon, which the young men of Swalmen, just as they still do in Beesel every seven years, would lead triumphantly through the village and then fell with spear thrusts. This centuries-old custom, however, has fallen into disuse over the years.

The organ bears the coats of arms of Schenck and Hoensbroeck, as does the beautiful marble holy water font.

According to tradition, an Austrian general who fell in battle near Swalmen is buried under the organ. Neither stone nor inscription indicates his grave. We find nothing more remarkable, and through the low portal we return to the high cemetery.

With one of Swalmen's authorities, who was kind enough to accompany us, we climbed to the secretariat. Here we were shown a beautiful atlas of maps from the end of the last century, which shows all the parcels of land belonging to the lordships of Asselt, Swalmen, and Hillenrade. Furthermore, a gallows chain is present here, found a few years ago at Grietjesgericht.

At the edge of the municipality, on the Boschberg, stood the courthouse in former times, still known to the public as Grietjesgericht. There, criminals were "executed to the body with a rope or sword between their head and neck, until death followed." Clear evidence that death sentences were carried out at this location was found by some laborers who were planting pine trees there about five years ago. While digging, they came across

The shovel rested on a skull with a neck bone; attached to this was the chain that once served the sad purpose of fastening the criminal's body to the gallows after the execution. The pelvis was crushed to dust by one of the workers with a blow from the shovel. The chain was preserved.

The old archival documents from Swalmen were all sent to Maastricht upon request; only a few guild documents remain.

The militias in Swalmen were very ancient; their history was lost in the darkness of the Middle Ages. True, the beautiful royal silver that adorned the chest and shoulders of the shooting king during the ceremonial bird shooting and the procession has ended up in the melting pot, and the Schuttenkamp, Schuttenheide, and other goods have now passed into foreign hands. Nevertheless, one would have to conclude from the tall Schutsboom (shooting tree) that we see rising in the sky from afar in the village that the ambition of the old "schutters" has not yet entirely died out. The guild brothers of St. Joris van Swalmen were not only cheerful people in the past, but also thrifty stewards of their income.

The guild accounts prove that their meetings were lively. The jug of foaming barley brew was passed around merrily, and the fiddle cheerfully invited the younger brothers with their beautiful brethren to dance. And they were so frugal with all these recreations, for they brewed their own beer, bought the malt and hops for it, gave the brewer a fixed wage, and, meticulous as they were, even reimbursed him for his fire and light. Moreover, if he had to brew through the night, they would ply him with a generous pint of schnapps or "waggelwater." Not much of note remains in the small town hall; little remains of the former estate. The municipality no longer possesses a coat of arms, not even a seal.

A little distance from the town hall, closer to Roermond, lies the small river after which the village takes its name. The Swalm is a clear, fast-flowing stream that originates in the lowlands behind Wegberg near Tusschenbroek Castle. It flows through the pools and lakes near Brempt, past bridges across the heathland to Swalmen, past the old Roman cemetery, and flows through the village to pour into the Maas River a little south of Hanssum, below Neer. The stream runs for 30 kilometers. At Swalmen, it flows under a bridge, on which stands a small statue.

The statue depicts St. John Nepomucenus and was donated in 1823 by a gentleman from Liège. He had a trading house here, with which he did business and which often required him to visit Swalmen. He donated the statue in memory of a fortunate rescue from the Maas, which he had accidentally fallen into. Tradition still tells of the stone bridge over the Swalm, how the French, when the Prussians were hot on their heels, demolished it in 1791 to prevent them from crossing as much as possible. A wounded Frenchman, forced to remain behind after the French army crossed the bridge, hid in a beehive near the bridge. When the Prussians arrived, he loaded his rifle and shot one of the Prussians. He kept firing, and because of his concealed position, no one initially knew where the well-aimed shots were coming from. Only after the Frenchman had downed seven Prussians with his shots could he be reached after the bridge had been repaired; the brave Frenchman was then cut down by the furious Prussians.

From the bridge, there is an attractive view of the Swalm and the surrounding buildings. Before us, we see the Swalm's foaming water splashing down a side branch over a barrier; along the main branch, immediately adjacent to us, lies a busy sawmill, whose former chattering waterwheel has been replaced by a steaming steam engine. Further on, we see the stately trees of the Venlo road, and behind them, a few tile factories send thick clouds of smoke from their low, black chimneys into the air. In addition, we have a view of a few gardens, where apple and pear blossoms seem to cover the trees with a translucent white and pink blanket.

Industry in Swalmen has suffered a serious blow due to the increase in import duties. To cite an example, we need only cite Mr. Königs's factory, which, judging by its layout, is arguably the largest, or at least one of the most important, steam sawmills in Limburg. Most of the sawn timber used to be shipped to the Rhine region; the industry had boomed due to the large sales. Many people found work and bread in the factory. However, as soon as the increased import duties of 1 mark per 100 kilos were not levied in Prussia, the Germans stopped coming to buy, and the manufacturers could only produce the best quality planks with small profits to continue to operate. It is therefore not surprising that hundreds of sawmills in Holland are idle, especially since the Germans are allowed to import sawn timber by the shipload.

Previously, many agricultural implements were also manufactured in this factory, most of which were supplied to Prussian farmers in the border districts. However, when these machines were taxed at 1.80 guilders per 100 kilos, import was no longer possible. Even the smallest threshing machine weighs easily 700 kilos. The German tax authorities even went so far as to levy a new tax on implements that needed repairs upon their return, which had the unfortunate consequence that Dutch workers had to repair them on German soil. To make things even more difficult for these workers, they were also forced to pay a professional tax, which was also not very generous. This is how Germany protects its industry. By citing these examples, we do not intend to argue that this protection creates a healthy situation and that the industry, thus aided by any means necessary, will flourish vigorously. However, we believe we must conclude from these telling examples that levying protective duties as a means of revenge is the only way to save small-scale industry along the borders.

And what is best about the Germans is that they know exactly what not to tax; what they need for agriculture and obtain here is free; for example, no import duty is levied on animal feed, which results in the Rhinelanders buying up all the necessary supplies in and around Roermond at high prices, often leading to a shortage here. Similarly, no duty is levied on lime for agriculture, which is delivered cheapest along the Maas to Asselt and then transported further by road. And all of this is

done with the good purpose of protecting and supporting agriculture, the great source of national prosperity, in these calamitous times.

After this brief economic digression, to which our remarks have almost naturally led us, we would like to spend a few moments with our friendly companion, the secretary. Here we have the opportunity to see how the sound lessons in fruit tree cultivation given by the walking instructor yield wonderful results. We encountered numerous beautiful fruit trees in all shapes and sizes, but all of them, thanks to the scientific treatment they received, promised twice as much fruit as other trees, which here and there were abandoned. What a pity that these courses are not universally followed with the high level of interest they truly deserve.

After this, we visited the grisaille glass factory, strolled through the village, and the beautiful avenue to Roermond lay before us. Close to the main road to Roermond lies the large Beckerhof farm, entirely surrounded by ditches or meadows. This enclosure made it easier in the past, when a threat of war was looming, to secure livestock and possessions and protect them from the predatory hands of soldiers. Similar fortified farms were found in the vicinity of Roermond, and especially in the area around Swalmen, such as Boschhof [Baxhof] near Schoolbroek, the burnt Weijer near Roermond, the meadow near Maasniel, a boarding house at 't Gebroek, etc. In the Schoolbroek area, which formerly belonged to Beesel and Swalmen, there used to be a redoubt into which cattle could be driven at night. The following peculiarity was mentioned to us in passing about 't Schoolbroek. To prevent disputes between the residents of Beesel and Swalmen, sealed letters stipulated that Swalmen was the master of the Broek until noon, while Beesel could assert its right of ownership in the afternoon.

Arriving at the end of Swalmen, we bid farewell to our friendly guide, promising a return visit.

The gentle spring sun had already risen so high by the time of our walk that the shade cast by the beautiful elm trees along the long avenue to Roermond was very welcome.

The train whizzes past us, recalling an ode to Swalmen, which a rural genius wrote to his fellow citizens in 1863, in which he describes Swalmen in the following soulful verses, which we reproduce verbatim here.

De familie Theelen in Neer, Asselt en Swalmen

14 maart 1521

"Gegeven op onsen huyse to Eelssen in den jaer onss lieffe heren duysent vijffhondert ind eynentwintich op donredach nae halffasten"

ELSLOO/NEER/ASSELT - Johan van Vlodrop en Adriana van Merode verpachten de Boxweerd bij Maaswijnaarden ('Wienerte') gelegen met ingang van 1 april voor een periode van twee jaar aan Jan van den Bergh, wonend te Neer, voor jaarlijks 20 Hornse gulden. Tevens is afgesproken dat oorkonders gedurende deze pachttermijn geen rente zullen geven wegens de lening van 210 Hornse guldens die zij van Van den Bergh hebben opgenomen wegens een vordering door de kinderen van wijlen Seger Tessers. Na afloop van de termijn zal deze schuld alsnog worden afgelost.

"Ich Johan van Vlodorp ind Ariaen van Meroide, eluyde, bekennen oevermytz desen apenen brieff dat wye uitgegeven hebben te pacht onsen weyrt off grient gelegen tot Wynerden aen den breyen vleyck geheyt Bocksweyrt twee jaer lanck ind ten halven tij aeff te staen weem des niet en genuechden ende malckanderen dat ther gueder tijt eyn halff jaer te vorrens op te seggen Jan van den Bergh wonende tot Neer ind Jan sall onss alle jair geven ind waell betailen tot Pinxten twintich bescheiden Haersch gulden off twelff bescheyden Burgonisse Brabantze stuver vur den gulden off bennen veerteen daighen dair nae onbevangen bennen der stat van Ruremunde dair onss dat believen sall, ind Jan van den Bergh vursch. heeft onss geleent twe hondert bescheiden Haersche postulaetz gulden ind theen dy in onsen groten noeden ende merer schaiden te verhueden gekeert sijn aen Segher Tessers zelegghen kinderen nae vermoegen syegell ind brieve van onsen alderen sij op onss sprakende hebben ind zo ysset vurwert ind bededinght dat wye Jannen van den Bergh vursch. van den twee hondert Haerschen gulden egeyn lopend rent van geven en sullen ther tijt toe ind all zo lange sijnen tijt de pechtingen omme is, het were dan then halven off den ganssen tij als vursch. steyt. Ouch zo ysset mit vurwert ende bededinght als Jans van den Bergh vursch. tijt uit is under pechtinghe, dat ich dan Johan van Vlodorp ind Ariaen van Meroede eluide vursch. off onse even dan gehalden sullen sijn Johan van den Bergh of sijnen erven van stonden aen haem sijn twe hondert Haersch gulden ind theen dy hee onss zo in onsen noeden geleent heeft haem wederomme leggen ind betailen sullen tot haeren benoigen tue. Ind in geval dat off Got wyll nyt geschien en sall dair inne gebreecklicken gevonden worden ende Jannen van den Bergh vursch. off sijnen erven haer penninghen niet en betailden in maeten als vursch. steyt, soe sall ind maich dan Jan offte sijne erven dennen Bocksweert vursch. in sijnen handen halden, dennen nutten ind gebruycken ende van der jairlick pechtinghen der twintich Haersch gulden inhalden in aeffslaegghen der geleender penninghen der twee hondert Haersch gulden ind theen vursch. ind onss niet dair van te geven bis dy geleende penninghen geheellick betailt ind gegeven sijn. Ind der tijt van der pechtinghen sall aengaen den yersten daegh van den apryll. All argelist, loese vunde hyr inne genslicken uitgescheiden, in orkonde dis ind der waerheyt soe hebben weyr Johan van Vlodorp ind Ariaen van Meroede eluyde vursch. vur onss ind vur onsen erven elck onsen siegell hyr aen gehanghen, ind hyr synt ouch oever ind aen geweyst dair dese mytscap ind pechtinge geschiet is dy eerbaren Tyll Porttens, Jan Ruytzen ind Katheryn op den Vrythoff. Gegeven op onsen huyse to Eelssen in den jaer onss lieffe heren duysent vijffhondert ind eynentwintich op donredach nae halffasten.

Origineel op perkament met zegels van de oorkonders. Tilman Portgens en Jan Ruitzen komen in andere akten voor als schepenen van Swalmen en Asselt en treden hier mogelijk op als laten van de laatbank van Asselt, waarvan Johan van Vlodrop eigenaar was.

2 oktober 1612 RIJKE - Hendrick van Cruchten oorkondt dat de superintendent van de Rekenkamer en anderen op 30 augustus 1612 aan hem een aanwas ('grindt') hebben verpacht, gelegen tegenover zijn hof te Rickel onder Bezel, zoals deze daar gelegen is of in de toekomst nog aanwassen mag. Hiervoor zal hij aan de Rekenkamer (namens de hertog van Gelre) jaarlijks 45 stuiver Brabants betalen van elk bunder 'holtgewas, groen off weybaer wesende'. Van Cruchten heeft zich op 26 oktober 1611 bij de Rekenkamer gemeld met de mededeling dat hij van Andries Driessen, pastoor te Neer, de pacht heeft overgenomen van 'twee grinden ofte middelsanden gelegen in de Maese bij Bezel, die eene tegen die Kesselsche Haeghe onder die Handtsommerbeeck, het andere wat hooger gelegen sijnde, tegens over Deursdaels bossen oft sijnen hoff van Rickel'. Deze aanwassen waren ca. 4

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

jaar geleden aan voornoemde pastoor verpacht voor 30 stuiver Brabants voor een periode van 6 jaar. De aanwas tegenover de Kesselse haege [waarschijnlijk de Mussenberg] is inmiddels geheel weggespoeld; de andere is 2 jaar geleden eveneens door 'de hoge wateren zeer affgespuelt ende innegeschuert, oock mette leste hoge wateren daer naer zeer beschaedigt', vooral aan de Hornse zijde. Ook deze aanwas dreigt door hoog water en ijsgang geheel weggespoeld te worden, hetgeen echter kan worden voorkomen door de oevers te batten (beschoeien). Omdat de boerderij van Van Cruchten tegenover deze aanwas ligt, is deze genegen om de aanwas op zijn kosten te laten 'batten ende verscheren', mits hij deze tegen een redelijk bedrag kan pachten.

De Rekenkamer heeft de aanwas hierop, na advies van de rentmeester van Montfort, Engel van Offenbeeck, bezichtigd en heeft vastgesteld dat de aanwas met de stenen en zand nog geen bunder groot is, en dat het 300 pond Arthois of meer zal kosten om deze te batten en de 'putten ende riolen' die bij het laatste hoog water zijn ontstaan, weer op te vullen.

Met ingang van 30 augustus 1612 zal Van Cruchten de aanwas voor een periode van 10 jaar zonder kosten mogen gebruiken, in ruil voor de onkosten van het batten. Na het aflopen van deze termijn, te weten op 30 augustus 1622, zal de aanwas op gezamenlijke kosten door een beëdigd landmeter met de 'maete off roede van Bezel' gemeten worden. Per bunder die bruikbaar is als 'holtgewas, groenselyck off gersingen uytgesteken steen ende zandt' zal hij de eerder genoemde 45 stuiver Brabants betalen, 'teynde maete, teynde gelde', zolang de aanwas zal bestaan. Elke 5 jaar zal een nieuwe meting worden gedaan op gezamenlijke kosten en zal de pacht worden verhoogd of verlaagd. Van Cruchten zal van de hertog geen kosten, schade of arbeidsloon kunnen verhalen die hij maakt om de aanwas in stand te houden. Tenslotte is op 30 augustus 1612 bepaald dat Van Cruchten een reversaalbrief moet afgeven ten behoeve van de Rekenkamer, hetgeen bij deze gebeurt.

Andreas Driesen was pastoor te Neer 1598-1621 (mededeling Jan Hanssen, 31 december 2000). De plaatsnaam "Ne..er" is in de akte niet goed leesbaar.

1 augustus 1668 SWALMEN - Verklaring inzake de heffing van tienden en betreffende de (verdwenen) ronde toren van Hillenraed.

Johan de Verwer, contrerolleur van Z.K.M. Licenten op de Maas, als laatscholtis van de hof en heerlijkheid Asselt, bijgestaan door de licentiaat Thomas Bordels namens de markiezin de Wagniers, Peter Spee en Johan Obers, beide laatschepenen, en de secretaris Suiverich alsmede de laatbode Tiel van Assel oorkonden dat zij zich aanwezigheid van Geurt Quijten, pachter van voornoemde hof, hebben vervoegd omtrent het huis Hillenraet, alwaar Gootsen Gerardts, oud 70 jaar en halfman op de Graetshoff, en Corst Stockmans, oud 50 jaar, hebben verklaard dat ze de tiende van de Asselterhof zo'n 40 jaar geleden in pacht hadden '... ende voorts aangewesen dese naervolgende limiten derselbe thiende, als te weten, den ronden thoorn des huis Hillenraet, den welcken alsnu affgebroken ende den nieuwen sael op de plaetse getimmert is, wiesende op eenen dicken alden eycken boom ontrent t'eynde van Cleutiens straetgen staende, wijsende van daer op den thoorn des Graeffelijcken huys Hoorn tot aan den Grip stuckens gelegen' in twee percelen groot samen 3 vierdel plaats, tegenwoordig toebehorend aan Johan Henskens en Ruth Silkens 'als nichten ende neben kinderen'.

'Ende van daer langs de landerijen totten huise Hillenraet ende Beeckerhoff landerijen den Carthuiseren tot Ruermondt toecomende, daer aff de thient int velt ter slincker hant gelegen toebehoort aan den hoff t'Asselt ende soe voorts gaende tussen d'erff der voorschreven heeren Cartuiseren ter eenre, langs den Meulenwegh vuytschietende mit een spits punct bij den Hillenraeder wegh uyt, ende ter andere zijden Gasthuys ende der eerwaarden heeren Capittulaeren landerijen, alwaer de eerwaerde paters Cartuiseurs de thiende op hunne landerijen sijn hebbende, ter rechter zijden, ende op Gasthuis ende der eerwaarden heeren Capittulaeren landerijen ter slincker hant den voorschreven hoff t'Asselt.

Item over d'ander zijden van den Hillenraeder wegh ter slincker hant hebben d'eerwaarden paters Carthuysers eenen geer lant van hunnen anderen landerijen door den wegh affgescheiden, samen groot omtrent seven morgen, op welck erff van den paters Carthuiseurs den thienden toebehoort aan den heer pastoor tot Swalmen, des Schoollasters Thiende genoemd, ende die meerreste der landerijen op de slinckerhant liggende, thient den meergemelten hoff Assel van der paters Carthuysen lant ter rechterhant soe voorts ter eenren ende ter anderen zijden des voorschreven Gasthuys landt gehoordt den thient vant Gasthuis lant aan den hoff t'Assel, ende van daer voorts gaende tot op Goetsen Graets lant d'welck getient wordt bij den z[alige]r pastoor tot Swalmen ende den heeren Carthuyseren, ende t'ander lant der heeren Capittularen toebehoorende thient den hoff t'Asselt tot op den Leijtgraeff toe, van

den Leijtgraeff opgaende langs de Tigelerije tot op de Spurck Hegge op den anderen hoeck van den Laethwegh staende op den paters Cartuiseurs grondt, ende van daer ter slincker hant langs het busken d'erffgenamen van Bijl tot Venlo toebehoorende tot op Cartuiseurs kempken, welck kempken oick den voorschreven heft thient tot aen joffer Dursdal Spickter, van daer op den eickenstock aen Wittengraeff tot op den eyckenboom op den graeff van den eerwaarden heeren Cappittularen hoeffs bomgardt bij Graeterstraet staende ende soe voorts tot aent hort gatt van den moeshoff tot op den doornen struyck aen Graterwegh tegens den voorschreven eycken staeck op den Wittengraeff tient t'Cappittel ende d'ander landerijen den voorschreven hoff'.

24 september 1669 SWALMEN EN ASSELT - Verklaring door enkele laten verbonden aan de heerlijkheid Asselt over het belopen en in bezit nemen van een aanwas in de Maas bij de Biesweerd.

"Wij Johan de Verver, scholtis, Johan Obers, Nelis Janssen, Corst Peckx, Corst Stockmans ende Peter Raemaekers, laeten des hoffs ende heerlicheyt Assel, doen condit en attesteren hiermit en cracht deses dat wij neffens den gerichtsschrijver en booden ter instantie van de weledede en eerentrijcke jouff. Irmgardt van Holthuysen, weduwe Dursdal, en haeren soon joncker Franciscus Arnoldus van Dursdal, Marie Quyten, weduwe Van Holt, de weduwe Pueyn, Matthijs Stoffers, soo voor hem selfs als mede voor Leonard Tessers, en Hendrick Heijnen in naeme van sijne moedere Dirixken Bastiani weduwe Heijnen saliger, ons alle saemen op den 24 septembris 1669 wederom hebben getransporteert ende vervoegt onder Assel voorbij den Biesserweert op sekeren aengeloopenen steen, alwaer wij oick op den 2 deses loopenden maent sijn geweest, inhavts acte daarvan sijnde, tegens den welcken aengeloopen steen in den Biessen Baendt joncker Baexen op de Baeckxhooff toebehoerende hebben gevonden Aretz halfman op de eerw. patres Jesuiten Speck, Herman Spoerens, Jan Beeck, Jan Ruytzen, Sill Paulssen, Herman Heeskens, joncker Baexens voorss. knecht en Johan Haewinkel des gemelten joncker Baexens halfman, de welcke siende dat men naer den voorss. aengelopen steen toegingh, van daer stilswijgens vertrocken, ende op den steen gecommen sijnde, hebben aldaer bevonden dat de rijser aldaer gesteken op den 2 7bris tegens over joncker Baexens Biesenbaendt waren uutgetrocken, en eenen stock van daer en ende so voorts leger vuyt mit andere risers besteken, die welcke door last des heere scholtissen en gerichtsluyden ter instantie van requiranten uutgetrocken ende int waeter geworpen, sijnde door Tiel Tielen gerichtsbode de selve plaetse wederom met andere rijseren besteken, ende voorts door Corst Stockmans hebben laeten aftreden ende bevonden dat de Maese van den selven steen noch vifftich treden afgeweeken was, so dat den selven aengeloopen steen van de plaetse af van de welcke den steen ierstmael afgetreden was, in't geheel bevonden is woorden langh te sijn hondert en 29 treden, en gemerckt die/voorss. requiranten versochten van allen het gene voorss. hun gelijkfals acte met gedeilt te worden, voor gebeurlich gerechticheyt, d'welck men niet en heeft moegen verweygeren, soo ist dat wij dem ter warer oirkondt de minute deses met eygene handen onderteekent hebben, den heer jeder mallick sijn recht voorbehalden, alles sonder argelist, actum Assel den 24 septembris 1669 ende was onderteekent J. de Verver, dit tekenden [handmerk] Jan Obers, dit tekenden [afwijkend handmerk] Nelis Janssen, dit tekenden [handmerk] Corst Specx, dit tekenden [handmerk] Corst Stockmans, Peter Ramekers, ...drich secretaris."

13 mei 1697 SWALMEN - Voogdgeding.
"Voogdgedingh gehouden binnen Swalmen onder den hagendoren den 13 may 1697. Den schepen Jan Janssen becroont dat de naebuyren van Asselt eenen voethpatt maecken over sijn erve aen het Meelenbroeck, aen den Slack tot aen de Maese, alwaer noeyt eenen voethpatt is geweest, versoeck versieninghe.

Sr. Johannes Rutsen in naeme van den eerwaarden PP Carthuijsers claeght dat de naebuyren maecken eenen voethpatt aen hun erve, te weten van Beeckerhoff wijer recht door het Broecxken, ende door het kempken naer de Asselsche straete, daer noeyt voor desen eenen voetpaet is geweest, versoeckt redemie.

Wordt d'eerwaerde PP Carthuijsers belast alvooren gerichtelick te doen verhooren eenighe oude persoonen, over de kennisse die sij over den voetpatt in questie mochten hebben, om sulcx geschiedt voordert gedisponeert te worden naer behooren, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697.

De geswoorens alhier in naeme van de naebuyren, claegen dat sij te seer overlast worden met diensten, versoecken dat iedereen mitte peerden, daer hij mit ackert, oock dienst sal doen.

De supplianten sullen alvooren hierover requeste aen desen gerichte presenteren ende daerinne te decuceren naerdere ende substantiële redenen, om alsdan

daerinne voorders te disponeren naer behooren, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697.

De geswoorens in naeme van de gemeynte becroonen datter niet en wordt gehalden vahr, bair, springhaingst, isere eeght, gelijk de besitters van de groote thiende gehouden sijn te doen, welck niet en wordt geobserveert, versoecken dar daerinne magh worden versien.

Wordt die groote thienthebbers belast ten dienste van dese gemeynte te houden den vahere, bair, springhainghts, isere eeght, ten waere sij hadden eenige redenen ter contrarien waervan sij den gerichte sullen hebben te verstendighen binnen 14 daegen, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697.

De naebuyren van de Bouckoul claegen datt neffens 't goet van Ruth in den Bonten Os, gaet eenen gemeynen voetpat recht op den Leijgraef aen de Horstbrugge, welcke brugge tegenwoordigh niet en is gemaect, nocte geen en is, dat door den heere capiteyn Everard wordt beleth, waardoor de passagie van de thientkarren wordt verhindert, versoecken daerinne remedie.

Wordt de naebuyren van de Bouckoul belast de Horstbrugge hierboven vermeldt te leggen ende deselve in't toecommende t'onderhouden, ende den heere capiteyn Everard den voetpaett hierinne geroert te gedoogen volgens oudt gebruyck, ten waere hij hadde redenen ter contrarien waervan hij den gerichte sal verstendighen binnen 14 daegen, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697.

Fr. Johannes Rutsen in naeme van de eerwaerde Carthuijsers versoeck dat hun behoorlicke thientwegen moegen worden aangewesen, soo op den Leucker als tot Asselt aen den Boeckesstap, gelick oock aen den Heijcamp aen't Luierken.

Wordt d'eerw. PP Carthuijsers belast hierover t'exhiberen behoorlick bescheydt om daerover te doen verhooren eenige oude personen daervan kennis hebbende, om alsdan daerin te versien, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697.

De geswoorens claegen datter geen geswooren thiendenaer en is gestelt, waardoor de gemeynte grooten schaede compt te lijden, versoecken dat daerinne magh worden versien.

Deselve becroonen dat de schaepen van de Tichelerei door het Bouckoulder veldt huyden, sonder daertoe gerechticht te sijn, als gevende geen beestenschatt, versoecken versieninghe.

Wordt d'erffgenaemen van wijlen den heere gouverneur Bitot belast hunne schaepen van de Tichelerei niet verders te doen drijven of weyden als op hunne erven onder dese heerlickheydt gelegen, op pene dar sij ieder reyse sullen wesen schutbaer, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697.

Jacob Spee claeght, datter door de naebuyren achter sijn huys eenen voetpatt gemaect wordt, waertoe sij niet berechticht en sijn, versoecken remedie.

De naeburen seggen datter voor desen aen den Asselerhoff heeft gehangen een falderen, vuttwijsens het vooghtgedingh van den jaere 1588, alwaer tegenwoordigh geen en is, waerinne sij versoecken versieninghe.

Wordt den halffman van den hoff tot Asselt belast de falderen boven aen het velt ende aen de Linghe straete t'herstellen volgens oudt gebruyck binnen den tijt van 14 daegen, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697.

Den eerw. heere pastoor claeght datter geen voetpatt can gebruijckt worden mits geen fonderen over de beeck en is waer door hem de rechte passagie wordt belet naer Asselt om te binneren, versoeckende daerinne versieninghe.

Wordt ... [blanco]

Den selven heere pastoor becroont dat de kerckebruggen niet behoorlick en sijn gerepareert, versoeckt remedie.

Den selven pastoor claeght dat de kerckhoffsmoeyr begint te vervallen, versoeckende dat deselve magh worden gerepareert.

Denselven versoeckt dat in't beleyt houden reflexie magh worden genoemen in't kerckbroeck, overmits daerlanghs op veel plaetse wordt affgedronghen.

De geswoorens claegen dat in de beeck achter Beeckerhoff eenigh holtgewas op de gemeynte gestaen hebbende, welck holtgewasch bij publycke kerckroen is bevrijdt geworden, is het selve dyenniettegenstaende door eenige naebuyren sonder consent weghgehaelt, versoecken daerinne versieninghe.

De geswoorens versoecken dat de vischen op gemeyne waeteren alhier gevanghen moegen worden aangegeven, voor ende aleer die te coop sullen worden gebrocht, ende daertoe gestelt eene plaetse, op dat een ieder daervan sijn gerief magh hebben.

De naebuyren van de Boutenstraet claegen dat den voetpatt langhs de Swalm naer den Noenhoff hun belet wordt, versoecken remedie.

De naebuyren van de Bouckoul claegen dat Theel Theelen nu in sijne pachtjaeren niet en soeckt te continueren in't betaalen van den loon van den koygardt, gelick hij van te vooren in sijne halffwininge heeft gedaen, versoecken

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daerinne versieninghe.

112280 Wordt Theel Theelen belast hem te reguleren naer het oudt gebruyck, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697."

16 februari 1701 SWALMEN - Lijst van geleden oorlogsschade.

"Lijste vant'ghene die van Swalmen hebben moeten geven boven cost ende dranck aen de twee compagnien ende den staff vant'regiment van den heere Lutsbourg Beijersche gelogeert volgens ordre van den heere grave van Horn gedateert den 7 februari 1701 ende gelogeert den 14 dito.

Ten eersten opt'furieus aenhouden van den regiments quartiermeester voor goede ordre te houden ende dreijghen van s'anderen daeghs voor den middagh niet te willen

112290 optrecken moeten geven dry pistoelen ad elf reixd. twee schellinghen 11 februari 0
Item heeft den halfman op den aermenhoff boven cost ende dranck moeten geven twelf schellinghen 1 april 0

Item Henderich in de Carthuijsers bosch moeten geven eenen schellingh 0 januari 0

Item Jan ende Paulus Slabbers als vooren gegeven 0 februari 0

112295 Peter Obers als vooren 0 januari 4

Hend. Hocx 0 maart 0

Jacob Gerardts 0 januari 4

Jan van Haelen aen en fendrich gegeven 1 februari 0

Theel Theelen 0 april 0

112300 Sibert Naus aen eenen sergeant moeten geven eenen halven verckenscop

Nelis Clumpkens ende Corst Beeren 0 juli 0

Geutts Pecx een halven verckenscop 0 mei 0

Lambert Fredericx 0 juni 0

Krijn Krijnnen 0 juni 0

112305 Jan Pecx 0 januari 4

Henderick Pecx 0 maart 0

Janis Janissen 0 maart 0

Geret Severs 0 februari 0

Willem Kermans 0 maart 0

112310 Willem Beeck aen eenen fenderick een schinck ende 2-0-0

Areth Neermans 0 februari 0

Henderick Coenen 0 januari 0

Heijn Krijnen een schinck ende 0 februari 0

Jacob Louwij 0 januari 0

112315 Lendert Theunissen een schinck 0 april 0

Willem Cromptvoets 0 januari 0

Willem Janssen op gen Heij 0 januari 0

Jan Lemmen 0 maart 0

Gerard Bongarts 0 maart 0

112320 Thijs Theunissen 0 maart 0

Dries Janssen aen eenen capiteij moeten geven een schinck

Areth Smeets aen den oversten lieuenant een schinck

Nelis Wijnen 0 maart 0

Lijsbet Janssen 0 mei 0

112325 Peter Everts 0 januari 0

Geurt Willems 0 februari 0

Areth Heijnen 0 maart 0

Henderick Bullers aen eenen fourier gegeven een schinck 0 februari 0

Jacobus Crijnen 0 februari 0

112330 Hans Henderick 0 januari 4

Geurt Coenen 0 juni 0

Lucia Schrijvers 1-0-0

Peter van Ool 0 april 0

Henderick Slabbers den jongen 0 april 0

112335 Derick Zillen 0 januari 0

Niclaes Gerardts 0 januari 4

Bij Jan Fredericx gestoelen een paer nieuwe schoonen ende een niuw hempt, een schinck ende een half veerdel speck als wanneer sij hem mit slaeghen ten huijse hebben vuytgeiaeght, te samen gereeckent op 2-0-0

112340 Geret Emets aen de regiments quartiermeester een schinck

Willem Hendrick aen eenen sergeant moeten geven twee schincken

Geurt Timmermans 0 juni 0

Jan Vermeulen 1-0-0

Bij Willem Coenen, alswanneer sij hem mit sijne huijsvrouwe ten huijse hebben

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- 112345 vuytgedreven, mit gewalt sijne kiste hebben opgebroecken ende daer vuyt genomen alle
sijn kleyn lijnwaet, een beddelaecken mit een niuwe broeck
Jacob Meuwissen aen den capiteijn moeten geven 5-0-0
Henderick Slabbers aen eenen lieutenant moeten geven een schinck ende eenen halven
verckenscop ende 2 februari 0
- 112350 Henderick Spee aen eenen lieutenant moeten geven 6 reixdaelder ende twee schincken
6-0-0 doende te saemen 47 februari 4
Item daerenboven moeten geven door verscheyde personen 13 ongekokte schincken ende
4 halve verckenshoefden mit ettelicke groote stucken rindtvleesch
Dat dese bovenstaende specificatie door de schepens ende geswoorens van de
- 112355 bovengenoemde personen op manne waarheydt in plaetse van eede is worden afgevraeght,
wordt hiermede betuyght, actum Swalmen den 16 februari 1701.
Ter ordonnantie [w.g.] G. Lubbers, secretaris"
- 14 juni 1729 SWALMEN - Voogdgeding: o.a. over turfsteken, schapen, luiden van de
- 112360 klok, konijnen.
"Vooghtgedingh gehouden tot Swalmen den 14 juny 1729 op den merckt aldaer.
De geswoorens hebben clachtelijk te kennen gegeven dat sij onversien sijn van beer,
ver, sprinckhinxt ende ijsere egge, dewelcken moeten gehouden worden door de groote
thiendenaers, versoeckende dat daerinne sal worden versien.
- 112365 T'gericht inhaereert de ordonnantiën op de voorige vooghtgedingen gegeve, actum ut
supra.
Deselve geswoorens hebben mede claegende voorgebracht dat Sr. Postwijck
onderstaet torff vuyt Theelenbroecxken te vercoopen sonder dat hij Postwijck borge
ofte verseeckeringe voor den eeuwigen schatt heeft gestelt, versoeckende derhalven dat
- 112370 aen gemelten Postwijck sal worden belastt geen torff te vercoopen ten zije hij
alvoorens verseeckeringe voor den eeuwigen schatt sal hebben gestelt.
T'gericht ordonneert Sr. Postwijck borge ofte verseeckeringe voor den
eeuwigen schatt te stellen, interdicerende denselven tot daeraen eenigen torff te
vercoopen ofte te laeten stecken, actum ut supra.
- 112375 Ter ordonnantie van den gerichte,
[w.g.] Theod. Timmermans
Deselve geswoorens hebben geclaeght dat de scheepers mit hunne schaepen
commen te drijven over de cleyne ende enge wegen, waardoor grooten schaede aen de
vruchten wordt gedaen, versoeckende dat den veltschutt magh worden belast daerop
- 112380 exactelijk te invigileren ende de schepers over de cleyne wegen mit hunne schaepen
drijvende te panden.
Wordt aen de scheepers belast mit hunne schaepen over geene cleyne smaele
wegen te drijven ende te weyden op pene van eenen halven goltgulden, buyten den
schaede die sij sullen hebben veroorsaect, ordonnerende den veltschutt daerop
- 112385 exactelijk t'invigileren ende de scheepers te panden, actum ut supra.
Deselve geswoorens hebben oock clachtelijk te kennen gegeven dat de
nabueren van de kercke alhier soo negligent ende onachtsaem sijn, in luyden ende
trecken van de klokke tijde van donder ende onweder, versoeckende dat daerinne magh
worden voorsien.
- 112390 Wordt de kercke nabueren belast promptelijk de clocken te trecken ende te
luyden tijde van donder ende onweder, op pene van een kintier bier door een ieder
niet comparerende nabuer te verbeuren ende door de comparerende nabueren
gesaementlijk te verteeren, actum ut supra.
- 112395 De nabueren hebben claegende voorgebrocht dat door de meenighte van
conijnen de vruchten geheelijk worden bedorven, versoeckende daerinne noodige
voorsieninge.
T'gericht committeert de borgemeesters alhier om den heere deser
heerlickheydt daerover te spreken ende daeromtrent noodige voorsieninge te beraemen.
Actum ut supr
- 112400 12 november 1739 SWALMEN - Begraven: Petrus op den Camp [weduwenaar van Theodora
Theelen, gehuwd Swalmen 26 oktober 1700, begraven aldaar 8 juli 1725; echtg. van
Maria Heijnen, gehuwd Swalmen 7 juni 1736].
- 112405 Tijdens het voogdgeding van 1588 verklaarde Zill Kromvoets als oudste schepen 'dat
geine freyheyte van hoeffslach en sij inn diesen gerichte, dan dat Hoppenrae, dat
Gewijt unnd der Beijswert, behalven het geene dat beweysslich vrij gegolden ist'.
Twee akten uit september 1669 maken duidelijk dat toen nog steeds aanwas plaatsvondt.
Op verzoek van enkele eigenaren van land in de Biesweerd trokken toen diverse laten
- 112410 van de laathof van Asselt naar de Maas, alwaer wij altsaemen de Maese afwaerts gaende

langs den hoogen en legen Biesenweert, aen ons verthoent is seekeren aengeloopenen steen afwärts spits vuytschietende in de Maese voorss., langs den hoogen en legen Biessenweert ende soo voorts langs jonker Hans Willem van Baexens erff den Biessenweert Baendt genoemd neffens denwelcken unstaen, ende der voorss. aengeloopen

112415 steen noch eenen waetersloet is, sijnde de selven steen langs joncker Baexens erff aen tot in de Maese negenentseventich treden lanck, yeder treeft van ontrent vier voeten, afgetreden door den voorss. Corst Stockmans, denwelcken aengeloopen steen tussen den watersloet ende Maese, die voorss. requiranten als erfgenamen van den hoogen en legen Biessenweert ten overstaen van ons semptlijcke gerichtspersoonen

112420 voorss. naeradvenant dat een yeder van hun daer inne geerft ende berechticht is, te weeten in het aldt erff, in reele ende actuele possessie hebben genoemd naer alder observantien ende coustumen van rechten daer toe gerequireert als hebbende den selven steen met wilghen rijseren besteken ende vervolgens daer op wijn ende weyt genoten. Drie weken later werd dit ritueel nog eens min of meer herhaald. Daarbij bevonden de

112425 laten dat de rijser aldaer gesteken op den 27 bris tegens over joncker Baexens Biesenbaendt waren uitgetrocken, en eenen stock van daer en ende so voorts leger vuyt mit andere risers besteken, die welcke door last des heere scholtissen en gerichtsluyden ter instantie van requiranten uitgetrocken ende int waeter geworpen, sijnde door Tiel Tielen gerichtsbode de selve plaetse wederom met andere rijseren

112430 besteken, ende voorts door Corst Stockmans hebben laeten aftreden ende bevonden dat de Maese van den selven steen noch vijftich treden afgeweeke was, so dat den selven aengeloopen steen van de plaetse af van de welcke den steen ierstmael afgetreden was, in't geheel bevonden is woorden langh te sijn hondert en 29 trede. Het feit dat juist de laten van de Asselterhof werden opgetrommeld voor deze

112435 gelegenheid heeft alles te maken met een akte uit 1275. Landmeter Smabers gaf in 1774 de Hooghen Biesweerthaan als perceel 1 op kaart 8, dat wil zeggen het meest zuidelijke gedeelte van de weerd. Voor de landmeter, die de kaarten van Swalmen immers maakte in opdracht van de gezamenlijke tiendheffers, was de Biesweerd een uitzondering. Deze aanwas was namelijk sinds lange tijd verdeeld in

112440 negen zogenaamde loten, die door verkoop en vererving soms waren samengevoegd, maar ook soms nog verder waren gedeeld. Om onduidelijke redenen was in het verleden afgesproken dat de feitelijke ligging van de grond op basis van deze bezitsverdeling jaarlijks zou wisselen, waardoor Smabers onmogelijk kon aangeven wie nu eigenaar was van welk stukje van het grote perceel. Bij de aangrenzende percelen, eigendom van

112445 respectievelijk Baxhof en Hillenraad, waren de eigendomsverhoudingen duidelijk, maar ook bij perceel 4, de Kleijn Biesweerth, kwam Smabers hetzelfde probleem tegen. In 1826 werd een gedeelte van de Biestert verkocht aan Paulus Schiffers, 'grutte mulder' en burger van Roermond.

112450 30 oktober 1772 De maasgouw, 15 januari 1903
De erfmaking van Frans Arnold markgraaf van Hoensbroeck en van zijn echtgenoot Maria Anna Sophia van Schönborn.
Medegedeeld door P. Doppler.

112455 Toen Frans Arnold dos H. R. Ryks graaf en markgraaf van Hoensbroeck, erfmaarschalk van het vorstendom Gelder en graafschap Zutphen, heer der voogdijen des Nederambts Gelder, van Swalmen, Asselt, Hillenraedt, Grubbenvorst, Blyenbeeck, Afferden en Ruynen, drossaard der stad Gelder enz. (1) en zijne echtgenoot Maria Anna Sophia geboren gravin van Schönborn, Buchheim en Wolfsthal (2) overleden waren, werden hunne nagelaten goederen niet door hunne kinderen onder elkander verdeeld. Doch "niet soo

112460 seer betragtende dan de conservatie en voor soo veel doenelyck de vermeerderinge van onsen Naam en Stamme, voorts den lustre van onse familie van Hoensbroeck" hebben zij "mede ter intentie en op hoog bevel" hunner ouders en voorouders zekere "pacta familiae sive gentiletien" beraamd en 30 October 1772 gesloten, waarbij de geheele nalatenschap hunner ouders tot een "vast fidie commis" werd gemaakt.

112465 Deze overeenkomst vonden wij, ingeboekt in het gichtregister der heerlijkheid Grubbenvorst over de jaren 1772-1797 November 18 n° 30.
In artikel 2 dier overeenkomst wordt bepaald, dat die "fidie commissaire" goederen bezeten en genoten zullen worden door den oudsten markgraaf of stamheer hunner familie en door diens wettelijke mannelijke opvolgers met uitsluiting van alle

112470 vrouwelijke erfgenamen, onder bepaling jaarlijks aan de overige familieleden uit de opbrengsten daarvan zekere uitkeeringen te doen, die in een paar volgende artikelen zijn vastgesteld.
Al die artikelen, ten getale van vijftien, hier in hun geheel te geven zou te ver voeren; alleen laten wij hier het eerste artikel, waarin al de goederen opgesomd

112475 worden en dat hoogst belangrijk is voor de geschiedenis onzer provincie, en het tweede in hun geheel volgen.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

De contrahenten waren: L. F. M. de Hoensbroeck erfmaarschalk van het hertogdom Gelder en graafschap Zutphen; Sophia Charlotta markgravin van Hoensbroeck, geboren gravin von der Leyen Hohengerolseck; P. (1) van en te Hoensbroeck, dom-kapittelheer van Speyer, proost te Emmerick, Aartsdiaken van Utrecht, geheimraad en regeeringspresident van den keurvorst van Spiers; Leopold markgraaf van Hoensbroeck, kanonik der domkerk te Spiers; J. F. M. D. Hoensbroeck, kanonik van het domkapittel te Munster; Jozef markgraaf van Hoensbroeck, kanonik der metropolitaankerk te Trier; Karel markgraaf van Hoensbroeck, kanonik der metropolitaankerk van Trier en kamerheer van den Keurvorst van Keulen.

"... het slot en marquisaat van Hoensbroeck met de hooge, middele en laage jurisdictie, jagten, visscherijen, bosschen, geld- en korenrenten, tinsen, keurmoeden, vrijheden, pand- en weggeld, wiemedede daertoe gehoorige bouwhoven, bannaal brouwhuys en watermooien, tot dyen de overige daertoe gehoorige jagthoven te weeten: den hof Schwembruggen, den Nauenhof, den Aldenhof den hof Lootbroeck, de helfte van den hof Eysden, den hof Linderen, den hoff ter Weyer, den hof Eyck, den Weijhof, met alle de respectieve daertoe gehoorige landerijen, beemden en weylanden, holtgewassen, jaghten, visscherijen) rechten, gerechtigheden;

item het slot ende heerlijkheid Hillenraedt, Swalmen en Asselt met aengehoorige hooge, middele en laage jurisdictie, jagten, visscherije, waranden, geld- en korenrenten, tinsen, keurmoeden, vrijheden en alle recht en gerechtigheden, wiemedede daertoe gehoorige pachthoven als namentlyck Asselderhof, den hof Bockweilsdries, den Syperhof, den Noenhof, het klein hofken, met eene parthije lands daerbij aengekocht, voorts alle de landerijen, beemden, weijlanden, visscherijen, tinsen en erfpagten, bannaal-, koren- en oliemoolen, de visscherije het Blanckwater genoemt, de Boschheijde en 't Lothariebosch,

item de Bochhulder en Raayerthiende, het goed den Boxweerd onder Neer gelegen, de goederen van den hof Jacquafort onder Buggenum gelegen, het vrij adellijk huis Welten met de respectieve annexe landerijen onder Nieuwstad in den ampte van Montfort gelegen,

item de vrijheerlijckheydt Grubbenvorst met de daertoe gehoorige hoven naementhjck het slot en den hof Grubben met eene maalmoolen, het adelijck huijs den Baersdonck en den hof Kleijnraei, alles met daertoe gehoorige landerijen, beemden en weijlanden, holtgewassen, ap- en dependentiën, voorts die aen Grubben en Baersdonck gehoorende tinsen, lijfgewinnen, erfpachten en leenen, mits gaeders de thiende aldaer te Grubbenvorst;

item het slot Blyenbeek en de vrijheerlijckheid van Afferden en Heukelom, met de daertoe gehoorige jurisdictie recht en gerechtigheden, jaght en visscherije, diensten, geld- en korenrenten, tinsen, thiende en vrijheden met de daertoe gehoorige koerenmoelen en hoven namentlyck den Aldenhof, Bosserhof, Linderhof, Flammert, Bulshees, Vogelheck, Niefers, Neudorp, Freyenhof, met de daertoe gehoorige landerije, beemden, weijlanden, holtgewassen, visscherije en andere ap- en dependentiën;

item het Overampt Gelder, bestaende in de naervolgende heerlijckheden en dorpen, Nieuwkerck, Aldekerck, Sevelen, Taeten, Stenden, Schaephuysen, St. Anthonyberg, Reurt;

item het Nederampt Gelder bestaende in de naervolgende heerlyckheden en dorpen: Pont, Veerten, Capellen, Witten, Groot Kevelaer, Klein Kevelaer;

item 't slot ende riddersitz den Haag bij Gelder gelegen en daeraen gehoorige respectieve vryaedelijcke goederen, riddersitzen en hoven als namentlijck Ravens- en Schuijrenhof, den Egelsom of Kynster, den grooten en kleyne Bartel, de Voort, den Geysberg, Broekmanshof, Brouwenshof, Hoenslaer, Gesselen met de seventien morgen daerbij aengekoght, den Sloet, den Bremershorst, Knegtenhof, Weyschenhof, de Horst aen de Niers, den Weihorst, den Badenbergh, Steenolens en daertoe gehoorige soo genoemde wellichsche moolen, den Rijntzenhof, Hubenhof, Hornhof, Gijsenhof, den Heycamp met alle de daertoe respectivelijck gehoorige hooge, middele en laage jurisdictiën, recht en gerechtigheden, jagten, visscherijen, diensten, leenen, tinsen, koren- en geldtinten, erfpachten, keurmoeden, vryheden en aenhoorige landeryen, bosschen, holtgewassen, beemden en weylanden;

item het slot en riddersitz Bellinghoven en vryheerlyckheidt van Haffer en Meer met de daertoe gehoorige recht en gerechtigheden, jurisdictie, tinsen, erfpachten, vrijheden, jagt ende visscherije, gelden korenrenten, voorts bouwhoven, naementlijck: Coepenhol, Hillemanshof, Obbergshof en daertoe gehoorende landerijen, beemden, weijlanden, holtgewassen en korenmoelen, Duysborger thiende en wijders den hof Byvanck genoemt met de landerijen, beemden, weijlanden en holtgewassen;

item den hof den Grind genoemt bij Zanten gelegen met de daertoe gehoorige landerijen, beemden en weylanden;

item den Oosterschen, Grubbenschen en Asselder thol op de Maas;

item het vryaedlyck goed en riddersitz Yversheim met de daertoe gehoorige landerijen, beemden, weijlanden, holtgewassen, recht en gerechtigheden, jagt en visscherije, vrijheden, koren- en geltrenten, tinsen en soo voorts:

item het Wiltinger wijngoed, met de daertoe gehoorige landeryen, tinssen, thienden, recht en gerechtigheden;

item het Weener Fidei-commis capitaal ad hondert duijsent Rijsche gulden;

item een dito capitaal ad duijsent Rijsche gulden ten laste der Oostenrijksche landstenden;

item de obligatie ten laste der Bohemische landtstenden ad drij duysend negenhondert vijf en sestig Rijsche gulden;

item alnogh een Oostenrijksche landstendische obligatie ad een duijsent agt hondert tachentig Rijsche guldens, alle voortskomende van de gravinne van Straetman;

item een dito capitaal ad agthien duijsent Rijsche guldens door Hoog gemelde haar Excellentie gelegateert aen wijlen syn Hooghweerde Excellenz den heer Marquis van Hoensbroek in sijn leven Domproost van Trier;

item een dito capitaal van agtthien duijsent Rhijnsche guldens beijde te Weenen gevest, en door haer Excellenz de gravinne van Hodion gelegateert, aen ons gesamentlijke contrahenten, den usumfructum deser laest gemelte Capitaale somme ad agthien duijsent Rhijnsche guldens ten onsen respective behoefte ad dies vitae vorbehouden;

item het Hooge Ampt als Erf-Marsschalk des Vorstendoms Gelder ende graafschaps Zutphen, mit alle de daertoe gehoorige emolumenten, prerogativen, rechten en gerechtigheden en finaalyk het geheele vaiselle, de juweelen, kleinodiën, voorts alle andere gereede goederen en effecten bij wijlen onse hooggeëerde Ouders naegelaten respectivelyk en ons anderwaerts toegekomen, voor soo veel in de Nederlanden gelegen of vindbaer, maeken en constitueeren tot een fidei-commis en dat hetselve soo dikwils

en soo lange sal effect sorteeren als bij de respective landrechten, waeronder voorscreven fidei-commissaire goederen ressorteeren gepermitteert wordt, dat die autem in 't Rijk gelegen eeuwig aen den band van fidei-commis sullen sijn en blijven onderworpen dusdaeniglijck, dat geene der voorscreven soo leen als allodiaele goederen, renten, pandtschappen en soo voorts door de respectieve besitteren, of voormunderen derselve en sullen moegen woorden veralieneert, verset of beswaert op wat fundament of praetext het oock soude moegen wesen, dan voor ons ondergeschreven gesaementlycke contrahenten alleen en met secluse van onse successeurs, reserveerende de faculteit om op de voorscreven goederen te negotieeren alsulcke sommen, als wij noodig sullen oordeelen tot erlegging van andere capitaelen en principalijs van die staende tot hoogere interessen.

"Ten tweeden dat de voorscreven fidei-commissaire goederen sullen worden beseten en gedefructueert by den oudsten Marquis of stamheer van onse Hoensbroecker familie en soo successivelyk door dessens wettelijcke mannelijcke erven recht hebbende om te succedeeren, soo omtrent de voorscreven fidei-commissaire goederen als in 't hooge amt van Erfmarschalk des hertogdoms Gelder en graafschaps Zutphen, met seclusie van de Marquisinnen of vrouwelijke geslachte soo lange van ons of onse naekomelingen wettelijke mannelijcke descendentes in leven sullen wesen, soo nochtans, ten derden dat denselven gehouden sal sijn respectievelijk aen ieder van sijne broeders en oomen marquisen van Hoensbroeck ad dies vitae uyt de provenuen der bovengemelte fidei-commissaire goederen 's jaarlijks aijt te keeren driehondert pattacons specie en deselve voor soo veel doenelijk helpen tot een geestelijk of wereltlijk emploey of dienst en dragen de kosten daerop te vallen."

(1) Volgens Eg. Hanghen, Het markgraafschap Hoensbroek p. 160 overleed hij den 22 Augustus 17dy.

(2) Overleden 5 November 1760, idem p. 161.

(1) Deze noemde zich Philip Damiaan; hij werd 30 October 1775 plechtig ingehuldigd als bisschop van Roermond.

HIER IS BEGRAVEN DEN EERSAEMEN THEEL THELEN DIE STARF DEN EERSTEN OCTOBRIS ANNO 1678 **BIDT GODT VOOR SYN SIEL**

Deze grafsteen staat (ergens) in de Voerstreek in België en geeft dus de naam Theel Thelen. Helaas lijkt deze persoon niet de voorvader Theel Theelen te zijn die in Asselt, Swalmen woonde.

Hier de vermeldingen op chronologische volgorde:

Theel Theelen

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- 112610 vóór 23 december 1634 Z.P. - Gehuwd: Wilhelmus Tijlen en Joanna NN.
Uit dit huwelijk:
1. Tilmannus Tilmanni, gedoopt Asselt ..-.-1634 (getuige Joannes Quijten en Neul Tilmans) begraven aldaar 15 mei 1713. Trouwt 1) Asselt 30 mei 1663 met Mechtildis Geerlings; 2) Asselt 20 februari 1669 met Catharina Cuijven.
- 112615 2. Jacobus Tijlen, gedoopt Asselt 23 december 1634 (getuige Joannes Keuties en Catharina Steijns; zoon van Wilhelmus x Joanna NN; fol. 9, jaartal onder voorbehoud, vermoedelijk nà 1634).
- 112620 huwelijk 1. Asselt 30 mei 1663 met Mechtildis Geerlings
- kind 1. Cornelia Tijlen, gedoopt Asselt 15 april 1665 (getuige Joannes Henssen voor Christianus Pex en Maria S[imons?]; dr. van Tilmannus x Mechtildis Josten), weduwe aldaar 19 maart 1727. Trouwt ... vóór 28 december 1693 met Henricus Heijnen.
- 112625 19 mei 1665 6. Christophorus Sillen, gedoopt Swalmen 30 oktober 1677 (getuige Tilmannus Tielen)
- 112630 kind 2. Guilielmus Willems, gedoopt Asselt 18 oktober 1666 (getuige Leonardus Stockmans namens Petrus Engels en Gertrudis Franssen; zoon van ...ijl Willems x Mechtildis Gerlinghs), overleden .. juni 1710 (niet in DTB!). Trouwt ... vóór 5 maart 1705 met Gertrudis Cromptvoets.
- 112635 1 augustus 1668 SWALMEN - Verklaring inzake de heffing van tienden en betreffende de (verdwenen) ronde toren van Hillenraad.
Johan de Verwer, contrerolleur van Z.K.M. Licenten op de Maas, als laatscholtis van de hof en heerlijkheid Asselt, bijgestaan door de licentiaat Thomas Bordels namens de markiezin de Wagniers, Peter Spee en Johan Obers, beide laatschepenen, en de secretaris Suiverich alsmede de laatbode Tiel van Assel oorkonden dat zij zich aanwezigheid van Geurt Quijten, pachter van voornoemde hof, [...]
- 112640 kind 3. Agneta Tillens, gedoopt Asselt 28 augustus 1668 (getuige Leonardus Stock[mans] en Weindelina Quitten; dr. van Tilmannus x Mechtildis Girlenist).
- 112645 huwelijk 2. Asselt 20 februari 1669 met Catharina Cuijven
20 februari 1669 ASSELT - Gehuwd: Tilmannus Thielen [Theel Theelen, gedoopt Asselt voorjaar 1634, weduwe aldaar 15 mei 1713, zoon van Wilhelmus Tilmanni en Joanna NN; weduwnaar van Mechtildis Geerlings, gehuwd Asselt 30 mei 1663] en Catharina Cuijven [alias Sloncxen, begraven Swalmen 21 februari 1705]. Getuigen: Christianus Pecxs en Jacobus Alerts.
- 112650 24 september 1669 SWALMEN EN ASSELT - Verklaring door enkele laten verbonden aan de heerlijkheid Asselt over het belopen en in bezit nemen van een aanwas in de Maas bij de Biesweerd. [...]
- 112655 ende op den steen gecommen sijnde, hebben aldaer bevonden dat de rijser aldaer gesteken op den 2 7bris tegens over joncker Baexens Biesenbaendt waren uitgetrocken, en eenen stock van daer en ende so voorts leger vuyt mit andere risers besteken, die welke door last des heere scholtissen en gerichtsluyden ter instantie van requiranten uitgetrocken ende int waeter geworpen, sijnde door Tiel Tielen gerichtsbode de selve plaetse wederom met andere rijseren besteken, ende voorts door
- 112660 Corst Stockmans hebben laeten aftreden ende bevonden dat de Maese van den selven steen noch vifftich treden afgeweeken was, so dat den selven aengeloopen steen van de plaetse af van de welke den steen ierstmael afgetreden was, in't geheel bevonden is woorden langh te sijn hondert en 29 treden, en gemerckt die voorss. requiranten versochten van allen het gene voorss. hun gelijkfals acte met gedeilt te worden,
- 112665 [...]
- 112670 kind 4, 1. Mechtildis Thielen, gedoopt Asselt 23 juni 1670 (getuige Leonardus Stockmans namens Joannes Janessen en Cornelia Ceuven; dr. van Tillmannus x Catharina Cuijven), vermoedelijk jong overl.
- kind 5, 2. Theodora Tielen, gedoopt Asselt 5 november 1673 (getuige Jacobus Alardts en Meussen? ...; dr. van Tilmannus x Catharina ...ssen), weduwe Swalmen 8 juli 1725. Trouwt Swalmen 26 oktober 1700 met Petrus op den Camp.
- 112675 kind 6, 3. Joanna Tielen, gedoopt Asselt 1 september 1677 (getuige Jacobus Pecx en

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Maria Joosten; dr. van Tilmannus x Catarina Gerarts), weduwe Swalmen 3 oktober 1747. Trouwt Asselt 7 september 1699 met Wilhelmus Stoffers.

112680 19 mei 1680 ASSELT - Begraven: Anna [Joanna Theelen, gedoopt Asselt 20 februari 1669], dochter van Theel Theelen [en Catharina Cuijven, gehuwd Asselt 20 februari 1669].

20 augustus 1680 ASSELT - Begraven: Henricus NN, knecht bij Theel Theelen.

112685 kind 7, 4. Mechtildis Theelen, gedoopt Asselt 25 juni of juli 1681 (getuige Paulus Arets en Catharina ..rens). Trouwt vermoedelijk Swalmen 10 februari 1714 met Martinus Jansen.

112690 25 juni 1682 SWALMEN - Gehuwd: Gulielmus Corsten en Agatha Smeets [zij is mogelijk doopgetuige te Swalmen 18 mei 1684, zie hiervoor huwelijk Ramekers-Janssen, Swalmen 24 juli 1682]. Getuigen: Tilmannus Theelen en Joannes Wiltshuts.

112695 Theel Theelen verkocht op 29 november 1685 de Theelenkamp onder Asselt, die op 11 januari 1686 werd genaast.

11 januari 1686 ASSELT - Aanvaarding naasting.

112700 Ten overstaan van Johan Swaack, scholtis, Jan Janssen en Thijs Coelen, schepenen van de vrijheerlijkheden Asselt en Swalmen, verklaart Johan Smits junior dat hij het beschut heeft aanvaard van Thelen Camp onder Asselt gelegen, groot ongeveer 90 roede gelegen tussen de erfgenamen van Willem Thelen en de erfgenamen van Derick Maessen, door comparant op 29 november 1685 aangekocht van Theel Teelen, alles volgens akkoord van diezelfde 29 november 1685 opgesteld tussen meester Jan Herpers? en Peter Engels enerzijds en Jan Smits voornoemd anderzijds.

112705 1. dochter NN [Cornelia], gedoopt Swalmen 27 oktober 1686 (getuige Thel Thelen en Maria Josten; dr. van Godefridus x Cornelia Kuven). Trouwt mogelijk Swalmen 11 september 1708 als Cornelia Willems met Ludovicus Heuijts.

112710 25 november 1686 SWALMEN - Gehuwd: Theodorus Willems [Godefridus, leeft 19 januari 1733, mogelijk zoon van Wilhelmus Teelen; hij hertrouwt NIET ... vóór 19 maart 1706 met Catharina Dirix] en Cornelia Kuven [mogelijk gedoopt Swalmen 14 februari 1647 als dr. van Gerardus Keuffen en Theodora Sijben, vermoedelijk weduwe Swalmen 20 april 1715]. Getuigen: Theel Telen en Willelmus Thelen.

112715 1. Petrus Bongarts, gedoopt Swalmen 26 juli 1688 (getuige Tylmannus Theelen en Anna Dreesen).

112720 15 maart 1693 SWALMEN - Gedoopt: Margreta, buitenechtelijke dochter van Joannes Silckens en Agnetis Houx. Getuigen: Tilmanus Thelen namens Gerardus Silkens en Leonarda Houx.

Op 7 juli 1693 verpandde Theel de helft van een huis op de Hoogstraat.

7 juli 1693 SWALMEN - Verpanding van de helft van een huis.

112725 Johan Swaken, scholtis, en de gezamenlijke schepenen van Asselt en Swalmen [geen namen] oorkonden dat Theel Theelen, met toestemming van zijn echtgenote, heeft verklaard schuldig te zijn aan Jan Peters, 'jaeger van den heere baron van Hillenraedt', een bedrag van 35 rijksdaalders tegen een jaarlijkse rente van 5% en met een opzegtermijn van een half jaar, met als onderpand een half huis met het derde deel van 1 morgen land daar achter gelegen tussen Geurt Cuijpers, mededeelhebber van genoemd huis enerzijds, en Peter Quijten anderzijds, korte zijden grenzend aan de erven van Henderick Schrievers en op de openbare straat.

112730 7 juli 1695. Heijncken Heijnen en Neulken Theelen c.s. verpandden op 22 april 1697 een huis te Asselt.

112735 20 september 1695 SWALMEN-ASSELT - Verpanding land.

112740 Ten overstaan van Johan Swaken, scholtis, Jan Janssen en Frans Gerardts, schepenen van de heerlijkheden Swalmen en Asselt, bekennen Thel Theelen en Jan Janssen, als voogden van de kinderen van wijlen Jacob Alerts en Truijten Theelen, en Jacob Janssen als man en voogd van Lisbet Alerts, dat Truijten Theelen voornoemd samen met wijlen haar man Jacob Alerts op 24 augustus 1677 op de dag van de apostel Bartholomaeus een bedrag van 100 gulden tegen een jaarlijkse rente van 6 gulden heeft

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opgenomen van ook wijlen Daem Rauckus met al onderpand al hun roerende en onroerende goederen.

112745 Omdat deze obligatie na het overlijden van Daem Rauchus is toegevalen aan diens erfgenamen, wordt op hun verzoek en met toestemming van het gerecht d.d. 19 oktober 1694 nu afgesproken dat deze lening voortaan zal uitstaan tegen een rente van 5% te betalen op 24 augustus met een opzegtermijn van een half jaar, met als onderpand ongeveer 1 morgen land te Asselt gelegen op de Ubergh tussen de erfgenamen Ruth Silkens en de erfgenamen Jan Silkens, met de korte zijden grenzend aan de erfgenamen 112750 Heijncken Heijnen en het voetpad.

Theel Thelen en zijn kinderen Neulken en Willem kochten op 22 april 1697 een huis te Asselt welk zij op 22 april 1697 verpandden.

112755 Op 22 april 1697 kocht hij voor zijn voorkinderen de helft van een huis te Asselt. In 1697 verpandden Theel Thelen en zijn kinderen 5 vierdel morgen te Asselt gelegen, Theelencamp genaamd, tussen land van de hof te Asselt en eerste comparant, met de korte zijden grenzend aan de openbare straat en land van de Asselerhoff. 22 april 1697 ASSELT - Verpanding huis en hof.

112760 Ten overstaan van Johan Swaken, scholtis, Frans Gerardts en Corst Crijnen, schepenen van de heerlijkheden Swalmen en Asselt, bekennen Theel Thelen en zijn kinderen, te weten:

- Willem Theelen en
- Heijncken Heijnen gehuwd met Neulken Theelen, dat zij een bedrag van 150 gulden Roermonds tegen een jaarlijkse rente van 5%, te volstaan met 4½% bij betaling binnen 112765 drie à vier weken na de vervaldag, eerstmaals te betalen op 1 mei 1698 met een opzegtermijn van een half jaar, hebben opgenomen van de armen te Buggenum, met als onderpand 5 vierdel morgen te Asselt gelegen, Theelencamp genaamd, tussen land van de hof te Asselt en eerste comparant, met de korte zijden grenzend aan de openbare straat en land van voornoemde Asselerhoff, met huis en hof in het dorp Asselt. Louijs 112770 Kouwenbergh wordt namens de armen geërfd en gegoed. 22 april 1697 ASSELT - Overdracht huis en hof.

Ten overstaan van Johan Swaken, scholtis, Frans Gerardts en Corst Crijnen, schepenen van de heerlijkheden Swalmen en Asselt, dragen Jacob Janssen als man en voogd van 112775 Lijsbet Alerts en Jan Janssen als voogd van Willem Alerts, een half huis te Asselt in het dorp gelegen naast Aquarius en Theel Theelen, met de moesgaard groot 1 vierdel en een kwart roede, alsmede 16 roede in Theelen Camp gelegen, voor de helft van 250 gulden ten behoeve van de armen van Buggenum en Gerard Pelsers, over aan Theel Theelen voornoemd. Deze verklaart dat deze overdracht plaatsvindt ten behoeve van zijn voorkinderen, inclusief de last daarop staand.

112780 13 mei 1697 SWALMEN - Voogdgeding.

"Voogdgedingh gehouden binnen Swalmen onder den hagendoren den 13 may 1697.

Den schepen Jan Janssen becroont dat de naebuyren van Asselt eenen voethpatt maecken over sijn erve aen het Meelenbroeck, aen den Slack tot aen de Maese, alwaer noeyt 112785 eenen voethpatt is geweest, versoeck versieninghe. [...] De naebuyren van de Boutenstraet claegen dat den voetpatt langhs de Swalm naer den Noenhoff hun belet wordt, versoecken remedie.

De naebuyren van de Bouckoul claegen dat Theel Theelen nu in sijne pachtjaeren niet en soeckt te continueren in't betaelen van den loon van den koygardt, gelick hij van 112790 te voeren in sijne halffwininge heeft gedaen, versoecken daerinne versieninghe. Wordt Theel Theelen belast hem te reguleren naer het oudt gebruyck, actum Swalmen den 14 may 1697."

112795 7 september 1699 ASSELT - Gehuwd: Wilhelmus Stoffers [weduwe Swalmen 1 februari 1724]

en Joanna Tielen [Telen, Theelen, Thelen, gedoopt Asselt 1 juli 1677, weduwe Swalmen 3 oktober 1747, dr. van Tilmannus Teelen en Catharina Cuijven]. Getuigen: Wilhelmus Tielen en Joannes Bulders.

Thiel verpandde op 14 januari 1702 een half huis op de Hoogstraat.

112800 De aliasnaam Sloncxen wordt enkel vermeld in een akte van 14 januari 1702.

14 januari 1702 SWALMEN - Verpanding half huis Hoogstraat.

Ten overstaan van Johan Swaken, scholtis, Areth Meuter en Andries Mooren, schepenen van de heerlijkheid Swalmen en Asselt, bekent Thiel Theelen met toestemming van zijn 112805 vrouw Catharina Sloncxen dat zij een bedrag van 40 rijksdaalder (met inbegrip van 17 en 8 rijksdaalder zoals afgelegd aan Houbert Peters en Geurt Willems) tegen een jaarlijkse rente van 2 gelijke rijksdaalders eerstmaals te betalen op 14 januari 1703

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en met een opzegtermijn van een half jaar, hebben opgenomen van hun schoonzoon Peter op den Camp en Dircxken Theelen, met als onderpand een half huis met het 1/3 deel van 1 morgen land op de Hoogstraete gelegen tussen de erfgenamen Cil Pauwelssen en Geurt Willems.

Gecancelleerd, in de marge: 'desen brief compt te cessereren mitte overdraght van den 2 april 1704 ende oversulcx alhier getraceert'.

16 februari 1703 SWALMEN - Hoofdschat over het jaar 1702.
"Hoofdschat tot Swalmen ende Asselt den 16 febrij 1703 vuytgesath
Theel Theelen mit vrouw, een maeght 4 april 0
11 mei 1703 SWALMEN - Beestenschat over het jaar 1702.
Beestenschat van Swalmen ende Asselt den 11 may 1703 getelt dienende voor den jaere

Theel Theelen 4 koyen 3 rinder 16 kar bijen 46 schaepen 19 april

30 september 1703 SWALMEN - Gehuwd: Abraham ...em [alias van Horne, mogelijk zoon van Andreas van Horne] en Mechtildis Thelen [Tielen, Metten Tiel, gedoopt Asselt ..., dr. van Tilmanus Theelen en Catharina Ceuven]. Getuigen: Casparus Moren en Albertus Meuters.

Theel Theelen en Trijncken Keuven verkochten op 2 april 1704 een half huis op de Hoogstraat aan hun schoonzoon Peter op den Camp.
2 april 1704 SWALMEN - Overdracht half huis Hoogstraat.
Ten overstaan van Petrus Buijckman, scholtis, Geret Emets en Andries Janssen, schepenen van de heerlijkheid Swalmen en Asselt, draagt Theel Theelen met toestemming van zijn vrouw Trijncken Keuven

- een half huis met het 1/3 deel van 1 morgen land op de Hoogstraet gelegen tussen de erfgenamen Cil Pauwelssen en Geurt Willems, belast met 1/3 deel van een greve en 1/3 deel van 1 kan olie aan de kerk aldaar;
- ½ morgen land in het Voorvelt gelegen tussen Geurt Willems voornoemd en Nuelken Geurts;

- ongeveer ½ morgen land op de Mortel gelegen tussen de erfgenamen van Andries Mooren en Geurt Willems;
- 1/3 deel van 1 morgen land op de Cruijtskamp gelegen tussen Geurt Willems en Peter Arets en consorten, belast met 1/3 deel van 4 'schobben' vruchten van dit land aan de kosterie aldaar,

voor een bedrag van 89½ gulden over aan Peter op den Camp en Dericxken Theelen, lijcop, armengeld en kosten van overdracht naar landsgebruik.
- Hiermee komen de eerdere obligaties van 20 maart 1700 en 14 januari 1702 [zie aldaar] te vervallen.

30 augustus 1704 SWALMEN - Overdracht land.
Ten overstaan van Petrus Buijckman, scholtis, Jan Janssen en Geret Emets, schepenen van de heerlijkheid Swalmen en Asselt, draagt Christoffer Faessen met toestemming van zijn vrouw Catharina Metsers d.d. 27 augustus 1704 en als gevolmachtigde van zijn schoonmoeder Elisabeth Engels d.d. 31 juli 1704 gepasseerd voor notaris J.B. de Ball te Weert, zich mede sterk makend voor zijn minderjarige schoonzus Wilhelmina Metsers [trouwt later met Joannes Beckers] en mede krachtens volmacht van Evert Gieskens en Maria Metsers d.d. 17 augustus 1704 binnen Leyden ondertekend,

- de helft van 1 morgen 17 roede land te Asselt gelegen tussen de aankopers en de ontvanger Poel;
- en ongeveer 30 roede land tussen de ontvanger Poel en Theel Theelen gelegen, voor een bedrag van 36 rijksdaalder 3 schelling en 1 'dobbelken', godsheller 1 blamuyser, over aan Michel Dispa, borger en koopman te Ruremunde, en Elisabeth van Kessel, echtelieden, armengeld, lijcop en overdracht ten laste van de aankopers.

In 1706 verpandden de erfgenamen Teelen land onder Asselt, Teelencamp genaamd.
Hencken Heijnen en Neulken Teelen c.s. verkochten op 2 oktober 1706 land te Asselt en verpandden diezelfde dag de Theelenkamp.

4. Wilhelmus Stoffers, gedoopt Swalmen 7 oktober 1708 (getuige Tilmannus 'vulgo Teel' Telen en Catharina Janssen), weduwe aldaar 10 juni 1759. Trouwt Asselt 16 oktober 1737 met Maria Visser.

???begraven aldaar 15 mei 1713, zoon van Wilhelmus Tijlen en Joanna NN;

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- 112875 15 mei 1713 ASSELT - Begraven: Tilmannus Teelen [vermoedelijk weduwnaar van 1) Mechtildis Geerlings, gehuwd Asselt 30 mei 1663, weduwe ...; 2) Catharina Cuijven, gehuwd Asselt 20 februari 1669, begraven Swalmen 21 februari 1705].
- 112880 10 februari 1714 SWALMEN - Gehuwd met dispensatie in de kerkgeboden: Martinus Jansen en Mechtildis Thelen [vermoedelijk gedoopt Swalmen 25-..-1681, dr. van wijlen Tilmanus Theelen en Catharina Cuijven]. Getuigen: Sijbertus Kuijven en Arnoldus Meuters.
- 112885 8 juli 1725 SWALMEN - Begraven: Theodora Teelen [gedoopt Asselt 5 november 1673, dr. van Tilmanus Tielen en Catharina Cuijven], echtgenote van Petrus op den Camp [gehuwd Swalmen 26 oktober 1700, weduwe aldaar 12 november 1739].
- 112890 19 maart 1728 ASSELT - Begraven: Nuelken [Cornelia Theelen, gedoopt Asselt 15 april 1665, dr. van Tilmannus Tijlen en Mechtildis Geerlings], echtgenote van Henricus Heijnen [gehuwd Asselt vóór 28 december 1693].
22 november 1728 ASSELT - Overdracht Theelenbroekje.
Ten overstaan van Johan Matthijs Daermans, scholtis, Gootsen Gerardts en Christiaen Bongarts, schepenen van de heerlijkheid Swalmen en Asselt, dragen Joannes en Gerardus Schrijvers, kinderen en erfgenamen van wijlen de schepen Hendrick Schrijvers, krachtens vonnis d.d. 9 november 1728 uitgesproken door het Hof van Gelderland, de
- 112895 helft van Theelis Broecxkens, zoals op 11 mei 1717 overgedragen aan wijlen hun vader, voor de helft van de koopsom vermeld in de voorwaarden daarvan opgemaakt, over aan Johan Hendrick Lambotte.
- 112900 22 november 1728 ASSELT - Overdracht Theelenbroekje.
Ten overstaan van Johan Matthijs Daermans, scholtis, Gootsen Gerardts en Christiaen Bongarts, schepenen van de heerlijkheid Swalmen en Asselt, dragen Johan Hendrick Lambotte alsmede Joannes en Gerardus Schrijvers, de eerste mede als gevolmachtigde van zijn vrouw, en krachtens akkoord d.d. 18 november 1728, een turfbroekje genaamd Theelenbroexken, zoals op 11 mei 1717 bij openbare verkoop aangekocht door wijlen de
- 112905 vader van tweede comparanten en waarvan de helft door eerste comparanten overgedragen aan eerste comparant, welk broekje indertijd door wijlen de schepen Hendrick Schrijvers is aangekocht voor een bedrag van 505 gulden Roermonds, over aan Johan Willhelm Postwijck, lijcop, armengeld en kosten van overdracht ieder voor de helft.
- 112910 14 juni 1729 SWALMEN - Voogdgeding: o.a. over turfsteken, schapen, luiden van de klok, konijnen.
"Vooghtgedingh gehouden tot Swalmen den 14 juny 1729 op den merckt aldaer.
De geswoorens hebben clachtelijk te kennen gegeven dat sij onversien sijn van beer, ver, sprinckhinxt ende ijsere egge, dewelcken moeten gehouden worden door de groote
- 112915 thiendenaers, versoeckende dat daerinne sal worden versien.
T'gericht inhaereert de ordonnantiën op de voorige vooghtgedingen gegeve, actum ut supra.
Deselve geswoorens hebben mede claegende voorgebracht dat Sr. Postwijck onderstaet torff vuyt Theelenbroecxken te vercoopen sonder dat hij Postwijck borge ofte
- 112920 verseckeringe voor den eeuwigen schatt heeft gestelt, versoeckende derhalven dat aen gemelten Postwijck sal worden belastt geen en torff te vercoopen ten zije hij alvorens verseckeringe voor den eeuwigen schatt sal hebben gestelt.
- 112925 1 mei 1746 2. Martinus Meerts, gedoopt Asselt 8 augustus 1748
(getuige Tilmanus Tilmans en Wilhelmina Smeets), overleden Swalmen-Boukoul 16 maart 1808. Trouwt Swalmen 22 juni 1773 met Elisabetha Thijssen.
- 112930 13 oktober 1747 SWALMEN - Begraven: Joanna Teelen [gedoopt Asselt 1 juli 1677, dr. van Tilmannus Teelen en Catharina Cuijven], weduwe [van Wilhelmus Stoffers, gehuwd Asselt 7 september 1699, weduwe Swalmen 1 februari 1724].
- 112935 1754 SWALMEN EN ASSELT - Hoofd- en beestenschat.
Lijste van hoofd- ende beestenschat der heerlijkheydt Swalmen ende Asselt van den jaere 1754
Tilman Tilmans met vrouwe 1 april 0
een koey 0 juni 0
- 4 mei 1756 SWALMEN - Voogdgeding.
"Vooghtgeding gehouden tot Salmen den 4 mey 1756 sub dio naer voorgaende

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 112940 kerckepublicatie tot convocatie der inwoonderen.
Tilman Tilmans
- vóór 24 april 1758 Z.P. - Gehuwd: Christophorus Theelen [Teelen, gedoopt Swalmen 29 maart 1732, bierbrouwer, overleden aldaar 17 april 1783, zoon van Petrus Theelen en Cornelia Spee] en Elisabetha Delissen [bij de volkstelling 1796 inwonend bij haar zoon Joannes op de Markt].
- 112945 Uit dit huwelijk:
1. Petrus Teelen, gedoopt Swalmen 24 april 1758 (getuige Joannes Delissen en Elisabeth Teelen), weduwe aldaar 17 mei 1758.
- 112950 2. Joannes Teelen, gedoopt Swalmen 10 november 1759 (getuige Hendericus Schaeraets en Maria Delissen). Trouwt Swalmen 19 oktober 1791 met Gertrudis Ceuven.
3. Petrus Theelen, gedoopt Swalmen 7 augustus 1768 (getuige Joannes Theelen en Sibilla Delissen), overleden aldaar 31 januari 1770.
- 112955 4. dochter NN, geboren en gedoopt Swalmen 5 februari 1773 (nooddoop door vroedvrouw; 'quae statim obiit'), overleden aldaar 5 februari 1773.
5. Petrus Theelen, geboren en gedoopt Swalmen 9 februari 1777 (nooddoop; geen get.; 'qui statim obiit'), overleden aldaar 9 februari 1777.
- Stoffer Theelen en Elisabeth Delissen verkochten op 19 december 1768 land te Swalmen. Stoffer Theelen was in 1774 eigenaar van een huis aan de Kroppestraat (smabers-15/34).
- 112960 Johannes Theelen te Neer en/of Swalmen
21 juni 1723 SWALMEN - Arrest wegens geweldpleging.
De bode Sibert Kuijven verklaart dat hij ... Theelen van Wijnarden heeft gearresteerd wegens 'begaene straeten rumoer ende andere insolentien tot Swalmen begaen'.
- 112965 17 januari 1753 6. Gertrudis Ceuven, gedoopt Swalmen 24 mei 1763 (getuige Henricus Moren en Maria Ceuven). Trouwt Swalmen 19 oktober 1791 met Joannes Theelen.
- 112970 11 juni 1774 SWALMEN - Verpanding huis en hof Kroppestraat.
Ten overstaan van Joannes Bernardus Chanoine, licentiaat in de rechten en scholtis van de heerlijkheid Swalmen en Asselt, Joannes Mevessen en Thomas Ubbels, schepenen aldaar, bekennen de echtelieden Jan Sillen en Geutruijd Schouwenbergh dat zij een bedrag van 50 pattacons tegen een jaarlijkse rente van 4% eerstmaal te betalen op 11
- 112975 juni 1775 en losbaar in termijnen van 25 pattacons met een opzegtermijn van drie maanden, hebben opgenomen van Jan Theelen, ongehuwd, met als onderpand:
- huis en hof op de Cropperstraete gelegen tussen de weduwe Stephen Roosen en de weduwe Linnert Tessers, belast met jaarlijks 2 vat rogge erfpacht aan de kapelanie en 1 greve aan de Gereserveerde Domeinen;
- 112980 - 3 vierdel akkerland in het Gratervelt gelegen tussen Jan Dousent en de gemeente;
- en ½ morgen in het Gratervelt gelegen tussen Jan Dousent voornoemd en de gemeente, beide percelen belast met 5 kop rogge aan de kapelanie aldaar en 1/3 deel van 1 greve aan de Gereserveerde Domeinen, alle onderpanden gezamenlijk eerder belast met 50 pattacons aan het begijnhof te Ruremonde.
- 112985 9 april 1777 BUGGENUM - Gehuwd: Anthonius Theelen [gedoopt Neer 20 april 1738, pachter, overleden Swalmen 25 november 1790, zoon van Joannes Tielen en Wilhelmina Snijders] en Lucia Winkelmeulen [gedoopt Neer 27 februari 1751, overleden Swalmen 17 februari 1794, dr. van Segerus Winckelmolen en Elisabetha van Baexen; zij hertrouwt
- 112990 Swalmen 3 mei 1791 met Jacobus Emets]. Getuigen: Matthias Winkelmeulen en Willemina Theelen.
Uit dit huwelijk:
1. Joannes Theelen, geboren en gedoopt Swalmen 10 december 1783 (getuige Segerus Winckelmolen wonende te Buggenum en Anna Maria Moren wonende te Neer), herbergier, landbouwer, raadslid vanaf 1820, secretaris 1822-1837 en burgemeester van Neer 1825-1853, overleden Neer 19 mei 1867. Trouwt Neer 24 oktober 1808 met Wilhelmina Geenen, gedoopt Neer 6 december 1777, overleden aldaar 2 februari 1848, dr. van Leonardus Geenen en Joanna Versondert, weduwe van Wilhelmus Geenen.
- 113000 21 maart 1786 SWALMEN - Akte van deling.
Om hun geschil over de nalatenschap van Peter Theelen en Cornelia Spee, gewezen echtelieden, bij te leggen, is ten overstaan van het gerecht het volgende overeengekomen.
Jan Theelen zal in volle eigendom verkrijgen:
- 113005 - 84 roede in de Meulendumpel gelegen tussen Willem Sanders en Jan van Lier;

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 30 roede grasgewas in de Batten gelegen tussen de erfgenamen Peter Naus en Jan van Lier;
- 42 roede akkerland tussen Peter Naus en Jan van Lier.
Hiervoor zal Jan Theelen aan zijn neef Joannes Theelen een bedrag van 23 pattacons 12 stuiver Kleefs betalen, van welk bedrag hij heden heeft betaald 6 pattacons 3 schelling 8½ stuiver. De resterende 16 pattacons 5 schelling 3½ stuiver zullen binnen twee maanden worden voldaan. Zij machtigen toonder tot de gerechtelijke overdracht.

27 maart 1786 SWALMEN - Overdracht landerijen.

Ten overstaan van Joannes Bernardus Chanoine, licentiaat in de beide rechten, schepen en eerste secretaris van het Hoofdgerecht te Ruremonde, scholtis van de heerlijkheden Swalmen en Asselt, Cornelis van Keeken en Joannes Mevissen, schepenen aldaar, draagt Joannes Theelen, jonkman, na gerechtelijke overeenkomst opgemaakt tussen hem comparant en zijn oom Jan Theelen d.d. 21 maart 1786,

- 84 roede akkerland te Asselt in de zogenoemde Molendompel gelegen tussen Willem Sanders en Jan van Lier;

- 32 roede grasgewas te Asselt in de Batten gelegen tussen de erfgenamen Peter Naus en Jan van Lier;

- 42 roede akkerland in de Lichte Ohe gelegen tussen de erfgenamen Peter Naus en Jan van Lier, voor een bedrag van 51 pattacons over aan zijn oom Jan Theelen, kosten van overdracht, lycop en armengeld ten laste van de aankoper, 'mits dat het vijfde deel van den aencooper aen de voorss. coopspenningen sal worden gekort.'

Bode J.L. Corens legt namens Joannes en Jan Theelen de eed af dat deze overdracht niet is geschied ten profijte van enige dode hand.

zondag 30 april 1786 SWALMEN - Gehuwd: Joannes Theelen [overleden Asselt 1x januari 1787], dienstknecht geboren en wonende te Swalmen, en Christina Willems [gedoopt Asselt 2 juli 1742; dr. van Joannes Willems en Aldegondis Pex; weduwe van Petrus Peters, gehuwd vóór 13 oktober 1774, overleden Asselt 4 januari 1783], weduwe geboren en wonende te Asselt. Getuigen: Joannes Theelen en Anna Heijnen wonende te Asselt.

30 april 1786 5. Tilmanus Stighner, geboren en gedoopt Swalmen 19 februari 1795 (getuige Joannes Theelen en Anna Maria Geraets, beiden wonende te Swalmen, 'den vader absent').

3 mei 1791 SWALMEN - Gehuwd met dispensatie in drie roepen: Jacobus Emets [gedoopt Asselt 23 augustus 1753, pachter, overleden Swalmen 27 juni 1795, zoon van Hubertus Emets en Cornelia Beurskens; hij hertrouwt Swalmen 4 mei 1794 met Elisabetha Wijnen] en Lucia Winckelmolen [gedoopt Neer 27 februari 1751, overleden Swalmen 17 februari 1794, dr. van Segerus Winckelmolen en Elisabetha van Baexen], weduwe [van Joannes Theelen, gehuwd Buggenum 9 april 1777, overleden Swalmen 25 november 1790]. Getuigen: Martinus Emets en Catharina Winckelmolen.

23 juli 1860 NEER - Openbare verkoop van een bouwhoeve genaamd Maaswijnaarden onder de gemeente Neer gelegen, op verzoek van:

1) Maria Anna Geenen, weduwe van Joannes Theelen te Maaswijnaarden en haar kinderen; en
2) Antoon Jozef Hubert Mertz te Roermond, als gemachtigd door Maria Ludovica Jeanette de Swart, weduwe van Johannes Godefridus Quisthoudt te Maeseijck, opbrengst f30.380,-.

Theelen, Tielen, etc.

De naam Theelen (Thielen, Tielen, Teelen, Telen) is patroniem van de naam Tilmanus (Tiel, Teel). De naam komt al in het begin van de 18e eeuw voor het Midden-Limburgse Neer waar zij als pachters de hoeve Wijnaardenhof (Wienertehof) bewonen. Vanuit Swalmen verspreidt de familie van o.a. Theele Theelen zich over andere Midden-Limburgse plaatsen. Theel Theelen woonde in Asselt, gemeente Swalmen en ongeveer twee generaties later woonde Johannes Theelen op het grondgebied van Neer, enkele km stroomafwaarts aan de andere kant van de rivier.

De vraag is nu of Johannes Theelen (J. Tielen) een nazaat is van Theel Theelen? Over Theel Theelen uit Asselt zijn verrassenderwijs veel meldingen bewaard gebleven. Hij was pachter van de zeer oude en belangrijke Asseltsehof (in talloze schrijfwijzen). Enkele km noordelijk aan de andere kant van de Maas lag de Wijnaardenhof. Beide hoeven bestaan heden ten dage nog altijd, al dan niet in vervallen staat. Vlakbij lagen stukken land met namen als Boxweerd, Hanssummerweerd,

de Aanwas en Bierweerd.

We lezen een gedetailleerde benoeming:

113075 26 december 1885 Op Maandag den 11. Januari 1886 's middags ten 2 uur, te Neer ter herberge van den heer burgemeester Theelen: A. Gemeente Neer. Eerste koop: Eene vruchtbare en in zeer goeden staat van onderhoud verkeerende bouwhoeve genaamd "Wijnardenhof", bestaande in huis, stalling, schuur, erf, tuin, bouwland, weiland en hooiland, kadaster sectie C nos. 1417, 579, 467, 558, 600, 613, 633, 641, 643, 665, 113080 680, 698, 703, 713, 717, 639, 696, 697, 1132, 1287, 1403, 1418, 1426, 1427, 1435, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1747, 1748, 1754, 1755, groot 23.30.00 hect. Benevens de onverdeelde helft van weiland en wishout "de Maaskop" sectie C nos. 1757 en 1758, groot 2.32 hect. Verhuurd aan den heer P. Beurskens: de gebouwen, tuin, hooi- en weiland tot Paschen en het bouwland tot oogst stoppelbloot 1888. 113085 [op 12 december 1885 wordt nog geschreven ..., in het Zwaarveld, Hanssummerveld, Sleepad en Boxweerd

In 1871: Vervolg van het tienjarig overzicht der waargenomen waterhoogten vinden we die bij PEILRAAI LXXXVII [...]

113090 De zes kribben zijn aangelegd tegenover de grindplaat vóór het huis Wijnaardenhof, in de gemeente Neer.
zie Delpher, mGbmhazS7skC

113095 In 1926 wordt gemeld dat een merktekening op de Wijnaardenhof is aangebracht: NEER-BEESEL
WATERPASSING GEODETISCH BUREAU IR. W. SCHERMERHORN TE DELFT 1926.
Neer 6. R. B. in de boerderij Wijnaardenhof, in 1926 bewoond door J. van Melick, n. gevel, 0,88 m rechts van het linker einde.

113100 Overigens wordt daarna gemeld: Grathem 2. R. B. in de woning van den hoofdonderwijzer bij de school ten z. van den weg v. Roermond n. Weert o. gevel, 0,60 m links van den steenen dag van het raam, rechts van de deur.
zie Delpher, MMKB24:076597000

113105 Nijverheid en handel op de Maas in de Middeleeuwen.
De nijverheid in de Limburgse streken ten noorden van Luik was in de vroege Middeleeuwen van weinig betekenis in dit overwegend agrarische gebied. Het industriële centrum lag ten zuiden van Luik in plaatsen als Dinant en Huy. Voor de handel was de streek tussen Luik en Nijmegen een doorgangsgebied. De streek zelf had 113110 er weinig direct aandeel in. De landwegen waren zo slecht dat handelaars en reizigers moesten uitwijken naar de waterwegen, de Maas en haar zijrivieren. Tot in de vroegmoderne tijd werden thans niet meer bevaren riviértjes als Roer en Niers voor de scheepvaart gebruikt. Hoofdverkeersader was de rivier de Maas voor de zuid-noord en de oude Romeinse weg van de Atlantische kust naar Keulen voor de west-oostverbinding. 113115 Waarschijnlijk zijn plaatsen als Meeswijk, Wessem, Blerick samen met Venlo en Blitterswijk oude pleisterplaatsen langs de Maas; zij liggen ongeveer dertig kilometer uit elkaar, gelijk aan een dag varen stroomopwaarts. De vondst van een door Tongerse schippers gesticht altaar voor de godin Viradecdis in Vechten (Utrecht) kan een uitvloeisel van de Maashandel zijn. Maastricht vormde een centrum met zijn brug 113120 over de Maas, een munthuis in de zevende en een tolkantoor in de tiende eeuw. De invloed van Maastricht is nawijsbaar in Dorestad. Wat er over de Maas vervoerd werd, is niet bekend. Op het einde van de zesde eeuw bezong de dichter Venantius Fortunatus (c. 535-na 600) de rivieren Moezel, Aisne en Maas. Van de Maas zei hij:
aut Mosa dulce sonans, quo grus ganta anser olorque est,

113125 triplíce merce ferax (alite pisce rate).
(De zacht ruisende Maas, waar kraanvogel, gans, eend en zwaan leven, Draagt drie koopwaren: vogel, vis en vlot).
Uit deze regels heeft men wel willen afleiden, dat de Maas met haar vlotten een van de grote scheepvaartroutes van het Merovingische Gallië was. Het rate (vlot) betekent 113130 hier echter veeleer gebundeld hout, een houtvlot, wat ook beter past bij vogel en vis, en niet een vervoermiddel, een 'vlot' als drager van hypothetische koopwaren. In Venantius' tijd vond er een verschuiving van de handelsroutes plaats. Waar eerst de weg via Rhône en Rijn de hoofdverkeersas was tussen de Middellandse Zee en het Noorden, begon de handel zich nu via de Maas te verplaatsen. Toen en later zullen 113135 over de Maas producten vervoerd zijn van landbouw en veeteelt en van de messingindustrie in de plaatsen ten zuiden van Luik; bovendien in de zevende eeuw slaven uit Engeland, die naar de slavenmarkt in Verdun gingen. Rond 1000 richtte de

Maashandel zich op steden als Keulen, Londen en Goslar. De Maassteden vormden een eigen economisch gebied, geheel los van de Nederlanden. Er was weinig passieve handel; kooplieden van elders kwamen er zelden. De transporten over de Maas in deze tijd omvatten zink, tin, steen, leisteen en kleiwaren. De middeleeuwse betekenis van de rivier de Maas als handelsader is in het verleden overschat. De Maas zou de as zijn geweest voor de eenheid en economische voorsprong van het Maasgebied, waar de steden continuïteit kenden en de Noormannen geen breuk veroorzaakt hadden. De bronnen geven hier geen aanwijzingen voor; zowel de geschreven als de monetaire bronnen zijn te summier, terwijl continuïteit van bewoning in Romeinse nederzettingen langs de Maas tot nu toe slechts is aangetoond voor Maastricht en Huy. Er waren maar twee plaatsen van belang: Verdun en Maastricht. De Maas heeft nooit die rol gespeeld die de Rijn had, want de Maas miste de landweg, die de Rijn over zijn gehele traject begeleidde. Overigens was de rivier tussen Maastricht en de Zuiderzee voor de handel van groter belang, dan het gedeelte van de rivier ten zuiden van de stad. Daar volgde het verkeer veeleer de oude Romeinse wegen.

Zie <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00000791/images/index.html?id=00000791&groesser=150&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=163>

LIBER SEPTIMUS Ad Gogonem IV
 Nubila quae rapido perflante Aquilone venitis,
 pendula sidereo quae movet axe rota,
 dicite qua vegetet carus mihi Gogo salute,
 quid placidis rebus mente serenus agit:
 si prope fluctivagi remoratur litora Rheni,
 ut salmonis adeps rete trahatur aquis;
 an super uviferi Mosellae obambulat amnem,
 quo levis ardentem temperet aura diem,
 pampinus et fluvius medios ubi mitigat aestus:
 vitibus umbra rigens, fluctibus unda recens;
 aut Mosa dulce sonans, quo grus ganta anser olorque est,
 triplice merce ferax (alite pisce rate)
 an tenet herbosis qua frangitur Axona ripis,
 cuius aluntur aquis pascua prata seges?
 Esera? Sara? Cares? Scaldis? Sate? Somena? Sura?
 seu qui Mettis adit de sale nomen habens?
 aut aestiva magis nemorum saltusque pererrans
 cuspidem, rete feras hinc ligat, inde necat?
 Ardenna an Vosagus cervi caprae helicis uri
 caede sagittifera silva fragore tonat?
 seu validi bufali ferit inter cornua campum,
 nec mortem differt ursus onager aper?
 an sua rura colens exusta novalia sulcat
 et rude cervici taurus aratra gemit?
 sive palatina residet modo laetus in aula,
 cui scola congregiens plaudit amore sequax?
 an cum dulce Lupo pietatis iura retractant
 consilioque pari mitia mella creant,
 quo pascatur inops, viduae solacia praestent,
 parvus tutorem sumat, egenus opem?
 quidquid agunt, pariter felicia vota secudent,
 et valeant Christi regis amore frui.
 vos precor, o venti, qui curritis atque reditis,
 pro Fortunato nuntia ferte suo.

BOOK SEVEN To Gogon IV

Clouds that come with the swift North Wind,
 The starry pendulum that moves the wheel's axis,
 Tell me where my dear Gogon thrives,
 What does he do with peaceful things, serene in mind:
 If he lingers near the banks of the Rhine,
 As salmon fat is dragged in a net by the waters;
 Or does he wander over the river of the rain-bearing Moselle,
 Where a light breeze tempers the burning day,
 Where the vine and the river meander,
 Where the heat is tempered by the heat:

The shade cools the vines, the fresh water by the waves;
 113205 Or the sweet-sounding Maas, where the crane and the goose are,
 Fertile with threefold merchandise (the fish are fed, the fish are fed)
 Or does he hold the grassy banks where the Axona breaks,
 By whose waters the pastures and meadows are nourished by the crops?
 Esera? Sara? Cares? Scaldis? Sate? Somena? Sura?
 113210 Or who visits Mettis, whose name is from salt?
 Or does the summer forest and forest wander more through the woods and forests
 with its peak, bind wild beasts here and there, killing them?
 The Ardennes or Vosagus deer and goats burn with the helix
 the forest thunders with a crash of arrows,
 113215 or does the wild boar bear strike the field between the horns of the strong buffalo,
 nor does the wild boar delay death?
 or does the wild boar bear, cultivating his fields, furrows the burnt fallow fields
 and the rough-necked bull groans with the plow?
 or does the Palatine now reside happily in the court,
 113220 whose school the follower applauds with love, joining him?
 or do they with the sweet Wolf retrace the rights of piety
 and with equal counsel create a gentle honey,
 by which the needy is fed, the widow is consoled,
 the little one takes a guardian, the needy one helps?
 113225 whatever they do, may their happy wishes support them equally
 and may they be able to enjoy the love of Christ the King.
 I pray you, O winds, who run and return,
 bring your message for Fortunatus.

113230 Zie <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00000790/images/index.html?id=00000790&groesser=150&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=184>

17 augustus 1275 ASSELT - Gegevens inzake de vaststelling van de grensscheiding
 tussen Roermond, Asselt, Swalmen en Beesel enerzijds, en Wessem, Beegden, Haelen,
 113235 Horn, Buggenum en Neer anderzijds, met toestemming van graaf Reinoud [I] van Gelder.

"In nomine domini amen, iudex et scabini de Ruremonde, totaque communitas de Assel,
 de Swalmen et de Beesel ab una parte nec non iudex et scabini de Wessem, de Beegde,
 de Halen, de Horne, de Buggenum et de Nere, ex altera vero parte, universis et
 113240 singulis, ad quos pntes litera pervenient salutem, et cognoscere veritatem: quoniam
 status hominis fragilis est, et humana men labilil, cautum est solertia, quatenus ea
 quae posterius sunt pronuncianda, scripti testimonio roborentur, idesque noverint tam
 praesentes quam futuri, quod nos nostri cum antiquioribus hominibus ambarum terrarum
 praedictarum, generaliter mediantibus, voluntate, iustu et consensus illustris
 113245 principis magnifici et potentis domini, domini Reijnoldi comitis Gelriae et
 Zutphaniae, et nobilis viri domini Wilhelmi de Horne nrorum, dominorum carissimorum,
 officiatorumque eorrundem, praecepti inducti eramus moti et coaiti super unam
 demonstrationem, arconduitionem, palationem et limitationem quae vulgariter dictae
 sunt bewijsinge, beleijdinge, selinge ende neijninge, de limite vel via juxta Mosam
 113250 de Assel, dictam den lijnpade van der Masen, quam limitem seu viam dictam, dominus
 Rutgerus de Assel miles, a nobili viro domino de Horne tenet in feodo, cum omnibus
 jus attinentijs et condependentijs, videlicet omni supremo dominio, cum iudicio terra
 et Mosa in ambobus lateribus, atqua ripis Mosa infra limitem vel viam dictam den
 lijnpad, cum piscatura in Mosa, in ambobus lateribus et ripis, cis at citra Mosam,
 113255 nec non cum agris et accrescentijs in loco dicto den Tolle prout omnia ista jam
 recitata/in simul ab antiquo jacentia sunt et sita inter locum vel terminum, dictum
 der Schalen vel der Lingen, supra Assel, et inter dimidium ampnim in Haenssem,
 inferius infra palos et divisionem infrascriptos, qui limes vel via dicta die
 Lijnpade seu bona feodalia superius tacta, cum omni supremo dominio et iudicis in
 113260 terra et Mosa, cum thelorico, nec non cum piscatura, antiqua consuetudine,
 adventione, palatione et distinctione praedictae limitit seu feodi omnibus suis
 pertinentijs coannexis, sicuti superius partim sunt declarata, et prout inferius
 sufticienter specificabuntur, et ordinatum distinguuntur, cum omni et generali
 concordantia servorum ambarum terrarum praedictarum, eorum, nostrorumque unanimi
 113265 assensu et consensu fuerunt, atque sunt circondicta et pertestificata, nec non per
 eorum, qni nrorum, juramentor, tactis sacrosaratis, demonstratix distincta,
 specificata, perpalata, palem en notoriae divisa et segregata, et dominus Rutgerus
 praedictus, suique parentes et antecessores ejusdem praefatum limitem, seu viam jam
 dictam bena feodalia semper de senio ad senium successive obtinuerunt et possederunt,

- 113270 in vexate ab aliquo, sed pacifice et quiete in omni modo et forma juris, si..ti pns
litera inferius seriatim exprimit, eludicat et testator: primus palus et distinctis
praedicta limitis seu feodi, incipit supra Assel in loco dicto der Scalero vel des
Lingen palat, specificat et distinguit limitem vel viam dictam den Lijnpat seu feodum
113275 terramo, vel tam remote prout unus vir stando cum uno pede in littore/Mosae, et cum
vomere a rijsa posterit super terrano proijcere, et ita condescendo in ambobus
lateribus et ripis praedictae Mosa, usque in dimidium ampnem in Haensem in super est
sciendum, quidquid minus juste et excessive in hac limite seu feodi palis et
113280 distinctionibus praedictis, super terrano et Mosam, cecederit, de homicidis, furto,
aut de quibuscumque excessibus, causis, casibus injustis, malitiosis et fore factis a
supremo dominis ad infinium pertinendo vel attinendo, hoc idem dominus Rutgerus
iudicabit tenquam dominis in palis et distinctionibus praedictae limitis, seu feodi,
coram suis fidelibus vel viris homagialibus domini de Horne, ab yoso ad hoc
specialiter vocandis et rogandis, discutiet et aequabit: quia dudem vidimus idem
113285 dominus Rutgerus inferum Vuthoven, in limite super littus ipse Mosa, patibulum
erigere feut et suspendit a suftocavit ibi furem captum in palis et distinctionibus
praedictae limitis. Ulterius sisuit intranei vel extranei, ad venae, venditoreo,
negotiatores, vel naucleri, unde sun taut quo tendunt, vel unde veniunt in hanc
limitem vel in palos et distinctionis antedicti Mosa, unus ponens cautionem potex
113290 alterius corpus aut bona arrestare, aggravare, calumniari, jus petere et accescere,
alter vero ponens cautionem seu fidejuscionem illico et sine mora, si ipsi plauvrit,
posterit et valebet cum iudicio ab arrestatione se dissolvere iustis causis et
calumnijs subdolis sibi illatis resistere, justa debita et recta persolvere, contra
injustas, iniquas et versutas calumnias dijurare, duobus digitis tactis sacrofanctis
113295 prout juris est insimilibus furi, et consuetum: quoniam/idem dominus Rutgerus in hac
limite ex dominio habet proprios sanctos quos de jue omnibus indigentibus et
postulantibus est porrigendus: etiam vidimus in hac limite stantem argastulum cum
eculio in quo ponebantur, vinculabantur et conservabantur illi, qui cautelam nex
fideijussores non habebant, cum quibus causus, querimonias, excessus et sua forefacta
113300 poterant federare seu artiorare. Praeterea omnia bona qui per hanc limitem vel palos
terminos ante dictos, in vel extra naves veluntur vel moventur per gurgitem Mosa
ascendentia vel descendencia, prout jus et mos est, vel fuit ab antique thelonisantur
et si preveherentur non thelonisando, omnia bona prederentur, et in hac limite
aliquae naves merosae naviarentur, desnerentur, aut aliquae bona egerentur seu si ...
113305 naves implerentur et merarentur vel aliqua bona ingerentur, prius a theloniaris
petendum ut licentiam, dando ei qua drantem de onerando, dictum eijnen Lichtveerlinc,
sed onerando dictum eijnen Ladeveerlinc, sin autem qui faceret illicit de quq...
marc... cecideret in excessum. Insuper si in terminis hujus limitis aliqua bona in
vel extra naves velierentur et per ventum magnum ac impetuosum, aut per auram
113310 turbulentam et intemperatam in fluitibus et undis jactarentur, itaque nautae
tunerent, seu desperarent naufragari, max clamare poterunt et valebunt magnis vocibus
theloniariae, tene quadrantem posundo ipsam super proram navis vel eijsciendo super
terraro, et deonerarem eiscere, na..uare et se defendere in quantum poterunt et
valebunt sine aliquot excess, aut malae/captione, sed tacendo, non clamando et
113315 vacuando, aut per infortunim improvisibiliter submergendo, cadent in excessum quinque
marcarum. Ulterius sciendum est, quod piscatura in Mosa utroque littore et ripa, us
et citra incipit, procedit et terminat in istuis limitis sui feodi palis,
distinctionibus et circonductionibus praedictis, in quo dominus Rutgeus, suique
haeredes, aut istuis limitis seu feodi conservator, aut familiae, vel alius nomine
113320 esrundem, cum omnibus instrumentis lingujs aut ret..., mediantibus quibus piscari
poterit pisces, valebit seu valebunt capere, loco temporibusque requisitis, sui
oportunis, in illis latere et ripa Mosa, versus Assel, vel versus terram de Horne,
super campum, un utroque littore ejusdem Mosa, cum suis rethibus et sagenis, ex vel
eas immitendo, ducendo et extrahendo toties quoties indigunt, et ipsis visum fuerit
113325 expedire, etiamsi infra palos, limites et distinctions antedictos ab illa parte,
lateris Mosa supra littus ipsius terra versus Assel vel versus terram de Horne
lingnorum, aliquae aurescentiae creverunt, fuerunt et orientur ultra modum,
piscatores eorundem injicientes aut injecturisattrahentes aut attractionis sua rethia
et sagenas, intra vel extra Mosam, pro piscibus caoiendis impediendo hac hi abiscero
113330 poterunt vellere et detroncare, in tanta multitudine et quantitate sicuti ipsi, vel
ipsis ad hoc fuerit necessarium, atque opus, quorumlibet contradictione non obstante,
insuper omnes medijampnes vel accrementa qui vel quae accreverunt input, aut
advenerunt per modum aurescentiae in futurum infra gurgitem/Mosa, hos et haec, idem
dominus Rutgerus, suique haeredes, aut conservator praedicti feodi seu eorum familia,
113335 poterunt perpalare, distinguere et specificare, perplantare cum arboribus emunire,

perstipare et persepire ad omnia eorum commode, beneplacita, atque velle, illos aqualiter feodo praetacto, tanquam sua propria bona possidendo. Etiam si jam dictae aurescuntiae infra gurgitum praedictum orate et pullulatae integraliter et indivisum ceciderunt latere ab illa parte Mosa, versus Assel vel versus terram de Horne, has et
113340 quidquid his occereverit et annexunt fuerit versus Mosam et per aurementum inclinatum, omninus Rutgeru ptus aut sui haeredes possidebunt sicuti feodum praedictum, et obtinebunt. Praeterea omnia aurementa, qui vel quae accreverunt in pnti, aut ad venerint per modum accrescentiae in future, terra arabili, jacenti in loco dicto den Toll ab illa parte Mosae versus terram de Horne, vel ab illa parte
113345 Mosa versus Assel, has et hoc idem dominus Rutgerus suique haeredes aut jam dicti feodi conservator seu eorum familia, poterit perpalare, perplantare cum arboribus, emunire et ixersepere, ad omnia eorum commode, atque velle, illos, quam illa aequaliter feodo praetacto tanquam sua propria bona possidendo. Insuper est sciendum, quod sialiqui excessus, casus vel forefactae perpetrati, seu perpetrate in istuis
113350 limitis seu feodi palis et distinctionibus praedictis ceciderunt, quos vel quae idem dominus Rutgerus non poterit judicare nee exequi, tunc dominus de/Horne, tanquam suis feodarius erit ejus adjutor, judex et executor illos excessus, casus et forefacta judicando, et so ille nequierit, ex tunc comes Lossen, tanquam suus feudarius, erit quo adjutor, judex et excutor, illos excessus, casus, et forefacta judicandi, et si
113355 ille nequierit, ex tune comes Lossen, tanquam sumnus feodominys erit ejus adjutot, judex et executor, casus et forefacta exequendi, et judicandi. Hae extant demonstrationes, circonductiones, palationes, limitationes, discussions, distinctions, nec non probationes ab antique huc usque comprobata, declarata, manifestata, singulatim distinctae et specificatae, nec non jus hujus limitis et
113360 feodi praedicti, quas et quod a nris antecessoribus vidimus semperm audivimus, et intelleximus nris juramentis, tattis sacrosanctis, istud veraciter, et pro vero protestantes, quod dominus Rutgerus praedictus, suique praedecessores, successive de senio ad senium hanc saepedictam limitem dictam den Lijnpat, seu feodum obtinuerunt et possederunt, omnibus modis, et forma praeordinatis en caplicatis. In testimonium
113365 veritatis omnium praemissorum, ex jussi, assensu, et consensus duorum nrorum varissimorum praedictorum, es rumdemque officiutorum, nos judices et scabini de Roremondae et de Wessem, nne siggila pro nonis, et nris praesentibus literis duximus appendenda, et nos Wilhelmus dominus de Horne et de ALtena ob majorem certitudinem atque cautelam pramissorum omnium et singulorum, rogavimus et rogamus illustrum
113370 prini..m domini Arnoldum comitem de Los et de Ceijneij summum nostrum feodominum de limite et feodo praedicto et magnificum ac potentem nobilem virum dominum Reijnoldum comitem Geldriae, dominos nostros dilectos, ut ipsi omnibus circonductionibus/palationibus, limitationibus, conditionibus ac demonstrationibus superius lucide expression, consensum adhibeant, et nihilominus testimonium
113375 perhibeant veritati, in omnibus et singulis praemissis, nec non per sua transfixa pntes literas roborent et conferment ut autun praemissa vata premaneant et inconvulsa, et ad habendum memoriam rei gestae presens scriptum sigilli nostril appensione una cum sigillis praedictorum scabinorum communivimus, datum et actum anno dominica incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, sexton decimo
113380 kalendr septembris.

Hinc instrument adjunct sunt duo transfixa pendentibus sigillis, quorum prius sic habet.

Univensis presentis literas inspecturis, Arnoldus comes Lossensis et Cynalensis salute in domini noveritis, quod nos omnes demonstrationes, circonductiones, palationes, specificationis et conditionis in literis praesentinus, quibus nostra presents literae sunt affixae, contentas, factas, et ordinatas, ratas habemus et firmas, ac eis nostrum impertimus assensum, et eas tanquam rite factas, per nostrum transfixum pro nobis et nostris, in perpetuum confirmamus in quorum omnium praemissorum evidens robur, et testimonium nostrum sigillum, datum anno
113390 incarnationis dominica millisimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, sexto decimo kalendr septembris.

Alterum autem transfixum in haec verba protenditur.

Nos Reijnoldus comes Gerlrensis salutem et omne conuni/noveritis quod nobis placet et de nostro procedit consensus, voluntate et assensu, ut omnes
113395 demonstrationes, circonductiones, distinctiones, specificationes et conditiones presenti literae, cui praesens nostra litera est appenda infringatatae perpetuae maneant in omni suo robore illaesae consistent, et vigore, prout inibi particularitur, susticenterque declarantur, et ipsas tanquam ritefactas, qtum in nobis est, per nostrum transfixum pro nobis et nostris, confirmamus, in cujus rei
113400 testimonium presents literas fecimus sigilli nostril munimine roborari, datum anno domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, sextodecimo kalend septembris.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Praesent copia demonstrationum, circonductionum, distinctionum, specificaionum et conditionum exscripta ex suo originali et cum eodem collationata, concordat de verbo ad verbum idque tam ipsus instrumenti principalis, quam
113405 transfixorum inibi mentionatorum, quibus in unoversum quinque apponsa sunt siggila, duo viridis coloris, duo mixti, et alterum rubric, quod ego infrasignatus manu propria attestor, hac quinta mensis januarij xvjc vigesimo secundo.

Infra habebatur

Ita testor

113410 signatum Jo. Oliverius in Richello et pastor immeritus, notarius aplicus per copiam

Inferius erat

Franciscus Sirout notarius per consilium Brabantiae admissus, praescriptam cop. iterato colla. testor ut praefertur cum originali concordare sigillis que
113415 munitam esse, eodem die, mense et anno."

Zie ook "Tractaat tussen het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden en het Koninkrijk België tot regeling der wateraftappingen uit de Maas", 's-Gravenhage, 12 mei 1863
113420 en Archeologisch onderzoek Plangebied Hanssum, Neer

Kartering en algemene resultaten

Deelgebied West is in het voorjaar van 2010 belopen waarbij de zichtbaarheid goed tot zeer goed was. Alleen op het perceel met wintertarwe was de zichtbaarheid dusdanig
113425 matig, dat er niet met succes gekarteerd kon worden. Het perceel grasland waarin de overloopgeul ligt is niet gekarteerd wegens de slechte zichtbaarheid, maar vooral omdat het bij de aanleg van deze geul volledig vergraven is. Het hoger gelegen akkerperceel van Deelgebied Zuid is in het najaar van 2010 belopen. De
113430 vondstzichtbaarheid was goed. In totaal zijn 2.143 objecten geraapt, waarvan 40 bij nadere bestudering natuurlijk - niet antropogeen beïnvloed - bleken te zijn. Van de 2.103 objecten die als archeologische artefacten kunnen worden aangeduid zijn slechts 83 exemplaren aangetroffen in Deelgebied Zuid, veruit het grootste deel is derhalve afkomstig van Deelgebied West (zie Afb. 11). De artefacten zijn in Deelgebied West
113435 meer of minder gelijkmatig verspreid over het terrein aangetroffen. In Deelgebied Zuid alleen op het hogere deel van de onderzochte graanakker artefacten aangetroffen. In Deelgebied West loopt in de noordwestelijke deel een grindbaan vrijwel noord - zuid vanaf de noordwest hoek van het plangebied. De gedachte dat dit mogelijk een Romeinse weg zou zijn is al vrij snel ter zijde geschoven. Trekt men de lijn van het zichtbare tracé door vanaf het kruispunt van de Hagendoorn met het Eiland en het Zwaarveld (dit globaal het punt waar deze grindbaan voor het eerst zichtbaar is)
113440 door, dan komt men uit bij de Wijncardenhof. Op de eerste kadastrale minuutplan en op de topografische kaarten (Afbeeldingen 6 en 7) is een landweg waarneembaar die precies dit tracé volgt.

26 mei 1830 SWALMEN - Rapport van het Negende Maascollege inzake waterschade
113445 veroorzaakt door de Maas gedurende de winter 1829-1830.

'Bij eene naauwkeurige bezigtiging langs den geheelen Maasoever in ons distrikt te hebben gedaan, heeft men bevonden als volgt:

[volgen eerst de gemeenten Linne, Herten, Roermond en Maasniel...]

Gemeente Swalmen

113450 Een grooten inbreuk aan een perceel grasgewas, genaamd de Lingen, toebehoorende aan den hoogwelgeboren Heer Marquis van Hoensbroek. Een grooten inbreuk in een perceel grasgewas, genaamd den Tool lang circa 600 ellen, toebehoorende aan 24 particuliere eigenaars, waar van in den afgelopen winter meer dan een bunder is afgebroken en waar de Maas dreigt van achteren in te vallen en gevolglijk alle de in 1816 door het
113455 gouvernement gemaakte waterkeerende werken zal thenemaal vernielen waardoor eenige huizen van het gehucht Asselt in de stroom der Maas zullen gelegd worden en zonder bijstand van lands of provincie wegen niet kan ondernomen worden.

Eindelijk zeer grooten inbreuk onder het gehucht Asselt beginnende tegen over het huis van Lenard Theelen tot tegen over het veer lang circa 1400 ellen toebehoorende
113460 aan 48 particuliere eigenaars waarvan eene menigte niet in staat zijn waterkeerende werken te kunnen aanleggen en alwaar meer dan twee en een half bunder is weggespoeld worden.

Het voornoemd Kollegie zich buiten staat achtende om de hier boven vermelde beschadiging en de kosten der te doene herstellingen en aan te leggen werken te
113465 begrooten en dierhalve verlangen dat eene ambtenaar van den waterstaat mogte worden afgezonden, als hier toe beter geschikt om de waters op de lijdende plaatsen te pijlen en naar mate de diepte, de kosten te kunnen berekenen en naar dien den

voorstel of beraming der middelen te kunnen regelen.'

113470 1 januari 1897 NEER OF "NÈRE."

De winterzon doorboort met matte stralen de morgennevelen. Ieder straaltje kaatst terug in de millioenen druppelen van de berijpte grasspieren der weide.

De boomen betalen hun jaarlijkschen tol aan den wintervorst en van de takken daalt onophoudelijk een regen van verdorde eikenbladeren neer, die met een eigenaardig geritsel op den harden grond vallen.

113475 Na verloop van eenige dagen is het landschap even kaal als 't veld, waarin thans het groen nog slechts weinig afwisseling brengt. Over het water trekt een wit-grijzige nevel, en de vochtige, vinnige koude kleurt neus en ooren bont en blauw.

113480 Het eentonige van het landschap vóór Buggenum verdwijnt, als men het dorp nadert, waarvan de lange rei huizen ons in den wintermorgen als verlaten schijnt. Boven eiken schoorsteen zweeft een blauw, rechtopstijgend rookwolkje, dat bewijst, hoe men daarbinnen de koude wel weet te weren.

113485 Achter Buggenum breidt zich het vergezicht uit. Wij staan op een hooge vlakte, met vele wegen doorsneden, waarvan de meesten naar Neer leiden.

Links zien wij Haelen en Nunhem met hunne kerkjes hun kasteelen tegen de heuvelen leunende.

Groene dennenbosschen brekende rechte lijnen.

113490 Rechts zien wij ver weg het oude kerkje van Asselt, met de huizen van 't dorpje, dat eens zoo welvarend was, toen de scheepvaart op de Maas nog bloeide en Hanssum onder Neer, een groot en bekend veer was.

Voor ons ligt Neer, met de kerk op eene hoogte, die eenvoudige doch evenredige vormen te zien geeft.

113495 De huizen van Neer ligen in de inzinking ontstaan door door het riviértje, waaraan het zijn naam ontleent.

Van welken kant men het dorp ook beziet, overal is het omringd door een hooge vlakte. Ook van de Noordzijde heeft men een fraai vergezicht van het hooger gelegen land op Neer.

113500 Wendt men zich naar de Maas, die aan de zijde van Hanssum en Neer, langs een hoog schoor of steilen oever loopt, dan ziet men het dorp Beesel liggen, dat zijne huizen weerspiegelt in het blauwend vlak der Maas.

113505 Achter tusschen de bosschen door, waar de torens van Swalmen en Reuver hunne stippen verheffen, ontwaart men de witte rookpluim der locomotief en kan men hem in zijn loop over de lijn volgen. Let men goed op, dan zal de stille winterlucht u het gegil der stoomfluit overbrengen, lang nadat men de rookpluim weer heeft zien bewegen.

De zon breekt nu krachtiger door de nevelen heen, waartusschen zij zoolang als een melkwitte schijf een twijfelachtig licht trachtte te zenden.

Al verdrijft zij de koude niet, er komt toch meer bezieling en leven om ons.

113510 Neer ligt vlak voor ons en de watermolens op het riviértje ratelen en klapperen, dat het een lust is.

Zoo'n watermolen heeft iets aantrekkelijks, 't is een aardig stoffeering in het landschap.

113515 De watermolen leverde vroeger aan zijne bezitters heel wat op. De heer des dorps, hier het klooster Keizersbosch, had het monopolie van malen op de riviértjes. Daarom bracht dit voorrecht geld in de kist, terwijl de molenaars voor zich zelf zorgden en niet lui waren met scheppen in de meelzakken. Sommige molenaars hadden echter wijde mouwen, zoo verhaalt de sage, en schepten met hand en mouw tegelijk. Of dit verhaal, dat men in Limburg zoo vaak hoort opdisschen, waar is, zullen wij "God en den mulder laten scheiden."

113520 Het dorp Neer is zeer oud. Het kan zijn naam ontleenen aan zijne ligging. Wij herinneren er hier echter aan, dat in het bochtige diepe riviértje vele draaikolken voorkomen, (in 't Limburgsch neer) en het riviértje ook dien naam draagt. Het vormde in 870 de grens tusschen de boven en beneden Maasgouw.

113525 In de Salische wetten wordt een plaats Nara of Nare vermeld, welke Wendelinus het tegenwoordige Neer noemt. De bekende muntkundige Stiels, pastoor te Neer, (1) verhaalt dan ook in zijn te Neer gouden en zilveren munten uit den tijd der Merovingers werden gevonden en daaronder enkelen te Wijk-bij-Duurstede of te Wijk bij Maastricht en Utrecht waren geslagen. Eene bijzonderheid die bovengemeld vermoeden bevestigd.

113530 De Heer Stiels schreef verder over het dorp, volgende bijzonderheden neer, die wij hier doen volgen:

Alhoewel de heeren van Horne, die in den jare 1450 geworden zijn rijksgraven, hunne bijzondere woonplaats hadden op het slot omtrent Weert en het kasteel van Horne, aan

de Maas, gehouden werd als het opperhoofd van dit landschap, zoo heeft nochtans
113535 altoos Neer uitgeblonken boven andere plaatsen. Zoo door zijne oudheid als door het
getal zijner inwoners, zijne privilegiën en voorrechten, alsook door de
treffelijkheid van zijne kerk, (gewijd aan Sint Marten) in welke als immemoriali niet
113540 alleen een pastoor is gesteld gesteld geweest, maar ook een pastoraat met 4 à 5
benificiën. Mits het onmogelijk is de fundatiën dezer benificiën te ontdekken, en het
zeker is dat anno 1203 de pastoor reeds genoemd werd, persona in Neer, gelijk te zien
is in Miraeus, en bij meer andere, alwaar gezegd wordt dat Imaina gravin van Loon en
abdisse van Munsterbilsen, weduwe van den Hertog Godfried III van Brabant opdraagt
het personaat van Neer aan den Heer Prelaet der Abdij van Averbode enz., zoo kan men
113545 besluiten, dat anno 1000 of 1100 dit pastoraat reeds moet opgericht zijn, en dat
vervolgens deze gemeente alsdan reeds zeer volkrijk moet geweest zijn; ja, wat meer
was, is, Neer was te dien tijde een stad met wallen en poorten, genietende alle
voorrechten, welke steeds burgeren gewoon zijn te hebben. Alhoewel de schrijver hier
niets van meldt, en bij verloop van tijden door oorlogen en andere ongelukkige
omstandigheden, van deze stad geen de minste overblijfselen meer te zien zijn, zoo
113550 heeft men nochtans proeven genoeg, om dit zeer geloofbaar te maken, aan allen, die de
gelegenheid der plaats kennende, daarenboven zullen bemerken, de volgende
proefstukken:
Neer is dan eerst een personaat, en dat reeds lang voor 1200; in onze kerk waren
gefundeerd 5 benificiën, met zulke goede revenuen, dat de benificanten daarvan,
113555 resideerende te Neer, op Zon- en hooge feestdagen het koor frequenteerden gelijk in
kapittel-kerken, met zingen van vespers, metten enz.
Daarenboven, in Neer zijn drie treffelijke broederschappen of schutterijen, welker
oudheid en opkomst het onmogelijk is te bepalen; immers, is het zeker dat deze door
de vorsten van Horn en ook door de navolgende graven zijn verrijkt geworden met
113560 treffelijke privilegiën, met verscheidene landerijen en inkomsten, om op zekere
gestelde dagen, est in festo sancti Sebastiani en andere, op eene eerlijke wijze zich
te komen recreëren, en ook om in tijden van oorlog voor hunne graven te velde
trekken en bij tijden van onvoorziene gelooopen hunne medeburgers te bewaren van
geweld en strooperijen.
113565 Eertijds zijn nog meer broederschappen geweest, als dat van den H. Antonius, van O.
L. Vr., welker inkomsten, na het ophouden dezer congregatie, om wat oorzaak is
onbekend, gekomen zijn aan de armentafel dezer gemeente.
Ook hebben de ambachten der smeden, wevers en schoenmakers hunne broederschappen en
patronen, op welker feestdagen zij bijeenkomen en voor hun eene hoogmis gezongen
113570 wordt.
Ten derde hebben de inwoners, welker huizen binnen de vulders of stadsgrachten staan,
een bijzondere privilegie, dat op den dag hunner begrafenissen, gelijk het in steden
geschiedt, het lijk met kruis en priester aan het sterfhuys moet afgehaald worden.
Maar hetgeen op het klaarste aanwijst, dat Neer hiervoor eene stad was, zijn de
113575 overgebleven stadsgraven, welke in het begin dezer eeuw nog niet geslecht zijnde,
allengskens afgeworpen zijn tot akkerland, doch met zulk voorrecht, dat op die graven
de tiende altoos zal toekomen aan den pastoor, als zijnde novale decimateur, welk
recht hij ook altoos, zonder eenige contestatie genoten heeft. Deze graven (grachten)
beginnen aan de Bergerstraat, loopende op de Zuiderhak vandaar achter de Groote op
113580 den Baent en van den Baent op het huis van schepen Peter Windelmolen, en zoo door het
Pasveld tot op den Keizer, zijnde op sommige plaatsen maar 16 voeten breed, maar op
andere plaatsen veel breeder. Uit oude papieren kan men nog halen de namen der
poorten, als Bergespoort, Veerpoort, enz.
Bij verloop van tijd heeft Neer veel verspeeld; of zulks geschied is door de opkomst
113585 van andere dorpen, als Roggel, Heijthuijzen, enz., welke nog onbekend waren, of wel
door verwoestingen van oorlog of door brand, welke ons dorp verscheiden malen
vernield heeft, is onzeker; immers, dit land heeft ten tijde der beeldstorming, als
grenzende aan de stad Roermond, ook veel geleden, doch nooit meer als in het leven
van den pastoor-deken Leo van der Meer, tusschen de jaren 1630-1650, want na het
113590 plunderen van de stad Thienen, anno 1635 zijn de Hollandsche en andere troepen hier
in het graafschap neergeslagen, alles verbrandende en verwoestende. Daarop is de pest
gevolgd, welke niet alleen een oneindig getal van krijgsvolk, maar ook van 's lands
inwoners weggenomen heeft, zoodat de huizen ledig en de landen onbebouwd hebben
moeten blijven. Maar nooit is onze gemeente droeviger ongeluk overkomen, als in den
113595 jare 1645, wanneer de Hessische troepen, na vele dagen overal den baas gespeeld te
hebben, ten laatste op den 11 Augustus het dorp op 4 hoeken hebben in brand gesteld,
waarschijnlijk omdat men de geëischte brandschatting niet heeft kunnen opbrengen.
Hierdoor is niet alleen het geheele dorp, weinige uitgenomen, maar ook het pastoreele
huis met alle papieren documenten, registers, zoo van kerk als armen, zoo van

- 113600 pastoreele redenen als gemeentezaken in de asch gelegd. De pastoor Leo van der Meer is als toen door de Hessen gevankelijk medegeleid en 8 weken tot Nuijs in hechtenis gehouden.
- 113605 Tot zoover de pastoor Stiels. Zeer opmerkelijk zijn zijne bewijzen, waardoor Neer tot stad verheven werd. Zeer zeker ligt er het bewijs in, dat Neer vroegtijdig een aanzienlijk dorp is geweest. Onzes inziens heeft men het ter beveiliging tegen vijandelijke aanvallen met grachten omringd, wijs men, zoo gemakkelijk aan water kon komen, terwijl men verder eene schans aanlegde, welke overblijfselen nog bestaan. Van eene eigenlijke verheffing tot stad is niets bekend, 't Zou ook mogelijk kunnen
- 113610 zijn, dat Neer in den Gelderschen oorlog in 't begin van 1500 in staat van tegenweer gebracht is. In 1504 toch toen Echt geheel verwoest werd, lag Jacob III van Horne met zijn krijgsvolk in Neer. Die van Roermond overvielen hem daar, namen hem gevangen met "anderen luyden van des Prijschen volcke, die due tertijt die nachtewaecke qualicke hilden" en voerden hem "myt grotter blijtschappe tot Ruremonde in gevange."
- 113615 De schutterijen bestaan nog en zijn in het bezit van fraai zilver, dat op de "port" of het gildehuis bewaard wordt. Een schutterij is nog in het bezit van fraaie steenen drinkkannen. Het dorp Neer is welvarend, alhoewel de tijdsomstandigheden het niet verbeterd hebben.
- 113620 Wanneer men echter tot het verledene terugkeeren en een treffend beeld wilt zien van het nietige van het edelste en waardigste dezer wereld, wandele men den weg in de richting der heide en bezie de eentonige, smakelooze, doch groote en hechte gebouwen, die er overgebleven zijn van het wijd befaamde en eeuwen oude stift Keizersbosch. Vóór 700 jaar reeds eene bezitting der Abdij Averbode bij Sichem, werd hier een klooster gesticht voor vrouwen, na de milde schenkingen van Graaf Engelbert van Horne
- 113625 in 1200. In 1226 werd hier eene kerk gesticht, in 1232 was er een proost, in 1350 was een telg van het machtige geslacht van Horne priorin. In het kerkgebouw, in 1472 vernieuwd, werden de hooge Hornes ter aarde besteld en gedurende ruim vijf eeuwen was Keizersbosch het vereenigingspunt van de vromen en
- 113630 machtigen. In 1786 werd het stift opgetrokken; men vond nog de grondslagen der oude hoeven. Een gedeelte dezer gebouwen bestaat nog. Gedurende de Fransche Republiek vluchtten de nonnen van dit klooster naar de Meijerij en vestigden zich te Deurne, in het verlaten huis van den Predikant. Daarheen voerden zij ook een gedeelte harer meubelen en archieven. Een Cartularium der abdij, in 1885
- 113635 aldaar teruggevonden is door den archivaris in Limburg ten voordeele van zijn depot aangekocht. Een oud gezangboek, waarin de voorschriften, te volgen bij de opname van een religieuze en bij den choordienst, werd door mij te Neer gevonden en ook aan het Rijksarchief te Maastricht geschonken.
- 113640 Keizersbosch met al zijne bezittingen werd den 28 Messidor jaar 6, 16 Juli 1793, (affiche 57) met al zijne op- en dependentiën door de fransche Republikeinen verkocht en aangekocht door Arnold Jan Baptista De Raedt van Roermond voor de som van 145,000 livres, natuurlijk grootendeels in assignaten uit te betalen, die bijna waardeloos waren.
- 113645 De Raedt deed al heel spoedig de kerk afbreken, evenals een gedeelte der 82 jaar vroeger vernieuwde gebouwen. De familie De Raedt verkocht dit landgoed den 8 Augustus 1876, groot 7 hectaren en 84 aren, met stallen, schuren en remisen, bouw- en weiland aan den tegenwoordiger bezitter Alexander Steegh, gehuwd met Margaretha Antoinetta van Hegelsom.
- 113650 Zooals boven vermeld is, bevonden zich in de kerk de grafsteden der meeste graven van Horn. Voor een aantal jaren vond men bij het omgraven van het terrein achter het gebouw, de grafsteden terug. Maar men kon de beenderen der hooge heerschers niet onderscheiden van den minsten kloosterknecht. De huizing bestaat nu uit een tiental kamers met
- 113655 zaal, keukens, kelders, stalling, door zijne uitwendige vormen weinig aan de vroegere grootheid herinnerende. Bij Neer behoort behalve het huis Ghoor, eene versterkte hoeve van Aldenghoor, Kuikhoven, Brumholt, Gerheggen, Waay, Wijngaarden, het gehucht Hanssum, aan de Maas gelegen, waar het veerhuis ligt. Voor een paar honderd jaar is er heel wat ruzie ontstaan over dit veer. In 1700 liet
- 113660 de Bisschop van Luik er tol heffen, dit beviel de Generale Staten niet en zij beletten gewapenderhand de heffing. In 1718 begon het spelletje weer, nu lichtte men den Luikschen ontvanger op en wierp hem te Roermond in den kerker. De Bisschop liet zich niet ontmoedigen en de schippers betaalden er tot 1731, toen de koning van Pruisen den Keizer de opheffing verzocht.
- 113665 Opmerking verdient het, dat de Noordgrens van de gemeente Neer gevormd wordt door het

afwateringskanaal der Zuidwillemsvaart naar de Maas. Het verval van het kanaal in de Maas is groot. Daaraan mag het wel te wijten zijn, dat men de verbinding van Maas en Schelde hier niet tot stand gebracht heeft.

Voor aleer wij deze schets van Neer willen besluiten, moeten wij nog wijzen op het eigenaardige dialect, nog al afwijkende van dat der omringende streek. Men hoort daar verwisselingen van letters, die "kerk" bijna tot "krek", van "verkes" tot ongeveer "vrèkes" maken. Honderde jaren heeft men er aldus gesproken, want aan oude zeden en gewoonten houdt men trouw vast en Neer kenmerkt zich gelukkig, nog steeds door ouderwetsche goede trouw, die u uit alles tegenstraalt.

(1) Publ. etc. du Limb., Deel XIX, p. 465.

Zie <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/view?coll=ds&identificer=ds%3A1658002%3Ampg21%3A0096&sortfield=date&objectsearch=hanssum&query=klein+hanssum>

Bewoningsgeschiedenis

Ten behoeve van het opstellen van de archeologische verwachting wordt veelvuldig gebruik gemaakt van de relatie die bestaat tussen de situering van de archeologische vindplaatsen en het landschap, of zelfs specifieke landschapselementen. Deze relatie (locatiekeuzefactoren) verschilt per archeologische periode en per complextype. Omdat de locatiekeuze sterk gebonden is aan het landschap is Nederland in de Nationale Onderzoeksagenda Archeologie verdeeld in zogenaamde archeoregio's. Hierbij is het plangebied ingedeeld bij het Brabants zandgebied. Het ligt echter aan de uiterste periferie van deze regio, op de grens met de Limburgse zandgronden. Kennis van de bewoningsgeschiedenis van zowel het Brabants zandgebied als het Limburgs zandgebied is derhalve onontbeerlijk om een goed verwachtingsmodel op te stellen en de locatiekeuzefactoren per periode te bepalen.

Het landschap van de Maasterrassen bestaat uit resten van pleistocene en holocene rivierbeddingen die ingesneden zijn in de pleistocene rivierterrassen. Sommige van de oude rivierbeddingen werden ontwaterd door beken die hun oorsprong hebben in de westelijk gelegen dekzandlandschappen, waardoor ze als beekdalen gingen functioneren (bijvoorbeeld de Neerbeek).

Deze afwisseling van verschillende landschapsvormen op korte afstand van elkaar vormde in het Paleolithicum en het Mesolithicum een attractief gebied voor jagers en verzamelaars. De grenszones tussen hoog en laag, nat en droog, boden de meeste kansen op een gevarieerd en betrouwbaar voedselaanbod. Tijdens de 200.000 jaar voorafgaande aan het Neolithicum, werden de bewoningsmogelijkheden bepaald door klimatologische omstandigheden. Tijdens de koudere perioden was deze beperkter dan tijdens de warmere. Na de laatste ijstijd, circa 11.000 jaar geleden, begint een warme periode die leidt tot een steeds rijker en gevarieerder voedselaanbod. Gebieden zoals de Maasterrassen boden door hun afwisseling voldoende mogelijkheden voor permanente bewoning. Vindplaatsen uit het Mesolithicum worden met name teruggevonden op ruggen en terrasranden met een goed drainerende ondergrond van dekzanden in de nabijheid van een waterbron (ven, rivier of afgesneden meander). De iets hogere delen rondom beken, vennen en plassen waren daarom waarschijnlijk de landschappelijk meest gunstige bewoningsplaatsen. Bij de locatiekeuze nabij open water lijkt er een voorkeur te zijn geweest voor de (zuid)oostelijke flank van dekzandruggen waarschijnlijk in verband met de overheersende (noord)westelijke winden. Waarschijnlijk waren er ook in en nabij rivier- en beekdalen nederzettingen die later zijn geërodeerd of afgedekt met sedimenten.⁹

Met de introductie van landbouw op de stroomopwaarts gelegen lössgronden begon de circa 5300 v.C. het Neolithicum. Op de lichte kleigronden van de Maasterrassen begint de landbouw circa 1000 jaar later. De gevolgen voor het landschap waren ingrijpend, vooral door het rooien van bosgebieden om akkers aan te leggen, maar ook door andere activiteiten die tot doel hadden het landschap zo in te richten dat deze beter paste bij de nieuwe sedentaire manier van leven. Landbouw leidde bovendien tot een groei van de bevolking, waardoor de effecten van de overgang van jagen en verzamelen naar landbouw versterkt werden. De nieuwe sedentaire levenswijze stelde andere eisen aan de vestigingsplaatsen, die vaker op of nabij de hogere delen van het landschap en dan met name daar waar de bodem vruchtbaarder was, lagen. Het bemesten van landbouwgrond was echter nog niet bekend, zodat de opbrengst gering was en de akkers regelmatig moesten worden verplaatst om de vruchtbaarheid op peil te houden. Afhankelijk van de natuurlijke bodemvruchtbaarheid kon dit al na enkele jaren gebeuren. De meeste boerderijen kenden vermoedelijk een levensduur van enkele decennia vanwege de vergankelijkheid van het bouw materiaal. Dit bewoningssysteem wordt omschreven met het begrip zwervende ervensysteem. Tijdens de Bronstijd en de IJzertijd liep dit proces

van omvorming van een natuur- naar een cultuurlandschap door. De bewoning zal permanent, maar nog steeds niet plaatsvast zijn geweest.

113735 In de Romeinse Tijd werd de Maasvallei - voor het eerst - opgenomen in een groter geheel. Op beide oevers van de rivier kwam een weg te liggen, die de steden en grotere nederzettingen in de Maasvallei met elkaar, met de militaire forten aan de Limes en met andere delen van het Romeinse Rijk verbond. De militaire bezetting van

113740 de delta van Rijn en Maas aan het begin van onze jaartelling leidde al snel tot een romaniseringsproces bij de lokale bevolking, waarbij een breed scala aan nieuwe producten en technieken werd overgenomen. Een van de belangrijkste veranderingen was de opname in een geldeconomie. De mogelijkheid om voor een ver(der) weg liggende markt te produceren leidde tot een verdere uitbreiding van het landbouwareaal, maar

113745 ook tot productie van grondstoffen en gebruiksgoederen op een schaal die de lokale behoefte ontsteeg. Tegenovergesteld aan deze productie voor afzet elders, was de aanvoer van goederen voor eigen gebruik. Het meest zichtbaar was dit proces wel in het nieuwe bouwen waarbij gebruik werd gemaakt van Romeinse bouwtechnieken en -materialen. In de lössgebieden maar ook langs de Maas verrezen villa's -

113750 landbouwbedrijven - die op zijn minst met een dakdekking uitgevoerd in grofkeramiek waren uitgevoerd. Maar vaak ook andere, luxe, voorzieningen hadden, zoals vloerverwarming en baden. Daarnaast werden ook in de nederzettingen op de gewone boerderijen stenen daken aangetroffen (Helden Schrames).

113755 Uitgaande van het beeld dat Slofstra in 1991 schetste van het nederzettingssysteem in Zuid-Nederland wordt er een scherp contrast geschetst tussen de nederzettingen- en agrarische systemen in de Late IJzertijd en de Romeinse tijd. In de eerste periode is sprake van celtic fields en 'zwervende boerderijen'. De veranderingen zouden volgens Slofstra samenhangen met een agrarische intensivering, die mede veroorzaakt werd door de Romeinse belastingheffing. De 'verwantschappelijke' productiewijze veranderde in

113760 een 'tributaire' productiewijze. De nederzettingshiërarchie heeft small rural settlements aan de basis en kent verder enclosed rural settlements, rurale centra ofwel vici en de proto-urbane centra die in de loop van de Romeinse tijd tot echte steden uitgroeiden. Binnen de groep van de enclosed rural settlements zijn al in de preFlavische periode indicaties te vinden voor eliteresidenties, die in sommige

113765 gevallen uitgroeiden tot echte villa's maar elders vaak niet 'verder' komen dan wat Slofstra als proto-villa's betitelt. Het nederzettingssysteem weerspiegelt als het ware het hiërarchische patronagesysteem. Dit systeem bestond al in de late prehistorie en wordt in de Romeinse tijd van extra treden voorzien, namelijk die van de (Gallo)Romeinse elite en de keizerlijke familie. De bewoners van de

113770 eliteresidenties in Zuid-Nederland vormen de intermediairs met de hoogste niveaus, doordat zij ook als decuriones van de civitates fungeren. De afhankelijke bevolking woont in de huizen en kleine nederzettingen rond de residenties van elites.

113775 De ondergang van het Romeinse Rijk, een proces dat al in de 3de eeuw begint en doorloopt tot in de 5de eeuw, leidde tot een neergang die zich onder andere vertaalde in een krimp van de bevolking en daarmee van het landbouwareaal. Dit proces lijkt in de Maasvallei minder ingrijpend te zijn verlopen dan elders. Het voortbestaan van plaatsnamen uit de Romeinse Tijd (Heel, Blerick, Melick, mogelijk ook Kessel) wijzen op een continuïteit in bewoning. Wel veranderde de bevolkingssamenstelling. Franken, al dan niet als huurlingen die de grens moesten verdedigen, vestigen zich binnen het Rijk, onder andere binnen de verlaten villa-complexen. Het afbrokkelen van het Romeinse gezag leidt tot de opkomst van lokale heersers, veelal afkomstig uit de Frankische elite, wier macht gebaseerd was op eigen grondbezit. Deze politieke autonomie viel samen met een economische autarkie, waarin de handel vrijwel tot

113785 stilstand kwam en er alleen nog voor eigen gebruik werd geproduceerd. Onder de Merovingers (6de-7de eeuw) begint een herstel, niet alleen van een centraal gezag, maar ook en vooral van de economie. Het landbouwareaal wordt weer uitgebreid en nieuwe nederzettingen gesticht. De Maasvallei ligt echter nog in de periferie van het nieuwe koninkrijk, waarvan het centrum rond Reims lag. De machtsbasis van de

113790 Karolingers (7de tot 10de eeuw), die de macht overnemen van de Merovingers, lag noordelijker, tussen Verdun en Herstal, waardoor de Maasvallei meer centraal kwam te liggen. Het Karolingische Rijk viel in de 9de en 10de eeuw uiteen in groot aantal kleinere eenheden. Lokale en regionale heersers verwierven een grote mate van zelfstandigheid.

113795 In de Vroege Middeleeuwen was macht gebaseerd op eigen grondbezit. Dit grondbezit werd geëxploiteerd door middel van het dominiale of hofstelsel, waarbij onvrijen - horigen - het land bewerkten. Het is een systeem gebaseerd op betaling in natura.

- Deels gaan deze domeinen mogelijk terug op oudere nederzettingen, deels zijn zij ontstaan als nieuwe ontginningen. Er vond een verschuiving plaats naar het verbouwen van meer graan, waarvoor het drieslagsysteem werd ontwikkeld. In dit systeem werden twee jaar waarin zomer- en wintertarwe verbouwd werd, afgewisseld met een jaar braak. Door het ontbreken van meststoffen om de vruchtbaarheid van de grond op peil te houden, was dit de enige manier om uitputting van de bodem te voorkomen. Het vereist echter wel extra grond. De toenemende nadruk op de teelt van graan heeft waarschijnlijk geleid tot het ontstaan van de open velden die veel van de dorpen op de Maasoever omringen. Het drieslagstelsel functioneert ook het best bij grote aangesloten complexen. Deels zijn deze velden ontstaan door het aaneengroeien van kleinere individuele kampen, waarschijnlijk al in de 9de of 10de eeuw. Maar niet uitgesloten mag worden dat op de zavelgronden van de Maasterrassen, die door hun bodemstructuur en natuurlijke vruchtbaarheid uitermate geschikt zijn voor akkerbouw, er een continuïteit is vanaf de Romeinse Tijd, toen deze gronden ook al intensief werden benut.
- Bewoning heeft in de Romeinse tijd plaatsgevonden in inheemse nederzettingen, die verschillende mate geromaniseerd waren en in nederzettingen die hun ontstaan ontleenden aan specifieke functies in politieke en/of economische zin. Daarnaast waren er de individuele villa's, zoals die van Maasbracht of Neer. In de Vroege Middeleeuwen verschuift de bewoning, na de aanvankelijke krimp, naar nederzettingen langs de beken, veelal in de vorm van dorpen, en, met name in het dekzandlandschap, naar individuele of collectieve ontginningen. In deze laatste gebieden zal nog langere tijd sprake zijn geweest van boerderijen die in de loop van de tijd verplaatst werden, terwijl deze in de dorpen al plaatsvast waren. In hoeverre binnen de open velden (zoals bijvoorbeeld tussen Neer en Buggenum) nog bewoning in deze periode voorkwam, is onbekend. Hoeves die te midden van hun landerijen lagen zijn in de vroege middeleeuwen nog gangbaar, maar gaande weg concentreert de bewoning zich toch in bewoningskernen, al komen solitaire hoeven ook heden nog voor, zoals bijvoorbeeld de Wijncardenhof laat zien. Deze bestaat deels uit bebouwing die al aanwezig is voor 1800 en deels uit bebouwing die na 1800 is verzezen als vervanging voor de hoeve De Beukel die iets noordelijker in het Zwaarveld lag en door hoogwater rond 1800 zou zijn verwoest. Veel van deze alleenstaande hoeven worden voor het eerst genoemd in de late middeleeuwen en waren veelal eigendom van de adel of van kloosterorden. Hun huidige vorm dateert uit de 17de eeuw en later. Maar uitgaande van de veronderstelling dat deze vruchtbare gronden zeer aantrekkelijk voor de landbouw zijn, mag worden aangenomen dat de concentratie van bewoning buiten de akkerarealen al redelijk vroeg in de middeleeuwen zal zijn begonnen. De neergang van het Romeinse Rijk, het verlaten van de villa's en de krimp van de bevolking, zal maar ten dele hebben geresulteerd in het opgeven van deze gronden. Andere, voor de landbouw minder geschikte gronden, zullen eerder zijn prijsgegeven aan de natuur. Dit lijkt ook te worden bevestigd door de ontginning van nieuwe akkerbouwgebieden in de Late Middeleeuwen en Nieuwe Tijd, die vooral plaatsvinden in de dekzandgebieden ten westen van het terrassenlandschap langs de Maas. Het hierboven geschetste bewoningspatroon ligt ten grondslag aan de huidige inrichting van het landschap, waarin tussen Buggenum en Neer nog steeds sprake is van een vrijwel onbebouwd landschap. De oudste vermeldingen van de nederzettingen stammen uit de 13de en 14de eeuw, maar de nederzettingen zelf lijken ouder te zijn. Buggenum wordt bijvoorbeeld voor het eerst vermeld in 1230 maar de kerk moet al uit het begin van de 11de eeuw stammen. Bovendien is Buggenum (1230: Bugnem) een heemnaam, die veelal uit de Vroege Middeleeuwen stammen.
- Op de terrassen zal akkerbouw dominant zijn geweest, terwijl in de lagere beekdalen en de actieve stroomgordel van de Maas graslanden zullen hebben gelegen. Vermoedelijk zijn op de Maasterrassen al vrij vroeg alle voor de akkerbouw bruikbare gronden in gebruik genomen. Latere uitbreidingen aan bouwland vond vooral plaats op de dekzanden ten westen van de Maasvallei. In grote lijnen ligt daarom vanaf de Late Middeleeuwen de inrichting van het landschap op de Maasterrassen vast. Dit is te zien op het kadastrale minuutplan van 1811-32. Alle percelen binnen Deelgebied West zijn dan in gebruik als bouwland. In Deelgebied Zuid is het hoger gelegen noordelijk deel ook als zodanig in gebruik, terwijl de lager gelegen delen als wei- en hooilanden worden benut.
- Het meest oostelijk deel wordt gevormd door een afgesneden geul van de Maas. Het verlandingsproces van deze arm is goed te volgen op de Topografische kaarten van 1894 en 1938. Op deze kaarten is ook te zien dat gedurende de eeuw die deze kaarten bestrijken het gebruik van het land niet veranderde, bouwland blijft bouwland (wit)

113865 en grasland blijft grasland (groen). Grotere ingrepen vinden pas plaats in de laatste
 113870 kwart van de 20ste eeuw, als in 1967 de Maas wordt rechtgetrokken en er een
 herverkaveling plaatsvindt van het gebied tussen Neer en Buggenum in de jaren
 zeventig. In die jaren wordt ook een deel van het akkerbouw areaal omgezet in
 grasland. Tenslotte is in 1996 een kade en overloopkanaal aangelegd die Neer moeten
 beschermen bij hoogwater.

Verwachtingsmodel

Op basis van de in de bovenstaande stappen verworven informatie over de huidige
 situatie, de aardwetenschappelijke, de historische situatie en bekende archeologische
 113875 waarden kan een gespecificeerde verwachting worden opgesteld. Om tot een juiste keuze
 van de onderzoeksmethode van het inventariserend veldonderzoek te komen zijn, voor
 zover mogelijk, de volgende eigenschappen aangegeven:

- datering; minimaal in hoofdperioden (zoals Paleolithicum, Mesolithicum, et cetera);
- complextype (zoals nederzetting, grafveld, akkerlaag et cetera);
- 113880 • omvang;
- diepteligging (ook zichtbaar/niet-zichtbaar);
- locatie (met eventueel aanduiding in welk deelgebied);
- uiterlijke kenmerken (artefacten en type indicatoren);

113885 Voor alle perioden geldt dat, behalve de vormende processen door de Maas die het
 landschap haar huidige gestalte hebben gegeven, ook de mate waarin erosie als gevolg
 van het afspoelen van grond van de akkers bepalend kan zijn voor het verdwijnen van
 (delen van) het bodemarchief. In welke mate dergelijke erosie heeft plaatsgevonden
 binnen het plangebied is onduidelijk. Pas na het uitvoeren van het booronderzoek is
 113890 hierover meer duidelijkheid en kan deze vraag eventueel worden beantwoord. Voor het
 onderstaande verwachtingsmodel wordt dan ook geen rekening gehouden met de gevolgen
 van erosie als gevolg van afspoeling vanaf akkers.

Specifiek voor het lage deel van Deelgebied Zuid geldt dat bewoning hier
 waarschijnlijk nooit heeft plaatsgevonden. Ook andere activiteiten zullen maar
 beperkt zijn uitgevoerd in dit deel van het plangebied. Wel bestaat er een gerede
 113895 kans op bijzondere datasets uit alle perioden, bijvoorbeeld rituele deposities,
 afvaldumps of aan visserij of scheepvaart gerelateerde zaken. De verwachting voor dit
 gebied is dan ook wat betreft bewoning laag, maar voor bijzondere datasets hoog. Deze
 betreffen veelal echter puntlocaties, die zich met de huidige inventariserende en
 113900 karterende onderzoeksmethoden nauwelijks laten opsporen.

Laat Paleolithicum-Mesolithicum: Gezien de geomorfologie van het plangebied, bestaat
 een kans dat zich in het plangebied mogelijk archeologische waarden kunnen bevinden
 uit de vroege Prehistorie (met name Mesolithicum). Deze waarden zouden kunnen bestaan
 113905 uit kleine nederzettingsterreinen, zogenaamde extractiekampen met een kleine omvang
 (circa 5 tot 10 m²) en basiskampen met een ruimere omvang. Vindplaatsen uit deze
 periode kenmerken zich door een strooiing van vuursteen. Tevens bestaat de
 mogelijkheid dat grondsporen (haardplaatsen) kunnen worden aangetroffen. De waarde
 van vindplaatsen met vuursteen (artefacten) wordt grotendeels bepaald door de
 113910 intactheid ervan. Om zoveel mogelijk informatie uit de vuursteenvindplaats te krijgen
 is het daarom van belang dat de interne structuur van de vindplaats (de verticale en
 horizontale spreiding) zo weinig mogelijk verstoord is. De waarde van de
 vuursteenvindplaats wordt derhalve grotendeels bepaald door de mate van intactheid
 van het bodemprofiel. Slechts geringe bodembewerking kan al hebben geleid tot een
 113915 verstoring van de vindplaats. Van belang is daarom de mate van verstoring van het
 bodemprofiel in beeld te brengen. Indien vindplaatsen aan, dan wel dicht aan het
 oppervlak voorkomen en het gebied is in gebruik als akkerland, zullen deze
 waarschijnlijk sterk verstoord zijn.

Vindplaatsen uit het Paleolithicum kunnen vooral verwacht worden op de terrassen uit
 het Allerød en Late Dryas (zie afbeelding 2). De huidige overstromingsvlakte van de
 113920 Maas is gevormd in de laatste fase van het paleolithicum en later, zodat de kans
 groot is dat eventuele resten verspoeld zullen zijn. Gezien de leeftijd van de
 terrassen zijn hoe dan ook binnen het plangebied alleen resten uit het late
 paleolithicum te verwachten. Vindplaatsen uit het mesolithicum kunnen binnen het
 113925 gehele plangebied voorkomen, met ook hier weer de aantekening dat de kans gering is
 dat binnen de huidige holocene overstromingsvlakte geen verspoeling heeft
 plaatsgevonden. De kans dat eventuele vindplaatsen niet verstoord zullen zijn is
 echter gering, daar binnen het plangebied vooral erosieve processen hebben
 plaatsgevonden. Er is geen dekzand afgezet (daarvoor zijn de terrassen te jong), en
 113930 evenmin heeft er sedimentatie door de rivier plaatsgevonden. Eventuele vindplaatsen

hebben daardoor altijd direct aan het oppervlak gelegen waardoor ze zeer kwetsbaar voor versterking zijn geweest. Daar het plangebied in een zone ligt die voor de landbouw zeer geschikt is, en dan ook sedert lange tijd meer of minder continu als zodanig zullen zijn gebruikt, is de kans zeer gering dat zich binnen het plangebied nog intacte vindplaatsen bevinden.

Gezien de landschappelijke ligging van het plangebied, aan de randen van de terrassen en nabij de rivier, wordt de kans op het aantreffen van vindplaatsen uit het late paleolithicum en het mesolithicum als middelhoog tot hoog ingeschat. De kans op het aantreffen van intacte vindplaatsen wordt echter als laag ingeschat.

In tabel 6 zijn de aangetroffen artefacten geordend naar materiaalcategorie en tijd. Bij deze laatste is de globale datering van het Archeologische Basisregister (ABR) gevolgd. Deze dateringen zijn soms zeer ruim, want gebaseerd op het gegeven dat bepaalde materialen geen periode specifieke vorm of toepassing hebben en dus over

langere tijd kunnen zijn gebruikt. Een mooi voorbeeld in deze is verbrand leem, ook wel bekend onder de - onjuiste - benaming huttenleem. Als bouw materiaal is leem vanaf het Neolithicum tot in het subrecent verleden gebruikt. Brokken verbrand leem kunnen derhalve uit deze gehele tijdsspanne stammen. De context waarin het wordt

aangetroffen is dan ook de enige mogelijkheid om het te kunnen dateren. Voor vuursteen geldt in grote lijnen hetzelfde, echter met dit verschil dat het als gereedschap is gebruikt waardoor er een groot aantal periode specifieke vormen zijn, maar ook veel afval, resultaat van de productie van het gereedschap, dat zich nauwelijks laat dateren. Daarnaast is vuursteen tot in de subrecente tijd gebruikt

(bijvoorbeeld als vuurslag) waarbij ook afval - door gebruik - is ontstaan. De datering in het ABR is daarom Paleolithicum (PALEO) tot heden (NTC), al zal de bulk van het gebruik in het Paleolithicum tot het Neolithicum liggen. Met dit in het achterhoofd dient de datering van het aangetroffen materiaal te worden beschouwd. De gevonden artefacten vallen globaal uiteen in drie perioden en/of drie

materiaalcategorieën, die deels samenvallen. Het materiaal dat buiten deze clusters valt, bestaat veelal uit objecten die zo weinig specifiek zijn dat een nadere determinatie niet mogelijk is. Het grootste deel stamt naar alle waarschijnlijkheid uit de Nieuwe Tijd. IJzer vormt met 54 objecten veruit de grootste groep binnen deze categorie. Veel van de stukken bestaan uit roestklompen met een amorf vorm, waarvan zeker een deel als granaatscherven kunnen worden geclassificeerd. Daarnaast komen

gesmede spijkers voor, die vanaf de Romeinse Tijd zijn gebruikt. De overige materialen buiten de drie hoofdclusters zijn steeds met een of twee fragmenten vertegenwoordigd en omvatten, bot, brons (sterk afgesleten munt), koper, huttenleem en houtskool. De boven aangeduide drietal clusters omvatten vuursteen dat vooral uit de Prehistorie stamt, aardewerk en grofkeramiek uit de Romeinse Tijd en glas,

aardewerk en grofkeramiek uit de Late Middeleeuwen en/of Nieuwe Tijd.

Vuursteen

In totaal vallen 455 fragmenten vuursteen en 6 fragmenten overige steensoorten binnen deze cluster. Daarnaast zijn er nog 2 fragmenten handgevormd aardewerk aangetroffen, maar deze kunnen helaas niet nader gedetermineerd worden. Het vuursteen is door Huub Schmitz van de Heemkundevereniging Roerstreek gedetermineerd.

Veruit het grootste deel van het vuursteen - 335 fragmenten, zie tabel 7 - bestaat uit afval en brokken die nauwelijks nader te determineren zijn. Dit materiaal is daarom alleen zeer ruim te dateren als Paleolithisch tot recent. Het overige

materiaal - 119 ex. - bestaat uit (delen van) gereedschappen en materiaal ontstaan bij het maken of bewerken van gereedschappen. Ook dit materiaal laat zich, op enkele objecten na, niet strakker dateren dan Paleolithisch tot IJzertijd. Slechts vijf objecten kunnen worden gedateerd als mesolithisch tot laat-neolithisch (transversaal spits), midden-neolithisch (fragment spitskling) of laat-neolithisch tot Bronstijd

(geretoucheerde bijlafslag Lousberg vuursteen; geslepen bijlafslagen van Valkenburg, Belgisch-grijs en Rijckholtse vuursteen). Van 162 objecten kon worden vastgesteld van welke type vuursteen ze gemaakt waren. Bepaalde typen vuursteen zijn vooral of uitsluitend in bepaalde periodes van de Prehistorie gebruikt zodat aan de hand daarvan soms een nadere datering mogelijk is. In tabel 8 zijn de objecten waarvan het

type vuursteen kon worden gedetermineerd opgenomen, evenals de globale datering van het gebruik. Vuursteen van Rijckholt en Maasschotter vormt meer dan twee-derde van het materiaal. Deze typen zijn gebruikt vanaf het paleolithicum tot in het neolithicum. Daarbij kan dan wel aangetekend worden dat het vuursteen uit Rijckholt vooral in het neolithicum op grote schaal is gebruikt. Van de overige typen vuursteen

is het grootste deel gebruikt tussen het (laat)-paleolithicum en neolithicum (32 fragmenten: Vetschau, Obourg en Belgisch grijs) en slechts een klein deel uitsluitend

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

in het mesolithicum en/of neolithicum (15 fragmenten: Wommersom kwartsiet, Lousberg, Simpelveld en Valkenburg). Op basis van het type vuursteen is dus ook nauwelijks een differentiatie in de tijd aan te brengen.

114000 Het vuursteen is, op vijf fragmenten na, vrijwel uitsluitend in het Deelgebied West aangetroffen. Er zijn geen duidelijke concentraties zichtbaar binnen het plangebied (zie Afbeelding 12). Wanneer gekeken wordt naar de verspreiding van de vuurstenen artefacten (tabel 7, zonder afslagen, brokken, kernen en afval), lijkt er in het noordelijk deel van Deelgebied West een wat sterkere concentratie van vondsten

114005 zichtbaar te zijn. Maar er tekenen zich geen duidelijke locaties af die zouden kunnen worden geïnterpreteerd als zones waarin bewoning en/of activiteiten hebben plaatsgevonden. Hoe dit materiaal dan wel geïnterpreteerd zou moeten worden is de vraag. Voor de hand ligt om dit te doen vanuit degradatie van sites als gevolg van latere activiteiten, waarbij vooral de landbouw een belangrijke rol zal hebben

114010 gespeeld. Overigens niet alleen door bodembewerking zelf, maar ook door verplaatsing van materiaal door bodemerosie als gevolg van denudatie. Hier tegen pleit dat er geen duidelijke aanwijzingen voor erosie zijn waargenomen in de boorprofielen. Evenmin is er een concentratie van materiaal te zien in het lager gelegen oostelijke deel van Deelgebied West, waar verspoeld materiaal, samen met de bodem, zich juist

114015 had moeten concentreren in het geval dat erosieve processen materiaal zou hebben verplaatst. Een andere verklaring zou kunnen zijn dat maar zeer klein deel van het materiaal aanwezig binnen Deelgebied West is verzameld. Alleen dat gene wat zichtbaar was is meegenomen. Maar het terrein is maar een keer belopen, als dit vaker was

114020 gebeurd zou ongetwijfeld meer materiaal zijn verzameld, zeker als tussen de verschillende verzamelmomenten het terrein opnieuw bewerkt was (en uitgeregend). Een grotere hoeveelheid materiaal had mogelijk wel concentraties kunnen laten zien, maar zeker is dit geenszins. Tenslotte moeten we misschien accepteren dat het gevonden materiaal een weerslag is van enkele duizenden jaren aan vooral kortdurende

114025 activiteiten op een locatie die kennelijk aantrekkelijk genoeg was om regelmatig naar toe terug te keren.

Late Prehistorie en Romeinse Tijd: een hoge trefkans op grond van de bodem en de geomorfologie van het plangebied. Het gebied zal in de Late Prehistorie en in de Romeinse Tijd tot de meest aantrekkelijke voor bewoning hebben behoord. Derhalve

114030 kunnen binnen het gehele plangebied, met uitzondering van het laag gelegen deel van Deelgebied Zuid, sporen van bewoning en activiteiten worden aangetroffen. Het zal hier gaan om nederzettingen in diverse vormen, waarbij voor de midden en laat Romeinse tijd ook gedacht moet worden aan steenbouw, graven en grafvelden, sporen van ambachtelijke activiteiten en sporen gerelateerd aan landinrichting en communicatie.

114035 Ook hier geldt dat deze activiteiten op en in het huidige maaiveld zullen hebben plaatsgevonden en derhalve als gevolg van latere activiteiten verstoord zullen zijn. Echter, een aanzienlijk deel van deze sporen zullen dieper liggen c.q. reiken dan de bouwvoor en daarom nog aanwezig zijn. Te denken valt hier aan graven, (paal)kuilen, funderingen, waterputten, greppels e.d. Daarnaast zal naar verwachting van de

114040 materiële cultuur nog het nodige aanwezig zijn, zij het dat het deels verspreid zal zijn in de bouwvoor. Voor de terrassen (Deelgebied West en het hoge deel van Deelgebied Zuid) is de verwachting voor het aantreffen van vindplaatsen uit de late Prehistorie en Romeinse tijd dan ook hoog. De verwachting dat deze vindplaatsen nog intact zullen zijn wordt

114045 ook hoog ingeschat.

Romeins keramiek en grofkeramiek

Romeins keramiek (Lieke van Diepen)

Tijdens de veldkartering te Neer zijn 55 scherven Romeins aardewerk geborgen. Het best vertegenwoordigd zijn de kruiken/amforen en het ruwwandige aardewerk, respectievelijk met 13 en 16 fragmenten. Dit is niet vreemd, deze categorieën nemen binnen het Romeinse aardewerkspectrum veelal de grootste plaats in. Tabel 9 geeft een overzicht van de aangetroffen aardewerkcategorieën.

Aan het uiterlijk van de scherven was duidelijk te zien dat het om materiaal gaat dat aan de oppervlakte heeft gelegen. De fragmenten zijn relatief klein, verweerd, sterk afgerond en enkele exemplaren tonen vlekken. Bij de terra sigillata en de geverfde waar ontbreekt de deklaag meestal volledig. Dat het om oppervlaktevondsten gaat, is ook af te lezen aan het gemiddelde gewicht per scherf dat slechts 8,9 gram bedraagt. Het vondstmateriaal is overwegend tweede eeuws, voornamelijk de periode 120-200 n.

114060 Chr. is sterk vertegenwoordigd. Alleen de kookpot Niederbieber 89 is een derde eeuwse vondst. Zuiver eerste eeuws materiaal ontbreekt. Vermeldenswaardig is dat de terra sigillata uitsluitend bestaat uit Oost-Gallisch materiaal. Onder het gladwandige

materiaal en de kruiken/amforen bevinden zich vermoedelijk enkele Heerlense producten.

Grofkeramiek is de juiste term voor bouw materiaal gemaakt van klei. Deze term onderscheidt het van het fijnkeramisch materiaal - aardewerk - dat niet alleen van dezelfde grondstof, maar ook volgens hetzelfde procedé wordt gemaakt.

Binnen het plangebied zijn in totaal 689 fragmenten grofkeramiek geraapt. Daarvan zijn 131 fragmenten toe te schrijven aan de Late Middeleeuwen of Nieuwe Tijd en 59 fragmenten niet nader te determineren als Romeins tot Nieuwe Tijd. Het grootste deel stamt dus uit de Romeinse Tijd.

Van het materiaal dat ruim gedateerd is (ROMM-NTB) zal waarschijnlijk ook een aanzienlijk deel Romeins zijn. Het betreft fragmenten zonder diagnostische vlakken maar waarvan het baksel (met name de structuur van de matrix) wijst op een niet machinale productie en dat dus voor het midden van de 19de eeuw moet zijn gemaakt. Het vormen en bakken van grofkeramiek is tot de opkomst van de industriële productie in wezen nauwelijks veranderd, waardoor Romeinse, Middeleeuwse en Vroeg-moderne producten wat baksel betreft vaak op elkaar lijken. Over het algemeen zijn Romeinse baksels wat compacter dan die uit latere perioden, maar regionaal kunnen deze verschillen zeer gering zijn, met name ook wanneer kennelijk dezelfde kleibronnen zijn gebruikt. Het materiaal uit Neer dat ruim gedateerd is, kon niet met zekerheid als Romeins worden gedetermineerd, maar lijkt wel sterk op het materiaal dat wel met zekerheid als Romeins kon worden gedetermineerd.

Ruim de helft van het Romeins grofkeramiek kon worden toegeschreven aan een bepaald type. Dakbedekkingsmateriaal overheerst, met 159 fragmenten van tegulae en 117 fragmenten van imbrices. Verder zijn 4 fragmenten van tubuli gevonden, rechthoekige of vierkante holle buizen die toegepast werden in verwarmingssystemen. Wat ontbreekt zijn lateres, platte, vierkante of rechthoekige stenen die als metselsteen of, in het geval van de grote formaten, als vloerplaten. Deze vloerplaten maken onderdeel uit van een hypocaust verwarming, waarin de warmtebron buiten de eigenlijke ruimte lag en hete lucht onder de vloer en door de wanden - tubuli - circuleerde. Verwarmde ruimtes komen zowel in woon- als badruimtes voor en moeten, gezien het voorkomen van deze typen grofkeramiek op Romeinse sites vrij algemeen zijn geweest.

Het materiaal is, op een fragment na, uitsluitend aangetroffen in Deelgebied West (Afbeelding 15). De verspreiding over het deelgebied is niet gelijkmatig, maar concentreert zich in het noordelijke en in het zuidoostelijke deel van dit gebied. Binnen deze verspreiding zijn twee duidelijke concentraties aan te wijzen, beiden in de zuidoostelijke hoek. Beide sites zijn al bekend in ARCHIS: 17526 en 51303. In het noordelijk deel lijkt er iets meer materiaal in de noordwestelijke hoek aangetroffen te zijn. Dit sluit aan op de bekende vindplaats op de hoek van Hagendoorn en Eiland (AMK-terrein 11196, ARCHIS-nrs 15248 en 15360). Maar er is in dit noordelijk deel ook een concentratie te zien in het middendeel van het terrein. De ligging hiervan komt globaal overeen met de concentratie keramiek in dit deel van het plangebied. Een dergelijk samenvallen van keramiek en grofkeramiek is ook te zien op de twee locaties in de zuidoostelijke hoek van Deelgebied West, maar ontbreekt bij de concentratie in de noordwestelijke hoek. Mogelijk zou het hier daarom kunnen gaan om een nieuwe site.

In Afbeelding 16 wordt de verspreiding van het binnen het plangebied aangetroffen Romeins keramiek en grofkeramiek afgezet tegen de bekende vindplaatsen binnen het ruimere onderzoeksgebied. Hierbij moet worden aangetekend dat veruit de meeste waarnemingen binnen dit onderzoeksgebied betrekking hebben op waarnemingen, meestal veldkarteringen en/of detectorvondsten. Alleen de kleine opgraving aan de Arixweg, de begeleiding van de aanleg van de Maaskaden en overloopgeul18 en een waarneming bij graafwerkzaamheden op het monument, hebben betrekking op - meer of minder - gravend onderzoek. De vondsten van de veldkarteringen zijn aangetroffen op akkers, waarvan echter alleen het centrumcoördinaat is opgenomen in ARCHIS, zodat er geen nauwkeuriger plaatsing mogelijk is. Een aparte categorie vormen de baggervondsten uit de Maas, die weliswaar globaal te plaatsen zijn, maar wel een doorsnede door het landschap geven en bovendien ook nog eens het laagst gelegen deel. Hoe dan ook, duidelijk is wel dat het gebied langs de Maas tussen Buggenum en Neer in de Romeinse Tijd dicht bewoond is geweest.

Vroege Middeleeuwen: voor de Late Oudheid en Vroege Middeleeuwen geldt een middelhoge trefkans op grond van de geomorfologie en bodemsamenstelling van het plangebied en de historische gegevens. Mogelijk aan te treffen vindplaatsen kunnen bestaan uit nederzettingssporen en greppels. Nederzettingen kenmerken zich door een spreiding van

- 114130 aardewerkresten en het voorkomen van grondsporen (paalsporen, afvalkuilen, greppels, waterputten en funderingen). Greppels kunnen wijzen op verkavelingspatronen (erfbegrenzings- en perceelsscheidingen), waterbeheer (afvoergreppels) of ontginnings- en grondverbeteringsactiviteiten. De omvang van vindplaatsen uit de Middeleeuwen varieert sterk en is afhankelijk van de aard van de vindplaats. Hierover kunnen dan ook geen uitspraken worden gedaan. Ook voor vindplaatsen uit deze periode
- 114135 geldt dat deze zich in en/of net onder de huidige bouwvoor zullen bevinden, waarbij met name de dieper reikende sporen nog intact zullen zijn. De verwachting voor het aantreffen van vindplaatsen uit de vroege Middeleeuwen wordt als middelhoog ingeschat. De verwachting dat deze vindplaatsen nog intact zullen zijn wordt als hoog ingeschat.
- 114140 Late Middeleeuwen en Nieuwe tijd: op grond van de historische gegevens geldt voor het plangebied een lage tot middelhoge verwachting voor het aantreffen van archeologische vindplaatsen. De bewoning heeft zich in deze periode al grotendeels geconcentreerd in de bewoningskernen aan de randen van het veld, het aaneengesloten akkerareaal tussen
- 114145 Neer en Buggenum. Alleen in de volle middeleeuwen zal zich mogelijk nog wat meer bewoning binnen het plangebied kunnen hebben bevonden. In de Nieuwe Tijd beperkt de bewoning zich tot enkele solitaire hoeven, waarvan er een zich net ten noordoosten van Deelgebied Zuid bevindt.
- 114150 De omvang van vindplaatsen uit de Middeleeuwen varieert sterk en is afhankelijk van de aard van de vindplaats. Hierover kunnen dan ook geen uitspraken worden gedaan. Ook voor vindplaatsen uit deze periode geldt dat deze zich in en/of net onder de huidige bouwvoor zullen bevinden, waarbij met name de dieper reikende sporen nog intact zullen zijn
- 114155 De verwachting voor het aantreffen van vindplaatsen uit de late Middeleeuwen en Nieuwe Tijd wordt als middelhoog ingeschat. De verwachting dat deze vindplaatsen nog intact zullen zijn wordt als hoog ingeschat.
- Glas, keramiek en grofkeramiek Late Middeleeuwen en Nieuwe Tijd.
- 114160 De derde vondstcategorie wordt gevormd door aardewerk, glas en grofkeramiek uit de Late Middeleeuwen en Nieuwe Tijd. De grootste vondstcategorie wordt gevormd door het aardewerk, waarvan in totaal 755 fragmenten zijn verzameld. Daarvan zijn 609 fragmenten gedetermineerd. Het grofkeramiek is vertegenwoordigd door 131 fragmenten en het glas door 45 fragmenten.
- 114165 Veruit het grootste deel van het geraapte keramiek stamt uit de Late Middeleeuwen en/of de Nieuwe Tijd. Een derde deel bestaat uit materiaal, hoofdzakelijk roodbakend aardewerk, dat vanaf de Late Middeleeuwen tot in het subrecente verleden dateert, bijna een helft bestaat uit materiaal dat uitsluitend in de Nieuwe Tijd dateert. Bij het glas en het grofkeramiek is deze tendens nog veel sterker te zien, met slechts
- 114170 een fragment grofkeramiek dat uitsluitend Middeleeuws is en een aantal fragmenten die Middeleeuws of Nieuwe Tijds kunnen zijn. Deze materiaalcategorieën zijn vrijwel zeker op het land gekomen tijdens het bemesten. Als afval uit woonhuis, stal en/of erf werden zij samen met de mest op de mestvaalt gedeponneerd en vervolgens over de akkers verspreid. Dit verklaart ook de verspreiding van het materiaal binnen het plangebied. Deze is regelmatig, maar wordt dunner naarmate de afstand tot Neer toeneemt. Dit is
- 114175 te verklaren uit het gegeven dat de akkers die het dichtst bij het dorp lagen het meest intensief werden bemest. De dunste verspreiding is zichtbaar op de akker in Deelgebied Zuid. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat dit perceel waarschijnlijk afwisselend als akker en grasland in gebruik is geweest.
- 114180 Slechts twee stukken dateren uit de Vroege Middeleeuwen of het begin van de Late Middeleeuwen en twintig stukken uit de Hoge Middeleeuwen. Materiaal uit deze periode kan gerelateerd zijn aan bewoning ter plekke, maar de geringe hoeveelheid die is aangetroffen maakt dit niet waarschijnlijk.
- <https://archisarchief.cultureelerfgoed.nl/Archis2/Archeorapporten/37/AR32653/GAR%201044%20Neer%20-%20Hanssum%20%202040815.pdf>
- 114185 9 september 1899 De St. Lambertskapel te Reuver.
- Tegen het einde der VIIde eeuw stapte de Maastrichtsche bisschop Lambertus, dien de geschiedenis den eernaam apostel van Peel- en Kempenland heeft toegekend, tegenover, en waarschijnlijk onder de bescherming van, het voormalig Romeinsch, destijds
- 114190 Frankisch Castellum (Kessel) aan wal, ten einde de bewoners onzer zandstreek, de laatstovergebleven heidenen van ons gewest, tot het Christendom te bekeeren. Op den rechter Maasoever bevond zich een kleine hoogte, en aldaar, uit rivierkeien opgetrokken, een gebouwtje, herkomstig uit het tijdperk der Romeinsche overheersching. Toen zijn woord eenige vrucht had gedaan, wijdde de H.

- 114195 Evangelieverkondiger dit gebouw tot een bedehuis ten gerieve van zijn nieuwbekeerden. Na verloop van tijd werd het, dewijl het aantal geloovigen steeds groeiende was, vergroot en allengs herschapen in een kerkje, naderhand gesteld onder de aanroeping van den H. Lambertus-zelve.
- 114200 Tot de XIVde eeuw werd het dorp Beesel tot kerspel verheven en bleef de St. Lambertskapel als hulpkerk voor de thans tot Reuver behorende buurtschappen Leeuwen en Offenbeek bestaan. Habets vermeldt sub anno 1400 Bezel en Capella St. Lamberti. 2 April 1661 werden de goederen, van lieverlede aan het eerbiedwaardig heiligdommetje geschonken, overgebracht op de Beeselsche kerk tot onderhoud van den kapelaan, die tevens de St. Lambertskapel bediende.
- 114205 Habets vermeldt sub anno 1669: Onder Bezel ligt tegenover Kessel de kapel van den H. Lambertus, waaraan zielzorg is verbonden. Rector is er Petrus Jacobs. 16 Juli 1689 geeft Karel II, koning van Spanje en hertog van Gelder, aan den toenmaligen kapelaan-rector Joës Beurskens "Octroij om een vrije jaer-ende peerdemerckt" tot onderhoud van de "door ouderdom ende crijgstroubelen ondercommen ende geruineerde" kapel, welke "volgens de gemeijne traditie van alle waerschijnelyckheid ware gebouwd in den tijdt als wanneer deze landen alnoch liejdens waeren, ende nas de bekeeringe in dezelve den eersten Christelijcken ende Catholijken Godtsdienst were begonst."
- 114215 19 Mei 1787 kwam het St. Lambertuskerkje in het bezit van een eigen en onafhankelijk zielzorger. Toen in 1830 de kapel, die reeds zooveel dagen en vlagen getrotseerd had, bouwvallig bleek, verrees er weldra een nieuw tempelgebouw op de plaats, waar zich inmiddels tusschen genoemde gehuchten in, een niet onaanzienlijke kom had gevormd.
- 114220 Op den St. Lambertusheuvel bouwde men in 1845 – Reuver was in 1834 zelfstandig kerspel geworden – van de keien der aloude, een kleinere kapel, die de herinnering aan het roemrijk verleden bij de nakomelingschap levendig hield. Sedert in 1896 het jubilé van 's grooten Lambertus' marteldood was gevierd, werd de toeloop naar die heilige plek zoo groot, dat men besloot, met behoud van het
- 114225 bestaande gebouwtje, een ruimere bidplaats daaraan te verbinden. Deze nieuwe kapel nu volgens teekening van den heer J. Gielen te Kessel gebouwd, zal Zondag 17. dezer, met verlof van Z.D.H. den bisschop van Roermond, worden ingezegend.
- 114230 Bij 't ontgraven van den bodem werden de grondslagen der aloude kapel blootgelegd. Evenals van het gebouw zelf bestond het metselwerk der fundeeringen uit zware keien, met meel en kalkmortel tot een schier niet te klooven geheel samengegoten. Ook vonden wij er een groote menigte brokstukken van Romeinsche dakpannen, tegulae en imbrices, alsmede op verschillende plaatsen beenderen, bijna heel vergaan, doch nog duidelijk te onderkennen als afkomstig van lijken, zeer lang geleden daar begraven.
- 114235 Dit staft de aloude in de oorkonden opgeteekende overlevering, dat in de hooge oudheid daar een Romeinsch gebouw heeft gelegen, en "de Capelle St. Lambert – gelijk een onzer bescheiden getuigt – vorhin geweest is parochiale kerk." Vlak bij den Lambertusheuvel ligt, thans met berkestruiken beplant, het Romeinsche legerkamp, waarvan in de Publications 1864 gewag wordt gemaakt.
- 114240 Alhoewel de daarin gelegen grafheuvels, tumuli, door oudheidkundigen reeds vroeger doorzocht, en een menigte grafurnen daaruit opgedolven werden, mocht het ons dit jaar gelukken, er een zestal, waaronder drie van Romeinsch baksel, met asch en gebeente gevuld, aan het licht te brengen. Hetgeen onmiskenbaar een vrij langdurig verblijf van Romeinen op Reuverschen bodem bewijst.
- 114245 Reuver heeft derhalve het voorrecht, in zijn St. Lambertsheuvel een plekje te bezitten, dat geheiligd werd door den evangelischen arbeid van den grooten Maastrichtenaar, die geheel een volk aan de weldaden van Christendom en beschaving deelachtig maakte.
- 114250 J. VRANCKEN.
- 5 juni 1888 ASSELT EN SWALMEN
- Door het vlakke weiland achter Leeuwen, over den met een dicht kort gras begroeiden weg, leidt onze wandelweg ons naar Asselt, het oude Asselon. Heerlijk is 't buiten.
- 114255 De zoele adem van een zacht windje voert ons de balsemgeuren van berkenloof tegen. De madeliefjes en boterbloemen schitteren als sterretjes in 't groen, en aan ieder blaadje parelt een dauwdrup als een diamant in de morgenzon. Voor ons, in de frissche beemden, grazen talrijke schapen onder de hoede van den blauwgekielden herder en zijn rusteloozen hond. Rechts sluit een berkenbosch, omgeven door slanke peppelen, het vergezicht af. Waar de bodem rijst, liggen de ruime gebouwen van den Zijperhof, de
- 114260

woning van den Burgervader van Swalmen, tegen den zwarten achtergrond. Door het welig geboomte heen, schemert de grijs-roode toren van Swalmen en de oude burcht Hillenrade in zijn boschrijke omgeving; wenden we ons links, dan ontwaren we de schitterende wateren der Maas, en steekt het bescheiden torentje der Kapel van Asselt boven de eiken uit. En boven het geheele kleurige landschap welft zich de helderblauwe, doorzichtige lentelucht, waarin geen ander vlekje te zien is dan de leeuwerik, die zingende opwaarts stijgt. Nooit nog kregen we dan ook zoo'n weldoend gunstigen indruk van 't dorpje, dan thans.

Asselt, waarheen 't pad ons voert, is een klein Maas dorpje. Daarom spreekt de geschiedenis van Asselt ook van een voortdurenden strijd om 't bestaan tegen de golven, van een ononderbroken kamp. Heeft de Maas aan Asselt in vroegere dagen veel zegen gebracht, toen het de stapelplaats voor den Maashandel met de Rhijn-provincie was, dikwijls hebben hare wateren kerkje en woningen met vernieling bedreigd, en menige bange nacht is door de Asselder inwoners doorgebracht, als de hoogopgezette golven met alle kracht de grijze muren van hun kerkje bereikten.

De Maas is hier met hare woelige wateren vrij onbestendig in haar loop geweest. Menigwerf heeft ze haar bed verplaatst; vroeger bespoelde zij den voet van het kerkje. Toen lag de oever der overzijde ter plaatse, waar thans de Asseltsche oever ligt. Een paar diepe slakken, met rietpollen en waterplanten begroeid, duiden thans nog de plaats aan, waar vroeger de schepen met hun last ankerden aan de losplaats. In lateren tijd baande zich de felle stroom bij het kerkje een anderen weg, meer op Buggenum aan en verliet het oude bed. Volgens eene oude kaart, op het raadhuis te Swalmen aanwezig, vormde zich tusschen den ouden en nieuwen arm een groote uiterwaard, de Buggenummer Tolwaard geheeten. Tegenover de verderop gelegen huizen van Asselt, aan 't zoogenaamde Gebrouwhuis, dat we straks zullen passeeren, drong de Maas op de huizen aan, en knaagde met onwederstaanbare, langzaam werkende kracht aan den oever, die de huizen steunde. De grond, over eene breedte van meer dan zestig meter, en drie huizen verdwenen in de wateren der Maas en eerst thans, nu de gemeente tot behoud der andere huizen een kolossale steenen beschoeiing aangelegd heeft, is de grootste kracht der golven gebroken.

Ook de lage weiden en de zware kleilanden, die we straks doortrokken en de zoogenaamde Voelbeemden zijn voor eeuwen uit het wisselend bed der Maas ontstaan. Het kapelletje van Asselt ligt op eene ommuurde hoogte, het is een zeer oud, onderkelderd gebouwtje. Zijne ligging aan de Maas, het materiaal zijner muren, dat uit een mengsel van ruwe veldkeien en Romeinsche pannen bestaat, aaneengegoten met kalk, geven veel grond voor de onderstelling, dat 't van Romeinschen oorsprong is; ook de overlevering zegt, dat het een oud tolkantoor der Romeinen zou zijn; de naam "Tolwaard", die de weide, bij het kerkje gelegen draagt pleit voor die veronderstelling. Later zou het in een kerkje veranderd zijn.

De deur, die kleiner is dan de oorspronkelijke, ligt naar de noordzijde in het midden van den zijgevel.

Het gebouw bestaat uit twee deelen: een vierkant achterstuk, waarvan de oostelijke helft een weinig uitspringt en uit den toren, die van jongeren datum en uit baksteen opgetrokken is. De achterzijde van het gebouwtje draagt de sporen van restauratie. Het kerkje, hoe klein ook, ziet er zindelijk uit. "Klein, maar rein" zou men mogen zeggen. Ééne zaak mogen we niet vergeten.

Het Asseltsche kerkje bezit een kunstschat, welbekend en hooggeschat bij de Limburgsche kunstliefhebbers. 't Is een afbeeldsel van den stervenden Christus aan het kruis, eene schilderij zoo aangrijpend schoon, dat men het onmiddellijk voor 't werk van een meesterhand verklaart. Het lichamelijk lijden van den Godmensch, de ziele smart van den Verlosser, zijn zoo meesterlijk op het schoone gelaat en in de edele vormen van het lichaam weergegeven, dat de aanblik roert en treft. In zijne nederige omgeving en oude lijst spreekt het meesterwerk van den schilder tot het gemoed, en de indruk dien het maakt, prent zich diep in den geest des beschouwers. De schilderij moet, dunkt ons, wel een geschenk zijn van de vroegere heeren van Hillenrade. Hoe zou 't nederige kerkje anders in 't bezit van een dergelijk juweeltje geraakt kunnen zijn.

Aan den voet der grijze muren van het kapelletje vinden de overledenen van het dorpje hunne laatste rustplaats. Vroegtijdig al schijnt die hoog gelegen plek reeds als begraafplaats dienst gedaan te hebben, want in den voormuur van den toren vinden we een hardsteen ingemetseld, waarop in gothieke letters het opschrift gebeiteld staat "Beet russe myt hare kyderen". Naar den vorm van 't schrift te zien, kan de steen wel uit het laatst der 15e eeuw dateeren. Volgens de overlevering zou deze steen daar geplaatst zijn ter herinnering aan een moeder, die met hare kinderen, door een ongelukkig toeval, bij een brand omkwamen. Dat die familie, "Russe of Ruesen" hier inheemsch was, bewijst een ander kruis daar tegenover, met het jaartal 1558, en het

opschrift "Jan Ruesen". De andere steenen kruisjes melden ons, dat daaronder in 1615 Willem Quiten, in 1629 Geurdt Quiten, leden eener Asseltsche familie en in 1616 Geurdt Lomen ten eeuwigen slaap besteld waren.

114330 Van de begraafplaats dalen we weer af tot den zandigen dorpsweg, en gaan we tusschen hagen van bloeienden hagedoorn aan den eenen en langs het hooggelegen bouwland aan de anderen kant, naar de witte huizen aan de Maas om daar een oogenblik te verpoozen. Boven op de hoogte, hoog en droog, maar wel wat luchtig, ligt de rectorswoning, een nieuw gebouw. Bij zoo'n fraai rectoraat behoorde natuurlijk ook een mooier kerkje, 114335 want 't gebouwtje is wel wat klein en oud voor Asselt, en toch zouden we het oude kerkje met zijn stompen toren en zijn ruwe muren in zijne schilderachtige omgeving ongaarne missen. Asselt met een nieuw kerkje zou het eigenaardige Asselt niet meer zijn.

114340 Van uit de ramen der zindelijke gelagkamer bij moeder Theelen hebben we een ruim uitzicht op den omtrek.

Achter de groote uiterwaarden aan de overzijde der Maas liggen in rei de torens van Horn, Buggenum, Haelen, Nunhem en Neer tegen den boschrijken achtergrond. Lang willen we ons niet in 't vergezicht verlustigen, maar gaan door het Gebrouwhuis-Veld, op Genaenhof toe.

114345 Door het korenrijke veld passeeren we links Genaenhof (ouden hof) en rechts Genoenhof (nieuwen hof) en zien voor ons de ruïne, die we zoo vaak van af den spoorweg, die er dicht langs loopt, uit de hoogte opnamen. Dit is de Ouburg, vroeger de zetelplaats der adellijke familie van Swalmen. Wellicht is dit ook 't Stamhuis der 6e abdis van 't adellijk convent te Roermond, Elisabeth de Swalmen, die omstreeks 1293 leefde.

114350 Later behoorde het huis aan de familie Van Oest, en kwam daarna aan de familie Schenck van Nijdeggen en de Hoensbroeck. Het behoorde reeds in 1381 bij Hillenrade. Uit de archiefstukken moeten we wel besluiten, dat de Ouborg een riddermatig huis of kasteel geweest is alhoewel dan ook klein van omvang. Een kleine dikke toren vormt de voorzijde van een vijfhoekige met dikke muren omsloten ruimte, vroeger geheel door de 114355 Swalm omspoeld. De toren van zijn dak beroofd, is door een ingebroken opening toegankelijk en kon vroeger beklommen worden door middel van een steenen wenteltrap, waarvan nog de overblijfselen te zien zijn. Reeds in de 16e eeuw was Ouborg of het huis Rothem, zooals het ook wel genoemd wordt, verwoest. Weinig bescheiden zijn omtrent de verwoesting der sterkte tot ons gekomen. Thans bespoelt de murmelende

114360 Swalm met hare golfjes nog slechts de eene zijde van de fraaie ruïne. Eenige geknotte eiken en kanada's, een bruggetje en fraaien achtergrond stoffeeren het landschapje, waarop door de schilders de ruïne gewoonlijk als middenpunt gekozen wordt. Door de Viaduct, langs de beek op, wend ons pad naar Swalmen en brengt ons op de Markt. De Markt, waaraan 't Raadhuis en de kerk liggen, is niet het aantrekkelijkste deel 114365 van Swalmen. Slechts eene linde heft zijn langen plechtigen stam omhoog op het vierkante plein, waarvan het uitzicht der huizen weinig de welvaart doen zien, die in het dorp heerscht. De linde is vreemdsoortig geschoren en de onderste kroon is tot eene soort vlak gebogen en vergroeid. Als curiositeit werd ons medegedeeld, dat de Fanfare, in den tijd, dat ze onder de thans nog geroemde directie van den Heer Sagers stond, eens een zonderlingen inval gehad heeft. Staande op die kroon gaf ze een concert, dat de executanten, zoowel als het publiek, uitstekend moet bevallen zijn. In vroeger tijd gaf dezelfde Fanfare op den 1en Mei in het prachtige Bosch van Hillenrade een concert; thans echter schijnt dit gebruik te niet gegaan te zijn.

114370 We treden nu door den boog der secretarie heen, om de kerk eens op te nemen. De kerk van Swalmen is een oud gebouw. In 1452 reeds was de kerk bouwvallig; toen al werd aan de gemeente door Hertog Arnold toegestaan, 25 bunder gemeentegrond te verkoopen, om uit de opbrengst de kerk te herbouwen. In 1493 werd de kerk door een Roermondsch burger, Michiel van der Sterren, voor 28 Rhijnsche gulden hersteld. Het Asseltsche kerkje schijnt de moederkerk te zijn van die van Swalmen. In 1293 toch 114375 komt reeds voor Mathias, pastoor van Asselt en Swalmen.

114380 12 juni 1888 De kerk van Swalmen is door het inbreken van Gothieke ramen en bogen vervormd tot eene Gothieke kerk. Door bijbouw is de grondvorm zelfs niet eens meer behouden. Van binnen valt ze niet mede. Erg zindelijk wordt het Godshuis niet onderhouden, althans we gaan over eene vingerdikke laag zand en stof.

114385 De drie altaren zijn in renaissance stijl opgetrokken. Het midden-altaar prijkt met een vrij goede schilderij, het H. Avondmaal voorstellende, en met het wapen van de schenkers van het altaar, der Schenck van Nijdeggen en der Hoensbroeck's. Het zijaltaar, gewijd aan St. George, den patroon der ridders, geeft als altaarstuk

114390 een schilderij te zien, den H. Georgius in kamp met den draak voorstellende. De schilder heeft bepaald nooit de moeite genomen, de vormen van een paard goed te bestudeeren, anders zou hij den H. Georgius, die meer van een gewoon Landsknecht dan

van een fier ridder heeft, niet op een dergelijk ros ten drakenkamp uitgezonden hebben.

114395 Onder den toren hing vroeger een teenen of biezen draak die door de jongelieden van Swalmen evenals dit thans nog te Beesel om de zeven jaren geschiedt, in triomf door het dorp gevoerd werd, en daarna door lanssteken geveld. Die eeuwenoude gewoonte is echter sinds jaren in onbruik geraakt.

114400 Het orgel draagt de wapens van Schenck en Hoensbroeck, evenals het schoone marmeren wijwatervat.

Onder het orgel moet volgens de overlevering een Oostenrijksche generaal begraven zijn, die in een gevecht bij Swalmen gesneuveld is. Steen noch inschrift wijzen zijne grafstede aan. Meer merkwaardigs vinden we niet en door het lage portaaltje komen we weer op het hooge kerkhof.

114405 Met een van Swalmens autoriteiten, die de beleefdheid had ons te vergezellen, klommen we naar de secretarie. Hier werd ons een schoone atlas kaarten uit het einde der vorige eeuw getoond, die al de percelen tot de heerlijkheid Asselt, Swalmen en Hillenrade behorende, bevat. Voorts is hier een galgenketting aanwezig, eenige jaren geleden op Grietjesgericht gevonden.

114410 Aan de grenzen der gemeente, aan den Boschberg, lag in vroeger tijden de gerechtsplaats, thans nog bij 't volk bekend onder den naam van Grietjesgericht. Daar werden de boosdoeners "aan den lijve met het koord of het zwaard tusschen hoofd en hals gericht, tot de dood er op volgde."

114415 Een duidelijk getuigenis, dat er op deze plaats doodvonnissen voltrokken zijn, vonden eenige arbeiders, die voor een vijftal jaren daar bezig waren met het planten van dennen. Bij het graven stieten zij met de schop op een doodshoofd met nekbeen; hieraan was nog de ketting bevestigd, die eens de treurige bestemming gehad heeft om het lijk van den misdadiger na afloop der terechtstelling aan de galg te bevestigen. Het bekkendeel werd door een der arbeiders door een slag met de schop tot stof

114420 geslagen. De ketting werd bewaard. De oude archiefstukken van Swalmen zijn op aanvraag allen naar Maastricht gezonden; slechts enkele gildestukken zijn nog aanwezig.

De schutterijen te Swalmen waren van zeer ouden datum; hunne geschiedenis verloor zich in den nacht der middeleeuwen. Wel is het schoone koningszilver, dat bij 't plechtige vogelschieten en in de processie borst en schouder van den schutterkoning dekte, in de smeltkroes terechtgekomen, en zijn de Schuttenkamp, Schuttenheide en andere goederen thans in vreemde handen overgegaan, maar toch zou men uit den hoogen Schutsboom, die we van verre in 't dorp in de lucht zien rijzen, moeten besluiten dat de ambitie der oude "schutten" nog niet geheel uitgedoofd is. De gildebroeders van

114430 St. Joris van Swalmen waren oudtijds niet alleen vroolijke lieden, maar ook zuinige bestierders van hunne inkomsten.

De gilderekeningen bewijzen toch, dat 't er op hunne vergaderingen lustig toeling. De kruik met 't schuimende gerstenat ging er lustig rond, en de vedel noodigde de jongere broeders met hunne schoonen vroolijk ten dans. En zuinig waren zo bij al die uitspanningen, want ze brouwen zelf hun bier, kochten hiervoor het mout, de hop, gaven den brouwer een vast loon en, accuraat als ze waren, vergoedden ze hem zelfs zijn vuur en licht. Daarenboven beschenken ze hem als hij 's nachts door moest brouwen nog met een fiksche pint schnaps of "waggelwater". Veel bijzonders is er op het kleine raadhuis niet meer te zien; weinig is er van de vroegere heerlijkheid overgebleven. De gemeente bezit zelfs geen wapen, zelfs geen zegelstempel meer.

114440 Een weinig van het raadhuis, meer op Roermond aan, ligt het riviértje, waarnaar het dorp zijn naam draagt. De Swalm is eene heldere, snelstroomende beek, die uit de lage streken achter Wegberg bij het slot Tusschenbroek zijn oorsprong neemt; ze loopt door de poelen en meertjes bij Brempt langs Bruggen door de heide op Swalmen aan, langs de oude Romeinsche begraafplaats en doorstroomt het dorp om een weinig bezuiden Hanssum onder Neer zich in de Maas te storten. De beek doorstroomt eene lengte van 30 kilometer. Te Swalmen vloeit ze onder eene brug door, waarop een standbeeldje staat. Het beeld stelt den H. Joh. Nepomucenus voor, en werd in 1823 geschonken door een Luiker Heer. Deze had hier een handelshuis, waarmede hij zaken deed en waardoor hij

114450 dikwijls te Swalmen moest zijn. Hij schonk het beeld ter gedachtenis aan eene gelukkige redding uit de Maas, waarin hij bij toeval geraakt was. Over de steenen brug der Swalm weet men bij overlevering nog te verhalen, hoe de Franschen ze in 1791, toen de Pruisen hen kort op de hielen zaten, deze afbraken om hen zoo den overtocht nog zooveel mogelijk te beletten.

114455 Een gewonde Franschman moest, toen het fransche leger de brug overgetrokken was, door zijne kwetsuren achterblijven, en verborg zich in een bijenhut kort bij de brug. Toen de Pruisen kwamen, laadde hij zijn geweer, en schoot uit den troep Pruisen er een neder. Hij hield zich aan 't vuren, en door zijne gedekte opstelling wist men in 't

- begin niet van waar de welgemikte schoten vielen; eerst toen de Franschman zeven
114460 Pruisen door zijne schoten neergeveld had, kon men hem na 't herstel der brug bereiken; de dappere François werd daarop door de verwoede Pruisen neergesabeld. Op de brug heeft men een aantrekkelijk gezicht op de Swalm en omliggende gebouwen. Voor ons zien we de Swalm haar schuimend water in een zijtak over een afsluiting neerplassen; langs den hoofdtak ligt onmiddellijk bij ons een bedrijvige
114465 houtzaagmolen, waarvan het vroegere klapperende waterrad vervangen werd door eene dampende stoommachine. Verder door zien we de statige boomen van den Venloschen weg, en daarachter zenden een paar pannenfabrieken dikke rookwolken uit hunne lage zwarte schoorsteenen in de lucht. Bij dit alles hebben we nog het gezicht op een paar tuinen, waarin de appel- en peerebloesem, de boomen met een doorzichtig wit en rose kleed schijnen te bedekken.
114470 De nijverheid heeft in Swalmen door de verhooging der invoerrechten een gevoeligen knak gekregen. Om hiervan een voorbeeld aan te halen behoeven we alleen de fabriek van den heer Königs te citeeren, die naar de inrichting te zien wel de grootste of in ieder geval een der voornaamste stoomhoutzagerijen van Limburg is. Het meeste gezaagd
114475 hout werd vroeger naar de Rhijnstreek verzonden; de industrie had door den grooten afzet eene hooge vlucht genomen. Vele handen vonden in de fabriek werk en brood. Zoodra echter werden in Pruisen de verhoogde invoerrechten niet geheven, van 1 mark per 100 kilo, of de Duitschers kwamen niet meer koopen, en de fabrikanten konden alleen de beste kwaliteit planken slechts met geringe winst blijven uitvoeren. 't Is
114480 dan ook niet te verwonderen dat in Holland honderden zagerijen stil liggen, te meer wijl de Duitschers gezaagd hout bij scheepsladingen in Holland mogen invoeren. Vroeger werden in deze fabriek ook vele landbouwwerktuigen vervaardigd, die meest aan Pruisische landbouwers in de grensdistricten geleverd werden. Toen deze machines
114485 echter met f 1.80 de 100 kilo belast werden, was geen invoer meer mogelijk. De kleinste dorschmachine toch weegt al licht een 700 kilo. Zelfs ging de Deutsche fiscus zoo ver, dat van werktuigen, die reparatie moesten ondergaan, bij terugkomst op nieuw recht werd geheven, wat het lastige gevolg had, dat de Nederlandsche werklieden ze op Duitsch grondgebied moesten gaan herstellen. Om het dezen werklieden
114490 nog lastiger te maken, dwong men hen nog tot een Beroepsbelasting, die ook niet malsch was. Zoo beschermt Duitschland zijne industrie. Door de aanhaling dezer voorbeelden willen wij hierbij niet betoogen, dat deze bescherming een gezonde toestand verwekt en dat de industrie, die aldus met kunst en vliegwerk geholpen wordt, krachtig zal bloeien, maar we meenen toch uit deze vrij sprekende voorbeelden
114495 te moeten besluiten, dat heffing van beschermende rechten als revanche-middel het eenige middel is, om de kleine industrie langs de grenzen te redden. En wat 't fraaiste is van de Duitschers, zij weten precies wat ze niet moeten belasten; datgene, wat ze voor den landbouw noodig hebben en hier halen, is vrij; op veevoeder b.v. wordt geen invoerrecht geheven, wat tengevolge heeft, dat de
114500 Rhijnlanders in en om Roermond al het noodige opkopen tegen hooge prijzen, waardoor hier menigmaal een te kort ontstaat. Op kalk voor den landbouw, die op de goedkoopste wijze langs de Maas tot Asselt komt, en verder per as vervoerd wordt, heft men eveneens geen recht; en dit alles geschiedt met het goede doel, om den landbouw, de groote bron van volkswelvaart, te beschermen en bij te staan in dezen calamiteusen tijd.
114505 Na deze kleine economische uitweiding, waartoe onze opmerkingen ons als 't ware van zelf voerden, willen we nog eenige oogenblikken bij onzen vriendelijken begeleider, den secretaris, verwijlen. Hier hebben we gelegenheid om te zien, hoe heerlijke uitkomsten de degelijke lessen, door den wandelleeraar in de fruitboomteelt gegeven, opleveren. Tal van prachtige ooftboomen in allerlei vorm en verscheidenheid troffen
114510 we aan, maar allen beloofden door de wetenschappelijke behandeling, die ze ondergingen, ook dubbel zoo veel fruit als andere boomen, die men hier en daar aan hun lot overgelaten zag. Hoe jammer is 't, dat die cursussen niet overal met die hooge belangstelling gevolgd worden, die ze werkelijk verdienen.
114515 We bezochten hierna nog de grisaille-glasfabriek, doorwandelden 't dorp, en de schoone laan naar Roermond lag voor ons. Dicht bij den grooten weg naar Roermond ligt de groote hoeve Beckerhof, geheel in grachten of weijers. Door deze afsluiting kon men vroeger, als kriegsgevaar duchtte, vee en have beter in veiligheid brengen, en aan de roofzieke handen der soldaten onttrekken.
114520 Dergelijke verschanste hoeven vond men in den omstreken van Roermond en speciaal in de omstreken van Swalmen meer, zooals b.v. Boschhof [Baxhof] bij Schoolbroek gelegen, de gebrande Weijs onder Roermond, de weijs onder Maasniel, eene hostede aan 't Gebroek enz. In het Schoolbroek, dat oudtijds aan Beesel en Swalmen behoorde, had men vroeger nog een schans, waarin 's nachts 't vee gedreven kon worden. Van 't Schoolbroek deelde men ons ter loops nog de volgende eigenaardigheid mede. Om twisten

- 114525 tusschen de inwoners van Beesel en Swalmen te voorkomen, was bij bezegelde brieven bepaald, dat Swalmen 's morgens tot 12 uur meester was in 't Broek, terwijl Beesel des middags zijn recht van eigendom kon laten gelden.
Aan het einde van Swalmen gekomen, nemen we afscheid van onzen vriendelijken gids, met de belofte van een nader bezoek.
- 114530 Het lieve lentezonnetje was in den tijd onzer wandeling reeds zoo hoog gestegen, dat de schaduw die de fraaie iepenboomen langs de lange laan naar Roermond op den weg werpen, ons zeer welkom was.
De trein snort ons voorbij en roept ons een ode aan Swalmen in de herinnering terug, die een landelijk genie aan zijne medeburgers in 1863 ten beste gaf en waarin hij
- 114535 Swalmen in de volgende gevoelvolle verzen beschrijft, die we hier letterlijk laten volgen.
- Nieuw Loflied van Swalmen.**
- 114540 Heffen wij een loflied aan Van 't schilderachtig Swalmen, Waar Swalm en Maas te zamen vloeit, En beurtelings den grond besproeit, Daar prijkt het dorp Swalmen.
- Dierbaar is voor mij die plaats, Alwaar ik ben geboren, De plek waar eens mijn wieg op stond, Is ook voor mij de schoonste grond, Deez kan mij bekoren.
- 114545 Hier wonen mijne ouders lief, Mijn vrienden en mijn magen, Die in 't prilste mijner jeugd Mij aanwakkeren tot de deugd En staag zorg voor mij dragen.
- Hier ligt de oude dorpschool, Alwaar ik leerde lezen, Schrijven en cijferen op de leij
- 114550 Om nuttig lid der maatschappij Ook later eens te wezen.
- Ginds rijst die hooge grootsche kerk Met haren schoonen toren, Hier leerde ik de christe leer En deed er mijn Communie weleer, Hier ben ik ook herboren.
- 114555 Hier heb ik verkeerd als kind Met mijne speelgenooten, En nieuwe vriendschap naderhand
Ook met de vrienden van mijn land Nauwer aangesloten.
- Nergens kan ik in de buurt Zijn weerga vinden, Met zijn kasteel en kaplanie
- 114560 Zijn raadhuis en pastorie En op de Markt een linde.
- Hier stort de Swalm haren vloed In gindsche Maas ter neder, En spiegelt alles in haar schoot Wat zich op haren weg aanbood, Zwelt en krimpt dan weder.
- 114565 Zij is een zoo nuttig rivier Dat niemand haar kan missen, Zij biedt ons vele diensten aan En maalt voor elk gezin het graan, Schenkt ons daarbij haar visschen.
- Zij schaft ons olie voor de lamp En aan al de omstreken, Ik wacht den tweeden slag maar af, Het is weldaad wat zij ons gaf, En zien den olie leken.
- 114570 Zoo rolt zij hare waters voort! Midden door het dorp henen Hetwelk zij in twee verdeelt
En een schoon brug nog meer vereêld Van Joannes Nepomucenus
- 114575 Langs Swalms snel en heldre stroom Daar zitten wij te drinken, En zingen liedren van ons land Ons instrumenten in de hand, Laten 't Harmonisch klinken.
- Swalmens omstreken zijn ook schoon, Met zijne wandelwegen, Zijn boscaden uren lang, Der Nachtegalen zoet gezang, En heerelijke dreven.
- 114580 Swalmen kan ja ook gerust Met zijne velden prijken, Hier drijft de Maas, hier loopt 't Spoor In heel zijn lengte Swalmen door Natuur en kunst verrijken.
- Daar komt het trotsch gevaarte aan, Alleen door stoom gedreven; Onwillekeurig blijft men staan, En staart het met verwondering aan, En zoo is het al neven.
- 114585 Al haalt gij ook bij de steliën niet, In woning of in kleeren, Zij hebben ook dat voorrecht niet Dat men hier op het dorp geniet, Van vrijer te verkeerem."
- 114590

One If by Land, Two If by Sea.

Traveling to Nicaea for the Council of 325
Mark Wilson

Introduction

"One if by land, and two, if by sea." So goes the line in Henry W. Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride." This famous poem recalls an incident in America's foundation story about a Boston patriot who established a secret signal to alert his compatriots to how the British forces would advance to Concord. A candle lit in one lantern meant that enemy troops were using the longer land route; candles in two lanterns meant they were taking the shorter route by water. "If one were to think of a perfect symbol of the American Revolutionary War, perhaps short of the Declaration of Independence itself, it would probably be Paul Revere's lanterns."

While this article will say nothing about lanterns, it will discuss the land and sea routes that early church leaders took to Nicaea, where they drafted the foundational document of Christianity, which is still professed by Christians around the world. Visitors to İznik (ancient Nicaea) today see little more than a sleepy rural town situated among expanses of olive groves on the east end of a scenic lake. It is hard to imagine that in the Roman period Nicaea vied with Nicomedia (modern İzmit) to be the capital and leading city of the province of Bithynia. Today neighboring İzmit is a bustling industrial city situated on the main highway between Istanbul and Ankara. Yet Nicaea was to be the center not only of Bithynia but of the whole Roman Empire for a moment in time in 325 CE. There Constantine convened the first ecumenical council. This article will first address some issues of historical background regarding these cities. Next to be presented is the geographical and hodological situation both of Nicomedia and Nicaea.

Nicaea's four gates and their relationship to Bithynia's road network will be discussed in depth. It will conclude by offering a fresh hypothesis regarding how the emperor, some bishops, and their attendants might have traveled to Nicaea to reach this historic council.

Background of the First Ecumenical Council

For the residents of Nicaea, the year 325 began with political stability restored to the province of Bithynia and to the Roman Empire. From Nicomedia on June 14, 313, Licinius had issued the edict of toleration that allowed Christians to worship without fear of persecution.

However, a civil war broke out for control of the empire between Licinius and his brother-in-law Constantine. After defeating Licinius at the naval battle of the Hellespont in July 324 and the land battle of Chrysopolis in September 324, Constantine, after accepting his rival's surrender in Nicomedia shortly thereafter, became the sole ruler of the Roman Empire. The year 325 also found imperial and ecclesiastical officials preparing to travel to Nicomedia for Constantine's vicennalia. However, the emperor decided to hold a council beforehand to unify the church now torn theologically by the Arian controversy. The logistics of moving hundreds of bishops and their attendants from around the empire was a daunting one. Then, at the last minute, Constantine changed the council's location from Ancyra to Nicaea.

Barnes cites three reasons for the change: (1) bishops from the West could reach Nicaea more easily; (2) the climate was more temperate; and (3) the emperor could attend more easily.

In reality, there were few participants from the West. As Gwynn notes, "The overwhelming majority of those bishops were from the Greek-speaking East." Two presbyters represented the bishop of Rome, and single bishops came from Gaul, Dacia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Persia. Therefore, its ecumenical nature was in word only.

Hosius of Cordoba, who probably presided over the council, was already in the East after presiding over the Council of Antioch in 324/325.

Nicomedia and Nicaea: The "First Cities" of Bithynia

From the Hellenistic period onwards, Nicomedia and Nicaea were the two main cities of Bithynia.

After the Romans established the province in 74 BCE, Nicomedia became its first capital. In 29 BCE Augustus authorized an imperial cult temple dedicated to Rome and to himself to be built in Nicomedia, while in Nicaea a sanctuary for Divus Julius and Dea Roma was built for the Roman residents in that city. Sometime after the death of Augustus in 14 CE the provincial assembly (koinon) and the governor moved from Nicaea

to Nicomedia.

The two cities continually vied for prominence, especially in the titles so important to Greek cities. Orations 38 and 39 of Dio Chrysostom, the orator and philosopher from nearby Prusa (Bursa), addressed their ongoing strife in the late 90s CE. He proposed concord (homonoia) between the two cities rather than vying for status as "first" (prote) or "metropolis" of the province.

However, as Bekker-Nielsen laments, "needless to say, both Nicomedians and Nicaeans ignored his advice, and the conflict played on throughout the second century." Two notable Roman historians came from these cities: Arrian (d. ca. 160 CE) from Nicomedia, and Cassius Dio (d. ca. 235) from Nicaea. In 284 Diocletian was proclaimed emperor on a hill outside of Nicomedia, and he rebuilt the city as his new Rome, making Nicomedia the chief capital of his tetrarchy.

A reason for this, according to Doonan, is that it "was particularly well placed to dominate the Roman transport system, set directly on the easternmost extension of the Propontis at the head of the road systems along the north Anatolian rift valley." Nicomedia, "the chief city of Bithynia," was honored again when Constantine built a large and splendid church there from his own funds to give thanks for victory over his enemies (Eusebius, Vit. Const. 3.50.1).

Given the centuries-long rivalry between these major cities, it is difficult to sustain the observation that "Nicomedia's location was vastly superior to that of Nicaea."

Further, it was Nicaea, not Nicomedia, whose location turned out to be superior for the site of the council in 325. Nicaea: The City with Four Gates The geographer Strabo describes Nicaea as a Hellenistic foundation and metropolis of Bithynia. He describes its plan: "The city is sixteen stadia (ca. 2,960 m) in circuit and is quadrangular in shape; it is situated in a plain, and has four gates; and its streets are cut at right angles, so that the four gates can be seen from one stone which is set up in the middle of the gymnasium" (Geogr. 12.4.7).

Through these four original gates, rebuilt or restored multiple times because of earthquakes and the Gothic sacking in 258, visitors to the city arrived, including emperors, senators, and the bishops in 325.

The east and west gates were connected by the cardo maximus (Kılıçaslan Caddesi), running ca. 1,308 m through the city; the north and south gates were connected by the decumanus maximus (Atatürk Caddesi), running ca. 1,473 m. These gates start to appear on Nicaea's coinage in the third century CE. Lichtenberger writes, "Remarkable of the coin depictions are the regular layout of the walls . . . and the emphasis on the single-arched city gates. . . . Their depiction is consistent with the archaeological evidence."

From these gates, as Weissova and Pavúk express, "the roads themselves radiate from Iznik toward all the four cardinal points, presumably likewise since the Hellenistic period. ."

The north gate (modern Istanbul Gate) "is believed to be the most important and therefore the most impressive of Nicaea's four gates."

It was reerected by Vespasian and restored by Hadrian. This was once called the Byzantium/Constantinople Gate. However, this name must be anachronistic because its orientation was initially to Nicomedia. Yet, perhaps because of civic competition,

the Nicaeans refrained from putting their rival's name to a gate, despite its orientation. This gate and the east gate are structurally triple gates. An inscription in the middle east gate (Le?e Kapısı) states that the proconsul Marcus Plancius Varus built it for the emperor Vespasian with the help of the leading citizen C. Cassius Chrestos. After an earthquake heavily damaged Nicaea in 120 CE, Hadrian provided funds to rebuild the city. An inscription to Hadrian in the architrave suggests that the eastern gate was rededicated to the emperor upon his visit in 123 CE. After Nicaea chose the losing side with Pescennius Niger in 193 CE, Nicomedia, which supported Septimius Severus, successfully petitioned to have the title "first of the province" erased from this gate. For the west gate facing the lake and its harbor, only part of the north tower and the base of the south one have survived.

The south gate (modern Yenışehir) was reerected by Claudius II around 268-70 CE. Nicaea's geography, oriented around these gates, contributed to its development "for it was located at intersection point of the roads which provided access to important cities." Where these gates led from this transportation node will be discussed next.

Travel Eastwards

The east gate was a very important junction point "through which the whole traffic of the empire passed, moving from the North to the East and vice versa."

Traffic out of Nicaea's east gate veered south of a ridge upon which sat a monumental sarcophagus today called Berberkaya. It continued eastwards through a plain before veering south again above modern Çiçekli. A milestone dating from Diocletian was found near Karadin/Karatekin. The track then turned southeastwards toward the mutatio at Schinae (south of modern Gaziler). At Mygdum/Midum, northwest of modern Osmaniye, the road entered the valley of the Sangarius River

From Mygdum the road continued east toward Juliopolis (modern Çayırhan) and Ancyra (modern Ankara). This route, which continued to Antioch and Jerusalem, is today called the "Pilgrim's Way."

Milestones began to appear as early as Trajan, and, as Doonan notes, "the 'Pilgrim Road' from Nicomedia to the central Anatolian plateau seems to have received a lot of investment in the early third century, possibly in connection with Caracalla's Parthian campaign of 216-17 CE."

The regions of bishops arriving from the east might include Hosius from Antioch (1), Palestine (19), Phoenicia (10), Coele-Syria (22), Arabia (6), Mesopotamia (4), Persia (1), Cilicia (10), Cappadocia (10), Armenia Minor (4), Armenia Maior (5), and Galatia (5), totaling 97 bishops coming from this direction.

Travel Southwards and Southwestwards

The south gate provided access to two routes south and west of Nicaea. A road running south is not depicted in the Barrington Atlas; however, French shows one and labels it C9. It intersected with two routes that ran east and southeast from Prusa toward the next transportation node at Dorylaeum (modern Eskişehir).

A second route turned westwards after the gate to circle the south side of Lake Ascania. After 5 miles (8 km) the track passed below a rocky promontory today called Karacakaya. Remains of fortification walls dating to the Byzantine period are found around its peak. Because its favorable position overlooking both Nicaea's harbor and the lake, Weissova and Altın propose "the place might have served as a watchtower as well as a lighthouse."

After leaving the lakeshore and crossing the peninsula to Cius, the road turned southwards to Prusa, the third city of Bithynia. As Jones writes, Prusa's situation gave it a good but not preeminent place in the road system of the region. . . .

Prusa's advantage lay in its position on the lines of communication between these two cities [Nicaea and Nicomedia] and those of the northwestern Aegean, since the great natural obstacle of Olympus deflects these routes around its shoulder.

Traffic coming from the great cities of Asia such as Pergamum, Smyrna, and Ephesus also passed through Prusa. Bishops coming from the important sees in western and southwestern Anatolia would have arrived via these roads through Nicaea's south gate.

The regions of the bishops arriving from the south would probably include Asia (7), Lydia (9), Phrygia (8), Pisidia (12), Pamphylia (7), Isauria (18), Caria (5), and Bithynia (8), totaling 74 bishops coming from this direction.

Travel from the North

Ine Jacobs has suggested that delegates "coming from overseas would have disembarked in Nicomedia, and, like Constantine himself, still needed to travel two more days south to reach their final destination."

This observation will receive extensive discussion since, as just discussed, there is little debate regarding how some 167 delegates arrived from the east and south-southwest. The road network between Nicomedia and Nicaea is first described in the third-century CE Itinerarium Antonini, which lists a route mentioning Nicomedia, Libum, and Nicaea (It. Ant. 140-42). The distance given is 44 Roman miles (RM).

The Itinerarium Burdigalense, written by the Bordeaux pilgrim (ca. 333-34) and dating shortly after the council (It. Burd. 573), provides mileage from Nicomedia: "Change at Eribolum—miles x. Halt at Libum—miles xi. Change at Liada—miles xii. City of Nicaea—miles ix."

It gives a total distance of 42 RM. The Tabula Peutingeriana depicts Nicaea as a major traffic junction. The distance between it and the road station at Eribolo is given as 33 RM. Although a road trace continuing to Nicomedia is absent, a distance of 12 RM is shown for a total of 45 RM.

The totals depicted are 44 RM on Antonine, 42 RM by the Bordeaux pilgrim, and 45 RM on Peutinger for a variant of 3 RM. This converts to 62-67 km for the distance between the two cities on the itineraries.

The Peutinger map incorrectly situates Cius inland below Lake Ascania.

It shows another road from Nicaea running along the upper shore of the lake to Pronetios (Prainetos).

Two bridges dated to the Roman period are on this line: Kuru ("Dry") Köprü and Koca ("Large") Köprü.

The latter once spanned the Pharmutios River (modern Karasu).

This seems to be the bridge described by Procopius that had been built in earlier times but swept away by floodwaters (Aedif. 5.3.4-6). This required Justinian to build a new and improved bridge that would withstand future torrents.

Fingarova suggests that this bridge "formed part of an important road that connected Nicomedia to Nicaea."

However, French fails to include these bridges in his discussion of this route.

Foss, citing Procopius, states, "Justinian, some time before 548, abolished the public post between Chalcedon and Dacibyza, west of Nicomedia, ordering messengers instead to proceed directly across the Gulf to Helenopolis and thence straight to Nicaea, a saving of a considerable distance" (Hist. Arc. 30.8-11).

Therefore, these bridges are better related to this updated route along the northern shore of the lake to Helenopolis (modern Hersek), founded by Constantine in 327 to honor his mother, rather than to the original route running to Nicomedia.

A hiking trail called the Tolerance Way purports to be "the trail that we think extended from Izmit (Nicomedia) – the capital and the only metropolis of the period – to Izmit (Nicaea)."

However, its route after Astacus tracks significantly east from the route depicted in the itineraries and in the Barrington Atlas. It begins in modern İzmit near the imperial temple discovered in the Çukurbağ neighborhood and ends at the Hagia Sophia Church in İzmit. After crossing the restored bridge at Başiskele, the route continued on the east side of the Astacus Gulf before bending southwest to pass through Astacus, opposite Nicomedia (Memnon, FGrH 434 F12).

Here the Tolerance Way turns south toward Bahçecik, while the route of the Roman road continued along the southern shore to Eribolon.

Weissova adopts an obscure route between the Tolerance and the Barrington routes, one Von Diest described in 1898 and Şahin tentatively approves.

She curiously disregards the results of Least Cost Path Analysis (LCPA) as well as the route described in the early itineraries.

While noting that French's projected route, originally thought by her to be "most probable," also agrees with LCPA, she nevertheless adopts a route in all her maps that goes through, rather than skirts, the western extension of the Samanlı Mountains.

Volume 2 of her dissertation is copiously illustrated with various versions of this base map. Significantly, no archaeological realia are depicted along her projected route except for the two bridges, discussed earlier, and a milestone marked just north of Nicaea.

As noted, the Peutinger map measures Eribolon's distance as 12 RM from Nicomedia. Cassius Dio situates Eribolon as a port on the south shore of the Astacus Gulf (Epit. Xiph. 78.39.3).

However, neither Barrington nor Pleiades places it on the coast; both place it at modern Yeniköy.

The line of the road from Astacus would suggest a location for Eribolon southeast of the modern port at Golçuk (ancient Dioklides).

This is confirmed by an Ottoman caravanserai, Kazıklı Kervansarayı, which indicates the existence of a commercial track used for centuries. The partially restored caravanserai features a course of Roman ashlar along its foundation, undoubtedly spoliated from nearby Eribolon.

From here the route follows Beyoğlu Caddesi (Street) southwest to follow the lush valley of a small stream before climbing slowly to Libum (modern Sanaiye). The itineraries identify Libum as a mansio (inn) since it is a day's travel from Nicomedia 32 km. Half of that distance is at sea level; however, from Eribolon the track rises over 580 m. to Libum. No remains of the ancient rest stop are found in the village today.

From Libum the road makes a steep climb of over 300 m to a ridge, with the highest point on the route at 885 m. It descends to a stretch of level road at 738 m that

- 114855 extends toward the mutatio (way station) at Liada. North of modern Sariağil a raised roadbed can be seen in the oak forest with curbstones visible in places. Nearby are the remains of a funerary monument that once stood along the road. The route follows the village road through Sariağil, where no remains of ancient Liada are visible. In French's day curbstones, spine, and surface of the ancient road
- 114860 could be seen. From here and then passing Orhaniye, the road descends about 610 m toward the plain of the Pharmutios River. Turning southeastwards, the track then passed the funerary obelisk of Gaius Cassius Philiscus, which rises over 12 m and thus is visible for miles.
- 114865 Whether this monument, standing at 130 m above sea level, was on the road is debated. However, as Bekker-Nielsen observes, if it was, the obelisk "was flanked by life-sized or larger bronze sculptures, whose hands and feet were fixed to metal cramps in the recesses."
- 114870 Its situation along the road would allow travelers to appreciate its bronze statues and read the inscription on the monument. Roads typically entered a city through a necropolis. Peschlow writes about Nicaea, "The largest necropolis was situated to the northwest, around the modern village of Elbeyli."
- 114875 This would align with the projected route from the obelisk to the north gate of Nicaea. With a distance of 26 km, the leg from Libum is somewhat shorter; however, the terrain is more difficult with switchbacks as it climbs and descends toward the shore of Lake Ascania. The distance calculated on Google Earth agrees with the calculation of 58 km found on ORBIS; however, it is 9 km shorter than found on the itineraries.
- 114880 Jacobs suggests this distance, traversed by the emperor from Nicomedia, was "easily covered in two days of travel."
- As just outlined, this road was not so "easily" traveled. The regions of the bishops arriving along this northern route would include Pontus Polemoniacus (3), Paphlagonia (3), and Bithynia (2), totaling 8 bishops traveling through Nicomedia to Nicaea's
- 114885 north gate.
- Travel Westwards Across the Lake
Nicaea was situated at the eastern end of Lake Ascania which stretched 32 km to its western shore.
- 114890 The port on the lake was accessed through the city's west gate. The north mole was situated approximately 370 m north of the gate while the south mole was 300 m to its south.
- 114895 At the tip of the latter, a lighthouse perhaps stood on the circular base. Between these breakwaters, Gündüz and Dumankaya write that "there were no large-scale ships in the lake, so lowpriced wooden docks which could be shaped easily take precedence over concrete docks where heavy cargos could be loaded and unloaded." They propose that these docks were located on an axis straight west of the lake gate. These archaeological finds confirm that Nicaea was an important port city in antiquity.
- 114900 While Nicaea's maritime situation was somewhat inferior to that of Nicomedia (Dio Chrysostom, Or. 38.22), its lacustrine location nevertheless had advantages. Pliny the Younger writes about Boane Lake (modern Sapanca) east of Nicomedia. "Across this lake, marble, agricultural produce, timber and building materials are carried by boat, with little effort and cost, as far as the main road; but from there to the
- 114905 coast by cart, requiring great effort and even greater expense" (Ep. 10.41.2). Bekker-Nielsen extrapolates, "If Pliny's description of the advantages which the lake offers Nicomedia is anything to go by, then lake Ascanius must have offered even greater advantages for Nicaea. No wonder that the city prospered through the Hellenistic and into the first centuries of the Roman era."
- 114910 Thus it is surprising that he also writes, "It is a fair assumption that the lower town of Nicomedia resembled Ostia or Puteoli, as described for us by Juvenal or Petronius, more than it resembled Nicaea."
- Since the chora of Nicaea was more productive than that of Nicomedia, its lake port must have been a bustling one as well.
- 114915 Boat traffic left the lake via a second port situated in a sheltered bay on its southwestern corner (modern Golyaka). A straight road, typical of Roman construction, ran west for almost 9 km from the shore.
- 114920 The road then crossed a low pass (στενός; Cassius Dio, Hist. 76[75].15.3) following the course of a stream (modern Karsak Deresi) that ran from the lake into the sea at

the port of Cius or Prius ad Mare/Prousius (modern Gemlik).

Cius was situated on the eastern end of the Kianos Sinus (Gulf) on the southeastern shore of the Propontis (Sea of Marmara; Strabo, Geogr. 12.4.3). The narrow isthmus separating the lake from the gulf was approximately 18 km across. Roller calls Cius

"an important landing point for the interior." Looking through Nicaean eyes, Wilson writes that "while the landing-places of the north were most convenient for purposes of travel, the easiest way to the sea for heavy goods lay to the west, to Cius."

In addition to the extensive olive production that still characterizes the area, "legumes for the capital were delivered from Nicaea and its surroundings; the port of shipment could have been Cius."

The lake played a role in the defeat of Pescennius Niger's forces in December 193. Septimius Severus mobilized his troops in Nicomedia and sailed from there to Cius to cross the pass and engage Niger's army at the Battle of Nicaea (Herodian, Hist. 3.2.9). The battle was fought even from boats on the lake (Cassius Dio, Hist. 75.6). After the Severan forces rallied, Niger and his remaining troops retreated by sailing to Nicaea, which supported him. After Niger was later beheaded, coinage both from Nicaea and Cius "produced reverses of Mars the pacifier and Peace herself, and Septimius is shown clasping hands with Jupiter."

Over a century later Zozimus (Hist. Nova 2.23-24, 26) describes the massive naval fleets assembled in the Sea of Marmara for the final battles between Constantine and Licinius in 324. Thus, a variety of ships were available in 325 for travel from Nicomedia to Nicaea by sea.

ORBIS calculates that a fast sea journey covering the 143 km between Nicomedia and Cius could be made in just over half a day.

A half-day walk from Cius brought travelers to the lake where an easy transfer by boat across the lake could be arranged. This itinerary contrasts considerably with the two-day low mountainous route between the two cities previously discussed. Given the challenge of taking an imperial contingent overland through such terrain, it is possible, even likely, that Constantine and his retinue traveled by ship to Cius so as to make the easy land and lake crossing to Nicaea. The regions of bishops arriving by sea via Cius might include those from Rome (2), Egypt (13), Thebes (2), Upper Libya (4), Lower Libya (1), Lycia (1), 83 Islands (4), Cyprus (2), Europe (1), Dacia (1), Calabria (2), Moesia (3), Africa (4), Macedonia (2), Dardania (1), Achaia (3), Thessaly (2), Dalmatia (1), Pannonia (1), Gauls (1), Goths (1), and Bosphorus (1), totaling 53 participants.

The Attendees and Their Mode of Transport

The estimated number of attendees is, of course, related to the number of bishops who traveled to the council. The traditional number of 318 is usually reduced to some 250 bishops in attendance (cf. Eusebius, Vit. Const. 3.8). Projecting around 220 bishops, Gwynn estimates that the number of attendees was approximately two thousand persons. This total is derived from Constantine's letter to Chrestus of Syracuse regarding the Council of Arles in 314.

You should secure from the most illustrious Latronianus, corrector of Sicily, a public vehicle, and you should choose two others of the second rank and take them with you. You should bring along three servants who may serve you on the way, and arrive to the above-mentioned place before the appointed day.

Thus five others were authorized to accompany Chrestus to Arles. Such a large entourage would have surely taxed *cursus publicus*, the imperial transportation system. Begun by Augustus as a way to communicate with his governors and legionary commanders—a system initially called *vehiculio*—by the fourth century it had morphed into an elaborate travel network used and abused by imperial and provincial officials.

Regarding the viability of the sea route proposed above, was the *cursus publicus* available for bishops who wished to travel by sea? Whiting thinks not.

The disadvantages of sea travel were the dangers, unpredictability, and dependence on the seasons and weather. There was also the cost of chartering passage to consider. For travelers with permission to use the services of the *cursus publicus*, the permit issued by the state was only valid for travel by land.

However, the geography of the empire suggests otherwise. Island provinces such as Britannia, Crete, and Cyprus required nautical transportation as did the provinces in North Africa. The ports of Brundisium and Dyrrachium, termini of the Via Appia and Via Egnatia respectively, similarly required a nautical leg to connect these major land routes.

Arguing that shipping connections formed part of the system since the time of

Augustus, Anne Kolb observes, "Hinweise auf den Seeverkehr im Rahmen des cursus publicus geben noch weitere spätantike Zeugnisse."

For the Council at Arles bishops were summoned from "a great many different places" to arrive by August 1 (Constantine, Ep. 22). Those coming from Syracuse and Carthage had to travel by sea, so it can be assumed passage was provided for their entourage using a nautical cursus publicus.

Thus, the bishops and their attendants had the option to travel to Nicaea either by land or sea using the cursus publicus.

Nicaea and Constantine's Vicennalia

The council concluded on July 19, and six days later the celebration of Constantine's vicennalia started in order to mark the twentieth year of his rule. His reign had begun on July 25, 306, the day his father Constantius I died in Eboracum (modern York). To celebrate the occasion, the emperor hosted a banquet in the innermost imperial apartments of the palace, at which every bishop was present (Eusebius, Vit. Const. 3.15). Ramskold, citing Jerome (Chron. A326), believes that "the vicennial celebrations commenced at Nicomedia."

Gwynn similarly observes that "the famous banquet may have taken place not in Nicaea but in the imperial palace in nearby Nicomedia, to which the bishops would have travelled en masse."

While Nicomedia was somewhat "nearby" in terms of distance, the transfer of the bishops and their entourages would have been a logistical challenge.

Even if only the bishops traveled there, several hundred persons would be traveling either by land or water. Eusebius uses the same word *basileion* for the imperial palace where the council met as well as the place where the banquet was held, without mentioning any change of venue to Nicomedia (Vit. Const. 10.1; 15.2).

Drake notes that Constantine had previously planned a meeting with the bishops in Nicaea for his vicennalia, "so the shift might not have been as abrupt as it now seems."

Two other factors to be considered is that the council of bishops probably lasted longer than Constantine had anticipated, and then the heat and humidity would have made travel more challenging in late July.

Nicaea was therefore convenient for the emperor and his bodyguard, and remaining there thus ensured "that not one of the bishops was missing from the imperial banquet" (Eusebius, Vit. Const. 15.1).

The palace was thus transformed from holding an ecclesiastical synod to hosting an imperial panegyris.

Eusebius describes how Constantine gave a farewell address to the bishops "when the Council (synodos) was finally about to dissolve" (Vit. Const. 3.21.2).

This address follows the vicennalia banquet in his narrative. Therefore, it seems the emperor expeditiously began the celebration where everyone was gathered rather than requiring an inconvenient transfer to Nicomedia. Following Constantine's address, the bishops were dismissed to pass again through one of Nicaea's four gates to return to their homes by land or by sea. Constantine himself departed with his retinue most probably across Lake Ascania, transiting the isthmus to Cius, and finally sailing back to Nicomedia to resume his residency there.

Conclusion

Local traffic in İznik today detours around the north, east, and south gates; only the dilapidated west gate to the lake remains part of a thoroughfare. Regional traffic bypasses the city altogether. The new toll road from İzmir to İstanbul does pass through Gemlik (Cius) and around the western end of İznik Lake (Ascania).

Ironically this road crosses the Sea of Marmara on the new Ozmangazi Bridge from Hersek/Altınova (Helenopolis) to Gebze (Libyssa) at its narrowest point, once the crossing for the later Pilgrim's Road. The main road to Ankara now runs east from İzmit to Bolu (Claudiopolis) before turning southeast to Turkey's capital city. The main north-south route between İzmit and Eskişehir follows the Sakarya River valley 32 km east of İznik. Therefore, pilgrims to Nicaea today must take secondary roads to visit the city, which was once the crossroads of Christianity geographically but still is its center theologically, as the celebration of the 1,700th anniversary of the council in 2025 attests.

See [\(PDF\) One If by Land, Two If by Sea Traveling to Nicaea for the Council of 325](#)

Fontes Nicaenae Synodi aims to offer a complete collection of documents relating to

the Council of Nicaea. These documents have three characteristics in common: 1) they were written in the period from the beginning of the Melitian crisis (304) to the death of Constantine (337); 2) they have a close relationship to the topics discussed at Nicaea, such as the Melitian crisis, the Arian controversy, disciplinary and liturgical issues; and 3) they have been handed down by indirect tradition. These features already reveal the novelty of the work, which, unlike Hans Georg Opitz's foundational work, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites* (Berlin 1934-1935), is not a collection of documents on the Arian crisis, but on the Nicene Council. The traditional view tended to identify Nicaea with the condemnation of Arianism, with the condemnation of Arianism and with the introduction of the controversial homoousios. This tendency is understandable because most of the documents concern the Arian controversy, and the consequences of this dispute were most relevant in the long run. However, the gradual maturation of studies makes it possible to take a step further by moving from a retrospective and selective look at Nicaea to a comprehensive historical survey of the documents: this is the purpose of *Fontes Nicaenae Synodi*. Consequently, the volume starts with the Melitian crisis (304), which broke out because of Diocletian's persecution. From the point of view of the Alexandrian episcopate, the persistence of this schism created a need to reabsorb centrifugal thrusts, which may help to explain the exacerbated ecclesial climate in which Alexander and Arius clashed. On the other hand, the volume ends with the death of Constantine (337), which marks the end of the first reception of Nicaea. *Fontes Nicaenae Synodi* also suggests a method of study for the documents that concern the Arian crisis. This method draws the consequences of the long and deep path of historical revision that began with the work of Eduard Schwartz and Opitz, and of the current historiographical debate that is increasingly international and emancipated from ideological and apologetic assumptions at least as far as most scholars are concerned. The method consists of freeing the documents from the unnatural context in which they were transmitted polemic, apologetic, narrative to study them iuxta propria principia, placing them back at the precise moment in which they were composed and into their authors' motivations, which may also have been polemical and apologetic, but which, in any case, were their own, not of those who transmitted them. Let us not forget what was said at the beginning: the earliest documents of the Arian crisis – what Samuel Fernández, the editor of this valuable volume, calls “the third level” of primary sources – were transmitted in the indirect tradition by the protagonists of the controversy themselves, in primis Eusebius and Athanasius, and later historians, who represent the other two levels of sources. But the process of re-interpretation to which the documents are subjected because of their inclusion in later sources is not the only problem to be addressed. Often, their chronology is uncertain; in many cases, it can be established with good probability only through mutual comparison, as Fernández explains in the introduction. *Fontes Nicaenae Synodi* is intended to be a working tool for scholars and students of Late Antiquity in the fields of history, theology, philosophy, and philology. For this reason, the editor, while relying on modern editions of the collected documents and resorting only exceptionally to manuscripts, has provided the reader with clear indications to the reference editions. Above all, in the case where a document is transmitted by different sources, the differences in the various textual traditions are pointed out. For example, the letter of Eusebius of Caesarea to his church, written immediately after the Council, is handed down by Athanasius, Socrates, and Theodoret, so the differences between the three textual transmissions of the letter are noted. This is a further value of the volume that deserves to be noted. In conclusion, I think that there is no better way to commemorate the 1700th anniversary of the Council of Nicaea (325-2025) than to put the Council itself back in the center by presenting its documentation, finally collected in one volume. Emanuela Prinzivalli
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See [\(PDF\) Fontes Nicaenae Synodi: The Contemporary Sources for the Study of the Council of Nicaea \(304-337\)](#)

Natalia Smelova

The Canons of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in the Manuscript IOM, RAS Syr.

34

Abstract: The article deals with the manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34, one leaf of parchment originating from the collection of Nikolai Likhachev. It contains a Syriac translation of selected documents of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (AD 325): the introduction to the canons, a bilingual Greek-Syriac list of 42 bishops, and the

- 115120 first five canons of the council. Most of the texts are incomplete and damaged. The present article focuses mainly on the study and commented publication of the five Nicaean canons from IOM, RAS Syr. 34. On the basis of comparative textual research the author aims to show the place of the St. Petersburg manuscript in the history of Syriac translations of the canons.
- 115125 Key words: Christian Church, Late Roman Empire, Ecumenical Councils, canon law, Syriac translations from Greek, Syriac manuscripts
- Introduction
1. IOM, RAS Syr. 34: the study of provenance and paleographic description
- 115130 The subject of this paper is a remarkable one-leaf parchment manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34, which contains fragmented documents of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (AD 325) (hereafter, Nicaea I): a final portion of the introduction to the canons (f. 1r), the bilingual Greek-Syriac list of 42 bishops (f. 1r), and the first five canons (incomplete and badly damaged) (f. 1v).
- 115135 The manuscript came into the Institute as part of the collection of the historian Nikolai Likhachev (1862–1936). This remarkable private collection was formed in the course of the late 19th and early 20th cc. It included various types of script and writing material, both Eastern and Western, due to the collector's special interest in the history of writing, paleography and codicology. In 1918, the nationalised collection became the basis for the newly-founded Cabinet of Paleography that first
- 115140 was part of the Archeological Institute, and then (since 1923) of the Archeological Museum of the Petrograd University. In 1925 it was renamed the Museum of Paleography and came under the administration of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.
- 115145 Later on, in 1930, following Likhachev's arrest, this was reorganised as the Museum of the Book, Document and Writing, which was soon afterwards renamed Institute and subsequently, in 1936, ceased its existence as an independent organisation. From 1930 until 1935 the collection was gradually distributed among different institutions in Leningrad, such as the State Hermitage Museum, the Leningrad Branches of the Institute of History and the Institute of Oriental Studies (now IOM) of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, depending on the language and nature of the material.
- 115150 The scope, scale and significance of the collection could be fully appreciated at the exhibition held in the Hermitage in 2012, which brought together artefacts and manuscripts that once belonged to Likhachev and are now kept in different depositories in St. Petersburg.
- 115155 Among the numerous Oriental materials from the Likhachev Collection, six items were identified as Syriac, in some cases by their script rather than by language. The provenance of the manuscripts can be established, albeit only approximately, from the hand-written notes taken by Yurii Perepelkin of Likhachev's own statements, now in St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
- 115160 Regarding the manuscript later classified as Syr. 34, we know that it was acquired from an antiquarian bookseller in St. Petersburg around 1900 along with two others, the liturgy of John Chrysostom in the form of a paper scroll, and 53 loose leaves of parchment carrying the Homiliae Cathedrales by Severus of Antioch.
- 115165 However, there is another piece of testimony provided by Heinrich Goussen who writes that most probably this is the same leaf of parchment which was offered to the University of Strasbourg by an antiquarian from Frankfurt around 1896/1897. Goussen saw and copied the manuscript himself and he tends to date it to the 7th–8th cc. Thus it well may be that Likhachev purchased the manuscript from an antiquarian bookeller in Frankfurt rather than St. Petersburg.
- 115170 Apart from this information, we are fortunate to have further notes testifying to the time when our manuscript reached St. Petersburg and was first examined there. The manuscript is still kept in its original folder along with two handwritten notes in French dated 14th November 1859. These were made by two librarians of the Imperial Public Library (hereafter – IPL) in St. Petersburg, Eduard de Muralt and Bernhard (Boris) Dorn, who examined and provided an expert opinion on the two manuscripts, the Homiliae Cathedrales (now Syr. 35) and the Nicaean documents (now Syr. 34). Muralt describes the latter as containing the first five canons of the Council of Nicaea of AD 325 issued and subscribed by 318 bishops, of whom 41 (sic! – N.S.) signature
- 115180 survived in Greek writing of approximately the 9th–10th cc. and in Syriac eṣṭrangelo writing. He then lists the names of the bishops in French. In Dorn's note the manuscript is described as being written in the "Nestorian" script and is dated, on the basis of paleography, to the 9th c. In October 1859 Constantine Tischendorf returned to St. Petersburg from his expedition to the Middle East and

- 115185 brought a collection of 109 Greek and Oriental manuscripts, predominately Christian, which was solemnly presented to the Tsar Alexander II, who had sponsored the expedition, and subsequently deposited in the IPL. Among Tischendorf's finds was the other portion of the Homiliae Cathedrales manuscript (23 leaves; now NLR, Syr. new series 10). We can only conjecture that the two manuscripts (IOM, RAS Syr. 34 and
- 115190 Syr. 35) might also have been brought to St. Petersburg by Tischendorf in 1859. However, it is unclear why, having been seen and described by Bernhard Dorn, the librarian at the IPL Manuscripts Department as well as the director of the Asiatic Museum, they were acquired neither by the IPL nor by the Museum. Probably, in 1859, they entered a private collection in Russia, from which they were sold to an
- 115195 antiquarian, either in St. Petersburg, or in Frankfurt, where they were eventually purchased by Likhachev at the turn of the 20th c. The first scholarly description of the manuscript, the study and publication of the bilingual Greek and Syriac list of bishops was undertaken by Vladimir Beneshevich in the 1910s.
- 115200 The researcher highlighted the bilinguality of the list as a feature which made the St. Petersburg manuscript unique, since no other examples were known to him at that time. He thoroughly analysed the Greek script used in the names of the bishops (majuscule form) as well as in the names of the provinces and marginal notes (transitional form with elements of minuscule), and came to the conclusion that the
- 115205 writing can be dated to the 8th(?)–9th cc. Quoting Prof. Pavel Kokovtsoff's opinion, he described the Syriac script as "a Jacobite cursive" of approximately 9th–10th cc. In addition to this, Beneshevich stated that both parts of the list were written simultaneously, although the Greek and parallel Syriac column (the names of the bishops and provinces) could have been written by one scribe and the three columns of
- 115210 Syriac text by another hand. Another significant conclusion drawn by Beneshevich was that the Syriac text of the canons in the St. Petersburg manuscript is virtually the same recension as that in the manuscript Paris syr. 62 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. He supposed that this translation of the Greek canons was made around the time of the Fourth
- 115215 Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, i.e. AD 451 (see the discussion on this text in chapter 2 below). A short description of the IOM, RAS Syr. 34 was included in the "Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Leningrad" by Nina Pigulevskaya. Agreeing with Kokovtsoff's opinion, she defined the script of the manuscript as a
- 115220 clear cursive in its transitional form from *estrangelo* to *serṭo* (the West Syriac writing). She added also that the ductus is similar to that seen in the manuscript containing a work by Sahdona copied in AD 837 (AG 1148) by a monk called Sergius who donated it to the Monastery of Moses on Sinai (NLR Syr. new series 13; Strasbourg MS 4116).
- 115225 This statement is somewhat unclear because the main text of the latter manuscript is written in *estrangelo*. Apparently, Pigulevskaya was referring to the cursive writing used in the colophon, which does make sense, although the two scripts are obviously not identical, as the Sahdona manuscript contains more elements of cursive than IOM, RAS Syr. 34.
- 115230 The dimensions of the IOM, RAS Syr. 34 are 195×293 mm. The upper right corner of f. 1r is damaged, so that the final part of the introduction on the recto as well as the title and the initial part of the canons on the verso have been lost. The text on the hair (recto) side of the parchment is generally better preserved than the text on the flesh side, where it was rubbed or washed off. The text is written with iron gall
- 115235 ink, while the names of provinces in both Greek and Syriac (f. 1r) as well as the titles and numbers of the canons (f. 1v) are in red ink. The recto contains two columns of text; the right-hand column and the text in the lower margin are further divided to include parallel lists of bishops in two languages. The left edge of the right-hand column is more or less observed, in
- 115240 contrast to the right edge which is virtually ignored. Thus it becomes obvious that the Greek names were written prior to the Syriac ones, which were fitted into the space available. The left column contains 42 lines of plain Syriac text of the so-called introduction to the canons. In the left margin, there are a few Greek words corresponding to those given in Syriac transcription in the introduction. Writing
- 115245 area: variable, 272×164 mm maximum; right column: variable, 272×88 mm maximum; left column: 224×64 mm; upper margin – 20 mm; lower margin: filled with names of bishops and, in the bottom right corner, four lines of smaller Syriac text in a vertical direction published by Beneshevich; right margin: between 7 and 16 mm; left margin: up to 25 mm, gap between columns about 10 mm.
- 115250 The verso contains two columns of Syriac text (42 lines in the right column, 41 in

the left column) with Greek glosses in the right margin and in the gap between the columns. The traces of ruling include four pinholes marking the edges of the columns. Writing area: 224×150 mm; right column: 224×64 mm; left column: 224×67 mm; upper margin – up to 23 mm; lower margin – up to 48 mm; right margin – up to 30 mm; left margin – 17 mm; gap between columns 20 mm. Measurements were taken from the pinholes. The writing of the main Syriac text is a transitional form of *estrangelo*

with some elements of *serṭō* (Ⲫ Ⲫ Ⲫ Ⲫ). The Syriac list of bishops is written in a rather cursive script with occasional elements of *estrangelo* (letter Ⲫ Ⲫ Ⲫ). It is, however, unlikely that the two were written by different scribes, as Beneshevich suggested. Such ductus features as the slope of the letters and final strokes,

especially, the final Ⲫ, testify to the fact that both parts were written by the same hand. It is difficult to say whether the Greek text was executed by the same scribe. However, taking into account the high level of translation activity and the widespread use of Greek marginal notes in West-Syrian manuscripts, it would seem reasonable to assume that both texts were written by the same Syriac scribe well versed in the Greek language and calligraphy.

Although a similar transitional form of the script can be found in a number of 9th c. West-Syrian manuscripts (e.g. BL Add. 12159 of AD 867/868 and BL Add. 14623 of AD 823), it is also characteristic of some SyroMelkite manuscripts, presumed to be of the same period (e.g. Syr. Sp. 68, Syr. Sp. 70, 9th c., according to Sebastian Brock).

Therefore in our case the writing per se cannot be decisive in determining whether the manuscript belongs to one tradition or the other. However, the Greek words in the margins form part of the specifically West-Syrian system for the presentation of translated texts (cf. Greek scholia in IOM, RAS Syr. 35, BL Add. 17148 (AD 650–660), BL Add. 17134 (AD 675), BL Add. 12134 (AD 697) and many other West-Syrian manuscripts from the 7th c. onwards).

This latter feature as well as the recension of the text, which is only preserved in West-Syrian manuscripts, may testify to the West-Syrian origin of the St. Petersburg leaf.

2. Documents of Nicaea I in Syriac translation: an overview

Paraphrasing Michel Aubineau, the question of the exact number of bishops who participated in the Council of Nicaea is likely to remain for ever insoluble.

Even the 4th c. writers, who attended the council, do not agree on this matter. The *Vita Constantini*, ascribed, although not without some doubt, to Eusebius, gives the smallest number, to wit “more than two hundred and fifty bishops”.

Theodoret, quoting the words of Eustathius of Antioch, who chaired the council before his deposition and exile, mentions about 270 bishops.

Other sources give a number around or above 300.

These are the letter from Emperor Constantine to the Church of Alexandria (AD 325) quoted by Socrates Scholasticus, Gelasius of Cyzicus and others; *Apologia contra Arianos* (AD 350–351) and *Historia Arianorum ad monachos* (AD 358) by Athanasius; *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* by Jerome, etc.

However, at some point in the 4th c., the precise number of 318 bishops emerged and gained currency, being associated with the number of Abraham’s servants in Gen. 14:14.

Among the earliest sources which give the number 318, scholars mention *De Fide ad Gratianum* by Ambrose, *Epistola ad Afros* by Athanasius, *De synodis* and *Liber contra Constantium imperatorem* by Hilary of Poitiers.

I should add that the tradition does not always specify whether 318 refers to the total number of bishops gathered in Nicaea or to those who signed the canons and other resolutions of the council (some bishops were deposed in the course of the sessions and sent into exile before the end of the council; others refused to put their signatures to the Creed).

In either case, the number 318 became widely reflected in the title of the Nicaean canons in Syriac translations (e.g. BL Add. 14528, BL Add. 14526, BL Add. 14529, and also the 72 pseudo-Nicaean canons associated with Maruta of Maiperqat) as well as in some later Greek versions of the list of bishops.

The written records of Nicaea I have not survived unlike the acts of the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (AD 431) and all subsequent Ecumenical Councils. The main resolutions concerning Church structure and internal discipline, including issues of private life and ordination of priests and bishops, were formulated in the form of 20 canons. Karl Joseph Hefele in his *Conciliengeschichte* made a thorough study of the question of the number of the Nicaean canons. On the one hand, he cites

Theodoret, Gelasius of Cyzicus, Rufinus and other Church historians who spoke of 20 canons, and mentions numerous western (Latin) and eastern (Greek and Slavonic) medieval canonic manuscripts (Syntagmas, Nomocanons and other collections of canon law) containing 20 Nicaean canons. On the other hand, he shows some Arabic versions which preserved up to 84 canons ascribed to the Council of Nicaea. First published in the course of the 16th c. by the Jesuits François Torrès and Alphonse Pisani, then re-published in mid- 17th c. by the Maronite Abraham Ecchelensis, the Latin translation of these was included in all major collections of the proceedings of the Ecumenical Councils

Hefele sums up the conclusions of various scholars that these additional canons were products of later Eastern traditions. Some of them could not have been composed before the Council of Ephesus (431), others not before Chalcedon (461). In 1898, the publication by Oscar Braun made known the corpus of works ascribed to Maruta, Bishop of Maiperqaṭ, on the basis of the East-Syrian manuscript from the former Borgia Museum in Vatican, now Borg. sir. 82. Among a dozen works dealing with the Council of Nicaea, he published a transcription of 73 Syriac "Nicaean" canons. The scholarly publication of these texts was undertaken by Arthur Vööbus. As follows from the title, the canons of the council of 318 [bishops] were translated by Maruta at the request of Mar Ishāq, Bishop-Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. In AD 410 Maruta assisted Mar Ishāq in convening the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. That synod was an important milestone in the formation of the Church structure within the Sasanian Empire. In order to stress its legitimate status and continuity from the Ecumenical Church, the Synod accepted the main resolutions of Nicaea I, including the Creed and the canons.

On the occasion of the synod, Maruta apparently translated from Greek the main documents of the Council of Nicaea, including 20 canons, the Creed, the Sacra, letters of Constantine and Helena and the names of the bishops (220 in number, without the Western bishops) and also composed his own overview of the Canon of Nicaea and various related explanatory pieces, i.e. on monasticism, persecutions, heresies, on terms, ranks and orders, etc. All these texts were included in the edition prepared by Vööbus on the basis of the manuscript from the Monastery of Our Lady of the Seeds in Alqoš (Alqoš 169; later in the Chaldean monastery in Bagdad, No. 509) with variants from Vat. sir. 501, Borg. sir. 82, Mingana Syr. 586, and Mingana Syr. 47 (see details of some of these manuscripts in Table 1 below). Braun considered Maruta to be the author of the 73 canons originally composed in Syriac. Vööbus neither supports nor rejects this attribution due to the lack of evidence, as well as the critical edition and stylistic analysis of the text.

Moreover, he adds that the East-Syrian recension, which associates the canons with Maruta, is not the original one and must have been adopted from the West-Syrian tradition. He also mentions Arabic and Ethiopic versions of these canons. In a number of Syriac manuscripts the authentic Nicaean canons are accompanied by the list of bishops who approved and signed them (the list can be included either before or after the canons). Being originally a collection of signatures in Greek, the list underwent certain transformations within the Greek tradition and was subsequently translated into Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Armenian. Among the variety of versions Dmitrii Lebedev distinguished two forms of the list. In "systematic" lists, which include all extant Latin, Syriac, Coptic and Armenian versions, the names are arranged according to provinces. The "non-systematic" lists published by Gelzer, Hilgenfeld and Cuntz from selected Greek and Arabic manuscripts lack the names of the provinces and arrange the bishops' names in a different, somewhat peculiar, way.

All Syriac lists, which can be found in both West-Syrian and East-Syrian manuscripts, are in the "systematic" form and derive from the Greek recension of Theodoros Anagnostes (the list of 112 names, originally included in Socrates Scholasticus's *Historia Ecclesiastica*). Besides anonymous collections of ecclesiastical law, the lists are included in the Chronicle of the 12th -c. Syrian Orthodox patriarch Michael the Great and the Nomocanon of 'Abdišo' bar Brika, the Metropolitan of Nisibis (Church of the East) (13th-14th cc.). According to Vladimir Beneshevich, the version of the list in the manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34 corresponds to the West-Syrian recension used by Michael the Great in his Chronicle (VII:2). This perfectly supports our assumption regarding the West-Syrian origin of the St. Petersburg manuscript. Beneshevich also states that the original Greek version of the Syriac list must have been composed after 371 under a certain influence from the Coptic tradition. It also became the source for the Latin translations.

Another curious observation by Beneshevich about the Greek text of the list in IOM, RAS Syr. 34 is that it represents a transcription of the Syriac forms of the names of provinces and bishops rather than being the authentic Greek forms.

However, Hubert Kaufhold demonstrates that this is not particularly correct and the scribe must have had the original list of bishops before his eyes. The fact that the Greek names of the provinces are in the nominative rather than the genitive is not decisive here, as some Greek and Syriac forms in this recension (which can be fully evaluated on the grounds of Mardin Orth. 309) are clearly different (e.g. ΕΔΕΣΗΣ – □□□□).

Beneshevich wrote his work in the first decades of the 20th c. when no other manuscripts containing bilingual lists of bishops were known. Thus the St. Petersburg leaf was considered unique. However, due to new acquisitions made by the Vatican Library and Arthur Vööbus's exploration of Middle Eastern manuscript collections, some other bilingual Greek-Syriac lists have become known, among them the 8th-c. codex Mardin Orth. 309 and Vat. sir. 495, a 20th c. manuscript "copied from an ancient codex".

The Mardin manuscript attracted a lot of attention, particularly, from Hubert Kaufhold who published the lists of bishops of the early Greek councils and synods on its basis.

Alongside the above-mentioned 20 canons and the list of bishops, the Nicaean documents in both West-Syrian and East-Syrian manuscripts, mostly of legislative contents, include the Nicaean Creed, the letter of Constantine of AD 325 calling on the bishops who assembled in Ancyra to move to the new venue in Nicaea, the Sacra, i.e. the decree of Constantine against the Arians; the letter of the bishops to the Church of Alexandria, and an introduction to the canons.

This last work has not yet been fully identified. According to Vladimir Beneshevich, it may be a combination of two different texts: the afterword to the Nicaean Creed included in Gelasius's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (II:27), also known in Latin, Coptic and Armenian translations, and the council's resolution on the celebration of Easter. This text in Syriac translation was thought to be present in full in the manuscript Paris syr. 62 only. However, it can be also identified in the two Mardin manuscripts discovered by Arthur Vööbus, Mardin Orth. 309 and Mardin Orth. 310, as well as the Birmingham manuscript Mingana Syr. 8 that was copied in 1911 from the fragmented Mardin Orth. 310.

3. The place of IOM, RAS Syr. 34 in the textual history of the Syriac canons of Nicaea I

We are indebted to Friedrich Schulthess for the initial identification of different Syriac translations and recensions of the canons of Nicaea I. Through a critical study of eight Syriac manuscripts, he uncovered the fact that the canons were translated twice. One translation (A) is attested by the London codex BL Add. 14528 of the 6th c. The first of its two independent parts that were bound together is an archaic form of Synodicon of the councils from Nicaea to Chalcedon with the exception of the Council of Ephesus (ff. 1-151). This form of canonical collection is known as the "Corpus canonum" and is thought to have been compiled in Antioch shortly before the Council of Constantinople (381). It included the canons of the Greek councils and synods of the 4th c. (Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodiceia and Constantinople itself) with later added canons of the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

It represents the core and the initial part of subsequent Synodica, i.e. the corpora of ecclesiastical legislation, both West-Syrian (e.g. Paris syr. 62, Damascus 8/11) and East Syrian (e.g. Alqoš 169 and its copies).

The colophon of Add. 14528 informs us that the entire collection of 193 canons of various synods was translated from Greek into Syriac in Mabbug in the year 500/501 (AD 812).

Schulthess described this translation as precise, and Vööbus suggested that it was the later of the two. He states that translation A (hereafter, I use Schulthess's letters indicating the published manuscripts as a designation of translations contained in them) was intended to correct and improve the existing rendering which permitted certain leeway in the interpretation of Greek canon law.

The manuscript BL Add. 14528 is also interesting as it contains a very well preserved Syriac list of the bishops at Nicaea I which became the basis for a number of modern publications (see Table 1 for details).

The beginning of the 6th c. was the time when Philoxenus, a strong advocate of Miaphysitism, was active in Mabbug, where he was a bishop from 485 until his deposition in 519. In all probability, the translation of the canons made in Mabbug

in 501 (as is claimed in the colophon of Add. 14528) was the result of a large-scale translation activity, which consisted primarily in the translation of the Old and New Testament, commissioned by Philoxenus and performed by his horepiskopus Polycarpus. Hubert Kaufhold adds an interesting detail: another Miaphysite leader, Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (512-518), mentions in his letters a collection of canons of the imperial councils which was available to him, although no Greek original for this existed at his time. This may have been the translation produced in Mabbug just a decade before his patriarchate. In this case, why were the canons of the hostile Council of Chalcedon translated and included in all known West-Syrian manuscripts of purely legislative or mixed contents (e.g. BL Add. 14526, BL Add. 14529, BL Add. 12155, Paris syr. 62, Damascus Part. 8/11 etc.)? The answer is probably that they cover and discuss disciplinary rather than doctrinal issues, so their inclusion in the West-Syrian collections would not give rise to any further controversy. By contrast, the canon(s) of Ephesus seems to be a rarer text. Most West-Syrian manuscripts studied by Schulthess and Vööbus include only one canon of Ephesus (namely, canon 7, dealing with the Nicaean Creed) of eight known in the Greek tradition (with the exception of Paris syr. 62 which includes two canons, 8 and 7). They are not included in the East-Syrian Synodicon Borg. sir. 82, although that codex is highly fragmented. The canons of Ephesus are quite different in content as, unlike those of other councils, they have a pronouncedly polemical character. The earliest evidence of another translation (B), which Schulthess characterises as "free", is the manuscript BL Add. 14526 from the 7th c. It was probably written around or soon after 641. Like the previous manuscript, the first part of this composite codex contains the Corpus canonum, including one canon of the Council of Ephesus. Despite the evidence for this translation being more recent than the previous one, Vööbus points out its archaic character and suggests that this might be the first attempt at interpreting the canons. The further development of both translations of the Nicaean canons is most curious. Translation A emerges in East-Syrian manuscripts which contain the works of Maruta of Maiperqat (Borg. sir. 82, Vat. Syr. 501, Mingana Syr. 586, Mingana Syr. 47). This creates a certain difficulty, as the colophons in the manuscripts contradict each other. Was the Nicaean corpus translated by Maruta on the occasion of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410 (as East-Syrian manuscripts claim) or were the canons of Nicaea translated together with those constituting the Antiochian Corpus canonum around 501 in Mabbug? This question can only be answered on the basis of comparative stylistic analysis of translation A with the texts ascribed to Maruta on the one hand and with the West-Syrian translations from the 6th c. on the other. Interestingly, other examples of translation A can be found in manuscripts with mixed contents of undoubtedly West-Syrian origin: the polemic florilegium BL Add. 14529 (7th-8th cc.) which includes patristic texts against heretics such as Nestorius and Julian of Halicarnassus; and a highly fragmented 8th-9th cc. codex in the Houghton Library of Harvard University that came from the collection of James Rendel Harris, which also contains apocryphal gospels and apocalypses. The comparison of the different patterns of translation A show minor variants (with the exception of the general title of the canons) and testify to roughly the same recension of the text. Translation B, on the contrary, underwent some major alterations in the course of its textual history, probably due to the free character of the original translation, which was considered unsatisfactory at some point. The first recension (C-D) of this translation is attested by West-Syrian manuscripts with various contents, e.g. BL Add. 12155 (C) (8th c.), a very extensive polemic florilegium, and Vat. sir. 127 (D), a collection of canons similar in structure to the earlier manuscript BL Add. 14526. In the course of the exploration of Syriac manuscripts in the Middle East, Arthur Vööbus discovered in the library of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus an important codex that was a compendium of the ecclesiastical law, the Synodicon, belonging to the West-Syrian tradition. According to Vööbus, the version of the Nicaean canons preserved in this manuscript conforms in general to the C-D recension, although it adds a number of variants not attested by any previously known manuscripts. Vööbus identified another example of the same recension in the manuscript Mardin Orth. 320. Another recension (E), the result of further revision of the C-D text, was identified by Schulthess in the 9th-c. manuscript Paris syr. 62, a WestSyrian collection of

115515 apocryphal, patristic and canonical texts. An interesting feature is that this compendium of undoubtedly West-Syrian origin contains the previously mentioned 73 pseudo-Nicaean canons associated with Maruta of Maiperqaṭ. Apart from the 20 authentic canons of Nicaea I, the manuscript includes the introduction to the canons which also can be found in all other manuscripts attesting to this recension.

115520 Arthur Vööbus and, later, Hubert Kaufhold identified the same revision of the text in two 8th-c. Synodica from the Zaʿfaran Monastery, namely, Mardin Orth. 309 and Mardin Orth. 310. With regard to the latter, Vööbus mentions a number of variants which "throw more light" on the history of this recension.

115525 The copy of Mardin Orth. 310 is a manuscript of 1911 in the Mingana collection at the University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 8. Unlike Schulthess, Kaufhold identifies this version as the second translation (or, rather an adaptation of the first translation) of the canons made by Jacob of Edessa at the end of the 7th c.

115530 Within the context of comparative textual study of the translations of the Nicaean canons and, in particular, the recension E just mentioned, the main perspective is the preparation of the critical edition of the 20 Nicaean canons and an introduction to the canons through study and collation of the manuscripts Mardin Orth. 309, Mardin Orth. 310, IOM, RAS Syr. 34, Paris syr. 62 and Mingana Syr. 8. There is still a possibility that at some point the manuscript, presumably from the 9th c., to which our leaf originally belonged to, will be found.

115535 See [\(55\) The Canons of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in the Manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34, in Written Monuments of the Orient \(English version\), 1\(3\), 2016. P. 35-63.](#)

115540 Tempus destruendi et tempus aedificandi (Eccl 3:3). The historiography of the Council of Nicaea was dominated for a long time by the retrospective "master narrative" established by Athanasius and developed by the ancient Christian historians and heresiologists. In contrast, during recent centuries it has been shaped by the deconstruction of this narrative in light of critical studies. Williams points to

115545 Newman as the initiator of modern scholarship on Nicaea (1833); however, the critical spirit was not absent from earlier editors and historians, such as Henri de Valois (+1676) and Bernard de Montfaucon (+1741). In any case, as far as the sources are concerned, the works of Schwartz and Opitz undoubtedly marked a milestone (1934). The Urkunden, freed from the polemical or apologetic context in which they were

115550 transmitted, allowed a new understanding of the sources and prompted a necessary process of deconstruction of the master narrative, tempus destruendi. This process has been neither linear nor homogeneous because abandoning the persistent hermeneutical biases imposed by the master narrative is a difficult task.

115555 Moreover, wrong ways of integrating confessional premises into historical studies have hindered this process. However, the works of authors such as Bardy, Simonetti, and Hanson have made enormous steps in rewriting the history of the Council of Nicaea.

Recent studies have shown the extent to which "Arianism" is a polemical construction. This is an achievement that scholarship cannot waive. Yet, at times, the idea of

115560 "construction" has been misunderstood, as if it indicates a narrative that is nothing more than the fruit of polemical imagination and, therefore, an object of pure deconstruction, tempus destruendi. Of course, for example, Alexander transmitted a construction of Arianism; however, the task of scholars should not just be to "deconstruct" ancient "constructions," but also to identify and "reconstruct" the

115565 historical elements that explain the shape of such a construction. What did Alexander see in the clerics whom he criticized that moved him to construct such an "Arianism"? Ancient accounts were not usually created ex nihilo. Therefore, a programmatic distrust of ancient sources can be just as uncritical as an naive trust in them. It is not that academic studies should be less critical; they must be more critical!

115570 Scholars should critically assess their own distrust of sources and their models of understanding. Indeed, it is impossible to grasp the complexity of reality with out such models. For this reason, human knowledge, including scientific works, is a kind of construction. Consequently, scholars must critically reevaluate both ancient models of interpretation and their own.

115575 INTRODUCTION

Something similar could be said about the factors that shape history. According to the "master narrative," the ultimate driving force behind the controversy was the fight of heresy against orthodoxy. According to this view, the Arians alleged many reasons for attacking Athanasius, but the real reason behind all their claims and

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actions was their hatred of orthodoxy. Their sole purpose was to introduce impiety into the Church (ἀσέβειαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσαγάγωσι).¹ In contrast, some modern studies have regarded doctrinal causes with suspicion and have disclosed to what extent Christian controversies were shaped not only by theology, but also by politics, power, local identities, and other factors. Again, this is an accomplishment that academic works cannot neglect. However, scientific studies should also critically assess the assumption that theological reasons are always a pretext that hides other unconfessed motivations. In short, critical scholars must be self-critical as well. *Tempus destruendi et tempus aedificandi*.

An open and honest dialog between the scholar's preconceptions and the evidence is crucial. Without this dialog, scholars risk projecting into the ancient world our modern categories, to the point of distrusting systematically the dynamics that are unfamiliar to our current way of thinking. It is not critical to replace ancient beliefs with modern beliefs. A self-critical assessment of our own assumptions allows us to hear the sources and to get in contact with the richness of what is unfamiliar to us.

This dialog is complex because it is not possible to approach historical evidence without a preexisting theoretical model and certain presuppositions.

A model is necessary to grasp reality. However, it implies some risks. A theoretical framework must always be provisional. A fitting model is one that can grasp reality and is helpful for making sense of seemingly unrelated historical data. In the same vein, a suitable working hypothesis is one that solves more problems than it causes. Instead, a theoretical framework could become an obstacle for grasping reality, when it is not open to welcome the anomalies of ancient sources. Models are a working tool and, therefore, they should be tentative and provisional.

Theories must fit reality, and not vice-versa. Scholars who are open to bearing the mismatch between the model and the historical evidence can learn from the sources. Otherwise, scholars risk projecting their presuppositions onto ancient sources. Let me recall a classic example. All the textual evidence – Greek and Latin – supports that Arius, in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, declared that the Son is “fully God” (πλήρης θεός).

However, as the theoretical framework established that Arius denied the Son's divinity, instead of rethinking the framework, the editors amended the text. Of course, it is not easy to deal with these anomalies that witness the unexpected; however, this uncomfortable mismatch puts the scholar on the edge of knowledge.

This example shows, in addition, that conceptual models impact not only doctrinal interpretation of sources, but also the scientific edition of their texts. The philological and hermeneutical stages are not strictly successive; they also influence one another. Even those who work directly with manuscripts are somehow guided by theoretical presuppositions. Again, critical scholars must be self-critics as well.

The 1,700th anniversary of Nicaea offers a precious opportunity, that is, a *καιρός*, to take a step forward and revisit this event. Two main reasons foster this task. First, standard works on Nicaea focus on the so-called Arian controversy rather than the synod itself and pay more attention to its reception than to the event. Second, studies on the synod have not always applied the method that scholars of the 20th century have developed. In addition, thanks to the efforts of the Athanasius Werke, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, Sources chrétiennes, and other series, almost all the sources appear in a scientific edition. Accordingly, the present book has two main purposes: 1) to focus on the Council of Nicaea itself, rather than its reception, and 2) to apply a *ratio interpretandi* that observes the hierarchy of the sources and, therefore, gives effective priority to contemporary sources over retrospective accounts.

1) The book focuses on Nicaea, and not exclusively on the “Arian” crisis; therefore, it intends to address the various topics that the synod tackled. Accordingly, on the one hand, the book should not begin with the outbreak of the theological crisis – the most significant topic of the synod, but not the only one. On the other hand, it is necessary to trace in the second and third centuries some disciplinary issues addressed by the canons and the letters of Nicaea. Therefore, the book includes a first chapter that deals with the institutional and theological antecedents, including the development of synodal activity before Nicaea, the relationship between the episcopate and the school in Alexandria, the Melitian crisis, the date of Easter, and the Trinitarian discussions that preceded and shaped the debate addressed by the Council of Nicaea. The following chapters present in a chronological way the steps of the events related to the synod, from the outbreak of the “Arian” controversy to the

end of the first phase of the reception of the Nicene synod. As is explained in chapter 5, the death of Constantine is regarded as the end of the first step of the reception of the council.

2) The first comprehensive historical account of Nicaea is found in the historical, apologetic and polemical writings of Athanasius of Alexandria, a participant in the events. He reported the history according to his own perspective as a staunch adversary of Arius and a firm supporter of Nicaea. Although his long career was controversial, his literary activity, travels, political skills and other factors secured his reputation. Less than ten years after his death, Gregory of Nazianzus compared him with Christ (or. 21.29,3).

Thus, from the beginning, Athanasius' historical writings were backed by his personal reputation as a saint. Hence, almost all Christian authors have adopted his narrative. Indeed, Church historians and heresiologists of the 4th and 5th centuries, such as Epiphanius, Gelasius, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, transmitted Athanasius' black-and-white picture of the controversy. In the West, Rufinus, Sulpicius, and Cassiodorus adopted the same narrative. Only Hilary of Poitiers provided a quite independent perspective, but it had much less influence than that of Athanasius. Therefore, the Athanasian account became the "master narrative."⁵ Only Philostorgius challenged the already official narrative, yet the imperial reaction against his perspective resulted in his work being lost; only some fragments were preserved. Thus, Athanasius became the indisputable hallmark of Nicene orthodoxy and Arius the arch-heretic: "No other heretic has been through so thoroughgoing a process of demonization."⁶ This process has had lasting hermeneutical consequences because it produces strong prejudices in ancient and modern readers of the original sources. Accordingly, ancient Christian writers developed, expanded, supplemented and, at times, disputed this narrative, but always within the framework established by Athanasius. This situation gives rise to a hermeneutic challenge. Roughly speaking, scholars who want to reconstruct the controversy are in a trap. On the one hand, they need Athanasius as a source; on the other, they need to be free from Athanasius' interpretation. Is it possible to escape this trap? Fortunately, there is a way-out: modern scholarship has recognized that ancient sources transmit material that has varying degrees of reliability.

In general terms, it is possible to distinguish three layers or levels in the primary sources: the narratives of the historians, the testimonies of the protagonists, and the documents contemporary to the events. The last category of sources does not rely on the Athanasian account.

1) The narratives are the most immediate level of the historical works that describe the controversies of the fourth century. They are accounts written by Christian authors of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, who did not participate in the events they narrate and who shaped their works within the Athanasian framework. They are mainly Gelasius, Epiphanius, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius, and Sulpicius. These authors produced their histories based on written sources. The problem with these narratives lies in the difficulty of distinguishing between what the ancient historians read in the sources and what they elaborated as authors influenced by the Athanasian account.

2) The second level is that of the testimonies, which are historical accounts of the controversies written some years after the events - with a retrospective viewpoint - by authors who participated in these events. For the period under study (ca. 304-337), these authors are mainly Eusebius and Athanasius.

As they participated in the controversies, they are privileged witnesses. However, the time elapsed between the events and their writings, on the one hand, and their engagement in the controversy, on the other, led them to interpret the events retrospectively and biasedly. Thus, alongside the evidence, their accounts offer a retrospective and one-sided interpretation of the conflicts. Therefore, to assess the historical worth of these testimonies, it is necessary to consider the perspective of each of these authors.

3) The most valuable texts are the documents contemporary to the events, which are transmitted by ancient Christian writers. They are letters, creeds, canons, theological statements, and imperial reports. They have been transmitted as quotations, i.e., they are preserved in other works (*traditio indirecta*). The main authors transmitting documents are Eusebius, Athanasius, Hilary, Epiphanius, and the ancient Church historians. These documents are not free of bias because their authors were engaged in controversies. However, because they are contemporary to the events, they do not convey a retrospective view of the facts, nor are they influenced by Athanasius' account.

These controversial documents have been transmitted by works that are not neutral,

and therefore it is necessary to free them from the polemical or apologetic framework in which they are embedded. This is the task undertaken by Fontes Nicaenae Synodi (FNS), the "partner book" that contains the text and translation of the contemporary documents.

The methodology guiding this research consists of 1) distinguishing the different layers of sources, narratives, testimonies, and documents, 2) giving effective hermeneutical priority to the documents over retrospective testimonies and narratives, 3) freeing the documents from the polemical framework in which they are embedded, and 4) relocating them in their original context.

In this way, they can be interpreted *iuxta propria principia*. Of course, the setting of each document, and especially its chronology, is a debatable matter (Ch. 2.1). These methodological steps belong to traditional historicalphilological analysis of ancient sources. The novelty of this research - if any - is the systematicity with which these steps are applied. This approach implies that, for each period, the first reconstruction must be shaped by the analysis of the contemporary documents; then, this provisional reconstruction is complemented and confronted with ancient Christian historians and modern studies. The exception is chapter 2.3, where the period is reconstructed, as an example, taking into account the retrospective testimonies and narratives (master narrative), and then this reconstruction is confronted with the analysis of the contemporary documents in order to contrast the two narratives.

The "master narrative" describes Nicaea as a struggle between individuals moved by hatred, faith, jealousy and loyalty. The envy of the devil plays a crucial role in the events, and the participants are moved by theological reasons, namely, hatred of orthodoxy or heresy. Modern scholars, however, have shown that, alongside theology (and philosophy), politics also played a significant role in the crisis. The "Arian" crisis, though, was not only an intellectual and political struggle between individuals but also - and largely - a group conflict. The controversy, then, has been analyzed through the lenses of theology, philosophy, and politics, but the approach of the social sciences has been somehow neglected. Indeed, only particular aspects of the crisis have been studied using this perspective.⁷ However, it is not possible to explain a group phenomenon only in terms of theology, philosophy, politics, and individual behavior. Hence, to address the group dimension of the controversies, this research applies - when it is needed - an appropriate social-scientific theory to study the Arian crisis, namely, the social identity theory.

The fragmentary state of the ancient sources and their - at times - frustrating scarcity imply that any reconstruction of the Nicene Council cannot but be hypothetical. As the evidence allows different levels of certainty, the tenor of the phrases intends to point out the degree of certainty for each assertion. Unless otherwise indicated translations are my own. Some elements of chapters 2 and 4 have appeared in previous articles, as stated in the footnotes. However, these materials have been thoroughly reconsidered and reworked.

See [Nicaea_325_Reassessing_the_Contemporary.pdf](#)

Eusebius, The Life of Constantine: Mambre

CHAPTER LI: That he ordered a Church to be built at Mambre.

SUCH was the principal sacred edifices erected by the emperor's command. But having heard that the self-same Saviour who ere while had appeared on earth had in ages long since past afforded a manifestation of his Divine presence to holy men of Palestine near the oak of Mambre, he ordered that a house of prayer should be built there also in honor of the God who had thus appeared. Accordingly the imperial commission was transmitted to the provincial governors by letters addressed to them individually, enjoining a speedy completion of the appointed work. He sent moreover to the writer of this history an eloquent admonition, a copy of which I think it well to insert in the present work, in order to convey a just idea of his pious diligence and zeal. To express, then, his displeasure at the evil practices which he had heard were usual in the place just referred to, he addressed me in the following terms.

CHAPTER LII: Constantine's Letter to Eusebius concerning Mambre.

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Macarius, and the rest of the bishops in Palestine.

"One benefit, and that of no ordinary importance, has been conferred on us by my truly pious mother-in-law, in that she has made known to us by letter that abandoned

folly of impious men which has hitherto escaped detection by you: so that the criminal conduct thus overlooked may now through our means obtain fitting correction and remedy, necessary though tardy. For surely it is a grave impiety indeed, that holy places should be defiled by the stain of unhallowed impurities. What then is this, dearest brethren, which, though it has eluded your sagacity, she of whom I speak was impelled by a pious sense of duty to disclose?

CHAPTER LIIII: That the Saviour appeared in this Place to Abraham. "SHE assures me, then, that the place which takes its name from the oak of Mambre, where we find that Abraham dwelt, is defiled by certain of the slaves of superstition in every possible way. She declares that idols which should be utterly destroyed have been erected on the site of that tree; that an altar is near the spot; and that impure sacrifices are continually performed. Now since it is evident that these practices are equally inconsistent with the character of our times, and unworthy the sanctity of the place itself, I wish your Gravities to be informed that the illustrious Count Acacius, our friend, has received instructions by letter from me, to the effect that every idol which shall be found in the place above-mentioned shall immediately be consigned to the flames; that the altar be utterly demolished; and that if any one, after this our mandate, shall be guilty of impiety of any kind in this place, he shall be visited with condign punishment. The place itself we have directed to be adorned with an unpolluted structure, I mean a church; in order that it may become a fitting place of assembly for holy men. Meantime, should any breach of these our commands occur, it should be made known to our clemency without the least delay by letters from you, that we may direct the person detected to be dealt with, as a transgressor of the law, in the severest manner. For you are not ignorant that the Supreme God first appeared to Abraham, and conversed with him, in that place. There it was that the observance of the Divine law first began; there first the Saviour himself, with the two angels, vouchsafed to Abraham a manifestation of his presence; there God first appeared to men; there he gave promise to Abraham concerning his future seed, and straightway fulfilled that promise; there he foretold that he should be the father of a multitude of nations. For these reasons, it seems to me right that this place should not only be kept pure through your diligence from all defilement, but restored also to its pristine sanctity; that nothing hereafter may be done there except the performance of fitting service to him who is the Almighty God, and our Saviour, and Lord of all. And this service it is incumbent on you to care for with due attention, if your Gravities be willing (and of this I feel confident) to gratify my wishes, which are especially interested in the worship of God. May he preserve you, beloved brethren!"

Arbo, also Terebinth. **The Oak of Mambre** - (Ramat al-Khalil)
The site of Mamre, known in Arabic as Haram Ramet al-Khalil, lies approximately 3 km north of Hebron on the ancient road linking the main Hebron-Jerusalem and Bethlehem-Ziph routes. The Bible describes Elonei (oaks of) Mamre as Abraham's dwelling place, where he built an altar to God (Gen. 13:18, 18:1, 23:19). Some scholars locate the biblical Elonei Mamre within the town of ancient Hebron (Tell Rumeideh); others identify it with the enclosure of Haram Ramat al-Khalil which was already considered a sacred site in the Second Temple period. Josephus relates that Abraham resided near Hebron, by an oak called ogyges, the oak of Genesis (Antiq. 1, 186). Elsewhere he mentions a terebinth 6 stadia from Hebron that had stood there since creation (War IV, 533); it is not clear whether both references are to the same place. In Antiquities he tells the biblical story, calling the tree an oak: whereas in War of the Jews he is describing a holy place in his own time, calling it a terebinth. Josephus is mistaken about the distance between Elonei Mamre and Hebron, which is not 6 but approximately 18 stadia (3 km). Neither does he mention a structure around the terebinth. Modern excavations have made it clear that the structure was already standing in his time. The book of Jubilees (29:17-19; 37:14-17) refers to Abraham's capital in the Hebron Hills as a tower (migdal). The reference is probably to Abraham's residence at Elonei Mamre. If so, the author, a contemporary of the Second Temple, was describing the enclosure at Elonei Mamre in terms associated with the Temple Mount - migdal or birah - both meaning tower or fortress. Talmudic literature refers to the place as Beth Ilanim or Botnah and it is mentioned as the site of one of the most important fairs in Palestine: "There are three fairs: the fair of Gaza, the fair of Acco, the fair of Botnah, and the least doubtful of them all is the fair of Botnah," meaning that of the three fairs this was the one most definitely associated with idolatry and therefore Jews were forbidden to participate in it (J.T. A.Z. 39c; Gen. Rab. 47:10).

115845 The fair is mentioned in two of Jerome's commentaries (In Hieremiam VI, 18, 6, CCSL 74, 307; In Zachariam III, 4-5. CCSL 76A, 851), where it is said that Hadrian brought the captive Jews to the famous marketplace at Terebinth. There he sold many into slavery. For this reason the Jews in Jerome's time shunned the annual fair. The same story is told in the seventh-century Chronicon Paschale (PG 92, col. 613) with some additions.

115850 The Bordeaux Pilgrim (Itin. Burd. 599, 3-7) states that the emperor Constantine built a basilica there. Eusebius (Vita Constantini III. 51-53, GCS 7, 99-101) and Sozomenus (HE II, 4. GCS 50, 54-56) report the circumstances and the official documentation referring to the building. Both Julius Africanus (Chron. XVIII) and Eusebius (Vita Constantini III, 53, 100; Onom. 6. 12-14; 76. 1-3) mention a pagan altar at the site. The most detailed description of the site is in the work of Sozomenos. He reports that the place situated 15 stadia from Hebron, was the site of the terebinth, where the angels had appeared to Abraham. In summer, he states, a great fair was held there, attracting hordes of people from far away, who came to offer libations and burn incense, but also to trade; among them were pagans, Christians and Jews. The Medeba map seems to differentiate between Botna and Mamre, as the mosaic depicts both a church and a terebinth. During the seventh century CE there was a monastery at the site that continued to exist after the Arab conquest (Adamnanus, De Locis Sanctis II, II. 6, CCSL 175, 211). In Crusader times, the site may have been occupied by the Church of the Trinity.

Eusebius, Onomasticon 6:8-12 (ca. 295 A.D.); Jerome 7:18-24 (ca. 390 A.D.) Arboc. Corrupte in nostris codicibus Arboc scribitur, cum in Hebraeis legatur Arbe, id est quattuor, eo quod ibi tres patriarchae, Abraam, Isaac et Iacob, sepulti sunt, et "Adam Magnus", ut in Iesu libro scriptum est: licet eum quidam conditum in loco Calvariae suspiciuntur. Haec est autem eadem Chebron, olim metropolis Filistinorum et habita-culum gigantum, regnumque postea David, in tribu Iudae civitas sacerdotalis et fugitivorum. Distat ad meridianam plagam ab Aelia milibus circiter viginti duobus.

115870 (Jerome 7:11-18)

Et quercus Abraam, quae et Mambre, usque ad Costantii regis imperium monstrabatur, et mausoleum eius in praesentiarum cernitur, cumque a nostris ibidem ecclesia iam extructa sit, a cunctis in circuitu gentibus terebinthi locus superstitione colitur, eo quod sub ea Abraam angelos quondam hospitio suscepit. Haec ergo primum Arbe, postea a Chebron, uno filiorum Chaleb sortita vocabulum est. Lege Verba dierum.

115880 (Jerome 7:18-24)

Arbo (Gen 23:2). In our codices it is written in a corrupted form, 'Arboc', while the Hebrew text reads 'Arba', that is, 'four', because the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are buried there, as well as 'the great Adam', as is written in the Book of Joshua (Jos. 14:15), although some suppose that he is buried on the Calvary. 'That is Hebron', today a large village, in ancient times one of the main cities of the Philistines [Eusebius: 'the aliens', i.e. the Cannanites in general] and a dwelling place of giants, and later royal seat of David. It fell into the lot of the tribe of Judah, and was a priestly city and one of the cities of refuge. It is south of Jerusalem at a distance of about 20 [22] miles.

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The oak of Abraham, also called Mambre, could be seen standing until the reign of Constantius, and the tomb of the same is visible to this day and while a church has been erected there by our people, the place of the oak is [greatly] venerated by all the pagan population around, because under it Abraham gave hospitality to the angels. At first the place was called Arbe, and later it was named Hebron after Hebron, one of the sons of Caleb, as we read in the Chronicles. (1 Chron. 2:42).

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Sozomenus, Historia Ecclesiastica II, 4

I deem necessary to declare now what was resolved about the oak of Mambre by Emperor Constantine. The place is presently called the Terebinth, and is situated at the distance of fifteen stadia from Hebron, which is to the south... Every year, at summer time, the inhabitants of that place and the Palestinians, the Phoenicians and the Arabs, coming from far away, make a fair there. Many come there for the sake of business, some to sell and some to buy. The feast is celebrated by a very big congregation of Jews, since they boast of Abraham as their forefather, of heathens since angels came there, of Christians since he who should be born from the Virgin for the salvation of humankind appeared there to that pious man. Everyone venerates

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this place according to his religion: some praying God the ruler of all, some calling upon the angels and offering libations of wine, burning incense or sacrificing an ox, a pig, a sheep or a cock. Constantine's mother in law (Euthropia), having come there to fulfill a vow, gave notice of all this to the Emperor. So he wrote to the bishops of Palestine reproaching them for having forgot their mission and permitted such a most holy place to be defiled by those libations and sacrifices.

Archaeological discoveries in Deurne and surrounding areas,

particularly the **Helden ornamental disc**

Introduction

Few archaeological discoveries have been made in the Peel region. This was noted in the newspaper immediately after the discovery of the Peel helmet in June 1910, and also later by the director of the Helenaveen Company, who personally acquired many finds related to the Peel helmet and kept them in his villa in Helenaveen. After his death in 1931, these objects disappeared from view.

Further investigation did reveal more: in early 1837, soldiers working near Deurne (Huub Kluijtmans says at St. Jozefparochie, newspapers of the time call it the Kempensche Heide) found many urns and other objects. These excavated objects were immediately gifts and merchandise. Some later ended up in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. In the 1950s and 1960s, amateur archaeologist Leo Kluijtmans made several discoveries in the Peel region, primarily stones used as tools. He also found several arrowheads at the site where the Peel helmet was discovered. These arrowheads emerged in 1963 after a devastating peat fire that lasted several months in 1959. He had already discovered a grinding stone before that. A small bronze ring, which belonged to the man and horse's equipment, also came to light.

Overview of archaeological finds in the Peel region

The author has compiled a list of the objects found below:

February 4, 1837 [1] Several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of burned bodies and small bones.

[2] While in some, pieces of metal and parts of weapons were found.

May 4, 1837 [1] Kempen heathland

[2] First 5, then 50 urns were found.

[3] Not a single penny or coin was unearthed; only a piece of metal, which is believed to be the mouthpiece of a wind instrument.

[4] Excavations are still continuing in some places, but as mentioned, nothing but ash and the aforementioned human bones are found in the urns.

June 3, 1837 [1] Urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of burned bodies and small bones.

On April 23, 1839 [1], a number of urns were sent to us, which had recently been discovered in Deurne, in North Brabant; and the number was further increased by the proceeds of a deliberate excavation ordered for that purpose, donated to the Museum by the mayor of that place, Mr. van Riet. [2] [probably NBD 2, vRD 4a, vRD 2, vRD 3, ND 3, GtD 15a, k 1942/6.1, k 1925/1.1, NBD 1, k 1942/6.2, vRD 7, k 1925/1.2, ND 2, k 1942/6.3, ND 13, vRD 4b, vRD 5a, ND 4, GtD 13a, ND 8, k 1932/12.9, ND 10, ND 5, vRD 8, vRD 5b, ND 11, k 1942/6.4, GtD 14b]

[3] The urns appear not to date from the Roman period, but from many hundreds of years earlier.

March 18, 1840 [1] From Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa, in Dordrecht, two tuff mortars with pestles, excavated in the vicinity of Deurne in North Brabant;

[2] These objects were NOT found in the data of the more than 40,000 objects online.

June 29, 1840 [1] Municipality of Deurne Liessel.

There are no longer any mortuary urns available in Deurne. The Mayor would try to obtain more by excavation, which he would gladly release if successful. -

The District Commissioner / DD.

Wesselman.

[2] Below is the part of the answer that concerns Deurne and Liessel, but refers to Meijel. [3] 15 photos can be found on the Rijksmuseum website, such as this detail.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

October 1, 1840 [1] The North Brabant Society already possesses urns from three pagan cemeteries, namely: those found in Deurne in 1837, in Genderen in 1839, and in Gemonde in 1849.

January 26, 1841 [1] From Mr. P. O. P. Guyot, in Nijmegen, a very important collection of bronze and other objects excavated near Deurne, in the province of North Brabant, most of which were assembled by Captain Baron van Voorst and given to Mr. Guyot. [2] The Museum has now been given possession of the most important and rarest pieces that came to light during the discovery in Deurne, and which, through various means, have finally been brought together again to form a whole that [...]

January 12, 1842 [1] From Mr. P. C. G. GUYOT, of Nijmegen, a number of ten urns, pots, and bowls, found in Deurne in North Brabant; [2] From Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa, of Dordrecht, three more small objects in urns found in Deurne.

January 20, 1843 [1] From Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, we received another tuff mortar, found in the vicinity of Deurne.

January 1, 1844 [1] A remarkable piece was found in 1844 in a swamp in the Peel, not far from the hamlet of Maris, and is now in the Leiden Museum (Cat. ML, as well as Stark, vol. 1876 pp. 7-56; P 1881, 272-274; further HKN) It is a gilt silver medallion (fig. 149), over 21 cm in diameter, which depicts in fairly high relief a depiction of a man strangling a lion in the center, surrounded by animal fights, including two animals disputing a ox's head. Four holes have been drilled in the edge with chiseled frames, perhaps to affix the medallion to a shield; the nails with round heads are still visible in two of the holes. Based on the style of the figures, the piece is considered to be of Eastern European origin.

[2] Dr. H.C. Gallois pointed out to us that there are two discs in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, one of which is only fragmentarily preserved, that bear a strong resemblance to the example discussed here.

[3] See also 1922: Iranians and Greeks in South Russia

[4] The description of GL672 in the inventory book reads:

Silver (gilt). Round disc or shield, chased and engraved, in particularly high-profile work, depicting in the center a wrestler kneeling with his arms around the neck of a lion he has overpowered. Around it are two lions pouncing on a ram and two panthers approaching each other, with a cow's head between them. The entire image is surrounded by four borders or bands, two in the form of twisted cord, the third a wavy one, and the fourth or outermost one again of twisted cord. On the outer edge are four openings at equal distances, with the knobs in two of these openings, with which the disc was attached to some other object.

March 31, 1864 [1] Some Roman objects from the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA were also acquired, originating from former inhabitants of our country:

[2] a very beautifully polished flint axe, 12 dm long;

[3] a roughly worked trachyte ball, 4 dm in diameter;

[4] a baked earthenware urn, filled with burnt human bones, 19 dm high;

[5] another urn, 18 dm high, containing fragments of a bronze hair needle found inside;

[6, 7, 8] three more urns containing burnt bones and

[9] remains of bronze rings, etc. The urns, 10, 15.5, and 16 inches high; [10] two bowls, 9 and 7 dm.;

[11] four pots of various shapes, 6.5 to 9.5 dm. high;

[12] a cup-shaped vessel, 5.5 dm. high, and some fragments of pots.

[13] All these objects, with the possible exception of the WIGGE, were excavated in 1837 from the old cemetery in Deurne, North Brabant;

[14] a pair of trachyte stone mortars with pestles from the vicinity of Deurne and belonging to the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, already mentioned several times; [15] They now form a considerable whole, together with the pieces

found at the same location, donated to the Museum in 1840 and 1841 by the late Mr. P. O. G. GUYOT.

March 10, 1890 [1] as well as the umbo or shield plate, embossed in silver and high relief (Bas Empire, = the period of the soldier emperors appointed by the army and often quickly dethroned or murdered).

[2] Both the Stone and Bronze Ages are amply represented, while the collection of

Germanic pottery, including many urns containing the ashes of our Germanic ancestors, may be considered among the richest. The Roman glassware and pottery, urns, etc., are also included.

April 14, 1929 [1] A very beautiful and remarkable piece is the gilded silver Roman helmet, found near Deurne in the Peel region. [2] Attention is also drawn to the large silver ornaments, which were sewn onto leather and formed part of a Roman horse harness. These pieces were fished out of the Rhine in this country.

August 25, 1937 [1] During reclamation work carried out under the supervision of the Dutch Heath Society on the territory of the vast Peel municipality of Deurne, a skeleton was recently discovered.

April 2, 2013 The following concerns the so-called "Ornamental Disc of Heroes," which can be found under inventory number GL 672 in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. It is dated after 100 BC, material silver, diameter 21 cm, found in Helden. [1] Further description: This unique disc originates from Thrace (modern Bulgaria and Romania) and was used as jewelry. The disc is made of silver and then gilded.

[2] The following description from 1840 is NOT of the Helden ornamental disc:

I have heard that a farmer in Deurne Liessel is said to be in possession of an old Roman sword and a gold shield, which were supposedly dug up in the Peel. I have serious doubts, as I had never heard anything about it. I have also been assured by research that no one knows anything about it. This has probably been confused with what happened in the neighboring municipality of Meyel.

In 1807, a gold shield was found there.

A few years ago, while I was in Meyel, I went to the house of the then mayor Goossens to see this curiosity. He showed me a shield that had been found in the Peel in 1807, about five feet below the surface of the ground in the Peel during a peat excavation.

It was made of gold, or at least heavily gilded, embossed with hydroglyphs and other figures of lions, tigers, etc., and had the shape of a crescent, closely resembling a gorget such as the captains of the infantry wore on their chests not so long ago.

[3] In the chapter "THE SARMATIANS" of the book "Iranians and Greeks in South Russia" from 1922, we find several similar discs on PLATE XXVII. Surprisingly, the decorative disk of Helden is also included there with the description SILVER PLAQUE FROM RAERMOND (HOLLAND). Rijks Museum, Leiden. For a copy of the entire book, see: 1922: Iranians and Greeks in South Russia by M. Rostovtzeff.

p. 138 ff.: Finally, the same style and the same main ideas appear in certain finds from Germanic countries. I am thinking of the phalarae from Raermond in Holland (pl. XXVII, 3), with a frieze of animals and a figure of Hercules strangling a lion which presents the same peculiarities - beardlessness, local costume - as the Hercules or Panagürishte; and of the famous cauldron from Gundestrup. I agree with Salomon Reinach and Drexel in attributing these monuments to a peculiar branch of art which they call Irano-Celtic: [...]

[4] The decorative disc comes from the Guillon collection and was apparently also mentioned in 1876 by B. Stark.

[5] After years of correspondence, with only one subject: haggling, the object was purchased in 1890 by the National Museum of Antiquities for the then exorbitant price of 1550 guilders.

[6] A similar version of the disc in the shape of a crescent (lunula) also appears in the aforementioned book as figure 20.

April 2, 2013 The Peel helmet, also in the Museum of Antiquities, has the following description: This gilded silver cavalry helmet, a true masterpiece, was found in 1910 while cutting peat in a former swamp in the Peel region. It is, in fact, only the exterior of the helmet, which was originally constructed from an iron cap with a leather covering. The helmet was completely disassembled after its discovery and has therefore been thoroughly restored. The right cheek flap, which was lost, has been replaced. The parade helmet likely belonged to a high-ranking officer. According to an inscription on the helmet, he was part of the sixth cavalry unit, Stablesia, a unit also known from ancient literature. A second inscription gives the name of the maker and the original weight of the silver plates. Remains of clothing and

equipment, as well as several coins, were found near the helmet. These indicate that the equipment likely ended up in the peat around 319 AD. We do not know exactly how the items ended up in the bog. Perhaps the owner drowned, or it was an offering to the gods. Inventory number k 1911/4.1-5, dated 319-323, location Deurne, dimensions height 28.5 cm, 359.9 grams

[1] It should be noted that the sixth division of the cavalry unit on the helmet is not found in ancient literature, but the first and second are.

[2] An important aspect is the following:

Such delicate objects could not have survived the ravages of time without the best protection against the elements, robbers, etc. If you "hide" them, you have a specific purpose for them. A Roman killed in a swamp is extremely unlikely. After all, if a prominent Roman officer had been killed, the relatives and soldiers would have searched for the missing person. They knew that the missing person had valuable items that they would want returned. They would not have simply found and taken away the body, naked. A robbery by others is also impossible, because then all valuables would have been taken, which is also the goal of robbers, isn't it? It's a shame I can't verify the story about the burned hooves, because I don't know whose, where, or when. Because that would point to a horse, but why weren't any bones of the horse found?

The conclusions can only be these:

A very high-ranking Roman official, apparently in the vicinity, felt it necessary to hide or conceal his entire military uniform as a gift to the gods. Around 320, Christianization also began here; perhaps that was the reason for renouncing the old (pagan) war implements and exchanging them for a Christian life and appropriate clothing. Or perhaps the officer retired and couldn't pass on the clothes that belonged to his rank to an equally high-ranking successor?

Or is the person deceased, and are the relatives unwilling, unable, or permitted to wear the artifacts themselves?

My suspicion is that the person was indeed very prominent. This suggests he was likely stationed in Trier, as that was the center of government at the time. But it's clear that many settlements, both military and civilian, were already located along the Meuse at the time. I estimate the distance to be a maximum of 20 km. There weren't many other safe hiding places nearby, as we can assume there was no real habitation within a radius of 5 or 10 km from the site, not even later.

What can we conclude from this? The complete equipment (of officer, horse, and very likely also servant) was deliberately buried in a very desolate area. They likely knew that the peat plants would continue to grow over it and that the ground disturbance would disappear within a very short time. They may also have thought that the objects were protected from weathering there, which has proven to be only partially true. If the objects were temporarily buried, the owner would not have had the opportunity to excavate them.

April 2, 2013 The description of the Stevensweert kantharos, located in the Valkhof Museum in Nijmegen: Stevensweert, late 1st century BC - mid-1st century AD, silver, partly gilded, h. 10.5 cm

Kantharos is the Greek name for a chalice-shaped drinking vessel with two large handles. The latter are missing from this silver example, which was found in 1943 or shortly before during gravel extraction along the Meuse River, north of Stevensweert. The lavish decoration on this vessel is entirely dedicated to the god of wine, Bacchus, who is often depicted holding a kantharos.

The foot and rim of the vessel are decorated with stylized floral and leaf motifs. The decoration between them is divided into two zones and extruded from the inside into the silver, to such an extent that the leaves of the ivy and vine tendrils at the bottom sometimes almost seem to detach from the wall. Both plants are dedicated to Bacchus and recur in numerous depictions of the god.

In the zone above, we see the heads of mythological figures, interspersed with various objects. Of the original six heads, two have been lost. The entire frieze depicts the world of the wine god, but various ideas have developed regarding the precise identification of the heads.

The characteristic head of the forest god Pan is unmistakable on one side of the cup, next to that of a bearded man wearing a headscarf, most likely Bacchus himself. The missing head on the right must have been that of Hercules, accompanied by his club, bow, and quiver. Pan and Hercules are often seen in the company of Bacchus, as are the two Bacchantes (female followers of Bacchus) on the other side, each with a wreath of ivy leaves around their heads. The head between them is missing, except for

- 116175 a few remnants of a wild mane of hair, presumably that of a satyr, also a faithful companion of the wine god.
Between the heads, we see various musical instruments, representing the festive frenzy to which everyone is surrendering, and decorated sticks and tree branches that the depicted figures often hold in other scenes.
- 116180 The cup was probably made in the eastern Mediterranean. A Roman owner took it north, where, now deprived of its ears, it ended up in the Meuse River. A turbulent history followed its discovery: in the 1950s, the "Stevensweert Kantharos" was at the center of a sensational lawsuit between buyer and seller. Since 1961, the cup has been a museum piece of exceptional quality and significance in Nijmegen.
- 116185 Many parallels can be drawn between the discovery of the Peel helmet and the (re)discovery of the kantharos.
Initially, the discovery was always about the money for the find. Later, it turned out that the object was much more valuable, and the original finders/owners protested, feeling wronged. This applied to the people of Smolen, but also to the owners of the kantharos.
- 116190 Both (helmet and drinking cup) are likely considerably older (one or two centuries) than the other objects related to a man and horse. They were therefore well cared for during their lifetime and passed on or sold. The latter is the case with the kantharos, as a name has been crossed out. Both also have a weight indication (of the silver), which indicates that the object was already recognized as extremely valuable at the time.
Evelein and Brom, along with their researchers, made (scientific) claims that later proved untenable. For example, the abbreviation of the name on the helmet was changed, but is the latter interpretation the correct one? A supposed poem on the kantharos later became a Greek weight indication.
Both beautifully crafted silver objects are extremely rare.
Perhaps less so at the time, as the necessary specimens were likely melted down. The acquisition by museums, especially the eagerness with which they were acquired, is also remarkable. But after that, curiosity faded. One explanation must be that the scientific officials were not the discoverers, so they could not really take credit for themselves.

Documents and newspaper articles relating to the ornamental disc, etc.

- 116210 April 5, 1803 TO THE CIVIEL Bailiff: [...] Jan Willem van de Mortel, for Deurne; Carel Frederik Wesselman Jr., for Mierlo; [...]
- circa 1805: Tranchot map of the Peel region
[Thanks to Huub Kluijtmans! The map includes some modern roads and canals.]
- 116215 August 25, 1807 On the Burial of the Dead by the Ancients.

September 12, 1813 Municipalities of Deurne and Liessel.
1st Lot. Art. 25. The 1/4 of the following tithes, 1st. large Klamp tithe of Peelklamp, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd parts, 2nd large Klap tithe of Middelklamp, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd parts, 3rd large Kamp tithe of Heijklamp, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd parts, and 4th Klamp tithe of Dongen, originate from the Teutonic Order; (half of these tithes belong to various private individuals) a 1/4 to the Latin school of Gemert and a 1/4 to the government. The 1/4 belonging to the domains is estimated at a revenue of 924 francs 78 c. and a capital of 23,119 francs 50 c.
- 116225 2nd Lot. Art. 26. Half of the Klamptiend from the Moesdijk, originating as above, (half of this tithe belongs to Mr. Berenstein, in Vugt), the share belonging to the government; is estimated at a revenue of 267 francs 90 cents on a capital of 6697 francs 50 cents.
- 116230 3rd Lot. Art. 27. The Klamp tithe of Lijssel and 1/4 of the tithes of the hamlet of den Grooten Bottel and Valkenakker, originating from the Teutonic Order, (the 3/4 of the tithes of the hamlet of den Grooten Bottel and Valkenakker belong to the amortization fund; the share belonging to the domain is estimated at a revenue of 377 francs 96 cents and a capital of 9449 francs 0 cents.)
- 116235 February 4, 1837 Deurne, February 3, 1837.
To the Editors of the Noord-Brabander.
For eight days now, the municipality of Deurne has provided proof that this region also contains treasures in terms of antiquity and history, which can easily be compared to other parts of our country. The attention of our Dutch scholars is
- 116240

therefore drawn to the following: which may provide them with the opportunity will be established, not only to expand their collections of antiquities with important articles, but also to contribute significantly to history.

Begun by the official corps of Regt. Huss. No. 6 and continued by private individuals hoping to find treasures, work is underway here to unearth a camp or army, or even a cemetery; likely originating from a tribe driven out of the Ardennes by the Romans and hidden here, behind the marshlands of the Peel. Several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of burned bodies and small bones, have already been excavated; while in some, fragments of metal and parts of weapons have been found.

These pots are covered by mounds of varying height, which, like the pots themselves, have certainly increased in size and height in proportion to the prestige and rank afforded by the person buried there. The pot is almost like a globe, slightly inclined towards the top. The lower end tapers ovally, while the upper end has a slanting rim, which will have approximately the same circumference as the pot itself.

The lid, which is very small in proportion to the pot, closes well and appears to be tightly covered. The largest pots will have a diameter of 3 palms, while the smallest will barely reach 1 to 1.5, and the mounds will also vary by almost a yard, as some are nearly 2 feet high, while others are more than five feet high. The pots are made of potting clay (which is also found here) and demonstrate that they had already advanced the art of turning to a considerable extent.

P.
[elsewhere:] - The attention of our national scholars and antiquarians is called to this discovery, which may be useful for adding to their collections or for elucidating history.

May 4, 1837 NETHERLANDS.

- In the latest issue of the Nederlandsch Magazijn (Dutch Magazine), one finds an article about the recently unearthed urns in North Brabant. It mainly concerns the recent publication of several of our daily newspapers reporting the excavation of antiquities in the municipality of Deurne, province of North Brabant. The editors of the aforementioned magazine have now received some details regarding the excavation, primarily as follows: A captain in the Hussar Regiment No. 6. On an earlier occasion, having discovered that some mounds on the Kempen heathland, upon excavation, turned out to be burial mounds and contained urns or ash jars, the idea arose that some similar mounds, present on the heath near Deurne, his current cantonment, might have served similar purposes and contained antiquities. With the permission of the mayor there, after excavation work was carried out, five urns or ash jars were found, which increased with subsequent excavations and now number more than fifty. It is unfortunate that the farmers, hearing of this, also began digging on their own side,

hoping to find treasures, smashing or damaging the urns they unearthed. Great was the disappointment of these people when they found nothing but ash and a few half-decayed, apparently human bones, such as skulls, ribs, thighbones, etc. Not a single penny or coin was unearthed; only a small piece of metal, which one assumes to be the mouthpiece of a wind instrument. The urns found are of various sizes, but all of more or less the same shape, and some have lids. The heathland in which the urns were found is about four acres in size; the mounds are fairly regular, but the entire area appears to have served as a burial ground, as urns have also been found outside the mounds and at some distance from them. The urns are usually covered with a layer of charcoal; after all, as soon as one finds this, one is certain to be near an urn.

Some are so high that the fibrous roots of common heather can be found above the ash; others have been found deeper, but at uneven depths. The material from which these pots or urns are composed is smooth, solid, and dark brown in color; no glaze is visible on them, nor any inscription or inscription. If they were made in Deurne, where two potteries are still found, then one must admit that this art has made no progress there in 10 or 15 centuries; for these urns are worked more precisely and smoothly and with more care than is currently the case. Excavations are still continuing in some places, but, as mentioned, nothing is found in the urns except ash and the aforementioned human bones.

June 3, 1837 HAARLEM, February 30

A report has been received from the municipality of Deurne (North Brabant) concerning the discovery of a camp or cemetery near that location. It is believed to originate from an ancient tribe, driven from the Ardennes by the Romans, who sought refuge there, behind the marshlands of the Peel. The first discovery of this military or burial ground was made by officers of the Hussar Regiment No. 6, stationed in the area, and since then, excavations have continued by private individuals in the hope

of finding treasure. Among the finds thus far are several urns or pots of various sizes, all filled with the ashes of cremated bodies and small bones; in some of these pots, it is reported, pieces of metal and fragments of weapons have been found. The
116310
aforementioned pots are covered by mounds of varying height, which, like the pots themselves, have likely increased in size and height according to the appearance and rank of the person buried there. The pots are made of clay and are well-turned; the largest have a diameter of 3, the smallest just over 1 palm. Some mounds are almost 2 feet high, others more than 5 feet.

116315
October 3, 1837 PUBLIC AUCTION at the Country Estate STIL GENOEGEN, on the Hoorn, near the city of Delft.
It is planned to publicly sell at the aforementioned location on Monday, October 9, 1837, and the following days, daily from 10:00 a.m. until 2:00 p.m.: A neat and clean
116320
FURNITURE, consisting of some gold and silverware, such as: gold rings, silver spoons and forks, a tea caddy, presentation tins, a gorget, a silver-hilted sword, and more; [...]

116325
June 24, 1838 Obituary of Maximilien Jacques de Man, director of the archives of war and the topographical bureau

April 23, 1839 MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIJDEN
[...] The collection of Germanic and Nordic antiquities has once again increased in wealth and diversity, especially in the past year.
116330
By favorable arrangement with the Department of Internal Affairs, a number of urns were sent to us, which had recently been discovered in Deurne, North Brabant; and the number was further increased by the proceeds of a specially ordered excavation, donated to the Museum by the mayor of that town, Mr. van Riet.

116335
September 19, 1839 – Mr. C. R. HERMANS, has in the Provinciaal Dagblad of this region published the following report regarding the discovery of corpse urns in St. Michielgestel. "For some time now, I have been aware that corpse urns had been dug up from time to time in Gemonde, municipality of St. Michiel-Gestel. On the 10th of this
116340
month, I went to personally verify the truth. I found a field on the Dommel River, higher than the adjacent lands, about 14 loops in size, called the Dommelakker (Dommel Field), belonging to the owner of the large Wielsche Hoeve farm. Near this field lies a "Heilig Weiike" (Holy Meadow), bordered on two sides by the Dommel River and on the third by a deep, unfathomable wheel. Before the sale on April 7, 1803, this farm and its estate belonged to the estate of the Lord of St. Michiel-Gestel.
116345
Gemonde itself is now a parish, but not a municipality, and partly belongs to the municipalities of St. Michiel-Gestel, Boxtel, and Schijndel. The old church of Gemonde, which was replaced by a new one in 1824, bore all the evidence of ancient foundation; it has even been said that it was once a Roman fortress. All these circumstances lead us to suspect that Gemonde was a sacred place for the preaching of
116350
Christianity, and that this Dommelakker and this holy meadow referred to the religious institutions of our fathers during the pagan era; this is further confirmed by the so-called St. Martin's tax, formerly paid by the residents of this farm, and by the tax measure (a remnant of a funeral meal of the pagans). The farmers told me that around Candlemas Day of this year, they had dug out a pot containing bones, ash, and sand; but that it, being very brittle, shattered, so they buried it again. I was
116355
further informed that five more similar urns had been dug up a few years ago. I would have loved to have them work to retrieve the remaining urns, which are undoubtedly still in the ground, but this was impossible because this Dommelakker has been cultivated since time immemorial, and as a result, it has been piled up with topsoil
116360
to a height of about three feet. Since the farmers are unable to clear the field of sand, I have agreed that any urns found will be given to me for a reasonable fee. In the papers and documents belonging to the farm, I found nothing that sheds further light on the former use of the Dommelakker and the holy meadow, but one piece concerning the St. Martin's tax and the tax meal, which we mentioned above, is so
116365
important for the history of pagan theology that we believe we are rendering a real service to all antiquarians by including it in its entirety in our Historical Miscellany on North Brabant. All our scholars who have written about indigenous antiquities note that no province is so rich in ancient remains or traces of prehistory as North Brabant, and then accuse us of shamefully neglecting them. May we
116370
soon be able to refute this accusation! I therefore dare invite every resident of North Brabant to share with me any details that strike them as odd, or anything of significance they find. I especially invite the Mayors and Secretaries of the

municipalities, to whom I will gratefully return any just reward given to the owners or discoverers of coins, funeral urns, stone battle axes, etc., etc. while I offer double the true value for every Roman silver or gold coin found in North Brabant."

September 24, 1839 Burial Urns, a minor human doctor, philanthropist, rector, and the Holy Week in Gemonde.

It was the first days of September. – I wanted to breathe the fresh air; I went out and, without knowing where to, I carelessly followed the bends of the Dommel: very surprised when I saw myself far from the city and in the vicinity of the parish of Gemonde (not the municipality, clumsy reader:). The harvest activities made the Dommel field lively and they drew my attention. – Suddenly I saw the parishioners saying goodbye to their duties and surrounding a person unknown to me, but whom I took for a townsman by his dress. Curiosity made me approach the spot– The unknown The gentleman stood with his back to me; I was not allowed to look at his face: he was engaged in lively conversation. The farmers stood gaping and astonished, listening to him. – I listened with rapt attention, and I could hear the following words:

The Unknown. For some time now, I have learned that in Gemonde, in the municipality of St. Michiels-Gestel, people had been excavating urns from time to time. Today I come to convince myself of the truth in person:

This is an important discovery for archaeology and antiquarian booksellers, and it is my sacred duty to make it known; science is advancing, and I, I strive for immortality; I want to make the discovery of mortuary urns known everywhere: I know how to put my ideas on paper well and easily in Latin and Dutch.
A farmer. Was that gentleman?

Another. He speaks Latin just like the townspeople in Gestel.

A third. Sir, you mustn't take it amiss, but a farmer can't speak Latin in our country.

The unknown. My good friends, I don't speak Latin, but I only mentioned the word Latin. – I wanted to ask you if you have unearthed mortuary urns here?

The farmer. No, sir, they aren't here in the town. The Unknown. Gemonde is not a municipality, my dear friend; it's a parish and partly belongs to the municipalities of St. Michiels-Gestel, Bostel, and Schijndel. – But understand me, Burial urns are vases, in other words, a kind of pot in which our ancestors, centuries ago, preserved the ashes and also the bones of their relatives or friends after death – haven't you found such burial pots here?

The Farmer. No, sir, they bury the dead here in pebbles in the churchyard.

The Unknown. My dear friend, you don't understand me. Have you also found one or more pots with spades here in the country?

The Farmer. I don't know.

Another. Perhaps that gentleman of that pot from Peer, which we broke at his hillsides during the holy week, pricks it.

A third. When he still wanted compensation for the pot and the soup and the bones that were in it, the Unknown Man, who, in his satisfaction at having succeeded in his field discovery, seems not to have understood the last words properly. Were there any bones in that urn, vase, or pot?

De Boer. Yes, sir, but it's been finished a long time ago–Peer wanted to have a report drawn up then; then they finished the law! Could they do anything for us now?

De Unknown. It would certainly have been prudent to have such a remarkable excavation confirmed by a report; then we could have known a few things for sure about it.

De Boer. Sir, it's certainly an avocado or one of the gentlemen from Den Bosch; but it's all finished and out of the world.

De Unknown. That grieves me... (thinking) Meanwhile, we try to hear what that urn was like. – Dear friend, what did that Burial Urn look like?

De Boer. As long as you don't report it, sir.

The Unknown. Well, no—you did nothing reprehensible–You were not familiar with scientific antiquity, and therefore one cannot blame you for not having spared the important relic of the past centuries. But, tell me, I pray you, what was that broken pot like?

De Boer. Why do you say sowed! ... It was a pot with two ears–sun-brown pot, yellow

inside, exactly a p... pot...

116440 The Unknown in ecstasy, without paying attention to the Boer's words. Two ears! That's Roman! No more doubt! Oh, holy zeal! – Thank my inclination for the study, which constitutes my greatest happiness on earth! Two ears! Yes! That is Roman! – When you again find corpse urns or stone battle axes, come to me! (More and more enraptured.) To you be prosperity, fortune! To me immortality! immortality! For
116445 Heaven's sake, bring me the remains of antiquity you might find! Save them from destruction! Oh! I pray you, let nothing be lost! No longer in control of himself, he stepped back a few paces, full of rapture and gestures, and, like someone well-versed in the rules of outward eloquence, adopted the tone of the pulpit speech: "All our scholars," he says solemnly, "who have written about indigenous antiquities
116450 note that no province is so rich in ancient remains or traces of prehistory as North Brabant, and then accuse us of shamefully neglecting them. May we soon disprove this accusation! I dare, therefore, invite every resident of North Brabant to send me any details that strike them as strange, or anything of any significance that may be found. I especially invite the Mayors and Secretaries of the municipalities to do so,
116455 to whom I gratefully offer every reasonable reward to the owners or finders of coins. "I will return any given urns, stone battle axes, etc., etc., while for every Roman, silver, or gold penny found in North Brabant, I offer double its true value."

116460 And suddenly: now I'm throwing my discovery into our historical miscellany on North Brabant and into all the annals of science. – And, they held him back, they asked him where the pots were supposed to be taken for so much money... but he hurried on: only the words "I, litterarum humaniorum doctor, philosophiae magister et rector" reached my ears.

116465 The rapid pace of the exuberant antiquarian prevented me from engaging in conversation: I wanted to point out to him that, in his ecstasy, he had mistaken Peer's broken pot for a Roman mortuary urn and the bones of his soup for the bones of our ancestors.

116470 The farmers were stunned—and I laughed. I returned to town and repeatedly heard the words "mortuary urns" and "stone battle axes" echoing in the air.

A few days after this incident, I read in the Provincial Dagblad of September 17th that C. R. HERMANS (?) had discovered the excavation of mortuary urns in Gemonde. B. M.

116475 September 26, 1839 I read in the Provincial Dagblad of North Brabant, of the 17th of this month, No. 75, an article about mortuary urns discovered at St. Michiels Gestel. The announcement of this discovery and the specific designation of the location may have been useful and deserved to be briefly noted in such notebooks as those intended
116480 to collect all the circumstances and details that can contribute to the knowledge of our region. However, the discovery does not seem to me so important, and certainly not so new, that it could provoke a cry of joy from the antiquarian and antiquity lover that would resound throughout the entire Province. If this were the first
116485 discovery of such a nature in the designated location, I would applaud the author's enthusiasm, and I would find it very appropriate that the public's attention be drawn to this event, in order to stimulate research. However, I must point out to the author that the fuss he is making about his discovery exposes him to the suspicion that he is not entirely familiar with the condition of our land and the excavations
116490 carried out therein, especially when I hear him say that the details he observed lead him to suspect that Gemonde was a holy place before the preaching of Christianity, etc. Indeed, it is already more than enough known, and it is found here and there in various writings, that St. Michiels Gestel and surrounding lands apparently served as a residence or settlement for the Romans; thus, it is not a mere conjecture born from the author's observations, but a matter of common knowledge. There are ample
116495 indications that the old church of Gemonde existed long before Christianity, and there are too many remains to doubt that point.

But besides the fact that the discovery doesn't seem so significant to me that it should be declared a miracle by an expert, the excavation has, in my opinion, not been sufficiently proven or clarified by the author's investigations. I find nothing
116500 to guarantee that mortuary urns were actually found there: the only thing the author tells us is that the farmers found a single pot containing bones, ash, and sand, and that five more such urns have been excavated in the past few years. Such urns. Which urns? The author doesn't tell us, and according to what we've been told, the find could just as easily have been a forgotten hare's nest as a Roman mortuary urn. What

116505 was most important to know here—namely, the shape of the pot, the manner of its
closure, the color of the earth or other composition, the depth at which the pot was
found, etc.—seems not to have been investigated by the author, and he immediately
assumes, based on this, that they were urns, because he states that five similar urns
116510 have been found, and also that these urns are mortuary urns, as appears from the
article's title. From what the author tells us, it has not been proven at all to me
that these pots are urns, nor that they are mortuary urns. I accept this all the less
readily because the farmers' statement that they found bones, ash, and sand in them
seems highly suspicious to me, firstly because ash and sand or earth are not
116515 immediately distinguishable, especially by untrained farmers who certainly examined
the object with little care and attention; And secondly, because the discovery of
bones in a mortuary urn is unusual, at least all the circumstances relating to the
pole and the bones would have to be meticulously documented to have any value in the
eyes of science; for it is known that the urns used to store the ashes of cremated
corpses, the actual mortuary urns, which must be distinguished from the urns or
116520 rather vases used to decorate burial vaults, were usually conical at the top and had
only a narrow opening, so that it would not have been possible to place bones in
them. The storage of bones in a pot may certainly have occurred, but there is more to
it than what the author has learned to believe it to be true.

116525 that the pot with bones is a Roman urn, and indeed a mortuary urn. — When one
observes facts to include them as contributions to history, and wishes the
description to serve to save those facts from oblivion and pass them on to posterity,
then one should first and foremost be clear and detailed in one's account. Failing
that, it is better to remain silent until further research, further experience, and
116530 further clarification, and not to present oneself to the public with unfinished work;
But secondly, one must proceed cautiously and judiciously in deducing these facts, so
as not to allow daring assertions and conjectures to gain ground and introduce
misunderstandings into historical works. It is in the nature of things that antiquity
gradually adds weight to the judgments of writers, and that over time, their
116535 deductions are accepted as truths, and often, for lack of anything better, must be
accepted as such.

The author of the aforementioned article, please accept these observations; in my
opinion, it contains nothing remarkable regarding the excavation described, at least
nothing sufficiently clarified to be useful for our history. The conclusions are too
116540 daring not to be dangerous and therefore detrimental to the purity and sincerity that
should characterize all history. I feel compelled to make these observations all the
sooner, as it appears from the article that the author, whom I do not have the honor
of knowing—for that matter, it is not given to every scholar to have a European name—
is also working on a historical miscellany on North Brabant, and it seems to me of
116545 the utmost importance that he refrain from presenting facts and conclusions so
hastily in that work.

A second piece of advice I offer the author is this: that his writings should not
appear to serve his own ambition rather than as a monument to history. The elaborate
description of his observation (which actually boils down to nothing more than the
116550 report that some farmers told him they had found a pot containing bones, ash, and
sand on the Dommelakker, next to the Holy Meadow in Gemonde) and the proclamation of
his fervent zeal for antiquity in our province, such that he calls upon all North
Brabant residents to search, dig, and excavate with the promise of rewarding the
fruits of their research, thus placing his money at a premium and displaying
116555 selflessness and sacrifice, are very well-suited to lead readers to believe that the
author supposedly performed a significant service through his observation and the
communication thereof, and played a leading role in the development of the history of
our province.

116560 v. v. v.

March 14, 1840 MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIJDEN. [...] From Mr. S. H. van der
Noordaa, of Dordrecht, two tuff mortars with pestles, excavated near Deurne in North
Brabant; these are the only objects of this kind in the Museum's possession, and
116565 which, as far as we know, have not yet been found elsewhere. The proximity of the
extensive burial grounds there, discovered in the heathland a few years ago, lends
considerable credibility to the suspicion that both these mortars and the urns, which
are found in such large numbers in that area, belong to the same people, and thus
provide a crucial contribution to the knowledge of the domestic life of the ancient
116570 Germanic peoples, of whose household goods, except in Northern Europe, relatively

little remains.

April 17, 1840 [Special Correspondence]

No. 2 's-Hertogenbosch April 17, 1840

Department of Arts and Sciences

Special Correspondence

I have been given some questions which UWEG may be able to answer, and for which I have the honor to enlist its good offices. These questions are as follows:

Municipality of Asten

1. On the borders of this municipality, towards the village of Meyel, lies a Willebrordswell; how did this well get its name?

2. Was the well built with baked or live stone?

3. Is there a chapel dedicated to Saint Willebrord located nearby?

4. What miraculous or healing powers are attributed to the water from this well, and to which ailments is this water used?

Municipality of Bakel

1. According to Verhees's map, the Kampsche stream originates at the Enschyde or bad well; why is this well so named?

2. Was the well built with baked or live stone?

3. What strange power is attributed to the water of this bad well?

Municipality of Aarle-Rixtel

1. On Verhees's map, a ?? well appears, not far from the small river.

Aan Den Heere District Commissioner of the 3rd District, 1st Section.

Bakelsche Aa, is this a brick well or merely a spring?

2. What folklore is circulating that might reveal the origin of this name?

3. Is any strange power attributed to the water of this wolf well?

4. Who currently owns the Guldenhuis (Golden House), and why is the building called that? Is it, or was it formerly, a castle?

5. Are there still popular traditions concerning the Templars and the Knights of Maltha, who lived in Rixtel?

Municipality of Helmond

Within that municipality, there is a carillon, and for the history of bell foundries and music, it is considered important to know:

1. When was it first erected?

2. Who built it, and at whose expense did this happen? 3. How many bells does it consist of?

4. Which parts of the hour are announced by the chimes, besides the clockwork?

5. Is it also played, and if so, on which days of the week?

6. Who pays the chimes, and how much is their salary?

7. Does the chimes have any artistic value, or is they in a dilapidated state?

Municipality of Deurne and Liessel

According to reports, a farmer there named Mortel owns a Roman sword and a gold shield, which were allegedly excavated in the Peel region.

1. Is this actually the case, and if so, when and where did he find the sword and shield?

2. Would there be an opportunity to purchase them for the collection of antiques and curiosities of the Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences?

3. If so, at what price?

4. If the owner is unable to agree to the sale, would he be willing to hand over these objects, against proof, for assessment and signature?

5. Is there an opportunity to purchase any of the recently discovered mortuary urns or other curiosities excavated there?

6. What is the name of the place where these urns were excavated?

Relying on the goodwill of UWEG, I would be pleased to see these questions resolved as precisely as possible.

UWEG, please accept the assurance and my highest consideration and distinction.

BV?denteegen [?]

May 12, 1840 [letter to the Mayor of Deurne]

Mayor of Deurne Liessel Helmond, May 12, 1840

The Governor of this province (probably requested to do so by the board of the Society for the Promotion of Sciences and Arts in North Brabant) has given me a large number of questions to answer regarding antiquities in my District.

116640 These questions, insofar as they concern the municipality of Deurne Liessel, are as follows:

According to a reported report, a farmer named Mortel allegedly possesses a Roman sword and a gold shield, which were allegedly excavated in the Peel.

116645 1. Is this really the case? And if so, when and where were the sword and shield found?

2. Would it be possible to purchase it for the collection of antiques and rarities of the provincial society of arts and water boards?

3. If so, at what price?

116650 4. If the owner is unable to decide to sell, would they be willing to hand over the objects for appraisal and signature, against proof?

5. Is it possible to purchase any of the recently discovered mortuary urns or other curiosities excavated there?

6. What is the name of the place where these urns were excavated?

A somewhat prompt answer to these questions would be appreciated.

116655 D. Distr.

June 29, 1840. Registration of the land registry; some are scattered in many books at home, forgotten little notes, confusion; this could be prevented if the law of the parcel-by-parcel register were cited in the conveyance. -

June 29, 1840 Provincial Board RANB 17 inv. no. 12419 no. 1
Missive of April 17, 111, no. 8. / Reply to the letter from
Department of Arts and Sciences / April 17, 111, no. 8.

116665 Helmond, June 29, 1840.

[To the Governor]

In the aforementioned letter, UWEG [=You] has given me some questions to answer regarding ancient monuments that are said to be located in some municipalities of my district. I could have answered some of these questions immediately, [but] to obtain
116670 information, I took advantage of my travels, as when the council members are in session, I believed I could be better informed. I will observe the order as it appears in your letter.

Municipality of Asten

116675 [1] Some council members had heard of the St. Willebrordsput, but no one could tell me where it might have been. It is certain that it no longer exists within living memory. It is located just on or near the boundary between Deurne, Liessel, and Meyel.

116680 There is a stone post still known by the name of Wilbertsput. If a well existed near that post, it must have been in the municipality of Meyel. Nothing else was known about it.

To His Eminence the State Councillor Governor of the Province of North Brabant

116685 [2] People have heard of a St. Willebrord well, and this name is still very well known here, but no one knows of a well there. There is a stone post bearing the name of Wilbertsput, just on or near the boundary between Deurne and Meyel. If there was a well, it must have been in the Meyel municipality. Nothing else was known about it. -

Municipality of Bakel.

116690 [1] The name "boorput" was not unknown to most members of the council, but they were unable to pinpoint the exact location. An old man of about eighty had heard from his ancestors that the "boorte put" (bad well) was a small depression, pond, or hole in the upper part of the Peel, about the size of two Dutch rods, located in the upper part of the Peel towards Venrooy, behind an area known as "de Putten" (the wells). In his youth, shepherds were accustomed to watering their sheep there during severe
116695 droughts. In this region of the Meyery, the term "putten" (wells) often refers to depressions or holes in the heathland or heathland, without referring to brick wells. It is almost certain that no brick well has ever existed in the Peel.

116700 [2] Some members of the council had heard of the "boorte put," but no one knew where it was located. A member remembered that a small pond, depression, or hollow in the heath, about the size of two Dutch rods, located in the Peel behind the so-called wells, bears the name of a well or bad well. It is therefore certain that no brick well has existed there, and probably never has, to human memory.

Municipality of Aarle-Rixtel.

- 116705 [1] Wolfspuit is a hamlet or rather small hamlet below Aarle, located on the borders of Bakel, next to the Schipstal estate. According to an old tradition, a wolf is said to have once jumped into the well here and killed it, from which its name derives. The owner of the Guldenhuis is Albert Bots of Helmond. The walls, higher than those
- 116710 of an ordinary house, seem to indicate that in earlier years it must have been a kind of small castle. Near the demolished church of Rixtel stands a farm, which originated in the Knights Templar and was subsequently owned by the Knights of Maltha until the revolution of 1795. No knight of this family ever lived in Rixtel. This farm was sold to a farmer by the estate board in 1818.
- 116715 [2] Wolfspuit is a hamlet located below Aarle, on the borders of Bakel. It consists of four houses. According to tradition, a wolf was supposedly captured in a well here, from which its name derives. -
- 116720 Guldenhuis belongs to Albertus Bots; a cotton mill he established there is now in disrepair. The house, although known as Rixtel Castle, is somewhat higher than an ordinary house and formerly served as a residence for the Lords of Rixtel, once a very important lordship. The Knights of Malta only know that they legally owned a farm here, which later became part of the estate and was sold to a farmer in 1808.

Municipality of Helmond.

- 116725 There was a miserable carillon of eleven bells in Helmond, which was recently replaced by another. The bells of the previous carillon were acquired in exchange by bell founder Fritsen in Aarle. I have not been able to discover when the previous carillon was installed, but it must have been very old. The bells bore no markings whatsoever, neither of their maker nor of the year in which they were cast.

- 116730 Municipality of Deurne Liessel. I very much doubt the report that a farmer in Deurne-Liessel was in possession of an old Roman sword and a gold shield, which had supposedly been dug up in the Peel, as I had never heard anything about it. Research also assured me that no one knows anything about it. This was probably confused with what happened in the neighboring municipality of Meyel. In 1807, a gold shield was found there. A few years ago, while in Meyel, I went to the house of the then mayor, Goossens, to see this curiosity. He showed me a shield which had been found in the Peel in the year 1807, about five feet below the surface of the ground in the Peel during a peat excavation. It was made of gold or at least heavily gilded work, and on it were hammered hydroglyphs and other figures of lions, tigers, etc., and had the shape of a half-moon, very similar to to a gorget like the kind worn by infantry captains not so long ago on their breasts. Mr. van Keverberg, then deputy prefect in Cleef, had taken this piece with him to Paris and, according to the Mayor, offered a lot of money for it after his return, but they could not agree on the price. -
- 116740 There are no longer any burial urns available in Deurne. The Mayor would try to find some by digging, which he would gladly relinquish if successful. -
- 116745 The District Commissioner / DD. Wesselman.

- 116750 October 1, 1840 [...] Thus, the North Brabant Society already possesses urns from three pagan cemeteries: those found in Deurne in 1837, in Genderen in 1839, and in Gemonde in 1849. [...]

January 26, 1841 MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEYDEN.

- 116755 [...] In the department of Germanic and Nordic antiquities, belonging to Major General Rottiers, to whose zeal and care the Museum owes its possession of so many Greek works of art, a bronze statuette of a god, found near Aachen. A most important collection of bronzes and other objects, belonging to Mr. P. O. P. Guyot, in Nijmegen, was discovered near Deurne, in the province of North Brabant,
- 116760 most of which had been assembled by Captain Baron van Voorst and bequeathed to Mr. Guyot. This significant acquisition, combined with the urns and other objects we mentioned in our previous reports (Staats-Courant 1838 and 1839), now provides the Museum with the most important and rare pieces unearthed during the discovery in Deurne. These, finally reunited through various means, form a whole that can make an
- 116765 unexpected and significant contribution to the knowledge of one of the ancient tribes that formerly inhabited our country. In the Konst- en Letterbode 1838, May, pages 379-395, most of the objects were described by the Curator, Dr. Janssen. [...] The important archaeological discoveries made near Nijmegen during the practical

- 116770 exercises of the corps of miners and sappers will soon also provide a new treasure trove for the Museum's department of ROMAN antiquities. [...]
- 116775 January 12, 1842 [...] From Mr. P. C. G. GUYOT, of Nijmegen, another set of ten urns, pots, and bowls, found in Deurne in North Brabant; along with seven others, probably originating from the area around the Hunnebedden in Drenthe.
- 116780 From Mr. S. H. van der Noordaa, of Dordrecht, another set of three small objects in urns found in Deurne. [...]
- 116785 February 25, 1842 M. P. O. P. Guyot in Nymègue, a very remarkable collection of bronzes and other objects found near Deurne in Septentrional Brabant, which, for the purpose of collecting, was assembled by Mr. Captain Baron Van Vorst, who left them to Mr. Guyot. This important acquisition joint with urns and other objects was completed in 1838 and 1839, with the Museum and possession of the principals and the additional rare results of the fouille près de Deurne. After all, the preparations for
- 116790 maintenant reunions form an ensemble that lasts a long time over the connaissance of the old people that they used to live in. La part de ces objets sont décrits par M. le conservator Janssen dans le Kunst en Letterbode de 1838, pages 370—395.
- 116795 January 20, 1843 From Mr S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA we again received a tuff mortar, found in the vicinity of Deurne.
- 116800 January 1, 1844 A remarkable piece was found in 1844 in a swamp in the Peel region, not far from the hamlet of Maris, and is now in the Leiden Museum (Cat. ML, as well as Stark, vol. 1876, pp. 7-56; P 1881, 272-274; also HKN). It is a medallion (fig. 149) of gilded silver, over 21 cm in diameter, which depicts in fairly high relief a depiction of a man strangling a lion in the center, surrounded by animal fights, including two animals disputing a ox's head. Four holes have been drilled in the edge with chiseled frames, perhaps to attach the medallion to a shield; two of the holes still contain the nails with round heads. Based on the style of the figures, the piece is considered to be of Eastern European origin.
- 116805 [Related note] Dr. H.C. Gallois pointed out to us that in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris there are two disks, one of which is only fragmentarily preserved, that bear a strong resemblance to the specimen discussed here. He also referred us to an essay by Fr. Drexel in the Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, XXX (1915), p. 1 ff., according to whom these disks were made at the beginning of the first century B.C. in the vicinity of the Black Sea, and to the view of M. Rostovtzeff in his book Iranians and Greeks (Oxford, 1922), p. 138 ff.
- 116810 The latter, who sees Hercules in the human figure on the Leiden piece, believes that the discs originated between the third and first century BC in southern Russia, as the work of Sarmatian artists. The three discs are depicted by Rostov-on-Trent, the Leiden one, and only the well-preserved Parisian one, also by Drexel.
- 116815 See also <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000091538?>
- 116820 April 9, 1847 From Lieutenant Colonel Jhr. VAN DER BRUGGHE VAN CROY, a bronze so-called framea, provided with a handle, and the fragment of a second similar one, both found not far from Croy Castle, in a meadow along the back road to Helmond.
- 116825 January 1, 1850 [...] Numerous objects from the Stone, Bronze, and Iron periods have been unearthed from his [=Limburg] soil in earlier and later periods. The scientific investigations to track them down first date from around 1825. These were initiated by Mr. CHARLES GUILLON, a notary in Roermond. A very wealthy man, he amassed a large collection of antiquities of all kinds and from various periods, which was regularly supplemented until his death on November 10, 1873. Later, it was dispersed through sale, but most of the objects from the prehistoric period have fortunately found a home in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. [...]
- 116830 December 5, 1856 On Monday, December 15, 1856, and the five following days, in the morning and afternoon, the bookseller G. THEOD. BOM, in Amsterdam, at ODEON for Public Sale: the excellent CABINET OF MEMORIAL AND TOKENS, HONOUR AND CHARACTER MARKS, MEETING COINS, GUILD, SHUTTERS, RELIGIOUS, FREEMASONIC, PRIZE AND FIRE ENGINE TOKENS, EMERGENCY COINS AND COINS, COIN, MEDAL AND HEROMICAL BOOKS, BEQUESTED BY THE LATE MR. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, Member of various Domestic and Foreign Literary,

- 116835 Historical and Archaeological Societies in Dordrecht. VIEWING DAYS: FRIDAY and SATURDAY, 12 and 13 December. The CATALOGUE can be obtained, postage paid, upon request for 20 cents from G. THEOD. BOM, Kalverstraat, E 10. (19573)
- 116840 April 20, 1863 The following is reported from Stadskanaal to Veend[amsche]. Ct.: During the excavation of the peat by G. Schuur here, located in the mouth of Boerveen, a silver spoon was recently found under a 9-foot layer of peat. At the end, it is marked on both sides with the number 33, around which a flower is carved. It is not unlikely that the number indicates the year of its creation, for while silver tableware may not have been used, or only very rarely, by our ancestors at that time,
- 116845 the Romans, who also visited these regions, not only made extensive use of this precious metal but also achieved considerable success in the art of chiseling. This discovery, we believe, provides yet another of the numerous pieces of evidence that the soil here was, if not inhabited, at least visited in ancient times.
- 116850 April 22, 1863 N.B. We report this information as we find it, but note that if this spoon is not a stemmed or wine spoon "trulla," but a "cochlear," it cannot possibly date from the year 33, thus the time of Emperor Tiberius.
- 116855 March 31, 1864 Several acquisitions were made for the Dutch Antiquities Department. Along with the aforementioned Roman objects from the estate of the late Mr. S.H. VAN DER NOORDAA, some items were also acquired from former inhabitants of our country: a very beautifully polished flint axe, 12 dm long; a roughly worked trachyte ball, 4 dm in diameter; a baked earthenware urn filled with burnt human bones, 19 dm high; another urn, 18 dm. high, containing the fragments of a bronze HAIR NEEDLE found
- 116860 inside; another three URNS containing burnt bones and remnants of bronze RINGS, etc.; the urns measuring 10, 15.5, and 16 inches high; two CUBS, 9 and 7 dm; four POTS of various shapes, 6.5 to 9.5 dm high; a beaker-shaped VESSEL, 5.5 dm high, and some fragments of pots. All these objects, with the possible exception of the WIGGE, were excavated in 1837 at the old cemetery in Deurne, North Brabant; they now form a
- 116865 substantial whole, along with the pieces found at the same site, donated to the Museum in 1840 and 1841 by the late Mr. P. O. G. GUYOT. [...]
- 116870 Some MEDIEVAL AND LATER OBJECTS, originating from the excavations for the Nijmegen army barracks, a pair of trachyte stone MORTARS with PESTLES from the vicinity of Deurne and belonging to the already mentioned estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA; [...]
- November 28, 1874 ANTIQUITIES.
- 116875 The important collections of antiquities, works of art, books, and archives, bequeathed by Mr. G. Ch. H. GUILLON, living Notary in Roermond, will be preserved at the request of Mr. C. Guillon, Attorney there, in the presence of Notary MAX. CORNELIS, residing in Roermond, at the deceased's house, on the following days, each journey beginning at 9:00 a.m., the following items will be sold publicly:
- 116880 The Gothic cabinets and other art objects on Monday, November 30th.
The paintings and engravings on the following December 1st and 2nd.
The Archives on December 9th and subsequent days.
The prehistoric, Roman, Germanic, and Frankish antiquities on January 11, 1875, and subsequent days.
The intaglios (intails), Roman coins and medals, as well as the Medieval coins and other tokens, on January 18, 1875, and subsequent days.
- 116885 All collections, with the exception of the library, will be sold for cash plus a ten percent surcharge for expenses. Three months' credit will be granted to cover the purchase price of the books.
Gentlemen enthusiasts will be given the opportunity to view the collection on the day before the prospective sales, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.
- 116890 The combined catalogs are available from the publisher of this newspaper for 60 cents. In addition, for requests outside Roermond, the postage is as follows: 22 cents to the Netherlands and Belgium, 55 cents to Germany, and 56 cents to France. Postage stamps are accepted to cover the purchase price and postage.
- 116895 January 30, 1875 - In the municipality of Obbicht, it is reported that some pots were recently discovered during the extraction of gravel, which were found to be Roman burial urns. However, due to fragility, they have partially disintegrated. The most important of the finds must be a large glass urn, made of bluish glass, filled with several bones. Along with these objects, a piece of a lock was found, as well as some
- 116900 copper objects, such as a large pin, two finely crafted handles, like those found on

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chests, two rings with octagonal wires, and a hollow plate depicting a lion's head with a copper ring in its mouth.

March 1, 1890 Antiquities.

The famous MUSÉE GUILLON, collected over more than half a century by the accomplished antiquarian CHARLES GUILLON, Notary in Roermond, will be publicly SOLD on Tuesday, March 11-15, 2018, in Amsterdam by G. THEOD. BOM & ZOON, Spuistraat 135.

The collection includes Roman, Germanic, Celtic, and medieval antiquities excavated primarily in Limburg, Roman and Gelderland coins and medals, Limburg coin stamps, Japanese lacquered and old oak furniture, porcelain, paintings, valuables, etc. Catalog 0 25.

March 8, 1890. The catalog of works of art, bequeathed by the late notary Guillon here, lists no fewer than a thousand Roman, Germanic, Celtic, Frankish, and medieval antiquities excavated in Limburg, from the Stone and Bronze Ages, mortuary urns, Roman glassware and pottery, over 70 pieces of the beautiful red pottery from Samos, a single silver-engraved shield plate, probably from the latter period of the Roman Empire, and over 80 carved stones or cameos. 1,400 antique gold, silver, and bronze coins, some medieval Gelderland and Limburg coins, coin dies and seals, as well as a small collection of silver chased coins, old furniture, etc.

The carefully edited catalog clearly proves that there is much of interest here for our antiquarians and archaeologists.

March 10, 1890 Two very important auctions will be held in the coming days by the auctioneers G. Theod. Bom & Zoon, in Amsterdam.

The first, containing the collection of antiquities and coins bequeathed by the late Mr. Charles Guillon, notary in Roermond, is of particular interest to students of the history of our country. Never before has such a collection of 1,000 Roman, Germanic, Celtic, Frankish, and medieval antiquities excavated in Limburg been auctioned. It offers us a glimpse into the customs and traditions of those times. Both the Stone and Bronze Ages are well represented, while the collection of Germanic pottery, including many urns containing the ashes of our Germanic ancestors, is considered one of the richest. The Roman glassware and pottery, urns, etc., including the beautiful red pottery from Samos, are also noteworthy, as is the umbo, or shield plate, embossed in silver and high relief, a masterpiece of embossed work from the Bas Empire period. This collection also includes over 80 mostly ancient carved stone objects or cameos, ancient gold, silver, and bronze coins, some medieval Gelderland and Limburg coins, etc., etc.

The second, more limited collection contains a collection of antiquities, silver embossed work, antique furniture, historical and Amsterdam rarities, and valuables, porcelain and Delftware, horns and shells, paintings, stereoscopes, glass stereoscope slides, etc.

All items can be viewed in the firm's salesroom, Spuistraat 135, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, March 8-10, from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m.

March 10, 1890 Tuesday morning, Ten o'clock: SALE at G. THEOD. BOM & ZOON, Spuistraat 135, next to Die Port van Cleve.

Guillon Collection: Stone and Bronze Age Antiquities, Germanic urns, No. 1-813.

At Six o'clock in the evening: Ancient Roman Coins, starting with No. 1.

The Sellers will be greatly obliged to return the Guillon Catalog.

March 14, 1890 The collection of Limburg antiquities, held at G. Theod. The collection of items currently being sold by Bom & Zoon, located on Spuistraat here and originating from Mr. Ch. Guillon of Roermond, appears to have attracted widespread attention.

Fortunately, the majority of these items remain in our country and were purchased primarily for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden and the Maastricht Museum of Antiquities. The remainder went to private individuals, while a few very fine pieces were purchased for English clients. No. 79, a stone axe, fetched 14 guilders; No. 38, a similar 11.50 guilders; No. 160, stone arrowheads, 15 guilders; No. 167, a stone poniard, 26 guilders; No. 199, a bronze razor, 10 guilders; No. 200, a sword blade, 28 guilders; No. 300, a Germanic cup, 12 guilders; Nos. 314 and 315, two bronze statuettes, 39 guilders; No. 321: Two copper ornaments of a tripod, 14 guilders; No. 329: A similar incense box with spoon, 13 guilders; No. 336: A plaque with Jupiter and Hebe, 48 guilders; No. 410: A Roman flask, 35 guilders; No. 411: A similar smaller one, 20 guilders; No. 427: A Samian earthenware vase, 32 guilders.

The auction continues.

May 7, 1893: Exhibition in Eindhoven.

Prosperous Eindhoven has long boasted an excellent workforce. In stark contrast to other towns in North Brabant and Limburg, they understand that industry must go hand in hand with art, and thus a broad range of workers emerged who can compete with the best in the country. Goldsmiths and silversmiths, sculptors, painters, architects, masons, and carpenters, who produce excellent work in the full sense of the word, are not uncommon here.

A few years ago, an association called "De Bouwkundige vakken" (The Architectural Trades) was founded in Eindhoven by some patrons, the name of which sufficiently indicates its purpose. It was through the good work of this association that the exhibition came about, of which every Eindhoven resident is now undeniably proud. The products of art and craft, brought together here, prove that the Eindhoven workers have not been overstated above. Of course, among the exhibits, there is also some unattractive work that could have been spared, but much, very much, can safely withstand the test of the most stringent criticism. To broaden interest in this undertaking, the association "De Bouwkundige vakken" (The Architectural Trades) conceived the excellent idea of combining it with an exhibition of old art, to which a historical and topographical exhibition concerning Kempenland and Peelland was eventually added. Mr. Aug. Sassen, archivist of Helmond, was charged with assembling this collection, and it cannot be denied that if the exhibition attracts wider attention, it will be largely due to his efforts. This historical and topographical section did not overshadow the exhibition itself, but gave it a unique charm that will undoubtedly greatly benefit the undertaking. When one examines the catalogue of the collection assembled by Sassen, one may undoubtedly be surprised that so much remarkable information has been collected from such a small and previously insignificant region as Peel and Kempenland, especially if it is true, as is assured, that so much had to remain in the portfolio due to lack of space.

A wealth of historical and topographical paintings, prints and drawings, coins, medals, seals, weapons, and antiquities evokes the history of these regions in pleasant forms. A detailed and important essay could be compiled for a specialist journal of this department; in a daily newspaper such as this, a brief summary of the most important items will naturally have to suffice.

First, our attention is drawn to the horns and a portion of the skull of an extinct bovine animal of extraordinary size, excavated a few years ago in Stiphout. When we fill in the missing points of the horns in our minds, we can imagine the head of this giant of the animal kingdom, which centuries ago inhabited the Peelland forest.

His bellowing resounded. A single horn from a smaller or younger specimen of this animal was excavated from the Peel region near Deurne and is exhibited here. From the Germanic cemeteries discovered in 1840 by Mr. P. N. Panken near Westerhoven and surrounding areas, he preserved the most remarkable urn and exhibited it here. The Celts are represented by three flint chisels, one of which (cat. no. 6) is distinguished by its large size, while another from the more recent period (cat. no. 4) is distinguished by its exquisite workmanship. The memory of the Roman armies, which remained here for so long, is revived by several collections of Roman coins excavated in those regions, of which that of Mr. Alph. Schellens deserves attention for its meticulously preserved specimens and historical arrangement. A Roman crucifix of great antiquity speaks of the early Christian era. It was excavated in 1847 during the demolition of the church in Aarle and was likely buried with the body of a priest more than six centuries ago. Among the ecclesiastical antiquities, also worthy of our attention are a pair of beautiful 15th-century statues from the church in Liessel, and two alabaster reliefs of excellent Italian workmanship. These were cemented into a floor in Stiphout, flat side up, and discovered there by chance in 1887. Among the antiquities of later times, we may mention a complete pharmacy from Bergeyk, some of the furnishings of the De Zwaan hotel in Oorschot, and two magnificent state costumes recently discovered in a cupboard at Croy Castle, all dating from the previous century. Also worthy of mention are the precious gifts given in 1796 by the representatives of Batavian Brabant and the municipality of Oorschot to Arn. van Heumen, first of Leuven, all accompanied by the corresponding charters, commemorative poems, and anthems.

Among the seals and medals, there is much of note. Particularly noteworthy is the gold medal commemorating the 50th wedding anniversary of Joha Josselin and Gerard de Jong, Lord of Beek en Donk, 1764. One by Mr. Aug. Sassen's copy of a huge mantelpiece painting from 1688 in Helmond Castle will undoubtedly arouse considerable interest among heralds.

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The section of historical and topographical paintings and prints contains over 100 works, most of which are the property of Mr. Aug. Sassen.

117035 Among the works submitted by others, particular attention should be paid to a superb drawing of Gemert Castle from 1675, owned by Jonkheer Mr. Victor en Stuers. Some 40 portraits of famous individuals, clergymen, and officials with some connection to this region, including large-scale paintings, excellent copper engravings, and 18th-century silhouettes, add new appeal to this section. Among the
117040 other items on display, worthy of consideration are a gigantic charter from 1508 concerning the boundary between Oorschot and neighboring municipalities, which extends from the attic to the floor in the very lofty exhibition hall. A multitude of posters from the previous century, old pamphlets, and bibliographical rarities, all applicable to this region and largely the property of Mr. Aug. Sassen, are also on
117045 display. At the far end of the hall, one beholds a gigantic trophy, composed of a large number of banners, drums, and countless silver roosters and royal shields, all the property of the numerous Peel and Kempenland shooting guilds, which, in their tenacious existence here, still exist in such large numbers to this day. Such a significant collection of these remarkable monuments to one of the most significant
117050 aspects of former national life has probably never been seen in our country. All in all, the historical and topographical section of the Eindhoven exhibition can be praised as very remarkable.

December 1, 1894 Sale of Weapons and Works of Art in Cologne.

117055 [...] 2nd. Art collections of the late Honourable Gestr. Mr. C. Guillon, attorney at law in Roermond, [...] Sale December 12-18, 1894. Price of the illustrated catalogue: 3 Marks. J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz's Sons), Cologne.

117060 February 16, 1895 Antiquities. — Mr. G. M. Kam, of Nijmegen, donated, by deed dated February 4, 1905, his highly important collection of antiquities to the State of the Netherlands, but in such a way that this donation would only be taken possession of by the Government after his death. This collection consists mainly of: some prehistoric vessels, stone and bronze chisels, weapons,
117065 Roman burial urns, legion stones, jugs, vases, lamps, terra nigra and terra sigillata, so-called Belgian wares, plates, vases, bowls, etc.; bronze vases, mirrors, statues, fibulas, etc.;

Roman glassware, carved stones, pastes, beads, Roman and Frankish weapons, some Frankish vessels, and Roman coins, gold, silver, and bronze, from the Republic and
117070 Imperial periods;

a silver medallion of Constantine the Great.

The Roman collection is largely from the Augustan period. Furthermore, a number of medieval antiquities, such as vases, tiles, etc. The Roman and prehistoric
117075 antiquities, in particular, were largely found in Nijmegen and the surrounding area.

February 21, 1896 Helmond, February 19. It is reported that two Roman graves have been discovered on the Eerenbeemt estate in Meyel, belonging to Mr. P. C. van den Eerenbeemt in Rome. Mr. Schulte, an antiquarian here, has requested permission to conduct the excavations so that the urns found there can be compared with others from
117080 elsewhere.

January 26, 1897 — On Thursday morning, during excavation work on a plot of land owned by Mr. Powis de Tenbossche in Eelen, a substantial quantity of Roman pots and weapons, as well as 17 skulls, were discovered. A large, complete body was also
117085 unearthed, lying with its head facing north, a lance to its right side. Mr. Jos. Gielen, an antiquarian in Measeyck [Maaseik], is already working on a detailed description of the objects and the site, which, according to the aforementioned gentleman, is a Roman cemetery.

117090 March 27, 1914 Ancient finds, silent witnesses.

There is more in the ground than you think, but the real art is to find it. Being a "treasure hunter" or "rod walker" doesn't mean anything. With those old finds, chance or lucky chance must serve you, otherwise, it's all over.

ut that there are still numerous "silent witnesses" from times long past buried in
117095 the ground, especially in our drier regions, is certainly not certain, because every now and then you read in the newspapers that this and that has been found here and there. The last remarkable discoveries were made in Cuyk-aan-d-Maas in North Brabant—old pots and pans, weapons, and coins—and in Jemmingen, just across the Groningen

border, where the Dutch and the Spanish fought in 1538—six men and six horses in one hole, and they still had their spurs on! But I won't tell you about such finds; it's too gruesome.

Here, however, is what I've unearthed from my recent notes; I'll leave out the dates; it happened in the last two or at most three years.

At Valthe in Drenthe, near Valthermond, where the old Roman bridge was once discovered in the peat, an urn of unusual dimensions was excavated, and bones in ashes were found inside.

In the Aamsveen, which belongs partly to the Netherlands and partly to Germany and from which peat was already being cut in 1325, land was to be reclaimed. The Dutch Heath Society alerted the board of the Twente Antiquity Chamber, and urns, stone spurs, and axes were found, proving that an ancient historical site had been discovered. This was all the more evident when the foundations of a castle were later discovered in the so-called Hölterhof.

In the Peel region of North Brabant-Limburg, near Helenaveen, a peat worker initially found four coins, along with pieces of leather that must have belonged to military equipment, a helmet, and a kind of hook or pin for attaching clothing. Some distance away, 38 ancient coins were later found bearing the inscription "Constantinus" and the image of a reigning monarch. In the same North Brabant region, numerous antiquities were discovered in the heathland, specifically in Oorschot, Best, Veldhoven, and Hoogeloon. These were mostly old weapons, axes, arrows and arrowheads, stone saws and chisels, which the Celts, Menapii, and Taxandri, who once lived there, must have used.

Excavations of the mounds in Friesland also frequently yield various finds: bronze rings, picks and axes, primitive agricultural implements, shovels, and chisels have all been found there many times; most recently, for example. Near Ferwerd.

Finds in Drenthe are very numerous. In the same year, the following were found: In the Wolfsbergen near Emmen, a bowl-shaped urn of reddish-brown earth, within which another urn of dark brown earth with a curved rim was found, as well as two stone hammers, a bronze knife, and some bones.

Behind the Emmerdennen, a bowl-shaped brown urn with bones was found. At Wachtum in the municipality of Dalen, a bronze chisel with an eye was found about half a meter deep in the ground. In the Gravenveld near Weerdinge, municipality of Emmen, a chisel of gray flint was found, and at the former Roswinkeler Schans, in the iron ore (primeval), a stone hammer, dark gray and roughly worked, over a decimeter long, was found. In the peat bog at Klijdijk near Odoorn, a fragment of a stone hammer was found. In the Schipmeer near Norg, an iron axe was found. In Oud-Orvelte in the Stobbenveen two metal sheets and an old jug (a "bearded man's jug"), and a grinding stone in the peat bog at Zuidwolde near Hoogeveen, while wooden roads or peat bridges were discovered in three places, such as those at Valthermond, which we discussed above. Information about this can be found in the "Nieuwe Drentsche Volksalmanak"

(New Drenthe Folk Almanac). The bridges were discovered:
10. At Buinerveen, municipality of Borger, half an hour from Ruinen station.
20. In the municipality of Emmen along the road from Nieuw-Dordrecht to Klazinaveen-Noord.

30. In the municipality of Emmen, also at Klazinaveen-Noord, at Lock 2 on the Scholtenskanaal and near the Dedemvaart tram from Coevorden to Ter Apel.

These bridges are usually made of pine wood resting on birch girders and must date back to Roman times. I could still tell you about the excavations at the so-called Hunenschans on the Uddelermeer lake on the Eluwe, where Professor Holwerda from Leiden was busy working, about various foreign locations—of which Hallstadt in Upper Austria is the most important—where antiquities were found, about "silent witnesses" such as the dolmens and the pile dwellings (Switzerland), about discoveries of hunting tools and old fishing gear, combs, rings, textiles, and hollowed-out tree trunks, which served as ships, but I'll save that for later.

? W. ?. d. V.

February 1, 1921. The receiving of securities and valuables. —

The Arnhem court on Friday — the Tel.[egraaf] reports — the case against 57-year-old appraiser J. H. Peperkamp from Nijmegen, who in 1917, 1918, and 1919 made a habit of deliberately buying, exchanging, pawning, and concealing objects obtained through crime in the Netherlands. In Nijmegen and elsewhere, he had purchased, exchanged, or partially accepted as gifts, a large number of securities and negotiable instruments, and concealed them for profit. P. accepted the securities obtained through crime from the Belgian, H. Wijnen, loaned them to a banker in his own name, retained part of the money thus received, and also cashed in some coupons for his own benefit.

- 117165 The same thing had happened in Amsterdam and Rotterdam: in the latter city, the appellant bought Antwerp lottery tickets, as well as bottles and miniatures worth thousands, from someone calling himself Van Dijsseldank, knowing that everything was the proceeds of crime.
- 117170 Peperkamp confessed; He initially objected to such transactions with Wijnen, then relented and received a 10% commission, but later retained the entire proceeds. The president pointed out that Bekl., who was wealthy and trusted in the city where he lived, had proven to be practically "the biggest snitch in the Netherlands," as they say in the animal world. For years, he acted as an accomplice to thieves and burglars.
- 117175 The securities sold, as evidenced by the testimony, were stolen during the burglary committed in Ilpendam in 1917, the well-known burglary of the Amsterdam publishing firm P. N. van Kampen, and several thefts in Rotterdam. The miniatures and bottles originated from Nyenrode Castle, where, at the end of 1917, a mechanic installing the central heating system had stolen the valuables, including, among other things, the
- 117180 silver cross with precious stones received by Admiral Tromp from Charles II, an object of historical significance. Through the mediation of Peperkamp and other intermediaries, the antiquities eventually ended up with the Frederik Muller company, which was ordered to return them to the original owner, the castle resident Michiel Onnes van Nyenrode, for the price it had paid. The Muller company then quoted a very
- 117185 high sum, which it received. A year later, when it came to light that the company had declared a fictitious and far too high amount, it refunded the overpayment made by the castle lord.
- 117190 The deputy public prosecutor, Mr. Visscher, called Peperkamp the biggest receiver of stolen goods the Netherlands has seen in recent years; During a house search, securities from six thefts were found. The defendant also had a hand in numerous smuggling cases, in which he worked behind the scenes, but remained unscathed. The ease with which stolen goods could be delivered to Peperkamp in Nijmegen led many young men down the wrong path. All this marks him as a dangerous criminal, citing all
- 117195 his mitigating circumstances. The speaker finally requested a five-year prison sentence.
- Mr. van Ditzhuizen, the defense attorney, emphasized that Peperkamp was a victim of normal circumstances. The arbitrary actions of the N.O.T. and other officials caused him considerable harm, and thus he lapsed into indifference, which drove him to
- 117200 commit criminal acts, of which, however, scoundrels like Van Dijsseldonck and Wijnen can be considered the perpetrators, who by their actions incited the receiving of stolen goods. He wishes to compensate P. as much as possible for the damage caused by his actions; in this context, too, the pleader appealed to the court's clemency.
- 117205 Verdict February 8.
- April 14, 1929 Hellas and Rome.
Exhibition at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam
- [...] A very beautiful and remarkable piece is the gilded silver Roman helmet, found near Deurne in the Peel region. Attention is also drawn to the large silver
- 117210 decorations, which, sewn onto leather, formed part of a Roman horse harness. These pieces were fished out of the Rhine in this country.
- June 11, 1932 HISTORY OF ASSELT
- [...] When the Trappist Fathers of Achel Abbey recently began an investigation into the possessions lost to their monastery during the French Revolution, hoping to
- 117215 reconstruct the old altar in its original form, they were referred from Deurne to Asselt. They no longer found the altar in question there, but they did find remnants of it in the museum, which they recognized from old photographs. The description they gave and had of it matched the old altar in every detail in Asselt. They found the painting that had belonged to it as an altarpiece, now framed as a valuable object.
- 117220 Although the Fathers submitted the necessary convincing evidence and were eager to have it back in their possession, they had to yield to the Asselt argument that their rights to this piece, which had long since expired, could be upheld. During the negotiations, it further emerged that the possibility cannot be ruled out that the
- 117225 Asseltsche Christus (Christ) is a work by the renowned Titian (1477-1576). Titian maintained friendly relations with the Trappist order at the time, and Achel Kluis claims, based on accounts, that the painting in question was a work by the Italian master.
- 117230 August 25, 1937 MYSTERIOUS DISCOVERY IN THE PEEL.

A folk fantasy from ancient times revived.

During reclamation work, which is being carried out under the direction of the Dutch Heath Society on the territory of the vast Peel municipality of Deurne, a skeleton was recently discovered, reports the Provincial Council of 's-Hertogenbosch. The human skeleton must have been present at the site for a very long time; it was buried deep beneath the layers of sand. A more or less sensational incident was the discovery of a weathered knife near the skeleton.

It goes without saying that this mysterious discovery has provided ample fodder for popular imaginations, reviving the many mysterious stories that weave together the history of the once so desolate Peel region.

How long has the skeleton now been found resting in the Peel soil? 50, 100, 200, 300 years, or even longer? Is this a glimpse of an unsolved tragedy from times long past? A victim of a robbery long, long ago, when Peel was still inaccessible and almost impenetrable? Or the decayed remains of a stray lone individual "who had lost his way in the wilderness and whose only remnant, besides his bones, was the knife he carried, has withstood the ravages of time?"

It will all remain an open question, just as so many other mysteries remain, now being dredged up again, as undecayed remnants of Peel's romanticism. Tales of the "black waters" from the old Peel region are once again being told. Eerie events from the distant past. They were passed around by word of mouth in the days when the Peel was a complete wilderness, when there were no roads, no newspapers were printed, no farms were to be seen for miles around, and when, lacking all modern comforts, people would spend their evenings by the fireside, chatting and chatting. The "black waters" are the dark Peel fen pools, where, for some reason, the bells from the church towers were... sunk away. Dark, unknown strangers had been seen carrying away the bells. They were mistaken for accomplices of the devil, or even Satan himself. With a dull crash, the bells had crashed into the swamps; the water there remained black ever since and never froze. On Christmas Eve, they were still heard tolling, but woe betide anyone who followed their sounds and tried to find them; they lost their way, drowning in the black waters... One of the "black waters" lay at the present-day Peelvlak IJsselstein.

January 28, 1944 THE PEEL A BORDER

Letters about the Peel

Dear Friend

It is not so very long ago, as I sit here and write to you, that the driver, who regularly drove between Deurne and Venray, would adjust the axle of his cart in the middle of the inhospitable Peel plain near the Kraayenhut. At that time, there was only a loose, deeply rutted dirt road between the two villages, and there, at den Grootenberg, changed the track gauge – the Limburg

The Dutch track is still considerably wider today than the Brabant one—and so the freight driver couldn't continue his journey until he had adjusted the axle position of his heavy cart to the wagon track. This was possible with his vehicle; it was designed for it. Most ordinary carts and wagons, however, did not have adjustable axles and therefore could not be used for traffic between the aforementioned places.

Doesn't this remarkable fact clearly demonstrate that the Peel was a border, a separation between two countries or regions? Many a wide river wasn't such a tight barrier between two areas as this inaccessible region, this "marshy place" and this "strangely abandoned area," as it is called in old documents, until recently—what does half a century mean in the vast gray space of the past? —there were therefore very few connections between the Brabant and Limburg Peel regions, and the inhabitants of Venray, Horst, and Sevenum only rarely came into contact with those of Bakel, Deurne, and Liessel. On either side of the Peel, the people developed entirely separately and, in terms of government, adopted completely opposite orientations: while the villages of the Brabant Peel region migrated to Helmond and 's-Hertogenbosch, the Limburg Peel villages moved to Venlo, Boxmeer, Cuijk, and Roermond.

The Peel was a natural border. With its bogs and "vlazen," forests, and heathland, it was a virtually insurmountable obstacle, separating even regions and tribes. It seems that in the Middle Ages, it was therefore not deemed necessary to draw a clear boundary line through this swamp: this was only done later, when it was realized that this region was not as worthless as previously thought, because it turned out to contain a large quantity of peat. For a long time, the raised bog ridge of the Peel formed the border between the Peelland district of the Meierij of 's-Hertogenbosch and the Overkwartier of Gelderland. During the Guelderian Wars, which took place in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, bands of Gelderland repeatedly invaded

the Duchy of Brabant through the Peel. In 1511 and 1512, the villages of Deurne, Bakel, and Asten were largely reduced to ashes by the Gelderlanders from Venlo. To secure the border, a blockhouse was built near Liessel, where it is still called "het Sloop" (the Ditch), between 1516 and 1527. Due to the presence of a relatively wide sandy ridge, the weak point in this separation lay there, near Meyel, as one can also read in Ouwerling's great historical work. For a century and a half after the Peace of Münster, signed in 1648, the national border ran through the Peel region. During the existence of the Dutch Republic, this high peatland separated the province or Generality Land of North Brabant from Spanish and Austrian Gelderland, and later from Prussian Gelderland. Brabant Catholics used this border to secure their church treasures. Priests and monks fled across it to escape the "edicts" of the High and Mighty States General. As early as 1649, the Deurne pastor, Mr. Gerard Jacobs, built a small church for his parishioners just across the border near the Grootenberg. For quite some time, he served the faithful of Deurne, Bakel, Liessel, and Vlierden from there. We also see the sisters of the noble abbey of Binderen, near Helmond, finding refuge in the Peel region and thus the border, and those of "Mariaschoot" from Ommel traveling with her miraculous statue to Neer in the county of Hoorn. Naturally, disputes about this border arose frequently. It was difficult to determine precisely where in that wide region the line separating Brabant from Gelderland should run. The Brabant side consistently invoked the deeds of acquisition of the common lands of Deurne from 1326 and 1467. The Peace of Münster also failed to produce a precise demarcation, although a meeting on this matter had already been held two years earlier between the villages of Peelland and those of the Overkwartier. When this matter was brought before the Council of "paalsteden" by the fiscal of Brabant in the presence of the fiscal of Venray, it later turned out that the latter again disagreed with the drawn line. We read in Ouwerling's "History of the villages and lordships of crossing over to include Deurne, Liessel, and Vlierden in Venray" that they even went so far as to "clandestinely" remove the boundary markers at night and at odd hours and hang them on chains under their tower, where they were kept for years as commemorative tokens. On November 20, 1716, the Treaty of Venlo between the States-General of the United Netherlands and the King of Prussia established a proper border settlement, but before the demarcation was completed, new difficulties arose: Deurne submitted the loss of eight hundred hectares of good peatland distressed the residents of that domain, and it thus happened that, at night, as Van Heurn recounts in his work on the Meijerij of 's-Hertogenbosch, residents of that domain set fire to seven hundred and eight hundred carts of peat, which, according to the new border, had fallen within the territory of Venray. After the collapse of the Republic, the border between the French department of the Nedermaas and the Batavian Republic ran through the Peel. Then history repeated itself, in a somewhat reverse direction: monks from Limburg now sought refuge across the Peel to Brabant territory. Thus, the last prioress of the Norbertine monastery Keizersbosch, near Neer, found refuge in Deurne. Only when the Netherlands were incorporated into the French Empire in 1810 did the Peel cease to be a national border for good. Later, after the founding of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, it separated the province of North Brabant from that of Limburg, which, when it joined the German Confederation following the Belgian uprising, was called the Duchy of Limburg.

After the railway line between Eindhoven and Venlo had already established a permanent connection between the villages on either side of the Peel Marsh in the 1860s, the first paved road was built across the Peel between Deurne and Venray shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. Around the year 1880, a road was already built from Deurne to the Limburg border at Meyel [Meijel]. After the war, the Peel was also breached in the direction of the Land van Cuyk: a gravel road now connects Deurne with Boxmeer. Unemployed people from Helmond built a wide, earthen track between Helenaveen and Sevenum about ten years ago. Thus, this dividing wall was gradually demolished, and this dense borderland was opened up for the common good. The Peel region still constitutes a border—this elevated peat and horticultural land now forms a significant watershed, demarcating two entirely different regions with their own, entirely distinct ethnic groups—but it is no longer a dividing tree or a burdensome obstacle. This previously under-regarded border region, even as a progressive development area, makes a valuable contribution to cooperation and prosperity within the area in which our people live. And isn't that something—and with this I would like to conclude—about which we should truly rejoice?

DEURNE, Louwmaand 1944.
W. A. M. VAN HEUGTEN.

February 18, 1944 Remarkable showpiece

Dear Friend,

117365 You ask me about a remarkable showpiece that should be on display in Deurne and is
little known, even in the circles of those who are particularly interested in the
beauty of our region. I understand what you mean: it's the cast of the Roman helmet,
which is on display in the mayor's office of Deurne's town hall. It is certainly a
117370 remarkable showpiece, even if it's only a substitute for the real thing. In few
antiquity rooms, indeed in few museums, do you find such a rare object in this
country. What does it actually mean and how did it come to be?

On a June day in 1910, peat worker G. Smolenaars from Meyel was working in the Peel
region between the so-called Hermanshuizen and Helenaveen, on the left side of the
road (coming from Liessel). He was working in the gray peat. Suddenly, he came across
117375 something hard, but this time not driftwood. Was it a crushed pot? He dug it out,
took it to a ditch, and after rinsing it off, he saw that it had to be an old helmet.
Nearby, in a small hole like a bird's nest, he found several coins and other small
metal objects, as well as the remains of shoes and a saddlecloth. He carried it home
and hid it as something precious in his box bed.

117380 That a treasure had been unearthed in the Peel region soon spread far beyond the
region. Many traveled to Meyel to see the find; the simple man, who now possessed an
immense fortune in the eyes of many, and to whom Mayor Truyen van Meyel is said to
have said, "I am rich, but you are much richer!", showed his unusual find to the
117385 numerous visitors. Soon, buyers also showed up. Fortunately, however, the National
Museum of Antiquities in Lelden was alerted in time. They sent an expert who
appraised the find and offered a certain sum for it. Smolenaars agreed with him, and
thus the danger of this rare find falling into the wrong hands was averted. However,
this matter wasn't yet settled. The peat worker could only be considered half-owner
of the treasure. Determining who the other half actually belonged to wasn't so easy.

117390 The finder was busy cutting peat for the firm Steegh and Esser, specifically in the
gray peat bog, which had been leased by the municipality of Deurne as the owner of
the peatlands to the firm of Terwindt and Arnzt. An unusual and therefore difficult
problem to solve! After seeking legal advice, the municipality of Deurne considered
itself the owner of the second half and decided on November 18, 1910, to donate it to
117395 the scientific institution for the offered price of one thousand guilders.
The National Museum of Antiquities had the dented armor, which was immediately
assumed to have belonged to a Roman officer, restored. This difficult task was
successfully carried out by the goldsmith L. Verkuil, who worked in the workshop of
Van Rossum du Chattel in Leiden. "Once restored," Dr. M. A. Evelein later wrote in an

117400 illustrated magazine article, "it became clear what a magnificent piece the museum
had acquired, which, compared to similar helmets abroad, may even be called unique."
However, the helmet is not complete: only the gilded silver outer covering remained;
The iron inner cap rusted away completely. The helmet cap consists of two separate,
117405 identical parts, each divided into three interconnected pieces and held together by a
comb. The equipment also included a neck protector, a nose guard, and two cheek
plates. One of these last pieces was never recovered.

Very little has been preserved of the weaponry of the Roman legions, which occupied
our country and a large part of our continent for centuries. As far as is known, only
seven helmets have been found, which must have originated from the Romans; the one
117410 from De Peel is the most valuable. One came to light near Kerch on the well-known
strait between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea; two were excavated at Pfersee near
Augsburg and one at Worms in Germany; in Hungary, one was found in the Danube near
Budapest; and in Denmark, one was discovered in peat near Thorsbjerg. Remarkably,
according to Dr. Evelein, show considerable similarity in construction and

117415 workmanship. This scholar believes they could well have been made in the same
workshop in Constantinople. The helmet is skillfully crafted and demonstrates the
skill of the Roman craftsmen. The overall effect, however, supports the assumption
that the wearer must have been a centurion. Is his name carved into it? As we can
read in Dr. Evelein's article, Prof. O. Bonn of Berlin saw, in the inscription on the
117420 neck guard, a weight indication with the name of the verifier Titus Valonius Ursus.
The word "Stablesia VI" on the helmet rim must indicate a division of the equestrian
corps of the Equites Stablesiani, known primarily from the later period of the Roman
Empire.

So, what is the significant value of this discovery in the Peel region for historical
117425 science? That lies beyond the helmet itself. Coins were also found. These all
appeared to date from the time of Emperor Constantine; It was even possible to
determine where they were minted. They offer a solid starting point for comparative
study. It is reasonable to assume that the centurion only carried money, which was

current in those years. Thus, not only can the Peel helmet be roughly dated, but comparison also allows us to estimate the period from which the Roman helmets found elsewhere originate. This discovery is significant, moreover, because it proves that the cavalry corps of the "Equites Stablesiani" must also have resided in the Low Countries and that the gray peat in our region had not yet formed in the third century AD.

Naturally, many mysteries remain surrounding the death of the Roman centurion in the Peel swamp. Where did he come from and where did he ride to? Why was neither sword, dagger, lance, nor shield found with him? Did the dagger or short sword, which must have been stuck in the short scabbard, which was preserved in the mortise, like the iron inner cap of the helmet, completely decay, or was it lost, stolen, or perhaps found earlier? In this context, a note from the first half of the last century, which I found in the Deurne municipal archives, is interesting: in it, the district commissioner of Helmond asks the mayor of Deurne and Liessel whether it is true that a farmer near Deurne had found a golden sword. Despite all its acumen, modern science will probably never be able to provide a conclusive answer to all these questions. We know that a drama must have taken place here in that distant, dark time; nothing more.

The Peel helmet only returned to our region in 1934, albeit in the form of a few casts. Besides being on display in Deurne town hall, one can be seen in the Helmond municipal museum. The remainder of the rare and remarkable find – as outlined above, however, is no less important for our History – will probably still be preserved in Leiden.
Deurne, February 1944.
W. A. M. VAN HEUGTEN.

January 1, 1988 CAVALRY EQUIPMENT OF THE ROMAN ARMY IN THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.
by M.C. Bishop

PANEGYRICUS CONSTANTINO AUGUSTO

D I C T U S.

I. Facerem, sacratissime imperator, quod paulo ante mihi plerique suaserunt ut, quoniam maiestas tua hunc mediocritati meae diem in ista ciuitate celeberrimum ad dicendum dedisset, de eo ipso ducerem sermonis exordium, nisi me ab hoc duplex ratio reuocaret considerantem neque mediae aetatis hominem ostentare debere subitam dicendi facultatem neque ad aures tanti numinis quicquam nisi diu scriptum et saepe tractatum afferri oportere. [nam qui aput imperatorem populi Romani dicit ex tempore, quantum sit non sentit imperium.] huc accedit quod iam satis multi sunt qui me putant nimium multa dicturum, idque, ut arbitror, non ex ingenio meo, quod mediocre est, sed ex laudum uestrarum copia metiuntur. quorum ego expectationem inuitus licet fallam breuitate dicendi. reuera enim cogitaueram plura quae dicerem, sed malo orationem meam esse mancam quam respui. itaque primum illud compendium faciam quod, cum omnes uos, inuictissimi principes, quorum concors est et socia maiestas, debita ueneratione suspiciam, hunc tamen quantulumcumque tuo modo, Constantine, numini dicabo sermonem. ut enim ipsos immortales deos, quamquam uniuersos animo colamus, interdum tamen in suo quemque templo ac seda ueneramur: ita mihi fas esse duco omnium principum pietate meminisse, laudibus celebrare praesentem. II. A primo igitur incipiam originis tuae numine, quod plerique adhuc fortasse nesciunt, sed qui te, amant plurimum sciunt. ab illo enim diuo Claudio manat in te auita cognatio qui Romani imperii solutam et perditam disciplinam primus reformauit immanesque. Gothorum copias Ponti faucibus et Histri ore proruptas terra marique deleuit, utinam diutumior recreator hominum quam maturior deorum comes. quamuis igitur ille felicissimus dies proxima religione celebratus imperii tui natalis habeatur, quoniam te isto habitu primus ornauit, iam tamen ab illo generis auctore in te imperii fortuna descendit. quin immo ipsum patrem tuum uetus illa imperatoriae domus praerogatiua prouexit, ut iam summo gradu et supra humanarum rerum fata consisteres, post duos familiae tuae principes tertius imperator. inter omnes, inquam, participes maiestatis tuae hoc habes, Constantine, praecipuum quod imperator ortu es, tantaque est nobilitas originis tuae ut nihil tibi addident honoris imperium nec possit fortuna numini tuo imputare quod tuum est, omisso ambitu et suffragatione. III. Non fortuita hominum consensio, non repetinus aliquis fauoris uentus te principem fecit: imperium nascendo meruisti. quod quidem mihi deorum immortalium munus et primum uidetur et sa maximum, in lucem statim uenire felicem et ea quae alii uix totius uitae laboribus consequuntur iam domi parta suscipere. quamuis enim magna

- 117495 sit et admiranda felicitas quae stipendiis in ordine emeritis et militiae gradibus
emensis ad fastigium istud maiestatis ascendit et solis uirtutis nixa radicibus ad
tantum potentiae robur inualuit (quod quidem etiam tu, quantum per aetatem licuit,
consecutus es et, quamuis te super omnes acquirendae gloriae moras fauor fortunae
posuisset, crescere militando noluisti et adeundis belli periculis ac manu cum
117500 hostibus etiam singulari certamine conserenda notiozem te gentibus reddidisti, cum
non posses esse nobilior), magnum, inquam, etsi est ab se profectum ad maxima
peruenire: longe tamen aliud est niti per ardua et iuga montium petere e plano aliud
jpsa ortus sui sublimitate fultum uerticem tenere fortunae et quae summa sunt non
sperare, sed habere.
- 117505 IV. Sacrum istud palatium non candidatus imperii, sed designatus intrasti,
confestimque te illi paterni lares successorem uidere legitimum. neque enim erat
dubium quin ei competeret hereditas quem primum imperatori filium fata tribuissent.
te enim tantus ille et imperator in terris et in caelo deus in primo aetatis suae
flore generauit adhuc toto corpore uigens, illa praeditus alacritate ac fortitudine
117510 quam bella plurima praecipueque campi uidere Uindonii. inde est quod tanta ex illo in
te formae similitudo transiuit ut signante natura uultibus tuis impressa uideatur.
idem enim est quem rursus in te colimus aspectus, eadem in fronte grauitas, eadem in
oculis et in ore tranquillitas. sic est index modestiae rubor, sic testis iustitiae
sermo. accipe, imperator, non ancipitem nostrorum sensuum confessionem: dolet quod
117515 Constantius excessit a nobis, sed, dum te cernimus, illum excessisse non credimus.
quamquam quid ego illum excessisse dico, cuius immortalia facta uiuunt et in ore
omnium hominum oculisque uersantur?
- V. Quis enim non dico reminiscitur, sed quis non adhuc quodam modo uidet quantis ille
rebus auxerit ornaritque rem publicam? qui adscitus imperio primo aduentu suo
117520 innumerabili hostium classe feruentem exclusit oceanum et exercitum illum qui
Bononiensis oppidi litus insederat terra pariter ac mari saepsit, cum reciprocos
aestus illius elementi iactis inter undas uallis diremisset, ut, quorum portas
fluctus alluerat, ei quo mare tangerent perdidissent. qui eodem exercitu uirtute
capto, clementia conseruato, dum aedificandis classibus Britanniae recipratio
117525 comparatur, terram Batauiam sub ipso quondam alumno suo a diuersis Francorum gentibus
occupatam omni hoste purgauit nec contentus uicisse ipsas in Romanas transtulit
nationes ut non solum arma, sed etiam feritatem ponere cogerentur. nam quid ego de
receptione Britanniae loquar? ad quam ita quieto mari nauigauit ut oceanus ille tanto
uectore stupefactus caruisse suis motibus uideretur, ita peruectus ut non comitata
117530 illum sit, sed praestolata uictoria.
- VI. Quid de misericordia dicam qua uictis temperauit? quid de iustitia qua spoliatis
amissa restituit? quid de prouidentia qua sociis sibi iunctis se eiusmodi in iudicio
dedit ut seruitutem passos iuuaret recepta libertas, culpaе conscios ad poenitentiam
reuocaret impunitas? quid loquar rursus intimas Franciaе nationes iam non ab his
117535 locis quae olim Romani inuaserant, sed a propriis ex origine sui sedibus atque ab
ultimis barbariae litoribus auulsas, ut in desertis Galliae regionibus collocatae et
pacem Romani imperii cultu iuuarent et arma dilectu? quid commemorem Lingonicam
uictoriam etiam imperatoris ipsius uulnere gloriosam? quid Uindonnissae campos hostium
strage completos et adhuc ossibus opertos? quid immanem ex diuersis Germanorum
117540 populis multitudinem, quam duratus gelu Rhenus illexerat ut insulam, quam diuortio
sui idem amnis amplectitur, pedestri agmine ausa transmittere repente laxato flumine
clauderetur et so dimissis statim obsessa nauigiis ita se dedere cogeretur ut, quod
difficilius est, sorte communi elegeret et ex aequo quos captiuitati traderet,
relatura cum reliquiis suis infamiam prodicionis suorum.
- 117545 VII. Dies me ante deficiet quam oratio, si omnia patris tui facta uel hac breuitate
percurram. cuius etiam suprema illa expeditio non Britannica trophaea, ut uulgo
creditum est, expetiuit, sed dis iam nocantibus ad intimum terrarum limen accessit.
neque enim ille tot tantisque rebus gestis non dico Caledonum, Pictorum aliorumque
siluas et paludes, sed nec Hibemiam proximam nec Thylen ultimam nec ipsas si quae
117550 sunt Fortunatorum insulas dignabatur acquirere, sed, quod eloqui nemini uoluit,
iturus ad deos genitorem illum deorum ignea caelis astra refoquentem prospexit
oceanum, ut fruiturus exinde luce perpetua iam uideret illic diem paene continuum.
uere enim profecto illi superum templa patuerunt receptusque est consessu caelitem,
Ioue ipso dexteram porrigente. quin immo statim sententiam rogatus cui imperium
117555 decerneret, dixit, ut decebat, Gonstantium Pium: manifeste enim sententia patris
electus es, imperator. quod quidem ita nos dicere cum ueritas iubet, tum pietati
tuae, ut uideo gratissimum est. sed cur tantummodo priuatis tuis affectibus
blandiamur, cum omnium deorum fuerit illa sententia, et quidem iam pridem auctoritate
perscripta, quamuis tunc pleno sit firmata consilio? iam tunc enim caelestibus
117560 suffragis ad salutem rei publicae uocabaris, cum ad tempus ipsum quo pater in

Britanniam transfretabat classi iam uela facienti repentinus tuus aduentus illuxit, ut non aduectus cursu publico, sed diuino quodam aduolasse curriculo uidereris. VIII. Non enim ulla Persarum Cydonumue tela tam certis iactibus destinata fixerunt quam tempestius patri tuo terras relicturo comes affuisti omnesque illius curas quas
117565 praesaga et tacita mente uoluebat praesentiae tuae securitate laxasti. di boni, quanta Constantium Pium etiam in excessu suo felicitate donastis! imperator transitum facturum in caelum uidit quem relinquebat heredem. ilico enim atque ille terris fuerat exemptus, uniuersus in te consensit exercitus, te omnium mentes oculique signarunt et, quamquam tu ad seniores principes de summa rei publicae quid fieri
117570 placeret rettulisses, praeuenerunt studio quod illi mox iudicio probauerunt. purpuram statim tibi, cum primus copiam tui fecit egressus, milites utilitati publicae magis quam tuis affectibus seruientes iniecere lacrimanti. neque enim fas erat diutius fleri principem consecratum. diceris etiam, imperator inuicte, ardorem illum te deposcentis exercitus fugere conatus equum calcaribus incitasse. quod quidem, ut
117575 uerum audias, adulescentiae errore faciebas. quis enim te Cyllarus aut Arion posset eripere quem sequebatur imperium? illa, inquam, illa maiestas, quippe Iouis oblata nutu nec Iridi deum nuntiae, sed pinnis commissa Victoriae, tam facile te comitata est quam cito ad terras caelo missa perueniunt. sic modestiam tuam atque pietatem et differendi imperii conatus ostendit et rei publicae felicitas uicit.

IX. O fortunata et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quae Constantinum Caesarem prima uidisti! merito te omnibus caeli ac soli bonis natura donauit, in qua nec rigor est nimius hiemis nec ardor aestatis, in qua segetum tanta fecunditas ut muneribus utrisque sufficiat et Cereris et Liberi, in qua nemora sine inmanibus bestiis, terra sine serpentibus noxiis; contra pecorum mitium innumerabilis multitudo lacte distenta
117585 et onusta uelleribus, certe quidem, quapropter ibi uita diligitur, longissimae dies et nullae sine aliqua luce noctes, dum illa litorum extrema planities non attollit umbras noctisque metam caeli et siderum transit aspectus, ut sol ipse qui nobis uidetur occidere ibi appareat praeterire. di boni, quid hoc est quod semper ex aliquo supremo fine mundi noua deum numina uniuerso orbi colenda descendunt? sic Mercurius a
117590 Nilo cuius fluminis origo nescitur, sic Liber ab Indis prope consciis solis orientis deos se gentibus ostendere praesentes. sacratiora sunt profecto mediterraneis loca uicina caelo et inde propius a dis mittitur imperator ubi terra finitur.

X. Imperatoris igitur filius et tanti imperatoris et ipse tam feliciter adeptus imperium quomodo rem publicam uindicare coepisti? ignobilem, credo, aliquam barbarorum manum, quae repentino impetu et improuiso latrocinio ortus tui auspicia temptasset, affecisti poena temeritatis. reges ipsos Franciae, qui per absentiam patris tui pacem uiolauerant, non dubitasti ultimis punire cruciatibus, nihil ueritus gentis illius odia perpetua et inexpiabiles iras. cur enim ullam reputet iustae seueritatis offensam imperator qui quod fecit tueri potest? tuta clementia est quae
117600 parcat inimicis et sibi magis prospicit quam ignoscit. te uero, Constantine, quantumlibet oderint hostes, dum perhorrescant. haec est enim uera uirtus ut non ament et quiescant. cautior licet sit qui deuinctos habet uenia perduelles, fortior tamen est qui calcitrat iratos. renouasti, imperator, ueterem illam Romani imperii fiduciam quae de captis hostium ducibus uiudictam morte sumebat. tunc enim captiui reges cum a portis usque ad forum triumphantium currus honestassent, simulatque in Capitolium currum flectere coeperat imperator, abrepti in carcerem necabantur. unus Perses ipso Paulo qui dedentem se acceperat deprecante legem illius seueritatis euasit. ceteri omnes in uinculis luce priuati aliis regibus dedere documentum ut
117605 mallent amicitiam colere Romanam quam exasperare tristitiam. adeo et hoc boni confert poena hostibus irrogata ut non solum inimici ferocire non audeant, sed etiam amici impensius reuereantur.

XI. Lide igitur est, imperator, pax ista qua fruimur. neque enim iam Rheni gurgitibus, sed nominis tui terrore munimur. quamlibet ille aut arescat aestu aut resistat gelu, neutro hostis audebit uti uado. nihil enim tam insuperabili uallo natura praecludit quod non penetret audacia, cui aliqua conandi spes relinquatur. ille est inexpugnabilis murus quem extruit fama uirtutis. sciunt posse se Franci transire Rhenum, quos ad necem suam libenter admittas, sed nec uictoriam possunt sperare nec ueniam. quid ipsos maneat, ex regum suorum
117615 cruciatibus metiuntur ideoque tantum abest ut amsis illius transitum moliantur, magis ut coepto ponte desperent. ubi nunc est illa ferocia? ubi semper infida mobilitas? iam ne procul quidem Rhenum audetis accolere et uix securi flumina interiora potatis. contra hinc per interualla disposita magis omant limitem castella quam protegent. arat illam terribilem aliquando ripam inermis agricola, et toto nostri greges bicorni amne mersantur. haec est tua, Constantine, de Ascarici Regisique supplicio cotidiana atque aeterna uictoria omnibus quondam secundis proeliis anteposenda. semel acie
117625 uincitur, sine fine est documento. cladem suam, quamuis multi pereant, uulgus

ignorat: compendium est deuincendorum hostium duces sustulisse.

XII. Ut tamen omnibus modis barbarorum immanitas frangeretur nec sola hostes regum suorum supplicia maererent, etiam immissa Bructeris uastatione fecisti, imperator inuicte. in quo prima consilii tui fuit ratio quod exercitu repente traiecto inopinantes adortus es, non quo aperto Marte diffideres ut qui palam congregi maluisses, sed ut illa natio perfugiis siluamm et paludum bellum solita frustrari fugae tempus amitteret. caesi igitur innumerabiles, capti plurimi; quicquid fuit pecoris, raptum aut trucidatum est; uici omnes igne consumpti; puberes qui in manus uenerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiae nec ferocia seruituti, ad poenas spectaculo dati saeuientes bestias multitudine sua fatigarunt. hoc est, imperator, fretum esse uirtute sua atque fortuna, hoc est non pacem emere parcendo, sed uictoriam quaerere prouocando.

XIII. Insuper etiam Agrippinensi ponte faciundo reliquiis afflictae gentis insultas, ne umquam metus ponat, semper horreat, semper supplices manus tendat, cum tamen hoc tu magis ad gloriam imperii tui et ornatum limitis facias quam ad facultatem, quotiens uelis, in hosticum traueseundi, quippe cum totus armatis nauibus Rhenus instructus sit et ripis omnibus usque ad oceanum dispositus miles immineat. sed pulcrum tibi uidetur (et reuera pulcherrimum est) ut Rhenus ille non solum superioribus locis, ubi aut latitudine uadosus aut uicinia fontis exiguus, sed etiam ibi nouo ponte calcetur ubi totus est, ubi iam plurimos hausit amnes quos hic noster indigena fluuius et barbarus Nicer et Moenus inuexit, ubi iam immani meatu ferox et alluei unius impatiens in duo cornua gestit excedere. seruit profecto, Gonstantine maxime, ipsa rerum natura numini tuo, cum in illa gurgitum altitudine tantarum molium fundamenta iaciuntur fidam et stabilem firmitatem habitura. iunxerit licet quondam Hellesponti angustias classe conexa Persarum rex potentissimus: temporarius ille transitus fuit. simili nauium continuatione Baianumsinum strauerit ab Augusto tertius Caesar: delicata fuit illa uectatio principis otiosi.

hoc opus et difficile factu et usu futurum est sempitemum. certe quidem iam tibi in exordio sui hostium mouit obsequia, qui pacem supplices petierunt, nobilissimos obsides obtulerunt. ex quo nemo dubitat quid perfecto ponte facturi sint qui iam seruiunt inchoato.

XIV. Talibus te pro utilitate ac dignitate publica rebus intentum auerterunt in se noui motus eius hominis quem successibus tuis maxime fauere decuisset. de quo ego quemadmodum dicam adhuc ferme dubito et de nutu numinis tui expecto consilium. quamlibet enim merito pietatis tuae questibus acuatur, debet tamen sibi uox priuata moderari, praesertim cum eum qui tibi ex tantis beneficiis tuis et tanto necessitudinum fonte ingratus extiterit adhuc contemplatu tui cogamur quamuis irati reuereri. quid faciam igitur ut tam profunda uulnera suspensa manu tractem? usurpabo nimirum illa communias omnium facinorum patrocinia, quae tamen plerumque etiam a sapientibus assenmtur, neminem hominem peccare nisi fato et ipsa scelera mortalium actus esse fortunae, contra autem deorum munera esse uirtutes. gratulare, Constantine, naturae ac moribus tuis quod te talem Constantius Pius genuerit, talem siderum decreta formarint ut crudelis esse non possis. illum autem [non] credo, cum uenturus in lucem optionem uitae qua uteretur acciperet, sortem incurrisse fugiendam quae multis hominibus iniustum et postremo ipsi uoluntarium ferret exitium. ut enim alia mittam, hoc ipsum nonne fati necessitas tulit ut ille pietati tuae hanc referret uicem, quem tu ab urbe pulsum, ab Italia fugatum, ab Illyrico repudiatum tuis prouinciis, tuis copiis, tuo palatio recepisti?

XV. Quid, oro, sibi uoluit? quid optauit? uel quid amplius adipisceretur his quae a te fuerat consecutus? cui tu summa et diuersissima bona, priuatum otium et regias opes, dederas, cui digredienti aulicos mulos et raedas, cui impensius etiam quam tibi occurrere obsequia nostra mandaueras, cuius omnibus iussis sic statueras oboedire ut penes te habitus, penes illum potestas esset imperii. quisnam ille tantus fuit non ardor potentiae (quid enim te imperante non posset?), sed error iam desipientis aetatis, ut tot natas annos grauissimas curas et bellum ciuile susciperet? nullis, ut res est, fortunae muneribus explerent quorum cupiditates ratio non terminat, atque ita eos felicitas ingrata subterfluit ut semper pleni sperum, uacui commodorum, praesentibus careant dum futura prospectant. at enim diuinum illum uirum qui primus imperium et participauit et posuit consilii et facti sui non poenitet nec amisisse se putat quod sponte transcripsit, felix beatusque uere quem uestra tantorum principum colunt obsequia priuatum. sed et ille multiuigo fultus imperio et uestro laetus tegitur umbraculo, quos scit ex sua stirpe creuisse, et glorias uestras iuste sibi uindicat. hunc ergo illum, qui ab ipso fuerat frater adscitus, puduit imitari. huic illum in Capitolini Iouis templo iurasse poenituit. non miror quod etiam genero peierauit.

XVI. Haec est fides, haec religio Palatini sacrarii deuota penetralibus, ut lente et

cunctanter, iam scilicet cum illis belli consiliis, itinere confecto, consumptis
117695 purpuratus et bis depositum tertio usurparet imperium, litteras ad sollicitandos
exercitus mitteret, fidem militum praemiorum ostentatione turbare temptaret; secure
scilicet usurus exercitu quem uenales manus habere docuisset. quo quidem illius
errore declaratum est, imperator, quantus te militum tuorum amor complecteretur, qui
te omnibus donis quae ille promiserat, omnibus honorum oblationibus praetulerunt.
117700 rara illa uirtus continentiae uix a paucis sapientiae praeceptoribus, si tamen
aliquando, seruata propter te, Constantine, omnibus hominibus est facta communis, nec
solum his quos ratio litterariae uitae ac quies mitigauit, sed etiam ille militarium
ardor animorum respectu tui lucra contempsit. fuerint aliqui exercitus alacritate ac
uiribus tuis similes: tibi uni contigit habere exercitum sapientem. multi olim prau
117705 duces, certasse armis impares, largitione certarunt: sed breuis eorum fuit et caduca
popularitas, quos facile uicit quisquis aemulatus est. hic firmus, hic aeternus est
rei publicae custos quem ipsum per se milites amant, cui non eblandita nec uendita
seruit adulatio, sed simplex et sincera deuotio. dona tua, Constantine, manifeste
sunt grata militibus, sed hoc gratiora quod tua sunt. quaecumque porrigis, manu tua
117710 fiunt acceptiora. quam nemo tecum potest hac ambitione contendere! insuperabile genus
est largitionis, cum ipse militi praemium est imperator. itaque tribuis tu quidem
exercitibus tuis etiam plura quam cupiunt, sed tuum te magis nomen, tua de memoria
patris auctoritas, tua aetatis gratia, tua denique ista uenerabilis forma commendat.
XVII. Pulcrum enim, di boni, et caeleste miraculum imperator adulescens, in quo illa
117715 quae iam summa est fortitudo adhuc tamen crescit, in quo hic fulgor oculorum, haec
ueneranda pariter et grata maiestas praestringit simul et inuitat aspectus. talem
Macetum illum regem, talem Thessalum uirum mente concipio, quorum summa uirtus
pulcritudini coniuncta celebratur. non frustra enim doctissimi uiri dieunt naturam
ipsam magnis mentibus domicilia corporum digna metari et ex uultu hominis ac decore
117720 membrorum colligi posse, quantus illos caelestis spiritus intrarit habitator. itaque
te cum ingredientem milites uident, admirantur et diligunt, sequuntur oculis, animo
tenent, deo se obsequi putant, cuius tam pulcra forma est quam ceirta diuinitas.
XVIII. Statim igitur ut foedum illud facinus audierant, ultro a te proficiscendi
signum petiuerunt; cum uiatica dares, id ipsum sibi moram facere plusque iam se quam
117725 sufficeret ex largitionibus tuis habere dixerunt. inde arreptis armis portas
petiuerunt, tot dierum iter a Rheno usque ad Ararim sine ulla requie peregerunt
indefessis corporibus. animis flagrantibus, crescente in dies ardore uindictae quanto
propius accederent. tum quidem tua, imperator, cura, qua refouendis eorum uiribus a
Cabillonensi portu nauigia prouideras, festinantibus paene non placuit. segnis ille
117730 et cunctabundus amnis numquam fuisse tardior uidebatur: carinis tacite labentibus et
ripis lente recedentibus stare se, non ire clamabant. tum uero usum pedum manibus
aggressi incubuere remigiis et naturam fluminis urgendo uicerunt et tandem eluctati
Araris moras uix ipso Rhodano fuere contenti: parum illis uidebatur concitus ruere,
minus solito Arelate properare. quid multa? confitendum est tibi, imperator: cum hoc
117735 tuo uigore corporis, hoc mentis ardore laborasti interdum ut quem ducebas sequereris
exercitum. tanto enim omnes impetu ferebantur ut, cum illum Arelate deserto
comperissent abisse Massiliam, confestim nauibus euolarent effasque cursu non iam
Rhodani curricula, sed ipsa quodammodo uentorum flabra praeuerterent. tantus illos
incenderat amor numinis tui ut, quamuis scirent oppugnandam esse munitissimam
117740 ciuitatem, sufficere sibi crederent peruenire.
XIX. Massilia enim, ut audio, in profundum mare prominens et munitissimo accincta
portu, in quem angusto aditu mediterraneus refluit sinus, solis mille quingentis
passibus terrae cohaeret, qua firmissimus et turribus frequens murus opponitur.
quippe olim Graecos Italosque illuc conuenas, cum artibus ingenioque pollerent, etiam
117745 ipse docuit locus omnia quae bello usui forent largius in eam partem quae adiri
posset impendere, cum natura in ceteris sum ptum operis remisisset. itaque illam tum
gravi fato Caesari portas pro duce seniore claudentem terra marique admotis machinis,
aggeribus extructis, naualibus proeliis saepius oppugnatam quam territam uix obsessio
diuturna patefecit, cum tamen Graeculi magistratus et ipsum Gaesarem et mox duces eius
117750 et copias non tam uiribus suis quam moenibus reppulissent. at enim nunc primo tuo,
imperator, aduentu primoque impetu exercitus tui nihil eiusdem Massiliae altitudo
murorum, nihil creberrimae turres, nihil loci natura remorata est quominus et portum
caperes et urbem continuo, si uelles. quippe tanta fiducia murum omnem milites
inuaserant ut statim sine dubio ascensuri fuissent, nisi in parandis quas admouerant
117755 scalis coniecturam oculorum sublimitas fefellisset. sed sic quoque multi scalarum
breuitate decepti, quod supererat ascensui, extentis corporibus aequabant et
succedentium humeris subleuati iam interualla pinnarum uncis manibus inuasent. adeo
nihil periculi in uindictae executione metuebant ut sibi non murum scandere, sed ex

aequo congregari uiderentur.

XX. Sed singularem tuam, Constantine, pietatem et sua semper officia etiam inter arma seruantem! signum receptui dedisti et uictoriam distulisti ut omnibus tibi liceret ignoscere neu quid atrocius faceret milos iratus quam clementiae tuae natura pateretur. in quo licet optimi imperatoris sollicitudine caueris ut inducti in fraudem milites poenitendi tempus acciperent atque ultro ueniam precarentur, nos tamen qui mitissimos tuos sensus intuemur (nihil est enim tam perspicuum quam in pectore tuo bonitas) illi te intellegimus pepercisse quem, si prima copiam habuisset irruptio, eripere ferro nemo potuisset. ita, quod ad pietatem bmm pertinet, imperator, et illum et omnes quos receperat reseruasti. sibi imputet quisquis uti noluit beneficio tuo nec se dignum uita iudicauit, cum per te liceret ut uiueret : tu, quod sufficit conscientiae tuae, etiam non merentibus pepercisti. sed, ignosce dicto, non omnia potes: di te uindicant et inuitum.

XXI. Quod quidem nobis semper optandum est ut prosperos habeas etiam ultra tua uotia. successus, qui omnem spem in gremio maiestatis tuae ponimus et tuam ubique praesentiam, quasi dari possit, expetimus. ecce enim, dum a limite paulisper abscesseras, quibus se terroribus barbarorum perfidia iactauerat scilicet, dum sibi illa proponunt: quando perueniet? quando uincet? quando fessum reducet exercitum? cum repente audito reditu tuo uelut attoniti conciderunt, ne tuum pro re publica uotum amplius quam unius noctis cura tetigisset. postridie enim quam accepto illo nuntio geminatum itineris laborem suscepas, omnes fluctus resedis, omnem quam reliqueras tranquillitatem redisse didicisti, ipsa noc sic ordinante fortuna ut te ibi rerum tuarum felicitas admoneret dis immortalibus ferre quae uotaueras, ubi deflexisses ad templum toto orbe pulcherrimum, immo ad praesentem, ut uidisti, deum. uidisti enim, credo, Constantine, Apollinem tuum comitante Uictoria coronas tibi laureas offerentem, quae tricenum singulae ferunt omen annorum. hic est enim humanarum numerus aetatum, quae tibi utique debentur ultra Pyliam senectutem. et immo quid dico 'credo'? uidisti teque in illius specie recognouisti, cui totius mundi regna deberi uatum carmina diuina cecinerunt. quod ego nunc demum arbitror contigisse, cum tu sis, ut ille, iuuenis et laetus et salutaris et pulcherrimus, imperator. merito igitur augustissima illa delubra tantis donariis. honestasti ut iam uetera non quaerant. iam omnia te uocare ad se templa uidentat praecipueque Apollo noster, cuius feruentibus aquis periuria puniuntur, quae te maxime oportet odisse.

XXII. Di immortales, quando illum dabitis diem, quo praesentissimus hic deus omni pace composita illos quoque Apollinis lucos et sacras sedes et anhelata fontium ora circumeat? quorum scaturigines leni tepore nebulosae arridere, Gonstantine, oculis tuis et osculis sese inserere uelle uidentur. miraberis profecto illam quoque numinis tui sedem et calentes aquas sine ullo soli ardentis indicio, quarum nulla tristitia est saporis aut halitus, sed. talis haustu et odore sinceritas qualis fontium frigidorum. dabis et illic munera, constitues priuilegia, ipsam denique patriam meam ipsius loci ueneratione restitues. cuius ciuitatis antiqua nobilitas et quondam fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriata opem tuae maiestatis expectat, ut illic quoque loca publica et templa pulcherrima tua liberalitate reparentur, sicuti uideo hanc fortunatissimam ciuitatem, cuius natalis dies tua pietate celebratur, ita cunctis moenibus resurgentem ut se quodammodo gaudeat olim corruisse, auctior tuis facta beneficiis. uideo circum maximum aemulum, credo, Romano, uideo basilicas et forum, opera regia, sedemque iustitiae in tantam altitudinem suscitari ut se sideribus et caelo contigua et uicina promittant. quae certe omnia sunt praesentis munera. quaecumque enim loca frequentissime tuum numen illustrat, in his omnia et hominibus et moenibus ex muneribus tuis augentur, nec magis Ioui et Iunoni recubantibus novos flores terra summisit quam circa tua, Constantine, uestigia urbes et templa consurgunt. ideoque hoc notis meis sufficit ut patriam meam uideas ducente pietate, quia statim erit restituta, si uideris. sed enim ista felicitas uiderit an adhuc meae debeatur aetati.

XXIII. Litteris quoniam ad summam uotorum meorum tua dignatione perueni, ut hanc meam qualemcumque uocem diuersis fori et palatii officiis exercitam tuis auribus consecrarem, maximas numini tuo gratias ago tibi, quod superest, commendo liberos meos praecipueque illum iam summa fisci patrocina tractantem, in quem me totum transtulit pietas, cuius felix seruitus, si quando respexeris, maxime tuae conueniet aetati. ceterum quod de omnibus liberis dixi, lata est, imperator, ambitio. praeter illos enim quinque quos genui etiam illos quasi meos numero quos prouexi ad tutelam fori, ad officia palatii. multi quippe ex me riui non ignobiles fluunt, multi sectatores mei etiam prouincias tuas administrant. quorum successibus laetor omniumque honorem pro meo duco et. si forte hodie infra expectationem mei dixero, in illis me confido placuisse. si tamen hoc quoque mihi tuum numen indulserit ut ex hac oratione non eloquentiae, quod nimium est, sed quantulaecumque prudentiae et denotae

117825 tibi mentis testimonium referam: cedant priuatorum studiorum ignobiles curae,
perpetua mihi erit materia dicendi, qui me probauerit, imperator.

See XII panegyrici latini: Emil Baehrens

117830

PANEGYRIC TO CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS
D I C T U S.

117835 I. I would do, most sacred emperor, what many have advised me a little while ago,
that since your majesty had given me this most famous day in this city to speak, I
should begin my speech on that very subject, if a double reason were to dissuade me
from this, considering that neither a man of middle age should display a sudden
faculty of speech, nor should anything be brought to the ears of so great a divinity
except what has been written and often discussed at length. [For he who speaks of the
117840 emperor of the Roman people from time, does not feel the extent of his empire.] To
this is added that there are already quite a few who think that I will say too much,
and that, as I think, they measure this not by my talent, which is mediocre, but by
the abundance of your praises. Although I may unintentionally disappoint their
expectations by the brevity of my speech. For I had truly thought of more things to
117845 say, but I would rather my speech be incomplete than rejected. Therefore, I will
first make that summary which, when I regard all of you, most invincible princes,
whose majesty is concordant and allied, with due veneration, I will nevertheless
address this discourse, however small in your own way, Constantine, to the deity. For
as we worship the immortal gods themselves, although we worship them all in our
117850 minds, yet sometimes we venerate each in his own temple and shrine: thus I consider
it right for me to remember with piety all the princes, and to celebrate with praises
the present one.

II. I will therefore begin with the first of your divinity's origins, which perhaps
many still do not know, but those who love you know very well. For from that divine
117855 Claudius flows your ancestral kinship who was the first to reform the loose and lost
discipline of the Roman empire and who was monstrous. He destroyed the forces of the
Goths, who burst forth from the jaws of Pontus and the mouth of the Historians, by
land and sea, would that the restorer of men had been more long-lived than the
companion of the gods who had matured. Therefore, although that most happy day,
117860 celebrated in the nearest religion, is considered the birthday of your empire, since
it was the first to adorn you with this habit, yet from that originator of the race
the fortune of empire has descended upon you. Nay, indeed, that ancient prerogative
of the imperial house has advanced your father himself, so that you now stand in the
highest rank and above the destinies of human affairs, the third emperor after the
117865 two princes of your family. Among all, I say, participants in your majesty, you have
this most important thing, Constantine, that you are emperor by birth, and such is
the nobility of your origin that the empire of honor does not add to you, nor can
fortune impute to your divinity what is yours, leaving aside your environment and
suffrage.

117870 III. It was not the accidental consent of men, nor any wind of favor that made you a
prince: you deserved the empire by birth. Which indeed seems to me to be both the
first and the greatest gift of the immortal gods, to come into the light of day happy
and to undertake those things which others scarcely attain by the labors of a whole
life, having already won at home. For although great and admirable is the happiness
117875 which, having earned the ranks in the order and risen to that pinnacle of majesty,
and having grown strong at the roots of virtue alone, has attained to such a strength
of power (which indeed you also have achieved, as far as your age permitted, and,
although the favor of fortune had placed you above all delays in acquiring glory, you
did not wish to grow by fighting and by approaching the dangers of war and by
117880 engaging in single combat with the enemy you have made yourself more known to the
nations, since you could not be more noble), great, I say, even if it is a progress
of its own, to reach the greatest heights: yet it is far one thing to strive to seek
from the plain over steep and mountain peaks, and quite another to hold the summit of
fortune supported by the very sublimity of its origin, and not to hope for, but to
117885 have what are the highest.

IV. You entered that sacred palace not as a candidate for the empire, but as one
designated, and immediately saw yourself as the legitimate successor to that paternal
home. For there was no doubt that the inheritance was due to him whom the fates had
first bestowed on the emperor. For that great emperor on earth and in heaven, the god
117890 begot you in the prime of his life, still vigorous in his whole body, endowed with

that eagerness and fortitude which many wars, especially the plains of Vindonium, have seen. Hence it is that such a likeness of form has passed from him in you that we see it imprinted on your countenances, with nature indicating it. For it is the same whom we again worship in you, the same gravity on the forehead, the same calmness in the eyes and mouth. Thus is blushing an index of modesty, so is speech a witness of justice. Accept, emperor, the unhesitating confession of our senses: it grieves us that Constantius has departed from us, but while we behold you, we do not believe that he has departed. Although what do I say that he has departed, whose immortal deeds live on and are discussed in the mouths and eyes of all men?

V. For who does not remember, but who does not still in some way see with how many things he has increased and adorned the republic? He who, having assumed command, at his first arrival shut out the raging ocean with an innumerable fleet of enemies, and fenced off the army which had settled on the shore of the town of Bologna by land as well as by sea, having scattered the reciprocal tides of that element by throwing valleys between the waves, so that the gates whose waves had washed over would be destroyed wherever they touched the sea. Having seized upon virtue, having preserved clemency, while the recovery of Britain was being prepared by building fleets, he cleared the land of Batavia, occupied by his former pupil by various Frankish nations, of every enemy. And not content with having conquered, he transferred these nations to the Romans, so that they were forced to lay down not only arms but also savagery. For what shall I say of the recovery of Britain? To which he sailed on such a calm sea that that ocean, astonished by so great a carrier, seemed to have lost its motions, so carried away that victory did not accompany him, but awaited him.

VI. What shall I say of the mercy with which he tempered the conquered? what of the justice with which he restored what was lost to the despoiled? what of the providence with which he gave himself in judgment to his allies, so that freedom recovered might help those who had suffered servitude, and impunity might call those who were conscious of guilt to repentance? Why should I speak again of the inner nations of France, now no longer from these places which the Romans had once invaded, but from their own original homes and from the furthest shores of barbarity, so that, placed in the desert regions of Gaul, they might both help the peace of the Roman empire by their culture and by the levy of arms? Why should I mention the victory of Lingonica, glorious even for wounding the emperor himself? Why should I mention the fields of Windonissa, filled with the slaughter of the enemy and still covered with bones? Why should the immense multitude of the various Germanic peoples, whom the Rhine, hardened by ice, had enticed to cross the island which the same river embraces at its fork, by a foot-force, suddenly be blocked by the loosened river, and so, having let go of the ships, besieged immediately, and forced to surrender in such a way that, what is more difficult, they would choose by common lot and by equal right whom they would hand over to captivity, sharing with their remains the infamy of their own betrayal.

VII. The day will fail me before I can speak if I go through all the deeds of your father, even in this brevity. His supreme expedition did not seek British trophies, as is commonly believed, but, while the gods were already harming him, he approached the innermost threshold of the earth. For he did not deign, after so many and great deeds, to acquire, I do not say Caledonia, the forests and marshes of the Picts and others, but neither the nearest Hibemia nor the last Thyla nor the islands of the Fortunates themselves, if there are any, but, as he did not want to tell anyone, about going to the gods, he saw that father of the gods, the fiery stars shining in the heavens, looking out over the ocean, so that from then on he could enjoy perpetual light and see there an almost continuous day. For truly, the temples of the gods were opened to him and he was received by the assembly of the heavenly beings, with Jupiter himself extending his right hand. Nay, indeed, when asked at once to whom he should give his command, he said, as was fitting, Constantius Pius: for you were clearly chosen, emperor, by the will of your father. which indeed we say so when the truth commands us, then to your piety, as I see is most pleasing. But why are we flattered only by your private affections, when that opinion was of all the gods, and indeed long ago written down by authority, although then it was confirmed by full counsel? For even then you were called by heavenly suffrages to the salvation of the republic, when at the very time when your father was crossing to Britain with the fleet already setting sail, your sudden arrival shone forth, so that you seemed to have flown not by a public course, but by a certain divine course.

VIII. For no Persian or Cydonumian weapons aimed at such certain throws were fixed as you were present as a timely companion to your father when he was about to leave the land, and you relieved all his cares which he desired with a premonition and a silent

mind by the security of your presence. Good gods, how much happiness you bestowed on Constantius Pius even in his passing! The emperor, about to make his passage to heaven, saw whom he was leaving as his heir. For as soon as he had been released from the land, the whole army agreed on you, the minds and eyes of all were fixed on you, and although you had reported to the senior princes what they wished to do about the highest state, they anticipated with zeal what they soon approved by judgment. Immediately, when you were the first to make your presence felt, the soldiers who served the public interest rather than your own feelings, bestowed the purple on you, who was weeping. For it was not right for a consecrated prince to weep any longer. You will also be said, invincible emperor, that you stirred up that ardor of the army that was begging you with your spurs. Which indeed, if you hear the truth, you did through the error of youth. For who could Cyllar or Arion rescue you from whom the empire was following? That, I say, that majesty, since offered by a nod to Jupiter, not to Iris, the messenger of the gods, but entrusted to Victory with wings, accompanied you as easily as things sent from heaven reach the earth quickly. Thus your modesty and piety and the effort to postpone the empire showed and the happiness of the republic won.

IX. O fortunate and now happier than all lands Britain, which first saw Constantine Caesar! deservedly nature has endowed you with all the good things of heaven and earth, in which there is neither excessive rigor of winter nor excessive heat of summer, in which the crops are so fruitful that they suffice for the gifts of both Ceres and Liber, in which woods are free from monstrous beasts, the land is free from noxious serpents; against the gentleness of cattle an innumerable multitude of milk-drenched and laden with fleeces, certainly indeed, which life is loved there, the days are very long and there are no nights without some light, while that extreme plain of the shores does not raise shadows and the sight of the sky and stars passes the end of the night, so that the sun itself, which seems to us to be setting, appears to be passing by there. Good gods, what is this that always from some highest end of the world new deities of gods descend to be worshipped throughout the whole world? Thus Mercury from the Nile, the origin of which river is unknown, thus Liber from the Indians, showing himself to the nations, gods who are almost conscious of the rising sun. Surely the places near the sky are more sacred than the inland ones, and from there the emperor is sent closer to the gods where the earth ends.

X. So, son of an emperor and yourself so happily acquiring the empire, how did you begin to claim the republic? I believe that some ignoble band of barbarians, who had tried the auspices of your birth with a sudden attack and unexpected robbery, you inflicted the punishment of your rashness. The very kings of France, who had violated the peace by the absence of your father, you did not hesitate to punish with the ultimate tortures, fearing nothing of the perpetual hatred and inextinguishable anger of that nation. For why should an emperor, who can protect what he has done, consider any offense of just severity? Safe is clemency which spares enemies and looks after itself more than it forgives. But you, Constantine, no matter how much your enemies hate you, as long as they are terrified. For this is true virtue, that they do not love and remain silent. Although he is more cautious who pardons the defeated, he is still stronger who tramples on the angry. You have renewed, emperor, that ancient confidence of the Roman empire which assumed death for captured enemy leaders. For then, when the captive kings were marching from the gates to the forum in triumph, and as soon as the emperor had begun to turn his chariot into the Capitol, they were taken away and put to death. One Persian, who had received him surrendering, escaped the law of that severity by the plea of Paulus himself. The rest, all in chains, deprived of light, gave other kings a lesson that they would rather cultivate Roman friendship than aggravate their sorrow. So much so that this punishment inflicted on enemies confers good, that not only do enemies not dare to be ferocious, but even friends are more deeply revered.

XI. Therefore, emperor, this peace which we enjoy is a lie. For we are no longer protected by the whirlpools of the Rhine, but by the terror of your name. Whether it dries up with heat or resists frost, neither enemy will dare to use the ford. For nature prevents nothing from being penetrated by such an insurmountable wall that audacity, to which some hope of attempting is left, cannot penetrate. That is an impregnable wall which the fame of virtue has built. The French know that they can cross the Rhine, whom you willingly admit to their death, but they can neither hope for victory nor pardon. What remains for them, they measure by the tortures of their kings, and therefore it is so far from them that they attempt to cross that embankment, rather than despairing of having begun the bridge. Where is that ferocity now? Where is that ever treacherous mobility? Now you dare not even approach the Rhine far away and you can hardly safely water the inner rivers. On the other hand,

the castles arranged at intervals rather love the boundary than they protect it. Sometimes the helpless farmer plows that terrible bank, and our entire flocks are drowned in the two-lane river. This is yours, Constantine, from the punishment of Ascaricus and Regais, a daily and eternal victory to be preferred to all previously successful battles. Once defeated in battle, it is an endless document. The common people do not know their own defeat, although many perish: it is a summary that the leaders of the defeated enemies have taken away.

XII. So that the barbarians' cruelty might be broken in every way and that the enemies of their kings alone should mourn the punishments, you have also done this, unconquered emperor, by the devastation unleashed by Bructeri. In which the first reason of your plan was that you suddenly crossed the army and attacked them unexpectedly, not because you were distrustful of open war, as you would have preferred to meet them openly, but so that that nation would lose time in flight, being frustrated by the usual wars of refuge in forests and marshes. Innumerable people were therefore killed, many were taken prisoner; whatever cattle there were was carried off or slaughtered; all the conquered were consumed by fire; the adults who came into their hands, whose treachery was not suited to the military nor their ferocity to serve, were given to the spectacle of punishment and exhausted the wild beasts with their multitude. This is, O emperor, to rely on one's own virtue and fortune, that is, not to buy peace by sparing, but to seek victory by provoking.

XIII. Moreover, by building the bridge of Agrippina, you insult the remnants of the afflicted nation, lest they ever fear, always shudder, always stretch out their supplicant hands, when yet you do this more for the glory of your empire and the adornment of your frontier than for the opportunity, whenever you wish, to cross over to the enemy, since the whole Rhine is equipped with armed ships and soldiers are stationed on all the banks as far as the ocean. But it seems beautiful to you (and it is truly most beautiful) that that Rhine should be crossed by a new bridge not only in its upper reaches, where it is either shallow in width or small near its source, but also where it is in its entirety, where it has already absorbed many rivers, which our native and barbarian Nicer and Moenus have invaded, where it has already been driven into two horns by its immense course and impatient of a single flood. Certainly, most Constantine, the very nature of things has served your divinity, since in that gurgling height the foundations of such mills are laid that will have a reliable and stable firmness. Although the most powerful king of the Persians once joined the narrows of the Hellespont with a connected fleet: that crossing was a temporary one. By a similar connection of ships, Caesar the Third built the Bay of Baeanus from Augustus: that was a delicate task for the idle prince.

This work will be both difficult to do and very long in practice. Certainly, at the beginning, the service of your enemies moved you, who supplicated for peace and offered the most noble hostages. Since then, no one doubts what those who are already serving the bridge that has been begun will do.

XIV. While you were intent on such matters for the benefit and dignity of the public, the new movements of that man whom it would have been fitting to favor your successes most turned you away. As I shall say, I still doubt and await the advice of your divinity. For however much he may be rightly sharpened by the complaints of your piety, he must nevertheless moderate his voice, especially since he who has been ungrateful to you for so many of your benefits and so great a source of necessities is still compelled by the contemplation of you, although we are angry and reverent. What shall I do, then, to treat such deep wounds with a suspended hand? I will certainly assume those common patronages of all crimes, which, however, are often assent even by wise men, that no man sins except by fate, and that the very crimes of mortals are acts of fortune, while virtues are gifts of the gods. I congratulate you, Constantine, on your nature and character, that Constantius Pius has begotten you, and that the decrees of the stars have formed you so that you cannot be cruel. But [I] do not believe that he, when he was about to come into the world and was about to accept the choice of life he would use, had incurred a fate to be avoided, which would bring an unjust and ultimately voluntary destruction to many men. For to send others, did not the necessity of fate bring about this very thing that he should return to your piety this time, whom you, having been driven from the city, put to flight from Italy, and repudiated from Illyricum, received into your provinces, your forces, and your palace?

XV. What, I pray you, did he want for himself? What did he desire? Or what more could he gain from what he had obtained from you? To whom you had given the greatest and most diverse goods, private leisure and royal wealth, to whom you had given court mules and chariots when he departed, to whom you had commanded our services to be met even more earnestly than to you, to whom you had so determined to obey all his

commands that the power of the empire would be in his possession, as if he were in your possession. Who was he, not so eager for power (for what could he not do when you were ruling?), but the error of an already foolish age, that he should undertake the most serious cares and a civil war after so many years? As it is, no one is satisfied with the gifts of fortune, whose desires are not limited by reason, and so ungrateful happiness slips under them that, always full of hopes, empty of conveniences, they lack present things while they look forward to the future. But for that divine man who was the first to share in the empire and to establish it according to his own plan and deed does not regret it, nor does he think that he has lost what he has voluntarily transcribed, truly happy and blessed, whom your many princes worship and have deprived of their homage. But even he, supported by many yokes, is joyfully sheltered by the empire and your little shadow, whom he knows to have grown from his stock, and justly claims your glories for himself. Therefore, this man, who had been adopted by him as a brother, was ashamed to imitate him. He regretted that he had sworn to him in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. I do not wonder that he also betrayed his son-in-law.

XVI. This is the faith, this religion of the Palatine shrine, devoted to the inner sanctum, so that slowly and hesitantly, now that those war plans, the journey completed, the forces of the mansions consumed so that no one could catch up with the army, he would suddenly consider within the walls, wearing the purple, and twice deposed, a third time, would usurp the empire, would send letters to solicit the army, would try to disturb the faith of the soldiers by the display of rewards; surely, he would take advantage of the army which he had taught to have venal hands. By which error of his was made manifest, emperor, how much love your soldiers would embrace you, who preferred you to all the gifts he had promised, to all the offerings of honors. That rare virtue of continence was scarcely possessed by a few teachers of wisdom, if at all, preserved for the sake of, say, Constantine, it became common to all men, and not only to those whom reason for a literary life and tranquility had tempered, but also that military ardor of the mind despised in respect to your gains. There were some armies similar to yours in their enthusiasm and strength: you alone happened to have a wise army. Many bad generals of old, unequal in arms, competed with generosity: but their popularity was short and fleeting, whom anyone who emulated easily conquered. This firm, this eternal is the guardian of the republic whom the soldiers love for themselves, whom flattery did not flatter or sell, but simple and sincere devotion served. Your gifts, Constantine, are clearly grateful to the soldiers, but all the more grateful because they are yours. Whatever you extend, becomes more acceptable with your hand. No one can compete with you in this ambition! It is an insurmountable kind of generosity, the emperor himself is the reward of the soldier. Therefore, indeed, you grant your armies even more than they desire, but your name, your authority from the memory of your father, your grace of age, and finally your venerable form commend you more.

XVII. For, good gods, the young emperor is a beautiful and heavenly miracle, in whom that strength which is already supreme is still growing, in whom this brilliance of the eyes, this equally venerable and pleasing majesty simultaneously fascinates and invites the gaze. I conceive in my mind such a king Macetus, such a Thessalian man, whose supreme virtue is celebrated combined with beauty. For it is not in vain that the most learned men say that nature itself can be measured by great minds and that the dwellings worthy of bodies can be gathered from the face of a man and the beauty of his limbs, how much of a heavenly spirit inhabits them. Therefore, when the soldiers see you entering, they admire and love you, they follow you with their eyes, they hold you in their hearts, they think that they are obeying a god, whose form is as beautiful as his divinity is certain.

XVIII. As soon, then, as they heard of that foul deed, they voluntarily asked you for a sign to set out; since you were giving them a journey, they said that they would delay it themselves, and that they had more than enough of your bounty. Then, seizing their arms, they went to the gates, and without any rest they completed the journey of so many days from the Rhine to Arari, with their bodies unwearied. Their spirits were burning, and the closer they drew nearer they drew, the more ardor they felt for the vindicated. Then indeed, your care, O emperor, by which you had provided ships for their forces to resupply from the port of Cabillon, was almost not pleasing to those in haste. That sluggish and hesitant river seemed never to have been slower: as the banks silently slid and the banks slowly receded, they cried out that they were standing still, not going. Then, however, they attacked the use of their feet and hands, and they leaned on the oars and overcame the nature of the river by urging it, and at last, having escaped the delays of Arari, they were scarcely content with the Rhone itself: it seemed to them that they were rushing at a gallop, much less that

118155 they were hurrying to Arelate. What is much? I must confess to you, emperor: with
 this vigor of your body, this ardor of mind, you sometimes labored to follow the army
 you were leading. For all were carried away with such impetuosity that, when they
 118160 discovered that he had left Marseilles in the desert of Arelate, they immediately
 took to their ships and with a rapid course, no longer the courses of the Rhone, but
 in a way the very gusts of the winds themselves, pre-empted them. Such was the love
 of your divinity that, although they knew that a most fortified city was to be
 attacked, they believed that it was sufficient for them to arrive.
 XIX. For Marseilles, as I hear, jutting out into the deep sea and surrounded by a
 most fortified harbor, into which the inland gulf flows back by a narrow approach, is
 118165 joined by only fifteen hundred paces of land, against which is opposed a very strong
 wall, densely studded with towers. For in times past, when the Greeks and Italians,
 who were strong in arts and ingenuity, were accustomed there, the place itself also
 taught them to spend more liberally all that was useful in war in that part which
 could be approached, while nature had otherwise remitted the cost of the work.
 118170 Therefore, a long siege revealed that Caesar, who was then closing the gates of the
 city on behalf of his senior leader, was often attacked by land and sea, with engines
 brought in, ramparts built, and naval battles, and was hardly more frequently
 attacked than terrified, although the Greek magistrates had repelled Caesar himself
 and soon his generals and forces not so much with their own strength as with their
 118175 walls. But now, O emperor, at your first arrival and the first attack of your army,
 nothing, not the height of the walls of the same Massilia, not the densest towers,
 not the nature of the place, prevented you from capturing both the harbor and the
 city at once, if you wished. Indeed, with such confidence the soldiers had stormed
 the entire wall that they would have immediately climbed it without a doubt, had not
 118180 the height of the ladders they had brought up deceived their guesses. But even so,
 many, deceived by the shortness of the ladders, stretched out their bodies, and,
 having lifted the shoulders of those who succeeded them, were already storming the
 gaps in the ramparts with their hands. They feared so little danger in the execution
 of the sentence that they seemed to be meeting each other on equal terms, not scaling
 118185 the wall.
 XX. But your singular piety, Constantine, and your ever-observant duties even under
 arms! You gave the signal for retreat and postponed victory so that you might be
 permitted to forgive all, lest Milos, in his anger, should do anything more atrocious
 than the nature of your clemency would suffer. In which, although you took care with
 118190 the solicitude of an excellent emperor that the soldiers led into fraud should take
 time to repent and voluntarily beg for forgiveness, yet we who behold your most
 gentle feelings (for nothing is so clear as the goodness in your breast) understand
 that you spared him whom, if the first burst had had the strength, no one could have
 rescued with the sword. Thus, as pertains to your piety, you reserved both him and
 118195 all those whom you had received. Let him impute to himself who did not wish to use
 your benefit nor judged himself worthy of life, when through you it was permitted to
 live: you, what is sufficient for your conscience, have spared even those who do not
 deserve it. But, forgive me, you cannot do everything: the gods avenge you even the
 unwilling.
 118200 XXI. Which indeed we must always hope that you may prosper even beyond your desires.
 success, which we place our hope in the bosom of your majesty and seek your presence
 everywhere, as if it could be given. For behold, while you had departed from the
 frontier for a short time, with what terrors the perfidy of the barbarians had
 boasted, namely, while they were asking themselves: when will he arrive? when will he
 118205 conquer? when will he bring back his weary army? when suddenly, having heard of your
 return, they fell down as if astonished, lest your vow for the republic should have
 touched the care of more than one night. For the day after you had received that news
 and undertaken the double labor of the journey, you learned that all the waves had
 subsided, and all the tranquility you had left had returned, the very night having so
 118210 arranged fortune that the happiness of your affairs there reminded you to offer to
 the immortal gods what you had vowed, where you had turned to the most beautiful
 temple in the whole world, nay, to the present god, as you saw him. For you saw, I
 believe, Constantine, Apollo, accompanied by your Victory, offering you laurel
 wreaths, each of which bears the omen of thirty years. For this is the number of
 118215 human ages, which are certainly due to you beyond Pylian old age. And indeed, what do
 I say 'I believe'? You have seen and recognized yourself in the form of him to whom
 the divine songs of the prophets sang that the kingdoms of the whole world were due.
 Which I now finally believe has happened, since you are, like him, young and happy
 and salutary and most beautiful, an emperor. Therefore, you have deservedly honored
 118220 those most august temples with such great gifts that they no longer seek the old

ones. Now all the temples see that you are calling to them, especially our Apollo, whose boiling waters punish perjury, which you must hate most of all.

XXII. Immortal gods, when will you grant that day on which this most present god, composed in all peace, will also go around those groves and sacred seats of Apollo and the mouths of the sighing springs? whose springs, smiling with gentle misty warmth, seem, Constantine, to want to insert themselves into your eyes and kisses. You will certainly marvel at that seat of your divinity and the warm waters without any sign of burning sun, of which there is no sadness in the taste or breath, but, such sincerity in the sip and smell as that of cold springs. You will also give gifts there, establish privileges, finally restore my homeland itself to the veneration of the place itself. The ancient nobility of which city, once boasting of the fraternal name of the Roman people, awaits the help of your majesty, so that there too public places and temples may be repaired by your beautiful generosity, just as I see this most fortunate city, whose birthday is celebrated by your piety, so rising from all its walls that it somehow rejoices that it once fell, increased by the benefits you have bestowed. I see around my greatest rival, I believe, Roman, I see basilicas and the forum, royal works, and the seat of justice raised to such a height that they promise themselves to be contiguous and close to the stars and the sky. All of which are certainly gifts of the present. For whatever places your divinity most frequently illuminates, in these all things, both men and walls, are increased by your gifts, and the earth has not given new flowers to Jupiter and Juno while they are reclining, as around you, Constantine, cities and temples have risen. Therefore, this is sufficient for my acquaintances, that you see my country with your piety guiding you, because it will be restored immediately if you see it. But for that happiness will see whether it is still due to my age.

XXIII. Literally, since I have reached the sum of my vows by your deign to consecrate to your ears this voice of mine, whatever it may be, exercised in the various offices of the forum and palace, I give the greatest thanks to your divinity and, what remains, I commend to you my children, especially him who is now handling the highest patronage of the treasury, to whom piety has transferred me entirely, whose happy service, if you ever look back, will be most suitable to your age. However, what I have said about all my children, is broad, emperor, ambition. For besides those five whom I have begotten, there are also those who are like mine in number whom I have promoted to the protection of the court, to the offices of the palace. Indeed, many rivers flow from me, not ignoble, many of my followers also administer your provinces. I rejoice in their successes and I lead them all to honor for my sake. If perhaps today I have spoken below my expectations, I trust that I have been pleased with them. If, however, your divinity has also granted me this, that from this speech I may report not a testimony of eloquence, which is too much, but of the little prudence and mind that you have shown: let the ignoble cares of private studies give way, and I will have perpetual material for speech, whoever approves me, emperor.

Papini and the Devil, red binding

GHOSTS IN THE PEEL

Rumors circulated last week that the Limburg Peel region, particularly around Helenaveen, is haunted. There were reports of eerie noises and stones, rotten apples, and even tomatoes flying around for no apparent reason. I rushed to the threatened location and found that the locals had adopted the usual attitude of somewhat fearful disbelief regarding these phenomena. However, there is one man who persists in an unwavering belief: the Peel region isn't just haunted; the devil is raging "to the point that it's no longer beautiful." That man is Mr. Leo Kluijtmans. He lives on "Hoeve het Volkmeer" (Farm of the Volkmeer), on Grashoek, an inhospitable place that must indeed be a paradise in the eyes of ghosts with a sense of natural beauty. Mr. Kluijtmans is an antiquarian and 56 years old. He has six children, aged four to eighteen, and his fruit-growing business, which he primarily manages with his staff, is estimated to be worth around €200,000. He's not wealthy, but he manages to get by enough to have enough time for his hobby of archaeology. When I enter his living room, I see a book lying on a trestle table: "Papini. The Devil." Upon closer inspection, this turns out to be not entirely without meaning. Mr. Kluijtmans had been a farmer since he was twelve. He could do so because he "didn't have to fight the battle of life." After all, his father, a peat digger by trade, had worked his way up to become manager of the best farm in the region. And his research began when, as a boy, he discovered some shards in the sand during some leveling work for the construction of a temporary church. He went to ask the teacher about it. And he said: "Those are the remains of urns." Later, Mr. Kluijtmans also found whole urns. A little bit of ancient history. In 1910, the remains of a Roman officer were found near Helenaveen. A golden helmet—which can still be seen in a museum somewhere—a silver spur, a wine barrel holding two to three liters, a horseshoe, and some baskets of leather. Mr. Kluijtmans had long been thinking about solving that case. However, he had to wait years. In 1959, a fire broke out at the aforementioned location—which he knew from his father—that lasted for weeks. This opened up the area, which had previously been virtually inaccessible to humans. But it wasn't until 1960 that Mr. Kluijtmans dared to enter. One Sunday after Mass, however, he took the plunge and made a surprising discovery: he found a curious moonstone. At the very spot where the Roman's helmet had also been found. From that moment on, Mr. Kluijtmans was certain: this moonstone had murdered the Roman. And that Roman hadn't been a warrior, but a preacher of the faith, a martyr. "How do you know that?" "That," Mr. Kluijtmans replied. "lies in the magical plane." The magical plane. Mr. Kluijtmans shows me a kind of survey form from the "Central Committee for Research into Dutch Folklore of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Department of Folklore." Do you know stories about (I'll just give a small sample from the extensive anthology): "A Voice from the Water," "Changing Children," "Changing Witches," "Spinning Gnome Woman," "White Ladies," "Huns," "False Surveyors," "Derk with the Bear," "Heemanneke Ossaert," "Illness as a Cloud," "Ghost Funeral," "Sacred Bullets," "People Who Can Make Peat March," "Shepherds Who Can Turn Their Sheep into Haystacks or Something Like That," "Music in the Air," "People Who Were Pulled Off the Road?" Mr. Kluijtmans knows all about that last phenomenon. He's experienced it himself. How? The Mr. Kluijtmans must have been in his early twenties when he cycled home from lessons one Sunday afternoon. Lessons, because at the time he played the accordion in an amateur jazz band. At a crossroads, he was stopped by an intelligible force. He felt as if he had to fight against a force that ordered him to turn back. Back to the Roman, however. Mr. Kluijtmans not only knows that he must have been a martyr and preacher of the faith. He even knows his name. How? "One night," says Mr. Kluijtmans, "I woke up at 12:30, feeling short of breath. I thought: there's someone in the room. When I opened my eyes, I saw nothing. When I closed them, I did see him. I asked: 'What's your name?' And then a beautiful, clear, distinct voice sounded, saying: 'Basilius.' I nudged my wife and said: 'Woman, I know his name.'" My wife then replied, still sleepily, "Tell me tomorrow morning." Mr. Kluijtmans has seen the devil. How? "One Sunday in September, I was doing research in the Peel. There had just been a murder there. I was passing a stretch of water, and there, standing a short distance apart, were three fishermen, fishing rods in hand. I cycled past, and one turned his head and looked at me, sending a shiver down my spine. About ten meters away stood the second; he turned completely, and his eyes looked like fireballs. The third had a reddish complexion. That was around 11:30

118330 in the afternoon. At 5:30, I passed that spot again, and the fishermen were still
there. Then the middle one pulled his rod out of the water and, his head carved from
granite, came at me without blinking. I'm not easily frightened, so I looked at him
coldly. He said nothing, and I said nothing. His eyes bulged from their sockets. When
118335 he came within a meter of me, I hesitated. He wanted to destroy me. At the same
moment, it was as if he were seized by a higher power, and he fell back into a
helpless smallness, into nothingness. At that moment, too, I saw a glimpse of divine
beauty on his face: there was something delicate there, something very subtle.
When Mr. Kluijtmans heard about those ghostly rumors in the Peel region, he knew
immediately that they were true. There are stories about dogs chasing cyclists.
118340 That's true. "The devil likes to manifest himself in a dog!"
Mr. Kluijtmans' grandmother was a clairvoyant. "This traditional story—which must
have taken place around 1860—is known from her. She was a farmer's maid. And one day,
at eleven o'clock in the evening, she went to fetch water from the well. She had just
taken the bucket off the hook and put it down when she thought: what do I see there?
118345 It was a funeral procession in the moonlight. Her hair rose up under her cap. She saw
a woman, tying her apron at the back, running after the procession.
Days later, there really was a funeral procession in the village. And the grandmother
remembered that she had been that running woman-in-apron. The "Folklore Department"
calls it: "Ghost funerals, funeral procession."
118350 I drive with Mr. Kluijtmans to the place where he found that famous moonstone.
"I have one condition," he says beforehand, "if you find anything, it's mine."
It costs me no effort to make that promise. Even less to keep it. Because, upon
closer inspection, I find, in the designated spot in the Absolutely nothing. It's a
patch of freshly plowed earth.
118355 When we return to his house, Mr. Kluijtmans shows me a few more archaeological finds,
which, to my taste, are quite remarkable, and which he has stored in a small
suitcase. A remarkable arrowhead and a strange stone knife. He talks about them with
infectious enthusiasm. Meanwhile, Papini and the Devil are still bound in red on the
cupboard. Ghosts in the Peel.
118360 Whatever the case, Mr. Kluitmans simply continues, as he has been accustomed to doing
since he was twelve. Incidentally, he tells me, not without justified pride, that he
has a permit from the bishop to dig in the area on Sundays. The only restriction
imposed on him is that he must make "reasonable use" of it.
HERMAN HOFHUIZEN
118365

Pattern on shields of Roman military units/Patronen op schilden van Romeinse militaire eenheden

from <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/luke/ueda-sarson/NotitiaPatterns.html>

118370

Magister Equitum

42 units are listed as being under the overall command of the Master of the Horse:

10 Vexillationes palatinae:

Comites seniores

118375

Equites promoti seniores

Equites brachiatii seniores

Equites brachiatii iuniores

Equites Batavi seniores

Equites cornuti seniores

118380

Equites cornuti iuniores

Comites Alani

Equites Batavi iuniores

Equites constantes Valentinianenses seniores

32 Vexillationes comitatenses:

118385

Equites armigeri

Equites primi Gallicani

Equites octavo Dalmatae

Equites Dalmatae Passerentiaci

Equites Mauri alites

118390

Equites Honoriani Taifali iuniores

Equites Honoriani seniores

Equites Mauri feroces

Equites Constantiani felices

Equites scutarii

118395

Equites stabliesiani Africani

Equites Marcomanni

Equites armigeri seniores

Equites sagittarii clibanarii

Equites sagittarii Parthi seniores

118400

Equites primo sagittarii

Equites secundo sagittarii

Equites tertio sagittarii

Equites quarto sagittarii

Equites sagittarii Parthi iuniores

118405

Equites cetrati seniores

Comites iuniores

Equites promoti iuniores

Equites sagittarii iuniores

Equites cetrati iuniores

118410

Equites Honoriani iuniores

Equites armigeri iuniores

Equites secundi scutarii iuniores

Equites stabliesiani Italici

Equites sagittarii Cordueni

118415

Equites sagittarii seniores

Cuneus equitum promotorum

Comes Africae

12 infantry units are listed as being under the command of the Count of Africa, drawn

118420

from those under the overall command of the Magister Peditum:

Celtae iuniores (an auxilia palatina unit)

Armigeri propugnatores seniores (a legiones palatinae unit)

Armigeri propugnatores iuniores (a legiones palatinae unit)

Secundani Italici (a legiones comitatenses unit)

118425

Cimbriani (a legiones palatina unit)

Primani (ie. Prima Flavia Pacis, a legiones comitatenses unit)

Secundani (ie. Secunda Flavia Virtutis, a legiones comitatenses unit)

Tertiani (ie. Tertia Flavia Salutis, a legiones comitatenses unit)

Constantiniani (ie. Secunda Flavia Constantiniana, a legiones comitatenses unit)

118430

Constantiaci (ie. a pseudocomitatenses unit)

Tertio Augustani (a legiones comitatenses unit)

Fortenses (a legiones comitatenses unit)

along with 19 cavalry units, drawn from those under the overall command of the magister Equitum:

- 118435 Equites stablesiani Italiciani (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites scutarii seniores (ie. Equites scutarii, a vexillationes comitatenses)
Equites stablesiani seniores (ie. Equites stablesiani Africani, a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites Marcomanni (a vexillationes comitatenses)
- 118440 Equites armigeri seniores (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites clibanarii (ie. Equites sagittarii clibanarii, a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites sagittarii Parthi seniores (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites cetrati seniores (a vexillationes comitatenses)
- 118445 Equites primo sagittarii (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites secundo sagittarii (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites tertio sagittarii (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites quarto sagittarii (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites Parthi sagittarii iuniores (ie. Equites sagittarii Parthi iuniores, a vexillationes comitatenses)
- 118450 Equites cetrati iuniores (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites promoti iuniores (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites sagittarii iuniores (a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites Honoriani iuniores (a vexillationes comitatenses)
- 118455 Equites scutarii iuniores scolae secundae (ie. Equites secundi scutarii iuniores, a vexillationes comitatenses)
 Equites armigeri iuniores (a vexillationes comitatenses)
- Magister Militum per Orientem
- 118460 32 units are listed as being under the command of the Master of the Soldiers in the East:
- 10 Vexillationes comitatenses:
 Comites catafractarii Bucellarii iuniores
 Equites armigeri seniores Orientales
- 118465 Equites tertio Dalmatae
 Equites primi scutarii Orientales
Equites secundi stablesiani
Equites tertii stablesiani
 Equites promoti clibanarii
- 118470 Equites quarti clibanarii Parthi
 Equites primi sagittarii
 Cuneus equitum secundorum clibanariorum Palmirenorum
- 2 Auxilia palatina:
 Felices Arcadiani seniores
- 118475 Felices Honoriani seniores
- 9 Legiones comitatenses:
 Quinta Macedonica
 Martenses seniores
 Septima gemina
- 118480 Decima gemina
 Balistarii seniores
 Prima Flavia Constantia
 Secunda Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum
 Secunda Felix Valentis Thebaeorum
- 118485 Prima Flavia Theodosiana
- 11 pseudocomitatenses:
 Prima Armeniaca
 Secunda Armeniaca
 Equites tertio Dalmatae
- 118490 Fortenses auxiliarii
 Funditores
 Prima Italica
 Quarta Italica
 Sexta Parthica
- 118495 Prima Isaura sagittaria
 Balistarii Theodosiaci
 Transtigritani

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Comes limitis Aegypti

31 units or detachments of units are listed as being under the command of the Count of the Egyptian border:

Legio quinta Macadonica

Legio tertiadecima gemina

Equites stablesiani

Equites Saraceni Thamudeni

Legio tertia Diocletiana

Legio secunda Traiana

Ala Theodosiana nuper constituta (ie. recently constituted)

Ala Arcadiana nuper constituta (ie. recently constituted)

Ala secunda Armeniorum

Ala tertia Arabum

Ala octava Vandilorum

Ala septima Sarmatarum

Ala prima Aegyptiorum

Ala veterana Gallorum

Ala prima Herculia

Ala quinta Raetorum

Ala prima Tingitana

Ala Apriana

Ala secunda Assyriorum

Ala quinta Praelectorum

Cohors tertia Galatarum

Cohors secunda Astarum

Ala secunda Ulpia Afrorum

Ala secunda Aegyptiorum

Cohors prima sagittariorum

Cohors prima Augusta Pannoniorum

Cohors prima Epireorum

Cohors quarta Iuthungorum

Cohors secunda Ituraeorum

Cohors secunda Thracum

Cohors quarta Numidarum

Comes Britanniarum

3 infantry units are listed as being under the command of the Count of Britain, drawn from those under the overall command of the Magister Peditum:

Victores iuniores Britannici

Primani iuniores

Secundani iuniores

along with 6 cavalry units, said to be drawn from those under the overall command of the magister Equitum:

Equites catafractarii iuniores

Equites scutarii Aureliaci

Equites Honoriani seniores (ie. a vexillationes comitatenses unit)

Equites stablesiani

Equites Syri

Equites Taifali

Comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam

9 commanders and tribunes along with their units are listed as being under the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore of Britain:

Praepositus numeri Fortensium

Praepositus militum Tungrecanorum

Praepositus numeri Turnacensium

Praepositus equitum Dalmatarum Branodunensium

Praepositus equitum stablesianorum Gariannonensium

Tribunus cohortis primae Baetasiorum

Praefectus legionis secundae Augustae

Praepositus numeri Abulcorum

Praepositus numeri exploratorum (ie. scouts?)

[...] while the men under the praepositus Equitum stablesianorum Gariannonensium would appear to be the Equites stablesiani listed under the Comes Britanniarum.

Dux Pannoniae primae et Norici ripensis

- 118565 26 tribunes and prefects with their associated units are listed as being under the command of the Duke of first Pannonia and riverine Noricum (ie western Hungary and Danubian Austria):
- Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum (no officer given)
 - Cuneus equitum stablesianorum (no officer given)
- 118570 Equites promoti (no officer given, split over 4 separate locations)
- Equites sagittarii (no officer given, split over 4 separate locations)
 - Equites Dalmatae (no officer given, split over 5 separate locations)
 - Equites Mauri (no officer given)
 - Tribunus gentis Marcomannorum (no officer given)
- 118575 Praefectus legionis decimae geminae (2 prefects at separate locations)
- Praefectus legionis quartaedecimaegeminae militum liburnariorum (ie. naval units; 2 prefects at separate locations)
 - Praefectus classis Histricae (ie. naval unit)
 - Tribunus cohortis (5 tribunes at separate locations)
- 118580 Praefectus legionis secundae Italicae (3 prefects at separate locations)
- Praefectus legionis primae Noricorum (2 prefects at separate locations)
 - Praefectus classis (ie. naval unit, 2 prefects at separate locations)
- Dux Raetiae
- 118585 21 tribunes and prefects along with their units are listed as being under the command of the Duke of Raetiae (ie. Switzerland):
- Equites stablesiani seniores (no officer given)
 - Equites stablesiani iuniores (no officer given, recorded at two separate locations)
- 118590 Praefectus legionis tertiae Italicae (5 prefects at separate locations)
- Praefectus militum Ursariensium
 - Praefectus alae primae Flaviae Raetorum
 - Tribunus cohortis novae Batavorum
 - Tribunus cohortis tertiae Brittorum
- 118595 Praefectus alae secundae Valeriae singularis
- Tribunus cohortis sextae Valeriae Raetorum
 - Tribunus cohortis primae Herculeae Raetorum,
 - Tribunus cohortis quintae Valeriae Frygum
 - Tribunus cohortis tertiae Herculeae Pannoniorum
- 118600 Tribunus gentis per Raetias deputatae
- Praefectus numeri barbaricariorum
 - Praefectus alae secundae Valeriae Sequanorum
 - Tribunus cohortis Herculeae Pannoniorum
- 118605 **Further information on Constantine and military units/Verdere informatie over Constantijn en de leger-onderdelen**
 Samenvatting van de eenheden met de naam "stablesiani"
- Magister Equitum
- 118610 Equites stablesiani Africani
- Equites stablesiani Italici
 - Comes Africae
 - Equites stablesiani Italici
 - Equites stablesiani seniores
- 118615 Magister Militum per Orientem
- Equites secundi stablesiani
 - Equites tertii stablesiani
 - Comes limitis Aegypti
 - Equites stablesiani
- 118620 Comes Britanniarum
- Equites stablesiani
 - Comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam
 - Praepositus equitum stablesianorum Gariannonensium
 - Dux Pannoniae primae et Norici ripensis
- 118625 Cuneus equitum stablesianorum
- Dux Raetiae
 - Equites stablesiani seniores
 - Equites stablesiani iuniores
- 118630 Enige opmerkingen m.b.t. de Stablesiani/Some remarks on the Stablesiani

- About half the cavalry consisted of heavy cavalry (including the stablesiani). They were armed with spear or lance and sword and armored in mail. Some had bows, but they were meant for supporting the charge instead of independent skirmishing.

- The majority of Roman cavalry regiments in the comitatus remained of the traditional semi-armoured type, similar in equipment and tactical role to the alae of the Principate and suitable for mêlée combat. These regiments carry a variety of titles: comites, equites scutarii, equites stablesiani or equites promoti. Again, these titles are probably purely traditional, and do not indicate different unit types or functions.

- There are two Equites stablesiani units listed under the Magister Equitum, both listed as being stationed in Africa: the Equites stablesiani Italiciani and the Equites stablesiani seniores. This British Equites stablesiani unit is just possibly one of these two, but it is much more likely to be the men under the command of the Praepositus equitum stablesianorum Gariannonensium listed under the Comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam and drafted into the field army of the Comes Britanniarum in the same way as the Equites catafractarii iuniores.

- Wij vinden dus de benaming van de volgende legeronderdelen terug:

Equites stablesiani

Equites stablesiani Africani

Equites stablesiani Italiciani

Equites stablesiani seniores

Equites stablesiani iuniores

Equites secundi stablesiani

Equites tertii stablesiani

Praepositus equitum stablesianorum Gariannonensium

Cuneus equitum stablesianorum

- De cavalerie-onderdelen met de naam stablesiani erin hebben over het gehele Romeinse Rijk gediend. Het waren eenheden die te paard zwaar bewapend optraden.

- Evelein schrijft erover:

alleen aan de rechterkant, ter hoogte van het middenstuk b, wordt zij onderbroken door een ingekraste inscriptie, STABLESIA o VI o, waarover straks.

[...] Als tweede inscriptie op onze helm zagen wij rechts op den helmrand die van Stablesia VI. Zij duidt een afdeeling aan der equites Stablesiani, een ruitercorps, dat zooals uit de Notitia Dignitatum blijkt, tijdens het latere romeinse keizerrijk uit twee inscripties, te Brescia en Sitifi (Africa) gevonden, waarvan op de eerste sprake is van een vexillatio van dit corps.

Is, zooals Prof. Bohn mij doet opmerken, naar analogie hiervan, alsmede door het feit, dat het woord vexillatio reeds op het einde der 3de eeuw een ruiter-afdeeling beteekent, onze inscriptie aldus aan te vullen: (Vexillatio) Stablesi(na) VI, des te meer zijn wij daartoe geneigd, waar in de door ons ook genoemde Not. Dign. dit ruitercorps vermeld wordt onder de vexillationes comitatenses van Africa en Brittanië. Zoo behoorde dus de drager van onze helm tot de 6de afdeeling der equites Stablesiani en draagt onze helm iets bij tot de geschiedenis van dit corps, dat thans blijkt zich ook in onze streken eenmaal te hebben opgehouden.

Comitatenses and limitanei (284-395 AD)

A distinction between frontier guard troops and more mobile reserve forces had emerged with the use of certain troops to permanently man frontiers such as Hadrian's Wall in Britannia in the 2nd century AD, and may have extended as far back as the late Republic's use of "provincial" and "emergency" legions. By the late Empire the competing demands of manned frontiers and strategic reserve forces had led to a division of the military into four types of troops. Border fortifications were manned by a "settled and hereditary" militia (Latin: limitanei or riparienses) that were "tied to their posts". In the rear lay more mobile troops in field armies known as the comitatenses, which were held in strategic reserve. Somewhere between the two were more local provincial reserves known as cunei (cavalry) and auxilia (by this time, referring to infantry alone) that may have evolved from earlier auxiliary cavalry units. From the time of the emperor Constantine I there were also two small central reserves (Latin: scholae) held to the strategic rear even of the comitatenses, one each in the presence of the emperors of West and East respectively. Created and expanded from the core troops of the Emperor's personal bodyguards, the central field armies by 295 AD seem to have been too large to be accounted for as simple bodyguard forces, but were still too small to be able to campaign independently of legionary or vexillation support.

Of the four troop types, the limitanei (border guards) are generally considered to

have been of the lowest quality, consisting largely of peasant-soldiers that were both "grossly inferior" to the earlier legions and inferior also to their counterparts in the mobile field armies.

While the limitanei were supposed to deal with policing actions and low-intensity incursions, the duty of responding to more serious incidents fell upon the provincial troops. The countering of the very largest scale incursions on a strategic scale was the task of the comitatenses or mobile field troops, possibly accompanied by the emperor's scholae. Both border and field armies consisted of a mix of infantry and cavalry units[although the weight of cavalry was, according to some authorities, greater in the mobile field armies. Overall, approximately one quarter of the army consisted of cavalry troops but their importance is uncertain. Older works such as the Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica (1911) state that the Roman military of the late Empire was "marked by that predominance of the horseman which characterised the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages," but many more recent authors believe that the infantry remained predominant.

There is some dispute about whether this new military structure was put into place under the Emperor Diocletian or Constantine since both reorganised the Roman Army in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries to some degree. Both Diocletian and even his predecessor of thirty years Gallienus may already have controlled mobile strategic reserves to assist the empire's border forces; either Diocletian or Constantine expanded this nascent force into permanent field armies.

Recruitment from amongst Roman citizens had become greatly curtailed as a consequence of a declining population, "cripplingly numerous" categories of those exempted from military service and the spread of Christianity with its pacifist message. Together, these factors culminated in "the withdrawal of the urban class from all forms of military activity." In their place, much of Rome's military were now recruited from non-Italian peoples living within the empire's borders. Many of these people were barbarians or semi-barbarians recently settled from lands beyond the empire, including several colonies of Carpi, Bastarnae and Sarmatians.

Although units described as legiones existed as late as the 5th century in both the border and field armies, the legionary system was very different from that of the principate and early empire. Since the term legion continued to be used, it is unclear exactly when the structure and role of the legions changed. In the third or 4th century, however, the legions' role as elite heavy infantry was substantially reduced and may have evaporated entirely. Instead, those "legions" that remained were no longer drawn exclusively (and perhaps hardly at all) from Roman citizens. Either Diocletian or Constantine reorganised the legions into smaller infantry units who, according to some sources, were more lightly armoured than their forebears. Their lighter armament may have been either because they "would not consent to wear the same weight of body armour as the legionaries of old" or, as in at least one documented instance, because they were prohibited from wearing heavy armour by their general in order to increase their mobility. 4th-century legions were at times only one sixth the size of early imperial legions, and they were armed with some combination of spears, bows, slings, darts and swords, reflecting a greater contemporary emphasis on ranged fighting. The auxilia and numeri had also largely disappeared. Constantine further increased the proportion of German troops in the regular army; their cultural impact was so great that even legionaries began wearing German dress. At the start of Diocletian's reign, the Roman army numbered about 390,000 men, but by the end of his reign he successfully increased the number to 581,000 men.

The army under Diocletian and Constantine

The Eastern Empire dates from the creation of the Tetrarchy ("Quadrumvirate") by the Emperor Diocletian in 293. His plans for succession did not outlive his lifetime, but his reorganization of the army did by centuries. Rather than maintain the traditional infantry-heavy legions, Diocletian reformed it into limitanei ("border") and comitatenses ("field") units. There was an expansion of the importance of the cavalry, though the infantry still remained the major component of the Roman armies, in contrast to common belief. For example, in 478, an Eastern field army consisted of 8,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry and it can be calculated that in 357 Emperor Julian had 10,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry at Strasbourg. But the importance of cavalry for the commanding officers, though not the numbers, did increase, and by the time of Justinian, the numbers had increased, too.

The limitanei and ripenses were to occupy the limes, the Roman border fortifications. The field units, by contrast, were to stay well behind the border and move quickly where they were needed, whether for offensive or defensive roles, as well as forming

an army against usurpers. The field units were held to high standards and took precedence over Limitanei in pay and provisions.

Cavalry formed about one-third of the units, but as a result of smaller units, about one-quarter of the Roman armies consisted of cavalry. About half the cavalry consisted of heavy cavalry (including the stabilesiani). They were armed with spear or lance and sword and armored in mail. Some had bows, but they were meant for supporting the charge instead of independent skirmishing. In the field armies there was a component of some 15% of cataphractarii or clibanarii, heavily armoured cavalry who used shock tactics. The light cavalry (including the scutarii and promoti) featured high amongst the limitanei, being very useful troops on patrol. They included horse archers (Equites Sagittarii). The infantry of the comitatenses was organized in regiments (variously named legiones, auxilia or just numeri) of about 500-1,200 men. They were still the heavy infantry of old, with a spear or sword, shield, body armour and a helmet. But now each regiment was supported by a detachment of light infantry skirmishers. If needed, the infantry could take off (some of) their armour to act in a more flexible way as Modares did (according to Zosimus) during the Gothic War of the 370s. The regiments were commanded by a tribunus ("tribune") and brigaded in pairs (cavalry units did, too) under a comes. These brigades probably were tactical and strategic units only, as no traces survive of brigade staff corps. On the other hand, little is known of the limitanei. The old legions, cohorts and cavalry alae survived there, and newer units were created (the new legions, or auxilia and vexillationes, amongst the cavalry. The limitanei infantry may have been lighter-equipped than the comitatenses infantry, but there is no evidence whatsoever. They were paid less than the field troops and recruited locally. Consequently, they were of inferior quality. However, they were in the line of fire. They countered most incursions and raids. Thus, it can be assumed they did have superior field experience (except in periods of long campaigning for the comitatenses), though that experience did not extend to large battles and sieges.

The Scholae Palatinae units, which were more properly known as the Schola Protectores Domestici and the "Protective Association of the Royal Escort" (also called the Obsequium), were the personal guard of the Emperor, and were created to replace the Praetorian Guard disbanded by Constantine I.

The legions in the third and fourth century were not the legions of the Republic or earlier Roman empire, that they consisted largely or solely of equites troops, [citation needed] and that they tended to be far short of the Augustinian legion component of 5,000 men. [uit http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Byzantine_army]

Constantine I

After defeating Maxentius in 312, Constantine disbanded the Praetorian Guard, ending the latter's 300-year existence. Although the instant reason was the Guard's support for his rival Maxentius, a force based in Rome had also become obsolete since emperors now rarely resided there. The imperial escort role of the Guard's cavalry, the equites singulares Augusti, was now fulfilled by the scholae. These elite cavalry regiments existed by the time of Constantine and may have been founded by Diocletian. Constantine expanded his comitatus into a major and permanent force. This was achieved by the addition of units withdrawn from the frontier provinces and by creating new units: more cavalry vexillationes and new-style infantry units called auxilia. The expanded comitatus was now placed under the command of two new officers, a magister peditum to command the infantry and magister equitum for cavalry. Comitatus troops were now formally denoted comitatenses to distinguish them from the frontier forces (limitanei). The size of the Constantinian comitatus is uncertain. But Constantine mobilised 98,000 troops for his war against Maxentius, according to Zosimus. It is likely that most of these were retained for his comitatus. This represented about a quarter of the total regular forces, if one accepts that the Constantinian army numbered around 400,000. The rationale for such a large comitatus has been debated among scholars. A traditional view sees the comitatus as a strategic reserve which could be deployed against major barbarian invasions that succeeded in penetrating deep into the empire or as the core of large expeditionary forces sent across the borders. But more recent scholarship has viewed its primary function as insurance against potential usurpers.

Constantine I completed the separation of military commands from the administrative structure. The vicarii and praefecti praetorio lost their field commands and became purely administrative officials. However, they retained a central role in military affairs, as they remained responsible for military recruitment, pay and, above all, supply. It is unclear whether the duces on the border now reported direct to the emperor, or to one of the two magistri of the comitatus.

In addition, Constantine appears to have reorganised the border forces along the Danube, replacing the old-style alae and cohortes with new units of cunei (cavalry) and auxilia (infantry) respectively. It is unclear how the new-style units differed from the old-style ones, but those stationed on the border (as opposed to those in the comitatus) may have been smaller, perhaps half the size. In sectors other than the Danube, old-style auxiliary regiments survived.

The 5th-century historian Zosimus strongly criticised the establishment of the large comitatus, accusing Constantine of wrecking his predecessor Diocletian's work of strengthening the border defences: "By the foresight of Diocletian, the frontiers of the Roman empire were everywhere studded with cities and forts and towers... and the whole army was stationed along them, so it was impossible for the barbarians to break through... But Constantine ruined this defensive system by withdrawing the majority of the troops from the frontiers and stationing them in cities which did not require protection." Zosimus' critique is probably excessive, both because the comitatus already existed in Diocletian's time and because some new regiments were raised by Constantine for his expanded comitatus, as well as incorporating existing units. Nevertheless, the majority of his comitatus was drawn from existing frontier units. This drawdown of large numbers of the best units inevitably increased the risk of successful large-scale barbarian breaches of the frontier defences.

Gallia Belgica

During the 1st century AD (estimated date 90 AD), the provinces of Gaul were restructured. Emperor Domitian reorganized the provinces in order to separate the militarized zones of the Rhine from the civilian populations of the region. The northeastern part of Gallia Belgica was split off and renamed Germania Inferior, later to be reorganized and renamed as Germania Secunda. This included the eastern part of modern Belgium, the southernmost part of the modern Netherlands, and a part of modern Germany. The eastern part was split off to become Germania Superior (parts of western Germany and eastern France) and the southern border of Gallia Belgica was extended to the south. The newer Gallia Belgica included the cities of Camaracum (Cambrai), Nemetacum (Arras), Samarobriua (Amiens), Durocorter (Reims), Diuidorum (Metz) and Augusta Treverorum (Trier).

Emperor Diocletian restructured the provinces around 300, and split Belgica into two provinces: Belgica Prima and Belgica Secunda. Belgica Prima had Treveri (Trier) as its main city, and consisted of the eastern part. The border between Belgica Prima and Belgica Secunda was approximately along the River Maas.

Plaques

The Antonine Plague of 165 to 180 AD, also known as the Plague of Galen (from the name of the Greek physician living in the Roman Empire who described it), was an ancient pandemic brought back to the Roman Empire by troops returning from campaigns in the Near East. Scholars have suspected it to have been either smallpox or measles, but the true cause remains undetermined. The epidemic may have claimed the life of a Roman emperor, Lucius Verus, who died in 169 and was the co-regent of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, whose family name, Antoninus, has become associated with the epidemic. The disease broke out again nine years later, according to the Roman historian Dio Cassius (155-235), causing up to 2000 deaths a day in Rome, one quarter of those who were affected, giving the disease a mortality rate of about 25%. The total deaths have been estimated at five million, and the disease killed as much as one-third of the population in some areas and devastated the Roman army.

Ancient sources agree that the epidemic appeared first during the Roman siege of Seleucia in the winter of 165-166. Ammianus Marcellinus reports that the plague spread to Gaul and to the legions along the Rhine. Eutropius asserts that a large population died throughout the Empire.

Rafe de Crespigny speculates that the plague may have also broken out in Eastern Han China before 166, given notices of plagues in Chinese records. The plague affected Roman culture and literature, and may have severely affected Indo-Roman trade relations in the Indian Ocean.

The Plague of Cyprian is the name given to a pandemic that afflicted the Roman Empire from about 249 to 262. The plague is thought to have caused widespread manpower shortages for food production and the Roman army, severely weakening the empire during the Crisis of the Third Century. Its modern name commemorates St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, an early Christian writer who witnessed and described the plague.

- 118895 The agent of the plague is highly speculative due to sparse sourcing, but suspects include smallpox, pandemic influenza and viral hemorrhagic fever (filoviruses) like the Ebola virus.
- 118900 In 250 to 262, at the height of the outbreak, 5000 people a day were said to be dying in Rome. Cyprian's biographer, Pontius of Carthage, wrote of the plague at Carthage: "Afterwards there broke out a dreadful plague, and excessive destruction of a hateful disease invaded every house in succession of the trembling populace, carrying off day by day with abrupt attack numberless people, every one from his own house. All were shuddering, fleeing, shunning the contagion, impiously exposing their own friends, as if with the exclusion of the person who was sure to die of the plague, one could exclude death itself also. There lay about the meanwhile, over the whole city, no longer bodies, but the carcasses of many, and, by the contemplation of a lot which in their turn would be theirs, demanded the pity of the passers-by for themselves. No one regarded anything besides his cruel gains. No one trembled at the remembrance of a similar event. No one did to another what he himself wished to experience".
- 118910 In Carthage the "Decian persecution", unleashed at the onset of the plague, perhaps inadvertently led to the criminalization of Christian oath refusal. Fifty years later, North African convert to Christianity Arnobius defended his new religion from pagan allegations:
- 118915 "that a plague was brought upon the earth after the Christian religion came into the world, and after it revealed the mysteries of hidden truth? But pestilences, say my opponents, and droughts, wars, famines, locusts, mice, and hailstones, and other hurtful things, by which the property of men is assailed, the gods bring upon us, incensed as they are by your wrong-doings and by your transgressions".
- 118920 Cyprian drew moralizing analogies in his sermons to the Christian community and drew a word picture of the plague's symptoms in his essay *De mortalitate* ("On the Plague"):
- 118925 "This trial, that now the bowels, relaxed into a constant flux, discharge the bodily strength; that a fire originated in the marrow ferments into wounds of the fauces; that the intestines are shaken with a continual vomiting; that the eyes are on fire with the injected blood; that in some cases the feet or some parts of the limbs are taken off by the contagion of diseased putrefaction; that from the weakness arising by the maiming and loss of the body, either the gait is enfeebled, or the hearing is obstructed, or the sight darkened; - is profitable as a proof of faith. What a grandeur of spirit it is to struggle with all the powers of an unshaken mind against so many onsets of devastation and death! what sublimity, to stand erect amid the desolation of the human race, and not to lie prostrate with those who have no hope in God; but rather to rejoice, and to embrace the benefit of the occasion; that in thus bravely showing forth our faith, and by suffering endured, going forward to Christ by the narrow way that Christ trod, we may receive the reward of His life and faith according to His own judgment!"
- 118930 Accounts of the plague date from about 249 to 262. There was a latter incident from 270 involving the death of Claudius II Gothicus, though it's unknown if this was the same plague or a different outbreak. The *Historia Augusta* says that "in the consulship of Antiochianus and Orfitus the favour of heaven furthered Claudius' success. For a great multitude, the survivors of the barbarian tribes, who had gathered in Haemimontum were so stricken with famine and pestilence that Claudius now scorned to conquer them further... during this same period the Scythians attempted to plunder in Crete and Cyprus as well, but everywhere their armies were likewise stricken with pestilence and so were defeated.
- 118945 The population of Britain may have decreased by between 1.5 and 3 million after the Roman period, perhaps caused by environmental changes (the Late Antique Little Ice Age) and, subsequently, by plague and smallpox (around 600, the smallpox spread from India into Europe). It is known that the Plague of Justinian entered the
- 118950 Mediterranean world in the 6th century and first arrived in the British Isles in 544 or 545, when it reached Ireland. It is estimated that the Plague of Justinian killed as many as 100 million people across the world. As a result, Europe's population fell by around 50% between 550 and 700. The later medieval Welsh *Lludd and Llefelys* mentions a series of three plagues affecting the British of London.
- 118955 Claudius Gothicus (Latin: Marcus Aurelius Valerius Claudius Augustus; May 10, 214–January 270), also known as Claudius II, was Roman emperor from 268 to 270. During his reign he fought successfully against the Alemanni and decisively defeated the Goths at the Battle of Naissus. He died after succumbing to "pestilence", possibly
- 118960 the Plague of Cyprian that had ravaged the provinces of the Empire.

Measles: Estimates based on modern molecular biology place the emergence of measles as a human disease sometime after 500 (the former speculation that the Antonine Plague of 165-180 was caused by measles is now discounted).

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_epidemics

References to the unique periodic fevers of malaria are found throughout recorded history. Hippocrates described periodic fevers, labelling them tertian, quartan, subtertian and quotidian. The Roman Columella associated the disease with insects from swamps. Malaria may have contributed to the decline of the Roman Empire, and was so pervasive in Rome that it was known as the "Roman fever". Several regions in ancient Rome were considered at-risk for the disease because of the favourable conditions present for malaria vectors. This included areas such as southern Italy, the island of Sardinia, the Pontine Marshes, the lower regions of coastal Etruria and the city of Rome along the Tiber. The presence of stagnant water in these places was preferred by mosquitoes for breeding grounds. Irrigated gardens, swamp-like grounds, runoff from agriculture, and drainage problems from road construction led to the increase of standing water.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaria>

THE POLITICS OF MEMORY AND VISUAL POLITICS:

THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

COMPARING THE SELF-REPRESENTATIONS OF CONSTANTINE AND AUGUSTUS

Mariana Bodnaruk

Augustus primus primus est huius auctor imperii,
et in eius nomen omnes velut quadam adoptione
aut iure hereditario succedimus.

The first Augustus was the first founder of
this empire, and to his name we all succeed,
either by some form of adoption or by
hereditary claim.

(Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Alexander Severus 10.4)

I begin with political history. To understand what happened after the Battle of Milvian Bridge on 28 October 312 AD and how the new political order of the empire was constituted I start with the question: What does Constantinian art say about imperial politics in the aftermath of the year 312 CE? This article addresses this question at the intersection of art, politics, and ideology, comparing Constantine's visual self-representation with that of the first emperor, Augustus. The visual image Constantine created incorporated a variegated mixture of messages that echoed contemporary trends in the equally complex eulogistic writing.

It all began with the Constantinian Arch in Rome. Constantine had just overcome the army of the usurper Maxentius and captured Rome. Maxentius died disgracefully and his head was paraded in triumphal procession exhibited to the populace of Rome, his military forces - the equites singulares and Praetorian Guard - were dissolved, and his memory was obliterated. In the exultation of victory, the time was ripe for Constantinian revenge, yet the Roman senators, the very aristocrats who had supported Maxentius, retained their offices. Like young Octavian, who chose to exercise the politics of clementia towards supporters of Mark Antony after his Actian victory, Constantine sought to maintain good relations with the most influential members among the senatorial aristocrats. At that time he appeared to be a glorious winner over the common enemy and as such received the triumph traditionally granted by the senate. What is more, around 315 AD the emperor also received a commemorative monument from the senate, the triumphal Arch; Constantine's defeat of his enemy was therefore put in the context of previous famous imperial victories.

Having liberated Rome from the rule of a tyrant, in terms reminiscent of the claims of Augustus expressed in the Res Gestae three and a half centuries earlier, Constantine evoked his ideological "father", the founder of the empire Octavian, the future Augustus, had received a triumphal arch from the senate in the Roman Forum about 29 BCE, after the naval victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra. The Roman revolution of Augustus was paralleled in the Roman revolution of Constantine: An empire at peace with itself was founded on the forgetting of civil conflict. Constantine reigned longer than any of the emperors had since the forty-five years of

Augustus, who had created the imperial system three centuries earlier. For twenty-three of the thirty years of his reign, Constantine ruled as a Christian, the first ever to sit in Augustus' place. Resembling the first Roman emperor, Constantine launched an enormous urban building program and spread imperial images all over the empire.

Evoking a comparative perspective, Constantinian art can be assessed on a large scale in its relation to earlier imperial imagery, apart from specifically Christian affiliations. However, approaching Constantinian visual politics, the samples of approximately fifty surviving sculptural portraits of Constantine pose limitations when contrasted to the samples of two hundred and twelve preserved portraits of Augustus.

Eusebius and the Theology of Augustus

Focusing on the structural correspondence between the realm of the divine and the empire, the domain of politics – following the original Schmittian construct of political theology – Erik Peterson has dealt with an ancient version of political theology that consisted of an ideological correlation of political structure and religious belief system: One God and one emperor on earth. In the Christian version after the conversion of Constantine, this construct served the same purpose as previous polytheist theories on kingship had; it legitimated a monarchical government by authorizing the belief that a single divine power is the ultimate source of political rule. It demonstrated a particular affinity for theologies that emphasized the subordinate character of the Logos (Word) to God the Father.

With Melito of Sardis and Origen, a link between the establishment of the Augustan Pax Romana and the birth of Christ became a topos. With Eusebius, who historicized and politicized Origen's ideas, one encounters firstly a typological parallel connecting Augustus with Constantine (not really conveyable by quotation), the moment of imperial foundation with its ultimate accomplishment through which both Augustus and Christ were finally manifested in the person of the first Christian emperor, Constantine. For Eusebius, in principle, monotheism – the metaphysical corollary of the Roman Empire – began with Augustus, but had become reality in the present under Constantine. When Constantine defeated Licinius, Augustan political order was reestablished and at the same time the divine monarchy was secured. Eusebius asserts that Augustus inaugurated monotheism by triumphing over the polyarchy, the cause of endless wars, and Constantine only fulfilled what Augustus had begun. The political idea that the Roman Empire did not lose its metaphysical character when it shifted from polytheism to monotheism, because monotheism already potentially existed with Augustus, was linked with the rhetorical-political idea that Augustus was aforeshadowing of Constantine.

Peterson has emphasized the "exegetical tact" – a "striking lack" of which he found in Eusebius – that kept all other ecclesiastical writers from binding the empire so closely to God's intentions that it would appear to be less an instrument and more the object of divine blessing for its own sake. At stake in this open political struggle was that, if monotheism, the concept of the divine monarchy in the sense in which Eusebius had formulated it, was theologically untenable, then so too was the continuity of the Roman Empire, and Constantine could no longer be recognized as the fulfiller of what had begun in principle with Augustus, and so the unity of the empire itself was threatened.

Actium and the Milvian Bridge as Sites of Civil War

Constantine's commemoration of the victory over his political rival referred to the first and paradigmatic one in the imperial context, evoking the Augustan victory over Mark Antony that constituted a precedent for Constantine. Like Maxentius, Mark Antony suffered sanctions against his memory soon after his suicide in Egypt; before victorious Octavian returned to Rome, the senate had ordered the erasure of Antony's name along with the names of all his ancestors. This severe action did not meet with Octavian's approval, however. Exercising clementia Caesaris, both Octavian and Constantine forgave political opponents their previous loyalties to the losing side. By the very proclamation of clemency and amnesty they strove to forget, officially and institutionally, that there were two parties and the winners themselves solicited the forgetting by making equal both those who were on their side and those – no longer dangerous – who were not.

Ordered by the senate, born of a negative sentiment of repentance after Maxentius' defeat, the Arch of Constantine did not glorify a splendid foreign victory, but a civil war between Roman armies, radically different from most, if not all, of its precursors. Hence, the only related monument was Octavian's commemorative series of

Actian arches, and, in particular, the Arch in the Forum Romanum that mirrored the Augustan politics of memory and forgetting. One of the monuments honoring Actium, which Octavian dedicated to Neptune and Mars in Nikopolis with a celebratory inscription and ornamentation in the form of spoils of war – the prows and warship rams of Antony's fleet – was erected in 29 BCE near the very site of the battle. Another one was the Actian arch in the Roman Forum recorded on the coin reverses of 29–27 BCE.

What unites early Augustan and Constantinian monuments is the idea of inception; through momentous victories both cemented, first and foremost, their positions as rulers, and, at the same time, the conquest was presented to the populace of Rome as one over a despot (Antony), a foreign queen (Cleopatra), and a tyrant (Maxentius). This version of negation also concerns the positive content of memory in relation to a military victory. In other words, the triumphant one hesitates between not – or never – evoking an enemy who must be forgotten and exploiting a procedure for commemorating his own military achievement. Yet he could emphasize the negation as such. Negation resulted in an official decree of forgetting; the case of Mark Antony after his defeat in 31 BCE was the first example of the "sanctions against memory," thus, as with the striking resurrection of the practice in the early fourth century, Maxentius became one of the first victims of the *damnatio memoriae* decree.

To Remember and Forget in Rome: A Founding Forgetting

A panegyrist praises Constantine by referring to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, implicitly evoking the Pax Augusta. The laudatory inscription on the Arch of Constantine thanks the emperor for having saved the state from a tyrant and his faction in a way that linked a number of Augustus' accomplishments: ending civil wars, restoring peace, and returning power to the senate and the Roman people. The Constantinian inscription – reminiscent of Augustus' *Res Gestae* – claims to have taken revenge over the tyrant, stopped the *factio*, and saved the city. Alluding to the founder of the Augustan Peace, the inscription characterizes Constantine's accomplishments by calling him liberator urbis and fundator quietis. It is not surprising that the Christian Lactantius eulogized Constantine for his unification of the empire, the "illegitimate" division of which during the period of tetrarchy is considered to be against God's will.

It was only later that Eusebius fully adopted the traditional language of the panegyrists and the ideas that stemmed from the rhetoric. Symptomatically – appearing as a "curious accident" entirely in a Sherlock Holmesian sense of the term – there is but a single explicit literary parallel to the growing resemblance of Constantine to Augustus over time, which, on the contrary, is wholly visible in representational art.

In turn, Maxentius' massive architectural program aiming to restore Rome to her former glory as the capital of the empire was appropriated by Constantine, who in fact did not launch an architectural *damnatio memoriae*, destruction of the buildings of his ill-fated predecessor. After Augustus' demise, the buildings of the first emperor became emblematic of the Golden Age he had inaugurated, and restoring or rebuilding one of them constituted a visible act of alignment with his memory: Maxentius thus deliberately publicized his affiliation to the "founder of the city," Augustus, the new Romulus-Quirinus. The resonant message of Maxentius' building campaign – that Rome had been saved and reborn – was ideologically significant enough to ensure Constantine's unreserved expropriation of it. A quick walk through Maxentian Rome would have included his major building projects (appropriated by Constantine together with the disfigured and re-carved portraits of his defeated enemy) – the basilica, the circus complex on the Via Appia, the imperial baths on the Quirinal. In effect, in an intricate play of metaphors, Constantine, the expander of the city, reappeared as a new Augustus, the *pater urbis* of Rome.

The Revenue of Remembering: The Evocative Power of spolia

Once again, forgetting was the foundation of the Pax Constantiniana; traces of the internal war were quickly erased and replaced metaphorically. While the re-use of sculpture and architectural elements formerly belonging to the defeated rival was triumphant in character (as such related to the spoils of victory and thus reminders of the conflict), the treatment of spolia in the Constantinian politics of memory appears revivalist. Whether in opposition or affinity, Constantine bound himself with the symbolic capital of its owners through spolia. It was not by chance that in a series of alignments and juxtapositions he associated himself with the victorious emperors of the second century – expanders of the empire – appropriating Trajanic, Hadrianic, and Aurelianic reliefs. Moreover, the civil war panels of the

Constantinian monument – the only representation of internal stasis in imperial art – included representations of great victories over barbarians, and metaphorically equated abominable domestic conflict with the prestigious foreign campaigns of the Roman army in a single narrative.

Jaś Elsner has suggested a structural parallel between the aesthetics of spoliation, e.g., Constantine's Arch, and the cult of Christian relics exemplified in his Constantinopolitan mausoleum. The mausoleum rotunda bears a semblance to mausoleums of the age of the tetrarchy, themselves referring to an Augustan precedent. Although, Eusebius explains, Constantine had consecrated the building to the Saviour's apostles, he himself intended to be buried there, to place his tomb in the midst of the "cenothaphs" of the twelve apostles so that his soul would benefit from the prayers that would be addressed to them.

Thus, the late antique practice of using spolia structurally paralleled (if it was not genealogically related to) the use of polytheist trophies and, later, Christian relics like those kept in the celebrated statue and its pedestal in the Forum Constantini, the monument that later acquired symbolic status far above that of any other non-Christian monument in Constantinople. One of the famous spolia the Palladion, an ancient guardian statue of the armed Pallas Athena, associated first with Troy and its fortunes and later with Rome and its destiny, is reported to have stood under the porphyry column Constantine brought from Rome. Similarly, the largest collection of heroic statuary appropriated for Constantinople, around three dozen in all, placed in the Baths of Zeuxippos, were linked to the Trojan epic. The vision of Roman origins articulated by Virgil in the Augustan age still retained its currency in the Constantinian era.

If, looking for the possible location of his new city, as is clear from fifth-century commentaries on the foundation written by Zosimos and Sozomen, Constantine had chosen Ilion, there could be little doubt that the empire would have eventually reenacted its primary Augustan model. The first Roman emperor was known for his foundation of a new Ilium city on the alleged site of Troy. Constantine's foundation thereafter, itself an appeal to Augustus, would have been grounded in the reality of its mythical origin.

An Embarrassing Triumph: Augustus and Constantine as triumphatores

From the day of Constantine's entry into Rome in triumph on 29 October 312 CE, one parallel with Augustan times seems indisputable. His battle resembled the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE in two fundamental respects. As Timothy Barnes has phrased it, first, both battles started with an awareness of a foregone result, for Constantine could have been defeated by Maxentius no more than Octavian could have been crushed by Mark Antony, and, second, both conflicts provided a foundation myth for the victor to transform the Roman state and its ideology. Both succeeded in a discursive alteration of their internal enemy into a foreign one. Augustus himself and the Augustan poets intentionally portrayed the campaign of Actium as a war waged by a united Italy against an Egyptian queen and her Oriental allies together with the Roman renegade, Mark Antony, reinforcing it with cultural opposition by presenting the conflict between Octavian and his adversaries as a match between "our Roman Jupiter" and "barking Anubis."

Constantine denied that his defeated rival was the son of the legitimate tetrarch Maximian and forced Maximian's widow to confess in public that she had conceived Maxentius in adultery with a Syrian. Remarkably similar to Augustus' transformation of Mark Antony into the ideological figure of an eastern tyrant, Constantine, in the guise of a legitimate defender of the Roman people, presented Maxentius as a tyrannus.

When Constantine entered Rome, his arrival was conducted and perceived as a triumph, even if in the form of urban adventus. Roman emperors never celebrated triumphs over foes in a civil war; in August 29 BCE Octavian held triumphs on three successive days which officially commemorated his victories over the Dalmatae, the defeat of Cleopatra, and the conquest of Egypt. Although Roman forces marched into the city in times of civil war, they had never been forced to besiege the sacred Urbs Roma. His seizure of Rome was simultaneous with the construction of the enemy within the imaginary discourse. The degree to which art and ceremonies were used by both sides to foster this discourse in the popular imagination is striking.

Octavian's naval victory was commemorated by founding the city of Nikopolis in Epiros, beautified with a triumphal arch. Similarly, in 324 CE, Constantine founded Constantinople in commemoration of his victory over Licinius. The great Constantinian project of founding the city, viewed from the perspective of a visual strategy that developed over three decades, paralleled the Augustan exploitation of imagery.

- 119225 Along with a collection of statuary, Constantine brought a bronze statue of the Ass and Keeper from Nikopolis to Constantinople, a monument of Octavian's victory at Actium.
- 119230 Like Augustus, Constantine was repudiating a system of power-sharing in favor of the more traditional apparatus of the Principate, a mode of rule defined by Augustus himself. One of the monuments Constantine imported from Rome was an imperial portrait of Emperor Augustus himself, which would have invited advantageous comparison. The statue of Augustus would even have pushed the equation back in time to imply similarity not only between Constantine and Augustus as rulers, but also between the Principate and the Constantinian Empire.
- 119235 **Circus and Palace**
- As much as the triumph staged political harmony by eliminating conflict, the ritual of circus games enacted social consent. Meeting eye-to-eye with the populus Romanus at the circus, Augustus firmly recognized it as an emperor's duty to attend the games and when unable to be present he sent his apologies (*petitia venia*) to avoid offence. Like Caesar, he used to watch games from the pulvinar, in a way constructing the shrine as an imperial box that allowed for his divine recognition. In Constantinople it was the *kathisma* where the emperor appeared in his full splendor before the public at the races, a box reminiscent of the pulvinar, the couch of the gods at the Circus Maximus at Rome.
- 119240 The circuses' *spina* was frequently adorned with obelisks, and if one can believe Pliny the Elder, the earliest obelisk had been installed on the *euripus* of the Circus Maximus on Augustus' orders after the annexation of Egypt following his victory at Actium. Constantine enlarged the circus eastwards and his son bestowed an obelisk on it to match that of Augustus, still standing in Constantius' times. Although it is possible that Constantine had already planned to remove the Theban (Lateran) obelisk before 324 CE, the obelisk would have been the most appropriate gift on the occasion of his twentieth anniversary visit to Rome in 326 CE. The obelisk would have been seen by the senatorial establishment as a pagan monument in the balance to the imperially-funded church-building program. It would therefore have been an offering to the capital from the newly re-conquered East, for the unique single obelisk (a major cult-object, previously the focus of its own small temple) could stand for the empire's unity under a single ruler. According to Ammianus, Augustus, who beautified Rome with other obelisks, left it untouched for religious reasons.
- 119250 Yet Constantine, as Ammianus continues shifting his focus from Augustus, "rightly thought that he was committing no sacrilege if he took this marvel from one temple and consecrated it at Rome, that is to say, in the temple of the whole world." As Ammianus points out, it was a solar symbol, and inscriptions confirm that Augustus dedicated his obelisks in the Circus Maximus and the Campus Martius to Sol. Egyptian obelisks with a pyramidal tip covered in gold glorified the sun, as the likeness of Apollo-Helios extolled Constantine on top of the porphyry column, another immense task of transportation from Egypt to Constantinople that he had embarked upon.
- 119255 Intending to move the obelisk which Augustus had not moved, planning to place it in proximity to the existing Augustan obelisk of the Circus Maximus in Rome, Constantine launched a project that surpassed the height of the monolith Augustus had acquired, aggrandizing his sole rule enunciated after civil wars. Although he never acquired a genuine Egyptian obelisk, Constantine adorned the central barrier of Constantinople's hippodrome with one built of masonry.
- 119260 The *Chronicon Paschale*, the *Chronicle of Malalas*, and the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* describe the ceremonial procession at the hippodrome on the occasion of the *encaenia* of Constantinople on 11 May 330 CE. Recalling the *pompa circensis* of Caesar and early Augustan Rome, Constantine's gilded statue with the *Tyche* of his new city in its right hand and, probably, the radiate crown, was transported on a wagon from the starting gates of the hippodrome to a point opposite the imperial box. After that, Constantine appeared wearing a diadem and presided over chariot races. Augustus did not dare to follow Caesar's precedent of displaying his own statue in a chariot in the procession of deities, but his keen interest in the *pompa* is demonstrated by Suetonius. The parading statue of the departing Constantine suggests that he was claiming to be a *presens deus*, the concept behind the ruler cult in the Greek East that had been articulated in Rome by Augustus' time. The panegyrist of 310 AD refers to Constantine as the *praesentissimus hic deus*, this most manifest god.
- 119265 The spatial context of the hippodrome in Constantinople, remarkably similar to every one in all the tetrarchic capitals, included an adjacent palace directly connected to the imperial box by a stairway, evidently in direct imitation of the *Domus Augustana*/Circus Maximus complex in Rome. Malalas reports that Constantine completed
- 119270
- 119275
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- 119285
- 119290

the Severan hippodrome and built a kathisma like that in Rome for the emperor to watch races, and also built a large palace, closely patterned on that in Rome, near hippodrome, with a staircase leading from the palace to the kathisma. The author emphasizes that Constantine followed the pattern of Rome twice, once in the construction of the kathisma and once in linking it with the palace.

Consecratio

The ritual of consecratio, the funeral ceremony and apotheosis of deceased emperors from Augustus in 14 AD to Constantine in 337 AD – the most problematic for Christian ideology – was a re-enactment of the elevation of the departed to heaven and his divinization. As rare examples of well attested imperial funerals, the consecrations of Augustus and Constantine are remarkably parallel, for the latter partially followed a model provided by the former.

Both emperors died outside of their residential capitals. After the death of Constantine the ceremonial began with a military procession that carried the mortal remains to Constantinople, where the body, crowned and in imperial robes, was displayed in the palace. As in the case of Augustus in 14 CE, the official deification of Constantine, the last emperor for whom consecration coins were struck, came immediately after the funeral, but the ceremonial was transformed for the burial. Imperial funerals traditionally included ritualized deification of the emperor by staging a pompa funebris, which, for Augustus, was said to have included almost the whole population of Rome. Eusebius portrays scenes of lamentation evoking the iconography of the apotheosis, noting that the people and senate of Rome dedicated an image to Constantine with him seated above the heavenly vault, and describing a coin type chosen by Constantius II. It had a veiled effigy of the dead emperor on the obverse and him driving a quadriga up to heaven, from which the hand of God emerges, on the reverse. Gilbert Dagron has stressed that Christianization allowed the Classical image of the imperial consecratio to be re-employed.

Augustus' funeral was designed by the emperor himself, who left instructions for the senate to follow. Similarly, Constantine initiated the building of his own mausoleum. The mausoleum-rotunda, as Cyril Mango has discovered, resembled tetrarchic imperial mausolea. It has been also assumed that the sarcophagus in which the remains of Constantine's mother, Helena, were placed had been confiscated from the mausoleum of Maxentius, for whom it was originally made.

Constantine was buried in a holy place of apostles, inaugurated the cult of relics initiated by the Roman Arch with its abundant spolia. The circular mausoleum of Augustus on the Campus Martius, the ultimate prototype for later imperial mausolea, was one component of a tripatriate complex that also consisted of the Ara Pacis and Horologium, which also used Augustus' commemorative scheme and references to the Actian victory. Just as Augustus inaugurated the empire with his victory in civil war, so too did Constantine, who began the empire anew, establishing a new residential capital, palace, and burial place. The Constantinian mausoleum paralleled the message of the Augustan one as a dynastic monument, but also as a foundation of a new imperial line that had succeeded the original line of Augustus.

Sculpture: Memory in Marble and Bronze

The Constantinian reorganization of imperial portraiture was instituted in consequence of the civil war against Maxentius and affiliated with an Augustan figure. Although it lost continuity with the tetrarchic representation, Constantine's representation became a battleground for the different politics of memory.

Iconography confirms that the emperor was aware of the advantages of representing himself in Rome in the fashion of a princeps, a soldier, but a civilian at the same time, and images of Augustus served as a model for Constantinian portraits.

At least one marble head has been securely identified as a portrait of Augustus re-utilized to represent Constantine. The iconography of this colossal head from Bolsena suggests a date for the re-carving due to its similarity with the emperor's figure in reliefs on the Constantinian Arch. As soon as his quinquennialia of 311 AD a new portrait type was defined for Constantine. David Wright has outlined the basic iconography of the Constantinian portrait: A youthful face with a broad forehead and prominent cheekbones that give the upper part of his face a rectangular character. This is complemented by strongly modeled facial muscles flanking the nose, mouth, and chin, and by a jaw-bone that expands outward slightly at the back of the jaw, giving a clear-cut articulation between jaw and neck. The image, in form and certainly in meaning, was modeled on the tall, lean-faced, and youthful-looking portraits of Augustus.

More than a dozen surviving versions of this basic type that follows Augustus'

iconography embody diversity in the new clean-shaven image. One example is a colossal marble statue of Constantine that once occupied the west apse of the Basilica of Maxentius on the Forum Romanum, the other is a large marble head displayed in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome. After Licinius' defeat in 324 AD and the seizure of the East, Constantine adopted the diadem and the heavenly-gazing Alexandrian type of representation, although the physiognomy retained an idealized youthful face with an aura of majesty developed on the basis of the Augustan model. It only changed into a heavier and old-age style of portraiture around 333 CE.

Coinage as a Medium of Commemoration

After a short period of conventional tetrarchic iconography on his first goldcoins, coin portraits of Constantine struck as early as 306-307 AD with the title "Caesar" abandoned the military image and defined a new one of a beardless young caesar, appropriate for Constantine's political expectations of accession after 306 CE. Rare gold and almost equally rare silver coins of high artistic quality from Trier suggest different stylistic developments. The type established at the Trier mint during the first months of Constantine's reign were perpetuated - with some interruptions late in 307 AD when he assumed the title Augustus - for nearly three decades with only slight modifications.

With Maxentius' defeat in 312 CE, the mints in Rome and Ostia, along with Ticinum (Pavia), began to strike coins for Constantine. Maxentius at the mint of Ostia and Constantine at Ticinum had equally experimented with thin-faced frontal heads resembling the lean-faced Augustan style. The type was modified to introduce more facial subtleties and became the standard Augustan portrait of Constantine. One can assess Augustan iconography on the famous medallion of 313 AD that featured Constantine in a double profile portrait with Sol and on frontal coin portraits of 316 CE.

After his final victory over Licinius, Constantine remained represented as a young ruler. About 324 AD he adopted the diadem of Alexander and his heaven-gazing pose with strong evocations of divine kingship for special issues of coins. The Constantinian portrait remained the heroic Augustan type that had been standardized a dozen years earlier; similar coins were struck in 324-325 AD at Thessalonica, Sirmium, and Ticinum. However, from circa 326 AD a new type was launched into circulation that eventually prevailed in the 330s CE. This type absorbed a placid Augustan tranquility yet kept the diadem. That Augustus was a model for Constantine (Fig. 1) is made explicit by a series of silver medallions minted late in Constantine's reign (336-337 CE) carrying the legend "AVGVSTVS" and "CAESAR" in direct imitation of Augustan coins produced three hundred years earlier.

Conclusion

The ideological discourse of the Constantinian empire was construed in remarkable resemblance to the Augustan one. Both the polytheist and Christian narratives placed the reign of Constantine in a typological relationship with that of the founder of the empire. Constantine appeared to re-enact the actions of his ultimate predecessor by putting an end to civil discontent and inaugurating peace anew, completing the work initiated by Augustus. The impulse toward typological thought and the desire to use this mode of interpretation that arose in the fourth century AD led Constantinian writers to see events that showed the way to the Augustan foundation of the empire as those that prefigured or foreshadowed political events in the time of Constantine. While the Christian texts are preoccupied with reconciling the Roman emperorship and salvation history, making Constantine the first Christian emperor and the liberating agent of divine providence through a typological link with Augustus, under whose reign Christ deliberately chose to be born, the polytheist panegyrics figurally interpret Constantinian rule as a return or indeed renewal of the Golden Age, referring to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.

The visual narratives addressed the typological functions of the emperor insofar as Constantine was portrayed as a new Augustus, as a founder of a city and dynasty, and ultimately, as an architect of a new empire. Constantine's visual politics thus stood in striking parallel to the program of Augustan classicizing iconography, imagining a Constantinian likeness typologically. Constantine thus adopted a youthful and handsome clean-shaven portrait image from an Augustan model. The cohesion and integrity of the empires of Augustus and Constantine were therefore preceded by devastating internal strife which they subdued. All this suggests a parallel: whereas Octavian had established order and unity by putting an end to the dying republic, the Pax Constantiniana was constituted due to the final disintegration of a quarrelsome tetrarchic arrangement. In this respect, Augustus became the primary model for the

iconography in for the Constantinian image that was worked out after his victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312 CE. Although after the decisive defeat of the last
 119425 Constantinian rival, Licinius, in 324 CE, the typological focus shifted to Alexander the Great, it did not replace the Augustan iconography, now imbued with the divine attributes of Hellenistic kingship. The media of sculpture and coinage clearly show an increasing tendency to introduce elements from the royal iconography into the primary Augustan visual scheme first adopted by Constantine.
 119430 Within the typological scheme inherent in both polytheist and Christian textual narratives, Augustus functioned as a forerunner of Constantine, while, at the same time, the latter is iconographically represented in visual narratives closely modeled on Augustan sculpted and coin portraiture that similarly celebrated the all-mighty triumphant emperor of the unified state. Every beholder of Constantinian imagery was
 119435 thus exposed to the power of this bewildering ideological combination of intricately connected imperial image-making, Augustan visual allusion, and historical reference to contemporary Roman political concerns.

See

119440 https://www.academia.edu/40288763/The_Politics_of_Memory_and_Visual_Politics_Comparing_the_Self_representations_of_Constantine_and_Augustus

10 april 1204 **Précis de l'histoire du moyen âge**

§ II. QUATRIEME CROISADE.

Empire franc de Constantinople.

Jean de Brienne était roi nominal de Jérusalem lorsque l'Occident prépara un nouveau secours pour la Palestine. En 1197, une quatrième croisade avait été publiée par de
 119450 pape Innocent III. Les rois ne répondirent pas à cet appel, mais les princes secondaires s'armèrent: les croisés virent à leur tête Baudouin IX, comte de Flandre; Dandolo, doge de Venise; Boniface II, marquis de Montferrat. Le résultat de cette croisade fut la destruction de l'empire grec.

Les empereurs de Byzance, après avoir si souvent imploré le secours des Occidentaux
 119455 contre les mahométans, avaient employé ensuite tous leurs efforts pour entraver le mouvement des croisades. D'une part, ils craignaient que les richesses de Byzance ne tentassent les guerriers de l'Occident, et c'est pourquoi ils s'efforçaient de leur nuire; d'un autre côté, ils voulaient enlever aux croisés le fruit de leurs combats. Cependant des révolutions continuelles troublaient le palais de Byzance; le crime
 119460 était devenu le marchepied du trône. En 1180 Andronicus, après avoir assassiné Alexis II, se fit nommer empereur; cinq ans après, il fut renversé lui-même par Isaac l'Ange; enfin ce dernier, en 1195, est également dépouillé de la pourpre par son frère Alexis III et jeté en prison, après avoir eu les yeux crevés. Alexis l'Ange, fils d'Isaac, se rend en Europe afin de rétablir son père sur le trône par
 119465 l'intervention des Occidentaux.

Ceux qui avaient promis de tenter une quatrième expédition en faveur de la terre sainte étaient alors réunis à Venise, mais dépourvus de moyens de transport. La république met ses vaisseaux à leur disposition, à condition qu'ils l'aideront
 119470 d'abord à reprendre Zara, en Dalmatie, tombée au pouvoir du roi de Hongrie. Cette expédition terminée, les Francs par enthousiasme, et les Vénitiens par intérêt, cèdent aux instances d'Alexis, qui les conjure de tourner leurs forces contre l'usurpateur du trône de Byzance. Le désir de punir un peuple sans foi et le vague espoir d'arborer leurs bannières dans la ville de Constantin, l'emportèrent sur toute autre considération, même sur les exhortations du pape, désireux seulement de
 119475 délivrer Jérusalem (1202). La flotte cingle vers Constantinople, force l'usurpateur à s'enfuir et les habitants à se rendre. Isaac l'Ange ayant été rétabli, les croisés revinrent dans leur camp, situé au delà du port. De là ils admiraient la beauté de la Propontide et pouvaient embrasser l'étendue de Constantinople: cette immense capitale apparaissait sur le rivage avec ses hautes murailles, les dômes élancés de ses
 119480 palais, ses trois cent quatre-vingt-six tours, églises et couvents. C'était vraiment la cité souveraine, car elle surpassait toutes les villes de l'Occident en magnificence, présentaient la tradition graduelle du goût sévère des anciens aux combinaisons plus variées et plus brillantes du genre oriental. L'église de Sainte-Sophie, cathédrale du rit grec, surpassait tous ces édifices par la magnificence de
 119485 son architecture et la somptuosité de ses ornements (2). Les places publiques étaient décorées des monuments de l'empire de Rome et de l'ancienne Grèce. Sur la place de Constantin, on admirait la statue en bronze de Junon et celle de Paris offrant à Vénus le prix de la beauté; sur celle du mont Taurus une statue équestre représentant

suivant les uns Josué, suivant d'autres Bellérophon et Pégase. Dans l'hippodrome, on
119490 remarquait une colossale statue d'Hercule, attribuée à Lysippe; une des colonnes du
cirque supportait un autre chef-d'œuvre de l'art antique: c'était l'image d'une jeune
femme, les cheveux tressés sur le front et noués par derrière; elle portait à la main
droite un cavalier dont elle tenait le cheval par un pied; le cavalier couvert d'une
cuirasse, le cheval hennissant, semblaient écouter la trompette guerrière et ne
119495 respirer que les combats.
L'inexécution des promesses faites aux Latins par Isaac l'Ange et l'usurpation de
Dumas Murtzuphle, déterminèrent la reprise des hostilités. Après un siège de trois
mois, Constantinople fut prise d'assaut et livrée au pillage (10 avril 1204). Dans
leur aveugle fureur, dans leur ignorance, les rudes Occidentaux brisèrent même ces
119500 bronzes que l'art antique avait fait vivre.
Tous les croisés, dit Michaud, se laissèrent entraîner à la soi du butin, et les
chefs, comme les soldats, exercèrent, sans ménagement et sans scrupules, le droit que
leur donnait la victoire de dépouiller les vaincus. Les chefs rétablirent enfin
l'ordre dans la cité de Constantin, en proclamant empereur Baudouin, comte de Hainaut
119505 et de Flandre: suivant l'ancienne coutume des Francs, il fut élevé sur un bouclier et
porté en triomphe dans Sainte-Sophie. L'empire fut ensuite partagé entre les Francs
et les Vénitiens. Les premiers obtinrent la Bithynie, la Roumanie ou la Thrace,
Thessalonique, toute la Grèce, depuis les Thermopyles jusqu'au cap Sunium, et les
plus grandes îles de l'Archipel. Le lot des Vénitiens se composait ds Cyclades et des
119510 Sporades dan l'Archipel, des îles et de la cote orientale du golfe Adriatique, des
cotes de la Propontide et de celles du Pont-Euxin, des rives de l'Hèbre et du Vardas,
des villes de Cypsède, de Didymatique, d'Andrinople, des contrées maritimes de la
Thessalie, etc. "Mais des circonstances qu'on n'avait point prévues, la diversité des
intérêts, les rivalités de l'ambition, toutes les chances de la fortune et de la
119515 guerre, apportèrent bientôt, suivant la remarque d'un historien, des changements à
cette division du territoire. On entreprendrait en vain de suivre les conquérants
dans les provinces tombées en leur pouvoir; il serait plus facile de marquer le cours
d'un torrent débordé et de retracer le chemin des tempêtes, que de fixer l'état des
possessions incertaines et passagères des vainqueurs de Byzance (1)". Ce fut
119520 d'ailleurs une triste domination que celle des empereurs latins. Sans être aussi
méprisables par leur caractère personnel que les anciens souverains de Byzance, ils
restèrent au-dessous de leurs prédécesseurs par leur faiblesse politique.
Ils devaient lutter à la fois contre des vassaux aussi puissant qu'eux-mêmes; contre
les Bulgares, qui avaient recouvré leur indépendance peu de temps avant la prise de
119525 Constantinople; enfin contre les Grecs qui supportaient impatiemment la domination
étrangère et qui appelaient de leur vœux le jour de leur délivrance.
Quelques lambeaux de l'empire étaient restés à des princes byzantins. Théodore
Lascaris, gendre de l'empereur Alexis III, se rendit successivement maître de la
Bithynie, de la Lydie, d'une partie des cotes de l'Archipel et de la Phrygie; sa
119530 capitale était Nicée où il se fit couronner empereur en 1204. David Comnène, petit-
fils de l'empereur Andronic, s'empara de la cote de la mer Noire, depuis Sinope
jusqu'au delà de Trébizonde dont il fit sa capitale; cet État subsista jusqu'en 1461.
Enfin Michel l'Ange Comnène se créa une principauté également considérable: elle
s'étendait depuis Durazzo jusqu'au golfe de Lépante, et comprenait l'Épire,
119535 l'Acarnanie, l'Étolie et une partie de la Thessalie.
Le règne de Baudouin Ier fut court: tombé en 1206 au pouvoir des Bulgares, on ne le
vit jamais reparaître, soit qu'il eut été massacré, soit qu'il languit dans les fers
jusqu'à la fin de ses jours. La couronne impériale avait été remise à son frère
Henri: Celui-ci repoussa les Bulgares, mais il ne put s'opposer aux progrès de
119540 Lascaris. Ayant été empoisonné en 1216, les barons lui donnèrent pour successeur son
beau-frère, Pierre comte d'Auxerre, de la maison de Courtenai. Il ne vit pas
Constantinople: en traversant les montagne[s] de l'Albanie il tomba au pouvoir de
Théodore Comnène, successeur de Michel, dont il venait d'assiéger la capitale
(Durazzo); et il fit assassiné dans sa prison (1219). Son fils, Robert de Courtenai,
119545 lui succède. Ce règne est marqué par de nouveaux désastres; chaque jour le territoire
latin est resserré par les princes grecs régnant à Nicée, à Trébizonde et en Épire.
Robert ne laissa qu'un fils âgé de neuf ans. Or, les barons, ayant besoin d'un chef,
résolurent de décerner à Jean de Brienne, pour toute sa vie, le titre d'empereur, qui
retournerait à sa mort au jeune Baudouin. Les Latins firent alors un prodige: une
119550 armée de cent mille hommes, Bulgares et Grecs de la Thrace, s'était présentée devant
Constantinople; avec cent soixante chevaliers portant bannière, et quelques sergents,
Jean de Brienne dispersa les barbares, tandis que la flotte vénitienne s'emparait de
leurs vaisseaux. A la mort de Jean de Brienne (1237), Baudouin se trouvait en Europe
pour solliciter l'assistance des Occidentaux; dans leur triste position, les baron de

- 119555 Constantinople étaient obligés d'aliéner les plus précieux trésors de l'empire; Baudouin lui-même engagea le comté de Namur pour 50000 livres parisis, au roi de Franc (Louis IX). Les faibles secours arrivés de l'Occident ne purent sauver cet empire, qui fut enfin réduit à sa seule capitale.
- 119560 Michel Paléologue, élu empereur de Nicée en 1258, résolut de chasser les Latins. Telle était leur détresse, qu'ils ôtaient de plomb qui couvrait les églises pour en faire de la monnaie et qu'ils démolissaient les palais pour se procurer du bois. Après s'être emparé de tous les châteaux qui environnaient Constantinople, Michel Paléologue entra dans la capitale le 25 juillet 1261. Les Grecs effacèrent alors des fastes publics le règne éphémère des empereurs latins, dont le dernier venait de se réfugier dans l'île de Négrepont. L'empire grec restauré par les Paléologues ne put toutefois se relever du coup fatal qui lui avait été porté. Quelques provinces bornées en Asie par le Méandre et le Sangarus, en Europe par le mont Hémus et la chaîne du mont Oeta: tel était le patrimoine amoindri des héritiers de la puissance romaine. La plupart des îles de l'Archipel, et les provinces de la Grèce proprement dite au midi de la Thessalie, restèrent au pouvoir des Latins. Quant à la richesse et à la force morale de l'empire, elles passèrent entre les mains des républiques maritimes d'Italie. Venise, Gênes et Pise reconnaissaient à peine, dans Constantinople, le pouvoir de l'empereur.
- 119575 (1) On a évalué cette population à un million d'habitants.
(2) "Que de trésors de tous genres en marbres, en porphyre, en granit, dans l'intérieur, qui avait deux cent quarante pieds de longueur sur deux cent treize de largeur! Quelle splendeur dans les colonnes, les plus belles de tous les temples célébrés du paganisme! quel art dans les mosaïques qui ornaient les murs et même les voûtes! La coupole, éclairée par vingt-quatre fenêtres, s'élève sur quatre piliers semblables à des tours, à une hauteur de cent quatre-vingts pieds; les lignes ondoyantes du pavé de marbre représentaient les quatre fleuves du paradis, qui, comme des ruisseaux, apportant le bénédiction et la fertilité à toutes les contrées du monde, paraissaient rouler leurs eaux vers les quatre portes ouvertes". HURTER, Hist. du pape Innocent III et de ses contemporains, liv. VII.
- 119580 (1) Nous devons pourtant indiquer les principales seigneuries féodales érigées dans l'empire grec. - Le marquis Boniface de Montferra reçut en partage l'île de Candie et tout ce qui appartenait à l'empire au delà du Bosphore. Plus tard, il échangea ses domaines contre le district de Salonique, qui lui fut accordé à titre de royaume; et en 1205 il vendit ses droits sur Candie aux Vénitiens, qui, deux ans après, prirent possession de cette île. Le principauté d'Achaïe et de Morée échut à Guillaume de Champlite qui la laisse en mourant à Geoffroy de Villehardouin, historien de la quatrième croisade. Athènes fut érigé en duché en faveur d'Othon de la Roche, dont la petite fille le transmet à la maison de Brienne. - De leur côté. les Vénitiens, pour rendre plus facile la conquête des îles qui leur étaient tombées en partage, offrirent à leurs concitoyens l'investiture de celles qu'ils pourraient conquérir.
- 119595 C'est ainsi que les familles les plus puissantes de Venise se répandirent dans l'Archipel. Les Sanuto s'emparèrent de Naxos et des îles voisines, et en furent investis sous le titre de ducs de Naxos. Les Carceri de Vérone s'approprièrent Négrepont (l'Eubée des anciens), et leur exemple fut suivi par plusieurs autres nobles. Voy. KOCH, 4e période.
- 119600 (1) Voici, en suivant l'ordre chronologique, la liste de ces empereurs francs ou latins:
MAISON DE FLANDRE. 1. 1204-1206, Baudouin Ier,
2. 1206-1216, Henri, son frère,
MAISON DE COURTENAY. 3. 1216-1219, Pierre, comte d'Auxerre,
4. 1219-1228, Robert, son fils,
MAISON DE BRIENNE. 5. 1228-1237, Jean de Brienne, empereur viager,
119605 MAISON DE COURTENAY. 6. 1237-1261, Baudouin II.

Geoffroy de Villehardouin

- Jusqu'au XIV^e siècle, existe à Troyes, la rue de la Grande Masquerie (boucherie). Au siècle suivant, en raison d'une auberge qui s'y tient, elle prend le nom de rue de la Pie. Le Conseil municipal du 23 août 1890, lui attribue le nom de Geoffroy de Villehardouin. Geoffroy seigneur de Villehardouin, célèbre chroniqueur, naît à 30 km de Troyes, vers 1150.
- Vassaux du comte de Champagne, les Villehardouin ont suffisamment d'influence pour qu'en 1185, Geoffroy devienne maréchal, fonction enviée. Il devient le conseiller de la comtesse Marie, fille de Louis VII et d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine, veuve d'Henri 1er le Libéral. La charge de maréchal impose à son titulaire qu'il accompagne son suzerain dans ses déplacements, à plus forte raison lorsqu'il s'agit d'une expédition lointaine en Terre sainte. Thibault III, jeune homme de 18 ans, est le puissant comte de Champagne au moment où le pape Innocent III, organise une 4^{ème} croisade, pour reprendre Jérusalem aux musulmans.
- 119620 Villehardouin, dans La conquête de Constantinople, nous dit que le 28 novembre 1199, au tournoi d'Ecry-sur-Aisne, le prêtre Foulques de Neuilly, mandaté par le pape, appelle les chevaliers à se croiser. Thibault III, Villehardouin, l'évêque de Troyes Garnier de Traînel, prennent la croix. Le pape est partisan d'un transport maritime

- 119625 de l'armée jusqu'en Égypte d'où elle marchera vers la Palestine. Le rôle du maréchal de Champagne commence à se préciser. Ayant l'entière confiance de son suzerain, il est chargé de négocier à Venise le passage des croisés. Il y part en février 1201, et se montre bon ambassadeur. Les Vénitiens acceptent son marché, ils construiront des navires capables d'embarquer 4.500 chevaux, autant de chevaliers, 9.000 écuyers et
- 119630 20.000 hommes d'armes. Les vivres seront assurés pour 9 mois. 50 galères vénitiennes escorteront le convoi.
- Le coût total de l'opération est fixé à 85.000 marcs d'argent dont 25.000 payables immédiatement à titre d'arrhes. De retour à Troyes, au début du mois de mai 1201, Villehardouin trouve le comte Thibault malade. Il meurt le 24 mai. Notre chroniqueur choisit son ami Boniface de Montferrat comme chef de la croisade.
- 119635 En mai 1202, les croisés partent pour Venise. N'ayant pas suffisamment d'argent pour régler le solde du transport, ils acceptent d'aider les Vénitiens à prendre la ville de Zara, en novembre, après 5 jours de siège.
- Fin juin 1203, la flotte, impressionnante armada de nefes, de galères, arrive en vue de Constantinople, la plus riche cité de la chrétienté.
- 119640 40.000 hommes assiègent la ville qui tombe le 17 juillet. Mais l'empereur de Constantinople ne tient pas ses engagements et les croisés font un nouveau siège de la ville du 9 au 13 avril 1204. La vieille cité est saccagée. Massacres (n'épargnant ni les femmes ni les enfants), incendies, pillages font de Constantinople un enfer.
- 119645 Les statues sont fondues pour récupérer le bronze, les pièces d'orfèvrerie écrasées à coup de masse pour en récupérer les pierres précieuses, l'or et l'argent sont transformés en monnaie. Villehardouin avoue lui-même: "Le gain fait fut si grand que nul ne vous en saurait dire le compte, d'or et d'argent, de vaisselle et de pierres précieuses, de satin et de drap de soie et de robes de vair et de gris et d'hermine et de tous les biens précieux qui jamais furent trouvés sur terre".
- 119650 On n'épargne ni les sanctuaires, ni les églises et les religieux font main basse sur les précieux reliquaires renfermant les fragments du bois de la vraie Croix ou le fer de la sainte Lance pour les expédier en Occident (une partie peut être admirée dans le trésor de notre cathédrale).
- 119655 Le 16 mai 1204, Baudoin de Flandre est couronné empereur, et les barons se taillent des fiefs en s'emparant des possessions byzantines de Grèce.
- Boniface de Montferrat devient roi de Thessalie et confie le fief de Messinople, en Thrace occidentale, à son ami et protégé Geoffroy de Villehardouin qui a été nommé maréchal de Romanie et prince d'Achaïe, dès l'automne 1204.
- 119660 C'est là qu'il compose sa Chronique de la conquête de Constantinople, la 1ère écrite en prose. Cet ouvrage important offre un mélange de naïveté et de grandeur qui procède de l'émotion d'une âme forte à la vue des grands faits dont elle est le témoin.
- Geoffroy se fixe à Kalamai où il édifie un château franc en 1208. Le 1er août il participe à la bataille de Philippopoli contre les troupes du roi bulgare Boril. Il harangue les croisés avant le combat alors que des flottements se font sentir dans leurs rangs et évite la catastrophe.
- 119665 Geoffroy de Villehardouin décède à Messinople en 1218.
- 119670 Quoique éloigné Troyes, il ne l'oublia jamais. Il dota l'abbaye de Foicy et celle de Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains, où ses sœurs et ses filles étaient religieuses.

Constantinopel en Constantijn, de Kruistochten

- Capitulum XX. De Constantinopolitana urbe. [p. 750]
- 119675 INDEX GENERALIS QUO NOMINA, QUAE AD RES, LOCOS ET HOMINES PERTINENT, COMPREHENDUNTUR en Bibliothèque de l'École des chartres
- Histoire de [person] Jean de Brienne, roy de Jérusalem et empereur de Constantinople [1727] en Maandelyksche berichten uit de andere waerelt; of de spreekende dooden.
- 119680 BRIENNE (Jean de) Vassal des Comtes de Champagne
4. Fils d'Erard II & d'Agnes de Montbeliard,
4. Est fort negligé par son Pere,
7. Il se dérobe & se retire à Clairvaux,
10. Rencontre Simon de Broyes Seigneur de Château Villain,
- 119685 11. qui l'enlève,
- ibid. Il reçoit l'Ordere de Chevalerie & entre dans le monde
17. Son air, sa taille,
18. Il brille dans les Tournois,
20. Son arrivée à Rome,
- 119690 42. Son retour à Paris, & ensuite à Rome,

46. Il va seul joindre l'Armée des Croisez,
62. & se distingue aux deux sieges & à la prise de Constantinople,
74. Digression, scavoit si Jean de Brienne étoit aux deux sieges de Constantinople,
75. jusq. 90. Il apprend la mort de Gautier de Brienne,
- 119695 96. regrette sa perte, arrive en Italie, y trouve un changement total & repasse en France,
98. On députe l'Eveque d'Acre pour demander en mariage Jean de Brienne pour la Reine de Jerusalem,
106. Il se rend à la Cour,
- 119700 110. accepte l'offre,
111. Le contract est signé,
- ibid. Il va à Rome,
112. emprunte 40000. livres sur sa Comté de Brienne,
114. Le Roi Auguste lui donne pareille somme & 300. hommes d'armes,
- 119705 ibid. Il arrive à Constantinople,
115. Prend la route pour aller à Acre, où il est reçu par le Patriarche,
116. & conduit à la Cathedrale pour accomplir son mariage avec la Reine,
117. Jean de Brienne, avec sa nouvelle Epouse va à Tyr, ils sont couronnez
117. 118. Dans quel état se trouveroit alors le Roïaume de Jerusalem,
- 119710 118. & suiv. Corradin attaque Acres, mais inutilement,
130. 131. Jean de Brienne met le siege devant la forteresse de Jusse, d'où il emporte un grand butin,
133. Les Sarrasins lui demandent une trêve,
- ibid. Pendant la paix il regle son état,
- 119715 134. Il reçoit & suit les conseils de Gautier de Montbeliard,
135. Il perd sa femme,
147. demande Isabelle fille de Lieveon en mariage, & l'épouse à Acres,
153. Il sollicite du secours de la Chretienté contre Corradin,
156. Seigneurs & Princes qui arrivent à Acres,
- 119720 156. Avec ce renfort il se met en marche pour aller assieger de Sultan à Damas,
167. Il abandonne cette entreprise,
170. tuë de sa main deux Emirs,
172. La mesintelligence se met dans son Armée
173. Il songe au siege de Damiette,
- 119725 183. y arrive,
188. Les ordres qu'il donne pour faire réussir son entreprise,
191. Il attaque la Tour du Nil,
192. l'emporte,
204. Les Allemans le quittent, il lui arrive un nouveau secours avec le Cardinal
- 119730 Pelage,
206. Chagrin que lui causent les caprices de ce Prelat,
212. Il veut forcer la levée que Meledin avoit fait construire,
225. Le Sultan fuit, il court sur les Sarrasins,
229. investit Damiette,
- 119735 231. Corradin vient au secours avec une puissante armée,
232. Action generale du jour des Rameaux,
237. Autres attaques des Sarasins,
241. Actions très valeureuses du Roi,
250. Prise de Damiette,
- 119740 261. Il se rend maître de Tunis,
268. Le Legat luit fait donation de la Ville de Damiette,
274. Il s'en retourne dans la Palestine,
277. Corradin assiege le Fort des Pelerins,
282. Honorius confirme les droits du Roi Jean sur la succession du Royaume d'Armenie,
- 119745 292. Il se rend au Camp devant Damiette,
294. est forcé par le Legat d'aller contre Meledin,
299. Sa Flotte est battuë & il se retire contre Damiette,
303. terrible situation de son armée par l'inondation du Nil,
307. Il est forcé de rendre Damiette & Tunis, de servir d'otage avec le Legat,
- 119750 313. Le Roy revient à Acre,
317. Il demande à l'Empereur sa fille en mariage
319. va pour cette affaire en Italie,
330. vient en Sicile,
331. puis à Rome,
- 119755 332. Il s'accorde avec l'Empereur sur le mariage de sa fille Isabelle,
336. Il vient en France, voit mourir Philippe Auguste,

339. Il va prendre le Bourdon de Pelerin à Tours,
 343. Il va en Galice, palle par la Castille,
 345. On lui accorde en mariage Berangere,
 119760 346. Il revient à Paris,
 ibid. Il passe en Angleterre,
 347. En Allemagne, de-la en Italie,
 348. Il voit marier & couronner sa fille à Rome,
 351. L'Empereur toujours perfide lui demande un désistement du Royaume de Jerusalem,
 119765 352. De Brienne dépouillé, se sauve avec Gautier son neveu,
 353. Le Pape le nomme son Vicaire ou Lieutenant General dans l'Etat Ecclesiastique,
 356. Heureux succès du voyage du Roy Jean dans les Cours de l'Europe,
 361. Armée de 60000. hommes se trouvent à Brindes,
 362. Le Pape le nomme Generalissime de ses troupes,
 119770 386. Il le met à la tête d'une armée,
 ibid. Les Grands du Royaume d'Orient, envoient des Ambassadeurs au Pape pour demander
 le Roy Jean pour Empereur,
 412. Le Pape lui dépêche un Courrier, il arrive à Rome,
 413. On regle son Traité avec les Ambassadeurs,
 119775 ibid. Il passe en France, revient à Rome, va à Venise, s'embarque pour
 Constantinople, y arrive heureusement, & est couronné avec Berangere sa femme, à
 Sainte Sophie,
 427. Il est deux ans dans Constantinople sans rien faire,
 422. [432?] Recommence la guerre, s'empare du Fort de Ceramide, & se rend maître de
 119780 Riga,
 433. Crainte de l'Empereur, il s'adresse au Pape pour avoir du secours,
 437. Il fait reparer avec soin Constantinople,
 440. Asen & Vatace mettent une armée sur pied,
 441. Ils attaquent Constantinople,
 119785 443. L'Empereur sort de la Ville, met en desordre l'armée ennemie,
 450. L'Infanterie de son mouvement va dans le Port & dissipe la Flotte,
 452. L'année suivante la Ville se trouve encore assiegée,
 456. Le siege est levé,
 457. De Brienne envoie Baudoin son gendre en Italie & en France,
 119790 458. Il travaille à diviser Asen & Vatace,
 464. Il y reüssit,
 466. Il meurt,
 467. Ses vertus,
 475. Ses femmes,
 119795 489. Ses enfans,

II – LE PILLAGE DE CONSTANTINOPE PAR LES CROISÉS DE 1204.

- Si l'on n'écoutait que les lamentations de Nicétas sur la seconde prise de
 Constantinople, la ville impériale, théâtre d'abominations sans égales, aurait vu
 119800 périr, en 1204, sous les coups de Barbares ignorants, aussi bien tous les chefs-
 d'œuvre de l'art antique qui s'y trouvaient rassemblés que les plus précieux et les
 plus vénérables des objets consacrés par les souvenirs du christianisme.
 Heureusement, sur tous ces faits, il faut se garder de prendre à la lettre tant le
 récit de Nicétas, déplorant la destruction de monuments qui existent encore
 119805 aujourd'hui, que les assertions de Nicolas d'Otrante, se plaignant de la disparition
 des reliquaires de la Passion qui, en réalité, ne quittèrent le palais du Bucoléon
 que pour passer, trente ans plus tard, dans le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle. Mais,
 tout en faisant la part des exagérations des vaincus, il est impossible de nier qu'à
 la suite du dernier assaut donné à Byzance par les Latins, et malgré l'accueil si
 119810 humble qu'ils reçurent des Grecs, et surtout du clergé, des scènes horribles de
 meurtre et de pillage se succédèrent dans la malheureuse ville. Seulement, il faut
 distinguer deux périodes différentes dans l'histoire de ces faits regrettables: la
 première, courte et violente, dura du 14 au 16 avril 1204; c'est pendant ces trois
 jours qu'eurent lieu les profanations dont les Grecs se plaignirent si justement au
 119815 pape dans un curieux mémoire qui nous a été conservé, et dont trois lettres
 d'Innocent III sont l'écho indigné. C'est à peine si la garde mise par les chefs de
 l'armée dans les palais impériaux put préserver les chapelles de ces palais de la
 rapacité des soldats; aucun sanctuaire ne paraît avoir été épargné, et Sainte-Sophie
 dut à ses trésors merveilleux et à l'immense renom dont ils jouissaient de se voir le
 119820 théâtre d'excès plus odieux que partout ailleurs. Aux profanations des églises
 vinrent s'ajouter celles des tombes impériales, dont Nicétas ne craint pas d'accuser
 Thomas Morosini, patriarche latin élu, mais qui durent être stériles, Alexis III

s'étant chargé, sept ans plus tôt, de les dépouiller de tous les bijoux qu'elles contenaient.

119825 Dans les premiers moments, la rage des conquérants paraît avoir été extrême. «Quant
li Latin, dit Ernoul, orent prise Constantinoble, il avoient l'escu Damedieu embracé,
et, tantost come il furent dedens, il le geterent jus, et embracerent l'escu au
diable; il corurent sus a sainte Iglise premierement, et briserent les abbaïes et les
119830 roberent.» Les châsses des saints, dont beaucoup étaient en cuivre émaillé, et par
conséquent sans valeur pour les pillards, furent brisées. On arrachait les pierreries
et les camées qui en faisaient l'ornement, et l'on en jetait au loin les reliques. Un
nombre infini de ces reliures de métal si somptueuses qui recouvraient les livres de
chœur eurent un sort pareil; les images des saints furent foulées aux pieds ou
119835 lancées à la mer. Au bout de quelques jours, les Latins paraissent avoir eu honte de
ces scandales et même redouté la colère divine. Le conseil des chefs se réunit, et
l'on prit des mesures sévères pour arrêter tous ces excès. Les évêques de l'armée
fulminèrent l'excommunication contre tous ceux qui se rendraient coupables de
nouveaux sacrilèges, et aussi contre ceux qui ne viendraient pas mettre, en des lieux
désignés à cet effet, le butin déjà recueilli. Quelques jours plus tard, d'ailleurs,
119840 l'élection et le couronnement de Baudouin Ier (16 mai) vinrent substituer un pouvoir
régulier à l'anarchie; les différents corps de l'armée furent cantonnés dans les
divers quartiers de la ville, et un ordre au moins apparent vint succéder aux scènes
de violence des premiers jours. Mais là commence, surtout en ce qui concerne les
trésors des églises et des reliques, la seconde période du pillage, celle de la
119845 spoliation régulière et méthodique; cette période paraît avoir duré plusieurs mois,
plusieurs années, je dirai même presque autant que l'empire latin d'Orient.
Il n'est pas impossible d'entrer dans quelques détails sur la nature des objets
sacrés plus particulièrement recherchés par les Latins; il semble que ces objets
peuvent se diviser en deux classes: les reliques et les ornements ecclésiastiques;
119850 mais, pour les uns comme pour les autres, les croisés ne paraissent point avoir agi à
l'aventure.

Parmi les reliques, ce sont les fragments du bois de la Vraie Croix, depuis longtemps
objet d'une vénération spéciale en France, qui semblent avoir excité le plus vivement
leur convoitise. Constantinople avait sur ce point de quoi les satisfaire; sans
119855 parler des reliques insignes, des $\tau\iota\mu\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha$, grand était le nombre de ces
phylactères, de ces encolpia, destinés à être portés au cou, et dont l'usage, parmi
les familles riches, était déjà général du temps de saint Jean Chrysostome; tous
contenaient, avec d'autres reliques, une parcelle plus ou moins importante du bois de
la Vraie Croix. Les palais des familles princières, les couvents, renfermaient
119860 d'autres croix plus grandes; les «couronnes de lumière» des églises en portaient
souvent de suspendues au-dessus des autels. Au retour des croisés, les sanctuaires de
l'Europe en reçurent un grand nombre, presque toujours gratifiées, soit par ceux qui
les rapportaient, soit par ceux qui les recevaient en dépôt, de quelque origine plus
ambitieuse qu'authentique. Presque toutes étaient censées avoir appartenu à
119865 Constantin, à sainte Hélène ou tout au moins à Manuel Comnène.

Après la Vraie Croix, c'étaient les reliques de l'Enfance et de la Passion du Christ,
celles de la Vierge, des Apôtres, de saint Jean le Précurseur, du protomartyr saint
Étienne, de saint Laurent, de saint Georges et de saint Nicolas que les Latins
recherchaient avec le plus d'avidité. Une idée dont ils paraissent aussi avoir été
119870 pénétrés et qui leur avait été sans doute suggérée dès avant leur départ, c'est
l'intérêt que pouvaient avoir certaines grandes églises de l'Europe à posséder des
reliques considérables et authentiques des saints orientaux sous le vocable desquels
elles avaient été dédiées; c'est ainsi que les cathédrales de Châlons-sur-Marne et de
Langres, qui reçurent chacune, pendant le temps des croisades, trois envois
119875 successifs des restes de saint Étienne et de saint Mammès, leurs patrons respectifs,
furent redevables à la prise de Constantinople des plus considérables de ces envois.
Quant aux objets destinés au service du culte et à l'ornementation des églises, il
suffit de parcourir les listes des présents adressés à cette époque de Constantinople
en Occident pour être étonné de la quantité considérable de vases sacrés en or et en
119880 argent, d'encensoirs, de croix processionnelles, de parements d'autels et de
vêtements ecclésiastiques, même de tapis et de tissus neufs d'or, d'argent et de
soie, qui prirent le chemin de l'Italie, de la France et de l'Allemagne. Les
dyptiques, les tables d'ivoire qui devaient servir à enrichir les couvertures des
manuscrits de l'Occident, figurent aussi en grand nombre parmi les objets recueillis
119885 par les croisés. Enfin, ce ne dut pas être sans penser de loin à l'ornementation des
châsses encore barbares de leurs saints que les clercs de l'armée latine firent si
ample provision de ces anneaux, de ces pierres antiques, dont ils remplirent, à leur
retour, les trésors de leurs cathédrales, et que, sans le vouloir, ils ont ainsi

sauvés d'une destruction presque certaine.

119890 Que devint tout ce butin religieux? Une partie considérable dut en être détournée, ainsi que nous le verrons plus loin; mais le reste, à la suite des mesures prises, vers Pâques, par les chefs de l'armée, fut-il, avec les autres dépouilles de la ville, rapporté aux lieux désignés à cet effet—trois églises, suivant Villehardouin, un monastère, selon Clari—et mis en commun sous la garde de dix chevaliers et de dix Vénitiens? Il n'y a guère lieu d'en douter en ce qui concerne les ornements d'église et les vases sacrés. Pour les reliques, il est certain qu'un grand nombre fut rapporté, mais il y a lieu de penser qu'elles furent dès l'origine séparées du reste du butin, car on voit qu'à l'exemple des croisés de 1097, ceux de 1204 confièrent au doyen des évêques, à Garnier de Trainel, évêque de Troyes, la charge qu'avait remplie 119900 à Jérusalem Arnould de Rohas, celle de procurator sanctarum reliquiarum, et que ce fut dans la maison habitée par Garnier que tous ces objets sacrés trouvèrent un asile.

Un premier partage du butin fut fait entre le 22 avril et le 9 mai. Il est à croire que les Vénitiens se remboursèrent de leur double créance contre les croisés et 119905 contre les Comnènes, et qu'une fois les sommes prélevées, il fut fait, comme le dit Sanudo, deux parts égales, l'une pour les Latins et l'autre pour Venise, parts dont un quart retourna, après le couronnement de Baudouin Ier, au trésor impérial: suivant Villehardouin, les trois huitièmes des croisés montèrent à la somme de 400.000 marcs (20.800.000 francs). Mais le maréchal de Champagne ne parle pas d'un second partage 119910 raconté en détail par Robert de Clari. Suivant Robert, ces deux premières répartitions n'auraient porté que sur le gros argent, la monnaie et la vaisselle massive; quant aux bijoux, aux tissus d'or et de soie, ils auraient été, vers le mois d'août, furtivement enlevés par les chevaliers restés dans la ville pendant la campagne de Baudouin Ier contre Boniface de Monferrat, et divisés entre ces traîtres 119915 pour lesquels Clari ne trouve pas d'injures assez fortes. C'est donc entre les mains de ces chevaliers félons, et probablement sur l'ordre et au profit du doge, qui commandait dans la ville en l'absence de l'empereur, que tombèrent tous les trésors enlevés aux églises, et rien ne nous indique de quelle manière Vénitiens et Francs se les partagèrent entre eux.

119920 Quant aux reliques, il semble bien que les évêques latins, l'empereur et les Vénitiens en aient eu chacun une part. — Garnier de Trainel, qui disposa pendant près d'une année des reliques mises en commun, en envoya de très précieuses à Troyes par Jean L'Anglois, son chapelain; c'est de lui que l'archevêque de Sens reçut le chef de saint Victor. Nivelon de Cherisy, évêque de Soissons, enrichit de reliques Soissons, 119925 la célèbre abbaye de Notre-Dame, et un grand nombre de sanctuaires des contrées voisines. Conrad de Halberstadt ne paraît pas avoir été moins bien partagé que Nivelon, si l'on en juge par la valeur des objets rapportés par lui, dont la plupart existent encore aujourd'hui au trésor de la cathédrale d'Halberstadt. — Le premier empereur latin de Constantinople adressa de son côté en Europe quantité d'objets 119930 précieux, et Baudouin Ier obéit en cela aux conseils d'une politique éclairée. Devenu le chef d'un État aussi mal affermi, il avait besoin d'autres sympathies et d'autres alliances que celles dont avait pu se contenter le comte de Flandre, et devait oublier le temps où, soutien de Philippe de Souabe et vassal turbulent du roi de France, il avait eu à se plaindre des deux personnages les plus influents de

119935 l'époque, Innocent III et Philippe Auguste; aussi est-ce précisément à eux les premiers qu'il notifie son avènement, joignant aux lettres qu'il leur adresse des présents considérables. Barozzi, maître du Temple en Lombardie, est chargé par lui de porter au pape un véritable trésor, dans lequel figure une statue d'or et une d'argent avec un rubis acheté 1000 marcs, et de nombreuses croix. Philippe Auguste 119940 reçoit, outre des reliques de son patron et une croix admirable, deux vêtements impériaux et un rubis d'une grosseur extraordinaire. Après la défaite d'Andrinople, le successeur de Baudouin Ier, Henri Ier, continua les envois commencés par son père, dans l'espoir que ces libéralités lui concilieraient les sympathies de l'Occident. Les princes laïques ou ecclésiastiques qui avaient pris la croix, mais qui ne

119945 s'étaient pas encore acquittés de leur vœu, furent naturellement l'objet des premières libéralités de l'empereur. C'est ainsi que le duc d'Autriche reçut un fragment de la vraie croix. La Belgique et le Nord de la France, d'où il avait lieu d'espérer les secours les plus efficaces, reçurent de nombreuses marques de sa munificence: Clairvaux, où se trouvaient les tombes de sa maison, Namur, où régnait 119950 son frère, Bruges, Courtrai, Liessies conservèrent longtemps ou conservent encore les richesses qu'il leur envoya. Après Henri Ier, il faut descendre jusqu'aux années lamentables de Baudouin II pour voir reparaître en Occident de nouvelles reliques byzantines; malheureusement, alors, il ne s'agit plus de dons gracieux, mais de vulgaires engagements. Après avoir vendu, pour soutenir son armée, jusqu'au plomb des

- 119955 toits de son palais, l'empereur se voit réduit à abandonner en nantissement aux Vénitiens les joyaux religieux de la couronne impériale. C'est en 1239 que saint Louis rachète le plus précieux de tous, la Couronne d'épines; puis, en 1241, la Grande Croix, la Lance et l'Éponge, jusqu'à ce que, en 1247, Baudouin II vienne solennellement confirmer le transfert, dans la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, des grandes
- 119960 reliques impériales du Bucoléon. —Quant aux Vénitiens, familiers de longue date avec le martyrologe byzantin, ils n'éprouvaient pas, comme les Latins, de difficulté à déchiffrer les inscriptions des reliquaires, et leur choix dut être promptement et bien fait. On voit par les récits des pèlerins qui, dans les siècles postérieurs, s'embarquèrent à Venise pour se rendre en Palestine, que cette cité était devenue,
- 119965 depuis 1204, comme une ville sainte, tant était grand le nombre des objets sacrés qu'elle offrait à la vénération des fidèles. Ce que, d'ailleurs, même après l'incendie du trésor de Saint-Marc en 1231, la basilique ducale contient encore de reliques de premier ordre et de spécimens sans prix de l'orfèvrerie byzantine peut donner une idée de ce que ce sanctuaire reçut de Constantinople après la quatrième
- 119970 croisade.
- Mais en dehors du butin mis en commun, qui fut l'objet d'un partage régulier, le récit du pillage a déjà montré qu'il y eut un immense butin détourné par les vainqueurs indisciplinés. Hugues de Saint-Paul fit bien pendre, l'écu au col, des chevaliers coupables de n'avoir pas rapporté leur butin particulier à la masse
- 119975 commune; mais en fait de reliques, on croyait faire une bonne œuvre en volant les Grecs. Martin de Pairis se laissait traiter par son biographe de prædo sanctus; il dut donc y avoir sur ce point une certaine tolérance, qui d'ailleurs devint légale le 22 avril 1205, terme assigné à l'obligation du rapport des objets trouvés. Or, quelques semaines plus tard (juin), abordaient de toutes parts, de Syrie aussi bien
- 119980 que des divers pays de l'Occident, une foule de gens qu'avait attirés la nouvelle inattendue de la prise de Constantinople, et qui venaient demander leur part des dépouilles de la ville impériale. Deux ans après (sept. 1207) est signalée l'arrivée des renforts amenés jusqu'à Bari par Nivelon de Cherisy; ce furent de nouvelles convoitises à satisfaire; enfin, pendant tout le règne de Henri, il paraît y avoir eu entre l'Occident et Constantinople un mouvement non interrompu de gens d'armes qui venaient chercher aventure en Roumanie et ne s'en retournaient jamais les mains vides. Nous voyons ainsi Dalmase de Sercey et Ponce de Bussière passer un hiver entier à combiner le vol du chef de saint Clément. Comment d'ailleurs expliquer autrement que par des soustractions frauduleuses le fait que de petits chevaliers portant à peine
- 119985 bannière, comme Henri d'Ulmen, aient pu obtenir des trésors tels (à parler seulement de leur valeur intrinsèque) que ceux dont ce seigneur des environs de Trèves a enrichi toute la Basse-Lorraine?
- D'après M. le comte Riant, Des dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au
- 119990 XIII^e siècle, dans les Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de France, 4^e série, t. VI (1875).
- 119995

See https://gutenberg.polytechnic.edu.na/3/9/4/2/39429/39429-h/39429-h.htm#page_030

The Sack of 1204, what happened?

By Mark Bonocore

- 120000
- I've recently been reading a book by John J. Robinson called "Dungeon, Fire, and Sword - a history of the Crusades". Robinson is clearly no friend of the Roman Catholic Church, and I will even go so far as to say that he is anti-Catholic in his
- 120005 point of view, but he does give an interesting account of the Crusader's sack on Constantinople in 1204. I thought I'd share this with you, so that we might explore the history. This is why I'm using "anti-Catholic Robinson" as the source. While I am certainly not defending the atrocities committed, I think many will find it enlightening that the sack of Constantinople was not a "diabolical plan" sponsored by
- 120010 the papacy. It was a very sad story all around.
- The Crusades began in the 1090's - that is, 40 years after the Orthodox desecrated the Latin Eucharist and holy books (because they were in Latin rather than Greek). The Byzantine patriarch attacked the Latin churches in Constantinople itself - Latin-speaking churches which existed since the time of Constantine; and he declared that
- 120015 their Eucharist was invalid because the Romans use unleaven (rather than leaven) bread - something that the Western Church (along with the Armenian Church) has always done since the time of the Apostles (Jesus Himself used unleaven bread at the Last Supper, since it was a Passover feast and there would not have been any leaven bread in Jerusalem at the time). But, the Eastern Patriarch Cerularius tried to force the
- 120020 Byzantine rite on the Romans living in the Eastern Empire. So, he took armed soldiers

into the Latin churches in Constantinople, and had them open the Tabernacles and throw the consecrated Eucharist in the streets. This is discussed by both Kallistos Ware and by Meyendorff in their books. This is the origin of Rome (a church which continued to permit and encourage Byzantine worship in its own city) serving Cerularius with a bull of excommunication in 1054. Cerularius did this because the Franks who were vassals of the Roman Empire were gaining political power in the Balkans and so the Emperor and Patriarch wanted to brand them as heretics and thus reject their authority in the Balkans.

Around 1201, Count Tibald of Champagne approached Pope Innocent III with the idea of a new crusade to the Holy Land. Innocent agreed to the proposal, especially since Tibald was not a king or emperor, and wouldn't try to usurp authority and use the crusade for his own purposes, as the kings of the 3rd Crusade had done.

In the following year, the Crusade leaders met to plan strategy. It was agreed that the point of attack would be Egypt, which Richard the Lionheart himself had called the "soft underbelly of Islam". The leaders therefore began negotiations with Venice - the only naval force in the world at the time who could transport a Christian army to that location.

The Grand Council of Venice agreed to provide transport for 4500 knights, 9000 squires and sergeants, 20000 foot soldiers, and 20000 horses. They would also provide enough food for 1 year, and supply 50 war galleys manned with Venetian troops to fight alongside the Crusaders in the Nile delta.

In payment, the Venetians would receive 85000 silver marks, plus 50% of all loot collected from the Muslims.

The plan was for the Crusading armies to assemble at Venice by June of 1202. But, with the deal newly struck, Count Tibald died, and the Crusaders elected Boniface of Monferrat as their new leader. The choice of Boniface had to do with his being the uncle of Princess Maria of Jerusalem; thinking that this would assure good relations with the barons of the Holy Land.

But, as fate would have it, Boniface spent that winter in Germany with Philip of Swabia - the same prince from whom Pope Innocent had recently denied the imperial crown. Philip's wife, however, was the Byzantine princess Irene Angelina: the daughter of Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelus, who had recently been deposed and blinded and was languishing in a dungeon in Constantinople.

Irene was concerned about her father, and even more about her younger brother Alexius. He had not been imprisoned, but was living under house arrest with their uncle Alexius III, who had seized the throne for himself. Irene asked Boniface to find out what he could about her brother while in the East.

But, ... as fate would have it again, Irene's brother Alexius arrived at Philip's court before the end of the winter. He had escaped to Sicily with the help of some friends, and was then taken safely to his sister in Germany. The young heir to the Byzantine throne thereafter decided to join the Crusade, seeing Boniface of Monferrat as an ally who might help him regain his kingdom.

But, meanwhile, the Venetians were up to intrigue of their own. They by no means wanted a crusading army attacking Egypt, which would cut off their lucrative trading centers there. So, while still negotiating with the French crusaders, Venetian envoys were in Cairo making even more favorable concessions. In an agreement signed in April of 1202 - only 2 months before the launch of the Crusade - the Venetians promised Sultan al-Adil that the crusaders would never reach Egypt.

By June, the Crusade was assembled, but not their money. For the next three months they camped on an island in the Venetian lagoon, hard pressed by their Venetian hosts, who refused to budge until they were paid the remaining 35000 marks owed them. Meanwhile, the crusade leaders negotiated with the elderly Doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo, who was especially interested in the relationship of Boniface Monferrat and young Prince Alexius. Dandolo had always hated the Greeks - not only because they were Venice's commercial rivals, but because as a youth he had suffered a face wound in the streets of Constantinople that had almost totally blinded him. The usurper Alexius III had taken a hard line with Venetian traders, who depended upon the Greek trading stations to get furs from Russia and silks from China, so the Doge was very "sympathetic" to his young Byzantine guest.

In September, the Doge revealed the first part of his plan. The Venetians had lost the fortified city of Zara (on the Dalmatian coast) to the king of Hungary. Venice wanted it back. The crusaders objected bitterly to attacking fellow Christians, but had little choice if they wanted to continue eating. So, in November of 1202, they sacked Zara and retook it for the Venetians after much fierce fighting. (So, note that this first battle of the 4th Crusade was against Western Christians, not Eastern ones).

Upon hearing this in Rome, Innocent III excommunicated the Crusaders, but lifted the excommunication once he learned that they were pressed into it by the Venetians. The Crusade wintered in Zara, and during that time Doge Dondolo, Prince Alexius, and Boniface of Monferrat formed a plan. If the Crusade would go to Constantinople and help Alexius regain the throne, the young prince would assure the success of the Egyptian invasion. He would pay the Crusaders' debt to Venice, as well as fortify the Crusading army with 10000 Byzantine soldiers; and once the war was over, he would maintain 500 mounted men in the Holy Land to help the Christians hold Egypt. And, most important of all, he would guarantee that the Greek Church would recognize the primacy of Rome. It seemed like a very good deal... Especially to the Venetians, who had their own ideas.

The Crusade left Zara in April of 1203, arriving before the walls of Constantinople two months later. After a few skirmishes, the Venetians managed to break the chain that barred the harbor and surround the city with their navy.

Surprised by the Venetians' strategy, the usurper Alexius III fled the city; and the officers of the court quickly took the sightless Isaac from the dungeon, bathed and dressed him in imperial purple, and sent word to the crusaders that the rightful emperor had been restored to his throne. But, the crusaders' contract was with his son, Alexius; and it was soon negotiated that the youth would reign as co-emperor with his father; and so he was crowned Alexius IV in Hagia Sophia on August 1, and the gates of Constantinople were opened to the victorious crusaders.

But, now that it was time for Alexius VI to keep his promises, he found that this was impossible to do. Not only did the Greek patriarchs refuse to recognize the authority of Rome, but Alexius III had raped the imperial treasury of most of its money. Paying the crusaders' debt and financing their Egyptian expedition was now out of the question (or at least that's what the imperial court claimed). To raise some of the capital, Emperor Alexius sent parties of soldiers to seize gold and silver objects from the churches - something the Crusaders would later imitate.

This attempt to raise the money continued throughout the rest of the year, while the Westerners wandered through the streets of the capital drinking, whoring, and brawling. A band of "impatient" French soldiers set fire to a mosque used by local Muslims, and the fire spread, destroying an entire section of the city.

In January of 1204, 5 months after the crusaders were admitted to the city, the son-in-law of the usurper Alexius III, Alexius Marzuphlus - apparently trying to make a play for the crown himself - organized a riot against the unwanted Westerners. A few weeks later, an embassy of the Crusaders was attacked by the crowd as they left the imperial palace. Soon after, a mob of Byzantine citizens flooded into Hagia Sophia and declared that Alexius IV was deposed, nominating a nobleman named Nicholas Canabus in his place. But, Marzuphlus, the usurper's son-in-law, had no intention of letting someone else reap the rewards of the uprising he started. With a band of armed soldiers, he stormed the imperial palace, and both Canabus and Emperor Alexius IV were dragged off into prison - the young Alexius being immediately executed; strangled to death with a bowstring! ... As meanwhile, his blind father, Emperor Isaac, was savagely beaten; dying a few days later.

With the deaths of their imperial candidates, the crusaders camped outside the city now knew they had no other choice but to storm the walls of Constantinople. The attack began on April 6 1204, and lasted just six days, with final victory coming about through a strangely-built Venetian siege machine and a mysterious fire, which many believe was started by Venetian agents inside the city.

With victory in sight, the Crusaders took council to choose their own Catholic emperor to rule when the city was theirs. The Venetians had only one condition. If the new emperor was to be a Frankish crusader, the new Roman patriarch must be a Venetian. With this agreed, they divided up the spoils. The imperial palace, along with 25% of the city and Byzantine lands would go to the new emperor. The other 75% would be divided between the Crusaders and the Venetians equally. There was no mention of any expedition to Egypt.

All seemed in reasonably good order that night when the Venetian Doge and the crusading nobles gathered in the imperial palace. Then the Doge made his announcement - his final act of vengeance on the Greeks for the blinding facial wound he had received as a youth. As a reward for all their suffering and hardships, the army would have three days to plunder the city! This they did with wanton abandon - killing, desecrating, raping, burning, destroying.

After the 3-day debauchery, the army was brought to a reasonable state of control, although many resisted the order that their plunder should be delivered to three collection points throughout the city. A French count hanged one of his own knights for hoarding some loot; and Greek citizens were routinely tortured for hiding

treasure.

The first payment made from the plunder was the money owed to the Venetians: the Crusader's debt, which Emperor Alexius had promised to pay. These rest was divided equally with the Venetians, a sum of 400000 marks, which one chronicler noted was seven times the annual royal revenue of the entire kingdom of England. Next came the division of the land. With the whole empire to hand out, there was more than enough. Commander Boniface of Monferrat (the patron of the late Alexius) received broad territories, including the island of Crete, which the Venetians were more than happy to buy from him with part of their treasure. Then, on May 16, 1204, in the restored cathedral of Hagia Sophia, the imperial crown of Constantinople was placed on the head of Count Baldwin of Flanders. This was the beginning of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The Egyptian Crusade was a dim, distant memory, and the entire crusading army found itself excommunicated by Pope Innocent III ... an excommunication which he was eventually persuaded to revoke.

The **Varangian Guard** was only used in battle during critical moments, or where the battle was most fierce. Contemporary Byzantine chroniclers note with a mix of terror and fascination that the "Scandinavians were frightening both in appearance and in equipment, they attacked with reckless rage and neither cared about losing blood nor their wounds". The description probably refers to berserkers, since this state of trance is said to have given them superhuman strength and no sense of pain from their wounds. When the Byzantine Emperor died, the Varangians had the unique right of running to the imperial treasury and taking as much gold and as many gems as they could carry, a procedure known in Old Norse as *polutasvarf* ("palace pillaging"). This privilege enabled many Varangians to return home as wealthy men, which encouraged even more Scandinavians to enlist in the Guard in *Miklagarðr* (Swedish: *Miklagård*= 'The Great City', i.e. Constantinople)

Sack of Constantinople, 1204

Isaakios II Angelos (1185-1195) belonged in the family of Angeloi, which descended from Philadelphia of Minor Asia. Isaakios was crowned emperor in 1185 but he proved incompetent, lavish and corrupted. He imposed taxes in the popular classes, favored the aristocracy and was indifferent for the proper organization of his empire. He spent most of his time hunting. Nevertheless, his brave general Alexius Vranas defeated the Normands who devastated Macedonia, on 7th November 1185. In 1187, during his administration the Third Crusade took place, against Arabs, headed by Saladin, who had conquered Jerusalem on 3rd October 1187. Saladin proved generous and did not harm the Christian populations. The Crusade was headed by Frederic Barbarossa of Germany, Philip II of France and Richard Lionheart of England. Richard invaded Cyprus in 1191 and later the crusaders occupied Palestine and massacred the whole population. In March, 1195 Isaac II Angelos conducted an expedition against the Bulgars, in Thrace. But he was arrested and blinded by his brother Alexius III Angelos, who became emperor of the Greek Empire, in April 1195. Isaac and his son Alexius were thrown in jail. Pope Innocent III, (1198-1216) despite manifold problems in the West, was the first pope since Urban II to be both anxious and able to consider the Crusade a major papal concern. In 1198 he broached the subject of a new expedition through legates and encyclical letters. In 1199 a tax was levied on all clerical incomes - later to become a precedent for systematic papal income taxes - and Fulk of Neuilly, a popular orator, was commissioned to preach. At a tournament held by Thibaut III of Champagne, several prominent French nobles took the cross, and others joined later. Among them was Geoffrey of Villehardouin, who was to write one of the principal accounts of the Crusade. Contact was made with the aging and blind but ambitious Doge Enrico Dandolo of Venice to provide transport. The republic of Venice had acquired considerable trading privileges within the Byzantine Empire, and the growing number of Venetian merchants had long incurred the hostility of the Greeks. The Crusade was supposed to be directed against Egypt. An agreement was made providing for payments to the Venetians for transportation of 30.000 men and 4500 horses and an equal division of conquests.

Alexius, son of Isaac, managed to escape during a campaign against the insurgent Emmanuel Camitzes, and sailed to Ancona. From there he rode to Germany, to his sister Irene who was wife of King Philip of Germany. Promising funds, supplies, and troops to conquer Egypt, the maintenance of 500 Western knights in the Holy Land, and submission of the Byzantine church to Rome, Alexius convinced Philip, Crusade leader Boniface of Montferrat, and their Venetian allies to divert the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople in order to reinstate Alexius and his father as co-emperors. The

crusader army that arrived at Venice in the summer of 1202 was somewhat smaller than had been anticipated, since some of the crusaders were travelling directly from France. Even so, there were not sufficient funds to pay the Venetians. Accordingly, the crusaders accepted the suggestion that in lieu of payment they assist the Venetians in the capture of the Hungarian city of Zara. This was done despite the opposition of many crusaders both to the diversion of the enterprise and to the attack on a Christian city. Innocent was informed of the plan, but his veto was disregarded. Here is how Geoffrey de Villehardouin (1160-1213) describes the departure from Venice in his Memoirs or Chronicle of The Fourth Crusade and The Conquest of Constantinople:

Then were the ships and transports apportioned by the barons. Ah, God what fine war-horses were put therein. And when the ships were fulfilled with arms and provisions, and knights and sergeants, the shields were ranged round the bulwarks and castles of the ships, and the banners displayed, many and fair. And be it known to you that the vessels carried more than three hundred petraries and mangonels, and all such engines as are needed for the taking of cities, in great plenty. Never did finer fleet sail from any port. And this was in the octave of the Feast of St. Remigius (October) in the year of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ twelve hundred and two. Thus did they sail from the port of Venice, as you have been told. On the Eve of St. Martin (10th November) they came before Zara in Sclavonia, and beheld the city enclosed by high walls and high towers; and vainly would you have sought for a fairer city, or one of greater strength, or richer. And when the pilgrims saw it, they marvelled greatly, and said one to another, "How could such a city be taken by force, save by the help of God himself?" The first ships that came before the city cast anchor, and waited for the others; and in the morning the day was very fine and very clear, and all the galleys came up with the transports, and the other ships which were behind; and they took the port by force, and broke the chain that defended it and was very strong and well-wrought; and they landed in such sort that the port was between them and the town. Then might you have seen many a knight and many a sergeant swarming out of the ships, and taking from the transports many a good war-horse, and many a rich tent and many a pavilion. Thus did the host encamp. And Zara was besieged on St. Martin's Day (11th November 1202).

Zara surrendered to the mercy of the Doge, on condition only that all lives should be spared. The Venetians took the part of the city towards the port, where were the ships, and the Franks took the other part. A month later came envoys from Germany, sent by King Philip and the heir of Constantinople, Alexius who was brother of Philip's wife, Irene. According to the Chronicle of The Fourth Crusade: The knights and the Doge of Venice assembled in a palace where the Doge was lodged. And the envoys addressed them and said: "Lords, King Philip sends us to you, as does also the brother of the king's wife, the son of the emperor of Constantinople. "Lords," says the king, "I will send you the brother of my wife; and I commit him into the hands of God - may He keep him from death! - and into your hands. And because you have fared forth for God, and for right, and for justice, therefore you are bound, in so far as you are able, to restore to their own inheritance those who have been unrighteously despoiled. And my wife's brother will make with you the best terms ever offered to any people, and give you the most puissant help for the recovery of the land overseas. And first, if God grant that you restore him to his inheritance, he will place the whole empire of Romania (Eastern Empire) in obedience to Rome, from which it has long been separated. Further, he knows that you have spent of your substance, and that you are poor, and he will give you 200,000 marks of silver, and food for all those of the host, both small and great. And he, of his own person, will go with you into the land of Babylon, or, if you hold that that will be better, send thither 10,000 men, at his own charges. And this service he will perform for one year. And all the days of his life he will maintain, at his own charges, five hundred knights in the land overseas to guard that land. Lords, we have full power," said the envoys, "to conclude this agreement, if you are willing to conclude it on your parts. And be it known to you, that so favourable an agreement has never before been offered to any one; and that he that would refuse it can have but small desire of glory and conquest." The barons and the Doge said they would talk this over; and a parliament was called for the morrow. When all were assembled, the matter was laid before them.

The knights had dispute about the outcome of the campaign. One party did not like to attack a Christian city and wanted to sail immediately to Syria, and the other party insisted to sail to Constantinople to gain all those who had promised the thoughtless young prince. Innocent was aware of a plan to divert the Crusade to Constantinople in order to give the throne to Alexius. Accordingly, Innocent ordered Boniface of

120285 Montferrat to publish immediately his original letter excommunicating the Venetians, which he had refused to do, and forbade any attack on Constantinople. But the papal letter arrived after the fleets had left Zara.

On 7th April 1203, the crusaders destroyed the city and sailed to Dyrachion, port of the Greek Empire. The city surrendered and swore submission to the heir of throne.

120290 The fleet departed and came to the island of Corfu. The inhabitants did not recognize Alexius as legal heir and kept the gates of the city closed. The crusaders pillaged the area around the city which was well fortified and burnt most of the villages and fields of the island. They departed from the port of Corfu on 24 May 1203 and reached the island Andros, in Aegean Sea. The knights again pillaged the island and destroyed

120295 most of the villages. Later the huge fleet entered the passage of Ellispontus or Dardanelles, and reached to a city called Abydos. The Latins stayed there a week, stole corn from the land, and sailed to the monastery of St Stephen, on 23rd June 1203. Geoffrey de Villehardouin describes the scene in his Chronicle.

There had those on board the ships and galleys and transports full sight of

120300 Constantinople; and they took port and anchored their vessels. Now you may know that those who had never before seen Constantinople looked upon it very earnestly, for they never thought there could be in all the world so rich a city; and they marked the high walls and strong towers that enclosed it round about, and the rich palaces, and mighty churches of which there were so many that no one would have believed it

120305 who had not seen it with his eyes - and the height and the length of that city which above all others was sovereign. And be it known to you, that no man there was of such hardihood but his flesh trembled: and it was no wonder, for never was so great an enterprise undertaken by any people since the creation of the world.

On 24 June 1203, the crusaders landed at Chalcedon. Chalcedon is a place in the

120310 Asiatic side of Bosphorus. There was a palace of the Emperor Alexius. The counts and barons landed and lodged themselves in the palace. Emperor Alexius saw this provocation and sent 500 men to face the Latins. But the fight lasted a while and the Greeks retreated leaving their horses and tents. Alexius III Angelos proved

120315 incompetent and less worthy than his predecessor. The corruption of his court was enormous and the moral of the army low. When the leader of the army is coward then the army is ineffective. His admiral Michael Strufnos was so wicked that he sold the gear of his fleet and increased so his personal fortune. The Greek fleet was in miserable condition. The situation of the empire couldn't be worst. The two emperors, Isaac and Alexius III Angelos, managed in some years to destroy the work of the

120320 Comnenus' dynasty. Two personalities who brightened the dark years of Angelos' dynasty were the brothers Michael and Nicetas Choniates. Nicetas' history is the main source of the events which took place during the 4th crusade.

July 2 1203, the Emperor Alexius sent an envoy, under Nicholas Roux with letters to the counts and to the barons. The envoy was received in a palace of Scutari

120325 (Chrysopolis), where the crusaders were holding a council. Nicholas Roux, a Franc who lived for years in the Greek capital, read the letters: Lords, the Emperor Alexius would have you know that he is well aware that you are the best people uncrowned, and come from the best land on earth. And he marvels much why, and for what purpose, you have come into his land and kingdom. For you are Christians, and he

120330 is a Christian, and well he knows that you are on your way to deliver the Holy Land overseas and the Holy Cross, and the Sepulchre. If you are poor and in want, he will right willingly give you of his food and substance, provided you depart out of his land. Neither would he otherwise wish to do you any hurt, though he has full power therein, seeing that if you were twenty times as numerous as you are, you would not

120335 be able to get away without utter discomfiture if so be that he wished to harm you. The Latins answered that he should deliver the power to his nephew, Isaac's son who was the legal successor of the throne.

On 3rd July, the Doge of Venice and the Marquis of Montferrat entered into one

120340 galley, took with them Alexius, the son of the Emperor Isaac and sailed close to the walls of Constantinople to show the young prince to the Greeks. There was no sympathy for the prince and the Latins returned back and decided to attack Constantinople. First they attacked the port. Their leaders were: Baldwin of Flanders, his brother Henry, Matthew of Wallincourt, Baldwin of Beauvoir, Peter of Amiens, Count Louis of Blois and Chartres, Matthew of Montmorency, Robert of Ronsoi, Otho of la Roche,

120345 Richard of Dampierre, and Marquis of Montferrat. They easily seized the port, because the Greeks under their ruler Alexius, again retreated; The united European forces (Germans, Italians, Belgians and French) who fought bravely, managed to capture the tower of Galatas; where they broke the chain that closed the Golden Horn (Chresus Keras), and came closer to the sea walls of Constantinople. Theodoros Lascaris, who

120350 later would become the emperor of the empire of Nicaea, tried without success to

drive back the enemy.

So was the tower of Galata and the port of Constantinople taken. The French advanced to the land walls, while the Venetians reached by sea to the palace of Blachernae.

The two allied armies stayed close one to another. The Greeks under Theodoros Lascaris ceased not to attack them, but without achieving a final blow to the besiegers. During a fight, Constantine Lascaris, brother of Theodoros was taken prisoner. A knight whose name was William of Gi was killed. On 17th July 1203 everything was ready for the assault. The Marquis Boniface of Montferrat guarded the camp towards the fields, with the division of the Burgundians and the division of the

men of Champagne. Count Baldwin of Flanders and his brother Henry, Count Louis of Blois and Chartres and Count Hugh of St. Paul went to the assault. The Italians under the semi blind Doge attacked to the sea walls and after fierce fighting they captured twenty-five towers. They set fire, that spread so quickly destroying houses and churches of a large part of the Polis. Again the coward Emperor Alexius III came out

of the Adrianople Gate with huge forces, but despite the urging of Theodoros Lascaris, he dared not to attack. That night the Emperor Alexius of Constantinople took of his treasure as much as he could carry, and abandoned his city, his people and his family. Emperor Isaac and his wife Margarita of Hungary were liberated, while Alexius' wife, Eufrosine was arrested. Isaakios sent envoys to the Latins to announce the news of his return to the throne. They demanded of the emperor to ratify the treaty made by his son; and on 1st August 1203 Alexius IV was crowned co-emperor. Here is how Geoffrey de Villehardouin describes the entry of the Franks in the city:

Now you must know that many of those in the host went to see Konstantinoupolis, and the rich palaces and great churches, of which there were many, and all the great wealth of the city-for never was there city that possessed so much. Of relics it does not behove me to speak, for at that day there were as many there as in all the rest of the world. Thus did the Greeks and French live in good fellowship in all things, both as regards trafficking and other matters. By common consent of Franks and Greeks it was settled that the new emperor should be crowned on the feast of our Lord St. Peter (1st August 1203). So was it settled, and so it was done. He was crowned full worthily and with honour according to the use for Greek emperors at that time. Afterwards he began to pay the moneys due to the host; and such moneys were divided among the host, and each repaid what had been advanced in Venice for his passage. Alexios IV confiscated the lands of Eufrosine, emptied the public treasury, imposed taxes and gathered 100000 marcs to give to the Latins. This was only one half of the promised sum. This attitude increased more the hatred of Greeks for Latins. A hatred that would last for centuries, during the middle ages. Among the Crusaders was dispute about the course of the campaign. Should they continue to the Holy Lands or should they stay to take all the money promised by young Alexios? The Venetians

insisted to take all the sum that Alexius had promised, and so the young emperor left his capital, escorted by Frankish knights, for the provinces in a desperate attempt to find the promised money. While the Emperor Alexius was away, a conflict arose between the Greeks and the Latins. The Latins again set fire to the city, a fire which destroyed a large part of the capital near the church of St. Sophia. It lasted two days and two nights, nor could it be put out by the hand of man. And the front of the fire, as it went flaming, was well over half a league broad. What was the damage then done, what the possessions and riches swallowed up, could no man tell - nor what the number of men and women and children who perished - for many were burned. All the Latins, to whatever land they might belong, who were lodged in Constantinople, dared no longer to remain therein; but they took their wives and their children, and such of their possessions as they could save from the fire, and entered into boats and vessels, and passed over the port and came to the camp of the pilgrims. Nor were they few in number, for there were of them some fifteen thousand, small and great; and afterwards it proved to be of advantage to the pilgrims that these should have crossed over to them.

The Emperor Alexius remained for a long time in Thrace and returned to Constantinople in 11 November 1203. Nevertheless he did not manage to gather enough money to satisfy the greed of the Franks. The crusaders had an embassy sent to the emperor, to his palace of Blachernae, lead by Conon de Bethune and Geoffry of Villehardouin. They dismounted at the gate and entered the palace, and found the Emperor Alexius and the Emperor Isaac seated on two thrones, side by side. And near them was seated the empress, who was the wife of the father, and stepmother of the son, and sister to the King of Hungary - a lady both fair and good. And there were with them a great company of people of note and rank, so that well did the court seem the court of a rich and mighty prince. By desire of the other envoys Conon of Bethune, who was very wise and eloquent of speech, acted as spokesman: "Sire, we have come to thee on the part of

the barons of the host and of the Doge of Venice. They would put thee in mind of the great service they have done to thee - a service known to the people and manifest to all men. Thou hast sworn, thou and thy father, to fulfill the promised covenants, and they have your charters in hand. But you have not fulfilled those covenants well, as you should have done. Many times have they called upon you to do so, and now again we call upon you, in the presence of all your barons, to fulfill the covenants that are between you and them. Should you do so, it shall be well. If not, be it known to you that from this day forth they will not hold you as lord or friend, but will endeavour to obtain their due by all the means in their Power. And of this they now give you warning, seeing that they would not injure you, nor any one, without first defiance given; for never have they acted treacherously, nor in their land is it customary to do so. You have heard what we have said. It is for you to take counsel thereon according to your pleasure." Much were the Greeks amazed and greatly outraged by this open defiance; and they said that never had any one been so hardy as to dare defy the Emperor of Constantinople in his own hall. Very evil were the looks now cast on the envoys by the Emperor Alexius and by all the Greeks, who aforetime were wont to regard them very favourably. Great was the tumult there within, and the envoys turned about and came to the gate and mounted their horses. When they got outside the gate, there was not one of them but felt glad at heart; nor is that to be marvelled at, for they had escaped from very great peril, and it held to very little that they were not all killed or taken. So they returned to the camp, and told the barons how they had fared.

So there was war between the Greeks and the Franks, on November 1203. The Greeks under the command of Alexius Ducas Murtzuphlus tried to burn the European fleet, using fireships, but without success. The Venetians were masters in the seamanship and seized the fireships, using hooks. Only one merchant ship from Pisa was burnt. In these difficult events the young emperor proved incompetent like his uncle. Three men had the courage to face the barbarians: Alexius Ducas Murtzuphlus, Constantine Lascaris and his brother Theodorus Lascaris. The Greek people were furious with the inefficiency of the young emperor and a revolution broke in 25th January 1204. Alexius IV was thrown in jail and on 5 February 1204, Alexius V Ducas Murtzuphlus was crowned emperor of the Eastern Empire. Alexius IV was strangled in his jail on 8 February 1204 and Isaac died in prison a few days later. So ended the worst dynasty that ruled the Empire and disorganized the state to such extent that after 2 months this state was to meet its destiny and fall to the crusaders. A fall that would prepare the ground for the Turks to come and destroy definitely the Greek medieval state.

The Franks rode to the north and attacked to a city of Euxenus Pontus, named Philea. They pillaged and destroyed the rich city and when they returned back, the emperor assaulted them. But again the crusaders defeated the Greek imperial army and not only the emperor Alexius V was almost taken captive, but the holy icon of the Virgin Mary that was made by Apostle Lucas was stolen by the Latins. This icon was very important for the Orthodoxy and the Greeks grieved for the loss of it.

Well had these prepared all their engines, and mounted their petrarries, and mangonels on the ships and on the transports, and got ready all such engines of war as are needful for the taking of a city, and raised ladders from the yards and masts of the vessels, so high that they were a marvel to behold. And when the Greeks saw this, they began, on their side, to strengthen the defences of the city which was enclosed with high walls and high towers. Nor was any tower so high that they did not raise thereon two or three stages of wood to heighten it still more. Never was city so well fortified. Thus did the Greeks and the Franks bestir themselves on the one side and the other during the greater part of Lent. Then those of the host spoke together, and took counsel what they should do. Much was advanced this way and that, but in the end, they devised that if God granted them entry into the city by force, all the booty taken was to be brought together, and fittingly distributed; and further, if the city fell into their power, six men should be taken from among the Franks, and six from among the Venetians, and these twelve should swear, on holy relics, to elect as emperor the man who, as they deemed, would rule with most profit to the land. And whosoever was thus elected emperor, would have one quarter of whatever was captured, whether within the city or without, and moreover would possess the palace of Bucoleon and that of Blachernae; and the remaining three parts would be divided into two, and one of the halves awarded to the Venetians and the other to those of the host. And there should be taken twelve of the wisest and most experienced men among the host of the pilgrims, and twelve among the Venetians, and those twenty-four would divide fiefs and honours, and appoint the service to be done therefor to the emperor. This covenant was made sure and sworn to on the one side and the other by the Franks and

the Venetians; with provision that at the end of March, a year thence, any who so desired might depart hence and go their way, but that those who remained in the land would be held to the service of the emperor in such manner as might be ordained. Thus was the covenant devised and made sure; and such as should not observe it were excommunicated by the clergy.

So the Latins decided to divide the Eastern Empire. The men who had sworn before the Holy Cross to go and liberate Jerusalem from muslimans, had preferred to act like common thieves and attack to a Christian city with only one purpose.

The sack.

The Europeans attacked the sea walls on 8th April 1204. The ships drew near to the city, and a fierce battle began in more than a hundred places. The crusaders were repulsed in that assault, and those who had landed from the galleys were driven back. After the defeat, the Doge of Venice and the other barons were assembled in a church on the other side of the straits and discussed. The Venetians insisted that they should repeat the attacks to the same place, but this time the ships should be bound together in order to reach the high towers. The preparations lasted some days and the final assault was repeated on 13th April 1204. The Greeks defended the towers with success, but suddenly the wind changed and blew from the north. Two ships that were bound together, the Pilgrim and the Paradise, approached so near to a tower, that the ladder of the first vessel joined on to the tower. Immediately a Venetian, and two French knights, whose name was Andrew of Durboise and John Choisy, entered into the tower. This was the beginning of the end. The tower was taken and many other crusaders raised their ladders and conquered many other towers. In vain the emperor Alexius Murzuphlus tried to encourage his soldiers to counterattack. They fled and Alexius ran to the castle of Bucoleon. He took with him Eufrosine and her daughter Eudokia and left the Byzantine capital through the Golden Gate. The Latins set again fire to the city.

And the city began to take fire, and to burn very direfully; and it burned all that night and all the next day, till vesper-time. And this was the third fire there had been in Constantinople since the Franks arrived in the land; and more houses had been burned in the city than there are houses in any three of the greatest cities in the kingdom of France.

When Alexius V left the City, Constantine Lascaris one of the city's leading defenders, was proclaimed emperor in the Cathedral of St. Sophia. He tried with his brother Theodoros Lascaris to drive the Varagkoi (Vikings mercenaries) against the invaders, but again the attempt had no result and the two brothers fled the city. In Nicaea, Theodoros Lascaris would later create a new Byzantine state, the Empire of Nicaea. One of his successors Michael VIII Paleologus in 1261, would liberate the Greek capital.

The richest city of the world was at the mercy of the Europeans. The barbarians did horrible things that are beyond imagination. They tortured and massacred a large part of the population, destroyed churches, palaces, monasteries and even sculptures made by Phidias and Praxiteles, stole thousands of priceless icons, relics and other things, raped young girls and boys. Not to mention the countless manuscripts of ancient Greek philology which were burnt by the ignorant and illiterate Franks. So much was the hatred of the Europeans for the Greek Empire! Nicetas Choniates or Acominatus describes in his chronicle the detestable actions of the barbarians. Nicetas experienced the looting of Constantinople and with the help of a Venetian merchant, he managed to escape with his family, to Nicaea, capital of a new Greek state, where he wrote the 21-volume "History of the Times," a record of the rise and fall of the 12th- and 13th-century Byzantine dynasties, beginning with the Greek emperor John Comnenus (1118-1143) and concluding with the intrusion of the first Latin Eastern emperor, Baldwin I of Flanders (1204-1205). Geoffrey de Villehardouin gives his point of view:

The Marquis Boniface of Montferrat rode all along the shore to the palace of Bucoleon, and when he arrived there it surrendered, on condition that the lives of all therein should be spared. At Bucoleon were found the larger number of the great ladies who had fled to the castle, for there were found the sister [Agnes, sister of Philip Augustus, married successively to Alexius II., to Andronicus, and to Theodore Branas] of the King of France, who had been empress, and the sister [Margaret, sister of Emeric, King of Hungary, married to the Emperor Isaac, and afterwards to the Marquis of Montferrat] of the King of Hungary, who had also been empress, and other ladies very many. Of the treasure that was found in that palace I cannot well speak, for there was so much that it was beyond end or counting. At the same time that this

120550 palace was surrendered to the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, did the palace of Blachernae surrender to Henry, the brother of Count Baldwin of Flanders, on condition that no hurt should be done to the bodies of those who were therein. There too was found much treasure, not less than in the palace of Bucoleon. Each garrisoned with his own people the castle that had been surrendered to him, and set a guard over the treasure. And the other people, spread abroad throughout the city, also gained much

120555 booty. The booty gained was so great that none could tell you the end of it: gold and silver, and vessels and precious stones, and samite, and cloth of silk, and robes vair and grey, and ermine, and every choicest thing found upon the earth. And well does Geoffry of Villehardouin the Marshal of Champagne, bear witness, that never, since the world was created, had so much booty been won in any city. Every one took

120560 quarters where he pleased and of lodgings there was no stint. So the host of the pilgrims and of the Venetians found quarters, and greatly did they rejoice and give thanks because of the victory God had vouchsafed to them - for those who before had been poor were now in wealth and luxury.

120565 For four days the great City was subjected by the rank and file to pillage and massacre. When order had been restored, the crusaders and the Venetians proceeded to implement their agreement; Baldwin of Flanders was crowned emperor in the church of St. Sophia and the Venetian Thomas Morosini was chosen patriarch. But the lands parcelled out among the leaders did not include all the former Byzantine possessions.

120570 The imperial government continued in Nicaea, and an offshoot Empire of Trebizond, at the eastern end of the Black Sea, lasted until 1461. There was also established a Byzantine Despotate of Epirus, and the Bulgarians under Skylogiannis or Ioannitzes remained hostile. The rift between the Eastern and Western churches widened, and Greek popular resistance to any schemes of reunion with the empire intensified. The

120575 Byzantine Empire, for centuries a bulwark against invasion from the East, was damaged beyond repair. The Greeks never forgave the Europeans for the destruction of their state. A destruction that would bring the final end of the Greek Empire with the invasion of the Turks. An invasion that had as result the slavery of the Greeks for 5 centuries and the irrevocable loss of ancient Greek lands.

120580 Marquis Boniface of Montferrat married the empress who had been the wife of the Emperor Isaac, and was sister to the King of Hungary. He asked from Baldwin the city of Thessalonica, the capital of the province of Macedonia, which was granted to him. Alexius Murzuphlus who had taken with him the empress, wife of the Emperor Alexius III, and his daughter Eudokia, reached Messinopolis, a city of Thrace. There, the

120585 former emperor received him and told him that he should be as welcome as if he were his own son, and that he would give him his daughter to wife, and make of him his son. But when he found the chance he blinded him. Later Alexius V Murzuphlus was arrested by the Latins who murdered him by casting him from the top of a column in Constantinople. This was the end for the man who tried without success to fight the

120590 Frankish invaders. Alexius III Angelos was also arrested by the crusaders. On 1205, Baldwin and later Boniface were killed by the king of Bulgars, Ioannitzes. The Empire of Nicaea which faced three enemies: the Latins, the Bulgarians, and the Seljuk sultanate, proved worthy of the Byzantine traditions of fighting on many fronts at once and of skillful diplomacy. Theodore Lascaris and his son-in-law John III

120595 Vatatzes built up at Nicaea a microcosm of the Byzantine Empire and church in exile. The Latins were thus never able to gain a permanent foothold in Anatolia.

CONSTANTINE XI PALAEOLOGUS (1449-1453)

FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE "Ealo h Polis"

120600 Constantine XI Palaeologos (1404-1453), also called Dragases, last Byzantine emperor, was born in 1404 in Mistra, was the son of Emperor Manuel II. He was trained as a soldier, and in 1430 liberated the peninsula of Morea in Greece, which had been under the Frankish principality of Achaia, a state established by the Crusaders.

120605 In 1442 Turks under Murad, sieged Constantinople which was defended by emperor John VIII Palaeologos, while Constantine fought Turks in island of Limnos. There he lost his wife Katherine. Constantine XI was actually married twice and Katherine was his second wife.

In 1444 Constantine with his brother Thomas Palaeologos and a small army liberated Roumeli and Thessalia. The Greek populations loved and admired their leader. They

120610 called him "Drakos". Those were the last victories of Byzantium. His friend was George Plithon or Gemistos a philosopher who created school of Philosophy in Athens. He was teaching Greek Philosophy in Mystras. He advised Constantine to take the property from church and rich men and to give it to the poor farmers. When John VIII travelled in Florence, he escorted him together with other

- 120615 Byzantine intellectuals. There Europeans argued with the Greeks about religion and Plithon told them:
Why are you arguing to unify the two churches? In the future there will be only one religion, and this is the union of Christianity and the ideas of ancient Greeks.
- 120620 In 1446, the Turkish ruler Murad II reconquered and devastated these lands. The Turks had begun their invasions of the Balkans nearly a century before, and now began to close in on Constantinople.
Constantine was crowned emperor on Jan. 6, 1449, succeeding his brother, John VIII. The last Christian Greek Emperor entered, two months later, on March 12, the isolated Imperial capital. A little less than three years later, on Dec. 12, 1452, the union
- 120625 of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches was proclaimed in Constantinople in the presence of the papal legate and the Patriarch Gregory. Constantine had been a strong advocate of this union, but the people were generally opposed to it, and riots ensued. The popular insistence on Byzantine religious autonomy furthered the estrangement between eastern and western Roman Christendom and weakened Byzantine
- 120630 resistance to the Turks. Catholics never sent army or navy as they were committed to their agreement. They preferred the most glorious Christian city to be destroyed and pillaged from the Muslims.
In 1452 the sultan demolished the old church of Archaggelos Michael and constructed at the narrowest point of the Bosphorus strait, a huge complex of strong
- 120635 fortifications, Rumeli Hisar, whose task was to shut completely, by its artillery, the route of western and Byzantine vessels to and from the Black Sea (Euxeinos Pontus). Indeed, on 26 November 1452, according to the Venetian doctor Nicolao Barbaro, a Venetian vessel under the command of Antonio Ritzo attempted to pass without paying the required tolls. It was sank by the new fortress's guns, its crew
- 120640 of thirty men was taken prisoners in Adrianople (Eridne). The officers and sailors were brought in front of Mehmed, who ordered their immediate impalement.
The Turkish sultan, Mehmed II, advanced on Constantinople in the beginning of 1453. Troops came from every region of the Empire, including thousands of irregulars, from many nationalities, who were attracted by the prospect of looting. The regular troops
- 120645 were well equipped and well trained. The elite corps of the Janissaries composed of abducted Christian children, forcibly converted to Islam, and subsequently trained as professional soldiers, constituted the spear-head of the Ottoman army. The besieging army included a number of artillery pieces, which were made with the help of a Hungarian named Ourvanos. The hugest canons faced the Military Gate of St Romanus, and were expected to cause heavy damage to the 1000 year old walls in that area. The
- 120650 army, accompanied by crowds of fanatic Dervishes, started moving slowly towards Constantinople. A few towns, still in Greek hands, near the capital were soon occupied by the Sultan's army. Of those towns Selyvria resisted longer. His army included 200000 soldiers (29.000 of them were Europeans).
- 120655 Constantinople was defended only by 10.000 soldiers (3.000 of them were Europeans mostly Italians). Among the Europeans, who had come to help, was the brave Giovanni Giustiniani. He was from Genoa where he had recruited 400 men and another 300 on the island of Chios. Others were the cardinal Isidoros, who was of Greek origin, the latin bishop of Chios, Leonardos, the Venetian captains Kokkos, Trevizas, Aloisio, Contarini and a lot more people. Also, the help provided by the German engineer
- 120660 Johannes Grant was of great importance. Grant managed to destroy all the tunnels that the Sultan had attempted to build in order to enter the city. So the greatest Christian city was defended only by some Greeks and some Italians. No other European leader accepted the emperor's appeal for help.
- 120665 The defenders lacked in training and armament but were possessed by fighting spirit. Indeed, most of them were killed fighting. The civilian population supported the emperor overwhelmingly. The people, men and women, participated in the repairs of the walls and in the deepening of the moat, volunteers manned observation posts, food supplies were collected, gold and silver objects, held in the churches, were melted
- 120670 to make coins in order to pay the foreign soldiers. With the exception of about 700 Italian residents of the city, who fled on board seven ships, on the night of February 26, no one else imitated them. The rest of the population, Greeks and foreigners, fought until the end. On April 2, 1453 the city's harbor, the Golden Horn, was shut by a huge chain, and ten galleys were put behind to protect it.
- 120675 During the first week of April, the Ottoman troops began taking their assigned positions in front of the city walls. The Sultan had his tent installed north of the Gate of St Romanus, near the river Lycus. He ordered the big canon to be installed in the same area. To protect the troops, a protective trench was opened in front of the Ottoman units, the soil from it was accumulated on the city side and on top of it was
- 120680 erected a palisade. On the 12th arrived from Gallipoli the Ottoman fleet. Composed of

approximately 200 ships of various sizes and displacements, it sealed the byzantine capital from the sea. Mehmed's admiral was the Bulgarian renegade Suleiman Baltoghlu. On his side the emperor distributed his troops as best as he could. It was impossible, with the available garrison, to cover the entire walled circumference of the capital, about fourteen miles long. However, it was clear to all that the main attack would be delivered by the enemy along the land-walls, about four miles long. With the exception of the Blachernae section of the walls, at the north-eastern end of the land side, the city was protected, on the land side, by a triple wall, with a deep moat in front of it. On the sea side, including the Golden Horn port area, the city was protected by a single wall.

Given the availability of troops and the critical sections of the walls, Giustiniani, with most of his men, as well as Constantine Palaeologus and his best troops, took position in the St Romanus's Gate sector, where heavy damage was expected to be inflicted by the canon and the main Ottoman assault to be launched. The Venetian Bailo (the Head of the Venetian Community at Constantinople) Girolamo Minotto and his countrymen were charged with the defence of the region of Blachernae, where the Imperial Palace was located. Minotto and his men faced the European troops of Karadja Pasha. Across the Golden Horn, to the left of Pera, ready to intervene, stood the troops of Zaganos Pasha. Along the southern section of the land-walls the defenders faced the Anatolian troops under the command of Ishak Pasha. The Grand Duke Luke Notaras and Alexios Disipatos with a reserve unit took position near the walls, at the Petra neighborhood, in the north-eastern section of the city. Another reserve unit of 700 men under the command of Theofilos Palaeologus, Demetrius Cantakouzenos and Nicephorus Palaeologus was stationed near the church of the Holy Apostles, at the center of the city. Most units were positioned on and behind the land-walls. The sea-walls were thinly manned. To protect the entrance to the port, the Venetian commander of the small fleet of the defenders, Alviso Diedo, ordered ten ships to take position behind the chain.

According to Islamic tradition the Sultan, before the beginning of hostilities, demanded the surrender of the city, promising to spare the lives of its inhabitants and respect their property. In a proud and dignified reply Constantine XI rejected Mehmed's demand.

Almost immediately the Ottoman guns began firing. The continuous bombardment soon brought down a section of the walls near the Gate of Charisius, north of the Emperor's position. When night fell, everyone, who was available, rushed to repair the damage. Meanwhile Ottoman troops were trying to fill the fosse, particularly in areas in front of the weak sections of the walls which were now constantly bombarded. Other units began attempts to mine weak sections of the wall. On the port area a first attempt by the Ottoman fleet to test the defenders' reaction failed.

Until the end of the siege the Ottoman guns did not stop pounding the walls. Heavy damage was inflicted. The defenders did their best to limit it. They hanged bales of wool, sheets of leather. Nothing could help. The section of the walls in the Lycus valley, near the Emperor's position, was heavily damaged. The fosse in front of it was almost filled by the besiegers. Behind it, the defenders erected a stockade. Night after night men and women came from the city to repair the damaged sections. The first assault was launched during the night of April 18. Thousands of men attacked the stockade and attempted to burn it down. Emperor and his Greek comrades fought valiantly. Well armed, protected by armor, fighting in a restricted area, they succeeded after four hours of bloody struggle to repulse the enemy.

On Friday, 20 April, in the morning, appeared in the sea of Marmara, near Constantinople, five large vessels loaded with provisions for the city. Four were Genoese and one, a big transport, was Greek. The Greek captain's name was Flantanellas. Baltoghlu dispatched immediately his fleet to attack and capture the ships. The operation seemed easy and soon the ships were surrounded by the smaller Ottoman vessels. Everyone in the city, who was not busy with the defence, rushed to the sea-walls to watch the spectacle. The Sultan on horseback, his officers and a multitude of soldiers, rushed to the shore to watch the battle. Excited and unable to restrain himself, screaming orders at Baltoghlu, the young Sultan rode into the shallow water. Fighting, the big ships continued pushing the smaller ones, and helped by the wind they were now close to the south-eastern corner of the city. Then the wind dropped and the current began pushing them towards the coast on which stood the Sultan and his troops. Fighting continued, with the Christian sailors hurling on the enemy crews stones, javelins and all sorts of projectiles, including Greek Fire. Eventually the four vessels came so close to each other that they became bound together, forming a floating castle. Around sunset the wind rose and the big ships, pushing their way through the mass, and the wrecks, of the enemy vessels, hailed by

thousands of people who were standing on the walls, entered the Golden Horn. Next morning Baltoghlu was dismissed by the Sultan, who was so furious that he ordered the beheading of his admiral. The unlucky admiral was replaced by a favorite of Mehmed, Hamza Bey.

This event convinced the Sultan and his commanders that the city had to be more tightly besieged and that the naval arm of the besieged had to be neutralized. Mehmed's ingenious plan, formulated before the events of April 20, consisted in bringing part of his fleet into the Golden Horn. Indeed, thousands of laborers had been building, for some time, a road overland from the Bosphorus, alongside the walls of Pera, to a place called Valley of the Springs, on the shore of the Golden Horn, above Pera. On April 22 to the horror of the besieged a long procession of ships, sitting on wooden platforms were pulled by teams of oxen and men, over the road, into the port area. About seventy boats entered the Golden Horn. The leaders of the defence held immediately an emergency meeting. Various plans were discussed and it was finally decided to attempt to burn the enemy boats, which were in the Golden Horn. After a succession of postponements the attempt was carried out during the night of April 28. Betrayed by Italians from Pera, it failed miserably. Hit by Ottoman guns the Christian ships suffered heavy damage. About forty sailors captured by the enemy were tortured to death.

Despite this failure the situation in the Golden Horn became, more or less, stable. Superior naval training, and better naval construction, eventually prevented Hamza's ships from inflicting serious damage on the allied units. However, the Sultan's idea was a military success. Indeed, in 1204 the Crusaders had assaulted the city from the sea-walls and the Greeks had not forgotten it. They feared a repetition of that assault.

On the land side the bombardment continued, more walls collapsed, and when night fell everyone rushed to close the gap, reinforce the stockades, build here and there. Moreover, food was wanting and the authorities did their best to distribute it equally. Worse, help was not coming. Everyone was watching and waiting for the sails of the Western ships to appear coming out of the Dardanelles. In early May a fast boat "Byzantine dromon" was sent out, to seek the allied fleet in the Aegean and tell its commanders to hurry.

During the night of May 7 a new assault was launched against the damaged section, where Giustiniani stood. It failed again and then in the night of May 12 another came and failed. It was launched at the junction of the Blachernae wall and of the old Theodosian one. During that time mining and counter-mining continued. Sometimes fighting went on underground. Sometimes the tunnels collapsed and suffocated the miners. The German engineer Grant with barrels filled with water all around the walls, managed to discover the underground tunnels.

On May 23 the dromon that had been sent out to locate the Christian fleet returned to the city. Its crew brought bad news. Nothing was in sight. The defenders were alone, no help was coming. The men of the crew, obeying their duty, decided to return to the doomed city. Realizing that everything was lost Constantine's chief advisors begged him to leave the city. He could still get out and seek help. His father Manuel II had done the same in 1399, at the time of the blockade of the city by Sultan Bayazid. The Emperor refused to discuss the issue. He had already decided to stay in his capital, fight for it and perish.

Meanwhile, rumors were circulating in the Ottoman camp about the Venetians finally mobilizing their fleet, or about the Hungarians preparing to cross the Danube. The siege was going on without end in sight. The Sultan's Vizier Halil Chandarli, who was also informer of the emperor, had strong reservations about the siege from the beginning. He was worried about western intervention and he looked upon the whole operation with anxiety. During a meeting of the Sultan's advisors, held on May 25, the Vizir told Mehmed to raise the siege. Pursuing it might bring unknown consequences to Ottoman interests. The Sultan, also depressed because of the prolongation of the operation, finally decided to launch a grand scale final assault on the city. He was supported by younger commanders like Zaganos Pasha, a Christian converted to Islam. Halil was overruled and all present decided to continue the siege.

While the artillery continued pounding the walls without interruption, preparations for the big assault, which was to take place on Tuesday 29 May, were accelerated. Material was thrown into the fosse which faced the collapsed ramparts, scaling-ladders were distributed. The Magistrates of Pera were warned not to give any assistance to the besieged. The Sultan swore to distribute fairly the treasures found in the city. According to tradition the troops were free to loot and sack the city for three days. He assured his troops that success was imminent, the defenders were

exhausted, some sections of the walls had collapsed. It would be a general assault, throughout the line of the land-walls, as well as in the port area. Then the troops were ordered to rest and recover their strength.

In the city everyone realized that the great moment had come. During Monday, May 28, some last repairs were done on the walls and the stockades, in the collapsed sections, were reinforced. In the city, while the bells of the churches rang mournfully, citizens and soldiers joined a long procession behind the holy relics brought out of the churches. Singing hymns in Greek, Italian or Catalan, Orthodox and Catholic, men, women, children, soldiers, civilians, clergy, monks and nuns, knowing that they were going to die shortly, made peace with themselves, with God and with eternity.

When the procession ended the Emperor met with his commanders and the notables of the city. In a philosophical speech he told his subjects that the end of their time had come. In essence he told them that Man had to be ready to face death when he had to fight for his faith, for his country, for his family or for his sovereign. All four reasons were now present. Furthermore, his subjects, who were the descendants of Greeks, had to emulate their great ancestors. They had to fight and sacrifice themselves without fear. They had lived in a great city and they were now going to die defending it. As for himself, he was going to die fighting for his faith, for his city and for his people. He also thanked the Italian soldiers, who had not abandoned the great city in its final moments. He still believed that the garrison could repulse the enemy. They all had to be brave, proud warriors and do their duty. He thanked all present for their contribution to the defence of the city and asked them to forgive him, if he had ever treated them without kindness. Constantine asked Guistiniani to take his beloved Anna Notara to his ship, so that she would not fall in the hands of the enemy. Everyone knew the fate of those who would be alive when Turks entered in the city.

Meanwhile the great church of Saint Sophia was crowded. Thousands of people were moving towards the church. Inside, Orthodox and Catholic priests were holding mass (THE LAST CHRISTIAN SERVICE AFTER 1000 YEARS). People were singing hymns, others were openly crying, others were asking each other for forgiveness. Those who were not serving on the ramparts also went to the church, among them was seen, for a brief moment, the Emperor. People confessed and took communion. Then those who were going to fight rode or walked back to the ramparts. They prayed and chanted for the last time the "Akathistos Hymn" in front of the holy icon of "Odigitria", an icon of Virgin Mary, made by Apostle Loukas. The next day most of them would be dead. From the great church the Emperor rode to the Palace at Blachernae. There he asked his household to forgive him. He bade the emotionally shattered men and women farewell, left his Palace and rode away, into the night, for a last inspection of the defence positions. Then he took his battle position.

The assault began after midnight, into the 29th of May 1453. Wave after wave the attackers charged. Battle cries, accompanied by the sound of drums, trumpets and fifes, filled the air. The bells of the city churches began ringing frantically. Orders, screams and the sound of trumpets shattered the night. First came the irregulars, an unreliable, multinational crowd of Christians and Muslims, who were attracted by the opportunity of enriching themselves by looting the glorious city, the great capital of the East Roman Empire. They attacked throughout the line of fortifications and they were massacred by the tough professionals, who were fighting under the orders of Giustiniani. The battle lasted two hours and the irregulars withdrew in disorder, leaving behind an unknown number of dead and wounded.

Next came the Anatolian troops of Ishak Pasha. They tried to storm the stockades. They fought tenaciously, even desperately trying to break through the compact ranks of the defenders. The narrow area in which fighting went on helped the defenders. They could hack left and right with their maces and swords and shoot missiles onto the mass of attackers without having to aim. A group of attackers crashed through a gap and for a moment it seemed that they could enter the city. They were assaulted by the Emperor and his men and were soon slain. This second attack also failed.

But now came the Janissaries (what an irony that they were born Greek Orthodox), disciplined, professional, ruthless warriors, superbly trained, ready to die for their master, the Sultan. They assaulted the now exhausted defenders, they were pushing their way over bodies of dead and dying Muslim and Christian soldiers. With tremendous effort the Greek and Italian fighters were hitting back and continued repulsing the enemy. Then a group of enemy soldiers unexpectedly entered the city from a small sally-port called Kerkoporta, on the wall of Blachernae, where this wall joined the triple wall. Fighting broke near the small gate with the defenders trying to eliminate the intruders.

It was almost day now, the first light, before sunrise, when a shot fired from a calverin hit Giustiniani. The shot pierced his breastplate and he fell on the ground. Shaken by his wound and physically exhausted, his fighting spirit collapsed. Despite the pleas of the Emperor, who was fighting nearby, not to leave his post, the Genoese commander ordered his men to take him out of the battle-field. A Gate in the inner wall was opened for the group of Genoese soldiers, who were carrying their wounded commander, to come into the city. The soldiers who were fighting near the area saw the Gate open, their comrades carrying their leader crossing into the city, and they thought that the defence line had been broken. They all rushed through the Gate leaving the Emperor and the Greek fighters alone between the two walls. This sudden movement did not escape the attention of the Ottoman commanders. Frantic orders were issued to the troops to concentrate their attack on the weakened position. Thousands rushed to the area. The stockade was broken. The Greeks were now squeezed by crowds of Janissaries between the stockade and the wall. More Janissaries came in and many reached the inner wall.

Meanwhile more were pouring in through the Kerkopoporta, where the defenders had not been able to eliminate the first intruders. Soon the first enemy flags were seen on the walls. The Emperor and his commanders were trying frantically to rally their troops and push back the enemy. It was too late. Waves of Janissaries, followed by other regular units of the Ottoman army, were crashing through the open Gates, mixed with fleeing and slaughtered Christian soldiers. Then the Emperor, realizing that everything was lost, removed his Imperial insignia, and followed by his cousin Theophilus Palaeologus, the lord Branas, the Castilian Don Francisco of Toledo, Katakouzinos, Mathaios Sgouromalis and John Dalmatus, all seven holding their swords, charged into the sea of the enemy soldiers, hitting left and right in a final act of defiance. They were never seen again.

Now, thousands of Ottoman soldiers were pouring into the city. One after the other the city Gates were opened. The Ottoman flags began appearing on the walls, on the towers, on the Palace at Blachernae. Civilians in panic were rushing to the churches. Others locked themselves in their homes, some continued fighting in the streets, crowds of Greeks and foreigners were rushing towards the port area. The allied ships were still there and began collecting refugees. The Cretan soldiers and sailors, manning three towers near the entrance of the Golden Horn, were still fighting and had no intention of surrendering. At the end, the Ottoman commanders had to agree to a truce and let them sail away, carrying their arms.

Bands of Ottoman soldiers began now looting. Doors were broken, private homes were looted, their tenants were massacred. Shops in the city markets were looted. Monasteries and Convents were broken in. Their tenants were killed, nuns were raped, many, to avoid dishonor, killed themselves. Killing, raping, looting, burning, enslaving, went on and on according to tradition. The troops had to satisfy themselves. The great doors of Saint Sophia were forced open, and crowds of angry soldiers came in and fell upon the unfortunate worshippers. Pillaging and killing in the holy place went on for hours. Similar was the fate of worshippers in most churches in the city. Everything that could be taken from the splendid buildings was taken by the new masters of the Imperial capital. Icons were destroyed, precious manuscripts were lost forever. Thousands of civilians were enslaved, soldiers fought over young boys and young women. Death and enslavement did not distinguish among social classes. Nobles and peasants were treated with equal ruthlessness.

According to Historian Frantzis the invaders broke the heads of those women who resisted, on the floor of the churches and they raped them dead. The famous icon of Apostle Loukas was totally destroyed. The sultan asked for the young sons of Duke Loukas Notaras. Their father refused and Mehmed was ready to take their heads. Notaras asked him to kill him after his sons so that he was sure that they were dead and not disgraced from the pervert sultan. And this is what happened.

In some distant neighborhoods, especially near the sea walls in the sea of Marmora, such as Psamathia, but also in the Golden Horn at Phanar and Petrion, where local fishermen opened the Gates, while the enemy soldiers were pouring into the city from the land Gates, local magistrates negotiated successfully their surrender to Hamza Bey's officers. Their act saved the lives of their fellow citizens. Furthermore their churches were not desecrated. Meanwhile, the crews of the Ottoman fleet abandoned their ships to rush into the city. They were worried that the land army was going to take everything. The collapse of discipline gave the Christian ships time to sail out of the Golden Horn. Venetian, Genoese and Greek ships, loaded with refugees, some of them having reached the ships swimming from the city, sailed away to freedom. On one of the Genoese vessels was Giustiniani. He was taken from the boat at Chios where he died, from his wound, a few days later.

120945 By the evening of the first day of looting there was left nothing else to steal. The Sultan, with his top commanders and his guard of Janissaries, came into the city in the afternoon of the first day of occupation. Constantinople was finally his and he intended to make it the capital of his mighty Empire. He toured the ruined city. He visited Saint Sophia which he ordered to be turned into a mosque. He also ordered an end to the killing. What he saw was desolation, destruction, death in the streets, ruins, desecrated churches. It was too much. It is said that, as he rode through the streets of the former capital of the Christian Greek Empire, the city of Constantine, moved to tears he murmured: "What a city we have given over to plunder and destruction".

120950

120955 The sultan show in front of many houses the symbol of half moon. He asked why was this symbol everywhere, and they told him that this symbol was dated from the time of 340 b.c. when Philipos Macedonian did not manage to take Byzantium. Ancient Byzantines has since that victory, preserved this symbol. Sultan liked it and added to it a star. So was formed the Turkish flag which terrorized for many centuries the Christian states.

120960 So a civilization of 1100 years old was lost in some days. The barbarians didn't respect anything holy icons, books, paintings, mosaics. They demolished and vandalized churches, ancient monuments, palaces dated from 4th century. Nevertheless the ideas did not vanished. Turks didn't manage to vanish the Hellenic spirit. Many Greeks like Byssarion, Dimitrios Kavakis, Georgios Xaritonimos, Ieronimos of Sparta fled to Europe where they spread the ideas of Socrates, Platon, Aristotelis, Aeschylus, Archimidis, Homer, Euripides, Solon.

120965 Turks must be grateful to the "civilized" Europeans for helping them taking and still keeping this City.

120970 See www.agiasofia.com

THE RELICS OF THE HOLY SUFFERING.

120975 March 22, 1899 God's goodness has wanted to preserve for us, as a memorial of the bitter suffering of the Savior, numerous relics: cross-wood, crown of thorns, column of scourging, etc.

To a certain extent, that wood of shame and those instruments of torture have shared in the glorification that was bestowed upon the scourged and crucified Jesus: for centuries they have been venerated by millions as the most precious treasures and handed down with the most sacred care. Some further details about these remarkable relics will be heard with interest, especially in these days.

120980 It took three centuries before the most important relic, the cross-wood, came into the possession of the faithful. All that had served to execute the three death sentences had been buried near Mount Calvary; and in order to make it impossible for Christians even to visit these holy places, a temple had been built over them in honour of Venus. The desire for possession of the sacred ground and the relics hidden therein remained, however, alive; and as soon as the period of persecution was ended, the Emperor Constantine, who had learned the power of the cross in his victory over Maxentius, had the temple demolished and the relics exhumed.

120985 Pious tradition relates to us the circumstances of this finding of the cross. Helena, the mother of Constantine, is said to have received from God himself, in a dream vision, the command to seek the relics. The task was certainly difficult, but the pious empress spared nothing, spared neither effort nor expense, and even came to Jerusalem to conduct the investigations in person. She saw her efforts rewarded. The cave of the Holy Sepulchre was found, and a little to the east of it the three crosses, nails and inscription. The latter lay loose, so that there was no sure sign to distinguish the cross of the murderers from that of the Savior. However, they firmly trusted that God would help them in this also; and on the advice of Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem, the crosses were brought to a terminally ill woman in the city. In the presence of the empress and a large crowd of people, she was allowed to touch the crosses. She reached out her hands to two in vain, but when she touched the third, a miracle of God suddenly restored her to health.

120990 Where would the precious relic be preserved from now on, was now the question. Jerusalem could certainly lay claim to that honor, but the emperor, and the whole West, were also eager for that treasure, and so we see that it was immediately divided. A part of it was sent to Constantine; the largest, however, remained provisionally in Jerusalem, where it was preserved, set in silver, in the Basilica, which was erected by Macarius above the Holy Sepulchre.

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121010 When the cross was begun to be divided still further, cannot be determined precisely.

Probably, however, one could not have resisted for long the desire of so many to possess a portion, however small, of the holy wood. The ecclesiastical writers of the end of the 4th century at least already tell us how in their time those particles, set in gold casings or capsules, were worn by men and women as precious things around neck and breast; how fortunate the Christian communities considered themselves when they had such a relief in their midst, and how they then often bore witness to their pious reverence by building a separate chapel or church. Up to our time, this division into ever smaller particles has continued, so that now most churches possess such a relic. Quite large pieces are in the possession of the church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem in Rome, the Notre Dame of Paris and the Notre-Dame of Bruges. In the great number of these relics unbelievers have found a reason to suspect their authenticity. Already Erasmus mocked the inexhaustibility of the relics, which made one suppose a cross as large as a warship. Completely wrongly, however. Most particles are no larger than 1 to 2 cubic millimeters, and now an accurate calculation has shown that the many thousands of pieces together would only form a piece of wood of 9 or 10 million cubic mm. The cross now had a length of about 3 or 4 m (it must have stood at least 3/4 m in the ground); the crossbeam will have been about 2 m, and if one now calculates the width at 12 and the thickness at 8 cm, then the cross would certainly have had a content of 50 to 60 million cubic m. Even if three quarters had escaped attention in calculating the particles, the large number would not have presented the slightest difficulty.

Near the cross were also found the nails that had pierced Jesus' hands and feet. These nails were said to have been sent to the emperor, who had one put in the bridle of his horse, and one in his helmet, to fight in war always under God's protection. A third nail is said to have been thrown into the Adriatic Sea by Helena (or perhaps only immersed in it), to calm a violent storm. So tells us a reliable tradition, but what happened to it after that, we cannot find out. Probably, however, they did not stay long in Constantinople, but were soon taken to the West. There the so-called nail of the Iron Crown of Italy has acquired its greatest fame. This crown, with which the emperors were crowned in the Middle Ages, which Napoleon also put on his head in 1805, when he had himself crowned as King of Italy, is still kept at Monza near Milan. The actual golden crown, which consists of six pieces, is held together by a strip of iron, and according to the age-old, very credible tradition, the iron of one of the nails is said to have been forged for that purpose. Another nail is preserved in the Basilica of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem in Rome. This one is 12 cm long and 8.5 mm thick at the wide end. (With the point it would have a length of about 16 cm) It is square and the head, which is riveted around it, has a somewhat hat-shaped shape. The nail preserved in Trier has much in common with that of Rome. Many other cities boast of having nails, and because of the large number one would almost conclude that there is a certain pious deception. Yet this is absolutely not necessary. How can this be explained? We know that small parts of nails, even a little filing, were already considered a treasure. Such particles or filings were then sometimes placed in imitation nails, as in a reliquary: and such an imitation nail, which then contained at least a part of a real nail, was also considered a treasure and venerated. The same church of the Holy Cross in Rome possesses another remarkable relic, namely an important part of the inscription on the cross. It is a small plank full of worm-marks, of oak or poplar wood. It is 235 mm long and 130 wide. The parts of the Latin and Greek inscription are clearly visible, while from above, where the plank is broken off, some hooks and lines can be seen, which resemble the lower parts of Hebrew letters. The middle one the Greek word Nazareneus, the lower one the Latin Nazareneus Re. (The x of rex = king has been omitted.) The letters are little hollowed out in the plank; they are red on a white background, and as they have a size of 28 to 30 mm, they must have been clearly legible to the witnesses of the crucifixion. It is peculiar that the letters, according to the Eastern writing method, are placed from right to left, so that, as in mirror writing, they appear reversed. Calculated from this fragment, the entire inscription must have had the size of 65 by 20 cm.

March 11, 1913 Sacred memories.

— Now that in this early Easter month it is already approaching the feast days, a list seems appropriate, where the faithful Catholics keep their sacred memories of Jesus and his death on the cross. Christ's skirt was offered as a gift by Charlemagne to the monastery of Argenteuil, near Paris.

The "seamless garment" was donated by Saint Helena to the church in Trier. and other gases, and thus, depending on the intensity of the contact with the shroud,

could, as it were, evoke a negative image of the body.

Dr. Vignon was able to prove this hypothesis plausible by means of an experiment. Not with a corpse (this experiment is still awaiting execution) but by placing the hand moistened with ammonia on a cloth treated with aloe. The result was the same as with the Shroud of Turin.

Thirty years ago, Dr. Vignon pointed out that a chemical impression that at first sight seems insignificant can produce a good photographic image, especially with objects with a strong relief. Vignon has now again called upon the art of photography to establish all kinds of peculiarities on the Shroud: clots of blood, streams of blood-water, traces of the flogging, the crown of thorns and human secretions. No modern method of research has been neglected by Dr. Vignon. We hope to be able to report further details about the result of Dr. Vignon's research soon.

August 17, 1933 Theft of relics

PARIS, August 17 (Reuter). The 1400 year old embalmed foot of Saint Victor, dating from the 5th century AD, was stolen from the church of Saint Nicholas du Chardonnet, as well as a copy of the crown of thorns, which contained 8 small relics, each of which was said to contain a piece of the real crown of thorns of Christ. The crown of thorns was made of gilded copper, in which the foot of Saint Victor. The thieves probably mistook this copper for gold.

January 31, 1936 THE HOLY SHROUD OF CHRIST

Remarkable results of a scientific investigation.

The Passion of the Savior.

In the cathedral of Turin the Holy Shroud is kept, in which the most holy body of Christ was wrapped after the descent from the cross. For years, scientists have investigated the authenticity of this precious relic. The result of these investigations has now been summarized in a book by the Czech physician Dr. R. V. Hynek, which has also been published in German these days, and which bears the title: "The Martyrdom of Christ in the Light of Modern Science. The Discovery of the True Image." After long and scientific investigations, using all the resources of modern technology, such as chemistry, photography, physiology, ultra-violet and infrared rays, it has been concluded that the relic preserved in Turin is really the Holy Shroud, in which the body of Christ was wrapped for about 36 to 42 hours. The main proof lies in the fact that the images in the shroud are absolutely negative, that is to say, as from a photographic plate, on whose sensitive layer the projected image is captured. It could be clearly established that these prints could not have been applied later. Dr. Hynek has investigated this problem extensively and has specifically investigated how it was possible that an impression of the corpse could have been created. He comes to the following conclusions: According to the Bible story, the shroud was sprinkled with aloe and myrrh, which were changed by chemical action into an insoluble dye of aloetin, which soaked the linen. Sweat, blood, uric acid, everything containing urine salts, which are formed during the decomposition of the corpse, are changed by chemical action into ammonium carbonate and ammonia, which then chemically binds the substance of the aloe. The dye was therefore preserved on the linen, not on the body, which formed a kind of sensitive chemical layer on the shroud.

From an in-depth examination of the imprints in the shroud, the author attempts to reconstruct a complete picture of the suffering of Christ. The blood traces of the crown of thorns indicate an arterial hemorrhage, without these tissues being torn too much. On the body were clearly visible the traces of numerous wounds of about 3 cm in length, which were visible two by two, 80 in total, which corresponds to the 40 lashes that were customary among the Romans. From the impressions of the wounds that occurred at the crossing, the conclusion can be drawn that the nails were not driven through the middle of the hand, but through the carpal; while the arms were already stretched out, the feet were nailed completely in the middle of the instep. From the investigation it has further been established, the cause of death by which Christ died: Death occurred by suffocation, as a result of tetanic cramps, under very great pain and with full consciousness; it has been anatomically proven that with prolonged extension of the arms, especially when they are nailed to a cross, an obstruction of breathing is caused by the unusual effort of the diaphragm, which finally leads to suffocation, suffocation, cyanosis, which causes a blue color. It is very remarkable how these medical investigations completely agree with the Bible story.

January 28, 1937 The true image of Christ discovered

Under this title, the firm J. Romen & Zonen in Roermond has published the Dutch translation of a book in which the Czech physician W. Hynek, by way of positive experimental science, tries to provide proof that the Holy Shroud of Turin, an antique linen cloth 4.36 m long and 1.10 m wide, shows us the true, original image of the dead body of Christ. This relic would really be the burial linen in which the blessed body of the Redeemer was wrapped after the descent from the cross, to be laid in the grave.

The author of the corner relies in his argument on the photographs taken by Guiseppe Enrie of the shroud and its parts, when it was exhibited in the year 1931.

Dr. Hynek studied the impressions that are visible on the sharp photographs of the Shroud of Turin, mainly from the standpoint of anatomical and medical science, in which the photographic recordings formed an inviolable basis. In fact, he followed in the footsteps of Paul Vignon, who in 1902 already defended the authenticity of the Holy Shroud of Turin in his work "Le saint Linceuil de Turin". Vignon also built his argumentation with evidence of a positive scientific nature. The argumentation of Hynek's new book is not much more than a repetition and supplement of the argument that was already provided 35 years ago by Vignon and his associates. Hynek, like his predecessor, takes the position that the imprints of the body of Christ on the shroud of Turin, both of the front and of the back of Christ's figure, were not caused by blood and sweat, which adhered to the linen as dyes, but that the aloe, one of the components of the perfume that was sprinkled in the shroud at the funeral, was converted by the alkaline efflux of the body into an insoluble dye: aloetin. By chemical action an imprint of the Body of Christ was thus created, a double imprint of the front and back. The body was first placed on the shroud and then the remaining part of the very long cloth was folded over the head. The remarkable thing is that the impressions in the grave linen are pure negatives; this must be attributed to the chemical process that took place in the shroud covered with perfume. Exceptions are, however, the bloodstains of the nail wounds in the hands and feet and the large bloodstain of the heart wound, caused by the spear. These stains are simply positive impressions. In Hynek's work, which was written from the first to the last page with ardor and enthusiasm and with a warm love for the Holy Wounds of the Redeemer, it is not only proven beyond doubt that the Shroud of Turin is genuine, that is, that the dead body of Christ was wrapped in this linen cloth, but from the photographs made by Enrie of the Shroud, Hynek also reads off what the facial features of the Lord were, how the Redeemer was scourged, in what way he was crowned with thorns, how he was nailed to the cross and how the heart wound was inflicted by the spear. Hynek even claims that now the problem of the exact and immediate cause of death of the crucified Jesus has been solved and that the mystery of the water that flowed with the blood from the heart wound of the Redeemer has lost all its mystery. The phenomena that occur in the stigmatized person of Konnersreuth are incidentally compared with the impressions of the Shroud of Turin for confirmation. And with all this exact scientific argument a sensitive lyricism is mixed, which involuntarily carries the reader along to the conviction that speaks from every page of the book: that the authenticity of the Holy Shroud of Turin has now finally been sufficiently, indeed evidently, proven. In the chapter "Possible Objections" the author even goes so far as to attribute a lack of humility and meekness to those who do not give in to his argumentation.

In the face of this work by Hynek, an admonition to caution is perhaps appropriate, now that it has been published in Dutch and is going to stir up emotion among deeply religious readers in our country, as it has already done beyond our language borders. The question of the authenticity or otherwise of the famous relic, which is preserved in Turin and is the property of the royal house of Italy, is treated very one-sidedly in this book. Evidence obtained by way of positive experimental science should at least be supplemented with historical data and with statements from Christian antiquity. The data from the gospels should also be given their due. Now Hynek has not entirely overlooked these sides of the question of the authenticity of the shroud of Turin, but he has not shed sufficient light on them at all.

What can be read in the Gospel of John about the burial linen of the body of Lazarus (11, 44) and of the body of Jesus (19, 40; 20, 6-7) will always remain a very serious argument against the authenticity of the shroud of Turin. Christian antiquity then teaches us that in the first centuries no original image of the Redeemer was known at all. Hynek finds this centuries-long silence about the Shroud of the Lord astonishing. Perhaps it is even dangerous for his position. The history of the relic itself is not all that rosy either: the author could tell us much more about it than he actually does. Let his argumentation, based on accurate photographic images and on data from modern positive science, be as strong, at least apparently - we admit - it

still remains daring to defend the authenticity of this relic in such a triumphant and almost challenging way. The matter is too delicate for that. And after the publication of this article we are still as far as we were in 1902, when with the same argumentation and with the same fervor the authenticity of the Holy Shroud of Turin was defended by Paul Vignon, while Ulysse Chevalier then appeared in the arena with his work "Etude critique sur l'origine du S. Suaire", to combat authenticity. Both writers then found a broad following for their opinion. On the side of the opponents of authenticity, among others, the Bollandists positioned themselves. The state of the problem has not actually changed at present. That is why we consider caution to be appropriate here. One should not be carried away by the noble intentions and enthusiasm of Dr. Hynek. The German edition of Hynek's book was edited by P. Gächter S.J. as follows in the "Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie": "This study has been circulated with quite a lot of fuss, entirely in accordance with the high enthusiasm that dominates it. It is a pity, however, that this storm of enthusiasm here and there leads the author away from the paths of extractive scientific proof... The explanations that are given of the photographic data are not convincing. The sober criticism still stands, as before, on the position that Ulysse Chevalier indicated: we are still dealing here, according to the statement of a document from the year 1389, with an artificially painted cloth. And we still attach significance to the decision of the Congregation of Indulgences of 18 Nov. 1670, according to which, in the case of public veneration of the Holy Shroud, the permitted indulgence could not be earned by those who unconditionally venerated the relic as the true grave cloth of Christ". This assessment by P. Gächter S.J. is very sharp and severely negative. We have mentioned it here to show that Hynek's book entitled "The true image of Christ discovered" should be read soberly and calmly. If one takes up the book in this mood, it will still remain interesting and captivating. It certainly gives us a clearer insight into the problem of Jesus' suffering and into the passion story of the Gospels.

W. VAN DE RIET.

January 11, 1939 THE CROWN OF THORNS RELIQUIY OF PARIS.
For the first time in 700 years, the Reliquie will leave the city. This year it is seven hundred years ago that the magnificent reliquary of the crown of thorns was received in Paris. In 1239 this reliquary, which had been given as a gift by the King of Jerusalem John of Brienne to the French King, St. Louis, was brought to the Sainte Chapelle. Later this relic was transferred to Notre Dame in Paris, where it now rests in a single crystal shrine. In solemn procession the precious relic will be brought back to Sens and Villeneuve by Cardinal Verdier himself with great pomp, where Louis first received the relic. These ceremonies will take place in Jui next and especially in Sens great festivities will be organized. After the ceremonies the relic will be brought back to Paris. This is the first time in seven centuries that the relic has left the French capital.

April 6, 1939 AMSTERDAM.
Precious relic of Crown of Thorns and Holy Cross.
Transferred from Constantinople to Amsterdam.
Centuries-old possession of the Testa family. A well-known Catholic Amsterdammer, Mr. K. V. Testa, recently came into possession of a very precious relic, consisting of a thorn from the Crown of Thorns and a fragment of the Holy Cross, set in a precious gilded silver reliquary, which has been part of his family's possession for many centuries, but which was kept in Constantinople until recently. Mr. Testa wanted to make the relic, which was brought to Amsterdam by the "Hertog Hendrik" after a training voyage that this ship undertook in the Mediterranean in 1935, available to one of the Amsterdam churches, which will receive it on loan. To this end, Mr. Testa has recently placed the relic in the hands of His Eminence Mgr. J. P. Huibers, Bishop of Haarlem, who will establish the authenticity of the precious relic, after which the relic will be given on loan to one of Amsterdam's churches. It has not yet been determined which church will be considered for this and Mr. Testa, whom we asked about this, did not want to comment on this either. For centuries, the double relic of the Holy Thorn and the Holy Cross has been part of the family property of the Testa family, which originates from Genoa and in the past occupied an important place at the court of the Turkish Porte. The relic came into the possession of the Testa family as early as 1660. This was during a great fire that ravaged Constantinople in that year and in which very many

121275 buildings and also all the churches except one were destroyed by the fire. During
this fire, one of the members of the Testa family, Frans Testa, saved the relic at
the risk of his life from the St. Franciscus Church in Constantinople, where it was
kept. In addition to the reliquary, Frans Testa also managed to save a ciborium with
121280 Holy Hosts from the flames. The ciborium was returned to the clergy after the fire,
but the reliquary remained in the possession of the rescuer, who did not want to
return it. This led to a conflict with the clergy of the church to which the relic
originally belonged and with the head of the Brotherhood of St. Anne, which was
connected to the St. Francis Church. Finally, the judgment of Rome was invoked in
this conflict. The case was dealt with by the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide,
121285 which after an extensive investigation concluded that the relic would remain the
property of Frans Testa, who had saved the reliquary from the flames at the risk of
his life. This officially recognized the ownership of the precious relics of the
Testa family. The first owner of the relic died in 1709. After his death, it passed
to his son Caspar, who in turn left it to his son, who was also called Frans. In 1784
121290 the authenticity of the relics, which had already been officially confirmed earlier,
was again established by the Papal legate in Constantinople, Mgr. François Antoine
Frachia. After the death of Francis Testa the relics were inherited by his son
Charles, who in 1803 had the authenticity of the relic once again established by an
official ecclesiastical authority, namely the Archbishop of Constantinople, Mgr. Jean
121295 Baptist de Fonton. In later years the reliquary came into the possession of one of
his descendants, who settled in Montpellier, in the South of France. The reliquary
remained there after his death, in 1876, where it was kept by the widow of this
Antoin, who only later gave it to the eldest nephew of her deceased husband, Charles
Testa, in Constantinople, the father of the present owner of the relic. Karel Testa
121300 kept the relic until his death in 1911, after which it was loaned to the Minorite
monastery in Constantinople, which had been its rightful owner before 1660. The relic
was kept there until 1935. In the last year, however, Mr. K. Testa in Amsterdam, who
had inherited the relic from his father, decided to have the precious relic brought
to Amsterdam. To this end, he contacted the Dutch naval chaplain, Father I. A. P.
121305 Albada Jelgersma, who would be taking part in a training voyage of Hr. Ms. "Hertog
Hendrik" in the Mediterranean that year. He asked him to collect the relic in
Constantinople and bring it to Amsterdam on board the "Hertog Hendrik". In advance,
contact had been made with the Minorite monastery in Constantinople, where at that
time a Dutch priest, Father V. Bruine O.F.M., was staying, who prepared the transfer
121310 of the relic. Although the Minorite monastery would have liked to keep the relic, it
nevertheless fully recognized the rights that the Amsterdam owner claimed to it. The
transfer of the relic took place with some ceremony at the beginning of February
1935. A Holy Mass was celebrated in the Minorite church on Sunday morning, which was
attended by the Catholic members of the crew of the "Hertog Hendrik". After this
121315 ceremony, the reliquary was transferred to Father Jelgersma. In the meantime, the
authenticity of the relics had once again been officially recognized by the delegate
of His Holiness the Pope in Constantinople, Mgr. Rotta. The documents relating to
this were provided with the signature and seal of the papal delegate, enclosed in the
lid of the reliquary, which was then also sealed. The reliquary itself was also
121320 packed with all precautions and provided with the seal of the apostolic vicariate at
Constantinople.

It was stipulated that this seal could only be broken in the presence of the bishop
of the diocese where the owner of the relic resides or by the dean of his place of
residence, when he was officially authorized to do so by the bishop. Thus the return
121325 journey to the homeland was begun. During this journey, however, the naval chaplain
was struck by illness, so that he was forced to seek medical treatment in Catania (in
Sicily). He was therefore unable to continue the journey to England. The commander of
the "Hertog Hendrik", captain at sea C. E. L. Helfrich, was however prepared to take
care of the relic and to deliver it personally to the owner. In this way the
121330 reliquary came into the possession of Mr. K. V. Testa in Amsterdam, who kept it
sealed in his home for several years. Recently, however, Mr. Testa decided to lend
the relics to one of the Amsterdam churches, where they could be openly venerated. In
connection with this, Mr. Testa turned to His Eminence Mgr. J. P. Huibers, who
recently received the sealed package containing the reliquary.

121335 Soon the lid of the shrine, which is made of beautifully worked gilded silver, will
be opened by a goldsmith, after which the bishop will check the official documents
enclosed in this lid, which relate to the authenticity of the relics. At the same
time, the glass enclosing the relics, which appeared to be cracked when the package
was opened, will be replaced by a new one under supervision. Only then will a
121340 decision be made about which church in Amsterdam the relics will be given on loan to.

Mr. Testa has contacted one of the pastors in the capital. If we are well informed, the precious relic will soon be given on loan to one of the parish churches on the edge of the city. The decision about this has yet to be made. It had been hoped that the relic would be given the destination that the owner had intended on Good Friday. The repairs that still need to be made to the pedestal will, however, take so much time – everything is being done under the personal supervision of Mgr. Huibers – that it will probably be after Easter.

August 10, 2017 Double relic of the Holy Cross and the Crown of Thorns of Christ In the right side wall of the Agnes Church, right next to the baptismal chapel, there is a niche in which a reliquary with a double relic is placed. The reliquary contains a Holy Thorn from the Crown of Thorns of Christ and a splinter of the Holy Cross. In 1660, this shrine with relics was saved by Frans Testa from the burning St. Francis Church in Constantinople. Since then, the relic has been in the possession of the Testa family. In the 19th century, the shrine ended up in Montpellier (Southern France), but in 1911 it was transferred back to Istanbul. In 1935 the reliquary was transferred to Amsterdam, the then place of residence of the Testa family. Since then this shrine with double relic has been in our church. Today, on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, we carried it around in procession and everyone could personally venerate the relic.

June 17, 1939 THE CROWN OF THORNS OF PARIS.

Great ceremonies in France on July 2nd

With great solemnity the day will be commemorated in France on July 2nd, on which seven hundred years ago the precious relic of the Holy Crown of Thorns was received by the French King, St. Louis, in Villeneuve.

On the occasion of this commemoration we will give some details about the remarkable history of this Holy Relic. In the centre of Paris is the magnificent building of the "Sainte Chapelle" with its famous stained glass windows, and the guide who will show you around will tell you that this chapel was built to house the precious relic of the Holy Crown of Thorns. For quite some time, however, the relic was no longer in this chapel, but in the treasury of the nearby "Notre Dame" of Paris.

The Crown of Thorns of Paris, which lacks several thorns that were donated to other churches in the Middle Ages, has a diameter of 21 centimetres. The crown was wider than the head of Christ, because people wanted to press the thorns into the flesh. The thorns come from a thorn tree, called the "Zizyphus spina Christi" that comes from Syria and is common in the Jordan Valley. The tree can grow to a height of 5 to 6 metres and has strong and sharp thorns that can cause terrible wounds. The question naturally arises: how did the crowning with thorns take place? Probably not according to a predetermined plan. Probably the soldiers, as usual, made a fire from the branches of the thorn tree, and then wove a crown from a few remaining branches. This crown was probably taken by a soldier and handed over to one of Jesus' disciples. A few centuries of silence about the crown with thorns now follow, and it is not until the year 409 that the crown is mentioned by Paulinus of Nola. It was originally kept in Jerusalem, and probably transferred to the basilica of Mount Zion in Byzantium in the year 1063. Emperor Alexis Comnenius I speaks about it in a letter to Robert, Duke of Flanders, in the year 1100.

From the fourteenth century a testimony has come down to us of the Belgian Jean de Mandeville, who declared that he had seen with his own eyes the Crown of Thorns of Paris (consisting of the branches, of which most of the thorns had been broken off) and the thorns of this crown, which were in Constantinople, and according to him were intended to be distributed to "grand seigneurs" (great lords). In the year 1238 Baldwin II, Emperor of Constantinople, had come to France to ask for support for the strengthening of his power. In doing so he gave the Thorns to St. Louis, King of France.

However, he did not have this crown of thorns with him, and when some Dominicans set out to fetch the Crown of Thorns in Constantinople, they discovered that the crown had been pawned to the Venetians by high officials of the Emperor, who was in dire financial straits.

They returned to France and obtained permission from the king to repay the pledge to the Venetians, after which they could take the Crown of Thorns, which was already in the treasuries of San Marco in Venice.

And when the French king heard that the precious relic was on its way to his country, the king and his court went to meet the bearers. He met them in Villeneuve in the diocese of Troyes and received the relic there. On 11 August 1239, the king arrived with the relic in Sens and eight days later reached Paris. In order to preserve the

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

precious relic, St. Louis had the "Sainte Chapelle" built, where the Crown of Thorns was preserved until the French Revolution. In 1791, the relic was transferred to Saint Denis, in 1799 it was confiscated and finally transferred to the National Library.

On 26 October 1804, the relic was handed over again to the Archbishop of Paris, who had it brought to Notre Dame in August 1806, where it is preserved to this day. The arrival of the Crown of Thorns in Paris, seven centuries ago, will be commemorated on 2 July in Villeneuve. The commemoration ceremonies will be attended by Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Oerlier, Archbishop of Lyon and Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec. Also present will be the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Valerio de Valeri, and more than twenty Archbishops and Bishops will be present. The official commemoration is placed under the high patronage of the French President, Albert Lebrun.

March 22, 1940 The Passion Relics

The closer we come to the great days before Easter, the more we look up to the objects that remind us of the suffering Christ.

The most precious Relics, which also enjoys the greatest veneration in the Church, is the Holy Cross. It was found in Jerusalem between 320 and 345. According to the Holy Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem, it was already divided into numerous particles in 347.

Whether all the blessed cross particles are genuine, is however doubtful. In no case is the large number of Particles a proof against their authenticity. It has been calculated that the cubic content of all the cross particles together amounts to approximately 9 to 10 million cubic millimeters, while a cross of 3 to 4 meters high has a volume of 57 million cubic mm.

According to tradition, the inscription on the cross and the nails were also found at the same time as the Holy Cross. The inscription is now preserved and venerated in the basilica of Santa Croce in Rome. Its great age is proven by the fact that it was originally placed above the triumphal arch of the basilica, which was decorated with mosaics by Emperor Valentinian (423-445). The inscription itself was only added at a later time.

No fewer than 30 nails are venerated as relics.

Queen Theolinda is said to have had one placed in the famous "iron crown" that is preserved in Monza.

The crown of thorns is said to have been brought to Constantinople at the end of the 6th century. King Louis the Saint of France came into possession of the crown of thorns and brought it to Paris. Some thorns were broken off and distributed as relics. Whether these thorns, which are venerated in various places, are genuine, is however a great question, since it has been concluded that they are made of different types of wood and it is not known what type was used by the dead soldiers.

A much discussed relic is the grave cloth or linen cloth in which the Holy Body was wrapped when it was laid in the grave. There are more than 40 relics of this name, of which of course only one can be genuine. The grave cloth, which is preserved in Turin and belongs to the crown treasures of the Italian Royal House, made and still makes the greatest claim to authenticity.

A relic that is more famous than the grave cloth is the cloth of St. Veronica, which is certainly not genuine, but is only an old highly venerated image of the Holy Face of Christ. The column of scourging is already mentioned in the reports of the oldest pilgrims to Jerusalem. Part of it is preserved in the Chapel that belongs to the Church of the Sepulchre, another part in Rome.

In Rome there is also the so-called "Holy Stairs", which has 28 steps and is said to have been brought to Jerusalem in the 9th century or according to others already by St. Helena and on which the Savior is said to have descended to the place of punishment after the scourging. However, there is no historical proof of this, although the fact that the stairs are made of Tyrian marble leaves open the possibility that they were once in a palace in Jerusalem. The Holy Stairs are climbed on one's knees, as is well known.

The question of the authenticity or falsity of all these relics has nothing to do with the principles of faith. Yet there are memorable memories connected to these objects, and they are sanctified by the veneration that has been shown there by the faithful for centuries.

August 21, 2024 DEAR PAUL

THE DOUBLE RELIC IS STILL IN THE AGNES CHURCH

THANKS FOR THIS INTERESTING INFORMATION

IT IS A DOUBLE RELIC: A PART OF THE HOLY CROSS AND A NEEDLE OF THE CROWN OF THORNS

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

THESE WERE SAVED BY A FAMILY MEMBER OF MINE FROM A BURNING CHURCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1660

AND SINCE THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE TESTA FAMILY'S POSSESSION, I AM AT THE MOMENT THE CURRENT "CUSTODION"
HERE A NUMBER OF IMAGES
GREETINGS ANDRE TESTA

JHR DRS ANDRE L.F.M. TESTA
HOUSE "IF"
WALDECK PYRMONTLAAN 22 A
NL-3743 DE BAARN
MOB: +31653234998
EMAIL: ANDRE.TESTA@ME.COM

4 February 2025 Amsterdam, Baarn, Wapse 4 February 2025

The Testa Relics

Dear family members and friends,

In 1660, our ancestor François Draco Testa risked his own life to save a reliquary containing a thorn from the Crown of Thorns of Jesus Christ, as well as a wooden fragment of the Holy Cross from his parish church in Constantinople, which was on fire.

The Pope decided - in gratitude for this heroic act - that these relics would come into the possession of the Testa family. Over the centuries, Testa family members have ensured that these church treasures could be venerated by believers and shown to interested parties.

In 1935, the then owner Karl Victor Testa - with the help of the Minister of Defence L.N. Deckers and the naval vessel Hr. Ms. Duke Hendrik - transfer these relics from Constantinople to Amsterdam. And then he loaned them to his parish church, St. Agnes Church.

In 1968, his widow Elisabeth Testa-Baroness van Wijnbergen transferred ownership of the reliquary to Jonkheer André Testa. Due to his advanced age, he will now transfer the relics in turn to his niece Noepy Beckers-Testa.

This ceremony will take place on Sunday 30 March 2025 in the Jubilee Year of the Catholic Church and also the year of the celebration of the 750th anniversary of the city of Amsterdam.

On this occasion, we would like to invite you to a solemn and sung Holy Mass in the Basilica of St. Nicholas at Prins Hendrikkade 73 in Amsterdam.

Immediately after that, Noepy will in turn loan these church treasures to the Diocese of Haarlem-Amsterdam and store them in the St. Nicholas Church, one of the oldest churches in Amsterdam.

The reliquary will then be permanently on display in the Basilica for churchgoers. Approximately 200,000 (international) visitors visit the church each year, where relics of St. Nicholas can also be seen.

The Holy Mass begins at 10 o'clock sharp with a procession in which the reliquary containing the relics is carried into the church under the guidance of the Bishop of Haarlem-Amsterdam, Mgr. Jan Hendriks, Pastor of St. Nicholas Basilica Eric Fennis, Pastor of St. Agnes Church Martin Kromann Knudsen, acolytes, altar boys, members of the Holy Military Constantinian Order of St. George, the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem and the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of Malta.

For a look inside the church: www.nicolaas-parochie.nl/digitale-tour/
The choir Capella Nicolai and the organist of the Basilica will enhance the Eucharistic celebration: <https://muziekindenicolaas.nl/koren/>

Afterwards we cordially invite you to a short reception in the former "waiting room 1st class" of the Central Station. The distance from the Basilica is 82 meters. Home - Restaurant 1st class and for Location & Contact - Restaurant 1st class
(no public transport card required for admission)

We would like to offer you the beautiful memorial book about these impressive church treasures, illustrated with images of many historical documents, prints and maps: "The Testa Relics - From Constantinople to Amsterdam". Compiled by our esteemed family historian Mehmet Tütüncü. See the cover below.
This book will then be available in bookstores.

It is recommended - if coming from outside Amsterdam - to travel to Central Station by train or metro.

Also on behalf of Bishop of Haarlem-Amsterdam, Mgr. Jan Hendriks and Pastor and Dean of Amsterdam, Eric Fennis, we as Testa descendants would greatly appreciate it if you would honor us with your visit.

1740 Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Please let us know if you plan to be present and if "accompanied" by whom. RSVP:
ptesta0808@gmail.com

Due to the great interest (approx. 300 guests) we request that you bring this invitation as an admission ticket and show it to the inspectors at the entrance. The celebration will be broadcast live on NPO 2 and therefore Pastor Fennis requests that you take your place no later than 09:45 and preferably earlier.

With kind regards from us,
André Testa, Patrick Testa, Noepy Beckers-Testa
0653234998 andre.testa@me.com
ptesta0808@gmail.com
noepy.testa@gmail.com

The reliquarium of Constantine

The following information and questions are connected with the reliquarium (or reliquary) of Constantine the Great and a second item, a vase, with the remains of his mother Helena.

In a French article of 1873 (by H. d'Arbois de Jubainville) a report is described about a Greek orthodox bishop who visits the monastery of Clairvaux (Champagne) in 1744. See <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?identificer=6WxfAAAAcAAJ>. The name of the bishop is given as Nicodeme (Nicolas at his birth):

Le mercredi cinquième jour du mois d'août 1744, un évêque grec d'Arcadie (marquis dans l'île de Crète ou de Candie, moine de saint Basile, qui a reçu le nom de Nicodème en religion, et celui de Nicolas au baptême, banny par les Turcs hérétiques pour la foy et la cause de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ) considéra nos différentes reliques et reliquaires.

Then follows a description of the reliquary, in sufficient detail to recognise it if it should exist nowadays. A detail is that (some?) text (names) is in the Illyric alphabet [Glascolitic]. The name of the monastery on the West of Crete is (Moni) Arkadi or Arkadiu and is in these days also mentioned as devoted to Constantine:

« ΑΡΚΑΔΙ(ΟΝ) ΚΕΚΛΗΜΑΙ / ΝΑΟΝ ΗΛ ΕΧΩ / ΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ / ΙΣΑΠΟΣΤΟΥΛΟΥ »
« L'église porte le nom d'Arkadi et elle est consacrée à Saint Constantin »

In literature, some facts of before 1866 – when there is a bitter fight with the Turks – on the monastery are given. There should be 1000 very old manuscripts (and other old items?) (writes Franz Wilhelm Sieber). Probably these items are lost or transferred to safe places in Western Europe, for example to Venice. When exactly is unknown, but before August 1744.

We also do not know when the remains of Constantine and Helena were transferred from Constantinople to Candia/Crete. It is possible that this happened during the Fourth Crusade in circa 1204, but every other period is possible too. It seems to me that the remains has been in the monastery for centuries. Date: avant 1206. Apporté à cette date, par dom Hugues de Saint-Ghislain, ancien trésorier du palais de Constantinople; c'était un don de l'empereur Henri Ier de Flandres. [See also Ghislain]

In any case, when Constantine dies in 337 his remains were transferred to Constantinople, to the predecessor of the Church of the Holy Apostles. The remains of his mother Helena were undoubtedly reburied with those of her son. In the Vatican Museum we can see two porphyry coffins, one belonged to a daughter of Constantine, and one to Helena. But the war-like images on this coffin belonged to a warrior, not to a mother. Combined with this knowledge we can suppose that Constantine's body was in the porphyry coffin, probably with the body of his beloved mother. When centuries later the situation in the town became bad, the remains of Constantine were put in a reliquary box and those of Helena in a vase. So they could be shipped to a safer place, and Crete was a good destination, known to the Christians of the Eastern Roman Empire.

Why the banned bishop just visits the monastery of Clairvaux, can be explained because the surrounding churches of the monastery had been filled with many religious items from Constantinople. These were probably given to the churches in Champagne by Jean de Brienne, king of Jerusalem and emperor of Constantinople.

I want to find further indications that the human remains of Constantine the Great and his mother were indeed present in Moni Arkadi, and then search backwards from 1744.

The first question is: can we find that bishop (or abbot) mentioned somewhere in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia?

Second: can we trace back the "contents" of Moni Arkadi? Is more known than Sieber mentions?

Third: can be determined when and which art objects were transferred from Constantinople to Crete, and in particular to Moni Arkadi?

Fourth: we know that the (new) monastery building was rebuilt in 1587 by Klimis Hortatsis. Are further details known about the interior of the church and the other buildings? About the church we find: *C'est une basilique à deux nefs, dont la nef septentrionale est consacrée à la Transfiguration du Christ et la nef méridionale à Saint Constantin et Sainte Hélène*. This suggests that the reliquaries were present in 1587.

Fifth: Dès le XVIe siècle, le monastère fut un lieu de science et d'art, possédant une école et une bibliothèque riche de nombreux livres anciens. Maybe the reliquaries are mentioned somewhere, together with the old books.

Sixth, shifting to Constantinople: can we find indications in the Turkish archives of

movements of religious items from that capital to Crete or elsewhere in Western Europe? Fact is that many objects - now in museums - have their origin in Constantinopel.

Enclosed as Appendices: texts relating to the questions

Appendix 1a

March 10, 1873 Review of Learned Societies of France and Abroad p. 372 - ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION. MEETING OF MARCH 10, 1873.

Mr. d'Arbois de Jubainville, a non-resident member, submitted copies of four documents relating to the treasury of Clairvaux Abbey, namely the inventory of the sacristy of Clairvaux in 1405, another from 1504, the 1743 appraisal of the jewels in the abbey's treasury, and the 1744 description of two Byzantine reliquaries from the same treasury, written, at the dictation of a Greek bishop, by Claude Guyton, a monk of Clairvaux. This communication was forwarded to Mr. de Montaiglon.

p. -381- Mr. de Montaiglon verbally proposed the printing, in the Revue des Sociétés savantes, of four documents relating to the Clairvaux treasure, copies of which had been sent by Mr. d'Arbois de Jubainville. These interesting documents should be preceded by the explanatory note provided by our colleague.

p. -490- CLAIRVAUX TREASURE. Communication from Mr. d'Arbois de Jubainville. A recent and unexpected event has brought to light in the Aube archives numerous and important documents whose existence was previously unknown. One of the most intriguing parts of these documents concerns the treasury of Clairvaux Abbey. It had probably already disappeared by the time Mr. Guignard, archivist of the Aube department, was writing his memoir on the relics of Saint Bernard and Saint Malachy. We have gathered here four documents:

1. The inventory of the sacristy of Clairvaux in 1405 (document A). Our copy was made from the original, which came from the Harmand collection, now in the archives of the Aube department.

2. The inventory of the sacristy of Clairvaux in 1504 (document B). Our copy was made from an 18th-century copy, also from the 18th century, which was in the possession of Mr. Guignard, who cites it in several passages of his memoir.

3. The appraisal of the jewels in the Clairvaux treasury in 1743 (document C).

4. The description of two Byzantine reliquaries from the same treasury, written in 1744 from the dictation of a Greek bishop by Claude Guyton, a monk of Clairvaux (document D). The last two documents were in their original form in the Harmand collection. Our copies of these two documents, like that of the first, are therefore made from the originals. We have added cross-references to these four documents, either in footnotes or parentheses. This kind of concordance was established using an inventory drawn up by Claude Guyton in 1741. This inventory, preserved in its original form in the Harmand collection, often takes the form of a dissertation and is, in our opinion, too long to be published. As for the description of the Byzantine reliquaries, we have inserted-after the copy of each inscription given by a Cistercian monk under the dictation of the Greek bishop-a transcription in cursive Greek characters.

p. -490- CLAIRVAUX TREASURE.

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Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE.

Non-resident member of the Committee.

1845 and 1846. A new edition of this memoir appeared in 1855 in M. Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. CLXXXV, col. 1661-1798.

[-492-][A 2] Vas sancte Helene, opere greco compositum (piece B, no. 4).

[-498-][B 4] Quarto loco est vas argentum, quod proude fecit sancta Helena, de predicto thesauro sumptum et a domino Henrico imperatore per eundem Hugonem Claramvallem missum, opere Greco mirabiliter et multum artificiose compositum, in cujus parte anteriori, sub esmaldis de auro mirabiliter fabrefactis, honorifice condita est portio Dominice crucis, in cruce ex auro mirabiliter fabrefacta, in qua sunt quatuor lapides praxini et duo alii lapides in sex angulis sex esmaldis miro opere decorati. In eadem parte anteriori continentur reliquie plures, scilicet de ferro lancee Domini, de spinis corone Domini, et alie reliquie sub similibus esmaldis in cellulis collocatae; in parte vero posteriori ejusdem vasis continentur reliquie sancti Georgii et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum, in cellulis argenteis; et omnes reliquie, que in hoc continental vase, litteris greekis exprimuntur. Sunt autem omnes reliquie, que in hoc continental vase, quadraginta quator. Continentur etiam in hoc vase reliquie sancti Minas, archiepiscopi et martyris 1.

1 This shrine, known in the 18th century as the Oratory of Constantine, was kept in the fourth cabinet. (See Exhibit C, No. 14.)

p. -503- PIECE C. 1743.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-three, on Monday the twenty-sixth of August, Mr. Jean-Baptiste Denis Lempereur, jeweler, and Mr. Marin, jeweler-goldsmith, both residing in Paris, being in the Abbey of Clairvaux out of devotion to Saint Bernard, its first abbot, to celebrate his feast day which falls on the twentieth of the said month, they were asked to go to the reliquary treasury of the said church of Clairvaux to give their opinion [-504-] on the names, qualities, and prices of the precious stones that adorn it, and the following is recorded by copy. [...]

[-505-] 14. In the reliquary of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, there is nothing rich in precious stones or pearls, though they are all fine. The whole may be worth one hundred and fifty pounds. The filigram enclosing the cross is gold (A 2, B 4, D 2). 150 pounds

[-506-] Signed: F. CLAUDE GUYTON, monk of Clairvaux.

ITEM D. 1744.

On Wednesday, the fifth day of August 1744, a Greek bishop of Arcadia (a marquis on the island of Crete or Candia, a monk of Saint Basil, who received the name Nicodemus in religion, and that of Nicholas at baptism, banished by the heretical Turks for the faith and cause of Our Lord Jesus Christ) examined our various relics and reliquaries. Here is how he explained the fourth table².

1. All the figures are of Greek origin. In the upper right square of the table is a cross, with two figures standing on either side; an angel on each side above the crossbeam. Above Christ's head is written in Greek: scabrosis (sic for stavrosis, i.e., σταυρωσις), meaning crucifixion. Above this is IHS XPS; beside the angel on the right is Michael, beside the angel on the left is Gabriel. In the opposite square is a cross, a Christ figure, two weeping figures, a third holding Jesus Christ by the middle of his body to take him down from the cross, his right arm detached; on the other side, a figure is bent low, with his head near the feet of Our Lord, holding a handkerchief; a ladder resting by its upper end on the cross, with a man on it detaching Jesus Christ's left arm from the cross. Above, on the right, is an angel: O Archimichael; On the other side, an angel: O Gabriel; above the head of the crucifix: hiapocaphilossis (sic for hi apocathilosis³, that is, ἡ ἀποκαθήλωσις), id est incrucifixio (sic for excrucifixio or refixio): vir timoratus [-507-] Joseph de ligno deponit intemeratum corpus tuum 1; above this inscription, IHS. XPS.

At the bottom of the table and squared to the right is a woman of her height, wearing a closed crown on her head, behind it the crown of glory, on one side of her head sancta (that is, ἁγία), on the other side Helena (that is, Ἑλένη). In the opposite square is a man of his height, dressed in long robes, wearing a closed crown on his head, behind which is the crown of glory, on his left arm like a maniple, on either side of his head: O agios Constantinus megas (ὁ ἅγιος Κωνσταντίνος μέγας), id est o

(sic) sanctus Constantinus magnus. The rest is distinguishable and legible without being Greek.

2. The same Greek bishop who saw the reliquary of Constantine the Great ². One notices there, on one face at the top and between the two door panels, the bust-length figure of Constantine the Great, who has a closed crown on his head; in his right hand he holds a long cross; On one side of the head are effigies (i.e., εἰκόν), on the other Constant (Κωνσταντ). On the first part of the right-hand panel, Jesus Christ is detached and taken down from the cross, and one reads in Greek: hiapocaphilosis (ἡ ἀποκαθήλωσις), id est vir timoratus Joseph, etc., ut supra. On the second, below, is the Transfiguration of Our Lord; one reads: metamorphosis tou Xpou (μεταμόρφωσις του Χριστου). On the third, below, is the Dormition and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; we read hichimissis tis panogies (ἡ κοίμησις της παναγίας), id est assumptio de Sanctissima ³. On the first part of the other leaf is the ascension of Our Lord; we read: hianalipsis (ἡ ἀνάληψις), id est ascencio. On the second, above, is the apparition to the doubting apostle; one reads: ipsilaphissis (ἡ ψηλάφησις), id est apparatio sancto Thome ⁴. On the third, above, is the resurrection of Our Lord; one reads: hianastasis (ἡ ἀνάστασις), id est resurrectio. Inside the said reliquary, at the top of the right-hand door, is St. Michael (ὁ Μιχαήλ). Above, one reads: O Evangelismos (ὁ εὐαγγελισμός), id est annuntiatio. Below are illyric characters. Below, genicis (γένεσις), id is nativitas Xpisti. At the top and to the right of the bottom of the reliquary, we read: O phios prodromos (ὁ ἅγιος πρόδρομος) ⁵, id est divus Johannes Baptista (or rather sanctus praecursor); and opposite, in the said bottom of the reliquary, we read: mitir theou (μήτηρ θεοῦ), id est mater Dei. The two flaps, which are below in the interior of said reliquary, are full of [-508-] enamel figures with characters that are said to be illyric. At the top of the other upper door, one reads: hypapanti (ἡ ἀπάντησις), seu occursus Simeonis ad Xpistum ¹. Below this are Illyric characters, according to the said Greek bishop. Below that, one reads yvapticis (ἡ βάπτισις), id est baptismus Xpisti. In the middle of the two inner doors, above the crucifix, one reads stabrousis (σταῦρωσις), id est crucifixio. The rest, which is below the inner doors, is not easy to read, because the pieces, for the most part, are placed indirectly in view.

For certified copy: H D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE,
Non-resident Member of the Committee.

2 Side D. Item A, No. 8; Item B, No. 8; pi

Item C no. 9. This reliquary came from the monk Artand, who received it from Louis, Count of Blois, according to the 1741 inventory.
3 Ph for th as below.

1 This phrase, borrowed from the breviary, is a commentary by the monk of Clairvaux, and not a legend inscribed on the monument.

2 Item A, no. 2; item B, no. 4; item C, no. 1.

3 The literal meaning is dormitio.

4 The literal meaning is tactus. It is the verb ψηλαφῶ that is used by Saint Luke, XXIV; cf. John, XX, 27.

5 Ph here represents the aspiration sound of the Greek γάμμα.

1 Saint Luke, II, V. 25 ff.

Appendix 1b INTERPRETATION OF THE KNOWN RELIQUARY OF CONSTANTINE
(Treasury, no. 60). Note by Dom Guyton.

September 11, 2017 Result: The Clairvaux Treasury from the 12th to the 18th Century:
1. The same Greek bishop (cf. Appendix XII) who saw the reliquary of Constantine the Great.

On one side (front, exterior doors), at the top and between the two door panels, is the bust-length figure of Constantine the Great, wearing a closed crown; in his right hand he holds a long cross; on one side of his head are the inscriptions "Effigies" (i.e., ΕΙΚΩΝ), and on the other, "Constantine" (ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤ). On the first part of the right-hand panel, Jesus Christ is taken down from the cross, and the Greek text reads: Hiapocaphilosis (Η ΑΠΟΚΑΘΗΛΩΣΙΣ), id est vir timoratus Joseph, etc., ut supra; on the second part, below, is the Dormition and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and the text reads: Hichimissis tis panogies (Η ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ), id est assumptio de Sanctissima. On the first part of the other panel is the Ascension of Our Lord;

the text reads: Hianalipsis (H ANAAHPIC), id est ascencio; On the second, it is the apparition to the doubting apostle, we read: Ipsilaphissis (H ΨΗΛΑΦHCIC), id est apparitio sancto Thome (or rather tactus). On the third, above, is the resurrection of Our Lord, we read: Hianastassis (H ANAETACIC), id est resurrectio. Inside the said reliquary, at the top of the right-hand door, O Michael (MIXAHA). Below, we read: O Evangelismos (O EY'APTEΛIΣMOΣ), id est annuntiatio. Below that are illyric characters. Below, Genicis (Γ'ENECIC), id is nativitas Xpisti. At the top and to the right of the bottom of the reliquary, we read: O phios prodromos (O ΘΕΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ), id est divus Johannes Baptista (or rather divus praecursor); and opposite, in the said bottom of the reliquary, we read: Mitir Theou (MHTHP ΘEOY), id est Mater Dei. The two battans, which are below in the interior of said reliquary, are full of enamel figures with characters that are said to be illyric. At the top of the other upper door panel, one reads: Hypapanti (H APANTHCIC), seu occursus Simeonis ad Xpistum. Below this are Illyric characters, according to the said Greek bishop. Below that, one reads Yvapticis (H BAPTICIC), id est baptismus Xpisti. In the middle of the two inner doors, above the crucifix, one reads Stabrousis (ΣΤΑΥΡΩICIC), id est crucifixio. The rest, which is below the inner doors, is not easy to read, because the pieces, for the most part, are placed indirectly in view, (Aube Archives, copy. This piece was previously printed by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville in the Revue des Sociétés savantes des départements, 5th Series, vol. V, p. 507.)

2. Sheet for the other exterior and rear face of the reliquary of Emperor Constantine. In the middle of the two doors at the top, a figure of a prince; around it is written: O Constantios (O ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΟC). On the first door on the right, there is a Descent from the Cross, known in Greek as: Apocloelosis (ΑΠΟΚΑΘΗΛΩCIC, the act of unnailing); below, a Transfiguration expressed by the letters IC XC H METAMOPNCIC; below, the Deposition of Our Lord into the Sepulchre expressed by the letters IC XC H KOIMECIC, Jesus Christ lying down, the Virgin Mary surrounded by thirteen apostles, angels, and an apostle holding a censer. At the top of the other door is the Ascension, expressed by the words H ANELEPIC; below it is depicted St. Thomas touching the side of the North with the inscription H ΨΗΛΑΦHCIC, id est tactio; then below that, the Resurrection, expressed by the words H ANACTACIC, id est resurrectio. (We left it at this point on May 20, 1742.)

The images of the Coronation, which have been described, follow (Trésor, no. 60, p. 41). Above the first figure, to the right outside the door of the first gate of the said reliquary, is written Nicephoros (NIKEΦOPOC); below this figure is another with the inscription, above, Agios Theodotos (AGIOC ΘEOΔOTOC). On the other door leaf, to the left outside, above the large figure near the opening, is written Menas (MHNAC); below it, another figure with the inscription Polieuctes (ΠΟΛΙΕΥΚΤΗC). Inside the door leaf, to the right, is written above a figure Agios Eustakios (AGIOC EYCTAXIOC); and on the figure below, Agios Alexandros (AGIOC ALEEEANΔPOC). Inside the door leaf on the left: a figure with the inscription Hiagapea (H AΓAΠIA). Four small figures follow on the small inner door, to the right and above. The first at the top is titled Agios Babulas (AGIOC BABYΛAC); below Agios Heliodoros (AGIOC HAIOΔΩPOC); below repeat of the previous one; below E agia Barbara (H AΓIA BAPBAPA). Opposite these four figures, on the small interior door to the left and above, are four figures. Above the first Agios Dionusios (AGIOC ΔIONYCIOC); above the second Agios Anthimos (AGIOC ANΘIMOC); above the third Agios Abdenomakos; above the fourth Agios Gregorotheolo[go]s (AGIOC ΓPHPOΠIOC ΘEOΛOΓOC). On the small door, inside the second right-hand leaf below, is, above the first figure, Agios Leontios (AGIOC AEONTIOC); above the second, Agios Akimaunos; above the third, Agios Pantalemon (ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΗΜΩΝ); and above the fourth, Agios Kuros (AGIOC KYPOC).

On the small door, inside the second left-hand leaf, and below, are four figures: on the first is written Agios Athanasios (AGIOC ATHANACIOC); on the second, Agios Autonomos (AGIOC AYTONOMOC); on the third, Agios Longinos (AGIOC ΛOΓΓINOC); and on the fourth, Agia Aglae (H AΓIA AΓΛAIA). Next and opposite, on the same leaf inside, on the first Agios Demetrios (AGIOC ΔHMHTPIOC); below Agios Mercurios (AGIOC MEPKYPIOC).

Small bottom cap. Above the first figure Agios Iô (AGIOC IQANNHC) sanctus Johannes; above the second Agios Eugenios (AGIOC EYFENIOC); above the third Agios Eustrathios (AGIOC EYCTPAΘIOC); above the fourth Agios Orestes (AGIOC OPECTHC).

The first coin on the back panel, which is the largest, bears the inscription: Tou agiou Gregoriou Nusses... (TOY AΓIOY ΓPHPOΠIOY NYCCHC)... (Treasury, no. 60, p. 43.)

Note in Dom Guyton's handwriting. Regarding the reliquary known as that of Saint Helena, also called that of Constantine, or the portable altar of Constantine the

Great, we should recall that Nicephorus (Book VII, Chapter 6) and Sozomen (Book I, Chapter 8), in their Ecclesiastical History, attest that the great Emperor Constantine never undertook a military expedition without having a portable altar on which to celebrate the divine sacrifice for himself and his people: in quo Deum landare, orareque, ac mysteriis participare possent.

The monks of the abbey of Saint Sauveur, outside the city of Liège, have two portable altars. One of porphyry, only a foot or so long and half a foot wide, decorated with a gilded bronze border on which we read these words: Anno Dominice Incarnationis M.L.XI, indict. XIV, IV idus augusti, dedicatum est hoc altare in honore Domini nostri J.-C. et sancte Crucis et B. M. semper virginis et S. Johannis Bapt. and Omn. Apostolor., et martyrum Laurentii, Pancratii, Georgii et XI mil. Virgin. and Omn. SS. cooperante Lamberto II hujus loci abbate. Memoria dni Hillini, prepositi, et majorum ejus. Around this altar the twelve apostles are represented in ivory.

The other altar is made of a green stone only two inches long and three inches wide. The rest is covered with a bronze plate, on which is engraved this inscription: Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M.C.XXX.VII, indict. V, consecratum est hoc altare in honore S. et I. Trinitatis et sce Crucis et sancte Marie Virginis et sci Laurentii, mart., et Omn. SS. a domino Rodulpho, episcopo Leodiensium, XV kal. marcii. Hic datur ipse Jesus animarum potus et esus Hec tibi sit cara, cui caro fit, crucis ara.

This altar is adorned with several precious stones. At the four corners are depicted the four Evangelists; and above it is an ivory crucifix, attached to the cross with four nails.

In the city of Paderborn, in the cathedral church, there is an ancient portable altar, on which Mass was said for sick canons. It is a silver chest filled with holy relics, in the center of which is a precious stone. It is taken to the canons when they are ill, and they themselves bring it back to the church when they are cured. [On portable altars (altaria gestatoria, viatica, itineraria, portatilia), see the special treatise by Gattico, De altari portatili. – Catalani, Commentar. in Pontific. Roman., Part II, Title V, de altar. portatil. consecratione. Philip, Count of Flanders, gave two portable altars to Clairvaux (Appendix XIX).] Among the objects from the treasury of Saint-Urbain of Troyes deposited in the collegiate church of Saint-Etienne in 1277 was a portable altar (Archiv. Aube, Saint-Urbain, cart. 1).

Appendix 1c

2. Reliquary of Saint Helena/Oratory of Constantine

Relics: Forty-four relics, including fragments of the spearhead ("half a nail, from which the spearhead was nailed"), thorns from the Crown of Thorns, and wood from the True Cross. The relics of saints are identified by inscriptions and bust or full-length portraits of the corresponding saints.

Reliquary: "Vase of Saint Helena," "Shield or Oratory of Constantine."

Date: before 1206. Brought there at that time by Dom Hugues de Saint-Ghislain, former treasurer of the palace from Constantinople; it was a gift from Emperor Henry I of Flander

Dimensions: H.=1 foot (0.32 m); W.=9 inches (0.24 m); Thickness = 2 inches, 9 lines (0.07 m)

Attestations: mentioned in the inventories of 1405, 1504, 1640, 1741, 1771 and in documents from 1517, 1743, and 1744.

See https://archive.org/stream/letresordeclairv00lalo/letresordeclairv00lalo_djvu.txt
https://www.persee.fr/doc/bec_0373-6237_1902_num_63_1_448120#
https://www.persee.fr/doc/ccmed_0007-9731_2003_num_46_184_2865
https://www.persee.fr/doc/bulmo_0007-473x_1973_num_131_2_5229

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED IN VOLUMES 123 TO 147 OF THE LIBRARY OF THE SCHOOL OF CHARTES

Appendix 2

May 1, 2017 Story of Μονή Αρκαδίου/Moní Arkadhíou

« ΑΡΚΑΔΙ(ΟΝ) ΚΕΚΛΗΜΑΙ / ΝΑΟΝ ΗΛ ΕΧΩ / ΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ / ΙΣΑΠΟΣΤΟΥΛΟΥ »
 "The church is named after Arkadi and is dedicated to Saint Constantine."

The Arkadi Monastery (Greek: Μονή Αρκαδίου/Moní Arkadhíou) is an Orthodox monastery located on a fertile plateau 23 km southeast of Rethymnon, on the island of Crete (Greece).

- 121950 The current church dates from the 16th century and shows the influence of the Renaissance, as the island was under Venetian rule at that time. This influence is visible in the architecture, which blends Romanesque and Baroque elements. This two-aisled church was destroyed by the Turks in 1866 and has since been rebuilt. From the 16th century onwards, the monastery was a center of learning and art, boasting a
- 121955 school and a library rich in ancient books. Surrounded by thick, high walls and situated on a difficult-to-access plateau, the monastery was a veritable fortress. Arkadi was an active center and one of the strongholds of resistance against the Ottoman occupation, which contributed to its renown. During the Cretan Revolt of 1866, 943 Greeks found refuge there: resistance fighters, and a majority of women and
- 121960 children. After three days of fighting, and on the orders of the monastery's abbot, Gabriel, the Cretans detonated the gunpowder barrels, preferring to sacrifice themselves rather than surrender. All but about a hundred died in the assault. Some 1,500 Turks and Egyptians also perished in the battle. The monastery is now a national shrine in honor of the Cretan resistance. November 8th is now a day of commemorative celebrations in Arkadi and Rethymno. The explosion did not end the Cretan uprising, but it did draw Europe's attention to this people fighting for their independence.
- 121965 The Arkadi Monastery is located in the Rethymno prefecture, about 25 km southeast of Rethymno. The monastery occupies a roughly rectangular plateau, approximately 6.5 km on each side, situated on the northwest slope of Mount Psiloritis, at an altitude of about 500 meters. The Arkadi region is fertile, with numerous vineyards, olive groves, and forests of pine, oak, and cypress trees. The plateau on which Arkadi sits is surrounded by hills that overlook it. The western edge of the plateau ends abruptly, giving way to a gorge. These gorges begin at a place called Tabakaria
- 121970 (tanneries) and end in the Stavromenos region on the coast, east of Rethymnon. The Arkadi Gorge boasts a rich diversity of endemic wild plants and flowers. The area where the monastery is located has been inhabited since antiquity. The presence of Mount Psiloritis, a sacred mountain chosen, according to legend, as the site where Zeus was raised, encouraged human settlement. Thus, five km to the
- 121975 northeast, the city of Eleftherna reached its peak during the time of Homer and the Classical and Roman periods, but its influence was felt throughout the Early Christian and Byzantine eras.
- 121980 The nearest village to the monastery is Amnatos, about three km to the north. The villages surrounding Arkadi are rich in Byzantine remains, attesting to the region's prosperity. Thus, the Moni Arseniou monastery, a few kilometers north of Arkadi, is also among the great monasteries of Crete.
- 121985 The monastery is shaped like an almost rectangular parallelogram, covering a total area of 5,200 square meters. The enclosure resembles a fortress, extending 78.50 meters to the north, 73.50 meters to the south, 71.80 meters to the east, and 67
- 121990 meters to the west.
- 121995 The exact date of the monastery's founding is not known with certainty. According to tradition, the monastery's foundations were laid either by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius or by the emperor Arcadius as early as the 5th century. According to this second version, the monastery takes its name from the emperor. The presence of numerous monasteries in Crete bearing the name of the monk who founded the building is very common. This hypothesis, therefore, now prevails: that a monk named Arkadios founded the building.
- 122000 According to Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, the monastery is built on the site of an ancient city, Arcadia, whose legend was believed that after its destruction, all the springs and fountains in the surrounding area would not flow again until after the founding of a new city. However, as early as 1837, Robert Pashley demonstrated the impossibility of the monastery having been built on the ruins of any city. This is the version that prevails today.
- 122005 The oldest evidence of the monastery's existence dates back to the 14th century. In 1951, Professor K.D. Kalokyris published a 14th-century inscription that supports the hypothesis that a monastery dedicated to Saint Constantine existed at that time. This inscription reads:
"The church is called Arkadi and is dedicated to Saint Constantine."
- 122010 It must have been located on the pediment of a church older than the one we see today, or perhaps above the monastery's entrance gate.
- 122015 It is a two-aisled basilica, the northern aisle dedicated to the Transfiguration of Christ and the southern aisle to Saint Constantine and Saint Helena. It stands in the center and slightly south of the monastery. According to the inscription engraved on the bell tower's facade, the church was founded in 1587 by Klimis Hortatsis. The

building's architecture is marked by a strong Renaissance influence, which is explained by the fact that the church's foundation dates back to the time when Crete was a colony of the Republic of Venice.

In the lower part of the church's facade, built of regular square blocks of masonry, the main element consists of four pairs of columns with Corinthian capitals. Although their capitals show classical influence, the columns themselves, set on high bases, are Gothic in origin. Between each pair of columns is a semicircular arch. The two arches at the ends of the façade each contain a door and a circular opening, adorned with palmettes around the perimeter. The central arch of the façade contains only a decorative portico.

In the upper part of the façade, above the columns, a series of moldings and elliptical openings, also decorated with palmettes, can be seen. At the center of this upper section stands the bell tower, and at each end are Gothic-inspired obelisks. Comparisons of the monastery's façade with the works of the Italian architects Sebastiano Serlio and Andrea Palladio suggest that the church's architect was likely inspired by them.

In 1645, the church was first damaged by looters who destroyed the altar. When the monastery was captured by the Turks in 1866, it was burned, and the altar and icons were completely destroyed. Only a cross, two wooden angels, and a fragment of the Resurrection of Christ were saved from the flames. The church's apses were also destroyed.

The current iconostasis, made of cypress wood, was erected in 1902. From 1924 to 1927, at the initiative of Metropolitan Timotheos Veneris, consolidation and restoration work was undertaken on the apses and the bell tower. The interior flagstones were then replaced in 1933.

Towards the end of the 16th century, a period of intense cultural and artistic creation on the island, the monastery underwent restorations and transformations. The owners were Klimis and Vissarion Hortatsis, likely from the Hortatsis family of Rethymnon, whose name is associated with the Cretan Renaissance, including Georgios Hortatsis, author of Erophile. The abbot of the monastery at that time was Klimis Hortatsis. In 1573, he transformed the monastery into a cenobitic monastery. Thus, the building's facade would date from 1586. The two-aisled church, as it can be seen today, dates from this period. An inscription at the base of the bell tower dates it back to 1587, when Klimis Hortatsis was the abbot of the monastery. This inscription reads:

"ΑΦ ΚΑΜΧΤΖ ΠΖ"

or: "15 Klimis Hortatsis 87".

The construction of this church is said to have lasted twenty-five years, and it can therefore be assumed that the foundation stone was laid in 1562. Abbot Klimis Hortatsis, who initiated this work, probably died shortly after its completion and does not appear to have lived until the inauguration of the new church. Research has uncovered a letter from the Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios Pigas, stating that the inauguration ceremony was to be entrusted to Klimis' successor, Abbot Mitrofanis Tsyrigos. While the letter is undated, it can be placed between 1590, the year Meletios Pigas was ordained patriarch, and 1596, when Abbot Nicephorus succeeded Tsyrigos.

During the tenure of the first three abbots, and until the beginning of the 17th century, Arkadi Monastery experienced significant growth, both economically and culturally. The monastery became a major center for copying manuscripts, most of which were produced by the Archbishop of Niccolò.

These manuscripts were lost during the building's destruction by the Ottomans in 1866, but some are now in libraries abroad. The monastery was expanded with the construction of stables in 1610 and the refectory in 1670.

In 1645, the Ottoman conquest of the island began. By the spring of 1648, they had taken control of most of the island, with the exception of Candia (Heraklion), Gramvousa, Spinalonga, and Souda, which remained under Venetian rule.

After the capture of Rethymno in 1648, the Ottomans gradually occupied the hinterland and looted the monastery. The monks and Abbot Simeon Halkiopoulos then sought refuge at the Vrontisi Monastery. They were allowed to return after swearing allegiance to Hussein Pasha. The latter also granted them the right to ring the bell. Arkadi Monastery then became the Çanlı Manastir (Monastery where the bell is rung in Turkish). A firman authorized destroyed monasteries to be rebuilt according to their original plans, without additions or changes. Arkadi took advantage of this firman but seems to have overstepped its bounds by adding new buildings.

During the Ottoman period, the monastery continued to prosper, as evidenced by the

writings of Joseph Pitton de Tournefort. According to the traveler, the monastery was the most beautiful and wealthiest in Crete. He counted 100 monks living in the monastery and another 200 living in the surrounding countryside. The monastery's territory extended north to the Cretan Sea, west to Rethymno, and south to the summit of Mount Ida. These lands allowed the monastery to live off the land. Thus, Tournefort speaks of "400 measures of oil" produced each year, a figure that could be double if the monastery didn't let its fruit go to waste due to a lack of manpower. Tournefort also praises the monastery's cellar, which contains at least 200 barrels, the best of which bear the name of the abbot who blesses them each year with a prayer specifically prepared for this purpose. The wine made at Arkadi is apparently renowned. This wine, called Malvasia, named after a village near Heraklion, and for which Crete was famous during the Venetian era, also came from the monastery's vineyards. Franz Wilhelm Sieber, during his visit to the monastery, also mentions the abbot's cellar and the production of wine from excellent grapes grown at high altitude, but specifies that Malvasia production was no longer in use. Instead, the monastery was then producing corn.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the monastery seems to have experienced a decline. Sieber, who stopped there nearly a century after Tournefort and Pococke, did not offer such a glowing description as his predecessors. According to the German, the monastery housed only eight priests and twelve monks. Fieldwork continued to be carried out regularly, but the monastery was said to be in debt. He mentions the abbot who, to settle his debts, often had to travel to Rethymnon. Sieber describes the building's library, boasting over 1,000 volumes, including religious texts as well as works by Pindar, Petrarch, Virgil, Dante, Homer, Strabo, Thucydides, and Diodorus. But the traveler emphasizes the sorry state of these books, judging that he had "never seen such damaged books," and he is unable to distinguish the works of Aristophanes from those of Euripides.

In 1822, a group of Turkish soldiers led by a man named Getimalis seized and looted Arkadi. The inhabitants of Amari managed to devise a plan to retake the monastery and exterminated Getimalis and his men.

Another version recounts that a man named Anthony Melidonos, a Sphakiote living in Asia Minor, returned to the island at the head of Greek volunteers from Asia Minor to support the Cretan effort during the Greek War of Independence. With a force of 700 men, he set out to cross the island from west to east. Learning of the monastery's looting, he went there. He arrived at night and, climbing onto the rooftops, poured flammable materials into the building and set it ablaze. He then attacked Getimalis, who was drinking, grabbed him, and threw him to the ground outside the room. He was about to kill him when Getimalis swore he was ready to convert to Christianity. The baptism took place immediately, and the new convert was released.

Although this event must have dealt a blow to the monastery's development, Turkish and Greek documents mention the monastery's ability to provide food for the local inhabitants and to shelter fugitives pursued by the Turkish authorities. The monastery offered classes to the local Christian population. From 1833 to 1840, it was able to contribute 700 Turkish piastres to the region's schools. Although Crete rose up against the Ottoman occupiers during the Greek War of Independence, the London Protocol of 1830 did not allow the island to become part of the new Greek state.

On March 30, 1856, the Treaty of Paris compelled the Sultan to implement the Hatti-Houmayoun, that is, civil and religious equality between Christians and Muslims. The Ottoman authorities in Crete, however, were reluctant. Faced with the large number of Muslim conversions (mostly former Christians who had converted to Islam and were therefore considered relapsed), the Empire attempted to curtail freedom of conscience. The imposition of new taxes and a curfew further fueled discontent. In April 1858, 5,000 Cretans gathered in Butsounaria. Finally, an imperial decree of July 7, 1858, guaranteed them privileges in religious, judicial, and fiscal matters. The 1866 revolt seized upon the opening created by the Hatti-Houmayoun.

A second cause of the 1866 uprising was Ismail Pasha's intervention in an internal dispute concerning the organization of Cretan monasteries. Since 1862, various laymen had been advocating that the monasteries' assets be placed under the control of the council of elders, with the aim of establishing schools, but they met with opposition from the bishops. Ismail Pasha intervened in this internal Christian dispute by appointing those responsible for debating the issue, annulling the election of "undesirable" members, and arresting and imprisoning the members of the committee tasked with traveling to Constantinople to discuss the matter with the Patriarch.

This intervention provoked violent reactions among the Christian population of Crete. In the spring of 1866, meetings were held in various villages. On May 14, an assembly was held at the Aghia Kyriaki Monastery in Boutounaria, near Chania, and drafted a petition which it sent to the Sultan as well as to the consuls of the major powers present in Chania. During the first gatherings of revolutionary committees in the spring of 1866, representatives were elected by province. The representative for the Rethymno region was the abbot of Arkadi, Gabriel Marinakis.

Upon hearing of these appointments, Ismail Pasha sent a message to the abbot through the Bishop of Rethymno, Kallinikos Nikoletakis. The letter demanded that the abbot dissolve the Arkadi revolutionary assembly or face the destruction of the monastery by Ottoman troops. In July 1866, Ismail sent his army to capture the insurgents, but the committee members fled before the Ottomans arrived. The Turks left after

destroying the icons and sacred objects found in the monastery.

In September, Ismail Pasha sent the abbot a new threat of destroying the monastery if the congregation did not surrender. The decision was made to establish a defense system for the monastery. On September 24, Panos Koronaos arrived in Crete and landed in Bali. He went to Arkadi, where he was appointed commander-in-chief of the revolt for the Rethymnon region. A career soldier, Koronaos believed the monastery was not meant to be a stronghold. However, the abbot and the monks held the opposite view. Koronaos eventually yielded to the abbot's opinion. Nevertheless, Koronaos

advised destroying the stable so that the building could not be used by the Turks, a request that was also ignored. After appointing a certain Ioannis Dimakopoulos as commander of the monastery's garrison, Koronaos departed. Upon his departure, many local inhabitants, particularly women and children, sought refuge at the monastery, some bringing their valuables with them in the hope of protecting them from the Turks. Thus, by November 7, 1866, the monastery sheltered 964 people: 325 men, 259 of whom were armed, and the remainder women and children.

Appendix 3 Nicholas Mesarites, Ekphrasis on the Church of the Holy Apostles THE MAUSOLEUM OF CONSTANTINE AND THE TOMBS OF THE EMPERORS

XXXIX. But let us, if you please, go off to this church which lies toward the east, so that we may look at the things in it, in order to admire and describe them - this church whose founder our discourse has already declared to be Constantius.

2. This whole church is domical and circular, and because of the rather extensive area of the plan, I suppose, it is divided up on all sides by numerous stoae angles, for it was built for the reception of his father's body and of his own and of the bodies of those who should rule after them.

3. To the east, then, and in first place the body of Constantine, who first ruled the Christian Empire, is laid to rest within this purple-hued sarcophagus as though on some purple-blooming royal couch - he who was, after the twelve disciples, the thirteenth herald of the orthodox faith, and likewise the founder of this imperial city.

4. The sarcophagus has a four-sided shape, somewhat oblong but not with equal sides. The tradition is that Helen, his mother and his fellow-worker for the orthodox faith, is buried with her son.

5. The tomb toward the south is that of the famous Constantius, the founder of the Church. This too is of porphyry color but not in all respects similar to the tomb of his father, just as he who lies within it was not in all ways similar to his father, but was inferior to his father, and followed behind him, in piety and in mental endowment.

6. The tomb toward the north and opposite this, and similar to those which have been mentioned, holds the body of Theodosius the Great like an inexhaustible treasure of noble deeds.

7. The one toward the east, closest to this one, is that of Pulcheria. She is the honored and celebrated founder of the monastery of the Hodegon; see how she, a virgin herself, holds in her hands the likeness of the all holy Virgin.

8. This tomb holds the dust of him who was an emperor among wise men and a wise man among emperors [=Leo VI, "the Wise", 886-912]. This is the tomb of the Empress Theophano [d. 893], the worthy and venerable, whose memory is everlasting, whose husband was the Wise Emperor, the truly wise Empress, who lived a praiseworthy life; "for the first wisdom is a praiseworthy life" as the holy writings say.

9. This is the tomb of Constantine, the first emperor born in the purple, whose name is great in righteous judgment...

10. This is the tomb of Basil [I, 867-86] the Macedonian, who by most divine providence was raised from a lowly walk of life to the eminence of the imperial

position - he who, they say, removed a quantity of the decoration from the church of the heralds of God and transferred it to the sacred house which he himself built in the name of the chief marshal of the powers on high, the church whose title is the Nea.

11. This is the tomb of [Nikephoros](#) [I, 63-9] Phokas a most brave and warlike and prudent man, who lost his life by treachery. The tomb in the inner part of the Church contains Constantine [VIII, 1025-8], born to the purple, the brother of the great emperor who is known as [Basil II](#), 976-1025] the Bulgar-slayer.

12. This is the Constantine who built this Church in the form in which it is now to be seen, as various people have told.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF JUSTINIAN AND THE TOMBS OF THE EMPERORS

XL. Let us go on a little, if it seems good to you, o spectator, to another building, which is called a [heroon](#), and is named by some a place of mourning because there are buried in it the emperors, who are, one might say, heroes.

2. You see another building with five stoas like that pool at the [Sheep Gate of Solomon](#); for here too there lies a great multitude of those who have lost their vigor because of the weakness to which every man is subject through sin.

3. But these men too will spring up at the coming of the angel, when he sounds the trumpet to all the world at the second coming of the Lord, and they will stand before the impartial judge of all, the Savior Christ.

4. This tomb at the east is that of [Justinian](#) [I, 527-65], whose name is great and celebrated for just judgment and observance of the law, who is the founder of the great shrine of the Wisdom of the Word of God. His name will be celebrated from generation to generation as the doer of the most mighty deeds, as the supreme ruler, who cast down great princes who had subjected the whole world to the power of their might.

5. The tomb close to this and toward the north is that of [Justin](#) [II, 565-78], the grandson of Justinian, a man celebrated for his justice and greatly renowned for his piety, who also built what was lacking in the great shrine of the Wisdom of the Word of God, and completed it and resettled the dome, which had fallen, and skilfully raised it.

6. The tomb toward the south is that of his consort Sophia, a devout and seemly woman, really wise and truly fearing the Lord; for the beginning and end of wisdom is the fear of the Lord, as the holy writing says."

7. This is the tomb of [Heraclius](#) [610-41] whose fame is wide and resounding in Persia and the lands about it. He performed many labors, surpassing, as one might say, those labors of Heracles; and before performing these he put off his imperial robe and as he set out on his campaign, put on black-hued boots, and then returned when he had turned them red, dyeing them in the blood of the barbarians.

8. This green sarcophagus is that of [Theophilus](#) [829-42], who belched forth the venom of impiety against the holy images and poured it over those who venerated them.

9. Whether, indeed, as the story is, he was saved by the remarkable assistance and zeal of the orthodox Theodora, his wife, through the restoration and veneration once more, at her behest, of the holy and divine images, I myself cannot say certainly; but let him speak who was tattooed by him - and is known to this day as the [Graptos](#) - on account of his veneration of the august images - he who is himself inscribed in the Book of Life.

10. This tomb of Sardinian stone belongs to [Theodora](#) [wife of Justinian I] the prudent empress, whose work this celebrated and admired church of the heralds of God is. And concerning the others, why should we care, since their memories are buried with them in their tombs?

See: [Constantinople, recueil d'études, d'archéologie et d'histoire. Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople](#)
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The "Cross of Constantine", which, like and at the same time

as the previous one, ended up in the treasury of St. Peter's Church in Rome, is placed in a triptych, which measures 10 by 7.5 cm when the doors are closed. For this description, the data are also taken from those of Dr. Hoogewerff and from Flament's

122280 above-mentioned article, in which a (deviating) drawing of it from the H. S. van Gulpen is shown on plate III.
The cross is placed against a flat background; this almost equal-armed cross probably consists of particles of the Holy Cross; it is surrounded by a "border in cassette enamel; with a pattern of red, white and blue". In each corner of the arms there is a large pearl; outside the end of the arms a disk of enamel: "white letters on blue, within a red border". The inscriptions read:

OPA TI / KAI NO / N ΘAY /
MA - KAI Z / ENHN/ XAPI / N- XPYC / ON ME/ NEZω -
XPIC / TON EN / ΔECKO / πEI.

122290 Above the upper inscription are two pearls and a light purple agate. On the lower left, on the flat background, the figure 1) of the emperor is placed in relief and next to it, like poles, (O K) ωNCT / ANT.
On the door on the right, in relief, the golden figures of Mary, $\overline{MP} \overline{\Theta Y}$; next to it that of O ΠANTEΛEHΩN; below that of O TIMΩN. On the wing on the left, according to the notes of Dr. Hoogewerff, there are the raised figures of O ΔEMHTRHOC and below O MATΘAIOC; next to it above $\overline{IC}$ and $\overline{XC}$, and below O BAPNABAC. The left door cannot be opened completely, because the awkwardly placed cloud of the modern pedestal is in the way. When the doors are closed, the upper and lower edges of pearls with a purple agate in the middle, a purple agate on the left and right remain visible; the outside of the doors is decorated with stones, namely: a green one on the top left, a purple-red one in the middle and a purple one below; on the right: two purple ones, and a green one below; in the heart a pale purple stone. Some of the pearls have been renewed.

122305 The busy back of the cabinet, provided with scale and leaf ornamentation, is of chased gold and contains an equal-armed cross in the middle and six medallions within a pearl border; four of them are next to the arms and two in the upper corners; the latter bear the monograms $\overline{IC}$ and $\overline{XC}$. The other four are covered by a rosette, according to fig. 531, the bottom one by a seal.

122310 According to van Gulpen's drawing, (the back of) the jewel contained the following inscriptions, which were also noted down by Dr. Hoogewerff:

O KAI / TETET / KEN EK
ΠΠOΘ / YMOY / KAPI / AC IωAN / NHC Λ / YTPω / CIN
AITω / N CΦA / AMAT / ωN.

122315 We now know the maker from the inscription, because the inscription means that a certain Joannes, in order to obtain forgiveness of his sins, cheerfully made (this cross). This inscription cannot be seen in the fig. with Lipinsky's article and the author only mentions the previous one. He ends his article with: "We are inclined to assume the fifth or sixth century as the date. And presumably the shrine belonged to Justinian and not to Constantine, whose taste was less refined".

122320 See <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken/view?identificatie=MMKB06:000008521:00117>

X. The cross of Constantine in the treasury of St. Peter in Rome.

122325 In the church treasury of the Chapter of St. Peter in Rome there is a very precious relic of the Holy Cross, although of small dimensions in the form of a pectoral cross, but of a barbaric splendor and excessive wealth. This cross is said to be the pectoral cross of Emperor Constantine.

122330 It found its first describer in Dr. BOCK, who published a work of large dimensions in 1864: "Die kleinodiën des hl. röm. Reichs Deutscher Nation". Bock assumed that this cross was used at the liturgical coronation of the German emperors in the Middle Ages. This remains an assumption, which however became a reason for Bock to describe the cross of Constantine in detail on fol. 115-117. Figure 28 of Table XX in the work in question gives a coloured drawing of the relic. On fol. 116 an uncoloured image of the back is included.

122335 In 1893 the pectoral cross of Constantine was described by DE WAAL in his article "Die antiken Reliquiare der Peterskirche". A photographic image of the piece is given in Table XVIII. 167) The visit of the Russian Grand Duke Sergius had given rise to the creation of that study. In 1894 DE WAAL published a dissertation on the same subject, in which the cross of Constantine was treated in the same way. 168)

122340 Better informed about the possibility that this jewel had been used at the imperial coronations in Rome, Dr. BOCK described in 1896 the cross of Constantine again in "Die Byzantinischen Zellschmelze der Sammlung Svenigorodskoi". 169)

122345 A final describer found this cross in ANGELO LEPINSKY, who in July 1933 in the "Illustratione Vaticana", an article wrote: "Old goldsmithing in the church treasury of St. Peter". The Dutch edition 170) gave the text of this article with some

improvements, for the iconographic description of less importance. 171)
Three very good photo reproductions illustrate the article by Lepinsky.

When in 1913 the great Staurotheca was photographed for the Dutch Historical
Institute in Rome with special permission of the Pope, three photographs were also
taken of the smaller cross, which we reproduce here as fig. 16, 17 and 18.
In May 1936 we were able to admire this pectoral cross from close by. The reliquary,
also called "encolpium Constantini magni", consists of two parts: the actual pectoral
cross, and the cabinet in which the cross is kept suspended as a relic. This cabinet
can be opened as a triptych with two hinged doors. It is made entirely of gold,
according to Bock and Lepinsky. De Waal wrongly thought it was made of gilded silver.
When closed, the small shrine measures 12 cm high and 8 cm wide. The edge at the top
and bottom is set with a row of pearls and pearls, placed on the wing doors, form a
third row. Each row consists of ten pearls with a large gemstone at the corners and
in the middle. The pearls are of unequal size and irregular shape. On the doors at
the height of the hinges, another gemstone is placed in the four corners. The front
shows thirteen gemstones and thirty pearls in its entirety. The pearls are attached
by means of a gold thread. Two of them, in the bottom row, are split. The four
surfaces of the doors are bare, but bear the traces of a lost decoration. Probably
gold plates with relief decorations were attached to it, as we will see on the
inside.

On top of the edge is a wide gold ring with a large opening, so that the box could be
worn around the neck with a chain or cord passed through it. This need not be
surprising, since it is known with what stiff splendor of robes and jewelry the
Basileus used to be hung. Lepinsky says that a large ruby was set on the gold pendant
in 1929, as can be seen in his photo. 172) The photo with the article by De Waal from
1893 also showed a stone, of a different shape, most resembling a gemstone placed in
a gold setting. 173) This ornament is no longer there. According to the photo from
1913, the gemstone had already disappeared by then. 174) The drawing by Dr. Bock in
1864 showed nothing at that location. We must therefore assume that between the years
1864 (actually 1862, since Bock had the drawings made in that year for his work
published in 1864) and 1893 a stone was placed on the support ring that had
disappeared in 1913 and was replaced in 1933 by another stone, which according to
Lepinsky was placed there in 1929, but had disappeared again in 1936!

In 1864 the pearls were still intact according to the drawing by Dr. Bock, and there
is no mention of damaged pearls in his description either. The photo by De Waal 175)
shows that in the lowest row of pearls the seventh (counted from left to right,
calling left what is left to the observer) is split (1893). The same can be seen in
the photo of 1913, 176) while in the photo of 1933, by Lepinsky, 177) the third pearl
is also split. Lepinsky 178) generally notes that the pearls are in poor condition,
and believes that there used to be more rows of pearls. We could also see the poor
condition of the pearls. In the bottom row, the middle pearls on the left and the
second pearl on the right are split.

In the previous century, the box was placed on a silver cloud decorated with two
floating angels, a similar inappropriate decoration, as people thought they had to
apply to the large Byzantine double cross. 179) Dr. Bock (1864) says nothing about a
pedestal. In 1893, however, it was there, since the photo by De Waal 180) shows the
pins with which it can be fixed to the silver cloud.

On the back of the cabinet the gold is worked out in relief in such a way that one is
justified in assuming that the undecorated sections of the fronts could certainly not
have been without their decoration originally. The back is scaled in its entirety.
181) In the middle a cross, richly worked out. The other decorations are: four
medallions with a flower pattern at the ends of the cross arms. The medallion at the
bottom is not visible in fig. 17 because of a seal hanging on a cord. 182) When
taking the photo for Lepinsky's article the seal was lifted, so that a similar
medallion is visible there. At the bottom there are two more garlands, while in the
upper corners two more medallions have been applied. The latter bear the letters $\overline{IC}$
and $\overline{XC}$ respectively, the well-known hierogram letters for IHCOXPICTOC, Jesus Christ
s. 183)

This magnificent piece only shows itself in its full richness when the two wing doors
are opened and the actual pectoral cross becomes visible.

The side doors are covered on the inside with gold plates, each decorated with four
very artfully crafted saint figures in standing position in relief. On the left door
we see at the top right the image of Christ in long robe with the closed book in his
left hand. To the left of the nimbus, in which there is a cross, are the letters IC.
On the right, of course, there was XP, the abbreviation for Jesus Christ, which we

constantly encounter in Byzantine art and also saw on the back of this "encolpium". However, the letters XP have disappeared due to the application of a precious stone in that place on the outside. According to Dr. Bock, this was already the case in 1864. The photo by De Waal (fig. 18) shows that by then, in 1893, that stone had disappeared. In 1913, see fig. 17, that stone was put back in its place or replaced by another, as we also found.

Next to the Savior we see a saintly figure, pointing with his left hand in the direction of Christ. The inscription on either side of the nimbus is: O ΔΗΜΗ//ΤΡΗΟC. O the abbreviation of ο αὐτοῦ is written together. This is also always the case with the other figures. Also the last two letters are written together: C Dr. Bock incorrectly read ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC.

Under the figure of Christ is a statue with folded hands and the inscription O ΒΑΡΝΑ//ΒΑC. Next to it an apostle figure with a book in his left hand and the inscription O ΜΑΤ//ΘΑΙΟC. Dr. Bock could, due to a bending of the edge here, only decipher O ... ΘΑΙΟC. However, the name is now clearly legible in its entirety. On the right door we see at the top left as a pendant to Christ, the figure of the Mother of God. Of the usual inscription M-P ΘΥ only ΘΥ can be seen. The first part has disappeared due to the setting of a stone on the outside, exactly as we saw on the left door with the letters XP. Next to the Mother of God stands with a raised hand O ΠΑΝΤΕ//ΛΕΗΜΩΝ. Below the figure of Mary we see a saint with the inscription: O ΤΙΜΟΘΕC and to the right of that an eighth saint representing O ΤΙΜΩΝ. Dr. Bock mistakenly gives ΤΙΜΟΝ.

The images are all eight with a regular round nimbus, a double drawn circle, only the nimbus of Christ is provided with a cross. The figures of Christ and the Mother of God are depicted standing on a square pedestal. The other six do not have that. In the cabinet the actual pectoral cross hangs, loose, on the gold ring. The cord with seal on the back prevents it from being taken out. A large square gemstone is set on the ring. The back against which the cross hangs is divided into four planes by the cross. In the lower left corner we see a gold plate applied in this plane, on which in relief in the same style as the eight other figures on the wing doors, but somewhat smaller, a crowned saint figure, with the inscription O ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤ. Dr. Bock read ΚΟΝCΤΑΝΤ here.

These four corner planes initially presented us with a problem as a result of inaccurate descriptions by the various authors. The image of Constantine raises the suspicion that the three other corners also had their plates with images. The photo of De Waal (fig. 19) clearly showed the figure decoration of the back in the boxes above and next to Constantine, while the fourth box showed a blank plate. The photo of 1913 (fig. 18), on the other hand, showed three blank plates in addition to the corner of Constantine. The solution turned out to be very simple. These corner-filling plates can be rotated, so that the photo of De Waal was taken with two of the four corner panels in the open position.

The Holy Cross wood is closed in a golden cross and covered with rock crystal. The horizontal bar is in one piece. The upper part of the vertical bar is very rotten. This golden cross is - according to Dr. Bock much later - enclosed by a second cross, on which a chain decoration in white enamel is applied, which extends drop-shaped at the corners of the four bars, also in white enamel. At the ends of the beams are medallions with text in Greek letters. Between the beams of the cross and on either side of the support ring are 6 large pearls attached by means of gold wire. The whole is surrounded by a gold rim. In 1893, see fig. 19, one of the large pearls was missing, namely the one between the left arm and the upper arm of the cross. This has now (1936) been replaced.

The medallions are in blue transparent enamel, while the letters are in white, opaque with red punctuation. The text is in Greek capitals, on each medallion four lines, except on the right one, which only has three lines.

ΟΡΑΤΙ
ΚΑΙΝΟ
Ν ΘΑΥ
ΜΑ

ΚΑΙΕ ΧΡΥC
ΕΝΗΝ ΟΝΜΕ

ΧΑΡΙ ΝΕΕΩ

ΧΡΙC
ΤΟΝΕΝ

ΔΕCΚΟ

ΠΕΙ

ον μεν έξω

Χριστον εν δε σκόπει.

The meaning is:

"Behold, what a new wonderful work,
what a rare grace,
outside you see gold,
but inside Christ."

Since the pectoral cross could actually be worn, Dr. Bock assumes that these medallions will also bear an inscription on the back. Because of the sealing, he had not been able to check this in 1862. Later he learned that the inscription on the back was in one of the works of Cardinal Mai. Since he does not mention it, we must assume that he did not find it with Mai himself. De Waal does not say a word about the back, nor does Lepinsky.

Only the inner gold cross is known by Dr. Bock a great age. The tradition that this encolpium was worn by Constantine the Great could only concern this cross. The jewel as a whole is of a more recent date. De Waal dates it from the IXth to the XIth century. Dr. Bock in this well the most competent, places the production at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.

In his work on enamelling among the Byzantines he dates it even further to the beginning of the twelfth century. 184)

According to Dr. Bock, the second line has a metrical irregularity, while the first is a regular Alexandrian. That is why he calls the verses of "little correct form" and considers the cross much younger than the fourth century. His special knowledge of the Byzantine enamelling enables him to assume the beginning of the twelfth century, which dating we will adhere to.

We have already referred to the fact that Dr. Bock was mistaken when he thought that the encolpium of Constantine had possibly served in the coronation of the German emperors in the Middle Ages in Rome. In Maastricht, Dr. Bock learned from the pastor of Our Lady [O.L. Vrouw] that this precious piece came from Maastricht. 185) When he describes this encolpium again in 1896, he explicitly states this. The Waal knows nothing of the origin. Lepinsky, however, does, as we have already mentioned above. The documents from the previous century prove the correctness of the claim of the pastor of O. L. Vrouw against [to] Dr. Bock.

In the document, 186) in which Gregory XVI donated the double cross to St. Peter on January 18, 1838, there is explicit mention of two crosses "binas cruces". He describes the small as

"alteram prout in traditis Nobis Literarum monumentis dicitur, a Constantino Magno in proeliis obeundis gestari solitam".

In the official act of receipt 187) signed by Gregory XVI on 30 July 1838 it is called:

"item minorem particulam ligni Sanctissimae Crucis minori pariter cruci isertam..."
"... Minorem vero Crucem existimatam semper fuisse eam, quam Imperator Constantinus Magnus in proeliis super pectus gestabat."

In the official document of transfer, which was drawn up in Maastricht on 27 May 1837 188) and signed by Lysens, Van der Vrecken, and the two witnesses Ackx and Deppen, chaplains of St. Matthias and St. Servaas, the smaller cross is mentioned not spoken. Also in the piece 189) of "hac Maii" 1837 the smaller cross is not spoken about.

And it is precisely these two pieces that Van der Vrecken presented to the Pope as proof that he had received the crosses from Lysens to give to the Pope. From this we can strictly conclude that Lysens nowhere testifies to having given this small cross to Van der Vrecken.

Van der Vrecken writes on 14 July 1838 190) that he handed over the cross to Gregory XVI on 9 July 1837. Here again, only the large double cross is mentioned. The plural form is somewhat misleading, because it distinguishes 1° the considerable part of the cross wood of O. L. Jesus Christ and 2° the golden cross in which it is set. 191) Also in the piece of "hac Maii" 1837 this is described in this way. 192) Finally, we have the piece of April 1, 1837, in which Van der Vrecken declares to have received the large cross of Lysens "in depositum". Here too nothing is said about the small cross. So there is no mention of the so-called cross of Constantine in any of the documents exchanged between Lysens and Van der Vrecken.

Van der Vrecken did hand this cross to the Pope. Where did this cross come from?

The communication in the papal act of receipt (appendix 9)

"Ex tradito porro Nobis Instrumento authentico a praedicto Paulo van der Vrecken S. Sedis Notario confecto constat praedictas cruces S. huic Sedi dono in perpetuum dari a R. D. R. Lysens.." is therefore an untruth concerning the small cross. There is no

evidence that Van der Vrecken received this cross from Lysens. One would even be inclined to say that he did not receive from Lysens. Why would Lysens, who did not hesitate to give up the large double cross and had this act recorded by witnesses, conceal the fact that he had also given away the smaller cross? There are three answers to this:

- Either Lysens knew nothing about the small cross and is completely innocent of the disappearance of this piece from Maastricht;
- or: Lysens had nothing to do with this cross of Constantijn, because it had not belonged to O. L. Vrouwekapittel.

After all, Lysens gave away the large double cross because he believed that as a former canon [oud-kanunnik] he was entitled to dispose of this property of the former chapter of O. L. Vrouw. One could conclude from this that this cross was the property of another church in Maastricht;

- or: the smaller cross was considered to be of much less importance in comparison with the large cross. And this seems to us the most probable. In the relic lists it is always in second place. When we compare the literature we see that much more is written about the large cross than about the small one, although most authors do mention the smaller one. Dr. Hoogewerff is even surprised that the smaller cross attracts so little attention, while in his opinion it is more valuable in every respect. As far as the material and art historical value is concerned certainly, while the tradition that it belonged to Constantine the Great increases its value, but as a relic of the Holy Cross wood it is far behind the double cross of Romanos with the small particles.

XI. The cross of Constantine in Maastricht.

When in 1861 the deed of 1 April 1837 of Van der Vrecken, 193) and the deed of receipt of Gregory XVI 194) were found at the rectory of St. Matthias and handed over to chaplain Russel of Our Lady, one reads from these documents that Lysens had given the large Byzantine cross and the so-called cross of Constantine to Van der Vrecken and that he had handed them over to the Pope on behalf of the former canon [thus: oud-kanunnik]. As a result, they requested the Pope in 1861 to be allowed to receive these two relics, which had belonged to Our Lady. 195) In fact, this request was premature as far as the small cross was concerned, since it is clear from the documents that Van der Vrecken had given up a so-called cross of Constantine, but not that this cross had belonged to Our Lady's Church.

Moreover, it was obvious that the church council of Our Lady did not doubt that the small cross was also theirs.

According to the story of Van Gulpen 196), the so-called cross of Constantine had disappeared at the same time as the large double cross. No wonder that Van Heylerhoff 197) and Al. Schaepkens 198) wrote about the disappeared crosses in 1847 and 1853 respectively, identifying the donated cross of Constantine, as the church council of Our Lady 199) and Russel 200) later did, with the cross that used to be present in Our Lady's church treasure.

Yet there is some reason for doubt. Flament does not assume that the cross in Rome is the same one that used to be in Our Lady's church. We must therefore go into this matter in more detail.

We have a total of four Relic Lists of the old chapter [kapittel], but none of these are complete, as we do have an official and complete Relic List of St. Servaas in the "Catalogus Reliquiarum Sacrarum S. Servatii... Renovatus sub finem Anni 1677". 201) The Relic Lists of Our Lady's Church all have a more uncertain character.

We have:

I. "Ritus servandus in ostensione SS. Reliquiarum in Camera earundem insignis Ecclesiae Beatae Mariae Virginis Trajectensis".

This piece was published by Bock and Willemsen. 202) The relics are listed according to the four cabinets in which they are displayed. Often it is not stated whether the Relic is in a holder. Cabinet no. 4 contains the Holy Cross wood donated by Philippus secundus:

"In 4to Armario

"Notabilis pars Lignee sanctae Crucis Salvatoris nostri nobis transmissae a Philippo 2do Constantinopolitani et Grecorum Imperatore".

There is no mention of a pectoral cross of Constantine. We only know this "ritus servandus" from a 17th century copy. 203) Since we also see several pieces not mentioned here, which we do find in the other relic lists, this inventory of the cabinets must be considered incomplete.

II. Bock and Willemsen also publish another list of relics, 204) namely
 "Specificatio SS. Reliquiarum Collegialis ecclesiae B. M. V. quae abhinc viginti
 annis propter temporis calamitatem in obscuris latuerunt, et nunc, religionis aurora
 ritulante, ecclesiae Parochiali S. Nicolai traditae sunt. May 1, 1817".

Here twenty-nine no's are listed in total. However, the Relic Treasure had already
 been disintegrated. Two days in advance (April 28) the canons asked for information
 about the two Byzantine crosses that had disappeared. 205)

To these well-known lists we have added two that have not yet been published, namely
 "Specificatio SS. Reliquiarum Collegialis ecclesiae B. M. V. quae abhinc viginti
 annis propter temporis calamitatem in obscuris latuerunt, et nunc, religionis aurora
 ritulante, ecclesiae Parochiali S. Nicolai traditae sunt. 1 May 1817".

Here a total of twenty-nine no's are listed. However, the Relic Treasure was already
 dismantled at that time. Two days beforehand (28 April) the canons asked for
 information about the two Byzantine crosses that had disappeared. 205)

To these well-known lists we have added two that have not yet been published, namely
III. "Emuneratio praecipuarium Reliquiarum hujus Ecclesiae", which can be found in
 the "Stipale Privilegiorum" of 1767. 206) Here only 21 no's are listed, according to
 the inscription only the most important ones. We find as no. 2:

"2. S. Crucis minor pars ab Imperatore Constantino gestari solita, gemmis pretiosis
 adornata et capsula argentea deaurata inclusa".

IV. Finally, we have a list of ornaments and relics of the O. L. Vrouwekerk,
 which was drawn up in 1580, when these were hidden for safety in the house of the
 provost Arnold de Meroda. 207) Among the relics is mentioned "Pars crucis Sanctae
 parva tabulis argenteis deauratis inserta". This of course refers to the same cross
 that is mentioned in III of Constantine. In both III and IV it is in second place,
 directly behind the large Byzantine double cross.

As fig. 8 (p. ...) we have given a fragment of the 16th century copper engraving, a
 relic plate of Our Lady.

In the lower right corner we see an image of the cross with the caption:

"Een + D Den Keyser Consta op syn Borst placht t Drage' als he sTrijde tegenden
 heydenen."

To these direct data from the archives of the old collegiate church we can add
 Gretserus (1616), Miraeus (1622), d'Outreman (1648) and Rayssius (1628), who, where
 they discuss the large double cross, also speak of the pectoral cross of Emperor
 Constantine. 208)

Their data can be traced back to what Gretserus tells. Gretserus has also paid
 considerable attention to the small cross. We will quote Gretserus extensively when
 we discuss how this cross came to Maastricht.

The pectoral cross of Constantine was used during the ceremonies of Holy Week. After
 the Holy Service, the officiant, carrying this cross, and the deacon and subdeacon,
 each carrying a crystal reliquary containing a Holy Thorn, 209) went to the baptismal
 chapel, where the three relics were immersed in the newly consecrated water.

The former canon Van Gulpen also drew this cross after its disappearance during the
 French Revolution in the often mentioned "Liber continens statuta". A photo
 reproduction of this drawing is given as fig. 20. Unfortunately, the drawing by Van
 Gulpen is not accompanied by a description. When we now compare the drawing by Van
 Gulpen with the cross in Rome, several differences immediately catch the eye. First
 of all, the cabinet by Van Gulpen is crowned by a segment-shaped tympanum, while in
 Rome the shrine is simply flat on top with a ring on it. On the side doors an oval is
 also drawn where the statues of saints can be seen in Rome. The captions, however,
 are literally the same, without a single deviation. Even the circumscriptions O and
 C° have been copied. The precious stones and the double row of pearls are not
 indicated, nor are the pearls on the cross itself. The drop-shaped extensions of
 white enamel are, with the difference that in Van Gulpen's case they are also drawn
 in the corners between the arms, where the cross in Rome has pearls. The medallions
 show a different text, while the relief of Constantine is completely missing.

The text reads:

'OKAI
 TETEY
 KENCK

ΠΡΟΘ	ΙωΑΝ
ΥΜΟΥ	ΝΗCΑ
ΚΑΡΔΙ	ΥΤΡω

AC

CIN

ΑΙΤΩ

ΝCΦΑ

ΛΜΑΤ

ΩΝ

In plain Greek letters:

ο και τετευκεν εκ προθυμον καρδιας
Ιωαννης λητρωσιν αιτων σφαλματων.

The translation of this is:

*"Which (this) has made, with a ready heart, Joannes, requesting
forgiveness of his sins".*

The drawing by Van Gulpen was taken over by Martinus van Heylerhoff in his manuscript, and Arnaud Schaepkens 210) also writing about this cross in 1846 had nothing else in mind than this drawing. His description is taken entirely from this drawing. He says that the triptych is crowned by a "tympanum", and that there is no decoration with drop-shaped pearls to be seen on the cross itself. The side doors each have four oval stones set in gold, where the names of saints standing next to each other.

Before asking the question whether the differences in the drawing in the "liber continens statuta" are of much importance, one could ask: Was there another cross of Constantine in Maastricht? After all, it is certain that the cross was brought from Maastricht by Van der Vrecken. The answer to this question is affirmative. Before the French Revolution, a so-called cross of Constantine also appeared in the treasure of St. Servaas. In the already mentioned "Catalogus Reliquiarum" of St. Servatius from 1677 211) we find as no: "118. Asservatur praeterea in hoc Sacratio caput integrum S. Servatii, huius ecclesiae ac totius civitatis Patroni (qui de cognatione fuit Christi Domini secundum carnem) ultimi Tungrensis ac primi Traiectensis episcopi, in statua argentea deaurata, geminis ornata et parvula cruce aurea, quae internal habet de Ligno crucis Dominicae et diversorum Sanctorum sacris Reliquiis, external vero habet quatuor magnus uniones cum multis lapillis pretiosis; hanc Imperator Constantinus gestavit dum contra infideles progredereetur". 212)

The bust of St. Servatius seems to have been decorated with a small cross, which probably hung around the neck of the bust.

In 1672, the "Sacer Thesaurus Servatianus expositus per Litanias.." etc. by Andreas Bowens was printed in Liège. This cross is also mentioned here on page 50. 213) "Per Crucem et Passionem tuam. De Cruce Christi partes insignes. Item crucicula, quam Constantinus Imperator ex collo suspensam ferre solebat, quando cum paganis praeliabatur. Item crux ex puro et puto auro cum Cricifixo eburneo..." 214)

These are the only data we have about a so-called cross of Constantine in the St. Servatius church. There is therefore reason to investigate whether the cross of Rome is indeed that of Our Lady, since otherwise St. Servaas could claim ownership. However, are the deviations from Van Gulpen's drawing of much importance? Van Gulpen drew from memory in 1817 when the precious pieces had already disappeared and he had not seen them for twenty years. As for the large staurotheca, we see him placing the medallions on the wrong side. It can come as no surprise that his drawing of the encolpium Constantini Magni is also inaccurate. It is understandable that he places oval figures where there are relief statues, since he would not have dared to draw those figures. That Arn. Schaepkens mistook these for stones, each bearing a saint's name, is very strange. Worse still, there is nothing to be seen of the relief statue of Constantine in Van Gulpen's drawing. The failure to indicate the two rows of pearls can be explained. Even someone who has only just seen the relic will not be able to answer when asked whether these two rows of pearls are on or above and below the doors. The fact that these pearls are on the outside of the cabinet suggests that they are not visible when the doors are open. Finally, Van Gulpen places a segment-shaped head on the cabinet. Fortunately, we still have the image on the copper plate, which allows us to correct Van Gulpen almost completely. We see here - see fig. 8 - that the cabinet is flat with a support ring, through which even a ribbon has been drawn. 215) Despite the small dimensions, the eight statues of saints are clearly visible. Pearls have been applied along the four sides, although this is not entirely correct either, but it does compensate for the lack of pearls in Van Gulpen's work. The cross is very faithfully reproduced in its actual form as it can be seen in the box on the engraving. The fact that the representation of Constantine and the medallions are missing here is due to the smallness of the image.

If we add to this that the literary sources explicitly speak of a cross hanging in a

gilded silver box, then the identification of the cross in Rome as that of O. L. Vrouwekerk does not require any new evidence.

How, however, to reconcile the different texts?

122745 The cross of St. Servaas is not considered. According to the description, it had no medallions and was not in a box or capsule. Before 1672, nothing was ever heard of it. A pectoral cross of Constantine - genuine or not - would certainly have occupied a more prominent place in the treasure of St. Servaas than was the case, now that it served as an ornament on the bust of St. Servaas. It would certainly have attracted the attention of writers as it did in Our Lady's Church, and it would have been the center of a special devotion.

122750 It would certainly have attracted the attention of writers and have as was the case in O. L. Vrouwekerk, and it would have been the centre of a special devotion.

122755 However, it is so little regarded that in the great official "Catalogus Reliquiarum" it was not even indicated as a separate number, but placed on an equal footing with the precious stones that adorn the bust of St. Servaas.

We are undoubtedly dealing here with an ordinary cross, such as are so many in the treasuries of churches, originating from prelates, or votive offerings, sometimes also found in graves. 216) In the "Catalogus Reliquiarum" of 1677 of St. Servaas we find, besides the cross with the ivory Christ on no. 17, several other crosses; 217)

15. In monili argenteo rotundo. ... est crux argentea. ...

16. Sunt deinde tres tafellae nigrae. ... continentes tres cruces de Ligno S. Crucis.

84. Duae cruces in auratae habent de cruce Domini.

122765 Nos. 78 and 80 also mention crosses. 218)

In addition to the ones discussed here, the Church of Our Lady had several others. The list of 1580 mentions two gold and one silver cross. 219)

122770 The pectoral cross of Constantine in the treasury of St. Servaas fell from the sky so suddenly that we can hardly believe it. We must seek the explanation in the often-mentioned jealousy of the chapters, which led to a certain parallelism. Even in the construction history of both churches these elements of not wanting to be inferior to each other can be detected.

122775 The canons of St. Servatius displayed their relics from the dwarf gallery of the chancel, those of Our Lady had a separate gate broken in order to be able to do it in the same way and place. We have already mentioned the fierce battle for the display of the relics. 220) Joint city processions were almost impossible as a result of the disagreement about priority. As a result of this jealousy, this parallelism can also be observed in the relic treasures. We have already seen that the large Byzantine double cross was copied by St. Servatius. In addition to the two Byzantine objects discussed here, the church of Our Lady possessed a third, a capsula with Madonna, which tradition has it was painted by St. Luke. No. 15 of the Catalogue of 1677 from St. Servatius states that the crux argentea, which was found in the grave of St. Servatius, was made by St. Luke himself. This is completely consistent with the fact that St. Servaas also had to have a pectoral cross from Constantine. The Byzantine objects that Our Lady acquired from the second crusade, while we hear of no acquisitions in St. Servaas, have aroused the jealousy of this chapter in a special way.

122790 There are two possible explanations for the different text 221) of the medallions in Rome and on the Van Gulpen drawing: either Van Gulpen filled in a text that he got from an incorrect literary source on the drawing, or the cross has a back where the medallions give a different text. The latter is undoubtedly the case. In Maastricht, the side would have hung in front, on which the text reads:

Ο ΚΑΙ ΤΕΤΕΥΚΕΝ ΕΚ 222)

122795 while in Rome the other side is now visible, where one reads:

ΟΡΑ ΤΙ ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ΘΑΥΜΑ 223)

Dr. Bock wrote already in 1864 that the cross probably also has a back, where the medallions show a different text. He later learned that this text had been published by Cardinal Mai in one of his works. 224) The fact that Dr. Bock does not publish that text from Mai is probably because he could not discover it there.

122800 We have not succeeded in doing so either. In the chapter bibliography 225) we mentioned the only book by Mai in which that text could reasonably be found, namely a part of his "Scriptorum Veterum Collectio", in which inscriptions of the most diverse nature are collected. 226) In this part we found the text of the large double cross taken from Apianus and Gretserus. 227) Mai wrote this part in 1831 and it was not until 1837 that the two crosses arrived in Rome.

122805 Dr. Bock's statement about the text on the back is based on a mere conjecture. When

he has the opportunity to confirm this rumour, in 1872 228) and in 1896 229) he no longer speaks at all about the back of the cross. De Waal and Lepinsky also described the pectoral cross as if it had no back. A cord holds the cross at the back and is sealed there. This seal can be seen in our fig. 17, as well as in fig. 18 the cord itself on the inside diagonally above the lower medallion. The seal is of Cardinal Merry del Val.

In 1913 Dr. Hoogewerff, then secretary of the Dutch Historical Institute in Rome, made notes on the occasion that the two Maastricht crosses could be photographed. We have explained above under what circumstances this happened. 230) In the personal notes of Dr. Hoogewerff, of which Dr. Kalf kindly granted us access, both inscriptions are given. We would have the solution of the case here, if it had not become apparent to us that Dr. Hoogewerff had only seen one inscription. On that occasion, a total of seven photographs were taken, all seven of which we had a look at. 231) No photograph was taken of the back. This would certainly have been the case, if the possibility had existed. Just as for Dr. Bock in 1862, the seal was not broken in 1913. When Dr. Hoogewerff now gives a text of the back, he did not have this from his own observations. The fact that he accompanies the text of the inscription with a metrical translation in Latin strengthens the suspicion that this was not recorded from the jewel itself, but was drawn from a literary source. This source must have been directly or indirectly the ms. [manuscript?] Van Gulpen in Maastricht. Now, do the verses themselves not answer the question whether they can stand on one and the same cross?

Since we are no longer dealing with classical verse here, it will be difficult to draw a conclusion from the rhythm. As for the form of the letters, we dare not draw a certain conclusion either, since we have to compare the original with the drawing. In both cases, the round sigma C and the W are not capitalized, but the other letters cannot be compared.

The content of the verses offers more certainty:

"See what a wonderful thing, what a rare grace, of gold from outside, but within you see Christ. Which has been made, with humble mind, John, praying for forgiveness of his sins".

As for the meaning, the verses fit together well, ... is relatively easier to explain than demonstratively. Although the latter is not impossible, one would expect it to be, while also as a stop word instead of or also indicates something that continues. The Greek inscriptions on crosses that we know usually first give a praise of the Holy Cross Wood and in the second part the information about who had it made. This is the case with the patriarchal double cross of Maastricht, which in four verses has the profound thought about the Holy Cross Wood, instrument of Christ's death bringing life for us, and in the last four verses names John as the one who decorated it with gold and precious stones.

The same dual character has the inscription of the Byzantine double cross of Monte Cassino, which reads according to D. Mauro Inguanez' translation:

"The wood, which conquered the death, which was caused by the wood" and then: "Romanos has worthily decorated with gold, because this gold is an ornament of Christ himself". 232)

The cross of Limburg on the Lahn also in the same way. 233) First:

"God stretched out his hands on the wood, pouring out the powers of life through it". Then follows the statement that Constantinos and Romanos, the emperors, decorated it beautifully.

These parallels, although they are ordinary crosses and not pectoral crosses - we are not aware of a second Byzantine pectoral cross from that time - give us the conviction that we can consider this writing as a whole.

Added to the data of the describers, we assume that the cross in Rome is one and the same as that of the Church of Our Lady in Maastricht.

XII. The oldest history of the pectoral cross.

Tradition has it that our cross was the pectoral cross of Emperor Constantine the Great. Dr. Kalf in the eleventh annual report of the National Commission for Monument Care 234) doubts this and claims that it is certainly not older than the sixth century. In the Provisional List of Dutch Monuments of History and Art, 235) it is therefore noted as being from the 6th-7th century. Angelo Lepinsky 236) assumes the fifth or sixth century, 237) and believes that it did not belong to Constantine, whose taste was less refined, but to Justinian (527-565). There is, however, a great difference in style between the encolpium Constantini magni and, for example, the cross of Justin (518-527), the predecessor of Justinian. This cross, which also

belongs to the church treasure of St. Peter in Rome, is of a more elegant form and shows, especially in its medallions and floral figures, a more even workmanship, from which the skill of the classics is still evident. 238)

De Waal 239) however, following Dr. Bock 240) reckons it to the 11th to 12th century and we consider the dating of Dr. Bock in his *Byzantinischen Zellschmelzen*, 241) where he places this piece in the beginning of the 12th century on the basis of his knowledge of enamel. The possibility that the cross was worn by Constantine is not ruled out by this, as we shall see. The cross names a certain Joannes as its maker, without further indication of who this Joannes is. Mart. van Heylerhoff 242) and Flament 243) see this Joannes as the maker of the jewel, the goldsmith. We know of no examples of the aurifaber in Byzantine art putting his name on his work in such a conspicuous manner. This seems unlikely, especially on a small pectoral cross like ours. On the other hand, there are several crosses on which emperors, Romanos 244) or Konstantinos 245) or a high-ranking person like Basilius de c, that is the chairman of the senate 246) are mentioned as those who decorated the Holy Cross wood. Why not assume here as the most obvious thing, that Joannes was one of the emperors of that name. This was probably considered impossible because no emperor of that name appears among the first successors of Constantine. Since the encolpium as a whole is dated much later, this John will be: either John I Timisces (969-976), the successor of Nicephorus Phocas, or John II Comnenos, the successor of Alexios Comnenos. We consider this John, who reigned from 1118-1143, to be the one who had this encolpium made. In Byzantium, relics were a matter of state, which primarily concerned the emperor. There are many imperial decrees concerning relics to prove this. We saw Emperor Romanos I open the imperial treasuries and give away a large piece of the Holy Cross wood to the monks of the monastery of Xeropotamu. 247) Alexios even arbitrarily disposed of the relics that were kept in the churches of Constantinople. 248) The dating of our cross by Dr. Bock in the first half of the twelfth century - which dating was done completely independently of the inscription with the name Joannes, since Dr. Bock did not know it - points with a fair degree of certainty to Johannes II as the maker of the cross.

In the description of the pectoral cross we have already mentioned 249) on which Dr. Bock bases his dating, mainly the enamel cloisonné. This agrees with the general view that the use of enamel only occurs sporadically in the 6th century, but only becomes general in the 9th century. 250)

Dr. Bock's dating is partial. She does not rule out that parts of this jewel are of older date and this seems very likely to us. The first impression is that this cross was only hung in the golden shrine afterwards. Initially with the intention to take it out of the gold case when it had to be worn, later - as is evident from the carrying ring on the case itself - it was worn in its entirety. This corresponds to the rigidity of the ceremonial and the stiff pomp at the Byzantine court, which increased as the power of the basileus decreased and his territory shrank.

If we see Emperor John II decorating the cross at the beginning of the twelfth century, as is evident from the enamel inscriptions, then the question remains as to what this decoration consisted of. We assume that he had special reasons to hang this cross in such a box that was extremely valuable even for Byzantium. And then the tradition that we are dealing here with.

Incidentally, we do not have to regard it as something special that in those days the real pectoral cross of Constantine was still preserved. Niketas testifies that in the days of Andronikos Comnenos the crown of Constantine was still preserved. It hung above the altar in the Aya Sophia. It so happens that the Greek sources mention the pectoral cross of Constantine precisely in connection with Emperor John II. In a treaty of John II, concluded in the year 1138 with the emir of Schaizar, the emir returns a cross decorated with precious stones, which had been taken from Romanos Diogenes when he had been defeated in the battle of Mantzikert (1071) and had fallen into captivity. 251)

The hypothesis becomes very tempting here: Byzantium of course still possessed a pectoral cross of Emperor Constantine. The emperors used to wear this pectoral cross when they went up against the pagans. Romanos Diogenes falls into captivity in the defeat of Mantzikert in 1071, where he is forced to enter into an extremely humiliating peace, which is to last fifty years. In 1138 another emperor stands against the Muslims and he receives the imperial pectoral cross back in negotiations. Will he not have the jewel, which had been in the hands of the Turks for so long, embellished and decorated?!

This supposed course of events overcomes the difficulty of the different dating of the cited art historians. Even Lepinsky's objection that Constantine's taste was not so refined disappears.

- 122940 But despite all probability, this hypothesis will only gain a firm basis if the description of the cross from 1138 would correspond with the Maastricht pectoral cross of Constantine. And precisely this correspondence will remain unprovable because we also assume that John II immediately had the necessary embellishments applied, which will certainly make the cross unrecognizable.
- 122945 What reports do we now have concerning that peace treaty of the year 1138? Nicetas relates as follows: 252)
20. Having thus taken from the besieged splendid gifts, both those of wood, more precious than all (kinds of wood), as well as horses with strong necks and of good breed, and silken woven cloths interwoven with gold, and a table worth seeing, but before all this *having taken in his hands a cross, a brilliant object and regaling the sight, with a luminous stone inserted, on which the knust naturally revealed an inscription relating to the triumphant beauty of the divine image and the artless delicacy of the eyes, he raised the siege*, taking the road to Antioch.
- 122950 This description of the cross then surrendered supports our hypothesis to a very small extent. The luminous stone may perhaps still be understood as the rock crystal cross that covers the cross wood, but it is more likely that an extra-large and brilliant gemstone is meant here. The fact that there was already an inscription on it does not correspond with our starting point, that the inscription of our cross dates from the time of John II himself. The above description can hardly be understood otherwise than that a figurative representation appears on it.
- 122955 In a second writer, John Kinnamos, we read about the same event: 253)
7. Because (the emperor) noticed that the attacks were always in vain, he entered into a peace treaty, after having received the embassy; great treasures were now brought to him, *a cross was also brought, an extraordinary treasure and a worthy gift for emperors*.
- 122965 10. *There was a luminous stone of considerable size; because it had been cut according to the shape of the cross, it had lost a little of its natural surface during the cutting*. The envoy told the emperor that Constantine had had it made and that it had somehow fallen into the hands of the Saracens. After receiving these
- 122970 (treasures), ... etc.
- Although Kinnamos mentions Constantine, and it could all fit together quite nicely, we can hardly draw the positive conclusion that the cross of Mantzikert and of 1138 is the same one that Emperor John had decorated to obtain forgiveness for his sins, and that came to Maastricht during the plundering of Constantinople. On the other
- 122975 hand, there is no reason to reject the tradition that this would be the pectoral cross of Constantine as completely impossible.
- The priest from Maastricht, who brought this jewel to Maastricht as pious booty, together with the large double cross of Emperor Romanos, did indeed make a good grab and showed expertise. No wonder! After all, he had been in Byzantium for quite some
- 122980 time, as Reinerus Monachus tells us! The question of how the cross came to Maastricht must be examined in more detail.
- The treasury of the Basilica of Our Lady still possesses a precious silver cabinet with Madonna, executed in enamel, also of Byzantine origin. 254) Tradition has it
- 122985 that this gem came to Maastricht at the same time as the two art treasures discussed here. Reinerus Monachus' reliable statement teaches us that this happened in the days of the fourth crusade. 255)
- Among the numerous clerics who responded to the invitation of Baldwin of Constantinople and were enriched by him, is the unnamed Maastricht priest who came to
- 122990 Maastricht in 1206 with the large cross and donated it "*cum aliis pretiosis reliquiis*" to the Church of Our Lady. Reinerus also tells us that this cleric had already been in Constantinople for seven years and had been looking for a favourable opportunity for a long time. He was not among the swarm of priests who arrived later, and this explains why he managed to get hold of the most precious pieces.
- 122995 Earlier 256) we have already become acquainted with a cleric who, in the same way, only intent on pious booty, managed to get hold of quite a few relics during the plundering of Constantinople, namely Martinus Lintzius, the abbot of Pairis, about whose adventures Guntherus Monachus informs us extensively. 257) Guntherus also relates that Philip of Swabia received a large number of relics as a gift from
- 123000 Martinus Lintzius. Gretserus deduced from this that Philip, distributing his treasures, gave Maastricht the three precious Byzantine pieces. Guntherus here calls the gift to Philip a "*laudabilem partem*", but since he immediately afterwards describes a "*tabula*" of inestimable value, we are more inclined to assume that Philip received only this "*tabula*", for which he in turn confirmed the abbey of Pairis in
- 123005 possession of the other relics. If on that occasion a large piece such as the

Byzantine double cross had been forgiven, this would certainly have been mentioned by Guntherus. Gretserus, who had only seen the image of the so-called cross of Constantine on the Relic Plate, 258) sees this cross in the "tabula", which Philips received as a gift and which Guntherus describes in detail. 259)

123010 Now that we, in contrast to Gretserus, have an accurate description and image at our disposal, the major differences are immediately apparent. The "tabula" of the abbot of Pairis, to name just one thing, is not a cross and does not contain a cross either.

123015 So, as far as the small cross is concerned, there is not the slightest connection between the valuables of the Pairis Abbey and the Byzantine objects from the church treasure of Our Lady. A priest from Maastricht brought these rare pieces to his home town and placed the church of Our Lady in the ranks of Western European churches, where priceless treasures would have been safely preserved for centuries, saved from the advancing Turks.

123020 The advancing French Republicans caused the precious pieces to travel through Europe again six centuries later and find a new place of preservation in Rome.

July 9, 1962 **Spring of Christian art**

123025 MAASTRICHT, July 9 - In the context of the Maastricht Heiligdomsvaart, Cardinal Alfrink opened an exhibition of early Christian and early medieval art in the Bonnefantenmuseum on Saturday evening. Numerically, the exhibition is not very extensive, according to Cardinal Alfrink, but this does not detract from its value, because the works exhibited here give a good picture of the natural relationship between faith and culture.

123030 The chairman of the working committee, Father Clodoald van Meijel O.F.M. welcomed the cardinal and all other ecclesiastical and secular authorities and spoke words of thanks to the many domestic and foreign museums that donated works for this exhibition. According to him, the willingness of the Vatican Museums to lend twelve precious works of art to Maastricht deserves special mention. Among these works of

123035 art is one of the two treasures that ended up in Rome from Maastricht, namely the Byzantine double cross and the pectoral cross of Constantine the Great. Almost 125 years ago, one of the last canons of the chapter of the Church of Our Lady, the then pastor of the St. Mathijs parish M. R. Lijsens, transferred both treasures to Pope Gregory XVI through the mediation of the diplomat Paul van der Vrecken. This transfer

123040 was accompanied by a little too much goodwill. Amid great hilarity among those present, Father Clodoald noted that the current residents of Maastricht cannot share the position of Canon Lijsens. Father Clodoald had to complete the necessary formalities in Rome before he could receive the cross of Constantine. An extensive committee of prelates was involved and a notarial deed of 27 folios. The sealed treasure - insured for half a million guilders - had to be opened by order of Rome in the presence of the bishop of Roermond. He authorized the dean of Maastricht, Mgr. P. J. M. Jenneskens, to do so. A notarial deed of the receipt of the cross has been drawn up, which has now been sent to Rome.

123050 The exhibition features valuable works of art from the pagan prehistory, from the early Christian period, the Frankish, Merovingian and Carolingian eras, as well as from the early Middle Ages. Prof. J. J. M. Timmers, director of the Bonnefantenmuseum, therefore gave this exhibition, which will remain open until 30 September, the title "Spring of Christian Art". The designer has paid special attention to the period between the year 384, when St. Servatius, the first bishop of Maastricht, died and the year 1200, when the most precious reliquary of Maastricht, the emergency chest, was made.

Eindhoven, August 20, 2018

Dear Madam, Sir,

123060 In 1913, a certain Dr. Hoogewerff, the secretary of the Dutch Historical Institute in Rome, made notes on the occasion that the two Maastricht crosses could be photographed.

123065 These two Byzantine crosses were donated to the Vatican from Maastricht in 1837. One of them (a small cross that was kept in a golden box) most likely belonged to Constantine the Great and was therefore much older. They were photographed in 1913 when Hoogewerff was present. Better photos are not known, although I have written to the various Vatican museums and libraries about this, but at the moment it is not clear where the box with the cross is located and whether there are modern photos of it.

123070 Is there a report or something like that at your institute of this meeting in the Vatican?

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Dear Mr. Theelen,

We have forwarded your request to Dr. Arno Witte, Head of Art History. Perhaps he can help you further after his return from vacation (27 August).

Kind regards,

Agnieszka Irena Konkol

Secretary Office

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Dear Mr. Theelen,

I received your email forwarded from our secretariat, of course with the question whether I could answer it. As for the archive material of our institute, most of it (but especially the institutional matters) ended up in the National Archives because the then NIR was part of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and/or

Foreign Affairs. What is in it about Hoogewerff mainly concerns his directorship. As far as I know, hardly anything of Hoogewerff was left behind in Rome, but I can check that the day after tomorrow when I am back in the office. In any case, the chance that we have that material seems quite small, I fear.

You will hear from me whether we have anything in Rome!

Kind regards,

Arnold Witte

Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome

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August 23, 2018 Dear Paul Theelen,

now back at my desk in the Roman I checked here how things are with the archive documents of Hoogewerff and where they ended up. As I already wrote, the administrative archive is mainly in the National Archives but as I suspected, a part also ended up at the RKD (Rijksbureau Kunsthistorische Documentatie) in The Hague, a personal archive. I quote from an internal document about the KNIR archive:

"During the processing of the NIR archive in 2000-2001, several other collections or work archives were also arranged. The estate of the former director G.J. Hoogewerff was transferred to the Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague". This archive is also listed on the RKD website: see

<https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/collections/record?filters%5Bidentificatie.verantw.afdeling%5D%5B0%5D=Archivalia+%26+Excerpten&filters%5Binhoudelijke.beschr.trefw.period%5D%5B0%5D=20ste+eeuw%2C+eerste+helft&filters%5Binhoudelijke.beschr.trefw.pers%5D%5B0%5D=Hoogewerff%2C+Godefridus+Johannes&query=&start=0>

I hope that more material can be found there, including Hoogewerff's notes. In any case, there is an inventory that gives some idea of what is in it. As for research into those crosses, I think they are indeed in the library, where many diplomatic gifts to the popes ended up - and they were usually not inventoried, and so they are untraceable. I would contact them, hoping they have some idea. As for further research into them, that seems very interesting to me, but unfortunately I don't have any spare quarters, and I know from experience that this takes days of work, in the form of talking to all kinds of people who might know something. And I can do that, but then you will receive an invoice from our director...

Kind regards

Arnold Witte

Eindhoven, August 22, 2018

Dear Mr. Witte,

Many thanks for your answer regarding my question about your institute. I don't expect you to be able to find anything substantial, but perhaps you have contacts here and there, which I can never have. So this is what it is about: in 1837, Canon van der Vrecken of the Church of Our Lady in Maastricht completely legally donated two Byzantine crosses to the Pope (personally, I think). They were then donated to the Vatican Institute and are also recorded as such, because they have been published

regularly, the most important study being the dissertation by Charles Thewissen from 1939. It contains a wealth of information about the works of art in the treasury of that church and of the competing St. Servaas Church. It is now mainly about a small cross (about 8x6 cm I estimate) that was kept in a golden box. This small cross - of which a few black and white photos exist - is said to have been the pectoral cross of Constantine the Great, in the sense that the wooden splinter of the Holy Cross that his mother had dug up in Jerusalem around 328 was contained in a holder in the shape of a cross, which was later given an extra covering, the cross that we can still see in the photos. There are no photos from 1939 because they were apparently not allowed to be taken, and photos from 1913 had to be used. Images of the back of the cross are not known at all, because the seal (of a bell jar?) was not allowed to be broken. Dr. Hoogewerff from your institute seems to have been there in 1913.

I contacted the Vatican Museum, but they do not know the two crosses and is referred to two other institutions, which have not (yet) responded substantively. Apparently these crosses (together or separately) have been swallowed up in the abundance of works of art in the Vatican. The day before yesterday, Monday, I received a response from Inventario Generale, which does not know it and refers to Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the treasury of St. Peter's, see below.

In the past, several attempts have been made to get the crosses back, but the Vatican has refused to give them up again.

Could you - in a few lost quarters of an hour - do some research into the crosses, in particular that of Constantine the Great?

Picture of the "Encolpium Constantini Magni" available?

Eindhoven, 19 August 2018

Dear madam, sir,

Since 1837 (otherwise said since 1795, the French invasion in the Netherlands) the Vatican possesses the Encolpium Constantini Magni. It came from the Treasury of the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk in Maastricht. In a small golden box a small cross is contained, of which it is said that it belonged to Constantine the Great.

I am gathering (on paper or as a computer file of course) all items that belonged to Constantine, and it came as a surprise that this cross existed at our days, and that it was part of a church treasury in my country.

It has been described by different persons, as Beck and Willemsen and in 1939 appeared a thesis on both Byzantine crosses in your possession. The title of the thesis is TWO BYZANTINE HOLY CROSS RELICS. The author M.A.F.Ch. Thewissen had studied the crosses but did not make photographs himself, and he used older pictures of Lepinsky and De Waal. The author claims that there does not exist a picture of the back of the cross, but the front can be seen in his book as picture 18, in black-and-white and very grainy, because it was made in 1913. Do you have high-resolution photographs of the Encolpium Constantini Magni? If so, I would like to receive a digital file. When used in an article I of course shall mention the source of the picture.

Dear Mr. Theelen, thank you for your kind message. Unfortunately, the artifact you are interested in is not part of the Vatican Museums' collections.

However, since other Vatican institutions possess collections of art and archaeology, it might be possible that the Encolpion is among the Vatican Library collections (bav@vatlib.it or in the Treasury of the St. Peter's Basilica (amministrazione@capitolosp.va). I wish you all the best for your research and remain Yours very truly Alessandra Uncini Registrar of Collections, Vatican Museums ig.musei@scv.va

July 23, 1917 The remarkable church in Asselt (Limburg)

I. THE MAAS.

The Limburgers are largely inhabitants of the Maas Valley.

The Maas has a long south-northern course in the southern province. But people are mistaken in thinking that it also wanted to follow the right direction in specific details. Alternately turning towards the foothills of the marl hills near Maastricht and washing their feet, then again choosing open spaces and flowing in large arcs through the lowlands, originally with a speed as if in a hurry to reach the sea - further north, undermining the high banks or leveling out hollows and gullies, while at Arcen, Well, Bergen, and higher up, it has always maintained a dynamic flow against the sand dunes and heathlands. In summer, waterless and lazy, in winter,

abundantly watery and wild. For Limburg, the river has always been of the utmost importance, even in the past.

Carried by its waters, the Romans reached the Maasgouw region and established fortifications here, as well as along the Rhine. Maastricht (Trajectum ad Mosam), Kessel (Castellum), Blerick (Blariacum), Geysteren (Castrum), and Cuijck (Ceuchum) still recall their stay. They brought Roman customs, habits, tools, and luxury items here, while it is reasonable to suspect that they taught the native population to make necessary and useful items such as bricks, pans, pots, and metal objects. The inhabitants certainly also saw the distant, quivering glow of the new Light that emerged from Rome's Catacombs, shone in the palaces of the Caesars, and could no longer be extinguished or killed by torture and the killing of the porters in the Arena and the Colosseum.

Along the Maas also worked the preachers of the faith: Saint Lambert, Saint Servatius, Saint Boniface, the noble trio of Saint Odilienberg, Saints Otger, Wiro, and Plechelmus, zealous servants of that same Light that illuminated the world and had found its way both in the fishing villages by the sea on the chalk cliffs of Britain, and in the dark forests of the Ardennes and the glorious regions of Gaul and Iberia.

But besides happiness and salvation, the Maas also brought destruction. Not only when heavy rains filled the upper valleys, and the water, compressed between the rocky, high banks of the Waterland, rushed unchecked, destroying huts and farms that had appeared on the plain, felling forests and replacing mud with sand, but the Maas also brought the dragon ships of the Norsemen, the savage robbers, to Elsloo, thus bringing the tyrants to the peaceful land.

These too disappeared, and when Peter of Amiens had inflamed the people with holy fervor for the Crusade, the knights of the Maas castles, the shield-bearers from the Weert region, the lords and serfs of the castles marched under the banner of the cross and greeted the river's source land as the gathering place for the holy war. Yet the people of Limburg loved and still love the Maas. They grew up with it, after having spent their childhood playing on its banks. He knows her as the untamed giantess, who does well in good humor and takes pleasure in the well-being of her people—who, however, has become ferocious, abuses her power, howling and bizarrely weary, spreading destruction through nasty, swelling, rolling waves. Is it any wonder that she has earned a place in the spoken language?

That something lost is said to be "thrown into the Maas"? That something with doubtful results "hasn't yet crossed the Maas," that for a long-term affair "a lot of water will still flow through the Maas," and that someone who has a lot of money is as rich as "the Maas" deep? Many places, certainly to distinguish them from namesakes elsewhere, derive their names from the flood, such as Maas-tricht, Maas-bracht, Maas-niel, Maas-hees, Maas-wilre. From all this, one sees that it is completely intertwined with the internal and external life of Limburg, and that a jubilant tone arose from the land of "do and do" upon hearing the news that the river would finally be canalized and improved. It was only right; it had taken half a century of praying and pleading, and a Limburg minister, a Regout, had to be appointed to put an end to this urgent problem. Praise be to him!

II. THE ROMAN TOLLHOUSE. It lies hidden against the shore, almost forgotten, "The old tollhouse, on the riverbank."

Near Roermond, from Ool to the city, and from there via Buggenum to Asselt, the river formed many graceful, wide bends, which, however, posed significant obstacles to navigation. Sometimes it wasn't satisfied with a single course, and its capricious nature suddenly led it back inland, as happened near Asselt, where it moved a hundred meters westward, leaving behind marshland and clearing and crumbling meadows.

The Romans, who came to these lands in the Imperial At that time, they were good military experts. They needed a road ahead that wouldn't be so easily blocked and that could be used to their advantage. They built fortifications along the Maas to protect against attacks by the natives and as resting places for arriving and departing soldiers. They laid out their major highways from castle to castle.

At Asselt, three-quarters of an hour north of Roermond, west of Swalmen, precisely where the river makes a large elbow and runs, as it were, directly onto the high bank, they built a tollhouse on an artificial hill, made of heavy chunks of granite and ironstone, cast together, between which old smooth tiles and round red flagstones were placed like millstones to decorate the facade.

No ship came downstream or went higher without the watchmen noticing it. The tax collector blew his horn, and the ship sailed low to the bank to pay the toll.

123270 Many a denarius was levied there as imperial dues, and given its favorable location, it is not surprising that later lords continued the practice of the cunning Romans and claimed the right to levy tolls as their own. This right is also recorded as such in the feudal records of later times, albeit under different names.

123275 In Swalmen, near Asselt, many bronze ornaments, spearheads, and urns of Roman origin have been found. In the ground of the old tollhouse, a bronze spearhead and a medieval knife with an ivory handle, such as used to be handed over to the buyer by the seller before the tax collector as proof of a completed sale, were found. From the Roman building materials found and available, and from the location, combined with the traditions passed down by writings and popular speech, one may firmly assume

123280 that the small building, built deep down on an artificial mound, was the Roman tollhouse.

III. FROM TOLLHOUSE TO CHURCH.

123285 "Then a barge glides into the reeds of the walled house,
"Three priests alight and direct their steps,
"To the old Roman site and plant the cross here."

Roman power shrank considerably during the third and fourth centuries due to barbarian attacks. It almost disappeared entirely in the middle of the fifth century. The Franks made wide inroads and also lived in Limburg and Kempenland. In 357, they

123290 conquered Maastricht, which was recaptured under Julian the Apostate. Christianity was introduced by Clovi after the Battle of Zulpich or Tolbiac near Düren in 496. But better times had already dawned for Christianity earlier, in 324, with the conversion of Emperor Constantine the Great. The system of persecution had disappeared. As long as the Franks were still pagan, there was no spread of the Christian Church in

123295 Limburg. After Chlodwig (495), complete conversion occurred. The founders were Saints Lambert, Willebrord, Miro, Otger, and Plechhelmus. Christian churches arose on the foundations of Roman houses and temples. In Horn, a votive stone to Mars was found in the foundations, in Wijde, a similar one to Mars, in Kessel, under the main altar, to Hercules, in Asselt, Roman tiles in the walls, etc.

123300 When the evangelists arrived in Asselt, they found the Roman tollhouse there. They used the detached house, situated on a hill, to establish a shrine and plant the cross. The continued existence of Asselt as a church and parish, essentially separate from Swalmen, speaks for its prestige. Asselt also stands as the ecclesia matrix, as the mother church of the Swalmen church.

123305 Baptismal and death registers, ministry, and income have always been separate. Due to the limited site and the small size of the old tollhouse, the first church building was also small, single-nave with a brick tower added on the east side, after the former had disappeared into the river during high tide. The church's material remained the old, rough, unpreserved stone that had served in the initial

123310 construction.

Near the church, the first settlement on the high bank had gradually grown into a not insignificant hamlet. This was due to its favorable location in the large bend, the deep channel, right along the Asselt bank, where heavily laden ships could safely

123315 anchor. The products of Wallonia—coal, slate, stone, and marl—were unloaded there and then transported by road to Gulikerland. The large houses, whose windows and doors are made of bluestone, still clearly show that a lot of money was earned here in the past. Moreover, the land behind the houses, towards Aldenborg and Swalmen, is fertile and has also helped to make Asselt prosperous. However, the church always remained the gathering place for the population, which consisted of farmers, merchants, and

123320 skippers.

IV. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

"The pain of war is causing the village great suffering."
"The Church, however, offers comfort for the worries of this world."

123325 While the entire world now contemplates death and destruction, it's a soothing impression to see the landscape surrounding the gray church so calmly peaceful and tranquil. The predominant color is green, but each part is colored in a different shade. The freshly mown floodplains are bright yellow-green, the wishwood is silver-gray interspersed with green, and the woods and clumps of trees in the background glow dark green against the light blue sky.

123330 The small pond before us, at the foot of the church wall, is a remnant of the old Maas arm and boasts a raised fringe of irises, while its dark surface is speckled with white lilies and large leaves. Hay carts come and go, and flocks of starlings roam the air, their busy twittering sounds. The sun bathes the small church in full

123335 light. It seems to be situated on a bastion, and with its strong walls, it feared no

attacks from the Maas. The steps, overshadowed by the foliage of a pollarded linden, lead us to the church level, which has been converted into a cemetery. Wild roses grow over and along the graves, while bluebells and wild field flowers strive to maintain their place alongside the lilies and roses planted by reverent hands. Here, for centuries, the village dead were laid to rest. In the shadow of the hallowed walls, they had to rest where they had so often found peace and solace in their lives, near the Maas River, which had given them the example of an ending and return to the infinite beginning, and whose waves and radiance had become dear to them. The church stands in the middle of the walled cemetery. A stone in the church's front wall, dating from the 15th century and written in Gothic letters, tells us that "Beel Ruese myt hore Kinderen" (Bear Ruese, my children, hear them) are buried there, who, according to tradition, perished simultaneously in a fire. A cross from 1558 invokes a prayer for "Jan Ruesse," probably a relative of the previous one. It is also noteworthy that from 1608 to 1609, Godefridus Ruijtsen was in charge of pastoral care in Asselt. Another gravestone mentions that Derk Aquarius died on January 4, 1679, and his wife, Agnes Beek, on February 24, 1673. The Aquarius family, formerly known as the van der Maesen family, is well-known throughout the country. Therefore, it would be desirable if the family ensured that this stone was re-placed in such a way as to preserve it from destruction, just like the nearby stone of a member of the Vogels family. A grave cross belonging to alderman Quiten is still present. A new small grave monument, simple in style and fitting in its simplicity, commemorating the late, worthy mayor Hendriex van Sijperhof, stands to the right of the entrance. The sun still sends down glow and sparkling rays of warmth through the pure air. The door in the tower, giving access to the church, stands wide open! The brick tower is not high and, in its modesty and proportion, forms a single entity with the small church, which itself strives to be simple with Asselt and its residents. The tower, as we have already mentioned in passing, originally stood on the other side, but was undermined by the never-ceasing floodwaters and finally swallowed by the water on a stormy winter night. Afterwards, it was raised in a safer location on the east side, and the part of the church that had crumbled along with the tower was rebuilt in brick. The altar was then placed beneath the tower, with the entrance on the north side. With two other altars, a few pews, and a wooden upper choir, the building was overcrowded and far too small for the population, which had grown by half in two centuries. Yet, its original purpose as a secular building was still evident from its location at the foot of the Maas River, where the houses were meters higher on the elevated bank. It was also evident from the simple, straight shape without ornamentation, the large, flat eastern facade, and the building materials, a mix of round and flat Roman tiles and flagstones. The masonry is rustic, cast from ironstone, granite, and sandstone, brought from more southern regions rather than locally sourced. Through additions and extensions, efforts were later made to give the whole structure the appearance of a parish church, a title they were so proud of. Asselt and Swalmen were two parishes, but Asselt was the mother church, whose history, however little recorded, was lost in the distant past. Swalmen, the residence of the gracious lord, with its castles of Hillenrade and Aldenborg, repeatedly disputed Asselt's right to reside there, claiming that the rectory was dependent on or subordinate to that of Swalmen. Lawsuits were filed, evidence was presented, and Asselt retained its independence to this day. In these legal documents, one learns about the tragic times and circumstances, how the church had fallen into disrepair in 1555, how it lay abandoned in 1570 after the attack by the Prince of Orange on Roermond, and how both the villages were half burned and completely pillaged. The ancient baptismal font on four pillars was broken; only the base was later recovered and has now been returned to its original purpose. Afterward, the fate of the small church, with its main altar and the side altars of Saint Catherine and Saint Agnes, became a concern. The court documents and church inspections offer a glimpse into history. In 1618, Theodora Maesen, aged 53, testified in an interrogation that Mass was said on Sundays and feast days, that sermons were preached, and that the parish priest had the right to assemble. A church inspection from February 11, 1669, states: that the main altar was used, that the Blessed Sacrament was kept on the side facing the Gospel in a well-locked wall cabinet, that the sanctuary lamp was lit with 25 cans of oil per year; That D. Joannes van Haeff was pastor of Swalmen and also of Asselt, that there was no parsonage. There were 254 communicants at the time and no dissidents. The baptismal font was located at the end of the choir, but was later moved to the back of the church. The baptismal register begins in 1617, that of marriages in 1621. The church council and alms masters were founded by Agnes van Asselt. On the Epistle side of the Gospel stands the altar of St. Agnes, founded by

Agnes van Asselt, and on the Epistle side stands the altar of St. Catherine. There was a brotherhood of Our Lady, endowed by Joannes Quiten. The cemetery is walled. The school is in the village of Swalmen. In the 1703 church inspection, the number of communicants had grown to 300. The two side altars were served by the vice-pastor, who also provided the foundation's income. He was required to teach the Catechism on Sundays and feast days. The sacristan was Petrus Rusch, appointed by the Marquis Schenck of Hillenrade.

In the booklet "Contributions to the history of Asselt and Swalmen" by A. Heffens, one can find more details of our time. The church was maintained as well as possible, but the ravages of time made their power increasingly felt.

"The tooth of time, never resting, continues to gnaw."

"He demolishes the wall, the arch, the wooden roof vault."

"Thus the church stood before us; what good is bitter lamentation?"

"Here is the man's word: go now and help yourself."

V. THE RESTORED CHURCH.

"His work will soon be completed; who will not praise it now?"

"And praise it as a good, a most Christian work?"

For the current circumstances, the church of Asselt had become far too small. Traces of decay were visible everywhere. This was because the limited resources only allowed for patchwork. Both reasons demanded swift action. The rector had been complaining of his plight long enough. During a visit by the Dutch Lion Society to Asselt and Hillenrade, led by the Provincial Society of Limburg, all fifty attendees, including Dr. Cuypers and many experts, loudly expressed their support for the urgent need for restoration, a sentiment later echoed by the newspapers. This visit was fruitful, as Dr. Cuypers took the initiative and convinced the government of the building's high value from an art-historical perspective. It was declared a monument, and the work was successfully completed, as we shall see.

To clearly show how it was arranged in the past and how it is now, we place the old floor plan alongside the current one below.

It is now a small cruciform church. It is perfectly constructed in the same form, the same material, and the same simplicity, enlarged and improved. The main features now include the tower, vestibule, nave, transept, choir, chapel, and sacristy. The two side towers lead via spiral staircases to the oxal and the children's upper choir. The whole has become a peaceful, charming, and attractive little church!

As can be seen from the aforementioned layout, the space has been maximized; it is liturgically arranged as purely as circumstances permitted and offers more than twice as much space as before. First, a word about the vaults. The stellar vaults are early Gothic, smaller and larger in proportion to the space; on the higher choir stands the high altar, made of reddish-brown veined marble, with the cross and the alpha and omega in the center in white and gold. The communion rail in Savonniere stone, made by Karel Lückner of Roermond, depicting the Savior's words, "Come to Me, all who are burdened and heavy laden, and I will lighten your load," has made me so highly esteem his work that I recommend seeing it and judging for yourself whether it pleases the eye and speaks to the spirit. The first station is also carved in Savonniere and lightly tinted. A few years ago, I saw the same stations on the exterior of the church as a bas-relief in the now Evangelical church in Treysa, Hesse. They are also found in other Hessian churches. The stained-glass windows by the Lord of Hillenrade, Herman Jozeph Rijksgraaf Wolff Metternich, and his wife Amelia Schall Riauco

The paintings donated by the Saxon Imperial Counts' family are not overloaded and are very meaningfully composed. In the window above the high altar, Christ is depicted teaching, accompanied by the four oldest Church Fathers and the four Evangelists; in the right and left windows of the nave are the twelve apostles; on the right in the hall are Saints Lambert and Boniface, and on the left are Saints Servatius and Willebrord. Thus, the history of the development of the Church in general, and that of the Netherlands and Limburg in particular, is depicted.

To the right of the choir lies a small hall, accessible from outside, the children's chapel. Mindful of the Savior's words, "Let the little ones come to me," their place is close to the altar, from where they can closely observe the sacred acts. The decoration of the three walls was undertaken by a top-notch artist, Miss Willebeeck Le Maire. The outlines of the depictions are incised into the edgestone; the statues themselves are tinted primarily in the blue gamma. The work is made in much the same way as one sees it on Egyptian monuments, carved into the flat wall on monoliths, rock tombs, and friezes. Most of the figures are also depicted from the side and repeated with some distinct movement. The main figure is turned more towards the

viewer. This creates a concentration of attention on the main figure and a soothing calm in the other.

Anyone who would expect such a depiction to leave the viewer cold through its mechanism is mistaken. It speaks to you as a revelation of captivating charm, of a convincing effect on the mind.

The Christ Child preaches to a double crowd of children. One must observe the reverence expressed by the gaze upon the little teacher, see the maternal pride of the Virgin Mary, and consider the trust of Saint Joseph, to sense the power of the depiction in that simplicity of line. The execution has reconciled me to the method and brought me closer to Toorop's ideal art, with which it shares similarities.

The figure of the little one, stretching out his hands and arms in amazement towards the Christ Child, is delightful, as are those of the Virgin Mary and Saint Francis. The artist has achieved the intended goal: she speaks a comprehensible and endearing language to the minds of the little ones.

We could say even more about the interior design. Also about the beautiful painting, said to be by Frans Wouwen, depicting the Savior on the cross.

He still extends his arms as if to draw everyone to himself. Also about the small church, now so magnificently restored, but which still lacks so many important items: baptismal font, organ, glass, and furniture. Rector Conraedts and his successor have undertaken many undertakings, supported by many, but the costs are considerable. The work has been recognized as a work of general Christian historical and archaeological value. Future generations will be grateful for the preservation of this monument.

Is it too much to say then if we once again warmly commend this unique monument of early Christian art to everyone's support? On August 5th and 6th, there will be a celebration in Asselt for the solemn inauguration. Authorities, music and art associations will join forces with the rector of Asselt and the residents to record this day as a remarkable one in the annals of Limburg's regional history. May the end crown the work with God's blessing.

A. F. VAN BEURDEN. Roermond.

July 1, 1926, before 1848? Scent bottle from Heel

Rector R. Driessen of Heel donated a well-preserved "balsamarium," or scent bottle, which was found there in a Roman crematorium.

ACQUISITIONS FOR THE MUSEUM.

The Gallo-Germanic urn, which was found at the Chapel in 't Zand in Roermond and donated to our Museum by Mr. H. Rayman (see Maasg. 1827 [1927?], p. 10), has taken its place in the Museum after first being restored at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

Mr. Frits Smeets of Echt, who has made a careful study of the sites of ancient pottery in Echt and the surrounding area, donated a collection of fragments to our Museum, primarily of Gallo-Germanic pottery. This donation is greatly appreciated because it is important for the study of prehistoric settlements in Central Limburg.

PRAISE FOR HELP.
The old church in Asselt, which our Society visited in the autumn, is threatened. We therefore strongly recommend reading the enclosed circular and hope that the request for a small contribution will not go unanswered.
The Editor.

June 11, 1932 HISTORY OF ASSELT

[...] When the Trappist Fathers of Achel Abbey recently began an investigation into the possessions lost to their monastery during the French Revolution, hoping to reconstruct the old altar in its original form, they were referred from Deurne to Asselt. They no longer found the altar in question there, but they did find remnants of it in the museum, which they recognized from old photographs. The description they gave and had of it matched the old altar in Asselt in every detail. They found the painting that had belonged to it as a retable, now framed as a valuable piece.

Although the monks submitted the necessary convincing evidence and were eager to have it back in their possession, they had to yield to the Asselt argument that they could uphold their rights to this piece, which had long since expired. During the negotiations, it further emerged that the possibility cannot be ruled out that the Asseltsche Christus depicts a work by the renowned Titian (1477-1576). Titian maintained friendly relations with the Trappist order at the time, and Achel Vluis claims, based on accounts, that the painting in question was a work by the Italian master.

- 123535 August 14, 1936: Archaeological discoveries in Swalmen (L.)
In recent weeks, archaeological investigations have been conducted in Swalmen (L.) on the Wijlerheide, by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, under the direction of curator Dr. F. C. Bursch.
- 123540 Last winter, several urns were discovered here during excavation work; the aim of the investigation was to determine the layout and size of the urn field. This investigation again unearthed several urns, which, together with the previously discovered specimens, provided a clear picture of the diversity in form and decoration. All the urns found are beautifully decorated, either with deeply incised geometric ornaments or simply with vertical finger impressions.
- 123545 The form and decoration point to an early stage of the urn culture, consistent with, for example, the urn types found a few years ago in Vlodrop.
Of great importance was the discovery of numerous burial mounds in the same area, eight of which were examined this year.
- 123550 These date from a much earlier period and belong to the so-called Beaker culture. Aside from a few pottery finds, this is the southernmost point in the Netherlands where this culture has been found to date.
The mounds served as burial monuments for one or (rarely) more deceased, who were buried in the center, and they always contain traces of a decayed burial structure.
- 123555 In most cases, this burial structure was dome-shaped, usually built of wood, although in one case it was particularly beautiful and clearly visible, made of sods.
In one case, the wooden dome was located twice, concentrically in the mound. Another mound showed a ring of alternating double and single posts around the burial pit.
In the grave, which was sometimes not dug into the solid ground, several clear depictions of the interred bodies were found, lying on their sides in a crouched
- 123560 position, with their knees drawn up, and always oriented towards the east. Twice, two bodies, lying on top of each other, could be clearly identified in this way.
Later, in one of the mounds, after the original wooden burial structure had collapsed due to rot, a body was found lying stretched out in a fire-carved tree trunk.
- 123565 The finds here were very rich. A total of 11 pieces of pottery were recovered, including four from one grave and four from the two double graves, respectively. 3 and 2. All the beakers had a curved S-shaped profile and were richly decorated with other rectilinear ornaments.
- See also http://www.loegiesen.nl/toponiemen/Dionysiuskerk_Asselt.htm
- 123570 In 1916, the Roermond surveyor and amateur historian A.F. van Beurden drew a sketch of the Asselt finds. He indicated three sarcophagi at the location where he located the lost tower. Former rector Conraedts also mentions some of the church burials in his 1917 article. In 1924, in one of the articles that would later attract the
- 123575 attention of archaeologist Holwerda, Van Beurden wrote: "Where the choir now stands above the crypt, thus on the former site of the drowned tower, there were six trench graves or sarcophagi, raised half a meter above the bank. According to folklore, anything outside these graves was unconsecrated; in a trench grave, a knife with an ivory handle (hilt?) was found, as was given by the seller to the buyer in the presence of the aldermen upon closing the sale. The burial site, formerly beneath the
- 123580 first tower, is described as the Van Asselt family grave."

April 15, 1640 **We believe we are doing the Archaeologists a favor**

by transcribing here the note that van den Berche placed below the first two drawings. "I pulled - he says - these two antique stones out of the originals which are masoned in the wall of the parish church of Horne, capital of the county, appenage of the county of Looz, on April 9, first of the Easter holidays 1640, and the pastor of the place told me at the time that he had several medals of the Roman emperors found at the said Horn." van den Berch then describes several Roman antiquities and medals found at Heel, a village located a league from Horn. He adds: "The most admirable is from the same place, that the village of Heel is called after Helena (1); what is known by tradition and is all the more credible since a statue of very fine white marble was found in the ground that was dug up, and is still, this April 15, 1640, lying on the real road, but very broken, because one can see the thighs from above to the ankles of the same piece of the height of six feet and a half; which is of a lady, to be veiled by her body like the Roman ladies; and they hold for certain that the rest of the statue is still in the ground."

January 1, 1789 **The lives of illustrious Greeks and Romans, compared by PLUTARCH**

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER [and of Caesar]

Having given this charge to convey to PARMENIO, he placed the helmet on his head; as if he had already put on his other weapons in the tent, consisting (1/†) in a closing skirt of Sicilian make surrounded by a belt, and over a doubled linen coat of arms, from the booty obtained in the Battle of Issus. His helmet was of iron, made by THEOPHILUS (m/\$), who had worked it so beautifully that it glittered as if it had been pure silver. Attached to this helmet was a ring collar, also made of iron, but here and there set with stones. His sword was of unparalleled temper and exceptional lightness. It was given to him by the King of the Citians (n/**). He wore this because he was generally accustomed to use a sword in battle. The sling on which this sword hung was more beautiful in work than his other armor, being the work of HELICON the Ancient, and a tribute to the Citizenship of the Rhodians, from which ALEXANDER had received him as a gift. Here too he was always accustomed to use himself in battles. Furthermore, as long as he was still busy arranging the Phalanx, or correcting something or other, or giving orders, or riding through the ranks for inspection, he used another horse, so that he could use the Bucephalus, who was already turning a year old, wanted to save. Then as soon as they were not ready to go to work, this horse was fetched; which no sooner had he climbed than he gave the signal to attack.

(†) The accuracy of our author is extraordinary here, as he not only describes the weapons that ALEXANDER wore on this day, one by one, but also carefully lists their craftsmen. This remarkable blow, namely, destroyed the Persian Monarchy. Furthermore, DACIER has very well noted: >> that PLUTARCHUS here too followed the manner of HOMERUS.

(\$) We have heard of this artist elsewhere, as well as of HELICON, who is subsequently mentioned.

(**) Inhabitants of Citium, a town on the Island of Cyprus.

How, said he, will any man take the trouble in his own person to furnish his horse, or to repair his lance, or helmet, who is loath to lay his hands upon his own dear body?" "Don't you know, Did he say that the main point of victory for your people is that you do not do the same that they do who are conquered by you? Furthermore, for this reason, he devoted himself much more to all kinds of activities, such as battles and hunting, for which he feared no fatigues or dangers. It was also from here that a certain Spartan Representative, who was present when he felled a great Lion, shouted to him: "Truly, ALEXANDER, you fought very bravely with that Lion for the Kingship!" From this hunt CRATERUS made a dedication in the Temple at Delphi, consisting of copper images of the Lion, of the Dogs, of the King who fights with the Lion, and of himself who comes to the rescue.

Part of it was made by LYSIPPUS (k), another part by LEOCHARES.

(k) This gift of CRATERUS, consecrated in the Temple at Delphi, is mentioned among the works of LYSIPPUS by PLINY H. N. XXXIV, 7. The same PLINY speaks of LEOCHARES, L. XXXIV, 8. and XXXVI, 5.

January 1, 1809 **Plutarch's Lives, translated by J. and W. Langhorne**

As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer, he put on his helmet; for in other points he had come ready-armed out of his tent. He had a short coat of the Sicilian fashion girt close about him, and over that abreast-plate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the

workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so well polished that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon which he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citeans, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt, which he wore in all his engagements, was more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon 99 had exerted all his art upon it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as in exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse; but he constantly charged upon him; and he had no sooner mounted him, than the signal was always given.

99 In this description of Alexander's armour, and the mention of the workmen by whom it had been made, as well as in the principle of his preceding reply to Parmenio, and the eagle introduced below, Dacier traces the imitator of Homer. Helicon and his father Acesus were eminent in the art of embroidery, as we learn from Athenaeus, xi. 9., who preserves an inscription to that purport copies from the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

After this, he constantly took the exercise of war or hunting, and exposed himself to danger and fatigue with less precaution than ever: so that a Lacedaemonian ambassador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, said: "Alexander, you have disputed the prize of royalty gloriously with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece represented in bronze, and consecrated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting with the lion, and Craterus advancing to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares.

January 1, 1807 **"Ring Collar"**

According to a description from 1840, a kind of ring collar was found in Meijel in 1807:

I very much doubted the report that a farmer in Deurne Liessel was in possession of a Roman sword and a golden shield that was dug into the Peel, because I had never heard anything about it. Research has also shown me that no one knows anything about it, probably people have confused this with what took place in the neighboring municipality of Meijel. In the year 1807 a gold shield was found there. Having been in Meyel for a number of years, I went to the house of the then mayor Goossens to see this curiosity. He showed me a shield which had been found in the peel in the year 1807 about five feet below the surface of the ground in the peel on the occasion of a peat digging, it was made of gold or at least heavily gilded hammered work, on it were hieroglyphs and other figures of lions, tigers etc driven, and had the shape of a crescent moon, much resembling a ring collar

This description indicates a phalera, and has a stunning similarity to The phalara from Starobêlsk, as shown in Figure 20 of Iranians and Greeks in South Russia.

~~Naar het berigt~~ Ik heb het berigt dat een landbouwer te Deurne Liessel in het bezit zoude zijn van een ~~oud~~ romeinsch zwaard en een goud schild welk in den peel zoude zijn uitgegraven, zeer betwijfeld, wijl ik er nooit iets van vernomen had. ook is mij bij onderzoek ~~verzekerd~~ gebleken dat er niemand iets van weet. waarschijnlijk heeft men dit verward met ?? het geen in de naburige gemeente Meyel heeft plaats gehad. ~~In het jaar 1807~~ men heeft ~~men~~ aldaar een goud schild gevonden. voor eenige jaren te Meyel zijnde heb ik mij naar het huis van den toenmaligen burgemeester Goossens begeven om deze merkwaardigheid te zien. hij vertoonde mij een schild welk in den peel in het jaar 1807 omtrent vijf voeten onder ~~het onder~~ de oppervlakte van den grond ~~in den peel~~ bij gelegenheid eener turfgraving gevonden was, hetzelve was van goud of althans zwaar verguld ~~gedreven werk~~, op hetzelve waren hyroglyphen en andere figuren van leeuwen, tijgers &c gedreven, en had de vorm van een halve maan, veel gelekende naar een ringkraag zoo als de kapiteins der infanterie ~~voor~~ ? nog niet zeer lang geleden op de borst droegen.

May 9, 1817 **In an old booklet, which was published in Venlo in 1821**

by Widow H. Bontamps under the title of Short geographical sketch of the province of Limburg for youth, page 35-36 the following footnote:

"When on May 9, 1817, a resident of this city (Venlo), to erect a new factory building, had the ground excavated behind his house (N° 693 in the Vleeschstraat), they found a depth of 7 to 8 feet, on a stoneslab, surrounded by clay, lying on a layer of pebbles. Its length was 6 and a half, its width 4 feet. The egg-shaped carved depth was 6 feet long and 3 and a half wide, provided with a very fitting

lid. This lid is a table hewn from hard limestone, 4 inches thick, very smooth on the inside and on the edge. The tuff stone, which makes up the sarcophagus (stone coffin), cannot be found in the entire area, but the blue limestone is brought here by barges from the area around Namur. The sarcophagus stood in a direction from east to west, there was another tin urn, where it was widest 11 inches in height and 15 in diameter. Its shape is very simple, the opening is 6 inches wide, and is closed by a lid. In the sarcophagus were found some pieces of white thin glass, probably from a tear glass, some earth and remains of burnt bones, among which pieces of the skull and bones were clearly visible. Also in the urn, there was something resembling burnt bones; but in much smaller chunks. The Sarcophagus was without inscription. However, around the urn one sees Runic writing, which is not deeply and irregularly printed in the tin, and for this reason, as well as because of the dents in the urn, is illegible. In the vicinity of the grave site, another flint of 12 to 15 inches in length and 6 inches in thickness was found."

The question is whether anything more is known in Venlo about that find and where the objects are currently located.

November 26, 1819 **ECHTERNACH, near TRIER, November 10.**

In the vicinity of Alttrier, 2 1/2 hours southwest of Echternach, in a high-lying village, through which the road to Luxembourg leads, many Roman antiquities have recently been excavated, which are very remarkable for history and archaeology. Among other things, a silver hand of a Roman coat of arms was found; two Roman signet rings of gold with red stones, on one of which the goddess *Diana* was found, and on the other a sphinx; several broad silver rings, on which the niches of the Empresses *Faustina*, *Lucilla* and *Didia Clara* are engraved; many Roman hairpins, ash urns and grave lamps. A great quantity of gold, silver and copper coins, among which a Nero, two Commodi, a Constantinus M. and a Constans of gold; an exceptionally rare Pescennius Riger, a Marciana, a Mathedia, several Faustinas, Julia Mameas and others, of fine silver. Among the urns were found two of *terra sigillata*, the most beautiful that have ever been seen, on which more than 50 figures are depicted. Furthermore, two Roman hand mills of stone were excavated, a sacrificial bull with sacrificial instruments hung around it, two Mercuries of rons, a he-goat, a goat and two Priapes of copper, a surgical instrument, 60 household gods of stone of various colours; some stones with Roman Emperors on horseback; some statues of gods and goddesses, among which two of white marble, representing the goddess *Nehalennia*, with a dog on her lap.

From the multitude of objects found, it appears that this region was of importance. The Romans had a colony here, which is believed to have been located on the road from Trier to *Durecorturum* (Rheims).

1 January 1828 **NEERHAREN. A beautiful Roman silver jug was found in Neerharen** in 1828, during the construction of the canal from Maastricht to Bois-le-Duc [*Zuidwillemsvaart, Maastricht 's-Hertogenbosch*]. This vase, which lay near the current point, three metres below the ground, at a height of 0.322 and is decorated with chiseling and circles on the neck and foot. The bottom of the vase, also chiseled, bore an inscription. This beautiful object has been part of the Leiden Museum since 1831 (1).

(1) C. Leemans, Roman objects in Maastricht, p. 69.

18 June 1830 - **Two day laborers from Baarlo, Limburg, busy digging up clay,** found, while digging, an earthenware vase filled with antique gold and silver medals, worth 300 fl.; they are all the size of a 25 cent coin.

22 June 1830 **To the editors of the Éclaireur politique.**

Baarlo, June 19, 1830.

Gentlemen,

In your issue of yesterday, you reported on the find that was made here, a few days ago, while digging up clay. - It is true, gentlemen, that an urn filled with various coins, both silver and gold, was found there, but of a greater value than the 300 florins mentioned in your newspaper.

I know that the owner, Mathieu Holtakkers, sold them in the first days to one person for 1600 fl., and since then to others for 3000 fl. - It seems that the urn is never empty, since he still sells them every day, and one even pays 4 fl. for a silver coin and 20 fl. for a gold coin the size of a Napoleon.

Most of the coins that make up this collection are different from each other and date from the time of Nero, Vespasian, Trajan, Faustina Augusta, Diva Augusta,

Antonina and other Roman emperors.
A subscriber.

- 123785 September 1, 1830 **BAARLO** In 1830, in the month of September, a certain Holtakkers, called den Bisschop, found in the municipality of Baarlo opposite the church, on the side of Blerick (the old Blariacum), an urn, containing several hundred Roman coins from different consulates in gold and silver, a collection which was dispersed in the surrounding area, but the greater part of which was purchased
- 123790 by Mr. Louis Wolters, banker in Venlo.
- January 1, 1833 **In Leende, in 1833, on the occasion of peat digging,** a blacksmith discovered, at a depth of almost twelve Rhineland feet, three Roman tokens of yellow copper, of the first size, excellently preserved, bearing the busts
- 123795 and names of AUGUSTUS CLAUDIUS and NERO.
Bl. 17. Magusamus or Macusanus. The Dommel flows past here.
- January 1, 1835 **MONTFORT. Stone and bronze weapons have been found** in this village on several occasions. One of these objects is in the 's-Hertogenbosch museum. It is a quarter-axe, found in 1835, in a peat bog, 8 to 10 feet below the ground. (1) Mr. Guillon, notary in Roermond, gave the Royal Museum of Brussels four stone axes or wedges, three of which were made of flint and one of basalt, found in 1836 and 1837 in the peat bogs of the commune of Montfort. (2)
- 123800 May 4, 1837 **NETHERLANDS. - In the most recently published issue** of the Nederlandsch Magazijn you will find an article about the recently excavated urns in North Brabant [Noord Brabant]. This mainly means that reports have recently been found in several of our newspapers regarding the excavation of antiquities in the municipality of Deurne, province of North Brabant, and now the Editorial Staff of
- 123810 the above-mentioned warehouse has received some details regarding that excavation, mainly as follows: A Ritmeester [captain] at the regiment of hussars n°. 6, having noticed on an earlier occasion that some mounds on the Kempen heath, when excavated, turned out to be burial mounds and contained urns or ash jars, I came up with the idea that some such mounds, which were found on the heath near Deurne, its current
- 123815 cantonment, were present, may have served such purposes and contained antiquities. With the permission of the mayor there, five urns or ash jars were found, which increased with subsequent excavations and now already exceed the number of fifty. It is a pity that the husbandmen, hearing of this, also began to dig on their side, in the hope of finding treasure; smashed or damaged the urns they dug up; great was the disappointment of these people when they found in it nothing but ashes and some half-decayed apparent human bones, such as skulls, ribs, thigh bones, etc. Not one token or coin has been recovered; only a piece of metal, which one thinks should be taken for a mouthpiece of a wind instrument. The urns found are of different sizes, but all of virtually the same shape, some with lids. The heathland in which the urns were
- 123820 found is approximately four hectares in size, the mounds are fairly regular, but the entire area appears to have served as a cemetery, because urns have also been found outside the mounds and at some distance from them. The urns are usually covered with a layer of charcoal. After all, as soon as one finds it, one is certainly close to an urn. Some are so high that one finds the fibrous roots of the common heather at the top of the ash; others have been found deeper, but at uneven depths. The substance from which these pots or urns are composed is smooth, solid, and of a dark brown color; no vitrification is visible on it, nor any inscription or inscription. If these were made in Deurne, where two potteries are now found, then one must admit that this art has not made any progress there in 10 or 15 centuries; These urns are
- 123825 purer and smoother and treated with more care than is currently the case. The excavations are continuing in some places, but in the urns, as mentioned, nothing but ashes and the above-mentioned human bones are found.
- February 25, 1842 **Mr. P. O. P. Guyot in Nijmegen of a very remarkable collection** of bronzes and other objects found near Deurne in North Brabant, most of which had been collected by Captain Baron van Vorst, who handed them over to Mr. Guyot. This important acquisition, together with the urns and other objects reported in 1838 and 1839, puts the Museum in possession of the principal and rarest results of the excavation near Deurne. All these scattered discoveries, now brought together, form a
- 123840 whole which may shed great light on the knowledge of the ancient peoples who once inhabited our country. Most of these objects are described by Mr. Janssen, the curator, in the Kunst en Letterbode of 1838, pages 370-395.
- 123845

January 3, 1844 * **BOXMEER, December 31 Recently in this community,**

on the occasion of a useful excavation or excavation of a piece of pasture belonging to Mr Hengst, several remarkable Roman antiquities have been found, consisting of urns, grave lamps and other pottery of various sizes and whitish in colour, as well as some copper coins with the images and names of Roman emperors. The land on which the excavation took place is situated at a natural height, so that it is never watered by the waters of the flooding Maas, while the surrounding lands are flooded almost annually; perhaps it is due to this characteristic that the Romans chose that place for a cemetery; that this was indeed the case is clearly demonstrated by what has been found.

In the past, little or nothing was heard in these regions about the discovery of Roman antiquities and it is due to the ignorance in this regard and to the greed of the workers that one unfortunately has to regret the shattering of some objects that are so valuable to enthusiasts. Now, however, the work is being continued attentively under the owner's supervision and it is hoped that, with the help of experts, a more detailed report of what has been found will be given later.

1848 **ANTIQUE COLLECTIONS IN ROERMOND, VENLO AND MAASTRICHT IN 1848**

BY JOS. HABETS ROERMOND, J. J. ROMEN AND ZONEN.

In 1848 the late Mr. Janssen, curator, took over at the Royal Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, on behalf of the government, an art tour through Limburg. The purpose of this visit was to give a report on the condition of the archaeological monuments of this region and to investigate the direction of the old Roman highways that crossed this province. Mr. Janssen visited Tongeren, Maastricht, Roermond and Venlo. He carried out excavations in Melenburg near Buggenum and undertook a trip in the vicinity of Arcen to a few earthenware fortifications that seemed to have served to protect the Fossa Eugeniana and found in the vicinity, in Zand near Pont, on Prussian territory, the Roman road from Coriovallum to Xanten (Castra Vetera) and a number of Roman antiquities.

From his report we take what he has recorded regarding the collection from the pre-Christian period of the late Mr. Charles Guillon in Roermond, as well as some details about Roman objects that were at the town hall in Venlo and Maastricht at the time. See here what he has done regarding the antiquities of the late Mr. Guillon.

"In Roermond there is one of the richest collections of Dutch antiquities, namely that of Mr. Ch. Guillon, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce there. As a private collection of national antiquities, it is inferior only in Roman antiquities to that of Mr. P. C. G. Guyot in Nijmegen, but it far surpasses it in Gallo-Germanic remains, especially in carving objects made of stone (1=1). Moreover, it has the peculiarity that it was collected by the owner himself and his brother, and that, with the exception of tokens and some objects found in Xanten, everything was found in the Duchy of Limburg, and that the places where it was discovered were are known accurately. Anyone who wishes to know the character of the antiquities to be found in Limburg in general will find satisfaction in this collection, especially under the guidance of the knowledgeable owner.

"For a long time, Mr. Guillon had intended to publish the most important part of his collection, and also to publish a general overview of it, but this was something he was prevented from doing by his many practical activities. Much has already been drawn up and depicted by him, and during my presence there he renewed his intention to continue the scientific work that had already begun as soon as possible.

Accordingly, it would first appear in the light: a treatise on the investigations he made in Gallo-Germanic graves in various places in Limburg, and then a treatise on his cutting tools made of stone. All drawings and a large part of the text have already been completed on both subjects.

"To give some idea of the nature, size and importance of this collection, the following overview, based on autopsy, will serve; however, only the most important information is indicated with the greatest brevity.

A. CELTIC AND GALLO-GERMANIC OBJECTS.

I. Of stone: 1° A number of wedges and some hammers, perhaps 50 pieces, mostly made of flint and of well-known shapes. Very rare, perhaps entirely unique, are two wedges of Jasper, one of which has a very narrow drilled hole on the side of 2 stripes in diameter, the other also shows traces of such a hole, but the drilling of which has failed. These holes were apparently intended to allow a strap to be inserted through which these objects could be hung. They are therefore so important,

because from those narrow holes it must be concluded that a metal awl was drilled and it therefore appears that such wedges, which originate from the time of the earliest civilization of a people, were processed or used when the use of metal for technical instruments was already in vogue (1=2). Among these wedges there are four more that deserve comment because of their rarer shape.

2° A number of arrowheads, approximately 40 pieces, made of flint, including at least 11 or 12 distinctive shapes. Until now, not more, perhaps not even as many forms of flint arrowheads have been known, and the variety of the arrowheads mentioned is all the more important when one considers that they all come from a single part of our homeland, the Duchy of Limburg.

3° Flint blades 20 pieces of different shapes and sizes, as well as small as yet unknown objects made of flint, some similar to those depicted by me on the map of the Uddelermeer, etc., to my treatise On the oldest Dutch fortifications in the Contributions of Mr. Nijhoff IV p. 71.

II. Made of bronze. 1° Celts, frames or catejen, 5 pieces, of known shapes. 2° one pear-shaped dagger. 3° one arrowhead, in shape completely similar to one of the flints mentioned above. If this arrowhead is not Roman, but, as it seems to me, probably Celtic or Gallo-Germanic, it proves once again that the forms of tools used in the Stone Period were kept track of later in the Bronze Period (1=3).

III. Made of iron. 1° A flat bowl of 0.085 cubits in diameter and 0.04 cubits high. As far as I know, similar iron bowls have not yet been found elsewhere with Germanic objects. 2° A cone-shaped bell, provided with an eye at the top, high 0.1 inch; as well as some individual clappers made of similar bells. These objects found near or in Germanic urns are also extremely rare, if not unique. 3° Three arrowheads, one of which, with a hollow stem and provided with barbs, long 0.11 or 0.12 cubits, which may be mistaken for the Germanic framea by the owner. 4° Seven blades of three distinct shapes. 5° Two buckles of distinct shapes (1=4).

IV. Of baked earth: A very large number of urns and other vases and dishes, of various shapes, sizes, workmanship and decoration, some of which are rare.

B. ROMAN OBJECTS.

An important part of this has already been mentioned in our report on Melenburg (2=5). In addition, however, 150 jars, urns, dishes, lamps, etc., including some made of terra sigillata; a large bronze bowl (patera) and a hexagonal bottle of light green glass (3=6), not to mention many other small objects.

"The Roman objects found at corals of pâte of different colors and shapes; round belt decorations of white, yellow and blue pâte (formerly considered to be stem beans) (2=8). These Xanten objects are still increasing, because the owner has a regular purchaser in Xanten, so he cannot miss an important object newly found there. This is all the more important because the well-known Xanten antiquity friend, the notary Houben, has ceased to increase his collection through purchases in recent years, so that much is now preserved for science that would otherwise be scattered or hidden from many antiquarians.

"For the medal collection, which contains 2000 pieces of Roman coins, with the exception of the medieval and later ones, because time did not permit me to do so, I was only able to use a part, which included some rare pieces such as: the as quadrans, triens, some consular and one, I believe, unpublished by Postumus".

This report by Mr. Janssen shows the condition in which this remarkable collection of antiquities was during his visit to Roermond in 1848. Since that time, the late Mr. Guillon has spared no effort and no sacrifices to increase his favorite collections and by to enrich new purchases, so that it can be assumed without

exaggeration that the number of objects more than doubled until his death, which occurred on November 10, 1873. The value of what was acquired later is also much greater than what was seen by Mr. Janssen. His library, his collection of archives, manuscripts, maps, drawings, etchings, paintings and objects of art and taste were auctioned and distributed in December 1874. However, this is not the case with his collection of coins, medals, stamps, carved stones, as well as with the above-mentioned collection of archaeological objects from the prehistoric, Germanic, Classical and Frankish times. These have remained in the possession of Mr. Clement Guillon, lawyer in Roermond. It would be desirable that the government or one of our Limburg cities purchased this collection; they could well serve as the basis for a municipal Museum.

Mr. Janssen reports the following on relatively few Roman tiles with legion marks that he saw in Venlo: "On the trip to Venlo I heard from a fellow traveler that there was a collection of Roman antiquities at the town hall, deposited by a certain Mr. Justen, wine merchant in Brussels. When I inquired about this at the town hall

123980 from the employees present there, Mr Canoy replied that the collection had been sold
by the owner for some time to the Provincial Society of Sciences in 's
Hertogenbosch, with the exception of a few tiles, which were considered too
123985 insignificant, and which were now produced at my request. These were by no means
unimportant, and the only regret was that no one knew where they had been found. I
guessed that they descended from proximity to Venlo, where many Roman tiles (with
legion marks) are found; finally because some stamps of these stones do not
correspond to stamps found in Nijmegen, many of which, perhaps thousands, I have
examined. The stamps of the Venlo-tiles contained the names of army divisions:
123990 (L)IMIN (legio 1 Minerva), (L)VR (legio 5 rapax), LEGVIVIC (legio 6 victrix), LXV
(legio 15), LEGXXX, LEGXXXVV (legio 30 Ulpia Victrix); also EXCGERINF (exercitus
Germaniae inferioris) and RHENANA, with the latter name it should be noted that the
word TRANS was probably written on an associated tile, so that that stone comes from
the legio transrhenana, of which, among other things, tiles were found in Dormagen
are, according to STEINER Cod. Inscr. Rom. Rhen. No 699 or 697. Below this was a
123995 worn inscription, probably from the VIth legion, but with one name unknown to me.
Furthermore, there were three very rare ones, in that on the surface of the stone
where the inscription was located, there were three convex, button-shaped eminences,
which probably served to prevent the stamp from being damaged when laying another
tile, they had this form:
124000 0.25.

Another tile was therefore remarkable in that the stamp had been pressed on it
twice, crosswise, as follows:
Of the factory stamps I found only one that was somewhat legible, namely: OF. M
124005 (officina Marcelli or something like that.)"
So much for Mr. Janssen's notes. There would be confusion in science if the
locations of antiquities were not stated accurately and truthfully. Roman legion
tiles are the sure sign of the presence of Roman army units and permanent military
stations.
124010 It would therefore be of the utmost importance if one could find out where the
aforementioned legion marks were found. With this aim in mind, we contacted Mr
Gallot, then secretary of the city of Venlo, who, with a date of April 16, 1877,
very willingly informed us of the following: "Mr A. Justen, on his departure from
here to Brussels, (around the year 1843) requested to be allowed to temporarily
124015 place his collection of stuffed birds and antiques at the town hall, which he was
granted. Some time later he sold his antiquities to the provincial museum in 's
Hertogenbosch; a few Roman tiles remained, and these are the ones that Mr. Janssen
van Leiden saw here on site. Mr. Justen sold his collection of stuffed birds to his
native city of Venlo, and they were placed with the remaining Roman tiles in a room
124020 of the building of the Higher Civic School in that city, where they are still
located today. If I remember correctly, the tiles in question would have been found
in the vicinity of Venlo, namely in Baarlo, Grubbenvorst or elsewhere."
This does not resolve the doubt about the origin of the Venlo tiles. For science
they still remain what in the field of heraldry is called objects of inquiry.
124025 In Maastricht, Mr. Janssen visited the Roman objects that were found in the
Stokstraat in 1840 and described by Dr Leemans in his work entitled Oudheden van
Maastricht (1=9). He found it wrapped in paper, stored in a cupboard at the town
hall. He regretted that these objects were not accessible to the public and spoke to
Mayor Nierstrass about the desirability of displaying these items openly and having
124030 a lectern made for this purpose, which the Lord Mayor declared himself willing to
do.
After elaborating on other antiquities of the city of Maastricht, the reporter
continues: "Among the antiquities from pre-Christian times, present in Maastricht,
but left unmentioned by those who have written about Maastricht antiquities, are
124035 some objects that are in the collection of *Société des amis des arts et des sciences*
are preserved. These are two Roman lamps, one scent flask, one bronze mantle hook
(fibula), two bone hair needles and one (non-Roman) wedge of flint, the latter
damaged and coming from a cultivated area near the St. Pietersberg (2=10); also a
coffin of red sandstone, square in shape and Roman in origin, according to me.
124040 This is remarkable because of four round, niche-shaped arches, carved from the
inside into the walls, probably in imitation of the niches of the Columbaria, in
which the urns containing the bones and ashes of the dead were usually placed. The
place where this coffin was found was not known, but at my request they would
investigate it (1=11).
124045 I found another hitherto unknown and very likely Roman monument in the cave of the

Church of Our Lady, a cave that, judging by the shape of the columns, dates from the 11th century. It was a gray sandstone, elongated square in shape and very well carved into the shape of an altar, the height of ? inch. However, there was no trace of inscription to be discovered, and it seemed to me that there had never been an inscription on it, and was therefore probably transferred as merchandise, to be provided with an inscription later, when someone needed an altar or tombstone. There are more examples of this from Roman times. This altar lay in a deserted corner, against the wall, but deserved a better place, where it was protected from loss or mutilation."

After this remark, Mr. Janssen proceeds to discuss two examples of negligence that were committed around the time of his trip to Maastricht. He gives an incorrect representation of the well-known sale of the Romanesque relic cabinets of the St. Servatius Church, which sale the writer puts at the expense of the church council of Our Lady, and furthermore he initiates a campaign against tasteless and inartificial repairs in the same Our Lady Church. "A few years ago," he says, "the council of this church approved the beautiful Romanesque columns of the choir (which I believe are made of sandstone and remains from the 11th century), whose beautiful sculpture is no less fascinating than that of the portal of St. Servaas Church, to have it painted in the manner of red-colored marble! Similar mutilations will be difficult to prevent if ecclesiastical councils or administrations continue to exhibit a complete lack of taste and artistry. But it would be desirable that in colleges of this nature there was at least always a member who had some knowledge of or respect for ancient art, so that, if there was a danger that artistic remains were overused or otherwise damaged or removed, the competent authorities would immediately be notified in order to prevent the danger. Perhaps a disposition of the Ministers of Worship could have a favorable influence on this. Whatever this may be, I felt obliged to respectfully propose to your Excellency the means indicated for the future prevention of similar crimes."

From Maastricht, Mr. Janssen left for Tongeren to use some classical antiquities present in and near that city. We will not follow the traveler on this journey, because objects of that nature, found outside our duchy, do not immediately fall within our purview.

Notes

(1=1) Mr. Janssen calls the products from the Stone Age "Gallo-Germanic remains." Since 1848, however, science has advanced rapidly and there is no longer any mention of Gallo-Germanic objects from the Stone Age.

(1=2) The Catalog d'antiquités of the Guillon collection, published in 1874, does not agree with Mr. Janssen. At No 79 the maker says: "Hache toute polie, oblongue, belle, perforée d'un petit trou, peut-être naturel, provenant de Thorn." In the flint there are indeed several small pockets or veins, filled with lime dust, which, dissolved by the rainwater, form small holes. The worker of the stone may therefore have taken advantage of the natural state of his material, but such holes may also have been created, wholly or partly, by drilling. On the mechanical drilling of flint with flint cf. Dr WINKLER, Man for history, p. 233.

(1=3) See Catalog des antiquités, No 198, where this arrowhead appears as found in Putbroek near Echt, in the vicinity of Roermond. Cf. about such arrowheads and about a pear-shaped bronze lance Dr WINKLER p. 417.

(1=4) The Catalog seems to have classified these Germanic objects from the Iron Age among the antiquities of a later date. After all, at the end of the section Poterie germaine p. 21 one finds it reads: "L'age de fer, pour ce qui regarde le Limbourg avant la conquête de Romains, n'a guère de représentants qui puissent se produire." The iron bowls, mentioned above, probably find their place under No 838, der "objets en fer douteux quant à l'époque". It was found in Heibloom near Roggel. I have not seen any iron bells or clappers in the Catalogue.

(2=5) We hope to discuss these objects at the same time as the assignment ravages carried out by the late Mr. Janssen in Melenborg.

(3=6) Catalog No 411 found in the Graatheide near Sittard.

(1=7) Maybe No 414, but the Catalog notes this as coming from Heyen in Limburg

(2=8) Catalog Nos 421, 422, 423 and 424.

(1=9) Leiden 1843, with atlas.

(2=10) These objects are located at the town hall at the same time as those from Stokstraat. We hope that as soon as a permanent location is found to store our growing collections, these antiquities can also be transferred to our provincial museum.

(1=11) The sandstone coffin mentioned here comes from Schinveld. It is mentioned in the Bulletin de l'academie royale de Bruxelles, tome V, No 4 and in the Publ. etc. du Limbourg, II p. 232. The late Mr. Cudell wrote about this chest and about a few other stone chests found at Limbricht, a treatise which has not been printed. See Publ. etc. du Limb. VIII p. 302. The Schinveldse chest was built in 1869 by Jhr. Victor de Stuers and writer, found in Maastricht next to the gate of the royal atheneum, under a pile of paving stones. She was taken to the Museum of our Society, where she is now safe.

December 14, 1849 - **In the municipality of Haelen, near Roermond,** there is a place called Melenborg (perhaps a corruption of Menenborg, a castle of the Menapiers), lying along the old Maas, and on the other side adjoining the old Roman road that ran from Tongeren to Nijmegen. This place, probably once a fortified Roman camp, has repeatedly attracted the attention of antiquities enthusiasts. Last November, Dr. Jansen, curator at the museum in Leiden, carried out excavations on a fairly large scale, where they found: a denarius of Antoninus Pius, several copper writing pens, pieces of earthenware with the name of the manufacturer, and other rarities. Dr Jansen's research into the local conditions has led him to determine the direction of the old Roman road and its branches at Melenborg. Last Monday, a farmer unearthed an idol of Anubis, an Egyptian deity, in the same place, in which Mercury was worshiped in the form of a dog; its veneration was introduced into Rome in the time of the Emperors, as was that of Isis and Senapis. This statue (currently the property of Mr. Slangen, private receiver in Haelen), is chiseled from whitish, fairly hard stone, and has 60 Dutch inches in height and 15 inches in diameter; it lay 80 to 90 inches deep in the ground. It is remarkable that the height of Melenborg is safe from the highest Maas water, and that the objects found, such as nails, bones, lime, freshly plastered walls, etc., were all covered with a layer of sandy earth of a Dutch cubits and more thickness, which suggests that built-up land is gradually becoming higher.

January 1, 1850 [...] **Numerous objects from the stone, bronze and iron periods** have emerged from his [=Limburg] soil in the past and later. The scientific investigations to discover this date back to around 1825. These were initiated by Mr CHARLES GUILLON, notary in Roermond. A very well-to-do man, he built up a large collection of antiquities, of all kinds and from different eras, which continued until his death on November 10, 1873 was regularly supplemented. Later it was dispersed through sale, but fortunately most objects from prehistoric times have found a home in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. [...]

April 11, 1850 [...] **From the excavations and research under the supervision** of Dr. JANSSEN, on behalf of the Government, in Melenberg, under the municipality of Halen and Beugenem, in Limburg:
Some BUILDING FRAGMENTS of cut stone, tiles of various shapes and HEAT TUBES of baked earth, fragments of BOWLS, POTS, JARS and VASES of baked earth, with and without manufacturer's marks; under those marks CAJUS F, BASSUS F OR MASCULI (or MASCUI) etc.; fragments of glass BOWLS and BOTTLES; bronze and iron TYPES and HAIR NEEDLES, BUCKLES, MANTEL HOOKS, DRILLS, fragments of SWORDS, RINGS, HOOKS, etc., silver coin (denarius) of ANTONINUS PIUS and a bronze of the 2nd gr. by FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER. [...]

April 11, 1850 MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES.
The uncertainty as to whether or not a considerable series of monuments, sent here in the latter part of the past year, should or could be regarded as a gift to the Museum, and the desire to obtain a report on the increases and changes which the collection had undergone, to make it as complete as possible, were the main reasons that caused a delay in drawing up and communicating our following report. Anyone who has taken note, even superficially and from the reports of newspapers and magazines, of the important discoveries through which the field of archeology has expanded so considerably in recent years, and who considers how indispensable the fruits of these discoveries are to filling in the numerous gaps in the history of civilization and art, but also in the collections in which the building materials of that history are preserved, - we will regret that the needs of the National Museum increasingly exceed the support funds that can be made available, exceed; that this unfavorable circumstance causes a standstill and a decline due to that standstill, the adverse consequences of which will no longer be able to be compensated later, even if the future is favorable and there is more room for resources. We had to make this remark in order to appreciate even more the acquisitions that we have once again been able to thank during the past year, both to the extraordinary compensation from the government and to the patriotic and selfless cooperation of several supporters of science. The normal social security funds do not tolerate purchases at all, and are not even sufficient to provide for the essential needs for exhibition and the intact preservation of objects; and it is therefore only from the two sources just mentioned that we were able to draw the means to preserve for the National Museum objects whose loss or distribution abroad would perhaps have been regretted by science, and through which we had the opportunity to to make the

collection excel above many foreign institutions of this nature, to achieve significant increases. [...]
AEGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

[...] Twenty-one Coins in small bronze, including 8 of LICINIUS, 8 of CONSTANTINUS DEN GROOTE, 2 of CONSTANTINUS DEN YOUNGER and one of JULIUS CRISPUS.

March 16, 1851 **Etruscan, Greek and Roman antiquities.**

The collection of Roman objects was increased by the proceeds of the research and excavations under the supervision of the curator Dr. Janssen, undertaken on behalf of the country at Ravensbosch in the municipality of Hulsberg and Houthem (Duchy of Limburg). Among those objects, which were mostly hidden under or near the foundations or ruins of a Roman temple and other buildings, along the Roman road through the region of Maastricht op Kanten enclosed between the Rhine and the Maas, we mention fragments of sharply worked hand mills of Andernach tuff; the bronze fitting or decoration of a vase or some other piece of household furniture, in the form of a human mask; iron knives, a dagger or knife; and other less important pieces in iron or bronze; pans of water pipes, and many fragments of coarse and fine, white, yellow, red and black earthenware, such as large vessels, jugs with two handles, pots, urns, dishes, tubs, bowls, cups, etc.

June 15, 1853 **BEEGDEN. Between Horn and Beegden, not far from the old Roman**

road that joined Nijmegen to Tongeren, there is a deserted, sandy hill, surrounded by small eminences. On June 15, 1853, a worker digging in the earth in this place, to extract gravel, found at a depth of thirteen feet, a red earthenware vase in the shape of a saucer. The worker in his simplicity, took this pot and prepared food for the young chicks in his farmyard. Three days later Mr. Teelen [Theelen?] of Horn having learned of this singular discovery, bought the vase and recommenced the excavation. After digging the earth for three days, a sarcophagus in sandstone was found at the same depth, having a length of 4 feet and a width and height of about a foot and a half. It was covered with a flat lid but broken in several places. Inside the sarcophagus were found ashes, some pieces of bone, some pieces of iron, among which were arrowheads, a small well-preserved gold ball and a finger-length stone resembling a statuette. The inside of the coffin was square, the bottom flat and blackened by damp ashes; on one side was managed a height in the shape of a cushion. Around this stone coffin were arranged 32 terracotta vases of different shapes and colors and superimposed symmetrically one on the other. These were the vases that the Romans used in funeral ceremonies, jugs for libations, vases for sacrifices and for food, urns to receive the burnt dust of the deceased. These urns, six in number, contained ashes, the other vases were empty. We especially notice a red earthenware bowl decorated with a crocodile and nine peacocks.

1 January 1856 **KESSENICH (Belgium). It is in the commune of Kessenich**

that we must look for the location of the station of Catualium, mentioned in the Peutinger tables. This village is very well known in the diplomas of the Middle Ages; it enjoyed the rights of currency, free market and tonlieu on the Maas. In 964 it was called Casallum, in 997 Caselli, in 1096 Gesselin and in 1155 Cassenic. It is this last name that prevailed. Kessenich has the ruins of a beautiful castle, which was formerly on the banks of the Maas, but which, because of the diversions of this river, has moved away from it. Between the castle of Kessenich and the Roman road that runs along the left bank of the Maas, a copper coin with the image of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and a silver coin of Julian the Apostate were found in a peat bog called het Vijgelbroeck around 1856.

1 January 1858 **ECHT. While levelling the cemetery of Echt in 1858**

a sandstone sarcophagus was unearthed near the church tower, containing, among other objects, a gold coin with the image of a Roman emperor.

November 3, 1859 **GEOLOGY, INDUSTRY AND COSTUMERY, ELUCIDATED BY AN ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERY AT MAINZ.**

On the 3rd of November, 1859, Prof. Nöggerath in Bonn, at the meeting of the Lower Rhine Society for Natural Medicine and Medicine, made a statement about the occurrence in the year 1857 in Mainz, on the Thiermarkt, in a peat layer, at the depth of p. m. 30 feet, excavated Roman antiquities. He stated that the discovery was also important from a geological point of view, while the director of the Association for the Study of Rheinischer Geschichte und Alterthümer, Dr. Jos. Wittmann, had shown that in the first centuries of our era an arm of the Rhine

flowed through the city of Mainz, in whose swamp the above-mentioned peat layer had formed.

124250 Dr. Wittmann briefly reported on this discovery in his important treatises entitled: Chronik der niedrigsten Wasserstände des Rheines vom Jahre 70 nach Christus bis 1858, and Nachrichten über die im Jahre 1857-1858 im Rheinbette von der Schweiz bis nach Holland zu Tage kommen Alterthümer und Merkwürdigkeiten etc., included in Th. II Part 1-2 of the Zeitschrift des Vereins z. E. rhein. History and Altenthümer zu Mainz. The same scholar had provided Prof. Nöggerath with an extensive manuscript on this subject for use, from which the most important information was communicated by Nöggerath at the aforementioned meeting. We take over what has come to the attention of the public from that announcement (Dr. Wittmann himself will soon reveal his handwriting) because Dr. Wittmann and Lindenschmit told us this summer during a
124255
124260 visit to the Mainzer Museum brought the same reports verbally and gave specimens of some of the remains found as a gift. In the above-mentioned peat layer, a lot of leatherwork had been found, most probably from a Roman shoemaker's shop, almost a cart full of mostly used shoes and sandals, although very fragmentary, but among which fourteen different types could still be recognized. This invaluable find for
124265 the knowledge of Roman industry and costume will soon be published by Lindenschmit, elucidated with plates. We therefore only point out here that the stamp of the manufacturer or shoemaker has been stamped on some fragments of the leather, as I could still read the names very clearly: L. VALE (i.e. Lucii VALERII) C. VENED (i.e. Caji VENEDI) and MONA.

124270 Furthermore, several remains of Roman clothing were found, made of very fine wool and excellent fabric, as well as various small Roman objects and coins. The leather and woolen goods had been relatively well preserved, but the wool had taken on a dark color. The coins were minted no later than 137AD, from which it can be
124275 concluded with probability that all these objects ended up in the swamp around that time. The common peat plants could be used well from the peat; in particular: birch bark, hazelnuts, water lentils (Lemna major), and of the moss species: Hypnum splendens (Hedwig), Hypnum tamariscinum (Hedw.), Hypnum latescens (Hedw.), Hypnum triquetrum (Linn.), Anomodon curtispiculum (Hookeri et Taylori), Byrumbinum (Schreberi), Mnium roseum (Hedw.), Mnium undulatum (Hedw.). Well-preserved grape
124280 vines were also found, evidence of the early wine culture on the Rhine. These are now the oldest grape vines known from the Rhine region; finally: feathers of fowl and pigeons.

From some specimen of this find, which was given as a gift by the reporter in Mainz from Dr. Wittmann and Lindenschmit, he donated the moss species to the State
124285 Herbarium, the feathers to the State Museum of Natural History, and the leatherwork to the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. The leather, which had hardened and shriveled due to excessive drying, has been restored to its original softness by the care of an experienced Leiden tanner, Mr. Visser.

124290 September 15, 1860 **Highly remarkable Roman remains FOUND IN DANISH PEAT Bogs.**
"You have longed to hear from time to time about the discoveries in the peat bogs at Sönder-Brarup, which I have already mentioned several times before. During the months of July and August, several important objects were found there; but the most
124295 important find is a round bronze plate, the size of a table plate, with a wide edge, decorated by raised sculptures in gold and silver; the sculptures alternately depict birds and dolphins and some Roman warriors in a resting position, with helmets on the head, holding a lance in one hand, while the other hand rests on a shield. Within that edge are several medusa heads, with helmets on the head, all surrounding one medusa head in the middle of Roman origin; but it is most noteworthy that in
124300 some places of that plate small silver plates have been attached, which are decorated with animal images of the most monstrous shape, of the same kind as are found on the gold bracteates struck in Scandinavia, and on two silver cups found at Himlingøri, in Zealand. It is evident that strangers have added these ornaments of their own making to this plate, which was formerly adorned only with Roman art.

124305 Remains of three surcoats, made of rings, have also been found; two being rings of bronze, the third of iron. Subsequently, the following were found en masse: navels of shields, points of lances, arrows and remains of broadswords, all made of iron, as well as remains of sword scabbards. Everything points to a fierce battle. Furthermore, a complete bridle of a riding horse and a snaffle (bridon) were found,
124310 with buckles, rings and jewelry made of bronze; the long leathern wraths were completely preserved. Two silver coins of Commodus and Nero. The (wooden) handles of the lances and throwing bolts are mostly broken, but they were fortunate to find two that were completely preserved; one of 9 feet (Danish) length, the other a little

longer. A stem of 2 feet 6 dm belonged to a javelin. The shields are made of wood and have an edge, only the middle part is made of bronze. But one shield is of maple wood, with an oak edge, which is attached to it with small pieces of bronze, in the shape of an S. This is the first time that shields made of different wood have been found. A leather sandal and some pieces of linen with edges were also found. There is one hollow under the glass beads, and this must therefore have been made with a glass blowing pipe; the other beads are closed. Not a day passes that one does not find pottery of various shapes, but usually broken. In the meantime, six pots have been found that were complete. Four pieces of gold have been found, in the shape of rings, which were used as currency (ring money). It still remains a mystery how all these objects ended up in the peatlands, formerly lakes. Some shields and lance handles have also been found under a thick layer of beams and undergrowth (the same as previously in Eunen). These are the discoveries of 1860; I have already told you about that of last year*). Two or three years ago I have communicated to you our archaeological investigations. In the absence of an overview of this in French, a Swiss man who spent the winter of 1859 here has published geological-archaeological studies in which he gives an account of everything that has been discovered in our country, of our system, etc. 2)."

Taarbaek, near Copenhagen,
August 22, 1860.

Dr. BURMAN BECKER.

(Excerpt from a letter to Mr. EYCK VAN ZUILICHEM).

1) We also hope to be able to take a place in this soon.

2) This is Prof. Morlot in Lausanne, the editor of whose important work we have already mentioned in No. 20, dated May 21, of this weekly magazine, and about which the Revue archéologique of the 1st Aug. has begun to give a very encouraging report. We will return to this subject as soon as possible, space permitting. Ed.

January 1, 1861 **The above opinion of Mr. Soret is confirmed by a coin**

find made recently near Bitburg, Trier district. A farmer found a small, genuine Roman jug covered with a slate stone in his field, which contained 402 small ores, beginning with Maximinus Daza and ending with Constantinus II. My esteemed friend, Professor Namur, acquired the find for the local cabinet; he has described it in more detail and the relevant article will appear in the next issue of the Revue de la numismatique belge. I was allowed to inspect the coin find; it contained many rarities, for example the inscription of Constantine the Great: Soli invicto comiti and the emperor facing left with helmet, armor and lance; then several coins with the mint place MSL, which Sabatier also gives and which I interpret as Moneta Sacra Londinensis; the inscriptions claritas reipublice in various varieties were also not uncommon with Crispus and Constantinus II. I believe, however, that the find goes back far beyond the year 326; Constantine II was only 10 years old in that year, but he had already won numerous victories with his stepbrother Crispus, who died in that year. Constantine only wears the laurel crown on his very youthful, almost childlike head in two examples; both coins were struck in his birthplace of Arles; he probably received the right to wear the laurel wreath during Crispus's lifetime. However, the youngest coin in this find certainly does not go back to the year 337, the year in which Constantine the Great died and Constantine II gave up the nickname junior. [...]

March 31, 1864 **Several acquisitions were made for the FATHERLANDS antiquities.**

Together with the above-mentioned Roman objects from the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, some were also taken over from the former inhabitants of our Fatherland: a very beautifully polished flint AXE, 12 dm [inch} long; a roughly worked BAL of trachyte, 4 dm in section; an URNE of baked earth, filled with burnt human bones, high 19 dm; another URNE, 18 dm high, with the fragments of a bronze HAIR NEEDLE found in it; another three URNS with burnt bones and remains of bronze RINGS, etc.; the urns of 10, 15.5 and 16 inches height; two BOWLS, 9 and 7 dm; 4 POTS of different shapes, 6.5 to 9.5 dm high; a cup-shaped BARREL, 5.5 dm high, and some fragments of pots. All these objects, with the possible exception of the WEDGE, were excavated in 1837 from the old cemetery in Deurne in Noord Brabant. Together with the pieces found at the same location and donated to the Museum in 1840 and 1841 by the late Mr. P. O. G. GUYOT, they now form a considerable whole. [...]

Some MEDIEVAL AND LATER OBJECTS, originating from the excavations for the camp in Nijmegen, a few trachyte MORTARS with PESTLES from the area around Deurne and belonging to the estate of the late Mr. S. H. VAN DER NOORDAA, which has already been mentioned several times; [...]

1 January 1865 **Antique stones in Horn**

HORNE-HEEL. In a manuscript in the library of the University of Liege, numbered 188 and written around the middle of the 17th century by Canon Henri van den Berch, King of Arms of the country of Liege, we find a curious note on antiques that existed in Hornes and Heel, and which today are for the most part in the office of Mr. Guillon. On page 14 of this manuscript we find three drawings of antique stones. The first "which had, says van den Berch, a foot and three quarters, a half-pound less, in height, and a foot and four inches in length" has the following inscription:

MARTI
HALAMARE
SACRVM
T. DOMIT. VINDEX
O. LEG. XX. V. V
V. S. L. M.

This inscription was published, with slight differences, by Knippenbergh, Heylen, Schayes, Wolters, etc. Mr. Guillon, the notary, reads it as follows:

MARTI
HALAMARDO
SACRUM
T(itus) LEG(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis)
V(ota) S(olvit) L(ubens) M(erito).

The second stone, whose length was "two feet, three quarters and a half pounds and the width three quarters of a foot in a pound" does not have an inscription, but it shows a vase, above which is a kind of stretched chain.

The third, whose dimensions van den Berch does not indicate, has the inscription:

MERCWRI
INGENVS
YFHIFI.

We believe we are doing the Archaeologists a favor by transcribing here the note that van den Berche placed below the first two drawings. "I pulled - he says - these two antique stones out of the originals which are masoned in the wall of the parish church of Horne, capital of the county, appenage of the county of Looz, on April 9, first of the Easter holidays 1640, and the pastor of the place told me at the time that he had several medals of the Roman emperors found at the said Horn." van den Berch then describes several Roman antiquities and medals found at Heel, a village located a league from Horn. He adds: "The most admirable is from the same place, that the village of Heel is called after Helena (1); what is known by tradition and is all the more credible since a statue of very fine white marble was found in the ground that was dug up, and is still, this April 15, 1640, lying on the real road, but very broken, because one can see the thighs from above to the ankles of the same piece of the height of six feet and a half; which is of a lady, to be veiled by her body like the Roman ladies; and they hold for certain that the rest of the statue is still in the ground. In another place he says that the priest had promised him a coin on which was written the word HEEL.

(1) The vicus Helena or Hedena does not appear to be the village of Heel as van den Berch might have us believe. Father Wastelain, places this vicus in Hesdin.

October 25, 1865 * **Maastricht, October 22. For some time now, excavations** have been continued under the municipality of Houthem (1 hour from here), to locate the remains of a Roman villa that once existed there. They have succeeded to such an extent that the division and layout of the building can be followed regularly. Many old roof tiles can be found; this day the cellar was discovered and they flatter themselves that they will also find the bathing facilities. A coin of Emperor Constantine, found on this site, sufficiently proves that this villa already existed during his reign.

December 31, 1865 **In addition, we find some details not mentioned elsewhere**

in the book North Brabant Antiquities [facsimile of 2012]: With about thirty enthusiasts from his company he went to the heath in Deurne and soon became convinced that those eminences were burial mounds. These are unequal in height, some being only 60 inches [duim], and others 7.60 cubits [elsewhere 1.6 cubits is mentioned] high on a greater or smaller circumference according to the height. About a hundred urns will have been found, ranging from large tea cups to 100 pound heavy. [...]

In the spring of 1840 I was with the late Dr. Niermeijer, later a professor in Leiden, visited this heath and found the hills still as they were when the treasure hunting stopped! [...]

In the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, thirteen urns and side pots, by Jhr. Mr. H. de Grez in 's Hertogenbosch, four urns and side pots (1) and two urns and a side pot preserved in the cabinet of the North Brabant Society.

(1) While printing this message, I was obliged to present Mr. de Grez with those well-preserved urns as a gift to our cabinet.

January 27, 1870 **In the Courrier de la Meuse is informed that when the old church in Kessel was demolished, a slightly damaged altar of Roman origin was found under the main altar. This altar is square, high 90 and wide 55 cm, made of tuff stone, has a pedestal and a frieze, and is decorated with three bas-reliefs. The altar appears to have been dedicated to Minerva, Juno and Hercules. At least on the plane on the left one thinks one recognizes the image of Minerva; however, the head is missing, as are the statues of the two other bas-reliefs. A woman is depicted on the right side, next to a peacock; this should represent Juno. The front is decorated with a figure, which is very damaged. Because of the large shapes of the statue and the lion's skin, people thought they saw Hercules in it. – The back of the outer wears neither jewelry nor adornment. – Although one may accept the mention of this find with some reservations, it is remarkable enough to draw attention to it. The Courrier de la Maas points out on this occasion that, when old churches are demolished, and especially under the main altars, remains from the pagan period, such as statues, votive stones and altars, are often discovered, and indeed that such antiquities are often found in the walls of churches are cemented, as in the St. Servaes Church in Maastricht – and who does not think of the votive stone of Dodewaard?**

February 13, 1870 **A few weeks ago the newspapers delivered a short report about archaeological discoveries in the vicinity of a village Heulen and near the hamlet of Aalbeek in the Duchy of Limburg. Heulen probably meant Herlen or Heerlen, and the same was meant by the excavation of the foundations of a Roman house near Aalbeek, where, under the leadership of the diligent and learned chairman of the Limburg historical and archaeological society, Mr. J. Habets, the foundations of a Roman villa were brought to light in the Ravensbosch in the Land-vsn-Valkenburg, between Houthem and Schimmert. The building was destroyed by fire, was 32 m long and 14 wide; two coins were found in it, dating from the early Roman Empire. In a cellar a beautiful iron shovel with a long handle was found, 90 cm long in total. Some bases of bowls or dishes of fine red earthenware bore the stamped factory mark OF. CARAN. Among the other objects, a large bowl or basin in a grey soft stone, very cleanly chiselled, of round shape, 10 cm high and 27 in diameter, should be mentioned. The excavations, although on Dutch soil, were carried out on behalf of the Belgian government; the description of the results they yielded will probably be published in the Bulletins des Commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie. A few years ago, in 1850, excavations had already been undertaken on behalf of the Dutch government by the late curator Dr. Janssen in the same Ravensbosch, which had also led to some not unimportant discoveries. However, the further continuation of the investigations was postponed and did not take place later, because they were undertaken by the councillor Sehuermans in Liège on behalf of the Belgian government and crowned with very remarkable results. They had led to the discovery of a Belgian-Roman villa in the so-called Rondenbosch, and were depicted and described by Mr. J. Habets, in a treatise: *Exploration d'une villa Belgo-Romaine au Rondenbosch au Houthem-saint-Gerlach*, printed in the Vth volume of the *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Duché de Limbourg*. (Leidsche Ct.)**

February 19, 1870 **Roman altar with restored display in Kessel**
 [...] from the mayor of Kessel in Limburg, reports on a Roman altar with restored display in the church of the same name.
 DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN ALTAR in Kessel near Roermond.
 Non sibi res se submittere rebus. TACITUS.
 While demolishing the parish church of Kessel in December 1869 to build a new one in its place, an old pagan altar was discovered under the main altar of the choir. [...]

January 1, 1871 **DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN ALTAR in Kessel near Roermond.**
 [p. 189–199]
 Non sibi res sed se submittere rebus. TACITUS.

When the parish church of Kessel was being demolished around December 1869 to build a new one in its place, an old pagan altar was discovered under the main altar of the choir.

The church of Kessel dedicated to the mystery of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin was a Gothic construction made of tuff stones from the surroundings of Maastricht; the location of the village on the banks of the Maas undoubtedly greatly facilitated the transport of these materials. It dated from the year 1460 (1). However, the foundations raised in rough stones seemed to indicate constructions that had preceded the Gothic church.

Unfortunately, at the time of our visit to Kessel, everything had been demolished and removed; it was therefore impossible for us to have any certain clue as to the form of these primitive substructures. Only we were able to observe in the large blocks taken out of the earth, fragments of Roman tiles which blocked the openings left by the irregularity of the stones of the opus incertum.

The Roman altar itself had been transported to the garden of the rectory and bore numerous marks of this poorly executed move. Before describing this curious monument let us say a word about pagan altars in general.

The altars of paganism (ara, altare) adopted different forms: there were square ones, long square ones, others round, some with several angles. They were made of stone, marble or more rarely bronze. In the temple of Babylon there was an altar, of which Herodotus speaks, made of gold on which only milk animals were sacrificed. According to Pausanias there were also altars of wood and others built of bricks or tuff.

There was no fixed measure for the height of the altars. There are some that do not even reach the knee, others go up to the waist of the people who sacrifice. There are, however, some much higher, especially among the round ones, so that one sometimes has difficulty in distinguishing them from a simple column.

These differences in elevation were observed according to Vitruvius in sacrifices: the highest altars were for Jupiter and the celestial gods, and the lowest for Vesta, the Earth and the Sea. But this distinction was not in general use.

On solemn days, these altars were decorated with garlands, giving to each god the leaves and branches of the favorite tree that was consecrated to him. At the altar of Jupiter beech leaves were used, at that of Apollo the laurel, at that of Minerva the olive tree, at the altar of Venus the myrtle, at that of Hercules the poplar, at that of Bacchus the ivy, at that of Pan pine leaves. These garlands of leaves were called *verbenae*; they are generally distinguished on the altars that adorn medals, coins and ancient marbles. Virgil calls these crowns, necklaces, in the following verse: *Saepe deum nexis ornatae torquibus arae*. Similarly, temples and victims for sacrifice were decorated with flowers and branches.

It was before the altars that treaties and oaths were made, to make them more inviolable. The altars were touched while swearing, says Cicero, to make the oaths more solemn. It was before the altars that weddings were celebrated and the closest friendships were formed. Examples of this are frequent in authors. Finally, altars have been places of asyle in paganism as in Christianity.

They were generally placed in temples, in front of the statues of the divinities in whose honor they were erected. This was done, says Vitruvius, so that those who prayed and sacrificed should always have the divinities before their eyes. The altars were in the middle of the temple, or against the walls.

There were also altars outside the temples. In Rome there were many in the streets and in the public squares. It was in a public square in Athens that St. Paul encountered the altar dedicated to the unknown God (1). Altars were also erected in the *lucus* or sacred woods in front of the statue of the divinity to which the wood was dedicated, near the door of the temples and in the *impluvium* or inner courtyard of private houses. It was on the altars of this last class that the family sacrificed to the Penates.

The top of the altars was regularly provided with a cavity for lighting the fire, or for placing the fruits the offerings or the victims. In the altars for sacrifices and libations we also notice an orifice for the discharge of liquids. Several like that of Kessel were decorated with sculptures representing the gods in whose honor, or in whose temples they were erected.

The ara of Kessel is a monument mutilated towards the top and whose cavity has disappeared. But judging by its restricted proportions and the lack of an orifice for the discharge of liquids it seems to us to have served to receive offerings of fruits, or to burn incense; the table is too small to make the slightest bloody immolation there.

The altar in question forms a square column 0.90 high and 0.55 m wide. It was built in white and fine sandstone and is decorated with a base, a shaft and three bas-

- 124580 reliefs. The monument was erected with the intention of making three powerful
Olympian divinities propitiated: Minerva, Juno and Hercules.
The artistic execution of the altar is so neat that we have no hesitation in placing
its making towards the High Empire, in the first or second century of the Christian
era. This beautiful execution as well as the exotic stoneware from which it was made
124585 suggest that it was not sculpted in the country. Perhaps it came from the south, by
the Maas or the consular road from Paris to Tongeren and Nijmegen. The sculptures
that decorate it are divided in the following order.
In the frame of the left face is represented Minerva, armed with a lance whose top
end is no longer visible; with her left hand she rests her shield on a column. The
124590 goddess is adorned with a long dress down to her feet and covered with a cloak. The
drapery is very neat; unfortunately the head is missing from this statue as from the
two others that decorate the altar.
Our bas-relief represents the goddess emerging fully armed from the sick brain of
Jupiter:
- 124595 *De capitis fertur sine matre paterni*
Vertice cum polype prosiliisse suo. Ovid. Fast. 3, 841.
She owes to this extraordinary origin to have been honored both as a goddess of war
and wisdom. Caesar and Tacitus placed Pallas or Minerva among the divinities
worshiped by the Gauls and the Germans (See fig. 2 litt. A.)
- 124600 On the second side is represented the queen of Olympus, Juno. She is a matron who has
[?] majesty. She holds in her right hand a full *patera* for sacrificing on an altar
nearby, where an offering is burning. The symbolic bird of Juno, the peacock, is next
to her head. Her costume, although trailing and ample, is more modest than that of
the virginal Minerva.
- 124605 Juno was the sister and wife of Jupiter, as she herself states in this verse of
Virgil:
Ast ego, quae divum incedo regina, Jovisque
Et soror et conjux. Aeneid. I, 50.
She was also the mother of Mars and Vulcan. She is represented as the queen of
124610 heaven, with a scepter in her hand. Her cult was widespread in Gaul (See fig. 2.
litt. B.)
The most mutilated figure is that of Hercules, which adorns the front face. The son
of Jupiter and Alcmene is recognizable only by the beautiful and strong size of his
naked limbs and by the skin of the Nemean lion that he holds in his left arm. It is
124615 known that this skin made Hercules invulnerable. The author of the altar of Kessel
represented in his work the rest of the god after the fight.
The Germans boasted, says Tacitus (1), that Hercules came to their country in the
time of their fathers. They sang his praises as they went into battle, as the most
valiant warrior who had ever been on earth. To Mars and Hercules they sacrificed
124620 chosen animals in preference (1). (See fig. 2 lit. C.)
The fourth face of the altar is without ornaments and without inscriptions; it was
probably intended to be placed against the walls of the temple or against any wall.
The idea of the person who erected this monument is rather bizarre. We see the
jealous Juno next to Minerva, her rival at the banquet in Paris, with Hercules to
124625 whom the same Juno had sworn immortal hatred. Did the author of the monument perhaps
want to please both sides by placing opposing divinities on the same altar? In any
case, he wanted to honor the principle of physical strength; which makes us believe
that the dedicator was a legionary.
However, it is not rare to find the figure of these divinities represented side by
124630 side on the same monument and their names formulated in the same dedication.
Without leaving the charming banks of the Rhine and the Maas, we cite in support of
our thesis the following altars and votive stones. At Voorburg in Holland a
dedication was found to Juno the queen, to Minerva and to the Genius of the place; at
Kleve one to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva; near Cologne to Juno, Hercules and Silvanus;
124635 at Andernach, to Juno, Mars and Hercules, at Kreutznach to Jupiter, Juno, Mercury,
Hercules and Minerva, and another to Hercules, Juno and Fortune; at Mainz one to Juno
the queen, Fortune and Minerva. (2). We even see on one of these dedications
represented at the same time the three divinities of Kessel; it is the first of
Kreutznach, near Bonn.
- 124640 In the substructures of a Roman fortress located near the same city, a Roman altar
was discovered in 1863, 0.34 m high and 0.15 m, whose four faces were decorated in
the following manner: first face, Juno standing, holding the scepter in her left hand
and a *patera* in her right, at her feet the peacock. Second face, Minerva turned
124645 slightly to the side was decorated with a helmet and a long, trailing tunic, in her
left hand she held the lance and in her right the shield. Third face, Mercury adorned

with the *chlamis*, (the petasus was no longer recognizable), held the *caduceus* on his left arm and in his right hand the purse. Fourth face, Hercules looking to the left held in his right hand the club whose big end rested on the ground in front of his right foot, with his left he supported the lion's remains (1). As we can see, there is no lack of examples and analogies to prove that the united cult of Juno, Minerva and Hercules was quite fashionable in our countries.

Another observation that we have to make on the altar of Kessel concerns the place of the find.

In Germany, France and Belgium we frequently find hidden, either under the foundations, or in the wall, or in the church itself, especially under the altars, mutilated statues, *arae*, *cippus*, votive stones or other objects of the pagan cult of our fathers. The same phenomenon can be seen in our surroundings.

This is how the torso of a god Mars was discovered about ten years ago under the foundations of the old church of St. Martin in Wyck, and three votive stones in the walls of that of Horne near Roermond. A fragment of a pagan bas-relief can still be seen today in the eastern façade of the church of St. Servatius in Maastricht, and in Guichoven, in the tower, a head of a divinity.

In the high altar of the church of Goyer (Jeuck) near St. Truiden, there used to be four inscriptions on marble stone relating to *ex votos* in honour of Hercules (1).

Finally, in Nieuwkerk near Venlo, a discovery similar to that of Kessel took place in 1865. An old Roman altar was found walled up in the main altar of the church containing two superimposed inscriptions, one pagan, the other Christian (2).

Here is what we think of this phenomenon.

Our fathers in the faith will have preserved these objects in their churches even after the old cult was abolished; if they hid them under the altar, it was to mark the triumph of Christianity over paganism; if they left them before the eyes of the faithful, they took care to mutilate the paintings and statues so that no one, deceived by appearances, would pay religious homage to a profane object.

The village of Kessel located on the course of the Maas and the military road from Tongeren to Nijmegen, was obviously known and inhabited by the Romans; its name indicates a Latin origin. We even suppose that it was one of the many fortified crossings of the Maas of which the historians of antiquity speak.

Kessel, although located in an entirely flat region free of hills, itself forms an eminence which is sheltered from the floods of the Maas. Next to the church is the ancient castle of that name placed on a kind of conical mountain having a height of about thirty meters; it is a mound of earth which has all the appearances of being artificial. One finds there by digging the ground walls in the form of terraces of four to five feet in height and whose sole purpose is to support the light and friable earth of which the cone is composed.

The castle itself is a precious example of military fortification of the Middle Ages. As it originally existed it was round; it would still be so if one removed two wings or square towers, located to the east and which have all the character of a less ancient architecture.

Kessel was in the Middle Ages an important lordship comprising eighteen villages and extending between the country of Cuyk, the Maas the country of Horne and the great marsh of Peel. The lords bore the title of count. The first Count of Kessel mentioned in history is Henry, who, with the Archbishop of Cologne, the Duke of Limburg, Henry Count of Zutphen and other lords, allied against Emperor Henry V in 1114, and who was crushed by the horses of his own troop in the battle of Andernach. We note that the chief towns of duchies, counts or lordships often succeeded military establishments of the High and Late Empire.

In the village of Kessel, Roman antiquities have been encountered on several occasions. We have reported these discoveries elsewhere (1). Let us add here that Roman medals are frequently found in a square field surrounded by pits, called De Keeskamer, and that poteries in a kind of tumulus called the Konynsbergh (2).

Several modern authors believe that Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus mentioned Kessel in their books.

Indeed, the geographer Ptolemy, who flourished in Alexandria around the second century of the Christian era, after having spoken of the Morini and the Ambiani of Belgium, mentions the Menapii and their city, *castellum*, which he places near the Maas. If this passage actually applies to Kessel, the word *polis* (city) used by the author must be understood in a fairly broad sense, because the castle of Kessel could only have been surrounded in Roman times by a few rare houses (1). The ancient remains there are too few to think of the location of a real city. The current center of the commune which surrounds the church and the castle, has only 370 inhabitants.

Let us move on to the second mention. The Roman historian, Ammianus Marcellinus,

recounts, during the reign of Julian the apostate, around the year 357, the memorable siege of a stronghold situated on the banks of the Maas, and which several modern historians, such as Knippenbergh, Slichtenhorst, d'Anville, Wolters, etc. believe to be the town of Kessel on the Maas. But we think that they are wrong and that they have been misled by the word Castellum which is found in some inaccurate editions of Ammianus and which can be taken equally as a proper name and as a generic name. From the author's text it is clear that these are two fortresses and that the route followed by General Severus was not that of Kessel, but that of Juliers and Tongeren towards Reims. Now on this route we encounter the double fortress of Maastricht, built on the two ends of the bridge over the Maas. It was a strategically important point, where the hitherto somewhat obscure account of Ammien MerceLLin (2) is verified to the letter. Moreover, we will speak more at length about this siege in our notes on the discoveries of antiquities made at Maastricht.

If therefore the testimony of ancient authors concerning Kessel remains doubtful, if its ancient castle no longer presents any Roman character, the antiquities discovered there, and especially the altar that we have just described, sufficiently attribute to it an existence sixteen centuries old. Our ara is a monumental souvenir that makes us rightly suppose that this village had its pagan temple before having its Catholic church, its altar to Juno, Minerva and Hercules before having its altar to the true God of heaven. One may have succeeded the other on the same corner of land.

It would therefore be very regrettable if the altar of Kessel, carefully preserved by our ancestors, were to be lost in a private collection or in a museum. These monuments have no real value except on the very spot where they were originally erected. Remove them from there and you will have only an object of archaeological curiosity.

We therefore express the wish that Mr. Cuypers, the skilled architect of the new church of Kessel, will have this curious memory of paganism framed in the exterior wall of the church, in a buttress for example, and add a commemorative inscription, recalling the place and date of the find. This is the custom adopted for these sorts of things in France, by the Imperial Commission of Monuments.

JOS. HABETS.

(1) Anno MCCCC ende LX doe waert die Kyrck van Kessel gelymert, inde doe waeren kyrckmeister Alaert van Ghoer, Geurt van Kessel geheyten Roffart, Sybrecht Schoer ende Jacob van den Bergh. Archives of the church in Kessel.

(1) Acta Apost. XVII, 23. (1) De Moribus Germ. 3. (1) De Moribus Germ. 9. (2) BRAMBACH, Corpus inscription. rhen. passim.

(1) Jahrbücher von Bonn, Volumes XLVII and XLVIII, p. 92. (1) SCHUERMANS Roman inscriptions concerning Belgium p. 33. (2) BUYX, Auffindung eines römischen Votivaltars in der Kirche zu Nieuwerkerk, Gelre 1865 in 12°.

(1) Public. etc. of Limb. volume II p. 247. (2) H. W. H. VAN HAEFF Handwritten notice on Kessel.

(1) Here is the passage Ptolemy II, cap. 9, according to the Latin edition of Leiden of 1618: "Post Mosam fluvium Menapii et civitas eorum castellum." (2) See LEEMANS Rom. oudheden te Maastricht p. 17.

1 January 1871 **Discoveries of antiquities in the Duchy of Limburg**

HERTEN. This village formed in 963 a possession of the Duchess Gerberge, wife of Louis d'outre-mer, King of France and was called Hertra. It was given by her, with the royal palace of Meerssen, to the abbey of St-Dénis in Reims. In the hamlet of Meerhem, dependent on this village, not far from the Maas, there is a large tower, which in the Middle Ages was part of the residence of the lords of Meerhem, and which currently exists in a state of ruin. It was in the remains of this monument of ancient architecture that Mr. Wolters believed he had found the vestiges of a Roman establishment. "This tower," he said, "of square shape, was 14 meters 50 centimeters high; the thickness of the walls, measured on fragments that remain, was 3 meters 65 centimeters. We no longer have exact data on the height of this construction, the upper parts having been in a state of ruin for more than a century.

The stone of which the masonry of this tower is composed is a rubble of all sorts of dimensions, interspersed with horizontal chains of a more or less dressed stone and which seems of an ochre nature; because by pulverizing it and soaking it in water, its lye provides a dark, warm color drawing on brown ochre. The mortar seems to have been a type of concrete; it is interspersed with small pebbles or gravel.

A short distance from this ruin, in a communal meadow, is a tumulus rising 7 meters 50 centimeters above the uniform level of the surrounding land; it describes [...]

April 14, 1872 [...] **During the course of this century, various**

sarcophagi made of sandstone have been unearthed in our diocese; thus in 1817 two at

- 124780 Limbricht, later one at Schinveld, in 1853 another still between Horn and Beegden, not far from the old Roman road. "One of the coffins at Limbricht is not described. The other was closed by a large stone lid and contained, besides some bones, a cinerary urn, a metal lachrymatory, a lamp and an ornament in silver cloth. The coffin was surrounded by small glass vials, tied in pairs with copper or iron wire.
- 124785 All this find was transported to Cologne, where it is now on display in the Wallraf Museum. The sarcophagus at Schinveld was surrounded by Roman pottery. That at Beegden, having a length of four feet, a width and a height of about a foot and a half, was covered with a flat lid, but broken in several places. [...]
- 124790 October 16, 1872 **Urns, between Merselo and Overloon**
Venray, October 14. Recently some gentlemen went to the heath between this place and the villages of Merselo and Overloon, with the aim of conducting scientific excavations. This first experiment was crowned with a favorable result, as four urns had already been found in a short time. This heath (the cemetery of the Marezaten?)
- 124795 can, when examined by experts, be an important contribution to the history of Limburg's earliest inhabitants.
- April 3, 1875 **The Medusa head of Blariacum.**
That is the title of a speech by Mr. GAEDCHENS, professor in Jena, on December 9,
- 124800 held recently in Bonn on the occasion of the birthday of the founder of art history, Winckelmann, which was published as a brochure by the Association of Friends of Antiquity in Rhineland. The extensiveness of that scientific argument prevents us from including it in its entirety and we only provide, by way of extract, the
- 124805 description of the remarkable piece itself, of which Mr J.G. Lienders is the fortunate owner here and for whom important sums have already been offered. ... While important discoveries of ancient objects have been made several times in various places in the municipality of Maasbree, including in September 1830 in Baarlo, opposite the church, where an urn was found containing hundreds of gold and silver coins, most of which were in the hands of Mr. L. Wolters, banker in Venlo,
- 124810 some through the intervention of the Rev. Mr Fransen, in Ittervoort, entered the Belgian state collection - the soil of Blerick was considered barren in this respect for a long time, until in 1864 a bronze statue of Ceres came to light, which is now the property of Mr Fransen. Hubert du Guasco in Valkenburg, stood out because of her excellent work, but especially because of her white and blue enamel on the surface
- 124815 and on the corn ornament on the head. Of more importance, however, was the discovery towards the end of the year 1872, at the deepening of a small stream near Blerick. A worker found, at a depth of 9-10 feet, among other objects, the above-mentioned shield, which, except for some minor deteriorations at the extreme edge, is extremely well preserved. It has a diameter of 26 cm and is made of bronze, covered on the
- 124820 outside and inside in the fire with a strong layer of gold, which has remained completely pure and spotless. A rich image decoration, entirely executed in hammered work, covers the plain. A dense wreath of oak leaves runs along the edge, which sheds very small acorns on both sides. In the bow that ties the wreath together at the bottom, one will recognize a poppy head at first glance. Continuing chains of small
- 124825 round grooves, similar to a string of pearls, wind through the wreath as further adornment.
In the center of the shield surface is a round expansion, 7 cm high and 0.11 wide, on which the very excellent and carefully decorated head of the Gorgon, 0.8 wide, is high and relief. The eyes are wide open, the apples are deeply extracted, but they
- 124830 show no trace of being filled with silver or precious stones. The nostrils stand out sharply from the cheek, the corners of the mouth are very deep, no less the side of the lower lip under the nose. From the rich hair two wings emerge from the forehead, under which the heads of two snakes can be seen, whose bodies run invisibly under the hair on either side and wind themselves in a loose snare under the chin. A third
- 124835 snake's head can be seen just in the middle of the Gorgo's forehead, the scaly body dwelling for a moment on a bald spot on the skull, before soon disappearing completely. The artist only needed the head to create an ornament in connection with the two other dragon heads, which is similar to the teeth of a wide open lion's mouth, which surrounds the head of Heracles. The Gorgone is surrounded by an oak
- 124840 wreath, which is very similar to the one described earlier. Neither the bow at the bottom nor the poppy head at the top are missing, only there was no room at the front of the expansion for the small acorns, they are small and relief and hang down along the sides, alternating with tiny twigs on which three tender blossom buds grow. On the shield surface itself, the expansion is surrounded by a very fine, flat
- 124845 decoration, which is formed by semi-ovoid, crenellated ornaments, from which three

small twigs, each with three buds, emerge between each.

The writer then enters into comparisons with such well-known objects and points out all deviations with great accuracy and expertise. He believes that the original purpose of this precious piece was not to serve as a weapon, but to all appearances, especially because of the one treatment, it was made into a piece of jewelry or a medallion.

Simultaneously with this shield, seven other bronze objects were excavated at the same location, on which traces of earlier gilding are still visible. They are ornaments of horse harness in four different types.

June 25, 1875 **No. VII. ON AN ALTAR FOUND AT HORN (LIMBOURG)**

(LETTER FROM MR. ROBERT MOWAT, COMMUNICATED BY MR. DE LONGPÉRIER.)

We know that the work required for the construction of an observatory at the summit of the Puy-de-Dôme has brought to light the foundations of a vast building which, in all likelihood, must be the great temple of Mercury Arverne. Gregory of Tours (Histor. Francor. I, 30) has left us a curious description of it. By a singular fate, five altars, dedicated to this same Arverne god, have been found on the Germanic borders, far from the place of his central worship. One of them, carefully studied by Mr. Robert Mowat, revealed to him in an unexpected way details on the colossal statue executed for the temple of the Arverni by the artist whose name Pliny the Elder has transmitted to us, Zenodorus. This altar, discovered in the old demolished church of Horn, currently preserved in Roermond, at Mr. Guillon's, has a quadrangular shape. It is decorated with sculptures. It bears an inscription, hitherto poorly read, and which Mr. Robert Mowat, according to a carefully executed tracing, restores in the following manner:

MERCVRIO
ARVERNO
D. IRMIDIUS
AR. PO. E. V.

That is to say: Mercurio Arverno Decimus Irmidius aram posuit ex voto. The type of the letters seems to belong to the middle of the 2nd century of our era. The interest of the monument does not reside entirely in the inscription. The bas-reliefs require description. There are three of them. On one we see a rooster perched on top of a winged caduceus, at the foot of which is placed a purse. On another side of the altar there are two panels; at the upper corners of the first panel hangs a garland; lower down we find an object similar to a purse. The second panel, doubtless reserved for other attributes, contains nothing, as if the sculptor's work had remained unfinished. Immediately above the inscription, on the main side, there is a very damaged bas-relief. What remains of it is however sufficiently characterized for us to distinguish with certainty a figure facing forward, seated and half-naked; his *chlamys*, fixed on the left shoulder, is held by the forearm and falls in draperies on the thigh; in his left hand he holds a caduceus leaning on the defect of the shoulder; between the legs and the seat is a quadruped lying down and turned to the right, in which it is impossible not to recognize a goat. This composition is framed between two pilasters which support a triangular pediment. The figure is thus housed in a kind of niche with a pointed roof or sacellum, which simulates the sanctuary where the god was worshiped.

Mr. Mowat points out that to his knowledge this is the only example of a bas-relief representing Mercury seated; the other lapidary monuments always show him standing. There is therefore in the choice of this exceptional pose an obvious intention, which Mr. Mowat interprets in the following manner. The use of the ethnic epithet shows that the act of piety accomplished by the consecrator is mixed with the memory of the cult celebrated at the chief town of the Arverni. The sculptor executed the bas-relief on the special instructions of Irmidius or of a person who had seen the colossal statue of Mercury, and these instructions were reminiscences of what was remarkable about the statue. The attitude given to the god on the bas-relief is precisely that of this famous statue.

Pliny immortalized this masterpiece in these terms:

"The size of all statues of this kind has been surpassed in our time by the Mercury that Zenodorus made for the Gallic city of the Arverni, at the annual price of 400,000 sesterces for the labor for ten years. Having sufficiently made his talent known there, he was summoned by Nero to Rome, where he executed the colossus intended to represent this prince. While he was working on the statue of the Arverni, he copied for Vibius Avitus, governor of the province, two cups carved by Galamis, which Germanicus Caesar, who loved them very much, had given to his tutor Cassius Silanus, uncle of Avitus." Where had the sculptor borrowed the type of the Arverni Mercury to

import it into Gaul? The bas-relief of Horn offers a striking analogy with the reverse of some coins struck in Corinth and Patras under Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Verus, Commodus and Elagabalus. We see Mercury seated, wearing the *petasus*, the *chlamys* thrown over his left shoulder, the *caduceus* in his left hand, his right arm extended above a ram who turns his head towards him. This monetary type, apart from some accessories which change, appears to Mr. Mowat to be commemorative of a statuary group described by Pausanias in these terms:

"On the road which leads directly from Corinth to Lechaemum, we notice a seated Hermes, of bronze, at the side of which is placed a ram, because it is believed that Hermes is the god who watches particularly over the herds and makes them multiply, as the saying goes by Homer in the *Iliad*."

Now, if it is legitimate to suppose that Zenodorus' talent could only have been formed in the incomparable school of Greece, and that the artist who reproduced with such perfection the cups chiseled by Calamis had to study on site the works of the great masters before being called to Rome by Nero, we readily imagine that he could have admired in Corinth the Hermes with the ram, noticed a century later by Pausanias.

In any case, the type from which he was inspired for the statue commissioned by the Arverni is essentially Greek. In this regard, the testimony of numismatic monuments seems decisive. Greek coinage simultaneously admitted the type of Mercury standing and the type of Mercury seated, while giving preference to the latter. Roman coinage only admitted the type of Mercury seated. It seems, moreover, that the cult of this god had fallen into a sort of oblivion during the High Empire; his image was absent from Roman coinage from the time of the Republic until the time when Marcus Aurelius, who professed a particular devotion to him, restored him to honour.

January 30, 1875 - **In the municipality of Obbicht, it is reported** that during the extraction of gravel, several pots were discovered these days, which were found to be Roman funerary urns. However, due to brittleness they have partially fallen apart. The most important part of the find must be a large glass urn, made of bluish glass, filled with some bones. In addition to these objects, a piece of a lock was found, as well as some copper objects, such as a large pin, two neatly crafted handles, as one sees on chests, two rings, the wire of which is octagonal, and a hollow plate, representing a lion's head, with a copper ring in the mouth.

Slittard, 28 Jan. [1875] In de naburige gemeente Obbicht zijn dezer dagen bij het uithalen van kiezel eenige potten te voorschijn gekomen, die bevonden werden Romeinsche graf-urnen te zijn. Door broosheid zijn ze echter gedeeltelijk uit elkander gevallen. Het belangrijkste van de vondst moet zijn een groot glazen urn, van blaauwachtig glas, gevuld met eenige beenderen. Naast die voorwerpen werden gevonden een stuk van een slot, alsmede eenige koperen voorwerpen, zoo als: een groote speld, twee keurig bewerkte handvatten, gelijk men die aan kisten ziet, twee ringen, waarvan de draad achtkantig is, en een holle plaat, voorstellende een leeuwenhoofd, met een koperen ringetje in den muil.

1 januari 1880 **Les trésors de monnaies romaines**
737. A Weeze (cercle de Gueldre, Geldern), en 1880, vase en terre rouge avec 5.200 petits bronzes. Sur 1.198 examinés, il y avait: 1 Gallien, 1 Consécration de Claude, 1 Licinius père, 1 Licinius fils, 113 Constantin, 294 Constantin II César, 36 Constance II César, 30 Constans César, 5 Delmatius, 46 Theodora, 52 Hélène, 262 Roma, 224 Constantinopolis, 1 Populus romanus, 26 barbares. Les ateliers étaient représentés ainsi: Trêves, 668; Lyon, 173; Arles, 78; Rome, 16; Aquilée, 1; Siscia, 8; Constantinopolis, 2; Carthage, 1; Thessalonique, 1; Héraclée, 6; indistincts, 215. L'enfouissement a eu lieu vers 337.

August 19, 1880 **Venlo seems to be the place where the Maas** gives back her swallowed treasures as if by preference. So we bought in 1858 an exceptionally heavy and long sword with an artfully worked handle, between Blerick and Venlo collected from the Maas with the fishing net. In a few years, Venlo did not less than five gothic gold agrafs [*agrafen*], set with diamonds, sapphires and rubines found in the Maas. They were sold to various goldsmiths, from whose hands they came into the possession of the late Mr. Hugo Garthe, art collector in Cologne. These valuables, publicly auctioned in May 1877, fetched astonishing prices. - Nowadays one can still see a valuable object at the home of Mr. Lienders, goldsmith in Venlo, probably washed out by the Maas into an adjacent ditch. It is one gilt plate with Medusa head and further ornaments, exceptionally high in copper driven.

According to a brochure by R. Gaedechens, professor in Jena, this would be the case piece of art, from the first century of our era, as a beautiful or parade shield have served.

May 29, 1883 **In the Publications de la Société d'archéologie dans le duché de Limbourg**, Tome XVIII, is appointed by Mr. Jos. Habets talked about the search for hidden treasures under Blerick "in which even officers from Venloo are said to have taken part."

The captain J.A. Ort, now at the Kon. Mil. Academy active, now tells in a small book, published in Roermond under the title: "Places in Blerick where prehistoric Germanic and Roman objects have been found," what is true about that search for hidden treasures and who took part in it. From his letter it appears that not officers but Mr. Franssen, pastor in Ittervoort, who had searched in vain for the Roman settlement in Blerick, told the farmers that a treasure was hidden on the Römerheide there in a beautiful red earthen pot with a lid. People started looking and digging for it and the pastor hoped to find that settlement without any expense or effort. That is why he had given the peasants the description of a Roman pot of terra sigillata! Mr. Ort further states that the pastor had damaged funerary urns broken and that, although he was a correspondent for the former board of government advisors for memorials of national history and art, he sold the proceeds of his excavations to the museum in Brussels.

April 4, 1885 [...] **You have heard of the found objects and excavations** on or near Venlo's territory by Mr. Hub. Michels, the superior Rudolph, the lieutenant Ort (now captain) and the foreman Frans Deserièrre of Dr. Boetzkes (on Wambach) and of the Medusa shield owned by the family Lienders. So far, these gentlemen have usually been, so to speak "practical" practitioners, the memory naturally comes to mind our fellow townsman, Mr. Martin Jansen, who unfortunately passed away so early had so much knowledge in the field of archeology and worked as a "theoretical" fellow worker the way of research could have delivered so much. [...]

September 26, 1885 **In 1872 a bronze shield was excavated in Blerick and four** objects that resembled small horseshoes. The shield, a Medusa head, came into the hands of the late Mr. A. Lienders, goldsmith here. From the September issue of the Bulletin mensuel de numismatique et d'archéologie, by Raym. Serrure, we learn that this shield has left the country. We can confirm that the shield has actually been in the hands for about a year of Mr. Frans Merkins in Cologne, a lover of antiquities, who will keep it in his museum for the rest of his life.

May 1, 1886 **Merovingian coins, Avranches, Ambazac, Arras, "Juliniacum", Chemillé, Maastricht, etc.**
BY R. SERRURE.

Paris, 1886, in 8°, 15 pages, 1 plate engraved by L. Dardel bears 11 coins. (Extract from the Revue française de numismatique, 1886).

The few thirds of a sou described by M. Serrure have the merit of being relatively little known; they are all remarkable.

The author especially wanted to provide useful materials to the one who will have the genius to raise the entire monument of Merovingian numismatics.

Any Merovingian coin, says the author, presents three different points for study: the interpretation of the place name, the localization of the type, and finally the examination of the man's name.

It is in accordance with this method that the various coins whose names appear in the title of the article are reviewed; we will limit ourselves to speaking of the thirds of a sou of Arras and Maastricht which are of particular interest to Belgian numismatists.

The triens of Arras was found in Malmédy (Prussia) and is part of the State collections in Brussels.

On the obverse the legend + ATRAVETES is written around a bust turned to the left. Reverse: A//CHE + MVNDO. In the middle of a crown of pearls, a large A surmounted by the cross which cuts the legend and placed above a sort of flower. A variety of this coin was acquired at the sale of the Gariel collection by Mr. d'Amécourt.

ATRAVETES is indeed the Civitas Atrebatensis that the Notice des Provinces calls Atravatum, Atrevatum, Atrobatum, Atravatum, Attrabatum etc. and from where Charles the Bald dates a diploma, January 23, 843, actum Atravato monasterio S. Vedasti. The mint was obviously called ALGHEMVNDVS.

The type of the reverse of these coins is interesting, notes the author, because we find the initial A on the meshes of Arras (1) just as the flower is found both on the Gallic coins of the Nervio-Atrebatian region and on the Douaisian municipal deniers of the Middle Ages.

M. Serrure then draws attention to the triens of Maastricht that we published in the Belgian Review of Numesmatique 1885, p. 70. The author repeats, what we had pointed out, that the coinage of the mint Thrasemundus constitutes an almost servile imitation of the bust of the city of Rome: VRBS ROMA, engraved on certain small bronzes of Constantin the Great.

We can conclude that this coin is one of the oldest Merovingian coins struck in Maastricht.

The Hague Museum has a third of a sou signed by the same minter, but the type of this coin shows that the artistic qualities of the coin were already in decline when it was issued.

Another triens from Maastricht bears on the obverse: TRIECVO FIT.

Bust turned to the right; hair held back by a pearl headband extending behind the head.

R. + GODOFRIDVS MO. Latin cross flanked by two globules and raised on a vault; the cross is separated from the legend by a grenetis. This triens was part of the Garthe collection; van der Chijs had not mentioned it, but the Viscount of Amécourt in his Essay on Merovingian Numismatics Compared to the Geography of Gregory of Tours, p. 164, did not neglect to mention the Godofridus coin. The author then describes a triens with the legend + TRIECTO FIT.

Bust to the right. The head encircled by a pearl diadem seems devoid of hair; the cheek is marked by a strong projection. Reverse: MACEFINVS M.

Raised cross on a step under which are arranged five globules.

This raised cross that is frequently found on Merovingian coins is, as Mr. Baron de Chestret very judiciously notes, the origin of the perron raised in several localities in the country of Liège (1). This triens was also part of the Garthe collection. Van der Ghijs gave five varieties of this coin. A similar triens found near Utrecht is reported and drawn in a very rare small booklet that we possess. H.

Reland, the author, addresses a letter to the Count of Kniphuizen dated Utrecht, April 20, 1713, in which he speaks of the mint MADELINVS but wrongly assumes that the coin was struck in Utrecht because it was found near this city and that the name of the mint Madelinus is also found on the coins of Duurstede. This triens of Maastricht then belonged to Doctor van Engelen of Utrecht.

Finally, Mr. Serrure describes a triens found in Huy. Legend: TRIECTO FIT.

The letters C T are linked. In the field a bust turned to the right. R./RIMOALDVS MONE; the letters N E are linked and the legend must be read externally. In the field a cross, with double crosspieces, one of which is potentated. This is a notable variety of the triens reproduced by van der Ghijs under No. 14 of plate VII.

M. Serrure promises us a numismatic monograph of the Civitas Trajectensis, under the first two races. His essay proves how much this complete study will be full of attraction; this is why we hope that he will soon put his projet to execution.

G. CUMONT,

Secretary of the Belgian Royal Numismatic Society.

(1) The author says that these Arras meshes are from the 16th century. This error is probably the result of a typographical error.

(1) See Bulletin of the Liège Archaeological Society, 1885.

May 15, 1886 **Over a stipulated Arabic text from Merum.**

In a report from August 1, 1810 to the Grand Duke of Montalivet, Minister of the Commonwealth of Nations in Paris by the subprefect, A. Liger from Roermond, we read the following: (1)

"There are a quarter of a league from Roermond very close to the Maas, in the commune of Herten, hamlet of Merum, the remains of a tower of the highest antiquity where the pagan priests made sacrifices to their divinities from time to time. This tower was built on a small eminence ten paces from the Maas, but as over time, the rivers have often changed their height?? this one is now more than 700 paces away from it. This mass of stones is 60 feet long, by 50 wide; the thickness of the walls is 14 feet, it is empty in the middle, without stairs. The pagan priests used a ladder to climb it, which they burned each time after their sacrifice, so that no profane would approach the sacred ashes; at 10 paces from the wall there was found, about 50 years ago, a mound, where formerly the people placed themselves each according to their rank, to be present at this ceremony, because the right to climb onto the pyre, where the sacrifices of idols were ordinarily made, was reserved only for the sacrificing

Priests. It is claimed that, a few years ago, iron bars were found there all rusty, and if this is so, they were doubtless pieces of the grill, on which they placed their offering. The ashes of this holocaust were carefully collected by the Priests and distributed to the people in the form of an amulet, to which many virtues were attributed. It is estimated that this tower may have been nearly 40 feet high, or it was finished with a platform. At a distance of 30 feet high, we find holes 2 feet wide, which cross this tower on all its faces. It is presumed that beams had been placed there, which due to their age no longer exist. The different kinds of stones, of which this tower is composed, are unequivocal signs, that it must have been built at a very distant time. These stones, which were used are for the most part large pebbles, interspersed with a few layers of tuff, as well as a kind of stone of a blackish and heavy color, which it is supposed that the ancients made themselves. This stone closely resembles vitrified coals, having the same nipples. The method of making it seems to be lost today. (1) There are still 2 or 3 other species, whose names are unknown.

"The medals bearing the effigy of the Roman emperors, which were found at the foot of the wall, attest that this tower was built by their cohorts. Among other things, a very rare stone was found, whose angles are broken, which has lost some of its polish, but whose engraving has been very well preserved. Its size can be equal to that of the fingernail. The connoisseurs of fine stone engraving in Antwerp and Amsterdam attest that it is superiorly engraved, those in Amsterdam have even subjected it to the test of fire. It is a hard and precious stone, which cuts glass, like diamonds, but which does not have its water. They unanimously assured that the manner of engraving on hard stone today does not approach that of the past. Not knowing the oriental languages, we do not know whether the engraving is in Hebrew or Chaldean characters, or whether they are Egyptian hieroglyphs. However, we have seen in a small book, which is found in the cabinet of curiosities of the Jesuits in Cologne and which treats of ancient medals, the same imprint with the words Divo Esculapio. Everyone who has studied mythology knows that this God was dedicated to medicine. His cult was in vogue 400 years before the birth of Jesus Christ; thus it is conjectured that this tower could well have been dedicated to the God of Medicine. All the excavations and searches that were made, a few years ago on the side of the East where the ancients usually began their monuments, have been fruitless. "It was however on this side that they hid some coins to indicate to posterity the date of their enterprises, as well as the reign of their leaders. The present state of this tower offers nothing remarkable to the eyes of a curious person, except that a mine or deformed mass of stones. However, one can still discover on its summit with the aid of a telescope 50 towers of towns or villages, despite the fact that about 40 years ago one twentieth of its height was removed. The workers who worked to demolish this part unanimously agree that cement is harder to detach than stone. It is presumed that only an 8th part of its whole remains, its name today is Borgh or castle, although it could never have served as a place of defense.

This communication was provided to the sub-prefect of the department of Lower Maas by Mr. Petit from Roermond, owner of the above-mentioned old tower. To what extent all the scholarly fuss that embellishes this report applies here, I leave it to the reader to judge. I only add that this scholarship dates from a time when every citizen recognized the right and freedom to judge all things, even those of which he had only a small understanding. I will therefore pass over Mr. Petit's scientific observations in silence and confine myself to a word about the seal itself and about the ancient deposit of Merum, next to which it is said to have been found. The tower of Merum, which Petit describes as a pagan place of sacrifice and in which Mr Wolters also recognizes a Roman monument, is certainly not of Roman [Catholic?] origin, at least in the form it is in today. One finds pieces of *tegulae* and *imbrices* built here and there between the joints of the stones, but such remains from the Roman era were also found in the tower of the Romanesque church of Herten, which was demolished in 1880, and in a number of constructions from the Middle Ages, still present in our province. Our ancestors, feeling a lack of building materials, often resorted to the ruined Roman foundations in the area, which they plundered for the benefit of their new constructions. Such constructions therefore indicate the presence of Roman constructions in the area, but less so their presence on site itself. The old castle of Merum is certainly a medieval tower, belonging to the house of the families of Merum, Cuyck [Cuyk] and Heinsberg [Germany], who were lords of Merum and Dalenbroeck. The neighboring hill, which was labeled with the grand name of Drususberg by the classically thinking Mr Petit and which has now been excavated, also bore no

particular traces of Roman origin. Bones of cattle and medieval pottery shards were found there, which we saw and examined.

The view of Mr. Petit, followed by Wolters in his booklet entitled: Notice sur quelques débris de constructions romaines à Herten, may have influenced Mr. and not to look for the Roman poststation Mederiacum in Melick. But he remains indebted for certain proof of his feelings. We think it will be difficult to find a Roman highway from Thudder [Tüddern?] to Merum.

In our days of general writing about antiquities, there is a real mania to place roads and ramparts, just like that, in books and on maps, without first providing the slightest proof of the origins of these roads and ramparts from Roman or later Frankish period. Our hirers from the Rhine Province are very strong in that area; to follow them one must truly have a faith that moves mountains.

In the report of August 1 sent to the Montalivet in 1819 [or 1810?], there were impressions of the above-mentioned seal stone, which Mr Petit considered extremely remarkable, and two of which are still in the State Archives in Maastricht. We had one of these prints examined through our faithful friend G. Leemans, director of the National Museum of Archeology in Leiden. Professor De Goeje, our learned orientalist, explained the inscription in pure Arabic and read: Bismallah, that is in the name of Allah! This stone is also not Roman, but more likely midcentury. How it arrived at Merum, from Spain, from Palestine or from the East, is a mystery. Jos. HABETS.

(1) The minute of this letter is in the State Archives in Maastricht.

(1) The black bricks indicated here are simply cutting stones from quarries in the Liège region.

October 15, 1892 **Roman Antiquities in Venlo.**

By H. Michels.

In many places in and around Venlo and Tegelen, objects of Germanic, Roman and Frankish origin have been found during excavations.

In the year 1817, in the Vleeschstraat, at a depth of 7 or 8 feet, underground, a stone tomb was found, surrounded by clay, lying on a layer of pebbles; the length was 6½, the width 4 feet. The egg-shaped carved depth was 6 feet long and 3½ wide, with a very fitting lid. This lid was a table hewn from hard limestone, 4 inches thick, ground very smooth on the inside and on the edge. The sarcophagus (stone coffin) was made of tuff.

This sarcophagus stood in a direction from the East to the West. Close to the east side was another metal urn that, at its widest, was 11 inches high and 15 in diameter. The shape was very simple, the opening 6 inches wide, and was closed by a lid.

In the sarcophagus were found some pieces of white thin glass, probably from a so-called tear glass, some earth and remains of burnt bones, among which pieces of the skull and bones were clearly visible. Also in the urn was something resembling burnt bones, but in much smaller pieces.

The sarcophagus was without inscription. However, around the urn one saw Runic writing, which was not deeply and irregularly printed in the metal, and for this reason, as well as because of the dents in the urn, is illegible. In the vicinity of the grave site another flint of 12 to 15 inches in length and 6 inches in thickness was found.

Frankish jars have been found on the Groenmarkt, corner of Peperstraat, on the Lomstraat, outside the Geldersche or St. Helenapoort and in the sandy road to Genooy, behind St. Urbanus.

Outside the Cologne [Keulsepoort] or Sint Laurentius Gate there is a valley that extends from the German border to the former building farm "het Rozenhuisje" in a westerly direction to the Maas. The building farm "de Lindeboom" and the two water mills "de Bovenste Houtmolen" and the "Onderste Houtmolen" are located in this valley, after which it loses itself in the plain. The Cedron stream originates about 100 meters below "de Lindenboom"; it takes its course through the ponds of the two mills and further through the plain to the city, through which it passes and after which it pours into the Maas.

In the last century, the Bovenste Houtmolen was inhabited by a Holthuysen family, descendants of which still live in Venlo. On August 16, 1758, Gerardus Holthuysen, miller of the Bovenste Houtmolen, was buried in the cemetery of the St. Martinus Church. In 1760 it was still occupied by this family. One evening in the year 1760, the servant went to the attic with a lantern to get straw, and fell with it, so that the straw caught fire. Instead of putting out this fire with one hand, he went downstairs to fetch water; When we returned, it was too late, the attic was already

in full flame and everything, the mill with its house, barn and stable, burned to the ground.

This mill and yard then belonged to the Highly Born Mr. F. G. Ruys, lord of the seignury of Blerick and Ordinary of the Sovereign Court by Her High Powered Lords of the States General of the United Netherlands, and to his two daughters Catharina and Clara Ruys, who inherited her five years later (the mill was no longer built) to Michael Michels and his wife Gertrudis Muggen, February 7, 1765; she rebuilt that same year. The grandson of these couples sold the mill again in 1848.

The Onderste Houtmolen [=Lower Wood Mill] appears to have been built on the foundations of an ancient Roman or Frankish castle, at least judging from the foundations, and later destroyed by fire. There also seems to have been a mill here at the time of the Franks, a few steps from the house, judging by the fragments of millstones, which were found here with a large number of Frankish shards and pots mixed with wood ash. The present building was built in the year 1626. (1) The Onderste Houtmolen is now owned by WelEd. gentlemen Eugenius Gollaes, in Venlo, and Julius Freiherr Von Francken in Pont.

The valley described here with farms and mills, with ponds, streams, gardens, meadows, orchards and wildernesses, planted with centuries-old oaks, pines and other trees, surrounded by mountains and hills, is the most beautiful and, so to speak, "romantic" place in the whole of Venlo.

Various Germanic, Roman and Frankish antiquities have been found in and around this valley and there are still works from them. At the beginning of this valley, on the south side, there is a high earthen wall called "De Landweer", showing part of the trenches of a Roman camp, which seems to have been located here. For several years, Mr H. Justen van Venlo managed to discover a Roman cemetery here. On the northwest side of this camp there is a Germanic cemetery called Siberie; twenty-eight large and small burial mounds are still very clearly visible. I have dug up urns from some of these hills. Only from one was I able to bring out the urn in its entirety, the others were all broken by the roots of the trees that once stood here.

From the above-mentioned camp a broad Roman road runs through the middle of the mentioned cemetery, first in a northern direction to the end of the cemetery, and then in an eastern direction to just below the origin of the Cedron stream, straight through the aforementioned valley, where in the middle of a swampy area there is a dike has been constructed to continue the said road; This dike bears the name of Count Hendrik's dike.

The legend says: a Count Hendrik had crossed here with his army and had the war chest hidden in this dike. In the past, a light would have burned in this place every evening.

Furthermore, this road runs along a dug-out mountain in the direction of Straelen, where it loses itself in the plain.

(1) At the beginning of the 17th century, perhaps immediately after its reconstruction in 1626, the Onderste Houtmolen was inhabited by the miller Nicolaas Stoffels, from Broekhuizen, after whom this mill was also called the Stoffelsmolen. He was married to Maria Janssen from Venlo, who remarried after the death of her husband to the "magister" Hendrik Sieberz. From the first marriage there were 2 sons and a daughter, of which the eldest Godefridus became a priest; he was S. Theol. doctor, at the Sticht van den H. Severinus and fits of the church of St. Paul in Cologne, where he died in 1675; his mother followed him to Cologne and died there a few years earlier. He adopted the name of Molanus in memory of his father's profession, which was followed by all his family.

After the death of this Nicolaas Stoffels, who had no son who could succeed him in the trade, because the youngest son was a monk in the St. Nicholas Monastery in Dick, the Stoffels family, now called Molanus, left this mill and was taken over by a niece of his wife, Gertrudis Janssen, daughter of Albertus Janssen; she was married to Leonardus Engelen, and the mill now received the nickname of Engelenmolen, by which it is still generally known today. This family has continued to inhabit it to this day, with only an interruption of ten years, from 1856 to 1866.

At the beginning of this century there were only two male descendants of the family, of which the eldest continued to inhabit the Onderste-Houtmolen or Engelenmolen. His marriage to Maria Dorothea Franssen, van Steyl, municipality of Tegelen, produced two daughters; the youngest died in infancy; the eldest, Maria Engelen, married Petrus Hubertus Michels. Children from this marriage still live in this mill.

November 15, 1892 **Roman Antiquities in Venlo.**

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 125310 by H. Michels.
III.
§ III. Germanic objects.
1. Germanic urn, opening 0.18, height 0.18, found in Siberia, near 't Jammerdal, municipality of Venlo, in 1879.
- 125315 2. Germanic urn, opening 0.08, height 0.08, found in the Hunnenberg in Nijmegen.
3. Germanic jug, opening 0.13, height 0.07, found in the Hunnenberg in Nijmegen.
4. Germanic pot, opening 0.09, height 0.09, found in the Hunnenberg in Nijmegen.
- § IV. Roman objects.
- 125320 1. A cup, height 0.07, opening 0.05, found in Andernach on the Rhine. 2. Fragm. amphora, height 0.12, found at Kelheim on the Danube.
3. Ointment jar, found at Nijmegen.
4. Patella in white earth, found at Nijmegen.
5. Ointment jar in white earth, found at Nijmegen.
- 125325 6. Jar (quick), found in white earth at Montfort, height 0.13.
7. Jar in white earth, with an ear, height 0.12, found at Montfort.
8. Two small crucibles, found in the Maas at Blerick.
9. Two small jars in white earth, with an ear, height 0.19, found in Neuss, in 1876.
10. A small jar with an ear, in white earth, height 0.12, found at the St.
- 125330 Severinuspoort in Cologne, in 1874.
11. A small jar with an ear, in white earth, height 0.12, with round thick belly, without foot and long neck, height 0.18, found in Cologne.
12. A small jar with an ear, in white earth, height 0.27, found in Nijmegen.
13. A small jar with an ear, in white earth, height 0.20, found in Nijmegen.
- 125335 14. A small jar with an ear, in white earth, height 0.19, found in Nijmegen.
15. Two small jars with an ear, in white earth, height 0.11, found in Nijmegen. 16. Two small jars with a handle, in white earth, height 0.10, found in Nijmegen.
17. A small jar with two handles (amphora), in white earth, height 0.17, found in Nijmegen.
- 125340 18. A small jar with a handle and a spout, in white earth, height 0.18, found in Nijmegen.
19. Vase in black dough with angular belly, height 0.17, opening 0.12, found in Nijmegen.
20. A small vase with depressed walls in light brown earth, height 0.10, opening
- 125345 0.06, found in Nijmegen.
21. A purse-shaped bottle (gutta), height 0.18, found in Crefelt.
22. Terra Samica.
a. A patella, saucer, width 0.09.
b. A patella, width 0.16. with the mark SEVERUS de grafecto BVGO.
- 125350 c. A patella, width 0.17, mark illegible.
d. Small bowl, width 0.12, height 0.07, all found in Nijmegen.
23. Large milk jug with spout, in ordinary earth, width 0.26, height 0.07, found in Nijmegen.
24. A lamp in red earth, found in Gennep on the Maas.
- 125355 25. A lamp in black earth, found in Crefeld.
26. Two lamps in ordinary earth, found in Nijmegen.
27. A lamp in black earth, found in Kesseleyck.
28. A patella or small bowl, width 0.23, height 0.05, found in Kesseleyck.
- 125360 29. A salt cellar of white earth, height 0.04, width 0.07, found in Venlo. 30. Vase in ordinary earth, height 0.18, opening 0.25, found in the previously described pottery in Venlo, in 1879.
31. Vase in ordinary earth, with flat edge, height 0.18, opening with the edge measured 0.16, found in the pottery in Venlo, in 1879.
- 125365 32. Vase in ordinary earth, height 0.19, width 0.14, found in the pottery in Venlo, in 1879.
33. Vase in ordinary earth, height 0.16, width 0.12, with curved edge, found as furrows.
34. Vase in ordinary earth, decorated with small and large circles, height 0.15, width 0.09, found as furrows.
- 125370 35. Vase in ordinary earth, decorated with double row of circles, height 0.14, width 0.08, found as furrows. 36. Vase in ordinary earth, decorated with a double row of diamonds, high 0.14, wide 0.08, found as furrows.
37. Lid with flat knob, in ordinary earth, wide 0.13 found as furrows.
- 125375 38. Two fibulas, in copper, one with decorations, found in Nijmegen.
39. Needle in copper, found in Crefeld.

40. Writing styluses and other objects in copper, found in Nijmegen.
41. Two copper coins of Emperor Constantine, found on the Lichtenberg near Kaldenkirchen, in 1889).
42. A silver coin of Domitian, found in Baarlo, in 1840.
43. Roman spindle whorls and corals, found in Nijmegen.
44. A coral of red earth, found at the ruins of the old Carthage in Africa.

§ V. Frankish objects.

1. A large number of pearls, found in Nijmegen.
2. An urn in red-greyish earth, height 0.07, opening 0.08, found in Andernach aan den Rijn.
3. Two spherical urns or pots, black-grey, height 0.10 opening 0.08, found just behind the Onderste Houtmolen in Venlo, in 1873.
4. A spherical urn or pot, black-grey, height 0.13, opening 0.09, found as furrows.
5. A spherical urn or pot with spout, black-grey, height 0.15, opening 0.14, found as furrows.
6. A beautiful jug in grey earth, with an ear, height 0.25, opening 0.10, found as furrows.

§ VI. Medieval objects.

1. A large number of jugs, jars and pots, some of which are very beautiful in shape, from the 9th to the 16th century, in nature and just plain stoneware.
2. A number of old earthen pipes, including one with the coat of arms of Venlo and its motto: "Festina lente caute fac omnia mente" around it.

December 2, 1905 — **A lost art treasure recovered.**

— At the end of the year 1872, a worker in Blerick near Venlo found a Roman bronze shield with some horse harness while deepening a stream. These goods came into the possession of Mr Lienders in Venlo. Prof. Gaedechens from Jena gave a lecture about that shield in Bonn on the feast of Winckelmann's birthday on December 9. 1874, and since then "das Medusenhaupt von Blariacum" has acquired a very general reputation in the world of art connoisseurs and art lovers. The present Blerick was without doubt the Blariacum from Roman times, which appears on Peutinger's map. The shield, gilded bronze was probably a showpiece weapon. The name shield is also probably not entirely correct in that it is more a so-called umbo, the decoration of a shield on the outer side, than a shield itself. This umbo (navel) now has a diameter of 26 cm. A circle of oak leaves runs around it, within which there is again a similar wreath, which encloses the Medusa or Gorgo's head. This was from ancient times the most famous sign for averting hostile forces and as such was of course very peculiar. Our fellow countryman, Prof. Six wrote a commendable monograph about the Gorgo, his dissertation. Originally this Gorgo head had a hideous appearance; they gave her tusks and a stuck out tongue. Blerick's Gorgo is one in the style of later Greek art. Her character is expressed in human forms. She has a great reputation in art history. It probably dates from the first century AD. Not long after, the work of art crossed borders. We heard that our Queen Sophie tried to keep it for our country at the time, but in vain. The chance of ever getting it back became smaller and smaller, especially because the prices for such things are becoming higher and higher.

It appeared at the Dusseldorfer exhibition and now it has appeared once at an auction in Cologne. It has now been purchased there by Mr G.M. Kam, in Nijmegen, — the same who gave his highly important museum as a gift to the State, to be accepted after his death. The piece is now returning to our country and, humanly speaking, will never leave again. This work of art, found on Dutch soil, does not go to the prairies of North America or the unknown country house of a so-called art-loving Englishman. At the same time as the umbo, Mr. Kam also acquired the horse harness found there. He knows too well what such "Gesamtfunde" mean. I will say nothing more about the merits of Mr. Kam. This writes Mr. A.E.J. Holwerda, professor-director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, in the "N.R.Ct."

April 30, 1910 **Limburg Sagas and Legends.**

SCHATBERG, KRONENBERG, DE MEIR AND SCHENKENBURG UNDER SEVENUM.

A truly old-fashioned, prosperous farming village, where the farmers have still retained their old customs, where people still spin in the winter, where the housewives still take their yarn to the weaver, where the men still prefer Manchester to new-fangled cloth for the spacious clothes and the weddings are still celebrated with old songs and dinner parties without a brasserie... that is Sevenum,

in the middle of Limburg, located next to the Peel. There you can still see houses and stables, large and spacious, lying on their own property in the orchard and the tinware, copperware, the old grandfather clock, the folding table, and the large oak chests are in the front house. And at exactly twelve o'clock in the afternoon, the simple lunch is steaming on the table, while in the following summer everything goes "ungeren" or naps.

But the farmer is not that stupid unless he has faithfully followed and kept up with the progress of agriculture, dairy production and chicken breeding; he is well informed about the use of artificial fertilizers and the cooperative. That is why we can speak of Sevenum, just like of Horst and Maasbree, as a prosperous municipality. But the old colloquialism, the dialect, the old songs, the singing ways of the faithful king's son, of the young man who seemed neither susceptible to sweetness nor love and yet finally succumbed, the old local legends, they still live on.

Where the ground is generally so flat, a hill quickly becomes a mountain and that is why one of the strangely colored, white-yellow sand dunes on the Peel is called the Schatberg. It is higher than the surrounding ones. On the left lie deep swamps, swamps along the edges of which pine forests grow abundantly.

On the right, the seemingly endless piece of Peel to be developed, which has already been plowed and will soon be brought into cultivation. Here and there in the Peel, far away from us, between a group of trees like a miniature oasis in the brown-black plain, an old dilapidated sheepfold, dating from the time when sheep farming was still profitable.

Further on the horizon, forests, towers, factory chimneys, a derrick, which announce the slowly coming conversion of the Peel into inhabited and profitable territory. We are sitting on the Schatberg, and we are thinking that if a farmer sees us now, he will mutter to himself: "They will search, but they will not find anything". Because a lot has been sought in this Schatberg, Treasure Mountain, as evidenced by the grooves in the flanks and the holes in the top.

An officer of high rank is buried here, he has his golden sword next to him and a treasure that he had to keep. He died here, it is not known how, but was buried nearby by his followers. However, these too followed him in death. And so he lies here waiting. One person tells you that it was a Roman, another that it was a Spaniard, but everyone has dug in the Treasure Mountain at some point and both old and young have climbed the wonder hill. However, the treasure has not yet been found any more than the "Crown" in the hamlet of Kronenberg, which you can see a little further to the right of Horst, where traces of old fastenings, wall work, broken crockery and pottery were found. Whatever the case, the common opinion among the people is that strange things happened on the Schatberg and Kronenberg, which still await explanation.

In ancient times, an old pastor lived on the "Meir", a square piece of land surrounded by ramparts and canals, where fragments of walls can still be found. He came to the village every now and then and had an old gray, a wonderful beast. In the evening his owner mounted the saddle and said: "To the Lake in one go." The Gray rose and ran through the air into the lake. Why, who knows?

The old Schenkenweg, near the village, now disappeared, is also seen as a ghost place. The Schenken van Nijdeggen have a history interwoven with many changes. Their Schenckenburg castle sometimes saw strange things. The last of the Schencken, who carried a knife and a sword, was heavily drinking and every day passed the chapel of St. Anthony, founded by his ancestors. Each time he passed by mockingly, until one morning after a revel, he was found dead in the chapel. In his last hour he still visited Saint Anthony. When the castle was still in existence, the drawbridge had to be raised every evening at nine o'clock. If anyone forgot, a large black dog came to lie on the bridge and repelled everyone with a fiery claw and eyes. Because the 'headless horse' was also around, the castle was demolished, but the meadow that was created for it is still spoiled and only thistles and thorns grow there.

B.

Roman coin hoards and the Germanic invasions in Gaul

38. Near Bristol, bronzes from Gallienus to Constantine II. (John Evans, Num. Chron., 1883, p. 118).
39. At Bishop's Wood, two vases with 17,530 small bronzes from Diocletian to Constantius II (Bagnall-Oakeley, Num. Chron., 1896, p. 209).
40. At Salisbury, small bronzes of Licinius at Constantius II (C. Roach Smith, Num. Chron., 1869, p. 47).
44. At East Harptree, near Bristol, Constantine the Great to Gratian (John Evans, Num. Chron., 1888, p. 22).
- [BOOK II INVENTORY OF MONETARY HOOKUPS, p. 107 in green]
7. At Famars (municipality of Valenciennes), in 1824, a considerable find was made, composed as follows: 1° silver denarii predating Septimius Severus and others from the time of Diocletian and Constantine, contained in five copper vessels holding together approximately 18,200 coins; 2° Antoniniani and denarii later than Septimius Severus (Balbino, Pupianus, Gordian III, Philip I and II, Otacilia Severa, Trajan Decius, Herennia Etruscilla, Hostilian, Trebonianus Gallus, Volusianus, Carinus) were contained in four earthenware vases together containing 9,515 coins. The find thus comprised approximately 28,000 coins, probably buried between 306 and 308 AD. (Journal des Débats, October 2 and 12, 1824, January 15 and 18, 1825; Lettres du Baron Marchant sur la Num. et l'histoire, 2nd ed., 1851, p. 411 et seq.; Mém. de la Société des Antiques de France, vol. VII, 1826, p. lxxxiv; Mommsen-Blacas de Witte, H.M.R., vol. III, p. 130. — See also H. Feneulle, Analyse des monnaies d'argent romaines trouvées à Famars in the Mém. de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai, 1825, vol. X, p. 282.)
30. In the Boves forest (municipality of Sains, arrondissement) (from Amiens), 20 to 25 small bronze coins from Constans and Valens. (Bulletin of the Society of Antiquities of Picardy, vol. VII, 1859-1861, p. 243.)
31. At Glisy (municipality of Boves, district of Amiens), a brass basin containing a large number of Roman coins was found. (Catalogue of the Picardy Museum, 1876, p. 83, no. 575.)
39. Near Falvy (municipality of Nesle, district of Péronne), in a plot of land located in the commune of Ennemain, on April 23, 1868, two vases containing 6,000 coins, medium and small bronze, from Probus to Constantine, were discovered. Many of these coins had been minted at the Trier mint. (Alfred Danicourt, Note to the Secretary of the Picardy Antiquaries Society on a find of Roman coins made at Falvy, near Péronne, Péronne, 1872; Yearbook of the Société d'Antiquaires, 1868, vol. III, p. 405.)
40. At Fricourt (municipality of Albert, district of Péronne), in 1874, several thousand coins belonging to the same period as those of find no. 43. (O. Gaudechon, op. cit., p. 7.)
47. Near the hamlet of Agnicourt (municipality of Méru, district of Beauvais), in 1746, an earthenware vase containing a large number of Roman bronze coins. (Graves, Archaeological Notice, p. 134.)
52. Near Compiègne, at Mont-Chipray or Chyprès (between Vivier-Corax and Croix-Saint-Ouen), in 1824, a vase containing 590 coins was found. In 1825, an amphora with 5,200 bronze coins was discovered (one group of coins from this find included coins of Nerva, Constantine, Fausta, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constans). In 1826, a vase containing 2,235 bronze coins was found. In 1813, at the Old Mint Crossroads, 366 silver coins were collected. (Graves, Notice pp. 167, 169; E. Woillez, Répert. col. 127 and 128.)
- I have been unable to gather information on the exact composition of these finds, the first of which is believed to have been acquired by the Library (there is no record of this acquisition in the registers of the Cabinet de France). I also do not know the composition of the following three finds: (53, 54, 55)

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57. At Choisy-au-Hac, in the Compiègne forest, in 1818, a bronze vase with a handle. This vase, which is kept at the Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, contained approximately 3,000 bronze coins, most of them of Constantine. (S. Reinach, Catalogue (summary) of the Saint-Germain Museum, 2nd ed., p. 188.)

125575 62. At Grandrû (municipality of Noyon, district of Compiègne), at a place called Le Cadeau, in 1846, a gray earthenware vase containing nearly 9,000 small bronzes from the time of Constantine the Great and his sons was discovered; many pieces bore the inscriptions Urbs Roma and Constantinopolis. Tiles, pottery, and various other fragments were also found in the surrounding area. (Bulletin of the Archaeological Commission of the Diocese of Beauvais, 1847, vol. II, p. 66; Graves, Notice p. 162; cf. E. Woillez, Repertory, col. 144.)

125580 72. At Lappion (municipality of Sissonne, district of Laon), in 1820, an earthenware vase containing 8,000 small bronzes and some billon coins dating from the time of Gallienus to the time of Constantine (?) (Louis-Lucas, Notice on some discoveries, etc. Reims, 1843, p. 14.)

125585 79. On the land of Quicy (municipality of Guny, municipality of Coucy, district of Laon), at Mont-Notre-Dame, pottery fragments, a millstone, and a red earthenware vase containing 700 coins, large, medium, and small bronzes of Probus, Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximian. (Bulletin of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Soissons, 1849, vol. III, pp. 162 and 189).

125590 81. Near Frontigny (municipality of La Malmaison, municipality of Neufchâtel, district of Laon), in 1897, a grayish earthenware vase with 1,500 to 2,000 coins from the 4th century (Constantine and contemporary emperors). The find was dispersed; Thirty-five pieces were acquired by the Reims Museum. (Bulletin of the French Society of Antiquities, 1897, p. 331.)

125595 82. Near Clermont (municipality of Rozoy-sur-Serre, district of Laon), an earthenware vase containing 11,000 well-preserved Roman coins. (Bulletin of the French Historical Society, 1849, p. 141.)

125600 86. Between Villemontoire (municipality of Oulchy, district of Soissons) and Taux, an earthenware vase, covered with a red tile, containing 2,300 coins of Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Severus, Constantius Chlorus, Constantine, Galerius, and Maximinus Daza. These coins were all follis. (Bulletin of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Soissons, 1845, vol. II, pp. 38 and 166.)

125605 91. Between Crécy-sur-Serre and Vervins, a large number of bronze coins of Licinius, Constantine I and II, and Crispus were found. (Memoirs of the Society of Antiquities of France, 1823, vol. IV, p. 49.)

125610 111. At Soulosse (municipality of Coussey, district of Neufchâteau), in a garden where a 4th-century ivory statuette and a silver medallion of Constantine the Great were also found, 2,000 bronze coins of Constantius Chlorus, Constantine, and his sons were collected. (Bulletin of the Society of Antiquities of France, 1881, p. 150.)

125615 117. At Marac (municipality of Langres), in 1835, a chest containing 1,500 small bronzes from the beginning of the 4th century. (Luquet, in the Écho de la Haut-Marne, November 1, 1835; Antiquities of Langres, p. 285.)

125620 134. At Merfy (municipality of Burgundy, district of Reims), in 1813, under a stone, 400 bronzes of Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, Constantine, Galerius, Maximian, Severus II, and Maximinus Daza. (Annuaire de la Marne, 1824, p. 271; Société d'Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences et Arts de la Marne, 1859, p. 150.)

125625 137. At Tours-sur-Marne (municipality of Ay, arrondissement of Reims), in 1833, numerous coins of Gallienus, Telricus, and Constantine, and two silver rings, were found covered by a tile. The coins were heavily oxidized and clumped together as if they had been placed in rolls. (Archaeological Congress of France, 22nd century, at Châlons-sur-Marne, in 1855, p. 53; Society of Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences and Arts of the Marne, 1859, p. 160.)

125630 138. At Trépail (municipality of Verzy, district of Reims), in 1874, 300 bronze coins

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of Gallienus, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, and Constantine were discovered. (Archaeological Congress of France, 13th century, 1875, p. 154.)

- 125635 141. At Damery (municipality and district of Épernay), in 1830, ruins were discovered which were considered to be those of the ancient Bibe. In one of the substructures, coin molds and vases containing numerous coins were found. In one of the vases, there were 2,000 coins, including 1,500 of Postumus; the others belonged to the emperors since Gordian III. Another vase contained 4,000 small bronzes of Constantius and
- 125640 Constantius, including 3,900 with the reverse of the phoenix {Fel. temp. reparatio.} (Revue num., 1837, p. 172; 1839, p. 465; 1843, p. 364; Louis-Lucas, op. laud., p. 19; F. Lenormant, La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité, t. III, p. 207.)
- 125645 152. In Saint-Mard-sur-le-Mont (commune of Dommartin-sur-Yèvre, district of Sainte-Menehould), in 1867, 6,000 poorly preserved small bronzes of Gallienus, Tetricus and Constantine. (Archaeological Congress of France, 13th century, 1875, p. 153.)
- 125650 162. In a garden in the village of Chervey, near Bar-sur-Seine, on December 15, 1842, a red earthenware vase containing approximately 8,000 small bronze coins was discovered. Two thousand of the examined coins dated from the reigns of Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius II, Aurelian, Severina, Tacitus, Probus, Carus, Carinus, Numerian, Magnia Urbica, Nigrinian, Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Carausius, Allectus, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximian. The coins of Probus represented a quarter of this collection. A short distance from Chervey runs a road
- 125655 known as the Roman Road. (Archaeological Congress of France, Troyes, 1853, pp. 51 and 55; Memoirs of the Society of Agriculture, Sciences, Arts and Belles-Lettres of the Aube, 1842-1843, vol. XI, p. 95.)
- 125660 166. In the ruins of Membrey (municipality of Dampierre-sur-Salon, district of Gray), near Tantique Segobodium (Seveux), between 1838 and 1841, a vase containing 280 coins of Trebonianus Gallus, Postumus, Claudius II, Tetricus, Aurelian, Probus, Galerius Maximian, and Constantine the Great was found. (Matty de Latour, Roman Ruins of
- 125665 Membrey, Angers, 1847, p. 25; extract from the Memoirs of the Society of Agriculture, Sciences and Arts of Angers, vol. VI.)
- 125670 178. At Bredannaz (municipality of Doussard, municipality of Faverges), near Annecy, approximately 3,000 small bronze coins from the reigns of Licinius to Constantius II. (Soret, Memoirs of the Geneva Historical Society, vol. I, p. 241.)
- 125675 194. At Saint-Vincent-de-Mercuze (municipality of Touvet, district of Grenoble), on February 25, 1870, just a few kilometers from the road still called the Chemin-de-l'Empereur at Mas-de-la-Branche, a red earthenware vase containing a silver bracelet, 54 silver and billon coins, 123 medium bronze coins and 117 small bronze coins from Caracalla to Constantine (65 p.). (G. Vallier, in the Bulletin of the Statistical Society of Isère, 1878, p. 336.)
- 125680 195. At Saint-Vincent-de-Mercuze, at a place called La Bellangère, at the end of January 1899, on a plateau where foundations and fragments of tiles were found, a red earthenware vase was discovered that had been covered with a sheet of lead. This vase contained approximately 1,550 coins distributed as follows: 2 Valerian; 350
- 125685 Gallienus; 10 Salonina; 6 Postumus; 2 Victorinus; 170 Claudius II; 7 Quintillus; 80 Aurelian; 4 Severina; 15 Tacitus; 1 Florian; 80 Probus; 5 Carus; 3 Numerian; 10 Carinus; 1 Magnia Urbica; 90 Diocletian (plus 120 follis), 160 Maximian Herculus and Maximian Galerius (plus 200 follis); 1 Allectus; 5 Constantius II and 20 frustes. (H. Muller, Bulletin of the Dauphiné Society of Ethnology and Anthropology, vol. VI, 1899, pp. 78-80; the same author analyzes the previous find, pp. 80-81.)
- 125690 210. At Saint-Chef (municipality of Bourgoin), in April 1760, bronze paterae and basins, with 40 coins from the reigns of Augustus to Constantine. (Caylus, Recueil d'Antiques, vol. V, p. 289, and pl. CIV; H. Thédénat and A. Héron de Villefosse, Les trésors de vaisselle d'argent trouvés en Gaule 1885, p. 45.)
- 125695 215. Near Saint-Paul-lez-Romans (municipality of Romans, district of Valence), a few kilometers from Saint-Nazaire, on the right bank of the Isère River, around 1835, 600 small bronze coins of Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius were found. (Rev. archéologique, 1860, p. 406, note 3.)

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125700 229. Near Tourves (municipality of Brignoles), in 1366, according to Nostradamus, an enormous quantity of coins was discovered: Terrant evomentem pecuniam argenteam viginti mulorum onus. (Baron August/Gustave von?) de Bonstetten, op. laud., p. 37.

Photo of the Roman bridge near Tourves

125705 239. On Mont-Barbe, where the church and castle of Chatellenot are located (municipality of Pouilly), in 1806, three-thirds of a gold sol of Magnentius and Constantius and eighteen pounds of mark weight of Tetricus's coins were found. (Girault, op. laud., p. 17.)

125710 245. One hundred paces from the village of Sommeville, near Monéteau (municipality of Auxerre West), in 1820, three earthenware vases containing a large number of coins from the 3rd and 4th centuries, and in particular from Diocletian, were found. (M. Quantin, op. laud., col. 19.)

125715 250. At Appoigny (municipality of Auxerre), at the place called Les Ruelles, around 1847, an earthenware vase containing approximately 5,000 coins of Maximinus Thrax (only 1), Valerian, Gallienus, Salonina, Saloninus, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius II, Quintillus, Aurelian, Severina, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, Carus, Numerian, Carinus, Magnia Urbica, Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximian. (Abbé Duru, in the Memoirs of the Society of Historical and Natural Sciences of the Yonne, 1847, vol. I, p. 221 and vol. II, pp. 57 and 221, 9 plates; cf. Yearbook of the Yonne), vol. I, 1837, p. 299).

125725 254. At Bussy-en-Othe (municipality of Brienon, district of Joigny), a vase filled with coins of Constantine, Constantius, Magnentius, etc. (M. Quantin, op. cit., col. 136.)

125730 256. At Mézilles (municipality of Saint-Fargeau, district of Joigny), in an ironworks, a cache of 200 small bronze coins of Probus (one coin), Licinius, Constantine I and II, and Crispus. (Information provided by M. H. de Flamare.)

125735 258. At Saint-Romain-le-Preux (municipality of Saint-Julien-du-Sault, district of Joigny), a vase containing bronze coins of Constantine, Constantius, etc. (M. Quantin, op. laud. col. 169.)

260. At Molinons (municipality of Villeneuve-l'Archevêque, district of Sens), at the place called Pont-de-Pierre, near the Roman road, a large pot filled with coins of Gallienus, Tetricus, Constantine, etc. (M. Quantin, op. laud. col. 227.)

125740 263. A fairly large number of finds have been briefly reported. I will cite these as appearing to be the most clearly defined: Esnon, around 1650 and 1730 (Roman coins of the 2nd and 3rd centuries); Charbuy, in 1665 (middle 3rd century); Avallon, 1709 (3rd century); Champeaux, 1723 (small 3rd century coin). Vermanton, Lucy-sur-Cure, 1725 (small br. from the 3rd century); Bouy-le-Vieux-en-Othe (small br. from the 3rd century); Vaux, 1730 (Roman bronze m.); Auxerre, 1734 (pet. br. from the 3rd century); Beaumont, 1750 (pet. br.); Thunder, 1757 (pet. br.); Avallon, 1765 (m. of Antoninus and Hadrian); Villeneuve-l'Archevêque, 1816 (pet. br. from the 3rd century); Champlost, 1819 (pet. br. from the 3rd and 4th centuries); Sommeville, 1829 (small br. of the 3rd and 4th c.); Pourrain, 1849 (small br. of the 3rd c.); Heurtebise near Vandeurs, 1850 (small br. of the 3rd c.); Saint-Julien-du-Sault, 1850 (small br. of the 3rd c.). (Abbé Duru, Memoirs to serve as a general work on the finds of medicine in the Yonne region, in the Memoirs of the Society of Sciences of the Yonne, 1852, vol. V, pp. 486-488.)

125755 266. In this same locality of Chantenay (municipality of Saint-Pierre-le-Moulier, district of Nevers), around 1863, a hoard was found, considered to be a military chest, containing more than 80 kilograms of small bronze coins of (California, Severina, Probus, Carus, Carinus, Maximian, Hercules, and Constantine (this list is obviously incomplete)). According to M. F. Pérot, this find (the "two military chests") consisted of more than 100 kilograms of small bronze coins from Claudius II to Constantine.

267. In 1878, another find of Two vases containing 1,764 bronze coins distributed as

follows: 1 Valerian; over 700 Gallienus; Salonina; 8 Postumus; Victorinus; Tetricus, father and son; over 700 Claudius II, including only one specimen with the head facing left; Quintillus; Aurelian; 1 Carus; 1 Diocletian; 1 Maximian Herculus; 1 Constantius Chlorus. (Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, 1877, 2nd series, vol. I, p. 69; *ibid.*, 1878, pp. 241-243; Catalogue of the Moulins Museum, 1885, p. 134, nos. 508 and 511.)

270. Previously, around 1770, a hollowed-out stone containing a large quantity of Domitian coins had been discovered near the Saint-Saturnin farm. Antoninus, Faustina, Commodus, Julia Domna, Alexander Severus, Maximinus, Gordian III, Philip, Gallienus, Saloninus, Postumus, Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantine. (P. Gillet, *Annuaire du départ de la Nièvre pour l'an XI*, an X, pp. 63 and 64; O. de Soultrait, *Répert.*, col. 148.)

278. At the hamlet of Spouse (municipality of Ougny, municipality of Châtillon-en-Bazois, district of Château-Chinon), in September 1898, four to five kilograms of medium and small bronze coins of Gallienus, Claudius II, Constantius Chlorus, and Diocletian were found. In the field opposite the one where this discovery was made, foundations had apparently been found previously. (Information communicated by M. H. de Flamare.)

283. In Marré-le-Bas (or Marré-les-Bois?), a hamlet in the commune of Cervon (commune of Corbigny), a bronze vase was found containing approximately 3,000 pieces by Gallienus, Salonina, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claude II and Constantine. (*Revue num.* 1838, p. 298; cf. Baudiau, *Le Morvan* vol. II, p. 153.)

288. In Lancié, 2 kilometers from Romanèche (district of Mâcon), in 1880, earthen urn containing approximately 1,806 pieces distributed as follows: 2 Gallien; 9 Claudius II; 1 quintil; 236 Aurélien; 5 Séverine; 87 Tacitus; 13 Florian; 438 Probus; 31 Carus; 35 Numerian; 47 Carinus; 384 Diocletian; 430 Maximian Herculus; 1 Carausius; 1 Allectus; 43 Constantius Chlorus; 43 Galerius Maximian. Buried around 298. (Emile Lépaulle, Note on the Lyon mint at the time of Diocletian's reform, Concerning a find made at Lancié in 1880. Lyon, A. L. Perrin, 1883, quarto, pp. 5 and 6.)

292. Near Autun, in 1889, a discovery of gold coins was made. In particular, two gold medallions, mint condition, of Gallienus and Constantine were noted. (*Yearbook of the Numismatic Society*, 1890, p. 251.)

302. Near Lagnieu (district of Belley), in 1807, approximately 300 bronze coins of Diocletian, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius Maximian, Severus, Maximinus Daza, and Constantine. (A. Sirand, 5th archaeological dig, in *Journal d'Agriculture de l'Ain*, 1843, p. 138.)

303. At Ambérieu-en-Bugey (district of Belley), in 1845, coins from Probus to Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantius Chlorus. (Sirand, *Journal d'Agriculture de l'Ain*, 1847, p. 116.)

304. At Groslée (municipality of Lhuis, district of Belley), a find of similar composition. (*Journal of Agriculture of the Ain*, 1847, p. 116.)

310. Near the Château de Montréal, not far from Brion (municipality of Nantua), in November 1853, woodcutters found, under an oak tree, in a single cavity, nearly 10,000 medium and small bronze coins of Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, Constantine, and Crispus. The find was dispersed. (A. Sirand, 14th archaeological survey, in the *Journal of Agriculture of the Ain*, 1854, p. 141.)

314. At Lyon, a find of 12,000 small bronze coins. Of the 1,200 that could be examined, there were a few pieces from the reign of Claudius II, but the majority belonged to the reigns between Maximinus Daza and Constantius II. (*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. XI, proceedings, p. 13; Mommsen-Blacas-de Witte, *H.M.R.*, vol. III, p. 135.)

328. In Paris, in 1807, during the excavation of the Tourcq Canal basin at La Villette, an earthenware vessel containing approximately 2,500 bronze coins (follis) of Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius Maximian, Severus, Maximinus Daza, Maxentius, and Constantine the Great was discovered. (Grivaud de La

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- 125830 Vincelle, Recueil de monuments antiques, vol. II, pp. 257 and 270. This author (p. 275) places the burial around 310.
- 125835 344. In the commune of Larchant (municipality of La Chapelle-la-Reine, arrondissement of Fontainebleau), in 1879, 208 medium and small bronze coins were found, distributed as follows: 5 Licinius the Elder, 2 Licinius the Younger, 100 Constantine, 3 Helena, 2 Fausta, 16 Crispus, 6 Urbs Roma, 16 Constantinopolis, 35 Constantine II, 4 Constans, 19 Constantius II. (Communication from Mr. E. Thoison; Revue num. 1899, p. 388.)
- 125840 354. At Derchigny-Graincourt (municipality of Offranville), in 1853, on the roadside, an earthenware vase containing 800 bronze coins of various sizes, of Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius Maximian, Licinius, Maximinus Daza, and Constantine the Great. (Abbé Cochet, Répert. col. 69.)
- 125845 393. At Neuville-du-Bosc (municipality of Brionne, district of Bernay), near the Bosc farm, around 1802, 1,600 to 1,700 medium and small bronze coins of Probus, Maximian, and Constantine. (Information provided by Mr. L. Coutil.)
- 125850 402. In January 1897, at the hamlet of Surcy (municipality of Mézières, district of Les Andelys), 300 to 400 small bronze coins were found, most of which Mr. L. Coutil communicated to me. The composition of this small hoard is as follows: 1 Tetricus; 4 crudely made Telricus; one small bronze, a deformation of the Urbs Roma type, Constantine II, Constans I, Magnentius, Valentinian I and Valentinian II, Valens, Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius (numerous examples, two with LCVP), Honorius (numerous examples), Magnus Maximus, Eugenius (392-394; only one example). (Bulletin of the French Society of Antiquities, 1897, p. 368.)
- 125855 403. At the Sarrazine marsh between Surcy and Mézières, in 1865, a black earthenware vase containing approximately ten kilograms of large, medium, and small bronze coins was found. It contained coins of Nero, Nerva, Trajan, Lucius Verus (a large gilded bronze), Commodus, Valerian, Gallienus, Postumus, Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, Probus, Carinus, Diocletian, Maximian, Severus, and Constantine. (Bulletin of the French Society of Antiquities, 1897, p. 369.)
- 125860 406. During the construction of the Poses lock (Pont-de-l'Arche, Louviers district), in 1851, a pot containing 1,200 bronze coins was found amidst a pile of stones. Among those examined were coins of Philip, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantius. (Archaeological Congress of France, Nantes, 1856, p. 261.)
- 125865 415. At Moulton (Bourguébus commune, Caen district), in September 1846, a gray earthenware vase containing approximately 6,000 bronze coins was found. Of the 2,000 coins examined, some were identified from the following reigns: Valerian, Gallienus, Salonina, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus (father and son), Claudius II, Quintillus, Aurelian, Severina, Tacitus, Probus, Garus, Carinus, Numerian, Diocletian, Maximian-Herculus, and Constantius Chlorus. The most numerous coins were those of Gallienus, Aurelian, Probus, Claudius II, Tetricus, and Diocletian. (Bulletin monumental, 1846, vol. XII, p. 632.)
- 125875 424. At Helleville (municipality of Les Pieux, district of Cherbourg), in 1780, 8 aurei and 6 gold medallions of the Constantinian dynasty were found. These pieces, which entered the Cabinet of France, were stolen in 1831. There were 4 medallions of Constantine, 1 of Constantine II, and 1 of Constantius II. (Revue num., 1858, p. 279.)
- 125880 428. At Sainte-Mère-Église (district of Valognes), in a field called Le Hutrel, in 1853, approximately 4,500 small bronze coins were found: Maximinus Daza, Maxentius, Licinius, 900 Constantine the Great, 35 Crispus, and 42 Constantine II. Of the 1,200 coins that could be examined, there were also 1 Gallienus, 1 Victorinus, 1 Aurelian, 2 Probus, 2 Constantius Chlorus, and 1 Galerius Maximian. This hoard was said to have been buried between 317 and 323, since it contained coins of Crispus and Constantine II, and no coins of Constantius II. (Revue num., 1854, p. 81; de Pontaumont, Hist. de ancienne élection de Carentan, 1866, p. 85.)
- 125885 436. In the vicinity of Montfort-sur-Meu, around 1873, 2,000 or 3,000 bronze coins (follis and small bronze) from the reigns of Diocletian to Constantine the Great were
- 125890
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found. (Fornier, Catalogue of coins found at Plourhan, 1881, p. 1. Extract from the Memoirs of the Society of Emulation of Côtes-du-Nord, 1881.)

125900 444. In the territory of the commune of Yffiniac (same canton), in 1855, a vase containing 800 small bronze coins of Constantine, Constantius, Valentinian, etc. (Preserved at the Saint-Brieuc Museum?) (J. Gaultier du Mottay, op. cit. p. 176.)

125905 447. At the Fosse Bily farm (commune of Quessoy, commune of Moncontour, arrondissement of Saint-Brieuc), on 15 Germinal, Year XII, a vase containing coins of Probus, Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, and Constantine the Great. (Celtic Academy, vol. V, 1810, p. 167; J. Gaultier du Mottay, op. cit., p. 201.)

125910 460. In the village of Chemin-Chaussée (municipality of La Bouillie, municipality of Matignon), crossed by the Roman road from Carhaix to Alet, several hundred small bronze coins of Tetricus and previous emperors were found in 1820. Also found there were "?? number of quinarii." (J. Gaultier du Mottay, op. cit., p. 436.)

125915 463. At Pont-Abbé (district of Quimper), an earthenware vase was found containing several hundred billon coins and small bronze coins of Balbinus, Valerian, Gallienus, Salonina, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius II, Quintillus, Severina, Carus, Licinius, and Crispus. (Note by P. du Chatellier, in the Revue archéologique 1889, vol. II, p. 193.)

125920 470. At Mérouville (municipality of Janville), around 1857, a pot was found divided internally by thin sheets of bronze into several compartments containing two types of coins. On one side, billon coins of Gallienus and Postumus; and on the other side, bronze coins from Augustus to Constantine; 1,260 pieces in all. Tiles and various fragments were also collected. (Bulletin of the French Antiquities Society, 1857, p. 149.)

125930 480. At Bonneval (Châteaudun district), 1,000 to 1,200 coins of Septimius Severus, Claudius II, Tacitus, Probus, Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantine. (Memoirs of the French Antiquities Society, vol. IX, 1832, pp. xlv and xci.)

125935 486. At Ouzouer-des-Champs (Lorris commune, Montargis district), in 1853, an earthenware vase containing about fifty coins of Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, and Constantine the Great. (Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Orléans, 1848-1853, vol. I, p. 348.)

125940 504. At Genillé (municipality of Montrésor, district of Loches), two vases, one bronze and the other earthenware, containing medium and small bronze coins dating from the reign of Philip the Elder to Constantine the Great. (Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Touraine, 1868-1870, vol. I, p. 232.)

505. Under a rock shelter, inhabited in prehistoric times, not far from the Roman road at Manthelan (municipality of Ligueil, district of Loches), small bronze coins from Constantinople depicting a she-wolf. (Information provided by Captain Bonnery.)

125945 531. In Angers, at the crossroads between the Joubert and Pierre-Lise districts and the Trudelle house, in 1842, a red earthenware vase containing approximately 300 bronze coins of Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, Severus, Maximinus Daza, Maxentius, and Constantine was found. (See Godard-Faultrier, Monuments antiques de Anjou, 1864, p. 12.)

125950 534. In Lezon (municipality of Saint-Just-sur-Dive, district of Saumur), along with various other antiquities, a copper dish containing 80 bronze coins was found (now in the Saumur Museum). (A. Courty, in the Memoirs of the Society of Agriculture, Sciences and Arts of Angers 1834-1837, vol. II, p. 347. — According to information provided by Mr. Lemarinier, the dish supposedly contained 80 bronze coins from the reigns of Augustus to Constantine. However, I am not certain that this was a genuine hoard. See p. 62.)

125960 539. At Saint-Martin (municipality of Beaupréau, district of Cholet), in 1826, a vase filled with coins was found, and in 1851, at a place called La Métairie des Pierres Blanches, several hundred coins of Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus,

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Licinius, Maxentius, and Constantine were discovered. (See Godard-Faultrier, *op. laud.*, p. 173.)

125965 580. At Olonne (municipality of Les Sables d'Olonne), in 1856, a find of bronze coins from the time of Constantine was made. There were many small bronze coins from Rome and Constantinople, most of which were of very crude workmanship. A few coins bore the monogram of Christ. (B. Fillon, *Poitou et Vendée*, art. Le Veillon; p. 10, note, and *Annuaire de la Société d'émulation de la Vendée*, 1856, vol. III, p. 213.)

125970 581. A find of Roman coins was reported at Château-d'Olonne (municipality of Les Sables d'Olonne). There were about a hundred Tetrici coins, along with some Constantine and Constans coins. (Review of the Western Provinces, 1854-1855, vol. II, p. 328.)

125975 587. At Kersahut, near Le Gavre (municipality of Blain, district of Saint-Nazaire), an earthenware vase containing a large number of coins of Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, and Severus was found. (*Archaeological Review*, 1851, vol. VIII, p. 336. j)

125980 589. At Chanteloup (municipality of Moncoutant, district of Parthenay), a vase containing 2,400 coins of the emperors, listed below: Valerian, Gallienus, Salonina, Saloninus, Postumus, Quintillus, Claudius II, Aurelian (177), Severina, Tacitus, Florian, Pro? (394), Carus, Numerian, Carinus, Magnia Urbica, Diocletian (468, including 216 follis), Maximian Herculus (323, including 223 follis), Constantius Chlorus (284, including 236 follis), Galerius Maximian (204, including 173 follis), Severus, Maximinus Daza, Constantine (69 follis). The Deux-Sèvres Statistical Society possesses numerous coins from this find.

125990 591. At a place called Campian (Margaux commune, Bordeaux district), a cache of 345 coins was discovered, contained in earthenware vases placed near funerary urns. Among these coins were 55 from Diocletian, 35 from Maximian, 70 from Constantine, 17 from Severus, 11 from Maximinus Daza, and 1 from Maxentius, all in good condition. (*Yearbook of the Society of Num.* 1887, vol. XI, p. 322.)

125995 592. At Margaux (municipality of Castelnau-de-Médoc, district of Bordeaux), an earthenware vase containing 800 to 900 bronze coins (follis) was found, dating from the reign of Diocletian to Constantine the Great. There were coins with the conjoined heads of Severus II and Maximinus Daza. (*Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Southern France*, 1884, p. 17). This find may be the same as the previous one.)

126000 597. At Lussac (district of Libourne), at a place called Le Roi, in January 1844, a vase containing 204 bronze coins of Constantius Chlorus, Licinius (father and son), Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, Constantius II, Fausta, and Helena was found. (F. Jouannet, in the *Proceedings of the Bordeaux Academy*, 1847, vol. IX, p. 213.)

126010 620. At Blagnac (a commune near Toulouse), two vases containing coins of Claudius II and Constantine were found. (*Memoirs of the Toulouse Academy*, 1867, 6th series, vol. V, p. 458.)

623. At Saint-Cisy, in 1892 and 1899, two hoards of 3,600 coins, dating from Hadrian to Constantine, were discovered. (Information provided by Mr. L. Joulin.)

126015 633. At Velp, near Arensheim, not far from Arnhem (Guelders), around 1715, a hoard consisting of a gold chain and bracelets, gold medallions decorated with circles, and gold coins minted under the sons of Constantine, Honorius, Galla Placidia, Gratian, Valentinian, Valens, Arcadius, John, and other emperors and empresses of that period. (*Numerical Review*, 1883, p. 81 et seq.).

126020 641. At Saint-Léger, in September 1850, 45 medium and small bronze coins of Licinius and Constantine. (*Belgian numismatic review*, 1851, p. 87.)

126025 646. At Pottes (district of Tournai), in 1802, a vase containing numerous Roman coins. (J. de Bast, *Second Supplement to the Collection*, 1813.)

670. At Harlebeck, 4 km from Kortrijk, in 1499, a glass vase containing Roman coins. (J. de Bast, *Collection*, 1808, p. 167.)

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126030 676. In the same locality [Meerlebeke], in November 1797, an earthenware vase containing 98 coins of Victorinus, Quintillus, Claudius II, Aurelian, Tetricus, Tacitus, Probus, and Julian the Apostate, including 2 silver coins of Constantine the Great. (J. de Bast, *Recueil*, 1808, pp. 99-105.)

126035 680. At Saint-Denis-Westrem, near Ghent, in 1787, approximately twenty gold coins of Constantine the Great, Valentinian, Valens, Theodosius, and Honorius. (J. de Bast, *Recueil*, 1808, p. 109.)

126040 686. At Heerlen, between Maastricht and Aachen, 28 small bronze coins of Valentinian II (5), Theodosius (15), Magnus Maximus, Arcadius, Honorius, and Constantine III. (*Revue de numism. belge*, 1846, p. 194.)

126045 691. At Noville-lez-Bastogne, a vase containing 600 Roman coins (period unknown). (*Westd. Zeitsch. f. Gesch. u. Kunst*, vol. XV, 1896, p. 396.)

126045 708. At Ville-en-Waret, a hoard composed of coins, the most recent of which are twenty coins of Constantine I.

126050 710. At Furfooz, a small cache of 8 gold coins. The Namur Museum holds 3 of them, which are from Constantine III, John, and Valentinian III (425-433). (*Annales... Namur...*, vol. III, p. 233; vol. V, p. 36.)

126055 720. At Dalheim, on April 17, 1842, three urns were discovered containing approximately 30,000 coins, medium and small bronzes. Of the 22,427 coins examined, 14,507 of which were described by M. Senckler, there were some dating from the reign of Diocletian to that of Constantine I; Some billon coins dated to the reigns of Licinius and Maximinus. Since Licinius the Younger and Crispus are not represented in this hoard, it is certain that the burial took place shortly before 317, and probably around 313. (Senckler, in the *Publications Luxembourg*, vol. III, pp. 60-83; B. de Köhne, *Zeitschrift für Münzkunde*, vol. II, p. 254; *Jahrbücher de Bonn*, vol. I, p. 127 and vol. XI, p. 55.)

126060 See also: THE ROMAN CAMP OF DALHEIM.

126065 722. At Ermsdorf-sur-l'Ernz (lez-Medernach), in May 1880, an earthenware vase with 10,000 small bronzes, of which 5,500 were studied and belonged to the reigns between Quintillus and Constantius II. There was a denarius of Alexander Severus. Classified by mint, 4,239 pieces were distributed as follows: Trier, 2,693; Lyon, 160; Arles, 9; "Constantina", 119; London, 41; Siscia, 23; Rome, 10; Tarragona, 2; Antioch, 1; Carthage, 1; Thessaloniki, 8. The burial took place after 342. (Van Werveke, *Publications Luxembourg*, vol. XXXV, p. 440; *Annuaire Société franç. de Numism.*, 1882, vol. VI, p. 270; F. Hettner, *Wd. Zeitsch. f. Gesch. u. K.*, vol. VII, 1888, p. 117.)

126075 724. In the same locality [Ettelbruck], at the place called Op Lopert, not far from the first find, on October 9, 1889, a hoard of 1,982 coins (representing 812 varieties) of Gallienus (very numerous), Salonina, Postumus (1), Victorinus (6), Marinus (1), Tetricus the Elder (8) and Son (6), Claudius II (very numerous), Quintillus, Aurelian, Severina, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, Carus, Numerian, Magnia Urbica, Diocletian, Maximian Herculus, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius Maximian. (N. van Werveke, in the *International Numismatic Congress*, 1891, p. 656, and in the *Luxembourg Publications*, 1895, vol. XLII, pp. 303-384; *Revue num.*, 1896, p. 111.)

126080 737. At Weeze (Guelre circle, Geldern), in 1880, a red earthenware vase with 5,200 small bronzes. Of the 1,198 examined, there were: 1 Gallienus, 1 Consecration of Claudius, 1 Licinius the Elder, 1 Licinius the Younger, 113 Constantine, 294 Constantine II Caesar, 136 Constantius II Caesar, 30 Constans Caesar, 5 Delmatius, 46 Theodora, 52 Helena, 262 Roma, 224 Constantinopolis, 1 Populus Romanus, 26 barbarians. The workshops were represented as follows: Trier, 668; Lyon, 173; Arles, 78; Rome, 16; Aquileia, 1; Siscia, 8; Constantinople, 2; Carthage, 1; Thessalonica, 1; Heraclea, 6; indistinct, 215. The burial took place around 337. (*Jahrb. de Bonn*, LXXIV, p. 196; Dr. Steiner, *Wd. Korrespondenzbl.*, vol. I, p. 225; F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, 1888, pp. 124-129.)

126090 746. In Cologne, on the Marienplatz, on March 29 and April 1, 1895, several amphorae filled with Roman coins, perhaps 150,000 or 200,000 pieces, were discovered. Among the few thousand that could be examined, follis of Maxentius and Constantine, small

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- 126095 bronzes of Helena, Licinius the Elder and Son, Constantine I and II, Urbs Roma, Constantinopolis, Fausta, Crispus, and Constantius II were identified. (C. Stedfeldt, in *Korrespondenzblatt der Wd. Z.*, vol. XIV, 1895, cols. 184-189.)
- 126100 747. In Cologne, on Stephanstrasse, in 1896, a vase containing 1,400 bronze pieces, including 1,040 of Magnentius, 320 of Decentius, 1 of Constantine the Great, and 14 of Constantius II, most of them of the large size. (C. Stedfeldt, *Korrbl.*, vol. XV, 1896, cols. 126-128.)
- 126105 757. In Eller (Kochem circle), in April 1856, an earthenware vase containing 957 small bronzes of Constantine and his sons (except Constans) as Caesars, of Licinius, Fausta, and Helena, and also three silver spoons. The burial must have taken place between 323 and 327. (*Jahrb. de Bonn*, vol. XXV, p. 202; *Jahresbericht d. Gesellschaft für nützl. Forsch. in Trier* 1856, p. 21, and 1858, p. 79; F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, 1888, p. 153.)
- 126110 759. At Dhron (Bernkastel district), on September 26, 1885, fragments of a bronze vessel with several hundred small bronzes, including some consecration coins of Claudius II and from the end of the 3rd century; numerous coins of Constantine I and Constantine II Caesar, Licinius the Younger, Crispus, Constantius II, Fausla, Helena, Roma, and Constantinopolis. The burial took place before December 333, the date on which Constans was created Caesar. (O. von Nell, *Westd. Korrbl.* vol. IV, no. 147; F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, 1888, pp. 118-123.)
- 126120 764. Between Erdorf (Bitburg district) and Badem, in the Nüsselberg, in 1859, a red earthenware vase containing 403 coins of Maximinus Daza, Licinius the Elder, Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II Caesar. This hoard must have been buried between 317 and 323, as it does not contain any coins of Constantius II Caesar. (*Namur, Revue numism. belge* 1859, p. 469; F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, p. 154.)
- 126125 766. At Ittel (territory of Trier), in 1847, in a hollowed-out stone, coins of Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Constantine II, Helena, and Constans, buried around 350. (F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, p. 154.)
- 126130 767. At Euren (near Trier), in 1859, in the ruins of a Roman dwelling, a small vase containing 1 denarius of Geta and 114 small bronze coins, including 1 of Constantine, 1 of Constantinopolis, 1 of Urbs Roma, 3 of Constantius II, 2 of Constans, 1 of Valens, 5 of Gratian, 1 of Magnus Maximus, and 5 of Arcadius. Burial after 393. (*Jahresbericht Trier*, 1859-1860, p. 49; F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, p. 154.)
- 126135 768. In Trier, a hoard containing gold and silver coins from the time of Constantine and several medallions of the emperors Constantius II and Constans was found in 1635. (Chiflet, *Anastasis Childerici regis*, 1655, p. 285; cf. F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, p. 155.)
- 126140 770. In Trier, on Fützenstrasse, in July 1886, small bronzes were found with the fragments of a wooden casket. Out of 513 pieces acquired by the City Museum, there are coins of Claudius II, Tetricus father, Constantine, Helen, Roma, Constantinopolis, Constantine II, Constantius, Constantius II, Julian, Valentinian II, Theodosius, Magnus Maximus, Flavius Victor, Eugene, Arcadius and Honorius. (F. Hettner, *West. Z.*, t. VI, p. 150.)
- 126145 771. In the same city, in Feldstrasse, in 1885, 240 small bronzes of Tetricus, Roma, Constantinopolis, Valens, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Flavius Victor, Arcadius and Honorius were found. (F. Hettner, in the *Westd. Z.*, vol. VI, p. 153.)
- 126150 772. At Trier, in Nicholasstrasse, amidst foundations, about 50 medium-sized bronze coins from the reigns of Diocletian to Constantine, buried around 308. (*Korrespbl.* 1887, p. 120; *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, p. 155.)
- 126155 775. At Ollmuth (territory of Trier), on January 23, 1888, a vase containing a large number of small bronze coins, 155 of which were from the reigns of Constantine, Constantine II Caesar, Constantius II, Constans, Delmatius, Helena, Theodosius, Roma, and Constantinopoli. The burial took place around 337. (F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, 1888, p. 123.)
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776. At Baldringen, near Niederzerf (Hochwald, Trier district), a vase with 119 bronze coins, including 36 of Magnentius, 5 of Decentius, and 78 of

Constantius II. (D. Lehner, *Korrbl.*, vol. XIV, 1895, col. 235-237.)

777. At Heddert, near Zerf (territory of Trier), in 1862, 547 medium bronze coins of Diocletian (101); Maximian (134); Constantius Chlorus (131); Galerius Maximian (66); Severus (8); Maximinus Daza (9); and Constantine (108). Burial around 307 or 308. (Annual Report in Trier 1863-1864, pp. 47-53; F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, p. 156.)

779. At Soest (Saarburg district), near Niedersöst, in 1845, a vase containing "2 pounds" of well-preserved small bronzes of Licinius, Constantine, and his sons, buried around 330. (*Jahrb. of Bonn*, vol. VII, p. 157; F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, p. 155.)

785. At Emmersweiler (Saarbrücken district), near Forbach, in July 1886, two earthenware vases containing 2,000 medium-sized bronzes of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian and of the Caesars Constantius and Galerius. (F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VI, pp. 131-149.)

786. At Grumbach (St. Wendel district), in the Hammelskopf forest, in May 1851, a vase containing 1,430 small bronze coins, consecration coins of Claudius II and Licinius to Constantius Caesar (1 coin). (F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, 1888, p. 157, citing Schröter, *Mitteil. des Saarbr. Vereins*, vol. III, 1859, p. 75, and *Jahrb. de Bonn*, vol. XVII, p. 227.)

787. At Kirchenbollenbach (St. Wendel district), in 1878, a vase with several hundred small bronzes of Licinius, Constantine I and II, Crispus, Constantius II, Fausta, Helena, Constantinople, and Rome. (F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, p. 157, citing Van Vleuten, *Jahrbücher de Bonn*, vol. LXX, p. 14, and the *Saar- und Moselzeitung*, 1878, no. 67.)

789. At Kirn (Creuznach district), 1,200 small bronze coins from Licinius the Elder to Constantius II. The most numerous were those of Constantine (219 pieces), Urbs Roma and Constantinople (595), Constantine II (201), and Constantius II (127). (*Jahrbücher de Bonn*, vol. XVII, p. 226.)

790. In the Moselle region, in 1811, an earthenware vase containing 2,000 bronze coins of Probus, Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantius Chlorus. (E. Ritterling, in the *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde u. G.*, vol. XXVIII, 1896, pp. 188 and 189.)

796. At Daspich (near Diedenhofen=Thionville), in October 1842, in the substructures, and under a pile of rubble, 111 small bronzes were found, including 2 Claudius Gothicus, 1 Tetricus, 2 Maximian-Hercules, 3 Constantius, 2 Constantine, 4 Valens, 1 Arcadius, and 3 Honorius. The rest has not been studied. (*Memoirs of the Academy of Metz*, 1843-1844, p. 275; cf. *Bulletin of the Society of the History of France*, 1845, p. 1896.) 135.)

800. At Ehl (Helvetum), in March 1865, fragments of a chest and a hoard of 7,000 small bronze coins of Claudius II, Allectus, Constantine, Helena, Theodora, Delmatius, Constans I, Constantine II (more than 1,000 pieces), and Valens were found. (*Bulletin Société Conservation des Monum. Alsace 1864-1865*, vol. VII, pp. 80 and 87.)

801. At Niederingelheim (Bingen district), in April 1844, an earthenware vase containing 3,000 Roman coins was found. (*Trier. Zeitung*, 1844, no. 102, and *Num. Zeitung de Leitzmann*, 1844, p. 102.) 80.)

805. At Imsbach, in the spring of 1846, a large find of bronze coins, especially those of Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, Severus, and Constantine, buried around 305. (F. Hettner, *Westd. Z.*, vol. VII, 1888, p. 161, citing *Jahresb.* 1847, p. 3.)

806. At Dürkheim, in 1880, approximately 2,000 small bronze coins from the time of

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Constantine. (Commentary from Professor Harster to F. Hettner, Westd. Z., vol. VII, 1888, p. 162.)

- 126230 807. At Rheinzabern?, in 1858, approximately 1,000 Roman coins were found in the bed of the Otterbach stream, along with the legionary eagle now in the Speyer Museum. (F. Hettner, *ibid.*, p. 162.)
- 126235 808. At Rheinzabern, in 1852, in a stone tomb, next to a skeleton, a terracotta vase was found containing a leather purse closed with an iron buckle. This purse contained approximately 700 small bronze coins, including one of Claudius II and others of Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans, Helena, Roma, and Constantinople. (Workshops of Trier, Aquileia, Constantinopolis, Thessaloniki, Carthage, Siscia.) (F. Hettner, Westd. Z., vol. VII, 1888, pp. 137-146.)
- 126240 823. At Horkheim (Neckar region), in the 18th century, with earthenware vases, 100 silver coins, and 200 bronze coins, from Augustus to Constantius (I or II?). There may have been two finds. (Dr. W. Nestlé, *op. laud.*, p. 14.)
- 126245 830. Four kilometers from Geneva, on the left bank of the lake, in 1837, a vase with 800 small bronze coins of Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantius Chlorus. (H. Meyer, Ueber die römischen Münzen, die in der Schweiz gefunden werden, in the Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft, Darmstadt, 1840, vol. VII, col. 622.)
- 126250 834. At Altenryff, near Fribourg (municipality of Fribourg), around 1780, a vase containing coins from Constantine to Julian. (H. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, Z. f. Alt., 1840, vol. VII, col. 622.)
- 126255 837. At Niederweil (municipality of Aargau), approximately 500 bronze coins from Gallienus to Constantius II were found in a bronze vase that also contained 5 silver coins from the Julia family, Vespasian, Tijani, and Alexander Severus and Trebonianus Gallus. (H. Meyer, cited by Leitzmann, Num. Zeitung, 1850, p. 63, and by Mommsen-Blacas-de Witte, H. M. R., vol. III, p. 136, note 10.)
- 126260 839. At Wettingen (municipality of Aargau), in 1633, a vase with coins (silver?) from Hadrian to Constantine II. (H. Meyer, *Ibid.*, col. 621; Keller, in the Mittheil. des ant. Gesellsch. in Zurich, vol. XV, pp. 133-135, pl. xiii and xiv; H. Thédenat and A. Héron de Villefosse, Les trésors de vaisselle d'argent trouvés en Gaule, 1885, p. 33.)
- 126265 842. Near Glattbrugg, not far from Kloten (municipality of Zurich), in 1753, an earthenware vase containing 300 coins (silver?) from the reigns of Augustus to Constantine. (H. Meyer, *Ibid.*, col. 621.)
- 126270 844. In Schwerzenbach (municipality of Zurich), in August 1895, an earthenware pot containing 96 coins was found, the majority of which were Alexandrian "potins" (Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Maximian). The Roman coins were distributed among Augustus, Philip, Gallienus, Claudius II, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Maximian I, Valeria, Constantine, Maxentius, Licinius the Elder, Constantius, Urbs Roma,
- 126275 Magnentius, and Valens. Buried between 364 and 378. (E.-A. Stückerberg, in the Swiss Numismatic Review, 1895, p. 274.)
- 126280 849. In the Theodulus Pass, at the Matterjoch, which leads from the Zermatt Valley to the Tournanche Valley, on the 24th In August 1895, 54 coins of Aurelian, Probus, Constantius II, Constantius Gallus, Magnentius, and Decentius were found. (Num. Chron., 1897, p. 127.)
- 126285 853. Near Pfyn (municipality of Thurgau), around 1892, approximately 400 coins, including 200 bronze coins, were examined, dating from the reigns of Augustus to Constantine III. There were also some independent Greek coins and Egyptian potin. (E. A. Stückerberg, Revue suisse de numism. 1895, pp. 273-274.)
- 126290 854. "At the site of Epannum (municipality of Valais), destroyed in 562 by a landslide," a vase containing more than 800 bronze coins from the time of Diocletian was found in 1837, Maximian and Constantius Chlorus. (H. Meyer, *op. laud.*, Z. f. Alt., 1840, vol. VII, col. 622.)

855. Near Chur (municipality of Graubünden), in 1806, a vase containing 200 coins of Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantius Chlorus. (H. Meyer, op. laud., col. 622. This author cites several other hoards of Roman coins discovered in various locations in Switzerland, but the composition of these finds is unknown.)

857. "Near Outrivière," in 1863, an earthenware vase containing approximately 8,148 coins. Of the 552 examined by M. Brouillon, there were coins of Gallienus, Salonina, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius II, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Severus, Constantine, and Constantine II. (Memoirs of the Society of Agriculture, Commerce and Arts of the Marne, 2nd series, vol. 1, part 2, 1898-1899, p. 79.)

867. In the commune of Donges (commune and district of Saint-Nazaire), near the Château d'Er, in 1871, coins of Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, and Claudius II were found. There were also reportedly a coin of Caesar and one of Constantine among them. (Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Nantes, vol. XXI, 1882, p. 151.)

Roman Culture and the Roman Curriculum

If Rome inherited the civilization of Greece, it was not because the Roman mind was constituted like the Hellenic, but rather from the force of those circumstances which established her power throughout the Mediterranean coasts. For among the Romans there was little evidence of a natural versatility of interest, little power to elevate facts into ideals, or to construct new worlds of imagination, little disposition even to wander into untrodden paths of thought. They looked often to the practical side of life and seldom to the theoretical; their prose was the expression of legal formulae or the practical eloquence of the forum, their very poetry, until the period of so many translations from the Greek, no more than a form of worship.

In the field of drama, the Romans had a native form of comedy, but were indebted to the Greeks for the beginnings of tragedy. The original types of Roman comedy included the Fescenninae practised at rustic festivals and harvestings, the Saturae performed by rural clowns with music, dancing or gesticulation, and the Mimi or mountebank representations, scurrilous yet sententious, which held a subordinate place in literature from the period of the fall of the Republic to the final stage of imperial culture. Types of comic characters were developed in the Atellanae, plays of a burlesque sort, often performed as afterpieces. There was no material for the education of the young in the indigenous Roman comedy, which was not only licentious in the extreme, but written always in an undignified plebeian strain.

Roman comedy of the more pretentious kind was an imitation of Greek originals and applied itself to Greek subjects. From Livius Andronicus to Terence, it appears to have gained in refinement of expression rather than originality of idea. The plays of Terence were favored by literary students of the empire, and in general the palliata or comedies from the Greek were studied in academic circles to the exclusion of the coarser but more national togata which dealt with Roman situations and characters of a more realistic, but a baser type.

Tragedy was not indigenous to Rome, but an exotic flower of Greece. At best the tragic poets were few and their genius of a secondary character. Seneca, for example, was read rather than acted; but his tragedies furnished a part of the subject-matter of literary studies under the later empire.

Epic poetry began to be used in the Roman schools under the Republic, with the Latinized version of the "Odyssey" by Andronicus. Naevius followed with a poem on the Punic war, and Ennius with an epic version of the Roman Annals. Even Cicero and Octavianus attempted the epic, while the imperial period produced Lucan's "Pharsalia", together with a host of courtly and antiquarian epics which tended to express ingenuity and scholarship rather than patriotism or feeling. Epics of the heroic rather than the historical type were usually written on Greek subjects which necessitated pedantry, imitativeness and a labored recourse to foreign mythology.

These limitations were surmounted with great success by Vergil, whose "neid" became the standard text of grammarians, its sonorous lines being recited everywhere in the schools. In the meantime numerous Christian epics were written; but, naturally enough, they found no place in the schools as centres of pagan learning.

Certain poems, however, of a purely didactic though seldom of a religious character, were written expressly for the use of students. Some of the poems of Ausonius, such as those on the calendar, belong evidently to this class, while there were also treatises in verse upon letters, prosody, rhetoric and other subjects which might be schematized and committed to memory. Such verses were written by the grammarians of

the later empire exactly in the spirit and mode which was afterwards to become common among the more enterprising mediaeval schoolmasters.

The so-called *Disticha Catonis*, probably written previous to the period of the official adoption of the Christian religion, comprised a collection of moral sayings arranged in couplets for the use of schools and actually retained their vogue to the end of the middle ages. But it is probable that greater attention was bestowed upon the form of poetry than its content. Scholars were practised in the use of various metres, and in the composition of imaginary epistles both in verse and prose. Towards the close of the empire considerable attention began to be paid to fables, riddles, acrostics and similar trifles; and hexameters began to be embellished with rhyme. While lyric poetry was less congenial to the Roman disposition than narrative, it is clear that epigrams became extremely fashionable, while elegies were written and studied in schools as exercises in style. The mastery over poetic form appears to have increased in proportion to the diminution of inspiration and power.

Prose occupied a subordinate place in the curriculum of Roman education, as it had done with the Greeks. It had a rhetorical character, partly owing to the practical use that was attached to the command of prose; and partly, perhaps, from the influence of Cicero, who first made it worthy of study in the schools. Prose was employed in history, but as long as this study flourished more in the interests of rhetoric than fact, history meant little for education, although the annalists preserved many facts and traditions that were more often embodied or summarized from their several predecessors than dictated by their own experience or observation. Antiquarian learning was not without its devotees, and Ausonius depicts for us the type of a research student who knew more about recondite studies than the history and literature of Latium. The most learned of the Romans was M. Varro, the greater part of whose work has perished. From the period of Varro, which was also that of Cicero, an academic and erudite class was rapidly developed which took possession of the schools at the same time that it sacrificed the ancient connection of theory with the practical affairs of life. Learning became the monopoly of the grammatici, who gave themselves largely to etymology, grammar and the making of dictionaries. The textbooks of Latin grammar by Donatus in the fourth century, and Priscian early in the sixth, retained their celebrity throughout the middle ages. The grammatici were critics as well as grammarians, so that as Suetonius says their business was the emendation of texts, the discrimination of meanings, and the compilation of critical notes. They did little, however, beyond the imitation of the Greeks. Each new work on grammar embodied copious extracts from its predecessors, usually without acknowledgment, until there finally arose an incredible confusion of authorities. Meanwhile the grammatici taught not only etymology and grammar but also mythology in their schools. The mythology was borrowed from Greece; but the etymology might have either a Greek or a Latin basis according to the grammatical school to which the teacher happened to adhere. Oratory, more than any other study, occupied the attention of the talented Roman youth. In politics, jurisprudence or war, oratorical skill was equally indispensable. A manual of oratory is ascribed to the elder Cato. In the words of Livy, some were carried forward to the highest offices by jurisprudence, others by eloquence, others by military glory. Oratory then was recognized in the Republic and earlier Empire as a high road to advancement and fame. Cicero regretted that whereas for the Greeks it had been an end in itself, for the Romans it was but a means to success at the bar. The youths trained in oratorical schools would begin to speak in the forum at eighteen or nineteen years of age, at times making their debut in a funeral oration. From the time of the elder Cato it became customary for speakers to write down and publish their orations which had previously been delivered without notes. The speeches of Cicero, Quintilian and others were taken down by clerks, probably in shorthand, and published with or without the consent of the author, sometimes in garbled versions. Under these conditions the study of rhetoric in Rome was anything but the perfunctory occupation that it seems to be at the present time.

It was a practical and profitable thing, frowned upon by the old-fashioned Censors (who decreed the expulsion of the rhetors from Rome in 92 B.C.), but welcomed by the ambitious youth. One reads that only four years after the decree above cited a freedman of Pompey, one Vultacilius Plotus, skilled in Latin rhetoric, had opened a school in the city. There were also numerous teachers of Greek and Asiatic oratory in Rome during and subsequent to the age of Cicero. Under the Empire oratory became less genuine and more servile. Forced to renounce serious topics, the schools became the centre of a host of fictions. The ancients had been orators, the moderns were but rhetoricians; at least, such was the judgment of Tacitus. The Empire was never so sure of maintaining a check upon freedom of speech as after it had begun to pay the

126425 salaries of eminent professors of rhetoric, the first being Quintilian himself in the
 reign of Vespasian. Gaul and Africa in the third century became important centres of
 rhetorical study, Gaul being signalized by the skill of her professors in the
 manipulation of forms of style; Africa by the energy of her rhetors, including
 Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyprian and Augustine, in the defence of Christianity.

126430 When a pupil had completed his task under the grammaticus he went naturally to the
 school of the rhetor, where his work began with demonstrations, and proceeded to
 declamations, deliberations and controversies. Controversies included case law, the
 subdivision of the subject, and the appeal to mitigating circumstances. But the cases
 cited in the schools were strangely unreal. Pliny, Petronius, Tacitus and others
 126435 ridicule the questions that were accustomed to be raised and disputed, dealing with
 tyrants, or pirates, or the sacrifice of maidens. Contemporary politics were
 practically tabooed. It was the opinion of Petronius that such instruction made
 youths into fools. Little realism was attached even to historical debates about Sulla
 and Hannibal; none at all to declamations on subjects taken from Vergil, Ovid, or
 126440 Homer. But the same stereotyped empty fictions continued to be treated in the time of
 Ausonius, the same in the days of Augustine, the same even as late as the sixth
 century. The subjects appointed for prose composition were no more vital than topics
 of debate. In particular, among the favorite exercises of the schools was the
 composition of fictitious letters; for example, an advanced pupil would be called
 126445 upon to write a letter from Cicero to Caesar, or from Seneca to the Apostle Paul.
 Fairy tales, romances and love stories were licentious and unsuitable for declamation
 in the schools, but as they had been suggested even in Homer, and by the time of Ovid
 had come to furnish a part of the staple material of literature, they were actually
 employed in education to an extent difficult to determine, but certainly appreciable.

126450 The romances were at first of the nature of Greek translations, and were generally
 called "Milesia". The Metamorphoses of Apuleius were to become the prototype of a
 certain kind of mediaeval romance. It was alleged that the schools of the later
 empire were addicted more to fiction of this kind than to the books of Plato. At
 least it appears to have been the policy of the emperors to encourage the study of
 126455 trifles in order to divert attention and criticism from the field of politics.
 While the bent of the Roman mind was distinctly more practical than theoretical, and
 accordingly not so much addicted to philosophy as law, it could not escape from the
 influence of Greek speculation upon the constitution of the universe and the nature
 and destiny of man. It was unfortunate that the contact of Rome with Greece was
 126460 altogether subsequent to the fiery creative epoch of Greek thought. It was but an
 afterglow of Greek philosophy that warmed the stubborn intellects of the Romans to
 attempt ambitious flights. Epicureanism, Stoicism, the Peripatetic philosophy, the
 New Academy, Neo-Platonism, and a degenerate form of the Pythagorean philosophy
 became domiciled in Rome, but were looked upon with suspicion and regarded as
 126465 exercises rather than paths to objective truth. The bare shoulder and cloak of the
 professional philosopher were often the marks of a mere charlatan.
 Philosophers were actually banished from Rome by Vespasian and Domitian, but at other
 times they conducted their informal schools without molestation, and even with honor,
 so that one philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, came to occupy the throne. In the earlier
 126470 imperial period Epicureanism, in the later Stoicism, was the most popular form of
 philosophical creed. The study of philosophy revived in the fourth, fifth and sixth
 centuries because of the fact that the pagans were driven to its tenets in order to
 maintain themselves against the Christian propaganda. A last desperate attempt to
 preserve the ancient philosophy was made not without success in the sixth century by
 126475 Boethius. His partial translation of Aristotle into Latin and his book on the
 "Consolations of Philosophy" were studied in the early mediaeval schools. The opinion
 of Gellius as to professional philosophical teachers was that they would run and sit
 at the gates of wealthy youths and persuade them to waste the whole night in drinking
 wine, ostensibly as a vehicle, no doubt, for discussions and dialectic. The opinion
 126480 of the average Roman was certainly that philosophy was irreligious, a waste of time,
 and a veil for mercenary motives.
 Totally different was the Roman estimation of Law. From the earliest times the Romans
 had a natural genius for law and order, a shrewd practical intelligence, and a
 disposition to dispute any conceivable infringement on their individual or collective
 126485 rights. It is declared among the Roman traditions that there were schools for reading
 and writing in the forum from the earliest days of the Republic; and whether this be
 an exaggeration or not, the origin of the custom of teaching the laws of the twelve
 tables to the children is lost in the same obscurity with the origin of these
 elementary schools. Collections of the sources of law were made as early as 204 B. C.,
 126490 and by degrees the habit of collecting decisions in typical cases developed a new

field for study alongside the examination of the laws themselves. For law the Romans were by no means primarily indebted to Greece, and it has been remarked that the more national a Roman poet may be, the more prominent the position the law holds in his writings. The schools of oratory were obliged to devote considerable attention to the study of jurisprudence, but the relative emphasis upon good oratory or good law appears to have varied according to the legal knowledge or conscientiousness of the teacher. A consulting lawyer learned his business by accompanying a distinguished jurisconsult and listening to his opinions. Cicero's opinion of the jurisprudence of his day is sometimes respectful but here and there contemptuous. It was not under the Republic, however, but under the later empire that Roman law attained its majority and became the chosen field of the ablest and most honorable minds. Gaius became the first professor of civil law, and began to write his "Institutions" by way of an introduction to the subject. His most notable successor was Ulpian. The codification of the laws ensured their place once for all as a subject of study in the universities of the later Imperial period. Masters of law and students of law are mentioned in inscriptions, the latter with frequency. For the purposes of this introduction, other subjects of study in the Roman schools require no more than a cursory reference. Arithmetic was taught in the schools, as is indicated by Horace, but we know little of what was done in the subject in his day, although there are some indications that the decimal system of notation may have been known much earlier than has been supposed. No advance was made upon the knowledge formerly possessed by the Greeks in arithmetic and geometry, which suffered in the estimation of scholars by their supposed alliance with astrology. The Romans were by no means the equals of the Alexandrian Greeks in mathematical attainments. Neither did they study natural history at first hand, but only from Greek texts, which were gradually corrupted and confused by the introduction of superstitious auguries and credulous allegories and fables. The study of agriculture flourished among the Romans, but in a private and individual way, and by means of books rather than schools. Medicine was a purely Greek art, although under the later Empire the Arabic physicians had already begun to dispute the palm with the Greeks; this art also depended upon books and individual instruction but not schools. The same general status is characteristic of architecture and military science. Geography, music and astronomy were actually taught in school, but only in the first of these subjects did the Romans show any originality or tendency to add to the store of human knowledge. The measurement of land, however, was so important from a legal and military point of view that special schools of surveying were established under the Empire, the first impulse having been given by Caesar, who summoned Greek teachers in this field from Alexandria to Rome.

A ROMAN HELMET FROM THE PEEL.

ANTIQUES COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE ROYAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES IN LEIDEN V
ISSUED ON BEHALF OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
EVERYTHING WILL COME FINE
'S-GRAVENHAGE [The Hague]
MARTINUS NIJHOFF 1911

[Introduction]

In the summer of 1910 [find on June 15, 1910], the museum came into possession of a Roman helmet that had been found in the Peel, {Helenaveen} Deurne. It is made of gilded silver with an original iron inner cap, which, except for a few iron particles, has completely rusted away, so that it is only the gilded silver outer covering of the helmet that has been preserved. Very dented and partially fallen apart, it was restored by the goldsmith L. Verkuil, who worked in the studio of Mr. Rossum du Chattel in Leiden [winter 1910-1911]. The construction of the helmet was completely self-explanatory, so that there cannot be the slightest doubt about this. Once restored, it became clear what a beautiful piece the museum had acquired, which, compared to similar helmets abroad, can even be called unique.

[ooggetuige meldt vondst veen Meyel als zilververgulde bolronde helm met parel-banden schouderbedekkingen mantelspeld zwaardkaf 41 munten Constantijn gevon-den door Smolenaars veenarbeider Meyel vondst heden raadhuis Meyel gedeponeerd direct deskundig onderzoek hooggewenscht vanBeurden Secretaris "Limburg Roermond"]

With our helmet, 37 bronze coins from Constantine, a bronze fibula, a ditto spur and bell, a piece of a leather dagger scabbard with a matching silver fitting, three leather shoes, large pieces of leather, probably remains of a scaffold were also

found in the peat, and a few strips of woollen cloth, which belonged to the warrior's clothing. The coins automatically date the helmet and other finds to the 4th century AD, which is all the more important because it also gives the parallels of our helmet abroad a more certain dating. An accurate description of our helmet (I) will therefore be followed by a comparison with other examples (II) a brief description of the incidental finds (III) will serve as a conclusion.

[description] I.

Our helmet has a fairly complicated composition, which can be described as follows (see Fig. 61 and 62): the helmet hood consists of 2 separate symmetrical halves, each of which consists of three interconnected pieces, all of the same plate thickness of 0.06 mm. Both halves are held together along the head length by a comb. The helmet hood thus formed is bordered from below by a broad edge, which is accurately cut at the front above each of the two eyebrows. A loose nose protector has been fitted between these arches. The width of the helmet rim is 200 mm, the height of the helmet, including the helmet crest, is 177 mm, while the nose protector from the nose saddle is 65 mm is long.

The helmet also includes (see Fig. 63, 1-3) a neck protector, two cheek flaps, of which one remains, finally two narrow strips with a rivet in the middle, and a row of holes on both width and one of the longitudinal sides. However, their correct destination cannot be indicated with certainty (see page 138), but the similarity in decorative technique with that of the other helmet parts leaves no doubt as to whether they belonged to the helmet. The neck protector is equipped with two small silver buckles, whose hinge pieces are not riveted to the top of the neck flap, but are inserted through a slot and folded up and down at the back. These buckles show that the neck protector is attached to the helmet rim by leather straps. The cheek flaps also have to go through, as we will see later may have been connected to the rim of the helmet by means of some kind of leather intermediate piece. If we compare image 63.2, then, as is the case with similar cheek flaps on a Budapest helmet (see Fig. 64.7), the straight side a ran along the helmet rim, while the side b ended at the eye. So it is the left cheek flap that has been preserved to us. Its dimensions are: a=180 mm, b=105 mm, c=50 mm.

The sizes of the neck protector and narrow straps are as follows:
a=152 mm, b=30 mm, c=182 mm; a=193 mm, b=188 mm.

All parts of the entire helmet have the same type of decoration of buttons and relief ornaments, which, however, we will describe later, in order to first examine the construction of the helmet in further detail.

We saw how the two halves of the helmet hood each consisted of three separate pieces, which for convenience we would like to call a, b, c. Both side pieces a and c are riveted to b by means of 5 silver cone-shaped rivets, in such a way that the center piece b is 9 mm lies over each of the other two. Seen from the inside, these pieces each appear to have been edged or edged inwards, while the rivets do not appear to have been riveted through that edge, but on the sides thereof and have been treated in the normal manner with the riveter.

The more or less rounded helmet crest, of the same plate thickness as the other parts of the helmet hood, runs narrow and flat towards both ends, so that its width, from edge to edge, in the middle is 29 mm is against 16 mm at both ends and likewise the height successively 17 mm and 8 mm amounts to. At both ends there are thick silver closing pieces of 9 mm each with two rivets. length to give the comb the necessary strength.

The crest constructed in this way connects the two hood halves described above in such a way that both halves are each riveted to the edge of the crest by 8 rivets. To this end, the same rivets that connect the above-mentioned silver finials to the crest serve the same rivets at both ends. Likewise, the two middle nails are the same nails, which connect the side pieces a and c to b. Viewed from the inside, the hood halves thus attached to the crest appear not to lie over each other, nor to fit closely together: they only extend slightly below the edge of the crest, so that there is an open space between them, which, just like the crest, which is wider in the middle than at both ends, i.e. 15 mm at 4 mm.

The 39 mm wide helmet brim, which is not soldered, but whose ends between the eyebrows are 23 mm overlap each other is 12 mm pushed into the helmet hood and riveted by rivets. These are placed at those points where the loose parts of the helmet hood are riveted together, i.e. these are the same rivets that connect the above-mentioned pieces a and c to b, and those that attach the silver closing pieces

to the crest and to both halves of the hood.

Only two rivets are included, namely: one in the middle of each of the center pieces b of both shade halves. The rivets, just as we saw in those of the loose parts of

both hood halves, are riveted along the edge, which also occurs at the helmet edge. The nose flap, whose shape is shown in Fig. 61 clearly visible. It is of the same plate thickness as the other helmet parts and slopes slightly on either side to match the shape of the nose.

It is attached to the helmet rim with 5 rivets, two on each of the eyebrows, which fit neatly on the arc-shaped cutouts of the helmet rim, one in the middle on the nose saddle, which also gives more strength to the overlap of both ends of the helmet rim. The peak of the nose flap, which is retracted just below the silver cap of the helmet rim, falls almost along the line of the above-mentioned overlap. In addition to

serving as an ornament on the nose flap, it also served to cover the parting of the flap. The rivets that attach the nose flap to the helmet rim are, like the others discussed so far, more or less cone-shaped, but treated in a slightly different way, more folded than riveted. The same is the case with the three located at the tip of the nose, to which method of processing we will come back later.

Until now we have left one detail of the helmet rim out of discussion, to which we will only now discuss, because it discusses the inner lining of the entire helmet. Along the entire lower edge, also along the arcuate cutouts, which are covered by the eyebrows of the nasal valve, holes have been punched at small distances from each other for the passage of rivets. Of these, two remain on the left and an equal number on the back. They are of the normal blade like the first one we discussed, but differ in that they have a square copper plate behind the blade, which could not have served any other purpose than to prevent the penetration of a leather inner covering.

In addition to this leather covering, we initially mentioned an iron inner hood. Although nothing remains of it other than a few iron particles on the gilded silver outer cap, this further speaks for the great elasticity of the helmet as it lies before us. The helmet rim in particular, which should provide the necessary strength to the whole, is so weak that a single leather inner covering would not be sufficient. This iron inner hood, about whose presence there can be no doubt, appears to you only to have been attached with the same nails with which the leather inner covering was attached to the helmet rim. They are namely the only ones on the helmet that are long enough to qualify for this. None of the other rivets, either those that connect the loose helmet parts together or those that, as we will see later, serve as decoration, leave any room that they could have served to attach any inner lining. If the rivets on the helmet rim appear to have been the only means of attachment that connected the inner cap to the gilt silver outer covering, then the other two pieces must have fit closely together to give the whole the necessary unity.

Like the helmet hood, the cheek flaps and neck protector also appear to have had an iron inner lining; at least at the latter, traces of iron particles were still found. In addition to iron, they were certainly also covered with leather on the inside. For the cheek flaps, this is proven by the two rivets that are still present in the edge. They have the same square plates as those on the helmet rim. A leather interior lining must also have had the nose protector. The rivets, which we saw so strangely turned above, served to secure him. The reason why they were not simply riveted and provided with plates like those on the rim of the helmet may be that when folded the nails were less sharp and therefore made wearing them on the nose more pleasant.

We briefly indicated at the beginning how the cheek flaps and neck protector were attached to the helmet rim. We saw how the buckles on the neck protector indicated that it was connected to the helmet rim with straps. A slot above each of the buckles (see Fig. 63.4) also shows that the straps did not immediately run over the neck protector from the helmet rim, but were passed through those slots at the back, only to then be attached to the buckles.

The connection of the cheek flaps to the helmet rim must also have been made of leather. This is also indicated by a piece of leather, which is present on one of the rivets on top of the helmet rim. If we assume that this attachment consisted of wide intermediate pieces, then our narrow strips (see page 133) may have been attached to this, in such a way that their sloping side was aligned with that of the neck protector.

In connection with the attachment of the cheek flaps, we must point out three holes in the middle of the helmet rim, just above the row of holes through which the rivets were riveted (see Fig. 63.5). Lying close to each other, they form a triangle and could be reminiscent of a hinge attachment, as can be seen in the Peterburg helmet (see Fig. 64.2). However, where the cheek flaps are connected to the helmet rim by leather, this is closed outside. Besides, they are only located on the left side of

the helmet, so that is why they have no connection whatsoever with the cheek flaps. They probably served to allow rivets to pass through, which attached a plate with a ring to the rim of the helmet, from which the helmet could be hung. The fact that our helmet could be hung is not special. With some bronze helmets the ring is still present on the neck protector for this purpose. 1) Since the neck protector is attached to the helmet hood on these helmets, it was the appropriate place for this. However, where our neck protector hangs loosely on the helmet, the placement of the ring in question was impractical, so the middle of the helmet rim may have been chosen for this purpose.

Having discussed the construction of the helmet in all its components, we now want to proceed to a description of the decoration, which we already mentioned in a few words on page 133. It consists of a relief decoration of pressed flowers or crosses and ditto pearl edges, which appear on all pieces of which the helmet is composed,

1) Cf. among others Lindenschmit, *Die Altertümer unserer heidnische Vorzeit*, Bd. V., p. 116, 118, Pl. 22, p. 189, Fig. 2. Remains of this can also be found on a bronze helmet in the Leiden Museum (Dutch Cat. E III, b, 141).

while, except for the helmet rim and nose flap, all parts are also decorated with ball-shaped buttons, which, seen from the inside, are simply riveted. In addition to this similarity in the method of processing, however, there are different decorative motifs, so that we must describe each helmet part separately.

We start with the three pieces that make up the two halves of the hood, pieces a b c. Along their edges runs a row of flowers or crosses, enclosed by pearl edges, the latter being interrupted at each of the four corners by a circle in relief, with a pearl as the center. The same applies to a second inner bead edge, which is parallel to the outer one runs along the edge, and is separated from it by a fairly deep gully. The inner compartment is decorated with an anchor figure, also made of pearls, which are pressed high to increase the relief of the anchor figure. The anchor figure is exactly in the middle and is decorated with 6 buttons, as far as the anchor figure of pieces a and c is concerned, with 11 buttons that of the center piece b. The latter also has two pearl edges in its inner compartment, parallel to the stem and continuing over the arms of the anchor figure to the inner edge.

The helmet crest has a decoration of double pearl edges along both edges and on the middle, along the length of the skull. Between these last double pearl edges is a shallow groove, in which a row of 13 buttons further decorate the crest.

The helmet rim is decorated with two parallel convex relief bands, between which the same edge decoration as the outer edges of pieces a, b, c. It runs, just as we saw the holes for the rivets, along the entire helmet rim, including behind the nose protector; only on the right side, at the height of the center piece b, is it interrupted by an incised inscription, STABLESIA o VI o, about which later. Fig. 62 clearly shows, where we see that the ornament is not broken off at random, but finds its specific closure at the relevant points.

The nose guard has a decoration of pearl edges along its edges and in the middle, while two circles in relief, with pearls as the center, are applied to the tip.

The same edge decoration appears on the neck protector as on pieces a, b, c, while the inner decoration consists of 3 buttons, pearl edges and pointed circles, for which we refer to Fig. 63.1 refer. Furthermore, a Latin inscription, in cursive script, is scratched into the inner compartment, which we will discuss separately with the inscription of the helmet rim shortly.

The cheek flap also has the same edge decoration as pieces a, b, c. An ornament of pearl edges fills the inner compartment, in the shape of two adjacent leaves, both tops of which end in a pointed circle as described above. Such a circle is located at the point where both leaves meet. Furthermore, 5 buttons serve as decoration, see Fig. 63.2.

Finally, if we look at the loose strips, we also find here a combination of pearl edges and pointed circles, for which decoration we can also refer to their image 63.3.

As we have already noted, inscriptions have been made on the neck protector and helmet rim, which we would now like to examine in more detail, first of all on the neck protector, of which we provide a separate photo under Fig. 63.6. She is, after Prof. O. Bohn, from Berlin, was kind enough to inform me, to read as follows: ? TIT VA_ON VRS LIbRI - £ and as regards the last part should be written thus: libram (LIbR) unam (I) unciam (-) semiunciam (£), i.e. 1 Pound, 1 uncia, ½ uncia. So we find a weight statement here, which is in grams, appears to correspond to the current

weight of the helmet (including a 2nd cheek flap). We compare: the following calculations:

1 Pound=327.45 g	Helmet hood=282.50 g
1 Uncia=27.288 g	Neck protector=32.50 g
$\frac{1}{2}$ " =13,644 g	2 Cheek valves
	(2 x 17.10)=34.20 g
	2 Narrow straps=10.70 g
368,382 g	359.90 g

then we see how both results match each other. After all, complete agreement can never be achieved with such reductions, as it is certain that the Roman weights vary greatly (cf. C. I. L. XIII, 3, 10030, 26, 29, 37 and 42). While our helmet and associated pieces were only the covering on the original iron hood, the weight in question therefore indicates only that of the gilded silver covering of the helmet, as can be judged from many other finds, only objects made of precious metal weight specifications were provided.

What is the first part of the inscription? TIT VA_ON VRS

As regards the first sign, it is indecipherable, which unfortunately means that the interpretation of this inscription part cannot be determined with certainty. In general, the inscriptions on helmets indicate the name of the wearer and the centuria in which he served 1), but in connection with the weight statement it seems to us that for our helmet

1) So 2 bronze helmets in the Leidsch Museum, Netherlands. Cat. E III, b, 141 and 142. See Lindenschmit Altert. V, p. 186, et seq., where several are mentioned. Professor Bohn sent me by analogy, except for a second lecture with the name of the bearer only: (M?) Tit(ii) Val(1)on(is) Urs(i), the following indicating the division in which he served, in this case the turma or the decuria, since as we will see later, this is an equestrian helmet: (ex turma? decuria?) Tit(i), Val(1)on(ii) Urs(i).

such an interpretation is less likely. Where we seeing that the weight was that of the cover is difficult in the foregoing? TIT VA_ON VRS conceal the name of the bearer. After all, he could never determine the weight of the cover without removing the cover from the iron inner hood, which was an impossibility, as we saw above how the cover and iron inner hood were riveted together by a dense row of nails. It is also impossible to assume that he would have heard the weight of the manufacturer. We must therefore conclude that the weight is indicated on the helmet at the factory itself. If one wants to maintain the above-mentioned general interpretation, the name of the wearer would only have been applied to the neck flap later, which in the meantime excludes the writing itself, which appears to be from the same hand. However, since we will later see that our helmet must have been manufactured in one of the imperial weapons factories of the Roman Empire, it seems most likely to us that our helmet mentions the person who was responsible for weighing and verifying the helmets. It is by no means unlikely that the State had verifiers in its factories to authenticate these helmets made of precious metal, as the finds show that an ex auctoritate of the magistrate was also stamped on weights (cf. C. I. L. XIII, 3 10030, 10). So we would like to read in our inscription the verifier Tit(us) Valon(ius) Urs(us) and may - just as on the above-mentioned bronze helmets the word centuria had its special abbreviation signs 10 - the illegible first sign be an abbreviation for an examinavit or something similar.

As a second inscription on our helmet we saw that of Stablesia VI on the right of the helmet rim. It designates a division of the equites Stablesiani, an equestrian corps, which, as appears from the Notitia Dignitatum, 2), during the later Roman Empire in

[See [Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: De Notitia Dignitatum](#)]

1) See C. I. L. XIII, 3, 10027, 214 et seq.

2) See Ed. Seeck, Index s.v. Stablesiani.

was spread out in several provinces. Furthermore, it is known to us from two inscriptions, found in Brescia 1) and Sitifi (Africa) 2), the first of which mentions a vexillatio of this corps.

Is, as Prof. Bohn reminds me, by analogy with this, as well as by the fact that the word vexillatio already at the end of the 3rd century meant an equestrian division 3), to supplement our inscription thus: (Vexillatio) Stablesi(na) VI. We are all the more inclined to do so, as in the Notitium Dignitatum this equestrian corps is mentioned among the vexillation comitatenses of Africa and Britain. 4)

So the wearer of our helmet belonged to the 6th division of the equites Stablesiani and our helmet contributes something to the history of this corps, which now appears to have once been in our region.

[comparison] II.

A series of helmets can be compared with our helmet, whose close relationship in construction and decorative techniques is worth examining in more detail here. These are a helmet from Kertsch (Southern Russia) and present in the Ermitage in St. Petersburg, two helmets from Pfersee near Augsburg, one of which is kept in Augsburg itself, the other in Nuremberg in the Germanic National Museum, furthermore a helmet was found in Worms and one in the Danube near Budapest, which are successively housed there in the Paulus Museum and the Budapester National Museum.

All made of iron, they have, like ours, a gilt-silver or single silver covering with the same relief decoration of crosses, pointed circles, pearl edges and the like. Our helmet comes the most in terms of shape and parts of the helmet hood

1) C.I.L.V, 4376.

2) C.I.L.VIII, 8490.

3) See Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung II², 467.

4) Not. Dign. Occ. VI, 64, 82, VII, 180, 182, 203.

corresponds to that of St. Petersburg (see Fig. 64,2), a brief description of which can be found in Reinach, Ant. du Bosphore Cimmérien (p. 77/78 no. 5 and 6), who states that he has taken it unchanged from the great work Ant. du Bosph. Cimm. preserved in the imperial museum of the Ermitage. According to this description, the helmet hood covered with gilt silver consists of 2 x 3 separate pieces and a wide bottom edge, while a helmet crest with brackets runs along the length of the head. Just like with our helmet, the loose pieces of the helmet hood are also connected by nails. The description does not state how the helmet hood and helmet crest are attached to each other.

We are better informed in this respect by the helmets of Augsburg (Fig. 64.6) and Worms (Fig. 64.5), of which we find a detailed description in Lindenschmit in his Altertümer Bd. V, p. 222-226, while Worms' helmet is also discussed by Reinecke in the Korrespondenz-blatt der Westd. Zeitschr. XXV, p. 65. These helmets consist of two hood halves and a crest, to which the hood halves are each connected by nails. Seen from the inside, the hood halves do not overlap, nor do they touch each other, but leave a space open, exactly in the same way as with our helmet. Lindenschmit further says of the nails on Augsburg's helmet that they were not riveted, but turned over. So we see the same treatment here as was the case with our helmet with the nails on the nose protector.

The cover is also made of gilded silver and, like ours, forms a separate outer covering. It is connected to the inner cap with the same nails with which both halves were attached to the comb, while, according to Lindenschmit, some adhesive may have provided further strength, a comment that may also apply to our helmet.

Worms' helmet also has a gold-plated covering, which, however, is only clearly visible in a few places, mainly on the neck protector, to which part of the helmet we will come back later.

The Budapester helmet (see Fig. 64.7), published by Hampel in Arch. Ertésítő 1900, p. 361 and in the Zeitschrift für Hist. Waffenkunde, Bd. II, Volume 6, p. 192, has a gilt-silver covering attached to the iron, which, in addition to relief decoration, is richly decorated with glass paste. The not high helmet crest, on the other hand, is covered with a separate silver covering, which was attached to it with nails. The helmet hood is bordered at the bottom by a broad rim, which, like ours, is accurately cut above the eyebrows, and therefore also had a nose protector, although this has not been preserved. The situation is better with the Nuremberg helmet, of which a piece of its nose protector was found. As Fig. 64.3 shows, this fragment agrees completely with ours. Incidentally, this helmet (Fig. 64.4) is of a similar construction to that of Augsburg, except that its silver covering is not gilded (See Lindenschmit and Hampel).

So far we have only compared the hood of the different helmets. We also find that the other helmet parts, in particular the cheek flaps and neck protector, are very similar to those of our helmet. Our peculiarly shaped cheek flaps can be found, to a

greater or lesser extent, in the Budapest helmet, in the helmets of Pfersee (see the Nuremberg piece, Fig. 64.3) and in that of St. Petersburg, the latter connected to the helmet rim by hinges were, as can still clearly be seen on the helmet rim (see Fig. 64.1 and 2). A completely different type of cheek flaps, namely of a long oval shape, the helmet of Worms, which has a neck protector of almost exactly the same construction as that on our helmet. Fig. 64.5 shows us how it was attached to the rim of the helmet by means of leather straps, which were inserted through two slits. The only difference with our helmet is that no buckles were used to attach the straps to the neck protector, but only nails, which are still visible in the photo.

Lindenschmit suspects that Augsburg's helmet also had a similar loose neck protector. The remains of a fitting on the back of the helmet would indicate this, i.e. could have served to attach a loose neck protector. This assumption is not impossible, as we have already seen so many important points of similarity between the Augsburg helmet and ours.

As for the decorations of the helmets, we have already noted that they all have the same type of relief decorations of pressed crosses, pearl edges, pointed circles and the like. This mainly decorates the edges of the various parts of the helmet, as is also the case with our helmet. How these decorations, despite differences in details, still have one and the same character, can be seen in Fig. 64.8, where sub 1 depicts the decorative motif of our helmet, sub 2 that of the Augsburg helmet, sub 3 of that in Nuremberg, sub 4, 5 and 6 successively that of the helmets of Worms, Kertsch and Budapest. Added as no. 7 is the decoration of a helmet from Thorsbjerg 1), whose construction is indeed a completely different one, but precisely because of its decoration technique by Lindenschmit e. a. was used to date our helmets.

For the dating of our helmet types are mainly based on the technique and method of decoration that recurs in various finds in Northern and Eastern Germany and in the Danube countries. This includes the aforementioned helmet of Thorsbjerg, whose hood is formed by gilt-silver bands running crosswise over each other, which have a decoration as shown in sub 7, and of technology like that on our helmets. Based on other discoveries, this helmet was dated to the 4th or 5th century AD. 2).

1) Engelhardt: Thorsbjerg Mosefund, p. 23, Pl. 5.

2) Sophus Müller: Nordische Altertumskunde, Bd. II, p. 147.

Our helmets are generally regarded as late Roman work from the time shortly before the start of the great migrations. The coins found near our helmet are all the more important for their chronology. Where the find in the Peel is not a grave find, but the wearer of the helmet had an accident here in one way or another, the coins form the current money that he had "in his pocket", and are therefore a certain means of dating our helmet. All from Constantine, they therefore place our helmet in the 4th century, around which time the helmets we compared and the finds further mentioned above can also be grouped.

It is difficult to determine how our helmets relate to each other in time order. The typology can certainly not be used for this purpose, as has been the case. After all, although very different in shape, we saw such a great similarity in construction between our helmet and those of Pfersee and Worms that, despite their different shapes, they must almost have come from the same factory.

We can answer the question of which factory that must have been inasmuch as our type of helmets were manufactured in one of the imperial weapons factories of the Roman Empire, such as there were in Constantinople and Antioch.

For a long time now, people have associated with our helmets is a place in the Codex Theodosianus (X, 22, 1), where there is mention of metal workers in the government's armament factories, specially charged with covering helmets with silver and gilding them (tegere argento et deaurare). They are called barbaricarii 1), a name that indicates how these workers were of foreign origin.

[Imppp. Valentinianus, Valens et Gratianus aaa. Tatiano comiti sacrarum largitionum. Cum senae per tricenos dies ex aere tam aput Antiochiam quam aput Constantinopolim a singulis barbaricariis cassides, sed et bucculae tegerentur, octo vero aput Antiochiam cassidas totidemque bucculas per dies triginta et tegerent argento et deaurarent, aput Constantinopolim autem tres solas, statuimus, ut Constantinopoli quoque non octonas singuli cassidas per tricenos dies, sed senas sic pari numero buccularum auro argentoque condecorent. Dat. V id. mart. Antiochiae Gratiano a. III et Equitio cons. (374 mart. 11)]

While the decorative technique of our helmets is therefore automatically characterized as non-Roman, the type of our helmets is also in accordance with this.

1) See also Not. Dign. Or. XI, 45, and further Seeck, Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encycl.

s. v. barbaricarii.

The movable cheek flaps in common with Roman helmets, non-Roman is the nose protector and eyebrows in the helmet rim, which are reminiscent of Greek, especially Corinthian helmets, while the loose neck protector also seems to indicate foreign influences that had to enter the Roman arms factories with the barbaricarii themselves.

[incidental finds] III.

Among the incidental finds, the 37 bronze coins are the most important. Although most of them are badly worn and partly chipped, they are all characterized, either by their obverse or by their reverse, as coins of Constantine. As far as her exergues can be read, at least 1 copy was minted in Siscia (off. B), 3 in Rome (off. P and T) and 9 in Trier (off. S), while the others were struck by a completely identical coinage of obverse or reverse can be ranked below those of Rome and Trier. These last two coin types are, as far as can be determined, each represented in one type, the description of which follows here with that of Siscia, with reference to J. Maurice, Numismatique Constantinienne, Tom. i, p. 208 ff., p. 423 ff. and Num. Chron. 1900, p. 322.

Siscia:

Vz. IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG

Draped bust of Constantine facing right, with laurel wreath around the head.

Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI

Jupiter leaning on a sceptre, which he holds with his raised right hand. A falling garment over the shoulder, otherwise naked. Turning to the left, he carries a Victoria on a globe in his left hand. On the left at his feet an eagle with a wreath in its beak.

Ex. 'SIS'

Rome:

Vz. IMP CONSTANTINVS P F GDPR

Bust of Constantine draped and armored. A laurel wreath around the head.

Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMMITI

Sol completely naked, with a halo around her head. Turns to the left with left arm raised. A cloth hangs over his right arm, and he holds a globe in his hand.

Ex. RP or RT

Trier:

Vz. IMP CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG

Armored bust of Constantine with helmet and laurel wreath.

Rev. VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP

Two Victorias, between which an altar, with a star on the front. On the altar they hold a shield, on which the left Victoria writes with a stylus: VOT PR

Ex. STR

an image of some specimens on Pl. 65. Under No. 1 shows the coin of Siscia, under 2 one of those minted in Rome, under 3 and 4 the best obverse and reverse of the Trier specimens. The same plate also shows images of other finds in silver or bronze. The bell, spur and fibula are made of bronze. The last one is of the so-called longbow type and matches the coins in dating. The images of these objects speak enough for themselves that they require further description. The same applies to the silver fittings that served to decorate the leather sheath belonging to the finds. The fitting has 8 holes, so it must be sewn to the leather. The sheath is cut from one piece and sewn together.

Of the other leather discoveries, little more can be said about the large pieces, just as we cannot about the loose strips of woollen cloth. We probably have the remains of a scrap piece among the large pieces of leather. Below that is: a square piece of leather with a border in which holes have been drilled, so that a second piece appears to have been sewn to it. A hole has been cut in the middle, through which the strap of the stirrup or the abdominal strap could have been pulled.

What is more important is what leather shoes were found. It is a left-hand copy (Fig. 65a), with the remains of the corresponding right shoe, a right outer shoe (b) and a right inner shoe (c), which do not fit together, therefore belonging to two separate copies.

The one mentioned under a is the most important due to its relative integrity. It consists of an outer and inner shoe, with an extra insole and apparently two outer soles, which are successively sewn to the inner and outer shoe with a narrow leather thread. The shoe, 26 cm long with a maximum width of 11 cm, it is cut from one piece of leather, according to a pattern, as Fig. 66.1 shows where the shoe is shown folded out when viewed from the outsole. If the pattern is turned outwards to close, the points of connection run along the edge of the heel (a) and the Achilles tendon (b), from the front along the toes (c) and over the toe of the foot (d). There the leather is always attached to each other, and, just like with the soles, sewn with a leather thread. The instep has a series of incisions in the middle, as well as on the left and right, while its edge is cut in a serrated shape. There is also an eyelet (e) in the leather in the middle of the instep, which was apparently related to the lacing of the shoe. (Cf. Jacobi, Saalburg, Taf. 80.7). The heel piece also has a serrated edge, which also has a pressed decoration, for which we refer to Fig. 65a and 66, 1.

The right outer shoe, which we mentioned under b, also has a finely serrated edge and a decoration at the instep, which is shown in Fig. 66, 2. Of a length of 27 cm, and 9 cm at its widest, it is also cut from one piece of leather. The same applies to the inner shoe, referred to under c, which has a size of 27.50 by 8.50 cm. We find their unfolded patterns in Fig. 66, 2-3. It shows how they correspond with each other in the front part, but are cut differently at the heel. The heel pattern of the inner shoe, as we can see, corresponds to that of the shoe described under a. We find the same thing with a shoe in Fig. 66, 4, which is also very similar to our first: it is a shoe from the Thorsbjerg Moor (Engelhardt, op. cit. p. 18, Pl. 3).

Leiden. Dr. M.A. EVELEIN.

Letter of A. Bos to J.H. Holwerda
Helenaveen December 9, 1911.
The Honorable Gentleman
Dr. J.H. Holwerda Leiden

Sir,

I hereby have the honor to inform you the following in response to what I read in your work "Netherlands' Earliest History in Pictures" page 29 regarding the find in the Peel under the municipality of Deurne.

What I read your description it gives me the impression that you were not properly informed about some things and that not everything that was found was provided.

The day after the discovery was made, I went to the spot and looked at everything, and I also collected all the leather, which had been lost due to ignorance of the finders was torn to pieces.

The objects were found in the upper layers of the black peat, almost at the transition from the gray peat. The thickness of the black peat present was too great for the people who died there to have been on horseback. Horses cannot ride over such layers of peat.

Among the leather were the remains of two beautifully crafted shoes, a third shoe very simply made was found about 15 m from the first site with the money and the leather probably from a leather bag. From this I thought I could deduce that the suspected nobleman was accompanied by an inferior, and that two people had thus died. I collected all the leather separately, like the shoes, the bag, etc that had been torn from the helmet, etc. The woven fabric had already pulled apart too much to be able to make much of it, it most looked as if they had been bands, wider and narrower.

It could be determined that the armament probably consisted of a spear or lance, a bow and a sword. The remains of this had to be partially dug out of the dug peat, so that they were cut into pieces when digging the peat.

1° Pieces of round cut wood ± 3 c/m Ø, some were flat and showed grooves as if they had been covered with metal, probably the metal point or point.

2° Pieces of flat wood, beautifully decorated in the middle with metal remains as if a steel spring had been through the wood, everything pointed to the wood of an arch.

3° A block of wax with grooves, to smooth the bowstring.

4° A piece of peat ± 30 cm long in which the imprint of a sword blade was $\pm 2\frac{1}{2}$ cm wide. The metal was completely consumed and was only present as a dark blue-gray powder. I wrapped all these objects individually and returned them to the finder, asking him to later hand everything over to the buyer or to a museum where the objects would

127090 probably go.
However, the property was later much tampered with, the man went to the fairs with it, and when I saw it again later, it had suffered a lot.
However, the little interest that there was at first for this find in general, and the dispute among those entitled to it, was the reason why I further kept myself out
127095 of it, but now that I read your description, I now found reason to share the above with you.
In the illustration in your piece I am missing a large piece on which there were signs or letters, I thought this was very important, is this not in your possession? Later, a third party brought me a pin, which was still in a piece of leather, an arm
127100 had broken off, and a stone was included, which had two flat sides and must have served as a confirmation, as everything came together from one place, and was brought to me.
Here in the Peel, rarely anything was found in the peat, in the past a few leather headgear, a pair of large horns and something similar have emerged, but everything
127105 else has been lost.
If you would like any further information about any further information, I will be happy to provide it to you as far as possible.
Yours faithfully
A. Bos.
127110
Leo Kluijtmans reports in his book WHITE MAGIC (1970) some interesting facts:
One year later, when the last bench [peat] was excavated, they found a nice small wine keg, with a few liters of content, the rest of the totally clouded wine was still there.
127115 The keg was subsequently lost. The vessel was held together by toes straps, and had a silver tap, too bad it has been lost.
A silver cup has also been found, provided of a hook to hang it on the rig.
It must still be present somewhere privately in a hunting lodge in Loosdrecht, which belonged to [family of] the then management of the NV Maatschappij Helenaveen.
127120

Roman remains in Danish peat bogs

August 22, 1860: HIGHLY REMARKABLE ROMAN REMAINS FOUND IN DANISH PEA BOWLS.

[p. 297, ALGEMEENE KONST- EN LETTERBODE.]

"You have been asking to hear from time to time about the discoveries in the peat bogs at Sönder-Brarup, which I have mentioned several times before. Several important objects were found there in July and August; but the most important find is a round bronze plaque, the size of a dinner plate, with a wide rim, decorated with raised gold and silver sculptures. The sculptures depict alternately birds and dolphins, and some Roman warriors in a resting position, with helmets on their heads, holding a lance in one hand, while the other hand rests on a shield. Within this rim, one sees several Medusa heads, with helmets on their heads, all surrounding a single Medusa head in the center. All this points to a Roman origin; but it is noteworthy that in some places on that plaque small silver plates adorned with monstrous animal figures, similar to those found on gold bractes struck in Scandinavia and on two silver cups found in Himlingöri, Zealand. It is evident that foreigners added these ornaments of their own making to this plaque, which had previously been adorned solely with Roman art. Remains of three coats of armor made of rings were also found; on two, the rings are bronze, on the third, iron. Subsequently, a mass of shield navels, spear points, arrows, and the remains of broadswords were found, all of iron, as well as the remains of sword scabbards. Everything points to a fierce battle. Furthermore, a complete riding horse bridle and a snaffle (bridon) were found, with buckles, rings, and ornaments of bronze; the long leather bridles were completely preserved. Two silver coins of Commodus and Nero. The (wooden) shafts of the lances The javelins and spears are mostly broken, but we were fortunate enough to find two that were completely preserved: one 9 feet (Danish) long, the other a little longer. A shaft of 2 feet 6 inches belonged to a javelin. The shields are made of wood and have a rim; only the middle section is bronze. However, one shield is made of maple, with an oak rim attached to it with small pieces of bronze, shaped like an S. This is the first time that shields made of different woods have been found. A leather sandal and several pieces of linen with rims were also found. Among the glass beads, one is hollow, and this must therefore have been made with a glass-blowing pipe; the other beads are hollow. Not a day goes by without finding pottery of various shapes, usually broken; meanwhile, six pots have been found that were intact. Four pieces of gold, shaped like rings, were found. currency was used (ring money). It remains a mystery how all these objects ended up in the peatlands, formerly lakes. Some shields and lance shafts have also been found under a thick layer of beams and brushwood (the same as previously in Funen). These are the discoveries of 1860; I have already reported those of last year to you. 1).

For two or three years now, I have been sharing our archaeological explorations with you. In the absence of a French summary of these, a Swiss who spent the winter of 1859 here published geological-archaeological studies in which he reports on everything discovered in our country, on our system, etc. 2).

Taarbaek, near Copenhagen,

22 August 1860. DR. BURMAN BECKER. (Excerpt from a letter to MR. EYCK VAN ZUILICHEM).

1) We hope to be able to include this soon. Ed.

2) This is Professor Morlot of Lausanne, the publisher of whose important work we already mentioned in No. 20, dated May 21, of this weekly, and about which the Revue archéologique of August 1 has begun to give a very favorable report. We will return to this subject as soon as possible, space permitting.

Ed.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thorsberg_moor

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_Iron_Age_weapon_deposits

<http://en.natmus.dk/>

November 10, 1860 HIGHLY REMARKABLE ROMAN REMAINS FOUND IN DANISH PEATHERS. 1) [p. 360]

In recent years, during the excavation of the numerous peat bogs, which were undoubtedly lakes or marshes in the past, mainly in southern Jutland, and also in some burial places and sand dunes, in more than 60 locations, remains of Roman origin have been found, such as coins from the imperial period, pots, vases, cups, decorations with Roman inscriptions, and works of Roman art.

The factories usually bear the hallmarks of originating from the first four centuries AD.

Especially remarkable is the multitude of weapons (several hundred) found in the peat

bogs at five or six locations, namely: iron arrowheads and lanceheads, copper shield fittings, mixed with buckles, combs, dice, hammers, etc. All these weapons are very well-made, even beautifully crafted, but bear many signs of having been damaged and bent in battle. - The large peat bog of Allesö, on the island of Funen, not far from Odensee, is especially rich in such objects, and more are still found there annually. - During the last two years, a large number have also been found in a bog or swamp

near Brarup, in southern Jutland.

Among the objects unearthed there is a piece of a shield with the words AEL: AELIANVS, in pointed letters 2); A fragment of a Roman helmet with engraved brass ornaments; a whole multitude of round wooden shields, about 3 feet in diameter, with brass centers; also wooden bows, and a multitude of staves for arrows and lances, but without the points, which are presumed to have sunk and will be found at the bottom of the peat, as are the swords, for which the remains of the scabbards and their fittings have been found, but not the swords themselves. 3) Furthermore, brass fittings from belts or slings, horse harnesses, and pieces of a tunic consisting of rings. 4) All of this bears evidence of having been damaged by use and in combat. A silver head ornament was also found, broken by three saber slashes. It is impossible to list everything; but among the most remarkable objects certainly belongs a bronze plaque with gold and silver ornaments and nine engraved female heads on it. as well as coins of Trajan, Hadrian, and Commodus.

The most remarkable thing of all is a large quantity of clothing, folded or packed together; underneath, trousers with stockings attached, in one piece (I have no information about the material of these garments). Similar objects are still found in other bogs in Jutland, and also on the Danish islands, though in much smaller numbers.

The property of high bogs for preserving objects that would otherwise be subject to decay is well known; therefore, one is not surprised that these remains have been preserved, but rather how such a large number could have gathered in that bog (ancient swamp or lake), and in so many places. It has been thought that entire war bands would have fallen through the ice on a winter expedition and been suffocated, but it is difficult to imagine that this would have happened in so many places. One would also have had to find a multitude of human and horse skeletons, which is by no means the case, but is limited to a very few.

Another suggestion is that these objects must have been hidden by some tribe in the Brarup swamp; this seems to be indicated by the collected articles of clothing and stacked shields, as well as the wooden hooks found, which seem intended to hold objects that would otherwise have floated on the water.

However uncertain the manner in which these objects came together may be, the more certain is the period from which they originate, and the influence that Roman civilization must have exerted on the customs and practices of the Norse peoples. Nordic antiquarians assume that three periods occurred in Northern Europe during which weapons and tools were made of stone, bronze, and iron. The last and most recent period there would have begun roughly with the influence of Roman rule, and one of the effects of that influence was probably that the use of mixed copper (bronze) was gradually lost and that objects that were not preferred to be made of iron were made of yellow copper.

Since it is known that the Romans themselves never crossed the River Elbe during their campaigns, one must conclude from all the artifacts found that the ancient Jutes or Danes, through war or trade, came into contact with the Romans more than previously thought and must have shared in their civilization. I have taken these reports from some letters from my cousin J. G. Burman Becker in Copenhagen, who has a great predilection for the antiquities of his remarkable fatherland and, among other things, also owns a large collection of sketches, mostly drawn by himself, of old churches, etc., including, according to his letter, some 120 old baptismal fonts, which, along with many other curiosities and ornaments, are located in or near many village churches.

Maartensdijk,
Jan. 1860. EYCK VAN ZUYLICHEM.

The above communication, in connection with the earlier one (in No. 37), regarding Roman remains in Danish peat bogs, is all the more important to us because it provides new evidence for the feeling we already expressed last year: that in assessing the beautifully worked metals, especially bronze, implements, and tools, found among ancient remains in Northern Europe and elsewhere outside Italy, too little attention has been paid to ancient Italian factories. We, at least, are convinced that these bronze and iron remains, especially weapons, originate from

127255 ancient Italian factories and were brought there in high antiquity as well as in the
later Roman Imperial period, primarily through barter. It strikes us as somewhat odd
that Nordic antiquarians, who published so many important works on the antiquities of
their country, have not yet published a work (at least as far as we know) depicting
and describing these Roman remains from the peat bogs. Even the most recent author on
127260 the Danish peat bogs, although comparing the remains found there with those found in
pile dwellings in Switzerland (Morlot, Etudes géologico-archéologiques en Danemark et
en Suisse), has not mentioned any Roman remains found in the Danish peat bogs,
although he does so on p. 291 writes: "The Danish antique mills are rich in antiques
of all kinds and ages, as are the museums in the past. M. Steenstrup estimates that
127265 there is no such thing as a vertical pillar of a meter square at the base, placed or
otherwise, in the same country's antique mills, where one finds less of an antique
object." We hope to be able to devote more space to this important topic soon.
Ed.

127270 1) Comp. No. 37, p. 297.
2) In the manner, for example, of the Roman inscription from the Linge, near Hemmen, handed
down in antiquity and communicated by Dr. Janssen, Pl. V. Fig. 4.
3) These were also discovered later, see Letterbode, t.a., pl.
4) Of three coats of arms; two with bronze rings and one with iron ones; see Letterbode, t.a.,
127275 pl. https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frans_Nicolaas_Marius_Eyck_van_Zuylichem
[http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=laat-](http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=laat-Romeinsch&coll=boeken1&identificer=y3ZdAAAAcAAJ)
[Romeinsch&coll=boeken1&identificer=y3ZdAAAAcAAJ](http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=laat-Romeinsch&coll=boeken1&identificer=y3ZdAAAAcAAJ)

ANTITIES IN DANISH PEATS. 1)
127280 The following, taken from a special letter written by a very authoritative hand, may
perhaps, even after the information on this subject in the Bode of November 10th,
page 360, not be considered unworthy of publication in the same weekly. We are making
it available to the editors for this purpose. "Nothing, however, was as important to
me as the rich yield of the excavations near South-Brarup. These are not just a few
127285 objects, but an entire war booty buried in the peat. The coins found there point to
the time when this occurred; the most recent were Commodus's. There is much Roman
artefact among them, much of it also of barbarian origin or associated with barbarian
work. The most remarkable thing is that wood, leather, and woven fabrics have been
preserved, but everything made of iron has been lost. We found a magnificent bronze
127290 horse harness, with the straps and everything else, except the iron bits, preserved
in its entirety: bows, even remnants of the cords, and 60 arrows, but whose iron
points had decayed. This would be even more regrettable if two other discoveries in
the peat hadn't come to our aid, belonging to the same period and yielding relatively
well-preserved iron objects. Among the most important curiosities, I bring... I found
127295 a silver mask that served as a helmet visor; bronze breastplates decorated with
silver and gold ornaments; trousers, a cloak, and a coat of mail, the latter of which
was hidden in a jar. Later, fragments of a highly elaborately crafted coat of mail
were also found; they are partly iron, partly brass; the iron here, for one reason or
another, is of a higher quality and better preserved than elsewhere. The purely Roman
127300 objects are often provided with barbaric additions, such as, for example, a
breastplate with barbaric ornaments of thinly beaten gold. They are busy arranging
and displaying everything in Flensburg properly, and identifying the most important
objects. A great deal is among them that had previously only been found severely
damaged or in unrecognizable remains; in addition to the horse harness and clothing,
127305 we also include, for example, wooden shields. "In the past, ancient objects were
found in greater numbers here in Denmark than in most other countries, and also iron
objects from the 8th-10th century, which had a great resemblance to Frankish and
Burgundian objects; now we have objects from the 2nd and 3rd century in abundance,
and consequently two endpoints; only the definition of the intermediate point and the
127310 transitions between the two are still unclear and uncertain to us.
L.

1) Comp. No. 45.
127315 April 3, 1861 REPORTS FROM MR. CONFERENZ-RATH THOMSEN,
IN COPENHAGEN, ON THE LATEST DISCOVERIES OF ANTIQUITIES IN DENMARK. 1).
I have noticed that antiquarians in France, and partly also in England and other
countries, know very little about the new discoveries made in the North, which
nevertheless expand and further confirm our knowledge of antiquity. For example, I
127320 have not yet found anything in foreign works about the large find at Allersö on
Fünen.
For ten years already, during peat cutting in a bog near this village, iron weapons,

particularly lances and javelin points of very fine workmanship, were found annually. It was also noticed that the wood in the peat had been preserved to some extent; it still had its original shape, but had softened like a sponge; the water could be squeezed out, and if it was left to dry without preparation, it shrank. As attention was now focused on that location, remarkable items emerged, such as: a silver fitting from the scabbard of a sword, on which an inscription had been scratched. belonging to the oldest type of runic script 2), ivory knobs of... and swords, and these made us eager to examine the site closely. In 1857, we had a very dry summer; a distinguished and experienced official of our museum, the Kammerrath and archivist Herbst, was sent there. He set up his residence in a tent on this bog and, for three weeks, had investigations carried out in various directions, which yielded us brilliant results. They consisted of more than 500 objects, which, together with those obtained earlier, complement an important but previously little-known or overlooked section of our museum 1). It is this section that shows us what was in use immediately after the Bronze Age and what it supplanted, approximately at the time of Christ and shortly thereafter. Among the most remarkable pieces are: exquisitely crafted iron spearheads with inlaid silver ornaments, entirely of the same kind as on the Bronze Age artifacts, namely, double circles with a dot in the center; a bronze griffin's head, presumably an ornament on a helmet; long, exquisitely crafted, double-edged swords; several swords shaped like swords; scabbard fittings of silver bronze, ivory, and bone; twenty bone combs (each warrior must have carried his own comb); the tools of a field smith: anvil, tongs, hammer, and file, but these (the latter) only with proper marks, as modern ones usually are; other tools such as bore, ... sickles, and wedges (celts), all of iron; unfortunately, we did not find the wooden handles of the latter; riding implements, traces of a peculiar kind, fragments of wooden shields, and many shield bosses (umbones) of iron, along with fittings from the crossbar that was attached over the stirrup and served as a handle; even remnants of A boat has been found. The remarkable thing about this find is also a long bow and a number of arrows, entirely similar to those of the Tartar peoples. 1) Some of these arrows have iron points, others bone points; iron must have been too valuable at the time to be shot. At least half of the arrows have bone points, and these are far larger and stronger than those of the savages, and generally triangular or quadrangular. Another curiosity consists of glass and other pebbles, which served as board games, and bone dice, two of which have the usual shape. 2) Two others, however, are entirely similar to those we obtained from India for the Ethnographic Museum; these are small, elongated, square rods. These latter dice have not two, but only one point or eye at each end. I find another similarity to Indian objects in the shafts of the lances; some of these are 8 to 9 ell long; these wooden handles are sometimes hammered into one side, towards the point, with small silver nails, usually several of them, with rounded heads. In the Indies, there is an old custom that when an enemy is killed with a lance, a silver nail is hammered into it, and when several nails are seen, it is considered a badge of honor for the holder. We and the Ethnographic Museum have examples of these customs. The same pear-shaped decoration seen on objects from Suder Brarup can also be found on some belt coverings. Many pieces also bear a strong resemblance to the one of Suder Brarup, but none with the later, Allemannish, Burgundian, and Merovingian artifacts, which correspond to the artifacts of our younger Iron Age.

In general, the aforementioned artifacts are much more noble and finely crafted than the later ones. If there is something barbaric here and there, it is an appendage or addition to the original. There is no trace of serpent- or dragon-shaped ornaments. In one respect, this find is very similar to the two Schleswig artifacts, namely that the artifacts bear the hallmarks of a fierce battle, as they have been hewn, pierced by arrowheads, bent by enemy hands, and rendered useless. The wood here, as at Suder Brarup, was also preserved, and after many trials and effort, we have succeeded in making it strong again and, I hope, durable. But in one respect, this find differs significantly from the Brarupschen finds: the iron, which had completely decayed there, has been preserved. Only the tank shirts, which had been coated with a kind of varnish, were preserved. It was clearly visible that it had been present, but even thick axes could only be seen, not recorded, because the iron had completely decayed, while we were able to preserve the (wooden) handles.

The Ny Dam find is entirely different; there, the iron has been preserved; among them, 30 swords were found, elaborately crafted spear and javelin points, etc., the swords often made of elaborately damascened work. Generally, there is no great diversity in the forms of this and the other two finds, but the objects in these are not quite as tasteful. The youngest of the coins found here is of Emperor Macrinus, from the year 217 AD. Since these three major finds clarified our view of this type

of object and the period from which they originate, we noticed that, without knowing it, we had previously made several similar small finds; that we had found rings, pieces of chains, belonging to the same period. Bronze riding implements found on Zeeland are entirely identical to the Suder-Brarupsche; even on Schonen and in Norway, objects have been discovered that correspond exactly with those of the three major finds. These three finds demonstrate that in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, connections with the south existed, which had certainly been broken off for a long time previously, and now fill a gap in our knowledge of Nordic antiquities, because we lacked the link between the Bronze Age and the objects from the 6th and 7th centuries (which we can trace back to the 11th century); here it is, and indeed very complete." "I've gone through all our previous inventories and records. Over the years, some remarkable and valuable finds have been made in this country, but rarely more than 20 in total. Of 500 or more pieces lost in battle, skirmish, or as spoils of war in our former seas, now peat bogs, I can find no earlier examples than those mentioned above. It's only in recent times that we've seen such extensive finds. The Norderdorf find was significant, and the Vienna treasures from the Hallstadt burial sites are also substantial, and now the seas in Switzerland – nothing like this was previously known in our country." "Worsaae sent an artist to Flensburg to draw approximately 300 objects, mostly of natural size, for our Museum's archives; that's how important he considered the finds from Brarup and Ny Dam. The actual discoverer, to whom we owe this treasure, is the Inspector of the Collection of Dutch Antiquities in Flensburg, Mr. Engelhard, and he will publish a work on both finds. However, since these mines of discovery are not yet considered exhausted, since highly important objects were found last year and there is every reason to receive many more this year, the publication will not be rushed; but preparations are being made and gathering for a large-scale publication. Among all these finds are some purely Roman objects, mixed with objects from semi-barbarian peoples. I have no doubt that a large portion is indigenous, since we now have at least 20 completely different and far-flung finds. distant locations, only with objects or small finds of the same kind. The quantity of objects is also so great that one is convinced that it must be indigenous, and especially the weapons in general and the tools, for example, those of the blacksmith, demonstrate this. But when I read the Roman inscription AEL. AELIANVS on one shield boss (umbo), which differs slightly from the others, I know that it originally belonged to a Roman. 1), and when I see this lock of the temple of the maker...RICVS, I suspect the smith was a Goth, not from 500 AD, but already from 200 to 300 AD. 2) The finds of captured and exchanged pieces are certainly traceable; naturally, this also includes ivory objects. 1) Private letter from Mr. Thomsen, Copenhagen, dated April 3, 1861. ED.

2) According to a copy of that inscription, kindly sent to us by Dr. Burman Becker from Copenhagen, we would rather attribute it to the North Etruscan. ED.

127430 1) This refers to the Royal Museum of Antiquities, not that of the Royal Society of Norwegian Antiquities. ED.

1) Mr. Burman Becker has also kindly sent us copies of this. ED.

2) That is, the square, Roman. ED.

127435 1) Mr. Burman Becker has also provided us with a copy of this. ED.

2) Allow us to note that ...RICVS, as the last part of a defective name, does not necessarily suggest a Gothic name ending; it could be a Roman manufacturer's name. e.g., [AP]RICVS, or similar. EDITOR

November 3, 1859 GEOLOGY, INDUSTRY AND COSTUME, CLEARED BY AN ANTIQUE DISCOVERY IN MAINZ.

127440 On November 3, 1859, Professor Nöggerath gave a presentation in Bonn, at the meeting of the Lower Rhine Society for Natural and Medical Sciences, on the Roman antiquities excavated in 1857 in Mainz, on the Thiermarkt, in a peat layer at a depth of approximately 30 feet. He declared that this discovery was also important from a geological point of view, while the director of the Association for the Research of Rhine History and Ancient History, Dr. Jos. Wittmann, had demonstrated that in the first centuries AD, a branch of the Rhine flowed through the city of Mainz, in whose swamp the above-mentioned peat layer had formed. Dr. Wittmann briefly reported on this discovery in his important treatises entitled: Chronik der niedrigsten Wasserstände des Rheines vom Jahre 70 nach Christus bis 1858, and Nachrichten über die im Jahre 1857-1858 im Rheinbette von der Schweiz bis nach Holland zu Tage kommen Alterthümer und Merkwürdigkeiten etc., included in Th. II Part 1-2 of the Zeitschrift des Vereins z. E. rhein. History and Altenthümer zu Mainz. The same scholar had provided Prof. Nöggerath with an extensive manuscript on this subject for use, from which the most important information was communicated by Nöggerath at the

127455 aforementioned meeting. Some of those We adopt the information that has come to the

public's attention (Dr. Wittmann himself will soon publish his manuscript), all the more readily because Dr. Wittmann and Lindenschmit, during a visit to the Mainz Museum this summer, shared the same reports verbally with us and presented us with specimens of some of the remains they found. In the aforementioned peat layer, a great deal of leatherwork had been found, most likely originating from a Roman shoemaker's shop—nearly a wagonful of mostly used shoes and sandals, albeit very fragmentary, among which fourteen distinct types could still be recognized. This priceless find for knowledge of Roman industry and costume, illustrated with plates, will soon be published by Lindenschmit. We will therefore only mention here that the manufacturer's or shoemaker's stamp has been stamped on some of the leather fragments, as I could still clearly read the names: L. VALE (i.e. Lucii VALErii) C. VENED (i.e. Caji VENEDi) and MONA.

Furthermore, several remains of Roman clothing made of very fine wool and of excellent weave were found, along with various small Roman objects and coins. The leather and wool goods were relatively well preserved, but the wool had taken on a dark color. The coins were dated no later than 137 AD, from which one can probably conclude that all these objects ended up in the swamp around that time. Common peat plants were easily identified from the peat; in particular, the following were recognized: birch bark, hazelnuts, water lentils (*Lemna major*), and of the moss species: *Hypnum splendens* (Hedwig), *Hypnum tameriscinum* (Hedw.), *Hypnum latescens* (Hedw.), *Hypnum triquetrum* (Linn.), and *Anomodon. curtipendulum* (Hookeri and Taylori), *Byrumbium* (Schreberi), *Mnium roseum* (Hedw.), *Mnium undulatum* (Hedw.). Well-preserved grapevines were also found, evidence of early viticulture on the Rhine; these are now the oldest grapevines known from the Rhine region; finally: feathers of fowl and pigeons.

From some specimens of this discovery, received by the reporter in Mainz as a gift from Dr. Wittmann and Lindenschmit, he has donated the moss species to the National Herbarium, the feathers to the National Museum of Natural History, and the leatherwork to the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. The leatherwork, The stone, which had hardened and shrivelled due to severe drying, has been carefully restored to its original softness by an experienced Leiden tanner, Mr. Visser.

<http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=oudheidkundige+ontdekking+mainz+wittmann&coll=boeken1&identifier=YaFUAAAaCAAJ>

November 23, 2025 **The Thorsberg moor**

(German: Thorsberger Moor, Danish: Thorsberg Mose or Thorsbjerg Mose, South Jutlandic: Tosbarch, Tåsbjerre "Thor's hill") near Süderbrarup in Anglia, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, is a peat bog in which the Angles deposited votive offerings for approximately four centuries. It is the location of important Roman Iron Age finds, including early Elder Futhark runic inscriptions such as the Thorsberg chape, a Roman helmet, a shield buckle, and an early example of socks (attached to trousers). The finds are of similar importance as the contemporaneous finds from Illerup and Vimose in Denmark.

Excavation

The moor was excavated in 1858–1861 by a teacher from Flensburg, Helvig Conrad Engelhardt. The objects recovered by Engelhardt are on exhibit in the state museum of archaeology at Gottorf Castle; another 500 finds are on exhibit in the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen.

Discoveries

The deposits were made from approximately 100 BC to 500 AD and are clearly votive in nature. However, it is doubtful that they were dedicated specifically to Thor. The placename may reflect worship of Thor there by Danes during the Viking Age rather than by Angles during the Roman Iron Age. And as Engelhardt noted, although the 'Thor's hammer' symbol occurs on several finds from the site, it is a motif that can be found in many non-Germanic contexts, even on Native American artefacts. They include early examples of clothing, both Germanic and Roman, in particular the footed trousers, which are commonly dated to the 4th century but which now appear to be no later than 300 AD; objects of Roman workmanship including two phaleræ, military decorations in the form of richly decorated gold discs 13.2 cm (5.2 in) in diameter made in the 3rd century in the workshop of Saciro, thought to have been near Cologne, which have the image of a seated man with a spear, possibly a representation of Mars; and objects of Germanic workmanship, notably the Thorsberg chape, a piece of a scabbard bearing one of the earliest inscriptions in runes.

127525 Some of the Germanic fibulæ and shield bosses of ultimately Roman origin appear to be from Germanic tribes in Greater Germania, who were in closer contact with the Romans than the Angles. After approximately 200 AD, the deposition of weapons increased, possibly as a result of conflict between tribes such as the Marcomannic war (166 to 180 AD). Many of the objects deposited, especially the weapons, have been made useless by breaking, bending, etc. It was common practice among Celtic peoples to ritually "kill" such weapons.

127530 In addition to the weapons and other man-made objects, the deposits in the bog include isolated bones. Just outside the moor is an Iron Age tumulus with a stone circle.

OUDHEIDKUNDIGE MEDEDEELINGEN



VAN HET

RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN

TE LEIDEN

V

UITGEGEVEN VANWEGE HET MINISTERIE VAN BINNENLANDSCHE ZAKEN

ALLES KOMT TERECHT

'S-GRAVENHAGE
MARTINUS NIJHOFF
1911



EEN ROMEINSCHE HELM UIT DE PEEL.

[Inleiding]

In den zomer van 1910 kwam het museum in 't bezit van een Romeinschen helm, die in de Peel onder Deurne gevonden was. Hij is van verguld zilver met oorspronkelijk ijzeren binnenkap, die op enkele ijzerdeeltjes na, geheel is weggeroest, zoodat het alleen de verguld zilveren buitenbekleding van den helm is, die ons bewaard is gebleven. Zeer gedeukt en gedeeltelijk uit elkaar gevallen, werd hij gerestaureerd door den goudsmid L. Verkuil, werkzaam aan het atelier van den heer v. Rossum du Chattel te Leiden. De opbouw van den helm wees zich geheel van zelf uit, zoodat hierover niet de minste twijfel kan bestaan. Eenmaal gerestaureerd, bleek welk een schitterend stuk het museum rijker was geworden, dat, in vergelijk met dergelijke helmen in het buitenland, zelfs een unicum mag worden genoemd.

Met onzen helm werden verder in het veen gevonden 37 bronzen munten van Constantijn, een bronzen fibula, een dito spoor en klokje, een stuk van een leeren dolkscheede met bijbehorend zilveren beslagstuk, een drietal leeren schoenen, groote stukken leer, waarschijnlijk resten van een schabrak, en enkele reepjes wollen stof, die tot de kleding van den krijgsman hebben behoord. Met de munten zijn de helm en

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verdere bijvondsten vanzelf gedateerd op de 4de eeuw na Chr. geb., wat des te belangrijker is, omdat daarmee ook de parallellen van onzen helm in het buitenland een zekerder dateering verkrijgen. Op een nauwkeurige beschrijving van onzen helm (I) zullen wij dus een vergelijking met andere exemplaren laten volgen (II); een korte beschrijving der bijvondsten (III) zal dienen tot besluit.

[beschrijving]

I.

Onze helm is van een tamelijk ingewikkelde samenstelling, die zich in hoofdtrekken aldus laat beschrijven (zie Afb. 61 en 62): de helmkap bestaat uit 2 losse symmetrische helften, die elk voor zich weer bestaan uit drie onderling verbonden stukken, allen van een zelfde plaatdikte van 0,06 m.m. Beide helften worden over de koplengte te zamen gehouden door een kam. De aldus gevormde helmkap wordt van onderen afgezet door een breeden rand, die aan de voorzijde boven elk der beide wenkbrauwen boogvormig is uitgesneden. Tusschen deze bogen in is een losse neusbeschermer aangebracht. De wijdte van den helmrand bedraagt 200 m.m., de hoogte van den helm, met inbegrip van helmkam, 177 m.m., terwijl de neusbeschermer van af den neuszadel 65 m.m. lang is.

Tot den helm behooren verder (zie Afb. 63, 1-3) een nekbeschermer, twee wangkleppen, waarvan nog één over is, eindelijk twee smalle reepjes met een klinknageltje in het midden, en een rij van gaatjes aan de beide breedte- en aan één der lengtezijden. Hun juiste bestemming is echter niet met zekerheid aan te geven (zie blz. 138), doch de overeenstemming in versieringstechniek met die der overige helmdeelen laat geen twijfel, of zij hebben tot den helm behoord. De nekbeschermer is met twee kleine zilveren gespen voorzien, wier scharnierstukken niet boven op de nekklep zijn vastgeklonken, doch door een gleuf gestoken,

127655 aan den achterkant naar boven en beneden omgeslagen zijn.

Uit deze gespen blijkt dat de nekbeschermer door leeren riempjes aan den helmrand bevestigd werd. Ook de wangkleppen

127660 134

moeten, zooals we straks zullen zien, wel door middel van een of ander leeren tusschenstuk aan den helmrand verbonden zijn geweest. Vergelijken wij haar afbeelding 63,2, dan liep, evenals dat bij gelijksoortige wangkleppen aan een Budapester helm (zie Afb. 64,7) het geval is, haar rechte zijde *a* langs den helmrand, terwijl de zijde *b* bij het oog uitkwam. Het is dus de linker wangklep, die ons bewaard is gebleven. Haar afmetingen zijn: *a* = 180 m.m., *b* = 105 m.m., *c* = 50 m.m.

127665 De maten van den nekbeschermer en smalle bandjes zijn als volgt:
127670 *a* = 152 m.m., *b* = 30 m.m., *c* = 182 m.m.; *a* = 193 m.m.,
b = 188 m.m.

Alle deelen van den helen helm hebben dezelfde soort versiering van knopjes en reliefornameenten, welke wij echter later zullen beschrijven, om eerst de constructie van den helm verder in
127675 detail te bezien.

Wij zagen hoe de beide helften van de helmkap elk bestonden uit drie losse stukken, welke wij gemakshalve willen noemen *a*, *b*, *c*. Door middel van 5 zilveren kegelvormige klinknageltjes zijn de beide zijstukken *a* en *c* aan *b* geklonken,
127680 en wel zóó dat het middelstuk *b* 9 m.m. over elk der beide andere heen ligt. Van binnen gezien blijken deze stukken ieder voor zich naar binnen even te zijn omgelegd of omgezoomd, terwijl de klinknageltjes niet door die omzooming heen, doch daar bezijden blijken geklonken te zijn en wel op de gewone
127685 wijze met den klinkhamer te zijn behandeld.

De min of meer geronde helmkam, van dezelfde plaatdikte als de overige deelen van de helmkap, loopt naar beide uiteinden smal en plat toe, zoodat zijn breedte, van rand tot rand, op het midden 29 m.m. is tegen 16 m.m. aan de
127690 beide uiteinden en evenzoo de hoogte successievelijk 17 m.m. en 8 m.m. bedraagt. Op de beide uiteinden zijn elk met twee klinknageltjes dikke zilveren sluitstukjes van 9 m.m. lengte aangebracht om den kam de noodige stevigheid te geven.
De aldus geconstrueerde helmkam verbindt de beide boven-
127695

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beschreven kaphelften in dier voege, dat beide helften elk voor zich door 8 klinknageltjes aan den rand van den helmkam geklonken zijn. daartoe doen voor de beide uiterste dienst
127700 dezelfde klinknageltjes, die de bovengenoemde zilveren sluitstukjes aan den helmkam verbinden. Evenzoo zijn de beide middelste dezelfde nageltjes, die de zijstukken *a* en *c* met *b* verbinden. De aldus aan den helmkam bevestigde kaphelften blijken van binnen gezien niet over elkaar heen te liggen, noch
127705 nauw aan elkaar aan te sluiten: zij komen slechts even onder den rand van den helmkam uit, zoodat tusschen beide een open ruimte is, die, evenals de helmkam, op het midden breder is dan aan de beide uiteinden, n.l. 15 m.m. bij 4 m.m.

De 39 m.m. breede helmrand, die niet gesoldeerd is, doch

127710 wiens uiteinden tusschen de wenkbrauwen 23 m.m. over elkaar
heengrijpen, is 12 m.m. in de helmkap ingeschoven en vastgeklon-
ken door klinknageltjes. Deze zijn aangebracht op die punten,
waar de losse deelen van de helmkap aan elkaar zijn geklonken,
127715 m. a. w. het zijn dezelfde klinknageltjes, die de meer genoemde
stukken a en c met b verbinden, en die, welke de zilveren sluit-
stukjes op den helmkam en aan beide kaphelften vasthechten.
Slechts twee klinknageltjes komen hierbij, n.l. één op het
midden van elk der middenstukken b van beide kaphelften. De
127720 klinknageltjes zijn, evenals wij bij die der losse deelen der
beide kaphelften zagen, langs de omzooming geklonken, die
zich namelijk ook bij den helmrand voordoet.

Op de zoo in den helmkap bevestigde helmrand is de neus-
klep geklonken, wier vorm Afb. 61 duidelijk te zien geeft. Zij
is van dezelfde plaatdikte als de overige helmdeelen en loopt
127725 naar den vorm van den neus aan weerszijden een weinig af.
Met 5 klinknageltjes is zij op den helmrand bevestigd, twee
op elk der wenkbrauwen, die zuiver passen op de boogvormige
uitsnijdingen van den helmrand, één in het midden op den
neuszadel, waardoor tevens meer stevigheid is gegeven aan
127730 den overslag der beide uiteinden van den helmrand. De piek
van de neusklep, die even onder het zilveren sluitstukje van

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den helmrand ingeschoven is, valt vrij wel langs de lijn van
127735 den bovengenoemden overslag. Behalve als ornament aan de
neusklep, diende zij dus tevens om de scheiding van den over-
slag te bedekken. De klinknageltjes, die de neusklep op den
helmrand vasthechten, zijn evenals de overige tot nu toe be-
sprokene, meer of minder kegelvormig, doch op een eenigszins
127740 andere manier behandeld, meer omgeslagen dan geklonken. Het-
zelfde is het geval met de drie, die zich aan de neuspunt
bevinden, op welke wijze van bewerking wij nog straks terug-
komen.

Tot nu toe lieten wij van den helmrand nog één bijzonder-
127745 heid buiten bespreking, waartoe wij eerst thans overgaan, omdat
daarmede de binnenbekleding van den geheelen helm ter
sprake komt. Langs den geheelen onderrand, ook langs de
boogvormige uitsnijdingen, die door de wenkbrauwen der neus-
klep bedekt worden, zijn op kleinen afstand van elkaar gaatjes
127750 geslagen tot het doorhalen van klinknageltjes. Daarvan zijn
nog twee aan den linkerkant en evenveel aan den achterkant
over. Ze zijn van het gewone klingsel als de eerste door ons
besprokene, verschillen echter hierin, dat zij achter het klingsel
een vierkant koperen plaatje hebben, wat voor niets anders kan
127755 gediend hebben dan om het doortrekken van een leeren binnen-
bekleding te voorkomen.

Behalve deze leeren bekleding spraken wij in den beginne
reeds van een ijzeren binnenkap. Hoewel niets meer daar van
overig is dan enkele ijzerdeeltjes aan de verguld zilveren buiten-
127760 kap, spreekt daar verder voor de groote elasticiteit van den
helm, zoo als hij voor ons ligt. Vooral de helmrand, die aan
het geheel de noodige stevigheid zou moeten geven, is zóó
zwak, dat een enkele leeren binnenbekleding niet toereikend
zou zijn. Deze ijzeren binnenkap, over wier aanwezigheid geen

127765 twijfel kan bestaan, blijkt uitsluitend met dezelfde nageltjes te zijn bevestigd, waarmee de leeren binnenkleeding aan den helmrand vast zat. Ze zijn n.l. de eenige aan den helm, die lang genoeg zijn om daarvoor in aanmerking te komen. Geen

127770 137
der overige klinknageltjes, zoowel zij, die de losse helmdeelen aan elkaar verbinden, als zij, die, zooals we straks zullen zien, ter versiering dienen, laten eenige speling over, dat zij tot bevestiging van welke binnenbekleeding ook kunnen hebben gediend. Blijken dus de klinknageltjes aan den helmrand het eenige middel van bevestiging te zijn geweest, dat de binnenkap met de verguld zilveren buitenbekleeding verbond, dan moeten voor de overige beide stukken nauw in elkaar hebben gepast om het geheel de noodige eenheid te geven.

127780 Evenals de helmkap, blijken ook de wangkleppen en nekbeschermer een ijzeren binnenbekleeding te hebben gehad; aan den laatsten althans werden nog sporen van ijzerdeeltjes aangetroffen. Behalve met ijzer zijn zij van binnen zeker ook met leer bekleed geweest. Voor de wangkleppen bewijzen dit de
127785 twee klinknageltjes, die nog in den rand aanwezig zijn. Zij hebben dezelfde vierkante plaatjes als die aan den helmrand. Een leeren binnenbekleeding moet van zelf ook de neusbeschermer hebben gehad. Tot zijne bevestiging dienden de klinknageltjes, die wij boven zoo eigenaardig zagen omgeslagen. De reden,
127790 waarom zij niet gewoon geklonken en met plaatjes als die bij den helmrand voorzien zijn geweest, mag daarin worden gezocht, dat omgeslagen de nageltjes minder scherp waren en daardoor het dragen op den neus veraangenaamden.

Hoe wangkleppen en nekbeschermer aan den helmrand
127795 bevestigd waren, duiden wij in den beginne reeds kort aan. Wij zagen hoe de gespen op den nekbeschermer er op wezen, dat hij met riempjes aan den helmrand verbonden is geweest. Uit een gleufje boven elk der gespen (zie Afb. 63,4) blijkt verder, dat de riempjes van af den helmrand niet dadelijk over den
127800 nekbeschermer heenliepen, doch aan den *achterkant* door die gleufjes werden heengehaald, om eerst dan aan de gespen te worden vastgemaakt.

Ook de verbinding van de wangkleppen aan den helmrand moet eene van leer zijn geweest. Daarop wijst nog een stukje
127805 leer, dat aan een der klinknageltjes boven op den helmrand

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aanwezig is. Nemen wij aan, dat die bevestiging uit breede tusschenstukken bevond, dan zijn hierop wellicht onze smalle
127810 reepjes (zie blz. 133) bevestigd geweest, en wel in dier voege, dat hun schuine zijde aansloot aan die van den nekbeschermer.

In verband met de bevestiging der wangkleppen moeten wij nog wijzen op drie gaatjes in het midden van den helmrand, vlak boven de rij der gaatjes, waardoor de klinknageltjes
127815 geklonken waren (zie Afb. 63,5). Dicht bij elkaar liggend, vormen zij een driehoek en zouden aan een scharnierbevestiging kunnen doen denken, zooals aan den Peterburgschen helm te zien is (zie Afb. 64,2). Waar echter de wangkleppen door leder aan den helmrand verbonden zijn, is dit buiten gesloten. Trouwens zij bevinden

127820 zich alléén aan den linkerkant van den helm, zoodat ook daarom reeds zij met de wangkleppen in geenerlei verband kunnen staan. Vermoedelijk hebben zij gediend tot het doorlaten van klinknageltjes, die op den helmrand een plaatje met ring bevestigden, waaraan de helm kon worden opgehangen.

127825 Dat onze helm kon worden opgehangen is niet bijzonders. Bij sommige bronzen helmen is daarvoor op den nekbeschermer de ring nog aanwezig. 1) Daar bij deze helmen de nekbeschermer vast aan de helmkap zit, was hij daarvoor de aangewezen plaats. Waar onze nekbeschermer echter los aan

127830 den helm hangt, was hier de plaatsing van bedoelden ring onpractisch, zoodat men daartoe het midden van den helmrand gekozen mag hebben.

127835 Hebben wij hiermee de constructie van den helm in al zijn onderdeelen besproken, thans willen wij overgaan tot een beschrijving der versiering, waarvan wij op blz. 133 reeds met een paar woorden melding maakten. Zij bestaat uit een reliefversiering van geperste bloempjes of kruisjes en dito parelrandjes, die op alle stukken, waaruit de helm is saamgesteld, voorkomen,

127840 1) Vgl. o.a. Lindenschmit, Die Altertümer unserer heidnische Vorzeit, Bd. V., p. 116, 118, Pl. 22, p. 189, Afb. 2. Ook op een bronzen helm in het Leidsch museum (Ned. Cat. E III, b, 141) zijn daarvan nog resten aan te wijzen.

127845 139

terwijl op den helmrand en neusklep na, ook alle deelen bovendien met kogelvormige knopjes zijn versierd, die van binnen gezien, gewoon geklonken zijn. Naast deze overeenkomst in de wijze van bewerking staan echter verschillende versieringsmotieven, 127850 zoodat wij hiervoor de helmdeelen elk afzonderlijk moeten beschrijven.

Beginnen wij met de drie stukken, waaruit de beide kap-helften bestaan, de *stukken a b c*. Langs hun randen loopt een rij bloempjes of kruisjes, ingesloten door parelrandjes, 127855 welke laatste op elk der vier hoeken worden onderbroken door een cirkeltje in relief, met pareltje als middelpunt. Hetzelfde geldt van een tweede binnen-parelrandje, dat evenwijdig aan de buitenrand loopt, en door een tamelijk diep geultje van dezen gescheiden wordt. Het binnenvak wordt versierd door 127860 een ankerfiguur, eveneens van pareltjes, die hoog zijn opgeperst om het relief van het ankerfiguur te verhoogen. Het ankerfiguur ligt zuiver in het midden en is versierd met 6 knopjes, voorzoover het ankerfiguur der stukken *a* en *c* betreft, met 11 knopjes dat van het middenstuk *b*. Dit laatste heeft in zijn 127865 binnenvak bovendien nog twee parelrandjes, evenwijdig aan den steel en verder doorlopende over de armen van het ankerfiguur tot aan den binnenrand.

De *helmkam* heeft een versiering van dubbele parelrandjes langs zijn beide randen, en op het midden, in de lengte van 127870 den schedel. Tusschen deze laatste dubbele parelrandjes is een ondiep geultje, waarin een rij van 13 knopjes den helmkam verder versieren.

De *helmrand* is versierd met twee evenwijdig loopende bolle reliefbandjes, waartusschen een zelfde randversiering als de 127875 buitenranden der stukken *a, b, c*. Zij loopt, evenals wij van

de gaatjes voor de klinknageltjes zagen (zie blz. 136), den geheelen helmrand, ook dus achter den neusbeschermer, langs; alleen aan de rechterkant, ter hoogte van het middenstuk b, wordt zij onderbroken door een ingekraste inscriptie, STABLESIA o VI o, waarover straks. Hoe deze onder-

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breking van het randornament reeds bij het maken van den helm is aangebracht, om hetzij dadelijk, hetzij later een inscriptie te kunnen inlasschen, geeft Afb. 62 duidelijk weer, waar wij zien dat het ornament niet willekeurig afgebroken is, doch op de desbetreffende punten zijn bepaalde afsluiting vindt.

De *neusbeschermer* heeft langs zijn randen en op het midden een versiering van parelrandjes, terwijl aan de punt twee cirkeltjes in relief, met pareltjes als middelpunt, zijn aangebracht.

Op den *nekbeschermer* komt weer dezelfde randversiering voor als op de stukken a, b, c, terwijl de binnenversiering bestaat uit 3 knopjes, parelrandjes en puntcirkels, waarvoor wij naar Afb. 63,1 verwijzen. Verder is in het binnenvak een latijnsche inscriptie, in cursief schrift, ingekrast, die wij met de inscriptie van den helmrand aanstonds afzonderlijk zullen bespreken.

De *wangklep* heeft eveneens eenzelfde randversiering als de stukken a, b, c. Het binnenvak vult zulk een ornament van parelrandjes, in den vorm van twee naast elkaar liggende bladeren, wier beide toppen eindigen in een puntcirkeltje als boven omschreven. Een dergelijk cirkeltje bevindt zich op het punt, waar beide bladeren bij elkaar komen. Verder dienen nog tot versiering 5 knopjes, waarvoor men Afb. 63,2 vergelijke.

Bezien wij ten slotte de *losse reepjes*, dan vinden wij ook hier een combinatie van parelrandjes en puntcirkels, voor welke versiering wij eveneens naar hun afbeelding 63,3 kunnen verwijzen.

Zooals wij reeds opmerkten, zijn op nekbeschermer en helmrand inscripties aangebracht, die wij thans nader willen bezien, en wel het eerst die van den nekbeschermer, waarvan wij een afzonderlijke photo geven onder Afb. 63,6. Zij is, naar Prof. O. Bohn, uit Berlijn, zoo welwillend was mij mee te deelen, als volgt te lezen: ? TIT VA_ON VRS LIbRI - £ en wat het laatste gedeelte betreft aldus uit te schrijven: *libram* (LIbR) *unam* (I)

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unciam (-) *semiunciam* (£), d.i. 1 Pond, 1 uncia, ½ uncia. Wij vinden hier dus een gewichtsopgave vermeld, die, in grammen herleid, blijkt overeen te komen met het tegenwoordig gewicht van den helm (een 2de wangklep meegerekend). Vergelijken wij n.l. de volgende berekeningen:

1 Pond = 327.45 gr.	Helmkap = 282.50 gr.
1 Uncia = 27.288 "	Nekbeschermer = 32.50 "
½ " = 13.644 "	2 Wangkleppen
	(2 x 17.10) = 34,20 "
	2 Smalle bandjes = 10.70 "

 368.382 gr.

 359.90 gr.

127935 dan zien wij, hoe beide uitkomsten met elkaar kloppen. Een
volkomen overeenstemming immers valt bij dergelijke herlei-
dingen nooit te bereiken, daar het vast staat dat de Romeinsche
gewichten zeer varieeren (vgl. C. I. L. XIII, 3, 10030, 26, 29,
37 en 42). Waar nu onze helm en bijbehorende stukken
alleen de overtrek op de oorspronkelijk ijzeren kap zijn ge-
127940 weest, geeft dus het gewicht in kwestie slechts dat van den
verguld zilveren overtrek van den helm aan, zooals ook
naar vele andere vondsten te oordeelen, slechts voorwerpen van
edel metaal met gewichtsopgaven werden voorzien.

Wat het eerste gedeelte der inscriptie ? TIT VA_ON VRS
127945 betreft, het eerste teeken is niet te ontcijferen, waardoor
jammer genoeg de interpretatie van dit inscriptiegedeelte niet
met zekerheid is vast te stellen. Geven in 't algemeen de
inscripties op helmen den naam aan van den drager met
vermelding van de centuria, waarin hij diende 1), toch lijkt
127950 ons, in verband met de gewichtsopgave, voor onzen helm

1) Zoo 2 bronzen helmen in het Leidsch Museum, Ned. Cat. E III, b, 141 en
142. Zie Lindenschmit Altert. V, p. 186, e.v., waar meerdere worden genoemd. Naar
127955 analogie hiervan zond mij prof. Bohn, behalve een tweede lezing met den naam
van den drager alléén: (M?) Tit(ii) Val(l)on(is) Urs(i), de volgende met vermelding
van de afdeeling, waarin hij diende, in dit geval van de turma of de decuria,
daar zooals wij straks zullen zien, het hier een ruitershelm geldt: (ex turma? decuria?)
Tit(i), Val(l)on(ii) Urs(i).

127960 142
een dergelijke interpretatie minder waarschijnlijk. Waar
wij n.l. zagen, dat het gewicht gold dat van den overtrek,
kan moeilijk in het voorafgaande ? TIT VA_ON VRS
de naam van den drager schuilen. Het gewicht immers van
127965 den overtrek kon deze nooit vaststellen, zonder den overtrek
van de ijzeren binnenkap af te nemen, wat intusschen een
onmogelijkheid was, waar wij boven gezien hebben hoe overtrek
en ijzeren binnenkap door een dichte rij van nageltjes aan
elkaar geklonken waren. Dat hij het gewicht van den fabrikant
127970 zou hebben gehoord is evenmin aan te nemen. Wij moeten er
dus wel toe besluiten dat het gewicht in de fabriek zelve op
den helm is aangegeven. Wil men nu de bovenbedoelde
algemeene interpretatie vasthouden, dan zou dus de naam
van den drager eerst later op de nekklep zijn aangebracht,
127975 wat intusschen het schrift zelf, dat van eenzelfde hand blijkt
te zijn, uitsluit. Waar we echter later zullen zien dat onze
helm in een der rijkswapenfabrieken van het Romeinsche rijk
vervaardigd moet zijn, lijkt ons het meest aannemelijk dat wij
op onzen helm den persoon vermeld vinden, die belast was met
127980 de helmen te wegen en te verifieeren. Dat toch de Staat in
zijn fabrieken verificateurs had om deze helmen van edel
metaal te waarmerken, is geenszins onwaarschijnlijk, waar
blijkens de vondsten ook op gewichten een ex auctoritate
van den magistraat gestempeld werd (vgl. C. I. L. XIII, 3
127985 10030, 10). Zoo zouden wij dan in onze inscriptie willen lezen
den verificateur Tit(us) Valon(ius) Urs(us) en mag - evenals
op de bovengenoemde bronzen helmen het woord centuria zijn

bijzondere afkortingsteekens had 10 - het onleesbare eerste teeken een afkorting voor een *examinavit* of iets dergelijks zijn.

127990 Als tweede inscriptie op onzen helm zagen wij rechts op den helmrand die van Stablesia VI. Zij duidt een afdeeling aan der equites Stablesiani, een ruitercorps, dat zooals uit de Notitia Dignitatum blijkt, 2), tijdens het latere romeinsche keizerrijk in

127995 1) Zie C. I. L. XIII, 3, 10027, 214 e.v.

2) Zie Ed. Seeck, Index s.v. Stablesiani.

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128000 verscheidene provincie's verspreid lag. Verder is het ons bekend uit twee inscripties, te Brescia 1) en Sitifi (Africa) 2) gevonden, waarvan op de eerste sprake is van een *vexillatio* van dit corps.

128005 Is, zooals Prof. Bohn mij doet opmerken, naar analogie hiervan, alsmede door het feit, dat het woord *vexillatio* reeds op het einde der 3de eeuw een ruiter-afdeeling beteekent 3), onze inscriptie aldus aan te vullen: (*Vexillatio*) Stablesi(na) VI, des te meer zijn wij daartoe geneigd, waar in de door ons ook genoemde Not. Dign. dit ruitercorps vermeld wordt onder de *vexillationes comitatenses* van Africa en Brittanië. 4)

128010 Zoo behoorde dus de drager van onzen helm tot de 6de afdeeling der equites Stablesiani en draagt onze helm iets bij tot de geschiedenis van dit corps, dat thans blijkt zich ook in onze streken eenmaal te hebben opgehouden.

[vergelijking]

128015 II.

128020 Met onzen helm laat zich een rij van helmen vergelijken, wier nauwe verwantschap in constructie en versieringstechniek de moeite waard is hier nader te bezien. Het zijn een helm uit Kertsch (Z.-Rusland) afkomstig, en aanwezig in de Ermitage te St. Petersburg, twee helmen van Pfersee bij Augsburg, waarvan de een te Augsburg zelf, de andere te Neurenberg in het Germaansche Nationaal-museum bewaard wordt, verder een helm te Worms en een in den Donau bij Budapest gevonden, 128025 welke successievelijk daar ter plaatse in het Paulus-museum en het Budapester National-museum zijn ondergebracht.

128030 Allen van ijzer, hebben zij, evenals de onze, een verguld-zilveren of enkel zilveren overtrek met een zelfde reliefversiering van kruisjes, puntcirkeltjes, parelrandjes en dgl. In vorm en onderdeelen van de helmkap komt onze helm het meest

1) C. I. L. V, 4376.

2) C. I. L. VIII, 8490.

3) Zie Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung II², 467.

128035 4) Not. Dign. Occ. VI, 64, 82, VII, 180, 182, 203.

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128040 overeen met dien van St. Petersburg (zie Afb. 64,2), waarvan een korte beschrijving te vinden is bij Reinach, Ant. du Bosphore Cimmérien (p. 77/78 n°. 5 en 6), die verklaart haar onveranderd te hebben overgenomen uit het groote werk Ant. du Bosph. Cimm. conservées au musée impérial de l'Ermitage. Volgens deze beschrijving bestaat de met verguld zilver overtrokken helmkap uit 2 x 3 losse stukken en een breeden onderrand,

128045 terwijl over de koplengte een met beugeltjes voorziene helmkam loopt. Evenals bij onzen helm zijn ook hier de losse stukken der helmkap door nageltjes aan elkaar verbonden. Hoe intuschen de helmkap en helmkam aan elkaar zijn vastgehecht, vermeldt de beschrijving niet.

128050 Beter zijn wij in dit opzicht ingelicht bij de helmen van Augsburg (Afb. 64,6) en Worms (Afb. 64,5), waarvan wij een uitvoerige beschrijving vinden bij Lindenschmit in zijn *Altertümer* Bd. V, p. 222-226, terwijl de helm van Worms bovendien besproken wordt door Reinecke in het *Korrespondenzblatt der Westd. Zeitschr.* XXV, p. 65 e. v. Deze helmen bestaan uit twee kaphelften en een kam, waaraan de kaphelften elk voor zich door nageltjes verbonden zijn. Van binnen gezien liggen de kaphelften niet over elkaar, noch raken zij elkander, doch laten een ruimte open, precies op dezelfde wijze dus als bij

128060 onzen helm. Van de nageltjes aan den helm van Augsburg zegt Lindenschmit verder, dat zij niet zijn geklonken, doch zijn omgeslagen. Wij zien hier dus dezelfde bewerking als bij onzen helm met de nageltjes aan den neusbeschermer het geval was. Ook de overtrek is een van verguld zilver, en vormt, evenals

128065 bij den onze, een afzonderlijke buitenbekleding. Hij is met dezelfde nageltjes aan de binnenkap verbonden, waarmee haar beide helften aan den kam werden vastgehecht, terwijl, naar Lindenschmit vermoedt, voor het overige een of ander plakmiddel de verdere stevigheid mag gegeven hebben, een opmerking, die misschien ook op onzen helm toepasselijk kan zijn.

128070 De helm van Worms heeft eveneens een vergulden overtrek, die echter slechts op enkele plaatsen nog duidelijk zichtbaar

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128075 is, voornamelijk op den nekbeschermer, op welk stuk van den helm wij straks terugkomen.

De Budapester helm (zie Afb. 64,7), uitgegeven door Hampel in *Arch. Ertésítő* 1900, p. 361 e. v. en in het *Zeitschrift für Hist. Waffenkunde*, Bd. II, Heft 6, p. 192 e. v., heeft een op het ijzer vast zittende verguld-zilveren overtrek, die behalve met reliefversiering, met glaspasten rijkelijk is versierd. Die niet hooge helmkam is daarentegen met een afzonderlijken zilveren overtrek bedekt, die men met nageltjes daaraan bevestigde. Van onder is de helmkap afgezet door een

128085 breeden rand, die, evenals de onze, boven de wenkbrauwen boogvormig is uitgesneden, en dus ook een neusbeschermer heeft gehad, al is die niet bewaard gebleven. Beter is het hierin gesteld met den Neurenberger helm, waarvan nog een stuk van zijn neusbeschermer gevonden werd. Zooals Afb. 64,3.

128090 te zien geeft, stemt dit fragment volkomen met den onze overeen. Overigens is deze helm (Afb. 64,4) van een zelfde constructie als die van Augsburg, behalve dat zijn zilveren overtrek niet verguld is (Zie Lindenschmit en Hampel, l.l.).

Vergeleken wij tot nog toe slechts de kap der verschillende

128095 helmen, ook in de overige helmstukken, met name de wangkleppen en nekbeschermer, vinden wij groote overeenkomst met die van onzen helm. Onze eigenaardig gevormde wangkleppen vinden wij in meer of mindere afwijking terug bij den Budapester helm, bij de helmen van Pfersee (zie het Neurenberger stuk, Afb.

64,3) en bij dien van St. Petersburg, welke laatste met schar-
nieren aan den helmrand verbonden waren, zooals aan den
helmrand nog duidelijk is te zien (zie Afb. 64,1 en 2). Een
geheel ander soort wangkleppen, n.l. van langen ovalen vorm,
heeft de helm van Worms, die daartegen een nekbeschermer
bezit van bijna geheel dezelfde constructie als die aan onzen
helm. Afb. 64,5 doet ons zien, hoe hij door middel van leeren
riempjes, die door twee gleufjes werden gestoken, aan den helmrand
werd vastgemaakt. Het eenige verschil met onzen helm is, dat tot
bevestiging der riempjes op den nekbeschermer zelfs geen gespen

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dienden, doch enkel nageltjes, die op de photo nog even zichtbaar
zijn. Een dergelijke losse nekbeschermer heeft, naar Lindenschmit
vermoedt, ook de helm van Augsburg gehad. daarop zouden de
resten van een beslag aan de achterzijde van den helm wijzen,
dat z. i. tot bevestiging van een lossen nekbeschermer kan
hebben gediend. Onmogelijk is deze veronderstelling niet, waar
wij tusschen den Augsburgschen helm en den onze reeds zoo-
veel gewichtige punten van overeenkomst hebben gezien.

Wat de versieringen der helmen betreft, wij merkten reeds
op, dat op allen dezelfde soort reliefversieringen voorkomt van
geperste kruisjes, parelrandjes, puntcirkeltje en dergelijke. Daar-
mede zijn voornamelijk de randen der verschillende helmdeelen
versierd, zooals ook bij onzen helm het geval is. Hoe deze
versieringen bij verschil in details, toch een en hetzelfde karakter
dragen, kan men zien op Afb. 64,8, waar sub 1 is afgebeeld het
versieringsmotief van onzen helm, sub 2 dat van den Augs-
burgschen helm, sub 3 van dien te Neurenberg, sub 4, 5 en 6
successivelijk dat van de helmen van Worms, Kertsch en Buda-
pest. Als no. 7 is daaraan toegevoegd de versiering van een
helm uit Thorsbjerg 1), wiens constructie wel is waar een
geheel andere is, doch juist om zijn versieringstechniek door
Lindenschmit e. a. is aangevoerd om onze helmen te kunnen
dateeren.

Voor de dateering n.l. van onze helmtypen is men voor-
namelijk uitgegaan van de techniek en wijze van versiering,
die op verschillende vondsten in N. en O.-Duitschland, als in
de Donaulanden terugkeert. Daartoe behoort o.a. de genoemde
helm van Thorsbjerg, wiens kap gevormd wordt door kruis-
gewijze over elkaar loopende verguld-zilveren banden, die een
versiering hebben als sub 7 afgebeeld, en van techniek
als die op onze helmen. Op grond van andere bijvondsten werd
deze helm gedateerd op 4e of 5e eeuw na Chr. 2) en worden

1) Engelhardt: Thorsbjerg Mosefund, p. 23, Pl. 5.

2) Sophus Müller: Nordische Altertumskunde, Bd. II, p. 147.

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in het algemeen onze helmen beschouwd als laat-Romeinsch
werk uit den tijd kort voor het begin der groote volksverhui-
zingen. Des te belangrijker is voor hun chronologie de munten,
die bij onzen helm gevonden zijn. Waar de vondst in de Peel
geen grafvondst is, doch de drager van den helm op een of
andere wijze hier is verongelukt, vormen de munten het gang-

bare geld, dat hij "op zak" had, en zijn dus een zeker dateerings-
middel voor onzen helm. Allen van Constantijn, plaatsen zij ons
dus onzen helm in de 4e eeuw, om welken tijd dus ook de
door ons vergeleken helmen en verder boven aangeduide vond-
sten te groepeeren zijn.

Hoe onze helmen onderling in tijdsorde tot elkaar staan is
moeilijk vast te stellen. Allermint is daartoe de typologie aan
te wenden, zooals wel is geschied. Immers hoe zeer ook ver-
schillende in vorm, zagen wij tusschen onzen helm en die van
Pfersee en Worms een zoo groote overeenstemming in con-
structie, dat zij, in weerwil van hun afwijkende vormen, haast
uit eenzelfde fabriek moeten zijn voortgekomen.

De vraag, welke fabriek dat moet geweest zijn, kunnen wij
in zóóverre beantwoorden, dat onze soort helmen vervaardigd
zijn in een der rijkswapenfabrieken van het Romeinsche
keizerrijk, zooals er waren in Constantinopel en Antiochië.
Reeds lang heeft men n.l. met onze helmen in verband ge-
bracht een plaats in den Codex Theodosianus (X, 22, 1)  waar
sprake is van metaalarbeiders in 's rijks wapenfabrieken, speciaal
belast met helmen te overtrekken met zilver en te vergulden
(tegere argento et deaurare). Barbaricarri 1) worden zij genoemd,
een benaming, die er op wijst hoe deze arbeiders van vreemde
herkomst waren.

Wordt hiermede de versieringstechniek onzer helmen van zelf
als een niet-Romeinsche gekenmerkt, ook het type onzer hel-
men is daarmee in overeenstemming. Hebben zij ook al hun

1) Zie ook Not. Dign. Or. XI, 45, en verder Seeck, Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encycl.
s. v. barbaricarii.

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beweegbare wangkleppen met Romeinsche helmen gemeen,
onromeinsch is de neusbeschermer en wenkbrauwen in den
helmrand, welke aan Grieksche, met name Korinthische helmen
herinneren, terwijl ook de losse nekbeschermer op vreemde
invloeden schijnt te wijzen, welke met de barbaricarii van zelf
de Romeinsche wapenfabrieken moesten binnenkomen.

[bijvondsten]

III.

Onder de bijvondsten zijn de 37 bronzen munten het belang-
rijkste. Hoewel het meerendeel sterk is afgesleten en gedeeltelijk
afgeknapt, kenmerken zij zich, hetzij door haar voor- hetzij door
haar keerzijde, allen als munten van Constantijn. Voor zover haar
exergues te lezen zijn, is zeker 1 exemplaar geslagen te
Siscia (off. B), 3 te Rome (off. P en T) en 9 te Trier (off. S),
terwijl de overige door een volkomen zelfden muntslag van voor-
zijde of keerzijde onder die van Rome en Trier te rangschikken
zijn. Deze beide laatste muntsoorten zijn, voor zoover is na te
gaan, elk in één type vertegenwoordigd, waarvan wij met
dat van Siscia de beschrijving hier laten volgen, om overigens
te verwijzen naar J. Maurice, Numismatique Constatinienne,
Tom. i, p. 208 e.v., p. 423 e.v. en Num. Chron. 1900, p. 322.

Siscia:

Vz. IMP CONSTANTINUS P F AVG

Gedrapeerd borstbeeld van Constantijn naar rechts, met lauwerkrans om het hoofd.

128215 Kz. IOVI CONSERVATORI

Jupiter steunend op een scepter, dien hij vasthoudt met de opgeheven rechter hand. Over den schouder een afvallend kleed, overigens naakt. Zich wendend naar links, draagt hij in de linkerhand eene Victoria op een globe. Links aan zijn voeten een adelaar met krans in den bek. rechts in het veld B.

Ex. 'SIS'

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128225 Rome:

Vz. IMP CONSTATINUS P F AVG

Borstbeeld van Constantijn n.r. gedrapeerd en geharnast. Om het hoofd een lauwerkrans.

Kz. SOLI INVICTO COMITI

128230 Sol geheel naakt, met stralenkrans om het hoofd. Wendt zich naar links met opgeheven linkerarm. Over den rechter arm hangt een kleed, op de hand houdt hij een globe.

Ex. RP of RT

128235 Trier:

Vz. IMP CONSTANTINUS MAX AVG

Geharnast borstbeeld van Constantijn n.r., met helm en lauwerkrans.

128240 Kz. VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP

Twee Victoria's, tusschen welke een altaar, met ster aan de voorzijde. Op het altaar houden zij een schild vast, waarop de linksche Victoria met een stylus schrijft: VOT PR

128245 Ex. STR

Van enkele exemplaren geven wij een afbeelding op Pl. 65 Onder No. 1 is de munt van Siscia afgebeeld, onder 2 een van die te Rome geslagen, onder 3 en 4 de beste voor- en
128250 keerzijde der Triersche exemplaren. Dezelfde plaat geeft verder de afbeeldingen der overige bijvondsten in zilver of brons. Van brons zijn het klokje, de spoor en fibula. De laatste is van het z.gen. handboogtype en komt in dateering met de munten overeen. De afbeeldingen dezer voorwerpen spreken
128255 overigens genoeg voor zich zelf, om ze nog nader te behoeven te beschrijven. Het zelfde geldt van het zilveren beslag, dat tot versiering diende van de tot de vondsten behorende leeren scheede. Het beslag is met 8 gaatjes voorzien, waardoor het op het leer moet zijn vastgenaaid. De scheede is uit één stuk
128260 gesneden en aan elkaar genaaid.

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Van de overige leervondsten laat zich omtrent de groote stukken weinig naders zeggen, evenmin als wij dat kunnen
128265 van de losse reepjes wollen stof. Vermoedelijk hebben wij bij de groote stukken leer de resten van een schabrak. Daar-

onder is n.l. een vierkant stuk leer met een omzooming, waarin gaatjes zijn geboord, zoodat een tweede stuk daaraan schijnt vastgenaaid te zijn geweest. In het midden is een gat gesneden, waardoor de riem van den stijgbeugel of de buik-riem getrokken kan zijn.

Belangrijker is wat aan leeren schoenen werd gevonden. Het zijn een linker-exemplaar (Afb. 65a), waarbij de resten van den bijbehorenden rechterschoen, verder een rechter buiten (b) en een rechter binnen-schoen (c), die niet in elkaar passen, dus tot twee afzonderlijke exemplaren hebben behoord.

De sub a genoemde is door zijn betrekkelijke gaafheid het belangrijkste. Hij bestaat uit een buiten- en binnen-schoen, met een extra binnenzool en blijkbaar twee buitenzolen, die succes- sive-lijk aan den binnen- en buiten-schoen met een smallen leeren draad zijn vastgenaaid. De schoen, 26 c.M. lang bij een grootste breedte van 11 c.M., is uit één stuk leer gesneden, naar een patroon, zooals Afb. 66,1 te zien geeft, waar de schoen, van de buitenzool gezien, uitgeslagen is afgebeeld. Slaat men het patroon naar buiten om dicht, dan loopen dus de punten van aansluiting langs den rand van den hiel (a) en de Achilles-pees (b), van voren langs langs de teenen (c) en over den neus van den voet (d). Dáár is het leder dus telkens aan elkaar ge- hecht, en wel, evenals bij de zolen, met een leeren draad ge- naaid. De wreef heeft op het midden, als mede links en rechts een reeks van insnijdingen, terwijl haar rand gekarteld is uit- gesneden. Op het midden van de wreef is bovendien een oogje (e) in het leer aanwezig, dat blijkbaar verband hield met het vastrijgen van den schoen. (Vgl. Jacobi, Saalburg, Taf. 80,7). Een gekartelden rand heeft ook het hielstuk, dat verder een ingeperste versiering heeft, waarvoor wij naar Afb. 65a en 66, 1 verwijzen.

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Ook de rechter buitenschoen, dien wij sub b noemden, heeft aan de wreef een fijn gekartelden rand en een versiering, die Afb. 66, 2 te zien geeft. Van een lengte van 27 c.M., en 9 c.M. op zijn breedst, is ook hij uit één stuk leer gesneden. Het- zelfde geldt van den binnenschoen, sub c genoemd, die een maat heeft van 27.50 bij 8.50 c.M. Hun uitgeslagen patronen vinden wij op Afb. 66, 2-3. Daarop is te zien, hoe zij in het voorstuk met elkaar overeenstemmen, aan den hiel daarentegen anders zijn gesneden. Het hielpatroon van den binnenschoen komt, zooals we zien, overeen met dat van den onder sub a beschreven schoen. Hetzelfde vinden wij terug bij een schoen op Afb. 66, 4, die ook overigens in veel op onze eerste gelijkst: het is een schoen uit het Thorsbjerg-er Moor (Engelhardt, op. cit. p. 18, Pl. 3), waaruit wij ons herinneren dat ook de helm afkomstig was, dien wij met den onzen vergeleken.

Leiden.

Dr. M. A. EVELEIN.

[overgenomen door Paul Theelen te Eindhoven, 27-30 oktober 2010, onder het motto: **"Wij honden vangen de hazen, zei het keukenrekeltje."** Foto's toegevoegd op 1 december 2010. In het origineel werden de afbeeldingen separaat opgenomen. Versie 15 december 2010.]

Septimius Odaenathus

(Palmyrene: ['Dynt (Odainat)]; Arabic: أَدِينَة [Uḏaina]; circa 220–267), was the founder king (Mlk) of the Palmyrene Kingdom who ruled from Palmyra, Syria. He lifted the status of his city from that of a regional center subordinate to Rome to the supreme power in the east. Odaenathus was born into an aristocratic Palmyrene family that had received Roman citizenship in the 190s under the Severan dynasty. He was the son of Hairan, the descendant of Nasor. The circumstances surrounding his rise are ambiguous; he became the lord (ras) of the city, a position created for him, as early as the 240s and by 258, he was styled a consularis, indicating a high status in the Roman Empire.

The defeat and captivity of Emperor Valerian at the hands of the Sassanian emperor Shapur I in 260 left the eastern Roman provinces largely at the mercy of the Persians. Odaenathus remained on the side of Rome; assuming the title of king, he led the Palmyrene army, fell upon the Persians before they could cross the Euphrates to the eastern bank, and inflicted upon them a considerable defeat. He took the side of Emperor Gallienus, the son and successor of Valerian, who was facing the attempted usurpation of Fulvius Macrianus. The rebel declared his sons emperors, leaving one in Syria and taking the other with him to Europe. Odaenathus attacked the remaining usurper and quelled the rebellion. He was rewarded with many exceptional titles by the Emperor, who formalized his self-established position in the East. In reality, the Emperor may have done little but accept the declared nominal loyalty of Odaenathus.

In a series of rapid and successful campaigns starting in 262, Odaenathus crossed the Euphrates and recovered Carrhae and Nisibis. He then took the offensive into the heartland of Persia, and arrived at the walls of its capital, Ctesiphon. The city withstood the short siege but Odaenathus reclaimed the entirety of the Roman lands occupied by the Persians since the beginning of their invasions in 252. Odaenathus celebrated his victories and declared himself "King of Kings", crowning his son Herodianus as co-king. By 263, Odaenathus was in effective control of the Levant, Roman Mesopotamia and Anatolia's eastern region.

Odaenathus observed all due formalities towards the Emperor, but in practice ruled as an independent monarch. In 266, he launched a second invasion of Persia but had to abandon the campaign and head north to Bithynia to repel the attacks of Germanic raiders besieging the city of Heraclea Pontica. He was assassinated in 267 during or immediately after the Anatolian campaign, together with Herodianus. The identities of the perpetrator or the instigator are unknown and many stories, accusations and speculations exist in ancient sources. He was succeeded by his son Vaballathus under the regency of his widow Zenobia, who used the power established by Odaenathus to forge the Palmyrene Empire in 270.

Name, family and appearance

"Odaenathus" is the Latin transliteration of the king's name; he was born Septimius Odainat in c. 220. His name is written in Palmyrene as Sptmyws 'Dynt. "Sptmyws" (Septimius), which means "born in September", was Odaenathus' family gentilicium (Roman surname), adopted as an expression of loyalty to the Roman Severan dynasty and the emperor Septimius Severus who had granted the family Roman citizenship in the late second century. 'Dynt (Odainat) is the Palmyrene diminutive for ear, related to Uḏaina in Arabic and 'Ōden in Aramaic. Odaenathus' genealogy is known from a stone block in Palmyra with a sepulchral inscription that mentions the building of a tomb and records the genealogy of the builder: Odaenathus, son of Hairan, son of Wahb Allat, son of Nasor. In Rabbinic sources, Odaenathus is named "Papa ben Nasor" (Papa son of Nasor); the meaning of the name "Papa" and how Odaenathus earned it is unclear.

The King appears to be of mixed Arab and Aramean descent: his name, the name of his father, Hairan, and that of his grandfather, Wahb-Allat, are Arabic; while Nasor, his great-grandfather, has an Aramaic name. Nasor might not have been the great-grandfather of Odaenathus, but a more distant ancestor; the archaeologist Frank Edward Brown considered Nasor to be Odaenathus' great-great or great-great-great grandfather. This has led some scholars, such as Lisbeth Soss Fried and Javier Teixidor, to consider the origin of the family to be Aramean. Byzantine historians of the sixth century, such as Procopius, referred to him as "king of the Saracens", meaning of the Arabs. The origin of Odaenathus' name does not indicate that he identified as an Arab, or that his rule had an Arab character. In practice, the

citizenry of Palmyra were the result of Arab and Aramaean tribes merging into a unity with a corresponding consciousness; they thought and acted as Palmyrenes. The fifth-century historian Zosimus asserted that Odaenathus descended from "illustrious forebears", but the position of the family in Palmyra is debated; it was probably part of the wealthy mercantile class. Alternatively, the family may have belonged to the tribal leadership which amassed a fortune as landowners and patrons of the Palmyrene caravans. The historians Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl suggested that Odaenathus was part of a new elite of Bedouins driven from their home east of the Euphrates by the aggressive Sassanian dynasty after 220. However, it is certain that Odaenathus came from a family which had belonged to the upper class of the city for several generations; in Dura-Europos, a relief dated to 159/158 (470 SE [Seleucid year]) was commissioned by Hairan son of Maliko son of Nasor. This Hairan might have been the head of the Palmyrene trade colony in Dura-Europos and probably belonged to the same family as Odaenathus. According to Brown, it is plausible, based on the occurrence of the name Nasor in both Dura-Europos and Palmyra (where it was a rare name), that Odaenathus and Hairan son of Maliko belonged to the same family.

No definite images of Odaenathus have been discovered, hence, there is no information about his appearance; all sculptures identified as Odaenathus lack any inscriptions to confirm whom they represent. Two sculpted heads from Palmyra, one preserved in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek museum and the other in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, were identified by the archaeologist Harald Ingholt as representing Odaenathus based on their monumentality and regal style. The academic consensus does not support Ingholt's view, and the heads he ascribed to the king can be dated to the end of the second century. More likely, two marble heads, one depicting a man wearing a royal tiara, the crown of Palmyra, and the other depicting a man in a royal Hellenistic diadem, are depictions of the king. In addition, a Palmyrene clay tessera, depicting a bearded man wearing a diadem, could be a portrait of the king.

Odaenathus I

Traditional scholarship, based on the sepulchral inscription from Odaenathus' tomb, believed the builder to be an ancestor of the king and he was given the designation "Odaenathus I". The name of King Odaenathus' father is Hairan as attested in many inscriptions. In an inscription dated to 251, the name of the ras (lord) of Palmyra, Hairan, son of Odaenathus, is written, and he was thought to be the son of Odaenathus I. Prior to the 1980s, the earliest known inscription attesting King Odaenathus was dated to 257, leading traditional scholarship to believe that Hairan, ras of Palmyra, was the father of the king and that Odaenathus I was his grandfather. However, an inscription published in 1985 by the archaeologist Michael Gawlikowski and dated to 252 mentions King Odaenathus as a ras and records the same genealogy found in the sepulchral inscription, confirming the name of King Odaenathus' grandfather as Wahb Allat; thus, he cannot be a son of Hairan son of Odaenathus (I). Therefore, it is certain that King Odaenathus was the builder of the tomb, ruling out the existence of "Odaenathus I". The ras Hairan mentioned in the 251 inscription is identical with Odaenathus' elder son and co-ruler, Prince Hairan I.

Rise

Palmyra was an autonomous city within the Roman Empire, subordinate to Rome and part of the province of Syria Phoenice. Odaenathus descended from an aristocratic family, albeit not a royal one as the city was ruled by a council and had no tradition of hereditary monarchy. For most of its existence, the Palmyrene army was decentralized under the command of several generals, but the rise of the Sasanian Empire in 224, and its incursions, which affected Palmyrene trade, combined with the weakness of the Roman Empire, probably prompted the Palmyrene council to elect a lord for the city in order for him to lead a strengthened army.

Ras of Palmyra

The Roman emperor, Gordian III, died in 244 during a campaign against Persia and this might have been the event which led to the election of a lord for Palmyra to defend it: Odaenathus, whose elevation, according to the historian Udo Hartmann, can be explained by Odaenathus probably being a successful military or caravan commander, and his descent from one of the most influential families in the city. Odaenathus' title as lord was ras in Palmyrene and exarchos in Greek as revealed by bilingual inscriptions from Palmyra. The ras title enabled the bearer to effectively deal with the Sassanid threat, in that it probably vested in him supreme civil and military authority; an undated inscription refers to Odaenathus

as a ras and records the gift of a throne to him by a Palmyrene citizen named "Ogeilu son of Maqqai Haddudan Hadda", which confirms the supreme character of Odaenathus' title. The office was created for Odaenathus, and was not a usual title in the Roman Empire, and not a part of Palmyrene government traditions.

Hairan I was apparently elevated to co-lordship by his father, as an inscription from 251 testifies. As early as the 240s, Odaenathus bolstered the Palmyrene army, recruiting desert nomads and increasing the number of the Palmyrene heavy cavalry (clibanarii). In 252, the Persian emperor, Shapur I, started a full-scale invasion of the Roman provinces in the east. During the second campaign of the invasion, Shapur I conquered Antioch on the Orontes, the traditional capital of Syria, and headed south, where his advance was checked in 253 by a noble from Emesa, Uranius Antoninus. The events of 253 were mentioned in the works of the sixth-century historian John Malalas who also mentioned a leader by the name "Enathus" inflicting a defeat upon the retreating Shapur I near the Euphrates.

Reign

Faced with Shapur I's third campaign, the Roman emperor Valerian marched against the Persian monarch but was defeated near Edessa in late spring 260 and taken prisoner. The Persian emperor then ravaged Cappadocia and Cilicia, and claimed to have captured Antioch on the Orontes. Taking advantage of the situation, Fulvius Macrianus, the commander of the imperial treasury, declared his sons Quietus and Macrianus Minor as joint emperors in August 260, in opposition to Valerian's son Gallienus. Fulvius Macrianus took Antioch on the Orontes as his center and organized the resistance against Shapur I; he dispatched Balista, his praetorian prefect, to Anatolia. Shapur I was defeated in the region of Sebaste at Pompeiopolis, prompting the Persians to evacuate Cilicia while Balista returned to Antioch on the Orontes. Balista's victory was only partial: Shapur I withdrew east of Cilicia, which Persian units continued to occupy. A Persian force took advantage of Balista's return to Syria and headed further west into Anatolia. According to the Augustan History, Odaenathus was declared king of Palmyra as soon as the news of the Roman defeat at Edessa reached the city. It is not known if Odaenathus contacted Fulvius Macrianus and there is no evidence that he took orders from him.

Persian war of 260 and pacifying Syria

Odaenathus assembled the Palmyrene army and Syrian peasants, then marched north to meet the Persian emperor, who was returning to Persia. The Palmyrene monarch fell upon the retreating Persian army between Samosata and Zeugma, west of the Euphrates, in late summer 260. He defeated the Persians, expelling Shapur I from the province of Syria. In early 261, Fulvius Macrianus headed to Europe accompanied by Macrianus Minor, leaving Quietus and Balista in Emesa. Odaenathus' whereabouts during this episode are not clear; he could have distributed the army in garrisons along the frontier or might have brought it back to his capital. The Palmyrene monarch seems to have waited until the situation clarified, declaring loyalty to neither Fulvius Macrianus nor Gallienus. In the spring of 261, Fulvius Macrianus arrived in the Balkans but was defeated and killed along with Macrianus Minor; Odaenathus, when it became clear that Gallienus would eventually win, sided with the Emperor and marched on Emesa, where Quietus and Balista were staying. The Emesans killed Quietus as Odaenathus approached the city, while Balista was captured and executed by the King in autumn 261.

Ruler of the East

The elimination of the usurpers left Odaenathus as the most powerful leader in the Roman East. He was granted many titles by the Emperor but those honors are debated among scholars:

Dux Romanorum (commander of the Romans) was probably given to Odaenathus to recognize his position as the commander in chief of the forces in the east against the Persians; it was inherited by Odaenathus' son and successor Vaballathus. Corrector totius orientis (righter of the entire East): it is generally accepted by modern scholars that he bore this title. A corrector had overall command of Roman armies and authority over provincial governors in his designated region. There are no known attestations of the title during Odaenathus' lifetime. Evidence for the King bearing the title consists of two inscriptions in Palmyrene: one posthumous dedication describing him as MTQNN' of the East (derived from the Aramaic root TQN, meaning to set in order); and the other describing his heir Vaballathus with the same title, albeit using the word PNRTT' instead of MTQNN'.

However, the sort of authority accorded by this position is widely debated. The problem arises from the word MTQNN'; its exact meaning is unclear. The word is translated into Latin as corrector, but "restitutor" is another possible translation; the latter title was an honorary one meant to praise the bearer for driving enemies out of Roman territories. However, the inscription of Vaballathus is clearer, as the word PNRTT' is not a Palmyrene word but a direct Palmyrene translation of the Greek term Epanorthotes, which is usually an equivalent to a corrector.

According to the historian David Potter, Vaballathus inherited his father's exact titles. Hartmann points out that there have been cases where a Greek word was translated directly to Palmyrene and a Palmyrene equivalent was also used to mean the same thing. The dedication to Odaenathus would be the use of a Palmyrene equivalent, while the inscription of Vaballathus would be the direct translation. It cannot be certain that Odaenathus was a corrector.

Imperator totius orientis (commander-in-chief of the entire East): only the Augustan History claims that Odaenathus was given this title; the same source also claims that he was made an Augustus, or co-emperor, following his defeat of the Persians. Both claims are dismissed by scholars. Odaenathus seems to have been acclaimed as emperor by his troops, which was a salutation usually reserved for the Roman emperor; this acclamation might explain the erroneous reports of the Augustan History.

Regardless of his titles, Odaenathus controlled the Roman East with the approval of Gallienus, who could do little but formalize Odaenathus' self-achieved status and settle for his formal loyalty. Odaenathus' authority extended from the Pontic coast in the north to Palestine in the south. This area included the Roman provinces of Syria, Phoenice, Palaestina, Arabia, Anatolia's eastern regions and, following the campaign of 262, Osroene and Mesopotamia.

First Persian campaign 262

Perhaps driven by a desire to take revenge for the destruction of Palmyrene trade centers and to discourage Shapur I from initiating future attacks, Odaenathus launched an offensive against the Persians. The suppression of Fulvius Macrianus' rebellion probably prompted Gallienus to entrust the Palmyrene monarch with the war in Persia and Roman soldiers were in the ranks of Odaenathus' army for this campaign. In the spring of 262, the King marched north into the occupied Roman province of Mesopotamia, driving out the Persian garrisons and recapturing Edessa and Carrhae.

The first onslaught was aimed at Nisibis, which Odaenathus regained but sacked, since the inhabitants had been sympathetic towards the Persian occupation. A little later he destroyed the Jewish city of Nehardea, 45 kilometres west of the Persian capital Ctesiphon, as he considered the Jews of Mesopotamia to be loyal to Shapur I. By late 262 or early 263, Odaenathus stood outside the walls of the Persian capital. The exact route taken by Odaenathus from Palmyra to Ctesiphon remains uncertain; it was probably similar to the route Emperor Julian took in 363 during his campaign against Persia. If he did use this route, Odaenathus would have crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma then moved east to Edessa followed by Carrhae then Nisibis. Here, he would have descended south along the Khabur River to the Euphrates valley and then marched along the river's left bank to Nehardea. He then penetrated the Sassanian province of Asōristān and marched along the royal canal Naarmalcha towards the Tigris, where the Persian capital stood.

Once at Ctesiphon, Odaenathus immediately began a siege of the well-fortified winter residence of the Persian kings; severe damage was inflicted upon the surrounding areas during several battles with Persian troops. The city held out and the logistical problems of fighting in enemy territory probably prompted the Palmyrenes to lift the siege. Odaenathus headed north along the Euphrates carrying with him numerous prisoners and much booty. The invasion resulted in the full restoration of the Roman lands which had been occupied by Shapur I since the beginning of his invasions in 252: Osroene and Mesopotamia. However, Dura-Europos and other Palmyrene posts south of Circesium, such as Anah, were not rebuilt. Odaenathus sent the captives to Rome, and by the end of 263 Gallienus added Persicus maximus ("the great victor in Persia") to Odaenathus' titles and held a triumph in Rome.

King of Kings of the East

In 263, after his return, Odaenathus assumed the title of King of Kings of the East (Mlk Mlk dy Mdnh), and crowned his son Herodianus (Hairan I) as co-King of Kings. A statue was erected and dedicated for Herodianus to celebrate his coronation by Septimius Worod, the duumviri (magistrate) of Palmyra, and Julius Aurelius, the Queen's procurator (treasurer). The dedication, in Greek, is undated, but Septimius

Worod was a duumviri between 263 and 264. Hence, the coronation took place circa 263. Contemporary evidence for Odaenathus bearing the title of King of Kings is lacking; all firmly dated inscriptions attesting Odaenathus with the title were commissioned after his death, including one that is dated to 271. However, Herodianus died with his father, and since he is directly attested as "King of Kings" during his father's lifetime, it is unimaginable that Odaenathus was simply a king while his son was the King of Kings. An undated inscription, written in Greek and difficult to decipher, found on a stone reused in the Palmyrene Camp of Diocletian, addresses Odaenathus as King of Kings (Rex regum) and was probably set during his reign. According to the dedication, Herodianus was crowned near the Orontes, which indicates a ceremony taking place in Antioch on the Orontes, the metropolis of Syria. The title was a symbol of legitimacy in the East, dating back to the Assyrians, then the Achaemenids, who used it to symbolize their supremacy over all other rulers; it was later adopted by the Parthian monarchs to legitimize their conquests. The first Sassanian monarch, Ardashir I, adopted the title following his victory over the Parthians. Odaenathus' son was crowned with a diadem and a tiara; the choice of Antioch on the Orontes was probably meant to demonstrate that the Palmyrene monarchs were now the successors of the Seleucid and Iranian rulers who had controlled Syria and Mesopotamia in the past.

Assassination

Odaenathus was assassinated, together with Herodianus, in late 267. The date is debated and some scholars propose 266 or 268, but Vaballathus dated the first year of his reign between August 267 and August 268, making late 267 the most probable date. The assassination took place in either Anatolia or Syria. There is no consensus on the manner, perpetrator or the motive behind the act. According to Syncellus, Odaenathus was assassinated near Heraclea Pontica by an assassin also named Odaenathus who was killed by the King's bodyguard. Zosimus states that Odaenathus was killed by conspirators near Emesa at a friend's birthday party without naming the killer. The twelfth-century historian Zonaras attributed the crime to a nephew of Odaenathus but did not give a name. The Anonymus post Dionem also does not name the assassin. The Augustan History claims that a cousin of the King named Maeonius killed him. Theories of instigators and motives
Roman conspiracy: The seventh-century historian John of Antioch accused Gallienus of being behind the assassination. A passage in the work of the Anonymus post Dionem speaks of a certain "Rufinus" who orchestrated the assassination on his own initiative, then explained his actions to the Emperor who condoned them. This account has Rufinus ordering the murder of an older Odaenathus out of fear that he would rebel, and has the younger Odaenathus complaining to the Emperor. Since the older Odaenathus (Odaenathus I) has proven to be a fictional character, the story is ignored by most scholars. However, the younger Odaenathus could be an oblique reference to Vaballathus and Rufinus could be identified with Cocceius Rufinus, the Roman governor of Arabia in 261–262. The evidence for such a Roman conspiracy is weak.

The children of Odaenathus and Zenobia were:

Vaballathus: he is attested on several coins, inscriptions, and in the ancient literature.
Hairan II: his image appears on a seal impression along with his older brother Vaballathus; his identity is much debated. Potter suggested that he is the same as Herodianus, who was crowned in 263, and that the Hairan I mentioned in 251 died before the birth of Hairan II. Andrade suggested the opposite, maintaining that Hairan I, Herodianus and Hairan II are the same.
Herennianus and Timolaus: the two were mentioned in the Augustan History and are not attested in any other source; Herennianus might be a conflation of Hairan and Herodianus while Timolaus is most probably a fabrication, although the historian Dietmar Kienast suggests that he might be Vaballathus.
Possible descendants of Odaenathus living in later centuries are reported: Lucia Septimia Patabiniana Balbilla Tyria Nepotilla Odaenathiana is known through a dedication dating to the late third or early fourth century inscribed on a tombstone erected by a wet nurse to her "sweetest and most loving mistress". The tombstone was found in Rome at the San Callisto in Trastevere. Another possible relative is Eusebius who is mentioned by the fourth century rhetorician Libanius in 391 as a son of one Odaenathus, who was in turn a descendant of the King; the father of Eusebius is mentioned as fighting against the Persians (most probably in the ranks of Emperor

Julian's army). In 393, Libanius mentioned that Eusebius promised him a speech written by Longinus for the King. In the fifth century, the philosopher "Syrian Odaenathus" lived in Athens and was a student of Plutarch of Athens; he might have been a distant descendant of the King.

Burial and succession

Mummification was practiced in Palmyra alongside inhumation and it is a possibility that Zenobia had her husband mummified. The stone block bearing Odaenathus' sepulchral inscription was in the Temple of Bel in the nineteenth century, and it was originally the architrave of the tomb. It had been moved to the temple at some point and so the location of the tomb to which the block belonged is not known. The tomb was probably built early in Odaenathus' career and before his marriage to Zenobia and it is plausible that another, more elaborate, tomb was built after Odaenathus became King of Kings.

Roman law forbade the burial of individuals within a city. This rule was strictly observed in the west, but it was applied more leniently in the eastern parts of the empire. A burial within a city was one of the highest honors an individual other than the Emperor and his family could receive in the Roman Empire. A notable person may be buried in this manner for different reasons, such as his leadership or monetary donations. It meant that the deceased was not sent beyond the walls for fear of miasma (pollution), and that he would be part of the city's future civic life. At the western end of the Great Colonnade at Palmyra, a shrine designated "Funerary Temple no. 86" (also known as the House Tomb) is located. Inside its chamber, steps lead down to a vault crypt which is now lost. This mausoleum might have belonged to the royal family, being the only tomb inside the city's walls. Odaenathus' royal power in itself was sufficient to earn him a burial within the city walls.

The Augustan History claims that Maeonius was proclaimed emperor for a brief period before being killed by soldiers. However, no inscriptions or other evidence exist for Maeonius' reign, the very existence of which is doubtful. The disappearance of Septimius Severus in 267 could be related to the internal coup; he could have been executed by Zenobia if he was involved; or killed by the conspirators if he was loyal to the King. Odaenathus was succeeded by his son, the ten-year-old Vaballathus, under the regency of Zenobia; Hairan II probably died soon after his father, as only Vaballathus succeeded to the throne.

Legacy and reception

Odaenathus was the founder of the Palmyrene royal dynasty. He left Palmyra the premier power in the East, and his actions laid the foundation of Palmyrene strength which culminated in the establishment of the Palmyrene Empire in 270. Hero cults were not common in Palmyra, but the unprecedented position and achievements of Odaenathus might have given rise to such a practice: a mosaic panel excavated in Palmyra depicts a man in Palmyrene military outfit riding a horse and shooting. According to Gianluca Serra, the conservation zoologist based in Palmyra at the time of the panel's discovery, the tigers are *Panthera tigris virgata*, once common in the region of Hyrcania in Iran. Gawlikowski proposed that it is Odaenathus depicted as the archer and the Persians as the tigers in the mosaic; the title of *mrn* (lord) appears on the panel, an honor carried only by Odaenathus and Hairan I. The panel indicates that Odaenathus was probably treated as a divine figure, and may have been worshipped in Palmyra.

Odaenathus' memory as an able king, and loyal Roman, was used by the emperors Claudius II and Aurelian to tarnish Zenobia's reputation by portraying themselves as Odaenathus' avengers against his wife, the usurper who gained the throne through plotting. The King was praised by Libanius; and the fourth-century writer of the Augustan History, while placing Odaenathus among the Thirty Tyrants (probably because he assumed the title of king, in the view of the eighteenth-century historian Edward Gibbon), speaks highly of his role in the Persian War and credits him with saving the empire: "Had not Odaenathus, prince of the Palmyrenes, seized the imperial power after the capture of Valerian when the strength of the Roman state was exhausted, all would have been lost in the East". On the other hand, Odaenathus is viewed negatively in Rabbinic sources. His sack of Nehardea mortified the Jews, and he was cursed by both the Babylonian Jews and the Jews of Palestine. In the Christian version of the Apocalypse of Elijah, probably written in Egypt following the capture of Valerian, Odaenathus is called the king who will rise from the "city of the sun" and will eventually be killed by the Persians; this prophecy is a response to Odaenathus' persecution of the Jews and his destruction of Nahardea. The Jewish Apocalypse of

Elijah identifies Odaenathus as the Antichrist.

Modern scepticism

The successes of Odaenathus are treated sceptically by a number of modern scholars. According to the Augustan History, Odaenathus "captured the king's treasures and he captured, too, what the Parthian monarchs hold dearer than treasures, namely his concubines. For this reason Shapur [I] was now in greater dread of the Roman generals, and out of fear of Ballista and Odaenathus he withdrew more speedily to his kingdom". Sceptical scholars, such as Martin Sprengling, considered such accounts of ancient Roman historians "poor, scanty and confused". However, the coronation dedication of Herodianus' statue, which stood on the Monumental Arch of Palmyra, records his defeat of the Persians, for which he was crowned, thus providing Palmyrene evidence that explicitly mentions the war against Persia; the victory attested is probably related to the first Persian campaign and not the battle of 260. The historian Andreas Alföldi concluded that Odaenathus started his wars with Persia by attacking the retreating Persian army at Edessa in 260. Such an attack is rejected by sceptical scholars; Sprengling noted that no evidence exists for such an engagement. The Iranologist Walter Bruno Henning considered the accounts of Odaenathus' attack in 260 greatly exaggerated. Shapur I mentions that he made the Roman prisoners build him the Band-e Kaisar near Susiana, and built a city for those prisoners, which evolved into the current Gundeshapur; Henning cited those arguments as evidence for Shapur I's success in bringing his army and prisoners back home and Roman exaggeration regarding Odaenathus' successes. Sprengling suggested that Shapur I did not have enough troops to garrison the Roman cities he occupied, and he was old and focused on religion and building; hence, Odaenathus merely retook abandoned cities and marched on Ctesiphon to heal Rome's pride, while being careful not to disturb the Persians and their emperor. Other scholars, such as Jacob Neusner, noted that while the accounts of the 260 engagement might be an exaggeration, Odaenathus did become a real threat to Persia when he regained the cities formerly taken by Shapur I and besieged Ctesiphon. The historian Louis Feldman rejected Henning's proposals; and the historian Trevor Bryce concluded that whatever the nature of Odaenathus' campaigns, they led to the restoration of all Roman territories occupied by Shapur I – Rome was free of Persian threats for several years after Odaenathus' wars.

Shapur II (Middle Persian: 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲Šābuhr, 309–379)

also known as Shapur the Great, was the tenth King of Kings (Shahanshah) of the Sasanian Empire. He took the title at birth and held it until his death at age 70, making him the longest-reigning monarch in Iranian history. He was the son of Hormizd II (r. 302–309).

His reign saw the military resurgence of the country and the expansion of its territory, which marked the start of the first Sasanian golden era. Thus, along with Shapur I, Kavad I and Khosrow I, he is regarded as one of the most illustrious Sasanian kings. His three direct successors, on the other hand, were less successful. At the age of 16, he launched enormously successful military campaigns against Arab insurrections and tribes.

Shapur II pursued a harsh religious policy. Under his reign, the collection of the Avesta, the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism, was completed, heresy and apostasy were punished, and Christians were persecuted. The latter was a reaction against the Christianization of the Roman Empire by Constantine the Great. Shapur II, like Shapur I, was amicable towards Jews, who lived in relative freedom and gained many advantages in his period (see also: Rava). At the time of Shapur's death, the Sasanian Empire was stronger than ever, with its enemies to the east pacified and Armenia under Sasanian control.

Etymology

Shapur was a popular name in Sasanian Iran, being used by three Sasanian monarchs and other notables of the Sasanian era. Derived from Old Iranian *xšayaθiya.puθra 'son of a king', it must initially have been a title, which became – at least in the late 2nd century AD – a personal name. It appears in the list of Arsacid kings in some Arabic-Persian sources; however, this is anachronistic. Shapur is rendered variously in other languages: Greek Sapur, Sabour and Sapuris; Latin Sapoires and Sapor; Arabic Sābur and Šābur; New Persian Šāpur, Šāhpur, Šāhfur.

Accession

When Hormizd II died in 309, he was succeeded by his son Adur Narseh, who, after a

brief reign which lasted few months, was killed by some of the nobles of the empire. They then blinded Hormizd's second son, and imprisoned the third (Hormizd, who afterwards escaped to the Roman Empire). The throne was reserved for another one of Hormizd II's children, Shapur II; some sources say that Shapur was born forty days after his father's death while others say that he was infant at the time. A legend exists that Shapur was crowned while still unborn, with the crown being placed upon his pregnant mother's womb. This story was known to Western historians such as Agathias (6th century), who writes that the magi had prophesied that the child would be a boy. Modern historians C. E. Bosworth and Alireza Shapour Shahbazi consider this story to be fictional. The sex of the infant could not have been known before Shapur's birth, writes Bosworth. The crowning of the infant Shapur after the elimination of his older brothers was a means for the nobility and priesthood to gain greater control of the empire. They maintained their control until 325, when Shapur reached maturity at the age of sixteen.

War with the Arabs (325)

During the childhood of Shapur II, Arab nomads raided the Sasanian homeland of Pars, particularly the district of Ardashir-Khwarrah and the shore of the Persian Gulf. At the age of 16, Shapur II led an expedition against the Arabs; primarily campaigning against the Iyad tribe in Asoristan and thereafter he crossed the Persian Gulf, reaching al-Khatt, modern Qatif, or present eastern Saudi Arabia. He then attacked the Banu Tamim in the Hajar Mountains. Shapur II reportedly killed a large number of the Arab population and destroyed their water supply by filling their wells with sand. [

After having dealt with the Arabs of eastern Arabia, he continued his expedition into western Arabia and Syria, where he attacked several cities – he even went as far as Medina. Supposedly because of his cruel way of dealing with the Arabs, piercing the shoulders of captives, he was called Dhu'l-Aktaf ("the man with the shoulders") by them. [a] However, Theodor Nöldeke considered this a later folkloric explanation of an honorary epithet meaning "the man with the broad shoulders", i.e., capable of bearing the weight of kingship. Not only did Shapur II pacify the Arabs of the Persian Gulf, but he also pushed many Arab tribes further deep into the Arabian Peninsula. Furthermore, he also deported some Arab tribes by force; the Taghlib to Bahrain and al-Khatt; the Banu Abdul Qays and Banu Tamim to Hajar; the Banu Bakr to Kirman, and the Banu Hanzalah to a place near Hormizd-Ardashir. Shapur II, in order to prevent the Arabs from making more raids into his country, ordered the construction of a wall near al-Hira, which became known as war-i tāzigān ("wall of the Arabs").

The Zoroastrian scripture Bundahishn also mentions the Arabian campaign of Shapur II: During the rulership of Shapur (II), the son of Hormizd, the Arabs came; they took Khorig Rudbar; for many years with contempt (they) rushed until Shapur came to rulership; he destroyed the Arabs and took the land and destroyed many Arab rulers and pulled out many number of shoulders.

With Eastern Arabia more firmly under Sasanian control, and with the establishment of Sasanian garrison troops, the way for Zoroastrianism was opened. Pre-Islamic Arabian poets often makes mention of Zoroastrian practices, which they must have made contact with either in Asoristan or Eastern Arabia. The Lakhmid ruler Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Amr, who was originally a vassal of the Sasanians, may have suffered from Shapur II's raids in Peninsula. He seemingly swore fealty to the Romans, possibly after the incident.

In the accounts of the historians regarding Shapur's campaign against the Arab lands, as well as his mistreatment of the Arabs, the burning of cities, and the flooding of water sources, there are undoubtedly significant exaggerations. These embellishments stem from Persian sources that have been greatly overstated. However, the Roman historians' narratives about this event do not support this claim.

War with the Romans

Ever since the "humiliating" Peace of Nisibis concluded between Shapur's grandfather Narseh and the Roman emperor Diocletian in 298, the borders between the two empires had changed largely in favor of the Romans, who in the treaty received a handful of provinces in Mesopotamia, changing the border from the Euphrates to the Tigris, close to the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon. The Romans also received control over the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia, and gained control over parts of upper Media in Iran proper. Shapur's primary objective was thus to nullify the treaty, which he spent much of his reign trying to accomplish.

Another cause for Shapur's wars against the Romans was their attempts to meddle in

the domestic affairs of the Sasanian Empire and hurt Shapur's kingship by supporting his brother Hormisd, who had been well received at the Roman court by Constantine the Great and made a cavalry commander. Shapur had made fruitless attempts to satisfy his brother, even having his wife sent to him, who had originally helped him escape imprisonment. However, Hormisd had already become an avid philhellene during his stay with the Romans, with whom he felt at home. Another reason was Constantine's declaration of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire in 337. He had also declared himself the defender of all the Christians in the world, including those living in the Sasanian realm.

The Stevensweert Kantharos

Acknowledgements

The file below discusses the details of the discovery of the Peel helmet. The author suspects that the Peel helmet is part of a complete outfit worn by a Roman cavalry officer, as the clothing and weapons of a person, as well as the harness of a horse, were found. Remains of a person or a horse were not found. From this, we can only conclude that the officer himself, or his relatives, hid all the objects in the peat during his lifetime. Hiding them in such a way that the few passersby who were there probably didn't immediately see them. People were likely aware at the time that peat grows and that the objects would eventually be buried under an increasingly large layer of peat.

The author was surprised by the enormous value of silver objects, especially those worked by a silversmith. Few people could make such a finely hammered helmet, making the helmet particularly valuable. The helmet was likely a silver object passed down and used by several people due to its value, especially since the average lifespan of a Roman at the time was not very long.

Very few such objects have been found in the region of Germania Inferior. Many have undoubtedly been destroyed by the ravages of time, and the precious metals have been melted down.

A few months after the discovery of the helmet and the other objects, the portion of the objects mentioned in the newspapers was acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. The officials responsible never visited the site themselves or spoke in detail with anyone other than the finder. Therefore, much circumstantial evidence has been lost. Nevertheless, we find various details in the newspapers and magazines. There was also some correspondence to the museum regarding the discovery. The most interesting of these is the letter that Adrianus Bos, director of the N.V. Maatschappij Helenaveen, sent to the museum a year and a half after the discovery. In it, he provides a precise description of the finds, presumably from the first few days. It's striking that the museum officials don't respond with anything like: "Very interesting, do you know where these objects are now?" They let things take their course: after the acquisition, actual interest seems to have disappeared, undoubtedly because it wasn't their own excavation.

A scientific study is written that clearly explains the helmet's construction, but the additional finds are described briefly.

If silver was so precious, and given that few people owned a horse, it's tempting to investigate what other valuable objects have been unearthed in the wider area surrounding the site.

It was already known that virtually no ancient objects had been found in the Peel peat bogs. In the peat bogs in the north of the country and also in the adjacent bogs in Germany, ancient objects have indeed been found since around 1800, even a kilometers-long wooden bridge over the peat, but this dates back to before Roman times. Also found are so-called bog bodies, the remains of a whale, and a horse. Proof that a body can be preserved if buried immediately after death in suitable, oxygen-free soil.

Another valuable object immediately comes to mind: the so-called "Stevensweert kantharos"; perhaps the only other Roman silver object in the Netherlands that can rival the Peel helmet.

All Dutch jurists are familiar with the term "Stevensweert kantharos" as an example of "error"; much can be found on this elsewhere. Before the true value of this drinking cup was known, other obscure events occurred, which the author has examined with a critical eye.

When the scientific community saw the drinking cup around 1950, they investigated where and when it was found. The so-called finder, Borgers, pointed to three

- different years for the discovery: 1939, 1942, or 1943, and three different locations in Stevensweert. In the absence of better information, the drinking cup was then named the Stevensweert kantharos, although it is by no means certain that Stevensweert was the actual discovery site.
- In the author's opinion, this is highly implausible, because if we delve into newspaper accounts of how gravel was extracted in the Maas around 1940, we quickly conclude that the sieving and sorting process, which had reduced the size of the stones, would have left the drinking cup in a battered condition. It may have disintegrated into its component parts much earlier and never been visible as a whole again. Moreover, no mention has been made by a...
- A crew member of Bongers' dredger also claimed to have seen the object. It should also be noted that an inspector from Rijkswaterstaat (the Directorate-General for Public Works and Water Management) was on board, and he would certainly have reported such a find.
- In 2006, Mrs. Witteveen of the Valkhof Museum wrote a booklet about the drinking cup. In it, she mentions the contradictions and uncertainties, but cannot offer any other version than that given by Bongers.
- Could there be a connection between the Stevensweert kantharos and the discovery of a complete officer's outfit?
- From information provided by a servant at A. Bos's in Helenaveen, we know that there was a secret hiding place in his home, where he kept parts of the finds he had acquired. She didn't see everything in detail, but mainly spoke about leather pieces, which he indeed collected shortly after the discovery, because local treasure hunters showed no interest in them. Elsewhere, it is also mentioned that a wine barrel with a tap and a beautifully decorated drinking cup, with a hook for hanging on the horse's harness, had been found and were in the possession of A. Bos. These objects were also part of a Roman soldier's equipment and were carried by the soldier on his journey. If we consider the missing silver handles of the drinking cup to be a hook, then the search for them is indeed worthwhile.
- It is written that the drinking cup ended up in the possession of an important person from the Helenaveen Company in Loosdrecht at a hunting lodge. Research into this has not yielded any clear indication, but we will return to this in more detail below. Incidentally, the wine barrel with the silver tap was apparently lost earlier.
- ### The Legacy of Adrianus Bos
- Director Bos likely became seriously ill at the end of 1930, at least to the point that he could not perform his daily duties. He died, rather unexpectedly, in March 1931. He had already purchased a large plot of land on Belgenhoek in the province of Limburg (directly south of the A67 highway), where he hoped to later build his own house. See also <http://www.belgenhoek.nl/> and <http://www.belgenhoek.nl/page2.html>. Several brothers, distant relatives through the Gilse van der Pals branch, now own this 19-hectare nature reserve.
- For when A. Bos died, only his sister-in-law, Bos-van Gilse-van der Pals, was still alive. According to tradition, she emptied the house and burned a great deal of paperwork in the process. She would have been assisted in this work by her daughter Annie, her husband, and her unmarried son, Cor.
- Photos of the interior of Mrs. Bos-van Gilse-van der Pals's home in The Hague show no Roman artifacts, which is not surprising. Nevertheless, we can assume that the entire interior of the GENA villa in Helenaveen ended up with A. Bos's sister-in-law and/or nephew and niece (with their husband).
- Son Cor, in turn, came to live in the house in The Hague when his mother died in 1936. Nephew Cor Bos had been appointed a member of the company's supervisory board very soon after his uncle's death.
- Daughter Annie was thus married to Rutger W.C. Baron van Boetzelaer, and was therefore entitled to the title of Baroness. The marriage was not a happy one; the baron was said to be more interested in the money than in Annie Bos herself.
- Soon after her mother's death in 1936, Annie Bos divorced the baron. He remarried in 1938, to a man named Jordens, and later Annie married a man named Groote; she lived in Hilversum for a long time under the name J. Groote-Bos. Meanwhile, she had become a major shareholder in the Helenaveen Company and remained so for the rest of her life, owning more than half the shares.
- The inheritance was thus released during Annie Bos's marriage to R.W.C. van Boetzelaer, who later lived in Laren. It's tempting to think that most of A. Bos's belongings ended up in the Baron and Baroness's house, including the Roman objects from the secret cupboard. If the drinking cup was there, it clearly came from the

finds around the Peel helmet, and for that reason alone is extremely valuable. On the other hand, these objects actually belong in a museum, not in a private collection, the existence of which was practically unknown.

The servant who also lived in the Gena villa deregistered from the municipality of Deurne at the end of July 1931 and moved to Wassenaar. There, she worked as a servant for a while, but later returned to Helenaveen. An illegitimate son was also born there, with the word "illegitimate" later crossed out.

The objects are therefore most likely to have ended up in three places: with her sister-in-law Cornelia E.A. Bos-van Gilse van der Pals, her son Cor Bos, and her daughter Johanna van Boetzelaer-Bos and her husband Rutger W.C. van Boetzelaer. The mother was likely less interested in Roman antiquities, the two men may well have been interested. Later, Boetzelaer's son-in-law became assistant curator of the Gooisch Museum and was therefore certainly interested in art objects. After his divorce from Johanna (=Annie) Bos, around 1937, the objects may also have ended up in a fourth place. When his sister-in-law died in 1936, his son Cor moved to her home in The Hague, and in 1938, when Boetzelaer remarried, we again have three possible locations.

At the same time, Dr. F.C. Bursch, an employee of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, was assistant to director Holwerda.

The museum's arrogance is again evident in a piece about excavations near Vlodrop. That article, dated October 28, 1933, ends as follows:

A few years ago, at my repeated request, Dr. Holwerda from Leiden sent his assistant, Mr. Bursch, with some diggers to excavate a section of the Knippeheide, where the undersigned had previously unearthed numerous urns, and where Mr. Bursch now also found 18 urns, plus a fragment of a sword at a Germanic cult site, and where I later discovered more sites, it was said that this exploitation would be revisited. This entire event was reported in the Publications year. 1932, with the following few words, "A remarkable urn field was excavated there (i.e., Vlodrop), on a site for which permission had been obtained (i.e., from the owner in Belgium) through the kindness of Messrs. van Cruchten and Linssen of Roermond."

(Not a word was said about the fact that this remarkable field was discovered by the undersigned after much searching, and that the digging only took place after my repeated correspondence with the Museum of Antiquities.)

Summing all this up, it seems somewhat strange, even painful, to learn in retrospect that an authorized person once said: "There is nothing to learn in the area around Flanders." The reader can sense for themselves how blatantly untrue this is. GERH. KR.[ekelberg]

Fourteen days after the start of the war, this Bursch was appointed head of a committee for archaeological soil research. Germanic culture is immediately mentioned, and they want to create an inventory per municipality of finds held by private individuals. Furthermore:

If, moreover, these are unique finds of truly national significance, we will naturally make an effort to find a place for these objects in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, possibly through exchange with other museum pieces, but the main reason we are interested is to have a complete overview of the archaeological wealth that Dutch soil has yielded and will continue to yield.

Although it had nothing to do with this case, the Leiden museum had brought in curator Bursch as a collaborator for the German cause. In February 1941, he was already placed on the "university blacklist" and after the war, he was suspended as a professor. He had been appointed professor at the University of Amsterdam and had conducted excavations in Ukraine, among other places, in 1943. The heirs of Adrianus Bos must have been aware of the above information about reporting antique objects for inventory. This was likely the reason for "disposing" of the objects. They should have known, they were practically certain, that the objects came from the equipment found in 1910 in Helenaveen and thus belonged to the unique finds of truly national significance.

Ancient objects were occasionally found in the major rivers, and apparently the owner of the drinking cup, probably R.W.C. van Boetzelaer, wanted to make it appear as if the cup had also been found in the Maas, during gravel extraction, for example, in Stevensweert. However, this overlooked a careful study of the gravel extraction process: so much force was released during dredging and sorting by size in rotating drums that a delicate object like the kantharos could never have emerged undamaged. The author believes he can conclude that the owner somehow came into contact with Jaak Bongers, who, after many years, was supposed to present the drinking cup as a

find from the Maas. This, of course, came at a hefty price and was subject to strict confidentiality. This also saved the family's honor, in the sense that Boetzelaer and Bos's names would never appear in the news as the "receiver" of the drinking cup. The sequel to this alleged discovery of the kantharos—namely, the complex process of transferring the cup within a family and, in particular, the years of legal proceedings concerning its ownership—could never have been imagined by Bos's heir and the new owner, Bongers. For them, the value had been undeniable from the very beginning.

In summary:

- The so-called Peel helmet was only part of an officer's outfit worn by a cavalry officer in the Roman army at the beginning of the fourth century.

- After a brief investigation following the discovery, its great value was recognized and it was purchased with financial leverage from the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. Evelein wrote a scientific report about the helmet and the finds present, which was published six months after the museum acquired it. It immediately became one of the museum's highlights.

- That considerably more finds were made than those that ended up in the museum after a few months is certain. The museum is acquiring several more objects, as director Bos of the Helenaveen Company explicitly mentions in a long letter. The very first written report from Reverend de Jong, two days after the initial discovery, also provides a description that does not correspond to the objects now in the museum. Apparently, the officials were powerless and uninterested in seriously searching for, for example, the missing cheek plate. They did try to do so through the mayor of Deurne, but such a cautious and half-hearted approach was unsuccessful.

When director Bos died in 1931, his possessions went to his surviving sister-in-law and/or her children. When the sister-in-law herself died in 1936, those possessions finally ended up in the hands of her bachelor son and/or her daughter and her husband.

The latter divorced very quickly. The son moved into his mother's house. The Roman artifacts could very well have ended up with Boetzelaer's now ex-son-in-law.

In any case, immediately after the start of the occupation, pressure arose to register, record, and photograph antiquities. Masterpieces should actually be in a museum. The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden is specifically mentioned here; it is the most suitable location for this. Not everyone was pleased with Leiden's meddling. Perhaps that's why the owner of the Stevensweert kantharos—at the time just a beautifully carved silver drinking cup—wanted to get rid of it.

How was that supposed to happen? They were likely inspired by similar events in the recent past. They probably persuaded the so-called finder, Bongers, to pretend—for a fee—that he was the finder on a dredger near Stevensweert. Stevensweert had previously been in the news as a discovery site for fossils, human remains, pottery, and weapons.

A more benign explanation might be that the owner of the drinking cup feared it could be confiscated by the occupying forces and wanted to prevent this by giving it to someone unsuspected. The fact that he didn't ask for the cup back after the war contradicts this.

It is by no means certain that the Maas River flowed where Stevensweert is now located in the fourth century. Further east lies the Oude Maas.

- Despite the many uncertainties and the entire aftermath of the legal ownership dispute, Bongers' story was accepted, and much later, the Kam Museum in Nijmegen could claim ownership of the "from Stevensweert" kantharos.

- Both objects are made of gilded silver, finely decorated. A material comparison might perhaps provide more clarity about any possible "relationship." The kantharos has already undergone such an investigation.

Incidentally, the external characteristics can also be compared easily.

Is the Stevensweert kantharos part of an officer's equipment?

This question probably seems silly, but the author has reason to believe it might be. The kantharos was not found in Stevensweert at all, because there are sufficient indications that the alleged finder repeatedly lied about the exact location and even the year of discovery. The possible reason for this remains unclear. The author believes the drinking cup was handed over to the supposed finder, with the request to reveal its existence sometime in the future, along with a fictitious location and year of discovery.

However, the supposed finder couldn't consistently maintain this story, perhaps because the entire matter hadn't been thoroughly discussed. Furthermore, they forgot—

- 129115 or perhaps the event itself was the reason for this cover-up—that the numerous floods of the Maas River would have severely damaged the cup. In January and February 1926, all of Western Europe was gripped by high river waters. Stevensweert was also a victim: it is reported that the Maas River there had become between 4 and 5 km wide!
- 129120 Under these circumstances, a delicate structure like the drinking cup would have at least shattered and likely been carried out to sea, causing the the kantharos had been permanently lost.
No, if the drinking cup had been neatly stored in the peat, it would have been found after many centuries in practically undamaged condition.
- 129125 Location of the Stevensweert kantharos
To get straight to the point: There are many doubts about the location and circumstances of the kantharos. A.M. Gerhartl-Witteveen writes in her 2006 publication: p. 48 [...] manufacture and life cycle of the cup.
Regarding the latter, it is striking that no damage was found on either the inner or
- 129130 outer cup that could have been the result of movement in flowing water, which would inevitably have caused dents and scratches from bumping against gravel and the like. Therefore, in our opinion, it is unlikely that the finder, J. Bongers, found the kantharos among stones along the Maas River, as he later claimed. His brother-in-law's story, that Bongers found the kantharos on the dredger in a few lumps of clay,
- 129135 is more plausible because the clay layer in which the kantharos lay on the riverbed protected it for centuries, until the dredger disturbed the peace. [p. 19] And the year 1939 was recorded by Bongers in 1966, when the kantharos had temporarily returned to Stevensweert on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of the Stevensweert parish. Bongers also said at the time that he had not found the cup on the dredger,
- 129140 but had seen it lying on a strip of gravel along the Maas while hunting. On a map, he had indicated a location on the western bank of the river, opposite Stevensweert, thus on Belgian territory!
Bongers died in 1969 and took the truth with him to his grave.
- 129145 October 16, 1951 [...] The kantharos in question was found in 1942, during the occupation, in Stevensweert, approximately eighteen kilometers from Roermond, in the deep gravel banks of the Maas River. The finder saw nothing unusual in the clay-covered and gray rusty object. He gave it to a private antiquities enthusiast, who kept it unnoticed, thus safely, without exactly suspecting what it was. In 1949, he had the material from which the cup was made
- 129150 expertly examined.
October 24, 1952 The cup was found in 1942 by J. Bongers, a resident of Stevensweert, on a pile of gravel located on a site on the Koeweide in Stevensweert. It consisted of two interlocking pieces completely covered in clay. This
- 129155 had attached itself to the outer wall like a shell. Here and there, this shell had crumbled, revealing the shiny underside. He took the cup home, cleaned it, and placed it on a dresser in the living room.
The so-called finder, Jaak Bongers, mentions no fewer than three different locations. A map indicates one on the Dutch bank, directly opposite the spot where the Belgian-
- 129160 Dutch border runs perpendicular to the Maas River, near border marker 126. This border marker, incidentally, had long since disappeared. The second is somewhere on the Belgian bank. The third is on the Koeweide, which at the time was located further north on the northern (western) bank towards Maasbracht.
In coordinates: [5.8570 and 51.1440], unknown, [5.8740 and 51.1490].
- 129165 Perhaps the Koeweide shown here on the map is not the one meant, as there is also supposedly a Stevensweert koeweide or Stevenweertsche koeweide, but that doesn't significantly change the situation. On May 14, 1966, the director of the Rijksmuseum Kam, under the watchful eye of Mayor J. Kelleners, had a conversation with the alleged finder. No official report was likely made of this conversation, but it did
- 129170 not clarify the circumstances, location, or time of the discovery.
Therefore, the Valkhof Museum is sticking to the dredger version. In this regard, we encounter an oddity: assuming that multiple people worked on a dredger, they could have corroborated Bongers' story in retrospect, but this was apparently never asked.
- 129175 The alleged finder: Bongers
It has already been mentioned that the alleged finder offered several versions of the discovery. If we study the dredging industry, it's almost certainly not much gravel was collected in Stevensweert in 1939, probably only from the second half of 1941 onwards. The crew consisted mainly of Sliedrecht residents, supplemented by local
- 129180 staff who worked there as deckhands, barge skippers, and barge hands. If Bongers had

- found the drinking cup during those activities and cleaned it immediately, others would undoubtedly have seen it. He wouldn't have put a cleaned cup in his jacket either; it's an object to show off. If others were involved in some way, they would undoubtedly have come forward in the 1950s when there was so much commotion about the one then called the Stevensweert kantharos! Colleagues or former colleagues would have approached Bongers, and probably the press as well, during that period to explain their work and to acknowledge Bongers's role. None of this happened. The dredger uses buckets of sand and gravel to extract sand and gravel from the ground. These buckets have a volume of up to half a cubic meter. The load is then discharged into a series of drums and sieves, separating the gravel into four different types. The sand is also collected, and the water is returned to the river. The mass of the gravel in the rotating mill must have been many hundreds of kilograms. A delicate, silver object is crushed in it. The pieces would certainly separate, and it would be unlikely that a drinking cup could be removed in one piece. If the drinking cup, containing clay and sand, ended up in the mills and sieves, it could never have emerged unscathed. The drinking cup likely wouldn't have passed through the sieves in its entirety, as the largest sieve has 10 cm holes, but the loose fragments would have been scattered among the sorted boulders. Moreover, there was constant monitoring by a Rijkswaterstaat inspector, as we read in the newspaper of April 21, 1933:
- In the spaces below deck, on either side of the channel for the bucket chain, there are spacious accommodations for the engineer, mill master, and deck crew, and for the Rijkswaterstaat inspector, who must always be on board to monitor the quantity of sediment collected.
- The above and the at least three different versions Bongers has given can only lead to one conclusion: the drinking cup was NOT found in the Maas. It is also very remarkable that he gave the cup to a brother-in-law without compensation and didn't intervene during the commotion. He is the best person to provide the precise explanation, but he explicitly declined to do so. During a sort of interrogation in 1966, he offered a different version than before. The year of discovery was given as 1939, 1942, or 1943. Unless you note the date somewhere, you know whether it was before or after the start of the German invasion. Elsewhere, it is reported that the pebbles in the gravel extraction areas were so densely packed that the drinking cup would have been completely crushed.
- The reason for his lies and silence can only be that he was somehow bribed to make a false statement about the cup's discovery and thus publicize it.
- The predecessor of the Valkhof Museum
- The G.M. Kam Museum in Nijmegen was not very successful in acquiring masterpieces. Several masterpieces were acquired after the Second World War on highly questionable grounds:
- In early April 1956, there was much discussion about the exact location of the Trajan statue. A year later, the museum still had the statue in its possession. Dredgers in Xanten allegedly embezzled the Head of Trajan, then smuggled it to Nijmegen and sold it to an antique dealer. The Phrygian Ganymede (puer pileatus) was also purchased on questionable grounds.
- Archaeological research during the occupation
- On July 31, 1940, the following announcement appeared in the newspapers: July 31, 1940, PUBLIC COOPERATION REQUESTED. By order of the Secretary-General, Acting Head of the Department of Education, Arts and Sciences, dated May 24th, 1940, A committee for archaeological soil research in the Netherlands was established, while simultaneously a national bureau for archaeological soil research was established. Dr. F. C. Bursch, curator at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, was appointed director. Prof. Dr. N. J. Krom, professor at Leiden University, is chairing the aforementioned committee.
- In the presence of Dr. W. D. van Wijngaarden, director of the Museum of Antiquities and member of the committee, we recently had a meeting with these gentlemen, during which they further explained the purpose and working methods of the committee and the bureau. According to Dr. Bursch, the simultaneously promulgated law is primarily intended to prohibit unauthorized persons from conducting excavations and has roughly the same scope as the law on monument preservation. Objects found in Dutch soil are just as important for the study of the earliest history of our country as archival documents from more recent times and are therefore entitled to the same treatment.

The committee's first task was to determine which institutions in our country are authorized to conduct scientific soil research, and then to achieve coordination in this area. While regional and local museums have also worked in this direction to date, this has been without coherence.

Currently, the following are authorized:

The National Museum in Leiden and the Biological-Archaeological Institute in Groningen will serve the entire country, and the National Museum G. M. Kam in Nijmegen will serve the surrounding area, at least as long as this museum remains under the direction of Dr. J. H. Holwerda, the former director of the Leiden museum. All local museums and provincial societies will have to apply for recognition to conduct excavations, which recognition will only be granted after the National Commission has issued its recommendation.

The National Bureau is currently compiling a list of all sites in the Netherlands that are of archaeological importance, so that timely measures can be taken if the cultivation of these lands threatens to destroy the archival documents hidden within. This list will make it possible to protect such sites in the future. If this proves impossible, the Bureau will endeavor to carefully preserve the remains found during excavation for posterity. Furthermore, the intention is to inventory any earlier finds that may be in local museums or have been reported in recent decades, so that the office can always determine the location of a particular archaeological find.

Furthermore, typical, old names of plots often indicate that relics from the past can be found there, so it is recommended to compile a list of these as well. Finally, in almost every location, there are some objects in private possession, such as stone axes, arrowheads, etc., which should also be recorded in drawings and photographs.

This extensive inventory, according to Dr. Bursch, cannot be accomplished without the cooperation of the general public. We need our volunteers spread throughout the country, who inform us of the existence of the aforementioned sites and inform us of the archaeological finds located in their vicinity. Ideally, we would have such a staff member in every municipality; it's quite possible that the discovery of the thousandth Germanic urn will then be reported to us, but after all, that too can provide clues about the spread of Germanic culture, etc.

Soon, the cooperation of all the mayors in the Netherlands will be requested for this purpose.

But that's not all we need, although they can be of great assistance to us. What we need are staff from the people themselves, who will regularly keep us informed when something special in the field of antiquity occurs in their municipality. Please understand me well: it is by no means our intention to acquire any finds for our museum; on the contrary, the distribution of material among the existing antiquity rooms, regional and local museums can only increase their attractiveness [improved!], and nor do we want the rightful owners to relinquish their possessions to us.

Naturally, we would prefer to see these objects placed in a museum, as there we have the greatest guarantees that they will be expertly preserved. However, this acquisition will only be possible with the full consent of the owner and for a reasonable fee.

Furthermore, if the finds are unique and of truly national significance, we will naturally make every effort to find a home for them in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, possibly through exchange with other museum pieces. However, our main goal is to have a complete overview of the archaeological findings that the Dutch soil has yielded and will continue to yield.

The intention is that reports of finds in the three northern provinces should be addressed to Prof. Dr. A. E. van Giffen in Groningen, and for the rest of the country to Dr. F. C. Bursch, Director of the National Bureau for Archaeological Soil Research, Rapenburg 28, Leiden. This letter places great pressure on those who possess archaeological finds, especially unique finds of truly national significance. The Stevensweert kantharos is certainly one of them!

How does the drinking cup fit into the overall find?

The helmet was so valuable that its loss would be a huge setback for the owner. Hiding the decorative helmet with other objects is intentional. The value of the kantharos—given the amount of silver—was much higher. So, from the perspective of the person who hid all the objects in the peat, the loss is indeed greater, but they could easily bear it. Anyone else would do everything they could to recover such an object if it were accidentally lost.

You could draw a comparison with a grave that is filled next to the body with items related to the deceased, and food for the deceased.

Or in the afterlife. You do this in the hope that the grave won't be plundered. You then try to take measures against that.

With such thoughts, the kantharos would indeed be part of the Man and Horse equipment that ended up in the peat near Helenaveen.

Kluijtmans writes: A silver cup has also been found, fitted with a hook to hang it on the harness.

The kantharos clearly matches the description of the first words; the hook could be one of the handles. These have not been recovered, even though scholars believe they certainly belonged to the cup. Kluijtmans seems to suggest that the drinking cup, like the beautiful small wine vessel he mentioned, holding a few liters, was found in 1911.

All in all, sufficient reason to suspect that director Bos of the N.V. Maatschappij (Dutch Society) had these objects in his possession in 1911. At the conference of June 23, 1910, the stakeholders reached a very clear agreement regarding the undescribed and yet-to-be-discovered objects.

Adrianus Bos was the designated person to acquire these objects. The Helenaveen Society kept meticulous records, but director Bos personally purchased the objects and thus kept them off the company's books.

These objects were therefore stored in the director's residence, but in such a way that only a few people saw them, and then only the director himself.

I also compiled an inventory of people who may have seen the Roman objects during the director's lifetime. This primarily concerns servants, of course. Jootje, or Johanna, van de Bovenkamp came from Helenaveen and was a servant in Bos's later years (from around 1925). Kluijtmans relates that the director at one point showed her the contents of the cupboard. She was particularly struck by the large leather objects. She probably didn't have the opportunity to examine everything properly, let alone write it all down, even if she were interested.

Others who may have seen the find were the company's directors, and had done so for almost 25 years. These individuals were generally very successful social figures, such as the director of the State Railways. They came to Helenaveen at least once a year for a meeting, which was usually held elsewhere. On July 1, 1910, such a meeting was held at the director's villa, more than two weeks after the discovery. However, the minutes of the meeting make no mention of it, even though the discovery had already been clearly reported in the newspapers and had occurred only about 2 km away.

Doubts about the origin of the kantharos

Rijksmuseum Kam has doubted the story of the alleged finder, Bongers, from the very beginning. This has already been mentioned several times above. This concerns the war years and those up to approximately 1950. The legal aftermath provides even more information.

For example, we read in [1998] *The Secret of the Smith* by Mr. W.M.J. Bekkers: [...]

Not only are there different theories about the origin and age of the Kantharos.

This also applies to the year, the place, and the circumstances under which the cup was found. Legal literature and case law mention

1942 and 1943, while Swinkels assumes 1939. He knows that at the request of Drs. A.V.M. Hubrecht, director of the (then still) Rijksmuseum Kam from 1964 to 1978, the mayor and pastor of Stevensweert spoke with the finder of the Kantharos, J.

Bongers of Echt, in November 1966. Bongers then stated that he had found the Kantharos in January or February 1939 while hunting. On a map,

he indicated where he had found the cup. This was supposedly on Belgian territory, on the west side of the Maas River. According to Swinkels, Bongers had previously reported other locations. Regarding this conversation with Hubrecht on November 14, 1966, the mayor wrote, among other things: "... I don't believe Mr. Bongers, or rather, he's lying. He has already reported three different locations for the Kantharos.

Which one is correct? I don't know" (7).

7. Hubrecht did not publish the location Bongers reported in 1966, but he did report the year 1939 as the date of the discovery (A.V.M. Hubrecht, *De Kantharos van Stevensweert*, in *Numaga* 13 (1966) 243-251, with a photo of Mr. Bongers on p. 250).

- 129380 Museum Kam and its successor, Museum Het Valkhof, also questioned the provenance of the drinking cup, but just like the legal aspects, the museum was interested in possession, not the provenance. Nevertheless, we find various comments on this in the museum's publications.
- 129385 [2006] If Bongers did indeed pick up the kantharos from the dredger in 1943, he then took it home. According to the dredging permit, archaeological finds had to be reported and handed over to the government. It is therefore obvious that Bongers quickly attempted to monetize his find.
- 129390 [elsewhere 2006] In preparing this article, we studied the kantharos intensively several times, paying particular attention to indications of the manufacture and life cycle of the cup.
- 129395 Regarding the latter, it is striking that no damage was found on either the inner or outer cup that could have been the result of movement in flowing water, which would inevitably have caused dents and scratches from bumping against gravel and the like. Therefore, in our opinion, it is unlikely that the finder, J. Bongers, found the kantharos among stones along the Maas, as he later claimed. His brother-in-law's story, that Bongers found the kantharos on the dredger in some lumps of clay, is more plausible because the clay layer in which the kantharos lay on the riverbed protected it for centuries, until the dredger disturbed the peace (see p. 18).
- 129400 [1972] The discovery went virtually unnoticed at the time: J. Bongers found the cup—in two pieces—among the stones along the Maas River, washed off the clay, and took it home.
- Documents about the Bongers family and the dredging company
December 19, 1934 SAD ACCIDENT ON THE Maas RIVER IN STEVENSWEERT
Four people fell into the water. One of them drowned.
- 129405 A sad accident occurred on Tuesday morning around ten o'clock on the Maas River near the municipality of Stevensweert.
- The Van Hasselt company from Nijmegen has been operating a dredging business there for several years. On Sunday, a tugboat arrived to tow away the dredger, which was undergoing repairs.
- 129410 This was scheduled for Tuesday, and around ten o'clock, four of the boat's occupants had boarded a rowboat and sailed from the dredger to the shore to cast off the mooring line. They slid along the cable. They may have been standing on one side of the boat at some point, causing it to take on water and capsize, causing all four to fall into the water.
- 129415 The tugboat, which was moored near the dredger, quickly sailed to the scene of the accident, halfway along the shore, and managed to rescue two of them; the third had managed to reach the shore by swimming. The fourth tragically drowned, despite further attempts to save him. His body has not yet been found.
- 129420 The victim is married and 37 years old, named H. Peperkamp from Doornenburg, in the municipality of Bemmelen, Gelderland.
- August 4, 1945 The Gravel Dredgers
DE VRIJE STEM, the organ of the G.O.I.W., contains a thorough article about the wartime collaboration of the Gravel Dredgers for the construction of the Atlantic Wall.
- 129425 We have included some figures from this article to clarify the matter for our readers.
- 129430 The Paes Company in Nijmegen produced 209,349 tons in 1939 ... 537,960 tons in the eight months of 1944.
- The Van Hasselt Company in Lent produced 270,634 tons in 1939 and 915,212 tons in 1943. The N.V. Grint Mij in Arnhem increased from 184,291 tons in 1939 to 483,938 tons in 1943. For the N.V. van Roosmalen Transp. and Handelsmij in Maastricht, these figures were: 108,905 tons and 210,851 tons.
- 129435 The Hovestad en Dekker company in Roermond began operations during the war years and produced 211,421 tons by 1943.
- The Ballastmij de Merwede in Rotterdam produced 225,526 tons in 1940 and 235,205 tons in 1943.
- 129440 Official complaints about all these companies have been filed with the Military Commissioner.
- And now the Vrije Stem continues:
- All gravel produced in the Netherlands was resold by the N.V. gravel sales office in Nijmegen. The director of this company was Mr. Zuidema. This office provided gravel

- 129445 distribution services during this period and, among other things, sent a letter to the affiliated producers urging them to increase production. We requested the closure of this sales office and the seizure of its records. This was done.
- 129450 The German company "Niba" increased its production from 350,685 tons in 1938 to 1,522,949 tons in 1943. However, this company has two Dutch directors, Messrs. Müller and van Sprang. This, too, is tolerable even with a large dose of forbearance. However, the fact that Mr. Müller was appointed a member of the tribunal in Nijmegen strikes us as "somewhat strange."
- 129455 The fact that Mr. Wagemaker, as Director of the Gravel Sales Office, felt compelled to assist the German Wehrmacht may be due to his very "businesslike" views. However, the fact that he was appointed manager of the National Socialist assets strikes us as "somewhat strange."
- 129460 And Mr. van Roosmalen, who had approximately doubled his production, was charged with raising the ships sunk by the Germans in the port of Maasbracht. To great dismay of the hundreds of skippers.
- 129465 June 16, 1964. Construction awarded [...]
Van Hasselt Gendt (Gelderland) 5, 5, 2, and 1 cent.
The registrations of {...} and the Niba were not accepted.
- 129470 April 3, 2013. Jacobus Antonius Bongers was married to Hubertina Cornelia van der Riet (hamlet Diepstraat?). The couple lived in Echt at Maasbrachterweg 100.
- 129475 A few days before February 1, 1937, Theodorus Lucienne was born. This Theo has passed away.
A few days before March 8, 1943, Helena Henrica Johanna was born.
- 129480 Another son (aged 77 or 78). A son and a daughter are said to now live in South Africa. Jan Bongers is said to live in Roermond. Information obtained from a cousin of Jaak Bongers from Stevensweert, Bernard Bongers. Jaak Bongers was called a fantasist in the family.
- 129485 April 3, 2013 The dredger Jaak Bongers worked on was no longer owned by Dekker, but by the Van Hasselt company from Nijmegen (or Lent or Gendt). This Van Hasselt company had purchased the dredger from Dekker. It was probably a simple dredger, with a stationary sieve or sieves.
- 129490 The arguments above have been presented that cast doubt on whether the kantharos was actually found in the municipality of Stevensweert. These arguments are repeated below.
- 129495 - It is by no means certain that the Maas River flowed where Stevensweert is now located in the fourth century. The Oude Maas River lies further east.
- The numerous floods of the Maas River would have severely damaged the cup. In January and February 1926, all of Western Europe was gripped by high river waters. Stevensweert was also a victim: it is reported that the Maas River there had become between 4 and 5 km wide! Under these circumstances, a delicate structure like the drinking cup would have at least shattered and likely been carried to sea, resulting in the kantharos's permanent loss.
- 129500 - There are three variations on the circumstances, the location, and the year of discovery:
And the year 1939 was recorded by Bongers in 1966, when the kantharos had temporarily returned to Stevensweert on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of the Stevensweert parish. Bongers also stated at the time that he had not found the cup on the dredger, but had seen it lying on a strip of gravel along the Maas while hunting. On a map, he had indicated a location on the western bank of the river, opposite Stevensweert, thus on Belgian territory!
- 129505 The kantharos in question was found in 1942, during the occupation, in Stevensweert, approximately eighteen kilometers from Roermond in the deep gravel banks of the Maas. The finder didn't see anything unusual in the clay-covered, gray, rusty object. He gave it to a private antiquities enthusiast, who kept it unnoticed, thus safely, without suspecting precisely what it was. In 1949, he had the material from which the cup was made expertly examined.
- 129510

The cup was found in 1942 by J. Bongers, a resident of Stevensweert, on a pile of gravel located on a plot of land on the Koeweide in Stevensweert. It consisted of two interlocking pieces completely covered in clay. This had adhered to the outer wall like a shell. Here and there, this shell had crumbled, revealing the shiny base.

129515 He took the cup home, cleaned it, and placed it on a dresser in the living room.

The so-called finder, Jaak Bongers, mentions no fewer than three different locations. A map shows one on the Dutch bank, directly opposite the spot where the Belgian-Dutch border runs perpendicular to the Maas River, near border marker 126. The second is somewhere on the Belgian bank. The third is on the Koeweide, which at the time was located further north on the northern (western) bank towards Maasbracht.

129520 In coordinates: [5.8570 and 51.1440], unknown, [5.8740 and 51.1490]. Perhaps the Koeweide on the map isn't the one meant, as there also supposedly exists a Stevensweerder koeweide or Stevenweertsche koeweide, but that doesn't fundamentally change the situation.

129525 - Brom believes he can deduce the year 1942 from a conversation he had with Bongers in April 1950, in which Bongers suggested that the cup had been on his cupboard for some time before he showed it to Schoonenberg. [...]

129530 - On May 14, 1966, the director of the Rijksmuseum Kam, under the watchful eye of Mayor J. Kelleners, had a conversation with the alleged finder. Probably no official report was made of this conversation. But it did not clarify the circumstances, place, and time of the discovery.

There are various theories about the origin and age of the Kantharos. This also applies to the year, location, and circumstances under which the cup was found. Legal literature and case law mention 1942 and 1943, while Swinkels assumes 1939. He knows that at the request of Drs. A.V.M. Hubrecht, director of the (then) Rijksmuseum Kam from 1964 to 1978, the mayor and pastor of Stevensweert spoke with the finder of the Kantharos, J. Bongers of Echt, in November 1966. Bongers then stated that he had found the Kantharos in January or February 1939 while hunting. On a map, he indicated where he had found the cup. This was supposedly on Belgian territory, on the west side of the Maas River. According to Swinkels, Bongers had previously mentioned other locations. Regarding this conversation with Hubrecht on November 14, 1966, the mayor wrote, among other things: "... I don't believe Mr. Bongers, or rather, he's lying. He has already listed three different locations for the Kantharos."

129545 Which one is correct? I don't know."

- October 31, 1941 [...] In Linne and also in Roermond, gravel can be found under a layer of clay and sand of several meters, sometimes to a depth of 15 to 16 meters. Occasionally, prehistoric finds are found in these gravel layers, including mammoth teeth and deer antlers, etc., which are of scientific value. Besides Roermond, a private company has also started gravel mining in Stevensweert. All these activities provide work for many people. - August 28, 1951. My brother-in-law, Mr. J. Bongers (...), first showed me the aforementioned cup in the autumn of nineteen hundred and forty-three. My brother-in-law, Mr. Bongers, was working at the time on the dredger "De Dekker," which dredged gravel in the floodplains of the Maas River called "De Sleyen," near Stevensweert.

129555 When showing me the cup, my brother-in-law told me that a few days previously, when the dredger was set to a digging depth of sixteen meters below the waterline, he had collected the object in two separate pieces from the discharge chute of the mill, into which the buckets pour their contents. Afterward, Bongers had cleaned both parts of the clay and silt at home, and it turned out that [...]

129560 - If we study the dredging industry, then almost certainly not much gravel was collected in Stevensweert in 1939, probably only from the second half of 1941 onwards. The crew consisted mainly of Sliedrecht residents, supplemented by local staff who worked there as deckhands, barge skippers, and barge hands. If Bongers had found the drinking cup during those activities and cleaned it immediately, others would undoubtedly have seen it. He wouldn't have put a cleaned cup in his jacket either; it's an object to show off. If others were involved in some way, they would undoubtedly have come forward in the 1950s when there was such a fuss about the cup, then called the kantharos of Stevensweert! Colleagues or former colleagues would have approached Bongers, and probably the press as well, during that period to explain their work and acknowledge Bongers's role. None of this happened. The dredger extracts sand and gravel from the ground using buckets. These buckets have a volume of up to half a cubic meter. The load is then discharged into a series of drums and sieves, separating the gravel into four grades. The sand is also collected, and the water is returned to the river.

129575 The gravel mass in the rotating mill must be several hundred kilograms. A delicate,

silver object is crushed in it. The fragments will certainly separate, and it's unlikely that a drinking cup could be removed in one piece. If the drinking cup containing clay and sand had ended up in the mills and sieves, it could not have emerged unscathed.

The drinking cup likely wouldn't have passed through the sieves in its entirety, as the largest sieve has 10 cm holes, but the loose fragments would have been scattered among the sorted boulders. Moreover, there was constant monitoring by a Rijkswaterstaat inspector, as we read in the newspaper of April 21, 1933:

In the spaces below deck, on either side of the bucket chain channel, there are spacious accommodations for the engineer, mill master, and deck crew, and for the Rijkswaterstaat inspector, who must always be on board to monitor the quantity of sediment collected.

- Elsewhere, it is reported that the pebbles in the gravel extraction areas were so tightly packed that the drinking cup would have been completely crushed.

- Museum Kam and its successor, Museum Het Valkhof, also doubted the origin of the drinking cup, but, just like the legal aspects, possession was important to the museum, not the provenance.

Yet, we find various comments on this in the museum's publications.

[2006] If Bongers did indeed pick up the kantharos from the dredger in 1943, he subsequently took it home and did not declare it.

According to the dredging permit, archaeological finds had to be reported and handed over to the government. It is therefore also obvious that Bongers quickly attempted to monetize his find.

[elsewhere 2006] In preparing this article, we studied the kantharos intensively several times, paying particular attention to indications of the cup's manufacture and life cycle.

Regarding the latter, it is striking that no damage was found on either the inner or outer cup that could have resulted from movement in running water, which would inevitably have caused dents and scratches from bumping against gravel and the like. Therefore, in our opinion, it is unlikely that the finder, J. Bongers, found the kantharos among stones along the Maas River, as he later claimed. His brother-in-law's story, that Bongers found the kantharos on the dredger in some clods of clay, is more plausible because the clay layer in which the kantharos lay on the riverbed protected it for centuries, until the dredger disturbed the peace (see p. 18).

[1972] The discovery went virtually unnoticed at the time: J. Bongers found the cup - in two pieces-among the stones along the Maas River, the clay was washed off, and it was taken home.

- Acquisition by Museum Kam

The G.M. Kam Museum in Nijmegen has not been very successful in acquiring masterpieces. Several masterpieces were acquired after the Second World War on highly questionable grounds:

In early April 1956, there was much commotion about the exact location of the statue of Trajan. A year later, the museum still had the statue in its possession. Dredgers in Xanten allegedly embezzled the Head of Trajan, then smuggled it to Nijmegen and sold it to an antique dealer.

The Phrygian Ganymede (puer pileatus) was also acquired on questionable grounds.

- Not only have no co-workers on the dredger come forward to say that Bongers found the object, but there are also no known testimonies from family members who can testify about the kantharos at the Bongers household.

- Neither Jaak Bongers nor any family members or the like have ever been heard about the object. At least, the author has been unable to find anything on the subject.

A nephew calls Jaak Bongers a fantasist in 2013, at least that's how he was described in the family.

- The kantharos is so fragile that only a few people should handle it. Surely the condition of the drinking cup couldn't have deteriorated so much in 60 years that it came from a dredger or something similar and is now untouchable.

Descriptions of different kinds of objects stored in Delos

akinake; iron akinake; gilded akinake; [=short Persian sword]

akroterion;

alabaster; alabaster box;

alabastos;

alabastotheke; wood alabastotheke;

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

altar; wood altar; stone altar; gilded glass altar;
 amber; goldbound amber; amber with gold ring; goldbound amber ring; amber with gold
 circle;
 129645 amphora; necklace of amphoras;
 amprion/ampira;
 anchor; anchor sign; iron anchor;
 anvil; iron anvil;
aparche; aparche to Apollo; aparche of the Koans/Coans;
 129650 apyron; gold apyron; apeiron ring;
 argyris;
 aristeion; aristeion of the goddess;
 armlet; twisted armlet;
 arrow; arrow box;
 129655 ax;
 barleycorns;
basin; pierced hand basin; foot basin;
 basket; bridal basket; gold basket; gilded straight-sided basket; bronze basket;
 gilded bronze basket; straight basket; reed basket; wood basket; willow basket;
 129660 Delphic basket
 batiake, batiakion [= "Persian" phiale, drinking vessel];
 beaker; gold beaker; olive oil beaker;
 bed;
 bed-cover;
 129665 belt;
 blazon; shield blazon;
 bombulion;
 boss; figured boss;
 bow;
 129670 box; alabaster box; arrow box; incense box;
 boxwood; boxwood couch; boxwood Victories; boxwood feet; boxwood beam; boxwood eleven
 cypress laminates;
 bracelet; silver bracelet; bracelet on wood; gilded bracelet;
brazier; sacrificial brazier; silver brazier; stone-carrying brazier; processional
 129675 censer with bronze brazier; lionfooted brazier;
 bridle; Medic bridle;
 brooch;
 bucket; leaky bucket;
 calf; kolobaphic calf;
 129680 calyx; iron calyx;
casserole; broken casserole;
 censer; censer in shrine; bronze censer; stone censer; processional censer;
 cheese grater;
 chest;
 129685 choker;
 choreia;
chous; olive oil chous; bronze chous;
 chrysides;
 clamp; iron clamp;
 129690 collar;
 collar;
 comb; iron comb;
 conch; silver conch;
 cooler;
 129695 cornel; cornel wood;
 couch; Chian couch; Milesian couch;
 crab; stone-fasted crab;
 crest;
 crown; ivy crown; myrtle crown; laurel crown; oak crown; olive crown;
 129700 cup; Stesileian/Stesileion cup; silver cup; reversible cup; Rhodian cup; glass cup;
 diadem; myrtle diadem; gilded diadem;
 diereisma;
 dinos;
 discus;
 129705 dish; incense dish;
 disk;
 distaff; silver distaff; gold distaff;

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- dolphin; figure on a dolphin; dolphin on a small column;
 earring; gold earring; tin earring; silver earring; Thasian earring; gilded wood
 129710 earring;
 echinos;
 eriskos;
 fan with onyx handle;
 fawn;
 129715 figure; ivory figure; bronze figure; figured phiale; silver figure; figured quiver;
 fillet; woolen fillet; gold fillet; silvered fillet;
 flower
 flyswatter;
 girdle;
 129720 goats;
 gorgoneion;
 gourd; cupping gourd;
 grate; fire-bearing grate; broken grate with the wood in it; bronze grate;
 grater; cheese grater;
 129725 greaves;
 griffin;
 grill;
 hammer;
 handcuff;
 129730 hawk; hawk in his right hand; hawk without a leg;
 hedypotidion; hedypotis; hedypotis kylix; hedypotidion from ostrich egg;
 helmet; wood-underneath helmet; iron helmet; bronze helmet; Illyrian helmet; helmet
 wing; silvered iron helmet; bronzed helmet; silvered helmet; helmet rack; gilded
 bronze helmet;
 129735 hemiteion;
hippikon;
 hook; iron meat hook; small meat hook;
 horn; gilded horn; ornamented true horn;
 horse; statue of the god on horses; horse-cent[aur];
 129740 hydria; bronze hydria and stamnos; hydria handle; hydria weight; bronze hydria;
 silver hydria; gold hydria; new silver hydria; hydria of Athena Nike; hydria of
 Brauronian Artemis; hydria of the Anakes; hydria of Demeter and Kore; hydria base;
 hylikter/heilikter; gold heilikter;
 hypria; wood hypria;
 129745 image;
 incense box;
 ingot; gold ingot; ingot from the tripod; silver ingot; ingot of the worse gold;
 ingot with the A; ingot with the B; ingot with stone;
 jar;
 129750 jug; bronze jug;
 kabasas;
 kampe; gilded kampe;
 kanoun;
 karchesion; silver karchesion;
 129755 kesterion
 key; draw key;
 kissyphion;
 knife;
 knobby; knobby phiale;
 129760 knucklebone;
 kolobaphine; kolobaphine statue; kolobaphic calf; calf on stone base; ivory calf;
 korai;
 kothon; bronze kothon; kothon in wood; kothon of Pytheas; bronze kothon;
 kottabos; kottabos stand; kottabos flower;
 129765 krater or crater; Etruscan krater; Spartan krater; Argive krater; Laconian krater;
 trieretic krater;
 krateutai;
 kremaphoros;
kyathos; kyathos from the deer; bronze kyathos; silver myrrh kyathos;
 129770 kylichnion;
kylix; Rhodian kylix; Mikytheion/Mikytheian kylix; Tean Teian-worked kylix;
 kymbion [=bowl];
 kyrbe;

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- ladder; ladder (skalis);
- 129775 ladle; large ladle; broken ladle; bronze ladle;
lamp; bronze lamp;
lampstand; bronze lampstand; iron lampstand; silver lampstand;
lanceolate; lanceolate necklace; lanceolate phiale; lanceolate ring;
lavender; gold sea lavender;
- 129780 lebes; lebes gamikos;
lebetion;
lekane; lekanis;
lekanopsykter;
lotharion; bronze lotharion;
- 129785 lyre;
mastos
meniskos; bronze meniskos;
nail; large hollow nail; bronze nail; silvered acanthus nail; gold nail;
necklace;
- 129790 obol;
ochthoibos;
oinochoe;
onyx; onyx disk; onyx handle; onyx stone; onyx cup; onyx seal; bronze large onyx;
onyx in a box;
- 129795 opisthion; gold opisthion;
owl; gold owl;
ox; ox head; gold ox head; phiale with ox-head;
palladion; bronze palladion;
panagride;
- 129800 paraboliskos; paraboliskoi for the tetracycle;
perona;
pezikon;
phiale or patera; Gorgieian phiale; rayed phiale;
pillow;
- 129805 plaques;
plastras;
plinths;
pot; Chian pot;
protome;
- 129810 puppy; Mollosan puppy; puppy on stone base;
pyglaion;
quiver;
ram horn;
rhymos; ῥυμός;
- 129815 rhyton;
ribbon;
ring;
sandal;
sardion;
- 129820 scabbard (for the equestrian sword); ivory scabbard; scabbard for doctor's knife;
scraper;
seal; emerald seal; onyx seal; goldbound seal; public seal;
seleucid;
sheaf; wheat sheaf;
- 129825 shield; processional shield;
sieves;
siglos [weight of circa 5,5 g];
signet;
silpheion;
- 129830 skaphion; Mikytheian skaphion; smooth skaphion; Philonideion/Philonideian skaphion;
Stesileian skaphion;
skewer;
skyphos;
small female statue;
- 129835 snake; silver snake;
spear; spear shaft;
spearhead; Phocian spearhead; gold ring with spearhead (seal); necklace of spearheads
weighing; bronzed spearhead;
sphageia;

- 129840 sphinx; with sphinx feet; sphinx-footed incense box;
sprinkler;
staff in sandalwood case;
stamnos; stamnos of the Boeotian (type); olive oil stamnos; stamnos with one handle;
stamps;
129845 stand;
stater; Aeginetan and Cretan stater; Corinthian stater; Kyzikene/Kyzikenian and
Phocean stater; Ptolemaic stater; counterfeit stater;
stathmion; bronze stathmion;
statue;
129850 stone; lead stone;
[strainer](#);
strap;
striner;
swallow;
129855 sword;
table;
tablet;
talent; talent weight;
[tetradrachm](#); τετραδραχμον; phillipic/stephanephoric/lysimachean of
129860 Lysimachus/Maussolean Mausolean/Naxian/Ptolemaic/Antiochene
Antiochean/Ephesian/kistophoric kissophoric/prusian/alexandrian/persic/
thermastes; with chain;
topeion;
torch; wood torch; gold torch; silvered torch; torchbearer; torchrace; torchracer;
129865 tray; processional tray; bronze tray; round tray; tray with bronze circle;
trident; iron trident;
tripod; wood tripod; Delphic tripod; silvered tripod; stone tripod; silver tripod;
iron tripod; gilded tripod;
trough; large trough;
129870 vulture; vulture head;
wax; weight with the wax; sealing wax;
weaving;
wheel; bronze wheel; iron from wheel; bronze with wheel; four-spoked wheel;
wing; helmet wing; Victory with one wing; bronze wing;
129875 zomerysis;

See also the ["Persian" Objects in Classical and Early Hellenistic Inventory Lists](#) by Elizabeth
Kosmetatou
Treasure Map: A Guide to the Delian Inventories
129880 by Richard Hamilton ISBN 0472036289/978-0472036288
and a [review by Elizabeth Kosmetatou](#)

Academisch Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van
129885 DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam op gezag van de Rector-Magnificus
Prof. Dr. J. D. VAN DER WAALS Jr. Hoogleraar in de Faculteit der Wis- en Natuurkunde
In het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit op VRIJDAG 27 MAART 1931,
des namiddags ten 3½ ure precies door JOHANN ANTHON KOCH geboren te Soerabaya (N.-I.)
129890 Inhoudsopgave Studies over de tijd van Constantijn de Grote
CONSTANTIJN, ZIJN STAMLAND EN VOORGESLACHT
VAN MILITAIRE DICTATUUR TOT OOSTERSE DESPOTIE
HEIDENKEIZER EN CHRISTENDOM
129895 DE OPKOMST VAN CONSTANTIJN
NAAR DE ALLEENHEERSCHAPPIJ
CRISPUS EN FAUSTA
DE LAATSTE REGERINGSJAREN VAN CONSTANTIJN
DE ECONOMISCHE TOESTAND VAN HET RIJK
129900 CHRISTENKEIZER EN HEIDENDOM
CONSTANTIJN ALS KERKVORST
Verwijzingen

CONSTANTIJN, ZIJN STAMLAND EN VOORGESLACHT.
129905 Constantijn treedt in de historie op als de *eerste middeleeuwer*, en wel niet als
West-Europees, Germaans of Romaans middeleeuwer, maar als *byzantijn*; en als zodanig

is hij het voorbeeld van alle latere, Oost-Romeinse keizers. Met het Christusteken op zijn vaandel, en de imperatorenkrans om zijn kruin is hij de eerste drager van een nieuwe mengbeschaving die toen juist in Oost-Europa groeide uit heidens-Romeinse en christelijk-Hellenistische elementen. Ook zijn vreemde, tegenstrijdige aard, onstuimig dapper, maar toch sluw, wreed en huichelachtig vroom, wijst daarop.

Deze eerste byzantijn was dan ook alleen naar de naam Romein, maar grotendeels van Grieks-Illyrische bloede.

Constantijn werd in 274 geboren te Naissus, hoofdplaats der Illyrische landstreek Dardanië, en heel zijn voorgeslacht van vaderszijde was uit de Balkan geboortig. Dit is hierom van gewicht, daar Illyricum (=het Balkanschiereiland) allengs de leidende provincie van het rijk was geworden, en sinds Decius bijna alle vorsten kwamen uit dit gewest.

De Illyrische keizers hebben Rome dan ook telkens gered van zijn twee dreigendste gevaren: invallen der *barbaren* van buiten en *inwendige verdeeldheid*. Deze laatste werd veroorzaakt door:

I. De *denationalisatie* der provinciën;

II. De stijgende vreemde invloed ook in het leger.

De provinciën, ontevreden over de centraliserende belastingpolitiek der keizers, neigden allang tot afval van Rome. Vandaar het telkens optreden van plaatselijke *usurpatoren* (bijvoorbeeld de 30 tirannen). Dit kwam doordat het uitgestrekte wereldrijk géén etnografische eenheid vormde en zelfs geen tweeheid, hoewel ruwweg te verdelen in een Latijnse Westelijke en een vergriekste Oostelijke helft. Want zijn bewoners waren wel naar de taal geromaniseerd of gehelleniseerd, maar niet in ras en landaard, zodat zij zich allereerst burgers voelden van eigen stad en streek, en pas daarna van de Romeinse staat, die hen danig uitzoog. Bovendien werd in vele grensgewesten, ontvolkt door herhaalde oorlogen, *het vreemde element versterkt*, doordat men Germanen of Sarmaten voor akkerbouw daarheen verplante als *horige boeren* (coloni), die evenwel hun barbaars karakter vaak behielden.

Ook het leger werd allang niet meer gerekruteerd uit Italianen, maar merendeels uit Latijnse provincialen (Galliërs, Spanjaarden en Illyriërs), zodat door deze kern de nationale commandotaal behouden bleef. Doch daarnaast traden weldra Germanen, Sarmaten, Syriërs en andere Semieten in de rangen van officieren en minderen, zodat zelfs velen hunner het brachten tot *soldatenkeizers*, zoals Sept. Severus, Caracalla, Elegabalus, Alexander, Severus, Philippus Arabs (Semieten) en Maximinus Thrax (een halve Goot).

Nochtans vormden tot ca. 325 de Latijnse provincialen de meerderheid, en onder deze vooral de Illyriërs, zodat deze van 250–300 bij de keizerkeuze de doorslag gaven.

Waarom juist uit Illyrië? Het was al vroeger, door landbouwkolonies van veteranen (onder Augustus door Tiberius) gelatiniseerd. Allengs had zich in deze agrarische provincie naast de kleinere boerenstand ook wel grootgrondbezit gevormd, maar dit had het kleinbezit *niet*, zoals in Italië, verdrongen, zodat hier, ook door het ontbreken van een grote stad als uitzuigend centrum, de welvaart behouden bleef.

1). Overenting van de Latijnse cultuur op deze weinig begaafde barbaarse stammen als Illyriërs, Moesiërs, Dardaniërs en Thraciërs, had alleen gevolgen naar de taal

2). Maar militair bleek het zo ontstane mengvolk van Romeinen en Balkanbewoners des te meer aangelegd, doordat de gevaarlijke nabijheid van Marcomannen, Quaden, Goten en Daciërs hen dwong tot voortdurende weerbaarheid, ja tot uitzetting naar het Oosten, om zich tegen hun herhaalde aanvallen te beveiligen 2).

Hun land leverde dan ook heel wat soldaten en officieren, daar vooral zoons van Illyrische grootgrondbezitters door een zekere standstraditie als tribunen in het Romeinse leger dienden.

Geen wonder dat juist uit dit antieke "Junker"-land vanaf het midden der 3e eeuw na Christus veel krachtige soldatenkeizers kwamen, nu eens uit de grootgrondbezitters, dan weer uit de kleine boeren (Aurelianus) of zelfs uit de vrijgelatenen (Diocletianus). En al deze heersers hielden krachtdadig de strijd tegen Europese en Aziatische vijanden vol. Zo dreef bijvoorbeeld Claudius II (waaroever straks meer) de Goten terug over de Donau; zo wist zijn tweede opvolger Aurelianus het rebelse rijk van koningin Zenobia (Palmyra) te heroveren (273).

Op de tijd van Constantijns geboorte nu (274) was zijn vader Constantius Chlorus ongeveer 25 jaar oud. Hij dankte zijn Romeinse familienaam aan zijn moeder Claudia, dochter van Crispus, de oudste broeder van keizer Claudius Constans de Gotenverdelger. Zijn Griekse bijnaam Chloros (de Bleke) wijst echter op Oostelijke afkomst, en inderdaad was zijn vader Eutropius een rijk Dardanis edelman uit de soldatesken stam der Moesiërs, die toen vermoedelijk vergriekst waren. Hijzelf (Constantius Chlorus) werd echter ten volle als Romein beschouwd, en diende

waarschijnlijk al vijf jaar tevoren, onder het bestuur van zijn oudoom Claudius (268–270), in het Romeinse leger.

129975 In 270 stierf deze vorst vlak na zijn zege op de Gotische barbaren aan dezelfde pestepidemie, die deze hadden meegebracht. Er is geen reden om aan te nemen dat hij, zoals alleen Zonaras (XII, 26) beweert, op zijn sterfbed Aurelianus als de waardigste opvolger heeft aangewezen, daar deze geen bijzondere gunsteling was van hem, maar wel van diens voorganger Valerianus (zie Hist. Aug. Flav. Vop. c. XII Aurelian).

129980 Bovendien had de overledene nog een voortreffelijke broeder, Quintillus, die dan ook terstond door de senaat tot heerser werd verheven. Doch deze was bij de soldaten gehaat wegens zijn streng handhaven der krijgstucht, zodat hij reeds na 17 of 20 dagen hetzij door eigen hand of door zijn muitende troepen te Aquileia stierf 3). Intussen was zijn mededinger Aurelianus, heel populair bij het leger, al tot keizer gekozen (270–275) en de senaat was genoodzaakt hem te erkennen.

Toch bleef ook tijdens deze nieuwe heerser Constantius Chlorus onder de wapenen, vermoedelijk als eenvoudig tribuun. Als zodanig heeft hij Aurelianus gevolgd op diens veldtocht naar het Oosten (V. Panegy. Constantio Caesari, V.).

129990 Daarbij trok Aurelianus allereerst de Bosporus over om het opgestane Bithynië (o.a. Thyana) te heroveren, en landde zo bij het plaatsje Drepanum 4) aan de golf van Nicomedia. Mogelijk heeft zijn leger daar overnacht, en de jonge adellijke officier toen kennis gemaakt met Helena, de dochter van een herbergier aldaar 5). Vermoedelijk leefde hij eerst in concubinaat met haar 6), en nam haar overal mee, ook op Aurelianus' expeditie tegen Zenobia, de koningin van Palmyra en tegen het opstandige Egypte, waar een usurpator Firmus werd verslagen en afgestraft (273).

129995 Op 's keizers terugreis over Klein-Azië en de Balkan naar Rome (273–274) werd Constantius, vermoedelijk op eigen wens, gedetacheerd bij de Donaulegioenen, in de garnizoensplaats Naïssus, waarbij ook de landerijen van zijn vader lagen. Hier baarde Helena hem een zoontje, Constantijn (274). Doch hoewel eerst zijn minnares, werd zij weldra (na deze geboorte?) zijn wettige vrouw 5), waarna de vader ook haar kind als het zijne erkende. Dat zij, een vrouw van mindere stand, en nog wel uit de verachte kaste der herbergiers, dit gedaan kreeg van die adellijke tribuun, bewijst wel haar buitengewone bekoring en wilskracht. Overigens gaf dit huwelijk geen aanstoot in deze avontuurlijke tijd der soldatenkeizers, toen de laagst geboren en de kroon konden krijgen, en rassen- en klassenmenging overal aan de gang was.

130000 In de verwarring na Aurelianus' gewelddadige dood bleek Constantius, hoewel een uitstekend militair, te bescheiden, en vermoedelijk ook niet rijk genoeg, om zich op de voorgrond te dringen en het keizerlijk purper te bemachtigen. Daarom werd hij ongevaarlijk gevonden, en wist zich ook in de gunst der volgende vorsten, zoals Tacitus, Probus en Carus, te handhaven.

130010 Toch is er even, tijdens keizer Carus, toen Constantius praeses (militair landvoogd) van Dalmatië was, kans geweest op zijn verheffing tot keizer. Vóór Carus' veldtocht tegen de Perzen overwoog deze namelijk, uit schaamte over het wangedrag van zijn zoon Carinus te Rome, om Constantius, als de waardigste tot zijn troonopvolger te bestemmen. (Flav. Vopisque, Carus, XVII. Hist. Aug.) Maar door zijn plotselinge dood (zie verderop) bleef dit plan onuitgevoerd. In zijn plaats greep Diocles het volgend jaar naar het purper, en Constantius was plooibaar genoeg, om na diens overwinning op Carinus naar de nieuwe keizer over te lopen.

130020 VAN MILITAIRE DICTATUUR TOT OOSTERSE DESPOTIE.

Diocletianus was een Illyriër, evenals zijn voorgangers. Maar terwijl zij alleen militairen waren, die het rijk tegen barbaren en usurpatoren beschermden, was hij bovendien ook een kundig staatsman. Pas *hij* is erin geslaagd, de voorlopige, onvaste militaire dictatuur te wettigen tot een *volstrekke monarchie*, en zo de staatseenheid innerlijk te verstevigen.

130025 Diocles, zoals hij aanvankelijk heette, werd geboren in een Dalmatisch stadje, mogelijk Dioclea genaamd, als zoon van een arme klerk, die waarschijnlijk vrijgeboren burger, en geen vrijgelatene was 8). Hij trad in legerdienst, doorliep alle rangen, bracht het zo tot proconsul van Moesië, ja krom zelfs op tot consul. In 283

130030 vergezelde hij, als "comes domesticorum" (hofmaarschalk) keizer Carus op diens expeditie tegen de Perzen.

Deze trok, in strijd met een oud orakel, de Eufraat over, nam vele steden van de vijand in, o.a. de hoofdplaats Ktesiphon, maar stierf toen plotseling, volgens zijn soldaten door de bliksem getroffen tot straf voor zijn ongehoorzaamheid aan de goden. 130035 Doch mogelijk hebben zijn eigen hovelingen hem vermoord en toen zijn tent in brand gestoken. (Hist. Aug. Carus, VIII). Tot zijn opvolger koos men zijn zoon *Numerianus*, die, hoewel meer begaafd als dichter en redenaar, en zwak van gestel, toch het leger was gevolgd, en deze werd door de bijgelovige soldaten gedwongen terug te keren. Doch

de tijd was niet gunstig voor hoogbegaafde geesten, en zo werd zijn rang hem ten
130040 verderve. Zijn schoonvader, **Arrius Aper**, de gardeprefect, hield hem dagen lang
verborgen, binnen de draagbare tent, zogenaamd om zijn zieke ogen te sparen voor de
felle zon. Doch eindelijk verried de reuk van ontbinding zijn dood, de soldaten die
hem droegen trokken de gordijnen open, en vonden zijn lijk. Zijn schoonvader, die
gehoopt had, hem het troonrecht te ontroven, werd als de dader verdacht, en geboeid.
130045 In de eerste vergadering der soldaten koos men **Diocles** tot keizer, en deze
latiniseerde nu zijn naam tot Diocletianus. Al dadelijk wreekte hij de dood van
Numerianus door in bijzijn van allen Arrius Aper eigenhandig te doorsteken, onder de
uitroep: Deze is de moordenaar! (284). Zo vervulde hij zelf de voorspelling van een
130050 Gallische druïde, namelijk dat hij keizer zou worden, als hij een everzwijn (aper)
zou doden. Na tevergeefs in vele wouden evers te hebben gejaagd, had hij nu zijn
juiste wild gevonden, en versloeg het. (Hist. Aug. Numerian. XIX.) Deze manslag op
grond van een voorspelling tekent de grondtrek van Diocletianus' karakter: zijn
fatalistisch bijgeloof. Daardoor hechte hij geweldig aan offerwichelarij, omnia en
orakels, wat hem later zelfs verleidde tot zijn twee grootste politieke fouten: zijn
130055 *christenvervolging* en zijn *troonsafstand*. Doch in het begin van zijn regering schonk
dit noodlotsfanatisme hem een sterk zelfvertrouwen, waardoor hij de aarzelingen van
zijn sluw, omzichtig, al te beheerst karakter kon overwinnen.
Zijn enige wettige en gevaarlijke mededinger Carinus viel hem aan in Moesië en
leverde hem de slag bij de Margus of Morawa. Maar toen hij op het punt stond te
130060 overwinnen, werd hij, wegens zijn uitspattingen toch al gehaat, door een zijner
tribunen, wiens vrouw hij had onteerd, vermoord. Toen liepen zijn troepen over tot
Diocletianus, en weldra erkenden alle stadhouders en ambtenaren van het rijk –
waaronder ook Constantius Chlorus, toen proconsul van Pannonië en later caesar – de
nieuwe keizer. Deze behandelde zijn vroegere vijanden zeer genadig; niemand ontnam
130065 hij bezit of waardigheden, zodat hij zich aller achting verwierf en twintig jaar
vrijwel ongestoord door binnenlandse opstand kon regeren.
Maar plotseling verraste hem een gevaarlijke opstand in Gallië, die der Bagaudae 9)
(286). Dit was een rassen- en klassenconflict tussen Keltische boeren en hun
130070 onderdrukkers, de gelatiniseerde edelen en Romeinse kolonisten, die vanuit hun steden
en kastelen hen als horigen en slaven exploiteerden. Totaal verarmd door de vele
burgeroorlogen en barbareninvallen, weigerden zij tenslotte de pacht te betalen,
trokken in benden van bedelaars naar de steden, waar zij, samen met het lagere volk
tegen de overheid in oproer kwamen. Zo hadden deze proletarische vrijbuiters zich
weldra genesteld in het sterke Augustodunum, waar zij Aelianus (Helianus) en Amandus
130075 tot "keizers" kozen en velden en dorpen in de omtrek plunderden en verwoestten. Het
was, behalve een "**Jacquerie**" tevens de laatste poging der Galliërs om, na
Vercingetorix, Posthumus en **Tetricus**, hun nationale zelfstandigheid te herstellen.
Doch Diocles vond raad. Hij benoemde zijn oude strijdmakker Maximianus, een ruwe,
130080 boerse, ongeletterde Illyriër, maar een goed soldaat, tot mede-augustus, en imperator
van het Westen, en stuurde hem naar de opstandige provincie (1 april 286). Weldra
wist deze, gesteund door Gallische edelen en Romeinse kolonisten, de beweging te
onderdrukken. De toestand werd nu nog erger dan voorheen door de wreedheden en
afpersingen die de overwinnaar het ongelukkige land oplegde (286).
Nauwelijks was echter Gallië heroverd, of Brittannië viel af van het rijk. Daar had
130085 de pasbenoemde Romeinse vlootvoogd Carausius, een kundig zeeman van de Menapische 10)
(Noord-Brabantse) kust, die kort tevoren had uitgeblonken in de strijd tegen de
Bagauden, zich opgeworpen tot usurpator. Uit de buit van opgevangen Germaanse
(=Saksische) piratenschepen, had hij kapitaal verzameld dat hij niet teruggaf aan de
Romeinse schatkist, maar gebruikte om het bezettingsleger van zijn eiland om te kopen
130090 tot zijn dienst (287). Ook de inheemse bevolking vond hij daar tot steun gereed.
Brittannië, waar ondanks de vele vestingen en heerwegen, Romeinse kolonisten, was
nooit duurzaam gelatiniseerd (zoals Gallië) zowel door verre afstand en klimaat als
door de nationaal-religieuze tegenwerking der druïden.
Bovendien trof Carausius, als Germaan, bondgenoten in de Franken en Allemannen aan de
130095 Rijn. Terwijl deze Gallië in het Oosten binnenvielen, teisterde hij met zijn
kapervloten de Noordkust. Toen bleek voor het eerst het belang van Brittannië's
insulaire ligging. Door een flinke vloot verdedigd was het vrijwel onneembaar.
Maximianus kon het dan ook niet heroveren, sloot vrede en erkende zelfs, tot zijn
smaad, ook namens zijn ambtgenoot de barbaar Carausius, tot zelfstandig keizer van
130100 Brittannië (290) waarbij deze zelfs Boulogne (Gessioracum of Bononia) als steunpunt
op het vasteland behield.
Niet zonder noodzaak had de opperkeizer daarin toegestemd. Want terzelfder tijd als
in Brittannië braken opstanden uit in Afrika van de z.g. vijf volkeren
(Quinquegentanae. Aur. Vict. 39, 21) en in Egypte van de usurpator Achilleus. terwijl

- 130105 in het Oosten de Perzen de Eufraat overschreden. De moeilijke verdediging dezer randgewesten en de onzekerheid der *opvolging* (want hij had geen zoon) brachten Diocletianus nu tot een nieuwe rijksindeling. Hij reisde in 291 van het Oosten naar Milaan ontbood daar zijn medekeizer Maximianus Herculus, en breidde het reeds bestaande tweekeizerschap uit tot een viervoudig systeem of
- 130110 *tetrachord* (1 maart 292). Onder beide augusti zetelend in Nicomedia (hijzelf) en Milaan (Maximianus Herculus) kwamen nu twee *caesares*, een ter bewaking van de Rijn grens, Julius Constantius Chlorus, met standplaats Trier, een ander, Maximianus Galerius, een vroegere herdersjongen uit Dacië voor dit Donaugebied. Na de dood of althans het aftreden der augusti zouden zij worden opgevolgd door de aanvankelijke
- 130115 *caesares*. Om een kunstmatige band van piëteit tussen beiden te knopen, moesten de *caesares* hun vroegere vrouwen verstoten en hertrouwen met de dochters der augusti. Zo huwde Galerius met Diocletianus enige dochter Valeria, die zijn voorzoontje Candidianus van een vroegere vrouw als haar eigen kind adopteerde. Constantius Chlorus werd gekoppeld aan Theodora, eigenlijk geen dochter maar een aangenomen
- 130120 stiefdochter van Maximianus Herculus. Om deze aanzienlijke vrouw te kunnen trouwen, moest hij zich laten scheiden van de laaggeboren Helena, de moeder van Constantijn, en, plooibaar als hij was, gehoorzaamde hij hierin, ter wille van zijn carrière, de opperkeizer.
- Met deze keuze trof Diocletianus een zeer welwillend, maar ook bekwaam ambtenaar, die
- 130125 stellig in afkomst, beschaving en zelfs in anciënniteit van rang de overige drie vorsten overtrof. Want toen Constantius tot caesar werd benoemd, had hij, al een bijna twintigjarigen dienst in het Romeinse rijk en leger achter de rug. Toen hij nu, zeven jaar later, ter beloning voor zijn overgang in de dienst van de
- 130130 nieuwe keizer Caesar van het Noord-Westen was geworden, kreeg hij direct de vererende, zelfs voor Maximianus te moeilijke taak, om het opgestane Brittannië te herwinnen. Eerst ontnam hij Carausius diens marinebasis op het vasteland Boulogne (Gessoriacum). Daarna heroverde hij alle landen rond de Rijnmond, o.a. het Bataveneiland, op de Franken (294), om van daaruit, ook aan de Noordzeekant, het
- 130135 Britteneiland te bestoken. Onderwijl werd echter Carausius verraderlijk vermoord door diens vertrouweling en hoofdofficier Allectus, die zich meester maakte van het gezag, maar niet zo populair was bij leger en volk aldaar. Thans aarzelde Constantius niet langer; hij liet zijn admiraal Asclepiodotus veilig van de Rijnmond naar Zuid Engeland zeilen, en daar landen. Spoedig werd Allectus verslagen en sneuvelde, waarna het eiland zich opnieuw aan Rome onderwierp (296).
- 130140 Thans restte Constantius nog af te rekenen met de Germaanse plunderaars van over de Rijn. Reeds Maximianus had omstreeks 287 Franken, Bourgondiërs, Alemannen en Heruli getuchtigd, maar opnieuw vielen in 298 de Alemannen Gallië binnen. De caesar versloeg ze bij Langres, waar de meesten hunner sneuvelde, tot grote vreugde der Gallische bevolking, die de vernielzieke barbaren haatte. Daarna sleepte de overwinnaar zijn
- 130145 Germaanse gevangenen met vrouwen en kinderen mee naar Noord-Gallië, om daar de ontvolkte velden, leeg sinds de verwoesting van de Bagaudenstrijd als *coloni* opnieuw te bouwen. Dit was politiek een gevaarlijke fout, daar door de herhaalde invallen de barbaren van buiten met die van binnen in verstandhouding bleven, zodat Gallië dreigde *Germaans* te worden, wat na een eeuw dan ook gebeurde. Humaan was deze
- 130150 maatregel in alle geval, want naar toenmalig kriegsrecht had Constantius de gevangenen ook kunnen doden. Eenzelfde humaniteit vertoonde Constantius ook in zijn latere houding tegenover de Christenen. Deze verdraagzaamheid kwam meer overeen met zijn karakter dan met zijn religieuze verering van de Zonnegod *Mithras*, die hij diende evenals wijlen Aurelianus.
- 130155 Doch nauwelijks waren op Brittannië de Romeinse adelaars herplant, of de opperkeizer trok in eigen persoon zijn troepen in Klein-Azië samen voor een veldtocht tegen het reeds tien jaar geleden opgestane Egypte (296). Op deze expeditie vergezelde hem o.a. Constantius' oudste zoon *Constantijn*, toen 22 jaar, en reeds vanaf zijn vroegste jeugd (mogelijk al sinds 285) als page in dienst
- 130160 van de opperkeizer, die hem hield als gijzelaar voor de trouw van zijn vader. (Euseb. Vit. Const. I 19 sqq.) Dit langdurig verblijf in hoofse kring werd voor Constantijn een kostelijke politieke leerschool, daar hij aanvankelijk het volle vertrouwen genoot van zijn oudere vorst, die hem inwijdde in menige "zaken van staat en oorlog". Bovendien leerde hij op de
- 130165 vele reizen van Diocletianus de toestanden in het grote rijk uit eigen aanschouwing kennen, zodat uit hem een bekwaam staatsman groeide, die later het werk van zijn leermeester kon voortzetten. Maar tevens verrijkte een expeditie als deze zijn militaire routine en gehardheid, en vormde in hem de toekomstige veldheer. Van jongs af muntte hij uit in schrandere
- 130170 en moed. Ook zijn statige gestalte had iets imponerends, althans Eusebius die

destijds hem aan de rechterhand des keizers door Palestina zag trekken getuigt ervan. Zo stond het leger van Diocletianus, na een lange tocht over land, thans eindelijk aan de rand van de afvallige provincie.

De oorzaak van deze Egyptische opstand was dezelfde als die van de rebellie die eertijds Aurelianus hier onderdrukte (273), namelijk felle ontevredenheid over de Romeinse vreemdelingentirannie, en hun ondragelijk zware belastingdruk.

Egypte, eeuwenlang uitgezogen als particulier kroondomein van de Romeinse keizers, voor wie het kosteloos koren moest leveren aan de wereldstad, was dientengevolge ontzettend verarmd, hongersnoden onder de fellah's, de slaafse landbevolking, die vaak gebrek moest lijden ter wille van de overvloed van Rome, leidde op de duur tot vorming van wanhopige roversbenden, zoals de z.g. Bucoli, die zich aan de Nijlmond nestelden, en kapers vaak de korenuitvoer beletten. Hoewel vroegere keizers hen hadden verslagen, was hun roofstaat heimelijk blijven voortbestaan, en steunden thans ongetwijfeld – hoewel de bronnen daar niets van melden – de Alexandrijn Achilleus in zijn nationale opstand.

Maar ook in Alexandrië zelf en de andere grote steden kon hij rekenen op de steun van de ganse massa. Beide delen van de bevolking: de vergriekste hogere standen en het nog koptisch sprekende lagere volk, stonden, hoewel vaak vijandig onderling, toch als Oosterlingen, in nationaal-Egyptische haat, tegenover de geldgierige Westerse overweldigers en hun brutaal imperialisme.

Reeds toen klonk – evenals eeuwen later onder Byzantium, en in moderne tijd onder Engels protectoraat – de leuze: Egypte voor de Egyptenaren!

Maar natuurlijk wou de keizer daar niets van weten.

Hij trok binnen met zijn legers langs de woestijn van Idumaea, tot waar de eerste pyramiden-spitsen hun mateloos lange driehoekige schaduwen wierpen over het roodgloeiende zand. Daarna het verrassend contrast van het overal groene vruchtbare Nijldal met zijn blonde velden van koren en mais, waar men vele rivieren en moerassen moest doorwaden, be-oeverd door wuivende palmen. Maar eindelijk, na drie dagreizen, de blinkend witte tinnen, en platte, zonbekaatste daken van de opstandige stad, die gelegen op een landtong in zee, zich onneembaar waande.

Geweldige voedselvoorraden waren hier opgespaard: hooggewelfde waterleidingen verbonden het met het vasteland en stelden het in staat een lang beleg uit te houden. De keizer was genoodzaakt het niet alleen te land, maar ook van de zeezijde in te sluiten door in allerijl uitgeruste oorlogsschepen. Daardoor kon, toen de voorraden raakten uitgeput, geen koren meer worden aangevoerd naar de hongerige overbevolkte stad. En ook de watertoevoer sneed de keizer af door de aquaducten te verwoesten, zodat de stedelingen, rond omringd door het water van de oceaan, van dorst versmachtten. Eindelijk, na 8 maanden gaf de stad zich over.

De overwinnaar, door ongeduld verbitterd, gaf zijn soldaten het bevel, zolang te moorden, tot het bloed aan de knieën van zijn paard zou reiken. Onmiddellijk stormden de manschappen door de geopende poort naar binnen, doodslaand wie zij tegenkwamen. Maar nauwelijks was de keizer zelf de stad binnengereden, of zijn paard gleed uit over de lijken, en waadde met zijn knieën in het bloed. Terstond werd, naar het eenmaal gegeven woord, het moorden gestaakt. Alleen Achilleus, gevangen voor de keizer gebracht, werd het purper afgerukt, en hij en heel zijn dapper garnizoen verloren hun hoofden op het schavot. Wel mochten de soldaten naar hartenlust plunderen in de huizen der rijken; maar de burgers, aan een algemene slachting ontsnapt, richtten tot dank, voor het weldadige keizerpaard later een ijzeren standbeeld op.

Daarna trok Diocletianus naar het Zuiden, veroverde Koptos en Bousiris, en verwoestte ze geheel. Nu werd het hele land ingelijfd als gewone provincie bij het Romeinse rijk (dus niet meer als particulier kroondomein) en in 3 districten verdeeld.

Intussen had de keizer, op zijn tocht naar Egypte, Max. Galerius met slechts enkele divisies achtergelaten in Syrië, om de Eufraat-grens te beveiligen tegen de Perzen.

Met dit volk, en zijn koning **Narses**, was namelijk al sinds 286 een oorlog uitgebroken, wegens het feit dat de Romeinen hun vazal Tiridates, de verdreven Prins van Armenië, dat de Perzen hadden overweldigd, op de troon hadden hersteld. Doch Tiridates' heerschappij was echter van korte duur, want tien jaar later heroverden zijn vijanden zijn land. Thans besloot Galerius, gesteund door de verdreven koning en diens leger, de veel grotere troepenmacht der Perzen aan te vallen in de zandige woestijn van **Carrhae**, waar reeds vroeger Crassus was verslagen. Ook Galerius boette zijn vermetelheid met een nederlaag, maar ontkwam, evenals zijn Armeense bondgenoot, nog levend uit de strijd.

Toen nu de opperkeizer weer terugkwam uit Egypte, en zijn generaal zich met dit Jobsbericht weer bij hem wou voegen, weigerdede keizer hem eerst te woord te staan, en liet de trotse man, gepurperd, enige mijlen achter zijn rijtuig lopen. (Eutrop.

IX. 24). Vermoedelijk was Constantijn, die als adjudant-officier de keizer overal vergezelde, van dit toneel getuige, en dit verklaart de latere haat van Galerius tegen hem.

130240 Nochtans was zijn ongenade niet duurzaam, want hij kreeg de kans zijn fout te herstellen. Nieuwe troepen van veteranen en rekruten waren weldra in Illyrië gelicht 11), en naar Klein-Azië overgestoken, en daarmee kon Galerius zijn zwakke legermacht, vooral uit Oosterlingen bestaande, ten zeerste versterken, en dwars door Armenië heen een tweede veldtocht tegen de Perzen ondernemen (297). Hij versloeg ze bij een
130245 nachtelijke overval. Hun koning Narses vluchtte, gewond. Al zijn haremvrouwen, zijn zusters en kinderen, benevens een overrijke buit vielen de Romeinen in handen. 's Konings bloedverwanten behandelde Galerius, hoe ruw ook van aard, met ridderlijke zachtheid, maar hield ze als gijzelaars gevangen. Weldra kwam nu de vrede tot stand, waarbij de [Araxes](#) of Aboras (tegenwoordig Aras) werd tot grensrivier in het
130250 Noordoosten, terwijl 5 provinciën ten Oosten van de Tigris aan de Romeinen werden afgestaan. Verder werd, ten Westen van de Araxes, de Romeinse vazalstaat Armenië, met [Tiridates](#) tot koning, hersteld.

Vermoedelijk zijn kort na deze vrede de familieleden van koning Narses weer in vrijheid naar hun land teruggestuurd, en hebben zij *niet*, zoals Eusebius fabelt (Eus. 130255 Hieron. Chronicon) de zegepraal van Diocletianus te Rome opgeluisterd. Want tussen de Perzen en Romeinen kwam voortaan een uitstekende verstandhouding, die nog veertig jaar, bijna tot de dood van Constantijn, zou duren.

Na zo het rijk tot rust en al zijn vijanden tot onderwerping te hebben gebracht, keerde de keizer terug, en vestigde zijn residentie te Nicomedia (Grieks Nikomedeia), 130260 tegenover Byzantium aan de Propontis gelegen.

Rome was daartoe onbruikbaar. Immers, alle toekomstige invloed van de pretorianen aldaar en van de senaat, die Diocletianus nooit meer raadpleegde, moest worden uitgeschakeld. Want Diocletianus wenste zijn militaire dictatuur te verheffen tot een blijvende alleenheerschappij. En dit kon hij, beter dan in Rome, in het vanouds 130265 despotisch geregeerde Oosten bewerken. Hier, in zijn nieuwe residentie, bouwde hij een heerlijk paleis (villa publica), en voerde er een ingewikkeld hofceremonieel in, ontleend aan het voorbeeld der Perzische koningen, wier gebruiken hij, dank zij Galerius' veldtocht, van nabij had leren kennen.

Van de hemelse oorsprong van zijn geslacht overtuigd, noemde hij zich "Jovius", en liet zich, minder uit hovaardij dan uit mensenkennis jegens zijn vooral Oosterse 130270 onderdanen, die dit gewoon waren van hun vorsten, *aanbidden als een godheid*. Voor de toenmalige Romeinen was dit iets ongehoords. Want, al bracht men sinds Augustus offers aan de genii (beschermgeesten) der levende keizers, pas na hun dood werden zij doorgaans als goden vereerd. Zij zagen daarom in Diocletianus' daad de

130275 hoogmoedswaanzin van een parvenu, vergeleken hem bij Caligula en Domitianus. Toch moesten zij erkennen, dat hij zich niet despotisch 12), maar vaderlijk gedroeg. Het was dan ook een zeer verstandige politiek die hij, de gewezen soldatenkeizer beging, om de luister van zijn hof te verhogen, en zijn onderdanen eerbied voor zijn persoon in te prenten. Voortaan, ook onder zijn opvolgers, was de keizer veilig voor
130280 vijandige aanslagen. Een uitgebreid personeel van soldaten en eunuchen bewaakte zijn paleis, waar hij troonde in een uitgelezen kleet van louter gouddraad, met sandalen, zwaar wegende van edelstenen, als een heilig idool, ontoegankelijk voor het profane volk. (Aur. Vict. Epit. 39.)

Wegens de enorme kosten van hofhouding, ambtsreizen en legeruitgaven moest evenwel de 130285 belastingdruk aanmerkelijk worden verzwaaard. Daar echter het volk door de vele burgeroorlogen en militaire afpersingen ten zeerste was verarmd, en fiscus-ontduiking steeds meer voorkwam, was een strenger, doelmatiger controle van de inning der belastingen nodig. Hiervoor moest het rijk worden gereorganiseerd tot een grote, autocratische ambtenarenstaat (ongeveer als het Russische tsarenrijk). Daartoe diende
130290 allereerst het *tetrachord* [=tetrarchie] of de verdeling in vieren onder 2 augusti en 2 caesares.

Elk dezer vier keizers werd bijgestaan door een *praefectus praetoris* of *eerste minister*, die evenmin als zij zelf aan een bepaalde landstreek was gebonden, maar telkens rondreisde, ter inspectie.

130295 Deze werd echter voortaan alleen belast met *burgerlijke bestuurszaken*, zodat we reeds onder *Diocletianus* (en niet pas onder Constantijn 13) een *scheiding* krijgen tussen *civiel* en *militair beheer*, *althans bij dit éne ambt, en niet bij de lagere rangen*. Mogelijk dat de moord op zijn voorganger Numerianus door zo'n prefect (toen nog tevens generaal) de nieuwe keizer er toe bracht, dit ambt te besnoeien.

130300 Een verdere verdeling, die zich tijdens de hele vierde eeuw, dus ook onder Constantijn, handhaafde (behoudens kleine wijzigingen) was de splitsing in 12 *diocesen* (later 13), namelijk:

I. Oriens (het Oosten), duz. Libië, Egypte, Syrië en Mesopotamië, waarvan later Egypte en Libië, als een afzonderlijke diocees werd afgesplitst;
 130305 II. Pontus. III. Asia. IV. Thracië.

V. Moesië (met Macedonië en Griekenland), dat tijdens Constantijn de juistere naam kreeg van Macedonia.
 VI. Pannonië of Illyricum. VII. Brittannië.

VIII. Gallië (duz. het tegenwoordige Noord-Frankrijk, België en de Rijnstrekten).
 130310 IX. Vienna. duz. Zuid-Frankrijk.
 X. Italië. XI. Spanje. XII. Afrika 14).

Aan het hoofd van elke diocees of provinciegroep stond een plaatsvervanger der prefecten of *vicarius praefectorum praetorio* (of kortweg: *vicarius*) als burgerlijk en militair landvoogd, die weer de militair-civiele gouverneurs of *proconsules* der
 130315 grotere provinciën en de *praesides* der kleinere provinciën onder zich had.

De steden verloren veel van hun vroeger zelfbestuur, en kwamen onder strenger centrale controle. Al behielden zij nog hun plaatselijke senaat, gekozen uit de erfelijke stand der *decurionen* of aanzienlijke (vgl. de regenten in onze latere republieken), toch werden ze voortaan geregeerd door de militair-civiele
 130320 stadsgouverneurs of *praefecti urbium*.

De oude republikeinse ambten der stad Rome, toch al weinig belangrijk, werden nu deels afgeschaft; deels verlaagd tot erebaantjes, door de keizer vergeven, zoals het consulaat en het lidmaatschap van de senaat (niet te verwarren met de erfelijke
 130325 stand der senatoren of *perfectissimi*).

Zo werden alle ambtenaren, van hoog tot laag, middellijk of onmiddellijk benoemd door de opperkeizer die, als aardse Jupiter, alleen aan zijn hemelse collega verantwoording schuldig was voor het wel en wee van zijn onderdanen.

HEIDENKEIZER EN CHRISTENDOM.

130330 Typerend voor Diocletianus, maar geheel in zijn stelsel passend, is zijn voorliefde voor de oud-Romeinse *staatsgodsdienst*, en zijn totaal passeren van de godsdienst van het leger: de Mithrasdienst, die aan monotheïsme grensde. Slechts een van zijn mederegenten, de caesar Constantius Chlorus, was deze laatste leer toegedaan; de twee overigen volgden blindelings hun opperkeizer in diens religieuze voorkeur. Zo
 130335 vereerde de augustus Maximianus in 't bijzonder Hercules, en noemde zichzelf daarom Herculus, evenals Diocletianus naar diens Jupiter-dienst Jovius heette. Maar vooral Galerius, evenals Maximianus van Illyrische boer tot soldatenkeizer opgewerkt, overtrof zijn schoonvader Diocles haast in ijver voor het oude heidendom en stijfde hem daarin door zijn steeds toenemende invloed.

130340 Met zorg zagen beiden de verbreiding van nieuwe niet-nationale godsdiensten aan. De manicheërs, een voor die tijd gevaarlijke sekte, die openlijk het Kwaad als scheppend wereldbeginsel eerden, en daardoor een omwenteling dreigden te brengen ook in maatschappelijke begrippen, werden bij keizerlijk edict (296) op de brandstapel gebracht. Nog bleven de Christenen gespaard, mogelijk door voorspraak van Valera en
 130345 haar moeder *Prisca*, die er velen duldden in haar gevolg aan het hof in Nicomedia, waar zij, evenals Galerius, met de keizer samenwoonden. Maar voor hoe lang? Aan het hof kregen heidense priesters, demonenbezweerders, astrologen en vooral vogelwichelaars steeds meer macht.

Uit de ingewanden van duiven poogde de bijgelovige keizer de verborgen
 130350 toekomstgeheimen van de tijd, vogelsnel en door geen mensenbrein vast te houden, te doorvorsen.

Ook zijn schoonzoon Galerius, niet intellectueel, van boerse oorsprong, maar een uitstekend militair en tevens een forse indrukwekkende verschijning, volgde de keizer in zijn godenverering, en werd hoe langer hoe meer een persoon van gezag aan het hof.
 130355 Naar hem luisterde de oude, afgeleefde heerser allengs, veel meer dan naar zijn eigen vrouw *Prisca* en zijn dochter *Valeria*, die hoe langer hoe meer haar christelijke sympathieën moesten verbergen.

Deze conservatieve raadsman nu was het vooral die als vertegenwoordiger der militairen, meest Mithras-dienaren, de keizer dreef tot christenvervolging.

130360 Toch overdrijft *Lactantius* duidelijk waar hij Galerius voorstelt als een bullebak van een ijservreter, die met zijn donderende basstem de oude keizer zo tiranniseerde, dat hij hem zowel tot christenvervolging als tot troonsafstand zou hebben gedwongen. Want elders beweert hij (*Lactantius*), dat Galerius zich juist liet leiden door zijn hevig heidense moeder Romula, uit Dacië geboortig en door zijn trouwe vriend en
 130365 wapenbroeder Licinius, de latere vijand van Constantijn. Bovendien noemt onze zegsman zelf nog andere raadslieden, die de opperkeizer dreven tot dit besluit.

Immers, niet alleen bij de militairen (zoals Galerius), niet alleen bij het lagere volk, maar ook bij de *intellectuelen*, zoals de meeste ambtenaren, juristen en retoren

was het Christendom gehaat. En velen van hen hoorden tot de naaste vertrouwelingen van de keizer.

Grote invloed ging bijvoorbeeld uit van zekeren *Hierocles* 17) ex-vicarius van het Oosten, en toen ten tijde praeses van Bithynië, die Diocletianus voortdurend tegen de Christenen poogde op te stoken. Vermoedelijk was hij tevens de auteur van een thans verloren Grieks werk "Aan de Christenen", waartegen later Lactantius in zijn *Divinae Institutiones* (V, 2) polemiseert. In dit werk viel de heidense schrijver de bijbel aan als een boek vol tegenstrijdigheden en noemde Jezus' leerlingen ruw, cultuurloos en daardoor onbetrouwbaar. De wonderen van Jezus stelde hij verre beneden de toverkunsten van de heidense heiland Apollonius van Thyana, en weigerde hem, zelfs op grond van die weinige wonderen als een God te beschouwen, zoals de Christenen deden.

Toch was zijn toon niet agressief, maar blijkens de ondertitel *φιλαληθεῖς* de waarheidslievende die zijn boeken voerden 18), wilde hij zijn tegenstanders overtuigen door objectieve waarheid.

Vanwaar echter die algemene vijandschap tegen het Christendom, zowel bij overheid als volk?

Het merendeels heidense volk haatte ze allereerst om hun openlijke minachting voor alle andere godsdiensten. Maar ook omdat vooral *Semieten* (Joden, Syriërs, Afrikanen) aanvankelijk de dragers en verbreiders waren. Telkens en telkens klonk dan ook in de eerste en tweede eeuw als luide eis tot vervolging "Christiani ad leones", even razend onredelijk als moderne pogroms in Oost-Europa en antisemitische hetzes in 't Westen. Nog Domitianus had de Christenen vervolgd als een Joodse sekte. Doch tijdens de Syrische en Afrikaanse keizers in het begin der derde eeuw kwam hierin verandering. Allengs vormden geboren Romeinen en Grieken het merendeel der Christenen, zodat zij nog wel impopulair, maar niet zo sterk gehaat werden als vroeger.

Dit kwam door hun onvermoeibare inwendige zending, hun exploiteren van elke marteldood tot proseliëtmakerij, en vooral: hun uitstekende organisatie, waartegen het in talloze sekten versnipperde heidendom niet op kon.

Juist hun organisatie maakte hen in de ogen der wereldlijke overheid staatsgevaarlijk. De weigering der Christenen om op de keizerlijke altaren te offeren, was dan ook meer een voorwendsel dan de eigenlijke oorzaak geweest van vroeger vervolgingen. Neen, de oorzaak waarom de keizers hen vreesden was hun hecht aaneengesloten, over heel het rijk vertakte kerk-verband, waardoor zij macht hadden over duizenden en als 't ware een *Staat in de Staat* vormden.

Dit was voor hen even onduldbaar als bijvoorbeeld later de geprivilegieerde macht der Hugenoten voor Richelieu.

Slechts een geringe verzwakking van het centrale absolutistische gezag, slechts een sterker verbreiding van het Christendom zou nodig zijn om van de bisschoppen *plaatselijke vorstjes* te maken. De verdere geschiedenis, het ontstaan der wereldlijke macht van paus en prelaten, heeft dit bewezen.

Galerius' enige, herhaalde raad aan zijn schoonvader moest dus wezen: Druk het Christendom met alle kracht de kop in, voor het te laat is.

Ook de keizer werd de nieuwe religie hoe langer hoe slechter gezind, maar terwijl Galerius als houwdegen er dadelijk op los wou slaan was hijzelf als ervaren staatsman voorzichtiger. Immers aan 't hof of in 't leger waren nog vele Christenen. Die moest men eerst verwijderen, om op beide machten volkomen te kunnen vertrouwen.

Een voorwendsel om het paleis te ontkerstenen was spoedig gevonden. De mislukking van een offerwichelarij werd toegeschreven aan Christelijke hovelingen, die het kruis hadden geslagen en zo de goden vertoornd. Dat dit slechts een voorwendsel was van Diocletianus en niet de ware oorzaak (zoals bijvoorbeeld O. Seeck aanneemt), volgt uit het feit, dat hij al 15 jaar lang bij alle mogelijke gelegenheden Christelijke hovelingen had toegelaten, en hij dus al veel eerder over hun kruis slaan geklaagd kon hebben. Nu greep hij slechts naar een welkome kans om de christelijke invloed in zijn paleis te vernietigen. Hij stelde namelijk het offeren verplichtend voor alle hovelingen, ook voor zijn eigen Christenlijk-gezinde vrouw Prisca. De meesten gingen hierop - althans uiterlijk - tot het heidendom over, doch enkelen, Christen gebleven, bleven ondanks de bedreigingen van de keizer, nog in het paleis geduld.

Daarna werden - onder voorwendsel, dat de heidense oud Romeinse ritus voor de veldslag noodzakelijk was - alle Christenen uit het leger gestoten. Dit was nodig om de trouw van de troepen, in geval van troebelen te verzekeren.

Maar Galerius, de fanatische heiden, was daarmee niet tevreden. Hij drong aan op volstrekte, strenge vervolging over alle standen van het rijk. Lang bood de voorzichtige grijsaard hem weerstand en wees er op, "hoe verderfelijke het zou zijn, de hele aarde te verontrusten en het bloed van velen te vergieten" 19).

Toch stemde hij erin toe, een geheime raad van juristen en militairen bijeen te

- 130435 roepen, om erover te beraadslagen. Hier vond Galerius de meeste bijval. Nog wilde de keizer, voor alle zekerheid, in zijn heidens bijgeloof het orakel van Apollo raadplegen. Pas toen deze "als vijand van de goddelijke religie" 19), antwoordde, begon de vervolging, die de keizer aanvankelijk *niet bloedig* bedoelde, maar toch weldra door noodlottige samenloop van omstandigheden, in de grootste gruwelen
- 130440 ontaardde.
De eerste vervolgingsdaad was: het doen ontruimen van een kerk, waar alle heilige schriften, die men er vond, werden verbrand. Daarna werd het gebouw tot de bodem toe gesloopt. Dit gebeurde op de dies Terminalis, de dag aan de god der grenzen geheiligd. De bijgelovige keizer wou daarmee een grens of einde maken aan het
- 130445 Christendom (23 februari 303).
De volgende dag werd het eigenlijke vernederings-edict openlijk aangeplakt. Hierbij werden godsdienstige samenkomsten aan Christenen verboden, bevel gegeven hun kerken te slopen of te sluiten, hun heilige schriften te doen uitleveren en verbranden, terwijl hun de toegang tot ereambten en staatsbetrekkingen werd geweigerd. Verder
- 130450 mocht geen Christelijke slaaf rechtsgeldig vrijgelaten worden, en werd voor procederende partijen bij de rechtbank het offeren verplichtend gesteld, waardoor geen enkele Christen ooit als aanklager kon optreden, terwijl ook tegen geprivilegieerde Christenen (uit de hogere standen) foltering geoorloofd werd. Toen een Christen dit plakkaat honend had afgerukt, werd hij gearresteerd en stierf
- 130455 als eerste martelaar. Natuurlijk steeg, nu er eenmaal bloed gevloeid was, van weerszijden de verbittering.
Daarna brak tot tweemaal toe een brand uit in de vleugel van het paleis, waar de keizer woonde. Galerius gaf daaraan – en waarschijnlijk met recht – de schuld aan wraakzuchtige Christenen. Enige hof-beambten (Petrus Dorotheus en Gorgonius), hiervan verdacht, werden gemarteld en omgebracht.
- 130460 Ja, de keizer, hevig vertoornd omdat men hem in zijn eigen huis levend had willen verbranden, beging nu de onbillijkheid, de schuld van weinige, op alle Christenen in Nicomedia te schuiven. Deze werden als brandstichters voor het gerecht gesleept, gefolterd en ter dood gebracht. Het aantal martelaars, die vielen voor hun geloof,
- 130465 was ontzettend. Natuurlijk maakte de gewijde sage zich later daarvan meester, zodat in de heiligenverhalen ons de namen van *Adrianus* en *Genesius* worden overgeleverd. Adrianus was rechter in Nicomedia en werd door het standvastig gedrag der Christenen, die voor het tribunaal weigerden met het verplichte offer hun geloof te verloochenen, tot hun godsdienst bekeerd en daarna zelf terechtgesteld. Genesius was hoftoneel-
- 130470 speler des keizers, die de opdracht had, de dood van Adrianus, tot smaad van de Christenen, tragikomisch uit te beelden op de planken. Maar hij had zich door zijn rol zo ingeleefd in het waarachtige karakter van de martelaar, dat hij werd ontroerd en opeens "getroffen door de goddelijke genade". Zo beleed hij dan in de laatste akte van het gelegenheidsspel, heldhaftig, voor keizer en hof, zijn nieuw geloof en vond
- 130475 in de vuurdood zijn martelaarsglorie. Deze legenden hoe treffend ook getuigend van de helse sfeer van bloed en vlammen die toen het Oosten doorlaaide, zullen wel niet waar zijn gebeurd. Want anders had de Christelijke apologeet Lactantius die zo op de hoogte blijkt van de toenmalige toestanden in Nicomedia en geneigd is tot anekdotes en melodramatische overdrijving de namen van zulke vermaarde martelaars wel gegeven.
- 130480 Na dit strenge strafgericht in de hofstad, vernam de keizer tijdingen van een opstand in Syrië, waar een usurpator Eugenius zich opwierp. Waarschijnlijk was dit het werk van afgedankte, gebroodroofde Christensoldaten. Althans Diocletianus hield het er voor, en na onderdrukking van de opstand besloot hij tot verscherping van de vervolging over het hele rijk.
- 130485 Hij gaf zijn mede-augustus, zijn 2 caesars en zijn proconsuls bevel, om alle Christenen – vanaf de bisschoppen tot aan het minste gemeentelid – gevangen te nemen en door alle denkbare martelingen ze te dwingen om zich te bekeren tot het heidendom. Doch de praktisch uitvoering van dit decreet ("rescript") was overal verschillend.
- 130490 De Westerse augustus, Maxiamianus, een persoonlijke vijand van Galerius, wiens raad men, inzake de vervolging, niet had gevraagd, viel (meer uit gevoel van beledigd-zijn dan uit medelijden) de Christenen zo min mogelijk lastig, en stelde zich tevreden hun kerken te sluiten en hun heilige schriften op te eisen. Hetzelfde deed zijn caesar, de verdraagzame Constantius Chlorus.
- 130495 Maar in 't Oosten en in Afrika, waar fanatiek-heidense proconsuls heersten, werden talloze nieuwe middelen uitgevonden om de ongelukkigen te folteren. Gloeiende roosters, openlijke schoffering van maagden, afsnijding van de borsten bij vrouwen, geen gruwel was hun te laag tegen deze gehate sekte.
De gevangenen raakten overvuld, zodat van de nieuw-aangebrachte Christenen de mannen als dwangarbeiders in de bergwerken moesten worden gezonden, en de vrouwen als
- 130500 blanke slavinnen verkocht aan bordeelhouders. En intussen werden zij telkens voor de

rechtbank gemarteld. Zo bijvoorbeeld bisschop Donatus van Carthago, die de gehele vervolgingstijd in de kerker zat en intussen achtmaal op de pijnbank werd gespannen. Maar die vervolging was meteen een zuivering in de gelederen der gelovigen. De niet-overtuigden en onverschilligen vielen bij grote scharen af (lapsi) tot het heidendom, of leverden uit vrees hun heilige schriften uit (traditores). De overigen vormden een vurige, godgewijde schare, die de dood getroost, gaarne stierven met de naam van Christus op hun lippen.

Als een vreselijke pest-epidemie woedde de heidense onverdraagzaamheid, zijn laatste krachten zamelend, tegen de nieuwe godsdienst. Galerius, de conservatief, had dus zijn zin gekregen. Ook zijn invloed op de afgeleefden, door bijgeloof verbijsterde opperkeizer, werd steeds groter.

Deze was danig geschokt door de gebeurtenissen der laatste jaren. Zelfs hovelingen, die hij vroeger het meest vertrouwde, had hij, uit vrees voor de Christenen vermoord; hun hele sekte met alle aanhangers gevangen gezet en doen martelen. En nog hielp het niets; de arglistige Christengod bleef zijn belijders steunen in hun koppig verzet tegen de keizer en de goden van de staat.

Als ijverig vorser der toekomst, zowel uit vogeltekenen als gesternten, en gekweld door kwade voorgevoelens, meende hij dan ook, dat dit alles weinig goeds voorspelde, noch voor de verdere regering van hemzelf, de aardse Jupiter, noch voor zijn ambtgenoot daarboven in de Olympische hemel.

Bovendien snakte hij ernaar, de geweldige bloedschuld, die hij op zijn geweten had geladen, met de last van het gezag en de verantwoording voor verdere vervolging van zich af te werpen.

Dit laatste was juist ook de wens van zijn schoonzoon Galerius, die, zelf eierzuchtig reikhalzend naar de troon, alles deed om de grijsaard te stijven in diens plan om na de viering van zijn Vicennaliën af te treden. Bij dit twintigjarig regeringsjubileum, in 303 te Rome gevierd, waarbij ook Maximianus Herculus was verschenen, werd ook deze door de opperkeizer (maar op raad van Galerius) tot de plechtige eed gedwongen tegelijk afstand te zullen doen. Hijzelf, Galerius, zou opperkeizer worden;

Constantius Chlorus zijn mede-augustus. Tot aanstaande caesares wist hij twee creaturen van hemzelf, Severus voor het Westen en Maximinus Daja voor het Oosten, benoemd te krijgen. Dit met duidelijk voorbijgaan van de jonge, eierzuchtige Constantijn, die toen eerste luitenant 20) was in 't keizers lijfwacht, en er stellig op gerekend had, eens Caesar te worden. Maar Galerius had hem in ongenade doen vallen bij de keizer, daar hij het nodeloos moorden tegen de Christenen had durven afkeuren. Ook vreesde hij hem waarschijnlijk als toekomstig mededinger. Hij zond hem althans opzettelijk met te weinig troepen op gevaarlijke expeditie tegen de Daciërs, in de hoop hem te doen sneuvelen. Maar Constantijn overwon en bleef in leven.

Intussen had Diocletianus, na de terugkeer van zijn reis naar Rome, door de vermoeienissen ziek geworden, in Nicomedia openlijk afstand gedaan van de troon; Maximianus Herculus eveneens tegen wil en dank te Milaan. Zo was dus Galerius de nieuwe heer der aarde. Hij riep zijn officier Constantijn naar de hofstad en eiste diens eed van trouw. Deze kwam en voldeed daaraan. Maar aan 't paleis hield de argwanende Galerius hem vrijwel in gijzeling, mogelijk om een pand van trouw te hebben van zijn vader, zijn pas benoemde mede-augustus Constantius. Toen die evenwel zijn zoon naar het Westen riep, en de opperkeizer hem nog niet los wou laten, besloot Constantijn te ontsnappen.

In vroegste dageraad, toen hof en heerser nog sliepen, reisde hij, na de koetsierpostmeester te hebben omgekocht, in diens uniform vermomd, weg met de wagen van de keizerlijke posterij. Om alle vervolging te ontkomen, liet hij bij elk nieuw station, waar de paarden werden afgespannen en voor verse verwisseld, de pasgebruikte doden 21). Zo bereikte hij de Bosporus en vandaar naar de overkant gevaren, na een lange, avontuurlijke tocht door Thracië, Illyrië, Germanië en Gallië, bij Boulogne het zeestrand. Toen stak hij over naar Engeland, waar zijn vader vertoefde, bij wie hij veilig was voor de aanslagen van Galerius.

DE OPKOMST VAN CONSTANTIJN.

Met Constantijn treedt, na Julius Caesar, de grootste veldheerstaatsman in de Romeinse geschiedenis. Tevergeefs heeft Eusebius hem tot een oog-verdraaiende kwezel willen maken; tevergeefs heeft de Grieks-Katholieke kerk zijn keizershoofd met een totaal overbodige heiligen-krans pogen op te sieren. Hij was geen heilige en zelfs geen vrome, hij was eenvoudig een groot, amoreel staatsman, die door al zijn eigenschappen, zowel zijn z.g. "deugden" als zijn "gebreken" was voorbeschikt om in zijn tijd te heersen.

Reeds zijn uiterlijk had hij voor. Wij kunnen er slechts naar raden, daar op munten zijn kop is geïdealiseerd en het enige z.g. standbeeld van Constantijn, afkomstig van

diens triomfboog in Rome (waar het bovenop stond) eigenlijk niet naar hem, maar naar Trajanus is gebeeldhouwd (het stond op diens triomfboog), en pas later, zo goed en zo kwaad als het ging, naar Constantijn is... *bijgewerkt!!!* Laat ons dus, noodgedwongen, afgaan op beschrijvingen.

Welgebouwd en breedgeschouderd, met het van zijn vader geërfde stoere Illyrische type, droeg hij op de gespierde nek een kop, die met zijn vlamme en toch onbeweeglijke ogen, en regelmatige trekken tegelijk innemend en ontzagwekkend werkte. Onvermoeibaar op lange marsen, onstuimig en steeds vooraan in de aanval, tot in 't roekeloze toe, was hij tevens een berekenend strateeg. Bemind bij zijn manschappen, wende hij ze toch aan zo strenge tucht, dat ze nooit zonder zijn toestemming durfden te plunderen of zelfs gevangenen te beroven. Van jongs af aan gewend aan bloedvergieten, minachtte hij medelijden als een zwakheid en was nodeloos wreed. Vroeg getrouwd, bleef hij vrij van ontucht.

Als staatsman verstond hij uitstekend de kunst tot veinzen, wat zowel zijn veelvuldige woordbreuk als zijn latere uiterlijke Christengezindheid begrijpelijk maakt. Maar deze trek tot huichelarij wist hij te bedekken met een minzame glimlach van zijn gelaat, dat hij gladgeschoren droeg om te lijken op Mithras-Helios-Apollo, zijn lievelingsgod.

Maar vooral was hij geducht door zijn demonische kracht van sympathie-uitstraling en wilsoplegging over miljoenen, waardoor alles neder boog voor zijn niets-ontziende eerezucht, evenals later Napoleon.

Geen wonder dan ook dat hij haast onmiddellijk bij zijn aankomst in Brittannië zijns vaders leger voor zich wist in te nemen.

Hij kwam nog juist op tijd. De oude Constantius Chlorus, nog steeds, ondanks zijn benoeming tot augustus, wegens oorlog in Engeland vertoevend, voelde zijn einde naderen en had daarom zijn zoon tot zich geroepen. Zijn kinderen uit het tweede huwelijk waren nog minderjarig en in Constantijn zag hij de enige, die zijn werk kon voortzetten als hij stierf. Maar toch was de oude nog krachtig genoeg om samen met zijn zoon een zegevierende veldtocht tegen de Picten en Scoten in 't Noorden te houden. Na deze laatste krachtsinspanning stierf hij te Eboracum (York) (306).

Dit stelde zijn half-barbaarse legioenen geweldig teleur. Men had gehoopt, na het augustus-woorden van Constantius, naar het rijke Zuiden te trekken, waar buit en fortuin te behalen viel, en nu was hij dood! Maar het kon nog steeds, als zijn buitengesloten zoon hun aanvoerder werd. Wat kon hun het verbod van de afgedankte Diocles eigenlijk schelen! Geen wonder dus, dat zij op aanstichten van de Alemanse officier Ercus, Constantijn, bij diens uitrit uit het dodenhuis, het keizerlijk purper over de schouders wierpen. Wenend, terwijl hij zijn paard de sporen gaf, zou deze zich hieraan hebben gepoogd te onttrekken. 22) Het roerde hem, dat deze ruwe, ruiggebaarde veteranen, hun trouw aan zijn pas gestorven vader nu overbrachten op hem, de nauwelijks gekende zoon, maar hij vond het waarschijnlijk piëteitloos tegenover zijn vader, nu, zo gauw al, het purper te aanvaarden. Of waren het vreugdetranen over de snelle bevrediging van zijn eerezucht, die hij nu nog onder valse bescheidenheid verborg? Hoe het ook zij, hij overwon zijn aarzeling spoedig en zond aan Galerius boden, om diens erkenning te krijgen.

Nog in 't zelfde jaar stak hij over zee en dreef de Franken, die met verbreking van de vrede Gallië waren binnengevallen, over de Rijn terug, waarna hij tot straf hun land, vooral dat van de Bructeren, plunderde en verwoestte. Al het vee werd geroofd, de dorpen in brand gestoken, zodat maar weinig vluchtelingen (met vrouwen en kinderen?) in de ruige vrijplaats der wouden konden ontkomen. Twee Germanen-koningen, Ascaricus en Regaisus, met hun meeste weerbare mannen werden gevangen genomen en tot viering van zijn eerste triomf, liet de keizer deze blonde barbaren voor de beren werpen in zijn arena te Trier. Zo groot was het aantal dier halfnaakte van vrees opeengedrongen ongelukkigen, dat zij de wilde beesten afmatten door hun massa vlees 23).

Ondanks deze wreedheid, zelfs in strijd met het toenmalig krijgsgebruik, gevangen vorsten te sparen, prijst de veile, Gallische lofredenaar de graag-gevreide keizer, dat hij met deze bloeddaad voorbeeldige schrik verspreidde onder de vijanden van het rijk. Wie waren hier de eigenlijke "barbaren", Romeinen of Germanen? 24).

Intussen had Galerius, die zelf te weinig troepen had, om Constantijn daarginds helemaal in 't Noorden te bestrijden, *noodgedwongen in diens usurpatie berust*, maar erkende hem niet als augustus, doch als *caesar*. Hij stond dus onder Severus, die nu van caesar keizer van het Westen zou worden. Maar daar deze nog steeds ongevaarlijk in 't Oosten verbleef, nam Constantijn met die benoeming genoegen.

Een logisch gevolg van deze later gewettigde usurpatie was, dat de eveneens buitengesloten zoon van de ex-keizer Maximilianus, in Rome ook het purper bemachtigde. Maar deze, Maxentius, *kreeg nooit daarvoor de wettige erkenning van*

Galerius, zodat hij, in tegenstelling met Constantijn, van 't begin tot het einde bleef: de "tyrannus" of usurpator.

130635 Wat voor man was Maxentius? Zijn uiterlijk werd – maar door zijn vijanden – bespot als verachtelijk klein, en met slappe kromme beentjes 25). Over zijn karakter zijn alle zegslieden het vrijwel eens. Onevenwichtig zoon van een door-en-door-barbaarse Illyrische vader, en een waarschijnlijk hoogbeschaafde, Syrische moeder, Eutropia, had hij van de eerste zijn hoogmoed, wreedheid, bijgeloof en grove genotzucht, van de
130640 tweede zijn arglistig intrigerende eerezucht geërfd. Uit antipathie tegen zijn vader leefde [hij] lui en losbandig op zijn landgoed, 6 mijlen buiten Rome. Maar Constantijns verheffing wekte zijn nijd, en spoorde hem aan diens voorbeeld te volgen. Wellicht waande hij het keizerschap een makkelijk middel tot nog buitensporiger uitspattingen dan hij gewoon was. Lafheid weerhield hem evenwel,
130645 zichzelf nu reeds openlijk als heerser op te werpen. Liever bleef hij eerst nog veiligheidshalve *achter de schermen* intrigeren. Want hij was geen willoos creatuur der pretorianen, zoals O. Seeck ten onrechte beweert (vgl. Zosimus, II, 9). Zijn passiviteit bij zijn verheffing was maar schijn. Hij keek eenvoudig de kat uit de boom. Door kosteloze koren-uitdeling won hij alvast aanhangers onder het volk;
130650 door geldelijke omkopingen onder de *pretorianen*. Nu waren beide partijen, lijfwacht en burgerij, al van te voren uiterst ontevreden, dat Rome geen keizerstad meer was; de lijfwacht omdat zijn vroegere rol van paleisrevolutie en nieuwe keizers te maken was uitgespeeld; terwijl het neringdoende volk sinds de verdwijning van het hof niet veel meer verdiende en de senaat van
130655 politieke invloed bleef uitgesloten. 26) Met recht weet men dan ook de algehele achteruitgang van Rome aan de verplaatsing der regering naar de provinciën 26). Toen dan ook, ten teken van Constantijns erkenning door Galerius diens nieuwe caesars-standbeeld in Rome werd tentoongesteld, raakten volk en soldaten in oproer. Men wenste een eigen keizer in Rome. Onder leiding van de
130660 tribunen Marcellus en Marcellinus en de aediel Lucianus, allen handlangers van de nog onzichtbare Maxentius, werd de gehate quaestor Abellius, 26) die hun plannen poogde te verijdelen, vermoord als aanhanger van Galerius. Daarna begaf zich 'n troep pretorianen naar het landgoed van Maxentius en bood hem, juist wat hij gewent had, het *keizerlijk purper* aan. In Rome gehuldigd, ontving hij weldra de
130665 bijvalsbetuigingen van heel Italië, waar men overal ontstemd was over de verregaande bevoorrechtiging der provinciën en terugkeer van de vroegste keizertijd wenste. Maar in deze nieuwe usurpatie kon Galerius niet berusten. Hij stuurde zijn mede-augustus Severus (wettige opvolger van Constantius Chlorus) naar Italië, om de opstandige hoofdstad weer te onderwerpen. Nu was Maxentius in nood. In doodsangst
130670 voor een moorddadige nederlaag, riep hij de hulp in van zijn vader, die nog altijd wrokte over zijn troonsafstand op een landgoed in Lucanië. De oude Maximianus stemde toe zijn zoon te helpen, maar alleen op voorwaarde dat hijzelf weer augustus zou worden. Daarop haalde hij de oude purpermantel, hoewel ietwat mottig geworden, weer uit zijn klerenkast, en begaf zich zo uitgedost naar zijn angstige zoon in Rome, die
130675 alles goedvond. Maar zijn ingrijpen had een onverwacht gevolg. Severus' troepen bestonden grotendeels uit de z.g. Moorse (Mauretaanse) regimenten, die eens onder Maximianus hadden meegevochten in diens Afrikaanse oorlog. Toen zij nu hoorden, dat het niet alleen tegen Maxentius ging, maar ook tegen zijn vader, hun oude keizer en veldheer, wie zij
130680 eens trouw hadden gezworen, weigerden zij tegen hem te vechten en liepen (bovendien door beloften van beloning gelokt) vlak voor de muren van de hoofdstad, die zij moesten belegeren, tot hem over. IJlings moest Severus vluchtten naar Ravenna. Hier wist Maxentius, die opzag tegen een lange belegering, hem vanachter de wallen te voorschijn te lokken, onder voorwendsel van persoonlijke onderhandelingen. Maar
130685 eenmaal in zijn legerkamp, nam hij hem gevangen en hoewel de oude Maximianus hem lijfsbehoud had beloofd, werd na diens vertrek naar Gallië de ongelukkige bedrogen Severus door de onbetrouwbare Maxentius verraderlijk vermoord. Om zijn dood te wreken voerde de vertoornde Galerius zelf een nieuw leger tegen de usurpator aan. Maar ook hierin drongen handlangers van Maxentius door, die rijkelijk
130690 goud rondstrooiden onder de soldaten, zodat ook deze troepen, omgekocht, grotendeels tot hem overliepen. Plunderend uit wraak, trok Galerius met de rest terug. Intussen was de verstandhouding tussen vader en zoon hoe langer hoe slechter geworden. Nu het gevaar voorbij was had Maxentius zijn vader, die hem feitelijk had gered, niet meer nodig. Ondankbaar en piëteitsloos genoeg, poogde hij zich van diens
130695 lastige mede-regering en vaderlijk toezicht te ontdoen. Maar ook de vader deed hetzelfde tegenover zijn zoon. In 't leger, weer gedund tot louter pretorianen – de Moorse regimenten moesten juist in Afrika een opstand bedwingen – verklaarde hij Maxentius ongeschikt voor het opperbevel. Zelfs zou hij

hem, volgens een ander zegsman, het purper van de schouders hebben gepoogd te scheuren. Hieruit bleek zonneklaar zijn eigen streven naar de volstrekke macht. 130700 Natuurlijk beantwoorden de soldaten, door Maxentius' geschenken aan hem verplicht, de oude met een gehuil van honend protest. Toen redde deze zich eruit door te beweren, dat hij eenvoudig uit vaderliefde *de gevoelens van het leger jegens zijn zoon had willen peilen* 27). Toch vond hij het maar veiliger zich uit de voeten te maken, naar 130705 Gallië. Hier wilde hij, teleurgesteld in zijn eierzucht, bij Constantijn proberen, wat hem bij zijn zoon was mislukt. Als lokaas moest daartoe dienen zijn jongste dochter Fausta. 28) (De oudste, eigenlijk zijn stiefdochter, was al veel vroeger uitgehuwd, aan Constantius Chlorus).

Met dit huwelijk en de Augustus-titel poogde Maximianus Constantijn te winnen voor 130710 zijn plan, hem tot opperkeizer te maken. Maar na de trouwdag, toen de buit eenmaal binnen was, stak zijn schoonzoon geen hand voor hem uit.

Omstreeks die tijd belegde Galerius, ten einde raad na zijn mislukte expeditie tegen 130715 Maxentius, een congres te *Carnuntum*, waarbij behalve Diocletianus, ook Maximianus Herculus was genodigd. Toen deze beide oude wapenbroeders elkaar hier wederzagen, voelden zij maar al te duidelijk hoeveel de jaren hen hadden verwijderd. Welk een contrast tussen de gelaten kluizenaar van *Salona*, die een kalme eenzaamheid had verkozen boven de wereldheerschappij en de onrustige, nog steeds eierzuchtige ex-keizer van het Westen! Tevergeefs poogden dan ook en Galerius en Maximianus hun 130720 vroegere opperheer te overreden weer ten trone te stijgen en door zijn gezag aan de verwarring een einde te maken. "Als jullie in Salona m'n groente zagen, die ik met eigen handen heb opgekweekt, dan zou je dadelijk oordelen, dat ik dit nooit moest proberen," was zijn antwoord 29). Ja, zelfs wisten hij en de belanghebbende Galerius de ex-keizer van het Westen te bewegen, het geusurpeerde purper weer neer te leggen. Hun beider tijd was immers voorbij. In plaats van de (door Maxentius) vermoorde 130725 Severus, wist Galerius tot nieuwe augustus van het Westen een oude strijdmakker van hem benoemd te krijgen: *Licinius*, die zich vroeger met hem samen op een veldtocht in Dacië onderscheiden had.

Diocles keerde naar zijn moestuinen in Dalmatië terug, maar zijn ex-collega begaf zich naar Gallië. Nog steeds verbitterd over zijn machtsverlies, voelde hij weldra 130730 spijt over zijn belofte en besloot hier tot een *staatsgreep*.

Van de afwezigheid van zijn schoonzoon, die juist in het Noorden opnieuw tegen de Franken en Alemannen vocht, maakte hij misbruik, door kroonschat en krijgskas te bemachtigen en zich in het sterke Arelatum (Arles) te nestelen. Maar Constantijn kwam 130735 ijlings terug om zijn plan te verijdelen. Hij vluchtte naar Massilia. Zijn geworven huursoldaten leverden hem echter aan de belegeraar uit. Nadat deze, op de smeekbeden van zijn vrouw, Maximianus' leven had gespaard en hem vrijliet, poogde de vergrijsde intrigant zijn schoonzoon in diens slaapkamer te vermoorden. Maar zijn dochter Fausta wist het geheim van die aanslag hem uit te horen en verried dit aan haar man, wiens leven zij liever redde dan dat van haar vader nog langer te ontzien. Men legde een 130740 gebrekkig en onbruikbaar eunuch in plaats van Constantijn in het echtelijk bed en schoonzoon en dochter, achter een gordijn verscholen, waren getuigen hoe de oude Maximianus, 's nachts de kamer binnengeslopen, zijn gewaande vijand eigenhandig doordolkte. (Lact. de mort, c. XXX).

Op heterdaad betrapt, werd de oude veroordeeld tot een dood naar eigen keuze. Hij 130745 liet zich worgen. (Volgens anderen werd hij door Constantijn gehangen).

Daardoor waren er maar twee mededingers in het Westen overgebleven: Constantijn en Maxentius. Want Licinius, hoewel de wettig-benoemde augustus van het Westen, vond het voorlopig veiliger (bij gebrek aan troepen?) in het Oosten te blijven, aan het hof 130750 van Galerius, en gedroeg zich alsof hij die eens zou opvolgen.

Dit zou spoedig gebeuren. Galerius lag op sterven aan een ongeneselijke kwaal, waarschijnlijk laatste stadium syfilis 30). Zijn Christelijk-gezinde vrouw Valeria weet deze ziekte natuurlijk aan Gods wrekende hand en overreedde hem nu eindelijk de Christenvervolging te staken.

Galerius, hoewel hij heiden bleef, wilde zich toch met de blijkbaar vertoornde 130755 Christen-god verzoenen en stemde toe, temeer omdat het doel van de vervolging, massabekeerlingen der "ongelovigen" tot het heidendom, toch was mislukt. Zo vaardigde hij het tolerantie-edict van 311 uit, dat eer machteloze wrok dan verzoening ademt en vooral merkwaardig is, door zijn bijgelovig verzoek aan de Christenen, hun zo machtige God voor zijn genezing te bidden. Maar tevergeefs, hij stierf nog in 't 130760 zelfde jaar en werd opgevolgd door Licinius als opperkeizer, die evenals Constantijn, het edict mede had ondertekend.

Alleen Maxentius, de niet-erkende usurpator van Italië en Maximinus Daja, de vroegere caesar van het Oosten, die ter wille van Licinius was gepasseerd, deden daaraan niet mee. Maxentius, die nog wel eerst om Galerius te plagen de Christenen had gespaard,

- 130765 werd na diens verdraagzaamheids-edict plotseling Christenvervolger, waardoor hij domweg Constantijn in de kaart speelde.
- Maximinus Daja, die door Licinius van de opvolging over het Oosten was beroofd, verklaarde hem de oorlog. Maar de ander, hoewel hij sterker stond, voelde zich nog niet voor de strijd gereed en wist door persoonlijke onderhandelingen, op een schip
- 130770 in de Hellespont, Daja tot voorlopige verzoening te bewegen. Licinius werd bevestigd in zijn bezit van het Balkan-schiereiland; Maximinus Daja, behield, voortaan ook augustus betiteld, het verdere Oosten met de hoofdstad Nicomedia, dus verreweg het belangrijkste deel.
- Deze Maximinus Daja wordt ons voorgesteld (door Lactantius en Aurelius Victor) als
- 130775 een half-barbaarse jongeman van boerse afkomst, die zich door zijn ruwe vastberadenheid en overtuigd heidendom hoog had weten op te werken in de gunst van Galerius. Voor deze had hij althans niet ondergedaan in onmenselijke Christenmartelingen en ook na diens tolerantie-edict (311) zette hij ze heimelijk en wederrechtelijk voort. Volgens Lactantius was dit te wijten aan zijn ingeboren
- 130780 boosheid, maar de heiden Aurelius Victor vergoelijkt zijn misdaden als meestal bedreven in dronkenschap. Dan kreeg hij vlagen van de wreedste bloeddorstigheid en de laagste lusten; bracht onschuldigen van beide seksen om ze geld af te persen op de pijnbank en liet schone vrouwen en knapen uit de omtrek roven tot buitensporige uitspattingen. Doch zelf bewust van zijn verslaafdheid aan de drank, had hij zijn
- 130785 dienaars in gemoede verzocht, nooit zijn bevelen uit te voeren, voor hij weer nuchter was. Want dan kreeg hij meestal wroeging, zo hij wandaden had gepleegd. Hij leed dus blijkbaar periodiek aan die caesaren-waanzin van beurtelings bruut *genieten* en *vernietigen*, een ziekte, die zovele half-beschaafde heersers van de voor hen te hoge troon heeft neergestort.
- 130790 Na de dood van zijn voorganger Galerius was zijn eerste daad zich meester te maken van het keizerlijk paleis in Nicomedia. Hij had namelijk zijn trouwlustige ogen geslagen op Valeria, de keizerin-weduwe. Was het alleen om haar persoonlijke bekoring, zoals Lactantius wil? Mij dunk, er was nog een andere, politieke reden daarvoor. Immers aan haar gunstig-gezinde invloed dankten de Christenen het
- 130795 verdraagzaamheids-edict van de stervende Galerius. Thans, na zijn dood, dreigde het gezag van die sekte, die Maximinus Daja meer dan iets anders haatte, hand over hand toe te nemen, wijl beide vorstinnen zich steeds meer met Christelijk gevolg omringden. Het was dus uit *zelfverdediging*, dat hij – met zachtheid of anders met geweld – haar moest pogen over te halen tot een huwelijk met hem, de fanatieke
- 130800 heiden, om daarmee openlijk haar overgang te tonen. Daartoe bood hij haar zelfs aan, zijn eigen vrouw te verstoten. Maar zij weigerde met grote waardigheid, "wijl de doden-as van haar gestorven man nog lauw was". (Lact. de mort., c. 39). Toen nam de tiran andere maatregelen. Liefdeswraak, zoals Lactantius wil, kan het niet of niet alleen zijn geweest, maar hij wilde in haar vooral de beschermster der Christenen
- 130805 treffen. Ware zij waarlijk goedheidens geweest, dan zou hij met haar vervolging 'nodeloze wreedheid hebben begaan, nog wel jegens de dochter van zijn oude weldoener en geloofsgenoot Diocletianus en dus tegen Daja's eigen belang. Nu viel zijn wraakoefening samen met en was waarschijnlijk *gelijksoortig* aan zijn *hernieuwde vervolging* tegen de Christenen 31).
- 130810 Hij onteigende Valeria's paleis en verdere bezittingen en deed haar eunuchen en slaven voor haar ogen martelen. Twee van haar getrouwde vriendinnen – waarschijnlijk Christinnen, die haar stijsden in haar verzet – liet hij (volgens Lactantius) door een omgekochte Jood van overspel betichten en leverde ze aan beulshanden over. Valeria zelve werd met haar moeder Prisca verbannen naar een oase in de Syrische
- 130815 woestijn. Van hieruit schreven zij wanhopige brieven naar haar man en vader Diocletianus, om haar beide door zijn bemiddeling te verlossen. De oude man zond tal van smeekbrieven hiertoe aan Maximinus Daja, maar kreeg geen antwoord. Daarop zond hij een zijner bloedverwanten als bode, maar zonder uitwerking.
- Men kan begrijpen, hoe dit alles: de mishandeling van zijn eigen vrouw en dochter, de
- 130820 usurpaties van Constantijn en Maxentius, de beulsdood van zijn vroegere wapenbroeder Maximianus Herculus, de eenzame ex-keizer verbitterde en zijn droom van een blijde rustige oude dag in teruggetrokkenheid verstoorde.
- Intussen had Maxentius zijn positie in Rome danig verzwakt, zowel door zijn sinds 311 plotseling begonnen vervolging der Christenen (waarover vroeger), als door zijn
- 130825 groeiende *impopulariteit* bij *senaat* en *volk*.
- Toen dit regeringscollege, over zijn autocratisch optreden ontevredenheid uitte, begon hij gerechtelijke moorden tegen senatoren, waardoor hij meteen hun goederen confisqueren kon. Zelfs durfde hij zijn tirannenlusten onbeschaamd uit te leven door dochters en vrouwen tot uit de hoogste kringen te schaken en te misbruiken. (Zonaras
- 130830 meldt zelfs dienaangaande een *Lucretia*-verhaal).

- Ook maakten zijn quaestoren zich schuldig aan afpersingen bij het belasting-heffen. Tenslotte zag ook het lagere volk zich mishandeld door zijn soldaten. Dit gebeurde bijvoorbeeld tijdens de verbranding van de tempel van Fortuna. Een grote menigte snelde toe om het vuur te blussen, maar een soldaat braakte verwensingen uit tegen de
- 130835 godin en werd door het woedende volk gelyncht. (Zos. II, 13). Uit wraak richtten nu de pretorianen een bloedige slachting aan onder de menigte, die pas na grote moeite door Maxentius kon worden gestuit.
- Slechts een gewest deed een poging, zich van zijn drukkende tirannie te bevrijden, namelijk Afrika. Hier werd de stadhouder Alexander, een Pannonier (Aur. Vit.) of een
- 130840 Phrygier (Zosimus) ondanks zijn ouderdom en zijn militaire ongeschiktheid door de troepen met het purper bekleed. Daarop deed Maxentius terstond een tuchtigingsleger onder leiding van Rufius Volusianus inschepen naar Carthago. Deze bedwong de opstand spoedig, nam de usurpator gevangen en liet hem wurgen. Daarop gedroegen de overwinnaars zich hier als in een veroverd land. Nadat denunciatoren alle rijken
- 130845 hadden verraden, die met Alexander in betrekking hadden, gestaan, plunderden de soldaten hun huizen en vermoordden henzelf, waarna hun geld ten behoeve van Maximinus werd verbeurd verklaard. Gehele wijken van de stad werden verwoest. Ook omliggende steden deelden dit lot, zoals bijvoorbeeld Cirta, dat later onder Constantijn zelfs nieuw moest worden opgebouwd en toen verdoopt in "Constantina" (tgw. Constantine).
- 130850 Over de behaalde buit hield Maxentius in Rome triomf, waarbij hij de oude vijandschap tegen het vroeger Punische Carthago poogde na te apen.
- Zo zien we dan in zijn hele gebied: Italië en Afrika zijn heerschappij ontaard in een *militaire terreur*, waarbij de burgerbevolking, geen ogenblik meer zeker van bezit of leven, reikhalzend uitzag naar verlossing.
- 130855 Doch behalve met zijn eigen onderdanen, raakte Maxentius ook met omwonende vorsten op slechte voet. Licinius had hem nooit erkend en zijn zwager Constantijn, die na 310 nog wel een verbond met hem had willen sluiten, was als "moordenaar van zijn vader" ontwaardigd door hem afgestoten. (Hoewel hijzelf zijn eigen vader vroeger niet veel beter had behandeld). Natuurlijk zocht en vond Constantijn toen toenadering tot
- 130860 Licinius, een ervaren militair als hij, wiens steun hem in geval van oorlog te pas kon komen. Als bezegeling van het weldra gesloten verbond, had weldra de verloving plaats tussen zijn halfzuster Constantia en de veertig jaar oudere Licinius. Deze voelde zich toen ook van zijn kant gerustgesteld, te meer daar zijn beide tegenstanders Maxentius, die hem Illyrië dreigde te ontrukken, en Maximinus Daja, zijn oude vijand, in 't Oosten zich reeds met elkaar verbonden hadden.
- 130865 Zo was dan de oorlog tussen Constantijn en Maxentius en Licinius en Maximinus Daja anderzijds onvermijdelijk. Toch brak de eerste veel eerder uit, wegens de steeds hatelijker verhouding tussen de tiran van Italië en zijn zwager. Tot voorbereiding werven beiden nieuwe huursoldaten. Constantijn in Gallië, Germania inferior en
- 130870 Brittannië; Maxentius in Italië en Afrika. Weliswaar beschikte de laatste over veel meer troepen, maar hij was volstrekt geen militair, laat staan een strateeg, zoals Constantijn. Hij dacht zelfs over een aanvalsplan, 32) door Rhaetië en Helvetië heen tot midden in Gallië en trok daartoe zijn troepen in de Povlakte samen. Maar de eigenlijke toegangspoorten tot Italië, de Alpenpassen in 't Westen, verzuimde hij
- 130875 tijdig te bezetten, zodat ze later openstonden voor Constantijn.
- Intussen had Constantijn, wiens komst toch al vurig verbeid werd door het onderdrukte Italië, dat naar verlossing snakte, zich bij Christenen en verdraagzame heidenen *sympathiek* weten te maken door zich op te werpen als verdediger van Galerius' tolerantie-edict tegenover de Christenvervolger Maxentius. Hoewel zelf nog geen
- 130880 Christen, werd hij daarmee de beschermer van het Christendom. Ten bewijze daarvan liet hij het teken (XP), het z.g. labarum, de Griekse beginletters van Christos, op de schilden der vaandels hechten.
- Ondanks Eusebius' anekdote, dat de keizer in een visioen een vlammeend kruis aan de hemel zou hebben gezien met het onderschrift: *Toi nika* (Overwin hierdoor), ziet men
- 130885 in deze daad *volstrekt geen bekering* van zo'n bloedig heiden tot een godsdienst van weerloosheid en naastenliefde.
- Wat dan wel zijn motieven waren?
- In de eerste plaats zijn *bijgeloof* en echt-heidense symbolenaanbidding. Hij vereenzelvigde eenvoudig met Christus zijn tot dusver uitsluitend vereerde Zonnegod.
- 130890 (Mithras-Helios-Apollo). Immers, diens heilig teken, de svastika (eigenlijk een afbeelding van het "zonnerad") kwam vrijwel overeen met het labarum, zodat dit veldteken ook voor de zo talrijke Mithras-dienaren geen bezwaar kon zijn. Een ander, eveneens bijgelovig motief was: de toorn van de Christengod, aan wie men de verwarring en rampen toeschreef, die het rijk de laatste tijd teisterden, hierdoor te
- 130895 *verzoenen*.
- Bovendien (en dit gaf waarschijnlijk voor Constantijn de doorslag) was het een

geniale politieke zet, om daarmee de nog kleine maar vast aaneengesloten sekte der Christenen als dankbare onderdanen op zijn hand te krijgen. Hij voelde intuïtief, dat men Christenen, met hun gedweeë moraal van onderwerping aan elke Overheid, die hen ontzag in hun godsdienst, gemakkelijker zou kunnen beheersen dan de meer eigengereide, vrijheidslievende heidenen.

Maar het is best mogelijk, dat hijzelf het sprookje van het kruisvisioen in de wereld heeft gezonden om zijn hoofd te omvlechten met een profetisch aureool in de verbeelding van goedgezovige bisschoppen en vromen. Hoe heerlijk lachte hun het denkbeeld aan, dat er eindelijk, net als in 't Oude Testament, een strijder Gods was opgestaan, die de Christenvervolgende tirannen uit de weg zou ruimen en het koninkrijk der hemelen reeds op aarde zou verbreiden! In elk geval liet Constantijn zich deze rol gaarne welgevallen en bewees daarmee zijn zo afstotende huichelarij, een familietrek, die we telkens weervinden in zijn dynastie, maar het sterkst bij zijn latere zoon Constantius.

Maar het was voor hem geen tijd voor religieus gemijmer. Hij moest onmiddellijk zijn maatregelen nemen tot de strijd. Met achterlating van enige regimenten aan de zo (tegen Germanen) beveiligde Rijngrans (Pan. IX, 2), besloot hij, ondanks het afraden van zijn officieren, de veel machtiger vijand *onverwachts* te overvallen. Snel verplaatste hij daartoe zijn troepenmacht naar de voet van de Frans-Italiaanse Alpen, die hij (als Hannibal voor hem en Napoleon na hem) overtrok langs de immer onbewaakte pas van *Mont-Cenis*. (zie boven). Op de helling vermeesterde hij, bij 't omlaag gaan, na kort beleg het stadje Susa (Segusia), dat evenwel genadig voor plundering werd gespaard. (Pan. X, 21). Doch eenmaal afgedaald in de vlakte van Turijn (Taurini) wachtte hem hier het vijandelijke Italiaans-Afrikaanse leger, dat met de pretorianen tot kern, uit 18000 man ruiters in de voorhoede en 170.000 man voetvolk in de achterhoede bestond, dus ongeveer een *dubbele* overmacht. (Zos. II). Tegenover hun echt-Romeinse adelaars verhieven zich de labarum-dragende troepen van Constantijn, merendeels bestaand uit Britse en Germaanse barbaren, onstuimig hunkerend om tegen het gehate Rome te vechten. Met het teken des kruises op hun schilden leken zij de legioenen van de nieuwe tijd, aanstormende op de laatste verdedigers van het heidendom. Maar tevens vertegenwoordigden zij de strijd der opwaarts-strevende provinciën tegen de laatste poging van Italië, door middel van Maximinus' usurpatie, zijn vroegere overmacht te herstellen.

Het eerst vielen Constantijns ruiters (of was het zijn voetvolk?), met ijzerbeslagen knotsen in de vuist, die van de vijand aan, die met man en paard in staal gepantserd (clibanari) haast onverwondbaar leken. Maar door de verrassende slagen van die moorddadige wapens getroffen, tuimelden er velen uit hun zadels en werden vertrapt onder de hoeven der paarden. Na een vreselijke slachting overwonnen de aanvallers. (Paneg. X, 24).

Onmiddellijk opende Milaan, de Cisalpijnse hoofdstad, zijn poorten voor de overwinnaar, die zijn intocht deed onder het gejubel van overheid en volk. Meisjes en vrouwen durfden zich weer op de straten te vertonen, zonder vrees door Maxentius' satellieten geschaakt en onteerd te worden. (Pan. IX, 7). Maar de bijval der bevrijde burgers kon de veldheer niet te lang ophouden. Hij rukte spoedig verder en bezette eerst de *voornaamste vestingen in de Povlakte*, zowel om tot operatie-basis voor de verovering van Midden- en Zuid-Italië te gebruiken als om zich niet de eventuele terugtocht te laten afsnijden. (Vergelijk Napoleons verovering van de vestingvierhoek: Mantua-Peschiera-Verona-Legnago op zijn Italiaanse veldtocht van 1797, al ging het toen tegen Oostenrijk). Zo vielen achtereenvolgens Modena (Mutina), Aquileia en na lange belegering ook Verona in zijn handen. Het garnizoen, dat zich dapper verdedigd had, werd, na overgave, gespaard. Ook Maxentius' andere troepen vochten uitstekend. Maar zij misten alle strategische leiding.

Immers, de dwingeland zelf, bleef uit lafheid in Rome, in plaats van aan 't hoofd van zijn leger op te trekken. Doch daar werd de stemming der half-uitgehongerde bevolking hem steeds ongunstiger, zodat zij haast oversloeg tot oproer. Om ze tot bedaren te brengen, liet hij de ingewanden van offerdieren raadplegen en de Sibyllijnse boeken lezen, ter vorsing van de toekomst. 33) Toen hem dubbelzinnig werd voorspeld, dat degene, die werkte aan de ondergang van het rijk, een jammerlijke dood zou sterven, legde hij dat, in bijgelovige hoop, ten zijnen gunste uit tegen Constantijn 33).

Zo vatte hij dan eindelijk moed, toen zijn vijand reeds tot vlak bij Rome was voortgerukt; en hoewel hij pas, door bange dromen en vrees voor aanslagen gekweld, met vrouw en kind uit zijn paleis naar een geheime woning was gevlucht, trad hij nu "uit zijn schandelijke schuilhoek te voorschijn." (Pan. IX, 16) Eindelijk, na zoveel jaren van laksheid en niets doen, stelde hij zich, in het uiterste gevaar aan het hoofd van zijn trouwe pretorianen. Doch in plaats van binnen Rome te blijven en vanuit de hooggelegen heuvelstad uitvallen te doen naar de belegeraars, waagde hij

opeens al zijn troepen buiten.

Maar hoe stelde deze "slaaf in purper" zijn slagorde op? Overlangs aan de noordoever van de Tiber, zodat hij tussen de vijand voor hem, en de rivier in zijn rug was ingeklemd. Slechts een smalle brug, de pons Mulvia, bleef hem over in geval van terugtocht. Zo moest al de eerste massale aanval van Constantijn, met zijn woeste, in beestenhuizen gehulde barbaren en provincialen, noodlottig werken. Wat niet doorstoken, neergehouwen of doodgeslagen werd, en niet over de nauwe brug kon vluchten, verdronk in het snelstromende water. De usurpator zelf, om een smadelijke dood in gevangenschap te ontgaan, stortte zich, staalgepantserd, met paard en al in de Tiber. Door zijn zwaarte zonk hij terzelfder plaats op de bodem: "het water weigerde zich te bezoedelen met zijn lijk", zodat dit spoedig kon worden opgevist. Zijn hoofd werd op een speer over de muren gehesen, en de Romeinen getoond, om hen te overtuigen van zijn dood. Pas toen dorsten de verlorene burgers zich over te geven aan uitbundige vreugde, en haalden Constantijn, onder feestelijk gejubel, in triomf binnen de stad. Hier, in 't paleis, roeide de keizer het huisgezin van de "tiran", dus zijn ongelukkige weduwe en zoontje Romulus, benevens al zijn aanhangers uit. Daartoe hoorden ook de *pretorianen*, die zijn verheffing hadden veroorzaakt, en zo werd deze garde voor eeuwig afgeschaft.

De senaat, door Maxentius onderdrukt, werd evenwel hersteld, en de families der senatoren waarvan velen vroeger zich uit vrees bij de usurpator hadden aangesloten, liet de keizer wijselijk in leven. Valse aanklagers of *delatoren* die ook de verste relaties van Maxentius poogden te belasteren, werden echter volgens edict van 18 Januari 313 (Cod. Th. 10, 10, 1) met de doodstraf bedreigd. Dit betekende dus: *algemene amnestie*. Zo verwierf Constantijn zich populariteit bij volk en senatoren. In de eerste roes van bevrijdingsvreugde begon het stadsbestuur dan ook een triomfboog op te richten voor Constantijn. Maar toendese feestelijke opwinding voorbij was, bleek men zich Constantijn als verlosser te hebben geïdealiseerd.

De keizer had intussen, ter bestrijding van de oorlogskosten, een algemene *schatting* (census) uitgeschreven voor de hoofdstad (1 december 312). Toen vele aanzienlijken te hoog daarin waren aangeslagen, vermeerderde hij in plaats daarvan de belastingdruk op de lagere burgers. Slechts diegenen onder hen, die konden bewijzen, dat die extra belasting voor hen te zwaar was, hoefden niet meer te betalen dan zij volgens de eerste census op zich genomen hadden (Cod. Th. 13, 10, 1.).

Bovendien kreeg de nieuw-benoemde senaat slechts een eervolle *schijn* van gezag. Ook de zetel der regering werd niet naar Rome verplaatst. Integendeel, zo gauw hij kon, nog eer zelfs de begonnen triomfboog was voltooid 34), reisde de keizer naar Milaan, en betrok daar voorlopig het oude paleis van Maximianus, zonder evenwel een vaste residentie te kiezen, (eind januari 313).

Bovendien had hij hier een samenkomst met Licinius afgesproken. Deze, hoewel Constantijns bondgenoot, had hem niet geholpen in de strijd met Maxentius, waarschijnlijk daar hij hoopte, dat beide tegenstanders, zijn mededingers, elkaar zouden verzwakken, zo niet vernietigen. Hierin was hij bedrogen door Constantijns onverwachte overwinningen. Hij zag nu, dat hij de machtigen collega in 't Westen te vriend moest houden, vooral voor zijn dreigende oorlog in het Oosten met Maximinus Daja. Geen wonder dus, dat Constantijn de ruwe, ongeletterde, aan godsdienst-zaken volslagen vreemde Licinius gemakkelijk kon overhalen, om Galerius' tolerantie-edict van 311 uit te breiden in gunstige zin voor de christenen.

Dit edict had namelijk het bezwaar dat het slechts *dulding* van de christenen bedoelde, maar geen staatsrechtelijke gelijkstelling. (Dus bijvoorbeeld geen toegang tot staatsbetrekkingen die Diocletianus hen had ontnomen). Verder was een brandende vraag onaangeroerd gebleven, namelijk de al of niet teruggave van de geseculariseerde kerkelijke goederen. Dit was natuurlijk de wens van de geestelijkheid; maar vele stukken grond waar vroegere kerkgebouwen stonden of hadden gestaan waren door proconsuls of prefecten hetzij verkocht, hetzij aan gunstelingen weggeschonken. De kwestie werd nu als volgt opgelost:

- 1) Niemand mocht bemoeilijkt worden in zijn godsdienst;
- 2) Aanhangers van alle religies hadden toegang tot staatsbetrekkingen en dezelfde burgerlijke rechten;
- 3) Vroeger kerkelijk goed kregen de christenen terug;
- 4) De gedupeerde nieuwe heidense eigenaars ervan konden door bemiddeling van de stadhouders schadeloosstelling ervoor ontvangen van de staat.

Deze besluiten voegden de keizers samen tot het verkeerdelijk zo geheten "edict" van Milaan, wjl het geen edict is, doch slechts een *rescript*, d.w.z. een rondzendbrief aan stadhouders en prefecten, doch die (evenals een edict) openlijk moest worden aangeplakt. Door dit laatste wordt de vergissing van Eusebius verklaard, die op grond van de openbaarheid het houdt voor een edict, hoewel uit de vorm zelf, waarin hij het

overlevert blijkt dat het een rescript is. (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. X, 5; ook in iets
131030 andere bewoording bij Lactantius. De Mort. XXXXVIII; zie verder noot 35).
Een tweede doel van hun samenkomst was het plechtig huwelijk tussen de 60-jarigen
Licinius en het nauwelijks 16-jarige stiefzusje van Constantijn, Constantia, een
huwelijk zonder liefde, louter om redenen van staat. Op dit bruiloftsfeest nodigden
131035 beide keizers ook de oude, nog altijd levende Diocles. Ongetwijfeld dreigde hem daar
de dood. Maar hij doorzag de valstrik der beide zo menslievende christenvrienden, en
verontschuldigde zich wegens zijn vergevorderde leeftijd (68 j.) Daarop toonden
Constantijn en Licinius hun ware aard, en zonden de rampzalige grijsaard dreigbrieven
dat hij het vroeger had gehouden met Maxentius, en nu nog steeds met Maximinus. Had
131040 Diocletianus maar op deze laatste, de kwelduivel van zijn vrouw en dochter kunnen
vertrouwen! Maar hij bevond zich, behalve door zijn naaste omgeving, door allen die
aan hem hun verheffing dankten, zoals Licinius, verraden en verlaten.
Levensmoede, en vrezend, anders in handen van zijn vijanden te vallen, nam hij gif
in, (Epitome de Caesaribus, 39) of liet zich doodhongereren (Lact., de Mort LII) 36).
Na de samenkomst te Milaan vergezelde Constantijn de pasgetrouwen vermoedelijk een
131045 eindweegs naar het Oosten, althans de 16e februari vinden we hem te *Sirmium* in Neder-
Pannonië. Hier kondigde hij, terwijl zijn zuster en zwager verder reisden, een
keizerlijk besluit af, (Cod. Theod. 7, 21, 1) en gaf zodoende te kennen, dat hij deze
Westelijke Illyrische provinciën (Noricum, Opper- en Neder-Pannonië en Dalmatië)
131050 *rekende tot zijn rijk*. Dit kon hij doen, omdat te Milaan *geén bepaalde grens was*
vastgesteld tussen het gebied van de Oosterse en Westerse keizer, evenmin als eenmaal
tussen Diocletianus en Max. Herculus. Doch met evenveel recht kon Licinius West-
Illyrië als *zijn* gebied beschouwen, en zo werd deze ongeregelde toestand de oorzaak
van een weldra volgende twist tussen de twee. Maar thans was Licinius juist gewikkeld
in een strijd met Maximinus Daja, en kon geen aandacht wijden aan West-Illyrië (=de
131055 diocees "Pannonia").
Vanuit Sirmium trok Constantijn over Noord-Italië weer terug naar Gallië, waar hij
begin Augustus 313 Trier bereikte. De inwoners van die streek stonden verbaasd over
de geweldige snelheid, waarmee hij in nog geen jaar Italië had veroverd, zodat hij nu
weer in hun midden trad, om hen tegen de Germanen te beschermen. Deze, de Franken,
131060 waren namelijk Neder-Germanië binnengevallen, en weldra had de keizer ze verslagen en
teruggedreven. (eind oktober 313) (Paneg. IX, 21).
Intussen werd in het verre Oosten, reeds een paar maanden na Maxentius' val zijn
voormalige bondgenoot Maximinus Daja met hetzelfde lot bedreigd. Om dit te voorkomen,
trad hij aanvallend op, stak de Bosporus over, nam Byzantium, maar leed de nederlaag
131065 tegen Licinius bij Adrianopel (30 april 313), na een mislukte poging diens leger om
te kopen, en verraad van zijn eigen troepen. Naar Klein-Azië overgestoken, trok hij
zich terug achter het Taurische hooggebergte, hopende in Egypte nieuwe soldaten te
kunnen werven. Maar onderweg stierf hij in Tarsus, hetzij door zelfmoord, hetzij door
een toevallige dood, die hem vrijwaarde voor het vonnis dat hem dreigde. Op zijn
131070 sterfbed zou hij, onder vreselijke pijnen, Christus om vergiffenis hebben gesmeekt
(Lact. de Mort. en Euseb. Vita Const.).
Zo scheen het aan de Christenen van die tijd, zoals Lactantius, dat hun God een
streng gericht had gehouden over alle vervolgers van zijn kerk. Galerius, de
eigenlijke aanstichter, was weggerukt door een afschuwelijke kwaal; Diocles,
131075 Maxentius en mogelijk ook Maximinus Daja door zelfmoord. En zelfs bezocht de
wrekende, al te wrede God de zonden der vervolgers (volgens Lactantius) in hun
onschuldige vrouwen en kinderen.
Want Licinius, als Daja's opvolger gehuldigd in Nicomedia, toonde al dadelijk een
even onmenselijkheid als deze, door diens beide minderjarige kinderen, alsook
131080 Candidianus, een nu 20-jarige voorzoon van wijlen zijn weldoener Galerius,
meedogenloos te vermoorden. 37) Bovendien tekende hij ook het doodvonnis der
verbannen vorstinnen Valeria en Prisca, 38) die nauwelijks verademend na de dood van
hun vervolger Maximinus Daja, pijnlijk werden verrast door het gerucht hiervan. Zij
besloten uit Syrië te vluchten, in eenvoudige kleren, als vrouwen uit het volk
131085 vermomd, en zwierven zo door de provinciën. Maar herkend bij Thessalonika werden zij
voor de medelijdende ogen der machteloze menigte onthoofd. (313)

NAAR DE ALLEENHEERSCHAPPIJ.

Vol bezorgdheid zag Constantijn, die zelf streefde naar de alleenheerschappij, die
131090 snelle machtsaanwas van zijn medekeizer aan. Hij was in de oorlog met Maximinus Daja
onzijdig gebleven, evenals Licinius indertijd in zijn oorlog met Maxentius, en had
(evenals deze toen) gehoopt, dat beide zijn mededingers elkander zouden verzwakken,
waarna hijzelf door gewapende bemiddeling zijn voordeel zou kunnen vinden. Maar nu
kwam Licinius versterkt uit de strijd te voorschijn als zijn gelijke, als keizer over

- 131095 het hele Oosten.
Bovendien kon hij Licinius' gruwelen, hoewel zelf niet minder wreed, waarschijnlijk niet alle goedkeuren. Geheel nutteloos waren de volstrekt onschuldige en onschadelijke Prisca en Valeria vermoord. Daardoor maakte Licinius het nieuwe bewind bij de bevolking impopulair. De christenen, nauwelijks ontwaakt uit de roes van blijdschap om de val van hun vijand Daja, vreesden, bij die nieuwe bloedige terreur, spoedig voor hun eigen veiligheid.
- 131100 Ook de onzekere grens tussen de gebieden der beide keizers bracht de verwijdering teweeg. 39) Want L. meende, evengoed als Constantijn, aanspraak op West-Illyrië te kunnen maken, en beschuldigde zijn collega, hem deze provinciën te hebben onttrooggeld (Zos. lib. II, 18).
- 131105 Een aanleiding tot de strijd, die beide eierzuchtige veldheren, evenzeer wensten, deed zich weldra voor.
Licinius poogde misbruik te maken van Constantijns verblijf in het verre *Trier* (herfst 313 tot herfst 314) door in Italië tegen hem te intrigeren. Hij stuurde namelijk zijn vertrouweling Senicio naar het Westen, om diens broeder Bassianus, getrouwd met Anastasia, een zuster van Constantijn tegen hem op te stoken. Deze was door Constantijn tot caesar en bestuurder van Italië benoemd, maar met veel te weinig macht naar zijn zin. Gretig aanvaardde hij dan ook het heimelijk voorstel van zijn broer Senicio, en begon zich verraderlijk tegen Constantijn te wapenen.
- 131115 Maar deze ontdekte de doortrapte intrige, liet Bassianus doden, en eiste uitlevering van de gevluchten Senicio. Licinius weigerde en liet zelfs in het onzekere grensgebied Pannonië, in de stad Emona, niet ver van Venetië, de beelden van zijn mede-augustus afbreken, ten teken dat hij dit land als het zijne beschouwde. (Anon. Vales. cap. V).
- 131120 De Westerse keizer besloot nu hardhandig en doortastend op te treden. Vanuit het Noorden (hij vertoefde namelijk te *Trier*) rukte hij binnen het Donaugebied (Neder-Pannonie) en versloeg, aldaar, met slechts 20.000 man voetvolk en ruitery, het bijna tweemaal zo sterke leger van zijn vijand bij Cibalae (Vinkovcze). Daarna bezette hij de naburige vesting Sirmium (Mitrovitza), waar hem de vrouw, het pasgeboren zoontje en de schatkist van de gevluchten Licinius in handen vielen. Voorts joeg hij hem na in de vlakte van Thracië, waar hij hem, na onderhandelingen geweigerd te hebben, Licinius had zijnerzijds intussen Valens zijn grenscommandant tot augustus 40) benoemd, zonder Constantijn erin te kennen. Toen hij dan ook nogmaals afgevaardigden tot de overwinnaar zond, eiste deze allereerst dat Valens van zijn rang werd beroofd,
- 131130 en Senicio werd uitgeleverd. Om zichzelf te redden, stemde Licinius daarin toe, liet zijn generaal Valens doden, 41) en leverde Senicio uit als "aanstichter van alle kwaad," 42) waarna met deze hetzelfde gebeurde. — Bovendien moest Licinius heel zijn Europees gebied, behalve Thracië aan zijn zwager afstaan, (vrede van oktober 314). Dat Constantijn hem toen niet dadelijk al in de eerste oorlog vernietigde, waartoe
- 131135 hij stellig in staat was geweest, had de overwonnelling waarschijnlijk te danken aan de voorspraak van zijn vrouw Constantia.
Daarna raakten de keizers ogenschijnlijk verzoend; voor het volgend jaar lieten ze zich zelfs beide tot consuls benoemen. Daarna verhieven ze, na gemeenschappelijk overleg, 17 maart 317, hun zonen tot caesars. 42a). Zo werden in het Westen Crispus, gewettigde bastaard van Constantijn, hem geboren uit de bijzit Minervina, en diens halfbroer Constantinus, zoon van Fausta, en maar pasgeboren, — tot die rang verhoogd; en in het Oosten Licinius de jongere (Licinianus), nauwelijks 20 maanden oud. Officieel bleven beide keizers gelijk in aanzien, maar de macht van het Westerse rijk overwoog verre dat van het Oosten. Licinius zon verbitterd achter het masker van verzoening op wraak, en Constantijns machtshonger was nog lang niet gestild. Het was duidelijk dat het Romeinse rijk hen beide niet tegelijk als heersers kon dulden. Noodlottig voor hemzelf speelde de Oosterse keizer die van het Westen in de kaart. Hoewel het in zijn voordeel was geweest, de stadig aangroeiende christenen, vooral talrijk in zijn nu overgebleven Oosterse provinciën, ging hij uit wrok tegen zijn
- 131150 mededinger over tot vervolging.
Zijn eerste en ergste grief gold de priesters, die vanaf de kansel Constantijn verre boven hem verheerlijkten als de ware strijder Gods. Wel baden zij ook voor hem in hun kerken, maar hij voelde dat dit officieel gebed niet van harte ging, en overschatte in zijn wantrouwige verbeelding hun geheime afkeer. Verder raakte ook hij, net als vroegere keizers, bevreesd voor hun half politieke organisatie, die hij aanzag als een element van onrust in zijn rijk. Toch had hij, met wat juistere kijk op hun geloofsleer van eerbied aan de overheid, zich wel van hun steun en trouw kunnen verzekeren. In plaats daarvan prikkelde hij tactloos hun haat.
- 131155 Allereerst verbood hij de bisschoppen elkaar te bezoeken, en kerkvergaderingen te houden. Deze concilies waren namelijk reeds lang ontaard tot gevaarlijke ovens van
- 131160

onderlinge twist, ja van ontevreden gestook tegen het gezag van heidense keizers. Zijn verdere maatregelen herinneren aan Diocletianus. Zo stelde hij, om beter op het leger te kunnen rekenen, het offeren daarvoor *verplicht* 43). Wie hier niet aan voldeden, dus allereerst de christenen werden er uit gestoten. Ook uit zijn eigen hofstoet verdreef hij alle christenen 44), verbande ze naar woeste, onherbergzame streken, of verlaagde ze tot de slavenstand, om anderen te dienen, terwijl hij hun goederen tot zich trok. Doch deze laatste, inhalige daad bracht hem dubbel voordeel. Want hierdoor beperkte hij meteen het aantal hovelingen en eunuchen, naar zijn zeggen "de muizen en kakkerlakken van zijn paleis" 45).

Maar ook tegenover andere rijke onderdanen gedroeg hij zich uiterst hebzuchtig en wreed. Velen veroordeelde hij zonder schuld, alleen om willekeurig hun goederen te confisqueren 46). Zelfs wie lang overleden waren, bracht hij voor dat doel op de lijst der gevonnisten, en ontnam dan hun erfgenamen hun wettig bezit. Aan de vrouwen van zijn verbannen en totaal geruïneerde slachtoffers vierde hij zijn lage driften bot, of leverde ze daartoe over aan zijn slaven.

Toch plaagde deze oude wellusteling de christenen met het hypocriete bevel, dat mannen, en vrouwen, zogenaamd voor de zedelijkheid, afzonderlijk godsdienstoefeningen moesten houden. Vrouwen mochten slechts bij haar eigen seksegenoten biechten en catechismus leren. Bisschoppen die daaraan weerstand boden werden gedood, of als dwangarbeiders in de bergwerken gestuurd, en hun kerken gesloopt of gesloten 47). Ja, hij liet zelfs weer de kruisdood, die Constantijn om christelijk gevoel te sparen had afgeschaft, bij voorkeur gebruiken tegen zijn slachtoffers. Zo bleek hij een herleefde Galerius, en ontpopte zich hoe langer hoe meer als een onverdraagzaam bijgelovige heiden, 48) die zich omgaf met Egyptische waarzeggers en vogelzieners, en zelfs weer ingewandoffers raadpleegde.

Daarom daalde hij dan ook in achtving bij de verlichte, van bijgeloof verlorne heidenen, zoals literatoren, sofisten, juristen, ja bij alle intellectuelen, en hij haatte ze wederkerig. Deze militaire woesteling noemde uit totale onkunde inzake letteren en wetenschap deze een "openbare pest", 45) vooral het bedrijf van rechters en advocaten. Hij vond ze niets dan nutteloze praatjesmakers, waar hij wel een beetje gelijk aan had in deze tijd van lege retoriek en woordenzwimel. Overigens achtte hij alle geordende rechtstoestanden in zijn rijk overbodig, daar toch alles moest buigen voor zijn willekeur, waarmee hij naar believen zijn onderdanen van vrouwen of vermogens beroofde.

Een goed gevolg had zijn schraapzucht; hij was een zuinig financier, en verspilde niet nodeloos de middelen van de schatkist. Ook waren door de vele confiscaties ten koste van rijke stadsbewoners hoge belastingen niet nodig, zodat de armeren het goed onder hem hadden. Vooral bevoorrechte hij zijn vroegere standgenoten, de landjonkers en boeren, zowel uit saamhorigheidsgevoel, als omdat hij begreep dat van goede landbouw en veeteelt de welvaart van zijn gewesten afhing.

Doch op de christelijke meerderheid van deze Oosterse bevolking kon hij *niet* vertrouwen. Ook zijn leger, al bestond het thans geheel uit heidenen, was niet meer zo weerbaar als vroeger, daar het beste deel, de Illyrische legioenen, indertijd met de diocesen Pannonia (=Illyricum) en Moesia indertijd door Constantijn was ingepalmd (314). Dit bleek dan ook in de komende oorlog met Constantijn.

Deze aasde al lang op een gelegenheid daartoe, en vond haar eindelijk bij een voorgewende inval der Goten in Thracië, die, wanneer wij Jornandes XXI mogen geloven, 49) door Constantijn was gekocht en betaald als een handig komediespel. Hij trok Thracië, Licinius' gebied, nu binnen, versloeg de Goten zogenaamd, maar liet de buitgemaakte "gevangenen" heimelijk werven voor zijn leger. Toen Licinius zich terecht over schending van zijn territorium beklagde, brak de oorlog uit (zomer 324).

Deze tweede, trouweloze oorlog tegen zijn medekeizer, had nog meer dan al zijn vorige veldtochten, uiterlijk het aanzien van een godsdienstoorlog, ja een kruistocht. Als altijd in de aanval, trok hij met zijn pas versterkt leger van 100.000 man, onder de vanen van het Christusteken, tegen zijn collega op. Deze, onvoorbereid, concentreerde snel zijn nog veel talrijker troepen in Thracië, vuurde ze aan door hun voorvaderlijke adelaars en godenbeelden en gunstige orakelspreuken, en poogde zijn vijand de overtocht over de Ebrus (Maritza) te beletten. Dit scheen te lukken, want

een tijdlang lagen beide legers werkeloos langs de oevers tegenover elkaar. Daarop verzoon Constantijn een krijgslist. Hij leidde Licinius' aandacht af, door bij een zeer nauw gedeelte van de rivier, gevelde boomstammen bijeen te brengen, om hem te doen wanen dat hij daar een brug wou bouwen. Natuurlijk deed zijn tegenstander aan de overkant hetzelfde. Maar plotseling, op een heel andere plek, waar de rivier

doorwaadbaar was, sprong hij te paard door het water met een twaalfstal ruiters, stortte zich bij verrassing op de vijand, die daar toevallig ongedekt was, en richtte

onder diens voetvolk een grote slachting aan. Intussen had zijn overige ruitserij en infanterie zijn onstuimig voorbeeld gevolgd, en stormde ook, dwars door de stroom, naar de anderen oever. Zo ontspon zich de slag in de vlakte van *Adrianopel*, waar Constantijn, met de schrik als bondgenoot overwon, (3 juli) 50) en weldra 34.000 doden, merendeels van de vijand, het veld bedekten. Toen snelde hij Licinius achterna, die naar Byzantium vluchtte, en sloeg zelf het beleg voor de stad. Daartoe liet hij ook zijn vloot van 200 oorlogsschepen vanaf de Piraeus naar het Noorden steunen. Bevelhebber was zijn oudste zoon, de kroonprins *Crispus*.

Gaan we even zijn verleden na. Zijn geboortjaar is onzeker, maar vermoedelijk 306 (volgens Seeck: 307) 49). Constantijn had hem verwekt bij een concubine Minervina, daar in zo'n zwervend soldatenleven onwettige omgang met vrouwen uit de legertrouwen, marktentsters of slavinnen, regel was.

Deze bastaard nu was later geëcht, en van jongs af gedruild in het vak van zijn vader, de militaire dienst. In 317, 1 maart werd hij tot caesar benoemd, tegelijk met zijn halfbroer Constantinus (toen pas geboren) en Licinianus, het zoontje van Licinius en Constantia, die nauwelijks 20 maanden was. Mogelijk vanaf dit jaar of nog eerder (op zijn vroegst 314) kreeg hij tot leermeester de christen-redenaar Lactantius, die toen juist naar het Westen, vermoedelijk naar het culturele centrum Trier in Gallië was gereisd, daar ook de keizer hier 314 (januari-oktober) en 316 (januari-februari) vertoefde. Maar deze geestesontwikkeling was maar bijzaak vergeleken bij de militaire leerschool die hij moest doorlopen. Reeds in 320, op zijn veertiende jaar overwon hij op een veldtocht Franken en Alemannen. We lezen een hooggestemde lofspraak over zijn militaire talenten in een feestrede van 321, 1 maart ter ere van de *quinquennaliën* (vijfdejaarsbegin) van de zgn. "regeringen" der twee Westelijke caesars. 50a). Bij die gelegenheid was de prins, na zijn prestaties aan de Rijn, naar het paleis van zijn vader te Sirmium (Pannonië) ontboden, en toonde toen al, bij zijn mars daarheen, dezelfde onvermoeibare snelheid en gehardheid als zijn vader. In dit jaar benoemde Constantijn hem tevens, evenals zijn broer Constantinus Jr. tot *consul*, en huwde

Crispus uit aan een zekere Helena, bij wie deze al in het volgende jaar (322, 30 oktober) een kind kreeg. 50b). Doch het consulaat der beide prinsen werd in Licinius' rijkdeel niet erkend, evenmin als de Westerse consulaten der volgende jaren. Dit bewijst de stijgende vijandschap der beide opperheersers, en meteen de onmogelijkheid dat Crispus' vrouw Helena een dochter van Licinius zou zijn geweest 51).

Na te land tegen de barbaren zijn militaire bekwaamheid te hebben getoond, moest Crispus weldra, in de 2e oorlog tegen Licinius ook ter zee, als admiraal, zijn talent bewijzen.

Toevallig was de zuidwestenwind hem gunstig, zodat hij tegen de stroom in, die in de Hellespont van het N.O. naar het Z.W. loopt, de nauwe trechter van die zeestraat kon binnenzeilen. Aan de mond daarvan, voor de ingang van de Propontis, wachtte hem de veel talrijker zeemacht van de vijand, ongeveer 350 galeien, merendeels bemand met Griekse Klein-Aziaten, Phoeniciërs en Egyptenaren, onder bevel van Amandus of Abantos, waarschijnlijk noch een Griek noch een Romein. Al deze inderhaast gepreste Oosterlingen vochten niet voor hun eigen zaak, en waren, van nature toch al onkrijgshaftig, niet opgewassen tegen Crispus' vloot, bemand met Illyriërs, Grieken en Spanjaarden. Deze had trouwens nog een ander voordeel. Dit bleek bij zijn plotselinge aanval, toen hij met zijn kleine snelle schepen zich stortte temidden van de zware, lomp gebouwde galeien van de vijand, (vergelijk de Engels Hollandse vloot tegen de Spaanse in 1588). Door hun lastige beweegbaarheid konden zij in die nauwe ruimte niet snel genoeg manoeuvreren maar drongen dicht opeen en verbrijzelden elkaar door de druk, zodat Crispus er heel wat kon doen enteren, de bemanning vernietigen, en er andere in de grond deed boren. Toen de nacht het gevecht beëindigde, kon Abantus, die de veel kleinere vloot van zijn tegenstander eerst had veracht, nauwelijks het treurig overschot van zijn scheepsmacht in de Klein-Aziatische haven van Ajax, terwijl Crispus de zeilen deed strijken voor Eleous (in Thracië).

De tweede dag stak een sterke noordenwind op, waardoor Abantus uit zijn haven naar het Z.O. kon zeilen, de vijand tegemoet, die daardoor werd stilgelegd. Hij aarzelde echter om snel door te varen, en liet zo het juiste ogenblik tot de aanval ongebruikt voorbijgaan. Zodra beide vloten elkaar waren genaderd, keerde de wind geheel om tot zuidwest, dreef Abantus terug, en gaf Crispus kans tot een nieuwe aanval, waarbij hij heel wat schepen van de ander in de grond deed zinken. Bovendien wierp een sterk opstekende storm als bondgenoot de meeste overige schepen van A. te pletter tegen de rotsen van Klein-Azië.

Slechts 4 van de 350 schepen wist hij met zich te redden in overhaaste vlucht naar Chalcedon.

Intussen werd Licinius' positie in het belegerde Byzantium hoe langer hoe gevaarlijker. Constantijn had rondom de muren van de stad hier en daar wallen laten

bouwen van dezelfde hoogte waarop hij houten torens oprichtte die met hun slingertuig en geschut de soldaten daarbinnen bestookten. Op sommige plaatsen had hij de bouw van deze wallen achterwege gelaten, en bebeukte daar met stormrammen de stenen muren van de stad. Langer verdediging was onmogelijk, vooral nu zij ook van de zeezijde zou worden omsingeld. Daarom besloot Licinius met de krijgskas te vluchten naar Chalcedon in Klein-Azië, waar hij nieuwe troepen hoopte te lichten. Want slechts een klein gedeelte van zijn macht had hij in overtocht over de Propontis in veiligheid gebracht. Zijn onderbevelhebber Martinianus verklaarde hij tot Caesar en zond hem in 't Z.W. naar Lampsacus aan de rechteroever van de Hellespont, terwijl hijzelf de Bosporus-oever poogde te bewaken. Maar hij kon Constantijn niet beletten, 2 mijlen ten Z. van Chalcedon met een grote overmacht te landen, en werd zo beslissend en moorddadig verslagen, dat er van zijn 70.000 man troepen maar 30.000 overbleven. 52)

Nu bleek het hoe onvoorzichtig hij had gehandeld, zijn leger in tweeën te verdelen, want hijzelf was al verslagen toen Martinianus vanuit Lampsacus hem te hulp kwam, die eveneens tegen C. de nederlaag leed. Hierna gaf het hopeloos ingesloten en uitgehongerde Byzantium zich over, en ook Chalcedon opende voor de keizer zijn poorten.

Op de hielen gevolgd door Constantijn vluchtte Licinius met vrouw en kind en zijn sterk gedund leger naar de hofstad Nicomedia. Hier liet hij, na een kort beleg, om onderhandelingen verzoeken door zijn vrouw Constantia. Deze kreeg van haar halfbroeder Constantijn de verzekering onder ede, dat het leven van haar man gespaard zou blijven en haar zoontje het Caesar-ambt zou behouden, waarna de oude overwonneling te voorschijn trad en het keizerlijk purper aan de voeten van de overwinnaar legde (najaar 324).

Martinianus werd gevankelijk naar Cappadocië gevoerd; Licinius met vrouw en kind naar Thessalonika gezonden, om daar als particulier in veiligheid te leven. Maar het volgend jaar werd hij bij verrassing opgelicht uit huis, en eer zijn vrouw nog voor hem kon bemiddelen, met schending van de eed geworgd. (Zos. II, 28). Tot motivering van die daad diende de bewering, dat Constantijns oud-strijders de dood van hun voormalige, nog steeds gevaarlijke vijand eisten, en dat deze, doortrapt als hij was, met zijn eigen afgedankte soldaten, ja zelfs met Goten van over de Donau samenspande, om weer keizer te worden. De waarheid was, dat Constantijn zo'n usurpatie van het purper, als eens zijn schoonvader de ex-keizer Maximianus had geprobeerd, toch maar liever een tweede maal wou voorkomen. Voor dit doel kon geen eedbreuk hem deren. Dit was nu na Maxentius en Bassianus, al de derde zwager, die deze brave christenbeschermer doodde. Wanneer zouden zijn eigen, nog nadere bloedverwanten aan de beurt komen voor de beul?

CRISPUS EN FAUSTA.

Om dezelfde tijd bleek ook een verwijdering te zijn ontstaan tussen de keizer en zijn oudste zoon Crispus. Deze was toen namelijk niet herbenoemd voor het bestuur van Gallië, maar werd, hoewel hij caesar bleef, vrijwel gevankelijk gehouden aan het hof van zijn vader.

Dit trof des te pijnlijker, daar Crispus al voor de oorlog met Licinius, in het begin van 324 tot het ereambt van consul was verkozen. Wat was de oorzaak van zijn ongenade?

Allereerst werd zijn vader *jaloers* op de geweldige volksgunst die veeleer zijn achttienjarige zoon, jong en innemend, dan hemzelf, de vijftigjarige keizer, te beurt viel na hun beider overwinning op Licinius. Ook bij de soldaten was de prins, die reeds als kind onder hen verkeerd had, uiterst populair. Wellicht liet hij zich daar te veel op voorstaan, wat het wantrouwen wekte van Constantijn.

Bovendien bestaat er in alle absolutistische staten een natuurlijke tegenstelling tussen de vorst en de troonopvolger, die vaak anders dan zijn vader zou willen regeren, volgens de ideeën-stroom van een jonger geslacht, en daarom door hem gevreesd wordt als een gevaarlijke mededinger.

Tenslotte heeft Crispus mogelijk, tot grotere argwaan van zijn vader de meinedige vermoordding van Licinius afgekeurd, en ook het feit dat diens zoontje Licinianus, in strijd met het verdrag van 324, als caesar bleef afgezet, en werd vervangen door *Constantius*, de tweede zoon van Constantijn (8 november 324) 53a).

Doch de feitelijke bewerkster van zijn ongenade was zijn stiefmoeder Fausta. Was inderdaad, zoals Zosimus en Zonaras 53b) beweren, wraak wegens een teleurgestelde passie haar drijfveer, en speelde zij tegenover Crispus, hoewel hij getrouwd was, de rol van een Phaedra?

Of was het eerezucht om haar eigen drie kinderen het troonrecht te verzekeren ten koste van haar stiefzoon, die hun daartoe in de weg stond?

Beide eigenschappen, zowel tomeloze *losbandigheid* als *eerezucht*, waren overerfelijk in

het geslacht der Herculiërs, waaruit zij stamde. Haar vader Maximianus misbruikte zelfs de lichamen van gijzelaarsters, die wegens schulden in de kerker waren geworpen, en voor haar broer Maxentius, was tijdens tirannie, geen enkele Romeinse dame van aanzien veilig. Daarnaast hadden beiden een brandende, maar bruto-onhandige eierzucht. De oude Maximianus Herculeus had slechts op bevel van Diocletianus het purper neergelegd, maar riep zich daarna nog tweemaal tot imperator uit, telkens zonder succes.

Diezelfde oven van eierzucht en verboden passies smeulde nu ook in zijn dochter Fausta. Mogelijk waren er, bij haar gestook tegen Crispus, beide driften in het spel. Niet dat zij geen liefde voelde voor haar wettige man, Constantijn, want zij had hem eens, nu veertien jaar geleden, het leven gered, met opoffering van haar eigen vader.

Maar hij was zoveel ouder dan zij, en nu leek zijn knappe, kranige zoon Crispus, zoals hij, achttienjarig overwinnaar, terugkwam uit de oorlog, precies het verjongde evenbeeld van zijn vader. En zij was nauwelijks dertig, en voelde zich vaak, om zaken van staat, door haar man verwaarloosd. Geen wonder dan ook, dat zij met haar hittig temperament weldra in hevige hartstocht jegens haar jonge stiefzoon ontlaaide.

Maar aanvankelijk poogde zij die verboden drang angstvallig te verbergen, zo mogelijk te smoren. Geen beter middel daartoe, dan door eierzuchtige moederzorg voor haar eigen zonen zichzelf een haat tegen Crispus te suggereren.

Eerst lukte het haar, hem bij de keizer in vage verdenking te brengen van staatsgevaarlijk, zonder hem nog van een bepaalde daad te betichten.

Weldra kwamen ook *kerkelijke* twisten de tweedracht tussen vader en zoon verergeren. Voor de synode van Nicaea begon, was de keizer, door toedoen van zijn hofprediker Hosius, meteen een gunsteling van Fausta, al gewonnen voor de orthodoxe partij. En de keizerin wedijverde natuurlijk in fel Katholieke gezindheid met haar man. Een christelijk zondebesef om haar eigen verholten, maarnog niet gesmoorde hartstocht dreef haar tot steeds strenger devotie. Maar geen trouwe kerkgang, geen zelfkastijding tijdens de grote vasten voor Pasen – toen bij Christenen vaak gebruikelijk – kon de duivel in haar doden.

Intussen stelde Crispus, als jong officier, waarschijnlijk weinig belang in theologische debatten, en verachtte al dat opzichtig vroom gedoe van keizer en hof.

53c)

Toen dan ook na afloop van de synode (begin augustus 325) Constantijn op raad van Hosius Arius met nog 3 anderen verbande, en de overige Arianen vervolgde, keurde Crispus deze onverdraagzame politiek vermoedelijk af.

Ook aan 's keizers hof te Nicomedia, alsook onder de officieren en beampten moet dit ontevredenheid hebben verwekt, en velen wachtten slechts op een gunstige kans om hun heimelijke Ariaanse 53c) of zelfs heidense gezindheid openlijk te tonen.

De heidenen uit deze oppositiepartij hoorden grotendeels tot de voormalige militairen en ambtenaren van Licinius die veelal tot de dienst van Constantijn waren overgegaan; de Ariaanse-gezinde christenen waren niet zozeer aanhangers van Arius, als wel van de klerikale tirannie der homo-ousianen.

Om wie schaarden zich nu al deze ontevreden elementen?

Niet om een der stiefbroers van Constantijn, want die waren daartoe te onbeduidend. Ook niet rondom Licinius' weduwe Constantia, want hoewel zij Ariaansegezind was 54c) en Constantijn de meinedige vermoordding van haar man kon wijten, toch was zij te zachtmoedig om aan wraak te denken. Ook wist zij, dat haar broer ondanks alles haar persoonlijk liefhad en vereerde, en haar zelfs had uitgenodigd, bij hem aan het hof te komen, wat zij mogelijk voor de toekomst van haar zoon had aangenomen. Bovendien was zij met de veertig jaar oudere Licinius, aan wie zij om staatsredenen was uitgehuwelijkt, nooit gelukkig getrouwd geweest, en dit deed haar waarschijnlijk berusten in zijn gewelddadige dood. Ook de wederrechtelijke achterafstelling van haar zoontje Licinianus, voor wie zij oktober 324 nog wel het caesaraat had bedongen, verdroeg zij geduldig, vertroosting vindend in haar geloof, en onbewust van wat haar jongen weldra boven het hoofd hing.

Tot wie moesten zich de ontevreden dan wenden om steun?

Waarschijnlijk tot Crispus, die mogelijk in godsdienstzaken neutraal was, maar die zijn gedwongen werkeloosheid en de schandelijke bewaking aan het hof van zijn vader kwalijk kon verdragen. Mogelijk zullen Arianen en heidenen hem compromitterende brieven om hulp en voorspraak hebben geschreven. Of mogelijk heeft een samenzwering van beide partijen hem en de jeugdige Licinianus onvoorzichtig tot imperator willen uitroepen.

Maar ongetwijfeld was de houding van Crispus jegens zijn vader loyaal, daar deze zelf, veel later, de onschuld van zijn zoon openlijk erkende.

Doch in deze tijd van gespannen kerktwist viel het Fausta licht, haar stiefzoon bij de toch al zo wantrouwige keizer te betichten *alsof hij ketters gezind was, en met*

- 131425 *behulp dier ontevredenenen streefde naar de troon.* Ook wees zij hem op de toekomstige dreiging van Licinianus, die mogelijk eens de dood van zijn vader zou wreken. Blindelings geloofde de keizer haar, die hem eens het leven had gered, zonder naar de vermaningen van zijn moeder Helena te luisteren, die pleitte voor haar kleinzoon wat zij kon.
- 131430 Zijn eerste daad was, de 17e september 325 een edict uit te vaardigen tegen deze vermeende samenzwering van zijn zoon. (Cod. Th. IX, 1,4). Zonder de naam van Crispus hier in te noemen, moedigt hij hierin elk van zijn rechters, edelen en hovelingen aan, om ronduit aan de keizer te zeggen, wat ze mochten weten over hem, "die tot dusverre met geveinsde eerlijkheid hem had bedrogen." En natuurlijk ontbrak het niet
- 131435 aan delatoren, die hoopten in de gunst van de keizer te komen door zijn zoon nog erger dan ooit bij hem te belasteren. Maar zijn vader aarzelde nog steeds, op deze vage, meest onbewijsbare beschuldigingen in te gaan. Voorlopig beperkte hij zich ertoe, het grootste deel van de troepen die onder hem en Crispus tegen Licinius hadden gevochten, en bij wie de prins heel
- 131440 populair was, voorzichtigheidshalve te *ontslaan*. 55) Om ze echter tevens aan zich te verplichten, overstrooide hij ze met rijke geschenken bij hun heengaan (lente 326). Het was juist het twintigste regeringsjaar van de keizer, en nadat hij aan het begin daarvan zijn jubileum te Nicomedia had gevierd (25 juli 325) zou hij aan het eind van dit jaar (dus in 326) zijn Vicennaliën te Rome, de oude hoofdstad, herhalen.
- 131445 Voor dit doel trok de keizer met heel zijn hof in de lente van 326 (begin maart) op reis over land van Byzantium naar Italië. In die stoet van hoogwaardigheidsbekleders en lakeien werden zowel Crispus als Licinianus gevankelijk meegevoerd onder steeds strenger bewaking. Maar onderweg kreeg Fausta, die haar man overal volgde, plotseling medelijden voor
- 131450 haar onschuldig gekwelden stiefzoon, en hierdoor ontwaakte opnieuw haar oude passie. Eerst bepraatte zij Constantijn, zijn zoon meer vrijheid van beweging te laten, daar zij thans niet meer voor hem vreesde, en zodoende werd hij niet meer zo streng bewaakt. Daarna wist zij haar stiefzoon toch binnen haar tent te lokken, en smeekte hem bij 'n geheim, hartstochtelijk onderhoud, om met haar samen te ontvluchten, en
- 131455 eenmaal in volle vrijheid, de heerschappij over het rijk met haar samen te delen. Hij weigerde verschrikt dit schandelijk aanbod, en wekte zo haar toorn. Terwijl zij nog twistten, kwam ineens Constantijn hun samenzijn overvallen, en vroeg met felle argwaan naar de oorzaak. Uit wraak nu betichtte Fausta, als een andere Phaedra, thans haar stiefzoon bij de keizer van een poging tot overspel en ontvoering, en
- 131460 samenspanning tegen zijn gezag. Vergeefs bepleitte Crispus zijn onschuld; vergeefs getuigde de elfjarige Licinianus in zijn voordeel. De keizer geloofde de vrouw die hij liefhad meer dan ieder ander, liet hen beiden, geboeid, binnen zijn tent verbergen, en besloot hen te doden, zonder rechterlijk verhoor.
- 131465 Toen de duisternis die dag beëindigde, beval de keizer, in het diepst van de nacht, een zijner vertrouwdeste officieren, om Crispus en Licinianus buiten het legerkamp te brengen, en hen heimelijk, in de nabije bergen van Istrië, te vergiftigen. Zo gebeurde het: in de buurt van Pola stierven beide ongelukkige prinses, in de bloei van hun jaren.
- 131470 De volgende morgen reisde het hele hof weer verder, de Oostelijke Alpenrand die Italië omringt, over naar Aquileia, en eerst langzaam kwamen de hovelingen iets te weten van Crispus' dood. 56) De keizer verried echter zichzelf door in Aquileia, waar hij lange tijd vertoefde, nog vervuld van toorn om het vermeende bedrog van zijn zoon, enige strenge wetten uit
- 131475 te vaardigen *tegen ontucht*, en al wat daarmee samenhang. Zij dienden meteen als aanvulling van de reeds bestaande Lex Julia de stupro, maar werden niet als deze, door rechtvaardigheid ingegeven, maar door een wrede onverbiddelijke wrok. Allereerst publiceerde hij 1 april 326 een slechts fragmentair bewaarde wet tegen de
- 131480 ontvoering van meisjes en vrouwen. 57) Zo dit tegen haar zin gebeurde, dan werd alleen de schaker gestraft door hem gesmolten lood in de keel te gieten. Had zij het echter goed gevonden, dan werd de schaker toch even streng gestraft, maar het meisje beroofd van haar erfrecht. Medeplichtigen deelden in de straf van de schaker, indien echter de ouders tot de
- 131485 schaking hadden toegestemd, dan werden zij verbannen. (Cod. Th. IX, 24, 1). Drie dagen later werd het vervolg van deze wet verkondigd, waarbij minderjarige meisjes werden beschermd tegen seksueel misbruik van de zijde van hun voogden. (Cod. Th. IX, 8, 1). Vermoedelijk om dezelfde tijd kondigde hij een andere wet af, om kuise vrouwen te
- 131490 beschermen tegen valse beschuldigingen. Geen enkele man mocht een hem vreemde vrouw

aanklagen wegens overspel, alleen haar mannelijke bloedverwanten (volle broers, halfbroers of volle neven) en haar eigen echtgenoot had daartoe het recht. Dit is duidelijk ingegeven door het geval van Crispus, wiens tegenaanklacht tegen Fausta de keizer niet geloofde, daar zij geen mannelijke bloedverwanten bezat die haar konden beschuldigen en ook haar eigen man haar voor onschuldig hield. (Cod. Th. IX, 7,2). Kort daarna volgden nog twee andere edicten, een van 29 mei 326, tegen vrijgeboren vrouwen die zich aan hun slaven vergooien, en met de doodstraf worden bedreigd, 58) en een ander edict dat getrouwde mannen verbood om concubines bij zich aan huis te hebben, ("penes se habere") wat evenwel het concubinaat nog niet ophief (14 juni 326) 59).

Na een lang verblijf in Noord-Italië reisde de keizer in de zomer van dit jaar naar Rome, waar hij 18 juli zijn intocht deed, omjubeld door volk en senatoren, en weldra het hoge paleis van Nero betrok.

Maar al waande hij zich voortaan veilig voor Crispus, die hem nooit iets had misdaan, hij was het niet voor zijn eigen geweten, dat hem steeds feller folterde. En daarbij bleef het niet. Hoewel Constantijn zijn trawanten het strengste stilzwijgen had bevolen, en het gerucht had laten verspreiden, dat Crispus en Licinianus aan een plotselinge ziekte waren gestorven, het geheim lekte uit aan het hof. Maar deze praatjes om hem heen deerden de keizer niet. Hardnekkig verborg hij voor zijn omgeving, welke wroeging hem doorwondde, en toonde haar steeds het eendere, strakke, strenge gelaat.

Alleen zijn moeder Helena, aan wie hij steeds zijn vonnis over Crispus had verzwegen, en die nu alles wist, vermocht zijn ziel te openen. Liefde en meelij voor haar kleinzoon, wiens onschuld zij al vroeger had bepleit, gaf haar de moed tot open taal.

Maar in die liefde mengde zich haar oude wrok tegen de trotse vorstendochter Fausta, die jarenlang haar, de moeder van de keizer, om haarlage afkomst had vernederd, en ternauwernood aan het paleis geduld. Daartegen verzette zich haar zelfbesef: zij wilde haar invloed op haar zoon, haar onttroggeld door Fausta, herwinnen, en voor twee zulke eierzuchtige vrouwen als zij beiden was tegelijk geen plaats aan dit hof. Zo wees zij Constantijn op Fausta's eigen eierzucht, en hartstochtelijke, ja hysterische aard, en verzekerde hem dat zij Crispus belasterd had. Wellicht had zij er zelve naar gestreefd, om met behulp van haar stiefzoon, de keizer van de troon te stoten, en zelve te heersen. Zo spookte thans, behalve wroeging ook nog angst voor eigen eer en veiligheid door het argwanend brein van de monarch.

Maar nog altijd aarzelde hij, zijn vrouw voor een bedriegster te houden zonder nader bewijs.

Totdat op zekere dag Fausta werd betrapt in de armen van een verachtelijke renbode des keizers. 60) Dit overtuigend staaltje van haar ontuchtige natuur bracht de bedrogene tot een beslissing. Hij veroordeelde haar, de moeder van zijn drie overgebleven zonen, en eens de redster van zijn eigen leven, ter dood. Hij gelastte zijn eunuchen, haar onder te dompelen in een kokend bad, waar zij stierf door verstikking 61).

Dit gebeurde in het diepste geheim, in de stilste vertrekken van het paleis te Rome, vermoedelijk in de zomer van hetzelfde jaar, waarin hij Crispus liet vermoorden. 62) Doch deze nieuwe gruweldaad, de dood van Fausta, die hij als een verkapte heiden had geofferd om de schim van Crispus te verzoenen, stilde niet de wroeging die hem bleef martelen als de moordenaar van zijn eigen zoon. Er restte hem niets dan in een roes van nieuwe, rusteloze daden de kwelling van zijn kwaad geweten te smoren. Zo moest hij dan weg uit Rome, weg uit het oude paleis van Nero, waar de wanden hem fluisterden van zijn eigen even wrede daden, weg en weer terug naar het Oosten.

DE LAATSTE REGERINGSJAREN VAN CONSTANTIJN.

Constantijn had, na al het reizen en trekken, een nieuwe en vaste hoofdstad nodig. In Rome kon de Aziatische praal van zijn hof niet aarden. De westelijke rijkshelft was ook lang niet zo waardevol als de Oostelijke: zo moest hij dus evenals Diocletianus daar resideren.

Maar niet in Nicomedia, de zetel van de vroegere christenvervolger, waar alles, evenals in Rome, nog te veel aan het heidendom herinnerde.

Zo besloot hij dan eerst een stad te stichten tussen Alexandria Troas en het oude Ilion, aan de Aegaeische zee 63). Volgens een oud orakel zouden de Romeinen namelijk, immers na de val van Troje hier vandaan gekomen, eens hier wederkeren. De christelijke hofpartij was wel tegen deze heidense traditie, maar Constantijn ging zelf ter plaatse, en begon alvast muren te bouwen, die in de vijfde eeuw nog vanuit zee te zien waren 63). 's Nachts aanschouwde hij echter, zoals wel meer, de God der Christenen, die hem beval dit bouwwerk te staken en een andere plaats te kiezen 64). Hij gehoorzaamde, en koos nu Byzantium, dat hem in de laatste oorlog met Licinius een

sterke, strategische stelling was gebleken.

Het lag op een landtong tussen de Propontis (Zee van Marmara) en de Keras (of Gouden Hoorn), een smalle zeeboezem in de vorm van een riviermond, zodat het van de landzijde makkelijk te verdedigen was. Ook van de zeezijde was het onneembaar daar de twee natuurlijke toegangskanalen tot de Propontis namelijk Hellespont en Bosporus voor oorlogsschepen gesloten konden worden. Vanuit dit onaantastbaar steunpunt kon hij voortaan de Balkan beter tegen Gotische en Sarmatische barbaren in het Noorden Klein-Azië, Syrië en Egypte tegen de Perzen aan de Oostgrens bewaken.

Bovendien lag het gunstig voor de voedselvoorziening, daar al het graan van de Zwarte zee daarlangs werd verscheept, terwijl Egypte niet verre was. Ook door hun milde klimaat lokten de oevers van de Bosporus, welig beplant met wijnstok en olijventuinen de keizer tot een duurzaam verblijf.

Tenslotte was er nog een bijgelovige reden: het terrein omvatte zeven heuvelen, net als dat van Rome.

De geschiedenis heeft de keuze dezer nieuwe hoofdstad erkend als geniaal. Meer dan duizend jaren zou Constantinopel de aanvallen van Goten, Arabieren en Bulgaren, zelfs een eeuw van nauwe omsingeling door de Turken met succes trotseren; en daarna zouden deze laatsten, eenmaal meester van dit steunpunt, niet meer uit Europa te verjagen zijn.

In het voorjaar van 328 begon Constantijn met de uitvoering van dit plan. 66) Westelijk van het oude Byzantium, op de tweede heuvel, legde hij als centrum van de nieuwe stad een ruime, ronde marktplaats aan, het latere forum Constantini. Hier omheen verrees een zuilengang, die aan de uiteinden van het plein werd onderbroken door twee statige marmeren 65) bogen tegenover elkaar. De Oostelijke boog werd gebouwd op de plaats van een vroegere stadspoort, die voor dit doel natuurlijk gesloopt was. Weldra echter konden de marmergroevender naburige landen en de kunst der beschikbare beeldhouwers en architecten hem niet genoeg materiaal verschaffen om zijn stad te versieren. Daarom ging hij over tot plundering van tempels en openbare pleinen van bijna alle steden 67).

Van heinde en ver sleepte men bronzen en marmeren godenbeelden aan, niet zoals de christen Eusebius meende 68), uit haat tegen het oude heidendom, maar uit bewondering voor de hoge kunst die het eens had voortgebracht. Midden op het forum, dat zijn naam kreeg, stelde hij, op een steile zuil van purpersteen, een geweldig Apollo-beeld, met een stralenkrans om het hoofd, dat hij uit Phrygië had laten roven 69). Het aangezicht hiervan deed hij, met vandaalse wansmaak, veranderen naar zijn eigen brede, dikhalzige kop zodat lateren dit hielden voor een statue van Constantijn 70). Aan de voet van dit beeld plaatste hij het Palladium of houten Pallas-beeld, dat hij heimelijk had laten roven uit Rome, om de nieuwe stad oninneembaar te maken naar hij waande.

Aan de noord- en zuidkant van dit plein, zijwaarts van de zuilengangen, dus tegen de hellingen van deze heuvel, bouwde hij twee zogenaamde tempels, waartoe men van de omringende stad langs een trap kon stijgen. In de ene hiervan plaatste hij een beeld van Rhea Kubele, de moeder der goden, geroofd van de berg Dindumos bij Kuzikos, waar de Argonauten het eens zouden hebben opgericht. 71) Dit gestolen beeld bedierf hij opzettelijk tot hevige ergernis der heidenen, 71) door de twee leeuwen aan weerszij, die zij vasthield weg te nemen, en ook de houding der handen zo te veranderen dat zij biddend werden samengevouwen. Zo verchristelijkte hij de hele gestalte tot een vrouw die bad voor het heil van de stad, die zij overschouwde, ja mogelijk tot een beeld van de "godbarende" Maria (Maria Theotokos).

In de andere zogenaamde tempel plaatste hij het beeld van de gelucksgodin van Rome, Tuche of Fortuna genaamd. Dit was niet zozeer een sluwe concessie aan zijn nieuwe, heidense medeburgers als wel een teken van zijn eigen ondelgbaar bijgeloof. Verder bouwde hij, aan de voet van de eerste heuvel, een groot complex van paleizen, bijna zo groot als die te Rome. Het lag Oostelijk van het forum Constantini, en was ermee verbonden door een brede keizerslaan (Via Regia) met twee flinke zuilengangen, overal versierd met beelden en marmerwerken.

Vlak voor het paleis, als aanvangsplaats van de Via Regia strekte zich een breed plein uit, het Augustaeum, zo geheten naar zijn moeder, de Augusta Helena, wier beeld hier middenin, op een purperen voetstuk prijkte. 69) Naast de grote, koperen poort van de keizerswoning (Chalke) verrees een senaatsgebouw, dat de Curia te Rome evenaarde.

Een geheime wenteltrap leidde, vanuit het paleis, tot de keizerlijke tribune der aangrenzende renbaan. Dit circus of Hippodroom, mogelijk al voor hem aangelegd, voltooide hij in alle pracht. Als versiering diende hiertoe een zogenaamde tempel van Castor en Pollux zijwaarts van een der zuilengangen opgericht. Elders in deze renbaan plaatste hij, op een gouden drievoet, een beeld van Apollo beide uit de Delphische

tempel weggehaald 71). Vlak bij de ingang stond, al vroeger, 'n openbaar badhuis, gewijd aan Zeuxippos (bijnaam van Zeus), maar thans liet Constantijn dit voltooiën en

verfraaien met zuilen en bronzen beelden en mozaïekwerk van veelkleurig marmer. Toen de voornaamste gebouwen er eenmaal stonden liet hij heerlijke villa's verrijzen, verspreid door heel het bouwterrein, en nodigde vele senatorenfamilies uit Rome en decurionen uit de provincie, om daarheen te verhuizen 72). Ook talloze mindere burgers uit de nabije steden van Klein-Azië en Griekenland trokken er in groten getale binnen, aangelokt door de vele voorrechten die de nieuwe keizerstad zou krijgen.

Het geheel werd afgesloten door een lange, hoge muur in het Westen, die 15 stadiën of drie km langer was dan de vroegere stadsmuur van het oude Byzantium 73).

Eindelijk, in 330 was de bouw gereed van het Nieuwe Rome (Nova Roma), zoals de keizer het noemde, of Constantijnsstad (Konstantinou polis), zoals zijn vleiers het herdoopten. De 9de mei van dit jaar werd het inwijdings- of geboortefeest gevierd 74).

De dag begon met harddraverijen in de renbaan. Terwijl keizer en volk daar verzameld zaten, werd, in plechtige processie een vergulde houten zuil, waarin het beeld van Constantijn was gesneden met de Tuche van de stad in de hand, daar binnengedragen te midden van afdelingen soldaten in gala-uniformen, die allen lange witte waskaarsen droegen, dof brandend in de felle dag. Voor de keizerlijke tribune hielden zij halt, en hier sprak de stichter plechtig de geheime naam uit van de stad, verpersoonlijkt in het beeld van de Geluksgodin, en noemde haar Authousa, de Bloeiende 74).

Het was dus een "onbloedig" wijdingsfeest, 74) d.w.z. zonder offerdieren, en zelfs ietwat christelijk vermomd, maar daarom toch nog heidens in kern en wezen.

En Constantijn gebod dat dit geboortefeest "naar zijn eigen goddelijk voorbeeld" elk jaar, tot in de verste toekomst, herhaald moest worden. En als dan het beeld van Constantijn en Tuche in processie het circus werd binnengedragen, tot voor de zetel van de vorst die dan regeerde, dan moest deze opstaan, en vol eerbied de beeltenis kussen van stichter en stad.

Zo bleef hij dan voortaan, behalve nog enkele reizen in de omtrek, hier wonen met heel zijn hof. De stad Constantinopel werd van het presidium van Europa (de oevers van de Bosporus) afgenomen, en kreeg een eigen praefectus praetorio en andere hoge ambtenaren, net als Rome. 74)

Ook ontving het dezelfde voorrechten, bijvoorbeeld kosteloze brooduitdelingen, sinds 18 mei 332. 75) Het [graan](#) der verschillende provinciën, eerst aan Rome geschonken (annona), werd voortaan over beide steden gelijk verdeeld, zodat Rome voortaan het graan van Afrika en Sicilië, Constantinopel van Egypte, Pontus en andere Oostelijke landen kreeg.

Bij dit privilege kwam dan nog de geldelijke steun die onvermogen bekeerlingen van kerken en overheid konden krijgen.

Dit alles lokte nog meer bewoners dan vroeger in de stad. Vooral armen en bedelaars verdrongen zich binnen haar poorten, aangetrokken door de "gulheid en meewarigheid van haar burgers," zoals Sozomenus (II, 3) beweert. Maar hij voegt erbij: "zozeer lokte zij allen tot het christendom, dat de meeste Joden, en bijna alle heidenen die daar kwamen wonen, tenslotte werden gewonnen voor dit geloof." Met andere woorden: men oefende door liefdadigheid, ja door dwang enige pressie op hen uit, want heidentempels werden hier niet geduld. Zo kreeg Constantinopel de uiterlijke stempel van een christelijke stad, "nooit door afgodshuizen of altaren of heidense offers bezoedeld", behalve dan door de tempel van Tuche.

Toch bleef er een geweldig verschil bestaan tussen rijk en arm. Tussen de weelderige senatorenkastelen lagen, dicht opeengepropt de krotten van het stedelijk proletariaat. Voor deze laatsten was er weldra geen plaats genoeg meer op het terrein binnen de stadsmuur, zodat men paalwoningen moest bouwen in zee. Ook bleken de staatspaleizen van Constantijn zo haastig in elkaar geflanst dat sommigen binnen een eeuw weer verzakten tot ruïnes 76).

Natuurlijk vereisten en de stichting van deze wereldstad en de nimmer eindende bouwlust van de keizer miljoenen aan geld. Daarbij kwam nog het onderhoud van zijn hof en gevolgd met al hun kostbare pronk, en de ongehoorde verkwisting, waarmee hij de middelen van de staat aan onwaardige gunstelingen versmeet. Zoals vroeger – onder Diocletianus – Nicomedia, zo werd nu voortaan Constantinopel de grote bloedzuigster van de sappen en krachten der provinciën: haar cijns van geld en naturaliën. Zo werd de stichting van deze stad, hoewel een teken van korte herleving van de Romeinse staat, tevens een der oorzaken van haar naderende ondergang.

Maar ook van buiten dreigde gevaar, al was het voorlopig nog weinig.

Tegenover de *noordelijke barbaren* voerde de keizer namelijk in het laatst van zijn leven een uiterst onvoorzichtige politiek 77).

Diocletianus had wijselijk de legioenen als bewakers in de grensgewesten gelegerd, maar Constantijn verplaatste ze in de steden.

De motieven hiervan zijn duidelijk. De stadsbevolkingen vooral van Rome, Milaan, Alexandrië en Antiochië waren wegens de hoge belastingen steeds tot oproer geneigd, en moesten streng in bedwang gehouden worden. Verder wou de gewezen soldatenkeizer en wereldveroveraar zijn persoonlijke gunst bij de troepen behouden door ze, na lange jaren van oorlog en ontbering, rust en weelde te gunnen. Bovendien waren er duizenden barbaren reeds in het leger opgenomen, en deze waren niet beter voor de Romeins-Hellenistische cultuur en zeden te winnen, dan door ze te legeren in de voornaamste centra van het rijk.

Toch bleef dit een fout, want daardoor leverde hij de steden over aan de moedwil en losbandigheid der soldaten, die door theaterbezoek en andere ontspanning werden verwekelijkt, terwijl hij de grens van bewakers beroofde. Zodoende opende hij de poort voor de barbaren in het Noorden, om het Romeinse rijk binnen te vallen, wat onder hem nog niet vaak, maar later herhaaldelijk gebeurde 77).

Ook bestreed hij ze aan het eind van zijn regering niet zelf meer, zoals in het begin. Wel had hij, na een overwinning 79) van zijn generaals op de Goten (327), in 328 nog een stenen brug over de Donau laten bouwen, voor het geval dat een nieuwe strafexpeditie tegen de Goten nodig werd. Maar toen een hunner stammen, de Taifalen 78), met 500 ruiters einde 331 een inval deden in Thracië, en vlak tot voor de buitengracht van zijn hoofdstad plunderden, trok de keizer ze niet tegemoet, maar stak zelfs over naar Klein-Azië, 80) wat veel leek op een vlucht. De verdere oorlog – droeg hij op aan zijn vijftienjarige, oudste zoon Constantinus, die de vijanden verdreef en ze versloeg in het gebied der Sarmaten (januari 332).

Deze nederlaag der Germanen verzwakte ten eerste hun prestige bij de Sarmatische (Slavische) stammen, in wier midden zij, minder talrijk, als overheersende krijgsmanskaste leefden. Twee jaar later (334) stonden dan ook de onderdrukten op, en verdreven een der Gotische stammen de Limiganten (later Argaraganten genoemd) naar Romeinse grondgebied 81). Een voorspel van de naderende volksverhuizing.

Om zijn dynastie te verstevigen, had de keizer, reeds dadelijk na zijn bemachtiging van het hele rijk, zijn broers en verdere verwanten, aan het hof geroepen, en met de hoogste ambten bekleed. Zo benoemde hij van zijn halfbroers de jongste, *Dalmatius*, de vader van *Dalmatius* en *Hanniballianus*, tot *censor*, en de oudste, Julius Constantius (vader van Gallus en Julianus) tot *praefectus praetorio* van het Oosten 82) (einde 324). Deze laatste bleef dit tot einde 329, en werd toen vervangen door een nieuwe gunsteling, *Flavius Ablabius*, die voor die tijd nog geen jaar lang *praefectus praetorio* van Italië was geweest. Deze Ablabius was blijkens zijn gens-naam Flavius een vermoedelijk ver familielid van de keizer, wat ook nog bewezen wordt door de aanspraak "parens carissime", waar mee de keizer zich in een der wetten tot hem wendt 83).

Deze invloedrijke gunsteling, fel christelijk, stijfde de keizer in zijn klerikale, anti-heidense politiek, en was mede schuldig aan de rechterlijke moord op Sopator, een heidens sofist, die tijdelijk aan het paleis was toegelaten 84) (330). Toch had hij, wegens zijn geweldige invloed op Constantijn, vele benijders aan het hof, waar hij vaak vertoefde, zodat hij de dood van Constantijn niet lang overleefde. Doch intussen had de keizer, eind 333, ook zijn derde overgebleven zoon, Constans, tot caesar benoemd 85), nadat Constantinus II dit al in 317, en Constantius in 324 was geworden.

Spoedig kwam hiervoor ook de beurt aan Dalmatius Jr.

In het jaar 333 woedde er namelijk een hevige pest 85) in Syrië en Cilicië en vermoedelijk ook op het eiland Kupros (Cyprus), zodat er geen mensen genoeg overbleven om de oogst binnen te halen. Toch moest er voor de voeding van de keizerstad evenveel koren als andere jaren worden geleverd, en werd het weinige graan hier weggeroofd. Daardoor ontstond er 'n geweldige hongersnood 85) en duurte: de prijs van een schepel koren steeg tot 400 zilverstukken. 86) Toen braken er in de dorpen van Syrië overal oproeren uit. De bewoners overvielen zelfs vele graanpakhuizen en plunderden deze leeg. Wel hadden de soldaten spoedig de orde hersteld, maar er kwam geen verbetering in het lot der boeren. Alleen de christenen in de steden kregen het goed: zo schonk de keizer aan de kerk van Antiochië 36000 schepel koren om te verdelen onder haar armen en geestelijken 86). Natuurlijk vermeerde dit de ontevredenheid onder de heidenen, waartoe de meeste plattelanders behoorden, – temeer daar Constantijn kort te voren vele van hun tempels had verwoest of van beelden beroofd (331).

Bovendien teisterde in hetzelfde jaar een geweldige aardbeving het naburige Cyprus, waar de stad Salamis tot puin ineenstortte en haast helemaal werd vernietigd 86). Al deze rampen schreef men toe aan de toorn der goden over de aanslagen van hun vijand

- 131755 Constantijn.
Van deze ontstemming maakte nu zekere Kalokairos, opzichter van de keizerlijke kamelenkudde op Kupros, en waarschijnlijk van dit eiland geboortig, gebruik, om hier een opstand te verwekken, en zichzelf tot imperator uit te roepen. Maar Dalmatius Jr. landde weldra in naam des keizers met een legertje op het eiland, nam de vermetele
- 131760 usurpator gevangen, en liet hem in Tarsos, op de markt, levend verbranden als een misdadiger (334) 87).
Als beloning daarvoor werd Dalmatius Jr., die reeds tevoren consul was geweest (333), het volgend jaar tot caesar benoemd, 88) (335) en als veldheer voorlopig, wegens een dreigende oorlog met Perzië, in Mesopotamië gedetacheerd 89).
- 131765 Tezelfder tijd kreeg zijn broeder Hanniballianus de rang van *rex* of *nobilissimus* van Cappadocië 89) en Pontus, 88) en werd naar de hoofdstad Caesarea van de eerste provincie gestuurd (335).
Dit ging tevens gepaard met een verdeling van het overige rijksgebied onder de drie zonen van Constantijn. Constantinus II, de oudste kreeg Brittannië, Gallië en Spanje,
- 131770 Constans de jongste, Italië en Afrika en vermoedelijk ook Illyricum (de Balkan behalve Thracië), terwijl Constantius het hele Oosten kreeg, behalve de bezitting van Dalmatius. Van Dalmatius is het niet zeker, of hij Thracië ontving dan wel Mesopotamië maar hij was in elk geval Caesar en aan de zonen van Constantijn gelijk gesteld. Daarentegen werd Hanniballianus toekomstig vazal van Constantius.
- 131775 Wel bleef Constantijn nog opperkeizer en controleerde zijn zonen en neven scherp door middel van de praefecti praetorio die hij hen als raadslieden meegaf, maar het bewijst dat hij zijn einde voelde naderen. Twee jaar later, toen juist de Perzenkoning hem de vriendschap had opgezegd, en hij een oorlog tegen dit rijk voorbereidde, stierf hij te Ancyro, een voorstad van Nicomedia, na kort te voren tot
- 131780 Ariaans christen te zijn gedoopt 90).
Zijn lijk werd naar Constantinopel vervoerd, en van alle kanten snelden zijn zoons, neven en broeders toe. Daarop verhief zich, onder aanmoediging van Constantius, de middelste der zonen, een oproer onder de soldaten, waarbij o.a. de gehate praefectus praetorio van het Oosten, Ablabius, 91) en alle broers en neven van Constantijn
- 131785 werden vermoord, behalve de twee zonen van Constantius, Gallus en Julianus. De eerste spaarde men omdat hij hevig ziek was, de tweede, de latere heidenkeizer, om zijn jeugd 90).
Later motiveerde men dit bloedbad met de bewering, dat het gebeurde op last van de overledene. Constantijn zou namelijk zelf, in een testament dat hij voor zijn dood de
- 131790 bisschop Eusebius van Nicomedia gaf, de vrees hebben geuit, dat zijn broers hem hadden vergiftigd, en daarom zijn zonen hebben opgeroepen om zijn dood te wreken 92). Hoe dit ook zij, daardoor wordt de woede der soldaten tegen de vermeende moordenaars van hun geliefde keizer verklaarbaar. Toch was deze bewering mogelijk slechts een verzinsel van Constantius, om hen op te hitsen.
- 131795 Zo gedroegen zich de christenen vlak na de dood van de groten Constantijn. De heidense senaat echter eerden dit ogenblik waardiger, door de verzaker van hun geloof een apotheose toe te kennen 93).
- DE ECONOMISCHE TOESTAND VAN HET RIJK.
- 131800 Constantijn, prachtlievend en verkwistend van aard, verkeerde in doorlopende geldnood. Daarom beperkte zich zijn economische politiek tot een enkel punt: de strenge, zorgvuldig gecontroleerde inning der belastingen. Het belang van hemzelf en zijn ambtenaren ging hem boven de welvaart zijner onderdanen. Naast de belastingen en schattingen had de keizerlijke schatkist nog andere ongeregelde inkomsten door de
- 131805 hoge boeten die op overtreding van vele wetten stonden. Het woord "fiscus" keert dan ook in bijna al zijn edicten terug.
Hoe was echter de toestand voor Constantijn, en hoe werd hij veranderd?
Zonderen we enkele ongeregelde belastingen uit, (zoals vermogens- en vrijlatingsbelasting) waaraan ook de burgers van de stad Rome van oudsher onderhevig
- 131810 waren, dan rustte alleen op de anderen, dus Italianen en provincialen, **belastingplicht**.
Deze bestond, voor Diocletianus' regering, in de volgende tributen:
I. Een jaarlijkse korenlevering, aan alle landbezitters opgelegd voor de jaarlijkse broodverzorging van de hoofdstad (*annona urbis*), die naar het doel waarvoor zij
- 131815 diende, ook *annona* heette.
II. Een extra-belasting in tijd van duurte en gebrek, alleen op speciale aanwijzing des keizers ingevoerd, en daarom *indictio* geheten.
III. Ongeregelde schattingen en requisities in elk gewest waar soldaten gelegerd waren, en die allerlei naturaliën, bijv. brood, vlees, wijn, olie naast lastdieren en
- 131820 materiaal voor het leger betroffen.

De eerste belasting, de annona, maakte reeds Diocletianus van een grondbelasting, ook tot een hoofdelijke belasting (capitum), d.w.z., de nieuwe schatting was niet alleen afhankelijk van het landbezit, maar ook van het aantal bewoners, mensen en stukken vee. Daar echter het kleingrondbezit en de hoeven der pachters in verhouding dichter bevolkt waren dan de grote landgoederen, werden vooral de kleine boeren door deze regeling het zwaarst getroffen.

De tweede belasting, de indictio, werd al spoedig tot een geregelde schatting, die onder Diocletianus om de 5 jaar werd geheven.

Al deze tributen, annonae en indicties, wogen ondragelijk zwaar op de provincialen, en lieten hun door de voortdurende herhaling nauwelijks kans tot verademing. Bovendien traden de belastinggaarders (susceptores) en ambtenaren tegen belastingweigeraars (exactores) veel strenger op tegen armere burgers dan tegen rijke en aanzienlijke. De eerste werden zelfs wanneer zij niets bezaten, gegeseld en gefolterd; de laatsten die bij wanbetaling zich door slaven konden laten verdedigen, durfde men vaak niet aan. Daardoor hadden zij dan ook de meeste achterstallige schulden aan de schatkist, en niet de armeren.

Maar Constantijn, die dit drukkende fiscale systeem van Diocletianus grotendeels overnam, verzwaarde het nog meer. 95) De indicties hield hij vanaf 313 voortaan om een termijn van 15 jaren, in plaats van om de vijf, maar deze belasting werd nu natuurlijk drie maal zo hoog, wat de keizer weer hielp aan geweldige sommen contant geld. En hiermee nog niet tevreden, voerde hij een oude, in onbruik geraakte belasting in van Septimius Severus 94) in op alle *handeldrijvenden* in zijn rijk (314).

Deze z.g. "collatio lustralis" of vijf jaarlijkse bijdrage was een schatting in goud en zilver, vandaar bij de Grieken *chrysarguron* geheten. 96) Hij moest bij alle troonsbestijgingen en lustra (of vijf jaarlijkse jubileën) zowel van de augustus als van de latere caesaren worden opgebracht. Zo herhaalde hij zich in 315, 317 320, 322, 324, 325, 327, 329, 330 enz., dus gemiddeld om de twee jaar.

Deze schatting hief hij, zoals de naam reeds uitdrukt, vooral om de dure feesten bij al die jubilea, en ook de vijf jaarlijkse geschenken aan het leger te kunnen bekostigen, zonder zich te bekommeren om de draagkracht van zijn onderdanen. Maar hij verdelgde daardoor *handel* en *industrie*, de voedingswortel van de welvaart zijner steden, zoals zijn voorganger al door annonae en indicties het boerenbedrijf, de welvaart van het platteland had geruïneerd.

Want alle neringdoenden, van de rijkste groothandelaars tot de armste handwerkers, marskramers en karreventers, waren aan deze *collatio lustralis* onderworpen. Ja, zelfs de ongelukkige sletten die haar lichamen te koop moesten bieden bleven niet gespaard, maar moesten van hun vernederende winst nog wat afstaan aan de keizer 97).

Telkens als er een jaar naderde, waarin men de schatting storten moest klonken overal in de steden zuchten en jammerklachten. Zij, die niet konden betalen uit overgrote armoe, werden gegeseld, en met de allerwreedste folteringën gekweld. Moeders werden gedwongen hun zonen te verkopen, vaders hun dochters te prostitueren, om maar goud en zilver te vinden voor de meedogenloze belastinggaarders 97). Zelfs de rijkere werden nu veel strenger dan vroeger gedwongen. Hun slaven en huisraad werd in beslag genomen, en als ze binnen twee maanden hun schuld niet hadden afgelost, werd hun bezit ten bate van de fiscus verkocht 98).

En bij al deze *directe* belastingen kwamen nog de *indirecte* die vooral de aanzienlijke troffen, dus zowel de *perfectissimi* of leden van de senatorenadel als de *decurionen* of leden van de vroedschappen der provinciesteden, en de daaruit ontstane regentenadel. Deze werden namelijk al van oudsher met *munera* of kostbare ambten geplaagd, bijvoorbeeld met het ambt van pretor of quaestor, een eer die hun geweldige sommen kostte.

Daar de *perfectissimi* te weinig in aantal waren, en er velen van hen tot de keizerlijke ambtenaren of gunstelingen hoorden en daardoor vrijdom van *munera* genoten, viel deze plicht vooral op de *decurionen*.

Om nu zichzelf of hun gezinnen niet te ruïneren, zochten de hiertoe gedoemden zich door allerlei middelen aan het *decurionaat* te onttrekken. Zo trouwden zij bijvoorbeeld met hun slavinnen, om uit hun stand gestoten te worden, gingen over tot de christelijke geestelijkheid, verhuisden naar minder hoog aangeslagen steden of naar het platteland. Maar de sluwe wetgeving van Constantijn verijdelde al deze pogingen. Verhuizing naar een andere stad bezorgde een *decurio* dubbele plicht tot *munera*, zowel in de plaats waar hij vandaan kwam als in zijn nieuwe vestigingsoord. Trouwen met slavinnen werd ten strengste strafbaar gesteld, de hieruit geboren kinderen als onecht beschouwd en zelfs daarom op de wreedste wijze vervolgd en mishandeld. Priester worden werd alleen maar aan niet-*decurionen*, dus aan armeren toegestaan. Al deze ontvluchtingsmiddelen onthieven dus niemand van het *decurionaat*.

Zelfs werd dit, op 's keizers bevel tot een *erfelijke stand*, en daardoor de decurionen blijvend belastbaar. 99)

Dit verduidelijkt ons de bijnaam *latro* of struikrover die Constantijn in zijn
 131890 middelste periode kreeg. Maar de stichting van Constantinopel verzwaarde de belastingdruk nog meer, en ging tegelijk met zulk een geweldige verkwisting gepaard, dat men hem toen "pupillus" (onmondige) noemde, of "rijp voor curatele" 100). En daar Constantijns opvolgers zijn zware belastingdruk niet verlichtten (behalve, heel even, de heiden Julianus) putte dit wrede afpersings-stelsel de krachten van het
 131895 volk volslagen uit. Men verwenste voortaan de staat met zijn fiscale tirannie, en dit werd een der oorzaken van zijn latere ondergang. Volgen we thans evenwel 's keizers politiek jegens de verschillende maatschappelijke beroepen.

Twee hiervan, de korenschippers en de bakkers, waren reeds van ouds, ten bate van de
 131900 fiscus, met passende *munera* belast. De eerste moesten (buiten hun eigen particulieren handel) de korenschattingen of *annonae* in hun schepen kosteloos naar Rome, en later naar de nieuwe hoofdstad vervoeren 101). De bakkers moesten gratis dit keizerlijk graan in hun ovens bakken voor de broodverzorging van hof, leger en hoofdsteden. Al sinds lang waren deze beroepen tot gilden verenigd en wegens hun kosteloze
 131905 diensten aan de staat, vrijgesteld van *alle andere munera*, welk privilege telkens werd bestendig (o.a. 18 september 326) 102).

Doch thans maakte Constantijn het zowel voor de korenschippers als de bakkers vrijwel onmogelijk, uit hun beroepen te deserteren door deze, *evenals de decurionenstand, erfelijk te verklaren* 103).

131910 Zo beveelt hij in 314, 19 maart, dat korenschippers die van oorsprong bakkers (*pistores* of *levamentarii*) 104) waren, toch eveneens tot het beroep hunner ouders zullen worden.

Ook een wet uit het volgend jaar 105), verklaart nadrukkelijk dat men alleen door erfrecht tot het gilde der bakkers kan behoren. Wil men uit dit gilde ontslagen
 131915 worden, dan moet men met dit erfrecht de *hele erfenis* van zijn ouders weigeren, en aan een *bloedverwant* of aan het gilde afstaan. Natuurlijk zullen de meesten zich wel bedacht hebben, eer ze zich aldus uit dit gilde los kochten.

Ook de korenschippers moesten dit blijven van vader op zoon, en wanneer een hunner mogelijk geestelijke werd en zo listig vrijdom van *munera* had verworven, werd hij
 131920 toch niet uit het gilde der *naricularii* (korenschippers) bevrijd 106). Er restte hun echter een middel, hieruit los te komen, namelijk door hun schepen en andere bezittingen aan anderen te verkopen. Dit stond de keizer hun toe, maar op voorwaarde dat dan de nieuwe eigenaars werden gedwongen zich aan de verplichtingen van het
 131925 schippersgilde te onderwerpen 107) (28 oktober 326).

Zolang er nog twee vorsten regeerden over het Romeinse rijk, wedijverde Licinius in het Oosten met Constantijn, om het zo nuttige korenschippersberoep in stand te
 131930 houden. Zo had hij leden uit de senatorenstand gedwongen, schepen uit te rusten voor graanvervoer, en zodoende deze verlaagd tot de stand der korenschippers. Doch deze dwang leek Constantijn niet tactisch genoeg, en toen hij dan ook het Oostelijke rijk had veroverd en de wetten van de tiran vernietigde, liet hij het aan de senaat over te bepalen, welke personen het waardigst waren om weer tot hun geboortestand terug te
 131935 keren (15 juli 325) 108).

Een algemeen streven beheerste dus Constantijn bij zijn regeling der maatschappelijke rangen: *ieder in de stand van zijn ouders te laten blijven*.

131935 Senatoren mochten niet dalen in rang. Decurionen werd het onmogelijk gemaakt op te klimmen tot een keizerlijk ambt, bijvoorbeeld het *presidaat*, tenzij ze eerst *alle gemeentelijke rangen* in hun vaderstad op de rij af hadden doorlopen 109).

En niet alleen de senatoren, de decurionen, de korenschippers en bakkers werden tot *erfelijke beroepen*, maar ook bijvoorbeeld *Muntmeesters* 110). Deze was het eeuwig
 131940 verboden om *perfectissimus* of *judex* te worden 110).

Zo krijgen we dus onder Constantijn de beginnende verstarring der hele maatschappij in *erfelijke kasten*, die de middeleeuwen zo typeert.

Al deze wetten en instellingen waren uitsluitend voor het betere fiscale overzicht. Over 't verdere economische leven heeft Constantijn, meer militair dan juridisch
 131945 aangelegd, heel wat minder wetten afgekondigd dan bijvoorbeeld Diocletianus, de regelaar van *maximumprijzen* en juiste naleving van koopcontracten.

Voor de gewone neringdoende beroepen interesseerde hij zich dus maar weinig. Slechts een soort hiervan moedigde hij, bij uitzonderlijke privilegieën, ten zeerste aan, namelijk alle *intellectuele* en *artistieke* bedrijven.

131950 Reeds in 321 of 324 111) verklaarde hij, mogelijk door toedoen der *clerici* die vaak deze vakken erbij beoefenden, alle geneeskundigen, *grammatici*, retoren en leraars in de letteren *vrij van munera*.

Dit was wel niet nieuw, want hij herstelde daarmee een oude wet van Antonius Pius, 112) die ook Diocletianus 112) had in stand gehouden, maar nochtans in de tijd der vervolgingen en dynastieke oorlogen weer was vergeten. Toch vormde hij door dit besluit een gunstige tegenstelling met Licinius, de hater van het intellect, en kon zodoende zelfs doorgaan voor een beschermer der beschaving. In 333 gaf hij, behalve dit privilege, de medici en literatoren ook nog vrijdom van militaire dienstplicht 113).

Mede in verband met de vele basilieken die hij overal liet stichten, moedigde hij ook het *bouwbedrijf* ten zeerste aan. Nu was er groot tekort aan architecten. Daarom beval hij Felix, de proconsul van Afrika, om allen die op twee en twintigjarige leeftijd weigeren zich aan de "artes liberales" te wijden, door munera-vrijdom en extra-toelagen, ook voor hun ouders, aan te sporen tot dit vak (334) 114).

In 337 breidde hij deze munera-vrijdom uit tot alle architecten, artsen, veeartsen, schilders, beeldhouwers, marmerbewerkers, houtbewerkers, goud-, zilver-, koper- en ijzersmeden, loodgieters, glasblazers, ivoorbewerkers, pottenbakkers en talloze andere beroepen. 115)

Hij verleent hun dit privilege "opdat hun rust vergund zij, hun kunst naar wens te leren en er meer bedreven in te worden en er hun *zonen* in te onderwijzen". Dus ook hier het streven deze beroepen erfelijk te maken.

Doch daar zij wegens hun armoede toch niet in aanmerking kwamen voor de openbare staatsbedieningen, of munera, betekende dit privilege heel weinig, temeer omdat zij onderhevig bleven aan de *directe* belasting: de *collatio lustralis*.

Van christelijke invloeden die tot zachtere behandeling zouden leiden merken we dus niets bij Constantijns economische politiek.

Evenmin is dit het geval bij zijn houding jegens de laagste klassen der bevolking, de slaven en vrijgelatenen. Van verzachting der slavernij, zoals vaak beweerd wordt, was geen sprake, hoogstens van sporadische grillen van vorstelijke mildheid jegens die ongelukkige kaste.

Zo prees hij in een zijner wetten, vermoedelijk onder geestelijke invloed, de vrijlating van slaven, vooral op zondag, als een welgevallig werk. (Zie hoofdstuk CHRISTENKEIZER EN HEIDENDOM). Maar in een ander edict verklaart hij dat een vrijgelatene die uit ondank zijn patroon beledigt, met al zijn nakomelingen weer

wordt verlaagd tot de slavenstand 116).

Elders verbiedt hij onder schoonschijnende leuzen, dat bij erfenissen een gezin van slaven of coloni wordt verdeeld over verschillende erfgenamen 117). "Want wie kan kinderen van ouders, zusters van broeders, ouders van mannen scheiden!"

Toch was dit meer uit nuttigheidsoverwegingen, omdat hij de *coloni* vast wou binden aan de akkers waar zij werkten.

Vandaar dat hij dan ook veel strenger optrad dan Diocletianus voor hem, tegen voortvluchtige slaven en coloni. Zij die er op betrapt werden naar het barbarenland te vluchten, werd hun been geamputeerd, of ze werden gedood of anderszins gestraft 118).

Wie echter een voortvluchtige slaaf of colonus in zijn huis of op zijn land ontving buiten weten van diens heer, moest hem met nog een ander lijfeigene of met 20 solidi 119) teruggeven aan zijn heer. Als hij hem echter voor de tweede of derde keer ontvangt moest hij behalve de slaaf nog 2 of 3 anderen of de voorgeschreven waarden restitueren.

Dit *binden van de lijfeigenen aan hun akkers, een gebod zo typisch voor de verdere middeleeuwen*, geschiedde weer om *fiscale redenen*. Want zo bleef het slavenbezit bij elk landgoed vrijwel stabiel, en hoefden de officiële lijsten hiervan niet telkens te worden veranderd.

Daarom bepaalde hij ook op dat coloni alleen mochten worden verkocht binnen de provincie waar zij woonden (27 februari 328) 119).

Ook trad hij hierom op tegen het misbruik van vele slavenbezitters die ter ontduiking van de capitatio (of hoofdelijke belasting) hun slaven bij vreemden uit besteedden als zogenaamde *vrije loonarbeiders*. De betreffende slaven konden, zo zij logen vrij te zijn, op de pijnbank worden gedwongen tot bekentenis, en vervielen natuurlijk aan de schatkist 120).

In 't algemeen is dan ook het aantal slaven in Constantijn niet verminderd, daar vele armen uit de onmogelijkheid anders aan de belastingen te voldoen, *hun kinderen als lijfeigenen moesten verkopen*. Dit wordt behalve door Zosimus 121) nog bevestigd door een wet van de keizer zelf, 122) die in dit geval de ongelukkige ouders toestaat hun kinderen terug te kopen, zo ze weer meer geld bezitten. Die mogelijkheid zal zich wel zelden hebben voorgedaan.

Strengere wetten vaardigde de keizer uit tegen de *vermenging der standen*. Deze was, zoals we zagen, juist in de tijd der soldatenkeizers algemeen, zodat Constantijn zelf was geboren uit een herbergierdochter. Eerst verbood hij nu decurionen en

perfectissimi te trouwen met slaven of slavinnen "daar hieruit slaven worden geboren" (123). Daarna breidde hij dit verbod ook uit tot omgang van bovengenoemde aanzienlijken met *alle* personen van lage stand, zoals vrijgelatenen, actrices, waardinnen, herbergierdochters, koppelaardochters, koopvrouwen enz. 124).

Wanneer ze de hieruit ontstane natuurlijke kinderen voor wettig verklaarden, werden ze gebrandmerkt en verloren hun Romeinse burgerschap. Erfenissen aan deze natuurlijke kinderen waren ongeldig en moesten aan wettige nakomelingen worden teruggegeven. Doch allerwreedst vervolgde hij de onschuldige bastaarden. Deze vervielen namelijk aan de schatkist en werden tot dwangarbeid veroordeeld.

Zo zien we dus dat Constantijn de welvaart van zijn rijk, en de vrije ontwikkeling der maatschappij geheel ten offer bracht aan zijn fiscale belangen.

CHRISTENKEIZER EN HEIDENDOM.

Zoals we zagen in hoofdstuk IV [DE OPKOMST VAN CONSTANTIJN] hadden bijgeloof en politiek Constantijn er toe gebracht om Christus met de tot dusver vereerde Zonnegod (Mithras) te vereenzelvigen, en zodoende beiden, Christenen en Mithrasdienaren, onder zijn labarum te verenigen (312).

Nu kwamen beide religies in veel overeen. Ook de Mithrasdienst, (gepleegd in onderaardse holen of Mithrae) had slechts één god, en huldigde een veel strenger zedenleer dan het overige heidendom. Doch toen de keizer eenmaal Christelijke bisschoppen in zijn omgeving had toegelaten (al in 312), die hem inlichtten omtrent het wezen van hun leer, verdrong hun invloed allengs meer en meer die der Mithraspriesters.

Vanaf 312 werd hij dus in stijgende mate Christelijk maar bleef daarnaast het Mithraïsme, de godsdienst van het leger, ontzien; ja mogelijk beleed hij een tijdlang beide religies tegelijk. Dit blijkt, behalve uit de keuze van het labarum, nog uit een tweede, meesterlijke bemiddelingspoging tussen Christenen en Zonnedienaren, namelijk de invoering van de *zondag* 125) (5 maart 321). In plaats van vele heidense feestdagen werden nu 52 officiële rustdagen ingesteld. Deze dag, hoewel meteen als Christelijke Sabbat bedoeld, noemt hij nog niet, zoals latere keizers "dag des heren" (dies dominicus), maar dies Solis, de dag der Zon. Zo kon hij zowel Christus als Mithras, de god van de vrede als de god van het leger, ieder het zijne geven, en leefde hij in vriendschap met alle goden en onderdanen.

Als voorbeeld van de zalvende, bijna zegenende toon van Constantijns godsdienstige edicten citeer ik dit edict:

"Alle rechters en stadsbewoners en alle diensten en bedrijven moeten rusten op de *eerbiedwaardige dag* van de Zon. Zij, die echter op het land geplaatst zijn mogen de akkerbouw bedienen, daar het vaak gebeurt dat op geen andere dag geschikter het graan aan de vore, de wijnstok aan de greppel kan worden toevertrouwd, opdat niet de gunstige kans, vergund door de hemelse voorzienigheid te niet ga" 125).

Doch als correctie op deze wet werd er weldra (3 juli 321) aan toegevoegd, dat het de keizer welgevallig was op de dag wijgeloften te vervullen, of slaven vrij te laten. Dus de rustdag was meteen bedoeld voor Christelijke en Mitharistische eredienst 126).

Tegenover de overige, polytheïstische heidense religies, zoals de dienst van Jupiter en de andere Olympische goden, stond hij echter van begin af aan heel anders dan tegenover de monotheïstische Mithrasdienst. Met de term "heidenen" bedoelen we dan voortaan, sprekend over Constantijn, korthedshalve: de grote massa der veelgodendienaren.

Deze beschouwde hij allengs op dezelfde wijze als zijn nieuwe geloofsgenoten dit deden.

Nu hadden de eerste Christenen uit het oude Jodendom dezelfde *onverdraagzaamheid jegens andersdenkenden* ingedronken, die eigenlijk alle Oosterse vormen van monotheïsme (ook het Mazdaïsme en de Islam) kenmerkt. Waaruit kwam dit voort? De Christenen zagen, evenals vroeger de Joden, in de heidense polytheïsten geen beklagenswaardige lijdens aan bijgeloof, maar misdadige *duivel-aanbidders*. Zij geloofden namelijk zelf, evenals de heidenen, aan het bestaan van *demonen*. Het Nieuwe Testament is van dit bijgeloof doordrenkt: Christus bant de duivelen door zijn woord. De Christenen zagen nu in alle heidense goden demonen 127) of gevallen engelen, dus dienende geesten van Lucifer of Satan.

Deze hadden namelijk, in mensengedaante die zij naar believen konden aannemen, een tijdlang op aarde geleefd, zodat nog hun graven werden vertoond, zoals van Zeus op Kreta 127). Na hun dood evenwel hadden deze wezens de overlevenden op duivelse wijze verleid, hen als goden te vereren, terwijl in waarheid hun zielen slechts bleven bestaan als boze geesten.

Hun demonisch karakter bleek volgens de Christenen allereerst uit hun onzedelijk karakter, en zeker viel het gemakkelijk alle schanddaden der Olympische goden op te

- 132085 sommen.
Bovendien konden zij zielen en lichamen van mensen binnensluipen. In 't laatste geval verwekten zij slechts stoffelijke kwalen, maar zo zij de zielen overmanden, afgoderijen en ketterijen. 128) Maar voor de naam van Christus en het teken des kruises, zouden de duivelen vluchten. Christenpriesters dienden daarom tevens als
- 132090 duivelbanners en medicijnmannen, en zouden ziekten kunnen genezen evenals Christus zelf.
Natuurlijk waren, naar hun zeggen, ook de Christenvervolgingen gebeurd onder inblazing der *demonen*. 129) Alleen door het labarum, het Christus-monogram, op zijn vaandels had hun beschermer Constantijn die vijanden Gods overwonnen. Geen wonder dus
- 132095 dat deze keizer hoe meer hij onder invloed der clerici kwam, die polytheïsten leerde verfoeien als duivel-dienaren.
Toch was zijn aanvankelijke houding tegenover deze heidenen er een van onzekerheid en politieke voorzichtigheid. Wel was hij persoonlijk meer de Christenen toegedaan, maar hij mocht als "pontifex maximus" of heidens opperpriester (een der oude bevoegdheden
- 132100 van de keizers) de paganistische meerderheid van leger en volk nog niet ontstemmen. Zo onderwierp hij zich voorlopig, wanneer het niet anders kon, aan allerlei heidense gebruiken. Na zijn eerste zegevierende binnenkomst in Rome (29 oktober 312) brengt hij bijvoorbeeld als pontifex maximus het verplichte dankoffer der "suove-aurilia", en als zodanig staat hij dan ook afgebeeld op de triomfboog, spoedig daarna voor hem
- 132105 opgericht (313, 314 of uiterlijk 315).
Maar ook toen al toonde hij duidelijk zijn afkeer van deze zinloze ceremoniën en poogde er zich, zo mogelijk, aan te onttrekken. Zo vierde hij bijvoorbeeld *niet* de "ludi saecularii" of het plechtige eeuwfeest ter ere van de stichting der stad Rome, (313, 21 april), dat zich elke 110 jaar of Etruskische eeuw herhaalde 130) en het
- 132110 laatst in 203 door Septimius Severus met weidse praal de volke was vertoond 131). Als verontschuldiging voor zijn ontwijken van deze heidense plechtigheden diende hem een belangrijke samenkomst met Licinius die hij eind januari 313 in Milaan moest treffen. Maar door dit haastig vertrek uit Rome, na een nauwelijks drie-maandelijks verblijf bespaarde hij zich niet alleen het verwijt van afgoderij, maar tevens de
- 132115 geweldige kosten aan dit openbare feest verbonden. Ook na zijn oponthoud te Milaan keerde hij dus niet naar Rome terug, maar reisde verder, eerst naar Illyrië, toen naar Gallië, onder voorwendsel van een nieuwe oorlog tegen de Franken.
Maar een oud orakel bedreigde Rome met de ondergang zo deze eeuwspelen werden overgeslagen. In dit verwaarlozen van oude tradities zagen bijgelovige heidenen van
- 132120 toen en later dan ook verraad jegens het vaderland, zodat ongeveer 430 Zosimus aan Constantijn de toenmalige rampen van het rijk verweet.
Doch in de beginne uitte Constantijn zijn haat tegen de *oude, officiële godsdienst* van Rome slechts negatief nooit openlijk. Overeenkomstig het rescript van Milaan, dat
- 132125 beide religies gelijkstelde, voerde hij een schijnbaar onpartijdige, *verzoenende* politiek, en wachtte er zich voorlopig wel voor om de polytheïstische meerderheid in dit Westelijk rijksgedebied door al te vijandige wetten tegen zich in te nemen.
Toch had de Christelijke leer zijn voorkeur, en poogde hij al dadelijk, *heidense propaganda te beletten*. In twee opeenvolgende wetten van 319 132) verbood hij
- 132130 namelijk haruspices of vogelwichelaars, en weldra ook andere heidenpriesters, om, op *straffe van verbranding, particuliere huizen te bezoeken*. Zij konden, zegt hij, "hun bijgeloof naar eigen ritus dienen binnen openbare tempels."
"Gaaf naar uw heilighdommen," roept hij hun toe, "wij verhinderen u niet, in 't vrije licht, een lang verjaard gebruik in stand te houden."
- 132135 Hierin toont hij dus een zekere verdraagzaamheid, maar tevens een nauwelijks door spot bedekte vrees.
Toch bleef Constantijn, een *bijgelovig* vertrouwen hechten aan diezelfde haruspices of vogelwichelaars, die juist omdat ze "duivelse" geesten dienden, van deze de toekomst vernamen. Dit bleek bijvoorbeeld toen het Colosseum of amfitheater der Flaviërs, van wie hij en zijn geslacht beweerden af te stammen in Rome door de bliksem werd
- 132140 getroffen. Constantijn, juist vertoevend in Illyrië (*Sardica*) zag hierin een gevaarlijke omen, en liet terstond de haruspices raadplegen. Tevens bepaalde hij in een edict van 17 december 320 of 321 133), dat voortaan deze vogelwichelaars nauwkeurig moesten worden geraadpleegd zo het paleis of andere publieke gebouwen te Rome door de vlammen des hemels werden aangeraakt, doch dat zij (de vogelwichelaars)
- 132145 zich van *offers* binnen particuliere huizen moesten onthouden. Dit laatste was een herhaling van een reeds vroegere wet.
In dit bijgeloof aan *heidense waarzeggerij* en *orakels* stond Constantijn volstrekt niet alleen. Hij deelde het met zijn meeste, zelfs Christelijke tijdgenoten, bijvoorbeeld met Lactantius. Volgens deze apologet zouden de Sibyllijnse boeken niet
- 132150 alleen de komst van Christus, 134) maar zelfs van Nero, 135) de voorloper van de

"antichrist" hebben voorspeld. Bovendien zouden deze Sibyllen 136) evenals Apollo van Colophon 137) in een van zijn orakels reeds het monotheïsme hebben verkondigd, krachtens hun profetische begaafdheid. Wel konden de Christenen moeilijk verklaren hoe het kwam dat de demonen de toekomst, ja Gods geheimste raadsbesluiten kenden. Zij reddten zich hieruit door te beweren dat de duivelen zelf, als gevallen engelen, een zeker goddelijk element in zich over hadden, en daardoor – maar slechts gedeeltelijk – wisten wat er gebeuren zou 138).

Verwant aan zijn wetten tegen heidenpriesters, maar veel strenger van toon, is zijn edict tegen toverij (321 of 324, 23 mei) 139). Alle beoefenaars van zwarte kunst, die hetzij kuise zielen hierdoor tot wellust verleiden, of tegen het heil der mensen samenspannen of regenwolken, hagel of onweer verwekken om de oogst op de akkers te vernielen, worden met hevige straffen bedreigd. Deze wet verklaart ook Constantijns later gedrag tegen de tovenaars en weermaker Sopater 140). Ook hierin toont hij zich de eerste typische middeleeuwer, want deze wet, eenmaal ingeworteld als gewoonte, gaf het aanzijn tot de latere, zo afschuwelijke heksenprocessen.

Daar heidenpriesters vaak tevens als wonderdoeners optraden, trof deze wet ook hen. Toch bleef hij in de beginne vrij verdraagzaam jegens de polytheïsten, tot hij omstreeks 323, wegens zijn steeds ergere wanverhouding met de heiden Licinius veranderde van politiek. Dit bleek aan het eind van dit jaar, toen in het rijkdeel van zijn collega, ter ere van diens 15-jarig jubileum, Katholieken en zelfs hun priesters, als van ouds waren gedwongen om aan de keizer te offeren. Constantijn verbood dit nu ten strengste, op straffe van openbare geseling, en wierp zich zodoende meteen op tot beschermer der Christenen ook in het rijkdeel van zijn mededinger. Om deze tijd verandert hij dus duidelijk zijn houding jegens de polytheïsten: hij wordt hun *openlijk vijandig* 141).

Na Constantijns overwinning op Licinius werden, evenals na Maxentius' val, al diens wetten en beschikkingen ongeldig verklaard. Allereerst deed de keizer natuurlijk zijn vervolgingsmaatregelen tegen de Christenen teniet 142) (324, 16 december). Dit geschiedde door een plakkaat aan alle bewoners der Oostelijke provinciën, o.a. aan Palestina; dat wel het allerzwaarst had geleden. De voornaamste bepalingen hiervan waren: (z. Euseb. Vit. Const. II, 24-42):

a) De verbannen Christenen werden teruggeroepen.
b) Wie van zijn vermogen om godsdienstige redenen was beroofd, kreeg dit terug.
c) Geestelijken die opzettelijk tot munera werden verplicht, kregen vrijstelling daarvan.

d) Wie tot dwangarbeid in de bergwerken of tot de slavenstand was veroordeeld, of tot smadelijke vrouwenarbeid (spinnen en weven) werd daarvan verlost.

e) Wie om zijn geloof uit het leger was gestoten, mocht in dezelfde rang die hij vroeger bekleedde, daarin terug, of, desgewenst, eervol ontslagen worden.

f) De goederen van hen, die om hun geloof waren omgebracht, kwamen aan hun bloedverwanten, of, zo deze niet meer leefden, aan de Kerk.

g) Zo de fiscus echter deze verbeurd verklaarde goederen aan particulieren hadden geschonken of verkocht, moesten deze aan de vroegere, wettige eigenaars worden teruggegeven. De latere bezitters kregen *geen schadeloosstelling* hiervoor, maar mochten alles, wat zij door vruchtgebruik uit deze bezittingen genoten hadden behouden, zo zij in een nederig rekwest aan de keizer hem vergiffenis smeekten voor hun "hebzucht". Deze bepaling betrof ook en vooral de gesecculariseerde goederen van de Kerk.

We zien dus duidelijk een groot verschil tussen dit edict, en het vroegere rescript van Milaan, dat ook aan de Christenen en hun Kerk de geroofde goederen teruggaf, maar tegen schadeloosstelling van staatswege aan de latere eigenaars. Bovendien zond Constantijn een bevelschrift aan alle metropolieten (opperste kerkvorsten) en stadhouders der betreffende provinciën om de verwoeste kerken weer op te bouwen, zo, dat de nieuwe minstens even hoog of hoger waren dan de vroegere. De kosten moesten deels uit de keizerlijke schatkist, deels door "vrijwillige" bijdragen der bewoners worden bestreden, wat de belastingdruk natuurlijk zeer verzwaarde. (Euseb. Vit. Const. II, 46).

Er is dus bij de keizer een groei van christelijke gezindheid en haat tegen de heidenen te bespeuren. En geen wonder. Hij had nu geen rekening meer te houden met een heidens collega, en had bovendien zijn residentie verlegd naar het Oosten, waar veel meer Christenen waren dan in het Westen. Daarom trad hij thans veel feller op tegen de polytheïsten dan voor die tijd.

Ongeveer tegelijk met zijn privileges aan de Christenen verbood hij zijn nog *heidense beambten aan de goden te offeren*. Wel is de tekst van deze wet niet bewaard, en ook het bericht hierover bij Eusebius (Eus. Vit. Const. II, 44, 47) vaak betwijfeld (o.a. door Burckhardt), maar hij moet hebben bestaan, daar in 341 de

latere keizer Constantius zich uitdrukkelijk beroept op zulk een edict van zijn vader. (Ik citeer:)

"Weg met het bijgeloof, laat de waanzin der offers worden afgeschaft. Want wie nog tegen de wet van onze goddelijke vorst en vader en het bevel van onze goedertierenheid het waagt om te offeren, zal door een passend en onmiddellijk vonnis worden getroffen." (Cod. Th. XVI, 10, 2).

Constantijn ontsloeg dus wel niet heidense beambten uit zijn dienst, maar hij belette hun godsdienst oefeningen. Tevens dwong bij hen op zachte, niet gewelddadige wijze om Christenen te worden. Velen gehoorzaamden, om in de gunst van de keizer te blijven en de kansen voor hun carrière niet te versmijten. En al bleven er verstokte heidenen in zijn dienst, – voor alle ambten die open kwamen, benoemde de keizer meestal Christenen, om zo het getal van zijn aanhangers te vermeerderen.

Terzelfder tijd (1 oktober 325) verbood Constantijn, stellig op wens van zijn nieuwe geloofsgenoten, de bloedige gladiatorenspelen, waar het lagere, heidense volk, vooral in Rome nog altijd op verzot was. Deze wet werd echter vaak ontdoken, zodat het nog bijna een eeuw zou duren, eer het laatste zwaardgevecht zou worden gestaakt door de zelfopoffering van de monnik [Telemachos](#) (403).

Zo zien we dus dat Constantijn, in het begin van zijn openlijk Christengezinde politiek, dus van de val van Licinius tot de bouw van Constantinopel, nog gematigd optreedt tegen de heidenen (323–328).

Zelfs is er omstreeks 328, evenals tegenover de Arianen, een zekere toenadering tot de heidenen bij hem te bespeuren.

Volgens de heiden Zosimus 143) (II, 29) zou wroeging om zijn moord op Crispus, en weldra op Fausta daarvan oorzaak zijn, en dit is best mogelijk.

Na zo grote wandaden voelde hij zich als door furiën vervolgd, en zocht naar een middel die kwelling weg te nemen. Moest hij alles biechten tot de Christelijke bisschop Hosius? Dit dorst hij niet, want de meeste Christenen wisten nog niets van zijn moord op Crispus en hij was bang, zijn populariteit bij hen te verspelen zo dit bekend werd. Daarom zocht hij, in zijn groeiende bijgelovige angst voor de wraakdemonen, eerst toevlucht bij de priesters van Mithras, de zonnegod, die immers de naam hadden, geesten te kunnen bezweren en bannen. Maar deze verklaarden zich machteloos hem rein te wassen van schuld aan zoveel moorden en meineden.

Thans besloot hij een befaamd neo-platonisch sofist en tovenaars, Sopater en leerling van Jamblichos, te raadplegen en ontbood hem in zijn nieuwe paleis te Constantinopel (330).

Weldra raakte deze door de macht van zijn dialectiek zozeer in de gunst van de keizer, dat hij rechts van hem aan tafel mocht zitten 144).

Dit verdroot de christelijke partij ten hove, vooral daar de heidense sofisten omstreeks die tijd volk en keizer door openbare debatten voor het Helleense heidendom poogden te herwinnen. Wel lukte hun dit niet, daar gemengde vergaderingen van heidense en christelijke sprekers dra verboden werden. 145) – maar het gevaar voor een plotselinge heiden-gezindheid van Constantijn beangstigde de christenpriesters ten zeerste.

Bovendien wekte de keizerlijke gunst die Sopater genoot, de nijd der hovelingen op, vooral van de christelijke praefectus praetorio Ablabius, die zijn groeiende invloed op Constantijn vreesde te verliezen. Deze wist, zo vertelt Eunapius, zijn gebieder wijs te maken, dat Sopater, de sluwe tovenaars de winden had vastgebonden, waardoor de korenschepen uit Egypte de keizerstad niet konden bereiken. En Constantijn geloofde die laster, 146) en zag in Sopater een die werkte aan 't verderf van zijn rijk. En daar hij hem toch niet van zijn wroeging over de moord op Crispus had kunnen verlossen, besloot hij de man te doden. Daardoor gaf hij meteen de christenpriesters hun zin, die in alle beoefening van magische kunsten verdoemelijke omgang met de duivel zagen, en toonde hij openlijk dat hij niet meer heidens gezind was 147).

Om dezelfde tijd als Sopater (of mogelijk even voor de inwijding van Constantinopel) viel nog een ander heiden als martelaar, namelijk *Kanonaris* 148).

Deze wijsgeer sprak het volk herhaaldelijk toe vanaf zijn redenaarsgestoelte op het forum Constantini. Vooral onder de oud-Byzantijnen vond hij bijval, in 't bijzonder bij de z.g. Gazaërs, afstammelingen van kolonisten uit Gaza, die Septimius Severus een eeuw geleden, na de uitmoording van Byzantium, hier had overgeplant. Deze laatsten, hevig heidens, hadden indertijd Licinius gesteund in zijn strijd tegen Constantijn, en Byzantium met taaie kracht verdedigd. Thans waren zij wel de nieuwe keizer onderworpen en hadden zelfs hun wapenen als metaal voor zijn standbeeld moeten uitleveren, maar bleven hem heimelijk vijandig. Dit bleek nu bij het optreden van *Kanonaris*.

Toen echter Constantijn zichzelf op het forum vertoonde en de welgezinden onder het volk hem toejuichten, riep de heidense redenaar vanuit zijn verhevenheid hem toe:

"Wil niet wijzer zijn dan uw voorvaderen, gij die uw voorvaderen hebt vernietigd." Daarop vermaande de keizer de man zijn heidense propaganda te staken, waarop deze

132285 luidkeels antwoordde: dat hij voor zijn voorvaderen wou sterven.

Toen liet Constantijn hem, tot schrik der nog heidense Gazaërs, onthoofden.

Ook de heidenen hebben dus hun martelaren. Na eerst bloedig te zijn vervolgd, namen nu de Christenen, tegen de leer van het evangelie, wraak op wie niet geloofden als zij.

132290 Voortaan trad de keizer steeds feller op tegen de polytheïsten. Na het reeds vroegere offerverbod (324) stelde hij thans (omstreeks 330) waarzeggerij en het vragen van orakels strafbaar.

Toch bleven er velen volharden in het oude geloof. Om nu de kerstening van zijn rijk te versnellen, nam hij eindelijk zijn toevlucht tot geweld.

132295 Zo besloot hij op drijven van zijn vroegere schoonmoeder Eutropia, de moeder van Fausta, een Syrische van geboorte, om een afgodenaltaar nabij de heiligen eik van Mamre in Palestina te verwoesten, 149) Bij deze boom zou namelijk God zich aan Abraham hebben geopenbaard, 150) en daarom het Constantijn er thans een basiliek bouwen.

132300 Sedert ging de keizer steeds heviger voort met vervolging der heidenen. Eerst liet hij, kort voor de inwijding zijner stad, deels uit plunderzucht, deels uit geldnood, een ware *veldtocht houden tegen alle godenbeelden*. 151) Daartoe trokken zijn vertrouwde hovelingen van stad tot stad, van tempel tot tempel, en gelastten dan telkens de dodelijk beangste priester, om uit het allerheiligste zijn god te halen.

132305 Met de worgstrik werden ze naderbij gesleept, deze "goden der verjaarde fabels", om indien ze uit brons of marmer bestonden, te worden opgestuurd naar Constantinopel, ter versiering van paleis of circus of senaatsgebouw of een der grootse openbare pleinen. 152) Zo evenwel de buitenkant met goud was bedekt, dan werd deze er afgeslagen, en alleen het ivoren of benen steunskelet van de eens zo hoog vereerde

132310 godheid. Het goud werd echter zorgvuldig verzameld, en omgesmolten in de keizerlijke smeltkroes tot klinkende munt, ten bate van zijn schatkist.

De enige rest van het beeld bleef over, wat waardeloze rommel.

132315 Zo trof Constantijn hiermee een dubbel doel: verrijking en machtsversterking van zichzelf, en ontmoediging van de heidenen. Want velen hunner gingen na deze hevige beeldenstorm zelf twifelen aan de waarde van hun godsdienst en gaven zich – volgens Eusebius – aan het Christendom gewonnen.

132320 Hierdoor durfde de keizer eindelijk in 331, in een edict de *sloping van de meest geëerde of beruchte heidentempels* te gelasten 153). Dit deed hij, zowel uit gebrek aan bouw materiaal voor nieuw te stichten kerken, als uit fanatieke godsdienstijver. Hij nu, en alle Christenen haatten vooral de dienst van Aphrodite, slecht befaamd – ook bij de heidenen – om de teugelloze ontucht in haar afgodshuizen gepleegd. Zo werd allereerst de tempel van *Aphaka* 154) van de Syrische Astaroth op de top van de Libanon, waar ontmante priesters ter ere der godin, tegennatuurlijke smerigheden bedreven, – op 's keizers bevel door soldaten tegen de grond gesmeten. Een ander dergelijk "bedehuis" in Phoenicië, te Heliopolis, waar de priesteressen aan alle vrome bezoekers zich prostitueerden, werd eveneens verwoest. In Egypte verbood hij ten strengste de eredienst der Nijlgodin door ontmante priesters en gelastte deze eunuchen zich nergens meer te vertonen.

132330 Daar een wijs wetgever moet waken voor zekere zedelijke normen zijn deze daden van de keizer ook uit naam van menselijkheid en beschaving, volkomen te billijken.

132335 Hatelijk onverdraagzaam was evenwel de verwoesting van de Asklepios-tempel te Aigai 155), een soort antiek Lourdes, waar duizenden vrome heidenen voor genezing kwamen van hun kwalen. Dit gebeurde vooral op drijven der toenmalige Christenpriesters, die immers meteen als duivelsbanners en medicijnmannen dienst deden, en de concurrentie van hun heidense collega's wilden fnuiken. Op een wenk van de keizer lag het huis van de "zielen-verleider" tegen de grond.

132340 Door deze krachtige maatregelen tegen de godsdienst der Hellenen zou hij velen hunner, volgens Eusebius, van hun waan hebben genezen en tot het Christendom hebben gebracht. Bij sommigen mag dat waar zijn, maar bij anderen riep de keizer juist door zijn fanatisme, een reactie teweeg, zoals bijvoorbeeld bleek bij de opstand van Calocerus in 333 op Cyprus, die deels door heidense ontevredenheid werd begunstigd, zo niet veroorzaakt.

132345 En tegenover al deze vernietiging van het oude stelde hij de opbouw van het nieuwe geloof. Dit toonde hij allereerst door talloze kerken te stichten, vaak op de puinhopen van verwoeste tempels, en met stenen en marmeren zuilen van hen afkomstig. Zo liet hij er een bouwen in Heliopolis in plaats van het pas gesloopte heiligdom van Aphrodite. Zelfs een bisschop kreeg hier zijn zetel, bijgestaan door priesters en diakenen. En opdat "vele lieden Gods leer zouden nader komen, verschaft de keizer

ook hier rijke gaven tot ondersteuning der armen, om zo tot snelle kerstening aan te drijven," zegt de vrome Eusebius 156). Hij stichtte dus in elk zo'n kerk een welvoorziene kas voor bekeerlingen om door geld de omwonenden om te kopen tot het Christendom. Dat de heidense priesters tegen zulke middelen niets vermochten, laat zich begrijpen.

Maar niet alleen bekeringsijver, maar ook verering van heiligen en martelaars leidde hem bij zijn kerkenbouw. Kort tevoren had hij ter ere van de martelaar Lucianus, die te Drepanum tijdens de vervolgingen stierf, boven diens graf een kostbare kerk gesticht en de stad met nog vele prachtige bouwwerken verrijkt (327). Uit liefde voor zijn moeder, die Lucianus bijzonder vereerde, en vermoedelijk zelve in Drepanum was geboren, noemde hij het voortaan Helenastad of Helenopolis.

Zij was het ook, die in haar stadig stijgende vroomheid, bijgestaan door de Constantinopelse presbyter Eustathius 157), hem ried een basiliek te bouwen op het graf van Jezus. Zo gaf de keizer daartoe bevel aan Macarius, de bisschop van Jeruzalem en aan Dracilianus, de vicarius orientis 158).

Men zocht vergeefs naar de grafplaats, sloopte daarvoor een Venustempel die daar later zou zijn opgericht, en zo meende men eindelijk de grot van Jezus' herrijzing, diep onder de grond, opgegraven te hebben. Spoedig verrees daar een hoge basiliek van buiten met pronk van goud versierd, en met binnenwanden uit veelkleurig marmer.

Kort na de synode van Tyrus werd deze kerk door Macarius ingewijd, in bijzijn van de meeste bisschoppen van het Oosten (17 september 335) 159).

Op het bericht hiervan trok Constantijns moeder, zo oud als zij was op reis, om nog in 't laatste van haar leven een bedevaart te ondernemen naar het heilige graf.

Onderweg schonk zij grote sommen gelds aan de christelijke gemeenten der steden die zij passeerde, aan ieder die zich persoonlijk tot haar wendde, en verder aan garnizoenen die daar waren gelegerd 160). Bovendien stelde zij geld en kleding beschikbaar voor de armen en bevrijdde talloze gevangenen die – mogelijk wegens belastingschulden – in de bergwerken moesten versmachten. Zo poogde Constantijn, door wat aalmoezen van zijn moeder, zijn Oostelijke onderdanen enigszins te verzoenen met zijn fiscale afpersingssysteem. Het geld hem toegevloeid door de vlijt van miljoenen werkers verkwistte hij nu aan een handvol luie bedelaars en parasieten. Tevens was deze reis bedoeld als geldelijke propaganda voor het Christendom.

Toen Helena in Jeruzalem kwam organiseerde zij, voor de dienst van de Heilige-Graf-Kerk een bijzondere *nonnenorde*, die der "Hestiades", kennelijk naar het voorbeeld der Romeinse Vestalinnen 161).

Omstreeks dezelfde tijd zond haar zoon aan Antonius de Egyptische kluizenaar, eervolle brieven 162) zodat ook het *monnikenwezen* door Constantijn en zijn familie is aangemoedigd.

Ook in de relikwieën-verering gingen zij hun onderdanen voor. Op Golgotha liet zij opgravingen doen, en werkelijk kwamen daar, volgens de sage 163), drie kruisen te voorschijn. Ook vond men een losliggend plankje met het drietalig opschrift "I.N.R.I." daarin op Pilatus' bevel gegrift. Maar men wist niet tot welk van de kruisen dit behoorde, en dus ook niet wat het ware kruis van Christus was geweest. Door de genezende kracht die er evenwel van uitging, waardoor een zieke vrouw gezond werd, ontdekte echter bisschop Macarius het ware kruis. Dit niet-historische verhaaltje bewijst welk een wondermacht de toenmalige Christenen, in hun bijgeloof, toekenden aan alle relikwieën.

Verder verrijkte Helena de stad Jeruzalem met vele gebouwen en liet ook kerken stichten op de Olijfberg en in een grot te Bethlehem, waar Jezus zou geboren zijn. Daarna stierf ze, op haar tachtigste jaar, en haar overschot werd naar Constantinopel vervoerd en met militaire eer ter aarde besteld (336).

Kort daarop bouwde Constantijn in zijn eigen stad nog kerken boven de graven van enkele martelaren, en ook in Antiochië en Nicomedia. In de laatste jaren voor zijn dood kunnen we dus in stadig strengere kerksheld bij hem constateren, en tevens stijgende vijandschap tegen het heidendom.

Ook bleek dit uit zijn gewoonte om redevoeringen en preken te houden zowel voor zijn hofkring als ook in 't openbaar voor het volk van Constantinopel. Soms sprak hij meteen om zijn paleisgenoten wenken te geven, wie in ongenade waren gevallen; maar zijn hoofddoel was de propaganda van het *monotheïsme tegenover de heidenen*. Een zo'n redevoering heeft Eusebius voor ons bewaard, namelijk: "Rede aan de vergadering der heiligen". Er is geen reden om aan de globale echtheid ervan te twijfelen, maar wel aan de zuiverheid van tekst, die mogelijk hier en daar door de Griekse vertaler(s) is veranderd en aangevuld, oorspronkelijk is het nergens, maar het bevat vele reminiscenties uit het werk van Lactantius, zowel uit zijn "Divinae Institutiones" 164) als uit zijn "De mortibus persecutorum." Maar met een zekere welsprekendheid

- 132415 worden christelijke dogma's erin verdedigd en heidens bijgeloof weerlegd. Zo trad dus Constantijn, ondanks zijn bloedig, allesbehalve christelijk leven, ook op als *apologeet*, zij het dan ook als een al te slaafs navolger van de kerkvader Lactantius.
- 132420 Het blijvend resultaat van 's keizers kampioenschap voor het christendom tegen de heidenen kunnen we samenvattend noemen: *de verwereldlijking der Kerk*. De oerkerk der apostelen hield zich streng aan Jezus' woorden: mijn koninkrijk is niet van deze wereld. Thans evenwel waren de christelijke gemeenten van kleine jammerlijke half-geheime begrafenisfondsen 165) geworden tot een geweldige wijdvertakte openbare organisatie. Haar grondbezit vroeger slechts uit enkele
- 132425 begraafplaatsen bestaande was uitgebreid evenredig met de stijgende rijkdom van haar gelovigen. Zij was tot een zeer wereldlijke, maatschappelijke *macht* geworden, en Constantijn had deze in dienst gesteld van de staat. Ook haar verhouding daartoe was geheel veranderd. Had zij vroeger de vergoding der vorsten bestreden, thans werkte zij mee aan een niet mindere cultus van de keizer, door hem te vereren als
- 132430 alleenheerser bij de genade Gods. Bovendien was ook haar eerst zo eenvoudige *ritus* geheel veranderd, had zich aangepast aan de praalzucht van het heidendom, met haar verwikkelde ceremoniën. Door de heiligen-verering was het oeroude polytheïsme der pas gekerstende Grieken en Romeinen opnieuw in haar herleefd.
- 132435 In vele opzichten was dus door toedoen van Constantijn de nieuwe Katholieke Kerk geworden een mengproduct tussen het pompeuze paganisme en het sobere oerchristendom der Joodse vissers en apostelen.
- CONSTANTIJN ALS KERKVORST.
- 132440 Sinds zijn overgang tot het Christendom (312) matigde de keizer, als pontifex maximus of heidens opperpriester, zich ook het hoogste gezag aan in kerkelijke zaken van zijn nieuwe geloofsgenoten. Juist daarom noemde hij de bisschoppen zijn "broeders" en zichzelf "algemeen bisschop" van het rijk 166).
- 132445 Van begin af aan poogde hij dan ook, de Kerk, zijn persoonlijk domein, naar buiten onaantastbaar te maken, en de innerlijke eenheid harer belijders te handhaven, hetzij door zachtheid hetzij door dwang. Nu waren er, nog tijdens de vervolgingen, onder de Christenen in Afrika en Mauretanië twisten uitgebroken. Daar wilde men namelijk zekere Donatus (*niet* Lactantius' vriend) en de zijnen allen weren uit de Kerk, die onder de dwang van de laatste vervolging
- 132450 hun geloof hadden verloochend of christelijke boeken ter verbranding aan de heidense overheid hadden uitgeleverd. Daartegenover stonden andere Katholieke geestelijken (vooral die buiten Afrika) die de berouwvolle "traditores" (overleveraars) hun zonden wilden vergeven, daar er veel te veel van hen waren, en er niet zozeer op het gehalte als wel op het aantal van gelovige zieltjes gelet moest worden.
- 132455 Bovendien verschilden de Donatisten nog van de andere Katholieken ook in leer. Zij betwijfelden namelijk de waarde der sacramenten en stelden deze afhankelijk van de waardigheid der deelnemers. In strengheid van eisen kwamen ze dus veelal met de latere protestanten overeen. Tussen beide partijen spande het hevig. Toen dan ook zekere Caecilianus tot bisschop
- 132460 van Carthago werd gewijd door een geestelijke (Felix), die de Donatisten beschouwden als een traditor (de Katholieken ontkenden dit), barstte de ontevredenheid los. Een Numidisch concilie, merendeels Donatisten, verklaarde zijn keuze voor onwettig. Doch nu greep Constantijn in. Tegen mei 313 roept hij, hoewel juist door Gallië reizend naar Trier, een concilie bijeen te Rome. Weldra verscheen Caecilius hier met
- 132465 10 Afrikaanse bisschoppen waarbij zich weldra de bisschoppen van Autum, Arles (Arelate) en Keulen voegden. Onder leiding van de Romeinse bisschop Miltiades vergaderden zij in het Lateraans paleis van keizerin Fausta, die, christelijk gezind als haar man, in zijn plaats hun daartoe gastvrijheid verleende. Maar zij richtten niets uit, en ook een volgend concilie te Arles waar de keizer
- 132470 evenmin aanwezig was, (1 augustus 314) leidde tot geen verzoening tussen Donatisten en Caecilianen. Integendeel juist door de uitspraak dat Felix geen traditor was, en Caecilius' bisschopskeuze dus wettig werd erkend, vlamden de twisten in Afrika weer op. Eindelijk, na dit vergeefse concilie te Arles, beslechtte Constantijn in augustus 315
- 132475 (toen hij juist weer in Italië was na een lang verblijf in Gallië en Illyrië) de kerkelijke strijd te Milaan. Op raad van de Afrikaanse proconsul Anulinus en 's keizers eigen hofprediker, de zeer orthodoxe Hosius, bleef hierbij Caecilianus' benoeming gehandhaafd, doch de Donatisten werden als ruziezoekers en ketters buiten de Kerk geworpen. (Augustinus, Epist. 43, 7, 20).
- 132480 Hij beschouwde hen namelijk als scheurmakers, die het eenheidsfront der Christenen

tegenover hun heidense vijanden verbraken. En daar hij slechts een eensgezinde, Katholieke of algemene Kerk als een bruikbare steun beschouwde van zijn gezag, stelde hij ketters gelijk met verraders. Hierin gedraagt Constantijn, met zijn streven naar caesaropapisme, zich net eender als later Karel V tegenover de Protestanten 167).

132485 Toen hij dan de Donatisten eenmaal had veroordeeld, kregen de orthodoxen het ene privilege na het andere (Alles volgens mij: 21-31 oktober 315).

132490 Allereerst werd aan Caecilianus en de zijnen, mogelijk tot vergoeding voor wat zij hadden verduurd van de Donatisten, die o.a. vele van hun kerken hadden in brand gestoken, *een grote som geld uitgekeerd en het recht op onbeperkte ondersteuning van staatswege*. Dit was het eerste historische voorbeeld van bezoldiging der geestelijken door keizer of staat, wel niet van geregelde salariëring, maar voorlopig in de vorm van *schenkingen*, en hiermee ging Constantijn ook voort in zijn verdere regering (Eus. Hist. eccl. X, 6).

132495 Ten tweede werden alle Katholieke priesters vrij verklaard van *munera* 168) of verplichte staatsbedieningen, d.w.z. zij hoefden in hun vaderstad niet meer dure en tijdrovende ambten te bekleden, "opdat zij niet door de heiligschennende nijd van sommigen van hun eredienst werden afgehouden." (Cod. Theod. XVI, 2, 1 en 2). In een extra-schrijven, uitsluitend in zijn brief aan Anulinus, voegt de keizer er aan toe, vooral daar in Afrika voor de uitvoering van dit edict te waken, daar voor die tijd de ketters de Katholieke priesters opzettelijk met lastige benoemingen hadden geplaagd (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 1) wat nu niet meer mocht (Zie ook Eus. Hist. eccl. X, 7). Enige jaren later (5 juli 321) vergunde hij de Kerk zelfs het erfrecht, zodat zij zich geweldig kon 4) verrijken door testamentaire beschikkingen van particulieren (Cod. Th. XVI. 2, 4).

132505 Doch daarna ontstond er in vele steden zo'n geweldige toeloop van decurionen (rijke aanzienlijke) tot de geestelijke stand, louter om de hoge kerkelijke traktementen en de vrijdom van munera, dat de keizer er tegen optrad. In een edict van 18 juli 320 *verbiedt* hij decurionen of hun zoons, om priester te worden, zo zij rijk en ontwikkeld genoeg zijn, om openbare ambten te bekleden. (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 3).

132510 Ja, hoe langer hoe meer bemoeide Constantijn zich, ter wille van de schatkist, met de benoeming der geestelijken. Tenslotte staat hij 1 juni 326 het priesterambt slechts toe, aan diegenen, die bij hun stadgenoten geen familie hebben, en dus zonder politieke invloed zijn, en bovendien te weinig bezitten voor een stadsambt. "Want de rijken betaamt het, de noodzakelijke lasten van de wereldlijke staat te ondergaan, maar de armen om door de rijkdommen der Kerk ondersteund te worden." (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 6).

132520 Zo wist de keizer dus te beletten dat al te rijke heren tot de clerus overgingen, daar dit dubbel schadelijk was voor zijn schatkist. Want ten eerste profiteerden zij dan mee van de staatsbezoldigingen aan de geestelijkheid, en ontliepen zij, door vrijdom van munera, dan de verplichting der decurionen tot aansprakelijkheid voor de belastingen van hun stad.

In wereldlijke zaken besliste Constantijn dus uit eigen oordeel, hoe hij ook in dogmatische kwesties de raad der geestelijken, vooral van zijn hofbisschop Hosius volgde.

132525 Toch vermeerderde hun invloed ook in 't openbare leven sterk, doordat hij in 318, 321 of 323 de bisschoppen de *bevoegdheid* tot *rechtspraak* verleende, zo een der partijen bij een proces dit verlangde 169). Dit deed hij om twee redenen. Vooreerst wou hij vooral zijn geloofsgenoten en aanhangers als ambtenaren gebruiken, en tevens wou hij voortaan controle uitoefenen op de vroeger almachtige rechters, wier felle heidense partijdigheid bij de laatste christenvervolging was gebleken.

132530 Door de tegenstand der gestudeerde beroepsjuristen tegen Kerkelijke concurrenten werd echter deze wet eerst niet behoorlijk uitgevoerd. Zo moest Constantijn zijn eigen besluit in 333 in een rescript aan Ablabius toen praefectus praetorio van het Oosten herhalen 170).

132535 Deze wet is vooral belangrijk, daar hierdoor de latere geestelijke rechtbanken der Middeleeuwen zijn ontstaan, met al hun verdoemelijke nasleep van gewetensdwang en inquisitie.

Terzelfder tijd als tegenover de ketters stelde Constantijn zich ook tegenover de Joden schrap.

132540 Ook hierin volgde Constantijn een nieuwe koers. Of liever, hij herstelde het oude, haast vergeten antisemitisme der Flavische keizers, wier familienaam "Flavius" hij, mogelijk met die bijbedoeling, aannam. Want na de Flaviërs Vespasianus en Titus, de verdelgers van de Joodse staat, en Domitianus die hen ook in ballingschap vervolgde als volk, hadden de Joden – behoudens een onderdrukte opstand tijdens Hadrianus –

132545 rust en voorspoed gekend, zelfs hadden vele keizers hen beschermd en begunstigd boven de Christenen doordat alleen de Joden werden vrijgesteld van het offer aan de

keizerlijke Genius.

Nu echter een Christenvorst op de troon kwam, hield dit alles op. Alleen de Christenen werden bevoorrecht, en voor de Joden begon een duizendjarige tijd van opsluiting binnen hun Getto's.

In 315, 18 oktober, vaardigde Constantijn dan te Milaan 171), waar hij juist de Donatistische strijd had beslecht, ook een edict uit tegen de belijders van de Talmoed, die blijkbaar kort geleden Katholiek geworden stamgenoten hadden gekweld.

"De Joden en hun oversten en rabbijnen willen wij inprenten, dat zo na dit edict een hunner een ander die hun verderfelijke sekte is ontvlucht en tot de dienst van God is overgegaan, met stenen of ander soort van razernij durft lastig vallen, (welk feit wij juist vernamen dat gebeurd is), hij meteen aan de vlammen wordt prijs gegeven en met al zijn medeplichtigen verbrand." (Cod. Theod. XVI, 8, 1=Just. 1, 9, 3).

Uit deze woorden blijkt dus duidelijk 's keizers kerkelijk getinte Jodenhaat. Dit bewees hij ook bij de keuze van een officiële, tevens christelijke rustdag, die op een anderen dag moest vallen dan de Joodse sabbat, en eveneens op het concilie van Nicaea, bij het bepalen van het Paasfeest, waarvan de datum opzettelijk niet op het Joodse Pascha, maar op de dag van Jezus' opstanding werd vastgesteld. Blijkbaar wilde de keizer de toekomst van het Christendom streng van het Jodendom, waaruit het ontstaan was, scheiden.

Overigens is Constantijns politiek tegenover deze godsdienst aan allerlei vorstelijke grillen en zwenkingen onderhevig.

Zo beveelt hij in 321 aan de decurionen van Keulen, om alle rijke Joden aldaar – op een stuk of drie na – beschikbaar te stellen voor de stadsambten of munera, waardoor zij financieel zwaar getroffen werden. (Cod. Th. XVI, 8, 3). Doch in 330 zondert hij hiervan de Joodse rabbijnen en oversten der synagogen uit, zodat zij *dezelfde vrijdom van munera kregen als de Katholieke geestelijken*.

Dit is daarom merkwaardig, omdat zij hierdoor bevoorrecht werden boven de ketters, d.w.z. de Arianen, wier priesters en gemeenten van alle kerkelijke privileges werden uitgesloten. (1 september 326, zie Cod. Th. XVI, 5, 1).

Nochtans ging Constantijn natuurlijk niet over tot wettelijke gelijkstelling van Joden en Katholieken. Door een edict van 21 oktober 335 verbood hij zelfs Joden om Christenslaven te houden of te besnijden, en gelastte hen, deze onmiddellijk in vrijheid te stellen. (Cod. XVI, 9, 1).

Deze Jodenwet werd 3 jaar later door zijn zoon en opvolger Constantius tevens uitgebreid tot ketters, heidenen of andere niet-Katholieken, wie allen het recht ontzegd werd om Katholieke slaven te bezitten. (Cod. Justin. 1, 10, 2), zo werd dit edict de oorzaak:

1e) Van de vermindering van het aantal slaven, daar velen uitsluitend verlokt door de belofte van vrijheid zich orthodox lieten dopen.

2e) Van de economische verzwakking, ja ondergang van alle niet-Katholieken, die sinds die tijd zo goed als geen slaven meer konden houden.

3e) Van het ontstaan van een overgrote Katholieke meerderheid onder de vrije bevolking, waarbij de andersdenkenden in het niet verzonken.

Volgen we, na deze uitweiding, thans opnieuw Constantijns inwendige kerkelijke politiek, en wel sinds zijn bemachtiging van de alleenheerschappij (324).

Reeds tijdens Licinius teisterden ernstige dogmatische twisten heel het Oosten, en zijn opvolger haastte zich die te beslechten.

Het geschil liep over de leer der *drie-eenheid*.

Dit systeem van God, Christus en de Logos (Heilige Geest of het Woord), hoewel oorspronkelijk *niet* aanwezig in het Christendom, was, eenmaal willekeurig "hineininterpretiert" in het Johannes-evangelie (1 en 5), als vroom bedrog door de Afrikaanse bisschop Theophilus in zwang gebracht. (Eind 2e eeuw). Weldra hadden de gelovigen over het hele rijk het aanvaard, onder de leuze "credimus quia absurdum".

Daarmee was het Christendom, door Origenes en Tertullianus nog streng monotheïstisch opgevat, feitelijk ontaard tot een driegodendom.

Openlijk tritheïstisch waren de Sabellianen, doch de anderen bemantelden dit onder een compromis met het monotheïsme, het beroemde "drie maal een is een". Doch onder deze evenwel ontstond meningsverschil over de verhouding tussen God de Vader en God de Zoon.

In de rest van het rijk maakte men zich hierom niet druk. Maar wel in Egypte, het traditionele land van priesterregering, en vooral in Alexandrië, een stad waar de hellenistische wuftheid der overheersers (Grieken en Romeinen) nooit de sombere, dwepende ernst der ingeborenen had kunnen doden. En zoals hier van ouds al kerkelijke woelingen waren geweest, (zoals onder Decius en Diocletianus), zo kwam het ook thans tot een uitbarsting.

De bisschop van deze stad, Alexander, raakte namelijk in twist met zijn presbyter

Areios.

De laatste onderscheidde Christus' hemelse natuur, hoe goddelijk ook van die van God, daar hij tevens als mens een afzonderlijk leven op aarde had geleid. ("Heterousion"). Zijn chef evenwel zag Christus niet gelijksoortig, maar volstrekt *gelijk* aan die van God, terwijl tevens, onscheidbaar van zijn goddelijke natuur, zijn menselijkheid op aarde had geleefd. God was dus in Jezus tegelijk God gebleven en toch mens geworden. ("Homo-ousion").

Beide partijen raakten in hun blind, dogmatisch bijgeloof ten felste opgezweept, en zo sommeerde Alexander zijn presbyter Areios of Arius zich aan zijn uitspraak te onderwerpen. Deze weigerde, werd uit de Kerk gestoten, maar zette in dezelfde stad zijn preken voort. Daar kreeg hij weldra vele aanhangers, vooral onder de ketterse sekte der *Melitianen* 172), die, al tijdens de laatste vervolging ontstaan, zich nu grotendeels bij hem aansloot. Zo werd eerst Alexandrië, weldra alle steden en dorpen van Egypte, later zelfs Libië en Thebais erbij, in twee partijen gesplitst. (Euseb. III, 4). Spoedig verspreidde deze razernij zich ook over de aangrenzende provinciën door propagandabrieven en boden van beide kampioenen. Zo hoog liep de twist, dat Ariaanse (?) fanatici zelfs de beelden des keizers beschimpten, en dat zelfs in het theater der heidenen de christelijke leer van God werd gesmaad en bespot.

Het aanzien van de Kerk, en van het keizerlijk gezag liep dus gevaar. Constantijn, die dit alles hoorde en begreep, wilde terstond de twist beëindigen. Hij stuurde eerst een "godvrezend man", zijn gunsteling Hosius als vredestitcher naar Alexandrië, met een brief zowel aan Alexander als aan Arius.

De keizer uit daarin zijn mening, dat men "zulke futiele kwesties niet had moeten opwerpen," maar vermaande tevens Arius, zich te buigen naar de wil van zijn meerdere. Hieruit blijkt, dat het dogma Constantijn zelf onverschillig liet, maar dat *het behoud van de hiërarchie en de eenheid der Kerk hemhoofdzaak was*. Doch geen van beiden was tot verzoening gezind, daar er tussen hun aanhangers al wederzijds bloed was gevloeid.

Toen besloot de keizer, net als vroeger in het Westen bij de Donatistische twisten, (311-315) ook thans een synode bijeen te roepen. Eerst bepaalde hij tot plaats van samenkomst *Ankyra*, maar spoedig verlegde hij het naar Nicaea in Bithynië, zijn zomerresidentie, om ook zelf daar aanwezig te kunnen zijn.

Op dit concilie kon dan tevens de strijd over de bepaling van het *Paasfeest* worden beslecht.

Deze z.g. "Paasstrijd" is al zeer oud, en dateert al van ongeveer 190 na Chr. De Jodenchristenen, vooral in Syrië, Palestina en Klein-Azië bleven namelijk vasthouden aan het aloude Pascha, het feest dat Mozes had bevolen te vieren op de 14e Nisan, de eerste maand van het jaar (Exod. 12, 6; Levit. 23, 5). De Israëlieten rekenden echter zowel toen als nog steeds, (net als de Mohammedanen) met *maanjaren*, zodat dit feest, altijd vallende op volle maan, toch volgens Romeinse en Grieks-Macedonische tijdrekening telkens op een andere dag van het jaar gedateerd werd. Toen de latere Joden in de Romeinse tijd daarnaast moesten rekening houden met het Westerse jaar van 365 dagen, en dus de Joden-christenen ook, kwam er helemal verwarring. En zo waren er enkele Christenen, zoals Anatolius 173), die eindelijk naar een vaste regel zochten voor het bepalen van het Pascha, meteen voor hen van belang om de herdenkingsdag van Jezus Opstanding vast te stellen. En aangezien de Alexandrijnse Joden het Pascha hadden bepaald *op de eerste volle maan na dag-en-nachts-evening*, en Christus zou herrezen zijn op de dag volgende op de eerste sabbatdag na Pascha bepaalde Anatolius het christelijke paasfeest op: *de eerste Zondag na de eerste volle maan volgende op dag-en-nachts-evening*, (hoewel de term "zondag" nog niet als zodanig bestond).

In Constantijns tijd heerste dit gebruik reeds in het hele Westen, benevens in Griekenland, Asia, Pontus en Egypte.

Doch de bewoners van Palestina, Syrië, Phoenicië, Cilicië en Cappadocië, merendeels Jodenchristenen of gedoopte Joden, *vierden het feest van Jezus' herrijzenis op dezelfde dag als hun aloude, geliefde Pascha*. Dit veroorzaakte nu veel strijd in de grensdistricten der beide gebieden daar sommigen nog bezig waren met vasten en zelfkastijding, terwijl anderen reeds het Paasfeest vierden. Constantijn nu zag het grote belang in van *eenheid van ritus* voor de ganse Chr. Kerk, en stelde dus te Nicaea ook het paasprobleem aan de orde.

Intussen naderde de dag van samenkomst te Nicaea, de metropool van Bithynië, waarheen alle bisschoppen ter wereld waren uitgenodigd. Voor hun reis mochten zij de paarden en wagens der keizerlijke post gebruiken, en waar die niet voldoende bleken, werden van staatswege andere voertuigen verstrekt. (Eus. Vit. Const.)

Doch de twee kampioenen Arius en Alexander waren al eerder op pad getrokken om aanhangers te winnen, Arius naar Syrië, Alexander, die slimmer was, naar Nicaea zelf.

Daar wist hij, al voor het concilie begon, Hosius, de almachtige hofprediker, voor
132680 zichzelf en zijn leer te winnen. (Philostorgius, Vit. Const.)
Arius had veel minder geluk. Mogelijk op zijn verzoek werd, kort voor de samenkomst
in Nicaea, een niet-officiële voor-synode gehouden te Antiocheia, van merendeels
Oosterse bisschoppen. Doch daar werd zijn leer van het hetero-usion verworpen, en hem
132685 zelf en twee anderen (o.a. de geschiedschrijver Eusebius van Caesarea) een termijn
gegeven tot het volgende concilie (Nicaea) om zijn stellingen te herroepen.
Eindelijk, 20 mei 325 kwamen in de grote troonzaal van het keizerlijk zomerpaleis te
Nicaea over de 300 bisschoppen bijeen, voornamelijk uit het Oosten des rijks, maar
ook uit de omringende barbarenlanden, zoals Perzen en Skythen (=Goten). Uit het
132690 Westen waren echter weinig deelnemers aanwezig: zo had o.a. paus Sylvester, de
bisschop van Rome, zich laten verontschuldigen wegens zijn ouderdom, en was hij hier
slechts door afgezanten (o.a. Hosius) vertegenwoordigd. Tevens lag hierin een protest
tegen het feit, dat Constantijn de hoofdstad des rijks opzettelijk had gepasseerd bij
de keuze van een synodestad.
Zo, toen nu allen zwijgend samen zaten in de troonzaal, in hun bonte, wisselende
132695 kledij van Westerlingen in pallium, Oosterlingen in lange tabbaard, en barbaren in
berenmutsen en wijde, uitheemse hosen, – kondigde een stoet van statig schrijdende
hovelingen de komst van de keizer aan. Eindelijk wenkte de opperkamerheer, dat hij
naderde. 174) Bij zijn binnentreden rezen allen van hun zetel, en zo kwam hij het
midden van de vergadering "als een engel Gods, stralend in de vlamengloed van het
132700 purper en getooid met de helle flonkering van goud en kostbare juwelen". De geweldige
majesteit van zijn lange, forse heldengestalte overmande alle aanwezigen:
niets dan milde genade meenden zij te lezen op het gelaat van die keizer, wie zij en
hun kerk zoveel te danken hadden. Ten laatste liet hij zich neer op een kleine,
klinkklaar-gouden zetel midden in de zaal, en hield met rustige, sonore stem de
132705 openingsrede. Hij sprak in 't Latijn, een ander vertolkte zijn woorden in het Grieks.
De korte zin daarvan was: Weest eensgezind in uw leer, staakt uw twisten en neemt
mijn bemiddeling aan!
Daarna gaf hij de voorzitter der vergadering, Hosius, het woord. Toen hief zich
weldra een koor van beschuldigingen en tegenbeschuldigingen tussen homo-ousianen en
132710 hun tegenstanders. Zij hadden elkaar trouwens al eerder door geheime brieven en
pamfletten bij de keizer aangeklaagd en belasterd, 175) maar deze deed alsof hij
nergens van wist. Nu wierp hij slechts af en toe, in het Grieks, een paar kalme,
sarcastische woorden er tussen door, en deed zo het onstuimig krakeel bedaren. Meteen
overtuigde hij zich, dat de meerderheid der vergadering, zoals Hosius hem had
132715 voorspeld, bestond uit aanhangers van het homo-ousion. Alle Westerse en de meeste
Oosterse bisschoppen hoorden daartoe, slechts weinigen neigden tot Arius.
Op een volgende vergadering ging het nog feller toe. Tevergeefs deed de
minderheidspartij pogingen tot verzoening. Een brief die een hunner, bisschop
Eusebius van *Nicomedia* voorlas als zijn geloofsbelijdenis, waarin hij streefde naar
132720 bemiddeling tussen homo-ousion en hetero-usion, werd niet ten einde toe aangehoord,
maar zijn tegenstanders rukten het hem, in bijzijn van de keizer, uit handen.
Doch de beslissing kwam niet van zijde der geestelijken, maar van de wereldlijke
opperheer. Deze was echter allang tegen de Arianen opgehitst door zijn hofprediker
Hosius, de bisschop van Cordoba. Thans gebod Constantijn, als echt soldaat
132725 ongeduldig over het eindeloze theologische geharrewar, Arius en de zijnen toe te
geven. Allen, 180) behalve Arius, Eusebius van Nicomedia en nog vier anderen, bogen
voor dit vorstelijk bevel 176) en zo werd door de wil van de keizer de homo-ousiaanse
of Katholieke (algemene) leer, thans precies geformuleerd in het "Symbolum Nicaenum"
als de enig ware opgelegd aan alle Christenen in het rijk.
132730 Arius zelf die niet ter synode was verschenen werd met al zijn aanhangers door de
kerkelijke ban (anathema) getroffen, en voortaan uit Alexandrië geweerd. Maar de
keizer strafte hem nog extra door verbanning en weldra deelden ook Eusebius en de
vier andere "weerspannigen", smadelijk gebrandmerkt als "Porfierianen" 177), zijn
lot. Bovendien werden al hun boeken in 't openbaar verbrand. Deze kleinzielige,
132735 haarkloverige dogmentwist verraadt dus al de innerlijke tweespalt van de Kerk, alsook
de bekrompen vervolgzucht van haar z.g. rechtgelovige meerderheid jegens elke
minderheid, zoals ook in de latere Middeleeuwen bleek. Wel heette het officieel, dat
de Kerk de ketters niet vervolgde, en dit was aanvankelijk ook waar, maar zij stookte
telkens de orthodoxe wereldlijke overheid daartoe op, zowel toen als later.
132740 Ook de Paasstrijd werd beslecht naar de wens van de overweldigende meerderheid en van
de keizer zelf. In een rede vol heftige Jodenhaat bezwoer hij de vergadering, om alle
gewoonten die hen verbonden met het volk "dat Christus had vermoord", te verbreken.
178) Zo werd dan voortaan het Paasfeest gedateerd naar het voorschrift van Anatolius.
(zie hierboven)

- 132745 Het hoofddoel, de eenheid van de Kerk scheen dus nu bereikt. Behoudens enkele oudere ketterse sekten, bijvoorbeeld de Novatianen, 179) die ondanks uitnodiging tot de synode, waaraan zij ook hadden deelgenomen, niet tot de Kerk wilden terugkeren, was de overweldigende meerderheid der Christenen orthodox gebleven.
- 132750 Met geschenken en vermaningen tot eendracht overladen zond Constantijn de bisschoppen huiswaarts.
- 132755 Nog twee jaar lang bleef de keizer homo-ousiaans gezind. In 326, 1 september kondigde hij bijvoorbeeld nog, vermoedelijk te Rome, een strenge wet af, waarbij ketterse en schismatische (=Ariaanse) geestelijken alle privilegiën o.a. vrijdom van munera, verloren, en juist bij voorkeur hiermee gekweld moesten worden 181). Ook gold de restitutie der vroeger geconfisqueerde kerkelijke goederen, die nog niet overal was volbracht, niet ten opzichte van hen. Hun bedehuizen moesten onverwijld aan de orthodoxe Kerk worden gegeven, hun overige vergaderplaatsen vervielen aan de schatkist, terwijl verdere samenkomsten van heterodoxen verboden werden 182). Ook hun boeken moesten worden opgespoord en verbrand, wat het vorig jaar al over Arius' geschriften was bepaald. Alleen jegens de Novatianen, wier bisschop Acesius op de synode te Nicaea de kerkvrede had verworven, werd deze ketterwet weldra in zoverre verzacht, dat zij hun kerken en koimeteria behielden 183) (25 september 326). Toch werden ze volstrekt niet met de Katholieken gelijk gesteld.
- 132765 Doch spoedig kwam er een ommekeer in 's keizers dogmatische voorkeur. Mogelijk uit berouw over de moord op Crispus, en afkeer van de schijnvrome orthodoxe bedriegster Fausta, die hij pas haar wel verdiende straf had gegeven, wendde hij zich af van zijn hofbisschop Hosius en de homo-ousianen en werd de Arianen, zelfs de heidenen weer beter gezind.
- 132770 Bovendien kwam er nog een oorzaak bij. In 327 (of niet lang daarna) lag zijn zuster Constantia, die de wrede vermoordding van haar zoontje niet lang kon overleven, te Thessalonika (?) op sterven 184). Kort voor zij ziek werd, kwam zij onder de invloed van een heimelijk Ariaans presbyter, die haar ervan overtuigde, dat Arius en de zijnen onrechtvaardig waren behandeld. Op haar sterfbed, waarbij Constantijn kwam toegesnel, bezwoer zij nu haar broeder, de onschuldig verbannen terug te roepen.
- 132775 Dit gebeurde. In november van hetzelfde jaar ontbood hij Arius ten hove, en beloofde hem eerherstel, mits hij het Symbolum Nicaenum door een verklaring onderschreef. Dit deed Arius, maar in zulke dubbelzinnige termen, dat zij zowel homo-ousiaans als Ariaans konden worden uitgelegd. (november 327) 185)
- 132780 Zo werd hij weer in eer hersteld en weldra keerden ook de andere ballingen, waaronder Eusebius van Nicomedia, na brieven van berouw te hebben geschreven, op 's keizers bevel terug. Maar toen Arius weer naar Alexandrië vertrok (zomer 328) en daar weer presbyter wou worden, weigerde Athanasius, sinds de dood van Alexander (28 juni 328) daar bisschop, hem de toegang tot de Kerk 186).
- 132785 Deze Athanasius, vroeger diaken van de vorige bisschop, was een heerszuchtig, dweepziek, echt-middeleeuws prelaat, en reeds vervuld van het latere pausen-ideaal om de Kerk boven de Staat in macht te verheffen. Hij zond de keizer een hooghartige brief, dat hij een afvallige, die eenmaal door het anathema was getroffen, niet meer in de Kerk kon opnemen. Daarna gebod Constantijn hem, ook op raad van Eusebius, zijn nieuwe gunsteling, om Arius onmiddellijk toe te laten en te rehabiliteren, op straffe van afzetting en verbanning. 186)
- 132790 Athanasius echter stoorde er zich niet aan, en de keizer afkerig van verdere twisten, gaf voorlopig toe. Arius echter maakte zowel te Alexandrië persoonlijk, als elders door zijn aanhangers, ijverig propaganda tegen zijn vijand.
- 132795 In Antiochië had hij het succes, dat de homo-ousiaanse bisschop hiervan, Eustathius, door een Ariaanse meerderheid in zijn gemeente werd ten val gebracht (329) 187) en verbannen. Een synode in die stad bijeengeroepen benoemde zekere Eulalius in zijn plaats, en daarna handhaafden de Arianen zich tot het eind der 4e eeuw op deze belangrijke zetel.
- 132800 Intussen intrigeerden Eusebius en de zijnen hevig bij de keizer tegen de Alexandrijnse bisschop. Eerst betichtten zij hem er van, dat hij van de Egyptenaren linnen gewaden als belasting eiste. 188) Toen deze aanklacht door Alexandrijnse presbyters, toen toevallig te Nicomedia vertoevend, was weerlegd, beschuldigden de Arianen hun vijand van politieke samenspanning tegen het keizerlijk gezag. Daarop ontbood Constantijn (331) Athanasius persoonlijk naar Psamathia, 189) een voorstad van Nicomedia, overtuigde zich van zijn onschuld, en zond hem eervol naar zijn bisdom terug.
- 132805 Toen meenden zijn vijanden eindelijk het juiste wapen tegen hem gevonden te hebben. Zij klaagden hem bij de keizer aan van moord op Arsenius, de bisschop der Melitiaanse sekte, die immers nauw met de Arianen was bevriend. Hij zou namelijk de afgehouden hand van zijn slachtoffer hebben misbruikt, om er zwarte kunst mee te plegen. 190)
- 132810

Daar zowel heidenen als Christenen in die tijd, dus ook Constantijn, waren overtuigd van 't bestaan van toverij, en in 't bijzonder de Christenen dit verfoeiden als een misdadige samenwerking met satan en zijn demonen, was dit een zware beschuldiging. Om deze en andere aantijgingen werd Athanasius nu gedaagd voor een nieuwe synode, die de keizer samenriep te Tyrus 191) (335). Zijn vijanden toonden zelfs, naar zij beweerden, het corpus delicti, de afgehouden hand van Arsenius aan de vergaderde geestelijken en de keizerlijke president Dionysius. Maar hij vernietigde volgens de orthodoxen deze aanklacht totaal, door de levende Arsenius, die de Arianen al die tijd verborgen hadden gehouden, opeens in de zaal te brengen. Daarentegen zou Athanasius volgens een Ariaans historieschrijver, 192) om zijn vijanden te beschamen, een slet hebben gehuurd die omgekeerd Eusebius van Nicomedia had moeten belasteren als haar verleider. Deze toeleg lukte echter niet, want de vrouw in kwestie weigerde zulk een achtenswaardig man van dergelijke schandelijkheden te betichten. 192) Het gevolg was dat met vrijwel algemene stemmen Athanasius als ruziestoker van zijn zetel werd vervallen verklaard.

Daarna begaven alle leden der synode zich naar Jeruzalem, waar juist de kerk van het heilige kruis op last van de keizer gebouwd, zou worden ingewijd. 193) Hier namen Eusebius en de andere bisschoppen plechtig Arius, als een berouwvolle, weder op in de kerkelijke gemeenschap, zodat hij zegevierend uit de strijd trad.

Maar Athanasius berustte niet in zijn vonnis, maar haastte zich naar Constantinopel, om bij de keizer in hoger beroep te gaan. Juist toen hij aankwam, reed Constantijn te paard uit zijn paleis. Smekend hief de trotse verستoteling zijn handen tot hem op om een ogenblik gehoor, maar de keizer herkende hem niet en wilde toen men hem vertelde wie het was, eerst niets van hem weten. Maar Athanasius hield aan, kreeg audiëntie, en de keizer beloofde hem onmiddellijk alle synodeleden van Tyrus in Constantinopel bijeen te roepen, om in zijn bijzijn opnieuw hun oordeel uit te spreken. De gedaagde bisschoppen vreesden evenwel een nieuwe Nicaea, en *waagden thans voor het eerst om 's keizers bevelen te trotseren*. In plaats van zelf te komen zonden zij zes partijleiders, waaronder Eusebius van Nicomedia naar de hoofdstad. Deze wisten opnieuw de keizer tegen hun vijand op te stoken.

Thans betichtten zij Athanasius, dat hij zou hebben gedreigd, *de jaarlijkse graanverscheppingen van Alexandrië naar Constantinopel te beletten*. 194) Dit gaf de doorslag. Eindelijk verbande de keizer de orthodoxe bisschop naar Trier, evenwel op voorwaarde, dat voorlopig niemand anders de stoel in Alexandrië zou bezetten, zodat eerherstel voor de balling niet bleef uitgesloten 195).

Doch nu probeerde Arius de opengevallen zetel te bemachtigen. Reeds had hij de keizer hiertoe haast overreed, toen hij plotseling midden op een plein te Constantinopel ineenstortte en stierf. 195) De orthodoxen spraken natuurlijk van een oordeel Gods, maar Arius' vrienden fluisterden van vergiftiging door zijn vijanden. De keizer echter raakte steeds meer onder Ariaanse invloed, vooral onder die van Eusebius van Nicomedia. Tegen het voorjaar van 337 voelde hij zich plotseling ziek en gebruikte ter genezing de baden in zijn hoofdstad. 196) Toen dit niet hielp, stak hij over de Bosporus naar Helenopolis, waar hij de martelaarskerk van Lucianus bezocht, die zijn moeder Helena daar eens had laten bouwen. Hier smeekte hij geknield om vergiffenis van zijn vroegere zonden, en kreeg voor het eerst, van de bedienende priester, de plechtige handoplegging.

Daar hij nu zijn einde voelde naderen, begaf hij zich naar zijn paleis te Achuroon (Acyro), een voorstad van Nicomedia en riep daar de naburige bisschoppen van die streek bijeen 196). Na een korte toespraak verzocht hij eindelijk Eusebius van Nicomedia hem "het bad der wedergeboorte" te geven.

Naar gewoonte van die dagen had hij namelijk de doop tot aan zijn doopdag uitgesteld, om daardoor vrijheid in zijn handelingen te houden, 197) waar dan ook menige roof- en bloeddaad van getuigde.

Tal van vijanden, ja vrienden en familieleden, ja zelfs zijn eigen zoon en vrouw had hij vermoord, en al hun verwijtende schimmen verschenen hem nu in folterende visioenen.

Thans hoopte hij, in bijgelovige angst, al deze vroegere zonden die hem brandden tot binnen zijn gebeente, door wat wijwater van zich af te wassen. Toen deze plechtigheid was volbracht, liet hij zich hullen in een purperen praalgewaad, en nederleggen op het keizerlijk pronkbed. Hierna sprak hij nog een dankgebed, en stierf toen spoedig, op de middag van het Pinksterfeest.

Daar hij overleed in 't Ariaanse dogma, veroorzaakte zijn dood de grootste tweespalt tussen de beide partijen van de Kerk, die hij tevergeefs had pogen te verzoenen.

- 132875 1) Pas sedert ook in de Balkan een grote stad was gesticht, Constantinopel (330) ging ook de welvaart van dit rijksdeel verloren.
2) Alleen het Westen van Illyricum (Noricum, Pannonië en Dalmatië) was verlatijnst; de rest

niet. De expansiekracht der gelatiniseerde Illyriërs bleek nog bij hun late afstammelingen, de Walachen, die ca. 1000 over de Donau drongen, en zich nestelden in het tegenwoordige Roemenië. (De Roemenen stammen dus niet van geromaniseerde Daciërs).

Van de overige Illyriërs hebben alleen de stammen tussen Skodra (=Skoetari) en Apollonia in door alle eeuwen heen zowel hun oorspronkelijke taal als hun woonplaats behouden (Albanezen). Hun rasverwanten in Moesië echter waren al in de late keizertijd vergriekst.

3) De oorsprong van keizer Claudius en zijn beide broeders Quintilius en Crispus ligt in het duister. De meeste tijdgenoten hielden althans Claudius voor een natuurlijke zoon van keizer Gordianus III uit diens jeugdperiode, "toen hij door een rijpe vrouw seksueel werd ingewijd." (Epit. de Caesaribus, 34). Doch om zijn schandelijke of minder eervolle geboorte te verbergen nam Claudius zelf de naam Flavius aan en beweerde af te stammen van het huis van Vespasianus. Latere leden van zijn familie, zoals Constantius en Constantijn volgden hem hierin na, zodat hun lofredenaars hen met deze vleinaam betitelen. – Seeck betwijfelt echter, zonder nader bewijs, Constantinus' verwantschap met Claudius.

4) Drepanum was de geboorteplaats van Constantijns moeder Helena, en heette later, haar ter ere, Helenopolis. (Hieronym. Euseb. Chronicon).

7) Dat zij later Constantius' wettige vrouw was, volgt o.a. uit de eis die Diocletianus aan deze stelde, om zich van haar te laten scheiden. (Zie ook Eutropius Aurel Victor de Caes, Epit. de Caes, etc.)

8) Zie Euseb. Hieron. Chronicon. Vleierij van Constantijn en de volgende christenkeizers bracht latere historici (Aur. Victor enz.) ertoe, hun heidense voorganger Diocletianus te verlagen tot een vrijgelatene of de zoon van een vrijgelatene van zekere senator Anulinus. Maar als dat zo was, dan zou, de gensnaam die Diod. voor de zijne plaatste, dus "Valerius" ontleend moeten zijn aan een Romeins patroon van dit geslacht. En nu is er geen enkele toenmalige Anulinus afkomstig uit de gens Valeria, maar wel uit de gens Annia, zoals bijv. de praefecti urbis van 306 en 312. Diocles was dus geen vrijgelatene, en mocht dus willekeurig de naam Valerius voor de zijne plaatsen, zelfs al stamde hij niet af uit deze gens, wat ook mogelijk blijft. Trouwens juist zijn christelijke vijand Eusebius noemt hem "zoon van een klerk". Eutropius geeft beide lezingen zonder bepaalde voorkeur (Eutr. IX, 19).

10) Volgens andere bronnen was hij een Bataaf, Aur. Victor 39, 20: "Menapiae civis" (Eumenius, Eutropius). De gelijkenis in klank en accent van "Menapiae" en "Bataviae" maakt waarschijnlijk dat een dezer teksten corrupt moet zijn.

12) De latere verering van Constantijn en opvolgers door hun hovelingen deed maar weinig onder voor die van Diocletianus.

13) Zie bewijs Lact. De Mort. 7, Euseb. de Mart. Pol. 13. Zosimus II, 32 schrijft echter aan Constantijn deze vernieuwing toe, en Burckhardt en Seeck volgen hem hierin.

15) De leer der Manicheeërs, was evenals die der vroegere gnostieken een z.g. syncretisch geloof, d.w.z. samengesmolten uit het christendom en tal van andere godsdiensten, o.a. het Perzische Mazdaïsme of de leer van Zarathoestra. De Manicheeërs eerden als stichter van hun godsdienst zekere Manes, die omstreeks 272 in Perzië op vorstelijk bevel de marteldood onderging. Niet lang daarna verspreidde zijn leer zich in 't Romeinse rijk en vond van heidenen en ook van christenen hevige bestrijding, bijvoorbeeld van Augustinus die eerst een tijdlang tot die "ketterse" sekte had behoord.

26) Bovendien was men algemeen verbitterd doordat Galerius Rome, vroeger belastingvrij, onlangs dit voorrecht had ontnomen en met grote strengheid de gelden liet innen door de gehate quaestor Abellius.

28) Wel was Constantijn al vroeger, vanaf het einde zijner knapentijd ("ab ipso fine pueritia") wettig getrouwd geweest (Paneg. VI, c.4). Maar deze onbekende vrouw schonk hem geen kinderen, en ontviel hem blijkbaar door dood of scheiding. Zijn zoon Crispus had hij bij een bijzit Minervina verwekt (Zie blz. 21 van dit boek en verder bij Seeck, Untergang II Anhang p. 508).

30) Lactantius spreekt van zweren (ulcera); Aur. Victor zegt (Epitome c. 40) "consumptis genitalibus deficit", wat mijn onderstelling wettigt.

31) Bekend is bijvoorbeeld het martelaarschap van Barbara, dat op rekening komt van Daja's landvoogd Martinianus (later overgegaan in dienst van Licinius).

34) Pas later (313-315) is deze voltooid. De bas-relief-beelden op de vier beiderzijdse friezen boven de zijpoorten, verheerlijken zijn laatste veldtocht, tegen Maxentius. Twee opschriften aan beide kanten boven de hoofdboort getuigen nog van zijn zegepraal "over de tiran en zijn ganse aanhang". De uitdrukking "instinctu divinitatis", een bemiddeling tussen heidens en christelijk monotheïsme, bewijst Constantijns voorzichtig omsluisde christengezindheid.

Een vroegere mening, dat onder het woord "divinitatis" een andere, volstrekt heidense tekst, ook van 11 letters, zou doorschemeren, namelijk "IOVISOPTMAX" (Jovis Optimi Maximi) werd weerlegd door de Rossi, na onderzoek van gipsafgietsels in 1863 op last van Napoleon III gemaakt. De sage van de doop van Constantijn door paus Sylvester, die het eerst voorkomt bij Zonaras, ga ik met begrijpelijk stilzwijgen voorbij.

35) Het verschil tussen de teksten bij Eus. en Lact. komt hierop neer:

I. Die bij Eusebius zijn door beide keizers (en wellicht oorspronkelijk ook, officieel door Max. Daja, vlgs. Seeck) aan alle stadhouders en prefecten gericht, althans er wordt geen enkele nader genoemd; die bij Lact. alleen door Licinius aan de stadhouder van het pas veroverde Bithynië (na de 2e oorlog met Daja).

II. Lact. verschilt van Eusebius door het ontbreken van de inleiding (die tolerantie en staatsbescherming voor alle godsdiensten waarborgt), en verder in enkele details waardoor Licinius (en dus indirect Constantijn) voor een christen zou kunnen doorgaan. Zo geeft

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bijvoorbeeld Eusebius: hopoos ho ti pote esti theistetos kai ouraniou pragmatos hemin.... eumenes einai sunethei (lett: opdat wat er is aan godheid en hemelse substantie ons gunstig zou kunnen zijn).

132955 Lactantius: quo quidem divinitas in sede coelesti nobis. – propitia possit existere. (Genadig zou kunnen optreden).

De laatste lezing is duidelijk christelijk-anthropomorf; de eerste, een vage middenvorm tussen christelijk en neo-platonisch heidens. Waarschijnlijk geeft dus Eusebius, anders 'n aartsvervalser, in dit geval de letterlijk, uit 't Latijn vertaalde tekst: Lact. een voor zijn 132960 doel verdraaide om Licinius, en dus zeker Constantijn, als verklaarde Christenen voor te stellen. (Zie verder Josef Wittig, Rom. Quart. schr. Suppl. XIX, die echter niet tot deze conclusie durft over te gaan).

36) Ook Lactantius' geschrift waarschijnlijk in het voorjaar van 314 gepubliceerd, onder de verse indruk der vervolgingen en de overwinningen van Constantijn en Licinius, vermeldt de 132965 dood van Diocletianus voor die van Maximinus Daja en voor de vermoord van zijn Prisca en Valeria, dus in 313. Hoe is echter daarmee het jaartal 316, bij Eusebius Chronicon, en in het Chronicon Paschale te rijmen? Waarschijnlijk heeft Constantijn D.'s zelfmoord opzettelijk geheim gehouden, om zodoende het volle odium te laten vallen op Licinius die juist in hetzelfde jaar de beide ex-keizerinnen Prisca en Valeria liet doden. Pas na de gelukkige 132970 oorlog tegen Licinius had Constantijn geen bezwaar meer, het bekend te maken, en gunde zelfs de overleden heidenkeizer de eer van een apotheose door de senaat (316).

37) Candidianus, Galerius' voorzoon bij een bijvrouw, was namelijk verloofd met Daja's 7-jarig dochtertje, en mocht dus niet blijven leven om haar dood te wreken.

38) De beide ex-keizerinnen, hoewel voor de vervolging christelijk gezind, moeten zich later 132975 van die leer hebben afgewend, en dat verklaart het weinige medelijden van Lactantius voor hun ellendig lot.

39) Pas bij de definitieve verdeling van de Staat in het Oost- en West-Romeinse Rijk (395) werden nauwkeurig de grenzen tussen beide delen bepaald.

40) De schrijvers noemen hem weliswaar caesar, maar volgens munten was hij augustus.

41) Volgens Anon. Vales. werd Valens eenvoudig van zijn rang beroofd; Zosimus (II. 20) drukt 132980 zich dubbelzinnig uit en geeft te raden, dat hij ook werd ter dood gebracht; Aur. Vict Epit. schrijft zijn dood toe aan Licinius.

42) Hoewel geen enkel document iets vertelt van de uitlevering van Senicio, meen ik toch dat Zosimus, die Valens "de aanstichter van alle kwaad" laat noemen, daarmee bedoelt: Senicio.

48) Volgens Socr. I, 4 verbood hij bovendien de bisschoppen, met heidenen om te gaan om 132985 christelijke propaganda te beletten.

49) Daar hij door Constantijn als zijn zoon werd erkend, is hij waarschijnlijk geboren in een tijd, dat Constantijn rijk en machtig genoeg was, om zich die weelde te kunnen veroorloven, d.w.z. na 305, toen hij zijn vader in Brittannië trof, en weldra troonopvolger werd. Als 132990 vroegste geboortear kan dus gelden: 306. Eerder kan moeilijk, want dan zou Minervina hem met of zonder kind vergezeld, of hem anders, lang daarna, alleen en onbeschermd, gevolgd moeten hebben, wat geen van tweeën waarschijnlijk is. Ook later dan 306 kan niet, daar Crispus al in 322 zijn eerste kind kreeg bij zijn wettige vrouw Helena, en wel niet voor zijn vijftiende jaar getrouwd zal zijn geweest, (z. Cod. Th.)

Seeck beweert wel, dat keizerszonen gewoonlijk werden uitgehuwelijkt "ab ipso fine pueritiae" 132995 en verstaat daaronder vanaf hun 14de jaar, maar dat is onjuist, daar de pueritia gerekend werd te duren tot het 17de jaar.

52) Zosimus aan wie dit alles is ontleend, geeft als getallen op: 130.000, waarvan er 30.000 overbleven maar hij vergeet dat Licinius ongeveer de helft van zijn leger met Martinianus naar 133000 Lampsacus had gezonden.

53a) Terzelfder tijd – 8 november 324 – werd zijn jongere stiefbroer Constantius, toen nog geen zeven jaar, tot Caesar benoemd. Maar het is hoogst onwaarschijnlijk dat deze toen al met het bestuur van Gallië werd belast, zoals Gibbon op grond van Julian. Orat. I. aanneemt 53c). Het is opmerkelijk dat vooral Arianen en heidenen (Philostorgius en Zosimus) de nagedachtenis 133005 van Crispus verheerlijken, en niet de Katholieken.

56) Dat zijn dood aan verdenking van ontucht moet worden toegeschreven blijkt:

I) Uit de overeenstemming van 4 getuigen van verschillend geloof, namelijk Zosimus (heidens, ca. 475) lib. II, 29; Philostorgius (Ariaan, ca. 400) lib. II, 4; de Artemii Passio 43.

(orthodox) en Zonaras (orthodox), terwijl het zich, met enige goede wil, ook laat lezen uit 133010 het anonyme Epitome de Caesaribus: ("Fausta conpuge, ut putant, suggerente") en het Chronicon Paschale.

II) Uit 5 fragmenten van edicten tegen ontucht die Constantijn alle om dezelfde tijd heeft uitgevaardigd, (zie volgende blz. in de tekst).

III) Eutropius, Eusebius-Hieronymus (Chronicon) Aurelius, Victor en Sidonius Appollinaris 133015 vermelden wel alleen dat Constantijn eerst Crispus en daarna Fausta doodde, maar deze getuigenissen sluiten verdenking van overspel niet uit. Evenmin het stilzwijgen van Anonymus Valesius, pars I hierover. Wat Licinianus betreft, twee getuigen Eutropius en Eusebius-Hieronymus (Chronicon) verklaren dat hij tegelijk met Crispus werd gedood, zodat ik de bewering van Seeck dat hij nog tot 336 verder leefde in twijfel trek. Temeer, omdat de 133020 bewijsplaatsen waarop hij steunt (Cod. Th. IV, 6, 1 en 2) verkeerd zijn uitgelegd. Allereerst is hier niet sprake van Licinianus, maar van "filius Liciniani", de zoon van zekere Licinianus, en bovendien verbiedt het veelvuldig voorkomen van de namen Licinius en Licinianus door het hele rijk twee zogenoemde personen te vereenzelvigen.

57) Wel draagt de tekst gewoonlijk het opschrift "de raptu virginum ac viduarum", maar een der 133025 varianten heeft "de raptu virginum ac feminarum" wat meer toepasselijk lijkt.

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Een nog vroeger edict van Constantijn, van 3 februari 326 te Heraclea, door Seeck, ook met het geval Crispus in verband gebracht, kan en wegens plaats en tijd van datering, en wegens de inhoud, niets daarmee te maken hebben. Immers het verklaart dat waardinnen wel, maar slavinnen in een herberg niet strafbaar zijn wegens overspel, en het mist de strenge, zedemeesterende toon der overige edicten. (Cod. Th. IX, 7, 1). Seecks onderstelling dat al deze edicten fragmenten zouden zijn van een enkel edict lijkt mij onbewijsbaar. Ook verwerp ik zijn bewering dat Crispus inderdaad schuldig was aan overspel, wat door alle bronnen wordt tegengesproken.

59) Cod. Justin. V, 26. Door dit laatste edict wilde hij tonen, hoe het hem berouwde bij een concubine Crispus te hebben verwekt.

60) Philostorgius II, 4 noemt hem "cursor" of prodromos, dat hier waarschijnlijk niet wagenmenner, maar renbode betekent. Wel is hij de enige zegsman van dit verhaal, maar de bijzonderheden stemmen geheel overeen met het karakter van Fausta.

62) Hieron. noemt in het Chronicon het jaar 328, maar zijn tijdrekening is vaak in de war; Zosimus verklaart dat het te Rome gebeurde, dus in de zomer van 326, de laatste keer dat Constantijn daar, na Crispus' dood vertoefde. Ook de Chronica Gallica A. DXI (M. G. H. Chronic. Minora I) verklaren dat Fausta in hetzelfde jaar als Crispus en Licinius Jr. werd gedood. Ondanks de vele fouten in de tijdrekening blijft dit document toch waardevol, daar er andere thans verlorene bronnen in zijn verwerkt.

65) Het marmer haalde men uit het eilandje Proeconnesus in de Propontis. (Zosim. ibid.)

74) Chronicon Paschale, waaraan ook de verdere bijzonderheden van het inwijdingsfeest zijn ontleend.

78) Id. II, 31. Deze Taifalen traden ook later op, na de slag bij Adrianopel (378) toen zij met andere Germaanse en Sarmatische stammen de Donau overtrokken en samen met de Goten Thracië plunderden.

80) Hier had hij namelijk in Psamathia, vlak bij Nicomedia, Athanasius van Alexandrië een onderhoud toegezegd (Ath. apol. c. Ar. 61, 62). Kentekenend voor Constantijn is wel in deze jaren dat hij dus kerkelijke zaken boven militaire stelde.

81) Deze plaats in het Chron. Hieron. heeft Gibbon verkeerd geïnterpreteerd. Hij stelt het namelijk voor, alsof het onderworpen volk Limigantes heette. De tekst is: "Sarmatae Limigantes, dominos suos, ui nunc Argaragantes vocantur, facta manu in Romanus solum expulerunt."

82) Na de overwinning op Licinius werden namelijk al diens beschikkingen vernietigd, en ook vele nieuwe ambtenaren in het Oosten aangesteld. (Cod. XV, 14, 1).

92) Philostorgius II, 16. Maar mogelijk vertelt hij dit verhaal alleen, om zijn Ariaanse geloofsgenoot keizer Constantius schoon te wassen van schuld.

108) Cod. Th. XV, 14, 4. Ten onrechte noemt Seeck dit een tegenmaatregel tegen een besluit van Maxentius, en stelt deze wet zonder bewijs in 312 of eerder.

118) Dit was dus de gemiddelde prijs van een slaaf. Zie Cod. Just. VI, 1, 3 en 4.

122) Cod. Just. 17 augustus 329. Het doet denken aan moderne Chinese toestanden bij de laatste hongersnood aldaar, toen ook vrouwen en kinderen te koop werden aangeboden.

124) Cod. Just. V, 27 en Cod. Th. IV, 6, 2 en 3. De naam Licinianus in deze laatste wet hoeft niet vereenzelvigd te worden met de vermoorde ex-keizer Licinius zoals Seeck meent. De wet hoeft dus niet tegen de jonge Licinianus te zijn gericht. (Zie vorig hoofdstuk).

126) Cod. Theod. II, 8, 1. Kort daarna keert hij zich ook tegen een ander heidens misbruik, het groeiende aantal feestdagen, die vaak willekeurig door hogere ambtenaren binnen hun gebied waren ingesteld. Hij verbiedt hun dit nadrukkelijk, en verklaart het bepalen van feestdagen tot een uitsluitend keizerlijk voorrecht.

127) Zie Lact. Div. Inst. I, 11-14. De theorie die Lactantius hier aanhangt, evenals zijn meeste Christelijke tijdgenoten, is afkomstig van zekere Euhemerus van Messene of Cyrene, een wijsgeer die omstreeks 300 voor Chr. aan het hof van Cassander van Macedonië leefde. Deze verkondigde namelijk dat het veelgodendom zijn oorsprong vond in het vereren van beroemde mannen na hun dood. Het ontging de christelijke apologeten, dat dit Euhemerisme sterke argumenten opleverde ook tegen hun eigen godsdienst.

130) Dit bewijst tevens dat het Liviaanse stichtingsjaar 754 voor Chr. niet in orde is. In waarheid wist men toen niet precies, evenmin als nu wanneer Rome was gegrondvest.

143) Ook bij Sozomenus verteld, doch in twijfel getrokken. (Sozom. I, 5.) Foutief is echter de uiteindelijke bekering tot het Christendom die Zosimus hieraan vast koppelt, daar de wetten bewijzen dat Constantijn al eerder onder Christelijke invloed stond.

145) Dit is de waarschijnlijke verklaring van het wonderverhaal waarbij bisschop Alexander van Constantinopel een heidense debater "in naam van Christus" met stomheid zou hebben geslagen. (Sozom. I, 18).

146) Dit belachelijk bijgeloof was algemeen verbreid onder alle vierde-eeuwers, heidenen en christenen, dus Constantijn kan dit best voor waarheid hebben gehouden. Kort na Julianus' dood liet bijvoorbeeld keizer Valetianus (een christen), diens oud-leraar Maximus, de neoplatonische theurg [??], nog als tovenaars ombrengen.

155) Eus. Vit. Const. III, 57. Burckhardt's mening dat de god Asklepios zich ook met de politieke vragen had bezig gehouden en bijvoorbeeld de opstand van Calocerus zou hebben gesteund is onjuist, daar 1e de tempel in 331 werd verwoest, en Calocerus pas in 333 uitbrak en 2e. de Asklepiostempel geen orakels gaf.

162) Hieron. Chron. Al in 320 had de keizer trouwens, om de Christenen ter wille te zijn, de oud-Romeinse wet tegen ongetrouwden en kinderlozen opgeheven (Cod. Th. VIII, 16, 1.)

166) Wel was Constantijn nog ongedoopt, maar als volgeling van de christelijke godsdienstoefeningen of catechumeen werd hij door de Christenen algemeen als geloofsgenoot

- 133100 beschouwd.
167) Toch heeft Constantijns voortrekkerij de orthodoxen de Donatisten niet tot de Kerk teruggebracht, maar hen juist voorgoed van haar vervreemd. Hun sekte bleef dan ook, ondanks de verdrukking, voortbestaan en kort na het concilie van Nicaea (325), in 330, had zij alweer zoveel aanhangers gekregen dat Constantijn, zogenaamd ter bescherming der Katholieken, nieuwe maatregelen tegen ze nam. (Cod. Th. XVI. 2, 7 en Optat. Milevitanus I). Onder zijn opvolgers werden de Donatisten nog erger dan tevoren verdrukt. Toch bleven zij nog drie eeuwen als zelfstandige sekte bestaan, zodat zij tijdens de volksverhuizing de Vandalen als bevrijders begroetten.
- 133105 168) Over de vrijdom van munera, de orthodoxe geestelijken verleend, bestaan 3 documenten:
a) Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 1, gedateerd PRID. KAL. NOV. CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III C. CONSS., d.w.z. 313 oktober 31. Maar in een der hss. staat CONSTANTINO A. IIII, wat wijst op het jaartal 315.
b) Cod. Th. XVI, 2,2, gedateerd XII KAL. NOV. CONSTANTINO A. V. ET LICINIO CAESARE CONSS., d.w.z. 319, 21 oktober. Daar echter in het vorig document (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 1) duidelijk wordt verwezen naar een vroegere wet van dezelfde inhoud, moet document b) zijn uitgevaardigd voor document a), dus vermoedelijk 21 oktober 315 of 313.
c) EUSEBIUS, Hist. eccl. X, 7 dat overeenkomt in inhoud en deels woordelijk overeenstemt met document b).
- 133110 Mijn theorie is nu, dat al deze 3 documenten zijn van hetzelfde jaar, en wel niet van oktober 313, (want toen zat Constantijn in Trier en had het veel te druk met Germanen), maar van oktober 315. Immers toen was de keizer juist in Milaan, waar hij het Donatistenconflict ten gunste van Caecilianus had beslecht. Bovendien wordt in document a) van de Donatisten reeds gesproken als van "haeretici", d.w.z. ketters. Indien deze wet van 31 oktober 313 was, zoals Seeck aanneemt, dan zou het toch zeer onredelijk en voorbarig zijn van Constantijn zich toen al tegen de Donatisten uit te spreken, terwijl nog geen enkel concilie hen positief had veroordeeld, (ook dat te Rome niet van mei 313). Er blijft dus alleen over: het jaartal 315 voor alle drie documenten, en wel document b) en c) 21 oktober 315 en document a) 31 oktober 315.
- 133120 Van omstreeks dezelfde tijd moet ook de brief van staatsbezoldiging aan Caecilianus zijn (Eus. hist. eccl. X, 6), bedoeld als beloning voor de kwelling die deze geestelijke van de ketters te verduren had, en waarin over de Donatisten als een onbeduidend troepje wordt gesproken, dus blijkbaar na hun nederlaag.
- 133125 171) In de tekst staat "Murgillo", mogelijk een verschrijving voor "Mediolano" daar Constantijn daar toen juist vertoefde.
- 133130 172) Zo genoemd naar Melitius, bisschop van Alexandrië, tijdens de vervolging van Diocletianus afgezet en vervangen door Petrus wegens het feit dat hij aan de heidense goden had geofferd (Socrates, I, 6).
173) Anatolius, Alexandrijn van afkomst, en in 279 na Chr. bisschop van Laodice was een geleerd veelzijdig man (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VII, 32, 6 sqq.). (Euseb.-Hieronimus, Chronicon)
- 133140 177) Porphyrius, neoplatonisch wijsgeer van 232-304, die o.a. tegen de Christenen schreef. Niet te verwarren met de dichter Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius, heidens tijdgenoot van Constantijn.
179) Novatus leerde tijdens keizer Decius, dat zij die na de doop nog gezondigd hadden, van de heilige sacramenten moesten worden uitgesloten.
- 133145 180) Tot hen die slaafs hun eigen mening verloochenden, hoorde o.a. ook de geschiedschrijver Eusebius van Caesarea.
184) Sozomenus II, 27. Constantia stierf waarschijnlijk in 327, daar de keizer tussen 326-329 alleen in dat jaar te Thessalonika, haar woonplaats vertoefde (februari 327, zie Cod. Th. XI, 3, 2).
- 133150 185) Socrates I, 25. Arius kan niet in 326 door de keizer teruggeroepen zijn, zoals Seeck beweert, daar hij hoogstens een jaar daarna moet zijn gereisd naar Alexandrië waar Athanasius toen bisschop was, wat dus pas na 28 juni 328 kan zijn geweest. Bovendien kreeg Arius eerherstel bisschop van Constantia's saven, dus vermoedelijk in 327.
- 133155 192) Philostorg. II (ap. Phot.) zowel de Ariaanse als de orthodoxe lezing van wat op de synode voorviel is onzeker. Alleen het resultaat, de afzetting van Athanasius, door beiden vermeld, is betrouwbaar.
197) Zonden na de doop begaan, golden voor onvergefelijk.
- 133160 Zie <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken/view?identifier=MMKB05:000037724:00001&query=constantijn+koch&coll=boeken&maxperpage=50>

Academic Dissertation for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY

- 133165 at the University of Amsterdam by the authority of the Rector Magnificus
Prof. Dr. J. D. VAN DER WAALS Jr. Professor in the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics
To be defended in public in the Aula of the University on FRIDAY 27 MARCH 1931, in
the afternoon at 3½ o'clock precisely by JOHANN ANTHON KOCH born in Surabaya (N.-I.)
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CONSTANTINE, HIS FAMILY AND ANCESTORY.

Constantine appears in history as the first medieval man, and not as a Western European, Germanic or Roman medieval man, but as a Byzantine; and as such he is the example of all later, Eastern Roman emperors.

With the sign of Christ on his banner, and the imperial wreath around his crown, he is the first bearer of a new mixed civilization that was growing in Eastern Europe at that time from pagan-Roman and Christian-Hellenistic elements. His strange, contradictory nature, impetuously brave, but still cunning, cruel and hypocritically pious, also points to this.

This first Byzantine was therefore only Roman in name, but largely of Greek-Illyrian blood. Constantine was born in 274 in Naissus, the capital of the Illyrian region of Dardania, and all his paternal ancestors were natives of the Balkans. This is important because Illyricum (= the Balkan peninsula) had gradually become the leading province of the empire, and since Decius almost all princes came from this region. The Illyrian emperors have also repeatedly saved Rome from its two most threatening dangers: invasions of barbarians from outside and internal division. The latter was caused by:

I. The denationalization of the provinces;
II. The increasing foreign influence also in the army.

The provinces, dissatisfied with the centralizing tax policy of the emperors, had long been inclined to abandon Rome. Hence the constant appearance of local usurpers (for example the 30 tyrants). This was because the vast world empire did not form an ethnographic unity and not even a duality, although it could be roughly divided into a Latin Western and a Hellenized Eastern half. For its inhabitants were indeed Romanized or Hellenized in language, but not in race and nationality, so that they first felt themselves citizens of their own city and region, and only then of the Roman state, which sucked them dry. Moreover, in many border regions, depopulated by repeated wars, the foreign element was strengthened, because Germans or Sarmatians were transplanted there for agriculture as serf farmers (coloni), who nevertheless often retained their barbaric character.

The army had also long since ceased to be recruited from Italians, but mainly from Latin provincials (Gauls, Spaniards and Illyrians), so that the national command language was preserved by this core. But in addition, Germans, Sarmatians, Syrians and other Semites soon entered the ranks of officers and inferiors, so that many of them even rose to become soldier-emperors, such as Sept. Severus, Caracalla, Elegabalus, Alexander, Severus, Philippus Arabs (Semites) and Maximinus Thrax (a half Goth).

Nevertheless, until about 325 the Latin provincials formed the majority, and among these especially the Illyrians, so that from 250-300 they were decisive in the choice of emperor.

Why precisely from Illyria? It had already been Latinized earlier, by agricultural colonies of veterans (under Augustus by Tiberius). Gradually, in this agricultural province, in addition to the smaller peasantry, large landed estates had also formed, but this had not displaced small-scale property, as in Italy, so that here, also due to the absence of a large city as an exploitative center, prosperity was maintained.

1). The grafting of Latin culture on these untalented barbarian tribes such as the Illyrians, Moesians, Dardanians and Thracians, only had consequences for the language 2). But militarily the resulting mixed people of Romans and Balkan inhabitants proved to be all the more apt, because the dangerous proximity of Marcomanni, Quadi, Goths and Dacians forced them to be constantly resistant, even to expulsion to the East, in order to protect themselves against their repeated attacks 2).

Their country also provided quite a few soldiers and officers, since especially sons of Illyrian large landowners served as tribunes in the Roman army through a certain class tradition.

No wonder that from this ancient "Junker" country many powerful soldier-emperors emerged from the middle of the 3rd century AD, sometimes from the large landowners, sometimes from the small farmers (Aurelian) or even from the freedmen (Diocletian). And all these rulers vigorously continued the fight against European and Asian enemies. For example, Claudius II (more about him later) drove the Goths back across the Danube; his second successor Aurelian was able to reconquer the rebellious empire of Queen Zenobia (Palmyra) (273).

At the time of Constantine's birth (274) his father Constantius Chlorus was about 25 years old. He owed his Roman family name to his mother Claudia, daughter of Crispus, the eldest brother of Emperor Claudius Constans the Destroyer of Goths. His Greek nickname Chloros (the Pale) however points to Eastern origin, and indeed his father Eutropius was a rich Dardanian nobleman from the soldierly tribe of the Moesians, who were then probably Hellenized. He himself (Constantius Chlorus) was, however, fully regarded as a Roman, and had probably served in the Roman army five years earlier, under the rule of his great-uncle Claudius (268-270).

In 270 this prince died, shortly after his victory over the Gothic barbarians, of the same plague epidemic which they had brought with them. There is no reason to assume that, as Zonaras alone (XII, 26) claims, he designated Aurelian on his deathbed as the most worthy successor, since the latter was not a special favourite of his, but of his predecessor Valerian (see Hist. Aug. Flav. Vop. c. XII Aurelian).

Moreover, the deceased had an excellent brother, Quintillus, who was immediately elevated to ruler by the Senate. But he was hated by the soldiers because of his strict enforcement of military discipline, so that he died after only 17 or 20 days either by his own hand or by his mutinous troops at Aquileia 3).

In the meantime his rival Aurelian, very popular with the army, had already been elected emperor (270-275) and the senate was forced to recognize him.

Nevertheless, even during this new ruler Constantius Chlorus remained under arms, probably as a simple tribune. As such he followed Aurelian on his campaign to the East (V. Panegy. Constantio Caesari, V.).

In doing so, Aurelian first crossed the Bosphorus to reconquer the revived Bithynia (including Thyana), and landed at the town of Drepanum 4) on the Gulf of Nicomedia. Possibly his army had spent the night there, and the young noble officer then made the acquaintance of Helena, the daughter of an innkeeper there 5). He probably first lived in concubinage with her 6), and took her everywhere with him, also on Aurelian's expedition against Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra, and against rebellious Egypt, where a usurper Firmus was defeated and punished (273).

On the emperor's return journey via Asia Minor and the Balkans to Rome (273-274), Constantius was, probably at his own request, seconded to the Danube legions, in the garrison town of Naïssus, where his father's lands also lay. Here Helena bore him a son, Constantine (274). But although at first his mistress, she soon (after this birth?) became his lawful wife 5), after which the father also acknowledged her child as his. That she, a woman of lower rank, and from the despised caste of innkeepers, got this done by that noble tribune, proves her extraordinary charm and willpower. Incidentally, this marriage gave no offence in this adventurous time of the soldier emperors, when the lowest born could obtain the crown, and racial and class mixing was going on everywhere.

In the confusion after Aurelian's violent death, Constantius, although an excellent soldier, proved to be too modest, and probably not rich enough, to push himself to the fore and obtain the imperial purple. Therefore he was considered harmless, and also managed to maintain himself in the favour of the following princes, such as Tacitus, Probus and Carus.

Nevertheless, during Emperor Carus, when Constantius was praeses (military governor) of Dalmatia, there was a chance of his elevation to emperor. For before Carus' campaign against the Persians, he considered, out of shame at the misconduct of his son Carinus at Rome, to appoint Constantius as the most worthy successor to the throne. (Flav. Vopisque, Carus, XVII. Hist. Aug.) But because of his sudden death (see further) this plan remained unexecuted. In his place Diocles took up the purple the following year, and Constantius was flexible enough to defect to the new emperor after his victory over Carinus.

FROM MILITARY DICTATORSHIP TO EASTERN DESPOTY.

Diocletian was an Illyrian, as were his predecessors. But while they were only military men who protected the empire against barbarians and usurpers, he was also a skilled statesman. Only he succeeded in legitimizing the provisional, unstable military dictatorship into an absolute monarchy, and thus in internally strengthening the unity of the state.

Diocles, as he was initially called, was born in a Dalmatian town, possibly called Dioclea, as the son of a poor clerk, who was probably a free-born citizen, and not a freedman 8). He entered military service, went through all the ranks, became proconsul of Moesia, and even rose to consul. In 283 he accompanied, as "comes domesticorum" (court marshal), Emperor Carus on his expedition against the Persians. This man, in defiance of an old oracle, crossed the Euphrates, captured many cities of the enemy, among others the chief city of Ctesiphon, but then died suddenly, according to his soldiers struck by lightning as punishment for his disobedience to the gods.

But possibly his own courtiers murdered him and then set fire to his tent. (Hist. Aug. Carus, VIII). As his successor they chose his son Numerianus, who, although more gifted as a poet and orator, and weak of constitution, had nevertheless followed the army, and he was forced by the superstitious soldiers to return. But the time was not favorable for highly gifted minds, and so his rank became his ruin. His father-in-law, Arrius Aper, the prefect of the guard, kept him hidden for days, within the portable tent, supposedly to spare his sick eyes from the fierce sun. But at last the smell of putrefaction betrayed his death, the soldiers who carried him tore open the curtains, and found his body. His father-in-law, who had hoped to deprive him of the right to the throne, was suspected as the perpetrator, and bound.

In the first assembly of the soldiers Diocles was elected emperor, and he now latinized his name to Diocletian. He immediately avenged the death of Numerian by stabbing Arrius Aper with his own hand in the presence of all, while crying: This is the murderer! (284). In this way he himself fulfilled the prophecy of a Gallic druid, namely, that he would become emperor, if he would kill a boar (ape). After having hunted boars in many forests in vain, he had now found his right game, and killed it. (Hist. Aug. Numerian. XIX.) This manslaughter on the basis of a prophecy characterizes the fundamental trait of Diocletian's character: his fatalistic superstition. Because of this he attached himself strongly to divination, omnia, and oracles, which later even led him to his two greatest political mistakes: his persecution of Christians and his abdication. But at the beginning of his reign this fanaticism of fate gave him a strong self-confidence, by which he was able to overcome the hesitations of his shrewd, cautious, too controlled character.

His only legitimate and dangerous rival, Carinus, attacked him in Moesia and delivered him the battle at the Margus of Morawa. But when he was on the point of victory, he was already hated for his excesses, and was murdered by one of his tribunes, whose wife he had dishonored. Then his troops went over to Diocletian, and soon all the governors and officials of the empire—among them Constantius Chlorus, then proconsul of Pannonia and later Caesar—acknowledged the new emperor. He treated his former enemies very graciously; he took no possessions or dignities from anyone, so that he gained the respect of all and was able to rule for twenty years almost undisturbed by internal revolt.

But suddenly a dangerous revolt in Gaul surprised him, that of the Bagaudae 9) (286). This was a racial and class conflict between Celtic peasants and their oppressors, the Latinized nobles and Roman colonists, who exploited them as serfs and slaves from their cities and castles. Totally impoverished by the many civil wars and barbarian invasions, they finally refused to pay the rent, marched in bands of beggars to the cities, where they, together with the lower people, rose up against the government. These proletarian freebooters soon established themselves in the strong Augustodunum, where they elected Aelianus (Helianus) and Amandus as "emperors" and plundered and destroyed fields and villages in the vicinity. It was, besides a "Jacquerie" also the last attempt of the Gauls, after Vercingetorix, Posthumus and Tetricus, to restore their national independence.

But Diocles found advice. He appointed his old comrade Maximianus, a rough, boorish, illiterate Illyrian, but a good soldier, as co-Augustus and emperor of the West, and sent him to the rebellious province (1 April 286). He soon succeeded, supported by Gallic nobles and Roman colonists, in suppressing the movement. The situation now became even worse than before due to the cruelties and extortion and which the victor imposed on the unhappy country (286).

However, hardly had Gaul been reconquered when Britain fell away from the empire. There, the newly appointed Roman fleet commander Carausius, a skilled sailor from the Menapian 10) (North Brabant) coast, who had recently excelled in the battle against the Bagauds, had set himself up as usurper. From the booty of captured Germanic (=Saxon) pirate ships, he had collected capital that he did not return to the Roman treasury, but used to bribe the occupying army of his island to his service (287). He also found the native population there ready to support him.

Britain, where, despite the many fortresses and highways, Roman colonists, had never

- 133370 been permanently Latinized (like Gaul) both because of the great distance and climate and because of the national-religious opposition of the Druids. Moreover, Carausius, as a German, found allies in the Franks and Allemanni on the Rhine. While they invaded Gaul in the East, he ravaged the North Coast with his privateer fleets. Then the importance of Britain's insular position became apparent for the first time.
- 133375 Defended by a large fleet, it was virtually impregnable. Maximianus could therefore not reconquer it, made peace and even, to his disgrace, also recognized Carausius on behalf of his colleague the barbarian, as independent emperor of Britain (290), whereby he even retained Boulogne (Gessioracum or Bononia) as a base on the mainland.
- 133380 The supreme emperor had not agreed to this without necessity. For at the same time as in Britain, revolts broke out in Africa of the so-called five peoples (Quinquegentanae. Aur. Vict. 39, 21) and in Egypt of the usurper Achilleus. while in the East the Persians crossed the Euphrates. The difficult defence of these border regions and the uncertainty of the succession (because he had no son) now led Diocletian to a new division of the empire. In 291 he travelled from the East to Milan, summoned his co-emperor Maximianus Herculus, and expanded the already existing two-emperorship to a fourfold system or tetrachord (1 March 292). Under both augusti seated in Nicomedia (himself) and Milan (Maximianus Herculus) there came two caesares, one to guard the Rhine frontier, Julius
- 133390 Constantius Chlorus, with station in Trier, another, Maximianus Galerius, a former shepherd boy from Dacia for this Danube region. After the death or at least the abdication of the augusti they would be succeeded by the initial caesares. In order to establish an artificial bond of piety between the two, the Caesars had to repudiate their former wives and remarry the daughters of the Augusti. Thus Galerius married Diocletian's only daughter Valeria, who adopted his eldest son Candidianus from a former wife as her own child. Constantius Chlorus was coupled with Theodora, not really a daughter but an adopted stepdaughter of Maximianus Herculus. In order to marry this distinguished woman, he had to divorce the low-born Helena, Constantine's mother, and, flexible as he was, he obeyed the supreme emperor in this,
- 133400 for the sake of his career. With this choice Diocletian found a very benevolent, but also capable official, who certainly surpassed the other three princes in descent, culture and even in seniority of rank. For when Constantius was appointed Caesar, he had already served almost twenty years in the Roman empire and army. When, seven years later, he had become
- 133405 Caesar of the North-West as a reward for his transfer to the service of the new emperor, he was immediately given the honourable task, too difficult even for Maximian, of regaining the resurrected Britain. First he took from Carausius his naval base on the mainland of Boulogne (Gessioracum). Then he reconquered all the lands around the Rhine estuary, including the Batavian Island, from the Franks (294), in order to harass the Britons' Island from there, also on the North Sea side. In the meantime, however, Carausius was treacherously murdered by his confidant and chief officer Allectus, who seized power, but was not so popular with the army and people there. Constantius now hesitated no longer; he had his admiral Asclepiodotus sail safely from the Rhine estuary to southern England, and land there. Soon Allectus was
- 133415 defeated and killed, after which the island once again submitted to Rome (296). Now it remained for Constantius to deal with the Germanic plunderers from across the Rhine. Maximian had already chastised the Franks, Burgundians, Alemanni and Heruli around 287, but again in 298 the Alemanni invaded Gaul. Caesar defeated them at Langres, where most of them were killed, to the great joy of the Gallic population, who hated the destructive barbarians. Then the victor dragged his Germanic prisoners with women and children to northern Gaul, to use the depopulated fields, empty since the destruction of the Bagauden War as a coloni to rebuild. This was a politically dangerous mistake, because the repeated invasions kept the barbarians from outside on an understanding with those from within, so that Gaul threatened to become Germanic, which happened after a century. This measure was humane in any case, because
- 133425 according to the military law of that time, Constantius could also have killed the prisoners. Constantius also showed the same humanity in his later attitude towards the Christians. This tolerance was more in keeping with his character than with his religious veneration of the sun god Mithras, whom he served like the late Aurelian. But hardly had the Roman eagles been replanted in Britain, when the supreme emperor personally gathered his troops in Asia Minor for a campaign against Egypt, which had already risen ten years earlier (296). On this expedition he was accompanied by Constantius' eldest son Constantine, then 22 years old, and from his earliest youth (possibly since 285) as a page in the service of the supreme emperor, who held him as
- 133435 a hostage for his father's loyalty. (Euseb. Vit. Const. I 19 sqq.)

This long stay in courtly circle became a valuable political training for Constantine, as he initially enjoyed the full confidence of his elder prince, who initiated him into many "matters of state and war". Moreover, on the many journeys of Diocletian he learned from his own observation the conditions in the great empire, so that he grew into a capable statesman, who could later continue the work of his mentor.

But at the same time an expedition like this enriched his military routine and hardiness, and formed in him the future general. From an early age he excelled in shrewdness and courage. His stately figure also had something imposing, at least Eusebius, who at that time saw him marching through Palestine at the right hand of the emperor, testifies to it.

Thus the army of Diocletian, after a long journey over land, now finally stood on the edge of the apostate province.

The cause of this Egyptian uprising was the same as that of the rebellion that Aurelian had previously suppressed here (273), namely fierce dissatisfaction with the Roman tyranny of foreigners, and their unbearably heavy tax burden. Egypt, exploited for centuries as a private crown domain of the Roman emperors, for whom it had to supply grain free of charge to the world city, was consequently terribly

impoverished, famines among the fellahs, the servile rural population, who often had to suffer for the sake of the abundance of Rome, eventually led to the formation of desperate bands of robbers, such as the so-called Bucoli, who nestled at the mouth of the Nile, and privateers often prevented the export of grain. Although earlier emperors had defeated them, their robber state had secretly continued to exist, and now undoubtedly supported – although the sources do not mention this – the

Alexandrian Achilleus in his national uprising.

But also in Alexandria itself and the other large cities he could count on the support of the entire masses. Both parts of the population: the Hellenized upper classes and the still Coptic-speaking lower people, although often hostile to each other, nevertheless stood as Orientals, in national-Egyptian hatred, against the greedy Western invaders and their brutal imperialism.

Already then – as centuries later under Byzantium, and in modern times under the English protectorate – the slogan sounded: Egypt for the Egyptians!

But of course the emperor wanted nothing to do with it.

He marched in with his armies along the desert of Idumaea, to where the first pyramid spires cast their immensely long triangular shadows over the red-hot sand. Then the surprising contrast of the everywhere green fertile Nile Valley with its blond fields of corn and maize, where one had to wade through many rivers and marshes, banked by waving palms. But finally, after three days' journey, the gleaming white battlements and flat, sun-drenched roofs of the rebellious city, which, situated on a headland in the sea, believed itself impregnable.

Huge food supplies had been stored here: high-vaulted aqueducts connected it to the mainland and enabled it to withstand a long siege. The emperor was forced to surround it not only on land, but also from the sea by hastily equipped warships. As a result, when the supplies were exhausted, no more grain could be brought to the hungry, overcrowded city. And the emperor also cut off the water supply by destroying the aqueducts, so that the townspeople, surrounded by the waters of the ocean, were dying of thirst. Finally, after 8 months, the city surrendered.

The victor, embittered by impatience, ordered his soldiers to murder until the blood reached the knees of his horse. Immediately the men rushed in through the open gate, killing everyone they met.

But hardly had the emperor himself entered the city, when a horse slipped over the corpses, and waded with its knees in the blood. Immediately, according to the word once given, the murder was stopped. Only Achilles, brought prisoner before the emperor, had his purple torn off, and he and his entire brave garrison lost their heads on the scaffold. The soldiers were allowed to plunder to their heart's content in the houses of the rich; but the citizens, who escaped a general slaughter, later erected an iron statue in gratitude for the benevolent emperor's horse.

Then Diocletian marched south, conquered Koptos and Bousiris, and destroyed them completely. Now the entire country was incorporated as an ordinary province into the Roman empire (so no longer as a private crown domain) and divided into 3 districts. In the meantime, the emperor, on his march to Egypt, had left Max. Galerius with only a few divisions in Syria, to secure the Euphrates border against the Persians. With this people, and their king Narses, a war had already broken out since 286, because the Romans had restored their vassal Tiridates, the expelled Prince of Armenia, which the Persians had overrun, to the throne. But Tiridates' reign was short-lived, for ten years later his enemies reconquered his country. Now Galerius, supported by the

expelled king and his army, decided to attack the much larger Persian army in the sandy desert of Carrhae, where Crassus had already been defeated. Galerius also paid for his presumption with a defeat, but, like his Armenian ally, escaped from the battle alive.

When now the supreme emperor returned from Egypt, and his general wanted to join him again with this message of Job, the emperor refused to speak to him at first, and made the proud man, purple-clad, walk several miles behind his carriage. (Eutrop. IX. 24). It is probable that Constantine, who accompanied the emperor everywhere as an adjutant officer, witnessed this scene, and this explains the later hatred of Galerius against him.

However, his disfavour was not lasting, for he had the opportunity to correct his mistake. New troops of veterans and recruits had soon been raised in Illyria 11), and had crossed over to Asia Minor, and with these Galerius was able to greatly strengthen his weak army, consisting mainly of Orientals, and to undertake a second campaign against the Persians right through Armenia (297). He defeated them in a night raid. Their king Narses fled, wounded. All the women of his harem, his sisters and children, as well as a very rich booty, fell into the hands of the Romans. The king's relatives, however rough in nature, Galerius treated with knightly gentleness, but kept them as hostages. Soon peace was established, whereby the Araxes or Aboras (now Aras) became a border river in the northeast, while 5 provinces east of the Tigris were ceded to the Romans. Furthermore, west of the Araxes, the Roman vassal state of Armenia, with Tiridates as king, was restored.

Presumably, shortly after this peace, the relatives of King Narses were sent back to their country in freedom, and did not, as Eusebius fables (Eus. Hieron. Chronicon), grace the triumph of Diocletian in Rome. For an excellent understanding developed between the Persians and the Romans, which would last for another forty years, almost until the death of Constantine.

After having thus brought the empire to rest and all his enemies to submission, the emperor returned and established his residence at Nicomedia (Greek Nikomedeia), situated opposite Byzantium on the Propontis.

Rome was unusable for that purpose. For all future influence of the praetorians there and of the senate, which Diocletian never consulted again, had to be eliminated. For Diocletian wished to elevate his military dictatorship to a permanent autocracy. And he could accomplish this better than in Rome, in the East, which had been ruled despotically since ancient times. Here, in his new residence, he built a magnificent palace (villa publica), and introduced a complicated court ceremonial, borrowed from the example of the Persian kings, whose customs he had become intimately acquainted with thanks to Galerius' campaign. Convinced of the heavenly origin of his family, he called himself "Jovius", and, less out of pride than out of knowledge of people, had himself worshipped as a deity towards his mainly Eastern subjects, who were accustomed to this from their princes. For the Romans of that time this was something unheard of. For, although sacrifices had been made to the genii (guardian spirits) of the living emperors since Augustus, it was only after their death that they were generally worshipped as gods. They therefore saw in Diocletian's act the hubris of a parvenu, compared to Caligula and Domitian. Yet they had to admit that he did not behave despotically 12), but fatherly. It was therefore a very wise policy that he, the former soldier emperor committed, to increase the splendor of his court, and to instill in his subjects a respect for his person. Henceforth, even under his successors, the emperor was safe from hostile attacks. A large staff of soldiers and eunuchs guarded his palace, where he sat enthroned in a choice robe of pure gold thread, with sandals, heavy with precious stones, like a sacred idol, inaccessible to the profane people. (Aur. Vict. Epit. 39.)

Because of the enormous costs of court, official travels, and military expenditure, the tax burden had to be considerably increased. However, since the people had been greatly impoverished by the many civil wars and military extortions, and tax evasion was becoming increasingly common, a stricter, more effective control of the collection of taxes was necessary. For this purpose, the empire had to be reorganized into a large, autocratic civil service state (approximately like the Russian Tsarist Empire). To this end, the tetrachord [=tetrarchy] or the division into four under 2 Augusti and 2 Caesars served first.

Each of these four emperors was assisted by a praefectus praetoris or prime minister, who, like them, was not bound to a specific region, but travelled around for inspection purposes.

However, from then on he was only charged with civil administrative affairs, so that already under Diocletian (and not only under Constantine 13) we get a separation between civil and military administration, at least in this one office, and not in

the lower ranks.

It is possible that the murder of his predecessor Numerian by such a prefect (then still a general) caused the new emperor to curtail this office. A further division, which maintained itself throughout the fourth century, including under Constantine (except for minor changes), was the division into 12 dioceses (later 13), namely: I. Oriens (the East), i.e. Libya, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, from which Egypt and Libya were later split off as a separate diocese;

II. Pontus. III. Asia. IV. Thrace.

V. Moesia (with Macedonia and Greece), which under Constantine was more correctly called Macedonia.

VI. Pannonia or Illyricum. VII. Britain.

VIII. Gaul (i.e. present-day northern France, Belgium and the Rhine regions).

IX. Vienna. i.e. southern France.

X. Italy. XI. Spain. XII. Africa 14).

At the head of each diocese or group of provinces stood a deputy prefect or vicarius praefectorum praetorio (or simply: vicarius) as civil and military governor, who in turn had the military-civil governors or proconsules of the larger provinces and the praesides of the smaller provinces under him.

The cities lost much of their former self-government, and came under stricter central control. Although they still retained their local senate, elected from the hereditary class of decurions or notables (cf. the regents in our later republics), they were henceforth governed by the military-civil city governors or praefecti urbium.

The old republican offices of the city of Rome, already of little importance, were now partly abolished; partly reduced to honorary positions, granted by the emperor, such as the consulship and membership of the senate (not to be confused with the hereditary status of senators or perfectissimi).

Thus all officials, from high to low, were appointed indirectly or directly by the supreme emperor who, as an earthly Jupiter, was only responsible to his heavenly colleague for the well-being of his subjects.

PAGAN EMPEROR AND CHRISTIANITY.

Typical of Diocletian, but entirely in keeping with his system, is his predilection for the old Roman state religion, and his complete disregard for the religion of the army: the worship of Mithras, which bordered on monotheism. Only one of his co-regents, the Caesar Constantius Chlorus, was committed to this latter doctrine; the other two blindly followed their supreme emperor in his religious preference. Thus the Augustus Maximianus particularly revered Hercules, and therefore called himself Herculus, just as Diocletianus was called Jovius after his Jupiter service.

But especially Galerius, like Maximianus raised from Illyrian farmer to soldier emperor, almost surpassed his father-in-law Diocles in zeal for the old paganism and strengthened him in this by his ever-increasing influence.

Both watched with concern the spread of new non-national religions. The Manicheans, a dangerous sect for that time, who openly honored Evil as the creative world principle, and thereby threatened to bring about a revolution in social concepts as well, were burned at the stake by imperial edict (296). The Christians were still spared, possibly through the intercession of Valera and her mother Prisca, who tolerated many of them in her entourage at the court in Nicomedia, where they, like Galerius, lived together with the emperor. But for how long?

At the court, pagan priests, demon exorcists, astrologers and especially diviners gained increasing power.

From the entrails of doves, the superstitious emperor attempted to fathom the hidden future secrets of time, as fast as a bird and uncapturable by any human brain.

His son-in-law Galerius, not an intellectual, of rustic origin, but an excellent soldier and also a strong, impressive figure, followed the emperor in his worship of the gods, and became more and more a person of authority at court. The old, decrepit ruler gradually listened to him, much more than to his own wife Prisca and his daughter Valeria, who had to hide her Christian sympathies more and more.

Now it was this conservative counselor who, as a representative of the military, mostly servants of Mithras, drove the emperor to persecute Christians.

Yet Lactantius clearly exaggerates when he presents Galerius as a bully of an iron-eater, who with his thundering bass voice tyrannized the old emperor so much that he would have forced him both to persecute Christians and to abdicate.

For elsewhere he (Lactantius) asserts that Galerius was guided by his fiercely pagan mother Romula, born in Dacia, and by his faithful friend and brother-in-arms Licinius, the later enemy of Constantine. Moreover, our informant himself mentions other advisers who drove the supreme emperor to this decision.

For, not only among the military (such as Galerius), not only among the common people, but also among the intellectuals, such as most officials, jurists and rhetoricians, Christianity was hated. And many of them belonged to the closest confidants of the emperor.

For example, great influence was exerted by a certain Hierocles 17) ex-vicarius of the East, and then at the time president of Bithynia, who continually tried to incite Diocletian against the Christians. Presumably he was also the author of a now lost Greek work "To the Christians", against which Lactantius later polemized in his *Divinae Institutiones* (V, 2). In this work the pagan writer attacked the Bible as a book full of contradictions and called Jesus' disciples crude, uncultured and therefore unreliable. He placed the miracles of Jesus far below the magic arts of the pagan savior Apollonius of Thyana, and refused to regard him as a God, even on the basis of those few miracles, as the Christians did.

Yet his tone was not aggressive, but as is evident from the subtitle φιλαλληδεις the truth-loving who carried his books 18), he wanted to convince his opponents with objective truth.

But where does this general hostility towards Christianity come from, both among the government and the people?

The mostly pagan people hated them first of all because of their open contempt for all other religions. But also because it was mainly Semites (Jews, Syrians, Africans) who were initially the bearers and propagators. Time and again in the first and second centuries a loud demand for persecution sounded "Christiani ad leones", just as wildly unreasonable as modern pogroms in Eastern Europe and anti-Semitic witch hunts in the West. Domitian had also persecuted Christians as a Jewish sect. But during the Syrian and African emperors at the beginning of the third century this changed. Gradually, native Romans and Greeks formed the majority of Christians, so that they were still unpopular, but not as strongly hated as before. This was due to their tireless internal mission, their exploitation of every martyrdom as a proselytizer and above all: their excellent organization, against which paganism, fragmented into countless sects, could not compete.

It was precisely their organization that made them dangerous to the state in the eyes of the secular authorities. The refusal of the Christians to sacrifice on the imperial altars had therefore been more a pretext than the actual cause of earlier persecutions. No, the reason why the emperors feared them was their tightly knit church association, branched out over the entire empire, through which they had power over thousands and formed, as it were, a state within the state.

This was as intolerable to them as, for example, the privileged power of the Huguenots was later for Richelieu.

Only a slight weakening of the central absolutist authority, only a greater spread of Christianity would be necessary to turn the bishops into local princes. Further history, the emergence of the secular power of the pope and prelates, has proven this. Galerius' only, repeated advice to his father-in-law must therefore be: Suppress Christianity with all your might, before it is too late.

The emperor also became increasingly ill-disposed towards the new religion, but while Galerius, as a swashbuckler, wanted to strike at it immediately, he himself, as an experienced statesman, was more cautious. After all, there were still many Christians at court or in the army. They had to be removed first, in order to be able to trust both powers completely.

A pretext for dechristianizing the palace was soon found. The failure of a sacrificial divination was attributed to Christian courtiers, who had crossed themselves and thus angered the gods. That this was only a pretext of Diocletian and not the real cause (as O. Seeck, for example, assumes), follows from the fact that he had admitted Christian courtiers on all possible occasions for 15 years, and that he could therefore have complained about their crossing themselves much earlier. Now he seized only a welcome opportunity to destroy the Christian influence in his palace. Namely, he made sacrifices obligatory for all courtiers, including his own Christian-minded wife Prisca. Most of them then converted to paganism - at least outwardly - but a few, who remained Christians, remained tolerated in the palace despite the emperor's threats.

Then - on the pretext that the pagan old Roman rite was necessary for the battle - all Christians were expelled from the army. This was necessary to ensure the loyalty of the troops in case of trouble.

But Galerius, the fanatic pagan, was not satisfied with this. He urged absolute, strict persecution across all classes of the empire. The cautious old man resisted him for a long time and pointed out "how pernicious it would be to disturb the whole world and shed the blood of many" 19).

133700 Nevertheless, he agreed to convene a secret council of jurists and military men to
deliberate on the matter. Here Galerius found the greatest support. Still, the
emperor wanted to consult the oracle of Apollo in his pagan superstition, just to be
on the safe side. Only when he replied "as an enemy of the divine religion" 19), did
the persecution begin, which the emperor initially did not intend to be bloody, but
133705 which soon degenerated into the greatest horrors due to a fatal coincidence.
The first act of persecution was: the evacuation of a church, where all the holy
scriptures that were found there were burned. Then the building was demolished to the
ground. This happened on the dies Terminalis, the day sanctified to the god of
boundaries. The superstitious emperor wanted to put a limit or end to Christianity
133710 with this (23 February 303).
The next day the actual edict of humiliation was openly posted. Hereby religious
gatherings were forbidden to Christians, orders were given to demolish or close their
churches, to have their holy scriptures handed over and burned, and they were denied
access to honorary offices and state positions. Furthermore, no Christian slave could
133715 be legally freed, and sacrifice was made obligatory for litigants in court, so that
no Christian could ever act as an accuser, while torture was also permitted against
privileged Christians (from the higher classes).
When a Christian had torn off this placard in mockery, he was arrested and died as
the first martyr. Of course, now that blood had been shed, bitterness increased on
133720 both sides.
Afterwards, a fire broke out twice in the wing of the palace where the emperor lived.
Galerius blamed this – and probably rightly – on vengeful Christians. Some court
officials (Petrus Dorotheus and Gorgonius), suspected of this, were tortured and
killed. Yes, the emperor, deeply angry because they had wanted to burn him alive in
133725 his own house, now committed the injustice, the guilt of a few, to blame all the
Christians in Nicomedia. They were dragged before the court as arsonists, tortured
and put to death. The number of martyrs who fell for their faith was enormous. Of
course, the sacred legend later took possession of it, so that in the saints' stories
the names of Adrian and Genesius are handed down to us. Adrian was a judge in
133730 Nicomedia and was converted to their religion by the steadfast behavior of the
Christians, who refused to renounce their faith with the obligatory sacrifice before
the tribunal, and was then executed himself. Genesius was the court actor of the
emperor, who had the task of portraying the death of Adrian tragically on stage,
to the disgrace of the Christians. But through his role he had so empathized with the
133735 true character of the martyr that he was moved and suddenly "struck by divine grace".
Thus, in the last act of the play of opportunity, he heroically confessed his new
faith before emperor and court, and found his martyrdom in death by fire. These
legends, however strikingly testifying to the hellish atmosphere of blood and flames
that then blazed through the East, will probably not have happened. For otherwise the
133740 Christian apologist Lactantius, who appears to be so well informed about the
conditions in Nicomedia at that time and is prone to anecdotes and melodramatic
exaggeration, would have given the names of such famous martyrs.
After this severe punishment in the court city, the emperor heard news of a revolt in
Syria, where a usurper Eugenius threw himself up. This was probably the work of
133745 discharged, bread-robbed Christian soldiers. At least Diocletian believed it to be
so, and after suppressing the revolt he decided to intensify the persecution
throughout the empire. He ordered his co-Augustus, his two Caesars and his proconsuls
to arrest all Christians – from the bishops down to the lowest parishioner – and to
force them to convert to paganism by every conceivable torture.
133750 But the practical execution of this decree ("rescript") varied everywhere.
The Western Augustus, Maximianus, a personal enemy of Galerius, whose advice had not
been sought in the matter of the persecution, (more out of a sense of being offended
than of pity) troubled the Christians as little as possible, and contented himself
with closing their churches and demanding their holy scriptures. His Caesar, the
133755 tolerant Constantius Chlorus, did the same.
But in the East and in Africa, where fanatically pagan proconsuls ruled, countless
new means were invented to torture the unfortunate. Red-hot grills, open desecration
of virgins, cutting off the breasts of women, no horror was too low for them against
this hated sect.
133760 The prisons became overcrowded, so that of the newly introduced Christians the men
had to be sent as forced laborers in the mines, and the women sold as white slaves to
brothel keepers. And in the meantime they were tortured repeatedly in court. For
example, Bishop Donatus of Carthage, who spent the entire persecution in prison and
was meanwhile put to the rack eight times.
133765 But that persecution was at the same time a purification in the ranks of the

faithful. The unconvinced and indifferent fell away (lapsi) to paganism in large numbers, or handed over their holy scriptures out of fear (traditores). The rest formed a fervent, God-consecrated crowd, who, comforting death, gladly died with the name of Christ on their lips. Like a terrible plague epidemic, pagan intolerance raged, gathering its last strength, against the new religion. Galerius, the conservative, had thus got his way. His influence on the decrepit, superstition-bewildered supreme emperor also grew ever greater.

He had been deeply shocked by the events of the last few years. Even courtiers, whom he had previously trusted most, he had murdered, out of fear for the Christians; their entire sect with all its adherents had been imprisoned and tortured. And still it was of no avail; the cunning Christian god continued to support his followers in their stubborn resistance to the emperor and the gods of the state.

As an industrious investigator of the future, both from bird signs and constellations, and tormented by evil premonitions, he therefore believed that all this did not bode well, neither for the further reign of himself, the earthly Jupiter, nor for his colleague up there in the Olympian heaven. Moreover, he longed to throw off the enormous blood-guilt that he had loaded on his conscience, with the burden of authority and the responsibility for further persecution.

This last was precisely the wish of his son-in-law Galerius, who, himself ambitiously longing for the throne, did everything to support the old man in his plan to abdicate after the celebration of his Vicennalia. On this twentieth jubilee of reign, in 303 at Rome, where Maximianus Herculus had also appeared, he too was forced by the supreme emperor (but on the advice of Galerius) to take the solemn oath to abdicate at the same time. He himself, Galerius, would become supreme emperor; Constantius Chlorus his co-Augustus. As future caesars he managed to get two creatures of his own, Severus for the West and Maximinus Daza for the East, appointed. This with clear disregard for the young, ambitious Constantine, who was then first lieutenant 20) in the emperor's bodyguard, and had certainly counted on becoming Caesar one day. But Galerius had made him fall into disgrace with the emperor, because he had dared to disapprove of the needless murders against the Christians.

He probably also feared him as a future rival. At least he deliberately sent him with too few troops on a dangerous expedition against the Dacians, in the hope of having him killed. But Constantine prevailed and remained alive.

In the meantime Diocletian, after returning from his journey to Rome, had fallen ill from fatigue, and had publicly abdicated the throne in Nicomedia; Maximianus Herculus also against his will in Milan. Thus Galerius was the new lord of the earth. He summoned his officer Constantine to the court and demanded his oath of allegiance. He came and fulfilled it. But at the palace the suspicious Galerius held him virtually hostage, possibly in order to have a pledge of loyalty from his father, his newly appointed co-Augustus Constantius. When he nevertheless summoned his son to the West, and the supreme emperor still did not want to let him go, Constantine decided to escape.

At the earliest dawn, when court and ruler were still asleep, he travelled, after having bribed the coachman-postmaster, disguised in his uniform, in the carriage of the imperial postal service. In order to escape all persecution, at each new station, where the horses were unharnessed and exchanged for fresh ones, he had the newly used ones killed. 21) Thus he reached the Bosphorus and from there sailed to the other side, after a long and adventurous journey through Thrace, Illyria, Germania and Gaul, to the seashore at Boulogne. Then he crossed over to England, where his father was staying, with whom he was safe from the attacks of Galerius.

THE RISE OF CONSTANTINE.

With Constantine, after Julius Caesar, the greatest general-statesman in Roman history enters the scene. In vain did Eusebius try to make him into an eye-twisting bigot; in vain did the Greek-Catholic church try to adorn his emperor's head with a totally superfluous wreath of saints. He was no saint and not even a pious one, he was simply a great, amoral statesman, who by all his qualities, both his so-called "virtues" and his "flaws" was predestined to rule in his time.

He had already his appearance. We can only guess, since his head is idealized on coins and the only so-called statue of Constantine, originating from his triumphal arch in Rome (where it stood on top) was not actually sculpted after him, but after Trajan (it stood on his triumphal arch), and only later, as best as it could, was updated after Constantine!!! So let us, out of necessity, rely on descriptions. Well-built and broad-shouldered, with the sturdy Illyrian type inherited from his father, he carried on his muscular neck a head that, with its flaming yet motionless eyes and regular features, was at once endearing and awe-inspiring.

Tireless on long marches, impetuous and always at the forefront of the attack, even to the point of recklessness, he was also a calculating strategist. Beloved by his men, he nevertheless accustomed them to such strict discipline that they never dared to plunder or even rob prisoners without his permission. Accustomed from an early age to bloodshed, he despised pity as a weakness and was needlessly cruel. Married early, he remained free from debauchery.

As a statesman he understood the art of dissimulation excellently, which makes both his frequent breach of faith and his later outward Christian disposition understandable. But he knew how to cover this tendency to hypocrisy with a gracious smile of his face, which he wore clean-shaven to resemble Mithras-Helios-Apollo, his favorite god.

But above all he was feared by his demonic power of sympathy-radiation and will-imposition over millions, whereby everything bowed down to his ruthless ambition, just as Napoleon later did.

No wonder then that almost immediately upon his arrival in Britain he managed to take his father's army for himself. He arrived just in time. The old Constantius Chlorus, still, despite his appointment as Augustus, in England because of war, felt his end approaching and had therefore called his son to him. His children from the second marriage were still minors and in Constantine he saw the only one who could continue his work when he died. But still the old man was still strong enough to hold a victorious campaign against the Picts and Scots in the North together with his son. After this last effort he died at Eboracum (York) (306). This greatly disappointed his half-barbarian legions. They had hoped, after Constantius became Augustus, to march to the rich South, where booty and fortune could be gained, and now he was dead! But it was still possible, if his excluded son became their leader. What did they care about the ban of the dismissed Diocles! Nowonder then that, at the instigation of the Alemannic officer Ercus, they threw the imperial purple over Constantine's shoulders when he left the mortuary. Weeping as he spurred his horse, the latter would have tried to escape this. 22) It moved him that these rough, rough-bearded veterans now transferred their loyalty to his recently deceased father to him, the barely known son, but he probably thought it was unrespectful towards his father to accept the purple so soon. Or were they tears of joy over the rapid satisfaction of his ambition, which he still concealed under false modesty? Whatever the case, he soon overcame his hesitation and sent messengers to Galerius to obtain his recognition. In the same year he crossed the sea and drove the Franks, who had invaded Gaul by breaking the peace, back across the Rhine, after which he plundered and devastated their country, especially that of the Bructeri, as punishment. All the cattle were plundered, the villages set on fire, so that only a few refugees (with women and children?) could escape into the rough refuge of the forests. Two Germanic kings, Ascaricus and Regaisus, with most of their able-bodied men were captured and, in celebration of his first triumph, the emperor had these blond barbarians thrown to the bears in his arena at Trier. So great was the number of these half-naked wretches, huddled together with fear, that they exhausted the wild beasts with their mass of flesh 23).

Despite this cruelty, even contrary to the then military custom of sparing captured princes, the fearful Gallic eulogist praises the gladly flattered emperor, that with this bloody deed he had done exemplary fear spread among the enemies of the empire. Who were the real "barbarians" here, Romans or Germans? 24).

In the meantime, Galerius, who himself had too few troops to fight Constantine there in the very North, had of necessity acquiesced in his usurpation, but did not recognize him as Augustus, but as Caesar. He was therefore under Severus, who would now become emperor of the West from Caesar. But since he was still harmlessly in the East, Constantine accepted that appointment.

A logical consequence of this later legitimate usurpation was that the also excluded son of the ex-emperor Maximilianus also obtained the purple in Rome. But this one, Maxentius, never received the legitimate recognition of Galerius for it, so that, unlike Constantine, he remained from the beginning to the end: the "tyrannus" or usurper.

What kind of man was Maxentius? His appearance was – but by his enemies – ridiculed as contemptibly small, and with weak, crooked legs 25). About his character all informants are almost in agreement. Unbalanced son of a thoroughly barbaric Illyrian father, and a probably highly cultured Syrian mother, Eutropia, he had inherited from the first his pride, cruelty, superstition and gross pleasure-seeking, from the second his cunningly intriguing ambition. Out of antipathy to his father [he] lived lazily and dissolutely on his estate, 6 miles outside Rome. But Constantine's elevation aroused his envy, and spurred him on to follow his example. Perhaps he

thought the emperorship an easy means to even more extravagant excesses than he was accustomed to. Cowardice, however, prevented him from setting himself up as ruler openly at this stage. For the time being he preferred to continue to intrigue behind the scenes, for safety's sake. For he was not a will-less creature of the praetorians, as O. Seeck wrongly claims (cf. Zosimus, II, 9). His passivity at his elevation was only apparent. He simply waited to see what would happen. By distributing grain free of charge he already won followers among the people; by financial bribes among the praetorians.

Now both parties, bodyguard and citizenry, were already extremely dissatisfied in advance that Rome was no longer an imperial city; the bodyguard because its former role of palace revolution and creating new emperors had been played out; while the trading people did not earn much since the disappearance of the court and the senate remained excluded from political influence. 26)

One rightly attributes the general decline of Rome to the transfer of the government to the provinces 26). When, as a sign of Constantine's recognition by Galerius, his new Caesar statue was exhibited in Rome, the people and soldiers rioted. They wanted their own emperor in Rome. Under the leadership of the tribunes Marcellus and Marcellinus and the aedile Lucianus, all henchmen of the still invisible Maxentius, the hated quaestor Abellius, 26) who tried to thwart their plans, was murdered as a supporter of Galerius. Then a troop of praetorians went to the estate of Maxentius and offered him, exactly what he had wanted, the imperial purple. Honored in Rome, he soon received the support of all Italy, where people everywhere were upset about the far-reaching privileges of the provinces and wanted a return to the earliest imperial period.

But Galerius could not acquiesce in this new usurpation. He sent his fellow Augustus Severus (legitimate successor of Constantius Chlorus) to Italy, to subdue the rebellious capital again. Now Maxentius was in need. In mortal fear of a murderous defeat, he called upon the help of his father, who was still grieving over his abdication on an estate in Lucania. The old Maximianus agreed to help his son, but only on condition that he himself would become Augustus again. Thereupon he took the old purple cloak, although somewhat moth-eaten, out of his wardrobe again, and thus dressed went to his anxious son in Rome, who approved of everything.

But his intervention had an unexpected result. Severus' troops consisted largely of the so-called Moorish (Mauretanian) regiments, who had once fought under Maximianus in his African war. When they now heard that it was not only against Maxentius, but also against his father, their old emperor and general, to whom they had once sworn loyalty, they refused to fight him and (moreover, lured by promises of reward) deserted to him just before the walls of the capital, which they were to besiege. Severus had to flee hastily to Ravenna. Here Maxentius, who dreaded a long siege, managed to lure him out from behind the walls, under the pretext of personal negotiations. But once in his camp, he captured him, and although the old Maximian had promised him his life, after the latter's departure for Gaul the unfortunate Severus was deceived by the untrustworthy Maxentius treacherously murdered. To avenge his death, the angry Galerius himself led a new army against the usurper. But here too, Maxentius's henchmen penetrated, who scattered gold lavishly among the soldiers, so that these troops, too, having been bribed, largely defected to him. Looting in revenge, Galerius withdrew with the rest.

Meanwhile, the relationship between father and son had become increasingly worse. Now that the danger was over, Maxentius no longer needed his father, who had actually saved him. Ungrateful and piety enough, he tried to rid himself of his troublesome co-ruler and paternal supervision.

But the father also did the same to his son. In the army, again thinned down to mere praetorians – the Moorish regiments had to suppress a revolt in Africa – he declared Maxentius unfit for supreme command. According to another informant, he even attempted to tear the purple from his shoulders. This made his own striving for absolute power crystal clear.

Of course, the soldiers, obliged to him by Maxentius' gifts, responded to the old man with a howl of mocking protest. Then he saved himself by claiming that he had simply wanted to gauge the feelings of the army towards his son out of fatherly love 27). Yet he thought it safer to flee to Gaul. Here, disappointed in his ambition, he wanted to try with Constantine what he had failed with his son. His youngest daughter Fausta was to serve as bait for this. 28) (The eldest, actually his stepdaughter, had been married off much earlier, to Constantius Chlorus).

With this marriage and the title of Augustus, Maximianus attempted to win Constantine over to his plan to make him supreme emperor. But after the wedding day, when the booty was finally in, his son-in-law did not lift a hand for him. About this time

- 133965 Galerius, desperate after his failed expedition against Maxentius, called a congress at Carnuntum, to which besides Diocletian, Maximianus Herculus was also invited. When these two old comrades-in-arms met again, they felt only too clearly how much the years had separated them. What a contrast between the resigned hermit of Salona, who had chosen a quiet solitude above world domination, and the restless, still ambitious ex-emperor of the West! In vain did Galerius and Maximianus attempt to
- 133970 persuade their former overlord to ascend the throne again and put an end to the confusion by his authority. "If you saw my vegetables in Salona, which I have grown with my own hands, you would immediately judge that I should never attempt this," was his answer 29). Yes, he and the interested Galerius even managed to persuade the ex-emperor of the West to put down the usurped purple again.
- 133975 After all, their time was over. Instead of Severus, who had been murdered (by Maxentius), Galerius managed to get an old comrade appointed to the new August of the West: Licinius, who had distinguished himself with him on a campaign in Dacia. Diocles returned to his vegetable gardens in Dalmatia, but his ex-colleague went to Gaul. Still bitter about his loss of power, he soon felt regret about his promise and
- 133980 decided to carry out a coup d'état here. He took advantage of the absence of his son-in-law, who was fighting the Franks and Alemanni again in the North, by seizing the crown treasury and war chest and settling in the strong Arelatum (Arles). But Constantine returned quickly to thwart his plan. He fled to Massilia. His recruited mercenaries, however, delivered him to the
- 133985 besieger. After the latter, at the entreaties of his wife, had spared Maximianus' life and released him, the gray-haired schemer attempted to murder his son-in-law in his bedroom. But his daughter Fausta managed to get the secret of the plot out of him and betrayed it to her husband, whose life she preferred to save rather than spare her father's any longer. A crippled and useless eunuch was placed in the marital bed
- 133990 instead of Constantine, and his son-in-law and daughter, hidden behind a curtain, witnessed how the old Maximianus, having crept into the room at night, stabbed his supposed enemy with his own hands. (Lact. de mort, c. XXX). Caught red-handed, the old man was sentenced to a death of his own choosing. He had himself strangled. (According to others, he was hanged by Constantine.)
- 133995 This left only two rivals in the West: Constantine and Maxentius. For Licinius, though the lawfully appointed Augustus of the West, found it safer for the time being (for want of troops?) to remain in the East, at the court of Galerius, and behaved as if he would succeed him one day.
- 134000 This was soon to happen. Galerius was dying of an incurable disease, probably in the last stage of syphilis 30). His Christian-minded wife Valeria naturally attributed this disease to God's avenging hand and persuaded him to finally stop the persecution of Christians.
- 134005 Galerius, although he remained a pagan, still wanted to reconcile himself with the apparently angry Christian god and agreed, especially because the aim of the persecution, mass conversion of the "unbelievers" to paganism, had failed. So he issued the edict of tolerance of 311, which breathes impotent resentment rather than reconciliation and is especially remarkable because of its superstitious request to the Christians to pray to their so powerful God for his healing. But in vain, he died in the same year and was succeeded by Licinius as supreme emperor, who, like
- 134010 Constantine, had also signed the edict. Only Maxentius, the unrecognized usurper of Italy, and Maximinus Daja, the former Caesar of the East, who had been passed over for the sake of Licinius, did not participate. Maxentius, who had initially spared the Christians in order to annoy Galerius, suddenly became a persecutor of Christians after his edict of tolerance, thereby simply playing into Constantine's hands.
- 134015 Maximinus Daja, who had been deprived of the succession of the East by Licinius, declared war on him. But the other, although stronger, did not yet feel ready for battle and managed to persuade Daja to a provisional reconciliation through personal negotiations on a ship in the Hellespont. Licinius was confirmed in his possession of the Balkan peninsula; Maximinus Daja, now also called Augustus, retained the rest of
- 134020 the East with its capital Nicomedia, thus by far the most important part. This Maximinus Daja is presented to us (by Lactantius and Aurelius Victor) as a half-barbaric young man of rustic origin, who by his rough determination and convinced paganism had managed to work his way high into the favour of Galerius. He had at least not been inferior to him in inhuman Christian tortures, and even after the
- 134025 latter's edict of toleration (311) he continued them secretly and unlawfully. According to Lactantius this was due to his innate wickedness, but the pagan Aurelius Victor excuses his crimes as mostly committed in drunkenness. Then he would have fits of the cruellest bloodthirstiness and the lowest lusts; he would put innocent people of both sexes to the torture rack in order to extort money from them, and had

- 134030 beautiful women and boys from the neighbourhood robbed to extravagant excesses. But being conscious of his addiction to drink, he had sincerely requested his servants never to carry out his orders until he was sober again. For then he usually felt remorse, if he had committed misdeeds. He apparently suffered periodically from that
- 134035 Caesarian madness of alternately brutal enjoyment and destruction, a disease that has brought down so many half-civilized rulers from the throne that was too high for them.
- After the death of his predecessor Galerius, his first act was to seize the imperial palace in Nicomedia. For he had cast his lustful eyes on Valeria, the empress dowager. Was it only for her personal charm, as Lactantius wants? I think there was
- 134040 another, political reason for it. After all, it was to her favorable influence that the Christians owed the edict of tolerance of the dying Galerius. Now, after his death, the authority of that sect, which Maximinus Daja hated more than anything else, threatened to increase rapidly, as both princesses increasingly surrounded themselves with Christian followers. It was therefore in self-defense that he had to try – with gentleness or otherwise with violence – to persuade her to marry him, the
- 134045 fanatical pagan, in order to openly show her transition. To this end he even offered her to repudiate his own wife. But she refused with great dignity, "because the ashes of her dead husband were still lukewarm". (Lact. de mort., c. 39). Then the tyrant took other measures. It could not or not only have been revenge for love, as
- 134050 Lactantius wants, but he wanted to strike in her above all the protector of Christians. Had she truly been a good pagan, then he would have committed unnecessary cruelty with her persecution, against the daughter of his old benefactor and fellow believer Diocletian and therefore against Daja's own interest. Now his act of revenge coincided with and was probably similar to his renewed persecution against the
- 134055 Christians 31). He expropriated Valeria's palace and other possessions and had her eunuchs and slaves tortured before her eyes. Two of her married friends – probably Christians, who had supported her in her resistance – he had (according to Lactantius) accused of adultery by a bribed Jew and delivered them to the hands of the executioner. Valeria herself was banished with her mother Prisca to an oasis in
- 134060 the Syrian desert. From there they wrote desperate letters to her husband and father Diocletian, to free them both through his mediation. The old man sent numerous letters of entreaty to Maximinus Daja, but received no answer. He then sent one of his relatives as a messenger, but without effect.
- One can understand how all this: the ill-treatment of his own wife and daughter, the
- 134065 usurpations of Constantine and Maxentius, the executioner's death of his former brother-in-arms Maximianus Herculus, embittered the lonely ex-emperor and disturbed his dream of a happy, quiet old age in seclusion.
- In the meantime, Maxentius had considerably weakened his position in Rome, both by
- 134070 his persecution of Christians, which had suddenly begun in 311 (about which earlier), and by his growing unpopularity with the Senate and the people.
- When this government college expressed dissatisfaction with his autocratic conduct, he began judicial murders against senators, which enabled him to immediately
- 134075 confiscate their property. He even dared to shamelessly indulge his tyrannical lusts by abducting and abusing daughters and wives from the highest circles. (Zonaras even mentions a Lucretia story about this).
- His quaestors were also guilty of extortion in the levying of taxes.
- Finally, the lower classes also saw themselves mistreated by his soldiers. This
- 134080 happened, for example, during the burning of the temple of Fortuna. A large crowd rushed to extinguish the fire, but a soldier shouted curses against the goddess and was lynched by the angry people. (Zos. II, 13). In revenge, the praetorians now committed a bloody massacre among the crowd, which was only stopped after great difficulty by Maxentius.
- Only one province made an attempt to free itself from his oppressive tyranny, namely
- 134085 Africa. Here the governor Alexander, a Pannonian (Aur. Vit.) or a Phrygian (Zosimus), was clothed with the purple by the troops despite his age and his military incapacity. Maxentius then immediately sent a chastening army under the command of Rufius Volusianus to Carthage. He soon suppressed the uprising, captured the usurper and had him strangled. The victors then behaved here as if in a conquered country.
- After denunciators had betrayed all the rich who had been in contact with Alexander,
- 134090 the soldiers plundered their houses and murdered them, after which their money was confiscated in favor of Maximinus. Entire districts of the city were destroyed. Surrounding cities also shared this fate, such as Cirta, which later had to be rebuilt under Constantine and was then baptized "Constantina" (tgw. Constantine).
- Maxentius triumphed over the booty he had won in Rome, in which he tried to imitate
- 134095 the old enmity against the former Punic Carthage.

Thus we see in his entire territory: Italy and Africa his rule degenerated into a military terror, in which the civilian population, no longer certain of possessions or life, eagerly looked forward to deliverance.

But besides with his own subjects, Maxentius also got on bad terms with the surrounding princes. Licinius had never recognized him and his brother-in-law Constantine, who had wanted to conclude an alliance with him after 310, was indignantly rejected by him as "the murderer of his father". (Although he himself had not treated his own father much better in the past). Of course Constantine then sought and found rapprochement with Licinius, an experienced military man like him, whose support could come in handy in the event of war. As a seal of the alliance that was soon concluded, the engagement soon took place between his half-sister Constantia and Licinius, forty years older. He then also felt reassured on his side, especially since his two opponents Maxentius, who threatened to wrest Illyria from him, and Maximinus Daja, his old enemy, had already allied themselves with each other in the East.

Thus the war between Constantine and Maxentius and Licinius and Maximinus Daja on the other hand was inevitable. Yet the former broke out much earlier, because of the increasingly hateful relationship between the tyrant of Italy and his brother-in-law. In preparation, both recruited new mercenaries. Constantine in Gaul, Germania inferior and Britain; Maxentius in Italy and Africa. Although the latter had many more troops at his disposal, he was absolutely no soldier, let alone a strategist, like Constantine. He even thought of a plan of attack, 32) through Rhaetia and Helvetia to the middle of Gaul and for that purpose gathered his troops in the Po Valley. But he neglected to occupy the real gateways to Italy, the Alpine passes in the West, in time, so that they were later open to Constantine.

In the meantime, Constantine, whose arrival was already eagerly awaited by oppressed Italy, which yearned for deliverance, had managed to make himself sympathetic to Christians and tolerant pagans by presenting himself as a defender of Galerius' edict of tolerance against the persecutor of Christians Maxentius us. Although not yet a Christian himself, he thereby became the protector of Christianity. As proof of this, he had the sign (XP), the so-called labarum, the Greek initials of Christos, attached to the shields of the banners.

Despite Eusebius' anecdote that the emperor had seen a flaming cross in the sky in a vision with the inscription: Toi nika (Overcome by this), one sees in this act absolutely no conversion of such a bloody pagan to a religion of defenselessness and charity.

What then were his motives?

In the first place, his superstition and truly pagan symbol worship. He simply identified with Christ his hitherto exclusively worshipped Sun God.

(Mithras-Helios-Apollo). After all, his holy sign, the svastika (actually an image of the "sun wheel"), was almost identical to the labarum, so that this field sign could not be an objection for the so numerous Mithras servants. Another, equally superstitious motive was: to appease the wrath of the Christian god, to whom the confusion and disasters that had recently plagued the empire were attributed.

Moreover (and this was probably the decisive factor for Constantine) it was a brilliant political move to win over the still small but firmly united sect of Christians as grateful subjects. He felt intuitively that Christians, with their docile morality of submission to any authority that respected them in their religion, would be easier to control than the more self-willed, freedom-loving pagans. But it is quite possible that he himself sent the fairy tale of the vision of the cross into the world in order to entwine his head with a prophetic halo in the imagination of credulous bishops and pious people. How delightfully they laughed at the idea that at last, just as in the Old Testament, a warrior of God had arisen, who would eliminate the tyrants persecuting Christians and would spread the kingdom of heaven already on earth! In any case, Constantine gladly accepted this role and thereby proved his so repulsive hypocrisy, a family trait that we find again and again in his dynasty, but most strongly in his later son Constantius. But it was no time for religious musing for him. He had to take immediate measures for the battle. Leaving behind a few regiments at the Rhine border, which was so secured (against Germans) (Pan. IX, 2),

he decided, despite the advice of his officers, to surprise the much more powerful enemy. To this end he quickly moved his troops to the foot of the French-Italian Alps, which he crossed (like Hannibal before him and Napoleon after him) via the ever unguarded pass of Mont-Cenis. (see above). On the slope he captured, after a short siege, the town of Susa (Segusia) on his way down, which was mercifully spared from plundering. (Pan. X, 21). But once he had descended into the plain of Turin (Taurini), the enemy Italian-African army awaited him here, which, with the

Praetorians as its core, consisted of 18,000 cavalry in the vanguard and 170,000 infantry in the rear, thus approximately double the force. (Zos. II). Against their true Roman eagles rose the labarum-bearing troops of Constantine, consisting mostly of British and Germanic barbarians, impetuously eager to fight against the hated Rome. With the sign of the cross on their shields they seemed the legions of the new age, charging upon the last defenders of paganism. But they also represented the struggle of the upward-striving provinces against the last attempt of Italy, by means of Maximinus' usurpation, to restore its former superiority.

First Constantine's horsemen (or was it his foot-soldiers?), with iron-shod clubs in their fists, charged those of the enemy, who, with man and horse armored in steel (clibanari), seemed almost invulnerable. But struck by the surprising blows of those murderous weapons, many tumbled from their saddles and were trampled under the hooves of the horses. After a terrible slaughter the assailants were victorious. (Paneg. X, 24).

Immediately Milan, the Cisalpine capital, opened its gates to the conqueror, who made his entry amid the jubilation of government and people. Girls and women dared to show themselves on the streets again, without fear of being abducted and dishonored by Maxentius' satellites. (Pan. IX, 7). But the support of the liberated citizens could not detain the general for too long. He soon advanced and first occupied the principal fortresses in the Po Valley, both to use them as bases for the conquest of Central and Southern Italy and not to be cut off from a possible retreat. (Compare Napoleon's conquest of the fortress quadrangle: Mantua-Peschiera-Verona-Legnago on his Italian campaign of 1797, although it was against Austria at that time). Thus successively Modena (Mutina), Aquileia and after a long siege also Verona in his hands. The garrison, which had defended itself bravely, was spared after surrendering. Maxentius' other troops also fought excellently. But they lacked all strategic leadership.

For the tyrant himself, out of cowardice, remained in Rome, instead of advancing at the head of his army. But there the mood of the half-starved population became increasingly unfavorable to him, so that they almost broke into revolt. In order to calm them, he had the entrails of sacrificial animals consulted and the Sibylline books read, in order to investigate the future. 33) When it was predicted to him in an ambiguous way that he who worked on the downfall of the empire would die a miserable death, he interpreted this, in superstitious hope, in his favor to Constantine 33).

Thus he finally took courage, when his enemy had already advanced close to Rome; and although he had just fled, tormented by fearful dreams and fear of attacks, with his wife and child from his palace to a secret dwelling, he now "emerged from his shameful hiding-place." (Pan. IX, 16) At last, after so many years of inaction and inaction, he placed himself, in the utmost danger, at the head of his faithful praetorians. But instead of remaining within Rome and making sorties from the high-lying hill-town against the besiegers, he suddenly ventured all his troops outside. But how did this "slave in purple" draw up his battle line? Along the northern bank of the Tiber, so that he was wedged between the enemy in front of him and the river at his back. Only a narrow bridge, the Pont Mulvia, remained to him in case of retreat. Thus the first massive attack of Constantine, with his wild barbarians and provincials, clad in beast skins, was bound to prove disastrous. Whatever was not pierced, cut down or killed, and could not flee over the narrow bridge, drowned in the swiftly flowing water. The usurper himself, to avoid a shameful death in captivity, threw himself, steel-armoured, horse and all, into the Tiber. Because of his weight he sank to the bottom in the same place: "the water refused to defile itself with his corpse", so that it could be fished up quickly.

His head was hoisted over the walls on a spear, and shown to the Romans, to convince them of his death. Only then did the liberated citizens dare to give themselves over to exuberant joy, and brought Constantine, amidst festive jubilation, in triumph into the city. Here, in the palace, the emperor exterminated the family of the "tyrant", that is, his unfortunate widow and little son Romulus, as well as all his followers. Among these were also the praetorians, who had caused his elevation, and so this guard was abolished forever.

The senate, suppressed by Maxentius, was nevertheless restored, and the families of the senators, many of whom had previously joined the usurper out of fear, were wisely allowed to live by the emperor. False accusers or delators who attempted to slander even the most distant relations of Maxentius, were, however, threatened with the death penalty according to the edict of 18 January 313 (Cod. Th. 10, 10, 1). This therefore meant:

general amnesty. In this way Constantine acquired popularity with the people and

senators.

In the first flush of liberation joy, the city government began to erect a triumphal arch for Constantine. But when this festive excitement was over, it turned out that people had idealized Constantine as a savior.

In the meantime, the emperor had issued a general census for the capital to cover the war expenses (1 December 312). When many nobles had been overtaxed, he instead increased the tax burden on the lower citizens. Only those among them who could prove that the extra tax was too heavy for them did not have to pay more than they had taken on according to the first census (Cod. Th. 13, 10, 1.).

Moreover, the newly appointed senate was given only an honourable appearance of authority. The seat of government was not moved to Rome either. On the contrary, as soon as he could, even before the triumphal arch that had been started was completed 34), the emperor travelled to Milan, and temporarily occupied the old palace of Maximianus there, without however choosing a permanent residence, (end of January 313).

Moreover, he had arranged a meeting with Licinius there. This, though Constantine's ally, had not helped him in the struggle with Maxentius, probably because he hoped that both opponents, his rivals, would weaken, if not destroy, each other. In this he had been deceived by Constantine's unexpected victories. He now saw that he had to keep his powerful colleague in the West on friendly terms, especially for his threatened war in the East with Maximinus Daja. No wonder then that Constantine could easily persuade the rough, uneducated Licinius, completely stranger to religious matters, to join Galerius to extend the tolerance edict of 311 in a favourable way for the Christians.

This edict had the drawback that it only meant toleration of the Christians, but not constitutional equality. (So for example no access to state positions that Diocletian had taken away from them). Furthermore, a burning question had remained untouched, namely the return or not of the secularised church property. This was of course the wish of the clergy; but many pieces of land where former church buildings stood or had stood had been either sold or given away to favourites by proconsuls or prefects. The issue was now resolved as follows:

- 1) No one was to be hindered in his religion;
- 2) Followers of all religions had access to state positions and the same civil rights;
- 3) The Christians received former church property back;
- 4) The affected new pagan owners of it could receive compensation for it from the state through the mediation of the governors.

These decrees the emperors combined into the erroneously called "edict" of Milan, because it is not an edict, but only a rescript, i.e. a circular letter to governors and prefects, but which (like an edict) had to be posted publicly. This latter explains the mistake of Eusebius, who on the grounds of its publicity considers it to be an edict, although the form itself in which he transmits it shows that it is a rescript. (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. X, 5; also in slightly different wording in Lactantius. De Mort. XXXVIII; see further note 35).

A second purpose of their meeting was the solemn marriage between the 60-year-old Licinius and the barely 16-year-old stepsister of Constantine, Constantia, a marriage without love, purely for reasons of state. At this wedding feast both emperors also invited the old, still living Diocles. Undoubtedly, death threatened him there. But he saw through the trap of the two so philanthropic Christian friends, and excused himself because of his advanced age (68 years). Then Constantine and Licinius showed their true nature, and sent the wretched old man threatening letters that he had formerly kept company with Maxentius, and now still with Maximinus. If only Diocletian could have trusted the latter, the tormentor of his wife and daughter! But he found himself betrayed and abandoned, not only by his immediate circle, but also by all those who owed their elevation to him, such as Licinius.

Tired of life, and fearing otherwise to fall into the hands of his enemies, he took poison, (Epitome de Caesaribus, 39) or let himself be starved to death (Lact., de Mort LII) 36). After the meeting in Milan, Constantine probably accompanied the newlyweds for a while to the East; at least on 16 February we find him at Sirmium in Lower Pannonia. Here, while his sister and brother-in-law were travelling on, he announced an imperial decree (Cod. Theod. 7, 21, 1) and thus indicated that he considered these Western Illyrian provinces (Noricum, Upper and Lower Pannonia and Dalmatia) to be part of his empire. He could do this because no definite border had been established in Milan between the territory of the Eastern and Western emperors, any more than it had once been between Diocletian and Max. Herculus. But Licinius could just as well consider Western Illyria as his territory, and so this irregular

situation soon became the cause of a dispute between the two. But now Licinius was engaged in a struggle with Maximinus Daja, and could not pay attention to Western Illyria (= the diocese "Pannonia").

From Sirmium Constantine marched back via Northern Italy to Gaul, where he reached Trier at the beginning of August 313. The inhabitants of that region were astonished at the tremendous speed with which he had conquered Italy in less than a year, so that he now entered their midst again, to protect them against the Germans. These, the Franks, had invaded Lower Germany, and the emperor had soon defeated them and driven them back. (end of October 313) (Paneg. IX, 21).

Meanwhile, in the far East, already a few months after Maxentius' fall, his former ally Maximus Daja was threatened with the same fate. To prevent this, he took an offensive course, crossed the Bosphorus, took Byzantium, but suffered defeat at Adrianople by Licinius (30 April 313), after a failed attempt to bribe his army, and treachery by his own troops. Having crossed over to Asia Minor, he withdrew behind the Tauric mountains, hoping to recruit new soldiers in Egypt. But on the way he died at Tarsus, either by suicide or by an accidental death, which spared him from the sentence that threatened him. On his deathbed, in terrible pain, he is said to have implored Christ for forgiveness (Lact. de Mort. and Euseb. Vita Const.).

Thus it seemed to the Christians of that time, like Lactantius, that their God had held a strict judgment and over all the persecutors of his church. Galerius, the real instigator, had been taken away by a horrible disease; Diocles, Maxentius, and possibly also Maximinus Daja by suicide. And even the avenging, all too cruel God visited the sins of the persecutors (according to Lactantius) in their innocent wives and children. For Licinius, inaugurated as Daja's successor in Nicomedia, immediately showed an inhumanity equal to this, by mercilessly murdering his two minor children, as well as Candidianus, a now 20-year-old foreson of his late benefactor Galerius.

37) Moreover, he also signed the death warrant of the banished princesses Valeria and Prisca, 38) who, hardly breathing a sigh of relief after the death of their persecutor Maximinus Daja, were painfully surprised by the rumour of this. They decided to flee from Syria, in simple clothes, disguised as women of the people, and thus wandered through the provinces. But being recognized at Thessalonica, they were beheaded before the compassionate eyes of the powerless crowd. (313)

TOWARDS SOLE POWER.

Constantine, who himself strove for sole power, watched with concern the rapid growth of power of his co-emperor. He had remained neutral in the war with Maximinus Daja, as Licinius had at the time in his war with Maxentius, and had hoped (as did he at the time) that both his rivals would weaken each other, after which he himself could find his advantage through armed mediation. But now Licinius emerged from the battle strengthened as his equal, as emperor over the entire East.

Moreover, he probably could not approve of all Licinius' atrocities, although no less cruel himself. The completely innocent and harmless Prisca and Valeria had been murdered for no reason at all. As a result, Licinius made the new regime unpopular with the population. The Christians, barely awake from the frenzy of joy at the fall of their enemy Daja, soon feared for their own safety in the face of this new bloody terror. The uncertain border between the territories of the two emperors also caused the estrangement. 39) For L. believed, just as Constantine, that he could lay claim to Western Illyria, and accused his colleague of having wrested these provinces from him (Zos. lib. II, 18).

A cause for the fight, which both ambitious generals equally desired, soon presented itself.

Licinius attempted to take advantage of Constantine's stay in distant Trier (autumn 313 to autumn 314) by intriguing against him in Italy. He sent his confidant Senicio to the West, to incite his brother Bassianus, married to Anastasia, a sister of Constantine, against him. Constantine had appointed her as caesar and governor of Italy, but with far too little power for his liking. He eagerly accepted the secret proposal of his brother Senicio, and began to arm himself treacherously against Constantine.

But the latter discovered the cunning intrigue, had Bassianus killed, and demanded the extradition of the fugitive Senicio. Licinius refused and even had the statues of his fellow Augustus torn down in the uncertain border area of Pannonia, in the city of Emona, not far from Venice, as a sign that he considered this country as his own. (Anon. Vales. cap. V).

The Western emperor now decided to act harshly and decisively. From the North (he was staying at Trier) he advanced into the Danubearea (Lower Pannonia) and there, with only 20,000 infantry and cavalry, defeated the almost twice as strong army of his

134360 enemy at Cibalae (Vinkovcze). Then he occupied the neighbouring fortress of Sirmium (Mitrovitza), where the wife, the newborn son and the treasury of the fugitive Licinius fell into his hands. He then pursued him into the plain of Thrace, where, after having refused negotiations, Licinius had meanwhile appointed Valens his frontier commander until August 40), without informing Constantine. When he therefore
134365 sent delegates once more to the victor, the latter first demanded that Valens be deprived of his rank, and Senicio be extradited. In order to save himself, Licinius agreed to this, had his general Valens killed, 41) and extradited Senicio as "the instigator of all evil," 42) after which the same thing happened to him. – Moreover, Licinius had to cede all his European territory, except Thrace, to his brother-in-law, (peace of October 314). That Constantine did not destroy him immediately in the
134370 first war, which he certainly would have been capable of, probably owed his victory to the intercession of his wife Constantia.

After that the emperors apparently became reconciled; for the following year they even had themselves appointed consuls. Then, after mutual consultation, on 17 March 317, they elevated their sons to caesars. 42a). Thus in the West Crispus, legitimate bastard of Constantine, born to him from the concubine Minervina, and his half-brother Constantinus, son of Fausta, and only newborn, – were elevated to that rank; and in the East Licinius the younger (Licinianus), barely 20 months old.

134375 Officially both emperors remained equal in prestige, but the power of the Western empire far outweighed that of the East. Licinius, bitter behind the mask of reconciliation, was seeking revenge, and Constantine's lust for power was far from satisfied. It was clear that the Roman Empire could not tolerate both of them as rulers at the same time.

The Eastern emperor played into the hands of the Western emperor, which was fatal for him. Although it had been to his advantage, the steadily growing Christians, especially numerous in his now remaining Eastern provinces, he persecuted his rival
134385 out of spite.

His first and worst grievance was with the priests, who from the pulpit glorified Constantine far above him as the true warrior of God. They also prayed for him in their churches, but he felt that this official prayer was not heartfelt, and overestimated in his suspicious imagination their secret aversion. Furthermore, he too, like earlier emperors, became afraid of their semi-political organization, which he regarded as an element of unrest in his empire. Yet, with a somewhat more correct view of their doctrine of reverence for the government, he could have assured himself
134390 of their support and loyalty. Instead, he tactlessly incited their hatred.

First of all, he forbade the bishops to visit each other and to hold church councils. These councils had long since degenerated into dangerous furnaces of mutual strife, indeed of discontented stirring against the authority of pagan emperors.

His further measures are reminiscent of Diocletian. For example, in order to be able
134400 to rely better on the army, he made sacrifices for it compulsory 43). Those who did not comply with this, that is, first of all the Christians, were expelled. He also expelled all Christians from his own court 44), banished them to wild, inhospitable regions, or reduced them to the status of slaves, to serve others, while he took their goods to himself. But this last, greedy act brought him double advantage.

134405 For by this he at the same time limited the number of courtiers and eunuchs, according to him "the mice and cockroaches of his palace" 45).

But he also behaved extremely greedy and cruelly towards other rich subjects. He condemned many without guilt, only to arbitrarily confiscate their goods 46). Even those who had been dead for a long time, he included on the list of the sentenced for that purpose, and then deprived their heirs of their lawful possessions. He indulged his base passions with the wives of his banished and totally ruined victims, or handed them over to his slaves for that purpose. Yet this old voluptuary plagued the Christians with the hypocritical command that men and women, supposedly for the sake of morality, should hold religious services separately. Women were only allowed to
134415 confess and learn catechism with their own sex. Bishops who resisted this were killed, or sent as forced laborers in the mines, and their churches demolished or closed 47). Yes, he even had the death by crucifixion, which Constantine had abolished to spare Christian feeling, used again as a preference against his victims.

Thus he appeared to be a revived Galerius, and revealed himself more and more as an intolerant superstitious pagan, 48) who surrounded himself with Egyptian soothsayers and seers of birds, and even consulted entrails sacrifices again.

For this reason he also fell in esteem among the enlightened pagans, freed from superstition, such as men of letters, sophists, jurists, yes, among all intellectuals, and he hated them in return. This military savage, out of total
134420 ignorance of literature and science, called it a "public plague", 45) especially the

business of judges and lawyers. He considered them nothing but useless talkers, which he was somewhat right about in this time of empty rhetoric and wordiness. Moreover, he considered all orderly legal conditions in his empire superfluous, since everything had to bow to his arbitrariness, with which he robbed his subjects of women or fortunes at will.

His greed had a good result; he was a frugal financier, and did not waste the resources of the treasury unnecessarily. Also, due to the many confiscations at the expense of rich city dwellers, high taxes were not necessary, so that the poorer people did well under him. He especially privileged his former classmates, the country squires and farmers, both out of a sense of solidarity and because he understood that the prosperity of his provinces depended on good agriculture and cattle breeding. But he could not trust the Christian majority of this Eastern population. His army, although it now consisted entirely of pagans, was no longer as resilient as it had been before, since the best part, the Illyrian legions, had been captured by Constantine at the time, together with the dioceses of Pannonia (=Illyricum) and Moesia (314). This also became apparent in the coming war with Constantine.

Constantine had long been looking for an opportunity to do so, and finally found it in a pretended invasion of Thrace by the Goths, which, if we may believe Jornandes XXI, 49) had been bought and paid for by Constantine as a clever comedy. He now entered Thrace, Licinius' territory, and supposedly defeated the Goths, but secretly had the captured "prisoners" recruited for his army. When Licinius rightly complained about the violation of his territory, war broke out (summer 324). This second, treacherous war against his co-emperor, had even more than all his previous campaigns, the appearance of a religious war, indeed a crusade. Always on the offensive, he marched against his colleague with his newly reinforced army of 100,000 men, under the banners of the sign of Christ. The latter, unprepared, quickly concentrated his much more numerous troops in Thrace, and encouraged them by their ancestral nobility and images of gods and favorable oracles, and attempted to prevent his enemy from crossing the Ebrus (Maritza). This seemed to succeed, for for a time both armies lay idle along the banks opposite each other. Then Constantine devised a stratagem. He diverted Licinius' attention by collecting felled tree trunks at a very narrow part of the river, in order to make him think that he wanted to build a bridge there. Of course his opponent on the other side did the same. But suddenly, at a completely different place, where the river was fordable, he sprang through the water on horseback with a dozen horsemen, rushed by surprise upon the enemy, who happened to be exposed there, and inflicted a great slaughter among his foot soldiers. Meanwhile his rest of the cavalry and infantry had followed his impetuous example, and also rushed across the stream to the other bank. Thus the battle developed in the plain of Adrianople, where Constantine, with terror as his ally, won (July 3) 50) and soon 34,000 dead, mostly of the enemy, covered the field. Then he rushed after Licinius, who fled to Byzantium, and himself laid siege to the city.

For this purpose he also had his fleet of 200 warships sail from the Piraeus to the North. Commander was his eldest son, the crown prince Crispus.

Let us briefly examine his past. His year of birth is uncertain, but probably 306 (according to Seeck: 307) 49). Constantine had fathered him with a concubine Minervina, since in such a wandering soldier's life illicit intercourse with women from the army, sutlers or slaves, was the rule. This bastard was now later married, and from an early age drilled in his father's trade, military service. In 317, on 1 March, he was appointed Caesar, together with his half-brother Constantinus (then newly born) and Licinianus, the son of Licinius and Constantia, who was barely 20 months old. Possibly from this year or even earlier (at the earliest 314) he received as his tutor the Christian orator Lactantius, who had then just travelled to the West, probably to the cultural centre of Trier in Gaul, since the emperor also stayed there in 314 (January-October) and 316 (January-February). But this intellectual development was only incidental compared to the military training he had to go through. Already in 320, at the age of fourteen, he defeated the Franks and Alemanni on a campaign. We read a high-sounding eulogy of his military talents in a festive speech of 321, 1 March in honour of the quinquennalia (beginning of the fifth year) of the so-called "reigns" of the two Western Caesars. 50a). On that occasion, after his exploits on the Rhine, the prince had been summoned to his father's palace at Sirmium (Pannonia), and already then, on his march there, he showed the same indefatigable speed and hardiness as his father. In this year Constantine also appointed him, like his brother Constantinus Jr., as consul, and married Crispus to a

certain Helena, by whom she had a child the following year (322, 30 October). 50b). However, the consulship of the two princes was not recognised in Licinius' part of the empire, nor were the Western consulships of the following years. This proves the increasing enmity of the two supreme rulers, and at the same time the impossibility that Crispus' wife Helena could have been a daughter of Licinius 51).

After having shown his military prowess on land against the barbarians, Crispus soon had to prove his talent at sea, as admiral, in the second war against Licinius. By chance the south-west wind was favourable to him, so that he could sail against the current, which runs in the Hellespont from NE to SW, into the narrow funnel of that strait. At its mouth, before the entrance to the Propontis, the much more numerous naval force of the enemy awaited him, about 350 galleys, mostly manned by Greeks from Asia Minor, Phoenicians and Egyptians, under the command of Amandus or Abantos, probably neither a Greek nor a Roman. All these hastily pressed Orientals fought not for their own cause, and, being naturally unwarlike, were no match for Crispus' fleet, manned with Illyrians, Greeks, and Spaniards. The latter had, however, another advantage. This was shown by his sudden attack, when he plunged with his small, swift ships into the midst of the heavy, clumsily built galleys of the enemy, (compare the English-Dutch fleet against the Spanish in 1588). Their awkward mobility prevented them from manoeuvring quickly enough in that narrow space, but they pressed close together and crushed each other under the pressure, so that Crispus was able to board quite a few, destroy their crews, and sink others. When night ended the fight, Abantos, who had at first despised the much smaller fleet of his opponent, was scarcely able to bring the sorry remnant of his naval force into the Asia Minor port of Ajax, while Crispus lowered the sails for Eleous (in Thrace). On the second day a strong north wind arose, which enabled Abantos to sail from his harbour to the SE, to meet the enemy, who was thus stopped. However, he hesitated to sail quickly, and thus let the right moment for the attack pass unutilized. As soon as both fleets had approached each other, the wind turned completely to southwest, drove Abantos back, and gave Crispus the opportunity for a new attack, in which he sank many of the other's ships into the ground. Moreover, a strong storm that arose as an ally threw most of A's remaining ships to pieces against the rocks of Asia Minor.

Only 4 of the 350 ships he managed to save with him in a hasty flight to Chalcedon. In the meantime, Licinius' position in the besieged Byzantium became more and more dangerous. Constantine had built ramparts here and there around the walls of the city, of the same height, on which he erected wooden towers, which with their slings and artillery harassed the soldiers within. In some places he had neglected the construction of these ramparts, and there battered the stone walls of the city with battering rams. Longer defence was impossible, especially now that it was to be surrounded from the sea. Therefore Licinius resolved to flee with the war-chest to Chalcedon in Asia Minor, where he hoped to raise fresh troops. For he had brought only a small part of his force to safety in crossing the Propontis. His second in command, Martinian, he declared Caesar, and sent him to Lampsacus on the right bank of the Hellespont in the SW, while he himself attempted to guard the bank of the Bosphorus. But he could not prevent Constantine from landing 2 miles south of Chalcedon with a great superior force, and was so decisively and murderously defeated that of his 70,000 troops only 30,000 remained. 52)

Now it became apparent how imprudent he had acted in dividing his army in two, for he himself had already been defeated when Martinianus came to his aid from Lampsacus, who had also suffered defeat against C. After this, the hopelessly besieged and starving Byzantium surrendered, and Chalcedon also opened its gates to the emperor. Closely followed by Constantine, Licinius fled with his wife and child and his much-depleted army to the court city of Nicomedia. Here, after a short siege, he had his wife Constantia request negotiations. She received from her half-brother Constantine the assurance under oath that her husband's life would be spared and her son would retain the office of Caesar, whereupon the old conqueror came forward and laid the imperial purple at the feet of the conqueror (autumn 324). Martinianus was taken prisoner to Cappadocia; Licinius with wife and child was sent to Thessalonica, to live there in safety as a private individual. But the following year he was unexpectedly deceived from his home, and before his wife could intercede for him, he was strangled in violation of the oath. (Zos. II, 28). The motivation for this act was the allegation that Constantine's old soldiers demanded the death of their former, still dangerous enemy, and that he, cunning as he was, had conspired with his own discharged soldiers, and even with Goths from across the Danube, to become emperor again. The truth was that Constantine would rather prevent such a usurpation of the purple, as his father-in-law the ex-emperor Maximianus had once attempted, a

second time. For this purpose no breach of oath could harm him.

This was now after Maxentius and Bassianus, already the third brother-in-law, who killed this good Christian protector. When would his own, even closer blood relatives come to the executioner's turn?

CRISPUS AND FAUSTA.

At the same time, a rift also appeared to have developed between the emperor and his eldest son Crispus. The latter had not been reappointed to the government of Gaul at that time, but, although he remained Caesar, was held virtually captive at his father's court.

This was all the more painful, since Crispus had already been elected to the honorary office of consul before the war with Licinius, at the beginning of 324.

What was the cause of his disfavour?

First of all, his father became jealous of the great popular favour that was accorded to his eighteen-year-old son, young and charming, rather than to himself, the fifty-year-old emperor, after their mutual victory over Licinius. The prince, who had been among them since he was a child, was also extremely popular with the soldiers.

Perhaps he prided himself too much on this, which aroused Constantine's distrust. Moreover, in all absolutist states there is a natural opposition between the prince and the heir to the throne, who often would like to rule differently from his father, according to the ideas of a younger generation, and is therefore feared by him as a dangerous rival.

Finally, Crispus may have disapproved, to the greater suspicion of his father, of the perjured murder of Licinius, and also of the fact that his son Licinianus, in violation of the treaty of 324, remained deposed as Caesar, and was replaced by Constantius, the second son of Constantine (8 November 324) 53a).

But the real author of his disgrace was his stepmother Fausta.

Was indeed, as Zosimus and Zonaras 53b) assert, revenge for a disappointed passion her motive, and did she play the part of a Phaedra towards Crispus, although he was married?

Or was it ambition to secure the right to the throne for her own three children at the expense of her stepson, who stood in their way?

Both qualities, both unbridled debauchery and ambition, were hereditary in the family of the Hercules from which she descended. Her father Maximianus even abused the bodies of hostages who had been thrown into prison for debt, and from her brother Maxentius, during tyranny, no Roman lady of standing was safe. In addition, both had a burning, but brutally clumsy ambition. The old Maximianus Herculeus had only laid down the purple at the command of Diocletianus, but then proclaimed himself emperor twice more, each time without success.

That same furnace of ambition and forbidden passions now smouldered in his daughter Fausta. Possibly, in her incitement against Crispus, both passions were at play. Not that she did not feel love for her lawful husband, Constantine, for she had once, fourteen years ago, saved his life, at the sacrifice of her own father.

But he was so much older than she, and now his handsome, brave son Crispus, as he returned from the war, an eighteen-year-old victor, seemed exactly the rejuvenated image of his father. And she was barely thirty, and often felt neglected by her husband for matters of state. No wonder then that with her fiery temperament she soon flared up in fierce passion for her young stepson.

But at first she anxiously tried to conceal this forbidden urge, if possible to smother it. There was no better way to do this than to suggest to herself a hatred of Crispus by ambitious motherly care for her own sons.

At first she succeeded in bringing him under vague suspicion to the emperor as a danger to state, without yet accusing him of a specific act. Soon, ecclesiastical disputes also came to aggravate the discord between father and son. Before the Synod of Nicaea began, the emperor, through the efforts of his court preacher Hosius, had immediately become a favorite of Fausta, and had already been won over to the orthodox party. And the empress naturally competed with her husband in fierce

Catholic sentiment. A Christian sense of sin because of her own concealed but not yet quenched passion drove her to ever stricter devotion. But no faithful churchgoing, no self-mortification during the great Lent before Easter – then often customary among Christians – could kill the devil in her.

Meanwhile, Crispus, as a young officer, probably had little interest in theological debates, and despised all that ostentatiously pious fuss of emperor and court. 53c)

When, after the end of the synod (beginning of August 325), Constantine, on the advice of Hosius, banished Arius and three others, and persecuted the remaining Arians, Crispus probably disapproved of this intolerant policy.

This must also have caused dissatisfaction at the emperor's court in Nicomedia, as well as among the officers and officials, and many only waited for a favourable opportunity to openly display their secret Arian 53c) or even pagan disposition. The pagans from this opposition party belonged largely to the former military and civil servants of Licinius who had mostly gone over to Constantine's service; the Arian-minded christians were not so much followers of Arius, as of the clerical tyranny of the homo-ousians.

Who now gathered around all these dissatisfied elements? Not around one of Constantine's stepbrothers, for they were too insignificant for that. Nor around Licinius' widow Constantia, for although she was Arian-minded 54c) and could blame Constantine for the perjured murder of her husband, she was still too meek to think of revenge. She also knew that her brother, despite everything, loved and honored her personally, and had even invited her to come to his court, which she had possibly accepted for the future of her son. Moreover, she had never been happily married to Licinius, forty years her senior, to whom she had been married for reasons of state, and this probably made her resign herself to his violent death. She also patiently endured the unlawful deprivation of her son Licinianus, for whom she had still negotiated the Caesarate in October 324, finding solace in her faith and unaware of what was soon to come for her boy.

To whom should the dissatisfied turn for support? Probably to Crispus, who may have been neutral in religious matters, but who could ill tolerate his enforced unemployment and the shameful surveillance at his father's court. Arians and pagans may have written him compromising letters for help and advocacy. Or perhaps a conspiracy of both parties imprudently wanted to proclaim him and the young Licinianus as emperor.

But undoubtedly Crispus' attitude towards his father was loyal, since the latter himself, much later, openly acknowledged his son's innocence. But in this time of tense church disputes it was easy for Fausta to accuse her stepson to the already so suspicious emperor as if he were heretical-minded and with the help of those malcontents was striving for the throne. She also pointed out to him the future threat of Licinianus, who might one day avenge his father's death.

The emperor blindly believed her, who had once saved his life, without listening to the admonitions of his mother Helena, who pleaded for her grandson what she could. His first act was to issue an edict on the 17th of September 325 against this alleged conspiracy of his son. (Cod. Th. IX, 1,4). Without mentioning the name of Crispus here, he encourages each of his judges, nobles and courtiers to tell the emperor openly what they might know about him, "who had hitherto deceived him with feigned honesty." And of course there was no lack of delators, who hoped to gain the emperor's favor by slandering his son to him even worse than ever.

But his father still hesitated to respond to these vague, most unprovable accusations. For the time being he limited himself to dismissing, as a precaution, the greater part of the troops who had fought under him and Crispus against Licinius, and with whom the prince was very popular. 55) But in order to oblige them at the same time, he showered them with rich gifts at their departure (spring 326). It was precisely the twentieth year of the emperor's reign, and after celebrating his jubilee at Nicomedia at the beginning of it (25 July 325), he was to repeat his Vicennalia at Rome, the old capital, at the end of this year (i.e. in 326).

For this purpose the emperor and his entire court set out on a journey overland from Byzantium to Italy in the spring of 326 (beginning of March). In this procession of dignitaries and lackeys both Crispus and Licinianus were led away captive under ever stricter guard.

But on the way Fausta, who followed her husband everywhere, suddenly felt pity for her innocently tormented stepson, and this reawakened her old passion. First she persuaded Constantine to allow his son more freedom of movement, since she no longer feared him, and so he was no longer so strictly guarded. Then she managed to lure her stepson into her tent, and in a secret, passionate conversation begged him to flee with her, and once in full freedom, to share the rule of the empire with her.

He refused this shameful offer in terror, and thus aroused her wrath. While they were still quarrelling, Constantine suddenly came upon their meeting, and asked with fierce suspicion the cause. In revenge, Fausta, like another Phaedra, now accused her stepson to the emperor of an attempt at adultery and abduction, and of plotting against his authority.

In vain did Crispus plead his innocence; in vain did the eleven-year-old Licinianus testify in his favor. The emperor believed the woman he loved more than any other, had them both, bound, hidden in his tent, and resolved to kill them, without a judicial hearing.

134690 When the darkness of that day ended, the emperor, in the depths of the night, one of his most trusted officers, to lead Crispus and Licinianus out of the camp, and secretly, in the nearby mountains of Istria, to poison them. And so it happened: near Pola both unfortunate princes died, in the prime of their years.

134695 The next morning the whole court journeyed on again, over the eastern edge of the Alps that surrounds Italy, to Aquileia, and it was only slowly that the courtiers learned something of Crispus' death. 56)

134700 The emperor, however, betrayed himself by issuing some strict laws against fornication and everything connected with it in Aquileia, where he had been staying for a long time, still filled with anger at the supposed deceit of his son.

134705 They served at once as a supplement to the already existing Lex Julia de stupro, but were not, like this, inspired by justice, but by a cruel, implacable spite. First, on 1 April 326, he published a law against the abduction of girls and women, which has only been preserved in fragments. 57)

134710 If this happened against her will, only the abductor was punished by pouring molten lead down his throat. However, if she had approved, the abductor was punished just as severely, but the girl was deprived of her inheritance rights. Accomplices shared in the punishment of the abductor, but if the parents had consented to the abduction, they were banished. (Cod. Th. IX, 24, 1).

134715 Three days later, the continuation of this law was proclaimed, in which underage girls were protected from sexual abuse by their guardians. (Cod. Th. IX, 8, 1). Presumably at the same time, he proclaimed another law to protect chaste women from false accusations. No man was allowed to accuse a woman who was not his wife of adultery, only her male relatives (full brothers, half-brothers or first cousins) and her own husband had the right to do so. This is clearly inspired by the case of Crispus, whose counter-accusation against Fausta was not believed by the emperor, since she had no male relatives who could accuse her and her own husband also considered her innocent. (Cod. Th. IX, 7,2).

134720 Shortly afterwards followed two other edicts, one of 29 May 326, against free-born women who throw themselves away to their slaves, and were threatened with the death penalty, 58) and another edict that forbade married men to have concubines in their homes, ("penes se habere"), which, however, did not abolish concubinage (14 June 326) 59).

134725 After a long stay in Northern Italy, the emperor traveled to Rome in the summer of this year, where he made his entry on July 18, cheered by the people and senators, and soon moved into the high palace of Nero.

134730 But although he now believed himself safe from Crispus, who had never done him any wrong, he was not safe from his own conscience, which tortured him more and more fiercely. And it did not stop there. Although Constantine had ordered his henchmen to maintain the strictest silence, and had let the rumour spread that Crispus and Licinianus had died of a sudden illness, the secret leaked out to the court. But this gossip around him did not bother the emperor. He stubbornly concealed from those around him the remorse that wounded him, and always showed them the same, stern, stern face.

134735 Only his mother Helena, from whom he had always concealed his sentence on Crispus, and who now knew everything, was able to open his soul. Love and pity for her grandson, whose innocence she had previously pleaded, gave her the courage to speak openly.

134740 But in that love mixed her old resentment against the proud prince's daughter Fausta, who for years had humiliated her, the emperor's mother, because of her low birth, and barely tolerated her at the palace. Her self-awareness rebelled against this: she wanted to regain her influence over her son, extorted from her by Fausta, and for two such ambitious women as she both were at the same time no place at this court. Thus she pointed out to Constantine Fausta's own ambition, and passionate, even hysterical nature, and assured him that she had slandered Crispus. Perhaps she herself had striven to dethrone the emperor with the help of her stepson, and to rule herself. Thus now, besides remorse, fear for her own honor and safety haunted the suspicious mind of the monarch. But he still hesitated to consider his wife an impostor without further proof.

134750 Until one day Fausta was caught in the arms of a contemptible messenger of the emperor. 60) This convincing example of her lecherous nature brought the deceived woman to a decision. He sentenced her, the mother of his three remaining sons, and once the savior of his own life, to death. He ordered his eunuchs to immerse her in a boiling bath, where she died of suffocation. 61)

134755 This was done in the deepest secrecy, in the quietest rooms of the palace at Rome, probably in the summer of the same year in which he had seen Crispus had murdered.

62)

But this new atrocity, the death of Fausta, whom he had sacrificed as a disguised pagan to atone for the shadow of Crispus, did not still the remorse that continued to torture him as the murderer of his own son. There was nothing left for him but to stifle the torment of his evil conscience in a frenzy of new, restless deeds. So he had to leave Rome, leave the old palace of Nero, where the walls whispered to him of his own equally cruel deeds, leave and return to the East.

THE LAST YEARS OF CONSTANTINE'S REIGN.

Constantine, after all his travelling and wandering, needed a new and permanent capital. The Asian splendour of his court could not take root in Rome. The western half of the empire was also not nearly as valuable as the eastern one: so he had to reside there, just like Diocletian.

But not in Nicomedia, the seat of the former persecutor of Christians, where everything, just like in Rome, was still too reminiscent of paganism.

So he decided to first found a city between Alexandria Troas and the old Ilion, on the Aegean Sea 63). According to an old oracle, the Romans, who had come from here after the fall of Troy, would return here one day. The Christian court party was against this pagan tradition, but Constantine himself went there and started building walls, which could still be seen from the sea in the fifth century 63). At night, however, he beheld, as he often did, the God of the Christians, who commanded him to abandon this building and choose another place 64).

He obeyed, and now chose Byzantium, which had proved to him a strong, strategic position in the last war with Licinius.

It lay on a headland between the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) and the Keras (or Golden Horn), a narrow inlet in the form of a river mouth, so that it was easy to defend from the land side. It was also impregnable from the sea side, since the two natural access channels to the Propontis, namely the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, could be closed to warships. From this unassailable stronghold he could henceforth better guard the Balkans against Gothic and Sarmatian barbarians in the North, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt against the Persians on the eastern border.

Moreover, it was favourably situated for the food supply, since all the grain from the Black Sea was shipped along it, while Egypt was not far away. Also by their mild climate the banks of the Bosphorus, luxuriantly planted with vines and olive groves, attracted the emperor to a permanent residence.

Finally, there was another superstitious reason: the terrain included seven hills, just like that of Rome.

History has recognized the choice of this new capital as ingenious. For more than a thousand years Constantinople would successfully defy the attacks of the Goths, Arabs and Bulgarians, even a century of close encirclement by the Turks; and after that the latter, once master of this stronghold, would no longer be driven out of Europe.

In the spring of 328 Constantine began to execute this plan. 66)

West of the old Byzantium, on the second hill, he laid out a spacious, round market place as the center of the new city, the later Forum Constantini. Around this a colonnade rose, which was interrupted at the ends of the square by two stately marble 65) arches opposite each other. The eastern arch was built on the site of an earlier city gate, which had of course been demolished for this purpose. Soon, however, the marble quarries of the neighbouring countries and the art of the available sculptors and architects could not provide him with enough material to adorn his city.

Therefore he proceeded to plunder the temples and public squares of almost all the cities 67).

From far and wide bronze and marble statues of gods were dragged in, not as the Christian Eusebius believed 68), out of hatred for the old paganism, but out of admiration for the high art that it had once produced. In the middle of the forum, which received his name, he placed, on a steep column of purple stone, a huge statue of Apollo, with a halo around its head, which he had had stolen from Phrygia 69). The face of this he had changed, with vandalic bad taste, into his own broad, thick-necked head, so that later it was taken for a statue of Constantine 70).

At the foot of this statue he placed the Palladium or wooden statue of Pallas, which he had secretly stolen from Rome, in order to make the new city impregnable, as he thought.

On the north and south sides of this square, sideways from the colonnades, that is, against the slopes of this hill, he built two so-called temples, to which one could ascend from the surrounding city by a staircase. In one of these he placed a statue of Rhea Kubele, the mother of the gods, stolen from the mountain Dindymos near Kuzikos, where the Argonauts were said to have once erected it. 71) This stolen

statue he deliberately spoiled, to the great annoyance of the pagans, 71) by removing the two lions on either side, which she held, and also by changing the position of her hands so that they were folded together in prayer. Thus he Christianized the whole figure into a woman praying for the salvation of the city she surveyed, and possibly into an image of the "god-bearing" Mary (Maria Theotokos). In the other so-called temple he placed the image of the goddess of fortune of Rome, called Tuche or Fortuna. This was not so much a sly concession to his new, pagan fellow citizens as a sign of his own indestructible superstition. He also built, at the foot of the first hill, a large complex of palaces, almost as large as those in Rome. It lay east of the Forum Constantine, and was connected to it by a wide imperial avenue (Via Regia) with two large colonnades, decorated everywhere with statues and marble works. Just in front of the palace, as the starting point of the Via Regia, stretched a wide square, the Augustaeum, so called after his mother, the Augusta Helena, whose statue here adorned a purple pedestal in the middle. 69) Next to the large, copper gate of the imperial residence (Chalke) a senate building was built, which equaled the Curia in Rome.

A secret spiral staircase led from the palace to the imperial tribune of the adjacent racecourse. This circus or Hippodrome, possibly built for him, he completed in all its splendor. For this purpose a so-called temple of Castor and Pollux was erected to the side of one of the colonnades as decoration. Elsewhere in this racecourse he placed, on a golden tripod, a statue of Apollo, both taken from the Delphic temple 71). Right at the entrance, there had already been a public bathhouse, dedicated to Zeuxippos (nickname of Zeus), but now Constantine had it completed and embellished with columns and bronze statues and mosaic work of multi-coloured marble. Once the main buildings were there, he had magnificent villas built, spread throughout the building site, and invited many senatorial families from Rome and decurions from the province to move there 72). Also countless lesser citizens from the nearby cities of Asia Minor and Greece moved in large numbers, attracted by the many privileges that the new imperial city would receive. The whole was enclosed by a long, high wall on the west, which was fifteen stadia or three kilometres longer than the former city wall of old Byzantium 73).

Finally, in 330, the construction of New Rome (Nova Roma), as the emperor called it, or Constantine's City (Konstantinou polis), as his flatterers renamed it, was completed. On 9 May of this year the inauguration or birth festival was celebrated 74).

The day began with trotting races in the hippodrome. While the emperor and people were assembled there, a gilded wooden column, on which was carved the image of Constantine, holding the Tuche of the city, was carried in solemn procession amidst detachments of soldiers in gala uniforms, all carrying long white wax candles, burning dully in the bright day. Before the imperial tribune they stopped, and here the founder solemnly pronounced the secret name of the city, personified in the image of the Goddess of Fortune, and called her Authousa, the Flourishing 74). It was therefore an "unbloody" consecration festival, 74) i.e. without sacrificial animals, and even somewhat Christian in disguise, but nevertheless still pagan in essence and nature.

And Constantine commanded that this birth festival "according to his own divine example" should be repeated every year, until the distant future. And when then the image of Constantine and Tuche was carried in procession into the circus, to the seat of the prince who then reigned, then he had to stand up and kiss the image of the founder and the city with reverence.

Thus from then on, except for a few more journeys in the vicinity, he continued to live here with his entire court. The city of Constantinople was taken from the presidium of Europe (the banks of the Bosphorus), and was given its own praefectus praetorio and other high officials, just like Rome. 74)

It also received the same privileges, for example free distributions of bread, since May 18, 332. 75) The grain of the various provinces, first given to Rome (annona), was henceforth divided equally between both cities, so that Rome henceforth received the grain of Africa and Sicily, Constantinople of Egypt, Pontus and other Eastern countries.

In addition to this privilege was the financial support that impecunious converts could receive from churches and government.

All this attracted even more residents than before to the city. Especially the poor and beggars crowded within its gates, attracted by the "generosity and compassion of its citizens," as Sozomenus (II, 3) claims. But he adds: "so much did it attract everyone to Christianity that most of the Jews, and almost all the pagans who came to live there, were finally won over to this faith." In other words: they were put under

some pressure by charity, even by coercion, because pagan temples were not tolerated here. Thus Constantinople received the outward stamp of a Christian city, "never defiled by idols or altars or pagan sacrifices," except for the temple of Tuche. Yet there remained a tremendous difference between rich and poor. Between the luxurious senatorial castles, the hovels of the urban proletariat were crammed together. For the latter there was soon no more room on the terrain within the city wall, so that one pole houses had to be built in the sea. Also, Constantine's state palaces turned out to have been so hastily thrown together that some of them sank into ruins within a century 76).

Of course, the foundation of this world city and the emperor's never-ending building passion required millions of money. In addition, there was the maintenance of his court and all its expensive splendor, and the unheard-of waste with which he squandered the state's resources on unworthy favorites. As Nicomedia had been in the past – under Diocletian – so now Constantinople became the great leech of the juices and strengths of the provinces: their tribute of money and natural rights. Thus the foundation of this city, although a sign of the short-term revival of the Roman state, also became one of the causes of its approaching downfall.

But danger also threatened from outside, although for the time being it was still small.

In the latter part of his life, the emperor conducted an extremely imprudent policy towards the northern barbarians 77).

Diocletian had wisely stationed the legions as guards in the border regions, but Constantine moved them to the cities.

The motives for this are clear. The city populations, especially those of Rome, Milan, Alexandria and Antioch, were always inclined to revolt because of the high taxes, and had to be kept strictly under control. Furthermore, the former soldier emperor and world conqueror wanted to maintain his personal favour with the troops by granting them rest and luxury after long years of war and deprivation. Moreover, thousands of barbarians had already been taken into the army, and these could not be won over better for the Roman-Hellenistic culture and morals than by stationing them in the main centres of the empire.

Yet this remained a mistake, because in doing so he delivered the cities to the wantonness and debauchery of the soldiers, who were softened by visits to the theatre and other recreation, while he deprived the border of guards. Thus he opened the gate for the barbarians in the North to invade the Roman Empire, which did not happen often under him, but later repeatedly 77).

He also did not fight them himself at the end of his reign, as he had done at the beginning. However, after a victory 79) of his generals over the Goths (327), he had a stone bridge built over the Danube in 328, in case a new punitive expedition against the Goths became necessary. But when one of their tribes, the Taifali 78), with 500 horsemen invaded Thrace at the end of 331, and plundered right up to the outer moat of his capital, the emperor did not go to meet them, but even crossed over to Asia Minor, 80) which looked very much like a flight. The further war – he entrusted to his fifteen-year-old, eldest son Constantinus, who drove out the enemies and defeated them in the territory of the Sarmatians (January 332). This defeat of the Germans greatly weakened their prestige among the Sarmatian (Slavic) tribes, among whom they, less numerous, lived as a dominant warrior caste. Two years later (334) the oppressed rose up and drove one of the Gothic tribes, the Limigantes (later called Argaragantes) into Roman territory 81). A prelude to the approaching migration of the people.

In order to strengthen his dynasty, the emperor, immediately after his conquest of the entire empire, had called his brothers and other relatives to the court and invested them with the highest offices. Thus, of his half-brothers, he appointed the youngest, Dalmatius, the father of Dalmatius and Hanniballianus, as censor, and the eldest, Julius Constantius (father of Gallus and Julianus) as praefectus praetorio of the East 82) (end of 324). The latter remained so until the end of 329, and was then replaced by a new favourite, Flavius Ablabius, who had not been praefectus praetorio of Italy for a year before that time. This Ablabius was, according to his gentile name Flavius, a presumably distant relative of the emperor, which is also proven by the address "parens carissime", with which the emperor addresses him in one of the laws 83). This influential favourite, fiercely Christian, stiffened the emperor in his clerical, anti-pagan policy, and was partly guilty of the judicial murder of Sopator, a pagan sophist, who had been temporarily admitted to the palace 84) (330). Yet, because of his tremendous influence on Constantine, he had many envious people at court, where he often stayed, so that he did not survive Constantine's death for long. In the meantime, however, the emperor had also appointed his third surviving

son, Constans, as caesar at the end of 333 85), after Constantinus II had already become caesar in 317, and Constantius in 324. Dalmatius Jr. was soon to be appointed caesar. In the year 333, a violent plague 85) raged in Syria and Cilicia and probably also on the island of Kupros (Cyprus), so that there were not enough people left to bring in the harvest. Nevertheless, for the food of the imperial city, as much grain as other years, and the little grain was stolen away here. As a result, a great famine 85) and high prices arose: the price of a bushel of grain rose to 400 pieces of silver. 86) Then riots broke out everywhere in the villages of Syria. The inhabitants even attacked many grain warehouses and plundered them. The soldiers soon restored order, but there was no improvement in the lot of the peasants. Only the Christians in the cities were well off: for example, the emperor gave the church of Antioch 36,000 bushels of grain to distribute among its poor and clergy 86). Naturally, this increased the discontent among the pagans, to whom most of the countrymen belonged, — especially since Constantine had shortly before destroyed many of their temples or robbed them of their images (331).

Moreover, in the same year a great earthquake ravaged neighboring Cyprus, where the city of Salamis collapsed into rubble and was almost completely destroyed 86). All these disasters were attributed to the wrath of the gods over the attacks of their enemy Constantine.

A certain Kalokairos, overseer of the imperial camel herd on Cupros, and probably a native of this island, now took advantage of this displeasure to stir up a revolt here and proclaim himself emperor. But Dalmatius Jr. soon landed on the island in the name of the emperor with a small army, captured the presumptuous usurper, and had him burned alive in the market place at Tarsus as a criminal (334) 87).

As a reward for this, Dalmatius Jr., who had previously been consul (333), was appointed Caesar the following year, 88) (335) and temporarily seconded to Mesopotamia as a general, because of a threatened war with Persia 89). At the same time his brother Hanniballianus received the rank of rex or nobilissimus of Cappadocia 89) and Pontus, 88) and was sent to the capital Caesarea of the first province (335).

This was also accompanied by a division of the remaining empire territory among the three sons of Constantine. Constantine II, the eldest, received Britain, Gaul and Spain, Constans the youngest, Italy and Africa and probably also Illyricum (the Balkans except Thrace), while Constantius received the entire East, except the possession of Dalmatius. It is not certain whether Dalmatius received Thrace or Mesopotamia, but in any case he was Caesar and made equal to the sons of Constantine. On the other hand, Hanniballianus became a future vassal of Constantius. Constantine remained supreme emperor and kept a close eye on his sons and nephews by means of the praefecti praetorio which he gave them as advisers, but it proves that he felt his end approaching. Two years later, when the Persian king had just renounced his friendship and he was preparing a war against this empire, he died at Ancyro, a suburb of Nicomedia, after having been baptized an Arian Christian shortly before 90). His body was carried to Constantinople, and from all sides his sons, nephews and brothers rushed to it. Then, encouraged by Constantius, the middle son, a riot arose among the soldiers, in which, among others, the hated praefectus praetorio of the East, Ablabius, 91) and all of Constantine's brothers and nephews were murdered, except the two sons of Constantius, Gallus and Julianus. The first was spared because he was seriously ill, the second, the later pagan emperor, because of his youth 90). Later this bloodbath was motivated by the claim that it happened at the behest of the deceased. Constantine himself, in a will that he gave to Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia before his death, is said to have expressed the fear that his brothers had poisoned him, and therefore called upon his sons to avenge his death 92).

However this may be, this explains the anger of the soldiers against the supposed murderers of their beloved emperor. Yet this claim was possibly only a fabrication by Constantius, to incite them.

This was how the Christians behaved immediately after the death of the great Constantine. The pagan senate, however, honored this moment more worthily by granting the renouncer of their faith an apotheosis 93).

THE ECONOMIC STATE OF THE EMPIRE. Constantine, a lavish and wasteful man, was in constant need of money. That is why his economic policy was limited to one point: the strict, carefully controlled collection of taxes. The interests of himself and his officials came before the prosperity of his subjects. In addition to taxes and tributes, the imperial treasury had other irregular incomes through the high fines imposed for violations of many laws. The word "fiscus" therefore recurs in almost all

- 135020 his edicts.
But what was the situation like for Constantine, and how did it change?
Let us exclude a few irregular taxes (such as wealth and release taxes) to which the citizens of the city of Rome had also traditionally been subject, while only the others, that is, Italians and provincials, were subject to taxation.
- 135025 This consisted, before Diocletian's reign, of the following tributes:
I. An annual corn delivery, imposed on all landowners for the annual bread supply of the capital (annona urbis), which, according to the purpose for which it served, was also called annona.
II. An extra tax in times of scarcity and want, only introduced by special order of
- 135030 the emperor, and therefore called indictio.
III. Irregular tributes and requisitions in every province where soldiers were stationed, and which concerned all kinds of naturals, e.g. bread, meat, wine, oil, besides beasts of burden and material for the army.
The first tax, the annona, was already made by Diocletian from a land tax, also into
- 135035 a poll tax (capitum), i.e., the new tribute was not only dependent on the land ownership, but also on the number of inhabitants, people and cattle. However, since the small landed estates and the farms of the tenants were relatively more densely populated than the large estates, the small farmers were hit hardest by this regulation.
- 135040 The second tax, the indictio, soon became a regular tribute, which was levied every 5 years under Diocletian.
All these tributes, annonae and indictions, weighed unbearably heavily on the provincials, and because of the constant repetition they hardly gave them any chance to take a breather.
- 135045 Moreover, the tax collectors (susceptores) and officials took much stricter action against tax refusers (exactores) against poorer citizens than against rich and important ones. The former were flogged and tortured even when they owned nothing; the latter, who could have themselves defended by slaves in case of default, were often not dared to do so. As a result, they had the most arrears in debt to the
- 135050 treasury, and not the poorer ones. But Constantine, who largely adopted this oppressive fiscal system of Diocletian, made it even more onerous. 95) From 313 onwards he held the indictions for a period of 15 years instead of every five, but this tax was now of course three times as high, which again helped the emperor to enormous sums of cash. And not yet satisfied with this, he introduced an old,
- 135055 obsolete tax of Septimius Severus 94) on all traders in his empire (314). This so-called "collatio lustralis" or five-yearly contribution was a tribute in gold and silver, hence called chrusarguron by the Greeks. 96) It had to be paid at all accessions and lustra (or five-yearly jubilees) of both the August and the later Caesars. Thus he repeated himself in 315, 317 320, 322, 324, 325, 327, 329, 330 etc.,
- 135060 so on average every two years.
He levied this tax, as the name already expresses, mainly to be able to pay for the expensive celebrations at all those jubilees, and also the five annual gifts to the army, without worrying about the financial capacity of his subjects. But he thereby destroyed trade and industry, the food root of the prosperity of his cities, just as
- 135065 his predecessor had already ruined the farming business, the prosperity of the countryside, by annonae and indictions.
For all tradesmen, from the richest wholesalers to the poorest craftsmen, peddlers and carters, were subject to this collatio lustralis. Yes, even the unfortunate sluts who had to offer their bodies for sale were not spared, but had to give up some of
- 135070 their humiliating profit to the emperor 97).
Whenever a year approached in which the tribute had to be paid, sighs and lamentations were heard everywhere in the cities. Those who could not pay because of their great poverty were flogged and tormented with the most cruel tortures. Mothers were forced to sell their sons, fathers to prostitute their daughters, in order to
- 135075 find gold and silver for the ruthless tax collectors 97). Even the rich were now forced much more severely than before. Their slaves and household goods were confiscated, and if they had not paid off their debt within two months, their property was sold for the benefit of the treasury 98).
And to all these direct taxes there were also the indirect ones, which mainly
- 135080 affected the notables, that is, both the perfectissimi or members of the senatorial nobility and the decurions or members of the aldermen of the provincial cities, and the regent nobility that arose from them. These had been plagued from time immemorial with munera or expensive offices, for example with the office of praetor or quaestor, an honour that cost them enormous sums.
- 135085 Since the perfectissimi were too few in number, and many of them belonged to the

imperial officials or favourites and therefore enjoyed exemption from munera, this duty fell mainly on the decurions.

In order not to ruin themselves or their families, those doomed to this sought to escape the decurionate by all kinds of means. For example, they married their slaves, to be expelled from their position, they joined the Christian clergy, moved to less highly regarded cities or to the countryside. But the cunning legislation of Constantine thwarted all these attempts. Moving to another city gave a decurion double duty as munera, both in the place where he came from and in his new place of residence.

Marrying slaves was made strictly punishable, the children born from this were considered illegitimate and even for that reason were persecuted and abused in the cruelest way. Becoming a priest was only permitted to non-decurions, that is, to the poor. All these means of escape therefore did not release anyone from the decurionate.

Even this was made, by the emperor's order, a hereditary position, and therefore the decurions were permanently taxable. 99)

This clarifies for us the nickname latro or highwayman that Constantine received in his middle period. But the foundation of Constantinople increased the tax burden still more, and was accompanied at the same time by such a tremendous waste that he was then called "pupillus" (immature), or "ripe for guardianship" 100).

And since Constantine's successors did not lighten his heavy tax burden (except, very briefly, the pagan Julian), this cruel system of extortion completely exhausted the strength of the people. The state was henceforth cursed with its fiscal tyranny, and this became one of the causes of its later downfall.

Let us now follow the emperor's policy towards the various social professions. Two of these, the corn shippers and the bakers, had already been charged with appropriate munera from ancient times, for the benefit of the treasury. The former had to transport the corn tributes or annonae in their ships free of charge to Rome, and later to the new capital 101). The bakers had to bake this imperial grain in their ovens free of charge for the bread supply of the court, army and capitals. For a long time these professions had been united into guilds and because of their free services to the state, exempted from all other munera, a privilege that was repeatedly perpetuated (among others 18 September 326) 102).

But now Constantine made it virtually impossible for both the corn shippers and the bakers to desert their professions by declaring them, like the decurion position, hereditary 103).

Thus in 314, 19 March, he orders that corn shippers who were originally bakers (pistores or levamentarii) 104) should nevertheless also become members of their parents' profession.

A law from the following year 105) also explicitly declares that one can only belong to the bakers' guild by right of inheritance. If one wants to be released from this guild, one must refuse the entire inheritance of one's parents with this right of inheritance, and give it to a blood relative or to the guild. Of course, most will have thought twice before buying their way out of this guild in this way.

The corn shippers also had to remain this from father to son, and if one of them possibly became a clergyman and had thus cunningly obtained freedom from munera, he was nevertheless not released from the guild of the nauticalarii (corn shippers) 106). However, there was one way left for them to get out of this, namely by selling their ships and other possessions to others. The emperor granted them this, but on

condition that the new owners were then forced to submit to the obligations of the shippers' guild 107) (28 October 326).

As long as there were still two princes ruling over the Roman Empire, Licinius competed with Constantine in the East to maintain the very useful profession of corn shipper. Thus he had forced members of the senatorial class to equip ships for the transport of grain, and thus lowered them to the rank of corn shippers. But this coercion did not seem tactical enough to Constantine, and when he had conquered the Eastern Empire and destroyed the laws of the tyrant, he left it to the Senate to determine which persons were most worthy of returning to their birthplace (15 July 325) 108).

A general aim therefore dominated Constantine in his regulation of social ranks: to let everyone remain in the position of his parents.

Senators were not allowed to descend in rank. Decurions were made unable to rise to an imperial office, for example the presidency, unless they had first gone through all the municipal ranks in their hometown in succession 109).

And not only the senators, the decurions, the corn shippers and bakers were made hereditary professions, but also, for example, mint masters 110). This one was

eternally forbidden to become perfectissimus or judex 110).

Thus under Constantine we get the beginning rigidity of the whole society in hereditary castes, which so typifies the Middle Ages.

All these laws and institutions were exclusively for the better fiscal overview. Constantine, who was more military than legal, has a lot to say about the further economic life promulgated fewer laws than, for example, Diocletian, the regulator of maximum prices and the correct observance of purchase contracts.

He was therefore little interested in the ordinary trades. Only one type of these he strongly encouraged, with exceptional privileges, namely all intellectual and artistic enterprises.

As early as 321 or 324 111) he declared, possibly through the efforts of the clerics who often practiced these subjects as well, all physicians, grammarians, rhetoricians and teachers of letters free from munera.

This was not new, because he thereby restored an old law of Antonius Pius, 112) which Diocletian 112) had also maintained, but had nevertheless been forgotten again in the time of persecutions and dynastic wars. Nevertheless, by this decision he formed a favourable contrast with Licinius, the hater of the intellect, and could therefore even pass for a protector of civilisation. In 333, besides this privilege, he also granted the physicians and men of letters exemption from military service 113).

Also in connection with the many basilicas that he had built everywhere, he also strongly encouraged the building trade. Now there was a great shortage of architects. Therefore he ordered Felix, the proconsul of Africa, to encourage all those who at the age of twenty-two refuse to devote themselves to the "artes liberales" by granting them munera exemption and extra allowances, also for their parents, to this profession (334) 114).

In 337 he extended this munera exemption to all architects, physicians, veterinarians, painters, sculptors, marble workers, woodworkers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths and ironsmiths, plumbers, glassblowers, ivory workers, potters and countless other professions. 115)

He grants them this privilege "so that they may rest, learn their art as they wish and become more proficient in it and teach it to their sons". So here too the effort to make these professions hereditary.

But since they were not eligible for public state services, or munera, because of their poverty, this privilege meant very little, especially since they remained subject to direct taxation: the collatio lustralis.

We therefore notice nothing of Christian influences that would lead to milder treatment in Constantine's economic policy.

Nor is this the case with his attitude towards the lowest classes of the population, the slaves and freedmen. There was no question of a softening of slavery, as is often claimed, at most of sporadic whims of princely leniency towards that unfortunate caste.

Thus, in one of his laws, presumably under spiritual influence, he praised the freeing of slaves, especially on Sundays, as a pleasing work. (See chapter CHRISTIAN EMPEROR AND PAGANISM). But in another edict he declares that a freedman who insults his patron out of ingratitude, together with all his descendants, will be reduced to the slave status 116).

Elsewhere he forbids, under specious slogans, that in the case of inheritances a family of slaves or coloni be divided among different heirs 117). "For who can separate children from parents, sisters from brothers, parents from husbands!" Yet this was more out of considerations of utility, because he wanted to tie the coloni to the fields where they worked.

That is why he took much stricter action than Diocletian before him against fugitive slaves and coloni. Those who were caught fleeing to the barbarian country had their leg amputated, or they were killed or otherwise punished 118). However, whoever received a fugitive slave or colonus in his house or on his land without the knowledge of his master, had to return him to his master with another serf or with 20 solidi 119). However, if he received him for the second or third time, he had to retribute 2 or 3 others or the prescribed values in addition to the slave.

This binding of the serfs to their fields, a commandment so typical for the later Middle Ages, was again done for fiscal reasons. Because in this way the slave ownership remained virtually stable on each estate, and the official lists of these did not have to be changed every time.

That is why he also determined that coloni could only be sold within the province where they lived (27 February 328) 119).

He also took action against the abuse of many slave owners who, in order to avoid the capitatio (or poll tax), outsourced their slaves to foreigners as so-called free wage

laborers. The slaves in question could, if they lied about being free, be forced to confess on the rack, and of course they fell into the treasury 120). In general, the number of slaves in Constantine was not reduced, because many poor people, because they were unable to pay their taxes otherwise, had to sell their children as serfs. This is confirmed not only by Zosimus 121) but also by a law of the emperor himself, 122) which in this case allows the unfortunate parents to buy back their children, if they had more money again. That possibility will have occurred rarely.

The emperor issued strict laws against the mixing of classes. This was, as we have seen, general precisely in the time of the soldier emperors, so that Constantine himself was born of an innkeeper's daughter. First he now forbade decurions and perfectissimi to marry slaves or slave girls "because slaves are born from this" 123). Then he extended this prohibition to the above-mentioned dignitaries also having intercourse with all persons of low rank, such as freedmen, actresses, landladies, innkeeper's daughters, procurers' daughters, merchants' wives, etc. 124). If they declared the resulting natural children to be legitimate, they were branded and lost their Roman citizenship. Inheritances to these natural children were invalid and had to be returned to legitimate descendants. But he persecuted the innocent bastards most cruelly. These became part of the treasury and were sentenced to forced labor.

Thus we see that Constantine sacrificed the prosperity of his empire and the free development of society entirely to his fiscal interests.

CHRISTIAN EMPEROR AND PAGANISM.

As we saw in Chapter IV [THE RISE OF CONSTANTINE], superstition and politics had led Constantine to identify Christ with the hitherto revered Sun-god (Mithras), and thus to unite both, Christians and Mithras-worshippers, under his labarum (312).

Now both religions had much in common. The worship of Mithras, too, (performed in subterranean caves or Mithrae) had only one god, and upheld a much stricter morality than the rest of paganism. But when the emperor had once admitted Christian bishops into his circle (as early as 312), who informed him of the essence of their doctrine, their influence gradually displaced that of the Mithras priests.

From 312 onwards he became increasingly Christian, but at the same time he continued to spare Mithraism, the religion of the army; yes, possibly he professed both religions at the same time for a time. This is evident, besides from the choice of the labarum, from a second, masterly attempt at mediation between Christians and Sun servants, namely the introduction of Sunday 125) (5 March 321). Instead of many pagan holidays, 52 official days of rest were now instituted. This day, although

immediately intended as a Christian Sabbath, he does not yet call it, like later emperors, "day of the lord" (dies dominicus), but dies Solis, the day of the Sun. In this way he could give both Christ and Mithras, the god of peace and the god of the army, each his own, and he lived in friendship with all gods and subjects. As an example of the unctuous, almost benevolent tone of Constantine's religious edicts I quote this edict:

"All judges and townspeople and all services and businesses must rest on the venerable day of the Sun. Those who are placed in the fields may, however, tend the agriculture, since it often happens that on no other day can the grain be entrusted to the furrow, the vine to the ditch more conveniently, so that the favorable opportunity granted by heavenly providence is not lost" 125).

But as a correction to this law it was soon added (3 July 321) that it was pleasing to the emperor to fulfill votive vows on that day, or to free slaves. So the day of rest was immediately intended for Christian and Mitharistic worship 126).

However, from the beginning he had a completely different attitude towards the other polytheistic pagan religions, such as the worship of Jupiter and the other Olympian gods, than he did towards the monotheistic worship of Mithras. With the term "pagans" we now mean, speaking of Constantine, for the sake of brevity: the great mass of polytheists.

He gradually regarded these in the same way as his new co-religionists did.

Now the first Christians from ancient Judaism had imbibed the same intolerance towards dissenters that actually characterizes all Eastern forms of monotheism (including Mazdaism and Islam). Where did this come from? The Christians, like the Jews before them, did not see in the pagan polytheists pitiable sufferers of superstition, but criminal devil-worshippers. For they themselves, like the pagans, believed in the existence of demons. The New Testament is steeped in this superstition: Christ banishes the devils by his word.

The Christians now saw in all the pagan gods demons 127) or fallen angels, thus

ministering spirits of Lucifer or Satan.

These had namely, in human form which they could assume at will, lived for a time on earth, so that their graves were still shown, like those of Zeus on Crete 127). After their death, however, these beings had devilishly seduced the survivors to worship them as gods, while in truth their souls only continued to exist as evil spirits. According to the Christians, their demonic character was first apparent from their immoral character, and it was certainly easy to enumerate all the infamies of the Olympian gods.

Moreover, they could creep into the souls and bodies of people. In the latter case they only caused material ailments, but if they overpowered the souls, idolatries and heresies. 128) But from the name of Christ and the sign of the cross, the devils would flee. Christian priests therefore also served as exorcists and medicine men, and were said to be able to cure diseases just like Christ himself.

Of course, according to them, the persecutions of Christians had also happened under the inspiration of demons. 129) Only through the labarum, the Christ monogram, on his banners had their protector Constantine overcome those enemies of God. No wonder then that this emperor, the more he came under the influence of the clerics, learned to detest those polytheists as servants of the devil.

Yet his initial attitude towards these pagans was one of uncertainty and political caution. Although he was personally more devoted to the Christians, as "pontifex maximus" or pagan high priest (one of the old powers of the emperors) he was not allowed to the majority of army and people.

Thus he submitted himself for the time being, when he could not do otherwise, to all kinds of pagan customs. After his first triumphant entry into Rome (29 October 312), for example, as pontifex maximus he offered the obligatory thank offering of the "suove-aurilia", and as such he is depicted on the triumphal arch, erected for him soon afterwards (313, 314 or at the latest 315).

But even then he clearly showed his aversion to these senseless ceremonies and tried, if possible, to withdraw from them. For example, he did not celebrate the "ludi saecularii" or the solemn centenary in honour of the foundation of the city of Rome, (313, 21 April), which was repeated every 110 years or Etruscan century 130) and was last shown to the people with grand pomp in 203 by Septimius Severus 131).

As an excuse for his avoidance of these pagan ceremonies he was offered an important meeting with Licinius which he had to attend in Milan at the end of January 313. But by this hasty departure from Rome, after a stay of barely three months, he not only spared himself the reproach of idolatry, but also the enormous costs connected with this public festival. Even after his stay in Milan he did not return to Rome, but travelled on, first to Illyria, then to Gaul, under the pretext of a new war against the Franks.

But an old oracle threatened Rome with ruin if these games of the century were skipped. In this neglect of old traditions superstitious pagans of that time and later saw treason against the fatherland, so that around 430 Zosimus reproached Constantine for the then disasters of the empire.

But in the beginning Constantine expressed his hatred of the old, official religion of Rome only negatively, never openly. In accordance with the Rescript of Milan, which placed both religions on an equal footing, he pursued an apparently impartial, conciliatory policy, and for the time being he took care not to turn the polytheistic majority in this western empire against him by overly hostile laws.

Nevertheless, he preferred the Christian doctrine, and he immediately attempted to prevent pagan propaganda. In two successive laws of 319-132) he forbade haruspices or diviners, and soon other pagan priests as well, to visit private houses, on pain of burning. They could, he says, "serve their superstition according to their own rite within public temples."

"Go to your sanctuaries," he calls to them, "we do not prevent you, in the open light, from maintaining a long-expired custom."

In this he shows a certain tolerance, but also a fear barely concealed by mockery. Yet Constantine continued to attach superstitious trust to those same haruspices or diviners, who precisely because they served "devilish" spirits, learned the future from them. This became apparent, for example, when the Colosseum or amphitheatre of the Flavians, from whom he and his family claimed to be descended, was struck by lightning in Rome. Constantine, who was staying in Illyria (Sardica) at the time, saw this as a dangerous omen, and immediately had the haruspices consulted. He also

determined in an edict of 17 December 320 or 321 133), that henceforth these diviners had to be consulted carefully if the palace or other public buildings in Rome were touched by the flames of heaven, but that they (the diviners) had to refrain from offering sacrifices in private houses. This latter was a repetition of an earlier

law.

Constantine was by no means alone in this superstition of pagan divination and oracles. He shared it with most of his, even Christian, contemporaries, for example with Lactantius. According to this apologist, the Sibylline books would have predicted not only the coming of Christ, 134) but even of Nero, 135) the forerunner of the "antichrist". Moreover, these Sibyls 136) like Apollo of Colophon 137) would have already proclaimed monotheism in one of his oracles, by virtue of their prophetic gift. However, the Christians found it difficult to explain how it was that the demons knew the future, yes, God's most secret decrees. They saved themselves from this by claiming that the devils themselves, as fallen angels, had a certain divine element in them, and therefore knew – but only partially – what would happen 138).

Related to his laws against pagan priests, but much stricter in tone, is his edict against sorcery (321 or 324, 23 May) 139). All practitioners of the black art, who either seduce chaste souls to lust by it, or conspire against the welfare of mankind, or raise rain clouds, hail or thunderstorms to destroy the harvest in the fields, are threatened with severe punishment. This law also explains Constantine's later behavior against the magician and weather-maker Sopater 140). Here too he shows himself to be the first type of a medieval man, because this law, once ingrained as a custom, gave rise to the later, so horrible witch trials.

Since pagan priests often also acted as miracle workers, this law also affected them. Nevertheless, he remained quite tolerant towards the polytheists at first, until around 323, because of his increasingly worse discord with the pagan Licinius, he changed his policy. This became apparent at the end of this year, when in the part of his colleague's empire, in honor of his 15th anniversary, Catholics and even their priests, as of old, were forced to sacrifice to the emperor. Constantine now strictly forbade this, on pain of public flogging, and thus immediately threw himself into the role of protector of Christians also in the part of his rival's empire. At this time he clearly changed his attitude towards the polytheists: he became openly hostile to them 141).

After Constantine's victory over Licinius, as well as after Maxentius' fall, all his laws and decrees were declared invalid. First of all, the emperor naturally annulled his persecutory measures against the Christians 142) (324, 16 December). This was done by an edict to all the inhabitants of the Eastern provinces, including Palestine; which had suffered the most severely. The main provisions of this were: (see Euseb. Vit. Const. II, 24-42):

- a) The banished Christians were recalled.
- b) Those who had been deprived of their property for religious reasons were given it back.
- c) Clergy who were deliberately forced to munera were exempted from this.
- d) Those who had been sentenced to forced labor in the mines or to slavery, or to shameful women's labor (spinning and weaving) were released from this.
- e) Those who had been expelled from the army because of their faith were allowed to return to the same rank they had previously held, or, if desired, to be honorably discharged.

f) The property of those who had been killed because of their faith went to their blood relatives, or, if they were no longer alive, to the Church.

g) However, if the tax authorities had given or sold these confiscated goods to private individuals, they had to be returned to the former, lawful owners. The later owners received no compensation for this, but were allowed to keep everything they had enjoyed through usufruct from these possessions, if they, in a humble petition to the emperor, begged his forgiveness for their "greed". This provision also and above all concerned the secularized property of the Church.

We can therefore clearly see a great difference between this edict and the earlier rescript of Milan, which also returned the stolen goods to the Christians and their Church, but against compensation from the state to the later owners. In addition, Constantine sent an edict to all metropolitans (supreme church princes) and governors of the provinces concerned to rebuild the destroyed churches, so that the new ones were at least as high or higher than the old ones. The costs had to be met partly from the imperial treasury, partly by "voluntary" contributions from the inhabitants, which of course greatly increased the tax burden. (Euseb. Vit. Const. II, 46).

So there is a growth of Christian disposition and hatred of the pagans in the emperor. And no wonder. He now no longer had to take into account a pagan colleague, and had also moved his residence to the East, where there were many more Christians than in the West. That is why he now took much more fierce action against the polytheists than before.

About the same time as his privileges to the Christians, he forbade his still pagan officials to sacrifice to the gods. The text of this law has not been preserved, and the report about it in Eusebius (Eus. Vit. Const. II, 44, 47) is often doubted (among others by Burckhardt), but it must have existed, since in 341 the later emperor Constantius explicitly appealed to such an edict from his father. (I quote:) "Away with superstition, let the madness of sacrifices be abolished. For whoever still dares to sacrifice against the law of our divine prince and father and the command of our benevolence, will be hit by a fitting and immediate sentence." (Cod. Th. XVI, 10, 2).

Constantine did not dismiss pagan officials from his service, but he prevented them from religious exercises. At the same time he forced them in a gentle, non-violent way to become Christians. Many obeyed, in order to remain in the emperor's favor and not to waste the opportunities for their career. And although there remained in his service die-hard pagans, – for all the offices that became vacant, the emperor usually appointed Christians, in order to increase the number of his followers. At the same time (October 1, 325) Constantine, certainly at the request of his new co-religionists, prohibited the bloody gladiatorial games, which the lower, pagan people, especially in Rome, were still fond of. This law, however, was often evaded, so that it would last almost a century before the last sword fight would be stopped by the self-sacrifice of the monk Telemachus (403).

Thus we see that Constantine, at the beginning of his openly Christian policy, that is, from the fall of Licinius to the building of Constantinople, still acts moderately towards the pagans (323–328). Even around 328, as towards the Arians, a certain rapprochement with the pagans can be detected in him.

According to the pagan Zosimus (143) (II, 29) remorse for his murder of Crispus, and soon of Fausta, would be the cause of this, and this is quite possible. After such great misdeeds he felt as if persecuted by furies, and sought a means to remove that torment. Should he confess everything to the Christian bishop Hosius? He did not dare to do this, because most Christians did not yet know anything about his murder of Crispus and he was afraid of losing his popularity with them if this became known. Therefore, in his growing superstitious fear of the demons of vengeance, he first sought refuge with the priests of Mithras, the sun god, who had the reputation of being able to exorcise and banish spirits. But they declared themselves powerless to cleanse him of the guilt of so many murders and perjury.

He now decided to consult a famous neo-Platonic sophist and magician, Sopater and pupil of Iamblichus, and summoned him to his new palace in Constantinople (330). Soon, through the power of his dialectic, he gained such favor with the emperor that he was allowed to sit at the table on his right (144).

This annoyed the Christian party at court, especially since the pagan sophists at that time tried to win back the people and the emperor for Hellenic paganism by means of public debates. They did not succeed, however, since mixed meetings of pagan and Christian speakers were soon forbidden. (145) – but the danger of a sudden pagan disposition of Constantine greatly frightened the Christian priests.

Moreover, the imperial favor that Sopater enjoyed aroused the envy of the courtiers, especially of the Christian praefectus praetorio Ablabius, who feared to lose his growing influence over Constantine. According to Eunapius, he managed to make his master believe that Sopater, the cunning magician, had tied the winds, so that the grain ships from Egypt could not reach the imperial city. And Constantine believed that slander, (146) and saw in Sopater one who was working for the destruction of his empire. And since he had not been able to free him from his remorse for the murder of Crispus, he decided to kill the man. In doing so, he immediately gave in to the Christian priests, who saw in all practice of magic arts a damnable intercourse with the devil, and he openly showed that he was no longer pagan-minded (147).

At the same time as Sopater (or possibly just before the consecration of Constantinople) another pagan fell as a martyr, namely Kanonaris (148). This philosopher repeatedly addressed the people from his orator's chair on the forum Constantini. He found support especially among the old Byzantines, in particular among the so-called Gazans, descendants of colonists from Gaza, whom Septimius Severus had transplanted here a century ago, after the massacre of Byzantium. These latter, fiercely pagan, had at that time supported Licinius in his struggle against Constantine, and had defended Byzantium with tenacious force. Now they were indeed subjugated to the new emperor and had even had to hand over their weapons as metal for his statue, but they remained secretly hostile to him. This now became apparent in the appearance of Kanonaris.

When, however, Constantine showed himself on the forum and the well-disposed among

the people cheered him, the pagan orator from his loftiness called out to him: "Do not be wiser than your ancestors, you who have destroyed your ancestors." The emperor then admonished the man to stop his pagan propaganda, to which he replied loudly: that he wanted to die for his ancestors.

Then Constantine had him beheaded, to the horror of the still pagan Gazans. The pagans also have their martyrs. After having been bloodily persecuted at first, the Christians now took revenge, against the teaching of the gospel, on those who did not believe as they did.

From then on the emperor took increasingly fierce action against the polytheists. After the earlier ban on sacrifices (324), he now (around 330) made divination and asking oracles punishable.

Nevertheless, many continued to persevere in the old faith. In order to accelerate the Christianization of his empire, he finally resorted to violence.

Thus, at the instigation of his former mother-in-law Eutropia, the mother of Fausta, a Syrian by birth, he decided to destroy an idol altar near the sacred oak of Mamre in Palestine, 149) At this tree God was said to have revealed himself to Abraham, 150) and therefore Constantine now built a basilica there.

Since then the emperor continued to persecute the pagans. First, shortly before the dedication of his city, partly out of a desire for plunder, partly out of a need for money, he had a real campaign held against all the images of the gods. 151) For this purpose his trusted courtiers went from city to city, from temple to temple, and then ordered the mortally frightened priest to fetch his god from the most holy place.

With the strangling snare they were dragged closer, these "gods of the expired fables", to be sent to Constantinople, if they consisted of bronze or marble, to adorn a palace or circus or senate building or one of the grandest public squares. 152) If, however, the outside was covered with gold, then this was knocked off, and only the ivory or bone supporting skeleton of the once so highly revered deity. The gold, however, was carefully collected, and melted down in the imperial melting pot into hard coin, for the benefit of his treasury. The only remainder of the statue remained, some worthless junk.

Thus Constantine achieved a double goal: enrichment and strengthening of his own power, and discouragement of the pagans. For many of them began to doubt the value of their religion after this violent iconoclasm and – according to Eusebius – surrendered to Christianity.

Because of this, the emperor finally dared to order in an edict in 331 the demolition of the most honored or notorious pagan temples 153). He did this, both because of a lack of building material for new churches to be founded, and because of fanatical religious zeal.

Now he, and all Christians, hated above all the worship of Aphrodite, who was badly reputed – also among the pagans – for the unbridled fornication committed in her idolatrous houses. Thus, first of all, the temple of Aphaka 154) of the Syrian Astaroth on the summit of Lebanon, where emasculated priests committed unnatural filthiness in honor of the goddess, was thrown to the ground by soldiers on the emperor's orders. Another such "house of worship" in Phoenicia, at Heliopolis, where the priestesses prostituted themselves to all pious visitors, was also destroyed. In Egypt he strictly forbade the worship of the Nile goddess by emasculated priests and ordered these eunuchs to show themselves nowhere.

Since a wise legislator must guard against certain moral standards, these actions of the emperor are entirely justifiable, even in the name of humanity and civilization. Hatefully intolerant, however, was the destruction of the temple of Asclepius at Aigai 155), a kind of ancient Lourdes, where thousands of pious pagans came to be cured of their ailments. This was done mainly at the instigation of the Christian priests of the time, who immediately served as exorcists and medicine men, and wanted to stifle the competition of their pagan colleagues. At the emperor's beckoning, the house of the "soul-seducer" was razed to the ground.

By these powerful measures against the religion of the Hellenes, he would have cured many of them, according to Eusebius, of their delusion and brought them to Christianity. With some that may be true, but with others the emperor, precisely through his fanaticism, provoked a reaction, as was shown, for example, by the uprising of Calocerus in 333 on Cyprus, which was partly favoured, if not caused, by pagan discontent.

And against all this destruction of the old he set the construction of the new faith. He showed this first of all by founding numerous churches, often on the ruins of destroyed temples, and with stone and marble columns originating from them. Thus he had one built in Heliopolis in place of the recently demolished sanctuary of Aphrodite. Even a bishop was given his seat here, assisted by priests and deacons.

And in order that "many people would come closer to God's teaching, the emperor also provided rich gifts here to support the poor, in order to urge on rapid Christianization," says the pious Eusebius 156). He therefore established in each such church a well-stocked fund for converts in order to bribe the surrounding residents to Christianity with money. It is understandable that the pagan priests could do nothing against such means.

But not only proselytizing zeal, but also veneration of saints and martyrs guided him in his church building. Shortly before, he had built a precious church over the grave of the martyr Lucianus, who died at Drepanum during the persecutions, and enriched the city with many other beautiful buildings (327). Out of love for his mother, whom Lucianus particularly revered, and who was probably born in Drepanum herself, he called it Helenastad or Helenopolis from then on.

It was also she who, in her steadily increasing piety, assisted by the Constantinopolitan presbyter Eustathius 157), advised him to build a basilica on the grave of Jesus. The emperor therefore gave orders to Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem, and to Dracilianus, the vicarius orientis 158).

They searched in vain for the grave site, demolished a temple of Venus that had been erected there later, and so it was finally thought having dug up the cave of Jesus' resurrection, deep underground.

Soon a high basilica was built there, decorated on the outside with a pomp of gold, and with interior walls of multi-coloured marble.

Shortly after the Synod of Tyre this church was consecrated by Macarius, in the presence of most of the bishops of the East (17 September 335) 159).

On hearing this, Constantine's mother, as old as she was, set out on a journey to undertake a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre in the last years of her life.

On the way she donated large sums of money to the Christian communities of the cities she passed through, to everyone who personally approached her, and further to garrisons who were stationed there 160).

She also made money and clothing available to the poor and freed countless prisoners who – possibly because of tax debts – had to languish in the mines. Thus Constantine attempted, by some alms from his mother, to reconcile his Eastern subjects somewhat with his fiscal extortion system. The money that had flowed to him through the diligence of millions of workers he now squandered on a handful of lazy beggars and parasites. This journey was also intended as financial propaganda for Christianity.

When Helena arrived in Jerusalem she organised a special order of nuns for the service of the Holy Sepulchre Church, that of the "Hestiades", apparently after the example of the Roman Vestalinen 161).

About the same time her son sent honourable letters to Antonius the Egyptian hermit 162) so that monasticism was also encouraged by Constantine and his family.

They also led their subjects in the veneration of relics. She had excavations carried out on Golgotha, and according to the legend 163), three crosses actually came to light there. Also found was a loose plank with the trilingual inscription "I.N.R.I." engraved on Pilate's command. But it was not known to which of the crosses this belonged, and therefore also not known which had been the true cross of Christ.

However, through the healing power that emanated from it, whereby a sick woman became healthy, Bishop Macarius discovered the true cross. This non-historical story proves what a miraculous power the Christians of that time, in their superstition, attributed to all relics.

Furthermore, Helena enriched the city of Jerusalem with many buildings and also had churches built on the Mount of Olives and in a cave in Bethlehem, where Jesus was said to have been born.

Then she died, at the age of eighty, and her remains were transported to Constantinople and buried with military honors (336).

Shortly afterwards Constantine built churches in his own city above the graves of several martyrs, and also in Antioch and Nicomedia. In the last years before his death we can therefore see in him a steadily stricter church-mindedness, and at the same time a growing hostility to paganism. This also appeared from his habit of giving speeches and sermons both to his court circle and also in public to the people of Constantinople. Sometimes he spoke immediately to give hints to his palace companions who had fallen into disgrace; but his main aim was the propaganda of monotheism against the pagans. Eusebius has preserved such a speech for us, namely: "Speech to the assembly of the saints". There is no reason to doubt its general authenticity, but there is reason to doubt the purity of the text, which may have been changed and supplemented here and there by the Greek translator(s), it is nowhere original, but it contains many reminiscences from the work of Lactantius, both from his "Divinae Institutiones" 164) and from his "De mortibus persecutorum."

But with a certain eloquence, Christian dogmas are defended and pagan superstitions refuted.

Thus Constantine, despite his bloody, anything but Christian life, also acted as an apologist, albeit as an all too slavish follower of the church father Lactantius. The lasting result of the emperor's championship for Christianity against the pagans can be summarised as: the secularisation of the Church.

The primitive church of the apostles strictly adhered to Jesus' words: my kingdom is not of this world. Now, however, the Christian communities had grown from small, pitiful, half-secret burial funds (165) into a huge, widely branched public organisation. Their landed property, previously consisting of only a few burial grounds, had expanded in proportion to the increasing wealth of their believers. They had become a very worldly, social power, and Constantine had placed them in the service of the state. Their relationship to it had also changed completely. If she had previously opposed the deification of princes, she now cooperated in an equally great cult of the emperor, by venerating him as sole ruler by the grace of God. Moreover, her rite, which was so simple at first, had changed completely, had adapted itself to the ostentation of paganism, with its celestial ceremonies. Through the veneration of saints the ancient polytheism of the newly Christianized Greeks and Romans had been revived in her.

In many respects, through the efforts of Constantine, the new Catholic Church had become a hybrid of pompous paganism and the sober primitive Christianity of the Jewish fishermen and apostles.

CONSTANTINE AS PRINCE OF THE CHURCH.

Since his conversion to Christianity (312), the emperor, as pontifex maximus or pagan high priest, also assumed the highest authority in ecclesiastical affairs of his new co-religionists. That is precisely why he called the bishops his "brothers" and himself "general bishop" of the empire (166).

From the beginning, he therefore attempted to make the Church, his personal domain, unassailable to the outside world, and to maintain the inner unity of its confessors, either by gentleness or by coercion.

Now, during the persecutions, disputes had broken out among the Christians in Africa and Mauretania. There they wanted to exclude from the Church all a certain Donatus (not Lactantius' friend) and his followers who, under the compulsion of the last persecution, had renounced their faith or had delivered Christian books to the pagan authorities for burning. In contrast, there were other Catholic clergy (especially those outside Africa) who wanted to forgive the sins of the repentant "traditores" (translators), since there were far too many of them, and it was not so much the quality as the number of faithful souls that had to be taken into account.

Moreover, the Donatists also differed from the other Catholics in doctrine. They doubted the value of the sacraments and made them dependent on the worthiness of the participants. In strictness of requirements, they therefore mostly agreed with the later Protestants.

There was great tension between the two parties. When a certain Caecilianus was consecrated bishop of Carthage by a clergyman (Felix) whom the Donatists regarded as a traditor (the Catholics denied this), discontent broke out. A Numidian council, mostly Donatists, declared his choice illegal.

But now Constantine intervened. Towards May 313, although he was just travelling through Gaul to Trier, he called a council in Rome. Caecilius soon appeared here with 10 African bishops, who were soon joined by the bishops of Autum, Arles (Arelate) and Cologne. Under the leadership of the Roman bishop Miltiades, they met in the Lateran palace of Empress Fausta, who, like her husband, was Christian-minded, and gave them hospitality in his place.

But they achieved nothing, and a subsequent council in Arles, where the emperor was also not present (1 August 314), did not lead to reconciliation between the Donatists and Caecilians. On the contrary, precisely because of the statement that Felix was not a traditor, and Caecilius' choice of bishop was therefore legally recognised, the disputes in Africa flared up again. Finally, after this futile council at Arles, Constantine settled the ecclesiastical conflict at Milan in August 315 (when he was back in Italy after a long stay in Gaul and Illyria). On the advice of the African proconsul Anulinus and the emperor's own court preacher, the very orthodox Hosius, Caecilian's appointment was maintained, but the Donatists were thrown out of the Church as troublemakers and heretics. (Augustine, Epist. 43, 7, 20).

He considered them schismatics, who broke the united front of the Christians against their pagan enemies. And since he only considered a united, Catholic or universal Church as a useful support of his authority, he equated heretics with traitors. In

- 135680 this Constantine, with his striving for caesaropapism, behaves just as Charles V later did towards the Protestants 167). Once he had condemned the Donatists, the orthodox were given one privilege after another (All according to me: 21-31 October 315).
- 135685 First of all, Caecilian and his followers were paid a large sum of money, possibly as compensation for what they had endured from the Donatists, who had, among other things, set fire to many of their churches, and the right to unlimited support from the state. This was the first historical example of remuneration of the clergy by the emperor or the state, not of regular salaries, but provisionally in the form of donations, and Constantine continued with this in the rest of his reign (Eus. Hist. eccl. X, 6). Secondly, all Catholic priests were declared free from munera 168) or compulsory state offices, i.e., they no longer had to hold expensive and time-consuming offices in their home towns, "so that they would not be kept from their worship by the sacrilegious envy of some." (Cod. Theod. XVI, 2, 1 and 2). In an additional letter, exclusively in his letter to Anulinus, the emperor adds that he
- 135690 should especially watch out for the execution of this edict in Africa, since before that time the heretics had deliberately plagued the Catholic priests with inconvenient appointments (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 1), which was now no longer allowed (See also Eus. Hist. eccl. X, 7). A few years later (July 5, 321) he even granted the Church the right of inheritance, so that it could enrich itself immensely 4) through testamentary dispositions of private individuals (Cod. Th. XVI. 2, 4).
- 135695 Yet ch then there arose in many cities such a great influx of decurions (rich dignitaries) to the clergy, simply because of the high ecclesiastical salaries and the freedom from munera, that the emperor took action against it. In an edict of July 18, 320, he forbids decurions or their sons to become priests, if they are rich and educated enough to hold public offices. (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 3).
- 135700 Yes, Constantine increasingly interfered with the appointment of clerics, for the sake of the treasury. Finally, on June 1, 326, he only allows the priesthood to those who have no family among their fellow citizens, and are therefore without political influence, and moreover possess too little for a city office. "For it befits the rich to undergo the necessary burdens of the worldly state, but the poor to be supported by the wealth of the Church." (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 6).
- 135705 Thus the emperor knew how to prevent overly wealthy lords from joining the clergy, as this was doubly damaging to his treasury. For firstly, they profited from the state salaries to the clergy, and by being exempt from munera, they escaped the obligation of the decurions to be liable for the taxes of their city.
- 135710 In worldly affairs, Constantine therefore decided on his own judgment, although in dogmatic matters he also followed the advice of the clergy, especially of his court bishop Hosius.
- 135715 Yet their influence also increased greatly in public life, because in 318, 321 or 323 he granted the bishops the authority to administer justice, if one of the parties to a lawsuit requested this. 169) He did this for two reasons. First of all, he wanted to use his fellow believers and followers as officials, and he also wanted to exercise control over the previously all-powerful judges, whose fierce pagan bias had become apparent during the last persecution of Christians.
- 135720 However, due to the opposition of educated professional lawyers to ecclesiastical competitors, this law was not properly implemented at first. Thus Constantine had to repeat his own decision in 333 in a rescript to Ablabius, then praefectus praetorio of the East 170).
- 135725 This law is especially important, because it gave rise to the later ecclesiastical courts of the Middle Ages, with all their damnable aftermath of coercion of conscience and inquisition.
- 135730 At the same time as he opposed the heretics, Constantine also took a stand against the Jews.
- 135735 Here too, Constantine followed a new course. Or rather, he restored the old, almost forgotten anti-Semitism of the Flavian emperors, whose family name "Flavius" he adopted, possibly with that ulterior motive. For after the Flavians Vespasian and Titus, the destroyers of the Jewish state, and Domitian who also persecuted them as a people in exile, the Jews had known peace and prosperity – except for a suppressed uprising during Hadrian, many emperors had even protected and favored them above the Christians, because only the Jews were exempted from the sacrifice to the imperial Genius.
- 135740 Now, however, when a Christian prince came to the throne, all this ceased. Only the Christians were favored, and for the Jews a thousand-year period of confinement within their Ghettos began.
- 135745 In 315, October 18, Constantine then issued an edict in Milan 171), where he had just

settled the Donatist struggle, also against the professors of the Talmud, who had apparently tormented fellow tribesmen who had recently become Catholic. "We want to impress upon the Jews and their rulers and rabbis that if after this edict one of them dares to harass another who has fled their pernicious sect and has gone over to the service of God, with stones or any other kind of fury, (which fact we just heard happened), he will immediately be given over to the flames and burned with all his accomplices." (Cod. Theod. XVI, 8, 1=Just. 1, 9, 3).

From these words the emperor's ecclesiastically tinted hatred of Jews is clearly evident. He also proved this by choosing an official, also Christian day of rest, which had to fall on a different day than the Jewish Sabbath, and also at the Council of Nicaea, when determining the Passover, the date of which was deliberately not set on the Jewish Passover, but on the day of Jesus' resurrection. Apparently the emperor wanted to strictly separate the future of Christianity from the Judaism from which it had originated. Moreover, Constantine's policy towards this religion is subject to all sorts of princely whims and vagaries.

For example, in 321 he orders the decurions of Cologne to make all the wealthy Jews there – except for three – available for the city offices or munera, which hit them hard financially. (Cod. Th. XVI, 8, 3). But in 330 he exempts the Jewish rabbis and synagogue leaders from this, so that they received the same exemption from munera as the Catholic clergy.

This is therefore remarkable, because they were privileged by this were placed above the heretics, that is, the Arians, whose priests and communities were excluded from all ecclesiastical privileges. (1 September 326, see Cod. Th. XVI, 5, 1).

However, Constantine naturally did not proceed to legal equality of Jews and Catholics. By an edict of 21 October 335 he even forbade Jews to keep or circumcise Christian slaves, and ordered them to set them free immediately. (Cod. XVI, 9, 1). This Jewish law was also extended 3 years later by his son and successor Constantius to heretics, pagans or other non-Catholics, all of whom were denied the right to own Catholic slaves. (Cod. Justin. 1, 10, 2), this edict became the cause:

- 1) Of the decrease in the number of slaves, since many were only enticed by the promise of freedom to be baptized orthodox.
- 2e) Of the economic weakening, indeed the downfall of all non-Catholics, who since that time could hardly keep any slaves.
- 3e) Of the emergence of an overwhelming Catholic majority among the free population, in which the dissenters sank into insignificance.

After this digression, let us now follow Constantine's internal ecclesiastical policy again, and indeed since his seizure of the sole power (324).

Already in the time of Licinius serious dogmatic disputes plagued the whole East, and his successor hastened to settle them.

The dispute was about the doctrine of the Trinity. This system of God, Christ and the Logos (Holy Spirit or the Word), although not originally present in Christianity, was, once arbitrarily "hineininterpretiert" in the Gospel of John (1 and 5), brought into use as a pious deception by the African bishop Theophilus. (Late 2nd century). Soon the believers throughout the empire had accepted it, under the motto "credimus quia absurdum".

With that, Christianity, still strictly monotheistic by Origen and Tertullian, had in fact degenerated into a tritheism.

The Sabellians were openly tritheistic, but the others cloaked this under a compromise with monotheism, the famous "three times one is one". However, among these, however, a difference of opinion arose about the relationship between God the Father and God the Son.

In the rest of the empire, this was not a concern. But in Egypt, the traditional land of priestly rule, and especially in Alexandria, a city where the Hellenistic frivolity of the rulers (Greeks and Romans) had never been able to kill the gloomy, fanatical seriousness of the natives. And as there had been ecclesiastical unrest here of old (as under Decius and Diocletian), so now it also came to an explosion. The bishop of this city, Alexander, came into conflict with his presbyter Areios. The latter distinguished Christ's heavenly nature, however divine, from that of God, since he had also led a separate life on earth as a man. ("Heterousion"). His superior, however, did not see Christ as similar, but absolutely equal to that of God, while at the same time, inseparable from his divine nature, his humanity had lived on earth. So God had remained God in Jesus and yet become man. ("Homo-ousion"). Both parties were inflamed to the utmost in their blind, dogmatic superstition, and Alexander summoned his presbyter Areios or Arius to submit to his verdict. He refused, was expelled from the Church, but continued his sermons in the same city. There he soon gained many followers, especially among the heretical sect of the

Melitians 172), who, already arising during the last persecution, now largely joined him. Thus first Alexandria, soon all the cities and villages of Egypt, later even Libya and Thebais, were split into two parties. (Euseb. III, 4). This frenzy soon spread to the neighboring provinces through propaganda letters and messengers from both champions. The quarrel became so heated that Arian (?) fanatics even insulted the images of the emperor, and that even in the theater of the pagans the Christian doctrine of God was scorned and mocked. The prestige of the Church and of the imperial authority was thus in danger. Constantine, who heard and understood all this, wanted to end the dispute immediately. He first sent a "god-fearing man", his favourite Hosius, as a peacemaker to Alexandria, with a letter to both Alexander and Arius.

The emperor expressed his opinion that "such trivial questions should not have been raised", but also admonished Arius to bend to the will of his superior.

This shows that Constantine himself was indifferent to the dogma, but that the preservation of the hierarchy and the unity of the Church was his main concern. However, neither of them was inclined to reconcile, since there had already been mutual bloodshed between their adherents.

Then the emperor decided, just as he had done in the West before during the Donatist disputes (311-315), to convene a synod. First he determined as the place of meeting Ankyra, but he soon moved it to Nicaea in Bithynia, his summer residence, in order to be able to be present there himself.

At this council the dispute over the determination of the Easter festival could also be settled.

This so-called "Easter controversy" is already very old, and dates back to about 190 AD. The Jewish Christians, especially in Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor, continued to adhere to the ancient Passover, the festival that Moses had commanded to be celebrated on the 14th of Nisan, the first month of the year (Exod. 12, 6; Levit. 23, 5). However, the Israelites then and still today (just like the Mohammedans) reckoned with lunar years, so that this festival, always falling on a full moon, was nevertheless dated on a different day of the year according to the Roman and Greek-Macedonian calendar. When the later Jews in Roman times also had to take into account the Western year of 365 days, and therefore the Jewish Christians too, there was complete confusion. And so there were some Christians, such as Anatolius 173), who finally looked for a fixed rule for determining the Passover, immediately important for them to determine the commemoration day of Jesus' Resurrection. And since the Alexandrian Jews had determined the Passover on the first full moon after the equinox, and Christ would have risen on the day following the first Sabbath day after Passover, Anatolius determined the Christian Easter festival on: the first Sunday after the first full moon following the equinox, (although the term "Sunday" did not yet exist as such).

In Constantine's time this custom already prevailed in the entire West, as well as in Greece, Asia, Pontus and Egypt.

But the inhabitants of Palestine, Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, mostly Jewish Christians or baptized Jews, celebrated the feast of Jesus' resurrection on the same day as their ancient, beloved Passover. This now caused much strife in the border districts of both areas, because some were still fasting and mortifying themselves, while others were already celebrating the Easter feast. Constantine now saw the great importance of unity of rite for the entire Christian Church, and therefore also raised the Easter problem at Nicaea.

Meanwhile, the day of assembly at Nicaea, the metropolis of Bithynia, to which all the bishops of the world had been invited, drew near. For their journey they were allowed to use the horses and carriages of the imperial post, and where these proved insufficient, other vehicles were provided by the state. (Eus. Vit. Const.)

But the two champions Arius and Alexander had already set out earlier to win followers, Arius to Syria, Alexander, who was smarter, to Nicaea itself.

There, even before the council began, he managed to win Hosius, the all-powerful court preacher, for himself and his doctrine. (Philostorgius, Vit. Const.)

Arius was much less fortunate. Possibly at his request, shortly before the meeting in Nicaea, an unofficial pre-synod was held in Antiocheia, of mostly Eastern bishops. But there his doctrine of hetero-usion was rejected, and he himself and two others (including the historian Eusebius of Caesarea) were given a term until the next council (Nicaea) to retract their theses. Finally, on 20 May 325, over 300 bishops gathered in the great throne room of the imperial summer palace at Nicaea, mainly from the East of the empire, but also from the surrounding barbarian countries, such as the Persians and Scythians (=Goths). However, there were few participants from the West: for example, Pope Sylvester, the bishop of Rome, had apologized because of his

age, and was only represented here by envoys (including Hosius). This also contained a protest against the fact that Constantine had deliberately bypassed the capital of the empire when choosing a synod city.

So, when everyone was sitting together in silence in the throne room, in their colorful, changing clothing of Westerners in pallium, Easterners in long robes, and barbarians in bearskin caps and wide, foreign breeches, – a procession of stately striding courtiers announced the arrival of the emperor. At last the chief chamberlain beckoned that he should approach. 174) At his entrance all rose from their seats, and thus he came into the midst of the assembly "like an angel of God, radiant in the flaming glow of the purple and adorned with the bright glitter of gold and precious jewels". The tremendous majesty of his tall, sturdy heroic figure overwhelmed all present:

they thought they could read nothing but mild grace on the face of that emperor, to whom they and their church owed so much. Finally he lowered himself onto a small, clear-golden seat in the middle of the hall, and delivered the opening speech in a calm, sonorous voice. He spoke in Latin, another interpreted his words in Greek. The short sentence of it was: Be of one mind in your doctrine, cease your quarrels and accept my mediation!

Then he gave the chairman there was a meeting, Hosius, the word. Then a chorus of accusations and counter-accusations soon arose between homo-ousians and their opponents. They had already accused and slandered each other by secret letters and pamphlets to the emperor, 175) but the emperor pretended not to know anything about it. Now he only threw in a few calm, sarcastic words in Greek now and then, and thus calmed the stormy quarrel. He immediately convinced himself that the majority of the meeting, as Hosius had predicted, consisted of supporters of the homo-ousion. All the Western and most of the Eastern bishops belonged to it, only a few inclined to Arius. At a subsequent meeting things became even more heated. In vain the minority party attempted reconciliation. A letter that one of them, Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, read as his confession of faith, in which he strove for mediation between homo-ousion and hetero-ousion, was not listened to to the end, but his opponents tore it from his hands, in the presence of the emperor.

But the decision did not come from the side of the clergy, but from the secular overlord. However, he had long been incited against the Arians by his court preacher Hosius, the bishop of Cordoba. Now Constantine, as a true soldier impatient about the endless theological wrangling, ordered Arius and his followers to yield. All, 180) except Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia and four others, bowed to this princely command 176) and thus by the will of the emperor the homo-ousian or Catholic (universal) doctrine, now precisely formulated in the "Symbolum Nicaenum" was imposed as the only true one on all Christians in the empire. Arius himself, who had not appeared at the synod, was struck with all his followers by the ecclesiastical ban (anathema), and henceforth expelled from Alexandria. But the emperor punished him still further by banishment and soon Eusebius and the four other "recalcitrants", shamefully branded as "Porphyrians" 177), also shared his fate. Moreover, all their books were publicly burned. This petty, hair-splitting dogma dispute thus betrays the inner discord of the Church, as well as the narrow-minded persecution of its so-called orthodox majority towards every minority, as also became apparent in the later Middle Ages. It was officially said that the Church did not persecute heretics, and this was initially true, but it repeatedly incited the orthodox secular authorities to do so, both then and later.

The Easter controversy was also settled according to the wishes of the overwhelming majority and of the emperor himself. In a speech full of fierce hatred of Jews, he adjured the assembly to break all customs that connected them with the people "who had murdered Christ". 178) Thus, from then on, the Easter festival was dated according to the prescription of Anatolius. (see above)

The main goal, the unity of the Church, seemed now to have been achieved. Except for a few older heretical sects, for example the Novatians, 179) who, despite an invitation to the synod in which they had also participated, did not want to return to the Church, the overwhelming majority of Christians had remained orthodox.

Constantine, showered with gifts and exhortations to unity, sent the bishops home. The emperor remained homo-ousian-minded for another two years. In 326, for example, on 1 September, he promulgated, probably in Rome, a strict law whereby heretical and schismatic (=Arian) clergy lost all privileges, including freedom from munera, and were preferably to be tormented with this 181). The restitution of previously confiscated church property, which had not yet been completed everywhere, did not apply to them either. Their houses of worship were to be given forthwith to the orthodox Church, their other places of meeting were to be forfeited to the treasury,

while further meetings of heterodox were forbidden 182). Their books were also to be sought out and burned, as had already been decreed the previous year concerning Arius' writings. Only towards the Novatians, whose bishop Acesius had obtained church peace at the synod at Nicaea, was this heretical law soon softened to the extent that they retained their churches and coimeteria 183) (25 September 326). Yet they were by no means put on an equal footing with the Catholics.

But soon there was a change in the emperor's dogmatic preference. Possibly out of remorse for the murder of Crispus, and aversion to the hypocritical orthodox impostor Fausta, to whom he had just given her well-deserved punishment, he turned away from his court bishop Hosius and the homo-ousians and became more disposed towards the Arians, even the pagans.

Moreover, there was another cause. In 327 (or not long after) his sister Constantia, who could not survive the cruel murder of her son, lay dying in Thessalonica (?) 184). Shortly before she fell ill, she came under the influence of a secret Arian presbyter, who convinced her that Arius and his followers had been treated unjustly. On her deathbed, when Constantine came running to her, she now adjured her brother to recall the innocent banished.

This happened. In November of the same year he summoned Arius to court and promised him rehabilitation, provided he would subscribe to the Symbolum Nicaenum by a declaration. This Arius did, but in such ambiguous terms that they could be interpreted as both homo-ousian and Arian. (November 327) 185)

Thus he was restored to his honour and soon the other exiles, including Eusebius of Nicomedia, returned at the emperor's command after having written letters of repentance. But when Arius left for Alexandria again (summer 328) and wanted to become presbyter there again, Athanasius, who had been bishop there since the death of Alexander (28 June 328), refused him access to the Church 186).

This Athanasius, formerly deacon of the previous bishop, was a domineering, fanatical, truly medieval prelate, and already filled with the later papal ideal of elevating the Church above the State in power. He sent the emperor a haughty letter, that he could no longer receive an apostate, who had once been struck by the anathema, into the Church. Then Constantine ordered him, also on the advice of Eusebius, his new favorite, to admit Arius immediately and to rehabilitate him, on pain of deposition and banishment. 186)

Athanasius, however, did not care, and the emperor, averse to further disputes, gave in for the time being. Arius, however, both in Alexandria personally, and elsewhere through his followers, zealously made propaganda against his enemy. In Antioch he had the success, that the homo-ousian bishop of this city, Eustathius, was overthrown by an Arian majority in his community (329) 187) and banished. A synod convened in that city appointed a certain Eulalius in his place, and after that the Arians maintained themselves in this important seat until the end of the 4th century.

In the meantime Eusebius and his followers intrigued fiercely with the emperor against the Alexandrian bishop. First they accused him of demanding linen garments from the Egyptians as a tax. 188) When this charge was refuted by Alexandrian presbyters, who happened to be at Nicomedia at the time, the Arians accused their enemy of political conspiracy against the imperial authority. Thereupon Constantine (331) personally summoned Athanasius to Psamathia, 189) a suburb of Nicomedia, convinced himself of his innocence, and sent him back with honor to his bishopric. Then his enemies thought they had finally found the right weapon against him. They accused him to the emperor of the murder of Arsenius, the bishop of the Melitian sect, who was after all close friends of the Arians. He was said to have misused the severed hand of his victim to commit black magic with it. 190)

Since both pagans and Christians at that time, including Constantine, were convinced of the existence of sorcery, and the Christians in particular abhorred it as a criminal collaboration with Satan and his demons, this was a serious accusation. For these and other accusations Athanasius was now summoned before a new synod, which the emperor convened at Tyre 191) (335). His enemies even showed, so they claimed, the corpus delicti, the severed hand of Arsenius to the assembled clergy and the imperial president Dionysius. But according to the orthodox he completely destroyed this accusation by suddenly bringing the living Arsenius, whom the Arians had kept hidden all this time, into the hall. On the other hand, according to an Arian historian, 192) Athanasius is said to have hired a slut in order to shame his enemies, who in turn should have slandered Eusebius of Nicomedia as her seducer. This plan did not succeed, however, because the woman in question refused to accuse such a respectable man of such infamies. 192) The result was that Athanasius was declared deposed from his seat as a troublemaker by almost unanimous votes. Then all the members of the synod went to Jerusalem, where the church of the Holy Cross, built by

- 136010 order of the emperor, was about to be consecrated. 193) Here Eusebius and the other bishops solemnly received Arius, as a repentant, back into the ecclesiastical community, so that he emerged victorious from the battle. But Athanasius did not acquiesce in his sentence, but hastened to Constantinople, to appeal to the emperor. Just as he arrived, Constantine rode out of his palace on horseback. The proud outcast raised his hands imploringly to him for a moment's hearing, but the emperor did not recognize him and, when he was told who he was, at first refused to hear him. But Athanasius persisted, obtained an audience, and the emperor promised him that he would immediately summon all the members of the synod of Tyre to Constantinople, to deliver their judgment again in his presence.
- 136015 to speak. The accused bishops, however, feared a new Nicaea, and now dared for the first time to defy the emperor's orders. Instead of coming themselves, they sent six party leaders, including Eusebius of Nicomedia, to the capital. These again succeeded in inciting the emperor against their enemy.
- 136020 Now they accused Athanasius of having threatened to prevent the annual grain shipments from Alexandria to Constantinople. 194) This was the decisive factor. Finally the emperor banished the orthodox bishop to Trier, but on condition that no one else would occupy the chair in Alexandria for the time being, so that the exile's honor would not remain out of the question 195).
- 136025 But now Arius tried to seize the vacant chair. He had almost persuaded the emperor to do so, when he suddenly collapsed in the middle of a square in Constantinople and died. 195) The orthodox, of course, spoke of a judgment of God, but Arius' friends whispered of poisoning by his enemies. The emperor, however, fell more and more under Arian influence, especially that of Eusebius of Nicomedia. Towards the spring of 337 he suddenly felt ill and used the baths in his capital to recover. 196) When this did not help, he crossed the Bosphorus to Helenopolis, where he visited the martyrdom church of Lucian, which his mother Helena had once had built there. Here he knelt down and begged forgiveness for his past sins, and for the first time received the solemn laying on of hands from the attending priest.
- 136030 Now feeling his end approaching, he went to his palace at Achuroon (Acyro), a suburb of Nicomedia, and there summoned the neighboring bishops of that region. 196) After a short speech he finally requested Eusebius of Nicomedia to give him "the bath of regeneration." According to the custom of those days, he had postponed baptism until his baptismal day, in order thereby to retain freedom in his actions, 197) to which many acts of robbery and blood testified.
- 136035 He had murdered many enemies, yes friends and relatives, yes even his own son and wife, and all their reproachful shades now appeared to him in tormenting visions. Now, in superstitious fear, he hoped to wash away all these former sins that burned him to the core, with a little holy water. When this ceremony was accomplished, he had himself wrapped in a purple robe of state, and laid down on the imperial bed of state. After this he spoke a prayer of thanksgiving, and then died soon, on the afternoon of the feast of Pentecost.
- 136040 Since he died in the Arian dogma, his death caused the greatest discord between the two parties of the Church, which he had tried in vain to reconcile.
- 136045
- 1) Only since a large city was founded in the Balkans, Constantinople (330), the prosperity of this part of the empire was also lost.
- 136060 2) Only the West of Illyricum (Noricum, Pannonia and Dalmatia) was Latinized; the rest was not. The expansion power of the Latinized Illyrians was still evident in their late descendants, the Walachians, who pushed across the Danube around 1000 and settled in present-day Romania. (The Romanians are therefore not descended from Romanized Dacians). Of the other Illyrians, only the tribes between Skodra (= Skutari) and Apollonia have retained both their original language and their place of residence (Albanians) throughout the centuries. Their relatives in Moesia, however, had already been Hellenized in the late imperial period.
- 136065 3) The origins of Emperor Claudius and his two brothers Quintilius and Crispus lie in obscurity. Most contemporaries at least considered Claudius to be a natural son of Emperor Gordian III from his youth, "when he was sexually initiated by a mature woman." (Epit. de Caesaribus, 34). But to hide his shameful or less honorable birth, Claudius himself took the name Flavius and claimed to be descended from the house of Vespasian. Later members of his family, such as Constantius and Constantine, followed him in this, so that their eulogists called them by this flattering name. – Seeck, however, doubts, without further proof, Constantine's relationship with Claudius.
- 136070 4) Drepanum was the birthplace of Constantine's mother Helena, and was later called, in her honor, Helenopolis. (Hieronym. Euseb. Chronicon).
- 136075 7) That she was later Constantius' lawful wife follows, among other things, from the demand that Diocletian made of her, to divorce her. (See also Eutropius Aurel Victor de Caes, Epit.

de Caes, etc.)

8) See Euseb. Hieron. Chronicon. Flattery of Constantine and the following Christian emperors led later historians (Aur. Victor, etc.) to degrade their pagan predecessor Diocletian to a freedman or the son of a freedman of a certain senator Anulinus. But if that were so, then the gentile name that Diod. placed before his own, "Valerius" would have to have been borrowed from a Roman patron of this family. And now no Anulinus of that time originated from the gens Valeria, but from the gens Annia, as for instance the praefecti urbis of 306 and 312. Diocles was therefore not a freedman, and could therefore arbitrarily place the name Valerius before his own, even if he did not descend from this gens, which also remains possible. By the way, his Christian enemy Eusebius calls him "son of a clerk". Eutropius gives both readings without any particular preference (Eutr. IX, 19).

10) According to other sources he was a Batavian, Aur. Victor 39, 20: "Menapiae civis" (Eumenius, Eutropius). The similarity in sound and accent of "Menapiae" and "Bataviae" makes it likely that one of these texts must be corrupt.

12) The later veneration of Constantine and his successors by their courtiers was only slightly inferior to that of Diocletian.

13) See evidence Lact. De Mort. 7, Euseb. de Mart. Pol. 13. Zosimus II, 32, however, attributes this innovation to Constantine, and Burckhardt and Seeck follow him in this.

15) The doctrine of the Manichees, like that of the earlier Gnostics, was a so-called syncretic faith, i.e. amalgamated from Christianity and numerous other religions, including Persian Mazdaism or the doctrine of Zoroaster. The Manichees honored as the founder of their religion a certain Manes, who suffered martyrdom in Persia around 272 on princely orders. Not long after, his doctrine spread throughout the Roman Empire and was fiercely opposed by pagans and also by Christians, for example by Augustine, who had belonged to that "heretical" sect for a while.

26) Moreover, there was general embitterment because Galerius had recently deprived Rome, formerly tax-free, of this privilege and had the taxes collected with great severity by the hated quaestor Abellius. 28) It is true that Constantine had been legally married earlier, from the end of his boyhood ("ab ipso fine pueritia") (Paneg. VI, c.4). But this unknown woman bore him no children, and apparently died or was divorced. He had fathered his son Crispus with a concubine Minervina (See p. 21 of this book and further in Seeck, Untergang II Anhang p. 508).

30) Lactantius speaks of ulcers; Aur. Victor says (Epitome c. 40) "consumptis genitalibus defecit", which justifies my assumption.

31) For example, the martyrdom of Barbara is known, which is attributed to Daja's governor Martinianus (later transferred to the service of Licinius).

34) This was only completed later (313-315). The bas-relief images on the four friezes on either side above the side gates glorify his last campaign, against Maxentius. Two inscriptions on either side above the main gate still bear witness to his triumph "over the tyrant and all his followers". The expression "instinctu divinitatis", a mediation between pagan and Christian monotheism, proves Constantine's carefully veiled Christian disposition. An earlier opinion, that under the word "divinitatis" another, completely pagan text, also of 11 letters, would shine through, namely "IOVISOPTMAX" (Jovis Optimi Maximi) was refuted by de Rossi, after examination of plaster casts in 1863 made at the behest of Napoleon III. The legend of the baptism of Constantine by Pope Sylvester, which first occurs in Zonaras, I pass over with understandable silence.

35) The difference between the texts in Eusebius and Lact. comes down to this:

I. Those in Eusebius were addressed by both emperors (and perhaps originally also, officially by Max. Daja, according to Seeck) to all governors and prefects, at least none are named further); those in Lact. only by Licinius to the governor of the newly conquered Bithynia (after the 2nd war with Daja).

II. Lact. differs from Eusebius in the absence of the introduction (which guarantees tolerance and state protection for all religions), and further in some details that could make Licinius (and thus indirectly Constantine) pass for a Christian. For example, Eusebius gives: hopoos ho ti pote esti theistetos kai ouraniou pragmatos hemin.... eumenes einai sunethei (lit: that what there is of divinity and heavenly substance might be favorable to us).

Lactantius: quo quidem divinitas in sede coelesti nobis. – propitia possit existere. (Mercifully might act).

The latter reading is clearly Christian-anthropomorphic; the former, a vague middle form between Christian and neo-Platonic pagan. Probably Eusebius, otherwise an arch-falsifier, in this case gives the literal, translated from Latin text: Lact. a twisted for his purpose to present Licinius, and therefore certainly Constantine, as declared Christians. (See further Josef Wittig, Rom. Quart. schr. Suppl. XIX, who however does not dare to come to this conclusion).

36) Lactantius' writing also probably published in the spring of 314, under the fresh impression of the persecutions and victories of Constantine and Licinius, mentions the death of Diocletian before that of Maximinus Daja and before the murder of his Prisca and Valeria, so in 313. But how can the year 316, in Eusebius' Chronicon, and in the Chronicon Paschale be reconciled with this? Probably Constantine D. deliberately kept his suicide a secret, in order to heap the full odium on Licinius, who had the two ex-empresses Prisca and Valeria killed in the same year. Only after the successful war against Licinius did Constantine no longer have any objection to making it known, and even granted the deceased pagan emperor the honour of an apotheosis by the senate (316).

37) Candidianus, Galerius' forefather by a concubine, was engaged to Daja's 7-year-old

daughter, and was therefore not allowed to live to avenge her death.

38) The two ex-empresses, although Christian-minded before the persecution, must have turned away from that doctrine later, and that explains the little compassion Lactantius showed for their miserable fate.

39) Only with the final division of the State into the Eastern and Western Roman Empire (395) were the borders between the two parts precisely determined.

40) The writers call him Caesar, but according to coins he was Augustus.

41) According to Anon. Vales. Valens was simply deprived of his rank; Zosimus (II. 20) expresses himself ambiguously and suggests that he was also put to death; Aur. Vict Epit. attributes his death to Licinius.

42) Although no document tells us anything about the extradition of Senicio, I think that Zosimus, who has Valens called "the instigator of all evil", means Senicio.

48) According to Socr. I, 4 he also forbade the bishops to associate with pagans in order to prevent Christian propaganda.

49) Since he was acknowledged by Constantine as his son, he was probably born at a time when Constantine was rich and powerful enough to be able to afford such luxury, i.e. after 305, when he met his father in Britain and soon became heir to the throne. The earliest year of birth can therefore be considered to be 306. Earlier is difficult, because then Minervina would have to have accompanied him with or without child, or else followed him long afterwards, alone and unprotected, neither of which is likely. Even later than 306 is not possible, since Crispus had his first child with his lawful wife Helena in 322, and would not have been married before his fifteenth year, (z. Cod. Th.)

Seeck does claim that emperor's sons were usually married off "ab ipso fine pueritiae" and understands this as from their 14th year, but that is incorrect, since the pueritia was considered to last until the 17th year.

52) Zosimus, from whom all this is borrowed, gives the following figures: 130,000, of which 30,000 remained, but he forgets that Licinius sent about half of his army with Martinianus had sent to Lampsacus.

53a) At the same time - 8 November 324 - his younger stepbrother Constantius, then not yet seven years old, was appointed Caesar. But it is highly unlikely that he was already charged with the government of Gaul, as Gibbon assumes on the basis of Julian. Orat. I. 53c). It is remarkable that it is mainly Arians and pagans (Philostorgius and Zosimus) who glorify the memory of Crispus, and not the Catholics.

56) That his death must be attributed to suspicion of fornication is evident:

I) From the agreement of 4 witnesses of different faiths, namely Zosimus (pagan, ca. 475) lib. II, 29; Philostorgius (Arian, ca. 400) lib. II, 4; the Artemii Passio 43. (orthodox) and Zonaras (orthodox), while it can also be read, with some good will, from the anonymous Epitome de Caesaribus: ("Fausta conpuge, ut putant, suggerente") and the Chronicon Paschale.

II) From 5 fragments of edicts against fornication that Constantine all issued at the same time, (see next page in the text).

III) Eutropius, Eusebius-Hieronymus (Chronicon) Aurelius, Victor and Sidonius Appollinaris only mention that Constantine first killed Crispus and then Fausta, but these testimonies do not exclude suspicion of adultery. Nor does the silence of Anonymus Valesius, pars I on this. As for Licinianus, two witnesses Eutropius and Eusebius-Hieronymus (Chronicon) state that he was killed at the same time as Crispus, so that I doubt Seeck's assertion that he lived on until 336. All the more so because the passages of evidence on which he relies (Cod. Th. IV, 6, 1 and 2) have been misinterpreted. First of all, it is not Licinianus that is mentioned here, but "filius Liciniani", the son of a certain Licinianus, and moreover, the frequent occurrence of the names Licinius and Licinianus throughout the empire forbids identifying two so-called persons.

57) The text usually bears the heading "de raptu virginum ac viduarum", but one of the variants has "de raptu virginum ac feminarum", which seems more appropriate.

An even earlier edict of Constantine, dated 3 February 326 in Heraclea, also associated with the case of Crispus by Seeck, cannot have anything to do with it, because of the place and time of dating, and because of the content. After all, it states that innkeepers are punishable for adultery, but slaves in an inn are not, and it lacks the strict, moralizing tone of the other edicts. (Cod. Th. IX, 7, 1). Seeck's assumption that all these edicts would be fragments of a single edict seems to me unprovable. I also reject his claim that Crispus was indeed guilty of adultery, which is contradicted by all sources.

59) Cod. Justin. V, 26. With this last edict he wanted to show how he regretted having fathered Crispus with a concubine. 60) Philostorgius II, 4 calls him "cursor" or prodromos, which probably does not mean charioteer here, but runner. He is indeed the only informant of this story, but the details correspond entirely with the character of Fausta.

62) Hieron. mentions the year 328 in the Chronicon, but his chronology is often confused; Zosimus states that it happened in Rome, so in the summer of 326, the last time that Constantine stayed there after Crispus' death. The Chronica Gallica A. DXI (M. G. H. Chronic. Minora I) also states that Fausta was killed in the same year as Crispus and Licinius Jr. Despite the many errors in the chronology, this document remains valuable, as it contains other sources that are now lost.

65) The marble was obtained from the islet of Proconnesus in the Propontis. (Zosim. ibid.)

74) Chronicon Paschale, from which the further details of the initiation feast are also taken.

78) Id. II, 31. These Taifali also appeared later, after the battle of Adrianople (378) when they crossed the Danube with other Germanic and Sarmatian tribes and plundered Thrace together with the Goths.

- 80) Here he had promised Athanasius of Alexandria a meeting in Psamathia, near Nicomedia (Ath. apol. c. Ar. 61, 62). Characteristic of Constantine in these years is that he put ecclesiastical matters above military ones.
- 136230 81) Gibbon has misinterpreted this place in the Chron. Hieron. He presents it as if the subjugated people were called Limigantes. The text is: "Sarmatae Limigantes, dominos suos, ui nunc Argaragantes vocantur, facta manu in Romanus solum expulerunt."
- 82) After the victory over Licinius, all of his decrees were annulled, and many new officials were appointed in the East. (Cod. XV, 14, 1).
- 136235 92) Philostorgius II, 16. But he may only tell this story to cleanse his fellow Arian believer, Emperor Constantius, of guilt.
- 108) Cod. Th. XV, 14, 4. Seeck wrongly calls this a countermeasure against a decree of Maxentius, and sets this law without proof in 312 or earlier.
- 136240 118) This was thus the average price of a slave. See Cod. Just. VI, 1, 3 and 4.
- 122) Cod. Just. August 17, 329. It is reminiscent of modern Chinese conditions during the last famine there, when women and children were also offered for sale.
- 124) Cod. Just. V, 27 and Cod. Th. IV, 6, 2 and 3. The name Licinianus in this last law need not be identified with the murdered ex-emperor Licinius as Seeck believes. The law therefore need not be directed against the young Licinianus. (See previous chapter).
- 136245 126) Cod. Theod. II, 8, 1. Shortly afterwards he also turns against another pagan abuse, the growing number of holidays, which were often arbitrarily instituted by higher officials within their area. He expressly forbids them this, and declares the determination of holidays an exclusively imperial privilege.
- 127) See Lact. Div. Inst. I, 11-14. The theory that Lactantius here adheres to, as do most of his Christian contemporaries, originates from a certain Euhemerus of Messene or Cyrene, a philosopher who lived at the court of Cassander of Macedonia around 300 BC. He proclaimed that polytheism originated in the veneration of famous men after their death. It escaped the Christian apologists that this Euhemerism provided strong arguments against their own religion as well.
- 136250 130) This also proves that the Livian foundation year 754 BC is not correct. In truth, it was not known then, just as it is not known now, when Rome was founded.
- 143) Also told by Sozomenus, but doubted. (Sozom. I, 5.) However, the final conversion to Christianity that Zosimus links to this is incorrect, since the laws prove that Constantine had already been under Christian influence.
- 136260 145) This is the probable explanation of the miracle story in which Bishop Alexander of Constantinople is said to have struck a pagan debater dumb "in the name of Christ". (Sozom. I, 18).
- 146) This ridiculous superstition was common among all fourth-century people, pagans and Christians, so Constantine may well have considered it to be true. Shortly after Julian's death, for example, Emperor Valetianus (a Christian) had his former teacher Maximus, the Neoplatonic theurgist [??], killed as a sorcerer.
- 136265 155) Eus. Vit. Const. III, 57. Burckhardt's opinion that the god Asclepius had also occupied himself with political questions and, for example, would have supported the revolt of Calocerus is incorrect, since 1st the temple was destroyed in 331, and Calocerus did not break out until 333 and 2nd. the Asclepius temple did not give oracles.
- 136270 162) Hieron. Chron. As early as 320 the emperor had, in order to please the Christians, repealed the old Roman law against unmarried and childless persons (Cod. Th. VIII, 16, 1.)
- 166) Constantine was still unbaptized, but as a follower of the Christian religious exercises or catechumen he was generally regarded by the Christians as a fellow believer.
- 136275 167) Nevertheless, Constantine's favoritism towards the orthodox did not bring the Donatists back to the Church, but rather alienated them from it for good. Their sect continued to exist, despite the oppression, and shortly after the Council of Nicaea (325), in 330, it had again gained so many followers that Constantine, supposedly to protect the Catholics, took new measures against them. (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 7 and Optat. Milevitanus I). Under his successors the Donatists were oppressed even more than before. Nevertheless, they continued to exist as an independent sect for three centuries, so that during the migration of the peoples they greeted the Vandals as liberators.
- 136280 168) There are three documents concerning the freedom from munera granted to the orthodox clergy:
- 136285 a) Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 1, dated PRID. KAL. NOV. CONSTANTINO A. III ET LICINIO III C. CONSS., i.e. 313 October 31. But in one of the mss. stands CONSTANTINO A. IIII, which points to the year 315.
- b) Cod. Th. XVI, 2,2, dated XII KAL. NOV. CONSTANTINO A. V. ET LICINIO CAESARE CONSS., i.e. 319, 21 October. However, since the previous document (Cod. Th. XVI, 2, 1) clearly refers to an earlier law with the same content, document b) must have been issued before document a), so probably 21 October 315 or 313.
- 136290 c) EUSEBIUS, Hist. eccl. X, 7 which agrees in content and partly verbatim with document b). My theory now is that all these 3 documents are from the same year, and not from October 313, (because then Constantine was in Trier and was much too busy with Germans), but from October 315. After all, at that time the emperor was in Milan, where he had settled the Donatist conflict in favor of Caecilian. Moreover, in document a) the Donatists are already spoken of as "haeretici", i.e. heretics. If this law was from October 31, 313, as Seeck assumes, then it would be very unreasonable and premature of Constantine to speak out against the Donatists at that time, while no council had yet condemned them positively, (also that in Rome not of May 313). So all that remains is: the year 315 for all three documents, namely document b) and c)
- 136300

21 October 315 and document a) 31 October 315.

The letter of state remuneration to Caecilianus (Eus. hist. eccl. X, 6) must also be from around the same time, intended as a reward for the torment that this cleric had to endure from the heretics, and in which the Donatists are spoken of as an insignificant group, so apparently after their defeat.

171) The text says "Murgillo", possibly a typo for "Mediolano" since Constantine was staying there at the time.

172) So named after Melitius, bishop of Alexandria, deposed during the persecution of Diocletian and replaced by Peter because he had sacrificed to the pagan gods (Socrates, I, 6).

173) Anatolius, Alexandrian by birth, and bishop of Laodice in 279 AD, was a learned and versatile man (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VII, 32, 6 sqq.). (Euseb.-Hieronymus, Chronicon) 177)

Porphyry, Neoplatonic philosopher of 232-304, who wrote against the Christians, among other things. Not to be confused with the poet Publilius Optatianus Porphyry, a pagan contemporary of Constantine. 179) Novatus taught during the reign of Emperor Decius that those who had sinned after baptism should be excluded from the holy sacraments.

180) Among those who slavishly denied their own opinions was the historian Eusebius of Caesarea.

184) Sozomenus II, 27. Constantia probably died in 327, since the emperor stayed in Thessalonica, her place of residence, only in that year between 326-329 (February 327, see Cod. Th. XI, 3, 2).

185) Socrates I, 25. Arius could not have been recalled by the emperor in 326, as Seeck claims, since he must have traveled to Alexandria at most a year later, where Anathanasius was then bishop, which could not have been until after 28 June 328. Moreover, Arius was rehabilitated shortly after Constantia's death, so probably in 327.

192) Philostorg. II (ap. Phot.) both the Arian and the Orthodox reading of what happened at the synod are uncertain. Only the result, the deposition of Athanasius, mentioned by both, is reliable.

197) Sins committed after baptism were considered unforgivable.

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THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL LATIN

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

FAREWELL LECTURE OF CHRISTINE A. E. M. MOHRMANN

Farewell lecture, given on Saturday, November 10, 1973, by Christine Mohrmann upon her retirement as professor of Vulgar Latin, Old Christian Latin, and Late Latin at the University of Amsterdam.

Dear Audience,

It was in 1938 that the Utrecht medieval scholar Oppermann spontaneously asked a young private lecturer, after delivering her inaugural lecture, entitled "The Structure of Old Christian Latin," whether she would also be willing to take on the teaching of Medieval Latin. With the optimism characteristic of youth, which I now find incomprehensible, the aforementioned private lecturer accepted this suggestion, and thus her licentia docendi was soon expanded to include Medieval Latin. After a few years, the private lectureship at Utrecht University was converted into a lectureship. Thus, Medieval Latin was taught ex professo as an examination subject at a Dutch university, based on a special teaching assignment.

The late Oppermann, a man who made such great contributions to the practice of medieval studies in our country, with this act sided with his distinguished German compatriots Wilhelm Meyer, Ludwig Traube, Paul von Winterfeld, Paul Lehmann, and others, who had introduced the study of Medieval Latin as an autonomous philological science. That Oppermann was right in his desire to give medieval Latin education its own place is proven, among other things, by the subsequent development of the subject at our universities: today, 35 years later, almost every Dutch university has a chair in medieval Latin, whether or not it is connected to Early Christian Latin. Institutes for medieval Latin are becoming hallmarks of the practice of a subject that is slowly but surely gaining its place in education and scholarship in our country as well.

Without going into details, one can conclude that the Netherlands now holds an honorable place among the countless practitioners of medieval Latin in Europe and overseas, both through its education and research. For this—in its philological form—our young science shows evidence of great vitality: one is gradually realizing that Classical and Early Christian Latin, in their literary form, find their natural, yet very specific, continuation in Medieval Latin, and that these three—essentially forming a unity in multiplicity—cannot be ignored from our cultural pattern.

Although from the outset, more general works on the phenomenon of Medieval Latin and Medieval Latin literature appeared in considerable numbers, and Ernst Robert Curtius, in his masterpiece: *European Literature and Late Middle Ages* (first edition, Bern 1948), also made a significant attempt at a literary synthesis from antiquity to modern times, it seems to me that in recent decades a certain preference has been given to specialized, detailed issues in the fields of codicilology, paleography, philology, and—especially—the much-needed textual criticism. I see this, first and foremost, as a symptom of the seriousness with which our studies are approached. People are unwilling to indulge in general speculation before laying a solid foundation through detailed study. But the incomprehensibility of the mass of Latin texts left behind by the Middle Ages, which is often referred to with the—not always adequate—label of "Medieval Latin literature," also plays a role. This mass is currently difficult—if not impossible—to approach systematically, and so people resort to detail. One must not forget that, regarding the volume of surviving texts, there is a significant difference between Classical and Late Latin literature and Medieval literature. Classical Latin literature as it has come down to us forms a closed-comprehensible-corpus. As a result of a choice—often conscious, sometimes also more coincidental—this corpus is limited. This choice is partly determined by educational tradition, partly by a judgment of value; what was deemed worthy of being copied onto expensive parchment? Medieval Latin literature, however, was never actually subjected to such a sifting. Hence this unmanageable mass of texts – which arose on a very extensive territory – which has been inventoried with great care and patience in a handbook such as that of Manitius and his successors, but which has hardly yet been assessed for their value or worth. In his *L'essor de la littérature latine au XII siècle* (2 vols., Paris 1946), De Ghellinck attempted to approach the exceptionally rich – and generally high-quality – Latin heritage of the twelfth century from a literary perspective, but due to a one-sided classicist assessment, he is still too much stuck in the tradition of Traube and co.

And this brings me to the actual topic of this afternoon, which is not of a literary-historical nature, but of a philological-linguistic nature. How should we assess Medieval Latin as a linguistic phenomenon? To what extent is there unity or diversity

here? Should one speak of evolution or merely of change? And first of all: what is the status of the chronological fixation of what is called 'sloppy' Medieval Latin? These are all questions that were addressed, especially in the earliest studies of Medieval Latin, but to which no definitive answers have yet been given. This remains a major task for the present and the future. I would like to make some general remarks about these problems, more as a pointer to tasks to be accomplished than to provide any definitive answers. My swan song may thus also be aimed at the future.

Generally, there is agreement on the standard that must be applied to determine whether a form of Latin can be classified as Medieval Latin. Medieval Latin was not the everyday language of an ethnic community; it was not passed down from mother to child, nor did it develop as a national language of everyday life. Instead, it was passed down through education and schools, used by an intellectual elite. It transcended national boundaries to gradually become the higher language of culture in what would one day be Western Europe. Through education and tradition, it played its role as the vehicular language of what is called the *respublica litterarum*. From this description, it follows that "Medieval" in this context is not a chronological designation in the strict sense of the word. How to classify such a phenomenon linguistically is a much-discussed problem, to which I will return.

The survival of Latin in this special form was made possible by several factors: first, by the emergence and centuries-long persistence of the classical literary language and style, which—following the Greek example—was strongly normatively determined, passed down through an almost constant school tradition until the end of antiquity. The existence—and teaching—of these literary normative language and stylistic forms has, on the one hand, hindered the development of the Latin colloquial language, but on the other, as the gap between colloquial and literary language widened, it has also facilitated the autonomous survival of a literary language across large areas. The survival of the classical literary tradition, with secular classical literature as its norm and center, was fostered and ultimately made possible during the fourth and fifth centuries by Christians' acceptance of the ancient school system and by Christian writers' faithfulness to the ancient literary tradition and its stylistic devices, despite the uniqueness of their language. Augustine—and others with him—considered knowledge of ancient secular literature and its time-honored stylistic devices useful, even for Christians. While it is true that since Augustine, the study of ancient literature and classical stylistic processes has increasingly been considered a kind of propaedeutic for Christian biblical study, a view that would find an influential advocate in Cassiodorus in the sixth century, this Christian attitude created the possibility for the survival of the Latin literary tradition. It has rightly been said that the decisions that enabled the survival of Latin in the centuries to come were made in the fourth and fifth centuries. Yet, it would be inappropriate to think solely of this literary development here: it goes hand in hand with the Western Church's acceptance of Latin as the language of liturgy, Scripture, and all forms of "institutional" church life. This explains why the first expansion of Latin as "Medieval Latin," i.e., as a non-national, higher-level language of communication, occurred as a result of missionary activities. Latin initially expanded its territory by preaching Christianity to peoples who had had no contact with Latin culture in antiquity. The first, Roman, expansion of Latin was marked by the sword, the second, Christian, by the cross. But expansion by the sword generally displaced the indigenous national languages, while the cross allowed them the freedom to maintain their own native language.

We first see this expansion of Latin in Ireland, so isolated and barely touched by ancient culture. I cannot here enter into a discussion of the problems associated with the Christianization of Ireland, nor concern myself with all the mysteries surrounding the controversial figure of the apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick. I have commented on this elsewhere. It is well known that the last word on this subject cannot yet be spoken. 1. But whether one considers Patrick's preaching the absolute beginning of the Christianization of the Green Isle, or believes he had predecessors, or whether one places the beginning of his missionary work around 431 or 461, it is certain that Latin was brought to Ireland along with Christianity. In my opinion, Patrick's Latin shows clear traces of fifth-century Latin in Central Gaul and perhaps has some affinity with the dying Celtic Latin of Britain. However this may be, after the episcopal Church of Ireland, shortly after Patrick's mission, had developed into a form in which an extremely rigorous monastic system, perhaps a Christian interpretation of the ancient clan system, had taken over the leadership of the church, monastic schools emerged in Ireland. There, a Latin was practiced that, in its bizarre artificiality, bears all the marks of a school language, drawn from

glossaries and late antique textbooks: a pseudo-learned language adorned with foreign, often Greek or pseudo-Greek words, with neologisms, such as "prosator" for "creator," and with Hebrewisms like "iduma" for "manus." As strange as all this may seem to us, here—at a time when Latin was still very much alive in the late antique world—we are dealing with the oldest form of Medieval Latin. This Latin tradition would soon also have a stimulating effect on our own native language: a phenomenon we will find again in the Germanic regions.

The isolation of Irish Latin culture has been somewhat broken by the peregrinations to the continent and thus by contact with Anglo-Saxon Latin culture. Yet the Irish remained faithful to their own tradition for a long time, which drew primarily from their Christian Latin past and manifested itself in a bizarre predilection for rhetorical flourishes. I have delved into this early, in many ways enigmatic, Irish Medieval Latin in some depth, firstly to demonstrate how artificial its initial beginnings on non-Roman soil were, and secondly to clarify that Medieval Latin did not—as many still believe—begin with the Carolingian Renaissance.

The course of events in Anglo-Saxon Britain was again different. The Roman occupation of the island, once populated by Celts, had not led to complete Romanization. When the Roman armies withdrew at the beginning of the fifth century, the Latin tradition gradually disappeared. And when the Germanic—still pagan—Angles and Saxons occupied the country in the mid-sixth century, the only partially Romanized population was pushed back to the western fringes. There, the ancient Latin tradition languished for some time in the Celtic monasteries. It was there that Gildas described the downfall of Celtic Britain, and it was also in these monasteries that a certain contact with the monastic culture of Ireland was established.

As for the Anglo-Saxons, they were—as is well known—converted to Christianity by a well-organized Roman mission sent by Pope Gregory the Great. At the same time, Christianity was also preached among the newly settled Germanic population from the north by Irish monks. The Irish educational system was brought to the Anglo-Saxons from Irish monasteries like Lindisfarne and Whitbey. However, after an initial conflict between "Romans" and "Irish," the Roman movement gained the upper hand. This was the result of direct contact with the still-existing late antiquity civilization. When Pope Vitalian sent Theodore, born in Tarsus and raised in the Greek East, along with the monk Hadrian, originally from North Africa and educated in the ancient Roman school system, both familiar with ancient and Christian literature, to the Anglo-Saxons, contact was re-established with the ancient cultures after Augustine's preaching. This contact would determine the development of Anglo-Saxon Latin culture for the foreseeable future. Although the connection with the Irish tradition was not broken, the arrival of Theodore and Hadrian, if we are to believe Bede's testimony, opened up a new world. In the schools of Canterbury, the Roman educational tradition was reconnected. And thus, the foundations were laid for a new beginning. But it was above all the generation following Theodore and Hadrian who, through continued contact with the late remnants of ancient civilization, would make Britain a treasure trove of much that was in danger of being lost in the ancient world. But wherever instruction was given, it drew from the two sources of Antiquity and Christianity, as once recommended and taught by Augustine of Hippo. In Northumberland, a foundation of Benedict Bishop, the double monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow, would be filled with, first of all, of manuscripts brought from Rome by the tireless "Rompilger." Then, in his diligent work as compiler and author of schoolbooks, and simultaneously as a gifted historian of his people, Bede would lay the foundations for a tradition that, as—in the cycle of culture—would reconnect the ancient, once Romanized continent with the treasures of the Latin past.

Bede's Latin, in its sometimes monumental, sometimes naive simplicity, deviates sharply from the baroque style of the Irish tradition. It undoubtedly draws more on the late antique Christian tradition than on the ancient classical one. But however "natural" and "evolving" this early Anglo-Saxon Latin may be, here too, as among the Irish, the vernacular, alongside Latin, will soon play its role as a literary language. Even in the North Germanic regions later Christianized by the Irish-Anglo-Saxon mission, people would be aware of the evident bilingualism, and soon—following the example of Latin—the vernacular would also assert its rights in written form. This clear awareness of bilingualism, which already early stimulated the vernacular languages, clearly distinguishes the Celtic-Germanic regions from the old Latin cultural regions.

For there, development was different. First and foremost in Italy: here, the continuity in linguistic awareness undoubtedly persisted for a long time. People lived in the old literary tradition there and accepted the distinction between vernacular and literary language as normal within the context of a centuries-old

tradition. Thus, the development of the language towards Romance also occurred more slowly and gradually than elsewhere. In Italy, the cities also retained a certain importance as cultural centers, although it is unclear to what extent the old lay schools—following the ancient pattern—were able to maintain themselves here and there. Contact with the Byzantine world also had a conservative effect. And a certain literary tradition undoubtedly survived in the monasteries. In Italy, for example, the linguistic situation seems to have long been perceived as a continuation of the ancient dualism between a normative literary language and a freer vernacular. People here are far removed from the bilingualism of the Celtic and Germanic countries, but they also haven't experienced the shock therapy that, abruptly and imposed from above during the so-called Carolingian Renaissance, brought about a kind of restoration of the literary tradition. The so-called Eden of Capua from 960 is generally considered the first literary text in what one might call the, now Romance, vernacular of Italy. 2 But a chronicle, written shortly after 974 by a monk from Salerno and generally considered Medieval Latin, demonstrates how close the two linguistic forms still were. Be that as it may, during the tenth century, evidence emerged demonstrating an awareness of bilingualism. In 915, the Senate complimented Berengarius at his coronation with "patrio ore" (in Latin), while the people did so with "nativa voce" in the vernacular. And Pope Gregory V, who died in 999, was praised for his trilingualism in his tomb inscription: "Usus francisca, vulgari et voce latina instituit populos eloquio triplici." 3

Developments in the other major Mediterranean Latin-speaking country, Spain, initially ran more or less parallel to those in Italy. Just as Cassiodorus and Boethius reflected on the Latin heritage under Ostrogothic rule, Visigothic Spain underwent a similar, though somewhat more Renaissance-tinged, development. More than in Italy, Visigothic Latin literature was marked by a classicist-retrospective normativism. The world of Isidore of Seville, Braulio of Saragossa, Eugene of Toledo, and others is a typically classical, "schöngestige" world, but one that still has some contact with everyday language. This is not (yet) Medieval Latin. 4 The Arab invasions, at least externally, do not seem to have immediately broken literary continuity. Classical verses were still being written 150 years after the beginning of the invasions, but by then the character of literary Latin had become so artificial and the distance from the vernacular so great that these products may be considered part of Medieval Latin literature. The Spanish diplomata and charters, the oldest of which date from the eighth century, display a remarkable parallel with similar documents from the Merovingian world, and they may lead us to conclude that already then—in contrast to Italy—the separation between vox nativa and Latin had taken place. Linguistic development in Spain, too, therefore, exhibits its own characteristics. 5

This is even more true for the development in Gaul, which would culminate in the so-called Carolingian Renaissance. I can say a little about this. So much has already been written about this phenomenon that the general outlines can be considered well-known and clear. Gaul, which can be considered an ancient Latin cultural country, had suffered more from the invasions than the two major Latin peninsulas. 6 In Aquitaine and Provence, a certain literary culture persisted for some time—thanks to the continued existence of a few urban centers, but even more so to the culturally preserving activities of the inhabitants of the large estates and the bishops who emerged from these circles. But elsewhere, under Frankish rule, the ancient school system, which until then had perpetuated a certain literary culture, disappeared. With the disappearance of the ancient school—around the middle of the seventh century—the conservative literary influence on language use also disappeared, and the structural change: the transition from Latin to Romance, occurred rapidly. The scant instruction in Latin provided by the clergy to future clerics, primarily with a view to the—still officially Latin—liturgy, could not halt this development. Merovingian diplomats and charters demonstrate how people still tried to make do institutionally with Latin—but what kind of Latin—using fixed formulas and fragments of traditional word combinations. These documents demonstrate that people always felt the need for a Latin written language, but also their inability to master it according to traditional norms. 7 The reforms, primarily orthographic, of Pepin the Short could not rectify the chaotic situation. 8 Finally, through the energetic intervention of Charlemagne and his followers, an intervention that was primarily politically determined, a conscious restoration of Latin was achieved. This is a different situation than the introduction of Latin among the Irish, Anglo-Saxons, and Northern Germans as a result of a Christianization process; It is also far removed from the gradual development in Italy. After the chaotic conditions of the Merovingian era, a

restoration could only be achieved with external help. This help came from the Irish-Anglo-Saxon and Italian traditions. Thus, Carolingian Latin bears more clearly than elsewhere—the hallmark of Classical-Christian dualism. At the same time, the political ideal—a continuation of the tradition of the Roman Empire—led to a kind of humanistic idealism, which expressed itself at Charlemagne's court in a Renaissance interplay, a bizarre blend of biblical and classical tradition. In education and in the now flourishing literature, the restoration initially manifested itself in the form of a still convulsive, often slavish, classicism. But one already hears tones that seem to herald a new, different world. The Carolingian Restoration, in its conscious reconnection with both classical and Christian tradition, in its attempt to renew a literary-oriented monastic culture, and in its reorganization of the liturgy, presents a colorful and varied picture. But in assessing the value of this dynamic phenomenon, people too often mistake it for a distinct culture, which was merely the result of a primitive impulse to imitate.

What I have sought to demonstrate with this brief overview is that Medieval Latin in its first period, which lasted until around the year 1000,[9] is by no means a uniform phenomenon: that a clear distinction must be made here according to time and place, and that even the major dividing line between Celtic and Germanic areas on the one hand, and Romance areas on the other, does not adequately capture this diversity. In Gaul, centrally located in this new period of European history, as we have seen, after a crisis that threatened to sever the literary Latin tradition, the various elements of early Medieval Latin converged. There, a new pattern was woven, which, despite its modest—at times even childish—would be decisive for centuries to come. For although the Carolingian Renaissance has, in my opinion, wrongly been considered the beginning of Medieval Latin, it did leave its mark on later developments.

Clear lines emerge in the rise and fall of the following centuries: first, the expansion of the Latin territory—again under the influence of Western Christianity. Hungary, Poland, and the Scandinavian countries joined the already extensive Latin area. As in later antiquity, the unity of education—now based on secular and Christian literature—would also be a powerful fermentum unitatis. And so, the period progressed towards the high point of the Latin Middle Ages: the twelfth century. Decisive factors in this development include the rise of cities, with their trade and commerce, and the dynamic nature of the Middle Ages.

Western society, expressed, among other things, in the countless pilgrims who filled the roads of Europe and beyond, on their way to Compostella, Rome, Jerusalem, and the holy places. The opening up of the East through the Crusades strengthened contact with the Eastern world. The monastic reforms, which increasingly showed an international character, culminated in the lightning actions of a Bernard of Clairvaux: in the space of a generation or two, large parts of Western Europe were dotted with almost uniform monastic foundations, centers of strict asceticism, but also inspired by a new socio-economic ideal. 10

All this led to a rapid maturation of medieval man and to a greater need for education, even outside of church circles. The ancient cathedral and monastery schools could no longer meet the need for education. The great discovery of the twelfth century, the establishment of the *licentia docendi*, a teaching qualification independent of nationality and placed under papal authority, gave the free masters the right to teach here and there, thus confirming the international character of the *respublica litterarum*. The medieval universities in Italy and France would therefore see teachers and students from all parts of what would become the Western cultural world come together.

In the field of literature, this maturation manifested itself in an unusually rich and multifaceted Latin literature, which increasingly lost its strongly elitist character. A creativity now manifested itself that, according to some, culminated in poetry, but which, in my opinion, was equally present in prose: both in the humanistically oriented prose texts originating from the world of cathedral schools and in the more spiritual-mystical prose from the monastic world. And it also manifests itself in the more popular hagiographical literature, in pilgrimage reports, and in so many other forms.

Certain norms in language use are always observed, but it is certainly not the case, as Traube believed, that the now mature medieval person constantly looks back to Antiquity as an example and a standard. The connection with Classical and Christian Antiquity has certainly never been broken, but there is more awareness of continuity than of dependence.

And this brings me to the question, already frequently asked, how one should classify this Medieval Latin as a linguistic phenomenon.

136665 The first practitioners of Medieval Latin philology were plagued by the recurring question of whether Latin was a living or dead language. 11 In my opinion, a terminological error is being made in this endless debate, which has not yet entirely died down. When one speaks of a dead language—a term still applied to Greek and Latin, but which, in my opinion, is best forgotten because it unintentionally acquires a pejorative nuance—one means a language that is no longer spoken here and now. A language we know only from a preserved, closed corpus of written documents. "Dead" here, therefore, refers to a situation as it presents itself to us. But this "dead" says nothing about the so-called "dead languages" themselves. These languages were, for those who once spoke them and also wrote the texts we still possess and from which we must draw our knowledge of them, just as alive as any contemporary language. In other words, the term "dead," linguistically speaking, says nothing about the nature and structure of the languages in question. Now, there can be no doubt that, historically speaking, Medieval Latin is just as "dead" for us as Classical Greek or Latin: that is, here too, we have only a closed corpus of surviving texts. But this was not what those who posed the question of "dead or living languages" with regard to Medieval Latin meant: they were asking whether Medieval Latin as such, for the medievalists who had learned this language in school and who created an extensive literature in it, was a dead or living language. It is remarkable that in the long discussion of this problem, this terminological "error" or this specific use of the term has never been pointed out.

136685 Now, it is amusing to see how people have wrestled with this problem and how, in order to reach a satisfactory conclusion, they have tried to save the cabbage and the goat, to use a vulgar expression for once. Because people couldn't see a language learned at school, strongly oriented towards literature, as living, as a "real" language,[12] yet still felt the lifelike quality emanating from these texts, they were tempted to use the most unexpected metaphors. They speak of a corpse, from which nails and hair still grow (Traube); of a water nymph who, in her contact with a human, acquires a human soul (Vossler); of a wild animal in captivity (Lehmann), etc. Later scholars have separated the problem from the question of living or dead language, but these have often been replaced by simplistic or oversimplified designations. Strecker and Van de Woestijne see Medieval Latin as the normal continuation of Classical Latin, in the form it took in Late Latin writers. The great Latinist Einar Löfstedt also strongly emphasizes continuity in his last publications, seeing the transition from Late to Medieval Latin as a gradual process, in which Medieval Latin can be seen as a normal, organic language. This view, too, seems too simplistic to me. In my opinion, it may be valid for certain early phases of Medieval Latin, but it hardly does justice to the phenomenon as a whole. This theory of Löfstedt's can be explained by the fact that he specifically—and almost exclusively—concerned Late and Early Medieval Latin. 13

136705 Franz Blatt defends a remarkable, and in my opinion untenable, view. He considers all of Latinity "from Cicero to Copernicus" as an organic unity. But within that unity, according to him, lies a major division and division between profane, non-Christian, and Christian Latin. Between Symmachus and Ambrose, between Claudian and Prudentius, there exists—as Blatt says—a clear antinomy, also in language, while there is an evident continuity between early Christian writers and most medieval writers. 14

136710 Although I am deeply convinced of the uniqueness of Christian Latin and literature, I would certainly not endorse this opinion, for reasons of both linguistic and historical-cultural nature.

I do not wish to bore you further with a list of various, even recent, theories that very often refer more to the function of Medieval Latin than to its own nature as a linguistic phenomenon. Very recently, Professor Galabov of Salzburg devoted a study to Medieval Latin as a "supernational cultural language," in which he pointed out, as a very interesting parallel with Medieval Latin, Old Bulgarian (Church Slavonic), introduced in the East by King Boris as a "supernational cultural language" more than half a century after Charlemagne's reforms. 15

136720 The question remains how Medieval Latin can be defined and understood linguistically. First of all, we must let go of the "entweder - oder" (living or dead). We must also be aware that a language learned at school—or otherwise secondary—can function as a real, living language in the mouths of the speakers who use it. The general human capacity for language is also active in a learned language. The problem of language acquisition, of the relationship between competence and performance, of the generative function of language, cannot simply be ignored by a phenomenon like Medieval Latin. Furthermore, the phenomenon of the 'second language,' so intensively studied in recent decades, as it currently exists primarily in Third World countries, shows striking parallels with the oldest Irish and especially Anglo-Saxon Latin.

Studies on 'second languages' can help us better understand the phenomenon of early Medieval Latin. 16 Regarding Medieval Latin in its mature form, as it presents itself to us in the greatest diversity in twelfth-century literature, one must consider, among others, the perspective of Roman Jakobson, who, following the Russian formalists, emphasizes the creative activities of language within the framework of its aesthetic function, what Jakobson calls 'literalité,' a full-fledged manifestation of human language. In this context, I might point to what I said earlier about Medieval Latin as a 'Kunstsprache', a stylized language form, in which the *respublica litterarum* fulfills the function of an ethnic linguistics. 17 I will leave it at this remark. In my view, there is every reason to reexamine Medieval Latin as a linguistic phenomenon in the light of our modern linguistic theories. It will then become increasingly clear that this form of Latin is not an epigonistically dead phenomenon, but a living linguistic form, emerging from the creative and generative linguistic capacity of medieval people, a means of communication for a society that, in conscious relation to the past, is evolving toward a new world and new cultural forms.

I would like to add a few practical observations to these considerations. Now that it is becoming increasingly clear that Medieval Latin, with the cultural world from which it emerged, is not a kind of channel from antiquity to modern times, but an autonomous phenomenon that has determined the development of the Western world for centuries, we must ask ourselves whether we can contribute to this phenomenon in education and research should not be given more attention than they have been. Or rather: whether the study of Medieval Latin, integrated into that of medieval culture in the broadest sense, doesn't deserve its own place in our academic education and, perhaps even more so, in our academic research. In other words, hasn't the time come for us, as the successor to a classical philology (in the sense of what the Germans call 'Klassische Altertumskunde'), to also create a fully-fledged academic subject: Medieval Latin philology (in the same broad sense)? Now that our entire academic system is in flux, this possibility would certainly be worth considering. For two reasons, I would certainly not want to sever the connection with classical philology: Medieval Latin philology can learn much from the methodology of classical studies. Furthermore, one must never forget that, despite all the autonomy of Medieval Latin, medievalists themselves never lost their awareness of its continuity with the ancient past. On the other hand, this—let's say, a sister or perhaps daughter science to classical philology—would bring it out of a certain isolation, which is still expressed, among other things, in the incorrect and derogatory term "dead languages."

Dear listeners,

For over 25 years, I have had the privilege of teaching a number of subjects at this university, which, despite their outward diversity, nevertheless formed a unity, and of which I have been able to highlight only one today—but one that has always aroused particular interest here.

In 1947, I gave my inaugural lecture as a lecturer; in 1946, I had already officially begun my teaching. But—perhaps I may mention this here—I had already met Amsterdam students before that. When, in the later years of the war, after the closure of the universities, some of my Utrecht students requested that I help them continue their studies at their hiding places in Amsterdam for two-week lectures, *Amsterdammers* spontaneously joined this group. They never actually asked my permission or approval to join the Utrecht group—they were there. Amsterdam students have always been quite outspoken. My first Amsterdam memories, for example, go back to the ever-changing attics of canal houses, to those small rooms on the fourth floor, sometimes also to more comfortable suites in the South, where the not-always-amusing curriculum of Vulgar Latin managed to establish a human connection that will always remain a highlight in my academic memory. Was it this very first, human contact that has maintained a sense of understanding connection with the Amsterdam students throughout the many years I taught here?

Dear Colleagues,

Circumstances have dictated that I have only ever been able to devote a small portion of my time and energy to teaching at this university. The diverse tasks placed upon me here were, especially in the first, staff-less period, very demanding. I have tried to fulfill them to the best of my ability. But in my quest to do my work of teaching and scholarship as effectively as possible, I decided early on to withdraw from other, more organizational and outwardly academic duties. You rarely saw me at faculty meetings, nor at academic ceremonies. You may be convinced that this was not

due to a lack of interest, but rather the result of weighing what, in my view, should be considered most important.

With gratitude and a certain nostalgia, I think back to the many Wednesday afternoons spent in the old-pseudo-solemn-professor's office in the Oude Manhuispoort. I will always remember with gratitude the human connections made there with colleagues, many of whom have since passed away. They enriched my mind, both humanly and scientifically.

Finally, I would like to thank you for the way in which you cooperated with my successor—with a wisdom and discretion that are sometimes lacking elsewhere. I am delighted that in my colleague Smit, whose qualities I have come to appreciate over many years of collaboration, I have found a successor who will be able to devote himself entirely to his duties in Amsterdam.

I would like to conclude by expressing my special thanks to the members of the Classics Department, among whom I—a somewhat unusual fellow—have always worked with such pleasure.

I have said.

Notes.

1: Christine Mohrmann, *The Latin of Saint Patrick*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin 1961.

2: See A. Schiaffini, *I mille anni della lingua italiana*, Milan 1961, pp. 11 ff.

3: See Dag Norberg, *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval*, Paris 1968, with further references.

4: See J. Fontaie, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique en Espagne Wisigothique*, 2 vols., Paris 1959.

5: For bibliographical information on Spanish Medieval Latin, see Dag Norberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.

6: See, among others, P. Riché, *Education and culture in the barbarian Occident*, Paris 1967, pp. 2, *passim*.

7: A differing, but in my opinion incorrect, assessment of the Merovingian texts can be found in: M.A. Pei, *The language of the Eighth-Century Texts in Northern France*, New York 1932.

8: Correct comments on this can be found in Pei, *op. cit.*, pp. 364 ff.

9: It seems to me quite correct that Dag Norberg strongly emphasizes this chronological boundary in his cited textbook.

10: See F. van der Meer, *Atlas de l'Ordre Cistercien*, Paris 1965, p. 29.

11: For a detailed overview of this matter, see Christine Mohrmann, *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens II*, Roma 1961, pp. 185 ff.

12: This is closely related to general linguistic considerations around the beginning of this century.

13: See, for example, his posthumous work *Late Latin*, Oslo 1959, pp. 59 ff.

14: F. Blatt in: *Eranos Löfstedtianus*, *Eranos* 43 (1945) p. 67.

15: Ivan Galabov, *Das Altbulgarische und das Latein im Europäischen Mittelalter*, *Zum Problematik der übernationalen Kultursprache*, Salzburger Universitätsreden 45, Salzburg-München 1971.

16: See e.g. Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, New York 1953 and in connection therewith what I said about the bilingualism of Saint Patrick in *The Latin of Saint Patrick*, pp. 9 ff.

17: See *Rev. des Et. Lat.* 29 (1952) pp. 330 ff.; *Latin vulgaire, latin des chrétiens, latin médiéval*, Paris 1955, p. 36 ff., *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens II*, Roma 1961, p. 194 ff.

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The Theban Legion

(also known as the **Martyrs of Agaunum**) figures in Christian hagiography as an entire Roman legion – of "six thousand six hundred and sixty-six men" – who had converted en masse to Christianity and were martyred together, in 286, according to the hagiographies of Saint Maurice, the chief among the Legion's saints. Their feast day is held on September 22.

According to Eucherius of Lyon, ca. 443-450, the Legion was the garrison of the city of Thebes in Egypt. The Legion were quartered in the East until the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy. The Theban Legion was commanded in its march by Saint Maurice (Mauritius), Candidus, Innocent, and Exuperius, all of whom are venerated as saints. At Saint-Maurice, Switzerland, then called Agaunum, the orders were given – since the Legion had refused to sacrifice to the Emperor – to "decimate" it by putting to death a tenth of its men. This act was repeated until none were left.

According to a letter written about 450 by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyon, bodies identified as the martyrs of Agaunum were discovered by Theodore (Theodulus), the first historically identified Bishop of Octodurum, who was present at the Council of Aquileia, 381 and died in 391. The basilica he built in their honor attracted the pilgrim trade; its remains can still be seen, part of the abbey begun in the early sixth century on land donated by King Sigismund of Burgundy.

The earliest surviving document describing "the holy Martyrs who have made Agaunum illustrious with their blood" is the letter of Eucherius, which describes the succession of witnesses from the martyrdom to his time, a span of about 150 years. The bishop had made the journey to Agaunum himself, and his report of his visit multiplied a thousandfold the standard formula of the martyrologies:

We often hear, do we not, a particular locality or city is held in high honour because of one single martyr who died there, and quite rightly, because in each case the saint gave his precious soul to the most high God. How much more should this sacred place, Agaunum, be revered, where so many thousands of martyrs have been slain, with the sword, for the sake of Christ.

As with many hagiographies, Eucherius' letter to Bishop Salvius reinforced an existing pilgrimage site. Many of the faithful were coming from diverse provinces of the empire, according to Eucherius, devoutly to honor these saints, and (important for the abbey of Agaunum) to offer presents of gold, silver and other things. He mentions many miracles, such as casting out of devils and other kinds of healing "which the power of the Lord works there every day through the intercession of his saints".

In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours was convinced of the miraculous powers of the Theban Legion, though he transferred the event to Cologne, where there was an early cult devoted to Maurice and the Theban Legion:

At Cologne there is a church in which the fifty men from the holy Theban Legion are said to have consummated their martyrdom for the name of Christ. And because the church, with its wonderful construction and mosaics, shines as if somehow gilded, the inhabitants prefer to call it the "Church of the Golden Saints". Once Eberigisilus, who was at the time bishop of Cologne, was racked with severe pains in half his head. He was then in a villa near a village. Eberigisilus sent his deacon to the church of the saints. Since there was said to be in the middle of the church a pit into which the saints were thrown together after their martyrdom, the deacon collected some dust there and brought it to the bishop. As soon as the dust touched Eberigisilus' head, immediately all pain was gone.

Thebaei is the proper name of one particular military unit, the Legio I Maximiana, also known as Maximiana Thebaeorum, recorded in the Notitia Dignitatum.

According to Samir F. Girgis, writing in the Coptic Encyclopedia, there were two legions bearing the name "Theban," both of them formed by Diocletian sometime after the organization of the original Egyptian legion, stationed at Alexandria. It is not certain which of these was transferred from Egypt to Europe in order to assist Maximian in Gaul.

The monastic accounts themselves do not specifically state that all the soldiers were collectively executed; an eleventh-century monk named Otto of Freising wrote that most of the legionaries escaped, and only some were executed. It is possible that the legion was simply divided during Diocletian's re-organization of units (breaking up legions of 6000 men to create smaller units of 1000), and that some of the soldiers had been executed, and that this was where the story of the legion's destruction

originated from. Henri Leclercq suggests that it is quite possible that an incident at Agaunum may have had to do not with a legion, but with a simple detachment. Johan Mösch, after comparing information from the various chronicles on the events and geography of the martyrdoms of the legionaries, concluded that only a single cohort was martyred at Agaunum. The remainder of the cohorts (battalion sized units of which there were ten to a legion) were either on the march or already stationed along the Roman road that ran from Liguria through Turin and Milan, then across Alps and down the Rhine to Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne).

L. Dupraz and Paul Müller, by examining the military titles and ranks of the legionnaires and thereby determining the total number of soldiers involved, estimated that the Thebans martyred at Agaunum consisted of but one cohort whose number did not exceed 520 men. Thus the execution of an entire cohort is equivalent to decimation of a legion.

Denis van Berchem, of the University of Geneva, proposed that Eucherius' presentation of the legend of the Theban legion was a literary production, not based on a local tradition. David Woods, Professor of Classics at the University College Cork, alleges that the model of Maurice and the Theban Legion based on Eucherius of Lyon's letter was a complete fiction.

The strength of the account is based on the historical reputation for the first monks in the Christian tradition, the hermits of the Egyptian desert known as the "Desert Fathers", and the almost fanatical Christian following they inspired during the first two centuries. The most famous of the Desert Fathers was Anthony the Great. The persecution of high-ranking Christian nobility under Emperor Valerian following his edict in 258 and the purge of Christians from the military from 284 through 299 under Emperor Diocletian indicate that noncompliance with emperor worship was the common method for detecting Christian soldiers and eventually executing them.

Donald F. O'Reilly argues that evidence from coins, papyrus, and Roman army lists supports the story of the Theban Legion. A papyrus dated "in the sixth year of our Lord the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Probus Pius Augustus, Tubi sixteenth" (13 January 282), shows rations which would sustain a legion for about three months to be delivered to Panopolis to the "mobilized soldiers and sailors". Coins from Alexandria from the same time period were minted in a style used only when troops for a new legion were leaving port. During the trial of the martyr Maximilian, it was noted that there were Christians serving in the Roman army, and the existence of Theban Christian legionnaires in the same units as mentioned in the Notitia Dignitatum was shown.

Henri Leclercq also notes that the account of Eucherius "has many excellent qualities, historical as well as literary". L. Dupraz countered Denis van Berchem's assertion by sifting through the stories, carefully matching them with archeological discoveries at Agaunum, thus concluding that the martyrdom is historical and that the relics of the martyrs were brought to Agaunum between 286 and 292 through the office of the bishop Theodore. Dora Ruinart, Paul Allard, and the editors of the "Analecta Bollandiana" are of opinion that "the martyrdom of the legion, attested, as it is by ancient and reliable evidence, cannot be called in question by any honest mind".

Saints associated with the Theban legion

Attilio

Attilio, one of the legendary martyrs of the Theban Legion, is venerated as a saint in the area of Trino Vercellese, in Piedmont, north-west Italy and commemorated on 28 June. However his cult is no longer officially recognized by the Roman Catholic Church and he has no entry in its current martyrologies. He has been depicted with a flag, a helmet and the palm of martyrdom.

Maurice

Maurice (also Moritz, Morris, Maurits, or Mauritius; Coptic: ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓϥ) was an Egyptian military leader who headed the legendary Theban Legion of Rome in the 3rd century, and is one of the favourite and most widely venerated saints of that martyred group. He is the patron saint of several professions, locales, and kingdoms. According to the hagiographical material, Maurice was an Egyptian, born in AD 250 in Thebes, an ancient city in Upper Egypt that had been the capital of the New Kingdom of Egypt (1575–1069 BC). He was brought up in the region of Thebes (Luxor). Maurice became a soldier in the Roman army. He rose through the ranks until he became the commander of the Theban legion, thus leading approximately a thousand men. He was an acknowledged Christian at a time when early Christianity was considered to be a threat to the Roman Empire.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

The legion, entirely composed of Christians, had been called from Thebes in Egypt to Gaul to assist Emperor Maximian in defeating a revolt by the bagaudae. The Theban Legion was dispatched with orders to clear the Great St Bernard Pass across the Alps. Before going into battle, they were instructed to offer sacrifices to the pagan gods and pay homage to the emperor. Maurice pledged his men's military allegiance to Rome. He stated that service to God superseded all else. He said that to engage in wanton slaughter was inconceivable to Christian soldiers. He and his men refused to worship Roman deities.

When Maximian ordered them to murder local Christians, they refused. Ordering the unit to be punished, Maximian had every tenth soldier killed, a military punishment known as decimation. More orders followed, the men refused compliance as encouraged by Maurice, and a second decimation was ordered. In response to the Theban Christians' refusal to attack fellow Christians, Maximian ordered all the remaining members of the legion to be executed. The place in Switzerland where this occurred, known as Agaunum, is now Saint-Maurice, Switzerland, site of the Abbey of St. Maurice.

So reads the earliest account of their martyrdom, contained in the public letter which Bishop Eucherius of Lyon (c. 434-450), addressed to his fellow bishop, Salvius. Alternative versions have the legion refusing Maximian's orders only after discovering innocent Christians had inhabited a town they had just destroyed, or that the emperor had them executed when they refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods.

Veneration

Maurice became a patron saint of the German Holy Roman Emperors. In 926, Henry the Fowler (919-936), even ceded the present Swiss canton of Aargau to the abbey, in return for Maurice's lance, sword and spurs. The sword and spurs of Maurice were part of the regalia used at coronations of the Austro-Hungarian emperors until 1916, and among the most important insignia of the imperial throne (although the actual sword dates from the 12th century). In addition, some of the emperors were anointed before the Altar of Saint Maurice at St. Peter's Basilica. In 929, Henry the Fowler held a royal court gathering (Reichsversammlung) at Magdeburg. At the same time, the Mauritius Kloster in honour of Maurice was founded. In 961, Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor, was building and enriching Magdeburg Cathedral, which he intended for his own tomb. To that end, in the year 961 of the Incarnation and in the 25th year of his reign, in the presence of all of the nobility, on the vigil of Christmas, the body of St. Maurice was conveyed to him at Regensburg along with the bodies of some of the saint's companions and portions of other saints. Having been sent to Magdeburg, these relics were received with great honour by a gathering of the entire populace of the city and of their fellow countrymen. They are still venerated there, to the salvation of the homeland.

Maurice is traditionally depicted in full armour, in Italy emblazoned with a red cross. In folk culture he has become connected with the legend of the Holy Lance, which he is supposed to have carried into battle; his name is engraved on the Holy Lance of Vienna, one of several relics claimed as the spear that pierced Jesus' side on the cross. Maurice gives his name to the town St. Moritz as well as to numerous places called Saint-Maurice in French-speaking countries. The Indian Ocean island state of Mauritius was named after Maurice, Prince of Orange, and not directly after Maurice himself.

Over 650 religious foundations dedicated to Saint Maurice can be found in France and other European countries. In Switzerland alone, seven churches or altars in Aargau, six in the Canton of Lucerne, four in the Canton of Solothurn, and one in Appenzell Innerrhoden can be found (in fact, his feast day is a cantonal holiday in Appenzell Innerrhoden). Particularly notable among these are the Church and Abbey of Saint-Maurice-en-Valais, the Church of Saint Moritz in the Engadin, and the Monastery Chapel of Einsiedeln Abbey, where his name continues to be greatly revered. Several orders of chivalry were established in his honour as well, including the Order of the Golden Fleece, Order of Saint Maurice, and the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus. Additionally, fifty-two towns and villages in France have been named in his honour.

Maurice was also the patron saint of a Catholic parish and church in the 9th Ward of New Orleans and including part of the town of Arabi in St. Bernard Parish. The church was constructed in 1856, but was devastated by the winds and flood waters of Hurricane Katrina on 29 August 2005; the copper-plated steeple was blown off the building. The church was subsequently deconsecrated in 2008, and the local diocese put it up for sale in 2011. By 2014, a local attorney had purchased the property for a local arts organization, after which the building served as both an arts venue and the worship space for a Baptist church that had been displaced following the hurricane.

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

On 19 July 1941, Pope Pius XII declared Maurice to be the patron saint of the Italian Army's Alpini (mountain infantry corps). [The Alpini have celebrated Maurice's feast every year since then.

There are several Coptic Orthodox churches named for him.

Apparition

The Our Lady of Laus apparitions included an apparition of Saint Maurice. He appeared in an antique episcopal vestment and told Benoîte Rencurel that he was the one to whom the nearby chapel was dedicated, that he would fetch her some water (before drawing some water out of a well she had not seen), that she should go down to a certain valley to escape the local guard and see the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus, and that Mary was both in Heaven and could appear on Earth.

Patronage

Maurice is the patron saint of the Duchy of Savoy (France) and of the Valais (Switzerland) as well as of soldiers, swordsmiths, armies, and infantrymen. In 1591 Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy arranged the triumphant return of part of the relics of Saint Maurice from the monastery of Agaune in Valais.

He is also the patron saint of weavers and dyers. Manresa (Spain), Piedmont (Italy), Montalbano Jonico (Italy), Schiavi di Abruzzo (Italy), Stadtsulza (Germany) and Coburg (Germany) have chosen Maurice as their patron saint as well. Maurice is also the patron saint of the Brotherhood of Blackheads, a historical military society of unmarried merchants in present-day Estonia and Latvia. In September 2008, certain relics of Maurice were transferred to a new reliquary and rededicated in Schiavi di Abruzzo (Italy).

He is also the patron saint of the town of Coburg in Bavaria, Germany. He is shown there as a man of colour especially on manhole covers as well as on the city coat of arms. There he is called "Coburger Mohr" (English: "Coburg Moor").

Portrayal and modern debates on race

In the modern era, there has been debate surrounding Saint Maurice's race and physical depictions. The earliest surviving work portraying Maurice as a dark-skinned African dates from the 13th century. Before the 13th century, he was usually depicted with European features. The oldest surviving image that depicts Saint Maurice as a dark-skinned man in knight's armour was sculpted in the mid-13th century for Magdeburg Cathedral; there it is displayed next to the grave of Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor. Jean Devisse, author of the book *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, laid out the documentary sources for the saint's popularity and documented it with illustrative examples. The Magdeburg cathedral in the 13th century presumably had other images of Maurice that did not visibly represent him as being an African, though with the exception of a statue from c. 1220, none has survived.

During the 11th century, before art of Maurice began depicting him as visibly dark-skinned, he was seen as "the symbol of the Germanic offensive against the Slavs". Devisse argues that Frederick II likely initiated the "black St. Maurice" trope, around 1240–1250. As a military saint, Maurice played an important role for the Holy Roman Empire during the Crusades, most of which had been failing at the time.

Frederick seemingly wanted to symbolically state that, even though Christians cannot reconquer Africa, Christianity once triumphed in Africa before the arrival of Islam.

Given that Maurice was a Christian, his foreignness could not be depicted with iconographic vocabulary such as curved swords, insignia on shields or headdresses. As such, Maurice was "turned" into a "black" or darker-skinned man to specify his geographic provenance with racial characteristics of color and physiognomy. Paul Kaplan, agreeing with Devisse's thesis, additionally argues that Frederick II also wanted to propagandistically emphasize how "All races are equal before God, and... the Christian mission is universal", and also that one of his goals was to "advance his claims to global rule by promoting the visibility of his most strikingly 'different' subjects".

Gude Suckale-Redlefsen gives another view on the subject, arguing instead that it was not Frederick who transformed Maurice into a "black man", but rather archbishop Alfred I of Käfernburg, after 1220, or his half-brother Wilbrand later on. Suckale-Redlefsen reasons that Alfred had read the *Kaiserchronik* which described Maurice as "the leader of the [black] Moors". As such, according to her, Alfred took cognizance of this new idea of the saint as a dark-skinned Moor and commissioned a "black St. Maurice" in the context of a new building program after a fire devastated the old cathedral in 1207. Devisse had also raised this idea but had eventually dismissed it because of "what [he] assumed would be negative psychological reactions on the part of the populace to the sudden arrival of a black African saint substituting for the old Maurice at an inopportune moment, and also because of the financial costs

137115 involved".
 Images of the saint died out in the mid-16th century. Suckale-Redlefsen suggests that this was due to the developing Atlantic slave trade. "Once again, as in the early Middle Ages, the color black had become associated with spiritual darkness and cultural 'otherness'". There is an oil-on-wood painting of Maurice by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 137120 The city of Coburg's coat of arms honoured the town's patron saint, Saint Maurice, since they were granted in 1493. In 1934, the Nazi government forbade any glorification of the "Black" race, and they replaced the coat of arms with one depicting a vertical sword with a Nazi swastika on the pommel. The original coat of arms was restored in 1945 at the end of World War II. Today, the silhouette of Saint Maurice can be found mainly on manhole covers as well as the city coat of arms.

History
 There is a difference of opinion among researchers as to whether or not the story of the Theban Legion is based on historical fact, and if so, to what extent. The account by Eucherius of Lyon is classed by Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye among the historical romances. Donald F. O'Reilly, in *Lost Legion Rediscovered*, argues that evidence from coins, papyrus, and Roman army lists support the story of the Theban Legion.

137135 [According to the hagiographical material, Maurice was an Egyptian, born in 250 in Thebes, an ancient city in Upper Egypt that was the capital of the New Kingdom of Egypt (1575-1069 BC). He was brought up in the region of Thebes (Luxor). Maurice became a soldier in the Roman army. He was gradually promoted until he became the commander of the Theban legion, thus approximately leading a thousand men. He was an acknowledged Christian at a time when early Christianity was considered to be a threat to the Roman Empire. Yet, he moved easily within the pagan society of his day. The legion, entirely composed of Christians, had been called from Thebes in Egypt to Gaul to assist Emperor Maximian to defeat a revolt by the bagaudae. The Theban Legion was dispatched with orders to clear the Great St. Bernard Pass across Mont Blanc. Before going into battle, they were instructed to offer sacrifices to the pagan gods and pay homage to the emperor. Maurice pledged his men's military allegiance to Rome. He stated that service to God superseded all else. To engage in wanton slaughter was inconceivable to Christian soldiers he said. He and his men refused to worship Roman deities.
 However, when Maximian ordered them to harass some local Christians, they refused. Ordering the unit to be punished, Maximian had every tenth soldier killed, a military punishment known as decimation. More orders followed, the men refused as encouraged by Maurice, and a second decimation was ordered. In response to the Theban Christians' refusal to attack fellow Christians, Maximian ordered all the remaining members of his legion to be executed. The place in Switzerland where this occurred, known as Agaunum, is now Saint-Maurice, Switzerland, site of the Abbey of St. Maurice.

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 137160 discovering innocent Christians had inhabited a town they had just destroyed, or that the emperor had them executed when they refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods.]

Alexander of Bergamo
 Alexander of Bergamo (died c. 303) is the patron saint of Bergamo, as well as Capriate San Gervasio and Cervignano d'Adda. Alexander may have been a Roman soldier or resident of Bergamo who was tortured and killed for not renouncing his Christian faith. Details of his life are uncertain, but subsequent Christian stories consider him a centurion of the Theban Legion commanded by Maurice.

137170 Before the commencement of the Diocletianic Persecution in 303, both Galerius and Maximian in the West inaugurated, on their own responsibility, a crusade against Christianity and sought particularly to remove all Christians from the armies. Alexander, traditionally considered the standard bearer of the Theban Legion, was one of the victims of this persecution. He is reputed to have been a survivor of the decimation (the killing of every tenth man) ordered against the legion at Agaunum. He fled to Italy.

137175 At Milan, he was recognized and imprisoned in the Zebedeo Prison in Milan, later site of the church of Sant'Alessandro in Zebedia. He refused to renounce his Christian faith. However, he was visited in jail by Fidelis and Bishop Maternus. With the help of Fidelis, Alexander managed to escape. Alexander fled to Como but was captured
 137180 again.

Brought back to Milan, he knocked down the sacrificial altar, enraging Emperor Maximian. Alexander was condemned to death by decapitation. However, the executioner's arms went stiff during the execution. He was imprisoned again, but Alexander once again managed to escape and ended up in Bergamo after passing through Fara Gera d'Adda and Capriate San Gervasio. At Bergamo, he was the guest of the lord Crotacius, who bid him to hide from his persecutors. However, Alexander decided to become a preacher instead and converted many natives of Bergamo, including Firmus and Rusticus, who were later martyred. Alexander was once again captured and was finally decapitated on August 26, 303, on the spot now occupied by the church of San

Alessandro in Colonna.

The Martyrdom of St. Alexander (Workshop of Lorenzo Lotto, after 1560)

The oldest Passio dates from about the 8th century, but his cult is much earlier.

Alexander was most likely a Roman soldier, native or resident of Bergamo, tortured and killed for not having renounced his Christian faith.

Bergamo Cathedral is dedicated to him. He is one of the saints in the dedication of the church in Rome for natives of Bergamo.

The 1887 "The Martyrdom of Saint Alexander of Bergamo" by Ponziano Loverini is in the Pinacoteca Vaticana.

Many Italian cities and towns have Saint Alexander of Bergamo as their patron saint.

Bessus

Bessus, sometimes Besse, (Italian: San Besso) is venerated as a member of the legendary Theban Legion, whose members were led by Maurice and were martyred for their Christian faith in the 3rd century.

Legend

Evidence for Bessus's existence is confused and uncertain: the name of Bessus is actually identified with two different, semi-legendary saints with the same name: one was a martyred bishop of Ivrea who lived in the eighth century, the other was a hermit with the same name who lived in an Alpine sanctuary near Campiglia in Cogne Valley.

In addition, there are two feast days associated with Bessus that were celebrated at Ivrea: August 10 and December 1. The cult of Saint Bessus may actually represent the Christianization of the cult associated with the Egyptian god Bes, also invoked for fertility. Bessus and Bes, as Fabio Arduino points out, are both associated with an ostrich feather in their iconography.

According to tradition, Bessus survived the decimation of his legion and fled to valleys of Aosta and Cogne. He then dedicated himself to converting the local shepherds to Christianity.

Numerous legends were connected with Bessus. A breviary dating from 1473 states that Bessus was martyred in the following manner: he was invited to a banquet by some Piedmontese who had stolen the cattle that was now being served as a meal. When Bessus discovered this, he denounced the cattle thieves. Angered, the thieves chased him and forced him to jump the cliffs of Monte Fantino. Bessus survived but was then killed by the Roman legionnaires who had slaughtered the Theban Legion at Agaunum.

The cliff preserves an imprint associated with Bessus. According to local tradition, the sanctuary dedicated to the saint was constructed on the place of Bessus's martyrdom, which remains today a place of pilgrimage. A different version of the tale states that Bessus hid himself in the Valley of Cogne before being killed by the Roman soldiers.

In 1912, Robert Hertz, a French historian and anthropologist, collected at Cogne a different version of Bessus's death, which was part of an oral tradition passed down from generation to generation. This version states that Bessus was not a soldier of the Theban Legion at all, but a local shepherd who was so pious that God rewarded him with a prosperous, fat, and healthy flock. Envious of his prosperity, some shepherds killed him by forcing him off a cliff.

Except for the cult of Saint Maurice, veneration for Bessus enjoyed a wider popularity than those associated with other saints of the Theban Legion and remains popular today.

According to a local tradition, Bessus's relics were stolen in the ninth century and taken to Ozegna, to the chapel now occupied by the sanctuary known as Beata Vergine del Convento e del Bosco. Subsequently, during the reign of Arduin of Italy, the relics were translated to the cathedral of Ivrea, where they were placed in a Roman sarcophagus. Today, the relics rest in a lateral altar along with those associated with other martyr saints. Bessus is depicted in an altarpiece by Claudio Francesco Beaumont.

Bessus was considered to be a great thaumaturgus and miracle-worker, and a protector

of soldiers against the dangers of war; he was also invoked for fertility.[
On August 10, an annual festival and pilgrimage is held in the mountains of Gran
Paradiso National Park (Parco Nazionale del Gran Paradiso), in the Val Soana. A
137250 statue of the saint is carried to the cliff that is associated with his martyrdom.
The honor of carrying the saint was once a cause of dispute between the towns of
Cogne and Campiglia. Each town had once been under the jurisdiction of separate
dioceses, but in the 13th century, the two towns became part of the diocese of Ivrea.

137255 Candidus

Candidus (died c.287 AD) was a commander of the Theban Legion. The Theban Legion was
composed of Christians from Upper Egypt. He is venerated as a Christian saint and
martyr.

Candidus was first mentioned as a member of the Theban Legion by Eucherius, Bishop of
137260 Lyon (434 AD). The 13th-century Golden Legend states: "And the noble man, Maurice,
was duke of this holy legion; and they that governed under him, which bare the
banners, were named Saint Candidus, Saint Innocent, Saint Exsuperius, Saint Victor,
and Saint Constantine, all these were captains."

Candidus is called Maurice's senator militum or staff officer. He opposed Maximian,
137265 who had ordered them to harass the local Christians in his name, stating that "we are
your soldiers, but we are also servants of the true God. We cannot renounce Him who
is our Creator and Master, and also yours even though you reject Him."

Candidus, along with Maurice, the other staff officers and 6,600 soldiers, is said to
have been martyred at the Swiss town of Saint Maurice-en-Valais, then called Agaunum.
137270 His feast day is September 22.

Remains

Candidus' relics were stored in a 6th-century reliquary at the Abbaye de Saint-
Maurice d'Agaune. His skull is kept in an embossed silver bust in the Abbey's
Treasury. Some of Candidus' relics are stored at Our Lady of Malibu Catholic Church,
137275 given by the Archdiocese of Los Angeles to the newly formed parish in 1960 under
founding rector, Joseph Burbage. The relics were rededicated by Archbishop Jose Gomez
in November, 2014. It has been confirmed that his relics can also be found at St.
Bonaventure Catholic Church in Huntington Beach, CA.

137280 Cassius and Florentius

Saint Justin of Siponto, as well as Saints Florentius, Felix, and Justa, are
venerated as Christian martyrs by the Catholic Church. Information about them is
fragmentary but their names were inserted into various martyrologies. Tradition
states that Justin was a priest and bishop, that Florentius and Felix were his
137285 siblings, and that Justa was his niece. The earliest document about them dates from
the 15th century; this is their legendary passio.

They lived in Siponto at the beginning of the fourth century. Justin as the most
erudite and eloquent of the three brothers. He was appointed bishop of Siponto.
Florentius, meanwhile, married and had a daughter named Justa, named after Justin,
137290 who had baptized her. After a decade or so, the four left Siponto and went to Chieti,
where they preached and performed miracles. Pagan priests, alarmed by this, contacted
Maximian; the authorities ordered the four to sacrifice to Jove. Justin escaped to a
mountain named Tubernium while Florentius, Felix, and Justa were arrested and taken
to Forconium (Furci). Florentius and Felix were decapitated immediately, on July 25,
137295 310. Justa was thrown into a burning furnace, but after emerging unharmed, was shot
with arrows on August 1 of that year. She was buried in a place two miles from Furci
where a basilica would later be built.

Justin, meanwhile, buried the bodies of his brothers beside that of his niece and
died of natural causes at the age of eighty-four. He was buried near Offida (province
137300 of Ascoli Piceno), where a basilica was also built.

The varying dates of celebration and places with which they were associated has led
scholars to believe that they are purely legendary. Justin was confused with the cult
of Saint Justin of Chieti, whose feast day falls on January 1, and May 11 locally.
Florentius and Felix were sometimes identified as soldier saints, probably through
137305 confusion with Felix of Nola. Of Justa it is known that there was a crypt dedicated
to her at Bazzano, where her body was conserved. The church there was expanded in the
13th century. Her cult, with a feast day of August 1, was centered in the Abruzzo and
Campania regions. There were three churches dedicated to her in Penne, Sulmona, and
Chieti. The four saints all had their own feast day of July 25 in previous Roman
137310 Martyrologies; currently they are not mentioned in this martyrology.

Bonn Minster (German: Bonner Münster) is a Catholic church in Bonn. It is one of

Germany's oldest churches, having been built between the 11th and 13th centuries. At one point the church served as the de facto cathedral for the Archbishopric of Cologne, because it is the major church of what was then the Archbishop-Elector's residence. It is now a minor basilica. It served as the inspiration for the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin, as Kaiser Wilhelm II had studied in Bonn. The basilica was built on the site of the graves of two martyrs Cassius and Florentius, the patrons of Bonn. They are piously believed to have been Roman legionaries of the Theban Legion. At some point during their march to Gaul, the legion refused to follow the emperor's orders either to kill the indigenous Christians or to worship Maximian as a god. As a result, a large number of legionaries were martyred in Agaunum, now named Saint Maurice-en-Valais after Saint Maurice. According to legend, Saints Cassius and Florentius, who were under the command of Saint Gereon, were beheaded for their religious beliefs at the present location of the Minster.

A memorial chapel was built in the early fourth century in what was a suburban cemetery about 1 km south of the Roman fortress. In the sixth century, a memorial building took its place. In the eighth century the Collegiate Church of SS. Cassius and Florentius" was built. The medieval town developed around the minster. A late Romanesque monastic church was constructed from 1140 to 1250. At one point the church served as the cathedral for the Archbishopric of Cologne. The cathedral was the model for the Gedächtniskirche in Berlin. On Pentecost Sunday 1956, the church was elevated to the status of a minor basilica.

A fund raising initiative was launched in 2014 for necessary renovations to the 1,000-year-old building to address cracks in the vault, water damage, and an aging electric service, among other concerns.

The church has square towers decorated with Lombard bands; a Romanesque feature, the minster also shows adaptation of some Gothic elements. Writer T. Francis Bumpus said, "The most beautiful stone spire in Germany is that of the minster at Bonn." The Minster in Bonn housed one of the first organs in Germany, when in 1230 one was placed on the east wall in the north transept.

Chiaffredo (Theofredus)

Chiaffredo (also Chiaffredus, Theofredus, Ciafrè, Chaffre, Teofredo, Jafredo, Jafredus, Eufredus, Jofredus, Sinfredus, Zaffredus) is venerated as the patron saint of Saluzzo, Italy.

Tradition considers him a member of the Theban Legion, but instead of being martyred with this legion at Agaunum (in present-day Switzerland), he escaped to Piedmont and was martyred there.

A 14th-century account relates that, around 522, a man fell from a precipice near Crissolo but remained unharmed. The local population attributed his being unharmed to relics discovered by a peasant plowing in the vicinity - a discovery attributed to divine intervention. The mysterious skeleton was given the name of "San Ciafrè" and the tomb became the focus of a celebrated sanctuary at Crissolo.

The first documentary evidence pointing to a cult devoted to Chiaffredo dates from 1387, when Avignon Pope Clement VII granted indulgences to those who visited the church at Crissolo and helped in its repair. A late 16th century legend written down by Guglielmo Baldesano states that Chiaffredo or Teofredo, soldier of the Theban Legion, escaped to Piedmont to avoid sacrificing to pagan idols and was martyred at Crissolo around 270. Fabio Arduino believes this story to have no historical foundation, as it would have been unlikely for a Roman legionary of the 3rd century to bear such a clearly Germanic name. The name is a variant of Theudofridus, derived from the Germanic theuda- "people," and frithu- "peace."

The sepulcher identified as Chiaffredo's burial place may have been a tomb of pagan origins. Similar to the cults of Constantius at Crissolo, Bessus at Val Soana, Tegulus at Ivrea, Magnus at Castelmagno, and Dalmatius at Borgo San Dalmazzo, the cult of Chiaffredo was linked with that of the Theban Legion to lend antiquity to a local saint about whom nothing was really known.

In 1902, a scholar identified Chiaffredo as the 8th century figure Theofredus (Chaffre, Theofrid, Teofredo), abbot of Le Monastier near Puy-en-Velay, who was killed by Muslim raiders and was also venerated in Piedmont.

Tornabuoni, bishop of Saluzzo, declared Chiaffredo patron of his diocese during a synod of 1516, with Constantius (San Costanzo) as co-patron. Chiaffredo's relics were translated to Revello in 1593, and thence to the cathedral of Saluzzo in 1642. Constantius and Chiaffredo are depicted together in the altar of Saluzzo Cathedral. Chiaffredo enjoyed veneration in Piedmont; one English scholar has written that "beneath the shadow of Monte Viso, San Chiaffredo, a runaway apostle of the Theban

legion, has usurped the worship paid in old time to the river-god Eridanus..." Due to his alleged Theban origins, he is venerated by the Coptic Church. He is however, not mentioned explicitly in the Roman Martyrology, although this martyrology includes Maurice and the Theban Legion as a whole, without naming Chiaffredo specifically.

Constantius

Constantius (Italian: San Costanzo) is venerated as a member of the legendary Theban Legion. Similar to the cults of Chiaffredo at Crissolo, Bessus at Val Soana, Tegulus at Ivrea, Magnus at Castelmagno, and Dalmatius at Borgo San Dalmazzo, the cult of Constantius was linked with that of the Theban Legion to lend antiquity to a local saint about whom nothing was really known.

According to tradition, Constantius survived the decimation of his Legion and fled to the Val Maira, today in the province of Cuneo, with some other survivors. These included Constantine, Dalmatius, Desiderius, Isidore, Magnus, Olympius, Pontius, Theodore, and Victor. They dedicated themselves to preaching the Christian religion, but all of them, except for Constantius, were soon killed by the Roman authorities. Constantius buried his companions.

The local geologic formation known as Ciciu del Villar, which are columns formed by natural erosion, was connected with Constantius' legend: the stones are said to be the Roman soldiers sent to kill him, who were miraculously petrified before they could harm the saint.

According to tradition, Constantius was eventually beheaded on Monte San Bernardo, where a sanctuary dedicated to him was built, known as San Costanzo al Monte. This sanctuary probably dates to Lombard times; some eighth century sculptures remain. The sanctuary was rebuilt and altered in succeeding centuries, and the stone church was completed in 1190. A Baroque façade was added later. The Benedictine abbatial church of Santi Vittore e Costanzo, also in Villar, conserves some important archaeological remains, including a marble slab bearing vermilion symbols and worn down by the hands of the faithful.

Constantius' cult became popular, with a pilgrimage to Villar by the faithful taking place every year.

Tornabuoni, bishop of Saluzzo, declared Chiaffredo patron of his diocese during a synod of 1516, with Constantius as co-patron. Statues of Chiaffredo and Constantius can be found in the altar of the cathedral of Saluzzo. Due to his connection with the Theban Legion, Constantius is considered to have been of Egyptian birth; this has led to his veneration in the Coptic Church.

Defendens

Defendens of Thebes (Italian: San Defendente di Tebe) is venerated as a martyr by the Catholic Church. Venerated as a soldier-saint, Defendens was, according to Christian tradition, a member of the Theban Legion, and thus martyred at Agaunum.

Particular veneration for Defendens was widespread in Northern Italy; evidence for this cult dates from as early as 1328. His feast day was celebrated in the cities of Chivasso, Casale Monferrato, Novara, and Lodi on January 2, and oratories, altars, and confraternities were dedicated to him. He also enjoyed veneration in Marseille; the Catholic Encyclopedia states that "several saints belong in a particular way to Marseille: the soldier St. Victor, martyr under Maximian; the soldier St. Defendens and his companions, martyrs at the same time..." But as Antonio Borrelli writes, some scholars believe that the Defendens venerated in Italy is different from the martyr who was a member of the Theban Legion.

There is an oratory dedicated to him at Solto Collina. There is also a church dedicated to him at Clusone, the church of San Defendente, and another at Invorio. Until 1476 his relics, according to the 1578 Martyrologium Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae of Pietro Galesino, were kept in the church of Santa Croce in Casale Monferrato, which suggested that his martyrdom may have taken place in that region.

Exuperius (Exupernis)

Exuperius or Exupernis is venerated as a saint and martyr by the Catholic Church; according to tradition, he was the standard-bearer of the Theban Legion and thus a companion to Saint Maurice.

Exuperius' relics were translated in the 10th century to Gembloux Abbey. This translation was performed by the monastery's founder, Saint Guibert (Guibertus), who dedicated the monastery in honor of Saint Peter and Saint Exuperius. The saint thus enjoyed special veneration at Gembloux; Sigebert of Gembloux wrote a long poem on the martyrdom of the Theban Legion. The buildings of the abbey, which largely survived,

137445 are used for the Agronomical University of Gembloux.

Felix and Regula, the patron saints of Zürich

137450 Felix and Regula (together with their servant Exuperantius) are Coptic Orthodox and Roman Catholic saints. They are the patron saints of Zürich.

137450 Felix and Regula were brother and sister, beheaded in the third century, along with Exuperantius, for converting to Christianity. Their feast day is 11 September in the Gregorian calendar, celebrated on the same day using the Julian calendar (which is the 24th of September Gregorian), the 14th of Tout in the Coptic Calendar.

137455 Felix and Regula were siblings, and members of the Theban legion which was based in Egypt under Saint Maurice and stationed in Agaunum in the Valais, Switzerland. When the legion refused to sacrifice to Emperor Maximian, the order was given to execute them. The siblings fled, reaching Zürich (then called Turicum) via Glarus before they were caught, tried and executed in 286. According to legend, after decapitation, they miraculously stood to their feet, picked up their own heads, walked forty paces

137460 uphill, and prayed before lying down in death. They were buried on the spot where they lay down, on the hilltop which would become the site of the Grossmünster. This story was revealed in a dream to a monk called Florentius in the 8th century. It largely contributed to the massive conversion of the inhabitants of these regions to Christianity and had such an impact on Zurich that these three saints still appear on the seal of Zurich today.

137465 In the 9th century, there was a small monastery at the location, outside the settlement of Zürich which was situated on the left side of the Limmat. The Grossmünster was built on their graves from ca. 1100, and the Wasserkirche was built at the site of their execution.

137470 From the 13th century, images of the saints were used in official seals of the city and on coins. On the saints' feast day, their relics were carried in procession between the Grossmünster and the Fraumünster, and the two monasteries vied for possession of the relics, which attracted enough pilgrims to make Zürich the most important pilgrimage site in the bishopric of Konstanz.

137475 With the dissolution of the monasteries by Huldrych Zwingli in 1524, their possessions were confiscated and the graves of the martyrs were opened. There are conflicting versions of what happened then. Heinrich Bullinger, a Protestant theologian, claimed that the graves were empty save for a few bone fragments, which were piously buried in the common graveyard outside the church. The Catholics, on the

137480 other hand, claimed that the reformers were planning to throw the relics of the saints into the river, and that a courageous man of Uri (who happened to be exiled from Uri, and by his action earned amnesty) stole the relics from the church. He carried them to Andermatt, where the two skulls of Felix and Regula can be seen to this day, while the remaining relics were returned to Zürich in 1950, to the newly

137485 built St. Felix und Regula Catholic church. The skulls have been Carbon 14 dated, and while one dates to the Middle Ages, the other is in fact composed of fragments of two separate skulls, of which one is medieval, and the other could indeed date to Roman times.

137490 Zurich's Knabenschiessen competition, which started in 1889, originated with the feast day of the saints on 11 September, which came to be the "national holiday" of the early modern Republic of Zürich.

The account of the Theban legion is regarded as fictitious by many modern historians. However, other historians believe that historical and archaeological evidence places the legion in Switzerland at that time.

137495 Fidelis of Como

Fidelis of Como (Italian: San Fedele) (died c.304) was an Italian soldier-saint, according to Christian tradition.

137500 Fidelis' cult is associated with Carpophorus and Exanthus, two soldier-saints. Variations on their legend are applied to Fidelis. The first says that he, with Carpophorus and Exanthus, were Roman soldiers, members of the legendary Theban Legion, who deserted during the persecution of Christians by Maximian. The three split up at Como, with Carpophorus and Exanthus going into hiding, while Fidelis took a boat across the lake to Samolaco. All were eventually caught and beheaded.

137505 The second says that Fidelis was an army officer who was guarding Christian prisoners at Milan, including Alexander of Bergamo. He managed to procure the freedom of five of these prisoners. With Carpophorus and Exanthus, he and these five attempted to make their way to the Alps, but were executed at Como.

137510 More likely, he was a Christian missionary sent by Maternus (bishop of Milan) to convert the still pagan area around Lake Como, and there met his death.

The cult of Fidelis at Como is ancient. Milan, Como, and Arona claim the relics of Fidelis.

Magnus Felix Ennodius describes, in the early sixth century, a tomb at Como containing the relics of the martyr. Reports of miracles at the tomb fomented the popularity of his cult. Como's claim is based on an account of 964 that describes the translation of Fidelis' relics from the spot where he was killed to Como in that year. Sometime before 1000, the church of Sanfedelino, which was dedicated to him, was built on the site of a much earlier simple chapel, from around the fourth century, previously dedicated to Saint Euphemia.

Relics are said to have been transferred to Arona during a time of war between Milan and Como. In Arona, the presence of the relics of Fidelis and Carpophrous is attested in documents dating back to 1259 and 1321

In 1576, Charles Borromeo transferred to Milan relics of Carpophorus and Fidelis. Though until then their veneration in Arona was minimal, Borromeo's proposed transfer angered the people of the city. As a compromise, Borromeo brought back to Arona the two left forearms of the saints. This occurred on March 13. The city council, which had been pressured by the populace to bring back the relics, decreed that an annual festival occur on that day, which in succeeding centuries has increased in importance. The purpose of the festival was extended to include the celebration for the martyrs Felinus and Gratian, thereby uniting their cult to that of Carpophorus and Fidelis.

At Milan, Borromeo commissioned the church of San Fedele to Pellegrino Tibaldi (1559).

Fortunatus of Casei

Fortunatus of Casei (Italian: San Fortunato di Casei) is venerated as a saint by the Catholic Church. Tradition makes him a member of the Theban Legion, and thus martyred at Agaunum. However, his relics were situated in the catacombs of Pope Callixtus I in Rome until 1746, when Cardinal Guadagni, Roman vicar to Benedict XIV, re-exhumed and displayed Fortunatus' relics in the collegiate church of Santa Maria in Via Lata in Rome. It is unclear how the relics of Fortunatus reached Rome from the saint's supposed place of death in the Swiss Alps.

From Santa Maria in Via Lata, Fortunatus' relics were translated to Casei Gerola in 1765, as a gift to the church there from the Holy See. Casei Gerola, in the province of Pavia, was an important village of the diocese of Tortona, which had close ties to the papacy. His relics were kept in an urn; Fortunatus' skull was crushed, indicating the cause of death to be a fatal blow to the head.

Another source states that he was venerated in the catacombs of Saint Priscilla in Rome until 1600, when some of his relics were translated to Turbigo, although his relics were also claimed by Casei from 1700 onwards. There may have been two saints with the same name of Fortunatus. Some of his relics are also claimed by the parish of Lonate Pozzolo.

He was proclaimed patron saint of Pantelleria after he is believed to have aided the island through miraculous intervention during an earthquake in 1831 and a seaquake in 1891. A procession in honor of the saint is held on October 16; a statue of the saint is carried on a boat.

Gereon

Gereon of Cologne (French: G r on), who may have been a soldier, was martyred at Cologne by beheading, probably in the early 4th century.

The Roman Martyrology states that "In Cologne in Germany, the Saints Gereon and his companions, martyrs, who with sincere piety, courageously offered their necks to the sword." That brief outline is the official account of the church, that is, the martyrdom by beheading, in the famous German city, of a group of Christians headed by a certain Gereon. In fact, nothing more can be said about them with historical certainty.

According to his legend, Gereon (called the "Golden Saint") was said to be a soldier of the Theban Legion. Gregory of Tours, writing in the 6th century, said that Gereon and his companions were a detachment of fifty men of the Theban Legion who were massacred at Agaunum by order of Emperor Maximian for refusing to sacrifice to pagan gods to obtain victory in battle.

Some of his companions' names are stated as being Cassius, Gregorius Maurus, Florentius, Innocentius (Innocent), Constantinus, and Victor.

Bede the Venerable mentions that their feast was included in the Sarum calendar, as well as the calendars of Barking and Durham. Later medieval legends increased the number of Gereon's companions to 290 or 319, and Norbert of Xanten is said to have

discovered, through a vision, the spot at Cologne where the relics of Ursula and her companions, of Gereon, and of other martyrs lay hidden.

Gereon became a popular military saint and is often represented in art as a Roman soldier or medieval knight. Along with other saints who were beheaded, he is invoked by those suffering from migraine headaches. Hélinand of Froidmont's Martyrium mentions Saint Gereon.

St. Gereon's Basilica, in Cologne, is dedicated to him. Stefan Lochner painted a triptych in the 15th century which, in the centre piece, shows in almost life-size figures the worshipping of the Magi, and the side panels of which represent Ursula with her companions, and Gereon with his warriors. In 1810 the triptych was moved from the town hall to the choir chapel of the cathedral.

Saint-Géréon is a small town located in the department of Loire-Atlantique of the French region Pays de la Loire.

The martyr is depicted on the 13th century seal of the Convent of St. Gereon, Cologne.

Magnus of Cuneo

Magnus of Cuneo (Italian: San Magno) is venerated as a martyr and member of the legendary Theban Legion. The center of his cult is situated at the mountain sanctuary known as the Santuario di San Magno, in the Valle Grana, Castelmagno, in the province of Cuneo. His feast day is August 19.

Local tradition says he was a soldier of the Theban Legion, which had been commanded by Maurice. The legion is supposed to have been decimated at Agaunum in 286 AD, but Magnus fled to the mountains of Piedmont, preaching the Christian religion in the Alps. He was eventually martyred and buried in the spot now occupied by the Santuario di San Magno. The church may have occupied a spot once dedicated to the Roman god Mars. The current church was built between 1704 and 1716, in Piedmontese Baroque style, though its interior still preserves frescoes of the 15th and 16th centuries. As Damiano Pomi points out, neither documentary nor archaeological evidence supports the connection between Magnus and the Theban Legion. Similar to the cults of Chiaffredo at Crissolo, Bessus at Val Soana, Tegulus at Ivrea, Constantius at Villar San Costanzo, and Dalmatius at Borgo San Dalmazzo, the cult of Magnus was linked with that of the Theban Legion to lend antiquity to a local saint about whom nothing was really known.

Magnus has theoretically been identified with Magnus of Füssen (Mang), a later monk of the same name associated with the Bavarian monastery at Füssen, whose cult would have spread south to Piedmont by the Benedictines. However, due to his association with the Theban Legion, Magnus was depicted as a Roman soldier holding a banner and the palm of martyrdom. He should not be confused with Magnus of Anagni or Magnus of Cappadocia, whose feast days occur on the same day. A set of relics, translated from Anagni to St. Martin of Tours Catholic Church in Louisville, Kentucky in 1901, may belong to one of them.

Solutor, Octavius, and Adventor

Solutor, along with Octavius and Adventor (Italian: Solutore, Ottavio, e Avventore), (died ca. 284 AD) is the patron saint of Turin.

Historical detail regarding these martyrs is sparse; their memory is preserved because the three were mentioned in a sermon by Maximus of Turin. However, Maximus makes no precise geographic or temporal references regarding Solutor, Octavius, and Adventor.

Their legend states that they were members of the Theban Legion during the end of the 3rd century. While the legion's leader, Saint Maurice, was killed at Agaunum, along with many other soldiers, Solutor, Adventor, and Octavius managed to escape. Adventor and Octavius, however, were caught at the Dora Riparia and killed there. Solutor would be killed at a quarry near the Dora Baltea near Caravino. A matron of Ivrea collected their bodies in a quadriga and carried them to Turin.

In 490, Victor of Turin, bishop of the city, enlarged the church that housed their relics. In 1006, a monastery, San Solutore in Turin, was established by Bishop Gezo of Turin. The relics of the three martyrs, together with those of Saint Juliana and Saint Gozzelino (Gosolino), second abbot of San Solutore, were transferred to the Turinese sanctuary known as the Consolata after Francis I of France ordered the demolition of San Solutore. In 1619, the relics were translated to the new church of the Holy Martyrs (Santi Martiri) on the Via Garibaldi. This church was built with the support of the Piedmontese pontiff Pius V and Emmanuel Philibert. The relics are still found at this church.

According to legend, a vision of the Virgin Mary appeared in a dream to John Bosco in

1844 or 1845 and revealed the site of the martyrdom of Adventor and Octavius. The Basilica dell'Ausiliatrice was built on the spot.

The cult of Saint Solutor is particularly strong in the diocese of Ivrea, and he is also venerated in Caravino, Romano Canavese, and Strambino. The codex called the Codice della Catena depicts Saints Octavius, Maximus of Turin, Adventor, Solutor, John the Baptist, and Secundus of Asti.

Tegulus

Tegulus (Italian: San Tegulo, Tegolo) is venerated as a member of the legendary Theban Legion, whose members were led by Maurice in the 3rd century. The center of Tegulus' cult is at Ivrea. Veneration of Tegulus actually arose at the end of the 10th century, when during the episcopate of Warmondus (Varmondo), the Tegulus's relics were discovered in a sepulcher situated a short distance away from Ivrea. The relics were translated to the cathedral of Ivrea within the city walls, and placed in the chapel of San Giacomo. The relics were later translated, with those of Bessus, to the chapel of Santissimo Sacramento.

According to local tradition, Tegulus survived the decimation of his legion but was eventually beheaded on the road to Montaldo Dora, at the spot later occupied by the chapel of Santa Croce, which was built in the 14th century.

However, nothing certain was known of him, though he may have been a local Christian martyr for his faith during the last imperial persecutions; his cult was linked with that of the Theban Legion to lend antiquity to a local saint about whom nothing was really known. Damiano Pomi theorizes that the relics may have been the remains of a soldier that were mistaken for those of a Christian martyr. The name Tegulus, as Pomi also theorizes, may in fact not have been his name at all, but a reference to the building material commonly used for Roman graves: the tegula or tile.

Ursus of Solothurn

Ursus of Solothurn was a 3rd-century Roman Christian who is venerated as a saint in the Eastern Orthodox Church, Coptic church and Roman Catholic church. He was associated very early with the Theban Legion and is recorded in the Roman Martyrology, commemorated with St. Victor of Solothurn on 30 September.

The Life of Ursus was written by Eucherius of Lyon in the 5th century; it recounts that Ursus was tortured and beheaded at Solothurn under Emperor Maximian and the governor Hyrtacus for refusing to worship idols around 286. The legend is classed by Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye among the historical romances.

The first church dedicated to Ursus in Solothurn was probably built after Victor of Solothurn's remains were taken to Geneva in the late 7th century. The Treaty of Meerssen of 870 mentions a monastery of St. Ursus in Solothurn.

His relics are displayed in churches throughout Switzerland, and his coffin was found in 1519 under the choir altar of St. Ursen. His feast day is September 30.

Saint Ursus Fountain in Solothurn, Switzerland, where St. Ursus is depicted as a soldier.

Ursus is depicted as a soldier in arms, often with his head under his arm. He is depicted in the Solothurn Madonna by Hans Holbein the Younger.

Ursus is the patron of the Roman Catholic cathedral in Solothurn, Switzerland, where his body is located.

Victor of Xanten

Viktor of Xanten was a 4th century martyr and saint recognized by the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church. Since the 12th century, his presumed bones have been kept in a shrine, which is embedded in the high altar of the Xanten Cathedral. His feast day is October 10.

Tradition states that Viktor, as a Praefectus cohortis of a Cohort of the Theban Legion, was not caught up in the decimation at Agaunum but then fell victim to the persecution under Emperor Maximian together with other companions in Xanten. He was executed in the amphitheater of Castra Vetera (the site of present-day Xanten) for refusing to sacrifice to the Roman gods. He was closely associated with Ursus of Solothurn, and is said to have been a relative of Saint Verena.

Victor was first mentioned by Gregory of Tours in connection with the discovery of the bones of a Mallosus in the village of Birten, today a suburb of Xanten. The place name "Xanten" is also derived as "ze santen", which thus refers to a widely known and revered burial place. According to legend, Helena of Constantinople recovered the bones of Victor and his legion and erected a chapel in their honour.

According to other traditions, he was a companion of Gereon of Cologne. The tradition of Victor as a member of the Theban Legion is mixed with that of Victor of Agaunum

and Victor of Solothurn.

Victor of Solothurn

Victor of Solothurn is a martyr and saint of the Catholic Church. He was a soldier of the Theban Legion led by Maurice and died in Solothurn.

Victor was one of the soldiers of the famous Theban legion that, under the leadership of Maurice was dispatched to put down a revolt in Gaul. The soldiers came from the Egyptian city of Thebes, and were for the most part Christians. Sent to clear the Great St Bernard Pass across the Alps, they arrived at Agaunum, the present town of Sankt-Moritz in Switzerland. When ordered to harass some local Christians, they refused. They then refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods, because that would have meant betraying their own God. This cost them all their lives.

Otto of Freising wrote in his *Chronica de duabus civitatibus* that many of the legionaries escaped and only some were executed at Agaunum, and the others apprehended later and put to death both at Bonn and Köln. Victor reached Solothurn near Bern before the Roman authorities caught up with him and he was beheaded.

In 480 the body of Victor was brought to Geneva by the Burgundian Queen Theudelinde. He is buried in the former St-Victor's Basilica in Geneva.

Victor is the patron saint of the city of Geneva. He and Ursus of Solothurn are patron saints of the Cathedral of St. Ursus and St. Victor in Solothurn, Switzerland. A relief on the front facade shows Saints Ursus and Victor refusing to worship idols.

His feast day is 30 September.

Verena

Verena of Zurzach, also known as Saint Verena (c.260 - c.344), was an early Christian consecrated virgin and hermit. She is venerated as a saint in the Eastern Orthodox Church, Roman Catholic Church and Oriental Orthodox Churches. She is especially venerated in Switzerland, where her cult is attested in Bad Zurzach, the reported place of her burial, from at least the 5th century. Her feast is on 1 September.

The oldest tradition of the life of Verena is found in the so-called *Vita prior* by Hatto, the abbot of Reichenau (and later bishop of Mainz), written in c. 888. The younger *Vita posterior* was most likely written by a monk in Zurzach in the 11th century, the oldest extant copy dating to the 12th century.

According to Hatto's account, Verena was born in Thebes as the daughter of a notable Christian family. She was educated by a bishop named Chaeremon (*Vita prior*, ch. 3). A bishop Chaeremon of Nilopolis is mentioned by Eusebius as martyred in 250, which would place Verena's birth before that date.

After the death of Chaeremon, Verena travelled to Lower Egypt with a group of Christians, where the Theban Legion was being recruited. With the Theban Legion, she then travelled to Milan (*Vita prior* ch. 4). While still in Milan, she heard of the martyrdom of the Theban Legion (an event of uncertain historicity, traditionally dated to 286, during the reign of Maximian) and travelled to Agaunum (Saint-Maurice). In later sources, she is said to have buried the martyred legionnaires.

Verena then moved on to Salodurum (Solothurn) in a hermitage, and spent her days in fasting and prayer, and working miracles. Hatto presents her as a prototype of the consecrated virgin, saying that she attracted a following of young virgins. She was at one point imprisoned by a local governor, and Saint Maurice appeared to her in jail to console and strengthen her. After she was released, she continued her good works. At the end of her natural days, she retired into a narrow cave.

The year of her death was calculated as 344 by Johannes Laurentius Huber (1812-1879), provost at Verenamünster in Zurzach. If her birth before 250 is accepted (based on the identification of her mentor, bishop Chaeremon), this would imply that she was more than 95 years old at the time of her death.

The Verena Minster in Zurzach was built over the grave of Saint Verena in a Roman cemetery.

Her cult became widespread from the 12th century, and Verena was one of the most venerated saints in medieval Switzerland. A Benedictine abbey existed in the 10th century at the site of her burial in Bad Zurzach. The monastery was replaced by a collegiate church at some time before 1265, with Saint Verena as its patroness. In southern Germany, a chapel dedicated to her was present at the site of the minster of Salem Abbey in 1137. The minster there includes a niche dedicated to her. The convent of beguines in Zürich, established in the mid-13th century, had a chapel dedicated to St. Verena.

Verena is often portrayed as a matron with either bread, or a jar of water in one hand, and a comb in the other, symbols of her care for the poor and lepers.

- 137775 The given name Verena is not recorded outside of the context of this saint; it has been associated with the name Berenice (i.e. Veronica). In reference to the saint, Verena came to be a commonly given feminine name in Switzerland, in hypocoristic form [Vreni" becoming an almost archetypically Swiss girls' name (cf. diminutive "Vreneli"). The name Verena or Vreneli was also transferred to numerous female
- 137780 figures in Swiss folklore and mythology; notable among these is the Vrenelisgärtli ("Verena's garden") glacier of the Glärnisch massif. The Verena Gorge Hermitage north of Solothurn, ostensibly the site of Verena's hermitage, is known to have been in existence since the 12th century (the older of the two chapels has foundations of the 12th century). The presence of a resident
- 137785 hermit is recorded for 1442. The site features Stations of the Cross dating from 1613 (restored around 1990). In the 18th century, the gorge was developed as a landscape garden in the style of Romanticism, notably due to the advocacy of French diplomat Louis Auguste Le Tonnelier de Breteuil. During 1810-1813, the footpath along the gorge was further developed as a partly Roman Catholic pilgrimage site, and a partly
- 137790 national romantic shrine for the patriciate of Solothurn. In a century-old tradition, the resident hermit is provided for by the Bürgergemeinde of the city of Solothurn. The municipality of Stäfa at Lake Zürich displays Verena in its coat of arms, from the coat of arms of Stäfa bailiwick in use since 1526.
- 137795 In 1986, a delegation from Saint Verena's Church in Switzerland, brought a part of Saint Verena's relics to Egypt. The first Coptic church consecrated in the name of Saint Verena is Saint Maurice and Saint Verena's Church in Cairo, which was consecrated by Pope Shenouda III on 22 February 1994.
- 137800 In October 2004, a delegation from the Diocese of Los Angeles in the United States of America, along with Metropolitan Serapion of Los Angeles, Fr. Joseph Boules and Fr. Gregory Bishay travelled to Switzerland to bring a part of Saint Verena's relics to her churches in Anaheim and Orange. The Anaheim church, now located in Yorba Linda, California, now has a shrine dedicated to her relic, as well as the church in Orange.

Excavations in Trier

137805 February 20, 1835 In the municipality of Niedaltorf, near Trier, near the French
border, excavations have uncovered a wall that, upon examination, was found to be 17
feet long and 11 feet wide, decorated with beautiful mosaic work depicting flowers in
blue, red, and white, made of small, square stones. A section of this wall had
137810 already been demolished before the government became aware of it, so it preserved
only a portion of this remnant of a Roman building.

April 23, 1844 COLOGNE, April 18.
The accidental discovery of the mosaic floor here has proven that the Roman city lay
8 to 12 feet below its current foundation. Ancient Trier lay 20 feet lower, and
137815 ancient Rome 20 to 30 feet lower. The discovered floor ran north to south and appears
to have been part of several separate buildings (insula); that is, the palace and its
outbuildings were completely detached, just as the Romans had built their palaces
since Nero's time. The excavated mosaic floor is 20 feet long and 18 feet wide and
surrounded by continuous border decorations. The central section covers a regular
137820 hexagon, which is itself divided into six corners. In the center, one sees a man's
head with a white beard. A green robe hangs from the left shoulder, so that the right
shoulder, arm, and chest appear bare. This head is surrounded by red and black
circles, bearing the inscription ΔΙΙΤΕΝΗC. Regular quadrilaterals appear on the sides
of the polygon, and equilateral triangles lie between them, creating a regular
137825 dodecagon. The quadrangles are decorated with rosettes of various shapes and colors:
red, green, yellow, blue, black, and white alternate. The triangles between the
quadrangles are inlaid with smaller triangles, alternating between black and white,
yellow and red. In the hexagon facing west, on a white background, one sees a head
with gray hair and a beard, turned from east to west. The robe covering the chest is
137830 light gray; under this head is written CΩKPATHC. A head on the east side has dark,
hanging hair and a long beard, with the letters EIA, probably XEIAON, one of the
Seven Sages of Greece. Under another head with a gray beard, wearing a blue-green
robe over his left shoulder, is written CΩΦOKΔHC. Some other heads have suffered
greatly; Under one of these are the letters OBOA, which would have been KOEOBOOTOC,
137835 one of the seven sages from Lindas. No mosaic floor is known to be so decorated with
busts of sages and poets. In that respect, this one is unique.

September 12, 1852 — In Trier, during the construction of a house, a magnificent,
very well-preserved mosaic floor was discovered today, 10 feet underground, with
137840 figures in the most vibrant colors, as beautiful as any ever found in that region.
This piece will be preserved in the museum there.

January 1, 1861 Constantinople and Urbs Roma.
... The above opinion of Mr. Soret is supported by a recent coin hoard discovered
137845 near Bitburg, Trier administrative district.
A farmer found in his field a hoard of small coins covered with slate, dating from
Roman times, containing 402 coins, beginning with Maximinus Daza and ending with
Constantine II. My esteemed friend, Professor Namur, acquired the hoard for the local
collection. More detailed descriptions and information about the results can be found
137850 in the next chapter of the review of Belgian numismatics. I was permitted to examine
the hoard; it contained some rarities, for example, the inscription of Constantine
the Great: Soli invicto comiti, and the emperor depicted with helmet, armor, and
lance. Then, more details regarding the minting location: MSL, which is also given as
Sabatier and which I interpret as Moneta Sacra Londinensis. However, these
137855 inscriptions were not uncommon in various forms under Crispus and Constantine II. I
am glad that the Fund is worth it over the year 326; Constantine II was only 10 years
old in this year, but had a fine victory with his stepbrother Crispus, who died in
this year, inheritances. Constantine now tries in two copies of the following young
people, fast childproof Cups of the Laurel Crown, both coins since minted in the same
137860 birthplace Arles; The right to the laurel wreath in Slovenia was already granted
during the lifetime of Crispus. This is a matter of great concern for the younger
generation of the Funds of the Year 337, in the Year of Constantine the Great and
Constantine II resigned the epithet junior.

137865 November 14, 1862 — The government has made 22,000 thalers available to carry out
excavations in Trier, on the site of a Roman palace.
In order to preserve this important ruin, which it is hoped will be discovered in its
entirety for art, the government has purchased the surrounding land for a short

period. Excavations will begin this winter.

February 9, 1874 In Euern, near Trier, work was underway to level the ground for the construction of a new church. A floor of Roman mosaic, 14.5 feet square with beautiful four-colored figures, was discovered.

November 2, 1880 – Three months ago, a resident of Ermsdorf, Luxembourg, discovered over 7,000 Roman coins while excavating a plot of land. Mr. Van Werveke, professor at the Athenaeum and curator at the Coin Cabinet of the Historical Association in Luxembourg, cleaned them and arranged them in the cabinet. They are coins of the emperors Licinius I, Licinius the Younger, Constantine the Great and his sons Crispus, Constantine II, Constans I and Constans II, as well as of the empresses Theodora, Helena and Fausta, as well as some of Alexander Severus, Maxentius, Claudius Gothicus, Maximianus Herculeus, Maximinus Daza, Tranquillinus and Dalmatius.

April 10, 1883. Recently, the museum in Trier received as a gift some very remarkable remains from the distant past, found in the ground near Wasserbillig. During the construction of a vineyard in the latter town, many graves were excavated. Most of the bodies had been cremated, and the remaining bones placed in urns and thus entrusted to the earth. Limestone membranes had been placed around the multitude of urns discovered here. In addition, other bodies were buried. They were laid on roof tiles; one of these bodies had been placed on 14 roof tiles, forming, as it were, a bed for the brickmaker—as can be seen on similar objects used in the construction of a Roman bathhouse excavated in St. Barbara's Church in Trier. Similar objects, bearing the same mark, were used in the construction of the oldest part of what is now, but later enlarged and expanded, the main church of Trier. It follows that these graves must have been excavated between 824 and 385.

August 29, 1897: A discovery. The remains of a Roman house have been excavated in Trier, on a plot of land owned by the manufacturer Schabb. It is a large house, the facade of which stood on the city's main street (Augusta Trevirorum) in Roman times. Among other things, a window was discovered there—the first ever discovered in a Roman house—as well as a very beautiful, colorful mosaic floor. According to experts, the house dates from the first half of the 4th century, the heyday of Trier under Roman rule.

September 2, 1903 ROMAN EXCAVATIONS IN TRIER. Government activities in Trier daily unearth more or less important Roman antiquities. In Pfützenstrasse, an extremely solid Roman road paved with white limestone was discovered at a depth of 2.5 meters. The street originates from the city theater and runs to the Imperial Palace. A large number of Roman coins and "Trier Charter coins" were also discovered on this occasion. In other parts of the city, well-preserved bronze vases, Roman furniture, and the remains of terra sigillata dishes were unearthed. The newly uncovered sections of the Baths complete the picture of this well-preserved bathing facility.

March 23, 1906 – During repairs to the West Choir in the Cathedral of Trier, large Roman mosaics were unearthed at a depth of two meters beneath the floor.

February 25, 1925: Trier as a residence of the Romans.
Dr. Loeschke from Trier spoke yesterday to the Natural History Society about Trier as a Roman residence. Several decades before Christ, Emperor Augustus was said to have founded the city of Trier. Before this time, there was no city or town in that region of the Moselle. The residents lived high up in the mountains and hid near a

June 22, 1931 TREASURE HUNTERS
[...] A similar discovery was made about 30 years ago by Mayor Britz from Dockscheid near Maxweiler in the Eifel region. While plowing, he came across a large collection of coins, silver and copper pieces. The coins bore, among other things, the images of Emperor Constantine the Great and Saint Helena. The find is now in the Provincial Museum of Trier. The recovered coins are valuable testimonies to the country's past.

October 12, 1931 The German Delphi.
I already wrote an article under this title a few months ago. Now new details have come to light. Until now, it was believed that the Roman Emperor Augustus was the founder of the city of Trier. Excavations in the Altbach Valley have actually revealed...

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A different opinion has emerged. This has established that Trier already existed before Roman rule. Cultural layers dating back many thousands of years lie on top of each other here.

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It was customary for the Romans to choose the ancient cultural sites of their conquered peoples as their own. Moreover, Trier enjoyed an exceptionally favorable geographical location, as the military routes from Paris and Reims, and from Lyon via Metz, converged here and continued on to Cologne and Mainz.

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With all the luxury of the imperial period, Trier was established as a trading and administrative center for the Roman provinces of Belgium and Upper and Lower Germany. After the division of the Roman Empire into western and eastern parts, Emperor Diocletian even elevated this city to an imperial residence in 286, from which the entire western empire, including Spain and Britain, was governed. Trier thus became one of the largest cities of the Roman Empire and acquired the impressive buildings from that period that still remain on German soil. Although these buildings were later destroyed, the remaining remains still clearly demonstrate their former significance.

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In recent years, foundations of large Roman buildings and palaces have been discovered, all situated along a main street. It is believed that the imperial palace, the university, and numerous temples of Roman deities are still to be found.

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This temple city can be compared to the national sanctuary of the Greeks, Delphi, which was also a sacred city with a large number of magnificent temples, priests' residences, and a theater. The distinction here was that most of Delphi's art was made of marble. Delphi also housed the world-famous oracle of Apollo. A wealth of masterpieces of art were preserved here, gifts from all the peoples, cities, and kings of the ancient world. Already 50 years ago, during the construction of a railway line to Saarbrücken and Metz, a number of idols, as well as inscribed stones, were discovered. When a road was to be built on the same site in 1924, Professor Siegfried Loerschke of the Provincial Museum in Trier began excavating the ground. He made discoveries that can be considered the largest on German soil in decades. This involved the discovery of an entire "holy city," a vast collection of temples within the walls of the Roman imperial residence.

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To date, no fewer than 60 temples and chapels, a theater, houses, large columned halls, water conduits, springs, and small structures have been uncovered.

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Our knowledge of Roman worship has been significantly expanded as a result. It has been discovered that the ancient Trevors also venerated animal-shaped idols in historical times. For example, a statue of a water god in the form of a bull was found. Animal and human forms have been combined in two other idols found, but the animal is already the subservient element in these. This applies to the riding Jupiter or Wode, the Germanic god of the sky, and to the patron saint of horse

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breeding, Epona, who is already venerated here as a rider and no longer as a horse. Furthermore, an idol was found representing maternal blessing. In one instance, this goddess sat in an armchair at the entrance to the temple, holding a basket of fruit on her lap; in another, she wore a diadem on her head and a full grain of corn in her left arm. Two small children rested their arms on their mother's lap.

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Approximately one hundred figures representing goddesses were found in a temple cellar. The most beautiful thing found, however, was the statue of a young mother carrying her child in her arms.

Male idols were also found, including, for example, the Deus Vertumnäs. Human sacrifices were still made to this god in historical times.

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December 12, 1933 [...] In 1825, a farmer from the neighboring village of Fließem was searching for stones and tiles from the old building to use—according to common custom—for his own house, when he unexpectedly stumbled upon a mosaic floor. He spoke about his discovery, and it soon attracted public attention. The first excavations were carried out by Mr. Malegaux from Bitburg, by the Society for Useful Research, and by the government of Trier. [...] A remarkable discovery was made years ago by a farmer who was leading his plow, drawn by two horses, across his land. Suddenly, something unexpected happened: the earth seemed to open up and swallow the entire team. The horses sank into the ground, and it turned out that beneath the field was a brick vault belonging to the Roman estate of Otrang. It took considerable effort to retrieve the horses from the deep pit. The farmer found two beautiful gold cups, each with a 30-centimeter-long base. He presented this discovery to the artistic king Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, and received 24 taler for it.

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December 25, 1934 TEMPLE QUARTER IN TRIER

Major archaeological works. The entire quarter exposed. Via archaeologica.

A German collaborator writes to us:

It has now been definitively decided to completely expose the old Roman temple quarter in the city of Trier, Augusta Treverorum, the German Delphi, as is sometimes called. As is known, this city, perhaps the oldest in Germany, was originally a settlement of the Treveri, a Gallic tribe; In the third century, it was the seat of Roman emperors, and under Emperor Constantine I, it was even the metropolis of one of the four prefectures of the great Roman Empire.

The major project now decided upon will be completed in four to five years. The costs will be borne by the Prussian state, the Rheinische Provinzial Verband (Rhine Provincial Association), and the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft (Community of German Science); the Roman Germanic Central Commission (Römisch-Germanische Zentral Kommission) in Frankfurt will bear the costs of the project.

A publication on the results of the excavations is underway. This work has already been partially published and will now also be completed.

Moreover, the entire temple area will be made accessible to the public in the spirit of an open-air museum, designed by the Trier urban planner Schmidt. The most beautiful temple will be rebuilt; conveniently located viewing points will also be provided to provide a characteristic overview of this ancient temple area of Trier.

An even more far-reaching plan is also currently under serious consideration. An archaeological via will be constructed from the Porta Nigra across the main square, past the Cathedral and the Basilica, to the museum in the former palace of the Electors. This via will then lead from this palace to the imperial baths and to the temple area, as well as the amphitheater. The plan is to implement this plan within ten years, depending on available funding, in collaboration with the Trier city council and the Rheinische Provinzial Verband (Rhine Provincial Association).

February 7, 1936 LECTURE BY PROF. DR. S. LOESCHCKE.

Last night, Professor Dr. S. LOESCHCKE, an archaeologist in Trier, spoke before the Frisian Society of History, Antiquity, and Linguistics. His topic was:

"The Conquest of Nordic Power over the Roman World Power of the Rhine, Danube, and Moselle."

The speaker pointed out that the Rhine region was inhabited by Celts and Germanic people at the time the Romans arrived. The Germanic people arrived around 1300 BC; the Celts, also a "Nordic" people, previously lived there alone. At that time, the Illyrians, unrelated to the Germanic people, lived in eastern Germany. Research by Dutch, Belgian, German, Scandinavian, and Austrian researchers has shown that around 400 BC, Germanic peoples inhabited all of the Netherlands, most of Belgium, and northern Germany. The Celts were pushed south and especially west (France). Celts and Germanic peoples also intermingled. The Illyrians disappeared completely from the area. The speaker recalled the many mountains fortified as fortresses in the Moselle and Rhine regions and recounted how Caesar conquered modern-day France for Rome. Under him, and around the time of Christ's birth, under Augustus, the Rhineland was next. From approximately 50 BC to 450 AD, this land was under Roman rule. Emperor Augustus, the greatest of the Roman emperors, allowed his troops to invade Germania. All the mountain fortresses were conquered by the Romans. Trajan and Marcus Aurelius later fought on the Danube, and they had such assaults immortalized in monuments. No people could have resisted the Romans; working consistently, he had conquered empire by empire, country by country. Like living walls, the legionaries, their shields held side by side, pressed forward. On the German mountains, the gigantic ruins of the Celtic and Germanic walls conquered by the Romans still lie. In what is now the Netherlands, the Batavians were present, in Belgium, the mixed Germanic-Celtic Nervii. The Romans founded the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany and built Trier (Colonia Augusta Treverorum), the city of the Treveri, on the Moselle. On the Rhine, the present-day cities were established as fortresses against the Germanic peoples, including Nijmegen. In these fortresses, the legionaries were stationed with troops from the conquered peoples, with the Treveri serving as cavalry. Numerous finds from the Rhineland and Eifel region illustrate this and the appearance of the Germanic people, with their long beards and matching trousers, which aroused the amazement of the Romans. In the year 9 AD, Augustus summoned three large Roman legions to seize the Rhine. The Roman fleet had to sail up the Elbe, because the entire land up to the Elbe and the Danube Bend was to become Roman. The outcome is well known: the three legions and their auxiliaries were destroyed in the battle in the Teutoburg Forest by Arminius (Hermann) with his Sicambri and other tribes. Even the banners, the eagles, were lost to the barbarians, the Germanic people. Therefore, Hermann's statue rightly stands in the Teutoburg Forest, saying to everyone: "Woe to

him who seizes Germany when Germany is united." Despite all attempts to erase the insult, the Germanic lands east of the Rhine remained free. The Parthians had first defeated the Romans; however, Germania put an end to their advance once and for all. An inner force must have dwelt within the Germans that brought this about. It took Rome a hundred years to recover: only then did it manage to establish a foothold in southern Germany, where Celts and Germans lived together. They now wanted to advance from the south, because in the north, where the Batavians and the warlike Frisians lived, it was not so easy. The Romans built a large border wall with 76 castles and 170 watchtowers protected the Germanic people. The Baalburg, now rebuilt, was one of these castles. Trajan's Column in Rome depicts the alarm towers and other fortifications, along with the alarm signals on the limes Germanicus. The rebellious young Germanic people were tied to a column with shackles or chained neck to neck as slaves. Trajan's Column depicts approximately 2,500 human figures, all immortalizing the Emperor's military deeds. Marcus Aurelius crossed the Danube and built his fortresses and castles there. During this campaign, the Romans were astonished that the Germanic people sought to recover the wounded and even the dead during battle. The statues on the Roman column depict these examples of Germanic loyalty. The Germanic leaders, the speaker continued, were beheaded one by one after their defeats, to frighten the tribes. Thus, Dacia on the lower Danube was conquered. Like all subjugated countries, it had to order tribute after tribute. Ultimately, payment was refused, and the Emperor himself went to Dacia to see what was happening. One of the rebels spoke for all, for he had given impetus to the movement. He refused to renew the oath; the motto was: better a new war than subjugation. Unfortunately, there was a traitor among the leaders, a Dacian, whose tribe was the first to flee. Once again, the Romans were victorious; they killed the men; the women, who protected their children to the last, were taken away!

In truth, the speaker said, the statues on the column in Rome are not only a glorification of Roman glory, but above all, though not intended as such, a hymn to Germanic courage and loyalty. Some of the old men, women, and children managed to hide in quarries and caves. The inner strength of the women would live on in the children, in the new generation. This generation retook Dacia and conquered the limes Germanicus. The Germanic tribes invaded Gaul and destroyed numerous towns and villages. Trier was also burned—as the speaker himself discovered in his excavations. However, Rome was so immensely strong that only the land to the right of the Rhine remained free; the area to the left of the river was forged even more firmly into the Empire. Trier became one of the largest cities and for a hundred years the seat of an emperor or crown prince.

Much of the fortifications remains, which was virtually indestructible. Enormous baths were constructed, and large workshops were built on the outskirts of the city, including numerous potteries. In the Frisian Museum, one can admire so-called Orpheus dishes from Switzerland, which resemble the finds in Trier. After the break, Professor Loeschcke discussed the products of the potteries in Trier; the old Germanic pots and vases are black, the Roman ones red. The Trevian people also made black pots in the Roman period, the so-called Terranigra pots, a beautiful collection of which can be found in Nijmegen. Wooden pots were also imitated in clay. The Romans increasingly taught the indigenous population to master the technique. Cups, boxes, and bottles were made for Moselle wine, which was transported from Trier along the Rhine. Drinking mottos also appeared on the bottles: among others, "Spare the water; put undiluted wine in here." A protest against the Roman custom of drinking wine mixed with water, still valid in the Moselle region! Vases and pots bearing the swastika were also in use at that time. These were likely intended as a sign of Germanic aversion to Rome. The speaker displayed on the white canvas the image of a piece of leather, depicting a banner between two swastikas. According to him, this was perhaps a symbol of the Treveri, proud of their Germanic heritage. They were also known for their well-fed pigs and wool production. Horse breeding was also highly regarded. The Romans understood the art of exploiting indigenous industries and cultures to their advantage. Wine cultivation flourished along the Moselle very early; Emperor Probus did not introduce it, as is often said; he only provided the initial support to the winegrowers after their vineyards were destroyed by the invading Germans in the third century. The wine was transported in typical Germanic ships resembling Viking boats. In the land of the Treveri, Bacchus was not the god of wine, but a bearded Germanic deity.

There were also barrels there, which were unfamiliar to the Romans. Professor Loeschcke reported that he had succeeded in discovering the oldest temple remains in Trier, temples dedicated to the indigenous gods. The excavations have already identified 75 temples and chapels. In the center stood the Imperial Temple,

requisitioned by the Romans; alongside it, the Germanic and Celtic gods were worshipped in temples. The Trier temple district was three times as large as the temple complex at Delphi and twice as extensive as the Acropolis in Athens. Discoveries have shown that a settlement existed in Trier long before the arrival of the Romans. Trier is therefore an ancient cultural land. The 500-year Roman occupation could not erase the original indigenous character, any more than that would have been possible in the Netherlands. However, much was learned from Rome, including building in stone. Several examples of this still remain. Beneath many Christian churches lie the old pagan temples. In these, the Gallic warrior god was depicted with three heads; this depiction was later transferred to the Christian Trinity, but was ultimately forbidden. The bull god was also worshipped in Germania and Gaul; there is even a legend that a golden bull statue is said to have existed near Trier. For the Celts, the bull was the water god: the great fertilizing element in nature. The Rhine was sometimes depicted as a god with two bull horns; It was also found on a stone beneath Notre Dame.

This bull was always accompanied by three birds, three cranes. In this context, the speaker recalled that, in earlier folklore, storks carried children from the water to their parents. And the hare still brings us Easter eggs. Originally, the Germanic people did not depict their gods; they held them in too high esteem; their worship of the gods took place in nature. Professor Loeschcke pointed out that the names of the Germanic gods and goddesses, as well as those of the Romans, still live on in the names of the days. However, there is a significant difference between Freya, the mother goddess, and Venus, both of whom gave their names to the sixth day of the week. All sorts of symbols have defied the centuries. Even today, for example, children in the land of Trier wear lucky horns around their necks. On the coast, in the Netherlands, Nehalennia was worshipped as the mother goddess, and this was the case throughout Germanic lands. The Romans, on the other hand, revered women only as sensual Venus, not as faithful mothers. Herein lies the great distinction. The indigenous element, the professor concluded, not only rose up against the Romans with weapons, but also conquered them spiritually and morally. The speaker depicted the Great Migration, when the area left of the Rhine was liberated from the Romans and the world empire collapsed under their power. Not a single Germanic became Romani; they left that to the Celts. However, beyond the boundaries set by nature, the Germanic people could not establish a new empire either; the unnatural borders of countries and peoples never endured.

August 10, 1940 Coins from the time of Constantine the Great. The excavations on Kruisstraat-N. Lindestraat-Coriovallumstraat in Heerlen have recently led to an important discovery. Near the large heating furnace, which is slowly being uncovered, coins from the time of Constantine the Great have now been discovered. This is of great significance because several historians – including Holwerda and Peters – were of the opinion that around 250 AD, no Romans had settled in South Limburg and that the country had been an almost entirely deserted wasteland. This coin discovery now contradicts that theory, as the Roman period of residence is extended by at least 100 years to approximately 350 AD. The discoverers of these coins, including the renowned archaeologist Dr. Becker from Beek (L.), are now leaning toward a theory that discoveries from the early Christian period may also be made. During Constantine the Great's reign, as is well known, the Edict of Milan granted Christians religious freedom in 318. It is therefore highly likely that there were Christians in South Limburg around the year 350, and that some remnants of these Christians may also be found.

April 23, 1942 THE ROMAN WALL PAINTINGS OF TRIER
The "Nationalzeitung Essen" contains a detailed report on the major archaeological discoveries in Trier, which have been described as the oldest Pompeian wall paintings on German soil. To give our readers an overview of these discoveries, we present an excerpt here. In 1920, during the excavation of a wine cellar, an archaeological discovery was made, the full significance of which was not immediately recognized and therefore remained undiscovered for almost twenty years before science officially intervened. The director of the Rheinland National Museum in Trier, Prof. Dr. von Massow, the restorer of the Pergamon Altar in Berlin, who was then an assistant there, immediately began devoting himself to this task after becoming the museum's director. At the time, more than one hundred crates containing fragments of ancient Roman wall paintings were recovered, which, according to current scientific knowledge, amounted to approximately 100 AD. A series of significant sections were

138200 successfully restored and it was established that the paintings certainly originate from only two rooms. The decorative principle could also be established to a certain extent. The first room is divided into a series of rectangular panels by vertical stripes, half a meter wide, each with a double frame, blue-green on the outside and yellow-red on the inside. The further divisions have not yet been discovered.

138205 In contrast, the decoration of the horizontal stripes is perfectly clear. These are decorated with candelabra; the candelabra stem emerges from a green chalice with a dark red base, resembling a goblet. The base of the chalice is flanked by two green shields, red ibexes stand on the chalice rim, winged amoretts with flower baskets leap on a central panel, and a fallow deer stands on the uppermost panel. This fantastic group is held aloft by two tritons. Another candelabrum has a similar grouping, but

138210 instead of ibexes, blue birds, instead of amoretts, red jars with ears, and instead of the fallow deer, a sphinx. All depictions, in terms of fluidity and splendor of color, are no match for any magnificent piece from Pompeii. Immediately above the fallow deer is a square painting depicting the hero Hercules, with his left hand strangling the hydra, his right hand raising to strike with his club. The second room

138215 must have been even larger and more elaborately painted. The most striking section is a half-life-size Apollo, the upper half nude, the lower half clad in a brilliant blue cloak. He leans on the lyre to his left and rests his right hand on his head. Below him hangs a large decorative bronze disk with a blue head in the center; garlands radiate from this disk, which blend seamlessly into the surrounding architecture. The

138220 most surprising feature is a larger group, which depicts a monumental tripod before a tabernacle. On the beams, a whip-lashed Cupid drives a team of seahorses forward, and within the tabernacle, remnants of further architectural elements appear. Another beautiful fragment shows a laurel tree between blue columns under purple beams. This suggests that this room was used for worship; after all, everything seems to revolve

138225 around Apollo, whose sacred animals, tools, and trees can be found here. The composition of the whole remains uncertain. However, the division of the wall into three sections is already established: an upper floor, containing the black plinth discovered during the excavation, with yellow interspersed fields. Plants are painted on the black surfaces.

138230 For the individual motifs, but also for larger complexes, Professor Van Massow was able to point out surprising similarities from Pompeii. It should also be noted that the quality of the Trier paintings, although partially affected by weathering, must have been originally excellent. Yet, they differ in detail from Pompeian pieces, insofar as even in these works of art, the provincial element within Roman imperial

138235 art can be clearly distinguished from the classical works of the South.

February 11, 1943 Archaeological discoveries in Trier.

– In a lecture in the "Gesellschaft für Nützliche Forschungen," according to the "Frankfurter Zeitung," the director of the Landesmuseum in Trier, Professor Dr. van

138240 Massow, spoke about the archaeological discoveries made within the Trier city area over the past year. Among other things, a mosaic measuring 3.40 by 3.90 m was discovered, closely related in style and technique to the Nennings mosaic and, like it, likely dating from the end of the second century AD. Its special significance lies in the fact that all nine muses are depicted here. Furthermore, the wallwork of

138245 a Roman hall, measuring 10.60 by 7.20 m, was discovered, also covered with mosaic. Above this hall was medieval brickwork with Romanesque murals. The discoveries made north of the amphitheater were a real sensation. Written accounts already knew that a circus had existed in Trier during the Roman period, which, in a eulogy to Emperor Constantine in 310, was equated with the circus maximus in Rome. While it was

138250 previously assumed that this circus was located on the temple grounds in the Altbach valley, Professor von Massow believes, based on the latest discoveries, that it should be located in the Gartenfeld district of Trier. (E.K.B)

November 2, 1943 Sensationelle Funde im Raum von Trier

A Quellsanctum de Treverer entdeckt
Trier, November 2.

Trier had a great deal of rain and overheated Bodenfunden. Let's consider the visual impact of the circus maximus and a review

The discovery of the surviving mosaics of the Muses was announced. Now, the director

138260 of the Rhineland State Museum, Professor Dr. von Massow, announced sensational reports on the truly "groundbreaking excavations" in front of Trier Cathedral and on the discovery of "vast quantities of remnants of ancient wall paintings" that were rediscovered in Trier's Palace Square and whose study and reconstruction have been underway for several months. According to Dr. von Massow, these ancient finds will

far surpass anything previously known in this field, stand comparison "with the treasures of Pompeii," and certainly represent the most magnificent finds ever unearthed north of the Alps, and especially on German soil. Furthermore, Professor Dr. von Massow was able to report the discovery of a spring sanctuary of the Treveri in the Idarwald forest in the Simmern district. Initially, simple, hewn slabs were discovered during work on a water conduit in the middle of the dense forest. Finally, the outline of a temple emerged, revealing a considerable size and clearly a national sanctuary, an ancient pilgrimage site of the Treveri. The altar was located outside the temple, while the statue of the worshipped god stood inside, facing the altar through the temple gate. Numerous grave goods and votive offerings in the form of clay figurines and bronze busts were found in the sanctuary's spring. Coins of Trajan, Hadrian, and Faustina the Younger allow for a dating between 100 and 150 AD. A statue of a cheerfully smiling Apollo was also discovered in this sanctuary. However, the most important statues of the sanctuary were a larger-than-life Apollo, of which only fragments could be recovered, and a statue of his consort, the Treveri goddess Sirona—an exceptionally valuable and likely unique find. This is a larger-than-life high relief in front of a stone slab resembling the back of a chair. The goddess is dressed in a richly draped gown, with a cloak and diadem, and holds a snake that is sucking an egg from a vessel the goddess presents to it. This depiction of fertility also explains two sculptures from Metz in Sainte Fontaine. W. L.

November 5, 1943: ARCHIVAL DISCOVERIES NEAR TRIER AND IDARWALD. Including a temple from the Roman period.

BERLIN, Nov. 4 (S.P.T.) — In recent months, sensational excavations have been conducted in Trier and Idarwald, far surpassing all the results achieved thus far in German excavations into Roman antiquity. Prof. Dr. von Massow, director of the "Rheinische Landesmuseum" in Trier, compares the finds to the treasures of Pompeii and calls them the most astonishing results of excavations north of the Alps. During work to protect the Cathedral of Trier, the foundations of a large basilica from the fourth century were discovered. On the Cathedral Square, during the construction of air raid shelters, Roman houses from the early fourth century were discovered. Emperor Constantine had his seat of government established here and, for that purpose, had several rows of houses demolished. In the remains of these houses, an extraordinary quantity of ancient wall paintings was discovered, probably dating from the second century.

A third, no less sensational discovery was made in Idarwald. When new pumps were to be installed here, a "spring sanctuary" from the Roman period was discovered, which must have been intended for the local population. Further excavation then took place, revealing the outline of a large temple, making the excavation one of the finest finds of this century.

August 15, 1944 MANNHEIM AND TRIER ATTACKED. Under closed cloud cover.

BERLIN, August 14 (Interinf). — Formations of Anglo-American bombers again took advantage of the poor weather conditions prevailing over southwest Germany today to launch terror attacks on Mannheim and Trier. Under almost complete cloud cover, they repeatedly dropped their high explosive and incendiary bombs, completely indiscriminately, on residential areas, outskirts, and cultural monuments. The German fighters were severely hampered by the unfavorable weather conditions. Only a few of the squadrons launched at the alarm signal made contact with the enemy. In contrast, the batteries of heavy anti-aircraft guns stationed in southwest Germany engaged in defensive combat against the American formations with effective barrage fire. Despite the difficult conditions, they succeeded in destroying several four-engine American bombers. So far, reports have been received of the downing of ten aircraft. According to the International Information Bureau, American bombers have laid a carpet of bombs in Trier amidst the most valuable cultural monuments in the old city. According to reports received so far, the cathedral, the basilica, the Church of Our Lady, and the Electoral Palace, among others, were severely damaged or partially destroyed. There are no military or industrial targets in the vicinity.

June 4, 1951 The ancient Roman Imperial City of Trier is discovered from the rubble. The Basilica is believed to have been originally built as a throne room for Constantine the Great.

NEW LIGHT ON THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BETWEEN ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

Although the aerial bombardments of the last World War destroyed sixty percent of

Trier's buildings, while grand and precious historical monuments such as the Basilica from the time of Emperor Constantine the Great, along with the adjacent Electoral Palace from the 17th and 18th centuries and the renowned early Gothic Church of Our Lady (built between 1235 and 1260), were severely damaged, and others, such as the magnificent rococo convent of St. Irmine, were completely destroyed, still enough remains to allow us to see for ourselves the nature and quality of both pre-Roman and ancient cultural heritage, and its aftermath in later times. Yes, one could even say—with a touch of bitter humor—that the bombings had at least one positive aspect: that, while destroying ancient structures, they revealed many older ones that might otherwise never have become known to us. As a result, the bombings have provided us with new and transformative insights into all sorts of questions of art and cultural history, particularly regarding late Roman and early Christian art and its aftermath in the Middle Ages. So important were the discoveries that an archaeological conference was convened in Trier the week after Pentecost, chaired by Dr. Kutsch of the Wiesbaden Museum, to give the scientific community the opportunity to assess the discoveries on site and also to discuss various related topics.

The research led to findings that completely differ from the views previously held regarding the architectural history of these two impressive churches. Both the largely Romanesque cathedral and the graceful central section of the Church of Our Lady were found to stand above the remains of two enormous early Christian basilicas, whose construction, according to completely reliable coin finds, began around 326, thus still under Emperor Constantine. The floor plan of these basilicas is particularly remarkable, as together they form a double cathedral, as it were. Against the west wall of the wide transepts on the east side and of the three-aisled cathedrals, an adjoining rectangular tribuna (altar) was found, flanked on either side by two smaller square rooms each. These can be interpreted as diaconicon and prothesis (sacristy rooms), a layout that remarkably prefigures the later Syrian and Ravennatic early Christian basilicas. It is somewhat difficult to grasp that Constantine erected such a massive complex as these two grand basilicas here in Trier. In 326, thus simultaneously with his St. Peter's Church in Rome (presumably begun in 324) and his Golgotha Basilica in Jerusalem. This makes one realize the significance of the city, Treveris, which will be mentioned later, since it was designated the capital and residence of Gaul by Emperor Diocletian I at the division of the Roman Empire in 286, and especially since Constantine, ruler of the Western Roman Empire, preferred to reside here from 306 to 316. The pompous emperor, deeply conscious of his calling, wanted to make his residence the equal of Rome. This is also evidenced by the well-known so-called "Basilica of Constantine," the red-brick colossus located near the current cathedral complex, a characteristic example of Roman "practical" architecture. During an aerial bombardment on August 14, 1944, the Baroque church interior was completely destroyed by fire; The Roman wall, however, held firm unscathed, striking evidence of the strength of this masonry technique. Here too, the disaster had the fortunate consequence of providing an opportunity for closer examination of the structure. First, it was established with complete certainty that the strict vertical movement of the heavy wall piers, rising in a single course, was originally interrupted in two places by galleries running under the two window areas, which thus functioned as two heavy horizontal frames. The heating system, with its familiar Roman hypocausts, was also discovered. It has been concluded that we are dealing here not with a "basilica," but with an "auditorium," the Constantinian throne room, which forms the east wing.

The ruins of the imperial palace complex.
On the eastern bank of the Moselle, on the opposite side of the city, lies the ruined Monastery of St. Irmine, which we have already mentioned. Only a few walls remained standing, but, stripped of their Baroque plaster and stucco by the bombs, these once again displayed Roman red sandstone masonry, interspersed at irregular intervals, with two layers of brick each. It could now be determined that they belonged to two large buildings that formed the "Horrea," silos that stored the city's supplies. The Franks also later used these warehouses, which were converted into nunneries from the 7th century onwards. Among the most important works of art that were further unearthed, we must consider above all the ceiling paintings, which were found, broken into pieces, beneath the floor of the aforementioned Constantinian basilica, which preceded the present-day cathedral. The busts of princely figures belonging to this group, painted as frescoes on a layer of plaster, are set against a wickerwork of coniferous wood, unique in art history. Among these busts is that of a woman, whom one reasonably believes to be Constantine's mother, Saint Helena. The publication of

these paintings, as well as that of an exceptionally large mosaic floor discovered beneath a destroyed house, depicting scenes likely related to a secret pagan cult, should be awaited with great interest in the near future.

Thus, from the ruins of present-day Trier, the late Roman imperial city of Treveris has risen before us, richer and more complete than anyone could have imagined, a center of ancient culture whose influence radiated throughout Eastern Gaul and the Rhine Province well into the Middle Ages. And here we touch upon the still-murky question of the transitional period between "Antiquity" and the "Middle Ages," which was addressed in the closing sessions of this congress. In an excellent paper on the survival of Roman cities along the Rhine and Danube, Dr. H. van Petrikovits demonstrated how the Roman cities of the 4th century AD established numerous connections to the medieval city, with the episcopal sees, such as Trier, forming the strongest bridge. Dr. K. Böhner discussed the question of continuity between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, seen in the light of Frankish antiquity. In conclusion, the Hamburg professor, Prof. Dr. Aubin, delivered a masterful argument on "the question of the boundary between Antiquity and the Middle Ages." The period in which this separation occurred spans eight centuries: from the birth of Christ to Charlemagne, an era full of momentous events heralding a new era. All these mark either the significance of Christianity as the beginning of a new era, or the downfall of the ancient world, or finally, the impact of the actions of the Germanic peoples. The year 476, when Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor of the Western Roman Empire, was deposed and the empire permanently disintegrated into Germanic states, is undoubtedly a major milestone, but it is not yet decisive, and no other date is entirely delimiting. Aubin concluded that a true separation in all areas can be observed in the Merovingian period, around the middle of the seventh century. All in all, this archaeological conference in Trier proves to be of extraordinary significance for our entire Western European cultural history. The Roman and early Christian monuments that came to light here are of the utmost importance, not only for archaeology, but for historical scholarship as a whole. In particular, the historiography of early Christian art will have to be completely revised.

FRANS VERMEULEN

Photos: DOM AND CHURCH of Our Lady in Trier seen from the northwest, before the 1944 bombing. BASILICA (auditorium) of Constantine the Great before 1944 in Trier.

June 21, 1956 Meetings with the Treveri, the Romans, and the Four Sons of Aymon [with some photos of the paintings]

[...] A remarkable contrast in the cityscape is formed by the very Baroque bishop's palace and the enormous Roman "Emperor's Hall"; the intention was to make the latter a wing of the former, but it seems more like a jostling between two completely different ways of thinking (and therefore also of building). They form the backdrop of a beautiful park with flowering shrubs and people enjoying themselves on benches. The "Emperor's Hall" – incorrectly called a basilica – was severely damaged during the war but will be restored, at enormous financial cost. The enormous hall—one undivided space – 60 m long, 27 m wide, and 30 m high, was the largest room in northwestern Europe in the fourth century AD. Charcoal fires were located under the floor, from which the heat was led upwards through the walls. For this heating, the hall was divided into three separate sections, each to be heated. At the end of the hall, the wall formed a semicircular arch, the apse. There sat the emperor in all his majesty, and those who came to greet him—the envoy from a distant land, the defeated ruler of a conquered people, the subjects paying him homage—must have felt quite insignificant as they crossed that overwhelming space, which transformed the distance between them and their mighty emperor into a breathtaking journey. Ceiling Paintings But the most beautiful thing among the countless treasures Trier has to offer visitors are the ceiling paintings. They were created 1,500 years ago, remained in place for only a few years, and were recovered after the war in more than 50,000 fragments, now being patiently pieced together by human hands like a gigantic jigsaw puzzle!

An imperial palace must have stood on the site where the cathedral now stands, and the ceiling came from one of the palace halls. Shortly after its installation, the palace was demolished—one can date this, among other things, based on the women's fashions of the time—and Emperor Constantine, who played such a significant role in the Christianization of his empire, commissioned the construction of a church. The paintings, which, due to their short life, had not suffered any damage, emerged from the ground in magnificent condition—albeit in small fragments. The ceiling must have consisted of squares alternating between playing angels (putti) and portraits. Some of these squares have now been restored, and it's difficult to

convey the impression these paintings make on twentieth-century people. As if the master had recently painted these works of art, in the beautiful green and terracotta-painted frames, separated by a golden-yellow cord border, the dark eyes of the slightly larger-than-life female portraits gaze at the group of assembled tourists. From the attributes (the halo, the crown, and other ornaments), one might deduce that, among others, Emperor Constantine's wife—Maxima Fausta—and his mother—Flavia Helena—are depicted here. The lively cherubs, with playful hands and feet—the delicate veils of the imperial princesses—it's incomprehensible that all of this was created fifteen hundred years ago!

31 januari 2016 **HELENA AUGUSTA The mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross**

[p. 24] Amidst the excavations the archaeologist Th. K. Kempf found tiny remains of ceilings frescoes. On reconstruction, these paintings appeared to be of such high quality and artistry that they presumably were made to adorn the room of a member of the Constantinian family. The coffered ceiling was divided into fifteen unequal panels, separated by garlands. The frescoes, found in fragments and often incomplete, date from the first quarter of the fourth century. A terminus post quem is given by a newly minted coin, struck in Trier in c. 315, bearing the legend SOLI INVICTO. This coin, embedded in the mortar of a piece of mosaic, was found in the room of the frescoes. A terminus ante quem is offered by coins found in the floor of the oldest part of the church building, which was constructed above the frescoes room. These coins were all minted in 325/326. It is assumed that the room was part of the living quarters of Crispus, Constantine's eldest son. He resided in Trier as representative of his father in 318–323 and possibly also in 324–326. This would explain why in 326 the frescoed room and probably also the adjacent quarters were demolished. In that year Crispus was executed by his father for reasons which remain obscure. The deliberate demolition of his living quarters in Trier may have been a consequence of his damnatio memoriae, after which the cathedral of Trier was constructed over the remains of the imperial rooms.

[p. 28] A suitable place for paintings referring to the happiness of married life is naturally the bedroom, the cubile. It therefore seems plausible to consider the frescoed room not as the cubile of the elder Helena, as Kempf suggest, but as that of the younger Helena. This bedroom was part of the great complex of imperial quarters in which the Caesar Crispus and his wife Helena lived. In 326, after Crispus' execution and damnatio memoriae, the quarters, including the cubile, were demolished; then Trier's cathedral was built on the remains.

[p. 15] In his funeral oration for Theodosius I, Ambrose implies, by referring to her as stabularia, that Helena came from the lower social strata of the Roman Empire. Literally translated, a stabularia is a woman who comes from or works in the stables. Because stables are often associated with inns, the word stabularia can also mean female innkeeper or servant at an inn. In the antiquity the social prestige of somebody working at an inn was low.

24 september 2016 **Double Basilica (326–346) Trier Cathedral Augusta Treverorum**
Trier's palace to cathedral transformation

It is uncertain whether the origins of the Helena-tradition date back as far as the first quarter of the fourth century. If it does, we can wonder whether this tradition goes back to the elder Helena. It seems reasonable to assume that the frescoes were made for the occasion of the wedding of Crispus and [the younger] Helena. The attributes on the frescoes refer to married life, as do the putti. The marriage took place c.321. Hardly anything is known about the younger Helena, except that she was married to Crispus, bore him a child in 322 and was probably with child in 324. The man with the scroll may also be connected with Crispus (and [the younger] Helena); he is identified as Lactantius, Crispus' teacher. A suitable place for paintings referring to the happiness of married life is naturally the bedroom, the cubile. It therefore seems plausible to consider the frescoed room not as the cubile of the elder Helena, as Kempf suggests, but as that of the younger Helena. This bedroom was part of the great complex of imperial quarters in which the Caesar Crispus and his wife Helena lived. In 326, after Crispus' execution and damnatio memoriae, the quarters, including the cubile, were demolished; then Trier's cathedral was built on the remains. Although very little is known about the younger Helena, it is not impossible that her cubile and domus were known among the inhabitants of Trier as the

138530 cubile and domus of Helena, as we find in the medieval texts. The younger Helena soon disappeared into oblivion, and the cubile and domus were soon considered to have been those of the much more famous elder Helena. The latter was a renowned and indeed legendary figure because of her alleged discovery of Christ's Cross. Moreover, her name was often mentioned in connection with the foundation of churches. Both Helenas
138535 may possibly have become confused, which might explain why in the Middle Ages the origin of the Helena-tradition at Trier is dated back to the elder Helena. It may in fact have been the figure of the younger Helena which lay at its roots. For this reason various medieval vitae may attribute Helena's descent to an illustrious family in Trier. Perhaps the younger Helena, about whose origin nothing is mentioned in the
138540 sources, came from a rich and distinguished family in Trier? Maybe Crispus, who resided in Trier from 316 onwards, had met her in this northern capital. Her relatively ignoble descent -- the local aristocracy of Trier -- and hence her obscurity, could clarify why, even while Crispus was still alive, the younger Helena is not mentioned in the ancient historiography of the Constantinian period.
138545 [by] Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: the mother of Constantine the Great and the legend of her finding the true cross* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1992), p. 28-29.

Trier's cathedral, dedicated to St Peter, has a long history which ultimately reaches back to the time of Constantine. Our mediaeval sources report that Helena donated her
138550 "house" in Trier, so that it might become a church, and that Bishop Agritius of Trier dedicated this church. The mediaeval sources which offer this statement are generally not very reliable, and it is known that the cathedral was not completed until many years after Helena had left Trier and also some years after Bishop Agritius had died. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the past scholars have denied that Helena
138555 had anything to do with the beginnings of Trier's cathedral. But archaeological excavations underneath the nave of the cathedral in 1945-6 and again in 1965-8 have dramatically changed that view. These excavations revealed a room, measuring c. 10 x 7 m, which had been built after 316, but was torn down after 330. The location, the date of construction and the quality of the decorations have persuaded investigators
138560 that this room was once part of the imperial residence, "Helena's house" and that it was taken down to make room for the Constantinian church. The painted ceiling of the room was found in situ but in thousands of fragments. The fifteen panels which made up this ceiling have been painstakingly restored and are exhibited in Trier's diocesan museum. Four of these fifteen panels depict richly dressed and bejewelled
138565 ladies, who represent either members of the imperial family or allegorical figures. If the former interpretation be right, the four ladies would be Constantine's mother Helena, his wife Fausta, his half-sister Constantia, and the wife of his son Crispus, also named Helena. This writer is persuaded that the latter interpretation is the correct one.
138570 [door] Hans A. Pohlsander, *The Emperor Constantine* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 17-18.

28 oktober 2016 Interpretations of the frescoes in Trier
The interpretation of the frescoes is still a matter of debate. The frequent use of
138575 the colour purple seems to indicate that the portraits represent imperial figures. This is true especially of the ladies depicted. Unlike the men, all four women are shown with a nimbus and with costly attributes. Some scholars have identified these women as members of the Constantinian family, symbolising the prosperity of the dynasty. Others do not believe that the portraits should be identified with
138580 historical figures, but should rather be considered allegorical representations. When only a few panels had been found and reconstructed, A. Alföldi interpreted the frescoes as an expression of the imperial laetitia, gaudium and hilaritas. He identified the woman holding the jewel-box as Helena representing the hilaritas populi Romani, and the putti on either side as expressions of the gaudium
138585 laetitia which Constantine's reign had brought to the world. M.R. Alföldi agrees with this interpretation and with the identification of the woman with the jewel-box as Helena. But on the basis of the depiction of attributes like the cornucopia and veils, she thinks that the frescoes refer to a marriage. According to W.N. Schumacher the frescoes not only picture the women of the imperial family but also in an
138590 allegorical way refer to a marriage. The marriage in question must have been that of Crispus and Helena the younger, which took place in circa 321. The frescoes decorated the bedroom of this Helena. The woman with the kantharos in the centre of the ceiling Schumacher identifies as the younger Helena.
138595 Nowadays most scholars--those at any rate who think that the women represent imperial

figures-believe that the young woman with the lyre is Crispus' wife. Unfortunately, it was this very fresco which had to undergo large-scale reconstruction. The woman holding the jewel-box is identified as Constantia, Constantine's half-sister and the wife of Licinius; the woman holding the mirror is supposed to be Fausta, Constantine's wife, and the woman with the kantharos is thought to be Helena, mother of Constantine. Other scholars do not accept that these frescoes should be identified with the women of the imperial family. A strong argument is presented by H. Brandenburg. He believes that there can be no question of the depiction of imperial ladies, because the depicted men definitely do not belong to the Constantinian dynasty. The portraits of the ladies should be interpreted as personifications of the prosperity of the age and the happiness of life. Others think that the portraits are allegories of the various seasons, or that they personify Sapientia, Pulchritudo, Iuventus and Salus.

28 oktober 2016 Trier

Under the rule of Constantine the Great (306-337), the city was rebuilt and buildings such as the Palastaula (known today as the Constantine Basilica) and the Imperial Baths (Kaiserthermen), the largest surviving Roman baths outside Rome, were begun under Constantius and completed in 314, constructed by his son Constantine, who left Trier in the hands of his son Crispus. In 326, sections of the imperial family's private residential palaces were extended and converted to a large double basilica, the remains of which are still partly recognizable in the area of the Trier Cathedral (Trierer Dom) and the church "Liebfrauenkirche". A demolished imperial palace has left shattered sections of painted ceiling, which scholars believe once belonged to Constantine's young wife, Fausta, whom he later put to death. From 318 onwards, Trier was the seat of the Gallic prefecture (the Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum), one of the two highest authorities in the Western Roman Empire, which governed the western Roman provinces from Morocco to Britain. Constantine's son Constantius II resided here from 328 to 340.

The trilingual inscription of Šābuhr at "Kaaba i Zardušt"

Res Gestae divi Saporis

Šābuhr

I, the Mazdayasnian Majesty Šābuhr, king of kings of Aryans and non-Aryans, who is of the ciθra of the Yazata, son of the Mazdayasnian Majesty Ardašēr, king of kings of the Aryans, who is of the ciθra of the Yazata, grandson of (His) Majesty Pābag, king, am lord of Ērānšahr.

Description of the Kingdom (Ērānšahr)

And I hold (under my protection these) lands: Persis, Parthia, Xūzestān (Σουσιανή), Mēšān (Μεσηνή), Āsūrestān (Ἀσσυρίαν), Nodšēragān (Νοδισρηγανή), Arabia, Ādurbāyagān (Ἀδουρβαιγανή), Armenia, Viruzān (Georgia, Ἰβηρία), Segān (Μαχελονίαν, Mingrelia), Arrān (Ἀρβανίαν), Balāsagān until forward to the Kap mountains (Καύκασος) and the Alans' gate, and all the Parišxvār mountain chain (Alburz), Māh (Media, Μηδία), Gurgān (Γυρκανία), Marv (Μαργιανή), Harēv (Ἀρειά, Herāt), and all the upper lands (Abaršahr), Kirmān (Karmāna, Καρμανία), Sagestān (Σακαστιανή), Tūrān, Makurān (Mukrān), Pāradān (Παραδηνή), Hindustān (India), and the Kušān-land until forward to Pašakbur (Purušapura, Pēšāwar), and up to kāš (Κασία χώρα, Kāshgar), Suγd (Σογδιανή), and Cācestān (Tashkent), and on the other side of the sea the Mazūn-land (Oman). And we have given [to a city] the name Pērōzšābuhr (Anbār), and we have given the name Ohrmazdardašēr (to another city). And these many lands, land rulers and district governors, all have become tributary and subject to us.

The account of the war between the Persians and the Roman empire
First Campaign

And, when at first we were established over the kingdom, Gordian Caesar assembled from all of the Roman, Goth and German lands a military force 12 and marched on Āsūrestān against Ērānšahr and against us. And on the border of Āsūrestān at Mešik (Μησιχη), a great frontal battle took place. Gordian Caesar was killed. We destroyed the Roman military force. And the Romans made Philip Caesar. And Philip Caesar came to terms to us, and, as ransom for the life, he gave us 500000 denars, and became tributary to us. And for this reason we gave the name Pērōzšābuhr ('victorious Šābuhr') to Mešik.

Second Campaign

And (Philip) Caesar lied again, and did wrong to Armenia. Then we set out for the Roman Empire, and at Bēbališ (Βαρβαλίσσον, Bālis) we annihilated a Roman army of 60000. And the Āsūryā-land (Syria) the environs of the Āsūryā-land we all burned with fire, ruined and plundered. And on this one occasion (Gr. ὁλωγή) we took of the Roman Empire forts and towns:

The town of Anat (Ἀναθαν, 'Āna) with surroundings;

Birt-Arūpān with surroundings;

Birt-Aspōragān (Βίρθαν Ασπωράκου) with surroundings;

the town of Šūrā (Σοῦραν) with surroundings;

the town of Bēbališ with surroundings;

the town of Mambōg (Μαμβόγιν, Manbij) with surroundings;

the town of Halab (Βέρροιναν, Haleb) with surroundings;

the town of Kennešrā (Χαλκίδα, Qinnasrīn) with surroundings;

the town of Apamiyā (Ἀπάμιαν) with surroundings;

the town of Refaniyos (Ρεφανέαν, Rafaniyya) with surroundings;

the town of Zūma (Ζεῦγμα) with surroundings;

the town of Urnā (Οὔριμα) with surroundings;

the town of Gindaros (Γίνδαρον) with surroundings;

the town of Armenāz (Ἀρμενάζα) with surroundings;

the town of Selōkiyā (Σελεύκιαν) with surroundings;

the town of Andiyok (Ἀντιόχιαν, Antākiya) with surroundings;

the town of Kirros (Κύρρον) with surroundings;

another town of Selōkiyā with surroundings;

the town of Aleksandriyā (Ἀλεξάνδριαν) with surroundings;

the town of Nēkpolis (Νεικόπολιν, Işlāhiye) with surroundings;

the town of Sinzar (Σίνζαρα, Λάρισσα, Šaijar) with surroundings;

the town of Hamāt (Χαμαθ, Hamā) with surroundings;

the town of Ariston (Ἀριστιν, Rastan) with surroundings;

the town of Dikor (Διχωρ) with surroundings;

the town of Dūrā (Δοῦραν, Şalihiye) with surroundings;

- the town of Dolox (Δολίχην, Dülük) with surroundings;
 the town of Korkusyā (Κορκουσίωνα) with surroundings;
 138695 the town of Germaniyos (Γερμανεῖκιον, Kahramanmaraş) with surroundings;
 the town of Batnān (Βάτναν) with surroundings;
 the town of Xānar (Χαναρ) with surroundings;
 and in Cappadocia:
 the town of Sātal (Σάταλα) with surroundings;
 138700 the town of Domān (Δόμαν) with surroundings;
 the town of Artangilyā (Ἀρτανγίλαν) with surroundings;
 the town of Sūš (Σουισαν) with surroundings;
 the town of Suvid (Σουιδ) with surroundings;
 the town of Frāt (Φρέατα) with surroundings – a total of 37 towns with surroundings.
 138705
- Third Campaign
 And on the third occasion, when we set out for Carrhae (Xarrān, Κάρραι, Ḥarrān) and Edessa (Urhā, Ἐδεσσα, Urfa), and were besieging Xarrān and Urhā, Valerian Caesar marched against us, and he had had with him, from Germany (Germān-land), Raetia (Rešyāland), Noricum (Nirkos-land), Dacia (Dākyā-land), Moesia (Mūsyāland), Istria (Estriyā-land), Spain (Espāniyā-land), Africa (Afrikiyāland), Thracia (Trākyā-land), Bihynia (Butniyā-land), Asia (Āsialand), Pamphylia (Pamfaliyā-land), Isauria (Esuriyā-land), Lycaonia (Lūkunyā-land), Galatia (Galātenyā-land), Cilicia (Kilikiyā-land), Cappadocia (Kappadukiyā-land), Phrygia (Frūgiyā-land), Syria (Sūriyā-land), 138715 Phoenicia (Funikiyā-land), Judaea (Jehūdiyā-land), Arabia (Arabiyyā-land), Mauretania (Murin-land), Germania (Germānyā-šahr), Rhodos (Rodās-šahr), Osrhoene (Asenyos-šahr), and Mesopotamia (Meyānrōdān-land) an army of 70000 men.
 And on that side of Carrhae and Edessa with Valerian Caesar a great battle took place. And we made captive Valerian Caesar with our hands. And the others, the 138720 praetorian prefect, and senators and commanders who were chiefs of that army, all were captured and deported to Persis.
 And Syria and Cilicia and Cappadocia were burned with fire, ruined and plundered. This time we seized from the Roman Empire:
 The town of Alexandria on the Issus (Ἀλεξάνδριον τὴν κατ' Ἰσόν) with surroundings;
 138725 the town of Samosata (Šamošād) with surroundings,
 the town of Katabolos (Parth. krtr'y) with surroundings;
 the town of Aegaea (Aygā, Αἰγέα, Ayas) with surroundings;
 the town of Mopsuestia (Māmsestiyā, Μοψουεστίαν, Mamistra) with surroundings;
 the town of Mallos (Μαλλός) with surroundings;
 138730 the town of Adana (Ἀδανα) with surroundings;
 the town of Tarsus (Ταρσόν) with surroundings;
 the town of Augusta (Agustinā, Augustopolis) with surroundings;
 the town of ... with surroundings;
 the town of Zephyrion (Zefiron, Ζεφύριον, Mersin) with surroundings;
 138735 the town of Sebaste (Sebastiyā, Σεβαστήν) with surroundings;
 the town of Korykos (Κώρυκον, Kız Kalesi) with surroundings;
 the town of Anazarbus (Ἀγριππιάδα, Anavarza) with surroundings;
 the town of Castabala (Καστάβαλα) with surroundings;
 the town of Neronias (Νερωνιάδα) with surroundings;
 138740 the town of Flavias (Φλαυιάδα) with surroundings;
 the town of Nikopolis (Νεικόπολιν) with surroundings;
 the town of Epiphania (Ἐπιφάνια) with surroundings;
 the town of Kelenderis (Κελενδερίν, Aydıncık) with surroundings;
 the town of Anemuri(o)n (Ἀνεμούριον, Anamur) with surroundings;
 138745 the town of Selinus (Σελινοῦν) with surroundings;
 the town of Mionopolis (Μιών; Μυωνία) with surroundings;
 the town of Antioch (Andiyokiyā, Ἀντιόχιν) with surroundings;
 the town of Seleucia (Parth. srty'p) with surroundings;
 the town of Dometiu-polis (Δομετίου πόλιν, Parth. mwstynprws) with surroundings;
 138750 the town of Tuyana (Τύανα) with surroundings;
 the town of Caesarea (Kēsariyā, Μηιακαρίρη) with surroundings;
 the town of Comana (Κόμανα, Şar) with surroundings;
 the town of Kybistra (Κύβιστρα) with surroundings;
 the town of Sebasteia (Σεβάστιαν, Sivas) with surroundings;
 138755 the town of Birtha (Βίρθαν) with surroundings;
 the town of Rhakundia (Ρακουνδιαν) with surroundings;
 the town of Laranda (Λάρανδα, Karaman) with surroundings;
 the town of Iconium (Ἰκόνιν, Konya) with surroundings – altogether all these towns

with their surroundings.

And people who are of the Roman Empire, of non-Aryans, captive we deported. In Ērānšahr in Persis, Parthia, Xūzestān (Susiane), Āsūrestān, and in any other land where our own and our fathers' and our grandfathers' and our ancestors' estates were, there we settled them.

We searched out many other lands, and we did many fame(worthy) and heroic deeds, which we have not written here, these many things (we have written before). We commanded to be written for this reason that whosoever will be after us may know this fame, heroism and kingship of us.

The deed of settlement

Victorious Fires

Then, for this reason, that the Yazata have thus made us their "protégé", and with the help of the Yazata we search out and take these so many lands, therefore we too in every land have founded many Victorious Fires, and have conferred benefices upon many Magi-men, and (as for the cult of) the great Yazata we established it well.

And here also, by the inscription we have founded:

One Fire, Husrō-Šābuhr ('fair-famed is Šābuhr') by name for our soul and to preserve our name;

one Fire, Husrō-Āduranāhīd by name, for the soul of our daughter Āduranāhīd, queen of queens, and to preserve her name;

one Fire, Husrō-Ohrmazdardašēr by name, for the soul of our son Ohrmazdardašēr, great king of Armenia, and to preserve his name;

another one Fire, Husrō-Šābuhr by name, for the soul of our son Šābuhr, king of Mesene, and to preserve his name;

one Fire, HusrōNarsē by name, for the soul of our son the Aryan, the Mazdayasnian Narsē, king of India, Sakestān and Turān to the seashore, and to preserve his name.

Funds for the maintenance of the Fires

And that which we have donated to these Fires, and which we have established as a custom, thus also all we have written upon a deed of settlement. Of those 1 000 lambs, of which custom reserves for us the surplus, and which we have donated to these Fires, we have ordered to be done as follows:

For our soul each day one lamb, one grīv (= 1 modius) and five handfuls (= ½ modius) of bread, and four pās of wine.

Sāsān the lord; and Pābag the king; and Šābuhr the king, son of Pābag; and Ardašēr, king of kings; and Xvarrānzēm, queen of the kingdom; and Āduranāhīd, queen of queens; and Dēnag, the queen; and Vahrām, king of Gēlān; and Šābuhr, king of Mesene; and Ohrmazdardašēr, great king of Armenia; and Narsē, king of Sakestān; and Šābuhrduxtag, queen of Sakestān; and Narsēduxt, queen of Sakestān; and Cašmag, the (royal) lady; and Pērōz, the (royal) prince; and Mirrōd, the lady, mother of king of kings Šābuhr;

and Narsē, the prince; and Rōdduxtag, the princess, daughter of Anōšag; and Varāzduxt, daughter of Xvarrānzēm; and Staxriyād, the queen; and Hormazdag, son of the king of Armenia, Hormazd; and Ōdābaxtag, and Vahrām, and Šābuhr, and Pērōz, sons of the king of Mesene; and Šābuhrduxtag, daughter of the king of Mesene; Ohrmazdduxtag, daughter of the king of Sakestān - for their soul (each day) one lamb, one grīv and five handfuls of bread, and four pās of wine.

And the other lambs which remain, as long as there is enough left, for the souls of those persons whose souls we (king of kings) have ordered to perform the Yasna-ritual, and in particular it is mentioned <by name> in writing (and listed) in the inscription on the monument, day by day, one lamb, one grīv and five handfuls of bread, and four pās of wine.

Those who lived under the rule of Pābag the king: Sāsān son of Ārnēk; Farrag son of Farrag; Vahrāmpād son of Horag; Aspūrag son of Aspūrag; Puhrag son of Mardēnag; Zīg, master of ceremonies; Šābuhr son of Vēzan(ag); Šābuhr son of Mihrbūzan(ag).

Those who lived under the rule of Ardašēr the king of kings: Sadārūb, king of Abarēnag; Ardašēr, king of Marv; Ardašēr, king of Kirmān; Ardašēr, king of Sakestān; Dēnag, mother of Pābag the king; Rōdag, mother of Ardašēr the king of kings; Dēnag, queen of queens, daughter of Pābag; Ardašēr the bidaxš ('second after the king', viceroy); Pābag the hazāruft ('chief of a thousand men', chiliarch); Dēhēn of the family Varāz; Sāsān of the family Sūrēn; Sāsān, lord of Andēgān; Pērōz of the family Kārin; Gōk of the family Kārin; Abursām of the family Ardašērfarr; Gēlmān from Dumbāvand; Raxš, the army chief; Mard, chief of scribes; Pābag, master of ceremonies; Pākcihr, son of Visfarr(ag); Vēfarr son of Farrag; Mihrxvāst son of Barēsag; Hōmfrād, the māyagānbed ('chief of the royal guard?'); Dirām, chief of the armory; Cīrīg, the

- 138825 (chief) judge; Vardān, chief of (royal) stables; Mihrag son of Tōsar; Zīg son of Zabr(ag); Sagbus, in charge of hunt; Hudōg, the chief steward; Jāhēn, the (chief) wine-keeper.
Those who live under the rule of Šābuhr, king of kings: Ardašēr, king of Nodšēragān (Adiabene); Ardašēr, king of Kirmān; Dēnag, queen of Mesene, "protégée" of Šābuhr;
- 138830 Hamazāsp, king of Viruz (Georgia); Valāš, royal prince, son of Pābag; Sāsān, royal prince, who was maintained by the Kadōg family; Narsē, royal prince, son of Pērōz; Narsē, royal prince, son of Šābuhr; Šābuhr, the bidaxš; Pābag, the hazāruft; Pērōz, chief of cavalry; Ardašēr of the family Varāz; Ardašēr of the family Sūrēn; Narsē, lord of Andēgān; Ardašēr of the family Kārin; Vehnām, the framadār ('governor');
- 138835 Frīg, Satrap of Gundīšābuhr; Sridō šāhmust; Ardašēr ardašēršnōm; Pākcihr tahmšābuhr; Ardašēr, satrap of Gōmān; Cašmag nēvšābuhr; Vehnām šābuhršnōm; Tirmihr, chief of fortress of Šahrgird; Zīg, master of ceremonies; Ardavān, of Dumbāvand; Gundfarr avgān razmjōy ('who seeks combat', combatant) and Pābag pērōzšābuhr son of Šambīd; Vārzan, satrap of Gay; Kirdesrō, the bidaxš; Pābag, son of Visfarr; Valāš, son of Seleucus; Yazdbād, counselor of ladies (queens); Pābag, the swordbearer; Narsē, satrap of Rind; Tiyanag, satrap of Ahmadān; Gulbed (Vardbed), the peristagbed ('chief of services', majordomo); Jōymard son of Rastag; Ardašēr son of Vēfarr; Abursām of the family Šābuhr, chief of court-personnel; Narsē son of Barrag; Šābuhr son of Narsē; Narsē, the chief steward; Hormazd, the chief scribe, (son of
- 138845 Hormazd, the chief scribe); Nādūg, the zēndānīg ('prison governor, jailer'); Pābag, the darbed ('master of the gate'); Pāsfal son of Pāsfal; Abdaxš son of Dizbed; Kidēr, the teaching priest (Magus); Rastag, satrap of Vehardašēr; Ardašēr son of Bidaxš; Mihrxvāst, the treasurer; Šābuhr, the governor; Aštād of the family Mihrān, the secretary (scribe of epistles), from Ray; Sāsān, the šābestan ('harem-ward, eunuch'), son of Sāsān; Virōy, the vāzārbed ('supervisor of markets', market inspectorate); Ardašēr, satrap of Nērēz; Bagdād son of Vardbed; Kirdēr ardavān; Zurvāndād son of Bandag; Gunnār son of Sāsān; (Mānzag the eunuch); Sāsān, the judge; Vardān, son of Nāšpād; Gulag, the varāzbed ('chief of boars') <-altogether, one lamb, one grīv and five handfuls of bread, and four pās of wine.

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Conclusion

- Now, as we are diligent in the matters and services of the Yazata, as we are the dastgird ("protégé") of the Yazata, and we sought out and took these many lands with the help of the Yazata, and we did name(-worthy) and heroic deeds, in order that
- 138860 whoever after us shall beome lord (fortunate), may he become more reverent and more benevolent to the Yazata (Parth. "may he also be diligent in the matters and services of the Yazata"), so that to him also in this same manner the Yazata may be a help (Parth. adds "and make him his dastgird"), as he was to us.

<This is my handwriting, Ohrmazd, the scribe, son of Šērag, the scribe.>

- 138865 <http://www.rahamasha.net/uploads/2/3/2/8/2328777/skz.pdf>
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ka%27ba-ye_Zartosht
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shapur_I%27s_inscription_at_the_Ka%27ba-ye_Zartosht
https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/3rd_century_i_ran.pdf

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Yōnāyīg

- 1 ΕΓΩ ΜΑCΔΑΑCΝΗC ΘΕΟC CΑΠΩΡΗC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ Κ[Α]Ι ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩ[Ν] [ΕΚ]
[ΓΕ]ΝΟΥC ΘΕΩ[Ν] ΥΙΟC Μ[ΑCΔΑ]ΑCΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΕΑΡΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚ ΓΕΝΟΥC
- 2 ΘΕΩΝ ΕΓΓΟΝΟC ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΟΥC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC ΕΙΜΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΧΩ ΕΘΝΗ
138875 ΠΕΡCΙΑ ΔΑ Π[ΑΡΘΙΑΝ] ΟΥ[ΖΗΝ]ΗΝ Μ[ΗCΑΝ]ΗΝΗΝ ΑCΥΡΙΑΝ ΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΗΝ ΑΡΑΒΙΑΝ
- 3 ΑΔΟΥΡΒΑΔΗΝΗΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΝ ΙΒΗΡΙΑΝ ΜΑΧΕΛΟΝΙΑΝ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑΝ ...ΗΝΗ[Ν ΕΩC Ε]ΜΠ[ΡΟC]Θ[ΕΝ] ΚΑΠ
ΟΡΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΠΥ[ΛΑ]Ω[Ν ΑΛΑΝ]ΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΛ[Ο]Ν ΤΟ ΠΡΕCCOΥΑΡ ΟΡΟC Μ[Α]ΔΗΝΗΝ ΓΟΥΡΓΑΝ ΜΑΡΟΥ
- 4 ΡΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΑΝΩΤΑΤΩ ΕΘΝΗ ΚΕΡΜΑΝΖΗΝΗΝ CΕΓΙCΤΑΝΗΝ [ΤΟΥΡΗΝΗΝ] ... ΠΑΡΑΔΗΝΗΝ
ΙΝΔΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΥCΗΝ[ΩΝ ΕΘ]Ν[Η] ΕΩC ΕΜΠΡΟCΘΕΝ ΠΑCΚΙΒΟΥΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΩC ΚΑC CΩΔΙΚΗΝΗC
- 138880 5 ΚΑΙ ΤCΑΤCΗΝΗC ΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΡΟΥC ΤΗC ΘΑΑΑCCHC ΜΙ...[ΕΘ]ΝΟC [ΚΑΙ ΕΚΑΔΕCΑΜΕΝ
- Π]Η[Ρ]ΩCΑΒΟΥΡ ... [ΚΑΙ] ΕΚΑΔΕCΑΜΕΝ ΩΡΜΙCΔΑΡΤ[ΑΕ]ΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΟCΑΥΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ
- 6 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥC ΔΕCΠΟΤΑC ΤΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΚ ΠΑΝΤΟC ΜΕΡΟΥC ΠΑΝΤΑC ΗΜΕΙΝ [ΕΙC ΦΟΡΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΛΑ]ΕΙΑΝ ΕΚΤΗΚΑ[Μ]ΕΝ Κ[Α]Ι Ο[Τ]Ε ΠΡΩΤΩC ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΑCΙΛΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ ΕCΤΗΜΕΝ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC
- 138885 ΚΑΙCΑΡ
- 7 ΑΠΟ ΠΑCΗC ΤΗC ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΧΗC ΓΟΥΘΘΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ Δ[ΥΝ]Α[ΜΙΝ CΥΝΕΛΕΞ]ΕΝ ΚΑΙ [ΕΙ]C [ΤΗΝ ΑCΥΡΙΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ Τ]ΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΟC ΚΑΙ ΗΜΑC ΕΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙC ΤΟΥC ΟΡΟΥC
- 8 ΤΗC ΑCΥΡΙΑC ΕΝ ΤΗ ΜΗCΙΧΗ ΕΞ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑC ΠΟΛΕΜΟC ΜΕΤΑC ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ ΚΑΙ [ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ Α]ΝΗΡΗ Κ[ΑΙ ΗΜΕΙC ΤΗΝ CΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ Τ]ΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΗΛΩCΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ
- 138890 9 ΚΑΙCΑΡΑ ΑΝΗΓΟΡΕΥCΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC Ο ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΕΙC ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗCΙΝ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ Τ[Ω]Ν Ψ[Υ]ΧΩΝ

[ΑΥΤΩ]Ν ΑΝΤΙΤΕΙΜ[Α ΠΕΝΤΑ]ΚΟΣΙΑΝ ΧΕΙΛΙΑΔΑ ΔΗΝΑΡΙΩΝ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΕΔΟΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΦΟΡΟΥΣ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΕΣΤΗ

10 ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΜΙΣΙΧΗΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΗΡΩΣΣΑΒΟΥΡ ΕΠΩΝΟΜΑΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΕΨΕΥΣΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ Α[ΡΜΕΝΙΑ]Ν ΑΔΙΚΙΑΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΩΡ-

138895 11 ΜΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΧΕΙΛΙΑΔΑΣ ΕΝ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΣΣΩ ΑΝΙΛΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡ[Ι]ΑΣ ΚΑΙ Ο[ΚΑ ΕΠ Α]ΥΗΝ ΕΘΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟΙ ΗΣΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΚΑΥΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΗΜΩ-

12 ΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΡΑΘΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΤΗ ΤΗ ΜΙΑ ΑΓΩΓΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΣΤΕΛΛΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΘΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΒΙΡΘΑΝ ΑΣΠΩΡΑΚΟΥ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ

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14 ΔΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΡΕΦΑΝΕΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΖΕΥΓΜΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΟΥΡΙΜ[Α Π]ΟΛΙΝ [ΚΥ]Ν ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ [ΓΙ]ΝΔΑΡΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΛΑΡΜΕΝΑΖΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ

15 ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ [Κ]ΥΡΡΟ[Ν ΠΟ]ΔΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑΝ ΠΟ

138905 16 ΔΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΙΝΖΑΡΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΧΑ]Μ[Α]Θ ΠΟΛΙΝ [ΚΥ]Ν ΤΗ ΠΕ[Ρ]ΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΔΙΧΩΡ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩ

17 ΡΩ ΔΟΛΙΧΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΔΟΥΡΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΟΡΚΟΥΣΙΩΝΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕΙΚΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΒΑΤΝΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΧΑΝΑΡ

138910 18 ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΠΠΑΔ[Ο]Κ[ΙΑ]Σ ΚΑΤΑΛΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΔΟΜΑΝ [ΠΟΛΙ]Ν ΣΥΝ [ΤΗ Π]ΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΡΤΑΝΓΙΑ.. ΠΟΛΙΝ [ΚΥΝ] ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΟΙΣΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΟΥΙΑ[ΑΝ]

19 ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΦΡΕΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ [ΚΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕ]ΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΟΜΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΠΤΑ [ΚΥΝ ΤΑΙΣ] ΠΕ[ΡΙΧΩΡΟΙΣ] ΤΗ ΔΕ ΤΡΙΤΗ ΑΓΩΓΗ ΟΠΟΤ[Ε Η]ΜΕΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΡΡΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΕΣΣΑΝ ΩΡΜΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΕΣΣΑΝ

20 ΕΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΟΥΜΕΝ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ [ΕΦ ΗΜΑΣ Η]ΛΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΣΑΝ ΜΕ[Τ ΑΥΤΟ]Υ ΑΠΟ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩ[Ν ΕΘ]Ν[ΟΥΣ Α]ΠΟ ΡΕΤΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΝΩΡΙΚΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΔΑΚΕΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΠΑΝΝΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ

138920 21 ΜΥΣΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟ<Υ>Σ ΑΠΟ ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΣΠΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠ[Ο ...]ΤΑ[... Ε]ΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΘΡΑ[Κ]Ι[ΑΣ ΕΘΝΟ]ΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΒΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΜΠΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΥΡΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ

22 ΑΠΟ ΛΥΚΑΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑΣ [ΕΘΝΟ]ΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΛΥΚΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ [ΑΠΟ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΘ]ΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΠΠΑΔ[ΟΚΙ]ΑΣ [Ε]ΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΥΡΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΟΙΝΕΙΚΗΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ

138925 23 ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΡΑΒΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΜΑΥΡΙΤΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ [ΑΠΟ ΓΕΡΜΑΝ]ΙΑ[Σ ΕΘ]ΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΛΥΔΙΑΣ Ε[Θ]Ν[ΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΣΗ..]Σ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ 24 ΧΕΙΛΙΑΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΡΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΕΣΣΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ [Ο]Υ[ΑΛΕΡΙ]ΑΝΟ[Υ Κ]ΑΙΣΑΡΟ[Σ] ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΜ[ΟΣ] ΗΜΕΙΝ ΤΕΓΟΝΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΙΔΑΙΑΣ ΧΕΡΣΙΝ

138930 25 ΕΚΡΑΘΣΑ/ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΙΠΟΥΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΥΣ ΚΑ[Ι Η]ΓΕΤΕΜΟΝ[Α]Σ ΟΙ[ΤΙ]ΝΕ[Σ] ΕΚΕΙΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΗΣΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΣΙΝ ΕΚΡΑΘΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ

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138935 27 ΣΑΜΕΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΗ ΔΕ ΤΗ ΑΓΩΓΗ ΕΚΡΑΘΣΑΜΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΑΜΟΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ Α ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΙΣΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ

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138940 29 ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΩΡΥΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑΔΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΑΣΤΑΒΛΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ

30 ΦΛΑΥΙΑΔΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΕΛΕΝΔΕΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΝΕΜΟΥΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ

138945 31 ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΕΛΙΝΟΥΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΜΥΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΔΟΜΕΤΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ

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138950 34 ΚΥΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΛΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΡΠΑΓΗ ΗΓΑΓΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΩ ΕΘΝΕΙ ΤΩ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΕΡΣΙΔΕΙ ΚΑΙ

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37 ΦΗΝΑΙ ΙΝΑ ΟCΤΙC ΜΕΘ ΗΜΑC ΕCΤΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΕΙΑΝ
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138970 ΑΡΙΑΝ ΜΑCΔΑΑCΝΟΥ ΝΑΡCΑΙΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΙΝΔΙΑC CΕΓΙCΤΗΝΗC ΤΟΥΡΗΝΗC ΕΩC ΧΕΙΛΟΥC
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47 ΒΑCΙΛΙCCHC ΚΑΙ ΑΔΟΥΡΑΝΑΙΔ ΒΑCΙΛΙCCHC ΤΩΝ Β ΑCΙΛΙCCON ΚΑΙ ΔΗΝΑΚΗC ΒΑCΙΛΙCCHC ΚΑΙ
138980 ΓΟΥΑΡΑΘΑΝΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΓΕΛΗΝΩΝ Κ ΑΙ CΑΠΩΡΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC
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49 ΒΑCΙΛΙCCHC ΚΑΙ ΤΙΕCΜΑΚ ΤΗC ΚΥΡΙΑC ΚΑΙ ΠΗΡΩΖΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΡΡΩΔ ΚΥΡΙΑC
ΜΗΤΡΟC CΑΠΩΡΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΡCΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΔ-

138985 50 ΔΟΥΚΤ ΚΘΡΗC ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟC ΑΝΩCΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΡΑΖΔΟΥΚΤ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟC ΧΟΡΝΑΝΖΗΜ ΚΑΙ CΤΑΡΙΑΔ
ΒΑCΙΛΙCCHC ΚΑΙ ΩΡΜΙCΔΑΚ ΥΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΚΑΙ ΩΡΜΙCΑ ΚΑΙ ΩΡΜΙCΔΑΚ ΚΑΙ
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52 ΓΑΤΡΟC ΤΟΥ CΕΓΙCΤΑΝΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΤΗC ΜΝΕΙΑC ΠΡΟΒΑΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΡΤΩΝ ΜΟΔΙΟΝ ΕΝΑ ΗΜΙΚΥ ΟΙΝΟΥ

138990 ΠΑCΕΟΝΥC ΤΕCCAΡΑC ΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ ΑΠΕΡ ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΠΕΡΙCCEΥΕΙ ΕΩC ΕΞΑΡΚΕCΗ
53 ΕΝ ΤΟCΩ ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΩΝ ΗΜΕΙC ΕΚΕΛΕΥCΑΜΕΝ ΕΙC ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΜΑΓΕΥCΩCΙΝ
ΚΑΙ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΕΝΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ CΥΝΕCΤΗΚΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗC ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΔΕCΠΟΤΕΙΑC ΥΠ-
54 ΑΡΕΑΝΤΩΝ CΑCΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΝΗΚΑΝ ΦΑΡΡΕΚ ΦΑΡΡΙΚΑΝ ΓΟΑΡΘΑΝΙΠΑΤ ΩΡΙΓΑΝ ΑCΠΩΡΙΚ ΑCΠΩΡΙΓΑΝ
ΠΩΡΙΚ ΜΕΡΔΙΓΑΝ ΖΙΓ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΠΝΟΚΛΗΤΟΡΟC CΑΠΩΡΟΥ ΜΕΕΡΩΖΙ-

138995 55 ΝΗΓΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗC Α[Ρ]ΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΕΙΑC ΥΠΑΡΕΑΝΤΩΝ
CΑΤΑΡΟΠΤ ΑΒΡΗΝΑΧ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΜΑΡΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΡΤΑΞΕΙΡ ΚΕΡΜΑΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΙΓΑΝ
56 ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΔΗΝΙΚ ΠΑΒΑΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC Μ ΗΤΡΟC ΠΩΔΑΚΗC ΤΗC ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC
ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟC ΔΗΝΑΚΗC ΒΑCΙΛΙCCHC ΒΑCΙΛΙCCON ΠΑΠΑΚΑΝ ΑΡΤΑΞΕΙΡ ΒΙΔΙΕ ΠΑΒΑΚΟΥ ΑΖΑΡΟΠΤ
57 ΔΗΝΗ ΓΟΡΑΖΟΥ CΑCΑΝ CΟΥΡΗΝ CΑCΑΝ ΙΝΔΗΓΑΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΟΥ ΠΗΡΩΖ ΚΑΡΗΝ ΓΩΩΚ ΚΑΡΗΝ ΑΒΟΥΡCΑΜ

139000 ΑΡΤΑΞΕΙΡΟΥΦΡ Γ-ΛΙΜΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΔΟΥΜΒΑΟΥΝΔ ΡΟΞ CΠΑΠΙΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΔ ΔΙΒΙΡΟΥΠΤ ΠΑΒΑΚ
58 ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΚΛΗΤΟΡΟC ΠΑΖΗΡΟΥ ΓΟΥΑCΠΕΡΙΓΑΝ ΟΥΙΦΕΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΙΦΕΡΙΓΑΝ ΜΕΡΧΟΥΑCΤΟΥ
ΒΕΡΗCΙΓΑΝ ΧΟΥΜΑΦΡΑΤ ΜΑΙΓΑΝΠΕΔ ΔΗΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝΙΠΙΤ ΤΖΕΡΙΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑCΤΟΥ ΟΥΑΡΔΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ
ΤΗC ΠΑΘΝΗC
59 ΜΕΕΡΙΚ ΤΟΥCCEΡΙΓΑΝ ΖΗΚ ΖΑΒΡΙΚΑΝ CΑΓΒΟΥC ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΟΥ ΧΟΥΔΙΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΗC
139005 ΑΝΝΩΝΗC ΔΙΕΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΕΙΑΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ
ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC
60 ΤΗC ΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΗC ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΤΗC ΚΙΡΜΑΝΖΗΝΗC ΔΗΝΑΚΗ<C> ΒΑCΙΛΙCCH<C> ΜΗCΩΝ
ΔΑCΤΙΚΙΡΤ CΑΠΩΡ ΑΜΑΖΑCΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΤΗC
ΙΒΗΡΙΑC ΟΥΑΛΑCCOY ΤΟΥ ΕΓ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΥ ΠΑΒΑΚΟΥ CΑCΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΓ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ

139010 61 ΤΟΥ <ΕΙ>C ΠΑΡΙΚΑΝ ΤΡΑΦΕΝΤΟC CΑCΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΓ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΦΡΩΖΙΓΑΝ ΝΑΡCΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΓ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ CΑΒΟΥΡΓΑΝ
ΑΝΑΤΡΑΦΕΝΤΟC ΝΑΡCΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΓ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ CΑΠΩΡ ΠΙΤΙΑΞΟΥ ΠΑΒΑΚΟΥ ΑΖΑΡΙΠΤΟΥ ΠΗΡΩΖΟΥ ΑCΠΙΠΙΔΟΥ
62 ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡ ΓΟΥΡΑΖ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡ CΟΥΡΗΝ ΝΑΡCΑΙΟΥ ΑΝΔΗΓΑΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡ ΚΑΡΗΝ ΓΟΥΑΝΝΑΜΟΥ
ΕΠΙΤΠΟΠΟΥ ΦΡΕΙΚΟΥ ΓΟΥΕΑΝΤΙΟΧCΑΒΩΡ CΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ CΤΡΗΔΩ CΑΙΜΟΥCΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΙCΝΟΥΜ

139015 ΠΑΖΗΡ ΤΑΜCΑΒΟΥΡ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡ ΓΩΜΑΝ CΑΤΡΑΟΥ
63 ΤΙΑCΜΙΚ ΝΙCΑΒΟΥΡ ΓΟΑΝΝΑΜ CΑΠΩΡCΝΟΥΜ ΤΙΡΜΕΡ CΑΡΑΚΑΡΤΩΝ ΚΑCΤΕΛΛΟΦΥΛΑΚΟC ΖΙΚ
ΔΕΙΠΝΟΚΛΗΤΟΡΟC ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΜΒΑΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΑΒΓΑΝ ΡΙCΜΑΩΔ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΒΙC ΠΗΡΩCΑΒΩΡ
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64 ΚΙΡΔΙCΡΩ ΠΙΤΥΑΞΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΟΥΙCΠΕΡΗΓΑΝ ΟΥΑΛΑCΟΥ CΛΩΚΑΝ ΙΗCΔΙΒΑΔ ΒΑCΙΛΙCCON

139020 ΑΝΔΑΡΖΑΒΙΔ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ CΠΑΘΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΝΑΡCΑΙΟΥ ΡΙΝΑ CΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ ΤΙΑΝΙΚ ΑΜΙΔΑΝ CΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ ΓΟΥΛΒΑΔ
ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΗC ΥΠΗΡΕCΙΑC
65 ΔΙΩΜΕΡΔΟΥ ΡΑCΤΙΓΑΝ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΓΥΙΦΕΡΙΓΑΝ ΑΒΟΥΡCΑΜ CΑΒΩΡ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΡΙΓΑΙΩΝ

- NAPCAIOY BAPPIΓAN CABΩP NARCHΓAN NAPCAIOY TOY EΠI THC ANNΩNHK ΩPMIZ<Δ>OY TOY APXIGPAMMATEΩC NAΔΩK TOY EΠI THC ΦYΛAKHC ΠAΠAK
- 139025 66 ΘΥΡΟΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΣΦΕΡΑ ΠΑΣΦΕΡΔΙΓΑΝ ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣ ΔΗΣΒΗΔΙΓΑΝ ΚΑΡΤΕΙΡ ΜΑΓΟΥ ΡΑΣΤΑΚ ΓΥΕΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΠΙΤΙΕΙΓΑΝ ΜΕΕΡΧΟΥΑΣΤ ΓΑΝΖΟΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ ΣΑΠΩΡΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΣΤΑΤ ΜΕΕΡΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΣΑΣΑΝ
- 67 ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΥ ΣΑΣΑΝΓΑΝ ΟΥΟΡΩΔ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΝΗΡΗΖ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ ΒΑΔΟΥ ΓΟΥΛΙΒΗΓΑΝ ΚΙΡΔΕΙΡ ΙΡΔΟΥΑΝ ΖΑΡΟΥΑΝΔΑΤ ΒΑΝΔΙΓΑΝ ΓΥΙΝΝΑΡ ΣΑΣΑΝΓΑΝ ΜΑΝΖΙΚ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΥ ΣΑΣΑΝΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΟΥ
- 139030 ΟΥΑΡΔΑΝΟΥ ΝΑΣΠΑΔΙΓΑΝ ΟΥΑΡΔΙΚ ΓΟΡΑ- 68 ΖΙΒΙΑ ΟΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΡΤΟΥ ΜΟΔΙΟΝ ΕΝΑ ΗΜΙΣΥ ΟΙΝΟΥ ΠΑΣΑΙΟΥΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣ ΝΥΝ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΗΜΕΙΣ
- ΕΠΙ ΤΑΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΟΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΕΣΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΒΟΗΘΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ
- 139035 69 ΕΘΝΗ ΕΖΗΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΣΧΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΕΠΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΣΤΙΣ ΜΕΘ ΗΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΣ Ε ΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΑΤΩ ΙΝΑ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΒΟΗΘΟΙ
- 70 ΑΥΤΩ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΣΤΙΚΙΡΤΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΣΩΝΤΑΙ
- 139040 Pārsig
1 1 1[an maz]desn bay [šābuhr šāhān šāh ērān ud anērān kē cihr az yazdān, pus mazdesn bay ardaxšēr šāhān šāh ērān kē cihr az 2yazdān, nab bay pābag šāh, ērānšahr xvadāy ham. ud dāram]
- 2 šahr pārs, pahlav, [hūzestān, mēšān, āsūrestān, nodšēragān, arabestān, 3ādurbāyagān, armin, 2 viruzān, segān, arrān, balāsagān, dā frāz ō kab kōf ud arrānān dar, ud hamag parišxvār kōf, māy, gurgān, marv, 4harē(v),]
- 139045 3 ud hamag abaršahr, kirmān, sa[gestān, tūrestān, makurān, pāradān, hindūgān, kušānšahr, dā frāz ō pašakbur, ud dā ō kāš, suvl (sugd), 5ud cācestān, ud az hān ālag drayā, mazūnšahr. ud kunam pērōzšābuhr nām dḥ.ḥštr, ud kunam]
- 139050 4 3 ohrmazdardašēr nām. [ud ēn and šahr 6ud šāhriyār ud pāygōspān harv amāh ped bāz ud bannagih ēstād hend. ud ka naxvist ped šahr ēstād hem, (ēg) gordyānos kēsar 7az hamag hrōm gōt ud germān šahr zōr ... kird, ud ō āsūrestān abar ērān]
- 5 šahr ud amāh [āmad. ud ped āsūrestān 8marz andar mešik pedēmān1 vazurg zambag būd. (ud) gordyānos kēsar ōzad, hrōmāyīg zōr vānīd. ud hrōmāyīg filipos 9kēsar kird. ud 139055 filipos kēsar amāh ō nemastīg āmad, ud gyān xūn dēnār panzsad-hazār ō-n dād, (ud) ped bāz ēstād. 10ud amāh mešik az]
- 6 ēd kird pērōzš[ābuhr] nām [ēstād]. ud kēsar did druxt, (ud) ō armin vināh kird. ud amāh abar hrōmāyīg šahr 11vīhist hem, ud hrōmāyīg zōr šast-hazār andar bēbališ 5 ōzad. ud āsūryā šahr ud cē abar āsūryā šahr parvār būd hamag ādursuxt (ud) 12avīrān ud vardiyāz]
- 139060 7 kird. (u-n) [grift ped hān ē jār az hrōmāyīg šahr diz ud šahrestān: anat šahrestān az parvār hāmis, birt arūpān az parvār hāmis, birt aspōragān az parvār hāmis, 13šūrā šahrestān] (az) parvār [hāmis, bēbališ šahrestān
- 8 az] parvār hāmis, [mambōg 6 šahrestān az parvār hāmis, halab šahrestān az parvār hāmis, kennešrā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, apamiyā 14šahrestān az parvār hāmis, × refaniyos 2 šahrestān az parvār hāmis, zūma šahrestān az] parvār [hāmis, urnā šahrestān] az parvār hāmis, gindaros [šahrestān az parvār]
- 139065 9 hāmis, armenāz šahrestān 15az parvār hāmis, selōkiyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, andiyok šahrestān 7 az parvār hāmis, kirros šahrestān az parvār hāmis, anī selōkiyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, aleksandriyā 16šahr]estān az parvār, [nēkpolis šahrestān] az parvār hāmis, sinzar šahrestān az [parvār hāmis,
- 10 hamāt šahrestān az parvār hāmis, ariston šahrestān az parvār hāmis, dikor šahrestān 17az parvār hāmis, dūrā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, dolox šahrestān az parvār 8 hāmis, korkusyā šahrestān az] parvār hāmis, germaniyos šahrestān [az parvār]
- 139075 hāmis, batnān šahrestān az [parvār hāmis, xānar 18šahrestān az parvār hāmis; (ud) 11 andar kappadukiyā sātal šahr]estān az parvār hāmis, [domān šāhrestān az parvār hāmis, artangilyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, sūš šahrestān az parvār hāmis, suvid 19šahr]estān az parvār hāmis, [frāt šahrestān] az parvār hāmis; 9 hammar šahrestān [az parvār sih-ud-haft].
- 139080 12 ud sidīg [jār ka amāh abar xarrān ud urhā vihist hem, ud xarrān ud urhā 20parvast, (ēg) valeriyānos kēsar abar amāh āmad, ud būd abāg az germān šahr, az rešyā šahr, az nirkos šahr, az dākyā šahr, az] pannoniyā šahr, az 21mūsyā šahr, az [estriyā šahr]
- 13 az espāniyā [šahr, az] afrikiyā šahr, az [trākyā šahr, 10az butniyā šahr, az āsiyā šahr, az pamfaliyā šahr, az esuriyā šahr, 22az lūkunyā šahr,] az galātenyā [šahr, az]
- 139085 lūkiyā [šahr, az kilikiyā] šahr, az kappadukiyā šahr, az frūgiyā šahr, [az sūriyā] 14 šahr, az funikiyā šahr,] az 23jehūdiyā [šahr, az arabiyā] šahr, [az muritanyā šahr, az germānyā šahr, az rodās šahr, az asenyos šahr, az 11meyānrōdān] šahr, zōr haftād 24hazār. ud az] hān ālag [xarrān ud] urhā abāg valeriyānos kēsar (vazurg)

ardig būd. u-n valeriyānos kēsar

139090 15 xv ad ped xv ēš [dast] 25dastgrav kird; [ud abārīg rbysyp (ud) s'ntwr ud hykmwn kē
ō hān zōr sālār būd harv dastgrav kird ud bē ō 26pārs ānīd hend. ud sūriyā šahr, ud
kilikiyā] šahr, [ud kappadukiyā] šahr 12ādursuxt ud avīrān ud vardiyāz kird; [ud
27grift hān jār az]

139095 16 hrōmāyīg šahr [aleksandriyā ī kat-isos šahrestān az parvār hāmis,] šamošād
šāhrestān az parvār [hāmis, krtr'y /katabalā?/3 šahrestān] az [parvār hāmis, 28aygā
šahrestān az parvār hāmis], māmsestiyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, māllos šahrestān az
parvār hāmis, adanā šahrestān az parvār hāmis,

139100 17 tarsos šahrestān 13az parvār hāmis, agustinā šahr[estān az parvār hāmis, ...
šahrestān] az parvār [hāmis, zefiron šahrestān az 29parvār hāmis, sebastiyā šahrestān
az parvār hāmis,] korikos šahrestān az parvār [hāmis,] anzarbos šahrestān az parvār
hāmis, kastābalā šahrestān az parvār hāmis,] nerōniyās šahrestān az]

139105 18 parvār hāmis, 30flāviyās šāhrestān az parvār hāmis, [nēkopolis šahrestān az parvār
hāmis, epifaniyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, 14kēlendros šāhrestān az parvār hāmis,]
anemurin [šahrestān 31az] parvār hāmis, selinūs šahrestān az parvār hāmis, miyonpolis
šahrestān

139110 19 az parvār hāmis, [andiyokiyā šahrestān] az parvār hāmis, [srty'p /selōkyā?/
šahrestān az parvār hāmis, mostinopolis šahrestān az 32parvār hāmis, tuyenā šahrestān
az parvār hāmis, kēsariyā šāhrestān az] parvār hāmis, kōmānā15 šahrestān az parvār
hāmis, kubistriyā šahrestān [az parvār hāmis,] sebastiyā

20 šahrestān az 33parvār [hāmis, birt šahrestān az parvār hāmis, rākundiya šahrestān
az parvār hāmis, lārandā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, ikōniyā šahrestān az parvār
hāmis; hammar] šahrestān 34az parvār hāmis sih-u-šas. u-n mardōm cē az hrōmāyīg šahr
[az anērān] 16ped ēvār

139115 21 ānīd. hān-an andar [ērān šahr, andar pārs 35ud pahlav ud hūzestān ud āsūrestān ud
anī šahr ō šahr kū amāh ud pidar ud niyāgān ud ahēnagān dastgird būd, hān-an ānōh
36nišāst. ud amāh anīz vas šahr xvāst, ud vas] nām [ud nēvīh kird, ī ēdar nē nibišt,]
bē ēn and. az [ēn] kird framād [37nibištan] kū kē pas (az-an) bavānd

139120 22 hān 17ēn nām ud [nēvīh ud xv adāyih ī amāh dānānd. ud pedisāy cē yazd amāh az ēd
gōnag dastgird kunend, ud ped yazdān 38ayyārīh ēn and šahr x v āhem ud dārem, ōh
amāh-iz šahr ō šahr vas ādur varhrām nišāst, ud vas muvmard] kirbagīh 39kird, u-n
[vazurg yazdān vinārišn kird. ud ēdar-z ped nibišt nišāyem: ādur-ē] husrav-šābuhr
18nām

139125 23 ped amāh ruvān ud pādnām, ādur-ē husrav-āduranāhīd nām 40ped āduranāhīd [bāmbišnān
bāmbišn ī amāh duxt] ruvān ud pādnām, [ādur-ē] husrav-ohrmazdardašēr nām ped
ohrmazdardašēr 41vazurg šāh arminān ī amāh pus ruvān ud pādnām, anī ādur-ē husrav-
šābuhr nām ped šābuhr ī mēšān šāh ī amāh pus 42ruvān ud pādnām, 19ādur-ē

139130 24 husrav-nersah nām ēr mazdesn nersah šāh hind sagestān ud tūrestān dā (ō) drayā
43damb [ī amā pus] ruvān ud pādnām. ud hān [ī imēšān ādurān] dād u-n [cē] ēvēr nihād,
ōh-iz harv 44abar pādixšēr nibišt. bē az hān ākbrīd hazār ī az tarkafišn ō amāh ēvēr
būd, ud amāh imēšān 45ādurān dād, hān framāyem kū ēv kirīyed: ped amāh ruvān rōz 20ō
rōz

139135 25 ākbrīd-ē, nān grīv-ē (ud) must panz, may pās 46cahār; ped sāsān ī xvadāy, ud pābag
šāh, ud šābuhr [šāh ī] pābagān, ud ardašēr šāhān šāh, ud xv arrānzēm ī šahr
47bāmbišn, ud āduranāhīd bāmbišnān bāmbišn, ud dēnag bāmbišn, ud varhrām gēlān šāh,

(ud) šābuhr ī 48mēšān šāh, ud ohrmazdardašēr ī vazurg šāh arminān, ud nersah ī sagān
šāh, ud šābuhrduxtag ī 21sagān 49bāmbišn,

139140 26 ud nersahduxt ī sagān bāmbišn, ud cašmag ī bāmbišn, ud pērōz ī vispuhr, ud [mirrōd
ī bānūg šābuhr] šāhān šāh mād, ud nersah ī vispuhr, ud 50rōdduxt duxš ī anōšag duxt,
ud varāzduxt ī x v arrānzēm duxt, (ud) staxriyād bāmbišn, ud hormazdag ī arminān šāh
pus hormazd, ud hormazdag, ud 51lōdābaxt, ud varhrām, ud šābuhr, ud pērōz ī mēšān šāh
pusar, šāhān šāh būd: sadārub ī abarēnag šāh, ardašēr ī marv šāh, ardašēr ī

139145 27 ud šābuhrduxtag ī mēšān šāh duxt, ud 22ohrmazdduxtag ī 52sagān [šāh duxt, ruvān
ākbrīd-ē,] nān grīv-ē must panz, may pās cahār. ud hān ākbrīd ī abārīg, hān dā
pettūyād, 53andum ped avēšān ruvān kē šāhān šāh framād ruvān yaštan, ud nāmcišt ped
nibišt abar stān nibišt ēsted, rōz ō rōz ākbrīd-ē, nān grīv-ē must panz, may pās
cahār. kē abar pābag

139150 28 šāh 54būd: sāsān ī ārnēkān, farrag ī farragān, vahrāmpād ī horagān, [aspūrag ī
aspūragān,] puhrag ī mardēnagān, zīg ī āyēnīg, 23šābuhr ī vēzanagān, šābuhr ī
55mīhrbūzanagān. [kē] abar ardašēr kirmān šāh, ardašēr ī sagān 56šāh, dēnag ī

29 pābag šāh mād, rōdag ī ardašēr šāhān šāh mād, dēnag ī bāmbišnān bāmbišn ī pābagān,
ardašēr ī bidaxš, pābag ī hazāruft, 57dēhēn ī varāz, sāsān ī sūrēn, sāsān ī andēgān
xvadāy, pērōz ī kārin, 24gōk ī kārin, abursām ī ardašērfarr, raxš ī spāhbed, mard ī
dibīrbed, pābag 58ī āyēnīg, pākcihr (pāzīr) ī visfarragān,
30 vēfarr ī farragān, mīhrxv āst ī b(a)rēsagān, hōmfrād ī māyagānbed, dirām ī zēnbed,

- 139155 cīrīg ī dādvar, [vardān ī āxvarrbed,] 59mihrag ī tōsaragān, zīg ī zabragān, sagbus ī nahcīrbed, hudōg ī grastbed, jāhēn ī mayyār. kē abar šābuhr šāhān šāh būd: ardašēr ī 60nodšēragān šāh, ardašēr ī 25kirmān šāh, dēnag ī mēšān bāmbišn dastgird šābuhr, hamazāsp viruzān
- 139160 31 šāh, valāš ī vispuhr ī pābagān, sāsān 61ī vispuhr ī ped farragān dāšt, (anī) sāsān ī vispuhr [ī] ped kadōgān dāšt, nersah ī vispuhr ī pērōzagān, nersah ī vispuhr ī × šābuhragān⁴, šābuhr ī bidaxš, pābag ī hazāruft, pērōz ī aspped, 62ardašēr ī varāz, ardašēr ī sūrēn, nersah ī andēgān 26 x v adāy, ardašēr ī kārīn, 32 vehnām ī framadār, frīg ī vēandiyōgšābuhr šahrab, sridō ī [šāhmust, ardašēr ī ardašēršnōm,] pākcihr ī tahmšābuhr, ardašēr ī gōmān šahrab, 63cašmag ī nēvšābuhr, 139165 vehnām ī šābuhršnōm, tīrmīhr ī šahrgird dizbed, zīg ī āyēnīg, ardavān ī dumbāvannz, gundfarr ī āvgān (razmjōy ud) pābag ī 33 27pērōzšābuhr ī šambīdagān, vārzan ī gay šahrab, 64kirdesrō ī bidaxš, pābag [ī] visfarragān, valāš ī [selōkān], yazdbād ī bānīgān handarzbēd, pābag ī šafšēlār, nersah ī rind šahrab, tiyānag ī ahmadān šahrab, gulbed (vardbed) ī peristagbed, 139170 65jōymard ī rastagān, ardašēr ī vēfarragān, abursām ī šābuhr ī darīgān sālār, nersah ī bardagān (barragān), šābuhr ī nersahagān, 34 nersah ī 28grastbed, hormazd ī dibīrbed pus ī hormazd ī dibīrbed, nādūg ī zēndānīg, pābag ī 66darbed, pāsfal ī pāsfalagān, ādāš (abdaxš) ī dizbedagān, kirdēr ī hērbed, rastag ī vehardašēr šahrab, ardašēr ī bidaxšagān, mihrxvāst ī ganzvar, šābuhr 139175 ī framadār, āštād ī (fravardag-) dibīr ī mihrān ī az ray, sāsān ī 67šābestān ī sāsānagān, 35 virōy ī vāzārbed, ardašēr ī nērēz šahrab, baydād ī gulbedagān, kirdēr ardavān, zurvāndād ī bannagān, 29vinnār ī sāsānagān, (mānzag šābestān,) sāsān ī dādvar, vardān ī nāšpādagān, gulag ī 68varāzbed: <ēvdidān, ākbrīd-ē, nān ē grīv ud panz must, may 139180 cahār pās. nūn ciyōn amāh abar yazdān xīr ud kirdagān toxšem, ud yazdān dastgird hem, ud ped yazdān ayyārīh ēn and 69šahr x v āst ud dāšt, nām ud nēvīh kird> kū kē pas amāh xvadāy bavend hān yazdān huperistādar ud 30hukāmagdar bavēnd kū ōy-iz yazd ēn aōn ayyār bavēnd ciyōn amāh būd.
- 139185 Pahlavīg
1 az mazdesn bay šābuhr šāhān šāh aryān ud anaryān kē žīhr až yazdān puhr mazdesn bay ardaxšēr šāhān šāh aryān kē žīhr až yazdān puhrēpuhr bay pābag šāh aryānxšahr x v adāy ahem. ud dārām xšahr pārs, [parθav], hūzestān, mēšān, [āsūrestān, nodšēragān, arabestān, ādārbādagān,] armin,
- 139190 2 viruzān, segān, arrān, balāsagān, yaō frāž ō kab kōf ud arrānān bar, ud hamag perišxv ār kōf, māō, virgān, mary, harēv, ud hamag abarxšahr, kirmān, sagestān, tugrān (tūrān), makurān, pāraōān, hindestān, kušānxšahr, yaō frāž ō pašakbur, ud yaō ō kās, suyd, ud cāc[estān, ud až hō ārag zreh] mazūnxšahr. ud karām [pērōzšābuhr] nām dḡ.hštr, ud karām
- 139195 3 ohrmazdardašēr nām. ud im avend xšahr ud xšahrōār ud pāōgōspān harv amāh pad bāz ud bandagīf aveštād ahend. ud kaō naxv išt pad xšahr aveštād ahem, gordyānos kēsar až hamag from gōt ud germān xšahr zāvar hangōsan kard, ud ō āsūrestān abar aryān xšahr ud amāh āyad. ud pad āsūrestān marz andar mešik paddēmān vazurg zambag būd. gordyānos 4 kēsar ōžad, frōmēn zāvar vinībūd. ud frōmēn filipos kēsar kard. ud filipos kēsar 139200 amāh ō nemastīg āyad, ud gyān guxn dēnār panjsadhazār ō-n dāō, pad bāz avištāō, ud amāh mešik až ēd kard pērōzšābuhr nām avištāō. ud kēsar bid druxt, ō armin vinās kard. ud amāh abar frōmēn xšahr vihišt ahem, ud frōmēn zāvar šašt-hazār andar bēbāliš 5 ōžad. ud āsūriyā xšahr ud cē abar āsūriyā xšahr pariβār būd hamag ādarsuxt aβīrān ud vrdiyāz kard. ud grift pad hō ēv yāvar až frōmēn xšahr diz ud xšahrestān: anat 139205 xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, birt arūpān aō pariβār hamgōs, birt aspōragān aō pariβār hamgōs, šūrā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, bēbāliš xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, mambōg 6 xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, halab xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, kennešrā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, apumiyā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, × refaniyos 139210 xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, zūmā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, urnā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, gindaros xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, armenāz xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, selōkiyā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, andiyok xšahrestān 7 aō pariβār hamgōs, kirros xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, anī selōkiyā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, alexsandriyā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, × nēkopolis⁵ xšahrestān aō 139215 pariβār hamgōs, sinzar xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, hamāt xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, areston xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, dikor xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, dūrā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, dōrox xšahrestān aō pariβār 8 hamgōs, kurkūsiyā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, germaniyos xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, batnān xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, xānar xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs; 139220 andar × kappadukiyā⁶ šātar xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, dōmān xšahrestān aō pariβār

hamgōs, artangilyā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, sūš xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, šuvid xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, frāt xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs;
9 hamēsāg xšahrestān aō pariβār hrīst-ud-haft. ud hridīg yāvar kaō amāh abar xarrān
139225 ud urhāy vihišt ahem, ud xarrān ud urhāy parvayād7 , valeriyānos kēsar abar amāh
āyad, ud būd aō až germān xšahr, až rešyā xšahr, až nirkos xšahr, až dākyā xšahr, až
pannoniyā xšahr, až mūsyā xšahr, až estriyā xšahr, až espāniyā xšahr, až × afrikiyā8
xšahr, až trākyā xšahr,
10 až butniyā xšahr, až āsiyā xšahr, až pamfaliyā xšahr, až esuriyā xšahr, až lūkunyā
xšahr, až galātenyā xšahr, až lūkiyā xšahr, až kilikiyā xšahr, až kappadukiya xšahr,
139230 až frūgiyā9 xšahr, až sūriyā šahr, až funikiyā xšahr, až yūdayā xšahr, až arabiya
xšahr, až murrān xšahr, až germānyā xšahr, až rodās xšahr, až asenyos xšahr, až 1
11 maōyānrōōān xšahr, zāvar haftād-hazār. ud až hō ārag xarrān ud urhāy aō
valeriyānos kēsar vazurg raf būd. ud valeriyānos kēsar vxad pad vxēbēh dast dastgraβ
139235 kard; ud avyādag rbysyp s'ntwr ud hykmwn kē hō zāvar sārōār būd harv dastgraβ kard ud
bē ō pārs ānīd ahend. ud sūriyā xšahr, ud kilikiyā xšahr, ud kappadukiya xšahr,
12 ādarsuxt aβīrān ud vrđiyāz kard; ud grift hō yāvar až frōmēn xšahr alexsandriyā ī
kat-isos xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, šamošād xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs,
krtr'y /katabalā?/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, aygā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs,
māmsestiyā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, māllos xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs,
139240 't'(d)y' /adanā/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, trysst /tarsos/ xšahrestān
13 aō pariβār hamgōs, zefiron xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, sebastiyā xšahrestān aō
pariβār hamgōs, korikos xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, a n gripōs xšahrestān aō
pariβār hamgōs, kastābalā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, nlyky's /nerōniyās/
xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, pr'ny's /flāviyās/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs,
139245 nykprws /nēkopolis/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, epifaniyā xšahrestān aō pariβār
hamgōs,
14 kydnrws /kēlendros/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, 'nymyrdny /anemurin/ xšahrestān
aō pariβār hamgōs, srynwsy /selinūs/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, mydnprws
/miyonpolis/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, 'tywky' /andiyokiyā/ xšahrestān aō pariβār
139250 hamgōs, srty'p /selōkyā?/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, mwstynprws /mostinopolis/
xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, tuyenā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, kēsariyā
xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, krm'n'dy' /kōmānā/
15 xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, kubistriyā xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, sebastiyā
xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, bīrt xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, rākūndiyā xšahrestān
139255 aō pariβār hamgōs, l'lndy' /lārandā/ xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs, ikōniyā xšahrestān
aō pariβār hamgōs; hamēsāg xšahrestān aō pariβār hamgōs hrīst-ud-švah. ud mardōhmag cē
až frōmēn xšahr až anaryān
16 pad 'w'r /āvār/10 ānīd. andar aryān xšahr, andar pārs, parθav, hūzestān, āsūrestān
ud anī xšahr ō xšahr kū amāh ud pidar ud niyāgān ud hasēnagān dastgird būd, oō
139260 nišāst. ud amāh anīž vas xšahr vxāšt, ud vas nām ud nēvīf kard, cē ēdar nē nibišt, bēž
ēd avend. až ēd kard 'wpdšt /aβdišt/ nibištān kū kē paš až-an bavānd
17 im nām ud nēvīf ud xv adāyīf cē amāh zānānd. ud lqbl kaō kū yazd amāh až ēd gōnag
dast dastegird karend, ud pad yazdān pušt im avend xšahr vxāzām ud dārām, ōh amāh-iž
xšahr ō xšahr vas ādār varhrān nišāst, ud vas muymard kirbagīf kard, ud vazurg yazdān
139265 vinārišn kard. ud ēdar-ž pad npwšt /nibišt/ nišāōām ādār ēv husravšābuhr
18 nām pad amāh arvān ud pāšnām, ādār ēv husrav-ādaranāhīd nām pad ādaranāhīd
bāmbišnān bāmbišn amāh duxt arvān ud pāšnām, ādār ēv husrav-ohrmazdardašēr nām pad
ohrmazdardašēr vazurg šāh arminān amāh puhr arvān ud pāšnām, anī ādār ēv husrav-
šābuhr nām pad šābuhr mēšān šāh ī amāh puhr arvān ud pāšnām,
139270 19 ādār ēv husrav-narīsaf nām ary mazdezn narīsaf šāh hind sagestān ud tugrestān yaō
ō zreh zamb amāh puhr arvān ud pāšnām. ud hō cē imīn ādārān dahām ud cē aβōēn
avištād, ōh-iž harv abar pādixšēr nibišt. ud až hō ākbrīd hazār cē až tarkafišn ō-n
aβōēn būd, ud amāh imīn ādārān dād, hō aβōēsām kū hēb karihed: pad amāh arvān rōž
20 ō rōž ākbrīd ēv, naγn ēv grīv ud panj mušt, maō cafār pās; pad sāsān xv adāy, ud
139275 pābag šāh, ud šābuhr šāh pābagān, ud ardašēr šāhān šāh, ud xvarrānzēm xšahr bāmbišn,
ādaranāhīd bāmbišnān bāmbišn, ud dēnag bāmbišn, varehrām gēlān šāh, šābuhr mēšān šāh,
ohrmazdardašēr vazurg šāh arminān, narīsaf sagān šāh, šābuhrduxtag
21 sagān bāmbišn, cašmag ī bāmbišn, ud paryōz vispuhr, ud mirrōd bānūg šābuhr šāhān
šāh mād, narīsaf vispuhr, rōdduxt duxš anōšag duxt, varāzduxt xvarrānzēm duxt,
139280 estaxriyād bāmbišn, ud ohrmazdag arminān šāh pus ohrmazd, ud ohrmazdag, ōdābaxt, ud
varehrām, šābuhr, paryōz mēšān šāh pus, šābuhrduxtag mēšān šāh duxt, ud
22 ohrmazdduxtag sagān šāh duxt, arvān ākbrīd ēv, naγn ēv grīv ud panj mušt, maō
cafār pās. ud hō ākbrīd cē ōō prtšywdl1 , yaō pettāved, āvadīn pad havīn arvān kē
amāh aβōišt arvān yaštān, ud ēdar nibišt avištend. kē abar pābag šāh xvadāyīf būd
139285 ahend: sāsān āvarnēkān, farrag farragān, varehrāmpād horagān, aspūrag aspūragān,
puhrag mardēnagān, zīg nivēōpad,

23 šābuhr vēzanagān, šābuhr mihrbūzanagān. kē abar ardašēr šāhān šāh xvadāyīf būd
ahend: s'trp /sadārub/ abarēnag šāh, ardašēr mary šāh, ardašēr kirmān šāh, ardašēr
sagān šāh, dēnag pābag šāh mād, rōdag ardašēr šāhān šāh mād, dēnag bāmbišnān bāmbišn
139290 pābagān, ardašēr bidaxš, pābag hazāruft, dēhēn varāz, sāsān sūrēn, sāsān andēgān xv
adāy, paryōz kārīn,
24 gōk kārīn, abursām ardaxšērfarr, gēlmān dumbāvannz, raxš spāhbed, mard dibīruft,
pābag nivēōpad, pāzihr visfarragān, vēfarr farragān, mihrxv āšt b(a)rēsagān,
hōm(a)frād mādagānbad, dirān zēnbad, šihrag dādšar, vardān āxvarrbad, mihrag
139295 tōsaragān, zīg zabragān, sagbus naxšīrbad, hudōg grastbad, zāhēn maḍagdār. kē abar
amāh xv adāyīf būd: ardaxšēr nodšēragān šāh, ardaxšēr
25 kirmān šāh, dēnag mēšān bāmbišn dastgird šābuhr, hamazāsp viružān šāh, valayš
vispuhr pābagān, sāsān vispuhr pad farragān dāšt, anī sāsān vispuhr cē pad kadōgān
dāšt, narīsaf vispuhr paryōzagān, narīsaf vispuhr šābuhragān, šābuhr bidaxš, pābag
139300 hazāruft, paryōz asppad, ardaxšēr varāz, ardaxšēr sūrēn, narīsaf andēgān
26 x v adāy, ardaxšēr kārīn, vahnām framadār, frīg vēandiyōgšābuhr xšahrab, sridō
šāhmust, ardaxšēr ardaxšēr xšnōm, pāzihr tahmšābuhr, ardaxšēr gōmān xšahrab, cašmag
nēvšābuhr, vahnām šābuhrxšnōm, tīrmīhr xšahrgard dizbad, zīg nivēōpad, ardašān
dumbāvandiž, gundfarn aβygān razmyōd ud pābiž
139305 27 paryōzšābuhr šunbīdagān, vārzan ī gaβ xšahrab, kardesrav bidaxš, pābag
visfarragān, valayš ī selōkān, yazdbād bāmbišnān handarzbed, pābag ī safsērdār,
narīsaf rīnd xšahrab, tiyānag ahmadān xšahrab, vardbad parištaḡbad, yōdmard rastagān,
ardaxšēr vēfarragān, abursām šābuhr darīgān sārīdār, narīsaf bardagān (barragān),
šābuhr narīsafagān, narīsaf
139310 28 grastbed, ohrmazd dibīrbad, nādūg zēndānīg, pābag ī barbad, pāsford pāsfordagān,
abdayš dizbadagān, kardēr ī ēhrbed, rastag vehardaxšēr xšahrab, ardaxšēr bidaxšagān,
mihrxv āšt ī ganzšar, šābuhr framaōār, arštād mīhrān pad fravardag dibīr, sāsān
šābestān sāsānagān, virōd vāžārbad, ardaxšēr nērēž xšahrab, baydād ī vardbadegān,
kardēr ardašān, zurvāndād bandagān,
139315 29 vinnār sāsānegān, mānzag šābestān, sāsān dādšar, vardān nāšpādagān, vardag
varāzbad: ēv-bidān, ākbrīd ēv, naβn ēv grīv ud panj mušt, maḍ cafār pās. avās cavāyōn
amāh abar yazdān īr ud kardagān toxšem, ud yazdān dastgird ahem, ud pad yazdān
aōyāvīf īm avend xšahr vxāšt ud dāšt, nām ud nēvīf kard hav-iž kē paš až amāh bavā
ud farnaxv ahed hav-iž abar yazdānīr ud
139320 30 kardagān toxšed kū yazd aōyāvar bavend ud dastgird (dastgīrv?) karend. dastnibēg
īm man ohrmazd dibīr šērag dibīr puhr.

Shapur I's inscription at the Ka'ba-ye Zartosht

Shapur I's Ka'ba-ye Zartosht inscription (shortened as Shapur-KZ, ŠKZ, SKZ), also
139325 referred to as The Great Inscription of Shapur I, and Res Gestae Divi Saporis (RGDS),
is a trilingual inscription made during the reign of the Sasanian king Shapur I (r.
240–270) after his victories over the Romans. The inscription is carved on the Ka'ba-
ye Zartosht, a stone quadrangular and stepped structure located in Naqsh-e Rostam, an
ancient necropolis located northwest of Persepolis, in today's Fars Province, Iran.
139330 The inscription dates to c. 262.
The inscription is written in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Greek, containing 35, 30,
and 70 lines, respectively. The Middle Persian variant is partially damaged, while
the Greek and Parthian versions are better survived, although they are not exactly
the same as the Middle Persian text. In this inscription, Shapur introduces himself,
139335 mentions his genealogy, enumerates the provinces of his empire, describes his
campaigns against the Roman Empire and talks about the fire temples he built. The
inscription is considered the most important inscription from the Sasanian era.

The relevant passage enumerating the territories part of Shapur I's empire:
139340 ...[I] am ruler of Ērānshahr, and I possess the lands of [provinces; Greek ethne]:
Pars [Persis], Pahlav (Parthia), Huzestan (Khuzestan), Meshan (i.e. Maishan, Mesene),
Asorestan (Mesopotamia), Nod-Ardakhshiragan (i.e. Adiabene), Arbayistan, Adurbadagan
[i.e. Atropatene, 'twrp'tkn], Armenia [Armin, 'lmny], Iberia [Wiruzān/Wručān, wlwc'n,
i.e., K'art'li], Segan [or Machelonia, i.e. Mingrelia], Arran ['ld'nm, i.e.,
139345 Caucasian Albania], Balasagan, up to the Caucasus mountains [Kafkōf] and the Gates of
Albania/of the Alans, and all of the mountain chain of Pareshwar/Padishkwar[gar], Mad
(i.e. Media), Gurgan (i.e. Hyrcania), Merv (i.e. Margiana), Harey (i.e. "Aria") and
all of Abarshahr, Kirman, Sakastan (Sistan), Turgistan/Turan, Makuran,
Pardan/Paradene, Hind [India i.e. Kushano-Sasanian Kingdom], the Kushanshahr up to
139350 Peshawar/Pashkibur, and up to Kashgar[ia], Sogdiana/Sogdia and to the mountains of
Tashkent (Chach), and on the other side of the sea, Oman (i.e. Mazonshahr).
In the inscription, Shapur I mentions his victories over Gordian III, Philip the Arab

- and Valerian. He relates that Gordian departed from Antioch and was killed in a decisive battle at Misiche in 242/4 on the border of Sasanian-ruled Mesopotamia. Shapur mentions that Misiche was subsequently renamed Misiche-Peroz-Shapur, which translates as "Misiche-(where)-Shapur-is-victorious". In relation to Philip the Arab; Shapur mentions that negotiations in 244 resulted in Philip being forced to pay 500,000 denarii to the Sasanians. In addition, the Romans promised that they would surrender Armenia to Shapur. However, Shapur relates that the Philip the Arab didn't keep his promise and tried to reinvade Armenia. As a result, another battle was fought in 252-256 at Barbalissos, against a 60,000-strong Roman army. Shapur was victorious, and he mentions that he captured 36 Roman cities. Shapur also mentions his major victory at the Battle of Edessa, which resulted in Valerian being captured by the Sasanian ruler, "along with the Praefectus Praetorio, senators, and chiefs of the army". He furthermore relates that Roman captives were settled in the province of Pars (i.e. Persis). The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity notes that this particular part of the inscription, where Shapur mentions the capture of Valerian and his deeds in general, is reminiscent of the "Persian epic tradition". In the following part of the inscription, Shapur mentions the Zoroastrian sacred fires he established under his rule to honor each member of the royal family. He also mentions detail of "sacrifices and ceremonies". The final part of the inscription contains valuable content about the Sasanian administration as well as the courtiers and nobles during the lifetimes of Papak, Ardashir I in addition to Shapur I himself.
- 7 december 328 The Namara inscription (Arabic: نقش النمارة naqš an-Namārah) is a 4th century inscription in Arabic language, making it one of the earliest. It has also been interpreted as a late version of the Nabataean Arabic language in its transition to Arabic. It has been described by Irfan Shahid as "the most important Arabic inscription of pre-Islamic times" and by Kees Versteegh as "the most famous Arabic inscription". It is also an important source for the relationships between the Romans and the Arabs in that period. The inscription is written in the Nabatean Aramaic script, but there are ambiguities, as the script has only 22 signs (some with added annotations), and the Arabic dialect had 28 or 29 consonants. The script has ligatures between some letters that show a transition towards an Arabic script. Some of the terms used in the text are closer to Aramaic than Arabic; for example, it uses the Aramaic patronymic "b-r", rather than the Arabic term "b-n". However, most of the text is very close to the Classical Arabic used in the Qur'an in the 7th century.
- The inscription was found on 4 April 1901 by two French archaeologists, René Dussaud and Frédéric Macler, at al-Namara (also Namārah; modern Nimreh) near Shahba and Jabal al-Druze in southern Syria, about 100 kilometres south of Damascus and 50 kilometres northeast Bosra, and 120 kilometres east of the Sea of Galilee. The location was near the boundary of the Roman Empire at the date it was carved, the Limes Arabicus of the province of Arabia Petraea. Al-Namara was later the site of a Roman fort.
- The inscription is carved in five lines on a block of basalt, which may have been the lintel for a tomb. It is the epitaph of a recently deceased Arab king of the Lakhmids, Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Amr, and dated securely to AD 328. Imru' al-Qays followed his father 'Amr ibn Adi in using a large army and navy to conquer much of Iraq and the Arabian peninsula from their capital at al-Hirah. At this time, they were vassals of the Persian Sassanids. Raids on Iran triggered a campaign by Sassanid emperor Shapur II which conquered the Iraqi lands, and Imru' al-Qays retreated to Bahrain. He moved to Syria to seek help from the Roman emperor Constantine. Imru' al-Qays converted to Christianity before his death in Syria and was entombed in the Syrian desert. His conversion is mentioned in the Arab history of Hisham Ibn Al-Kalbi, but not mentioned in the inscription itself; equally there is no mention of any pagan belief.
- The first tracing and reading of the Namara inscription was published in the beginning of the twentieth century by René Dussaud. According to his reading, the text starts by informing the reader that this inscription was the burial monument of the king, then it introduces him and lists his achievements, and finally announces the date of his death. Many other scholars have re-read and analyzed the language of the inscription over the last century but, despite their slight differences, they all agreed with Dussaud's central viewpoint that the Namara stone was the burial monument of King Imru' al-Qays. In 1985, James A. Bellamy offered the first significantly different tracing of the inscription since Dussaud, including a breakthrough tracing correction of two highly contested words in the beginning of the third line (pointed out on Dussaud's original tracing figure as words 4 and 5). However, despite Bellamy's new important re-tracings, his Arabic reading fully agreed with the general

theme of Dussaud's original reading. Bellamy's widely accepted new translation of the inscription reads:

This is the funerary monument of Imru' al-Qays, son of 'Amr, king of the Arabs, and (?) his title of honour was Master of Asad and Nizar.

And he subdued the Asadis and they were overwhelmed together with their kings, and he put to flight Madhhij thereafter, and came driving them to the gates of Najran, the city of Shammar, and he subdued Ma'add, and he dealt gently with the nobles of the tribes, and appointed them viceroys, and they became phylarchs for the Romans. And no king has equalled his achievements.

Thereafter he died in the year 223 on the 7th day of Kaslul. Oh the good fortune of those who were his friends!

Below is Bellamy's modern Arabic translation of the Namara inscription, with brief added explanations between parenthesis:

تي (هذه) نَفْسُ (شاهدة قبر) امرؤ القيس بن عمرو ملك العرب، ولقب وملك الأسديين ونزار وملوكهم وهرب مذحج عكدي (كلمة عامية تدمج الكلمتين "عن قضى"، بمعنى بعد ذلك) وجاء (أي امرؤ القيس) يزجها (يقاثلها بضراوة) في رُبَحِ (ابواب) نَجْران، مدينة شمر، وملك معد (بنو معد في اليمن) وتبّل بنبه الشعوب (عامل نبلاءهم باحترام ولطف) ووكلهن (أي عين نبلاءهم شيوخا للقبايل) فرأسو لروم

The mention of the date – the 7th of Kaslul in the year 223 of the Nabatean era of Bostra – securely dates his death to the 7th day of December in AD 328.

Parts of the translation are uncertain. For example, early translations suggested that Imru' al-Qays was king of all the Arabs, which seems unlikely after he moved to Syria. It is also not clear whether he campaigned towards Najran while he was based at al-Hirah or after his move to Syria and, in either case, whether he did so alone or with assistance from the Sassanids or the Romans.

The inscription is now held by the Louvre Museum in Paris.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Namara_inscription

Twenty canons in Greek

α'. Εἰ τις ἐν νόσῳ ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ἐχειρουργήθῃ, ἢ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἐξετιμήθῃ, οὗτος μενέτω ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ· εἰ δέ τις ὑγιαίνων ἑαυτὸν ἐξέτεμε, τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξεταζόμενον πεπαῦσθαι προσήκει· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δεῦρο μηδὲνα τῶν τοιούτων χρῆναι προάγεσθαι. Ὡς περ δὲ τοῦτο πρόδηλον, ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύοντων τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τολμώντων ἑαυτοὺς ἐκτέμνειν, εἴρηται, οὕτως εἴτινες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἢ δεσποτῶν εὐνουχίσθησαν, εὐρίσκοιντο ἄλλως ἄξιοι, τοὺς τοιούτους εἰς κληρὸν προσίεται ὁ κανὼν.

β'. Ἐπειδὴ, πολλὰ ἤτοι ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης ἢ ἄλλως ἐπειγομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο παρὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικόν, ὥστε ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ ἐθνικοῦ βίου ἄρτι προσελθόντας τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατηχηθέντας εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν λουτρὸν ἄγειν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ βαπτισθῆναι προσάγειν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν, ἢ εἰς πρεσβυτερεῖον, καλῶς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο γίνεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ χρόνου δεῖ τῷ κατηχουμένῳ, καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα δοκιμασίας πλείονος· σαφὲς γὰρ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν γράμμα τὸ λέγον, «Μὴ νεόφυτον, ἵνα μὴ τυφωθεῖς εἰς κρῖμα ἐμπέσῃ καὶ παγίδα τοῦ διαβόλου.» Εἰ δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ψυχικόν τι ἀμάρτημα εὗρεθείῃ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐλέγχῃτο ὑπὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων, πεπαύσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος τοῦ κλήρου. Ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν, ὥς ὑπεναντία τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ θρασυνόμενος, αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσει περὶ τὸν κληρὸν.

γ'. Ἀπηγόρευσε καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος, μήτε ἐπισκόπῳ μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ μήτε διακόνῳ μῆτε ὅλως τινὶ τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα, ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θεῖαν, ἢ ἄ μόνον πρόσωπα πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν διαπέφευγε.

δ'. Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴῃ τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξαπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμπλήρων γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι· τὸ δὲ κύρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.

ε'. Περὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων γενομένων, εἴτε τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ εἴτε τῶν ἐν λαϊκῷ τάγματι, ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων, κρατεῖται ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἀποβληθέντας ὑφ' ἐτέρων μὴ προσίεσθαι· ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ, μὴ μικροψυχίᾳ ἢ φιλονεικίᾳ ἢ τινὶ τοιαύτῃ ἀηδία τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀποσυνάγωγοι γεγένηται. Ἵνα οὖν τοῦτο τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνῃ, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δις τοῦ ἐτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι, ἵνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένων, τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζοιτο· καὶ οὕτως οἱ ὁμολογουμένως προσκεκρουκότες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κατὰ λόγον ἀκοινωνήτοι παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι δόξωσι, μέχρις ἂν

- 139485 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπισκόπων δόξη τὴν φιλανθρωποτέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκθέσθαι ψῆφον. Αἱ δὲ σύνοδοι γινέσθων, μία μὲν πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς, ἵνα πάσης μικροψυχίας ἀναιρουμένης, τὸ δὲ ὄρον καθαρὸν προσφέρηται τῷ Θεῷ, δευτέρα δὲ περὶ τὸν τοῦ μετοπώρου καιρόν.
- 139490 ς'. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκείνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνῶμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον. Ἐὰν μὲν τοι τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ εὐλόγῳ οὔσῃ, καὶ κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικόν, δύο ἢ τρεῖς δι' οἰκείαν φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατεῖτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος.
- 139500 ζ'. Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος.
- 139505 η'. Περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων μὲν ἑαυτοὺς Καθαροὺς ποτε, προσερχομένων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε χειροθετούμενους αὐτοὺς μὲν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ. Πρὸ πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ὁμολογῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἐγγράφως προσήκει, ὅτι συνήθονται καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσι τοῖς τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμασι· τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, καὶ διγάμοις κοινωνεῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ παραπεπτωκόσιν, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ χροῖνος τέτακται, καὶ καιρὸς ὥρισταί, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἐνθα μὲν οὖν πάντες, εἴτε ἐν κώμας, εἴτε ἐν πόλεσιν αὐτοὶ μόνοι εὐρίσκονται χειροτονηθέντες, οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι εἰ δὲ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ὄντος προσέρχονταί τινες, πρόδηλον ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔξει τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ὁ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς λεγομένοις Καθαροῖς ἐπίσκοπος τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔξει, πλην εἰ μὴ ἄρα δοκοίῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν μετέχειν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκει, ἐπινοήσῃ τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὅλως δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾤσιν.
- 139515 θ'. Εἰ τινες ἀνεξετάστως προσήχθησαν πρεσβύτεροι, ἢ ἀνακρινόμενοι ὡμολόγησαν τὰ ἡμαρτημένα αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁμολογησάντων αὐτῶν, παρὰ κανόνα κινούμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις χεῖρα ἐπιτεθείκασι, τούτους ὁ κανὼν οὐ προσίεται· Τὸ γὰρ ἀνεπίληπτον ἐκδικεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.
- 139520 ι'. Ὅσοι προεχειρίσθησαν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων κατὰ ἄγνοιαν, ἢ καὶ προειδόντων τῶν προχειρισμένων, τοῦτο οὐ προκρίνει τῷ κανόνι τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ· γνωσθέντες γὰρ καθαιροῦνται.
- 139525 ια'. Περὶ τῶν παραβάντων χωρὶς ἀνάγκης, ἢ χωρὶς ἀφαιρέσεως ὑπερχόντων, ἢ χωρὶς κινδύνου, ἢ τινος τοιοῦτου, ὃ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος Λικινίου, ἔδοξε τῇ συνόδῳ, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιοι ἦσαν φιλανθρωπίας, ὅμως χρηστεύσασθαι εἰς αὐτούς. Ὅσοι οὖν γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκρωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοὶ, καὶ ἐπτά ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται, δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.
- 139530 ιβ'. Οἱ δὲ προσκληθέντες μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν ἐνδειξάμενοι, καὶ ἀποθέμενοι τὰς ζώνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα «ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔμετον ἀναδραμόντες ὡς κύνες,» ὡς τινὰς καὶ ἀργύρια πρόεσθαι, καὶ βενεφικίοις κατορθῶσαι τὸ ἀναστρατεύσασθαι, οὗτοι δέκα ἔτη ὑποπιπτεύσαν μετὰ τὸν τῆς τριετοῦς ἀκροάσεως χρόνον. Ἐφ' ἅπασιν δὲ τούτοις, προσήκει ἐξετάζειν τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς μετανοίας· ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ δάκρυσιν καὶ ὑπομονῇ καὶ ἀγαθοεργίαις τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ σχήματι ἐπιδείκνυνται, οὗτοι πληρώσαντες τὸν χρόνον τὸν ὠρισμένον τῆς ἀκροάσεως, εἰκότως τῶν εὐχῶν κοινωνήσουσι μετὰ τοῦ ἐξεῖναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ φιλανθρωπότερόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν βουλευσασθαι. Ὅσοι δὲ ἀδιαφόρως ἤνεγκαν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρκεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ γήσαντο πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστρέφειαν, ἐξ ἀπαντος πληροῦτως τὸν χρόνον.
- 139535 ιγ'. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξοδεύοντων ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος φυλαχθήσεται καὶ νῦν, ὥστε εἰ τις ἐξοδεύοι, τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἀπογνώσθῃς, καὶ κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχῶν, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐξετασθῇ, μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνῃς ἔστω. Καθόλου δὲ καὶ περὶ πάντος οὐτινοσοῦν ἐξοδεύοντος, αἰτιοῦντος δὲ μετασχεῖν εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας ἐπιδότω.
- 139540 ιδ'. Περὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων καὶ παραπεσόντων ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε τριῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀκρωμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχουμένων.
- 139550

ιε'. Διὰ τὸν πολὺν τάραχον καὶ τὰς στάσεις τὰς γινομένας, ἔδοξε παντάπασι περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν συνήθειαν τὴν παρὰ τὸν κανόνα εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν τισι μέρεσιν, ὥστε ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν μὴ μεταβαίνειν μήτε ἐπίσκοπον, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον. Εἰ δέ τις μετὰ τὸν τῆς ἀγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου ὅρον τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ ἐπιχειρήσειεν, ἢ ἐπιδοίῃ ἑαυτὸν π

139555 ράγματι τοιοῦτῳ, ἀκυρωθήσεται ἑξάπαντος τὸ κατασκευάσμα, καὶ ἀποκατασταθήσεται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἣς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐχειροτονήθη.

ις'. Ὅσοι ῥιψοκινδύνως μήτε τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, μήτε τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα εἰδότες, ἀναχωρήσουσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, πρεσβύτεροι ἢ διάκονοι, ἢ ὅλως ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι, οὗτοι οὐδαμῶς δεκτοὶ ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπάγεσθαι χρῆ, ἀναστρέφειν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν παροικίας· ἢ ἐπιμένοντες, ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι προσήκει. Εἰ δέ καὶ τολμήσειέ τις ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν τῷ ἐτέρῳ διαφέροντα, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μὴ συγκατατιθεμένου τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου οὗ ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενος, ἀκυρος ἔστω ἡ χειροτονία.

ιζ'. Ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχροκερδεῖαν διώκοντες, ἐπελάθοντο τοῦ θείου γράμματος λέγοντος, «τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τόκῳ,» καὶ δανείζοντες ἑκατοστὰς ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ἐδικαίωσεν ἡ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη σύνοδος, ὥς, εἴ τις εὐρεθεῖη μετὰ τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον τόκους λαμβάνειν, ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως ἢ ἄλλως μετερχόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἢ ἡμιολίας ἀπαιτῶν, ἢ ὅλως ἕτερον τι ἐπινοῶν αἰσχροῦ κέρδους ἕνεκα, καθαιρεθήσεται τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ἀλλότριος τοῦ κανόνος ἔσται.

ιη'. Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὅτι ἐν τισι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διάκονοι διδῶσιν, ὥσπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκεν, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν τοῖς προσφέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· κάκεῖνο δὲ ἐγνωρίσθη, ὅτι ἤδη τινὲς τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἄπτονται. Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα περιηρήσθω· καὶ ἐμμενέτωσαν οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρεταὶ εἰσὶν, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους τυγχάνουσι· λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν μετὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἢ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διδόντος αὐτοῖς, ἢ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου· ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέστω τοῖς διακόνοις· παρὰ κανόνα γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον. Εἰ δέ τις μὴ θέλοι πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὅρους, πεπαύσθω τῆς διακονίας.

ιθ'. Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανισάντων, εἴτα προσφυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἀκκλησίᾳ, ὁρος ἐκτέθειται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἑξάπαντος. Εἰ δέ τινες ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξητάσθησαν, εἰ μὲν ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀνεπίληπτοι φανεῖεν, ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου· εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀνάκρισις ἀνεπιτηδείους αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκοι, καθαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς προσήκει. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν διακονισῶν, καὶ ὅλως περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ κανόνι ἐξεταζομένων, ὁ αὐτὸς τύπος παραφυλαχθήσεται· ἐμνήσθημεν δὲ διακονισῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξετασθεισῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἑξάπαντος ἐν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς αὐτὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι.

κ'. Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις· ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως παραφυλάττεσθαι, ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ.

Twenty Canons in Latin

I. Si quis in morbo a medicis excisus, vel a barbaris exsectus est, is maneat in clerico. Si quis autem sanus seipsum abscidit, hunc, etiam in clero constitutum, abstinere convenit, et deinceps nullum talem promoveri oportet. Sicut autem hoc manifestum est, quod de iis qui de industria hoc agunt, audentque seipsos abscindere, dictum est: ita si qui vel a barbaris, vel a dominis eunuchi facti sunt, et ii alioqui digni inveniantur, tales in clerum admittit canon.

II. Quoniam multa vel necessitate, aut aliter cogentibus hominibus, facta sunt praeter canonem ecclesiasticum, ita ut homines e gentili vita nuper accedentes ad fidem, et exiguo tempore eruditi, statim ad spirituale lavacrum ducantur, et simul atque baptizati fuerint, ad episcopatum vel presbyterium promoveantur; recte habere visum est, ut nihil deinceps tale fiat. Nam et tempore opus est catechumeno, et post baptismum probatione maiore: apertum enim est apostolicum scriptum, dicens: Non neophytum, ne forte inflatus in iudicium incidat, et laqueum diaboli. Si vero procedente tempore aliquod animi peccatum inveniatur in ea persona, et duobus vel tribus testibus convincatur, abstinere talis a clero: qui autem praeter haec facit, ut qui magnae synodi adversarius esse audeat, ipse de clericatu periclitabitur.

III. Vetuit omnino magna synodus, ne liceat episcopo, nec presbytero, nec diacono, nec ulli penitus eorum qui sunt in clero, extraneam [subintroducendam] habere mulierem; nisi forte aut matrem, aut sororem, aut amitam, vel eas tantum personas quae omnem suspicionem effugiunt.

IV. Episcopum oportet maxime quidem ab omnibus qui sunt in provincia episcopis constitui: si vero hoc difficile fuerit, aut propter urgentem necessitatem, aut propter itineris longitudinem, tres omnino in idipsum convenientes, dummodo consenserint qui absint, et per litteras approbaverint, ordinationem faciant. Confirmatio autem eorum quae in quaque provincia geruntur, tribuatur metropolitano.

V. De iis qui communione privantur, seu ex clero, seu ex laico ordine, ab episcopis uniuscujusque provinciae servetur haec sententia secundum canonem qui pronuntiat, ut hi qui ab aliis abjiciuntur, ab aliis non recipiantur. Inquiratur autem ne simultate, aut contentione, aut aliqua alia molestia episcopi sint excommunicati. Ut hoc ergo decentius examinetur, recte habere visum est ut singulis annis per unamquamque provinciam bis in anno synodi fiant, ut omnes in unum convenientes episcopi provinciae, ejusmodi quaestiones examinent, et sic qui manifeste offenderint episcopum, juste excommunicati ab omnibus esse videantur, donec episcoporum coetui visum fuerit pro iis humaniorem ferre sententiam. Synodi autem fiant, una quidem ante Quadragesimam, ut omni similitudine sublata, munus purum Deo offeratur: secunda autem circa tempus autumnii.

VI. Antiqui mores obtineant, qui sunt in Aegypto, Libya et Pentapoli, ut Alexandrinus episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem, quoniam illa est Romano etiam episcopo consuetudo. Similiter autem et in Antiochia, et in aliis provinciis privilegia servantur Ecclesiis. Illud autem omnino manifestum est, quod si quis praeter sententiam metropolitani factus sit episcopus, hunc magna synodus statuit non oportere esse episcopum. Si vero communi omnium suffragio rationi consentaneo, et secundum ecclesiasticum canonem, duo aut tres contentiose, seu propria pertinacia inducti contradixerint, obtineat plurimorum sententia.

VII. Quoniam consuetudo obtinuit, et antiqua traditio, ut Aeliae episcopus honoretur, habeat ordinem honoris, metropoli propria dignitate servata.

VIII. De his qui se catharos, id est puros, nominant, si aliquando ad catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam redierint, visum est sanctae et magnae synodo, ut accepta manuum impositione, sic in clero maneant. Prae omnibus autem eos scripto profiteri oportet, quod consentient, et sequentur dogmata Ecclesiae catholicae et apostolicae, id est, et cum digamis communicare, et his qui in persecutione lapsi sunt, quibus etiam tempus constitutum est, et opportunitas definita, ut in omnibus sequantur dogmata catholicae Ecclesiae. Ubique autem, sive in vicis, sive in civitatibus ipsi soli inventi fuerint ordinati, qui inveniuntur in clero in eodem ordine permaneant. Si autem catholicae Ecclesiae episcopo aut presbytero existente quidam accedunt, manifestum est, quod episcopus Ecclesiae dignitatem episcopi habeat. Qui autem apud eos, qui dicuntur cathari, nominatur episcopus, habeat honorem presbyteri, nisi forte placuerit episcopo nominis honorem illi concedere. Si hoc autem ei minime placuerit, inveniat ei locum chor episcopi, aut presbyteri, ut in clero omnino esse videatur, ne in civitate duo sint episcopi.

IX. Si qui sine examinatione presbyteri promoti sint, vel cum discuterentur, peccata sua confessi sint, eisque confessis, homines contra canonem moti, manus imposuerint, tales canon non admittit: quod enim reprehensibile est, catholica Ecclesia non defendit.

X. Quicumque ex lapsis ordinati sunt per ignorantiam, aut dissimulationem eorum qui eos ordinarunt, hoc non praejudicat canonem Ecclesiasticum; cogniti enim deponuntur.

XI. De his qui praevaricati sunt sine necessitate, aut facultatum ablatione, aut sine periculo, aut aliquo ejusmodi, quod factum est sub tyrannide Licinii, visum est synodo, licet misericordia indigni sint, benignitate tamen in eos uti. Quicumque ergo vere poenitent, tribus annis fideles inter audientes habeantur, et septem annis jaceant: duobus autem annis sine oblatione, populo communicent in orationibus.

XII. Quicumque vocati per gratiam, primum quidem ardorem fidei suam ostenderunt, et cingulum militiae deposuerunt, postea vero ut canes ad suum vomitum reversi sunt, ita

ut aliqui et pecuniam darent, et beneficiis militiam repeterent, hi decem annis jaceant, post triennii auditionis tempus. In his autem omnibus observare oportet propositum et modum poenitentiae. Quicumque enim et timore, et lacrymis, et patientia, et bonis operibus conversionem absque simulatione demonstrant, hi definitum tempus auditionis implentes, tum demum orationibus communicabunt, et postea licebit episcopo, de his aliquid humanius cogitare. Quicumque vero indifferenter tulerunt, et habitum Ecclesiam introeundi sibi arbitrati sunt ad conversionem sufficere, hi definitum tempus omnino impleant.

XIII. De his qui vita excedunt, vetus et canonica lex nunc quoque servabitur, ut si quis vita excedat, ultimo et necessario viatico minime privetur. Si vero desperatus, et communionem assecutus supervixerit, sit inter eos qui communionem orationis tantummodo consequuntur. Generaliter autem omni cuilibet in exitu posito, et eucharistiae participationem petenti, episcopus cum examinatione oblationem impertiat.

XIV. De catechumenis lapsis placuit sanctae et magnae synodo, ut ii tribus annis audientes tantum sint, postea orent cum catechumenis.

XV. Propter tumultus et seditiones quae fiunt, placuit omnino consuetudinem tolli, quae praeter canonem in quibusdam partibus invenitur, ut a civitate in civitatem nec episcopus, nec presbyter, nec diaconus transferatur. Si quis autem post definitionem sanctae et magnae synodi, tale quid aggressus fuerit, vel se rei ejusmodi dederit, quod factum erit omnino infirmabitur, et Ecclesiae restituatur cui fuerat episcopus, aut presbyter, vel diaconus ordinatus.

XVI. Quicumque temere et inconsiderate nec Dei timorem praeculis habentes, nec ecclesiasticum canonem agnoscentes, ab Ecclesia discesserint presbyteri vel diaconi, vel quicumque omnino in canone recensentur, hi nequaquam debent in aliam ecclesiam recipi, sed omnino cogendi sunt in suas ipsorum paroecias redire: vel si perseverent, eos a communione privari oportet. Si quis etiam ausus fuerit eum qui ad alium pertinet, surripere, et in sua ecclesia ordinare, non consentiente proprio episcopo, a quo recessit qui in canone censetur, ordinatio hujusmodi irrita erit.

XVII. Quoniam plerique qui in canone recensentur avaritiam et turpem quaestum sectantes, obliviscuntur divinae Scripturae dicentis: Pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram (Psalm 14

15).5), et foenerantes centesimas exigunt, aequum censuit sancta et magna synodus, ut si quis inventus fuerit post hanc definitionem usuras sumere ex mutuo, vel aliter eam rem consecrari aut sescupla exigere, vel omnino aliquid aliud excogitare turpis lucri gratia, a clero deponatur, et alienus a canone existat.

XVIII. Pervenit ad sanctum magnumque concilium, quod in quibusdam locis et civitatibus, diaconi presbyteris eucharistiam praebeant; quod neque canon, neque consuetudo tradidit, ut qui potestatem offerendi non habent, his qui offerunt corpus Christi porrigant. Illud etiam innotuit quod jam quidam ex diaconis etiam ante episcopos eucharistiam attingant. Omnia igitur ista auferantur, et diaconi intra propriam mensuram maneant, scientes quod ministri sunt episcoporum, et presbyteris inferiores existant: accipiant autem suo ordine eucharistiam post presbyteros, vel episcopo dante vel presbytero; sed nec sedere in medio presbyterorum diaconis liceat, id enim fit praeter canonem et ordinem. Si quis autem obedire noluerit post has definitiones, desinat esse diaconus.

XIX. De Paulianistis, si ad Ecclesiam catholicam confugerint, definitum est eos omnino rebaptizari. Si qui vero praeterito tempore in clero fuerint, si quidem inculpati et irreprehensibiles, rebaptizati ordinentur ab episcopo catholicae Ecclesiae. Si vero examinati, minus apti deprehensi fuerint, deponi eos convenit: similiter autem et de diaconissis, et omnino de his qui sub canone versantur, eadem forma servabitur. Diaconissarum autem meminimus, quae in habitu quidem esse censentur, quia vero nullam manus impositionem habent, ut omnino inter laicos ipsae deputentur.

XX. Quoniam sunt quidam, qui die dominico genua flectunt, et in diebus Pentecostes, ut omnia similiter in omni paroecia servantur, visum est sanctae synodo, stantes Deo orationes persolvere.

Venantius Fortunatus

- 139600 Diu apex carne effigians genetalia limi
vitali terrae conpingit sanguine gluten,
luciferax auras animantes affluit illic:
conditur enixans Adam factoris ad instar;
exiluit protoplasma solo, res nobilis usu,
139605 dives in arbitrio radianti lumine: dehinc
ex membris Adae vas fit tum virginis Evvae:
carne creata viri dehinc copulatur eidem,
ut paradyssiaco bene lactaretur in horto.
sed de sede pia pepulit temeabile guttur,
139610 serpentis suasu pomi suco atra propinans.
insatiatrici morti fames accidit illinc.
gavisurus ob hoc caeli fluis arce locator,
nasci pro nobis miseraris et ulcere clavi
in cruce configi: tali malagmate ininctis
139615 una salus nobis ligno agni sanguine venit.
iucunda species: in te pia brachia Cristi
affixa steterunt et palma beabilis, in hac
cara caro poenas inmites sustulit haustu.
arbor suavis agri, tecum nova vita paratur;
139620 electa ut visu, sic e crucis ordine pulchra
lumen spes scutum gereris livoris ab ictu.
inmortale decus nece iusti laeta parasti.
una omnem vitam sic, crux, tua causa rigavit,
imbre cruenta pio: velis das navita portum,
139625 tristia summerso mundasti vulnera clavo,
arbor dulcis agri, rorans e cortice nectar,
ramis de cuius vitalia crismata fragrant,
excellens cultu, diva ortu, fulgida fructu,
deliciosa cibo et per poma suavis in umbra.
139630 en regis magni gemmamtem et nobile signum,
murus et arma viris, virtus, lux, ara precatu,
pande benigna viam, vivax et fertile lumen;
tum memor adfer opem nobis, e germine David,
in cruce rex fixus iudex cum praeerit orbi.
139635 Dulce decus signi, via caeli, vita redempti.
In cruce mors Cristi curavit mortua mundi.
Crux pia, devotas Agnen tege cum Radegunde.
tu Fortunatum fragilem, crux sancta, tuere.
139640 vera spes nobis ligno, agni sanguine, clavo.
arbor suavis agri, tecum nova vita paratur.
- Extorquet hoc sorte dei veniabile signum
rusticulas laudes viventi reddere flatu,
139645 in me qui regit ire lutum plasmabile numen,
portio viventum, curatio fausta medellae,
excluser culpae, trinitas effusa, creator,
cuius honor lumen ius gloria regna coaeve.
- 139650 Sic pater et genitus sic sc̄s spiritus unus.
Eripe credentes, fidei decus, arma salutis.
Munere, Criste, tuo removetur causa reatus.
Dulce mihi lignum, pie, maius odore rosetis.
Dumosi colles lignum generastis honoris.
139655 Ditans tampla dei crux et velamen adornas.
Ex fidei merito magnum, pie, reddis Abraham.

- 139660 God, the apex of the earth, fashioning the genitals of the earth, binds the glue of
the vital blood of the earth, and the luminiferous air flows there: Adam, giving
birth, is created in the likeness of the maker; the protoplasm is exiled from the
soil, a noble thing, rich in the radiant light of his will: then from the limbs of

Adam it becomes the vessel of the virgin Eve: the flesh created by man is then joined to her, so that she may be well nourished in the garden of paradise. But from the seat of the pious, the fearsome throat rushes, at the persuasion of the serpent, offering the black juice of the apple. Hunger, insatiable for death, strikes from there. Rejoicing for this, the citadel of the rivers of heaven, the owner of the citadel, was born for us, with the pain and the wound of the nail, nailed to the cross: anointed with such an emollient, one salvation comes to us on the wood of the Lamb's blood. pleasant appearance: in you the pious arms of Christ stood fixed and the palm of the blessed, in this dear flesh bore the cruel punishments with a sigh.

sweet tree of the field, with you a new life is prepared; chosen as by sight, so from the order of the cross you will bear the beautiful light of hope as a shield from the blow of bruise. immortal glory you have prepared joyfully by the death of the just.

one so, cross, your cause has watered all life, with a bloody shower piously: you give the sailor a harbor, sadness you have washed the wounds submerged with a nail, sweet tree of the field, nectar dripping from the bark, branches from whose vital chrismations are fragrant,

excellent in worship, divine in birth, shining in fruit, delicious in food and sweet in the shade with apples.

here is the jewel of the great king and noble sign, wall and arms for men, virtue, light, altar with prayer, open the benign path, lively and fertile light; Then bring us help, from the seed of David, when the king fixed on the cross will rule the world as judge.

Sweet glory of the sign, the way of heaven, the life of the redeemed.

On the cross, the death of Christ healed the dead of the world.

Pious cross, cover the devoted Lamb with Rade Gund.

You, the Fortunate, the fragile, holy cross, protect.

True hope for us is wood, the blood of the Lamb, the nail.

Sweet tree of the field, with you a new life is prepared.

This fate of God extorts a venial sign To render rustic praises to the living with breath, In me who rules the clay to go, a moldable deity, Portion of the living, auspicious cure of medicine, Excluder of guilt, Trinity poured out, Creator, Whose honor, light, right, glory reign together.

So the Father and the begotten, so the Spirit is one.

Rescue the believers, glory of faith, weapons of salvation.

By your gift, Christ, the cause of guilt is removed.

Sweet to me is the wood, pious, greater than the scent of roses.

You have given birth to the wood of honor on the high hills.

Enriching the temples of God, you adorn the cross and the veil.

By the merit of faith, pious, you render great to Abraham.

DIVSAPEXCARNEEFFIGIANSGENETALIALIMI

VITALITERAECONPINGITSANGVINEGLVTEN

LVCIFERAXAVRASANIMANTESAFFLVITILLIC

CONDITVRENI XANSADAMFACTORISADINSTAR

EXILVITPROTOPLASMASOLORESNOBILISVSV

DIVESINARBITRIORADIAN TILVMINEDEHINC

EXMEMBRISADAEVASFITTVMVIRGINISEVVAE

CARNECREATAVIRIDEHINCCOPVLATVREIDEM

VTPARADYSSIIACOBENELACTARETVRINHORTO

SEDESEDEPIAPEPVLITTEMERABILEGVTTVR

SERPENTISSVASVPOMISVCOATRAPROPINANS

INSATIATRICIMORTIFAMESACCIDITILLINC

GAVISVRVSOBHOC CAELIFLVISARCELOCATOR

NASCI PRONOBISMISERARISETVLCERECLAVI

INCRVCECONFIGITALIMALAGMATEININCTIS

VNASALVSNOBISLIGNOAGNISANGVINEVENIT

IVCVNDASPECIESINTEPIABRACCHIACRISTI

AFFIXASTETERVNTETPALMABEABILISINHAC

CARACAROPENASINMITESSVSTVLITHAVSTV

ARBORSVAVISAGRITECVMNOVAVITAPARATVR

ELECTAVTVISVSICECRVCISORDINEPVLCHRA

LVMENTSPESSCVTVMGERERISLIVORISABICTV

INMORTALEDECVSNECEIVSTILAETAPARASTI

VNAOMNEMVITAMSI**CCRVXTVACAVSARIGAVIT**
IMBRECRVENTAPIO**VELISDASNAVITAPORTVM**
139730 **TRISTIASVMMERSOMVNDASTIVVLNERACLAVO**
ARBORDVLCISAGRI**RORANSECORTICENECTAR**
RAMISDECVIVSVITALIACRISMATAFRAGRANT
EXCELLENSCVLTVDIVAORTV**FVLGIDAFRVCTV**
DELICIOSACIBOETPERPOMASVAVISINVMBRA
139735 **ENREGISMAGNIGEMMAMTEMETNOBILESIGNVM**
MVRVSETARMAVIRISVIRTVSLVXARAPRECATV
PANDEBENIGNAVIAMVIVAXET**FERTILELVMEN**
TVMMEMORADFEROPEMNOBISEGERMINEDAVID
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RVSTICVLASLAVDES**VIVENTIREDDEREFLATV**
INMEQVIREGITIRELVTVMPLASMABILENVMEN
PORTIOVIVENTVMCVRATIOFAVSTAMEDELLAE
139745 **EXCLVSORCVLP****AETRINITASEFFVSACREATOR**
CVIVSHONORLV**MENIVSGLORIAAREGNACOEVE**
R I T C
E H E O R
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139750 E L P L S
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139755 F M I G O
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139760 D A E E V
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139765 A D A S C
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139775 **SICPATERETGENITVSSICSCSSPIRITVSVNVS**

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See also [Venantius Fortunatus - Wikipedia](#)

A walk around Venlo. I

The lovely spring days we now and then already experience prompt me, dear reader, to invite you for a walk. While winter this year, as it usually does, has kept us indoors through cold, snow, or rain, those short days, when the sun's powerful rays are sometimes unable to penetrate the dense clouds, nevertheless prevent many from taking advantage of the few suitable and available hours of the day. The temperature, which exerts such a significant influence on our bodies, lures us outdoors in spring; we feel involuntarily drawn to the open field, where we breathe in deep breaths of fresh air; seeing plants and trees awaken after their winter sleep awakens you from the worries of human life and work, which kept you locked up

for several months; the bird's warbling...

But let me not delve further into the fantasy; everyone can do this for themselves, as long and as much as they wish. I wish to linger with you in the field of archaeology. However barren this field may seem to most, I trust too much in your interest in your native soil to dare to invite you as a companion for this "airing." You have heard of the objects found and excavations on or near Venlo's territory by Messrs. Hub, Michels, Colonel Rudolph, Lieutenant Ort (currently rhythm), and foreman Frans Deserière, of Mr. Dr. Boetzkes (at Wambach), and of the Medusa shield owned by the Lienders family. While these gentlemen had, until now, mostly been, so to speak, "practical" practitioners, the memory naturally comes to mind of our fellow citizen, Mr. Martin Jansen, who sadly passed away so early, possessed so much knowledge in the field of archaeology and, as a "theoretical" collaborator on the path of research, could have contributed so much.

One of the aforementioned gentlemen paved the way, namely Mr. Ort, who arrived in the city around 1970. His position gave him more opportunity than anyone else to become thoroughly familiar with the terrain, and his primary task was to produce a map of Venlo and its surroundings, at 1/8000, for the garrison office, which naturally led him into the field of archaeology. In Frans Deserière, he found his mentor, who provided him with information about mounds and ancient ramparts, whose regular layout had caught his attention. Deserière had urns that he had excavated himself, and he knew burial grounds. With him, Mr. Ort, usually on Sundays, explored the soil beneath Blerik, Grubbenvorst, Lottum, Tienraai, Meerlo, Baarlo, Kessel, and other villages, as well as the Jammerdaal heath near Venlo.

The positive results spurred him on to further his knowledge in this field. When he arrived in Leiden in 1879, he soon became acquainted with Drs. Leemann and Pleyte, director and curator, respectively, of the National Museum of Antiquities there, who provided him with helpful advice on how to give his research a more scientific direction.

In 1882, he received a request from Mr. E. Von Tröltsch, Kön. Wurtemb. major, foreign service, to, in the interest of science, hand over his work on Roman roads—consisting of a map of the region between Nijmegen, Birten, Aachen, and Tongeren, with indications of sites, and his many notes—to the anthropological society in Stuttgart, to assist in the design of a prehistoric map of Germany. Mr. Ort felt he did not have to comply with this request; but it prompted him to prepare his work for the press. The first part was published a few months ago and deals with the Roman and other ancient roads north of the Rhine, between the Lippe and the Dutch border, between the Rhine and the Maas, and on the left bank of the Maas, as well as the land defenses in those regions. The second part, which will appear when interest permits, will contain a description of the discoveries made by him and others, and the old map at 1/50,000, which was requested from Stuttgart.

What lies scattered in hundreds of essays, magazines, books, and newspapers—a chaos from which it is difficult to obtain an overview—all the fragments, and everything in this area as far as our dearly beloved region is concerned, coupled with his many investigations and rich results, we now find compiled into a complete whole, for which we can be truly grateful to Mr. Ort.

I wished to take the proposed walk with you—already in its youthful greenery—primarily in his hand, freely taken here and there from the 150 pages, with additions gathered elsewhere, as best as possible in a form that will be enjoyable reading for the readers of this magazine.

Please, dear hikers, let's first have a hearty snack, light a cigar, and then we'll take our walking sticks and begin our tour.

It's good that we've chosen the early morning hour of a beautiful summer day, so we can get back before the sun rises high and makes climbing the mountains and hills even more difficult and tiring.

You all know that the main goal is to visit the areas Ort discusses, so we can only concern ourselves with other matters in passing. Along the way, I'll give you some information about the Roman roads, so as not to waste time. And now, please, from here, along Lomstraat and across the Hellschriksel, outward.

Perhaps you, gentlemen, will notice the name "hellschriksel," but the "hel" was added to distinguish it from the next street, the Maasschriksel, and because it borders the Geldersche Poort, which was formerly called the Helpoort (Hell Gate); from there, the Helbeek stream also flows just before the city. "Hel" means something like sloping or descending.

—"Say, host, do you know what kind of building that was, right there in front of us on the corner?" (We've just left the house and the questions are already starting.)

- 139860 Yes, my dear, that was St. Jacob's Church, which already existed in 1500, and in 1702, during the siege of the city by the Allies, was set on fire, largely destroyed, and never repaired. On this side, next to it, used to be the old men's house; the large building is now used as a warehouse and for other purposes. Across from there, somewhere, there lived a former turner, whose name is unknown, who is
- 139865 said to have invented bombs, which were first used in 1588 during the siege of Wachtendonk. Tests were first conducted there during the arrival of the Duke of Cleves, during a banquet, when one fell on a house on the old market square and started a fire. The bomber's house stood on Lichtenberg, a hill that received its name after the death of Valuas, a Bructeri general who settled here in 95 AD and is
- 139870 considered the founder of Venlo. He lived to be an old man, and according to history, he was highly respected by his people and the neighboring tribes, whom he often assisted with advice and weapons. His body was cremated, and the ashes were preserved in a statue. He must have lived on the hill at the corner of Houtstraat and Jodenstraat. After his death, the people honored his memory with offerings on
- 139875 the nearby hill; a fire always burned there, which is why it was called Lichtenberg. Ort considers Lichtenberg, as well as Laarberg in Velden and the hill near Velligerstraat, to be Roman watchtowers.
- Just one more moment, please; it's too interesting. You see this new sloping street here; it's called Bergstraat and belongs to the Venlo Building Association. When the
- 139880 fortress was demolished here about 15 years ago, twelve skeletons were found in a row at the foot of this bastion, along with some parts of coffins; it is suspected that they were soldiers. That's the Lichtenberg here, to which a historical reminder from the siege of 1511 is still connected, when the people of Gelderland were
- 139885 besieged by the people of Brabant; surely you've heard of our Trui. Yes, something about it floats to mind, but I'll help you out; you've probably read The Siege of Venlo in 1511 by Van den Eertwegh. Gertruid Bolwater, as she was called, must have been one of those so-called dragoons. During that siege, when Zwartzenburg was the city commander, and during which, incidentally, the tower of St. Martin's Church
- 139890 partially collapsed, the city was stormed; the inhabitants defended themselves with unanimity, guarding the ramparts day and night. Our Trui participated in this and took the banner of an ensign who had already climbed the wall, and threw stones at the assailants from the rampart. The siege was lifted, says Slichtenhorst, because of the "fierce resistance and unbridled courage of the besieged themselves."
- But now, gentlemen, if I may ask, let's turn the corner and go past the back of the
- 139895 fort.
- May I draw your attention to that ruin, the so-called "villa Büt." Fort Ginkel was built in 1731 by the then commander, Reinoud van Reede, Lord of Ginkel. – And if we turn around for a moment, across the Maas, you can also see the ruins of Fort St. Michel, to the left of De Staa House. It was built by the Spanish on Michaelmas
- 139900 Day, September 29, 1641, and completed in 1643. It cost 118,000 Brabant guilders, or approximately 52,000 Dutch guilders. And guess what it brought in? – 26,650 guilders. Look downstream: there lies the Broken Castle. It's unknown when it was founded; in Keuller's History of Venlo, it appears in 1511; its destruction must have taken place during the Eighty Years' War, namely in the first half of the 17th
- 139905 century.
- And now, let's not dwell on this any longer; we have to cross the "Hoëgschoar" (translated as "Hooge Schoor," i.e., raised, washed-up land), through the meadow, the "Miëbaend," and traverse the Veldenschenweg.
- Meanwhile, I can give you some information about land defenses and ramparts.
- 139910 The Romans, as I read in Ort, as well as the Germans, made clear boundaries on their borders, which were more or less defensible as needed. These boundary boundaries consisted of one or more ramparts with parallel dry or wet ditches. Professor Schneider has two names for them: "Gebrückgraben" (Bridge Trench) and "Pfahlgraben" (Pillar Trench). The first type is only known in the Netherlands; they run in
- 139915 separate, yet contiguous arms, which separate or enclose a terrain or region; They are planted with living trees to protect the defenders behind them; while, as with Roman roads, guard mounds for fortified observation and signal stations are located at equal distances from each other along these land defenses.
- The Pfahlgraben form a continuous line and are so named because a row of
- 139920 interconnected posts provides shelter. Instead of guard mounds, this type of land defense is constructed with masonry stone towers, probably at the same distance from each other as the guard mounds. These can be found on the right bank of the Upper Rhine.
- The Gebrückgraben were built by the inhabitants themselves, under Roman supervision,
- 139925 and they were also charged with the security duties. The Pfahlgraben, however, were

constructed entirely by Romans alone, who also performed the guard duties. In many regions north and south of the Rhine, including Limburg and North Brabant, a large number of ramparts, mostly accompanied by small ditches, separate one region from another in a straight or curved line, or enclose one or more triangular or polygonal sections of land. Such rampart enclosures are found in hundreds in some places, although they are noticeably disappearing as the soil is increasingly reclaimed; they are found not only in places where there is good arable land, but in isolated heaths, forests, and marshes, they are even more numerous and, of course, more in their original form.

To understand the former purpose of these ramparts, Schneider refers to Tacitus, Germ. 16, where the following can be read:

"It is well known that the Germans do not inhabit cities, nor that they tolerate dwellings close together. They build away from one another and spread out according to their preference for a spring, a field, or a forest. They build neighborhoods, not in our manner, composed of coherent and connected buildings; each person surrounds their house with a space, either as a means of protection against fire, or because they lack the understanding of construction."

This shows that two types of dwellings must be distinguished among the Germans: a few widely spaced farmsteads, of which a triangular, quadrangular, or polygonal rampart still remains, and a type of village, which, however, differed greatly from Roman villages. Caesar already mentions such villages among the Menapii and Sicamberi, Tacitus among the Marsi and Catti.

The places where such villages once existed can now be recognized by the many ramparts, which intersect at various angles, thus forming areas on which the dwellings stood. Roads often ran through them, forming village streets, and they had ramparts and ditches of larger dimensions than the others. Ramparts separating a larger area should be considered boundaries between villages or between properties of clans or tribes, and often still are today, such as the land defense of Calbeck and that in the Jammerdaal heath near Venlo-Tegelen. It is true that in the time of Caesar, personal land ownership did not exist among the Germanic peoples, but after the conquest of these regions by the Romans, when the tribes were tied to a permanent residence and agriculture was increasingly expanded, we may assume that personal ownership quickly arose.

Gentlemen, let us now stand on this hill for a moment; in this vicinity we have several small ramparts, such as are unique and numerous between the Rhine and the Maas, especially at Cranenburg, Kleve, Goch, Calcar, and Uden, according to Schneider; To which Ort adds those of Venlo, as:

Between the Maas and the Stralen road: Veegtes, Kruisberg, Zwartwaterkamp, Groethof, Eikelveld, Hanenkamp, Hoogenkamp, Ketelberg, Voutenberg, Neurkenskamp, etc.; Between the road to Stralen and the one to Herongen: Lovendaal, Groothoogstraat, Arenberg, Genraai, on Rijnstraat, on the Kluis (old people still remembered that a hermit lived here), etc.;

And between the Kaldenkerker and Tegelschen road: on Jammerdaal, on the Kluis, Vrijenbroek, Kleinkamp, Wylrehof, Hulsforthof, Voordijk, Wittendijk, on Vindelsroad, etc.

The largest rampart in our neighborhood is on the other side of the Maas River; it runs from the marsh near guardhouse no. 6 of the Venlo-Horst railway line, in a semicircular shape, with the concave side facing southeast, in a southwest-to-northeast direction. It is over 2 meters high, 9 meters wide, and approximately 700 meters long. Locals call it the "Germanic rampart." Following the natural hills to the northeast, Ort continues, to near the main Venlo-Horst road, one sees another rampart like the previous one, hugging the upper edge of the hill and following an east-to-west direction, behind the farmsteads "de Saar" or "Laar" and "St. Jan," to the marsh "het Meir" east of "Berkterbroek." This section of the rampart has been broken down here and there by excavations, resulting from the reclamation of the heathland. In some places, I even found two ramparts standing one behind the other.

In the southeast, there are also sections of ramparts, but I haven't yet been able to find any connection between them. The area between these ramparts is called "de Römer" (the Roman) and is a large Germanic cemetery, where, however, no trace of Roman occupation had been found until I recently had the good fortune to discover many Roman potsherds and pieces of peat stone in the low-lying area called the Meir. According to a farmer living nearby, there must have been a mound in the middle of the Meir that was dismantled; many potsherds and pieces of stone that emerged were scattered across the fields.

See the chapel there in the Kruisbergen, also known as the Genooier Mountains. There

lies buried Sister Agnes Maria Huyn van Amstenrade, renowned for her virtues, graces, and God's gifts. She lived in the Trans Cedron convent. Her body is said to be incorruptible.

139995 Formerly, the Mariëndaal convent stood on the site of this chapel, a name now adopted by the Dominican nuns who settled on Gerritten last year.

On the grounds over there between Genooi and Velden, called the Rummer, General Pichegru camped with his army in 1794.

140000 Since we still have a long walk to go, we will not continue further along the Velden road to visit the Zwartwater, but will cross over immediately.

Gentlemen, do you see that yellow house over there in front of us, on the left before Besjes, where those two tall trees, planted in 1769, I believe, stand in front of the door? It's called the "Spiker"; a ball serves as a keystone on the facade. It's an old mansion. The Groethof is right there.

140005 There, Gerritten, the convent of the Dominicans, M.H., now called Mariëndal. Mr. Heutz, founder of the charitable institution that bears his name, used to live here; before him, it was inhabited by a certain Mr. Boymans, a member of the family that founded the museum of the same name in Rotterdam. If you go past the back of the convent, you arrive at the Ketelberg; try to find your way through the thin woods, and you'll have a magnificent view of the countryside behind the hill, with the Zwartwater, the Vaalkuilen, and the romantically situated amidst the woods, the house of the... city forest ranger, which has been mentioned many times in recent months.

140015 But shouldn't we take a break now with the Jentjens ladies? Over a cup of coffee, which they make so well, I'll talk to you about what follows. Let's go sit "upstairs."

Mr.H., take a look through the window. Opposite here lies the recently renowned school building. From 1836 to 1860, Mr. Van Oeyen held sway there. It has since been closed. Currently, a little over a year later, there is a nursery school at the Sisters' house on Gerritten.

140020 Behind the school, the Venlo-Gelder railway line—see right—runs across the land where the Spanish intended to build the Fossa Eugenia in 1625, the canal to connect the Rhine and Maas rivers, from Rheinberg past Kloosterkamp, Bruggen, Gelder, where it intersected the Niers, to Venlo. —In 1806, Napoleon I planned to connect the Scheldt, Maas, and Rhine rivers. On May 10, 1806, a decree was issued to construct the "Great North Canal," as it was now called, from Antwerp via Herenthals, with an 8,000-meter-long branch to Lier, via Neerpelt, Loonen, Weerd, Meiel, and Venlo. From there, via Herongen, Louisenburg, Suchtelen, and Neerssen, it would extend to

140025

140030 Grimmhausen near Neuss. The canal had a length of approximately 115,000 meters from Antwerp to Venlo, and 52,700 meters from here to the Rhine. Its width was to be 13 meters, and it was to be navigable for ships of 400 tons. The locks, each with a drop of 4 meters, on the Maas-Rhine section, were to be built: 1. on the Maas, 2. at Fort Ginkel, 3. between Forts Ginkel and Beerendonk (the latter was located

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approximately where Mr. Schram lives), 4. on the hill, in the municipality of Stralen, 5. at Herongen, 6. between Herongen and Louisenburg, 7. at Louisenburg, 8. and 9. near the Rhine. — The entire undertaking would cost 20 million francs.

In 1808, work began diligently; in 1811, it was halted due to the unification of Holland with France. Had this happened a year later, the canal between the Maas and the Rhine would have been completed, that's how far it had already progressed; 12.5 million francs had already been spent on it. Completion has been requested several times by both Antwerp and Venlo, but always without success. A request made a few years ago is still more or less pending in Berlin and The Hague, but there is little hope of success. — A little further into the city, opposite the innkeeper G. Haanen, the upper part of a gauge still protrudes from the ground. I wouldn't want to withhold a fairy tale from you: there was a certain Hazenpoth, a contractor or supervisor for the construction of this canal, who, after committing all sorts of deceitful acts, supposedly received his just reward in the other world and was doomed to ride through the air, from time to time, in a glowing chariot harnessed to four fiery steeds, along the entire length of the canal. Several farmers claimed to have witnessed such a thing at the time.

140055 Dear Miss Jentjens, please! 15 cents for your delicious coffee. — Gentlemen, let us now take the road opposite, past the school, to reach the Herongerberg. In the meantime, I'd like to share some Roman roads with you.

According to a Punician writer named Isidore, Habets writes, the Carthaginians,

around the 5th century BC, were the first to build paved roads, and following their example, the Romans built major roads throughout their empire. However, they built them with great luxury and displayed incredible energy.

A large boundary marker, placed in the middle of the Forum, was the point of exit for all roads, which stretched southward, to the Euphrates (a river in Asiatic Turkey), to the Nile, to Gaul, to the dunes of the North Sea, and to the marshes of the Batavians, triumphing over all obstacles and connecting the capital with the most distant provinces.

The existing natural roads of the Celts and Germans, says Ort, were insufficient for the Roman armies and their followers, and were used under Caesar, improved, and where they passed through less favorable terrain, raised and dammed. When one considers that the Romans worked tirelessly on roads for six centuries in Italy and four centuries in the provinces, one understands that enormous sums were spent on them.

Roman roads, Hirschfeld reports, are divided into two types, depending on their purpose: 1. Military or consular roads, constructed and maintained by the State solely for military purposes, which usually ran in straight lines; 2. Vicinal roads, which were connecting roads built by farmers for their own use. These were only considered public roads if they connected several military roads.

These roads formed causeways, which ranged in height from 1.26 meters to 2 meters above the ground; in some cases, in very low places, they were even 4 meters high. This dam-like construction distinguishes them from all later roads; rainwater drained well; they offered an unobstructed view of the surrounding terrain, and one could better engage the enemy from a higher vantage point. Only in Rome was the dam-shaped form considered unnecessary.

On both sides of the central road, which was called an "agger," i.e., a dam, there were banks with a ditch, and usually side walls next to it. Sometimes, a footpath of flat stones can be found on both sides of the central dam, for example, at Andernach.

Oberst-Lieut. Schmidt states that on the Lower Rhine, the Roman roads consist of a high earthen embankment, covered with a 2 to 2.5 foot high layer of gravel, cemented with mortar. However, this is only true of the major roads, as no trace of mortar can be found on the road from Xanten to the Maas. Paulus, too, found the use of lime mortar on only a few of the many roads he examined; however, sometimes two or three layers of gravel, separated by layers of clay, are found. Instead of gravel, crushed stones, compacted with intervening earth, have also been used. The most perfectly constructed roads also have a substructure consisting of large stones set in lime mortar, while the upper gravel layers also have a lime bond. The type of stone found in the region itself was usually used for these roads. However, if that type of stone was too soft (e.g., sandstone), harder types were used for the upper stone layers (e.g., basalt, quartz, hard limestone, and gravel). According to Georg Hirschfeld, the total thickness of the stone layers, lime, mortar, and sand is 1.10 meters to a maximum of 1.25 meters. – In such roads, the lime is sometimes lacking in the substructure. On the same highway, the construction is not the same along its entire length, but changes as the terrain or the increasing or decreasing traffic made it necessary.

Very rarely, Ort reports, were the roads paved with large stones, and where one sometimes thinks one has found them, closer inspection reveals that the substructure has been discovered, while the upper layers were removed to create other roads. The side walls served to protect the troops marching on the main causeway from enemy attacks; they consist solely of earth. Deviations occur in areas where something was superfluous or made their construction impossible.

Hey, look, thank God we're on the Herongerweg. Those back roads are difficult to walk on and usually dirty. –

Now, gentlemen, we already know exactly what and how the Roman roads are. We don't need to track them down now, and for those who are interested, I refer you to Ort.

He tells us that this requires knowledge of the various constructions, understanding how they have evolved after so many centuries, so that one can, one after another, with sounding rod in hand, be able to follow a track once found through unpaved terrain.

We have now arrived at the site of such a Roman road, namely the one from Venlo to Bisheim and Homberg on the Rhine near Ruhrort. I'll let Ort speak for himself: From Venlo, a Roman road runs to Niederdorf, and where the road bends many times near Herongen, it runs straight east to the Wankum road. A few years ago, the

140125 remains of the old road were still visible at Niederdorf and Herongen. At Wankum, the gravel dam was found next to the road, and a Roman gravestone was also discovered there. This road, which I know very well, was previously not considered a Roman road by me, but the assurance of the learned and accomplished researcher Professor Schneider that remains were visible near Niederdorf and Herongen a few years ago now leaves me in no doubt. I will provide some further details about this

140130 road, and one in another direction, which I previously thought was the Roman road. Just outside Venlo, a few hundred paces south of the road, lies a high piece of land, along the stream "the old Rhine," called the "Romerskamp" (Roman Camp); a little further on, near the lane leading to the Tichelarie, it is said that a headless man (Hazenpoth) is often seen walking at night, as are fiery horsemen, etc.

140135 Where the road climbs the hills, there is an inn called "in de stad Venlo," but on Buyx's map, that place is called "Lusseike"; On the hillside behind this house, next to the old postal road from Stralen, I found shards of Roman tiles and other Roman pottery in the ground. The road now heads northeast up the hills; the old road used to run straight east as a sunken lane, and when it reached the highlands, it

140140 continued in a straight line, without the slightest bend, until it reached the northern canal near Louisenburg. On the other side of this canal, a wide road begins that runs northeast to the church in Wankum. The road is now a paved road to Lusseike; the sunken lane has been extensively altered and used as a sand quarry. On the plateau, it forms a wide carriageway on the flat heathland, flanked by small

140145 ditches. Immediately within the woods, the side walls and ditches remain intact until they disappear into the heathland near Louisenburg, where Roman antiquities have been discovered. Further to Wankum, I don't know whether there are any remains of ramparts and ditches; on Buyx's map, a section of the road is drawn and bears the name "Brühlsche Strasse."

140150 "From Wankum goes the main road," etc. — I can stop quoting further; it's no longer in our territory; it's Prussian there! Those interested in learning more should pick up the book "Oude wegen en Landwehren" (Old Roads and Land Defences).

140155 Speaking of Herongen. This town is known for the St. Amandus spring or well. St. Amandus was Bishop of Tongeren, who was considered the Apostle of the Netherlands. At this well, he baptized pagans around the year 800; the well is located on an old Roman road.

Many Roman antiquities have been discovered between Herongen and Wankum. Prof. Schneider says that on the Boschberg, there are old graves, and about 300 paces south of the road lies the "Heidenkerkhof," next to the main road, where antiquities have been found. Geometer Buyx, of Nieuwerkerk, in his Antiquarian Map of the Gelderland Region, mentions a Roman camp north of Rehboch on the Schürkesbeek; about 100 paces northwest of there, on the Dambeek, Germanic burial mounds, and near Herongen, on Bekerstraat, Roman graves and antiquities.

140160 Gentlemen, let us now return, to reach the other side of the city via Puteanusstraat to arrive, where it will become more interesting from an archaeological point of view.

(To be continued.) H.

140170 A walk around Venlo. II.

Look, we are now at 't Zand. "'Het Zand,' some of you will probably say, 'I had imagined it quite differently than a complex of houses.'

140175 Yes, gentlemen, a few years ago that was also a completely undeveloped area, a triangular, tapering lawn, stretching from the clubhouse "de Prins" to the road near the florist Vallen to the colonel. Besides the memory of the horse market and the fact that the infantry, the militia, and the nannies exercised here, there is another connected memory; namely, when Napoleon I was proclaimed Emperor of the French in 1804, he made a journey from the camp of Boulogne to Aachen, Crefeld, and

140180 also came to visit us Venlo residents on September 12 of that year. The Emperor, Keuller writes, accompanied by a mounted guard of honor, arrived in his chariot along the old Stralen road, mounted his horse at the Lusseikerweg, and, in order to avoid the Geldersche Poort, which was considered less than secure due to its dilapidated state, rode over the hilltop, even through trees and shrubs, the better

140185 to observe the fortress's position. Around ten o'clock in the morning, arriving at the Zand at the foot of the glacis, His Majesty was received by the civil authorities and a foot guard of honor, where he was presented with the keys to the city by Mayor Van den Vaero??. For the sake of curiosity, I would also like to share the following about this

140190 visit. Entering the gate, Napoleon suddenly turned his horse to the left, probably to escape the countless crowd awaiting him. He turned into the narrow street called Floddergats (which later acquired the pompous name Keizerstraat), and, followed only by the commanding officer of the engineers, headed for the Mariaweide monastery, then owned by Mr. Lenssen (now by the Berger family). His entourage, which included the Emperor's son-in-law Eugène Beauharnais, later Viceroy of Italy, Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, and several generals, rejoined him. Having circled the main rampart, the Emperor proceeded to inspect the outworks, and having reached the lower end of the Maaswaard, had he not been stopped, he would have ridden through the harbor mouth, where there was more than six feet of water. A small boat, in which he then embarked with the commander of the engineers, took him, at his command, across the river, and a moment later, he was seen galloping on horseback across the batteries of Fort St. Michael. Returning to this side, he proceeded along the Maas, riding at Broesert through the water that flows into the river from the canals there, to Forts Ginkel and Beerendonk. Finally, he returned to the city, accompanied by those who had accompanied him on this hasty journey. After remaining there for a few more hours, the Emperor climbed into his chariot, drawn by eight horses, and, escorted by a strong detachment of the Imperial Guard, left the city, making his way to the Hague near Gelder to spend the night there and continue his journey the next day via Mainz to Paris. Beauharnais, Lannes, and all the staff officers in the Emperor's entourage left only the next day and headed for Crefeld.

But let's return to our archaeological layout. From here, a Roman road runs from 't Zand, which Mr. Ort traced to Hinsbeckerbroek. I'll give him the honor of speaking to you:

140215 On 't Zand outside Venlo, a branch of the road that runs from there to Kaldenkirchen branches off to Leuth. A few hundred paces from this junction, the road divides again, one branch running to Leuth, the other to the large heathland used as a parade ground. This last arm climbs the hills as a wide dirt road and has a rampart on the plateau on its right. It doesn't run parallel to the road, but forms a sharp angle with it at the edge of the hill, forming the southern boundary of the exercise grounds. The road reaches the heathland about 120 paces from that boundary. This rampart is marked on Buyx's map as a land defense. Research has shown me that about 25 meters from the first rampart, a second runs parallel to it. A road is thus formed between the two ramparts, separated from the ramparts by narrow side ditches, which in turn are separated from the surrounding terrain by a side ditch.

140225 Notwithstanding the fact that German researchers state that all Roman roads were narrow causeways, the information provided by Mr. Jos Habets has shown us that in southern Limburg there were irrefutably wider Roman roads, and Mr. Van der Rit mentions, 60 voeten (in Dutch feet) the fixed width of Roman roads in Belgium, which sometimes reached 100 feet in places with heavy traffic; we therefore obtain a width of over 17 and over 29 meters, the latter figure including the ramparts and ditches. The road runs precisely in the direction of the towers of Venlo and Hinsbeck; I followed it to near the banks of Schrolick Lake and the Hinsbeckerbruch, where I was stopped by the marshy ground; it intersects the Herongen-Leuth road almost at a right angle. Extending the road, towards the Venlo side, is a footpath through marshy terrain behind the gardens of Het Zand, past the Panhuis, where the land called "Romerskamp" lies. In the direction of Hinsbeck, on the other side of the aforementioned lakes, we find a sandy road, which connects to the present-day road to Hinsbeck at the Hombergen. Antiquities were found along this road: probably on the station grounds in Venlo, Roman pottery and tear bottles. At Hoogen Dries, just a few steps south of the road and near the lakes, Buyx notes Roman antiquities on his map; near the Hombergen, east of the lakes, I investigated a cemetery where I found Germanic urns and Roman potsherds. I left one of these urns with the forster of Count von Schaesberg, who lives near the Hombergen. This man also owns Roman pottery, which he claims originates from the aforementioned cemetery. It is noteworthy that the extensions of the Roman roads already described and those listed below in Venlo all end between the old market there and the Lichtenberg, thus near the old ferry (or Staai) across the Maas and not opposite Blerik (Blariacum).

140250 We'll soon reach the next roads, gentlemen, but take a quick look over there, that tall house in front of the hill; it's Stalberg. The architectural style still more or less reveals that the lords of Stalberg used to live here, several of whom served as mayors. The same can be said of the adjacent house, "Aan Vinken."

140255 And there, against the slope of the hill, that white house, nestled in greenery, is called "Aan de Zeven Bronnen" (At the Seven Springs) because there are seven

140260 springs. The former owner, Mr. Bontamps, had planted a vineyard there in 1833-36, as did his neighbor Verwins, who built the house Maagdenburg and converted that now dilapidated property into a magnificent pleasure garden. Hence the name "Aan de Wijnbergen" (At the Vineyards). But the grapes that grew there, although the product must have won an award at an agricultural exhibition, were never used beyond vinegar production. So the fable of the fox was quite fitting here: those grapes are too sour.

140265 In that area on the hill is also the Galgenberg, where our grandparents once saw lifeless evildoers slumbering.

140270 Gentlemen, let us now turn right onto the road past Thywissen's mill, which leads us to the so-called sanctuary of the Venlo "moetwormen" (moles), that is, diggers. Meanwhile, I must share with you a fairy tale, which Michels tells of this somewhat mysterious place, but very interesting for those who love natural beauty, in the Limburg Legends: In earlier times, in the vicinity of Venlo, near the Ondersten Houtmolen, by the basin of Venlo's fountain, a fireman walked every night. The residents of the area had to give him a cartload of sand, a pair of tin shoes, and 7½ stuivers every year. One day, a servant from the Bovensten Houtmolen (Upper Wood Mill) came out of town late one evening. Arriving at the water basin, he saw a man standing on the hilltop. Thinking it was a comrade, nicknamed "Dikke" (Fatty), he shouted, "Dikke, give me some fire!" The fireman then followed him, but the servant galloped his horse and had just entered the barn of his mill when the fireman caught up with him. In the morning, a coal-black hand was found outlined on the barn door.

140280 Let us first return to the Roman roads.

140285 From Venlo, a highway ran to Kaldenkirchen, passing close to the mill. Beyond the border town, it divided into two branches, one of which led via Breyel, Speck, Boisheim, Dulken, past the Pohlhut on Viersen, etc., to Neuss. The other branch behind Kaldenkirchen ran over Bruggen, Niederkruchten, etc., to Julich, between Aachen and Cologne.

So we have three roads starting from Venlo: the first via Herongen, Wankum, etc., to Binsheim-Orsoy and Homberg; the second to Hinsbeckerbroek; the third to Kaldenkirchen, with two branches to Neuss and Julich.

140290 If you look at these on the map, the first runs northeast, the second east, and the third southeast.

Now there's a fourth Roman road from Xanten to Tudderren near Sittard and on to Coriovallum (Heerlen). This intersects the first three: the first on this side of Herongen, the second on the hill near the Seven Springs, and then runs along this side.

140295 The road from Leuth, and intersects the third just behind Kaldenkirchen.

140300 The first Roman road from Venlo left Herongen on its right, thus running between Herongen and 't Zand near Stralen. There it is intersected by the Xanten-Tudderren road. From this point, the latter road, originating in the southern part of Niederdorf, where Roman antiquities have been discovered, continues as an old grassy path with gravel tracks through the fields and then through the woods, past Louisenburg, where Roman antiquities have also been found, and finally across the heath, where it suddenly ends. Prof. Schneider found no further traces in the Herongenheide. Only where the Venlo-Hinsbeck road intersects the Herongen-Leuth road did he find the path back into the woods, about 400 paces from the road, as a low gravel ridge that can be followed to the west of Leuth, where Roman antiquities have been discovered. From Leuth, the main road merges with the road to Kaldenkirchen; from there, under the name "Ravenstrasse," it continues here and there with side ramparts, first through fields, then through the woods, heading south, and reaching the Weissen Pfahl in the Maas valley. It now follows the German-Dutch border past several burial mounds and is called "Prinsendijk" or "Prinsenbaan." At the end of the Bruggenerbosch, where the road turns slightly to the left, it enters Dutch territory; the gravel dam is clearly visible on both banks of the Zwalm. — We won't follow him any further.

140315 Buyx, however, draws three roads from Pont: one to Arcen, one to Stralen and Tegelen (probably referring to the so-called old postal road), and one to Wachtendonk. Leemans and Habets also suggest a road that connected with the other side of the Maas at Venlo or just below the city.

140320 Gentlemen, I hope the walk through the woods and over the hills, with its picturesque valley and water basins, has made you less aware of the dryness of this description. We are now standing before the Jammerdaal heath, with its Germanic and

Roman antiquities. Here's what Mr. Ort has to say about it:

Now I must describe another site of Roman and Germanic antiquities, which, like Lusseike, is situated on the hillside that begins at the Noorderkanaal (North Canal), leaving Venlo one kilometer to the west, and extending in an almost straight line to the aforementioned Bruggenerbosch (Brugge Forest), sometimes very close, as near Venlo, sometimes further away from the Maas, as that river takes its course.

This site bears the name Jammerdaal Heath and lies near the borders of Venlo and Tegelen. It is a high heathland; in the northwest, steep hillsides, with marshy terrain below, form the border. In the northeast, a stream flows, forming two basins and a narrow valley, the Jammerdaal. To the south runs a landwehr approximately 2,000 meters long, while on the east side, between the stream and the landwehr, access is blocked by the Venlo-Kaldenkirchen road, which, as I described earlier, is of Roman origin. The construction of the Venlo-Kaldenkirchen railway line has caused many changes here, especially on the east side, but because the road runs through the stream valley, the plain itself has remained in its original state. A sunken road, which after a few steps divides into two branches, provides access to the heath on the north side; a second road, running south from the Bovensten Watermolen, must be of later date, as many of the burial mounds in which I found Germanic urns lie on the road; a third road, which originates from the Kaldenkirchen road, soon heads towards Gasthuishof and Kaldenkirchen and, I believe, is also of lesser importance. West of Leuth, a road begins, first heading south, then west near Brand and the Rosenhaus. Near the latter house, it connects to the aforementioned landwehr, continuing along both sides of it until the landwehr ends at the hillside. However, the road descends as a sunken lane with many twists and turns into the Maas valley, running past Hulsfort to the Venlo-Roermond road and to the Maas river opposite Holt-Blerik. Habets believes this road is the connecting road or diverticulum between the two roads on the opposite banks, as mentioned above.

South of the landwehr lies the Oelishof, apparently derived from Olla (pot); while it is noteworthy that in the vernacular of Venlo and Roermond, a wide earthen pot is still referred to as an oelis. Especially in the mountain slopes bordering this heathland up to the Tegelen-Kaldenkirchen road, large excavations were made to obtain earth for the production of roof tiles, tiles, etc., which are called "pot holes." A great many Roman roof tiles, urns, and other pottery have been unearthed, including some from the Middle Ages, of which I have several examples; the largest bakery appears to be in

I remember having been to the Jammerdaal, near the Lower Water Mill; just behind the mill, the miller's son, Mr. Hubert Michels, excavated a multitude of medieval pots.

In 1879, the same gentleman was fortunate enough to discover a Roman pottery on the Jammerdaal heath. It had an elongated, triangular shape, and contained numerous already fired vessels with decorations, including unfired ones, but entirely formed of clay. A few weeks after the discovery, I visited the site; a large pile of shards of broken pottery lay next to the partially recast bakery, while about 30 paces to the north, broken Roman roof tiles lay scattered about. Apparently, the potter's house or hut was once located here; indeed, after a careful examination of the hillside, Dr. W. Pleyte, who accompanied me, and I even found the exit leading from the house to the foot of the hills where the potting soil had to be obtained. A few minutes northeast of this site, I had previously discovered a Germanic cemetery with large and well-preserved burial mounds. Urns with and without lids were excavated there by Fr. Deserière and myself and are now in the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

On the heathland between the Jammerdaal and the railway line to Kaldenkirchen, as well as immediately south of the landwehr, I found Roman potsherds, also of terra sigillata. I discovered the foundations of buildings between the landwehr and the Oelishof, where a building appears to have stood, next to which lay a funnel-shaped well. At the intersection of the landwehr and the German border line, where a chapel appears to have stood, I found ordinary stones in both places, so that, during this cursory investigation, I concluded that both sites had contained modern buildings. Mr. Hubert Michels, accompanied by Dr. Boetskes, who lives at the nearby Wambach Castle on the Kaldenkirchen-Tegelen road, has further investigated the aforementioned location. This investigation attracted the attention of the landowners, namely the regents of the Roman Catholic almshouses in Venlo. They prohibited the investigation but continued with it. According to Michels, a cellar was discovered, constructed of loosely stacked marl blocks, while a cast wall was

built around the outer walls of lime, pieces of tiles, and bricks. He writes to me: "According to my father, a sheepfold once stood on that site, from which the bricks and lime containing the blueing, which you noticed, must have come." He further reports that a coin of Hadrian was found under the roof tiles of the aforementioned potter's house, which was bought from the finder by the prostitute Boetskes. He also mentions that the gentleman discovered an old grave in the Wambach garden near the two lime trees. The urns were broken and are kept there. This Wambach castle, located on the Tegelen-Kaldenkirchen road, is very old and was called "the farm to Wambeke" in 1326. As early as 1829, Mr. Justen explored the area on the Oelischeide and apparently found a Roman grave there, without specifying the exact location; he believes the heath I described was a Roman army camp. Mr. Peeters, who mentions this, also states in his description of Tegelen that the Roman road from Colonia Traiana to Coriovallum passes through Tegelen, without specifying its exact course. A closer and very careful examination of the road will be necessary before its course can be accurately determined, but I will share my suspicion. I believe the road from the Paesmühle ran along "the Nachtigal" to the Noorder-Kanaal, as Schneider describes it up to that point; this road is listed by Buyx as the old road from Straelen to Venlo (on old maps it's called Postweg, until past the road to Kaldenkirchen) and follows the hillside in a straight line to Lusseike. I think the main road took this direction, running past Lusseike and a few hundred paces past the Zeven Brons to the small exercise grounds, along the Kaldenkirchen road. It crossed this ground diagonally and descended the hills as a sunken lane, passing the Ondersten watermill, from the Jammerdaal into the Maas valley, and continuing past Tegelen, possibly through the Mergelstraat, past Belfeld, Reuver, etc., along the Maas bank. It's possible that more will later be known about this road from the papers left by Mr. Guillon in Roermond, but as long as the Dutch government hasn't purchased his collection of antiquities found on Dutch soil, along with these writings, there's no chance of that happening.

Mr. Ort believes that the "Sablones" station is located near Ons Zand. "Jammerdaal" is a modern name, which according to the locals, it originated when a worker was buried alive while building a well that collapsed, and he was heard groaning and moaning without being able to offer help. Ort doesn't think it's unlikely that this heath also used to belong to the Zand. If we now return across the road crossing to Tegelschenweg, you'll be able to see some of the farmsteads just mentioned. "Hey, host, turn around! What kind of building is that up there on the hill? We didn't notice it before." — My good friend, please forgive me, but one fool can ask more questions than ten wise men can answer. They call it "Casino." Ahead of us, in a somewhat straight line, as seen from the road crossing, lies Wylrehof; There, further south towards Tegelen, was the Hulsforthof, and further inland, "den Rooden Haan," which was set on fire in 1794 during a Dutch sortie when the French were near the city. When the Belgian General Daine approached Venlo at half past three in the afternoon of November 10, 1830, with nearly 1,300 men, in addition to about 30 horsemen of the so-called Maas Cossacks and a multitude of people armed in various ways, a halt was ordered at the avenue near Wylrehof. There, the second shot from the fortress killed a surgeon-major's horse. The attackers, who outnumbered the city's garrison by some 800 men, had only 4 field guns, 2 six-pounders, and 2 howitzers for artillery; They settled between the Maas and the house "Den Roskam," better known as Stevenshuisje, whose entrance used to be on the opposite side; the old road ran behind the house. On our way back to the city, gentlemen, I can tell you something about the large Roman road on the other side of the Maas, which ran from Tongeren to Nijmegen, as described by Mr. Ort: According to Habets, it leaves the church in Buggenum on the right, goes to the hamlet of Groot-Hansum near Neer, first along the bank there, and on to Kesseleik, through Kessel, which is very rich in Roman antiquities, to the hamlet of Ooien, which he leaves on the left, through Baarlo, past Berkt Castle and Laarbroek to the watermill. Habets reports that Guillon found the path in Kesseleik near the Noldissenhof, running past the chapel at that farmstead and continuing towards Kessel along the banks of the Maas.

Between Baarlo and Blerick, it is recognizable by the gravel and a side wall. At Blerik or near that village, the third Roman station of Blariacum was located at a distance of 12 leagues from Catualium. Leaving Blerik, the path veers slightly away from the Maas and heads towards the chapel of St. Anna, in a straight line past Oud-

Soest and Gebroken Slot to Grubbenvorst, leaving the church there on the right. Its course is indicated in the field "het Reuveld" by the corn, which quickly turns yellow due to the hard subsoil, especially during dry summers. It passes Marianne's farmstead, which used to be an inn where the Nijmegen post stopped, and continues through Lottum, Broekhuizen, Broekhuizenvorst, Ooien, Blitterswijk, and Wansum to Geisteren...

Locations of Roman antiquities, writes Mr. Ort, are in Buggenum, where a cemetery lies next to the highway, yielding primarily Frankish artifacts; in Neer, where Germanic urns, and at a place called "the Roman camp," Roman coins from Augustus and Nerva, Roman pottery, and a bronze mirror were found; in Kesseleik, west of the road near the Kappersberg, lies the Hunekesbosch, the place itself called "Oude Kamp"

(Old Camp); here, next to a high old rampart, Deserière discovered a Roman cemetery, of which I have pottery; A very large stone axe, found here, is now in the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (in 1884 this forest was cleared and the ground dug up; according to reports, a great deal of Roman pottery and urns were found there); in Kessel, from where the Guillon collection contains medals of Constantinus Magnus,

Constantinus II, Valentinian I, and Theodosius; and in the Museum in Leiden, a Roman altar stone dedicated to Minerva, Juno, and Hercules. Between Kessel and Baarlo, west of the road, near the inn "De Nachtegaal," I found a Roman cemetery full of shards of Roman pottery. On one side of the cemetery runs a road parallel to the road, on the other side a road to Roggel called "de Keizersweg" (the Keizersweg); the cemetery lies at the sharp angle they form. Mr. Verhaeg from Baarlo told me that he had heard from his father that during the construction of the road, this area was excavated and yielded so much pottery that the road was covered with shards. Between this and the previous burial ground, near Kappersberg, lies another cemetery, from which Colonel Rudolph from Venlo possessed some objects: a Roman

I donated a pot from there to Dr. W. Pleyte for the Rijksmuseum. This cemetery, which Mr. Rudolph only gave us a general overview of, also lies west of the road, near the Pandu house, but I have not explored it. Between these three Roman cemeteries, west of the road, there is hardly a piece of land without Roman potsherds. The acknowledged fact that the Romans buried their dead very close to public roads, combined with the fact that Kessel must certainly have been a prominent place during Roman rule and was probably the Castellum Menapiorum, which is not mentioned on the Peutinger map, leads me to suspect that this place was not on the main route, but on the riverbank road, which had connecting roads with the highway at this point and which riverbank road is now considered the highway.

.
In Baarlo, a hoard of gold and silver Roman coins was found near the church in 1830, and in Blerik, a Roman knife handle, as well as many Germanic urns, was discovered in three different cemeteries. During my last visit to this village, in December 1883, I was told that during the demolition of a house near the Town Hall, a cellar built entirely of sandstone was uncovered. The village secretary then informed me that a similar cellar had been uncovered during the excavation for the Town Hall's foundations, containing a now-vaulted well. Nothing more could be traced of this. Furthermore, I found Roman potsherds between the watermill and the village; in a dry spot in the marsh "het Meir" near guardhouse no. 8, where a hill once stood, I also found Roman potsherds and pieces of tuff. This location is located an hour northwest of the village. From the road to Horst, north of Blerick, just past milestone no. 1, a road heads north through the lowlands east of St. Anne's Chapel. In most places, the road has two side ramparts with ditches and ends at a small, high sandy plain. This point is called "den Scherpenberg" (the Scherpenberg), and apparently, due to remaining sections, a large hill once stood here. In the sand there, I found a fragment of a Roman roof tile, a piece of terra sigillata, and other Roman pottery shards.

A Roman shield was found at Holt-Blerick on the Sprinkbeek or Molenbeek stream; however, this site is more than 2 kilometers from where the main road is still located. Between the aforementioned watermill and the village lies a section of that old riverbank road with two side ramparts, which, at a distance of 20 meters, were found to be about 20 meters apart. Between Blerick and Grubbenvorst the road runs past the Germanic cemetery "de Wienkelder", described by me in P. L. XIX. I made my suspicion known there and then that the main road would not have run via Grubbenvorst and Lottum, without denying the existence of a Roman bank road in that direction; on the Rhine, one often sees a road following the bank, but also that wherever that bank road does not run over very high ground or makes a large detour, a second road was constructed alongside it, which is considerably shorter, as it

- 140520 runs in straight lines and does not have to navigate the bends of the river. I believe that in several places, as I have already noted near Kessel, a second road was constructed alongside this main road, and that this was also the case between Blerick and Geisteren. I believe the main road can be traced back to the old postal road to Nijmegen, running from the Blerick-Horst road, at milestone No. 4, past the farmstead "bij Marianne" across the Thienraaier- and Zwolgenerheide to Tienraai; further on to Meerlo and Geisteren. The first cemetery along this road, called "De groote Tomben" (The Great Tombs), is "bij Marianne" and lies slightly north of the house, right next to the postal road and not on the road along Kaldenbroek, which Habets identifies as the main road. I have explored this burial ground several times and have found only Germanic urns, which are now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.
- 140530 The second is located on the Thienraaier- and Zwolgenerheide, is extensive, and is dotted with large, well-preserved burial mounds. I acquired Germanic urns from this cemetery through excavations conducted there by Deserière; a medal of Trajan is noted in Guillon's catalogue as originating from Zwolgen.
- 140535 Deserière discovered a third cemetery on the Wansummerheide, west of Wansum and Meerlo; he gave me two urns from this location as a gift, one richly decorated, the other made of very fine red clay. The latter contained metal fragments, probably from a fibula.
- 140540 A site containing fragments of Roman pottery is located at milestone no. 4, at the beginning of the road on the north side from Bleri[c]k to Horst. On the riverbank road, the only site for objects from that period is Lottum, where a denarius of Claudius I and a bronze coin of Valentinian I were found. At the site on the Maas where the old church once stood, remains of a Roman building and a tombstone have been discovered, of which only "IANILM" remains, which ended up in Guillon's collection.
- 140545 Schneider reports that a Roman castle once stood in Lottum, which, after being destroyed, was rebuilt by Julian. This site is also not mentioned on the Peutinger map, probably again because it was not on the main road, but on the riverbank road. Finally, Mr. H., I would like to share with you what a well-known archaeologist recently told me: "I believe Limburg had three Roman main roads, one from Maastricht to Jülich or Julich, which bisects the province at its widest point. From this road, along the left bank of the Maas, ran the road from Maastricht to Nijmegen; and on the right bank, the road from Coriovallum via Tudderren to Xanten. – Undoubtedly, both roads, which bisected Limburg at its longest, were connected by some side roads, or rather connecting roads. But I believe that some of the roads labeled as Roman date from the period of the Frankish emperors."
- 140555 And now, Mr. H., we are back home from our walk, without having tired ourselves too much. If my talking has perhaps required too much effort from you, please don't blame me so much. Too attached to my native soil, I couldn't control myself. I thank you for your patience with me.
- 140560 H.
- 140565 "Errare humanum est," dear reader! The following comments were made to me regarding the first part of the previous issue, which I would like to "rescue from oblivion."
1. The name Helpoort has nothing to do with "sloping, descending"—that phrase was slipped in at an unguarded moment—but it comes from St. Helenapoort, just as the Cologne gate was formerly called Laur- or Laarpoort, because, as even older people can remember, a St. Lawrence stood above it. See Keuller, Geschiedenis van Venlo, p. 345.
2. Northwest of Voorst Koekerslo, bordering the hamlet of Den Boekend, and west of Veldenkamp, where it is believed the old Blariacum was located, running along the stream and close to the spot where the beautiful shield with the head of Medusa was found a few years ago, ramparts are also visible, which are not mentioned in ritm. Ort's work.
3. I mistakenly placed a bullet as a keystone on the facade of the "Spiker." The bullet lies on the house of De Kaat, between Hendrikken and De Veegtes, which anyone interested can see at any time.
- 140570 H.
- 140580 Submitted.
Mr. Editor!
- In the essay "A Walk around Venlo," published in your widely read Weekblad of April 11th, several points appear taken from ritm. Ort, which I cannot ignore in silence.
- 140585 Ritm. Ort says, among other things, that a road from the Bovensten Houtmolen runs

south, which he believes to be of a later date, and that there are burial mounds on the road in which he has allegedly found Germanic urns. - His Honor is mistaken, because there are only two burial mounds on this road; one of these mounds was examined by Mr. Fr. Deserière and contained a broken urn, the fragments of which were scattered across the heath; the other mound was examined by me and contained a completely intact and very beautiful urn, which is still in my possession. It is mentioned regarding the Roman pottery on the Jammerdaal heath, or rather on the table hill, opposite the water, called "Rosdommel," in the immediate vicinity of the Tegel potholes, which I was fortunate enough to discover in 1879, that it was of an elongated triangular shape. This is incorrect; it had a perfectly square shape, as it measured 1.90 meters (6 Rhine feet) long and just as wide. Rhythm Ort further states that a few weeks after the discovery, he visited the site with Dr. W. Pleyte, who accompanied him. After a careful examination of the mountainside, they found the exit leading from the house to the foot of the hills where the potting soil had to be collected. This is impossible, because immediately after excavating the pottery, I made a detailed drawing of the site, showing the kiln, house, and exit leading to the place where the potting soil had been collected. I showed this drawing to the two aforementioned gentlemen before they visited the site, to which I also accompanied them. It is further stated: A few minutes' walk northeast of this site, I had previously found a Germanic cemetery with large and well-preserved burial mounds; urns with and without lids were excavated there by me and Fr. Deserière and are now in the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. - This aforementioned road, running south, belongs to this Germanic burial ground and bears the name of Siberia. Messrs. Ort and Deserière did indeed examine some of these burial mounds, but found nothing except a few broken urns, the fragments of which remain scattered across the heath to this day. Ritm. Ort himself testified to this in a letter dated February 17, 1880, in which he wrote: "Dear Michels, I was very pleased to receive a letter from you, especially since I learned that you were successful in your excavations. - There seems to be much still in the ground in that area of the watermills; it's a pity I'm no longer here to jointly dedicate our efforts to that work, especially since I still don't own anything from the Jammerdaal." - After that time, no further excavations were carried out here, and therefore no urns from this burial ground can be found in Leiden. Considering that I have sufficiently demonstrated the sincere truth, I have the honor to be
Your Servant
HUBERT MICHELS
Venlo,
Ondersten Houtmolen, April 16, 1885

To Mr. H., author of "A Walk Around Venlo".
I read your aforementioned treatise with great pleasure in issues 14 and 15 of the Venloosch Weekblad, which the editors were kind enough to send me. Your interest in the ancient history of the region in which Venlo is located has become apparent to me, and therefore some information and further reflections on the matters you have addressed may be welcome. In my "Old Roads and Land Weirs in Limburg and Adjacent Regions," I wrote on page 128, I reported that Prof. Dr. J. Sohneider in Düsseldorf considers it probable that the Venlo-Gennep-Groesbeek and Hollendoorn road is of Roman origin, and that I have discovered a Germanic burial ground south of this Ossenberg; this was probably the burial place of the first inhabitants of the village of Velden. Are you familiar with the legend of the Ketelberg? If not, I will share it with you. About ten years ago, an enormous stone lay on the hill, the top of which was more than a meter deep in the ground. Farmers from the surrounding area told me that it was generally believed that a treasure was hidden beneath this stone, and because it was immovable due to its weight, they had dug it under, but without finding anything, but the stone had sunk increasingly deeper. Was this stone a boundary marker or did it belong to a grave? These are questions that are probably no longer resolvable. I know some details about the place name "Lusseike." In earlier centuries, trees, and especially oaks, were used as boundary markers because of their longevity; signs or names were carved into the bark, and in the Middle Ages, family crests. In a large part of Germany, these trees are called Loch Loich, Lâh, or Lachbäume; however, in the regions where the Franks lived, they are called Lus, Laus, Luis, and Leweseiken. In a copy of the old Weisthums of the Kempener Mark, taken in 1650, this name

appears: "Fort van den aldene Dieck op Lewes Eicke, vort van Lewis Eick op die durre Eick" (Ford of the old Dieck on Lewes Eicke, Fort van Lewis Eick op die durre Eick); these are the trees that the "lex salica" calls "arbor signata."

140655 Since Louis the Pious (814-840), more than any of his predecessors, ensured the maintenance and regularity of the boundaries of the national forests, etc., it is obvious that the place name Lus, in connection with oak, heath, or mountain, is associated with Louis, while on the Lower Rhine it is written as Luis, and in England, Lewis.

140660 The Lusseike near Venlo also appears in 1360 as a point from where the boundary line of Stralen's jurisdiction ran in a straight line to Leuthermühle; the point where that line intersects the Roman road Venlo-Hinsbeckerbruch was then called "Cruitshoum." This point must have been near the Herongen-Leuth road, between the latter village and the Venlo-Hinsbeck road. I do not know whether the name is still known there. It is noteworthy that places with names containing "Lus"—Luv—or "Lewes"—are almost always sites of Roman antiquities; this is also the case with our Lusseike.

140670 On page 68 of "Oudewegen enz.," I mentioned that I discovered shards of Roman tiles and other Roman pottery there. Since then, two bronze Roman coins have been found there: one by Augustus with an altar and "Provident" on the reverse, minted under Tiberius, and one by Domitian, minted in 95 or 96 during his 17th consulate. Among the aforementioned rubble, I also found shards of Germanic urns and a large iron nail and ring. I'm not aware of any other such place name near Venlo, except in Holt-Blerick, where a plot of land between the village and the road to Maasbree is called Op de Luis, and the road next to it is called Luisweg. I also encountered such a name in Kaldenkirchen as a group of houses, located west of the town, on the road to Tegelen, is called im Luys.

140675 A few weeks ago, when I was standing by the sunken road "de Voerdijk," where the landwehr of the Jammerdaal heath ends and near which the square pottery (triangular is a misprint in my book, which I believe I brought to your attention by postcard before printing in the Weekblad) is found, I saw that a gently sloping exit leads into the sunken road, and that its extension runs first across the bare heath and then further as an almost straight road along the Oelishof to the houses "im Luys" and Bracht. Presumably, this road has some significance, as it provides a short connection between the Jammerdaal heath (Sablonnes) and the Roman road Venlo-Juliacum, heading south. In my book, I failed to mention that between 1875 and 1878 I excavated Germanic urns on the heathland immediately adjacent to the pottery, and that in those same years and also in 1881, I unearthed the urns from the burial ground south of the upper watermill. (In the latter year, two urns and a lid were found.) Five burial mounds are clearly visible in the road that runs through this cemetery. Although partially leveled by time and sod-cutting, they are still quite visible even to a less trained eye.

140680 I have deliberately conducted my visits to the Jammerdaal heathland in recent years as secretly as possible, for the following reason. One Sunday morning, I visited the foundations of the Roman building near the Oelishof, which I had known about for about nine years. Lo and behold, a few days after returning home to Breda, I read in the newspapers that... foundations of a Roman building had been discovered near Venlo.

140695 Now that I'm discussing the Jammerdaal heath with you, I would like to briefly refute the points discussed by Mr. Michels in issue 16 of the Weekblad. I do this exceptionally and otherwise take no notice of such writings, whose purpose is other than to promote the interests of science.

140700 Regarding point 1, there are five, not two, burial mounds in the road south of the upper watermill. Moreover, M. contradicts himself in this regard.

140705 Point 2: I already mentioned the triangular or square bakery. Point 3. Mr. Dr. W. Pleyte and I investigated the bakery before we arrived at M.'s, and we went there again with him afterward. He hadn't seen the exit, nor had he concluded from the pile of roof tiles he found that there had been a house there; Mr. M.'s memory sometimes fails him, as is more evident in the last and fourth points. Mr. M. quotes a phrase from a letter of mine, written in 1880, which reads: "... especially because I don't own anything from the Jammerdaal valley yet." This phrase must refer to the valley itself, as I remember that M. once wrote to me that he had found a small cellar in the valley; or rather, I meant that I no longer owned anything from the Jammerdaal heath at the time, as the urns were in the Museum. —

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

Mr. M. visited my home in December 1877, a few days before my departure for Deventer. I showed him urns from various burial grounds, including those from the Jammerdaal heath. These objects inspired him to go there to search. On that occasion, I gave him an urn from the Romer in Blerick.

M. seems to have forgotten this, but enough about that. I'd rather share with you some details about the surrounding heath.

Near the east side of the sunken road, which runs southeast behind the lower mill to the heath, lies a very large natural stone in the coppice, not far from the pond. It has now sunk quite deeply into the ground. Upon examination, it turned out that this stone rested on smaller stones; whether it served any purpose, as with the one from the Ketelberg, is difficult to determine. Immediately behind that same watermill, a great deal of medieval pottery has been unearthed by the miller's son, Mr. Michels.

As you know, south of the landwehr, in the Jammerdaal heath, lies the Oelis or Potheide heath. I discovered that this heath is separated on the south side by a second landwehr from the arable land situated near the Tegelen-Kaldenkirchen road. This landwehr runs approximately west to east, from boundary marker no. 450 along the border, to close to the Zollhaus am Schwan, always approaching the first landwehr that joins the road at the Rosenhaus. Whether these two landwehrs had extensions towards Leuth, and whether the ramparts at the "Brand" farmstead are connected to them, I dare not yet determine. Opposite Wambach, the second landwehr consists, in a small section, of two ramparts.

n, which enclose an elongated area, which, according to Dr. Boetskes, is called "the beugelbaan" (the ring road). This name struck me, as last summer I investigated a Roman road in the Kondelwald, near Alf aan den Moesel, which bears the name "Kegelbahn."

And now, finally, a few words about the information you mentioned from a well-known archaeologist, who believes that many roads considered Roman are of Frankish origin. Limburg must have been at least as populated in the first centuries AD as it is today, as is evident from the large number of pagan burial sites already known; and how many have escaped the attention of those who take an interest in such matters and publicize them when something is discovered? Such a population needed many roads for mutual communication, while the castles on the Maas were certainly connected to those on the Rhine by roads, since the Romans designed and constructed the entire network of highways with a military purpose.

I have described in detail in my book how the Romans built roads; they did not, of course, pay the same attention to local or vicinal roads as they did to major highways, but for identifying such roads, the discovery of antiquities, especially of cemeteries, is of the utmost value, as it is known that they buried their dead immediately adjacent to the roads.

The roads I have described all bear the hallmarks of Roman roads or pass by more than one cemeteries.

Did the Franks also have a road structure that makes their roads distinguishable from others? I very much doubt this, and others agree with me, e.g. Mr. Peigné-Delacourt, who stated at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute in Rome on April 20, 1863, that research showed three types of ancient roads in Belgica Secunda. The first type was Roman, the second Gallic, and the third Merovingian. According to him, the latter established connections between princely possessions. They were generally 20 meters wide and mostly without any architectural foundation, as a result of which they will soon be impossible to trace.

It is well known that the Franks restored Roman roads that had fallen into disrepair, and as an example, I must refer you to pages 59 and 60 of my book, where the Karstrasse or Karlstrasse in Lobberich and Hinsbeck is described.

If the name of a road does not establish its Frankish origin, then one can only assume that it belongs to that period; Even finding Frankish antiquities doesn't guarantee certainty, as the Franks settled almost everywhere in ancient Roman settlements.

If the editors of the Venloosch Weekblad would like to publish this letter, I would be very pleased, as this increases the likelihood that people who have found something and read about the great interest some people have in ancient objects will share it.

Sincerely,
BREDÁ, ORT.

May 6, 1885. Rhythm. K.M. Academy.

[from: Yearbook of the Society of Dutch Literature, 1908]

Biography of Johannes Apollonius Ort.

"Look, there's a piece of Roman road."

"How do you know that?"

An explanation followed. About 25 years ago, I met Captain Ort, an antiquarian, during a horseback riding tour we took in the vicinity of Breda, where we both worked as teachers—he also as head of education for the cavalry—at the Royal Military Academy.

Some time later, he offered me the opportunity to view his treasures—his urns, his tableware, his coins—in his home.

Now, as a result of that closer acquaintance, which continued in later years, and primarily at the urging of his widow, I venture to comply with the honorable request of our Society's board to write an obituary of the deceased Colonel Ort. I must first confess that, as a non-expert, I am unable to place his merits as an antiquarian in the true light of his work. I will therefore confine myself to the information and communications provided to me primarily by his widow, and to a few notes concerning the writings he published.

Johannes Apollonius Ort was born in Woudrichem on May 2, 1842, the eldest son of the rather large family of Dr. W.F. Ort and Miss S.G. Hanegraaff. He received his early education there at a regular primary school until the age of 12, and continued his education at the then well-known boarding school of Mr. Kattenbusch in Gorinchem, and subsequently at the Royal Military Academy in Breda. On June 22, 1861, he was born on the 19th of June.

At the age of 18, he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the 5th Dragoon Regiment. His clear intellect, his gift for communication, his unusually cheerful disposition, his independent yet compliant nature, and his good military qualities—although he could, in his time, express his disapproval of existing conditions or measures taken quite vociferously—quickly made him stand out to his superiors as an officer who could and should be considered for special duties. Thus, from 1870 to 1872, he was an instructor in military subjects at the cavalry's main course in Haarlem; from 1874 to 1877, the last year he was appointed captain, he held the position of 1st Lieutenant-Adjutant in the 2nd Hussar Regiment; in 1879, as captain-instructor, he was charged with training the horses and educating the recruits in his regiment. From 1880 to 1887, he was head of instruction in cavalry subjects and horsemanship at the Royal Military Academy.

As a senior officer, he was later regularly appointed to serve on the commission for the cadet officer examination; and when his turn came for a regimental command, and the then instructor at the riding school, considered particularly qualified, wanted to retain him as a colonel in that position, the board of directors showed him their appreciation for his merits by appointing him to colonel, above the rank (on a lieutenant colonel's salary), a distinction never again bestowed upon him. After four years in command of the 1st Hussars in Deventer, he retired in April 1899. Even in his childhood, he had demonstrated his inquisitive spirit through avid reading and collecting antiques. The curriculum at the Academy at the time was not very well-suited to keeping that spirit alive; and the young, cheerful cavalry officer, having broken free, along with so many others, from the oppressive bonds with which the outdated educational system in Breda held the cadets in check, initially found too much enjoyment in the free social life, among jovial comrades, to consider devoting himself to study immediately. To be, in every respect, the carefree—if necessary, daring—cavalryman—his illusions in those years went no further.

In 1870, when he became a lecturer at the Haarlem academy, however, he had to dig out the books, and in 1874, once again stationed in Venlo, a military assignment, as it were, naturally pointed him in the direction in which he would further develop his academic skills. In all garrisons, the officers had to produce maps of the garrison town and its surroundings at a scale of 1/8000. Ort was to do this in Venlo. Upon completing this task, his dormant spirit of inquiry revived. The terrain, already so familiar to him from his horseback rides, now had to be examined even more closely. Inquiries had to be made with the inhabitants of the countryside and heathland; information was given to him about hills and old ramparts, which had already attracted his attention by their regular layout; finds were shown to him: old bronze objects, old vessels or shards thereof, urns, and coins; old burial places were pointed out to him... His mind had

discovered what—besides his military duties—would occupy and fascinate him for the rest of his life. The map was drawn, but the terrain remained his field of exploration. Wherever he went later—and cavalry officers frequently changed garrisons—the area was crisscrossed, surveyed with a searching eye, excavations were conducted, and meticulous records were kept of everything he found and learned about archaeology.

At the beginning of his investigations in Venlo, he met Frans Deserière, a foreman of the Venlo-Boxtel railway, who seemed to know him so well that he suggested they conduct joint investigations from then on. The extent of this simple worker's assistance is best illustrated by the statement in one of his writings that Dr. W. Pleyte, the well-known curator (later director) of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, stated in a report to his director about Deserière: "One of the subordinates, a foreman on the Venlo-Boxteler road, is one of the most advanced individuals in the field of archaeological research in this region. He devotes all his spare time to the investigation of various antiquities and is very skilled and meticulous in excavating urns and other objects. It would be desirable if this person, F.D., could be retained for such purposes for the benefit of Limburg's ancient history."

With this "expert," Ort successively investigated the villages of Blerick, Grubbenvorst, Lottum, Tienraay, Meerloo, Baerlo, Kessel, and several others, as well as the Jammerdaal heathland near Venlo, achieving positive results.

After his marriage to Helena Catharina Grobbee in October 1876, Grobbee was often his faithful companion in his explorations. Fully sympathetic to her husband's amateur studies, she accompanied him on his walks and hikes and was present at his excavations; afterward, she attentively followed and weighed his combinations or conclusions regarding the information obtained and the discoveries made. When Ort was transferred to Deventer as a captain in 1877, he had already amassed a considerable collection of urns, jugs, coins, etc., in Limburg, in addition to the many with which he had enriched the museum in Leiden.

In 1879, he took up garrison duties in Leiden. "There, I soon enjoyed the friendship of Dr. C. Leemans, director of the National Museum of Antiquities, and Dr. W. Pleyte, curator. They most courteously provided me with the information I requested and also pointed the way to a more scientific direction for the research we continued. A large number of publications, including the Bonner Jahrbücher and the Publications du Limbourg, which I received for reading, clarified many things I had noticed but not thoroughly understood." I took notes during this study whenever it concerned locations in Limburg or near the Dutch borders, and drew a map at 1/50,000 of the region between Nijmegen, Birten, Aachen, and Tongres, on which I placed the Roman roads and a colored marker at each site to indicate the period to which the found objects belonged. This, however, was solely for my own use... it prompted me to prepare the notes and the map for the press. Dr. Leemans and Dr. Pleyte, through their help, have considerably lightened my workload, and I hereby openly express my sincere gratitude to both gentlemen.

He had opened up a new field of work. The investigations along the fields and roads would be processed in the quiet study or the living room. While Ort was working on this, his main work, his first publication appeared in 1882: "Places in the municipality of Blerick (Limburg), where prehistoric, Germanic, and Roman objects have been found." In the "Publications de la Société d'archéologie dans le duché de Limbourg," Volume XVIII, the learned Limburg state archivist Jos. Habets had described the Roman road from Tongeren to Nijmegen along the left bank of the Maas and the sites of Roman, Germanic, and Frankish antiquities near that road. Among other things, it was mentioned that excavations had taken place at the Römerheide in Blerick at the time, with the aim of searching for hidden treasures in that municipality, and that even officers from Venlo had participated.

Hardly had he read this when Ort took up his pen. He knew all about it: "I consider myself called, but also qualified, to provide some more precise information about one thing or another, but primarily about this fact." And amidst the descriptions of the various finds and locations, he recounts how in 1874 he found several people digging in various places on the heath, who told him they were searching for a treasure, supposedly hidden in a beautiful, red earthenware jar with a lid; they had heard about this from a pastor.

"There" (in connection with other circumstances)—he writes—"a light came on for me; the pastor of Ittervoort, who had searched in vain for the Roman settlement at Blerick, now hoped, without cost or effort, to find that settlement by having the farmers search for him; he had therefore given them the description of a Roman jar made of terra sigillata. I brought this to the attention of these people, who

immediately stopped searching." He concludes the booklet with the words: "I have hereby provided the further information I promised, and have cleared the Venlo garrison, as well as that good foreman Frans Deserière, of the blame heaped upon them."

Two years later, in 1884, his aforementioned work, "Old Roads and Land Defences in Limburg and Adjacent Regions," appeared. This work can be considered somewhat of a supplement to Pleyte's "Dutch Antiquities from the Earliest Times to Charlemagne," which does not address Limburg and Brabant. This work describes the Roman and other ancient roads located north of the Rhine, between the Lippe River and the Dutch borders, between the Rhine and the Maas Rivers, and on the left bank of the Maas River, as well as the land defenses in those regions. The scholarly approach is particularly evident in the preceding thirty-odd pages of notes concerning: Roman roads in general; the distribution of roads to their destination; road construction; road direction; road tracing; road measurements in the Roman Empire; Peutinger's map and Antoninus' travel book; the course of the lower Rhine and the Waal in Roman times; canals and dikes. And it certainly benefits the work that a skilled military man chose this subject for discussion. Even more than the major highways, also built in our country on Napoleon's orders, the Roman roads are primarily military roads; and thus, the details, for example, of direction and construction, would likely have been more accurately appreciated by a military-trained eye than by a less expert. Be that as it may, the work was released to the world with the following highly favorable preface by Leemans and Pleyte: "A book like this needs no recommendation. Diligently and judiciously compiled from widely scattered data, supplemented by our own research, the work is a primary source for anyone who wishes to continue this research and is interested in the history of their country. It is an introduction to the study of antiquity for the entire Netherlands, a perspective not yet explored."

"May it receive the interest it deserves and that will make it possible for the second volume, with the proposed archaeological map, to be published."

How many in the Netherlands will buy a work on Roman roads in Limburg? The answer to that question will likely also explain why the wish expressed in the last section of this preface could not be fulfilled. Ort had envisioned following this first work with a second, "consisting of an alphabetical glossary of sites with a more or less precise description of the find and of the site itself," and later with an archaeological map, produced at 1/50,000, as mentioned above. These were never published.

This must have disappointed him, but the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde (Society of Dutch Literature) offered him membership shortly thereafter (1886), which must have been proof to him that his work had attracted more attention than the publisher believed.

The previous year, he had contributed a piece to the work presented to Dr. Leemans, as an antiquarian, on his 50th anniversary, entitled: "Der Römerort Sablones," which, according to him, should be located on the Jammerdaal heath. In the early nineties, we find Major Ort in 's-Hertogenbosch. There, too, he would leave the mark of his tireless work, his ever-expanding research into everything related to the history of the ancient Netherlands. In the winter of 1891/92, he organized and cataloged the collection of antiquities in the museum of the Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences, for which the board of this society presented him with a certificate with a silver medal minted in his name in recognition of services rendered. The printed "Proceedings" of this society for the years 1891-93 still preserve a lecture by Ort, delivered at the general meeting of November 10, 1892. He would have liked to "provide a critical review of the region we inhabit, with regard to the various peoples who settled here in ancient times, in connection with the objects found from those times, the land defenses that separated the tribes, and their traffic routes."

"However, it has not been possible for me, as I was only in garrison here for a short time and the hours my professional duties left me free to devote to antiquities were too few, to achieve such a result; but what is not yet, I hope will one day be."

Those last words typify the persevering amateur worker: what we cannot do today, we will do tomorrow. That evening, he confined himself to showing the society's members some antiquities from the museum, describing them in all their details, and investigating, in connection with the sites and local conditions, what conclusions could be drawn from them regarding times longpast.

Wherever he went to garrison, he continued his research, and thus gradually amassed

a wealth of information. One thing led to another. "It is an introduction to the study of antiquity for the whole of the Netherlands," Leemans and Pleyte had said of his "Old Roads and Land Defences in Limburg." He was also compelled to arrive at this study of antiquity naturally; and so, after his retirement in 1899, his "Architectural Notes, Mostly Relating to the Netherlands and its inhabitants" is in print. In five major and minor installments, covering 340 pages:

I. a. The confluence of the Maas and Waal rivers during Julius Caesar's reign.

b. Caesar's campaign against the Usipetes and Tencteri.

II. c. The Marsi and their land.

III. d. Oldenzaal during the Salian Franks.

e. Crhepstini 2.

IV. f. The Germanic god Mars.

V. g. The Roman left-bank roads of the Rhine in the Batavian region.

Anyone who works through these studies will understand how much work and thought underlies them. For what we are presented here is not copyistry. Far from it; the oldest sources are being explored. First, the Greek and Roman writers are consulted, then he investigates what well-known historians have thought they read from these stories, which leave so much to be desired in terms of clarity; and in the chaotic confusion that must have repeatedly presented itself to his mind, light first comes to him from his walks, his astute observations of the terrain to which the described actions or situations pertain. There he lets the roads, the woods, the houses, the cemeteries, the ancient monuments, the stones speak to him, and he understands their language; there he listens with rapt attention to the stories of the still uneducated, superstitious country dwellers, preferably the oldest among them, who tell him of the white women, of the charades, of the werewolves, of the gray foal, of "the Gluinige" from whose eyes, nose, and mouth fire spews, and whom they themselves have seen. All of this is meticulously recorded, carefully considered, connected, and checked against the oldest maps. Only then is a personal opinion developed, often deviating from what experts had previously accepted as truth, or copied from others.

Anyone who works this way has earned the right to be called an antiquarian.

A single example. To determine the place of residence of the Marsi, the work begins with a report on what Strabo and Tacitus have handed down to us about this people, "whom we know, under that name, only through the description of the campaigns of Germanicus in the years 14, 15, and 16 AD." This is followed by the opinion of some thirty German and Dutch historians, whose accounts of this place of residence vary between Texel and Holstein, between Friesland and the Lahn.

Given that "the invasion of Germanicus in the autumn of 14 AD..." teaches us that the Marsi must have lived in such a region that the Bructeri, Tubantes, and Usipetes had the opportunity to gather quickly between the Rhine and the Roman army, which retreated from the Marsi region to that river," it is then deemed necessary to first conduct an investigation into the habitats of these three tribes, "in which the years in which this story took place should not be overlooked."

And when the conclusion is drawn: "the only region where—according to my view—the Marsi could have lived and which meets all the requirements that can be established by Tacitus' historical account is the province of Overijssel"—then it is still "necessary, in order to make this as clear as possible, to examine not only this country itself, but also that between its southern borders and the Rhine, from an archaeological perspective." Thus, the land defenses and old roads in those regions are retraced on the map and in the terrain, after which Germanicus's journey in the year 14 can be followed without difficulty. As a further indication, the following is given: "From all the above, it appears that the area of the Marsen must have been located north of the Hallerlandweer (municipality of Zelhem), and indeed at about a day's march's distance from it."

However, our researcher is not yet satisfied with this. At the beginning of his study, the supposition is made that the name Marsen could have been derived from the land they inhabited: from the marsen, low-lying places or hollows on the heaths, filled with water and surrounded by a narrow strip of grass, or from marschgrond, low-lying, marshy and fertile land, often called mersch in the Middle Ages; While Tacitus's account mentions that the highly venerated sanctuary of Tanfanae (in Marsland) was razed to the ground. He therefore believes that the soil name "Mars" and an old tradition concerning the site of the temple of Tanfanae can provide further clues regarding the boundaries of the then-Marsland, and therefore lists all the places in Overijssel and Drenthe where the word "mars" appears, which is

frequently the case there, in order to determine the approximate extent of the ancient Marsland.

He cannot yet say with certainty where the temple (of) Tanfanae once stood. A legend places it on Tankenberg near Oldenzaal, certainly the oldest town in the Marsen and Tubantenland. He will discuss this in a subsequent note.

The following note: "Oldenzaal during the Salian Franks and the old courthouses, names of farms and traditions in the Marken Berghuisen and de Lutte" (published 1901), is the most extensive (200 pages) and, in the various walks along roads and neighborhoods outside Oldenzaal, provides, especially for a layperson, a good idea of how an antiquarian can draw his conclusions from everything he encounters on his way, from the simple names of farms.

Here too, a few examples.

"Three kilometers south of Oldenzaal"—as we read on p. 153 - "The highway to Enschede is intersected by a stream that rises approximately east of the Ulenkotte farm in the "elfter lescap" of the Lutte common."

.... (p. 156) "The Ulenkotte is associated with the night owl. This bird possesses prophetic powers; its plaintive call signals the approach of death; it is a bird of misfortune, and in the wild hunt led by Wodan or Holda, two owls sometimes fly at the forefront."

.... (p. 157) "From this circumstance, I deduced that there must be a burial ground near the Ulenkotte." I actually found burial mounds a few hundred meters behind the Kotte, behind the nearby Christmas House...'

As promised, in this note, the author returns to the expression used by Tacitus: 'templum quod Tanfanae vocabant', and provides a detailed explanation of why he does not, like Van der Aa and Weeling, Grimm, and Van den Bergh, believe in a goddess Tanfanae, but believes that Tacitus should have written 'Tancfanae,' which would have meant 'sacred place of judgment'; that furthermore, the dolmens on Tancenberg (near Oldenzaal) together formed the templum Tancfanae, and that these dolmens were razed to the ground by the Romans in the year 14. In the following study, "The Germanic God Mars," he is identified as the deity who represented law in the Templum Tancfanae and also as the progenitor and legislator of the Marsi, which means that any derivation of this folk name from marsch- or marsland must be discarded.

In the fifth or final volume of notes (published in 1904), pending further action by private individuals or the government, a preliminary investigation is conducted into the Roman left-bank roads in Batavian land. Regarding this, we read the complaint at the beginning: "There has never been a regular investigation into the Roman roads in the Netherlands; I even doubt whether any attempt has been made to follow the trail found of them at Kesteren. In Germany, both the public and the government are more interested in such matters, as I have often personally witnessed."

Ort has done his part to fill this gap. Before the publication of this last volume, he had felt he should weigh in on an old controversial issue. On January 22, 1903, my learned friend Prof. Blok had given a lecture at the first meeting of the "Oud-Leiden" Association on the ancient history of the University City, and among other things, had announced as the outcome of his research that the city had no right to call itself Lugdunum.

Ort had also been garrisoned in Leiden, and naturally—one might say—he had included this point of contention in the scope of his research. That March, his "Lugdunum" appeared in print, in which, after a 20-page argument, he concluded:

1. According to the road measurements provided by Roman geographers, a place called Lugdunum formerly existed within the present-day city of Leiden.
2. This place name means courthouse on a dune. 3. This courthouse, located on and near the Pieterskerkhof, was still used by the count's court in the Middle Ages. Its local organization and the place names there and around it undoubtedly point back to the old Germanic situation.

Oud-Leiden can therefore be peaceful. It was and remains the home of Lugduno. An interesting struggle between the professional historian and the amateur antiquarian!

In the first yearbook of Oud-Leiden (1904), Prof. Blok, as promised, elaborated on his notes in a piece entitled "Lugdunum Batavorum," in which he maintained his opinion, expressed in the earlier lecture, against Ort's view. This was followed by an excerpt from Ort's brochure "Lugdunum" as a second piece. The reasons given by

the latter - mainly derived from the local location according to the Peutinger table and the travel book of Antoninus, as well as from the meaning of the word Lugdunum - were weighed in the first part and found wanting; attention was drawn to (alleged) errors; and finally—albeit with a somewhat overly strong conviction of being right—"after this digression on the assertions and assumptions in Mr. Ort's brochure, I took leave of it with gratitude for the good intentions."

But Ort was not the man to let himself or his brochure be taken away in this way. If he had dared to challenge a professor of history, it was because he was firmly convinced that his opinion was the correct one, and after having first considered the matter from all sides. In the *Nederlandsche Spectator* 1904 Nos. 10 and 16, he therefore provided evidence that his armor was stronger than his opponent had thought, and that it was not so easy to find its weak points. In this refutation, Ort's solid knowledge, his originality, and even his personality are particularly evident. Those who knew him hear him, with the somewhat screeching voice that was sometimes characteristic of him, emphasizing every word, utter the sentence before he wrote it down: "Do you now understand, Professor, why I want nothing to do with that god Lug 1 in my determination of Lugdunum?" He concluded his reply by sharing a letter he had received from Mr. Espérandieu in Paris, dated August 15, 1903, which contained, among other things, "In the next number of the *Revue que je dirige* 2, you will find a small copy of the brochure *Lugdunum*. It is possible that your conclusions are not accepted by the whole world: the Celtic language is so obscure that all opinions, whether they are justified or sufficiently justified, are permissible. But the new ideas that you express to a large extent over others and are to be seriously considered."

Professor Blok has left the final word to Ort. I will certainly reserve judgment on who should be awarded the palm of victory in this matter; but I believe the above has conveyed Ort's work in the field of antiquity, insofar as he has expressed it publicly. His writings demonstrate sound study, a keen ability to combine ideas, and above all, fresh originality. The author follows his own path. He certainly takes note of what others before him have said on the subject at hand, but he allows himself to be influenced by none of them, and he doesn't hesitate to draw conclusions that contradict what renowned antiquarians had proclaimed to be established. It is therefore understandable that his insights will not be accepted as "the truth" by everyone, especially when they concern actions and situations that must be unearthed from obscure accounts from twenty centuries ago. He never lacks grounds for his assertions; sometimes he even overwhelms them, which makes reading his writings somewhat tedious, which certainly cannot be classified as light reading. But he didn't intend to provide them either. And it was no easy task for him to compile these notes. He had to first devote himself to the study of Latin, Greek, and even Celtic and ancient Germanic; He had to acquire knowledge of Roman, Greek, and Norse theology and mythology; he appears to be familiar with ancient Germanic and ancient Dutch legends and traditions, and with folklore. Only his keen eye for the terrain is related to his military, particularly cavalry, work for which he was trained from an early age. The rest he had to learn on his own, aided by a few good friends, especially Dr. M.E. Houck of Deventer; while he frequently corresponded about Celtic expressions or obscurities with Messrs. Espérandieu in Paris and Mr. C.A. Serrure in Brussels, the latter (since deceased) visiting him several times.

Only friends and acquaintances know of his work in the field of numismatics. Through his research in the vicinity of his various garrison towns and through his travels abroad to Trier, Constantine, Badenweiler, etc., during which he naturally did not neglect to become acquainted with everything worth seeing in the field of antiquity, he gradually acquired an extensive collection not only of Roman and Germanic weapons, tools, urns, jars, jugs, etc., but also (through both finds and purchases) of primarily Roman consular and imperial coins, numbering approximately 2,000 varieties. He judiciously compiled a catalog of these, following the classification of Cohen's well-known works: "*Description générale des monnaies de la république romaine, communément appelées médail*"

The Consulates. Paris, chez M. Rollin 1857, and the *Historical Description of Monies struck under the Roman Empire*, together with the *appeal of Imperial Medals*. Paris, chez M. Rollin 1859.

The oldest coins in the collection are three from Campania (minted 268 BC); one of the most important is a denarius of P. Lucinius Stolo, minted 17 BC and originating from the collection of Dr. Phil. Paul Becker, Director of the Lyceum Richelieu in

Odessa; of Vitellius, there are three denarius coins and two medium bronze ones, one of the first found in Tiel—coins that are relatively rare because that emperor reigned for less than eight months. Several coins were found in our country, such as in Nijmegen, in the vicinity of Gorinchem, between Woudrichem and Almkerk, in Lusseike outside Venlo, in the Maas River at Andel, etc. Three are listed in the catalog as having been found in Leiden: a medium bronze of Nero, a medium bronze of Trajan, and a large bronze of Marcus Aurelius.

The entire collection — as an expert assured me — appears to have been compiled with great knowledge and care. It will be sold in Amsterdam by Mr. Schulman.

The collection of Germanic and Roman antiquities will remain together and will find its place in the antiquity room in Oldenzaal, founded by Mr. P.J. Gelderman, whose establishment Ort largely initiated, and whose expansion he always followed with interest.

He continued to devote himself to his amateur studies until his death. After his retirement, having settled in The Hague, he was inevitably drawn to the association "die Haghe," of which he became a member and board member. He had intended to give a presentation at one of the association's meetings in preparation for the excavations at Arendsborg near Voorburg (the former Hadriani Forum), which would likely have begun under his leadership in the spring; however, a brief illness suddenly ended his working life on February 8, 1908.

Thanks to his colleagues in the field of archaeology, but no less so to his many friends and acquaintances, including those from non-military circles, the warm-hearted, always cheerful former colonel will not soon be forgotten. Only she knows what he meant to his dearly loving wife, and it will be her greatest comfort to continue to remember that. His merits were recognized by the government with his appointment as an Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau; while, besides being a member of our Society, he was also a member of the Frisian Society of History, Antiquity, and Linguistics, of 'Gelre', the Association for the Study of Gelderland History, Antiquity, and Law, of the Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences in North Brabant, of the Bonner Verein, and was also a foreign associate of the Société numismatique de la Belgique.

G.J.W. Koolemans Beijnen.

1 The former foreman still lives in Blerick near Venlo.

1 From his introduction: Old roads and land defenses in Limburg and adjacent regions. Leiden, E.J. Brill. 1884.

1 Roermond, J.J. Romen and Sons. 1882.

1 Published separately as an offprint in 1894 in 's-Hertogenbosch by the Muller Brothers.

1 The first appeared in Deventer at the Deventer book and lithography studio, the others in The Hague by the Van Cleef Brothers.

2 A word appearing on the Dutch section of the Peutinger Table, or world map of Castorius, which Ort explains as "tombstones."

1 Prof. Blok believed he should explain the word Lugdunum from Celtic, in which language, according to some, the word Lug denotes a well-known deity. Ort explained the word from Germanic.

2 Revue épigraphique du midi de la France.

I can say that it is a privilege for those interested in the dispute to have witnessed the battle between two such powerful champions.

April 11, 1884 [...] ACQUIRED: From Captain J. A. ORT:

- Baked earth. Large urn, with a wide belly, small base, wide opening; with burnt human bones and a piece of bronze wire. Height 33 cm, medium 25 cm. Found between Rooth and Dubbroek, near Maasbree (Limburg).

- Small jar with a flat base and wide opening, the rim decorated with indentations. Head 3.2 cm, medium 6 cm.

- Urn, with an upright wall and a slightly inward-curving rim decorated with impressions. Height 18 cm, medium 15.5 cm. From the Jammerdal heath near Venlo.

- Urn, with a wide belly and opening. Height 21.5 cm, medium 19 cm. Found as furrows.

- Part of an urn, like the previous one, decorated with impressed circles. Found as furrows.

- Bowl, smooth and polished with a flat bottom, which served as a lid for the previous pot. Height 7 cm, medium 22 cm. Found as furrows.

- Urn, rough workmanship, with a flat bottom, very wide belly, and narrow opening. Height 20.5 cm, medium 16 cm. Found at Schandeloo on the Ossenberg.

- Urn, roughly worked, with a wide belly and a straight rim. Partially filled with bone. Height 23 cm, medium 18.5 cm. Found on the Reumer near St. Jan, near Blerick (Limburg).

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Constantinus Imperator

- 141250 - Very large urn with a flat bottom, a spherical belly, small, upright, rim decorated with nail impressions. Height 30 cm, medium 22 cm. Found on the Reumer near Blerick.
- 141255 - Bowl of glossy black, with a flat bottom and a straight rim, which served as a lid for the urn. Height 9 cm, medium 20 cm.
- 141255 - Urn with a flat bottom and a wide opening, two projections on the belly. Height 20 cm, medium 18.5 cm. Found on the Reumer, near Blerick.
- 141260 - Large urn, glossy black, with a small base, wide belly, wide opening, and a standing rim. Height 24 cm, medium 20 cm. Found on the Heldensche Heide (Limburg).
- 141260 - Part of the rim and body of a small jar with a single handle, found in the previous urn.
- 141260 - Two tapered jars, with narrow bellies and wide openings, the rim decorated with nail impressions. Heights 26 and 26 cm, medium 22 and 21 cm. Found in Swolgen (Limburg).
- 141265 - Urn, roughly worked, with hand-forming visible on the outside, the rim with nail impressions. Height 24 cm, medium 20.5 cm. Found as furrows.
- 141265 - Roughly worked and poorly fired urn, with burnt bones. Height 24 cm, medium 22 cm. 22.5 cm. Found at the Wienkelder in Grubbenvorst (Limburg).
- 141270 - Urn of finer earth and harder baking material with small, flat bases, a wide belly, a wide opening, and a raised rim. Height 17 cm, medium 20 cm. Found in Grubbenvorst (Limburg).
- 141270 - Small, compressed jar with a wide belly and a wide opening. Height 6 cm, medium 7 cm. Found in the previous urn.
- 141275 - Portions of the belly and rim of a very rough urn; the rim had indentations. Medium 16 cm. Found south of Middelraai near Grubbenvorst.
- 141275 - Small jar, red. Height 8 cm, medium 8 cm. Found in the Kaldenbroek in Grubbenvorst.
- 141280 - Urn, polished on the outside, with a small, flat base, a wide opening, and a raised rim, with burnt bones. Height 18, medium 19 cm. Found at the old Rinkesfort fortress near Baerlo (Limburg).
- 141280 - Bowl with a projection on the side; lid of the previous urn. Medium 22 cm.
- 141280 - Small jar with a rounded base and narrow opening. Height 3.5, medium 3 cm. Found in the previous urn.
- 141285 - Bronze - Part of a decoration with a needle (perhaps from a dress pin?). Width 2.8 cm. Found as furrows.
- 141285 - Baked earth. Urn of rough baking. Reddish-brown, the rim decorated with finger impressions, wide opening, flat base. Height 23, medium 22 cm. Found at Montfort near Genouwe (Limburg).
- 141290 - Brown-black bowl, with a raised rim and flat base, as lid of the previous urn. Height 9, medium. 23 cm.
- 141290 - Bowl, smooth brown, with a raised rim, small flat base. Height 10 cm, medium 21 cm. Found in Tienraai (Limburg).
- 141295 - Urn, brown, with a wide raised rim and small flat base, rim and body decorated with depressed lines. Height 22 cm, medium 17 cm. Found between Wanssum and Mierloo (Limburg).
- 141295 - Urn, light red exterior, smooth with a spherical body. Height 20 cm, medium 19 cm. Found as furrows.
- 141300 - Bronze. - Three burnt fragments of a decoration, found in the previous urn. CATUALIUM, the Mansio along the Roman road Tongeren-Nijmegen
- 141300 - November 9, 1889 CATUALIUM, the Mansio along the Roman road Tongeren-Nijmegen. The Roman road, which ran for centuries from ADUACA TONGRORUM to NOVIOMAGUM, with its stopping places or mansions TERESNE, CATUALIUM, BLARIACUM, and CEVELUM, has recently been extensively retraced by various archaeologists.
- 141305 - His E.M. Habets locates TERESNE at Mulheim, a hamlet of Eijsden (Belgium), and Lord Ort also accepts that location for TERESNE.
- 141305 - According to these gentlemen, TERESNE means Ter Eise: "on the Eis," thus by the water.
- 141310 - BLARIACUM is apparently Blerick, perhaps Hout-Blerick.
- 141310 - GEVELUM was present-day Guijck [Cuyk].
- 141310 - The endpoints ADUACA TONGRORUM and NOVIOMAGUM correspond to Tongeren and Nijmegen. Where, then, is CATUALIUM located?
- 141310 - His E.M. Habets locates this mansion at Heel; Lord Ort at Horne.
- 141310 - Numerous Roman and Frankish antiquities have been unearthed at Heel, Horne, and Melenborg (near Buggenum).
- 141310 - The distances between the stopping places are, according to PEUTINGER's map, from: ADUACA TONGRORUM(1)-TERESNE XVI League = 34,500 m

- 141315 from TERESNE-CATUALIUM XLV » = 31,108 »
» CATUALIUM-BLARIACUM XII » = 26,664 »
» BLARIACUM-CEVELUM XXII » = 48,884 »
» CEVELUM-NOVIOMAGUM the rest.
Mr. Ort says:
- 141320 "Also, Mulheim and Heel are not 31 km apart, but 25.5 km apart and 31 km apart."
"bring me to Horne" (p. 125).
- Therefore, Catualium cannot be the whole place, according to Mr. Ort and in my humble opinion.
- 141325 Mr. Ort further states (p. 122):
"Mulheim-Horn = 30,000 m; Mulheim-Melenborg 32,500 m."
Therefore, in my opinion, neither of the last two places mentioned can be Catualium, even though the three points mentioned are still so different.
- 141330 Many antiquities have been found; after all, I assume the Romans measured very accurately.
- Aided by the Publications d'Archéologie etc. de Limbourg, in which numerous archaeological discoveries were published by Mr. Habets, and by the work "Oude wegen en Landweren in Limburg" (Old Roads and Land Weirs in Limburg) by Ort and a detailed map of the Duchy of Limburg, I take the liberty of sharing my opinion regarding the location of CATUALIUM.
- 141335 It is striking how the old names, however corrupted or shortened, are still in use today.
- 141340 Examples:
TERESNE=TER EISE, now Eisden; (Mulheim).
BLARIACUM=Blerick; CEVELUM=Cuyck.
NOVIOMAGUM=Nijmegen; CASTELLUM=Kessel.
- 141345 I reasoned that perhaps there wasn't a neighborhood, hamlet, or even a single house bearing the corrupted or abbreviated name of CATUALIUM, located somewhere between Kessel and Maeseyk? Neither Horn, Melenborg, nor Heel would be suitable, as one can see immediately.
East of Grathem lies a hamlet bearing the characteristic name of CATERT.
- 141350 In my opinion, after measuring it on the map, this place meets the distance requirements better than the three mentioned.
- If my guess is correct, then we should look for the old road from Ittervoort further west, and a side road must have passed Heel and Horn.
- 141355 On Wednesday afternoon, May 15, 1889, I set out for the Chapel under the Linden Trees in Thorn.
- In front of the chapel (east side) runs the old road, indicated by Mr. Habets as the main road towards Panheel. If I can find an old Roman road running slightly west of the chapel, more in the direction of Grathem, I thought, then that road probably passes Catert, and then Catert is the manor CATUALIUM I'm looking for.
- 141360 The innkeeper, Renier Snickers, at the chapel assured me that behind the chapel (westward) there used to be a road called the Roman road.
A big step closer to my goal, I thought. He is immediately willing to accompany me, point out the way, and give his opinion regarding the direction.
- 141365 Let's follow that road.
Where the chapel lies beneath the Linden trees, the branch to Panheel seems to have diverged from the main route.
- 141370 All that remains of the main road at its beginning is "a raised path, with a manure cart passing here and there, running behind the chapel's sexton's garden towards the cross with the lime tree in the Thornerveld near Santfort," thus heading north.
- The path is elevated and slopes to the west and east. The cobblestones of the old road can be seen several meters to the left and right in the arable land.
- 141375 The road must have been very wide, but certainly not as wide as the position of the pebbles would suggest; after all, these would have been moved several meters by the harrow.
- 141380 About 1000 meters north of the chapel stands the aforementioned cross with the lime

tree. There lies a most significant intersection.

Our path is suddenly interrupted there by a sunken crossroads, and at the foot of the southern section, deep within the sunken road, stands the cross.

There, in that sunken road, no fewer than six roads converge.

a from Grathem (sunken road).

b from Thorn (a sunken road).

c from Hunsel, via Santfort (a sunken road).

d A field path in the direction of Wessem.

e A field path in the direction of Heel.

f Our footpath, the remnant, a very elevated path.

The piece of arable land north of the cross, where the northern part of our road ends, bears the name Venuskamp.

(This last name was given to me by Mr. Rubens of Hagenbroek.)

The road, now interrupted here, takes a slight turn to the right at Venuskamp and continues for approximately 250 meters behind (east of) the house "de Riet," where the new road passes in front of the door (west). It remains recognizable by the high ridge and the gravel, although from Venuskamp onwards, no footpath accompanies it or remains of it.

I followed this road until behind the farm "de Riet," when evening forced me to return home.

On Sunday, May 19th, I continued its course and was convinced, even more than two days earlier, that I had found CATUALIUM in CATERT.

That hamlet lies another 2,000 meters from "de Riet," and the road, running from the cross at Santfort, maintains the direction I took from there, apparently directly towards that neighborhood. On Sunday, May 19th, I set off in the morning, heading north through Hunsel towards De Riet. Following the gravel layer behind (eastward) that farm in the field, I reached milestone 44, through arable and clover fields, on the French-built Paris-Hamburg road, or, if you prefer, Maastricht-Venlo. Along that main road, the track becomes less distinct, but is still visible.

Soon the old road approaches the first houses in the Houthem neighborhood. One of the farmers is happy to act as a guide, but he...

Never heard of an old road.

The Neer, coming from Hunsel as a wide stream, forms a delta 10 minutes' walk north of Grathem, near Houthem. The right branch turns southeast past Panheel to Wessem.

The other branch continues its way to Haelen. Our old road must therefore cross the right branch at Houthem. This spot is clearly visible. To cross this branch at right angles, a small turn to the east is necessary just south of the stream. The road continues in this direction for a while, crossing the stream, before turning left

(westward) again, almost in line with the direction: Kruis [=Cross] te Santfort, mile marker 44.

Until several years ago, according to the farmer mentioned above, there was a bridge at the spot where the old road crosses the stream. The entire area where it crosses the stream alluvium bears the most striking traces of lowering. Indeed, the bases of the fairly large trees there stand well over half a meter higher than the surrounding land or pasture. Let us return to the road. It runs northwest through the barren Houthemerveld, where it is extremely difficult to find, only to enter the Caterveld at the end of that field.

Catert consists of only two farmhouses. The southern one is not suitable, but the other is. It is located 40 to 50 meters from the Neerbeek stream, west of milestone 45 on the road, a 20 to 25-minute walk from the center of the municipality of Grathem. Both Houthem and Catert are civilly part of the municipality of Heel; the streams there separate Heel from Grathem. At Sibert Seuntjes's farm, the farmer, the owner of the property, answers our questions with the utmost willingness. His son, Mathieu, immediately agrees when I express my wish to conduct some investigations with a spade. The generous housewife refreshes the unknown, tired, dusty, and sweaty "gentleman" with a delicious glass of fresh cow's milk.

As I approached the house, I noticed the remains of ditches in the meadow south of the current residence, enclosing a fairly large plot.

When I asked if there had been any ponds here in the past, they replied that they were now largely filled in, but still clearly visible, and that pools remained here and there. The previous house, they explained in response to my questions, stood where a small garden now stands and had only been demolished a few years ago. That house fell outside the meadows enclosed by ditches. The farmer's son also told me that he had unearthed half a pot the previous autumn.

I then went with him to that spot, right in front of the door of the new house,

about four meters away (east). From the very first turn, I saw wood ash, shards immediately emerged from the ground, and looking around, I spotted shards of Roman urns or tiles everywhere.

141450 It was Sunday, so I decided against further excavation. Now I had to continue my search.

Right where the new house is located, the road heading north seems to have left Mansio CATUALIUM. It now runs in a direct direction to the Exaten house near Baexem, leaving the monastery on its left. From Catert to Exaten, it runs along the left
141455 slope of a natural range of hills, and a cart track remains of the old road. A lot of sand must have been pushed across the road there, because the gravel layer is very deep.

Yet, it came to light while clearing a hedge just north of Catert and 't Catertveld. Besides the remains of ponds, the urns, and the name (which points to the stopping
141460 place CATUALIUM), I can also report that a few years ago, the farmer Sibert Seuntjens unearthed a silver coin the size of half a guilder, and his neighbor, while harrowing, unearthed a gold coin, both believed to be of very ancient date. Whether the place was favorably situated from a military perspective, I cannot possibly determine. However, I would like to point out that the manor was bounded to
141465 the south at some distance by the stream to Panheel, to the west by the stream to Haelen, and to the east by the deep Heelderpeel, from which it was separated by a ridge.

If this spot I have indicated along the Neerbeek is the old CATUALIUM, which I no longer doubt, then I hope that science will benefit from the publication of this
141470 discovery.

After all, then, after accurate measurements, one can determine the exact location of the other mansions.

Several roads also lead from Catert towards the east.

a A wide main road to Beegden.

141475 b A second road past the southern house in Catert towards Heel; this one leaves Catualium from the south.

c From the southernmost house in Houthem, an old sunken road leads to Heel. Tungelroy. P. MATH. PEETERS.

141480 (1) The spellings FERESNE and CEVELUM are considered incorrect on the Peutinger map.

Again, Catualium.

A brief observation on Mr. Peeters's essay. We will not discuss his research, because to do so, we would have had to visit and walk the same route he took, which
141485 did not happen. But we cannot fail to mention that the hamlet of Katert appears to us to be located outside the direction of the Roman Maas road; this road indeed ran past the chapel of Thorn, past Heel, Beegden, and Horne. This is indicated by the direction the road also took elsewhere; it never leaves the bank of the Maas, as evidenced by the investigations carried out by Messrs. Jansen, Guillon, and Habets,
141490 and further by the uninterrupted series of Roman objects discovered along that route. If a Roman building actually existed at Katert, as Mr. Peeters claims, then a side road may well have led there, but the main road, the via strata, constructed by the Romans to protect the Maas River and connect Tongeren with Nijmegen, never left the banks of that river so far.

141495 Finally, a comment on the quotation from a contribution by Mr. Ort, who believes that Heel is not 31 kilometers from Mulheim-Eijsden. The question here is not how far Mulheim is from Heel, but rather how far the Roman foundations under the Mulheim area are from these or those Roman foundations located under the municipality of Heel. There is something vague and uncertain in Mr. Ort's view, as formulated here.

141500 Where is Heel, where is Mulheim, on the map? If one starts measuring from the western border of Mulheim to the eastern border of the municipality of Heel, one will likely find a distance of more than 31 kilometers, especially if one takes into account the direction of the road and the bends and curves it has made along its course. Indeed, many things must be considered when calculating the distances on
141505 Peutinger's map, and it is often the method of arithmetic that gives rise to the differences of opinion among the authors. Pour comprendre il faut connaître is the case here.

Meanwhile, we thank Mr. Peeters for his interesting article.

The Editors of the Maasgouw.

141510 October 6, 1934: Archaeological discoveries in Hout-Blerick in the 19th century. The small hamlet of Hout-Blerick, located fifteen minutes south of Blerick, opposite Tegelen, deserves the attention of antiquarians, wrote the learned national

archivist Jos. Habets in his time, specifically because of the following two discoveries: First, it is in Hout-Blerick that traces of a Belgo-Roman settlement can be found. Twenty minutes from the Maas River in the direction of Maasbree, not far from the last houses, called "Doovend," lies a field, situated higher than the rest, called Veldenkamp. This name was given in memory of one of the last owners, named Van Velden. Over an area of twelve to fifteen acres, one finds Roman antiquities, pieces of tiles and pottery, building blocks, red cement, wood ash, and fragments of iron. Alongside this field flows the small river called "de Breebeek," where the famous head of Medusa, discussed shortly, was found. According to Greek and Roman mythology, Medusa is one of the three so-called Gorgons. These were three sisters named Sthenyo, Euryale, and Medusa.

They were hideous creatures, surrounded by a belt of hissing serpents; on their heads they had dragon scales; their large, sharp teeth protruded far; their claws and wings were made of copper. So terrifying were they that their mere sight could turn a human to stone. They lived at the very edge of the Western Ocean. The hero Perseus, who led the fight against these monsters, cut off the head of Medusa, the only mortal of the three, while she lay in a deep sleep. From Medusa's torso sprang the winged horse, Pegasus. Swift as the wind, Perseus, who had leaped onto the Pegasus, sped through the air and flew over Africa. Blood still dripped from Medusa's head, and the drops that fell to the earth there turned into serpents. When Perseus wanted to rest a while near the giant Atlas, who, at the spot where the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean meet, carried the pillars of heaven on his shoulders, and was not received hospitably at all, he was annoyed. He held up the Medusa's head, and Atlas was immediately transformed into a rocky mass, its crown rising into the clouds.

A Medusa's head was therefore not an inappropriate symbol on a warrior's shield. But after this digression, let us return to the Veldenkamp and the Breebeek. Around 1861, the owner of the land had begun removing the tiles and brickwork from that field and placed them in the small river. This fact attracted the attention of several antiquities enthusiasts, who began to examine the ruins. In 1879, Messrs. Pleijten, curator at the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, and J. A. Ort, lieutenant in the 4th Hussar Regiment, formerly garrisoned in Venlo, conducted some excavations at that site, the results of which are unknown.

The second discovery made in the vicinity of Hout-Blerick is that of a precious Medusa head and horse harness decorations in bronze. This discovery occurred around the autumn of 1872 in the Breebeek, a few meters from the Beldenkamp substructures. A worker digging in the stream found this treasure at a depth of 9 to 10 feet underground. He sold it to the goldsmith J. G. Lienders in Venlo, who still owned it in 1879.

This treasure contains the following objects: A very beautiful "umbo," or navel from a Roman shield. It is a copper plate, fire-gilded in the shape of a disc and richly sculpted in round molding. Its diameter is 26 centimeters. The rim of the "umbo" consists of a wreath of oak leaves interspersed with acorns. The center of the navel consists of a Gorgon head in raised sculpture, exquisitely carved. It is of majestic beauty, with a terrifying appearance like all the Medusa heads. The eyes are wide open. The beautiful proportions of the face recall the beautiful Greek style. The curls of long hair encircle the head. Below the head, she wears a short beard. Snakes are coiled in her hair, forming an elegant knot beneath the chin. Two serpent heads emerge from beneath two small wings that adorn the hair; a third slants over the center of the forehead. On top of the head, the artist has placed a flower bud. This richly adorned head is surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves, from which hang acorns; it is similar to the one that forms the edge of the navel. Below the sculpture is a garland of leaves and small petals.

The Medusa head is one of the most common representations on ancient shields. Homer places a Gorgon on the shield of Agamemnon. Phidias appears to have decorated the shield of Minerva with the same symbol. This representation can also be seen on the shields of Mars, Achilles, Victory, the Amazons, etc., which adorn Roman and Greek vases. Several holes are found in the rim of the navel, which appear to have been made either by an arrow or by the nails that served to attach it to the shield.

The depiction of our Medusa head is nothing unusual. The only thing worth mentioning is that it wears a short beard around the chin. But even that fact is not without antecedents. This Medusa head must date from the first century AD. Seven other bronze objects were found alongside the aforementioned shield navel, which were part of a horse harness. These are, firstly, a decoration of the collar with two rings through which the reins pass; then another set of rings for the

reins. All these objects have small holes to allow the nails to pass through and show genuine traces of gilding.

The statuary collection held at the baths of Zeuxippus (Ap 2) and the search for Constantine's museological intentions

Carlos A. Martins de Jesus

Constantine intended to portrait his very own Constantinople as the new (third) Troy, the most complete portrait of Greek and Roman [paidea] *paideia*. He and his team had no more than six years to redesign and rebuilt an entire city, the old Byzantium; plastic arts, mainly sculpture, played an important role in the entire public process. Looking once again at the archaeological remains of the statuary collection held at the baths of Zeuxippus, in relation to their literary description by Christodoros (*Greek Anthology* II), the present paper essays a museological reading of these statues as part of the global architectural plan of Constantine for his own new capital of the Imperium.

1. Remodelling and adorning Constantinople

"Dedicatur Constantinopolis omnium paene urbium nuditate". It was with these words, without mentioning any other political events, that Jerome chose to refer to the foundation of Constantinople. Scholars have agreed on reading this *nudity* as the look of the cities that, under Constantine's command, saw their most precious sculptural works of art being taken to the newly found capital of the Empire. Nevertheless, one must notice that Jerome talks about *nuditate* (the substantive), not simply about *denuding* (any verbal form) the conquered cities. That is why I shall propose the possibility of a different reading: that Jerome had in mind, with such a choice of wording, an intentional ambiguity: certainly he refers to the act of denuding other cities to adorn Constantinople, but he also implies to the use of these cities' own *nudity* (their pagan statues) to *dress up* the new capital, thus giving the latter an overall look of somehow sinful *nudity*, inevitably a characteristic of a whore.

Archaeology and several Christian authors, like Eusebius, have shown - thus giving credit to the view of a truly magnificent Constantinople already portrayed since the Renaissance - that Constantinople, by the time of its official dedication in 330, was everything but a naked city. Furthermore, it was probably not naked even before Constantine's conquest; dressed up enough, at least, for the new Emperor to see in it, in its already existing (and potential) *romanitas*, as Basset puts it, "a springboard for the implementation of [his own] urban vision, probably as a result of the changes already made during the previous Severan government. Indeed, scholars are now sure of the magnificent buildings and streets of Constantine's Constantinople, all of these spaces adorned with the most exquisite and rare statuary, in different dimensions and positions, always intriguing the passer-by with both its beauty and its meaning. Such was the city, very close to the one portrayed by Eusebius, a space of architectonical and sculptural ποικιλία (*varietas*), one of the most identifying traces of the new Byzantine taste; a completely different and, as Basset writes, "newly outfitted urban core of monumental architecture and sculpture".

In the course of my paper, by the reanalysis of the archaeological, iconographical and literary data, I shall approach what I think is the possible museological reading of the collection of statues held at the Baths of Zeuxippus, following an interpretation already implicit in several scholars, as recently in the book of Yegül who, talking about the Zeuxippus, called it "a veritable museum of classical art", the exact same words already used by Stanley Casson when publishing the second report of the excavations performed on the site. I therefore shall put together the evidence of what must have been a very Constantinian intention - the elaboration of a project, both public and urban, of a great exhibition of statuary, itself formed by several minor collections. More than the "intention of the collectors to display objects of art" (Saradi-Mendelovici), already noticed and studied by scholars, I shall pursue the very steps of the creation of an art collection with political and propagandistic purposes, the means and the ends of what must have been one of Constantinople's greatest national galleries, even if it held works of art that were in no way national.

By now, a first evidence takes us a step closer to the reading we are looking for: the remodelling and the provision with true art galleries of an entire city in just six years, which could not have happened without a detailed, coherent and well-organised plan. Constantine and his collaborators set afoot a wide plan (both architectural and museological) of transformation of a city in which they saw

potential enough to become a urban and public museum of Greek, Roman and Hellenistic sculpture; a project that was only possible in a city (the pre-Constantinian Byzantium) that already counted several *art galleries* in itself, spaces that required remodelling - as any room or museum nowadays still does, especially when the exhibition's importance demands it - in order to accommodate several minor exhibitions that formed the huge National Identity Museum that was Constantinople in its entirety.

If Rome was the huge urban museum that it was, due to centuries of art accumulation, the Severan Byzantium that Constantine finally conquered in 324 was no Rome. The new city's artistic *spolia* weren no longer to be collected during decades, as the result of military victories; they had to be identified, selected, collected, transported and only then exhibited in their new public galleries - and time was limited. Even if different from the primordial *spolia*, at the end of the day they kept their original meaning, as they were still an immediate and meaningful manifestation of imperial power and domination. Much work was required in only six years. Sozomen, in the fifth century, actually says that Constantine had to impose taxes to cover the expenses of building and adorning the city. Nevertheless, the Museum was ready to be seen in May 330, with every single stage of its curacy carefully performed. For the moment, let us make a tour of its major buildings and art collection.

2. The Zeuxippus, a special art gallery

Part of the Emperor's first great architectural plan consisted of remodelling or constructing from the ground up five buildings that soon became the major symbols of his power and urban plan: the Augusteion, the Basilica, the Hippodrome, the Great Palace and the Baths of Zeuxippus. They were all public buildings in the neuralgic centre of the city; all of them well connected by wide streets where circulation was easy, the postcard picture of visitation that Constantine wanted for his city. But they were also the main spaces where, by means of sculptural exhibitions and their very architectural grandeur, a new imperial image of power (of Roman imperial power) should be reflected, a wide-ranging look of *romanitas*.

The Baths of Zeuxippus along with the Hippodrome and the Great Palace, were one of the three sites where such *romanitas* soon became more evident. Nothing more Roman, everyone agrees, than a public bath-gymnasium and a space for athletic competitions (as the Hippodrome was), even if these activities were not the only ones having place in these buildings. Constantine had already ordered the building of such a complex in Rome, named after himself; but the new capital of the Empire, his major personal achievement, should have its own. From the eight great thermal complexes identified by the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* in the mid-fifth century - apart from the 153 smaller bathing places (*balneae*) - the Zeuxippus was certainly the most important and the one more intimately connected with the will of Constantine himself. In spite of its achievements, archaeological excavations held in place between 1927-1929 were not able to provide a very detailed plan of the inside organization of the building. Nevertheless, later excavations *in situ* unveiled other buildings of the same complex, among which there was a cistern, and provided more data for a better understanding of the building and its functions.

The Zeuxippus, Constantinople's major bathing complex, stood in the center of the city, between the northeastern corner of the Hippodrome, the Great Palace and the public forum known as the Augusteion (see Picture 1). Traditionally, literary sources ascribe its construction to Septimius Severus, in the last years of the second century. Even if we are not aware of Constantine and his team's level of intervention on the existing building - in fact, when telling the rush of building activity leading up to the dedication of Constantinople, the sixth century historian Malalas only says that the emperor "completed" or "filled in" (ἀνεπλήρωσε) the building -, it seems to admit that it was largely remodeled and amplified, besides being provided with a more direct connection to the Great Palace and the Hippodrome, via the Augusteion. Far beyond the installation of the gallery of statues, the project must have included a series of new rooms and halls, some of them meant to host the collection of statues. Constantine, in the Zeuxippus as in many other sites of the so-long called Byzantium, was preparing the galleries that were to receive the most impressive works of classical sculpture.

As said before, archaeological remains of the Zeuxippus are few when it comes to reconstructing its inner architectural organization. Nevertheless, scholars like F. Yegül seem to be correct when seeing in the remains resemblances to the Baths of Faustina in Miletus, which archaeology was able to uncover in a more efficient way than in the case of the Zeuxippus. The Baths of Faustina are also meaningful on the subject of statuary displaying, since, besides the statues naturally displayed in

this kind of building, excavations identified a square hall with a broad apse and niches in the walls that could have functioned as a lecture hall, a *museion* or a room for the display of statuary (apud Yegül).

141715 This is the kind of physical gallery that we must have in mind from now on. Although it is possible that there were rooms exclusively meant to host the works of art - and one may think especially of the case of sculptural portraits, usually smaller and more easy to accommodate in a closed room -, the better known examples of bath-gymnasia we have mentioned, as well as others, show very clearly that the main works of art, those precious sculptures brought from abroad, both in bronze and marble, 141720 were to be displayed all-along the building, inside and outside of it. Therefore, one may already distinguish two policies for display, both traditional and part of Constantine's project; one more monumental and public, meant to be a part of the user's routine - which somehow took the outer communitarian space into the inner spaces of the Baths -, alongside another one, more concentrated and possible to 141725 organise thematically, chronologically or even artistically, probably meant for more exclusive visitors; this might occupy several smaller rooms.

The reputation of the Zeuxippus is due mainly to the poetic description of some of its statues, a poem in 416 hexametres by Christodoros that was transmitted to us as 141730 book 2 of the *Greek Anthology*. Presenting in all manuscripts of the *Anthology* the epigraph

Ἐκφρασις τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γυμνάσιον τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ζευξίππου, the 141735 poem describes eighty statues or statue-groups, from the much larger collection that was possible to see in the Baths. Scholars have been divided on their approaches to the relations between the poem and the statues themselves, giving more or less credit to the truth of their description and to the words of Christodoros. Indeed, it is datable in the first years of the sixth century, under the government (and probable commission) of Anastasius, mentioned in lines 403-404. Archaeology has shown that Christodoros worked upon a real collection of sculptures, even if we are forced to 141740 believe that it was no longer the same collection prepared by Constantine, at least 170 years before. Among other remains, excavations unveiled three base-statues, two of which had inscribed the names of Hecuba (Base B) and Aeschynes (Base C), characters whose statues are described in the *Ekphrasis*, respectively in lines 175-178 and 14-17.

141745 The very re-appreciation of these bases will soon provide us new arguments on the reading we are following. First, the bases must be placed somewhere in the fifth century. Therefore, they are posterior to Constantine, i.e., they were very probably not part of the original exhibition in 330, "when Roman square bases were more common" (Casson); on the other hand, being previous to the time of Christodoros, it 141750 is highly possible that he saw them when composing his poem. This hints at the constant remodelling of the exhibitions inside the Zeuxippus, something that receives further confirmation in the holes found in Bases A and B, enough to prove that each base must have supported at least two different statues and allowing the possibility of the existence of temporary exhibitions. We must accept the idea of an open 141755 gallery, even several open and multipurpose galleries, being constantly reformed. And this is different from the simple accumulation of statues, as the result of military *spolia*, for instance; the archaeological data we now have support that idea that, in the Zeuxippus, statues were moved and frequently added to the collection also as a response to museological or artistic concerns.

141760 In spite of the (few) spatial indications provided by Christodoros and the intricate attempts of reconstructing the order of the statues by some scholars, we are actually unable to reconstruct the look of the sculptural exhibitions in the Zeuxippus. Nevertheless, it seems that Christodoros follows a somewhat linear order, and that is why we give credit to the opinion of Bassett, when arguing for the *Ekphrasis* as a 141765 description of the statues exhibited in the *frigidarium*, which was, indeed, "the showpiece of any Imperial establishment". There, statues could stand at ground level - and that was Stupperich's biggest mistake, to assume that every sculpture was displayed this way -, but also in open spaces (like halls and corridors) or niches and

141770 *aediculae*, in the best architectural tradition of similar buildings found everywhere throughout the Roman Empire. The room on which Christodoros focused, and with it the entire complex, would have such a *poikiliakos* aspect, as *poikiliakos* was the poem that describes it with such creative versification. Once again, the three bases, contemporary as they are, can afford some confirmation. Base C (the "Aeschynes' base") 141775 is smaller (height 1,35 m; shaft 58 cm) than Bases A and B (height 1,40 m diameter 1,08 m; shaft 83 cm), but its inscription presents the same lettering than Base B, which suggests that they were part of a same gallery purpose. With all this evidence,

Bassett seems to be correct when arguing that "a concerted effort was made to provide a homogenous display" and that "presumably all of the bases in the collection were round". If so, even if the inner structures of the building were also used to exhibit (its niches, its corners, its halls), one may accept the idea that the very conception of these bases was part of a museological plan.

Yet another question requires an answer as we *revisit* the Zeuxippus sculpture gallery: the medium in which these works were sculpted. Christodoros, in the fifth century, persistently mentions bronze (with chalkon and derivative forms), and archaeologists actually detected remains of such material in the uncovered bases of the statues (Casson); in the sixth century, Malalas says that Constantine adorned the Zeuxippus "with variegated marbles and statues of bronze" (κοσμήσας κίοσι καὶ μαρμάροις ποικίλοις καὶ χαλκουργήμασιν) and colourful marble seem to be mentioned not as medium of the sculptures but as covering the walls and floor of the building. On the other hand, in the twelfth century, Cedrenus provides another description of the complex, mentioning, "many painted marvels and well-made splendours of marble, stone and mosaic, as well as bronze images that were the work of ancient men" (ποικίλη τις ἦν θεωρία καὶ λαμπρότης τεχνῶν, τῶν τε μαρμάρων καὶ λίθων καὶ ψηφίδων καὶ εἰκόνων διαχαλκου πεποιημένων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀνδρῶν ἔργα) but also this author is unclear on the media of the statues. Nevertheless, nothing undeniably supports Christodoros' exclusive references to bronze as the medium of the collection. Once again, we face the limits of the reading of the *Ekphrasis*. Is Christodoros working upon a single gallery, probably the one at the *frigidarium*? Or is he arbitrarily focusing on some statues he sees when walking through the Bath? Once more, archaeology provides a possible answer.

The main artefact recovered in the site of the Baths that can directly be connected with the museological plan of Constantine is a fragment of the face of a colossal female statue or bust, which is nowadays lost but we are told it was found "among the debris at the very bottom level" (Casson et alii). Because of that, the report of the second excavation already stated that the marble fragment "derived from a statue which once stood in the baths, quite probably one of the early Greek statues looted from Athens by one of the first Emperors of the fourth or fifth century AD." Even if a direct relation to Constantine is unsafe, we obtain confirmation for another characteristic of the exhibitions in the Zeuxippus: there were, in the same space, statues of marble and bronze, from the very beginnings of the building as a public bath and a art museum.

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3. Masterpieces at the Zeuxippus (the possible guided tour)

The fragment of a colossal head we are looking at is also the best proof available to confirm the practice of importing sculpture to Constantinople from the very first years of its foundation. As mentioned before, Constantine's use of sculptural *spolia* is to be understood differently, since it was part of a detailed plan to provide the city with some of the greatest masterpieces of both Greek and Roman culture. From now on we shall look at some examples of sculptures we know, mostly from Christodoros' account, to have been displayed at the Zeuxippus. Samples of true antique sculpture, that at least is how the inhabitants would have looked at them - brought from several parts of the Empire. One must also keep in mind the common use, at the time, of copies, some of them ordered for a specific building, a practice that, besides not being a sign of bad taste, must have had its own market.

Archaeological interventions at the site of the Zeuxippus, apart from the aforementioned fragment of a colossal head, have not been able to uncover any complete or even partial statue that might have been displayed in the Baths. Nevertheless, the better-known history of other famous sculptures and their presence in the galleries of Constantinople allow us to imagine that no less important works of art must have stood in the rooms of the Zeuxippus, at first as the result of Constantine's museological plan. One single example would be enough: the eleventh century historian Kedrenos records a tradition according to which the fifth-century chryselephantine statue of Zeus, the work of Pheidias first exhibited in the Temple of Zeus in Olympia, was carried off to Constantinople, most probably in the years of the preparation of the city for the official dedication, where it was displayed at the Palace of Lausus, another building renowned for the vast and rich collection of statues housed within its walls.

As for the Zeuxippus collection, the most recent and complete essay on listing the sculptures displayed is the one by Bassett 2004. When working on the Zeuxippus, Bassett does it probably in the only way possible, i.e. from the list of statues and sculptural groups given in the *Ekphrasis*. But the poem, in spite of the aforementioned persistent indication of bronze and other indirect information, says

nothing on the statues' provenance, antiquity or authorship. In face of such a lack of information, both literary and archaeological, the only way to forward is the way of moderate imagination and comparison with known sculptural models of each character, when such a work is possible. And some interesting identifications have been made or suggested. I give here two examples, and dare to make a suggestion. Richter 1965, for instance, thought that the statue of Sappho described between lines 69-71 of the *Ekphrasis* could be an original brought from Lesbos, not necessarily from the classical period, since Christodoros mentions the poetess as a seated female figure, an image frequent in coins found at Mytilene, from the second century AD. In another example, all the three descriptions of statues of Aphrodite (lines 78-81, 99-101, 288-290) fit the model of a series of half-draped fourth century BC representations of the goddess, as the so-called Aphrodite (or Venus) d'Arles, a first-century BC marble sculpture now at the Louvre that is thought to be a copy of the Aphrodite of Thespiae of Praxiteles, a work from his early career in the 360s BC that could also resemble the model of the so-called *Cnidia Baldevere*, nowadays in the Vatican Museum (N° inv. 4260). Scholars have for long noticed this resemblance, but I suggest what seems to me a strong possibility, that the statue standing at the Zeuxippus may have been the original fourth century BC sculpture by Praxiteles. Besides Pausanias' (second century AD) mention of having viewed the statue at Thespiae in Boeotia, as part of a group made up of Cupid, Phryne and Aphrodite, nothing else is known about its destination. Therefore, if we only remember that in the latter years of the fourth century Theodosius II brought the Aphrodite of Cnidos of the same Praxiteles to his court in Lausus it is not hard at all to suspect that Constantine himself or any other emperor after him might have brought to the city this other Praxitelean work.

141870 4. A thematic gallery on national identity?

Such as the Zeuxippus in terms of statuary. As for Christodoros' poem - which in selecting its characters seems to obey above all artistic, poetic and commissioning interests - it mentions and describes figures from the following main categories: mythical characters that participated in the Trojan War (25), mythical characters not part of the Trojan conflict (6), mythical prophets or seers (8), male and female divinities (11), poets and other writers (16), philosophers (7), political men and other public characters (7) and athletes (3). If the collection prepared by Constantine might not have had the very same statues, as said before, Christodoros' account is still useful for providing a sample of a collection with an intention akin to those of Constantine. Indeed, it makes sense that some of the ideological purposes were the same.

141885 The large amount of statues portraying mythical heroes from the Trojan war, 25 (29 in other authors' account), led Stupperich 1982 to develop his very polemic theory that the *Ekphrasis* was mostly a bronze *Ilioupersis* - indeed, the most part of the characters are described as being in a miserable situation, close to or as result of the fall of the city; and that the Emperor himself had wanted to present Constantinople as the new Troy, the third, after Rome. Furthermore, Stupperich's paper actually reads the Trojan iconography at the Zeuxippus as Constantine's intention, arguing, among other things, from three literary testimonies that mention Constantine's first thought of founding his new capital in Troy (or at a nearby location in Troad).

141895 In general, even if it remains impossible to determine how far the mythical (Trojan and non-Trojan) statues described by Christodoros in the late-fifth or early-sixth century were part of Constantine's inaugural collection, I think it might be assumed that this original collection was composed mostly with mythical characters, models of virtue, happiness and even learning from pain, all of them derived from the very best characters of ancient Greek-roman culture. On the other hand, it is also easy to understand that the portraits and freestanding statues of political and more contemporary figures were later added to the collection, as the result of successive individual or group dedications. Yet, when thinking about its origins, the exhibition had to reflect, as well said by Bassett, the "desire to detach Constantinopolitan identity from the confining agenda of local history and link it with the universal cultural traditions of Greece and Rome". Myth, music, poetry, rhetoric, politics and even sports, those were the bases that Constantine wanted as the new Christian Empire's *paideia*. Constantine needed to provide his people with a plastic sample of this *paideia* within the walls of the Zeuxippus and other Constantinopolitan public

141910 places. And so these places became museums of art, but also museums of (yet unspoken) very meaningful words (Bär 2012), where pagan gods and seers were meant to transmit a message not to be the object of any kind of cult. In 382, merely 50 years after the official inauguration of Constantinople, an imperial decree from Theodosius I, referring to a certain temple at [Osrhoene](#) in Mesopotamia [=Edessa, now Şanlıurfa, Turkey], commands the local authorities to keep it open so that the inhabitants may enjoy its precious gallery of statues. The text of the decree is clear on saying that the statues were brought to the temple more "artis pretio quam divinitate", a phrase unequivocal in relation to the purely artistic importance ascribed to these collections of statuary.

141915

141920 The urban project prepared for the new capital, in spite of the Christian tradition surrounding the foundation that gained voice after it took place, insisting on seeing it as the *naked luxuriant whore* possibly implied by Jerome; it was not permeable to (or at least not defined by) the ideological demands of the new official religion of the Empire. Far from being intimidated by the popular beliefs of the pagan statues as containing evil demons one may actually think that even that must have created an aura of mysticism favourable to the existence and keeping of the statues themselves.

141925

141930 In other words, as recently concluded by Elsner, "the very re-appropriation and redeployment into private collections of these objects, many with pagan themes, helped to neutralize their religious value to a sort of antiquarian chic which was hardly in opposition to the new Christianising tendency." On the other hand, as postulated by James, pagan statues were the medium of a paradox that is no more than apparent: they are intentionally used by Constantine (and by the emperors after him) as a means to unify an officially Christian empire. And such a fact proves how far the inhabitants accepted these works of art as part of their daily-life, their collective and more immediate culture.

141935

A last plausible interrogation, in relation to Constantine's artistic agenda, may come from a literary and performative enquiry on the *Ekphrasis*. The poem, with regard to its context of production, commission and much-probable performance - and if it was not for its literary value - could fit in the same group of texts such as the so-called Παραστάσεις ὑντοποι χρονικά... ("Brief Historical Expositions"), a confusing little book from the eighth or ninth century that consists of a series of comments on Constantinoplian topography and monuments, mainly its statues and their mystic relation to the inhabitants. More than revealing the Byzantines' distrust of classical statues, this book (and others like it) is to be interpreted, if not as a kind of tourist's guidebook to the curiosities of Constantinople (Mango), at least as having been compiled also from such guidebooks, among the several and very distinct sources most certainly implied in its composition.

141940

141945 As James writes, "statues were perceived on both the intellectual and popular level as animated, dangerous and talismanic", which suggests an official intention to promote no more than the artistic valour of the sculptures.

141950

When reading the full text of the *Ekphrasis*, we sometimes receive the impression of being in front of a text to be performed; several marks of colloquialism, space indications (scenic indications indeed) and other aspects of Christodoros' verses make it easy to imagine an actor (or the poet himself) at least reading his text aloud to an audience, around and in dialogue with the statues themselves. We can think, for instance, of a guided tour of some of the masterpieces of the Zeuxippus, or even a poetical and dramatic performance prepared for one of the several dedications of statues we know to have taken place in the Baths. More than a simple speculation, this chance becomes a real possibility if we think of parallel poems that we know to have been performed for an audience such is the case of the *Ekphrasis* of Eagia Sophia that Paul Silentiarius wrote in the late-sixth century, after the rebuilding of the temple, to be performed in the day of its dedication, in 563. The only manuscript that transmits the text clearly shows marginal annotations and other scenic indications destined for the actors. That Christodoros' poem could have been written for a similar ceremony and performative end is a very plausible possibility. Maybe we only lack the manuscript to prove it.

141955

141960 The arguments provided so far seem to unveil a little more of Constantine's artistic convictions and careful plans for his own city of Constantinople. Archaeology, literary sources and the comparison with contemporary or neighbouring examples show how the case of the Zeuxippus, as for its functioning as an art-gallery, is indeed special. It was not the result of years of sculptural integration in a public building, rather the best-known (and documented) case of the construction of a national gallery of antique sculpture, with very clear political and artistic purposes. But the Zeuxippus, with its statuary, was also a space of memories. It was the space where art was meant to forge the inexistent memories of an entire people,

141965

141970

141975

the Byzantine people. A people to whom past-references were not part of its own history; a people who needed, more than any other and in a very crucial moment, to fulfil its lack of *paideia*. And plastic art was an important part of the imperial plan to do so.

See

https://www.academia.edu/w637w205/The_statuary_collection_held_at_the_Baths_of_Zeuxippus_AP_2_and_the_search_for_Constantine_s_museological_intentions_Synthesis_2w_La_Plata_Argentina_20w4_w5_30

Zosimus, New History, book 2

[...] Experience assures us, that while these ceremonies were duly performed, according to the direction of the oracles, the empire was secure, and likely to retain its sovereignty over almost all the known world; and on the other hand, when they were neglected, about the time when Dioclesian laid down the imperial dignity, it fell to decay, and degenerated insensibly into barbarism. That I state nothing but truth I will prove from chronology. From the consulate of Chilo and Libo, in which Severus celebrated the secular games, or rites, to the ninth consulate of Dioclesian, and eighth of Maximianus, was a hundred and one years. Then Dioclesian from an emperor became a private individual, and Maximianus followed his example. But when Constantine and Licinius were in their third consulship, the 110 years were completed, and the festival ought to have been kept according to custom; but it was neglected, and affairs consequently declined to their present unfortunate condition. Three years after Dioclesian died, and the reigning emperors, Constantius and Maximianus Gallerius declared Severus and Maximinus (who was nephew to Gallerius), the Caesars, giving all Italy to Severus, and the eastern provinces to Maximinus. Affairs being all regulated and the barbarians quiet, since the Romans had been so successful against them, Constantine, who was the son of Constantius by a concubine, and had previously an ambition of being emperor (but was more inflamed with that desire, since Severus and Maximinus had acquired the name and honour of Caesars), was now resolved to leave the place where he had resided, and to go to his father Constantius, who was beyond the Alps, and generally in Britain. But being apprehensive of seizure by the way, many persons being well acquainted of his anxiety for dominion, he maimed all the horses that were kept for public service, whenever he came to any stable where they were kept, except what he took for his own use. He continued to do this throughout his journey, by which means he prevented those that pursued him from going further, while he himself proceeded toward the country where his father was.

It happened that Constantius died at that time; the guards, therefore, who thought none of his legitimate children to be fit for the imperial dignity, considered that Constantine was a person capable of sustaining it, and conferred the honour upon him, in hopes of being remunerated with handsome presents. When his effigy according to custom was exhibited at Rome, Maxentius, the son of Maximianus Herculus, could not endure the sight of Constantine's good fortune, who was the son of a harlot, while himself, who was the son of so great an emperor, remained at home in indolence, and his father's empire was enjoyed by others. He therefore associated with himself in the enterprise Marcellianus and Marcellus, two military tribunes, and Lucianus, who distributed the swine's flesh, with which the people of Rome were provided by the treasury, and the court-guards called Praetoriani. By them he was promoted to the imperial throne, having promised liberally to reward all that assisted him in it. For this purpose they first murdered Abellius, because he, being prefect of the city, opposed their enterprise.

Maximianus Gallerius, when he had learned this, sent Severus Caesar against Maxentius with an army. But while he advanced from Milan with several legions of Moors, Maxentius corrupted his troops with money, and even the prefect of the court, Anullinus, and thereby conquered him with great ease. On which Severus fled to Ravenna, which is a strong and populous city, provided with necessaries sufficient for himself and soldiers. When Maximianus Herculus knew this, he was doubtless greatly concerned for his son Maxentius, and therefore, leaving Lucania where he then was, he went to Ravenna. Finding that Severus could not by any means be forced out of this city, it being well fortified, and stored with provisions, he deluded him with false oaths, and persuaded him to go to Rome. But on his way thither, coming to a place called the Three Tabernae, he was taken by a stratagem of Maxentius and immediately executed. Maximianus Gallerius could not patiently endure these injuries done to Severus, and therefore resolved to go from the east to Rome, and to punish, Maxentius as he deserved. On his arrival in Italy, he found the soldiers about him so treacherous, that he returned into the east without fighting a battle.

At this period Maximianus Herculus, who lamented the tumults which disturbed the public peace, came to Dioclesian who then lived at Carnutum, a town of Gallia Celtica, and endeavoured to persuade him to resume the empire, and not to suffer the government which they had preserved so long and with so much difficulty to be exposed to the madness and folly of those who had possessed themselves of it, and who had already brought it near to ruin. But Dioclesian refused to listen to him; for he wisely preferred his own quiet, and perhaps foresaw the troubles that would ensue, being a man well versed in matters of religion. Herculus therefore, perceiving that

he could not prevail with him, came to Ravenna, and so returned to the Alps to meet Constantine, who lay there. And being naturally a busy faithless man, he promised his daughter Fausta to Constantine, which he performed, but persuaded him to pursue Maximianus Gallerius, who was then leaving Italy, and to lay wait for Maxentius. To all which Constantine agreed. He then left him, designing if possible to recover the empire, as he hoped to create a quarrel between Constantine and his son Maxentius. But while he attempted these things, Maximianus Gallerius assumed Licinius, as his colleague in the empire, with whose assistance he hoped to cope with Maxentius. But while Gallerius deliberated on these affairs, he died of an incurable wound, and Licinius then also claimed the sole dominion. Maximianus Herculus endeavoured, as I have said, to recover the empire by alienating the soldiers from Maxentius. For which purpose, by gifts and insinuating addresses, having brought them over to him, |42 he endeavoured to form a conspiracy against Constantine, in which his soldiers were to join. But Fausta revealed it to Constantine, and Herculus, who was now overborne by so many disappointments, died of a distemper at Tarsus.

Maxentius, having escaped this danger, and being of opinion that he was now well enough established in the empire, sent persons into Africa, and in particular to Carthage, to carry his image about that country. But the soldiers in that country forbade it, out of regard to Maximianus Gallerius, and the respect they had for his memory, until they heard that Maxentius was coming to make war on them on the plea of an insurrection. They then went to Alexandria, but meeting with a great army with which they were not able to contend, they returned to Carthage. Maxentius, being disturbed at this, resolved to sail for Africa, and to punish the authors of the commotion. But the soothsayers having sacrificed and given him ill omens, he was afraid to go, not only because the entrails had that appearance, but also lest Alexander, who was prefect of the court in Africa, should be his enemy. To secure his passage thither from all doubt, he sent to Alexander, desiring him to send his son as an hostage. But he, suspecting that Maxentius did not desire his son for the mere purpose of an hostage, but to deceive him, denied the request. After this, Maxentius sending other agents to him to take him off by treachery and stratagem, the plot was discovered; and the soldiers, having then got a favourable opportunity to rebel, conferred the purple robe on Alexander, though he was by birth not only a Phrygian, but a timid cowardly man, and unlit for any difficult undertaking, and was, moreover, of an advanced age.

At that time a fire happened at Rome; whether it came out of the air or earth is uncertain. It broke out in the temple of Fortune; and while the people ran to extinguish it, a soldier, speaking blasphemy against the goddess, was killed by the mob out of zeal, by which a mutiny was occasioned among the soldiers. They would have destroyed the whole city, had not Maxentius soon appeased their rage. Maxentius after this sought every occasion to make war on Constantine, and pretending grief for his father's death, of which Constantine was the cause, he designed to go towards Rhaetia, which is contiguous both to Gaul and Illyricum. For he imagined that he should subdue Dalmatia and Illyricum, by the assistance of the generals in those parts, and of the army of Licinius. But thinking it better first to arrange affairs in Africa, he raised an army, bestowing the command of it on Rufius Volusianus, prefect of the court, and sent them into Africa. He sent Zeno also along with Rufius, who was a person not only expert in military affairs, but esteemed for his courtesy and affability. On the first charge, Alexander's troops retired on a body of men in the rear, nor was the other party left unconquered by the enemy. Alexander himself was taken and strangled.

The war being thus at an end, a good opportunity was afforded to sycophants and informers of impeaching all the persons in Africa, who had good estates, as friends to Alexander: nor were any of the accused spared, but some of them put to death, and others deprived of all their possessions. After this he triumphed at Rome for the mischief done at Carthage. Such was the state of the affairs of Maxentius, who conducted himself with cruelty and licentiousness towards all the inhabitants of Italy, and even to Rome itself. Meantime Constantine, who had long been jealous of him, was then much more disposed to contention. Having therefore raised an army amongst the Barbarians, Germans, and Celts, whom he had conquered, and likewise drawn a force out of Britain, amounting in the whole to ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse, he marched from the Alps into Italy, passing those towns that surrendered without doing them any damage, but taking by storm those which resisted.

While he was making this progress, Maxentius had collected a much stronger army; consisting of eighty thousand Romans and Italians, all the Tuscans on the sea coast, forty thousand men from Carthage, besides what the Sicilians sent him; his whole force amounting to a hundred and seventy thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse.

Both being thus prepared, Maxentius threw a bridge over the Tiber, which was not of one entire piece, but divided into two parts, the centre of the bridge being made to fasten with irons, which might be drawn out upon occasion. He gave orders to the workmen, that as soon as they saw the army of Constantine upon the juncture of the bridge, they should draw out the iron fastenings, that the enemy who stood upon it might fall into the river.

Constantine, advancing with his army to Rome, encamped in a field before the city, which was broad and therefore convenient for cavalry. Maxentius in the mean time shut himself up within the walls, and sacrificed to the gods, and, moreover, consulted the Sibylline oracles concerning the event of the war. Finding a prediction, that whoever designed any harm to the Romans should die a miserable death, he applied it to himself, because he withstood those that came against Rome, and wished to take it. His application indeed proved just. For when Maxentius drew out his army before the city, and was marching over the bridge that he himself had constructed, an infinite number of owls flew down and covered the wall. When Constantine saw this, he ordered his men to stand to their arms. And the two armies being drawn up opposite to each other, Constantine sent his cavalry against that of the enemy, whom they charged with such impetuosity that they threw them into disorder. The signal being given to the infantry, they likewise marched in good order towards the enemy. A furious battle having commenced, the Romans themselves, and their foreign allies, were unwilling to risk their lives, as they wished for deliverance from the bitter tyranny with which they were burdened; though the other troops were slain in great numbers, being either trod to death by the horse, or killed by the foot.

As long as the cavalry kept their ground, Maxentius retained some hopes, but when they gave way, he tied with the rest over the bridge into the city. The beams not being strong enough to bear so great a weight, they broke; and Maxentius, with the others, was carried with the stream down the river.

When the news of this victory was reported in the city, none dared to shew any joy for what had happened, because many thought it was an unfounded report. But when the head of Maxentius was brought upon a spear, their fear and dejection were changed to joy and pleasure. On this occasion Constantine punished very few, and they were only some few of the nearest friends of Maxentius; but he abolished the praetorian troops, and destroyed the fortresses in which they used to reside. At length, having arranged all things in the city, he went towards Gallia Celtica; and on his way sent for Licinius to Milan, and gave him in marriage his sister Constantia, whom he had formerly promised him, when he wished him to unite with himself against Maxentius.

That solemnity over, Constantine proceeded towards the Celtae. It was not long before a civil war broke out between Licinius and Maximianus, who had a severe engagement, in which Licinius at first appeared to have the disadvantage, but he presently rallied and put Maximianus to flight. This emperor, travelling through the east into Egypt, in hopes of raising a force to renew the war, died at Tarsus.

The empire being thus devolved on Constantine and Licinius, they soon quarrelled. Not because Licinius gave any cause for it, but that Constantine, in his usual manner, was unfaithful to his agreement, by endeavouring to alienate from Licinius some nations that belonged to his dominions. By this means an open rupture ensued, and both prepared for war. Licinius took up his head-quarters at Cibalis, a city of Pannonia, which stands on a hill; the road to which is rugged and narrow. The greatest part of this road is through a deep morass, and the remainder up a mountain, on which stands the city. Below it extends a spacious plain, which entertains the view with a boundless prospect. On this Licinius fixed his camp, and extended the body of his army under the hill, that his flanks might be protected from the enemy.

Constantine in the meantime drew up his men near the mountain, placing the horse in front, thinking that to be the best disposition lest the enemy should fall upon the foot, who moved but slowly, and hinder their advance. Having done this, he immediately gave the charge, and attacked the enemy. This engagement was one of the most furious that was ever fought; for when each side had expended their darts, they fought a long time with spears and javelins; and after the action had continued from morning to night, the right wing, where Constantine himself commanded, began to prevail. The enemy being routed, Licinius's troops, seeing him mounted and ready to fly, dared not stay to eat their portions, but left behind them all their cattle and provisions, taking only as much food as would suffice for one night, and marched with great precipitation along with Licinius to Sirmium, a city of Pannonia, by which runs a river which discharges itself into the Ister. In passing this town he broke down the bridge over the river, and marched on with an intention to levy troops in Thrace. Constantine, having taken Cibalis, and Sirmium, and all the towns that Licinius had abandoned, sent five thousand men in pursuit of him. But as these were ignorant of

142185 the course he had taken, they could not overtake him. Constantine however, having
rebuilt the bridge over the Saus, which Licinius had broken down, was with his army
almost at his heels. Having entered Thrace, he arrived at the plain where Licinius
lay encamped. On the night of his arrival there he marshalled his army, and gave
142190 orders for his soldiers to be ready for battle by day-break. As soon as it was light,
Licinius, perceiving Constantine with his army, drew up his forces also, having been
joined by Valens, whom he styled Caesar, after the battle of Cibalis. When the armies
engaged, they first fought with bows at a distance; but when their arrows were spent,
they began to use their javelins, and poignards. Thus the battle continued very
142195 obstinately for a considerable time, until those whom Constantine had sent in pursuit
of Licinius descended from an eminence upon the armies while they were engaged. These
wheeled round the hill before they arrived at them, deeming it best to join their own
party from the higher ground, and to encompass the enemy. The troops of Licinius,
being aware of them, courageously withstood against them all, so that many thousands
were slain on both sides, and the advantage was equal, till the signal was given for
142200 both to retire. Next day they agreed on a truce, and entered into an alliance with
each other, on condition that Constantine should possess Illyricum and all the
nations westward, and that Licinius should have Thrace and the east; but that Valens,
whom Licinius had made Caesar, should be put to death, because he was said to be the
author of all the mischief which had happened. Having done this, and sworn on both
142205 sides to observe the conditions, Constantine conferred the rank and title of Caesar
on Crispus, his son by a concubine called Minervina, who was as yet but a youth, and
on Constantine, who was born but a few days before at Arelatum. At the same time
Licinianus, the son of Licinius, who was twenty months of age, was declared Caesar,
Thus ended the second war.

142210 Constantine hearing that the Sauromatae, who dwelt near the Palus Maeotis, had passed
the Ister in boats, and pillaged his territories, led his army against them, and was
met by the barbarians, under their king Rausimodus. The Sauromatae attacked a town
which was sufficiently garrisoned, but its wall was built in the lower part of stone,
and in the upper part of wood. They therefore thought that they might easily take the
142215 town by burning all the wooden part of the wall; and with that view set it on fire,
and in the mean time shot at those who stood on the walls. The defenders threw down
darts and stones upon the barbarians, and killed many of them; and Constantine then
coming up and falling on them from a higher ground, slew a great number, took wore
alive, and put the rest to flight. Rausimodus, having lost the greater part of his
142220 army, took shipping and crossed the Ister, with an intention of once more plundering
the Roman dominions. Constantine, hearing of his design, followed them over the
Ister, and attacked them in a thick wood upon a hill, to which they had fled, where
he killed many of them, amongst whom was Rausimodus. He also took many of them
142225 prisoners, giving quarter to those that would submit; and returned to his head-
quarters with an immense number of captives. These he distributed into the different
cities, and then came to Thessalonica, where having constructed a harbour (this city
not possessing one before), he made new preparations for war against Licinius. For
this purpose, he fitted out two hundred galleys of war; each with thirty oars,
besides two thousand transport vessels, and raised a force of a hundred and twenty
142230 thousand foot, and ten thousand horsemen and sailors. Licinius, hearing of the great
preparations of Constantine, sent messengers to every nation, commanding them to
prepare a sufficient number of men for the navy, besides horse and foot soldiers. The
Egyptians therefore sent out eighty galleys, the Phoenicians an equal number, the
Ionians and Dorians of Asia sixty, the Cyprians thirty, the Carians twenty, the
142235 Bithynians thirty, and the Africans fifty. His foot-soldiers amounted to nearly a
hundred and fifty thousand, but his horse only to fifteen thousand, which were sent
to him from Phrygia and Cappadocia. Constantine's navy lay at Piraeus, that of
Licinius in the Hellespont. When they had thus established their naval and military
forces, Licinius encamped at Adrianople in Thrace, whilst Constantine sent for his
142240 navy from Piraeus, which was built and manned chiefly in Greece. Advancing with his
infantry from Thessalonica, he encamped on the bank of the river Hebrus, which runs
to the left of Adrianople. At the same time, Licinius drew up his army in order of
battle, extending from a mountain which is above the town two hundred stadia, as far
as the junction of another river with the Hebrus; thus the armies continued opposite
142245 to each other for several days. Constantine. observing where the river was least
broad, concerted this plan. He ordered his men to bring trees from the mountain, and
to tie ropes around them, as if he intended to throw a bridge over the river for the
passage of his army. By this stratagem he deluded the enemy, and, ascending a hill on
which were thick woods sufficient to conceal any that were in them, he planted there
142250 five thousand archers and eight hundred horse. Having done this, he crossed the

Hebrus at the narrowest place, and so surprised the enemy that many fled with all their speed, while others, who were amazed at his unexpected approach, were struck with wonder at his coming over so suddenly. In the meantime, the rest of his army crossed the river in security, and a great slaughter commenced. Nearly thirty
142255 thousand fell; and about sunset Constantine took their camp, while Licinius, with all the forces he could muster, hastened through Thrace to his ships.
As soon as day appeared, the whole army of Licinius, or as many of them as had fled to the neighbouring mountains and vallies, together with those that Licinius through haste had left behind him, surrendered themselves to Constantine. Licinius being
142260 arrived at Byzantium, Constantine followed and besieged him in that city. His navy, as before related, had now left Piraeus and lay at Macedon. He therefore sent orders to his admirals to bring the ships into the Hellespont. This being effected according to the command of Constantine, the officers of his navy thought it not prudent to engage with more than eighty of their best sailing vessels, which were gallies of
142265 thirty oars each, because the place was too narrow for the reception of a greater number. Upon which Abantus, the admiral of Licinius, making use of two hundred ships, despised the smallness of the enemy's fleet, which he thought he could easily surround. But the signals on both sides being given, and the vessels meeting stern to stern, the seamen of Constantine managed their ships so as to engage in good order;
142270 but the ships of Abantus, sailing against the enemy without any order, and being confined by the narrowness of the place, became exposed to the enemy, who sunk and otherwise destroyed them. Many were thrown overboard; till at length night put an end to the engagement. The fleets then separated and put in at different places, the one at Eleus in Thrace, and the other at the Aeantian harbour. The following day, the
142275 wind blowing hard from the north, Abantus put out from the Aeantian port and prepared for action. But the galleys of fifty oars being come to Eleus by order of the admirals, Abantus was alarmed at the number of vessels, and hesitated whether to sail against the enemy. About noon the north wind subsided; the south wind then blew with such violence, that the ships of Licinius, which lay on the Asiatic coast, were some
142280 driven on shore, others broken against the rocks, and others foundered with all on board. In this affair five thousand men perished, together with a hundred and thirty ships filled with men, whom Licinius had sent out of Thrace to Asia accompanied by a part of his army; Byzantium being too small to contain all that were besieged with Licinius. The sea-fight being thus concluded, Abantus effected his escape with only
142285 four ships into Asia. The navy of Constantine, having arrived in the Hellespont laden with abundance of provisions and stores for his troops, weighed anchor in order to join in the siege of Byzantium, and to blockade the city by sea. The foot-soldiers of Licinius, being alarmed at the sight of such a navy, procured ships in which they sailed to Eleus.
142290 Meantime Constantine continued intent upon the siege, and raised a mound of equal height, with the wall, on which he placed wooden towers that overlooked the wall, from which his soldiers shot: those who defended it, in order that he might with greater security bring battering rams and other engines of war near it. By these means he thought himself sure to take the city. At which Licinius, being terrified,
142295 and not knowing how to act, resolved to leave Byzantium, and the weaker part of his army therein, and to take with him only such men as were fit for active service, and had given proofs of their attachment to himself, and to hasten without delay to Chalcedon in Bithynia. He flattered himself that another army might be raised in Asia, which would enable him again to contend with his adversary. Arriving therefore
142300 at Chalcedon, and, having appointed Martinianus to the command of the court guards, whom the Romans call Magister officiorum, his associate in this dangerous enterprize, he declared him Caesar, and sent him with an army to Lampsacus, to hinder the passage of the enemy from Thrace into the Hellespont. He posted his own men on the hills and passes about Chalcedon.
142305 While Licinius was thus occupied, Constantine, who had a great number of transports as well as warlike vessels, and was desirous to make use of them in crossing over and possessing himself of the opposite shore, fearing that the Bithynian coast might be inaccessible to ships of burden, immediately constructed some small vessels, with which he sailed to the sacred promontory, which lies at the entrance of the Pontus,
142310 two hundred stadia from Chalcedon. He there landed his army, which, having done, he drew them up upon some adjacent hills. Licinius, though he then saw that Bithynia was already in the hands of his enemy, was rendered so desperate by danger, that he sent for Martinianus from Lampsacus, and in order to encourage his men to fight, told them that he himself would lead them. Having said what he thought necessary to encourage
142315 them, he drew them up in order of battle, and marching out of the city, met the enemy, who were prepared for him. A sharp engagement taking place between Chalcedon

and the sacred promontory, Constantine had the superiority; for he fell on the enemy with such resolution, that of a hundred and thirty thousand men, scarcely thirty thousand escaped. When the Byzantines heard of this, they immediately threw open their gates to Constantine, as did the Chalcedonians also. Licinius after this defeat went to Nicomedia with what horse were left him, and a few thousands of foot. At this time a Persian named Hormisdas, of the royal family, came over to Constantine for refuge, under these circumstances. His father had been king of Persia. He was once celebrating his own birth-day after the Persian manner, when Hormisdas entered the palace, bringing with him a large quantity of venison. But as the guests at the table did not rise, and pay him the respect and honour due to him, he became enraged, and told them he would punish them with the death of Marsyas. This saying most of them did not understand, because it related to a foreign story; but one of them, who had lived in Phrygia, and had heard the story of Marsyas, explained to them the meaning of Hormisdas's menace, while they sat at table. It was therefore so treasured up in their recollection, that when his father died, they remembered his threat, and chose his younger brother king, though according to law the elder should be preferred above the other children. Not contented with that, they put Hormisdas in chains, and confined him on a hill which lies before their city. But after some time had elapsed, his wife effected his escape in this manner. She procured a large fish, and put a file in its belly, and, sewing it up again, delivered it to the most trusty of her eunuchs, charging him to tell Hormisdas, that he must eat the fish when no one was present, and use what he should find in its belly for his escape. When she had formed this contrivance, she sent several camels loaded with wine, and abundance of meat, to entertain her husband's keepers. While they were enjoying the feast she gave them, Hormisdas cut open the fish, and found the file; having with that filed off the shackles from his legs, he put on the robe of the eunuch, and passed through the midst of his keepers, who were by that time perfectly intoxicated. Taking one of the eunuchs along with him, he fled to the king of Armenia, who was his particular friend. By these means he got safe to Constantine, who shewed him all possible kindness and respect.

But Licinius being besieged by Constantine at Nicomedia also, knew not what to do, being sensible that he had not an army equal to engage. Going, therefore, out of the city, he submitted himself to Constantine, and brought him the purple robe, proclaiming him his emperor and lord, and intreating pardon for what was past. He presumed that he certainly should escape with life, because Constantine had sworn to his wife that he would spare him. But Constantine delivered Martinianus to the guards that they might put him to death, and sent Licinius to Thessalonica, as if he were to live there in security. However, he afterwards broke his oath, which was usual with Constantine, and caused him to be executed.

Now that the whole empire had fallen into the hands of Constantine, he no longer concealed his evil disposition and vicious inclinations, but acted as he pleased, without control. He indeed used the ancient worship of his country; though not so much out of honour or veneration as of necessity. Therefore he believed the soothsayers, who were expert in their art, as men who predicted the truth concerning all the great actions which he ever performed. But when he came to Rome, he was filled with pride and arrogance. He resolved to begin his impious actions at home. For he put to death his son Crispus, stiled (as I mentioned) Caesar, on suspicion of debauching his mother-in-law Fausta, without any regard to the ties of nature. And when his own mother Helena expressed much sorrow for this atrocity, lamenting the young man's death with great bitterness, Constantine under pretence of comforting her, applied a remedy worse than the disease. For causing a bath to be heated to an extraordinary degree, he shut up Fausta in it, and a short time after took her out dead. Of which his conscience accusing him, as also of violating his oath, he went to the priests to be purified from his crimes. But they told him, that there was no kind of lustration that was sufficient to clear him of such enormities. A Spaniard, named Aegyptius, very familiar with the court-ladies, being at Rome, happened to fall into converse with Constantine, and assured him, that the Christian doctrine would teach him how to cleanse himself from all his offences, and that they who received it were immediately absolved from all their sins. Constantine had no sooner heard this than he easily believed what was told him, and forsaking the rites of his country, received those which Aegyptius offered him; and for the first instance of his impiety, suspected the truth of divination. For since many fortunate occurrences had been thereby predicted to him, and really had happened according to such prediction, he was afraid that others might be told something which should fall out to his misfortune; and for that reason applied himself to the abolishing of the practice. And on a particular festival, when the army was to go up to the Capitol, he very

indecently reproached the solemnity, and treading the holy ceremonies, as it were, under his feet, incurred the hatred of the senate and people.

Being unable to endure the curses of almost the whole city, he sought for another city as large as Rome, where he might build himself a palace. Having, therefore, discovered a convenient site between Troas and old Ilium, he there accordingly laid a foundation, and built part of a wall to a considerable height, which may still be seen by any that sail towards the Hellespont. Afterwards changing his purpose, he left his work unfinished, and went to Byzantium, where he admired the situation of the place, and therefore resolved, when he had considerably enlarged it, to make it a residence worthy of an emperor. The city stands on a rising ground, which is part of the isthmus inclosed on each side by the Ceras and Propontis, two arms of the sea. It had formerly a gate, at the end of the porticos, which the emperor Sevirus built after he was reconciled to the Byzantines, who had provoked his resentment by admitting his enemy Niger into their city. At that time the wall reached down from the west side of the hill at the temple of Venus to the sea side, opposite to Chrysopolis. On the north side of the hill it reached to the dock, and beyond that to the shore, which lies opposite the passage into the Euxine sea. This narrow neck of land, between there and the Pontus, is nearly three hundred stadia in length. This was the extent of the old city. Constantine built a circular market-place where the old gate had stood, and surrounded it with double roofed porticos, erecting two great arches of Praeconnesian marble against each other, through which was a passage into the porticos of Severus, and out of the old city. Intending to increase the magnitude of the city, he surrounded it with a wall which was fifteen stadia beyond the former, and inclosed all the isthmus from sea to sea. Having thus enlarged the city, he built a palace little inferior to that of Rome, and very much embellished the hippodrome, or horse-course, taking into it the temple of Castor and Pollux, whose statues are still standing in the porticos of the hippodrome. He placed on one side of it the tripod that belonged to the Delphian Apollo, on which stood an image of the deity. As there was at Byzantium a very large market-place, consisting of four porticos, at the end of one of them, to which a numerous flight of steps ascends, he erected two temples; in one of which was placed the statue of Rhea, the mother of the gods, which Jason's companions had formerly fixed on Mount Dindymus, which is near the city of Cyzicus. It is said, that through his contempt of religion he impaired this statue by taking away the lions that were on each side, and, changing the position of the hands. For it formerly rested each hand on a lion, but was now altered into a supplicating posture, looking towards the city, and seeming to observe what the people were doing. In the other temple he placed the statue of the Fortune of Rome. He afterwards built convenient dwellings for the senators who followed him from Rome. He engaged in no more wars; and even when the Thaifalians, a Scythian tribe, made an incursion into his dominions, he not only neglected to lead his army against them, but after he had lost most of his troops, and saw the enemy plundering all before them, even to his very intrenchments, was contented to save himself by flight. When he was delivered from the distractions of war, he yielded himself to voluptuousness, and distributed to the people of Byzantium a present of corn, which is continued to this day. As he expended the public treasure in unnecessary and unprofitable buildings, he likewise built some which in a short time were taken down again, because being erected hastily they could not stand long. He likewise made a great change in the ancient magistracy. Till that time there had been only two prefects of the court, whose authority was equal; not only were the court soldiers under their control, but those also which guarded the city, and who were stationed in its neighbourhood. The person who had the office of prefect of the court, which was esteemed the next post of honour to that of emperor, distributed the gifts of corn, and punished all offences against military discipline, as he thought convenient. Constantine altered this good institution, and of one office or magistracy formed four. To one of those prefects he committed all Egypt and Pentapolis in Libya, and all the east as far as Mesopotamia, with Cilicia, Cappadocia, Armenia, and all the coast from Pamphylia to Trapezus and the castles near Phasis; to the same person was given all Thrace and Moesia, as far as the mountains Haemus and Rhodope, and the town of Doberus. He likewise added Cyprus and all the Cyclades, except Lemnos, Imbrus, and Samothracia. To another he assigned Macedon, Thessaly, Crete, and Greece, with the adjacent islands, both the Epiruses, the Illyrians, the Dacians, the Triballi, and the Pannonians as far as Valeria, besides the upper Moesia. To the third prefect he entrusted Italy and Sicily, with the neighbouring islands, and Sardinia and Corsica, together with all Africa westward of the Syrtes. To the fourth he committed all beyond the Alps, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. Having thus divided the power of these prefects, he invented other methods likewise of diminishing their influence. For as

there used to be in all places, centurions, tribunes, and generals, he appointed officers called Magistri militum, some over the horse and others over the foot, to whom he gave authority to discipline the soldiers, and punish those that had offended, by which the power of the prefects was diminished. That this innovation was productive of great injury to public affairs both in peace and war I will immediately prove 4. The prefects had hitherto collected the tribute in all places by their officers, and disposed of it in war expences, the soldiers at the same time being subject to their authority, whose offences they punished at discretion. Under these circumstances, the soldiers, considering that the same person who gave them their pay had the infliction of punishments whenever they offended, did not dare to act contrary to their duty, for fear of their stipend being withheld, and of being duly punished. But now since one person is paymaster and another inspector of discipline, they act according to their own inclination.

Constantine likewise adopted another measure, which gave the Barbarians free access into the Roman dominions. For the Roman empire, as I have related, was, by the care of Dioclesian, protected on its remote frontiers by towns and fortresses, in which soldiers were placed; it was consequently impossible for the Barbarians to pass them, there being always a sufficient force to oppose their inroads. But Constantine destroyed that security by removing the greater part of the soldiers from those barriers of the frontiers, and placing them in towns that had no need of defenders; thus depriving those who were exposed to the Barbarians of all defence, and oppressing the towns that were quiet with so great a multitude of soldiers, that many of them were totally forsaken by the inhabitants. He likewise rendered his soldiers effeminate by accustoming them to public spectacles and pleasures. To speak in plain terms, he was the first cause of the affairs of the empire declining to their present miserable state.

However, I must not omit to relate, that having given to his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, the title of Caesars, he so greatly enlarged the city of Constantinople, that many of the succeeding emperors, who made it their residence, drew to it too great a number of inhabitants, who flocked there from all parts, as soldiers, merchants, and in other occupations. On this account, its walls were rendered more capacious than those which Constantine built, and the buildings were permitted to be placed so near to each other, that the inhabitants are exposed to much inconvenience and danger both in their houses and in the streets. Besides this a considerable portion of the sea was added to the land by driving down piles, thus forming dry ground, on which was built a sufficient number of houses to form of themselves a considerable city.

I have, indeed, often wondered, since the city of Byzantium is become so great that no other is equal to it either in felicity or magnitude, that our ancestors had not any prophecy concerning its good fortune. Having directed my thoughts some time to this enquiry, I consulted many historians and collections of oracles, and at length, after much difficulty and taking great pains to interpret them, discovered an oracle, which is attributed to Sibylla Erythraea, or Phaello of Epirus. Nicomedes the son of Prusias relying upon this, and interpreting it to his own advantage, by the counsel of Attalus made war upon his father. The oracle I speak of is this:

Thou among sheep, O King of Thrace, shalt dwell,
 But breed a savage lion, fierce and fell,
 Who all the product of thy land shall spoil,
 And reap thy fruitful harvest without toil.
 But thou shalt not enjoy thy honour long,
 Torn by wild dogs, which shall about thee throng.
 Then a fierce, hungry, sleeping wolf shall thou
 Awake, to whom thy conquered neck shall bow.
 Next a whole herd of wolves Bithynia's land,
 By Jove's decree shall ravage, and the hand
 To which obedience the Byzantines yield
 Shall in short time her royal sceptre wield.
 Bless'd Hellespont! whose buildings by the hand
 Of heaven were rais'd, and by its order stand.
 Yet shall that cruel wolf my forces fear,
 For all shall know me, who inhabit here.
 My sire's designs no longer I'll conceal
 But heaven's intent in oracles reveal.
 Thrace shall e're long a monstrous birth produce,
 Baneful to all by course of time and use:

142515 A swelling ulcer by the sea shall grow,
 Which when it breaks, with putrid gore shall flow.

This oracle, in an obscure manner, points out all the particular evils that were to befall Bythynia through the heavy impositions laid upon it; and that the government was to devolve on those to whom the Byzantines were then subject, in this distich:
_____ and the hand
To which obedience the Byzantines yield
Shall in short time her royal sceptre wield.

142525 And though the events foretold did not occur until many ages afterwards, no one can suppose that the prophecy related to any other place; for all time is short in respect of the deity, who exists through all ages. This conjecture I have formed both from the words of the prophecy and from the event. Should any believe that this prophecy has a different import, they have liberty to enjoy their own opinion.

142530 Constantine, having done this, not only continued to waste the revenue of the empire in useless expences, and in presents to mean and worthless persons, but oppressed those who paid the tributes, and enriched those that were useless to the state. For he mistook prodigality for magnificence. He also laid a tax of gold and silver on all merchants and tradesmen, even to the lowest classes, nor did he even spare the

142535 poorest prostitute. Thus, on the return of every fourth year, when the tax was to be paid, nothing could be heard through the whole city but lamentations and complaints. When the time arrived nothing but whips and tortures, provided for those who on account of their extreme poverty could not pay the money. Mothers were even forced to part with their children, and fathers to prostitute their daughters, for money to

142540 satisfy the collectors of this exaction. Wishing likewise to invent some trouble for the rich, he summoned them all and made them praetors, for which dignity he demanded a sum of money. Upon this account when they who had the management of this affair arrived in any city the people fled into other countries, in the fear of gaining this honour with the loss of all they possessed. He had the schedules of all the best

142545 estates, and imposed a tribute on each of them, which he called a purse. With these exactions he exhausted all the towns; for they continued in force so long even after the time of Constantine, that the cities were completely drained of money, and many of them forsaken by their inhabitants.

After Constantine had oppressed and tormented the people in these various modes, he died of a disease, and was succeeded by his three sons, who were not born of Fausta the daughter of Maximianus Herculus, but of another woman, whom he had put to death for adultery. They devoted themselves more to the pleasures of youth than to the service of the state. They began by dividing the nations between them. Constantine

142550 the eldest, and Constans the youngest, having for their share all beyond the Alps, together with Italy and Illyricum, the countries bordering on the Euxine sea and all that belonged to Carthage in Africa; Constantius obtained all Asia, the east, and Egypt. There were likewise others who shared in the government; Dalmatius, whom Constantine made Caesar, Constantius his brother, and Anaballianus, who had all worn robes of purple embroidered with gold, and were promoted to the order of

142560 Nobilissimates by Constantine, from respect to their being of his own family. The empire being thus divided, Constantius who appeared to take pains not to fall short of his father in impiety, began by shedding the blood of his nearest relations. He first caused Constantius, his father's brother, to be murdered by the soldiers; next to whom he treated Dalmatius in the same manner, as also Optatus whom

142565 Constantine had raised to the rank of a Nobilissimate. Constantine indeed first introduced that order, and made a law, that every Nobilissimate should have precedence over of the prefects of the court. At that time, Ablabius prefect of the court was also put to death; and fate was just in his punishment, because he had concerted the murder of Sopatrus the philosopher, from envy of his familiarity with

142570 Constantine. Being unnatural |58 towards all his relations, he included Anaballianus with the rest, suborning the soldiers to cry out, that they would have no governors but the children of Constantine. Such were the exploits of Constantius. In the mean time Constantine and Constans were disputing for that part of Africa which belonged to Carthage, and for Italy. Constans, who wished to surprise, his

142575 brother, concealed his enmity for three years. He took occasion, when he was in a province that was attached to himself, to send soldiers to him, on pretence of assisting him in the war against the Persians, but in reality to assassinate him by surprise. This they accordingly performed. Such was the end of Constantine.

142580 Constans, having thus removed his brother, exercised every species of cruelty toward his subjects, exceeding the most intolerable tyranny. He purchased some well favoured

Barbarians, and had others with him as hostages, to whom he gave liberty to harrass his subjects as they pleased, in order to gratify his vicious disposition. In this manner he reduced all the nations that were subject to him to extreme misery. This gave uneasiness to the court guards, who perceiving that he was much addicted to hunting placed themselves under the conduct of Marcellinus prefect of the treasury, and Magnentius who commanded the Joviani and Herculiani (two legions so termed), and formed a plot against him in the following manner. Marcellinus reported that he meant to keep the birth-day of his sons, and invited many of the superior officers to a feast. Amongst the rest Magnentius rose from table and left the room; he presently returned, and as it were in a drama stood before thorn clothed in an imperial robe. Upon this all the guests saluted him with the title of king, and the inhabitants of Augustodunum, where it was done, concurred in the same sentiment. This transaction being rumoured abroad, the country people flocked into the city; while at the same time a party of Illyrian cavalry who came to supply the Celtic legions, joined themselves with those that were concerned in the enterprize. When the officers of the army were met together, and heard the leaders of the conspiracy proclaim their new emperor, they scarcely knew the meaning of it; they all, however, joined in the acclamation, and saluted Magnentius with the appellation of Augustus. When this became known to Constans, he endeavoured to escape to a small town called Helena, which lies near the Pyrenean mountains. He was taken by Gaision, who was sent with some other select persons for that purpose, and being destitute of all aid, was killed. Magnentius thus gained the empire, and possessed himself all 59 the nations beyond the Alps, and the whole of Italy. Vetrano, general of the Pannonian army, upon hearing of the good fortune of Magnentius, was himself inflamed with the same desire, and was declared emperor by the legions that were with him, at Mursa, a city of Pannonia. While affairs were thus situated, the Persians plundered the eastern countries, particularly Mesopotamia. But Constantine, though he was defeated by the Persians, yet resolved to subdue the factions of Magnentius and Vetrano. While he was forming these resolutions, and was very intent on warlike preparations, Magnentius still remaining in Gallia Celtica, Nepotianus, nephew to Constantius, by his sister Eutropia, collected a band of persons addicted to robbery and all kinds of debauchery, with whom he came to Rome, and appeared in an imperial dress. Anicetus, whom Magnentius had made prefect of the court, armed some of the common people, and led them out of the city to engage with Nepotianus. A sharp conflict ensued between them. The Romans being undisciplined, and observing no order, were easily routed; and when the prefect saw them fly, he shut the gates, for fear the enemy should follow them into the city. The troops of Nepotianus pursued them, and as they had no way of escape, killed every man. In a few days after, Magnentius sent an army under the command of Marcellinus, and Nepotianus was put to death.